Preface

The articles in this issue of Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Vol. 12 No. 2 (October 2010) concern linguistic discussions that centre on the theme “Lexicon and Semantics”. They are the result of a cooperation between Wacana and linguists from amongst others the University of La Rochelle, the University of Sydney, Leiden University, the Islamic State University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, and the University of Indonesia. Besides book reviews, this issue of Wacana also presents the texts of two inaugural lectures that were delivered at the University of Indonesia. The first lecture is by Yunita T. Winarto (Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia) who was appointed to occupy the chair of the Academy Professorship Indonesia in Social Sciences and Humanities on 4 March 2010. The second is the inaugural lecture Willem van der Molen (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) delivered on 15 June 2010 when he accepted the position of Adjunct Professor in Old Javanese.
dictionaries are richly elaborate and contain vastly more information than any book dictionary (Aitchison 2003: 10 and further).

We might start by asking what kinds of mental operations, from a psycholinguistic perspective, would typically be performed by lexicographers when they attempt to make a dictionary, relying solely on their own word knowledge. They would include for example such processes as thinking of a word based on different indexical features, for example spelling (what word comes after “mutiny” alphabetically?) or meaning (what are some words for kinds of furniture?), listing all the inflectional and derivational forms of a lemma, thinking if a word, which is known to be one part of speech (“bow” noun), is also used as another part of speech (“bow” verb), finding words with some semantic relation to the head word (what is a near synonym of “explicate”?), thinking of some collocates for a word, making a guess at how frequent or “important” a word is, deciding if a word is used primarily in a particular domain or register, deciding if the headword list isn’t “missing” some word, deciding whether a new word should go into the dictionary or not, and thinking of a reasonable sounding context to illustrate the use of a word.

The skilled, professional lexicographer will have a better-informed lexicon than the average person. It will be larger and more up to date on contemporary usage (Ooi 1998: 48). The lexicographer’s own store of knowledge about the language is based on their native speaker abilities, enlarged through the knowledge accumulated from their exposure to a variety of types of language genres and registers, and refined through study and professional practice. It is, however, quite likely that, despite the extent to which the mental lexicon of a lexicographer is expanded, honed, and refreshed, it will still suffer from limitations inherent in the mental lexicon of all individuals, and these are likely to have an impact on the lexicographer’s work.

We can summarize the disadvantages of the use of linguistic introspection as a sole source of data for lexicography, as follows:

- The relative incompleteness of any individual’s mental lexicon: Individuals know less words compared to the sum of all of the words known by all of the people in the language community of which that individual is a member. The lexicon of one individual will be shaped by individual experience and will therefore differ from that of another individual, even if there are common features shared by all. An individual will know words for some domains or registers but not all, making the individual lexicon idiosyncratic and partial (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 47).
- Limitations of access: Even if our individual word store contained everything, which it does not, our ability to search it for information is limited in a number of ways. For example, people are not able to tell you how many words they know or to enumerate all the words they know and sometimes our memories fail so we may not be able to bring to mind a word that we know we actually do know – the so called “tip of the

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footnote: Know: have in storage in long-term memory.
tongue” phenomenon.4

- Limitations on the reliability of judgments about words: Judgements made by individuals about various aspects of word use are prone to subjectivity and unreliability. Types of judgments that are not always reliable include judgments about word frequency, whether a collocation is attested or not, or what the meanings of a polysemous word are. Eliciting the "default" reading of a word’s meaning is prone to variation due to the effect of context.

One approach to minimizing the impact of these kinds of limitations has been for dictionary publishers to employ people whose knowledge, taken together, can be seen as representative of an entire community, with knowledge of a range of domains and genres. This is definitely a worthy approach, but although it goes a long way to overcoming the problem of partial knowledge, it still suffers from the problem of subjectivity and it is not open to evaluation. At the end of the day, using the method of lexical introspection, the dictionary will only be “as good as its lexicographer(s)” (Ooi 1998: 48). We can conclude that solely accessing one’s own mental lexicon can’t be seen as a reliable source of data for a dictionary. As Atkins and Rundell (2008: 47) point out, “Introspection on its own can’t form the basis of a reliable dictionary”.

**EXISTING DICTIONARIES AS EVIDENCE**

Traditionally, lexicographers have in some cases looked to other, existing dictionaries as the basis for the compilation of another. In particular when a concise version was to be prepared from a larger one or a bilingual from a monolingual one, existing dictionaries have been used as evidence, though the practice is not acknowledged to be common (Zgusta 1971: 239). Existing monolingual dictionaries potentially provide a headword list, an entry structure and existing definitions and examples. This can form a framework for decisions about whether to include new lexical items and remove others. The result is that more recently published dictionaries are found to a greater or lesser extent, to be rewritten versions of older works.

The reader can compare, for example, the Kamus Umum (KU) by Poerwadarminta (1954) and its sixth edition, Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia (KUBI) (Poerwadarminta 1978) with the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) (Tim Penyusun Kamus 1988) and KBBI-3 (Alwi et al. 2001), and then compare the KBBI with the Kamus Bahasa Indonesia kontemporer (P. Salim and Y. Salim 1991). When one finds similarities, one can ask if it is due simply to coincidence, homage to tradition, or to the absence of other sources of data. The problem with using dictionaries as data in this way is that existing dictionaries are shaped by the many decisions that lexicographers take. Many of these are never explicit and therefore not necessarily open to evaluation.

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4 In a “tip of the tongue” state, the individual is conscious that the word they are looking for (in their memory) is not presently accessible, while there is also a strong sense that they indeed do know it. It is usually the case that they will recall it at some later time.
The decisions themselves involve varying degrees of subjectivity. When information is taken wholesale without reference to the current status of the language as a whole, then the information in the new dictionary will continue to be shaped by those unspoken assumptions. A dictionary which uses another as its main source of data will represent a limited and probably idiosyncratic view of the lexicon of the language. Tradition can’t be relied on to provide evidence of the way the language is used.

CITATIONS AS EVIDENCE

Citations are the next kind of data that can be used for dictionary making.

What are citations?

A citation is “a short extract” selected from a text by a reader to exemplify the use of a word or phrase in an attested context, and provide evidence for its meaning or usage (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 48). Citations have also served to identify new words and examples of use in context, usually in complete sentences (Jackson 2002: 29). Citations are sometimes also called quotations. When Zgusta (1971: 225) referred to the manual collection of citations as “the excerptión of texts” it was still the main way to collect data for dictionary making. Citations have conventionally been collected in a reading program, an “organized data-gathering exercise” set up by a publisher where readers provided citations for a dictionary (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 49; Jackson 2002: 29). We can contrast citation used in this sense with casual citations. Casual citation is the recording by any individual of the lexical behaviour of people they come in contact with, such as family members, friends, or strangers, on a daily basis in unplanned situations. The individual notices something that stands out or seems interesting in the flow of communication. Casual citation also may be used as lexicographic evidence but it has the severe weakness of the small size of the sample and limits on the context (Ooi 1998: 48). The rest of the discussion here refers to citations gathered systematically.

History of use of citations

Citations have been in use for a considerable time, but Samuel Johnson was the first English lexicographer to use them “systematically” (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 48) as the basis for his dictionary (Hartmann 1983: 19). Johnson intended that all his entries in his dictionary be supported by citations taken from the literature of his day (Jackson 2002: 44, 166). Johnson was “unrivalled” in his own day in his use of citations, at least in the sheer number he used. He used citations not only to illustrate but “to drum home his own moral agenda” showing little respect for many of the authors (Green 1996: 230). The Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the gold standard in historical

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5 The word *excerptón*: rarer by the 1990s, it occurred only once in the 100 million words of the British National Corpus, and not in relation to lexicography but in the semantic field of psychoanalysis.
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ALLAN F. LAUDER, Data for lexicography; The central role of the corpus
dictionaries (Read 1986: 28), was based on millions of citations (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 49; Green 1996: 316-323; Jackson 2002: 48, 166). When Murray took over the task of editing the OED from Furnivall he inherited a collection of books and source material collected over eighteen years (Green 1996: 316) and about two million slips of paper containing citations. However, due to gaps in the data, Murray initiated a reader program to provide more evidence (Green 1996: 318; Jackson 2002: 49). The entries for a lexical item in the OED were organized in chronological order (Hartmann 1983: 123) so as to show semantic change (Read 1986: 28). Murray intended that the citations should not come solely from eminent authors and prestigious literary works, but be drawn from all types of publications, even “low and trivial sources” (Read 1986: 28-29).

The reading program for Webster’s Third New International Dictionary amassed about four and a half million citations to add to those collected by their team of 200 subject specialist consultants (Jackson 2002: 65).

For about two centuries, citations have played a major role in providing evidence about word use in a way that lexical intuition or reliance on existing dictionaries could not.

Advantages and disadvantages of citations

Atkins and Rundell (2008: 51-52) point out a number of advantages and disadvantages of gathering citations as data for lexicography. The advantages of gathering citations are:

- Monitoring language change. Human readers can be extremely good at noticing new things such as the detection of newly created terms or new senses being found for existing words. They have up to now been more effective than computers at doing this. However, the use of diachronic corpora not only makes new word detection possible, but it can also identify and measure changing trends in the complementary use of near equivalent forms, for example modal verb will versus periphrastic modal going to. The evidence that corpora can provide in both these cases can be much more convincing than that provided by individual human experience.

- Gathering subject- or variety-specific terminology. Experts in a field will be good at identifying the technical terms in their field. However, subject experts who are very familiar with the terminology in their field are not likely to function simultaneously as lexicographers. In the field of terminology, the increasing power of computers is making automatic term extraction viable in a number of areas, such as legal terms in court and policy documents for languages in the European Union.

- Training lexicographers. The collection of citations helps trainee lexicographers to focus on “what counts” for items in a dictionary. Here also, in the area of training, corpora are beginning to be used to provide examples of language use in context for trainees.
The disadvantages of citations as lexicographic evidence are:

- It is a labour-intensive activity. Unless sufficient funding is available, it will be possible to gather only relatively small quantities of data. In addition, in most publishers’ reading programs, a large proportion of the citations provided are not usable because the data covers what is already known (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 49). This has an important impact on the quality of the entries that can be written. The smaller the number of examples of use of a word that you have, the less likely that you can properly identify and describe its full range of uses.
- The selection of citations is subjective. This is the case even though the citations themselves are examples of attested use. The more subjective the selection, the less likely that the dictionary will serve the needs of its intended users well.
- There is a bias towards novel, idiosyncratic, rare or unconventional uses. The human mind tends to notice what is unusual rather than what is typical or conventional. This leads to skewing, something that Murray complained about more than once.6

Citations continue to be a useful way of providing data for dictionaries. We can enhance their use with new technology. For example, manually collected citations can now be checked against evidence on the internet. However, corpora have largely superseded citations as the central source of data for lexicography.

CORPORA AS EVIDENCE

What is a corpus?

A corpus7 in linguistics is a collection (body) of texts stored in electronic format in a database. It is usually, although not always, assembled purposefully through sampling, so as to be as representative as possible of a language variety, and so that conclusions may be drawn about this variety using the corpus as data for research. A corpus is thus a sample of language use, of naturally occurring speech acts and texts, which have been chosen to characterise a state or variety of language. Corpora may be annotated, for example with each word having a part of speech (POS) tag (or label) attached, to facilitate linguistic processing. The individual texts in a corpus may also come with descriptive information such as author, date of publication, text type and so on, so that sets of texts which share particular features can be formed and so analyses can be carried out on these sub-sections of the whole corpus. See for example (Baker et al. 2006; Centre of Computational Linguistics 2006; McEnery and Wilson 2001; Sinclair 1991).

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6 Eighth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Transactions of the Philological Society (1877-79), 561-586, reported in Atkins and Rundell 2008.
7 The word corpus (plural corpora) is from Latin for “body“.
Corpus types and purpose

A number of different kinds of corpus can be distinguished either according to their internal properties or their intended purpose(s). Commonly recognized types of monolingual corpora are GENERAL, SPECIALIZED, LEARNER, DIACRONIC, and MONITOR. However, these types do not represent mutually exclusive categories. Rather, we sometimes find that pairs of corpus types, such as general and specialized, represent different ends of a spectrum, where internal properties are shaped to varying degrees by slightly different purposes.

For example, an important factor with general and specialized corpora is the purpose or purposes for which they are intended. A GENERAL CORPUS is designed to be used for a wide variety of uses, such as lexicography, natural language processing (NLP), linguistics and stylistics. The general corpus will generally be broad in scope and use internationally agreed standards for encoding. Consequently, a general corpus will contain a wide variety of text types, balanced according to genre and domain in order to represent as wide a range of the language as possible. The corpus may contain written or spoken language or both. An example of a general corpus is the British National Corpus (BNC) (McEnery et al. 2006: 59-60).

Meanwhile, a SPECIALIZED CORPUS is designed with a more specific purpose than a general corpus. It is intended to represent a specific variety of language, genre or domain which will be the object of study of the particular research endeavour. Examples of specialized corpora are for written English from the petroleum domain, or computer science. Another is The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE), a corpus of spoken academic English (Simpson et al. 2002). Specialized corpora vary in size and composition according to their purpose(s). They can be relatively small, as in the case of a corpus of the works of one author, for example Shakespeare, or for frequency-based studies of grammatical behaviour. They may also be larger, for example to study particular specialist genres of language such as child language, or the language used by learners of English (McEnery et al. 2006: 60-61).

A general corpus may also be seen as a “standard reference” for the language variety which it represents and may thus be referred to as a REFERENCE CORPUS. This is because it is composed on the basis of relevant parameters agreed upon by the linguistic community and will usually include spoken and written, formal and informal language representing various social and situational strata. These corpora provide “a yardstick” for comparing successive studies with and as “a benchmark” for lexicons and for the performance of generic tools and specific language technology applications (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 32).

Another dimension that underlies corpus design is the time period during which the texts were produced. This may be a relatively short period, with

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8 MICASE is a collection of nearly 1.8 million words of transcribed speech (almost 200 hours of recordings) from the University of Michigan. It contains data from a wide range of speech events (including lectures, classroom discussions, lab sections, seminars, and advising sessions) and locations across the university.
the corpus being seen as a slice of time. It may also stretch over considerable periods of time and allow the study of language change. A **diachronic** (or historical) corpus contains examples of language from different time periods. It is used to allow tracking of language change over decades or centuries (McEnery et al. 2006: 65). Meanwhile, the term **synchronic corpora** is used for those which are designed to represent a particular national or regional variety of English (World Englishes) and which can be used to compare varieties. There are few synchronic corpora which allow the comparison of geographical variation (dialects) (McEnery et al. 2006: 64).

A corpus which covers language from a particular, usually relatively short, period and to which no new data is added once it is complete, is seen as “static”. Many corpora are like this. It will usually be designed to achieve a balance among its components by using a sampling frame. This is often useful as a reference for studying a particular time period of a variety or a language. However, languages change over time. Eventually, a static corpus will no longer reflect the contemporary state of the language and will become out of date. There is a type of corpus which can keep track of the present state of the language because material is constantly or regularly being added to it annually, monthly, or daily (McEnery et al. 2006: 67). This is a **monitor corpus** which was conceptualized and developed by Sinclair (1991: 24-26). The monitor corpus is “dynamic”, always increasing in size. This helps it keep current but makes it difficult to keep it balanced. The goal of achieving balance is largely achieved by sheer size.

In corpus design, many factors come into play and each may affect the others. A clear picture of all foreseeable purposes is essential before deciding on what the content will be and how it will be selected.

**CORPUS DESIGN CRITERIA**

A number of factors related to design need to be taken into consideration when planning a lexicographic corpus. Two important factors are the size of the corpus, and the issues of representativeness and balance.

**Corpus size**

In the design of corpora, size is an important issue. Discussion of how large corpora should be is found in a number of publications (Atkins and Rundell 2008; Biber et al. 1998; Kennedy 1998; Krishnamurthy 2002; McEnery et al. 2006; Ooi 1998). The size of a corpus is normally given in terms of the total number of words (tokens) in it. During the 1960s and 1970s, corpus size was constrained to about a million words by practical considerations and this led to problems such as “data sparseness” (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 57). Today, technical constraints no longer place a limit on corpus size which means that many of the criticisms levelled at the use of corpora in the 60s and 70s, for example by Chomsky, no longer are valid. Corpora have been increasing by a factor of one order of magnitude per decade since the 1970s. *The Oxford English Corpus* (OEC) broke the one
billion\(^9\) word barrier in the 2000s and is continuing to grow (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 58). The question, “What is the maximum size for a corpus?” doesn’t have a definitive answer. On the one hand there are those who suggest that there is no upper limit on the size a corpus can be. Sinclair (1991: 18), for example, states that “a corpus should be as large as possible and keep on growing”. Not everyone agrees with this view. As Leech (1991: 8-29) observes, “size is not all important”.

A more important question is really “What is the minimum size needed?”. This will depend on the purpose for which it is intended and also some practical considerations (McEnery et al. 2006: 71). Thus, the problem of size comes back to a matter of “descriptive adequacy” (Kennedy 1998: 67). Corpus size depends on “the frequency and distribution of the linguistic features under consideration” for a particular purpose (McEnery et al. 2006: 72). Two distinct purposes are the study of lexis and the study of grammar. In general, the study of lexis in general require much larger corpora than the study of grammatical behaviour. The size of corpora required to perform quantitative studies of grammatical features can be relatively small because “the syntactic freezing point is fairly low” (McEnery et al. 2006: 72). On the other hand, in contrastive lexical studies, to model the frequency distribution of a word, it is necessary to be able to contrast it with enough occurrences of others of the same category and this will require a much larger corpus. Therefore, we can predict that a corpus designed for writing a good dictionary would need to be larger than one to be used for grammatical studies.

The reason for the difference between required corpus size for grammatical and lexical studies lies in the regularities of the frequency distribution of words in language, something usually referred to as Zipf’s Law. George K. Zipf\(^10\) (1902-1950) was a Harvard professor of philology. In the 1930s, Zipf studied the word-frequencies of texts in English, German, Chinese and Latin. He noted “the orderliness of the distribution of words" (Zipf 1935) and found that “a few words occur with very high frequency while many words occur but rarely” (Zipf 1935: 40), quoted in (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 59).

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\(^9\) Billion: 1,000,000,000, a thousand million. This is the usage followed in the United States. In the UK, a billion is a million million, 1 followed by 12 zeros.

\(^10\) Zipf: pronounced /ˈzɪf/. The p is silent.

\(^11\) Words: Zipf discusses the statistical properties of words in Chapter II of The psychobiology of language, and in particular the relationship between word length and word frequency. He turns to the question of defining the term “word” on page 39 and further. He notes the ambiguity of the term “word” in that child and children may be seen as either one word or two, and that give, gives, given as one or three. It should be noted that his terminology differs from that used today. He refers to the different inflected forms (those are word forms) as “words” and the form used by lexicographers to indicate a family of inflected forms as a “lexical item”. He also notes that in statistical studies of words, a failure to distinguish these two senses of word could lead to very “different quantitative results”. Zipf states (1935: 40): “In the present investigation the term word will always designate a word in its fully inflected form as it occurs in the stream of speech. In the rare instances where the sense of lexical unit is intended (not until Chapter V) this unusual sense of the term will be plainly stated. The Kaeding, Chinese, Plautine investigations and the Eldridge investigation of English are each an analysis of the frequency distribution of words in fully inflected form, i.e. words and not lexical units”.

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In corpus linguistics, when counting the frequency of words in a corpus, it is necessary to distinguish between tokens, single instances of a graphic word (word form) occurring in a corpus and types, word forms, seen as distinct from other word forms. In a corpus with a million tokens there may be only around 25 thousand different types (Hartmann and James 1998). The term word type is not specific about whether the word is to be treated separately or whether it is a member of a family of word tokens (Scott and Tribble 2006: 13; Scott 2007). This distinction only becomes important at a later stage in the dictionary making project, for example during the construction of the lexical database, or the writing of dictionary entries.

Of all the tokens in a corpus, a small number of types account for a large proportion of total tokens while a large number of types account for a very small proportion of all tokens. For example, in a corpus of 100 million words, with approximately 160,000 types, 8,000 types will likely occur 1,000 times or more each and account for 95% of all tokens in the corpus. Meanwhile, the remaining 152,000 types will only account for 5% of all tokens (Kennedy 1998: 68).

Scott and Tribble (2006: 23) state that the 100 or 200 most frequent words in a corpus word list are mostly closed-set words, prepositions, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions. Medium frequency items come from frequency levels of around 5,000, 4,000 or 3,000 per 100 million words. At these frequencies, the words are all content words, nouns, verbs, adjectives (Scott and Tribble 2006: 25). Meanwhile, 40% of the items in the frequency list will be hapax legomena, appearing only once (Scott and Tribble 2006: 26). See also Kennedy (1998: 67) and Scott and Tribble (2006: 27, 29) who give the figure of around 50%.

Based on the general observation that the less the frequency, the greater the number of words, Zipf formalized this relationship in a mathematical formula (Oakes 1998: 54-55; Pustet 2004: 8; Scott and Tribble 2006: 26; Zipf 1965: 24). Zipf’s Law, as it has become known, shows that there is a constant relationship between the rank of a word in a frequency list, and the frequency with which it is used in a text. When all of the words (tokens) in a corpus are placed in rank order by frequency descending, and each rank is given a number, then the rank number (r), multiplied by the frequency (f) for each token will be approximately constant (C). This is expressed as (r × f = C). The relationship, one of inverse proportionality, holds for most words except those of the highest and lowest frequencies (Crystal 1997b: 87).

Zipf’s findings still hold good today. This means that in any corpus, about 40 percent of all of the word types will occur only once. In lexicography, a single occurrence of a word (hapax legomena) is not enough for the lexicographer to describe how that word is used. The implication for lexicography is that in any corpus, the data for a large proportion of words will be inadequate to create an entry for them and only those words which occur often enough can find their way into the dictionary. The questions are, “How big would a corpus need to be to produce different types of dictionaries?” and “How many tokens would be enough ‘as a basis for description’?” (Kennedy 1998: 67). Krishnamurthy (2002),
drawing on his experience of working on Cobuild at Birmingham University, has set out a way of working out how many headwords can be derived from corpora of different sizes. He bases his calculation on the assumption that ten tokens would be a bare minimum for adequate description for each word type. It should be noted that Krishnamurthy does not explicitly state what the relationship is between type and lemma or between token and word form.\textsuperscript{12} Krishnamurthy (2002) states that the number of headwords derivable can then be matched with different dictionary sizes, for example, pocket, collegiate, unabridged and English for Foreign Learners (EFL). His calculation is worked out as follows. About half of all word types in corpora appear only once. One occurrence is not enough for description, but ten might be, although this is a very “modest” figure. Many types which occur more than ten times will not appear in the dictionary. He states that there are approximately 2.2 types per lemma on average in English. The calculation involves identifying the number of word types which occur ten or more times, and dividing this by 2.2. Using this calculation to work out the maximum headwords derivable from a number of different corpora, the results are as follows:

- Cobuild corpus (1986), 18 million words: 19,800 lemmas with 10 or more tokens and therefore potential dictionary headwords.
- Cobuild Bank of English corpus (1993), 120 million words: 45,150 headwords.
- Bank of English corpus (2001), 450 million words: 93,000 headwords.

Krishnamurthy (2002) provides some examples of dictionary sizes with data taken from the Web. Pocket dictionaries are around 37,000 entries; Collegiate dictionaries range from around 100 to 200 thousand entries; Unabridged dictionaries are between 300 and 500 thousand; and EFL dictionaries are between 75 and 100 thousand.

This means, he suggests, that a corpus of 100 million words, the size of the British National Corpus, would be good enough for producing a pocket dictionary, but would “struggle to meet Collegiate requirements”. He concludes that if one wishes to produce an unabridged dictionary, then a billion word corpus would be an entry level requirement, and that bigger would be better.

The calculations used by Krishnamurthy (2002) are based on the assumption that ten occurrences (tokens) would be adequate. However, Atkins and Rundell (2008: 60-61) demonstrate that even a hundred tokens might not be adequate for achieving “descriptive certainty” in some cases. They give the example of the verb \textit{adjudicate} which occurs 121 times in the BNC, about 1.2 times per million. With 121 concordance lines, it is possible to create a reliable description of the word’s use that includes about seven different

\textsuperscript{12} Although he is not explicit about this, we can still take his explanation seriously. Firstly, he is providing a relatively simple formula that is to be seen as a rough guide. It is a model that leaves out some of the details. Secondly, his writing carries considerable credibility because of his years of experience as a professional lexicographer, for example with Collins on COBUILD and with Helicon, Macmillan, Routledge, and CUP.
points. They suggest, however, that less than a hundred occurrences might not be enough to achieve this degree of certainty of description. Words like temerity (73 occurrences), exasperating (45), inattentive (31), and barnstorming (20) are not so rare that they “fall outside the scope of a standard learners’ dictionary”, but it is doubtful that 20 occurrences, in the case of barnstorming, would be enough.

Furthermore, the number of occurrences required for describing single lexical items would be a bare minimum. If you wish to describe a word’s phraseology, you would need a great deal more data than even a hundred lines.

Atkins and Rundell (2008: 60-61) give the example of the verb break. It occurs nearly 19,000 times in the BNC, which might be thought to be more than adequate for lexicographic description. However, high frequency words tend to be polysemous. At least twenty distinct senses can be distinguished for break along with a dozen phrasal verbs, some of which are also polysemous. The word is also found in combination in many collocations, phrases, and grammatical patterns. Among these different phrases, patterns, and collocations, some are frequent and some rare. This means that some uses of break are important in a particular domain but rare in a large general corpus. For example, there are only eight occurrences of the phrase “break someone’s serve/service” (in the field of tennis) (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 61).

In addition, they note that their own lexical profiling software, Word Sketch Engine, only works well for lemmas with at least 500 occurrences (tokens). In my own experience of collocation analysis, between one and five thousand occurrences of a word (token) might be needed to obtain a hundred or so collocates.

It therefore appears simplistic to set a minimum requirement for a word’s frequency in a corpus at ten or a hundred even five hundred. We need to take into account whether the word is polysemous, is involved in complex lexicogrammatical patterning, or in a rich phraseology.

Atkins and Rundell (2008: 61) state that “there is no definitive minimum size” for a corpus to be used for lexicography. However, the arguments presented here demonstrate that in a corpus of any particular size, due to Zipf’s Law, a large proportion of words will be very rare and the scarcity of data for them would mean it would be difficult to reliably describe them. If we wished to describe these rare words, we would need to increase the size of that corpus manyfold to get to a point where the corpus could provide enough examples of those words’ use for lexicographic description. In the case of monitor corpora, it is possible to reach a point of “saturation” where the addition of new material will not substantially affect the composition or proportion of some of the data. However, it is also possible that no corpus,

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13 The Sketch Engine (SkE, also known as Word Sketch Engine) is a Corpus Query System incorporating word sketches, grammatical relations, and a distributional thesaurus. Word sketches are one-page automatic, corpus-based summaries of a word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour. The SkE is in use for lexicography at Oxford University Press, FrameNet, Collins, Chambers Harrap, Macmillan and elsewhere. Its capabilities are described in Kilgarriff et al. 2004.
Corpus content: representativeness and balance

Representativeness and sampling

The lexicographic corpus has to provide data from which generalizations can be drawn about some variety of language or other. When the corpus is designed to study very large varieties or “language” as a whole, then it would either have to contain everything or be a sample of that totality. Language, however, in the sense of a form of communication used by a community of speakers, would have to mean everything, all of the communicative events occurring, the totality of texts produced, spoken or written. While the population of actual individual texts that constitute a language must be finite, in practical terms it must be seen as unlimited because there is no way that all texts produced can be inventoried. Any attempt to create a corpus of “language” would obviously be a gargantuan, utopian, or even Sisyphean task. If we wish to study large varieties or even “language” itself, then sampling is the only option (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 29). We must attempt to make the corpus as representative of that totality as possible.

Representativeness has been recognized as a fundamental issue in corpus construction (Biber 1993: 243) “ever since linguists started using corpora” (Teubert and Cermáková 2004: 113), and “underlies the whole question of corpus design” (Barnbrook 1996: 24).

The sample should be “maximally representative” of the variety under investigation (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 30). A sample is assumed to be representative if what we find for the sample also holds for the general population (Manning and Schütze 1999: 119).

The concept of representativeness and sampling is well-established in the social sciences, the idea being that a sample can be used to make generalizations about the whole population (Kennedy 1998: 62). This is possible because the population can usually be well-defined and is limited in extent, for example, all heads of households in the capital with incomes of between two and four thousand dollars a month. However, natural languages do not lend themselves to analysis using this model and there are problems with using this approach when studying language. Most importantly, it is
difficult to define what language is because this involves defining the language community and who the speakers and writers are. Do we include immigrants and foreign language learners or exclude them; what are the boundaries of the geographical area of the language’s use? What about dialects and so on? (Teubert and Cermáková 2004: 116). In addition, it is difficult to define what the population of all communicative events or texts in the language would be (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 63). In order to obtain a representative sample from a population, it is necessary to define both the sampling unit and the boundaries of the population (McEnery et al. 2006: 19). A sampling unit can be any unit of language, a book, a periodical, an article, a newspaper. “The population is the assembly of all the sampling units while the list of sampling units is referred to as the sampling frame” (McEnery et al. 2006: 19). This is a kind of stratified sampling. In this approach, the whole population is divided up into sub-categories or types and random samples are taken from each group.

Two approaches have been taken for building corpora of written texts. The first is based on a comprehensive bibliographical index. The sampling units for the LOB corpus was written British English text published in the United Kingdom in 1961. The sampling frame was taken from the British National Bibliography Cumulated Subject Index 1960-1964 for books and Willing’s Press Guide for periodicals (McEnery et al. 2006: 19). The second is to define the sampling frame as the contents of a particular library which belong to the variety and period in which the researcher is interested in. For the above case, this might be defined as all the German-language books and periodicals in the Lancaster University Library which were published in 1993. This approach was taken for the Brown corpus (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 78-79). In Indonesia, it would be problematic because of the absence of these kinds of catalogues or indexes. It would also be harder to do with informal language such as conversations or private correspondence because these are not published and so not found in libraries.

Further, there are also problems in deciding how to define the subcategories and assign texts to them, or what proportion of each category to include, or how to deal with overlapping categories (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 64).

Should the corpus designer take into account such things as topical domains, genres and registers? Problems arise with complex categories like domain and genre because these can be structured. Newspapers represent a genre of text, but contain multiple sub-genres, like news article, leader, editorial, or opinion piece.

The decision about categories for the sampling frame also involve considerations about their relative importance so that we can decide on what proportion of the total corpus they should be. However, this is not easy to determine because the factors that may determine such a decision are not easy to determine. Considerations may include such things as the frequency of their use and also differences in production and reception (Kennedy 1998: 63). A common problem is in deciding whether the corpus should include
more speech than writing. However, in comparing speech and writing, if the quantity of output (production) is the deciding criteria, no one actually knows what proportion of words produced in a particular time period, such as a day, are spoken and what are written. It is possible that the majority of daily communication is face to face “conversation”, spoken rather than “written”. Another way to look at it is that speech is “ephemeral”, while written texts are “enduring”. Does the longevity of written language make it more valuable? Then there is the criteria of reception. If “audience size” is a factor, then conversation, which only involves pairs or very small groups, is less important than news media texts which are read by thousands or millions. A conversation in a store involving a sales transaction might be heard by only the buyer and the seller. Meanwhile a similar dialogue, as part of a television drama, might be heard by extremely large numbers of people. Should the “influence” of a text be a factor? A pulp fiction novel may be read by millions, but the work of an award winning author may be read by less people but be studied over many years in schools and universities. In the case of newspaper texts, would “audience size” be more of a deciding factor than “quality” meaning the tabloid News of the World would be seen as more important than the broadsheet The Times? What about regional papers with small circulation figures? In general, contemporary or current works might be favoured. However, a “classic” work, one which continues to exert influence, might still be considered. Finally, in regard to the balance between speech and writing in a corpus, there are pragmatic constraints. Speech may be found to be the most important, yet, this is the most difficult and expensive to obtain.

Other criteria that have been suggested for making decisions about representativeness include “influentialness” in the literary or academic world, demography, typicality based on the subjective judgements of native speakers, and availability (Kennedy 1998: 63-64; Summers 1991).

It might seem that one way around the problem of the definition of criteria used as a sampling frame for corpus construction was so problematical that it could be avoided altogether if corpora were constructed not on the basis of such socially determined categories but on the basis of the internal, or linguistic characteristics of the texts (Otlogetswe 2004). However, a number of authors maintain that the text attributes or parameters used to do this should be extra-linguistic (external) and independent of linguistic criteria (Atkins et al. 1992: 5-6; Biber 1993: 256; McEnery et al. 2006: 14; Sinclair and Ball 1995). The reason for this, pointed out by Sinclair, is that any conclusions about text types based on word frequency distribution in such a corpus would be circular and invalid.

Considerations such as these have been discussed in great detail since the 1990s. Recently, the problem has been compounded by the emergence of new text types that are the result of the growth of new media such as the internet, social networking websites like FaceBook and smart phones with short messaging and chatting. Some of these new forms of communication don’t fit neatly into the traditional written versus spoken mode distinction.
It turns out that it is practically impossible to define the whole population which the corpus is supposed to represent, and consequently, it would therefore be “logically impossible to establish what the ‘correct’ proportions of each component” should be (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 66).

**Balance**

While the goal of building a representative corpus is “unachievable”, it remains a worthy “aspiration”. Some principles can guide the process of corpus construction. One such principle would be to avoid sampling from only one text type, a “monolithic” corpus such as one constructed solely from news media texts. It is tempting to use news media corpora. They are easily available and often extremely large because of the availability of news in electronic form. However, this is to be avoided for lexicographic work because no matter how big a corpus of news texts is, it will never contain the kind of lexis that would be found in other genres, such as literary or academic. This means that it is advisable to sample from as wide a range of text types as possible. However, practical considerations constrain our ability to define and sample from all known text types to create a truly “representative” corpus. A modest, practical compromise between these two extremes would be to try to create a “balanced” corpus (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 66).

A “balanced” corpus is a rational compromise but because it involves many subjective decisions and is also shaped by practical considerations like budgets and time frames, it can never be considered the result of a “scientific process” (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 66).

A “balanced” corpus, however, has a number of advantages. The use of good criteria allows the set up of a useful typology of text types. If stratified sampling is used to identify candidate texts for each text category, the result will be systematic and will reflect the actual types. If each text is labelled with information about its key features, such as genre, authorship, date of publication and so on, then users will be able to query subsets of the corpus to research how these things influence language use (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 66).

Balance, the range of text categories in a corpus is a significant factor in representativeness, and what would be an “acceptable balance” is “determined by its intended uses” (McEnery et al. 2006: 16). A general corpus should contain a wide range of text categories which need to be sampled proportionally to some rational and explicit estimate of the population so that “it offers a manageably small scale model of the linguistic material which the corpus builders wish to study” (Atkins et al. 1992: 6). However, achieving balance is more “an act of faith” than a statement of fact or the result of some scientific measure. While there is no overall agreement on how to achieve balance, work in text typology, the classification and characterizing of text categories, is relevant to such attempts.

Another acceptable approach is to emulate existing corpora which are
generally acknowledged to be balanced. The designers of the British National Corpus have made a number of subjective decisions about balance but they have done so in a way that is as reasonable as any (McEnery et al. 2006: 17).

Even though achieving representativeness and balance may be highly problematical, this can not be seen as a reason for avoiding corpus linguistic work or for dismissing the results of corpus analysis as unreliable or irrelevant (McEnery et al. 2006: 19). Corpora have been for some time and are likely to remain the central type of data for the creation of dictionaries.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF CORPORA

Advantages of corpora

Corpora have the following advantages as data for lexicography as compared with other types of data:

- The corpus has a central role to play in lexicography because it can successfully provide data in the large quantities needed for drawing conclusions about “normal” language events. The corpus can do this in a way that citation banks cannot (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 54).
- The procedures involved in corpus creation, querying and lexical database construction can be described as empirical. They thus stand in contrast to rational approaches such as the use of linguistic intuition.
- Corpus data is stable, and can be revisited many times until the lexicographer is satisfied that the decision taken is correct. Also, the software allows different ways to look at a word and its contexts and collocates. It is possible to see these contexts together in systematic ways that would be impossible in any other way. This all makes the data exceptionally valuable for semantic analysis. Thus, the problem of the “slippery” nature of meaning and of variation due to context, can be managed.
- Corpora favour everyday language over ‘high quality’ language. Corpora are designed to be inclusive of many text types, rather than being based on a priori assumptions about what kinds of writing exemplify “good” usage.
- Corpora can be constructed so that their contents represent the speech acts of a discourse or linguistic community. For example, a corpus consisting of news articles published by a newspaper is synonymous with the community of people who produced them. Thus, conclusions derived from a corpus, unlike the discourse analysis of a single text, can be seen as applying to that discourse community. This is a step towards a socially contextualized linguistics.
- Corpora allow the discovery of previously unnoticed patterns in language. For example, the collocate patterns of phraseology reveal the semantics of stretches of language that had previously escaped definition. An example is the phrase, “I’m no boy scout”. While boy scout has the sense of “a member of the scouting movement”, in the context of the phrase “I’m no …” it means someone with the admirable qualities a scout is supposed to
have. However, further study of the other collocates in the noun position reveal that they fall into three main classes, admirable people (saint, gentleman), disreputable people (fool, idiot, villain), or type of person by occupation (judge, historian). This reveals that the phrase “I’m no + noun” itself has a definable sense and function. It seems to be self-description by comparison. It is used as an excuse for not having desirable qualities in the admirable and occupation classes and as a defence for the disreputable class.

Disadvantages of corpora

It is realistic for corpus lexicographers to acknowledge that the use of corpora involves a number of real world constraints. Atkins and Rundell (2008: 55-57) describe a number of these:

- The corpus is a sample. A corpus is a finite entity. For some types of text, it may be possible to include all examples in the corpus. All the articles published by a newspaper, or all the novels written by an author are cases. However, general corpora are supposed to represent the language of entire communities of language users. They thus will inevitably be only very small samples.
- The concept of representative sample is difficult to achieve. For a corpus to be representative, it has to be based on clear criteria. While this task may be achievable for small, specialist corpora, it would be far more challenging to do this for larger, general purpose corpora.
- Corpora are the result of pragmatism and compromise. Even for corpora that are the result of careful planning and clear, explicit decisions about their design, they will still be the product of subjective decisions made by one group. They will also suffer from real-world constraints such as certain kinds of texts not existing, or the refusal of publishers to waive copyright restrictions, or limitations on the size of the spoken part of the corpus due to the expense of data collection. The degree of detail in coding is also a matter where subjectivity comes in.

Conclusions

By thinking about the nature of the data used to make dictionaries, we can see that it makes sense for lexicographers to ensure that the data they use is the most reliable and representative and also presented in such a way that reduces the probability of subjectivity or other problems listed above.

Studies of collocation in corpora demonstrate very clearly that word meaning does not reside in single lexical items but in the way words pattern together and in the way words appear in different contexts, and also in the way our minds respond to words in contexts. This view is supported in the contextual approach to meaning in lexical semantics, a view of meaning in which a word’s semantic properties are fully reflected in its relations with its contexts (Cruse 1986: 1, 16). Words have been described as “slippery customers” (Aitchison 2003: 41 and further), and their meaning subject to
change in different contexts. The principles which govern the workings of the mental lexicon are not as far as I am aware subject to major modification by conscious decision. Therefore, it makes sense to provide the conscious mind with the kind of data that will best lend itself to study and will allow it to come up with the least subjective and most representative judgments about words and their use. That kind of data comes from corpora, rather than from existing dictionaries, or citations, or even linguistic intuition.

Just because corpora can and should play a central role in providing data for lexicography does not mean that other sources of information need be totally ignored. For example, Schryver and Prinsloo (2001) state that while corpora are preferable for lemma-sign list creation, this does not mean that alternative methods for the creation of the dictionary’s macrostructure such as intuition-based compilations have no merit. They provide examples from the compilation of a dictionary for Sepedi, also known as Northern Sotho, which belongs to the Bantu language family (S32 in Guthrie’s classification) and is one of South Africa’s eleven official languages. They say that when corpora are absent, despite the shortcomings of individually compiled word lists, if a number of lists are combined, then the result may approximate the words obtained from a corpus of at least two million words.

Because the mind is subject to so many limitations, we should perform psycholinguistic studies to identify the particular sub-processes that are involved when lexicographers are making judgments about lexical behavior in the course of making a dictionary. The methods of psycholinguistics would be suitable for answering the question of whether the kind of limitations that apply in general to the workings of the mental lexicon also apply at least to some extent to the minds of trained professional lexicographers.

**Glossary**

**hapax legomenon:** A word or phrase which occurs only once in a corpus and which may therefore not be included in a dictionary; a nonce word (Hartmann and James 1998).

**headword:** “The form of a word or phrase which is chosen for the lemma, the position in the dictionary structure where the entry starts” (Hartmann and James 1998); the vocabulary and other items that the editors of a dictionary have chosen for inclusion in a dictionary (Jackson 2002: 25). The headwords in a general-purpose dictionary are not just lexemes, but include “derivational affixes and combining forms”, or in some cases names (Jackson 2002: 25).

**lemma:** the position at which an entry can be located in a reference work; a synonym for headword or even the whole entry (Hartmann and James 1998). The lemma is “an abstract representation, subsuming all the formal lexical variations which may apply: the verb *walk*, for example, subsumes *walking, walks* and *walked*” (Crystal 1997a). The lemma is “the base form”, typically the “stem” or the simplest form (singular noun, present/infinite of the verb) under which the word is assigned its place (Halliday 2004: 6).
See also Atkins and Rundell (2008: 162) and Hunston (2002: 18).

**Lexeme:** “a word in the vocabulary of a language” (Jackson 2002: 2); “A basic unit in the linguistic study of vocabulary” (Hartmann and James 1998); the smallest unit in the meaning system of the language that can be distinguished from other similar units (Stubbs 1996: xv); “the minimal distinctive unit in the semantic system of a language” (Crystal 1997a); the smallest unit in the meaning system of a language that can be distinguished from other similar units (Richards and Schmidt 2002). Lexemes may be seen as a combination of form with a meaning in a particular grammatical context. Lexemes may occur as simple words, morphologically complex words, phrasal and compound words, “multi-word expressions”, and shortened forms (prefabs) (Hartmann and James 1998), and also idiomatic phrases such as kick the bucket (= die) (Crystal 1997a). Lexemes are abstract units in the sense that a single lexeme may be found used with a number of different orthographical or phonological forms, for example the inflected forms of a verb like walk (Crystal 1997a). See also Stubbs (1996: xv), Jackson and Zé Amvela (2000: 63), Richards and Schmidt (2002). The term lexeme may also refer either to the units in dictionaries listed as separate entries (Crystal 1997a). “[A lexeme] may occur as a headword in a dictionary” (Jackson 2002: 2). Lexeme is also used to refer to the sub-entry (Richards and Schmidt 2002). When lexemes are used in dictionaries as headwords, they are cited in their canonical forms (Hartmann and James 1998).

**Token:** (in corpus linguistics) a single instance of a graphic word (word form) occurring in a corpus. Frequency counts in corpora are usually made as a number of tokens (Hartmann and James 1998). See also Type.

**Type:** (also word type) (in corpus linguistics) a word form, seen as distinct from other word forms, in a corpus. “The individual examples of different words or combinations of words occurring in a given corpus”. A count of the number of different graphic words in a corpus is a reference to types. In a corpus with a million tokens there may be only around 25 thousand different types (Hartmann and James 1998).

**Word form:** (in corpus linguistics) a string of characters between spaces in a text, a single member of a word family; “an inflectional variant of a lexeme” (Jackson 2002: 4). The term is also used in contrast with lemma, which is a collection of systematically related word forms that are thought to share the same meaning (Sinclair 1991: 176g, 2003). In corpus linguistics, word is often used in the same sense as word form to refer to a sequence of valid characters with a word separator at each end. It is seen as the simplest item for a computer to search for. This definition conceals the need to make decisions about what the valid characters and punctuation are and whether word types will be treated separately or as a member of a family of word tokens (Scott and Tribble 2006: 13; Scott 2007).

**Word:** The term ‘word’ is ambiguous and therefore a degree of ambiguity is inevitable in any definition of what a word is, no matter how careful we are (Jackson and Zé Amvela 2000: 52). Word may be used to refer to tokens,
types or lemmas (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 162). In this article, it is mostly used to refer either to tokens or to word forms.

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Aspect and modality in Indonesian
The case of sudah, telah, pernah, and sempat

PHILIPPE GRANGÉ

ABSTRACT
In this paper, I describe four Indonesian aspect markers, sudah, telah, pernah, and sempat, showing that the main opposition between them relies not only on their aspectual meanings, but also on the various modalities they express. The opposition between the very frequent markers sudah and telah is analysed in detail. The syntactic and semantic survey shows that these two markers are not synonyms in most contexts.

KEYWORDS
Indonesian, bahasa Indonesia, marker, aspect, modality, sudah, telah, pernah, and sempat.

The pre-verbal aspect markers in Indonesian form a complex system, where a modal meaning often appears entangled with aspect. In this paper¹, I intend to deal with four markers, sudah, telah, pernah, and sempat, that are often described as perfective aspect markers. It seems surprising that the Indonesian language has four different grammatical morphemes available to express one aspect; our hypothesis is that there are more than nuances between the aspect meanings of these markers, and that they are loaded with various modality meanings too. I will examine in detail sudah and telah, two very frequent markers of the perfect, and I will argue against a common view that these two markers are synonyms.

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PHILIPPE GRANGÉ, born in 1962, got his first position as a teacher in Bandung in the 1980s. He is currently an associate professor of linguistics at the University of La Rochelle (France), where he founded and directed the University Centre for French as a Foreign Language, from 1997 to 2008. Now, he teaches general linguistics and Indonesian at the Department of Applied Foreign Languages. He has been active since long in academic and research cooperation between the University of La Rochelle and several universities in Asia-Pacific, particularly in Indonesia. He is currently the director of the Academic Institute for Asia-Pacific at the University of La Rochelle. His research in linguistics concentrates on semantics and syntax in the Indonesian language (especially time and aspect), and since a few years on the Lamaholot language (Eastern Flores). Philippe Grangé may be contacted at: pgrange@univ-lr.fr.

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Firstly, after a review of basic definitions of aspect and modality, I will survey the syntactic and semantic oppositions between *sudah* and *telah*. Secondly, I will deal especially with *sudah*, the most frequent aspect/modality marker, the most complex too. Then I will compare it to *telah*. The last section deals with *pernah* and *sempat*, whose differences lay in their modal meanings as well.

1 A SHORT DEFINITION OF ASPECT AND MODALITY

First of all, aspect markers are not to be confused with the adjuncts of time (in Sneddon’s terminology, Sneddon 1996). Adjuncts of time encompass dates and deictic adverbs like *kemarin* ‘yesterday’, and their role is to locate the events that we speak about in more or less precise points and spans on the time axis.

Aspect is a point of view on the process itself, independently from of any reference to past, present or future. According to Comrie (1976: 5), “Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation”. Every linguistic representation of an event implies the representation of the time necessary for this event to take place, even if it is not actualized (it may remain virtual). Human language, although approximate in the measuring of time, has a wealth of possibilities to describe whether an event will last or be punctual (a ‘once-off’), if it has reached its completion at the moment of reference, if the boundaries of this event need to be considered, and many more refinements: does it happen several times, is the moment of reference closer to the beginning or to the end of this event, etc. I will mostly rely on the still classical definitions of various verbal aspects, proposed by Comrie (1976).

Indonesian has a rich and complex system of pre-verbal markers, expressing aspect and/or modality. The markers *sudah*, *telah*, *pernah*, and *sempat* that I will discuss are non-deictic: their meaning is independent from the location of an event in time, although they may express the time incidentally, only by default (in other words, when no explicit or contextual indication of time is available). For instance, the perfective aspect marker *pernah* indicates by default that an event is located in the past. However, if associated with *akan* (‘future’), the marker *pernah* is compatible with a virtual, uncompleted process.

An aspect marker does not necessarily produce the same meaning with every verb it marks². The marker *sudah* is particularly complex, as it interacts differently with the verbs, according to their respective type of process (embedded information about their “internal temporal constituency”). I will refer to Vendler’s (1967) widely known classification of verbs although it is too rigid: for a given verb, the type of process may differ dramatically in various contexts. Vendler’s four “time schemata” (verb classes) are “States”, “Activities”, “Accomplishments” and “Achievements”. Verkuyl (1993: 35)

² Including the stative verbs traditionally called *adjektiva* by Indonesian grammarians.
has refined Vendler’s verb classes by applying formal criteria. The distinctive criterion “± Progressive compatible”\textsuperscript{3} tests compatibility with the progressive aspect, for instance in English the \textit{be V-ing} pattern. The criterion “± Definite” tests compatibility with a non-homogeneous bounded time interval. Finally, Vendler’s classes may be represented as in Table 1 (adapted from Verkuyl 1993: 35).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>- Progressive compatible</th>
<th>+ Progressive compatible</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Definite</td>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Definite</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Definite</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Definite</td>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
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</table>

Table 1

There is no consensus among linguists about the distinction between Vendler’s “Achievements” and “Accomplishments” classes; however, this issue is not relevant for our discussion.\textsuperscript{4} It is not easy to pick isolated verbs to illustrate Vendler’s classes, because the type of process finally conveyed by a verb is highly context-dependent. Verbs that usually fit into the “State” verb class include \textit{merah} ‘be red’, \textit{kaya} ‘be rich’, \textit{tahu} ‘know’, \textit{ingin} ‘desire’, \textit{mempunyai} ‘possess’. Verbs whose type of process corresponds to “Activities” include for instance \textit{melihat} ‘look at’, \textit{lari} ‘run’, \textit{mendorong} ‘push’. Examples of “Achievements” are \textit{memetik} ‘pick off’, \textit{meninggal} ‘die’, \textit{mendapatkan} ‘find, obtain’. “Accomplishments” comprise, for example, \textit{melahirkan} ‘give birth’, \textit{membujuk} ‘persuade’, \textit{memperbaiki} ‘repair’.

The Indonesian speakers do not use \textit{sudah} and \textit{telah} indiscriminately; in many cases, the aspectual features of these markers seem insufficient to explain why they are not synonyms. The nuances between these markers may reveal the attitude of the speaker towards his/her utterance, in other words modality. “Modality is the grammaticization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions”, wrote Bybee et al. (1994: 176). For most of the Indonesian pre-verbal markers, modal and aspectual meanings are entangled.

Our semantic terminology will limit itself to the metaterror \textit{notion}. The meaning (\textit{signifie}) of a lexical morpheme can be represented as an area bounded by a frontier. This conceptual area is called a notion, and the language can refer to I (interior of the notion), F (frontier) or E (exterior), see Culioli (1999). The state notions bonded to another notion will be called property. For instance, for the stative verb \textit{kaya} ‘be rich’, I = property /being rich/; E = /not being rich/; while F can be referred to through various devices, like the adverbs \textit{hampir} ‘almost’, \textit{agak} ‘nearly’. In this paper, certain aspectual and modal meanings

\textsuperscript{3} Verkuyl (1993) names this criterion “± Process”. For the sake of terminological consistency with our use of the metaterror \textit{process}, we prefer to label this criterion “± Progressive-compatible”.

\textsuperscript{4} We agree with Verkuyl (1993: 42) who divides “Process” into “States” and “Actions”; then divides “Actions” into “Activities” and “Events”; and finally divides “Events” into “Accomplishments” and “Achievements”.
will be analysed in terms of shifting between I and E.

2 SUĐAH, TELAH: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

Indonesian has around fourteen markers⁵ that express aspect.⁶ These markers enable interpretation of the aspeçtual status of the event: its boundaries, completion, duration, repetition, etcetera. In addition, they may also express modality, a feature that I will discuss in sections 3.2 and 4. We should keep in mind that in Indonesian, an aspect may well be expressed without an aspect marker, like in example (1), as opposed to (2) and (3).

(1) **Tahun lalu, tanah ini dijual.**⁷
   year pass land DET uv-sell
   ‘Last year, this land was sold.’

(2) **Tahun lalu, tanah ini telah dijual.**
   year pass land DET telah uv-sell
   ‘Last year, this land has been sold.’

(3) **Tahun lalu, tanah ini sudah dijual.**
   year pass land DET sudah uv-sell
   ‘Last year, this land was sold already.’ (Or) ‘Last year, this land had already been sold.’

In this section, I will argue that, although the highly frequent markers *suđah* and *telah* seem to be close in meaning, they differ syntactically and semantically.

2.1 ARE SUĐAH AND TELAH SYNONYMS?

There is a propensity to describe the aspect markers *telah* and *suđah* as synonyms, whose choice by the speaker would depend on the speech level or even on idiolectal uses.⁸ This claim appears categorically in Mac Coy (1986: 101): “Because *telah* is the synonym of *suđah*, both of them can be used interchangeably”. This explanation does not hold, as will be shown below. Kaswanti Purwo (1984: 228) regrets that “Traditional grammarians such as Fokker (1951), Mees (1950), Alisjabanan (1954), dealing with the time markers in Indonesian, did not mention the differences between the words

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⁵ A tentative list of aspect (and modal) markers in Indonesian includes *sedang, tengah, lagi; semakin; terus, masih, tetap; sudah, telah; pernah, sempat; belum, akan, bakal* (see Grangé 2006).

⁶ We will not concern ourselves here with affixes such as *ter-, ber-, meN––nya*, that play a role in the expression of aspect.


⁸ See Macdonald and Dardjowidjojo (1967: 162).
telah and sudah”. Alwi (1992: 159) insists that “a specific survey about sudah and telah is still to be done, aimed at a more certain and comprehensive overview, outlining all the semantic, syntactic (and maybe pragmatic) issues”. Other linguists noticed some fundamental differences between sudah and telah, for example Alieva (1991; 2001), Kaswanti Purwo (1984), Abbot (1995), and Tadjuddin (1993; 2005), although their approaches and findings differ.

There is no need to be a linguist to observe that sudah and telah are not so often interchangeable, a piece of evidence that goes against synonymy. Moreover, why should a language possess two different grammatical morphemes, appearing so frequently in speech, if they have the same meaning? Traditional descriptions propose an unsatisfactory account of the nuance between sudah and telah. I will briefly review some of these descriptions.

Speech levels?

A very common opinion is that the use of telah or sudah is linked to the speech level. Macdonald and Dardjowidjojo (1967: 162) wrote: “the premodifier telah also indicates completeness, and is parallel in meaning to sudah, from which it differs chiefly by being more formal. It is therefore more commonly found in written and formal spoken material; some authors prefer telah, others sudah, others use both in the same text, seemingly interchangeably”. Sneddon (1996: 198) asserts that “The difference between the two is in register; telah is almost entirely confined to writing and very formal speech, while sudah occurs in all registers from informal speech to the most formal styles”.

In my corpus from the Indonesian press (belonging to the formal speech level), I found 99 occurrences of telah and 154 occurrences of sudah. One could have expected the opposite. Unfortunately I could not compare this with any oral or informal corpus, where sudah could be even more frequent. Anyhow, the source of this opposition between the two markers is not primarily a matter of speech level. Sneddon’s remark may be true, but the fact that telah is confined to written/formal speech seems to be a consequence of its aspectual and modal features, which are likely to occur in written materials. On the other hand, sudah frequently appears when speaking of everyday life and involving the persons present, therefore often within an informal speech level, once again because of its aspectual (and modal) features.

Long gone versus recent?

Abbot (1995: 67-68) writes that:

In the ‘sudah’ marked sentences, the time frame is shorter, sometimes a matter of years,
but more commonly a matter of hours or minutes. In ‘telah’ marked sentences, the time frame is nearly eternal. Although it is conceivable that these could be subjective (e.g. although the story time advances only ten minutes, these ten minutes seem like an eternity), a very consistent pattern emerges. ‘Sudah’ is always used with relatively shorter periods of time, and ‘telah’ is always used with much longer periods of time.

This assertion goes against evidence of the data. A geologist may well use sudah when recounting the rising of a mountain millions of years ago. A spokesman will use telah when informing the public of a death that just occurred. Again, the illusory opposition between telah ‘long gone’ and sudah ‘recent’ originates from their respective frequency in various types of discourse. When reporting topics that concern the speaker himself, mostly involving events that happened recently, sudah is more likely to occur. Still, this is a probability, not a rule.

It would take too long to examine other proposed analyses of telah versus sudah here: “marks durative verbs/marks non-durative verbs” or “foregrounded event/backgrounded event”. Although one could find a general trend, once again linked to the type of discourse, so many counter-examples may arise that no general rule will emerge from this kind of alignment, see Grangé (2006: 193-197).

According to Gonda (1973: 565), the morpheme sudah “originates in Sanskrit śuddha- […] ‘cleared, pure etc.’ in the sense of ‘acquitted, complete’”. In Malay/Indonesian, the meaning of sudah still echoes the original sense of ‘complete, done’, yet it is more complex and polyvalent. However, the opposition between sudah and telah is not only of a semantic nature. A quick look at the syntax may provide a preliminary account of their differences.

2.2 Syntactic overview of sudah versus telah
Recalling its predicative origin, sudah (unlike telah) can be completed by a few adverbs such as saja ‘only, just’ and can be used predicatively, in dialogues 4, relative phrases 5, interrogative 6 or emphatic sentences 7. Sudah can also undergo extraction/fronting movement 8, and extraction/backing movement 9:

(4) Jangan lupa membayar rekening listrik! — Sudah./*Telah.
   imper-NEG forget pay invoice electricity — sudah/*telah
   ‘Don’t forget to pay the electricity bill! – Done.’

(5) Apakah kali ini juga akan sama seperti tahun-tahun yang sudah?/*telah?
   interr time det too will same like year-red rel sudah /*telah
   ‘Will it be like the previous years again this time?’
(6) Sudahkah/*Telahkah keluarga Anda terproteksi secara finansial?
   *sudah interr/*telah interr family 2pl. protected manner financial
   ‘Is your family already financially protected?’

(7) Ah, sudahlah/*telahlah, kok jadi cengeng gini!
   *Ah sudah emph/*telah emph why become be whining alike
   ‘Ah, stop it, why are you moaning like this?’

(8) Sudah/*telah sepuluh tahun kami menikah.
   *Sudah/*telah ten years 1pl. marry
   ‘We have already been married for ten years.’

(9) Perjalanan yang melelahkan itu berakhir sudah/*telah.\textsuperscript{11}
   Journey rel tiring det finish sudah/*telah
   ‘This exhausting journey is finally over.’

It may be quite a recent evolution of Indonesian that allows the use of *telah
followed by a clause indicating a time span, for instance:

(10) Ia telah sepuluh tahun bekerja sebagai penjual mobil.
    *3sg sudah/*telah ten year work as salesman car
    ‘He has been working as a car salesman for ten years.’

I could not find any example of this structure earlier than the mid-nineteenth
century in the corpus of the Malay Concordance Project by Proudfoot (2002).
However, this use of *telah remains barred when the sentence is negative:

(11) Ia sudah/*telah sepuluh tahun tidak bekerja.
    *3sg sudah/*telah ten years neg work
    ‘He has not worked for ten years.’

Another striking recent evolution of Indonesian is the possibility for *telah
to mark stative verbs (adjektiva in the traditional terminology). Although Tadjuddin
(1993: 184) expresses “the feeling that *telah is seemingly taboo with adjektiva,”\textsuperscript{12}
one can find many examples of *telah + stative verb, like *telah kaya ‘already rich’.
Kaswanti Purwo (1984: 233) noticed three occurrences only of this pattern: *telah
sepi ‘became quiet’, *telah ramai ‘became noisy/crowded’, and *telah lama ‘for a
long time’.\textsuperscript{13} Nevertheless, many more examples can be gathered of stative
\textsuperscript{11} This example is quoted formal Alwi (1992: 158).
\textsuperscript{12} “kesan bahwa *telah seolah-olah tabu bergabung dengan adjektiva”, Tadjuddin (1993: 184).
\textsuperscript{13} We do not believe that *lama ‘time, lengthy’ should be labelled as a stative verb here,
verbs marked by *telah*, and there are in fact few exceptions. From the list of 519 *ajektiva* (stative verbs) from Kridalaksana (1986: 57-60), I found only 25 that conflict with *telah* because they express permanent states, for example, *ajaib* ‘be magical’, non-reversible states for example *muda* ‘be young’, or states whose complementary antonym is not reversible, for example, *mentah* ‘be raw’, *asli* ‘be original, authentic’ (their antonyms, respectively *matang* ‘cooked, ripe’ and *palsu* ‘fake’, refer to non-reversible states).

This syntactic constraint is obviously determined by semantic features, and may be described in more formal terms. When a stative verb is marked by *telah*, the speaker refers to the interior of the notion (I). The aspect marker *telah* indicates that something did not have this property (it was at E) then gained this property (and it is at I at the moment of reference). However, the possibility of a further shift from I to E is also a condition for using *telah*, hence the following rules:

- If a state is logically permanent, for instance *ajaib* ‘magical’, or non-reversible, as *manis* ‘sweet’, no shift from I to E (‘not magical’ or ‘not sweet’) is conceivable, thus the use of *telah* is barred.
- If a state is one-way reversible, as *mentah* ‘raw’, a shift from I to E ‘not raw = cooked’ is perfectly possible, but a further shift from E to I is logically inconceivable (from ‘cooked’ to ‘raw’), which forbids the use of *telah*.
- If a state is two-ways reversible, that is to say if shifts from I to E and from E to I are logically possible, then this stative verb can be marked by *telah*.

To sum up, *telah* is not acceptable if a shift is logically impossible from E to I and/or from I to E. Unsurprisingly, the negative form blocks the use of *telah* with stative verbs referring to a non-reversible state: *telah tidak busuk* ‘has become not rotten’ is logically impossible, while one may say *telah tidak segar* because *telah lama* is always followed by a verb, for example, *Dia telah lama bekerja* ‘He has been working for a long time’. Thus we could not find the sentence ‘*Dia telah lama isolated*. In *Dia telah lama bekerja* the morpheme *lama* is employed as an adverb.

Our survey through an Internet browser (2006) reveals that a few stative verbs from the list by Kridalaksana (1986: 57-60) are never marked by *telah* (but possibly by *sudah*): *mentah* ‘raw’, *curam* ‘steep’, *(ber)bahaya* ‘dangerous’, *mustahil* ‘impossible’, *aneh* ‘bizarre’, *asli* ‘original, authentic’, *unik* ‘unique’, *antik* ‘antique’, *istimewa* ‘special’, *kecil* ‘small’, *jelek* ‘awful’, *muda* ‘young’, *cemberut* ‘grumpy, shirty’, *genit* ‘showy, flashy’, *lucu* ‘funny’, *anggun* ‘smart, stylish’, *ganteng* ‘virile’, *manis* ‘sweet’, *cantik* ‘cute, pretty’ (but *telah cantik* ‘pretty now, became pretty’ can be said about a building), *sakti* ‘holy’, *agung* ‘sacred, supreme’, *ajaib* ‘magic’, *angker* ‘haunted’. The string *telah susah* + verb can be found, but in this context *sudah* ‘with difficulties’ must be considered as an adverb, not a stative verb. The same remark applies to *malas* ‘lazy’. Contemporary Malay (*bahasa Malaysia*) seems more liberal in using *telah* + stative verbs, but we did not survey this particular dialectal disparity.

None of the stative verbs incompatible with the aspect marker *telah* can be derived with *ketidak* --an *NEG-- ess* to form a noun. For instance, *telah puas* ‘satisfied now’ is acceptable, and we can form *ketidakpuasan* ‘dissatisfaction’. On the other hand, *telah muda* ‘young now, became young’ is logically impossible (except in special contexts, like fairy tales or science-fiction), thus it is unlikely to form *ketidakmudaan* ‘unyoungness’. This feature could be used as an asymmetric test: if we can form a noun with the pattern *ketidak*-(stative verb)-an, then this stative verb can be marked by the aspect marker *telah*. However, the reverse test does not apply.
‘has become not fresh’.

Other states will be interpreted as one-way reversible in a less obvious manner. For instance, *telah tidak sehat ‘has become not healthy’ versus *telah tidak sakit ‘has become not ill’ leads to interpret that one can switch only from ‘not healthy’ to ‘not ill’. This rule has no logical grounds, having more to do with pragmatics. Such is the case with *telah tidak jujur ‘has become not loyal’ versus *telah tidak licik ‘has become not tricky’, where the cheating behaviour is supposedly sticking to someone’s personality, therefore being ‘not loyal’ is assumed not reversible (or in more simple terms: ‘being tricky’ is everlasting).

A number of stative verbs are not compatible with *telah at the negative form only (beside the stative verbs never compatible with *telah, see footnote 14). This category mostly includes verbs bearing a gradable meaning, such as asyik ‘pleasant’, enak ‘delicious’, mahal ‘expensive’, murah ‘cheap’, tinggi ‘high’, besar ‘big’, kecil ‘small’, that do not imply a binary choice between I and E.

Unlike *sudah which can mark virtually all verbs, *telah is compatible with only a few intransitive dynamic verbs, for instance *telah hidup ‘has lived’, denominal intransitive verbs prefixed by ber- as in *telah berkeluarga ‘has married’ or even transitive verbs with a stative inherent aspect, for example *telah mempunyai ‘already owns, has acquired’. Besides, *telah cannot mark a noun used as a stative verb:

(12) Anaknya sudah/*telah mahasiswa.

child-3sG  sudah/*telah  student

‘His/her child is already a student.’

Finally, we found many examples of coordinations between the markers *sudah and *telah. Obviously, the speakers do not consider this pattern as a redundancy. It leads us to believe that, at least in some contexts, these markers do not express the same aspect or modality.

(13) Berbagai persoalan yang sudah dan telah berlangsung di negeri ini.

some  problem  rel  sudah  and  telah  take place  in country  det

‘Some problems that did and have taken place in this country.’

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16 The stative verbs jujur ‘loyal’ and licik ‘tricky’ are compatible with *sudah at the negative and affirmative forms, and with *telah at the affirmative form. Another example is *telah tidak miskin ‘has become not poor’ as opposed to *telah tidak kaya ‘has become not rich’, while *telah miskin ‘has become poor’ and *telah kaya ‘has become rich’ are correct. There is no logical grounds to reject the idea that one would never switch from ‘not rich’, thus the rule applying here rests on pragmatics.

17 With various linguistic devices, such as the adverbs agak ‘nearly’ or cukup ‘enough’, the meaning may be neither I or E, but F (the frontier of the notion), see Culioli (1999).
Apa yang telah dan sudah dia lalui dalam usia ini?

‘Given his age, what trials has he been through?’

The syntactic constraints distinguishing sudah from telah are significant, although they sometimes overlap. Sudah can always replace telah and produce well formed sentences, but the opposite is not true. Given these syntactic constraints, it is doubtful that sudah and telah are perfect synonyms. There may be a recent trend in Indonesian consisting in the use of telah in structures analogous to those where sudah is commonly found, especially with stative verbs. However, the incompatibility of telah with some stative verbs in the negative form, or with semantically non-reversible stative verbs, remains strong. I will now examine in more detail these markers with regard to their aspectual and modal meaning.

3 Sudah: A Wealth of Meanings

Sudah is the most frequent aspect and modality marker in Indonesian. Like many frequent and familiar grammatical morphemes, its semantic substance is complex, and deserves a description in two parts: firstly, the aspect, secondly, the modality. This approach is somewhat artificial, because aspect and modality meaning are in fact combined in sudah.

3.1 Aspectual Value of Sudah

As opposed to telah, the marker sudah emphasises the resulting state (the consequences of the process) rather than the event itself. Sudah indicates a process of change or an event, followed by a resulting state, whether the subject is animate or not. Such process of change may be either explicit:

(15) Iwan sudah membeli mobil.
    Iwan sudah buy car
    ‘Iwan has bought a car.’

or implicit:

(16) Anaknya sudah mahasiswa/ kaya.
    child-3sg sudah student/be rich
    ‘His/her child is already a student/is already rich.’

In example (15), the resulting state is implicit: Iwan is supposed to still own
his car at the moment of reference. In (16), the state is explicit: his/her child is a student or is rich already, while the process of change remains implicit: the speaker does not explain how this child enrolled as a student or became rich. Therefore this state cannot be labelled as a resulting state.

Anyhow, in (16), sudah means that a shift has happened from E ‘be not rich’ to I ‘be rich’, but excludes any further shift from I to E. So I is asserted as true at the moment of reference. In other terms, sudah specifies that the property gained (the resulting state) remains valid at the moment of reference (whether it coincides or not with the moment of speech). For this reason, the following example is not acceptable.

(17) *Saya sudah kaya dan sekarang saya miskin.

1sg sudah be rich and now 1sg be poor

*I am already rich and now I am poor.’

In (17), the two properties ‘being poor’ (resulting state) and ‘being rich’ (current state) are logically incompatible, since the property ‘be rich’, I and E cannot be true at the same time. This sentence could regain acceptability by adding that ‘at a certain period I was already rich, then I fell poor’. Specifying distinct moments of reference for the processes sudah kaya and miskin would make this statement logically consistent.

‘Sudah’ seen through Vendler’s time schemata

The marker sudah interacts distinctly with the predicates, according to their inherent aspect. We will examine the various interactions of sudah with verbs that fit into Vendler’s time schemata, although this classification lacks ‘context-sensitivity’.

When sudah marks a dynamic verb as in Es sudah mencair ‘The ice has melted’ (‘Accomplishment’ in Vendler’s terminology) or Balon sudah meletus ‘The balloon has popped’ (‘Achievement’), a perfect aspect is actually conferred to the verb. There is indeed a resulting state: at the moment of reference, we consider a puddle of water or a burst balloon. In this case, with respect to Comrie’s distinction between Perfective and Perfect, I will tentatively label this aspect indicated by sudah as the “Perfect of result”.

For this reason, sudah may mark a stative verb in the negative form. As opposed to telah, with sudah, if the property is E, it remains E at the moment of reference. E is asserted true and no further shift to an inconceivable ‘exterior of E’ is possible.

According to Comrie (1976: 62) there is a “tendency to confuse perfect and perfective. The perfect links a present state to a past situation, whether this past situation was an individual event, or a state, or a process not yet completed […]” while (p. 21) “perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation […] subsumed as a single whole”. Of course, in Indonesian there are no tenses, thus no perfect tenses equivalent to the English ones.

This label is inspired by Comrie (1976: 56-58) describing the ‘Perfect of result’: “a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation.” The last example of his section about the ‘perfect of result’ concerns the Mandarin Chinese particle -le, and could fit
For some verbs labelled “Activities” in Vendler’s terminology, the aspect marked by *sudah* is less clear-cut. Depending on the context, the aspect of *sudah* + *bekerja* “work” may be understood as stative (18), as perfect of result (19), or as ingressive (20):

(18) *Iwan sudah bekerja, dia guru.*

*Iwan sudah work 3SG teacher*

‘Iwan works already, he is a teacher.’

(19) *Iwan sudah bekerja, dia cepat-cepat pulang.*

*Iwan sudah work 3SG quick-red come back*

‘Iwan has worked, he quickly comes back home.’

(20) *Iwan sudah bekerja, dia di depan komputernya.*

*Iwan sudah work 3SG at front computer-3SG*

‘Iwan has started to work, he is in front of his computer.’

Only when the predicate is truly an “activity” (- Definite, + Progressive compatible), as in example (20), will I label the aspect conferred by *sudah* as “Ingressive”. It means that from E (for instance, ‘not working’) there has been a shift to I (‘working’), which is still valid at the moment of reference. Of course, the introduction of definiteness will exclude the ingressive aspect. For instance in *Iwan sudah bekerja selama tiga jam* ‘Iwan has worked for three hours’ or *Iwan sudah bekerja dan berhenti bekerja* ‘Iwan has worked and stopped working’, the aspect of the predicate *bekerja* ‘work’ is a perfect of result.

When *sudah* marks a stative verb (“States” in Vendler’s classes), the context can shape two very different aspectual meanings. Firstly, as in example 16, nothing is said about the implicit event that made someone rich or a student. Only the present situation (at the moment of reference) is exposed. The state

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22 This is a serious weakness in Vendler’s time schemata, that are supposedly pegged to the verbs. In reality, the context will determine whether for instance to *work* is an “Activity” or a “State”.

23 Tadjuddin (1993: 174-175, 183) believes that *sudah* endows “nonstatif” (non-state) verbs with two aspects: *keingresifan* ( ingressivity or inceptivity) and *kekompletifan* (completion). In Tadjuddin’s terminology, *keingresifan* means “situation whose beginning and continuation forms a whole, or in other words, a situation that stresses its beginning and also its further realization.” (p. 174, our translation). Comrie (1976: 20) proposes that the ingressive aspect is produced by the perfective applied to a state: “there is some functional value in utilising the perfective forms of stative verbs to denote the event of entry into the appropriate state, since otherwise there would be little use for the perfective forms of these verbs, but such an explanation is at present speculative”. 

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marked by *sudah* does not appear as a resulting state, because no implicit event can be inferred as the cause of this state. We interpret that there has been a shift from E to I; this aspect can be labelled “Ingressive”, as it indicates that something has reached a property and still owns it at the moment of reference. This shift is aligned on a time axis: “before” we had E, “now” we have I. As an alternative, in the negative form, a shift from I to E is conveyed.

Secondly, there are plenty of occurrences of *sudah* + stative verb where the shift from E to I has nothing to do with the time axis:

(21)  *Padahal[,] [...] upah buruh Indonesia sudah murah dibandingkan*  
nevertheless salary worker Indonesia *sudah* be cheap compared  
dengan *upah buruh di negara lain.*  
with salary workers in country other  
‘Nevertheless, the Indonesian workers’ salaries are still cheap compared to those in other countries.’

In example (21), it is doubtful that, at an initial state, the worker’s salaries were “not cheap”; one could hardly see “Ingressivity” here. In fact, *sudah* does not mark any aspect here, and if *sudah* were erased, the aspect of the predicate *murah* ‘be cheap’ would be left unmodified. Here, it seems that the typical role of *sudah* in the time dimension is in some ways metaphorically transposed to another dimension, the subjectivity of the speaker, that I will further examine.

### 3.2 Modal Value of *Sudah*

In contrast to *telah*, *sudah* reveals the speaker’s subjectivity. This modal feature is entangled with the aspect meanings described above, or occurs without them. *Sudah* means that the resulting state was, in some ways, expected by the speaker.\(^4\) Compare:

(22)  *Om Parsikom telah jatuh dari pohon.*  
Uncle Parsikom telah fall from tree  
‘Uncle Parsikom fell from a tree.’

(23)  *Om Parsikom sudah jatuh dari pohon.*  
Uncle Parsikom sudah fall from tree  
‘Uncle Parsikom has already fallen from a tree.’

In sentence (22), the event is fully asserted and the speaker seems neutral (even if the falling of Om Parsikom has something final about it and may have been fatal). But (23) seems bizarre, as if the speaker had expected this accident

\(^{24}\) We are grateful to Alan Stevens and Bernd Nothofer for this remark.
as something unavoidable, or wished for, or even premeditated. This modal feature of *sudah* is its most obvious difference from *telah*.

(24) *Semua persyaratan yang telah ditetapkan sudah dipenuhi.*  
All conditions _rel* *telah* stipulated _sudah* fulfilled  
‘All the conditions that were stipulated have been fulfilled.’

In example (24), the process of ‘stipulating the conditions’ is fully asserted (*telah ditetapkan*) with no manifestation of subjectivity, while the resulting state ‘conditions fulfilled’ seems expected or presumed by the speaker (*sudah dipenuhi*).

In (25), the perfect aspect does not apply to any process within the referential situation itself, because there is no evidence of an initial state where things were not yet or not truly *bagus* ‘good’.

(25) *Separuh saja sudah bagus!*  
one-half only _sudah* be good  
‘One half only is already good/is good enough!’

*Sudah* is often used in such concessive structures, and the traces of perfect aspect, if any, pertain to the rhetoric activity of the speaker and testify to an epistemic modality. Whether a verb marked by *sudah* retains the perfect of result aspect or not is often subtle and context-dependent.

(26) *Iwan sudah kaya, karena bekerja keras.*  
3sg _sudah* be rich because work hard  
‘He is already rich (he became rich) because he worked hard.’

(27) *Agus sudah kaya, mau apa lagi?*  
3sg _sudah* be rich want what again  
‘He is already rich, what more does he want?’

In (26), *sudah kaya* implies that there was an initial state where Iwan was not rich (E), then at an unspecified moment or stretch of time, a process made a rich man of him (I). According to the speaker, a boundary (from E to I) has been crossed: the subject has reached the property ‘be rich’. The drawing of this boundary is of course highly subjective. However, here *sudah* expresses an ingressive aspect. But in (27), Agus may never have been poor, because *sudah* signals only the speaker’s subjectivity: Agus enjoys a certain level of wealth that should fulfil all his needs and wishes. This usage of *sudah* is very common in the argumentative register. Any argumentation has to take into account the contradictory claim. Example (27) can be paraphrased as ‘someone (maybe Agus himself) may believe that Agus is not rich (E), but the speaker
asserts that E is untrue, and that I is true”. The opponent’s belief is rejected, the speaker’s opinion is asserted. In other terms, the speaker argues that E is not virtual anymore, it is ruled out, and I is not virtual anymore, it is actual.25. No aspect is meant by sudah here, because this shift from E to I is independent from the time axis, thus purely modal.

Some stative verb antonyms are supposedly non-reversible, as for muda ‘young’ (nothing can normally shift from E ‘be old’ to I ‘be young’). However, the modal sudah can mark this stative verb, because the time axis is not taken into account:

(28)  Menikah pada usia 18, sudah muda. Apalagi umur 15!
    Marry at age 18 sudah be young furthermore age 15
    ‘To marry at 18 is already young. Not to mention at 15!’

In its purely modal usage, sudah often marks gradable stative verbs. For instance, with kaya ‘be rich’, the speaker draws a subjective boundary between what he considers as I ‘be rich’ and E ‘be not rich’. Note that on a gradable notion, I is always superior to E. The speaker asserts that something has ‘a higher degree than presumable / suitable’ on a scale. In (28), the speaker argues that the age of 15, or and even the age of 18, is younger than the suitable age for marrying.26

Obviously, disagreements about the boundary between I and E will occur, and these different understandings will be revealed by the use of the modal sudah. This marker generally entails a valuation (a speaker’s moral judgement). Depending on the context, it may lead to a negative valuation, see (27), or a positive one, see (25). Modality is always more or less present in the meaning of sudah, even with the perfect of result. We may paraphrase example (23) sudah jatuh ‘already fell’ as: “the addressee believed that uncle Parsikom would not fall, contrary to the speaker’s prediction. Then the speaker asserts that the uncle in accordance with his prediction did fall.” We see E ‘not fall’ rejected and I ‘fall’ actualized. This is why besides the perfect of result aspect, sudah always indicates that the speaker expects the event that actually happens.27

In that sense, the modal use of sudah is a metaphor of its aspectual use, pegged to the time axis. The universal modal feature of sudah is the crossing of a boundary28 from E to I, whenever I is asserted to be the actual property at the moment of reference and E (assumed to be the addressee’s opinion) is rejected. The modality expressed by sudah is in fact a wealth of complex

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25 This structure will be reversed at the negative form: sudah tidak kaya ‘yet not rich’. E (be not rich) is actual, and I (be rich) is ruled out.
26 Another expressive example, gathered on a blog: Dia sudah muda, sombong, bodoh pula!
   ‘He is yet young, arrogant, stupid on top of that !’
27 This is applicable to declarative sentences, while the interrogative or negative modalities may interfere with this overstepping feature.
28 In other languages too, some morphemes mean crossing a border in terms of time as well as in terms of the acquisition of properties: English already, yet, French déjà (que).
and subtle modalities. I propose a broad label for the modality conveyed by *sudah*: “expected”. Finally, we should keep in mind that when *sudah* marks stative verbs, there may be no aspect at all, but only a modality, that I will label “valuation”.

### 4 Aspectual and Modal Value of *Telah*

When marking a stative verb, *telah* expresses the same ingressive aspect as *sudah* in example (26). The difference between these markers relies upon the expression or silencing of the modality. With *telah*, the speaker intends to show his objectivity, not subjectivity. He exhibits a “neutral” attitude, and does not take into account any possible objection to his assertion. The neutral feature of *telah* can be illustrated by its weak probability of occurring along with a modal adverb like *untung* ‘fortunately’:


‘Fortunately they have left.’

*Telah* has a modal meaning of assertion according to Alieva et al. (1991: 382). This enables us to differentiate *telah* or *sudah* marking a stative verb, for example, *telah kaya* ‘has become rich’, from *sudah kaya* ‘already rich’ or ‘rich enough, more rich than one would expect’. In short, *telah* expresses no modality, but purely aspect.

(30) *Harimau Jawa* *telah* punah.

‘The Java tiger is extinct.’

(31) *Kadin* *telah* mempunyai *Biro Pelayanan*.

‘The Chamber of Commerce has got a Services Office.’

The choice of *sudah* in example (30) would indicate that the extinction of the Java tiger was expected (predicted, wished for, or worried about) by the speaker. Instead, *telah* indicates only an ingressive aspect, from E “be not extinct” to I “be extinct”, a property that still holds at the moment of reference.

With verbs other than stative verbs, *telah* expresses a perfect aspect (not

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29 This speaker’s “neutral” attitude could be the reason why the aspectual marker *telah* “is almost entirely confined to writing and very formal speech” (Sneddon 1996:198). In formal speech or writing, we often touch on phenomena that happen outside our immediate experience, therefore *telah* is relatively more frequent than *sudah*.

perfective, see note 20). It is basically similar to sudah, but telah never leads to an ingressive aspect interpretation\(^{31}\) as sudah does in example (33).

(32)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Dewi telah tidur di kamar saya.} \\
\text{Dewi telah sleep at room 1sg}
\end{align*}

‘Dewi has slept in my bedroom.’ (she is not sleeping now)

(33)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Dewi sudah tidur di kamar saya.} \\
\text{Dewi sudah sleep at room 1sg}
\end{align*}

‘Dewi is already sleeping in my bedroom.’ (she is still sleeping now)
o\:or: ‘Dewi generally sleeps in my bedroom now.’ (she is still used to)

In other terms, marking a dynamic verb (Activity, Accomplishment or Achievement) with telah always indicates a perfect aspect. This is not a perfective aspect, because telah constructs an uninterrupted interval between the event and the moment of reference, which cannot be embedded with other events in the meantime. The coordinative structure telah \(V\) dan (telah) \(V\) ‘has \(V\) and has \(V\)’, never shows any overlap between the events, for example telah dikirim dan (telah) diterima ‘has been sent and received’. Even if an adverb indicates that an action occurred several times, it is seen as a whole, a single event in its entirety:

(34)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Peraturan permainan catur telah beberapa kali mengalami perubahan.} \\
\text{rules play chess telah several times experience change}
\end{align*}

‘The rules of chess have several times been subject to change.’

In (34), the “changes in the rules of chess” are considered as one single limited event. Moreover, the perfect expressed by telah cannot be labelled “Perfect of result”. Unlike sudah, with telah the process seems disjointed from the immediate experience of the speaker, who does not present himself as a witness of the event that he narrates. This is the reason why it is unlikely to find telah along with a “time adjunct” linking it to a recent point in time:

(35)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Iwan telah pergi.} \\
\text{Iwan telah leave}
\end{align*}

‘Iwan has left.’

\(^{31}\) Tadjuddin (1993) proposes a sub-class of the stative verbs, namely the “verba statis”. This sub-class encompasses verbs that need “energy”, although they are semantically close to the “states”, while remaining somehow dynamic. Verbs expressing a position, for example, duduk ‘to sit’, tidur ‘to sleep’ and verbs of perception, for example lihat ‘to look at’ are labelled by Tadjuddin as verba statis. Marking a verba statis, sudah indicates the ingressive aspect, and telah indicates the perfect aspect.
Sentence (36) sounds strange because the resulting state of such a recent event should lead to some consequences at the moment of speech, for the subject and/or the speaker. But with *telah* the predicate describes a “stand alone” event, denying that its resulting state would be relevant as the direct cause of other events. As a substitute to *telah* in (36), the marker *sudah* would be perfectly acceptable, the speaker assuming that the “addressee” may presume that Iwan is still here.32 This feature of *telah* has a pragmatic consequence in discourse analysis: *telah* is more frequent than *sudah* when dealing with “old” events. This is a consequence, but not a cause, of the aspectual and modal difference between these two markers, see 2.1 above (*Long gone versus recent?).

It is also unlikely to find *telah* within a verbal clause that stands for the cause of further events. This remark is consistent with the fact that *telah* does not foreground any resulting state. A query on internet33 shows that in the structures *telah* V followed by maka ‘so, thus’, sehingga ‘so … that’, akibatnya ‘in consequence’, the verb marked by *telah* is either stative or in the passive voice (*di-* or *ter*-), which supports the claim that a verb marked by *telah* is usually not causal and that any consequence clause which may follow ensues from the preceding sentence or paragraph in its entirety. Furthermore, in sentences where *telah* V is followed by karena ‘because’, the grammatical subject acts almost always as undergoer. These two remarks lead one to suppose that a verb marked by *telah* may stand for the consequence of the preceding process, but cannot represent the direct cause of a forthcoming process.

On the other hand, choosing the marker *sudah* will foreground the resulting state, thus possibly expressing the cause of a forthcoming process. This statement ensues from a rough “discourse analysis” approach rather than a literal examination of extended data, but it seems relevant for a better understanding of these aspectual nuances. Table 2 sums up the modal and aspectual meanings conveyed by *sudah* and *telah*.

I will now turn to two other aspect/modality markers, that are certainly not as frequent as *sudah* and *telah*, but close in meaning.

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32 To analyse this example in more formal terms: with *sudah*, we have I “to leave” and E “to stay”, the speaker actualizes I and rejects E. With *telah*, only I is actualized.
33 Through the browser Google, in May 2006, with the following criteria: language “Indonesian”, search strings (*telah* * maka*), (*telah* * sehingga*), (*telah* * akibatnya*) and (*telah* * karena*) successively. The wildcard asterisk harvests any word, not only verbs. Only the first 100 occurrences from each query were checked.
5 More aspect markers: pernah and sempat
These two markers, although less frequent than sudah and telah, are often heard when one has to report amazing anecdotes and personal experiences. Pernah and sempat have often been classified as synonyms, which is not the case.

5.1 Aspectual and modal meaning of pernah
Sneddon (1996: 199) notes that pernah “cannot be used of recent events”. This is again a consequence in discourse of the aspectual meaning of this marker.

(37) Saya pernah mendaki gunung Slamet.
    1sg pernah climb mount Slamet.
    ‘I once climbed Mount Slamet.’

As with telah, with pernah the event is seen as whole, taking place within a single and homogeneous span, whatever its duration.
Agus pernah merokok selama dua tahun.

‘Agus once smoked for two years.’

Saya pernah mendaki Gunung Slamet setiap minggu selama setahun.

‘I once climbed Mount Slamet every week for a year.’

The prepositional phrases selama dua tahun ‘for two years’ or setiap minggu ‘every week’ are transformed into a single interval of time by pernah, thus the experience reported is seen as a whole.

A syntactic feature of pernah may be worth mentioning. When pernah marks a transitive verb, and the object is not a proper noun, this object should be indefinite. The reason is that the experience concerns any element of a category. For instance, in reporting the experience of eating a durian, we focus on the event itself, not on which durian we ate. Thus example (41a) is hardly acceptable.\(^{34}\)

a. Saya pernah makan durian.

‘I happened to eat durian.’

b. Saya sudah makan durian.

‘I have eaten some durian.’

Pernah is compatible with non-permanent states, indicating their reversion: Agus pernah kaya/marah ‘Agus was (once) rich/angry’ implies that he is not rich/angry any more at the moment of reference, thus there is a shift from I to E. Pernah is obviously incompatible with permanent or non-reversible states: *Agus pernah tua *’Agus was old once’.\(^{35}\) It is notable that pernah is also not compatible with an anchoring in time,\(^{36}\) that is, a date:

34 One can always imagine contexts where this sentence is possible, for instance if a durian lover (like the author of this article) is able to differentiate varieties of durian, from Thailand, from Sumatra, etcetera. It is also possible to say saya pernah melihat orang itu ‘I happened to see this person’, in this case the indefinite feature does not concern the grammatical object (referring to the person we are talking about), but the opportunities of seeing someone.

35 Except if we imagine a peculiar context where Iwan is an actor, and played once the role of an old character.

36 We mean a point on the time axis, not an intervall. This constraint evokes the perfect in English: “the perfect in English signals a non-specific event. Thus the perfect is incompatible with a temporal adverb that refers to a specific point in time: ‘I have been to Japan in 1963’ (Bybee et al. 1994: 318).
(42) *Pada tanggal 10 Agustus, saya pernah mendaki Gunung Slamet.
   At date 10 August, 1sg pernah climb Mount Slamet
   *‘On the 10th of August, I once climbed Mount Slamet.’

It follows that *pernah* marks a subset of the perfective aspect: the semelfactive aspect. In other terms, it signals that a completed event happened once only for the subject. The modal meaning is inseparable from this aspect. By using the marker *pernah*, the speaker emphasises the experience gained by the subject more than the process itself.

(43) Ia pernah bekerja di Salim Group sebagai manajer keuangan.
   3sg pernah work at Salim Group as manager financial
   ‘He/she once worked (for some time) at Salim Group as financial manager.’

I mean by experience a property not restricted to knowledge, skills or know-how:

(44) Semasa masih anak-anak, saya pernah tinggal di Jalan Buni.
   When still child-red 1sg pernah live at street Buni
   ‘When I was still a child, I lived (for some time) in Buni Street.’

In (44), the experience gained is simply to “have-lived-at-Buni-street”, and to have kept some memories from this place. When the verb is in the active voice, the experience always affects animate subjects (the only inanimate subject I found on internet[^37] was *Indonesia*, that can reasonably be considered as a personification). I propose to label as “experiential” the modality expressed by *pernah*[^38].

Inanimate subjects can be found with *pernah* mainly in the passive voice:[^39]

[^37]: Through Google, May 2006, query of the word *pernah*, selected language: Indonesian. The search string was (*pernah* -jangan-pernah -apakah-pernah), in order to exclude the ‘noise’ of sentences without subject (imperative jangan pernah V and interrogative apakah pernah V). Only the first 200 occurrences were checked.

[^38]: Bybee et al. (1994: 62) evoke this modality: “the experiential, in which certain qualities or knowledge are attributable to the agent due to past experiences, as in […] Have you ever been to London?” although classifying “experiential” as a “mental aspect”, they give similar examples in Mandarin Chinese, where “the experiential is marked by the suffix -guo in the neutral tone: ni chi-le yúchì méi-you ‘did you eat the shark’s fin?’ versus ni chi-guo yúchì méi-you ‘have you ever eaten (ever had the experience of eating) shark’s fin?’, likewise wo méi qù hen duo guójia ‘I did not visit many countries (during a certain trip or period of time)’ versus wo méi qíguo hen duo guójia ‘I haven’t visited (have never had the experience of visiting) many countries’”.

[^39]: However, inanimate subjects are possible with some verbs marked by *pernah*, for instance *pernah merosot* ‘happen to decrease’, *pernah melonjak* ‘happened to jump’, *pernah mogok* ‘happened to fail’.
Di masa presiden Soeharto, istana ini pernah dipakai sebagai tempat pertemuan kepala negara.

‘At the time of President Soeharto, it happened that this palace was used as a meeting place for heads of states.’

It appears that with *pernah*, an animate subject is always considered as an “undergoer”, more precisely “experiencer”, who receives a new property (even if, in the case of a human subject, he/she was intending to acquire it). On the other hand, if the grammatical subject of the sentence refers to an inanimate, the speaker asserts that the events he witnessed or heard tell of are improbable, therefore providing him or his addressee with a new experience.

*Pernah* often occurs in association with negative or interrogative forms:

Ia tidak pernah ke luar negeri.

‘He has never travelled to foreign countries.’

Apakah Anda pernah melihat kasus demikian?

‘Have you ever seen such a case?’

This feature, linked to discourse analysis, has been noted by Dahl and Hedin (2000: 388): “another significant fact is that experientials cross-linguistically seem to occur particularly often in non-assertive contexts, that is questions, negated statements and the like”. This is also the case for *pernah*. Although in 46 the event did not occur, the speaker has the mental image that it could have occurred and indeed attributes a property to the subject, that we could paraphrase as “not having had the corresponding experience“. In (47) the speaker has a mental picture of the improbability of the case in question to have occurred (whether or not it occurred in reality) and asks his speech partner whether has had the experience of such a case occurring.

In sum, besides the perfective, semelfactive aspect, *pernah* signals the speaker’s subjectivity, expressing an “Experiential” modality gained by the subject (if it is animate) or shared by the speaker (if the subject refers to an inanimate).

5.2 Aspectual and modal of *sempat*

*Sempat* is classified as a “modal” by Sneddon (1996: 201), and translated as “have the opportunity, have the time, be able”. It is true that *sempat* expresses modality (I will come back to this point later). But in addition, *sempat* indicates an aspect; like *pernah*, it signals a perfective, semelfactive aspect.
The modal meaning of *sempat* is close to that of *pernah*, but it signals that the speaker does not focus on the property gained by the subject, but instead on the low probability that such an event happened. For instance, sentence (50) is quoted from the narration of a student’s demonstration. It is forbidden, thus unlikely, to strike the Indonesian flag to show one’s discontent. But the students did.

(50) Mahasiswa juga sempat menurunkan bendera Merah Putih.

‘The student also managed to strike the red-white flag [Indonesian] down.’

The speaker asserts that he had not predicted this event. Besides marking the semelfactive aspect, *sempat* indicates a modality that we could label “unexpected”, as opposed to *sudah*'s “expected” modality. For this reason, *sempat* often occurs in sentences where the subject plays the role of an undergoer (51) and/or is inanimate (52):

(51) Anjelique sempat patah semangat sebab tidak ada yang mendukungnya.

‘Anjelique happened to lose her motivation because nobody was there to support her.’

(52) Pekan lalu rupiah sempat menguat di bawah IDR 9,000/USD.

‘Last week, the Rupiah strengthened (by chance, for a while) to under Rp 9.000 for 1 US$.’

In support of the “unexpected” modality of *sempat*, we notice its incompatibility with modal verbs such as *bisa* ‘can’, *dapat* ‘able to’, *boleh* ‘allowed to’, that is, *sempat bisa/dapat/boleh*.

An occurrence query on the internet generates this overall picture, see Table 3.

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40 Through Google, in May 2003; selected language: Indonesian, limited to domain ‘.id’. The search strings were successively (*telah bisa*), (*telah dapat*), (*telah boleh*), etcetera. The datas
Table 3. Number of occurrences of combinations “marker + modal verb + V” (that is, telah bisa V etcetera).

These results have no statistic validity, and we can ignore the combinations that occur less than ten times. Not surprisingly, it appears that sempat is incompatible with modal verbs which indicates a Deontic modality (obligation or permission) or Dynamic modality (ability or willingness). This testifies to some expectation that the process would be validated; in other words, the “unexpected” modality of sempat excludes any other “expected” modal meaning. On the other hand, telah, which does not express any specific modality and pernah, which expresses only an “experiential” modality, leave room for a modal verb. Sempat indicates the same aspect as pernah, but with a different modal meaning, that I call “unexpected” as opposed to sudah and its “expected” broad modal meaning.

The aspectual and modal meanings of sudah, telah, pernah and sempat can be summarized as in Table 4.

Table 4

6 Conclusion

In Indonesian, a wealth of aspectual and modal meanings can be expressed by about fourteen pre-verbal grammatical morphemes, called “markers”. These aspect markers are distinct from time adjuncts, (although aspect markers can lead in absentia to localization in time). Modality meanings are also conveyed by most of the aspect markers. Languages such as English or
French rely mainly on verbal moods, a system that needs lexical helpers to express numerous aspectual and modal nuances.

In this paper I have examined the aspect markers sudah, telah, pernah and sempat. These morphemes indicate “perfect” aspect (sudah, telah) or “perfective” aspect (pernah, sempat), although nuances must be mentioned: sudah emphasizes the resulting state of a process. Telah is focused on the process itself, rather than on the resulting state. Sudah may convey a “perfect of result” or “ingressive” aspect, or even no aspect at all. Telah indicates a “perfect” or “ingressive” aspect. The nuance between “perfect” and “perfect of result” can be revealed through a discourse analysis approach: with sudah, the “resulting state” is foregrounded, and commonly stands for the cause of another event. The perfective markers pernah and sempat indicate more specifically a semelfactive aspect. A process marked with the semelfactive aspect relates an event as a single occurrence, whatever the duration and homogeneity of this event.

Modality features are essential to achieve a full description of these markers. Sudah and telah are not synonyms, as shown by their distinct syntactic constraints. Moreover, their differences cannot be described only through the analysis of their respective aspectual values. Sudah has a complex modal pattern, that I labelled broadly an “expected” modality. In some contexts, with stative verbs, it does not indicate aspect, but a pure modality, called “valuation” because it exhibits the speaker’s valuation (a judgement in terms of good/bad). Telah displays a full assertion, thus is not loaded with modality, while pernah bears an “experiential” modality and sempat reveals a modality labelled “unexpected”, as opposed to sudah.

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Reliable words
Third person pronouns in Indonesian News Reports

DWI NOVERINI DJENAR

ABSTRACT
This article examines uses of Indonesian third person singular pronouns ia and dia in news reports. It takes as its departure point the general account of the pronouns which specifies that ia can occur only in subject position, while dia can occur in subject or object position. The article shows that, although both pronouns can occur in subject position, they differ distributionally and functionally. Ia occurs almost three times as frequently as dia and predominates in subject position, while dia occurs mostly in non-subject position. Ia is primarily used to convey the notion that the referent is a reliable and authoritative source of information and to focus on the referent as an agent or protagonist who is initiating or performing some action or a series of actions. By contrast, dia tends to be selected for contexts in which the referent is presented as a speaker who is elaborating on what has been said previously rather than introducing a new point. The predominance of ia in news report accords with its characterization as a pronoun strongly associated with formal registers.

KEYWORDS
Third person pronoun, news reports, reported speech, quotatives, rhetorical structure.

This article examines functional differences between two forms of third person

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DWI NOVERINI DJENAR lectures in the Department of Indonesian Studies at the University of Sydney. She gained her MA in Asian Studies from La Trobe University and PhD in linguistics from the University of Melbourne. Novi is the author of Semantic, Pragmatic and Discourse Perspectives of Preposition Use: A Study of Indonesian Locatives (Pacific Linguistics 2007) and A Student’s Guide to Indonesian Grammar (OUP 2003). Her research interests are the interface between spoken and written discourse, person reference, representations of “place” in conversational narrative, and language in literature. Dwi Noverini Djenar may be contacted at: novi.djenar@sydney.edu.au.

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singular pronoun in Standard Indonesian, *ia* and *dia*, both meaning ‘she’ or ‘he’. These pronouns are generally distinguished syntactically according to whether or not they can occur as object in a clause. *ia* can occur in pre-verbal position as subject in an active sentence, as shown in (1), subject of a passive sentence, as in (2), or as agent in passive type two (so-called *pasif semu*; see Cole, Hermon, and Chung 2006), as in (3) (Sneddon 2010: 168-169). In (2) *ia* occurs as subject in passive type one. In this type of passive, the subject precedes the verb (which is prefixed by *di-*) In type two passive, the agent comes before the verb to which no prefix is attached.

**Subject of Active sentence:**

(1) *ia* juga mengajak semua pihak mengambil hikmah
3Sg also AT-urge all party AT-take lesson
dari kesulitan ini.
from difficulty DET

‘He also urged all parties to learn from this problem.’ (*Kompas* 7/1/1998; *ia* referring to President Soeharto).

**Subject of passive type one (*ia* is the surface subject):**

(2) *ia* dimintai pendapat-nya mengenai dekrit itu.
3Sg PT -ask-APP2 opinion-3Sg about decree DET

‘He was asked to give his opinion about the decree.’ (*Kompas* 25/5/2001; *ia* referring to political observer Prof. Dr. Ichlasul Amal from the Gadjah Mada University).

**Agent in passive type two (sejumlah menteri is the surface subject):**

several minister3Sg instruct-APP depart to Aceh, in between-the minister work general Minister inside state and minister health

‘He instructed several ministers to go to Aceh, among whom were the Minister for Public Works, Minister for Internal Affairs, and Minister of Health.’ (*Kompas* 27/4/2004; *ia* referring to Vice president Jusuf Kalla).

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2 For consistency and simplicity, I gloss all suffixes (*-i* and *-kan*) as APP (applicative markers), whether or not the verb to which they are attached is used transitively.

3 Professional titles correspond to the referents’ positions at the time of reporting, not the present. Thus, Jusuf Kalla is written here as Vice-President although he no longer holds that position.
In some written genres *ia* can occur post-verbally, as shown in (4).

(4) **Harus pergikah ia?**
   must go-PRT 3Sg

‘Must s/he go?’ (Standard word order: *Ia harus pergi?*) (Sneddon 2010: 169).

*Ia* can also occur as subject of a complement clause, as in (5).

(5) **Saya menganggap ia bodoh.**
   1Sg consider 3Sg stupid

‘I consider him/her stupid.’ (Sneddon 2010: 169).

However, *ia* cannot occur as object of a prepositional phrase (*‘bersama ia’ ‘with her/him’*) or as possessor (for example, *buku ia ‘her/his book’*) (Purwo 1984: 56). *Dia*, by contrast, does not have these restrictions and can occur in all positions, including as object in active or passive sentences. Historically, *dia* is an inflectional form of *ia* (Sneddon 2010: 169).

Though both *ia* and *dia* can be used for referring to third person singular, *ia* is essentially the property of formal Indonesian, particularly written discourse. It occurs in some types of formal spoken discourse such as sermons (particularly when a speaker quotes from a holy book) and formal speeches. *Ia* is not attested in conversational data presented in Englebretson (2003), Ewing (2005), and Sneddon (2006). The permissibility of both *ia* and *dia* to occur in subject position in formal discourse raises an interesting question. If these pronouns are equally acceptable in this position, what governs the use of one or the other? To explore this question, I examine their occurrences in one type of written discourse in which both pronouns are commonly found, namely, newspaper reports. In front page news reports, *ia* and *dia* are often used to refer to speakers in positions of authority, such as the president, ministers, political observers, and other public figures.

The analysis to be presented is based on a relatively small corpus consisting of 57,093 words from 84 news reports, taken mainly from *Kompas*, with two additional reports from *Suara Merdeka* and *Surabaya Pos*. The reports were published between 1996-2005 and appeared as the *berita utama*, the main news item. All texts are taken from the online version of the newspapers, which means there might be differences with the printed version (these differences are not discussed here). These texts cover an important period within the recent Indonesian history in which the country witnessed a quick succession of five presidencies, beginning with the period shortly prior to the fall of Soeharto in May 1998, to the presidencies of B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati Soekarnoputri, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. This is also an important

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4 These are also called *berita terkini* ‘latest news’ (for example, in *Poskota* newspaper).
transition period toward democratization following over three decades of an authoritarian government under Soeharto. Consequently, the texts make ample references to events during this period and the words and actions of the five presidents. The data was collected as part of a larger project examining patterns of person reference in Indonesian.

A quantitative analysis of the 84 texts reveals that whilst *ia* and *dia* can both occur in subject position, they pattern differently. The difference is most observable when we consider the occurrences of these pronouns in reported speech. *Ia* tends to be selected for referring back to a speaker in clauses of the type “speaker X does/says (that) …” (active sentence, or “agent-trigger” (see Cumming 1991)). In this type of clause, the referent is presented as an agent who is initiating or performing an action and one who is important within the overall structure of the text. That is, the referent is treated as a reliable source of information and an authority of that information. The referent’s words are quoted to render the report newsworthy whether or not that referent holds an important position in society. *Dia*, on the other hand, tends to be used in non-subject position and for contexts in which what the referent says is a continuation of what has been said rather than a new piece of information.

### Third Person Pronominal Reference

The popular definition of the pronoun says that it is a form which stands for or substitutes for a noun or noun phrase (NP) (see for example, Leech and Svartvik 1993[1975]; Greenbaum 1991). According to Wales (1996: 1), the personal pronoun is often considered the prototypical pronoun, in contrast with other subclasses of pronouns, such as the demonstrative, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, relative, interrogative, and indefinite. She also suggests that of the three types of personal pronouns (first, second, and third), the third person can be considered the prototypical pronoun. Her suggestion is based on the consideration that it is the third person pronoun that is generally used to refer back to an NP; that is, it is the pronoun which typically serves an anaphoric referring function. Wales points out that in many discussions of personal pronouns, it is suggested that the motivation for substitution (that is, substituting an NP for a pronoun) is avoidance of repetition. Consider (6a) and (6b) for example (about Babar the elephant, a character in children’s stories written by de Brunhoff; the sentence in (6b) is the original; cited in Wales 1996: 2).

(6a) Babar grew fast. Soon Babar was playing with the other baby elephants. Babar was one of the nicest of them.

(6b) Babar grew fast. Soon he was playing with the other baby elephants. He was one of the nicest of them. (J. de Brunhoff 1991, *The story of Babar*, London: Methuen, pp. 4-5).
A similar example from the Indonesian data is given in (7a). The pronoun *ia* is used to refer to *Gus Dur*, the person known at the time of reporting as chair of one of Indonesia’s largest Islamic organizations, the Nahdlatul Ulama. The first mention of the person (in the first clause) is done with a proper name, while the second mention is with the pronoun *ia*. In this example, it would be awkward to repeat the name in the second clause, as in (7b), because it creates an impression of clumsiness. However, repetition seems acceptable when used for emphasis, as shown in (7c) – a slightly modified version of (7b).

(7a) *Gus Dur* mengatakan, *tidak* memberi usulan soal masalah Ambon, *tetapi* *ia* mengatakan akan pergi ke sana.

‘*Gus Dur* said he would not make any recommendation about the problem in Ambon but said *he* would go there.’ (Kompas 8/3/1999; *ia* referring to *Gus Dur* in his role of Chair of Nahdlatul Ulama).

(7b) *Gus Dur* mengatakan, *tidak* memberi usulan soal masalah Ambon, *tetapi* *Gus Dur* mengatakan akan pergi ke sana.

‘*Gus Dur* said, he would not make any recommendation about the problem in Ambon, but *Gus Dur* said he would go there.’


‘*Gus Dur* said he would not make any recommendation about the problem in Ambon. *Gus Dur* also said he would go there.’

These examples illustrate Wales’s point about repetition, that is, it may be chosen on pragmatic considerations. These considerations may include comparing and contrasting, classifying the referent(s), and so forth (Fox 1987). As Tannen (2007) also articulately demonstrates, repetition serves as a rhetorical strategy to convey affect.

The definition of “pronoun” in the latest version of *the Oxford English Dictionary* (OED online, draft revision March 2010) does not mention substitution. The pronoun is rather defined in terms of its referring function: “A word that can function as a noun phrase when used by itself and that refers either to the participants in the discourse (for example, *I, you*) or to someone or something mentioned elsewhere in the discourse (for example, *she, it, this*).” The personal pronoun is defined as “a pronoun which denotes the grammatical person, as (in English) *I, you, and he*, in its various genders, numbers, and cases”. In a similar view, but working within the framework of conversation analysis, Schegloff (2007: 436) states that, pronouns differ from other forms of
person reference (for example, noun phrases, proper names) in that the former are used to do little else other than simply referring, whereas the latter can be used to describe, identify, and categorize (for example, man, woman, nurse, teacher). In this sense, pronouns are often said to be semantically empty.

The use of pronouns in anaphoric function – that is, to refer back to a previously mentioned referent – according to Chafe (1994: 93-107), implies that a speaker believes the addressee can identify the person referent either through shared knowledge or through an association with something that is shared knowledge. In Chafe’s cognitive account, identifiable referents are those that the speaker/writer believes to be “active” or “semi-active” in the addressee’s mind. A referent is said to be “active” when it is in the focal state of consciousness, and “semi-active” when it is in peripheral state. Identifiability involves three components: shared knowledge, verbalization, and salience. A referent is identifiable when it is assumed to be already shared by the addressee, directly or indirectly. It also has to be verbalized in a sufficiently identifying way, and it is also contextually salient (1994: 94). In relation to verbalization, Chafe points out that the typical function of personal pronouns is to provide a minimum verbalization of the shared referent. However, minimum verbalization does not equate to a low status of identifiability, as shown by Ariel (1990) in her hierarchy of referent “accessibility” (similar to “identifiability”). Ariel argues that pronominalized referents are high in the hierarchy (that is, highly accessible), while those expressed as NPs are in the intermediate and low levels of the hierarchy. This is because referents verbalized as pronouns are typically already mentioned in the preceding discourse, so in terms of information status, it is not new information (see Chafe 1994). However, the question remains that, when there is more than one pronoun that can fulfil a verbalizing function, what sorts of considerations do speakers/writers make in choosing one pronoun over the other?

Relating Ariel’s accessibility hierarchy to the use of referring expressions in Swedish news reports, Ledin (1996) argues that the use of pronouns and NPs, as well as reflecting the cognitive status of the referents, is also reflective of social and ideological processes. Examining the distribution of personal pronouns (first and third person) and NPs (proper names and other NPs) in their anaphoric function, Ledin demonstrates that the use of NPs suggests either an invitation for empathy with or distancing from the person being referred to. NPs invite an “identification with a person” in cases where these NPs are used to refer to a person presented in a positive light (for example, an ordinary citizen confronted with injustice, a public figure who generously assists the poor, someone who succeeds against all odds). Through the use of the NPs reporters highlight the referent’s personal qualities – qualities that set them apart as a person. Thus repetition, in this case, serves an authorial purpose of presenting a particular point of view and persuade the readers to share that view. Correspondingly, the use of pronouns suggests that the qualities of the referent are assumed to be known by the reader. This, argues Ledin, accords with the assumption that pronouns are semantically empty,
therefore by using pronouns, reporters expect readers to be able to identify the referents easily. In Swedish news reports, pronouns tend to be used more often to refer to public figures in their official roles, indicating that it is assumed the readers are familiar with the qualities of these figures. When it is their personal qualities that are discussed, Ledin finds that reporters tend to use NPs. This finding in fact accords with the cognitive view advanced by Chafe and Ariel which says that NPs are used for identifiable referents (that is, referents that are highly accessible). The public are familiar with figures of authority in their public roles, and therefore these figures can be referred to with pronouns, whereas information pertaining to their particular personal qualities is something the public does not always know and therefore would constitute new information. As such, the use of NPs can be expected.

Ledin’s study is worth mentioning because it demonstrates the way in which pronouns and NPs are used in a register-specific and language-specific context and shows what counts as new information or given information in that register. However, Ledin’s study does not take into account the position of the third person pronoun within the rhetorical structure of the text. As will be shown, the co-occurrence of a pronoun with other linguistic elements such as the quotative verb, as well as its position within a rhetorical structure also need to be considered in determining its use patterns.

**Types of Indonesian reported speech**

The term “reported speech”, following Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1023) and Coulmas (1986), refers to the reporting of speech and thoughts in spoken and written texts. Reported speech is further distinguished into two types: direct reported speech (or “direct quotation”) and indirect reported speech (“indirect quotation”). Direct reported speech purports to give a verbatim report of the original, whereas indirect reported speech gives only the content of the speech. Direct speech is prototypically marked by a colon and quotation marks. These two types are illustrated by the examples in (8) and (9). (Example (8) is a rendering into direct reported speech of the original sentence in (9), which is in indirect reported speech.)

(8) *Ia* mengatakan pula: “*Indonesia masih harus banyak belajar tentang demokrasi.*”

’sHe also said: “Indonesia still has a lot to learn about democracy.”’ (*Kompas* 15/4/99; *ia* referring to President Habibie).

(9) *Ia* mengatakan pula Indonesia masih harus banyak belajar tentang demokrasi.

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(9) *Ia* mengatakan pula Indonesia masih harus banyak belajar tentang demokrasi.
'He said Indonesia still has a lot to learn about democracy.' (Kompas 15/4/1999; ia referring to President Habibie).

In these examples, the clause containing *ia mengatakan pula* ‘he also said’ called the “reporting frame” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) or “framing clause” (Englebretson 2003) because this clause “frames” the reported or quoted material (namely, *Indonesia masih harus banyak belajar tentang demokrasi*), while the verb is called the framing morpheme or “quotative morpheme” (Cumming 1991: 66). The type of reporting frame “ia/dia + quotative morpheme prefixed by *meN–*” does not occur clause finally (following the quoted material), unlike English “s/he said” which can occur before or after the quoted material. Hence, the sentence in (8) cannot occur as follows: “*Indonesia masih harus banyak belajar tentang demokrasi*”, *ia mengatakan pula*.

The framing clause may also be inserted in the middle of the sentence, as illustrated in (10). Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1024) refer to instances of this sort as “parentheticals”, “a kind of supplement”. The parenthetical in (10) takes the form of *katanya* ‘s/he said’ (literally, in her/his words), –*nya* being a third person enclitic. The frame “ia/dia + quotative morpheme prefixed by *meN–*” is not used in this position.

(10) Tetapi, *katanya, ia menjadi presiden karena rakyat Indonesia dan Tuhan.*

‘But, he said, he only became president because the Indonesian people and God (made him one).’ (Kompas 15/4/1999; –*nya* and *ia* referring to President Habibie).

A variant of *katanya* is *kata dia*. The latter periphrastic form only occurs once in the data and seems to be a recent variant. The next section will briefly discuss the semantic difference between these two forms. *Katanya* and *kata dia* can occur before or after the quoted material, as well as a parenthetical.

Another type of framing clause in Indonesian is *menurut dia* ‘according to her/him’ (literally, ‘following her/him’) and its variant *menurutnya*. Similar to *katanya* and *kata dia*, *menurut dia* and *menurutnya* can occur before or after the quoted material or in the middle of it. *Menurut dia* and *menurutnya* are exemplified in (11) and (12) respectively.

(11) *Perjuangan menegakkan demokrasi, menurut dia, memang tidak mudah.*

‘The struggle to uphold democracy, according to him, is indeed not easy.’
Menurutnya, Presiden Megawati setuju ...

‘According to him, President Megawati has agreed …’ (Kompas 11/9/2003; –nya referring to Chair of the Committee for the General Election, Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin).

The framing clause may also take the form of agentless passive type one in which the verb is prefixed by di-, as exemplified in (13).

Dinyatakan pula, ia tak pernah mempermasalahkan hasil Pemilu.

‘It was also stated that he never questioned the result of the general election.’ (Kompas 1/3/1997; ia referring to President Soeharto).

Indirect reported speech in Indonesian may also contain a complementiser such as bahwa ‘that’, agar ‘so that’, or supaya ‘so that’ following the framing clause, the latter two are used to report imperatives. The complementiser serves as an overt connector between the framing clause and the framed material. Example (14) shows an indirect reported speech using bahwa. As noted by Sneddon (2006: 79), this morpheme is strongly associated with formal discourse.

Ia membenarkan bahwa kesadaran para wajib pajak saat ini masih sangat rendah.

‘He agreed that the awareness of those people who should pay tax is presently quite low.’ (Kompas 10/3/2004; ia referring to the Director General of Taxation, Hadi Purnomo).

According to Sneddon (2010: 274), morphemes such as bahwa, agar, or supaya indicate that what follows is a complement clause, which he defines as a clause which behaves like an object but cannot be the subject of a passive. Englebretson (2003) disputes this definition of complement and argues that bahwa should be treated as a discourse marker. The debate is not entered into here. For the purposes of this article, bahwa will be referred to as a complementiser.

Kalau ‘if’ is also used as a complementiser, particularly in informal
Indonesian where it is also spelt *kalo*. In the present data, this morpheme is used mainly as a conditional marker “if/when”. Of the total 120 occurrences of *kalau* (found in 50% of the total number of texts), only in 2 occurrences is *kalau* used as a complementiser. These are given in (15) and (16), both in direct reported speech (these examples are not glossed due to their length).

(15) *Menegaskan hal itu, Direktur Yayasan Paramadina Nurcholish Madjid yang juga ikut pada pertemuan, mengatakan, “Pak Harto akan tidak mau dicalonkan lagi. Bahkan Pak Harto sempat guyon: saya ini kapok jadi Presiden. Itu sampai tiga kali, saya bilang kalau orang Jombang itu, bukan kapok, tapi tuwuk (kekenyangan).”*  

‘Reiterating the point, the Director of Paramadina Trust Nurcholish Madjid who also attended the meeting, said, “Pak Harto doesn’t want to be nominated again. Pak Harto even said jokingly: I’ve had enough of being a president. He said it three times, so I said that for a man from Jombang it’s not the case of having had enough but rather of having had more than ample of it.”’ *(Kompas 20/5/1998)*.

(16) *“Kalau Wakil Presiden dicalonkan atau mencalonkan diri di dalam munas, itu wajar saja karena beliau tokoh Golkar yang sejak dulu berjuang di Golkar, dan wajar juga kalau orang Golkar, DPD-DPD mencalonkan beliau,” ucapnya.*  

‘“If the Vice-President is nominated or nominates himself in the National Congress, that’s to be expected because he is an important figure in Golkar who has long been working for Golkar, and it’s also to be expected that Golkar members, the DPDs, nominated him,” he said.’ *(Andi Mallarangeng, presidential spokesperson, referring to Vice-President Yusuf Kalla; Kompas 15/12/2004)*.

The small number of occurrences of complementiser *kalau* in the data confirms the assumption that this function of *kalau* is mainly played out in informal contexts. In (15) above, *kalau* is used by public figure Nurcholish Madjid to relay to the reporter an informal exchange he had had with former President Soeharto. In (16) *kalau* is used in a news report focusing on an uncertainty whether a vice-president (in this case, Jusuf Kalla) can nominate himself to be leader of a major political party (Golkar) and whether he would need the permission of the president to do so.

Compare in this case with the 159 occurrences of *bahwa* (found in 60% of the total number of texts). Interestingly, this morpheme mostly occurs in framing clauses in which the subject is an NP (proper name or a title) or the first person singular pronoun *saya* ‘I’ ([NP/1Sg + quotative morpheme + *bahwa*]). There are only 4 (2.5%) occurrences in which it is used with the pronoun *ia* or *dia* as subject of the clause. One of these is shown in (13) above.

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5 DPD is an acronym for *Dewan Pimpinan Daerah* ‘Regional Executive Board’.
The occurrence with a first person pronoun, a proper name, and a title are shown in (17), (18), and (19) respectively.

(17) “Dalam hal ini penting sekali saya sampaikan bahwa baik Timur Tengah, Australia, maupun Selandia Baru menyambut gembira gagasan maupun Selandia Baru menyambut gembira gagasan maupun Selandia Baru menyambut gembira gagasan pembentukan Forum Pasifik Barat …”

‘In this connection it is important that I report to you that the Middle East, Australia, as well as New Zealand have welcomed the idea of the formation of the West Pacific Forum …’ (Kompas 2/6/1998; quoting the words of President Abdurrahman Wahid).

(18) Gus Dur mengatakan bahwa apa yang mereka capai ini sudah merupakan hasil terbaik.

‘Gus Dur said that what they have achieved so far is the best outcome of a compromise.’ (Kompas 27/10/1999; referring to President Gus Dur (the affectionate name (diminutive) for Abdurrahman Wahid).

(19) Presiden mempertegas lagi bahwa pemerintah tidak ada pemikiran sedikit pun untuk mengubah sistem devisa bebas.

‘The President stresses once again that the government has no intention to alter the free system of foreign exchange.’ (Kompas 7/1/1998; referring to President Soeharto).

Given that bahwa is the property of formal discourse, it is hardly a surprise that in news reports it occurs in clauses where the subject is expressed with either first person pronoun (in direct speech), proper name and/or a title (in indirect speech). Its use with first person pronoun in (17) shows a context in which a public figure is saying something important (notice the phrase penting sekali ‘very important’). In (18) the co-occurrence of bahwa with a proper name
suggests that what the reporter relays in writing is something s/he considers to be an authoritative evaluation of a situation. Similarly, in (19) we find that *bahwa* is used with a title (*presiden*) and a speech-act phrase *mempertegas lagi* ‘to stress once again’ to suggest that the news relayed by the reporter is important and authoritative. The use of proper name such as in (18) also enables easy identification of the referent as the source of information being reported. As Searle (1997 [1958]; also see Enfield and Stivers 2007: 6-7) states, proper name provides a speedy identification without the necessity to provide descriptions of the referent’s physical and personal qualities. In newspaper reports names are often used with titles (for example, *Presiden Soeharto*) in first mention to introduce the referent. Subsequent mentions are done either with the name or title alone, or variation of the title (for example, *Kepala Negara* ‘Head of State’), or variation of the proper name if there is one (for example, ‘Gus Dur’ as a diminutive for ‘Abdurrahman Wahid’). Public figures so identified are more immediately recognisable as figures of authority.

It is interesting to compare referring expressions for public figures with those used for relatively unknown persons. The excerpt in (20) is taken from a report published shortly after the appointment of B.J. Habibie as Indonesia’s third president, at a time when the country was experiencing a deep economic crisis. The words of a woman at a market in East Java were presented in direct quotation (first paragraph) to illustrate the kind of situation Habibie was reported as being concerned to address. (Due to its length, this excerpt is not glossed). Notice the long description of the person in the second paragraph.


Kalimat itu meluncur begitu saja dari seorang ibu kurus dan tua, pedagang sayur kecil-kecilan di Pasar Singosari, Kabupaten Malang, Jatim. Mengenakan kain kebaya yang sudah pudar warnanya, ia menceritakan kondisi krisis saat ini yang cukup memusingkan.

“’I’m lost. I can’t buy the produce. It’s too expensive. There is no profit. I only have a small amount of things to sell. Even 250 grams of shallots now cost Rp 2500. The price of soap has also gone up. It’s difficult if I want to sell it. So, even to make a profit of Rp 50 or Rp 25 is very difficult.’”

‘The sentence flowed out spontaneously from the mouth of an old and thin woman, a small vegetable seller at the Singosari Market, Malang Regency, East Java. Wearing a faded kebaya, she described the current economic condition which is causing a headache for her.’ (Kompas 27/6/1998).

Here the woman is introduced through her speech, followed by a long
description of her physical appearance and her social role. Unlike proper names and/or titles, this long description is necessary in order to introduce the referent. The details provide the information needed to contextualize her words and to invite the reader to empathize with her. The pronoun ia is used only after the details of her occupation and physical appearance are established. The difference between the use of ia in (20) and to public figures (as in (17)-(19) for example), is in the quotative morpheme. In (20), the person is only “describing” her situation. The verb menceritakan ‘tell, narrate, describe’ is used only after her situation and physical features have been detailed. In references to public figures, ia mostly co-occurs with verbs indicating an authoritative position such as saying, stressing, warning, explaining, adding, questioning, judging, and confirming.

Whether the case such as (20) represents a usual pattern in the reporting the words of unknown individuals can perhaps be explained through an analysis of a larger pool of data. However, it is useful for the purposes of this article to compare the description of unknown individuals in Kompas and those in another newspaper. Examples from Poskota, a markedly different newspaper from Kompas, suggests a similar pattern in that reference to a relatively unknown individual seems to necessitate a longer and more detailed description than reference to a publicly known person. In the case of unknown persons, proper name does not by itself facilitates identification. This can be seen in (21), taken from the first two paragraphs of front-page news in Poskota.

(21) Suryadi, 28, karyawan pabrik sepatu di Serpong terancam gak bisa berlebaran bersama istrinya dan anaknya, karena ia tertangkap bawa ganja 2 linting, Rabu (8/9).

Suryadi warga Kamorang, Serpong Tangerang Selatan ini berboncengan motor dengan Eko melintas di Jalan Hasyim Ashari Cipondoh, Kota Tangerang.

‘Suryadi, 28, employee of a shoe factory in Serpong may not be able to celebrate the Idul Fitri with his wife and children as he was caught carrying 2 smoke-rolls of marijuana on Wednesday (8/9).’


Poskota describes itself as harian independen yang mengupas tentang ibukota dan kriminal ‘independent daily with a focus on the metropolitan area and crime’. Its news are generally considered sensationalist and are aimed at lower socio-economic readership. The language used is not as well structured as that in Kompas and the editing is often sloppy.
Notice in this example that proper name (Suryadi) is chosen although the referent is not publicly known. Other details supplied for identification include his age (28 years old), his place of work (pabrik sepatu ‘shoe factory’), the location of that place (di Serpong ‘in Serpong’), his marital status (that he has a wife and children), where he lives (including the name of the neighbourhood unit (Kamorang), regency (Serpong), and the name of the town (Tangerang Selatan ‘South Tangerang’). These details are necessary to establish his identity as the protagonist in the text. Ia is selected for referring to him in the first paragraph.

Another example from the same newspaper also includes proper name but this name is introduced after a description of the referents’ facial expression, what they were doing when the reporter found them, where they were spotted and when, as well as the physical appearance of one of the referents has been given. The proper name is followed by the name of his place of origin (name of the town and the province) and his wife’s name. The mention of his wife’s name identifies the two referents relationally (the two referents are husband and wife).


‘Cheerfulness was apparent on the face of two middle-aged persons who were sitting on footpath, in the area of South Jakarta, Wednesday (8/9). They occasionally joked around and giggled. Who knows what they were discussing.’

‘“Wah ... Hasilnya nggak jauh turun dibandingkan tahun lalu,” ucap lelaki tua berkaos biru lengan panjang dengan ekspresi cuek.

“Agak sulit mendapatkan rezeki sekarang ini,” ujar pria yang mengaku bernama Warsono, asal Pemalang, Jateng di sela pembicaraan dengan istrinya, Tukiyem.

‘“Gee ... our income hasn’t gone down that much from last year”, said the old man wearing a blue long-sleeve t-shirt with an air of indifference.’

‘“It’s a bit difficult to make a living these days,” said the man who calls himself Warsono, originally from Pemalang, Central Java, during a chat with his wife, Tukiyem.’ (Poskota 9/9/2010; http://www.poskota.co.id/berita-terkini/2010/09/09/penghasilan-pengemis-anjlok; accessed 9/9/2010).
The last three examples show that a reporter may use detailed description of a referent’s attributes (physical or otherwise) at the beginning of a text to introduce a referent relatively unknown to the reader. In (20) and (22), the description is followed by the pronouns *ia* ‘she’ and *mereka* ‘they’ respectively. The use of these pronouns suggests that the reporters assume the referents are already identifiable. Nevertheless, they may supply further details even after the referent is assumed identifiable, as in (22). Similarly in (21), the name *Suryadi* followed by his personal details is used to introduce him to the reader. However, even after this initial introduction, this name is repeated in the second paragraph and more details are supplied. This pattern of reference suggests that, first, to establish the identity of referents relatively unknown to the reader, it is not sufficient to use a proper name or a pronoun. The name needs to be accompanied by other details. Second, even after the referent is assumed identifiable (that is, cognitively active in the mind of the reader) and therefore can be referred to by a pronoun, reporters seem to feel the need to press on with supplying additional details to ensure that they create an adequate picture of the referent in order to make a case for the referent’s role in the event reported, and ultimately, to persuade the reader that the event reported is worthy of their attention.

**Comparing *ia* and *dia* in reported speech**

Between *ia* and *dia*, it is *ia* which predominates in the data. It occurs 130 times, while *dia* occurs 47 times. The two pronouns are not the only reference forms attested in the data. The enclitic –*nya* as well as passive verbs are also used in framing clauses, as described earlier. The types of framing clause in Indonesian reported speech (direct or indirect) can be schematized as follows.

(a)  \[ia/dia + quotative verb\]
(b)  \[menurut dia/-nya\] (literally, ‘following her/him’) ‘according to her/him’
(c)  \[kata dia/-nya\] (literally, ‘in her/his words’) ‘s/she said’
(d)  \[di–base–kan\] (passive type 1)

The total number of occurrences for all framing types is 94. Of these, framing clauses in which *ia* or *dia* appears as in subject position constitutes the majority of the use (72 occurrences, 76.6%). The distribution of the four framing types are given in Table 1, in descending order according to the total number of tokens and percentage.

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7 Not included in the count are variants of *katanya* ‘s/he said’, such as *ujarnya* ‘s/he said’, *paparnya* ‘s/he describes’, *tuturnya* ‘s/he uttered’, *tegasnya* ‘s/he asserted/confirmed’, *jelasnya* ‘s/he explained’, *lanjutnya*, and *tambahnya* ‘s/he added’. These are not discussed in this article as it is assumed that they fulfil a similar rhetorical function to *katanya*. 

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Table 1: The distribution of the different types of framing clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Framing clause</th>
<th>Total tokens</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ia + quotative verb</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>62.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dia + quotative verb</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menurut dia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menurutnya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katanya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata dia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di- passive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that the majority of reported speech, both direct and indirect, is of the type [ia/dia + quotative verb]; that is, where either ia or dia is in subject position. ia, however, occurs four and a half times more frequently than dia. Of the occurrences of ia, 4 are embedded within the sentence. Dia occurs twice in this type of sentence. An example of embedding is given earlier in (6a). In that sentence, the framing clause ia mengatakan “he said” appears in a co-ordinating clause. The example below in (23) shows the framing clause ia meminta “he’d asked” embedded within the quoted material (example not glossed, due to space) which follows the frame of the type [title + proper name + quotative morpheme].

(23) Sementara itu, kepada wartawan usai pengumuman personalia kabinet, Menhankam/Pangab Jenderal TNI Wiranto menyatakan, ia meminta masyarakat untuk mendukung sepenuhnya pemerintahan baru ini, dan jangan diganggu, digerogoti, digaruk-garuk, atau digelitiki.

‘Meanwhile, to the journalists after the announcement of the composition of the cabinet, the Minister of Defence and Security/Commander of the Armed Forces, General Wiranto said, he asked the people to fully support the new government, and (urged them) not to hassle, gnaw, scratch, or tickle them.’ (Kompas 23/5/1998).

The high percentage of ia as subject in the framing clause of the type [ia + quotative verb] accords with the general description of this pronoun as a pronoun that can occur only in subject position. The range of quotative verbs with which it co-occurs and other linguistic elements that make up the context suggests that in reported speech ia is predominantly used to present the referent as an important and reliable source of information or to mark the referent as agent, that is, as a person who carries out or initiates an action or series of actions. It is worth mentioning that in saying that the referent is important, we mean that s/he is significant in the discourse world, whether or not in reality s/he holds an important position within their community. An important speaker may be a president, minister, a person attached to a prominent organization or institution, or a relatively unknown person, as
we earlier saw in (20). In the case of persons not known to the public, details pertaining to their physical features and situation are provided. These details function not only to provide identification of the referent but also to indicate that what s/he says is to be treated as a reliable account, as account based on first-hand experience of a situation. That most of the referents in the data are people in positions of authority and hence may be considered socially important is a virtue of the selection of texts, which focuses on main items in the national news category.

Compared to the range of quotative morphemes co-occuring with *dia*, the range for *ia* is greater (totalling 23 morphemes; see Table 2). These morphemes range from ‘say’ verbs (for example, *mengatakan* ‘say’), speech act verbs (for example, *mengajak* ‘invite’, *mengusulkan* ‘to recommend/suggest’, *mengimbu* ‘to appeal’) to mental verbs (*yakin* ‘certain’). By contrast, the data only shows eight morphemes co-occurring with *dia* (that is, about one third of the total number of morphemes co-occurring with *ia*). Four of these also co-occur with *ia* (marked with an asterisk). By far, the most frequently used morpheme for both pronouns is the ‘say’ verb *mengatakan* ‘to say/state’. The list of morphemes co-occurring with *dia* is given in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quotative morpheme</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Total tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mengatakan</em></td>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengharapkan</em></td>
<td>‘hope’</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengingatkan</em></td>
<td>‘remind’</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menjelaskan</em></td>
<td>‘explain’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menyebutkan</em></td>
<td>‘mention’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menegaskan</em></td>
<td>‘stress, emphasize’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengajak</em></td>
<td>‘invite’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menilai</em></td>
<td>‘evaluate, judge’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>meminta</em></td>
<td>‘ask, request’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengungkapkan</em></td>
<td>‘express, disclose’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menambahkan</em></td>
<td>‘add’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengusulkan</em></td>
<td>‘recommend, suggest’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menyatakan</em></td>
<td>‘state’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>membenarkan</em></td>
<td>‘confirm’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mempertanyakan</em></td>
<td>‘question, query’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menceritakan</em></td>
<td>‘narrate, tell’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menuturkan</em></td>
<td>‘tell, narrate’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menekankan</em></td>
<td>‘stress, emphasize’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengimbu</em></td>
<td>‘appeal, call upon’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menyuruh</em></td>
<td>‘instruct’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>menduga</em></td>
<td>‘suspect, assume’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mengundang</em></td>
<td>‘invite’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yakin</em></td>
<td>‘certain’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: List of quotative morphemes co-occurring with *ia* as subject.
Table 3: List of quotative morphemes co-occurring with *dia in subject position (those with asterisk also occur with *ia).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quotative morpheme</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Number of tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*mengatakan</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengemukakan</td>
<td>‘put forward’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*menilai</td>
<td>‘evaluate, judge’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yakin</td>
<td>‘certain’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menyarankan</td>
<td>‘suggest’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mengingatkan</td>
<td>‘remind’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sependapat</td>
<td>‘agree’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khawatir</td>
<td>‘worried’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The co-occurrence of *ia with the range of quotative morphemes shown above suggests that this pronoun is used for conveying a variety of speech acts, however that in itself is not sufficient evidence to show that this pronoun is used to signal the importance of the referent. It needs to be demonstrated that the surrounding linguistic context is also supportive of that contention. In the following, I would like to offer three of such contexts.

The first context is where *ia is used to indicate that the referent is important in rendering the event reported believable and newsworthy. This is exemplified in (24), part of which we saw earlier in (20). The excerpt is taken from a text reporting the visit of newly appointed President B.J. Habibie to a traditional market in Malang (a city in the province of East Java) to see for himself the impact the Asian economic crisis on small traders. The report mentions that Habibie had also talked to farmers in Karawang, West Java. His visit to Malang was significant because the president was keen to gain a wider perspective of the situation by visiting places outside the capital Jakarta. A long description of a trader in a market in Malang whom Habibie talked to thus serves as a necessary component of the report as it gives a concrete example of what he gleaned from his visit. In that sense, the trader can be considered an important figure in the event. *ia is used in second and third paragraphs to refer to this figure.


Kalimat itu meluncur begitu saja dari seorang ibu kurus dan tua, pedagang sayur kecil-kecilan di Pasar Singosari, Kabupaten Malang, Jatim. Mengenakan kain kebaya yang sudah pudar warnanya, ia menceritakan kondisi krisis saat ini yang cukup memusingkan.
I only have a small amount of things to sell. Even 250 grams of shallots now cost Rp 2500. The price of soap has also gone up. It’s difficult if I want to sell it. So, even to make a profit of Rp 50 or Rp 25 is very difficult.”

‘The sentence flowed out spontaneously from the mouth of an old and thin woman, a small vegetable seller at the Singosari Market, Malang Regency, East Java. Wearing a faded kebaya, she described the current economic condition which is causing a headache for her.’

‘She has quite a headache because now there is even less capital to buy goods. Meanwhile, even if she can afford to buy them, she is still confronted with the problem of selling them because some prices are too high for customers. So even to get a profit of Rp 25 can be impossible.’ (Kompas 27/6/1998).

The significance of the woman trader is indicated textually in four ways. First, the excerpt represents the first three paragraphs of the report. This structural position in the text suggests that these paragraphs constitute important information. Second, direct reported speech is presented in the first paragraph. The use of a construction in which the speaker’s words are quoted verbatim creates an impression that what is reported represents reliable information because they are supposed to be the actual words of the speaker. Third, in the second paragraph the reporter is at pains in describing the trader, giving a description of her physical appearance as well as her location. This description, apart from being necessary for introducing an unknown person, also accords with the overall purpose of the text, which is to report on Habibie’s attempt at getting a sense of how the economic crisis impacted on people of the lower socio-economic background such as the woman trader. Fourth, in the third paragraph the woman’s words are repeated in the form of a reformulation. The repetition serves to emphasize the importance of the referent within the context of a report that seeks to give a picture of the serious impact that the economic crisis has had on small traders.

The second context is where the referent is presented as agent performing a series of actions in a “list” construction, as illustrated in (25). All actions are treated as equal, as indicated by syntactic and semantic parallelism (Fox 1987: 81). According to Fox, this type of construction represents a “powerful organizing rhetorical structure” and is prevalent in English expository texts.
‘On Thursday Bung Rudy was sworn in as the President of the Republic of Indonesia. That evening he formed the cabinet. He rang his future ministers himself. On Friday (22/5) he was late by half an hour in announcing his cabinet. He said (literally ‘in his words’) (it was because) he first consulted the Minister of Defence/Commander of the Armed Forces General Wiranto about (the role of) the Armed Forces and security. He also made a clear stand on the issue of changing the Commander of the Army Unit. (Kompas 7/6/1998).

Parallelism is found in the following: the referent is subject of the transitive clause [ia + meN– verb], which occurs four times; subject of intransitive clause [ia + ber– verb], occurring once), lexical items referring to time occurs sentence initially three times (hari Kamis ‘on Thursday’, malamnya ‘that evening’, hari Jumat ‘on Friday’). The series of actions presented in this example impresses upon the reader that the newly appointed president, Bung Rudy (diminutive for President B.J. Habibie, Indonesia’s third president), was quick to act. It is worth mentioning here that Habibie was appointed under a difficult circumstance following the toppling of President Suharto and at a time when Indonesia was in deep financial crisis. Speediness of action following his appointment was therefore expected of the new president.

Worth noting in example (25) is the use of katanya ‘in his words’ as the framing clause in the fourth sentence, which contrasts with the preceding two sentences where the referent is described as performing a series of actions (forming a cabinet and ringing the future ministers, respectively). The clause framed by katanya gives the reason for the event reported in the preceding sentence, namely that Habibie was late in announcing his cabinet. Notice that the quoted material framed by katanya presents Habibie as a person performing an action of consulting the appropriate person before making a decision. To this end, it can be said that the choice frame is strategic in that it marks a temporary break in the series of action being reported.

The third context is exemplified in (26). Here ia is used in contrast with dia to present the referent as initiator of an action. The referent, Tom Beanal, is mentioned initially with a proper name. He is then referred to with dia in the framing clause menurut dia (literally ‘following him’, non-subject position). The third reference is done with ia.

(26) Mengenai permintaan beberapa tokoh masyarakat Irja yang menghendaki kemerdekaan Papua, Gus Dur dengan tegas menolaknya. Sebelumnya, Tom

‘As for the request by several West Papuan figures for Papuan independence, Gus Dur firmly rejected it. Minutes before, Tom Beanal, one of the Papuan leaders informed (the president) of the grief experienced by the Papuan people during the 36 years of living under the Indonesian government (literally, ‘living with the Indonesian nation’). According to him, there has been a lot of suffering as a result of a past decision and government policies which had not benefitted the West Papuan people. He asked Gus Dur to return [Papua’s sovereignty] and recognize the right of the Papuans for independence, independence which Papuans once enjoyed for two years, between 1961 and 1963. (Kompas 1/1/ 2000; Gus Dur was referred to here in his role as President.)

The frame menurut dia ‘literally, following him; according to him’ is not the only choice for framing the referent’s words. The reporter could have selected a different frame such as ia mengatakan/ menambahkan/ menjelaskan ‘he said/ added/ explained’. However, by selecting menurut dia a particular rhetorical function is fulfilled. The clause framed by it is an elaboration of the previous clause. The use of ia marks a shift to a new action; the referent is not merely informing the president about the sentiment of the West Papuans but is now making a demand for the return of Papuan sovereignty. Ia also suggests that the referent is a protagonist in the event reported.

We saw in Table 1 that there are 13 occurrences of dia in subject position. Example (27) below is an illustration of this use. The excerpt is taken from a report on a visit to China by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and his delegation, with the aim to boost trade co-operation between China and Indonesia. The President was reported as saying that co-operation agreements needed to be followed up by implementation and that real projects needed to be realized.

(27) Ketua Umum Asosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia Sofjan Wanandi yang hadir di Beijing mendukung harapan itu. Namun, dia mengingatkan bahwa persoalan yang sering kali muncul dan menghambat implementasi adalah dukungan dari birokrasi yang tidak sesuai dengan harapan.

‘The Chair of the Indonesian Business Association Sofjan Wanandi who was present in Beijing supported that aim. However, he reminded (us) that the problem that often arises and which prevents the implementation (of such an aim) is the less than adequate support from the bureaucracy.’ Kompas 28/7/2005).
Dia is used in this example in subject position, preceding the speech act verb mengingatkan ‘to remind’. It occurs in a concessional relation (Fox 1987: 86-87). The first sentence expresses a proposition that is somehow at odds with that expressed in the second sentence, but the two are not in opposition. In this example, Sofjan Wanandi supports the President’s contention but he is also aware that government red tapes have often made it difficult for business projects to be carried out. Dia occurs as the subject of the second sentence, which expresses the main proposition. Concession, according to Fox, sits at the “lower levels” of a text. In this text, Sofjan Wanandi is only one of the people who were quoted as supportive of the president’s statement and the quote is presented in the second half of the report. This contrasts with the woman trader in (24) who is described and quoted in the first three paragraphs of the report and who is referred to by ia.

NON-SUBJECT DIA, ENCLITIC –NYA AND THE PASSIVE FORM

We saw in the preceding discussion that dia occurs in framing clauses of the types menurut dia ‘according to her/him’ (11 instances) and kata dia (literally ‘in her/his words’) ‘s/he said’ (1 instance). We saw an example of menurut dia earlier in (11). Kata dia only occurs once in the data, as shown in the following.

(28) Kata dia, sesuai Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, word 3Sg according to law-PL basic 1945
ditegaskan bahwa Presiden tidak bisa
PT-emphasize APP COMP president NEG able
membubarkan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), AT-dissolve APP council representative people
sebaliknya DPR tidak bisa menjatuhkan Presiden.
conversely DPR NEG able AT-topple APP president

‘He said, in the 1945 Constitution, it is specified that the President cannot dissolve the People’s Representative Council, conversely the People’s Representative Council cannot fire the President.’ (Kompas 20/5/2001; dia referring to ex-general Try Sutrisno).

It is interesting to note that while it may be unproblematic to consider dia in the frame menurut dia as being in object position, its syntactic position in kata dia is less clear. According to Cumming (1991: 66-69), the morpheme kata in this type of frame is ambivalent between a verb and a noun. If we treat it as a verb, then the following issue arises. The verbal forms of kata are mengatakan ‘to say (something)’ (a verb which can be used transitively or intransitively) and berkata ‘to say’ (intransitive). When mengatakan is used in passive type 1, the prefix di– replaces meN–, giving us the form dikatakan (attested only once in the data). In passive type 2, the prefix meN– is dropped but the suffix –kan remains (for example, Itu dia katakan ‘s/he said that (literally, ‘that s/he
said; ‘s/he said it’). However, the suffix –kan is absent in the frame kata dia, and therefore kata cannot be interpreted as a passive verb. Correspondingly, kata does not seem to be derived from the intransitive verb berkata, given that prefix dropping does not apply to this verb. An alternative would be to treat kata as a noun and dia is a possessor, hence kata dia can be translated as ‘in her/his words’. Under this interpretation, the enclitic –nya in the framing clause katanya is interpreted also as possessor and translates similarly. This is the interpretation I adopt here.

The framing clauses menurut dia, menurutnya, kata dia, and katanya are similar in that all of them have the third person pronoun in non-subject position. In the first two, dia and –nya is the “object” of the verb menurut, while in the latter two, they function as possessor. These frames invite the interpretation that what is said are not the reporter’s words but the words of the speaker (“according to her/him, not me (the reporter)”). By using these types of framing, the reporter implies that s/he is not to be held accountable for the truth or falsity of the quoted material. However, we also saw earlier in (25) and (26) that reporters also select these frames for such strategic purposes as indicating reason and elaboration.

Aside from these rhetorical considerations, the choice of framing may also reflect a convention within journalism in which objectivity in reporting is expected. An impression of objectivity can be created in several ways, among which are (a) by the use of direct reported speech, (b) use of the frames menurut dia/–nya and kata dia/–nya, and (c) the passive frame di–base–kan ‘be said’. An example of the passive frame was given earlier in (13). This type of frame may consist of only a verb [di–base–kan], or a verb followed by the referent [di–base–kan + (–nya/ proper name/title)]. In either case, this frame is similar to menurut dia/–nya and kata dia/–nya in that it seems to be chosen for contexts in which the referent is expanding on a previous point rather than introducing a new one, or initiating a new action. The focus of the clause is on the action of explaining or elaborating rather than on the referent performing an action. In the following example, two variants of the frame are used: dijelaskan ‘it was explained’ and dikatakan ‘it was stated/said’.


'It was explained' by Gus Dur that this cabinet does not have a name, unlike previous ones. However, 'it was said' that the cabinet reflects national unity. "This cabinet was formed collectively by me, Mbak Mega, Pak Amien Rais, Pak Akbar Tandjung and General Wiranto as the Commander of the Armed Forces. This cabinet is a result of compromises and exchange of views among several parties", he said.8

'It was also stated' that the five of them used a guarantee system. There are thus cabinet members who are guaranteed by Megawati, Akbar Tandjung, Wiranto, Amien Rais, and also Gus Dur. "Hopefully, the cabinet which consists of old faces as well as new can work together as well as possible. The tasks faced by the president and the vice-president will be increasingly challenging given the (increase in) demands by the people. So we ask you to be supportive of us," said Gus Dur.’ (Kompas 27/10/1999; Gus Dur was quoted here in his role as President).

The first two instances of the frame occur in a concessional context, expressing the following concessional relation: “although the cabinet does not have a name which reflects national unity, the process of its formation is a reflection of unity”. The main proposition is placed in the second sentence and introduced by dikatakan ‘it was stated/said’; the first sentence, introduced by dijelaskan ‘it was explained’, is a concession that the state of the cabinet not having a name pertains. The use of two different frames instead of the same one demarcates these two parts of this relation. The frame dikatakan pula ‘it was also stated/said’ in the second paragraph is a variant of the passive frame. The quoted material following this frame is an elaboration of the point made in the preceding paragraph (notice the word pula ‘also’ following this verb).

Conclusion
This article begins by asking, if the third singular pronouns ia and dia can both occur in subject position, what governs the selection of one over the other? In this article I have approached the question from a functional perspective by examining the occurrences of these pronouns in news reports, focusing the analysis on reported speech but also taking into account non-reported type of constructions to show the contexts in which the two pronouns are used. I have argued that whilst the occurrences of ia in the data accord with the general description of this pronoun as a pronoun which can only occur in subject position, the contexts of its occurrences show that ia is predominantly used to suggest that, (a) that the referent is treated as a reliable source and an authority of the information being quoted, and (b) that the referent is presented as an agent who initiates or performs some action. To support this contention I have offered two kinds of evidence: the range of quotative morphemes that

8 A faithful rendering of this passive frame into English results in an awkward translation here. However, I sacrifice idiomatic translation to show the syntactic position of the verb and the referent, and that the focus of the clause is on the action.
co-occur with *ia* and *dia* and their surrounding discourse contexts. *Ia* occurs with a wider range of quotative morphemes than *dia* does. Many of the morphemes indicating a position of authority such as *menegaskan* ‘to stress/confirm’, *mengajak* ‘to invite/appeal to’ and *meminta* ‘to ask/instruct’ are speech act verbs that occur with *ia* and not shared by *dia*. This suggests that *ia* tends to be selected when the reporter wants to present the referent as an authoritative figure. *Ia* is also chosen to present the referent as initiating an action or performing a series of action. When the referent is presented as a speaker who is elaborating on a point previously mentioned or giving a reason for it rather than introducing a new point, *dia* tends to be selected.

This study has concentrated on the analysis of *ia* and *dia* in a particular type of written texts, namely newspaper reports. This text type is characterized among others by its use of the formal register. As such, it is not surprising to find *ia* occurring nearly three times as frequently as *dia*, given that *ia* is strongly associated with that register. Whether a similar pattern is observable in other formal registers of Indonesian is an interesting question that awaits further research.

### Abbreviations

1Sg: first person singular  
3Sg: third person singular  
AT: agent trigger  
COMP: complement  
DEF: definite article  
DEM: demonstrative  
NEG: negative marker  
PERF: perfective marker  
PL: plural  
PRT: particle  
PT: patient trigger

### References


Gender and the Indonesian pronouns

HEIN STEINHAUER

ABSTRACT
The absence of a gender opposition in the Indonesian pronominal system requires special strategies in the translation from languages which do have such an opposition illustrated in the first part of this article. In the second part the lexical and morphological means are discussed with which Indonesian expresses gender, culminating in a description of the use of perempuan and wanita, pria and laki-laki.

KEYWORDS
(Semantics of) gender oppositions, personal pronouns, Indonesian.

It is the rule rather than the exception that the categorical semantic oppositions of languages belonging to different families do not match, or that semantic oppositions which permeate the grammar of language X seem to be neutralized or irrelevant in language Y. It obviously poses problems for the translator, if his/her target language obligatorily differentiates what is left to context or common sense in the source language. Or the other way around, especially if failure to make the particular distinction explicit would cause ambiguity.

NO SEX
A case in point is the limited function of most personal pronominal forms in Indonesian. Feminist observers of Indonesian have hailed the language for its failure to differentiate between men and women in its personal pronouns.

1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference Langues d’Asie du Sud-Est, Paris, 17-19 December 2009. As the majority in the audience was not familiar with Indonesian the paper still bears the traces of observations which will be trivial to the average Indonesian reader. I am grateful to the editors of Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya that they are nevertheless willing to publish the paper without major further adaptations.

HEIN STEINHAUER studied Slavic and Baltic languages at the Universities of Amsterdam and Zagreb. Since his PhD thesis on Croatian dialects (University of Amsterdam 1973), he has been working on Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages of Indonesia. From 1988 to 1994 he was stationed at Pusat Bahasa, Jakarta, for the Indonesian Linguistics Development Project (ILDEP). He published extensively on Indonesian, varieties of Malay, and on other regional languages of Indonesia. Hein Steinhauer may be contacted at: h.steinhauer@hum.leidenuniv.nl.
The fact that also actor nouns - in as far as these are formed with inherited morphology such as *pedagang* ‘trader’ and *penjual* ‘salesperson’ – are gender neutral only endorsed the superficial impression that Indonesian in contrast to European languages like Dutch, French, or Russian is a “non-sexist” language.

Whatever such qualifications may say about the language, the culture or the observer, communication without reference ever to biological gender must be utopian: also in Indonesian most proper names and a number of kinship terms are gender specific. In fact, the absence in the language of a gender specific personal pronoun for the third person singular turns out to be a handicap in a variety of contexts. In the following scene, for instance,

(1)  *Michel men-cium Michèle. Dia sangat men-cintai=nya*²

M. ACT-kiss M.  3s very ACT-love=3s ³

‘Michel kissed Michèle.’

The second sentence is ambiguous since it can be translated as ‘he loved her very much’ or ‘she loved him very much’.⁴ To make up for this gap in the lexicon Indonesian has to use disambiguating strategies. A comparison of the final pages of the first chapter of Lev Tolstoy’s short story *Krejcerova Sonata*⁵ of 1889 (Tolstoj 1964) with their Dutch and Indonesian translations (Tolstoj 1966 and Tolstoy 1979) may serve as an illustration.

Russian has three grammatical genders, traditionally called masculine, feminine and neuter. Nouns referring to biologically female entities are usually grammatically feminine, those referring to males masculine. Nominal inflection presents a reasonably reliable clue for determining grammatical gender,⁶ but a sure indication of the gender is found in forms which show agreement as to gender (in combination with number and case), such as

² The Indonesian examples are in the official spelling, with two exceptions: the front mid vowel is distinguished from schwa by an acute accent: ê versus e; where relevant I add hyphens between morphemes within words, or a “=” sign to link a clitic.
³ Abbreviations used are: ACT = active, ART = article, CAUS = causative, coll = colloquial, DAT = dative, EMPH = emphasis, -EMPH = non-emphatic, GEN = genitive, NOM = nominative, NOMs = nominative singular, OBL = oblique, PASS = passive, PAST = past tense, PASTs = past tense singular, POSS = possessive, PERF = perfective, REL = relative marker, SUBJ = subject; 1, 2 and 3 = first, second, and third person, 1pe = first person plural exclusive, 1pi = first person plural inclusive, 3p = third person plural, 3s = third person singular; 0 (zero) = neutral.
⁴ Since Indonesian verbs are neutral with regard to tense, the translations are arbitrary in this respect.
⁵ I follow the Russian transliteration system commonly used in academic publications outside Russia and the Library of Congress.
⁶ If the nominative singular ends in the palatalizing sign -Ь the noun is masculine or feminine, if it ends in a consonant not followed by -Ь it is masculine, if it ends in -o or -e it is neuter, and if it ends in -a it is feminine. In the later case with a few curious exceptions, such as *mužčina* ‘man’. The latter word is a derivation of *muž* which originally meant ‘man’, but which in modern Russian has the restricted meaning of ‘husband’. The parallel with Indonesian *laki* ‘husband’ and *laki-laki* ‘man’ is striking.
demonstrative, relative and possessive pronouns, and adjectives. The forms of the third person singular personal pronouns and of independently used demonstratives correspond with the grammatical gender of the noun they are “pro-forms” of. The male/masculine and female/feminine forms may also directly refer to biologically male and female beings. The following fragments of singular noun phrases (all in the nominative case) illustrate the formal oppositions:

(2a) moj rodnoj gorod, kotoryj
1s POSS NOMs male native NOMs male town NOMs REL NOMs male
byl ...
be PASTs male
‘my native town which was …’

(2b) moja rodnaja zemlja,
kotoraja byla ...
1s POSS NOMs female 1s POSS NOMs female land NOMs
REL NOMs female be PASTs female
‘my native land which was …’

(2c) mojo rodnoje selo, kotoroje bylo ...
1s POSS NOMs 0 nativeNOMs 0 village NOMs REL NOMs 0 be PASTs 0
‘my native village which was …’

The corresponding third person singular pronouns would be on, ona and ono in the nominative, ego, eë and eno in the accusative, and emu, ej and emu in the dative.

Dutch used to distinguish three grammatical genders as well, albeit much more covert than Russian (see Table 1). For nouns the distinction has practically been reduced to a binary opposition. In southern areas the traces of the threefold opposition appear to be more persistent. But in the standard variety of the Dutch the only marker of the grammatical gender of a noun is its singular definite article: het for neutral nouns and de for non-neutral ones. The third person singular personal and possessive pronouns, however, maintain a triple distinction, reflecting grammatical and biological gender.

Here again the southern dialects are more consistent than the northern ones. In the latter the female forms tend to be used exclusively for human females. They may be used for female animals also, but only if the biological gender is in the foreground of the speaker’s mind. If a cow has itching udders the appropriate pronouns would probably be female. In a more gender-neutral context, however, the observation would be perfectly appropriate for a bull, the farmer, and a cow, but not for the farmer’s wife.
HEIN STEINHAUER,
Gender and the Indonesian pronouns

Table 1: Dutch 3s personal and possessive pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gender</th>
<th>personal</th>
<th>possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>hij</td>
<td>=ie⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>zij</td>
<td>ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>'t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) *Hij staat in de wei.*

3s male stands in the meadow

‘He is standing in the meadow.’

As indicated above the Indonesian third person pronominal forms are not differentiated for grammatical gender nor for biological sex. The oppositions which are relevant are outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Indonesian third person pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reference</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>function</th>
<th>unmarked</th>
<th>honorific⁹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human beings</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>only subject</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all functions</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>beliau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>all but subject</td>
<td>=nya</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Much more could be said about both Russian and Dutch pronouns and gender systems (compare for instance the discussion of the meaning of the Dutch 3s pronoun *hij* in Ebeling 2006: 359-368), but for the limited purpose of the comparison between Russian, Dutch and Indonesian below, this simplified picture will suffice. Below I shall present a somewhat more detailed discussion on the Indonesian system of personal pronouns.

The following fragments from Tolstoj (1964: 137) are followed by the Dutch translation (Tolstoj 1966: 13-14) and the Indonesian one (Tolstoy 1979: 14-15).

After the question in (4), in which the Russian [dative pronoun + infinitive] construction is translated with an active verb phrase in Dutch and with an agentless passive in Indonesian, the main antagonist in the story answers with (5).

---

⁷ The enclitic *ie* is used post-verbally and after a subordinate conjunction, the use of non-emphatic *hij* is not restricted.

⁸ Respectively after consonants and vowels.

⁹ The honorific forms are used to refer to people towards whom respect is due in the circumstances of the utterance. Usually these circumstances have a formal character, whereas the person referred to is more powerful or meritorious than the speaker and/or the audience. Improper use is understood as sarcasm.
Wacana, Vol. 12 No. 2 (October 2010)

HEIN STEINHAUER, Gender and the Indonesian pronouns

(4) Nu čto ž eji delat’ esli ona ne jubi-t muža?

well what then 3s female DAT to do if 3s female NOM not love-3s husband GEN

‘So what is there to do for her then, if she doesn’t love her husband?’

Wat moet zij dan doen als ze niet van haar houdt?

what must 3s female then do if 3s female not of 3s POSS husband holds

‘What must she do then if she doesn’t love her husband?’

Apa lagi yang harus di-perbuat kalau bukan men-cintai suami=nya?

what again REL must PASS-do when not ACT-love husband=3s

‘What else is there to be done if it isn’t loving her husband?’

(5) Nebos’ poljubi-t!

necessarily PERF love-3s

‘(She) will necessarily love (him)’

Dan leert ze het maar!

then learns 3s female 3s0 just

‘Then she just has to learn it!’

Isteri itu harus belajar men-cintai suami=nya.

wife that must learn ACT-love husband=3s

‘The wife has to learn to love her husband.’

In (5) the Russian verb indicates that the agent is a third person singular, whose identity is retrievable from the immediate context (4). Dutch cannot do without an explicit subject, but since the context is indicative enough a non-emphatic pronoun (ze) is used. Since in (4) the Indonesian translation left the agent unexpressed, a pronominal agent in (5) would have had nothing to fall back upon. Consequently the agent in question is mentioned explicitly with a noun phrase (isteri itu).

In (6) Russian has again a [dative pronoun + infinitive] construction which in Dutch is rendered with an active verb phrase with a pronominal agent subject. Indonesian has again a passive construction, but this time with an explicit agent in the shape of a noun phrase (si suami).
HEIN STEINHAUER, Gender and the Indonesian pronouns

(6) Čto ž emu delat’?
what then 3s male DAT to do
‘What was there to do for him then?’

Wat moest hij doen?
what must 3s male SUBJ do
‘What should he do?’

Apa lagi yang harus di-lakukan si suami?
what again REL must PASS-carry out ART husband
‘What else should the husband do?’

The Russian pronoun in (7) can be interpreted as being contrastively emphatic or not. The latter was the solution of the Dutch translator. The former of the Indonesian one. He used a cleft construction and again a noun phrase (suami=nya) since the contrast (he vs. she) cannot be expressed pronominally in Indonesian.

(7) Potomu on durak.
because 3s male NOM fool
‘Because he is a fool.’

Omdat=ie een stommeling is.
because=3s male SUBJ-EMPH a fool is
‘Because he is a fool.’

Itu karena suami=nya yang goblok.
that because husband =3s REL stupid
‘That is because her husband is the one who is stupid.’

In (8) finally, Russian and Dutch express the husband and wife relationship again unambiguously by the pronouns used. Russian moreover indicates by the PASTs male ending (–l) of the verb who the actor is. Indonesian, lacking such resources, has to use at least one noun phrase (isteri=nya).

(8) Kaby on spervonačala ne da-l eji
If 3s male NOM from the start not give-PASTs male
xodu ...
3s female DAT free opportunity
‘If he hadn’t given her freedom to do what she liked from the very beginning ...’
Als *hij* *haar* van het begin af aan kort
if 3s male SUBJ 3s female OBL from ART 0 start off on short
gehouden had …
be held had
‘If only *he* had kept her on a tight rein from the very beginning …’

*Kalau sejak semula ia* tidak mem-beri kesempatan kepada *isteri* = *nya* …
if since start 3s SUBJ not ACT-give chance to wife=3s
‘If *he* hadn’t given *his* wife any opportunity …’

What these examples illustrate is that Indonesian gender specific vocabulary is used to make up for the impossibility to refer to a man or a woman by means of a third person pronominal form.

This holds in general also for regional varieties of Malay, with the interesting exception of Larantuka Malay (East Flores). The Malay “outlier” there developed from the Malay of the Portuguese and Malay refugees from Malaka when the Dutch conquered that city in 1641. Singular third person pronouns used in Larantuka Malay alongside gender neutral *dia* are *bicu* ‘he’ and *bica* ‘she’ (derived from the Portuguese masculine and feminine nouns *bicho* and *bicha* ‘worm’) (see Monteiro 1975).

**LEXICALIZED BIOLOGICAL GENDER**

A limited number of lexical roots is inherently gender specific. The fact that they do not always occur in perfect semantic pairs is a reflection of the cultural importance of certain distinctive semantic features over others. Gender is lexically expressed in the terms for the two central kin in traditional Malay society (ego’s elder bother and ego’s mother’s elder brother), and in the terms for male and female progenitors (in the case of female progenitors also for animals):

(9)  

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayah</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>bapak</td>
<td>1) ‘father’, 2) [usually written with a capital] ‘Mr., Sir’</td>
<td>abang</td>
<td>‘elder brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamak</td>
<td>‘mother’s elder brother’</td>
<td>ibu</td>
<td>1) ‘mother’, 2) [usually written with a capital] Mrs., Madame’</td>
<td>induk</td>
<td>‘mother (usually for other entities than human beings)’, for example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>induk ayam</td>
<td>‘cluck hen’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In nominal compounds both *ibu* and *induk* are also used for such symbolic mothers as:

(10)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ibu jari</em></td>
<td>‘thumb’ (literally ‘mother of fingers’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ibu kota</em></td>
<td>‘capital (city)’ (literally ‘mother of cities’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ibu pertiwi</em></td>
<td>‘Mother Earth; native country’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk administrasi</em></td>
<td>‘administrative centre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk cuka</em></td>
<td>‘essence of vinegar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk kalimat</em></td>
<td>‘main clause’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk madu</em></td>
<td>‘honey comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk padi</em></td>
<td>‘the first rice stalks harvested’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Curiously enough, there are no comparable compounds with symbolic fathers. But those with *anak* ‘child’ are frequent. Compare:

(11)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ibu kunci</em></td>
<td>‘lock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ibu panah</em></td>
<td>‘bow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ibu sungai</em></td>
<td>‘main river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk</em></td>
<td>‘holding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>perusahaan</em></td>
<td>‘company’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anak kunci</em></td>
<td>‘key’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anak panah</em></td>
<td>‘arrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anak sungai</em></td>
<td>‘tributary’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>induk</em></td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>perusahaan</em></td>
<td>‘company’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most given names, whether Muslim, Christian, Hindu or “traditional” are gender specific. But only with a limited set of monomorphemic common nouns is gender specificity part of their meaning. Together with the items in (9), the sets in (12) and (13) form a fairly comprehensive list of such common nouns. It may not be a coincidence that many of these items are of foreign (non-Malay) origin: Dutch (D), Jakartan (J), Javanese (Jv), Persian (Pers), Portuguese (P), Sanskrit (Skt). Presumably biological gender was once of minor prominence in the Malay perception of the world.

(12)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>laki-laki</em> (Skt)</td>
<td>‘man’ [also <em>lelaki</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pria</em> (Skt)</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jejaka</em> (Jv)</td>
<td>‘young man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cowok</em> (J)</td>
<td>‘(adolescent) boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>raja</em> (Skt)</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pangéran</em> (Skt)</td>
<td>‘prince’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>perempuan</em></td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wanita</em> (Skt)</td>
<td>‘woman, lady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gadis</em></td>
<td>‘girl; virgin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>céwék</em> (J)</td>
<td>‘(adolescent) girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ratu</em> (Skt)</td>
<td>‘queen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laki</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suami</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duda</td>
<td>‘widower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bujang</td>
<td>‘bachelor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permaisuri</td>
<td>‘king’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>‘(Catholic) priest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uskup</td>
<td>‘bishop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frater/bruder</td>
<td>‘friar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pater</td>
<td>‘father (in a religious order)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imam</td>
<td>‘Muslim leader in prayer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biksu</td>
<td>‘Buddhist monk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulama</td>
<td>‘Islamic scholar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jongos</td>
<td>‘male servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babu</td>
<td>‘female domestic servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuan</td>
<td>‘Mr, sir, master’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyonya</td>
<td>‘Mrs. Madam, lady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obst</td>
<td>‘Mrs.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóna</td>
<td>‘miss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakék</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénék</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paman</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibi</td>
<td>‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tante</td>
<td>‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these items are descriptive, but from tuan onwards they can also be used as terms of address. Some further gender specific terms of address are listed in (13). There are regional differences and preferences, varying grades of respect and familiarity, but the first four are the most common and widely used.

(13) Bapak ‘Mr.’ Ibu ‘Mrs.’ Pak ‘Mr.’ Bu ‘Mrs.’

10 Formerly written as isteri, as in the quotations from Tolstoy 1979.
bun ‘older brother’; usi ‘older sister’; respectful term of address to a man not much older than the speaker (Moluccas)

abang, bang ‘older brother’

mas (Jv) term of address for a (mostly Javanese) man not much older than the speaker

mbak (Jv) term of address for young (mostly Javanese) woman

For more comprehensive glosses and further senses I refer to the major dictionaries, such as Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings (2004) and Sugono et al. (2008).

MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATION OF BIOLOGICAL GENDER

The conclusion that biological gender in Indonesia is lexicalized to only a limited extent, is corroborated by the inherited Malay morphology for actor nouns. These are productively derived from transitive verbs by prefixation of peN-11 to the verbal root. Less productively they are formed from intransitive verbs containing the prefix ber- “be characterized by doing [whatever the root suggests]”; with these intransitive verbs actor nouns are formed by prefixation of pe- to the root. Besides forming actor nouns both peN- and pe- have other derivational possibilities, but also then they often refer to human beings. Some examples are presented in (14) and (15).

(14) meninju ‘to hit (s.o.) with one’s fist’ peninju ‘s.o. who hits (s.o. else) with his fist’

bertinju ‘to box’ petinju ‘boxer’

(15) besar ‘big’ pembesar ‘authority, big shot’

ténis ‘tennis’ peténis ‘tennis player’

All these derived nouns do not specify what the role is of the human referent in question in the procreation of man. In the perception of more orthodox feminist observers this justifies a brevet of honor, certainly if Indonesian is compared

11 N is the regular symbol for the morphophoneme which is realized as 0 (zero) before liquids and glides, as װ before vowels and ⟨h⟩, as a homorganic nasal replacing root-initial s and voiceless stops other than ⟨c⟩, and as a homorganic nasal before voiced stops, other fricatives and ⟨c⟩.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>source</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>academic bachelor</td>
<td>doktorandus</td>
<td>doktoranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>pilgrim to Mecca preacher Muslim the deceased those present</td>
<td>haji</td>
<td>mubalig(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>almarhum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hadirin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>prince(ss); child pupil student steward(ess) sibling, fellow</td>
<td>putra</td>
<td>putri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>siswa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mahasiswa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pramugara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>saudara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>journalist</td>
<td>wartawan13</td>
<td>wartawati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: polymorphemic gender specific nouns of non-Malay origin.

The word pairs of Dutch and Arabic origin are closed sets and borrowed in their entirety. The Sanskrit patterns, however, especially the one with the suffixes –wan and –wati, have spread to other than Sanskrit roots. New formations according to the former pattern (replacement of root-final –a by –i, rather than suffixation) are restricted to the compounds muda-mudi ‘the young ones’ and pemuda-pemudi ‘young people’ (from muda ‘young’, and pemuda ‘young man, youth’). Some examples of other derivations with the suffixes –wan and –wati are given in Table 4.

12 In addressing an audience; hadirin dan hadirat ‘ladies and gentlemen’.
13 Derived from warta ‘news’. Many derivations with the suffixes -wan and -wati are in fact Sanskrit-like neologisms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominal roots</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aksara</td>
<td>aksarawan</td>
<td>aksarawati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angkasa</td>
<td>angkasawan</td>
<td>angkasawati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biara</td>
<td>biarawan</td>
<td>biarawati ‘monk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaraga</td>
<td>binaragawan</td>
<td>‘body-builder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilmu</td>
<td>ilmuwan</td>
<td>‘scientist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industri</td>
<td>industriwan</td>
<td>‘industrialist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juta</td>
<td>jutawan</td>
<td>‘millionaire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamera</td>
<td>kamerawan, kameraman&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘camera-man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimia</td>
<td>kimiawan</td>
<td>‘chemist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matematika</td>
<td>matematikawan</td>
<td>‘mathematician’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negara</td>
<td>negarawan</td>
<td>‘statesman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olahraga</td>
<td>olahragawan</td>
<td>‘sportsman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sejarah</td>
<td>sejarawan</td>
<td>‘historian’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seni</td>
<td>seniman&lt;sup&gt;15&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘artist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téater</td>
<td>téaterwan</td>
<td>‘actor’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Gender specific derivations with the suffixes –wan and –wati.

This list can perhaps be tripled. Quite a number of these forms are consciously created and may be felt somewhat unnatural by the average less sophisticated speaker. The current dictionaries appear to be hesitant inserting them all. Especially the forms in –wati tend to be omitted. Most of the forms in the female column of Table 4 could only be found on the Internet. Relative frequency and predictability rather than prejudice from the side of the lexicographer (“a woman can’t be a mathematician”) are the likely reasons for these gaps, but their absence has given rise to suspicion.

It should be noted that the nouns in –wati refer indeed to women. The same holds for the Sanskrit derived forms in –i and –wati of Table 3. In fact neo-Sanskrit

<sup>14</sup> This is probably a borrowed form, but it happens to follow the deviating pattern of seniman ‘male artist’ (see the next footnote).

<sup>15</sup> The only nominal derivation with the suffix –man instead of –wan. There is also a unique adjectival derivation with –man; budiman ‘wise’ (from the noun of budi ‘intellect’. Parallel to the pattern seniman–seniwi a form budiwati ‘wise (of woman)’ has been created.
girl’s names in –wati are frequent, for example, Asmarawati (from asmara ‘love’), Indirawati (an extension of the name Indira), Pancasilawati (from Pancasila, the five-pillar state philosophy), Susilawati ‘Moralisa’ (compare susila ‘morality’). Wati itself is a girl’s name. Names in –wan for men also occur, but they are less omnipresent. In any case it may therefore be questioned whether the forms in the male columns of Tables 3 and 4 always exclusively refer to men. For some items in the lists this cannot be denied: one has to be a man if one is a monk or a binaragawan ‘bodybuilder’, but being a chemist has no relation to one’s sex. As a consequence the semantic feature |male| in words like kimiaawan ‘chemist’ is latent and only actualized in contexts where kimiaawan is contrasted with kimiaawati. In other contexts kimiaawan is semantically unmarked and its referent consequently sexually undetermined. Compare the following dialogue and exposition.

(16a)  

Berapa mahasiswa terdaftar di situ?  

how many student registered in there  

‘How many students are registered there?’

Dua ratus mahasiswa dan tiga ratus mahasiswa.  

two hundred student male and three hundred student female  

‘Two hundred male and three hundred female students.’

(16b)  

Negara kita memerlukan banyak kimiaawan baru.  

state 1pi ACT need many chemist new  

Pemerintah menyediakan ratusan beasiswa  

government ACT provide hundreds scholarship  

untuk calon kimiawan dan kimiaawati.  

for candidate chemist male and chemist female  

‘Our country needs a lot of new chemists. The government has provided hundreds of scholarships for aspirant male and female chemists.’

Although suffixation with –wan and –wati is a semi-productive process, the possibility to form lexical pairs by morphological means or borrowings remains restricted. One reason is that the morphological expression of biological gender is sensitive. In the case of the names of professions it is felt as support for the prejudice that there is a (for women negative) relation between biological gender and professionalism. In Europe the fear for such biased inferences has led to the publication by the European Parliament of a gender neutral wordlist for professions, according to which a “stewardess” should henceforth be addressed as “flight attendant” and a “fireman” as “firefighter” (see: www.taalunieversum.org/terminologie/sekseneutrale_namen_in_de_beroepssfeer).

Unfortunately I have not been able to retrieve the published list.
Yet, the possibility to express gender can obviously not be suppressed. And if the necessity arises Indonesian has other – lexical – means available to make the distinction. These will be discussed in the next section.

**ANalytical identification of Biological gender**

For human beings the first five nouns of (12) are used as post-nominal specifications: laki-laki/lelaki and pria for men, perempuan and wanita for women. For flora and (non-human) fauna biological gender is expressed by the adjectives betina ‘female’ and jantan ‘male’:

(17)   jagung ‘maize’   jagung betina ‘female maize’
       papaya ‘papaya’   papaya jantan ‘male papaya’
       kuda ‘horse’   kuda jantan ‘stud’   kuda betina ‘merry’
       ayam ‘chicken’   ayam jantan ‘cock, rooster’   ayam betina ‘hen’

Jantan is also used to refer to human males with a strong masculine radiation ‘virile, macho’, as in the following example\(^\text{17}\) from the Internet

(18)   Kita harus bangkit dari debu pemanjaan diri dan menjadi pria yang jantan!
       1pe must rise from dust pampering self and become man REL virile
       ‘We must rise from the dust of our self-pampering and become virile men!’

The sequence to this sentence is an example of the gender specifying use of lelaki:

(19)   Ini merupakan aspirasi … bagi anak lelaki yang akan menjadi pria déwasa.
       this ACT be aspiration for child male REL shall become man adult
       ‘This is the aspiration of boys who are about to become adult men.’

The examples (20)-(23) illustrate the use of laki-laki, perempuan, pria and wanita as post-nominal specifiers.

(20)   Lebih dari seperempat SD di Inggris … tidak memiliki guru laki-laki.
       more than 1/4 primary school in England not ACT own teacher male
       ‘More than a quarter of the primary schools in England doesn’t have male teachers.’

\(^{17}\) All example sentences from (18) onwards are taken from the Internet, unless otherwise indicated.
Déklarasi Petani Perempuan Internasional untuk Hak Asasi Petani:
“Kami Petani Perempuan …”
‘Declaration of the International Female Farmers for Fundamental Farmers Rights : “We female farmers …”’

Dalam film itu putra kandung [NN] … berperan sebagai pelacur pria.
‘In that movie NN’s own child plays the role of a male prostitute.’

Telah lahir présidén wanita, menteri wanita, pilot wanita,
profésor wanita dan lain=nya.
‘There have already come up female presidents, female ministers, female pilots, female professors and so on.’

Sentence (19) is also an example of the use of pria as an independent noun. Pria is, like wanita, a borrowing from Sanskrit, presumably through (Old) Javanese. Today its semantic difference with laki-laki/lelaki seems to be limited to the fact that only pria is found on doors of gender specific toilets (‘gents’). In all other contexts, whether it is used as an attribute or as an independent noun, the difference seems to be a matter of style rather than meaning: in spoken language laki-laki and lelaki are preferred. In written language pria and laki-laki interchange, presumably to avoid monotony, as in the following example:

Di lapas ini R. bukanlah satu-satu-nya pegawai laki-laki, tapi pria yang berusia 27 tahun ini … paling sering berhubungan dengan penghuni.
‘In this penitentiary institute R. is surely not the only male official, but this 27-year old man has the most contacts with the inhabitants.’

Yet the choice for the one or the other is not completely free, since there are some collocations in which laki-laki is by far the most frequent option: anak laki-laki (child male) ‘boy, son’ (which on the Internet is one hundred times

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18 In Zoetmulder (1982) priya is glossed as ‘friend, beloved’, but not specifically male. Wanita on the other hand is glossed as ‘woman’.
19 Lapas is a euphemistic abbreviation of the euphemism lembaga pemasyarakatan ‘institute of socialization’.
as frequent as anak pria and ten times as frequent as anak lelaki; nafsu laki-laki ‘male lust’ is eighteen times as common as nafsu pria and about eight times as nafsu lelaki. The referents of laki-laki and lelaki appear to be closer to nature than someone referred to as pria.

The use of wanita and perempuan as specifiers of children’s sex runs reasonably parallel to the one of pria and laki-laki/lelaki: anak perempuan ‘(little) girl, daughter’ is more than thirty times as common as anak wanita. Nafsu wanita and nafsu perempuan ‘female lust’ on the other hand present a different picture: nafsu wanita is about 1.5 times as frequent as nafsu perempuan.

Indeed, the difference between perempuan and wanita is more complicated, since for at least some Indonesians both words are not emotionally neutral. Also outside toilet doors, where it stands for ‘ladies’, wanita may have a ladylike connotation. The difference between perempuan and wanita potentially or underlyingly mirrors the one between nature and nurture. The official Muslim (and Christian) opinion in Indonesian is that men are by nature infected with feelings of lust (which is why some people insist that women should protect themselves by limiting the amount of epidermal tissue open to the public view), but that women by nature would experience lust is difficult to except. That would be the reason why the euphemistic nafsu wanita is preferred above nafsu perempuan. The former suggests a secondary product of culture, the latter an innate streak of bestiality.

The following quotation also seems to reflect this nature vs. nurture difference.

(25) (It isn’t Islam which treats women as second rate human beings, but culture. “In fact there is ample proof …”)

… bahwa Islam sangat “mewanitakan” perempuan.

that Islam very ACT lady CAUS woman

‘that Islam treats women as ladies’ (that is as cultured creatures deserving respect).

In as far as wanita are a product of nurture, it is the mainstream culture which defines when they deserve respect. And in the mainstream culture as it developed during the regime of Suharto the ideology was that a woman had to become an ibu rumah tangga yang baik (mother house staircase REL good) ‘a good housewife’, who stimulated and supported her husband in his career. Most outspoken was the role-confirming connotation of wanita in the institute of Dharma Wanita under the Suharto regime. Established in 1974, the organisation of wives of the civil servants of all government institutions mirrored the structure and the hierarchy of the latter and had as its aim to:

(26) “mensukséskan pembangunan sesuai dengan kodrat dan

ACT success CAUS development corresponding with nature and
The ideology required that women adhered to the dictum

(27) *Sepintar-pintar perempuan, suami tetap suami.*

as RED-clever woman husband remain husband

‘However clever a woman may be, a husband remains a husband.’

Proponents of women’s rights prefer the use of *perempuan*, because of the connotations of cultivated subordination of the qualification *wanita*. The following are two examples of the use of *perempuan* with the opposite connotation.

(28) (introspection of a male blogger disgusted about the role of his fellow men in four movies in which women were raped and repudiated)

*Saya masih seorang pria nista yang belum bisa memperempuankan* 1s still a human man vile REL not yet be able ACT woman CAUS *perempuan.*

woman

‘I am still a vile man still unable to tread women as female humans.’ (that is equal to men)

(29) *Perempuan adalah sepadan dan setara dengan laki-laki, karena begitulah Firman Tuhan. Ini saatnya kita memperempuankan,*

woman is equivalent and equivalent with man because such EMPH commandment God this time 3s 1pi ACT woman CAUS *perempuan.*

woman

‘Woman is equal and equivalent to man, because such is the Word of God. This is the time to treat women as female human beings.’ (that is as the Lord had meant her to be) (Victoria Iriana 2005).

Whereas in the Suharto period the *Kongrés Wanita Indonésia* was an extension of the government, in the post-Suharto period emancipatory organisations came up, such as *Koalisi Perempuan Indonésia untuk Keadilan dan Démokrasi* (Coalition of Women of Indonesia for Justice and Democracy) and *Aliansi Masyarakat Sipil untuk Perempuan dan Politik* (Alliance of the Civil Society for Women and Politics).
However, for most speakers and in many situations *wanita* and *perempuan* are still practically synonymous, *wanita* being somewhat less colloquial. But there do exist some standardized collocation with *wanita* and *perempuan*, in which replacement by the other term sounds unusual, such as in the euphemisms *wanita tunususila* ‘lady deprived of morals, prostitute’, euphemistically shortened again to *WTS*, and *perempuan ékspérímén* ‘woman of experiments’ (woman practising free love), euphemistically shortened to *pérék*.

The noun phrases in which *wanita* etcetera specify the gender of the referent of the preceding noun N<sub>1</sub> are semantically convergent: the appropriate referents of the noun phrase as a whole are those entities in which two sets of features converge, namely those typical for the appropriate referents of N<sub>1</sub> and those which makes an entity an appropriate referent of *wanita* etcetera. For noun phrases consisting of two nouns convergence is relatively rare, though not restricted to the nouns indicating gender. The following are a few examples:

(30)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anak bayi</td>
<td>1. ‘baby child’, 2. (?) ‘child of a baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak anjing</td>
<td>1. ‘canine child’, 2. ‘puppy’ (lit. child of a dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak gadis</td>
<td>1. ‘virgin child, little girl’, 2. (?) ‘a girl’s child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak raksasa</td>
<td>1. ‘giant child’, 2. ‘a giant’s child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayam petelur</td>
<td>1. ‘laying hen’, 2. (?) ‘chicken of someone who produces eggs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the translations show, these examples are all homonymic. The first meanings exemplify convergence, the second ones - though in everyday reality not equally likely to occur – are cases of the opposite of convergence: divergence. In these cases one entity is bearer of the features typical of the appropriate referents of N<sub>1</sub> and another one of those of the second noun. The meaning of the construction is the relation between these entities, which is not further specified and usually open to a variety of interpretations. The cliché example is something like *potrét guru* (portrait teacher) ‘portrait in an unspecified relation to a teacher’, which can be interpreted as a portrait representing a teacher, made by a teacher, possessed/ owned/ bought/ borrowed/ exhibited/etcetera ... by a teacher. A curious example of the difference between a convergent and a divergent construction is the case of the Christian concept *anak manusia* ‘the son (of God) having the features typical of a human being’ (convergent) as opposed to *anak orang* ‘someone else’s child’ (lit. child of people) (divergent).  

In general it can be said that the constructions [N<sub>1</sub> + *wanita*/ …/ *laki-laki*] are convergent if N<sub>1</sub> refers to a human being, with the systematic exception of N<sub>1</sub> being a deverbal actor noun. It is unlikely that *guru wanita* will ever be
understood as a ‘teacher of women’; its first (and probably only) interpretation will be ‘female teacher’. The deverbal actor noun *pengajar* ‘instructor’, on the other hand, if followed by *wanita*, has two meanings: ‘female instructor’ and ‘instructor of women’. Similarly:

(31)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>penjual wanita</em></td>
<td>1. ‘saleswoman’, 2. ‘vendor/seller of women’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pedagang wanita</em></td>
<td>1. ‘female trader’, 2. ‘trader of women’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>penggemar laki-laki</em></td>
<td>1. ‘male fan’, 2. ‘lover of men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pendaki perempuan</em></td>
<td>1. ‘female mountaineer’, 2. ‘climber of women’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obviously these homonymic constructions may require disambiguation, which is achieved by reversion of the order of the constituents. Constructions such as *wanita penjual* can only be interpreted as ‘woman who is a salesperson, saleswoman’.

The difference between semantic divergence and convergence is also apparent when *wanita*, *perempuan*, *pria*, *laki-laki* and *lelaki* are used as specifier with names of sports and their practitioners. Compare: *ténis pria* ‘men’s tennis’ (divergent) vs. *peténis pria* ‘male tennis player’ (convergent). In contrast to these constructions the language standardizers have introduced a productive pattern of compounds for sports and sportspersons with *putri* and *putra* replacing the regular gender nouns *pria*, *wanita* etc. As indicated above *putra* and *putri* originally meant ‘prince’ and ‘princess’, but *putra* is now mainly used (in polite speech) with the unmarked meaning of ‘child (offspring)’\(^{21}\) and with the marked meaning of ‘son’ in opposition to *putri* ‘daughter’. The absence of these meanings in the compounds results in a semantic opposition between [sport(sperson) + *putra/ putri*] and [sport(sperson) + *wanita/ …/laki-laki*], the former being compounds used as the more neutral technical term, the latter syntactic constructions emphasizing the biological gender of the athletes.

**Once more: the spare use of personal pronouns**  
Whatever the comprehensive semantic description of the nouns for men and women will be, it will be clear that Indonesian has sufficient means to make up for the lack of gender specific pronouns. With the consequence that pronouns for the third person have a low text frequency in comparison to the major European languages.

This phenomenon is further strengthened by the fact that the free Indonesian third person pronouns (see Table 2) can only refer to human beings and hominids such as ogres, angels and speaking spiders. An independent equivalent for English ‘it’ does not exist. The contact derived Malay vernacular of Ambon (Moluccas) has developed an equivalent of ‘it’, namely *akang* (see Minde 1997). But Ambon Malay is insufficiently known outside the Moluccas and lacks status on the national level.

\(^{21}\) Also metaphorically: *putra daérah* ‘(offspring of the region), local person (for example for a government job)’, *putra putri Indonésia* ‘sons and daughters of Indonesia’.
The Malaysians succeeded in creating a repair for the said gap, *ianya* (<i>ia ‘3s SUBJ’ + =nya ‘3s’</i>), and although sometimes used in Indonesian texts it has not gained popularity in the archipelago. Instead Indonesian uses noun phrases (repetitions or short paraphrases) or nothing. The latter is an option since Indonesian does not require subjects to be explicitly expressed if the context is sufficiently disambiguating. A few sentences from an article on the Mexican flu in the newspaper Manado Post of May 1, 2009 may serve as an illustration. The pronouns in the running English translations which are printed in bold do not have an equivalent in the Indonesian original.

(32) <i>Bisa saja virus itu sudah bersinggungan dengan ... bawaannya</i>
    can just virus that already in mutual touch with things brought 3s
    ‘It is quite possible that that virus has already been in contact with the luggage (of the incoming tourists)’

(33) <i>Disebut flu México karena virus itu ditemukan di México.</i>
    PASS call flu Mexico because virus that PASS find in Mexico.
    ‘It is called Mexican flu because the virus was discovered in Mexico.’

(34) <i>Saat ditemui di ruang kerjanya ... profesor ... ini masih yakin</i>
    time PASS meet in space work 3s professor this still convinced
    flu México belum masuk ke Indonesia.
    flu Mexico not yet enter to Indonesia
    ‘When he was met (that is, when we met him) in his office, this professor was still convinced that the Mexican flu had not yet entered Indonesia.’

(35) <i>Karena itu, amat riskan bagi meréka yang bekerja di peternakan.</i>
    because that very risky for 3p REL work in cattle breeding
    ‘Therefore it is very risky for those working in the cattle breeding sector.’

As I once heard a rather racist West Indonesian putting it, speaking about some of his more eastern countrymen:

(36) <i>Baru turun dari pohon, sudah mau ke universitas segala.</i>
    just descend from tree already want to university all
    ‘They have just come down from the trees and already they want to go to the university and all that.’

**Referring to speaker and hearer**

Spanning a geographical area as large as Europe between Oslo and Madrid,
and between Dublin and Magnetogorsk, intersected moreover by thousands of natural barriers, and with a history of human population of tens of thousands of years, it is only to be expected that Indonesia is characterized by a huge linguistic diversity. In fact an explanation is required (in historical and/or ecological terms) for the relative lack of diversity in several extended areas.

The estimated number of languages today varies between some 500 (Wurm and Hattori 1982) to 700 according to the latest count of the Pusat Bahasa (the National Language Center in Jakarta). Such calculations always depend on the number of communolects one is willing to lump together and call “language”, an imaginary entity of which the communolects subsequently are the “dialects”.

All these dialects and languages have their own codes of conduct in addressing people and referring to oneself. Much more than with third person pronouns, pronouns referring to the addressee and the speaker him/herself tend to explicitly express status relations between them. Status defining parameters in this respect are relative age, family relations, and social achievement. And of course the degree of formality of the speech situation. Biological gender usually is not expressed, but in some Malayic languages, such as Minangkabau (West Sumatra), there is a gender opposition in the pronouns for the second person singular: ang for men and kau for women.

Indonesian, as the national and official language of the country, has been standardized as a language to be used basically on official occasions and in writing. The scores of Malay vernaculars (whether historically developed or contact derived) all have their own pronominal system, differing among each other mainly with respect to the pronouns of the first and second person. Their number may differ, their forms, but also their value. What is rough and unfriendly in one variety may be highly polite in another.

What is relevant in the context of the discussion on the third person pronoun, is that the first and second person pronouns do not have the same frequency either as in the major west European languages. The main reason is that in Indonesian some of the pronouns insufficiently express status differences between speaker and addressee. The obvious way out is again the use of nouns and noun phrases. Proper names, kinship terms, combinations with proper names of the latter and of such terms of address as given in (13) are the most frequently used alternatives. A few examples (taken from a novel of Hilman (1990), the forerunner of the current wave of teen-lit authors) will suffice.

(37) Mbak Véra … berbisik …: “Ol, Mbak juga dengar desas-desus itu.”

miss V. whisper O. miss also hear rumor that

‘Miss Vera … whispered …: “Ol, I also heard that rumor.”’

(Hilman 1990: 91).

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22 Languages closely related to Malay. See Adelaar (1992) for a definition.

23 See Adelaar and Prentice (1996) for the differences and an overview.
(38) (Olga’s parents, Mami and Papi, are already in bed when someone calls at the front door: “Assalamualaikum!”. Mami urges Papi to have a stealthy look:)

“Siapa tahu Papi belum bayar iuran tipi.”

‘Who knows, you haven’t yet paid the television fee.’ (Hilman 1990: 93).

(39) (Telephone dialogue in Jakarta Indonesian between Olga and Ucup, her elder male colleague at the radio station where she works)

“Anting emas Olga ilang satu. Ketinggalan nggak di mobil Bang Ucup?”

‘I’ve lost a golden earring of mine. Was it perhaps left in your car?’

“Gak tau, ya? Nanti deh, Bang Ucup cariin dulu.”

‘(You) don’t know, do you? A moment! I’ll find it (for you).’

(Hilman 1990: 131).

That these noun phrases in the given contexts refer to the speaker or the hearer is purely a matter of interpretation not of meaning. Only in comparison with a western European language they may be felt as something like “pro-pronouns”, as some observers have called such cases. This is a misnomer. As elements of Indonesian they are just what they are: noun phrases, referring to entities whose role in the speech act is not specified.

In the case of subjects an option is also to make no choice at all and leave it to the hearer, as in Gak tau in the sentence just quoted, or as in the following observed dialogue in which speaker A reacted on B’s haircut.

(40) A. Awii! Rambutnya! Tidak dingin?

‘Gee! Your hair! Aren’t you cold?’

Mau ke Timor kan. Takut panas.

‘I want to go to Timor don’t I? I’m afraid I’ll be hot.’

The net effect of the use of noun phrases where western European languages would use gender neutral first and second person pronouns is that Indonesian often explicitly indicates the gender of the referent if that referent is the speaker or the addressee.
A NOTE = NYA

Several of the example sentences above contain the enclitic =nya, invariably glossed as ‘3s’. In modern Indonesian it has a broad range of functions, which cannot be comprehensively discussed in this short paper.

Being an enclitic, =nya cannot be the head of a noun phrase and is subject to various other restrictions. It cannot be used for instance as a subject, nor can it occur after the basic preposition di ‘in’ and ke ‘at’ or after cardinal numerals, but it seems that in all other syntactic positions where a noun phrase is allowed =nya may replace it.

The examples with suami=nya ‘her husband’ and isteri=nya ‘his wife’ show that features related to biological gender are not part of its meaning. The following sentence illustrates that =nya is used with reference to human beings, but also to lifeless objects.

(41) (I took a cigarette …)
        dan menyala=nya sedang mata saya terus terarah pada=nya.
    and light=3s while eye 1s continuous directed at=3s
    ‘… and lighted it while my eyes were all the time directed at him.’
    (Tolstoy 1979: 109).

The fact that =nya can replace the second NP in the possessive construction [NP₁ + NP₂] ‘NP₂’s NP₁’, combined with the fact that it may refer to any third person entity, entails that NP=nya may be interpreted as ‘the NP of it’, ‘it’ being the situation at hand. In other words, it very much functions like the definite article in western European languages. (42) and (43) are illustrations.

(42) Dari kemarén awan=nya rendah banget.
    from yesterday cloud=3s low very
    ‘Since yesterday the clouds are very low.’

(43) (Being under a banyan-tree gave me the shivers, but because there were many children there who even …)
    bergelantungan di akar-akar beringin=nya, aku cuék aja.
    be hanging about in RDP-root banyan tree=3s 1s indifferent just
    ‘were hanging about at the roots of the banyan tree in question, I didn’t care.’

This meaning ‘belonging to the situation at hand’ has extended to proper and geographical names.
(44a)  (In the scene following (38), Papi opens the door and a rather rowdy young man introduces himself as Olga’s future husband, addressing Papi with the Jakarta Indonesian *babé* and *bé* ‘father’)

\[ \text{Olga}=\text{nya ada, bé?} \]
\[ \text{O.}=3s \text{ be there father} \]

‘Is Olga (the one we are talking about) there, father?’

(Hilman 1990: 94).

(44b)  (Reaction of a woman on the Internet to pictures of a family on a day out at a ranch near Bandung)

\[ \text{Wah asyik ya Mbak liburan= nya. Bandung=}\text{nya di mana Mbak?} \]
\[ \text{wow pleasant yes Miss holiday=3s Bandung=3s in where Miss} \]

‘Wow, that was pleasant wasn’t it Miss, the holiday (you were having). In Bandung where about was it, Miss?’ (I used to live there you know).

It also extended to independent personal pronouns. This latter usage is rather typical of blogger language, which is heavily influenced by Jakarta Indonesian and Javanese. The following is an example.

(45)  \[ \text{rencana=}\text{nya kami … mau luncur ke timur... tapi untuk saya=}\text{nya} \]
\[ \text{plan=}3s1p\text{e want slip to east but for 1s=}3s \]
\[ \text{péning=}\text{nya ke Bandung.} \]
\[ \text{wish=}3s\text{ to Bandung} \]

‘Our plan was … to rush off to the east … but for me (in that situation) my wish (the wish in question) was to go to Bandung.’

The construction *rencana=nya kami* in this sentence would be *rencana kami* in Standard Indonesian. The construction follows the regular Javanese possessive pattern of [NPpossession + 3s possessive enclitic + NPpossessor]. In Standard Indonesian this construction is accepted only in as far as it has a disambiguating function, as in (46)a and b, and (47)a and b.

(46a)  \[ \text{Ibu Berlusconi} \]

‘Mrs Berlusconi’

(46b)  \[ \text{ibu=}\text{nya Berlusconi} \]

‘Mrs Berlusconi’s mother’

(47a)  \[ \text{dihantam Suharto} \]

‘hit was Suharto’, 2) ‘be hit by Suharto’

\[ \text{panas badan=}\text{ku} \]
\[ \text{hot body=}1s \]

‘hot was my body’, 2) ‘my body heat, my fever’
tidur saya
sleep 1s
1) ‘asleep I was’, 2) ‘my sleeping’

(47b) dihantam=nya Suharto
‘the fact that Suharto was hit’ (literally, the being hit of Suharto)
panas=nya badan=ku
‘the fact that my body was hot’ (literally, the being hot of my body)
tidur=nya saya
‘the fact that I was asleep’ (literally, the sleeping of mine)

In the latter three constructions =nya has a nominalizing function, and it may be questioned whether this =nya still is a pronoun and an enclitic.

A final instance of the pronominal origin of =nya is its echo function. A noun phrase which is fronted as a topic or as the antecedent of a relative clause, and which can be seen as extracted from the following clause, requires the presence of =nya in the position from where the noun phrase was extracted, except when in that position it functioned as the subject. (48) is an example of =nya echoing a non-subject antecedent, whereas (49) and presumably also (50) are cases of topicalization.

(48) Ia lagi kéki sama mami=nya yang hobi=nya
3s SUBJ POGR irritated with mum=3s REL hobby=3s
ngelarang melulu.
ACT forbid merely
‘She was in an resentful mood towards her mum whose hobby it was to do nothing but imposing bans.’ (Hilman 1990: 91).

(49) (After the scene of (44)a Olga’s would-be husband presses her father to disclose her whereabouts)
Maap, Bé, tapi Olga pergi=nya ke mana?
sorry father but Olga go=3s to where
‘Sorry father, but Olga, where did she go?’ (literally: Olga, her going) (Hilman 1990: 94).

(50) Sewaktu kuliah … seni, aku ambil=nya mata kuliah fotografi.
one time lecture art 1s take=3s school-subject photography
‘At the … art course, what I took was photography.’ (literally: me the taking in question …)

This construction with the proper intonation may also be read as a sentence: ‘hit by him/her was Suharto’. Compare the first readings of the constructions in (47a).
Examples like the latter sentence (with a transitive verb root + =nya) are common in Jakarta-based varieties of spoken Indonesian and they are rather abundant on the Internet, maybe even typical of that medium.

Concluding note

It may be expected that the Internet will continue to influence the Indonesian languagescape, together with other factors such as popular television, the wave of teen-lit, and the abolishment of censorship.

The stable diglossia in which standard Indonesian was used on official occasions, in writing, and in the media, whereas a gamut of local varieties of Malay was used in less official oral communication, now seems to be turning into an acrolect-basolect continuum with common spoken Jakarta Indonesian tending to develop into a basolect koine. The case of =nya shows that the pronominal system has not remained unaffected. But whatever the future of Indonesian will be, it is not to be expected that its “non-sexist” character will change.

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Lexicon and word formation in Indonesian Bajo

CHANDRA NURAINI

ABSTRACT
This paper deals with the phonology and the lexicology of the Indonesian Bajo language and more specifically with the dialect or variant that can be heard all around the Flores Sea in Kangean, South-East Sulawesi, Sumbawa, and Flores. The phonological survey focuses on vowel lengthening, gemination, pre-nasalized phonemes, and sandhi. The second part of this paper proposes an insight into Bajo lexicology, restricted to nominal and verbal derivation.

KEYWORDS
Sama-Bajau, Bajo, Indonesian Bajo, baun Same, phonology, pre-nasalization, gemination, vowel length, epenthesis, aphaeresis, demarcative glottal stop, sandhi, derivation, causative prefix, locative suffix.

The Sama-Bajau languages are part of the Western Malayo-Polynesian language group, and their speakers may be found in many fishermen villages over an immense area, including the eastern part of Indonesia, the southern Philippines, and North Kalimantan (Sabah). After a short introduction on the Indonesian Bajo in general this paper presents information on aspects of the phonology of their language, especially with regard to the dialect or variant that can be heard around the Flores Sea: Kangean, South-East Sulawesi, Sumbawa, and Flores. In the second part of this paper, I will propose an insight into Bajo lexicology.

In various languages of the Sama-Bajau branch, the lengthening of some vowels and the gemination of certain consonants is perceptible, but their phonological relevance in the variety discussed below is problematic. I will

1 I am grateful to Dick van der Meij and Hein Steinhauer for their helpful comments that enabled me to improve this paper, including the accuracy of the English language. However, all errors remain mine.

CHANDRA NURAINI, born in 1965, is an associate professor of Indonesian and Civilization of Indonesia at the University of La Rochelle (France). Her research focuses on the language and oral literature of the Bajo people in Indonesia. Chandra Nuraini may be contacted at: cnuraini@univ-lr.fr.

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analyse these features and propose a diachronic explanation for the occurrence of the long vowels elsewhere. Furthermore an assessment will be made on the phonological status of consonant sequences beginning with a nasal. Finally, as a transition towards lexicological issues, I shall discuss sandhi phenomena which involve phonemic adjustments between root words and affixes, and which entail aphaeresis and epenthesis.

It would take too much space to examine the Bajo lexicology in its entirety and I will therefore limit myself to nominal and verbal derivation on the basis of root words. In this context causative and locative suffixes will receive special attention.

For more detailed information on the syntax of Indonesian Bajo, with its elaborate voice system, its ergative – absolutive opposition in the pronominal paradigm, and its equal distribution of the syntactic VSO and SVO patterns, I refer to Nuraini 2008.

1 A SHORT PRESENTATION OF INDONESIANBAJO

The Sama-Bajau languages are spoken by a diaspora of small communities scattered on the shores of the Southern Philippines, Sabah (Malaysia) and a multitude of islands in the eastern part of Indonesia. At one time, the Sama-Bajau constituted one community, but nobody knows from which part of Southeast Asia they originated, and there is no convincing theory about when and why they split up into numerous communities, now separated by several days of navigation.²

These people usually call themselves Sama, next to the exonym Bajau or Bajo. In Indonesia, they indeed call themselves Bajo when speaking to outsiders. Their language is known as Bahasa Bajo in Indonesian or Baun Same in their own language. Unsurprisingly, having been separated for centuries, the various Sama-Bajau communities of the different islands have developed their own language varieties. Between the nine Bajo language varieties distinguished by Pallesen (Pallesen 1985: 117) intelligibility is nowadays often difficult or impossible. According to Jun, there are four distinct Sama-Bajau languages in the Sulu archipelago alone (Jun 2005: 379).

In contrast to the situation in the Sulu archipelago, there is only one Indonesian Bajo language. It is spread over a very large area ranging from North-Sulawesi to West Timor, and from Kangean (near Madura) to Maluku and Papua (see Map 1). This maritime region is ten times wider than the Sabah-Sulu Bajau cluster. And more importantly, the Indonesian Bajo language is quite homogeneous: there is mutual intelligibility between Bajo fishermen from around the Flores Sea, and those from Central/North Sulawesi and Maluku. There may be two or three dialects only within Indonesian Bajo, but this issue

requires further research. Most of our reference data was obtained from the tiny and over-populated island of Sapeken, Kangean archipelago, Sumenep Regency (eastern tip of Madura), East-Java Province, Indonesia. However, our findings apply to the Bajo language that can be heard all around the Flores Sea: Kangean, South-East Sulawesi, Sumbawa, and Flores.

2 PHONEMES

In this section, I will present an inventory of the Bajo phonemes, and discuss the phenomenon of vowel lengthening, and two other problems linked to the description of the consonants.

2.1 INVENTORY OF THE VOWELS

The Bajo phonological system comprises six vowels. The phonologically distinctive Bajo vowels have been identified by Ni Luh et al. (1997: 19-22) by means of this paper. The six vowels are /i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /o/ and /u/, as in the following the conventional minimal pairs method, and there is no need to duplicate their work in morphemes:

/i/ iru [ɬiru] ‘this, that’
/e/ lê [lê] ‘by’
/ə/ due [duə] ‘two’
/a/ ai [ʔa] ‘what’
/o/ oré [ʔore] ‘over there’
/u/ uye [ʔujə] ‘song’

Distributional constraints may lead to pronounce /o/ either as [o] or as [ɔ]. As in many other languages, [o] is preferred as the nucleus of an open syllable,
whereas [ɔ] is the preferred realization in closed syllables. The same remark applies to /e/ that will be realized as open [ɛ] in closed syllables, for instance sen [sen] ‘money’, as opposed to closed [e] in open syllables.

According to Hinayat (2003: xxv-xxvi), there are in the Bajau language of Sabah (North Kalimantan, Malaysia), “long vowels” for instance in kook [kɔːk] ‘head’ (Kubang-Semporna dialect), or nuut [nuːt] ‘come with, follow’ (Kota Belud dialect). The phonological relevance of this vowel lengthening seems doubtful, as one cannot find minimal pairs with, for instance, *kok or *nu. Hinayat (2003: xxv-xxvi) found only one minimal pair in Kota Belud dialect: ta’ ‘on, at’ vs. taa’ ‘be long’. Nevertheless, under the alphabetical entry (Hinayat 2003: 276), one can read that ta’ is a prefix. The pertinence of a prefix as a term in a minimal pair may be challenged.

Ni Luh et al. (1997) do not mention a vowel-lengthening feature in their description of the Bajo of East Lombok. I did not hear this feature among the Bajo communities who have settled around the Flores Sea, or in Central Sulawesi. However, vowel lengthening in the Bajau dialect(s) of Sabah is a fact, whose presence can be explained diachronically. Let us compare a few cognates in the two lists below, respectively in Sabah Bajau, quoted from Hinayat (2003), and in Indonesian Bajo (personal field data):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sabah Bajau</th>
<th>Indonesian Bajo (Kangean)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tingkoo’</td>
<td>tingkolo ‘sit down’ (root word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikook</td>
<td>tikolo ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buuh</td>
<td>bulu ‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boo’</td>
<td>bolo ‘bamboo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daa</td>
<td>daha ‘don’t do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kee</td>
<td>kêhé ‘hole’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long vowels in Sabah Bajau correspond to a VCV string where the two vowels are identical in Indonesian Bajo, and the consonant is either /l/ or /h/. Obviously, there is a regular evolutionary pattern, leading to two hypotheses:

1) Indonesian Bajo has developed a systematic epenthesis (intrusion of a consonant) to break apart long vowels, splitting off two identical short vowels: V: > VCV

2) Sabah Bajau has developed a systematic aphaeresis (elision of a consonant) between two identical vowels, merging the two short vowels into a long vowel: VCV > VV > V:

The second hypothesis is obviously the most likely. The consonants /l/ and /h/ are weak (as /s/ in the example below) and easily subject to lenition or elision. Besides, we can see an ‘intermediate’ state of this evolution in the two examples below, where the lenition of /h/ and /s/ leads to a glottal stop /ʔ/. 
Sabah Bajau       Indonesian Bajo (Kangean)

a’a     ‘person’       aha     ‘person’

ki’it    ‘few’          kisit    ‘few’

Even among Sabah Bajau dialects, various states of evolution are manifest, where the /ʔ/ or /h/ is the remnant of a stronger consonant, for instance sa’ah and saa’ ‘wrong, error’ (Beluran); toho’ ‘dry, ashore’ (Kubang-Semporna and other dialects) and too’ (Kota Belud), see Hinayat (2003). Finally, the aphaeresis in Sabah Bajau is accompanied by a “compensating” consonant epenthesis: /ʔ/ or /h/ as the coda of the last syllable (sometimes written by Hidayat as ’ or k), see for instance buuh and boo’ in the table above. It could also be interpreted as a metathesis: the weak consonant that separates two identical vowels is moved to the end of the last syllable. However, the aphaeresis of the weak consonants /l/ or /s/ will also lead to the epenthesis of a final /ʔ/ or /h/. In sum, we can reconstruct a probably recent evolution of the Sabah Bajau according to this pattern:

bulu > *buhu > buuh [bu:h] ‘hair’
bolo > *bo’o > boo’ [ boʔ] ‘bamboo’

Returning to Indonesian Bajo, it is worth noting that for final open syllables, some occurrences of a glottal stop (as onset of the final syllable) are probably weakened remnants of another consonant. For instance, ba’u [baʔu] ‘new’, ba’i [baʔi] ‘decaying, rotten’ and ma’i [maʔi] ‘come here!’ seem to originate from Malay, respectively baru, basi and mari. If this is true, this evolution fits the Sabah Bajau pattern described above. In both cases, one notices the lenition of a medial consonant developing into (/ʔ/ or /h/), which (in Sabah Bajau at least), either fades away or is subject to metathesis with the following vowel becoming the coda of the final syllable.

2.2 INVENTORY OF THE CONSONANTS

Ni Luh et al. (1997) present an inventory of the Bajo consonants based on the minimal pairs method. In this section, I will therefore focus on problems that arise from this inventory: pre-nasalized consonants that could be considered either phoneme sequences or single phonemes; and the phonological relevance of consonant gemination in Bajo.

2.2.1 PRENASALIZED PLOSSIVE OR AFFRICATE CONSONANTS

Like many other Austronesian languages, the Bajo language shows a strong preference for the alternation of consonants and vowels. Actually, borrowed words undergo vowel epenthesis that restores the CVCV alternation, such as in sepit < speedboat. Glottal stop⁢ and approximant ([w] or [j])

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is particularly clear when it occurs between two identical vowels. In this case, there is no syneresis (the two vowels do not merge into a single vowel), for example
epenthesis are two other means aimed at maintaining a consonant between two vowels. Nevertheless, the preference in Bajo for open CV sequences is not absolute: word-finally syllables may be closed and word-medially there are consonant sequences as in for instance: cambe ‘tamarind fruit’, gentin ‘tile’, nganjame ‘to work’, kampoh ‘village, hamlet’, in which a nasal is followed by a plosive (/p/ /b/ /t/ /d/ /k/ and /g/) or an affricate (/ʃ/ or /tʃ/). All possible combinations are represented in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m̚p</td>
<td>[timprɔh]</td>
<td>‘coconut shell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̚b</td>
<td>[ʔumbu]</td>
<td>‘smoke (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲn̚t</td>
<td>[ʔantelɔ]</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲn̚d</td>
<td>[mandi]</td>
<td>‘to bath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲŋk</td>
<td>[tankau]</td>
<td>‘to steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲŋg</td>
<td>[tŋge]</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲŋʃ</td>
<td>[bɔnʃɔrah]</td>
<td>‘ditch, gutter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲŋdʒ</td>
<td>[ŋaŋdʒama]</td>
<td>‘to work’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonant sequences in question, the constituents of which are always homorganic, only occur word-medially, with one possible exception, namely the negator nggai ‘no, not’. However, in less allegro speech this word is often realized bisyllabic as [ŋŋgai] or [ʔŋŋgai].

The question may arise whether we should consider these consonant sequences as “exceptions” to the “general” rule of consonant-vowel (CV) alternation in non-final syllables? Or as single phonemes (pre-nasalized plosives or affricates)? For instance, in cambe [tʃambo] ‘tamarind fruit’, do we hear the random adjacency of the two phonemes /m/ and /b/ , or only a single phoneme /m;b/ ? Since the audible syllable boundary in such words precedes the consonant sequence rather than separates its constituents, I propose that the Bajo has the following single phonemes: /m̚p/; /m̚b/; /ɲn̚t/; /ɲn̚d/; /ɲŋʃ/; /ɲŋdʒ/; /ŋŋk/; /ŋŋg/ . These pre-nasalized phonemes are tied to specific distributional

to’oh [toʔɔh] ‘true’, katira’ah [katiraʔah] ‘lazy’. The demarcating role of the glottal stop is also self-evident (and therefore non-phonemic) in lexical derivations, where it marks the border between an affix and the lexical root morpheme, for instance basén [baseʔan] ‘covered with water’ < basé ‘wet’; diiintaan [diʔintaʔan] ‘eaten’ < inta ‘to eat’. This demarcating role of the glottal stop between affixes and root morphemes is the counterpart of the sandhi phenomena that we will describe below in section III.

4 There is a tendency to insert an approximant [w] or [j] between two vowels within a root word. For example, boé ‘water’ is realized [bɔwe] rather than [bæ], and tiit [tiıt] ‘to blow’ (less likely [tiıt], but surely not *[tjut]). The bilabial approximant is quite faint in this context, so I propose to transcribe it by the symbol [w], for instance dambui [dambu’i] ‘yesterday’. Other examples are dioh [dijɔh] ‘siren’, due [du’w] ‘two’, moe [mo’w] ‘to bring’, ayuan [aju’an] ‘in-law (father-, sister-, etcetera)’.
constraints: they never occur at the onset of the first syllable or as the coda of the final syllable. If this analysis is correct, the Indonesian Bajo language has 27 consonants, which are all listed in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>denti-</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-nasalized</td>
<td>m̃p [sampəʔ]</td>
<td>t̃ [tante]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñk [tañkau]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td>b [bidəʔ] boat</td>
<td>d [daruwaʔ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g [gola]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>m̃b [mboʔ] elder</td>
<td>ñd [ʔindat]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñg [ʔaŋge]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m [malə] to cook</td>
<td>n [nia] there is</td>
<td>ñ [nuloh]</td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ [daŋaj] how much</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>dʒ [saʒo] style</td>
<td>ʃ̃ [ʃʊŋdʒe]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l [lalə] man, male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r [rahat] evil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>j [ʔuʃə] song, sing</td>
<td>w [ʔuwaʔ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The consonants of Indonesian Bajo.

In Table 1 I did not include two phonemes that were borrowed quite recently into Indonesian Bajo: /f/ as in fajar ‘dawn’ and /dʒ/ as in azan [ʔadzan] ‘call for prayer’.

2.2.2 CONSONANT GEMINATION IN BAJO

When hearing Indonesian Bajo speakers, one may get the impression that within certain words consonant “lengthening” occurs. Spontaneously, educated Bajo speakers will write these words with a double grapheme, for

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5 The same remark may apply to Malay-Indonesian, but we admit that this statement does not fit into the traditional description of its phonological system.
example *patappe* [patapə] ‘to entrust’
6 *abba* [ʔabːa] ‘fall down, collapse, lie down’, *pammase* [pamːase] ‘donor’, *bette* [bəːa] ‘for long’, *matadda* [matadːa] ‘pretty’, *tasasanne* [tasasanːə] ‘suddenly, without warning’, *karess* [karesːə] ‘sensation’, *ballai* [balːai] ‘rarely’, *ellau* [ʔəlːaw] ‘day’, *elle* [ləlːa] ‘man, male’. Bajo consonants that may undergo gemination are /p/ /b/ /m/ /t/ /d/ /n/ /s/ and /l/, the last one being the most frequent.7 Gemination is lexically pegged to a root word, that is to say the geminate consonants are not induced by sandhi.8 Gemination appears only in medial position, as the onset of a non-initial syllable. More precisely, it affects the second consonant of a CVCV pattern, which we can represent as CVC:V. The words *matadda* ‘pretty’, *malasso* ‘good, well’ or *karess* ‘sensation’ are in fact frozen prefixed forms with *ma-* (imperfective/stative) or *ka-* (motion/tendency), thus their root word, although never appearing unaffixed, fits into the CVC:V pattern.

Gemination in Bajo cannot always be described as the lengthening of a consonant. Fricative vowels are easy to hold, as long as we have air to flow through the articulatory organs, for instance [sː]. But for a plosive, even if it is physically possible to hold the articulatory organs at the point of articulation, the sound of the occlusion cannot last. The sonograms of one Bajo informant9 clearly show that for plosives, the gemination is primarily a short pause at the midpoint of an occlusive consonant’s realization. The articulatory organs “freeze” at the exact moment of the occlusion, to be released after a short time span. There may be also a little bit more stress on the vowel that precedes the geminated consonant, and a stronger initial glottal stop if applicable, but the most obvious feature is the in-between micro-pause. Compare the sonograms in Figures 1–2.10

6 Of course, this grapheme doubling does not stand for a phoneme doubling: for instance, *patappe* will never be realised *[/patapapa]*.
7 Our data show only two examples of (supposed) gemination of a /ɾ/, which could in fact be of an expressive nature, thus the existence of a lexically geminated /ɾ/ remains doubtful.
8 Sandhi phenomena in Bajo are restricted to morpho-phonological adjustments between an affix and a root word (see section III.1 below). Yet, I found an exception to this rule: *masé* “to give” > *pammase* “giver, donor”.
9 We thank Mohammad Tamin, a Bajo native speaker, aged 44, born and living in the Kangean archipelago.
10 Our sonograms where generated using Amadeus II version 3.8 for Mac OS, from a 44.100 Hz 16 bits sound file. The frequency scale represented in this sonogram is linearly, from 0 to 11.025 Hz.
Figure 1. Sonogram of *ate* [ʔatə] ‘slave’. Elicited data, the word was recorded in isolation.

Figure 2. Sonogram of *atte* [ʔatə] ‘to tell lies’ (root word). Elicited data, the word was recorded in isolation.\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Note also the very sharp beginning of the vowel /a/ which is an acoustic clue to the presence of a glottal stop /ʔ/ as the “default” initial consonant. Its phonological distinctivity is briefly discussed in footnote 3.
Figure 3. Sonogram of lekkat [ləkːat] ’to separate, to free’. Elicited data. The word was recorded in isolation.

Figure 4. Sonogram of lekkat, realized as [ləkː], ’to separate, to free’. Elicited data. The word was recorded within a sentence, at a normal speech tempo.
The sonogram for *ate* [ətə] (see Figures 1–2) shows the average interval of approximately 0.12 seconds between the two vowels. On the other hand, between the two vowels of *atte* [ətə], we see a micro-pause, lasting roughly 0.25 seconds, that is, twice as long.

However, it seems almost impossible to demonstrate distinctive consonant length in Bajo. In fact, the only pure minimal pair I have attested is the one illustrated in the sonograms above. Consonant gemination in Indonesian Bajo seems to have only marginal or potential phonological relevance. As a matter of fact, I often noticed that in rapid speech (allegro) no gemination can be heard. For instance, in standard conversation, *malasso* [malas:o] ‘good, well’ will generally be realized [malaso]. If I would ask the same speakers how I should pronounce this word, they will insist that it should be [malas:o]. This can be illustrated by the comparison between two realizations of *lekkat* ‘to separate, to free’ (see Figures 3–4). The first occurrence was pronounced in isolation, while the second was recorded within a sentence, at a normal speech tempo (andante).

The sonogram for *lekkat* [ləkət] spoken in isolation (see Figures 3–4) displays a micro-pause between the two vowels of approximately 0.3 seconds, while the one for *lekkat* [ləkat] realized at a normal speech tempo, shows a corresponding span of only 0.1 second. We may notice a slightly stronger stress on the first vowel of *lekkat*, but as this is elicited data, our informant may have hyper-corrected his pronunciation.

In sum, my conclusion is that in Indonesian Bajo, consonant gemination is optionally phonologically distinctive: geminate consonants may be pronounced as single consonants even at a normal speech tempo, but the opposite is not true; phonemically single consonants are not lengthened, not even in slow, careful speech.

### 3 Word formation in Indonesian Bajo

As a transition between the phonological and the lexical survey of Indonesian Bajo, I will first present a description of Bajo sandhi, a morpho-phonological adjustment between root words and affixes. Secondly, I will describe the main patterns of nominal and verbal word formation.

#### 3.1 Sandhi

Like in Indonesian, sandhi in Bajo entails the insertion and/or substitution of a nasal consonant whose point of articulation approximates the initial phoneme of the root word. Yet, sandhi in Indonesian Bajo is more complex than in Indonesian. I will mainly discuss sandhi which root words undergo when prefixed by the Actor Voice morpheme $N^-$. Subsequently, I will briefly describe sandhi between root words and suffixes.

The Actor Voice ($av$) is indicated by a proclitic morpheme that may have various phonological shapes, always involving nasal consonants and symbolized by the archiphoneme /N/. In his survey of the Bajo dialects
of the lesser Sunda Islands, Verheijen (1986: 10) noticed that “The sounds (phonemes) /h–/, /k–/, /ʔ/ (which is not spelled) are replaced by /ng–/: kita > ngita, katonang > ngatonang, hapus > ngapus [...].” This statement applies to the Indonesian Bajo as a whole: N– is realized /ŋ/ before words starting with /ʔ/ (a glottal stop):¹²

Root word with the Actor Voice proclitic N–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root word</th>
<th>Word with Actor Voice proclitic N–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inta</td>
<td>nginta [ŋinta] ‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>ngala [ŋala] ‘to take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upi</td>
<td>ngupi [ŋupi] ‘to dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usek</td>
<td>ngusek [ŋusek] ‘to mix’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sandhi entails the aphaeresis of the initial glottal stop and likewise of the initial consonants /p/, /b/, /t/ /tʃ/, /s/, /k/, /h/, which are all replaced by the closest nasal consonant: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ or /ŋ/: ¹²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root word</th>
<th>Word with Actor Voice proclitic N–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>popo</td>
<td>mopoan [ŋopus] ‘to wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>busai</td>
<td>musai [musaj] ‘to paddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenun</td>
<td>nenun [nənun] ‘to weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabo’</td>
<td>nyabo’ [ŋabo?] ‘to push or plunge someone into the water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soho</td>
<td>nyoho [ŋoho] ‘to command’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katonan</td>
<td>ngatonan [ŋatɔnan] ‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapus</td>
<td>ngapus [ŋapus] ‘to erase’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Root words beginning with /l/, /ɾ/, /d/ and /g/ involve a special sandhi, without aphaeresis, but with the epenthesis of an [a], thus the proclitic N– is realized nga– [ŋa] or even, for certain speakers, ngan– [ŋan] (before /d/) or ngang– [ŋan] before /g/), for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root word</th>
<th>Word with Actor Voice proclitic N–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lebas</td>
<td>ngalebas [ŋalabas] ‘to put to the sea to set afloat (esp. from a beach)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rait</td>
<td>ngarait [ŋarait] ‘to sew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapu</td>
<td>ngadapuan [ŋadapuʔan] or ngandapuan [ŋandapuʔan] ‘to own’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹² I propose that there are no vowel-initial words in Bajo; by default, the initial consonant is /ʔ/, thus the minimal word structure is CV.
gambar [gambar] nganggambar [ŋanggambar] ‘to draw’

As expected, the initial nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ or /N/ do not require any sandhi, for instance:

mesi [məsi] mesi [məsi] ‘to fish’

Sandhi and affix combinations

Ni Luh et al. (1997: 29) state that there is a Bajo prefix paN–; their observation may have been inspired, however, by a likeness to Indonesian, which actually owns a nominalization prefix peN–. Moreover, their statement seems to accord only with part of the data, as appears from the following example:

tutut ‘to cover, to shut’ panutut ‘a cover’
talau ‘to fear’ patalau ‘a fearful person’

In fact, the nominalizing derivation can directly affect a root verb (as in Indonesian), but also a verb in the Actor Voice, with the prefix N–. Therefore the Bajo nominalizing morpheme is pa–, and the word formation may encompass the prefix N–, for instance:

tutut ‘to cover, to shut’ nutut ‘to cover, to shut’ panutut ‘a cover’

Moreover, there are predictable oppositions between nominalizations with, and without, the Actor Voice prefix N–, as illustrated by the opposition between the confixes pa– –an and pa-N– –an:

tilau ‘to ask’ patilauan ‘question, request’
tilau ‘to ask’ panilauan ‘subject of a discussion’

The same pattern appears with the prefix ma–, indicating imperfective aspect,\(^{13}\) that may be combined with the prefix N–:

bunan ‘to give’ munan ‘to provide, give’ mamunan ‘is supplying’
tuloh ‘to help’ nuloh ‘to help’ manuloh ‘is helping’

or without the prefix N–, directly affixed to the root word:

\(^{13}\) Holton (2006) analysed the morpheme ma in Northeast Halmaheran and some other Eastern Indonesian Austronesian languages. He concludes that “The source of [Northeast Halmaheran] ma is likely to be found in [Proto-Malayo-Polynesian] *ma, originating as a marker of stative verbs”. The same remark may well be valid for the Indonesian Bajo proclitic ma–.
bunteh ‘to marry’  mabunteh ‘is marrying’
tappa ‘to trust’  matappa ‘is believing, is trusting’

Therefore it would be erroneous to identify a prefix *maN–. Instead, we see a merging of ma– and N–, comparable to the combination of ma– and di– (Undergoer Voice).\(^{14}\) We summarize the Bajo sandhi system\(^{15}\) in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sandhi between the prefix N– and the root morphemes in Indonesian Bajo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Initial phoneme of the root word</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonants /p/ or /b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonant /t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonants /ʃ/ or /s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonants /l/, /k/ or /h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{14}\) For instance aha madikitanu “the man you are looking at” (ma-di-kita-nu: IMPFCT-UV-watch-2sc).

\(^{15}\) No sandhi is needed for the flexional proclitic morphemes such as di– (uv) and ta– (uv, accidental), for instance popo “to wash” > dipopo “washed”. Sandhi is also not required for combinations of prefixes that we will spell out hereafter, ma– + sa–, or pa– + ka–, for example sampir > masasampir “getting closer to each other” or resah > pakaresahan “to feel (uneasy)”. Obviously, these morphemes preserve the CVVC alternation.

\(^{16}\) The information in parentheses throughout this column also holds for the parallel boxes in the other two columns.
Sandhi between the prefix N– and the root morphemes in Indonesian Bajo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>initial phoneme of the root word</th>
<th>N– (Actor Voice prefix)16</th>
<th>pa– (nominalization prefix) + N–</th>
<th>ma– (imperfective aspect prefix) + N–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consonants /l/ or /r/</td>
<td>nga– (epenthesis of [a])</td>
<td>panga–</td>
<td>manga–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lebas &gt; ngalebas [ŋaɬabas] ‘to put to the sea’</td>
<td>laku &gt; pangalaku ‘candidate for marriage’</td>
<td>laris &gt; mangalaris ‘is crossing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rait &gt; ngarait [ŋaɬarait] ‘to sew’</td>
<td>rait &gt; pangarait [ŋaɬarait] ‘sewer, taylor’</td>
<td>rait &gt; mangarait ‘is sewing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonants /d/ or /ɡ/</td>
<td>nga– or ngan– or ngang– (epenthesis of [a] or [an] or [ɑŋ])</td>
<td>panga–</td>
<td>manga–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dapu &gt; nga(n)dapuan [ŋadapuɬan] or [ŋandapuɬan] ‘to own’</td>
<td>dapu &gt; panga(n)dapu ‘belongings, property’</td>
<td>manga(n)dapuan ‘is owning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gambar &gt; nganggambar [ŋanggambar] ‘to draw’</td>
<td>gambar &gt; pangan̥gambar [paŋangambar] ‘drawer, painter’</td>
<td>manganggambar ‘is drawing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. The Bajo sandhi system.

Sandhi between root words and suffixes or enclitics

As opposed to Indonesian, in certain contexts Indonesian Bajo shows sandhi between the root word and its suffixes. For instance, with the very frequent suffix or enclitic –an,17 the root-final /n/ must be replaced by /m/:

ansellan ‘smooth oil’ mangansellan ‘is rubbing smooth oil (on her hair)’
aran ‘name’ diaraman ‘is called’

As for open final syllable roots, a consonant is inserted between the root word and the suffix –an. The epenthetic consonants are /h/, the glottal stop /ʔ/ or the approximant /w/.

ala ‘to take’ ngalahan ‘to take’
bete ‘to cook’ belehan ‘cooked food’

Quoted from an iko-iko epic song, the following sentence shows an example of complex word formation18 entailing two distinct sandhi phenomena on the root word palau ‘call’:

There are in fact two homophonous morphemes –an: one is a verbal suffix and the other a nominal suffix. We will deal with this in 3.2.

The glottal stop may further undergo metathesis, such as in la’ahan [laʔahan] ‘menstruation’ (laha ‘blood’ > *laha’an > la’ahan).

3.2 LEXICAL MORPHOLOGY

The productive affixes in Indonesian Bajo are pa–, ka–, si–, sa-/da– and –an, that may be combined with each other in certain contexts. In this section, I will provide an inventory of lexical affixes, but not of flectional prefixes like N– (Actor Voice), ma– (imperfective aspect), or enclitic personal pronouns such as –ku (1sg).

In Indonesian Bajo, at least in the Kangean - South-Sulawesi - Lesser Sunda Islands variety, there are no productive infixes. Lexical affixation (prefixes, suffixes) represents the main means to form words, beside compounding and reduplicating root words. A compound or reduplicated root may indeed undergo further affixation. It is worth noting that the flectional prefix N– (Actor Voice) can be embedded in lexical affixation.

It would take too long to examine all affixes in detail, thus I summarize them in Tables 3 and 4, respectively for noun formation and verb formation. Then I will comment on some affixes that challenge description.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic features</th>
<th>affixes</th>
<th>examples of noun formation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>pa–</td>
<td>ringit ‘be angry’ &gt; paringit ‘an angry person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kikire ‘be meticulous’ &gt; pakikire ‘a greedy person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>talau ‘be afraid’ &gt; patalau ‘a fearful person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human or instrument</td>
<td>pa-N–w</td>
<td>talau ‘be afraid’ &gt; pangitalau ‘a frightening creature, a ghost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>indat ‘to see’ &gt; pangindat ‘an onlooker’ or ‘a fortune-teller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bunan ‘to provide, to give’ &gt; pamunan ‘a provider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tutut ‘to close, to shut’ &gt; panutut ‘a cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>result of (or affected by) a process</td>
<td>~an</td>
<td>inta ‘to eat’ &gt; intahan ‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>baun ‘to speak, language’ &gt; baunan ‘statement, utterance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>upi ‘to dream’ &gt; upian ‘dream, ambition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>pa– ~an</td>
<td>dayah ‘to eat’ &gt; padayahan ‘fish auction platform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bulut ‘to speak, language’ &gt; pabulutan ‘chain of mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atai ‘heart’ &gt; pa’ataian ‘emotion, feeling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominalization of a process</td>
<td>pa– ~an</td>
<td>tilau ‘be good’ &gt; patilauan ‘question, request’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>baun ‘to speak, language’ &gt; pabaunan ‘discussion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominalization of an actualized process</td>
<td>pa– N– ~an</td>
<td>tilau ‘to ask’ &gt; panilauan ‘subject of a discussion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>baun ‘to speak, language’ &gt; pamaunan ‘reported speech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bunan ‘to provide, to give’ &gt; pamununan ‘donation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>boe ‘to bring’ &gt; pamoehan ‘transport, carriage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abstraction of a (mostly human) property</td>
<td>ka– ~an</td>
<td>malasso ‘be good’ &gt; kamalassoan ‘kindness, goodness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gage ‘be strong’ &gt; kagagean ‘strongness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Features</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Examples of Verb Formation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>laris ‘to cross, to move along’ &gt; ngalarisan ‘to cross (a place)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ala  ‘to take’ &gt; ngalahan ‘to shift, to move (something for/to somebody)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ala  ‘to take’ &gt; alahan(-nu) ‘(you), take (something)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>popo  ‘to wash’ &gt; mapopoan ‘bring (something) to have it washed (by somebody)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Causative/Factitive</strong></td>
<td>pa–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa–N–</td>
<td>bagal ‘be big’ &gt; dipabagal ‘is made bigger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pedi  ‘to feel pain, hurt’ &gt; papedi ‘to cause pain, to hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>katonan ‘to know’ &gt; pangatonan(-nu) ‘to inform (you)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Causative + Motion</strong></td>
<td>pa–ka–</td>
<td>dia ‘down’ &gt; pakadia ‘to descend, to bring down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa–ki</td>
<td>(ma)laso ‘good, well’ &gt; pakilaso (-nu) ‘(you must) ameliorate!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Detrimental</strong></td>
<td>ka–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–an</td>
<td>uran ‘rain’ &gt; kauran ‘be sprayed by the rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pedi  ‘pain, hurt’ &gt; kapedian ‘feel pain, be hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>talau ‘fear’ &gt; katalauan ‘be frightened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excessive Intensity</strong></td>
<td>ka–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–an</td>
<td>bagal ‘be tall, big’ &gt; kabagalan ‘be too tall, too big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iterative Aspect</strong></td>
<td>RDP –an</td>
<td>apo  ‘to cut’ &gt; ma’apo-apoan ‘cutting repeatedly, to chop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>palu  ‘to hit’ &gt; mapalu-paluuan ‘hitting repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reciprocal</strong></td>
<td>si–</td>
<td>bakus ‘to kiss’ &gt; sibakus ‘to kiss each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>palu  ‘to hit’ &gt; sipalu ‘to hit each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>si-RDP</td>
<td>tunduk ‘to incline the head’ &gt; situnduk-tunduk ‘to incline the head repeatedly to each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.

*The prefix pa–*

There are two homonymous morphemes *pa–*. The nominalization *pa–* prefixed to stative verbs or dynamic verbs used statively (without intervening *N–*) conveys the meaning of ‘someone who is’, ‘someone who has the property of’, ‘someone who usually performs an action, has an occupation’, for example *talau* ‘be afraid’ > *patalau* ‘a fearful person’. When referring to a dynamic process, the prefix *N–* (Actor Voice) is used, resulting in a compound prefix.
pa–N– conveying the generally meaning ‘a person who is [verb]ing’ or ‘an instrument for [verb]ing’, for instance tutut ‘to close, to shut’ > panutut ‘a cover’. Readers who are familiar with Indonesian will recognize that the use of the Malay-Indonesian prefix peN– encompasses the two Bajo nominalizing prefixes pa– and pa–N–.

Like in Tagalog and other Austronesian languages, the verbal prefix pa– has a causative meaning. In Indonesian Bajo, pa– is a frequently used prefix whose meaning fits into the broad definition of causativity (the subject makes that someone or something acquires a new property), including factivity (the subject makes that someone performs the action of the base [verb]).

(2) Lamun na patedeku soppét itu ka kite…

If will CAUS- pass-1SG boat DET to 2SG POL

‘If I hand over this boat to you …’

(3) emma é… pasinggete mbo’ Panai.

emma é… pa– singge –te mbo’ Panai

mother emph FACT- visit -2SG POL ERG elder PN

‘Mother, oh … Let grand-father Panai come in.’

The verbal prefix pa– is often lexicalized; i.e. some root words never appear unaffixed, for instance pabolo ‘to wake up’, paléa ‘to lay down, to rest’, palau ‘to call, to cry out’. The prefix pa– also appears in a few verbs of perception, such as pakalé ‘to listen’, from kalé ‘to hear’.

It may be worth noting that for stative root verbs, causative pa– will occur only in the undergoer voice (prefix di–). For instance, from the stative verb bagal ‘be big’, one can form mabagal ‘enlarging’, but not *mapabagal ‘*making enlarged’. For the undergoer voice, however, the form dipabagal ‘enlarged’ is correct, but not *dibagal.

(4) Foto iru na dipabagalne.

Foto iru na di– pa– bagal –ne.

photo DET will UV- CAUS- big -3SG ERG

‘This photography will be enlarged by him.’

The causative prefix pa– may appear jointly with the suffix –an, especially if this suffix carries a benefactive meaning.

inun ‘to drink’ dipanginuman ‘is provided (with …) to drink’
aran ‘name’ dipangaraman ‘is named, is called’
buntēh ‘to marry’ dipabuntēhan ‘has been married (“united in holy matrimony”)’

Causative pa– is also compatible with the reciprocal prefix si–, and the prefix ka– or ki– (motion, tendency):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>temu</th>
<th>‘to meet’</th>
<th>mapasitemu</th>
<th>‘making (people) meet’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temu</td>
<td>‘to meet’</td>
<td>dipasitemuan</td>
<td>‘be met with, introduced to each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dilaut</td>
<td>‘at the sea’</td>
<td>dipakadilaut</td>
<td>‘made afloat, launched to the sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talau</td>
<td>‘be afraid’</td>
<td>pakitalauan</td>
<td>‘make (people) afraid’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is doubtful that the Bajo prefix pa–ka– originates directly from the Proto-Austronesian causative prefix *paka–. Rather, I believe that it embeds the preposition ka ‘to, towards’. Moreover, I did not find any satisfactory explanation regarding pa–ki–, which is a rare compound prefix but for the fact that it usually occurs within an irrealis predicate (that is, in imperative and interrogative sentences).

(5) Sesemé Same pakiemmanu nyo’ ana’kode Boloh.

torn cloth pn caus- to- mother -2sg say captain pn

‘You, Sama in torn clothes, go to your mother!’ said captain Boloh.’

The suffix –an

There are two homophonous morphemes –an: a nominal suffix and a verbal one. The first one nominalizes the root word and expresses the result of a process or an entity that is affected by the process. It also signals that the noun refers to a collection of entities, reference to which generally remains unexpressed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bele</th>
<th>‘to cook’</th>
<th>belehan</th>
<th>‘cooked food’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baun</td>
<td>‘to speak; language’</td>
<td>baunan</td>
<td>‘statement, utterance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upi</td>
<td>‘to dream’</td>
<td>upian</td>
<td>‘dream, ambition’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix –an is frequently combined with the compound prefix pa-N–:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bunan</th>
<th>‘to give’</th>
<th>pamunanan</th>
<th>‘donation, present’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ng)anjame</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>pangajamean</td>
<td>‘profession, job’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loros</td>
<td>‘to harvest’</td>
<td>pangalorosan</td>
<td>‘crop, harvest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It also appears in the confix *pa– –an*, without intervening *N–*, to form nouns that refer to places, such as *pinang* ‘betel nut’ > *papinangan* ‘betel tray’. In Indonesian Bajo (but apparently not in other Sama-Bajau languages), there are *ka– –an* confixes, probably borrowed from Malay-Indonesian *ke– –an*, and similarly indicating excessiveness of a property, detrimental event or expressing an abstract notion, for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pare</td>
<td>‘a lot of’</td>
<td><em>kaparehan</em></td>
<td>‘too many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumpan</td>
<td>‘a speck of dust’</td>
<td><em>kalumpanan</em></td>
<td>‘to have a speck of dust in the eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nia</td>
<td>‘there is’</td>
<td><em>kaniah</em></td>
<td>‘execution, achievement’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal suffix *–an* also conveys a locative meaning; it is however a very broadly defined locative. For any transitive verb of which the object can be seen as a location or destination of the action, the verbal root will be affixed with *–an*, see example (1). Therefore, it is highly frequent, encompassing other semantic values including benefactive. However, in Kangean Bajo, the strictly locative use of *–an* (when it indicates a point in space) tends to fade because it is often reinforced or replaced by the preposition *ma* “at, in, into”. We leave the challenge of explaining this optional presence of the locative preposition *ma* within an object phrase to syntacticians. The suffix *–an* cannot be employed with intransitive verbs, as in the second sentence of example (8).

(6) *Iye ngalarisan (ma) romah Kabaena.*
    3SG AV-cross-LOC (in) forest NP
    ‘He crossed the forest of Kabaéna.’

(7) *Taguanku gole (ma) gelas.*
    pour-LOC-1SG ERG sugar (in) glass
    ‘I pour sugar into the glass.’

    3SG AV-work in Jakarta.  3SG AV-work-LOC (in) Jakarta
    ‘He works in Jakarta.’

The locative meaning of *–an* often applies to animates, including humans, as in examples (1) and (9), or to inalienable parts of the body, as in example (10).

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19 Donohue (1996: 788) comments on the locative meaning of *–an* in Tukang Besi Bajo.
Iye nekahan mbo’ne.
Iye n- (t)eka-an mbo’-ne.
3SG AV-visit -LOC elder-3SG elder-3SG UV-visit-LOC-3SG
‘He visits his grand-father.’ ‘His grand-father has his visit.’

Lolohne magagalunsuran tanganne ma cocorah.
Loloh -ne ma- ga- galunsur-an tangan-ne ma cocorah.
Follow-3SG ERG IMPFCT-RDP-descend-LOC hand -3SG on ladder frame
‘He follows the ladder frame, by lowering step-by-step his hand.’

Finally, the following excerpt from an iko-iko epic song displays several examples of the affixes that we have presented.

Mbo’ Panai, pakadianu lélépenu beke busaiannuku ka darat.
Mbo’ Panai, pa- ka- dia -nu lélépe -nu
elder PN CAUS- to- below-2SG ERG proa -2SG
beke busai -an -nu -ku ka darat.
with Ø- paddle -BENE -2SG ERG -1SG ABS to ground
‘Grand-father Panai, put your proa to the sea then paddle (bring) me to the shore.’

4 Conclusion
The Sama-Bajau languages are spoken by a diaspora of small communities scattered on some shores of the Southern Philippines, Sabah (Malaysia) and many islands in the eastern part of Indonesia. The data presented in this paper were collected in Indonesia, from several Bajo communities around the Flores Sea (Kangean, Lesser Sunda Islands, South-East Sulawesi).

As opposed to various languages of the Sama-Bajau branch, no vowel lengthening is perceptible in Bajo. The gemination of certain consonants is audible, but it is only marginally and potentially phonemic. Through sonogram interpretation, the acoustic features of this gemination have been described. Pre-nasalized consonants can be analyzed as single phonemes. Sandhi proves to be more complex in Bajo than in Indonesian, because it involves phonetic adjustments between root words and suffixes as well as prefixes, and entails some aphaeresis and epenthesis.

At first glance, Bajo affixes seem to have cognate counterparts in Indonesian. However, this impression does not hold when we confront the data. For instance, the compound prefix pa-N- should not be confused with the Malay-Indonesian peN-. The verbal prefix pa-N- is in effect a combination of the causative prefix pa- and the actor voice prefix N-. Besides the verbal pa-N- there is also a compound nominalizing prefix pa-N- in Bajo. The same
kind of homophony is observed with regard to the suffix –an, which may concern noun formation and verb formation.

REFERENCES
Cross- and trans-language morphology
The lexicography of Indonesian names

DICK VAN DER MEIJ

Abstract
Different form many other name-giving possibilities in the world, in Indonesia parents are free to give their children any name they like. These names, many of which are auspicious in view of the child’s future, are often constructed by means of productive morphological procedures. Seven suffixes are followed through history and culture and their possibilities in making new names are explored. The suffixes concern the female –ingsih, –ingrum, –ingtyas, –ingdyah, –astuti, –wati, and the male –wan. Various ins and outs concerning these suffixes are explored and their attachments to various words from various word classes from Indonesian, Javanese and other language revealed. Cross-language name construction leads to trans-language creations that play a possible role in the constitution of Indonesian nation building. The procedures moreover seem to indicate trends away from the inclination to give children Muslim names.

Keywords
Indonesian language, Javanese language, morphology, lexicography, Indonesian name giving, personal names, Javanese royal history, Javanese culture.

As expected, the women’s 5,000-meter specialist Triyaningsih and discus thrower Dwi Ratnawati successfully defended their domination of the Main Stadium of the National Sports Complex in Vientiane on Monday’ (The Jakarta Post 15 December 2009, p. 24).

1.1 Introduction
In the world of Indonesian linguistics, surprisingly little research has been devoted to personal names. The only one that springs to mind is E.M. Uhlenbeck’s 1969 article in Word.¹ He introduces us to the morphological

¹ E.M. Uhlenbeck, ‘Semantic features of Javanese personal names’, Linguistic studies

DICK VAN DER MEIJ defended his thesis: Puspakrena: A Javanese Romance from Lombok in 2002 at Leiden University. He has worked for Nuffic and Leiden University and has edited and translated numerous works from Indonesian to Dutch and English and vice versa. He is at present affiliated with the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture and of the Center for the Study of Islam and Society of the Syarif Hidayatullah Islamic State University in Jakarta. Dick van der Meij may be contacted at: dickvdm2005@yahoo.com.

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principles underlying many contemporary Javanese names but whether or not new names can be constructed based on the principles he elucidates remains in the dark.

As an important part of the daily lexicon of language users, it is remarkable that little research is carried out into this particular field of the language’s lexicography. This is the more surprising as the number of personal and other names people use on a daily basis is staggering. The study of personal names is moreover important as it reveals much of the linguistic competence of the language’s speakers in combining lexical elements, in this case from various languages. It also reveals the ease with which speakers are able to transcend language barriers; it would indeed seem that in Indonesia these barriers are malleable and that ‘language osmosis’ is by no means something frowned upon.

The quote from The Jakarta Post above mentions two female names, Triyaningsih and Ratnawati that have been made through the application of productive name-making procedures. The first name ends in the productive suffix -ningsih, and the second ends in -wati. The procedures are so productive that it would seem that almost every day new names are made and collecting them is an unending enterprise.2

This article discusses the ways names are created from elements across languages and turned into names that transcend the languages of the compound elements.3 I will pay attention to seven productive systems of name making, six female and one male. The names discussed here all end in a specific suffix: female suffixes –ningsih, –ningrum, –ningtyas, –ningdyah, –astuti, and –wati and the male suffix –wan. The suffixes discussed here are only used in the name making procedures discussed below and they are not applied in any other part of the Indonesian or Javanese languages. Interestingly, there seem to be many more productive procedures at work in name giving for girls than for boys. –Wan is almost as productive as –wati, but other male suffixes such as –man are used far less often than any of the suffixes addressed here. I have chosen these names because they give a good impression of name-building practices in Indonesia, and also because they reveal an interesting trend that is 180 degrees in opposition to the perceived tendency in this predominantly Muslim country to give children Islamic or Islamic-inspired names, a fashion that has become especially general under the last generation of Muslims. At first glance, these names therefore seem to escape the ongoing Islamization of the country but there is some reason for caution. The names discussed here may be the only name a person carries, but usually a person carries more than one name and the names provided and discussed below are only those that have

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2 For this article, no attempt has been made to see when the names were constructed. Apart from the historical overview of the origins of the suffixes used, the emphasis of this article remains largely morphological and ignores issues of synchronicity and diachronicity.
3 That these highly productive ways of names’ construction have escaped the attention of linguists is a puzzle to me.
been made based on the productive procedures discussed in this article and the other names people carry may indeed reveal an Islamic or other religious background. The article limits itself to the names under discussion and any other names individuals may carry have not been included. However, in some individual cases these names are shown to explain certain points pertinent to the discussion. Islamic and other religious affiliations may be constituent parts of the names that use the suffixes discussed here, for instance in the ubiquitous name Rachmawati and all its variant spellings and the sample used here even includes the name Muslimawati. They are exceptions rather than the rule. Below some examples of names that carry a religious affiliation are mentioned.

1.2 NAMES IN INDONESIA

Names in Indonesia are often made using productive systems of name formation, something that is rare in other parts of the world. This is not to indicate that this productiveness is a phenomenon that is found among all the ethnic groups in this ethnicity-rich archipelago. It may be that in the use of the names discussed here we are indeed talking about a Javanese-based system that has escaped its ethnic confines and roams throughout the entire archipelago – as indeed the Javanese people have through the many transmigration projects executed in the country in the past; the system has reached adjacent Bali for sure, and Lombok as well.

Many Javanese carry only one name, for instance, Soekarno and Soeharto, two of Indonesia’s Presidents and many people in Indonesia do not carry a family name but only carry given names, which makes it difficult to find out who a person really is as regards to their parents and other family connections.

Seldom is a name given which does not in one way or another convey a kind of message, or a kind of hope or expectation for the newborn child. In a way, a child’s name is the shortest and most persistent mantra its parents utters over it in order to help it through life. A name may reflect the circumstances when a child was born or how it entered the world. It may, for instance reflect that the process of delivery was smooth or laborious. If the ‘mantra’ fails and the child often becomes ill or is otherwise unsuccessful in life, its name is often changed for another in the hope to reverse unhappy conditions.

Interestingly, patronymics are infrequently used in modern Indonesia. The only instances I found include the names of former Indonesian President, Megawati Soekarnoputri (Megawati, Soekarno’s daughter), and her brother Guntur Soekarnoputra (Guntur, Soekarno’s son) and their brother Guruh Soekarnoputra and sisters Rachmawati and Sukmawati Soekarnoputri.

We have so far been talking about an individual’s ‘official’ name or names, but that may not be the name or names the person uses or is known under. Many people carry names in daily life that do not, or only distantly, refer to their own name or are abbreviations of their name. Of course nicknames are widely used as well.
As implied above, Muslim names have entered this predominantly Muslim country and, of late, it is increasingly difficult to establish a person’s ethnic background due to the Islamic names people carry, which are ethnic free. Also here highly productive procedures are at work. For instance, the use of male names with the Muslim ending -uddin or -udin seems to become greater and greater, for instance, Akhimuddin, Amiruddin, Badaruddin, Baharuddin, Burhahuddin, Hasanuddin, Imaduddin, Jaenuddin, Jamaluddin, Komaruddin, Nasaruddin, Nuruddin, Risuddin, Sahabuddin, Samaruddin, Syamsuddin, Tawalnuddin, Tajuddin, Wahiduddin, Zainuddin, Badarudin, Baharudin, Haerudin, Hanifudin, Izzuddin, Jalaludin, Kasrudin, Nurudin, Saifudien, Salahudin, Sihabudin, and many such.\footnote{It would be incorrect to think that these names are exclusively Indonesian. Many are also found in other places of the Muslim world but I have the impression that some are Indonesian-made. More research on this is needed, however.}

Names may also be given in commemoration of a religious occasion at the time of the new baby’s birth. For instance, many people are called Fitri, Ramadan or Ramdhoni (abbreviated to Dhoni) because they were born in the fasting month of Ramadan or around Id ‘ul Fitri, the festive end of that month. The same holds for people carrying the name Puasaningrum, Puasingdah and Puasawati who were likely born in the fasting month. I once met a taxi driver whose name was Isra Miraj because he was apparently born on the 27th of the month Rajab, the date of the ascension to heaven (Isra Miraj) of the Prophet Muhammad (see The Photograph). Also in Christianity, the name may reflect a religious festivity such as evidenced by the name Natalwati to commemorate Christmas, and Paskahwati and Paskalningrum in commemoration of Easter. Children also often get a name pointing to the time they were born such as the month or the early morning, or names that point to the weather conditions surrounding the delivery.\footnote{For instance, Januarita, Januarisman, Febri, Febriyadi, Febrina, Febriansah, Febriani, Febriandira, Febriana, Febrianti, Febriyanti, Febrifanyi, Febrianto, Apriadi, Apriliani, Aprilianti, Yuliantino, Meiwati, Meiwitia, Juni, Juniartini, Juniartha, Juniati, Juniars, Junita, Juniawan, Yuniyanti, Yuli, Yuliart, Juliaste, Julwaidi, Agustiani, Auguste, Agustina, Agustini, Agustiawan, Fajar (early morning), Halilintar (lightning), Ratri (evening), and so forth and so on.} An individual’s place among their siblings is often indicated by a numeral indicating whether they are the first, second etcetera child.\footnote{Eka, Eko (one), Dwi (two), Tri (three), etcetera.}

Over time, fashion and modernity has also contributed to names and the countless Ciskas, Bettys, Rudys, Ellys, Anitas, Lolitas, and Iwans and many more other Western names are given to this day. People moreover often carry names combining Western and Indonesian names, or Arabic,
or Christian names combined with names indicative of one’s ethnic background, rank among siblings and conditions or time of birth.

In short, the variation is overwhelming and names are sometimes created rather unexpectedly. Eldowan Arief explained to me that his name was made up of E, because he was the fifth child in the family, 1 for lahirm (born), d for di– (passive prefix), o for operasi (surgery) + –wan because he is a boy. Arief was the doctor who delivered him. Fetri Aswanti was thus called as she was born in February (Fe) as the third child (tri), the daughter of Suhailah (anak Suhailah, As) and to indicate that she is an Eastern lady (wanita timur, wanti). One parent was so charmed by Martina Navratilova that he named his daughter Lativa Sovianavratilova. An extreme example of a Muslim inspired name is Fatwa Mui which means a fatwa (Islamic legal decision) made by the MUI, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulama Council). A last example is one whose meaning I would never have guessed from the name only. A Balinese father gave his daughter the name Faradynawati out of admiration for Michael Faraday, the inventor of the Faraday cage!

1.3 Names and ethnicity and nationality

Indonesia is an amalgam of large numbers of ethnic and social groups and below I will briefly introduce some aspects of Indonesian ‘traditional’, ethnicity-related names. These names are often indications of a person’s ethnic background, whether they still live in their ethnic place of origin or not. If we start in North Sumatra, people whose name sounds like Sihombing, Simatupang, Situmorang, Siagian, Siringoringo, etcetera. originate from Batak ethnic groups. People more knowledgeable in Batak ethnic elements will undoubtedly see much more in these names and will probably be able to tell from what sub-ethnic stratum a person originates. Names like Pattimura, Litamahuputty, Lumatalale, Manusama, Pattipilohy, etcetera come from the Moluccas; Lumenta, Maukur, Mawuntu, Pinontoan, and Wowor hail from Manado and surroundings in North Sulawesi (Yapi Tambayong 2007). Natanegara, and Kusumaatmaja, etcetera come from West Java while Notonegoro, and Kusumoatmojo stem from Central Java. Many Javanese have names starting with the prefix Su– (‘good’), we need only think of Soekarno (Sukarno) and Soeharto (Suharto) who have already been mentioned above. Productive names in Javanese aristocratic circles are almost invariably compounds of various meaningful particles, each name indicative of one’s rank and position in the palace. People named Nanang, Usep, Asep, Cecep, Rikrik, Aang and such are West Javanese (Sundanese) men and people whose names start with Wayan (first-born, also Putu), Made (second-born, also Nengah and Kadek), Nyoman (third-born, also Komang), and fourth-born Ketut come from Bali where the preceding I denotes a male and Ni a female. In Bali, a person’s place and caste is immediately visible from

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7 –wanti is also becoming a productive suffix in female name making.
8 Personal information from the people concerned.
9 This is one of the rare examples of a dictionary of a regional language that includes many personal names and explains them.
their name and no mistakes are possible on this front.

Incidentally, in many cultures it is taboo to refer to a person’s personal name, or even to know it. In Bali, for instance, people often refer to one another simply by the indication of their place among their siblings. There are thus thousands and thousands of Wayan’s and Ketut’s who are only known under that name and people have no clue as to what their complete names might be.

In the old days, in Java, it was easy to see from what social circles a person hailed. In short, his/her name gave him/her away. Uhlenbeck gives some nice examples of the morphological rules underlying the differences between names from different strata in society. Often a mere change in vowel suffices to distinguish a name from high to low class (Sĕtradikara [low] and Sastradikara [higher], Singasĕmita [low] and Singasasmita [higher], Uhlenbeck 1982: 382). Abbreviated names also usually indicate a lower social position compared to a person carrying the unabbreviated one: Camuka (low) but Secamuka (higher), Jadipa (low) but Jayadipa (higher) etceteraetera (Uhlenbeck 1982: 382).

In some areas names are not just invented by the parents and given at birth, but are only provided during rituals after the most propitious name for the child has been agreed upon. In Bali, for instance, names are given after rituals and are chosen by a Priest, rather than by the parents (see Hinzler 1988). Usually, rituals and practices that surround name-giving and information on the names in use may be found in anthropological treatises on ethnic groups in the archipelago. Usually they are found in ethnic descriptions, for instance, in S. Hylkema o.f.m.’s treatise on the Nalum, a group of Papua in the Star Mountains of Papua. He provides an interesting discussion about the kind of names children get, when they get their names, and what the names convey (see Hylkema 1974: 171-176). Another example is J.P.K. van Eechoud’s Etnografie van de Kaowerawėdįf of Central Papua. He also pays attention to the moment a child obtains its name and the circumstances surrounding the birth of the child. Similar to many places in Indonesia, for instance also mentioned in Hylkema’s work, the circumstances of birth are of such importance that they are memorized by the name of the child (see Eechoud 1962: 41-44).

The importance of names in emotional nation building in Indonesia has been overlooked. This is a pity as it may teach us a lot about the extent to which the people consider themselves members of the Unitary Indonesian Republic or rather of the ethnic group they were born into. The fact that names and the linguistic procedures how to create them have not drawn the attention of social scientists is thus a pity because they give a clear example of how nation building on the individual level may work and develop. Consider, for instance, the following names in our sample created the basis of the proper name of a national hero or president as mentioned above:

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10 On Balinese names, see also Cika 1990.
Hatta\textsuperscript{11} (Hattaningsih, Hattaningrum), Rasuna\textsuperscript{12} (Rasunawati), Soekarno\textsuperscript{13} (Soekarnoningsih, Soekarnowati), and Kartini\textsuperscript{14} (Kartinininggsih, Kartininingrum, Kartininingdyah, Kartiniviati, Kartinianwan). Interesting in this light are also the names Merdekaningsih, Merdekaningrum, Merdekaningtyas, Merdekanawati, and Merdekanawan, all created with the word merdeka ‘independence’\textsuperscript{15}

1.4 GATHERING AND GROUPING NAMES

For this research, a good sample of names is, of course, a prerequisite. Since I consider this article a pioneer study, I have not turned the exact method of the compilation of this sample into a problem yet. I collected as many names as I could and I have about 7000 names. The search consisted of randomly found names in newspapers and other periodicals, names of friends and colleagues, and lists of names put up in the supermarket containing names of winners of prizes, and on banners on the street. In addition, lists of names of students accepted at their schools as found in newspapers were browsed. Names of friends’ friends I found in Facebook were also a great help. Once a name was found carrying one of the suffixes discussed here, I googled the first part of the name combined with the other suffixes to see if they were in use. So, when I found Kusumaningsih, I googled the names Kusumaningrum, Kusumaningtyas, Kusumaningdyah, Kusumastuti, Kusumawati and Kusumawan to see if they existed. Of course this is not a 100 per cent full proof that names do not exist, but when they were found through Google, their validity was established. It is for this reason that no definite statements will be made about frequency and popularity of names.

In order to define patterns in the name-giving processes, some of which are presented below, I first grouped the names based on the suffix they used. Subsequently, they were divided based on the word classes of the first part of the names and on semantic characteristics, which will follow below. Many

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{11} Muhammad Hatta (1902-1980) jointly proclaimed Indonesian Independence on 17 August 1945 with Soekarno, and was the first Vice-President of Indonesia under President Soekarno.
  \item\textsuperscript{12} Hj. Rangkayo Rasuna Said (1910-1965) was a fighter for women rights and she is an Indonesian National Hero. She was the first female minister in a cabinet under President Soekarno.
  \item\textsuperscript{13} Soekarno proclaimed Indonesian Independence on 17 August 1945 with Muhammad Hatta and was the first President of Indonesia.
  \item\textsuperscript{14} Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) is considered the first Javanese woman to entertain feminist ideas.
  \item\textsuperscript{15} Research on names, their spread over the archipelago, and the name-giving procedures that transgress ethnic and linguistic borders may be an interesting way to look at nation building. When a name moves let us say from Java to Bali and beyond and is being adopted by people from other ethnic backgrounds, may be understood in the sense that the Javanese background of the name loses its significance in favour of a shared Indonesian background. That names can be a sensitive issue in Indonesia became apparent when during Soeharto’s Old Order regime Chinese Indonesians were more or less forced to relinquish their Chinese names in favour of indigenous – usually Javanese, or rather, Javanese sounding – ones. The fact that nowadays there is an overwhelming preference for Arabic names should probably also be seen in the light of the direction this country is going.
\end{itemize}
of the meanings of the names in the sample are clear enough, but because many names are also made on the basis of abbreviations of names of mothers and fathers and what not, it is not possible to understand them all. In order to decipher the meanings of all the names, extensive fieldwork would be required.

After the presentation of some linguistic aspects of the names, some historical and cultural background follows to put the names in a wider perspective. It will become obvious from what is said below that we are talking about a Javanese ethnic background of these names. We will see that in the more distant past (as far as I was able to establish) there was a substantial less number of names based on the suffixes in use compared to the overwhelming number of names given at present or in the recent past.

2 MORPHOLOGICAL ASPECTS
2.1 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

With the exception of wan* the suffixes under discussion are also found as proper names in their own rights. Wati is the most well known but names like Ningsih, Ningrum, Ningtyas, Ningdyah, and Astuti are often encountered as well. Wan* was never found as a name and is only used as an abbreviated form of a larger name carrying the –wan suffix. We should also mention that names spelled as one word may be encountered spelled as two separate words and should thus in reality be considered two names. Thus we find Kusumaningrum but also Kusuma Ningrum etcetera. Combinations that are found as two words do not necessarily also feature as one word or the other way around.

Combinations of the suffixes leading to proper names have also been encountered, for instance, Astutiningsih, Astutiningrum and Astutiningtyas, Watiningsih, Watiniringrum, and Watiningdyah, Ningtiyaswati and Ningtiyaswan. Sometimes two suffixes combine with a preceding particle such as Amborowati-ningsih. Occasionally the same or almost the same particle is repeated like in Watiwati or Arumningrum, leading to alliteration.

If we look at the names before and/or coming after the names with the suffixes under discussion we sometimes encounter nice examples of rhyming names and names made up using different suffixes resulting in something special. For instance, Maria Riastuti Ryaningrum, Tuti Ningsih Purbaningrum, Triningtyasasih Bawanringrum, Berlianingsih Kusumawati, Sarityastuti Santi Saraswati, Sudarmawan Darmawan, Astuti Giriningsih, Dhian Sistemardika Ningdiah, etcetera.

2.1.1 -WATI AND -WAN

Suffixes –wati and –wan are simply added to the stem without any changes to the stem or to the suffix. A note should be made here that some words in the Indonesian vocabulary also end in wan and addition of -wan to some stems is therefore impossible. For instance, the stem Ra has Raningsih, Raningrum, Raningtyas, Rastuti, and Rawati, but not Rawan* as the word means
'affected, moved, touched' in Indonesian and is mostly used in expressions like rawan gempa, rawan kecelakaan, rawan kejahatan, rawan pangan meaning respectively ‘subject to earthquakes, subject to accidents, crime ridden (area), and food shortage’ (Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2008: 812-813) and thus would seem unsuitable for a name for a newly born baby. The same holds for Indonesian karya, ‘work’ which is found in the names Karyaningsih, Karyaningrum, Karyaningtyas, Karyastuti, but rarely Karyawan and Karyawati because they mean male and female employee. The name Warawan exists, but is the name of an orchid and is thus not fit to be used for a boy.

2.1.2 -NINGSIH, -NINGRUM, -NINGTYAS, -NINGDYAH

These suffixes consist of two parts, the literary genitive suffix -(n)ing and added sih, rum, tyas, and dyah. They will be referred to as -ningsih, -ningrum, -ningtyas, -ningdyah, but perhaps they should be called -ingsih, -ingrum, -ingtyas, and -ingdyah. They follow the rules of Javanese morphology as with the genitive suffix -ing. This means that the suffix would receive an initial /n/ when attached to a particle ending in a vowel. There is reason for caution here as a choice between -ingsih and -ningsih seems to be open as evidenced by the occurrence of both Nuringsih and Nurningsih. The name Indriassingsih is also a curious exception, as the suffix seems to be -singsih rather than -ningsih.

In our sample, names ending in -ningsih and in -ningrum, are the most frequently found among the quartet -ningsih, -ningrum, -ningtyas, and -ningdyah. Suffix -ningdyah is the least often found among them. Very occasionally, a name that uses one of these suffixes is used by a male. One example is Anas Urbaningrum, the present (2010) chairman of the Democratic Party. We should mention that spelling variation occurs such as -ningroem, -ningtias, -ningtyas, and -ningdiyah. The meaning of these suffixes is as follows. -sih means ‘love, affection, loving kindness, sympathy, benevolence, favour’ (Zoetmulder 1982: 139) and in the eyes of one of my informants refers to gratitude for God’s gift. Her reasoning was as follows: -ingsih means Love and as God is love the suffix meaning is as stated above. -rum means ‘beauty, loveliness, charm, attractiveness, sweetness, gentleness, fragrance’ (Zoetmulder 1982:1569), -tyas means ‘heart’, from tyas ‘heart, heart as the seat of feelings’ (Pigeaud 1938: 609), dyah refers to a ‘beautiful lady’, from dyah ‘young man or woman of noble birth’ (Zoetmulder 1982: 450). Although Zoetmulder mentions that the word may also refer to men, in my sample –dyah is only used for women. Thus, Kusumaningsih means ‘Flower of the Love of God’, Kusumaningrum ‘Fragrant Flower’, Kusumaningtyas ‘Flower of the heart’ and Kusumaningdyah ‘Lovely Lady like a Flower’. Many people were unable to explain the meaning of their name, however.

2.1.3 -ASTUTI

-astuti originates from Sanskrit and Old Javanese stuti means: ‘song of praise, praise; subject of praise’ astuti means ‘using (uttering) a stuti’ (Zoetmulder 1982:1825) It is usually added to the preceding part without any changes. When
two variant stems occur such as Adi/Adia (and many more, see below), adding -astuti leads to the same name thus resulting in Adiastuti. In these cases, the real stem is therefore hard to discover and may only be found after interviews with the people who gave the name or with its bearer. Apparently, the first part of the suffix may be replaced. For instance, the name Sri Castuti binti Casmudi. Castuti is no doubt made up of Cas (the first part of the father’s name) and -astuti, the name of the mother. Technically the name is thus Cas + cuti. Another enigma is the name Yuwastuti next to Yuastuti. The addition of the approximant /w/ after Yu- may be explained as a pronunciation aid whereas the stem Yuw– may also be a possibility although it has not been found as the stem of any of the other names under discussion. Rarely the suffix –stuti is encountered for males, for instance Yonahes Tristuti Rachmadi Suryosaputra.

2.2 Linguistic aspects

Below we will look into some other linguistic aspects of the names in question. We will have a look at the constituting parts of these compounded names and pay particular attention to the first part and see if some order can be made in the large number of names we have found.

We will see that many names are made by using words that derive from various Indonesian and non-Indonesian languages such as Javanese, Indonesian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin and from a variety of personal names stemming from English and other languages. They thus cross the boundaries of languages and transgress linguistic borders, hence the expression cross-language and trans-language in the title of this article.

In order to reveal the multilingual backgrounds of many of the names, I have indicated below where the first parts of the names derive from so that the reader will instantly become aware that the names are based on particles from different languages that in combination result in something new.

2.2.1 Sandhi

In Javanese, sandhi rules require the melting of /a/ + /i/ to /e/ and of /a/ + /u/ to /o/ whereas /a/ + /a/ would result in /a/. These rules rarely apply. Only the following examples where /a/ meets /i/ contracts to /e/ were encountered: Arna + ingsih = Arnengsih, Nurna + ingsih = Nurnengsih, Purna + ingsih = Purnengsih, Purnama + ingsih = Purnamengsih, and Ratna + ingsih = Ratnengsih, and Arna + ingrum = Arnawengrum and Pratawa + ingrum = Pratawengrum. However, the sample also includes Yunaningsih next to Yuneningsih, Pranaweningrum next to Pranawengrum, and Purwaningtyas flanking Purwengtyas and thus, apparently, people may opt to consider the suffix either to be –ingsih, –ingrum, or –ingtyas, resulting in the name with sandhi, or as –ningsih, –ningrum, and –ningtyas, without sandhi. One explanation for this may be that non-Javanese speakers who are unaware of these sandhi rules give these Javanese-sounding names to their children. It may point to the fact that the suffixes indeed start with /n/ and not with the vowel as, otherwise, much more cases of sandhi would be expected. However, the case
is even more complicated as also Purwa + ningsih = Purwanengsih (next to Purwaningsih), Sekarangsengsih exists next to Sekarangningsih, and Purwa + ningrum = Purwanengrum have also been found. Perhaps these are exceptions as these are the only examples I have found so far.

Only few examples of sandhi have been found with the addition of the suffix –astuti and thus Andri + –astuti did not lead to Andrestuti* but to Andriastuti. However, Prawiastuti exists next to Prawestuti. Restu + –astuti did not result in Restostuti* but in Restuastuti. When two /a/ meet between the stem and the suffix there are two possibilities, either the /a/ of the suffix is deleted or it is retained. The last happens much more infrequently and in the sample I have only Dewaastuti, Indriaastuti, Novitaastuti and Anaastusi. An /h/ may be added between the stem and the suffix as with Dwihastuti next to Dwiastuti, Trihastuti and Triastuti, Dewihastuti and Dewiastuti also clearly indicating the absence of sandhi.

2.2.2 Number of syllables in the first part of the names
The particles preceding the suffixes can contain various numbers of syllables ranging from one (often consisting of only one consonant) to five of which only three entered our sample Amborowati, Inharicahya, Sunarimahi.Apparently, there is a limit to the length of the first constituent of the names; if the name becomes too long it will become unpleasant and hard to pronounce. At present the total number of syllables of the names is restricted to seven; maximal five plus the two of the suffix used. The bulk of the names consist of three plus two syllables. The following adaptations to the basic words may therefore be understood as to fulfill the requirement of three plus two syllables as the – apparently ‘ideal’ – length of the names using the principles elucidated in this article.

2.2.3 Added vowels after the final vowel of the first element of the compound
Two added vowel systems are at work in the construction of the names. Interestingly, both procedures end in the same ending of the first particle.

2.2.3.1 /i/ + /a/

A *star indicates that the name is theoretically possible, but has not been encountered.

2.2.3.2 /a/ + /i/

On the other hand, when a particle ends in /a/ an /i/ may be added. Thus we find Faraningsih, Faraningrum, Faraningtyas, Faraningdyah*, Farastuti, Farawati, and Farawan next to Farianingsih*, Farianingrum, Farianingtyas*, Farianingdyah*, Fariastuti, Fariawati*, and Fariawan*. The following couples were encountered: Era-Eria, Fara-Faria, Hera-Heria, Herda-Herdia, Inda-India, Indra-Indria, Kora- Koria, Kusna-Kusnia, Lisa-Lisia, Lisna-Lisnia, Mida-Midia, Wira-Wiria.17

2.2.4 The Javanese background of many names

2.2.4.1 Javanese words as first part of the name

The most obvious indication that the names derive from Javanese and are used in Java is found when the first part of the words indeed are Javanese words. There are quite a few of them: Ageng (grand, great), Agung (grand, great), Arda (desirous), Ardi (mountain), Arga (mountain), Arka (sun), Arnawa (sea), Arsa (desire), Arta (money), Arum (fragrant), Asma (name), Asmara (love), Asmoro (love), Asmu (countenance), Asri (pleasant), Asti (elephant), Astra (weapon), Darpa (desirous), Giri (mountain), Baskoro (sun), Lintang (star), etcetera.

2.2.4.2 Javanese styles of high and low

Another specific characteristic of Javanese is its various vocabularies of status difference. The low level (ngoko) is found among the names, often flanked by its high level (krama) counterpart, but in surprisingly few instances. For instance: Gede-Ageng, Marga-Mergi, Utama-Utami.

2.2.4.3 Alternative use of Javanese and non-Javanese rules of pronunciation

The Javanese ethnic background of the names may be glanced from the Javanese pronunciation which rules are evident in the sample. In Javanese, the vocal /a/ is realized as /o/ in open syllables, counting in pairs starting back to front. Thus dana is pronounced dono, nugraha is pronounced nugroho, and narayana is pronounced noroyono. The words used here as the first part of the compounds are indeed Javanese. When they are used in their non-Javanese pronunciation they may be indicative either of non-Javanese background or of an Indonesian cultural/national background while the parent may still

17 The ambiguity of the origins of the names is also evident here. The names starting with Hartia, for instance, can be made of Harta + i, or of Harti + a.
be from a Javanese ethnic background. Thus we find the following pairs: Ekaningsih, Ekaningrum, Ekaningtyas, Ekaningdyah*, Ekastuti*, Ekawati, Ekawan next to Ekoningsih, Ekoningsrum, Ekoningstyas, Ekoningsdyah*, Ekoastuti, Ekwati, and Ekwon. Consider the following examples from our sample: Eka-Eko, Asmara-Asmoro, Endra-Endro, Erna-Erno, Jana-Jano, Kuncara-Kuncoro, Listya-Listyo, Mustika-Mustiko, Nugraha-Nugroho, Panca-Ponco, Pinta-Pinto, Praba-Prabo, Purnama-Purnomo, Purwa-Purwo, Retna-Retno, Rinta-Rinto, Sampurna-Sampurno, Sapta-Sapto, Setia-Setio, Setya-Setyo, Sulistia-Sulistio, Sulistyia-Sulistyoe, Susila-Susilo, Sutrisna-Sutrisno, Sungkawa-Sungkowo, Teja-Tejo, Widya-Widyo

2.2.4.4 ALTERNATIVE ENDINGS IN /i/ AND /a/
In Javanese, final /i/ is often used for female and final /a/ for male names. In Indonesian this same phenomenon has been adopted and thus present day Indonesian (but derived from Javanese) putri means a daughter and putra a son, and the Indonesian nouns saudari a female sibling, saudara a male one, siswa ‘male pupil’ and siswi ‘female pupil, mahasiswa ‘male student’ and mahasiswi ‘female student’, etcetera. have been constructed in imitation of Javanese. In the sample of the names under discussion, there is also a /i/ - /a/ variation in the stems. Dissimilar to what has been said above, this does not indicate gender difference as the names are all used for females. Thus we find Hartaningsih, Hartaningrum, Hartaningtyas, Hartaningdyah*, Hartastuti*, Hartawati, and Hartawan next to Hartiningsih, Hartiningrum, Hartiningtyas, Hartiningdyah, Hartiasturi, Hartiwati, and Hartiwan, etcetera. Consider the following pairs:

3 PROPER NAMES PLUS SUFFIX
Quite a few names were formed on the basis of an existing proper male or female name such as Cesar, Ely, Emilya, Erika, Gloria, Helga, Herma, Hilda, Ida, Ina, Johan, Julia, Kristina, Linda, Lisa, Luciana, Mahendra, Mahinda, Maria, Melda, Natali, Ratna, Silvia, Sri, Susan, Synthia, Tani, Tina, Tuti, Vera, Wanda, and

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18 As with the couple Praba-Prabo, the /a/ - /o/ pronunciation as the rules of Javanese pronunciation would have led to Praba-Probo* and Jana-Jano*

19 In the instances mentioned below, not all seven names of the septets have been encountered but at least one of them has entered the sample.
Yeni. Also here not all the seven suffixes are represented for every name. The one mostly found is Ratna which has all seven: Ratnaningsih, Ratnaningrum, Ratnaningtyas, Ratnaningdyah, Ratnastuti, Ratnawati and Ratnawan, while others, such as Cesar has only been found in combination with -ningrum: Cesarningrum. Included here are names made on the basis of the proper name of a national hero or president as mentioned above.

3.1 RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED NAMES
The suffixes may be attached to names indicative of various religious strands, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu.

3.2 MUSLIM NAMES
The following Muslim and Islamic names have been encountered: Achsa, Aishah, Aisyah, Aisyah, Ali, Amin, Farhan, Fatima, Fatwa, Fitri, Fitria, Isa, Isra, Miraj, Noor, Nur, Nurrohma, Rachma, Rahma, Rakhma, Ridha, Ridho, Ridla, Rochma, Rochmya, Rohma, Rokhma, Rosdiana, Rufina, Takwa, Taqwa, Umar, and Wahyu. Names based on Rahma and Rohma (regardless of their spelling) have been encountered most: Rahmaningsih, Rahmaningrum, Rahmaningtyas, Rahmantutti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, Rahmantuti, and Rahmantuti, and the same set starting with Rohma.

3.3 CHRISTIAN NAMES
Only three Christian names have been found as the first part of the compounds, Ana, Anna and Maria of which all seven names are found with the exception of Annaningdyah*.

3.4 BUDDHIST AND HINDU NAMES
The following Buddhist and Hindu and Hindu-inspired names including characters from the Mahabharata were found: Astina, Brama, Buda, Endra, Endro, Indra, Karna, Kresna, Krisna, Kumara, Laksmi, Rama, Ratih, Sinta, Shinta, Soma, Sri, Supraba, Weda, and Wisnu.

4 NAMES BASED ON NAMES OF DAYS, MONTHS, AND OTHER TIME INDICATORS20
Very popular are combinations with an indication of a month of the Gregorian or Muslim Calendar or another indication of time such as the day of the week. Usually not the whole name of the month is used, but part thereof or a name closely indicative of the name of the month.

20 The origin of the names and the nouns to be discussed will be provided to indicate the trans-language aspect of the names. Ar. is indicative of Arabic, Gr. of Greek, Ind. of Indonesian, Jv. of Javanese, Jap. for Japanese, and Lat. for Latin.
4.1 MONTHS IN THE GREGORIAN CALENDAR

4.2 MONTHS IN THE MUSLIM CALENDAR
The following (all Arabic) stems were found: \textit{Muharram, Ramdana, Sawal, Syafar, Syawal}.

4.3 DAYS OF THE WEEK
The following days were found: \textit{Ahad} (Ar. Sunday), \textit{Kamis} (Ind. Thursday), \textit{Minggu} (Ind. Sunday), \textit{Rabu} (Ind. Wednesday), \textit{Sabtu} (Ind. Saturday), \textit{Selasa} (Ind. Tuesday), \textit{Legi} (Jv. second day of the Javanese five-day week), \textit{Pon} (Jv. forth day of the Javanese five-day week), \textit{Sukra} (Jv. Friday), \textit{Wage} (Jv. fifth day of the Javanese five-day week).

5 VARIOUS WORD CLASSES AS THE FIRST Part OF THE COMPOUND
5.1 Nouns
Because of their great variety, it is impossible to go into all aspects of the kinds of nouns added to the suffixes in our sample. A variation of nouns may be used for a name. They may easily be grouped on the basis of the semantic group they belong to.

5.1.1 Precious metals and gems
\textit{Berlian} (Ind. brilliant), \textit{Intan} (Ind. diamond), \textit{Kencana} (Jv. gold), \textit{Komala} (Ind. benzoic), \textit{Kumala} (Jv./Ind. benzoic), \textit{Mas} (Ind. gold), \textit{Mirah} (Jv. ruby), \textit{Mustika} (Jv./Ind. bezoar) \textit{Permata} (Ind. gem), \textit{Retna} (Ind. agate), \textit{Retno} (Jv. agate).\footnote{The words \textit{Ratna}, \textit{Retna} and \textit{Retno} are also used for proper name in itself and therefore has already been mentioned above.}

5.1.2 Flowers
\textit{Bunga} (Ind. flower), \textit{Dhalia} (Ind. dahlia), \textit{Kesuma} (Jv. flower), \textit{Kusuma} (Jv. flower), \textit{Mawar} (Ind. rose), \textit{Melati} (Ind. jasmine), \textit{Padma} (Jv. lotus), \textit{Patma} (Jv. lotus), \textit{Puspa} (Jv. flower), \textit{Sakura} (Jap. sakura), and \textit{Sekar} (Jv. flower).

5.1.3 Heavenly bodies
\textit{Bulan} (Ind. moon), \textit{Aditya} (Jv. sun), \textit{Candra} (Jv. moon), \textit{Chandra} (Jv. moon), \textit{Kartika} (Jv. star), \textit{Komar} (Ar. moon), \textit{Lintang} (Jv. star), \textit{Luna} (Lat. sun), \textit{Raditya} (Jv. sun), \textit{Ratih} (Jv. moon), \textit{Rawi} (Jv. sun), \textit{Surya} (Jv. sun), \textit{Tjandra} (Jv. moon), and \textit{Wulan} (Jv. moon).
5.1.4 Family members
Adi (Jv. younger sibling), Ari (Jv. younger sibling), Cucu (Ind. grandchild), Putra (Ind./Jv. son), Putri (Ind./Jv. daughter), Putro (Jv. son), Siwi (Jv. child, son), Suta (Jv. child, son), Tanaya (Jv. child, son), Tanoyo (Jv. child, son) Umi (Ar. mother).

5.2 Numerals and other indications of sequence
Names starting with a numeral or with the indication of a letter of the Greek alphabet, all indicating the ranking order within the group of siblings:

5.2.1 Numerals
Asta (Jv. eight), Dwi (Jv. two), Eka (Jv. one), Eko (Jv. one), Esa (Ind. one), Panca (Jv. five), Lima (Ind. five), Pertama (Ind. first), Penta (Gr. five), Pitu (Jv. seven), Ponco (Jv. five), Sapta (Jv. seven), Sapto (Jv. seven), Satu (Ind. one), Tetra (Gr. four), Tiga (Ind. three), Tri (Jv. three), Wolu (Jv. eight).

5.2.2 Greek letters
Only three Greek letters have been found: Alfa, Beta, Gama.

5.2.3 Arabic letters
The only Arabic letter that entered the sample is Alif.

5.3 Adjectives
Usually adjectives are used that carry a propitious or otherwise nice and fortunate meaning. Consider the following examples:
Abadi (Ind. everlasting), Adi (Jv. splendid, glorious), Ageng (Jv. grand), Agung (Jv. grand), Aneka (Ind. multifarious), Arum (Jv. fragrant, soft and sweet), Ayu (Jv. beautiful [of a lady]), Jaya (Ind./Jv. victorious), Sampurna (Ind. perfect), Sampurno (Jv. perfect), Setia (Ind. loyal, faithful), Setio (Jv. loyal, faithful), Setyo (Jv. loyal, faithful), and Wijaya (Ind. victorious).

6 Some historical, cultural, and social background
The historical and cultural background of the suffixes is explained by suffix. Please note that the information is fragmented and I have not been able to find equal amounts of information of each individual suffix.

6.1 -wati
Within our sample, -wati is by far the most productive suffix for making female names and is found all over the archipelago. The -wati suffix is encountered in a variety of spellings such as -wati, -wathi, -watie, -wat, and -wathy. Incidentally, Yanwati is the only example of a male name ending in -wati in my sample.
6.1.1 \(-wati\) in the wayang (shadow play) repertoire and Javanese literature

\(-wati\) is a suffix particle that stems from India and, somewhere in the ninth or tenth century, has entered the Indonesian archipelago probably with the introduction of the Sanskrit epic Mahābhārata in which this particle is often used for the names of female characters, but also for countries and, very rarely, for men. Early on, the epic was popularized in the Javanese context in Old-Javanese prose (parwa) and poetic adaptations (kakawin) but has probably become much more popular and well-known through the wayang (Javanese shadow- and other puppet plays) and has entered the wider Javanese world probably first through this medium although this is easier said than proved.\(^2\)

My sample of names indicates that quite a few wayang names are in general use today in the real world, especially when they have a certain auspicious meaning. For instance, Setyawati (faithful girl), Susilowati (ethical woman), while the name of the Goddess of Science and Wisdom; Saraswati is also frequently given to a baby girl, especially in Bali.

Some rare examples of male names ending in -wati include Prabu Mugiwati from West Java\(^2\) and Sasanaawati, the King of Cempa.\(^4\) The epithet Anyakrawati is given to the highest God, usually Indra or someone equated with his rank, and is found in many stories not only in Java but also in Javanese stories elsewhere in the archipelago but unknown in Java like the Puspakrama from Lombok where it is used as a verb, ‘to rule the whole world’ (Van der Meij 2002: 58). The name is also known in Javanese history as the King of Mataram, Hanyakrawati (Sedo ing Krapyak), who ruled from 1601 to 1613 (Poespaningrat 2008: 25).

Apart from the Mahābhārata, names ending in -wati are also found in other literary works. For example, in the Sĕrat Gatholoco we find the name Perjitawati (Ricklefs 2007: 190), which is also mentioned in the Sĕrat Dĕrmogandhul (Ricklefs 2007: 196). In the Javanese text, Kabarsundari from Lombok the particle is used for the name of Queen Nayawati, and for Gandawati, the daughter of a spirit (jin) (See Kabarsundari 2002). The suffix -wati is also used for yet quite another kind of phenomenon, kakawin metres. Kakawin are poems in Old Javanese that use Sanskrit or Sanskrit-derived metres. The following names for metres

\(^2\) This following names were found in Soekatno n.d., Purwadi 2007, Sucipto 2010, Poespaningrat 2008, and Lucas 1973. It has no pretention of being exhaustive for the entire wayang repertoire, however. Among the wayang repertoire, the following female names ending in -wati were encountered: Agnyanawati, Banowati, Citrawati, Dursilawati, Erawati, Gandawati, Gendrawati, Herawati, Jembawati, Kumudawati, Lesmanawati, Mindakawati, Nalawati, Nalawati, Narawati, Pujawati, Purwati, Sarasawati, Setyawati, Srengganawati, Srenggeniwati, Surayawati, Susilowati, Janakawati (http://wayang.wordpress.com/2010/03/10/ antasena-rabi-2/, accessed 16-9-2010), and Partawati (http://www.tembi.org/wayang/20100827-Babad_Wanamarta. html, accessed 16-9-2010). There are doubtless many other wayang ladies whose names end in -wati I have not yet found. Kresna’s famous kingdom in the wayang world is called Dwaraawati, also called Pancawati (See illustration 160 in Schat 2007), Darawati, Durawati and Drawati (Lucas 1973: 330).

\(^3\) Manuscript VdM J25, p. 19.

\(^4\) Manuscript VdM J25, p. 35.
were found: Rukmawatī, Lakṣmīwatī, Citrawatī, Amarakwatī, Prabhāwatī, Erawatī, Wegawatī (Zoetmulder 1985: 563-580) whereas Rubinstein also mentions Malāwati (Rubinstein 2000: 246). The names ending in –watī in Old Javanese literature based on the Mahābhārata, of course, are those found in their Sanskrit original. This is also true for the many kakawin based on this text. To name but some examples from kakawin not based on these texts the following may suffice. Only one name ending in –watī is found in the Nāgarakṛtāgama. It concerns Parama Bagawatī and is found in canto 2 (Slamet Mulyana 2006: 338, 427). In the Kakawin Sutasoma we find the names Candrawatī, Marmawatī, Puṣpawatī, Rewatī, and Saraswatī (see O’Brien 2008: 315-317).

Above we have restricted ourselves to a short investigation into names ending in –watī in Javanese literature and history. We should bear in mind that we also encounter many of these names in other literatures in the Archipelago, especially in Malay, particularly in texts that are also adaptations of the Mahābhārata.

6.1.2 –watī in Javanese history and society

In Javanese history names ending in –watī are also often encountered. By lack of information, most names were found in the highest social circles of the palace surroundings of Central Java.25 Many of the consorts, daughters, and granddaughters of the kings of Java carry names ending in –watī. For instance Ontawatī, Pergiwatī, the daughters of Paku Buwono X (Ramelan n.d.: 165-166), whose granddaughters include Saraswatī, Kusamarawatī, Kadarwatī, Handriyawatī, Trisetyawatī, Kusmartinawatī, Kusniawatī, Kusumawatī, Rachmawatī, Antawatī, and Mirawatī (Ramelan n.d.: 188, 190-191, 200-201, 205-208).

Diponegoro, whose mother was named Mangkarawatī, was married to Raden Ayu Renadiwati (Carey 2008: 766), a name not found in the manuscript used above. We see that the names ending in –watī at the royal Central Javanese courts were ubiquitous and present since the founding of the Javanese kingdoms.

Also in Surakarta, names ending in –watī were in use in the royal family of Susuhunan Paku Buwono X (1866-1939) (Ramelan n.d.: 2-4), as evidenced by the following names: Rahwati, Prabawati, Setyawati, Kadarwati, Setyowati, Saraswatī, Kusamarawatī, Handriyawatī, Trisetyawatī, Kusmartinawatī, Kusumawatī, Rachmawatī, Mulistyawatī, Kuspartinawatī, and Mirawatī (Ramelan n.d.: 187-191, 198, 200-201, 205-206, 208).

The genealogy of the Kingdoms of Pajajaran, Banten and Cirebon contains the name Pakungwati (Poespaningrat 2008: 17), the families of the Walisongo

25 A manuscript containing the genealogies of the royal house of Yogyakarta mentions the following female names Sarngwati, Inawati, Dreswati, Retnawati, Nilawati, Rakathawati, Gondawati, Padmawati, Citrawati, Pancawati, Mundhingkawati, Tejawati, Idawati, Winakawati, Mangkawati, Kalpiwatī, Surikawati, Manukawati, Lesmanawati, Puspikawati, Patmawati, Mulyawati, Condrugwati, Murcitawati, Widawati, Prenukmawati, Sokawati, Teliwati, Tinawati, Pujaawati, Kenakawati, and Sedhawati (Manuscript VdM J35). Please note that the information mentioned in books on the Central Javanese palaces and that found in manuscripts are mutually additional.
(holy Muslim saints of Java) include the names Dwarawati and Candrawati which thus go back to pre-1400 AD (Poespaningrat 2008: 25).

6.1.3 –WATI USED FOR NAMES OF NON-HUMAN CHARACTERS
Names ending in -wati are also not restricted to human females. In the domain of spirits, names ending in -wati are encountered such as Rawati,26 the nymph Rekathawati the wife of Sang Hyang Tunggal27 and Gandawati as mentioned above in the Kabarsundari. Apart from Saraswati, the world of the goddesses is moreover populated by Sarwati, the wife of Nurrasa, Ratnawati, a genie princess who was married to the crab Rekatatama whereas one of Ismaya (Semar)’s daughters was called Sarmanawati (Poespaningrat 2008: 4).

6.1.4 –WATI IN TOPONYMS
–wati is also used in toponyms such as Sokawati, which is the name of a kingdom mentioned in a manuscript on the genealogical lines of the royal house of Yogyakarta.28 Sukawati is also the name of a small town in Bali and Sokawati that of a small town in Java while Pancawati is the name of a village in West Java. Because Sukawati is also the seat of one of the lesser princedoms in Bali, it has entered the domain of personal names as well and the local prince is usually known as Cokorda Sukawati.

6.2 –WAN
The history of the suffix –wan is not so easy to follow. It is also derived from Sanskrit as a suffix indicating a male individual. In the wayang world, there are names like Irawan (Sucipto 2010: 7) and Ngurawan (Lucas 1973: 333). Irawan is also the name of one of the sons of Paku Buwono X of Surakarta (Ramelan n.d.: 166) while his grandsons include Setiawan, Rindriawan, Windrayawan, and Widiawan (Ramelan n.d.: 178, 185, 199, 208). At present names ending in –wan are ubiquitous and in the sample almost equal the number of names ending in –wati.

The male suffix –wan is so well known that it has been afforded the role of indicating a male person of a certain capacity or having a specific occupation. For the female counterparts, the same words but ending in –wati may be used. The Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia thus contains many words ending in –wan and –wati denoting persons who have a specific job or are engaged in certain activities and interests. Many of them have also entered the Comprehensive Indonesian-English Dictionary by Alan M. Stevens and A. Ed. Schmidgall-Telings. For instance, acarawan-acarawati*, agamawan-agamawati, aksarawan-aksarawati, algojo-algojowati, biarawan-biarawati, and hundreds more. Interestingly, in the dictionary there is no one to one correspondence between these gender related words. Often the male –wan variant is included but not

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28 Manuscript VdM J25, p. 32.
the corresponding female –wati, which is a strange and unnecessary gender bias unworthy of this dictionary and this bias is nowhere explained or justified. Sometimes the absence of the male variant is understandable. An algojo is an executioner and a male variant algojowan* is unnecessary hence I only found algojowati for female executioner. A pramuka is a Boy Scout and pramukawati* is therefore also superfluous. Pramukawati is listed, however. Whether or not many these words remain inventions of the Indonesian Language Center, Pusat Bahasa, or are really used in everyday language remains a question though, as no research has been done to investigate this.

6.3 –ningsih, –nigrum, –ntyas, –ndyah

The only example of a name ending in –ningsih in the wayang theatre I have been able to find is Wrediningsih (Soetkatno, [n.d.] 184) whereas one of the major female characters in Javanese mask dances, Ragil Kuning is also known under the name Andaningsih (Lucas 1973: 329). The only name ending in –nigrum I found is Prabu Ajiyaya Diningrum, King of Jongparang.29

Names carrying these suffixes are also known from a Javanese cultural and historical background: that of the wives of lesser rank (garwa ampeyan, selir) of the four princes of Central Java, the Sultan and Paku Alam in Yogyakarta, and the Susuhunan and Mangkunegoro in Solo, and their daughters. Names I was able to find in this connection include Suwenaningsih, Semaraningsih, Pujaningsih, wives of Sultan Hamengkubuwono II (1750-1828) (Carey 2008: 760) of Yogyakarta: Kumunaningsih, Mulyaningsih, Sesmitaningsih, Puspitaningsih, Dewaningrum, and Adiningdyah of Sultan Hamengkubuwono III (1769-1814) (Carey 2008: 760); Padmaningsih, Dewaningrum, Retnaningrum, and Murcitaningsih of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IV (1804-1822) (Carey 2008: 760); Murtiningrum, wife of Hamengkubuwono V (1820-1855) (Dwijanto 2009: 249); Puspitaningsih, Murtiningrum, Retnoningrum, and Retnaningdyah, wives of Hamengkubuwono VI30 (1821-1877) (Dwijanto 2009: 305), Retnoningsih and Retnoningdyah of Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII (1839-1921) (Dwijanto 2009: 347),31 and Windyaningrum (Poespaningrat 2008: 110), the second wife of Hamengkubuwono IX (1912-1988) (Dwijanto 2009: 489). Hamengkubuwono VIII (1880-1939) (Dwijanto 2009: 443) had four selirs: Moertiningdyah, 29 Name and illustration of this puppet in Lysloff 2009: 527.
30 Manuscript VdM J35. The names of these selirs were often made by repetition of a certain particle. For instance, the names of many of the selirs of Hamengkubuwono VII started with Retno: Retnoningdyah, Retnoningsih, Retnohadi, Retnosangdyah, Retnohadiwati, Retnojuwito, Retnomurcito, Retnopurnomo, Retnojuwanto, Retnojumanten, Retnowinardi, Retnomandoyo, Retnoenggohasmoro, Retnosocohasmoro, and Retnoliringhasmoro, while one ended in Retno: Pujoretno (Ngaksi Ganda 11-20). 26 out of 30 names of the selirs of Pakubuwono X ended in –rukmi (see Ramelan n.d.: 164-165).
31 Manuscript VdM J35. Official or semi-official books on the palaces and princes of Central Java (Yogyakarta and Surakarta) often omit the names of the lesser wives and they only feature when they are mothers of the rulers’ children. It is therefore sometimes necessary to resort to manuscripts in order to find out whether these names were used at certain times. See also Poespaningrat 2008: 243.
Poedjaningdyah, Poeispitaningdyah, Hadiningdyah (Ngèksi Ganda 25). That the names ending in the suffixes under discussion were not limited to the wives of the ruling princes but also to their family members is evidenced by Retnaningrum and Retnaningsih, who were among Diponegoro’s wives (Carey 2008: 768).

Staying in Yogyakarta, Paku Alam II was married to Resminingdyah (Poespaningrat 2008: 142); one of the lesser wives of Paku Alam IV (1864-1878) (Dwiyanto 2009: v) was called Rengganingsih (Dwiyanto 2009: 40). Paku Alam VIII married Purnomoningrum and Retnoningrum (Poespaningrat 2008: 142), while the consort of the present Paku Alam IX is called Purnamaningrum (Dwiyanto 2009: 97).

In Surakarta, the social status of names ending in these suffixes had apparently gone through some changes under the rule of Paku Buwono X. The names of his granddaughters include: Ayuningtyas, Putrihestiningtyas, Hestiningtyas, Winarsiningsih, Winasriningdyah, Winasiningrum, Sisdjatiningrum, Puspaningrum, Puspaningsih, and Kusumaningtyas (Ramelan n.d.: 192, 196, 198, 206-207). Five unofficial wives of Susuhunan XII (1925-2004) of Surakarta were: Pradapaningrum, Mandayaningrum, Kusumaningrum, Retnadiningrum, and Pujaningrum (Suara Merdeka daily, 12 June 2004).

These names were also present among the wives of lesser princes and nobles and in the nineteenth century. For instance, the Regent of Banyumas had three selirs, among them Rengganingsih and Pujaningrum (Dwiyanto 2009: 40).

6.4 –ASTUTI

Only few wayang characters carry names ending in –astuti, for instance Durmastuti while also Hastuti is used. Like the names ending in the other suffixes, it is also found among the names used for princesses in the palace of Yogyakarta, e.g. Sitiwidiyastuti, the 29th child of Hamengkubuwono VIII. Pakubuwono X had a wife named Ruwiastuti (Ramelan n.d.: 169). The only reference so far of a goddess with an –astuti name is Darmastuti, the daughter of Sang Hyang Tunggal and Dewi Darmani.

As with the names discussed above, in Solo the social status of names ending in these suffixes had apparently also gone through some changes under the rule of Paku Buwono X (1866-1939) (Ramelan n.d.: 2-4). The names of his granddaughters include: Sri Astuti, Murtiastuti, Pujastuti, Widiastuti, Mahindrastuti, and Andriastuti (Ramelan n.d.: 193-194, 198, 201-202, 207). The suffix is also rarely found spelled as –astuty, –astutie, and –astoeti.

7 Conclusion

In Indonesia, making new names is an everyday phenomenon. People can give their new-born babies any name they like but usually names are given that will help the child through life. Apart from that, names should also sound nice. Names may be provided by parents, but also by others like other family members. Many names are made on the basis of productive morphological processes as has been shown above. More morphological processes are at
work to create female names than to create male names.

Adding the suffix \(-wati\) is the most popular way to make new female names. Its number is almost matched by its male counterpart \(-wan\). In the case of names ending in \(-ningsih, -ningrum, -ningtyas, -ningdyah,\) and \(-astuti,\) there seems to have been a kind of liberation process of name giving practices in Indonesia. The construction of names based on these suffixes, which were more or less constricted to usage in the palace surroundings of Central Java have been “liberated” from their cultural confinement and are now free for anyone’s usage. Based on the staggering number of names based on these principles, they can seemingly be compiled at random on the basis of a variety of word classes of which proper names, some nouns, numerals and adjectives have been shown above.

Another obvious observation is that the names given to girls far outshine those of boys when looked at for auspicity and beauty of sound; the only productive procedure that is used is that of the affixation of \(-wan\). The names are moreover often used in combination for extra impact and simply because they sound even more pleasurable.

The trend in the use of names ending in the suffixes in this article seems moreover to be free of religious constraints and is also otherwise not restricted. The random sample used for this article reveals that the people who carry the names discussed above originate from all levels of society and are employed in all sorts of jobs ranging from university professor to soothsayer healer from the North Coast of Java.

Although, based on the sample, names ending in \(-ningdyah\) seem to be least popular and those ending in \(-wati\) are most often found, followed by \(-ningsih,\) and \(-ningrum.\) This is not to say that this may not change any moment, as the trend to extra individuality is also apparent in name giving practices. The providers of the names are obviously acutely aware that a name they would like to give is not actually an existing word in the Indonesian language. When this is found to be so, they are usually excluded from this “system”. Apart from the examples above we may mention melawan*, which might be made on the basis of mela + wan (Melaningsih and Melawati exist), but since the word melawan means ‘to oppose’ in Modern Indonesian it is, of course, not used as proper name. The same holds for seriawan* (seria + wan) which, meaning ‘sprue’ is unfit for a proper name (whereas Serianingsih, Serianingrum, Seriastuti and Seriawati do exist) and hewan* (he + wan) which means ‘animal’ (whereas Heningsih, Heningrum, Heningtyas, Henastuti, and Hewati are in use), is also not the most elegant name to give to a newborn baby.

The names ending in \(-wati\) are ubiquitous and are given to baby girls all over the archipelago. Names ending in \(-ningsih, -ningrum, -ningtyas,\) and \(-ningdyah\) originate from Java but are leaving their Javanese surroundings and are nowadays given to baby girls in Bali and other places in the archipelago. This means that there is a certain movement away from ethnic-bound proper names in favour of names that are Indonesia-bound and ethnic free.

This leaves us with the problem of popularity. Glancing through newspapers
and any other printed works might lead us to think that for girls the name Rahmawati is extremely popular whereas the name Kusumaningsih and Kusumaningrum are also very frequently found. The name Gunawan is old and given to an overwhelming number of baby boys. Another problem is of course the extreme rareness of certain names. Saharawati has been found only once and the lady carrying the name told me shyly that she would rather just be called Sahara and to leave the –wati part as she thought it did not sound nice.

The fact that in the making of the names the rules of sandhi often do not apply may be taken as an indication that these names are no longer considered exclusively Javanese but have entered the domain of Indonesian names.

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INAUGURAL LECTURE

Climate and culture
Changes, lessons, and challenges

YUNITA T. WINARTO

Inaugural Lecture, 4 March 2010
Academy Professor in Social Sciences and Humanities
University of Indonesia

ABSTRACT
From generation to generation over the centuries, people in all parts of the world have developed adaptive social-cultural institutions and strategies of natural resource management based on the intimate relationship they had with their environment. At present, recent global warming is threatening people’s lives. Unfortunately, climate change is a natural phenomenon which is neither easy to observe, nor to predict and anticipate accurately. In many places, local people can no longer rely on earlier experiences and existing socio-cultural institutions to adjust to unprecedented changes. We are in urgent need of specific efforts to re-interpret and enrich our knowledge of this natural phenomenon. However, this is not an easy thing to do. People from all kinds of levels and entities in society are simultaneously the cause and the victims of global warming. The problem becomes even more complicated because of various mutually-affecting dimensions like ethics, politics, power, economics, and justice. These are the ultimate challenges scholars of the social sciences and humanities need to address seriously everywhere in the world, including in Indonesia. This article addresses the arguments of what scholars in the social sciences and humanities could

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and should do in response to climate change. Promoting a new paradigm and ethics in dealing with climate change is urgent and improvements in approaches and research methodologies are necessary. Learning from experiences gained from the way farmers in Java respond to climate change, the author argues that interdisciplinary research across social and natural sciences, and collaborative work with target groups is a promising and significant step (although scholars will have to face many challenges and constraints).

**KEYWORDS**
Climate change, ethics, the roles of social sciences and humanities, interdisciplinary research, collaborative ethnography, Science Field Shop.

When I was carrying out my ethnographic fieldwork in Wareng, Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta in 2007, my research team members and I were acquainted with the state’s programs to advance farmers’ knowledge of the weather and the climate in a so-called Climate Field School (Sekolah Lapangan Iklim). As many as 20 male and female farmers participated in the school. They were grateful for the government’s effort to assist them to understand the nature of, and changes in, the weather and the climate, and the implications they have on their fields and crops. They followed each session seriously. Throughout the learning period and its follow-up, I noticed a gradual increase in their knowledge and saw them modify their farming strategies following recommendations from the facilitator. At the same time, various parties are struggling to keep up with the climate changes and their consequences on the planet and on people’s lives. The world is becoming warmer and life is becoming more uncomfortable. This situation means for some people the creation of “life and death” especially for people whose life depends on the day-to-day weather condition affecting their natural resource strategies. This situation inspires me as a social-scientist and anthropologist, to engage in self-reflection. As a scholar dealing with people’s lives, how can I close my eyes to the people’s struggle to survive on an earth that is getting warmer and warmer and becoming unprecedentedly vulnerable? How can I move on in such a situation? What kinds of opportunities and potentials may people develop in response to climate change? How, as a scholar, can I help them?

**CULTURE AND CLIMATE: A DIALECTICS**

Climate change is a natural phenomenon, yet various scholars claim that anthropogenic factors significantly contribute to the problem (*The Britannica Guide* 2008: 4; also see Crate and Nuttal 2009: 10-11):

> [...] anthropogenic factors (those originating in human activity) are responsible for most of the current global warming, with the radiative forcing from anthropogenic sources being over ten times larger than that from all natural components combined. The primary anthropogenic source is the emission of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide, which is produced mainly by the burning of fossil fuels.

The burning of fossil fuels, and the emission of methane contributes to the emission of greenhouse gases (Stigter in his communication with farmers in Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta 2007). As cited by Ikawati (2010), FAO reports say that methane is the most dominant gas emanating from the agricultural and
husbandry sector (37%) whereas CO2 only accounts for 9%. Human activities play a significant role here. From an anthropological viewpoint, Crate and Nuttal (2009: 12) argue that: “[…] climate change is ultimately about culture, for in its wake, more and more of the intimate human-environmental relations, integral to the world’s cultural diversity, lose place”. If climate change is indeed a cultural problem, what are the plausible causal factors leading to the loss of the intimate relationship between people and the environment?

In various parts of the world, local communities who, for generations, have adapted well to their environment, climate change has led to the emergence of risks that threaten their cultures’ sustainability. In this situation, the question arises to what extent their strategies of utilizing and conserving their natural resources may be sustained? Their knowledge of the weather and the climate and their implications on the local strategies of natural resource management needs to be reinterpreted in order to adjust to the emerging risks and consequences of climate change. A continuous dialectic between climate change, knowledge, and practice is highly needed to answer questions like to what extent the unintended consequences of their own and other people’s practices that contribute to the accumulation of greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere have become part of their knowledge? If their own strategies prove insufficient to enable them to adapt to their changing habitat, we may witness a serious threat to the sustainability of many of their institutions such as the meanings and symbols in their local mythology, cosmology, meteorology, and religion (see Crate and Nuttal 2009). If people can no longer refer to these institutions as the foundation for their actions, what will happen to their lives? There is at present a great need seriously to examine the mechanisms that enable local people to reinterpret their knowledge and their cosmology, such as pranata mangsa among Javanese farmers, to adjust to the consequences and the risks of climate change. Will they be able to identify these changes and to develop new adaptive strategies? These questions underlie my decision to collaborate with an expert in agrometeorology and with farmer groups in Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta, and in Indramayu, West Java.

The problems the people face have become increasingly complex since the start of the phenomenon of climate change as its causal factors and consequences are beyond their empirical comprehension and control. As a result, there is a real threat of a decline in food production and an increase in famine and death rates. Based on his findings, OXFAM’s representative argues that:

“Changing seasonality may be one of the most significant impacts of climate change for poor farmers, and that is happening now”, Magrath warns. Leaders at the recent G8 summit in L’Aquila, Italy, agreed that average global temperatures should not be allowed to rise more than 2°C. But according to Oxfam even a rise of 2°C entails “death, suffering and devastation” for at least 660 million people by 2030. Oxfam warns that due to the threats posed by climate change and changing seasons, chronic hunger will become more prevalent: “The true cost of climate change will not be measured in dollars, but in millions or billions of lives”. (The New Agriculturist, http://www.new-ag.info/focus/focusItem.php?a=927, 2009).
A difference of 2°C may not be a problem for urban people and those who’s lives do not depend on utilizing and cultivating natural resources as is the case for millions of farmers in the world. The situation could become worse if the lives of people who do not depend on the climate but who have become the sources of greenhouses gasses emission do not share the risks and threats of that vulnerability. Moreover, what will happen if there are no firm rules and sanctions to force them to pay for the environmental cost of their own actions’ unintended consequences, and if these implications do not involve their “interests, concerns, knowledge, and practices”. It remains a question whether those rules, sanctions, interests, concerns, knowledge, and practices are part of their “ethics and cultures”. If not, what are the problems in the dialectics of climate change and their knowledge and actions? What is wrong with their learning process?

Direct experience and empirical observation are the main means of learning in the local domain of knowledge. Without directly seeing, feeling, and experiencing the phenomena they encounter in daily life, they will not have any confidence or belief in their own or other people’s interpretations and assumptions (see Bentley 1989, 1992; Winarto 2004, 2007). Knowledge of the phenomenon that the accumulation of gasses emission in the atmosphere increases the global temperature is an example of knowledge that cannot be grasped through empirical observation and direct experience. In the scientific domain, knowledge can be accumulated by ideas stemming from various sources that do not require direct experiences in the process, though systematic experimentations and the validation of the results are a must.

To understand much of the information in relation to the climate, Roncoli et al. (2003: 181 referring to Thompson and Rayner 1998; Kempton et al. 1995) argue that:

Recollections of the past, observations of the present, and expectations for the future shape our experience of climate phenomena and our understanding of climate information. Research shows that people filter and absorb scientific knowledge in terms of pre-existing cultural models and aspirations for a desired future.

Climate change is indeed a natural phenomenon that cannot be observed directly, and cannot easily be predicted or anticipated. Is it therefore possible that responses to this natural phenomenon can only rely on recollecting the past, observing the present, and expecting the future as argued by Roncoli et al. (2003)? In my perspective, it will be impossible to find solutions without extra efforts to enrich knowledge, awareness, and even the beliefs and ethics of all the possible negative impacts that may further affect their own and other people’s lives. Individuals in the two different domains of knowledge share common experiences, but they live in different situations and contexts of acquiring knowledge, ideas, and perspectives.

The problem relates to Roncoli et al.’s (2003: 181) saying that existing cultural models and aspirations for a desired future affect people’s ways of receiving and selecting information on the climate. I argue that these differences
will produce different practices as well. Roncoli et al. (2009: 87) identify further that “[...] common ideas about what is believable, desirable, feasible, and acceptable [...]” affect individual and collective adaptive behaviours. These common ideas determine the information about, and the ways to adapt to climate change. Variation in these ideas will yield differences in practices.

The problem is more complicated because of the involvement of ethics, power, politics, economics, and environmental cost because they are able to create “inequality and injustices” between those who have “power” and those who have not. Crate and Nuttal (2009: 11) argue further that:

Climate change is environmental colonialism at its fullest development - its ultimate scale - with far-reaching social and cultural implications. [...] climate change is a threat multiplier. It magnifies and exacerbates existing social, economic, political and environmental trends, problems, issues, tensions, and challenges.

In this paper, I will present the kind of thoughts I believe need to be developed further in our research and studies. I argue that it is high time now for scholars from Universitas Indonesia to create and to disseminate a new “paradigm”, a “new school of thought” in relation to the problems of climate change, culture, and the humanities.

ESTABLISHING ETHICS, CHANGING THE PARADIGM

During a studium generale at Universitas Indonesia in early December 2009, Stigter (2009) - an agrometeorologist from Agromet Vision (The Netherlands and Indonesia) - strongly argued that the various agencies dealing with climate change should first and foremost hold on to ethics. Any state’s policies should refer to these ethics, and science with all its apparatuses and implementations has to support these policies. Mutually supporting ethics, policies, and science have to be the main important bases for the development of educational perspectives (Stigter 2009). Nevertheless, Stigter (2009) also raised a rhetorical question: “Why does it almost nowhere work like that?” It is not only the “muddled relationship” between the three elements that leads to the incongruence of ethics, policies, and science, but also another question remains: “Are there any ethics underlying all decisions and policies by those in power?” If greedily gaining profits is the main aim to be achieved in natural resources management, can we say that we have the ethics to deal with the consequences of those greedy practices?

It is time now to move away from all forms of “greediness” in our utilization of natural resources. Establishing ethics in fulfilling our needs and in gaining profits, in creating ecological-friendly technology and natural resource management, is a must. In relation to climate change, we need to broaden our minds and our thoughts. Our perspectives of perceiving our landscapes, seascapes, and aeroscapes have to be widened as well. Many things that so far have not been part of our minds and attentions should be more carefully examined, including the vulnerability of the life of farmers and fishermen who depend entirely on the climate and on the weather in their
natural resource management strategies. Their lives should become the focus of our thoughts and concerns.

At the end of the 1980s, Robert Chambers et al. (1989) introduced the so-called Farmer First paradigm in agricultural development. The needs of farmers should become the first priority in agricultural development. This is an example of how they introduced a paradigm shift. This paradigm is an example of the scholars' role in creating and strengthening the ethics in natural resource management. In 1992, the Beyond Farmer First paradigm (see Scoones and Thompson 1994) was expressed and circulated widely by a group of scholars who evaluated and reflected on Chambers' earlier steps. Fifteen years later, in 2007, a thorough evaluation was carried out during an international workshop: Farmer First Revisited (Scoones and Thompson 2009) of the extent to which the Farmer First paradigm has been seriously considered by decision makers, scholars, and practitioners all over the world as their the underlying perspective. The workshop’s participants agreed that: “[…] there is an urgent need to reinforce and expand the ‘Farmer First movement’ and create a more united and coherent front” (Sconees and Thompson 2009: 208-209).

Climate change management should also follow scholars' initiatives. Our colleagues in the West have introduced the discourse on Pro-poor and People Centered Climate Change. We should do the same. The question remains: Are we ready to do that? How and where are we going to start to create these new ethics and this novel paradigm?

The Studies of Social Sciences and the Humanities: not complementary
Since people are both the cause and the victims of climate change, I strongly argue that scholars and the studies of the social sciences and humanities should not be a complementary part in efforts to resolve these “complicated works” but should be at the forefront in establishing the ethics and the new paradigm needed to deal with climate change. These scholars have a significant role indeed in examining the complexity of the causes and effects of climate change, as well as the mechanisms of acquiring knowledge of that natural phenomenon and its implications on the people and the planet. Information on weather and climate conditions is not always easily accessed in time. It is also not at all easy for scholars to carry out their work. Why? Soon, they have to face many challenges.

As a scholar of social sciences and the humanities, I argue that we do not need to be trapped in “mitigation and adaptation” as widely propagated by various parties (politicians, economists, international donor agencies, practitioners) to differentiate ways of solving problems: of either mitigating the greenhouse gasses emission or adapting to the consequences of climate change (see the diagram on Responses to Climate Change in Meinzen-Dick et al. 2010: 1). If the main issues are: the absence of ethics, of a paradigm, and of policies, the need to improve people’s knowledge and capability in understanding the consequences of climate change on themselves and other people, and the complexity of the problem, how then could these issues be classified under
these two categories? I understand that these categories are used as the basis for decisions taken by policy makers and international donor agencies in allocating their financial resources and in defining their strategies. However, I invite my colleagues from the social sciences and the humanities to “get into those diverse compartments”, avoid to be trapped in one compartment only, and, where necessary, break down the walls between them. Scholars of social sciences and the humanities do not produce complementary studies in either “mitigation” or “adaptation” when examining the social-cultural dimension is considered necessary. The social-cultural-humanities dimensions are integral parts and even lie at the core of these studies.

Another issue is the social scientists’ “lack of subject’s confidence and belief” when dealing with climate change issue. “Why should an anthropologist carry out a study on climate change? Why should an anthropologist facilitate us in measuring rainfall?” (Farmers’ reflection in Indramayu, field note, 2010). These questions reflect the “cultural images part” (for examples: arts performance, religion, kinship, language, media studies, et cetera.) of the social sciences-humanities’ identities and works, not the problems that become the focus of scholars from life and natural sciences.

I argue that a thorough reflection of our own capabilities and our contribution is indeed necessary.

- First, by acknowledging the long histories and developments in disciplines like archeology, anthropology, and history in examining the interaction between people and the environment. I think that a reflection of our potentials to play a more significant role in the study of climate change is indeed necessary.
- Second, we need to move across the boundaries of our disciplines and studies in order to build up networks and collaborations with other disciplines in inter-disciplinary research, not in multi-disciplinary ones.
- Third, we have to move forward and enter the “public” domain by involving other parties to collaboratively examine, learn, and understand the patterns and variability of climate change and its unintended and unexpected consequences.

Engaging in self-reflection, sharpening potentials

Different disciplines in social sciences-humanities use their own theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches. Considering the complex sequential causes and effects of climate change that originate from and ends with human activities, each discipline should be able to develop its own research. They could each focus on a “particular hole” to be examined, described, and explained, and find out who the agents are, what its consequences are, and why things occur the ways they do. However, we have to deepen our knowledge and expand our perspectives in order to understand the details of the constituting parts, mechanisms, and processes of weather and climate formation, its patterns and variability, and its implications to earth. Where necessary, we should adopt the concepts and methods of other
disciplines in order to sharpen our own analyses.

Based on my experience as an anthropologist, I think the following should be done:

a) Focus on “human agency” (see the discussion on agency in Ahearn 2001; Ortner 2006; Hassan 2009) in observing, describing, and understanding people’s behaviours; their needs, interests, and objectives; and the consequences of their actions on other people and the environment and their implications on global warming.

b) Enrich our research with detailed and in-depth ethnographic study and keep improving that method, for example, by adopting an approach of multi-sited and collaborative ethnography complemented by implicit reflexivity (see Marcus 1998, 2001; Holmes and Marcus 2005).

c) Trace the contexts of the events we observe in order to be able to explain why and in what kinds of situations these events emerge and what their consequences are on the environment and the people (see Vayda 1983, 1996). To explain the context, we can use the theories, concepts, and methods from a variety of other disciplines where necessary. An interdisciplinary approach needs to be developed further.²

BREAKING THE NICHE: A REFLECTION AND A CHALLENGE

It will prove difficult for social science-humanities scholars to examine climate change if they remain in their own “niche”. They need to enter the “public” domain, and we should learn from anthropologists who have moved towards “Public Anthropology” as stated by Borofsky (2002):

Public anthropology engages issues and audiences beyond today’s self-imposed disciplinary boundaries. The focus is on conversations with broad audiences about broad concerns. [...] Public anthropology seeks to address broad critical concerns in ways that others beyond the discipline are able to understand what anthropologists can offer to the re-framing and easing - if not necessarily always resolving - of present-day dilemmas.

Engaging in “Public Anthropology” will require major efforts. Lassiter (2005b: 84) says that the problem an anthropologist faces at present is how to integrate theory and practice, how to equally combine academic and applied anthropology in executing shared projects, and in bringing anthropology closer to the wider public within and outside academia. In relation to that, Lassiter, referring to Peggy Sunday (1998 in Lassiter 2005b: 84) further says,

² For various examples of studies in anthropology, archeology, and others, see Weather, climate, culture edited by Sarah Strauss and Ben Orlove (2003), and Anthropology and climate change; From encounters to actions edited by Susan A. Crate and Mark Nuttall (2009). Following the ideas voiced by Crate and Nuttall (2009) that anthropologists need to move from only “encountering” climate change to “acting”, I also argue that anthropologists and other scholars from social sciences-humanities should follow their predecessors in developing and entering the domain of Public Anthropology.
...merging public anthropology with public currents “is more than a focus for research; it is a paradigm for learning, teaching, research, action, and practice within the field of anthropology”.

Sunday’s statement as cited by Lassiter clearly reveals that entering anthropology into the public domain is not only a matter of carrying out research. It is a paradigm that underlies various academic activities and practices. New developments in social sciences-humanities indeed require new paradigms to examine and act upon the diverse range of issues and problems our contemporary world faces. As holder of the Academy Professorship Indonesia in Social Sciences and Humanities at Gadjah Mada University and Universitas Indonesia, I would like to share some experiences I gained while carrying out research on climate change from 2007 to 2010. I engaged in two activities that produced major advantages for various parties:

- I collaborated with an expert from another discipline, namely an agrometeorologist; and
- I developed a collaborative network with farming communities, which are usually only the subjects of anthropological research but do not collaborate in research.

**INITIATING AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH**

In 2007, a posting in the Farmer Field School’s mailing list network unexpectedly inspired a Dutch agrometeorologist residing in Bondowoso, East Java, to visit my field site in Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta. After meeting with a group of farmers in the hamlet of Wareng IV, Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta, he decided to assist farmers who were alumni of a Climate Field School, to continue their detailed observation of their own fields, crops, and changes in the weather and the climate. What kind of changes in their environment had they observed, based on their local knowledge and their cosmology of the climate? The question was posed to these farmers to stimulate their motivation to act as good observers of changes in their own habitat. Based on these observations, what farming strategies needed to be modified? To what extent could they still refer to their local cosmology, *pranata mangsa*, to define their planting schedule, or did they need to reinterpret their cosmology? Farmers learned how to measure rainfall and soil humidity during their training in the Climate Field School (CFS). However, when the training had ended, no equipment was left in the farmers’ hands. Also, the farmers received no information from agricultural officials or from the Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Office (*Badan Meteorologi, Klimatologi, dan Geofisika* (BMKG)) or any warning of future weather conditions. The agrometeorologist then decided to purchase rain-gauges in the United States to help the farmers to measure rainfall.

My first collaborative work with an agrometeorologist in an ethnographic fieldwork by measuring rainfall and observing the agroecological conditions of farmers’ fields started in the early 2008. From that time, my research team and I assisted farmers in day-to-day rainfall measurement and agroecosystemic
observations. We focused our questions on: the advancement of knowledge the farmers gained over time, in particular in periods when they experienced heavy and continuous rainfall for days on end, or contrarily, during periods of prolonged drought. What happened to their field conditions and the growth of their crops? What were their own interpretations? What kinds of responses did they make? The agrometeorologist assisted in issues like where to put up rain-gauges, and how and what to observe. During regular visits, he engaged in dialogues with the farmers at their homes or in their fields focusing on a variety of questions the farmers had (see Winarto et al. 2008; Stigter et al. 2009).

This was a very enriching learning process, not only for the farmers, but also for anthropologists and junior natural scientists, and us. We gained lessons-learned in both the agrometeorological dimension of climate change and in the following empirical realities:

- farmers’ observations of both the conducive and the constraining factors;
- changes in farmers’ farming schedules as a result of their advancement in relating the rainfall condition (in qualitative-narrative forms) with their findings based on daily rainfall measurements, along with their increased understanding of their fields’ agroecosystematic conditions. Farmers could more precisely cite the outcomes of the rainfall conditions and, with those numbers, could better anticipate their fields’ agroecosystem and their crops’ growth under particular weather conditions;
- the growth of a new *habitus* in documenting their observation which could sharpen their critical analyses;
- the development of farmers’ curiosity about the questions they had after their daily observations and their relation to meteorological conditions, including their cosmology (*pranata mangsa* the cycle of eight years in the Javanese calendar system); and
- their understanding of the need to modify their farming and water management strategies for dry-rain fed farming (for examples, changing seedling practices, implementing ‘rain-harvesting methods’ – building ridges in the field to protect water and soil humidity), and choices on varieties and crops matching particular weather conditions.

The advancement in the farmers’ understanding and in their changing practices in a relatively short period could not have been realized without the collaboration of the agrometeorologist and the farmers in daily rainfall measurements and agroecosystematic observations. Nevertheless, measuring rainfall would not yield any significant improvements in only a one-year planting season. At least, a minimum of three years observations needs to be carried out in order to understand the patterns underlying, and the variability of, the climate. Experiments in modifying farming strategies in order to cope with changes also require more than one planting season. A longitudinal research is, thus, necessary. These requirements produce some
challenges; not only did we need long-term financial support, but also both parties’ strong commitment and stamina was important to sustain longitudinal collaboration. A complex set of factors affect people’s minds and behaviours. As an anthropologist who studies different forms of communities and cultures, I have to admit that I was often surprised by what I encountered in dealing with the subjects. A collaborative ethnography (see Lassiter 2005a, 2005b; Marcus 1998, 2001) proved to be not quite as easy as I had imagined. Continuous reflection was necessary.

**DEVELOPING COLLABORATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY**

Collaborative ethnography, as argued by Marcus (2001: 521) “[...] entails joint production, but with overlapping mutual as well as differing purposes, negotiation, contestation, and uncertain outcomes”. Each collaborating party agrees to cooperate to achieve its own objectives and expectations. To what extent do these objectives converge or, on the contrary, diverge from one another? Negotiation is thus necessary, in particular if there are various contestations and differing purposes. Their joint production could also yield unexpected and unintended results. A continuous subjective reflexivity by both parties is a must. In this kind of process, the ethnographer can no longer merely act as an observer. The researcher plays a significant role in any decision making with their counterpart, while at the same time, keeps observing what is going on, how, and why. Playing these two roles is not easy but it is precisely the biggest challenge for the ethnographer to manage any emerging problems and constraints, while questioning why they occur in the way they do.

Equipped with my team’s experience in building up a research collaboration with a group of farmers - the *Sedio Mulyo* group - in Wareng IV, Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta in 2008-2009, we initiated the same activity in the Indramayu regency. The farmers were represented by the Indonesian National Integrated Pest Management Farmers’ Alliance of Indramayu Regency (IPPHTI Kabupaten Indramayu) which took decisions on behalf of its members and on those of other farmers. See Diagram 1 for the collaborative system and the aims the two parties achieved.

As shown in the diagram, the farmers acted as the observers of rainfall and the agroecosystematic conditions of their own fields. As the farmers’ counterparts, the scholars guided them in the way to carry out daily rainfall measurements and documentation, and what to observe in the details of their fields’ conditions and the growth of their crops. Data processing and interpretation, and presenting it to the farmers and other parties were part of the work of the scholars. After the farmers had discovered the most vulnerable aspects of their agricultural practices, the scholars would help them in developing a Climate Field School (CFS). Different from the government’s CFS with their ready-made curriculum, the CFS’ curriculum and training in this scheme was focused on solving the farmer’s most vulnerable problems in a particular place by involving their active participation in developing the curriculum. Throughout these activities, a kind of network between farmers
and scholars was developed, which Stigter calls a Science Field Shop (*Warung Informasi Ilmiah*) (see Diagram 1).

![Diagram 1. Working collaboration between farmers and scholars (source: Winarto et al. 2009, 2010).](image)

Ideally, farmers and scholars would exchange knowledge from the outset of their collaboration and throughout the difficult times the farmers had in facing the risks of the unexpected climate change. If water management was the problem, a hydrologist would be invited to assist. If outbreaks of pests and diseases were the problems after high humidity and continuous heavy rains, an entomologist would be called in to assist the farmers. Creativity and innovation from the two parties played a significant role here. Scholars from social sciences...
and humanities acted as mediators between experts from various disciplines, the scientists’ counterparts in transmitting scientific ideas to the farmers, the farmers’ facilitators in carrying out the work and as developers of a new “habitus” in doing research and note-taking, as well as acting as observers of the entire process. The results of this kind of collaborative work were not only the CFS or the problem-solving programs at one period of time, but also continuous vulnerability assessment, the development of the inclusion of local knowledge into scientific endeavours, as well as the advancement of the scientific knowledge of the patterns and the variability of climate change, the implications on the farmers’ habitat, and contextual factors.

That was the ideal feature and objective. However, the reality in the field revealed the complex social-cultural problems underlying the implementation of such a collaboration. Its sustainability was under question. Not only was financial support a constraint in carrying out a longitudinal study, but also the natures and perspectives of the local and the scientific domains of knowledge through each parties’ diverse interpretation proved to be a hindrance. My reflection leads me to formulate the following constraints and challenges:

- The four decades of the Green Revolution in crop farming with its various kinds of “project-based programs and funding” caused the farmers to adopt a “project-based culture in crop farming”. The implementation of an agricultural development program means that “funds” are allocated to officials as well as farmers. Accordingly, any research activity introduced by scholars would also be perceived as “bringing them some money”, and thus any learning program was expected to do the same. At the time we did our work in Indramayu in 2009-2010, various kinds of “government projects” were introduced to the farmers.

- Farmers have become used to receive recommendations and guidance from the agricultural extension worker and officials to keep improving their production. Producing high yields is each farmer’s dream. So, the question was what the practical benefits and advantages of measuring rainfall in producing high yields were? The success of a learning process, of course, cannot be measured only by gaining high yields in a short period of time.

- The alumni of the Integrated Pest Management Farmer Field Schools (IPM FFS) developed various kinds of experimentations they themselves called Sains Petani (Farmers’ Science). However, carrying out detailed, systematic, highly motivated, and disciplined observations to carry out the study coupled with the need to gather careful documentation could not significantly change the farmers’ perspectives on farming for high yield production.

- The farmers had difficulty understanding the importance of scientific ways and procedures in measuring rainfall so that they could share the results of their work among each other and to a wider audience, including policy makers.

- Building up research collaboration should incorporate the local elites by
also paying attention to existing patterns of power relations among elites and commoners. The question is: to what extent would the local elite be able to accommodate, accept, and facilitate collaborative consensus and agreements? Their responses, perceptions, attitudes, and actions play a significant role in ensuring the success of collaborative research.

Working in a group and reaching consensus also depends on the local leaders and their leadership, in particular in the absence of the social institutions to work collectively in solving vulnerability problems.

Accordingly, as mentioned by Marcus (2001), the main elements of any collaborative research are negotiation and contestation between the two parties. Ortner’s (2006) saying that agency entails power relations is indeed true. How power relations take shape in each collaborative work varies from one place to another and from one farming community to the next. Examples for this are the similar and diverse natures of power relations between two farming communities: one in Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta (dry-rain fed farming community) and one in Indramayu, West Java (intensive irrigated rice field community) along with their specific local, social, cultural, and historical contexts. Experience and lessons-learned from building up collaboration with the two farming communities provided my fellow counterparts, assistants, students, and myself with a significant means to define our responses and standpoints in dealing with the farmers in each locale. A collaborative research cannot be packaged in a uniform way for diverse and heterogeneous farming communities with their varied social-cultural lives.

Unintended and unexpected things beyond scholars’ anticipation do emerge. Responding to these, various dimensions of personhood such as emotional maturity and strong personality coupled with continuous mental and emotional exercises are at the basis of a scholars’ behaviour, which can, unfortunately, not be learned and taught at school. We also cannot find them in our text-books. Sunday is right (as cited by Lassiter 2005b) that collaborative ethnographic research is not merely research. It is a paradigm that combines the components of learning and teaching, research and practical actions, as well as ethics. These are the richest learning processes that should not be eroded due to constraints and challenges. An opportunity to develop such a learning process as part of the curricula in the universities and other institutions of higher education should be seriously considered.

This is the time to act: are we ready?
Whatever constraints and challenges we have, our planet has been undergoing and is going to experience continuous changes. The question remains: are we always ready to reflect on and to modify our tradition? This is a question not only for business people and practitioners in utilizing natural resources, but also for academicians in improving their science and education. It is high time to do something. We cannot delay it any longer. Based on my experience as Academy Professor in Social Science and Humanities under the auspices of
two highly prestigious academies: The Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) and the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI) in two different universities (Gadjah Mada University and Universitas Indonesia), I believe that it is possible to change our “academic tradition”. However, are we ready to break the proud walls of our disciplinary boundaries? Are the scholars of the social sciences and humanities ready to initiate efforts to develop their potentials and to move forward across their disciplines? Are the universities’ leaders ready to facilitate longitudinal collaborative, interdisciplinary studies? Do donor agencies agree to shift their paradigms in defining the allocation of financial support? The most challenging one is the extent to which scholars in a university such as Universitas Indonesia are able to act as pioneers in formulating ethics and to change the paradigm in natural resource management among those in power: the bureaucrats, policy makers, business people, and practitioners, as well as the communities at the grass-root level? Can we continuously modify our “culture” in response to the upcoming, unexpected, and unanticipated changes of our planet? With a great motivation, spirit, and the will to move on, I strongly argue that we can build a path together towards the sustainable future life of our people and our planet.

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INAUGURAL LECTURE

Dharmawangsa’s heritage
On the appreciation of the Old Javanese Mahabharata

WILLEM VAN DER MOLEN

Inaugural Lecture, 15 June 2010
Adjunct Professor in Old Javanese
University of Indonesia

A SHORTENED DERIVATIVE WITHOUT ADDITIONS? ¹

In the Adiparwa, the first book of the Mahabharata, we read about Hiḍimbī who fell in love with Bhīma. The question was: would she obey her brother and deliver Bhīma to him, as he had ordered her to do, or would she choose Bhīma?

Yan wwatangkwa iki panganénya, anging sakarèng pawehanya inak âmbèk láwan suka ning kenuman ing rähnya. Yapwan pakaswâmya ta ya, malawas aku sukâ de nikâ (Juynboll 1906:141)

If I hand him over to be eaten by [my brother], the satisfaction he gives and the enjoyment of drinking his blood will last only for a while. If I took him as my husband he would give me joy for a long time.

She decides in favour of Bhīma.

This glimpse of a woman’s view on men is quite instructive: how can she make the most of them? I should add that this is a very old view which may no longer be valid. Moreover, it has come down to us through a text written by a man. It reminds us that the Old Javanese Mahabharata is still largely untapped as a source for gender studies. Maybe I should also add that Hiḍimbī, the lady concerned, is not a human being but a demon, a rākṣasī.

¹ In formulating my ideas I have been greatly helped by Rita DeCoursey, Tineke Hellwig, Roy Jordaan and Korrie Korevaart, who were so kind to go critically through the text. Munawar Holil skilfully took care of the lay-out when this article first appeared as an inaugural lecture. I wish to thank them all.

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Now that I have your attention, I would like to turn to the topic of my lecture today. As we all know, the Old Javanese Mahābhārata was not created from scratch by a Javanese author but was translated (in some sense) from the Sanskrit. The story of Hiḍimbī reveals an interesting difference between the Old Javanese version and the Sanskrit version of the text. In the latter² Hiḍimbī appeals to Kuntī, Bhīma’s mother, after Bhīma keeps rejecting her. However, it is not Kuntī who gives the answer but Yudhiṣṭhira, her son: he is the one who gives permission to Hiḍimbī to take Bhīma as her husband. We should remember that Kuntī at this point in the story is a widow; her husband died a long time ago. Yudhiṣṭhira is her eldest son. In the Old Javanese version it is Kuntī herself who answers Hiḍimbī.

This difference between the Sanskrit Mahābhārata and the Old Javanese Mahābhārata is interesting, because it reflects a well-known difference between traditional Indian and Indonesian societies concerning the position of women. It is archetypical for the difference between the two versions of the text in general: the Old Javanese version follows the story faithfully but gives its own twist to it. This interpretation, I have to admit, is not generally accepted. The established scholarly opinion has it that the Old Javanese Mahābhārata is a shortened derivative, meaning that it copies or imitates the Sanskrit story, shortening it without adding anything new to the story. Today, I would like to demonstrate that this claim is true only to a certain extent. The Old Javanese text bears its own stamp, as we see in the story of Hiḍimbī. Therefore, the Old Javanese text deserves to be appreciated and studied for its own sake, alongside the various versions of the Sanskrit text.

In the following pages I shall first discuss the established view, with reference to some recent historical surveys of Old Javanese literature. Then I shall argue how the parwa or books of the Mahābhārata manifest themselves as mature literary texts and how the adaptation from Sanskrit to Old Javanese involved a conscious strategy aimed at supporting and enhancing the glory of its patron, King Dharmawangśa Tĕguh Anantawikrama.

THE ACCEPTED VIEW

The Old Javanese adaptations of the Indian Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata reveal different approaches as to how they have been rendered from the source language into the target language. The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, written some time after the middle of the ninth century, is a beautiful, generally admired poem of the kakawin-type, of such a high quality that people have wondered how it could have appeared out of the blue with no traces of a preceding literary development leading up to it. Except for one other kakawin, equally mature though much shorter,⁴ no other kakawins are known to have been written at the time. The parwas of the Mahābhārata of about 1000 A.D. and

² I have used the English translation of the Sanskrit text by Kisari Mohan Ganguli of 1896, in the edition of 1990.
³ This other kakawin has no name. It is a stone inscription, dated 856 A.D. See De Casparis 1956: 280-330.
later are prose texts, a category for which there was not much of a tradition either, except for use as official documents. The parwas are written in a kind of prose whose most important quality is that it is simple and fluent.

Actually, the difference between the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata is a matter of literature and non-literature. Literature in the Javanese context was always poetry, for many centuries, whereas prose was for non-literary texts. This distinction remained in force until far into the nineteenth century. The literary devices used in the Rāmāyana such as choice of words, figures of speech and metre are so exuberant that the text has been called an ādikakawin, an exemplary kakawin for other poets. The parwas in their turn supplied the material used by later poets for their kakawins; according to modern literary historians it did not matter how they told their stories. In modern research the parwas are valued precisely because they are in prose, as this enhances their usefulness for linguistic analysis. It is clear that the relevance of the parwas has always been somewhere else.

This view is reflected in published literary histories. Zoetmulder’s well-known book of 1974 contains an extensive discussion of the Rāmāyana and other kakawins. In addition to their content, Zoetmulder’s book also discusses prosody, forms of poetry and literary ideas, and the religious aspect of literature.

In the chapter on the parwas none of these aspects is addressed. Zoetmulder is only interested in the stories told by the parwas: these stories return in the kakawins and therefore Zoetmulder describes their content. But an extensive discussion of the literary aspects, as Zoetmulder provides for the poets and their works, he apparently considers not necessary for the parwas.

Supomo’s short but thorough survey of 1996 is similar in this respect. Most of the author’s attention is directed to the kakawins, how the poets went about their work, what kind of kakawins there are, their politico-religious significance, and so on. For the parwas, no such information is given. Supomo does pay attention, however, to the literary context of the parwas. Starting from the famous recital which had the Wirāṭaparwa as its subject, at the court of King Dharmawangsa in 996, Supomo draws a comparison with other practices of reciting prose stories at the time in ancient Java, referred to in the sources as macarita, and the Indian tradition of harikatha (a combination of recitation and explanation by a priest much like the practice of mabasan in more recent times in Bali, Supomo [1996]: 16).

In 2005 a new approach to Old Javanese literary history was launched by Kenneth Hall, that aiming to achieve a balanced account of that literature as a whole. Until recently, Hall claims, the various works of literature have been treated as separate entities with no attempts to identify general trends surpassing the individual works, which he thinks is an important task of a literary history. Hall focuses on the East Javanese period, between 1000 and 1500. Although this period begins with the Old Javanese translation of the

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4 Supomo [1996]: 15, and compare the title of Hooykaas’s publication of 1958: *The Old Javanese Rāmāyana, an exemplary kakawin as to form and content.*
Indian Mahābhārata, he ignores the parwas and starts his analysis with the oldest kakawin.

In my view these literary historians are mistaken in assigning to the parwas the function of mere repositories of stories for poets (if at all: Zoetmulder allows for the possibility that the poets had direct access to the Sanskrit sources, Zoetmulder 1974: 68). The parwas influenced not only the content but also the form of the kakawins, and contrary to what has always been assumed, the parwas themselves do exhibit literary qualities as well. Consequently, our idea of the literary heritage of Java will never be complete as long as we ignore the literary side of the parwas. Let us now turn to the parwas.

**Creativity**

Scholars of Old Javanese literature have always been intrigued by the question which Sanskrit text was the source of the Old Javanese versions of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The answer is important for our understanding of what happened in these particular cases and, more generally, for our understanding of the nature and location of the early contacts between Indonesia and India. For the Rāmāyaṇa the problem has been solved. Since then, comparative research has led to a better insight into the knowledge, creativity and originality of the Old Javanese poet who composed the Rāmāyaṇa.5

In the case of the Old Javanese parwas no one has yet solved the mystery. It became clear at an early stage that there is no point searching for an identical text in Sanskrit, as the Old Javanese text is clearly a much shortened rendering, keeping less than half of the original text. On the other hand the Old Javanese text is interspersed – for purposes not yet understood – with Sanskrit citations, complete and incomplete sentences and separate words that seem to have been copied directly from the original text and therefore seemed to offer a key to the solution of the problem. Scholars went to work on this. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries various versions of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata were proposed in turn as the most probable source of the Old Javanese translation – and then rejected when the arguments turned out not to be sufficiently convincing.

This disappointing outcome was inevitable, due to insufficient textual materials and a wrong approach. Scholars did not work from critical editions and, moreover, limited themselves to the Sanskrit citations without taking the complete texts into account. Therefore the results were doomed to be unsatisfactory. But even after critical editions had become available (in 1947 Belvalkar provided a comparative study of the Bhīṣmaparwa based on critical editions of the Sanskrit and the Old Javanese texts), the results remained vague and unconvincing (Zoetmulder 1974: 93-94).

As early as 1937 Gonda had warned against the assumption that the Old Javanese parwas were simply shortened versions of Sanskrit originals, broadly imitating one of the Indian versions (Gonda 1937: 47). Zoetmulder,

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5 See for example Khanna and Saran 1993; Van der Molen 2009.
in 1974, sided with Gonda. His view was that the Javanese authors had not made a translation, whether free or literal, nor had they handled the subject in an independently created text of their own concoction. Rather, the Javanese authors had rendered the content of the original Sanskrit story in their own words (Zoetmulder 1974: 88). Zoetmulder therefore did not believe that the original could be found:

But I do not think that it is being unduly pessimistic if one doubts whether further investigation, however rigorous, will throw much more light on the problem as to from which region the Sanskrit prototype originated (Zoetmulder 1974: 94).

I would like to state even more forcefully than Gonda and Zoetmulder: ‘the’ Sanskrit original does not exist. Researchers have been looking for something that has never been there. It is impossible to pinpoint one particular Sanskrit version because the Old Javanese authors did not translate one version in particular but proceeded in a creative way. They may have done so on the basis of one version or more than one version, or even without a particular version, because the story itself, in many many versions, had been around for centuries.

**Structure**

Although it is a shortened derivative, the Old Javanese Mahābhārata nevertheless shows a high degree of structuring, using many devices. There is structuring at all levels: of the story as a whole, of the individual *parvas*, and of smaller units within the *parwas*. This structuring must no doubt result from an intentional design, carefully retained from ‘the original’ and further developed in the Javanese setting. Let me illustrate this with two examples, one at the level of the main story and one at the level of the smallest sub-story.

The Mahābhārata as a whole is presented in the form of a conversation between a number of holy men and their guest, also a holy man. The hosts are busy performing a sacrifice when their guest calls in. He is received with due respect. The company engages in conversation, in which the guest tells about two other sacrifices he knows of, one of which he witnessed himself. That latter sacrifice failed, however, while the first sacrifice was equally unsuccessful but for a different reason: it had been turned down. All this rouses the hosts’ curiosity and they want to hear more. From the point of view of narrative technique: a problem has been created, setting the story into motion.

Now the guest tells about the sacrifice that was not accepted, what kind of sacrifice it was and why it was rejected. This gives him the opportunity to elaborate on sacrifices in general and on holy places.

The other sacrifice, the one that was carried out and failed, was the snake sacrifice ordered by a certain King Janamejaya. The guest tells what happened, why the ritual failed, and how it turned out that the king was compensated for this failure by being treated to a recitation of the story of the Mahābhārata. Now the hosts become really curious: they want to know how that happened and what the Mahābhārata story is all about.
Summarizing the above, the Mahābhārata is a story about three sacrifices. These three sacrifices are the reader’s main points of reference. They remind him of what the text is about: on the meta-level of the main story and in the far-off corners of the sub-stories. But the reader needs more support, in order to keep track of the plot line and not be overwhelmed by an overdose of information. Modern means such as a table of contents or an index did not exist at the time. But the narrator does use a device that functions like a table of contents or an index: he uses a genealogy. Before the Mahābhārata story begins, the king to whom the story is being told is given a list of descendants of all the characters in the story, and this list is then filled in step by step. This is by no means a mechanical process, it is done at times with more details, other times with fewer details, while sometimes a generation is skipped or the order is changed. An example of a change in order is when the next to youngest generation (that is, the generation of the king’s father) is filled in before the older generations.

Further techniques help the reader keep track of the lower level of the *parvas* and the smaller units. These techniques are lexical, grammatical, and literary (for example, particular words, but also tense and repetition, summarizing). Especially on the level of the smallest unit, grammatical and literary markers are woven into the narrative in a subtle way.

Take for example the story of Ekalawya, who was a better archer than Arjuna but who had to sacrifice his right thumb in order to redress the balance in favour of Arjuna. The story opens with the stock phrase *hana ta sang Ekalawya ngaranya*, ‘now there was one Ekalawya’, and concludes with the observation that Arjuna is the best archer again (*lĕwih lāghawanireng dhanurweda*). Although it is an ultra-short story of only one page, it is stuffed with information: on the situation and its history, on the different characters and their relationship to each other, on the problems they see and the solutions they find. No unnecessary words and expressions are used, not even auxiliary words to mark the turning points in the story. Instead, the narrative itself is used for this purpose; this is done by referring to the successive moods that Arjuna goes through:

*kapūhan ta sang Arjuna*
*manastāpa ta sang Arjuna*
*enak tāmbĕk sang Arjuna*

Arjuna was broken
Arjuna was dejected
Arjuna felt delighted

It is the repetitive quality of their near-similarity that gives these three phrases their episodic power: returning at set intervals in the story, these phrases are recognized as the markers of where a sub-story begins or ends, while at the same time they are part of the narrative and contribute to its progress (Van der Molen 2003).
These examples give an impression of how the authors of the parwas, while resizing their text to manageable proportions, took care to give it a clear structure by all necessary means.

MANGGALA

In the Ādiparwa the main story is preceded by the following introduction:

Hana pwa ya mangke wuwusēn, ikang kāla tan hanāditya candra nakṣatra bāyōkāśādika, pralaya ri wēkas ning sanghārakalpa, prāpta mwang sargakāla pratiniyata mijil saprakāranya ngūni, icā sang hyang tinūtūnyān hana katēkan śabda sanghārādharmac, sang hyang Śaṅkara atah kāraṇanyān hana lāwan bhaṭārī dehārdha, kāraṇa nīta mapisan lāwan bhaṭāra Trinētra sira, an munggwi ng Kailāsāśikhara sadṛśa utungga Heśa pratiṣṭha, sākṣat maṇḍalam sabhuwana ikā tā nūn parhyangan sīhāna sang hyang.
Sang hyang Śrī Deweśwara sira ta ṣadaga mwang bhaṭārī, karēngwan ing pūrvaka ning kathā, pūrvastotra ri sirān pangājñā śrī Dharmawangśa tēguh Anantawikramottunggadewa, prabhū pinagawanyakēn prākṛta parwa, tan sangkeng wruh munggartha sarasa ning ślokapadārtha (Juynboll 1906: 1-2).

There is something we should tell about now, the time when there were no sun, moon, stars, wind or firmament or anything, annihilated at the end of the era of destruction. Then came the time of creation, without fail, appearing with all things that belong to it, following the will of God that they undergo the word of the preordained law of destruction. God Śaṅkara is the cause of their existence, together with the goddess, in one body, who because of Him was one with God Trinētra, dwelling on top of Mount Kailāsa as the highest sanctuary, like a mandala for the whole world, being heaven, His abode.

May God Lord of the gods emerge together⁶ with the goddess, as heard in the beginning of the story, the opening hymn of praise⁷ to Him by order of Dharmawangśa Tēguh Anantawikramottunggadewa, the king for whom I made a parwa in the local language, not because I understand all that is written in the slokas.

Three elements can be discerned in this passage: the god Śiwa and the goddess Pārwatī are glorified, the text is said to be the outcome of an instruction given by King Dharmawangśa, and the one who executed the instruction admits a lack of competence.

As is known, such an introduction is called a manggala. The three elements just mentioned are easily recognizable as those elements identified by scholars as characteristic of a manggala: 1. the appeal to an iṣṭadewatā (the god of choice of the author), 2. the glorification of the king who is the author’s patron, and 3.

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⁶ ‘Emerge together’: my tentative translation of sādĕgana, proposed by Zoetmulder instead of the incomprehensible ṣadaga of the text. See Zoetmulder 1982 s.v. ṣadaga.

⁷ Does ‘hymn of praise’ mean that the preceding lines contain a metrical text? Quickly scanning the text I found that the passage running from ikang kāla tan hanāditya to sīhāna sang hyang consists of 2 x 4 lines, like the stanzas of a kakawin. Although I do not see metrical regularity in the first two lines of each stanza, the last two lines of each stanza show a metrical pattern, once of the metre Sragdhara (with two syllables missing in one line) and once of an unknown metre, admittedly after some slight adjustment of the spelling. More thorough research should also include the manuscripts (I based myself on the standard edition, Juynboll’s edition of 1906, which is known for its poor quality).
the author’s expression of humbleness and self-deprecation (Supomo [1996]: 19). It may be that all three of these elements are present in a manggala, but they do not need to be.

Zoetmulder and Supomo explain the manggala in the context of the kakawin. The three elements represent the essence of a kakawin as a combination of literary beauty, politics and religion. A kakawin is not just a beautiful poem but contains magical power: by the way it represents things it is able to influence reality. The explicit aim of many a kakawin is to bring the royal patron victory over his opponents: this aim is more than just a poetic cliché. Similarly, the poetic beauty of a successful poem is more than a demonstration of the poet’s ability. The poet looks for beauty (in Old Javanese: langō) because in it resides his god, the god of beauty with whom he tries to become united, whose help he needs in order to create beauty as a means to bring about the desired unification. A specific god of beauty does not exist; any god can fulfil that function, and which god it is depends in each case on the poet, as is indicated by the term iṣṭadewatā, ‘god of choice’ (Zoetmulder 1974: 165-185; Supomo [1996]: 23-25).

This is how manggalas operate in kakawins. Apparently, manggalas are also found in parwas as we saw earlier. In line with the treatment of parwas in literary histories, the manggalas of the parwas receive very little attention in literary histories. That manggalas do occur in parwas is well known, of course. But again, literary historians have sought their significance outside the texts in which they occur: literary historians value the manggalas because of what they can tell us about chronology (through the dates and historical names they mention). It is remarkable that when Zoetmulder discusses the parwas he does not even mention the word manggala but merely speaks of ‘introductions’.  

In the Ādiparwa and other parwas, the element of the mystical experience of langō is lacking. This does not mean, however, that the parwas are devoid of literary beauty. Looking forward to future research on this aspect, I would like to point out that the authors embellished their works with literary means like similes, figures of speech, alliteration and assonance. Please note that in Old Javanese, the author of a parwa, like the author of a kakawin, is called a kawi; see for example the manggala of the Wirāṭaparwa (Juynboll 1912: 8). The translation of the word kawi given by dictionaries (‘poet’) is too narrow. If admittedly the authors of parwas were not aiming at the mystical experience of beauty, like their colleagues of the kakawins did, their texts certainly created an effect: a beneficial influence on those who read or listened to the parwas. One’s sorrow will be dispelled, one’s sins expiated. A parwa will bring victory to a king, love among kindred, prosperity to all, so the Ādiparwa promises, and the other parwas say the same.

The manggala does not occur in older kakawins, those of Central Java. In East Javanese kakawins the manggala is present right from the beginning. The literary histories point this out as a characteristic difference between Central and East Javanese literature. To my way of thinking, this representation of

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8 Zoetmulder 1974: 95-100. Supomo, however, does use the term manggala.
history is incomplete because it leaves out one important step. The innovation of inserting a manggala started in the parwas, not in the kakawins. It is in the parwas that the manggala manifested itself for the first time, and it is from the parwas that the kakawin poets borrowed it in their turn. It is true that the function of the manggala is not exactly the same in both cases, but this does not change the chronological order. In terms of literary development, it is a clear example of the influence of the parwas on the kakawins.

A CONSCIOUS CHOICE

The Old Javanese translation of the Mahābhārata was made by order of King Dharmawangśa. One question, as yet unanswered, is how many parwas were translated. Nine are known to exist, three in the name of Dharmawangśa, and six without the name of a patron. Were all eighteen Sanskrit parwas translated and nine of them subsequently lost, or were there never more than nine translated? Were all the parwas meant to be translated, or only those that were indeed translated? Another question is why not all the parwas that were translated bear the name of Dharmawangśa. And why was this particular king interested in having the parwas translated? Here I would like to say a few things on Dharmawangśa’s relation to the parwas.

Dharmawangśa not only commissioned the translation, we know that he showed profound interest in the results. A famous passage in the Wirāṭaparwa, often quoted in scholarly literature, reports that the king was present when the text was recited (for the first time?) in a series of meetings held during a whole month in the year 996.

Was Dharmawangśa’s interest inspired merely by a cultural concern, or were there also other motives? I suspect there were. I see two other possible motives. One is in the domain of what might be called the myth of descent. It is well known that Javanese princes of later times used to trace their descent along two lines, one leading to Adam and the other to the Pāṇḍawas. In the parwas we find the first signs of that tradition. In Dharmawangśa’s day, Adam was still beyond the horizon of the Javanese, but they were familiar with the Pāṇḍawas. It appears that Dharmawangśa considered the Pāṇḍawas to be his ancestors, at least this is how he referred to Janamejaya, the king to whom the story of the Mahābhārata was told, who himself was the great-grandson of Arjuna:

Ya ta matang yan âdimûrtti ra putu sang paṇḍita, aminta pinacaritâkĕn tĕkap maharṣi [...] (Juynboll 1912: 97-98).

Now I see why my ancestor asked [the story] to be told to him by the great seer.

There is a lexical problem here. The expression âdimûrtti, translated as ‘ancestor’, is a bit unusual; see the discussion in Zoetmulder 1982: “âdimûrtti (adhimûrti?) first, to begin with?; superior, principal?”, with only three occurrences reported, two of which are in the Wirāṭaparwa. In 1974, referring to this word, Zoetmulder writes in a note: “Literally: ‘the manifestation in
former times of your Reverence’s grandson’’ (Zoetmulder 1974: 515 note 29).

Relying on Zoetmulder’s explanation of the word âdimûrtti, we can conclude that Dharmawangsa had personal reasons to be interested in the parwas: they contained the history of his forebears.

But there must have been another motive, one equally strong. This is suggested by a detail in the same passage of the Wirâṭaparwa which says that the king missed one meeting due to other affairs. In what capacity did he attend the meetings – as a (personally) interested observer, or was it more than that? I ask this question because the passage containing this detail is interpreted differently by different scholars. Supomo summarizes: “The importance of the occasion is evident from the fact that the king himself attended all the sessions except for one, when he ‘was prevented by other affairs’” (Supomo [1996]: 17). Zoetmulder, citing the Old Javanese passage, translates: “On the fifth day Your Majesty did not order a session to be held, because Your Majesty was prevented by other affairs” (Zoetmulder 1974: 95). Both interpretations, however, leave out an aspect found in the Old Javanese:

[...]

ring kaping lima rahadyan sanghulun kasêlangan tanpagoṣṭi, kewyan deni kâryyanta
(Juynboll 1912: 98).

On the fifth day something intervened and Your Majesty did not join the discussion, being prevented by his affairs.

The term magoṣṭi (in tanpagoṣṭi) does not mean ‘to attend a session’ or ‘to order a session to be held’, but ‘to participate in a discussion’. The word is used twice in this passage: the line cited above is uttered by the person who rendered the Wirâṭaparwa into Old Javanese, who is answering King Dharmawangsa’s question as to how much time they have spent; when asking his question the king had used the same expression magoṣṭi. Other words are available in Old Javanese to express ‘to attend’ as an observer or listener, or ‘to order a session to be held’. Magoṣṭi, however, implies active participation in a discussion.

In other words, Dharmawangsa’s interest was of a different nature than Supomo and Zoetmulder suggest: he was not merely an observer or an important guest at the recital but he was engaged in discussing the text while it evolved. (Here one is reminded of Supomo’s remarks on harikatha and mabasan; see above.)

Why would the king actively participate in the discussion of the new text?

In the first place he was imitating his ancestor, King Janamejaya, who had acted in the same way (Juynboll 1912: 8). Second, it was of the utmost importance for the king to come as close as possible to a full understanding of the text, or perhaps even to make sure that its rendering was correct. This had to do with Dharmawangsa’s other activities. Literature was not the only field he was actively involved in. He expanded the realm inherited from his
predecessor to the whole of East Java, and he forged his old and new subjects into one people by introducing a new code of law. In addition, his aims went beyond East Java. First he enlarged his kingdom to the east by conquering Bali. Then he looked westward, where the Śailendras ruled. Victory over their empire would give him supreme power in the archipelago.

This is where the parwas come in. The Wirāṭaparwa, in its manggala, calls Dharmawangśa a cakrawarti, ‘world-ruler’. In 996 he had not yet achieved that status. He needed the magical power of the new text to achieve it. The text of the Wirāṭaparwa (that is, the main body of the story, as distinguished from the manggala) provided him in various places with references to the concept of cakrawarti (see Juynboll 1912: 10, 32, 45). So did the Adiparwa and Bhīṣmaparwa (see Juynboll 1906: 68, 69, 72, 85; Gonda 1936: 9, 28). That is why Dharmawangśa commissioned these parwas. Of the other parwas surviving in Old Javanese, the Sabhāparwa and Udyogaparwa mention the word cakrawarti several times, but we do not know whether or not these two parwas were written on behalf of Dharmawangśa; this kind of information is normally given at the beginning of the parwa, but in both cases the beginning is missing. The other surviving parwas do not bear the king’s name because they do not refer to cakrawarti and therefore did not arouse his interest. Most probably these other parwas were not commissioned by Dharmawangśa.

Before leaving King Dharmawangśa I would like to raise one more point. It has puzzled me for a long time why Dharmawangśa would opt for a prose text rather than a kakawin. The kakawin format had been available since the days of the Rāmāyāṇa and before, and fitted the king’s purpose perfectly well; furthermore, poetry was an established genre of literature and prose was not. One explanation I can think of is that Dharmawangśa wanted to establish a new genre of his own. Such an undertaking would certainly befit his stature. The parwas are at once an illustration of his success and his failure. He succeeded in moulding prose into a tool of literature, which is Dharmawangśa’s contribution to Javanese literary history. But he was too far ahead of his time: after he died, the idea of literary prose was abandoned, not to return for the next thousand years, this time under foreign influence.

Conclusion

The Old Javanese parwas have traditionally been appreciated not for their own sake but for their usefulness for other purposes. The parwas might be able to shed light, so it was hoped, on the cultural relationship of ancient Indonesia with India, the parwas contain the stories on which the poets built their kakawins, the parwas offer ready-to-use material for linguistic analysis, the parwas helped in establishing the chronology of Old Javanese literature.

Without denying the benefits that can be had from the parwas in all these

9 For the Udyogaparwa see Zoetmulder 1993: 58 and 148. The Sabhāparwa has not yet been published.
10 Another text, the Uttarakāṇḍa, however, was. It refers two times to the concept of cakrawarti; see Zoetmulder 2006.
respects, I think our benefit will be greater once we realize that the parwas are the precious products of literary art themselves. I have offered several arguments why we should consider them as literary productions. They follow the Sanskrit story closely but not slavishly, they do not seem to follow one version of the Sanskrit story in particular but betray an individuality of their own. They are structured in a well-designed and innovative way. Like the kakawins, they use the literary devices of the Old Javanese language, they open with a manggala, and they influence reality magically by their way of presenting reality. They are even written by kawis, just like their poetic counterparts.

The study of the parwas up to now has been seriously hampered by wrong views. Their scholarly study started more than one hundred years ago, yet we find ourselves still in the early stages of philological spadework. At present, there is no reason to think that things will take a turn for the better. After a long period of almost no progress, interest in Old Javanese literature worldwide has declined to almost zero. However, the study of Old Javanese is first and foremost an Indonesian responsibility. The growing interest and expanding facilities that can recently be observed in Indonesia are the reassuring signs that this responsibility is being taken up. The establishment of the position of adjunct professor of Old Javanese and philology at Universitas Indonesia is one such sign. I feel honoured to be called to this position.

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**Benny H. Hoed**
Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia
hoed.benny@gmail.com

This collection of articles takes us to the amazing world of translation activities in the history of the Nusantara region, a cultural area nowadays known to us as Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, a part of the Philippines, and Thailand. The articles constitute a picture of Nusantara’s cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political history. The book is written in Indonesian. Its title, *Sadur*, literally means ‘to adapt’. Referring to Newmark (1988: 45-53), “adaptation” is considered one of eight translation methods. Adaptation is a “target-language emphasis” translation method, which we will see prevails in most of the translations studied in this book, and how the adaptation-type of translations has given impact on the cultural dynamics in the Nusantara region.

The volume consists of ten sections. Section 1 contains seven articles on translation activities from foreign languages into local languages; Section 2 has seven articles about translations between local languages; Section 3 provides seven articles about linguistic assimilation; Section 4 has seven articles about the translation of religious texts; Section 5 contains five articles about the translation of technical terms; Section 6 presents six articles about the relation between translation, authority, and society; Section 7 contains five works about the phenomena of metamorphosis and transfer as the impact of translation activities; Section 8 has five articles about the translation of performing arts texts; Section 9 presents eight articles about the inter-language transfer of ideas as a result of translation activities; and Section 10 has seven articles about translators.

Most of the articles are about translation activities in ancient and Western colonial times and involve 13 foreign and local languages in the Nusantara region, covering the period of one millennium. In total, the book contains 65
articles written by 59 scholars. The whole book consists of 1160 pages including a rich bibliography of no less than 49 pages. Since the book is intended for an Indonesian-language public, 54 articles that had originally been written in English and French had to be translated into Indonesian. I personally would have preferred these articles to have been published in their original languages, as Umberto Eco states in the title of one of his books, translation is *Dire presque la même chose* (Saying almost the same thing) (Eco 2006).

The lengthy and detailed introductory notes by Henri Chambert-Loir, the editor of the book, portrays the history of translation and covers three major influences: those of Indian, Islamic, and Western civilizations. These 36-page notes give us an idea of what the book contains; translation activities in the Nusantara region involving Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Chinese (unspecified), Japanese, and various European languages (including Dutch, English, French, Russian) as their source languages; and Javanese, Malay, Sundanese, Balinese, Sasak, Acehnese, Batak, Buginese, Makassarese, and Indonesian as target languages. Starting with the year 996 AD, it covers the three periods of the history of Nusantara (Indian, Islamic, and Western) and different types of translation activities (from “proper” translation to adaptation, including also translations of translations).

Unfortunately, little has been said about the tremendous impact translation activities had and still have on the dynamics of the cultures of the target languages. I will not comment on the philological or literary historical aspect of the articles as these are not my fields of specialization, but will focuses on the contribution of translation to the cultural development of the target language communities. I will review the work from the perspective of translation theory by using the following five principles:

- Translation is viewed as a process as well as a product.
- The act of translation is always unidirectional, but during the act, there is always a dialogue between the translator and the source text and in this dialogue, the translator may take a “visible” or “invisible” position. When a text looks like a translation, the translator is said to be “visible”. When a translator takes an “invisible” position, the result is a translation, which does not look like a translation. The translators do not show themselves as such. “The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator […]” (Venuti 1995: 2). “The translated text is “transparent”, it “seems ‘natural’, i.e., not translated” (Venuti 1995: 5). A transparent translated text is said to be “domesticated” (see Venuti 1995: 5). At this juncture, we may talk about “translating in a limited sense” (first position) versus “authoring” (second position) (Venuti quoting Trask in Venuti 1995: 7). In the act of translation, authoring finds itself at the adaptation-type of translation. These two poles form a continuum, namely “the source-language emphasis” at one pole versus “target-language emphasis” at the other (see Newmark 1988). Most translators, especially in the case of literary types or other culture-bound texts, tend to take the second position. In extreme cases of the second position, the translator
may even take over the role of the author in order to meet the needs of the prospective reader. This translation act may have an impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the target language culture (this is probably the reason why the book is entitled *Sadur*, meaning ‘to adapt’).

- Translation – with a target-language emphasis – is an innovative act and may contribute to culture change.
- The “Sapir-Whorf hypothesis” may apply to the role of translation within the dynamics of a culture.

In short, I will discuss the role of those translation activities that are especially related to their purpose and to their consequences for the dynamics of the *culture* of the target language. As little study has been carried out in this particular area, I see room for scholars – particularly in Indonesia – to study the impact translation has on the dynamics of the target language culture. Even-Zohar (in Venuti 2000: 192) made this important statement:

> In spite of the broad recognition among historians of culture of the major role translation has played in the crystallization of national cultures, relatively little research has been carried out so far in this area.

My view in this is far from original. The study of translation and its impact on culture can be found, for example, in the 649-page book edited by Weissbort and Eysteinsson (2006: 1). The essence of the book (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006: 1) is in the following questions:

> How do works of literature and scholarship acquire international status? How have ideas and theories, learning and religion, historical and practical knowledge, traversed the globe? How have various transactions between groups and nations with different customs and conditions been facilitated? How do we learn of what has transpired in distant places?

and the answer to these questions

> To a large extent by building linguistic bridges across the channels that divide language spheres and cultural regions (...) by individuals who possess knowledge in more than one language and can therefore act as cultural mediators.

It is about the role translation and translators have played in world civilization. The focus of my review will be on the role of translation in Nusantara, particularly Indonesia, during ancient and colonial times. Four long and four short articles from the book, which I consider representative, will be discussed below.

Hunter (pp. 23-28) focuses on translations from Sanskrit into Old-Javanese and their impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Old-Javanese and the development of the Javanese culture from the sixth to the fifteenth century. Hunter argues that translations from Sanskrit into Old-Javanese resulted in “transculturation” and “translocal identity”. My view is that translated works should be seen as *œuvres* in themselves, with their own identity. According
to Hunter, translation activities had developed into a bilingual situation in Javanese society, ultimately ending in Old-Javanese taking over of the role of Sanskrit in religious and social activities. Translation activities resulted in the enrichment of the Old-Javanese script and language. There was a situation of strengthened ethnolinguistic vitality that had an impact on the cultural dynamics of the society of the target language. Seen from a translation theory point of view, this phenomenon is called “domestication” (see Venuti 1995: 5-19), which in this case resulted in “vernacularization”, in Hunters’ term, from Sanskrit to Old-Javanese. It was a process, which resulted in the evolutionary formation of a “new” language and a “new” culture, but still within the “Sanskrit cosmopolis”. The translated texts are transparent, the translator is invisible.

Braginsky (pp. 59-117) discusses translation from Persian into Malay during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following Barthes, Braginsky claims that a literary text is a composite of citations originating from innumerable centers of culture. As a matter of fact, this refers to Barthes’ article “The death of the author” in which he sees a text as the “the total existence of writing” meaning that:

a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author (Barthes 1977: 148).

We see from Braginsky’s article that translation activities were carried out for a certain purpose, that is to enrich Malay literature with elements from Persian literature. This is a phenomenon of “skopos” in Vermeer’s term, that is ‘purpose-based translation’ or ‘reader-based translation’:

Any action has an aim, a purpose. […] the word skopos, then, is a technical term for the aim or purpose of a translation. […] Further: an action leads to a result, a new situation or event, and possibly to a “new” object (Vermeer 1989 in Venuti 2005: 221).

In the spirit of “skopos”, translation activities were focused on the needs of the readers as the target community. At a certain moment, the translator – as the reader of the original work – took over the role of the author to meet the needs of the target reader of his/her translation. The translator made her/himself “invisible”.

Interestingly, according to Braginsky the works did not originate from palaces. The original texts were popular literary epics (heroic narratives or poems). Referring to Brakel’s work on the Hikayati-i-Muhammad-i Hanafiyah, who argues that its translations into Malay took place between 1250 and 1390 in Pasai, Braginsky considers the Malay translation as the prototype of Hikayat Melayu. Beside the hikayat as a genre, the translation also resulted in the adaptation of maqtaal (epic martyrs’ stories), which are still popular in present-day Iran. It is a story about Hasan and Husain, the two sons of Caliph Ali, who died as martyrs (syahid) in their struggle to defend Islam. The story
was translated into Malay, but was adapted to local needs. As there were anti-Shiite feelings at that time, the translator transformed the story into a history of Islam, known as Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah. Translation was thus a means of transferring the “good” elements of the Persian people’s Islamic culture to the local (Malay) people. Braginsky’s article shows that translation activities were carried out for disseminating Islam’s socio-religious teachings as well as the spirit to defend Islam against external forces. Here we witness the phenomenon of “authoring” in translation.

In his article, Abdullah (pp. 215-264) shows that translation also involved local languages. This is the case with translations from Malay (and later Indonesian) into Acehnese from the sixteenth century through the New Order period (1967-1998). According to Abdullah, in the region presently known as the Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province, there are four distinct ethnic languages beside Acehnese (Gayo, Alas, Tamiang, and Jamee). In social practices, Acehnese functioned as a kind of “lingua franca” because demographically Acehnese speakers constitute a majority compared to speakers of the other four languages. For a long time, Acehnese was used for the dissemination of Islamic teachings apart from being the language of the economy and the administration in the region.

However, Islam during ancient times used to be disseminated in the area through Malay (known as Jawoe). After the fall of Malacca (now part of Malaysia) to the Portuguese in 1511, the centre of Islamic teaching dissemination shifted to Aceh. During that period, and especially during the time of the glory of the Aceh Kingdom, translators translated Islamic teachings from Malay – a language most people in the region did not master – into Acehnese to make the dissemination more effective for the public at large. Interestingly, translators not only translated, but also transformed the prose narratives into poems (called sanjak). The purpose of this was to facilitate the oral teaching of religion through memorization, especially among the younger generations. Consequently, the written form was “forgotten” as it was replaced by the oral form. The poetic form was easy to memorize and people tended to rely more and more on memorization and oral recitation. Translation resulted in an interesting ethnolinguistic vitality development where, contrary to the views of many scholars, the written form came first and the oral form later. Another by-product of these translation activities was the Malay-Acehnese written-to-be-oralized dictionary in poem form as in the following example:

Berdiri tadong [to stand], duduk taduek [to walk], berjalan tajak, sendiri sidroe [alone; the words in italics being the Acehnese equivalents].

There was also an Arabic-Acehnese dictionary in the same form, as in the following example:

Asma’ deungo [to hear], harijad narid [to narrate, to tell], ana wahid ulön sidroe [I am alone; the words in italics being the Acehnese equivalents].
From Abdullah’s article, we see that lexicography has accompanied translation in Aceh for almost five centuries.

Malay-Acehnese translation activities continued during the war in Aceh against the Dutch colonialists (1873-1912). The purpose of these activities was to strengthen the spirit of the people in their struggle against the “kafirs” (the Dutch, who were Christians, were seen as kafirs). Abdullah argues that Malay literary works such as *Hikayat Perang Sabil* (translated as *Hikayat Prang Sabi* in Acehnese) were translated for a religious purpose. This epic work refers to stories about Prophet Muhammad’s struggle to defend Islam. The stories in the *Hikayat* were translated and adapted into the tambéh (local moral teachings) form and thus yet again we see the phenomena of “authoring” and “domestication” in translation.

During the New Order period, the teaching materials of the government’s Pancasila ideology and family planning guide documents were translated from Indonesian into Acehnese. Abdullah shows us that the translation tradition in Aceh is centuries long and its main feature was the adaptation of prose material into poems, which resulted in the creation of an oral tradition. Translation activities were carried out with the aim of strengthening the Islamic faith. The “skopos” phenomenon prevailed here.

Suryadinata (pp. 156-169) shows how translation activities gave birth to a “new” culture. He discusses translation from Chinese into Malay (unfortunately, the author does not specify which Chinese language he is talking about, but I suppose it is Classical Chinese and Mandarin). Translations were made into a Malay dialectal variety he calls “Chinese-Malay”, which overseas Chinese used as their oral vernacular language to communicate among themselves as well as with other ethnic groups, particularly “indigenous” (pribumi) people. The written form of Chinese-Malay came into being when, in 1880, translators translated Chinese works into Chinese-Malay to introduce “the culture of the ancestors”. Overseas Chinese, who had assimilated themselves into the “Malay world”, did not master Chinese, but still needed to identify themselves culturally as Chinese. Translations of epics and literary works from Chinese into Chinese-Malay helped them to maintain cultural links with their ancestors in China.

Translation activities had thus given birth to new ethnolinguistic vitality, that is the development of a new written culture, which strengthened feelings of overseas Chinese cultural identity. Here, the phenomena of authoring and domestication are evident. Overseas Chinese culture, known in Malaysia and Singapore as “Baba” or “Peranakan” culture, was recognizable not only from their material culture (among others in their clothing and cuisine), but also from their newly formed written and literary language. In Indonesia, the translation of Chinese texts into Chinese-Malay continued until the end of President Soekarno’s administration. According to my observations, this ethnolinguistic vitality decreased during President Soeharto’s time. Later, after the start of the Reformasi era in (1998) – especially under the influence of President Abdurrachman Wahid – there was a revitalization of overseas
Chinese culture in Indonesia, but there was no sign of any ethnolinguistic revitalization of the Chinese-Malay language. Interestingly, unlike in Malaysia and Singapore, there is no special name for Indonesian Chinese culture. Many Indonesian Chinese tend to identify themselves more as Indonesians than as Chinese.

Transliteration and translation are two different types of interlingual processes: the first being “the transfer of orthographic systems”, while the second involves “the transfer of message and language, including the orthographic system”. Articles written by Tol, Van der Molen, Chambert-Loir, and Kozok deal with these two types of interlingual processes (pp. 309-338).

Chambert-Loir argues that three types of orthographic systems in Nusantara are derived from foreign systems, namely Indian, Arabic, and European (I would prefer to say Latin, because in Europe there is also the Cyrillic orthographic system which is not used in Nusantara). As a matter of fact, the three types of orthographic systems, like other linguistic elements, as we can see in Hunter’s and other articles in this book, were derived from – or came out of – translation activities. Chambert-Loir sees this phenomenon as “ideological cultural acts”. Referring to Foucault, I may say that there is a “power relationship” between the source and the target languages, of which the orthographic system is an integral part. The translator saw the source text as a representation of a “superior” civilization. Interestingly, the result of this power relationship was the birth of new orthographic systems, which enriched the target language culture. As becomes evident from Hunter’s article, the new orthographic system (which came together with translation) strengthened the ethnolinguistic vitality of Old-Javanese, which took over the role of Sanskrit as the language for the dissemination of Hindu religious teachings. The shift from Sanskrit-based Old-Malay to Arabic-based writing after the arrival of Islam in Sumatra must have been an impact of the power relationship between Arabic (source language, representing Islam as the prevailing religion) and Old-Malay (the target language, representing the local culture).

Tol (pp. 316-320) describes orthographic systems in South Sulawesi. He argues that there are four systems of writing in this part of Nusantara, namely (chronologically) Old-Makassarese, Bugis-Makassarese, and Arabic and Latin-based orthographic systems. He argues that the Old-Makassarese and Bugis-Makassarese orthographic systems can be traced back to a very old Indian writing system called Brahmi. He sees that both systems were derived from the same model, which was close to the Kawi system. Although historically, the prevailing orthographic systems were Arabic and Bugis, the latter came more and more in use, while Arabic letters usually were used to write Arabic words. Old-Makassarese faded out in the eighteenth century and was replaced by Bugis. Although Tol does not discuss the cultural dynamics, I would argue that the Bugis orthographic system ultimately strengthened the vitality of Bugis, the local language that took over the role of Arabic. This seems similar to the case of Old-Javanese as Hunter reported.
Van der Molen (pp. 320-324) argues that the Javanese orthographic system has been in use since the eighth century. Similar to many other philologists, he also argues that the Javanese orthographic system was derived from an Indian orthographic system. He also states that the Javanese orthographic system was not only used to write Javanese, but also for other ethnic languages such as Sundanese, Madurese, and Sasak while a similar system has also been in use in Bali. He continues that unlike in other parts of Nusantara where Islam prevailed, in Java, the Javanese orthographic system has played a more important role than that of Arabic, although Islam was also the prevailing religion. This confirms once again the view that there is a power relationship between languages, in this case between Javanese culture and other cultures that adopted the Javanese orthographic system.

Kozok (pp. 311-316) offers an interesting description of the history of the orthographic systems used in Sumatra. The population of Sumatra was identified as Malays. The influence of India in Sumatra started 2000 years ago. Inscriptions in Pallava characters (originally from South India) discovered in Kedah (Malaysia, fifth century) and Sriwijaya (South Sumatra, seventh century), reveal that the Malays were adaptable to foreign cultures. The presence of India in Sumatra, thanks to the island’s strategic location in the India-China maritime economic path, brought economic advantages to the people and the authorities of the island. Most scholars agree that local authorities disseminated Indian-based culture. The Pallava orthographic system was in use in Sumatra from the seventh to the fourteenth century. However, as early as the eighth century, it was gradually replaced by a Pallava-derived local orthographic system called Kawi. Here we witness the amazing phenomenon of what I would call “indigenouzation” (I invented the term), while Hunter names this process “transculturation” and the formation of “transculture identity” (see Hunter above) similar to “domestication” in Venuti’s term (Venuti 1995: 5-19).

In these four short articles, we witness how translation activities were followed or accompanied, by the development of local orthographic systems that ultimately resulted in the formation of “new” orthographic systems, which agreed more to local needs. Here we witness a phenomenon of domestication in translation activities.

Sadur is a voluminous work. However, we can grasp the gist of the 65 articles as follows:
- Most of the articles are studies in philology and literary history, but in each of them, the author focuses on translation.
- The book covers the history of translation in Nusantara over a period of one thousand years.
- The main focus of the articles is on translation activities (which include transliteration) in ancient and the colonial times.
- Most of the texts that were translated were religious, literary, and some administrative.
- The articles discussed above, and other articles in the book, confirm that
translation - in a broad sense - has had an impact on the target language culture. In the history of translation in the Nusantara area, translation activities were accompanied by language change, new orthographic system formation, the adoption of literary genres, and the development of other kinds of ethnolinguistic vitality leading to a culture change, which I would call a “cultural metamorphosis”.

- Domestication and authoring are evident in most of the studies in this volume. Based on this ideology, translation activities were aimed at meeting the needs for opening a society’s culture to new, exterior, elements.
- We have seen the role of translators as “cultural mediators” (see Eysteinsson and Weissbort quoted above).

Chambert-Loir certainly has done a great job by inviting a large number of scholars in philology and literary history to write articles specially focused on translation. Scholars in translation theory agree that translation is culture-bound. While the translator takes an “invisible” position, there is a notion of a “high-low” relationship between “source” and the “target” texts in the sense that translators see the original text as “superior”.

The articles in Sadur show how “invisible” translators were; they played roles beyond those of translators. They even took over the role of the author of the original texts by developing “new” texts acceptable and useful to the target readers. Their “skopos” spirit guided them in fulfilling the needs of their target readers (or listeners). The translators’ ideology of “domestication” (in Venuti’s term, or “vernacularization” in Hunter’s sense) and “authoring” (quoted from Trask by Venuti 1995) had important repercussions for a large number of cultural changes in the societies of the target languages. The four short articles show that translations were also decisive in the formation and development of orthographic systems. However, the purpose remained to tap the “good” elements (message) from the original text and to present them to the target readers.

The articles moreover reveal that the people in Nusantara during ancient times were open to foreign cultures. More research still needs to be done in this area. Philologists, linguists, translation researchers, and other specialists, such as economic and political historians, as well as anthropologists, can work together to discover the process of “cultural metamorphosis” in Nusantara and by so doing confirm that translation study is basically interdisciplinary. Even-Zohar (in Venuti 2000: 192-193) wisely writes about literary translation:

Moreover, there is no awareness of the possible existence of translated literature as a particular literary system. […] To say that translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem means that it participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem. […] an integral part of innovatory forces […]

More is still to be discovered through the study of translation, especially by focusing on the role of translators as “an integral part of innovatory forces”
that have the potential to contribute to culture change as we have learned from Sadur.

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F.X. Rahyono
Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia
frahyono.hum@ui.ac.id

The book *Geliat bahasa selaras zaman; Perubahan bahasa-bahasa di Indonesia pasca-Orde Baru* edited by Mikihiro Moriyama and Manneke Budiman explores the way power and power-created socio-political circumstances influenced language profiles in Indonesia. Power constraints and shackles caused the national language to lose its vitality and creativeness but also local languages were suppressed in favour of the National Unitary State. Language under the New Order regime showed a high degree of productive euphemisms. The policy to implement proper and correct Indonesian language use suppressed
it while Indonesian was chosen to replace local languages. As a result, Indonesian started to interfere with local languages.

The book contains fourteen articles and ends in an epilogue. The articles originate from papers presented at the workshop ‘Perubahan Konfigurasi Kebahasaan di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru’ (Changes in the Linguistic Configuration of Indonesia after the New Order), organized in Depok at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Indonesia, 9-11 June 2008. The Workshop discussed the linguistic changes that took place in the Indonesian languages as a result of social and political changes after the demise of the New Order regime. In general, the papers throw light on the correlations between power and globalization on the one hand, and linguistic changes on the other. Moriyama states that the linguistic changes in Indonesia were caused by a variety of social and political changes starting from the New Order era until post-New Order Indonesia and the Reformasi periode that followed it.

Why did the Indonesian languages change? Jan van der Putten proposes three reasons that not only led to language changes but also to language destruction: 1. adjustment of language users to environmental and global changes; 2. the role of language authority; and 3. language contacts. In connection with environmental and global changes, Ganjar Hwia emphasizes that language changes in Indonesia reflected the new ways people ordered their lives. The rapid currents of globalization and technological developments and the liberation from the domination and hegemony the "center" exerted on the “regions” changed the society’s way of life. Technological developments, according to Bernard Arps, were instrumental in the establishment of the Using language in Banyuwangi in East Java as an independent local language. Further discussing the role of liberation from the domination of power, Manneke Budiman explains how cosmopolitan authors liberated themselves from the bonds that forced them to live up to the doctrine of having to contribute to the creation of "completely Indonesian people". They no longer feel that their identities are decided by, or limited to, the massive uniformity that was one of the New Order’s key elements.

Haruya Kagami, George Quinn, and Mikihiro Moriyama discuss language changes during the New Order. Haruya Kagami states that the government policy to push the use of the national language through education caused changes in the daily use of the Balinese language. According to George Quinn, the New Order put enormous pressure on local languages and cultures. Local culture, including Javanese culture, was considered a veiled threat to language unity and to the solidity of central power, which allowed local languages to wither. This pressure and the hold of the national language and culture is still felt, even after the New Order’s demise. Mikihiro Moriyama
discusses the revitalization of the use of the Sundanese local language as a result of post-New Order decentralization. The political policy concerning regional autonomy and the teaching curriculum in local languages enabled Sundanese to reemerge. However, parental considerations that the use of Indonesian gives more opportunity for a bright future causes a decline in the use of Sundanes.

Apparently, not all local languages revitalize. Asako Shiohara explains that the Kui and Sumbawanese languages do not have the political potential to develop similarly to that of Sundanese and Balinese. Migration of the population, the replacement of corn in favor of tubers and rice on the daily menu, and aspirations to live in urban areas in order to obtain higher education give reason to opt for the use of Indonesian rather than local languages.

What has changed in all this unrest? Untung Yuwono explains that bahasa gaul ‘young people’s funky language’ (Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2004: 76) and its reviling expressions develop rapidly and society accepts it. The liberation euphoria after the New Order is an important point in the continuum of the development of youth language in Indonesia. These expressions have found their way into Indonesian dictionaries and grammars. Indonesian is moreover inundated by foreign words and expressions, especially from English. Tim Hassal sets forth that the exuberance of the use of (Western) loan words is not only caused by the semantic limitations of Indonesian, but also by esthetic-emotional needs and the desire for individual expression. Jan van der Putten is of the opinion that the rapid use of English is a result of the globalization pushed by English itself. The hegemony of the English language also materializes through global computer networks. The post-New Order era provided the opportunity for the presence of foreign languages while the New Order version of nationalism minimized their use, as discussed by Manneke Budiman.

The changes after the New Order and into the Reformation era also revealed significant changes in the use of Mandarin/Chinese. During the New Order, all schools that used Chinese as their language of instruction were closed. Thung Ju Lan explains that Indonesian also played an important role for the Chinese. Indonesian vocabulary caused labeling for native/non-native and nationals of Chinese descent. Yumi Kitamura discusses the pressure levied on the usage of Chinese words and script in the Jakarta linguistic landscape as a result of the declining capabilities among the Chinese to write Chinese characters, causing a weakening of the Chinese to express themselves as such. Francisca Handoko tells that the New Order’s pressure on Mandarin has truly seen the end of the presence of Mandarin in Indonesia. This pressure was even accompanied by threats to punishment equal to that of narcotic’s possession. The use of Mandarin is reinvigorated after the fall of the New Order. It is now one of the foreign languages taught at school from kindergarten up to higher education. Koji Tsuda states that the status of Chinese changed drastically after the end of the New Order and he uses the Rembang Regency as an example of the reality of the boom in Mandarin language study. There is also
a reemergence of the trend to express Chineseness and Chinese culture.

The radical political changes that took place between the end of the New Order and the Reformation have evidently triggered new ways of language use in Indonesia. Mikihiro Moriyama and Manneke Budiman have been very careful in their choice of title which is representative of significant linguistic changes. It seems that Indonesian languages have reawakened from their slumber under the control of New Order power. The articles in this book describe the factors that supported this linguistic change. What has changed? The languages themselves, human behaviour, ideas, or written works? The book does not explicitly answer these questions and also does not deal with the impact of the issue in detail. No comprehensive attention has been paid to the linguistic profile. The issue of the productivity of youth expressions has also not been solidly dealt with. Why, for instance, is this kind of language so productive? It is not so that after the New Order, the lack of proper language use in the mass media was so widespread that the "overadvanced reformation" discourse is also accompanied by rapidly developing unbecoming conduct? (see Rahyono 2005: 47).

The book Geliat bahasa selaras zaman; Perubahan bahasa-bahasa di Indonesia pasca-Orde Baru is a very useful compilation of articles for researchers to widen their spectrum on the objects of language study because so many different topics have been addressed. The variety of topics, although circling around language change and popular written language styles, provides a wide range of theoretical and methodological insights. Languages in Indonesia change conform the changes of the times of liberation. Geliat bahasa selaras zaman; Perubahan bahasa-bahasa di Indonesia pasca-Orde Baru should not be put on the shelve, but should be read and studied!

References

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John Miksic  
Southeast Asian Studies Programme,  
National University of Singapore  
seajnm@nus.edu.sg

This book was published on the occasion of Uka Tjandrasasminta’s 80th birthday in October 2009. It contains 23 papers written during his long career. He is perhaps the most prolific author of any Indonesian archaeologist. He writes about a wide range of subjects; his main topic, the archaeology of Indonesia during the period since the inception of Islam, enables him to utilize a wide range of types of sources.

I first met Pak Uka in 1976, soon after the Lembaga Purbakala had been divided into two institutions, one the body in charge of monument preservation which he headed, the other the National Research Center for Archaeology, under R.P. Soejono. It was due to Pak Uka’s assistance that I received permission from LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, The Indonesian Institute of Sciences) to undertake my first research project in Indonesia. I have always felt a debt of gratitude for his willingness to assist a foreigner who wanted to participate in interpreting the past of his country.

Despite the fact that Pak Uka’s responsibilities lay in the area of conservation, he devoted a significant amount of his free time to research using data from literature and architecture in addition to traditional archaeological artifacts. As Professor Azyumardi Azra wrote in his Foreword, Pak Uka’s approach resembles that of the Annales School of Historians. Professor Edi Sedyawati in her introduction writes with her usual perspicacity that although Pak Uka’s book does not go into details concerning his reasons for choosing certain lines of reasoning, this is the price exacted by his choice to write a popular book. She also notes that whereas his book devotes coverage to Banten, Sumedang, Jakarta, and Cirebon, he does not pay similar attention to Mataram, Banjarmasin, and Riau.

Pak Uka’s book is divided into four sections. Each relates Islamic archaeology to a specific theme: the “cosmopolitan dynamic”, and three themes focused on archipelagic Southeast Asia: the local dynamic, manuscripts, and the formation and heritage of culture. His choice for the subject of his own introduction is the relationship of archaeology and history, to which he returns again in his third section; one of the chapters in that section deals specifically with the Annales School of History. He also refers to the Annales approach in other chapters, for example on page 133, and pages 186-188.

The first section is devoted to the various streams of communication which led to the Islamization of Indonesia. Unfortunately there is little artifactual evidence on this subject. The most important relics of the early period of conversion are tombstones and mosques. Interesting recent discoveries from
underwater archaeology such as the Belitung and Cirebon shipwrecks, with cargoes including Changsha ceramics of the ninth century decorated with pseudo-Arabic script, and tenth-century beads from the Near East, suggest that more artifactual evidence may still be discovered. For the present, however, scholars are still compelled to rely upon textual sources, most of them from the period after Islam was already implanted, and mosque architecture, also from period subsequent to Islam’s adoption, to reconstruct the earliest phases of the conversion. This section contains a full synthesis of the data on this topic.

There are also some studies of specific sites. For example Chapter 8 discusses the formation of the settlement of Kampung Lengkong Sumedang or Lengkong Ulama, near Tangerang, West Java, in the seventeenth century. Chapter 12 is concerned with Pulau Berhala, off the coast of Jambi. One of my favorite publications by Pak Uka which was not included in this volume, presumably because of its length, is his 1975 study of Sendang Duwur. Like him I have been fascinated by the use of the winged motifs on the kori agung gateways there. Another instance of this motif are the carved wooden wings on the entrance corridor leading to Sunan Gunung Jati’s tomb. The motif seems to derive partly from the stylization of the pre-Islamic scrolls on the kala motif usually found on temple lintels; the hypothesis that the selection of the specific emblem of the wing to replace them is connected with the notion of immortality in connection with the Garudeya myth makes sense (pp. 243-246).

Another useful chapter is Chapter 19 “History and dynamics of cultural institutions in Indonesia”. This is conventional history of a documentary sort, but it does a useful service by compiling much information from scattered sources (pp. 251-277).

This volume does not indulge in the problematization of theoretical approaches to Islamic archaeology. This is in large part connected with his obvious personal fascination with literature rather than artifacts. Its main contribution is that it summarizes comprehensively all the important data which is ever likely to be gleaned from the main sources collected so far: architecture, tombstones, and textual sources. These formed the main battlements of Pak Uka’s bailiwick during his long tenure in charge of protecting Indonesia’s monuments. He also refers to other sources which remain to be fully exploited. These include urban archaeology, including the use of space in early Islamic ports and palaces (on this subject, a recent useful publication is Arkeologi perkotaan Mataram Islam, written by Inajati Adrisijanti in 2000), and the study of ceramics, the main remnant of the trade routes along which Islam spread. A database is needed, as Pak Uka suggests (p. 119), not just for Banten, but for Islamic archaeology in general.

Question: was Banten a city-state as Uka states (p. 166)? There is historical evidence to suggest that its administrative authority spread beyond the city’s boundaries. Archaeological research in Bengkulu at the site of Fort York, built in 1685 after the English were ejected from Banten, demonstrates that ornate Banten pottery was used there earlier; probably the British took over a site which had earlier been used by Banten’s representatives. Various piagem or
proclamations from Banten demonstrate its authority in Lampung.

Another topic of interest to which this book alludes is Islamic tourism (Chapter 22 “Kontribusi purbakala Islam Aceh bagi pengetahuan dan pariwisata”). This is an important subject for future research and discussion. How does one market Islamic monuments? What are some of the dangers of doing so? Is it possible to promote Islamic sites for tourists without turning them into commodities, or subjecting them to degradation? The subject of cultural tourism in general is an increasingly critical topic, due to the incredible increase in the number of tourists, and the impact they are having on heritage sites. It is to be hoped that this volume will form a source of insight into the need to balance development with sustainability, which means allocating a sufficient proportion of the profits gained from heritage tourism to the maintenance of the heritage resources. It also requires that tourism authorities target their marketing at quality tourists rather than the mass market.

A theme which runs through most of the chapters in this book is the need for conservation. This was Pak Uka’s main professional mission. Because of his example, many younger people have taken up the cause of historic preservation, not only archaeologists, but many members of the general public. Fighting against time is always a losing battle, but if losses can be minimized, Pak Uka’s legacy will be secure.

In conclusion, it is worthy of mention that the book contains numerous illustrations, many of which have never been published before, or have only appeared in sources which are difficult to find. They add considerably to the interest of this book.

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Suryadi
Leiden University
s.suryadi@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Edwin Jurriëns’ new book is an excellent case study about the impact of Indonesian political reform on radio journalism in Indonesia. Although various scholars have focused their research on specific aspects of the historical and contemporary use of radio in Indonesia, Jurriëns, a lecturer in Indonesian Language and Culture at the University of New South Wales in Canberra, Australia, is the first to present an extensive study of the effects of Indonesian political reform on the medium of radio.

This book studies the changes that have occurred in radio journalism
after the fall of Soeharto’s New Order regime in 1998 and during the period of social and political reform known as the Reformasi that replaced it. The author discusses how, during the period of reform euphoria, radio institutions not only created a virtual but also a concrete space for their audiences to meet and publicly discuss matters considered relevant to the society in which they live.

Radio has played an important role in changing Indonesian society. The first radio broadcast was aired in Sabang, Aceh, in 1911. Since then, radio has been used to represent many aspects of Indonesian culture and, consequently, has significantly influenced Indonesian society. From colonial times onwards, radio has been used to bring about cultural, social, and political changes. One prominent case is the so-called Petisi Soetardjo (Soetardjo Petition). On 19 November 1936, the Nationalist Faction’s primary representative in the Volksraad (people’s Assembly), M. Soetardjo Kartohadikoesoemo, presented a petition to the government in which he insisted that the Netherlands East Indies colonial administration give Indonesian natives the right to produce radio programmes representing their own culture and identity. These programmes were intended to be aired by the radio stations owned by the natives. At that time, the colonial government’s NIROM station was the only station allowed to air radio programmes, which mostly concerned European culture. These broadcasts were also intended to be aired by stations owned by the native population. Although the Dutch radical parties in the colony severely criticized it, the Netherlands East Indies colonial government approved the Soetardjo petition in order to provide the Indonesian people with more opportunity to express their own cultural identity through radio.

Similar to the Netherlands East Indies colonial government, Soeharto’s New Order regime (1967-1998) also tightly controlled the media including radio broadcasts. It is often said in public discourse that the supporters of this authoritarian regime had actually colonized their own people. Soeharto’s New Order regime collapsed in 1998 and was succeeded by a period of swift political reform. During this so-called Reformasi period, all Indonesian media, print and non-print alike, were granted press freedom. From monologue to dialogue examines how radio practitioners used this freedom.

Edwin Jurriëns’ book has captured the dynamics of radio journalism in contemporary Indonesia. He has carried out extensive field research in Sumatra, Java, and Bali and he has used a variety of sources, including scholarly literature, private interviews, and recordings of radio programmes. He visited prominent Indonesian radio stations such as Global FM in Tabanan, Jakarta News FM, Trijaya and Radio 68H in Jakarta, Radio Mora in Bandung, Suara Surabaya and SCFM in Surabaya, and Radio Suara Padang in Padang.

The book is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I (Introduction) (pp. 1-8)
describes the book’s scope and context and the author’s theoretical arguments. Jurriëns argues that the new ideas and practices that triggered the audiences’ engagement in journalistic affairs are reactions against the New Order’s official "monologism" culture – which sought to keep audiences at a distance – and share characteristics of a Bakhtinian type of "dialogism" (p. 3).

The following two chapters (Chapter II pp. 9-23 and Chapter III pp. 25-47) explain the political and historical macro-contexts of late- and post-New Order radio journalism, and include an exploration of concepts like Reformasi, dialogism, and the public sphere. The author uses the Bakhtinian concepts of "heteroglossia", "carnival", and "dialogism" in order to describe the cultural climate in which radio developed during the New Order and Reformasi periods. Furthermore, he also examines how radio journalism, taking advantage of the reduction of state power in the wake of the New Order’s fall, has contributed to the creation of a public sphere where Indonesian civil society was able to manifest itself. He points out that radio journalism in Indonesia since the late 1990s was shaped by and has contributed to the Reformasi, and to the ambition to democratize Indonesian politics, economy, and society.

The next five chapters (Chapter IV to VIII) are devoted to an analysis of the intermediate and micro-levels of specific institutions, journalistic concepts, and programme genres. The chapters discuss different groups of actors active in Indonesian radio journalism and show that the boundaries between these groups have been questioned and were undermined in times of reform. Jurriëns discusses the transition from the New Order’s interpretation of development journalism and control over media institutions and professional organizations, to post-New Order radio institutions and journalistic practices. In part, his discussion corresponds to Habermas’s idea of the bourgeois public sphere (Chapter IV pp. 49-76). He also explores the interactive current affairs talk show that is a specific genre in radio journalism, which helps to create dialogic characters (Chapter V pp. 77-96). He goes on to examine the discursive and practical consequences of interactive radio shows (Chapter VI pp. 97-120), to analyse the role of listeners who participate in interactive radio discourse. He does so by looking at a case study of the commercial news station Global FM in Tabanan, Bali (Chapter VII, pp. 121-139) and he describes the complex nature and characteristics of radio komunitas (community radio) which has developed significantly in Indonesia since the start of the Reformasi period (Chapter VIII pp. 141-158).

In this book, Jurriëns shows how radio media practitioners have been using their new media freedoms and their access to information, which were only made possible because of the political reform in Indonesia, in order to create programmes that involve the participation of the listening audience. They also sought to develop concepts like independent journalism, peace journalism, meta-journalism, virtual interactivity, talkback radio, and community radio. These new programmes enable hosts, experts, listeners, and other participants to discuss and negotiate the very rules and boundaries of Indonesia’s newly acquired media freedom by showing how significantly different these
programmes are compared to those which were primarily characterized by the so-called "monological journalism" aired during the New Order era.

In the final chapter (Chapter IX pp. 159-163), Jurriëns concludes that radio journalism of the late- and post-Sioeharto periods has enabled segments of the Indonesian population to engage in new media experiences and to build an identity that extends beyond their local societies, making them feel more like members of a cosmopolitan society. However, I would also like to point out that in the Reformasi period many radio stations also became interested in broadcasting programmes in regional languages and with local contexts. This demonstrates that these new media trends not only fostered a sense of cosmopolitanism, but that these new opportunities also created room for different regions to seek to present themselves. No doubt, the mediation of local culture in radio and other media contributes to an increased sense of regionalism in Indonesia, which is expected to affect, both politically and socially, the nation-state project of Indonesia as a multi-ethnic country.


Mely G. Tan
Indonesian Academy of Sciences, Jakarta
melanie77@cbn.net.id

This is a remarkable book, written by a remarkable woman about remarkable women. So far, studies about ethnic Chinese in Indonesia have focused mostly on economic and political aspects. There have been studies on their social and cultural life, but they are much less in number and they usually concern the entire community, and pay little or no attention to gender specificity. It is thus not easy to find significant studies that focus on ethnic Chinese women’s lives and conditions. Fortunately, the situation has recently improved. In 1990, Lim Sing Meij published her dissertation entitled *Ruang sosial baru perempuan Tionghoa; Sebuah kajian pascakolonial* (A new social space for Chinese women; A postcolonial study). It is a study based on interviews with six women professionals and focuses on identity and Chineseness. Another is Ju-Lan Thung’s study entitled *Identities in Flux; Young Chinese in Jakarta*, which is a study of eighteen Chinese Indonesians, of whom nine are women (For more references on this topic, see
Mely G. Tan 2007).

Dewi Anggraeni’s book is a valuable contribution and a welcome addition to these books, and she has written it in a special way. She is a journalist and a novelist and this book is her third non-fiction book and her first on Chinese Indonesians. Although she has an academic background and is Adjunct Research Associate at the School of Political and Social Inquiry of the Faculty of Arts at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, she has made it clear that this is not an academic book. This is why I consider her a remarkable woman: with her academic background, combined with her experience as journalist and novelist, she has succeeded in using a different approach. Remarkably, she does not refer to the eight women that appear in her book as her respondents, but rather as her “protagonists”, like the characters that populate a novel. She spoke with them more than once, and their conversations became very personal and intense. She met most of them in Jakarta, but in order to meet one of them she also traveled to Banda Aceh while she traveled to Papua figuratively, where two of them originally came from, but who now have settled in Bogor and Yogyakarta where she interviewed them.

Dewi herself is of Chinese origin, and because of that, she used to think that she understood the situation of the ethnic Chinese because she thought she was able to view the situation from within (p. 1). When she finally decided to work seriously on the book, she realized that her insider understanding was an illusion because the condition of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is much more complicated than she ever imagined. However, reading the literature about ethnic Chinese brought her also to the observation that there are descriptions and analyses that do not fit her own experience, or those of others she knows.

This led her to questions of stereotypes and stereotyping. She found that the most persistent stereotype is that ethnic Chinese are supposedly obsessed with amassing money. The term used for this is mata duitan, to accumulate money in whatever way. Although in her experience she found many ethnic Chinese that do not fit this stereotype, it persists nonetheless. Apparently, ethnic Chinese who are not mata duitan seem to be invisible. The focus of the book is to make these individuals visible (p. 3).

The author has not described explicitly what criteria she used to decide who her "protagonists" would be or how she was going to find them, but she has succeeded in bringing together a remarkable group of women who do not fit the stereotype of ethnic Chinese at all.

Ester Indahyani Jusuf (born in Malang in 1971) is a human rights activist, very assertive, consistent, and persistent in her demand for an end to discrimination and injustice. Susi Susanti (born in Tasikmalaya in 1971) has brought fame to Indonesia as a badminton gold medalist during the Olympics in Barcelona, Spain, in 1992, and in other international sports events, despite the fact that while she was doing her utmost to win the title, her family back home was threatened by violent attacks during anti-Chinese riots. Both women have become national and international figures.
Linda Christianti (born in Sungailiat in 1970) is remarkable because she has worked as a labour activist and has organized demonstrations. She is also a well-known short story writer who has won the Khatulistiwa Award, and is recognized as an essay writer with a sharp pen. In *Kompas* of 29 September 2010, a news item featured Linda as speaker at the launch of *Ceritalah Indonesia* by the well-known Malaysian lawyer and columnist Karim Aslam, a book that Linda edited.

Then there is Hajah Sias Mawarni Saputra, born with the name Lie Yit Pin in 1943, a Muslim ethnic Chinese, who owns and operates a chain of Ragusa restaurants, and who also teaches Mandarin. She is a familiar figure at ethnic Chinese gatherings, walking around in her Muslim garb with her head covered.

Maria Sundah (born in 1953) is a teacher and translator of English. She is the daughter of an ethnic Chinese father and a Manadonese mother. After her father adopted his wife’s family name, he and all his children no longer use their Chinese names.

Jane Luyke Oey (born in Semarang in 1935) may be said to be an “ethnic Chinese by association”, because her husband, the well-known late Oey Hay Djoen, was a member of the PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party. After 1965, he was detained and later sent in exile to Pulau Buru. He was imprisoned for 14 years without trial. During his absence, Jane, their daughter Mado, and her sister-in-law suffered terrible injustices. These injustices were caused by her husband’s affiliation with the communists. The insults shouted at her had nothing to do with her husband being Chinese, but because he was a communist. Her response to these injustices was nothing short of heroic, as she responded in a firm, assertive way.

Finally, there are the two sisters, Milana (born in Nabire in 1975) and Meilani Yo (born in Jayapura in 1978). Theirs is the story of the daughters of an exceptional family. Both parents are ethnic Chinese, but the grandmothers on both sides were ethnic Papuan. They used to live in a multi-ethnic environment and physically they show their mixed parentage.

It is clear that all these women are different, and have moved away completely from the traditional model of ethnic Chinese women as being submissive and meek: as obedient daughters of their fathers, as wives obedient to their husbands, and as widows obedient to their oldest sons. Dewi has succeeded in finding “invisible” Chinese Indonesians: in their choice of work, attitude, and behaviour, they do not at all fit the “money grabbers” stereotype.

I agree with Dewi’s observations at the closing of her book (pp. 261-267). These eight protagonists may be said to belong to the “middle class”. They are well-educated professionals, although not all of them hold a university degree. This background, which is no doubt similar to that of the author herself, has enabled Dewi to communicate with them well. She admits that she had difficulty in gaining the trust of “working class” women, because they were afraid that telling their story might get them into trouble and they were also suspicious of her motivations as to why she wanted to write her book.
Another interesting observation is that racial integration may occur through interethnic marriage (Jane’s family is multi-ethnic, Maria Sundah’s father is an ethnic Chinese and her mother is an ethnic Manadonese) and through adoption at a very early age (the parents of Linda’s mother were ethnic Chinese, but her mother was adopted when she was three days old by a Bangka-Malay family).

The author also discusses “moral reciprocity”. In my view, this means that ethnic Chinese and the ethnic Indonesian community interact in such a way that in everyday life, in both communities, people individually and collectively operate in the same stream of society. Those who live exclusively in their own community will not experience this reciprocity.

Dewi has dug a gold mine of experiences in her protagonists’ stories. They show the Chinese Indonesians’ variety in ethnic background and include ethnic Chinese-Papuans; in choice of employment they range from Olympic gold medalist to labour and human rights activist, to fighter against injustice, to entrepreneur, dentist, writer, and university teacher; as to their choice of spouses: four married ethnic Chinese (one of them divorced and is now single); two married non-ethnic Chinese; two did not marry (one of them had a non-ethnic Chinese and later an ethnic Chinese boy friend). From the stories her protagonists told the author I can discern a continuum in the two interrelated concepts of identity and Chineseess: from those who do not question their ethnic Chineseness at all (Ester, Susi, Hj. Sias), to those who feel uncomfortable or even insulted when people say that they are Cina (hence the title: “Mereka bilang aku China”) (Linda, although she later seems to have come to terms with the fact; Maria Sundah, who prefers to be associated with her non-ethnic Chinese family); to those for whom their Chinese background is irrelevant and who seem to have no difficulty with their identity (Milana and Meilani Yo).

Their facial features – how Chinese they look – is apparently also a factor in their acceptance and rejection of, or indifference towards their Chinese background. Linda, whose mother looks Chinese and is taken for a Chinese rejects her background and refuses to discuss the fact that she was adopted from ethnic Chinese parents. The same holds for Maria Sundah, who looks Chinese, and who is an interesting case of someone who has adopted the basic Chinese family value: the uhao (Hokkian pronunciation; xiao in Mandarin, meaning filial piety) she found in her former husband’s family, and although she is divorced, she maintains close relations with her former mother-in-law. Then there are the Yo sisters, whose features clearly show their mixed background and who have no problem with their identity.

No doubt, the stories of these eight women are rich and there are many more interesting aspects that could be explored further. However, there are a few blemishes that might have been avoided. Is the correct wording etnis or etnik Chinese? This should have been checked with the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia. Then there is the use of terms like ambiance, imaji, respek, rekor-rekor, signifikan, aksi bully, eklektik, asertif, subliminal. For these words, the equivalent
in Indonesian might have been used. Then on page 163, there is mention of “toko P&D”, which is from the Dutch Provisiën en Dranken, meaning a "store selling daily necessities and drinks". Today it is the equivalent to a small supermarket. Then there are a few more little things that still need to be looked into. On page 191, for gadis Eurasia it is more common in Indonesian to use gadis Indo; pasangan penari, should be pasangan pedansa.

To conclude, this is a highly interesting book, telling in their own words the experiences of a variety of women who have one thing in common: they are, or are considered by others, ethnic Chinese in varying degrees, or as in Jane’s case, closely associated with an ethnic Chinese. Basically, the book explores the problem of identity and Chineseness, a topic that has become very important in view of the spread (some people see it as the threat) of globalism. Studies on this topic abound and many more will probably be written. Dewi Anggraeni’s book is a valuable contribution in this search for identity and I suggest a very readable one.

REFERENCE


Zuriati
Faculty of Letters, Andalas University
zuriati@fsastra.unand.ac.id

The Old Javanese Kakawin Sutasoma was written by Mpu Tantular in the late fourteenth century during the heydays of the Majapahit Empire. So far, only few people have read this literary masterpiece because it is originally written in the Old-Javanese language. However, nowadays, a more extensive readership has access to the contents of the text thanks to Dwi Woro Retno Mastuti and Hastho Bramantyo’s hard work as, together, they translated Tantular’s poem into Indonesian. As the base for their translation, they used the transliteration of the Kakawin Sutasomo Soewito Santoso published in 1975. Readers who understand Old Javanese can check directly whether the
translation is correct or not, because the transliterated text and the translation are published on facing pages.

The *Kakawin Sutasoma* is also known under the title *Puruṣādaṁanta* or *The Conquest of King Puruṣā* (see strophe 148, verse 1, p. 537) which is based on a story of the life of the Buddha. Tantular informs us clearly about this on page 5 in canto 1 verse 4:

Firstly, I need to say that the story I wrote derives from a story of Buddha’s life. In the past, during the *dvāpara*, *tretā*, and *kṛta* eras, *dharma* (duty) had been incarnated into three gods namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Iśwara and they had become kings in the world of humans. However, in the present Kaliyuga era, Śrī Jinapati or the Buddha has descended into this world to eradicate human crime.

This edition of the *kakawin* consists of 148 cantos and numbers 1209 verses. The number of verses per canto varies from 2 to 26. The story may be divided into three parts; 93 cantos tell about Sutasoma as the protagonist; 20 cantos tell about Jayāntaka as the antagonist; and 35 cantos relate the conflicts and the encounters between Sutasoma and Jayāntaka. Sutasoma has been afforded more space than Jayāntaka, who, in the narration is presented as the King of Ratnakanda who conquered one hundred neighbouring countries killing all their kings in order to comply with his vow to Kāla. In the meantime, Sutasoma is described in detail starting from his mother’s pregnancy up to his re-transformation into a god. Readers who are interested in Jayāntaka may find a detailed depiction of him in a novel, which is also entitled *Sutasoma*, by the Balinese author Cok Sawitri and published by Kaki Langit Kencana in 2009. She based her novel on Tantular’s *Sutasoma* as she mentions on the cover of her book.

The novel *Sutasoma* contains 27 chapters twelve of which relate the story of Jayāntaka. The remaining eight chapters tell about Sutasoma, three relate about Keśawa, and four narrate the conflicts between Sutasoma and Jayāntaka.

Both works tell of the conflict between their prominent characters, Sutasoma and Jayāntaka. Sutasoma is the King of Hāstina and the incarnation of the Buddha who has descended into the world in order to do away with human crimes. Jayāntaka who is also called the King of Puruṣāda, is the King of the Ratnakanda Kingdom. He is the incarnation of the giant Śuciloma who intends to destroy the world. In the *kakawin*, Sutasoma is the protagonist and Jayāntaka is the antagonist whereas in the novel, Jayāntaka is the protagonist while Sutasoma is the antagonist.
Both Sutasomas tell the history of human life, which may be divided into five episodes: childhood, adolescence, adulthood, period of authority, and death. In all five episodes, Jayāntaka is described as being the opposite of Sutasoma. Both are crown princess; Sutasoma is the son of King Sri Mahāketu and Queen Prajñādharī while Jayāntaka is the son of King Sudaśa and Queen Dewi Kalikā Śakti. When Sutasoma was a child, his parents and everybody else in the palace doted on him. By contrast, Jayāntaka grew up without parental care as his mother died when he was still a baby. He was raised and educated by his father’s aunt, Ratu Kanyā, in a life of solitude and asceticism in the Angsoka Jungle.

The palace milieu in which Sutasoma spent his childhood contrasts sharply with Jayāntaka’s childhood surroundings in the jungle; the quiet and calm palace environment is juxtaposed to the untamed jungle setting. As crown princess, both are portrayed as possessing a wide range of knowledge, abilities, talents, and skills. For instance, Sutasoma is a talented writer and versed in literature and etiquette and so is Jayāntaka. However, Jayāntaka attained these qualities through rigid practice and hard work while Sutasoma gained them effortlessly as Buddha’s incarnation. Because of this, both develop into different characters. Jayāntaka is grumpy, which is in sharp contrast to the gentle Sutasoma. Consequently, Jayāntaka chose Śiwa to guide him in life while Sutasoma lives as the Buddha.

One of the important messages of the text is that, in essence, Buddha and Siwa share the same doctrine of truth. They are not different but rather form a unity in diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika). Nonetheless, for Mpu Tantular, Sutasoma and Buddhism are the winners. He closes his kakawin by making Jayāntaka repent his mistakes and asked for Sutasoma to instruct him about Buddhism. Afterwards, he and Baṭāra Kalā resolve to become Buddhist priests. In his turn, after Sutasoma inaugurated Jayāntaka and his followers, he and his wife turned to a life of asceticism and they re-transformed themselves into gods. This signifies that Sutasoma’s Buddha is more legitimate than Jayāntaka’s Śiwa, which means that Buddhism is the true religion, as it originates from Buddha himself.

According to the Nāgarakṛtāgama, there were four sects of Hindu’s priests one each devoted to Śiwa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Buddha in the Majapahit Empire when the Kakawin Sutasoma was written in the late fourteenth century. According to the Nāgarakṛtāgama, they represented the four religious currents in Hinduism, while Śiwaism was Majapahit’s state religion. For this reason, Śiwa had most devotees compared to the other three. As the official religion of the realm, Śiwaism was allowed to spread any place. Buddha’s following were less in number due to suppression in the realm. Buddhism became the second religion in the Majapahit Empire and was not allowed to expand in the regions bordering the realm, except in the east, particularly in Bali and Lombok (see Mulyana 2006: 234-235). Therefore, it is legitimate to say that Tantular’s Kakawin Sutasoma reflects Buddhism as the second religion in the Majapahit era.

For Sawitri, Jayāntaka - in Tantular’s view a destroyer - was born in
response to the indecisiveness of the Gods and human beings about the state’s structure and the order of religions. Only he was brave enough to believe that Śiwa’s teaching were essential for tranquility in the Kali period. In his incarnation of Śuciloma, he completed his past existences. Therefore, he was open minded and intelligible, unhindered by prejudices and he never responded negatively. Since the day of his birth, he was a true tantric. On the other hand, Sutasoma as Buddha’s incarnation also completed his past existences. His knowledge was all-encompassing and his birth as the Buddha’s incarnation had been awaited for the salvation of the universe. According to Jayāntaka and his followers, Sutasoma was very egocentric. Sawitri seems to criticize the Buddhist leanings in Tantular’s Sutasoma. She concludes her story with Jayāntaka taking leave of Sutasoma and his and his followers’ return to Mount Mandara. He resolved not to become a Buddhist like Sutasoma, but firmly to hold on to Śiwaism. Although she did not place Śiwa and Buddha in equal positions, she does succeed to articulate religious freedom.

The Kakawin Sutasoma and Sutasoma should not only be read by literary researchers and students, but also by researchers on history of religion, particularly Hinduism and Buddhism, and by anyone interested in these subjects.

REFERENCE
REVIEW ESSAY

The Chinese in Indonesia

THUNG JU LAN
The Indonesian Institute of Sciences
julan@indo.net.id


Although nowadays it is hard to identify many among them as Chinese, physically or culturally, to study the Chinese in Indonesia is always interesting because, as a social group, they carry an eternal historical burden. Their condition has also stimulated some of them, especially young intellectuals, to try to understand the reasons why their position among Indonesian society remains “problematic”, both in non-Chinese eyes as well as in those of the
Chinese themselves.

Aimee Dawis addresses the quest for a Chinese-Indonesian identity and this departs from her own position. She spent most of her life abroad and never lived in Indonesia as an Indonesian Chinese (p. 48). It is for this reason that she sees her research to understand the relationship between collective memory and the media when Soeharto’s New Order – for Melani Budianta, a period “full of dangers” – enforced its assimilation policies on the Indonesian Chinese (p. xi), as a process of “homecoming” although she is aware of the “dilemma” in claiming to be a “native ethnographer” at the same time (p. 47).

During focus group discussions (FGD), Aimee and her respondents engaged in “self reflection” on the various ways they “attained their cultural identity through reminiscing about the time when they grew up amidst a restrictive media environment” (p. 79). From these discussions, Aimee learned that “family relationships, religion, and origin (in Indonesia) influenced her respondent’s Chineseness and the way they used the media when they grew up” (p. 79).

Although her respondents “abided by the policies that required them to give up an important part of the essence of their Chinese culture”, Aimee also learned from their stories that “they did not completely assimilate within the social order of the country”, because “certain norms and customs of the society still could not overcome the differences between them and non-Chinese Indonesians” (pp. 121-122).

However, if we pay close attention to what Yuny, one of Aimee’s respondents said, “I did not play outdoors a lot because there were many local children in the kampong around our house [...]. The environment was thus not very conducive [...]. It was not conducive for me to socialize with children my age [...]. Moreover, I was a girl and I looked very different from them [...]. I was much whiter than they were [...]. So, I stood out whenever I left the house [...]” (p. 120), it becomes clear that physical difference seems to have been the first marker to set her aside from the rest of her surroundings. Unfortunately, Aimee insufficiently explores the more or less “fixed” social categorization and classification as a factor – or perhaps more aptly as “a limiting confinement box” – that stimulated her respondents to look for an “area without borders” by using their imagination while they were watching imported media (p. 130), although Aimee does indeed say that “imported media gave them an imagined safe feeling of China and places like Taiwan and Hong Kong as ‘desired other (places)’ where they need not fear for their safety” (p. 130). She sees their reaching out to the “desired other” more because of the discrimination her respondents experienced and thus that they harbour what she calls a “mental attitude of ‘inferiority and being wrong’” (p. 130). This means that imported media directly and indirectly were her respondents’ means of “escape”. However, since they were aware that watching these media did not mean that they could relocate to the country of their dreams, Aimee concludes that, for her respondents, watching imported media was “more than a mere flight and imagination”. She views “these media as bridges
for social tensions between structural constraints and human conduct” (p. 203) through what she calls “imagined nostalgia”, although she thinks that, because of its complexity, this concept needs more study. The formation of their identity through their understanding of these imported media in fact revealed the local media’s lack of substance for the Chinese Indonesians’ search for identity. However, the media are not the only sources for the construction of Chinese identity.

Lim Sing Meij studies Chinese women and shows how, after the discriminative New Order policy had caused the closure of Chinese schools, media, and organizations, they gained access to higher education when their families changed their educational strategies and by so doing ultimately “created Chinese professional women” (p. 1). The professionalism that became part of their identity, according to Sing Meij, not only changed their Chinese identity, but also opened up a “new social space”, which had been closed to them because, similar to Indonesian women in general, traditionally they were confined to the private sphere at home (p. 1). However, Sing Meij is also aware that “Chinese women in contemporary life cannot escape their history” (p. 40). Through the study of the stories of six Chinese professional women, one accountant, one journalist, a notary, one dentist, and two humanity workers, Sing Meij concludes that education helped them to face “a variety of state and culture-based traditional violence” (p. 107). According to her, her respondents used a strategy she calls “Chinesewomenship” in order to “overcome cultural violence but not confrontationally” to “adopt a new, increasingly established identity” (p. 107). However, when we follow Sing Meij’s respondents’ narratives, it seems to have been a gradual process of change and initially, it was Christianization in elementary and high school that changed them, rather than higher education (pp. 92-93), as Sing Meij states of her respondents: “When they went to church, Muthia, Kartika, Nani, and Wati obtained spiritual benefit from listening to sermons in church, a benefit they did not derive from Confucianism [...]. As a young generation of Chinese, its members got their new identity through this new religion [...]” (p. 93). The process did not end here, however. When they reached the level of higher education, their religious convictions were shaken again. In Muthia’s words: “after I read Max Weber and found that his idea of capitalism originated in Protestantism, my God, my faith was seriously shaken. Apparently the community of love and compassion was just nonsense” (p. 97). They experienced this kind of upheavals because, as Sing Meij explains, “Their identity as members of a church that did not pay too much attention to ethnicity [...] temporarily gave new hope to them who had always been considered as ‘the others’” (p. 93, italicized by the present author). This means that what Sing Meij considers as becoming Christian as “a search process in the formation of Chinese professional women’s new culture” cannot simply be interpreted as a way “to seek a shelter in Christianity, because in the next phase they were still in the process of becoming convinced of each individual’s different religious faith” (pp. 96-99). If, according to Sing Meij, Chinese professional women’s strategy to open ‘a space’ for themselves was
through “a new, ever growing’ identity”, thus she too quickly concludes that there are “many abortive theories about Chinese >< non-Chinese; Chinese >< indigenous’ perceptions” (p. 20), or even that:

The capability of Chinese professional women to understand and to decide among the various options in front of them can provide us with a picture about the extent to which they are accepted in a non-Chinese environment. They carefully selected the opportunities open to them. In this way, they could not only be accepted in their environment, but they could also display their intellectual qualities. Apart from that, they could also negate some of the discourse on the binary opposition Chinese >< non Chinese; indigenous, non-indigenous that was forced upon them by the authorities through the power of language’ (p. 20).

She based her conclusion on Ima’s experiences. She is a public accountant who also works as a teacher in non-Chinese circles. In principle, they are her individual experiences and they can hardly be taken up as Chinese women’s collective experiences as reflected in the statement above. Although Sing Meij states in the first part that her “analysis and her research findings are only valid for the six Chinese professional women [of her study] and that her research cannot be generalized in order to provide a picture of Chinese women in general” (p. 41), it is clear that her generalization becomes evident in many places in her book. For instance, on p. 177, we find another of her “generalizing” conclusions:

To define a postcolonial Indonesian identity for Chinese women is a definition of ‘space’ in a double sense. Indonesia is a historical imaginary and political space in the daily life of Chinese women. Both spaces run parallel to experiences of social injustice and discrimination, experiences of being the “other”.

In this case, she has probably forgotten to re-emphasize her own statement that her conclusions are based on the experiences of the six women she studied, so that her statement should be modified as follows:

To define a postcolonial Indonesian identity for the six women mentioned above is a definition of ‘space with a double meaning [...].

Every Indonesian-Chinese citizen’s “space” may be defined as having a double meaning and not only that of Chinese women, or for Sing Meij’s six respondents. For instance, when reading A. Rani Usman’s *Etnis Cina perantauan di Aceh*, we see that the Chinese in Aceh basically differentiate two “spaces”, which they understand differently. Rani Usman calls this the “dual identity” of the Chinese in Banda Aceh he studied: Indonesian national/local and their own cultural identity reflected by their “family names” (Chinese names that mention the name of their clan at the start) and their “national name” (their Indonesian name as mentioned on their identity card) (p. 334). This dualism is manifest in their cultural conduct. On the one hand “they live in a Chinese sphere and they are proud of their people”, but on the other they also “identify with Aceh as Indonesian citizens living in Aceh. This means that
they have local ties with the place they were born [...] and when they leave to find their luck outside their region they consider themselves as Acehnese, that is, Aceh Chinese” (pp. 338-339). The Acehness of these Aceh Chinese is predominantly revealed in their fluency in the Acehnese language. A. Rani Usman provides the following example of Ahsan. “As ethnic Chinese born and living in Aceh”, “apart from being able to speak Acehnese he also behaves like an Acehnese person because he interacts with Acehnese everyday” (p. 332). In other words, for Aceh Chinese, there is a “Chinese social space” that comprises of the private and public spheres and an “Acehnese social space” limited to the public sphere.

Based on his findings, A. Rani Usman concludes that there are two different “sojourner Chinese identities” in Aceh which, in his view, form a “model for the identity manipulation of the Chinese toward Aceh society” (p. 354). For this, he adopts the model Wang Gungwu constructed in 1991 for the identity of Malaysian Chinese. Wang divided this identity into two currents: one, with a “political emphasis” aimed at “ethnic (racial) identity emphasizing legal and political rights for a minority in the country”, and secondly, with “cultural emphasis” aimed at the “ethnic (cultural) identity with emphasis on preservation and unique cultural characteristics” (p. 355). This is maybe the reason why the Aceh Chinese fill the public domain with two, different identities, which A. Rani clearly sees as a process of “identity manipulation”.

This situation, as also vented by A. Rani Usman, is connected with state policies towards minorities such as the Chinese. Unfortunately, in his book of no less than 421 pages he does not explain how state policies influence intercultural communication patterns, and subsequently influence the “identity manipulation” process of his informants. His discussion focuses more on the extent to which the Chinese in Aceh have assimilated into the local and national culture. He concludes that “identity manipulation” is the “output” of an assimilation process and is a “sign” that the Chinese in Aceh are not yet fully “assimilated”. He therefore concludes his book with the following expectation: “It would be best if the Chinese would adapt to the local culture where they live and thrive [...]. It is expected that in the future there will be interethnic marriages so that a cultural and ethnic plural society will ensue [...]. It is expected that identity manipulation will not occur to ensure harmonious communication in society” (p. 365).

Apart from their varying themes, the discussions in the three books discussed above show that the Chinese in Indonesia face complex and varied problems. This complexity is in fact rooted in the century-long history of the arrival of the Chinese in Indonesia and their life there. Mely G. Tan has summarized this historical background, from the Dutch colonial times through the New Order and up to the Reformation era by using various themes (Chinese Muslims, Chinese dietary culture, Chinese business, Chinese Identity, New Order Linguistic and Political Engineering, Gender-based Violence, et cetera) in her book *Etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia; Kumpulan tulisan* (2008), introduced
by Charles Coppel, the author of the famous book *Indonesian Chinese in crisis* published in the 1970s. The articles in this collection tend to be unconnected, among others because of the large variety of topics but also because the articles have not been presented in chronological order (2004, 2001, 1990, 1998, 2002, 2001, 1997, 2000, 1999, 2004, 2000 and 1994). Nevertheless in their entirety, as Charles Coppel points out, they reveal the change in Mely G. Tan’s person after the 1998 May crisis from: “an observer seemingly detached from those she describes and analyses” to “a more engaged stance as a participant, who shows her empathy for the victims of violence, especially women”. Apart from that, her attention also shifted from “the question of assimilation” (especially illustrated in the third article on pages 48-71) to “discrimination and how to end it” (pp. ix-x). This change is also indirectly acknowledged in the postscript she added to the fourth article: “A minority group embracing the majority religion; The ethnic Chinese Muslims in Indonesia”. In it, she acknowledges that she was shocked by the May 1998 events because only a month before she had thought assimilation through religion to be a possibility. As she says: “[h]ence, no one expected the outburst and no one had taken any precautions” (p. 86). In another part she also says she was shocked by the May 1998 events in Jakarta because, for her: “[t]here is no doubt that these events were the least expected to occur in Jakarta, but turned out to be the most horrifying” (p. 212), especially as she used to think that “people in Jakarta […] were always assured by the civil and military authorities that Jakarta was the best guarded city in Indonesia and that no disturbances would happen” (p. 212). The ninth article, entitled “The ethnic Chinese in Indonesia; Trials and tribulations” especially sketches what she calls “many anguished questions raised by the ethnic Chinese [including the author herself!] and other concerned Indonesians in the aftermath of the May riots” (p. 210). It is clear that Mely, with other Chinese, has been “awoken” by the event to change her attitude from what she calls an “attitude of compliance” to “an attitude of greater assertiveness, expressed in more active participation in political activities” (p. 218), a fact that ultimately has seen the emergence of many more authors who write about the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, like Aimee Dawis, Lim Sing Meij, and A. Rani Usman.
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Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia
Jalan Plaju No. 10 Jakarta 10230
Phone: (+6221) 31926978
Email: yayasan_obor@cbn.net.id
Themes

Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya (Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia)

October 2011 Issue

CHARTING BORDERS

Manuscripts have to be received by the editors before January 2011

October 2011 Issue

MULTICULTURALISM

Manuscripts have to be received by the editors before May 2011

April 2012 Issue

FILM AND MEDIA

Manuscripts have to be received by the editors before November 2011

For more information, please contact
Editorial board of Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya
Tel. +62 (0)21 7863528 ext. 107, Fax. +62 (0)21 7270038
E-mail Addresses: wacana@ui.ac.id, jnlwacana@yahoo.co.id
Website: http://wacana.ui.ac.id
Guidelines for the preparation of articles

Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya
(Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia)

Articles submitted for Wacana have not been published elsewhere and are not under review for possible publication elsewhere

Language
- Articles may be written in Indonesian or, preferably, English.
- Articles in Indonesian must be written according to Pedoman Ejaan yang Disempurnakan (EYD).
- For articles in English follow British spelling using the -ize variant (organize, realize, honour, centre but analyse); please consult a recent edition of an Oxford dictionary.

What you need to submit
- Articles should be submitted on CD or as e-mail attachment.
- Illustrations (table, chart, diagram, map or other figure, or photograph) should be submitted in separate files. Submitted digitized photographs and maps must be in high resolution, not less than 300 dpi (in BMP or JPEG files).
- A printout (or photocopy) of the article, and of each illustration on a separate page; give the number (for example Figure 4, Map 2), legend, and indicate where to place it in the article.
- Abstract in English. The length of the Abstract should be not more than 150 words.
- Keywords in English. For articles in Indonesian, keywords in Indonesian must also be submitted.
- ‘About the author(s)’: give information about the present affiliation, fields of research interest, the title of (not more than two) main publications, and e-mail address.

The length of the articles
Between 15 to 30 A4 pages (excluding Abstract, Keywords, and Bibliography). The articles should be written in Book Antiqua, 12 point, 1.5 space in MS Word 95 version or higher.

Abbreviations
Abbreviations such as &r, dr, yg, pd, dgn, and mis in Indonesian or cf, e.g., etc, and i.e. in English may not be used. Instead write it in full, for example, dan, dari, yang, pada, dengan, and misalnya in Indonesian or see, for example, etcetera, and that is in English. Abbreviations of names such as LIPI, Depdiknas, LSM, TNI may be used but only if they occur more than once in the book; at first occurrence, write the name in full and put the abbreviation in parentheses, for example, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI).

Special symbols
If diacritics or special symbols occur or if a special font such as Kawi or Arabic are used, please contact Wacana for further instructions.

Italicization
Titles books and journals should be italicized. For the Indonesian articles, all non-Indonesian words should be italicized (par excellence, fields of care), unless they can be considered as loanwords in Indonesian (gender, halalbihalal). The same principle applies to all non-English words in the English articles. Capitalized names should not be italicized: Taman Hiburan Rakyat, East India Company, Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.

Names
- If a persons name is mentioned for the first time, it should include the first name or initials. For example: P.G.J. van Sterkenburg, Pramoedya Ananta Toer.
- Articles such as van, ter, de attached to Dutch surnames standing alone are capitalized: Van der Capellen, Ter Aar, De Vries; otherwise the articles are lower-cased: J.D. van der Capellen, M. ter Aar, J.W. de Vries.

Dates
- In the text the format of dates should be as follows: 8 April 2009; in the notes and bibliography 8-4-2009.
- In the text the format of years should be full: 1960-1964; in the notes and bibliography 1960-64.
- Centuries are spelled out: nineteenth century.

Quotations and quotation marks
- Use double quotation marks: “Misquoting an author is considered a serious offence by many people” (Van Helder 1890: 138).
- Longer quotations should be set off from the text and indented, in which case quotation marks are not needed.
Footnotes and references

- Place the footnote number after the punctuation mark, after the comma, after the period.
- References referring to one or two works should be placed in parentheses in the text (Cohen 2004: 34-39; Pigeaud 1960-64, V: 281-287; Van Sterkenburg and De Vries 1997: 56-59).
- More than one author with the same surname: include the first initial (H. Geertz 1971; C. Geertz 1976) (C. Geertz and H. Geertz 1988).
- Multi-author works: (Houben, Maier, and Van der Molen 1992: 112-115) not (Houben, Maier, and Van der Molen eds 1992: 112-115).
- Any work soon to be published, is to be listed as ‘forthcoming’ for the English articles and ‘akan terbit’ for the Indonesian articles.
- Repeat the author and date each time, and give exact page numbers. Do not use such expressions as f., ff., passim, loc. cit., & op. cit., ibid.

Bibliography (List in the bibliography all and only those works cited in the text)

- The author’s name should include the full first name(s) if given on the title page.
- If there is more than one work per author per year, distinguish them by adding the letters a, b, c to the date (Cohen 2002a, Cohen 2002b, Cohen 2002c).
- In titles of journals and other periodicals, use initial capitals for all main words (*Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya*).
- In titles of books or articles, capitalize only proper names (*Manusia dan kebudayaan Indonesia*).
- For articles in edited volumes, give the page numbers:
- For Master’s theses, conference papers, and unpublished manuscripts, see below:
- For PhD theses:
- Electronic documents:
- Interviews: the name of the person should be given, mentioning the age between brackets, and the place and date of the interview.
  - Interview with R. Abimanyu (65 years), Depok, 12-8-2003.

For more information, please contact:
Editorial Board of *Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya*
Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya UI
Gedung 2 Lt. 2, Kampus UI, Depok 16424, Indonesia
Tel. +62 (0)21 7863528 Ext. 107, Fax +62 (0)21 7270038
E-mail: wacana@ui.ac.id, jnlwacana@yahoo.co.id
Website: [http://wacana.ui.ac.id](http://wacana.ui.ac.id)
Guidelines for the preparation of book reviews

Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya
(Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia)

Language
Reviews may be written in English.

Length
A review should be between 500 – 1,200 words, using Book Antiqua 12 point using 1,5 spaces.

Time
We expect a review to be submitted maximally three months after the book has been received.

Ways of submission
Reviews may be sent through email in the form of an attachment to wacana@ui.ac.id or jnlwacana@yahoo.com, or submitted directly to the editors in the form of a soft copy on disc/CD using MS Word version 95 or later.

Style
• Avoid footnotes. References to other books than the one under review should include the name of the author, title, year and place of publication as well as the name of the publisher.
• Quotes from the book under review should be provided with double quotation marks and provided with the page numbers. When a quote is made within another quote, use single quotation marks for the inner quote and double quotation marks for the outer quote. Put every correction, addition, or deletion between square brackets. Example: “Pernyata[an] sejarawan itu tidak mudah dimengerti. […] Masyarakat umum rupanya terbiasa akan sudut pandang dari seorang sastrawan. ‘Perbedaan [pandangan] di [antar] mereka sering membingungkan awam’ […]” (p. 221).

Information to be provided about the book under review
1. Name of the author. Use the full name as it appears on the title page of the book under review.
2. Title. Use the full title exactly as it appears on the title page of the book, complete with punctuation marks and capitals. Use a semi colon (;) to separate main titles from subtitles except in cases the title itself provides a colon (:) which should be used in that case.
3. In case the book has seen reprints, please indicate the number of the edition and the year when it was first published.
4. Place of publication.
5. Name of the publisher.
6. Year of publication.
7. Number of pages (including those in roman scripts).
8. Information on the title and the series number when applicable.
10. Price, if known.
11. Soft or hard cover.
12. Your name as reviewer, including a brief indication of your affiliation, and your email address.

Please also mention your telephone number when you send your review so that we can easily contact you.


Achadiati
Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia
Achadiati11130@yahoo.com
A number of back issues of Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya may be purchased at selected book shops in Indonesia and the Editorial Board of Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya
Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya UI
Gedung 2 Lt. 2, Kampus UI, Depok 16424, Indonesia
Tel. +62 (0)21 7863528 Ext. 107, Fax. +62 (0)21 7270038
E-mail Addresses: wacana@ui.ac.id, jnlwacana@yahoo.co.id
Website: http://wacana.ui.ac.id