THE NEW 'YOU'

A diachronic survey of self reference

and addressee reference terms

in the mainstream print media

of New Order Indonesia

Gregory Flannery
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Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University
Sydney, NSW, Australia

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Statement of Candidate

I certify that the information contained in this dissertation entitled *THE NEW 'YOU' A diachronic survey of self reference and addressee reference terms in the mainstream print media of New Order Indonesia* has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I certify that a significant amount of Chapter 2 was published in **The Australian Linguistics Society Conference Proceedings 2009,** www.als.asn.au/proceedings/als2009/flannery. The paper went through a process of blind review and was accepted subject to a few revisions.

I certify that this thesis is the result of research work conducted under the supervision of Dr. Verna Robertson Rieschild, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Human Sciences, Macquarie University.

I certify that to the best of my knowledge all information sources and literature used, and any help received in producing this dissertation, have been acknowledged as indicated throughout the thesis.

Gregory Flannery:

Student Number: 31381839

Date: 30th June 2013

ABSTRACT

This study surveys the use of self reference, addressee reference, and other person reference terms throughout the decade of the New Order Period in Indonesia, 1965-1974, as represented in the mainstream newspaper, *Kompas*. The diachronic data are compared with usage in contemporary data taken from 2008 editions of the same source. The data are analysed from a pragmatic perspective, assessing changes to the system over the data period and analysing the various factors influencing choice of appropriate term across a range of text types. The locus for this account is the introduction by the Indonesian language planners, in the mid 20th century, of the addressee reference term, *anda*, intended to overcome the language's traditionally status bound system of addressee reference. The study examines the success of this attempt to introduce a 'democratic' and 'egalitarian' second person pronoun into the language. A key focus is on the Language Policy and Planning authorities' attempts to influence the overall person reference system of the Indonesian language through the introduction of *anda* and the role its introduction is intended to play in the modernization of the language and the Nation.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Because the relationship between language and society can be seen in a rather direct way here, it is instructive to examine what happens when systems of address change. (Romaine 1994: 148)

1.1   Thesis Aims

The overall aim of this thesis is to survey and describe the person reference system used in the Indonesian language in the domain of the mainstream print media during the first decade of the New Order Period, 1965-1974. The data begin in the months leading up to the regime change which saw the demise of President Sukarno and the beginnings of the New Order Period under President Suharto. The thesis also provides a parallel account of the use of person reference terms in the mainstream media in 2008 to allow for some assessment of changes to the system over these periods. The mainstream media is represented by data taken from Kompas newspaper, the biggest selling daily paper in Indonesia. Two editions per year are analyzed for these periods.

The choice of the domain of mainstream print media is predicated on a more particular focus of the study, which is to assess the success of the introduction of *anda,* a pronoun of address, into the system in 1957. The word was introduced into the language by the Indonesian language policy and planning authorities and intended to supplant the need for status bound addressee reference terms which are

commonly used in Indonesian address. Thus the analysis is particularly focused on the program of modernization, as instantiated linguistically, through the processes of linguistic engineering, as represented by the introduction of *anda*. The choice of print media as a data source is determined by suggestions in the literature that this media is the most common domain of use for this introduced term. The use of person reference terms in everyday spoken language is recognized throughout the thesis for its impact on the development of the overall person reference system but ultimately a full analysis of the complete system falls outside the focus of this thesis. Anecdotal evidence for the spoken use (or non-use) of *anda,* and other terms, will be alluded to throughout, but the data set constrains the more detailed analysis to the use of these terms in the written medium.

The data analysis is intended to account for the parameters of use of self reference, addressee reference, and other person reference terms in this particular domain and track any changes to the system that become apparent across the data periods. The periods are chosen as representing a time of massive upheaval in the social and political scene in Indonesia, as occurred during the New Order Period. The appraisal of the person reference system is primarily qualitative, being focused on the pragmatics of the situated use of person reference terms in the data, examining the situated contextual features of the terms in the various text types represented in the mainstream print media.

The introduction of *anda* was modeled on the English use of a single pronoun of address, 'you', and intended to provide the language with a term to be used in the manner of 'you', idealized as a democratic, egalitarian term of address, with the neutrality of pragmatic reference inherent in a single term, or closed system. The development of 'you' as the single pronoun of address in English is considered to be an important aspect in accounting for the introduction of *anda* into the Indonesian language and consequently a chapter of this thesis is devoted to examining this development.

Thus the overall object of inquiry is formulated around an expanding series of sub-sets, which are represented graphically in Figure 1.1.

closed person reference systems

open person reference systems

person reference terms

self reference terms

addressee reference terms

pronouns of address

intro of
anda
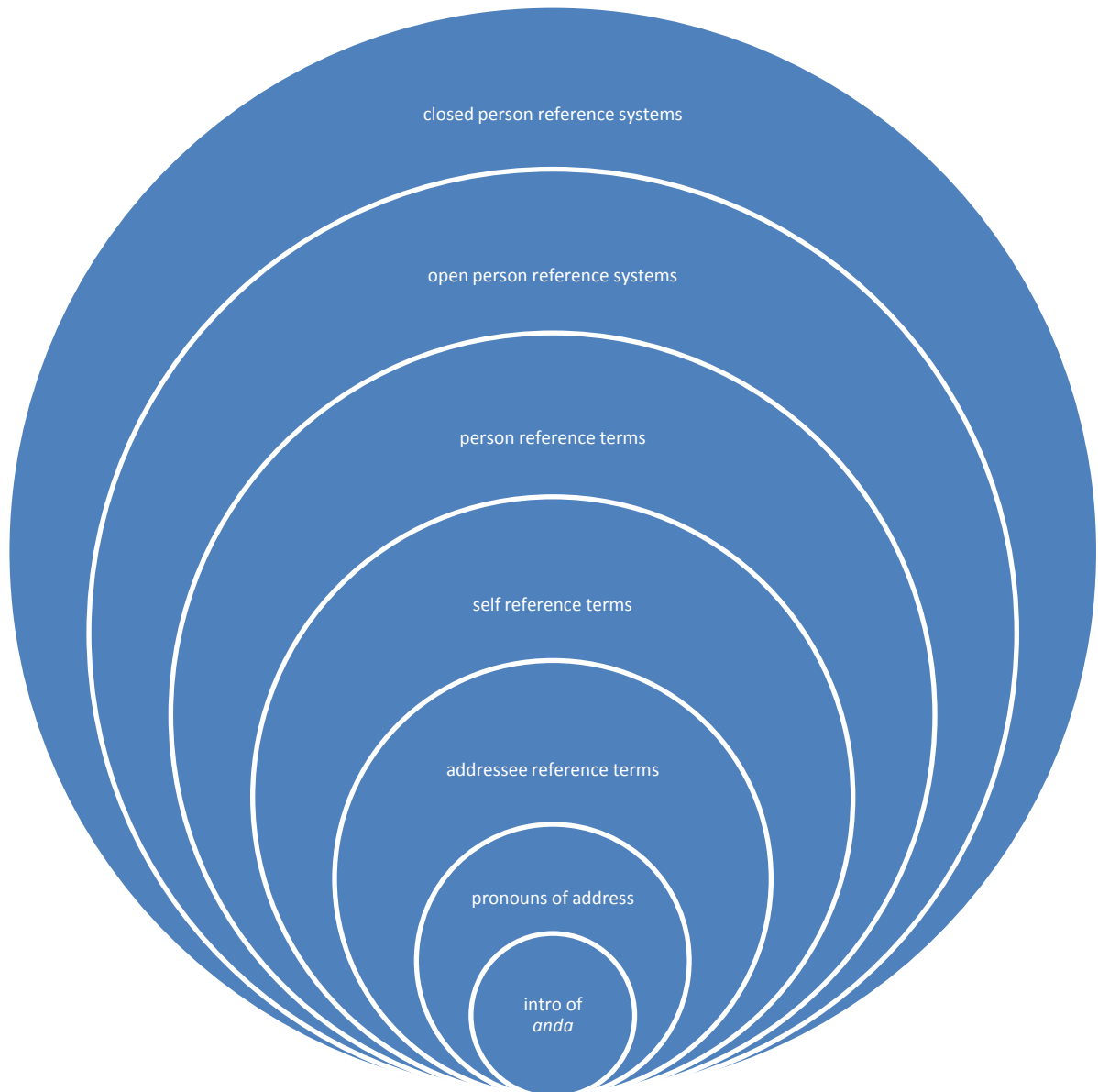
Figure 1.1 – Object of Inquiry

The importance of this multi-layered, hierarchical approach is that it expands on the multi-faceted relationship between various forms and highlights the key pragmatic point that the choice of any particular form, where choices are available, is *ipso facto,* the *non-choice* of other available forms in any given context. Thus, to understand the choice of *anda* in any given situation, it is also necessary to

understand the situated use of other pronouns of addressee reference. These choices of pronominal reference must then be understood, in an open, multi-term system such as that found in Indonesian, with further consideration of the choice of non-pronominal forms of addressee reference.

The choice of addressee reference term is further relevant to the choice of self reference term as the instantiation of personal identity within many exchanges involves related choices from both sets. These multi-term sets in Indonesian include forms that are available for reference to persons outside of the interactional dyad and therefore need to be subsumed by another layer which includes aspects of person reference more generally. The totality of the person address system in Indonesian is conceived of as an open system of address and self reference, where multiple options are readily available at all levels of person reference. This open system is compared and contrasted throughout with the closed system of predominantly pronominal address and self reference as occurs in English. This point of comparison and contrast brings us back to the first level of our object of inquiry, the introduction of *anda,* which is predicated on an attempt to change the open system of Indonesian addressee reference to a closed system modeled on the English default use of a single second person pronominal form for addressee reference.

1.2   Overall Thesis Structure

The overall thesis argument is divided into two halves with a broad theoretical discussion to begin and end. The thesis begins at the outer layers of our object of inquiry with a comparison of the English and Indonesian systems of person reference and posits a typological difference between these systems, respectively, being open and closed systems. The remainder of the first half of the thesis gives a historical account, starting with the development of the Malay language, of which

Indonesian is a variety, over the last 1,500 years. This account includes parallel observations about the development of the English language. This is followed by the aforementioned account of the development of the modern English pronominal paradigm over a similar period, a necessary adjunct in light of the intention behind the introduction of *anda*. The first half is completed by an account of the development of the Indonesian language throughout the 20th century, with a particular emphasis on the role of the print media in this development. A review of the relevant literature is presented throughout these chapters.

The second half of the thesis presents the data analysis, beginning with an outline of the theory informing the analysis, the data set, and the methodological frameworks utilized in the analysis, followed by the analysis. The analysis begins with the use of *anda*, followed by subsequent layers of our object of inquiry as represented in Figure 1.1. The thesis finishes with a suggested schema to aid in accounting for the diversity of forms apparent in the data.

1.2.1   Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2 provides a review of current theories of person reference, particularly addressee reference, and develops from the literature a broad typological distinction between open systems of self reference and addressee reference, as represented by the Indonesian language, and other Southeast Asian languages, and closed systems, as represented by the English language, and other Western European languages. The Indonesian language is exemplary of an open system, characterised by its utilisation of multiple options for self reference and addressee reference. Other Southeast Asian languages, especially some defined as honorific languages, are called on as examples of other languages exhibiting open systems of person reference. The English language is exemplary of a closed system, commonly utilising minimal, predominantly pronominal options for self reference and addressee

reference. Other Western European languages are also of interest, with their classic two part address pronoun systems.

Chapter 3 gives a general account of the development of the Malay language, adopted as the national language of Indonesia in the 20th century. This account provides the necessary background information for the various influences on the Malay/Indonesian language, which will be relevant to discussion of the terms identified in the data, many being borrowed from other languages. The influence of centuries of interaction with other peoples has left its mark on the political, cultural, and social structures of Indonesian society and language. Borrowings mark many of the words used for self reference and addressee reference, and person reference more generally, in their potential to index various social and cultural values. These influences are compared and contrasted throughout the chapter with the parallel development of the English language, a language that has also borrowed heavily from other languages, though not so readily into its pronominal paradigms.

Chapter 4 turns its attention to the development of the modern set of English personal pronouns. A key point of interest is the extent to which English personal pronouns can be idealized as democratic and egalitarian, given that this is the addressee reference system on which the Indonesian language policy and planning authorities based the introduction of *anda.* For this reason, a full account of the development of the English personal pronouns is deemed a necessary digression for fully understanding the ramifications of the Indonesia attempt to engineer social relations through the manipulation of their language.

Chapter 5 provides an account of linguistic engineering in 20th century Indonesia, with particular reference to the introduction of *anda.* From the early 20th century, the Indonesian language has played a central role in the development of the Indonesian nation and the attempted development of a cohesive modern national character. The history of the overall role of language policy and planning in this development is outlined before turning to the specific intentions behind the introduction of *anda.* The

role of the media in the development of the national language is examined along with its central role in the introduction and uptake of the use of *anda*. This examination is primarily focused on the print media as the data source of this thesis, and the role it has played in promoting the use of *anda*, both through its actual utilization and the concurrent meta-linguistic discussion of its introduction.

Chapter 6 provides details of the theoretical underpinnings of the study. It describes the data collection process and further explains the rationale behind this choice of data, and their inherent limitations. It also explains the important principal methodological frameworks used in interrogation of the data. The analysis is defined as primarily qualitative, focusing on specific examples of usage and the particulars of their situational context, exploring the possible motivations for choice of term at the various levels of our object of inquiry (see Figure 1.1). The examples analysed are considered in light of their relative frequencies, that is, the predominance of one form over another in any given set of situational conditions. Thus the qualitative focus is determined by an initial quantitative analysis. The quantitative analysis is confined to relative frequency counts in the analysis chapters.

Chapter 7 begins the data analysis with an account of the pronouns of address identified in the data and the relative frequencies of each. *Anda* is shown to be the most common pronoun of address in Kompas for the data periods and its situated use is discussed in detail. Other pronouns of address are discussed according to their relative frequencies with particular attention paid to the text types in which they appear most frequently. A point of particular interest is the collocation of different forms within the same text.

Chapter 8 gives an account of the use of common nouns and proper nouns used with titles where these word classes are functioning as addressee reference. The various forms are also considered in the broader role of other person reference, that is, reference to persons outside of the addressor and addressee roles. A large number of terms are identified and classified according to six different semantic

fields; family, royalty, military, education, administrative, and religion. Of particular interest is the distinction between literal and fictive use. Fictive kin term use is particularly apposite in the Indonesian context. The use of fictive kin terms is defined by Braun (1988: 9) as "[w]hen a KT [kin term] is used for addressing someone who is not related to the speaker in one way or other." It is used with this meaning throughout this thesis. The relative frequencies of the most common forms used as titles are compared to reveal any changes to the system of address over the data periods. A summary of the relative frequency of *anda* is given for each edition at the conclusion of the chapter to enable an overall assessment of its use as a percentage of all addressee reference tokens.

Chapter 9 accounts for self reference terms, focusing mainly on pronouns of self reference, with some discussion of common and proper nouns fulfilling this function. The chapter concludes with a comparison of relative frequencies of all pronominal forms used in employment advertisements in both the Indonesian and English languages in the contemporary, March 2008, edition of Kompas. This self-contained study provides interesting evidence for the burgeoning influence of the English language on the Indonesian linguistic landscape and points to an area ripe for future study.

Chapter 10 presents a short essay on the idea of paired items in an attempt to bring together the vast array of forms which have been discussed in the preceding data chapters. The idea suggests that the relationship between forms can be understood according to a number of dichotomous distinctions, relating to both form and function. The notion of paired items is primarily founded on traditional concepts of componential semantics (see Crystal 2003: 91) in its focus on accounting for the presence or absence of various semantic features but advances the idea somewhat in two ways. Firstly, the paired sets identify not only semantic features, e.g. male/female, older/younger, but also grammatical features and pragmatic features like status, power, intimacy and formality which operate along a cline of gradable antonymy. Secondly, the variety of available terms allows for these features to be referenced or not by the users of the language.The concluding chapter (Chapter 11)

revisits the importance of a comprehensive survey of the Indonesian language through a time of great social upheaval and the relationship between the linguistic instantiation of social relations and the role the print media plays in promoting the somewhat official variety of the language which predominates in this domain. A summary of the relative frequencies of *anda* is considered, thereby returning to a particular focus of the thesis which is whether the data show any relative increase of this form over the data periods.

1.3   Summary of Introduction

The first half of this thesis is historical, providing the necessary background information for discussion of the forms identified in the data and the range of indexical features which develop in part from their different sources in the case of borrowed words, and the social and cultural influences that inform their situated use.

The second half presents the data analysis, giving frequency counts of the forms found in the data and their parameters of use in different situational contexts. It includes extended discussion of examples of interest.

The two halves of this thesis are 'bookended' by general theoretical claims. Chapter 2 posits a clearly defined distinction between open and closed systems of self and addressee reference and Chapter 10 proposes a possible schema for understanding the complex array of alternative forms from which speakers of Indonesian are able to choose how to refer to themselves and others.

The two halves combine to form a comprehensive picture of the use of person reference terms in the New Order print media as represented in Kompas newspaper and the relevant details of the historical influences that have informed this picture.

CHAPTER 2

Open and Closed Systems of Self and Addressee Reference

I was living in Indonesia at the time, teaching at a university there, and one day I sent one of my students out on a linguistic field assignment. His task was to note all the words in Indonesian that would be translated "you" in English. He came back to me with an assignment titled: The 52 Words for "You" in Indonesian. (Quinn 2003: 1)

2.1   Introduction

The Indonesian language, in all its many varieties, makes use of a complex array of resources for self reference and addressee reference, drawing on a multi-term pronoun system as well as allowing for the use of common and proper nouns in these functions. This contrasts with the English system of self and addressee reference which commonly draws on a limited set of pronouns. The difference is configured in this chapter as a typological distinction between open and closed systems of self and addressee reference and is more widely suggested to be applicable in describing a fundamental difference between Western European languages and Southeast Asian languages.

The distinction is developed herein with reference to the standard varieties of Australian English and Indonesian. The Indonesian data on which these

observations are primarily based are those analyzed in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, and are sourced from eleven years of Kompas (1965-1974 and 2008), a mainstream Jakartan daily newspaper. The arguments presented in this chapter also draw from data beyond those analyzed in this thesis, for example from other official media channels, such as the government sanctioned news station TVRI (Television Republik Indonesia) and a collection of magazines and other print matter analyzed for the current author's Honours Thesis (Flannery 2005). The focus provided by these data is on the formal Indonesian language as promoted and developed by the Indonesian language authorities.

The distinction between open and closed systems of self reference and addressee reference is made by Thomason and Everett (2005: 307), in reference to comments by Court (1998)[1], and is developed independently in this chapter on the basis of the analysis of the Indonesian data compared with insider knowledge of Australian English language practices. Thomason and Everett (2005: 307) suggest a distinction

> between 'closed' pronoun systems like those in European languages, where the general pattern is just one pronoun for a given person/number combination, and 'open' pronoun systems like those in Southeast Asian languages, where there may be (for instance) dozens of ways to say 'I' and 'you'.

The distinction, as developed herein, is predicated on two criteria; closed systems operate with minimal options for self reference and addressee reference (as per Thomason & Everett's, 2005, formulation) and limited borrowings from other languages, and open systems utilize multiple options

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[1] Court develops the distinction based on his work with the Thai language. The original SEALTEACH posting in which Court's comments are contained is no longer available.

with numerous borrowings.[2] The differences between the single-term English system and the multi-term Indonesian system exemplify polar extremes of a continuum, or perhaps better, given the two criteria, a spectrum, between open and closed systems of person reference.

The difference is readily apparent to anyone familiar with both languages. English speaking second language learners of Indonesian often are initially taught to use the pronouns *saya* and *anda* for self reference and addressee reference respectively but soon realize that there are many terms readily and necessarily available for contextually appropriate use of the Indonesian language.[3] Conversely, Indonesian learners of English, and other speakers of Southeast Asian languages, as Goddard (2005: 54) points out, can be somewhat taken aback by "the pronouns of modern-day English [which] are particularly insensitive to social distinctions".

Other scholars have touched on open/closed distinction without being explicit in its formulation. Braun (1988:18) asserts that

> [a] system of address is closed when there is a well-known and limited set of variants - forms of address - and homogeneous when all speakers select and use these variants in roughly the same way.

However, she goes on (1988:18) to claim that any such concept of a linguistic system, or "systemlinguistik" in Braun's usage, is limited and, from "a truly sociolinguistic" perspective, "language varies." This is true of English, where a

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[2] The first criterion is the most salient. It is accepted that some languages with multiple options have not borrowed from other languages. In the case of Indonesian, however, many of the options are borrowed.

[3] The current study focuses on the formal Indonesian language, *Bahasa Resmi*, (Official Language) as used in the mainstream written media but the broad distinction readily applies to the many varieties of informal Indonesian, *Bahasa Gaul*, also.

range of options for marking person are also available but the distinction is developed here in relation to the default choice of 'I' and 'you' in the "general pattern", as Thomason and Everett (2005) call it, of English first and second person singular reference. The arguments presented here focus on English and Indonesian but some examples are taken from other languages and the broader comparison, as with Thomason and Everett's formulation, is made more generally in relation to Western European languages (hereafter WE languages) and Southeast Asian languages (hereafter SEA languages).

2.2   Bound vs. Free Forms

Both the English and Indonesian languages contain many terms of address, from the quite specific application of titles, (e.g. in English: 'baron', 'earl', 'duke'; in Indonesian: *sri*, *datuk*, *gubenor*) to the creative use of terms of endearment or abuse (e.g. in English: 'pumpkin', 'sweetie', 'knucklehead'; in Indonesian: *bunga,* 'flower', *permata,* 'jewel', *anjing*, 'dog'). However, in English, the distinction must be made between syntactically bound and syntactically free use of these forms, where syntactically bound indicates use in subject or object syntactic position, and syntactically free refers to forms used outside the clause structure, that is, the vocative case. Pronouns are generally used in English for syntactically bound reference and their use in syntactically free position as vocatives is usually construed as marked for impoliteness. For example, the summons, "hey you" in English is considered abrupt and generally frowned upon. Conversely, the use of nominal forms in syntactically bound positions in English is usually construed as being marked for very formal politeness (e.g. "Would Sir like a drink?", as used by a waiter to a patron in a restaurant). Thus the distinction is pragmatically marked for overt status differentiation in English.

These are examples of Braun's (1988:18) point about the variation that problematizes claims about the "systemlinguistik" but their very markedness means that they are used in contradistinction to the "systemlinguistik", or general unmarked pattern of use in the language. There are other examples of the use of nominal forms in English but all are marked in some way by the extremes of distance between interlocutors within the context of their use.

Other examples of such pragmatically marked use are: Mother to child (e.g. "Would *Tommy* like a glass of water?"); Lawyer to judge in a court of law (e.g. "Would *Your Honour* like a glass of water?"); or a subject to the Queen of England (e.g. "Would *Your Majesty* like a glass of water?"). These examples of non-pronominal syntactically bound reference all occur in social contexts where interlocutors are obliged by the specific social setting to recognize status distance, except for the first between mother and child, where the nominal reference is the use of a proper noun and is marked for intimacy. Even so, the mother/child example also occurs between interlocutors of markedly different status, predicated on age and authority.

In Indonesian, the distinction between syntactically bound and syntactically free forms does not have the same pragmatic force and the use of nouns and proper nouns for self reference and addressee reference is not marked to the extremes of formality and politeness in the same way as it is in English. Thus the importance of the distinction in English is not apposite in Indonesian. Braun's (1988: 303) claim that

> [i]n the process of classifying the inventory of forms of address in a language, the first and foremost differentiation to be made is that of bound forms vs. free forms, which yields subsets within the system,

is simply not true of Indonesian (or SEA languages more generally) as it is of English (or WE languages more generally).[4]

One further point about bound and free forms needs to be clarified. The distinction can be applied also at the morphological level of analysis. The second-person pronoun, *anda*, adapted for use as an all purpose addressee reference term in Indonesian in 1957 (see Flannery 2007), is a morphologically free form but in its original sense, taken from the old Javanese literary language Kawi, is an honorific bound form (e.g. *Ibu + Anda,* (mother + honoured), realized as *Ibunda*). This point must be noted as *anda* in its original sense is extant in the modern Indonesian language and examples are found in the data taken from Kompas newspaper of the use of *Ibunda*. The focus of this paper, however, is on syntactically bound forms of person reference and the morphological distinction is noted here merely for the purpose of terminological clarity.

2.3   Pronoun Substitutes

In the literature, non-pronominal resources used as first or second person markers in the Indonesian language are often referred to as "pronoun-substitutes" (e.g. McGinn 1991: 201). Siewierska (2004: 244), in commenting on Achehnese addressing practices refers to certain nominal terms as "pronominal substitutes". Purwo (1984: 62), in describing the overall pronoun system in Indonesian, tells us that

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[4] The choice of form in Indonesian does mark pragmatic differences in terms of formality and politeness – the difference is in the degree to which they mark these differences and the much greater frequency of non-pronominal use for self and addressee reference in Indonesian.

[c]ertain sets of nouns are *pronominally used* to fill in the empty slots where "common" personal pronouns are found unsuitable to express various delicate differences of reverence in terms of age and social status (My italics).

This kind of terminological reductionism is particularly Eurocentric and only makes sense from the perspective of languages like English, and WE languages more generally, where pronouns assume the default, or unmarked position for person reference within the language (see Enfield & Stivers 2007: 98).

Alves (1997: 2) argues against this Eurocentric perspective by pointing out that

Southeast Asian 'pronouns' are often derived etymologically from other nouns, especially family terms. Though these terms of address [i.e. fictive kin term use] are recognized by Western scholars, the notion of 'pronoun' still persists in descriptions of Southeast Asian languages.

Alves (1997: 3) asks, "[w]hy should [kinship terms and other nouns] be considered to be 'used as pronouns?" adding that "[i]f the tables were turned, it could be said that English uses pronouns to substitute for terms of address." Luong (1990: 13), in detailing Vietnamese usage, also argues that

[s]ince logically, common and proper nouns can be used not only for third-party but also for addressor and addressee reference, there exist no bases whatsoever for considering common and proper nouns as intrinsically third-person referring forms and for considering their address and self-referring usages as derivative in nature.

In this thesis, the arguments for not reducing all syntactically bound person reference to the class of pronoun (or *faux* pronoun) are fundamentally

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important for the purposes of analytical clarity but it is accepted that for pedagogic purposes, the concept of "pronoun-substitutes" or "nouns that are used pronominally" can be useful for second language learners whose first language privileges pronominal self and addressee reference. From both perspectives, however, we must heed Whorf's (1972/1941: 127) observation that "[w]e tend to think in our own language in order to examine the exotic language", and overcome our biases accordingly. To this end, the use of first and second person is avoided in this thesis other than specifically in reference to WE languages, substituted with self reference and addressee reference, less wieldy but also less Eurocentric.

2.4   Three Word Classes

The following section outlines an overall system of categorization for the array of terms commonly utilized for self reference and addressee reference in Indonesian, and other SEA languages, and considers some of the pragmatic information encoded in choices from the each category. It then gives some examples of terms from each of the three categories posited and further discussion of their use.

Luong (1990), in his work on the Vietnamese language, claims that pronouns are not always the first choice for self and addressee reference in the Vietnamese language.

> In Vietnamese person reference, not only personal pronouns but also common and proper nouns ... play a prominent role. In fact, *common and proper nouns are used with considerably greater frequency than*

personal pronouns, not only for third-party references, but also pervasively for address and self-references in the Vietnamese system (Luong 1990: 4).

These claims apply as readily to the Indonesian language as they do to Vietnamese.[5] Luong's (1990: 16) categorization of terms into "three sub-classes", that is, pronoun, common noun, and proper noun, is used as a basis for the categorization of the data throughout this thesis. Indonesian, in a manner similar to Vietnamese and other SEA languages, employs "the three subclasses [to] form a single system which is used to structure interactional situations" (Luong 1990: 16). This categorial system runs counter to that suggested by Braun (1988: 303), who says that

> [a] classification into nouns, pronouns, etc. - though more common - is not equally useful since it disregards the fact that the same term has a different status (1) as a bound form, (2) as a free form of address.

Arguments against Braun's claims regarding the use of syntactically bound and free forms from a non-European, that is, a Southeast Asian perspective have already been given above. Her (1988: 303) relegation of "[t]he distinction of word classes [to] a classification of secondary importance" leads her to a hyponymic mismatch in categorizing pronouns in distinction to titles, kin terms and other forms of nominal address and does not readily allow for a clear analysis of the different semantic and pragmatic potentialities of the categories.

Enfield (2006), in describing aspects of the multi-pronoun system of the Lao language, develops arguments concerning the "informational logic" of a multi-

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[5] See Luong (1990) for examples of Vietnamese usage.

term system. He suggests that this system "cannot be understood from a purely semantic or purely pragmatic standpoint, nor can cognition be bracketed out," (Enfield 2006: 3), further developing his argument around a distinction "between semantics (encoded, entailed) and pragmatics (implied, inferred)" (Enfield 2006: 5), with a cognitive aspect pertaining to the actual choices people make in drawing on this "informational logic". Thus "code, context, and cognition" all play a role in the choice of person reference term and, through these choices, social roles between interlocutors are instantiated, that is, exploited, maintained, developed, and/or subverted. Each of the three sub-classes, pronouns, common nouns, and proper nouns, express semantic and pragmatic aspects of this informational logic to varying degrees and each are examined in more detail below.

Another important concept that develops from the interplay of semantic and pragmatic information and the patterned utilization of these resources is indexicality. Indexicality is understood here as the manner in which terms point to aspects outside their referential meaning that accrue through their patterned use over time, often derived from aspects of their etymological history. For instance, the choice of a Hokkien kin term (e.g. *engkong*, 'grandfather', *engkim* 'aunt', *engko* 'elder brother') may index affiliation with Chinese Indonesian ethnicity. However, the choice of the pronouns *gua* or *gue* (singular pronoun of self reference) and *elu, lu,* or *elo* (singular pronoun of address), although these also are borrowed from Hokkien, may index modern Jakartan, that is, urbane, big city attitudes in their use in colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (see Sneddon 2006: 59-67), not Chinese Indonesian heritage.[6] In other areas and varieties, however, they may still index Chinese Indonesian heritage. Many aspects of

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[6] This is an interesting example of the need to adopt what Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990: 13) call "a developmental approach to linguistics". They suggest that such an approach is "one that subscribes to the general principle that endpoints can be explained by consideration of previous developments, whilst the reverse is not the case."

identity can be indexed through our language choices. Ochs (1990: 293) suggests that

> the following *kinds of sociocultural information* may be so indexed through linguistic signs: social status, roles, relationships, settings, actions, activities, genres, topics, affective and epistemological stances of participants, among others.

It is worth noting here that terms can and do change from one word class to another. In particular, some common nouns are pronominalized, or grammaticalized, though these processes occur very slowly and thus can be hard to identify other than over extended periods of time. Head (1962: 185) adopts the term "pronominalized noun" for forms that have undergone this process "[i]n order to emphasize both synchronic and diachronic differences between such forms and personal pronouns." A common example is the second person marker, *usted*, in the Spanish language, which developed from a metonymic nominal reference; *vuestra merced* (your honour) > *usted you* (formal)" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 50) through a process of phonetic contraction. An example from Indonesian is the common first person pronoun, *saya*, which developed in much the same way from the Sanskrit word *sahaya,* 'slave'. This process has been completed in Indonesian and *saya* must be classified as a pronoun, as must *usted* in Spanish. [7]

A more interesting example, perhaps, is *saudara* (brother, sibling), from Sanskrit *sodara* "brother, born from the same womb" (Jones 1984: 8), which is commonly used by modern television presenters on the official Indonesian

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[7] Howe (1996: 73) makes an interesting observation about movement in the opposite direction, that is, from pronoun to noun, by suggesting that in English, "[f]orms such as thou etc. and ye can be said to have been lexicalized - i.e. although they retain the pronoun form, these pronouns resemble more lexical words than function words."

TVRI (Television Republik Indonesia) news as a general address to the audience, where each new item of reportage is introduced with its use. To support the argument for this shift of *saudara* from kin term to pronoun is the fact that it has shed its gender specificity, with the feminine form *saudari,* 'sister', (see Quinn 2001: 1053) being uncommon.[8] Purwo (1984: 55-56) does not include *saudara* in his table of pronouns but lists it immediately below (i.e. outside) his table of pronouns, claiming that "[i]n the 70s" [*anda*'s] use has increased greatly, along with *saudara*." Gupta (2009) glosses the terms *saudara* and *saudari* in modern Malay as "friend" and suggests they are commonly used for both self and addressee reference in that (closely related) language.[9]

2.4.1 Pronouns

English is an atypical example of a WE language that only uses one form of second person pronoun. Andersson (1998: 52) states that Swedish also only uses one form, the informal *du*, but other scholars such as Romaine (1994: 153) counter this with the claim that "[j]ust at the time when *du* seemed to have won the day, [the formal form] *ni* is apparently returning" (see also Norrby 2006). Counter to this, the Romance languages, (e.g. Italian, Spanish, French) all utilize more than one second person pronoun. The seminal work on two part second person pronoun systems is Brown and Gilman's (1960) study of French, German and Italian which provides the standard framework for analysis of these systems: the T/V distinction (from Latin *tu* and *vos*). This

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[8] Only six tokens of "saudari" have been found in the data collected for this thesis.

[9] Siewierska (2004: 244) refers to a study by Durie (1985: 121) indicating the common use of both *saudara* (male sibling) and *saudari* (female sibling) in the spoken language of Acehnese speakers.

distinction enables an understanding of the patterned use of these forms focusing on the basic social dimensions of power and solidarity.

The usefulness of this distinction for multi-term systems like Indonesian is apparent in its application by McGinn (1991) in analyzing the situated use of pronouns and kin terms in the family situation.[10] McGinn (1991) shows that in the multi-term system of Indonesian the distinction can be usefully applied beyond the purely pronominal system by introducing the added "familial" dimension to account for the use of kin terms in addressee reference within the family situation.

Other important advances in the application of the T/V distinction have been made in the fifty year period since Brown and Gilman's (1960) original publication and must be taken into account. Most importantly, other scholars have added more dimensions than the dual aspects of power and solidarity as the only criteria necessary for describing choice of term. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 132) overcome the limits of these "two relational social categories" by proposing additional dimensions necessary for accounting for choice of T or V form. They state that

> at least the following are required: rank, status, office, generation, formality, informality, public discourse, private discourse, intimacy, social distance, high degree of emotional excitement and there may be others that will be needed from case to case.

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[10] It should be pointed out that McGinn's data, taken from comic books, is somewhat contrived but does nevertheless represent common usage of these terms.

A focus on the dimensions of power and solidarity, whilst very important for describing major aspects of the application of social deixis, does not allow for contextual features outside of the interpersonal relations of the colocutors. For instance, the choice of the aforementioned T forms, *gua* and *elu* as used by Jakartan youth, because of their associations with the modern cultural capital, appear to be more highly acceptable to a younger generation of urban (and urbane) Indonesian speakers. In an informal discussion, a Jakartanese woman commented that her elderly father, a Javanese man, physically cringes when he hears these forms used on radio or television (p.c. Sartika 2011). However, as Sneddon (2006: 64) and Djenar (2006) point out, these terms appear to be gaining currency , in alternation with the Malay derived T forms, *aku* and *kamu,* in the developing informal standard[11] of the colloquial Jakartan variety of Indonesian.[12]

Many Indonesian pronouns have been discussed thus far and now may be a good time to take stock of some of the more common pronouns in use. To facilitate further discussion of the differences in the self reference and addressee reference pronominal paradigms of the two focus languages, Indonesian and English, the following (limited) [13] table is presented.

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[11] Sneddon (2003b: 11) discusses problems with the word "standard" in this context as it is usually reserved for the formal/official language variety, *Bahasa Resmi*. He points out the need to distinguish between "standard" and "formal" varieties in response to the rise of "informal standards".

[12] Djenar (2006) is a relevant and enlightening study of the use of *kamu* and *elu* in two television dramas made for teenagers in Jakarta.

[13] The pronouns included are those that appear in the data collected for this study from the mainstream media. Thus, the Indonesian paradigm presented here is not exhaustive. For example, Cooper (1989: 152-3) makes mention of the use of English "you" in certain speech communities of urban educated Indonesians.

ENGLISH		INDONESIAN		
		NON-FORMAL	NEUTRAL	FORMAL
First person **Singular**	I/me/my	*aku?* *gua/gue*	*saya*	*saya*
Plural	we/us/our (inclusive)	*kita*	*kita*	*kita*
	we/us/our (exclusive)	*kami?*	*kami*	*kami*
Second person **Singular**	you	*kamu* *elu/elo* *engkau/kau*	*anda*	*saudara?* *anda*
Plural	you	*kalian*	*kalian*	*kalian?*

TABLE 2.1   Personal pronoun paradigms of English and Indonesian

Question marks indicate forms about which there is some doubt over their placement in this schema. Problems with their placement are discussed below.

This table is developed from those presented by Purwo (1984: 57) and Robson (2004: 63). The non-formal/neutral/formal distinction is taken from Robson. The necessity of the neutral category is illustrated by the first person singular form, *saya*. In discussion with half a dozen Indonesian speakers from Jakarta, it was suggested that the use of *saya* was common in nearly all contexts where

they choose a self reference pronoun, with *aku* having overtly intimate, that is, romantic or poetic overtones.[14] For instance, the morphologically bound form, *-ku* is commonly collocated with *hati*, 'heart', when using terms of endearment (see above – e.g. *bunga hatiku*, 'flower [of] my heart'). Thus *saya* is appropriate, that is, pragmatically unmarked, in both non-formal and formal usage, making its use somewhat neutral in any situation.

In attempting to force the multi-term Indonesian system into a limited set of boxes, certain conflations are inescapable. The categories non-formal and formal are one such conflation but nonetheless useful in accounting for the system and further align with the overall diglossic state of the Indonesian language situation (see Sneddon 2003a and 2003b). Another example of these limitations is that the use of the first person plural (exclusive) form, *kami*, appears to be on the wane in some informal varieties of the language (see Purwo 1984: 57, Sneddon 2006: 62) and could, perhaps, on this basis, be removed from the non-formal self reference plural category as it applies in many speech communities.

The inclusion of the second person singular *saudara* runs counter to Purwo's table but is included here, as it is in Robson's table, because of its use in the official television news broadcasts, parliament, law courts, and other formal contexts (see Quinn 2001: 1052). It could, and should, be included also in a table of (fictive) kin terms. The non-specific nature of the addressee in the context of a news broadcast problematizes its categorization as a singular form but plurality does not have the same obligatory grammatical application in Indonesian as it does in English. Whilst reduplication can indicate plurality, though it is not limited to this grammatical function, singular nominal forms are

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[14] This tripartite distinction is not universally accepted, being something of a descriptive convenience. Other scholars have made more detailed analyses of choice of first person pronoun and developed more sophisticated interpretations of the underlying motivations (e.g. Djenar 2007, 2008 and Englebretson 2007).

often used for plural function where the plurality is otherwise disambiguated. The singular/plural distinction is not overtly encoded in most instances.

The introduced plural pronoun of address, *kalian,* is widely used in Kompas newspaper but the data collected by the current author shows it to be commonly used only in addressing children and its status as a formal form is carried over from Robson's table but is harder to justify on the basis of these data. The pronominal forms borrowed from Hokkien, *gua/gue* and *elu/lu/elo,* are not included in Purwo's or Robson's tables. Purwo includes *gua/gue* in his broader discussion but makes no mention of its second person counterpart, *elu/lu/elo*. Sneddon's (2006) work on the developing colloquial standard Jakartan variety and its dissemination throughout the archipelago through the channels of the mass media make the inclusion of both forms essential in the early 21st century. But in 1984, when Purwo was compiling his categorical description, the status of *elu/lu/elo* was probably considered too localized to Jakarta to be included.[15] This, however, does not account for his inclusion of the first person form in his discussion. The second person form, *engkau*, often shortened to *kau* is used predominantly, though not exclusively, in two domains: literature and religion. It is "used to address God" (Quinn 2001: 729), and is the default form in non-realist literature. Quinn also (2001: 729) describes it as "a literary and liturgical word".[16]

There are grammatical constraints on the use of morphologically bound pronoun forms (e.g. *ku-, -ku, kau-, -mu, -nya*) (see Purwo 1984: 62, Sneddon

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[15] Purwo (1984: 57) says of *gua/gua* that it is "commonly used by speakers of Indonesian with a Jakarta dialect background."

[16] Purwo (1984: 57) suggests that *engkau* or *kau*, rather than *kamu*, is commonly used by Batak speakers as T forms when speaking Indonesian, "for the Batak cognate *hamu* is used to address someone of higher status" , that is, as the V form.

1996: 165).   However, there is no morphological agreement between pronominal subject and object and verb form to signal first, second, or third person in Indonesian as there is in English. If we use a nominal form of addressee reference in English the anaphoric reference that follows is that of third person form (like, "Would Your Honour like **his** coffee now?"). This is not the case in Indonesian and the perspective taken in this paper follows on from the declaration of Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 11) that

> [i]n models of syntax that regard choice of pronoun as predictable from general principles of anaphoric syntax, paradigmatic choice plays no part in their analysis. We have grounds to believe that such a view is fundamentally mistaken.

The description of any common or proper noun used in self or addressee reference as third person reference makes no sense from an Indonesian perspective and, as with the use of the term pronoun-substitutes, is deemed to be an overly Eurocentric perspective and not productive in analyzing the differences apparent in the Indonesian (and other SEA) systems. The English forms given in Table 2.1 retain case distinctions that were dropped from the nominal and verbal paradigms of English in the Middle period (see Howe 1996: 67, and Chapter 4) but are not part of the modern Indonesian grammatical system and have no ongoing relevance to the parameters of social distinction as explored in this paper.

The semantic information encoded in self reference and addressee reference pronouns is limited to person and number. For this reason the use of pronominal reference in Indonesian (and other SEA languages) is often deemed pragmatically inappropriate where the choice of a common noun, especially a kin term or proper noun, that is, a personal name, instantiates greater, and necessary, social distinction. Luong (1990: 4), in reference to

Vietnamese practices, states that "common and proper nouns are used with considerably greater frequency than personal pronouns" in that language and Errington (1998: 9), in reference to Javanese speakers of Indonesian, comments on the "unobvious but interactionally salient patterns of non-use of Indonesian pronominal resources."

Thus there is an apparent avoidance of pronominal reference in many SEA languages which can be ascribed to the socio-cultural necessity to recognize the social status of interlocutors. Enfield (2006: 11) describes certain pronouns in Lao as "bare forms" in that they do not encode these necessary levels of social information. He states that "[w]hile bare form pronouns can be pragmatically 'bad' (i.e. rude), they are not intrinsically bad words (i.e. they are not curses or swear words)." They are simply inadequate. These comments do not mean that the English language does not encode social information relevant to colocutors but that this information is not commonly instantiated in the choice of first or second person marker, that is, a personal pronoun, in syntactically bound reference.

2.4.2. Common Nouns

Alisjahbana (1961: 68) suggests "a number of traditional cultural reflexes will exert an indirect inhibiting influence" over the replacement of "the multiplicity of words used to address the second person in traditional village and feudal aristocracy" with the pronoun *anda*. It can be argued that prior to the introduction/adaptation of *anda* as a pronoun of address into the Indonesian language in 1957, the Indonesian language contained no V pronouns, with the "multiplicity of words" being largely nominal. This argument is contingent on

the acceptance of the classification of *saudara* as a kin term rather than a pronoun, or a "pronominalized noun", despite arguments given above for its contemporary shift of word class.

The use of *anda* is still largely confined to impersonal contexts, with its primary domain of usage remaining the formal written media (see Flannery 2007). This suggests that the use of T pronoun forms in the Indonesian language remains largely confined to informal, intimate social contexts and relationships, leaving common and proper nouns to function as V forms. However, it must again be emphasized that there is enormous variation in the distribution of any forms of person reference and it is accepted that *anda* is used by some Indonesians in spoken language. In an informal discussion with an Indonesian language teacher in Jakarta in 2006, she stated that she would use *anda* infrequently, and then perhaps in speaking to a service provider if she was not happy with the service she was receiving! This suggests a negative pragmatic weight that lends support to a similar situation to that expressed in Enfield's (2006: 11) assertions about "bare" pronominal forms in the Lao language.

Some European languages, however, do use nominal forms for unmarked syntactically bound addressee reference. Polish is an example of a European language that retains nominal forms in its V repertoire, using *pan* (master) and *pani* (mistress) for gendered addressee reference (see Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 3). Norrby (2006: 18.2) suggests that the use of nouns in Swedish up to the end of the 19th century was common practice, especially titles derived from occupation. Thus Swedish at this stage was similarly devoid of "V" pronouns. Norrby (2006: 18.2) describes "a situation where Swedish - at least in Sweden - lacked a neutral, polite form of address."

Historically, the situation in Sweden has striking similarities with the Indonesian situation, in its attempts to overcome the use of nouns for syntactically bound addressee reference. Paulston (1976: 364) states that in Sweden, despite attempts to adopt the T/V distinction based on the French model,

> [t]he lower classes, especially the peasant class (Sweden remained a primarily rural society much longer than continental Europe) did not adopt this usage but maintained *du* as the mutual form of address to both known and unknown of their equals. To their superiors they used titles which proliferated *ad absurdum*.

In the latter part of the 1800s there was a movement "referred to as *ni-reformen* [which] advocated the use of *ni* instead of titles in third person. It failed." (Paulston 1976: 365, but see also Norrby 2006)

This attempt at social engineering through language reform is redolent of the Indonesian experience, both in terms of intention and outcome. The qualified failure of both attempts says much about the importance of systems of address in maintaining socio-cultural reflexes to recognize status. Interestingly, in the 20th century, under the influence of the prevailing political party, the Social Democrats, there was a "Swedish campaign for using the 'tu'-pronoun *du* rather than polite circumlocutions" (Rabin 1971: 278). This campaign was altogether more successful, though not conclusively so. Romaine (1994: 150) makes reference

> to this phenomenon as an index of social change in line with the fact that the Social Democratic Party, which dominated the Swedish political scene for nearly six decades of the 20th century, stressed egalitarian relations in its program for social, educational, and economic reform.

The use of nouns for syntactically bound person reference draws on far greater semantic and pragmatic resources than pronominal reference, with its limited semantic range, in both reflecting and maintaining, or even exploiting and undermining, the exchange of social information relevant to interactional stances and relationships, as per Enfield's (2006: 11) comments about "bare pronouns" in Lao. Enfield (2006: 6) refers to

> paradigmatic sets with clear informational contrast, comprising tools for social coordination against a cultural backdrop of knowledge and expectations about the position of the person in social structure.

Of particular relevance to the Indonesian system are various sets of kin terms, many of Malay origin, but also others introduced into the language as paired sets which often index ethnic affiliations (e.g. Hokkien kin terms – see Kong 1987, Wallace 1983). A few tokens of Dutch origin kin terms such as *Om*, 'Uncle', and *Tante*, 'Auntie', are found in the 2005 data collected for the current author's Honours Thesis (Flannery 2005), remnants of 400 years of Dutch colonial administration of the archipelago. Javanese kin terms also figure prominently in the Indonesian repertoire of address terms. Javanese is the first language of more Indonesians than any other language and the Javanese and Malay languages have a long history of reciprocal influence (see Poedjosoedarmo 1982). The Javanese second person pronoun, *sampeyan*, is included in Table 2.1, above, and the titles "*mas*" and "*mbak*" are found in the Kompas data. Other borrowings also figure prominently and are discussed in more detail below.

Some of the terms derived from Malay sources are *bapak*, 'father', i*bu* 'mother', *kakak*, often shortened to *kak,* 'older sibling', and *adik*, often shortened to *dik,* 'younger sibling'. It is noteworthy that basic sibling terms in English define

gender ('brother' and 'sister') but in Indonesian define relative age. Purwo's (1984: 62) claim that

> [c]ertain sets of nouns are pronominally used to fill in the empty slots where "common" personal pronouns are found unsuitable to express various delicate differences of reverence in terms of age and social status

highlights age as of primary concern, along with social status, in the choice of appropriate term.

Kullanda (2002) makes a detailed analysis the development of kin terms in the Indo-European languages, and develops the argument that many Proto-Indo-European kin terms may have initially been used as "non-kinship" terms, defining social, rather than familial, relations in their original conception. These arguments are contentious and ultimately the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European semantics must remain conjectural and beyond the scope of the current study. The basic point, however, does bear relation to the fact that in Indonesian, a term such as *bapak* can be applied outside of the familial context and its literal translation as *father* is generally somewhat misleading. The word *ayah* can be used to refer to one's biological father and is not open to the polysemous extensions of meaning that can be applied to *bapak*, e.g. 'Mr', 'authority figure'.

Kullanda's (2002) arguments are too complex to analyze fully in this chapter but the idea that kin terms primarily define actual sanguinal relationships is not productive in a language like Indonesian where their more common use is found in defining social relationships more generally. Lujan (2002: 102), in his published response to Kullanda's paper, offers a useful perspective on these ideas, stating:

I think that the semantic analysis of kinship terms would produce more insight if we stopped using the vague notions of "connotation" and "secondary meaning" and reconsidered them from the point of view of prototype semantics. Maybe the problem is that what we assume to be the basic meaning of a term like *father* - begetter of a child - is not its central, prototypical meaning.

It can be argued that the prototypical meaning of *bapak* has more to do with authority than fatherhood. It is noteworthy that much of Kullanda's other linguistic work has centred on Austronesian languages and his previous work seems to be a major influence on the development of his ideas.

2.4.3 Proper nouns

Searle (1963:161) makes a relevant observation regarding the sense of proper names in stating that they are not used to "describe or specify characteristics of objects" but goes on to question this assertion with the following elaboration.

> [D]oes a proper name have a sense? If this asks whether or not proper names are used to describe or specify characteristics of objects, the answer is "no". But if it asks whether or not proper names are logically connected with characteristics of the object to which they refer, the answer is "yes, in a loose sort of way". (This shows in part the poverty of a rigid sense-reference, denotation-connotation approach to problems in the theory of meaning.)   (Searle 1963:161)

They differ from pronouns in that their referents are fixed, whereas pronouns are "shifters" (see Jakobson 1971, Silverstein 1976), and from common nouns, which do encode specific semantic information, thereby both describing and specifying characteristics of objects (people).

However, proper nouns can index certain properties of their referents and their use for self reference or addressee reference in English is pragmatically marked. In Australian English, the use of one's name for self reference is pragmatically marked as pretentious, or self-important. Peter FitzSimons, a sportswriter for the Sydney Morning Herald (SMH), regularly berates sportspeople for the use of personal names in self reference functions. He awards the "Michael Clarke Trophy" to anyone who refers to themselves in this way. Michael Clarke is the Australian Cricket captain and often refers to himself as "Michael Clarke" (e.g. "Michael Clarke will be fine", see SMH, November 28-29, 2009: 16). A reader of FitzSimons' weekly sports column, which is called "The Fitzfiles" (TFF), berates FitzSimons for being both pedantic and hypocritical, on the basis of FitzSimons writing "TFF has the honour ..." (see Letters, SMH, Weekend Sport, Sept 12-13, 2009: 13), so attitudes to the use of proper nouns for self reference vary. However, in contrast to these comments, the use of proper name for either self or addressee reference in Indonesian is not stigmatized and is commonly used in many contexts, both non-formal and formal (see Sneddon 2005). As with the use of common nouns, proper nouns function as per the general openness of the Indonesian system of person reference.

Proper nouns are not totally devoid of referential loading, however, and can index, among other things, ethnic heritage, religious affiliations, and, historically

in English, family names often derived from occupation.[17] Wallace (1983: 578) states that the

> [p]ersonal names of Jakartans ... are mostly of Arabic, Sanskrit, Chinese, or European origin, and reflect the individual's adherence to either Islam, the courtly Javanese and Sundanese tradition based on South Asian models, the ways of southern China, or of the culture of the Christian West.

This runs parallel to the use of varying sets of kinship terms borrowed from other languages which, "even though a family has given up the native language of its place of origin and speaks Jakarta Malay", are employed "instead of the corresponding Malay terms" (Wallace 1983: 578).

The indexical potential of proper nouns has been used for scurrilous political ends in a couple of recent presidential campaigns. In the USA, attempts were made to portray Barack Obama as a secret Muslim on the basis of his middle name, Hussein. In the last presidential election campaign in Indonesia, the incumbent president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's wife was portrayed derisively as a non-Muslim, that is, a closet Christian, on the basis of her name, Kristiani, which was said to index her Christian faith. The smear campaign did not work in either example, with Obama obtaining office in the US, and Yudhoyono winning 88% of the vote in his re-election. But it was enough for his wife to stop calling herself *Ibu Kristi*, now preferring to be called *Ibu Ani* (see Hartcher 2009).

One final point needs to be made about self reference and addressee reference in Indonesian. Ellipsis of first or second person reference is perfectly

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[17] It should also be stated that proper nouns don't necessarily index anything but often merely specify the referent bearing that particular name.

acceptable and thus, as with the choice of common noun or proper noun, pragmatically unmarked.

2.5   Borrowing

The second, though less important, criterion for determining a language's status on the open/closed spectrum is the extent of borrowing in its self and addressee reference paradigms. As Thomason & Everett (2005: 301) point out,

> [p]erhaps the most commonly mentioned hard-to-borrow lexical feature is the category of personal pronouns. The reasoning, usually implicit, seems to be roughly this: personal pronouns comprise a closed set of forms situated between lexicon and grammar; they form a tightly structured whole and are so deeply embedded within a linguistic system that borrowing a new personal pronoun, and in particular a new pronominal paradigm, would disrupt the workings of the system.

The syntactically bound/free distinction is important to highlight here with a language like English, with next to no borrowing in its personal pronouns but extensive borrowing of terms of address,[18] most notably from French (e.g. *Duke/Duchess*, *Marquis/Marquess*). Indonesian also has borrowed a large set of terms encoding highly structured levels of social status or rank, many from

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[18] The exception is the third person plural paradigm "they, them, their", borrowed from the closely related Norse language in the latter part of the Old English period (see Smith 1999: 120). These forms are disregarded here. As Benveniste (1971: 217) asserts,"the ordinary definition of the personal pronouns as containing three terms, I, you, and he, simply destroys the notion of "person". "Person" belongs only to I/you and is lacking in he.."

Sanskrit, but these terms are used with more degrees of polysemous extension (e.g. *Putera/puteri,* 'Prince/princess' used in Indonesian to mean 'son/daughter'), both literally and fictively, and are used for syntactically bound self and addressee reference. Polysemous extension of English address terms also abounds but only in syntactically free positions, that is, as terms of address, not as addressee reference forms.

From the perspective of WE languages, we can readily understand why the category of personal pronouns is often used in historical linguistics as evidence for or against claims of genetic affiliation. The evidential validity of this category in these languages is well predicated on the argument that personal pronouns, and especially personal pronoun paradigms, are rarely borrowed from one language into another (see Haugen 1950). This claim seems largely sustainable in the case of WE languages, particularly as the primary focus of inquiry in nineteenth and early-to-mid 20th century historical linguistics. However, more recent work on SEA languages, and other non-Indo-European languages, (see Wallace 1983, Foley 1986, Thomason & Everett 2005, Goddard 2005) has shown that many languages, representing many different SEA language families (e.g. Austronesian, Papuan, Mon-Khmer), have readily borrowed personal pronouns, and even partial paradigms, along with other terms commonly used for self and addressee reference, throughout their long histories of contact with other languages.[19]

Indonesian has freely borrowed many terms from a number of source languages. Many examples are given above but these examples are not exhaustive and a key element of the openness of the Indonesian person

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[19] It is, however, important not to dismiss the importance of pronoun forms from studies of Austronesian languages here. Much important work regarding genetic affiliations in these languages has been done regarding elements of the personal pronominal paradigm (see Blust 1977).

reference system is that the compilation of definitive lists of terms used for person reference is not practical. The main sources of borrowing, however, can be usefully specified, and grouped into five major waves of influence on the Indonesian language (see Sneddon 2003b, and Robson for list of loanwords from these languages).

The first group is other local languages, primarily Austronesian languages, (e.g. Batak, Sundanese, Javanese, and Balinese). These languages have especially influenced the development of Betawi Malay around the modern capital, Jakarta (see Wallace 1983). The second major group is comprised of languages from India, which have been a major influence on Indonesian language and culture from early in the first millennium, (e.g. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, and Tamil). The third group is the Middle Eastern languages, predominantly Arabic, and, to a lesser extent, and from an earlier period, Persian, which since the adoption of the religion of Islam around 1400 have been a major source of borrowing, linguistically and culturally. The fourth group is the Chinese languages, predominantly the Southern Chinese language Hokkien. The fifth group is the European languages, predominantly Portuguese, Dutch and English, the last of which arrived slightly later, and was more influential in the English colonies of Singapore and Malaysia, but has become more influential in recent years in Indonesia (see Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of these historical influences).

Another aspect of borrowing concerns a kind of modeling of linguistic resources on the pragmatic functioning of another (high status) language. In the case of WE languages, the French T/V model has been widely adopted by many WE languages (e.g. Russian *ty/vy*, Swedish *du/ni*, and English 'thee/ye' in an earlier period) (see Leith 1997: 106 and Chapter 4). Note that in these instances it is not the words which are borrowed, but the manner in which they

are pragmatically employed. Similarly, Indonesian language planners have attempted to introduce a single second person pronoun system, modeled on English' you', into their language with the addition of *anda* in 1957 (see Alisjahbana 1961: 68). The attempt to change the Indonesian system has been largely unsuccessful, with *anda* not supplanting the diversity of terms used but instead merely adding to them (this point will be discussed in full at the conclusion of this thesis, in Chapter 11).

2.6   Chapter Summary

The arguments for a distinction between open and closed systems of self reference and addressee reference have been developed in this chapter primarily in reference to the standardized varieties of Indonesian and English. Both languages, however, exhibit much dialectal variation and it should be mentioned that this variation somewhat undermines the distinction as defined herein. For instance, it is simply not true of all English dialects to say that the 'thee/thou/thy' forms of addressee reference pronoun are no longer used in the language. In some northern dialects of English they are extant forms (see Leith 1997: 107). The broad distinction, however, can be usefully applied to the standardized varieties of these languages and remains a useful point of differentiation in discussion of the linguistic practices of English speakers and Indonesian speakers, in general.

Figure 2.1 plots the positions of the various languages cited in this paper on the open/closed scale, illustrating a cline of openness based on the number of forms commonly available for self reference and addressee reference in the example languages. Note that the languages included are only the WE

languages or SEA languages (with the inclusion of Japanese, East Asian rather than SEA) discussed above. The distribution is as per the arguments given, that is, WE languages are at the closed end of the scale and SEA languages are at the open end of the scale.

Single and dual term systems				Multi term systems
CLOSED <--> **OPEN**				
English	French	19th C Swedish	Balinese	Indonesian
Swedish	Italian	Polish	Javanese	
	Spanish		Japanese	
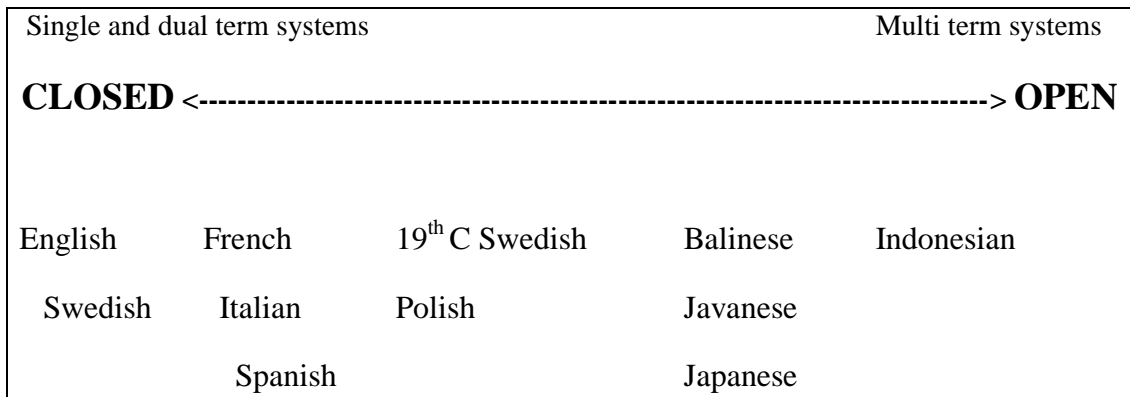
Figure 2.1   Open and Closed Systems of Self and Addressee reference

English and Swedish, with some qualifications, commonly use a single pronoun system for both self reference and addressee reference in syntactically bound positions, discounting their grammatical variation (see Section 2.4.2). French, Italian, and Spanish have two or three second person pronominal forms in common use (see Brown & Gilman 1960). Old Swedish, up to the 19th century, and Polish to the present, use/d nominal forms in their repertoire (see Paulston 1976, Norrby 2006). Javanese and Balinese have multiple terms available for both self reference and addressee reference and some borrowing, mostly from Sanskrit (see Errington 1986, Poedjosoedarmo 1982: 146). The further along the cline, the less limited is the choice of term to pronominal resources and, in all but the case of Japanese, the more numerous are the borrowings.

Indonesian exemplifies the open end of the spectrum in both multiplicity of terms commonly available for use and in the additional criterion of the extent of

its borrowings. English, of course, has many resources for recognition of social distinctions but these resources do not include their system of self reference and addressee reference as commonly called upon in daily linguistic practice.

The distinction is not only relevant to issues of sociolinguistic typology but also tells us more about the ways in which people in different cultures and societies use the language of social relations to instantiate, negotiate, reflect, promote, maintain, and sometimes even subvert, their socialized selves and their relations with other socialized selves. The distinction between the closed system of English and the open system of Indonesian is a motivating factor behind this thesis and its survey of the Indonesian system as applied in the language of the Indonesian printed mass media.

CHAPTER 3

Historical Development of the Malay Language

Loan-words have been called the milestones of philology, because in a great many instances they permit us to fix approximately the dates of linguistic changes. But they might with just as much right be termed some of the milestones of general history, because they show us the course of civilization and the wanderings of inventions and institutions, and in many cases give us valuable information as to the inner life of nations when dry annals tell us nothing but the dates of the deaths of kings and bishops.
(Jespersen 1923: 29)

3.1   Introduction

This chapter gives a broad account of the various waves of contact that the Malay language[1] has had with other languages over a period of approximately 1600 years, leading up to, but not including, the 20th century.[2] Where relevant, this historical account is paralleled with various influences on the English language, and other European languages, over a similar time span.

Malay and English both have borrowed extensively from the languages with which they have come into contact and, as Jespersen (1923:29) points out (see

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[1] All pre 20th C references are to the Malay language. All 20th C references are to the Indonesian language, unless specifically dealing with language use in the nation of Malaysia, Singapore or Brunei. (see Chapter 5 – *Sumpa Pemuda* 'Youth Pledge' of 1928 and the declaration of Indonesian as the language of unity).
[2] The 20th century, as the focus of the diachronic analysis, will be dealt with separately and in more detail in Chapter 5.

above), the histories of the languages reveal much of the political, social and cultural histories, that is, the "inner lives" of the geographical areas that are now encompassed by the modern nation-states of Indonesia and England. Some language change can be linked more directly to the political, social and cultural developments with which it contemporaneously occurs. This is particularly true of aspects of the language that directly encode our relationships with other members of our linguistic, social and cultural groups.

For this reason, and especially in the case of Malay, this history is particularly apposite in an examination of the development and use of addressee reference terms and other person reference terms more generally. The multitude of person reference terms available for use across the Indonesian archipelago constitute a microcosmic inventory of these influences. Even the limits of the data presented in this study, which largely preclude the use of some common colloquial terms of address, show ample evidence of borrowing from Javanese, Sanskrit, Hokkien Chinese, Arabic, Dutch, English, and other languages. It is worth noting here that borrowing in both Indonesian and English is not confined to history but continues to occur.

Certain qualifications need to be made regarding reference to the Malay language as a single entity. The history of the Malay language cannot be described as the linear development of one homogenous variety but rather exhibits much dialect variation across the region. In support of this point, Donohue (1998: 68) states that "[a]ny attempt to account for the different varieties of Malay in terms of one parameter only (standard vs. nonstandard, conservative vs. innovative, "pure" vs. mixed or creolized, etc.) is doomed to failure."

The same is true of the English language which in its genesis was comprised of different, albeit closely related, Germanic dialects spoken by groups of colonizers; Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, and subsequently influenced by the

related Scandinavian languages of the Vikings. English continues its heterogeneous path in its more recent development into varieties commonly classified as World Englishes (e.g. Indian English, Irish English, Australian English, American English). The development and codification of the modern standard variety of Indonesian is a recent occurrence of less than one hundred years. The standard variety of English developed earlier, and under less guidance from language planners, but still relatively recently given the 1600 year time span currently under consideration. The processes and periods of standardization of both languages are examined in more detail in subsequent chapters (English in Chapter 4, Indonesian in Chapter 5).

The following discussion of the three periods of the Malay language is largely based on Sneddon's (2003b) comprehensive history of the Indonesian language. Sneddon (2003b) also categorizes the overall variation exhibited by the Malay/Indonesian language into three groupings. Firstly, there is regional variation. The vernacular variety of the Malay language spoken in Ambon in the east is a markedly different dialect than those that have developed as vernacular languages in Sumatra, as are those of Borneo, and the Malay peninsula, and other island varieties. All have developed along somewhat different trajectories.

In its earliest stages, this evolution is analogous to Charles Darwin's observations of the various species of finches that evolved along different trajectories on the geographically separated islands of the Galapagos archipelago. The geographical spread of the vernacular varieties of Malay on various islands of the Indonesian archipelago similarly evinces much divergence of form.

Secondly, there is marked functional variation between the aforementioned vernacular varieties and the many varieties of Malay that have been used across the Indonesian archipelago as *lingua francas*, often developing as pidgins, and have served as trade languages for the myriad of speakers of different languages

that have been actively involved in trade throughout the history of the archipelago. These varieties are commonly referred to as *Pasar* (market) or Bazaar Malay.[3] In some cases, the use of Malay as a *lingua franca* has led to the development of regional vernacular languages through the processes of creolization. The aforementioned variety of Malay spoken in Ambon, that is, Ambonese Malay, is an example of this process (see Tadmor's comments in Sugiharto, 2008).

Thirdly, and most importantly in regard to the language of the Riau Islands on which the standard variety of formal Indonesian is modeled (see Wright 2004: 89), there are a number of varieties that have developed as courtly languages, associated with the development of various kingdoms and realms that have exercised political power and cultural influence over different areas in different periods. The relationship between these varieties has played a key role in the development of the diglossic state of the Indonesian language. (see Chapter 5)

Regional variation continues to define the lack of homogeneity of both the Malay and English languages. To speak of them as single languages is merely a descriptive convenience. The distinction between language and dialect has always been a difficult one to assess, and both languages have developed, and continue to develop, despite the promotion of formal standards, with the full force of language's innate heteroglossic tendencies.

3.2   Periodization

The historical development of both the Malay and English languages can be usefully categorized into three periods but this categorization must also be understood as a descriptive convenience. Robins (1967: 66) refers to this convenience as the process of "periodization". The periods delimited below

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[3] The Malay word *pasar* is borrowed from Persian, as is the English form, *bazaar*. (see Sneddon 2003b: 77)

contain much overlap. Even when they are predicated on a single historical event there is much overlap of periods and indistinctness regarding the dates at which historical periods both start and finish (e.g. the arrival of European - specifically Portuguese - influence in the Indonesian archipelago is accurately recorded as beginning in the first decades of the 16th century; the Norman Conquests provide the year 1066 for the beginnings of French influence on the English language). As a specific example of this indistinctness, Robins (1967: 66) states that "[a]ny date taken symbolically as the start or as the finish of the Middle Ages must be arbitrary, and, if taken at all literally, misleading."

Sneddon (2003b) and Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 2-3) give similar accounts of the three periods in the historical development of the Malay language The first is Old Malay, being the vernacular varieties of the language that developed around the coastal regions of Sumatra, Borneo, the Malaysian Peninsula and the islands in between. The account given here of the Old Malay period begins with the earliest written records of the region dating from around the early 7th century, to the middle of the second millennium (see Sneddon 2003b: 36). These records do not account for the absolute beginnings of the language but merely those for which we can provide written evidence.

The Classical Malay period covers the varieties of the language that developed as courtly languages, especially since the introduction of Islam and the subsequent arrival of the Europeans around the middle of the second millennium (see Hall 1964: 190, 321). Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 3) calls this period, Middle Malay, and gives dates of "1500 through to the last century [i.e. the 19th century]". Modern Malay covers the development of the language in the last century or so, and is dealt with elsewhere (see Chapter 5). As stated, these are very roughly approximated periods but serve the purpose of providing a framework for delineating the development of the language in regard to the social, cultural and linguistic influences of the various waves of contact under discussion below. Indeed, the three periods can be configured quite specifically in terms of these

waves of contact; Old Malay is the period of Indian/Sanskrit influence, Classical Malay, or Middle Malay, is the period of Islamic/Arabic influence, including the subsequent arrival of various Europeans, and the Modern period concerns the era of European dominance and the subsequent gaining of independence. Again, it is important to remember that each wave of influence does not supplant the previous wave but rather becomes itself another layer of influence.

Similarly, but perhaps with slightly more exactitude, English can be characterised in three distinct periods. Old English is synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon period, beginning with the arrival of the Germanic peoples in the 5th and 6th centuries and including the subsequent waves of invasion and settlement of the Vikings from the Scandinavian region of the islands north of the Germanic homelands during the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries (see Baugh 1959: 107). The Vikings, or Norsemen, brought a language closely related to the dialects of their southern Germanic neighbours. Middle English begins with the centuries of Norman dominance, from the Norman Conquest of 1066 but more usually described as beginning at a later date, (e.g. Wrenn 1949: 23, suggests AD 1100, Baugh 1959: 59, suggests AD 1150) after the Normans had been there for a generation or so, thus allowing some time for the influence of Norman French to take hold. Bradley (1968: 58) adds to the complexity of French influence by distinguishing between two different dialects of influence, in two distinct periods. The first wave of influence, following the Norman Conquests, is of the varieties of French spoken in the North, being the "speech of Normandy and Picardy. … But with the accession of the Angevin dynasty in the middle of the twelfth century the dialect of central France became the language of the court and fashionable society."

The beginnings of Modern English are usually ascribed to a period dating from the end of the Middle Ages and leading into the Renaissance. Thus the dates for the beginnings of the modern period are usually given as somewhere about AD

1450 (see Wrenn 1949: 25) to AD 1500 (Baugh 1959: 59). The fifty year difference between the dates given for both the Middle and Modern English periods by authorities such as Wrenn and Baugh is unproblematic if we accept Robins' aforementioned qualifications regarding periodization, a point about which Baugh (1959: 59) is also quite clear, referring to the recognition of three main periods as "matters of convenience". The Modern period can be usefully divided into Early Modern and Later Modern, with the division falling somewhere around AD 1700 (see Baugh 1959: 240). The division of the Modern period is explored more fully in Chapter 4, where the conflation (contraction) of the English second person pronominal paradigm is discussed. Although rough categorizations of the historical varieties of these languages, these characterizations serve the purpose of giving some outline to the changing nature of both languages in their historical context and are derived from periods of significant political and social changes in the societies of the language speakers.

3.3   Orthographic Systems

The three periods given for the development of the Malay language are reflected in the changing nature of the orthography of the language. The earliest written texts in the Malay language (discussed in more detail below) are in the Pallava script (see Sneddon 2003: 36). The various Indian scripts used in the earliest texts found throughout Southeast Asia have provided fertile ground for arguing which regions of India provided most cultural influence on Southeast Asia, the area referred to for this period by Hall (1977: 16) as "Greater India". Hall (1977: 22) suggests that

[i]n the absence of historical documents showing from what parts of India the cultural influences have flowed into South-East Asia, the evidence has to be sought for in much the same way as in the case of the origin and date of the movement itself.

He (1977: 22) further states that "[t]he script used in the earliest inscriptions has … been examined for light on this problem." This is another example of Jespersen's (1923: 29) claim about loanwords, and in this case, borrowed orthographic systems, being "the milestones of general history". The problem Hall (1977: 22) points out about different Indian scripts is that "in their earliest forms the various types of Indian writing show their fewest divergencies." Despite this qualification, Hall (1977: 22) makes reference to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's claim "that all the alphabets used in South-East Asia have a south Indian origin, and that Pallava script has a predominant influence." The Pallava script is of most interest to us here because it is the one used in the earliest Malay inscriptions.

The second period of the development of the Malay language, given here as Classical/Middle Malay, sees the adoption of Arabic script. The earliest inscriptions in the Malay language using Arabic script are from a date that is obscured and can only be given with any surety as sometime in the 14th century. Sneddon (2003b: 53) suggests the actual date may be 1387. Regardless of the exact date, it is certainly the earliest known example of Arabic script in the Malay language. The next known Malay text in Arabic script is an inscription dated 1468 (see Sneddon 2003b: 53). The fuller uptake of Arabic script seems to have followed closely after these earliest examples. Robson (2004: 17) refers to a letter from the Jesuit Missionary, Francis Xavier, written in Ambon on the 10th of May, 1546, in which Xavier states that "Malay was very common and was written with Arabic letters, which Muslim preachers had taught." The third period in the development of the Malay language, which exhibits considerable overlap with the

use of Arabic script in the Classical period, sees the influence of the European colonizers and provides the Malay language with the Romanized script which is used throughout the modern Malay speaking nations.[4]

3.4   Genetic Affiliations

The Malay and English languages are members of two distinct families of languages, the members of which have become, at least at the lexical level, intertwined throughout the periods of contact which are described in this chapter. Before examining the various complexities of this lexical intertwining, it is worth offering a brief summary of the genetic affiliations of both Malay and English, and the genetic relationships of the major languages from which they have borrowed. The Malay language is a member of the Austronesian family of languages. The languages that comprise this family number nearly 1,000, and are thought to have developed from the indigenous languages of Taiwan, commonly known as the Formosan languages. (see Trask 2000: 33). The Austronesian affiliations were first noticed in the 19th century (Comrie et. al. 2003). "The family includes virtually all the languages of Madagascar, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sarawak, Brunei, the Philippines, Taiwan, New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific, plus some coastal languages of New Guinea." (Trask 2000: 33)   The Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family includes all the languages of Indonesia and the Pacific Islands, and others of the surrounding regions. Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese, and most other languages of the Indonesian archipelago are distinct but closely related Austronesian languages.

English is a member of the Indo-European family, a vast language family that "began to be recognized in the eighteenth century" (Trask 2000: 162).   It has close genetic affiliations with the other European languages from which it has

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[4] In recent years, street signage in the capitals of Brunei (Bandar Seri Begawan) and Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur) has been provided in Arabic script as well as Romanized script.

borrowed a huge portion of its lexicon. Both Latin and Sanskrit, which have played a major role in the development of English and Malay, respectively, are members of the Indo-European family, and representative of the major division between the eastern and western branches of the family, as signified in the name, Indo-European. The spoken Latin language of the late Roman Empire has evolved into the Romance languages of Europe, the major extant examples being Portuguese, Spanish, French, and Italian (see Trask 200: 289). The Romance languages have provided English with much of its lexicon.

The English language is a member of the Germanic branch, having evolved from the western sub-branch of the Germanic languages (see Konig and Auwera 1994). The western branch of the Germanic languages includes English, Frisian, Dutch, Afrikaans, German and Yiddish. The Dutch language became an important contributor to the Malay language during the 400 years that the Dutch administered affairs in the Indonesian archipelago. Thus we begin to see some of the complex intertwining of genetic relationships that have come into play throughout the history of the Malay and English languages, with both heavily influenced by various Indo-European strands in successive waves of historical contact. This complexity is well illustrated with the Malay words; *nama* 'name' and *sama* 'same' (see Sneddon 2003b: 50).   Despite the similarity of form and meaning between the Malay and the English words, they are not a modern development in either language and having come from different Indo-European ancestor languages which split at a very early stage.

In its earliest development, Malay influence predominantly comes from other Austronesian languages, in particular Javanese (see Poedjosoedarmo 1982), which is spoken as a first language by more people than any other language of the region, and the Indo-European language, Sanskrit. English develops from various Germanic languages, with waves of Latin influence, before succumbing to a major period of relexification under the French influence in its Middle period (see Jespersen 1923: 84). This is followed by another major period of Latin

influence in the Renaissance, at the cusp of the Modern period (see Baugh 1959: 240). These tangled webs of influence come to a point of confluence with the European influence, predominantly Portuguese, Dutch, and English, on the Modern Malay/Indonesian language. The specific event which informs this study is the impact of the social, ideological claims made by Indonesian language planners regarding the single part second person pronoun system of English, and their attempt to impose a more egalitarian system of address on the Indonesian language styled on the English model. This is not lexical borrowing but it is an example of the borrowing of a pragmatic model. Similarly, the use of the second person form for polite reference in the English model is originally borrowed from the French model. The fundamental difference between the English move and the Indonesian is that the Indonesian is consciously planned and more recently executed (see Chapter 5).

3.5   Old Malay Period

The Malay speaking world is constituted historically around the coastal regions of an area which includes the territories now known as the Indonesian islands of Sumatra and Java, peninsular Malaysia, and the west coast of Borneo, which is comprised of the Indonesian province of Kalimantan, the Malay provinces of Sarawak and Sabah, and the independent Sultanate of Brunei. The region also includes Singapore and a myriad of off-shore islands, most notably the Riau archipelago. This area lies at the centre of the sea-faring routes of Asia. The Straits of Malacca separate peninsular Malaysia from the island of Sumatra, and the Sunda Strait separates Sumatra from Java. These two narrow seaways connect the South China Sea, via the Java Sea, with the Indian Ocean, and thus are at the crossroads of approximately two thousand years of sea-faring travel between mainland China and the subcontinent of India (see Hall 1977: 41).

However, the Malay speaking region, which must also include the eastern reaches of the modern state of Indonesia from a later date, was not just a halfway house between the great cultures of Asian antiquity. The region was home to kingdoms and cultural centres that were important destinations in their own right. It was the source of many highly prized items, including many spices indigenous to the region, and other highly valued goods, such as sandalwood, which also were found only in this part of the world. Commerce, therefore, has played a vital role in the history of contact throughout the region now defined as the nation of Indonesia. Coedes (1968: 21) claims that "we are … led to represent the eastward expansion of Indian civilization at the beginning of the Christian Era as the result, at least to a considerable degree, of commercial enterprises."[5]

In many instances of contact, the waves of historical influence arrive not only with colonizers and conquerors, or commercial traders, but with pilgrims and scholars. A common thread in both the Indonesian and English contexts is religion, and the whole cultural package within which these religious influences were embedded. Robson (2004: 48) reinforces this point in stating that "[t]he process of borrowing was part of cultural borrowing in the broader sense". Thus, Sanskrit in Indonesian history, and Latin in English history, are the first important contact languages for which we need to give some account, in regard to borrowings into Old Malay and Old English, respectively. Each of these languages arrived with religious, cultural, socio-political, and orthographic systems, the appeal of which was a central aspect of their broad acceptance. As such, Sanskrit and Latin were the languages of higher civilizations and the extent of their impact on the lexicons of Malay and English, respectively, was a consequence of the value placed on the whole cultural package they represented. Both Sanskrit and Latin continue to be valued as high prestige sources from which to borrow (see Sneddon 2003b: 167; Wrenn 1949: 37).

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[5] Sneddon refers to recent archaeological evidence (Indian pottery found in Java and Bali) that suggests the beginnings of Indian trading in the region may have been some 200 years earlier (i.e. BC 200) (Sneddon 2003b: 33)

The earliest written records of the Malay speaking region come from Chinese scholars travelling through the area on their way to and from India and Sri Lanka with the purpose of obtaining religious scriptures. The first written record is that of Fa-hsien, who, in AD 399 set off on a fourteen year trip to India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and, on his way back, spent time in Sumatra. (Benda & Larkin 1967: 3-5) Fa-hsien makes no reference to the language/s spoken but tells us that,"'[i]n this country [Sumatra] heretical Brahmanism flourishes, and there are very few Buddhists" (Benda & Larkin 1967: 4). Despite Fa-hsien's claim, Coedes (1968: 21) suggests that the development of the Buddhist religion was a central aspect in the spread of Indian culture.

> By abolishing, for Indians converted to the new religion, caste barriers and exaggerated concern for racial purity, it removed, with one stroke, the shackles previously placed on their maritime voyages by the fear of being polluted by contact with barbarians.

The second written record left by a Chinese Buddhist scholar is that of I-tsing, reputedly "an admirer of Fa-hsien" (Benda & Larkin 1967: 5). I-tsing left for India in AD 671 and his travels lasted twenty-five years. He travelled from China in the first leg of his journey on a Persian ship.[6] On his return, I-tsing "stopped at several points in Southeast Asia" (Benda & Larkin 1967: 5). He writes of the flourishing state of Buddhism throughout the places he visited, stating that, "[m]any kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism)," and "[i]n the fortified city of Bhoga Buddhist priests number more than 1,000" (Benda & Larkin 1967: 6). This city was situated on the island of Sumatra, near the modern day city of Palembang, and was a part of the Buddhist Srivijaya Kingdom. (see Sneddon 2003b: 40)

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[6] Although Persian is not represented in the set of borrowed address terms under examination in the present study, it has supplied the Malay language with many terms related to 'trade or to luxury items' (Robson 2004: 51)

The Srivijaya Kingdom was the dominant political force through much of the Old Malay period, controlling the important sea route of the Straits of Malacca, and lasted from at least the 7th century, though it was probably established somewhat earlier, through to the 14th century (see Hall 1977: 41-62). The earliest source of Malay inscriptions comes from a series of stone tablets dating from the late 7th century, around the same time as I-tsing was traveling through the kingdom (see Sneddon 2003b: 36-40). These inscriptions are written in Pallava script (see above) and contain many Sanskrit borrowings, though most of these, as Sneddon (2003b) points out, are no longer extant in modern varieties of Malay/Indonesian. The inscriptions represent the earliest records of the language and show the extent to which Indian culture had permeated the western reaches of the archipelago, beginning with commercial enterprise but developing into an intense period of religious, social, cultural, political and linguistic influence. Another important indicator of Indian religious influence is found in the early architecture of Central Java, the two prominent examples being the Buddhist Temple, *Borobodur*, and the Hindu Temple, *Prambanan*. Both date from sometime around the 10th century (see Dumarcay 1978).

The influence of Indian religion, be it Brahmanic, Hindu, or Buddhist, is analogous to the influence of the Christian religion in early English history, and the associated influence of Latin on the English language. Latin words had been borrowed into the Germanic languages before they invaded England, though to a lesser extent than subsequent periods of borrowing. Wrenn (1949: 87) describes these borrowings as

> mostly words pertaining to the kinds of things which the contact with Roman civilization would make familiar to the Germanic peoples: Governmental, and trading terms, or names of materials the use of which would be new to the 'Germani'.

As examples he gives words such as "*street* (originally a straight paved and hence Roman road)" and "*mill*, Old English *mylen* from Latin *molina*." The influence is also apparent in some of the place names that had survived from the period of Roman occupation of Britain which had preceded the Germanic invasions.

A more important period of Latin influence begins with the arrival of Augustine, (later, St Augustine of Canterbury), and his entourage of 40 monks on the Kentish Island of Thanet, in AD 567 (see Baugh 1959: 94). Much of the written history of England from this point is recorded in Latin, the language of religion and scholarship (e.g. the writings of St. Gildas and 'the venerable' Bede). As with Sanskrit in Malay, the influence was not directly on the spoken vernacular language of the time but the language of religious scholarship. Baugh (1959: 94) points out that "[t]he new faith was far from new in the island, but this date marks the beginning of a systematic attempt on the part of Rome to convert the inhabitants and make England a Christian country." Whitelock (1952: 155) states that the Kentish King, Ethelbert, "certainly at first regarded the missionaries with suspicion' but his wife was a 'Christian Frankish princess" who had "her own bishop to whom had been assigned a church, dedicated to St. Martin, which had survived from the days of British Christianity." Although it took a good century or more before the Christian religion spread much beyond the Kingdom of Kent, it is amazing that it took hold at all, given the strength of pagan belief of traditional Germanic society and the limited number of missionaries involved in the first forays into the territory. Its survival and subsequent flourishing is in no small part attributable to the concept of a "whole cultural package" mentioned above.

That English history is largely recorded in Latin for the next five or six centuries is clear evidence of this status. As with the architectural evidence of Indian influence cited above regarding the temples of Java, this period in English history is "reflected in intense activity in church building and the establishing of monasteries ... [and] was responsible also for the rapid importation of Latin words

into the vocabulary." (Baugh 1959: 98) Thus we have an array of related cultural influences, extending beyond the literary and linguistic to encompass the architectural, and more broadly speaking, the social and political structures of Anglo-Saxon society.

In examining the influence of Latin we also need to account for the influence of Greek, the other European classical language of antiquity. In this regard we follow Jespersen's (1923: 115) lead.

> [T]he more important words are Latin and most of the Greek words have entered into English through Latin, or have, at any rate, been Latinized in spelling and endings before being used in English, so that we have no occasion here to deal separately with the two stocks.

As further justification for this expediency we need only consider the admixing of Latin and Greek that continues apace in the English language with Latin/Greek compounds such as *television* and *naturopath* being recent constructions in the English lexicon. The same lack of distinction is applied to words of Latin origin that have come to the English language from French. The important feature of these words is that they carry the prestige of their classical origins despite their circuitous route into the English lexicon.

The same point can be made about many of the Sanskrit words in Malay that come indirectly through Old Javanese. For example, Chalmers (2006: xiv) states the "[t]he national motto, *bhinneka tunggal ika*, is usually translated as 'Unity in Diversity'. It derives from Old Javanese, and expresses the Javanese belief in the essential unity of all things. A more literal translation is 'many but one'." The phrase may "derive from Old Javanese" but it is constructed from Sanskrit origins, and it is these origins that give it its prestige. (see Gonda 1973: 155 on *bhinna* <Skt. 'different')

However, the influence of Javanese on the Malay language cannot be simply discounted. Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 145) makes an interesting point about the relationship between Javanese and Malay, which "have probably been influencing each other for many centuries, perhaps even for a millennium." He states that

> [w]hen two languages are in contact for an extended period it often happens that one becomes dominant and the other is eventually extinguished. ... In the case of Javanese and Malay, however, no extinction has taken place or even begun.

Old Javanese is an important factor in the development of the Malay language because of this long history of interaction, and also because, of all the Austronesian languages of the Indonesian archipelago, "only Javanese can boast of an old literature, dating from about the IXth century. This literature was ... inspired by Sanskrit models and filled with Sanskrit words" (Gonda 1973: 54). Thus, many words find their way into Malay via the literature of Old Javanese.

Another important distinction for this study lies between the Old Javanese language and the Kawi language, which is the attributed source of the modern second person pronoun, *anda*. They are often written about as the same language but Gonda (1973: 54) points out that

> [i]t is only due to misapprehension that the terms Old Javanese and Kavi (<Skt. *kavi* 'poet') are regarded as synonymous. Kavi, 'the poets' language' is, in correct usage, a term for the traditional literary idiom in general, be it written in Old Javanese or in a more recent stage of the Javanese language.[7]

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[7] Kawi language is still used extensively in the Wayang culture of Java.

The Old Malay period is one of intense influence from Indian culture and language and the whole of Southeast Asia is often referred to as "Greater India" (Hall 1977: 16) during this period. However, as Thapar (1966:165) states;

> [t]he Indian impact is understandable in terms of a more advanced civilization meeting a less advanced one, with the *elite* of the latter moulding themselves on the pattern of the former, but to refer to south-east Asia during this period as 'Greater India' is certainly a misnomer.

As evidence, Thapar (1966: 165) claims that "[t]he local culture was visible in all aspects of life in these countries", and observes that "in the Javanese version of the *Ramayana* ... only the bare bones of the Indian story have been retained, the rest being the incorporation of traditional Javanese legends." The two great Indian religious epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, have become major threads in Indonesian culture, especially in Java and Bali, and most Indonesians on these islands are familiar with the stories and characters derived from these two Indian epics.

Coedes (1968: 254) claims that "[t]he literary heritage from ancient India is even more apparent than the religious heritage." He lists five literary sources in total; "the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata,* the *Harivamsa*, and the *Puranas* were the principal, if not the only, sources of inspiration for local literature," and claims that

> [i]n all of the Indianized mainland, in Malaysia, and on Java, this epic and legendary literature, to which was added the Buddhist folklore of the *Jatakas*, still makes up the substance of the classical theater, of the dances, and of the shadow-plays and puppet theater." (Coedes 1968: 254)

Even though these stories are known to derive from the Indian classics, the Indonesian versions have all undergone extensive reconfiguration. "As a matter

of fact, the *Ramayana* is not regarded as Indian story anymore. It has become folklore of high philosophical value for Indonesian especially for Balinese and Javanese people." (Moertjipto et. al. 1991: 5) Indian epics have been 'remapped' onto Indonesian soil, figuratively and literally. Gonda (1973: 33) makes a similar claim in regard to the language. "No Indonesian language has ever given up its hereditary character under the influence of Sanskrit, notwithstanding the cultural prestige of the latter and the long duration of contact."

Rather than characterizing the period as one of the 'Indianization' of Indonesian society, culture and language, it is perhaps more useful, given the observations of Thapar and Gonda, to shift the perspective and consider the Indian influences on Indonesian language and culture as affecting the 'Indonesianization' of imported Indian culture and language. The geographical spread of the Austronesian language family to the west, across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar, and to the east, across the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean, gives ample evidence of the sea-faring skills of the peoples who populate the Indonesian archipelago. On this evidence it seems entirely probable that the early trade exchanges between India, China, and Southeast Asia were initiated by Malay speakers.

The various visitors to the Indonesian archipelago throughout the first millennium do not appear to have conquered the local population any more than Augustine and his band of monks could claim to have conquered the British Isles. Gonda (1973: 28) notes that "[t]here were as far as we know, no Hindu garrisons, occupation troops or similar concentrations of common people in the Archipelago." He offers linguistic evidence to support this claim. "That the character of the penetration of Indo-Aryan in Indonesia has, generally speaking, been peaceful may also be concluded from the strikingly small number of Indian military terms surviving in Javanese" (Gonda 1973: 30). Thus, the influences can be more usefully categorized as somewhat reciprocal, in that neither the visitors nor the locals appear to have dominated one another in the military sense.

More evidence for the likely reciprocity of influence during the period is provided by the fact that the influences on the Malay language are already multifarious. Although the important cultural artifacts, and social, cultural, and linguistic influences, were coming from India, in the examples provided above, they were coming by Chinese initiative, and in the second example, aboard Persian vessels. The influence of Chinese language, specifically Hokkien, is examined in more detail below. Also, Sanskrit was not the only Indian language that would have been heard throughout the region during this period. Tamil, from the Dravidian family of languages, and Hindi, a later development of Sanskrit, have both contributed many terms to the Malay language (see Sneddon 2003b: 73). However, for the purposes of this study, their contributions are not considered in detail for the same reason as Persian, despite the plentiful borrowings from each language (see Robson 2004: 51); they are unrepresented in the set of address terms under investigation herein. To add to the complexity regarding the source of Sanskrit borrowings, the borrowing was not always direct. Robson (2004: 48) points out that, "[i]n some cases there is a possibility of borrowing via the intermediary of Old Javanese, and in other cases a Middle Indic dialect or Prakrit may have been involved, rather than Sanskrit." The complexity of indirect borrowing into Malay is noted but set aside for this study.

The two words of Sanskrit origin in the personal pronoun system of Modern Indonesian for which we do offer some account are; *saya*, 'I', and *saudara* 'you'.[8] *Saya* is discussed briefly below and *saudara*, a frequently used form of addressee reference marker in the modern media, is discussed at length throughout this study.

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[8] Whether *saudara* is a pronoun or a fictive kin term (i.e. whether it should be translated as 'you' or 'brother') is a central part of this thesis, discussed more fully in Chapters 6 and 8.

3.6   Classical/Middle Malay Period - Islam

The Classical, or Middle, Malay period sees the introduction of Islam to the region. Although Moslem traders, Arabic and Persian, had been present throughout the archipelago for many centuries before, it is not until the 13th century that Islam begins to take hold on the local population and Arabic, the language of the Prophet, begins its role as a major contributor to the Malay lexicon. Wright (2004: 114) considers that

> [t]he motivation to acquire a second language is particularly strong where it gives access to a religion and or an ideology. In this context learning the language becomes an act of identity and even of worship as knowledge of the sacred language gives entry to the sacred texts.

It is from the beginnings of the Middle Malay period that Arabic script begins its ascendency to becoming the predominant orthographic system of the Malay language (see Sneddon 2003b: 52). As with the Indian influence on social structures, religious practices, and the language, Islam appears to have been adopted into the region over a long period of time and the borrowing of Arabic words, as with Sanskrit, is facilitated by the whole cultural package (i.e. the Islamic religion and all its related literature) within which the Arabic language is embedded.

In the case of Sanskrit, the early records show that it was not only Indians bringing the language but also Chinese scholars returning from India via the western reaches of the Indonesian archipelago and carrying sacred texts written in Sanskrit language. The Chinese were probably only a small minority in the overall exchange of Indian culture, religion, and language but they were the most diligent in retaining records of these travels from the earliest of times. The difference with Arabic is that the majority of influence is recognized as coming

from the Moslem area of Gudjarat and the Gulf of Cambay in Northwest India
(see Coedes 1968:231).

The interesting point here is that the early carriers of Islam, and by proxy, the
Arabic language, were not themselves native Arabic speakers.[9] The slow spread
of influence was again facilitated by commercial activities and it was the increase
in trade between Gudjarat and Sumatra that allowed for the religion to gain a
foothold amongst the local population. Heesterman (1989: 4-5) summarizes the
length of time which it took Islam to become a major force throughout the
western reaches of the archipelago.

> [I]t was only at the turn of the thirteenth century that the North Sumatran
> rulers of *Samudra-Pasci* converted to Islam. Malacca became an
> important Muslim realm in the early fourteenth century and Java knew no
> Islamic rulers before the sixteenth century.

This slow uptake of Islamic influence indicates that the religion was absorbed into
local practices rather than overrunning them. Again it is worth configuring the
influence as affecting an Indonesianization of Islamic practices, rather than the
other way around. Geertz (1961: 2), drawing on a tripartite distinction in
Javanese religious practices posited by her husband, summarizes the three
different religious stances.

> Both the Islam of the santri variant, and the Hindu-Buddhism of the prijaji
> variant are derived from "great traditions," that is, they are systematized,
> universalistic, and proselytizing. The third religious variant, the abangan,
> is a "little tradition" of animistic household and neighbourhood rituals, but it
> too exhibits a crucial secularization of many aspects of social life and for
> the presence of other forms of worship.

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[9] It is worth noting that Indians bringing Indian religion and culture were not necessarily Sanskrit speakers
either.

Irvine (1996: 21) gives evidence of the cultural outcomes of the process of absorption by reference to "representations of *wayang purwa* figures" that are "composed of intertwined Arabic script quoting Islamic texts - a clear demonstration of Javanese syncretism combining in one small picture and animist god, a Hindu epic and a tenet of Islamic belief." The animist god referred to in this instance is *Semar*, a character drawn from Javanese tradition who, along with his family, has become an integral part of the Indonesian version of the Hindu epic. Coedes (1968:253) describes the "mildness and tolerance of Islam in Java", suggesting that rather than being indicative of Javanese

> gentleness [the] particular aspect assumed by Islam in Java was ... due rather to the influence that Indian religions exercised over the character of the inhabitants of the island for more than ten centuries.

Jones (1984: 13) comments that "[t]aking religion in its broad sense, the loan-words from Arabic are very numerous indeed." Given this point, it is surprising that borrowings from Arabic are so slightly represented in the set of address terms identified in the printed media data represented in the present study. The only Arabic second person pronoun found (or suggested) in the data, *ente*, is an answer to a clue in a crossword in a 1971 edition of Kompas. This suggests that the form would be known, at least by those who do Kompas crosswords, but is not necessarily frequently used within the language more generally.

The two forms that are used as second person markers regularly in the modern Indonesian language are both titles, have male and female forms, and both specifically index Islam. "*Haji,* (male) 'pilgrim' and '*Hajah/Hajjah*, 'a woman who performed pilgrimage to Mecca; Female pilgrim'," (Beg: 1979: 117) are used as respectful terms of address in Indonesian. These forms are very directly

indexical of a specifically Islamic practice. The other pair of terms are "*ustadz*[10], 'teacher of religious subjects', and *ustadzah*, 'a lady teacher'." (Beg: 1979: 139) These terms are applied to teachers in Islamic schools (*Madrasah* 'Islamic day school'; *Pesantren* 'Islamic boarding school'), and to Islamic religious instructors more generally. The generic Indonesian term for teacher is *guru*, borrowed from Sanskrit. The relationship of *ustaad* to *guru* is interesting but not necessarily indicative of the relationship between Arabic and Sanskrit borrowings more generally. The Arabic term is more specifically religious in its reference in these instances but this is unsurprising in the domain of Islamic education.[11] The word *guru* is worthy of a full study itself in that it has been borrowed into many different languages with a different polysemous spread in each, including many languages of the Indonesian archipelago (e.g. Batak, Achehnese), (see.Gonda 1973: 152), and at a much later date, English,[12] where it now is a fully naturalized member of the lexicon.

The influx of French words into the English language begins with the Norman Conquest of AD 1066. The fundamental difference between this influence and the influence of Arabic on the Malay language is that the French influence begins with military conquest. Thus the beginnings of this period of major relexification of the English language are predicated on a single event, unlike the gradual uptake of Islam and the associated Arabic language influence on Malay. Although the shift from Old English to Middle English is credited as beginning after the Norman intervention, commentators such as Baugh (1959: 200) point to the earlier influence of the Scandinavian language of the Vikings as being instrumental in bringing about the grammatical changes that feature prominently in the distinction between Old and Middle English, particularly the loss of nominal case markings and grammatical gender.

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[10] Often written as *Ustaad*. Beg gives another spelling in an earlier reference: 'Teachers in these [Arabic] schools are called *ustadh*. The female teachers of Arabic or Islamic courses are called *ustadhah*.' (Beg: 1979: 95)

[11] The term guru is used across the archipelago by primary and secondary school students in the general education system to address their teachers (Pak Guru , 'male teacher', Bu Guru 'female teacher').

[12] 1820 – hg wells (see Barnhart 1988: 457)

However, the linguistic focus of this historical summary is on lexical borrowing and the point about grammatical influence is merely acknowledged here. There is one aspect, however, of these grammatical changes which is worth noting. The changes were perhaps partially enabled by the situation in which the English language was left to flourish as a vernacular language without the constraints implied by it being the language of government, courts, and other official functions within the kingdom and the related fact that it was largely an unwritten language throughout this period (see Baugh 1959: 200). The establishment of Norman French rule created a bilingual diglossic situation in England for the next three hundred years or so. This fact is worth remembering when we turn to examine the diglossic situation of the Indonesian language as it stands today (see Chapter 5).

In illustration of this diglossic state, one needs only consider the most famous of Medieval English monarchs, Richard the Lion-Heart. At the end of the 12th century, Richard, although the supreme ruler of England, was not an English speaker and, after crusading in the Middle East, and a subsequent period locked in an Austrian castle, until his untimely death in AD 1199, preferred to spend his time in France overseeing his French holdings. It is not until AD 1399 that an English king, Henry IV, had his coronation ceremony performed in the English language. Thus, in terms of governance, England and France were, throughout this period, coterminous.

This is also true of the lack of administrative division between the Malaysian peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago during the Islamic Malaccan realm. The Malaccan Kingdom controlled both sides of the Malaccan Straits during the early part of this period, as did the Srivijaya Kingdom during the earlier Buddhist-Hindu period. The division between the modern states of Malaysia and Indonesia did not exist. Anderson (1983: 120) makes the telling point regarding national identification that Sumatran understanding of "Ambonese as fellow Indonesians [and] Malays as foreigners" runs counter to shared linguistic and

cultural histories of people both sides of the Malaccan Straits, that is the social, cultural, and political allegiances were between Sumatrans and Malaysians, not Sumatrans and, for example, Ambonese. Wright (2004: 83) makes a similar claim in stating that "[t]here had been many kingdoms in the area before the Dutch conquest, but they were never coterminous with present day Indonesia." The divisions were established at a later date and predicated on the distinction between colonial masters; the Dutch in Indonesia and the English in Malaysia. The divergent influence of the languages of these colonial masters is dealt with in more detail below.

3.7   The Chinese

The influence of the Chinese language, predominantly the Hokkien language of South China, is less easy to periodize, and overlaps the Old Malay and Middle Malay periods. The Chinese had been active participants in the history of the region since the earliest recorded times, as evinced by the writings of Fa-hsien and I-tsing described above. Coedes (1968:35), however, observes that the Chinese were never the main influence on the Malay region, having never conquered the region in military terms nor integrated to any large extent with the local populations.

> The countries conquered militarily by China had to adopt or copy her institutions, her customs, her religions, her language, and her writing. By contrast, those which India conquered peacefully preserved the essentials of their individual cultures and developed them, each according to it own genius. Coedes (1968:35)

Palmier (1965: 24) states that the first Chinese settlements in the region date from the early 13th century, and were "formed not by immigrants, but by

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shipwrecked sailors, pirates and so forth." He claims that these settlements laid the seeds "for present-day Indonesian society, an amalgam, though perhaps not a blend, of Western civilization, Indonesian culture, and Chinese enclaves." There were attempts at military conquest by the Chinese but these were unsuccessful. For example, Heesterman (1989: 4-5) mentions "the rather unique Mongol expedition against Java in 1293 and the early fifteenth-century naval expeditions of the Ming." However, he also claims that the Chinese "exerted a strong political influence mostly by trade-furthering tribute arrangements." A general report to the Gentlemen Seventeen in Holland from Jan Pieterszoon Coen and Pieter de Carpentier, dated 9th of July, 1621 (in Benda & Larkin 1967: 87-88) tells of the influx of Chinese goods into Jakarta and the accompanying influx of Chinese people.

> This year these junks have not brought any merchandise (suitable for) the Netherlands (market), nothing but coarse china, iron pots, sugar, fruits, arak, some coarse, poor textiles and different other trifles but a large multitude of people. We calculate that they brought in about one thousand men.

The establishment of Chinese settlements throughout the Malaccan Straits region at various periods, however, has had an abiding influence on the Malay language. Kuo and Jernudd (1993: 3) state that "[h]istorically, Hokkien, a southern Chinese dialect, used to serve as a language of local (and regional) commerce and trade along with the more important Bazaar Malay." The data examined in the present study show that the Hokkien language has provided several pronouns and terms of address to the Indonesian language especially through the Betawi dialect of Malay that has developed around the Jakarta (historically, Batavia) area (see Sneddon 2003: 153). Purwo (1984: 56) states that the first person pronoun form *gue* (or *gua*) "(of Hokkien) Chinese origin is commonly used by speakers of Indonesian with a Jakarta dialect background." The interesting point about Purwo's comments, being an account of the

categorial system of Indonesian pronouns, is that he makes no mention of the use of the second person form, *elu* (or *lu*), which forms a paradigmatic pairing with *gue/gua*. Both forms appear in reported speech recorded by Daendels (1827 and 1830/31, in Lapian 1989: 81), a Dutch administrator in the 19th century, around the Jakartan (Batavian) area. Sneddon's (2005: 1) recent arguments about the development of an informal standard Indonesian include *gue/gua* and *elu/lu* as important members of the pronominal paradigm of this modern development, "occur[ing] in Jakarta Malay and ... typically associated with youth and very informal situations in Indonesian."

The other Hokkien term which features prominently in the data presented in the present study is *nyonya* (lady, Mrs). The term *nyonya* is used also to describe the current cuisine culture of Singapore, also called *Peranakan* cuisine, and is an aspect of the Baba Malay dialect of the Straits region. This dialect is a creole language that "has its origins in the fifteenth century when migrants from China's Fukien province began to settle in the trading port of Malacca, on the Malay peninsula" (Comrie et al. 2001: 159). The terms *Baba* (male) and *Nyonya* (female) were used to identify Chinese men and the local women whom they married. Comrie et. al. (2001: 159) point out that "Baba Malay is still spoken in Malacca and Singapore, but by dwindling numbers, threatened by Bahasa Malaysia and by Chinese." Heryanto (1998: 105), in describing the shifting attitudes of indigenous Indonesians to Indonesians of Chinese descent, since the fall of Suharto in 1998, attributes the gathering prestige of the Hokkien forms in what Sneddon (2006) describes as colloquial Jakartan Indonesian to two factors.

> Firstly, more and more prominent Chinese figure as celebrities in the media and popular culture. But, secondly and more significantly, one can now see a progressive reinsertion of cultural constructs of overtly Chinese images in public space. (Heryanto 1998: 105)

The changing status of Chinese Indonesians is discussed more fully in describing the 20th century development of the Indonesian language in Chapter 5.

3.8   Classical/Middle Malay Period - The Europeans

The first major influx of Europeans into the region was the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch and the English. In the case of all three the overwhelming motivation was trade, as it had been with earlier Indian incursions. Another element of influence was religion, again in keeping with previous eras of influence. There had been earlier solitary explorations of Southeast Asia by Europeans, the most famous account being that left by Marco Polo, who provides us with descriptions of Java and Sumatra, which he named Greater and Lesser Java respectively, from around the end of the 13th century. The Portuguese overran the Islamic state of Malacca in AD 1511, following on from their conquest of Indian Goa in AD 1510 (see Benda and Larkin 1967 for various accounts). The Portuguese were interested in controlling the trade routes to the eastern part of the Indonesian Archipelago and their legacy is most prominent in modern times in the east.

The most notable ongoing influence of the Portuguese is found in East Timor, which was a Portuguese colony until it was annexed by Indonesia in 1975, and which, since independence from Indonesia in 1999, has reintroduced Portuguese as one of its official languages, the other being the local language, Tetum. The Portuguese were also active in promoting the Christian religion, which is more prominent in the eastern reaches of the archipelago than in its western, predominantly Muslim, regions. Many Portuguese borrowings have survived in modern Indonesian (see Robson 2004: 52-53, Sneddon 2003b: 80-82), though many have also become obsolete. Sneddon (2003b: 81) points out that "[a]lmost all borrowings from Portuguese ... are nouns referring to concrete items. There are very few borrowings for abstract nouns, verbs or other word classes."

Portuguese terms of address are not found in the data analyzed in the present study and for this reason, despite their prominent role in the region throughout the 16th century and beyond, no further account of this influence is given herein.

The first Dutch voyage to the region occurred at the end of the 16th century (1595-1597) and an account of this voyage was written by Willem Lodewijcksz, and published in AD 1598. (Benda & Larkin 1967: 80) This voyage, captained by Cornelus Van Houten, offered no challenge to the Portuguese presence, and when approached by the Portuguese, the Dutch expressed a desire "to trade with them, in all friendship, their spices against our merchandise." (Lodewijcksz's account in Benda & Larkin 1967: 81)   The relationship, however, did not remain on such a friendly footing. The first information on the Malay language to be published in Europe, in 1603, was a Malay-Dutch vocabulary compiled by Van Houten's brother, Frederick, after he was imprisoned in Aceh for two years in AD 1599 (see Sneddon 2003b: 83). Sneddon points out the value of this word-list, and accompanying dialogues, being drawn from spoken language, and argues that it is evidence of "the considerable interest the Dutch showed in the language" (see Sneddon 2003b: 83).

One point which needs to be highlighted about the relationship between the Dutch and their role in the promotion of the Malay language is that this centre of activities was not in a Malay speaking region. The two major languages of western and central Java are Sundanese and Javanese respectively but the Dutch quickly recognized that the Malay language was a commonly used *lingua franca* throughout the archipelago and both the Sundanese and Javanese languages were more complex in terms of their use of speech levels; that is, they are both 'honorific' languages. Thus the Dutch adopted the Malay language as the most appropriate for their dealings with the locals.

Having subsequently established a major trading post in Batavia (modern day Jakarta) in AD 1619, the Dutch became the major European influence in the

Indonesian archipelago throughout the next 300 or more years. To overcome the rivalry between various Dutch trading groups, they created the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East Indies Company), the VOC, to oversee their interests in the region. The VOC allied itself with the Malay Sultanate of Johor against "continued attacks by Aceh and the Portuguese" (Sneddon 2003b: 83) and the two combined forces to overrun Portuguese Malacca in 1641. Throughout the 17th century the Dutch continued to advance use of the Malay language through the production of publications in Malay. Sneddon (2003b: 83) mentions two more early publications, one by a Dutch merchant, Albert Ruyll, who published "a 12-page primer to teach the Latin alphabet [which] also included the Ten Commandments, prayers, and the Articles of Faith," and another, "[a] grammar of Malay ... written by Joannes Roman, a Protestant missionary, in 1674." The unusual level to which the Dutch engaged with the Malay language is perhaps attributable to the fact that the Dutch language itself was not one of the prestigious languages of Europe at the time. (see Sneddon 2003b: 83-84)

The English were also active throughout the region during this time, though in lesser numbers. Many Dutch accounts of the English involvement in Indonesian trade (see Hall 1977: 295) describe their presence as being like "gadflies". Vlekke (1943: 111) states that "wherever the Dutch Company founded a trading post the English were sure to follow: at Patani, at Djambi, at Jacarta, and in many other places." Hall (1977: 297) claims that during this period, the "East India Company conducted a concentrated national offensive against Portugal and Spain, and they bitterly resented the intrusion of the English into the spice trade." The interactions of these European powers in Southeast Asia was predicated on their ever changing relationships in Europe, where the English "had lost much of their Elizabethan hatred of Spain, and would gladly have made peace with the Portuguese on a basis of live and let live in the East" (Hall 1977: 297)

The English established trading posts on Penang Island, off the coast of the Malaysian peninsula, in 1786, and another in Singapore, in 1819 (see Sneddon 2003b: 82). Control of the Dutch administration in the region passed from the VOC to the Dutch government in 1799. The early 19th century witnessed French domination of the Netherlands, a situation which allowed the English to gain control of the Dutch areas of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay peninsula. Hall (1977: 479) suggests, however, that the motivation for English dominance was not to establish the "permanent occupation of the Dutch empire; their one objective was to counter Napoleon's designs for the encirclement of India." Subsequent to Napoleon's defeat, in 1814 the English restored the Dutch to prominence in the Indonesian archipelago, the Dutch in return ceding "to Britain all her factories in India, withdrew her objections to the occupation of Singapore, [and] ceded Malacca," (Hall 1977: 479) amongst other territories.

The English and Dutch finally resolved all their territorial struggles with each other in the region in 1824 with the signing of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty. (see Hall 1977: 509) This treaty created the divisions between the present day nations of Malaysia and Indonesia by drawing a line through the Riau-Johor archipelago, south of Singapore. This treaty between the European powers was followed by the Java War (1825-1830), after which the Dutch assumed total control of the Indonesian archipelago. Robson (2004: 18) describes the intensifying of relations between the Dutch and Indonesians during this period and states that "following the Java War ... the colonial period can be said to have begun in earnest." The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 thus created the territorial distinction between the modern states of Malaysia and Indonesia, with the lines of demarcation also extending through the island of Borneo, which remains divided between the Indonesian state of Kalimantan in the south and the Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah in the north (with the independent Sultanate of Brunei in between).   The importance of these divisions in terms of future language development is that it intersected the region which was to provide the model for the modern Indonesian language.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This historical account has not given details of all the major kingdoms that have risen and fallen over such a long period but has attempted merely to show the major sources of the influences that have shaped the development of the Malay language and society throughout its long history of interaction with other languages and cultures.[13] The account finishes in the mid-19th century with the modern period dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5. The essential point of interest in comparing the development of the Malay and English languages is that both have borrowed extensively from other languages, and continue to do so. However, in the case of the Malay and Indonesian languages, in contradistinction to English, pronouns have been borrowed freely from many languages. Quinn (p.c. 2005) comments that pronouns, and other terms of address used as second person markers in the modern Indonesian language, have acted like Trojan Horses, facilitating access to further borrowings from these languages. The focus of this study on those terms available for person reference means that some of the languages of contact in the case of Malay, whilst interesting from a broader historical perspective, are precluded from any further mention in the present study. The modern periods of both Malay/Indonesian and English are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

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[13] The major sources of broader historical reference utilised in this summary are the excellent histories of the Southeast Asian region written by Coedes (1968) and Hall (1977). The more specific details of the linguistic history are largely drawn from Sneddon (2003b), who gives the fullest account of the development of the Indonesian language, and Robson (2004) who presents a more succint but very useful account.

CHAPTER 4

Historical Development of the English Personal Pronoun Paradigms

> *Egalitarianism, in fact, is the persistent motif which runs through Australian culture and the people themselves. One can say many thing about Australians: that they are individualistic, informal, easy-going, frank, good-natured - all more or less correct, though there are many Australians who are none of these things - but the feeling that one man is as good as another is the most characteristic quality of social relations, and as an ideal it has power over executive and working man alike.* (McGregor 1967: 47-48)

4.1   Introduction

The Indonesian "experiment", as Alisjahbana (1961: 68) calls it, involved promoting the word *and*a as a second person pronoun, predicated on the wish for a democratic pronoun similar to the English 'you'. Alisjahbana is very specific in citing the English second person pronoun as the model for the Indonesian 'experiment' and any account of this bold move in Indonesia's language policy and planning history must include a full account of the development of the English pronoun system on which it is modeled. This chapter, then, examines the extent to which the modern Standard English use of a single second person pronoun can be understood as egalitarian and democratic. It explains the historical changes to the English personal pronoun paradigm and explores the many factors that have brought about these

changes. The changes have occurred over a vast period of time, a part of the enormous overall change concurrently wrought on the social structures of English society.

A key question for this thesis, then, is the manner in which changes to a personal pronoun system can be related to the changes in the social structures of the various societies within which they have occurred and the extent to which a pronoun system can be legitimately described as egalitarian and democratic.

Alisjahbana (1961: 68) is quite specific in describing the aim of the *ANDA* project in the following terms:

> The hope is that *anda* will eventually have *a status analogous to that of the word 'you' in English*, which can be used to address anyone, old or young, of high or low social position. (my italics)

Thus the Indonesian attempt to narrow the choice of addressee reference to the use of a single term is modeled specifically on the English second person pronominal paradigm, reduced as it had been, over an extended historical period, to use of the single term, 'you'.

The understanding of the contracted English personal pronoun paradigm as being commensurate with egalitarian and democratic linguistic practice is deemed an inherently modern system of address (Alisjahbana 1965: 33). The processes by which Standard English has come to have a single second person pronoun, however, are complicated, and not all of the forces motivating the contraction of the paradigm are socio-pragmatic.

It is worth stating at the outset that there is a key difference between the development of the English and Indonesian systems which underpins these

changes; in English they occurred without the influence of the centripetal forces of language planning, unlike the Indonesian attempt to change their address system, in which the changes have been consciously planned and promoted.[1]

The account of the development of the English system which follows is configured around the periods already described in Chapter 3, that is, Old, Middle, Early Modern, and Late Modern, but the qualifications of this periodization need to be reiterated before we begin. In most cases the changes described are wrought over several centuries and thus overlap two periods. As Howe (1996: 60) points out:

> Frequently change in the pronouns does not involve immediate loss of one or more forms, but rather change in the relative domain of variants, i.e. to some extent an increasing marginalization (i.e. a decreasing domain) of one of the variants, and an increasing generalization (i.e. an increasing domain) of another.

Changes are initially described under the heading of the period in which they begin but in most cases are not complete until well into the next period, and indeed, in some regional dialects, have not occurred at all. Thus an important qualification of the following account relates to the fact that there are also considerable regional differences apparent in the changing language and different dialects of English have undergone different changes at varying times.

The most relevant example of these differences is evident in the fact that some (northern) regional dialects of English sustain the use of 'thee/thou/thy', the T forms in Brown and Gilman's (1960) schema, to the present day. The focus of the following account is based on the standard language of the time being

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[1] Also relevant, although beyond the current discussion, are two other attempts to legislate changes to address systems, as mentioned by Leith (1997: 105): 'In earlier centuries ... it is the second person pronoun, the pronoun of address, that is at issue; to such an extent that the revolution in France in the eighteenth century and the Russian revolution in the twentieth both stimulated legislation on the matter, so central did linguistic usage in this respect seem to be to the creation of equality.'

described and, although this also is a descriptive convenience, it is a necessary convenience with which to contain the argument.

Further justification for the focus on an idealized standard is that it is consistent with the focus of the Indonesian data on the standard language promoted by the Indonesian language planners. The problematic nature of defining a standard/ized language is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5, in relation to the development of the Indonesian language and the specific focus on the adaptation/introduction of *anda* to the Indonesian language.

The primary interest in this account turns out to be the loss of various second person pronoun forms in English but the overall personal pronoun system is of relevance, especially as not all changes are apparent in all parts of the system. Address terms, and person reference terms more generally, are also of interest. As discussed in Chapter 2, the work of social status distinction can be done through the vocative use of address terms in English, as well as non-verbally, and the broader system of address must therefore include some discussion of the use of vocative address terms. Changes to the second person pronoun paradigm are very much a part of the broader changes to the language and the social practices of its speakers, and as Howe (1996: 363) claims, "[l]anguage change should essentially be viewed as the chronological axis of variation in human language, which also includes three-dimensionally a geographical and social axis." The changes described herein involve the complex interaction of influences that are linguistic, cultural, social, political and geographical, and therefore multidimensional.

A major problem with historical accounts is that the available data pre-dates the advent of recorded speech and thus is reliant on written data. There has been considerable recent historical sociolinguistics and historical pragmatics research (see Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, and Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003) which is very clear in describing the limitations of the

available data. These limitations are considered more fully in Chapter 6 when we turn to the Indonesian data taken from the mid 20th century but some discussion is provided in this chapter, where we will utilize a late 14th century text, 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', as an example of T/V use in the Middle Period of the English language. Subsequent to the discussion of the loss of T form in the Early Modern Period, the concluding remarks also consider the (partial) loss of the V form in Swedish in the 20th century, which offers a useful counterpoint to the English loss, and, perhaps, could have provided a better model for the subsequent Indonesian efforts to democratize, and modernize, their own system.

4.2   The Anglo-Saxon Period

The Old English/Anglo-Saxon Period cannot be fully characterized with reference to one homogeneous language variety but initially needs to be understood as a set of closely related dialects of West Germanic origin. Howe (1996: 130) lists the four main dialects as "West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian", (also see Baugh 1960: 60) and points out that "Mercian and Northumbrian are sometimes collectively termed Anglian." Kemenade (2002: 110) distinguishes between "two main dialect groups; West Saxon and Anglian."

The dominant force during the latter part of the Old English period, both politically and linguistically, was the West Saxons. The reigns of King Alfred the Great (871-899), his son, Edward (899-924) and grandson, Athelstan (924-940), cover a period of immense importance to the future development of English, and are arguably the beginnings of the idea of an English nation, or at least a united federation, having been preceded by a period of disparate kingdoms (see Wood 2005). Claims of unification, however, need to recognize the continuing migration of large numbers of Vikings (Norse/Danish) into the

north-east of the country and the subsequent influence of their language; related but different to the Anglo-Saxon dialects (see Jespersen 1923).

The period of Alfred's reign saw the establishment of the Danelaw, essentially the partitioning of England into an Anglo-Saxon south-west and a Norse north-east. The intermingling of peoples and languages in the Danelaw was to have a huge influence on the development of the English language over the next several centuries, from Alfred's reign up to, and beyond, the time of the Norman Conquests (see Jespersen 1923).

The Late West Saxon dialect became the literary standard of this period largely through Alfred's own efforts in promoting the translation of important texts from Latin into the English dialect of his own region. Alfred "either translated these books himself or caused others to translate them for him." (Baugh 1957: 81). Baugh lists such works as the *Pastoral Care* of Pope Gregory, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, and *The Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, amongst others, as those Alfred deemed important enough to be translated into English.

Alfred also initiated the keeping of the records known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, detailing important events, which were added to for more than two centuries after his death, thus providing some record of the transition from Old English to Middle English, particularly through a section called the *Peterborough Chronicle*, which continued through to the year 1154 (see Kemenade 2003: 112). Bragg (2003: 18) goes so far as to claim that Alfred 'saved' the English language through his efforts to translate these works into English and points out that "[i]t is in one of his own translations - in the preface to Gregory's *Pastoral Care* - that one of the first appearances of the word 'Englisc', describing the language, is recorded."

The transition from Old English to Middle English involved a comprehensive set of changes to the language, which Kemenade (2003: 112) lists as "pervasive changes to the phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax." Although the Norman Conquest of 1066 is rightly seen as a pivotal event in the development of the English language, the influence of French is largely evident in the expansion of the vocabulary. The broader "pervasive changes" are more correctly attributed to the influence of the Northern Germanic (Scandinavian) languages of the Norse invaders (see Kemenade 2003: 112) and their interaction with the Anglo-Saxon dialects in the regions cohabited by the two groups. A major change involving the morphology and syntax was the leveling of the Old English case system. The case inflections lost in the nominal paradigms of Middle English are not, however, lost in the personal pronominal paradigms of the Late West Saxon dialect; the case distinction between subject and object forms are retained to this day. Before outlining the Old English personal pronoun paradigm we will briefly consider aspects of the set of address terms used in Anglo Saxon society.

4.2.1 Old English Address Terms

Howe (1996: 130) states that "[t]he oldest surviving records in English date from about 700." However, not only are the early records scanty, there is the more specific problem that our knowledge of the situated use of address terms in Old English suffers from the lack of any records of the daily speech of the language users. Some ideas about their use, however, can be garnered from the written records that are extant from the later Anglo Saxon period. Kohnen (2008: 140) draws on data from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* to examine the "most prominent Old English terms of nominal address associated with polite or courteous behaviour." His focus is on "their distribution, the typical communicative settings in which they are used and their basic pragmatic meaning." He (2008:140) suggests that the use of these terms "may

reflect the overriding importance of mutual obligation and kin loyalty on the one hand, and obedience to the basic Christian ideals of *humilitas* and *caritas* on the other."

One relevant distinction Kohnen (2008: 145) makes in dealing with these data is between "primary and 'secondary" items based on the "text categories" from which they are taken. His primary categories are: religious instruction, prayers, letters, documents/wills, and other text types mostly found in handbooks. The secondary categories are: the Bible, saints' lives, secular verse fiction, religious verse fiction, prose fiction, and other text types including chronicles, handbooks and dialogues. These text type distinctions are relevant to this thesis's analysis of the Indonesian written data and a framework developed from the text types found in Indonesian newspapers will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The three most common terms, which are discussed at length in Kohnen's (2008) article, are *leof*, *broþor* and *hlaford*, "with *leof* and combinations with *leof* covering nearly half of the items." (Kohnen 2008: 145). *Leof* is commonly translated as 'Sir', or 'My Lord', but Kohnen (2008: 147) argues that the literal meaning of 'dear one, friend' is much more prevalent in many of the examples found in the data. This claim is based on the observation that the term is used reciprocally by superiors to subordinates and subordinates to superiors. Many other address terms from Old English were supplanted by French terms after the Norman Conquest. For example, Leith (1997:79) points out that some Anglo Saxon rank-terms survive past the Anglo Saxon period but observes that the overall system was "restructured after the Norman conquest." The examples of retained terms that he cites are: "*[c]yning* and *cwen* (king and queen), *halfweard* and *hlaefdige* (lord and lady) … but other terms were pushed into new meanings by the introduction from French of *duke, prince, squire, villian,* etc." This is hardly surprising given that the Anglo Saxon hierarchy was largely obliterated at the battle of Hastings and those who had

not fallen at that pivotal moment were mostly dispossessed in the ensuing redistribution of English holdings amongst Norman French noblemen.

In this manner, not only the material spoils went to the victors but also some of the linguistic spoils. What is slightly more surprising is that

> all the current terms of family relationship outside the immediate circle of the household have been adopted from French. *Uncle, aunt, nephew, niece*, and *cousin*, very soon displaced their native equivalents *Grandsire* and *Grandame*. (Bradley 1968: 60).

The term discussed in Kohnen's (2008) study that is of most relevance to the present study is *broþor*. This kin term, in its prototypical meaning, is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'son of same parents', which is of course 'inside' the immediate circle of the household. However, 'brother' has developed polysemously in many directions. The OED lists various meanings; 'close friend, fellow citizen and countryman', amongst others. Kohnen (2008: 150) lists three different senses in which *broþor* is used in direct address in the data drawn from the *Dictionary of Old English* - "to a brother by blood relation … to a fellow-being or fellow Christian … [and] to a fellow member of a religious order of brother in Christ."

Kohnen (2008) discusses the difficulties in distinguishing whether the meaning in the data he is analyzing is 'brother by blood relationship or only a good friend, a brother in Christ or a fellow-being." He (2008: 150) points out that "in many cases [it] seems to include two of these senses", and further claims that "[w]hether it refers to a family bond, to a fellow-being or to a brother in Christ, it is clear that the Old English term marks a friendly and affectionate address which takes the family/blood affiliation as a model." This claim is redolent of that made by Lujan (2002) in response to Kullanda (2002:102), as cited in Chapter 2 of this thesis, about the usefulness of reconsidering kinship terms

"from the point of view of prototype semantics." This point will be further developed in Chapter 8 in advancing the argument about the pronominalization of *saudara* (brother) in the Indonesian data. One final observation about Kohnen's (2008) study is that none of the examples he gives from his data use address terms in syntactically bound positions; all are vocatives.

4.2.2 Old English Personal Pronouns

The Old English personal pronoun paradigm contains more variation in form than later paradigms but the basic forms of the Old English personal pronouns are recognizably related to those that are extant in Modern English and obviously are cognate with their modern counterparts. Thus they make an excellent example of the usefulness of pronominal paradigms as evidence of genetic affiliation between languages (as discussed in Chapter 2).[2]

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 are taken from Sweet's (1990: 22) grammar of Old English, originally published in 1882, which "deals only with the West Saxon dialect, the most important for the study of the literature; and with the early form of it - that is, the language of about the time of King Alfred." (Sweet 1990: 1). Although the listing of paradigms from other dialects of Old English would show some variation, the variation is ignored here as it is mostly minor differences in spelling/pronunciation. Although important to Old English scholars, it is not overly relevant to this study, [3]

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[2] The later borrowing of the third person plural forms 'they, them and their' from Old Norse is of minimal relevance to our topic, as mentioned in Chapter 2, on the basis of Benveniste's (1971) argument that third person forms are not a true part of the personal pronoun set (see Chapter 2). The third person paradigm is not included above on the same basis

[3] See Howe (1996: 131-133) for comparative tables of West Saxon, Mercian, and Northumbrian paradigms.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	iċ	wit	wē
Accusative	mē	unc	ūs
Genitive	mîn	uncer	ūre
Dative	mē	unc	ūs

Table 4.1:   Old English first person pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	þū	git	ġē
Accusative	þē	inc	ēow
Genitive	þîn	incer	ēower
Dative	þē	inc	ēow

Table 4.2   Old English second person pronouns

Although the relationship between many of these forms and their modern counterparts is self-evident, there are three differences in these paradigms which need to be discussed.

The first of these are somewhat minor differences of orthographic conventions. The modern (voiced) 'th' is represented with a 'thorn' (þ). Various obsolete diacritics are used, mostly to indicate long vowel sounds.

The second difference, of more interest, is the inclusion of four cases, given that the inflectional case system of Old English had largely been lost by the Middle Period. Two points about the inclusion of these cases in the above paradigms are worthy of comment. Firstly, although many nominal declensions of Old English have different forms for the oblique cases (accusative and dative), the forms for both these cases in Old English personal pronoun paradigms are identical, that is, they are not distinguished from each other. The paradigms could be as accurately represented by distinguishing subject, object and possessive forms only.

The second point is that this tripartite distinction remains in the first person pronoun paradigms of the modern English language, being the only word class in the modern language in which they are retained. The second person paradigm has undergone the most overt changes and is the most important area under consideration in this study, but the changes to this paradigm begin to occur in Middle English and are more appropriately discussed below in examining this period.

The third noteworthy difference is the inclusion of dual forms. Howe (1996: 131-133) includes dual forms for each of the four cases in his West Saxon first and second person tables, as does Sweet (1990), but does not include genitive forms in first or second person, or an accusative form for second person, in Mercian. For Northumbrian, the only dual form given is for first person accusative. Howe's (1996: 135) subsequent discussion highlights the irregularity of the use of dual forms in various Old English texts, stating that "[t]he extent of the dual in Old English varies according to dialect." Further commenting on these irregularities, he observes that in Mercian, "in Middle English duals are found in the Midlands", making the more specific point that "[t]he dual in Old English survives into early Middle English, though the specific accusative *unket* and *incit* [Northumbrian] are no longer found" (Howe 1996: 141). However, he also states that "d]uals are found fairly frequently in West Saxon, but in late West Saxon are by no means consistently used" (Howe 1996: 135). Smith (1999: 73) makes the much more general claim that "[t]he dual pronouns are comparatively rare in OE, and died out entirely in the ME period."

These inconsistencies of use, and the subsequent complete loss of dual forms, can be readily explained by the ease with which their usefulness can be supplanted, as it is in the modern language, by periphrastic constructions, such as 'us two' and 'you two'. Even in Old English we find a similar trend, in which

"[t]he duals frequently occur with the addition of forms of 'both', sometimes of 'two' – i.e. lexical dual quantifiers" (Howe 1996: 141).

One final point to be made, which is not evident from the tables given above, is that the second person plural pronouns in Old English were not used for polite, respectful singular reference, as they came to be in Middle English. Howe (1996: 170) states that "[f]rom the evidence of surviving records it seems that Old English did not possess a superior or polite form of address." In anticipation of a return to our main focus on the social aspects of addressee reference, it is worth quoting his subsequent comment that "[t]he first definite examples of a V form of address in English date from the second half of the thirteenth century" (Howe 1996: 170).

4.3   The Middle English Period

The all-conquering French speaking Normans arrived in 1066 and after crushing resistance in the north of England by 1070 had supplanted the English language as the language of the ruling classes with their own. But the English language continued to be spoken by the majority of the conquered race. This is an important point to recognize in regard to the survival of the English language; Norman French, in the immediate aftermath of the conquest, was spoken *only* amongst the ruling classes (see Leith 1997: 26). Despite the ultimate survival, and flourishing, of the English language, the arrival of the Normans can be described as having had "a greater effect on the English language than any other in the course of its history." (Baugh 1959: 127)

The Norman takeover was ruthlessly comprehensive. Stenton (1983: 14) states that "by the time Domesday Book [a survey of all English holdings] was compiled in 1086 only two of the king's leading tenants were men of English

descent." French, almost instantly, became the language of the ruling classes, of the court, the castle, the legal system, and all things political. English remained the language of the people without power, spoken in the fields, at market, in the kitchens, and by the majority of the population. Thus the substitution of the Anglo-Saxon ruling class with Norman French speakers created a bilingual diglossic situation.[4] It was to be more than two centuries before a king of England spoke English as a first language, if at all, and nearly three centuries, in 1362 AD, before English was again used in parliament and the law courts. It was not until Henry IV was crowned, in 1399 AD, that an English king would again give his coronation speech in English (see Baugh 1959: 176).

4.3.1 Middle English Loanwords

The grammatical changes to English, primarily the gradual loss of the case system, are discussed briefly above, and though they continued to be affected into the Middle Period, were largely attributable to the interaction of Old English with the Old Norse (Scandinavian) languages. Kermenade (2002: 112) states that "[t]hese changes [in the phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax] have often been ascribed to French influence due to the Norman Conquest of England. It is doubtful whether this is correct, though." Baugh (1959: 200) is more emphatic on this point, claiming that "[t]he changes which affected the grammatical structure of English after the Norman Conquest were not the result of contact with the French language."

The "greater affect … than any other" (Baugh 1959: 127) which the Norman Conquest had on the English language pertains to the enormous influx of French words into the English vocabulary. Many words from other languages (Norse, Latin, even a few from Celtic) had been absorbed into English by the

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[4] Diglossia is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, in relation to the Indonesian situation.

early Middle Period but it is French that has had the greatest impact on the English lexicon. The influence of French, however, does not begin immediately, and, as per the previously made point about periodization, the Middle English Period is more correctly considered to begin some hundred years or more after the initial conquest. Thus the linguistic situation in the initial generations of Norman rule is more accurately described by the aforementioned term, bilingual diglossia.

The gradual influx of French words into the English lexicon can be usefully grouped into various domains. In this diglossic situation, the initial linguistic impact of the ruling classes was in the various official domains in which the affairs of state were now conducted in French. As Jespersen (1959: 85) observes,

> [w]e need only go through a list of French loan-words In English to be firmly convinced of the fact that the immigrants formed the upper classes of the English society after the conquest, so many of the words are distinctly aristocratic.

Jespersen (1923: 85-91) lists many French loanwords from domains related to the ruling classes. Some examples of these domains are: government, feudalism, scale of rank, court life, the military, the law, the church, food (where animals retained their Old English names but received French names as served on the plate), and leisurely pastimes. Of most interest to the current study are the replacement of English words with "the names of the various steps in the scale of rank" (Jespersen 1923: 85) – i.e. titles of nobility used to address holders of those titles. Jespersen gives the examples: "*prince, peer, duke* with *duchess*, *marquis, viscount, baron*." As previously mentioned, *cyning* and *cwen,* 'king' and 'queen' were retained from Old English, and 'lord', 'lady' and 'earl', the last three being retentions that Jespersen (1923: 85) finds "surprising". He makes the mitigating point, however, that "*count* [was] chiefly

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used in speaking of foreigners, but the earl's wife was designated by the French word, *countess*."

One final aspect of Jespersen's (1923: 93-94) investigation of French loanwords is worth outlining for the light it sheds on the dates of the Middle English Period. He provides a table setting out the proportion of words introduced for each fifty year period from before 1050 AD to 1900 AD, the first period includes words introduced at any time before 1050 AD. He takes 1,000 words of French origin from the *New English Dictionary* for his survey. Of these 1,000 words, only 84 (8.4%) are introduced before 1250 AD. Nearly half, 427 words (42.7%) are introduced between 1251 AD and 1400 AD. The numbers drop by half after this period, and considerably more after 1650 AD, but he does warn that "many or even most of these words, at any rate the more popular ones, had probably been in use some time before these quotations."

Despite this qualification, which may only shift the initial upsurge from 1251 AD to 1200 AD, the survey provides fascinating evidence of the slow onset of French influence on the English vocabulary, and supports the idea that the Middle Period did not truly begin until well after the original Norman conquest.

4.3.2 Middle English Personal Pronouns

The dialect differences in Middle English are somewhat less complex than those of Old English. Howe (1996: 138) gives only one table for Middle English personal pronouns, as opposed to the three he gives for Old English dialects, although he does indicate some dialect differences in the Middle English table. The major dialect variations are given for third person forms, which again are overlooked in this study for reasons already given. In his first person singular forms, Howe (1996: 138) differentiates between those used in Southern and Midland areas on the one hand, and Northern areas on the other. He also

distinguishes between older and newer forms of second person plural and continues to include dual forms, still extant in the earlier part of the Middle Period in some areas (see 4.2.2 above). Both Howe (1996: 138) and Smith (1999: 113) continue to list accusative and dative forms separately but again these forms are largely without variation. The following table is taken from Mosse (1952: 54), who conflates the accusative and dative forms to a single object case. Mosse also gives some variants but these are not defined as regional dialect differences and mostly appear to be of an orthographic nature, with the exception of the first person singular forms, which are discussed below the table.

	First Person		Second Person	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Subject	ich, ic, ik, I, y	wē	þū, thou, tou	zē, yē
Object	mē	ūs, ous	þē, thee, tē	eu, ou, zow, zou, you
Possessive	min, mi	ūr(e), our (e)	þin, þi, thy	zūr(e), your(e), oure

Table 4.3   Middle English Personal Pronouns

Subject/object forms are from Mosse (1952: 54). Possessive forms are from Mosse (1952: 58)

On the first person singular variation, Mosse (1952: 54-55) remarks that "*ich* is the stressed form of the South and Midlands", in concurrence with Howe's (1996: 138) table, and that "*ic, ik* is the stressed form of the North." He also remarks that "*y, I* … was used first north of the Thames before a word beginning with a consonant … little by little this unstressed form became the general usage in the common language of the 14th century", further observing that "Chaucer generally has *I* in all positions and only uses *ich* rarely."

4.3.3 Middle English T/V Usage

By the middle of the 13th century, the changes wrought on the English personal pronoun paradigm were largely phonetic. The leveling of the Old English nominal case system did not occur in the personal pronouns and the only significant difference between the Old English personal pronouns and those extant in Middle English is the gradual diminishing of the use of dual forms.

Under the influence of French, however, there was a socio-pragmatic change in their application which has the most relevance to the main focus of this thesis. That change was the adoption of the use of second person plural forms for use as singular reference (see Leith 1997: 104).

To examine this change we will utilize the terminology of Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal work on 'T/V' systems (see Chapter 4.2.1). In their study of the use of second person pronouns in French, Italian, and German, Brown and Gilman distinguish between singular second person pronouns, T forms, and plural second person pronouns used for singular reference, V forms. They (1960: 254) propose, "[as] a convenience … to use the symbols T and V (from the Latin *tu* and *vos*) as generic designators for a familiar and a polite pronoun in any language." More recent developments of their argument, especially the limits of their two relational social categories, power and solidarity, have already been discussed in Chapter 2.4.1, but, as Howe (1996: 5) states, "T and V are useful *labels* … to denote socially-governed pronominal forms."

Baugh (1959: 293) states that the T/V system of second person pronouns "seems to have been suggested by French usage in court circles [and] finds a parallel in many other modern languages." He (1959: 159) alludes to "the wide popularity which the French language enjoyed all over civilized Europe in the thirteenth century", and Jespersen (1923: 240) describes the "habit", of which he is largely disdainful on the basis of it being "an aristocratic tendency towards

class-distinction", as having been "propagated … throughout Europe' in the middle ages from a model of 'French courtesy'". The adoption of T/V usage into Middle English was a gradual process, as are all the changes under consideration in this chapter. It began with the ruling classes and gradually seeped down to more common usage in the language. Leith (1997: 106) summarizes this gradual uptake.

> Once established in French, it was the adopted by the Francophile English aristocracy. At first, *you*, as a marker of special esteem, was rare, an emblem of courtly customs; but gradually, relationships such as parent/child, lord/servant, husband/wife were power-coded, in that the former in each pair demanded *you*, and returned *thou*. By about 1500 it seems that this practice had been copied by the middle class, and *thou* was becoming the 'marked' form. It could be used for special effects; moreover, it was the reciprocal pronoun of the lower class.

Leith's summary adds useful detail to the progressive adoption of the French system but it would be more appropriate to use the subject form *ye* in his description as it was still in common usage at this time. Mausch (1993: 143) suggests that "[t]he use of 2nd person plural subjective *ye* for polite address dates back to the second half of the 13th c. In the 14th c., it is well established."   Mosse (1952: 94) concurs with the date for the initial onset in stating that "[a] distinction tended to develop … from the end of the 13th century."

It cannot be ascertained with any certainty that the T/V system in Middle English was adopted by all speakers as the available data are limited to written records and it may be that some speakers of English did not utilize this method of social distinction at all. It is important to recognize some of the limitations of the adoption of this distinction in English as it was only utilized for a relatively short period, unlike most European languages, where the two part second

person pronoun system continues to delimit social difference to this day. Hickey (2003: 344) claims that "[t]he distinction … did not establish itself [in English] in as unshakeable a manner as it did in the languages of continental Europe."

In examining its loss in Early Modern English, Wales (1983: 109) points out that "English usage appears much more complex in general than medieval European; and undoubtedly therefore this helps to explain the later wide divergence between Modern English and European practice." She states that "[p]art of the problem lies in the fact that the establishment of *you* as a fairly consistent formal singular appears clearly only in the courtly literature of the second half of the 14c, much later than the French practice," and argues that for this reason "it may not have made as deep an impression along the same social, and conventional lines." These arguments for the somewhat precarious nature of the adoption of a T/V system into Middle English will be pursued in more detail below in examining its loss in the Early Modern English Period.

4.3.4 Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (A Case Study)

To give some example of T/V usage in Middle English, we will briefly examine the application of the distinction in the long alliterative verse, 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight' (hereafter SGGK), written in the Northwest Midland's dialect around the year 1400 AD by an anonymous author (Severs 1967: 14).[5] This verse is an example of the courtly literature developed from the French literary tradition, perhaps best exemplified by the works of the 12th century French writer, Chretien de Troyes. The subject matter of this tradition centres on the exploits of King Arthur and his knights. SGGK differs from the French tradition only in its being written in the Anglo Saxon style of alliterative verse. The

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[5] The analysis is based on commentaries from Tolkien & Gordon (1952: 131) and Stone (1964: 20). Stone quotes extensively from Dr Mabel Day's essay in the Early English Text Society's edition of SGGK, ed. Sir Israel Gollancz, (1938).

problem with this example is that, as a literary text, "allowance must … be made for literary selectiveness on the one hand, and artistic exaggeration on the other." (Wales 1983: 108) Whilst these observations identify problems with the usefulness of these data, Wales does preface her concerns with the claim that "the usage of dialogues in drama reflects that current in society." Despite the accepted limitations, an examination of this text still offers some insight into the application of the T/V distinction in Middle English, especially as it may have been used in the courts, and anyway, as with any investigation of the period, spoken records are simply not available.

The plot of SGGK brings together two traditional stories, 'The Exchange of Beheadings' and 'The Exchange of Winnings' (see Pearsell 1999: 234). The Green Knight arrives at King Arthur's court and challenges any taker to an exchange of blows with his axe. Gawain takes the challenge and beheads the Green Knight who, unperturbed, picks up his head and tells Gawain to meet him in a year's time at the Green Chapel where he will deliver the return blow to Gawain's neck. Gawain travels alone to the castle of Sir Bercilak, where he is entertained for three days by the Lady of the castle while Bercilak hunts.

Gawain and Bercilak agree to exchange any winnings they have during these three days. Gawain passes on the kisses he receives from the Lady in exchange for the animals Bercilak has hunted on each of the three days but withholds the additional gift he receives from the Lady on the last day as it is a garter that has the magical power to protect him from the Green Knight's blows. He goes to the Green Chapel, where the Green Knight, feigns twice with his axe before nicking Gawain's neck with the final blow. He reveals himself as Bercilak and explains that the final wound was inflicted for Gawain's withholding the third gift. This brief synopsis provides us with four settings within which the relevant exchanges occur; Arthur's court, Sir Bercilak's castle, the trip to the Green Chapel, and within the Green Chapel. The key characters for the subsequent observations are Gawain, Arthur and the members of his

court, the Green Knight, Sir Bercilak and his Lady, and the porter who guides Gawain to the Green Chapel.

The information given above provides us with the important factors of SETTING (or SCENE) and PARTICIPANT relations, which inform the primary parameters of unmarked usage, or expected NORMS of INTERACTION.[6] For example, Gawain addresses Arthur with the V pronoun but receives a non-reciprocal T in return, as befits their superior/inferior relationship. Arthur addresses his queen, Guinevere, with the V pronoun, which, despite their obvious intimacy, is entirely in keeping with his chivalrous nature, and the dictates of chivalrous, courtly courtesy.

Gawain and Bercilak exchange the V pronoun, as equals without any shared intimacy. Gawain addresses the porter with the T pronoun and receives the V pronoun in return, except for one particular exchange discussed below as marked usage. Gawain addresses the Lady of Sir Bercilak's castle with the V pronoun in all but one instance, and she, at first, returns the V pronoun. The Green Knight addresses all with the T pronoun. He is not only abrupt in his manner, but even refuses to dismount his horse on arrival at King Arthur's court. He is represented as rude and uncouth, and somewhat rustic, and his use runs counter to that expected from visiting knights in King Arthur's court. Under normal circumstances, one would expect Arthur to address the Green Knight, as a visitor to his court, with the V pronoun, but Arthur responds in kind to the Green Knight's rudeness by returning the T pronoun in their exchanges.

There are some examples, however, of marked usage, which run counter to the expected norms as delimited by setting and participant relations. Wales (1983: 115) explains this marked usage as "signal[ing] an informal register; a

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[6] See Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING model and its use as a framework, along with the application of the unmarked/marked distinction, in analysing appropriate choice of term in the Indonesian data. Capitals are used throughout this thesis in use of SPEAKING grid elements.

device which could be exploited, almost like a prosody, to indicate a shift in emotional 'key' on occasion."[7]

The Green Knight uses the V pronoun to Gawain at the Green Chapel only once, when revealing his true identity and the plot against Arthur's court to which he has been party. The Lady of the castle increasingly uses the T pronoun in her attempted seduction of Gawain, who returns the T pronoun only once, in accepting her gift of the garter.

Perhaps the most unexpected shift is from the porter, who uses the T form in questioning the sense of Gawain's intention to present himself to the Green Knight for beheading. Day (1938, in Stone 1964: 20) attributes this use to the porter's contempt for Gawain's decision to present himself for beheading but given the porter's expressed admiration for Gawain it seems more reasonable to explain it as a personalized plea for Gawain to make some attempt to avoid his terrible fate.

It is worthwhile noting here that although these examples are only briefly discussed they nevertheless provide evidence for the application of the T/V system in Middle English, which is relative status or context based, and not democratic. They also provide an introductory illustration of the framework that is introduced in Chapter 6, as part of the analysis of the Indonesian data.

4.4   The Early Modern English Period

The most important socio-pragmatic change to the English personal pronoun paradigm in the Early Modern Period (approximately defined above as the 16th and 17th centuries) is the gradual loss of the singular second person pronominal forms, 'thou', 'thee', and 'thy'. This change is most apparent in the

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[7] Note that KEY is another factor in Hymes (1974) SPEAKING model.

development of an East Midlands dialect as the standard language of the kingdom, focused on the burgeoning importance of London as the capital and largest urban centre. This is an important point to remember as the singular second person forms were/are retained in many regional dialects well past the period.[8] The social changes that accompany this development find their catalyst in a number of factors occurring in the 14th and 15th centuries, leading up to this period.

By the 14th century, French influence on the English court had waned dramatically, as evident in the aforementioned reassertion of English as the language of the Parliament and law courts in 1362 AD (see Baugh 1959: 176). Edward III had made an arguably legitimate claim for the French throne in the middle of this century based on his blood relation with the French aristocracy, much as William the Conqueror had claimed legitimacy in taking the English Throne in 1066. The French province of Aquitaine, and the coastal port of Calais were under English rule and the 14th and early 15th century witnessed the Hundred Years War between the two countries, and various incursions by both sides into the territories of the other, culminating in Henry V famously overcoming the French forces at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 AD (see Baugh 1959: 168).

Nevalainen (2000: 258) claims that much of the social change in English society throughout the 14th and 15th centuries was motivated by internal migration, which upset the feudal structures that had been put in place by the Norman restructuring of the country's system of rule, stating that "the serious labour shortage throughout the country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the aftermath of the Black Death" was a major contributing factor for this internal migration. Consequent to these changes is an increase in social

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[8] Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 13) point out that most evidence from this period focuses on the standard language, blinding 'much of the past scholarship to any **regional variation** in writing in this period.' They claim that this may 'partly be explained by the fact that ... most texts are not localizable on the basis of spelling from 1500 onwards.'

mobility. Nevalainen (2000: 258) argues that "the London scene in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave rise to … a phase of unprecedented individual social mobility"; and also claims (Nevalainen, 2000: 256) that, "the various population movements must have given rise to changes in social network structures," and that "one may assume that growing urbanization in particular increased looseknit and uniplex, i.e. single-function, social networks among the urban population."

This factor must have led to less certainty between people of their relative status, a point of relevance to the increased use of the V form of second person pronoun. Wales (1983: 118) usefully summarizes these social changes by stating that,

> [a]s the city [London] grew and prospered, the merchants and tradesmen prospered also, buying property and land. Social stratification was the result, but not that of the traditional, feudal kind. The largely 'static' hierarchy of 'status' according to birth and land within a local community was replaced by that of 'class' according to distribution of wealth and occupation in an increasingly urbanized society; although there was some equivalence between them.

According to Myers (1963: 210), London "dominated commercial life", its dialect increasingly dominated the language, and its citizens' status was no longer tied to the situation of their birth, as was the case with their predecessors in the previously feudal system of social structure.

4.4.1 The Diminishing Use of T Forms ('thou', 'thee', 'thy')

A number of factors need to be considered in accounting for the increased use of V forms in the developing standard East Midlands dialect of London. These

factors are predominantly socio-pragmatic, but some arguments relating to grammatical structure have been put forward and will also be considered.

Howe (1996: 60 & 171) suggests the need to consider these changes in terms of domains of usage (see 4.1 above) and the overall effect of an increase in unmarked use of V forms.

> The development of the 2nd person pronouns in English is characterized by an increase in the domain of the V form *ye/you* and a narrowing of the domain of *thou/thee*. As the use of *ye/you* as a singular address become more common, the more it became the normal or unmarked form, while *thou/thee* on the other hand became the marked pronoun. This was a reversal of the early T/V situation in English where *ye* as singular had been the marked form. (Howe 1996: 171)

Smith (1999: 134-5) also claims that "[b]y EModE times, ye, you etc. had developed as the common unmarked form of address [and that] thou by 1600 had developed as a marked, familiar form, which could be used both positively and negatively." Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 170) observe that thou was commonly used "in the seventeenth century' in the family domain, but "typically restricted either to intimate correspondence between spouses or to letters written by parents to their children." They (2003: 170) also discuss the "Durham consistory court depositions from the 1560s", which indicate that "THOU was the marked form used for emotion and affection rather than as a marker of solidarity", though they question the lack of examination of the extent to which this usage might involve regional differences.

The use of T forms became somewhat stigmatized throughout the Early Modern Period. Some scholars relate the increasing stigma of their use directly to the Quakers. Brown and Gilman (1960: 265) describe how "[i]n the

seventeenth century "thou" and "you" became explicitly involved in social controversy", through the advocacy of the Quakers to use thou in addressing everybody, regardless of relative status.

Leith (1983: 107) suggests that "this insistence of the Quakers, who were not then considered to be as respectable as they have since become, … helped to stigmatize thou/thee in the minds of many people", and recommends that, "[i]f thou was the pronoun of religious fanatics, subversives, and stable-boys, sensible people might be wise to forget it!". Further evidence for the stigma associated with the T forms, thee and thou is given by Howe (1996: 171) who describes their "frequent use … as a form of insult", and suggests this use "may have contributed to [their] loss as a form of address both in the family and also to servants." The most famous use of 'thou' and 'thee' as insulting terms is from the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1603, where the chief prosecutor, Edward Coke, abuses Raleigh by exclaiming, "I thou thee, thou traitor". (see Howe 1996: 172)

A key socio-pragmatic element causally attributed to the increase in unmarked use of V forms, perhaps the most widely accepted reason for the increase, relates to the ideas of social mobility discussed above (see 4.4). Wales (1983: 113), commenting on the claims of Brown and Gilman (1960: 114 & 117), draws attention to an association of "the power semantic with the 'feudal and manorial systems' which characterized the medieval period; and the solidarity semantic with 'social mobility and an equalitarian ideology'." She ascribes the latter association with "a freedom of social movement closely dependent on the growth of towns and cities."

The growth of towns and cities is closely related to the growth of a middle class and the increased prosperity of its merchants and tradesmen. Howe (1996: 171) supports this idea with his claim that "it is possible that the rise of the middle class was an important factor in the increase in use of *ye/you* at the

expense of *thou/thee*." The changing status of the middle class leads to the increased possibility of a situation where "the social status of one's addressee is unknown [and therefore] the V of respect would be the safest to use" (Wales 1983: 113f.). Wales points out that this "suggestion … has, in fact, been proposed for the spread of *you* in 16c and 17c usage", but questions Brown and Gilman's interpretation of the shift for their lack of explanation as to why "the new impetus in solidarity is directed not towards those who might be regarded as superiors or inferiors, but towards 'equals', where status presumably would not be a matter of doubt."

The grammatical reasons offered for these changes in usage are interesting as they provide some more specific explanation as to why the T forms were lost from English but were retained in the majority of continental European languages. The arguments centre around the effect of the loss of nominal inflections in the language on the use of second person pronouns. Howe (1996: 356) contrasts some of the Germanic languages that have maintained "more of their original noun phrase inflection", such as Modern Icelandic or New High German, with those that have not, such as Modern English, Afrikaans, or Modern Swedish, and claims that those languages that have maintained their noun phrase inflections "generally maintain more formal distinctions in the personal pronouns." Aalberese (2006: 6) makes similar claims in her study of Dutch and English, predicting "no T-loss in rich inflection languages". She (2006: 11) makes the compelling argument that "socio-pragmatic explanations can motivate why T was lost in many domains of speech but that they cannot motivate total T-loss."

4.4.2 The Loss of the Nominative Form ('ye')

The reasons for the loss of the nominative form 'ye', replaced by the oblique case form 'you' in the late 16th century (see Mausch 1993: 144, Howe 1996:

166, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 204), are generally described in terms of phonology, morphology, and syntax, and related to the systemic features of the personal pronominal paradigm, that is, the interactional logic of the various forms that make up the system. Jespersen (1923: 181) reminds us that "[e]ven such a seemingly small step as that by which the old declension of *ye* … and *you* … has given way to the modern use of *you* in all cases, has been the result of the activity of many moving forces." At the phonological level, Howe points out that "[p]ersonal pronouns are frequently unaccented, and, unlike *I-me*, *we-us* etc., the distinction between *ye* and *you* and between *thou* and *thee* was likely to become obscured or lost when unaccented." (Howe 1996: 168) A phonological/morphological factor revealed by a systemic analysis of the second person paradigm is the mismatch between the singular and plural paradigms, that is, 'ye/ thou' in the subjective case, and 'you/thee' in the oblique cases. Mausch (1993: 143) claims "that inflectional paradigms, including the ones of *you* and *thou* have their own morphological history independent of social factors." Although she (1993: 152) states that sociolinguistic factors "cannot be ignored", she is adamant that "they have not been the reason for the complex *ye/you/thou/thee > you* merger."

Her overall argument is that "the elimination of *ye* and *thou/thee* and the rise of *you* as the only 2nd person pronoun form in English points to the primacy of systemic features in morphology."   At the syntactic level, Howe (1996: 100) points to the state of "[p]resent English, where the choice of (subjective or objective) pronoun in governed not primarily by its role in the sentence but by position", leading to a situation in which "the subjective and objective forms of the personal pronouns are no longer real integral parts of the system of subject-object distinction"

4.5   The Later Modern English Period

By around 1700 AD, the major changes to the personal pronouns in English are largely complete and the first and second person paradigms at this time exist in their modern configurations. There are two aspects of Modern English usage, however, that are relevant to the overall thesis argument and are considered briefly below. The first is the development of alternative forms in various non-standard varieties of English marking plurality in the second person, overcoming the semantic deficiency of a single second person pronominal form in the standard variety, unable, as it is, to distinguish between singular and plural reference.

The second is related to social changes, most evident from the second half of the 20th century, concerning attempts to degender the English language. These changes are directly attributable to the Feminist Movement, involving additions and modifications to the set of address terms and professional titles used, and changes to the generic use of third person pronouns. Also evident throughout the Modern Period is the further development of a standard variety of the language, particularly through the codification process of dictionary writing undertaken by various individuals throughout the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Commentary on these developments, however, is held over to Chapter 6, where they will be more fully considered in comparison with the standardization and codification processes of the Indonesian language in the 20th century.

4.5.1   Plural Second Person Forms in Non-standard Varieties

The loss of distinction in number for second person pronouns in standard English has been compensated for in many non-standard varieties by the

development of various forms of second person pronoun distinguishing plurality. One form, common in Australian, New Zealand, and North American non-standard varieties of English, is 'yous(e)', (see Howe 1996: 77, Hickey 2003: 361), where the common plural morpheme, 's', is simply added to the pronoun. This form has been attributed to 19th century Irish English input (see Wright 1997: 181, Hickey 2003: 361). Other forms have developed from periphrastic additions, that is, pronoun + quantifier, such as 'you lot', 'you all' and 'you guys'. In some instances these compounds have developed into "'new simplex forms' such as '*you + all > y'all*, and *you + ones > you-uns*" (Howe 1996: 77 and 80).

Casual observations around Macquarie University in Sydney in the early 21st century attest to much use of the phrase, 'you guys', amongst young students. Most interesting about this usage is the further observation that while 'guys' retains its male gendered reference in singular use, it is used in non-gender specific manner when coupled with the second person pronoun in its periphrastic plural form. It is not uncommon to hear a female student address an all-female group with this form.[9] Rios (2004), in a newspaper article published in the United States, goes so far as to suggest that "[w]hat you're hearing is the vibrant evolution of the American language. Yes, "you guys" is on its way to being proper speech." Evidence from casual observation would suggest that it may be becoming a norm in non-standard Australian English also.

4.5.2 The Degendering of Generic English Reference

Efforts to degender generic reference in English have been part of the more general efforts in modern western societies to overcome inequality between the

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[9] We will return to this point in examining the use of plural forms, and the loss of gender specificity in the use of *saudara*, in the Indonesian data in Chapter 7.

sexes. In Australia, and elsewhere, anti-discrimination legislation has been enacted against gender discrimination and women continue to make inroads into traditionally male domains.[10] In addition, "[m]any government agencies, newspapers, and publishing houses have style manuals prohibiting the use of sexist language." (Romaine 1994: 130) The subject is worth a thesis of its own and the following brief comments only serve to throw some light on efforts to change aspects of nominal and pronominal generic reference, especially 'naming practices and forms of address'. As Romaine (1994: 110-111) points out, "[i]t is not hard to see why women have been especially sensitive [to these] practices since [they] are a particularly telling indicator of social status."

Romaine (1994: 125) asks an important question: "Can linguistic change bring about a social reform?" If the answer is yes, then it provides some support for claims of linguistic relativity, especially in the Sapirian (1985/1929: 162) sense of "language as a guide to social reality."

Examples of these changes are the replacement of male specific terms, such as 'chairman', with non-gendered terms, such as 'chairperson', and the introduction of the title 'Ms' to remove an iniquitous aspect of English titles, in which the traditional female forms, 'Mrs' and 'Miss', give information about marital status, whereas the male form, 'Mr', is applicable to all adult males, of either married or unmarried status.   Another example is the use of plural third person pronouns (non-gendered) in singular anaphoric reference. Burridge (2002: 139) provides the example, "[i]f anyone wants it, they can have pavlova with cream," and offers several arguments for accepting this gender neutral use.

For those who find this a strictly modern innovation, and grammatically unacceptable, Howe (1996: 96) points out that "English *they-them-their* as sex-

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[10] At the time of writing, in Sydney, female politicians hold the top jobs at Federal, State and Local levels.

indefinite 3rd person singular [has been] (attested in English since [the] fourteenth century) [and is therefore] not a strictly modern development." The influence of the Feminist movement in recent decades is an interesting example of Baldauf's (2006) commentary on the issue of agency in micro level language planning initiatives. Elements of this brief commentary on an important area of sociolinguistic change will be returned to in examining the Indonesian situation in Chapter 5.

It is also worth considering that in the past few decades, linguists have increasingly made use of a wide range of conversation or discourse analytic tools to examine the contextualized meanings of words, and this has revealed the multifunctionality of English, and other language, pronouns (see in particular Schegloff 2007). The second person pronoun has been seen to contribute a range of meanings in conversation, and a range of referents. For example, it can be universal or generic and either include or exclude the addressee (see Siewierska 2004), as when one girl says to another "If you're a man, you can do anything"; or it can refer to the speaker (see Wales 1996:79). Its generic use moves the focus away from the addressee to some unidentified general public, and so relieves the pressure on the addressee, so it is unsurprising that is used in counseling sessions. Politeness rules also factor in attention to relative status, so the so-called 'democratic you' may be avoided by a junior speaking to a senior.

4.6   Chapter Summary

The history of change described in this chapter indicates many factors that have affected the shape of the modern standard English personal pronoun paradigm, some non-linguistic; social, cultural, political, geographic; and some linguistic – contact languages that have affected English at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels. Ultimately, however, the reasons

for changes to the English pronoun system are not all socio-pragmatic, and those that are seem motivated by practicalities more than any ideological leanings towards egalitarianism and democracy.

Whether the changes are motivated by socio-pragmatics or not, some commentators still maintain that the single second person pronoun system of English *is* democratic and egalitarian. Jespersen, for one, considers that

> the English may be justly proud of having avoided all such mannerisms and ridiculous extravagances, though the simple Old English way of using *thou* in addressing one person and ye in addressing more than one would have been still better. (Jespersen 1923: 242)

Leith (1997: 107), however, maintains that on the whole, the single second person pronoun in English results from nothing more than "middle-class insecurity."

CHAPTER 5

Linguistic Engineering in the Indonesian Context

[U]nder the influence of modern society and culture, people feel the need for more neutral words without connotations of family connexion, social status or official rank. In this regard an interesting experiment is being carried out, at the present moment, with the word, anda*. This word is designed to replace the multiplicity of words used to address the second person in traditional village and feudal aristocracy. The hope is that* anda *will eventually have a status analogous to that of the word 'you' in English, which can be used to address anyone, old or young, of high or low social position. Although there are many indications that* anda *will be accepted by society in the long run, it is clear also that confusion over the use of this word will persist for a long time in every-day life in the various interrelationships between different groups of people, mainly because a number of traditional cultural reflexes will exert an indirect inhibiting influence.*
(Alisjahbana 1961: 68)

5.1   Introduction

This Chapter has three main aims. The first is to bring the history of the Malay language presented in Chapter 3 up to date by examining the development of the Indonesian language since its 'birth' in 1928, when it was declared the Indonesian language at the Youth Congress of that year. In contrast to the 1,500 years of change in the English and Malay languages described in Chapters 3 and 4, which have been largely wrought through natural processes of language evolution, the development of the Indonesian language in the 20th century has been overseen at every turn by planners and policy makers. This is not to claim that all varieties of the language have not continued to develop in their own, unexpected ways, simultaneously, but only to recognize that the

official variety of the language has been overtly guided by the language planning authorities, both linguists and non-linguists alike. The relationship between language development and nation building is crucial in the context of Indonesia's struggle for independence before 1945, and the efforts to sustain and develop the nation post-independence. The Indonesian language has been of central importance to the development of the nation state of Indonesia and the processes of social, political, and economic modernization it has undergone throughout the 20th and into the 21st centuries.

The second aim of this chapter is to examine the introduction of the pronoun of address, *anda*, into the language in 1957. This unique move by the language planning authorities is of central importance to this thesis, particularly the data analysis in Chapter 7, where we consider the set of pronouns of address into which *anda* has been somewhat artificially inserted. The importance of the introduction of this term, however, goes beyond the part it plays in the person reference set analyzed in the data. It represents an unusual attempt to influence the social practices of a whole nation by virtue of linguistic engineering. Indeed, the introduction of *anda* should be seen, in the first instance, as an attempt at social engineering, and an integral aspect of the overall project of modernization within the 20th/21st century Indonesian context.

The third aim of this chapter is to consider the macro-level planning involved in the overall development of the Indonesian language in light of the micro-level project of introducing a specific word into the crowded semantic field of person reference terms with the intention, not to expand the vocabulary of the language, but to diminish it. *Anda* is introduced to replace a whole range of terms of key importance to the instantiation of the social and cultural values expressed through the multi-term system of person reference at all levels of society in all the many varieties of the language spoken throughout the archipelago. For this reason, an in-depth analysis of its introduction can offer a unique perspective on the relationship between national ideologies and the plans and strategies of language policies and planners. The specific details of the introduction of *anda* can also offer a focused micro perspective from which

to consider the terminological and theoretical ideas associated with macro language policy and planning.

To this end, we consider the roles played by planners and policy makers, conferences and committees, politicians and linguists, in the development of the Indonesian language compared with the academies that began overseeing the shape of some European languages in the 16th and 17th centuries. The idea of a homogeneous standardized language is always more of an ideal than an actuality, and this important qualification is assessed with reference to the Indonesian language environment, and the aims of standardization more generally. Standardization, elaboration of the lexicon, and the promotion of Indonesian, and its functional application in various official and non-official domains, are outlined before independence, when decisions about language use were being made first by the Dutch, and then the Japanese, and after independence by the Indonesians themselves, when they were finally fully empowered to make their own decisions. Some key initiatives and moments in the history of language policy and planning in Indonesia are examined in the following arguments.

Standardization is further considered in light of arguments in support of prescriptivism, especially those made by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (1908-1994) and Anton Moeliono (1929-present). Alisjahbana and Moeliono are leading figures in the development and promotion of the Indonesian language and their writings and ideas figure prominently in the discussion that follows. Their comments in support of prescriptivism, and its application through linguistic engineering, are somewhat controversial from an Anglo perspective, and the pros and cons of prescriptivism are examined from both sides of the argument. The process of linguistic engineering is especially relevant to a discussion of attempts to manipulate, and homogenize, the overall shape of the Indonesian person reference system.

Much of the discourse surrounding Indonesian language policy and planning issues and initiatives is carried out in the print media and special attention is paid to its role in language development throughout this chapter. Its influence is specifically important to

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this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, the print media, as represented by Kompas newspaper, is the sole source of the data under investigation in the latter parts of this thesis. Secondly, the introduction of *anda* was undertaken directly through the print media, with its first appearance occuring in the newspaper, *Pedoman Minggu*, on the 28th of February 1957, in an article written by Alisjahbana. An ongoing meta-linguistic discourse has continued in the Indonesian print media since this article appeared with many different contributors dealing not just with *anda* but a wide range of topics to do with language development and policy and planning in the Indonesian context.

The chapter concludes with a brief look at the concept of diglossia. This concept provides an important distinction which qualifies the data set under investigation in this thesis.

5.2 The 'Birth' of the Indonesian Language.

The Indonesian language was officially declared the language of the Indonesian Nation, 17 years before the nation had officially come into existence, at the Youth Congress held in Jakarta (then Batavia) on October 28th, 1928. (see Abas 1987:1, Sneddon 2003b: 101, Foulcher 2008: 6) The draft resolution that resulted from this conference is known as the *Sumpah Pemuda* (the Youth Pledge), and reads as follows:

Pertama: *Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia mengaku bertumpah darah yang satu, Tanah Indonesia.*

Kedua: *Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia mengaku berbangsa yang satu, Bangsa Indonesia.*

Ketiga: *Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia menjunung bahasa persatuan, Bahasa Indonesia.*

First: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia declare that we belong to one fatherland, Indonesia

Second: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia declare that we are one people, the Indonesian people.

Third: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia uphold the language of Indonesian unity, the Indonesian language.

(Text and translation from Sneddon 2003b: 101-102)

The young Indonesians in attendance[1] recognized at this early stage the point made by Haugen (1966: 103), nearly forty years later, that "[e]very self-respecting nation has to have a language. Not just a medium of communication, a 'vernacular' or a 'dialect', but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as underdeveloped." In recognition of this need is the fact that, as Sneddon (2003b: 101) remarks, although the attendees at the Youth Congress "were drawn from the Dutch-educated elite and Dutch was the language in which they communicated with each other … for this occasion most speakers used Malay."

5.2.1 Status Planning

The choice of Malay as the language of the nation was never seriously in doubt for several reasons. It had been the language of trade throughout the archipelago for centuries and remained "the principal lingua franca among the speakers of the hundreds of languages in the Indonesian archipelago" (Sneddon 2003b: 5). Also, it "had a long history as the language of literacy in the archipelago", and thus had been "the language of prestige in the area for several centuries" (Wright 2004: 84). The Dutch language, although spoken by the educated elite, was not understood by the vast majority of Indonesians and was, perhaps more importantly, stigmatized socio-politically as the language of the colonial oppressors. It was also not a prestigious language in Europe. The other major contender, Javanese, was spoken by more of the population than any other language but would not have been conducive to national unity for this

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[1] Sneddon (2003b: 101) remarks that "[t]he participants were surprisingly young; the leaders were in their twenties and the majority of members were still high school students."

very reason. Its complex use of speech levels was also prohibitive of its suitability for a modern, egalitarian society. Alisjahbana (1961:59) addresses this complexity in remarking that "[i]n Malay there are no levels as there are in Javanese, where different words are used to express the same idea depending on the age, rank and social position of the person to whom they are addressed." Anderson (1990: 139) also claims the language chosen instead of Javanese "had … a free 'democratic' feel ... the new language reflected the sense of creativity and exploration involved in a "socialist" and would-be egalitarian life-style."

Malay had been promoted by the Dutch for use throughout the archipelago and "towards the end of the 19th century a variety of High Malay began to emerge in the school system, which became known as School Malay" (Sneddon 2003b: 94). The language "was based on the Classical (Riau) Malay tradition in morphology and syntax", (Sneddon 2003b: 94) and it was this variety that was used as a model for the development of the language in subsequent years. Anderson (1991: 133) refers to the situation in which the language, "[b]y 1928, shaped by two generations of urban writers and readers, … was ready to be adopted by Young Indonesia as the national (-ist) language, *Bahasa* Indonesia." Discussion on the choice of national language had begun at the First Youth Congress, held in Batavia (Jakarta) from April 30th to May 2nd, 1926, but decisions on the choice of language and the most appropriate name for it were deferred until the Second Youth Congress and the *Sumpah Pemuda* (see Sneddon 2003b: 100-101).

The First Language Congress was held in Solo in 1938. Alisjahbana (1971: 181) states that "[t]o a degree, this congress can be considered as a planning conference whose goal was to implement the Oath of the Youth [*Sumpah Pemuda*] of 1928." Delegates at the conference, who included "journalists, politicians, linguists, and literary figures" (Alisjahbana 1971: 181), established four basic areas of planning that were seen as essential to develop the language. These were (1) the creation of a faculty of language and letters, (2) standardization of the grammar and orthography, (3) the writing of a dictionary, and (4) the creation of a modern terminology (see Alisjahbana 1971: 181).

Despite the continuing presence of the Dutch, by this time the Indonesian nationalists were already making their own decisions about the most appropriate course for the development of their language. By 1942, the Japanese had overrun Indonesia and Dutch rule ended. Under Japanese occupation, the Dutch language was banned and "Indonesian overnight achieved the de facto status of official language." (Sneddon 2003b: 9, see also Anderson 1990: 139) Wright (2004: 88) records that "[d]uring the occupation, the Japanese set up an Indonesian Language Committee to create modern terminology for science and technology and write a grammar of modern Indonesian."

This council generated the formation of language committees, and with the fulfillment of the first of the four basic areas of planning decided on in 1938, the remaining three were reconfigured. The reconfigured areas were (1) the coining of new terminology, particularly in the domains of science, technology and economics, (2) writing a grammar and, (3) the coining of daily words (see Alisjahbana 1971: 182). Nineteen forty-two is often claimed to be the beginning of language planning in Indonesia (see Sneddon 2003b: 9, Wright 2004: 88) but it is more accurately described as the beginning of the detailed work of corpus planning. Despite the declared intentions of the 1938 Language Congress, this is when the various committees began the actual work of codification of the language and elaboration of the lexicon. However, the important first step of the selection of a national language, that is, the initial aspect of status planning, began in 1928, at the Second Youth Congress.

On the 17th of August, 1945, with the defeat of the Japanese at the end of the Second World War, the Indonesians declared their independence. The official status of the Indonesian language was written into the constitution as Article 36, declaring Indonesian the language of "government, administration, the army, and all education after the first three years." (Wright 2004: 88) This status was reaffirmed in 1972 "by President's Resolution 57 which gave further clarification on the domains of formal public life and state business where it had to be employed" (Wright 2004: 88). The three declarations of the official status of the language discussed so far, in 1928, 1945, and 1972, can be contrasted with the many English speaking countries in which the

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English language has *never* been declared the official language of state (e.g. England, USA, Australia). Edwards (1989: 32) observes that, in the case of the USA, "the American founding fathers … were … certain of the continuing dominance of English. This *de facto* status made official recognition unnecessary …and English was not officially enshrined in government policy."

The defeat of the Japanese in Indonesia saw the Dutch return and fight, unsuccessfully, for the next four years, in an attempt to retake the territories they had previously administered. The fight against the Dutch somewhat impeded the language planning process, but, despite this impediment, the National Language Council, which "became the Centre for the Development and Preservation of the National Language (PPPB) in 1975", (Wright 2004: 88) was established in 1947, just two years after independence. In this incipient stage of the nation's life, the role of the language planners was not just to develop the language. They also "saw themselves as having a key role in both nation building and modernization", (Wright 2004: 88) and their work has continued unabated since. In this way "[t]he national language continued to have a dual function: it was both the language of literacy, modernization and social mobility and the language of national identity and patriotism" (Wright 2004: 88). Evidence for the success of the Indonesian language planners in creating and promoting a unitary national language is given by Sneddon (2003b: 6), who compares the Indonesian census of 2001, distributed across the archipelago in the Indonesian language alone, with the situation in India, where the national census had to be printed in seventeen different languages, despite the fact that Indonesia has many more autochthonous languages than India (see Sneddon 2003b).

5.2.2 Corpus Planning

The task of writing a grammar of the language fell to Alisjahbana and his work, begun in 1942 under Japanese Occupation, was not completed until after the demise of the Language Office set up by the Japanese, being published in 1948. Alisjahbana (1971: 184) describes the task of writing an Indonesian grammar as "a creative one". He

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compares the difficulties he faced with the more common situation for the "modern linguist", which "usually consists of describing the rules of grammar of a group of people." The standardization process of the traditional Malay grammar had been begun in the late 19th century with the work of Charles van Ophuysen, who had written "an acceptable Malay grammar and created an efficient orthography" (Alisjahbana 1971: 184). This work had led to the aforementioned development of School Malay. Alisjahbana's (1971: 184) task was to update and modernize this variety of the language so that it "would not … be awkward for modern needs [and] not appear strange in one way or another for modern users of Indonesian." As a basis for the usage he (1971: 184) was to describe he sought out the work of writers who "had a good command of the rules of the Old Malay Language and who, at the same time, had a good modern education." Throughout his description of the processes he underwent in writing his grammar, the main focus is on the balancing of traditional Malay grammar with modern usage. Alisjahbana (1971: 185) recognizes the tensions between the two in stating the need to "be aware that a well-integrated language should achieve a balance between old potentialities and the exigencies of the new realities." This imperative to balance the old with the new is relevant not just to linguistic change. It should also be recognized that it is relevant to the far-reaching social and political change that runs parallel with language change in Indonesia throughout the 20th century.

5.2.3   Elaboration of the Lexicon

The other two areas dealt with by those committees that began their work in 1942 were the codification and elaboration of the lexicon, that is, the coining of new terminology, particularly in the domains of science, technology and economics; and the coining of daily words (see Alisjahbana 1971: 182). Alisjahbana was also involved in these areas of language development and with first-hand insight he (1971:182) explains how the general public and institutional bodies were called on to submit terms that were needed

or already in use and "[t]he translators and other interested parties organized meetings to discuss and codify the new terms." Terms for use in specific domains of science and technology were referred to subsections comprised of experts in these various fields. It is important to recognize that many of the members of the Language Committees were not necessarily linguists. Similarly, Edwards (1989: 27-28) points out that "[m]ost [French Language Academy] academicians have been drawn from the church, nobility or military."

In the case of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the compilers sent out a number of requests for the general public to read a variety of texts and submit words to be considered for inclusion (see Winchester 2003). The importance of the Indonesian committees, and the diverse backgrounds of their members, is reflected by the fact that both President Sukarno and Prime Minister Hatta were active committee members. Alisjahbana (1971:186) states that "[d]uring Sukarno's reign, the army had a great deal of influence in the coining of new terms and words of daily usage." In understanding the relationship between social development and linguistic development, it is important to reiterate the point that "[l]anguage planners saw themselves as having a key role in both nation building and modernization" (Wright 2004: 88). Not only were they concerned about language development from a sociological, rather than a linguistic point of view, many of them had no particular linguistic expertise. Non-linguists, whether army members, politicians, or 'other interested parties', made significant contributions to the language committees in their early years.

The success of Indonesian corpus planning is well evinced by the fact that "by 1988 new terms totaled 325,000" (Sneddon 2003b: 118). The introduction of new words went through various committees before the final decision was made in plenary sessions of the three sections: terminology, grammar, and daily words. The lists, after approval, were published in the official Government Gazette and by the Language Office, and then distributed to the general public (see Alisjahbana 1971: 183). Alisjahbana (1971: 183) states the order of preference for the source of introduced terms as follows: "Indonesian words, if possible; if not, then Asian words; and if not, then international

terms." These were guidelines only and Alisjahbana (1971: 183), with his preference for international terms, says rather pointedly; "luckily, these guidelines were never literally applied."

The advocation of one term over another depended to a large degree on the backgrounds of the committee members and the various historical influences associated with these historical influences, as described in Chapter 3 (see Baldauf 2006: 154, on 'the issue of agency'). The relationship between the identity of the committee members and their preferences says much about the relationship between language and identity more generally. The preference for different sources relates more to historically informed identities than any purely rational, linguistic argument. Alisjahbana (1971: 183) details the various preferences of different groups stating that "those of Javanese origin usually preferred Sanskrit or old Javanese words" because "these words carried high prestige" and relates this prestige, perhaps somewhat derisively given his preference for international terms, "to the thinking and feeling of the mystico-feudal sphere of the Old Javanese culture." He goes on to state that "[t]he Moslem group had a tendency to prefer words of Arabic origin." His own preference for international terms is justified on the point that "it united Indonesia with the world of science and technology." Alisjahbana himself was born, and initially schooled, on the island of Sumatra. His title, *Sutan*, is, tellingly, one of Minangkabau nobility.

Alisjahbana's preference for international sources led to an interesting point of difference between himself and Moeliono, who preferred that the Indonesian lexicon be developed from Malay sources. As Sneddon (2003b: 130) states, both could be described as progressives but "[t]he major difference between them was that Alisjahbana was an internationalist who rejected the past, while Moeliono was a nationalist who wanted to build on the past" (Sneddon 2003b: 131). Alisjahbana offers two specific arguments for his preferences. He (1971: 183) points out that the choice of terms from Indian (Sanskrit) and Arabic sources was undertaken without any interaction with Indian or Arabic scholars and ultimately this lack of consultation with the source languages "further isolated Indonesia." More importantly, he alludes to the fact that

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"[s]ince the scientific, technological, and other modern concepts were already available and easily assessable in the existing modern languages, the process of the codification of modern Indonesian terms could progress steadily without too great difficulties" (Alisjahbana 1971: 183). His stance, however, was somewhat ideological, and in practice, "there were inconsistencies in [his] views" (Sneddon 2003b: 130) and a good deal of his input involved the use of Malay as a source of borrowing, coupled with the fact that "since the 1930s he had pleaded in vain for the retention of traditional Malay phonological patterns in order to preserve the Malay-based identity of Indonesian" (Sneddon 2003b: 130). In what might perhaps be considered an interesting slip of the tongue, Alisjahbana (1961: 67) describes how "within a very short space of time tens of thousands of words in daily use and terms taken from modern culture had *invaded* the old Indonesian language" (my italics).

Concerns about borrowed words are relevant also in the European context. The French Academy, as noted above, strives to keep the French language free of 'Anglicizations', and even in the English context there have been various attempts to 're-Anglicize' the lexicon. Sir John Cheke, the first Regius Professor of Greek in Cambridge in the sixteenth century, had argued that English "had to go back, uncover and build on its Anglo-Saxon roots" (Bragg 2003: 126). In all contexts, however, whether Indonesian, French or English, the fight for purity of a language appears to be a losing battle.

5.2.4 Standardization[2] and Prescriptivism

The origins of language academies as official bodies overseeing the development of a language can be found in continental Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Edwards (1989: 27) provides a useful overview of the European language academies, observing that "the beginning of 'institutionalized' purism came with the establishment of the *Accademia della Crusca* in Florence in 1582. It was, however, the *Academie Francaise*

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[2] An important caveat to the use of 'standard' is that not all standard languages are those officially sanctioned (see Sneddon 2006, on the development of 'standard' colloquial Jakartan Indonesian).

(founded 1635) which [had already] set the pattern for many subsequent bodies." The *Academie Francaise* has been in operation now for the better part of five hundred years. It continues in its attempts to keep the French language free from foreign borrowings, especially borrowings from English, the language of France's traditional rival, which has, in modern times, become the predominant language of globalization. The English have largely exhibited an aversion to the formation of a language academy. Edwards (1989: 30) drawing on the comments of Quirk (1982: 68), has "noted a longstanding Anglo-Saxon aversion to 'linguistic engineering' of any kind, and a 'superior scorn' in attitudes to academies and their purposes." Some arguments in support of an English academy have been advanced but the aversion has never been fully overcome.

Much of the work of codification of the English language has been undertaken by individuals. The dictionaries of Samuel Johnson (published 1755), the Oxford English Dictionary (conceived in 1857 but not completed until 1928), and Noah Webster's *American dictionary of the English Language,* (published 1827), were all produced without the guiding hand, and official sanction, of an academy. The Oxford English Dictionary was developed out of a need identified by members of the Philological Society but its intentions were avowedly descriptive, to the point where it called on input from the general public (see Winchester 2003). To this day, as Edwards (1989: 33) points out,

> prescriptivism in the English-speaking world has not been popular, particularly
> with linguists. While linguists in many countries have both approved and
> supported the goals of academies and other similar bodies, their English
> colleagues have not generally done so.

Alisjahbana (1965), in his provocatively titled book, *The Failure of Modern Linguistics in the Face of Linguistic Problems of the 20th Century,*[3] argues that prescriptivism is in every sense a valid and necessary enterprise in the Indonesian context. His argument runs counter to the prevailing thought in much western linguistics, especially in the

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[3] This book is developed from a lecture Alisjahbana gave at the Malay University in 1965.

English speaking world, as described in the preceding quote. Alisjahbana's key point is that the Indonesian language is undergoing a process of development in the 20th century that occurred in European languages several hundred years earlier and this historical disjunction necessitates a prescriptivist approach in 20th century Indonesia. He (1965: 28) declares the primary need, in the case of Indonesian, to "first of all define the standard of correct usage of that language." His overall argument (1965: 9) against modern linguistics is that it "is very little interested in the dynamic process of language engineering". This lack of interest leads to a situation in which "the languages manifest themselves more or less as linguistic chaos".

Alisjahbana's reasoning recognizes the basic premise of the struggle of language planner's against what Bakhtin (1981) describes as the heteroglossic tendencies of language. Bakhtin (1981: 270) maintains that "[a] unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited. At every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia." Thus the prescriptive intervention of language planning and policy making "makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it" (Bakhtin 1981: 270). Bakhtin (1981: 270) goes on to suggest a distinction between the centripetal forces of language, that is, "the forces that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world", and the divergent centrifugal forces that drive the processes of ongoing variation, that is, the heteroglossic tendencies of 'natural' language to change, which Bakhtin (1981: 272) describes as "the uninterrupted processes of decentralization".

Heteroglossia has a political parallel in the centrifugal forces that have arisen in the late 20th and early 21st century in Indonesia in some of the efforts of territories lying at the outer edges of the nation to assert their autonomy. As Wright (2003: 82-83) puts it, "Indonesia is also an example of the kind of tensions rising within multi-ethnic states between the centripetal efforts of the nation building centre and the centrifugal pressures of independence and autonomy movements." We will return to a discussion of the concept of heteroglossia and the ideas of Bakhtin in the theoretical discussion in Chapter 6.

Errington (2000: 216) refers to Alisjahbana as "Indonesia's eternal modernist", claiming "he appeals, along lines set out very clearly by Gellner, to ideals of discursive transparency, efficiency, and rationality." Alisjahbana and Moeliono have not always agreed on the most appropriate sources from which to draw on in developing the Indonesian lexicon, a point discussed more fully above, but both have been lumped together with the pejorative label, 'prescriptivists', by critics of their work (see Sugiharto 2009). Sugiharto describes how Moeliono's "fervent campaigning for the correct and logical use of language gave the impression he was a zealous proponent of prescriptivism", but points out that Moeliono "objects to people labeling him a purist." Moeliono's response to these criticisms is worth quoting in full.

> Those who accuse me of being purist just don't understand what the word means. My philosophy is to make the use of expressions, words and grammar consistent among language users. I want to codify and streamline the use of our language. The more streamlined the language is, the easier it is to learn and to use it as a means of communication. My recommendation to use Indonesian words instead of foreign ones doesn't mean I dislike foreign words. I'm not against borrowing. If the concept cannot be replaced, I'd be happy to import. (Moeliono quoted in Sugiharto 2009)

Much important linguistic work is done in defense of the maintenance of low status, non-national languages and opposition to prescriptivism can easily be justified in relation to this work. After all, many local languages in the archipelago are facing rapid loss and even death, and there are hundreds of minority languages spoken in Indonesia (see Sneddon 2003b: 208, and Sugiharto's interview of Tadmor 2008). The work of descriptivists, however, is based on very different aims and intentions than those prescriptivists who are working to develop not only a language but also the relatively recently formed nation with which it is associated. This is not to say that there is any insurmountable obstacle to these two different aims working side by side in a plurilingual society such as Indonesia. Wright (2004: 89) believes that "[t]he valuing of

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variation within pluricentric languages … has entered the discourse of language planning in recent decades," but asserts that this valuing "has not made inroads in Indonesia where belief in the goal of a unified, centralized state frames the approach of planners."

It is important to remember that throughout Indonesia's history of language planning it has maintained a primary motivation towards socio-political, rather than linguistic, objectives. Despite the validity of arguments against prescriptive approaches, Edwards (1989: 34) warns against the total abandonment of these approaches by reminding us that "[i]n their rush away from prescriptivism, linguists may have abdicated a useful role as arbiters, and have left much of the field open to those less well informed." Both descriptive and prescriptive approaches may be justified but for very different reasons.

5.3   The Introduction of *Anda*

The preceding discussion gives a history of Indonesian language policy and planning at the macro level. The overview of the codification of the lexicon is particularly relevant to the introduction of terms related to the modern domains of science, technology, and economics, as they play a central role in the overall efforts to modernize Indonesian society. Another focus of the Language Committees, however, was on "daily words". Alisjahbana (1971: 185-186) describes work done on this area as "much less important and urgent than that of the other two sections [i.e. modern terminology, and grammar]." One decision, however, made by the committees tasked with the introduction of 'daily words', is of central importance to this thesis. This was the introduction of the second person pronoun, *anda. Anda* was introduced in 1957, fifteen years after the National Language Council began its work through the various sub-committees charged with addressing the issues associated with the formulation and codification of new terminology, the writing of a grammar and the development of daily words. *Anda* was adapted from a Kawi (Old Literary Javanese) form of bound honorific (*Ayah* "father" + *Anda* "honoured" = *Ayahanda* "honoured father"), via the Malay language (see Anwar

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1977). This original form persists, and appears in the data examined in this research, albeit only one token (see Table 8.1).

The adaptation/introduction of *anda* was suggested by Captain Sabirin, a forty year old Air-force Officer from Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. Other than this one claim to fame, Sabirin appears to have had a rather limited career, never rising above the rank of captain. However, he did serve at the Indonesian Airforce office in Washington from 1957 to 1959, perhaps receiving this posting on the basis of his linguistic contribution to the modernization project. He died in 1970, by which time *anda* was a commonly used pronoun in the Indonesian print media (see Chapter 7).

Sabirin took the original meaning of *anda* from Mohammad Zain's (1950) *Kamus Modern Bahasa Indonesia* "Dictionary of Modern Indonesian" and the adaptation was discussed with Alisjahbana, and probably other committee members (see Anwar 1977). On the 28th of February, 1957, the adapted use was introduced in the *Pedoman Minggu* newspaper, edited by Rosihan Anwar. On the 14th of April 1957, Alisjahbana published an article in support of the new use, also in *Pedoman Minggu* newspaper. On the 28th of April 1957, Professor Poerbatjaraka, a Javanese academic, published an article in the same newspaper discussing the word but without indicating "whether or not he agreed with the use of 'anda' as a pronoun" (Anwar 1977). It is interesting that this discourse was carried out in the public media, as this has become the common domain of usage for *anda*, and is an important site for the promotion of the language.[4]

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[4] The role of the mass media in the processes of language develpment are considered more generally in Chapter 6.

Anwar (reproduced and translated in Johns 1991: 3-11) subsequently published a twentieth birthday article in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, a Yogyakartan daily newspaper, on the 28th of February 1977. In this article he cites the three original newspaper articles, two by Alisjahbana, and one by Purbatjaroko.[5] Anwar wonders why Purbatjaroko did not specifically "give his support to promoting the use of 'anda'" (Translatation in Johns 1991: 11). He goes on to laud Captain Sabirin for his part in the introduction, reinforcing the idea that"the popularising of the word 'anda' meant also assisting in the growth of a democractic Indonesian society" (Translation in Johns 1991: 11).

Two more articles of interest appeared in Kompas newspaper in 1979. In the 1st March edition, the journalist and social commentator, Ajip Rosidi, published a long article entitled '*Anda dan Demokrasi', (Anda* and Democracy). Rosidi's article portrays Alisjahbana as naive to think changing a second person pronoun could affect society. On the 22nd of March, Alisjahbana published an article in the same newspaper, Kompas, responding to Rosidi's main points. In his response, Alisjahbana declares that he is not so naive as to think a word will make society democratic. Indeed, throughout the years since the introduction, Alisjahbana had admitted many times that it would be difficult to change people's practices in addressing one another (see Alisjahbana 1961). These two articles are of interest to our main themes but the reason for citing them here is mostly to illustrate the role played by the mainstream Indonesian print media in exposing the public to detailed meta-linguistic examination of the issues of language policy and planning. The discussion of language policy and planning issues continues unabated to the present day, though the most prolific period for discussion of the introduction of *anda* certainly appears to be the 1970s.

Alisjahbana (1974: 413) clarifies the central aim behind the introduction of *anda* in the following statement:

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[5] Note the different spelling of the Professor's name than that given in 1957 – after the spelling reform of 1972.

This word is designed to replace the multiplicity of words used to address the second person in traditional village and feudal aristocratic society. The hope is that *anda* will eventually have a status analogous to that of 'you' in English, which can be used to address anyone, old or young, of high or low social position.

The interesting point here is that *anda* is not coined to supply a word for which the language has no terms; instead there are a 'multiplicity of words' it is intended to replace. Thus its introduction is an example of social engineering attempted through linguistic engineering; the problematic coining of a 'daily word', rather than the somewhat simpler introduction of a new item of terminology in the areas of science, technology or economics. Alisjahbana (1974: 413) accepts that the language planners would have difficulties in promoting *anda* because of social practices, saying that

it is ... clear that confusion over the use of pronouns will persist for a long time in everyday life in the various relationships between different groups of people, mainly because a number of traditional cultural reflexes will exert an indirect inhibiting influence.

This pessimistic view has been proven largely correct. *Anda* does not 'replace the multiplicity', it adds to it.

5.4   Language Planning Terminology

Various terms are used in the literature to describe the development of the lexicon by language planners and the example of the introduction of *anda* is an interesting locus for untangling the multiple terms applied in this area of language planning. Both Cooper (1991: 153) and Errington (1986: 341) discuss the confusion over the use of such terms as 'modernization', 'elaboration', 'expansion', and 'cultivation', and Errington (1986: 341) notes that "[a]ll recognize with these terms a process of lexical expansion that renders language an efficient means to a communicative end." Baldauf (2006: 150, Table 1) lists

the various aspects of codification under the heading; "Corpus Elaboration", and includes "Lexical Modernisation; Stylistic Modernisation; and Renovation". It is true that these terms all involve varying aspects of the development of the lexicon and it is important variation that often goes unqualified. In the specific case of *anda*, however, the overall classification of "elaboration" is problematic. The introduction of *anda* is intended to do the opposite to "elaboration'; it is specifically intended to make the Indonesian language *less* elaborate. It is a moot point, however, as to the extent to which planners like Alisjahbana intended the replacement of addressee reference terms by *anda* to render the other terms redundant in this role.

We can see that different parts of the terminology of codification are more relevant than others in different examples. On the one hand, the introduction of *anda* certainly represents an attempt at 'modernization', with the language planners' clear intention of overcoming the traditional need for status recognition in addressee reference practices. However, as previously observed, 'elaboration' is not so specifically relevant because *anda* is actually intended to make the language somewhat less elaborate. The same may be said of 'expansion'; it is more of an attempted 'contraction' of the lexicon. 'Cultivation' applies by virtue of the conception of a modern social order implied by the acceptance of *anda*, in its intended use. *Anda* then reveals some of the implications of these various terms, which are often applied to development of the lexicon in general but can only be used with precision when describing the introduction of linguistic items at the micro level of specific lexical examples.

5.4.1 Macro and Micro Levels of Language Planning

The issue of agency at the micro level of language policy and planning is addressed in Chapter 4.5.2, in considering the introduction of the non-specific marital status title 'Ms' into the English language under the influence of the Feminist movement. The example serves to illustrate Baldauf's (2006: 147) point about the need to rethink the role of agency in accounting for language policy and planning at the micro level. Crucially, he

asks, "who has the power to influence change in these micro language policy and planning situations?" The question of agency is also relevant at the macro level, where the discussion above (see 5.2) shows the specific influence of various participants, who all bring their own ideas, and ideologies, to the table. The friction between Alisjahbana and Moeliono (see Sneddon 2003b: 130) over the appropriate sources to be used for elaboration of the Indonesian lexicon is a particularly good example of the issue of agency at the macro level.

The relationship between macro and micro levels of language policy and planning is configured in Baldauf's (2006) work around a distinction between official entities, academies, language offices, government agencies on the one hand, and those who would seek to influence language use from outside of these bodies on the other. The distinction can also be applied, however, to the macro level strategies that are exemplified by the Indonesian language planners overall attempts at modernizing the language, and the micro level projects with which they seek to implement the overall strategy. The introduction of *anda* is one such project and the details of its introduction (see 5.3 above) illustrate the implementation details of micro level activities.

The introduction of *anda* (see 5.3) affords an interesting perspective on the relationship between the ideological intentions behind macro level planning and the specific strategies employed in implementing particular moves at the micro level. The involvement of Sabirin, an Airforce officer, and Alisjahbana, a linguist, and a poet, offer an interesting case study of the role of various agents in such a project. The strategy of introducing *anda* via the print media of the day allows for various commentators outside of the official language planning committees to participate in public assessment of the worth and viability of the project.

5.5   Diglossia

The distinction between formal Indonesian and informal varieties of Indonesian is clearly relevant to this thesis. Several observers, like Moeliono (1986), Errington (1998), and Sneddon (2003a and 2003b), specifically comment on the diglossic nature of the Indonesian language situation and others, like Tanner (1967), Rubin (1977), and Poedjosoedarmo (1982) allude to diglossic properties without using the term specifically.

Throughout this thesis the point is made repeatedly that the data taken from Kompas newspaper are largely characteristic of a relatively formal variety of the Indonesian language. Data taken from any other variety of the language would doubtlessly show vastly different frequencies of the various person reference forms used in the many different varieties of the language in different domains of usage. The Indonesian language is often described as a 'simple' language as though there is a single variety. This appraisal neglects the existence of the many varieties which have developed along different lines on different islands throughout its long history (see Chapter 3). The 'simple' varieties are those that have developed as trade languages throughout the archipelago, often named 'Bazaar Malay', some of which may in many cases be characterized to some degree as pidgin languages (see Sneddon 2003b: 14).

The myth of simplicity ignores the historical fact that many varieties of Malay have served as high prestige languages of court and are represented by longstanding literary traditions. Even Alisjahbana is guilty of perpetuating this myth by stating that the language had been "transformed from a pidgin" (quoted in Sneddon 2003b: 15). Sneddon (2003b: 15) further describes the origins of the modern Standard Indonesian language as "much more in the literary language of the royal courts of Riau-Johor and southern Sumatra than in the markets and trading ports of the archipelago." Wright (2004: 89) makes the same claim and further argues that "[t]his has caused a situation of diglossia."

Diglossia is a term originally coined by Ferguson (1959) to describe a situation in which a language exists in two different forms; the High variety (H), which is used in various 'official domains' and the Low variety (L) used in the daily speech of different domains. In its original conception, the diglossic H (High) variety is defined as

> a very divergent, highly codified superposed variety ... which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.
>
> <div align="right">Ferguson (1959: 336)</div>

Multilingual diglossic Indonesia is well described in the literature (see Moeliono 1986, Errington 1986, Sneddon 2003a, Sneddon 2003b, and Wright 2004).

This definition is useful in that it also delimits the appropriate situated (unmarked) use of *anda*, and its domains of use, as per the data under investigation in this thesis. *Anda* exemplifies the diglossic criterion of 'paired items' (Ferguson 1959: 242), commonly paired with less formal forms like *kamu* and *kau*, both common informal pronouns of address. Thus the diglossic distinction between H and L varieties parallels Brown and Gilman's (1960) T/V distinction (see 2.4.1). It is important to mention that Indonesian differs from Standard Average European languages with their dual formal/informal second person pronominal pairings, as discussed by Brown and Gilman (1960), as there are potentially many informal forms that could be paired with *anda* as the formal variant, not just the two mentioned. Those found in the data are outlined below (see Table 7.1). Note that the inclusion of the Hokkien second person pronoun, *elu*, is a good example of the diverse influences on Indonesian. In this multilingual diglossic situation, the language of everyday life may be one of the many local forms of Indonesian/Malay, one of the many local languages used across the archipelago, or a language brought by traders or colonial invaders throughout the last millennium and earlier.

One final qualification of the concept of diglossia, particularly in the Indonesian context, is that it operates along a continuum from more to less formal. Sneddon (2003a) has

written specifically about this conception of diglossia and the data interrogated in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 show that there is both formal and informal language used in Kompas, sometimes mixed within the same text. Whilst there is undoubtedly a predominance of formal language used in this mainstream newspaper, there are also many examples of informal usage present in the data set.

5.6   Chapter Summary

The chapter gives a description of the development of the Indonesian language, a variety of Malay, from its proclamation as the national language in 1928, to its contemporary status as the uncontested national language of the nation. The activities of various language policy and planning personnel and institutions, especially the print media, are shown to have played an active role in the development of the language, particularly the official, standard variety, throughout the 20th century.

The introduction of *anda* is discussed as an event relevant to any consideration of the person reference terms used in the language and offers a unique opportunity to investigate a specific, micro level language planning project central to the ideologies inherent in the macro level development of a modern language to serve the needs of a modern nation.

CHAPTER 6

Theory, Data, and Method

The successful promotion of Anda *cannot be fully explained merely in terms of a cultural assertion on the part of a section of the nation's elite. It must be also attributed to the technological development in the expanding industry of the mass media in New Order Indonesia, in which messages must be communicated to a mass abstract audience.* (Heryanto 1995: 33-34)

6.1   Introduction

The aims of this chapter are to explore some of the theoretical underpinnings which inform the approach to the analysis, introduce the data, and explain the methodology that is to be utilized in their interrogation. The chapter begins with discussion of three theoretical concepts relevant to the overall analysis. Introducing the data requires a general outline of the particular historical period from which they are drawn, qualification of their limitations, some explanation of the reasons for their selection, and a general discussion of their relevance to the overall thesis. The coding of the data is explained. Further theoretical underpinnings are outlined along with the methodological framework as motivation and justification for taking this particular methodological tack. The methodological discussion provides an overall framework within which to examine the factors that contribute to choice of person reference term, as the broadest object of enquiry, and a justification for the features which are identified and discussed in the analysis.

6.2 Theory

The theoretical discussion begins with a broad examination of two concepts central to the overall analysis, both taken from the ideas of Bakhtin (1987); addressivity and heteroglossia. This is followed by an account of Myers-Scotton's (1998) Markedness Model

6.2.1 Addressivity

Underpinning the overall analysis is Bakhtin's concept of addressivity; the notion that *all* language is dialogic, that is, it involves someone (speaker, writer, sender) addressing someone (hearer, reader, receiver).

> Thus, addressivity, the quality of turning to someone, is a constitutive feature of the utterance; without it the utterance does not and cannot exist. The various typical forms this addressivity assumes and the various concepts of the addressee are constitutive, definitive features of various speech genres. (Bakhtin 1987: 99)

Much of the news reporting in the data analyzed does not utilize terms of self or addressee reference specifically unless it involves quotes of direct speech or interviews but nonetheless self and addressee reference feature prominently in other texts within the data, especially text types like letters to the editor and advertisements, which commonly attempt to appeal directly to the potential, though somewhat abstract, concept of reader. An important distinction informing addressivity in the data is the extent to which the addressor and addressee is made explicit. As Heryanto (1995: 33-34) points out in the quote given at the beginning of this chapter, the messages sent in the mass media are often directed at a 'mass abstract audience' rather than any particularly definable participant.

6.2.2 Heteroglossia

The mass media have played an important role in the development of the Indonesian language (see Lowenberg 1992: 68-69, and Sneddon 2003b: 147). Another important background concept relating to this role, and also originating in the work of Bakhtin (1981: 271-272), is the contrastive idea of centripetal and centrifugal forces.

> [T]he centripetal forces of the life of language, embodied in a "unitary language", operate in the midst of heteroglossia. At any given moment of its evolution, language is stratified not only into linguistic dialects in the strict sense of the word (according to formal linguistic markers, especially phonetic), but also - and for us this is the essential point - into languages that are socio-ideological; languages of social groups, "professional" and "generic" languages, languages of generations and so forth.

Whilst the overall formality of the language use in the mainstream print media, as represented by Kompas newspaper, tends to promote the socio-ideological centripetal forces of standardization, there are also contrary forces of a centrifugal nature at work. The following argument adds substance to these ideas.

The language use in Kompas is predominantly representative of the variety of Indonesian which would be defined as the H variety in diglossic terms (see Ferguson 1972, Sneddon 2003a, and Chapter 5.5). This variety is the officially promoted standard and is commonly known as *Bahasa Resmi* (official language) in Indonesian, in contrast to various L varieties, commonly referred to as *Bahasa sehari-hari* (colloquial, or everyday language).[1] Although *Bahasa Resmi* mostly defines the language used in the data, the separation between varieties is not absolute. The data analyzed in this

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[1] Djenar (2006:22.2) cites a useful description of 'colloquial Indonesian' given by Ewing (2005:227) – "For convenience I use 'colloquial Indonesian', following Ewing (2005), who characterizes this language variety as 'interactive, unplanned, and crucially, emblematic of relaxed interpersonal relations."

study show examples of both formal and informal use, thereby operating both as centripetal and centrifugal forces, as per Sneddon's (2003a) observations about the diglossic continuum in the Indonesian language environment. Various text types (letters to the editor, opinion pieces, direct quotes, comic strips, literature etc.) contain more interactionally salient address reference tokens than the objective news reporting of the majority of articles, and the usage in these text types runs counter to the predominant use of *anda* and *saudara* in the majority of the mainstream Indonesian mass media. Errington (1986: 340) supports this qualification to the use of standard Indonesian in Kompas, alluding specifically to "a significant exception, a small corner (*pojok*) of one page that contains pithy, elusive remarks in markedly Jakartanese style about the realities behind the news."

6.2.3 The Markedness Model

The key theoretical platform in this study is that of markedness. The concept of markedness has been developed in a number of linguistic movements throughout the 20th century, most notably for this study, and perhaps in its inception, by the Prague School around the middle of the century.[2] It has been fruitfully applied at every linguistic level, from the phonetic, where distinctive features are present or not (e.g. an *unvoiced* phoneme */t/* is by definition the unmarked form compared to its *voiced* counterpart */d/*), in morphology, where the unelaborated morpheme is the unmarked form compared to its multimorphemic extension (e.g. the unmarked [dog] and the 'marked for plurality' [dogs]), and semantics, where the simpler simple word form is unmarked compared to its more informationally specific counterpart (e.g. unmarked 'man' vs. marked 'adult male human being') (see Battistella 1996). And it is not limited to these areas alone. Battistella (1996: 131) suggests that

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[2] Battistella (1996: 19) cites the first use of the terms marked/unmarked in a letter from Trubetzkoy to Jakobson in 1930.

[i]n its broader conception, where asymmetry ranges over all oppositions (semantic, phonological, grammatical, contextual, cultural, aesthetic, and so on), markedness becomes much less constrained, since features can be based on loose semantic or cultural relations (such as working days vs. holidays etc.).

The problem with such a useful distinction is that it can become too vague in its application to be meaningful in a specific sense. For this reason it is necessary to be clear about which linguistic level the concept is to be applied in this study. Stivers et al. (2007: 8-10), in dealing with issues of person reference, qualify their use of the un/marked distinction as 'PRAGMATIC marking' and this is the particular area to which the distinction is put to use in the present study. Stivers and Enfield (2007: 9) give the following apposite example of second person pronoun choice in Dutch.

[U]sing *jij* [Dutch T form] for 'you' in contexts where *u* is appropriate for reasons of politeness (e.g., in a service encounter) may be taken to index a choice NOT to use *u*, thus giving rise to an implication of disrespect. In such cases, pragmatic markedness is defined neither purely in terms of the linguistic nor the ethnographic system, but rather in terms of more locally defined contextual expectations.

In this regard the concept of pragmatic marking (or any marking for that matter) must be understood as a relational property and it is always possible that a form is unmarked at one level but marked at another (or many others). Hymes (1974: 111-112) refers to the fact that "the relation of form to social setting is not merely a matter of correlation."

When the values of the mode of address and the social context match - when both, say, are formal - then that meaning is of course accomplished, together with the meeting of expectations. When the values do not match - when, say, an informal mode of address is used in a formal relationship or conversely - then a special, or "marked", meaning is conveyed. The unmarked and marked meanings are each defined by a particular rule of relation, mapping the set of

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linguistic alternatives onto the set of social relationships and settings. (Hymes 1974: 111)

The relational nature of the un/marked distinction means that to understand pragmatic markedness of addressor, addressee, and other person reference terms, we need to consider not just "the 'semantics' of social relationships as well as of the semantics of verbal forms" (Hymes 1974: 77) but also the multiple layers of contextual information in which the language is embedded. "Persons choose among alternative modes of address, and have a knowledge of what the meaning of doing so may be" (Hymes 1974: 111).

The highly specific model of markedness employed in this study is that of Myers-Scotton (1997).[3] This model provides the key features used to distinguish unmarked usage from marked usage in the various text types represented in the data set. In applying Myers-Scotton's model, the first step involves a general (frequency count) analysis which establishes the predominant forms used in various text types. Forms other than those identified as the unmarked or predominant forms are considered to be marked usage and are investigated with a more specific (parameters of use) analysis. The general analysis identifies forms which function as unmarked in various text types, simultaneously and necessarily recognizing also the potential for variation within any given text type. The aim is to establish associations between this marked use and the social and pragmatic features of its context of use.

The specific analysis accounts for actual instances of marked use, with discussion of the social and pragmatic salience of this marking. Using markedness as a point of distinction, the markedness model functions as a tool with which to explore person reference throughout the data, delimiting unmarked, socially neutral use, and thereby

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[3] The methodology utilised in this thesis follows on from that developed for the present author's Honours Thesis (Flannery 2005) which investigated the use of pronouns in a collection of Indonesian printed matter published in 2005.

exposing marked, pragmatically salient use. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 10) argue that "the contrast 'marked/unmarked' is the most powerful linguistic notion that can be of use in the task of understanding the workings of the system of pronouns."

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model gives us three essential notions that inform our approach to the distinction. The first of these is her (1998: 27) 'frequency hypothesis'.

> One linguistic variety, structural type, or discourse pattern occurs with more frequency than other possible varieties or structures as the most unmarked index of a specific RO [rights and obligations - see below] set in a specific interaction type.

An integral part of this hypothesis is the concept of 'rights and obligations', and this is described by Myers-Scotton (1998: 21) as the need to

> [c]hoose the form of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange.

Myers-Scotton's (1998: 18) Rational Actor model allows for the fact that

> individuals exploit the relationships that become established in a community between linguistic variety and who uses the variety, and where and how it is used. That is, individuals take advantage of the associations that their addressees/readers make between a variety and its typical users or uses.

This provides an important additional perspective to choice of form in the various text types and can be usefully paralleled with the 'cognition' element in Enfield's (2006) tripartite conception of 'code, context, and cognition' (see Chapter 2). Djenar (2006: 22.14) makes a similar claim to that of Myers-Scotton's 'rational actor' in discussing Indonesian address reference in particular.

Address choice is thus dynamic in that it is not guided solely by the norms that determine which term fits which situation; rather, it is a creative act whereby speakers create their expression of identity in line with their personal intent and preferred social orientation while operating within the normative bounds.

Myers-Scotton notes (1997:25) that "[t]he unmarked RO set for a given interaction type (or genre...) is derived from whatever situational features are salient for the community for that interaction type." The markedness level of the target items in the data is discussed relative to aspects of their specific social situatedness, that is, the content, style, and participant relationships, and anything else identifiable as relevant to the participants at the instance of usage. Myers-Scotton's model informs the overall methodology utilized in the data analysis which follows.

6.3   Socio-political Context

The data in Kompas 1965-1974 are specifically chosen as representing a particular period of Indonesian history during which the nation underwent a change of political regime and the social upheaval which is associated with such a change.

6.3.1 The New Order Period

The 'Orde Baru' (New Order Period), beginning in 1966, was a time of tumultuous change in the social, cultural and political history of Indonesia. The term was instituted by the new regime established by General Suharto in the protracted aftermath of the abortive coup attempt of the night of the 30th of September 1965.[4] Those who claimed responsibility for the attempted coup came to be known as *Gestapu* – a derogatory

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[4] Note that the 1st September 1965 Kompas edition was published a month before this event (30th September 1965) while Sukarno was still the president of the Republic.

contraction (shades of the World War II German Nazi regime's secret police) of *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh (*Thirtieth of September Movement).[5] In the early hours of the morning, six army generals were rounded up and executed. Although not directly implicated in the events of that night, President Sukarno was ultimately replaced by President Suharto, who used the events and the chaos that followed to establish military rule and, as an eventual outcome, to reconfigure the political landscape to the extent that he was ultimately able to take power from Sukarno.

The replacement of Sukarno by Suharto was a lengthy process which took over a year to complete. On the 11th of March 1966, a presidential order relinquishing Sukarno's hold on power was issued. This order came to be known as *Supersemar* – another clever contraction disseminated by the new regime, this time of *Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret* (letter of order of the 11th of March).[6] In direct contrast to the negative connotations of *Gestapu*, *Supersemar* indexes the Javanese character of *Semar*, the clown prince and Javanese deity incorporated into the Hindu myths of the classical Sanskrit literary text, the *Mahabarata*. Throughout his tenure as president, Suharto often identified himself with this character (see Hooker 1999: 270). Although this letter effectively handed power to Suharto, the transfer of power was not officially ratified until March 1967 (see Leifer 1995 for further details).

Suharto effectively held power in Indonesia from late 1965 to his eventual ousting by popular revolt in 1998. In the fourteen years since 1998, there have been four different presidents of the Republic compared to just two presidents, Sukarno (1945-1967) and Suharto (1967-1998), for slightly more than the first half century of independence. The current president, the first to be elected directly by the people, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, has won two elections and has held office since 2004. The newspaper editions from 2008 represent a year that falls ten years after Suharto's eventual demise in 1998 and follow a long period known as the *Reformasi* (reformation movement).

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[5] The rebels named themselves *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*, the military formulated the contraction *Gestapu.*
[6] The third edition of Kompas analysed, the 1st of March 1966, occurs ten days before the issuing of *Supersemar*.

Thus the Kompas data represent two periods of very different social and political climate in Indonesia's history.

6.3.2 The Modern Mass Media

The previous chapter explores the project of Indonesian language planning throughout the 20th century, involving the development and promotion of the Indonesian language as a central plank in the development of the Indonesian nation. As Haugen (1966: 103) states, "every self-respecting nation has to have a language." He goes so far as to claim a kind of reciprocal relationship between the language of the modern media and education, and the nation-state, by asserting that "[t]he invention of printing, the rise of industry, and the spread of popular education have brought into being the modern nation-state" (Haugen 1966: 103). The development of a standard variety of the modern Indonesian language is a good illustration of this assertion, having been largely disseminated through the influence of mass education and, importantly for the present study, "[t]he mainstream press, along with radio and television, [which have had] a considerable influence on language usage in society." (Sneddon 2003b: 149). Sneddon makes another point relevant to the data selection by observing that the mainstream press in Indonesia has "been employed extensively by the Suharto government in its Development program."

The language variety predominant in the data presented in this study is that of the mainstream printed mass media of Indonesia as represented by Kompas newspaper. Thus the core data focus, in the most general of descriptions, on the predominantly formal variety of Indonesian, this being "... the official language of nationhood, government, education, formal and most mass-mediated informal communication" (Keane 2003: 161). The other important domain iin which Indonesian was established as the official language is education and all but the first three years of schooling are conducted in Indonesian throughout the archipelago. Issues of addressee reference in

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education, then, are relevant to the implementation and standarization of the language but are outside the immediate scope of this thesis.

A key point throughout is that the self and addressee-referencing practices identified in this study do not simply reflect the social structures of modern mainstream urban Indonesian society but have an enormous influence on the developing social practices of the society. As Quinn (2001: xi) points out,

> the nation's "serious" newspapers and magazines like, for example, Kompas and Republika, and weekly newsmagazines Tempo and Gatra have made a point of creating new terms and cultivating innovation in formal style.

Along with Haugen's (1966: 105) observation that "[t]he permanence and power of writing is such that in some societies the written standard has been influential in shaping new standards of speech", the data presented herein are argued to be highly informative in the development of self referencing and addressee referencing practices, and indeed, the overall person reference system of the Indonesian language, though always keeping in mind that these assertions apply particularly in this study to the more formal variety of the language.

Print media has been a major force in promoting the language throughout the 20th century, beginning well before indepence was declared in 1945. Sneddon (2003b: 149) reveals the impressive fact that "in 1964, there was a vigorous press, with more than 600 daily and weekly publications." He goes on to state that "[n]umbers declined with the establishment of the New Order, but this was followed by a boom in the 1980s." Earlier, in 1917, with the establishment of the government printing house, the *Balai Pustaka* (Publishing House), "a large amount of modern, informative and educational material" was published and the *Balai Pustaka* "thereby became a powerful force in promoting the spread of Malay" (Sneddon 2003b: 95). The influence of the print media, therefore, was not limited to newspapers but they nonetheless played an important role in promoting the standard variety of the Indonesian language as it developed throughout

the 20th century. The publishing of newspapers underwent rapid expansion in the early 20th century, with the Balai Pustaka subscribing to "40 newpapers in 1918 and to nearly 200 by the end of 1925, almost all of which used Malay" (Sneddon 2003b: 97).

6.4   Data

The data selected for this study are drawn from the biggest selling mainstream Indonesian daily newspaper, Kompas (see Eklof 2003). The data analysis is augmented by discussion with nine Indonesian speakers about the range of tokens identified and the parameters of their situated use in the language more generally. These Indonesian speaking informants are colleagues at Macquarie and Sydney Universities, and originally hail from a range of locations across the western regions of the archipelago.

The diachronic/historical Kompas data are sourced from microfiche files held at the Mitchell Library, at the Australian National University, in Canberra. The microfiche records were converted to computer files as TIFF images and each file was printed. The target tokens were then highlighted and tabulated. The summary tables are presented in full in Appendix 2. The contemporary data were sourced from the University of New South Wales library. The newspapers were digitally photographed for printing and highlighting.

The diachronic/historical data are taken from ten years (1965-1974) of Kompas newspaper and are compared with two editions of the same newspaper sampled from a more contemporary period (2008). Newspaper conventions generally dictate a different set of featured content areas on any given day. Each day of the week, excluding Sunday, is represented at least twice. The number of pages per edition are important as they are relevant to the coming discussion of the changing nature of the newspaper over the years analyzed and are relevant to the overall frequency counts for each

edition. Appendix 1 provides a full list of editions, the day of the week on which each was issued, and the number of pages per edition.

6.4.1 Data Coding

The data are coded for a number of features relating to form and function. In the data tables (see Appendix 2), Columns A, B, and C identify the texts and their types. Columns D, E, and G identify the forms and their counts, and Columns F and H identify their functional roles in the text. The following discussion details the information tabulated in each of these columns. The data in the tables are presented in chronological order, from first page to last.

Each edition of Kompas in the data tables is identified in the header according to the month and year of the edition. After the first edition, the months randomly selected are March and September and these editions are all from the first day of the month except where the first day is a Sunday. There are no Sunday editions of Kompas, so where the first day of the selected month is a Sunday, the second of the month is selected. The only exception to this distribution is the June 1965 edition. This is the first edition of Kompas ever printed and the date in this instance is the 29th of June. The subsequent reversion to the first or second of the month is for practical purposes. These dates are at the beginning of the microfiche reels and as a consequence were quicker and easier to access.

Column A in the tables identifies the page number on which the text appears. The data are tabulated in chronological order from the first page of the June 1965 edition to the last page of the September 2008 edition. Column B classifies the text according to its generic type. The text type classifications are discussed in more detail below (see 6.4.2). Column C identifies the specific text from which the token is taken. In most cases the first few words of the headline of the text in which the tokens occur are recorded. Column C is used for identification purposes only and the headlines are abbreviated in

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many instances. Where the data are included in the analysis, the full headline of the text is given in the analysis. In cases where there is no clear heading, for example in classified advertisements, and in some instances simply for expediency, some texts are identified by their position on the page (e.g. top right column 6).

Column D identifies the specific tokens of interest to the overall thesis topic. The typographic features of the tokens are faithfully rendered in this column (e.g. all in capitals, abbreviations). Where the tokens are of the enclitic forms, *-ku* and *–mu*, the preceding word is identified in the case of single tokens and recorded as WORD-*ku*, or WORD-*mu*, where there are multiple tokens. The words to which they are bound are not of specific interest in most cases but where they are included in the discussion, both morphemes are given. Column E records the number of each token in the text. Total numbers of tokens per edition are recorded at the bottom of Column E.

Column F lists the function of the token as self reference (s), addressee reference (a), or other person reference (o). Some tokens are included despite their use as non-person reference. These tokens are examples of person reference terms whose meanings are altered by polysemous extension or nominal compounding (p).

Column G classifies the token according to its word class, as personal pronoun (pp), common noun (cn) or proper noun (pn) (see Chapter 2.4 for a fuller discussion of word class classifications and their relevance to the analysis). Where a title is used with a proper noun, the word class is given as (pn). The proper nouns are mostly of interest, however, for the titles they are used in conjunction with and the full name is not always given. The exception to this is where the proper noun is a reference to Presidents Sukarno or Suharto. These two are identified for the purposes of the discussion presented in Chapter 8.6.2.

The final functional classification, given in Column H, identifies whether the forms are used in representations of direct speech or not. This function is identified with a 'yes' (y) if they are used in representations of direct speech, and a 'no' (n) if they are not.

Representations of direct speech have more interactional explicitness than the letters to the editor, for example, because a quote, as representative of a spoken utterance, more often than not, specifically references the addressor and implies one or more specifically intended addressees, thus making the question of 'who addresses whom and why' a more salient feature of the interaction. For this reason, direct quotes are identified in the data as a kind of superordinate category. Ultimately their status as representations of direct speech might be reason enough for considering them marked as per their text type but unmarked as per their specific interactional salience.

Thus the data are coded for analysis according to the text type in which they occur, the specific form used, their function as self reference, addressee reference, or other person reference terms, their word class, pronoun, common noun, or proper noun, and whether they appear in representations of direct speech, or not.

6.4.2 Text Types

The more specific context within which the target items are identified is defined from a set of text types common to the media under examination. The full list of text types identified is: advertisements; interviews; letters to editor; literature; news stories; opinion pieces/editorials; personal notices; public notices; sports stories; and a miscellaneous category including puzzles, crosswords, and television guides. The different person reference forms are analyzed according to the various text types within which they occur. Defining text types is a necessary aspect of defining degrees of un/markedness (see 6.5.1 below) for each token of use. Generic definitions[7] can be inherently problematic as text types are often not explicitly defined and texts need not necessarily be of one type (e.g. a sports story can be readily defined as a news report).

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[7] Possible distinctions between 'genre' and 'text type' are contentious in some of the literature but are not pursued in this thesis.

The text types identified in this thesis are not technical terms but are derived from the kind of folk categories generally associated with newspapers. In defense of the non-technical nature of these ascriptions, the categorization of text types is used as a heuristic tool around which to centre discussion of the various self and addressee reference terms identified in the data. As such, the text type categories form part of the discussion of the forms used in each example. The text types identified are those common to modern newspapers throughout the increasingly globalized world and the criteria for identifying the text types are drawn in most cases from the newspapers themselves. As Hymes (1974: 61) usefully points out, "[t]he notion of genre implies the possibility of identifying formal characteristics *traditionally recognized*" (my italics). The news stories are not headed as such in the actual text but most other sections have quite specific labels delimiting their topic focus (e.g. *Olahraga* 'Sport', *Obituari* 'Obituaries', *Bisnis & Keuangan* 'Business & Finance' etc.) and this topic focus is used as the basis for text type identification. Anyone familiar with mainstream media in almost any modern society will readily recognize the various text types that appear in these conventionally conceived media.

An important methodological reason for identifying these text types is the level of linguistic interaction implicit in each instance of self or addressee reference. Although we support the Bakhtinian notion of addressivity as a general principle (see 6.2.1), this phenomenon operates at differing levels of specificity in different instances of use in different text types. These claims might usefully be considered to constitute a cline of implicitness/explicitness in the relationship between addressor and addressee. For example, a news article is commonly more monologic than is a letter to the editor (that is, its addressor and addressee are quite probably less *specific*) and the editor's response in turn is perhaps more interactional than the original letter because in the latter examples the addressor and addressee are commonly more explicitly intended and referenced.

Text types are used as a framework but the specific analysis of marked use involves a more particular examination of 'who addresses whom and why' for each instance,

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whether these participants are explicitly referenced or not. In this manner, the analysis looks beyond the social features implicit in each of the specified text types. It must be remembered that despite the inherent conventions of these text types, the rational actor can subvert patterns of usage for any reason that may seem useful and meaningful. Therefore, social categories, genres, participant sets, and other text types can all be revealing but are ultimately limited when viewed in isolation. Despite the somewhat institutionalized nature of the printed press, it is worth remembering Mühlhäusler and Harré's (1990; 162) declaration. "People use rules. Rules do not use people." Relatedly, Hymes (1974:112) stresses that "there is a strong tendency to consider the relation of linguistic form to setting only in terms of one-to-one matching. The "rule-governed creativity" of speakers is not so restricted."

6.5   Methodology

The methodological framework used for the overall analysis is the Hymesian SPEAKING grid. The grid brings together the various theoretical threads and provides framework for dicussion of the varous factors motivating choice of person reference form in any given instance.

6.5.1 Hymes' SPEAKING Grid

Sociolinguistic analysis of multi-term second person pronoun systems becomes a major focus in the seminal work of Brown and Gilman (1960) into personal pronoun use in the Western European languages, French, German, Spanish and Italian.[10] Brown and Gilman's dichotomous 'T/V' schema (see Chapter 2.4.1) remains an abidingly useful basic classificatory system for the essential differences between those forms which index 'power' and those that index 'solidarity' but even Brown and Gilman recognize the

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[10] Some necessary repetition here of points made in Chapter 2 in outlining the distinction between Open and Closed systems of self and addressee reference.

limitations of their categories. It is worth repeating here the dimensions that Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 132) list in expanding on Brown and Gilman's conceptualization of "two relational social categories" as the particulars of this list inform much of the analysis to follow. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 132) consider that

> at least the following are required: rank, status, office, generation, formality, informality, public discourse, private discourse, intimacy, social distance, high degree of emotional excitement and there may be others that will be needed from case to case.

The open-ended caveat 'there may be others' concurs with Myers-Scotton's (1997: 25) comments regarding "whatever situational features are salient". The lack of specificity is a vital ingredient in ethnographic study, in allowing that participants may recognize (or not recognize) a limitless variety of features as salient in any given interaction.

For these reasons, the present study chooses to utilize Hymes' SPEAKING grid as a framework within which to analyze the social and contextual factors at play in choices of person reference term used throughout the data. All references to elements of Hymes' SPEAKING grid are given in capital letters in the analysis chapters which follow. The grid is used heuristically as needed, in a manner parallel to the text type definitions, and only to the extent that its categories can assist in understanding the pragmatic salience of the choice of one form over another. Hymes (1977: 4) asserts that

> [i]t is rather that it is not linguistics, but ethnography, not language, but communication, which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be assessed.

His grid provides the overall framework within which to consider the language choices being analyzed ethnographically, that is, with due consideration to what is important to the participants in each particular contextualized instance of use. In this manner,

Hymes' eight components "serve as a guide (or etic grid) for fieldwork and cross-cultural analysis" (Duranti 1997: 289).

The eight components are not mutually exclusive and in some instances it may be that more than one component is called upon to explain a choice of form. In these instances it might be necessary to apply various components hierarchically, giving explanatory precedence to one component over another, and needing two or more to elaborate on the pragmatic salience of the particular choice of form. Hymes (1974: 63) suggests that "[w]hen individual societies have been well analyzed, hierarchies of precedence among components will very likely appear and be found to differ from case to case." Hymes (1974: 62) also alludes to need to use the "heuristic set of components … negatively as well as positively; i.e. if a component seems irrelevant to certain acts of genres, that should be asserted". When we consider each of the eight components (remembering that this number is determined for mnemonic purposes and Hymes expands the actual set to sixteen) we can see that some are more likely to be applicable to self and addressee reference terms than others.

The component parts of the grid are:

> **S**ituation (1. Setting, 2. Scene);
> **P**articipants (3. Speaker or sender, 4. Addressor, 5. Hearer, or receiver, or audience, 6. Addressee);
> **E**nds (7. Purposes - outcomes, 8. Purposes - goals);
> **A**ct sequences (9. Message form, 10. Message content);
> **K**ey (11. Key);
> **I**nstrumentalities (12. Channel, 13. Forms of speech);
> **N**orms (14. Norms of interaction, 15. Norms of interpretation);
> **G**enre (16. Genres).
>
> (See Hymes 1974: 54-62)

The relevance of each component will become apparent as the data are analyzed but it is worth offering some initial appraisal of the likely relations among the components and possible expectations in applying them specifically to the Indonesian system of person reference and to the field of person reference as a more general, universally substantive category of human language, and its complex relationship with human social practices and structures.

Much previous work on person reference, beginning with Brown and Gilman (1960), has focused on PARTICIPANT relations as the most salient factor in influencing choice of reference term, with SCENE and SETTING also figuring prominently. These two components of the grid are undoubtedly important influencing factors in any given interaction and need to be considered in each and every instance under examination in the data. Other elements, such as KEY, might only be relevant to a few of the tokens analyzed. For example, one very marked token of the informal pronoun of address (T form in Brown & Gilman's, 1960, schema), *kamu*, being one of only two tokens found in a 2005 edition of the Indonesian news magazine, *Forum*, (Flannery 2005), could only be explained on the basis that the user of this inappropriate form had just been hit in the head by a golf ball that had been mishit by the person he was speaking to; that is, he was angry and his anger was expressed, in part, by his inappropriate choice of pronoun.

Other components of the grid, however, need to be considered as background influences, determined by broader issues than the specific context of situation. Some choices are determined by the text type, or GENRE, within which they occur. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2.4.1, Quinn (2001: 729) asserts that the pronoun of address, *engkau*, or *kau*, as well as being "an intimate pronoun used in everyday conversation, especially in Sumatra", is also "a literary and liturgical word", used in the domains of religion and literature. This is largely borne out in the data in regard to its use in literary text types. Regional variation is a very important factor informing choice of reference form across the archipelago but is less common in the more standardized, formal language use in the selected data sources. ACT sequence is an important component informing the overall message form of direct speech and

INSTRUMENTALITIES defines an important aspect of the fundamental differences between the written language of Kompas and representations of direct speech given in this written medium. Ultimately where a factor is found to be influencing language choice, account will be given.

6.6   Chapter Summary

The data analyzed in this thesis are chosen for two very specific reasons. The first is that the introduction of *anda* is a key focus throughout this thesis and the mainstream print media is the most likely domain in which it is to be found. This is justified by the fact that is it the most common form of addressee reference found in this data, and Kompas is also a frequent site for meta-linguistic examination of its implementation into the language. The second reason for choosing this data is that they represent a period of particularly intense change in the social, political, and economic landscape of the Indonesian nation, beginning just before the fall of Sukarno and continuing through the first ten years of Suharto's New Order period.

The data coding is formulated around the need to analyze the interaction between form and function in the choice of person reference term in the data. The theoretical/methodological frameworks of text type classification, Myers-Scotton's (1998) Markedness Model, and Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING grid, provide the heuristic tools with which to account for the multitude of factors motivating the choices of person reference form made throughout the data. Each of these frameworks is deemed necessary in structuring the complex analysis of the data which follows.

The frequency counts as given for each form and its use in a specific text type are presented throughout the data analysis as relative frequencies, that is, in comparison with the frequency of other forms of self and addressee reference. A common practice with frequency counts in statistical analysis is to 'normalize the frequencies'. This process involves analyzing the frequencies in relation to their use as a percentage of

the total number of words that occur in the data. This aspect of computational linguistics is not directly relevant to this study. The study does, however, claim to be particularly interested in the fluctuating frequency of the introduced term, *anda*, and for this reason, the relative frequencies of *anda* are given in Chapter 8.7 as percentages of the total addressee reference tokens for each edition of Kompas analyzed.[11]

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[11] Raw figures for these percentages are given in Appendix 2.

CHAPTER 7

Pronouns of Address

Anda, *an artificial creation introduced in the 1950s, was intended as a neutral form, equivalent to English 'you'. However, the mere fact that it does not convey the intimacy of* engkau*,* kau *and* kamu*, nor indicate a kin relationship, meant that it was immediately confined to impersonal situations, such as addressing strangers of the same age or younger than the speaker. It is not widely used in addressing individuals and, because it does not convey respect, cannot be used by a junior to a senior. As an impersonal form it is most frequently used in advertisements and public announcements, and in addressing people in gatherings such as conferences.* (Sneddon 1996: 161)

7.1   Introduction

We begin the data analysis with an account of the forms functioning as addressee reference in the core historical and contemporary written data, Kompas 1965-1974, and Kompas 2008, respectively. Firstly we account for the pronouns of address, followed by common nouns functioning as addressee reference in Chapter 8. The initial analysis of both word classes in these chapters will establish unmarked forms for various text types as per Myers-Scotton's (1997:27) frequency hypothesis; that is '[o]ne linguistic variety … occurs with more frequency than other possible varieties', before considering some of the pragmatic motivations for the marked choice of alternate forms.

The following table gives an overview of all personal pronouns of address that appear in the Kompas data.[1] English forms are listed also on the basis that they appear regularly throughout the data in texts that are otherwise rendered in

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[1] This table is a simplified version of that given in Table 2.1 It contains only those forms which appear in the Kompas data and reserves assessments of formality levels for the detailed analysis which follows. Note that *thy* and *lu/lo* are included on the basis of only one token of *thy* and two tokens of *lu/lo*.

Indonesian – especially advertisements that begin with an English leader followed by the body of the text rendered in Indonesian.

	ENGLISH	INDONESIAN
Singular	*you/your*	*anda*
	thy	*engkau/kau*
		kamu (also bound form *–mu*)
		lu/lo
Plural	*you/your*	*kalian/sekalian*

Table 7.1: Personal pronoun paradigms of English and Indonesian

7.2   The Unmarked Pronouns of Address

An overall assessment of the frequency of address pronouns occurring in the Kompas data analyzed shows that the most frequently used form in both periods, from 1965-1974 and 2008, is *anda*. This is something of a testament to the efforts of those language planning authorities involved in its introduction (see Chapter 5), notwithstanding the limitations of its use in other domains. There is a disparity, however, between the second most frequently used forms in the two periods: *kau* for the earlier period, 1965-1974, and *'you'* for the later period, 2008. Arguments for this disparity are given below in examining the usage relative to the different text types within which they most commonly occur. Each of these three forms is dealt with separately in the following analysis of unmarked usage. The total number of tokens for each form over the two periods is represented graphically in Figures 7.1 and 7.2.
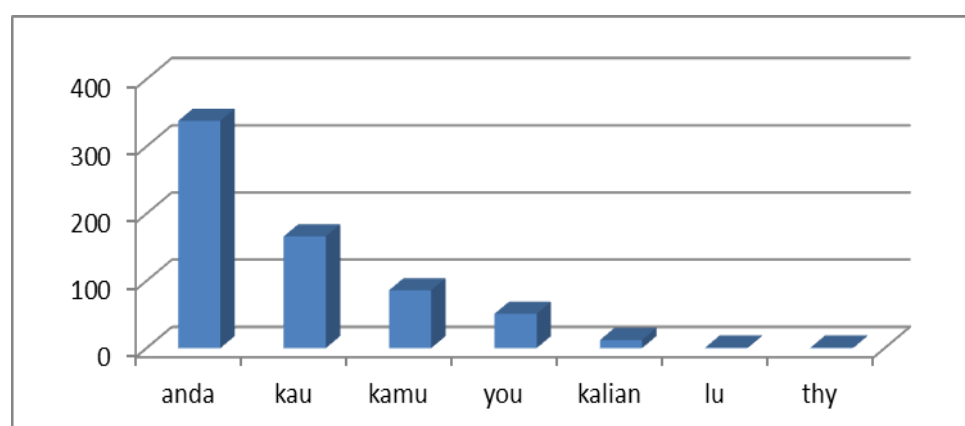
Figure 7.1   Totals pronouns of address in Kompas 1965-1974
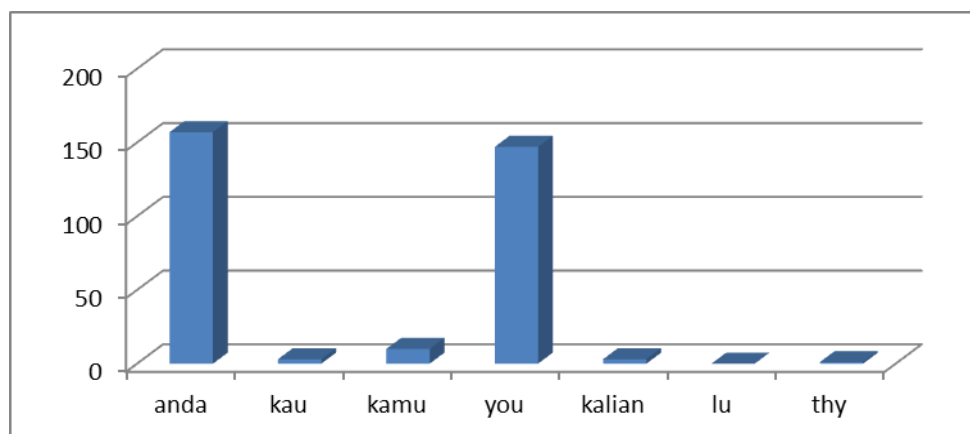
Figure 7.2   Total pronouns of address in Kompas 2008

The extent to which these most frequently used forms in the data are to be viewed as unmarked requires some clarification in regard to the Hymesian grid within which the analysis is presented. In positing the usefulness of the grid, Hymes (1972: 37) says;

> It must be kept in mind that functions may prove specific to individuals and cultures, and that they require specific identification and labelling in any case, even when subsumable under broad types. The 'etic grid' serves only to help perceive kinds of functions that may be present, and possibly to facilitate comparison.

The data are drawn from a written source, thus giving us a particular INSTRUMENTALITY, that is, a written channel as directly opposed to a spoken channel. Although the choice of address form in English, a closed system, is not commonly determined by INSTRUMENTALITY, the open nature of the Indonesian self and addressee reference system allows for the distinction between written and spoken channels to be relevant to the choices made within the Indonesian language. This INSTRUMENTALITY is thus relevant to the markedness of any addressee reference choice because the data set includes numerous representations of direct speech. These representations subvert the declared status of INSTRUMENTALITY throughout the data. As we shall see in the analysis below, *anda* is used as the unmarked form in the written channel, *kau* is the unmarked form in direct speech but generally only in one text type, and common nouns, especially fictive kin terms, are

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used as the unmarked forms in representations of direct speech across text types, acting as general purpose spoken forms.

The distinction between those forms used in direct speech and those not used in this manner is also an aspect of the ACT SEQUENCE. Hymes (1974: 55) describes the relevant distinction whereby '[o]ne context for distinguishing message form from message content would be: "He prayed, saying '...' " (quoting message form) vs. "He prayed that he would get well" (reporting content only).' Thus the relevance of this distinction to the data analysis is that instances of the occurrence of *anda* in representations of direct speech are assessed mostly as marked and commented on as such in the following discussion. Although advertisements are often framed as though addressing the reader directly, assessments of direct speech in this thesis are reserved for those utterances that are orthographically signalled as such through the use of quotation marks and some interviews in which the interviewer's questions are differentiated from the interviewee's responses through the use of italics for the former and, in some interview texts, plus and minus signs preceding each utterance to distinguish between interviewer and interviewee (e.g. see Extract 7.10 below).

7.2.1 *Anda*

The gradual increase in the use of *anda* over the periods analysed in the data is clearly shown in Figure 7.3.
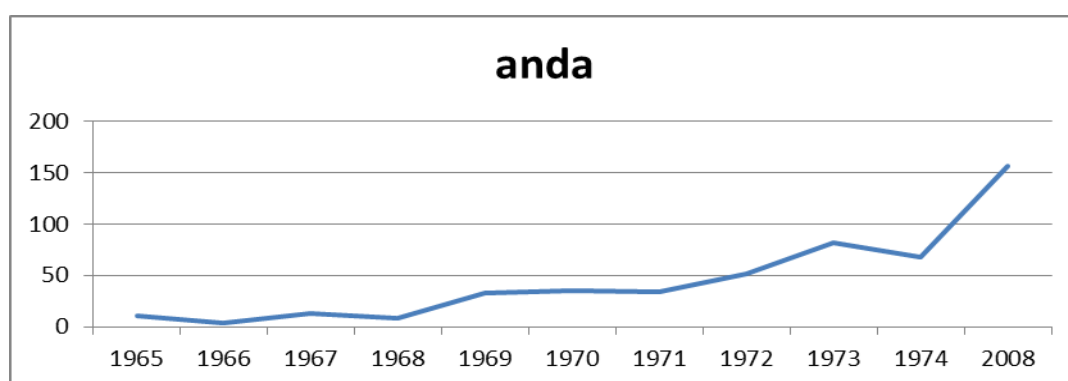
Figure 7.3   **Increased use of *anda* in Kompas 1965 – 2008**

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It is reasonable to conclude that this increased use of *anda* is more appropriately attributed to the changing nature of the newspaper within which the data occur than any claim of a general increase in the use of this particular form within the language itself. The gradual increase in the number of advertisements in each subsequent edition of Kompas and the gradual expansion from the four page editions of the first four years of publication to the enormity of the 2008 editions, of which the Saturday March 2008 edition is a weighty 64 pages, therefore is posited as the reason for this increased frequency of use. It does seem, however, entirely likely that there also has been a general increase in the use of *anda* over the initial period examined, that is, 1965-1974. The problem here is the extent to which this particular data set shows this. One reading of the data, however, does support the claim of increased use of *anda*, and not just an increase of the text types in which it is most commonly used. Of the 495 tokens of *anda* used in this data set, only 54 tokens are used in text types other than advertisements. Of these, only five occurrences of *anda* are recorded prior to 1973, thus the argument showing increased use of *anda* itself, and not just in the advertising text types within which it commonly occurs, has some sustainability.

Ultimately though, advertisements are by far the most fertile ground in which this seeded variety has flourished. Thus the most obvious motivating factor for this choice of address reference form can be attributed to Hymes' (1974: 61) category of GENRE. 'The notion of genre implies the possibility of identifying formal characteristics traditionally recognized.' The data give rare evidence of the development of a new tradition; the use of *anda* for reference to the mass abstract audience of a new genre, that of newspaper advertising. For the first four years of the Kompas data, 1965-1968 inclusive, all tokens of *anda* appear in advertisements. The very high percentage of use in advertisements, over 90% of all tokens found in the data, fits the notion of *anda* as the most pragmatically neutral form, and therefore the most appropriate form for the 'mass abstract audience' of the mass media, as cited at the beginning of Chapter 6 (Heryanto 1995: 33-34). Thus this can also be attributed as an aspect of the PARTICIPANT relations in Hymes' framework, representing something of a new type of non-specific 'abstract' PARTICIPANT.

Of the 54 tokens that are used in text types other than advertisements, fourteen are given in direct speech with the defining feature that they have been translated from

quotes by non-Indonesian speakers. For this reason these tokens are also considered as unmarked in that the use of *anda* represents a direct transference of the pragmatic neutrality of the English 'you', even in instances where *anda* is not applied in direct substitution. For example, an article about the apology given by the Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, to the indigenous Stolen Generations, headed *Keindahan Maaf*, 'Beautiful Sorry' (Kompas 2008: 6) uses *anda*, even though the original English statement does not include the English second person pronoun, 'you'.

> Extract 7.1 (Kompas March 2008: 6)
> *"Kepada para ibu dan ayah, saudara **Anda** semua, kami memohon maaf."*
> "To the mothers and fathers, to the brothers and sisters, we say sorry."

It must be noted that this statement is given first in English in the text. Other examples are from non-Indonesian speaking sportsmen and women and politicians and are given only in the Indonesian translation. Where the quote includes addressee reference, all except two give the translation as *anda*.[2] For example, the Finnish Formula One racing car driver, Kimi Raikkonen, is quoted as saying:

> Extract 7.2 (Kompas March 2008: 30)
> *"**Anda** tidak bisa berkomentar apa-apa berdasarkan hasil uji coba."*
> "**You** cannot comment on the results of the experiment."

Another example, from the earlier data, is a quote from the US statesman, Henry Kissinger:

> Extract 7.3 (Kompas March 1974: 8)
> *"Jangan lupa siapa sebenarnya sekutu **anda**."*
> "Don't forget who **your** true supporters are."

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[2] The claim that Rudd, Raikkonen, and Kissinger, amongst others, do not speak Indonesian is an assumption, but surely a reasonable one, notwithstanding Rudd's purportedly fluent Mandarin language skills. In any case, Rudd's Apology Speech was certainly given in English, not Indonesian. And Raikkonen was most likely translated from English also, this being a language the current author has heard him use in television interviews.

It must be acknowledged, however, that not all translations of direct speech in the data use *anda*. There are two examples translated from quotes of non-Indonesian speakers that do not use *anda*, and for very different reasons in each case. One is a quote from Vladamir Putin, the Russian President, and we assume on the same basis as those examples given above that the quote has been translated from Russian.

The Russian language has two second person pronominal forms; that is, it uses a T/V system (see Chapter 2.4.1), with the singular form, *ty*, being the T form, and the plural form, *vy*, being the V form. In translating Putin's comments, the translator has chosen to recognize the grammatical plurality of the Russian addressee reference term by using the much less common *kalian* in the translation, it being the only overtly plural form in Indonesian.[3] The use of *kalian* elsewhere in Indonesian texts that have not been translated from another language is examined in more detail below but we can preempt this discussion by stating that *kalian* is not a form commonly used between adults in this type of con/text. The statement by Putin contains two tokens of *kalian* in translation.

> Extract 7.4 (Kompas March 2008: 9)
> "*Setiap suara **kalian** sangat penting dalam pemilu. Saya minta **kalian** datang ke tempat pemungutan suara hari Minggu dan memilih untuk masa depan kita, untuk masa depan Rusia*"
> "Every one of **your** votes is very important in the election. I ask **you** to come to the polling booth on Sunday and vote for our future, for the future of Russia."

There are only two tokens of the very colloquial Jakartanese form, *lu*,[4] originally borrowed from the southern Chinese language Hokkien, found throughout the whole data set.[5] One token is used in a quote translated from the world heavy weight boxing champion, George Foreman. The quote is given in English as well as being

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[3] Plurality does not have the same obligatory grammatical status in Indonesian as it does in English.

[4] This form can be rendered orthographically as *elu, elo, lu*, or *lo* (see Sneddon 2006: 64, on the development of a standard colloquial Jakartanese variety of Indonesian). The example taken from the 2008 data (see Extract 7.47 below) is rendered as *lo*.

[5] This contrasts with the observations made by Djenar (2006) and Sneddon (2006) regarding the frequent use of this form in the more informal colloquial Jakartanese variety of Indonesian.

translated into Indonesian, as was Extract 7.1, quoted from the Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd. The following Extract, 7.5, includes the surrounding text because it is of significance to the marked choice of *lu* as the addressee reference term:

> Extract 7.5 (Kompas Sept 2 1973: 10)
>
> *Foreman menengok pada penantangnya sambil nyeletuk, "What are you smiling for?" (Dalam istilah Jakarta berbunyi: "Ngapain lu senyum2, eh?").*
> Foreman turns to his opponent while spouting out, "What are you smiling for?" (In Jakartanese slang: "Why you smiling for, eh?").

This paragraph uses language that is particular to the colloquial Jakartanese variety of Indonesian[6] and alludes specifically to the translation of Foreman's utterance into this variety. The word *nyeletuk*, translated here as 'spouting', is an example of this Jakartanese variety, implying a challenging tone (KEY) to Forman's utterance. The quote is then given in English, preceded by the observation that the Indonesian translation is given in Jakartanese slang. The first word of Foreman's utterance is translated into Indonesian as *ngapain*, a colloquial form of the interrogative *mengapa*, 'why'. This use of elements described herein as colloquial is interesting because the overall motivation for this choice seems to be to indicate that Foreman is a speaker of a non-standard variety of English, namely the variety sometimes termed 'African American Vernacular English'. Most noteworthy here is the fact that the use of *lu* is characterizing the language of the speaker more than the specific addressee to whom the form is being applied.

Another text type which commonly uses *anda* as the unmarked form can be best described as the type of texts in which some form of advice or instruction is being given; i.e. instructional texts. Examples of this text type are two articles, one giving advice on etiquette, and the other explaining the meaning of loyalty, where the advice in both articles is framed as directed to the generalized reader. An article entitled *Etika Menggunakan Ponsel* 'Etiquette for using Mobile Phones', in the September 2008 edition, gives advice on various aspects of the polite use of mobile

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[6] See Djenar (2006: 22.2) and Sneddon (2006) for explanation and qualification of this term.

phones and uses *anda* a total of nine times in ten short paragraphs. For example, you are advised to:

> Extract 7.6 (Kompas Sept 2008: 46)
> "Kontrol volume suara **anda**."
> "Control the volume of **your** voice"

An earlier example of the instructional text type is found in the September 1974 edition. This article is entitled *Menelaah Arti Kata "Loyalitas",* 'The Meaning of the Word "Loyalty"'. It uses *anda* nine times in nine paragraphs in presenting various definitions of the concept of loyalty in a series of numbered paragraphs, each beginning:

> Extract 7.7 (Kompas September 1974: 4)
> "Loyalitas adalah apabila **anda** …"
> "Loyalty is when **you** …"

This use is consistent with data analyzed by the current author (Flannery 2005) where a recipe booklet, the only purely instructional text in the data set, was found to be the only publication out of ten booklets and magazines published in 2005 to use no other pronominal addressee reference form than *anda.* These observations fit the PARTICIPANT related description of the 'mass abstract audience' just as well as do the audiences intended for advertisements.

There is very little use of *anda* in direct speech outside of translations, but there is some, and only one token of *anda* found in a letter. These examples are worth considering for the marked status conferred by their rarity in these text types. In a regular column entitled *Kompasiana*, the following quote is found:

> Extract 7.8 (Kompas Sept 1968: 2)
> *"Kalau **anda** seorang kaja raja dan disamping itu ingin berbuat baik bagi masjarakat , apakah jang akan **anda** lapukan?"*
> "If **you** are a wealthy king and want to do good things for the community, what would **you** do?"

It can be argued that there is something instructional about this quote, even though it is framed as an interrogative. The hypothetical nature of the question might offer some argument for the choice of the abstract neutral addressee form of *anda*.

The single token of *anda* found in a letter is the only example of a response to a reader's letter from the newspaper editors. There are many reader's letters throughout the data but none of them use *anda.* The editor's response shown in Extract 7.9 is given in answer to a rather odd question from a reader who is trying to identify a player in a football match. The reader thinks the player's name is *Siapa*, the Indonesian word for 'who'. The editor responds to the reader's query:

> Extract 7.9 (Kompas March 1972: 4)
>
> *"Siapa ja, jang **Anda** maksud dengan SIAPA itu? Kami pastikan dalam kedua kesebelasan itu tak ada jang bernama demikian."*
>
> "Who did **you** mean by 'who'? We assure that there was no player with such a name in either team."

The use of *anda* in this context cannot be assessed categorically as marked or unmarked because it is the only response from the editor to a letter in the whole data set and therefore there is nothing to judge it against in terms of frequency. There could be some basis, however, for arguing that the KEY of this response is somewhat jibing, given that the editor is suggesting the writer of the letter is a bit confused. The formality of *anda* perhaps adds to the humour of the response.

Two tokens of *anda* are used in direct speech in a translation of a novel by Frederick Forsythe in the March 1974 edition. These tokens would seem to be unmarked in this context when placed with the comments above of translated quotes from sports people and politicians but they are considered marked use when compared to the arguments which follow about the use of *engkau/kau* as the unmarked form in literary text types, whether translated or not. These examples will be further examined when these arguments are developed in the following section (7.2.2, see Extract 7.14). The only other examples of *anda* used in direct speech are from the contemporary editions of Kompas, March and September 2008. The March edition contains an article entitled, *Pilkada dan "Raja-Raja kecil"* 'Elections and little kings"'.

The article is presented as an interview with its subject, Aminuddin Ilmar, a professor of law and administration. *Anda* is used by the reporter in putting a question to the Professor.

> Extract 7.10 (Kompas March 2008: 5)
> *"Bagaimana tanggapan **Anda** gagasan membatasi pilkada di tingkat kabupaten/kota saja dan penunjukan gubernur pada tingkat provinsi?"*
> "How do **you** react to the argument to run the election only at the district/city level and to appoint the governor at the provincial level?"

This type of interview is almost like a written question and answer session. The interviewer's questions are only one or two lines, printed in italics, for every three or four paragraph answer. Quotation marks are not used. The formality and suggestion of a written INSTRUMENTALITY make the news interview GENRE entirely appropriate for the use of *anda.* This assessment is supported by the data analysis undertaken by the current author (Flannery 2005) in which a number of news magazines published in 2005 (e.g. *Tempo* and *Gatra*) were found to use *anda* exclusively for interviews.

The final token of *anda* used in direct speech for which we need some account is in the September 2008 edition and is contained in quotes from the author of a book. The text type fits the general parameters of a news report. The report is a review of the book and also the more general commentary on the idea of "entrepeneurship" which is the subject of the book and appears as a lead line at the top of the newspaper page. The book has an English title but the body of the text is in Indonesian. The title is "Your Great Success Starts Now!" and the author is Thomas Sugiarto. The reporter addresses the author, and otherwise refers to him, as Thomas throughout the article, giving the reporting a slightly more intimate feel than is common in a news report. *Anda* is used by Thomas in explaining the ideas put forward in his book; that is, giving advice to his readers about how to achieve "your great success". For example:

Extract 7.11 (Kompas September 2008: 37)

*"Hanya jika **Anda** pernah terempas di lembah ketiadaan paling kelam, **Anda** baru akan tahu betapa hebat dan nikmat berada di puncak gunung keberhasilan."*

"Only if **you** are thrown into the darkest pit of despair will **you** know how great and beautiful it is to be at the top of the mountain of success."

Claiming this use of *anda* as unmarked in these quotes is entirely consistent with other arguments for its unmarked status in various text types made above. Not only is the article framed as a kind of interview, with the author answering questions about his book, the nature of his answers is precisely that of giving advice, which has been associated with the use of *anda* in articles that do not use direct speech; that is, no quotation marks, but are framed as comments made directly to the readers.

7.2.2 Summary of *anda*

Anda is by far the most frequently used unmarked pronoun of address in the Kompas data for both periods, 1965-1974 and 2008. The overwhelming majority of tokens of *anda* (over 90%) are found in advertisements. *Anda* is not commonly used in instances of direct speech in this data, other than where the quotation is translated from another language, predominantly English, and perhaps French in one instance. The form will be mentioned here and there in the following arguments where it is found within the same text as other forms that will be the focus of subsequent analyses.

7.2.3 *Engkau/kau*

The second most frequently used form in the earlier data period, Kompas 1965-1974, is *engkau*, more commonly shortened to *kau,* though sometimes both forms are used in the same text (e.g. *Tjinta dan Maut*, 'Love and Death' in Kompas, March 1967: 3; and *Chotbah di atas Bukit*, 'Sermon on the Hill' in Kompas, September

1971: 6).[7] Figure 7.4 illustrates the frequency of use of *kau* throughout the data periods.
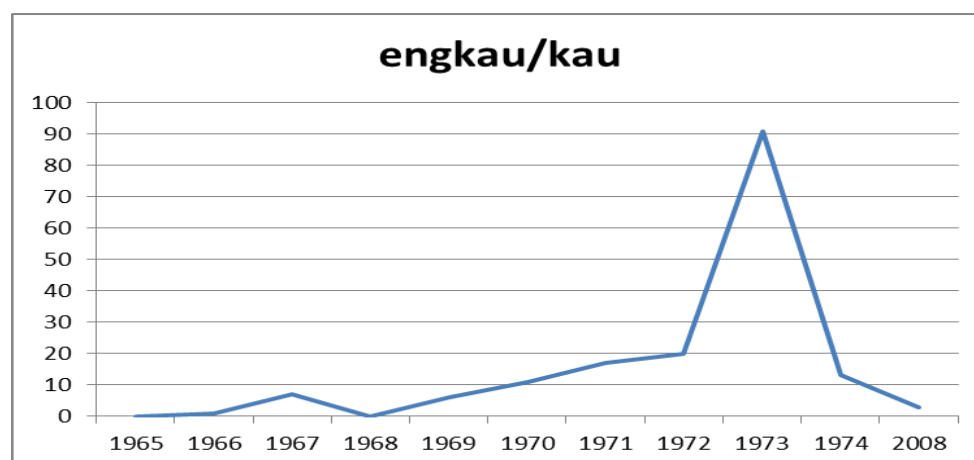
Figure 7.4   Frequency of use of *kau* in Kompas 1965 – 2008

Kau ebbs and flows in frequency throughout the data periods, *unlike anda,* before finally falling off in the contemporary, 2008, data. This ebb and flow is discussed in further detail below but it is worth pointing out here that the massive spike in use in 1973 is attributable directly to one literary text which contains 61 tokens of *kau; Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku,* 'You Don't Need To Know Who I Am.' (Kompas March 1973: 6).

The text type in which *kau* is almost exclusively used can be described in the most general sense as literary, supporting Quinn's (2001: 729) definition of *kau* as the "literary and liturgical form". The definition of this text type has been given some justification already (see 6.4.2) but as the texts ascribed to this category are such a diverse lot, more elaborate and specific arguments for their inclusion are given in detail with each of the examples examined below. This greater focus will be enhanced by recognition of a number of sub-categories of the literary text type. There are 32 texts in total which include use of *kau*. Of these 32, 25 are readily categorized as literary texts. The remaining seven texts bear some relation to this text type though they could initially be included in other categories. One major objective throughout this examination is to shed light on the aspects of each text that

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[7] *Kau* is used throughout the discussion rather than *engkau* in recognition of the prevalence of the shortened form; i.e. out of 169 tokens, only 17 are the longer version, *engkau,* just under 10% of the total. Where *engkau* is used it is often in the first ilnstance with subsequent tokens within the same text shortened thereafter.

might be called upon in categorizing it as literary. The second feature most common to the use of *kau* throughout the data is that the tokens of this form in 26 out of 32 texts occur in representations of direct speech. Thus the unmarked use of *kau* is argued to occur in representations of direct speech in literary text types, the motivation for this choice therefore pertaining to INSTRUMENTALITY, the spoken channel, and GENRE, a specific *type* of text.

The least problematic of text types to be defined as literary are those of fictional narratives. The data set includes extracts from two fictional narratives which can be loosely grouped together under the sub-category, political/historical fiction. The novel, Max Havelaar, first published in 1860, is a story set in the Dutch East Indies colony, Indonesia before independence, and is well known to many Indonesians as an early work critical of the colonial administration of the Dutch. In one courtroom scene, a Judge tells the defendant;

> Extract 7.12 (Kompas March 1970: 5)
> "**Kau** haru digantung."
> "**You** must be hanged."

In a rare instance, for this data, of non-reciprocal exchange, the judge is himself referred to as *Tuan hakim,* 'Lord judge', throughout. The use of this honorific title in addressing a judge is commensurate with the metonymic use of 'Your Honour' in English speaking courts of law and attributable to the PARTICIPANT status and the associated legal SETTING in which the exchange occurs.

The other political/historical novel from which the data include an extract is *Perburuan,* 'The Hunter', a translation of a Frederick Forsythe novel, the English title of which is 'The Day of the Jackal'. This extract uses three tokens of *engkau*, all in the unabbreviated form. For example, one character says:

Extract 7.13 (Kompas, March 1974: 6)

"***Engkau*** harus hentikan pekerjaanmu yang lain."[8]

"**You** must stop your other jobs."

There are also two marked uses of *anda* in this text, both in direct speech. The motivation for this marked use appears to pertain to PARTICIPANT relations, the rather official SETTING in which the exchange takes place, and the relatedly official ENDS suggested by the question asked. The relevance of SETTING in these examples is that the tokens of *engkau* occur in conversation conducted outside of the meeting in which *anda* is used. In Extract 7.14, the exchange using *anda* occurs when a Colonel addresses the Commissioner during a meeting of politicians and security chiefs. Thus the PARTICIPANTS are both of high rank, the SETTING is an official meeting, and the conversation is of an official nature which, by virtue of the topic at hand, is an aspect of the ACT SEQUENCE.

Extract 7.14 (Kompas, March 1974: 6)

"*Aku berharap, Commissaire, bahwa **anda** akan berhasil dalam melakukan penyidikan ini, dan secepat mungkin.*"

"I hope, Commissioner,[9] that **you** will succeed in carrying out this investigation, and as quickly as possible."

The use of *aku* for self reference in this exchange somewhat undermines the formality of the interpretation given above but analysis of the self reference form is carried over to Chapter 9 where self reference forms will be examined in more detail.

Four fictional texts fit the literary sub-category of romance on the basis of their subject matter. All four use *kau* for addressee reference in direct speech. They are; *Tjinta dan Maut*, 'Love and Death' (Kompas March 1967: 3); *Wanita* 'Woman' (Kompas Sept 1969: 7); *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* 'New Shoots Die Before They Grow' (Kompas March 1971: 6); and *Cintaku di Kampus Biru*, 'My Love at the Blue Campus' (Kompas March 1973: 7).

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[8] Discussion of the enclitic form –*mu*, used in genitive and dative constructions, is held over for the discussion below on *kamu* (7.3.1).

[9] The Commissioner addressed here is the French Commissioner of Police meeting with various government ministers and security force chiefs.

Three texts can be included in the literary sub-category of drama, again fictional, and again defined as unmarked in their use of *kau* for representations of direct speech. The texts are; *Chotbah di atas Bukit*, 'Sermon on the Hill' (Kompas September 1971: 6); *Isteri Yang Terperangkap*, 'The Trapped Wife' (Kompas March 1973: 9); and *Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku*, 'You Don't Need To Know Who I Am.' (Kompas March 1973: 6). Alongside *kau*, the latter two texts contain tokens of *kamu*, discussed below in 7.3.1. As already noted, out of 169 tokens of *kau* in total throughout the data, 61 tokens, more than a third, are used in the story, *Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku*. This large number of tokens can be attributed to the story, which is labeled as a *Cerita kriminal*, 'Crime story', being predominantly dialogue driven.

Chotbah di atas Bukit, 'Sermon on the Hill' (Kompas September 1971: 6) contains some interesting exceptions to claims made above about the general unmarked use of *engkau/kau*, which are deserving of further comment. The protagonist in this text is Barman, an elder in the village, and the story, in part, relates his memories of Popi, his absent girlfriend. The text contains one token of *kau* and two tokens of *engkau*. Unlike other texts where initial use of *engkau* is followed by use of *kau*, Barman uses *kau* in the first instance, in addressing Popi in an internal dialogue, a reminiscence.

> Extract 7.15 (Kompas September 1971: 6)
> *"Sedang apakah **kau** Popiku", demikian ia sering menanjakan pada dirinja sendiri.*
> "What are **you** doing there my Popi", he [Barman] often asks himself

The other two tokens used in this text are both of the fuller, unabbreviated form, *engkau*, and are used by the villagers in addressing Barman. The fuller forms used here are argued to index the PARTICIPANT relations, that is, the intimacy *and* respect with which Barman is held in the community. Adding to this interpretation is the fact that each instance is accompanied by the vocative use of the respectful fictive kin term, *Bapa*, 'Father'.

Extract 7.16 (Kompas September 1971: 6)

*"Kami gelisah, Bapa! Tanpa **engkau**!"*

"We are anxious, Father! Without **you**!"

The remaining token of *engkau* is used in an almost identical utterance even though separated by from Extract 7.16 by several paragraphs. The preceding line of dialogue is worth including in that it shows *engkau* collocated with both dative use of –*mu*, as per arguments for the enclitic form of *kamu*'s use in grammatical roles, as given below in Section 7.3.1.

Extract 7.17 (Kompas September 1971: 6)

*"Kami tjinta pada**mu**, Bapa."*

*"Tanpa **engkau** Bapa, kami sendirian."*

"Our love to **you**, Father."

"Without **you** Father, we are alone."

Three of the texts defined as literary fit the sub-category of children's stories. One other text, *Hari Kanak2 Nasional dan hari Kanak2 Se Dunia,* 'National Children's Day and World Children's Day (Kompas September 1973: 5), is included in the same edition and although not a children's story is aimed at a young audience (see Extracts 7.44 and 7.45 for the use of *kalian* in this article) and contains one token of *kau*. The protagonists in all three of the stories are children. They are; *Patung Ajaib,* 'The Miraculous Statue' (Kompas Sept 1973: 5); *Kiranya Bukan Buah Kelengkeng,* 'He Thinks There Are No Lychees' (Kompas Sept 1973: 5); and *Pahlawan Nelayan,* 'The Fisherman Hero' (Kompas Sept 1973: 5). Note that all four of these texts are grouped together on the same page of a single edition. This page constitutes the children's section of a Saturday edition of Kompas. The inclusion of a children's section in weekend editions is a common convention in Australian newspapers also. The use of *kau* in the direct speech of these fictional texts is unproblematically defined as unmarked and therefore warrants no further analysis.

Two texts fit the literary sub-category of biography. Biographies are different to the other literary text types discussed in that they are non-fiction, but they are nonetheless a form of storytelling, or narrative text, that fits the text type definition by

virtue of this description. *Ratu jang Kesepian,* 'The Lonely Queen' (Kompas March 1966: 3) is by Joan Haslip, and translated by a Kompas editor. It is a biography of Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and queen of Hungary, among other titles, and wife of Emperor Franz Josef, who ruled the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the 19th century. This text contains only one token of *engkau*, and no other addressee reference terms. The token is used in a letter from Elisabeth to her husband, given in quotation marks in the text.

> Extract 7:18 (Kompas March 1966: 3)
> *"Seperti **engkau** dulu, aku djuga sangat senang di Paris"*
> "Like **you** first, I am also very happy in Paris."

The other Biographical work, or Memoir, is 'Papillon', by Henri Charriere. 'Papillon' is a French word meaning 'butterfly'. The text tells the story of a man imprisoned on an island. The title is not translated into Indonesian in the data. This book was originally published in French in 1969 and translated into English in 1970. It is not known whether the Indonesian translation was done from the French or the English version. The short extract is very conversational, and contains13 tokens of *kau*, all used in direct speech. Many of the exchanges occur between the author and his fellow prisoner, Bourset, discussing their escape plans. For example, Bourset asks Charriere:

> Extract 7.19 (Kompas March 1972: 10)
> *"Bila mana **kau** bisa memberi tahu aku?"*
> "When can **you** let me know?"

Another vehicle for fictional stories is comic strips, also defined as a sub-category of the literary text type. There are eight comic strips in the data that use *kau* for addressee reference in direct speech. The only other form of addressee reference, except for the enclitic, *-mu*, described in 7.3.1 below, is 'you'. The English second person pronoun is used in all the comic strips in the strip dialogue and exclusively in two comic strips in the 2008 data that are not translated into Indonesian, that is 'Dilbert' (Kompas March 2008: 57 and Kompas September 2008: 43). All of these comic strips are from English language sources and the dialogue in all cases except

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these two is given in English within the comic strip and translated into Indonesian below the picture boxes. However, in contradistinction to the isomorphic use of *kau* for subject and object reference, all genitive and dative constructions use the enclitic form of *kamu*, that is *–mu*, and this text type figures prominently in the discussion of *kamu/-mu* in 7.3.1 below where the grammatical roles of *–mu* are more fully examined.

The dramatic decline in the use of *kau* in the contemporary data, Kompas 2008, is attributable to the lack of any literary text types other than comic strips in these two editions, March 2008 and September 2008. Thus the use of *kau* in comic strips accounts for all three tokens found in the contemporary data. Both the March and September editions contain a comic strip relating tales of Spiderman, a US comic book hero. As with all Comic Strips except 'Dilbert', the dialogue is given in English in the caption bubbles and given in Indonesian below. For example:

Extract 7.20 (Kompas March 2008: 57)
*"**Kau** akan memperoleh jawabannyalebih cepat dari yang **kau** pikirkan, MJ."*
"**You**'ll get your answer sooner than **you** think, MJ."

The lack of translation for 'Dilbert' in the contemporary data, Kompas 2008, adds weight to claims that acceptance of the English language is increasing in the contemporary Indonesian language environment, a claim pursued with more force in the Chapter 9.5 in comparing the use of pronouns in the Indonesian and English languages in employment advertisements in the September 2008 edition of Kompas.

The final sub-category unproblematically classified as literary is poetry. There are three poems using *kau* in the data and, as with comic strips, no other forms of addressee reference in this sub-category other than genitive and dative constructions using the enclitic, *–mu*. The poems are included in articles entitled; *Sebuah Sadjak Amir Hamzah,* 'The Fruity Rhythms of Amir Hamzah' (Kompas March 1973: 3); *Mandalawang Pangrango* (the name of a place in Western Java) (Kompas March 1970: 5); and *Apresiasi Seni*, 'Art Appreciation' (Kompas March 1972: 4). The poet Amir Hamzah is worthy of special mention as the co-editor with Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana and Armijn Pane, of the journal, *Poedjangga Baroe,* 'The

New Writer', first published in 1933. Alisjahbana has figured already in this thesis, especially in Chapter 5, in his role as a key figure in Language Policy and Planning in Indonesia and more particularly for his involvement in the introduction of *anda* in 1957.

We will return to the literary sub-category of poetry in examining the use of self reference in this text type in Chapter 9. There is one other text, however, for which we can call on this literary sub-category to account for what would otherwise count as an unusual, marked token of *kau* in the data. A regular column in Kompas throughout the editions analyzed in the data is *Nama dan Peristiwa*, 'Names and Events'. This column gives brief accounts of celebrity and entertainment news. The particular column here is located just below the article on Amir Hamzah mentioned above. The direct speech containing the tokens of *kau* in this column come from the mouth of Chairil Anwar, a famous Indonesian poet who died very young, at the age of 27 years, in 1949. Anwar is quoted as saying:

> Extract 7.21 (Kompas March 1970: 3)
> "Nih buat **kau**, tapi berliah aku uang."
> "[I am] here for **you**. But please give me some money"

Although not used in the text of a poem, the fact that the words come from a literary figure, a poet, and were originally uttered many years ago, give some possibility for explaining this otherwise marked choice of addressee reference form in this particular context. In this manner, the words are presented with the status of a literary pronouncement, rather than as a passing comment, thus pertaining to KEY as well as GENRE.

A similar argument to that given above for the use of *kau* in the quote from Chairil Anwar is possible also for the use of *kau* in an article entitled *Seniman Bekerja untuk Diri Sendiri*, 'Artists Work for Themselves' (Kompas Sept 1974: 5). The article is developed from a conversation with the painter, Pelukis Salim, a sort of informal interview in which the subject is quoted at length. The title of the article, presented in quotation marks, is a direct quote from the subject. Many of the subject's utterances

are presented as though they are part of a conversation with the article's author, even though they are not presented in quotation marks. For example:

> Extract 7.22 (Kompas Sept 1974: 5)
> *Oh ya, kenapa itu semua. Ah **kau** tanyayang bukan-bukan.Tanpa seni lukis saya tak bias senang. Itulah seluruhnya!*
> Oh yeah, why is that all? Ah **you** are asking rubbish [meaning that you don't need to ask the question]. Without art I cannot be happy. It's everything!

An alternate suggestion made by an Indonesian speaking informant (p.c. Widyastuti 2012) is that in the case of both the Anwar and the Salim articles, the choice of *kau* is motivated simply by the PARTICIPANT relations. The informant considers that both articles involve conversations between close friends, and whilst *kamu* might be considered too informal in these contexts, *kau* is the appropriate form for indicating this element of friendship within the somewhat more formal context of a conversation reported in a newspaper article.

There is only one advertisement in which *kau* is used and a claim of this use being within the parameters of the literary text type can justifiably be made. The advertisement is for a film, XL, an abbreviation of 'Extra Large', and the token of *kau* is used within what might be termed a tagline, or catch phrase taken from the film.

> Extract 7.23 (Kompas March 2008: 58)
> *"antara Aku, **Kau** dan mak Erot"*
> "between me, **you** and mother Erot."[10]

Thus the text type within which the line appears is classified functionally as an advertisement but the line itself is classified as a literary text type.

Two other texts which contain tokens of *kau* are not literary text types but their use does not contradict the overall claim of this GENRE as the defining context within

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[10] The translation of *mak* as 'mother' is to be understood in the fictive sense. *Mak* is a polite address term used for older women in west Java. *Mak Erot* is a somewhat famous figure from west Java who was reputed to have the ability to magically help men with sexual problems through traditional methods. She died approximately 10 years ago, but her name is still popularly understood to index these powers. *(pc SW 2012)*

which this form appears because they are not tokens of addressee reference. Both are used in a metalinguistic sense. The first of these is in a column titled *Santun Bahasa* 'Language Atttitudes' (Kompas March 1971: 3), written by Anton Moeliono who, along with Alisjahbana, is a pre-eminent member of the Indonesian Language Policy and Planning fraternity and was the director of the *Pusat Bahasa* 'Language Office' from 1984-1989. In this article Moeliono is discussing the use of *konsonan kembar* 'consonant twins', or doubled consonants (e.g. *adikku*, 'my younger sibling'). *Engkau* is used merely in giving an example involving doubled consonants. The other metalinguistic use is found in a crossword clue.

> Extract 7.24 (Kompas March 1971: 4)
> Clue: **Engkau** *(Arab)*
> Answer: **Ente**

Ente is an Arabic pronoun of address, sometimes used in the Indonesian language in situations where PARTICIPANTs might wish to emphasize their Islamic faith, generally understood by Indonesians, but not found in the data, other than in the oblique sense it is included here.

Peripheral to this thesis, but nonetheless interesting and related, are comments by Burgess (1992: 169) regarding addressee reference in Malay. In this otherwise excellent book on language, Burgess offers a confused account of *anda*'s use in Malaysia, and it might be that the Arabic *ente* is the source of his confusion. Burgess describes the reluctant acceptance in Malaysia of the Indonesian import, *anta* (*sic*), citing its use in an advertisement, *Guinness baik untok **anta***, 'Guinness is good for **you**'. A Malay informant (p.c. Cik Nina 2009) suggests that *ente* is more common in Malaysia than Indonesia, and that *anda* is not commonly used but well understood by Malay people. Of the three main Indonesian dictionaries used in preparing this thesis, Quinn (2001), Sahanaya and Tan (2001), Echols and Shadily (1992), only Echols and Shadily (1992) includes a definition of *ente*.

The final text containing *kau* is more problematic. *Anda* is used in the title of this article*; Anak dan Anak Anda*, 'You and Your Children' (Kompas September 1972: 6). The article is a type of advice column, which fits a text type category of opinion or

advice rather than the literary text types that other examples have been fitted into. More interesting perhaps than text type classification is the shift from *kamu* to *kau* in addressing the same person. The occurrence of these forms within this text type is accounted for on the basis of the nature of the PARTICIPANT relations. The quotes given in Extract 7.22 follow on directly from one another but are separated by a line and new quotation marks suggesting that they come from two different speakers. The obvious inference is that they are uttered by the child's parents, in reference to the child's grandmother.

Extract 7.25 (Kompas Sept 1972: 6)
 *"Nenek begitu cinta pada**mu**. Dan **kamu** sangat saya padanya."*
*"Tentu **kau** merasa benar2 kehilangan."*
"Grandma loves **you** so much. And **you** love her very much."
"Certainly **you**'ve missed her badly"

The dative construction, *padamu*, 'to you', is consistent with the use of the enclitic form of *kamu* in this grammatical role throughout the data discussed above, and the use of *kamu* to children will be presented as an example of the NORM of INTERACTION for the parent/child, or more generally, older/younger PARTICIPANT set in 7.3.1 below. Many of the examples given above show *kau* used in conversation between PARTICIPANTs who are friendly with each other; that is, proximal rather than distal in their personal relations. With this in mind, *kau* does not seem inappropriate in the context of parent/child relationships and it might be that the second parent is using *kau* rather than *kamu* merely as a point of difference from the first parent. In a rich and varied address system like that available for use in Indonesian, exploiting the potential for variety from moment to moment for no better reason than variety for variety's sake is motivation in itself perhaps, providing the alternative form is appropriate for the context also.

7.2.4 Summary of *engkau/kau*

This account of the use of *kau* provides evidence for two assertions. The first is that *kau* is the default, unmarked form for use in literary text types. Although there are a wide variety of text types posited as literary in the preceding analysis, justification for these classifications is made in each case. Each of the texts classified as literary involve some form of storytelling, whether purely fictional or based on fact. Even the purportedly factual, biographical works are presenting their subject matter in an extended narrative form, from a more subjective point of view, rather than simply giving the facts of this or that particular event as we would expect in a news story. The second assertion is that *kau* is commonly used in written texts to represent direct speech; that is, the spoken channel. All tokens of *kau* in the data are used for direct speech except for those used in poetry, arguably a historically oral form, and those tokens used for other than addressee reference; that is, metalinguistic tokens.

7.2.5 'You/your' and 'Thy'

The use of the English second person pronoun 'you' and its possessive forms 'your', along with the single token of the archaic, 'thy', (no 'thou', 'thee', or 'thine') waxes and wanes throughout the earlier data period, 1968-1975,[11] before dramatically rising in the 2008 data. It is included in the unmarked discussion on the basis of its frequency in the 2008 data. The use of this form in the single term closed system of English addressee reference is not of pragmatic interest.[12] Therefore the majority of tokens, 197 in all, are not analyzed in the following discussion. The single token found within an Indonesian clause and the marked use of the single token of 'thy' are the only two examples that warrant further discussion. Both tokens are highly marked in their contexts of use. A comparison of the use of pronouns in English and Indonesian is presented in Chapter 9.5, however, in an analysis of pronouns of self and addressee reference that are used in Employment Advertisements. At this point in the analysis it will suffice to give an overall appraisal of the increased use of

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[11] There are no tokens of 'you' in the first three years of this period.
[12] There has been much interesting analysis of the pragmatics of the generic use of 'you' in the recent literature but this is outside the scope of the Indonesian focus of the current study (see Chapter 4.6).

English language use in Kompas newspaper in the modern era. The data provide excellent evidence of this increase, represented graphically below in Figure 7.5.
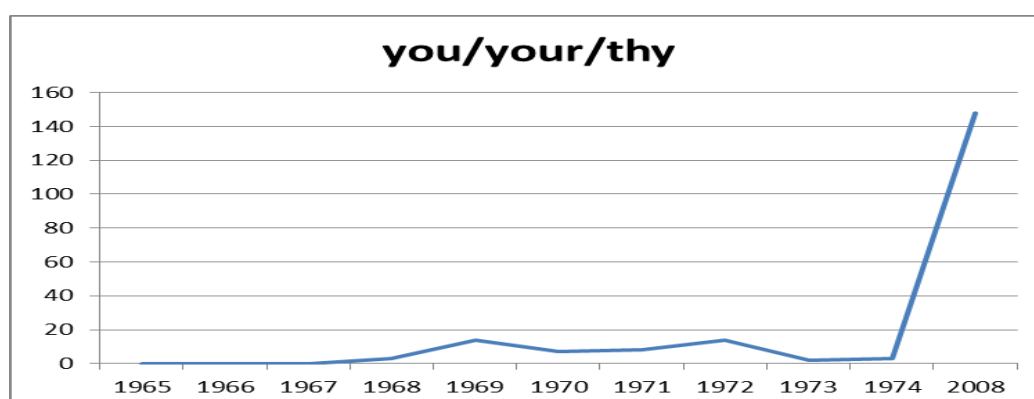
Figure 7.5   Frequency of use of *'you'* in Kompas 1965 – 2008

The single token of 'thy' found in the data is in an advertisement. The advertisement is for a film called Civic Duty and the token is included in the tagline:

>   Extract 7.26 (Kompas September 2008: 44)
>   "Know thy neighbor"

The example is in an English language advertisement and therefore is not relevant to addressee reference choices made in Indonesian. It is included here as an illustration of a form that is not a part of the modern lexicon of the English language but is understood by speakers of the language as an archaic form indexing the language of the Bible. The original line, which it parallels, is 'Love thy neighbour' from the King James Bible (Mark, Chapter 12, Verse 31). The relevance is that forms not commonly used in a language, such as the use of *anda* in the Malay language, or *ente* in Indonesian, are still widely understood.

The only token of 'you' used in an utterance that is otherwise in Indonesian, is part of an exchange that takes place in a court of law. The article is headed *Sepuluh Fungionaris yang Dicepat Mulai*, 'Ten Fired Functionaries give Testimony.' Throughout the court case participants address one another with *saudara* and *bapak* (see Chapter 8) but in one exchange a witness addresses the defendant as 'you'.

Extract 7.27 (Kompas September 1974: 12)

*"Hariman, **you** mesti hati-hati dan harus berada di atas semua orang."*

"Hariman, **you** must be careful and must be above all people."

The speaker, a witness in the case and a member of the deposed committee, is addressing his colleague, Hariman, and the KEY to his utterance appears to be anger at Hariman's reluctance to give honest and open testimony. An Indonesian informant (p.c. Widyastuti 2012) suggests that the unnamed witness and Hariman seem to know each other reasonably well, as is to be expected of people who have served on the same committee, and that the sudden shift to the English pronoun with an otherwise Indonesian utterance is indicative of his frustration with his colleague's testimony. There are elements of KEY, SETTING and PARTICIPANT relations at work in this text.

7.2.6 Summary of 'you'/'your'

The use of 'you' in this data is not of relevance to pragmatic arguments as it is used in English language throughout, with the exception of Extract 7.27. The relevance of increased use in the contemporary data is as an indication of the burgeoning influence of English as a high status language in Indonesia. This influence is discussed and compared with the use of Indonesian personal pronouns in employment advertisements in Chapter 9.5. The single token of 'you' used in an otherwise Indonesian language exchange is minor evidence of Cooper's (1989: 152) observation that 'the English pronoun *you*, [is] increasingly used by some members of the urban, educated class'. Other than this one example, there is no further evidence of this use, perhaps because, as Cooper explains, it is more commonly used 'in personal conversations in order to neutralize background distinctions and to express identity with the modern, educated class of Indonesia.'

This concludes the analysis of unmarked forms of addressee reference in the data.

7.3 The Marked Pronouns of Address

The marked pronouns of address in the data which are yet to be analyzed are *kamu*, its enclitic form *–mu*, the plural *kalian*, and the single remaining token of *lo*.[13] Before proceeding, it is worth reiterating that in any another data set, or different language environment, such as could be found in different periods, dialect regions, domains, contexts, channels etc., these forms might prove to be the unmarked forms. It is only by virtue of their lesser frequencies of occurrence in this data that they are evaluated as marked forms.

7.3.1 *Kamu* and *–mu*

The frequency of *kamu* ebbs and flows in much the same manner as *kau* throughout the data periods, falling off in a similar manner in the contemporary, 2008, data. These vacillating frequencies are similarly symptomatic of the vagaries in frequency of the textual conditions in which the forms are most suitably used.
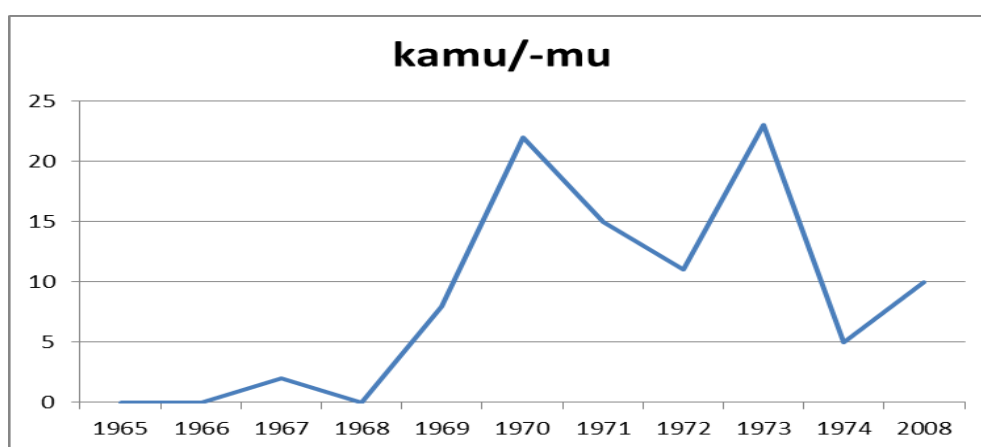
Figure 7.6   Frequency of use of *kamu/-mu* in Kompas 1965 – 2008

The proportions of the use of *kamu* in relation to the enclitic form *–mu* are dramatically weighted towards the enclitic. Of the 96 tokens of both forms, only 17 are of the morphologically unbound *kamu* (see Figure 7.7 below).

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[13] *Lu*, *thy* and the single token of 'you' used in an Indonesian clause are marked usage but have, for convenience of argument, already been analysed above in Extracts 6.5, 6.23 and 6.24, respectively.
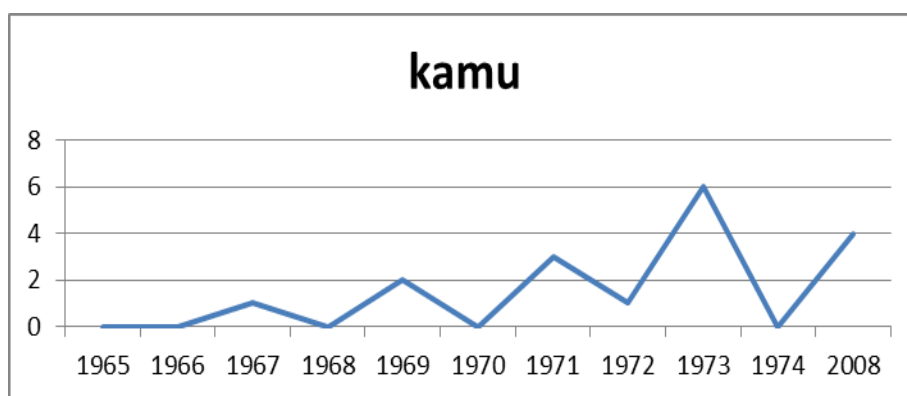
Figure 7.7   **Frequency of use of *kamu* only in Kompas 1965 – 2008**

The distinction between the use of *kamu* and the enclitic *–mu*, however, are posited as being grammatically, rather than pragmatically motivated. Subject and object cases use the unbound form and the bound form is used for both dative and genitive roles. This accounts for the much greater use of *–mu*, in that *kau*, similarly to *kamu*, is almost never used in these grammatical roles throughout the data, giving a more frequent, purely grammatical, motivation for the use of *–mu* compared with the pragmatically acceptable alternation between *kau* and *kamu* in subject or object position.[14] For example, the high frequency of 22 tokens of *–mu* (and no tokens of *kamu*) in the March 1970 edition of Kompas are all fulfilling a genitive role, as per the example given in the following extract.

> Extract 7.28 (Kompas March 1970: 4)
> *"Demi keselam,***mu** *sendiri!"*
> "For **your** own protection!"

The three editions in which *–mu* occurs in high frequency (more than ten tokens), being March 1970, March 1971, and March 1973, all follow this pattern of performing a genitive grammatical role in substitution to both *kau* and *kamu*.

Two examples of the dative use of *–mu*, specifically *padamu,* 'to you' are found in the same text, *Chotbah Diatas Bukit*, 'Sermon on the Hill'. For example:

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[14] There is one exception to this. See Extract 7.31 below.

Extract 6.29 (Kompas September 1971: 6)

*"Kami tjinta pada**mu**, Bapa."*

"Our love to **you**, Father"

Comparison with the use of *kau* is particularly apposite to the argument as the morphologically free form, *kamu,* is used in a seemingly interchangeable manner with *kau* in over half of the same texts; six of the eleven texts within which *kamu* is used are the same texts as those within which *kau* appears. Of the other five texts in which *kamu* is used, two are also defined as literary texts. The interchangeable nature of these two forms has already been exemplified in Extract 7.22, where the forms alternate within the single PARTICIPANT set of a child and his or her parents.

The seventeen tokens of *kamu* occur in eleven different texts. The six texts in which they share the addressee referencing work with *kau* are; *Tjinta dan Maut*, 'Love and Death' (Kompas March 1967: 3); *Nama dan* Peristiwa, 'Names and Events' (Kompas September 1969: 5); *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* 'New Shoots Die Before They Grow' (Kompas March 1971: 6); *Anak dan Anak Anda*, 'You and Your Child' (Kompas September 1972: 6); *Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku,* 'You Don't Need To Know Who I Am.' (Kompas March 1973: 6); and *Isteri Yang Terperangkap,* 'The Trapped Wife' (Kompas March 1973: 9). Each of these text types described as literary in the arguments presented above for the use of *kau* in each, except for *Anak dan Anak Anda*, which is also discussed above in relation to the occurrence of both *kau* and *kamu*. Thus *kamu* is recognised to function pragmatically as an intimate, informal (T) form, commonly occurring in the print media of the period in representations of reported speech within literary text types, often collocated with *kau*.

The collocation of *kau* and *kamu* within these texts, however, is heavily weighted towards *kau*, with the only example amongst these texts that favours *kamu* (2 tokens) over *kau* (1 token) being *Isteri Yang Terperangkap,* which shows the most minimal use of both forms overall. The preference for *kau* in the other five texts listed above is in the following ratios: *Tjinta dan Maut*, (7:1); *Nama dan* Peristiwa, (6:2); *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh, (15:2)*; *Anak dan Anak Anda*, (5:1); and *Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku, (61:3)*.

The most noteworthy example of the disproportionate uses of *kau* and *kamu* is *Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku,* with less than 5% of the tokens being *kamu*. The shift to *kamu* is made within the same sentence in each of these instances. For example, the main character in the story, Frank, uses *kau* twice and *kamu* once in addressing his girlfriend Beth in one exchange:

> Extract 7.30 (Kompas March 1973: 6)
> "*Seandainya kukatakan, mungkin **kau** juga tak akan percaya. Tetapi tahulah Beth, aku benar2 bersaha membahagiakan **kamu**. Tetapi mengapa **kau** …*"
> "Even if I were to tell, maybe **you** wouldn't believe it. But know Beth, I really tried to make **you** happy. But why do **you** …"

This example has been shown to several Indonesian speakers and all have said that they can offer no clear reason why the speaker shifts from *kau* to *kamu* within the single utterance. This is similar to arguments pursued above in discussion of Extract 7.25. It seems again that there is no explicit pragmatic motivation for the shift and it may simply be that both forms are appropriate between these PARTICIPANTs and the usage is merely a product of there being more than one viable alternative in this context. This argument should not be shied away from. Any pragmatic choice may defy an obvious and simple reason. If our options in any language were all transparent and singular in relation to their application, our use of that language would be unreasonably limited in its expressive scope and demand on our levels of self- awareness would surely be unreasonable.

In other examples exhibiting alternation between *kau* and *kamu*, the distinction can be more clearly demarcated as being between individual characters using one or the other form. This is the case in other texts, where the lesser use of *kamu* offers a point of distinction regarding the PARTICIPANT relations of those characters represented in the stories. This point is clearly exemplified in the two tokens occurring in *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh*. The characters in this text are a squad of young soldiers. The only member of the squad who uses *kamu* to address his fellow soldiers is Robert, who addresses Lexi and one other character with this form. For example, Lexi asks Robert:

Extract 7.30 (Kompas March 1971:6)

"*Mana sendjata**mu**? Ada.*"

"Where is **your** weapon? There?"

To which Robert replies:

"*Ada??? Ada dimana? Kumpulkanlah sendjata semuanja disebuah sudut, ikat sekali, lalu **kamu** enak mengobrol disitu! Apa sangka**mu** daerah ini benar-benar aman?*"

"It's there??? It's there where? Collect all the weapons in the corner, tie them up and then you're happy just chatting over there. Do **you** think this area is really secured?"

Robert is the commander of the squad and his use is representative of his role as the leader of the group. Lexi is his Vice Commander (*Wakil Komandan Regu, WKR*), thus having some claim to elevated status, but nonetheless using and receiving *kau* in conversation with all other characters. Note, however, that he does use the genitive enclitic form, *-mu*, as per the argument for grammatical choice presented above. Robert is alone in having his status recognized by his non-reciprocal use of *kamu*. It is worth noting here that Robert is expressing his anger at the perceived slackness of his troops quite strongly. Thus his use of *kamu* might also be argued to be indicative of KEY. As the narrator of this story, Robert describes his questioning of his troops as to where their weapons were with the line '*seruku tjukup keras*', 'I said sternly'.

Robert is also the only character to use the plural form *kalian*. His use of this form is commensurate with his being the only character to use *kamu*, indicating a different status relationship between him and the other characters. This point is pursued in more detail in examining the situated use of *kalian* in the following section (7.3.3).

Of the five remaining texts in which *kamu* is used, three more are readily defined as Literary texts: *Surat Dari Pendjara*, 'Letter from Jail' (Kompas March 1971: 4), *Kena*

Batunya, 'Hit by the Stone'[15] (Kompas September 1973: 5) and *Selebriti*, 'Celebrity' (Kompas September 2008: 43). *Surat Dari Pendjara* is presented as a letter from a prisoner to his grandparents, in which he relates his experiences in prison and expresses his remorse for the crimes he has committed. *Kena Batunya* is a children's story and *Selebriti* is an account of a somewhat world weary, modern, urbane, young Jakartanese woman who is struggling with the trappings of her celebrity status.

The letter published as *Surat Dari Pendjara,* 'Letter from Jail', contains only one token of *kamu*, used in signing off at the conclusion as the writer offers his respects to his grandparents, to whom the letter is addressed.

> Extract 7.31 (Kompas March 1971: 4)
> "*Aki dan Nini jang terhormat saja harap **kamu** menikmmati tjerita ini.*"
> "Grandma and Grandpa with respect I hope **you** enjoyed this letter."

The use of a bare, informal pronominal form in addressing the writer's elderly relations is unexpected and can be considered as marked in this context on the basis of the PARTICIPANT relations. *Kamu* is not uncommon in familial exchanges but is only expected in non-reciprocity from the elder to the younger (e.g. see Extract 7.22).

The reasons for which the writer of this letter chooses to use this form are unclear but we can perhaps posit some possible motivations. It might be that the form is chosen as being representative of the prototypically uncouth character of a convicted criminal, regardless of the generally repentant and otherwise seemingly respectful tone of the letter. We have examined other examples (Extract 7.5) where the choice of addressee reference arguably indexes the character of the speaker more than the addressee. Another point of relevance may pertain to regional variation, given that *Aki* and *Nini* are referred to as 'regional varieties' in the literature (Echols and Shadily, 1982: 9, qualify the use of *Aki* as 'in some regions only'). It is important to

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[15] This is a literal translation of the title but the more important meaning is idiomatic – 'to get one's comeuppance'. As the story also involves Hadi trying to trick Sudin by giving him a stone disguised as lollies, there is a double meaning at work here.

acknowledge that, ultimately, no definitive argument for the choice of this form in this context can be given. This is illustrative of the highly interpretive nature of any such claim regarding pragmatic motivations. To reiterate an important claim made throughout this analysis; where there are multiple pragmatic choices available, the intentions of the writer (or speaker) and the interpretations of the reader (or hearer) might be regularly and unavoidably misaligned, and consequently misunderstood, in any instance.

The use of *kamu* in the children's story, *Kena Batunya,* is more readily accounted for as an example of non-reciprocity expected between siblings. Sudin addresses Hadi as *kak* throughout the text. *Kak*, short for *kakak,* is a kin term meaning 'older sibling', and is further discussed in Chapter 8. Hadi, by virtue of his age status, addresses his younger brother in turn with the bare pronoun, *kamu,* in asking him:

> Extract 7.32 (Kompas March 1973:5)
> *"Di sebelah mana **kamu** temukan?"*
> "Around about where did **you** find it?"

In the story entitled *Selebriti*, the author tells the subject of the story, Donna:

> Extract 7.33 (Kompas September 2008:43)
> *"Donna, **kamu** hebat. **Kamu** manusia spesial."*
> "Donna, **you**'re great. **You**'re a special person."

The use of *kamu* in this instance indexes the intimate, equal relationship of the author and Donna. Thus it is the PARTICIPANT relations that best explains the choice of *kamu*. Donna uses a different term, *lo,* in response. This non-reciprocal use is examined in further detail below, in Extract 7.47.

Only two texts using *kamu* are found in the contemporary, 2008, data. Both are advertisements, arguably aimed at a rather youthful audience. Supporting this claim about the youth of the intended audience is that they both utilise English language admixed with some Indonesian colloquial forms, as illustrated initially by their title captions. The first is titled 'Rising Star' (Kompas September 2008: 47) and

advertises a concert tour by up and coming popular music groups. The token of *kamu* is preceded by the pronouncement in English, 'THE CHOICE IS YOURS', and contains intersentential code-switching with the use of 'favorit', an English word albeit rendered in Indonesian spelling.

> Extract 7.34 (Kompas March 2008: 47)
> "*PILIH SATU BAND FAVORIT **KAMU** UNTUK MANGGUNG DI KOTA**MU***."
> "VOTE FOR **YOUR** FAVOURITE BAND PERFORMING IN **YOUR** CITY."

This is a rare instance where the morphologically unbound form is used as a possessive despite the use of the bound form –*mu* for the other possessive, 'your city' in the same sentence. The other interesting feature about this rare possessive use is that in the smaller box accompanying the main advertisement on the same page, 'your favourite' is rendered as *favoritmu*. The use of *kamu* in this grammatical construction is again argued to index the intended youth of the target audience.

The second advertisement gives an abbreviated English language heading, and also contains some intersentential code-switching, aligned with the type of mobile phone text messaging shorthand that has developed through the uptake of modern telecommunication options and the generally youthful associations readily made with this emerging written code. The advertisement is headed, 'M-Tix' (Kompas September 2008: 44), and is advertising a ticketing service available via mobile phone messaging, a call-centre, or on the internet. Note that the use of *gak* and *ngantri* is also highly colloquial.

> Extract 7.34 (Kompas September 2008: 44)
> *Mau nonton? Gak mau ngantri.*
> *Gabung M-Tix, **kamu** bisa pesan tiket biosko; lewat call-center, sms dan internet.*
> Want to watch? Don't want to queue?
> Join M-Tix, **you** can book a movie ticket via call-center, sms and internet.

7.3.2 Summary of *kamu/-mu*

The minimal use of *kamu* is unsurprising, given its pragmatic status as an intimate, informal (T) form within the language and the formal, official nature of the language expected in the mainstream print media. Where it is used, it is almost invariably in representations of direct speech between PARTICIPANTs who share some intimacy, and more especially from the older to the younger. SETTING also seems to play a part, where situations that can be generally characterized as informal are more likely to exhibit this choice of addressee form. The grammatical functions of the enclitic form *–mu* preclude its use from the restrictions that cause a far lesser frequency of the morphologically free form.

7.3.3 Se/kalian

The plural pronoun of address, *kalian*, which also appears in the data with the prefix *se-,* is an introduced form, represented by fifteen tokens in the data. Sneddon (2006: 160), in his work on colloquial Jakartanese, lists *kalian* as ' "you plural" (a recently created form not used by all speakers)' and along with *engkau*, *kau* and *kamu* "you singular" describes it as an 'intimate form, used to children and between equals who have a close relationship with each other.' The WOLD Database (2013) [16] gives its etymology as deriving from Sanskrit *kali*, 'time', and suggests that it arrived in Indonesian as 'an abbreviated form of early Malay *kamu sakalian* "you all" ', via the influence of 'the writing of ethnic Minangkabau educators and authors' in the late 19th or early 20th century. The following table shows it frequency of use in the Kompas data.

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[16] The WOLD (World Loanword) database is an electronic resource establiished and maintained by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig
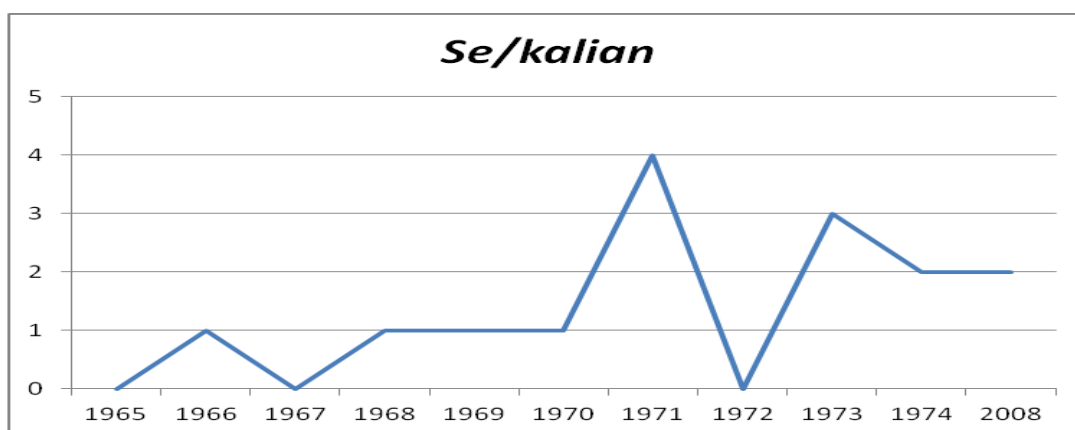
Figure 7.8　　　**Frequency of use of *se/kalian* in Kompas 1965 – 2008**

Of the fifteen tokens, four are of the morphologically derivational form, *sekalian*. This form appears in the following editions; Kompas September 1968, September 1970, September 1973 and March 1974. All the texts in which it is used are personal notices (weddings and funeral notices), and in each instance the token either precedes or follows a listing of kinship and family friend terms, functioning as a collective reference device. For example, in one funeral notice, the reference is:

> Extract 7.35 (Kompas September 1968: 3)
> "*Kepada **sekalian** handai-tolan, sanak-saudara* …"
> "To **you all**, family-friends, children-brothers …"

The only text that uses *kalian* in a personal notice is an early edition, Kompas March 1966. The token is contained in a wedding notice and does not precede or follow kin or family term references. The overt plurality of this reference is appropriate as an indication of the necessarily plural nature of marriage involving two people.

> Extract 7.36 (Kompas March 1966: 4)
> "*Semoga Tuhan beserta **kalian** selalu*"
> "May God be with **you** always."

Two texts use *kalian* in translating direct speech from other languages. The two tokens used by Putin, the Russian president are discussed above in Extract 7.4. The other translated use is in a news story about an incident involving the Palestine

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Liberation Front hijacking a Boeing 707 passenger plane. The pilot of the plane hears the female hijacker say in English:

> Extract 7.37 (Kompas September 1969: 1)
>
> "*hai Tel Aviv, kami Front Pembebasan Palestin. Tjoba, apa jang dapat **kalian** lakukan*?"
>
> "Hey Tel Aviv. We are the Palestine Liberation Front. Try, what can **you** do about it."[17]

Given that the original utterance here is in English, the same arguments about the grammatical plurality of the source language, as given for Extract 7.4, cannot be applied. The use of *anda*, as shown in other translated speech, would, however, be inappropriately informal for this situation and the mocking KEY of the hijacker.

The seven tokens of *kalian* yet to be accounted for occur in four texts. In three of these texts, *kalian* is collocated with *kau* and/or *kamu,* and consequently their text type ascriptions have already been discussed above. The four texts are: *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* 'New Shoots Die Before They Grow' (Kompas March 1971: 6); *Chotbah Diatas Bukit*, 'Sermon on the Hill' (Kompas September 1971: 6); *Hari Kanak2 Nasional dan hari Kanak2 Se Dunia,* 'National Children's Day and World Children's Day (Kompas September 1973: 5); and *Seniman Bekerja untuk Diri Sendiri*, 'Artists Work for Themselves' (Kompas September 1974: 5).

In *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh*, a literary text, *kamu* is used by the Commander of the troops and narrator of the story, Robert, in addressing his troops individually (see Extract 7.30). In keeping with this non-reciprocal use, remembering that all other characters use *kau*, Robert uses *kalian* when shifting his reference, in the same utterance, to addressing more than one person, in the following example.

> Extract 7.38 (Kompas March 1971: 6)
>
> "*Bagus! **Kamu** tumpukkan sendjata2 itu disudut, tak ada jang mengawasi, apa benar tindakan **kalian** itu?*"

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[17] '*Lakukan*' is perhaps more literally translated as 'carrying out a plan'.

"Good! **You** [Lexi] pile up all those weapons in the corner. Nobody watches over them. Were **you** all acting right?"

In the other example from the same text, Robert is addressing Sam directly but is referring to another of his troops as well, and again his KEY is somewhat derisive and angry. The duality of the reference is emphasized periphrastically with the numerator, *berdua*, 'two/both.'

> Extract 7.39 (Kompas March 1971: 6)
> "*Aku tak pernah gemetar menghadapi musuh, Sam, apa lagi kawan-kawan seperti **kalian** berdua itu!*"
> "I have never trembled when facing the enemy, Sam, let alone comrades like **you** two."

In *Chotbah Diatas Bukit*, 'Sermon on the Hill' (Kompas September 1971: 6), the central character, Barman, uses *kalian* three times in addressing the villagers. In the first example he also uses the vocative, *nak,* 'kids', though the reference appears to be to a group of men who, though not 'kids', are by implication younger than Barman.

> Extract 7.40 (Kompas September 1971: 6)
> "*Mengapa **kalian** mecariku, nak?*"
> "Why are **you** looking for me, kids?"

In responding to the concerns of the villagers expressed in Extract 7.16 and 7.17, Barman again uses *kalian* to address the crowd.

> Extract 7.41 (Kompas September 1971: 6)
> "*Tenanglah. Aku tidak akan meninggalkan **kalian**.*"
> Calm down. I'm not going to leave **you**."

And again, a bit further on, he assures them emphatically;

Extract 7.42 (Kompas September 1971: 6)

"*Dengarlah. Aku tidak akan meninggalkan **kalian**. Bersumpah*"

"Listen. I'm not going to leave **you**. I swear"

Hari Kanak2 Nasional dan hari Kanak2 Se Dunia, 'National Children's Day and World Children's Day (Kompas September 1973: 5), uses *kalian* twice in addressing the readers of the article in a rather chatty KEY which implies a young audience as the PARTICIPANT readers. In support of this interpretation, remember that the article appears in the same pages of the edition that contain the children's stories mentioned above in Section 7.2.3. The article deals with National and World Children's Day events, as per its title. The writer of the lette r mentioned is referred to using the fictive kin term for 'older sibling', *Kak*, which is another indication of a young audience. The conversational tone of the article is further evidenced by the use of rhetorical questions throughout, as in the following example from the beginning lines of the article.

Extract 7.43 (Kompas September 1971: 6)

"*Mungkin ketika membaca Surat Kak Tina minggu lalu tentang Hari Kanak2 se Dunia, banyak dari **kalian** bertanya2.*

Maybe when reading the letter from Kak Tina last Sunday about World Children's day, many of **you** have been wondering.

The article finishes with another token of *kalian*, in exhorting the readership to write to the author of the article, Kak Tina;[18]

Extract 7.44 (Kompas September 1971: 6)

"*Teman**mu** yang lain tentu ingin mengetahui apa yang sudah **kalian** buat.*"

"**Your** friends want to know what else **you**'ve been doing."

The final text to be discussed for its use of *kalian* is *Seniman Bekerja untuk Diri Sendiri*, 'Artists Work for Themselves' (Kompas Sept 1974: 5). The use of *kau* in this text is discussed above in Extract 6.22. The justification for this use can be carried

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[18] Note that Kak Tina is used as self-reference in this article by the author

over in analysis of the motivations for the choice of the speaker in using *kalian*. The shift from *kau* to *kalian* appears to be emphasizing plurality in that the speaker is claiming that he has been harassed by many reporters about the issue under discussion, his purported affair with the actress, Liz Taylor.

> Extract 7.45 (Kompas September 1974: 5)
>
> "*Saya membujang terus memang. Ah, kalian mendesak saja. Aku memang menyintai perempuan, namanya Liz Taylor. Pernah dengar kan? Sayangnya ada Richard Burton. Hahaha!*"
>
> "I have been enjoying single life. Ah, you all are pushing me. Yes, I did love a woman, her name is Liz Taylor. You've heard of her perhaps? Unfortunately, there was Richard Burton. Hahaha!"

7.3.4 Summary of *se/kalian*

The different uses of *sekalian* and *kalian* are functionally distinguished in this data in a similar manner to the grammatical distinction applied to the use of *–mu* in relation to the use of *kamu*. *Sekalian* is used as a collective device with various kin terms and family friend references. *Kalian* is primarily used by older PARTICIPANTs to younger PARTICIPANTs throughout the data set, with the exception of the Russian translation (see Extract 7.4). This claim is supported by the assertions of several informants who teach in Indonesian schools. All claim that the only context within which they regularly use *kalian* is in addressing young students in the classroom.

7.3.5 *Lu/lo*

The Hokkien derived pronoun of address, rendered in this example as *lo*, is the most marked of forms discussed in this chapter (excluding the archaic English form, 'thy') by virtue of its frequency of use being limited to two tokens throughout the entire eleven years (1965-1974 and 2008) and 22 editions of Kompas under examination in this thesis. Its increasing frequency in modern colloquial varieties of Indonesian is attested for in other studies focusing on these more informal spoken varieties,

particularly as represented in the popular culture of the capital, Jakarta, and as disseminated in the spoken mass media of television and radio (cf. Djenar 2006; Sneddon 2006).

The example of *lu* as used to represent the spoken language of the US boxer, George Foreman in translation, is given above in Extract 7.5. The only other token of this form, rendered here as *lo*, appears in the September 2008 edition of Kompas. The token is used non-reciprocally by Donna, the celebrity of the title, in response to the author of the article's use of *kamu*, in telling Donna that she is a 'special person' (see Extract 7.33). In accordance with the argument given with Extract 7.5 of the use of *lu* as an index of the speaker's character rather than the addressee's, the use of *lo* in this example appears to index Donna's character as that of a modern, urbane celebrity, and the world-weary KEY of her utterance is in keeping with this interpretation.

> Extract 7.46 (Kompas September 2008: 43)
> "***Lo*** *nggak tahu hidup gue. Bokap-nyyokap gue ngerasai luka batin.*"
> "**You** don't know my life. My Father and Mother gave birth to me only to feel the pain inside."

Lo is not the only word in Donna's utterance that is particularly indexical of the variety of language she speaks and by extension her background and character. *Nggak*, 'don't', is more formally rendered as *tidak*, *gue* is also from Hokkien and constitutes the borrowed self and addressee pronoun set with *lo*, and *Bokap-nyokap* would be more commonly rendered as *Bapak dan Ibu*. Thus she is represented as a modern celebrity figure not just by what she says but also the way she says it.

7.3.6 Summary of *lu/lo*

The Hokkien derived pronoun of address, rendered variously as *elo*, *elu*, *lo* or *lu,* is the rarest of forms discussed in this chapter but is used increasingly in other varieties of Indonesian and other domains in which these varieties flourish. As such, it is an excellent negative indicator of the overall type of language which

predominates in the mainstream printed mass media as represented by Kompas, characterized as *bahasa Resmi* 'Official/Formal language', in contradistinction to the multifarious varieties characterized as *bahasa Gaul*, 'Informal, colloquial, everyday language'. Its use in only two texts, and only two tokens, is in both instances a potent symbol of the character of the speakers who use it.

7.4   Chapter Summary

Anda is used in this data set in far greater numbers than any other personal pronoun of address, especially when the use of 'you' is discounted as almost exclusively representing reference in English language excerpts. There are two important points to make in summary of this overwhelmingly greater use of *anda*. Firstly, the very nature of the domain of printed news is predominantly one of objective, formal, text types. *Anda* is arguably the only pronoun of address that can be primarily classified as a V form (after Brown & Gilman's, 1960, T/V categorization) in the Indonesian language. The other form which is often cited as a formal addressee reference item is *saudara* which is, as argued throughout this thesis, not a pronoun but a fictive kin term *used pronominally*. Its pragmatic weighting, as examined in Chapter 8 below, also precludes it from serving the formal but distal function of reference to an abstract audience as addressed in written form in the printed news. Secondly, and relatedly, *anda*'s main use throughout the data is in advertisements, where the abstract nature of the audience demands the pragmatic neutrality of a bare pronominal form that does not specifically represent the intimacy and solidarity implicit in the use of T forms. *Anda*'s other more minor use as appropriate for translated utterances is indexical of the historical motivation for its introduction as a neutral form after the English model of 'you'.

The T forms of address used in this data, being *engkau, kamu, elo, kalian*, and all their related forms, primarily appear in those text types that do not convey the news but may be considered more generally as entertainment texts, particularly literary texts. The evidence for their mutual categorization as T forms lies, in part, in the fact that their use appears to be somewhat interchangeable in many of these texts. If we exclude *–mu* and *sekalian* on the basis of their grammatical functions as argued

above, we can see the intermingling of the remaining forms in the following figure, 7.8.
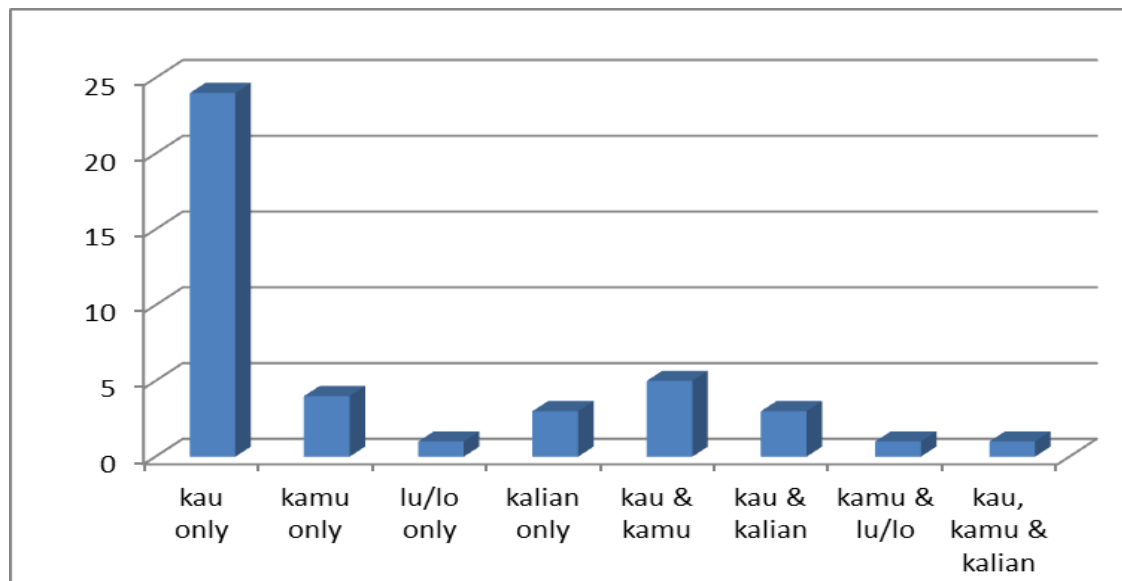
Figure 7.9   Collocation of T forms in Kompas 1965 – 2008

Although each form is used by itself in at least one or more texts, each form is also used with at least one of the other forms in at least one or more texts.
The most important elements of Hymes's etic framework in an overall sense appear to be GENRE, as categorized by text types, and the basic distinction between written language and representations of spoken language, the distinction falling under the heading of INSTRUMENTALITY. The more specific elements at work in most examples, as expected, are PARTICIPANT relations, and the SETTINGs within which the language is used.

We now turn our attention to other word classes used in addressee reference, namely common nouns and proper nouns, and the related area of self reference.

CHAPTER 8

Common and Proper Nouns as Address

In Lao, default forms of person reference explicitly encode kin-based and other hierarchical social relations between speakers and person referents. As in many other languages (see chapters in this volume), these default formats for person reference publicize key cultural values every time they are used. By giving off information about relative social positioning, these habitual person reference formats display speakers' commitments to socially generalized values, and through this help in reproducing, maintaining and stabilizing those values. (Enfield 2007: 99)

8.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the common and proper nouns used in syntactically bound positions throughout the data as addressee reference terms, albeit in much lesser frequencies than the pronominal options discussed in Chapter 7.

The frequency counts for these word classes are not as clear cut as they are for pronouns of address because the range of common nouns are not limited in their function to syntactically bound addressee reference, or even more basically to addressee reference only. As addressee reference forms they also appear throughout the data as vocatives, and an account of vocative use is given in the frequency counts of three forms, *saudara*, *nyonya* and *bapak*. The vocative use adds pragmatic information to that already encoded in the choice of pronouns which the vocatives accompany in some examples. The common nouns discussed below, however, are also available for reference to other persons, can function as titles in conjunction with proper nouns, and are further available for reference to non-persons through polysemous extension and nominal compounding.

Some account is given of this array of uses as they are part of the wider semantic potential of each term. The synchronic variation in the semantics of these forms develops diachronically to form a complex network of interwoven meaning in the overall person reference system of the language. Any account of their semantics and pragmatics in use as addressee reference forms must also give some account of their broader use in the language.

Frequency counts are given in the following discussion only for *saudara*, *nyonya*, and *bapak*,[1] as these are the only forms in which there are more than ten tokens used in syntactically bound address or as vocatives in the data.

By virtue of the minimal frequencies of these forms compared to their pronominal counterparts functioning in the role of addressee reference, all three forms are considered to be marked in their use in this role in the data. It is worth reiterating the point that this is not necessarily the situation with the Indonesian language in all its varieties. In many other domains and contexts, especially in spoken use, common nouns, especially the fictive use of kin terms, would likely be found to be unmarked in their frequent use in syntactically bound addressee reference and vocative roles. It should be noted, however, that discussion with several Indonesian speakers suggests that *saudara* and *nyonya* are not commonly used in the daily speech of these informants. Note that *engkau* occurs with more than twice the frequency of *saudara* in the role of addressee reference. The use of *nyonya* and *bapak* functioning as addressee reference can be considered to be marked in comparison to the much greater use of *saudara* in this particular data set, but even this point does not afford *saudara* overall classification as unmarked.

The myriad of other common and proper nouns used for addressee reference, other person reference, and other functions, are discussed below after analysis of the situated use of the three more frequent forms used for addressee reference. Figure 8.1 lists the common nouns identified as person reference terms but frequencies are not given on the basis that there are an almost limitless number of different forms used throughout the data in the variety of functions outlined above. The following

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[1] The discussion of *bapak* will include the use of 6 tokens of its gendered pair, *ibu.*

figure, 8.1, shows the comparative frequencies of *saudara* , *nyonya*, and *bapak* as used in syntactically bound addressee reference and as vocatives.

common nouns as addressee reference
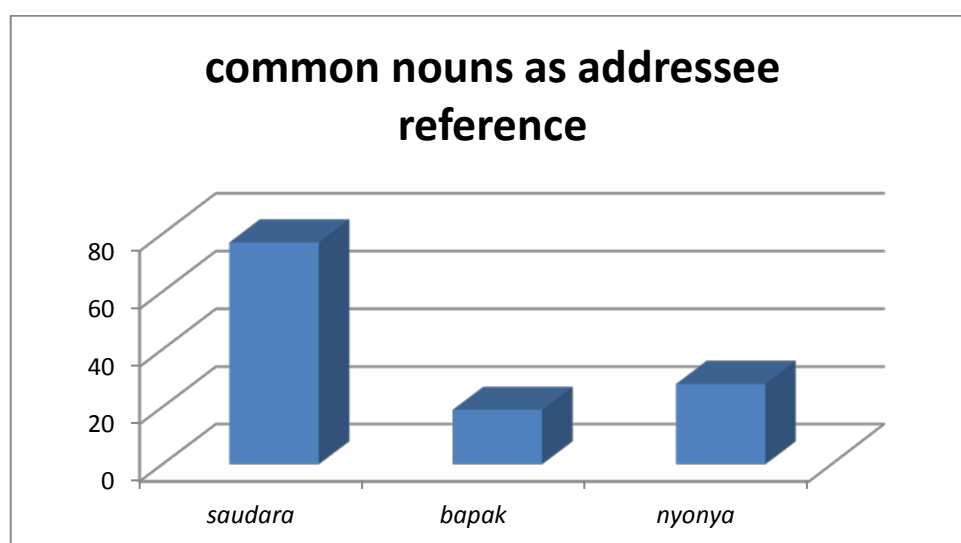
Figure 8.1   Common nouns as addressee reference in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008[2]

8.2   *Saudara* as address reference

Saudara, 'brother', is a kin term borrowed from Sanskrit (see Jones 1984:8). It is included in Purwo's (1984: 55-56) categorical description of Indonesian pronouns though he lists it outside of his pronoun table and describes it as being 'used pronominally' (see Chapter 2.4). It is classified in this thesis as a common noun on the basis that is used in a multitude of roles, in contradistinction to the 'pure' pronouns which are confined to their pronominal roles of either self or addressee reference. The extent to which it is undergoing the process of pronominalization is discussed in Chapter 2.4 and the following analysis of its use in the Kompas data offers a degree of further support for some of the claims already made.

Saudara is used in a variety of forms and functions throughout the data. It is used frequently in its full form as a kin term and a fictive kin term and as a title, equivalent to 'Mr.' in English. It is also represented frequently in its function as a title in the abbreviated form, *Sdr.*, with this orthographically distinct rendering also being used

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[2] Each of these terms is used with an array of variations that are discussed in relation to each of them below.

in its role as addressee reference. Much rarer are the six tokens of *saudari*, the feminine form, following Sanskrit gender morphology, found in the data (Kompas March 1872: 3&5; and September 2008: 7 & 45). *Sdri* is one token that appears to be of the abbreviated titular form with the added feminine morpheme (see Extract 8.2 and footnote 3 below). No tokens of *saudari* function as addressee reference but one other example of its use is given below in a text in which it is used along with *saudara* (see Extract 8.14). The rarity of this form is evidence for arguments to suggest that *saudara* has lost some of its gender specificity, perhaps an indication of its nascent pronominalisation (see Chapter 2.4), in a manner similar to the neutral gender nowadays applied to the plural address form, 'you guys' in English (see Rios 2004). There is a single token of the reduplicated form *saudara-saudaranya*, 'their brothers' in the data, and also two tokens of *saudara2 kita*, 'our brothers', and another of *Sdr2.* The latter two of these examples utilise an alternative orthographic representation of reduplication common in printed materials in Indonesia. *Saudara* is used polysemously in various compounds; for example, *saudara perang*, 'civil war', and *komplotan bersaudara*, 'gang of brothers'.

The following figure, 8.2, shows only the frequency of the more limited use of *saudara* in an addressee reference and vocative function throughout the data, noting that it exhibits variation in form in these roles.
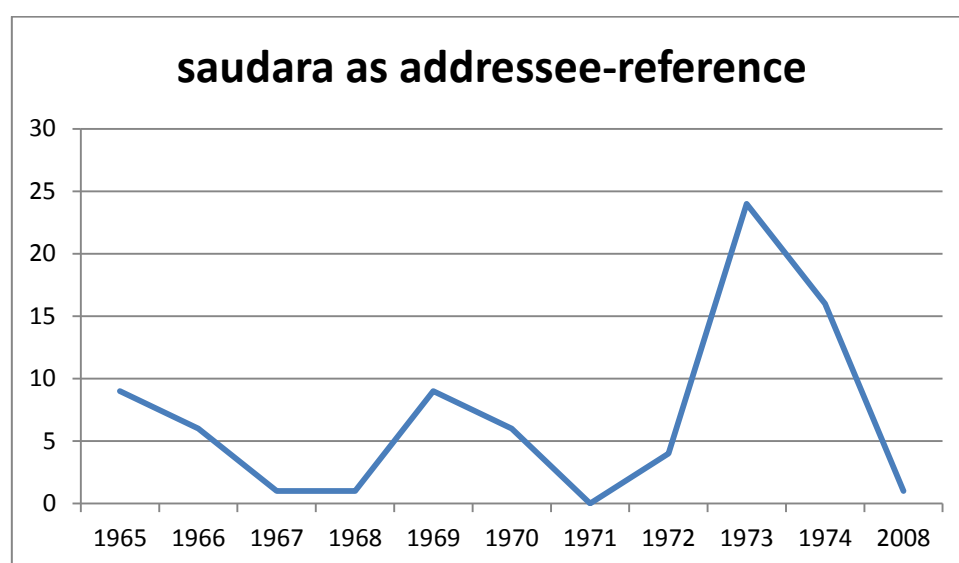
Figure 8.2   *Saudara* **as addressee reference in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008**

The use of *saudara* in representations of direct speech accounts for two-thirds of the tokens used for addressee reference in this data; 51 in direct speech and 26 in other addressee reference roles. Its most frequent use in direct speech is in news report text types. The most numerous of text types in which the tokens are found in this data, however, are advertisements, accounting for eight out of 28 texts overall. This text type represents the bulk of tokens not used in direct speech, instead referencing the generic audience/reader, substituting for the unmarked use of *anda* in these advertisements. *Saudara* is used in five news reports and three sports stories, all of which could arguably be counted as news reports of a sort, given that the distinguishing feature is merely the subject (sport) about which they are reporting. Each of these texts involves a general report and some dialogue between reporter and subject. This is why most of these tokens are representations of direct speech, and on this basis they all could usefully be labeled as interviews, involving questions and answers between the person featured and the writer of the story.

Saudara is used in three personal notices, where it is given as a part of a collection of kin terms gathered together with the use of *sekalian*, as discussed in Chapter 7.3.3, and three public notices as a generic reference to the readers. It is used in four literary texts. The other text type in which *saudara* (*Sdr.*) is found is a letter which quotes some dialogue (see Extract 9.19) and one advice column where one token is found amongst nine tokens of *anda*. These texts are discussed in more detail below.

The largest spike in numbers around 1973 is attributable to the high frequency of tokens in the literary text, *Cintaku di Kampus Biru*, 'My Love at the Blue Campus' (Kompas March 1973: 7), (see Chapter 7.2.3), in which ten tokens are used in direct speech, and an advertisement for the computer company, IBM, (Kompas 1973: 7) in which seven tokens are used in generic reference to the reader. The lesser spike in numbers in 1974 is attributable to its use in two news stories. *Sepuluh Fungionaris yang Dicepat Mulai*, 'Ten Fired Functionaries give Testimony', (Kompas Sept 1974: 12) is discussed in Extract 7.27 for its inclusion of 'you' in an otherwise Indonesian language utterance. This text uses seven tokens of *saudara* in representations of direct speech. The other text is *Jaksa Memuluk Saksi dalam Persidangan Pengadilan Negeri Ambon*, 'Attorney Hits Witness in Court Session in Ambon',

(Kompas September 1974: 3), in which seven tokens of *saudara* are used in representations of direct speech. The high frequency of *saudara* in these two texts is directly attributable to the appropriateness of this form in legal SETTINGS. This point is further borne out by the use of *saudara* in one other court room discussion, *Se-akan-akan wang Negara miliknja*, 'As if the Nation's money is his' (Kompas September 1966: 1) which contains three tokens.

PARTICIPANTS in these legal SETTINGS address each other with *saudara* throughout these texts but in addition to the use of 'you' in one text (see Extract 7.27) there is another interesting exception to this use which provides an added dimension to the drama inherent in each of these stories. It is particularly relevant as an example of non-reciprocal use of different forms to mark unequal PARTICIPANT status. In *Jaksa Memuluk Saksi dalam Persidangan Pengadilan Negeri Ambon*, 'Attorney Hits Witness in Court Session in Ambon', (Kompas 1974: 3), an attorney and a witness are having a heated discussion about accusations of illegal logging and the witness is questioned about the authenticity of certain documents.

> Extract 8.1 (Kompas September 1974: 3)
> *Saksi: "Itu adalah dokumen palsu, **pak**. Dan saya dapat buktikan itu."*
> Attorney: "Those documents are fake, **sir**. And I can prove it."

Up to this point in the exchange, the attorney has addressed the defendant using *saudara* several times but here switches to the use of *pak*, 'sir', as a vocative. He then switches back to *saudara* in his next statement:

> Extract 8.2 (Kompas September 1974: 3)
> *"Apa **saudara** bilang ini dokumen palsu …?!"*
> "What do **you** say these fake documents …?!"

The witness interrupts this question, addressing the attorney as *Saudara Jaks*i, 'Mr. Attorney', but the attorney immediately cuts him off:

> Extract 8.3 (Kompas September 1974: 3)
> *"Jangan panggiil saya "**Saudara**" Panggil saya "Bapak"*!

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Don't call me "***Saudara***". Call me "*Bapak*"![3]

The Kompas 1974: 3 account goes on to explain that the attorney ends up punching the witness, compelling physical evidence of the angry KEY apparent in the attorney's linguistic assertion of his authority, remembering that he has addressed the defendant as *saudara* throughout the previous exchanges. The interesting point here is that *Bapak* is given as a much more respectful form of address than *Saudara*, despite the latter's generally unmarked use in this SETTING.

Two other literary texts are also set in a court room but in these texts the PARTICIPANTS in this SETTING do not use *saudara* in their exchanges. One is excerpts from Dekker's novel 'Max Havelaar' (186) given in the story about the 150th anniversary of Dekker's birth, headed by his pen-name, *Multatuli*, (Kompas 1970: 4&5), (see Chapter 9.3.1). The other, titled Benarkah Dia …, 'Is She the Murderer?' (Kompas March 1969: 4) uses *nyonya* throughout and is discussed below (see Extract 8.17).

In the excerpt from Dekker's novel, 'Max Havelaar' (1860), *kau* is used frequently throughout the court room SCENE, in contradistinction to the examples of *saudara* as given above. All PARTICIPANTS in this text use *kau* to each other but the honorific, *Tuan Hakim*, 'Lord Judge', to the Judge (see discussion following Extract 7.12). The use of *kau* is in keeping with its status as the unmarked form in the literary GENRE (see Chapter 9.3.1). *Sdr.* is used twice, however, in an excerpt from another of Dekker's works, a polemic dialogue titled, "*Ideen*" (1875), 'Ideas', from the Dutch language. Dekker is writing about the relationship between religion and morality and in one line asks:

Extract 8.4 (Kompas 1970: 5)
*"Apakah **sdr.** pendjapat kalau ajah **sdr.** seorang Turki?"*
"Are **you** a criminal if **your** father is Turkish?"

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[3] It would defeat the purpose of the example to translate these forms here but the difference in status is inherent in the prototypical relationship between the literal (kin term) translations of *Saudara*, 'brother' and *Bapak*, 'Father'.

One point about Dekker's work that must be stated as relevant to the choices of addressee reference form is that these texts were produced in an earlier period than any other discussed in this thesis, being written and published in the 19th century.

The high frequency of *saudara,* ten tokens, in the literary text, *Cintaku di Kampus Biru*, 'My Love at the Blue Campus' (Kompas March 1973: 7). In this text *kau* is used between the main character, Anton, and his university friends, as expected in representations of direct speech in literary texts (see Chapter 7.2.3). *Saudara* is used by Anton's lecturer, Yusnita, when addressing Anton, to index a different set of PARTICIPANT relations, in which Anton non-reciprocally uses *ibu,* or *bu* Yusnita,[4] when addressing his lecturer. For example, Anton says to Yusnita (see Extract 9.6):

Extract 8.5 (Kompas March 1973: 7)
*"Saya berharap **ibu** punya keberjaksanaan dalam menilai."*
"I hope **you** are wise in making a judgement"

And she replies …

*"Maksud **saudara**, saya harus meluluskan **saudara** cuma karena dosen2 lain sudah meluluskan?"*
"**You** mean, I must pass **you** just because dozens of other have already passed."

One news story in the earliest edition of Kompas is of particular interest because it contains two tokens of *anda*, and one each of *saudara*, and *bung*, the latter being a rather colloquial word for 'brother' (discussed below in 8.6.2), used non-reciprocally in an exchange between a salesman and the reporter. The story is about a local automobile sales yard, the car market of the title, *Pasar mobil di Djl. Batutulis,* 'Car market in Batutulis St.' (Kompas June 1965: 2). *Anda* is used in non-direct speech as a generic address to the readers.

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[4] An interesting problem of semantic non-alignment arises here when attempting to supply an appropriate translation for *ibu* in this context. The literal translation is 'mother' with the added qualification that the kin term is applied here fictively, but given the titular use it might be more appropriate to suggest 'Mrs.' but there is no indication one way or another as to Yusnita's marital status and therefore 'Miss' would also be misleading. Whichever translation is given, it would need additional qualification.

Extract 8.6 (Kompas June 1965: 2)

*Bila suatu waktu pembatja membutuhkan sebuah mobil baru dan bermaksud membelinja **anda** bisa djuga mentjarinja ditempat itu tetapi **anda** tidak akan melihat mobil jang hendak dibeli sebelum adanja ketjotjokan harga.*

If sometime the reader needs a new car and intends to buy one, **you** can also find it in that place, but **you** cannot see the car you want to buy before the price is decided.[5]

Saudara and *bung* are used by the reporter and saleman respectively to address each other.

Extract 8.7 (Kompas June 1965: 2)

*"Tapi **saudara** tampaknja senang dengan pekerjaan ini" tukas penulis.*

"Ja Bung, orang perantara itu lebih senangnja, sukanja, lebih banjak susahnja daripada" djawabanja.

"But **you** seem so happy with this job" says the writer.

"Yes Brother, an agent likes it but often has more problems than happiness," he answers.

The reporter addresses the salesman rather formally with *saudara* and the salesman replies with a vocative use of the more colloquial *Bung*. Note that the reporter uses his job title for self reference (see Chapter 9.4). The use of *bung* in the response is more characteristic of the salesman than the person he is addressing, giving him the air of an informal, chatty, friendly type, prototypically associated with his role as a (used) car salesman. The use of *bung* here is also somewhat archaic. It is not used in any further exchanges in the data and this use dates from before the New Order Period, a period in which *bung* has a different pragmatic loading (see discussion of *Bung Karno* below in 8.6.2).

The use of *saudara* as an addressee form in advertisements accounts for the highest number of texts in which it is used but not the majority of tokens serving this function. In the eight advertisements in which it appears, there are only 18 tokens, of which

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[5] Note that this translation is somewhat ungrammatical in English as the third person reference shifts to second person in the same sentence. It is indicative, however, of the use of the Indonesian terms.

seven are in the IBM advertisement. This leaves only 11 tokens spread over the other seven advertisements. The use of *saudara* in advertisements must be considered in contradistinction to the far greater use of *anda* in this text type. *Anda* appears in advertisements as the unmarked choice of addressee reference form in hugely greater proportions throughout the data, recalling that of the nearly 500 tokens of *anda* identified, approximately 90% are used in advertisements (see Chapter 7.2). Thus the use of *saudara* in this text type is considered to be relatively marked.

Two of the earliest advertisements to use *saudara* are both advertising English language tuition (Kompas March 1966: 4; and Kompas September 1967: 4). The interesting point about these advertisements is that, although they are posted two and a half years apart, and contain different text in the body of their advertisements, and give different contact details, they are both headed in the exactly the same manner, lexically and typographically. They both begin:

Extract 8.8 (Kompas March 1966: 4; and Kompas September 1967: 4)
*BAHASA INGRISS UNTUK **SAUDARA***
ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR **YOU**

The first of these two advertisements also uses *saudara* in addressing its potential customers in the body of the text.

Extract 8.9 (Kompas March 1966: 4)
*Insja Allah dalam waktu singkat **saudara** akan success.*[6]
God willing in a short time **you** will have success.

One further point of comparison between these texts is that the 1966 version gives the instructor's name using an English title, Miss Nina Metliana, and the 1967 version uses an Indonesian title, *Sdri.*[7] Mariana S., and conforms slightly more to the Indonesian (Javanese) practice of only one name, albeit followed by an initial. The

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[6] Note the English spelling of 'success' in this text. It is more correctly spelt 'sukses' in Indonesian.
[7] The abbreviated title appears to include the gender specific morpheme '*i*' but the copy is very bad and this may be a misreading caused by the poor quality. On enlargement, however, it does appear to be the feminine form.

use of *Sdri.* in this text is primarily of interest because it represents the only token of the feminine form that has been abbreviated.

The use of *saudara*, especially in the header of both these advertisements, is marked in its difference to the common unmarked use of *anda* in print media advertising. One possible motivation for choosing this more formal, arguably less neutral form of addressee reference over the more common choice of *anda* in this text type, is that the advertiser and the potential customer are likely to meet face to face and conduct business with each other in a more personalized manner as an outcome of the advertising. This is a different situation than we might expect as an outcome to the buying and selling of goods more generally. In the world of advertising, the advertiser and the customer, even if taking up the advertised offer, would not expect to meet with such prolonged proximity as that necessary to conduct language lessons.

Another advertisement featuring *saudara* as an addressee reference term is headed *KURSUS SEKRETARIS*, 'Secretary Course', and a similar argument can be made for that put forward above in accounting for the marked choice in the case of the English language courses. That is, the advertiser and the potential respondent could expect to come into direct and prolonged contact with each other.

> Extract 8.10 (Kompas March 1972: 8)
> *Sekarang **Saudara** tidak perlu beladjar ke Luar Negeri.*
> Now **you** don't need to go abroad to learn.

One very short advertisement appearing in an edition of Kompas published between these two examples is headed 'DELTA', which is the name of a brand of cotton. The advertisement suggests that:

> Extract 8.11 (Kompas September 1966: 4)
> ***Sdr.** dapat memesannja di Perwakilan "DELTA"*
> **You** can order it from our agent "DELTA"

The relationship sought here is also slightly different than that which the usual product advertisement might be seeking. This advertisement is not directed at customers off the street but agents who would be buying for production companies where the seller would be hoping to develop an ongoing relationship with the agents, again in a similar manner to the ongoing relationship expected in the other advertisements discussed above.

The same arguments can be made for the IBM advertisement (Kompas September 1973: 7) which contains seven tokens of *saudara*. This is an employment advertisement seeking a number of people to fill several positions at the company, again a situation in which the applicant and the advertisers can expect to enter an ongoing relationship.

> Extract 8.12 (Kompas September 1973: 7)
> *Untuk* **saudara** *kami sediakan posisi: CUSTOMER ENGINEER. Lamarlah segera.*
> For **you** we have ready a position: CUSTOMER ENGINEER. Apply immediately.

A noteworthy point about this reasoning as applied to employment advertisements is that despite the proliferation of employment advertisements in the March 2008 edition of Kompas (see Chapter 9.5), the contemporary data contain no tokens of *saudara*, giving some evidence, albeit minimally examined in only one edition, of the diminishing use of *saudara* in this text type in the mainstream contemporary print media.

One more advertisement worthy of comment is titled *Kokuryu* (Kompas September 1972: 3). The advertisement is for a women's beauty product made by a Singapore company with a Chinese name, Hai Tong and Company. The advertisement features a framed picture of a woman's face and with the product in front of the picture. The text accompanying this graphic uses *saudara* in addressee reference in the first instance and then uses the feminine form, *saudari*, as a noun. The first line under the graphic states:

Extract 8.13 (Kompas September 1972: 3)

*Kechantekan[8] jang hebat! Gunakan Kokuryu selalu. Perhatian istemewa untok kulit **saudara.***

Intense beauty! Use Kokuryu always. Special attention for **your** skin.

This is followed three lines further on by …

Extract 8.14 (Kompas September 1972: 3)

*Pendapatan dari gedong perobatan dan guna-nya kapada **saudari** yang chantek rupawan dari tahun 1908.*

Produced in the lab and used by beautiful, good-looking girls since the year 1908.[9]

The unusual detail about this advertisement is not so much the use of *saudari* which, despite its rarity in this text type, or any other text type for that matter, is suitable for reference to a female person. It is interesting, however, that the text changes from *saudara* to *saudari* half way through. The use of the feminine form is appropriate but the switch seems, at first glance, very odd. It needs to be recognized, however, that the use of *saudara* is for addressee reference and the use of *saudari* is not. This is perhaps more evidence of the neutral gender of *saudara* when functioning as addressee reference.

Saudara is used as a kin term in three personal notices where it is part of a collection of family references included in the notice preceding the use of *sekalian* (see Chapter 7.3.3). Examples of these familial references are found under the common heading for personal notices, *Ucapan Terima Kasih*, 'Expression of Thanks' in two of these texts; *Bapak, Ibu, **Sdr.** sekalian*, 'Your Father, Mother, **Brother**' (Kompas September 1973: 12); and *Bapak, Ibu dan* Saudara *sekalian,* 'Your Father, Mother, and Brother', (Kompas March 1974: 2). The other personal notice lists *saudara2 sekalian,* 'our brothers'.

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[8] Note that some of the spelling in this advertisement is rather unorthodox, even allowing for the pre-spelling reform date – e.g. *chantek* instead of *chantik*, *untok* instead of *untuk*.

[9] This translation caused much consternation for my principal translator who maintains that the sentence is rather unusual for an Indonesian reader and may be more acceptable in the Singapore dialect of Malay.

The letter in which *Sdr.* is used as addressee reference in a representation of direct speech, "HALO …….. TAXI" (Kompas March 1973: 4), also contains a token of *Pak* in direct speech (see Extract 8.24), and tokens of *saya* and *gue* as self reference (see Extract 9.19). In this example it is used quite formally by the policeman in a manner comparable to the use of 'sir' as a vocative term of respect in English.

> Extract 8.15 (Kompas March 1973: 4)
> *Petugas: "Kenapa **Sdr.** tidak mau narik?"*
> Officer: "Why don't **you** want to drive [him]?"

One more example of *saudara* from the data is of interest as it is the only token used in a text which otherwise uses *anda* throughout, with nine tokens in total. This text has been categorized fairly generally as an advice piece and the use of *anda* has been explained as appropriate for generic address to a non-specific audience as intended in this type of text (see Extract 7.7). The article is titled *Menelaah Arti Kata "Loyalitas",* 'The Meaning of the Word "Loyalty"', (Kompas September 1974: 4). Definitions of the 'meaning of loyalty' are given in series of numbered paragraphs. Number 4 begins, as the others do, with the use of *anda* for the generic reader reference and then continues with a token of *saudara* before switching back to *anda*, all in the same sentence.

> Extract 8.16 (Kompas September 1974: 4)
> *Loyalitas adalah apabila **anda** menjelaskan kepada tetangga, sanak **saudara**, dan kenalan, bahwa pabrik, atau kantor **anda** adalah tempat bekerja yang menyenangkan.*
> Loyalty is when **you** tell neighbours, **your** relatives, and acquaintances, that **your** factory or office is a pleasant place to work.

Anda is used as a generic address in the first instance and in a more specific manner as a possessive pronoun in the second instance. The impersonal nature of the factory or office in which you work is pragmatically distinguished from the very much more personal nature of your relatives by the use of *saudara* as the possessive form in reference to this group, noting that it there is no possessive

reference used for neighbours or acquaintances. The choice of *saudara,* although undoubtedly quite formal in this context, ultimately says more about the pragmatic inappropriateness of the 'bare' pronoun *anda,* for reference of an interpersonal nature.

8.2.1 Summary of *saudara* as addressee reference

The use of *saudara* as an addressee reference term in this data diminishes considerably in the contemporary period, 2008. Although the hundred or so pages represented by the March and September 2008 editions of Kompas are not comprehensive enough to make any definitive claims, the fact that *saudara* is not used at all in the numerous employment advertisements in the March 2008 edition gives clear evidence that, at least in this specific text type, its frequency of use has significantly diminished. The feminine form, *saudari*, is not used with enough frequency to enable any claim other than it is rare throughout the whole data period. The half a dozen Indonesian speakers specifically questioned on its contemporary use in the language all claim that they would not expect *saudara* to be commonly used in spoken language, except maybe in the kind of formal summons made in a doctor's surgery when calling on the next patient.

Budiyana (2002) provides a most detailed and comprehensive table of Indonesian forms used for addressee reference as classified according to Brown and Gilman's (1960) T/V distinction. An interesting feature of his table is that it classifies *saudari* as a T form, and *saudara* as a V form. Given that the former is distinguished morphologically only by its use of the feminine gender morpheme, the contrast between the differing situated use of this gendered pair is indicative of the development of *saudara* along very different lines than *saudari*.

The formality of a court of law is shown in the data to be an appropriate context within which to use *saudara*, but not *saudari*, (see Extract 8.15 below, for use of an alternate feminine form) and *saudara* remains a common reference in its literal kin term sense as 'brother' in personal notices. Both *saudara* and *saudari* continue to be used in many contemporary texts sourced from the internet in the formulaic address

phrase construction, "*Bapak-bapak, Ibu-Ibu, Suadara-saudari, dan anak-anak*", used in formal speeches at formal occasions, equivalent to the English "Ladies and Gentlemen, boys and girls". A search of this Indonesian phrase conducted in 2012, which was in quotation marks, meaning it only picked up items using the whole phrase, received over 41,000 hits.

One related context in which *saudara*'s use has increased over the last eight years, at least,[10] is as a generic reference to the viewers in news stories presented on the officially sanctioned news program on the government television station, *TVRI*, 'Television of the Republic of Indonesia'. News stories on this channel almost invariably begin with '*saudara*', followed by the news story itself. This is perhaps a result of the influence of *anda,* which has fitted into the print media as the predominant form in that medium, leaving *saudara* as the appropriate form to fill a similar generic role in the mainstream, official spoken media. As a result, a very general point can be made about the appropriateness of *anda* as the predominant V form in the mainstream, formal, print media, and the use of *saudara* in an equivalent role in the mainstream, formal, spoken media, in contemporary use.

8.3 *Nyonya* as addressee reference

Nyonya is a term originally applied to Chinese immigrant women who settled in the Malay region. Its origins appear to be from a Hokkien Chinese words for 'mother' or 'young lady', *niang niang*, in Pinyin, or 娘娘 in Chinese characters. This etymology was sourced from an online Chinese dictionary (Chinese.yabla.com) which is explicit about the links between the Malay word *nyonya* and its Chinese origins. The interesting point is that none of the Indonesian literature surveyed for this thesis identifies this etymological source.

Nyonya is used for addressee reference in only three texts, and one of these is vocative, in the data, but is included here on the basis of its frequency in one text, *Benarkah Dia Pembunuhnja?,* Is She a Murderer? (Kompas March 1969: 4). This

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[10] Data from this source has been gathered by the author for this period, that is, from 2005-2013.

text contains 24 tokens of *nyonya*, all used in representations of direct speech. The two other texts which use *nyonya* for addressee reference are *Blue Band Baru!,* 'New Blue Band!' (Kompas September 1969: 7), an advertisement that uses *nyonya* three times in addressee reference, and a comic strip, 'The Amazing Spider-man' (Kompas March 2008: 57), which contains one token. Each of these three texts is discussed in further detail below but a graph of these frequencies is not deemed worthy of inclusion here as it would only indicate a figure of 27 tokens for 1969 and a single token for 2008.

Benarkah Dia Pembunuhnja?, Is She a Murderer?, is a court room drama and is of particular interest in comparison with the use of *saudara* in courts of law, as discussed above (see Extracts 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3). In each of these examples *saudara* is used in reference to a male addressee. In *Benarkah Dia Pembunuhnja?,* the addressee is female. The court case takes place in a Californian court and on that basis we can reasonably assume that the dialogue has been translated from English. Marge, the accused, is questioned by a lawyer whose name is Bailey. Marge stands accused of murdering her husband. Bailey asks her:

>Extract 8.17 (Kompas March 1969: 4)
>"Saja sudah tahu bahwa itu terjantum disini? Dan **nyonya** mengatakan bahwa **nyonya** memang mengatakan hal itu?
>"I already know that it is stated here. And **you** said that **you** did mention it?"

The pairing of *nyonya* with *saudara* in the domain of court room language is in keeping with the pairing of these forms as titles, usually abbreviated to *Sdr.* and *Ny.* (see 8.6.1 below for further discussion). This use is equivalent to 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' in English. The inherent formality of the court room use indicates that there is a similar level of formality evident in both *nyonya* and *saudara.* The fact that this use is translated from English may also be a contributing factor to the choice of *nyonya* as the suitable addressee reference term. Sahanaya and Tan (2001: 183) define *nyonya*, in one part, as an "address term for use for Chinese and Western women." Note that there are similarities here to the use of *anda* as confined almost exclusively to translations in representations of direct speech.

Blue Band Baru, 'New Blue Band' (Kompas September 1969: 7), is an advertisement for *Blue Band Baru Margarine,* 'New Blue Band Margarine', which features a graphic of a smiling woman holding a container of the product, with the tagline, *LEBIH SADAP-NJAMAN,* 'MORE PLEASANTLY TASTY', in big font beside the picture. There then follows text of about 70 words in a smaller font. The text refers twice to its women readers' families and how pleased they will be if she purchases this product.

> Extract 8.18 (Kompas September 1969: 7)
> *Keluarga **Nyonya** sepantasnjalah mendapat jang terbaik dari segalanja, maka bawalah pulang margarine.*
> Your Family deserves to get the best from everything, so bring home margarine.

The text uses *nyonya* in a manner consonant with the stereotypically presented woman's role as the primary caretaker of her family's health and well-being. It makes reference to the margarine having *lebih banjak vitamin*, 'more vitamins'. One informant (p.c. Sartika 2008) suggests that she would not expect to be addressed as *nyonya*, and if she was she would consider the use to have sexist overtones, commensurate with some Australian women's attitudes to being addressed as 'Mrs.' rather than 'Ms.' (see Chapter 4.5.2).

The remaining token of *nyonya* is used vocatively as addressee reference in the comic strip 'The Amazing Spider-man' (March 2008: 57). It is used in reference to Peter Parker's wife. Peter Parker is Spider-Man's 'civilian' name. Note that in this comic strip the English language is used in the strip itself and the Indonesian translation is given below the strip.

> Extract 8.19 (Kompas March 2008: 57)
> *"Jadi, aku tahu kisah selingkuhmu dengan Spider-man, **Nyonya** Parker!"*
> "You see, I know about your affair with Spider-Man, **Mrs.** Parker!"

The appropriateness of this rare use of *nyonya* in the contemporary data is explained by reference to its marked availability for use to western women, as per Sahanaya and Tan's (2001: 183) definition.

8.3.1 Summary of *nyonya* as addressee reference

Nyonya is used infrequently as addressee reference throughout the data, in only three texts. It is used with more frequency for other reference to non-participants throughout the data, and this point is discussed in more detail below (see 8.6.1), in examination of its use as a title, especially in the abbreviated form, *Ny.*. Where it is used as addressee reference it is in reference to a western woman in two out of three texts, and this may be the main reason for the choice of this form in these two texts. It is not possible to usefully track any changes in the frequency of this form throughout the data periods because its use in an addressee reference role in this data is so rare. Its use in other roles will give more insight into the changing frequencies of occurrence in this data set in the discussion which follows.

8.4   *Bapak* as addressee reference

There are 26 tokens of *bapak* used as addressee reference or as a vocative in the data, with some of the forms being the variants, *bapa*, and *pak*. Of these 26 tokens, ten are in one literary text, the use being vocative in this text. It is also used in a letter, two personal notices, and two news stories. It is used in representations of direct speech in all but the personal notices. Some uses are of the literal sense, 'father', and some are fictive kin term use, translated as 'sir' or 'Mr.'. Most of these texts are referred to elsewhere in this thesis, meaning that it is commonly used alongside other addressee reference forms, especially in colocation with its feminine counterpart, *ibu*, or *bu.* There are six tokens of *ibu* used in these texts and this use will be examined in conjunction with the examples given for *bapak*. Although there are two less tokens of *bapak* than *nyonya* used as addressee reference in the data, a graph of the frequency of *bapak* is given in Figure 8.3 because of the greater spread of its use across the period in twice as many texts, six in total.
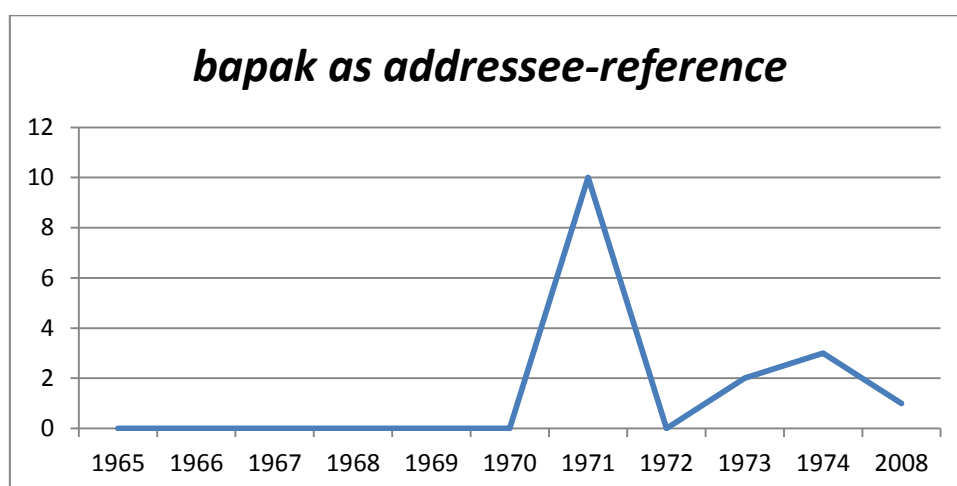
Figure 8.3   ***Bapak* as addressee reference in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008**

The text in which the most tokens of *bapak* are used is a fictional story, a literary text, which uses a number of other addressee reference terms as well. The text is *Chotbah di atas Bukit*, 'Sermon on the Hill' (Kompas, September 1971: 6). The variant used in this text is *Bapa* and it is used vocatively in the same sentence as the pronoun of address, *engkau* (see Extracts 7.16 and 7.17), a number of times. The extracts are repeated here in illustration of its vocative use as applied in emphasis of the respect due to the character in the story.

> Extract 8.20 (Kompas September 1971: 6)
> *"Kami gelisah, **Bapa**! Tanpa engkau!"*
> "We are anxious, **Father**! Without you!"

> Extract 8.21 (Kompas September 1971: 6)
> *"Kami tjinta padamu, **Bapa**."*
> *"Tanpa engkau **Bapa,** kami sendirian."*
> "Our love to you, **Father**."
> "Without you **Father**, we are alone."

In each of these instances *Bapa* is used in the fictive kin term sense, not as biological father but with the prototypical elements of father, a respected, responsible older male, implicit in the use. The anguished, somewhat child-like appeals of the

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villagers particularly play up these elements. It is worth noting that there is another term for 'father', *ayah*, which is restricted in use to the biological, or literal, sense. The earliest news text which uses *bapak* as a fictive kin term is the court room drama, *Jaksa Memuluk Saksi dalam Persidangan Pengadilan Negeri Ambon*, 'Attorney Hits Witness in Court Session in Ambon', (Kompas September 1974: 3), which is discussed above in regard to one PARTICIPANT, the attorney, exerting his power over the other PARTICIPANT, a witness, by demanding that the witness switch from using *saudara* to *bapak* as a mark of greater respect to the attorney. Extracts 8.1 and 8.3, are repeated here in illustration of the use of *pak* and *bapak* in this exchange.

> Extract 8.22 (Kompas September 1974: 3)
> *Saksi: "Itu adalah dokumen palsu, **pak**. Dan saya dapat buktikan itu."*
> Attorney: "Those documents are fake, **sir**. And I can prove it."

> Extract 8.23 (Kompas September 1974: 3)
> "*Jangan panggiil saya "Saudara" Panggil saya "**Bapak**"!*"
> "Don't call me "*Saudara*". Call me "***Bapak***"!"

In the second of these examples, the inherent power relationships of the literal kin term meanings are clearly carried over into the fictive use. The relationship between brothers is more equal in status than that between a father and a son. The attorney's demand to be addressed as *bapak* is an overt assertion of power on his part. This example is different, but vaguely reminiscent, of the example of use in an English court of law (see Chapter 4.4.1), where the chief prosecutor, Edward Coke, abuses the defendant, Sir Walter Raleigh, by exclaiming, "I thou thee, thou traitor". These examples show the potential for overtly exercising power through the use of addressing practices in Indonesian, and English, and most likely other languages too.

The second news text in which *Pak* is used as a vocative is in the March 2008 edition, and this is the only text in which a variant of *bapak* is used in this function, or as addressee reference, in the contemporary data. The text's headline uses *Pak* in reference to the current President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono in the

story headline, *Pak, Enak Enggak Jadi Presiden*, '' Sir, Is It Good to be President?' (Kompas March 2008: 4). This question is put by a student at a school in Jakarta which the President is inspecting.

The letter in which *Pak* is used as addressee reference in a representation of direct speech, "HALO …….. TAXI" (Kompas March 1973: 4), is discussed above in its use of *Sdr.(see* Extract 8.15) in an exchange between a policeman and the taxi driver as quoted by the writer later in the letter. The writer himself uses *Pak* in addressing the taxi driver in an earlier exchange with the following question.

> Extract 8.24 (Kompas March 1973: 4)
> *"Pak, apakah taxi meteran itu diperkenankan tidak membawa penumpang?"*
> "Mr., is a metered taxi allowed to not take a passenger?"

The vocative use of *Pak* in this example is counter to the next addressee reference to the taxi driver which uses *Sdr.*. In Extract 8.24 the writer is addressing a taxi driver with a general polite form for adult males, in this case the PARTICIPANTS being strangers. In Extract 8.15, the policeman is also a stranger but his official role as an officer of the law constitutes a somewhat different PARTICIPANT relationship and as a consequence of this he uses *saudara*.

Two personal notices include bapak in their text. Both use a heading common to these personal notices, *Ucapan Terima Kasih*, 'Expression of Thanks', and *bapak* is included as a literal kin term amongst a listing of family members. One lists the family members as; *Bapak Ibu Sdr. Sekalian*, 'Father, Mother, Brother, You all' (Kompas September 1973: 12) and the other gives the same listing with slightly different orthography; *Bapak, Ibu, dan Saudara sekalian,* 'Father, Mother, and Brother, you all', (Kompas March 1974: 2). It is not possible to tell but it might be that *saudara* is used in these lists to refer to more than one person, and perhaps both genders. The use of *sekalian* in these texts is discussed in Chapter 7.3.3.

The example of a text which uses *ibu* but not *bapak*, preferring to pair the literal use of the kin term, 'mother', with *ayah,* 'father', which unlike *bapak* is invariably used in the literal sense of 'biological father'. The terms are used in a translation of the then

Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd's 'Sorry Speech' in which he apologizes to Australia's indigenous population, 'Keindahan Maaf, 'Beautiful Sorry', (Kompas March 2008: 6). This extract is given in Chapter 7 as example of the use of *anda* (see Extract 7.1).

Extract 8.25 (Kompas March 2008: 6)
*"Kepada para **ibu** dan ayah, saudara Anda semua, kami memohon maaf."*
"To the **mothers** and fathers, to the brothers and sisters, we say sorry."

The list of family members is similar to that given in the personal notices above, and although apologizing rather than thanking, the sentiment is similarly expressed. The Indonesian use in this text is interesting because the translation is working in reverse so we can substantiate two of the assumptions suggested about the listings given above, regarding the range of *saudara*. Both brother and sister are included in the original English statement, and both are plurals, lending weight to the claim made above that *saudara* is appropriate for both genders and plural reference in the personal notices discussed above.

Ibu is used again without *bapak*, or indeed any reference to *ayah* either, twice in the September 1973 edition of Kompas. In the children's story, *Kena Batunya*, 'Hit by the Stone' (Kompas September 1973: 5) there is one use of *Bu*, in which the character, Hadi is asked by his mother, "*kok senyum2*", "Why [are you] smiling". Hadi answers:

Extract 8.26 (Kompas September 1973: 5)
*"Ah, tidak apa2, **Bu**."*
"Ah, it's nothing, **Mum**."

This text also includes much use of *kak,* short for *kakak,* 'older sibling', by Sudin, Hadi's younger brother, in addressing Hadi, for which he receives *kamu* in return (see Extract 7.32). The use of kin terms within the family is unmarked in everyday spoken language in this context (see McGinn 1991).

The other text, a news story, which uses *ibu* in a representation of direct speech, is headed, *10 Oknum Memeras Seorang Wanita Sebesar Rupiah 400.000,-,* '10 Unscrupulous Policeman extort a woman of IDR 400,000.' (Kompas September 1973: 1). The story is about the attempted extortion of 400,000 Indonesian rupiahs by corrupt policemen who visit an innocent woman and accuse her of hiding drugs. In this exchange, a policeman is addressing the woman with the polite form for an adult female.

> Extract 8.27 (Kompas September 1973: 1)
> *"Karena **ibu** dituduh menyimpan barang selundupan, morphine and ganja."*
> "Because **you** are accused of keeping the smuggled morphine and marijuana."

8.4.1 Summary of *Bapak*

Bapak, and its variant forms, *pak* and *bapa,* are used only minimally in these data as addressee reference terms but this is more a limitation of the print media than a reflection of its expected frequency of use in the Indonesian language outside of the constraints of the mainstream formal print media. It is used with great frequency by my Indonesian friends and colleagues in reference to all adult males. The limited use in the data in this function is also a reflection of the limited use of addressee reference in general and its use as a general person reference term is more widespread in these data, especially in its use as a title equivalent to 'Mr' in English, as discussed below in 8.5 and 8.6. The same reasoning applies to the even more limited use of its gendered pair, *ibu* in the data under investigation in this thesis.

8.5 Common nouns as other person reference

There are a myriad of forms used in the data for other person reference, often used in conjunction with proper nouns, that is, the personal names of those persons to which reference is being made. The frequencies for these terms are not given and it may be that this broad survey does not identify all person reference forms. The use

of person reference more generally is somewhat peripheral to this thesis but the following general discussion is deemed necessary in an open system of address, such is found in Indonesian (see Chapter 2), as the system allows for any person reference term to be used in either self reference or addressee reference. Note that some of the forms used minimally in addressee reference will be accounted for in this section.

The following table shows the person reference forms identified in the data and distributes them in the first instance according to six primary semantic fields. The category of 'titles', as in forms equivalent to 'Mr' and 'Mrs' in English, is not included because the forms that commonly fill these roles in Indonesian are included in their primary sense as family terms, and discussed in more detail below in 8.6. 'Miss', 'Mrs' and 'Mr', however, are all found in the data. Also notable by omission is a category to do with employment. There are only two terms, however, that would fit this category: *guru*, 'teacher', included for obvious reasons in education, and *Ir.*, an abbreviation of *insinyur*, 'engineer', which is also included in education as you need a university degree to claim this title. Note that this preliminary categorisation may be subverted by polysemous extension of some forms which will allow for their inclusion in more than one category. Lower case is used in the table as these terms are presented with and without a capital throughout the data. Translations, etymologies, and general discussion of some of these forms follow the table.

FAMILY	*abang/bang, adik/dik, anak, ayah, bapak/pak/bk., bung, emak, engkong, ibu/bu, ibunda, ipar, isteri/istri, kakak/kak, mama, mas, mbak, mertua, nenek, nona, nyonya, oma, paman, papa, suami, saudara, saudari*
ROYALTY	*kaisar, pangeran, putra/putera, putri/puteri, ratu, seri/sri, sultan, tan*
MILITARY	*brijgen, djeneral, kol., let. kol., maj. djen., major*
EDUCATION	*doctor, drs., dra., guru, ir./insinyur, prof., prof. dr.*
ADMINISTRATION	*bupati, dubes, gubenor, menlu, presiden, tuan, wak pres, wakil pm*
RELIGION	*haji, pastor*

Table 8.1   Common nouns as person reference in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008

8.5.1 Family terms

Family terms are by far the largest category and are more commonly categorized as kin terms. The use of 'family' as the category heading here is predicated on the inclusion of *mertua*, 'in-law', which is not strictly speaking a kin term. The use of family terms in the language is not limited to their literal use and they are used polysemously as fictive kin terms widely in the Indonesian language. Fictive kin term use is distinguished throughout the data analysis chapters.

Some family terms are borrowed from other languages and this borrowing has been more broadly discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. It is worth reiterating that kin terms are a particularly fruitful area for borrowing in that they allow for the expression of personal cultural and linguistic heritage long after the heritage language has been left behind. The following discussion gives some examples from those languages identified in Chapter 3 as having influenced the Malay and Indonesian languages over many centuries.[11] Examples of words borrowed from Sanskrit are; *suami,* 'husband', *saudara,* 'brother', and *saudari,* 'sister', and these borrowings from Sanskrit, as with Latin borrowings in the English language, are not recent, having been part of the language for centuries. The gendered pair, *mas,* 'young man', and *mbak*, 'young woman', are borrowed from Javanese. There is one token of *mas* used as a title with a proper noun (personal name) in a letter in the earlier data period (Kompas 1972: 6) and two tokens found in the contemporary data (March 2008: 10 and 14), again used in conjunction with a proper noun. The only two tokens of *mbak* are also in the contemporary data (Kompas March 2008: 27 and 32) and these are also used in conjunction with a proper noun. Other family terms are borrowed from Hokkien Chinese but are only found in these data in personal notices posted by Chinese heritage Indonesians; for example *engkong,* 'grandfather'. *Oma, 'grandmother'*, is from the Dutch language.

The fact that the borrowings from Hokkien and Dutch are words for 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' is interesting. If a heritage language is lost in a new linguistic environment, the last words to go might reasonably be assumed to be those that

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[11] For a borrowing from Arabic, the other important language of influence, we will have to wait for the discussion of religious terms.

refer to the older generation of speakers who might be expected to have a more limited grasp of the language spoken in the new environment. For this reason, the fact that 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' show up amongst these borrowings from these languages is not so surprising. Note, however, that the Malay derived word for 'grandmother', *nenek,* is far more common in the data. There is only one token of *oma* in the data, and 12 tokens of *nenek*.

There are a number of words which can be used as 'brother', either in the literal or fictive sense. For example, *abang/bang, bung, mas,* and *saudara* can all be used to mean brother in the literal sense or in the broader sense of male friend or acquaintance of a similar age. *Adik/dik,* 'younger sibling', and *kakak/kak,* 'older sibling' are sibling terms and are used, as with the other family terms, in either the literal or the fictive sense, for self reference, addressee reference, and other reference. Examples of *dik* used in the literal sense as addressee reference are found in the story, *Kena Batunya*, 'Hit by the Stone' (Kompas September 1973: 5), along with *bu*, (see Extract 8.26), whenever Hadi addresses his younger brother, Sudin. *Kak* is used in the fictive sense for self reference by the author of the article, *Kak* Tina, in *Hari Kanak2 Nasional dan hari Kanak2 Se Dunia,* 'National Children's Day and World Children's Day (Kompas September 1973: 5), (see Chapter 9.4), helping her to promote a sense of intimacy with her young readership. The most interesting point about adik and kakak in comparison with English is that the English pair of sibling terms, 'brother' and 'sister' encode gender and the common pair of Indonesian sibling terms encode relative age. Indonesian requires the periphrastic addition of *laki-laki* (boy) or *perempuan* (girl) to encode gender and English requires the addition of 'older' or 'younger' to do the same work with relative age.

8.5.2 Royal terms

Some royalty terms are used fictively but not all, as opposed to the common fictive use of family terms. Those that are only used in the literal sense require only limited discussion. The following forms are adequately described by their translations and some indication of their use in the data. *Kaisar* is only used in reference to the last 'emperor' of China, Pu Yi, in his autobiography, *Dari Kaisar Menjadi Penduduk*

Biasa, 'From King to Commoner'. (Kompas June 1965: 4 and Kompas September 1965: 3) (see Extract 9.16). *Pangeran*, 'prince', borrowed from Sanskrit, is used in four texts in relation to various princes (Kompas June 1965: 4, Kompas September 1969: 7, Kompas March 1970: 3, and Kompas March 2008: 11). The 2008 reference is a news story about the English Prince Harry. *Ratu,* a Malay word for ruler, either king or queen, is used in the autobiography of Pu Yi referred to above, and in a biography of the Empress of Austria, Elizabeth to refer to her husband, Emperor Franz Joseph (Kompas March 1966: 3). Note that as well as Emperor of Austria he was King of Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, and a few other places. *Ratu* is used in reference to Elizabeth II, Queen of England in a 1970 news story and again 38 years later in the story about her grandson Prince Harry (Kompas March 1970: 1 and Kompas March 2008: 11). It is used in a biography of Jacqueline Kennedy in a somewhat inflated reference to Princess Grace of Monaco (Kompas March 1970: 5). *Ratu* is also used in reference to Queen Juliana of the Netherlands on the occasion of her visit to the royal court of Yogjakarta in 1971 (Kompas September 1971: 1). These uses are all in reference to rulers of nations but there is one exception in which it is used in the title of a story about a beauty queen, *Ratu Indonesia*, 'Queen of Indonesia' (Kompas March 1973: 5).

Seri/Sri, borrowed from Sanskrit, is an honorific royal title, and is otherwise used polysemously with a wide variety of meanings (see Echols and Shadily 1989: 506). There are four tokens in the data, with three referring to royalty in the literal sense and in which the use is unspecified. In the first line of the biography of Queen Elizabeth of Austria, as mentioned above, her husband, Franz Joseph, is designated *Sri Ratu,* 'His Majesty, The King' (Kompas March 1966: 3). *Sri* is used in conjunction with the royal title, *Sultan*, (Kompas September 1971:1), in reference to the visit from Queen Juliana, where she was received by *Sri Sultan* Homengku Buwono IX, at the Javanese Imperial Court. Another token of *Sri* is in reference to the Malaysian Ambassador to Indonesia, *Tan Sri* Jacob Kamis (Kompas March 1968: 1). As an ambassador it might seem that the reference is not royal but his other title, *Tan,* is an abbreviation of *Sutan,* which is a rank of Minangkabau, southern Sumatran nobility (note that Alisjahbana, the pre-eminent Indonesian language planner of the early 20th century, bears the rank of *Sutan*). The final use of *Sri* is response to a letter from

Saudari Sri Kiyanti (Kompas March 2008: 7). The status of the writer is unknown but the token is interesting for no other reason than it includes a rare token of *saudari.*

All but one, or possibly two of these examples are used literally to refer to royal personage. In deference to their high status, these terms are not commonly used in the fictive sense as are kin terms. The same cannot be said, however, with *putera,* 'prince', and *puteri,* 'princess'. The original meaning of these terms is borrowed from Sanskrit but there are only two tokens bearing this original meaning in all the many tokens that appear in this data set. One token is in reference to *Putera* Mahkota Rudolf, Crown Prince and brother to Empress Elizabeth of Austria (Kompas March 1966: 3). The other token is in reference to *Putri* Diana, 'Princess' Diana, in the story about her son, Prince Harry (Kompas March 2008: 11).

The other uses of these paired terms are far more common in the data but only in two text types In personal notices they are used as literal kin terms, to 'sons' and 'daughters' (e.g. Kompas 1966: 4). They are also common in sports reports, where they are used more generally to refer to women's and men's sporting events and sportspeople, especially tennis tournaments which usually feature both genders (e.g. Kompas September 1966: 3, Kompas September 1974: 10).. They are only used in the earlier data period (1965-1974). It is worth noting that they are used in the all-important *Sumpa Pemuda, '*Youth Pledge', of 1928, from which the Indonesian language was 'born' (see Chapter 5.2). The reference in this seminal proclamation is to the "sons and daughters of Indonesia".

8.5.3 Military terms

The military terms hardly need translation as they only differ from their western European counterparts in spelling. The use of military titles is widespread in Indonesia, and consequently in the data, and are a product of the military's role in civilian administration, particularly as promoted in the New Order Period under the banner of *dwifungsi,* 'dual function'. Under this concept, developed and imposed by the Suharto regime, the military involved itself in civilian administrative affairs to a degree that is unrecognizable from an Australian political perspective. More

discussion of military terms occurs below in considering the titular presentation styles of Suharto in comparison with his predecessor, Sukarno.

8.5.4 Education terms

The education terms are similar to Australian educational titles and qualifications with the only obvious differences being the additions to doctoral qualifications. They are used throughout the data in various conjunctions with other titles, e.g. *Bp. (Bapak) Prof., Dr. Prof.*. The only form specifically of further relevance to this discussion is the degree qualification *Dra, Doktoranda,* which takes a bound form of *anda* and signifies a "female holder of postgraduate degree in humanities below doctoral rank" (Echols and Shadily 1989: 147). *Drs* is a contraction of *Doktorandus*, a qualification equivalent to *Dra.* *Guru* is from Sanskrit and has also been borrowed into English, where it has a slightly different emphasis, beginning with spiritual learning, and developing polysemously to mean anyone whose teachings are followed by acolytes. In Indonesian it has the more straightforward meaning of school teacher. Children in Indonesian classes refer to their teachers as *Pak Guru,* 'Mr. Teacher', or *Bu Guru,* 'Mrs. Teacher'.

8.5.5 Administrative terms

Administrative terms, including political titles, are a mix of older terms, some from Sanskrit, and newer western terms, a legacy of Dutch rule. *Bupati,* 'regent', is used in conjunction with the political title *gubenur* in the data (Kompas 1969: 1). *Dubes,* 'ambassador' is a blended word from *Duta Besar*, 'big ambassador', from the earlier Malay system of governance. *Gubenur* is an Indonesian rendering of 'governor', a regional political representative. *Menlu* is a title for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, another blend, from *Menteri Luar Negeri*, 'Cabinet Minister Other Land'. *Wakil*, 'Deputy', indicates the second in charge, as in the *Wakil Presiden*, or *Wak Pres*, being the 'Vice-President'.

Tuan, 'lord' or 'sir' is applied more frequently to western men but it is included in the administrative category on the basis of its use in two court room stories, as *Tuan Hakim*, 'Lord Judge', to a judge, and in another court room story to a lawyer, possibly on the basis that the story is set in California, USA (Kompas March 1969: 4, Kompas March 1970: 4). It is used in the more royal sense of 'lord' in reference to a visiting Japanese dignitary, *Tuan* Shojiro Kawashima (Kompas September 1965: 11) and mockingly in the same sense in another story (see Extract 9.22). It is also used in three personal notices, as a title, *Tuan Pastor*, in one token (Kompas June 1965: 4), paired with *nyonya* in another (Kompas September 1966: 4) and used with *nyonya* and *nona* 'miss', in the other (Kompas March 1972: 11). It is a rather odd choice for use in an advertisement for a television repair service (Kompas September 1970: 8) and is used in another advertisement in a polysemous compound, *Tuan rumah*, 'landlord' (March 1970: 7).

8.5.6 Religious terms

Only two religious terms are identified in the data. *Pastor,* 'catholic priest', is identifiable as a term borrowed from a western religion, and *Haji* is a title conferred on a follower of Islam who has been on the *Haj*, that is, has fulfilled one of the essential pillars of Islam and visited the holy city of Mecca in the month of Ramadan.

8.6   Titles and Proper Nouns

Proper nouns - personal names in this discussion - do not in and of themselves encode pragmatic information, though they give some indication of a person's provenance in most instances, and some names are chosen to indicate religious affiliation. Although they may have been used for spurious political gain in the Indonesian context (see 2.4.3), they are not the primary focus of this discussion.

8.6.1 The use of *Sdr, Ny, Bk*, and *Bu* as titles

The use of various titles in conjunction with proper nouns is of central interest to this thesis, in particular the changing frequencies of use of two particular pairings of fictive kin terms which commonly fulfill the function equivalent to 'Mr' and 'Mrs' in English. The pairs are *Saudara* and *Nyonya*, and *Bapak* and *Ibu,* often rendered in written language with various abbreviated forms; *Sdr* and *Ny*, and *Bp*, or *Pak*, and *Bu*. The following figure shows the frequencies of use of these forms across the data period. These counts only include the forms used in conjunction with a proper noun or other address term, that is, they do not include stand-alone uses of the forms.
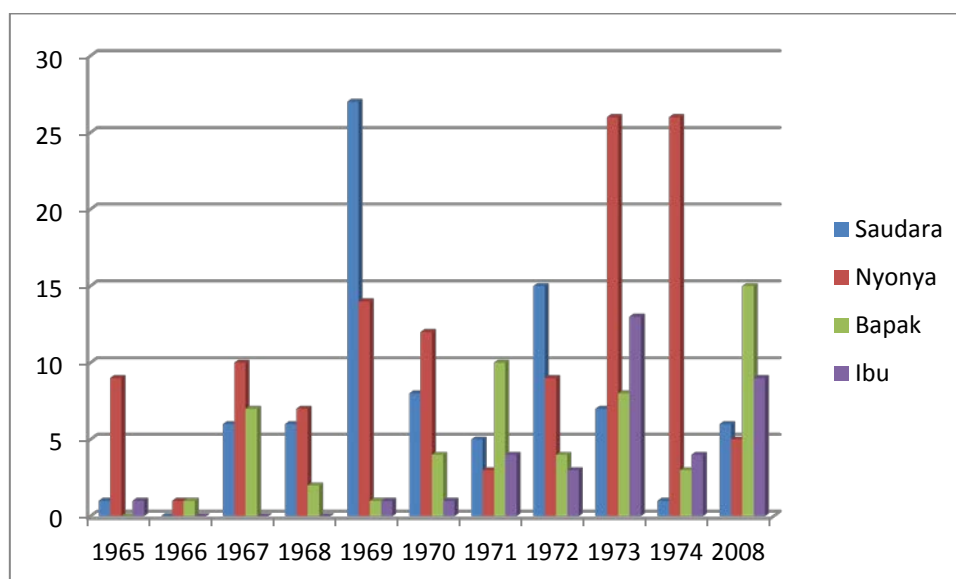
Figure 8.4   The use of titles in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008

The relative frequencies are not conclusive but do show a relative increase in the use of *Bapak* and *Ibu* in this function in the contemporary 2008 data, and conversely, a relative decrease in the use of *Saudara* and *Nyonya*. This change is consistent with the attitudes of the half a dozen Indonesian speakers' comments when questioned about this use. All insisted that *saudara* and *nyonya* are not particularly appropriate for use in their daily interactions in the contemporary spoken language.

8.6.2 *Bung Karno* and *Pak Harto*

One more point of comparison between terms used as titles with proper nouns merits some comment. Throughout the data there are multiple references to President Sukarno and President Suharto.[12] Suharto was the president for the first two editions of Kompas analysed in this thesis (Kompas June and September 1965). The next edition (Kompas March 1966) is published ten days before power is officially signed over to Suharto. Consequently, both figures are referred to as President in the data. The obvious difference to these references is that Sukarno is referred to as *Bung* Karno in the majority of references, and Suharto is referred to first with his military title, *Djeneral* Suharto, and after his succession to power, he is referred to as *Pak* Harto, in most instances.

Bung, 'brother', is infrequently used in the data, especially after the demise of Sukarno and the abolition of the Indonesian Communist Party as a result of the 30th September incident (see Chapter 6.3.1) which led to much bloodshed and political upheaval. The word *bung* takes on a negative association in the post-1965 Indonesian context which it did not have during Sukarno's reign, when it perhaps indexed the revolutionary spirit more than the communist associations it took on post-1965. In the June 1965 edition a car salesman uses bung to address a reporter without causing offence (see Extract 7.9), and Mung Asil cheekily refers to traffic police as *bung polisi*, 'brother police' in *Podjok Kompas*, 'Kompas Corner' (Kompas September 1971: 1) (see Extract 9.23) but it is otherwise only used in reference to *Bung* Karno, or his vice-president, *Bung* Hatta. One informant suggests that the use of *bung* for more general self reference and addressee reference has seen a recent resurgence in the online blogs of young, politically left-leaning Indonesian youth. (p.c. Hearmann 2012).

Suharto is never referred to as Bung Harto. In the earlier editions of Kompas Suharto is referred to using his military title, *Djen.* Suharto (Kompas September 1966: 2) but a year later there are references to *Djeneral* Suharto and *Presiden Djeneral*

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[12] Note that Sukarno and Suharto's names both appear throughout the data with two different spellings, the other being from the Dutch orthographic convention , Soekarno and Soeharto, dropped after the spelling reform of 1972. The modern versions are used in this discussion, though many names still retain their original spelling.

Soeharto, and even the more common later appellation, *Pak* Harto (Kompas September 1967: 1 and 2). These three forms continue to be used in the next edition (Kompas March 1968) but after this he is only referred to as *Presiden* Suharto or *Pak* Harto, his political title having overtaken his military rank, and perhaps even downplaying his military affiliations. Both Sukarno and Suharto are referred to as *Presiden* throughout the data periods, but their other common titles, with the abbreviated, familiar form of their names, *Bung* Karno and *Pak* Harto, are an interesting indexical sign of the change in the Indonesian political landscape from the rule of Sukarno to the rule of Suharto.

8.7 *Anda* as a Percentage of All Addressee Reference Forms

A key element throughout the preceding discussion of addressee reference forms has been the relative frequencies of these forms as used in various text types throughout the data set. These relative frequencies are now given in summary as overall percentages across all text types in Figures 8.5 and 8.6.[13] The first figure shows the percentage use of *anda* relative to all other tokens of addressee reference forms and the second shows the frequency of *anda* in comparison with the frequency of *saudara*, arguably the only other form that is regularly used as a V form in these data.
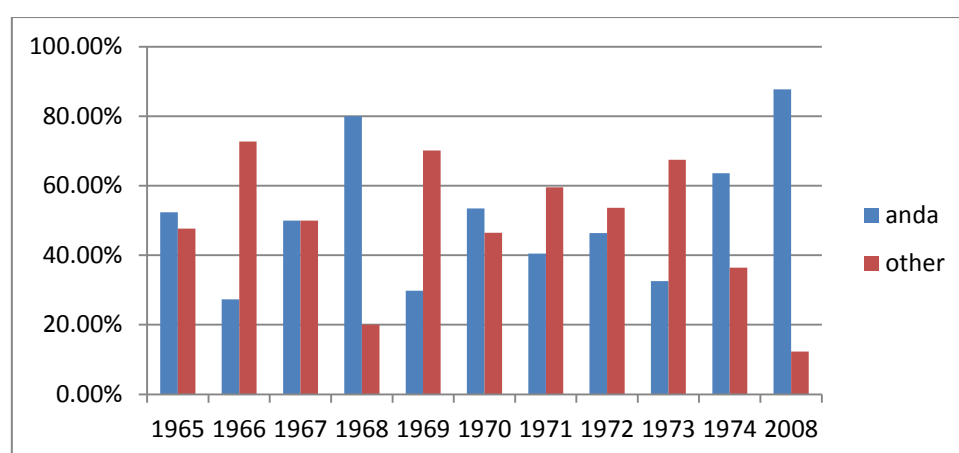
Figure 8.5   Relative frequencies of all addressee reference forms as percentages

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[13] For the raw totals from which these percentages are calculated, see Appendix 2.

234
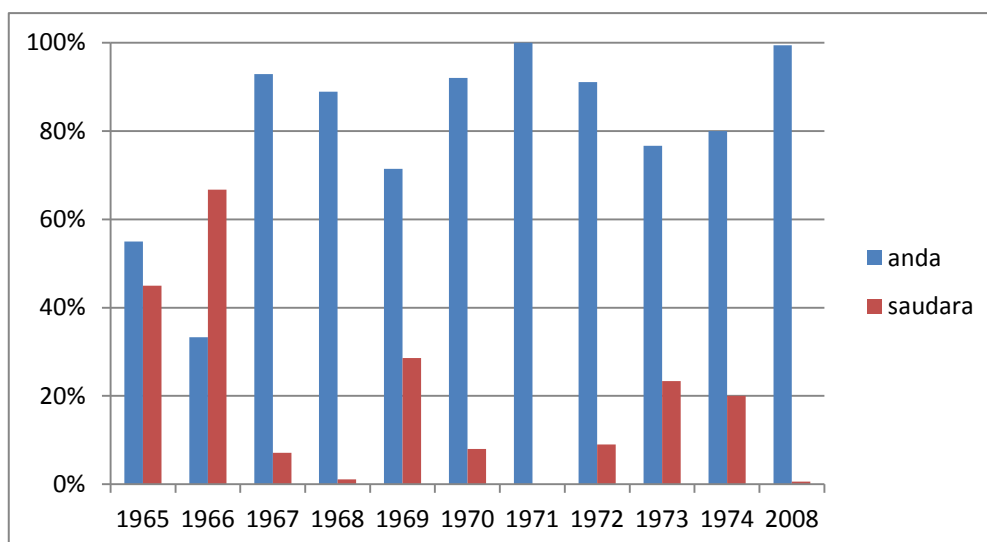
Figure 8.6   Relative frequencies of V forms *anda* and *saudara* as percentages

Figure 8.5 compares the frequency of *anda* with all other addressee reference tokens, including the T form which predominates in literary text types, *eng/kau*. The high relative percentages of T forms seen throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s are largely attributable to the high number of literary text types in these editions and the high frequency of *eng/kau* in these texts. The most remarkable feature of these figures is that *anda*'s frequency runs at around 50% throughout even though it is being matched against all other forms of addressee reference. The fall off of T forms in the 2008 data is also worthy of comment but more data would need to be analyzed before any definitive conclusions could be reached. It is relevant that literary text types in the contemporary data are markedly scarce compared to the middle data period of 1969 to 1974.

Figure 8.6 removes the T forms from the counts and compares the frequency of *anda* relative to the frequency of *saudara*, following arguments made in Chapter 7 and 8 that *anda* has, to some extent, replaced *saudara* as a V form in general use in the printed mass media. The relative frequencies of these two forms fluctuate somewhat throughout the earlier period, with markedly more relative use of *saudara* in the first two years, results which need to be recognized as arising from a very small frequency sample. The most interesting observation that can be made about these figures pertain to the 2008 figures, with *saudara* only used once as addressee

reference compared to *anda*'s frequency reaching a count of 157 tokens. More data need to be collected but these figures do not suffer the paucity of numbers that plague the relative frequencies of the 1968 and 1971 disparities, based as they are on much smaller totals.

8.8   Chapter Summary

This chapter covers many more forms than Chapters 7 and 9 which deal primarily with pronouns. The nature of an open system of address is that a vast array of common nouns is available for self reference and addressee reference. Even with the far greater array of pronouns available for these functions in the Indonesian language compared with the limited personal pronoun paradigm of English, the common nouns greatly outnumber them. The discussion presented above highlights over 50 forms but even this number is not definitive, even for the data presented in this thesis. The multitude of forms available for self reference and addressee reference is a key feature of the open system of Indonesian person reference as posited in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

CHAPTER 9

Self Reference

Self-categorizations are context-dependent cognitive groupings of oneself in comparison with others. Inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation reflect the different ways that speakers position themselves in particular contexts. In contrast to a normative approach in which term choice is presented as stable, a self-categorization perspective considers self-reference to be flexible.
(Djenar 2007: 24)

9.1 Introduction

The self reference forms found in the data are almost exclusively pronominal and consequently most of the following argument will focus on the personal pronouns of self reference. As with the pronouns of address analyzed in Chapter 7, frequency counts will be given to establish the unmarked set followed by some examples of the marked use of forms, the argument for their classification as marked being based on the fact that they are used considerably less frequently than the unmarked options. Some examples of the use of common and proper nouns for self reference will be given following the pronoun discussion but the use of these word classes in this function will not warrant a frequency analysis other than to assert that it is rather rare in the data under investigation. *Gue* and *hamba*, by virtue of their rarity in the data, are by far the most marked pronouns of self reference and examples from each of the seven texts in which they are used will be given below.

	ENGLISH	**INDONESIAN**
Singular	*I /me/my*	*saya*[1]
		aku/-ku
		gue
		hamba[2]
Plural (exclusive)	*we/us/our*	*kami*
Plural (inclusive)		*kita*

Table 9.1: Self reference pronouns in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008[3]

Table 9.1, above, lists the pronouns of self reference found in the data but *hamba*'s classification as a pronoun will be challenged in two of the three texts in which it is used (see 9.3.5).

The first point to note about the pronouns of self reference is that, like the Indonesian pronouns of address, they do not explicitly encode the subject/object/possessive case distinctions in the manner of their English counterparts. The enclitic *–ku*, however, does perform a similar role to that performed by *–mu* in the addressee paradigm, though in much lesser proportions, functioning primarily as a genitive form, with some dative use also. Unlike the addressee reference pronouns *kau* and *kamu*, however, *saya*, *kami* and *kita* are all used throughout the data as possessive pronouns in addition to their use in subject and object roles. The other strikingly different feature of the Indonesian self reference paradigm is that the plural forms distinguish between 'exclusive' *kami*; that is, in reference to the speaker and person/s other than the addressee, and 'inclusive' *kita*; that is, in reference to the speaker, the addressee, and possibly others as well. This is a distinction which is beyond the information encoded in the English plural self reference set, creating the potential for ambiguity in English which is readily avoided in Indonesian.

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[1] *Saya* is rendered orthographically as *saja* until September 1972 (note that the September 1972 edition of Kompas includes both spellings). The change is a consequence of the spelling reform imposed in that year. The quantifier *saja*, 'only', is rendered orthographically as *sadja* pre-1972.

[2] Note that *hamba* is perhaps not a fully pronominalised form in the standard variety of the language (its definition is given as 'slave, servant' in Echols and Shadily, 1989) but is included as a pronoun in this table partly on the basis of its status as a commonly used self-reference pronoun in some regional dialects. This point is discussed in more detail below (see 9.3.5)

[3] As per Table 7.1, Table 9.1 is a simplified version of Table 2.1 It contains only those forms which appear in the Kompas data and reserves assessments of formality levels for the detailed analysis which follows.

An interesting point about these two systems of self reference, and indeed the fuller personal pronoun paradigms of both languages, is that they encode grammatical information that has been lost, or even was never particularly explicit, elsewhere in the grammar of the languages. English retains case distinctions in its personal pronouns that were lost from the nominal morphology a thousand years ago (see Chapter 4) and Indonesian includes plurality as an obligatory category in its personal pronouns of self reference despite the optional use of grammatical plurality in its nominal morphology. Not only is plurality obligatory in pronouns of self reference, it is afforded the added complexity of the inclusive/exclusive distinction.

As the plural forms are explicit in their grammatical ascription of plurality and the feature of exclusivity/inclusivity, the motivation for choices between the use of the most common forms, *saya*, *kami* and *kita* is often less pragmatically salient than the various motivating factors for choices between the range of addressee reference options. That is, the singular form is chosen for singular self reference, the exclusive for plural reference not including the addressee, and the inclusive for plural including the addressee. The options are not presented as representing situational and social features beyond the basic grammatical distinction of plurality and inclusivity or exclusivity. The choice of singular option from the T forms, *aku*, *gue* and *hamba*, however, is predicated on many of the same issues as their addressee counterparts. Despite this broad claim about the choice of plural self reference pronouns as predicated on the *actuality* of whether the hearer/reader is included in the reference or not, there is still the potential in some contexts to choose one or the other form on a more pragmatic, interpersonal basis.

Hooker (1993: 278) pursues this point in her study of pronoun choices made by President Suharto throughout the New Order Period and argues that *kita,* 'the participatory and all-inclusive "we"', is used as a rhetorical device in his political speeches to promote national unity. Of course, similar strategies are not unknown in the shifts in footing that we see occur in the Australian political linguistic landscape, and elsewhere, with ruling politicians able to refer to 'the government', 'my government', 'your government', or 'our government', depending on whether they are expecting blame or praise. This line of argument is taken up in more detail in making

some observations about the use of *kita* in editorial columns in the data discussion presented below in 9.2.3.

The following figures, 9.1 and 9.2, compare the frequency of use for all self reference pronouns in the editions of Kompas analysed, as listed in Table 9.1, across the two data collection periods, 1965-1974, and 2008.

Pronouns of self-reference
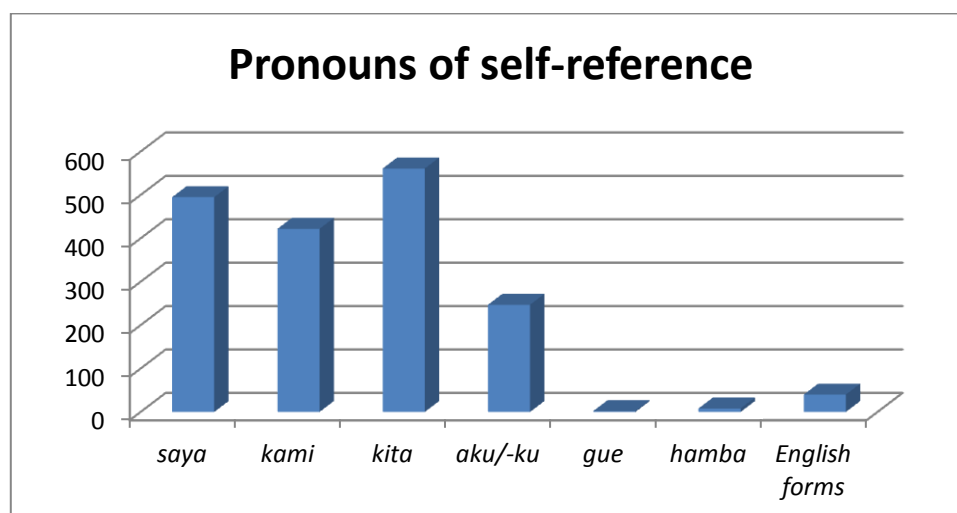
Figure 9.1   Self reference pronouns in Kompas 1965-1974[4]

Pronouns of self-reference
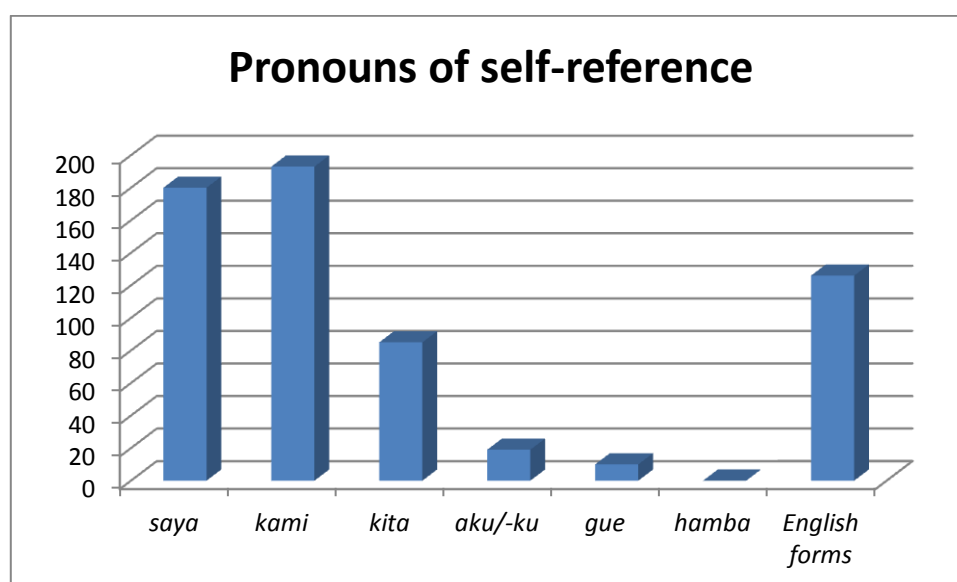
Figure 9.2   Self reference pronouns in Kompas 2008

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[4] The English self-reference singular and plural forms are conflated to one total in Figures 9.1 and 9.2. They are included only as evidence of the increasing use of English in the contemporary newspaper editions. As they are all used within English language text, their use will be afforded no further discussion in the following analysis until the comparison of self and addressee pronouns in 2008 employment advertisements is presented in 9.4.

Figures 9.1 and 9.2 indicate that *saya*, *kami*, *kita*, and *aku* are all used extensively in the 1965-1975, and 2008, data periods. *Aku*, however, is used with considerable less frequency in the 2008 data. On this basis, *aku* is analysed as a marked form, and the text types within which it is commonly used are given more discussion than the marked forms. Although Brown and Gilman's (1960) original formulation of the T/V distinction is applied to addressee reference pronouns only, the distinction can be readily applied to Indonesian self reference pronouns which, unlike the Western European languages investigated by Brown and Gilman, afford choices to the speaker of the language. Thus *aku* is characterised in this analysis, in the broadest of terms, as a T form. *Saya*, *kami,* and *kita* are used extensively throughout and are consequently considered to be the unmarked forms in the self reference set of personal pronouns. Their status as V forms, however, is problematised by their potential for relatively neutral use, as per Robson's category ascriptions, as given in Table 2.1. Djenar (2007: 23-24) also alludes to this broad conception of neutrality in citing the general description of *saya* given in 'grammar textbooks and textbooks for foreign language learning' as 'a formal and neutral term which can be used when speaking to anyone', though she does go on to offer a far more complex analysis of its use in spoken language, where 'self reference is a dynamic process which involves constant negotiation in interaction'. The written language of newspapers is arguably less 'dynamic' and shifts in self reference within a single utterance are rarer than the examples of shifts in addressee reference form (see Extracts 7.13, 7.14. 7.25). There are some examples presented in the following argument, however, that show shifts from *saya* to *aku* by the same PARTICIPANT to different addressees within the same text. The use of *gue* and *hamba* is exceedingly rare throughout the data, and therefore they are analysed, less problematically than *aku*, as marked forms.

One last point to make regarding the preliminary categorisation of these forms as unmarked or marked, and as T or V forms, is that there is a set of pairings between self reference and addressee reference forms that accrue around these broad categories. These pairings, when subverted, can offer another level of markedness which can be manipulated by speakers/writers to create meaning, and therefore is worthy of recognition and comment throughout the data. *Saya, kami,* and *kita*, as the unmarked forms in this data set, are expected to be aligned mostly with the use of

anda for addressee reference, though the pragmatic neutrality of these forms, as argued above, means that their use alongside T forms of addressee reference would not be as marked as the use of *aku* with *anda*, for example. It must be remembered that *anda* has been shown in this data (see Chapter 7.2) to be somewhat restricted in its appropriateness of use to a limited range of text types, notwithstanding its frequency in the overall data. *Aku*, broadly categorized as a T form, is predicted to share the person reference load in any given text with either *kau* or *kamu*. *Gue* is predicted to co-exist with *lu*, given that they form a pair based on their shared Hokkien etymology.

9.2   Unmarked Pronouns of Self Reference

The unmarked self reference pronouns, as assessed by their frequency of use throughout both data periods, 1965-1974 and 2008, therefore are *saya*, *kami*, and *kita*. The frequency count for *aku* in the earlier data period 1965-1974 is quite high but lower than that of *saya* (less than half) and the use is contained in a smaller set of text types than *saya*. The use of *aku* is thus argued to be unmarked in the environment of some text types but marked overall in comparison to *saya*. The use of *aku* in the 2008 data is unequivocally marked, being less than 10% of *saya*'s total. The use of each of *saya*, *kami*, and *kita*, as discussed above, is in many instances quite simply attributable to their intrinsic grammatical functions as singular, plural exclusive, and plural inclusive, respectively. For this reason, only limited examples are given and the pragmatic motivations for their use in the largely formal language of the mainstream print media are afforded more limited discussion than their marked counterparts.

9.2.1 *Saya*

Saya is the most common form found in the Kompas data and is used in all text types, and in direct speech, throughout the years under examination, wherever self reference is required. It is almost the only form used in news reports where participants in the reported events are quoted. The Indonesian form is a contraction

of the Sanskrit word *sahāya* 'companion', which has also been borrowed into the Thai language as *saha☐ay* (see Tadmor 2007b: 3 and 2013). The pronominalisation process which *saya* has undergone involving phonological contraction and a narrowing of its semantics, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.4. The overall increase in the frequency with which *saya* is used throughout the data periods is shown below in Figure 9.3.
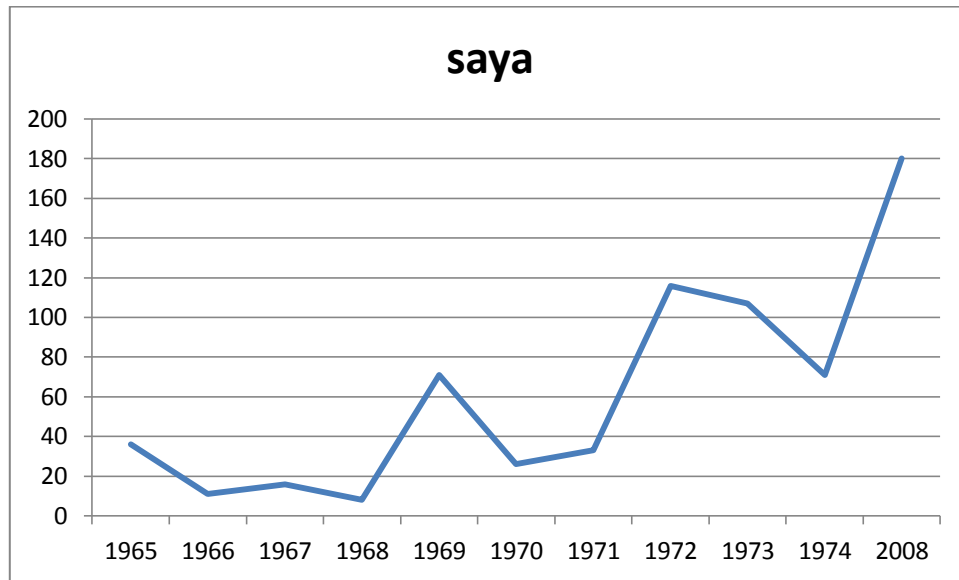
Figure 9.3 **Frequency of *saya* in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008**

The overall increase in *saya*'s frequency of use roughly aligns with the increasing number of pages of each edition of Kompas over the years analysed; four page editions from 1965 to 1968; eight page editions from 1969 to 1971; twelve page editions from 1972-1974; and 66 and 48 page editions for March and September, 2008, respectively. The anomalous spike in frequency in 1969 is attributable to 30 tokens of *saya* used in an interview in which the subject is encouraged to talk about himself, as is the less dramatically raised figure in 1965.

Self reference forms are used throughout the data either by virtue of the text being presented from a first person perspective, singular and plural, or self reference in quotes from the subjects who are the focus of the text. The distinction is one of INSTRUMENTALITY, as also discussed in its application to addressee reference terms throughout Chapter 7. The two options for self reference are thus presented as either first person perspective, representing the written channel, or tokens found

in direct speech, representing the spoken channel. The distinction of INSTRUMENTALITY is shown in Chapter 7 to be highly relevant to choice of addressee reference form, with *anda* rarely used in direct speech other than in translation, and *kau* and *kamu* conversely used in the majority of instances in representations of direct speech. The relevance of this distinction is so much lesser, however, in the case of *saya,* as to be hardly relevant at all. Proportions of use for each INSTRUMENTALITY for *saya* are almost exactly even; 326 tokens of saya are used in instances not of direct speech; and 349 tokens are used in representations of direct speech. This even spread is evidence in support of the previously made claim of *saya* as a neutral form, as much as a formal, respectful form.

The other evidence for the greater pragmatic neutrality of *saya* than any of the addressee reference pronouns discussed in Chapter 7 is the broadness of the contexts appropriate for its use, as evidenced by its presence in all text types. This is very different than the almost exclusively limited use of addressee reference pronouns in one or another text type only. *Saya* is used throughout the data in news reports, sports stories, opinion pieces, letters, the full range of literary texts as described in the analysis of *kau* in Chapter 7, and even a few advertisements. Its minimal use in advertisements is not attributable to the suitability of the form so much as the limited appropriateness of singular self reference in advertising.

The following extracts give some examples of its use in direct speech and non-direct speech in different text types throughout the data period. Some of these extracts are shown here because the texts also contain tokens of *aku* and they will be referred to again in discussion of *aku* below in 9.3.1.

The use of any self reference in the first five or six years of the data period is fairly limited. For example, there are no tokens of *saya* used in the September 1965 edition of Kompas, only one token in September 1966, four in March 1967, five in March 1968 and three in September 1968. Even in September 1970, with the increase to eight page editions, there are only eight tokens of *saya*.

One extensive half page text that boosts the numbers in the June 1965 edition of Kompas contains 26 tokens of *saya*,[5] all in direct speech. The article is headed *Sarengat Harapan Indonesi,* 'Sarengat; The Hope of Indonesia'. Sarengat is the name of an athlete and the report contains numerous quotes from Sarengat, discussing the difficulties he is having with combining his training regime with his studies at university. This article also contains many tokens of *saudara* used for addressee and other reference (see 8.2) An example of the use of *saya* in this text is the following lengthy quote which contains four tokens.

> Extract 9.1 (Kompas June 1965: 4)
>
> "*Karenanja, **saja** tak dapat ikut ke Roma dan bersamaan dengan itu gagal pulalah udjian penghabisan SMA jang **saja** tempuhdi Djakarta. Ini merupakan tjontoh mengang apa jang tadi telah **saja** terangkan jaitu **saja** taka da kemampuan untuk mensukseskan studi dan olahraga sekaligus.*"
>
> "That's why **I** could not go to Rome and at the same time **I** failed my high school exam in Jakarta. This is an example of what **I**'ve explained before, that **I** was not able to do sport and study successfully at the same time."

The large number of tokens of *saya* found in the March 1969 edition is also largely attributable to an extended dialogue, presented as an exchange in a court of law, in which 30 tokens are found, all in direct speech. The article is headed *Benarkah Dia Pembunuhnja*, 'Is She the Murderer'. Note that the lawyer, Bailey, uses saya in self reference and *nyonya* for address reference, as already discussed in Extract 8.15. The lawyer, Bailey, asks the accused, Marge:

> Extract 9.2 (Kompas March 1969: 4)
>
> "**Saja** sudah tahu bahwa itu terjantum disini? Dan nyonya mengatakan bahwa nyonya memang mengatakan hal itu?
>
> "**I** already know that it is stated here. And you said that you did mention it?"

---

[5] The post-1972 spelling, '*saya*' is used throughout this discussion to avoid unnecessary confusion, even in those pre-1972 examples where '*saja*' is used in the text.

Another text type which frequently contains tokens of *saya* is letters from the newspaper's readers. The earliest editions of Kompas in the data set do not contain letters but where they are found, the writers almost invariably use some form of self reference, and the form used for singular reference is almost invariably *saya*.[6] Letters begin to appear in Kompas in 1967 and are found in all subsequent editions, though the letters contained in the March and September 1970 editions use plural self reference forms but no singular; that is, they contain tokens of *kami* and *kita* but no tokens of *saya*. More important to this discussion is the fact that these letters do not use any T forms of self reference, an indication of the somewhat formal GENRE of letters to the editor in newspapers. This GENRE is markedly different to personal letters, where PARTICIPANT intimacy would be expected in some letters to be expressed through the greater use of T forms of self reference.

One example is the use of *saya* in the opening of a letter titled "HALO …….. TAXI" (Kompas March 1973: 4). This brief example is given here especially because we will return to this letter in more detail below in comparing its use of *saya* and *gue* in representing a dialogue between a policeman and the taxi driver (see Extract 9.19).

    Extract 9.3 (Kompas March 1973: 4)

    Saya tertarik dengan surat pembaca Sdr. Jos M. Bianto …

    I am interested in a letter from the reader Mr. Jo M. Bianto …

One reason for the fairly dramatic increase in the use of *saya,* from 1972 on, is the inclusion of full pages of sports reports. This text type is particularly fertile ground for self reference, as seen in Extract 9.1 above, containing lengthy quotes from sports people talking about themselves, their teams, and their performances in sporting events. Talk of teams often involves the exclusive plural self reference form, *kami*, discussed further below in 9.2.2. There are some sports reports in earlier editions, particularly concerning tennis and boxing. The June 1965 edition contains the extended interview with the runner, Sarengat, as shown in Extract 9.1, and the March 1971 edition includes a front page story about a tennis tournament in India. The earlier editions contain quarter page sections headed *olahraga,* 'sport', but it is

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[6] There is one token of *gue* in a letter, discussed below in 9.3.3.

only from September 1972 that the overall reporting of sport becomes more extensive.

One sport text of particular interest is a report on a boxing match between George Foreman and Joe "King" Roman. This text has been highlighted in Extract 7.5 for its use of the addressee reference form *lu* in translating Foreman's utterance. The use of *saya* in translating Roman's response to Foreman's utterance is noteworthy for its marked non-use of the self reference complement, *gue*, and the consequent non-reciprocity of this mismatched pairing. Foreman has challenged Roman by asking "what are you smiling for?". Roman's response is arguably as abrupt and unfriendly as Foreman's challenge but he is not translated into colloquial language as is Foreman.

> Extract 9.4 (Kompas September 1973: 10)
> *"**Saya** senyum kapan saja **saya** mau. Nantilah akan **saya** tunjukkan mengapa **saya** tersenyum."*
> "**I**'ll smile when **I** want to. Wait and **I**'ll show you why **I**'m smiling."

The KEY of each PARTICIPANT's part of the exchange is aggressive, as is expected from boxing opponents, but only Foreman is afforded the markedness of translation into colloquial Jakartanese. This point is further highlighted by the use of the standard *mengapa,* 'why', by Roman and the non-standard *ngapain,* 'why', by Foreman. The use of four tokens of self reference by Roman in a relatively short, thirteen word utterance, is another example of the usually high frequency of tokens of self reference expected in the direct speech of sports people in these data.

The text types in which *saya* and *aku* both appear are commonly literary texts. The division of labour in these text types can in some cases be defined by its use in making a distinction between different INSTRUMENTALITIES. One form is used in non-direct speech and the other is used in representations of direct speech, their alternation consequently offering a point of distinction between written and spoken representations. For example, in the story *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* 'New Shoots Die Before They Grow' (Kompas March 1971: 6), in which *kau* and *kamu* are used as addressee reference terms by different PARTICIPANTs (see Extract 7.31),

the narrator of the story, Robert, uses *aku* in eight tokens in his role as narrator and the various characters, including Robert, use five tokens of *saya* in representations of direct speech.

> Extract 9.5 (Kompas March 1971: 6)
> *"**Saja** jang mengawasinja", djawab Lexi lesu.*
> "**I** was the one watching over her", answered Lexi wearily.

Another literary text which uses both *saya* and *aku* is *Cintaku di Kampus Biru*, 'My Love at the Blue Campus' (Kompas March 1973: 7). This story is told from a third person perspective and therefore, unlike in *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* there is no use of self reference other than in representations of direct speech. There are two distinct SCENES involving two distinct PARTICIPANT sets in this story and *saja* and *aku* are distributed isomorphically between the two. In the first part of the story, Anton, the main character, is talking amongst his university friends and all tokens of self reference are *aku* (see Extract 9.13 below). In the second part of the story Anton is conversing with his female university lecturer, Yusnita, and uses *saja* throughout these exchanges, accounting for 13 tokens of this form. Note that the address reference use between these two PARTICIPANTs is non-reciprocal (see example of his use of *ibu* in Extract 8.5, and her use of *saudara* in Extract 8.5) but saya is used by both PARTICIPANTs in self reference. For example, Anton says to his lecturer:

> Extract 9.6 (Kompas March 1973: 7)
> *"**Saya** berharap ibu punya kebijaksanaan dalam menilai."*
> "**I** hope you are wise in making a judgement"

An important point to note here is that the one text type in which *saya* is rarely used is advertisements. There are only four examples of advertisements that contain tokens of *saya* in the whole data set. This is not because there is an alternative form that is the more unmarked choice for this particular text type but simply because singular self reference is generally not appropriate for the purposes of the advertiser. In three of the four advertisements containing *saya*, it is used in representations of direct speech, once as a testimonial about the film being advertised, and twice in quotes taken from the magazines being advertised. It is used once in an

advertisement titled, *WONG KAM FU*, (Kompas March 1968: 2), which is perhaps the name of a magazine fortune-teller whose services are being offered. It is used twice in an advertisement for the film, Blackbeard's Ghost (September 1973: 12), in a customer's testimonial. The third example of its use as a token of direct speech is an advertisement for the magazine Nova (Kompas September 2008: 37), in which it appears on the cover of the magazine, representing a quote taken from within the magazine.

The fourth example is an advertisement titled *Berkat Anda, ia bisa mudik cuma-cuma*, 'Thanks to You, he can go home for free' (Kompas 2008: 43), also from the contemporary data, where it is used at the head of a registration form which potential respondents can fill in to register themselves for a 'homecoming' event. *Mudik* is a special term used by Moslem people to refer to a homecoming to their village to celebrate the Islamic holiday, *Lebaran*, at the end of the month of fasting, *Ramadan.*

> Extract 9.7 (Kompas 2008: 43)
> *SAYA INGIN MENDAFTARKAN … BANGUNAN BERIKUT DALAM AJANG MUDIK BERSAMA HOLCIM 2008*
> I WANT TO REGISTER … THIS BUILDING FOR THE HOMECOMING PROGRAM WITH HOLCIM 2008[7]

None of these examples show *saya* used in advertisements as self reference by the advertisers themselves or the companies or products being represented. The self reference invariably appears from the mouth of the customer, so to speak.

9.2.2 Summary of *saya*

Saya is the only form of self reference or address reference so far discussed which is not used as a marked form in either non-direct speech or direct speech roles, being fairly evenly distributed between both the spoken and written channels. In addition it is the only form which so far is not marked for use in one text type or

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[7] This advertisement is rendered all in capitals in the newspaper.

another. Although it is not common in advertisements, this is not because the form itself is somehow inappropriate for this text type but because singular self reference is rarely appropriate in advertising. Thus *saya* is not counted as a particularly marked form of self reference in this text type. It is as (un)common as any other form of singular self reference in advertising. Its common use in all other GENRES and either INSTRUMENTALITY is the best evidence for classifying it as a neutral option for self reference in the Indonesian language, appropriate for use in all contexts, at least within this data set.

As a consequence of the somewhat unremarkable neutrality and all round usefulness of *saya* across all text types, the extracts provided in the above discussion are fairly minimal in number. Those which have been provided are put forward not so much to illustrate the situated use of *saya* as to enable some point of cross-reference for those more marked forms that share these texts with *saya*.

9.2.3 *Kami* and *Kita*

Kami and *kita*, along with *saya*, complete the unmarked set of self reference pronouns for this particular data set as delimited by their frequencies of use throughout the data. As with their singular counterpart, *saya*, *kami* and *kita* are used commonly in both written and spoken representations across a comprehensive range of text types. There are some disparities, however, in the overall frequency counts for each form in the data, and the text types within which they more frequently occur, and these two points are of particular interest in the following discussion.

Figures 9.4 and 9.5, below, show the frequency counts for both *kami* and *kita* over the data periods, 1965-1974, and 2008.
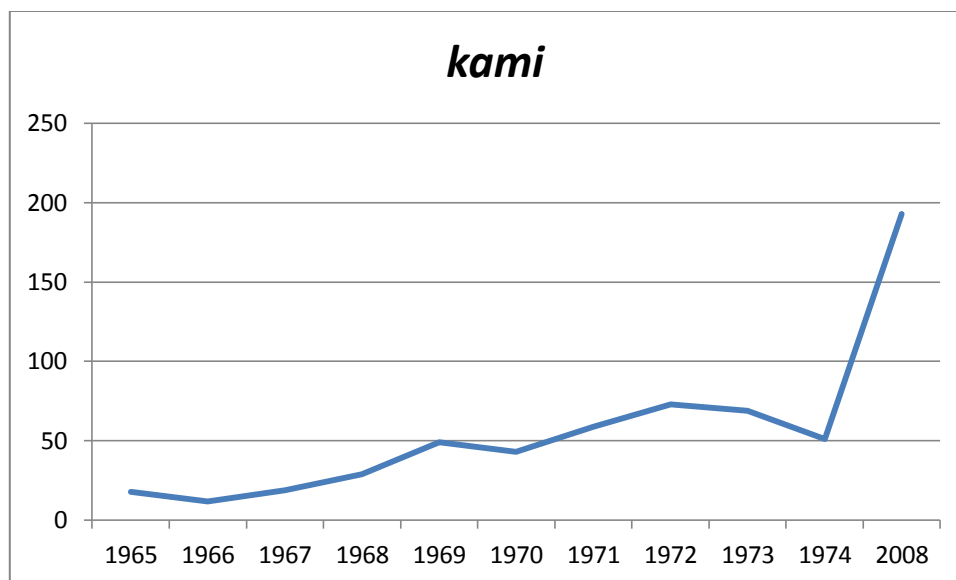
Figure 9.4   Frequency of *kami* in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008
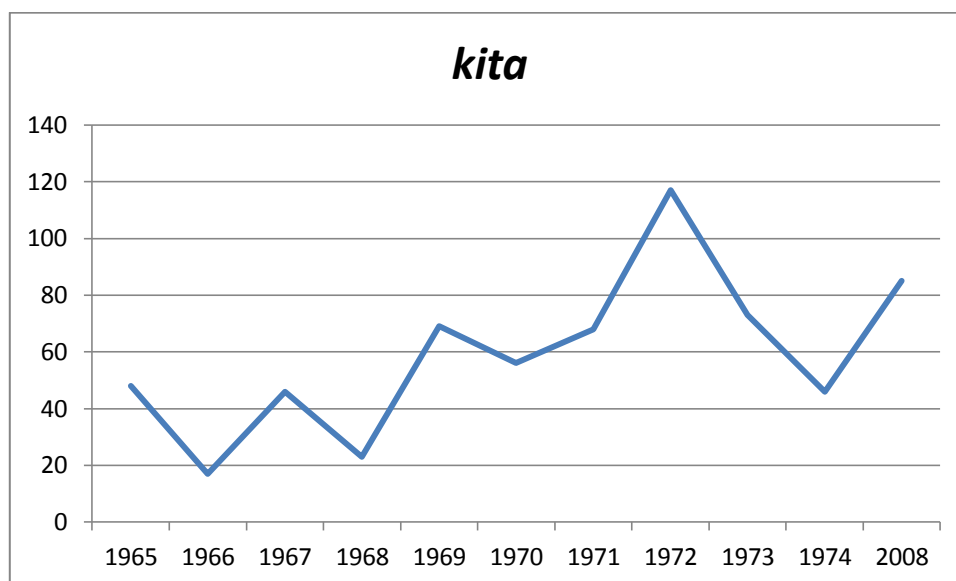
Figure 9.5   Frequency of *kita* in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008

The most striking feature of Figure 9.4 is that the increase in use of *kami* across the data periods is very even, following the increase in size, that is, number of pages per edition, of Kompas over these periods; four pages in the first four years (1965-1968), eight pages in the next three years (1969-1971), 12 pages in next three years (1972-1974), and 66 and 48 pages in the more recent editions (2008). The evenness of this spread is the result of *kami* being used fairly evenly across all text types. Unlike *saya*, and indeed *kita*, (see below), however, *kami* is commonly used in advertising to represent the company that is doing the advertising. It is particularly prevalent in

the proliferation of employment advertisements analyzed later in this chapter, (see 9.5 below). Its overall frequency of use is predicated unproblematically on its grammatical features of plurality and exclusivity.

Of the 615 tokens of *kami* in the data, a much smaller proportion (approximately 25%) are used in representations of direct speech; 168 tokens against 447 used in non-direct speech. This is due to the fact that it shares the load of plural self reference with its inclusive partner, *kita*, and is used in high frequency in three text types which largely preclude representations of direct speech; they are, letters, personal notices, and advertisements. It is used less commonly than *saya* in sports reports, only appearing with any frequency in representations of direct speech in this text type where sportspeople are referring to their teams. This precludes quotes from sportspeople who play individual sports. Examples of its use in each of these text types are given below.

Kita increases through the data period in less even manner than *kami*. The initial spike (1965) in the use of *kita* is partially attributable to ten tokens used by the then President, Sukarno, in an article titled *Adjaran Pemipin Besar Revolusi Bung Karno*, 'The Message of the Great Revolutionary Leader Bung Karno' (Kompas September 1965: 3) and further increased by the relatively high frequencies in a number of editorial pieces. An example of Sukarno's use is:

> Extract 9.8 (Kompas September 1965: 3)
> **Kita** *punja perjuangan pada hakekatnja ialah perjuangan.*
> Our struggle is basically a spiritual struggle.

The use of *kita* by President Suharto is examined by Hooker (1993), and Sukarno's use in this article is similarly a plea to a sense of national unity. *Kita* is used in an all-inclusive manner, a kind of 'we the people', indexing the notion of the unified nation of Indonesia. Remember that this edition of Kompas is published in tumultuous times, only weeks before the events of 30 September, 1965, which eventually led to Suharto deposing Sukarno as leader. The subsequent spikes in frequency of *kita,* in 1967, 1969, and 1972, are largely attributable to its abundant use in editorial pieces, a point we will return to in the following discussion.

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The fact that Figure 9.5 exhibits a less even increase in tokens of *kita* as compared to the even increase evident in the figure for *kami* is due in large part to the distribution of these forms within individual texts. The frequency counts for *kami* show that it is used in far lesser numbers within individual texts than *kita*, and, conversely, is used in a greater number of texts. For example, ten separate texts within the data contain ten or more tokens of *kita*, whereas only five texts contain ten or more tokens of *kami*. The two largest counts per text for *kami* are 13 and 14 tokens used in letters to the editor (Kompas March 1969: 2, and September 1971: 9, respectively). Compare this to *kita*, where one text alone, an editorial piece titled *Penegasan Sikap Kita*, 'Affirming Our Position' (Kompas March 1967: 2), uses *kita* 27 times. The text concerns attempts by elite elements in the Indonesian society to break some of the constitutional premises established in 1945, especially regarding the concept of *Pancasila*,'the Five Guiding Principles'. An example of the use of *kita* in this text is:

Extract 9.9 (Kompas March 1967: 2)
Sudah barang tentu kita telah didorong dan didjiwai oleh Pantjasila.
Surely, we have been encouraged and lived by [the principles of] *Pancasila*.

The decidedly rhetorical use of *kita* in editorials is similar to the examples previously cited of its use by politicians like Sukarno and Suharto (see Extract 9.8 and Hooker 1993). In another editorial, titled *Pengelompokan: Kwalitatif Atau Kwantitatif*, 'Coalition: Quantitative Or Qualitative' (Kompas March 1970: 2), *kita* is used five times. In each instance its purpose is to present the opinion of the editor in such a manner that the reader's agreement with the opinion, by virtue of the inclusive plural self reference, is a *fait accompli*.

Extract 9.10 (Kompas March 1970: 2)
Kita *belum tahu pasti reaksi positif partai2 itu benar2 mentjerminkan hasrat hati mereka ataukah sekitar basa-basi.*
We are not sure whether the party's positivity reflects their heart felt beliefs or if they are just paying lip service.

Another example of an editorial piece which uses *kita* in large numbers within a single text, 19 times, is titled *PERTUMBUHAN KEMAKMURAN HARUS DISERTAI PERTUMBUHAN KEADILAN* , 'WELFARE DEVELOPMENT MUST BE FOLLOWED BY DEVELOPMENT OF JUSTICE' (Kompas September 1972: 5&7). This text explores the relationship between national development and the inequities of socio-economic status. The inclusive plural is used to exhort the readers collectively to action on social inequality, as in the following extract.

> Extract 9.11 (Kompas September 1972: 5)
> Jadi **kita** harus mulai dengan mencipta pertentangan antar kelas.
> We must begin by creating resistance to class [distinctions].

There is one text in the data that uses *kita* and a proper noun for self reference (discussed below in 9.5) and also uses *kau* and *kalian* for addressee reference (see Extracts 7.44 and 7.55). This text is titled *Hari Kanak2 Nasional dan hari Kanak2 Se Dunia,* 'National Children's Day and World Children's Day' (Kompas September 1973: 5), and is included in the pages of a children's section in this edition of Kompas. The text uses *kita* in high frequency, with a total of ten tokens. The use of *kita* in this text is not especially remarkable given that the article is about an inclusive event, National Children's Day, but an example is included here on the basis that it is used in high frequency in this text and for the purposes of cross-reference with its use alongside a proper noun for self reference and *kau* and *kalian* for addressee reference. The use of *kita* in this text is in keeping with observations made in reference to the use of *kalian* of the overall KEY of the article which is rather chatty and suits the young PARTICIPANT features of the intended audience. One example of *kita* is used in the sentence following directly after *kalian* (in Extract 7.44) in the opening paragraph of this article.

> Extract 9.12 (Kompas September 1971: 6)
> **Kita** sudah punya Hari Kanak2 Nasional tanggal 17 Juni. Mengapa ada lagi Hari Kanak2 se Dunia?
> **We** already had National Children's day on the 17th June. Why is there also World Children's day?

Kita is used in advertisements even more minimally than *saya*, and for much the same reasons. That is, inclusive plural reference is not overly appropriate for the functional purposes of this text type. Only two examples of *kita* used in advertisements are found in the data. Both are advertisements for films. An advertisement for the film, *PEMBERANG*, 'The Angry Man', (Kompas March 1973: 11) contains a testimonial, as per the use of *saya* in advertising the film Blackbeard's Ghost (see 9.2.1 above) taken from a newspaper review. In an advertisement for the film 'Helicopter Spies' (Kompas September 1973, the text uses *kita* in referring to one of the characters in the film as *JAGO KITA*, 'OUR HERO'. As with *saya*, the point about the minimal use is that it is not the result of *kita* being an inappropriate form for advertisements *per se*, it is the more general assertion that the use of inclusive plural reference is not overly appropriate for the purposes of this text type. In contrast, *kami* is used in more than 80 different advertisements, approximately half of which are employment advertisements in the March 2008 edition.

9.2.4 Summary of *kami* and *kita*

Kami and *kita* share the work of plural pronominal self reference in the data, and when counted as a complementary pair, they are represented by a staggering 1,263 tokens. At this frequency, their combined use is greater than any other form accounted for in this thesis. Even when presented separately, their frequencies outstrip all other forms, self reference or address reference, except *saya* which records a higher frequency than *kita* but not *kami*. These three self reference forms are a complementary set, and are the most unmarked part of either the self or address reference sets functioning in this data. Their high frequencies in this data can be explained by two factors. The first is that there are less options for self reference than addressee reference in the data, leaving a greater load for these unmarked self reference forms to carry. The second feature is that all three forms function as the unmarked choice across all the text types. This is not negated by the minimal use of *saya* and *kita* in advertising texts as their lack of frequency in this text type is not attributable to their unsuitability compared to another form but rather to the unsuitability of any form of singular self reference or inclusive plural self

reference to the text type. *Kami*, by virtue of being the exclusive plural option, is well suited and appears in great numbers in this text type throughout the data.

9.3 Marked pronouns of self eference

The marked pronouns of self reference are *aku*, *gue*, and *hamba*. Frequencies for each form are shown in comparison with the marked forms in Figure 9.1, above. These figures show that *aku* is used with much greater frequency than *gue* or *hamba* in the earlier data, 1965-1974, but with similar lack of frequency in the 2008 data. The reason for the greater and lesser frequencies of *aku* in the two periods stem from its relatively high frequency in literary texts and this is explored in more detail in the following discussion. *Gue* and *hamba* are used in the data so rarely, that is to say, they are so marked, that there the data suggest no particular text type in which we might expect to see more or less of them.

9.3.1 *Aku/-ku*

The initial classification of *aku/-ku* as a marked form is somewhat anomalous in comparison with the initial classification of *engkau/kau* as an unmarked form (see 7.2.3) and this point needs clarification, given that the data contain 268 tokens of *aku/-ku* and only 169 tokens of *engkau/kau*. The marked/unmarked distinction is defined in relative terms, not merely frequency counts but frequency counts in relation to the frequencies of the other forms with which any given form shares the load of self or addressee reference. In the case of *engkau/kau*, the frequency is only outnumbered by *anda*, which is not used in the same text types as *engkau/kau*, meaning that *engkau/kau* is the predominant form in its use in literary text types. It is the unmarked form for this text type and although it can be considered a marked option of addressee reference in the overall frequency as compared to *anda*, it does not generally share the same space as *anda*. *Aku,* and its enclitic form *–ku,* share the work with the declaredly unmarked forms of self reference, *saya*, *kami*, and *kita*, in the literary texts. It is on this basis that it is given the preliminary classification of marked in the current analysis.

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The following figure, 9.6, shows the frequencies for *aku/-ku* over the data periods.
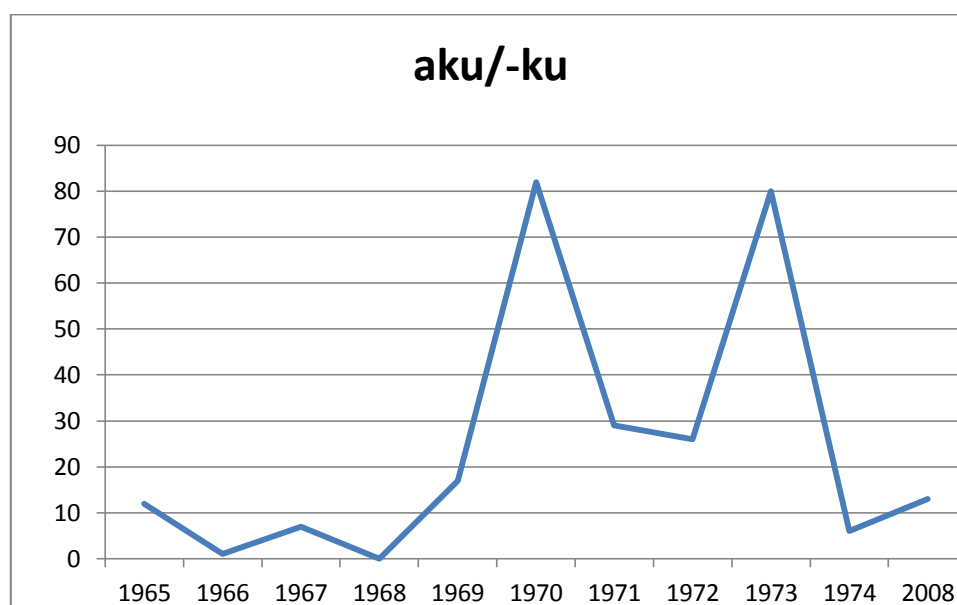
Figure 9.6   Frequency of *aku/-ku* in Kompas 1965-1974 & 2008

Of the 268 tokens represented in this figure, only 42 are tokens of the enclitic form, *-ku*. The enclitic form is used in the same manner as its addressee counterpart, *-mu*. It is used in genitive and dative constructions. The proportions of *–ku* to *aku* (just under 20% *-ku*) are inversely proportionate to the ratio of *–mu* to *kamu* (just under 80% *-mu*). The reason for this disparity is that *–ku* shares the load of possessive work with *saya*, *kami*, and *kita,* which are all used in possessive constructions throughout the data. Whilst *anda* is used in possessive constructions in address reference, there is only one token of *kamu* in this role in the whole data set (see Extract 7.34), and none of *kau,* leaving *–mu* to do the bulk of this work. The limited use of *–ku* in these roles is discussed no further.

The spikes in frequency of *aku* are largely attributable to their use in literary texts. This ebb and flow of frequency bears resemblance to that seen in the frequencies given for *engkau/kau* (see Figure 7.6) and this similarity is indicative of both forms' suitability to the literary text type. As with *engkau/kau*, *aku* is used almost exclusively in literary text types although often it is not the only self reference pronoun used in this text type. Some examples of the literary texts in which it shares the load with *saya* have already been given above but we will return to these here, and examine

some other literary texts in which it is used, to look more closely at the motivations for the choice of *aku*.

The spikes in use in 1970 and 1973 can be attributed to a small number of literary texts that contain a large number of tokens of *aku*. In the March 1970 edition of Kompas, there are three literary texts that each use ten or more tokens of *aku*. They are: *Sebuah Sadjak Amir Hamzah*, 'The Poems of Hamir Hamzah', in which Hamzah's poetry is discussed (Kompas 1970: 3&5), which uses *aku* 27 times in poetry and dialogue; a biography titled with its subject's name, 'Jacqueline Kennedy' (Kompas 1970: 5), which uses *aku* 14 times; and an article on the 150th anniversary of the birth of the famous Dutch author, Eduard Dowes Dekker, who wrote under the pen-name 'Mutatuli' (Kompas 1970: 4&5), which use 15 tokens of *aku*. This article, a biographical piece about Dekker and his work, uses self reference forms in quotes from people about Dekker's work and excerpts from his famous novel, 'Max Havelaar'. In the quotes discussing his work, *aku* is used, and in the excerpts from his novel, the characters use *saya* in self reference in representations of direct speech. Although *aku* is not commonly used in representations of direct speech in news stories, it is the unmarked form in these and other articles about literary figures.

In the March 1973 edition of Kompas there are two literary texts that contain 51 tokens of *aku* between them. One of these texts, *Cintaku di Kampus Biru*, 'My Love at the Blue Campus' (Kompas March 1973: 7) contains 19 tokens of *aku*, along with 13 tokens of *saya* (see Extract 9.6). As mentioned in 9.2.1, *aku* is used for self reference by the main character, Anton, and his university friends when talking amongst themselves and *saya* is used for sefl reference by both parties when Anton is talking to his lecturer (see Extract 9.6), the choice of form being predicated on differing PARTICIPANT relations. In the following example, two of Anton's friends, Retno and Erika, are making plans to visit a Hindu temple, Prambanan, in Surakarta.

> Extract 9.13 (Kompas March 1973)
> "*Sudah kubilang. **Aku** tidak terganggu. **Aku** tilpon dia ya?*"
> "I've told you already. **I**'m not disturbed. **I**'ll call him, alright?"

The other text that contributes to the large count of *aku* in the March 1973 edition of Kompas is *Kau Tak Perlu Tahu Siapa Aku,* 'You Don't Need To Know Who I Am.' (Kompas March 1973: 6). This text contains 61 tokens of *kau* (see Chapter 7.2.3), 32 tokens of *aku*, and, interestingly, no tokens of *saya*. All tokens of both *aku* and *kau* are in representations of direct speech, it being a third person narrative with much use of dialogue, especially telephone conversations. In one exchange, from which the title of the story is derived, the main character Frank, asks:

> Extract 9.14 (March 1973: 6)
> "*Siapa kau?*"
> "Who is this?"
> "*Tentang siapa **aku**, kau tak perlu tahu Frank.*"
> "About who **I** am, you don't need to know Frank."

Aku is used in representations of direct speech 163 times, and in non-direct speech only 63 times. Examples of its use in non-direct speech are more commonly found in texts written from a first person perspective, as in the literary text, *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* 'New Shoots Die Before They Grow' (Kompas March 1971: 6), where Robert is the narrator and uses *saja* in dialogue (see Extract 9.5) and *aku* otherwise (8 tokens of *aku* and 9 tokens of *–ku*). For example:

> Extract 9.15 (Kompas March 1971: 6)
> ***Aku**pun berlalu. Tangan Sam mengisjaratkan bahwa **aku**.*
> **I** then pass. Sam gestures for **me** to go first.

Another first person narrative which uses *aku* in non-direct speech is titled *Dari Kaisar Menjadi Penduduk Biasa*, 'From King to Commoner', and excerpts from this autobiography are published in the June and September 1965 editions of Kompas (pages 4 and 3, respectively). *Aku* is used twice in the June edition and ten times in the September edition. The September edition also contains one token of *–ku* used in a dative construction; *kepadaku*, 'to you'. The text is an autobiography of Henry Pu Yi, the last Chinese Emperor, telling of his years in exile after he was deposed.

Extract 9.16 (Kompas September 1965: 3)

Aku *melontjat tempat tidur.*

I leapt from my bed [sleeping place].

Aku/-ku is only used in two advertisements. As with *saya* and *kita*, also rarely used in advertisements, one of the uses of *aku* in this text type is in advertising a film, *XL*, 'Extra Large' (see Extract 7.23) and this tagline has already been justified as a literary text, albeit embedded within an advertisement. The other advertisement, 'Rising Star' (see Extract 7.34) uses *kotaku*, 'Your City' and it is used here in collocation with *kamu*, the use of which is also marked in this text type, the motivation being the PARTICIPANT features of the youth of the intended audience.

Aku and *–ku* are used in one personal notice, an obituary, in the September 2008 edition of Kompas (page 45), where they appear at the top of the notice in a quote from the Bible. The use is notable when considered with Quinn's (2001: 729) description of *kau*'s use in liturgical language, lending weight to the pairing of *kau* and *aku* in this domain.

Extract 9.17 (Kompas September 2008: 45)

"Tuhan adalah gembala**ku**, tak kan kekurangan **aku**. Ia membaring kana**ku** di padang yang berumput hijau. Ia membimbing **aku** ke air yang tenang."
(Mazmur 23: 1-2)

"The Lord is **my** shepherd, **I** shall not want. He maketh **me** to lie down in green pastures. He leadeth me beside the still waters"
 (Book of Psalms 23: 1-2)[8]

9.3.2 Summary of *aku/-ku*

Aku is used in about 50 texts throughout the data. The number is actually slightly over 50 but some of the texts are continuing episodes of the same story told over subsequent editions (e.g. *Dari Kaisar Menjadi Penduduk Biasa* , cited above, and

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[8] This translation is taken from the King James' Bible.

various comic strips) so the total number of different texts in which it is used is slightly under 50. Of these, less than ten texts would be classified as other than literary. Thus the unmarked text type for *aku* in this data is literary, including texts about literary figures where *aku* is also commonly used. Unlike *kau,* however, it is not especially marked when used in non-direct speech. In addition to works of fiction, biographies and autobiographies, it is the only form of singular self reference used in comic strips and poetry. It is used with *kau* in a quote from Chairil Anwar, the famous poet, (see Extract 7.21) whose most famous poem is worth mentioning here. It is titled, *Aku.*

9.3.3 *Gue/gua*

Sneddon (2005: 1) observes that '[t]he pronouns *gua*[9] and *gue* … occur in Jakarta Malay and are typically associated with youth and very informal situations in Indonesian.' In the relatively formal language used in the Kompas editions analysed in this thesis, *gue* and its address reference pair, *lu/lo,* are used with little frequency. *Lu/lo* is only used in two texts (see Chapter 7.3.5) and *gue* in four. The text types in which tokens of *gue* occur are classified in the first instance as a news story, a letter, an advertisement and a literary text. All but the last of these contain only one token of *gue.* One character in the literary text uses *gue* nine times and this is the only one of these texts which also contains a token of *lo.* All 12 tokens in these texts are either used in representations of direct speech as signalled by quotation marks, or, where there are no quotation marks, by other typographical signals (e.g. the words of an advertisement floating by the character we can assume is uttering them).

The news story is not really 'hard' news but is perhaps better defined as a type of personal interest story, and thereby maybe even best defined as a type of literary text. It is an autobiographical piece and as such it is told from the first person perspective. The title is *Pendjual Kode Nalo Punja Kuliah*, 'The Lottery Ticket Seller has a University Degree'. The narrator uses *saya* and *anda* for self reference and

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[9] This pronoun is spelt *gua* only once in these data. Where *gua* is used elsewhere in the data it is in reference to the homonymous word for 'cave'.

generic addressee reference, respectively, throughout the text, except when he observes the following about himself.

> Extract 9.18 (Kompas March 1972: 7)
> *Emangnja **gue** orang gila, hah!*
> Indeed **I** am a crazy person, hah!

The use of *gue* indexes a shift in KEY in this line. Elsewhere in the text he is less emphatic than at this line, where he also signals the rhetorical overstatement of the claim with the phatic use of 'hah' and adds further emphasis typographically with the use of an exclamation mark.

In a letter to the editor published under the heading, "HALO …….. TAXI" (Kompas March 1973: 4), the writer of the letter uses *saya* in the body of the text (see Extract 9.3) and in the spoken exchange that he includes in his letter he represents the taxi driver as using both *gue* and *saya*. His letter includes representation of a verbal exchange between a police officer and the taxi driver after the writer of the letter and the driver end up at the police station. The driver has refused to take the letter writer to his requested destination. In the ensuing dialogue with the police officer, the driver uses *gue* at first, before shifting from *gue* to *saya* in his very next utterance. Note that the police officer addresses the driver as *Sdr.* (see Extract 8.15).

> Extract 9.19 (Kompas March 1973: 4)
> *Petugas: "Kenapa Sdr. tidak mau narik?"*
> *Sopir: " Itu Urusan **gua** mau narik atau kagak."*
> *Petugas: "Kalau tidak narik, jangan nongkrong di ini dong."*
> *Sopir: "**Saya** mau nunggu orang, jahwabnya dengan [...] tot dat."[10]*
> Officer: "Why sir, don't you want to drive [him]?"
> Driver' -"It's **my** business whether I want to drive him or not."
> Officer - "If you don't want to take him then don't be there"
> Driver "**I**'m waiting for somebody"

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[10] This line is obscuted by the poor quality of the microfiche file.

As with the use of *lu* by the boxer George Foreman (see Extract 7.5), the use of *gua* is not the only linguistic indication that this exchange is particularly Jakartanese. The use of *kagak,* 'not', much like *nggak,* 'not', in the Foreman translation, is particularly associated with colloquial Jakartanese. The use of *gua*, however, needs further explanation in light of the shift to *saya* in the driver's next conversational turn. The use of *gua* in the phrase, 'my business' is perhaps part of a common colloquial construction, much as 'none of your business' is a common phrase in English.

The single advertisement in which *gue* is used is in the contemporary data, September 2008. There is minimal text and the graphic features a smiling young man standing beside a motorcycle with his thumb pointing upward in a positive gesture. The advertisement is for the motorcycle he is standing beside. The advertisement is headed, *Nyata Hematnya, Nyata Hebatnya*, 'Really Economical, Really Great'. The young man is saying:

> Extract 9.20 (Kompas September 2008: 30)
> *Ini motor **gue**!*
> This is my motorcycle!

The intended audience, PARTICIPANTS, for this advertisement would appear to be young men, in keeping with Sneddon's (2005: 1) observations about one of *gue*'s 'typical associations'.

The only text to feature more than one token of *gue*, nine in total, and a token of *lo*, though only one, (see Extract 7.47) is the literary text, *Selebriti*, 'Celebrity'. The story is presented as a first person narrative and the narrator does not use self reference in representations of her own speech. After all, the exchanges she has with the main character are not about the narrator herself but about the 'Celebrity'. The self reference used by the author in non-direct speech is all *saya*. Donna, the world-weary 'Celebrity' of the title, uses *gue* in all self reference in representations of direct speech. This is in keeping with her celebrity, youth, and modern urbane character. The choice of *gue* for these utterances ultimately serves to portray the character as young and modern, and quite possibly Jakartanese, as with arguments made about the use of *lo* by this character (see Extract 7.47).

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9.3.4 Summary of *gue/gua*

Gue/gua is used very rarely, and consequently is very marked, in the data analysed in this thesis. It may be becoming less rare in the contemporary spoken language but assessing this is outside the scope of this study. In this data, *gue* serves to characterize the speakers who use it as either young or Jakartanese, as per Sneddon's (2005: 1) suggestions about with whom we might typically associate its use. The older data examples, from 1972 and 1973, are perhaps more representative of its Jakartanese associations and intermediate origins from Betawi, or Jakartanese Malay, whilst the two examples from the 2008 data appear to be primarily indicative of its youthful and modern associations.

9.3.5 *Hamba*

Of the three main Indonesian dictionaries used in preparing this thesis, Quinn (2001), Sahanaya and Tan (2001), Echols and Shadily (1992), none define *hamba* as a pronoun or even list its use as a self reference form. Quinn (20010) excludes it from definition completely. Sahanaya and Tan (2001), and Echols and Shadily (1992), define it as meaning 'slave, servant'. Self reference forms derived from words originally meaning 'slave' or 'servant' are not uncommon in some Asian languages (cf. the male first person pronoun *boku* in Japanese), and the other obvious example in Indonesian is *saya*, explained above (see 9.2.1) as a contraction of the Sanskrit word *sahāya,* meaning 'companion' (see Tadmor 2007b: 3 and 2013) but defined by Quinn (2001: 1053), from less distant roots, as deriving 'from the Old Malay [for] "a slave".' *Hamba* is probably more correctly classified as a common noun than a pronoun but is included here at the end of the pronoun discussion as a somewhat archaic form that derives from a semantic field of common nouns that has been a rich source of self reference pronouns throughout the geographical region and the ages, and, more specifically, as a common form of self reference still in some regional dialects of the Malay language.

Hamba is used for self reference in three texts in the Kompas data, two from 1965 and one from 1971. Therefore it is not used in any editions of Kompas represented in this data set later than March 1971. The June 1965 edition has a column headed *Senjum SImpul,* 'Knotted Smile'.[11] The story beneath this heading is somewhat humorous, relating an incident in which a man goes with his heavily pregnant wife to the hospital but despite her condition he is the one who ends up passing out at the sight of some blood. *Hamba* is used four times in the text which tells its story from a first person perspective.

> Extract 9.21 (Kompas June 1965: 2)
> *Kira **hamba** si-pasien, tapi ternjata suaminja jang tahan melihat darah isteri nememaninja: pinsan taknja.*[12]
> I thought it was the patient falling down but it was her husband who was scared of his wife's blood who fainted.

This text has been shown to a number of Indonesian speakers and the possible explanations they have suggested for the choice of *hamba* have been a varied lot. The point is made throughout this thesis, however, that there may be no obvious motivating factor for some choices of reference form. It is possible sometimes that even the speaker/writer may be unsure as to why they use one form over another. Some informants have suggested that *hamba* is expressing a kind of humble, unassuming KEY in this text, in mitigation of the story finding humour in other's (mild) misfortune. Two informants, however, are fairly adamant that the use of *hamba* in this text indicates nothing more than the writer being from Minangkabau, where *hamba* is the unmarked self reference form. This is an intriguingly simple explanation.

The use of *hamba* in the September 1965 edition of Kompas is more directly attributable to its etymological roots as a term for 'servant' or 'slave' than the previous example. In this text, *Dari Kaisar Menjadi Penduduk Biasa*, 'From King to

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[11] This translation has proven to be somewhat troublesome. I have shown it to a number of people who recognise the phrase as a common compound in Indonesian. *Senjum* is unproblematically 'smile' but *Simpul* has proven more difficult to translate into English. Ultimately, I've used the dictionary translation – not terribly useful but this thesis is not about translation, so it will have to do.

[12] This spelling of *pinsan* has been challenged by an examiner who suggests that the correct spellling is *pingsan* but the spelling is as per the original. Perhaps it is a typographical error in the original publication.

Commoner' (Kompas September 1965: 3), the Emperor has been deposed but he still demands the most respectful of language from his adviser, Consul Kato. (see story synopsis accompanying Extract 9.16 above). Consul Kato uses *hamba* as self reference in every instance where he is speaking to the emperor. For example:

> Extract 9.22 (Kompas September 1965: 3)
> "***Hamba*** *tak dapat segera memberi djawab atas pertanjaan Seri Baginda.*
> ***Hamba*** *harus menantikan pendapat Tokyo dulu …"[13]*
> "**I** cannot answer your question emperor. **I** have to wait to hear from Tokyo first."

Hamba is used in reported speech by Robert, the narrator of *Tunas2 Luruh Selagi Tumbuh,* 'New Shoots Die Before They Grow' (Kompas March 1971: 6), in one incident in which his troops appear to be mocking him. The beginning of this paragraph is given above in Extract 9.15 and is continued here.

> Extract 9.22 (Kompas March 1971: 6)
> ***Aku***pun berlalu. Tangan Sam mengisjaratkan bahwa ***aku*** persilahkan berlalu
> *dengan sikap tangannya seolah-olah mengatakan: - Silahkan* ***tuanhamba***
> *pesan* ***tuan hamba*** *tutur kata* ***tuan hamba*** *patik djundjung diatas batu kepala patik!*
> I then pass. Sam gestures for me to go first as if saying - please **my lord**, go ahead **my lord**, **my lord's** words are very important [literally - I put them on my head].

The KEY of this passage is argued to be mocking in the exaggerated humility of multiple uses of *tuan hamba* to address Robert, remembering that Robert, the narrator, is imagining this reported exchange on the basis of his men's behaviour. This interpretation is borne out by the next lines in which Robert suggests that Manangko, another character in the scene, stands there like Brutus just before he stuck a knife in Julius Caesar's back.

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[13] The last word of this utterance is unreadable due to the poor quality of the microfilm file.

9.3.6 Summary of *hamba*

Ultimately, *hamba* is more correctly classified as a common noun than a pronoun. The use of the word 'servant' is used in a manner akin to its use in Indonesian in the formal signing off of a letter with 'Your Humble Servant', although 'servant' is not readily usable for self reference in English in the same manner as *hamba* is used in the Indonesian examples cited above. Its use in regional dialects is outside the scope of this study but the first example given above may be an example of the regional dialect of Minangkabau Malay. *Hamba* can be considered to be somewhat archaic on the basis that it is only used in the earlier editions of the data. The form is not commonly used but like the archaic addressee pronominal forms, 'thee', 'thou', 'thy', and 'thine', it is an extant form in some dialects and readily understood by speakers of the language who would not be expected to use it with any frequency (see Extract 7.26).

9.3.7   Summary of marked pronouns of self reference

The marked pronouns of self reference are given in this analysis as *aku/-ku*, *gue/gua*, and *hamba*. *Aku* is an unmarked form in its use in literary texts but it shares this genre with the declaredly unmarked forms, *saya*, *kami,* and *kita*, and is used infrequently in other text types, justifying its overall categorization as a marked form in this data. *Gue/gua* and *hamba* are exceedingly rare in this data and their classification as marked in less problematic. The markedness of these forms in this data is a good indication of the overall formality of the language used in Kompas newspapers throughout the data period.

9.4   Proper nouns used as self reference

Proper nouns, that is, personal names, are used as self reference in Indonesian without the stigma that applies to this use in English (see Chapter 2.4.3) where self reference using one's own name is understood as somehow self-important. In Indonesian the use of one's name for self reference is somewhat formal but certainly

not stigmatized in the same way. For example, Sneddon (2005: 3) cites an example from his study of first person singular reference in Indonesian in which

> there is an interview first with a woman [015a] and then with her husband [015b], although they were both present throughout and made comments while the other was speaking. The husband uses *saya* exclusively. The woman uses almost no pronouns, preferring to use her name, Sandy.

In the Kompas data analysed for the current study there are only two examples of self reference that use proper nouns. In the article titled, *Hari Kanak2 Nasional dan hari Kanak2 Se Dunia,* 'National Children's Day and World Children's Day (Kompas September 1973: 5), intended for a young audience, the author of the article refers to herself throughout as *Kak Tina. Kak* is an abbreviation of *kakak,* 'older sibling', and is used in self reference here as a title with the personal name, Tina. The use of fictive kin terms is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.5.1. The motivating factor for the use of a proper noun in self reference in this text, along with the use of *kalian* (see Extracts 7.44 and 7.45), and *kita* (see Extract 9.12), is the youth of the intended readership, remembering that the article is included in the children's pages of this edition of Kompas.

The other self reference in the data is used in a column that is a regular feature of the earlier editions of Kompas, titled, *Podjok Kompas,* 'Kompas Corner'. The column appears in each edition from September 1969 to March 1972. The author of the column writes under the pseudonym, Mang Usil, and commonly uses this name for self reference. This is somewhat similar to the self reference of Fitzsimmons in The Fitz Files (TFF), for which he is criticised by one of his readers (see Chapter 2.4.3). *Podjok Kompas* is a short, pithy column, in quite colloquial language, which often uses humour to get away with its critical assessments of the actions of local authorities. In one installment, the authorities are questioned about the proliferation of traffic lights that have been installed in Jakarta but are not working.

Extract 9.23 (Kompas September 1970: 3)
Mang Usil *djadi tanja2 djuga gimana nih apa kagak lebih baik kembali diatur oleh bung polisi lalulintas sadja?*

Mang Usil asks again how it is that we don't go back to traffic police rather than using traffic lights?

Note that *gimana*, 'how', is a colloquial form of *bagaimana,* and *kagak,* 'not', is a colloquial form of *tidak.* The use of *bung,* 'brother' is particularly colloquial (see 8.6.2) and is humorously used as a title with *polisi,* 'policeman'.

The use of proper nouns is rare in the data but is not as stigmatized as it is Australian English. The examples given above do not represent frequent use in this data but are nonetheless fairly unremarkable in their pragmatic loading.

9.5 Comparison of English and Indonesian pronouns

English pronouns are not the focus of this study, with only one token of 'you' analyzed for its role in an otherwise Indonesian utterance (see Extract 7.27). The markedly increased use of English in the contemporary, 2008 data, however, has been evident in the frequency counts of English forms included in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 for pronouns of address, and Figures 9.1 and 9.2 for pronouns of self reference. This increase is an interesting feature of the changing landscape of the language use of the Indonesian print media. It is therefore deemed worthy to make a brief digression to compare the use of Indonesian and English personal pronouns in a particular text type in which they both occur with high frequency. The large *Karier* (Career) section of the Saturday edition of Kompas (1st March 2008) provides this unique opportunity for comparison of the use of personal pronouns in a well-defined text type which uses both self reference and addressee reference in the English and Indonesian languages in high frequency.

The employment section of Kompas, March 2008, contains a total of 1,156 employment advertisements in thirteen pages – 1,015 in Indonesian and 141 in English. The most striking point about these advertisements is that only 56 (5.5%) of those in Indonesian contain person pronouns, whereas 72 (51%) of those in English contain person pronouns. The overwhelming majority of advertisements (915 out of the total of 1,156 – 79%) occur in the form of very short advertisements printed in up

to nine columns per page. These short advertisements contain very few personal pronouns as they are largely written with very few words, many abbreviations, and greatly truncated grammar. They are also predominantly written in Indonesian language (of these 915 short advertisements, only 50 are in English, 5.5%), thus grossly skewing the Indonesian figures. The remainder of the advertisements are of the larger 'boxed' variety (three to five columns per page), with considerably more text, often including graphics, and far more detail overall. Of these larger advertisements, numbering 238 in total, 147 are in Indonesian and 91 are in English.

Based on these figures, the following comparison of the frequency of use of personal pronouns in employment advertisements will focus only on the larger advertisements (pages 41-46 and 51-54)[14], giving a fairer point of comparison with 62% of the total number in Indonesian and 38% in English.

The first important point to make about the pronominal forms represented in these employment advertisements is that they are of a very limited range. There are no singular self reference forms present in either language (i.e. no *saya*, 'I', 'me', or 'my'). In the Indonesian language examples, only the plural self reference form, *kami* (exclusive) is represented. The only addressee reference form used in Indonesian is *anda*. The only English forms for self reference are 'we', 'us', and 'our', and for addressee reference, 'you' and 'your'. The following table, 9.2, shows the forms represented in this data set.

	ENGLISH	**INDONESIAN**
Plural Self Reference	*we/us/our*	*kami*
Plural Address Reference	you/your	*anda*

Table 9.2   Personal Pronouns in Employment Ads Kompas March 2008

This table is markedly reduced in comparison to Tables 7.1 and 9.1, especially in the Indonesian listings. Due to the grammatical categories being represented by different forms in English (i.e. subject, object and possessive forms in self reference, and the single subject/object form and possessive form for addressee reference), this is one

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[14] See Appendix 2 for full tables of number of advertisements per page for the whole section.

of the few text types in which the variation in pronominal forms represented in English slightly outnumber those represented in Indonesian, albeit for grammatical rather than pragmatic reasons. One other point of qualification that needs to be made pertains to the assignation of language classification. Some of the examples classified as Indonesian contain some English language tokens. For example, several advertisements begin with an English leader (e.g. 'Walk in Interview') and many of the job titles are given in English (e.g. 'Medical Representative') but in these cases the remainder of the advertisement is in Indonesian and the language classification is ascribed accordingly. The extra-sentential code-switching in these instances does not involve self or address reference forms.

A comparison of the frequency of pronouns in the set of larger advertisements is not as striking as the figures given above for the 1,156 advertisements contained in the whole section, including the small advertisements, but is nonetheless still indicative of a greater utilization of pronominal resources in the English language examples. Of the 238 advertisements under examination, the percentage of English examples containing pronominal forms still greatly outweighs the equivalent assessment of the Indonesian examples. Of the 93 English language employment advertisements, 63 use pronouns in their text (i.e. 69%). Of the 147 Indonesian language advertisements, only 35 use pronouns in their text (23.8%). The comparative percentages are represented visually in the following figures:
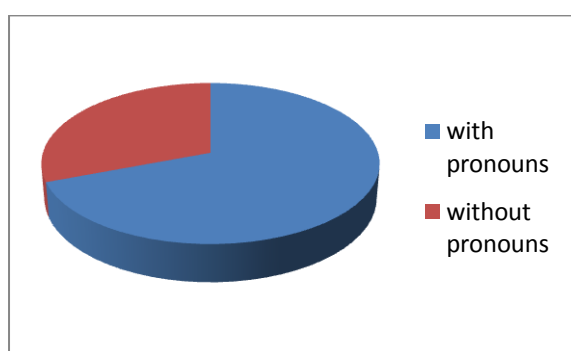
Figure 9.7

English: % of ads containing pronouns
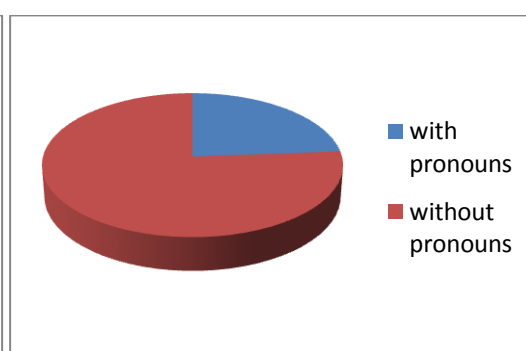
Figure 9.8

Indonesian: % of ads containing pronouns

These figures show an overwhelmingly greater propensity for pronominal reference in the English language employment advertisements compared with their Indonesian

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language counterparts. The differences are further emphasized if we examine the total number of pronouns used in these advertisements in both languages. The 35 Indonesian advertisements that use pronouns contain a total of 63 tokens, giving an average figure of just under two pronouns per advertisement. The total number of pronouns used in the 63 English employment advertisements that contain pronouns is 166 tokens, giving an average of over 2.5 pronouns per advertisement. Thus the comparison shows that the English language is not only more likely to utilize pronominal resources for person reference in any given advertisement, when it does so it is also more likely to utilize more pronouns per advertisement.

Another possibly useful comparison is between the frequency of self reference forms in each language compared with the frequency of addressee reference forms. Here, however, the figures are somewhat more even across the range of both languages. The English pronouns number 76 for self reference and 90 for addressee reference. The Indonesian ratio is of almost exactly equal proportion, with 31 self reference forms and 32 addressee reference forms. The English language advertisements show a greater use of addressee reference over self reference but the figures are not significantly different overall.

9.5.1 Summary of Employment Advertisements, March 2008

The brief comparative analysis given above leads to three main observations. The first is that of the increasing influence of the English language in modern Indonesia.[15] As a point of comparison, the Saturday edition of Kompas dated 1st March 1973, contains only 21 large employment advertisements, and only four of these are in English, despite the fact that another three of them specify, in Indonesian, the requirement for English language skills. In the 2008 edition, many of the advertisements rendered in English, though not all, are motivated also by the specification that applicants for the job must be able to read and write English to a high level of proficiency. In a few cases this is specifically because the job offer is for a person to teach English. In many other instances, the advertised job involves

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[15] See Sneddon (2003a : Chapter 9) for a detailed discussion of the increasing influence of English in Indonesia.

business dealings which are to be conducted in English, for example in businesses which deal with importing and exporting goods internationally.

There are advertisements in the earlier data set that are written in the Dutch language (e.g. an employment ad in Kompas march 1973: 2), which specifies the requirement for the applicant to speak both Dutch and English) but by the early 21st century Dutch is no longer as relevant as it was in the mid-20th century when many older Indonesians had been schooled in the language. The relevance of English as a global language is evident in the high proportion of English language employment advertisements.

The second noteworthy point about this analysis is the isomorphic use of *anda* as an addressee reference term within this specific domain. As we have seen in the preceding discussion in Chapter 7, other forms of addressee reference are utilized here and there in all other text-types, including advertisements for products and services. The exclusive use of *anda* in these employment advertisements is indicative of it as a status-neutral form of addressee reference in this formal domain, where any specific encoding of status, or lack thereof, could be deemed inappropriate and/or unnecessary. The limited frequency of *kami* as the self reference form in Indonesian is explained above in 7.2.4.

The third and final point is that this comparative analysis lends further credence to the claim that pronominal resources are less commonly utilized in an open system of addressee reference such as that which exists in Indonesian, than a closed system of addressee reference, such as that which exists in English, with its common use of a single pronoun of address, without status recognition or pragmatic salience. The lesser frequency of pronouns in the Indonesian advertisements may also be partially attributable to the fact that Indonesian is more accommodating of elision of subject or object pronoun, as per 'pro-drop' languages like Spanish. Examples of this strategy have not been explored in this thesis, with its emphasis on lexical variation, but the strategy cannot be ignored completely. It is another pragmatic option in the language, one that might arguably be a product of efforts at avoidance of possible pragmatic pitfalls in the use of a complex addressee reference system loaded, as is Indonesian, with the potential for many degrees of status recognition.

Chapter 10

Paired Items

> *[A] striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H,*
> *one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L,*
> *where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use*
> *of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as*
> *H or L.* (Ferguson 1972/1959: 242)

10.1 Introduction

The preceding three chapters have presented well over 50 terms used for self reference, addressee reference, and other person reference in the variety of the Indonesian language represented by the data. The various terms have been initially classified according to their nominal word classes; pronouns, common nouns, and proper nouns. The analysis of the situated use of these terms has shed some light on their appropriate application in a range of text types and certain conclusions have been reached, using the heuristic framework of Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING grid, about their association with different PARTICIPANT sets, SCENES and SETTINGS, INSTRUMENTALITIES, various GENRES, and even some examples of marked use where the KEY of the user's emotional state has meaningfully subverted these associations. Thus it has presented a general appraisal of the NORMS of INTERACTION that operate in the use of a complex, multi-term system in the data.

We now turn our attention to describing the broader parameters of this use in an attempt to define the salient features of the overall system of person reference as instantiated in the data. A key feature of the choice of person reference term is that the choice of one term is *ipso facto* the non-choice of one or another term. Thus an important element in defining this system is accounting for the various relationships between the forms and impact these relationships have on their selection by users of

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the language within specific situational contexts. To this end a series of pairings is suggested in the following discussion. The nature of these pairings is based on the understanding that each of the terms represented in the preceding data analysis bears a specific relationship to other terms available for use in the overall system. These relationships are systematized by positing a range of pairings which develop from features of their formal and functional attributes.

10.2   The Idea of Paired Items

In the broadest sense, the notion of paired items is derived from Ferguson's (1972/1959) seminal work on diglossia, as quoted above. However, this definition is too broad to be applied to the data with any exactitude, given that the data contain both H and L forms intermixed in many texts and the delimiting of H and L forms goes far beyond the object of inquiry for this thesis. The mixing of H and L forms is evidence of Sneddon's (2003a) development of the concept of a diglossic continuum in the case of the Indonesian language. The definition of paired items does, however, provide a useful starting point from which to posit a more complex schema of the notion of paired items.

The other broad conceptualization of paired items, particularly relevant to those European languages with two second person singular forms, is derived from Brown and Gilman's (1960) T/V distinction. The distinction has been utilized throughout this thesis and remains an important one in the overall assessment of person reference systems. However, it does have some limitations, discussed in Chapter 2.4.1, which are worth reiterating here. In its original conception it is applied to pronominal paradigms where the options, though they exist, are minimal. The Indonesian language, and other Southeast Asian languages, exhibit systems of far greater complexity than their Western European counterparts, utilizing multiple forms for both self reference and addressee reference. The second limitation of Brown and Gilman's schema is that the distinction between power and solidarity, though a useful starting point, is ultimately limited in its explanatory powers when applied to the vast array of situational features which affect choices in Indonesian, and indeed the Western European languages described in their original paper (see Chapter

2.4.1 for initial discussion of Brown & Gilman's, 1960, work and further developments, especially as posited by Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990: 132). However, the T/V distinction remains useful in defining functional pairings and is applied throughout the following discussion, with some necessary qualifications.

In many instances examined below there are more than two forms involved, subverting the dichotomous definition of pairs but not the overall worth of developing a systematic account derived from delimiting the various relationships between these forms. The term 'set' is substituted for 'pair' in these instances.

10.2.1   Pronominal Pairings

The Indonesian pronouns examined in this thesis (see Table 2.1 and Table 7.1) are defined by the formal grammatical features of person (as in self reference and addressee reference forms), singularity/plurality, and within the plural self reference set, inclusivity and exclusivity. The functional parameters of use are initially defined by whether they are T forms (more informal) or V forms (more formal). Note that pronouns are non-gender specific, meaning that *saudara* is excluded from the set with the caveat that its burgeoning use as a non-gender specific form is perhaps an indication of the claim made throughout this thesis that it is currently undergoing the processes of pronominalization. Thus gender is not a salient feature in the pairing of pronouns. The final feature which defines some pairs is related to the borrowing of some forms from other languages. The formal and functional features identified in the following discussion mean that the pronouns under consideration are readily paired according to their formal grammatical features, their functional appropriateness in various situational contexts, and, in some cases, their etymological sources.

In the self reference paradigm, *saya* is paired with *kami* and *kita*, as representing the most common singular and plural forms, respectively. *Kami* and *kita* constitute a sub-set defined by their inclusivity and exclusivity, respectively. The fact that *kami* and *kita* are the only plural forms of self reference in the language means that they are also paired with other forms of self reference pronoun, primarily *aku*. The first set of

saya, and *kami* and *kita,* are defined functionally as the V set, relative to the definition of *aku, kami* and *kita* as the T set. However, there are two important qualifications to make here which somewhat subvert these pairings. The first is that *saya* is a fairly neutral form and describing it as a V form is too limited. It is only in comparison with the more overt classification of *aku* as a T form that *saya* is described as a V form. Thus *saya* and *aku* are paired functionally as the singular V and T forms respectively, bearing this qualification of *saya* in mind. The second qualification stems from comments made by Donahue (1998: 74) about the non-use of *kami* in informal situations.

> When I was glossing this segment, I asked my assistant why they were using *kita* and not *kami*. My assistant said that, basically, people don't ever say k*ami*, especially in informal contexts.

On this basis, perhaps *kita* has an additional functional application as a T form, when denied its inclusive meaning.

Self reference pronouns are variously paired with addressee reference pronouns on the basis of the grammatical category of person. These pairs are further delimited by their functional ascription as T or V forms. In his study of self reference pronouns, Sneddon (2005) observes that *saya* has a close social/contextual equivalence with *anda. Aku* is far more likely to be paired with *kamu* or *engkau*, forming a T pairing in opposition to *saya* and *anda* in the grammatical pairing of person sets. The classification of *kalian*, the only overtly plural addressee reference pronoun, as a T form (see Sneddon 2006: 160) means that there is a T set of addressee reference pronouns, comprised of *kamu, engkau* and *kalian*, formed on the basis of the grammatical category of plurality, but no V form pair based on this grammatical category. This is explained by the fact that plurality is not an obligatory grammatical category in Indonesian, as it is in English, where any count noun given in the plural must include the inflectional morpheme, '-s'. Remarkably, the only item in English which doesn't distinguish between singular and plural forms is the second person pronoun, 'you'. *Anda*, the equivalent V form in Indonesian, is also available for both singular and plural use.

Anda is arguably the only V form of addressee reference pronoun in the Indonesian language with the more appropriate V forms in most contexts being common nouns. On this basis, *anda* constitutes a T/V pronoun set with all other addressee reference pronouns. One further qualification, however, is that *engkau*'s appropriateness for use in literary texts (see Quinn 2001: 792) somewhat defies its more limited definition as a T form.

Another grammatical person pairing is formed by the pronouns, *gue* (self reference) and *elu* (addressee reference), both being Hokkien in origin, What is interesting about this etymological feature is that they remain a pair even when used in their other role as common forms in colloquial Jakartanese (see Sneddon 2006: 160), where they index modernity and youth as represented in the modern popular mass media, rather than any association with Hokkien heritage.

10.2.2   Common Noun Pairings

The greater levels of semantic information encoded in common nouns result in their being more features around which the formation of pairs within this word class can be applied. This is especially the case with kin terms, used literally or fictively, which can be paired according to the additional features of gender and relative age. The grammatical category of plurality does not apply to this word class. Forms can be reduplicated to emphasize plurality but this does not overtly change their internal relationships or their form, albeit reduplicated.

In most instances kin terms are available in gendered pairs. *Ibu* 'Mother' and *Bapak* 'Father' is a gendered pair that is commonly used for polite addressee reference in the literal sense, and in the fictive sense to adults in general. *Ibu* and *Ayah* is similarly a gendered pair with the further limitation that *Ayah* is only used as a literal term for 'father'. Thus these two pairs also make a set distinguished by the 'fictive or literal/literal only' qualification. Other gendered sets, like the pronouns *gue* and *elu*, involve the further distinction of being borrowed from the same language. Thus *mas* and *mbak* are a gendered set, being male and female respectively, but are further

defined by their etymological status as Javanese forms. *Saudara* and *saudari*, 'brother' and 'sister' respectively, form an interesting gendered pair, being functionally subverted by Budiyana's (2002) classification of *saudara* as a V form and *saudari* as a T form. Again, this misalignment can be attributed to *saudara*'s other application as a general non-gender specific quasi-pronoun.

Other kin term pairs are formed around their encoding of the relative ages of the persons being referenced. *Adik*, 'younger sibling', and *kakak*, 'older sibling', form such a pair, and are used in the data for self reference and addressee reference, in both the fictive and the literal sense. An interesting point which arises from the data analysis (see especially Table 8.1) is that other than this sibling pairing based on relative age, and the gendered pairing of *saudara* and *saudari*, the other forms representing sibling relations in their original, literal sense, *abang* and *bung*, do not have feminine counterparts. It should be noted, however, that *bung* not used literally in the data, instead only appearing in the fictive sense of 'brother'. *Bung* and *saudara* make a rather polarized T/V pairing of words for 'brother', with *bung* having particularly informal and, since 1965, often negative connotations, and *saudara* being very formal. One other pair does encode gender difference between siblings, *putera* and *puteri*, used polysemously to mean 'son' and 'daughter' respectively, but is, strictly speaking, only coincidentally a sibling pair.

Another gendered pair is *nenek* 'grandmother', and *kakek*, 'grandfather'[1], which can both be used literally or fictively. Some argument can also be made for these forms as constituting a pairing with *ibu* and *bapak* on the basis of relative age. A relevant exchange occurred in a Jakartan restaurant when the current author was visiting in 2007. A Javanese woman in her seventies struck up a conversation with me. I addressed her using *ibu* and she admonished me, good-humouredly, saying that this was not appropriate due to our relative ages, and then advised me that I should address her as *nenek*. Another example of a gendered pair is *om*, 'uncle', and *tante*, 'auntie'.[2] In this case the pairing is also predicated on their etymological roots. They are Dutch kin terms.

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[1] Note that *kakek* does not appear in the data but *nenek* does.
[2] Neither of these appear in the data. *Oma*, 'grandmother' does appear in the data but a male equivalent could not be found. The definitions of *om* and *tante* are taken from Quinn 2001: 962-963.

10.2.3   Proper Nouns –Title Pairings

In the same manner as the discussion in Chapter 8.6, the following discussion of proper nouns is about the various titles used in conjunction with proper nouns, or personal names, than about the proper nouns themselves.

The discussion of titles in Chapter 8.6.1 offers two pairs of titles used in conjunction with proper nouns in a manner equivalent to the paired use of 'Mr' and 'Mrs' in English. These two pairs are *Sdr* and *Ny*, and *Bu* and *Pak*. Their pairing is not explicitly exposed by their relative frequencies during the earlier data period (1965-1974) due to the uneven distribution of male and female references in texts across this period but the 2008 data show evidence of a relative increase in both *ibu* and *bapak* which suggests the second pairing more convincingly. Conversation with informants certainly suggests that both of these pairings are appropriate, also supporting the claims of changing frequency, with *Sdr* and *Ny* diminishing in this role in the contemporary language. The pairing of *ibu* and *bapak* is largely uncontestable on the basis of their literal pairing as kin terms meaning 'mother' and 'father' respectively. The other pair discussed in Chapter 8.6.2, *bung* and *pak*, is only really relevant to its use as titles in reference to the two presidents, *Sukarno* and *Suharto*.

The other possible pairing of titles used with proper nouns is *nyonya* and *nona*. This pairing is equivalent to that of 'Mrs' and 'Miss' in English encoding marital status, and, by extension, relative age. *Nona* is used in the data in another extension of meaning borrowed from English, to refer to contestants in beauty pageants. Whilst the recognition of marital status is contested in English with the introduction of 'Ms', my Indonesian language teacher (p.c. Dharmanto 2008), informs me that if a young woman in Indonesia is asked whether she is married, the appropriate answer is not *ya*, 'yes', or *tidak,* 'no', but *sudah,* 'already', or *belum*, 'not yet'. Of course this may be a somewhat old fashioned attitude with many modern Indonesians, and another informant (p.c. Khartika 2009) claims that she would consider being addressed as *nyonya* as "a bit sexist" (see Chapter 8.3).

10.3   Chapter Summary

This short chapter suggests a more detailed schema within which to analyse the relationships between the array of person reference terms in Indonesian than the overall classification of the data into the nominal word classes, pronoun, common noun, and titles used with proper nouns. The schema is developed on the basis of pairs, and sets of terms, and the need for such a schema is predicated on the inherent idea that choice of one form inevitably includes the non-choice of other forms.

The idea of paired items suggests a componential semantic analysis (see Crystal: 91) where various features are given as plus or minus (+/-) but in the above discussion it is noteworthy that the features identified are grammatical, semantic and pragmatic, and that features identified at these different linguistic levels are applied quite differently. The grammatical choices of person, plurality and gender are set for choice of pronoun but pragmatic choices, (e,g, between T and V forms)), can be overlaid on these obligatory categories. Semantic features relating to kin terms are somewhat subverted by their being commonly used as fictive kin terms, thereby alluding to the component features but not actually referencing them. Ultimately, the speaker of an open system of person reference such as that found in Indonesian, is making choices based not just on semantic features but on a wide range of grammatical, semantic and pragmatic features and many of these choices involve features that are not binary (+/-) in the sense of ungraded antonyms. Many of the choices at the pragmatic level are gradable, better represented as (>/<); features such as formality, solidarity, intimacy, power and status.

Finally, the choice of person reference term has to account for the intentions of the chooser of the form; that is, the speaker, writer or addressor. The range of features around which these pairings and sets are formulated need to be assessed in relation to data in which the forms are used and the relationships between the interlocutors, and the overall idea is suggested here but ultimately beyond the scope of the current study.

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion

11.1   Success of Principal Aims and Objectives

The primary objective of this study was to survey ten years of diachronic data from the Indonesian New Order Period to establish relative frequencies of use for self reference, addressee reference, and other person reference terms in the mainstream Indonesian print media, thereby establishing the overall parameters of the systematic use of these terms in this particular domain during a period of significant upheaval in Indonesian society. A secondary objective was to compare this use with the use of these terms in the contemporary language in the same domain. Thus the two objectives were intended to offer a detailed account of the overall person reference system of the Indonesian language throughout these periods and identify any changes to the person reference system that occurred over the periods.

Twenty-two editions of Kompas newspaper were sourced and analysed to identify the tokens of person reference term in each addition. The twenty-two editions of Kompas provided a total of 262 pages of broadsheet newspaper for inclusion in the data analysis. From these 262 pages of printed matter, just over four and a half thousand tokens of person reference terms were identified. This substantial data base has allowed for a detailed examination of the use of these terms in a newspaper which, due to its size and distribution, is a key representative of mainstream print media in Indonesia. Though not every token is discussed in the thesis, they are all accounted for and considered in their role in the overall system.

11.2   Success of the Introduction of Anda

A particular focus throughout the analysis, and an initial motivating factor in choosing these data, was to provide sufficient evidence to make a claim about the success, or otherwise, of the introduction of *anda* into the person reference system of Indonesia, especially in its specific role as part of the addressee reference paradigm. The Indonesian mainstream print media was deemed the most appropriate site for assessing this success because the literature suggests that *anda* is particularly well suited to addressing the abstract mass audience of this medium. This proved to be the case, with nearly 500 tokens of *anda* identified throughout the data set.

The success, or otherwise, of the introduction of *anda* does, however, need to be assessed from two perspectives. The first of these perspectives involves assessing the overall frequency of *anda* in the specific domain of the mainstream print medium from which the data are sourced. The second involves assessing the frequency of *anda* across all domains of usage, an assessment of which this study is less well qualified to make. From the first perspective, the introduction has definitely been successful. The nearly 500 tokens of *anda* contained in the data amount to an average of nearly two tokens per page of newspaper over the complete data set. It is the most common pronoun of address in the data. Therefore the claim can certainly be made that *anda*'s position as a part of the Indonesian personal pronoun paradigm *in this domain* is well established, despite the fact that its average frequency drops to just over one token per page in the two contemporary, 2008, editions of Kompas (157 tokens of *anda* in 114 pages of newspaper).

In accounting for raw figures of usage, or even percentages of usage as normalized figures, that is, relative to total words in the corpus, we are, however, negating the all-important fact that some text types are not especially suited to the use of addressee reference forms. This is especially the case with the predominant newspaper text type: the news story. Therefore the more relevant aspect from which to judge the success of the introduction of *anda* is through the percentage of its use

as relative to the other addressee reference options utilized in this domain, as per the figures given in Figures 8.5 and 8.6. It is by assessing relative frequencies of addressee reference terms that we can make a claim about the success or otherwise of the introduction of *anda* into this particular domain. The claim made herein, as argued in Chapter 8.7, is that the relative frequency of *anda* in the 2008 data suggests that its introduction in this domain has been an unqualified success.

It is worth reiterating that the English second person pronoun, 'you' has been discounted from the percentages for the 2008 data referred to in the previous paragraph because they only appear in English language text. If the English form were to be included we would find a drop in relative frequency of *anda.* This is due to the fact that the frequency of *anda* is matched in these editions of Kompas by an almost equal number of tokens of the English 'you' (157 tokens of *anda* and 147 tokens of 'you'), the word on which *anda* was 'modeled'. The tokens of 'you' are used predominantly in employment advertisements, and these are almost all in the English language. This is evidence of a more general claim about changes to the language use in this particular domain, which is that the use of English in the Indonesian print media has greatly increased in the contemporary scene. *Anda*'s use in the Indonesian language in this domain shows an overall increase throughout the data periods analysed.

The other perspective from which to assess the success of the introduction of *anda* is relative to the stated intentions of those responsible for its introduction, especially its most vocal promoter, Alisjahbana. The intention was that *anda* would replace all other terms used for addressee reference in the language, thereby denuding the language of the pragmatic necessity to overtly recognize the relative status of participants in the more traditional role played by addressee reference. From this perspective the introduction of *anda* has been largely unsuccessful. It has found its most appropriate parameters of use overwhelmingly in the world of advertising. The only other area which the data indicate as commonly appropriate for the use of *anda* is in translating the quoted utterances of non-Indonesian speakers. It is here that the

relationship between *anda* and its original adaptation in a role analogous to that which 'you' plays in English becomes apparent.

11.3   Changes to the Person Reference System

The overall frequency of the use of *anda* across the data periods is the most striking finding about the general system of person reference as represented in this data. It must be remembered that *anda* was not available for this function in the language a mere eight years before these data begin. Other changes to the person reference system, however, are suggested and more research will be needed to ascertain the veracity of any further claims in this regard. It is worth suggesting, however, that in the formal language of the mainstream print media, the use of *saudara* and *nyonya* as addressee reference terms, and as titles used in conjunction with proper nouns, is diminishing in the contemporary use. This claim is supported by anecdotal evidence from several informants commenting about the use of these forms, or lack thereof, in other domains, especially in their own everyday use of the Indonesian language. Some peripheral data gathered for this thesis from the official television news channel, TVRI, suggest that *saudara* has found a role in the formal spoken media as represented by these data that is similar to the formal role of *anda* in the written language of the print media.

One other change suggested by the data, though only on the basis of very few tokens, is that *bung* became a stigmatized term after the demise of President Sukarno. The term is associated directly with Sukarno, *Bung Karno*, and his Vice-President, *Bung Hatta*, and is used for addressee reference only once in the data. Significantly, this token is used before the end of Sukarno's presidency, and then *bung* is not used again except in reference to Sukarno or Hatta, and one critical but humorous reference to *bung polisi*, 'brother policeman' in 1972. The term has connotations of the Socialist/Communist politics of the Sukarno era that were much

discredited in the bloody aftermath of the fall of Sukarno. In the contemporary scene, in another domain, that of online blogging, it has been suggested by an informant (p.c. Hearmann 2013) that its use by politically left-leaning Indonesian youth is on the increase. Recent increases in the frequency of *bung* in the Indonesian language are certainly worthy of further investigation, especially given its stigmatization over the last 50 years.

Identifying further changes in the contemporary person reference system of the Indonesian language will need evidence from a much larger data set than that provided by two editions of Kompas, and would be well served by gathering data from a wider range of language domains than the mainstream print media. It is hoped, however, that the detailed analysis of the person reference system, as represented in Kompas newspaper during the New Order period, which has been presented in this thesis will provide a useful point of comparison for future research in this area.

11.4   Other Findings

The etymology of *nyonya* as a derivation of the Hokkien word, *niang niang,* 娘娘 was not found in the literature of Malay and Indonesian borrowings. The information was sourced from a Chinese online dictionary (chinese.yabla.com), after discussion with two Hokkien speaking friends (p.c. Tan and Luong 2008). There seems no doubt about the derivation but it appears to be common knowledge only in one direction, that is, from Chinese to Malay. Another general finding is in the support this study lends to Quinn's (2001: 729) claim about the use of *engkau* as a literary term. The data show that this is the case, with *engkau* used as the unmarked form in representations of direct speech in literary texts throughout the data periods.

11.5   Future Areas of Study

A key aim of this thesis has been to account for a *whole* system of a particular area of language use within a particular domain. The data are limited to the mainstream print media for very good reasons. The openness of the Indonesian person reference system means that the terms which constitute this system can be substantially reconfigured in their relative frequencies of use according to the domain in which they are used and any analysis which ignores this fact will be flawed in its findings. Understanding the system of person reference as applied in other domains will necessarily be different because the multiplicity of terms available for use means that many complex sub-systems will be instantiated according to the different requirements of different domains of usage. Future studies will need to examine these different domains before a fuller account of the overall system of person reference in Indonesian is developed.

The diachronic data analyzed in this thesis come from a particularly turbulent time in Indonesian history. The social and political fabric of Indonesia has changed greatly in the intervening 40 years or so and more work needs to be done in this complex area in the contemporary language, especially in the arguably more psychologically salient domains of the modern youth variety of colloquial language, *Bahasa Gaul*. Thankfully, some excellent work has been done in this area recently (see Djenar 2006, 2007, 2008, Sneddon 2005, 2006, and Manns 2013). More study is needed on earlier periods of usage, that is, pre-20th century.

One other area with great potential for future study suggested by this thesis is that of agency in issues of language policy and planning. The introduction of *anda* was linguistic in nature but social in its intended influence on Indonesian society. The fact that the original change was suggested by an airforce officer and argued for and against in the mass media by linguists and social commentators alike, especially throughout the 1970s, indicates that the processes of language policy and planning are not limited to discussion amongst linguists. They often involve the wider

citizenship of the nation, all of whom have a vested interest in the language, and this point is worthy of further investigation in the Indonesian context.

One final area of interest which develops from this study is the rich array of self reference terms in Southeast Asian languages which derive from the semantic field of person reference terms for slaves, servants, companions and the like. This is a particularly rich and relevant area for future study.

11.6   A Concluding Remark

This thesis is a study of the Indonesian language but comparison is made throughout to the use of person reference terms, particularly addressee reference terms, and their historical development, in the English language. The worth of this study in helping to understand aspects of the Indonesian language will ultimately be for others to assess. Its value to the author, however, has additionally been to expose the intricacies and peculiarities of the use of person reference terms in the English language in comparison with a different language and the different social practices instantiated therein.

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APPENDIX 1

DATA COLLECTION RECORDS

DATA COLLECTION RECORDS

DATE	*HARI* 'DAY'	TOKENS	PAGES
29-Jun-65	*Selasa*	134	4
1-Sep-65	*Rabu*	78	4
1-Mar-66	*Selasa*	67	4
1-Sep-66	*Kamis*	34	4
1-Mar-67	*Rabu*	125	4
1-Sep-67	*Djumat*	83	4
1-Mar-68	*Djumat*	59	4
1-Sep-68	*Senin*	58	4
1-Mar-69	*Sabtu*	242	8
1-Sep-69	*Senin*	154	8
2-Mar-70	*Senin*	260	8
1-Sep-70	*Selasa*	132	8
1-Mar-71	*Senin*	209	8
1-Sep-71	*Rabu*	174	8
1-Mar-72	*Rabu*	231	12
1-Sep-72	*Jumat*	368	12
1-Mar-73	*Kamis*	427	12
1-Sep-73	*Sabtu*	289	12
1-Mar-74	*Jumat*	134	8
2-Sep-74	*Senin*	217	12
1-Mar-08	*Sabtu*	731	66
1-Sep-08	*Senin*	311	48

	Totals	4517	262

Day of the week		editions per days
'Monday'	*Senin*	7
'Tuesday'	*Selasa*	3
'Wednesday'	*Rabu*	4
'Thursday'	*Kamis*	2
'Friday'	*Jumat*	4
'Saturday'	*Sabtu*	4

APPENDIX 2

FULL

DATA

TABLES

DATA TABLES LEGEND

TEXT TYPES	Advertisements	a
	Interviews	i
	Letters (from readers)	lett
	Literature/Comics/Poetry	lit
	News Stories	n
	Opinion pieces/Editorials	o
	Personal Notices	pn
	Public Notices	pub
	Sports Stories	s
	Puzzles/Crosswords/TV Guides	x

FUNCTIONS	Self reference	s
	Addressee reference	a
	Other Person reference	o
	Compound Nouns/Polysemous Extension	p

WORD CLASSES	Common Nouns	cn
	Proper Nouns/with Titles	pn
	Personal Pronouns	pp
	Common Nouns/Enclitic Pronouns	cn/pp

RAW TOTALS FOR ADDRESSEE REFERENCE FORMS PER EDITION

	anda	*saudara*	*kamu/-mu*	*eng/kau*	*se/kalian*	other
1965	11	9	0	0	0	1
1966	3	6	0	1	1	0
1967	13	1	1	7	0	4
1968	8	1	0	0	1	0
1969	20	8	6	6	0	27
1970	46	4	24	9	0	3
1971	34	0	15	16	4	15
1972	51	5	11	20	0	23
1973	82	25	23	89	3	30
1974	68	17	6	13	1	2
2008	157	1	11	4	2	4

n.b. 'Other' category includes any other form used as an addressee reference token – most commonly; fictive kin terms and proper names.

n.b. The English second person pronoun 'you/your' is not included in counts as all but one token are used in English language excerpts.

FULL DATA TABLES

All tokens by form and function

JUNE 1965

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	Presiden Soekarno	2	o	pn	n
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	Presiden Nasser	1	o	pn	n
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	PM Chou En lai	1	o	pn	n
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	Pres. Sukarno	1	o	pn	n
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	Dr. J. Leimana	1	o	pn	n
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	Menlu	7	o	cn	n
1	n	KAAII tetap landasan	Wakil PM	3	o	cn	n
1	n	pantjasila	kita	6	s	pp	n
2	n	Ernest Renan benar	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
2	n	Ernest Renan benar	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	n	Ernest Renan benar	kita semua	1	s	pp	n
2	n	hari bajangkar	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
2	n	hari bajangkar	Presiden J. Leimana	1	o	pn	n
2	n	djamuan untuk para	Anda	1	a	pp	y
2	n	tentara pembebas	kami	1	s	pp	y
2	n	Senjum Simpul	hamba	4	s	pp/cn	n
2	n	pasar mobil	saja	4	s	pp	y
2	n	pasar mobil	kami	1	s	pp	y
2	n	pasar mobil	anda	2	a	pp	n
2	n	pasar mobil	saudara	1	a	cn	y
2	n	pasar mobil	bung	1	a	cn	y
3	n	wanita di republik	saja	1	s	pp	y
3	n	raus paulus	kami	4	s	pp	y
3	n	raus paulus	kita	1	s	pp	y

3	o	adjaran PBB	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
3	o	adjaran PBB	kita	6	s	pp	n
3	o	adjaran PBB	saja	5	s	pp	y
3	o	menelaah	kita	9	s	pp	n
4	s	sarengat harapan	anda	2	a	pp	n
4	s	sarengat harapan	kami	6	s	pp	n
4	s	sarengat harapan	Saudara	7	a	cn	y
4	s	sarengat harapan	Saudara Sarengat	1	a	pn	y
4	s	sarengat harapan	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	s	sarengat harapan	kita	1	s	pp	y
4	s	sarengat harapan	saya	26	s	pp	y
4	s	sarengat harapan	Ibu Kartini	1	o	pn	n
4	s	sarengat harapan	adik ibu	1	o	cn	n
4	s	sarengat harapan	ibu	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	kaisar	5	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	nenek laki2ku	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	Pangeran	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	aku	2	s	pp	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	saudara nenek laki2ku	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	ibundnja	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	ibunda	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	ratu	1	o	cn	n
4	lit	dari kaisar menjadi	saudara	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	utjapan terima kasih	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	pn	utjapan terima kasih	tuan Pastor	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	utjapan terima kasih	suami, papa mertua, engkong	1	o	kt	n
			TOTALS	134			

SEPTEMBER 1965

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	DIRECT SPEECH?
1	n	article 1	Prof. Dr. Drs. Major Djeneral Brjgen	5	o	cn	n
1	n	article 2	Presiden Sukarno	2	o	pn	n
1	n	article 2	Presiden Soekarno	3	o	pn	n
1	n	article 2	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
1	n	pertinggi mental	kita	3	s	pp	n
1	n	pertinggi mental	Bung Karno	1	o	cn	n
1	n	kapal "Takari"	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Vietcong	saudara	1	o	cn	n
1	n	Vietcong	Nona PN	1	o	pn	n
2	n	tadjuk rentjana	Tuan PN	2	o	pn	n
2		tadjuk rentjana	Bung Karno	4	o	pn	n
2	n	keluarnja	kita	3	s	pp	n
2	n	menteri	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
2	n	Wanita dan	Nj. Dr. Subandrio	1	o	pn	n
2	n	tiga dubes	Presiden Sukarno	1	o	pn	n
2	n	Resep-resep	kita	5	s	pp	n
2	n	Resep-resep	kita	1	s	pp	y
3	i	Adjaran	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
3	i	Adjaran	kita	8	s	pp	n
3	s	P.O.M.	Putra/Putri	1	o	cn	n
3	Lit	Memoirs	Njonja Lincoln	7	o	pn	n
3	lit	dari kaisar	aku	9	s	pp	n
3	lit	dari kaisar	hamba	4	s	cn	y
3	lit	dari kaisar	kami	2	s	pp	n
3	lit	dari kaisar	kita	1	s	pp	y
3	lit	dari kaisar	kepadaku	1	s	pp	y
4	a	anak2revolusi	ANDA	3	a	pp	n
4	a	riung gunung	ibu kota	1	p	fkt	n
4	a	apakah anda	anda	2	a	pp	n
4	a	apakah anda	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	a	denta	anda	1	a	pp	n
		TOTAL:		78			

MARCH 1966

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	setelah	Bung Karno	3	o	pn	n
1	n	setelah	Presiden Sukarno	2	o	pn	n
1	n	setelah	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	Appel kesetian	Bung Karno	4	o	pn	n
1	n	Appel kesetian	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	Hadiah	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
2	n	kekompakan ABRI	Djeneral Nasution	6	o	pn	n
2	n	kekompakan ABRI	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
2	n	kekompakan ABRI	kita	2	s	pp	n
2	n	Prof. Tibergen	Prof. Tibergen	5	o	pn	n
2	n	Ngomong dengan	Let. Kol. PN	6	o	pn	n
2	n	Ngomong dengan	saja	1	s	pp	y
2	n	Ngomong dengan	Pak Yani	1	o	cn	y
2	n	Ngomong dengan	anda	1	a	pp	n
3	n	Adjaran	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
3	n	Buruh mana	saja	8	s	pp	y
3	n	Buruh mana	kita	2	s	pp	y
3	n	Buruh mana	kami	2	s	pp	y
3	lit	Ratu jang	Ratu	2	o	cn	n
3	lit	Ratu jang	kami	1	s	pp	y
3	lit	Ratu jang	aku	1	s	pp	y
3	lit	Ratu jang	engkau	1	a	pp	y
3	lit	Ratu jang	saudaranja	1	o	cn	n
3	lit	Ratu jang	saudara	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	selamat saja	saja	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	selamat saja	kalian	1	a	pp	n
4	pn	selamat saja	temanmu	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	Berduka Tjita	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	Berduka Tjita	Njonja PN	1	o	pn	n
4	pn	Utjapan Terima Kasih	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	Utjapan Terima Kasih	puteri/ putera kami	1	o	cn	n
4	a	Bahasa Inggeris	saudara	2	a	cn	n
4	a	Bahasa Inggeris	Miss Nina Metliana	1	o	pn	n
4	a	gangguan kutu	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	a	Terima Djilio Buku	kami	1	s	pp	n
			Totals	67			

SEPTEMBER 1966

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	i	se-akan-akan	sdr.	3	a	cn	y
1	n	numerous	kita	5	s	pp	n
1	n	nurbani jusuf	Presiden Sukarno	2	o	pn	n
2	n	arti kerevolusioneran	Djen. Suharto	2	o	pn	n
2	n	osraa hadapi	Presiden Sukarno	1	o	pn	n
2	lett	Pembatja menulis	kita	4	s	pp	n
2	lett	Pembatja menulis	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	s	hasil tournamen tennis	putra putri	1	o	cn	n
3	n	Ratu Juliana	Ratu Juliana	2	o	pn	n
3	n	tak tahan dikritik	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	n	tiap 1/2	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	lit	perkampungan binatang	saja	1	s	pp	y
3	lit	perkampungan binatang	kami	1	s	pp	y
3	lit	perkampungan binatang	kita	1	s	pp	y
4	pn	utjapan terima kasih	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	pn	utjapan terima kasih	Tuan2, Njonja2, Sdr2	1	o	cn	n
4	a	sabumal	anda	2	a	pp	n
4	a	menghidankan	adik kakak lakilaki2	1	o	cn	n
4	a	delta	Sdr.	1	a	cn	n
4	a	water follies	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
			TOTAL	34			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	Kode Anak Sakit	saja	2	s	pp	y
1	n	sisa PKI	Djen. Soeharto	2	o	pn	n
1	n	sisa PKI	Pak Harto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	mengapa Presiden	Presiden Sukarno	3	o	pn	n
1	n	mengapa Presiden	kami	1	s	pp	y
1	n	mengapa Presiden	kami	4	s	pp	n
1	n	mengapa Presiden	kita	4	s	pp	n
1	n	Supardjo	Bung Karno	3	o	pn	n
1	n	Supardjo	Nj. Suwardi	2	o	pn	n
1	n	Kolognos agar	Djen. Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Lolosnja Pak Nas	Pak Nas	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Lolosnja Pak Nas	Bung Karno	4	o	pn	n
1	n	Lolosnja Pak Nas	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	12 Maret	Njonja Gandhi	1	o	pn	n
1	o	pojok kompas	kita	5	s	pp	n
2	o	penegasan	kita	27	s	pp	n
2	n	PAK HARTO	Djen. Soeharto	3	o	pn	n
2	n	PAK HARTO	Presiden Sukarno	1	o	pn	n
2	i	KOMPASIANA	Soekarno	3	o	pn	y
2	i	KOMPASIANA	saja	1	s	pp	y
2	i	KOMPASIANA	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	n	Tanggapan	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	kamu	1	a	pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	aku	6	s	pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	Pak	13	o	cn	n
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	sajangku	1	a	cn/pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	manisku	1	a	cn	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	bapamu	1	a	cn/pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	memukulmu	1	o	pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	isteriku	1	a	cn/pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	ajahku	1	a	cn/pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	kau	6	a	pp	y
3	lit	Tjinta dan Maut	engkau	1	a	pp	y
4	pn	Berduka-Tjita 1	Nj. Dj. Khoe A Njim	1	o	pn	n
4	pn	Berduka-Tjita 2	saudara kami	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	Berduka-Tjita 3	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	n	menimba fakta	pak Nas	3	o	pn	n
4	n	menimba fakta	Djeneral Nasution	1	o	pn	n
4	n	menimba fakta	pak Harto	1	o	pn	n
4	n	menimba fakta	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
4	n	menimba fakta	bapak	1	o	cn	n

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
4	n	menimba fakta	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	n	mahmilluh	saja	1	s	pp	y
4	a	FILM INDIA	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
4	a	shipping news	Sdr. A. Kho Ho	1	o	pn	n
4	a	Vitamin	Anda	6	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	125			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	Gubenur	gubenur	3	o	cn	n
1		Gubenur	Majdjen. Amir Machmoed	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Kol E. Suharto	Kol E. Suharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Kol E. Suharto	Kolonel E. Suharto	3	o	pn	n
1	n	Kol E. Suharto	Kol. Bambang Supeno	4	o	pn	n
1	n	Kol E. Suharto	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Kol E. Suharto	Djeneral Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Kab Ampera	Pak Harto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Kab Ampera	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	Pasien umur	Nj. K binti Katidja	2	o	pn	n
1	n	kalau Romeo	saja	1	s	pp	n
1	n	kalau Romeo	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	n	peristiwa pembunuhan	Pd. Presiden Djeneral Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
2	lett	Pembatja menulis	saja	3	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 2	kami	4	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 3	Bapak Sekritaris Presidium	1	o	cn	n
2	lett	Gara Mau	si-Njonja	7	o	cn	n
2	lett	Gara Mau	Njonja	1	o	cn	n
2	lett	Gara Mau	saja	2	s	pp	n
2	n	Nenek Djerumuskan	Nenek	1	o	cn	n
2	n	Nenek Djerumuskan	Nj. PN	2	o	pn	n
2	n	10 Orang	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	n	pengaruh bahan	kita	5	s	pp	n
3	n	Malam Appresiasi	Sdr. PN	3	o	pn	n
3	n	Pasien 5 thn	saja	6	s	pp	y
3	n	Pasien 5 thn	aku	1	s	pp	y

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
3	a	Ready Stock	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
3	a	Ready Stock	anda	1	a	pp	n
4	pn	F.B. Suhartini	Anak Suami Saudara Ajah Paman kami	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	F.B. Suhartini	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	pn	F.B. Suhartini	Nj. Dj. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	pn	F.B. Suhartini	saudara2 tjutju2	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	UTJAPAN TERIMA	Saudara kami	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	Utjapan Terima	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	pn	Utjapan Terima	Dokter	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	Utjapan Terima	Bapak Dokter	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	Utjapan Terima	Ajah Ibu Saudara	1	o	cn	n
4	a	P.T. Travel	anda	2	a	pp	n
4	a	P.T. Travel	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	a	Bahasa Inggris	SAUDARA	1	a	cn	n
4	a	Bahasa Inggris	Sdr. Mariana	1	o	pn	n
4	a	Bankap P.T.	kami	6	s	pp	n
4	a	Nitour	Anda	2	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	83			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	Tertuduh	Ir. Soekarno	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Menteri Negara	Pd Presiden Djeneral Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Menteri Negara	Djeneral Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Menteri Negara	Djen. Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Resolusi DPR	Djeneral Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	"Finishing touch"	Tan Sri Jacob Kamis	2	o	pn	n
1	o	podjok kompas	Pak Nas	1	o	pn	n
1	o	podjok kompas	kita	1	s	pp	n
2	a	TV Service	kami	2	s	pp	n
2	a	TV Service	anda	1	a	pp	n
2	a	ASIA SAKURA	Anda	2	a	pp	n
2	a	ASIA SAKURA	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	a	WONG KAM FU	SAUDARA	1	a	cn	n
2	a	WONG KAM FU	saja	1	s	pp	y
2	a	Kompas Morgue Club!	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
2	a	Kompas Morgue	Pak Harto	1	o	pn	n

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
		Club!					
2	pn	BERDUKA TJITA	Mama, Mertua, Ems, Ms. Potjo, kami	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	BERDUKA TJITA	Nj. Dj. PN	1	o	pn	n
2	pn	Utjapan TerimaK	kami	3	s	pp	n
2	pn	Utjapan TerimaK	Ibu dan Bapak Dr. A. H. Nasution Djenral	2	o	pn	n
2	pn	Utjapan TerimaK	Dr. Dra. Rr.	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	Utjapan TerimaK	kita	1	s	pp	n
2	pn	Utjapan TerimaK	Mr. Nj.	1	o	cn	n
3	n	Arus-Balik	kami	9	s	pp	n
3	n	Arus-Balik	kita semua	1	s	pp	n
3	a	PHB	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	lit	Kennedy, Soekarno	kita	2	s	pp	n
4	o	Djaminan Berhasilnja	Presiden RI	1	o	cn	n
4	o	Djaminan Berhasilnja	Pd Presiden	1	o	cn	n
4	o	Djaminan Berhasilnja	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	o	Djaminan Berhasilnja	Pak Harto	1	o	pn	n
4	n	Rule of Law	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	n	Bantuan Nederland	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	n	Bantuan Nederland	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	Letter 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	Letter 1	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 2	saja	4	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 2	Pak Harto	1	o	pn	n
4	n	Pemberontakan	kami	1	s	pp	n
			TOTAL	59			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	djaga toleransi	Presiden Soeharto	3	o	pn	n
1	n	memperkenalkan	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	memperkenalkan	kami	1	s	pp	n
1	n	Komplotan Bersaudara	Bersaudara	1	p	cn	n
1	e	podjok kompas	kita	1	s	pp	n

2	e	pers kritik diri	kita	3	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter1	Ibu Kota	2	p	cn	n
2	lett	letter 1	kami	2	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 2	saja	3	s	pp	n
2	o	kompasiana	anda	2	a	pp	y
2	o	kompasiana	semua hadirin	3	o	cn	n
2	o	kompasiana	Pres. Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
2	o	kompasiana	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	n	hukum	kita	2	s	pp	n
3	n	quo vadis	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	n	agar	kita	2	s	pp	n
3	n	achir	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
3	pn	kabar dukatjita	sekalian	1	a	pp	n
3	pn	kabar dukatjita	handai-tolan	1	o	cn	n
3	pn	kabar dukatjita	annak-saudara	1	o	cn	n
3	pn	kabar dukatjita	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	pn	kabar dukatjita	Nj. PN	2	o	pn	n
3	pn	utjapan terima	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	pn	utjapan terima	suami ajah mertua engkong serta saudara	1	o	cn	n
3	pn	utjapan terima	Nj. Dj. PN	1	o	pn	n
3	pn	utjapan terima 2	kami	2	s	pp	n
3	pn	utjapan terima 3	Nj. Dj. PN	1	o	pn	n
3	pn	utjapan terima 3	kami	2	s	pp	n
3	pn	utjapan terima 3	bapak ibu saudara	1	o	cn	n
3	pn	utjapan terima 3	Dr. Mr. Kol. Bridjen.	1	o	pn	n
3	a	buku penting	Drs. PN Bapak PN	1	o	pn	n
3	a	buku penting	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	a	column 1	you	2	a	pp	n
4	a	column 2	your	1	a	pp	n
4	a	column 3	our	2	s	pp	n
4	a	column 4	we	1	s	pp	n
4	a	column 2 guru	anda	1	a	pp	n
4	a	column 3 tour	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	a	GRATIS	anda	2	a	pp	n
4	lit	Ian Fleming	kita	1	s	pp	n
			TOTAL	59			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	Miss Gina Lollobrigida	saja	6	s	pp	n
1	n	komentar peristentar	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	komentar peristentar	kami	1	s	pp	n
1	o	podjok kompas	saudara2 kita	1	o	cn	n
1	o	podjok kompas	anda	1	a	pp	n
1	o	djuawtan dan pedidikan	kita	8	s	pp	n
1	lett	letter 1	kami	13	s	pp	n
1	lett	letter 1	saja	3	s	pp	n
1	lett	letter 1	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	lett	letter 1	pak Hugeng	1	o	pn	n
1	lett	letter 2	saja	5	s	pp	n
1	lett	sulistio	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	barisan soekarno	barisan soekarno	1	o	pn	n
1	n	barisan soekarno	bupati gubenur	1	o	cn	n
1	n	quotum	anda	1	a	pp	n
1	o	kompasiana	kami	1	s	pp	n
1	o	kompasiana	kita	2	s	pp	n
1	o	kompasiana	saja	1	s	pp	n
1	o	kompasiana	Sdr. PN	16	o	pn	n
1	o	kompasiana	Gubenur	3	o	cn	n
1	o	kompasiana	Bapak Gubenur	1	o	cn	n
3	n	communication gap	Saudara PN	4	o	pn	n
3	n	communication gap	Drs. PN	3	o	pn	n
3	n	communication gap	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	n	communication gap	saja	10	s	pp	n
3	n	komentar peristiwa	kita	6	s	pp	n
3	n	kedjaksaan	Nj. PN	4	o	pn	n
3	a	bronchomister	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
3	a	PN Jakarta Lloyd	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	2 in Column 1	Ibu kami	2	o	cn	n
4	a	pameran lukisan	Aanda	1	a	pp	n
4	a	Seruan	SAUDARA	1	a	cn	n
4	a	pengumuman	Sdr. PN	2	o	pn	n
4	a	English Conversation Club	anda	3	a	pp	n

4	a	English Conversation Club	Mr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	n	Benarkah Dia	saja	30	s	pp	y
4	n	Benarkah Dia	njonja	24	a	cn	y
4	n	Benarkah Dia	Tuan Schaub	1	o	pn	y
4	n	Benarkah Dia	Nj. Farber	1	o	pn	y
4	n	Benarkah Dia	tuan	1	a	cn	y
4	n	Benarkah Dia	Tn. Schaub	1	o	pn	y
5	n	Projek Keluarga	kami	4	s	pp	n
5	n	Projek Keluarga	kita	2	s	pp	n
5	n	Projek Keluarga	Njonja PN	2	o	pn	n
5	n	Pemakai	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
5	n	Pemakai	ibu lainnja	1	o	cn	n
5	n	Pemakai	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	n	KESIBUKAN	kita	3	s	pp	n
5	n	KESIBUKAN	ibu	3	o	cn	n
5	n	KESIBUKAN	ajah	1	o	cn	n
5	n	KESIBUKAN	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
5	a	TABUNGAN	anda	1	a	pp	n
6	n	PALEMBANG	kita	1	s	pp	n
6	n	PALEMBANG	saja	1	s	pp	n
6	n	GURU JANG DIBERANG	saudara	8	a	cn	y
6	n	GURU JANG DIBERANG	kami	12	s	pp	y
6	n	GURU JANG DIBERANG	kita	2	s	pp	y
6	n	GURU JANG DIBERANG	saja	3	s	pp	y
6	lett	atjara	kita	2	s	pp	n
6	s	djuara dunia resmi	kami	1	s	pp	n
7	n	PROJEK PELITA	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
7	n	PROJEK PELITA	kita	2	s	pp	n
7	a	have you got	you	8	a	pp	n
7	a	have you got	your	5	a	pp	n
8	a	RUPA-RUPA	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	To KILL A ROVER	Anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	To KILL A ROVER	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	BONANZA	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	APC plus	anda	4	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	242			

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	PRESIDEN AKAN KUNJUNGI	Presiden Soeharto	3	o	pn	n
1	n	Boeing 707	kami	2	s	pp	y
1	n	Boeing 707	kalian	1	a	pp	y
1	n	picture caption	Bu Tien Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	pub	pengumuman	Sdr. PN	2	o	pn	n
1	n	Njonja Berumur	njonja	1	o	cn	n
1	n	Njonja Berumur	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
1	o	Podjok kompas	Mang Usil	2	s	pn	n
2	o	Saudara Kita	Saudara Kita	2	o	cn	n
2	o	Saudara Kita	kita	3	s	pp	n
2	lett	Letter 1	Saudara	1	o	cn	n
2	lett	letter 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 2	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
2	lett	letter 2	saja	3	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 2	Bung Hatta	2	o	pn	n
2	lett	letter 2	Prof. Takdir Alisjahbana	1	o	pn	n
3	n	kebenaran	kita	7	s	pp	n
3	n	kebenaran	saja	2	s	pp	n
3	n	Njonja Berumur (cont)	ibunja	1	o	cn	n
3	n	Njonja Berumur (cont)	saudaranja2	2	o	cn	n
3	n	Njonja Berumur (cont)	njonja	2	o	cn	n
3	n	Njonja Berumur (cont)	Njonja PN	1	o	pn	n
3	n	Njonja Berumur (cont)	saja	2	s	pp	y
4	pn	top left	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	BERDUKA TJITA	Engkong kami	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	BERDUKA TJITA	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	pn	Utjapan terima	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	pn	Utjapan terima	Isteri Ibu Kakak Oma kami	1	o	cn	n
4	pn	Utjapan terima	saudara2 sekalian	1	s	cn	n
4	a	kursus kilat liana	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	a	INTISARI	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	a	INTISARI	kita semua	2	s	pp	n
4	a	LIFE	you	1	s	pp	n
4	a	LIFE	your	1	s	pp	n
4	a	Inkoveri	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
4	a	Circus world	anda	1	a	pp	n
4	a	jogjakarta package tour	Anda	1	a	pp	n
4	a	Probitas	anda	1	a	pp	n

4	a	Variasari	anda	2	a	pp	n
4	a	Pips	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	a	Pips	putri	1	o	cn	n
4	a	MANGGA	anda	1	a	pp	n
4	a	MANGGA	Nj. PN	2	o	pn	n
4	a	Gubuk Adem	anda	1	a	pp	n
5	n	Kebudajaan	kita	2	s	pp	n
5	n	Kebudajaan	saja	1	s	pp	y
5	lett	Perlukah Karja Tulis	kita	4	s	pp	n
5	n	nama dan peristiwa	saja	1	s	pp	y
5	n	nama dan peristiwa	kamu	2	a	pp	y
6	lett	letter 1	saja	1	s	pp	n
6	lett	letter 1	Saudara PN	2	o	pn	n
6	lett	letter 1	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
6	lett	letter 1	kita	1	s	pp	n
6	lett	letter 2	kami	5	s	pp	n
6	lett	letter 2	saja	1	s	pp	n
6	a	mungil bentutnja	anda	1	a	pp	n
6	n	snob	kita	1	s	pp	n
6	lit	arithmetic	kita	3	s	pp	n
6	n	komik jang tidak	kita	4	s	pp	n
6	a	DESM-30	you	1	a	pp	n
7	n	KOENTJAHRANINGRAT	kita	1	s	pp	n
7	n	Kebudajaan barat	kita	7	s	pp	n
7	n	Kebudajaan barat	saja	1	s	pp	n
7	a	lebih sadap	Njonja	3	a	cn	n
7	lit	wanita	kau	6	a	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	kepadamu	3	a	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	padamu	1	a	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	padaku	1	s	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	orang2mu	1	a	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	dirimu	1	a	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	aku	15	s	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	mmenolongku	1	s	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	Pangeran	3	o	cn	y
7	lit	wanita	menjukalku	1	s	pp	y
7	lit	wanita	kita	1	s	pp	y
8	a	barangnja	anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	5 kali	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	bank Negara	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	bank Negara	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	riana	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	bodrexin	anda	2	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	155			

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	deplu belum ada	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	c	persoalan saja	saja	1	s	pp	n
1	n	picture caption	Ratu Elizabeth	1	o	pn	n
1	n	picture caption	Puteri Anne	2	o	pn	n
1	o	Podjok Kompas	Mang Usil	4	s	pn	n
2	o	Pengelompokan	kita	5	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 1	kita	1	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 1	kami	2	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 1	Sdr. PN	3	o	pn	n
2	lett	letter 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	lett	letter 2	kita	1	s	pp	n
2	s	olahraga	puteri	2	p	cn	n
2	n	mendjeladjah	saudara	1	o	cn	y
2	n	mendjeladjah	saja	2	s	pp	y
2	n	obat psoralen	nona PN	2	o	pn	n
2	n	obat psoralen	saja	2	s	pp	y
2	n	obat psoralen	saudara	2	a	cn	y
2	n	djakarta kita	kita	1	s	pp	n
2	lit	Rick O'Shay	aku	3	s	pp	y
2	lit	Rick O'Shay	engkau	2	a	pp	y
2	lit	Rick O'Shay	prinsip prinsipku	1	s	pp	y
2	lit	Rick O'Shay	maksudmu	2	a	pp	y
3	i	kaum intelektuil	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	n	paku buwono	Ratu Elizabeth	1	o	pn	n
3	n	paku buwono	Pengaren Rainire	1	o	pn	n
3	n	paku buwono	Pangeran Adipati	1	o	pn	n
3	lit	sebuah sadjak	aku	16	s	pp	n
3	lit	sebuah sadjak	tanganmu	2	a	pp	n
3	lit	sebuah sadjak	diammu	3	a	pp	n
3	lit	sebuah sadjak	kasihmu	2	a	pp	n
3	lit	sebuah sadjak	bisikmu	1	a	pp	n
3	lit	sebuah sadjak	kau	1	a	pp	n
3	n	nama dan peristiwa	Pak Affandi	4	o	pn	n
3	n	nama dan peristiwa	saja	1	s	pp	y
3	n	nama dan peristiwa	aku	1	s	pp	y
3	n	nama dan peristiwa	kau	1	a	pp	y
4	n	persebaran	kita	12	s	pp	n
4	n	perkembangan	kiita	3	s	pp	n
4	lit	multatuli	aku	10	s	pp	y

4	lit	multatuli	saja	2	s	pp	n
4	lit	multatuli	tuan	1	a	cn	n
4	lit	multatuli	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	lit	multatuli	saja	1	s	pp	n
4	lit	multatuli	karjaku	1	s	pp	n
4	lit	multatuli	keluargaku	1	s	pp	n
4	lit	Robin Malone	aku	1	s	pp	y
4	lit	Robin Malone	kita	1	s	pp	y
4	lit	Robin Malone	kau	1	a	pp	y
4	lit	Robin Malone	keselamatanmu	1	a	pp	y
4	lit	Robin Malone	lawanku	1	s	pp	y
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	aku	11	s	pp	n
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	kasihmu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	bisikmu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	diammu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	saja	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	kekasihku	2	s	pp	n
5	lit	sebuah sadjak (cont)	sekeliluku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	djurangmu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	sepimu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	dinginmu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	aku	3	s	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	kau	2	a	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	botanmu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	tjintamu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	padaku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	kita	2	s	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	tjintaku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	mandalawang	saja	2	s	pp	n
5	lit	santun bahasa	saudara PN	2	o	pn	n
5	lit	santun bahasa	kami	2	s	pp	n
5	lit	santun bahasa	kita	3	s	pp	n
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	aku	5	s	pp	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	diammu	2	a	pp	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	bisikmu	1	a	pp	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	kau	4	a	pp	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	saja	3	s	pp	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	tuan	2	a	cn	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	sdr.	2	a	cn	y
5	lit	multatuli (cont)	bagiku	1	s	pp	y
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	aku	4	s	pp	y
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	aku	10	s	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	kami	3	s	pp	y
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	kami	3	s	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	kenjaku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	kataku	1	s	pp	n

5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	saja	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	padaku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	Njonja PN	1	o	pn	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	kemedjaku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	Ratu Grace	1	o	pn	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	Nona PN	1	o	pn	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	suamimu	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	Jacqueline Kennedy	disampingmu	1	a	pp	n
6	a	djangan lewatkan	anda	7	a	pp	n
6	a	Arafat	anda	4	a	pp	n
6	a	Arafat	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	pn	TELAH LAHIR	puteri kami	1	s	pp	n
6	pn	TELAH LAHIR	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	n	Sudjatmoko	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	n	paku buwono (cont)	Anda	1	a	pp	n
6	pub	pengumuman 1	kami	2	s	pp	n
6	pub	pengumuman 2	saja	2	s	pp	n
7	s	bottom right	tuan rumah	2	p	cn	n
7	n	kesakslam (cont)	sdr. PN	2	o	pn	n
8	pn	berduka tjita	Anak Suami Papab Papah Mertua Engkong kami	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	berduka tjita	Nj. Dj. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	Perajataan	kami	2	s	pp	n
8	pn	Perajataan	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	OLGA	Nj. PN	2	o	pn	n
8	a	Horn	you	2	a	pp	n
8	a	PEMBERITARUAN	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	PEMBERITARUAN	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	experienced female	your	1	a	pp	n
8	a	Sky Club	Anda	3	a	pp	n
8	a	Sky Club	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	Sky Club	Miss PN	1	o	pn	n
8	a	ingin lantjar	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	Kursus-Kilat	kami	2	s	pp	n
8	a	Kursus-Kilat	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	dia membutuhkan	anda	5	a	pp	n
8	a	VERKOPER BAHAN	Anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	VERKOPER BAHAN	kami	1	s	pp	n
			TOTAL	260			

SEPTEMBER 1970

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	Pres. Soeharto	Pres. Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Pres. Soeharto	Presiden Soeharto	3	o	pn	n
1	n	Karena ICW	kita	1	s	pp	n
1	n	Utjapan Selamat	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Angkatan Muda	kami	1	s	pp	y
1	o	Podjok Kompas	Mang Usil	1	s	pn	n
1	o	Podjok Kompas	bung polisi	1	o	cn	n
2	o	Tengku	putra	1	o	cn	n
2	o	Tengku	kita	4	s	pp	n
2	o	Tengku	Bung Hatta	2	o	pn	n
2	n	Gantung diri lagi	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
2	lit	Rick O'Shay	aku	3	s	pp	y
2	lit	Rick O'Shay	kita	1	s	pp	y
3	o	Makna, Arti Da ja	saja	4	s	pp	n
3	o	Makna, Arti Da ja	kita	2	s	pp	n
3	o	Makna, Arti Da ja	Ibu Soed	1	o	pn	n
3	n	nama dan	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	n	nama dan	saja	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 1	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 2	Bang Ali	3	o	pn	n
4	lett	letter 2	Bapak2	3	o	cn	n
4	lett	letter 2	Dr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	letter 2	Pak PN	1	o	cpn	n
4	o	Bahasa Inggeris	kita	8	s	pp	n
4	o	Bahasa Inggeris	anda	1	a	pp	n
4	o	Bahasa Inggeris	saja	2	s	pp	n
4	a	KUNDJUNGILAH	anda	1	a	pp	n
4	e	Masalah Pelaut	kita	2	s	pp	y
4	e	Masalah Pelaut	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	e	Bahasa Indonesia	kita	4	s	pp	n
4	a	hormoviton	you	3	a	pp	n
4	a	hormoviton	your	1	a	pp	n
5	a	letraset	anda	1	a	pp	n
5	a	SEKARANG	anda	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	DIATUHNJA	Putera Mahkota	1	o	pn	n
5	lit	DIATUHNJA	saudaranja2	2	o	cn	n
5	lit	DIATUHNJA	mama	2	vocative	cn	y
5	lit	DIATUHNJA	saja	1	s	pp	y
5	lit	DIATUHNJA	tanganku	1	s	pp	y

6	a	Gentong Supreme	anda	2	a	pp	n
6	a	Satrya	anda	1	a	pp	n
6	a	Satrya	kami	2	s	pp	n
6	a	isteri anda	anda	2	a	pp	n
7	pn	column 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
7	pn	column 1	Bapak PN	2	o	pn	n
7	n	Presiden Soeharto	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
7	a	Rainbow	anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	kursus kilat	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	Longowan	tuan	1	o or s?	cn	n
8	a	TV Tuan Rusak X 2	Tuan	2	a	cn	n
8	a	kursus bahasa inggeris	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	pn	column 5	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	pn	column 5	putri	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	second one	Ir. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	second one	putra tn. & nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	second one	putri tn. & nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	third one	kami	4	s	pp	n
8	pn	third one	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	fourth one	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	pn	fourth one	Bapak PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	fourth one	Ibu PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	fifth one	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	column 6	isteri ibu adik kakak anak kami	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	column 6	Nj. PN	4	o	pn	n
8	pn	column 6	Brig. Djen PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	column 6	Dr. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	column 6	Let. Kol. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	column 6	Kolonel PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	bottom right	kami	3	s	pp	n
8	pn	bottom right	saudara2 sekalian	1	a	cn	n
8	pn	bottom right	Dr. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	bottom right	Bp. Menteri PN	11	o	pn	n
8	pn	bottom right	Bp. Letdjen. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	bottom right	Bp. Gubenur PN	1	o	pn	n
8	pn	bottom right	Bp. Prof. PN	1	o	pn	n
			TOTAL	132			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	s	All Indonesian final	putra	2	p	cn	n
1	s	All Indonesian final	putri	1	p	cn	n
1	n	picture caption	Djend. Soeharto	2	o	pn	n
1	n	7 Ton Kupuk	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Tjina Komunis	kami	1	s	pp	n
1	o	Podjok Kompas	Mang Usil	3	s	pn	n
2	o	informasi dan persuasi	kita	7	s	pp	n
2	s	olahraga	putra	1	p	cn	n
2	s	olahraga	putra kita	1	s	pp	n
2	lit	Berdagang Sendjata	kita	3	s	pp	y
2	lit	Berdagang Sendjata	aku	2	s	pp	y
2	lit	Berdagang Sendjata	kau	1	a	pp	y
3	o	santun bahasa	kita	2	s	pp	n
3	o	santun bahasa	saja	1	s	pp	n
3	o	santun bahasa	engkau	4	p	pp	n
3	o	santun bahasa	ku	1	p	pp	n
3	o	santun bahasa	mu	1	p	pp	n
3	o	santun bahasa	adiku	1	p	pp	n
3	o	santun bahasa	sebelummu	1	p	pp	n
3	a	Mosal Ganie	anda	1	a	pp	n
3	n	bagi peladjar	aku	3	s	pp	y
3	n	bagi peladjar	assistenku	1	s	pp	y
3	lett	surat dari pendjara	saja	3	s	pp	n
3	lett	surat dari pendjara	kita	4	s	pp	n
3	lett	surat dari pendjara	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	lett	surat dari pendjara	Ibu Dra. S.	2	o	pn	n
3	a	garuda	Anda	1	a	pp	n
4	lett	letter 1	saja	3	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 2	saja	7	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 2	kita	1	s	pp	n

4	o	tidak benar	saja	1	s	pp	n
4	o	tidak benar	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	o	tidak benar	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	o	tidak benar	saudara Sahad	3	o	pn	n
4	lett	surat dari (cont)	saja	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	surat dari (cont)	kamu	1	a	pp	n
4	o	santun bahasa (cont)	kita	2	s	pp	n
4	o	santun bahasa (cont)	saudara PN	1	o	pn	n
4	x	crossword clue	engkau	1	p	pp	n
4	a	ANDA INGIN	Anda	3	a	pp	n
4	a	ANDA INGIN	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	a	ANDA INGIN	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	a	PEMBERITAHUAN	kami	3	s	pp	n
4	a	KM LEMATANG	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	a	Menteng	Bapak	11	o	cn	n
4	a	Menteng	kami	6	s	pp	n
4	a	Menteng	anda	2	a	pp	n
5	a	pengumuman	kami	2	s	pp	n
5	a	spring tour	anda	1	a	pp	n
5	a	special spring tour	ANDA	4	a	pp	n
5	a	special spring tour	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	a	ready stock	anda	1	a	pp	n
5	a	dynamic sales	you	1	a	pp	n
5	a	dynamic sales	our	1	s	pp	n
5	a	neofon	Anda	2	a	pp	n
5	a	usirlahh batuk	anda	1	a	pp	n
6	a	CEREBROVIT	Anda	1	a	pp	n
6	a	INFLUENZA	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
6	a	Anda Butuh	anda	3	a	pp	n
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	aku	8	s	pp	n
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	kau	14	a	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	kita	2	s	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	saja	5	s	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	tuan	2	a	cn	n
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	WORDku	9	s	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	WORDmu	8	a	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	kamu	2	a	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	kalian	2	a	pp	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	hamba	2	a	cn	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	Lexi	3	a	pn	y
6	lit	tunas2 luruh	I	2	s	pp	y
7	a	column 1	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
7	a	column 1	kami	1	s	pp	n

7	a	column 4	TV Tuan	1	p	cn	n
7	a	Nirwana Massage	ANDA	2	a	pp	n
7	a	Aria Salon C6	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	pn	first personal	kami	3	s	pp	n
8	pn	second personal	kami	2	s	pp	n
8	pn	second personal	Suami Papah Papah Mertua Engkong Kontjo Saudara	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	second personal	Nj. PN	2	o	pn	n
8	pn	third personal	Suami Ajah Engkong dan Kongtjo	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	fourth personal	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	pn	fourth personal	bapak	5	o	cn	n
8	pn	fourth personal	Ibu	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	fourth personal	Dr.	2	o	cn	n
8	pn	fourth personal	Pastor	2	o	cn	n
			TOTAL	209			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	penghormatan	Sri Sultan	5	o	cn	n
1	n	peringanan	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	Miss Hot Pants	Miss Hot Pants	3	o	cn	n
1	n	Miss Hot Pants	anda	1	a	pp	n
1	n	Miss Hot Pants	Bapak KDCI-Djaya	1	o	cn	n
1	o	Podjok Kompas	Pak Ali Sadikan	1	o	pn	n
1	o	Podjok Kompas	Mang Usil	2	s	pn	n
2	o	Kita tidak panik	kita	2	s	pp	n
2	o	Kita tidak panik	Presiden Nixon	4	o	pn	n
2	n	Pedjabat dari	kita	2	s	pp	n
2	n	Pedjabat dari	Prof. PN	2	o	pn	n
2	lit	mengarungi	anda	1	a	pp	y
2	lit	mengarungi	aku	1	s	pp	y
2	lit	mengarungi	kita	1	s	pp	y
3	o	Suku dajak	saja	2	s	pp	y
3	o	Suku dajak	saja	1	s	pp	n
3	o	Suku dajak	kami	2	s	pp	n
3	o	Suku dajak	Pak PN	2	o	pn	n

3	n	benarkah	kita	3	s	pp	y
3	s	mengapa PSSI	kita	5	s	pp	n
3	s	mengapa PSSI	saja	1	s	pp	n
3	o	keterbukaan	kita	3	s	pp	n
3	o	damai seputar	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 1	Pak PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	letter 1	ibu	1	o	cn	n
4	lett	letter 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 2	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 3	kita	4	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter 3	saja	3	s	pp	n
4	s	mengapa PSSI (cont)	kita	2	s	pp	n
4	s	mengapa PSSI (cont)	saja	1	s	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	I	5	s	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	me	2	s	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	my	4	s	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	you	4	a	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	your	2	a	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	kita	9	s	pp	n
5	n	Damai Seputar (cont)	kita	1	s	pp	n
5	n	Damai Seputar (cont)	kita	1	s	pp	y
5	n	Damai Seputar (cont)	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	n	Damai Seputar (cont)	kami	3	s	pp	y
5	o	Memaksimumkan	kita	1	s	pp	n
5	n	benarkah (cont)	kita	2	s	pp	y
5	a	PRIVATE SECRETARY	we	2	s	pp	n
5	a	PRIVATE SECRETARY	your	1	a	pp	n
5	n	pemilu di vietsel	saja	1	s	pp	y
5	a	pemilu di vietsel	anda	2	a	pp	n
5	a	pemilu di vietsel	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	a	ELECTRICAL AND	we	1	s	pp	n
5	a	ELECTRICAL AND	our	1	s	pp	n
6	a	column 3 diners club	kami	2	s	pp	n
6	a	NBS	kami	3	s	pp	n
6	n	disini senang (cont)	kita	1	s	pp	n

6	a	PEMBERITAHUAN	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	kau	1	a	pp	n
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	kami	11	s	pp	y
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	Bapa	10	a	cn	y
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	tidurmu	1	a	pp	n
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	aku	3	s	pp	y
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	kalian	2	a	pp	y
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	padamu	1	a	pp	y
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	padamu	1	a	pp	n
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	engkau	1	a	pp	y
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	Popiku	2	s	pp	n
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	Anda	1	a	pp	n
6	lit	CHOTBAH DIATAS	membutuhkanmu	1	a	pp	y
7	a	column 2	Anda	1	a	pp	n
7	pn	berduka tjita	Ajah Ajah Mertua Engkong kami	1	o	cn	n
7	pn	pernjataan	kami	3	s	pp	n
7	pn	pernjataan	saja	2	s	pp	n
7	a	Kombinasi jang ideal	Anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	sriwidjaja	kami	1	s	pp	n
7	a	taman imdian jaya	Miss PN	1	o	pn	n
7	a	taman imdian jaya	Anda	1	a	pp	n
7	pn	top right	kami	2	s	pp	n
8	a	tour of the south seas	Anda	2	a	pp	n
8	n	dari general rehearsal	kami	1	s	pp	y
8	n	dari general rehearsal	anda	1	a	pp	y
8	n	Presiden Resmikan	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n

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8	n	Presiden Resmikan	Ibu Tien Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
8	n	Indonesia Menganut	kita	7	s	pp	n
			TOTAL	173			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	barang-barang	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	o	podjok kompas	mang usil	2	s	pn	n
1	o	podjok kompas	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	o	podjok kompas	ibukota	1	p	cn	n
1	n	massage girl	Nona SS	1	o	pn	n
2	o	CC ABRI	kita	11	s	pp	n
2	o	kemungkinan	kita	5	s	pp	n
2	n	sedan lang ditumpangi	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
2	n	sedan lang ditumpangi	Njonja PN	3	o	pn	n
2	n	sedan lang ditumpangi	Ibu PN	1	o	pn	n
2	lit	PETUALANGAN	kita	3	s	pp	y
2	lit	PETUALANGAN	saja	2	s	pp	y
2	lit	PETUALANGAN	kau	1	a	pp	y
2	lit	PETUALANGAN	WORD-mu	1	a	cn	y
3	n	Ditjari Sponsor	kami	1	s	pp	y
3	n	Ditjari Sponsor	aku	1	s	pp	y
3	n	Den Pasar	kita	7	s	pp	n
3	n	Den Pasar	saja	5	s	pp	y
3	a	SEHAT BERARTI	anda	1	a	pp	n
3	a	olivetti	your	2	a	pp	n
3	a	olivetti	our	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	letter to 'redaksi Jth'	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	o	Djawaban redaksi	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	o	Djawaban redaksi	Anda	1	a	pp	n
4	lett	sedikit komentar	saja	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	sedikit komentar	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	tertjatatpun lenjap	saja	3	s	pp	n
4	lett	tertjatatpun lenjap	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	o	haruskah chaos	kita	2	s	pp	n

4	a	Anda Butuh Semen	anda	3	a	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	engkau	1	a	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	menunggumu	2	a	a	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	kita	4	s	pp	n
4	lit	apresiasi seni	saja	2	s	pp	n
5	n	pulau siberut	saja	3	s	pp	n
6	lett	disengadja begini	Bapak2	1	o	cn	n
6	lett	disengadja begini	kami	3	s	pp	n
6	lett	disengadja begini	kita	1	s	pp	n
6	lett	barang2	kami	2	s	pp	n
6	lett	pembetulan	kami	4	s	pp	n
6	lett	pembetulan	Saudara	1	o	cn	n
6	lett	patut kita sambut	kita	6	s	pp	n
6	lett	patut kita sambut	saja	1	s	pp	n
7	a	column 1	we	1	s	pp	n
7	a	column 1	our	2	s	pp	n
7	o	pendjual	saja	10	s	pp	n
7	o	pendjual	gue	1	s	pp	n
7	o	pendjual	kami	2	s	pp	n
7	o	pendjual	kita	1	s	pp	n
7	o	pendjual	anda	8	a	pp	n
7	a	works account	your	1	a	pp	n
8	a	kursus	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	kursus	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	Sekretaris	Saudara	1	a	cn	n
8	a	bottom column 2	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	s	kalau puteri	Puteri PN	3	o	pn	n
8	s	kalau puteri	Putera PN	1	o	pn	n
8	s	kalau puteri	kami	1	s	pp	y
8	s	kalau puteri	saja	3	s	pp	y
8	o	Perusahaan	saja	4	s	pp	n
8	o	Perusahaan	kita	3	s	pp	n
9	n	Sekali Lagi	kita	4	s	pp	n
9	n	Sekali Lagi	kami	2	s	pp	n
9	n	Sekali Lagi	Sdr. PN	3	o	pn	n
9	n	Tjara Nenek	nenek	1	o	cn	n
9	n	Tjara Nenek	kita	1	s	pp	n
9	n	Tjara Nenek	Ibu PN	1	o	pn	n
9	o	Seperempat	saja	8	s	pp	n
9	o	Seperempat	kita	1	s	pp	n
9	a	NBS	kami	2	s	pp	n
10	a	PT Modal Trust	anda	2	a	pp	n
10	lit	Papillon	gua	1	s	pp	n
10	lit	Papillon	aku	19	s	pp	y
10	lit	Papillon	kau	13	a	pp	y

10	lit	Papillon	kita	2	s	pp	y
10	lit	Papillon	kami	4	s	pp	y
10	lit	Papillon	tanjaku	1	s	pp	n
10	lit	Papillon	WORDmu	4	a	pp	y
11	a	BRITISH	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	n	perluasan (cont)	kita	1	s	pp	n
11	pn	UDANGAN	Bk. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	pn	UDANGAN	kami	3	s	pp	n
11	pn	UDANGAN	Putera kalian	1	o	cn	n
11	pn	UDANGAN	Tuan Njonja Nona sekalian	1	o	cn	n
11	a	VACANCY	we	1	s	pp	n
11	a	DENGARKANLAH	Anda	1	a	pp	n
11	pub	PENGUMUMAN	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	pub	PENGUMUMAN	Saudara	1	a	cn	n
11	pub	PENGUMUMAN	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	KAMI perlu bantuan	kami	2	s	pp	n
11	a	KAMI perlu bantuan	anda	2	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	231			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	emil salim	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	s	warnasari	saya	6	s	pp	y
1	s	Lagi Berakir Remis	saya	1	s	pp	y
2	o	fusi partai	kita	3	s	pp	n
2	o	HUT Malaysia	kita	4	s	pp	n
2	n	menjelajah	Nj. PN	2	o	pn	n
2	n	Pak Haji	Pak Haji	14	o	cn	n
2	lit	TERJERAT AWAN	NOUNmu	2	a	pp	y
2	lit	TERJERAT AWAN	PREPku	1	s	pp	y
2	lit	TERJERAT AWAN	kau	4	a	pp	y
2	lit	TERJERAT AWAN	kami	2	s	pp	y
3	s	Persija Junior	saya	3	s	pp	n
3	s	Persija Junior	kita	1	s	pp	n
3	s	hanya bulan kes.	saudara PN	2	o	cn	y
3	s	hanya bulan kes.	saudara	1	a	cn	y
3	s	hanya bulan kes.	saya	2	s	pp	y
3	s	hanya bulan kes.	kami	2	s	pp	y
3	a	bottom right	saudara	1	a	cn	n

3	a	bottom right	saudari	1	a	cn	n
4	lett	harapan harapan	saya	7	s	pp	n
4	lett	harapan harapan	Bapak2	1	o	cn	n
4	lett	harapan harapan	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	n	PERAYAAN HUT	Kol. Soeharto	2	o	pn	n
4	n	PERAYAAN HUT	Ibu Soepardjo	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	bina pajak	Sdr. PN	3	s	pn	n
4	lett	INVESTASI KREDIT	Sdr. PN	2	s	pn	n
4	lett	INVESTASI KREDIT	kami	6	s	pp	n
4	lett	INVESTASI KREDIT	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	lett	INVESTASI KREDIT	Saudara	1	o	cn	n
4	o	TANTANGAN UNTUK	kami	6	s	pp	n
4	o	TANTANGAN UNTUK	ayah2 dan ibu2	2	o	cn	n
5	n	150 Ekor Andjing	nona PN	6	o	pn	n
5	n	150 Ekor Andjing	Miss PN	1	o	pn	n
5	n	150 Ekor Andjing	saudara	1	o	cn	n
5	n	150 Ekor Andjing	saudari	1	o	cn	n
5	n	McGovern	kami	3	s	pp	y
5	n	McGovern	kita	4	s	pp	y
5	n	McGovern	saya	2	s	pp	y
5	a	WEISHAUPT	KAMI	1	s	pp	n
5	a	WEISHAUPT	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
6	lett	letter 1	kita	3	s	pp	n
6	lett	letter 1	Bung Hatta	1	o	pn	n
6	lett	letter 1	Mas PN	1	o	pn	n
6	lett	letter 1	Ny. PN	1	s	pn	n
6	lett	letter 2	saya	10	s	pp	n
6	lett	letter 2	Saudara	4	o	cn	n
6	lett	letter 3	saya	6	s	pp	n
6	lett	letter 3	Sdr.PN	6	o	pn	n
6	lett	letter 3	kita	4	s	pp	n
6	o	Seni Mengarang	saya	10	s	pp	n
6	o	Seni Mengarang	kita	4	s	pp	n
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	anda	2	a	pp	n
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	kita	12	s	pp	n
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	ibu	5	o	cn	n
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	ayah	2	o	cn	n
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	nenek	6	a	cn	y
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	kamu	1	a	pp	y
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	kau	1	a	pp	y
6	o	ANDA dan ANAK ANDA	indamu	1	a	pp	y
6	a	VO TRAKTOROEXPORT	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	a	VO TRAKTOROEXPORT	anda	1	a	pp	n
6	o	pertumbuhan	kita	19	s	pp	n
6	o	pertumbuhan	saya	1	s	pp	n
6	a	linguaphone	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n

6	o	menghadapi	kita	2	s	pp	n
6	o	rice cooker	Anda	3	a	pp	n
6	a	goodyear	anda	5	a	pp	n
8	a	CV titipan	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	kabar gembira	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
8	a	essaven	anda	5	a	pp	n
8	a	spare parts	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	ikutilah sayembara	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	ikutilah sayembara	ibukota	1	p	cn	n
9	lit	jang aneh2	saja	15	s	pp	n
9	lit	jang aneh2	I	8	s	pp	y
9	lit	jang aneh2	me	1	s	pp	y
9	lit	jang aneh2	my	1	s	pp	y
9	lit	jang aneh2	we	1	s	pp	y
9	lit	jang aneh2	you	11	a	pp	y
9	lit	jang aneh2	your	1	s	pp	y
9	lit	jang aneh2	kami	11	s	pp	n
9	lit	jang aneh2	ibu	3	o	cn	n
9	lit	margat badai pasti	saja	10	s	pp	n
9	lit	margat badai pasti	aku	2	s	pp	n
9	lit	margat badai pasti	aku	2	s	pp	y
9	lit	margat badai pasti	nona PN	9	o	pn	n
9	lit	margat badai pasti	nona	3	a	cn	n
9	lit	margat badai pasti	dokter	16	a	cn	y
9	lit	margat badai pasti	Njonja PN	2	o	pn	y
9	lit	margat badai pasti	njonja	3	o	cn	n
9	lit	margat badai pasti	bapak	1	o	cn	y
9	lit	margat badai pasti	pak	1	o	cn	y
10	a	kesehatan	Anda	2	a	pp	n
10	a	Wasir	anda	1	a	pp	n
10	a	electra	Anda	1	a	pp	n
10	a	electra	kami	1	s	pp	n
10	a	simpanlah iklan ini	anda	1	a	pp	n
10	a	alunan organ solna	anda	1	a	pp	n
10	a	honda generator	Anda	1	a	pp	n
10	a	UCAPAN TERIMA	kami	2	s	pp	n
10	o	tantangan (cont)	kami	2	s	pp	n
10	o	tantangan (cont)	kita	3	s	pp	n
11	a	kursus	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	djual pupuk	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	njonja ingin	NJONJA	1	a	cn	n
11	a	beras/beras	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	mangga probolinggo	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	mangga probolinggo	Nj. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	a	panggilan [pertama	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	a	panggilan [pertama	kami	1	s	pp	n

11	pn	inna lillahi	dr. PN	5	o	pn	n
11	pn	inna lillahi	prof. dr. PN	2	o	pn	n
11	pn	inna lillahi	Isteri Ibu Kakak kami	1	o	cn	n
11	pn	ucapan selamat	Bapak Drs. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	pn	ucapan selamat	Bapak Menteri	1	o	cn	n
12	n	penelitian ilmiah	kita	1	s	pp	n
12	s	esubio ingin jadi coach	kami	2	s	pp	y
			TOTAL	368			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	Perlambat	kita	1	s	pp	y
1	n	Perlambat	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	1 Maret 1949	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	n	1 Maret 1949	Ibu Tien Soeharto	4	o	pn	n
1	n	Indonesia Dukung	kami	2	s	pp	y
2	pn	berduka cita	saudara	2	o	cn	n
2	pn	berduka cita	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	pn	berduka cita	ayah ibu	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	berduka cita	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
2	pn	berduka cita 2	Papa Papa Mertua Engkong kami	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima	kami	3	s	pp	n
2	pn	ucapan terima	Bapak	7	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima	Bapak	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima	Saudara	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima	adik saudara kakak paman	1	o	cn	n
2	n	DARI IBU KE IBU	Ibu Tien Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
2	n	DARI IBU KE IBU	ibu	2	o	cn	n
3	lit	memperebutkan	sayangku	1	a	pp	y
3	a	sanabell	Anda	8	a	pp	y
4	o	menumbuhkan	kita	4	s	pp	n
4	o	buku barang	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	o	defisit	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	o	masihkah negara	kita	3	s	pp	n

4	o	masihkah negara	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	saya	5	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	kami	8	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	Sdr. PN	2	o	pn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	Sdr.	1	o	cn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	Sdr.	1	a	cn	y
4	lett	redaksi yth	gua	1	s	pp	y
4	lett	redaksi yth	pak	1	a	cn	y
4	lett	redaksi yth 2	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 3	Bapak PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 3	saya	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	Catatan Redaski	saudara	1	a	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 4	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 4	saya	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi 5	kami	3	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi 5	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	redaksi 5	Sdr.PN	1	s	pn	n
4	o	pojok kompas	kita	4	s	pp	n
4	o	saya dikerumuni	saya	4	s	pp	n
4	o	saya dikerumuni	kita	1	s	pp	n
5	o	pemuda	kita	1	s	pp	n
5	o	ratu indonesia	ratu	2	o	cn	n
5	o	ratu indonesia	miss	2	o	cn	n
5	o	ratu indonesia	saya	3	s	pp	n
5	o	ratu indonesia	kita	2	s	pp	n
5	lit	isteri yang	saya	5	s	pp	n
5	lit	isteri yang	Ny. PN	4	o	pn	n
5	a	kami memilih	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	a	kami memilih	anda	1	a	pp	n
5	o	saya ndak	saya	2	s	pp	y
5	lit	rahasia kecantikan	anda	16	a	pp	n
5	lit	rahasia kecantikan	kita	5	s	pp	n
5	lit	rahasia kecantikan	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	rahasia kecantikan	saya	11	s	pp	n
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	aku	32	s	pp	y
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	kau	61	a	pp	y
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	kita	11	s	pp	y
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	NOUNmu	11	a	pp	y
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	PREPku	5	s	pp	y
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	kami	1	s	pp	y
6	lit	Kau Tak Perlu	kamu	3	a	pp	y
6	a	dewitts	anda	3	a	pp	n
7	o	saya dikerumuni	saya	2	s	pp	n
7	o	saya dikerumuni	kami	1	s	pp	n

7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	aku	19	s	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	kami	1	s	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	kita	4	s	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	kau	12	a	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	NOUNmu	2	a	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	padaku	1	s	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	saya	13	s	pp	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	ibu PN	6	o	pn	n
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	ibu/bu	4	a	cn	y
7	lit	cintaku di kampus biru	saudara	10	a	cn	y
8	x	puzzle	anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	malam kesenian	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	malam kesenian	anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	hatsuta	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
8	a	pengumuman	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	luar biasa	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	luar biasa	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	MAK	our	1	s	pp	n
9	o	saya ndak mengerti	saya	2	s	pp	y
9	o	saya ndak mengerti	Presiden Soeharto	4	o	pn	n
9	o	saya ndak mengerti	Ny. Tien	1	o	pn	n
9	o	Pemuda2	anda	1	a	pp	n
9	o	Pemuda2	kami	1	s	pp	n
9	o	Pemuda2	saya	1	s	pp	y
9	o	Pemuda2	kita	1	s	pp	n
9	o	Pemuda2	bapak	1	o	cn	n
9	lit	isteri yang (cont)	saya	20	s	pp	y
9	lit	isteri yang (cont)	kamu	2	a	pp	y
9	lit	isteri yang (cont)	kami	2	s	pp	n
9	lit	isteri yang (cont)	engkau	1	a	pp	y
10	s	couple of articles	putri	3	p	cn	n
10	s	couple of articles	putra	1	p	cn	n
10	s	couple of articles	kami	3	s	pp	y
10	s	couple of articles	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
10	a	jangan lewatkan	Anda	2	a	pp	n
10	a	jangan lewatkan	kita	1	s	pp	n
10	a	sound of music	ANDA	3	a	pp	n

11	a	kursus	ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	a	ANDA INGIN	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
11	a	pasan iklan	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	pasan iklan	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	pn	berduka cita	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	pn	berduka cita	kami	2	s	pp	n
11	pn	berita duka cita	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
11	a	sales promotion	anda	2	a	pp	n
11	a	rumah/tanah	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	pemberang	kita	1	s	pp	n
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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	10 oknum	nyonya	1	a	cn	y
1	n	10 oknum	saya	5	s	pp	y
1	n	10 oknum	ibu	1	a	cn	y
1	n	10 oknum	ibu PN	1	o	pn	n
1	n	10 oknum	bapak2	2	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan termia kasih	kami	2	s	pp	n
2	pn	ucapan termia kasih	ayah ibu adik paman	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan termia kasih	Ny. PN	3	o	pn	n
2	pn	berduka cita	mama mertua emak saudara kami	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	berduka cita	Ny. PN	2	o	pn	n
2	pn	berduka cita	Ir. PN	1	o	pn	n
2	pn	berita dukacita	Adik Kakak Ipar Paman kami	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	berita dukacita	kami	2	s	pp	n
2	a	PRIMA	saudara	1	o	cn	n
2	a	lady secretary	your	1	a	pp	n
2	a	sertifikat	saudara	1	a	cn	n
2	a	sertifikat	Sdr.	2	a	cn	n
3	pn	pelaksanaan	kita	2	s	pp	n
3	x	Lagu untuk anda	anda	1	a	pp	n
3	lit	makhluk jurang	belatiku	1	s	cn	y
3	lit	makhluk jurang	saya	3	s	pp	y
3	a	anak ayam	Anda	3	a	pp	n
3	pn	menikah 1	Tn/Ny.	2	o	cn	n
3	pn	menikah 2	Tn/Ny.	2	o	cn	n
3	pn	menikah 3	putri Tn/Ny	1	o	cn	n

3	pn	menikah 3	putra Tn/Ny.	1	o	cn	n
3	pub	pengumuman 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	o	jaminan simpanan	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	o	berantaslah	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	n	kilasan kawat	saya	6	s	pp	y
4	o	munyuk orang-utan	kami	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	saya	12	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	kami	4	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth	sdr. PN	2	o	pn	n
5	n	hari kanak	kita	10	s	pp	n
5	n	hari kanak	Kak PN	2	o	pn	n
5	n	hari kanak	kalian	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	kiranya bukan	saudara	1	o	cn	n
5	lit	kiranya bukan	NOUNku	6	s	pp	n
5	lit	kiranya bukan	nenek	5	o	cn	n
5	lit	kiranya bukan	aku	10	s	pp	y
5	lit	kiranya bukan	saya	3	s	pp	y
5	lit	kiranya bukan	kami	6	s	pp	n
5	lit	kiranya bukan	kita	2	s	pp	y
5	lit	kiranya bukan	kau	4	a	pp	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	Ibu	1	a	cn	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	Bu	1	a	cn	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	kak	9	a	cn	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	kakak	4	a	cn	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	kamu	1	a	pp	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	kita	3	s	pp	y
5	lit	ruang kecil	saya	1	s	pp	n
5	n	menyongsong	kita	2	s	pp	n
5	n	menyongsong	kakak	1	o	cn	n
5	n	menyongsong	kak	1	o	cn	n
5	n	menyongsong	adik	2	o	cn	n
5	n	menyongsong	ibu	1	o	cn	n
5	n	menyongsong	temanmu	2	o	cn	n
5	n	menyongsong	kalian	1	a	pp	n
5	lit	pahlawan nelayan	aku	4	s	pp	y
5	lit	pahlawan nelayan	kau	5	a	pp	y
5	lit	pahlawan nelayan	kami	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	pahlawan nelayan	NOUNmu	3	a	cn	y
5	lit	patung ajaib	kau	1	a	pp	y
5	lit	patung ajaib	engkau	1	a	pp	y
5	lit	patung ajaib	aku	2	s	pp	y
5	lit	jika aku	aku	1	s	pp	n
5	lit	jika aku	(bound)ku	5	s	pp	n
6	lit	pahlawan (cont)	kau	6	a	pp	y
6	lit	pahlawan (cont)	Paman PN	5	o	pn	n

6	a	merpati	kami	2	s	pp	n
7	a	hernia	anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	susah pencernaan	Anda	7	a	pp	n
7	a	IBM	kami	4	s	pp	n
7	a	IBM	saudara	7	a	cn	n
8	a	nyal	Anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	DICARI	kami	2	s	pp	n
8	a	ini dia yang anda	Anda	3	a	pp	n
8	o	pemasaran	kita	2	s	pp	n
8	pn	PANGGILAN	Sdr. PN	1	o	cn	n
8	pn	PANGGILAN	Sdr.	1	a	cn	n
8	pn	PANGGILAN	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	sabang hotel	kami	2	s	pp	n
8	a	sabang hotel	Tuan	5	a	cn	n
9	a	anda ingin memiliki	anda	2	a	pp	n
10	s	foreman 10 kg	you	1	a	pp	y
10	s	foreman 10 kg	lu	1	a	pp	y
10	s	foreman 10 kg	saya	4	s	pp	y
10	s	Ny. Kang Rebut	Nyonya PN	1	o	pn	n
10	s	Ny. Kang Rebut	Ny. PN	9	o	pn	n
10	s	Ny. Kang Rebut	ibu PN	1	o	pn	n
10	s	Didi Diria	Mr. Title	7	o	cn	n
10	s	Didi Diria	Miss Title	1	o	cn	n
10	s	Didi Diria	saya	1	s	pp	y
10	a	grand midnight show	anda	2	a	pp	n
10	a	palitol	Anda	2	a	pp	n
11	a	column 1	anda	2	a	pp	n
11	a	column 1	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	column 2	Anda	2	a	pp	n
11	a	column 2	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	column 3	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	column 3	we	1	s	pp	n
11	a	column 4	mukamu	1	a	pp	n
11	a	column 4	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	column 4-5	kita	1	s	pp	n
11	a	column 5	Anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	column 8-9	anda	6	a	pp	n
12	pn	ucapan termia kasih	kami	4	s	pp	n
12	pn	ucapan termia kasih	Ibu	1	o	cn	n
12	pn	ucapan termia kasih	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
12	pn	ucapan termia kasih	Bapak Ibu Sdr. Sekalian	1	a	cn	n
12	a	show ditambah	saya	2	s	pp	y
			TOTAL	289			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	2 articles	Ny. PN	9	o	pn	n
1	n	Mohamad Samin	saya	1	s	pp	y
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	anak adik abang kami	1	s	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	Bapak Ibu dan Saudara sekalian	1	a	cn	n
3	lit	berebut	kau	4	a	pp	y
3	lit	berebut	PREPmu	3	a	pp	y
3	lit	berebut	saya	2	s	pp	y
3	s	koege tiba	kami	7	s	pp	y
3	s	koege tiba	anda	2	a	pp	y
3	a	honda	ANDA	2	a	pp	n
3	a	DORIS	Anda	1	a	pp	n
3	x	acara hari ini	kita	2	s	pp	n
3	x	acara hari ini	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	o	APBN	kita	3	s	pp	n
4	o	yang lebih perlu	kita	9	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth X 3	Bapak Bupati	1	o	cn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth X 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth X 3	saya	1	s	pp	n
4	o	pojok kompas	Pak PN	1	o	pn	n
4	o	TRAKINDO	ANDA	3	a	pp	n
5	o	bagaimana cara	saya	8	s	pp	n
5	o	bagaimana cara	kita	11	s	pp	n
5	x	tebak-cermat	anda	2	a	pp	n
5	o	yang lebih perlu (cont)	kita	9	s	pp	n
6	a	satay house	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	a	PT Siemens	we	1	s	pp	n
6	a	PT Siemens	us	1	s	pp	n
6	a	PT Siemens	you	1	a	pp	n
6	a	PT Siemens	your	1	a	pp	n
6	a	pemberitahuan	kami	1	s	pp	n
6	lit	perburuan	aku	3	s	pp	y
6	lit	perburuan	saya	1	s	pp	n
6	lit	perburuan	anda	2	a	pp	y
6	lit	perburuan	engkau	3	a	pp	y
6	lit	perburuan	kami	1	s	pp	n

6	lit	perburuan	NOUNmu	1	a	pp	y
6	lit	perburuan	PREPmu	1	a	pp	y
6	lit	perburuan	NOUNku	1	s	pp	y
7	pn	column 1	putra kami	1	o	cn	n
7	pn	column 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
7	a	column 5	anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	column 5	anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	column 6	Anda	2	a	pp	n
7	a	column 6-7	your	1	a	pp	n
7	a	column 6-7	anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	column 7	anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	dracula ad 72	Sdr.	1	a	pp	n
8	s	rekor bagi	Miss Title	5	o	cn	n
8	s	rekor bagi	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
8	o	dua dari (cont)	kita	1	s	pp	n
8	n	mohamad (cont)	saya	3	s	pp	y
8	o	dpr SETUJUL (cont)	kita	2	s	pp	n
8	n	kissinger	anda	1	a	pp	y
8	a	sinful davey	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	mini-ads	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	mini-ads	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	karatefists	anda	1	a	pp	n
8	a	up the front	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	up the front	anda	1	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	134			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	PM Norman	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
1	n	singapura maju	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
1	i	sepuluh fungsionaris	saudara	1	a	cn	y
1	n	APDT	saya	1	s	pp	y
2	n	parade penyambutan	Ibu Taruna	3	o	pn	n
2	n	parade penyambutan	Ny. Widodo	2	o	pn	n
2	x	acara hari ini	Presiden Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	kami	2	s	pp	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	Ibunda	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	saudara	1	o	cn	n

			Bapak				
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih	Gubenur	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	turut berduka cita	kami	1	s	pp	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih 2	kami	2	s	pp	n
			Ibu Ibu Mertua				
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih 2	Emak	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
			Bapak2 Ibu2 Isteri Saudara Ibu				
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih 4	nenek kami	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	ucapan terima kasih 4	Ny. PN	2	o	pn	n
2	pn	turut berduka cita 2	Ibunda	1	o	cn	n
2	pn	turut berduka cita 2	Ibu PN	1	o	pn	n
2	pn	direksi beserta	Bapak PN	1	o	pn	n
2	a	PT Faber	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
3	n	jaksa memukul	saudara	7	a	cn	y
3	n	jaksa memukul	saya	4	s	pp	y
3	n	jaksa memukul	bapak	1	a	cn	y
3	n	jaksa memukul	pak	1	a	cn	y
			suami saudara ayah mertua engkong				
3	pn	berduka cita	kami	1	o	cn	n
3	pn	berduka cita	saudara2	1	o	cn	n
3	pn	berduka cita	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
3	a	bapak kawin lagi	bapak	1	o	cn	n
3	lit	topeng atacama	kita	1	s	pp	y
			putera Tn. &				
3	pn	menikah	Ny.	1	o	cn	n
4	o	pernyataan bersama	see note	0			
4	o	pendekatan kriminologis	saya	5	s	pp	n
4	o	pendekatan kriminologis	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	o	menelaah arti	anda	9	a	pp	n
4	o	menelaah arti	saudara	1	a	cn	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 1	saya	2	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 1	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	redaksi yth 1	Sdr. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	3	Ibukota	1	p	cn	n
4	lett	3	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	4	kita	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	4	Bang Ali	2	o	pn	n
4	lett	4	saya	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	5	saya	1	s	pp	n
4	lett	5	kami	1	s	pp	n

4	lett	6	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
4	lett	6	saya	1	s	pp	n
5	n	martha graham	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
5	n	martha graham	nenek	1	o	cn	n
5	n	martha graham	kita	1	s	pp	n
5	i	seniman bekerja untuk	saya	27	s	pp	y
5	i	seniman bekerja untuk	kau	6	a	pp	y
5	i	seniman bekerja untuk	aku	2	s	pp	y
	i	seniman bekerja untuk	kalian	1	a	pp	y
6	a	american express	kami	3	s	pp	n
6	a	american express	anda	3	a	pp	n
6	a	american express	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
6	a	coba anda timbang	anda	5	a	pp	n
7	a	senior accounting	we	1	s	pp	n
7	a	menyediakan	Anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	ANDA INGIN BELAJAR	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
7	a	1 copy per detik	Anda	7	a	pp	n
7	a	variasi	ibunya	2	o	cn	n
7	a	variasi	bapak	1	o	cn	n
7	a	variasi	anda	1	a	pp	n
7	a	ternama	you	1	a	pp	n
8	a	perelatan tanur	Anda	2	a	pp	n
8	a	perelatan tanur	kami	1	s	pp	n
8	a	pemberitahuan	kami	1	s	pp	n
9	lett	redaksi yth (cont) 1	kami	14	s	pp	n
9	lett	2	saya	5	s	pp	n
9	lett	3	saya	1	s	pp	n
9	lett	3	kita	1	s	pp	n
9	o	menelaah arti (cont)	bapak	1	o	cn	n
9	o	menelaah arti (cont)	milikmu	1	a	a	n
9	o	menelaah arti (cont)	kita	2	s	pp	n
9	o	keadilan yang	saya	1	s	pp	n
9	a	scan-dyna	anda	1	a	pp	n
9	a	mercury	kami	2	s	pp	n
9	a	mercury	anda	2	a	pp	n
9	a	madonna	anda	1	a	pp	n
9	a	kompas	anda	1	a	pp	n
9	a	pengumuman	kami	1	s	pp	n
9	a	mazda	anda	2	a	pp	n
10	s	1	kami	1	s	pp	n
10	s	1	putera puteri	2	p	cn	n
10	s	2	Ny. PN	4	o	pn	n
10	s	3	puteri	1	p	cn	n
10	s	4	Ny. PN	2	o	pn	n
11	a	heading	anda	1	a	pp	n
11	a	heading	kami	1	s	pp	n

PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
11	a	column 5	anda	2	a	pp	n
11	a	column 5	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	column 5	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	column 6	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	a	column 7	anda	1	a	pp	n
12	i	sepuluh fungsionaris (cont)	saudara	6	a	cn	y
12	i	sepuluh fungsionaris (cont)	you	1	a	pp	y
12	i	sepuluh fungsionaris (cont)	saya	5	s	pp	y
12	n	kisah prajurit	saya	1	s	pp	y
12	a	iklan mini	anda	1	a	pp	n
12	a	2	kami	1	s	pp	n
12	a	alat2 hiburan	anda	1	a	pp	n
12	a	sablon	kami	1	s	pp	n
12	a	bogor	anda	1	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	218			

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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	badan POM	kami	1	s	pp	y
1	n	kasus BLBI	saya	1	s	pp	y
1	n	kasus BLBI	kami	1	s	pp	y
1	n	pendidkan	Ibu Kota	2	p	cn	n
2	n	jaksa yakin	kami	2	s	pp	y
2	a	garuda	we	3	s	pp	n
2	a	garuda	you	1	a	pp	n
2	a	garuda	your	1	a	pp	n
3	n	MA tak	saya	5	s	pp	y
3	n	Parpol Sudah	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	y
3	n	Parpol Sudah	saya	3	s	pp	y
3	a	petrof cideng	kami	1	s	pp	n
3	a	aman untuk bayi	ibu	1	a	cn	n
4	n	Pak Enak Enggak	pak	1	a	cn	n
4	n	Pak Enak Enggak	President Yudhoyono	5	o	pn	n
4	n	Pak Enak Enggak	Ny Ani	5	o	pn	n
4	n	imigrasi tangap	kami	1	s	pp	y
5	n	Pilkada dan	Anda	1	a	pp	y
5	a	telkomsel	Anda	1	a	pp	n
6	n	keindahan maaf	we	2	s	pp	y
6	n	keindahan maaf	mothers fathers brothers sisters	1	a	cn	y
6	n	keindahan maaf	ibu ayah saudara	1	a	cn	y

6	n	keindahan maaf	anda semua	1	a	pp	y
6	n	keindahan maaf	kami	1	s	pp	y
6	n	keindahan maaf	saya	3	s	pp	n
7	lett	first media	saya	1	s	pp	n
7	lett	jebakan ala	saya	7	s	pp	n
7	lett	jebakan ala	Bapak Stepanus	3	o	pn	n
7	lett	jebakan ala	Bapak Parisman	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	jebakan ala	saudaranya	1	o	cn	n
7	lett	Disertai Keterangan	Ibu Harri Kinasih	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	Disertai Keterangan	kami	1	s	pp	n
7	lett	Disertai Keterangan	Ibu Kinasih	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	Iuran Gratis	Saudara Handy	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	Iuran Gratis	saya	11	s	pp	n
7	lett	Iuran Gratis	Ibu Warni	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	Iuran Gratis	Ibu Lola	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	Iuran Gratis	Ibu Melly	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	ganti rugi	Bapak PN	3	o	pn	n
7	lett	ganti rugi	kami	3	s	pp	n
7	lett	tidak terlihat	kami	2	s	pp	n
7	lett	tidak terlihat	Saudara PN	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	tidak terlihat	Ibu PN	3	o	pn	n
7	lett	harus tambah	Bapak PN	2	o	pn	n
7	lett	harus tambah	kami	2	s	pp	n
7	lett	pemakaian kartu	Saudari Sri PN	1	o	pn	n
8	n	8.666 pemilih	kami	2	s	pp	y
9	n	oposisi gelar	saya	1	s	pp	y
9	n	presiden putin	kalian	2	a	pp	y
9	n	presiden putin	saya	1	s	pp	y
9	n	presiden putin	kita	1	s	pp	y
10	n	Thaksin bukan	saya	1	s	pp	y
10	n	interpol peringatkan	Mas PN	2	o	pn	n
10	n	interpol peringatkan	kita	1	s	pp	y
10	a	timor telecom	you	1	a	pp	n
10	a	timor telecom	your	1	a	pp	n
10	a	ciputra	Anda	1	a	pp	n
10	a	telesindo	our	1	s	pp	n
10	a	pembeli	kami	1	s	pp	n
11	n	batal menjadi	saya	6	s	pp	y
11	n	batal menjadi	Pengeran PN	5	o	pn	n
11	n	batal menjadi	Ratu PN	2	o	pn	n
11	n	batal menjadi	Putri Diana	1	o	pn	n
11	n	batal menjadi	Ibu saya	1	o	cn	y
11	n	batal menjadi	kami	3	s	pp	y
11	n	batal menjadi	paman	1	o	cn	n
11	n	batal menjadi	Saudara Raja PN	1	o	pn	n
11	n	kilasan kawat	kami	2	s	pp	y

12	a	kireion	kami	1	s	pp	n
12	a	kireion	anda	2	a	pp	n
13	n	energi nuklir	kami	1	s	pp	y
13	n	energi nuklir	President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	1	o	pn	n
13	n	bahaya bukan	kita	1	s	pp	y
14	o	Soeharto dalam	Soeharto	1	o	pn	n
14	o	Soeharto dalam	Suharto	2	o	pn	n
14	o	Soeharto dalam	kita	2	s	pp	n
14	o	Soeharto dalam	Paman PN	3	o	pn	n
14	o	Soeharto dalam	Pak PN	1	o	pn	n
14	n	bencana ekologi	Pak Menteri	1	o	cn	y
14	n	bencana ekologi	Mas PN	1	o	pn	n
15	n	pers dan politisi	pak PN	1	o	pn	n
15	n	pers dan politisi	kami	1	s	pp	y
15	n	pers dan politisi	saya	4	s	pp	y
15	n	Di Seputar	Ibu Kota	2	p	cn	n
15	n	Di Seputar	kami	1	s	pp	y
15	n	Di Seputar	saya	1	s	pp	y
15	n	badan POM (cont)	kami	1	s	pp	y
16	n	Joko Widodo	kami	1	s	pp	y
16	n	Joko Widodo	saya	6	s	pp	y
16	n	Joko Widodo	kita	1	s	pp	y
16	a	multiplex meter	Anda	1	a	pp	n
17	n	Dihemat	kami	1	s	pp	y
17	n	investasi	kami	1	s	pp	y
17	a	once the JORR link	your	3	a	pp	n
17	a	once the JORR link	you	1	a	pp	n
18	n	plafon kredit	kami	2	s	pp	y
18	a	jumbo	Anda	2	a	pp	n
18	a	jumbo	you	1	a	pp	n
19	n	ORI004	kami	1	s	pp	y
21	n	meramu	kita	1	s	pp	y
21	n	meramu	kita	1	s	pp	n
22	n	cuaca buruk	saya	1	s	pp	y
23	n	200 rumah	saya	1	s	pp	y
23	n	200 rumah	kami	1	s	pp	y
23	n	PLN Diminta	saya	2	s	pp	y
24	n	unggas dusun	saya	2	s	pp	y
24	n	MA Lamban	kami	1	s	pp	y
24	n	MA Lamban	saya	1	s	pp	y
25	n	auditor BPK	kami	3	s	pp	y
26	n	polisi diminta	saya	1	s	pp	y
26	n	?? Tidak merata	kami	1	s	pp	y
26	a	mitra10	Anda	1	a	pp	n
27	o	kolam pancing	Mbak PN	1	o	pn	y

27	o	kolam pancing	kami	4	s	pp	y
27	o	kolam pancing	kami-kami	1	s	pp	y
27	o	kolam pancing	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
27	o	tempat memancing	saya	2	s	pp	y
27	o	tempat memancing	kami	3	s	pp	y
28	s	kazumi	ibu	2	o	cn	n
28	s	kuznetsova	saya	3	s	pp	y
28	s	tim lawan	kami	2	s	pp	y
28	s	oscar de la hoya	saya	4	s	pp	y
28	a	pesta hadiah	my	3	s	pp	n
28	a	pesta hadiah	anda	3	a	pp	n
29	s	samatar menangi	kami	4	s	pp	y
29	s	duncan memotori	kami	3	s	pp	y
29	s	duncan memotori	anda	2	a	pp	y
29	a	the great way to live	you	3	a	pp	n
30	s	raikkonen	kami	5	s	pp	y
30	s	raikkonen	saya	1	s	pp	y
30	s	raikkonen	anda	1	a	pp	y
30	s	raikkonen	kita	1	s	pp	y
30	s	raksasa	kami	2	s	pp	y
30	s	sebanyak	kami	1	s	pp	y
30	s	sebanyak	putra putri	1	p	cn	n
30	s	luke donald	saya	4	s	pp	y
30	a	persembahan	Anda	10	a	pp	n
31	s	martin taylor	saya	3	s	pp	y
31	s	martin taylor	kami	2	s	pp	y
31	s	hapadi lazio	kami	1	s	pp	y
31	s	hapadi lazio	saya	1	s	pp	y
31	a	berpikir rasional	anda	2	a	pp	n
31	a	permanent residence	you	1	a	pp	n
31	a	permanent residence	your	1	a	pp	n
32	n	janet jackson	saya	9	s	pp	y
32	n	janet jackson	kami	1	s	pp	y
32	n	janet jackson	ibu	2	p	cn	y
32	n	WS Rendra	kita	1	s	pp	y
32	n	cemas dan senang	aku	2	s	pp	y
32	n	cemas dan senang	hatiku	1	s	pp	y
32	n	cemas dan senang	Mbak PN	1	o	pn	y
32	n	cemas dan senang	bayanganku	1	s	pp	y
32	n	cemas dan senang	pacarku	1	o	pp	n
32	n	cemas dan senang	kami	1	s	pp	y
32	n	mengenang gito	saya	3	s	pp	y
32	n	mengenang gito	kami	1	s	pp	y
33	n	sang ikon generasi	saya	6	s	pp	y
34	n	sistem tiris	kita	1	s	pp	y

34	a	sui generis	you	2	a	pp	n
34	a	sui generis	Anda	2	a	pp	n
34	a	sui generis	kami	2	s	pp	n
35	n	koloni	kami	2	s	pp	y
35	a	crizalALIZE	Anda	2	a	pp	n
35	a	estee lauder	your	3	a	pp	n
35	a	estee lauder	we	1	s	pp	n
36	o	sibernetika	kita	9	s	pp	n
36	a	scholarship	I	9	s	pp	y
36	a	scholarship	we	2	s	pp	n
36	a	scholarship	our	1	s	pp	n
36	a	scholarship	you	1	a	pp	n
36	a	scholarship	me	3	s	pp	y
36	a	scholarship	my	3	s	pp	y
36	a	kendalikan panas	anda	1	a	pp	n
37	o	mencari	kita	16	s	pp	n
37	a	UPH	your	2	a	pp	n
37	a	UPH	you	2	a	pp	n
38	o	republik ini	Ibu Teresa	1	o	pn	n
38	o	republik ini	kita	4	s	pp	n
38	o	republik muda	kita	1	s	pp	n
38	o	menyikapi	saya	3	s	pp	n
38	o	menyikapi	kita	2	s	pp	n
38	o	politik lumpur	saya	1	s	pp	y
41	n	Etika Bisnis'	saya	5	s	pp	n
41	n	Etika Bisnis'	kami	3	s	pp	n
41	n	Etika Bisnis'	kita	19	s	pp	n
41	n	Etika Bisnis'	bapak	1	o	cn	n
41	a	join us'	us	1	s	pp	n
42	a	walk in interview'	anda	2	a	pp	n
42	a	join us pass'	us	1	s	pp	n
42	a	PT K-LINK	kami	1	s	pp	n
42	a	PT K-LINK	Anda	1	a	pp	n
42	a	urgently required	we	1	s	pp	n
42	a	urgently required	you	6	a	pp	n
42	a	urgently required	your	1	a	pp	n
42	a	alatama	we	1	s	pp	n
42	a	alatama	us	1	s	pp	n
42	a	alatama	you	1	a	pp	n
42	a	alatama	your	1	a	pp	n
42	a	no limits	we	1	s	pp	n
42	a	no limits	our	1	s	pp	n
42	a	no limits	you	3	a	pp	n
42	a	no limits	your	1	a	pp	n
42	a	helizona	kami	1	s	pp	n
42	a	take a leap	us	1	s	pp	n

42	a	take a leap	you	1	a	pp	n
42	a	take a leap	your	1	a	pp	n
42	a	build your career	your	1	a	pp	n
42	a	build your career	us	1	s	pp	n
42	a	build your career	we	1	s	pp	n
42	a	build your career	you	3	a	pp	n
43	a	dibutuhkan segera	anda	1	a	pp	n
43	a	canadian red cross	we	1	s	pp	n
43	a	canadian red cross	you	1	a	pp	n
43	a	kesempatan berkarir	Anda	1	a	pp	n
43	a	australian govt	our	1	s	pp	n
43	a	kesempatan berkarir	anda	1	a	pp	n
43	a	lippo general	kami	1	s	pp	n
43	a	lippo general	anda	2	a	pp	n
43	a	clari	we	1	s	pp	n
43	a	clari	you	1	a	pp	n
43	a	central proteinprima	we	1	s	pp	n
43	a	central proteinprima	our	1	s	pp	n
43	a	central proteinprima	your	1	a	pp	n
43	a	kami perusahan	kami	1	s	pp	n
43	a	tantangan karir	kami	1	s	pp	n
43	a	dibutuhkan segera	anda	3	a	pp	n
43	a	dibutuhkan segera	kami	2	s	pp	n
43	a	po box 4069	kami	1	s	pp	n
43	a	lowongan	anda	1	a	pp	n
43	a	urgently required	your	1	a	pp	n
43	a	urgently required!!!	you	1	a	pp	n
43	a	urgently required!!!	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	(below) dibutuhkan	our	1	s	pp	n
44	a	(below) dibutuhkan	we	1	s	pp	n
44	a	urgently required	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	vacancy	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	dibutuhkan segera	kami	6	s	pp	n
44	a	dibutuhkan segera	anda	2	a	pp	n
44	a	sciencon	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	development center	you	1	a	pp	n
44	a	development center	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	the oberon	we	1	s	pp	n
44	a	chowking	we	1	s	pp	n
44	a	are you the right	we	2	s	pp	n
44	a	are you the right	you	1	a	pp	n
44	a	are you the right	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	challenging career	you	1	a	pp	n
44	a	challenging career	we	2	s	pp	n
44	a	challenge for better	yourself	1	a	pp	n
44	a	challenge for better	your	1	a	pp	n

44	a	medical rep	Anda	2	a	pp	n
44	a	medical rep	kami	1	s	pp	n
44	a	po box 5224	we	3	s	pp	n
44	a	po box 5224	us	1	s	pp	n
44	a	po box 5224	you	2	a	pp	n
44	a	po box 5224	your	1	a	pp	n
44	a	bakmi gm	kami	2	s	pp	n
44	a	bakmi gm	anda	1	a	pp	n
45	a	aviation software	we	2	s	pp	n
45	a	aviation software	us	2	s	pp	n
45	a	aviation software	you	5	a	pp	n
45	a	aviation software	your	1	a	pp	n
45	a	leveleight	we	2	s	pp	n
45	a	advertising exec	us	1	s	pp	n
45	a	advertising exec	you	1	a	pp	n
45	a	advertising exec	your	1	a	pp	n
45	a	astra motor	anda	1	a	pp	n
45	a	lowongan kerja	kami	1	s	pp	n
45	a	ocsp	you	1	a	pp	n
45	a	ocsp	your	1	a	pp	n
45	a	bursa kerja	your	1	a	pp	n
45	a	walk in interview'	kami	1	s	pp	n
45	a	independent res	we	1	s	pp	n
45	a	independent res	our	1	s	pp	n
45	a	independent res	you	1	a	pp	n
45	a	independent res	your	1	a	pp	n
45	a	something new	us	4	s	pp	n
45	a	something new	we	2	s	pp	n
45	a	something new	your	1	a	pp	n
46	a	job vacancy	we	2	s	pp	n
46	a	job vacancy	your	1	a	pp	n
46	a	hospitality careers	we	1	s	pp	n
46	a	paragon city	we	2	s	pp	n
46	a	paragon city	our	1	s	pp	n
46	a	paragon city	your	2	a	pp	n
46	a	vacancy	your	1	a	pp	n
46	a	mutual	kami	1	s	pp	n
46	a	urgently needed	your	1	a	pp	n
46	a	recruitment	kami	1	s	pp	n
46	a	recruitment	anda	2	a	pp	n
46	a	be in the business	we	3	s	pp	n
46	a	be in the business	our	2	s	pp	n
46	a	be in the business	you	1	a	pp	n
46	a	be in the business	your	1	a	pp	n
46	a	adira	we	2	s	pp	n
46	a	adira	our	1	s	pp	n

46	a	adira	you	1	a	pp	n
47	a	rising stars X 5 ads	your	1	a	pp	n
47	a	rising stars X 5 ads	yours	1	a	pp	n
47	a	rising stars X 5 ads	kamu	1	a	pp	n
47	a	rising stars X 5 ads	kotamu	2	a	pp	n
47	a	rising stars X 5 ads	favoritmu	1	a	pp	n
47	a	column 2	anda	1	a	pp	n
47	a	column 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
47	a	column 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
47	a	column 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
47	a	column 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
47	a	column 5	anda	1	a	pp	n
48	a	column 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
48	a	column 9	your	1	a	pp	n
49	a	column 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
49	a	column 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
49	a	column 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
49	a	column 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
49	a	column 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
49	a	column 4	you	1	a	pp	n
49	a	column 6	anda	1	a	pp	n
49	a	column 6	anda	1	a	pp	n
49	a	column 6	kami	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 3	your	1	a	pp	n
50	a	column 3	kami	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 4	kami	2	s	pp	n
50	a	column 5	kami	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 5	we	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 5	our	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 5	your	1	a	pp	n
50	a	column 6	your	1	a	pp	n
50	a	column 6	we	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 7	your	1	a	pp	n
50	a	column 7	Anda	2	a	pp	n
50	a	column 7	you	1	a	pp	n
50	a	column 7	our	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 8	kami	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 8	kami	1	s	pp	n
50	a	column 8	your	1	a	pp	n
50	a	column 8	kami	2	s	pp	n
50	a	column 8	your	1	a	pp	n
51	a	column 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
51	a	column 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
51	a	column 3-4	your	1	a	pp	n
51	a	column 3-4	you	3	a	pp	n
51	a	column 3-4	we	1	s	pp	n

51	a	column 3-4	our	1	s	pp	n
51	a	column 5	you	1	a	pp	n
51	a	column 5	your	1	a	pp	n
51	a	column 5	kami	1	s	pp	n
51	a	column 5	kami	1	s	pp	n
51	a	column 6	we	2	s	pp	n
52	a	column 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
52	a	column 1	your	2	a	pp	n
52	a	column 1	your	1	a	pp	n
52	a	column 1	our	1	s	pp	n
52	a	column 2	your	1	a	pp	n
52	a	column 2-3	kami	3	s	pp	n
52	a	column 2-3	Anda	2	a	pp	n
52	a	column 3	your	1	a	pp	n
52	a	column 3	we	1	s	pp	n
52	a	column 3	your	1	a	pp	n
52	a	column 3	we	2	s	pp	n
52	a	column 3	our	1	s	pp	n
52	a	column 3	your	1	a	pp	n
52	a	column 4	we	1	s	pp	n
52	a	column 4	our	1	s	pp	n
52	a	column 4	your	1	a	pp	n
52	a	column 4	your	2	a	pp	n
52	a	column 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
53	a	itochu	we	1	s	pp	n
53	a	itochu	your	1	a	pp	n
53	a	column 2	we	1	s	pp	n
53	a	column 2	your	1	a	pp	n
53	a	sekolah tiar	our	2	s	pp	n
53	a	sekolah tiar	you	2	a	pp	n
53	a	pt mcdermott	your	2	a	pp	n
53	a	oil and gas	we	2	s	pp	n
53	a	dibutuhkan cepat	anda	3	a	pp	n
53	a	dibutuhkan cepat	kami	1	s	pp	n
53	a	agung podomoro	our	1	s	pp	n
53	a	agung podomoro	we	1	s	pp	n
53	a	agung podomoro	your	1	a	pp	n
54	a	urgently needed	you	1	a	pp	n
54	a	urgently needed	your	1	a	pp	n
54	a	walk in interview'	kami	1	s	pp	n
54	a	walk in interview'	anda	1	a	pp	n
54	a	vacancy	your	1	a	pp	n
54	a	vacancy	you	1	a	pp	n
54	a	lowongan	kami	1	s	pp	n
54	a	lowongan	Anda	1	a	pp	n
54	a	po box 4330	kami	1	s	pp	n

54	a	dibutuhkan segera	anda	1	a	pp	n
54	a	career in education	Anda	2	s	pp	n
54	a	career in education	kami	1	s	pp	n
54	a	looking for challenge	we	1	s	pp	n
54	a	looking for challenge	our	1	s	pp	n
54	a	looking for challenge	your	1	a	pp	n
54	a	urgently needed	your	1	a	pp	n
54	a	bukaka	anda	1	a	pp	n
54	a	column 4 urgently	your	1	a	pp	n
54	pn	mulia halim	kami	1	s	pp	n
54	pn	laksa jaya	kami	2	s	pp	n
54	pn	laksa jaya	papa	1	o	cn	n
54	pn	laksa jaya	papa muerta	1	o	cn	n
54	pn	tan keh kit	kami	1	s	pp	n
54	pn	berita duka cita	kami	1	s	pp	n
55	a	kompas	anda	1	a	pp	n
55	a	ad 1	anda	1	a	pp	n
55	a	ad 2	anda	1	a	pp	n
55	a	ad 2	kami	1	s	pp	n
55	a	ad 3	anda	1	a	pp	n
55	a	ad 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
55	a	ad 5	you	1	a	pp	n
57	lit	spiderman	aku	5	s	pp	y
57	lit	spiderman	kau	2	a	pp	y
57	lit	spiderman	selingkuhmu	1	a	pp	y
57	lit	spiderman	Nyonya Parker	1	a	pn	y
57	lit	spiderman	kepalaku	1	s	pp	y
57	lit	dilbert	I	3	s	pp	y
57	lit	dilbert	you	1	a	pp	y
57	a	nonton	Anda	1	a	pp	n
57	a	waterhorse	you	1	a	pp	n
57	x	TVRI	negerimu	1	a	pp	n
57	x	SCTV	Anda	1	a	pp	n
58	a	XXI	you	1	a	pp	n
58	a	XL	aku	1	s	pp	n
58	a	XL	kau	1	a	pp	n
58	a	death sentence	yours	1	a	pp	n
58	a	cloverfield	us	1	s	pp	n
58	a	waterhorse	you	1	a	pp	n
62	a	ad 1	anda	1	a	pp	n
62	a	ad 2	anda	1	a	pp	n
66	a	gebyar	anda	3	a	pp	n
66	a	perkuliahan	Anda	1	a	pp	n
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PGE	TEXT TYPE	HEADER	FORM	NUMBER	FUNCTION	WORD CLASS	REPS OF DIRECT SPEECH
1	n	gardu rusak	saya	1	s	pp	y
1	n	berimpit	kita	1	s	pp	y
1	n	berimpit	saya	1	s	pp	y
2	a	diskon	Anda	2	a	pp	n
3	a	danamon	Anda	2	a	pp	n
3	a	danamon	kami	2	s	pp	n
5	a	align	your	1	a	pp	n
5	a	align	Anda	4	a	pp	n
6	o	44 partai	kita	6	s	pp	n
6	o	budaya	kita	1	s	pp	n
7	lett	jalur	saya	1	s	pp	n
7	lett	bank muamalat	saya	5	s	pp	n
7	lett	bank muamalat	Saudari PN	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	nomor rekening	Bapak PN	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	nomor rekening	kami	4	s	pp	n
7	lett	flash telkomsel	saya	3	s	pp	n
7	lett	tidak peduli	kita	1	s	pp	n
7	lett	sms gagal	saya	8	s	pp	n
7	lett	layanan nokia	saya	3	s	pp	n
7	lett	sesuai standar	Saudara PN	1	o	pn	n
7	lett	sesuai standar	kami	2	s	pp	n
7	a	OUT OF REACH	Anda	2	a	pp	n
7	a	belanja bulanan	Anda	1	a	pp	n
8	n	PM samak	saya	2	s	pp	y
8	n	PM samak	kita	1	s	pp	y
8	n	badai politik	kita	1	s	pp	y
9	n	uni eropa	kami	1	s	pp	y
9	a	senyum wokeee	Anda	1	a	pp	n
10	n	konvensi republik	kami	1	s	pp	y
10	n	konvensi republik	kita	1	s	pp	y
11	n	india perlu	saya	1	s	pp	y
11	n	india perlu	kami	1	s	pp	y
11	n	ribuan warga	saya	1	s	pp	y
11	n	amsterdam	kami	1	s	pp	y
11	x	ramadhan	rinduku	1	s	pp	n
11	n	ramadhan	cintamu	1	a	pp	n
12	n	ditemukan	kita	1	s	pp	y
12	n	ditemukan	kami	2	s	pp	y
12	n	UT ppotensi	kami	1	s	pp	y
12	a	seiko clocks	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
12	a	ramadhan mubarak	Anda	1	a	pp	n
12	a	mudik bareng	kotaku	1	s	pp	n

13	a	ramadhan dining	Anda	1	a	pp	n
14	a	selamat datang	kami	1	s	pp	n
14	a	selamat datang	Anda	1	a	pp	n
15	n	korban kini	kami	1	s	pp	y
15	n	perangkap pangan	kita	1	s	pp	y
15	n	optimisme	saya	4	s	pp	y
15	n	optimisme	kami	3	s	pp	y
15	n	optimisme	ibu	1	o	cn	n
15	a	nikmati	kami	1	s	pp	n
15	a	nikmati	Anda	1	a	pp	n
17	n	UMKM	kami	1	s	pp	y
17	s	sejarah	saya	1	s	pp	y
18	n	petani	kami	1	s	pp	y
21	a	gebyar	Anda	1	a	pp	n
22	n	79? Guru di makasar	saya	1	s	pp	y
22	a	green	kami	1	s	pp	n
22	a	sony ericsson	Anda	1	a	pp	n
23	n	pembangunan	kami	1	s	pp	y
23	n	bus antar jemput	kami	2	s	pp	y
23	a	gebyar	Anda	1	a	pp	n
24	n	2 orang	saya	1	s	pp	y
25	n	listrik mulai	kami	3	s	pp	y
25	a	gebyar	Anda	1	a	pp	n
26	a	DSR	kami	1	s	pp	n
26	a	binus	we	1	s	pp	n
26	a	binus	our	2	s	pp	n
26	a	tabungan	Anda	1	a	pp	n
27	n	ngotot karena	kami	2	s	pp	y
27	n	ngotot karena	kita	1	s	pp	y
27	a	saatnya	kita	2	s	pp	n
28	s	ABG dibuka	Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	1	o	pn	n
28	s	ABG dibuka	kami	1	s	pp	y
28	s	sejarah jepang	saya	7	s	pp	y
28	a	tips & triks	Anda	2	a	pp	n
28	s	scott hend	saya	1	s	pp	y
28	a	HP laserjet	Anda	3	a	pp	n
28	a	HP laserjet	your	1	a	pp	n
28	a	HP laserjet	your	1	a	pp	n
29	a	sambut ramadhan	Anda	6	a	pp	n
30	s	valuev kembali	saya	1	s	pp	y
30	s	pasangan subhan	kami	5	s	pp	y
30	s	pasangan subhan	saya	1	s	pp	y

30	a	gold and silver	you	2	a	pp	n
30	a	gold and silver	your	2	a	pp	n
30	a	nyata hematnya	gue	1	s	pp	n
31	s	robinho	saya	6	s	pp	y
31	a	star cruises	Anda	1	a	pp	n
32	n	prinsip mandiri	saya	1	s	pp	y
32	n	promosi batik	Miss Indonesia	1	o	cn	n
32	n	promosi batik	saya	3	s	pp	y
32	n	promosi batik	Miss World	1	o	cn	n
32	n	banyak kawan	saya	1	s	pp	y
32	n	krisis listrik	saya	1	s	pp	y
32	a	do you open e-mails	you	1	a	pp	n
32	a	do you open e-mails	we	1	s	pp	n
34	n	kebebasan pers	saya	1	s	pp	y
36	o	kekuasaan	kita	5	s	pp	n
36	o	kekuasaan	kami	1	s	pp	y
36	o	kekuasaan	Bung Karno	1	o	pn	n
36	o	kekuasaan	SBY	8	o	pn	n
36	a	gratis umroh	Anda	1	a	pp	n
36	a	marlin & ema	Anda	1	a	pp	n
36	n	kadar	Nyonya PN	1	o	pn	n
36	n	kadar	nenek	1	o	cn	n
36	n	kadar	Ny. PN	1	o	pn	n
36	a	diskon	kami	1	s	pp	n
37	o	menuju kebebasan	Anda	2	a	pp	y
37	a	keane lee	my	2	s	pp	y
37	a	keane lee	I	1	s	pp	y
37	a	keane lee	our	1	s	pp	n
37	a	keane lee	kami	1	s	pp	n
37	a	keane lee	Anda	2	a	pp	n
37	a	berkat anda	Anda	1	a	pp	n
37	a	berkat anda	saya	1	s	pp	n
38	n	panik dihantam	kami	1	s	pp	y
38	n	eksotis bersanding	kami	3	s	pp	y
38	a	your	your	1	a	pp	n
38	a	your	Anda	1	a	pp	n
39	o	pekerangan	kita	1	s	pp	n
39	a	selamat dan sukses	Bpk. Pn	1	o	pn	n
39	a	selamat dan sukses	Drs. Pn	1	o	pn	n
39	a	where do you want	you	1	a	pp	n

39	a	where do you want	kami	1	s	pp	n
40	n	masa-masa	kami	1	s	pp	y
41	a	ad 1	anda	1	a	pp	n
41	a	ad 2	anda	1	a	pp	n
41	a	ad 3	anda	1	a	pp	n
41	a	ad 4	anda	1	a	pp	n
41	a	ad 5	anda	1	a	pp	n
41	a	ad 6	anda	1	a	pp	n
42	a	heading	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
42	pn	obit 1	kami	1	s	pp	n
42	pn	obit 2	kami	2	s	pp	n
42	pn	obit 3	kami	2	s	pp	n
42	pn	obit 4	kami	2	s	pp	n
43	lit	spiderman	I	1	s	pp	y
43	lit	spiderman	my	1	s	pp	y
43	lit	spiderman	you	1	a	pp	y
43	lit	spiderman	fluku	1	s	pp	y
43	lit	spiderman	perasakanku	1	s	pp	y
43	lit	spiderman	kau	1	a	pp	y
43	lit	dilbert	you	2	a	pp	y
43	lit	dilbert	I	2	s	pp	y
43	lit	dilbert	me	1	s	pp	y
43	a	4bia	your	1	a	pp	n
43	x	sctv	rinduku	1	s	pp	n
43	x	sctv	cintamu	1	a	pp	n
43	x	metrotv	Anda	2	a	pp	n
43	x	trans7	cita-citaku	1	s	pp	n
43	lit	selebriti	gue	9	s	pp	y
43	lit	selebriti	kamu	2	a	pp	y
43	lit	selebriti	kami	1	s	pp	n
43	lit	selebriti	saya	18	s	pp	n
44	a	m-tix	kamu	1	a	pp	n
44	a	civic duty	thy	1	a	pp	n
44	a	superhero movie	you	1	a	pp	n
44	a	setup2	you	2	a	pp	n
44	a	info line at bottom	ANDA	1	a	pp	n
45	o	horisontalisasi	Pak Harto	1	o	pn	n
45	pn	rest in peace	aku	3	s	pp	y
45	pn	rest in peace	saudari	1	o	cn	n
45	pn	rest in peace	kami	1	s	pp	n
45	o	mempersiapkan	Anda	3	a	pp	n
45	a	english talk	kami	1	s	pp	n
45	a	english talk	anda	1	a	pp	n
46	o	etika menggunakan	Anda	9	a	pp	n

46	a	perlu rumah	kami	1	s	pp	n
46	a	nova	saya	1	s	pp	y
46	a	nova	ibunda	1	o	cn	n
47	a	selamat	anda	2	a	pp	n
47	o	10 pda	kami	1	s	pp	n
47	o	11 pda	Anda	2	a	pp	n
47	a	megaman	anda	1	a	pp	n
48	a	heated towel rail	Anda	1	a	pp	n
			TOTAL	310			