

Discourse function of *di*- clauses in narratives

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Aim of the presentation

- To demonstrate the discourse function of *di*-clauses through elicited narratives using a series of illustration as stimulus

Background of the research

- The status of *di*-clauses has been a controversial issue mainly because of the gap between its syntactic property and its discourse function.
- Kroeger (2014) gives a clear summary of this issue; *di*-clause is syntactically passive because the syntactic status of the patient argument is subject, and that of the agent argument is oblique, while it functionally deviates from what is typically called passive, in that “(T)he information status of the patient is irrelevant to the choice of voice marker” (Kroeger (2014: 22)).

Prototypical discourse function of passive

- Givón

“The patient is more topical than the agent, and the agent is extremely non-topical” in the passive voice. (Givón 1994:9)

- Shibatani

“Agent defocusing is the main pragmatic function of passives”.
(Shibatani 1984: 832)

Either does not apply to the *di*-clause in Malay.

di-clauses of VS order

- A passage of *Hikayat of Indraputra*, a prose of Classical Malay. (Mulyadi, 1983:51, based on manuscript dated 1700)
 - a. Maka **pandai emas itu₁** pun menyembah kepada raja itu₂
 - b. maka ***di-perbuat=nya₁*** suatu merak emas
terlalu indah-indah pertbuatan-nya₃.
 - c. Setelah sudah, ϕ ₃ maka ***di-persembahkan=nya₁***
kepada raja₂.
 - d. Maka ***di-lihat baginda₂*** terlalu jaibu inda-indah rupa=***nya*** merak itu₃
 - e. Maka ϕ ₃ ***di-taruh baginda₂*** di atas talam emas.

Translation ↵

- a. → Then **the goldsmith₁** paid homage to the king₂. ↵
- b. → then **he₁ made** a golden peacock too beautifully ↵
worked. ↵
- c. → After finished, then **he₁ presented** (it) to the king₂. ↵
- d. → Then **the king₂ saw** that the shape of the peacock ↵
was mysteriously beautiful. ↵
- e. → Then **the king₂ put** (it) onto a golden plate. ↵

di- clauses in narratives

- The gap is typically observed in the *di*-clauses of VS constituent order, in which the patient that S refers is not topical.
- Many previous researches have dealt with this type of *di*-clause.
- Hopper (1983) distinguishes two types of *di*-clauses, that is, ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’, and the former roughly corresponds to the VS type, (and the latter, SV type). He claims that ‘Ergative’ “narrates sequenced events which pertain to the main line of the discourse” (Hopper (1983: 84)) .
- The gap is also observed in the *di-V-nya* form without the P argument. The pronominal coding of the agent shows that the agent is topical to some extent, which deviates the typical discourse function of the passive that both Shibatani (1984) and Givon (1994) suggest.
- In modern Indonesian, however, fewer people use *di*-clauses of this pragmatically atypical type.

Functional change of the *di*-clauses

Cumming (1995: 199, 203) suggests the following functional change of the *di*-clauses.

- **Classical Malay:** *di*- clauses with VS order (Patient Trigger clause in Predicate Trigger order, in Cumming's term) is an unmarked choice in eventive narrative, irrespective of the topicality of the agent or patient.
- **Modern Standard Indonesian:** meN- clauses with a pre-predicate subject, came to be a basic transitive construction in narratives. The 'eventive' narrative is still expressed by *di*- clauses with VS order, but such use of *di*- clauses is:
 - restricted to highly continuous agents (which can be coded as clitics),
 - often at the climactic point of the story,
 - stylistically marked; some authors do not use this type of syntax at all.

Questions of this research

- How is the status of *di*-clauses in Indonesian/ Malay at present?
- Has the change Cumming (1995) suggested advanced further in Indonesian? How about the situation in the indigenous Malay varieties?

experiment

- Elicit narratives using a set of stimulus titled “Jackal and Crow.”
- Brunei Malay (8 people) at Weston, Sabah, Malaysia
- Indonesian spoken in Jakarta: CI and SI (20 people each)





Syntactic and pragmatic points examined

1. We only see *di*-clauses in which the selection of the verb form is pragmatically, and NOT syntactically, determined. (For example, in relative clauses, the verb form is syntactically determined; if the relativized NP semantically corresponds to the patient of the relative clause, *di*-clause is used irrespective of the pragmatic status of the patient. We exclude such type of *di*-clauses in our analysis.)
2. The frequency of VS order and the *di-V-nya* form
3. The position of *di*-clauses in story structure

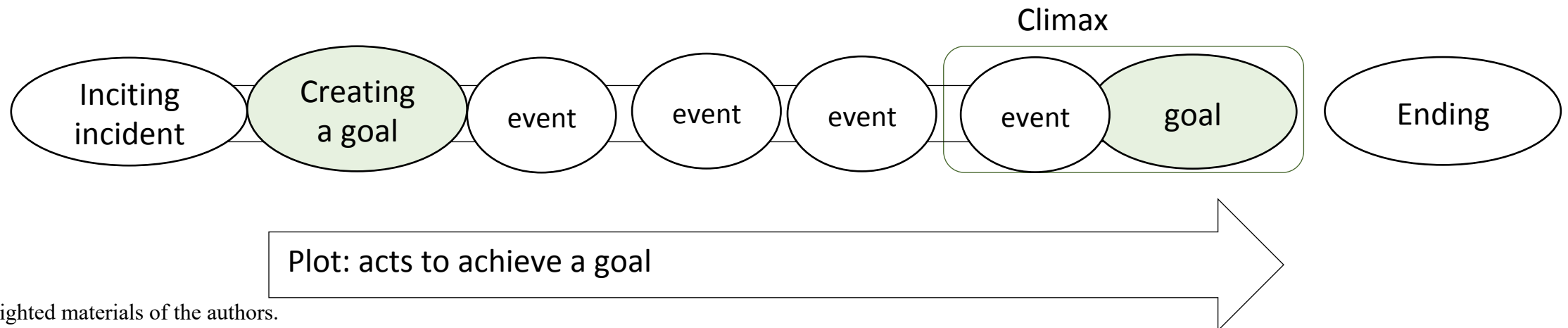
di-clause of the VS constituent order

- *di*-clause of the VS constituent order and *di-V-nya* form are rare in Standard Indonesian and Colloquial Indonesian, while they are common in Brunei Malay.

	Standard Indonesian	Colloquial Indonesian	Brunei Malay
VS order	1/20	4/20	6/9
Di-V-nya	1/20	0/20	8/9

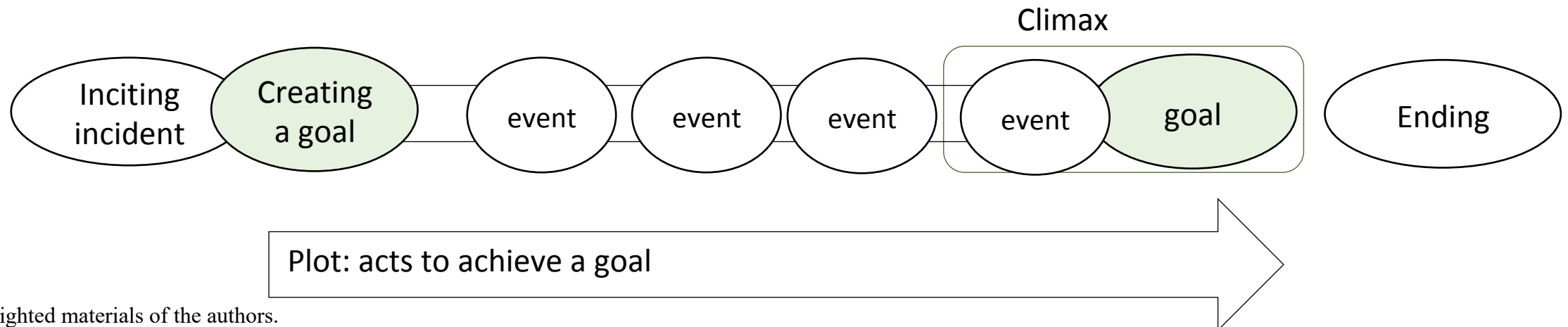
Story structure (Alez 2017)

- A story is made out of a series of events. The sequence of all the events is called a Plot.
- An event is a meaningful change in the character's life, the thing that happens during a story that transforms the world from one state into another.
- During a story, the main character (the protagonist) goes through a series of events, each of them taking him closer to, or farther away from his Goal.

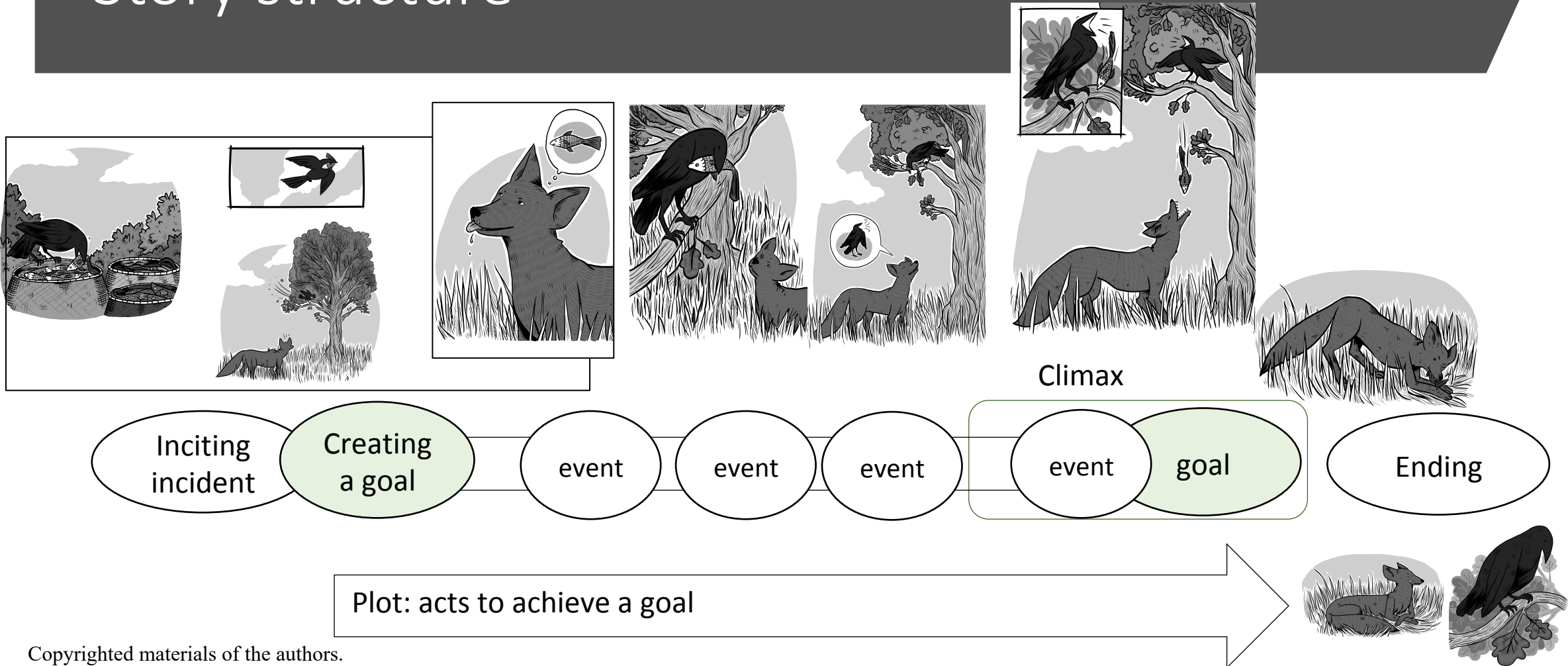


Story structure (Alez 2017)

- The first act is about the protagonist's normal, regular life being disrupted by some event. This event is called the Inciting Incident(Inc).
- Inc is the main reason the story has happened, the thing that kicks off the series of events that lead to the climax.
- Inc gives the protagonist a challenge, creates a Goal — the main value for the character, the thing he will be trying to achieve for the rest of the story. Usually, it is the result of a problem created by the antagonist.

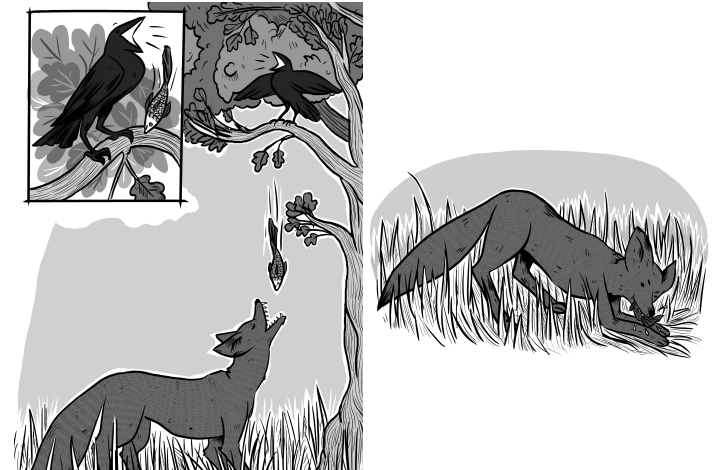


Story structure



Use of *di*-clauses in story structure: climax

- In all the varieties *di*-clause is most frequently used in the climax in which the fish fell from the bird's mouth, and the dog took it.
(Nagaya's data shows that we could also see the same thing in Indonesian spoken in Flores .)
- In Standard Indonesian, most participants use *di*-clauses only in the description of the climax.



Use of *di*-clauses in story structure: climax

- The frequency of the *di*-clause use in the climax is the highest in Brunei Malay, second highest in Colloquial Malay and the lowest in the Standard Indonesian, the lowest.

	Standard Indonesian	Colloquial Indonesian	Brunei Malay
Climax	9/20	11/20	8/9



- lalu... si gagal... berteriak... sehingga... ikan tersebut jatuh dari mulutnya dan... eee... **ditangkap** oleh si rubah (FEL-SI-1)
- ikannya jatuh ke tanah, **diambillah** sama si rubah itu. nah... **diambil...** langsung **dimakan** sampe kenyang. (Tim-CI-1)
- ngam-ngam tah jua gugur lauk ani **disambutnya** (Nori BM 02)

Use of *di*-clauses in story structure: a plot before (other than) the climax

- In Brunei Malay, *di*-clauses are often used in the plot before the climax, while this type of use is infrequent in Standard Indonesian.

	Standard Indonesian	Colloquial Indonesian	Brunei Malay
Plot other than climax	1/20	7/20	8/9

Standard Indonesian

- dan dia mencari ikan... tidak ditemukannya di... sungai ataupun di laut. dan dia mencari... ke sebuah... pelelangan pasar ikan... lalu ***di-ambil-nya*** satu ikan...dan... ***di-bawa-nya*** terbang... untuk mencari tempat pesinggahan. (YLA S12)

CI



eee... ada... cerita nih burung gagak. eee... tiba tiba, suatu hari dia nemuin tuh, makanan tuh, di dalem tempayan. makanannya tuh ikan. pas itu dia langsung ngambil terbang ke atas pohon... dan... mau **di-makan** tuh.

pas mau **di-makan** tiba tiba ada musang lewat, ngeliat. trus musangnya juga ngiler tuh sama ikannya. pas musangnya udah... ngiler... **di-tanya** tuh ama burung gagaknya. **di-tanya**, "eee... lagi makan apa?" trus nggak sengaja pas dia jawab, ikannya jatoh dari mulutnya, kan dipegang tuh di mulut... pake mulut. terus pas jatoh langsung dimakan ama mu(sang)... ama musangnya sampe.....musangnya makan ampe habis, terus dia kekenyangan. xx... burung gagaknya... kesel lah, gara gara dia makan... terus... tapi makanannya nggak **dimakan** ama dia. dan dia rasanya kayak kecewa banget gitu.

(GER-CI-2)

CI

- jadi di... suatu hari, ada... ikan... xx... yang diambil oleh seekor burung. ikan itu tadinya mau dijual ke pasar. lalu, ikan tersebut **dibawa** oleh si burung hitam ini ke... atas pohon yang tinggi. (RET-CI-2)

CI

- nah ini ada... burung pelikan. eee... burung pelikan ini... ternyata menangkap beberapa... ikan dari keranjang nelayan. nah nelayan tersebut ternyata tidak tau... bahwa... beberapa ikan... yang... mereka tangkap itu... **diambil oleh burung pelikan.** (YER-CI-1)

CI

- ke, jadi, eee... si burung... itu k(ayak)... kayak merasa kelaparan gitu. terus, dia mengambil ikan. kemudian, ikannya, eee... ikan... **ikannya itu di...bawa oleh si burung ke atas pohon (PIN C12)**

[LIN CI-1]

jadi waktu itu ada rubah yang ngambil ikan di... ember hasil pancingan orang.
terus, pas udah **diambil** dia langsung terbang nih, eee... bawa ikan itu ke atas pohon.
pas... udah terbang ternyata ada... rubah yang ngeliat.
terus... si rubahnya itu juga pengen... ngambil... ikan yang ada di mulutnya si gagak.
si rubah berfikir... gimana sih caranya biar dia... bisa ngambil ikan yang ada di mulut si gagak ini.
kemudian, si... rubahnya akhirnya... mikir kalo, gimana kalo dia gonggong aja nih, supaya bisa... ngagetin si gagaknya.
nah pas **dikagetin** gagaknya bisa buka mulut dia.
ikan yang ada di mulutnya itu... jatuh.
nah ternyata pas **dicoba** sama si rubah, berhasil nih.
terus akhirnya ikan yang ada di mulutnya dia... jatuh... pas banget di mulutnya si rubah.
si rubah langsung... makan... ikan tersebut... sampai habis.
terus... akhirnya si gagak... cuma bisa... diem aja karena dia... sedih gitu soalnya ikannya dimakan sama rubah.

Brunei Malay

Di-ambilnya saikung lauk atu. **Di-bawa-nya** terbang
'He took the fish. He brought (it) and flew.' (JUN1)

Di-suruh-nya balagu balagu tah burung gagak ani (jai1)

‘(The dog) told the crow to sing.’



Summary

- *di*-clauses in Malay are syntactically passive.
- In Classical Malay, however, *di*-clauses may be used in the environment in which the agent is topical, which deviates from the prototypical discourse function of the passive.
- In this study, we examine how the cross-linguistically atypical type of passive is used in modern Indonesian and one of the indigenous Malay varieties, that is, Brunei Malay.

Summary

- Brunei Malay speakers still use the atypical passive frequently; they use it to indicate the plot except for the climax and when the agent is topical (more typical than the patient or as topical as the patient). We could say Brunei Malay fully retains the feature of Classical Malay in this point.

Summary

- About half of the Indonesian speakers in Jakarta still retain atypical use of passive.
- The use is most often observed in a climactic point of the story.
- In Standard Indonesian, the participants do not use the atypical passive in the non-climactic parts of the story, except one participant who uses VS *di*-clauses in the first part of the plot. So we could say that the change Cumming (1995) suggested has advanced further in Standard Indonesian at present.
- In Colloquial Indonesian, more (7 among 20) participants use atypical passive in a non-climactic part of the story.

V-nya structure of Brunei Malay

3 of the nine speakers of Brunei Malay used **V-nya** forms in a similar way to *di-V-nya* forms are used; the enclitic *-nya* always codes the agent there.

Jadi, **takut-takutkan-nya** lauk eh **takut-takutkan-nya** burung atu, pasatu tarus talapaslah lauk atu tarus ia dapat makan.

“Then **he frightened** the fish, no, **he frightened** the bird. Then the fish was released and then he could eat.”

V-nya structure of Brunei Malay

Ani ada saikung burung gagak ia mancuri lauk. Jadi dapat saikung lauk
atu tarabang ia, **bawa-nya** ka atas puhun.

“Here is a crow, he stole a fish. Then he got the fish; he flew, he
brought (the fish) onto a tree.”

V-nya structure of Brunei Malay

- mancuri lauk ni ah, jadi dah di-curi-nya saikung **bawa-nya** tarabang naik atas pukuk basar
“(The crow) stole a fish, after (he) stole a fish, he brought (it) and flew up to a big tree.”

V-nya structure of Brunei Malay

Sarigala atu pun tais liur maliat lauk atu jadi ia bapikir macamana cara ia kan mandapatkan lauk atu. Jadi **suruh-nya** gagak atu balagu. Bukan balagu macam bacakap bah. (Awang2)

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Thank you!
