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DISCOURSE CONDITIONS GOVERNING ASPECT:
THE USE OF SUDAH AND TELAH IN INDONESIAN

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DISCOURSE CONDITIONS GOVERNING ASPECT:
THE USE OF SUDAH AND TELAH IN INDONESIAN

By

Ruth Louise Abbott

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ABSTRACT

DISCOURSE CONDITIONS GOVERNING ASPECT:
THE USE OF SUDAH AND TELAH IN INDONESIAN

By

Ruth Louise Abbott

Indonesian, an Austronesian language has many pairs of aspect markers which have not been delineated. This thesis examined three published short stories of Putu Wijaya analyzing the pair sudah/telah. Quantitative Discourse analysis shows that telah is primarily used for durative situations while sudah his used for punctual and iterative (non-durative) situations.

Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity scale was applied and a statistically significant difference was found between the transitivity of the two markers. Comparing the occurrences of each marker with the inherent aspect of the verb showed in more than 50% of the cases the choice of marker agreed with the inherent aspect of the verb. The remainder of the cases showed sensitivity to the larger discourse features of: story time lapse, referred-to action, and character point of view.

Wijaya, Putu. 1988. Bomb. Madison, WI: Center for Southeast Asian Studies.

Hopper, Paul, and Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language 56.2:251-299.

For my creator, redeemer, sustainer,
Lord and friend.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<past	recent past	v	verb
1	first person	w/o	without
2	second person	x	meaning = verb
3	third person		
A	agent		
Aux	auxilliary		
BENE	benefactive		
C-R	current relevance		
DAT	dative		
DEF(Df)	definite		
Dur	Durative		
Excl	exclusive		
EXPER	Experiential perfect		
For	formulaic		
Fut	future		
IA	inherent aspect		
IDSM	indirect speech marker		
IND	indeterminable		
Jav	Javanese		
N	noun		
N-Dur	non-durative		
N-F	non-formulaic		
NEG	negative		
NM	not mentioned		
NOM	nominative		
O	object		
P	person		
PASS	passive voice		
PFCT	perfect		
Pl	plural		
PROC	process		
PROG	progressive		
PT	past tense		
Punc	punctual		
R.Cl	is a relative clause marker		
S	singular		
Sun	Sundanese		
TMA	tense, mood, aspect		
Tot	total		
TR	transitive		

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

Indonesian is a language with the capability of making fine aspectual distinctions since there are at least ten aspectual markers.[1] The two studied here are 'sudah' and 'telah'. Speakers of Indonesian are unable to provide objective criteria by which the choice between the two can be made. In fact, when directly asked, they cannot explain any difference between the two terms. More than once, I have been told by Indonesian speakers that the words 'sudah' and 'telah' are interchangeable and that speakers choose one or the other for no reason they can articulate. Such comments obviously do not arise from a lack of fluency in the language. The discourse requirements for the choice of one form over another are simply below the level of consciousness.

In most scholarly works, both are glossed "already," and even Indonesian grammarians have found it difficult to determine the differences.

> The premodifier telah also indicates
> completeness, and is parallel in meaning to
> sudah, from which it differs chiefly by being
> more formal. It is therefore more commonly
> found in written and formal spoken material;
> some authors prefer telah, others sudah, others
> use both in the same text seemingly
> interchangeably (Macdonald 1967:162).

As can be seen from Macdonald, these forms have an aspectual meaning. The Echols and Shadily An Indonesian-English Dictionary third edition (1989:529,561) claims that 'sudah' is used for past states and 'telah' for past actions. This distinction, however, is oversimplified as will be demonstrated later (in chapter 2.)

I will claim, however, that words are discrete units of information--no two are exactly alike. Bolinger amusingly commented:

> the thesis I am going to sustain is not one
> that would surprise the man on the street.
> Tell him that if two ways of saying something
> differ in their words or their arrangement they
> will also differ in meaning, and he will show
> as much surprise as if you told him that
> walking in the rain is conducive to getting
> wet. Only a scientist can wrap himself up in
> enough sophistication to keep dry under these
> circumstances (1977:1).

Although the pair 'sudah' and 'telah' have long been described as very similar in meaning, I believe the complexity involved in distinguishing between them is twofold : 1) the category being examined is the

particularly complex one of aspect, and 2) the key to their distribution is discoursal.

Recent advancements in discourse analysis, however, have made it possible to examine the contrast between these two words in ways which were not possible before. This thesis will discuss the discourse requirements which dictate the choice of one over another, using principallly quantitative analysis as a tool.

1.2 Defining Aspect

Aspect has come to be of particular interest in the last decade as linguists work to decide several key issues: 1) the attempt to classify aspect in one domain of linguistics or another; 2) the standardization of the definition, and 3) the determination of the range of aspectual phenomena.

Perhaps the most cited recent author on aspect is Bernard Comrie, whose Aspect, an Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems (1976), differentiates tense from aspect in the following way: "Tense locates the time of a situation relative to the situation of the utterance" (2). There are of course, in individual languages, finer gradations in time than simply 'before' and 'after', but, according to Comrie, these are the only necessary tenses. Aspect on the other hand, is defined by Comrie as "differing ways of

viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (3). This view of aspect suggests that it gives some internal order (or information about that order) to the situation.

This view greatly contrasts with Anderson (1973), who asserts that,

> Aspect, I suggest, is concerned with the relation of an event or state to a particular reference point: it is located before (retrospective), after (prospective), around (progressive) or simply at (AORIST) a particular point in time (39).

Basically, for Anderson, tense creates reference points and aspect delineates the relation of a state or event to one of those points.

Another definition of aspect comes from Rafferty (1982), one which concentrates on the speaker's perception. "Aspect is a verbal category that defines the perspective from which the speaker views a state/ event/ activity" (66). This definition seems too broad; in fact it seems broad enough to include tense (e.g. a speaker's view of a past event) or almost any other temporally related diectic expression. Rafferty's definition, however, captures such possibilities as 'punctual' and 'iterative' which Anderson's cannot, precisely because these notions are not directly related to a particular reference point.

Beedham (1982) combines what I consider to be the best of Comrie, Anderson, and Rafferty:

> Aspect, (as opposed to tense) is non-deictic and is concerned with the internal temporal structure of a situation. It refers to the way in which the event is seen to pass through time, i.e. whether the event is conceived of as imperfective (implies duration), perfective (event viewed as a single whole), iterative (implies repetition), inceptive (implies beginning of an event), and so on (1982:84).

Beedham's definition is valuable in that it combines the notion of an internal temporal structure with a speaker's perception of this temporal structure. However, Beedham explicitly states that aspectual meaning is non-deictic, while it may be argued that the opposite is true.

> In context, aspectual meanings are non-referential, or relational, in the sense that they do not necessarily reflect the actual objective duration or boundedness of a state/event /activity in the real world, but rather reflect the _evaluation_ of the speaker concerning the relationship of one event /state /activity to other events /states / activities in the discourse . . . . Aspect in this sense is deictic because it defines the speaker's spatio-temporal perspective for viewing the event /state/activity (Rafferty 1982:66).

Givón also noted the overlap between aspect and tense,

> in the semantic space of aspect, nearly always some element of tense is also involved, in terms of establishing a point-of-reference along sequential time (1984:272).

Givón would appear to be in general agreement with Beedham on this point.

Dahl has written one of the most comprehensive volumes on aspect, and his definition is nearly equivalent to Comrie's.

> Tenses are typically deictic categories, in that they relate time points to the moment of speech. Aspects on the other hand, are non-deictic categories (Dahl 1985:25).

Dahl, then, sides with Beedham rather than Givon, preferring to consider aspects as typically non-deictic. Clearly, even among linguists who have focused on this problem, there is disagreement as to the nature of aspect, particularly in the realm of deixis.

For this thesis, aspect will be treated according to Beedham's definition, one which captures both the internal temporal structure and the importance of the speaker's understanding of the event. This places aspect at least partially in the realm of pragmatics, because the aspectual meanings often make reference to known facts within the discourse. This paper will give evidence to support the notion that, "aspectual meaning of any one utterance must be derived from the whole, the context, not from an isolated sentence" (Rafferty 1982:67).

1.2.1 Aspect vs. Inherent Aspect

In the linguistic literature, there have been a great number of pages devoted to the distinction between inherent aspect and external aspect. Inherent aspect (or _aktionsart_) is the necessary aspect that the verb carries with it as part of the nature of the action (i.e. 'sleep' is necessarily durative, 'knock' is necessarily non-durative). External aspect is an interpretation imposed on a real series of events. (E.g., the ongoing interpretation of 'Jack is sleeping' indicates its progressive nature while that of 'Esther is asleep' indicates that a certain state has been achieved.)

Another distinction found in literature on aspect (although largely ignored by Comrie) is that between aspect and aktionsart. In Brinton (1988), aspect is described as "a matter of the speaker's viewpoint or perspective on a situation" (3). For example, a speaker may choose to describe a situation as completed, ongoing, or just beginning.

Aktionsart, on the other hand, is described as "an indication of the intrinsic temporal qualities of a situation"(3). Aktionsart, then is the description of the intrinsic nature of the action described by a verb. For example, in the verb 'knock' the aktionsart is punctual because the intrinsic nature of the action is that of 'happening in an instant'. The external

aspect, however, could be iterative, as in knocking on a door, or habitual, as in the knocking on a door done by someone who visits often. Brinton's work argues that this distinction between aspect and aktionsart is crucial and that interpretation of the aspectual meaning of the sentence is dependent on the interaction between the two categories. This research also will provide evidence that there should be a separation between the two notions.

1.2.2 Durative/ Non-durative inherent aspect

Comrie combines both 'durative' and 'punctual' into 'inherent aspect.' Durative is "(a reference) to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (1976:41)." Punctual is defined as "the quality of a situation which does not last in time (42)." Among other things, durative differs from punctual in the assignment of the iterative events; non-durative and non-punctual both include those things which are iterative. While most linguists who have investigated aspect speak of the punctual-nonpunctual distinction, they do not rule out the possibility of the distinction breaking along durative-nondurative lines. Bickerton, for example,(who found that the punctual-nonpunctual distinction is learned by children before the past-nonpast distinction) obviously allows for alternative divisions.

> A TMA (tense, mood, aspect) system may be
> compared to a cake, a cake that is always
> the same size, same semantic area. . . But a
> cake may be split up into five, or eight, or
> ten among five, or eight, or ten TMA markers
> and/or combinations of markers. . . How much,
> and exactly what, is contained in each slice
> will be largely determined by the number of
> slices (1981:90-91).

As Bickerton suggests, in Indonesian, there are many
aspect markers, so the semantic area of each marker is
small, and the distinctions the language can make are
finer than those of English. For example, along the
axis of durativity, the split into durative and non
durative does not exactly overlap with the punctual and
non-punctual distinction (see Figure 1).

```
Punctual              Iterative            Durative

[_____Non-Durative_____][_____Durative_____]
[_____Punctual_____][_____Non-Punctual_____]
```
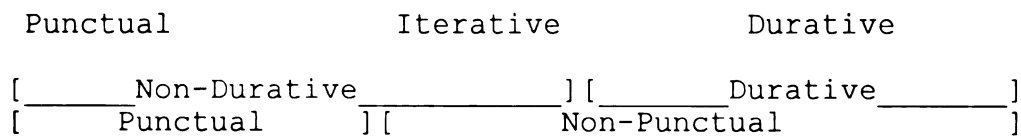
Figure 1. Axis of Durativity

Durative includes only those events which last in
time-- which are not instantaneous. For example, the
act of running cannot be instantaneous; it must have
occurred over some time.

Non-durative includes iteratives which by
themselves do not persist in time; however, due to the
continuing nature of the events, they do cover some

span of time. An example of this would be the act of hitting; each blow does not take a long time, but taken together, the 'event' (or 'group of acts') may last quite a bit of time. In Indonesian, these iteratives are included in the non-durative semantic area. An Indonesian example of this is found in sentence P005[2] which begins with the introduction:

1. **Sudah**   sering aku bilang pada dia . . .
    already often I   said   to   him . . .
    I have often said to him . . .

In this sentence, the action is clearly iterative; the narrator did not speak to the person just once, but repeatedly. The action is marked by the 'sudah' form of the perfect which is used to mark punctual inherent aspect. In this sentence, however, it marks iteratives, so the distinction in Indonesian is not punctual/ non-punctual, but durative/ non-durative, since the iteratives are grouped with the punctuals.

1.3 The Data[3]

The texts are naturally occurring Indonesian data which were published in the form of short stories. In 1988, Putu Wijaya published a book of short stories edited by Ellen Rafferty, Bomb, as the third monograph in a series published by the University of Wisconsin

Center for Southeast Asian Studies. These stories were chosen because they were not a translation of some western work which might be given to extensive borrowing of forms and content.

These are stories on Indonesian topics, and the author is a particularly good subject for study as he has spent much of his time trying to recapture Indonesian and particularly Javanese concerns in his works. His style (as described in Ellen Rafferty's introduction) reflects the three basic principles found in traditional Indonesian art: the multiple points of focus, the snapshot descriptions of events which are not obviously related, and the juxtaposition of the real world and the imagined world without any distinction made between the two. These are common practices in non-verbal arts, particularly paintings, of the area as well.

Wijaya studied under W.S. Rendra from 1967 to 1969 where he developed his own style of incorporating traditional material with modern forms. In the early 1970's, Wijaya became involved with the Jakarta Arts Council allowing his further development as an artist. Although primarily known for his dramatic contributions, he has held many positions for non-dramatic activities: Sports Editor for _Ekspres_ (1969-1970), Board of Editors of _Tempo_ (1971-1979), Managing Editor of _Zaman_ (1979-1985).

He has also written many articles, reviews, essays, and short stories for such publications as: <u>Sinar Harapan</u>, <u>Aktuil</u>, <u>Kompas</u>, <u>Horison</u>, <u>Budaya Jaya</u>, <u>Femina</u>, <u>Kartini</u>, <u>Sarinah</u> and <u>Lelaki</u>. Because of his many publications and positions in the publication world, the assumption is made that Wijaya is considered by his culture to be a good storyteller.

In this edition, the stories are translated into English, and these translations have undergone extensive editing. These translations were found to be helpful in determining the general direction of the story, but to accurately study the forms, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss was completed, followed by a second free translation attempting to be as faithful to the author as possible. The gloss was the primary tool used in this investigation since Indonesian sentences are not equivalent to English in their structure. (Some Indonesian sentences would be considered fragments in English.) In retrospect, after having found the basis for discrimination between the two forms, the study could have been accomplished at any of the three levels-- Indonesian, gloss or translation because of the contextual nature of the difference.

1.4 Method

Since its inception linguistics has depended on pattern matching and intuition as a basis to exert its

claims. Recently, however, the importance of mathematical validation has risen in importance, and rightly so. Previously linguistics subverted the scientific method by simply proposing a hypothesis, finding a pattern which seemed to confirm the findings and describing it in standard terminology (although there is some question about linguists' efficacy on this last point). Sound scientific procedure requires a standard terminology, a relationship to study, and a control group. Linguistics, until recently, has operated without a control group.

First in socio-linguistics and now in ever-widening areas of linguistics linguists are beginning to re-incorporate the control group back into their studies. Myhill (1992) has finally shown how discourse linguists can use the notion of control group to improve the quality of their study. His book is not revolutionary for suggesting parameters--even objective parameters (Hopper and Thompson 1980)-- but in suggesting that the non-occurrences be counted. This added the element of a control group. This study relies heavily on the methodology proposed by Myhill-- applying it to various parameters and attempting to explain those instances which fall out of the statistical "norm".

1.5 Outline

This thesis has five chapters. The first has briefly outlined the need for research on the Indonesian aspectual system, in particular the telah/sudah markers. Additionally, a basic definition of aspect has been addressed here.

The following chapter will give a brief overview of aspect in Indonesian and describe the research in that area that has already been conducted. In the third chapter, Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity scale will be explained in detail, with special attention given to the application of Hopper and Thompson's scale to the data.

The fourth chapter will argue that discourse conditions govern the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah' in a particular context. Specifically it examines the affect of durative/ non-durative inherent aspect on the choice of markers. In general the difference between the two forms may be summarized as an instance of perfect aspect being sensitive to the contextual aspect distinction of durative/ non-durative. Contextually significant contributing elements will be shown to be the story time lapse, the action referred to, and the narrator's point of view.

Finally the fifth chapter will concentrate on the theoretical implications of this work, including comments on the aspect/aktionsart distinction and

Hopper and Thompson's transitivity scale. Suggestions
for further study are also given.

1. If irrealis is included, there are at least twelve words with aspectual meaning. Some are in diads and some in triads. (See section 2.2.4 for a list.)

2. Sentence references are given according to the story the sentence was found in and the sequential number of the sentence in the story. For example, the first sentence in the story Pelacur would be marked P001. Those sentences from Bisma are marked B, and those from Menoleh are marked M. Occasionally, in chapter three sentences are used from a story collected in Dallas TX. These will be marked (D004, D011) and are included in Appendix D. See the following note.

3. All of the data used for statistical analysis is from the work by Wijaya; however, for clarity in chapter 3, sentences were occasionally used which were collected in Dallas by the author. These were elicited orally from two Indonesian speakers-- one from Jakarta, Java and one from Ujung Pandang, Sulawesi and are provided in Appendix D.

ASPECT AND INDONESIAN

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand the similarities and differences between the two items of the aspectual pair 'sudah' and 'telah', the reader must have a basic knowledge of the development of Indonesian and an understanding of aspect, the perfect in particular.

Indonesian is an Austronesian language, now the national language of Indonesia. It has always been a lingua franca for the area and is spoken as a first language by a large urban population[1] in that country. The population of speakers increases as the number of intergroup marriages increases the need for a common spoken language in the home.

In 1942, the Dutch relinquished control of Indonesia to the Japanese. In that tumultuous time, the schools and government offices were closed, and Dutch was no longer accepted as the national language. The war, however, created an urgency to communicate which could not be met by bilingual education. De facto, the language used was Indonesian.

In the rush to communicate, it became obvious that Indonesian had never been standardized. In order to alleviate this problem, the Japanese Occupation Authorities instituted the Komisi Bahasa Indonesia, a

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commission to promote the use and standardization of Indonesian. The goals of the commission were threefold: to decide on standard usage for everyday words, to standardize the grammar, and to update the lexicon with needed scientific and technological terms.

The commission felt that to write the grammar of the language as it currently existed was not adequate for the changing times.

> It is unavoidable that in the formulation of a normative grammar full attention must be given to the direction in which the language is moving as part of a changing cultural pattern (Alisjahbana 1962:9).

This naturally led to much speculation about the nature of the "new" Indonesian culture.

The main issue, as described by contemporary linguists, was that the language did not conform to western standards. According to linguists working at the time of the occupation, the Indonesian language was heavily dependent on word order: "The rule of Indonesian word order is that the following word determines the previous one." (Alisjahbana 1962:10). Alisjahbana further describes the search for a normative grammar:

> Perhaps it would have been possible to construct a grammar of Indonesian from the standpoint of this language only, to create new categories in order to arrive at a grammar best

adapted to the structure of the language. But had this been done, the Indonesian grammar would have been a very isolated one, understandable only within the framework of Indonesian or perhaps some other related languages (1962:17).

Since the time of the commission, linguists have been trying to determine the structure of Indonesian. Even after it had been used as the language of instruction for ten years, the western educated linguist Prijono asserted that it was not yet possible to write a grammar. (Alisjahbana 1962:1) This problem persists; linguists have only recently attempted to consider Indonesian descriptively, without a western grammatical overlay. Tomasowa, in particular, mentioned this difficulty:

> Has the description of the grammar of Bahasa Indonesia been unduly influenced by Western grammatical solutions which have been imposed on the language whether inadvertently or as part of a supposedly universal grammar? (Tomasawa 1989:224)

The tremendous communicative pressures on the language had the effect of confusing the linguistic situation for many years; only recently is the language being examined on its own, in an attempt to free it from definitions and categories imposed by western linguistics. This thesis attempts to add to the current body of descriptive work by considering

Indonesian on the basis of actual data and by not forcing them into western structures.

2.2 Characteristics of Perfect Aspect

Although the Indonesian pair 'sudah' and 'telah' will be examined in light of the perfect aspect, their differences cannot be attributed solely to aspect.

Unfortunately, linguists do not agree on many matters pertaining to the perfect. First of all, many do not agree that the perfect is an aspect at all (McCoard, Binnick, Comrie). However, since it exists in some world between tense and aspect, linguists have tended to include it in the aspect category for the sake of simplicity. This section will examine three prominent linguists' views of the perfect.

2.2.1 Comrie

Comrie includes the perfect in his book on aspect, although he admits that it is not an aspect in the usual sense.

> Traditionally, in works that make a distinction between tense and aspect, the perfect has usually, but not always, been considered an aspect, although it is doubtful whether the definition of aspect given above can be interpreted to include the perfect as an aspect. However, the perfect is equally not just a tense, since it differs in meaning from the various tense forms (Comrie 1976:6).

In a later chapter on the perfect, Comrie gives a working definition of the perfect as, "the continuing relevance of a previous situation" (56) and goes on to describe four types of perfect.

2.2.1.1 Perfect of result

Comrie describes the perfect of result as that condition in which "a present state is referred to as being a result of some past situation" (56). In English, for example 'David has been insulted' indicates that a current state (anger) is the result of a past situation (that of being insulted). The perfect of result is documented by many linguists as one of the sub-types of the perfect.

2.2.1.2 Perfect of a persistent situation (called continuous in some literature)

The perfect of a persistent situation is used to describe situations that have begun at a particular time and then persist into the future. Examples of this are common in English-- "I've been studying here for three years." The act of studying at a particular place began in the past (three years ago) persists to the present time and into the future. This perfect is also quite common in Indonesian.

2.2.1.3 Perfect of recent past

The perfect of recent past has many names in the literature (including 'hot news' (Anderson 1982:228) and 'perfect of an unprepared mind' (ibid:233)). It is used to relate new information, e.g., "Martha has just entered college." This use of perfect is quite common in English and used to report a situation or event which has just occurred.

2.2.1.4 Experiential Perfect[2]

The experiential perfect indicates that a situation has happened at least once in the past. An example of this would be, 'Lauri has been to Disney World'. Here, it is true that the speaker has at least one time in the past, been to Disney World.

Comrie feels very comfortable classifying the prefect. Indonesianists, however, take a different approach-- they are more likely to describe the words attached to the perfect (meaning) than to label them as such.

2.2.2 R. Ross Macdonald on 'sudah' and 'telah'

Macdonald (1967) mentions thirteen aspectual markers in Indonesian. He does not, however, use the word 'aspect' to describe them. They are classified as 'premodifiers.' He often mentions 'sudah' and 'telah' in the same sentence, equating them. (See quotation

page 2). 'Sudah' is called the 'past completive' while 'telah' is only defined by translation--"already."

2.2.3 Soebardi on 'sudah' and 'telah'

Soebardi's grammar, written in 1973, do not deal in any general way with the category of aspect. It is possible, however, to construct a definition through careful searching through these books, meant to teach Indonesian to speakers of English. He also mentions thirteen of the aspectual markers found in Indonesian. (All but one of which duplicates of Macdonald's list.) (See table 1 for a complete accounting.) His translation of 'sudah' is "to have+ past participle", and his translation of 'telah' is exactly the same.

2.2.4 Dahl

Dahl's work (1985) is a major accomplishment in that it lists the tenses and aspects found in many languages and language families. In order to accomplish this, Dahl constructed a survey which gave sentences in context and asked for translations. His survey deals with the major meanings (or 'uses') of the particular aspect or tense involved. As a result, the survey misses many of the finer distinctions. In Indonesian, Dahl actually misses a great deal.

Dahl examines four Austronesian languages: Cebuano, Indonesian, Javanese, and Sundanese. In

Indonesian, he finds four Tense, Mood, Aspect (TMA) markers: 'akan', 'pernah', 'sudah', and 'sedang'(160). In Javanese, he also finds 'lagi' and in Sundanese, 'tadi'.

A closer look at Dahl's statistics show that even though he lists 'sudah' as Perfect (PFCT), his statistics show that 'sudah' is never used in what he considers 'core meanings'. This is curious and causes one to question what the core meaning of 'sudah' is, if it is not PFCT.

Furthermore, Dahl lists 181 of 197 sentences as unmarked for aspect in Indonesian. This raises further questions about the depth of the study under consideration. A further indication of problems of Dahl's work on Indonesian, is the fact that those who have studied Indonesian have listed many other words as related to aspectual meanings. Table 1 compares Dahl's study with the grammars of two Indonesianists (Macdonald and Soebardi).

Marker	Macdonald	Soebardi	Dahl
akan	'involving' denotes futurity	Aux: will	FUT
baru	NM	'just+PT of V	NM
belum	NEG for sudah	'not yet'	NM
bukan	NEG for N and NOM	'it isn't'	NM
lagi	'again, more' iterative	'to be+V+ing'	Jav:PROG

masih	continuation	'to be still+ V+ing'	NM
pernah	takes place> once	'once,ever'	EXPER
sedang	continuation	'to be+V+ing'	PROC
sudah	past completive	'to have+ past part'	PFCT
tadi	'earlier today'	'just now, a little while ago'	Sun:< PAST
tahu	'know'	NM	Jav:EXPER
telah	'already'	'to have+ past part'	NM
tengah	continuation	'to be+V+ing'	NM
tidak	NEG for predicatives	'no,not acting'	NM

Table 1. Comparison of Aspect Markers

Although Macdonald and Soebardi do not specifically use aspectual terms, it is fairly clear that the words carry aspectual meanings (particularly those words which mean continuative: 'tengah' and 'masih'). Other words which should be added to Dahl's list are 'telah,' 'lagi' (listed by Dahl under Javanese) and 'tadi' (listed by Dahl under Sundanese). Dahl's work, however, should not be discounted, since it is abroad survey of languages, and perhaps quite successful. For my purpose, the finer semantic distinction between the two similar markers, it will not help at all.

2.2.5 Lloyd Anderson (1982)

Since Dahl was unable to find the core meaning of 'sudah,' I undertook a brief investigation of the possible uses of perfect aspect. Anderson (1982) was useful in that it treated the perfect as a semantic area that has different uses by different languages. Anderson maps the semantic area much like Labov (1973) maps the range of the use of the word 'cup'.[3] His map includes many uses that may be included in a particular language.   In the center of his map are the four 'current relevance' (C-R) meanings: C-R of Anterior (intransitive), C-R of Anterior (transitive), C-R of experience and C-R of new situation.   Additionally, there are two other C-R meanings: the C-R of future and the C-R emphatic.   Unfortunately, Anderson does not clearly describe the uses he has listed; instead, he refers the reader to McCoard (1978) which defines current relevance as:

> the perfect in English is to express the
> pastness of the event(s) embodied in the
> lexical   verb,   together   with   a   certain
> applicability, pertinence, or relevance of said
> past event(s) to the context of coding -- the
> "now" of the speaker or writer (31).

Anderson then gives a short list of the uses and an example of each-- but never a definition. However, for studies   of   the   uses   of   the   perfect

cross-linguistically, Anderson is still useful as a guide to the possible uses.

Anderson (1982:231) claims that the area around the perfect includes[4]:

Voice	Datives
Result-state passives/intr	Affective Dative
Change passive	Ethical Dative
Middle voice	Dative-subject const

Tense-related	Misc.
Inferential past	Temporary possession
Past perfective	Action
Experiential/Existential anterior	Hearsay

Table 2. A summary of Anderson's semantic
area of the Perfect

All these fall in the semantic area of the perfect and so are likely to be uses of perfect in other languages (Anderson 1982:231). Anderson was found useful for this study in that he gave further semantic options for the use of the perfect in Indonesian. Since the two markers are so closely related, a delineation of the possible uses was helpful to suggest further possible explanations.

2.3 Indonesian as an aspect rich language

As mentioned in the earlier section, Indonesian is rich with aspect.[5] In a reference grammar (Macdonald, 1967), the author lists a number of words in his premodifier section which contain aspectual meaning. (See table 1) Note particularly that he

includes 'lagi' and 'tadi.' Macdonald specifically claims,

> The premodifiers 'tengah', 'sedang', 'masih', and 'lagi' indicate continuation, and so are frequently used to specify that the predicate refers to a situation which is or was continuing (Macdonald 1967:164).

While Dahl describes 'lagi' as Progressive (PROG) (1985:161), MacDonald notes that 'lagi' in the premodifier position (i.e. before the 'head') 'has a meaning of "still" or "continually"' while 'lagi' in the postmodifier position means "again, or more" (1967:167).

Likewise Macdonald claims that 'tadi' means "earlier today" or in conjunction with a time word, "this (past)'time word'" (1967:196-7). Dahl lists this word as Sundanese (not Indonesian) carrying the meaning "recent past" (<Past)(1985:161). Like the forms focused on in this work, 'lagi' and 'tadi' are so similar that to suggest that they are the same would not be a large logical leap.

These two examples suggest that there is more to the Indonesian tense-aspect system than Dahl was able to detect. In fact, Macdonald's work suggests that there is a wide variety of aspects in Indonesian which have not accurately been described. Recall the comment by Macdonald cited (page 2) in the first chapter of

this thesis-- the similarity between 'sudah' and 'telah' is so near as to be indistinguishable. This fact points to the oversight in Dahl's work. He used only sentences in his survey to elicit aspects, but some aspects are not predictable in this limited scope. He has labeled 'sudah' as PFCT, but what would he label 'telah'? It must be considered another PFCT. The implication for Indonesian is that there may be aspect 'pairs' that have not yet been distinguished one from another.

In fact, Macdonald's work suggests that there are other sets which have yet to be fully described. Among those which are said by Macdonald to be the same are, 'masih', 'sedang' and 'lagi'; and also the irrealis triplet 'belum', 'tidak', and 'bukan'. In these cases, similar context-sensitive study would be needed to fully explain the differences between these words.

Rafferty (1982:72) suggests that as in other languages, the aspect system is not limited to premodifiers. She suggests that the verbal prefixes also convey aspectual meaning. So, even though there are many aspectual markers in Indonesian, there is evidence that Indonesian uses other means to express aspectual meaning.

Aspect in Indonesian is anything but straightforward. In any case it is certainly more complex than Dahl has recorded. First of all, the

question of 'sudah' never being used in its 'core
meaning' is suspicious. Secondly, the lack of aspect
markers for 181 of 197 sentences seems to lead to the
conclusion that Indonesian may not be very aspectual at
all.   Thirdly, Macdonald and Soebardi suggest that
there are many more markers than Dahl found.   And
finally, Rafferty suggests that aspect in Indonesian
goes beyond independent aspectual markers and can also
be found in verbal morphology like in English, Tagalog,
and Japanese (and many other languages).   Dahl's
description of aspect in Indonesian is overly brief,
for Indonesian actually has a wide ranging and deeply
aspectual nature.

2.4 'Sudah' and 'Telah' as aspectual

    Although Dahl clearly states that 'sudah' is
aspectual, Macdonald is more circumspect about this
claim.   Dahl, labels 'sudah' as the perfect aspect,
although, a careful investigation of his statistics
shows that 'sudah' is never used in what Dahl calls the
core meaning of Perfect. Dahl derives core meaning by
analyzing the most common use of the aspect across
languages.   He   implies   that   although   'sudah'   is
perfect, it is not perfect according to western
languages (a majority of those surveyed by Dahl);
instead, the Indonesian perfect is somewhat different.

Macdonald never directly states that the function of these words is actually to mark aspect, although he distinctly implies that they function in this manner. Macdonald claims that, "Certain premodifiers can be described as aspectual, because they indicate either completeness of (sic 'or') continuation" (1967:162). This claim seems just one step short of saying that these words are aspect markers. The "premodifier" 'sudah' according to Macdonald indicates completeness (162).

Dahl completely misses the word 'telah' in his survey. He did not even list it under the other languages in the family (as he did 'tadi' and 'lagi').

Macdonald, mentions 'telah' in connection with 'sudah'; he states, ('telah') "is parallel in meaning to 'sudah'" (1967:162). As noted in the first chapter of this paper, Macdonald considers the difference between the two to be simply a matter of formality.

Echols and Shadily (1989) propose that the difference is a matter of state vs. action in their third edition where they claim that 'sudah' is used for past states (529), and 'telah' for past actions (561). Of course, the situation is not this simple either. Some sentences using 'sudah' refer to past actions and some using 'telah' refer to past states.

'Sudah' is used, for example, to refer to a past action in sentence M021:

1. Tapi kalau itu **sudah   di- laku-kan** sepuluh
    But if   that already PASS done BENE ten
    But if this has already been done for ten

    tahun, barangkali boleh di- curigai   sebagai
    years perhaps   may   PASS suspicious a type
    years, it might perhaps seem suspicious,

    sesuatu   kelainan.
    a certain quirk
    a certain kind of quirk.

Here 'sudah' obviously applies to a past action since
it "has been **done**." In sentence M027, the connection
is direct. 'Sudah' is directly related to the verb
'menoleh' "to look back".

2. Saya tidak merasa tidak merdeka   hanya
    I   NEG   TR-feel NEG   TR-free   only
    I don't feel enslaved just

    karena **sudah**   men-oleh!
    because already TR- glance!
    because I glance!

Likewise, 'telah' (Echol and Shadily's 'past action')
can be used for both actions and states. In the data
studied here, these two uses were even found in the
same sentence, B177.

3. Jalanan **telah**   ramai   dan tukang bubur
    street   already crowded and vendor   soup
    The streets were already crowded and the

    ayam   di kelokan jalan telah   mem-buka
    chicken at corner   street already TR- open
    chicken soup vendor on the street corner already

```
dagangan-nya.
stall     his
opened his stall.
```

The first 'telah' refers to the 'crowded street.' 'Crowded' is not an action, but a description of the state of the street.   In the coordinated clause, 'telah' refers to the action of the vendor having opened his soup stall for business.   Here, in one sentence, 'telah' is used both ways.   The situation (as is common in Indonesian) is just not simple at all.   No easy solution has been found for 'sudah' and 'telah'.

Yet, since both Dahl and Macdonald claim 'sudah' to be aspectual, and since Macdonald is willing to place 'telah' on a parallel footing with 'sudah', one can at least tentatively conclude that both 'sudah' and 'telah' are aspectual.   For now, it is sufficient to know that they are similar in aspect.   Later, it will be shown that they can be differentiated.   Finally the nature of this differentiation will be explained.

Comrie, although not working specifically in Indonesian, provides definitions which can be applied to the data in this study to see if they fit his definition of perfect at all.   As the next section shows, there is little difficulty placing the uses of 'sudah' and 'telah' into Comrie's scheme.

2.4.1 Comrie's categories in Indonesian

Comrie used the Indo-European languages in his survey of aspects, but he always allowed latitude for languages to treat various aspects differently.

Using Comrie's definitions of the perfect aspect, 'sudah' and 'telah' can both be shown to correspond to use of the perfect of result. There are 47 occurrences of 'sudah' in the texts; of these 42 (89.4%) are perfect of result. A good example of this is sentence M027:

```
4.  Saya tidak merasa  tidak merdeka hanya
    I    NEG   TR-feel NEG    TR-free only
    I don't feel enslaved just

    karena  sudah   men-oleh!
    because already TR- glance!
    because I glance!
```

In this example, the speaker is claiming that her ten year habit of glancing behind herself has not resulted in her presently feeling enslaved-- contrary to the suggestion of her husband. The other uses of 'sudah' include both the 'continuous' and 'recent past' (6.4% and 4.2% respectively).

```
5.  Jadi   lihatlah, sudah   10 tahun saya
    finish see        already ten years I
    So you see, for ten years I
```

```
di - ajarkan oleh tubuh saya untuk ber-  hati-hati.
PASS train   by   body  my    for   to be careful.
have been trained by my body to be careful.(M041)
```

6.
```
Tapi pada suatu hari, waktu wanita itu
but  at   one   day   time  woman  that
But one day, when that woman
```

```
men-oleh    ke belakang sebelum tidur --ia
TR- glance to back       not yet sleep --she
glanced back before sleeping-- she
```

```
sudah     berbaring, lalu tiba-tiba ter- ingat
already lay down    then suddenly  x-ed remember
had already lay down, then suddenly remembered
```

```
untuk men-oleh -- ia  meng-angkat    badan- nya
to    TR- glance--she TR-  lifted up body    her
to glance(back) -- she sat up
```

```
lalu men-oleh     ke atas    kasur. (M029)
then TR -glanced at on top  bed
then looked on top of her bed.
```

The uses of 'telah' pattern similarly; 93% (27 of 29

instances) of the occurrences are the perfect of

result, typified by sentence P054:

7.
```
Aku telah    menjual kelihaianku men-y(s)usun kata.
I   already TR-sold cunning -my TR -compile  word
I had already sold my ability to write.
```

The rest are continuous or recent past (3.45% each).

8.
```
Lembaran yang seyogya-nya men-jadi lembar
page     R.CL obvious-it  TR  been page
This page which obviously would have been the
```

```
pertama perubahan pidato itu,  tapi tak
first   revised   speech that, but  not
first page of the revised speech, but
```

```
    mampu    kulanjutkan karena   merasa   telah
    capable continue     because TR-feel already
    I was unable to continue because I had felt

    di-perbudak.(P165)
    PASS-slave
    enslaved.
```

9. Kenapa sekarang aku baru di- tengtang,
    why   now   I   begun PASS-opposed,
    Why now am I beginning to be opposed,

    setelah aku tidak bisa lagi men-jawab.(P022)
    after   I   NEG   able PROC TR- respond.
    after I am not capable of responding.

All these examples show that 'sudah' and 'telah' both carry a range of perfect meanings in Indonesian.

2.5 Summary

Indonesian is a language rich in aspect markers and aspectual distinctions. It has a number of aspect pairs which, at first glance, seem to carry the same meaning. The perfect aspect has many different uses, four of which Comrie has carefully delineated: perfect of result, perfect of a persistant situation, perfect of recent past and experiential perfect. Dahl has done a comprehensive study of tense and aspect across many languages, including Indonesian, but he has not achieved the level of specificity I seek here. Anderson mapped many of the common uses across languages and has helped describe these different uses. Indonesian has many aspects with subtle differences

between them; in particular, the words 'sudah' and
'telah' carry perfect aspectual meaning. The difference
between the two is subtle but important.

1.   The Summer Institute of Linguistics reported in
Dec. 1991 that:

> Multilingualism is common throughout the
> Indonesian archipelago. Most Indonesians are
> conversant in the regional dialects of Malay,
> as a <u>lingua franca,</u> and in at least one local
> language as well. Bahasa Indonesia (a form of
> Malay developed as the Indonesian national
> language) is used by all formally-educated
> people. It is the <u>lingua franca</u> of all but the
> most remote ethnic subgroups. However, very
> few people outside the urban areas are fluent
> at speaking or reading Bahasa Indonesia. In
> larger language groups, instruction in the
> mother tongue is allowed during the first three
> years of primary school. After that,
> Indonesian is used exclusively. In the smaller
> language groups, Bahasa Indonesia is used from
> the first grade (SIL 1991:5).

2.   This section is added in order to comprehensively
survey Comrie's work. In Indonesian, this function is
covered by the token 'pernah' (Dahl 1985:160).

3.   Labov (1973) varied the dimensions of various
bowl/cup shaped objects and asked speakers which
dimensions would be considered cups. In much the same
way, Anderson has developed a map by comparing many
languages use of the perfect and by this has been able
to map the uses employed by a certain languages'
perfect aspect.

4.   See Appendix F

5. If irrealis is included as aspect, there are at least a dozen words with aspectual meaning. A reason to include irrealis markers is that they also reflect aspectual meanings. For example, 'belum' means 'not yet', 'bukan' means 'although this outcome can usually be expected, it is not true now.' Tidak means 'no it will not happen (it will never be the case)' Personal conversation with Dr. Mary Bresnahan Dec. 14, 1994.

HOPPER AND THOMPSON TRANSITIVITY SCALE

3.1 Introduction

This study hopes to determine the discourse variables which determine the use of one form of the perfect over another-- specifically, to determine why some sentences require the use of 'sudah' and others the use of 'telah'. Unfortunately, neither Indonesian speakers nor Indonesian grammarians are able to indicate what in the discourse conditions the choice of one over another.

This chapter shows that there is a significant difference between the transitivity of clauses using sudah and those using telah based on Transitivity scores as determined according to Hopper and Thompson's scale (1980). On this foundation, chapter four will examine discourse contexts and present a hypothesis about the relevance of these contexts to form selection.

Thompson and Hopper (1980) used a scale to evaluate the transitivity of sentences. They claim that,

> Transitivity is a crucial relationship in language, having a number of universally predictable consequences in grammar, and that the defining properties of Transitivity are discourse-determined (251).

This scale has the ability to make very fine distinctions between sentences. This study uses the Hopper and Thompson scale to determine if there is a significant difference in the transitivity of sentences which use 'sudah' as opposed to those which use 'telah', providing an empirical basis for the claim that the two are not identical or interchangeable.

3.2 Hopper and Thompson Transitivity Scale

In order to interpret the data in a quantitative manner, this study subjected each clause containing the tokens involved to the transitivity scale developed in Hopper and Thompson, 1980. They identified and isolated ten components of transitivity which allow clauses to be ranked on a gradient from high to low transitivity. Their ten parameters are:

A. Number of Participants

B. Kinesis

C. Telicity [1]

D. Punctuality

E. Volitionality

F. Affirmation

G. Mode

H. Agency

I. Affectedness of Object

J. Individuation of Object   (252)

This study will describe these parameters in a manner consistent with Hopper and Thompson's, but where finer distinctions need to be made, these are noted.

3.2.1 Participants

A clause is said to be more highly transitive if it contains two or more participants (usually an actor and an object). The participants do not need to be animate. The object may be inanimate, as can be seen by the following sentence: "Fritz knocked his coffee cup off of the table." The actor does not necessarily need to be animate either, as can be seen in the following sentence: "The wind blew Christopher off of the ladder." In the first sentence, the object is an inanimate cup of coffee and in the second sentence, the agent, "the wind", is generally considered inanimate. Yet, both these sentences are more highly transitive than, for example, the sentence, "Stephen was awake," in which there is only one participant. Additionally, Hopper and Thompson would claim that these first two sentences are also more transitive than one sentence which has an action and an actor but no second participant, e.g., "Sadie ate."

3.2.2   Kinesis

A clause containing an action is more highly transitive than one which does not, since 'states of

being' are not transferable from one participant to another. Actions are potentially transferable (at the very least). The active sentence, "Lander ate the candy" is more transitive than the sentence "Katy wanted the candy" because the action of the first sentence is more completely transferred to the candy than the mental state of wanting it in the second sentence. In fact, the second sentence does not transfer anything to the candy at all. The candy remains unchanged for all of Katy's wanting, whereas Lander's eating the candy changes it greatly.

3.2.3 Telicity (Aspect)

Telic actions are the method by which "The discourse imposes a perfective interpretation on foregrounded events" (Hopper and Thompson 1980:286). Hopper has twice before associated foregrounded events with perfectivity (Hopper 1977; 1979). Actions which are perfective in nature are more highly transitive than those which describe chronological simultaneity or overlapping. Perfective (telic) actions follow strict chronological sequencing, are viewed as a whole (and maintain identity of subject.) Non-perfective (atelic) actions present a situation which does not necessarily require completion for the performance of a subsequent action to occur and in which subjects frequently change.[2] This distinction is clarified in the

following sentences. "Del ate dinner before he washed the dishes." Here the action of washing the dishes is subsequent to eating dinner. In contrast is the following sentence which describes a simultaneous action on the part of the participants. "Kim fed the hens while Mariah was watching for the mail." In the first sentence, the actions are chronological; each is viewed as a totality, and each maintains identity of subject. In the second sentence, the actions are not crucially ordered; they could happen one after another, simultaneously, or in 'reverse order'. And the first action mentioned does not have to be completed before the second may occur. The distinction here is aspectual; the first sentence describes a perfective sequence of actions while the second does not.

3.2.4 Punctuality

An action which is punctual in nature is one that "does not last in time, one that takes place momentarily . . . (they) do not have any duration, not even a very short period" (Comrie 1976:42). These are more transitive than ones which are ongoing or lasting in nature. For example, "Jim saw a deer," is more transitive than "Mary watched television" simply because the action of seeing is thought of as instantaneous while the action of watching implies a duration of time.

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3.2.5 Volitionality

Clauses in which actions are carried out intentionally by an agent are more highly transitive than those in which agents are accidental performers. In Indonesian, this distinction is made relatively simple since some verbs are morpho-syntactically encoded as being unintentional in nature.

1. Dia ter-   perangkap (Adapted from D004[3])
    he accidentally trapped
    He was accidentally trapped.

2. Dia meng- perankap-kan   kijang itu
    he TRANS   trapped purpose kijang the
    He trapped the kijang(on purpose).(D011, adapted)

Therefore, the first sentence, where the object is accidentally trapped, is less transitive than the following sentence, where the agent is acting volitionally. (See section 3.3.1.1, Parameter E, for a more detailed discussion.)

3.2.6 Affirmation

References to real world events in clauses are more transitive than those stated negatively. When the sentence "Josh ate squid" is compared to the sentence "Elizabeth did not eat squid," the higher transitivity of the former is no surprise.

3.2.7 Mode

Likewise, clauses which refer to real world events are more transitive than those in which events are said to occur in some alternative 'non-real' world. The contrast here is simple. Compare "Dennis heard the opera and he liked it" to "If Tucker had heard the opera, he would have liked it." The first actually asserts that an action took place while the second merely presents possibility.

3.2.8 Agency

Agency is the first component for which Hopper and Thompson suggest that a sub-scale might have relevance. They note that high transitivity corresponds to sentences in which agents are more animate.

The agency hierarchy was proposed by Michael Silverstein in 1976. The hierarchy links the mention of a participant to the probability that that participant will be an agent. For example, when a participant is referred to in the first person, the participant is very likely to serve as agent. If the participant is referred to in the second person, it is a little less likely to be the agent. Inanimate objects are the least likely agents. The hierarchy is structured as follows:

1st P> 2nd P> 3rd P> Pr Name> Human> Animate> Inanimate (Hopper and Thompson 1980:273). So, "Gary had a cookie" is higher in transitivity than "The box had a cookie" because "Gary" is a proper name and "the box" is inanimate.

Even though Hopper and Thompson suggest that this hierarchy has validity, they do not suggest any particular point at which a participant should be regarded as low in agency.[4] With the hierarchy as a guideline, the investigator is left to decide what constitutes an agent high in potency. Occasionally, context may demand that one assign an inanimate object high agency, although these cases are difficult to imagine. More often than not this scale simply becomes a distinction between animate and inanimate.

3.2.9 Affectedness of Object

In clauses where the patient is completely affected, the action is said to be more highly transferred; therefore, the clause is more transitive. This is often a difficult judgment to make. An example of this in Indonesian is:

```
3.   Ia    lupa    me-laku-kan-nya
     she   forgot  TR-do  -DAT-it
     She forgot to do it.  (adapted from M005)
```

In this sentence, is the object -nya completely affected by being forgotten or, conversely, not at all affected? The judgment must be made according to the wider context of the passage. In this case, -nya refers to an 'errand,' so while the errand was unaffected, the person was affected by forgetting the errand. This is not simply a confusion over the negative thrust of the verb 'forget,' as one could easily say, "she remembered to do it" and still raise the question of what is being affected- the agent or the patient (in this case the errand), and I believe that the conclusion must be the same, that, although the A is affected, the O is not.

3.2.10 Individuation of Object

Hopper and Thompson suggest a concrete method of determining whether the O is individuated. They give six parameters to score and suggest that the last be given double weight. The parameters are characteristics of the participant involved, they include: 1)proper, 2)human (animate), 3)concrete, 4)singular, 5)count, and 6)referential and definite. Objects score a point for each of the first five and one point for being either referential or definite and another for being both. On a practical level, it makes no difference in scoring whether the last category is considered as a unit or broken into two separate

categories. For example, "Bryce lifted Alexandra" is more transitive than, "Nikki lifted sand" because Alexandra is proper, human, concrete, singular, referential and definite; while sand is only concrete.

3.3 Applying Hopper and Thompson to Indonesian

Inherent in replication of another's method are the difficulties of interpretation and consistency. Some of these problems are simply borderline cases which may be obvious to those who conceived the method but not quite so clear when used by another particularly in a language other than the one the method was based on.

3.3.1 Method

The data were examined by using the Hopper and Thompson transitivity scale and granting the clauses one point for each transitive parameter they exhibited. A transitivity score was determined for each clause. The clauses were then separated into those using 'sudah' and those using 'telah'. A mathematical mean was taken for each group, and a t-test was carried out on the two means to assure that the differences found could not be attributed to sampling errors.

3.3.1.1 Specific difficulties with application of

Hopper and Thompson transitivity scale

One of the first determinations which needed to be made was in the consideration of participants, Parameter A. In Indonesian, as in English, a mob may be the actor in a sentence. This is perhaps a small point, but, as in English, the mob (when acting in concord) was considered as one participant.

The difficulty with telicity, Parameter C, came from the nature of the data used. In this study, the data came from Indonesian stories which where intended for entertainment. Hopper and Thompson claim, "an action viewed from its endpoint, i.e. telic action, is more effectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an endpoint" (252). And,

> The transitivity feature of Aspect refers to the telicity of the predicate's action. A predicate which specifies an endpoint or conceptual boundary is said to be telic, while one which does not is atelic (286 emphasis mine).

However, in real world data, not all predicates have verbs which are actions. A decision needs to be made regarding stative and intransitive verbs. Each of these verbs, action or not, needs to be analyzed for some endpoint. Some stative verbs expressed an activated state and so were counted as telic. The

mental state of 'know,' for example, was considered an endpoint and counted as such.

Parameter D. Punctuality is based on the fact that those actions which do not have a transitional phase between inception and completion have a more marked effect on their patients than actions which are more inherently on-going. For example, compare these two sentences: "Matt hit the car" and "Kristi drove the car". The action of hitting in the first clause has a more marked effect on the car than the action of driving in the second clause.

If the predicate is semantically a state, then it seems that punctuality is ruled out on the basis that states are hardly ever momentary and those which are ephemeral, 'blink-of-the-eye states' rarely bear mentioning in narrative. Givón notes that,

> Most commonly, predicates that are semantically states are already durative by definition and thus do not take the durative aspect per se (1984:275).

Experiential verbs in particular have to be judged according to context; sometimes a feeling is a punctual, brief situation. In other contexts, a feeling may endure, indicating in fact, a long lasting change.

Parameter E. A volitional agent affects a patient more than one which is not acting purposefully. In

Indonesian, it is fairly simple to determine volitional versus accidental action because verbs are sometimes coded to mark intentionally. In this example, one character accidentally trapped and then, after being released, purposefully traps his rescuer. The contrastive sentences are:

4. Dan dia datang ke kijang itu,   kijang itu   sedang
    and he   came   to kijang that, kijang that PROG
    And he came to the kijang, the kijang was

    ter-   perangkap (D004)
    accidentally trapped
    accidentally trapped.

Notice the prefix 'ter-' attached to the verb 'trapped.' This particular morpheme indicates and accidental action. Wouk noted that, "The common meaning of 'ter-' in all these uses is nonintentionality" (1979:86). Compare example 4 to the next sentence, where the trapping was on purpose.

5. Dia meng-angkat kayu itu dan memerangkap sang
    he TR- lift   wood the and TR- trap   the
    He (the alligator) lifted the wood and trapped the

    kijang di antara dua belah pohon itu akhirnya
    kijang at between two half tree the last
    kijang between the two halves of the tree

    juga (D011)
    anyway
    anyway.

In this sentence, the prefix meng- (in the form mem-) was added to the verb to show that the action was not

an accident. Unfortunately, not all sentences were marked so obviously, and judgments had to be made concerning the volitionality of the agent, if an agent was present. (See section 3.2.5 for a summary.)

Some of the more difficult questions which arose concerned passive sentences involving the body 'training' the person. The passive marker 'di-' is more volitional than the 'ter-' choice. This morpheme choice highlights the volitionality of the action of the agent; however, pragmatically, it is odd for a body to train its person, particularly in a volitional manner; more often the case is that the person volitionally trains or 'commands' the body.

```
6.   Jadi    lihatlah, sudah   10 (sic) tahun saya
     finish  see       already ten      years I
     So you see, for ten years I have been

     diajarkan  oleh tubuh saya untuk berhati-hati
     PASS-train by   body my    for   to be careful
     trained by my body to be careful.(M041)
```

For this sentence, the parameter was thought to be more transitive, since 'training' is usually a volitional action regardless of the actor.

Another question arose when dealing with mental processes; in particular, the extent of control that a person has over mental processes are at issue. In the sentence which follows the previous example in the text, the claim is made that the body 'knew' something.

Ignoring for the moment the semantic problem of the body 'knowing' something, the problem of determing volitionality remains. Should 'knowing' be considered volitional?

```
7....tubuh saya sudah    mengetahui  akan kedatangannya,
      body  my   already TR-know-PROC will come-    it,
      My body already knew it would come,

      lalu ia  mempersiapkan diri.(M042 embedded clause)
      then it  TR-prepare    self
      then it (my body) prepared itself.
```

In this sentence, and perhaps for all sentences, the mental processes are not volitional, so for this parameter, the sentences which showed processes like 'remembering', 'forgetting,' and the like were scored zero because at least these processes are thought to be done by an actor without intentionality.

Parameter F is the parameter dealing with the statement of the sentence in the positive or negative. This parameter was unproblematic in Indonesian.

Mode, parameter G, is important to transitivity because an action which:

> did not occur or which is presented as occurring in a non-real world, is obviously less effective than one whose occurrence is actually asserted as corresponding directly with a real event (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252).

Here, future worlds were counted zero. Otherwise there was little confusion over proper scoring.

Parameter H. Agency. Participants which can effectively transfer an action are more transitive than those which cannot. If the clause has no agent recoverable from the wider context, then the clause must be judged as zero in this parameter. Some active clauses contained no agent in that particular clause and yet had an agent in the surrounding context. Sentence B069 is a good example:

8.   Se- **sudah**   itu membuka busana- nya   (B069)
     DEF   already this TR-open costume-his
     After this (he) opened his costume.

The agent 'dia' he is missing from the sentence completely (to be supplied by the context), but the verb is marked for transitivity.

Parameters I and J. Affectedness of O and Individuation of O. If a sentence has no object, (i.e. is stative or intransitive) then I and J must be zero since there is no object to be affected or individuated.

On a wider frame, predicates of embedded clauses sometimes contained the token being examined. This created a question about the scoring of embedded and independent relative clauses. These clauses were scored separately of the main clause when the token itself occurred in the embedded clause or independent relative clause.

Despite a few difficulties in scoring, based primarily on sentences which are imperative or interrogative, the application of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity scale to Indonesian narrative was relatively straightforward. Their system appears to have been able to avoid the pitfall of being too language family specific. (That is to say, they have created something which applies to all languages with almost equal facility.) Hopper and Thompson's parameters are quite clear cut and fairly useful even in a language quite different from Indo-European.

3.3.2 Results

The results of applying the Hopper and Thompson transitivity scale to the Indonesian data were 1) that the word 'sudah' including the form se-sudah (the less marked choice) had a transitivity mean of 5.277 and 2) 'Telah', the more marked choice, had a transitivity mean of 7.483. These means were subjected to a t-test to determine if they are statistically significant. Using the hypothesis that they are the same, the two means were analyzed, and the mathematical results suggest that this hypothesis should be rejected on the basis that the means are significantly different at a .001 level of significance. With a T-score of 4.535 and standard deviations of 2.06 for 'sudah' and 2.08

for 'telah'. Therefore, the means of the two choices are statistically different.

3.4 Anomalous Cases

There were 29 total incidences of 'telah' and 47 incidences of 'sudah' in the data examined. These totals include incidences of both the root and the forms prefixed with 'se-' (see appendix E). Although 27 of 29 clauses using 'telah' fell in the 4-10 range for transitivity and 44 of 47 of the clauses containing 'sudah' fell in the 2-8 transitivity range, there were a few sentences which fell beyond the upper and lower levels which will be discussed. The anomalous cases may be broken into two types: those anomalous for methodological considerations and those which are anomalous because of contextual considerations. The methodological anomalies will be discussed here, while the contextual cases will be used to exemplify the contextual nature of the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah' in the next chapter.

Returning then to actual transitivity scores, a four stood out as anomalous: P022, P145, B069, M005. One of those was the sentence P022 which has a transitivity score of (1). This sentence is interesting because it includes the word 'setelah' which occurs in only seven of the 29 'telah' sentences.

The 'se-' prefix indicates that the event referred to is definite. (See Appendix E)

9. Kenapa sekarang aku baru   ditengtang,
    why   now   I   begun PASS-oppose
    Why now am I beginning to be opposed,

    setelah   aku tidak bisa lagi menjawab
    Df-after I   NEG   able PROC TR-respond
    after I am not capable of responding.

The second clause in this sentence is the one which was scored since it contains the word 'telah'. The decision to score the embedded clause may have resulted in this transitivity score. The second clause has only one participant, 1PS (I) 'aku,' so parameter A, Number of participants, is scored as zero. The clause does not contain a kinetic action, since 'respond' is not physical. This has the effect of making parameter B, kinesis, also zero. Furthermore, telicity, punctuality, volitionality, and totally affected object, are all zero.

Mode was scored as one because the speakers inability to respond is presented in the narrative as a real situation, not some conditional or unreal situation. Affirmation is scored as zero because the subordinate clause contains the negative 'tidak.' Agency, parameter H, raised the philosophical question: can a dead person be a powerful agent? The text seems to suggest no. If he were able to respond, he (the

dead leader in the sentence) definitely would, so this
was also scored zero.

Since the transitivity level does not indicate the
'telah' choice, then something else in the context is
dictating the choice. Indeed, the contextual situation
is unusual in that a dead official appears in a dream
to the main character expressing frustration because he
cannot clear his name from the grave. Chapter four
will provide the contextual explanation for this
unusual use of 'telah'.

The second anomalous methodological case is that
of sentence P145 where 'sudah' is found in a relative
clause attached to a transitive verb with the
abnormally high score of nine.

10. Me-nanti bagaimana se-seorang yang kecewa
     TR-next how   Df.man   who disappointed
     I waited to see how the man who was disappointed

     dan merasa **sudah**   mem-bayar akan menyemprot-
     and TR-feel already TR- paid will TR- attack
     and having already paid, would attack

     ku.
     me
     me.

In this case, the main clause was scored as a matter of
course. The transitivity score, however, probably
should have been based on the relative clause in this
instance. Had the relative clause been scored, the
clause would have fallen within the parameters set by

presenting a score of six, which is much more in line with the typical 'sudah' score.

A time related clause, B069, is anomalous in that it contains an unusually high transitivity score for the use of 'sudah' (i.e. nine).

11. Se-**sudah**   itu mem-buka busana- nya.
    Df-already this TR- open costume his.
    After this he opened his costume.

There are many possible explanations for this discrepancy. The most obvious is that the transitivity score is based, in part, on a previous sentence. The agent in this case is not present in the sentence and so was interpolated from a previous sentence. If the agent-related transitivity points were eliminated, the sentence would be much lower in transitivity. I do not believe that this is the proper perspective. The agent is intended in the sentence and would be supplied by context in a reading of the passage (see section 4.2, 'Formulaic uses of Sudah and Telah').

The last anomalous case to be discussed in this section is an exception in a different way. In this case, the token 'sudah' is found in a sentence with a very low transitivity score, (one). The clause, in many ways, confirms that 'sudah' is normally found in sentences of low transitivity.   However, since the

score is abnormally low, the clause necessitates some
mention in this section.

```
13.  Kalau ia  lupa   me-laku-  kan- nya maka ia
     If    she forget TR-conduct BENE it   then she
     If she forgot to do it, then she

     se-akan-akan sudah    kekurangan garam esok
     Df- will     already less        salt  tomorrow
     would (feel) [dehydrated]               tomorrow

     hari-nya. (M005)
     day.
     day.
```

This sentence is a conditional, so the normally
automatic point granted for affirmation could not be
given because the action occurred in a non-real world.
There is a question of punctuality here, but it seems
that this feeling of salt depletion should be
characterized as durative rather than punctual. The
sentence is otherwise unremarkable, except to note that
it is absent of transitivity features since it has
neither agent nor object.

3.5 Summary

The Hopper and Thompson scale gives ten parameters
which, when applied to sentences, measure the
transitivity of the sentence on a gradient. In
Indonesian, the parameters were usually easily
applicable to the data. In particular, mode,
punctuality, and affirmation were uncomplicated and
simple to apply. Perhaps this is because they are

binary oppositions which were present in Indonesian as in other languages.

Those parameters which were difficult to apply were telicity, volitionality, and agency. The difficulty here is that these parameters represent differences between Indonesian and English semantics or pragmatics. Volitionality and agency were particularly difficult since Indonesians tend to allow agents which are lower on the agency hierarchy to serve as subjects. They also allow volitionality in places where English speakers find it pragmatically odd.

The telicity parameter was difficult for other reasons. In Hopper and Thompson, this parameter is closely related to perfectivity, or completion of action. In traditional Indonesian discourse, however, one of the three basic tenants of the style is to describe the actions in a fragmented dreamlike (or nightmare-like) manner. This style of presentation causes a great deal of difficulty in determining the perfectivity of an action, even on a discourse level. As in all instances of using another's system, there were difficulties, particularly where sentence structures differ greatly. Overall, though, the transitivity scale was a useful and valid tool for analyzing Indonesian discourse.

In this study, it is necessary to prove in some empirical manner that the two words 'sudah' and 'telah'

are different.   The Hopper and Thompson transitivity scale is very important, since it gives an external measure of what many linguists call intuition.   By using the transitivity scale as a measure, and by performing statistical analysis on the results of measuring each sentence with either 'sudah' or 'telah,' empirical evidence can be seen for claiming that the two words are different at some level.   The next chapter will discuss specifically how the two words differ in context.

Notes

1. Hopper and Thompson called this parameter Aspect (1980:252) and then defined it as telicity later on that same page. In order to avoid confusion, this paper will only call this parameter Telicity and thus hope to avoid confusing the reader with two different uses of the word 'aspect'. Aspect in this paper will refer to the broad grammatical category.

2. The information from this section was taken from Hopper 1977. It is possible that this connection was not intended by Hopper. But I believe he had this previous paper in mind when he collaborated with Thompson.

3. Dallas data. These sentences are adapted from those elicited in Dallas. (See Chapter 1, Footnote 2).

4. Hopper and Thompson imply through their analysis of the following example that the distinction be made at least as high as proper name:

 *3 a. Jerry likes beer

  b. Jerry knocked Sam down

Hopper and Thompson claim that 3b has a higher transitivity than 3a since it contains the following high transitivity markers: kinesis, telicity, punctuality, affectedness of O, and individuation O.

They clearly omit, however, the characteristic "A high in potency." To account for the omission of this characteristic, there are two perspectives which need to be considered. The first is that Hopper and Thompson are only marking those parameters which make the sentences differ from each other and since both sentences have a third person agent this parameter is omitted because it is not a distinction. A second possibility is that Hopper and Thompson do not consider third person agents to be high in potency.

DISCOURSE CONDITIONS GOVERN CHOICE OF SUDAH/TELAH

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will show that the differences
between 'sudah' and 'telah' are conditioned by the
discourse. Chapter two has shown that 'sudah' and
'telah' are both markers of perfect aspect, indicating
there is no great semantic gap between the two.
Through the use of the Hopper and Thompson transitivity
scale, however, it has been shown that 'sudah' and
'telah' are used in sentences with significantly
different levels of transitivity. These differences
are significant enough to postulate that there are some
real differences between the two, despite the inability
of Indonesian speakers or grammarians to elucidate the
differences.

This section will show that the choice of 'sudah'
or 'telah' is dependent primarily on three conditioning
factors in the context. If the context is durative, or
perceived of as durative, the choice is 'telah'; if the
context is unmarked or non-durative 'sudah' serves as
the default case. In some instances, this context is
found at the clause level, in the inherent aspect of
the verb. Most reliably, however, the durativity is
found in the larger (discourse) context which is taken
to include at least three manifestations: the time
elapsed in the story line; the action referred to

(where it is obviously not contained in the clause); and the narrator's perception of how time has passed.

The most obvious distinction of the meanings of 'sudah' and 'telah' occurs in those sentences where they are used formulaically to refer to a time period. Where the marker matches the inherent aspect of the action or event in the sentences, the explanation is a bit more involved. The most involved explanations are those uses which are conditioned entirely by the discourse context.

4.2 Formulaic uses

Beginning with the most obvious cases, 'sudah' and 'telah' are occasionally used with reference to overt time frames. These are often found at the beginning of stories or at the beginning of new episodes. They follow the formula set forth in the first example with an aspect marker juxtaposed to a time frame.

1. **Sudah   sepuluh tahun.** (M001)
   Already ten   years.
   It's already been ten years.

In the 'sudah' marked sentences, the time frame is shorter, sometimes a matter of years, but more commonly a matter of hours or minutes. In 'telah' marked sentences, the time frame is nearly eternal. Although

it is conceivable that these could be subjective (e.g. although the story time advances only ten minutes, these ten minutes seem like an eternity), a very consistent pattern emerges. 'Sudah' is always used with relatively shorter periods of time, and 'telah' is always used with much longer periods of time:

2. **Sudah   sepuluh tahun** ini terjadi. (M002)
   Already ten   years this happened.
   Already ten years have passed since this happened.

3. Waktu itu hari **sudah   pukul empat.**(P045)
   Time   that day already hour   four
   It was already 4:00.

4. Bisma bangkit dari tanah, udara dan air   yang
   Bisma rose   from soil   air   and water R.Cl
   Bisma arose from soil, air and water that

   meng- lebur jasad-nya **setelah jutaan   tahun** yang
   TR-destroyed body -his Df-after million year R.CL
   together held his dead body for the million years

   lalu pralaya dalam perang Bhartayuda.(B001)
   then ?fought in   war   Bhartayuda.
   after he fought in the Bhartayuda war.

5. . . . **setelah jutaan tahun** berlalu dengan kondisi
          after   million years then   with conditions
          after these million years conditions

   dan situasi   yang berbeda,. . . (B051)
   and situations R.Cl are difference .
   and situations are different. . .

The time span difference is shocking; those sentences which include 'sudah' span a time of years or hours, while those which use 'telah' span millennia. It seems that use of 'telah' is nearly akin to saying "for an eternity." The token is often used to note a permanent change. These formulaic uses are clearly distinct.

'Sudah' and 'telah', however, are not confined to formulaic uses. The non-formulaic cases also need to be discussed. Such uses of 'sudah' and 'telah' fall into two general categories-- those which can be explained by the inherent aspect of the verb (sentential content) and those which rely on discourse context.

4.3 Non-formulaic uses which conform to inherent aspect of the verb

Most of the incidences of 'sudah' and 'telah' are not found in the formulae described above. They are found in main clauses, embedded clauses, and relative clauses. These are associated with a verb either directly in the same clause, or by context (usually to a verb or event in a neighboring clause). In many of these non-formulaic uses, the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah' reflects the inherent aspect of the verb in the same clause.

4.3.1 Agreement with inherent aspect

All aspect is by definition used relative to an event or situation (Comrie 1976:3; Anderson 1973:40; Beedham 1982:84; Rafferty 1982:66). Since this is the case, in determining the uses of similar, yet separate aspects, it is reasonable to examine the "referred to" action in the sentence. I examined the verbs to which 'sudah' and 'telah' referred in the texts to determine if there was some slight semantic difference. The verbs which took 'telah', the less frequent (and thus the marked case), were durative, indicating a permanent change or 'eternal' state, 65.22% of the time (15 of 23 times.)

6. Tetapi karena ayah   saya jatuh   cinta kepada
    But   because father my   to fall love to person
    But because my father fell in love with

    seorang wanita dan wanita itu tidak mau men-
    a person woman and woman this NEG   want TR-
    a woman and this woman did not want to

    jadi   istri-nya kalau anak-nya nanti tidak
    to become wife his if   son   her next NEG
    to become his wife if her son was not the next

    mewarisi takhta, saya dengan sukarela **telah**
    TR-heir   crown   I   with   voluntary already
    heir to the crown, I voluntarily surrendered

    meny-serah-kan   kedudukan saya pada adik-adik
    TR-surrender-BENE seat   my   to   brother
    my seat to my step brother.

    tiri saya.(B020)
    step my.

Here, since the verb 'serah' means "to surrender the throne," a permanent change in the narrator's fortunes, the proper choice is 'telah'.

In contrast, the verbs described by 'sudah' were unmarked for durativity or were non-durative in 20 of their 31 (65%) occurrences.

7. Saya tidak merasa tidak merdeka hanya karena
    I   NEG   TR-feel NEG   TR-free only because
    I do not feel enslaved just because

    sudah   men-oleh! (M027)
    already TR-glance
    I glance back!

In this sentence, the verb 'oleh,' meaning "glance," carries a inherent punctual aspect. It is impossible to imagine a durative glance-- the aspect is clearly not durative. The durative equivalent is "stare" in English and 'membeliakkan mata' in Indonesian. Again, the choice of marker is dependent on the inherent aspect of the verb.

Marker	Total # of verbs	Durative	Non-durative
Sudah	31	11 (35%)	20 (65%)
Telah	23	15 (65.22%)	8 (34.78%)
Overall	54/52*	25 (46.3%)	29 (53.7%)

*52 different verbs since two are used with both sudah and telah

Table 3 Use of markers with Durative aspect verbs

To summarize table 3, 'sudah' is used with durative aspect only 11 of the 31 (35%) 'sudah'-marked verbs. 'Telah' on the other hand is used with durative inherent aspect 15 of 23 (65.22%) of the 'telah'-marked verbs.(See tables 6 and 7, section 4.3.2)

When subjected to a chi-square, this gave a score = 3.561 with significance at the .062 level. Showing that 'telah' is primarily used with durative verbs and 'sudah' is not. The data just misses what is considered an acceptable level of significance, two factors affect this outcome. The size of this data base is small and a larger data base with the same distribution would make this a significant difference. Another factor is that (as will be seen) there are other larger discourse factors operating here which cannot be quantified through the inherent aspect of the verb. These will be examined in section 4.3.2 (and following).

This difference is paralleled by usage as well[1]-- I examined a total of 76 sentences. Of these 47 were marked by 'sudah', 29 by 'telah.'

Concentrating for a moment on only the 'sudah' sentences, there were nine uses of the marker which contained no verb at all. Three more uses were formulaic uses found at the beginning of a story or episode (as described in section 4.2). Excluding these twelve uses, there were 35 uses which could not be

considered formulaic. Twelve of these 35 (34.3%) were durative uses; leaving 23 of 35 (65.7%) uses corresponding to the expected non-durative aspect. (See table 4 below for summary.) The uses give a slightly lower correspondence to the inherent aspect explanation than simply counting the verbs used with 'sudah.'

Switching now to the 29 'telah' marked sentences, two had no verbs. Two more were formulaic, leaving 25 non-formulaic uses. Of these 25, 14 (56%) were durative and 11 (44%) were non-durative.

Marker	Total	w/o verb	For.	Non-Formulaic Dur-IA	N-Dur-IA	Total
Sudah	47	9	3	12	23	35
%of Tot		19.1%	6.4%	25.5%	49%	{74.5%}
%of N-F				(34.3%)	(65.7%)	
Telah	29	2	2	15	10	25
%of Tot		6.9%	6.9%	51.72%	34.48%	{86.2%}
%of N-F				(60%)	(40%)	
Overall	76	11	5	27	33	60
%of Tot		14.47%	6.58%	35.53%	43.42%	{78.95%}
%of N-F				(45%)	(55%)	

For.= formulaic uses
Dur-IA = Durative Inherent Aspect
N-Dur-IA = Non-Durative Inherent Aspect
Tot = Total of all incidences
N-F = Non-formulaic incidences

Table 4 Uses of Sudah and Telah

These percentages were also lower than those of the verb count; however, the difference between the percentages of 'sudah' and 'telah' uses with durative is still significant at the .09 level yielding a chi-square score of 2.926.

Furthermore, as a theory, the verbs marked are used in concord with the inherent aspect 64.81% of the time (35 of 54 verbs). The difference between the two percentages of agreement are not statistically significant when subjected to the chi-square test (score= .0153, .819 significance level). The two markers seem to act in concord, eventhough use is triggered by opposed inherent aspects.

Marker	Total # of verbs	Agree in IA	Disagree in IA
Sudah	31	20 (65%)	11 (35%)
Telah	23	15 (65.22%)	8 (34.78%)
Overall	54/52*	35 (65.81%)	20 (35.19%)

IA= Inherent Aspect

* 52 different verbs since two are used with both sudah and telah

Table 5 Verbal agreement with IA theory

The inherent aspect explanation is, on the surface, satisfying in that it explains nearly two thirds (64.81%) of the verbs used with 'sudah' or

'telah' and yields nearly statistically significant differences between the two. There are, however, some obvious problems with this solution as a comprehensive explanation. Primarily, it is an incomplete argument since it leaves more than a third (35.19%) of the verbal pairings unexplained. Secondarily, if inherent aspect of the verb were all that was involved, one would expect no duplications of the verb. Yet there are two verbs in this study, and certainly more than these in the larger realm of Indonesian discourse, which need explanation. Finally, there are 11 incidences (14.47%) of 'sudah' and 'telah' which have no reference verb at all. If one strictly adhered to the inherent aspect theory, they would be forced to call these uses essentially meaningless. Another explanation needs to be provided. Inherent aspect of the context, whether provided through the verb or the discourse, provides the motivation to choose the "unexpected" choice despite other factors.

An example where the inherent aspect of the verb overrides other considerations can be found in P022 where 'telah' is used to indicate a permanent change despite an abnormally low transitivity score of '1.'

8. Kenapa sekarang   aku baru di- tengtang
    why   now(at this point) I   begun PASS- opposed
    Why now am I beginning to be opposed, after

setelah aku tidak bisa lagi men-jawab.
Df-after I NEG able PROC TR- respond
that I am incapable of responding.

This situation is a good example of 'telah' being used to indicate a permanent change of status (where 'sudah' may indicate a temporary change). The key is that the official has changed from being alive to dead, and that state is permanent. In this instance, the discourse condition of a permanent change overrides the tendency to assign 'telah' to sentences which usually contain higher transitivity scores.

4.3.2 Inherent aspect as an incomplete explanation

If the inherent aspect were a complete argument, then the inherent aspect of the verb should match exactly with the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah'. In too many instances this is not the case.

The inherent aspect of the verbs is key to understanding the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah' in many, but not all, situations. This section contains a table of the verbs and their categorization as Durative or Non-Durative (including indeterminable). Occasionally the inherent aspect is clear. In many situations, though, the meaning seems to lack inherent aspect-- leaving the determination of durativity (and other inherent aspects) to the context. This table

represents a "closest approximation" to the inherent aspect of the verb devoid of context.

Sudah with Indonesian Verbs

Aspect	Verb	Gloss	I.A.
sudah	ajarkan	teach	Dur
	bangun	wake up	Punc
sudah	baring	lie down	Punc
	bayar	pay	Punc
sudah	bilang	each time	Iter
	burgulir	fall down	Punc
sudah	enal	know	Dur
	hapus	eliminate	Punc
sudah	hilang	disappear	Punc
	ikut	join	Punc
sudah	jadi	happen	Indet
	kembali	come back	Punc
sudah	kerja	work	Dur
	laku	done	Punc
sudah	langsung	direct	Indet
	lupa	forget	Indet
sudah	oleh	glance	Punc
	rasa	seems to be	Dur
sudah	rupa	has been	Dur
	sampai	to the point	Indet
sudah	selesai	finish s. t.	Punc
	siap	prepare	Dur
sudah	suap	mouthful	Indet
	susun	compose	Dur
sudah	tahu	know	Unmkd
	tempuh	attack	Punc
sudah	terima	accept	Punc
	tinggal	live, stay	Dur
sudah	tipu	trick, deceit	Punct
	tulis	write	Dur
sudah	tunggu	waiting	Dur

Table 6 Sudah verb aspects

In the 'sudah' section there are eleven verbs which are directly contradictory to the inherent aspect theory and must be described as being conditioned by

something else.   I will argue that the discourse
conditions these occurrences.

The most obvious of these situations are those
which clearly cannot be both durative and non-durative.
'Ikut' (B165) for example, means "join." The inherent
aspect of 'ikut' cannot be both durative (to suit the
'telah' marker) and non-durative (to suit the 'sudah'
marker. See section 4.4.1 for further explanation.

Telah with Indonesian Verbs

Aspect	Verb	Gloss	I. A.
telah	amat	exceedingly	Dur
	angis	crying	Dur
telah	atur	roll in time	Dur
	bangkotan	aging	Dur
	budak	slave	Dur
telah	buka	open	Punc
	bunuh	kill	Punc
telah	dapat	able	Indet
	ikut	join	Punc
telah	jadi	happen	Indet
	jalan	perform	Dur
telah	jawab	reply	Indet
	jual	sell, sale	Punc
telah	lampau	past	Dur
	nodai	stained	Dur
telah	paska	postgrad work	Dur
	pikul	carry	Dur
telah	ramai	crowded, busy	Dur
	satu	united	Dur
telah	serah	surrendered	Dur
	tiba	arrived	Punc
telah	tukur	change dress	Dur
	ucap	express	Dur

Table 7 Telah verb aspects

On the surface, there are eight exceptions in the 'telah' data which are either punctual or indeterminable. As will be seen, discourse context mitigates some of these in that, although they may happen in an instant, the results of the action are permanent so they carry some durative force. Three good examples from the above list are 'bunuh,' "to kill"; it happens in an instant, but has initiates a lasting state of affairs. Another is 'jual,' "to sell."

9. Aku **telah** menjual kelihaianku men-y(s)usun kata.
   I   already TR-sold cunning -my TR -compile word
   I had already sold my ability to write. (P054)

Here the author sells his ability to write and his respect. The lasting consequences are that he has no self-respect anymore.

Finally, there is 'tiba,' which means arrived (B178). Again, actual arrival occurs in only an instant, but the discourse may mitigate again since the length of the stay can last a long time (even an eternity). The inherent aspect explanation would allow no such exceptions and would allow no use of context to explain the choice of one marker over another. While many of the verbs naturally agree with a particular aspect marker, not all do. Many exceptions to the rule

that 'telah' occurs with durative and 'sudah' with non-durative and unmarked verbs exist.

4.3.3 Extra-clausal reference

When only the inherent aspect of the verb is considered, there is difficulty explaining those sentences which make reference to events or states not in the sentence but in the context. These sentences are often formulaic in grammar, but rather unpredictable in their discourse distribution. Many begin "Se- (sudah or telah) itu," 'After this,' where there is no verb in the clause to predict the proper choice.

10. **Sesudah itu** mem-buka busana- nya. (B069)
     Df-after this TR-open costume his
     After this (he) opened his costume.

Occasionally, these tokens represent a permanent change as determined by context rather than durative action. In these cases there is clearly a necessity to examine the inherent aspect of the whole situation.

4.3.4 Duplicates

Occurrences of a verb which pairs with both 'sudah' and 'telah' require further explanation,

especially since the inherent aspect of a verb is thought to be lexical. Binnick (1991) describes the difference:

> But Aristotelian aspect and Aktionsarten are lexical, pertaining to classes of verbs or larger expressions. The difference between durative and perfective-durative, . . . is not a grammatical obligatory one; it is simply the case that a verb or collocation fits into the one or the other category (148).

One verb in the data was morphologically marked to indicate duration. When so marked, this verb was used with 'telah'; when unmarked, it was used with 'sudah.' This duplication would be suspicious if the inherent aspect of the verb were the complete explanation, (as the internal aspect would link the verb to a particular aspect marker despite the context). When the inherent aspect does not match the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah', there is some contextual factor conditioning the choice.

In the data sampled, there were three instances where 'sudah' and 'telah' were used with the same predicates. They are the verb 'ikut' "join" which seems to be unequivocally punctual; the verb 'jadi' "become, or happen" which might be either durative or non-durative depending on the context; and sentences where the markers were not followed by any verb at all. All three instances will be examined in the next section as

each introduces a different contextual conditioning factor.

4.4 Conditioning factors in the discourse

While most of the choices between 'sudah' and 'telah' can be made based on the inherent aspect of the accompanying verb, some verbs represent events which could conceivably be taken as either durative or non-durative. In some of these cases, the inherent aspect is in direct contrast to the expected choice of 'sudah/telah'. The differing interpretations of these verbs depends upon the story time lapse, the extra-sentential referred-to action, or the author's particular view of the event.

4.4.1 Story time Lapse

The story time lapse creates a need to examine the inherent aspect of the discourse in order to understand why a particular marker was chosen. When the sentences are not formulaic, those containing 'telah' are sometimes marked for process with the -i suffix. When there is an overt time reference, 'sudah' marked sentences always involved the shorter duration. The nature of the larger context has some influence on the marking of the event.

The sentences containing the verb 'ikut' showed an interesting distinction. The 'sudah' sentence is unmarked:

11. Aku tidak tahu apakah mereka benar-benar tidur
    I   NEG   know if   they   really   sleep
    I don't know if they were truly asleep or

    atau **sudah** **ikut**   bersandiwara berpura-pura
    or   already join   drama   pretending
    if they followed a script pretending not to see

    tidak melihat kekonydan - ku, untuk menjaga
    NEG   TR-see foolishness my   for   TR-guard
    my foolishness to protect my feelings.

    perasaan-ku.   (B165)
    feeling -my.

In this sentence, the verb 'ikut' is not marked as a process. The action of the family joining a drama is easily characterized punctual. There is no indication that any time lapsed in the story (not even close to an eternity). For example, the referents involved could have simply uttered one line of the script and still be consistent with the interpretation of this sentence.

In contrast, the sentence containing the 'telah' (durative) marker was also marked as a process (morphologically "-ing" in English) with the -i suffix indicating a longer time frame.

12. Saya sendiri **telah**   meng-**ikut** -i sayembara
    I   self-my already TR   join PROC prize contest
    I already entered a prize contest

```
untuk mendapatkan   tiga   putri    jelita
for   TR-obtain-BENE three graceful princess
to win three beautiful princesses for

untuk kedua adik                  saya.
for   two   younger (brothers) my
my two younger (brothers). (B023)
```

In this instance, where the same verb is used, inherent aspect is not a sufficient explanation in itself the -i suffix helps mitigate the punctual inherent aspect. Morphological and contextual considerations need to be made as well.

The difference between the two uses of 'ikut' rests in the process marking. In the first sentence, the verb is not marked for process and so takes 'sudah,' the non-durative choice. The phrase 'telah mengikuti' is roughly equivalent to saying "already competed." The second sentence is therefore marked as taking time and employs the durative choice 'telah.' As a further consideration, there is also the miti-gating context that the contest referred to occurred a million years ago. The discourse indicates that the contest was an event which the eldest brother fought to secure mates for his brothers. He mentions this event only because his masculinity is being questioned. This story time lapse of a million years is a significant factor in the choice of marker.

The inherent aspect of 'ikut' is clearly inadequate to fully explain the use of 'telah' in this

sentence since the verb is used with both markers. Perhaps the contextual fact that the competition was held a million years ago sheds some light on the situation, because the story time lapse between the competition and the story-present is a million years.

4.4.2 Referred to Action

Another contextual factor conditioning the use of 'sudah' and 'telah' is the extra-clausal referred-to action already briefly mentioned in section 4.3.3 which gives sentence B069 as an example of an extra-clausal reference. In this sentence, the author wishes to convey that the extra-clausal action was immediately followed by the character disrobing:

13. **Sesudah itu** mem-buka busana- nya. (B069)
    Df-after this TR-open costume his
    After this (he) opened his costume.

In fact, the argument is contextually based. The actions happened so fast that the high transitivity token 'telah' would be obviously inappropriate to the context of the story. Even though this sentence is highly transitive, the actions happen in such close succession that they seem to be one and the same.[2]

Another example where extra-clausal referents condition the choice of markers can be found in

sentences B164 and B155. In these sentences, 'sudah'
and 'telah' are both used with the verb 'jadi' which
means "happen". (In this case there is no
morphological marker to distinguish between the two.)
Here it is literally the context of 'what's happening'
that determines the choice of 'sudah' or 'telah'. When
'jadi' is used in reference to the play or drama
described in the context, the choice is 'sudah,' since
no drama is permanent; even the characters are
transitory--alive only for the time of the performance.

14. Keluarga kami,   kelurga sendiri, masih tetap
    family   we(excl) family my own   still fixed
    My family, my own family, still snoring,

    mendengkur, tak tahu sandiwara apa yang **sudah**
    TR-snoring, NEG know drama   what R.Cl already
    did not know the drama that had already

    ter-jadi (B164)
    Xed happen.
    happened.

This sentence describes the narrator's family as
unconscious of the change which had just occurred--
there is no indication of duration of the change
(stated or unstated), so 'sudah' is the proper choice.
However, when 'jadi' refers to turning into a
mythological character for eternity, the choice is
'telah':

15. Pada saat yang sama dengan cara-cara yang sama
    at   time R.Cl same with   ways   R.Cl same
    At that time, in the same manner,

```
kami yang telah    men-jadi  Bisma-Bisma kecil
we    R.CL already TR become  Bismas      small
we who had become little Bismas

meronta      dan bangun terhuyung-huyung. (B155)
TR-struggle and get up staggering
strove to get up staggering.
```

The choice of 'sudah' or 'telah' in these sentences is clearly context dependent, since the referent event is not found in the same clause as the token. Yet this is ultimately still a matter of whether the referent event is durative in nature or either indeterminable or non-durative.

4.4.3 Character point of view

The third and most interesting discourse conditioning factor is point of view of the character. As mentioned in Rafferty (1982), aspectual meanings reflect the

> evaluation of the speaker concerning the relationship of one event /state /activity to other events /states /activities in the discourse (66).

Beedham also notes this factor:

> It refers to the way in which the event is seen to pass through time, i.e. whether the event is conceived of as imperfective. . ., perfective . . ., iterative . . ., inceptive . . ., and so on (1982:84).

These definitions of aspect are not too liberal in allowing for speaker perception to play a crucial role in aspect, as the evidence presented in this section will show.

An anomalously low Transitivity score (4) was found for sentence P085. This score cannot be explained by inherent aspect since 'dapat' "able" seems indeterminable since posessing an ability is not an action. Likewise, the score can not be explained by story time lapse since only a few minutes (certainly not millennia) have passed. So, in this case a 'se-' prefixed 'telah' was used in a sentence with relatively low transitivity score. Since transitivity scores of 5 were not considered anomalous, the low score here is not as problematic. The time frame is, however, of particular interest.

Here, the main character is awaiting a critique from a man who commissioned him to write a speech. The speech was to reflect the changing political atmosphere, and the writer felt bad for writing a speech with which he did not agree. When the man who commissioned the speech returns, reads the speech, and is ready to comment on the work, he hesitates. The speech writer realizes that something is amiss and is expecting to be insulted. He records the man's response as:

16. "Tapi begini   saudara," katanya kemudian **setelah**
    but like this brother   said-he then   Df-after
    "But its like this brother," he said after

    men-dapat jalan untuk me-lanjut- kan. (P085)
    TR able way   to   TR-advance BENE.
    being able to continue.

Obviously no more than a few minutes have passed in the
discourse, yet the 'telah' form indicating 'ages' is
used. The proper form should be 'sudah' to show that
it was in reality a relatively short period of time
(and to better correlate with the low transitivity).
The time, however, was subjectively very long, so the
token used was 'telah' to show that the time **seemed** to
last an eternity for the speech writer.

Instead of discarding the inherent aspect
explanation of why 'sudah' or 'telah' is used, the
definition of inherent aspect ought to be expanded to
include the time lapsed on the story time line, the
inherent aspect of the referred to action (even extra-
clausally) and, finally the perception of elapsed time
as recorded by some character (or narrator)[3]. In
short, instead of concentrating on the inherent aspect
of the verb in the clause, the inherent aspect of the
discourse needs to be considered to account for the
choice of 'sudah' of 'telah' in a given situation.

4.5 Summary

The marker 'telah' is used for perfect aspect when the verb indicates a durative action. Likewise, the marker 'sudah' is used for perfect aspect when the context indicates an action either indeterminable or punctual in nature which is now being brought into prominence in the story line.

This study has shown that (contrary to many Indonesian grammars) 'sudah' and 'telah' are different entities which derive their differences from the inherent aspect of the verb involved in the phrase, or alternatively from the inherent aspect of the context. If the situation in the narrative is a durative one -- almost to the point of eternity--the choice is 'telah.' If the situation in the narrative is not durative, the choice is 'sudah.'

1. Although closely related, the verbal agreement with the inherent aspect theory refers to the actual verb (e.g. 'bayar' "to pay") while incidence (or use) refers to the total number of times a durative or non-durative verb was used with a marker. A verb may be used many times with a particular marker.

2. The English translation -although irrelevant to the thesis-- interestingly enough translates actions in the same clause tied by a conjunction.

3. There may be a possible hierarchical relationship here: A. With the inherent aspect of the verb handling most of the cases. (65%)

B. Inherent aspect of the action referred to

C. Story time lapse

D. Character point of view

However, I hesitate to posit such a sweeping continuum on the basis of a small written data base.

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of findings

This study has shown that the difference between the two Indonesian words, 'sudah' and 'telah' is that the former is used in non-durative contexts and the latter is used in durative contexts. These contexts may be as local as the verb in the same clause but are not limited to the sentence grammar. In some cases the choice of one marker over another is dependent upon the discourse context.

Specific factors in the discourse which condition the choice of one token over another include the time passed on the story line, the durativity or non-durativity of the action referred to by the token, or the point of view of the narrator (or character) in the story[1]. The time passed on the story line must be nearly eternal to require the use of 'telah,' whereas 'sudah' was found with time spans ranging between the immediate instant up to ten years. All the explicit time references using 'telah' were literally millions of years. In some cases, the 'sudah' or 'telah' in one sentence referred to an action or event mentioned in a previous sentence (or in the discourse in general). The durativity or non-durativity of the referred to action was key in these cases. Where there was a disparity between the story time lapse and the choice

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of 'sudah' or 'telah', the point of view of the
narrator (or character) was found to influence the
choice. For example, when characters felt that the
time passed slowly, they indicated that feeling by
using 'telah' where 'sudah' would also have been
appropriate. Likewise, even in highly transitive
sentences (which usually take 'telah') if one action
happened immediately after another, the choice was
'sudah'.

5.2 Suggestions for further study

This study addresses limited data and ought not to
be taken as comprehensively addressing the discourse
conditioning factors. One possibility for further
study would be to explore discourse conditioning
factors for 'sudah' and 'telah' in another set of data.

Further use could also be made of Hopper and
Thompson since this study did not address the question
of story line. An interesting adjunct to this study
would be to determine which of these sentences fell on
the story line of the narrative and which were in fact
background. Perhaps it will be found that one or
another of these markers serves as the story line
aspect, while the other is primarily used for
background information.

There are more than ten aspect markers in
Indonesian (see Chapter 1), and they are often found in

pairs (see Chapter 2). A further study might contrast more of these pairs of markers, differentiating one from another. Perhaps the durative/non-durative distinction (or some other inherent aspect) is a factor in some of these other pairs of markers as well.

5.3 Theoretical Implications

Although this has been a short study of Indonesian discourse and the conditioning factors relevant to the choice between only one pair, this study suggests a few thoughts about current linguistic theory.

5.3.1 Hopper and Thompson

In Hopper and Thompson, those events said to be punctual are higher in transitivity (and more commonly found in the foreground of the story). This study found that those sentences associated with higher transitivity were of the durative type, not the non-durative (including punctual) type. Hopper and Thompson's universal theory of transitivity predicts that those items which are associated with one element of high transitivity will be found to be associated with others (where they are evident).

> If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical of semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that

> difference will also show (a) to be higher in
> Transitivity. (1980:255)

In other words, punctual verbs will be found in higher transitivity sentences. In this data, however, 'telah' associates higher transitivity with durativity while 'sudah' associates lower transitivity with punctuality. Predicting two different outcomes for foregrounded material. If transitivity scores are primary, 'telah' will be the more foregrounded because it has a higher average transitivity score. If punctuality is more basic, then 'sudah' clauses will be foregrounded because they are associated with punctuality. The universal principle of transitivity espoused by Hopper and Thompson seems not to hold in this case.

5.3.2 Inherent aspect vs. aspect

This thesis found that the markers of the perfect aspect in Indonesian are sensitive to the inherent aspectual distinction of durative/non-durative. This provides evidence (at least in one language) to put to rest the question of whether these two similar semantic constructs are the same. Since the aspect is sensitive to the inherent aspect, the conclusion must be that they are different.

5.3.3 Lexical theory

Finally, this thesis also provides quantitative evidence that two words, no matter how closely related, are indeed individual entities containing at least some semantic or pragmatic distinctions. In this case, the difference is the length of time (or perceived length of time) that an event lasted or since when an event occurred.

1. See Chapter 4, Footnote 3.

APPENDICES

BISMA

B001 Bisma bangkit dari tanah, udara dan air,   yang
     Bisma arose   from soil,   air   and water R.Cl
     Bisma arose from soil, air and water, that

     melebur   jasadnya se-telah   jutaan   tahun yang
     destroyed body-his Df-already million year R.Cl
     destroyed his body a million years ago

     lalu pralaya dalam perang Bharatayuda.
     then ?fought in   war   Bharatayuda
     after he fought in the Bharatayuda war.

B003 Mukanya   yang dihiasi   brewok   dan cambang
     face his R.Cl PASS-dress up wiskers and sideburns
     His face, which was dressed up with white whiskers
          and sideburns

     putih sudah   kisut   akan tetapi masih tetap
     white already wrinkled FUT but   still still
     already wrinkled but still

     memancarkan sinar   yang jernih.
     radiate   radience R.Cl clear
     radiating a clear light.

B004 Resi yang telah   memikul   pengorbanan
     Resi R.Cl already carry on shoulder sacrifice
     Resi who already carried that horrifying sacrifice

     yang dahsyat   itu tiba-tiba mencul di Pasar
     R.Cl horrifying that suddenly appear at Mall
     suddenly appeared at Senen Mall.

     Senen.
     Senen

B011 Saudara-saudara sekalian, Bapak-Bapak, Ibu-Ibu,
     Siblings   intense   fathers   mothers
     Siblings, fathers, mothers,

     anak-anak muda yang sudah   mengenal   maupun
     children young R.Cl already be familiar want
     and young children who are already familiar

```
       yang belum    dunia pewayangan     jangan terkejut,
       R.Cl not yet world shadow puppet if not frighten
       and those who are not yet do not be frightened

       jangan.
       if not.
       if not.
```

B013
```
     Nama saya Dewabrata, setelah    bangkotan seperti
     Name my   Dewabrata, Df-already advanced  like
     my name is Dewabrata, after aging like this

     ini  disebut   Resi Bisma.
     this PASS-call Resi Bisma.
     I am now called Resi Bisma.
```

B015 (A)
```
     Ini   sudah    merupakan karma pala saya,
     this already TR-shape   karma head my,
     This was shaped by my karma,
```

(B)
```
     karena  pada waktu     muda  saya dengan tidak
     because at   that time young I    with  no
     because at the time of my youth I without

     sengaja telah    menbunuh seorang wanita yang
     purpose already TR-kill  person   female R.Cl
     intention had killed a woman who

     membuntuti  saya karena   cinta.
     TR-followed me    because love.
     followed me because of love.
```

B018
```
     Maaf    bagi mereka yang sudah    tahu riwayat saya.
     Pardon       they  R.Cl already know story   my.
     Pardon me, those who already know my story.
```

B020
```
     Tetapi karena   ayah   saya jatuh   cinta kepada
     but    because father my   to fall love  to person
     But because my father fell in love with a

     seorang  wanita dan wanita itu  tidak mau
     a person woman  and woman  this NEG   want
     woman and this woman did not want

     menjadi   istrinya kalau anaknya nanti tidak
     to become wife-his if    son-her next  NEG
     to become his wife if her son were not next
```

mewarisi takhta, saya dengan sukarela telah
TR-heir   crown   I   with   voluntary already
heir to the crown, I voluntarily

menyerahkan   kedudukan saya pada adik-adik
TR-surrender-BENE seat   my   to   younger
surrendered my seat to my younger step brother.

tiri saya.
step my.

B023 Saya sendiri telah   mengikuti   sayembara
     I   myself already TR-join-PROC prize contest
     I already entered a prize contest to

     untuk mendapatkan   tiga putri   jelita   untuk
     to   TR-obtain-BENE three princess graceful for
     obtian three graceful princesses for my two

     kedua adik   saya.
     two   younger my.
     step brothers.

B045 Bahkan   bukan dengan keyakinan tinggi bahwa
     furthermore NEG   with   confidence high   IDSM
     Furthermore without much confidence that

     dengan itu saya telah   menjalankan sebagian dari
     with   that I   already TR-perform divide   from
     with that I had managed to make a good choice.

     kebenaran
     correctly

B051 Seandainya pilihan itu datang   saat   ini,
     discuss   choice   that to come moment this,
     Discussing the choice that was to come at this

     setelah jutaan tahun berlalu dengan kondisi
     after   million years then   with   conditions
     moment, after a million years under conditions

     dan situasi   yang berbeda,   mungkin sekali
     and situations R.Cl difference,possible very
     and situations which are different, very possibly

```
saya akan bertindak      lain setidak-tidaknya
I    FUT  to take steps other do not  do not
I would take other steps next time.

berpikir dua kali.
opinion  two times.
```

B069
```
Sesudah   itu  membuka busananya.
Df-after this TR-open costume-his.
After this (he) opened his costume.
```

B073
```
Setelah itu  ia mengambil sebuah kantung plastik
after   this he TR-get    one     pocket   plastic
After this he took out this plastic bag

itu  yang sejak tadi     dicangkingnya.
this R.Cl since just now PASS-carry something
since he had been carrying it.
```

B078
```
"Dengan kata lain," sambung   Bisma sambil
 with   said other  continued Bisma concurrently
"In other words," Bisma continued while

berkacak pinggang, "nama Bisma pun  rasanya
palms on waist,      name Bisma also feel
standing akimbo, "the name Bisma already feels

sudah   terlalu jinak di jaman ini  untuk aku
already then    tame  at era   this for    I
too tame at this time for me to wear.

pakai.
wear.
```

B091
```
Lalu tiba-tiba saja Bhasmy sudah   hilang    dalam
then suddenly  I?   Bhasmy already disappear in
Then suddenly Bhasmy had disappeared in the

kerumuman, tak kelihatan jejaknya.
to-swarm   no  see       trail-his
crowd, his trail could not be seen.
```

B104
```
Sementara Bagawan Dorna juga sudah   bersiap-siap
while     Bagawan Dorna also already ready
While Bagawan Dorna also got ready

menempuh hal     yang serupa.
to face  matter R.Cl similar
to face a similar matter.
```

B114 Kami   melihat dinding yang rapuh runtuh
     we (excl) TR-see wall   R.Cl weak collapse
     We saw a wall which was weak collapse

     perlahan-lahan dengan gaya   slow-motion, lalu
     slow-slow   with   strength slow-motion, then
     slowly, slowly, as in slow motion, then

     tampak   sebuah lubang tembus menuju gelap
     apparent one   hole   emerged toward darkness
     apparently a hole emerged toward darkness

     yang rupanya sudah   menunggu di luar rumah
     R.Cl seems   have been waiting at out house
     that seemed to have been waiting outside the house

     setiap malam.
     every evening.
     every evening.

B126 "Anakku,   cucu-cucuku,
      children-my, grandchildren-my,
     "My children, my grandchildren,

     cicit-cicitku,   kalian   semua yang
     great-grandchildren you(pl)   all   R.Cl
     my great grandchildren, all you who

     memanggilku kembali, keisengan apa yang
     TR-call me come back boredom   what R.Cl
     call me to come back, is it boredom that

     menyebabkan kamu menbangunkan aku dari
     TR-cause   you TR-wake up   me   from
     caused you to wake me up from

     tidur abadi   yang telah   lampau.
     sleep eternal R.Cl already past
     my eternal sleep which has already past.

B127a Apa yang telah   terjadi dalam dirimu,
      what R.Cl already happened in   yourself,
      What has happened to you,

      keluargamu, orang-orang di sekitarmu,
      your family, people   at around you,
      your family, the people who surround you,

apa   yang merisaukanmu dalam kehidupan ini,
what R.cl bother you   in   life   this,
what bothers you in this life,

B127b apa   yang telah   menodai bendera yang
      what R.Cl already TR-stain flag   R.Cl
      What has stained the flag which

      berkibar di pekarangan rumahmu.
      flutters at yard   house-you
      flutters in your front yard.

B130 Tidak mungkin kamu tidak bisa
     Not   possible you not   able
     It is impossible that you cannot

     mengatasinya,   karena besok   masih
     TR-overcome it, because tomorrow still
     overcome it, because tomorrow still

     akan ada kesempatan-kesempatan yang tak
     will be chances   R.Cl not
     brings chances which are not

     terduga,   lihat saja koran,   baca *Pos Kota*,
     predictable see   I   newspaper, read Pos Kota,
     predictable, I see the newspaper, read Pos Kota,

     setiap hari berbagi nasib   berguling pada
     every day various destiny rolling   in
     every day destinies are rolling in time

     saatnya karena semua itu telah   diatur.
     time   because all   that already arranged
     because it is all already arranged.

B131 Bersabarlah, kalian telah   menangis atau
     patient,   you(pl)already TR-crying or
     Be patient, you have already been crying or have

     menahan   tangis selama ini, kenapa tidak
     TR-hold back tear   long   this, why   no
     held back tears this long, why not

     diteruskan selangkah lagi, selangkah lagi dan
     PASS-then step   again, step   again and
     wait step by step and

```
        rodamu      yang terbenam   dalam  lumpur akan
        wheel-your R.Cl disappear inside mud     will
        your wheel which has disappeared in the mud will

        melonjak ke titik kulminasi.
        TR-leap  at point culmination
        leap to the culmination.

B133    Kamu tahu sendiri  aku pun  telah    menukar
        you  know yourself I    also already TR-change
        You yourself know I also already had changed

        busanaku     dan meninggalkannya di Proyek Senen,
        costume-my and TR-left-it        at Mall    Senen,
        my costume and left it at the Senen Mall,

        merubah    namaku  menjadi   Bhasmy, karena
        TR-change name-my TR-finish Bhasmy, because
        my name is now changed to Bhasmy, because

        mereka, orang  banyak, saudara-saudaramu yang
        they    people many    brothers-my       R.Cl
        those, many people, my brothers who

        lain  yang lebih      banyak, lebih menyukai
        other R.Cl more than many    more  TR-happiness
        are more than many, want

        aku meninggalkan citra yang lama            dan
        I   TR-stay       image R.Cl point in time and
        my image to stay current and

        menyanyikan lagu Rolling Stones.
        TR-sing      like Rolling Stones
        sing like the Rolling Stones.


B136    Begitu banyak, begitu banyak citra yang sudah
        so     many,   so     many  image R.Cl already
        So many, so many images have already

        bergulir  di dalam blantika edan  di masa ini.
        fall down at in    world    crazy at time this
        fallen down in these crazy times.

B137    Jangan memanggilku lagi,  jangan menyebutku
        don't  TR summon me again, don't  TR-call me
        Don't summon me again, don't call me
```

```
       Bisma lagi,  kau tahu sendiri  Bisma sudah
       Bisma again, you know yourself Bisma already
       Bisma again, you yourself know that Bisma has

       dihapiskan,      sekarang yang ada   hanya Bhasmy.
       PASS-eliminate now        R.Cl exist only  Bhasmy.
       already been eliminated all that exists is Bhasmy.
```

```
B155 Pada saat yang sama dengan cara-cara yang sama
     at   time R.Cl same with    ways       R.Cl same
     At the same time and in the same way,

     kami yang telah   menjadi   Bisma-Bisma kecil
     we   R.Cl already TR-become Bismas      small
     we who had become small Bismas

     meronta      dan bangun terhuyung-huyung.
     TR-struggle and get up staggering.
     struggled and got up staggering.
```

```
B161 Aku sudah   di sini!
     I    already at here
     I have been here!
```

```
B162 Aku sudah   kembali!
     I    already come back
     I've already come back!
```

(B164 originally missed in the translation and so, not
counted -- included for accuracy to the text)

```
B164 Keluarga kami,     keluarga sendiri, masih tetap
     family   we(excl) family   my own    still fixed
     My family, my own family, still snoring,

     mendengkur, tak tahu sandiwara apa  yang sudah
     TR-snoring  NEG know drama       what R.Cl already
     didn't know the drama that had already

     ter- jadi.
     x-ed happened.
     happened.
```

```
B165 Aku tidak tahu apakah mereka benar-benar tidur
     I   NEG   know if     they   really      sleep
     I didn't know if they were really asleep
```

```
atau sudah    ikut bersandiwara berpura-pura
or    already join drama         pretending
or if they already joined the drama pretending

tidak melihat kekonyolanku,    untuk menjaga
NEG   TR-see  foolishness-my  for   TR-guard
not to see my foolishness to guard my feelings.

perasaanku.
feeling-my.
```

B169
```
Aku merasa ribuan    mata memandang rumah kami
I   feel   thousands eyes TR-gazing house our
I feel thousands of eyes gazing at our dark house

yang gelap, tahu apa  yang telah   terjadi.
R.Cl dark,  know what R.Cl already happened
knowing what had happened.
```

B170
```
Tahu di dalam rumah kami seorang telah
know at in    house our  person  already
Knowing inside our house a person already

memaksakan dirinya menjadi   Bisma.
TR-forced  himself TR-become Bisma
had forced himself to become Bisma.
```

B173
```
Sambil menarik nafas  panjang, aku kenakan
while  TR-take breath deep,    I   wear
While taking a deep breath, I put

busana  wayang itu  di atas   baju    dril  dan
costume puppet that at on top clothes cloth and
that puppet costume on top of my clothes and

celana jean-ku  yang sudah   belel.
pant   jeans-my R.Cl already bell
bell bottomed jeans.
```

B174
```
Mulai     saat   ini aku akan menjadi    tokoh
beginning moment this I   will TR-become role
Beginning this moment I became the

wayang di masa lampau dengan citra yang
puppet at time past   with   image R.Cl
puppet in the past with the image that
```

```
barangkali saja sudah    ketinggalan jaman.
maybe        I     already stay         era
was already out of date.
```

B177
```
Jalanan telah    ramai   dan tukang bubur
Street  already crowded and vendor soup
The streets were already crowded and the
```

```
ayam     di kelokan jalan  telah   membuka
chicken at corner   street already TR-open
Chicken soup vendor on the street corner already
```

```
dagangannya.
stall his
opened his stall.
```

B178
```
Aku berdiri   karena  waktunya       telah   tiba
I   stand up because at that time already arrive
I stood up because the time had come for me to
```

```
untuk pulang,   supaya   semua ini  tidak
for   go home, so that all    this NEG
go home, so that all this will not
```

```
perlu        kehilang hikmahnya    karena  menjadi
necessarily loose      meaning its because TR-become
necessarily looses its meaning just becoming
```

```
tontonan.
entertainment
entertainment.
```

B197
```
Semua itu   telah    bersatu dengan baju     dril
All    that already mixed   with   clothes cloth
All that had already mixed with my clothes
```

```
dan celana   jean-ku, bahkan        juga lengket tak
and trousers jean my  furthermore also stick    not
and jeans, furthermore it also became inseparable
```

```
terpisahkan dari kulit dan tulang-tulangku.
separable   from skin  and bones -my.
from my skin and bones.
```

APPENDIX B

MENOLEH KE BELAKANG

M001 Sudah   sepuluh tahun.
     Already ten   years.
     It's already been ten years.

M002 Sudah   sepuluh tahun ini terjadi.
     Already ten   years this happened.
     Already ten years have passed since this happened.

M005 Kalau ia   lupa   melakukannya maka ia
     If   she forget TR-conduct-it then she
     If she forgot to do it, then she

     seakan-akan sudah   kekurangan garam
     Df will   already less   salt
     would (feel) [dehydrated]

     esok   harinya.
     tomorrow day
     the next day.

M021 Tapi kalau itu   sudah   dilakukan
     but if   that already PASS-done
     But if this has already been done

     sepuluh tahun, barangkali boleh dicurigai
     ten   years perhaps   may   PASS-suspicious
     for ten years, it might perhaps seem suspicious

     sebagai sesuatu   kelianan.
     a type   a certain quirk
     a certain kind of quirk.

M024 Tapi kalau sudah   sampai   setagihan,
     but if   already to the point of addiction
     But if it is already an addiction,

     artinya kalau tidak merokok, lalu
     meaning if   NEG   TR-smoke then
     then if you can't smoke, then

108

```
      badan jadi    nggak nafsu kerja, itu  yang harus
      body  become not   want  work   that R.Cl must
      your body loses its ambition, that must

      dicegah.
      PASS-prevent
      be prevented.
```

M027
```
      Saya tidak merasa  tidak merdeka hanya karena
      I    NEG   TR-feel NEG   TR-free only  because
      I do not feel enslaved just because

      sudah    menoleh!
      already TR-glance!
      I glance!
```

M029
```
      Tapi pada suatu hari, waktu            wanita itu
      but  at   one   day,  time-completed woman  that
      But one day, when that woman

      menoleh    ke belakang sebelum tidur--
      Tr-glance at back      before  sleep
      (who) glanced back before sleeping--

      ia  sudah    berbaring, lalu tiba-tiba teringat
      she already lie down,   then suddenly   remembered
      she had already lay down, then suddenly remembered

      untuk menoleh- ia  mengangkat  badannya lalu
      for   TR-glance she TR-lifted up body-her then
      to glance back-- she sat up then

      menoleh    ke atas    kasur.
      TR-glance at on top  bed
      glanced at the top of her bed.
```

M041
```
      Jadi    lihatlah, sudah    10(sic)  tahun saya
      finish see           already ten        years I
      So you see, for ten years I have been trained

      diajarkan   oleh tubuh saya untuk berhati-hati.
      PASS-train by   body  my   for   to be careful
      by my body to be careful.
```

M042
```
      Jadi    barangkali sejak kalajengking itu   masih
      finish perhaps     since scorpion      that still
      Probably in the time since that scorpion was still
```

```
      kecil atau belum    ada,   tubuh saya sudah
      small or    not yet exist body  my    already
      small or not even born, my body already

      mengetahui       akan kedatangannya, lalu ia
      TR-know-PROC     will come         it    then it
      knew it would come, then it (my body)

      mempersiapkan diri.
      TR-prepare      self
      prepared itself.
```

```
M064  Semuanya merasa  bahwa itu sudah    wajar.
      all   it  TR-feel that  it  already natural
      Everyone felt that it was natural.
```

```
M080  Jadi    sudah    sepuluh tahun juga
      finish already ten       years also
      So for ten years her body

      tubuhnya mempersiapkan dirinya
      body-her TR-ready       self-it
      also prepared itself

      untuk ditabrak?
      for   PASS-hit
      to be hit?
```

PELACUR

P001 Pada suatu kali, aku dapat pesanan   membuat
     at   one   time I   able commission TR-make
     Once, I was commissioned to make

     sebuah teks pidato untuk menghina seorang
     a   text speech for   TR-humble person

     pemimpin yang sudah   meninggal.
     leader   R.Cl already TR-dead
     leader who was already dead.

P005 Sudah   sering aku bilang pada dia bahwa apa
     already often I   said to   him that what
     I have already often said to him that what

     yang ditempuhnya   tidak benar, tapi dia
     R.Cl PASS-responsible NEG   correct but he
     he was responsible for was not right, but he

     terus juga keras kepala.
     then too hard head
     was too stubborn.

P012 Sudah   tiga gelas kopi   kupakai menyuap
     already three glass coffee my use   TR-mouth
     I already had three cups of coffee.

     kepalaku.
     head-my

P022 Kenapa sekarang aku baru ditengtang,
     why   now   I   begun PASS-opposed,
     Why now am I beginning to be opposed,

     setelah aku tidak bisa lagi menjawab.
     after   I   NEG   able PROC TR-respond
     after I am not capable of responding.

P023 Karena kalau aku masih hidup sampai sekarang,
     because if   I   still alive until now,
     Because if I were alive now,

```
         bisa jadi    banyak hal     lain  yang sudah
         able finish many   matter other R.Cl already
         I would be able to finish many other matters which

         kulakukan.
         I-conduct
         was conducting.
```

P024
```
     Semua yang sudah    kukerjakan kan   hanya proses
     all   R.Cl already my-work     will only  process
     All that I have been working on is still only in

     untuk satu tujuan   yang lain.
     for   one  purpose R.Cl other
     process will be for others.
```

P028
```
     Ketika teringat apa  yang terjadi   di dalam mimpi,
     now    remember what R.Cl happened at in     dream,
     I remember what happened in my dream,

     aku kira  aku sudah   menipu   diriku  sendiri.
     I   guess I   already TR-trick self-my one self
     I guess I had tricked myself.
```

P045
```
     Waktu itu  hari sudah    pukul empat.
     time  that day  already hour  four.
     It was already four o'clock.
```

P046
```
     Tetanggaku   yang jual     tempe        sudah
     neighbor-my R.Cl business soybean cake already
     My neighbor who sells soybean cakes was already

     bangun.
     awake
     awake.
```

P049
```
     Tak ada kebahagiaan  apa-apa, meskipun sudah
     No  is  satisfaction what,    although already
     There was no satisfaction, eventhough

     menyelesaikan sebuah pekerjaan.
     TR-ready      one    work
     the work was already done.
```

P051
```
     Sudah   itu melupakan apa  yang baru  aku tulis.
     Already that TR-forget what R.Cl begin I   write
     I had already forgotten what I had written.
```

P054 Aku telah   menjual kelihaianku   menyusun   kata.
     I   already TR-sold cunning -my   TR-compile words
     I had already sold my ability to write.

P060 Aku tak sempat   mengucapkan kata basa-basi,
     I   no opportunity TR-express   word pleasantries
     I didn't even have a chance to say 'hi,'

     ia sudah   langsung meraih kertas.
     he already go on   gather paper
     he already had gathered the paper.

P065 Kukira   rancangan   pidato itu sudah   tepat.
     my-guess organization speech that already exact
     My organization of the speech was exact.

P071 Segalanya sudah   disusun   dengan baik,
     all- it already PASS compile with   good,
     It had all already been written well,

     taktis dan cukup   punya orientasi   sehingga
     tact   and sufficient have orientation until
     with tact and its orientation having just the

     mempunyai jangkauan yang jauh.
     TR-have   reach out R.Cl far
     right reach.

P075 Berapa lama anda sudah   menulis?
     how   long you already TR-write
     How long have you written?

P076 Apa   saja yang sudah   anda tulis?
     What just R.Cl already you   write
     What else have you written?

P085 "Tapi begini   saudara," katanya
      but like this brother," said-he
     "But its like this brother," he said

     kemudian setelah mendapat jalan untuk
     then   after   TR-able way   to
     after he was able to

     melanjutkan.
     TR-advance
     continue.

P111 Sudah   ya nanti saya ambil.
     already ok next I   take
     OK, I'll take it later.

P135 Aku telah   cair   dalam permainan orang lain.
     I   already liquid in   play   other person
     I was already liquid being played with by another.

P138 Ketika   pintu terbuka dan pemesan pidato
     at point door open   and buyer   speech
     When the door was opened and the buyer of

     itu   masuk, aku sudah   siap untuk menerima
     that go in, I   already ready for   acceptance
     came in, I was ready to accept

     penghinaan dan kemarahan.
     humble   and anger
     abuse.

P140 "Selamat siang," katanya dangan gembira, "sudah
      save   day,   said-he with glad   already
     "Hello," he said gladly, "already finished?"

     selesai?"
     ready

P145 Menanti bagaimana seseorang yang kecewa
     next   how   Df man   R.Cl disappointed
     I waited to see how the man who was disappointed

     dan merasa   sudah   membayar akan menyemprotku.
     and TR-feel already TR-paid will TR-attack me.
     and having already paid would attack me.

P157 Tepat sekali!" serunya   setelah menamatkan
     exact very   cried-he after   TR-finished
     Perfect!" he cried after he had finished

     halaman terakhir.
     page   last.
     the last page.

P162 Lalu bagaikan terbang keluar rumah,
     then kind   fly   out   house,
     Then he flew out of the house,

karena   waktunya sudah   sangat mendesak.
because time-it already very   TR-press
because the time had already come.

P165 Lembaran yang seyogyanya menjadi lembar
     page   R.Cl obvious-it TR-been page
     This page which was obviously would have been

     pertama perubahan pidato itu, tapi tak mampu
     first   different speech that but not capable
     the first page of the revised speech, but I was

     kulanjutkan karena merasa telah   diperbudak.
     continue   because TR-feel already PASS-slave
     unable to continue because I had felt enslaved.

DALLAS DATA

D004 Dan dia datang ke kijang itu, kijang itu sedang
     and he came   to kijang that kijang that PROG
     And he came to that kijang, the kijang

     ter-   perangkap.
     accident-trapped
     was accidently trapped.

D011 Dia mengangkat kayu itu dan memerangkap sang
     he TR- lift   wood that and TR- trap   the
     He (the alligator) lifted the wood and trapped

     kijang di antara dua belah pohon itu akhirnya
     kijang at between two half tree that end- his
     the kijang between the two halves of the tree

     juga.
     too
     that was his end as well.

'Se-' AFFIX IS DEFINITE

This thesis deals with the difference between 'sudah' and 'telah'. This distinction is initially claimed on the basis of differing transitivity scores, later proved by other means. However, some of the transitivity scores are abnormally high or abnormally low. Most of these unusual scores are in clauses where the 'se-' prefix is attached to the main form ('sudah' or 'telah'). Some time will be given here to describe the 'se-' affix and the effect that it had on the transitivity scoring process.

A closer look at this affix reveals that it is used not only in aspect markers, but also on classifiers and numbers. Macdonald commented on the affect this prefix has on the stems it is attached to. The following is a summary of the information found in Macdonald (1967:109-111). When 'se-' is used on numeratives, it is used to mark a definite amount (seratus means a hundred). When 'se-' is used with other nouns, it means having a unity or oneness ('padan' means "peer", 'sepadan' means "match or harmonize").

Since 'sudah' and 'telah' are sensitive to time references, the use of the 'se-' prefix with nouns

denoting time periods is of particular interest. 'Malam' means "night" and 'semalam' means "one night" likewise, 'tahun' means "year" and 'setahun' means "one year". On these words, it is not difficult to see that the prefix 'se-' is a specifier. When attached to 'sudah', the word means "after". And in particular, after the particular event or time which is being referred to.

In transitivity scoring, the nature of the action or event of the clause is vital to the scoring system when the 'se-' prefix is attached to the aspect markers 'sudah' and 'telah', the clause must be scored in reference to the action brought into current relevance by the prefix, (i.e. from the local discourse context).

The implication of this finding is that when the clauses are scored with reference to the 'referred to' action, the scores become more normative. For a complete example the reader is directed to section 3.4, where the implications are further investigated.

An example:

The mean transitivity score for 'telah' is 7.483, however, sentence P022 which contains 'setelah' scored only one transitivity point when scored with reference to the passive verb 'ditentang' "was opposed". However, when scored with reference to the agent's incapability (the reference made by the 'setelah') the

score becomes a more typical seven out of a possible
ten.

1. Kenapa sekarang   aku baru ditengtang,
    Why   at this point 1PS begin PASS-opposed,
    Why, at this point am I starting to be opposed,

    setelah aku tidak bisa   lagi menjawab
    after   1PS not   capable PROC TR-respond
    after I am not capable of responding?

When scored with reference to 'ditengtang' "was
opposed" the sentence scores only one point, for Mode
since there was only one participant, no kinetic
action, not viewed from an endpoint, not punctual, not
volitional, not affirmative, with no agent, the object
is not affected, and the object is not individuated.

When scored with reference to the proper action,
that of being incapable, the score includes the
following parameters: it has an agent (the speaker),
the agent is highly volitional, the clause is
affirmative, the agent is high in potency, the object
is affected, and the object is individuated. The
reference to the proper action can only be made when
the 'se-' is taken to mean definite.

ANDERSON SENTENCE EXAMPLES

Sentences exemplifying Anderson's semantic area of the Perfect

<u>VOICE</u>

Result-state passives/intr
    He had gone. (Anderson 1982:228)

Change passive
    Search of McCoard 1978 bibliography did <u>not</u> yield this use of the perfect.

Middle voice
    From Mandarin 'She's gone back to her country.' (Anderson 1982:239).

<u>DATIVES</u> all from (Anderson 1982:232)

Affective dative
    The police went throught my pockets (on me).

Ethical dative
    I had something wonderful happen to me today.

Dative-subject construction
    That gave me a real surprise.

<u>TENSE-RELATED</u>

Inferential past
    From Georgian: 'ga-v-zrd-il-var' "I have (so it seems) grown up" (Comrie 1976:109)

Past perfective
    From Mandarin: 'I have lived there for two months now' (Anderson 1982:238)

Experiential/Existential anterior
    Have you ever been to Japan? (Anderson 1982:228)

<u>MISC.</u>

Temporary posession
    I have a Norfolk Pine. (Anderson 1982:232)

Action (Perfective)
    I have finished washing the clothes. (Anderson 1982:238)

Hearsay
    From Turkish: 'Kemal gel-mis' is "Kemal must have come" (Anderson 1982:233)
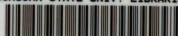
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