Recent stylistic changes in Indonesian recipes observed in voice selection

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Cooking recipes are written with declaratives in some languages and written with imperatives in others. In Standard Indonesian, declaratives in the passive voice were frequently used in earlier publications, but imperatives in the active voice are more common in current publications. This study aimed to demonstrate this stylistic change by investigating several cookbooks published in the last five decades. This change may partially be explained by the functional change of the passive in recent Indonesian. Additionally, the development of the 'mixed' style of recipe and the recent influence from the style of English recipes may be factors that contributed the change. The stylistic change occurred gradually, and the stylistic variation is observed in publications throughout the period.

1. Introduction[1]

This work deals with a stylistic change observed in cooking recipes in Standard Indonesian during the last five decades, with a special focus on the most salient change—that of the sentence type in transitive clauses indicating the main process of cooking. The change is demonstrated through an investigation of several cookbooks published in the period and analysis of the factors that caused the change.

In one of the earliest cookbooks among those investigated in this research, the main process of cooking is indicated by declarative sentences in the passive voice with the prefix *di-*, which Sneddon et al. (2010:256–257) calls 'passive type 1' (passive, hereafter). In the current books, the cooking process is indicated by imperative sentences in the active voice with an unmarked (non-prefixed) form (Sneddon et al. 2010:333–334; active-imperative, hereafter).

Compare recipes (1) and (2). Excerpt (1) is cited from a recipe book published in 1968, and Excerpt (2) is cited from one published in 2014. They both show the recipe for *soto ayam* 'chicken soup', and the processes of cooking indicated are similar. We can, however, clearly see the difference in the verb forms between the two examples: the unmarked voice selection in the main clause is the passive in the former text, and it is the active-imperative in the latter. (English translations of the recipe excerpts in this article are all made by the present author. The author translates most of the clauses into imperative sentences according to the English convention of this register; to make clear the verb form of the original Indonesian text, verbs that occur in passive in the original

sentence are indicated in boldface with underlining, whereas those in active-imperative are indicated in boldface with no underlining.)

(1) *Soto ayam* (chicken soup)   (Abdulhadir 1968:28)

*Membuatnya: setelah ayam **di-bersihkan** dan **di-cuci**, kemudian **di-rebus** dengan garam. Bumbu-bumbu **di-ulek** halus kecuali jae. Setelah bumbu-bumbu halus, lalu **di-goreng** dengan minyak hingga masak. Jika telah masak, kemudian **di-campur** dengan kaldu dan **di-beri** daun brambang rajangan. Ayam **di-angkat** dari panci lalu **di-goreng** dengan minyak hingga rupanya merah. Sesudah itu **di-potong** kecil-kecil.*

'How to make: After **cleaning** and **washing** the chicken, **boil** (it) with salt. **Grind** the spices finely except the ginger. After the spices are fine, **fry** them with oil until cooked. When (the spices are) cooked, **mix** them with broth and **put** the cut shallot leaves in it. **Pull out** the chicken from the pan, and then **fry** it with oil till it looks red. After that, **cut** it small.'

(2) *Soto ayam Madura* (Madurese chicken soup) (YASA BOGA 2014:183)

***Rebus** ayam dengan 1 1/2 liter air hingga empuk dan kaldu tersisa 1 liter. Setelah dingin, **goreng** ayam hingga kering, **suwir-suwir**. **Tumis** bumbu halus dengan serai dan daun jeruk sampai harum, **masukkan** ke air perebus ayam dan **masak** dengan api kecil ± 30 menit sampai kuah terasa sedap.*

'**Boil** the chicken with one and a half litres of water until (the chicken) becomes soft and one litre of broth remains. After the chicken cools, **fry** it until it becomes dry and then **shred** (it). **Grind** the spices finely with lemon grass and citrus leaves, and **put** the spices into the water that boiled the chicken and **cook** over a low fire for approximately 30 minutes until the broth becomes tasty.'

It should be noted that although it is syntactic in nature, the change discussed in this study is a stylistic one. One can safely say that both excerpts (1) and (2) have been accepted as grammatical sentences of Standard Indonesian throughout the time. The recipe authors selected the verb forms based on their preference, and it is the preference that has been changing. From a larger perspective, one could say that the preference of the majority forms norms of the genre. The norms, however, are different from the syntactic rules that determine the grammaticality of sentences

The following section illuminates how the stylistic change occurred quantitatively with small samples of data. Section 3 attempts to clarify the factors that caused the change. Section 4 provides the summary of the paper and directions for future studies.

2. Variation observed in ten recipe books

2.1 Recipe books used for collecting the data

As in many other places, cooking recipes are an established written genre in Indonesia, and as seen below, the body part of the recipe exhibits a distinct register.[2] Among the

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[2] In this paper, the terms 'register' and 'genre' are used as defined by Biber & Conrad (2009:15). According to Biber & Conrad (2009:15), a register and a genre are two different perspectives for analysing text varieties, and '[T]he register perspective combines an analysis of linguistic characteristics that are common in a text variety with analysis of the situation of use of the variety. The underlying

cookbooks that have been published in Indonesia, this study collected data from the following ten recipe books. The selection of the books is rather random: they were selected from the limited collection of university libraries in Japan and of the present author. They were published at different times between 1967 and 2017. (Detailed bibliographic information appears at the end of this work.)

(a) Suryati, 1962: *Masakan Indonesia modern* (*Modern Indonesian cooking*).
(b) Abdulhadir, 1968: *Buku masakan dan resep jamu* (*Book of Dishes and Recipes of Jamu* (traditional medical drink)).
(c) Nio & Ardipradja, 1974: *Resep masakan dapur sederhana* (Cooking recipes for a simple kitchen).
(d) Wulandari, 1979: *Resep masakan dan PKK* (*Recipes for Cooking and PKK: educational program for family welfare*).
(e) Runtuwene, 1987: *Aneka cita rasa: 100 resep masakan daerah* (*various tastes: 100 recipes of regional cuisine*).
(f) Wulandari, 1992: *Resep masakan dan kue sehari-hari masa kini* (*Current everyday recipes for dishes and cakes*).
(g) Hartatik, 1998: *Ramuan jamu Jawa* (*Concoction of Javanese jamu* (traditional medical drink)).
(h) Mulyawati & Harahap, 2003: *Soto ayam nusantara* (*Chicken soups in the Indonesian archipelago*).
(i) YASA BOGA[3], 2014: *Dapur Indonesia: 300 resep masakan populer Nusantara* (*Indonesian kitchen: 300 popular recipes across the archipelago*).
(j) Heni, 2017: *Semua orang bisa masak* (Everyone Can Cook).

Figure 1 shows the covers of the books by Abdulhadir (1968) and YASA BOGA (2014). Books (a) to (j) all follow the format conventionalized in the cookbook genre, in that they include a number of recipes, each of which includes a title in the first line, followed by ingredients (*bahan-bahan*) and instructions on how to cook a specific food (*membuatnya*), as shown in Figure 2.

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assumption of the register perspective is that core linguistic features like pronouns and verbs are functional, and, as a result, particular features are commonly used in association with the communicative purposes and situational context of texts. The genre perspective is similar to the register perspective… but its linguistic analysis contrasts with the register perspective by focusing on the conventional structures used to construct a complete text within the variety, for example, the conventional way in which a letter begins and ends'.

If we apply these definitions to the text of cooking recipes, then the main target of this study—that is, the voice selection in the text indicating procedures—can be analysed by a register perspective, as it is realized by a verb form, which can be seen as being the core linguistic feature. (In contrast, if we deal with the format of the cooking recipe, which conventionally includes the title, ingredients, and cooking steps, it will be seen through a genre perspective.)

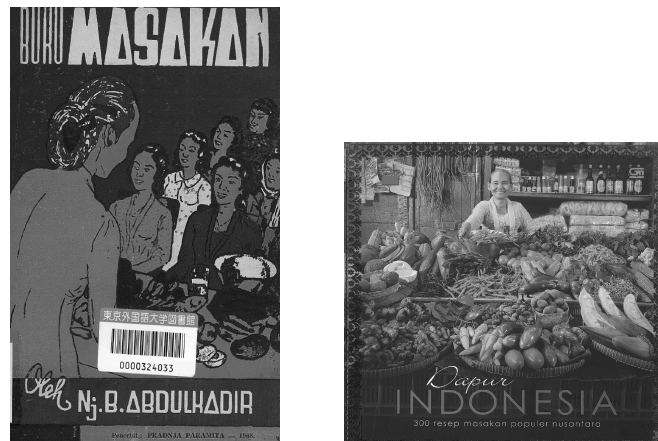[3] YASA BOGA is a team editing a number of recipe books published from the publisher GRAMEDIA in the 2010s. See http://www.bukabuku.com/browses/product/9786020322063/indonesian-kitchen.html

Figure 1. Covers of books by Abdulhadir in 1968 (left) and YASA BOGA in 2014 (right)
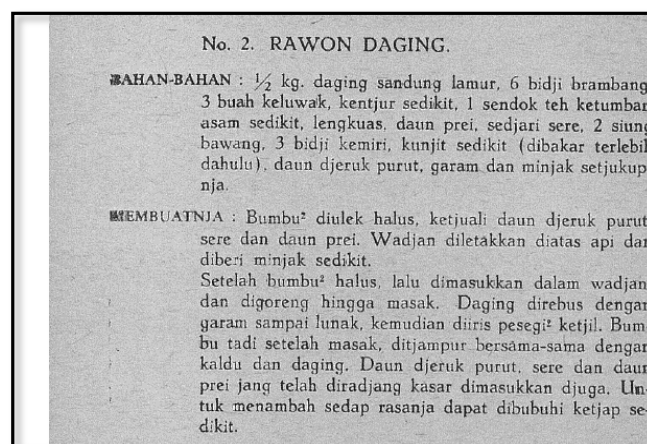

Figure 2. An extract from Abdulhadir (1968:24)

2.2 Target clauses

As mentioned in the introduction, this study deals with a stylistic change observed in the written register of recipes. This stylistic change is mainly observable in the part of recipes indicating the main cooking process, which is normally expressed by a simplex clause or co-ordinate clauses.

Consider Excerpt (3) below. In the first part of this example, the cooking process is expressed by clauses simply juxtaposed without any conjunctions or coordinated with the conjunction *lalu* 'then' or *terus* 'then'. In this part, the verb forms, all of which appear in passive (*di-potong* 'cut', *di-tusuk* 'skewer', and *di-bakar* 'roast'), are selected stylistically, that is, by the preference of the author.

In contrast, in the second part, the voice forms of the transitive verbs are determined by syntactic reasons rather than stylistic ones. The first transitive verb *hidangkan* 'serve' occurs in the passive for the following reason. The verb *hidangkan* is embedded in, and controlled by, the matrix predicate *dapat* 'can', which takes the noun phrase (NP) that refers to the cooked meat as its subject. When the matrix and embedded predicates have a co-referential core argument, then the argument cannot overtly occur in the embedded clause, whereas the shared argument should be treated as subject in the embedded clause. Here, the shared argument referring to the cooked meat plays the Patient (P,

heareafter) role for the embedded predicate of *hidangkan* 'serve', and therefore, the passive form is selected so that the P argument can be treated as a subject.[4]

The second transitive verb, *di-buat* 'make', occurs in the relative clause. In Indonesian, only the subject argument can be relativized (Sneddon et al. 2010:294–296). The relativized NP *bumbu-bumbu* 'spices' plays the P role for the transitive verb *buat* 'make', and the passive form *di-buat*, which takes the P argument as subject, is selected. Both forms are syntactically selected, and this type of clause is not taken into account in this research.

(3) *Sate kambing* 'goat skewer'   (Wulandari 1979: 33)

a. *Daging*   *kambing* ***di-potong***   *kecil-kecil*
    meat   goat   PASS-cut   small.RED

    lalu ***di-tusuk***   *dengan* *sujen,* *terus* ***di-bakar***.
    then   PASS-skewer   with   skewer   then   PASS-roast

b. *Sesudah*   *matang,* *dapat* ***di-hidangkan***   *dengan*
    after   cooked   can   PASS-serve   with

    bumbu-bumbu *yang* ***di-buat***   *dari*   *kecap,*
    spice.RED   REL   PASS-make   from   soy.sauce
    irisan   *cabe,* *garam,* *daun* *jeruk purut …*
    slice   pepper   salt   leaf   kaffir lime

(a) '**Cut** the goat meat (into) small (pieces) then **skewer** (them) with skewers, and then **roast** (them).' (b) 'After (the meat is) cooked, it can **be served** with spices that are **made** from soy sauce, sliced hot peppers, salt, and kaffir lime leaf.'

As shown above, the verb forms in controlled embedded and relative clauses are syntactically determined, whereas the verb form selection in other subordinate clauses varies. Some conjunctions, such as *sambil* 'while' or *jika* 'if', almost always take a passive clause, when observed in cooking recipes, whereas some other conjunctions, such as *sebelum* 'before' or *sesudah* 'after' may take both types of clause according to the context. More investigation is needed on how restrictions of voice selection work in subordinate clauses in general, but it is beyond the scope of this research. The present study only examines the simplex and coordinate clauses that express the main process of cooking, and that clearly reflect the stylistic preference of each author. (In what follows, only the verbs in the target clauses are indicated in boldface.)

2.3 Changes observed in voice selection

The voice selection seen in a recipe exhibits one of three patterns: (i) using only passive clauses ('only passive' pattern, hereafter); (ii) using both passive and active-imperative clauses ('mixed' pattern, hereafter), and (iii) using only active-imperative clauses ('only active' pattern, hereafter). All the recipes included in each book were examined and grouped into one of the three patterns. Table 1 shows the frequency of each pattern observed in the ten books.

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[4] This type of construction is widely observed in western Austronesian languages. See Himmelmann (2005:154).

Table 1. Occurrence of each sentence type

	Number of recipes	Only passive		Mixed		Only active	
(a) Suryati (1967)	120	47	(39.2%)	71	(61.2%)	2	(1.7%)
(b) Abdulhadir (1968)	220	220	(100.0%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)
(c) Nio et al. (1974)	385	237	(61.6%)	142	(36.9%)	6	(1.6%)
(d) Wulandari (1979)	148	16	(14.7%)	114	(77.0%)	14	(12.3%)
(e) Runtuwene (1987)	100	16	(16.0%)	84	(84.0%)	0	(0.0%)
(f) Wulandari (1992)	103	9	(8.7%)	79	(76.7%)	15	(14.6%)
(g) Hartatik (1998)	264	61	(23.1%)	157	(59.5%)	37	(14.0%)
(h) Mulyawati et al. (2003)	24	0	(0.0%)	24	(100.0%)	0	(0.0%)
(i) YASA BOGA (2014)	300	0	(0.0%)	1	(0.3%)	299	(99.7%)
(j) Heni (2017)	78	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	178	(100.0%)

As shown in Table 1, most of the authors employ more than one pattern chosen randomly according to their preference. This tendency roughly mirrors the trend of style at the time of publication. Table 2, which shows the most frequent sentence pattern taken in each book, shows the trend.

Table 2. The most frequent sentence pattern used in each cookbook

	Only passive	Mixed	Only active
(a) Suryati (1967)		+	
(b) Abdulhadir (1968)	+		
(c) Nio et al. (1974)	+		
(d) Wulandari (1979)		+	
(e) Runtuwene (1987)		+	
(f) Wulandari (1992)		+	
(g) Hartatik (1998)		+	
(h) Mulyawati et al. (2003)		+	
(i) YASA BOGA (2014)			+
(j) Heni (2017)			+

The only passive pattern is dominant in the two books that were published in a relatively earlier period, whereas the only active pattern is dominant in the two books published most recently. The mixed pattern is dominant in the books published in the

period in between, although Suryati (1962), published in the earliest period, also demonstrates this pattern.

2.3.1 Only passive pattern

In Abdulhadir (1968), the second earliest book among the samples, only passive clauses are used. In Nio & Ardipradja (1974), the third earliest book, recipes with only passive pattern are more frequently observed. An example from Abdulhadir (1968) is shown in excerpt (1) in section 1.

Some authors had been writing the recipes with the only passive pattern until the early 1970s. The case of Buning (1891), published in a yet earlier period, supports this analysis. In Excerpt (4), which is cited from the book, the recipes are all written in the passive.

(4)   Dodol 'a kind of taffy'

   *Kelapa 2 **di-parut**, lantas **di-campuri** air sedikit, abis **di-peras** santan-nya yang kental en **di-masak** sampe keluar minyak-nya[5].*

   '**Grate** 2 coconuts, and then **mix** it with a little water. After that, **squeeze** the coconut milk that is thick and **cook** it until the oil comes out.' (Buning 1891:138)

2.3.2 Mixed pattern

In Suryati (1962), the earliest book among the samples, and in the four books published in the late 1970s–2000s, the mixed type is employed the most frequently. This pattern may have first been used as early as the 1960s and established as the most frequently used pattern in the later period. The only active pattern has recently been taking the place of this pattern; though some authors continue to use the mixed pattern in present publications. For example, in recipes carried in *Kompas*[6], one of the most popular daily newspapers in Indonesia, the mixed pattern is often observed. Excerpt (5), which exhibits the mixed pattern, is cited from a relatively recent *KOMPAS*.

(5)   *Jus belimbing, wortel, dan apel*, 'juice of starfruits, carrot and apple'

   *Belimbing **di-potong-potong**, wortel **di-cuci** bersih, **potong-potong**, **masukkan** semua ke dalam juicer, sehingga menghasilkan sari buah sebanyak 1 gelas.*

   '**Cut** the star fruits, **wash** the carrots clean, (and) **cut** them, and **put** everything into the juicer, so that we can get the juice for one glass.' (*Kompas*, 17 February, Nyonya Rumah 2019:23)

Investigation of the verb form distribution in the mixed pattern shows that two voices often appear in a common way; passive is used for clauses expressing the preparatory

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[5] Buning (1891) was published in the colonial period, which exhibits features different from Standard Indonesian in various aspects, and for this reason, it was not included as data in this research. The most salient difference is that in the lexemes, for example, *lantas* 'then' and *en* 'and' observed in excerpt (5) is not used in Standard Indonesian. The difference is also observed in its orthography. In the original text, the passive prefix *di* is spelled as *die*, separated from the verb stem, as in *die tjampoerie (=di-campuri)* ('PASS-mix'). See Mahdi (2016) for details; it deals with late nineteenth-century Malay publications, including the earlier edition of Buning (1891) cited above, published in 1879.

[6] A recipe appears every Sunday under the title of *Dapur Kita* 'our kitchen'.

process, and active-imperative is used for clauses expressing the cooking and serving process in the following part. Sentences (6)–(8) exhibit this pattern[7].

Excerpt (6) is a recipe for sweet grilled skewers. The passive is used in the first part expressing the preparatory process (the process of cutting the meat, preparing the spices, and skewering the meat), and active-imperative is used in the second part expressing the grilling and serving process.

(6)   *Sate Manis* (sweet grilled-skewers)   (Wulandari 1979:30)

   *Daging **di-cuci** bersih dulu lalu **di-potong** kecil persegi. Kemudian bumbu*
   ***di-haluskan di-tambah** kecap manis. Daging yang sudah dipotong tadi*
   ***di-rendam** dalam bumbu tadi, lalu daging **di-tusuk-tusuk** kira-kira 4 potong*
   daging.

   *Setelah itu **pangganglah** di atas bara yang panas. **Makanlah** dengan sambal*
   kecap agar rasanya lebih lezat, dan menambah selera makan.

   '**Wash** the meat clean first, then **cut** it into small squares. Then **pound** the spices finely and **add** the sweet sauce. **Soak** the aforementioned cut meat into the aforementioned spices then **skewer** about four pieces of meat. After that, **grill** (it) above hot coal. **Eat** with chili sauce so that the taste becomes better and sharpens (your) appetite.'

Excerpt (7) is a recipe for chicken soup. Here, again, the preparatory process, that is, cleaning and cutting the chicken, is expressed in passive clauses, whereas the cooking and serving process is expressed in active-imperative clauses.

(7)   *Soto ayam* (chicken soup)   (Mulyawati and Harahap 2003:14)

   a. *Ayam **di-bersihkan** dan **di-potong-potong** serasi. **Rebus** bersama bawang putih,*
      kunyit, asam muda, daun asam, dan garam hingga lunak.

   b. ***Sajikan** panas-panas bersama nasi dan emping goreng.*

   (a). '**Clean** the chicken and **cut** appropriately. **Boil** (the chicken) with garlic,
        turmeric, young tamarind, leaf of tamarind, and salt until it becomes soft.'
   (b). '**Serve** it hot with rice and *melinjo* chips.'

Excerpt (8) also shows the same pattern, although compared with excerpts (4) and (5), the combination of passive and active-imperative is repeated twice. Part 1, which shows the preparation of the chicken, is expressed in passive clauses, and Part 2, which shows the cooking process, is expressed in active-imperative clauses. Part 3, which shows the preparatory process for the topping (the shrimp cracker), is expressed in the passive, and then, Part 4, showing the serving process, is expressed in the active-imperative.

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[7] One of the anonymous reviewers suggested the analysis in the comment. I appreciate his or her valuable comments.

(8)   *Soto Lamongan*[8] 'Soup of Lamongan'   (Mulyawati and Harahap 2003:36)

    *a. Ayam **di-bersihkan, di-rebus** bersama garam, kunyit, jahe, lengkuas, serai, dan daun hingga ayam lunak. Ayam **di-angkat** dari kaldu dan daging ayam **dipotong-potong** dadu.*

    *b. **Masukkan** daging bandeng asap ke dalam kaldu, **didihkan** kembali.*

    *c. Kerupuk udang dan bawang putih goreng **dihaluskan** untuk taburan.*

    *d. **Sajikan** soto dengan pelengkap dan **taburi** dengan taburan no.3.*

    (a). '**Clean** the chicken, **boil** (it) with salt, turmeric, ginger, *lengkuas* (a kind of ginger), lemongrass, and bay leaf until it becomes soft. **Take** the chicken from the broth, and **cut** the chicken into cubes.'
    (b). '**Put** the smoked fish in the broth (and) **boil** again.'
    (c). '**Crush** shrimp crackers and fried garlic for the topping'
    (d). '**Serve** the soup with the ingredients and **sprinkle** with the topping in number 3.'

A number of mixed pattern recipes, however, deviate from the above-mentioned pattern, and the factors that determine voice selection is not always clear. Consider recipe (9). It also basically follows the above-mentioned pattern, but the passive verb *di-kukus* ('steam') appears in the part expressing the final cooking process, and the reason for the voice selection here is not clear.

(9)   *Bandeng bumbu kuning* (milkfish with yellow spice)   (Runtuwene 1987:15)

    *a. Ikan bandeng **di-bersihkan**, **beri** air asam dan garam secukupnya, lalu **diamkan** 1 jam agar bumbu menyerap.*

    *b. Bawang merah, bawang putih, kemiri, dan kunyit **di-tumbuk/ di-gerus** bersama-sama (=bumbu).*

    *c. Kemangi **dipatah-patahkan**. Jahe dan serai **di-memarkan**. Cabai merah **di-iris** tipis/ **di-rajang**.*

    *d. Ikan bandeng **dilumuri** dengan bumbu, **beri** irisan cabai pisang; **tutup**; **buatlah** semacam pepesan. Selanjutnya, pepesan tersebut **di-kukus** sampai matang.*

    (a) '**Clean** the milkfish and **add** tamarind water and salt of necessary amount, then **leave** (it) for one hour so that the spices are absorbed.'
    (b) '**Grind** the red onion, garlic, candlenut, and turmeric together (i.e. spices).'
    (c) '**Break** the *kemangi* (a kind of basil). **Pound** the ginger and lemongrass. **Slice** the red pepper.'
    (d) '**Smear** the milkfish with the spices, **put** the sliced pepper, **close**, **make** a kind of *pepesan*. Then **steam** the *pepesan* until cooked.'

2.3.3 Only active pattern

The two most recently published books employ the only active pattern in almost all the recipes, and one could say that more people use this pattern in recent years. See Excerpt (2) above cited from YASA BOGA (2014) and Excerpt (10) below cited from Heni (2017:93). The recipes here are all written in active-imperative.

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[8] *Lamongan* is a regency (*kabupaten*) of East Java in Indonesia.

(10) *Bakso bakar* (grilled meatballs   (Heni 2017:93)

    a. **Rebus** *bakso hingga matang,* **angkat tiriskan**

    b. Dalam wadah, **masukkan** *bumbu dan bakso* **aduk** *rata,* **diamkan** *10 menit.*

    c. **Panaskan** *panggangan,* **tusuk** *bakso dengan tusuk sate,* **panggang** *sambil di-lumuri sisa bumbunya,* **angkat, sajikan**.

    (a) '**Boil** the meatballs until cooked, and **take** (them) and **put** (them) aside.'
    (b) '**Put** the spices and the meatballs in a bowl and **mix** them evenly. **Leave** them for 10 minutes.'
    (c) '**Heat** the grill, **skewer** the meatballs with the skewers, **grill** while smearing the remaining spices, **take** (off the grill), (and) **serve**,'

In *Cookpad*, which is one of the most popular cooking websites in Indonesia, the active-imperative pattern is by far the most frequent pattern, although approximately 12% of the recipes employ the mixed pattern. Among the 215 recipes that were suggested as of the latest post on 23 January 2019, 24 were written in the mixed pattern, whereas the remaining 190 were written in active-imperative.

3. Discussion

3.1 Communicative purpose of cooking recipes

The previous section elucidated the stylistic changes observed in voice selection in the register of cooking recipe over the past 50 years. Before considering the factors that caused the change in 3.2 below, the study gives an overview of the communicative purpose of recipes as a register, according to Biber and Egbert (2018)[9], and the way the two sentence types discussed above, that is, the passive and active-imperative, contribute to the purpose.

Biber and Egbert (2018:135) set recipes as a type of 'how-to category' that 'provide explicit step-by-step instructions for achieving a particular task'. This definition includes two important aspects that determine the sentence type employed in recipes in Indonesian; one is the so-called illocutionary force of 'instruction' and the other consists of the propositional features of expressing 'step-by-step' events.

Although the communicative purpose of instruction is directly connected to imperative sentences, the passive in Indonesian can be used as an indirect device for suggestion. Sentence (11) is an example given by Sneddon et al. (2010:334–335)[10].

(11) *di-angkat,   jangan   di-seret*!
    PASS-lift   PROH   PASS-drag

    'Lift it, don't drag it!'

According to native speakers, employing passive clauses rather than active-imperative sentences for instruction will give polite and gentle impressions to the utterance.

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[9] Biber and Egbert (2018) specifically discuss online texts; however, on page 138, they also say that the form and content of recipes on the web are often identical to those in printed media.

[10] Sneddon et al. (2010:334) gives a label of 'passive imperatives' to this usage of passive clauses.

Another communicative function of the cooking recipe, that is, expressing step-by-step events, fits one of the discourse functions exhibited by passive clauses in Indonesian, the so-called 'event focus function'[11].

This type of passive clause, according to Hopper (1984), is used to indicate 'sequenced events which pertain to the main line of the discourse' and is 'nonpredicational', in the sense that neither of the participant NPs constitutes a starting point for the clause; the clause does not 'say something about' one of the NPs but instead focuses purely on the event—the change—itself'. Sentence (12) is an example Hopper (1984:72) gives of this type of passive. (The glosses and translation are added by the present author.)

(12) *Maka*   *segala*   *penganan*   *itu*   *pun*   *di-bahagikan-lah*
      then   all   cakes   that   PTC   PASS-distribute-IMP

      kapada   *segala*   *budak-budak*,
      to   all   child. RED

      dan   *wang-nya*   *di-ambil*   *oleh*   *guru-nya*   *itu*,
      and   money-3   PASS-take   by   teacher-3   that

      dan   *bunga*   *Chandana*   *semua-nya*   *di-bahagikan*.
      and   flower   Chandana   all-3   PASS-divide

   'Then all the cakes were passed around to all the boys, and the teacher took the money, and the sandalwood blossoms were all passed around.' (Abdullah 1932: 20, as cited in Hopper 1984:72)

A register of cooking recipes, by its nature, fills the condition for passive of this type to be used; it is written to deliver 'step-by-step' processes for cooking specific food (e.g. chicken soup), not saying what happens to the ingredients (e.g. chicken, spices) or those cooking.

3.2 Factors that determine the stylistic change

The factors that determine the stylistic change is examined here based on the discussion on the relation between communicative function and sentence type observed in cooking recipes. As given in section 2, there are two stages of changes: the first is from the only passive pattern to the mixed pattern; that is, the combination of passive and active-imperative. The second is from the mixed type to active pattern.

Both stages can be seen as diminishing the use of passives, which can be explained by the recent functional change in passives observed in Indonesian. The event focus function of passives, mentioned in 3.1, has been less frequently used in modern Indonesian. Cumming (1995:199, 203) compares the function of *di-* clauses in modern Standard Indonesian from that in classic Malay; in classic Malay, *di-* clauses are an unmarked choice in narratives, whereas in modern Standard Indonesian, *meN-* clauses have come to be a basic transitive construction. The functional change of the passive may be attributed, to some extent, to this stylistic change observed in recipes. The above, however, cannot be a full explanation for the changes, because passive clauses are still used for instructions in current Standard Indonesian, as seen earlier in this section.

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[11] This is not a cross-linguistically common function of passives, because the clauses playing the function are used irrespective of the topicality of the agent; for this reason, some people avoid calling the structure passive. For example, Hopper (1984:84) gives a label of 'ergative' to *di-* clauses of this function, distinguishing it from 'passive', which exhibits functions of cross-linguistic typical passives. See Kroeger (2014) for details on the previous discussion on the syntactic status and discourse function of *di-* clauses.

The first stage of the change, from the only passive to the mixed pattern, can be seen as a development of a style for delivering recipes effectively. The composition in which the preparatory process is expressed in passive, and the cooking and serving process in active-imperative, can be a good device to distinguish the steps of the cooking. It also helps attract readers' attention by avoiding a monotonous succession of declarative clauses.

The second stage of the change, from the mixed to the only active pattern, also needs explanation. One possible hypothesis may be that the change was brought about by an influence of the style of English recipes, in which 'imperative is especially common' (Biber and Egbert 2018:157). Sentence (13) is a passage cited from an English recipe book, in which imperative sentences are used throughout the instruction.

(13)   Chicken noodle soup (Topflight Cookbooks 2016, No.15637)
        a. **Add** all the listed except for noodles in a crockpot and **cook** on low heat for 6 hours.
        b. After 5 hours **add** the noodles and **cook** for an additional one hour.
        c. <u>**Serve**</u>.

With the recent spread of internet coverage, access to English information has become easier; English cooking shows are seen on television in Indonesia, and Indonesian speakers often share the recipe videos in English on social media, such as Facebook.

A native speaker also told the present author that when she gives a recipe aloud to someone in front of her, she uses passive clauses. According to her, the active-imperative sounds too intrusive in direct oral communication. Thus, we could say that the oral communication for delivering recipes retains the general norm of using passives (or avoiding active-imperatives) for instructions or suggestions, and only the recipes in the written register have made an independent change in such a way that the active-imperative is more frequently used[12].

4. Summary and further studies

This study demonstrated the stylistic change observed in the verb form selection in Indonesian recipes in the last five decades. The only passive pattern is frequently used in recipes in the early period, whereas the only active pattern seems to be an unmarked choice in the present. Between these periods was a transitional one in which the mixed pattern was dominant.

Recipes in general have a communicative function of 'providing explicit step-by-step instructions for achieving a particular task' (Biber and Egbert 2018:135). The passive, as well as the active-imperative, is used for instructions in Standard Indonesian, and it is natural for both to be used in recipes. Another discourse function of the passive—that is, the 'event focus' function, indicating 'sequenced events which pertain to [the] main line of the discourse' (Hopper 1984:84)—fits the communicative purpose of the recipe, that is, expressing a step-by-step event. The 'event focus' function came to be less common

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[12] On TV cooking programs, the instructors often use declaratives with the first-person plural inclusive pronoun *kita* as the subject. Sentence (i) is an example cited from a YouTube video published in 2017.

    (i) *kita   masukin   bawang bombe   dulu*
         1PL   put.in   onion   first
         'We put the onion first'
    ("Nasi Goreng Kosan ala Chef Marinka" https://www.youtube.com/watch?
    v=sFK_osq8kQM&t=285s)

in the present Standard Indonesian, and this may be one of the reasons for the recent decrease in passive clauses in cooking recipes. Moreover, the first change, that is, the rise of the mixed pattern, can be seen as the development of a style for delivering recipes effectively and in a way it can capture the reader's attention. The second change, that is, from the mixed to the active-imperative pattern, can be seen as the influence of the style of English recipes, which are always written with imperative sentences.

In this research, the author consulted only two native speakers for their opinion on voice selection and recipe styles. Consulting more native speakers to investigate how authors and readers evaluate each recipe pattern and the recent stylistic change may enable a clear identification of more factors that could contribute to the change. The stylistic change mentioned above, which has occurred gradually, shows a clear tendency; stylistic variations exists in all the periods observed in this study.

Cooking recipes as a register represent an interesting topic for typological studies. In some languages, such as Japanese and Korean, the unmarked structure for indicating cooking steps is the declarative form, whereas in other languages, such as English and Swahili, the imperative sentence is unmarked[13]. Standard Indonesian, as we have seen, used to belong to the former type, yet it has been shifting to the latter type. The factors that determine the style in individual languages, which presumably relates to the style of written communication exhibited by individual societies, may be an interesting topic for typological studies on registers.

Abbreviations

3	the third person
IMP	imperative
P	Patient
PASS	passive
PROH	prohibitive
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
PTC	particle

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[13] Information on Korean and Swahili is based on Norifumi Kuroshima (p.c.) and Daisuke Shinagawa (p.c.), respectively.

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