A CLASSICAL MALAY TEXT GRAMMAR:

INSIGHTS INTO A NON-WESTERN TEXT TRADITION

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

A = Axis (the object of a preposition in a prepositional phrase, i.e. the object of a Director in an endocentric construction)
Act = Action
act.foc. = action focus marker
Adj. = Adjective
Adjn. = Adjunct
Adv. = Adverb
Ag. = Agent
ag.foc. = agent focus marking prefix
Ag.m. = Agent marker
allt. = allative suffix (indicates that the action of the verb moves toward or onto the object of the verb, or is directed toward or onto it, or is applied to it (cf. Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:90)
C = Comment
caus. = causative
Cl. = Clause
class. = classifier
Cltr. = Cluster
CM = Comment Marker
Concl. = Concluding
$Concl.M_1$ = conclusion marker of a sentence, paragraph, or an episode of a descriptive indirect speech within the story
conn. = connective
Const. = Constituent
coord. = coordinate
D = Director (initial element in an exocentric construction)
def.Act = definite Act
Def.Art. = Definite Article
defoc. = defocused
Elab. = Elaboration
Encl. = Enclitic
ESM = Event Sequence Marker
gen. = generic
gen.indef.vb.pref. = generic indefinite verbal prefix
H = head
Hon. = Honorific

indef.Act = indefinite Act
indef.art. = indefinite article
lit. = literally
loc. = locative
loc.m. = location marker
M = Modifier
N = Noun
Nom.Cl. = Nominalized Clause
NP = Noun Phrase
NT = New Topic
O = Object
Part. = Particle
past m. = past marker
PP = Prepositional Phrase
Pred. = Predicate
pref. = prefix
Prep. = Preposition
Pro. = protoform
Pron. = Pronoun
Prop.N = Proper Noun
Pt. = Patient
pt.foc. = patient focus marker
PTN = Paya Tu Naqpa
Punct. = punctuation
Q.Part. = Question Particle
Ref. = Referential
rel.pron. = relative pronoun
Rt. = Root
S = Sentence
SA = Speech Act
Sp. = Speech
spec. = specific
Str. = Structure
Σ = Subject
T = Topic
TH = Topicalized Head
TM = Topic Marker (on the sentence level: pun)
TM' = Topic Marker (on the phrase level: ng)
UEStr. = Unmarked Embedded Structure
V = Verb
VP = Verb Phrase
Vb.Pref. = Verbal Prefix
3rd.pers.pron. = third person pronoun

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The data under analysis is taken from the first story of Hikayat Patani (HP) as is found in *Hikayat Patani - The story of Patani*, edited by Andries Teeuw and David K. Wyatt, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970, pages 68 to 71. This first story is an account of the founding of the town of Patani; it is comprised of 45 sentences in total. My main interest in writing this study is basically an attempt to discover the strategies that the reporting narrator and the reported narrators used in building up this particular text. Many of these strategies are not used in either modern Indonesian or modern Malay.

Prior to coming out with the findings and the generalizations that I include in this work, I started out with a thick description of the whole text. Basically what it is is a thorough description of the whole text from discourse down to word level and sometimes down to morpheme level when it seemed relevant, illuminating, and necessary. The description was presented in the form of tree diagrams and the nodes of the diagrams are labelled using Pike and Pike's (1976) four-cell tagmeme analysis as can be seen in section 2.6.4. (Chapter 2). The purpose of this thick description was for me to get a thorough understanding of how the system of the text and its units work before making any inferences or generalizations. The following is sentence 13 in the Malay text of the first story of HP, as an illustration of this thick description. It is broken down into four tree-diagrams (Displays 1.1.1.-1.1.4.).

Malay with morpheme gloss	Free translation
(13) Arakian setelah datang=lah pada conn. *after this then come=*CM *to*	*The following morning*
keésokan hari=nya, maka baginda pun *tomorrow day=the* conn. *his majesty* TM	*the king departed with all his*
berangkat=lah dengan segala menteri *depart=*CM *with all minister*	*ministers and officers,*
hulubalang=nya di=iring=kan *officer=the/he* pt.foc.=*accompany*=act.foc.	*and accompanied by his people.*
oleh ra'yat sekalian *by people all*	

Note:

- Time Setting conn(ective) Cl(ause) conjoins two series of events;

1

2

- Arakian: initial punctuation for sentence cluster or paragraph level;

- maka: initial punctuation for sentence and clause level; in terms of role it is an event sequence sentence marker in a discourse;

- Core and Elab(oration) contain the event of motion towards location;

- Core and Elaboration, in terms of cohesion, are referential in nature, while precore is textual;

- Precore in general has to do with preceding units of the text (prior text units), and Elaboration in general has to do with the units of the text that follow it (development or elaboration of the text).

Display 1.1.1. Tree Diagram

Arakian setelah datanglah pada keesokan harinya, ...
'The following morning, ...'

(for an explanation of all abbreviations see p.v)

```
                              pun-lah S
              Precore | conn.Cltr. | Core | pun-lah Cl. | Elab. | PP+Cl.
                        Textual       gen.    Ref.         Spec.   Ref.

        Punct. | conn.                      conn.Cl.              Punct. | conn.
        Concl.M₁ |                Time Setting                      ESM
            Arakian                                                      maka

   D | conn.          A | Cl.
   setelah
                                                                
   Core:C | -lah Const.        Elab. | PP
     gen.

  H | V   M.Encl. | Part.    D | Prep.    A | NP
              CM                            Time
  datang       -lah          pada

                        M | N                      H | N
                        defining                   defined

                    nominaliser  Adv.        H | N        M | Def.Art.
                      ke--an     esok      defined      defining
                                            hari          -nya
```

3
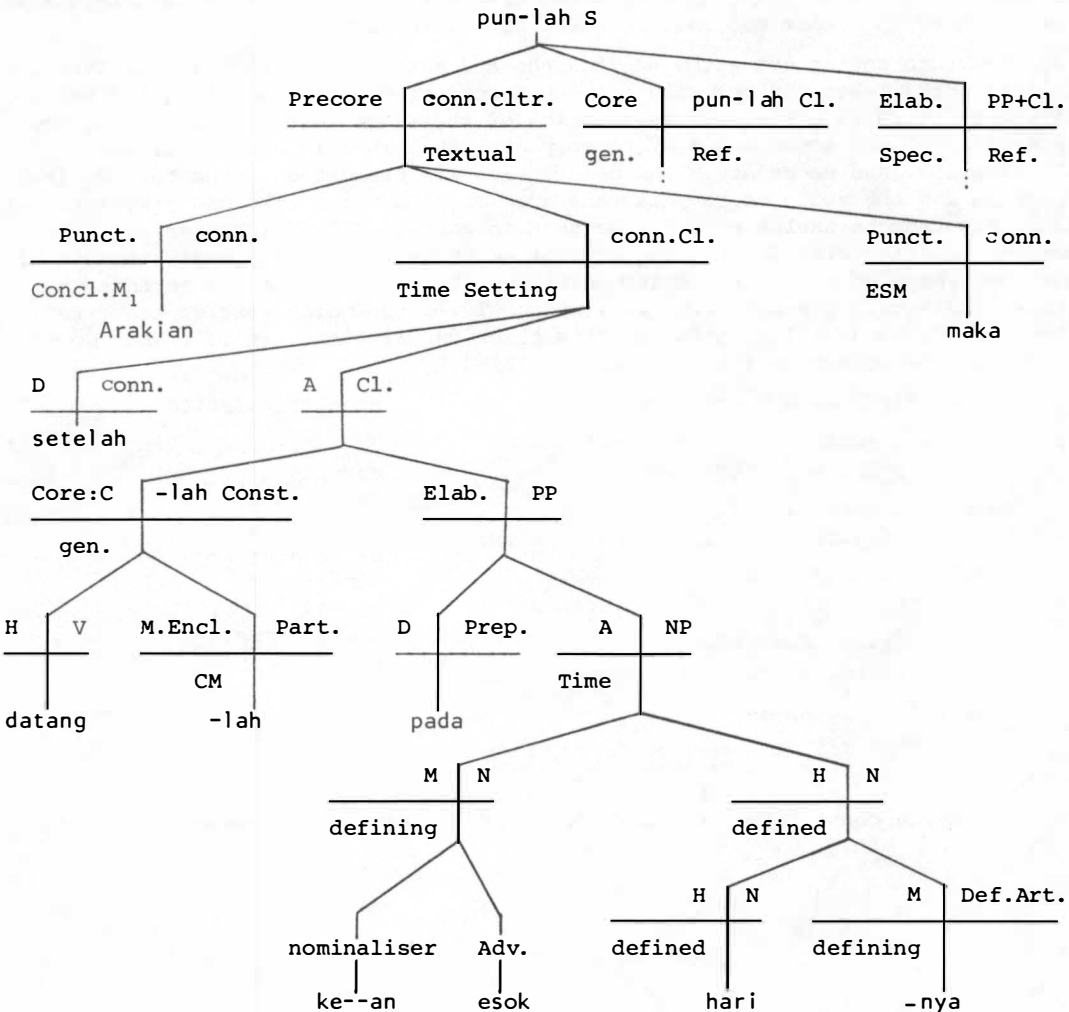
Display 1.1.2. Tree Diagram

... baginda pun berangkatlah ...
'... *the King departed* ...'

```
                                    ⋮
                          Core │ pun-lah Cl.
                          ─────────────────
                          gen. │ Ref.

               T │ pun Const.                    C │ -lah Const.
               ─────────────                     ─────────────────
               defined                           defining

     H │ Hon.N      M Encl. │ Part.       H │ V      M Encl. │ Part.
     ──────────     ─────────────────     ───────    ─────────────────
     Ag.               TM                 Indef.        CM
     baginda                  pun         gen.Act              -lah

                                          gen.indef.
                                          vb.pref.    Rt.
                                             │         │
                                            ber-     angkat
```
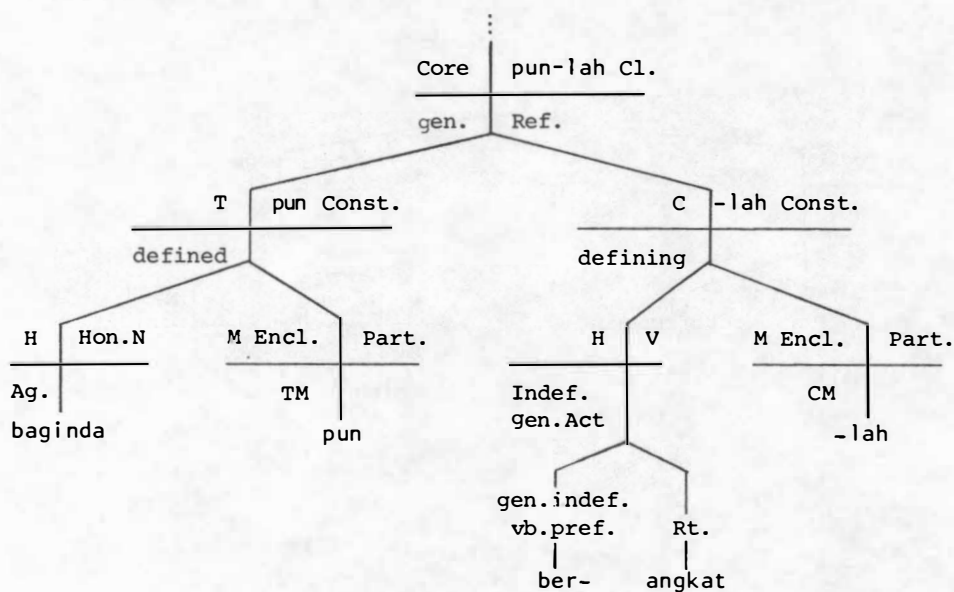
Display 1.1.3. Tree Diagram

... dengan segala menteri hulubalangnya ...
'... *with all his ministers and officers* ...'

```
                              Elab. │ PP+Cl.
                              ───────────────
                              Spec. │ Ref.

                        PP                          Cl.

     D │ Prep.              A │ NP                    ⋮
     ────────               ──────
     dengan

              M │ Adj.           H │ Coord.NP         M │ Def.Art.
              ────────           ─────────────        ─────────────
              quanti-            quantified           defining
              fier               defined
                     segala                               -nya

                                   N       N
                                   ───────────
                                menteri hulubalang
```
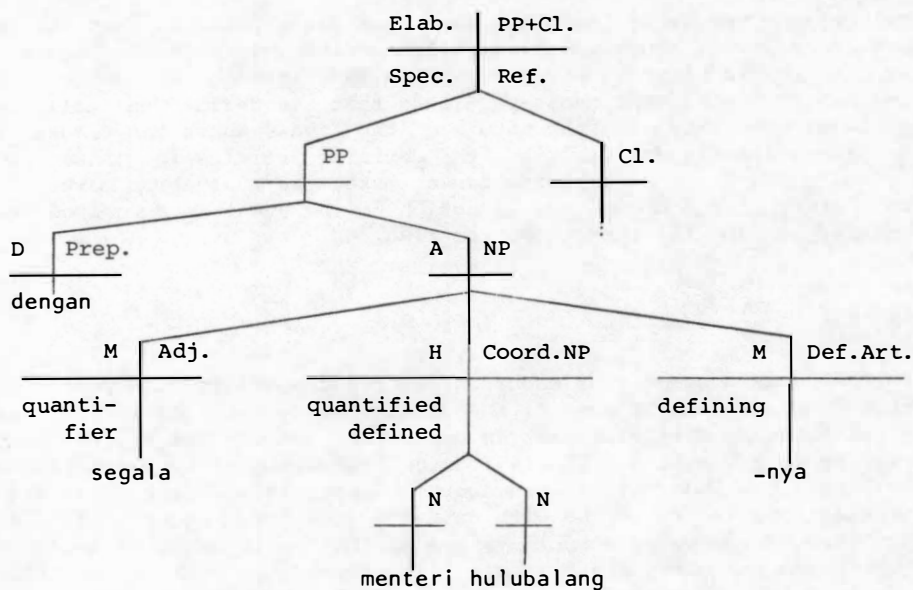
Display 1.1.4. Tree Diagram

... diiringkan oleh ra'yat sekalian.
'... *and accompanied by all his people.*'


```
                                              ⋮
                                             Cl.
                        _____|_____
                       |                                         |
            Pred.  |  V                              Adjn.  |  PP
           _____|___                               Ag.
          |                                    _____|_____
       defoc.                                 |                       |
      def.Act                              D  | Prep.              A  | NP
      ____|_____                   ____|___              _____|___
     |        |        |                 Ag.m.   |             Ag.
  pt.foc.   Rt.   act.foc.                        oleh    _____|_____
     |        |        |                                 |             |
     di-    iring    -kan                             H  | N        M  | Adj.
                                                     _____|__       ____|____
                                                    |                        |
                                                 defined               defining
                                                       ra'yat              sekalian
```
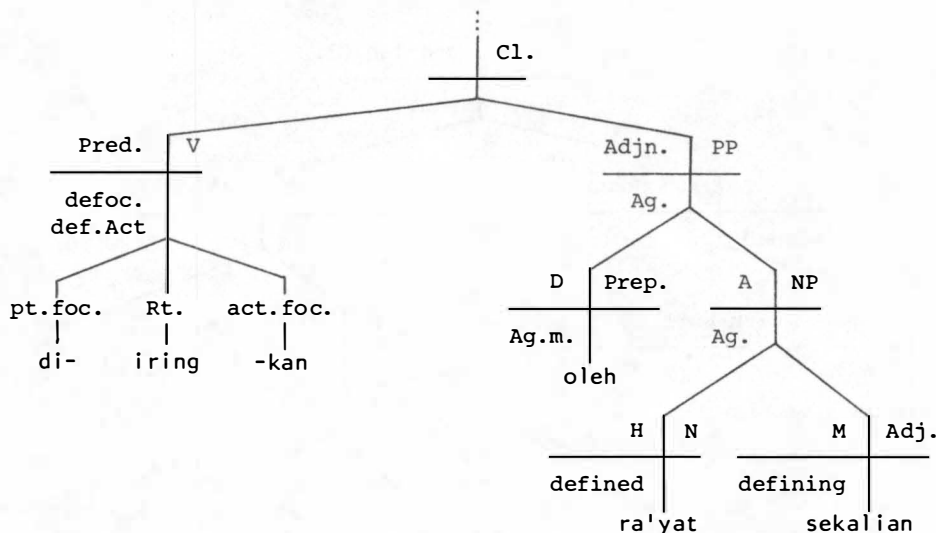
   This thick description in preliminary stages of my analysis proved to be
very useful for the purpose that has been stated above, i.e. to discover the
strategies that were used in building up this text. However, the degree of de-
tails is so overwhelming that if I presented them here in my finished work it
would be confusing rather than illuminating.

   The main reason for me to leave out the thick description is that the focus
in this work is on levels above the clause. In addition to this, I discuss and
justify the clause-like embedded structures, the *Yang* Embedded Structures and
the Unmarked Embedded ones, and those particles that are defined textually be-
cause they reveal some things of the nature of the levels above the clause: the
conclusion markers arakian and demikian, the definite articles ini *'this'* and
itu *'that'*, the event sequence sentence marker maka, the evaluation marker
syahdan, the marker of the change in the action or the event in an episode hatta,
the topic marker pun and the comment marker -lah.

1.2. SUMMARY

   The following is a summary of each consecutive chapter in this work.
Chapter 2 presents a review of some of the literature within linguistics, an-
thropology and literary criticism that in one way or another are related to or
have affected my work. Pike and Pike's four-cell tagmemic analysis as presented
in Jones 1977 provides theoretical framework. Hopper 1976, Teeuw and Wyatt
1970, and Errington 1974 provide me with data and insights. Becker 1977 and his
other essay 'Text building, epistemology, and aesthetics in Javanese shadow
theatre' (to appear in Becker and Yengoyan, eds) provide me both theoretical
framework, and insightful methodology. Chapter 3, interpretive analysis of the

text, i.e. the first story of part I of HP, which is the core of my work, consists of six parts: 1) the text and its translation; 2) Overall Structure; 3) Bahasa; 4) Naming and Etymologising; 5) Particles; and 6) Construction types, which in turn consists of 6.1) pun-lah constructions; 6.2) Frame-Content Constructions; 6.3) -lah constructions; 6.4) Other constructions; and 6.5) Embedded Structures.

The first part of Chapter 3 consists of the text in Malay accompanied by an interlinear and a free translation. The second part presents the text as a text unit that is part of a larger context, i.e. as the first story of part I of HP, and also as a text unit that in turn is composed of smaller ones. I claim in this part that the sequence of temporal adverbials is used by the narrators as a strategy to mark the outline of the text. Part 3, bahasa, deals with distancing, showing honour and deference, speaking up and speaking down as reflected in the speech act participants' vocabulary, manners, and gestures depending on who speaks to whom and on what occasion. Part 4 deals with naming and etymologizing as strategies to build texts on. Part 5 deals with particles that function as signals of certain text units and also of certain temporal aspects in the text. Part 6 has to do with construction types that occur in the text. The first type, the pun-lah construction, consists of three parts: a precore, a core (pun-lah part) and an elaboration, which is a further development of the core. The second type, Frame-Content construction type, consists of a preframe, a frame and a content part. The third type, the -lah construction type, are sentences that contain new information on the content or lexical level and on the meta-level, signalled by the comment marking particle -lah. In the subsection 'other constructions' I will describe transition sentences or constructions that occur between two pun-lah constructions or between a pun-lah construction and a pun variant of the pun-lah construction type. In the subsection 'embedded structures' I will discuss two kinds of embedded structures: the marked (yang) embedded structures and the unmarked embedded structures.

Chapter 4 presents a summary of things that have been discovered and discussed in my work. It also presents things that remain to be done, i.e. problems or hypotheses the truth of which needs to be verified by more evidence.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of some of the literature within linguistics, anthropology and literary criticism that in some ways are related to or have affected my work. The effects of these works are of three kinds:

(1) The kind that provides theoretical framework: Pike and Pike's four-cell tag-
    memic analysis via Jones 1977.

(2) The kind that provides data and insights:
    (a) Hopper's (1976) discussion of the sequence of clauses marked with
    -lah viewed as the crucial foci of the narrative, i.e. it provides a
    synopsis of the dynamic line of the episode of the passage that he
    analyzed. His remarks of pun attached to topic which are not com-
    pletely new to the narrative, but which have not been the most recent
    participant mentioned.
    (b) Teeuw and Wyatt's making available the Malay text of Hikayat
    Patani, their discussion of the meaning of the names of participants
    in the first two stories of Hikayat Patani.
    (c) Errington's (1974) generalized discussion of the notion of
    bahasa.

(3) The kind that provides both theoretical framework, and data and insights.
    (a) Becker's article 'Text-building, epistemology and aesthetics in
    Javanese Shadow Theatre' which provides the following kinds of
    relations:
         (i) Textual coherence
        (ii) Text within text: the Javanese art of invention
       (iii) Intentionality in a text: the uses of texture
        (iv) Reference
    (b) Another Becker article (1977), 'The figure a sentence makes: an
    interpretation of a Classical Malay sentence' which is a thorough
    study of a prototypical Malay pun-lah sentence.

2.2. TEEUW AND WYATT: HIKAYAT PATANI - THE STORY OF PATANI

What Teeuw and Wyatt do is, basically, contextualize the HP, which is a conceptually distant text, and make it available to modern readers, especially in the world outside Patani. As they put it in the preface, 'In any case [we]

hope that the book will help to give a better knowledge and understanding of the Malay world of Patani to both Eastern and Western readers.' (1970:viii). More specifically what they do is to 1) present a short history of Patani, including the probable date when it was founded and the dates of the reign of its rulers; 2) discuss different versions of HP and decide which is the most accurate one among them; 3) present its overall structure: discuss the nature of the authors of each part, the date when each part was written, and the style of language; 4) present Hikayat Patani (the Malay text); 5) give a translation of HP; 6) provide commentary for each story of all the parts of HP; 7) present a conclusion which discusses the reason why HP was written.

In discussing the first story of Part I of HP what they mainly do is 1) relate the story of the foundation of Patani to other stories of similar nature, i.e. all of them share the fact that the settlements were founded on the spot where a royal hound encounters a white mousedeer; 2) relate the story to other stories that are based on the popular belief that states that the name of the settlement is taken from Pak Tani; 3) relate the story to other stories in Malay literature and folklore about the foundation of Patani; 4) discuss the etymology of the inland town of Kota Maligai; and 5) discuss the meaning of the names of participants mentioned in the first two stories, in the persons of the King of Maligai, his son the first ruler of Patani, and the latter's three children.

2.3. HOPPER

In his article 'Focus and aspects in discourse grammar' (1976), Hopper isolates devices for indicating foregrounding and event sequencing in the mid-19th century narrative prose of the Malaccan writer Abdullah bin Abdul-Kadir Munshi. The passages that he chose are taken from Abdullah's autobiography, commonly known as the *Hikayat Abdullah*, and his Voyage, known as the *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*. Regarding these devices he reports the following:

> In Malay narrative language, kinetically new events which are highly relevant to the story line are marked by suffixing the particle -lah to the verb. In such sentences, the verb generally appears in the initial position. This initial verb is without the prefix meng-, which, when attached to lexically specified verbs, denotes 'active voice'. If the verb is transitive and is in the key narrative function, it is invariably in some form of the passive. (1976:7,8)

After isolating all the events marked with the particle -lah and ignoring the others in one of these passages, he observes that the clauses marked with -lah:

> provide a synopsis of the dynamic line of the episode, in the sense that without them the story would be unintelligible. They are successive events, each one dependent on the completion of the preceding one. (1976:9)
> ... the clauses not marked with -lah are incidental and supportive, or denote events which occur 'off-stage'; they are not skeletal, kinetic events, but are essentially subsidiary ones. (1976:8)

In other words, clauses marked with -lah are viewed as the crucial foci of the narrative and the ones not marked with -lah are not.

Regarding topicalization he observes the following:

> This initial position of the verb, and the absence of the
> meng-prefix on the verb [as talked about above in footnote 3],
> are not found if the subject is 'topicalized', i.e. is placed
> ahead of the verb. Topicalization takes place under quite
> restricted discourse conditions, namely when the subject is
> not new in the narrative, has been mentioned fairly recently
> (almost always in the clause preceding the previous clause)
> and is not identical with the last named possible subject.
> (1976:8) [1]

Regarding M.B. Lewis' grammar, he makes the following remarks:

> I have felt it worthwhile to quote Lewis on the use of -lah
> and pun for two reasons. One is that, although standard
> grammars of Malay correctly describe the focusing function
> of -lah (misleadingly naming it an 'emphatic' function, how-
> ever), they have consistently missed the rule-governed nature
> of its use in narrative, typically dismissing its appearance
> with qualifiers such as sometimes, frequently, etc. More-
> over, the 'preterite' function of -lah mentioned by Lewis is
> seen as independent of its focusing function. It is only
> when a discourse analysis of -lah is approached that the
> essential unity of these two features can be seen. Similarly,
> the use of pun is also far from being an arbitrary choice of
> the writer. Pun is attached to topics which are not com-
> pletely new to the narrative, but which have not been the
> most recent participant mentioned. -Lah is a focusing part-
> icle, whose function is to indicate that the word of which
> it is a part, as well as any dependent clauses, are a central
> part of the narrative, and are foregrounded. These two
> functions - foregrounding and focusing - are not separable,
> but are aspects of one and the same principle. (1976:11)

Hopper also manages to relate the focusing function of the -lah particle to its
extended function as a past tense marker or a completed aspect marker. Regarding
this he says:

> We have seen that the aoristic function of -lah requires a
> condition of strict sequentiality with the preceding verb +
> -lah clause. This sequential (non-overlapping) property of
> -lah involves necessarily a view of the action which it sig-
> nifies as something *completed*; the next turn of events in
> the narrative cannot be initiated until the preceding event
> signalled by -lah has been completed. In narrative, therefore,
> the idea of anteriority is strongly attached to -lah, so much
> so that in some contexts it has a clear 'pluperfect' sense,
> provided the principle of strict chronological sequentiality
> is observed. (1976:11-12)

According to him, this preterite function is discourse conditioned. Hence it is
clear that this can hardly be a 'preterite' in the sense of the 'past tense' of
English and German.

2.4. ERRINGTON

I will review here in general terms what Errington discusses in her disser-
tation, 'A study of genre: Meaning and form in the Malay *Hikayat Hang Tuah*'
(1975:1-7). Basically what she does is explicate the text and by so doing reveal
something of its coherence (form) and meaning. That is to say, that she explains
the meaning of the text, parts of the text, especially key terms such as bahasa,
tahu, raja by relating them to the context they occur in; in other words, she
shows what premises the hikayat is based upon.

In explicating the text as a genre she points out that although hikayat
come in the form of written texts, in their original context they were more
analogous to performances than they are to 'literature' as it is known in the
Western tradition. To elaborate on this let me quote what she says:

> Hikayat were read aloud to an audience, not in private silence.
> In the performance, which involved no equipment, pictures,
> or puppets, the narrator's vocal skill and the quality of
> his voice became of paramount importance in rendering the
> hikayat's sound and meaning and it seems clear, too, that
> the sound of the beautifully modulated voice was thought to
> have an effect in its own right. Indeed, the sound, the
> meaning, and the effect on the listeners were probably con-
> sidered to be part of the same inseparable whole. (1975:1)

Because of 'this emphasis on the unity of sound and meaning in the hikayat as
well as its oral performance' she says that 'hikayat are probably more analogous
to the Javanese wayang kulit performances than they are to the texts of the
West, either of history or of literature.' Furthermore she states that 'as in
wayang kulit, the plots of hikayat are diverse: no one hikayat can claim to be
the one origin myth or paradigmatic statement about the Malays.'

Another characteristic which she points out, which she actually gets from
Professor Bastin (Bastin 1964) is that figures in hikayat have no interiority.
Professor Bastin has declared that an 'inside' view of Malay history is impos-
sible, because Malay works have no 'personalities', by which he means that there
is no character development and that readers are never given access to a figure's
point of view. We are never given, for instance, an insight into an interior
motive, a reflection, a diary - in short never told how the world appeared to a
given character or to the author (for an authorial point of view is also lacking).
Without point of view or motive, it is difficult for us to either discern or
imagine what might be the reasons or impulses behind a figure's actions.

Another hindrance to a Western audience's understanding, she points out, is
the lack of temporal framework. Periods of time are sometimes mentioned - 'the
palace was built in forty days' - but they are never linked so as to form an
unbroken temporal referent line to which events could be related.

(Note: these two last characteristics are seen from the point of view of
Westerners, not from the point of view of the Malay people.)

The premises (1975:32-33)[2] that the hikayat Hang Tuah is based on are:

(1) The sultan (called 'raja' in the hikayat) provided a principle which organ-
ized the story's events in a way which is analogous to the notion of 'time' in
Western histories.

(2) The raja is the fixed reference through which the world's ordering makes
sense.

(3) The raja's presence gives a shape to society's totality.

(4) The society is defined or given shape by bahasa, a term which in Modern Malay means 'culture', 'language', and 'good manners'. In Part One (of Hikayat Hang Tuah), bahasa means all those, but it is clear that it means not A culture or A language but culture, society and language themselves, which are all part of a single whole. Within Part One, there is no conception of social form outside bahasa; people, events, and places outside bahasa are imaged as simply anarchic.

(5) Social cohesion within society appears to depend on the raja's giving royal beneficence to his subjects, and their returning to him homage in the form of gifts or deference expressed through speeches and body-stance. This perfect relation of a raja bestowing beneficence and his followers offering homage is, in a profound sense, eventless.

(6) If the relationship, expressed in the forms of bahasa, is broken, events occur.

2.5. BECKER

2.5.1. 'The figure a sentence makes: an interpretation of a classical Malay sentence'

In this article, which is a study of the Classical Malay sentence:

Sa-telah demikian maka Sang Bimanyu pun berjalan-lah sambil
Bimanyu walk while

menchium bau bunga2an menghiborkan hati-nya itu, naik
sniff smell flowers entertain heart(liver) ascend

bukit turun bukit berapa gunong dan jurang dilalui
hill descend hill many mountain and valley pass over

taken from page 34 of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka edition (1964) of the *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*, edited by Khalid Hussain, Becker came out with the following interesting observations:

(1) There is a clear need in Classical Malay to distinguish between sentence structure and clause structure - and between sentence function and clause function. Some features of sentences as distinct from clauses in Classical Malay that he lists are:

Sentences	Clauses
1. Topic-event structure	Subject-predicate structure
2. Topic initial is unmarked	Predicate initial is unmarked
3. Post-positional particles (pun, -lah) mark relations	Prefixes on predicates (meng-, di-) mark relations
4. Referentially constrained topic	Role-focus constrained subject

(2) In Classical Malay, case relations are not relevant at sentence level, which helps to explain some of the special features of pun-lah structures, particularly the observation that case-marked predicates do not in Classical Malay precede -lah. (This means only 'verbs' with ber- or ter- or no prefixes appear before -lah in Classical Malay, at least until quite late. The loss of this constraint appears central in the history of Malay.)

(3) There are three sections in this sentence:

      I. DEICTIC CONNECTIVES
        Plot level relations
        textual coherence
        Sa-telah demikian maka

      II. PUN-LAH CORE
        topic-event relations
        script indexing
        Sang Bimanyu pun berjalanlah

     III. ELABORATION
        role-focus relations
        referential coherence
        sambil menchium ...

(4) The pun-lah structure has several variant forms as the result of other sections of the sentence, which precede and follow the central pun-lah structure, overlapping or merging with the pun-lah structure.

(5) In Longacre's (1972) terms, the sequence of pun-lah structures forms the 'backbone' or the 'skeleton' of the text. It indexes an event (-lah) and the participant (pun) who or which will be in a single case role - in the sentence under investigation, this role is actor or agent - in the clauses which follow the pun-lah core, clauses which fill in the details and particularize the event, IN RELATION TO THIS PARTICIPANT.

(6) Following the pun-lah structure are one or more clauses involving the topic (marked by pun) and within the scope of the event (marked by -lah).

(7) The progression of the clauses is: actor focus to no marked focus to non-actor focus (meng- to Ø to di-, morphologically).

(8) The readers experience topics moving in and out of roles and roles moving in and out of focus, the former at the sentence level, the latter at the clause level.

(9) The progression in the elaboration section from individual, actor-focused events to location-focused events (marked by the di- prefix and the -i suffix on the final predicate) appears to reflect what has been called variously the Cline of Person (Becker and Oka 1977), the Referentiality Hierarchy (Foley 1976), the Natural Topic Hierarchy (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974), or the Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy (Silverstein 1976), all of which seem to be quite similar, a continuum from self to other, marked off in strikingly similar ways from language to language. In most general terms, this cline of hierarchy can be represented as:

    speaker > hearer > human proper > human common > animate > inanimate
                             (> location)

(10) The first section of the sentence contextualizes the pun-lah core in the hierarchy of the prior text.

(11) There are two kinds of coherence: referential coherence (relations to a single event or a series of events in a stereotypic script) and textual coherence (marked relations between sentences, with sentences defined as discourse units). In those terms, we could say that the first section marks the textual coherence of the core, the final section the referential coherence of the core. The REFERENTIAL coherence is provided by the event (or script) of a man moving through a landscape, with perspective shifting from man to landscape. The

TEXTUAL coherence is established by the first part of the figure, with the words sa-telah demikian maka ...

(12) The heaviness or density of connectives or deictics such as sa-telah demikian maka marks structural boundaries. At the level of sentences, the Classical Malay text uses just maka [or another single-word connective like shahadan or hatta] to mark separate units. At a boundary of a larger (i.e. larger in scope) unit, a cluster of sentences of some sort, heavier or denser connectives are used, two-word connectives (e.g. arakian maka, demikian maka, hatta sa-telah, arakian sa-telah, sa-telah demikian, and a few other combinations of these few connective words), and for larger units, three-word connectives (e.g. maka sa-telah sudah, hatta sa-telah sudah, sa-telah itu maka, and the form we are looking at here, sa-telah demikian maka).

(13) More coinciding deictics or connectives mean a higher-level plot boundary: new place, new time, new state, new major character, etc. To put it another way, this sentence is (or for the reader, will be) the context to background for a potentially large number of lower level sentences.

(14) The movement of the sentences is from generality to particularity, in several senses:

   1) From non-role and case marking 'verbs' to role and case marking 'verbs' (e.g. from ber- prefixed verbs to meng-/di- prefixed 'verbs').

   2) From least referential terms to most, in the sense that maka is less referential than menchium 'sniff'.

   3) From metacomment (about telling) to comment (the telling). That is, from information about the text to information about the story.

   4) From language to nature.

(15) The first two sections are constrained by prior text; the third section is more 'emotional' - more reflective of the imagination and the skill of the author, into whose 'subjectivity' we as readers enter in this third section.

(16) This Malay sentence is what might be called a PROTO-TYPICAL sentence, related not by derivation but by partial resemblances in several dimensions to a great many other Classical Malay sentences with which it shares some or nearly all its meanings.

(17) The boundary between sections II and III (core and elaboration) is no longer clear, and the functions of the two systems (referential-topic and role-focus) no longer distinguish clauses and sentences in modern urban Malay or Indonesian.

(18) Many of the deictic connectives which established textual coherence are no longer used, except in very formal situations where an archaic flavour is important.

   Becker's work on the pun-lah sentence as reviewed above in some ways came out from the discussions that I had with him when I was working on pun-lah construction as one type of construction in section 3.6. of this work. The similarity and the difference between his work and mine can be seen when one reads the review above and compares it to section 3.6.1. In general, the difference is in the texts examined, i.e. in terms of time that they were written: the text in which Becker's prototype pun-lah sentence occurs was written 'approximately in the middle of the 15th century AD',[3] while my text, according to Teeuw and Wyatt, was written between the years 1690 and 1720, i.e. the first draft in 1690 and the present form after 1720.[4] Moreover, my work includes the variants of the pun-lah type of sentence, while Becker's only deals with one pun-lah sentence,

which he claims to be a prototype. The similarity, in general, is in the fact that in both works Becker and I claim that the pun-lah sentence type has three parts: a deictic connective precore part, a pun-lah core part and an elaboration part.

2.5.2. 'Text-building, epistemology, and aesthetics in Javanese shadow theatre'

This essay is a description of some of the constraints on text-building in Javanese shadow play, wayang kulit, which is performed in Javanese language. The goal is 'to discover how to build a text in Javanese, to explore what text-building revealed about Javanese epistemology, and to learn how to respond aesthetically to a very different artistic medium' (Becker, to appear, p.2).

According to Becker,

> the analysis of a text requires, minimally that the modern philologist describe several kinds of relations in order to recreate a conceptually distant context. A minimal set of these relations is:
> 1. The relation of words, phrases, sentences, and larger units of the text to each other (i.e. the coherence of the text)
> 2. The relation of this text to other texts: the extent that it is repetition or new (speaking the present or the past)
> 3. The relation of the author to both the text and the hearers/readers of the text - seen from the point of view of the author or from the point of view of the hearers/ readers (i.e. the intent of the text-builder)
> 4. The relation of units in the text to non-literary events (i.e. reference). (p.8)

Based on this, Becker states: 'Context, then, includes coherence, degree of repetition/spontaneity, intent, and reference.' He goes on stating that

> sorting out the SOURCES of constraints on all these relations is a further task for the modern philologist: to what extent are the constraints on these relations human (i.e. universal to all texts)? Or are they operative only within a single language family or cultural tradition, or within a single language, or only in a specific genre, or only in the works of one author? Any work is constrained at all these levels'. (p.9)

Becker applies the relations that are discussed above to describe a Javanese shadow play. As a result, he claims that the following are the similar kinds of relations that the play has with its context:

(1) Textual coherence or plot coherence (plot as symbolic action): the relation of parts of a text to the whole (cf. pp.9,47).

(2) Text within text: the Javanese art of invention - the relation of the motifs or episodes of a text to their source in a cultural mythology (cf. pp.27,47).

(3) Intentionality in a text: the uses of texture - the relation of the text and its parts to the participants in the linguistic act (speaker - direct or indirect, hearer - direct or indirect, beneficiary - direct or indirect, etc.) (cf. pp.33, 47).

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(4) Reference (either naming or metaphoric reference): the relation of the text and its parts to the non-text world (cf. p.47), i.e. the present-day non-wayang world (cf. p.40).

In describing the first kind of relation, Becker defines plot as follows:

> The plot of a story or a play is a set of constraints on the
> selection and sequencing of dramatic episodes or motifs ....
> Plots, like tennis rules, do not allow one to predict - except
> in very general terms - what will happen in a play. Rather,
> plots tell us what cannot be done appropriately. They also,
> like scientific theories, tell us one other important thing:
> what the relevant variables are in the things one can do in
> the play. (p.10)

Note that Becker's kinds of relations discussed and listed above provide the basic methodology for my work. The first kind, that is the textual coherence, is reflected in the discussion of sections 3.2., 3.5. and 3.6. The second kind, i.e. text within text, can be seen in the discussion of sections 3.2. and 3.4. The third kind, i.e. intentionality in a text, can be seen in sections 3.2., 3.3. and 3.4. The fourth kind, i.e. reference, can be seen in sections 3.3. and 3.4.

2.6. PIKE AND PIKE VIA JONES 1977[5]

In doing my work, the following notions of Pike and Pike, which I use, integrate into, and modify according to the nature of my text, have in some ways influenced my theoretical orientation.

2.6.1. Part-whole hierarchical organization of reference

Commenting about this Jones (1977:108-109) states:

> Part-whole hierarchy in tagmemics means organization into
> levels that embed within each other. Except for units of the
> lowest level, each unit of each level may be analyzed into
> parts, or IMMEDIATE CONSTITUENTS, which themselves are units
> of the same or different levels. This is a part-whole rela-
> tion: the whole has parts, and each part in turn may be
> viewed as a whole which itself has parts, and so on until
> one reaches some fundamental units which may not be further
> decomposed.

She also states: 'Frequently the units of a level have as their immediate constituents units of the next lower level or layer. Sometimes ... there is *level-skipping* (dropping more than one level), or *recursiveness*.'

Regarding a framework for this hierarchy, she states: 'Pike and Pike have presented a tentative framework of the referential hierarchy, distinguishing four levels (from highest to lowest): performative interaction, story, event and identity.'

As an illustration of this framework she provides the following table with examples from her Allen Brown-Washington D.C. text (which is a text she made up) along with a discussion of each level in the framework:

The referential hierarchy with examples
from the Allen Brown-Washington D.C. text

PERFORMATIVE INTERACTION:	Allen Brown REPORTING his Washington D.C. visit to Monte Wright, friend at work
STORY:	Allen's visit to Washington D.C. on vacation
EVENT:	losing wallet in restaurant, visiting Washington Monument, getting stuck in Monument elevator
IDENTITY:	Allen Brown, wallet, Washington D.C., elevator, Washington Monument

along with the following discussion of each level:

> The lowest level in the referential analysis would be
> IDENTITIES, with their emically-perceived properties: Allen
> Brown, Monte Wright, the restaurant, each of the governmental
> buildings, the elevator, the wallet, his hotel, etc. The
> next lowest level of the analysis - EVENT level - analyzes
> the actions and states the identities. For example, losing
> the wallet would be an event relationship between Allen and
> the wallet. Getting stuck in the elevator would involve the
> identities Allen and the elevator and the Washington Monument.
> Visiting the Washington Monument itself (of which getting
> stuck in the elevator was one part) would be a higher layer
> within the event level.
> The STORY level would consist of the sequence of events,
> along with setting, background, and other pertinent inform-
> ation conveyed. That is, the story consists of everything
> told about Allen's visit to Washington, D.C. PERFORMATIVE
> INTERACTION level is represented by the whole of the dis-
> course: Allen's report to Monte, and any responses by Monte.
> Here attitudes and beliefs belong, e.g. Allen's obvious
> enjoyment of the visit, his belief in the value of democracy
> and pride in his government, his good feelings toward Monte.
> Also included is the overall purpose for the discourse,
> which was REPORTING.

2.6.2. The referential hierarchy vs. the grammatical hierarchy

In this section, Jones (1977:110) uses her Allen Brown-Washington D.C. text
to contrast the referential hierarchy with the grammatical hierarchy. Regarding
this she states:

> The Pike and Pike referential hierarchy is concerned with
> the relation of Allen (and Monte) to the real world situation
> depicted by the discourse. It involves pragmatic conditions
> of appropriateness as well as truth conditions. The gram-
> matical hierarchy is concerned with the verbalization itself:
> the words, sentences, paragraphs, etc. involved, and the

relations of these grammatical constructions to one another. In sum, the referential hierarchy is matrix or network-like, whereas the grammatical hierarchy is more linear in nature.

The referential hierarchy has components of purpose, speaker attitude, belief, etc. that are not present in the grammatical hierarchy. On the other hand, there are elements in the grammatical hierarchy not present in the referential hierarchy, e.g. special cohesive elements such as third person singular inflection in English verbs.

The referential hierarchy is concerned with lexical collocational restrictions, e.g. *round square* is nonsensical in a normal universe of discourse. Grammatically, however, this sequence conforms to acceptable grammatical constructions for noun phrases: adjective before noun. This points out again the contrast of PARTICULARS in the referential hierarchy and GENERALITIES in the grammatical hierarchy.

2.6.3. Hierarchical organization of the grammar

Regarding this, Jones (1977:111) states: 'The levels in the Pike and Pike grammatical hierarchy are (from bottom of the hierarchy up): Morpheme, morpheme cluster, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, monolog, exchange, and conversation. These are grouped by pairs according to similar functions.' These functions, which she refers to in a footnote, are: 'lexical package (morpheme/morpheme cluster); term (word/phrase); proposition (clause/sentence); theme-development (paragraph/monolog); social interaction (exchange/conversation).' To illustrate these levels, Jones provides the following table:

The grammatical hierarchy with examples from the Allen Brown-Washington D.C. text

EXCHANGE/CONVERSATION:	'Hi, Allen.' 'Oh, hi, Monte. Let me tell you about my visit to Washington D.C. ...'
PARAGRAPH/MONOLOG:	Then I went to a French restaurant. I got a crepe and .... The food was fantastic!
CLAUSE/SENTENCE:	Then, suddenly, the elevator stopped!
WORD/PHRASE:	wallet, in the restaurant, few taxis
MORPHEME/MORPHEME CLUSTER:	the, to, -s, wallet, re-

2.6.4. Referential vs. grammatical tagmemes

In discussing this Jones does not give an exhaustive comparison of the tagmemes of the two hierarchies, since her main purpose is to give the reader a basic familiarity with tagmemes. She goes on stating that 'Tagmemes depict four important aspects of a linguistic unit: (1) its SLOT in the larger construction; (2) its CLASS, or type, of construction; (3) its ROLE in relation to other units;

and (4) COHESIVE aspects binding the unit into the larger system' (Jones 1977: 111-112). To illustrate these aspects, Jones (1977:112) provides the following figure which presents a generalized nature of a tagmeme:

SLOT WHERE is the item on the including wave? (nucleus, margin)	CLASS WHAT is the form of the unit or construction?
ROLE What PURPOSE or FUNCTION does the item fill in relation to the system?	COHESION How does this item RELATE to others within the system; how does it govern them or is it governed by them?

Jones (p.113) presents the following table which gives a few sample tagmemes from several different hierarchical levels of Reference and Grammar for the Allen Brown-Washington D.C. Text. The referential tagmemes occur on the left; the grammatical tagmemes occur on the right.

Constituents of REFERENCE

Level

PERFORMATIVE INTERACTION:

Nucleus	Talking with Monte
Reporting	Real (vs. imagined)

STORY:

Nucleus	Visiting Washington D.C. (vector)
Vacation	Real

EVENT:

PreMargin	Going up in ele-vator (complex)
Transportation to goal	Real

Constituents of GRAMMAR

Level

EXCHANGE:

Nucleus	Monolog
Response	--

MONOLOG:

Nucleus	Story
Story-telling	--

SENTENCE:

Nucleus	Transitive Clause Root
Statement	--

CLAUSE:

Predicate	Verb Phrase
Statement	Transitivity governs occurrence of Subj. and Dir.Obj. tagmemes

IDENTITY:			PHRASE:	
		WALLET 'wallet' 'that stupid thing' 'it'	Nucleus	Noun
	Prop		Item	Governs number of Pronoun & of Demons. Pro.; Requires occurrence of a Specifying Article
	Possession	Real//Missing		

2.6.5. Comment

It should be noted that in my work I do not make any distinction between the referential and the grammatical hierarchies as Pike and Pike do. By this I am not implying that their making of this distinction is wrong. I just don't grasp it completely in order to apply this to my work. In other words in my work there is an overlap between these hierarchies. And the terms I use in a lot of ways are not similar to Pike and Pike's. This is mainly due to the fact that the nature of my data requires me to coin different terms. In spite of this the underlying principles introduced by Pike and Pike are operating in the description of my work. That is to say, notions such as part-whole, hierarchical organization, and four-cell tagmemes can be easily detected in my work.

2.7. CONCLUSION

Other works, which in one way or another have given richness to my work are Austin's and Searle's speech act theories as discussed in Austin 1962 (1970) and Searle 1969 (1974); Labov's, Waletzky's and Eisner's ideals about the functions of the narrative structure as discussed in Helm, ed., 1967, in Labov 1972 and in Eisner 1975; Grimes' discussion on kinds of discourse information in Grimes 1975; Halliday's and Hasan's explanations of the notions of anaphoric and cataphoric reference in Halliday and Hasan 1976; Klammer's ideas regarding Dialogue Paragraph in Klammer 1971; and Schank's explanation of the notion of Script in Schank et al. 1975.

The following scholars of Malay and Indonesian - besides Becker, Hopper, Errington, Teeuw and Wyatt whose works were reviewed above - have provided me with some basic ideas which I extend, expand and modify in accordance with the nature of my data and the purpose of this study: Winstedt and Lewis' discussion on deictic particles which they refer to as 'punctuation or transition words' respectively in Lewis 1947 and Winstedt 1913; Poerwadarminta's lexical meanings or definitions of most of the deictic particles in Poerwadarminta 1966.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. The remarks in square brackets are mine.

2. The numbering of the premises is mine.

3. See Becker 1977:27 (footnote 14).

4. See Teeuw and Wyatt 1970:66.

5. I use Jones 1977 as a source to understand Pike and Pike's referential and grammatical hierarchies since she worked closely with them, and the way she presents their materials is very clear and helpful to me. Also, I don't have access to Pike and Pike's *Grammatical Analysis* published in 1976, in which these notions are presented.

INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

3.1. THE TEXT AND ITS TRANSLATION[1]

The following is the first story of Hikayat Patani (HP), the text which forms the primary source of insights that I am attempting to share with those who are interested in this study of a non-Western text tradition:

Text and interlinear translation	Free translation

(0) Bīsmillāhi -   rraḥmāni -
In the Name of God - the Compassionate -

rraḥīm
the Merciful.

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(1) Ini=lah suatu kissah yang
This=CM *a   story* rel.pron.

di=cetera=kan   oleh orang
pt.foc.=*tell*=act.foc. *by   person*

tua-tua, asal   raja yang   berbuat
old-old, origin king rel.pron. *make*

negeri   Patani Darussalam   itu
settlement Patani Abode of Peace that

This is a story which has been told by the old people:[2] the origin of the king who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace.

(2) Ada=pun   raja di Kota Maligai itu
Exist=TM *king in town Maligai that*

nama=nya   Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana
name=the/he *Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana*

The king in Kota Maligai was called Phaya Tu Kerub Mahajana.

(3) Maka   Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana pun beranak
conn. *Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana* TM *beget child*

se=orang   laki-laki, maka di=nama=i
one=person *boy-boy*   conn. pt.foc.=*name*=allt.

anakanda baginda   itu Paya Tu Antara
child   his majesty that Paya Tu Antara

He had one son, whom he gave the name of Phaya Tu Antara.

(4) Hatta berapa lama=nya maka Paya Tu Kerub
    conn. *how long=the* conn. *Paya Tu Kerub*

    Mahajana pun mati=lah
    Mahajana TM *die=*CM

    After some time
    Phaya Tu Kerub
    Mahajana died.

(5) Syahdan maka Paya Tu Antara pun
    conn. conn. *Paya Tu Antara* TM

    kerajaan=lah   meng=ganti=kan
    *become king=*CM ag.foc.=*succeed*=act.foc.

    ayahanda baginda   itu
    father his majesty that

    Then Phaya Tu Antara
    became king,
    succeeding
    his father.

(6) Ia me=nama=i   diri=nya Paya Tu
    He ag.foc.=*name*=allt. *self=he Paya Tu*

    Naqpa
    Naqpa

    He called himself
    Phaya Tu Nakpa.

(7) Selama Paya Tu Naqpa kerajaan   itu
    During Paya Tu Naqpa become king that

    sentiasa ia pergi berburu
    always he go hunt

    During his reign
    Phaya Tu Nakpa was
    accustomed always
    to go hunting.

(8) Pada suatu hari Paya Tu Naqpa pun duduk
    On one day Paya Tu Naqpa TM *sit*

    di=atas takhta kerajaan=nya di=adap
    in=on throne royal=the/he pt.foc.=*attend*

    oléh segala menteri pegawai
    by all   minister official

    hulubalang dan ra'yat sekalian
    officer   and people all

    One day Phaya Tu
    Nakpa was seated
    on his royal
    throne while his
    ministers, officials,
    officers, and all
    his subjects were
    sitting in attendance

(9) Arakian maka titah baginda: "Aku
    conn.   conn. *speech his majesty: I*

    dengar khabar=nya perburuan   sebelah
    hear   report=the hunting game side

    tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon"
    shore sea that very   many report says

    Then the king spoke:
    "I have heard reports
    that the game
    near the sea-shore
    is abundant indeed."

(10) Maka sembah   segala menteri:
    conn. *obeisance all   minister:*

    "Daulat   Tuan=ku, sungguh=lah seperti
    *good fortune Lord=my true=*CM   *like*

    titah Duli   Yang Maha=mulia
    speech dust of the feet the most=noble

    itu, patik dengar pun demi=kian juga"
    that slave hear TM *like=that also*

    The ministers
    replied respectfully:
    "Hail my Lord, it
    is true indeed as
    Your Majesty has
    spoken; we too have
    heard likewise."

(11) Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: "Jikalau
conn. *speech Paya Tu Naqpa: if*

demi=kian kerah=kan=lah   segala ra'yat
like=that summon=act.foc.=CM all   people

kita. Esok   hari kita hendak pergi
I   tomorrow day I   intend go

berburu ke tepi laut itu."
hunt   to shore sea that

*Phaya Tu Nakpa
then spoke:
"In that case
call up all Our
people. Tomorrow
We shall go
hunting along the
sea-shore."*

(12) Maka sembah   segala menteri
conn. *obeisance all   minister*

hulubalang=nya: "Daulat   Tuan=ku,
officer=he   good fortune Lord=my

mana titah Duli   Yang
any speech dust of the feet the

Maha=mulia patik junjung"
most=noble slave carry on the head

*The ministers
and officers
replied respectfully:
"Hail my Lord;
we humbly accept
whatever Your
Majesty says."*

(13) Arakian setelah   datang=lah pada
conn. *after this then come=CM   to*

keésokan hari=nya, maka baginda   pun
tomorrow day=the   conn. his majesty TM

berangkat=lah dengan segala menteri
depart=CM   with   all   minister

hulubalang=nya di=iring=kan
officer=the/he pt.foc.=accompany=act.foc.

oléh ra'yat sekalian
by   people all

*The following
morning the
king departed
with all his
ministers and
officers, and
accompanied by
his people.*

(14) Setelah   sampai pada tempat berburu
After this then arrive to   place   hunt

itu, maka sekalian ra'yat pun berhenti=lah
that conn. all   people TM stop=CM

dan khémah pun di=diri=kan
and tent   TM pt.foc.=erect=act.foc.

orang=lah
person=CM

*When they
arrived at the
hunting-grounds
the people made
a stop and the
tents were
erected.*

(15) Maka baginda   pun turun=lah   dari
conn. *his majesty TM descend from=CM from*

atas gajah=nya   semayam   didalam
on   elephant=the/he sit in state in

khémah di=adap   oléh segala menteri
tent   pt.foc.=attend by   all   minister

hulubalang ra'yat sekalian
officer   people all

*Then the king
descended from
his elephant and
sat in state in a
tent while his
ministers and
officers and all
his subjects were
sitting in
attendance.*

(16) Maka   baginda   pun me=nitah=kan
     conn. *his majesty* TM ag.foc.=*order*=act.foc.

     orang   pergi me=lihat   bekas rusa itu
     person go   ag.foc.=see track deer that

     Then the king ordered (some) men to go and look for the tracks of deer.

(17) Hatta setelah   orang itu datang
     conn. *after this then person that come*

     meng=adap   baginda   maka
     ag.foc.=*appear before his majesty* conn.

     sembah=nya: "Daulat   Tuan=ku,
     obeisance=he good fortune Lord=my,

     pada hutan sebelah tepi laut ini terlalu
     at   forest side   shore sea this very

     banyak bekas=nya"
     many   track=the

     When these men returned and appeared before the king they said respectfully: "Hail my Lord, in the woods near the sea there are a great many tracks."

(18) Maka titah baginda: "Baik=lah ésok
     conn. *speech his majesty   good=CM tomorrow*

     pagi-pagi   kita berburu."
     morning-morning I/we hunt

     The king spoke: "Good, let Us go hunting early tomorrow morning."

(19) Maka setelah   keésokan hari=nya
     conn. *after this then tomorrow day=the*

     maka jaring dan jerat pun di=tahan
     conn. *net   and trap TM pt.foc.=set*

     orang=lah
     person=CM

     The following morning snares and nets were set.

(20) Maka segala ra'yat pun masuk=lah ke=dalam
     conn. *all   people TM enter=CM to=in*

     hutan itu meng=alau-alau segala
     forest that ag.foc.=beat   all

     perburuan itu dari pagi-pagi
     game   that from morning-morning

     hingga datang ngelincir matahari,
     till   come   decline   sun

     se=ékor   perburuan tiada di=peroléh
     one=class. game   not   pt.foc.=obtain

     Then the people went into the wood beating game from early morning until the sun began to decline; but not one animal was obtained.

(21) Maka baginda   pun amat hairan=lah
     conn. *his majesty TM very astonished=CM*

     serta me=nitah=kan   me=nyuruh
     and ag.foc.=say=act.foc. ag.foc.=order

     me=lepas=kan   anjing perburuan
     ag.foc.=*release*=act.foc. *dog   hunting*

     baginda   sendiri itu
     his majesty self   that

     The king was greatly astonished and gave orders to release his own hunting dogs. [3]

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(22) Maka anjing itu pun di=lepas=kan
conn. *dog*   *that* TM pt.foc.=*release*=act.foc.

orang=lah
person=CM

So the dogs were released.

(23) Hatta ada   sekira-kira dua[du] jam
conn. *exist about*   *two   hour*

lama=nya maka berbunyi=lah suara anjing
long=the conn. *sound*=CM   *voice dog*

itu me=nyalak
that ag.foc.=*bark*

Then, after about two hours, the sound of the dogs' barking was heard.

(24) Maka baginda   pun segera
conn. *his majesty* TM *immediately*

men=dapat=kan   suara anjing itu
ag.foc.=*find*=act.foc. *voice dog   that*

The king immediately went in the direction of the sound of the dogs.

(25) Setelah baginda   datang kepada suatu
After   his majesty come   to   a

sérokan tasik itu, maka baginda
inlet   sea   that, conn. *his majesty*

pun bertemu=lah dengan segala orang
TM *find*=CM   *with   all   person*

yang   me=nurut   anjing itu
rel.pron. ag.foc.=*go with dog   that*

When the king arrived at an inlet of the sea he found the men who had gone with the dogs.

(26) Maka titah baginda: "Apa yang
conn. *speech his majesty: What* rel.pron.

di=salak   oléh anjing itu?"
pt.foc.=*bark by   dog   that*

The king spoke: "What were these dogs barking at?"

(27) Maka sembah   mereka sekalian itu:
conn. *obeisance they   all   that*

"Daulat   Tuan=ku, patik mohon=kan
good fortune Lord-my slave beg=act.foc.

ampun dan karunia. Ada   se=ékor
pardon and grace   exist one=class

pelanduk putih, besar=nya seperti
mousedeer white big=it/the as

kambing, warna tubuh=nya   gilang gemilang.
goat   colour body=it/the glittering

They replied respectfully: "Hail my Lord, we beg your pardon and grace.

There was a white mousedeer the size of a goat, and its body had a luminous sheen.

Itu=lah yang   di=hambat   oléh
That=CM rel.pron. pt.foc.=*pursue by*

anjing ini. Maka pelanduk itu pun
dog   this. Conn. *mousedeer that* TM

lenyap=lah   pada pantai ini."
disappear=CM *at   beach this*

That was what the dogs were pursuing; but the mousedeer has vanished on this beach here."

(28) Setelah   baginda   me=nengar
After this then his majesty ag.foc.=hear

     sembah   orang itu, maka baginda
     obeisance person that conn. *his majesty*

     pun berangkat berjalan kepada tempat itu
     TM depart   walk   to   place   that

After the king had heard the men's report, he set out for that place.

(29) Maka baginda   pun bertemu dengan
conn. his majesty TM find   with

     se=buah   rumah orang tua laki-bini
     one=class house person old husband-wife

     duduk me=rawa   dan men=jerat
     reside ag.foc.=catch prawn and ag.foc.=set snare

There he found a house where an old couple lived, catching prawns and setting snares.

(30) Maka titah baginda   suruh bertanya
conn. speech his majesty order ask

     kepada orang tua itu, dari mana
     to   person old that from where

     datang=nya maka ia duduk kemari ini
     come=he   conn. he reside hither this

     dan orang mana asal=nya
     and person where origin=he

The king then gave orders to ask these old people whence they had come and settled in this place and what their origin was.

(31) Maka hamba   raja itu pun men=junjung=kan
conn. servant king that TM ag.foc.=carry on the head=act.foc.

     titah baginda   kepada orang tua itu
     speech his majesty to   person old that

The king's servants respectfully transmitted the king's words to the old people.

(32) Maka sembah   orang tua itu:
conn. obeisance person old that:

     "Daulat   Tuan=ku, ada=pun patik ini
     good fortune Lord=my exist=TM slave this

     hamba juga pada kebawah Duli
     slave also at   to under dust of the feet

     Yang Maha=mulia, karena asal   patik
     the most=noble because origin slave

     ini duduk di Kota Maligai. Maka
     this reside in town Maligai   conn.

     pada masa Paduka Nénda   berangkat
     at period foot grandfather depart

     pergi berbuat negeri ke Ayutia, maka
     go   make   city   to Ayutia, conn.

     patik pun di=kerah   orang pergi
     slave TM pt.foc.=summon person go

     meng=iring=kan   Duli
     ag.foc.=accompany=act.foc. dust of the feet

They respectfully replied:

"Hail my Lord, we are just servants of Your Majesty; for originally

we lived in the town of Maligai. When your Royal Grandfather departed for Ayudhya in order to build a settlement there, we were summoned to come and accompany Him on His voyage.

Paduka Nénda   berangkat itu.
foot grandfather depart   that

Setelah   Paduka Nénda
After this then foot   grandfather

sampai kepada tempat ini, maka patik pun
arrive to   place this conn. slave TM

kedatangan   penyakit, maka patik pun
stricken with illness   conn. slave TM

di=tinggal=kan   orang=lah
pt.foc.=leave behind=act.foc. person=CM

pada tempat ini"
at   place this

When he had arrived at this place we were stricken with an illness, so we were left behind here."

(33) Maka titah baginda: "Apa nama
     conn. *speech his majesty: What name*

engkau?"
you

The king spoke: "What is your name?"

(34) Maka sembah   orang tua itu: "Nama
     conn. *obeisance person old that: name*

patik Encik Tani"
slave Encik Tani

The old man respectfully replied: "My name is Encik Tani."

(35) Setelah   sudah   baginda
After this then already his majesty

me=nengar   sembah   orang tua itu,
ag.foc.=hear obeisance person old that,

maka baginda   pun kembali=lah pada
conn. *his majesty TM return=CM   to*

khémah=nya
tent=he

When the king heard what the man told him, he returned to his tent.

(36) Dan pada malam itu baginda   pun
And on   night that his majesty TM

berbicara dengan segala menteri
talk   with   all   minister

hulubalang=nya hendak berbuat negeri
officer=he   intend make   settlement

pada tempat pelanduk putih itu
at   place mousedeer white that

That same night the king deliberated with his ministers and officers, as he wanted to build a settlement on the spot where the white mousedeer had been.

(37) Setelah   keésokan hari=nya
After this then tomorrow day=the

maka segala menteri hulubalang pun
conn. *all   minister officer   TM*

me=nyuruh   orang mudik   ke Kota
ag.foc.=order person go upstream to town

The following morning the ministers and officers ordered men to go upstream to the town of

Maligai dan ke Lancang me=ngerah=kan
Maligai and to Lancang ag.foc.=summon=act.foc.

segala ra'yat hilir   berbuat
all   people go downstream make

negeri   itu.
settlement that

    Maligai and to Lancang in order to call up all the subjects, that they should come downstream and start building the[4] settlement.

(38) Setelah   sudah   segala menteri
After this then already all   minister

hulubalang di=titah=kan   oléh
officer   pt.foc.=order=act.foc. by

baginda   masing-masing dengan
his majesty each   with

ketumbukan=nya, maka baginda   pun
man=he   conn. his majesty TM

berangkat kembali ke Kota Maligai
depart   return to town Maligai

    After the ministers and officers had received instructions from the king, each with his own men, the king returned to the town of Maligai.

(39) Hatta antara dua bulan lama=nya, maka
conn. between two month long=the, conn.

negeri   itu pun sudah=lah
settlement that TM already=CM

    After two months the settlement was ready.

(40) Maka baginda   pun pindah hilir
conn. his majesty TM move   go downstream

duduk pada negeri   yang
reside at   settlement rel.pron.

di=perbuat   itu, dan negeri   itu
pt.foc.=make that and settlement that

pun di=nama=kan=nya   Patani
TM pt.foc.=name=act.foc.=he Patani

Darussalam
Abode of Peace

    The king moved downstream and resided in the newly made settlement, which he named Patani, Abode of Peace.

(41) Arakian pangkalan   yang   di=tempat
conn.   landing stage rel.pron. in=place

pelanduk putih lenyap   itu [dan
mousedeer white disappear that and

pangkalan=nya   itu] pada Pintu Gajah
landing stage=the that at   Gate Elephant

ke=hulu   Jambatan Kedi, [itu=lah.
to=inland Pier   Kedi   that=CM

    Hence[5] the landing-stage on the spot where the white mousedeer had disappeared, i.e. at the Elephant Gate, inland from the Kedi Pier.

(42) Dan] pangkalan   itu=lah tempat Encik
And landing stage that=CM place Encik

    And that landing stage[6] was the place

Tani naik turun me=rawa
Tani go up down ag.foc.=*catch prawn*

dan men=jerat   itu
and ag.foc.=*set snare that*

<div style="text-align: right">*where Encik Tani used to go up and down catching prawns and setting snares.*</div>

(43) Syahdan kebanyakan kata   orang nama
     conn. *most*   *speech person name*

negeri   itu meng=ikut   nama
settlement that ag.foc.=*follow name*

orang yang   me=rawa   itu=lah
person rel.pron. ag.foc.=*catch prawn that*=CM

<div style="text-align: right">*Furthermore (and note this)*[7] *most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fisherman.*</div>

(44) Bahwa sesunguh=nya nama negeri   itu
    Truly truly=*the* *name settlement that*

meng=ikut   sembah   orang
ag.foc.=*follow obeisance person*

me=ngata=kan   pelanduk lenyap   itu
ag.foc.=*say*=act.foc. *mousedeer disappear that*

<div style="text-align: right">*In actual fact, the name of the settlement derived from the words which the people used when reporting the disappearance of the mousedeer.*</div>

(45) Demi=kian=lah hikayat=nya
    Like=that=CM *story=the*

<div style="text-align: right">*That is the way the story goes.*[8]</div>

3.2. OVERALL STRUCTURE

3.2.1. From the speech act perspective

The overall structure of the story, i.e. the first chapter of Part I of Hikayat Patani, from the speech act perspective can be seen in the following display:

Display 3.2.1.

Narrator(s)   Addressee

SA$_1$ ————————————————▷ I. Supernatural

SA$_2$ ———————————————▷

SA$_3$ ———————————————▷ } II. Natural

SA$_4$ ———————————————▷

Reported Story
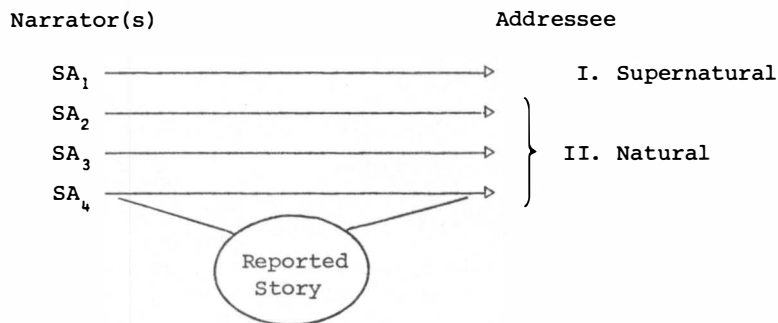
S(peech)A(ct)$_1$ refers to the Arabic invocational prayer Bismillāhi-rraḥmāni-rraḥīm at the beginning of the story (which is presented as Chapter 1 of Part I of Hikayat Patani). From a limited perspective, i.e. from the chapter level, it looks as if it were part of Chapter 1. However, upon closer examination, i.e. from a broader or an overall perspective, it is clear that the prayer belongs to a level higher than the chapter level, i.e. the book level or the Hikayat level. This can be seen as presented in Display 3.2.2. below:

Display 3.2.2.

```
                           Hikayat Patani (HP)
                    _____/___|_____
                   /               |                  \
                              HP Proper
  Pre-Mar   Arabic Phrase  Nuc    as History   Post.Mar   Concl.Par
  Invoca-   to sustain     Retelling           Coda:
  tional    the narrator   the story           Conclu-
  prayer    in retelling                       sion &
            the story                          colophon
                                     |
                          _____|_____
                         /      |         |       \
                      Part I  Part II  Part III  Part IV
                         |      |
                      Part VI  Part V
```
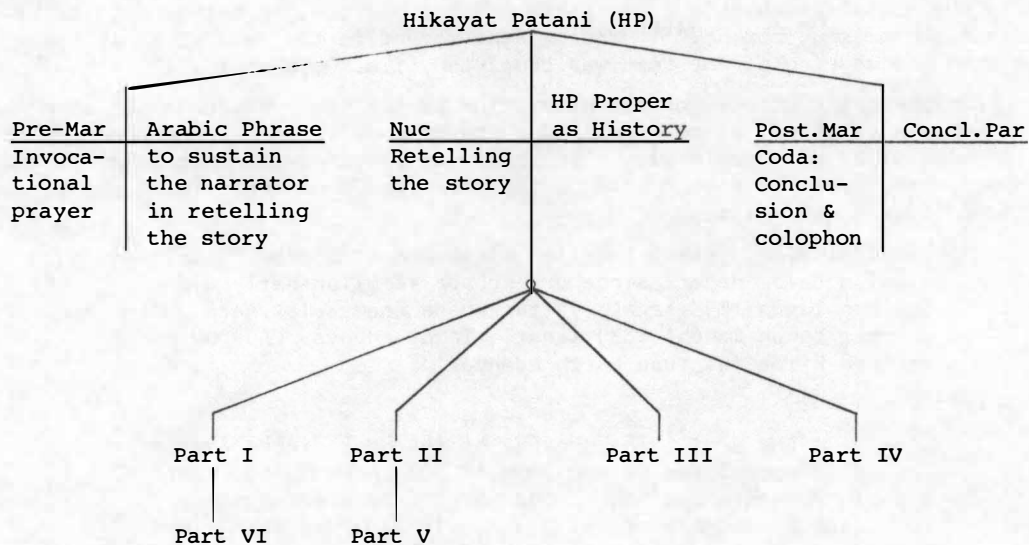
From the display we see that the invocational prayer forms the pre-marginal part
of HP, with the HP Proper as the nucleus and the concluding paragraph as the
post-margin. The following lists, which present the parts of HP Proper with their
topics[9] and chapters, serve, along with Display 3.2.2. above, to give my readers
a clearer perspective of where the story proper of the first chapter, as pre-
sented in Display 3.2.1. above, fits in the overall structure of HP.

(a)1. Part I: The history of Patani during the rule of the Inland Dynasty

   2. Part II: The story of Patani during the rule of Kalantan Dynasty

   3. Part III: A summary of Bendaharas (i.e. Prime Ministers) of Patani

   4. Part IV: The story of the elephant doctor Cau Hang and progeny

   5. Part V: The story of the death of Datuk Sai and the struggle between
                 the pretenders to the position of bendahara during the reign
                 of the Kalantan Dynasty

   6. Part VI: The Undang-Undang Patani (i.e. the court customs of the royal
                 orchestra of Patani)

(b)1. Part I   has 22 chapters: chapters 1-22

   2. Part II has 2 chapters: chapters 23-24

   3. Part III has 1 chapter: chapter 25

   4. Part IV has 2 chapters: 26-27

   5. Part V   has 1 chapter: chapter 28

   6. Part VI has 1 chapter: chapter 29

     In relation to the nuclear HP proper, the concluding paragraph is what
Labov and Waletzky[10] call Coda, i.e. a functional device for returning the verbal
perspective to the present moment, since the actual sequence of events described

in the narrative does not, as a rule, extend up to the present. In other words, it is "the signal which ends a narrative and bridges the gap between the narrative and the present moment."[11] The present moment in the case of HP is the time when the copying of the text was completed, i.e. October 16, 1839.[12]

From the point of view of the production of the text, the coda can also function as a colophon, since it provides the date as to when the production or the copying of HP was completed. Furthermore it provides information as to who the owner was, i.e. who the copying of the story was done for. These can be seen in the following quotation:

> Tamat alkalam. Bahwa tamatlah kitab Undang Undang Patani ini
> disalin dalam negeri Singapura kepada sembilan hari bulan
> Sya'ban tahun 1255 sanat, yaitu kepada enam belas hari bulan
> Oktobar tahun maséhi 1839 sanat. Tamat adanya. Adapun yang
> empunya kitab ini tuan North adanya.[13]

which translates as:

> *Here ends the text. The copying of the book of the laws of*
> *Patani was completed in the town of Singapore on the ninth*
> *day of the month Sya'ban of the year 1255, i.e. on the*
> *sixteenth of October of the year AD 1839. This is the end.*
> *The owner of the manuscript is Mr North.*[14]

The Arabic invocational Prayer, as made clear in Display 3.2.1. above, is a supernatural speech act which functions as an opening or preparation for a ritual or a venerable activity. I call it supernatural because the addressee of this speech act is God, a non-human and invisible being. Translated into English this prayer means 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.' The sacred activity or the ritual for which the prayer is said is the act of re-telling HP. It is sacred because it is traditionally passed down by the old narrators who were the original or master performers of the act of telling the story. It is not the product of the personal artistic inspiration of the present quoting or reporting narrator, i.e. the narrator who is doing the retelling of HP according to how it has been told by the old narrators, the narrators that are being quoted from or reported about.

The reason for the saying of the prayer is to assure help, blessing, inspiration and support from God for the narrator's act of retelling the story, because the latter is an act of invoking sacred or traditional elements which may bring into play great and potentially dangerous powers. The prayer is therefore considered as a channel to receive the needed strength from God that is capable of controlling these powers. It is generally believed and accepted that the name of a ruler or a supreme being such as God has authority and power. According to J.D. Douglas, et al., underlying the name of a person are three propositions:[15] 1) the name is the person, 2) the name is the person revealed, and 3) the name is the person actively present. By invoking God's name the present quoting narrator is calling upon the person of God who, in response, reveals His person or nature of authority, power and might that the narrator particularly needs in combating the potentially dangerous powers referred to above. However, realizing that he is a mortal man who does not have the pre-rogative to call upon the name of a powerful and mighty God and that, even as with the dangerous powers, he could also be destroyed by the power of God, the narrator needs to call upon the other names or attributes of God, i.e. the Compassionate and the Merciful, that could save him. This act presupposes that the narrator, whether conscious or not, is aware of God's active presence.

Why is the invocational prayer in Arabic instead of in Malay? To answer this question, let me quote A.L. Becker,[16] writing about Javanese shadow theatre, who states:

> Archaic language is not merely embellishment or mystification, else it would have been lost long ago. Rather it is essential language addressed to the essential audience ....

As to essential audience he says the following:[17] 'The essential audience of a wayang is normally unseen: spirits, demons and creatures, gods, and ancestors.' Hence, Arabic might be used here for the same reason, i.e. as the essential language to the essential audience, Allah (God).

SA_2, in Display 3.2.1. above, refers to the announcing and the concluding of the story as manifested respectively by the introductory sentence (sentence 1), Inilah suatu kissah yang diceterakan oleh orang tua tua, asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu. *'This is a story which has been told by the old people: the origin of the King who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace'* and by the concluding sentence (sentence 45), *'That was the story.'*

SA_3 refers to the assertion of the point of the story, i.e. the reason why the story is told, which is found towards the end of the story and manifested as: Syahdan kebanyakan kata orang nama negeri itu mengikut nama orang yang merawa itulah. Bahwa sesungguhnya nama negeri itu mengikut sembah orang mengatakan pelanduk lenyap itu. *'Most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn fisherman. In actual fact the name of the settlement derived from the words which the people used when reporting the disappearance of the mousedeer.'*

SA_4 stands for the actual telling of the story by the old people as the quoted narrators and also by the present narrator as the quoting narrator. It should be noted that the quoting narrator used the introductory and the concluding sentences as a quotative strategy to put the reported story in quotation.

The reported story in essence is a text, a specific hunting story, that is built on the meaning of the name of the main participant in the story and within the text are embedded two incidents, the climax of the hunting and the result of the hunting, which in turn are used by the narrators as illustrative supports or background information for their point of the story, i.e. SA_3 referred to above.

From the point of view of the four-cell tagmemic analysis, chapter I of HP can be seen in the tree-diagrams of Display 3.2.3. Note that the introductory sentence can be analyzed in two ways, i.e. B.1 which is analyzed based on the perspective of Frame-Content Construction and B.2 which is analyzed from the point of view of -lah Construction. (For details, see the section on construction types.) Note also that the content specific NP or the content reported NP (depending on what perspective one chooses) asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu is the abstract of the story, i.e. the brief summary given at the beginning of the account.[18]

The content reported story, which is the middle node in Display 3.2.3.A, consists of three major parts:

(1) Orientation, which introduces the father of the main participant in the foreground, the main participant in the background, i.e. the name that the father gave him, and the place where they live.

(2) Introduction of the main participant in the foreground, specifically in terms of his name, i.e. on the basis of its meaning, as a strategy to start off the story, which is comprised of

Display 3.2.3.

A.

```
                              Chapter 1
         ┌──────────┬──────────────────┬─────────────────┐
 Frame   │ Intro.S  │ Content  │ Story │ Frame   │ Concl.S
─────────┼──────────┼──────────┤       ├─────────┼─────────
Reporting│ Cataphoric│ Reported │       │ Reporting│ Anaphoric
```

B.1

```
                              Intro.S
              ┌──────────────────────┬──────────────────┐
 Frame   │ -lah Constr.             │ Content  │ NP
─────────┤                          ├──────────┤
Reporting│                          │ Reported │
```

Inilah suatu kissah yang dice-   asal raja yang berbuat
terakan oleh orang tua tua   negeri Patani Darussalam itu
'This is a story which has been   *'(about) the origin of the*
told by the old people'   *king who founded the settle-*
                                        ment of Patani, the Abode of
                                        Peace'

B.2

```
                                 Intro.S
       ┌──────────────────────────────────┬──────────────┐
 Core      │ -lah Constr.         Elab.          │ NP
───────────┤                      ──────────────┤
introducer │                      introduced     │
```

```
  ┌───┬──────────┬──────────┬───────┐     ┌──────────┬───────┬──────────┬───────┐
H │   │ Def.Art. │ M.Encl.  │ Part. │ Frame   │ NP    │ Content  │ NP
  │   │ Cataphoric│ CM      │       │ Generic │       │ Specific │
```

  ini   -lah   suatu kissah   asal raja yang
                                           yang dicetera-   berbuat negeri
                                           kan oleh   Patani Darus-
                                           orang tua tua   salam itu

(a) a generic statement about one of his characteristics, i.e.
his habit of hunting;
(b) a specific account of a hunt, as an instantiation of the generic
statement in point 2a, which consists of:
    1. the preparation of the hunting:
      a. dialogue in the court
      b. movement away from the court
    2. the actual hunting
    3. the result of the hunting which consists of:
      a. the encounter with the prawn fisherman
      b. the decision to build the settlement on the spot where the
         mousedeer disappeared
      c. completion of the building of the settlement

(3) Point of the story: etymologizing about the name of the new settle-
ment that the main participant built as a strategy
    (a) to conclude the story of the hunt, and
    (b) to expand on the point of the story which is embedded in the
    scenes or the episodes of the encounter of the main participant
    with the old couple and the act of the main participant's dogs
    pursuing the mousedeer (for details see section 3.4.).

Returning to the NP asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu
'the origin of the King who founded the settlement of Patani', the abstract of
the story, I could state that asal *'the origin'* is developed in the Orientation
part of the reported story and raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu is
developed in the second and the third part of the story, i.e. the Introduction
of the Main Participant and the Point of the Story.

3.2.2. From the perspective of temporal adverbials

Having seen the overall structure from the speech act perspective, let us
now look at it from the perspective of temporal adverbials. In most grammar text
books, temporal adverbials are analyzed and accounted for in the context of
sentence, clause or phrase level, without taking into consideration discourse or
textual structure. In this section I would like to focus on the function of
temporal adverbials in the context of discourse structure.

In our story all the temporal adverbials together are used as a strategy to
mark the outline of the story which is expressed in all the main clauses that
follow these adverbials. In the following I will present them side by side as
illustrations:

Main clauses	Temporal clauses
(4) old king (king's father) died	BERAPA LAMANYA *'(After) a while'*
(7) he (new king) used to hunt	SELAMA PTN kerajaan itu *'during the time when PTN was on the throne'*
(8) PTN (new king) sat on his throne, attended by ministers, officials, officers and subjects	PADA SUATU HARI *'on a certain day'*
(13) King departed (to hunt)	SETELAH datanglah pada keésokan harinya *'after coming to the next day'*
(14) subjects stopped and tents erected	SETELAH sampai pada tempat berburu itu *'after arriving at the hunting place'*
(17) report to the king: much game	SETELAH orang itu datang mengadap baginda *'after the people came and appeared before the king'*
(19) set up traps and nets	SETELAH keésokan harinya *'after the next day'*
(23) the dogs' voices were heard	ADA sekira-kira dua jam lamanya *'for about two hours'*

(25) king found the people that were following the dogs — SETELAH baginda datang kepada suatu serokan tasik itu *'after the king came to an inlet of the sea'*

(28) king went to the place [i.e. where the mousedeer disappeared] — SETELAH baginda menengar sembah orang itu *'after the king had heard the people's report'*

(35) king returned to the tent — SETELAH SUDAH baginda menengar sembah orang tua itu *'after the king heard what the old man said'*

(36) king discussed with ministers and officers the intention to build a town at the spot where the mousedeer disappeared — DAN PADA malam itu *'and on that night (or in the evening of that day)'*

(37) ministers and officers ordered (some) people to get all the subjects downstream to build the town — SETELAH keésokan harinya *'after the next day'*

(38) king returned to Kota Maligai — SETELAH sudah segala menteri hulubalang dititahkan oleh baginda masing-masing dengan ketumbukannya *'after all the ministers and officers had received instructions from the king, each with his own men'*

(39) the town was finished — ANTARA dua bulan lamanya *'after [lit. 'between'] two months'*

It should be noted that the connective particle setelah *'after this then'*, *'having gone over, thus, then ...'*[19] signals a change of scene and the beginning of a new activity. The latter occurs always in the main clauses as can be seen above. Notice that the scene and the new activity involved are usually expressed in a cluster of sentences. They can however be expressed in a single sentence, e.g. sentence (13) which is followed by sentence (14) with another setelah particle. In this sentence, the narrators obviously did not think of elaborating the scene probably due to the fact that it is not important or relevant to do so.

3.3. BAHASA

This section deals with distancing, showing honour and deference, speaking up and speaking down as reflected in the speech act participants' vocabulary, manners, conduct and gestures depending on who speaks to whom and on what occasion. All of these manifestations are capsulated in the Malay term bahasa. To confirm the meaning of this notion let me quite Shelly Errington[20] who, writing of the Hikayat Hang Tuah, states:

> The world's order depends on the raja in the profound sense that his presence gives the world a shape, makes it intelligible. This abstraction, translated into social terms, means simply that the raja ought to be the center of patterned or formulaic behavior, and of course the court is precisely that. In the court we see at its most concentrated those aspects of

social form which we term 'hierarchy': etiquette, formulaic
speech and orderly location of people; and, appropriately,
they are in the Malay context all aspects of one another.
The term which means all of them is bahasa. Bahasa is usually
translated 'language', but also as 'appropriate behavior'.
An early translator from Europeans to the Malay court was
sent back because he did not 'know bahasa'. He spoke the
language perfectly well; the problem was that he did not use
the right etiquette and terms of deference and, in short,
did not behave appropriately .... It is interesting that
Hang Tuah's parents went to Bentan so that Hang Tuah would
'know bahasa'; there were no religious scholars where they
were, apparently making 'knowing bahasa' impossible. In
short, religion, culture, manners, norms and speech are
equated in the term bahasa.

In another source[21] Errington gives a similar explanation about bahasa and
extends it into contexts where events occur, i.e. events occur if and whenever
relationship expressed in bahasa is broken:

The raja is the fixed reference through which the world's
ordering makes sense. The raja's presence gives a shape to
society's totality. This society is defined or given shape
by bahasa, a term which in modern Malay means 'culture',
'language', and 'good manners'. In Part One, bahasa means
all those, but it is clear that it means not a culture or a
language, but culture, society and language themselves, which
are all part of a single whole. Within Part One, there is
no conception of social form outside bahasa; people, events,
and places outside bahasa are imaged as simply anarchic.
Social cohesion within society appears to depend on the
raja's giving royal beneficence to his subjects, and their
returning to him homage in the form of gifts or deference
expressed through speeches and body-stance. This perfect
relation of a raja bestowing beneficence and his followers
offering homage is, in a profound sense, eventless. The
very first paragraph in the hikayat pictures such a relation-
ship between a raja of heaven and his court. If the
relationship, expressed in the forms of bahasa, is broken,
events occur.

As a native speaker of Bahasa Indonesia (Bahasa Melayu) I can confirm from
experience Errington's explanation above, especially regarding bahasa as
'appropriate behavior' or 'good manners' by giving some examples that I have
used in speaking Malay or Indonesian.

(1) Orang itu tak tahu bahasa   *'The man doesn't know any*
    man   that not know manners   *manners.'*

(2) Orang itu melanggar bahasa   *'The man commits a breach*
    man   that commits a breach of good manners *of good manners.'*

(3) Baik sekali budibahasanya   *'He/she has very good*
    good very   manners   he   *manners.'*

Note that another word for bahasa, in the sense of good manners, is budibahasa
(cf. example 3 above), which is derived from the Sanskrit words budi *'sense,
intelligence, kindness, character'* and bahasa *'manners'*.

In the following I will present examples from my text (the first story of HP) that has features or aspects of bahasa and discuss them.

(4) Arakian maka titah baginda: "Aku
    conn.   conn. *speech his majesty: I*

    dengar khabar=nya perburuan   sebelah
    hear   report=the hunting game side

    tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon"
    shore sea that very   many   report says

Then the king spoke:
"I have heard reports
that the game near the
sea-shore is abundant
indeed."

(5) Maka sembah   segala menteri:
    conn. *obeisance all   minister:*

    "Daulat   Tuan=ku, sungguh=lah seperti
    good fortune Lord=my   true=CM   like

    titah Duli   Yang Maha=mulia
    speech dust of the feet the most=noble

    itu, patik dengar pun demi=kian juga
    that slave hear   TM like=that also

The ministers replied
respectfully: "Hail
my Lord, it is true
indeed as Your Majesty
has spoken; we too
have heard likewise."

Examples (4) and (5) are components of a single dialogue paragraph, i.e. example (5) is the response to example (4) as the assertion by the King. Now, the following are vocabularies that reflect bahasa in these two examples in the sense of showing deference, speaking up and speaking down: titah, baginda, aku, sembah, Daulat Tuanku, Duli Yang Mahamulia, patik. Now, I will discuss the meaning[22] of each of these words:

titah means *'speech of a ruler'* in this context; it may mean *'royal command'*.

baginda means *'His or Her Majesty'* or *'King'*; it is a title for rulers; it is a Sanskrit word which literally means *'the fortunate'*.

aku is the first person pronoun which is used by a speaker when addressing his addressee in an intimate circle.

sembah means *'obeisance (with folded hands raised to forehead for rulers, to nose or chin for lesser rajas), respectful address, statement (to any superior)'*; in this context, i.e. in relation with segala menteri *'all ministers'*, it means *'the speech of all the ministers (running)'*; in relation to example (4) sembah segala menteri is better translated as *'all the ministers replied respectfully'*, which implies that the ministers, who are of lower status are speaking up to the King, who is of a higher status.

The word daulat in Daulat Tuanku is an Arabic word which literally means *'good fortune'*. Used with Tuanku *'My Lord'*, the whole expression means *'May Your Highness prosper!'* This expression is a distancing device used by a speaker of a lower status when addressing a king or ruler; it is a speech act of blessing the ruler. That is to say that in responding to the speech of the ruler, the speaker of the lower status has to use a distancing expression, a form of metalanguage, to separate the content level of his speech from the content level of the speech of the ruler.

Duli Yang Mahamulia literally means *'the dust (of the feet) of the most noble'*. This expression is also a distancing device that is used by a speaker of lower status to address a ruler. In this instance the speaker of the lower status is using this expression as a means of humbling himself before the

ruler. That is to say, he puts himself literally at the level of the dust of the feet of the most noble. The deictic marker anchorage here is in the addressee, the King, and not in the speaker.

Patik 'first person pronoun', which literally means *'slave'*, is also an expression of lower status humbling himself before a ruler or a king.

Consider now the following:

(6) Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: "Jikalau
conn. *speech Paya Tu Naqpa: if*

demi=kian kerah=kan=lah   segala ra'yat
like=that summon=act.foc.=CM all   people

kita. Esok   hari kita hendak pergi
I   tomorrow day I   intend go

berburu ke tepi laut itu."
hunt   to shore sea that

Phaya Tu Nakpa then spoke: "In that case call up all Our people. Tomorrow We shall go hunting along the sea-shore."

(7) Maka sembah   segala menteri
conn. *obeisance all   minister*

hulubalang=nya: "Daulat   Tuan=ku
officer=he   good fortune Lord=my

mana titah Duli   Yang
any speech dust of the feet the

Maha=mulia patik junjung"
most=noble slave carry on the head

The ministers and officers replied respectfully: "Hail my Lord; we humbly accept whatever Your Majesty says."

The only term which I will discuss from examples (6) and (7) is junjung, which literally means *'to carry on the head'*. Example (6) is given since it helps the readers to understand example (7), i.e. example (7) is a response to the command expressed in example (6). Now, junjung is a term that expresses the attitude or the act of the speakers, all the ministers and officers, humbling themselves before the addressee, the King, who is of higher status than they are. So what they 'carry on their heads' is whatever the King says. By saying this they are speaking up to the king, while also humbling themselves before the king as was stated before.

Consider now the following:

(8) Maka titah baginda: "Apa yang
conn. *speech his majesty: What rel.pron.*

di=salak   oleh anjing itu?"
pt.foc.=bark by   dog   that

The king spoke: "What were these dogs barking at?"

(9) Maka sembah   mereka sekalian itu:
conn. *obeisance they   all   that*

"Daulat   Tuan=ku, patik mohon=kan
good fortune Lord=my slave beg=act.foc.

ampun dan karunia. Ada se=ékor
pardon and grace   exist one=class

pelanduk putih, besar=nya seperti
mousedeer white big=it/the as

They   replied respectfully: "Hail my Lord, we beg your pardon and grace."

There was a white mousedeer the size of a goat, and its body had a luminous sheen.

kambing, warna tubuh=nya gilang gemilang.
goat   colour body=it/the glittering

Itu=lah yang   di=hambat   oléh
That=CM rel.pron. pt.foc.=pursue by

anjing ini. Maka pelanduk itu pun
dog   this conn. mousedeer that TM

lenyap=lah   pada pantai ini."
disappear=CM at   beach this

*That was what the
dogs were pursuing;
but the mousedeer
has vanished on this
beach here."*

What I want to discuss here from examples (8) and (9) is the clause patik
mohonkan ampun dan karunia in example (9). Example (8) is given since it helps
my readers to understand example (9), i.e. example (9) is the answer to the
question posed in example (8). However, in example (9) the answer to the ques-
tion given in example (8) actually starts at the second sentence in the Content
Part of the Frame-Content Construction as found in example (9). Why is this?
What is the function of the first sentence: Daulat Tuanku, patik mohonkan ampun
dan karunia? The meaning of Daulat Tuanku has been made clear above. Now why
is there patik mohonkan ampun dan karunia? To answer this we have to understand
the fact that the king and his subjects prior to this point in the story have
been hunting all day with no avail. So the king ordered his men to release his
hunting dogs. After two hours the sound of the dogs' barking was heard, which
meant that they were after some deer. However the deer, the white mousedeer
they were pursuing, suddenly disappeared. Now, part of being good and loyal
subjects of a ruler is trying always to please the ruler (this is part of proper
behaviour). In this case the king's men fail to do this (even though it is not
their fault), and so the appropriate way to express their failure and disability
is by saying patik mohonkan ampun dan karunia, which is an act of humbling your-
self through the speech act of asking pardon and grace. And this asking of
pardon and grace is part of appropriate behaviour (bahasa) that one should have
in cases like this.

    Consider the following:

(10) Maka titah baginda   suruh bertanya
     conn. *speech his majesty order ask*

     kepada orang tua itu, dari mana
     to   person old that from where

     datang=nya maka ia duduk kemari ini
     come=he   conn. he reside hither this

     dan orang mana asal=nya
     and person where origin=he

*The king then gave
orders to ask these
old people whence
they had come and
settled in this
place and what their
origin was.*

(11) Maka hamba   raja itu pun men=junjung=kan
     conn. *servant king that TM ag.foc.=carry on
                              the head=act.foc.*
     titah baginda   kepada orang tua itu
     speech his majesty to   person old that

*The king's servants
respectfully trans-
mitted the king's words
to the old people.*

(12) Maka sembah   orang tua itu:
     conn. *obeisance person old that:*

     "Daulat   Tuan=ku, ada=pun patik ini
     good fortune Lord=my exist=TM slave this

     hamba juga pada kebawah Duli
     slave also at   to under dust of the feet

*They respectfully
replied: "Hail my Lord,
we are just servants
of Your Majesty; for
originally*

Yang Maha=mulia, karena asal patik
the most=noble because origin slave

ini duduk di Kota Maligai. Maka
this reside in town Malagai conn.

we lived in the town
of Maligai. When
your Royal Grandfather
departed for Ayudhya
in order to build a
settlement there, we
were summoned to come
and accompany Him on
His voyage.

pada masa Paduka Nénda berangkat
at period foot grandfather depart

pergi berbuat negeri ke Ayutia, maka
go make city to Ayutia, conn.

patik pun di=kerah orang pergi
slave TM *pt.foc.=summon person go*

meng=iring=kan Duli
ag.foc.=accompany=act.foc. dust of the feet

Paduka Nénda berangkat itu.
foot grandfather depart that

Setelah Paduka Nénda
After this then foot grandfather

When he had arrived
at this place we
were stricken with
an illness, so we
were left behind
here."

sampai kepada tempat ini, maka patik pun
arrive to place this conn. *slave* TM

kedatangan penyakit, maka patik pun
stricken with illness conn. *slave* TM

di=tinggal=kan orang=lah
*pt.foc.=leave behind=act.foc. person=*CM

pada tempat ini"
at place this

(13) Maka titah baginda: "Apa nama
conn. *speech his majesty: What name*

engkau?"
you

The king spoke:
"What is your name?"

(14) Maka sembah orang tua itu: "Nama
conn. *obeisance person old that: name*

patik Encik Tani"
slave Encik Tani

The old man respect-
fully replied: "My
name is Encik Tani."

Notice the complexity of the frame part of the indirect frame-content con-
struction in example (10) above. All the speech acts, titah, suruh, bertanya,
are expressed explicitly. Why is it that the narrator chose to speak about it
in this elaborate way, i.e. the King spoke in the form of ordering someone to
ask these old people, instead of just speaking about it plainly in the form of
maka baginda bertanya kepada orang tua itu 'the King asked these old people'.
The reason why the narrator had to or rather chose to do this is a matter of
bahasa, a proper way of speaking about the King and also because that is the way
it should be. The King, constrained by bahasa, has to use a mediator when
speaking to someone he never met before. The narrator's name would be at stake,
i.e. he would be considered melanggar bahasa 'committing a breach of good
manners', if he did not do this or if he did not describe it. Notice that this
matter of bahasa involves two kinds of distancing: physical distancing and
linguistic distancing. The former requires the presence of a mediator, hamba

raja *'King's servant'* in example (11) to be ordered and mainly to carry out the speech act of asking the question to the old people. The latter requires three speech acts, titah, suruh, bertanya, expressed explicitly, and not just one, bertanya as discussed above.

In example (11) the predicate menjunjungkan literally means *'to carry on one's head'* (cf. discussion of junjung in example (7) above). The reason why this word is chosen and not any other, e.g. menyampaikan *'to convey'* or *'to transmit'*, is again a matter of bahasa. Notice that bahasa here involves two aspects: physical distancing and the act of showing respect. The former is manifested in the fact that the servant carries on his head (menjunjungkan) the speech (or the words) of the King towards (kepada) the old people. The latter is signalled by the fact that the servant carries on his head (menjunjungkan) the speech of the King. The physical distancing may be motivated by the fact that normally when a king speaks to a stranger, especially when the status of relationship between them has not been established, the former usually makes use of a mediator. Once the status of their relationship is established, as can be seen in example (12), the mediator isn't used anymore. This fact, i.e. the King speaking directly to the old man without any mediator, can be seen in the exchange as portrayed in examples (13) and (14).

In example (12), the clause adapun patik ini hamba juga pada kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia *'we are also servants of Your Majesty'*, which literally translates as *'Your slaves here are also servants underneath the dust of the feet of the Most Noble'*, is a speech act of humbling oneself before a ruler or a King. It is a distancing device used by the speaker, the old man, to put himself literally at a level which is underneath the dust of the feet of the most noble. By means of this, the speaker, in other words, is making clear his status in relation to the King. This is one aspect of this distancing device. The second aspect of this device involves the separation of the content level of example (10), i.e. the question dari mana datangnya maka ia duduk kemari ini dan orang mana asalnya *'where they had come from and settled in this place and what their origin was'*, from its answer, i.e. the content level of example (12), which starts with karena asal patik ini ... and ends with ... pada tempat ini. The separation of these two content levels is done by means of the information in example (11) and in example (12), Daulat Tuanku, adapun patik ini hamba juga pada kebawah Duli Yang Mahamulia.

Paduka Nénda and Duli Paduka Nénda as found in the second and third sentences of the content part of example (12) are again proper ways for the old man to refer to the King's Royal Grandfather. Note that bahasa does not allow the old man to refer to the King's Royal Grandfather by terms other than Paduka Nénda. Notice that the form Paduka Nénda occurs in subordinate adverbial clauses, whereas the form Duli Paduka Nénda occurs in the main clause. This might indicate that Paduka Nénda is probably the second mention form of the nominal form Duli Paduka Nénda. The truth of this inference has to be verified by more data.

Notice that in the exchange between the King and the old man in examples (13) and (14), two kinds of distancing devices are absent, i.e. the non-verbal physical one and the verbal relational one. The former is manifested in the absence of the mediating servant (cf. examples (10) and (11) for his presence). The latter is manifested in the absence of the relational formulaic address term Daulat Tuanku, which is used in the context of examples (4) and (5), and in the context of examples (6) and (7) to separate the content level of the King's speech from the content level of the speech of his subjects. The reason for the absence of the term Daulat Tuanku is probably due to the fact that example (14) is still part of the same speech act interaction, i.e. the asking of questions

that still involves the same speaker and addressee, that starts out in example (10) and extends to example (14). In other words, when the interaction involves a new speech act other than the one prior to it in a previous dialogue paragraph, the term Daulat Tuanku usually appears as a signal of this change in speech act. Note that this term only occurs in context where a king is speaking down to his subject and exclusively in the addressee part of the dialogue, and not in the speaker part of the dialogue. To back up the validity of this inference (or hypothesis) compare the dialogue paragraphs which are illustrated by examples (4) and (5), and examples (6) and (7), and which occur in the text one after the other. Notice that the term Daulat Tuanku occurs both in example (5) and in example (7). Notice also that the speech act in the context of examples (4) and (5) is an assertion (or a statement), whereas in the context of examples (6) and (7) it is not an assertion but a command. Hence, a change of speech act involves the following: a change of participants with the same speech act or a change of speech act with the same participants.

Despite the absence of these two distancing devices, there are two others that are involved in the context of examples (13) and (14). The first type is reflected in the pronouns engkau and patik. Engkau is a second person pronoun which is used by elders and superiors in addressing juniors and inferiors. Hence, there is a distancing here that the King is making between him and his addressee, the old man. The latter's proper response to this, constrained by bahasa, is the use of patik *'slave'* as a way of acknowledging his status and accepting the distancing set up by the King.

The second type of distancing is the one used by the narrators and is reflected in the words titah *'speech (of)'* for the King and sembah *'speech (of)'* for the old man. This distancing is implied in the meanings of these words which have been discussed above.

So far I have been talking about three types of speech act participants: 1) the narrator, who talks about the others, i.e. the characters in the story, 2) speaker of high status (character in the story): speaks down to addressee of lower status, 3) speaker of low status (character in the story): speaks up to the addressee of high status.

The terms in the examples above that are used by the narrator to refer to the fact that the speaker of low status is performing the speech act towards the addressee of high status is sembah and to the fact that the speaker of high status (in this case the king) is performing the speech act towards the addressee of low status is titah. In other words, titah and sembah are in complementary distribution. They have basically the same meaning, i.e. *'the speech of'* but are used by the narrator in different contexts. In this way the narrator is acting appropriately, i.e. berbahasa, in the sense of applying proper terms to proper speech act participants. The terms that are used by the King to refer to himself in addressing his addressee are aku and kita. Aku as discussed above is the first person which is used by a speaker when addressing his addressee in an intimate circle. Kita, on the other hand, is used by a high status speaker when speaking down to a low status addressee. Note that aku is used by the King when he is making an assertion or a statement to his ministers, officials, officers and all the people about the abundance of the hunting game near the seashore (see example (4) and the sentence prior to example (4) in the text). Kita is used by the King when he is giving an order to his ministers and officials to summon all his subjects (see example (6)). In other words, in example (4), the form aku is used because the context or the speech act made by the King is informal and intimate. However, in example (6) the form kita is

used because the context or the speech act made by the King then requires a formality and not an intimacy.

The terms that are used by the speaker of low status to speak up to the King, the addressee of high status, are patik, Daulat Tuanku, Duli Yang Mahamulia, (patik) junjung, (patik) mohonkan ampun dan karunia.

In summary, display 3.3.1. presents what has been discussed above.

In conclusion, all these terms should be used right and properly by the speaker, whether narrator or speech act participant, in any hikayat of a Malay kingdom. If they are not, then the speaker will be described as someone who melanggar bahasa *'commits a breach of etiquette'*, or tak tahu bahasa *'does not know manners'*. However if they are used right and properly the speaker will be praised as someone who is baik sekali budibahasanya, i.e. who *'has very good manners'*.

Display 3.3.1.

PARTICIPANTS	DIRECT SPEECH			INDIRECT SPEECH/DESCRIPTION	
	First Person	Second Person	Speech Act	Third Person	Speech Act
1. King	aku	Tuanku (used by 2, 3 & 4)	[Question]* [order]	baginda (used by the narrators)	titah *(speech of)* suruh *(order)* bertanya *(ask)*
2. ministers	patik		Daulat *(bless)* junjung *(submit)*		sembah *(speech of)*
3. people who follow the dogs	patik		Daulat mohonkan ampun dan karunia *(ask pardon and grace)*		sembah
4. the old man	patik	engkau (used by 1)	Daulat [Reply]†		sembah
5. Royal Grandfather				Paduka Nénda Duli Paduka Nénda (used by 4)	

* The King never uses speech act verbs (or performative verbs); other participants always do except the old man, Encik Tani.

† This is the instance (see discussion of examples (13) and (14)) where the old man does not use a speech act verb. This has to do with the problem of the scope of Daulat, i.e. one daulat per speech act. More precisely, it has to do with the fact that the exchange in which examples (13) and (14) take place still occur within the same speech act.

3.4. NAMING AND ETYMOLOGIZING

The text under analysis, the first story of HP, is essentially a story that is built on the meaning of the name of the main participant, Paya Tu Naqpa. Paya, according to Teeuw and Wyatt (1970:221) is an honorific title which is common in Thai, Burmese and Môn. Tu according to them (1970:221) 'has one meaning common to both Malay and Thai, as a demonstrative pronoun meaning "that, those".' However, they comment further that 'its application and interpretation are uncertain' in the text. Naqpa, again according to Teeuw and Wyatt (1970:221) 'might be Thai nak-pa "man of the forest" - a name appropriate to one who "was accustomed to always go hunting".'

Now, the story starts off by introducing the father of the main participant, the place where he lives and the name that the father gave to the son, Paya Tu Antara (sentences (2-3)). The story goes on to the event of the son succeeding the father after the latter died and provides information about the new name, Paya Tu Naqpa, that the son gave himself (sentences (4-6)). After this point, i.e. beginning with sentence (7), Selama Paya Tu Naqpa kerajaan itu sentiasa ia pergi berburu *'During his reign Paya Tu Naqpa was accustomed to always go hunting'*, the story goes on developing a context where the name is made meaning-ful, i.e. an account of a specific instance of the habitual generic act of hunting as expressed in sentence (7). In summary form the specific account could be presented as follows:

> 'The King, Paya Tu Naqpa, heard about a hunting ground by the seashore where there was plenty of game. His subjects con-firmed this news and so he decided to go hunting at this place. During the climax of the hunt, his dogs came across a mouse-deer which they pursued to the beach and disappeared at a spot on the beach.
>
> On his way to the spot, the King met an older couple who were prawn-fishermen. He asked them how they got there and asked the name of the husband.
>
> Returning to his tent, that night after discussion with his ministers and officers, he decided to build a town/country at the spot where the mousedeer appeared/disappeared. The town was completed in two months and was given the name Patani Darussalam.'

Towards the end of the story, the narrators present the point of the story, i.e. the reason why the story was told, in the following form:

Syahdan kebanyakan kata orang nama negeri itu mengikut nama orang yang merawa itulah. Bahwa sesungguhnya nama negeri itu mengikut sembah orang mengatakan pelanduk lenyap itu.	*'Most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fishermen. In actual fact the name of the settlement derived from the words which the people used when reporting the disappearance of the mousedeer.'*[23]

Notice that the point of the story, i.e. the explication of how the name of the settlement was arrived at, is a form of etymologizing. It consists of two sentences. The first one states the popular public opinion. The second states the opinion of the narrators, the 'true' etymology'.

The first etymology is embedded in the specific hunting account in sentence (34), Maka sembah orang tua itu:'Nama patik Encik Tani' *'The old man respectfully replied: "My name is Encik Tani"'*, which is a reply to the King's question in sentence (33), Maka titah baginda: 'Apa nama engkau?' *'The King spoke: "What is*

your name?"'. In reality the dialogue as expressed by sentences (33) and (34) is part of a text unit, an episode or a scene (extended from sentence (28) to sentence (35)), that is developed by the narrators as a further extension to back up the explication that contains the popular belief.

The second or the 'true' etymology is backed up in the hunting account by sentence (27), especially by the phrase pantai ini *'this beach'* which is part of the last sentence in the content part of sentence (27), Maka sembah mereka sekalian itu: 'Daulat Tuanku, patik mohonkan ampun dan karunia. Ada seékor pelanduk putih, besarnya seperti kambing, warna tubuhnya gilang gemilang. Itulah yang dihambat oléh anjing ini. Maka pelanduk itu pun lenyaplah pada pantai ini.' *'They replied respectfully: "Hail my Lord, we beg your pardon and grace. There was a white mousedeer, the size of a goat, and its body had a luminous sheen. That was what the dogs were pursuing, but the mousedeer has vanished on this beach here."'* Sentence (27) is a reply to the King's question in sentence (26), Maka titah baginda: 'Apa yang disalak oléh anjing itu?' *'The King spoke: "What were these dogs barking at?"'* This dialogue, expressed in sentences (26) and (27), is part of an episode or a scene which is developed by the narrators as a further extension to back up the explication that is expressed in the sentence that contains the opinion of the narrators.

Notice that the first name, Nakpa, or rather the meaning of it is used as a strategy to build up the hunting story which is a specific instance of the main participant's generic habitual act of hunting that he was accustomed to do during his reign. Within this hunting story are embedded two scenes or episodes, the encounter of the King with the old couple and the act of the King's dogs pursuing the mousedeer, which illustrate, instantiate or rather expand on the point of the hunting story, i.e. the explication of how the name of the settlement is arrived at. Hence, the second name, i.e. the name of the settlement, is also used as a strategy to build up the two embedded scenes or episodes within the bigger text of the hunt.

In other words, in terms of its expansion, the point of the story is embedded within the story about the meaning of the name of the main participant. In terms of role relation the latter, i.e. the specific hunting story, assumes the role of instrument to achieve the former, i.e. the point of the story, as the goal or the intention of the narrators that they try to communicate to their audience. Following is a diagram to make this point clear:

Display 3.4.1.

Narrator o——————— Point of the story: ————————▷ Addressee
                      1. Popular belief vs.
                      2. Narrator's opinion

1 = the King went on a hunt
2 = the dogs pursued the mouse-
    deer
3 = the King met the old couple

1
(2) (3)
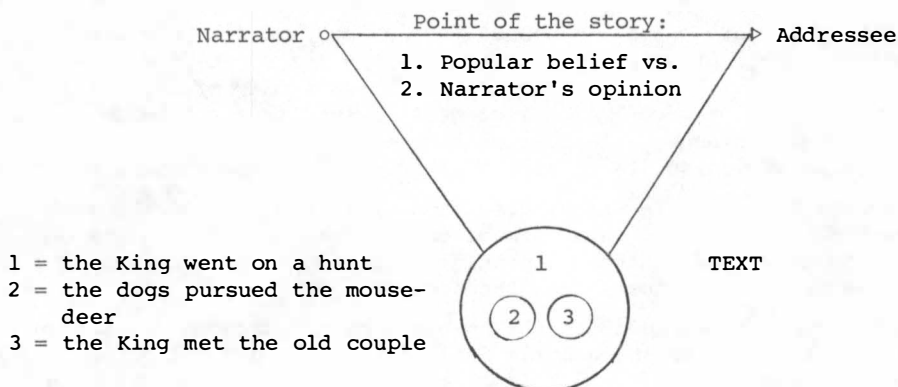
TEXT

Notice that in the first case, i.e. the meaning of the name of the parti-
cipant, name is used as a base or topic from which the text is developed, while
in the second, the name of the settlement, name is used as a concluding point.
In other words, names in this text are used by the narrators to give a sense of
completeness to the text. This act of giving a sense of completeness to the
text by means of names at the beginning and at the end of the text is another
text-building strategy that should be distinguished from the strategy of using
names or their meanings to build up a text as discussed above.

Etymologizing about names is not highly valued in Western culture because
people in this culture 'tend to feel that names are the most arbitrary words of
all, given to people and places before they really "are".'[24] However, in Judeo-
Christian tradition this strategy of text-building is very pervasive, e.g. 'The
new name given to Jacob after his night of wrestling at Penuel: "Your name",
said his supernatural antagonist, "shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel,
for you have striven [śārîtā, from śārâ *'strive'*] with God and with men, and
have prevailed"' (Genesis 32:28, RSV);[25] the name Jesus, meaning 'Yahweh or God
saves', based on which lots of sermons have been written and preached; an
American Christian family I know of gave their first son the name Jesse, meaning
'God exists', the story behind it being as follows: At the time the mother gave
birth to this son, the doctor said that the baby would not live because of the
difficult delivery. The parents, who were about to be Christians then, did not
yield to the doctor's statement, but were convinced that if God exists their son
would survive. He did survive and so they named him Jesse. Hence, I would say
that in the Christian and Jewish part of the Western culture names are not
arbitrary and etymologizing about names is still valued, if not highly valued.

3.5. PARTICLES

3.5.1. Maka

Richard Winstedt, in his *Malay English Dictionary* (1967), states that maka
in literary language means *'then'* or *'next'* with an additional comment that it
is 'an untranslatable word that fulfils the function of a full stop or comma in
Malayo-Arabic script; obsolescent in Romanized Malay'.

The first meaning given by Poerwadarminta in his *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*
'General Dictionary of Bahasa Indonesia' (1966) is Kata untuk memulai kalimat,
berarti: dan, lalu, sudah itu lalu *'a word to start or to introduce a sentence,
with the meaning: and, then, after that then'*.

Lewis, in his *Teach Yourself Malay* (1947:255) gives the following informa-
tion:

> Maka is the commonest of the punctuation words. When you are
> translating a passage, you will find it helpful to think of
> it as an introductory word marking the opening of a clause,
> whether main or subordinate. But its real function is rather
> to join one clause to the next. 'This happened, then, that
> happened.' It can sometimes be translated by 'and' or 'then',
> but it is usually better to omit it in translation.

Becker, in his article 'The figure a sentence makes' subtitled 'An inter-
pretation of a classical Malay sentence' (1977:13) provides the following etymo-
logical explanation: 'Maka can be analyzed into ma- + (k + a), in which ma- =
stative prefix, -k- = deictic formative, and -a = third person there/then.' In

the same article (p.14), he also states that: 'At the level of sentences, the Classical Malay text uses just maka (or another single-word connective like shahadan or hatta ...) to mark separate units.'

Winstedt, again in his *Malay Grammar*, in the section of 'punctuation words' (1913:161-163), provides the following information: 'maka is written after the words sa-bĕrmula "*story introducing word*", bĕrmula "*the story begins*", sa-kali pĕrsĕtua (Skt.) "*once upon a time*", alkesah (Ar.) "*the story is*", hata "*next*", sahadan (= saha Skt. + dan), kalakian, arakian "*moreover*".' Besides this, he also states that maka 'marks the temporal causal or other antithetical connection between clauses and parts of sentence' and 'connects principal sentences in rapid staccato narrative, marking each separate event of the whole', e.g. 'maka dĕngan sa-saat itu juga, maka Bĕtara Kala mĕnjadilah katak; maka ia pun hĕndak lari; maka dilihat diri-nya tĕlah mĕnjadi katak, maka lalu tĕrlompat lompat, maka sĕrta bĕrbunyi gĕruk-gĕruk "*At that very instant Bertara Kala became a frog; he wanted to run, noticed his changed form, straightway made leap after leap, at the same time croaking*"' and that it conjoins subordinate clauses.

Notice that all the definitions of maka given above have three things in common. That is, maka is an initial punctuation that starts off a sentence or a clause and since it always occurs at the beginning of sentences or clause it is therefore a marker of these text units. It is also a connective because it occurs between clauses and sentences and connects them.

These three aspects of maka hold true in our text. However, there is one more aspect of its meaning that we would like to add to what has been given above. That is, in terms of the context of the text as a discourse, maka always occurs preceding an event and a sequence sentence (or clause). It never occurs preceding a discourse initiating sentence. In other words, maka could be viewed as an event sequence sentence (or clause) marker in a discourse.[26] It should be noted that Lewis implied this in the following sentence as quoted above: 'This happened, then, that happened.' However, this does not necessarily mean that maka is a temporal sequence marker, although it can be temporal.

In summary we could state that maka is a sentence level property in a discourse. In terms of its function slot it is an initial punctuation; in terms of its function or semantic role it is an event sequence sentence marker in a discourse; in terms of its filler class it is a connective. In a four-cell tagmeme, it will appear as follows:

initial punctuation	connective
ESM	maka

3.5.2. Arakian

Winstedt again in his *Malay English Dictionary* states that arakian means *'again'* or *'moreover'*. In relation with kian, which means *'as many (much, far) as'* or *'there'*, he provides arakian with the meaning of *'next'* or literally *'direction there'* which probably derives from arah *'direction'* and kian *'there'*. In his *Malay Grammar* as quoted above, he considers this particle as belonging to the class of words that he calls 'punctuation words' (1913:161), i.e. 'words which serve to introduce the commencement of story, of paragraph, and of sentence, and to mark the balance of clauses.' He comments further that 'these words are not found in Malay conversation, and may be omitted in translating

Malay composition into a foreign language.' He goes on elaborating that 'a fresh topic or paragraph will be opened by hata *"next"*, sahadan (= saha Skt. + dan), kalakian, arakian *"moreover"* - ... all followed by maka' without making any clear distinction between arakian and sahadan, which is spelled syahdan in my text, and also between arakian and kalakian.

Lewis, in his *Teach Yourself Malay* which is based on Winstedt's *Malay Grammar* labels these punctuation words, i.e. hatta (or hata), shahadan, arakian and kalakian 'transition words'. His comments on these words, with a little modification, are basically the same as Winstedt's given above: 'These words are used to introduce a new topic, or a new aspect of a topic already intro- duced.' (1947:230). Again Lewis, like Winstedt, does not specify the difference between arakian, syahdan and kalakian. The meaning he gives to these words is just the same as Winstedt's, that is, *'moreover'*.

Poerwadarminta 1966 provides arakian with the meaning of sesudah itu lalu *'after that then'* or *'having that before then'*.

From all the contexts of arakian in my text, I observe that this particle is a conclusion marker of a sentence, paragraph or an episode within the story. That is to say that it does not function in the same way as demikian in demikian- lah hikayatnya *'Thus was the story'*, which is a story conclusion marker and hence occurs at the end of the story. In other words, arakian and demikian are both conclusion markers which are in complementary distribution.

To illustrate this point, take for instance sentence (9) and relate it to sentences (7) and (8); or take sentence (13) and relate it to sentences (9-12), especially sentence (11); or take sentence (41) and relate it to sentences (39- 40).

For more evidence following portions from story 2 of HP are presented (p.72, paragraph 4):

Setelah sudah Syaikh Sa'id berjanji dengan raja itu, maka Syaikh Sa'id pun duduklah mengobat raja itu. Ada tujuh hari lamanya, maka raja pun dapatlah keluar diadap oléh menteri hulubalang sekalian. Arakian maka Syaikh Sa'id pun bermohonlah kepada baginda, lalu kembali kerumahnya.	*'After Sheikh Sa'id had made this agreement with the King he sat down to treat him. It took seven days before the King was able to go out and give audience to the ministers and officers. Then* (or *'after that then'*) *Sheikh Sa'id respectfully took his leave of the King and returned to his home.'*

(p.72, paragraph 5, and p.73, paragraph 1, partially:)

Hatta ada dua tahun selangnya, maka raja pun sakit pula, seperti dahulu itu juga penya- kitnya. Maka Syaikh Sa'id pun disuruh panggil pula oléh raja. Telah Syaikh Sa'id datang, maka titah baginda: 'Tuan obatlah penyakit hamba ini. Jikalau sembuh penyakit hamba sekali ini, bahwa barang kata tuanhamba itu tiadalah hamba lalui lagi.' Maka kata Syaikh Sa'id:	*'After two years had elapsed the King fell ill again, suffer- ing from the same disease as before. Again the King sent for Sheikh Sa'id. After the sheikh had arrived the King spoke. "Please treat this illness of mine. If I recover this time, then indeed I shall not ignore again whatever you say." The sheikh said:*

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'Sungguh-sungguh janji Tuanku dengan patik maka patik mau mengobati Duli Tuanku. Jikalau tiada sungguh seperti titah Duli Tuanku ini, tiadalah patik mau mengobat dia.' Setelah didengar raja sembah Syaikh Sa'id itu demikian, maka raja pun berteguh-teguhan janjilah dengan Syaikh Sa'id. Arakian maka Syaikh Sa'id pun duduklah mengobat raja itu.

"If your agreement with me is truthful, then I will cure Your Majesty. But if your words are not sincere, then I will not treat you." When the King heard the words of Sheikh Sa'id he solemnly confirmed his agreement with him. Then (or 'after that then') Sheikh Sa'id sat down to treat the King.'

(p.75: sentences 4-6:)

Setelah sudah Syaikh Sa'id memberi nama akan raja itu, maka titah baginda: 'Anak hamba ketiga itu baiklah tuanhamba beri nama sekali, supaya sempurnalah hamba membawa agama Islam.' Maka sembah Syaikh Sa'id: 'Barang bertambah kiranya daulat sa'adat Duli Yang Mahamulia, hingga datang kepada kesudahan zaman paduka anakanda dan cucunda Duli Yang Mahamulia karar sentosa diatas takhta kerajaan dinegeri Patani Darus-salam.' Arakian maka Syaikh Sa'id pun memberi nama akan paduka anakanda baginda yang tua itu Sultan Mudhaffar Syah dan yang tengah perempuan itu dinamainya Sitti 'A'isyah dan yang bungsu laki-laki dinamainya Sultan Manzur Syah.

'After the sheikh had given the name to the King, the King spoke: "You should also give my three children names at once so that in all respects I become a good Muslim." Sheikh Sa'id said respectfully: "May Your Majesty's might and prosperity increase, so that till the end of time Your Majesty's children and grand-children may be forever secure and safe on the royal throne in the land of Patani, Abode of Peace." Then (or 'after that then') Sheikh Sa'id gave the eldest son of the King the name of Sultan Mudhaffar Syah, and the middle one, the daughter, he gave the name of Sitti 'A'isyah, and the youngest son he gave the name of Sultan Manzur Syah.'

Arakian, according to Winstedt (quoted above), in two of our illustrations could be a punctuation word which introduces the beginning of a paragraph, i.e. in sentence (9) it introduces the Complex Dialogue Paragraph that is composed of sentences (9-12), and in sentence (13) it introduces the paragraph that is made up of sentences (13-16). However, this generalization does not hold well for the examples given above that are taken from story 2.

Lewis, as quoted above, classifies this particle as one of the transition words that 'are used to introduce a new topic, or a new aspect of a topic already introduced.' This generalization holds true in all the examples above. However I argue that there is a difference between arakian, syahdan, hatta and kalakian.[27] And this difference was not discussed either by Lewis or Winstedt. It will be clear what it is by the time we are through with discussing each of these particles.

3.5.3. Hatta (or hata)

According to Winstedt in his *Malay English Dictionary*, hat(t)a is origin-ally a Sanskrit word which means *'next'* and is used to introduce a new paragraph.

The original Sanksrit form for hatta is átha or áthā. In his *A Sanksrit-English Dictionary* (1899), Sir Monier Monier-Williams provides the following information: 'an auspicious and inceptive particle (not easily expressed in English), now, then, moreover, rather, certainly, but, else, what?, howelse?, etc.'

From all the contexts of hatta in my text, I observe that this particle marks the beginning of a text unit that contains a change in the action or the event. It usually has to do with the change in participant orientation or in the scene. The change in participant orientation may involve the change of the background major participant with the foregrounded major participant. It may also involve the introduction of new significant participant, while the major participant is still the same, with a change in the scene.

The text unit in which this change takes place is probably close to what others label as 'episode'. The following quotations describe what an episode is, and is, in terms of properties, somewhat close to the text unit in which hatta occurs:

> Episode settings always involve a change of participant
> orientation and scene from the previous incident in the
> story .... While the opening incident of an episode takes
> its temporal setting from the speech of the participant
> thematized in the episode setting, settings for subsequent
> incidents are defined by their motion away from or their
> return to the previous setting ... (Grimes 1975:109-110)

> ... an episode may consist of a series of paragraphs in
> which the same characters take part, so that a new episode
> begins when a significant change of participants takes
> place. (Grimes 1975:110)

To know the specific context of hatta in my text, the following are comments about them:

Sentence (4) contains the information about the death of the old king, the father of the focussed major participant, Paya Tu Naqpa. This sentence forms the beginning of the episode where the King's son started his reign in the kingdom. There is a change of participant orientation at this point. That is to say that both the hatta sentence and the one after it provide the information about this change.

Sentence (17) contains the information regarding the report of the scout to the King that there are plenty of deer to hunt. And this information marks the beginning of the actual hunt. It involves some change of scene here, i.e. movement from the camping place to the forest.

Sentence (23) contains the information about the dogs' barking being heard after two hours. It marks the beginning of the account of the discovery of the spot where the mousedeer disappeared and of the encounter of the prawn fisherman and his wife. There is a change of scene involved and an addition of significant participants to the story at this point.

Sentence (39) contains the information about the completion of the building of the town. It marks the beginning of the kingdom in the new town. In other words, there is a change of scene or location involved here.

3.5.4. Ini - itu

Ini is a deictic particle which means *'this'* or *'these'*. In terms of deictic anchor it usually modifies the speaker or other entities that are close to the speaker. This proximity can be temporal or physical.

The following example contains ini as temporal cataphoric deictic particle:

(1) Ini=lah suatu kissah yang
This=CM *a   story* rel.pron.

   di=cetera=kan   oleh orang
   pt.foc.=*tell*=act.foc. *by   person*

   tua-tua, asal   raja yang   berbuat
   old-old, origin king rel.pron. *make*

   negeri   Patani Darussalam   itu
   settlement Patani Abode of Peace that

This is a story which has been told by the old people: the origin of the king who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace.

The fact that ini is cataphoric in this particular sentence is due to the position of kissah, i.e. it follows ini. In other words, the cataphoric feature or 'nature' of ini is not something inherent but it is something external. Since kissah *'story'* is an abstract noun, ini, in terms of proximity, is therefore temporal rather than physical. That is to say that the actual telling of the story happens right after this sentence is uttered. In light of all these facts, our sentence above would be interpreted as having the following meaning: *'This is a story which I, the speaker, am about to tell. It has been told by the old people and is about the origin of the King who built the settlement of Patani.'*

Now, suppose we reverse the order of ini and kissah and as a result have the following: Kissah inilah yang diceterakan oleh orang tua tua, asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu *'This (then) was the story told by the old people about the King who built the settlement of Patani.'*[28] Ini in this context is not cataphoric but anaphoric. Hence, as has been stated above, it is the position of the noun kissah in relation to ini that determines whether the latter is cataphoric or anaphoric. In other words, this sentence is a speech act of concluding the story as opposed to the former which is a speech act of introducing or announcing the telling of the story. Another difference that one could observe between these two sentences is that the former sentence is an exocentric construction, whereas the latter is an endocentric one.

The following is an example where the use of ini is more physical than temporal due to the fact that the noun it modifies is a concrete one.

(2) Maka pelanduk itu pun lenyap=lah
   conn. *mousedeer that* TM *disappear*=CM

   pada pantai ini.
   on   beach this

The mousedeer disappeared on this beach.

Now, ini here refers to the fact that the beach the speaker is referring to is close to him physically. That is to say he was standing on the beach in Patani when he was uttering this sentence. Notice that ini in this particular context is neither cataphoric nor anaphoric. It refers to an entity that is non-textual. That is, something that is part of nature, the non-textual world, and not part of the text.

Itu, like ini, is a deictic particle which means *'that'* or *'those'*. It also carries a sense of definiteness. In terms of deictic anchor it is usually

hearer centred and also other centred, i.e. the person or thing talked about by the speaker and hearer.

In our text there are two kinds of itu: the presupposed or the script[29] one and the non-presupposed one which is usually anaphoric. To illustrate the first type following are some examples:

(3) Ada=pun raja di Kota Maligai itu
    Exist=TM *king in town Maligai that*

    nama=nya   Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana
    name=the/he Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana

    The king in Kota Maligai was called Phaya Tu Kerub Mahajana.

(4) Arakian maka titah baginda: "Aku
    conn.   conn. *speech his majesty: I*

    dengar khabar=nya perburuan   sebelah
    hear   report=the hunting game side

    tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon"
    shore sea that very   many   report says

    Then the king spoke: "I have heard reports that the game near the sea-shore is abundant indeed."

(5) Maka   baginda   pun me=nitah=kan
    conn. *his majesty* TM ag.foc.=*order*=act.foc.

    orang pergi me=lihat   bekas rusa itu
    person go   ag.foc.=see track deer that

    Then the king ordered (some) men to go and look for the tracks of deer.

(6) Maka   baginda   pun amat hairan=lah
    conn. *his majesty* TM *very astonished*=CM

    serta me=nitah=kan   me=nyuruh
    and ag.foc.=*say*=act.foc.   ag.foc.=*order*

    me=lepas=kan   anjing perburuan
    ag.foc.=*release*=act.foc. *dog   hunting*

    baginda   sendiri itu
    his majesty self   that

    The king was greatly astonished and gave orders to release his own hunting dogs.

None of the itu's in these sentences nor the one that occurs in sentence (1) are anaphoric. That is to say that the nouns they modify haven't been mentioned before in the text. They are presupposed by the narrators. In other words, itu in sentence (1) implies that the narrators assume that their audience knows about Patani the Abode of Peace; it is not an indefinite or a new information to the latter. The same implication holds true for Kota Maligai in sentence (3). In addition to this, itu in this context gives a sense of a unit to the first nominal phrase Adapun raja di Kota Maligai.

All the noun phrases modified by itu in sentences (4-6) are part of the hunting script. That is to say that the seashore in sentence (4), although it has not been mentioned before in the text, is known to both the King as speaker and to his ministers, officials, officers and all his subjects as addressee. So what the King is really saying is: *'I have heard reports that the game near the seashore is abundant indeed. I assume you all know what seashore I am talking about. That is why I could launch into talking about it as something definite.'*[30]

In sentence (5) the narrators assume that their addressee knows that when they talk about a king going out on a hunt the only object of his game is deer. And so mentioning tracks of deer at this point in the text without explicitly

mentioning them before makes sense to both parties and also to us as outside interpreters of the system. In sentence (6), the narrators assume that the hunting dogs are stereotypic part of the hunting script. And so they mention them here for the first time as an old definite information.

The anaphoric non-presupposed itu is different from the script one in that the former always modifies nouns that have been mentioned previously in the text whether it be the same noun or the paraphrase of it, e.g. hutan itu *'the forest'* in sentence (20) in the text refers back to hutan sebelah tepi laut ini *'the forest on the side of this seashore'* in the content part of sentence (17); anjing itu *'the dogs'* in sentence (26) which is anaphoric of the string of anjing itu in sentences (25), (24), (23), (22) and also of anjing perburuan baginda sendiri itu *'the king's own hunting dogs'* in sentence (21), which is an instance of the script itu as has been mentioned above.

In terms of time, ini usually has to do with immediate time before or after a speech act is performed. See discussion of sentence (1) above for this. On the other hand, itu usually has to do with distant time whether in the past or in the future. For example, itu in (1) may also be interpreted as the modifier of the phrase raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam. In this case itu refers to the fact that the king's indefinite action of building the town of Patani, the Abode of Peace was taking place in the past. Itu does not refer so much to raja as to his action. If it did, then raja would be interpreted as being definite. This interpretation is not quite right because at this point in the story raja is indefinite to the addressee despite the fact that he is definite to the old reported narrators, i.e. they know which raja they have in mind when telling the story. Itu in sentence (3) above may also be interpreted as the modifier of the whole phrase Adapun raja di Kota Maligai. With this interpretation it is possible to interpret the existence of the raja (ada *'exist, be'*) as being in the past. Again here itu refers more to the EXISTENCE of the king rather than to the king himself. The reason for this is quite the same as the one given above where itu modifies the action of the king rather than the king.

The following is an example of the use of itu in the distant future. This example is taken from a prophecy from the book of Zechariah (12:4a) in the Indonesian (Malay) Bible (published by Pertjetakan Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia [the Indonesian Bible Society], Tjiluar-Bogor):

(7) Maka pada hari itu djuga, demikian=lah Firman
    conn. *on day that also thus=CM Word*

    Tuhan, akan kupala segala kuda dengan
    Lord will I strike all horse with

    kekedjutan dan segala orang jang
    panic and all person rel.pron.

    mengendarainya dengan gila; ...
    ride them with crazy

On that day, thus says the Lord, I will strike every horse with panic and its rider with madness.

3.5.5. Syahdan

In Winstedt's *Malay English Dictionary*, syahdan is spelled shahadan and the meaning that is given there is *'moreover'* or *'furthermore'*. In his *Malay Grammar* (1913:161) he classifies this particle as a fresh topic or paragraph opener along with other particles of similar nature such as hatta, kalakian and arakian.

According to him sahadan is derived from the Sanskrit saha *'together with, along with, with, in common, in company, jointly, conjointly, in concert'*[31] and Malay dan *'and'*. On the same page he makes a note that 'Sahadan is sometimes used in old literature for the copula *and*.' The examples that he gave to illustrate this are: Maharaja Rawana kararlah dĕngan adilnya sahadan dĕngan murahan *'Maharaja Ravana was established with justice and graciousness'*; tĕrlalu luas humanya sahadan tĕrlalu jadi padi-nya *'the field was very large and the crop bountiful.'*

In the text under analysis syahdan apparently is used as an evaluation marker. The term EVALUATION here is adapted from Labov and Waletzky (1967:37). It is the part of the text which reveals the attitude of the narrators toward the text by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others. Syahdan, which is used twice in the text, occurs with and modifies text units which are considered important by the narrators. The first one is: Syahdan maka Paya Tu Antara pun kerajaanlah menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu. Ia menamai dirinya Paya Tu Naqpa. *'Then Paya Tu Antara became king, succeeding his father. He called himself Paya Tu Nakpa.'* The second one is: Syahdan kebanyakan kata orang nama negeri itu mengikut nama orang yang merawa itulah. Bahwa sesungguhnya nama negeri itu mengikut sembah orang mengatakan pelanduk lenyap itu. *'Most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fisherman. In actual fact the name of the settlement derived from the words which the people used when reporting the disappearance of the mousedeer.'* Note that the first text unit, especially Naqpa, the last part of the name in the second sentence, is used as a base or topic or a theme from which the rest of the text is developed (cf. the meaning of Naqpa as a text-building strategy discussed in section 3.4., Naming and Etymologizing); it is also used as a device to start off the hunting story. The second text unit is used to express the point of the story; it is also used as a device to conclude the story.

3.5.6. Demikian

In discussing arakian above (section 3.5.2.), I stated that this particle is a conclusion marker of a sentence, paragraph, or an episode within the story and that demikian is a conclusion marker at a story or a discourse level and occurs at the end of it.

In this subsection I will point out two more aspects regarding the meaning of demikian. According to Poerwadarminta (1966) demi in classical Malay literature means sebagai *'like'*. Kian, according to both Winstedt (1957) and Poerwadarminta (1966), means sana, situ *'there'*. The following is the concluding sentence of the text in which demikian occurs:

(1) Demikianlah   hikayatnya   *That is the way*
    like there CM *story   the*   *the story goes.*

Note that demikian *'like there'* or *'like that'* is anaphoric of the reported story which is introduced by the introductory sentence Inilah suatu kissah yang diceterakan oleh orang tua-tua, asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu *'This is a story which has been told by the old people: the origin of the King who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace.'* In the context of the telling of the story ini in the introductory sentence is the opposite of demikian in the concluding sentence, i.e. ini is cataphoric and demikian is anaphoric, ini is introducing and demikian is concluding the story.

Now the following is a context in the text where Demikian occurs in a dialogue paragraph level:

(2) Arakian maka titah baginda: "Aku
    conn.   conn. *speech his majesty: I*

    dengar khabar=nya perburuan   sebelah
    hear   report=the hunting game side

    tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon"
    shore sea that very   many   report says

                                  Then the king spoke:
                                    "I have heard reports
                                    that the game near
                                    the sea-shore is
                                    abundant indeed."

(3) Maka   sembah   segala menteri:
    conn. *obeisance all   minister:*

    "Daulat   Tuan=ku, sungguh=lah seperti
    good fortune Lord=my true=CM   like

    titah Duli   Yang Maha=mulia
    speech dust of the feet the most=noble

    itu, patik dengar pun demi=kian juga"
    that slave hear TM like=that also

                                    The ministers replied
                                    respectfully: "Hail
                                    my Lord, it is true
                                    indeed as Your
                                    Majesty has spoken;
                                    we too have heard
                                    likewise."

Notice that demikian in (3) is anaphoric of the information perburuan sebelah tepi laut itu terlalu banyak *'the game near the sea-shore is abundant indeed'* in (2). It is also conclusive in the sense of giving a sense of closure or completeness to this paragraph.

Consider the following context, which follows (2) and (3) in the text:

(4) Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: "Jikalau
    conn. *speech Paya Tu Naqpa: if*

    demi=kian kerah=kan=lah   segala ra'yat
    like=that summon=act.foc.=CM all   people

    kita. Esok   hari kita hendak pergi
    I   tomorrow day I   intend go

    berburu ke tepi laut itu."
    hunt   to shore sea that

                                    Phaya Tu Nakpa then
                                    spoke: "In that
                                    case call up all
                                    Our people. Tomorrow
                                    We shall go hunting
                                    along the sea-
                                    shore."

Demikian in (4) is anaphoric of the content level information sungguhlah seperti titah Duli Yang Mahamulia itu, patik dengar pun demikian juga *'it is true indeed as Your Majesty has spoken, we too have heard likewise'* in (3). And since demikian in (3) is anaphoric of the information perburuan sebelah tepi laut itu terlalu banyak in (2), the scope of demikian in (4) has a range that includes both these content levels of (2) and (3). In other words, the content part of the Frame Content construction in (4) means *'If you think that what I have heard is true, i.e. the fact that the game near the seashore is abundant, and that you have heard about this yourselves, call up all my people.'* Demikian in this context is conclusive. However, because of the presence of the contingency connective particle jikalau *'if'* in this context, the sense of closure inherent in demikian is delayed to the end of the sentence in example (4). In other words, there is a sense of prolonged suspense that is not present in (1) and (3) above where demikian occurs.

To know more of demikian, its meaning and its nature, let us compare it with arakian (discussed in section 3.5.2. above):

Demikian	Arakian

- usually occurs in the content part of the Frame-Content construction[32] (see examples (3) and (4) above)

- always occurs in the preframe part of the Frame-Content construction (see example (2) above), which is the usual position for the connective particles

- modified by comment marker -lah (see example (1) above)

- not modified by comment marker -lah

- conclusion marker of a Dialogue Paragraph or a Complex Dialogue Paragraph level (see examples (1), (3) and (4)).[33]

- conclusion marker of an indirect descriptive speech.

Based on this it is inferred that demikian, in comparison to arakian, is more a content word than a function word. Arakian on the other hand is a function word more than a content word. In other words, from the point of view of coherence, demikian has more of a referential nature, i.e. it is anaphoric, while arakian has more of a textual nature, i.e. it is more connective in nature than demikian.

3.5.7. Summary

The following is a summary chart of the particles discussed in this section:

PARTICLE	FEATURES/COMMENTS
Hatta	- marks a change in the action or the event in an episode. The change usually has to do with the change in participant orientation or in the scene of location. The change in participant orientation may involve the change of backgrounded major participant with the foregrounded major participant; it may also involve the introduction of a significant participant while the major participant is still the same, with a change in the scene. - usually occurs at the beginning of the episode.
Maka	- operates on the clause and sentence levels; in terms of its function slot it is an initial punctuation; in terms of its function role it is an event sequence sentence (or clause) marker in a text; in terms of its filler class it is a connective.
Syahdan	- functions as an evaluation marker and occurs always at the beginning of the evaluation.
Ini	- modifies speaker or other entities that are close to the speaker. - proximity is temporal if the noun it modifies is abstract. - proximity is physical if the noun it modifies is concrete. - is cataphoric and exocentric if it is followed by a noun. - is anaphoric and endocentric if it is preceded by a noun. - is neither anaphoric or cataphoric if it refers to an entity that is non-textual, i.e. an entity that is part of nature (ostensive reference). - signals immediate time before or after a speech act is performed.

Itu	- types: 1. presupposed or script itu 2. non-presupposed or anaphoric itu - signals distant time whether in the past or in the future.
Arakian	- conclusion marker of a sentence, paragraph or an episode of a descriptive indirect speech within the story. - always occurs at the beginning of the concluding unit. i.e. in the preframe part of a Frame Content construction. - not modified by comment marker -lah.
Demikian	- conclusion marker of a Dialogue Paragraph or a Complex Dialogue Paragraph level, and also of a story as a discourse unit.

3.6. CONSTRUCTION TYPES

My text is made up of five types of construction:

1 - Pun-lah constructions

2 - Frame-Content or Reporting-Reported constructions

3 - -Lah constructions

4 - Other constructions

5 - Embedded structures

3.6.1. Pun-lah constructions

This construction type has two variants: pun-lah constructions and the pun constructions.

3.6.1.1. Pun-lah constructions

This construction is a type of sentence that is very common in my text and in other Classical Malay texts I have read. The name pun-lah derives from the fact that at the core of this construction there is a pun constituent and a -lah constituent. The pun constituent is the topic of the construction and the -lah constituent is the event of the construction, i.e. the event that is performed by the topic or that is affecting the topic. In terms of the information conveyed specifically through the content of the text or the story the pun constituent is old or given information and the -lah constituent is new information. This dichotomy is not tight or absolute, since in the -lah constituent there are sometimes forms or elements that pertain to given information. The following construction is an illustration of this fact:

(1) ... maka jaring dan jerat pun di=tahan   ... *nets and snares*
       conn. *net   and trap* TM pt.foc.=*set   were set by the*
                                                  people
    orang=lah
    person=CM

The word that pertains to old information in this construction is orang *'people'*. It was mentioned before in the texts in the form of orang and ra'yat sekalian *'all the people'*. It should be noted however that the newness of information

or event is expressed by ditahan *'(were) set'* and orang taken together as a unit.

Besides the pun-lah structure, which is the core, there are two other parts of structures which together with the former constitute the construction. The one that precedes the core is called the PRECORE and the one that follows the ELABORATION.[34] The core is obligatory, whereas the first and the last parts are generally structurally optional. Following is an example from my text to illustrate the three parts of the construction with an interlinear translation:

(2) Syahdan maka Paya Tu Antara pun
    conn. conn. *Paya Tu Antara* TM

    kerajaan=lah meng=ganti=kan
    become king=CM ag.foc.=*succeed*=act.foc.

    ayahanda baginda itu
    father his majesty that

Then Phaya Tu Antara became king, succeeding his father.

Syahdan maka is the precore part, Paya Tu Antara pun kerajaanlah is the core, and menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu is the elaboration.

The role of the precore is to contextualize the core in the hierarchy of the text. That is, it tells the reader that the sentence occurs at a certain hierarchical level in the text. This is done not so much through the definition of the meaning of the particles syahdan and maka individually, not through etymological explanation of these particles, but mainly through the density in both sound and meaning of these terms. This viewpoint is inherent in certain Southeast Asian cultural patterns and was brought to my attention by A.L. Becker, who, in his article 'The figure a sentence makes', states:

> The main question, it seems to me, is about the sheer heaviness of these terms, a density in both sound and meaning which is very reminiscent of the basic principle of heaviness and lightness in Southeast Asian music and calendars: the coincidence of gongs at structural boundaries (the more gongs sounding together, the higher-level the boundary), or – in calendric terms – the coincidence between marked (highly valued) days in simultaneously occurring 'weeks' of different lengths. The Malay text at the level of sentences uses just maka (or another single word connective like shahadan or hatta from Persian and Hindi); sentence clusters (or whatever the next hierarchical unit should be called) use 'heavier' or 'denser' connectives, two words (e.g. arakian maka, demikian maka, hatta sa-telah, arakian sa-telah, sa-telah demikian, and various other combinations of a few connective words) or three words (e.g. maka sa-telah sudah, hatta sa-telah sudah, sa-telah itu maka, ... sa-telah demikian maka). Aside from the rich meanings and significant variant orders of these terms, it is the 'heaviness' itself which marks the figure we are studying – the Classical Malay sentence – as a major boundary in the hierarchical structure of the text, somewhat like a photograph in English or Burmese. More deictics or connectives mean a higher-level plot boundary: new place, new time, new state, new major character, etc. (1977:11)

So syahdan maka, besides being part of the sentence in which they occur, marks the fact that the sentence is the beginning of a hierarchical unit above the sentence level, whatever it should be called.

In my text the hierarchical unit above the sentence level, besides being expressed by two or three connective words, is also expressed by combinations of connective phrases or connective clauses which starts with one or two connective words and is followed by another connective word, e.g.:

(3.1) HATTA berapa lamanya MAKA
        some   time
   conn.   phrase   conn.

(3.2) ARAKIAN SETELAH datanglah pada keésokan harinya, MAKA
               arrive   at   the next day
   conn.   conn.   clause   conn.

(3.3) SETELAH sampai pada tempat berburu itu, MAKA
       arrive at the hunting ground
   conn.   clause   conn.

(3.4) MAKA SETELAH keésokan harinya MAKA
           the next day
   conn. conn.   phrase   conn.

(3.5) SETELAH baginda datang kepada suatu serokan tasik itu, MAKA
       he (the king) arrived at an   inlet of the sea
   conn.   clause   conn.

Since the precore as stated above is the core contextualizer in the text, the core or the pun-lah structure, Paya Tu Antarapun kerajaanlah, in relation to the former could be called the object of the precore or the contextualized. Now the pun-lah structure as stated above consists of a pun constituent and a -lah constituent which in this particular example are instantiated by Paya Tu Antara pun and kerajaanlah. The former is the topic and the latter is the comment.[35] The topic consists of the head proper noun Paya Tu Antara and the modifying enclitic particle pun; in terms of role the particle is the topic marker and the proper noun is the marked topic or the object of the topic marker. The comment consists of the head 'verb' kerajaan *'became king'* and the modifying enclitic particle -lah; in terms of the role the former is the marked comment or the object of the comment marker and the latter is the comment marker.

The 'verb' kerajaan is made up of the state marking affix ke--an and the word root raja *'king'*.

The topic Paya Tu Antarapun in relation to the comment kerajaanlah has the role of Dative or Patient. This is expressed semantically as well as grammatically through the affix ke--an. In relation with the topic, the comment kerajaanlah has the role of event.

Following are other pun-lah structures from our text:

(4.1) Paya Tu Kerub pun matilah
    Paya Tu Kerub   died

(4.2) baginda pun berangkatlah
    he (the king) departed

(4.3) sekalian ra'yat pun berhentilah
all the people   stopped

(4.4) khémah pun didirikan oranglah
tents were erected by the people

(4.5) baginda pun turunlah
he (the king) descended from

(4.6) Jaring dan jerat pun ditahan oranglah
nets and snares were set by the people

(4.7) segala ra'yat pun masuklah
all the people went into (entered)

(4.8) baginda pun amat hairanlah
he (the king) was greatly astonished

(4.9) anjing itu pun dilepaskan oranglah
the dogs were released by the people

(4.10) baginda pun bertemulah
he (the king) came across

(4.11) pelanduk itu pun lenyaplah
the mousedeer disappeared

(4.12) patik pun ditinggalkan oranglah
we (slaves) were left behind by the people

(4.13) baginda pun kembalilah
he (the king) returned

(4.14) negeri itu pun sudahlah
the settlement was ready (completed)

Note that there are no meN-Verbs (agent focus verbs) in the -lah constituent of the pun-lah structures listed above. Only 'verbs' with ber-, ke--an, di- or di--kan, or no affixes appear before -lah. Note also that with di- or di--kan 'verbs' -lah always occurs after the agent and not before it, i.e. not attached to the verb. We will see later on that meN-Verbs tend to occur in the elaboration part of the construction. This has something to do with the fact that the core in terms of role is more generic and indefinite and the elaboration is more specific and definite.

I stated above that -lah constituent is the new information part of the message conveyed in the pun-lah sentence given above. To test this let us look at the following sentences:

(5) Ada=pun raja di Kota Maligai itu nama=nya   *As for the king in*
    exist=TM *king in town Maligai that name=the/he* *Kota Maligai his name*
                                                        was Paya Tu Kerub
    Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana   *Mahajana.*
    Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana

(6) *Adalah raja di Kota Maligai itu namanya Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana.

(7) Ada=lah seorang raja di Kota Maligai.
    exist=CM *a   king in town Maligai.*

    Nama=nya   Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana.
    Name=the/he Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana.

There was a king in Kota Maligai. His name was Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana.

Sentence (6) is not acceptable and grammatical since -lah does not go together with raja di Kota Maligai itu, i.e. it does not go with raja di Kota Maligai when it is modified by the definite article itu. In sentence (7), however, it works fine.[36] This is due to the fact that raja di Kota Maligai is modified by the indefinite seorang (se + orang = *one* + human classifier (literally *'person'*)) *'a'*.

I stated above that the elaboration is the specification of the generic pun-lah core. In my example, sentence (2) above, the elaboration menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu is the specification of the generic event kerajaanlah that happens to the topic Paya Tu Antara as the result of the motivating event matilah *'die'* that happens to Paya Tu Antara's father and is expressed in the preceding pun-lah construction as:

(8) Hatta berapa lama=nya maka   Paya Tu Kerub
    onn. *how   long=the* conn. *Paya Tu Kerub*

    Mahajana pun mati=lah
    Mahajana TM *die*=CM

After some time Phaya Tu Kerub Mahajana died.

Now the specific result menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu (see example (2)) is basically a clause that consists of the predicate verb menggantikan and the object noun ayahanda baginda itu. The former has the role of focussed act, whereas the latter has the role of patient. Through focussing on the act gantikan by means of the focus marking prefix meN- the agent nature or feature of the generic topic Paya Tu Antara is brought forth to the foreground. The act gantikan consists of the word root ganti and the suffix -kan (derived from the preposition akan) which functions in this context as a focus marker of the action expressed in the act ganti. The object NP consists of the head NP ayahanda baginda and the modifying definite article itu. The former has the role of defined and the latter has the role of defining. The head NP consists of the head honorific noun ayahanda and the modifying honorific pronoun baginda. Ayahanda has the role of possessed and baginda the role of possessing.

The following pun-lah constructions without their precore structures are given below for a close examination of the different variety of their elaboration structures.

(9) baginda pun   berangkat=lah dengan segala
    his majesty TM *depart*=CM   *with   all*

    menteri   hulubalang=nya di=iring=kan
    minister officer=the/he pt.foc.=*accompany*=
                                  act.foc.
    oléh ra'yat sekalian
    by   people all

the king departed with all his ministers and officers, and accompanied by his people.

(10) Maka baginda   pun turun=lah   dari
    conn. *his majesty* TM *descend from*=CM *from*

    atas gajah=nya   semayam   didalam
    on   elephant=the/he sit in state in

    khémah di=adap   oléh segala menteri
    tent pt.foc.=*attend by   all   minister*

Then the king descended from his elephant and sat in state in a tent while his ministers and officers and all his subjects

hulubalang ra'yat sekalian
officer   people all

were sitting in
attendance.

(11) Maka segala ra'yat pun masuk=lah ke=dalam
conn. *all   people* TM *enter*=CM *to=in*

hutan itu meng=alau-alau segala
forest that ag.foc.=*beat   all*

perburuan itu dari pagi-pagi
game   that from morning-morning

hingga datang ngelincir matahari,
till   come decline sun

se=ékor   perburuan tiada di=peroléh
one=class. *game   not* pt.foc.=*obtain*

Then the people
went into the
wood beating game
from early morning
until the sun began
to decline; but not
one animal was
obtained.

(12) Maka baginda   pun amat hairan=lah
conn. *his majesty* TM *very astonished*=CM

serta me=nitah=kan   me=nyuruh
and ag.foc.=*say*=act.foc. ag.foc.=*order*

me=lepas=kan   anjing perburuan
ag.foc.=*release*=act.foc. *dog   hunting*

baginda   sendiri itu
his majesty self   that

The king was
greatly astonished
and gave orders
to release his own
hunting dogs.

(13) baginda   pun bertemu=lah dengan segala
his majesty TM *find*=CM   *with   all*

orang yang   me=nurut
person rel.pron. ag.foc.=*go with*

anjing itu
dog   that

The king came
across all the
men who had gone
with the dogs.

(14) pelanduk itu pun lenyap=lah   pada
mousedeer that TM *disappear*=CM *at*

pantai ini.
beach this

The mousedeer
disappeared on
this beach here.

(15) patik pun di=tinggal=kan
slave TM pt.foc.=*leave behind*=act.foc.

orang=lah pada tempat ini
person=CM *at   place this*

We were left
behind by the
people of this
place.

(16) maka baginda   pun kembali=lah pada
conn. *his majesty* TM *return*=CM *to*

khémah=nya
tent=be

The king returned
to his tent.

The following list, with the numbers referring to each pun-lah construction given above, consists of information stating clearly the number of constituents each elaboration has and what filler classes their constituents belong to:

Display 3.6.1.

- (9) consists of the prepositional phrase (PP) dengan segala
  menteri hulubalangnya and the clause (Cl.) diiringkan oleh
  ra'yat sekalian

- (10) consists of the PP dari atas gajahnya and two Cls.
  semayam didalam khémah and diadap oleh segala menteri
  hulugalang ra'yat sekalian

- (11) consists of the PP kedalam hutan itu and two Cls.
  mengalau-alau segala perburuan itu dari pagi-pagi hingga
  datang ngelincir matahari and seékor perburuan tiada
  diperoleh

- (12) is made up of only one compound Cl. serta menitahkan
  menyuruh melepaskan anjing perburuan baginda sendiri itu

- (13) is made up of one PP dengan segala orang yang menurut
  anjing itu

- (14) is made up of one PP pada pantai ini

- (15) is made up of one PP pada tempat ini

- (16) is made up of one PP pada khémahnya

From this we can see that the elaboration structure can be a phrase (PP),
or a clause, or a combination of both. Note that referentially, i.e. the sem-
antic domain in which the core and the elaboration occur and share their features,
the PP is more closely related to the event than to the topic, while the clause
is more closely related to the topic than to the event. That is to say that the
clause is the place where things related to the topic get specified or commented
about, and as a result the topic gets foregrounded here in the verbs as agent or
patient depending on the perspective the narrator(s) chose; on the other hand
the PP is the place where things related to the event get specified in terms of
direction (e.g. the elaboration of (16)), location (e.g. the elaboration of (14)),
and other participants the topic participant relates to (e.g. the elaboration
of (13)).

As illustration for the specification of the topic consider construction
(2) above. Its elaboration clause menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu, especially
the predicate menggantikan, is an action that gets focussed by means of the pre-
fix meN- (mentioned above). In this sense the topic Paya Tu Antara gets speci-
fied or commented about in the elaboration clause in terms of his action. This
fact also applies to the elaboration compound clause of construction (12), where
through the same prefix meN- the topic baginda pun gets specified or commented
about again in terms of his action. Notice that in both these cases the agent
role of the topic participants are brought to the foreground grammatically by
means of the prefix meN-, while in the pun-lah structure both topics have the
role of Dative or Patient (however one would label these). (In construction (2)
the role of the topic participant Paya Tu Antara pun is expressed semantically
and grammatically in the event kerajaanlah and in construction (12) the role of
the topic participant baginda pun is expressed lexically in the affix-less event
hairanlah.)

There are also elaborations where topics get specified or commented about
with affix-less or unmarked predicates, e.g. semayam *'to sit in state'* in the
first clause of the elaboration of construction (10). In cases like these the

roles of the topic participant are expressed referentially (or semantically), i.e. not by means of grammatical devices such as meN- or di-, but by the lexical meaning of the root word itself.

Hence, one would generalize that through the elaboration clause other roles of topic participants are foregrounded, whether both referentially and grammatically or referentially alone.

We have seen above that there is clear distinction between the pun-lah structure and the elaboration structure. At this point I want to focus especially on the elaboration structure that is expressed in the form of a clause, i.e. I will discuss the features that make it different from the pun-lah structure and the reasons why I need to focus on their differences:

Display 3.6.2.

A. PUN-LAH STRUCTURE	B. CLAUSE ELABORATION STRUCTURE
a. precedes clause elaboration structure	- follows pun-lah structure
b. more independent, i.e. can stand alone without elaboration and precore structures	- more dependent, i.e. it is part of the pun-lah structure and cannot stand alone without it
c. topic initial, i.e. there is an explicit syntactic topic	- 'verb' initial (or predicate initial), i.e. has no explicit syntactic subject
d. more generic	- more specific
e. marked by pun-lah particles	- not marked by pun-lah
f. distinction between old and new information more clearly cut	- distinction between old and new information not very clearly cut
g. has no meN- 'verbs', i.e. generally has affix-less, di- or di--kan and ber- 'verbs'	- has meN- 'verbs' (definite intended acts)

To illustrate the features in both columns above see examples (2), (10), (11) and (12), and the information that goes with these examples in Display 3.6.1. above. Note that feature (c) in column B does not apply to the second clause of example (11): seékor perburuan tiada diperoléh. The reason for this will be expounded in the section that discusses constructions without pun-lah that share both features of pun-lah structure and Clause Elaboration Structure.

I stated above that the pun-lah construction (note: pun-lah structure is the core of the pun-lah construction) is a type of sentence. It is the type whose topic and event are marked respectively by the particles pun and -lah. These constituents are marked because they are important information of the story. That is to say, the Old Malay narrators consider them significant and so mark them to make the structure they occur in distinctive from other kinds whose topic and event are not marked. In this light, to borrow Longacre's term, the sequence of these pun-lah structures form the 'backbone' or the 'skeleton' of the text.[37] Commenting about this, A.L. Becker says:

> It indexes an event (-lah) and the participant (pun) who or
> which will be a single case role - in the sentence under
> investigation, this role is actor or agent - in the clauses
> which follow the pun-lah core, clauses which fill in the
> details and particularize the event *in relation to this*
> *participant*. (1977:9)

What Becker calls 'a sentence' is that which is referred to here as the pun-lah
construction. In a sense the pun-lah structure is a sentence or better yet a
marked sentence as opposed to the unmarked type (i.e. the type whose topic and
event are not marked by pun-lah particles) which will be discussed later on
(section 3.6.4.).

Based on this I could say that the features presented in columns A and B
in Display 3.6.2. above[38] reveal the difference between a marked sentence and a
clause in our classical Malay text. I stated above, between examples (1) and
(2), that the elaboration part of the pun-lah construction is structurally
optional. The following sentence, which is the fourth sentence in our text,
exemplifies this fact, i.e. after its pun-lah structure, the story goes on with
another pun-lah construction without particularizing or specifying the pun-lah
structure in an elaboration structure:

(17) Hatta berapa lama=nya maka Paya Tu Kerub   *After some time*
     conn. *how*   *long=the* conn. *Paya Tu Kerub*   *Phaya Tu Kerub*
                                                Mahajana died.
     Mahajana pun mati=lah
     Mahajana TM *die=*CM

The pun-lah sentence that follows this sentence, as can be seen in the text, is
the one given in example (2) above:

(18) Syahdan maka Paya Tu Antara pun   *Then Phaya Tu Antara*
     conn.   conn. *Paya Tu Antara* TM   *became king,*
                                               succeeding his
     kerajaan=lah   meng=ganti=kan   *father.*
     *become king=*CM   ag.foc.=*succeed*=act.foc.

     ayahanda baginda   itu
     father   his majesty that

3.6.1.2. Pun construction

Pun construction is a variant of the pun-lah construction in that its event
constituent is not marked by -lah. It is not marked because it is not considered
important by the narrators, i.e. relatively speaking, it is not as important as
when it is marked by -lah. In other words in this variant the topic is the only
constituent that gets foregrounded.

There are two subvariants within the pun construction. The first sub-
variant basically has the same structure as the pun-lah type, i.e. it has the
precore, the core and the elaboration structures. The following examples, dis-
sected into three parts with interlinear translation, show this.

	PRECORE	CORE	ELABORATION	GLOSS
(19)	maka *conn.*	Paya Tu Kerub *Paya Tu Kerub* Mahajana pun *Mahajana* TM baranak seorang *beget a* laki-laki *son*	maka di=nama=i *conn.pt.foc.=name=allt.* anakanda baginda itu *child king the* Paya Tu Antara *Paya Tu Antara*	*Paya Tu Kerub Mahajana had one son, to whom he gave the name of Paya Tu Antara.*
(20)	Pada suatu *on one* hari *day*	Paya Tu Naqpa *Paya Tu Naqpa* pun duduk TM *sit*	diatas takhta kerajaan *on up throne royal* nya diadap oleh *his attended by* segala menteri *all minister* pegawai hulubalang dan *official officer and* ra'yat sekalian *people all*	*One day Paya Tu Naqpa was seated on his royal throne, while his ministers, officials, officers and all his subjects were sitting in attendance.*
(21)	Setelah *After* baginda *the king* mendengar *hear* sembah orang *worship man* itu maka *the conn.*	baginda pun *king* TM berangkat *depart*	berjalan kepada *walk to* tempat itu *place that*	*After the King heard the man's report, he set out for that place.*
(22)	maka *conn.*	baginda pun *king* TM bertemu *find*	dengan sebuah rumah *with a house* orang tua laki-bini *man old husband-wife* duduk merawa *reside catch prawn* dan menjerat *and set snare*	*The King found a house where an old couple lived, catching prawn and setting snares.*
(23)	Maka pada masa *conn. at time* Paduka Nénda *foot Grand-father*	patik pun *slave* TM dikerah *summon*	pergi mengiringkan *go accompany* Duli Paduka Nénda *dust foot Grandfather*	*When your Royal Grandfather departed for Ayudhya in order*

	PRECORE	CORE	ELABORATION	GLOSS
	berangkat pergi *depart go* berbuat negeri *make settlement* ke Ayutia maka *to Ayutia conn.*	orang *man*	berangkat itu *depart that*	*to build a settlement there, we were summoned to go and accompany Him on this voyage.*
(24)	Setelah Paduka *after foot* Nénda sampai *grand- arrive father* kepada tempat *to place* ini, maka *this conn.*	patik pun *slave TM* kedatangan *stricken with* penyakit *illness*		*When your Royal Grandfather arrived at this place we were stricken with an illness.*
(25)	Setelah sudah *after already* segala menteri *all minister* hulubalang *officer* dititahkan oleh *command by* baginda *the king* masing masing *each* dengan ketumbukannya, maka *with men his conn.*	baginda pun *king TM* berangkat *depart*	kembali ke *return to* Kota Maligai *town Maligai*	*After the ministers and officers had received instructions from the King, each with his own men, the King returned to the town of Maligai.*
(26a)	maka *conn.* (26b) dan *and*	baginda pun *king TM* pindah hilir *move down- stream* negeri *settlement* itu pun *the TM* dinamakannya *name he*	duduk pada negeri *reside in settlement* yang diperbuat itu *that built that* Patani Darussalam *Patani Abord of Peace*	*The King moved downstream (and) resided in the (newly) built settlement* *and he named the settlement Patani, Abode of Peace.*

Notice that in this subvariant the di-, ber- and affix-less 'verbs' tend to occur in the elaboration part of the pun construction along with the meN-verbs. As illustrations for di-verbs see examples (19) and (20); for ber-verbs see example (21), for affix-less 'verbs' see examples (23), (25) and (26a). This situation is the reverse of the one in the pun-lah construction, i.e. in the pun-lah sentences these 'verbs' tend to occur in the core structure and not in the elaboration structure. Example (26a and b) taken together is an illustration of a compound pun construction.

To illustrate the second subvariant of the pun construction, following are four examples:

	PRECORE	CORE	ELABORATION	GLOSS
(27)	maka *conn.*	baginda pun *king* TM	menitahkan orang *command people* pergi melihat bekas *go see track* rusa itu *deer that*	*Then the King ordered (some) men to go and look for the tracks of the deer.*
(28)	maka *conn.*	baginda pun *king* TM	segera mendapatkan *immediately obtain* suara anjing itu *sound dog that*	*The King immediately went in the direction of the sound of the dogs.*
(29)	maka *conn.*	hamba raja *slave king* itu pun *that* TM	menjunjungkan titah *carry on the head speech* baginda kepada orang *king to person* tua itu *old that*	*The king's servant respectfully transmitted the king's words to the old people.*
(30)	setelah *after* keésokan *next* harinya *day* maka *conn.*	segala *all* menteri *minister* hulubalang *officer* pun TM	menyuruh orang mudik *order men go upstream* ke Kota Maligai dan ke *to town Maligai and to* Lancang mengerahkan *Lancang call up* segala ra'yat hilir *all subject come downstream* berbuat negeri itu *build settlement that*	*The following morning the ministers and officers ordered men to go upstream to the town of Maligai and to Lancang in order to call up the subjects, that they should come downstream to build a settlement.*

Notice that in this subvariant there are no di-, di--kan, ber-, and affix-less 'verbs' in the core structure. Probably this is due to the fact that all of these examples are sentences specifying those generic ones that precede them in the text. For example:

– Sentence (27) is preceded by the generic pun-lah construction Maka baginda pun turunlah dari atas gajahnya semayam didalam khémah diadap oléh segala menteri hulubalang ra'yat sekalian (for translation see example (10)).

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- Sentence (28) is preceded by the following two sentences:

> Maka anjing itu pun di=lepas=kan
> conn. *dog*   *that* TM pt.foc.=*release*=act.foc.
>
> orang=lah
> *person*=CM

So the dogs were released by the people.

and:

> Hatta ada   sekira-kira dua[du] jam
> conn. *exist about*   *two*   *hour*
>
> lama=nya maka berbunyi suara anjing
> *long*=the conn. *sound*   *voice dog*
>
> itu me=nyalak
> *that* ag.foc.=*bark*

Then, after about two hours, the sound of the dogs' barking was heard.

- Sentence (29) is preceded by the sentence that is given in example (42).

- Sentence (30) is preceded by:

> Dan pada malam itu baginda   pun
> *And on*   *night that his majesty* TM
>
> berbicara dengan segala menteri
> *talk*   *with*   *all*   *minister*
>
> hulubalang=nya hendak berbuat negeri
> *officer*=he   *intend make*   *settlement*
>
> pada tempat pelanduk putih itu
> *at*   *place   mousedeer white that*

That same night the king deliberated with his ministers and officers, as he wanted to build a settlement on the spot where the white mousedeer had been.

The distinctive features of the first type of construction or sentence can be summarized as follows:

Display 3.6.3.

CONSTRUCTION TYPE	CORE	ELABORATION

pun-lah	- has both pun and -lah
	
	- generally has
	  and affix-less 'verbs'
		- generally has meN-
		  verbs
		- generally has di-,
		  di--kan, and ber-
		  verbs

pun (variant of
    pun-lah)
- Type 1
 	
- Type 2
	- has pun constituent and
	  a -lah-less predicate
	  constituent
	
	- has pun constituent only
	  and no -lah-less predicate
	  constituent
	- elaboration comes right
	  after the pun constituent
		- generally has a mix-
		  ture of di-, di--i,
		  ber-, affix-less and
		  meN-verbs
		- generally has meN-
		  verbs

3.6.2. Frame-content constructions

This construction or sentence is different from the pun-lah construction discussed previously. The difference is manifested in the fact that the nature of this construction is endocentric or attributive, i.e. it has a relation analogous to a Head-Modifier relation, while the nature of the pun-lah construction is exocentric or predicative, that is, it has a relation analogous to a Subject-Predicate relation. In terms of the inherent system of Classical Malay we have viewed the exocentric type of construction as having a Topic-Event relation, or better yet a pun-lah relation. For lack of a better term, i.e. one that is Malay by nature, we will view the endocentric construction as having a relation of FRAME and CONTENT. Becker calls this relation a 'Metacomment-Comment Relation' (1977:16). In terms of role relation, as opposed to the slot relation expressed by the terms FRAME and CONTENT, we will view this construction as having a relation of REPORTING-REPORTED.

As illustrations, the following are some examples taken from our text:

(31) Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: "Jikalau
conn. *speech Paya Tu Naqpa: if*

demi=kian kerah=kan=lah   segala ra'yat
like=that summon=act.foc.=CM all   people

kita. Esok   hari kita hendak pergi
I   tomorrow day I   intend go

berburu ke tepi laut itu."
hunt   to shore sea that

Phaya Tu Nakpa then spoke: "In that case call up all Our people. Tomorrow We shall go hunting along the sea-shore."

(32) Maka titah baginda: "Baik=lah ésok
conn. *speech his majesty: good=CM tomorrow*

pagi-pagi   kita berburu."
morning-morning I/we hunt

The king spoke: "Good, let Us go hunting early tomorrow morning."

(33) Itu=lah yang   di=hambat   oléh
That=CM rel.pron. pt.foc.=pursue by

anjing ini.
dog   this

That was what the dogs were pursuing;

(34) Syahdan kebanyakan kata   orang nama
conn. *most   speech person name*

negeri   itu meng=ikut   nama
settlement that ag.foc.=follow name

orang yang   me=rawa   itu=lah
person rel.pron. ag.foc.=catch prawn that=CM

Furthermore (and note this) most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fisherman.

(35) Ini=lah suatu kissah yang
This=CM a   story rel.pron.

di=cetera=kan   oléh orang
pt.foc.=tell=act.foc. by   person

tua-tua, asal raja yang   berbuat
old-old, origin king rel.pron. make

negeri   Patani Darussalam   itu
settlement Patani Abode of Peace that

This is a story which has been told by the old people: the origin of the king who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace.

(36) Demi=kian=lah hikayatnya   *That was the story.*
     *like=that=*CM *story   the*

(37) Dan] pangkalan   itu=lah tempat Encik   *And that landing stage*
     *And landing stage that=*CM *place Encik*   *was the place where*
                                                       Encik Tani used to go
     Tani naik turun me=rawa   *up and down catching*
     Tani go up down ag.foc.=catch prawns   *prawns and setting snares.*

The structure of examples (31) and (32) in terms of slot and role is made
up of a preframe connective maka (identical to precore in pun-lah construction),
a reporting frame titah Paya Tu Naqpa, titah baginda and a reported content
Jikalau demikian kerahkanlah segala ra'yat kita and Baiklah ésok pagi-pagi kita
berburu.

Examples (33-37) are reduced forms of the complete structure Preframe-Frame-
Content as expressed in examples (31) and (32). That is to say that in examples
(33-37), the part of the structure that is lexically manifested is the content
one; the preframe and the frame parts are lexically not manifested because they
are not relevant or interesting to the narrator.

In terms of the overall hierarchy of the story, there are two kinds of
levels involved in examples (34-37). The first level is the story level, i.e.
the level where the narrator is telling the story to his audience in the form
of a monologue. This level, in terms of the substance of speech - its reference
to who is doing the telling of the story - involves two kinds of narrator(s).
The first one is what I call the reporting narrator, and the second one is what
I term the reported narrators. The reporting narrator is involved in examples
(35) and (36) (the former is the introductory sentence of the story and the
latter is its concluding sentence). The reported narrators, on the other hand,
are involved in examples (34) and (37). That is to say that if I were asked to
lexically fill the frame parts in examples (35) and (36), we would fill them
with a phrase such as cetera saya (*'story I'*) meaning roughly *'Thus my story'*,
and if I were asked to do the same for examples (34) and (37), I would fill them
with a phrase such as cetera orang tua tua *'Thus the story of the old people'*.
In other words, sentences (35) and (36) are what some people would call the
editorial comments, while sentences (34) and (37) are part of what is reported
or quoted; or in terms of level, the former would be called the level above the
story and the latter the level within the story.

The second level, as opposed to the story level or the monologue level, is
the dialogue paragraph level, i.e. the level within the story where one finds
verbal interaction between the participants of the story, e.g.:

(38) Maka titah baginda: "Apa yang   *The king spoke:*
     conn. *speech his majesty: What* rel.pron.   *"What were these*
                                                   dogs barking at?"
     di=salak   oléh anjing itu?"
     pt.foc.=*bark by   dog   that*

(39) Maka sembah   mereka sekalian itu: *They / replied*
     conn. *obeisance they   all   that*   *respectfully: "Hail*
                                                   my Lord, we beg your
     "Daulat   Tuan=ku, patik mohon=kan   *pardon and grace.*
     *good fortune Lord=my slave beg=*act.foc.
                                                   There was a
     ampun dan karunia. Ada   se=ékor
     pardon and grace   exist one=class

> pelanduk putih, besar=nya seperti
> *mousedeer white big=it/the as*
>
> kambing, warna tubuh=nya gilang-gemilang.
> *goat colour body=it/the glittering*
>
> Itu=lah yang di=hambat oléh
> *That=CM rel.pron. pt.foc.=pursue by*
>
> anjing ini. Maka pelanduk itu pun
> *dog this Conn. mousedeer that TM*
>
> lenyap=lah pada pantai ini."
> *disappear=CM at beach this*

*white mousedeer the
size of a goat, and
its body had a
luminous sheen.*

*That was what the
dogs were pursuing;
but the mousedeer
has vanished on
this beach here."*

Both sentences (38) and (39) constitute the dialogue paragraph referred to above. These two sentences are made up of the same basic structure that sentences (31) and (32) are built around. Sentences (31) and (32) are actually part of other dialogue paragraphs in the text. So is sentence (33). Actually, sentence (33) is part of the dialogue paragraph expressed by sentences (38) and (39) above. It is part of the content part of the Preframe-Frame-Content structure which consists of four sentences and is the third sentence of this part.

It should be made clear that there are two kinds of endocentric relations in the Preframe-Frame-Content structure. The first one, on a higher level (whatever name one would give this level), is the Frame-Content relation which, in terms of speech act, has a role relation of Reporting-Reported as mentioned above. In terms of the inherent nature of the parts themselves the frame and the content parts may be viewed as having a role relation of Generic-Specific. That is to say that the speech of the speaker may manifest specifically in the form of a command, an assertion, a request, a question (see example (38)), or in the form of a word, a clause, a sentence (see examples (31), (32), (38)), a sentence cluster (example (39)), a paragraph or a whole discourse.

The second kind of relation, on the phrase level, occurs within the frame part of the construction, e.g. titah baginda *'the speech of the King'* in example (32). Now, in terms of slot relation, titah is the head and baginda is the modifier; in terms of role relation titah is the possessed and baginda is the possessor (or the possessing constituent).

In discussing the story level above, I stated that sentences (35) and (36) are respectively the introductory and the concluding sentences of the story. I stated also that some people call them editorial comments. Now in a certain sense these two sentences put some kind of quotation marks around the story. Hence the structure that the whole story is made up of could be conceived as consisting of Frame (introductory sentence), Content (story proper), and Frame (concluding sentence). In other words the structure of the story as a whole is a non-context free variant of the Frame-Content structure. That is to say that whenever the form of a discourse or a text is a monologue the structure that one would get is generally Frame-Content-Frame, whereas whenever the form of it is a dialogue the structure that one would get is generally Frame-Content.

In terms of how the message was communicated, there are two kinds of Frame-Content constructions: the direct and the indirect types. The direct type is illustrated clearly in examples (31) and (32). Example (33) is also an illustration of the direct type and can clearly be seen in example (39). Examples (34) through (37) are also other illustrations of the direct type. However, they seem not to make sense, because they are listed here out of context. That is to say that sentences (34) and (37) will only make sense when they are seen as

part of the direct speech of the reported narrators in their act of telling the story and sentences (35) and (36) will too, when they are seen as part of the direct speech of the reporting narrator in his act of retelling the story as told by the reported narrators.

The indirect type is illustrated within example (34): syahdan is the preframe, kebanyakan kata orang is the frame and nama negeri itu mengikut nama orang yang merawa itulah is the content. Following are four other examples (40-43) from the text as illustration; interspersed with discussion of each example.

	PREFRAME	FRAME	CONTENT	FRAME	GLOSS
(40)		Aku dengar *I hear* khabar=nya *report=the*	perburuan *hunting game* sebelah tepi laut *side shore sea* itu terlalu banyak *that very many*	konon *report say*	*I have heard reports that the game near the seashore is abundant indeed.*

Note that sentence (40), when seen in a bigger context, is a direct reported content part of the Preframe-Frame-Content construction maka titah baginda: Aku dengar khabarnya perburuan sebelah tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon. In other words sentence (40) is an example of an indirect speech embedded within a direct one. Note, furthermore, that it is the only example on the sentence level that has the structure Frame-Content-Frame. This structure gives sentence (40) a certain sense of closure just as the one that the concluding sentence (example (36)) gives to the story as a unit of discourse. Their difference is that the former operates on the sentence level, and the latter on the discourse level.

In terms of function slot, aku is the subject, dengar is the predicate, and khabarnya perburuan sebelah tepi laut itu terlalu banyak konon is the direct object. Note that khabarnya basically has the same meaning as konon. Hence there is a redundancy here. This redundancy is a grammatical as well as a semantic device to foreground the content message perburuan sebelah tepi laut itu terlalu banyak. The foregrounding has a correlation with the form dengar, i.e. because of it the 'verb' dengar doesn't take the agent focus marker meN-. In other words, the agent is defocussed for the sake of foregrounding the patient or the content message. Hence, the foregrounding is motivated by two factors: the absence of meN- in dengar and the occurrence of Frame twice (khabarnya and konon).

	PREFRAME	FRAME	CONTENT	GLOSS
(41)	... serta *and*	menitahkan ag.foc.=*speak=* act.foc. menyuruh ag.foc.=*order*	melepaskan ag.foc.=*release*=act.foc. anjing perburuan *dog hunting* baginda sendiri itu *king self that*	*and gave orders to release his own dogs.*

Example (41) is actually the elaboration structure of the pun-lah construction as illustrated in example (12). Notice that there are three different clauses in this construction. The first one has the predicate menitahkan *'speak'*, the second one has the predicate menyuruh *'order'* or *'command'* and the third has the predicate melepaskan *'release'* and the direct object anjing perburuan baginda sendiri itu *'his (the king's) own hunting dogs'*. Notice the progression of generic to specific expressed in these predicates: menitahkan is a generic speech act performed by the topic participant baginda *'the king'*, menyuruh is a specific speech act, i.e. the illocutionary force of the generic speech act, and melepaskan anjing perburuan baginda sendiri itu is the specification on the content of the command menyuruh. Notice also that the agent of the frame predicates menitahkan and menyuruh is baginda, whereas the agent of the content predicate melepaskan is orang *'people'*, which is made explicit in the sentence following this one where menitahkan, menyuruh and melepaskan occur. The sentence referred to is as follows:

Maka anjing itu pun di=lepas=kan		*So the dogs*
conn. *dog that* TM pt.foc.=*release*=act.foc.		*were released by*
orang=lah		*the people.*
person=CM		

	PREFRAME	FRAME	CONTENT	GLOSS
(42)	maka conn.	titah baginda *speech king* suruh bertanya *order ask* kepada orang *to person* tua itu *old that*	dari mana datang *from where come* nya maka ia duduk *he conn. he reside* kemari ini dan *hither this and* orang mana asalnya *person where origin the*	*The King then gave orders to ask these old people where they had come from and settled in this place, and what their origin was.*

The Frame part of example (42) has three speech acts: the generic speech act titah baginda *'the speech of the King'*, the specific speech act suruh *'command'* which is the specification or the illocutionary force of the former, and the specific speech act bertanya *'ask'*. Note that the agent of the first two speech acts, titah and suruh is baginda *'the King'* and the agent of the last speech act is hamba raja *'King's servant'* which is explicitly stated in the sentence following (42) in the text:

Maka hamba raja itu pun men=junjung=kan	*The king's servants*
conn. *servant king that* TM ag.foc.=*carry on*	*respectfully trans-*
the head=act.foc.	*mitted the king's*
titah baginda kepada orang tua itu	*words to the old*
speech his majesty to person old that	*people.*

In other words, hamba raja is the patient object of the command suruh and is the agent of the question speech act implied in the predicate bertanya. This implies that there are two kinds of content: the content of the command of the King and the content of the question of the King's servant.

From these two examples, (42) and (42), we infer that the difference between a direct Frame-Content structure and an indirect one is not only a matter

of the presence or the absence of quotation marks, but it involves more than
this. The indirect Frame-Content structure tends to be more elaborate than the
direct one. That is to say that the indirect type usually expresses all the
speech acts explicitly in terms of the range of their generality to the range of
the specificity, e.g. menitahkan is generic, menyuruh is specific, melepaskan is
more specific; and titah is generic, suruh is specific and bertanya is more
specific. And it usually involves more than one speech act participant, e.g.
baginda *'the King'* and orang *'people'* in example (41), and baginda, hamba raja
'king's servant' and orang tua *'old people'* in example (42). The direct Frame-
Content structure, on the other hand, has the generic speech act explicitly
stated in the Frame part, e.g. titah baginda in (38), and sembah mereka sekalian
itu in (39), and the specific speech act implied in the content part, e.g. the
content part of example (38) is a question although there is no such word as
bertanya *'ask'* in it, and the content of example (31) is a command without
having an explicit word such as suruh *'command'* or *'order'*.

	PREFRAME	FRAME	CONTENT	GLOSS
(43)	bahwa sesung-guhnya *truly*	kata kami sekalian (presupposed)	nama negeri itu *name settlement that* mengikut sembah orang *follow worship people* mengatakan pelanduk *say mousedeer* lenyap itu *disappear that*	*In actual fact the name of the settlement derived from the words which the people used when reporting the disappearance of the mousedeer.*

The Frame part of example (43) is presupposed. If it is stated explicitly,
it would refer to the speech of the reported old narrators and would probably
take a form such as kata kami sekalian *'our speech'*. Note that this sentence
forms the antithesis of the statement made in (44):

	PREFRAME	FRAME	CONTENT	GLOSS
(44)	syahdan conn.	kebanyakan *most* kata orang *speech person*	nama negeri itu *name settlement that* mengikut nama orang *follow name person* yang merawa rel.pron. *catch prawn* itu lah *that* CM	*Most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fisherman.*

which, in the text, comes before example (43).

To sum up the types of Frame-Content construction that are discussed above,
consider display 3.6.4.

Display 3.6.4. Frame-content constructions

TYPES	FEATURES	EXAMPLES
A: IN TERMS OF SPEECH MADE		
1. Direct	- has the generic speech act explicity stated in the Frame part and the specific speech act implied in the Content part - has clear distinction between Frame and Content parts, signalled by the colon and quotation marks in writing and by a juncture in speech - has no speech act verb chain moving from generality to specificity	(31), (38)
2. Indirect	- has neither quotation marks nor colon - no distinctive juncture between Frame and Content parts - usually expresses all speech acts explicitly, moving from generality to specificity - usually involves more than one speech act participant, i.e. more than one agent.	(41), (42)
B: IN TERMS OF LEVEL		
1. Dialogue	- is open-ended, i.e. has the structure of Frame-Content (FC)	(31), (38), (39)
2. Monologue (Story)	- has a sense of completeness, i.e. has the structure of Frame-Content-Frame (FCF)	Introductory sentence (35) + Story proper + Concluding sentence (36), taken as a unit; and example (40).[39]

3.6.3. -Lah constructions

In this construction the information that has not been introduced before in the text gets specified. That is to say that in it one finds new information which is marked by the comment marker -lah. Sentences (31-37) are presented again as examples of -lah construction and not of Frame-Content construction, together with (45) and (46) below:

(31) Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: "Jikalau
     conn. *speech Paya Tu Naqpa: if*

     demi=kian kerah=kan=lah   segala ra'yat
     like=that summon=act.foc.=CM all   people

     kita. Esok   hari kita hendak pergi
     I   tomorrow day I   intend go

     berburu ke tepi laut itu."
     hunt   to shore sea that

Paya Tu Nakpa then spoke: "In that case call up all Our people. Tomorrow We shall go hunting along the sea-shore."

(32) Maka titah baginda: "Baik=lah ésok
conn. *speech his majesty good=*CM *tomorrow*

pagi-pagi   kita berburu."
morning-morning I/we hunt

The king spoke: "Good, let Us go hunting early tomorrow morning."

(33) Itu=lah yang   di=hambat   oléh
*That=*CM rel.pron. pt.foc.=*pursue by*

anjing ini.
dog   this

That was what the dogs were pursuing;

(34) Syahdan kebanyakan kata   orang nama
conn.   *most   speech person name*

negeri   itu meng=ikut   nama
settlement that ag.foc.=follow name

orang yang   me=rawa   itu=lah
*person rel.pron. ag.foc.=catch prawn that=*CM

Furthermore (and note this) most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fisherman.

(35) Ini=lah suatu kissah yang
*This=*CM *a   story rel.pron.*

di=cetera=kan   oléh orang
pt.foc.=*tell*=act.foc. *by   person*

tua-tua, asal   raja yang   berbuat
old-old, origin king rel.pron. make

negeri   Patani Darussalam   itu
settlement Patani Abode of Peace that

This is a story which has been old by the old people: the origin of the king who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace.

(36) Demi=kian=lah hikayat=nya
*like=that=*CM *story=the*

That was the story.

(37) Dan] pangkalan   itu=lah tempat Encik
*And landing stage that=*CM *place Encik*

Tani naik turun me=rawa
Tani go up down ag.foc.=catch prawns

And that landing stage was the place where Encik Tani used to go up and down catching prawns and setting snares.

(45) Maka sembah   segala menteri:
conn. *obeisance all   minister:*

"Daulat   Tuan=ku, sungguh=lah seperti
*good fortune Lord=my   true=*CM   *like*

titah Duli   Yang Maha=mulia
speech dust of the feet the most=noble

The ministers replied respectfully: "Hail my Lord, it is true indeed as Your Majesty has spoken;

(46) Hatta ada   sekira-kira dua[du] jam
conn. *exist about   two   hour*

lama=nya maka berbunyi suara anjing
long=the conn. *sound   voice dog*

itu me=nyalak
that ag.foc.=bark

Then, after about two hours, the sound of the dogs' barking was heard.

The newness of the information in all these examples generally operates on two levels: the content level and the metalevel. By content level I mean the level where the utterance or the sentence means exactly what it says or expresses. By the metalevel I mean the level where the utterance may mean something other than what it says, i.e. the illocutionary force of the speech act. In example (31) the information that is new is the command as the illocutionary force as well as the content of the command expressed in kerahkanlah segala ra'yat kita. In example (32), the act of agreeing as well as the content of this act as expressed in baiklah ésok pagi-pagi kita berburu is the new information. In example (33) since itu is anaphoric it means that the information it refers back to, i.e. Ada seékor pelanduk putih, besarnya seperti kambing warna tubuhnya gilang gemilang *'There was a white mousedeer, the size of a goat, and the colour of its body was glittering'*, is new (see examples (38), (39)). Example (33) itself, as a speech act of concluding, is also new information. In example (34), the act of quoting other people as expressed by the content nama negeri itu mengikut nama orang yang merawa itulah is the new information. The content itself might be new to the audience. In example (35), since ini is cataphoric, it means that the information it refers to, i.e. suatu kissah yang diceterakan oléh orang tua-tua, asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu its instantiation in the story proper, by implication, are what are new. Besides this, the speech act of announcing or introducing as expressed mainly by ini is also new information. In example (36) demikian is anaphoric of the story proper as the new information. In addition to this, the speech act of concluding as expressed by this example is also new information. In example (37) the modifier itu of pangkalan itu is anaphoric of Arakian pangkalan yang ditempat pelanduk putih lenyap itu *'As for the landing stage on the spot where the white mousedeer had disappeared'* as the new information. The speech act of concluding as expressed in this example is also new information. In example (45) the information that is new is the speech act of confirming as well as the content of the confirmation as expressed in sungguhlah seperti titah Duli Yang Mahamulia. In example (46) the information that is new is berbunyilah suara anjing itu menyalak. Note that on the metalevel this information is part of the story proper, i.e. the act of telling the story, as the new information.

Note that examples (31-37), as stated before in section 3.6.2., have the structure of Preframe-Frame-Content in reduced as well as in complete forms. Example (45) is a complete form of the same structure. Example (46), however, looks like a pun-lah construction. That is to say that it has a precore: Hatta ada se kira-kira dua jam lamanya, a core berbunyilah and an elaboration suara anjing itu menyalak. Note however that the core doesn't have any pun constituent. This is probably due to the fact that it is not relevant here. What is relevant in this sentence is suara anjing itu *'the voice of the dogs'* which gets specified in berbunyilah *'sound'* as the new information, and not anjing itu *'the dogs'* which is the pun constituent in the sentence Maka anjing itu pun dilepaskan oranglah *'the dogs were released by the people'*, which is the sentence that precedes example (46) in the text.

Note that all the examples above that have anaphoric and cataphoric definite articles have a core part and an elaboration part. The core parts don't have any pun constituent. They only have -lah constituents, e.g. itulah in example (33), inilah in example (35), demikianlah in example (36), pangkalan itulah in example (37). This is due to the fact that ini *'this'* is textually pointing-forward-to in its nature, while itu *'that'* and demikian *'like that'* or *'thus'* are textually pointing-backwards-to. In other words, the topics that are being commented upon by these examples either precede or follow them. Now these topics may take the form of nouns or noun phrases, e.g. suatu kissah yang

diceterakan oléh orang tua-tua, asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam
itu in example (35). They may take the form of sentences, e.g. Ada seékor
pelanduk putih, besarnya seperti kambing, warna tubuhnya gilang gemilang *'There
was a mousedeer, the size of a goat, and the colour of its body was glittering'*
which precedes example (33) in the text. They may take the form of paragraphs
or whole discourses, e.g. the story proper which precedes example (36) in the
text. They usually do not have any pun marker. This is probably due to the fact
that they are new topics and not old ones. The newness of these topics can be
seen in words like seékor *'a'*, an indefinite article plus classifier for animate
non-human nouns, in the sentence prior to example (33) in the text, and suatu
'a', an indefinite article for inanimate nouns, in example (35). Hence, we infer
that there are two kinds of topic: new and old. The former is not marked with
pun and is viewed as new information, the latter is marked with pun and is viewed
as old information. To prove this point, note that preceding example (33) in the
text is the new topic sentence Ada seékor pelanduk putih, besarnya seperti
kambing, warna tubuhnya gilang gemilang and following it is the pun-lah sentence
Maka pelanduk itu pun lenyaplah pada pantai ini (see examples (38) and (39)).

In summary, we may infer that -lah constructions, especially the ones that
have anaphoric deictic particle itu, demikian and cataphoric deictic particle
ini, are sentences that foreground both topics and comments as new information
and this is done by means of two sentences or two text units that may belong to
different hierarchical levels as has been illustrated above. Pun-lah construc-
tions, in the light of this, may be viewed as sentences that foreground old
topics and old information only in terms of their comments which are the con-
stituents that carry new information.

Furthermore, -lah constructions are sentences that contain new information
on the content level and on the metalevel signalled by the comment marking
particle -lah.

3.6.4. Other constructions

In this section I will discuss sentences that we have not described yet in
the three construction types discussed above.

(47) Ia me=nama=i   diri=nya Paya Tu Naqpa   *He called himself*
     He ag.foc.=*name*=allt. *self*=*he* *Paya Tu Naqpa*   *Phaya Tu Nakpa.*

(48) Selama Paya Tu Naqpa kerajaan   itu   *During his reign*
     During Paya Tu Naqpa become king that   *Phaya Tu Nakpa was*
                                                  accustomed always
     sentiasa ia pergi berburu   *to go hunting.*
     always   he go   hunt

Note that there are no pun and -lah enclitics in these sentences. If we
examine carefully the bigger context where they occur in the HP text, however,
we see that both sentences occur one after the other according to the order they
are presented here after the following pun-lah construction. (Note: examples
(47) and (48) occur after example (49) in the text.)

(49) Syahdan maka Paya Tu Antara pun   *Then Phaya Tu Antara*
     conn.   conn. *Paya Tu Antara* TM   *became king,*
                                              succeeding his
     kerajaan=lah   meng=ganti=kan   *father.*
     become king=CM ag.foc.=*succeed*=act.foc.

> ayahanda baginda   itu
> *father   his majesty that*

It seems to us that both these sentences are part of the elaboration part of example (49), i.e. menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu. In other words, the elaboration part of example (49) includes the sentences that are presented in examples (47) and (48). One proof why this is so is the fact that there are no pun and -lah constituents in these sentences and the fact that the predicate in (47) is a meN-verb which is a feature of the elaboration part of a pun-lah construction (see display 3.6.3.). Note that example (48) differs from example (47) in the fact that it has a connective clause Selama Paya Tu Naqpa kerajaan itu and it has an affixless and a ber-verb which is characteristic of either an elaboration or a pun-lah structure. Note also that both examples have explicit free syntactic subject ia *'he'* which is characteristic of the core structure in a pun-lah construction (see display 3.6.2.). In other words, there is a merging or an overlap here between an elaboration part of a pun-lah construction and some of the features that occur in a precore and a core part of a pun-lah construction. This might be due to the fact that both these examples are transition sentences between a pun-lah construction and a pun variant of the pun-lah construction type. It might also be due to the fact that example (48) is a further elaboration or specification of the name Paya Tu Naqpa *'man of the forest'* in example (47). However, in relation to the rest of the story, except the concluding sentence Demikianlah hikayatnya *'That was the story'*, it forms a generic sentence. That is to say that the rest of the story is a specific account of the habitual act of the King as given in the generic sentence (48).

Just like examples (47) and (48), example (50) below is also a transition construction which shares both the features of a pun-lah structure and the features of an elaboration structure. That is to say, it has an explicit free syntactic subject, seékor perburuan *'one animal'*, and a di-verb diperoléh *'obtained'*, which are features of a pun-lah structure, and that it does not have any pun and -lah constituents which is characteristic of an elaboration structure.

(50) se=ékor   perburuan tiada di=peroléh   *not one animal was*
     one=class. game   not   pt.foc.=obtain   obtained.

Example (50) is a transition between the following two pun-lah constructions.

> Maka segala ra'yat pun masuklah kedalam hutan itu mengalau-alau
> segala perburuan itu dari pagi-pagi hingga datang ngelincir matahari
> *'All the people went into the wood beating the game from early
> morning until the sun began to decline'*

and

> Maka baginda pun amat hairanlah serta menitahkan menyuruh melepaskan
> anjing perburuan baginda sendiri itu. *'The King was greatly astonished
> and gave orders to release his own hunting dogs.'*

In summary, other constructions are transition sentences (or constructions) that occur between two pun-lah constructions or between a pun-lah construction and a pun variant of the pun-lah construction type. That is to say they have meN-verbs, which is a feature of the elaboration part; they have affix-less and ber-verbs, which are features of the core; they have explicit free syntactic subjects, which is characteristic of the core; they have a connective clause, which is characteristic of the precore; however they do not have any pun and any -lah constituent.

3.6.5. Embedded structures

In this section we will discuss two kinds of embedded structures:[40] 1) the marked embedded structure, and 2) the unmarked embedded structure. The first type may be called the yang-embedded structure, because it is marked by the relative pronoun yang.[41]

3.6.5.1. Yang-embedded structure

Following are all the sentences that contain the yang-embedded structures in our text:

(51) Maka titah baginda: "Apa yang
     conn. *speech his majesty: What* rel.pron.

     di=salak   oléh anjing itu?"
     pt.foc.=*bark by   dog   that*

*The king spoke:
"What were these
dogs barking at?"*

(52) Itu=lah yang   di=hambat   oléh
     That=CM rel.pron. pt.foc.=*pursue by*

     anjing ini.
     dog   this

*That was what the
dogs were pursuing;*

(53) Maka baginda   pun pindah hilir
     conn. *his majesty* TM *move   go downstream*

     duduk   pada negeri   yang
     reside at   settlement rel.pron.

     di=perbuat itu,
     pt.foc.=*make that*

*The king moved
downstream and
resided in the newly
made settlement,*

(54) Ini=lah suatu kissah yang
     This=CM *a   story* rel.pron.

     di=cetera=kan   oléh orang
     pt.foc.=*tell*=act.foc. *by   person*

     tua-tua, asal   raja yang   berbuat
     old-old, origin king rel.pron. *make*

     negeri   Patani Darussalam   itu
     settlement Patani Abode of Peace that

*This is a story which
has been told by the
old people: the
origin of the king
who founded the
settlement of
Patani, the Abode
of Peace.*

(55) Setelah baginda   datang kepada suatu
     After   his majesty come   to   a

     serokan tasik itu, maka baginda
     inlet   sea   that, conn. *his majesty*

     pun bertemu=lah dengan segala orang
     TM *find*=CM   *with   all   person*

     yang   me=nurut   anjing itu
     rel.pron. ag.foc.=*go with dog   that*

*When the king
arrived at an inlet
of the sea he found
the men who had gone
with the dogs.*

(56) Syahdan kebanyakan kata   orang   nama
     conn.   *most*   *speech person name*

     negeri   itu meng=ikut   nama
     settlement that ag.foc.=*follow name*

     orang yang   me=rawa
     person rel.pron. ag.foc.=*catch prawn that*=CM

Furthermore (and note this) most people say that the settlement was named after the prawn-fisherman.

(57) Arakian pangkalan   yang   di=tempat
     conn.   *landing stage* rel.pron. *in=place*

     pelanduk putih lenyap   itu
     mousedeer white disappear that

Hence the landing-stage on the spot where the white mouse-deer had disappeared,

Let us examine the first four yang embedded structures, i.e.

(51a) Apa yang disalak oléh anjing itu?

(52a) Itulah yang dihambat oléh anjing ini

(53a) ... negeri yang diperbuat itu

(54a) ... suatu kissah yang diceterakan oléh orang tua-tua

For the sake of clarity and to see their minute differences, we will present them in four different tree diagrams (displays 3.6.5.-3.6.8.).[42] It should be noted that in the tree structures displayed the relative pronoun yang is ana-phoric of the patient which may or may not be explicitly present preceding the nominal clause.

In examples (54b-57a) we will see that the relative pronoun yang is also anaphoric of constituents that are agent and locative, i.e. those that do not take patient focus verbal prefix di-:

(54b) ... raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu

(55a) ... segala orang yang menurut anjing itu

(56a) ... orang yang merawa itu

(57a) ... pangkalan yang ditempat pelanduk putih lenyap itu

82

Display 3.6.5. Tree diagram

(51a) Apa yang disalak oléh anjing itu?

| Content | Reported Sp.S |

Reported

| TM | N(Q.Part.) | | M | Nom.Cl. |

defined
Pt.

defining

apa

| Σ | Rel.Pron. | | Pred. | V | | Adjn. | PP |

| Pt. | anaphoric | defoc. | | Ag. |
| | of TH | def.Act | |

3rd   TM'
pers.
pron.

pt.
foc.   Rt.

ia   -ng

di-   salak

| D | Prep. | | A | NP |

Ag.m.   Ag.

oléh

| H | N | | M | Def.
Art. |

defined   defining
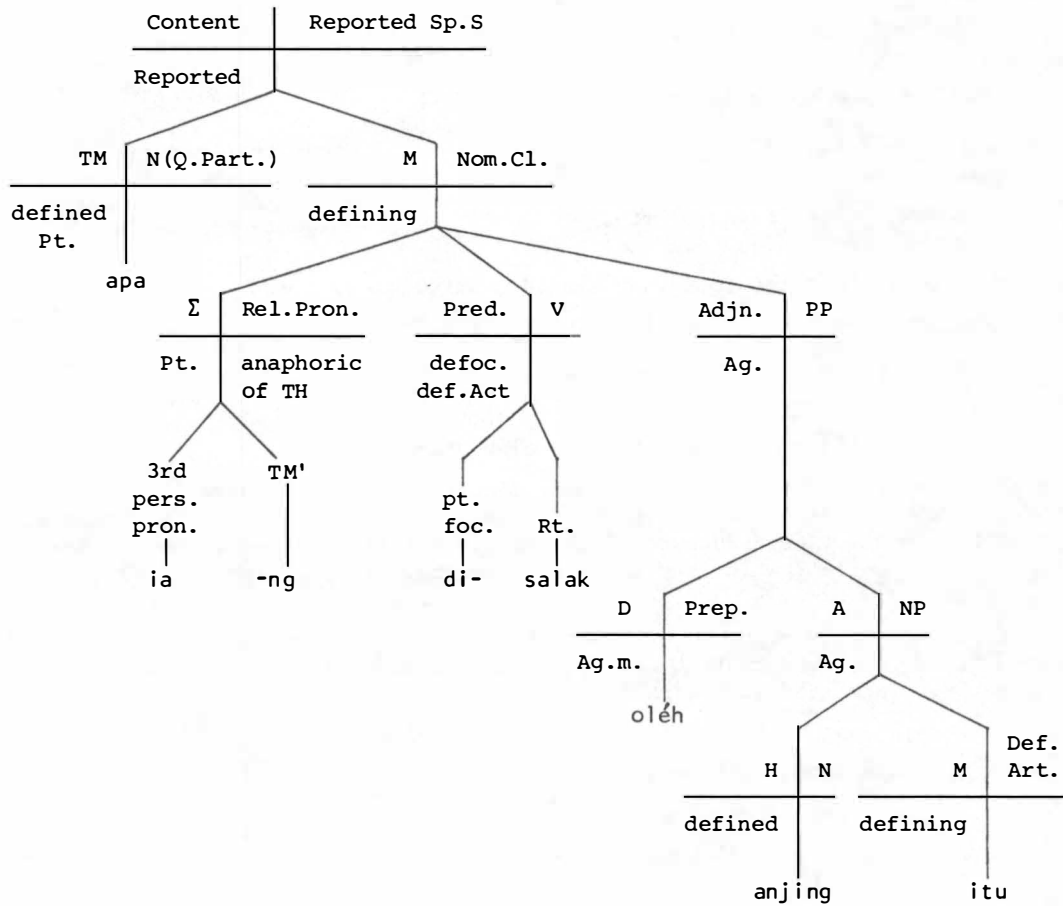
anjing   itu

Display 3.6.6. Tree diagram

(52a) Itulah yang dihambat oléh anjing ini

C | S
Concl.

TH | -lah const.(NP)   M | Nom.Cl.

defined Pt.   defining

H(Pron.NT) | Def.Art. | M.Encl. | Part.   Σ | Rel.Pron. | Pred. | V | Adjn. | PP

Pro.Pt. | Anaphoric | CM   Pt. | anaphoric | defoc. | Act.   Ag.
                                      of TH   def.
                                      (seékor
itu   -lah   pelanduk)

3rd
pers.
pron. | TM'   pt.
                     foc. | Rt.   D | Prep.   A | N

ia   -ng   di-   hambat   Ag.m.   Ag.

                                     oléh

                                     H | N   M | Def.Art.

                                     defined   defining

                                     anjing   ini

83

84
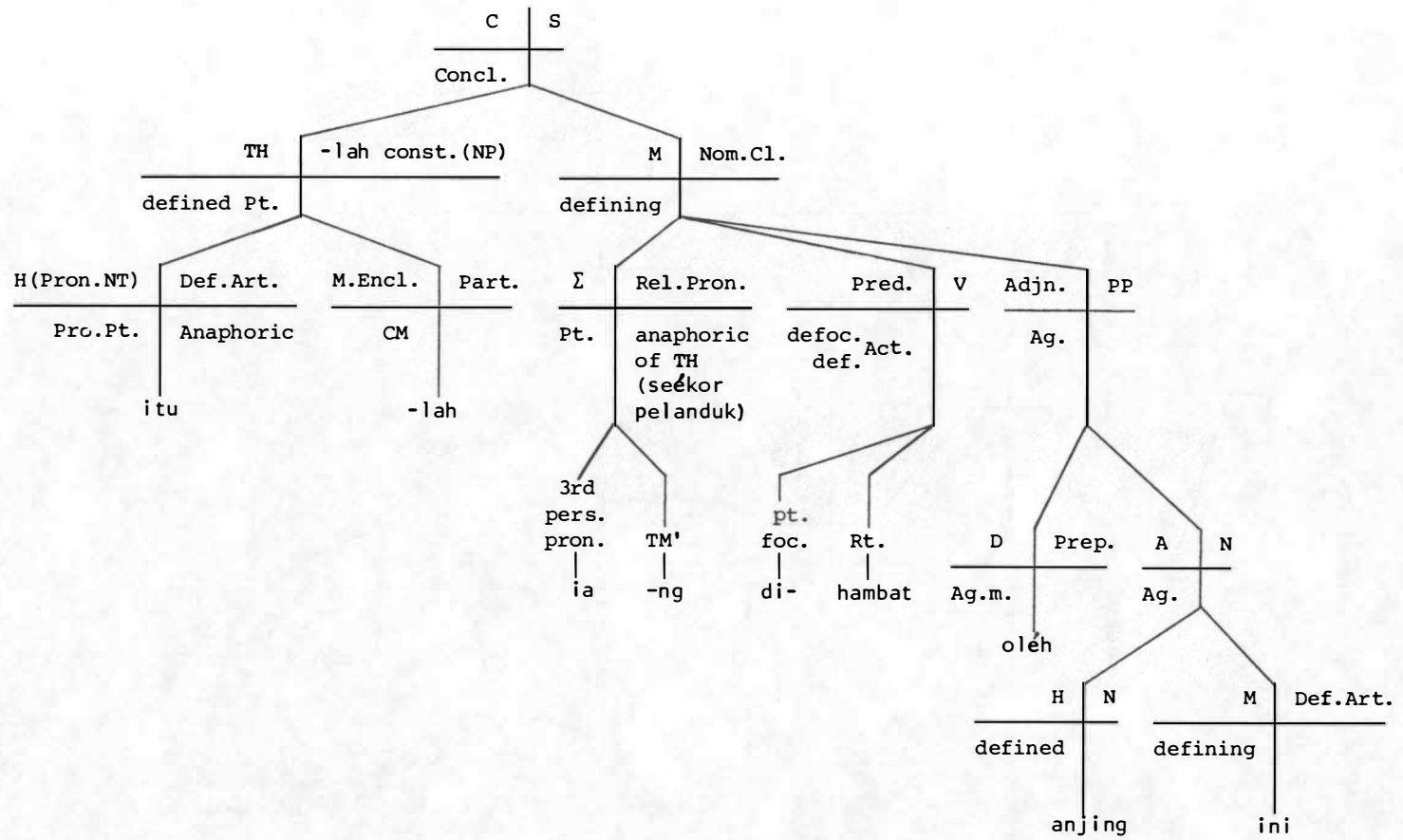
Display 3.6.7. Tree diagram

(53a) ... negeri yang diperbuat itu.
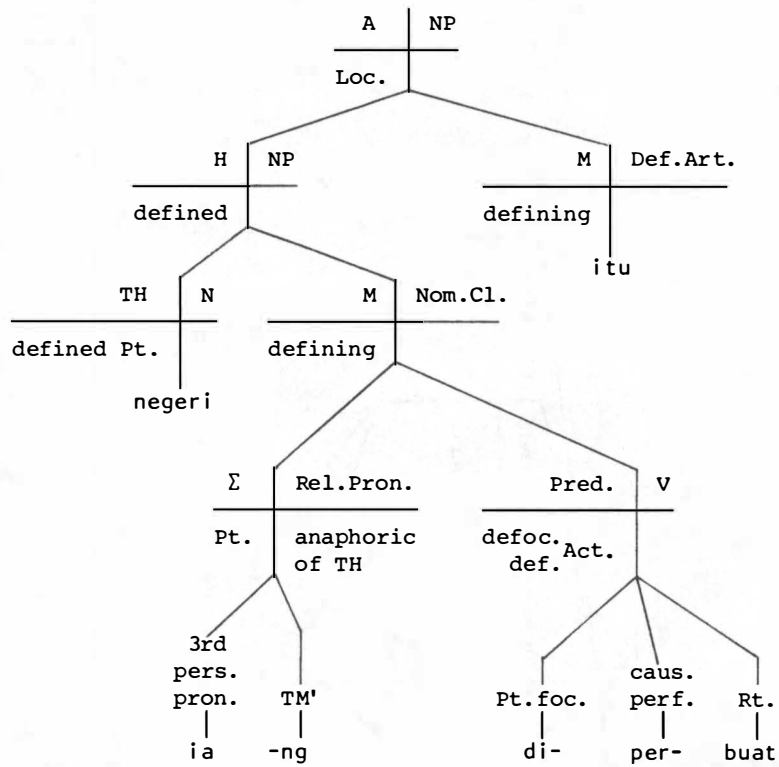
Display 3.6.8. Tree diagram

(54a) suatu kissah yang diceterakan oléh orang tua-tua

NT | NP
announced
Elab.

TH | NP
defined
Pt.

M | Nom.Cl.
defining

M | Indef.Art.
defining
suatu

H | N
defined
kissah

Σ
Pt.

Rel.Pron.
anaphoric
of TH

Pred. | V
defoc.
def.
Act.

Adjn. | PP
Ag.

3rd.pers.
pron.
ia

TM'
-ng

Pt.Foc.
di-

Rt.
cetera

Act.Foc.
-kan

D | Prep.
Ag.m.
oléh

A | NP
Ag.

H | N
defined
orang

M | Adj.
defining
tua-tua
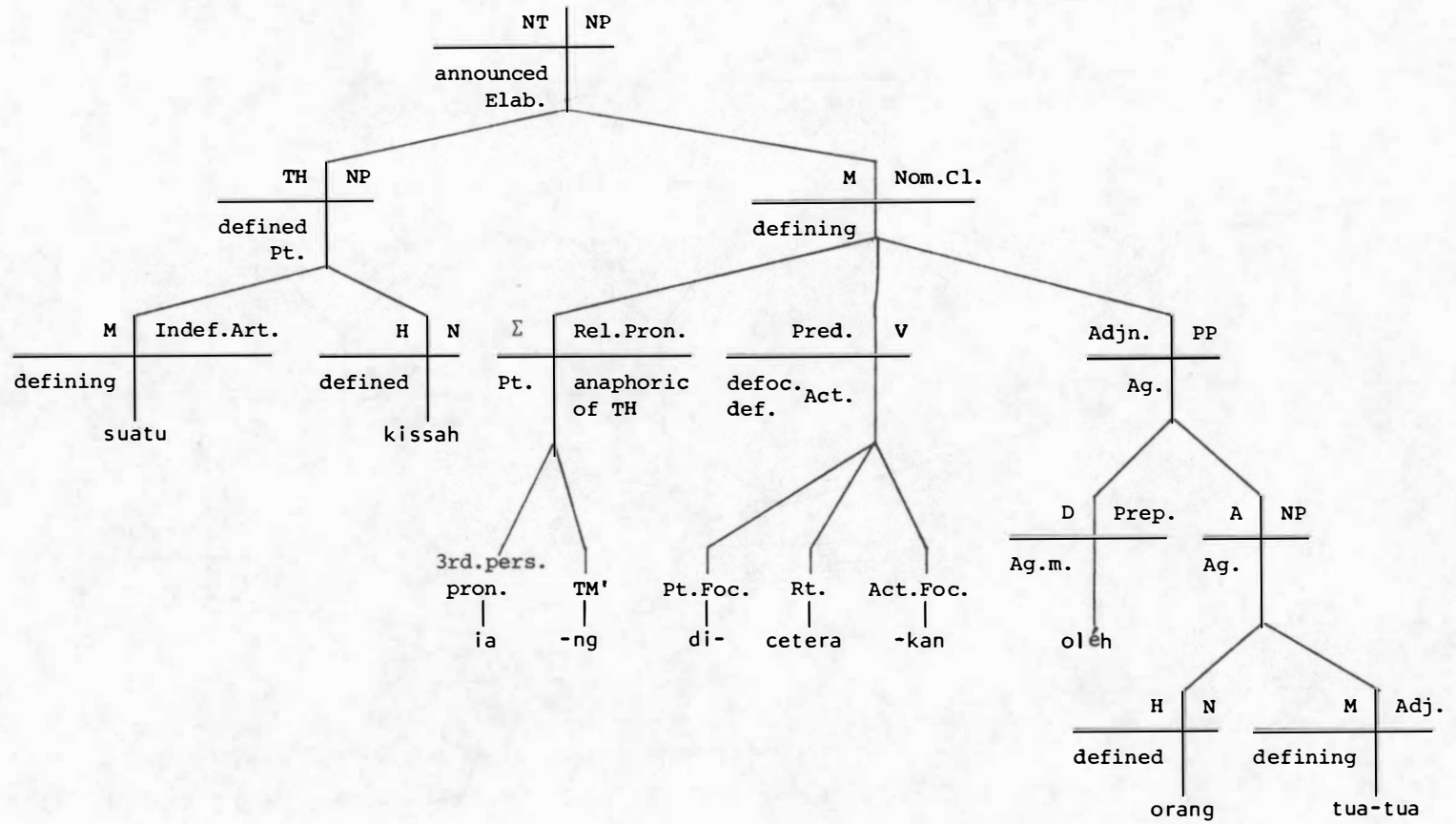
Display 3.6.9. Tree diagram

(54b) ... raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu

| M | NP |

Possessing

| TH | NP |

defined
Ag.

raja

| M | Nom.Cl. |

defining

| Σ | Rel.Pron. |

Ag. | anaphoric
of TH

| Pred. | V |

indef.
art.

| O | NP |

Pt.

3rd.pers.
pron.

TM'

ia

-ng

gen.indef.
vb.pref.

| Rt. |

ber-

buat

| H | NP |

defined

| M | Def.Art. |

defining

itu

| H | N |

defined

| M | Prop.N |

defining

negeri

Patani Darussalam
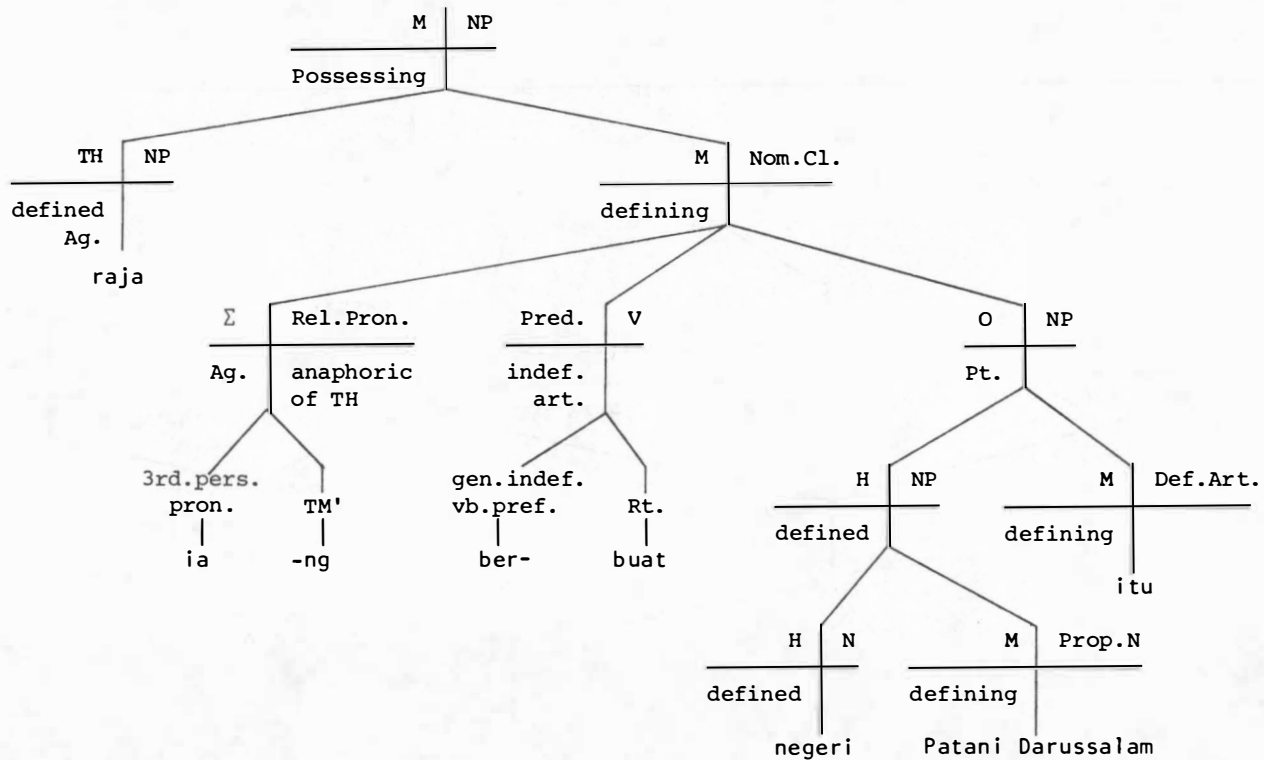
Display 3.6.10. Tree diagram

(55a) ... segala orang yang menurut anjing itu

```
                                        A │ NP
                                         ─┼─

              TH │ NP                                      M │ Nom.Cl.
             ────┼──                                      ───┼────

         defined Ag.                                     defining


        M │ Adj.          H │ N      Σ │ Rel.Pron.   Pred. │ V          O │ NP
     ─────┼──          ────┼──    ────┼──────────   ──────┼──      ─────┼──

    quantifier         quantified   Ag.  anaphoric    def.                  Pt.
                                         of TH        act.

       segala              orang


                                3rd.pers.                              H │ N          M │ Def.Art.
                                pron.    TM'    ag.foc.   Rt.       ───┼──         ───┼────
                                  │       │       │       │        defined         defining
                                  ia      -ng    meN-    turut

                                                                      anjing             itu
```
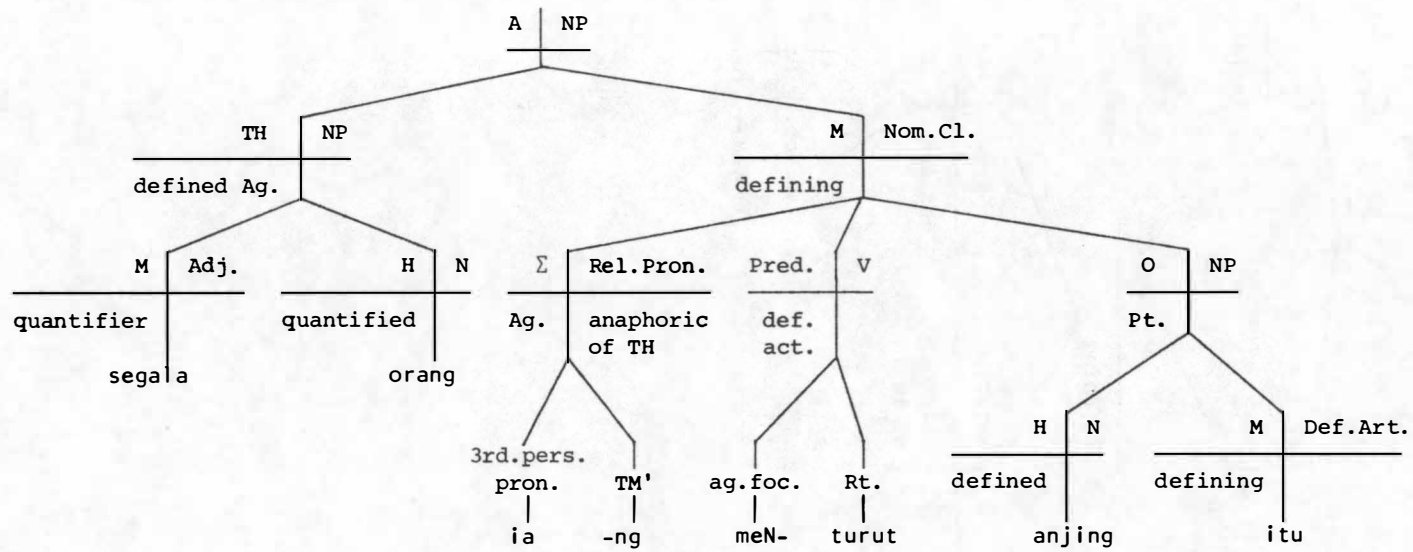
Display 3.6.11. Tree diagram

(56a) orang yang merawa itu

Display 3.6.12. Tree diagram

(57a) ... pangkalan yang ditempat pelanduk putih lenyap itu

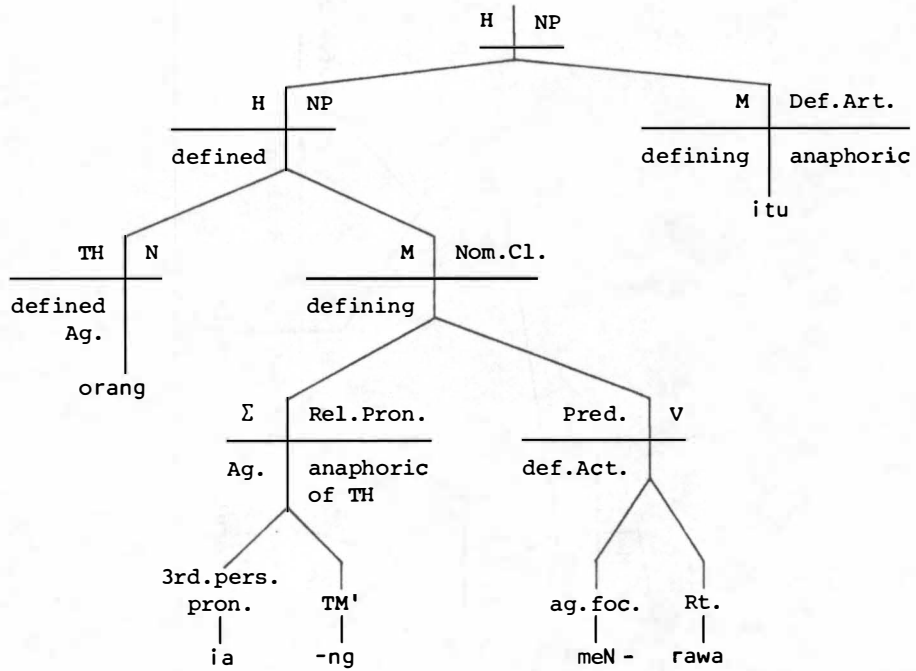The basic pattern that each of these yang embedded structures have in common may be described in formulas[43] as follows:

$$
\text{Yang Embedded Str.} = \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \text{TH} & \{\begin{matrix}\text{NP} \\ \text{-lah Const. (ProNP)}\end{matrix}\} \\ \hline \text{Defined} \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pt.} \\ \text{Ag.} \\ \text{loc.}\end{matrix}\right\} & \end{array}}{\;} + \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \text{M} & \{\begin{matrix}\text{Nom.Cl.} \\ \text{NP}\end{matrix}\} \\ \hline \text{Defining} & \end{array}}{\;}
$$

$$
\text{Nom.Cl.} = \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \Sigma & \text{Rel.Pron.} \\ \hline \text{Pt.} & \end{array}}{\;} + \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \text{Pred.} & \text{Verb} \\ \hline \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{defoc.def.Act} \\ \text{indef.Act} \\ \text{def.Act}\end{matrix}\right\} & \end{array}}{\;} + \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \text{Adjn.} & \text{PP} \\ \hline \text{Ag.} & \end{array}}{\;}
$$

$$
\text{NP} = \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \text{H} & \text{Rel.Pron.} \\ \hline \text{defined} & \begin{matrix}\text{anaphoric} \\ \text{of TH}\end{matrix} \end{array}}{\;} + \frac{\begin{array}{c|c} \text{M} & \text{PP} \\ \hline \text{defining} & \end{array}}{\;}
$$

The way to read these formulas is: Yang Embedded Structure is made up of a topic-alized Head (TH) and a modifier (M). The TH has the role of the defined, which may be further specified as having the role of patient, or agent or location depending on its relation to the predicate in the Modifier, and in terms of class it may be either a NP or a-lah constituent which is actually a proform of a NP modified by the particle -lah. The modifier has the role of the defining and in terms of class it may be either a Nominalized Clause (Nom.Cl.) or a NP. The Nominalized Clause is made up of a Subject (Σ) and a Predicate (Pred.) and an Adjunct (Adjn.). The Σ, in terms of role, is a patient (pt.) and in terms of class, is a Relative Pronoun (Rel.Pron.). The Predicate, in terms of role, can be a defocussed definite Act di-Verb (defoc.def.Act), or an indefinite Act ber-Verb (indef.Act), or a definite Act meN-Verb. The Adjunct, in terms of role, is an Agent and in terms of class, is a Prepositional Phrase (PP). The NP is made up of a Head (H) and a modifier. The Head, in terms of role, is a defined, and, in terms of class, is a Relative Pronoun yang (Rel.Pron.). In terms of cohesion the Relative Pronoun yang is anaphoric of the TH. The part of yang that is anaphoric is ya or ia which is actually the third person pronoun. The morpheme -ng is the Topic Marker (TM').[44] The modifier has the role of defining and the class of prepositional phrase.

From the perspective of the defining modifier, which can be either a Nominalized Clause or a NP, the Yang Embedded Structure may be described as an endocentric construction (i.e. it has a relation analogous to the Head-Modifier relation) that consists of either an embedded exocentric structure (i.e. it has a relation analogous to a Subject-Predicate relation) or an embedded endocentric structure.

3.6.5.2. Unmarked embedded structure

Following are the sentences in my text that contain the unmarked embedded structures:

(58) Maka baginda   pun bertemu dengan
     conn. *his majesty* TM *find   with*

     se=buah   rumah orang tua laki-bini
     one=class house person old husband-wife

     duduk me=rawa   dan men=jerat
     reside ag.foc.=catch prawn and ag.foc.=set snare

There he found a house where an old couple lived, catching prawns and setting snares.

(59) Hatta ada   sekira-kira dua[du] jam
     conn. *exist about   two   hour*

     lama=nya maka berbunyi suara anjing
     long=the conn. *sound   voice dog*

     itu me=nyalak
     that ag.foc.=bark

Then, after about two hours, the sound of the dogs' barking was heard.

(60) Bahwa sesunguh=nya nama negeri   itu
     Truly truly=the   name settlement that

     meng=ikut   sembah   orang
     ag.foc.=*follow obeisance person*

     me=ngata=kan   pelanduk lenyap   itu
     ag.foc.=*say=act.foc. mousedeer disappear that*

In actual fact, the name of the settlement derived from the words which the people used when reporting the disappearance of the mousedeer.

(61) Dan] pangkalan   itu=lah tempat Encik
     And landing stage that=CM *place Encik*

     Tani naik turun me=rawa
     Tani go up down ag.foc.=catch prawns

And that landing stage was the place where Encik Tani used to go up and down catching prawns and setting snares.

To examine these unmarked structures, let us look at the following sentence fragments:

(58a) ... sebuah rumah orang tua laki-bini duduk merawa dan menjerat

(59a) ... maka berbunyilah suara anjing itu menyalak.

(60a) ... sembah orang mengatakan pelanduk lenyap itu.

(61a) ... tempat Encik Tani naik turun merawa dan menjerat itu

Let me now present these sentence fragments in the form of tree diagrams for us to see how the unmarked embedded structures fit within these fragments (displays 3.6.13.-3.6.16.).

The Unmarked Embedded Structure (UEStr.) as displayed in (58a) (3.6.13.) can be described in formulas as:

$$\text{UEStr.} = \frac{\text{H} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{possessed} \mid} + \frac{\text{M} \mid \text{Nom.Cl.}}{\text{possessing} \mid}$$

$$\text{Nom.Cl.} = \frac{\Sigma \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Ag.} \mid} + \frac{\text{Pred.} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{State and Act} \mid}$$

Display 3.6.13. Tree diagram

(58a) ... sebuah rumah orang tua laki-bini duduk merawa dan menjerat

```
                                A │ NP

            H │ NP                              M │ Nom.Cl.
            possessed                           possessing

     M │ Indef.Art.      H │ N      Σ │ NP                    Pred. │ VP
     defining           defined     Ag.                       gen.state        spec.Act.
                        rumah
    prefix  inanimate              H │ NP        M │ Coord.NP        VP              Coord.VP
            classifier             defined       defining          gen.state       spec.Act.
                                   gen.                             duduk
     se-    buah
                           H │ N      M │ Adj.   N      N                V    Coord.      V
                           defined    defining                          def.  Conn.      def.
                                                                        Act    │         Act
                           orang      tua       laki   bini                   dan
                                                               Ag.foc.  Rt.        Ag.foc.  Rt.
                                                                 │       │           │       │
                                                               meN-    rawa        meN-    jerat
```

Display 3.6.14. Tree diagram

(59a) ... maka berbunyilah suara anjing itu menyalak

S

Pre-Core

Core | -lah Const.

Elab. | Cl.

Gen.

Spec.Pt.

Conn.

Conn.Cl.

Conn.

V

Encl. | Part

H | N

M | NP₁

Time
Duration

ESM

Indef.
gen.Act

CM

defined

defining

maka

-lah

suara

Indef.
act m.

Rt.

ber-

bunyi

H | N

M | Def.Art.

defined

defining

anjing

itu

Ag.Foc.
meN-

Rt.
salak

Σ | NP₁

Pred. | V

Ag.

def.
Act

Cl.
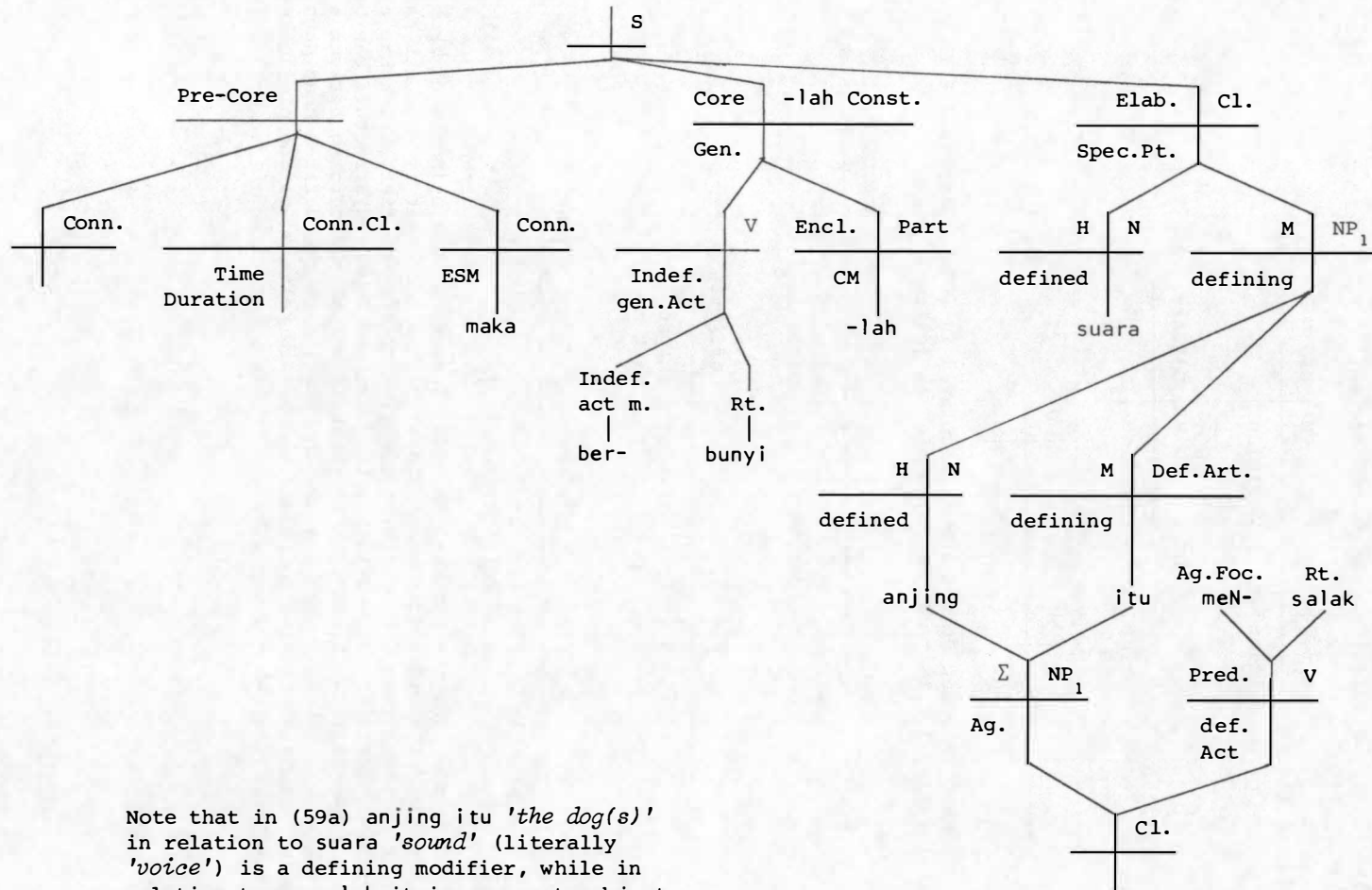
Note that in (59a) anjing itu *the dog(s)'*
in relation to suara *'sound'* (literally
'voice') is a defining modifier, while in
relation to menyalak it is an agent subject.

The Unmarked Embedded Structure which is part of the Elaboration Structure of (59a) (Display 3.6.14.) can be formulated as:[45]

$$
\text{Elab.Str.} = \frac{\text{H} \mid \text{N}}{\text{defined}} \; \Big| \; + \; \frac{\text{M} \mid \text{NP}_1}{\text{defining}}
$$

$$
\text{NP}_1 = \frac{\text{H} \mid \text{N}}{\text{defined}} \; \Big| \; + \; \frac{\text{M} \mid \text{Def.Art.}}{\text{defining}}
$$

$$
\text{UEStr.} = \frac{\Sigma \mid \text{NP}_1}{\text{Ag.}} \; + \; \frac{\text{Pred.} \mid \text{V}}{\text{Def.Act}}
$$

The Unmarked Embedded Structures as displayed in (60a) (Display 3.6.15.) and (61a) (Display 3.6.16.) can be formulated as follows:

$$
\text{UEStr.} = \frac{\text{H} \mid \text{N}}{\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{defined}\\ \text{possessed/Gen.SA}\end{array}\right\}} \; \Big| \; + \; \frac{\text{M} \mid \text{Nom.Cl.}}{\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{defining}\\ \text{possessing}\end{array}\right\}}
$$

$$
\text{Nom.Cl.} = \frac{\text{H} \mid \text{Cl.}}{\text{defined}} \; \Big| \; + \; \frac{\text{M} \mid \text{Def.Art.}}{\text{defining} \mid \begin{array}{l}\text{anaphoric}\\ \text{past m.}\end{array}}
$$

$$
\text{Cl.} = \frac{\Sigma \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Ag.}} \; + \; \frac{\text{Pred.} \mid \text{VP}}{\begin{array}{l}\text{gen.Act}\\ \text{def.Act/Spec.SA}\end{array}} \; \pm \; \frac{\text{O} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Pt.}}
$$

   In conclusion, the Unmarked Embedded Structure is distinguished from the Yang Embedded Structure (discussed above) by the fact that it does not have any relative pronoun yang. From the perspective of its modifier, which has either the role of defining or possessing, the Unmarked Embedded Structure can be either a Nominalized Clause or a NP which is actually a merging between a NP and a Clause; that is to say the NP, in relation to the defined head Noun that precedes it, is a defining modifier, whereas in relation to the predicate that comes after it, is an agent subject.

Display 3.6.15. Tree diagram

(60a) ... sembah orang mengatakan pelanduk lenyap itu[46]

96
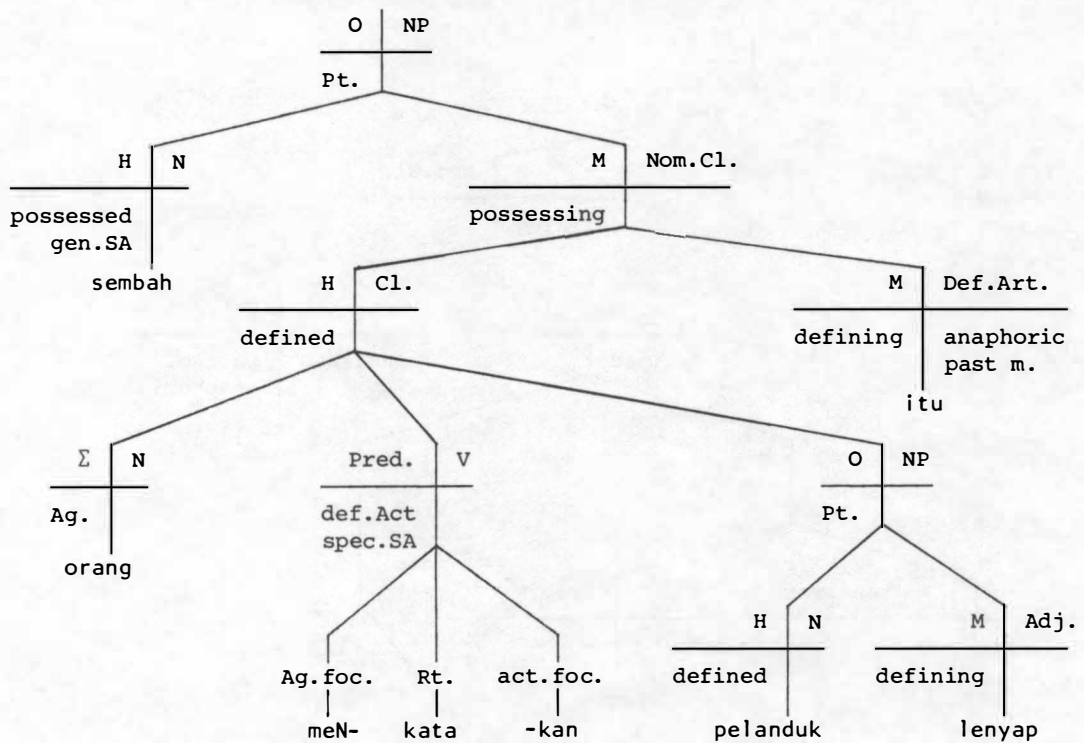
Display 3.6.16.   Tree diagram

(61a) ... tempat Encik Tani naikturun merawa dan menjerat itu

```
                        Elab. │ NP
                        Spec.

          H │ N                           M │ Nom.Cl.
        defined                         defining

        tempat
                            H │ Cl.                    M │ Def.Art.
                          defined                    defined   past m.
                                                               anaphoric
                                                          itu
                    Σ │ NP
                    Ag.                   Pred. │ VP
                                          gen.
        M │ Address Term      H │ Prop.N  Act
      defining               defined
        Encik                 Tani
                                          H │ V            M │ Coord.V
                                          gen.             Spec.
                                          direction        Act
                                          naikturun
                                                    V               V
                                                  def.    Coord.   def.
                                                  Act     Conn.    Act
                                                          dan
                                          ag.foc.  Rt.        ag.foc.  Rt.
                                          meN-    rawa        meN-    jerat
```
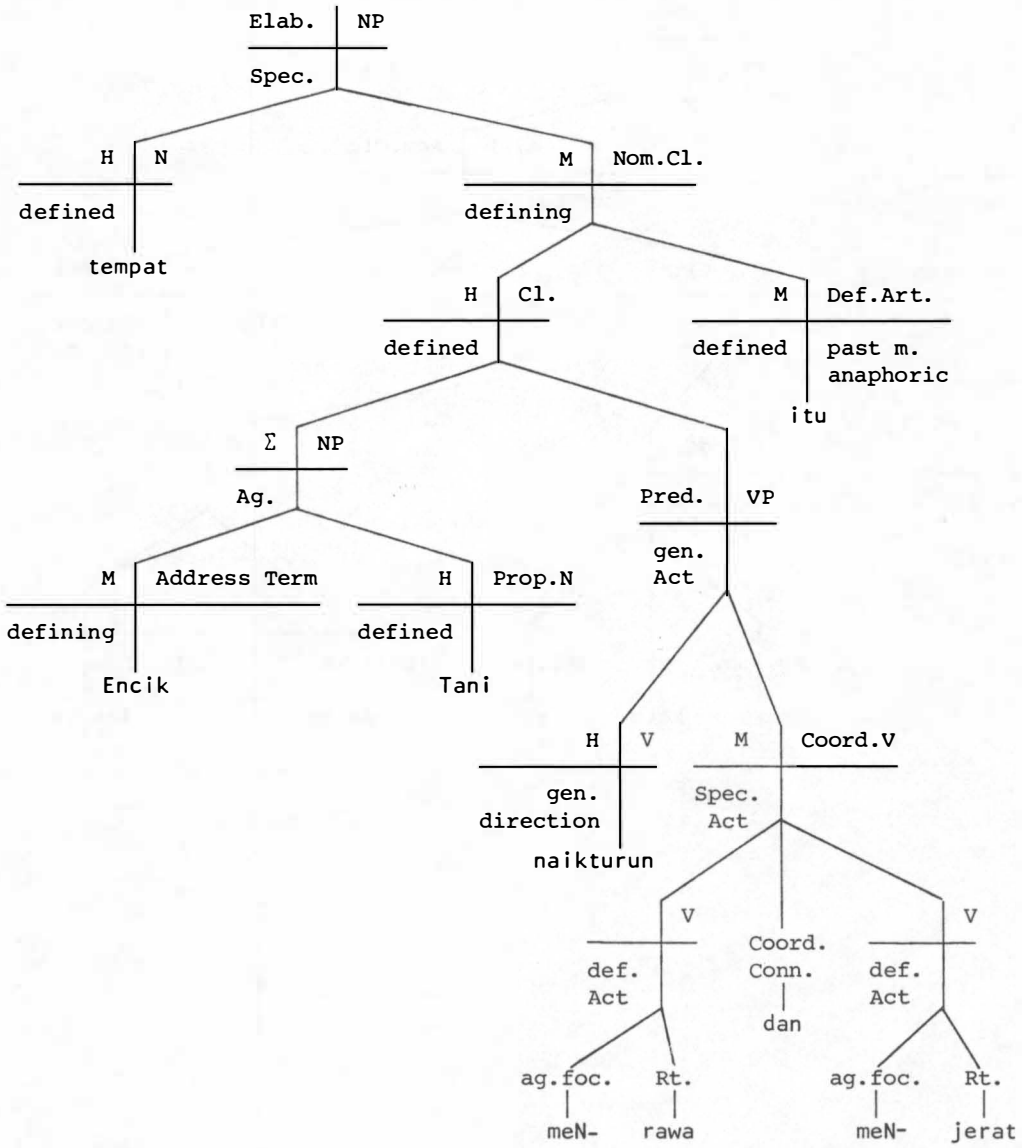
3.6.6. Summary

In conclusion the following is a summary table with comments of each construction type.

TYPES	COMMENTS/FEATURES	EXAMPLES
I. pun-lah constructions	- has three parts: Precore, Core, and Elaboration. - Precore and Elaboration are structurally optional; Core is obligatory - has two variants: pun-lah variant and pun variant, which is subdivided into two subvariants: the subvariant which has the pun constituent and a -lah-less predicate constituent; and the subvariant that has only the pun constituent without any -lah-less predicate and hence make the elaboration come right after the pun constituent	Precore 1.Syahdan maka | Paya Tu 　Core Antarapun kerajaanlah | 　Elaboration menggantikan ayahanda baginda itu. *'And Paya Tu Antara became king succeeding his father.'* Precore　　　Core 2.Maka　| baginda pun pindah | 　　Elaboration hilir duduk pada negeri yang diperbuat itu. *'The King moved downstream (and) resided in the (newly) built settlement.'* Precore　　Core 3.Maka　| baginda pun | 　　Elaboration menitahkan orang pergi melihat bekas rusa itu. *'Then the King ordered men to go back and look for the tracks of deer.'*
II. Frame-Content constructions	A. In terms of speech mode, can be subdivided into Direct and Indirect subtypes 1. The Direct subtype: - has the generic speech act explicitly stated in the frame part and the specific speech act implied in the content part. - has a clear distinction between Frame and Content parts: frame is endocentric in its structure, i.e. it has a head-modifier relation and content is exocentric in its structure, i.e. it has a subject-predicate relation.	Preframe　　　Frame 1.Maka　　| titah baginda: | 　　Content 'Apa yang disalak oléh anjing itu?' *'What were the dogs barking at?'* (lit. *'The speech of the King: "What (was it) that the dogs were barking at?"'*)

TYPES	COMMENTS/FEATURES	EXAMPLES
	- has no speech act verb chain moving from generality to specificity	
	2.The Indirect subtype:	Preframe Frame
	- frame has an overlap of endocentric and exocentric relations	Maka │ titah baginda suruh bertanya kepada orang tua itu
	- usually expresses all speech acts explicitly moving from generality to specificity	Content │ dari mana datangnya. *'The King then gave orders to ask these old people where they had come from and settled in this place, and what their origin was.'*
	- usually involves more than one level of speech act participants, i.e. more than one agent.	
	B.In terms of level, can be subdivided into:	
	1.Dialogue: is open-ended, i.e. has the structure of Frame-Content (FC)	Maka titah Paya Tu Naqpa: 'Jikalau demikian kerah-kanlah segala ra'yat kita.' *'Paya Tu Naqpa then spoke: "In that case call up all our people."'*
	2.Monologue (Story): has a sense of completeness, i.e. has the structure of Frame-Content-Frame (FCF)	Introductory Sentence + Story Proper + Concluding Sentence
III. -lah construction	- contains new information on the content level and on the meta-level signalled by the comment marking particle lah	1.Maka titah baginda: 'Baiklah ésok pagi-pagi kita berburu'. *'The King spoke: "Good, let us go hunting early tomorrow morning."'*
	- the ones that have deictic particles ini *'this'*, itu *'that'* and demikian *'like that'* usually foregrounds both topics and comments as new information and this is done by means of two sentences or two text units that may belong to different hierarchical levels.	2.Itulah yang dihambat oléh anjing ini. *'That was what these dogs were pursuing.'* (The new topic referred to by this lah construction is in the form of the sentence: Ada seékor pelanduk putih besarnya seperti kambing, warna tubuhnya gilang gemilang. *'There was a mousedeer, the size of a goat, and the color of its body was glittering.'*

TYPES	COMMENTS/FEATURES	EXAMPLES
IV. Other constructions	These are transition sentences (constructions) between two pun-lah constructions or between a pun-lah construction and a pun variant of the pun-lah construction type. That is to say they have meN-Verbs (elab.), they have affix-less and ber-Verbs (core), they have explicit free syntactic subjects (core), they have a connective clause (precore), but they do not have pun and -lah constituents.	1. Ia menamai dirinya Paya Tu Naqpa. *'He called himself Paya Tu Naqpa'* 2. Selama Paya Tu Naqpa kerajaan itu senantiasa ia pergi berburu. *'During the time he was king, Paya Tu Naqpa was used always to go hunting.'*
V. Embedded structures	- are subdivided into the Yang Embedded Structure and the Unmarked Embedded Structure. - the Yang Embedded Structure from the perspective of its defining modifier can be either a Nominalized Clause or a NP. The Nominalized Clause has an exocentric structure, i.e. it has a subject-predicate relation. The NP has an endocentric structure, i.e. it has an attributive or Head-Modifier relation - the Unmarked Embedded Structure is distinguished from the Yang Embedded Structure by the fact that it does not any relative pronoun yang. From the perspective of its modifier, which has either the role of defining or possessing, the unmarked embedded structure can be either	... raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu *'the King who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace'* ... pangkalan yang ditempat pelanduk putih lenyap itu *'the landing stage on the spot where the white mousedeer disappeared'*

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

a Nominalized Clause or a NP which is actually a merging between a NP and a Clause; that is to say the NP, in relation to the defined head Noun that precedes it, is a defining modifier, whereas in relation to the predicate that comes after it, it is an agent subject.

... maka berbunyilah suara anjing itu menyalak *'the sound of the dogs' barking was heard'*

</div>

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. The translation here is for the most part based on that of Teeuw and Wyatt. Where my interpretation of specific lexical items differs from theirs I will use my own translation. Furthermore, the equal sign (=) is to separate morphemes within a word.

2. I do not use the word *'about'* here because I believe that this sentence is basically a Frame Content construction (for details see 3.6.2.), which I feel is not clearly reflected by the English *'tell about'* construction. That is, Inilah suatu kissah yang diceterakan oléh orang tua-tua *'This is the story which has been told by the old people'* is the frame part, and asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu *'the origin of the King who founded the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace'* is the content part. It should be noted also that the frame part is a lah-construction (for details see 3.6.3.).

3. Teeuw and Wyatt use the two English words *'hound'* and *'dog'* to translate anjing. I see no reason for using two terms, therefore I will simply use *'dog'*.

4. I am using *'the'* here instead of *'a'* because of the presence of the definite article itu in its Malay counterpart.

5. Arakian is translated here as *'hence'* and not as *'as for'* because I believe that this particle is a conclusion marker (for details see 3.5.2.) and not a topic marker.

6. I am using *'that'* here instead of *'this'* because of the presence of itu in its Malay counterpart.

7. Syahdan is translated here as *'furthermore'* since it is a coordinate conjunction that is used for important information in the text; in this case it is used for the point of the story (for details see 3.5.5.).

8. Demikianlah hikayatnya is translated as *'That is the way the story goes'* due to the fact that demikian *'like that'* is anaphoric of the story which was retold by the narrator prior to it.

9. cf. Teeuw and Wyatt 1970:52.

10. cf. Labov and Waletzky 1967:39.

11. See Eisner 1975:75.

12. cf. Teeuw and Wyatt 1970:28,145.

13. cf. Teeuw and Wyatt 1970:145.

14. cf. Teeuw and Wyatt 1970:20,216.

15. cf. Douglas et al. 1974 (1962):862-863.

16. See Becker (to appear) in A.L. Becker and Aram Yengoyan, eds.

17. See Becker (to appear).

18. cf. Eisner 1975:75 and Labov 1972:363.

19. See Becker 1977:13.

20. Errington 1974:12-13; Hang Tuah is the name of the main character (hero) in the Hikayat Hang Tuah, which is the text that Errington studies.

21. Errington 1975:32-33. Note that the term 'Part One' refers to part one of Hikayat Hang Tuah, the text that errington analyzes.

22. cf. Windstedt 1957 (1967) for the meanings of *titah*, *baginda*, *daulat tuanku*, *Duli Yang Mahamulia*; the explanation about distancing, speaking up and speaking down, and the act of humbling is my own.

23. Notice that the reason why the narrators think that their argument, i.e. the second one, is true rather than the first one (the popular belief) is due to the fact that the mousedeer in most Malay animal fables is the main character who always outwits all the other animals, especially the strong ones such as tigers, crocodiles, apes, etc. In other words, in Malay culture the mousedeer stands for intelligence. Sometimes it also stands for gracefulness, elegance, and beauty. He is a trickster character, somewhat like Br'er Rabbit in American folklore.

24. See Becker (to appear) in Becker and Yengoyan, eds, *The Imagination of Reality*.

25. See Douglas et al. 1974:578.

26. Richard Rhodes and I discovered this as we wrote down all the sentences and clauses that are preceded by maka.

27. We won't take kalakian *'at that time'* or *'next'* (derived from kala *'time'* or *'period'* and kian *'that'* or *'there'*) into consideration, since it does not appear in our text.

28. *Suatu kissah inilah is ungrammatical, because suatu is indefinite and inilah is definite; one cannot have the definite and the indefinite articles simultaneously modify the noun kissah.

29. SCRIPT is a term used by Roger Schank and his colleagues on the Yale Artificial Intelligence Project (a project to construct a computer that will 'understand' a story). They define SCRIPT as 'a performed sequence of actions that constitutes the natural order of a piece of knowledge' (Schank et al. 1975:3). 'Scripts', according to them, 'serve to fill in the gaps in a causal chain when they can't be inferred just by themselves' (1975:3). They also state that 'scripts are intended to handle the range of events that are the most mundane' (p.4). For their purposes, they state that 'a script is a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions

that define a well-known situation .... Scripts allow for new references to objects within them just as if these objects had been previously mentioned; objects within a script may take "the" without an explicit introduction because the script itself has already implicitly introduced them' (1975:3).

In modern Indonesian this presupposed use of itu is substituted by the use of -nya, e.g. if I say 'Siapa namanya?' '"What's your name?"' to my addressee what I mean is not *What is YOUR name?* but rather *I presuppose that you have a name. What is it?*

30. Another interpretation for this is that itu could be a modifier whose scope is beyond laut, that is, it modifies the whole phrase perburuan sebelah tepi laut. In this case itu is used as an anaphoric non-presupposed deictic particle and not as a script one. This is due to the fact that sentence (7) in our text, especially sentiasa ia pergi berburu *he used to go hunting* already implies that there is always a location for hunting when one talks about it.

31. cf. Monier-Williams 1899.

32. To know what frame-content construction is, see 3.5.2.

33. Demikian here is part of an understood dialogue between Narrator(s) and Addressee.

34. These terms - CORE, PRECORE and ELABORATION - were developed together with A.L. Becker as I was working on this construction.

35. -lah constituent is called COMMENT, because the term 'comment' is more inclusive than the terms 'event' and 'new information' and also because I want to use 'comment' as a slot label and 'event' as a role label. There are also comments that have 'non-events' roles, e.g. sungguh *indeed* in sungguhlah as intensifier, ini *this* in inilah as an introductory marker, etc.

36. Lewis 1947:233 discusses a different use of adalah, i.e. the fact that adalah, in introducing a statement, stresses the existence of the state of affairs made known by that statement. For example, 1) Maka ada-lah daripada kĕbanyakan ra'yat bĕrjalan itu sĕgala hutan bĕlantara pun habis-lah mĕnjadi padang. *It came about that because of the great multitude of the marching army the spreading jungle was utterly destroyed and became a treeless plain.* 2) Ada-lah bĕsi ini kami bawa dari nĕgĕri China sapĕrti lĕngan bĕsar-nya, sĕkarang habis haus. *This iron that we are carrying from China, the truth is that it was originally of an arm's thickness, and now it has rusted away almost to nothing.*

37. Robert Longacre 1976a, especially Chapter V on plots and also Robert Longacre 1976b.

38. This list is in some ways similar to and in other ways different from Becker's (1977:8). Some of the features on my list are different from the ones on his because the nature of his text is different from mine and also because his features are obtained on the basis of studying one particular type of sentence. That is to say, my list of features is a result of studying more than one type of sentence; it is a further elaboration of what he started out in his list.

39. In the case of example (40) the FCR construction is stated in the form of a sentence and then the development of the content is given after that, in the form of a discourse, whereas in the case of 'Introductory S + Story

Proper + Concluding S', the FCF construction is stated in the form of a non-openended discourse, where the content is the discourse itself. In other words, in the former the content is the theme, whereas in the latter the content is the development of the theme, which is expressed in the frame, i.e. the introductory sentence, as Asal raja yang berbuat negeri Patani Darussalam itu *'The origin of the King who built the settlement of Patani, the Abode of Peace'*. Note that this is an example of structural similarity at different levels.

40. There is a third which has already been discussed in section 3.6.2. on Frame-Content Construction, i.e. the content part of it. I did not however state explicitly that it is an embedded structure.

41. Yang consists of a third person singular ia + the topic marker-ng (cf. ang in Tagalog).

42. To know what the abbreviations stand for consult the list of abbreviations on p.v.

43. Note that these formulas, including the ones of (58a), (59a), (60a) and (61a), are not intended to give a complete breakdown to word and relevant morpheme levels, but they are intended to give my readers a general idea of what the difference is between the Yang Embedded Structure and the Unmarked Embedded Structures, and of how complex the Unmarked Embedded Structures are, i.e. they are so complex that I can't represent them in one generalized formulaic pattern, but I have to represent them in three different formulaic patterns. For interested readers who want to see the complete breakdown formulas of these structures, please follow each individual tree diagram (Displays 3.6.5.-3.6.16.) down from where I stop in the formulas.

44. This topic marker (TM') is on the phrase level. It is distinguished from pun as the topic marker (TM) on the sentence level.

45. NP_1 in relation to Elaboration Structure (Elab.Str.) is the defining modifier of the defined Head Noun, whereas in relation to UEStr., NP_1 is the agent subject of the Pred.Def.Act Verb.

46. itu in this context, besides being anaphoric and marking past tense, has also a function of giving a sense of closure to the sentence.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

This chapter consists of two parts: a list of things that have been dis-
covered and discussed in this book and things that remain to be done, i.e.
problems or hypotheses the truth of which needs to be proven.

4.1. FINDINGS

4.1.1. In analyzing the overall structure of the text I found out about the
following:

(1) There are two kinds of narrators, the old people as the reported narrators,
and the present narrator as the reporting narrator.

(2) From this it is inferred that, in terms of the time of the telling of the
story, there are two types of addressee, the past addressee and the present
addressee. These two types of addressee are what I refer to as natural addres-
sees. The counterpart of this addressee is the supernatural addressee whose
name and protection is invoked by means of the Arabic invocational prayer at
the beginning of the story.

(3) The telling of the story on a higher level involves the following speech
acts: the invocation, manifested by the Arabic invocational prayer, the announ-
cing and the concluding of the story manifested by the introductory and the
concluding sentences, the assertion of the point of the story, and the actual
telling (or retelling) of the story.

(4) The announcing and the concluding of the story is a quotative strategy used
by the present narrator to signal the fact that the telling (or the retelling)
of the story is an act of quoting the old narrators. In other words, the intro-
ductory and the concluding sentences function as quotation marks around the
first story of part I of HP.

(5) The point of the story, i.e. the etymologizing about the name of the new
settlement that the main participant in the story built, is a strategy
    (a) to conclude the story of the hunt - which is an embedded text in
    the story - and
    (b) to expand on the point of the story which is embedded in the scenes
    or the episodes of the encounter of the main participant with the old
    couple and the act of the main participants' dogs pursuing the mousedeer.

(6) The sequence of temporal adverbials is a strategy to mark the outline of
the text.

4.1.2. In exploring bahasa I discovered the following:

(1) Distancing, showing honor and deference, as an expression of bahasa has two aspects: physical non-verbal and verbal relational.

(2) Based on only one context in the text, i.e. the fact that the form Duli Paduka Nénda occurs in one main clause, while the form Paduka Nénda occurs in two subordinate adverbial clauses (both of which mean *'Royal Grandfather'*), I hypothesize that Paduka Nénda is the reduced form (or the second mention form) of the nominal form Duli Paduka Nénda. Note that the truth of this inference needs to be verified by more data.

(3) The King, who is the main participant in the story, when speaking to his subjects never uses speech act verbs (i.e. performative verbs). Other participants always do, except in the context where there are two or more exchanges within the same speech act (cf. examples (10-14) in section 3.3.).

(4) Daulat Tuanku *'Hail my Lord'*, besides functioning as a verbal distancing, is also used as a signal of a speech act change, i.e. a change of participants with the same speech act or a change of speech act with the same participants. (Note: this term only occurs in contexts where a king or a ruler is speaking down to his subjects and exclusively in the addressee part of the exchange, and not in the speaker part of the exchange.)

4.1.3. In discussing naming and etymologizing I disclosed the following:

(1) Etymologizing about names - the acts of naming of the main participant and of the settlement which are explicated in and by the text - is a text-building strategy.

(2) Names in this text are used by the narrators to give a sense of completeness to the text, i.e. the name of the main participant is given at the beginning of the text as a base or topic from which the text is developed and the name of the settlement, i.e. the explication of how it was arrived at, is given at the end of the story as a concluding point. In other words, this act of giving a sense of completeness to the text by means of names at the beginning and at the end of the text is another text-building strategy that should be distinguished from the one listed in (1) above.

4.1.4. In evaluating particles[1] I discovered the following information:

PARTICLE	FEATURES/COMMENTS
Hatta	- marks a change in the action or the event in an episode. The change usually has to do with the change in participant orientation or in the scene of location. The change in participant orientation may involve the change of back-grounded major participant with the foregrounded major participant; it may also involve the introduction of a significant participant while the major participant is still the same, with a change in the scene - usually occurs at the beginning of the episode

PARTICLE	FEATURES/COMMENTS
Maka	- operates on the clause and sentence levels; in terms of its function slot it is an initial punctuation; in terms of its function role it is an event sequence sentence (or clause) marker in a text; in terms of its filler class it is a connective
Syahdan	- functions as an evaluation marker and occurs always at the beginning of the evaluation
Ini	- modifies speaker or other entities that are close to the speaker - proximity is temporal if the noun it modifies is abstract - proximity is physical if the noun it modifies is concrete - is cataphoric and exocentric if it is followed by a noun - is anaphoric and endocentric if it is preceded by a noun - is neither anaphoric nor cataphoric if it refers to an entity that is non-textual, i.e. an entity that is part of nature (ostensive reference) - signals immediate time before or after a speech act is performed
Itu	- types: 1) presupposed or script itu; 2) non-presupposed or anaphoric itu - signals distant time whether in the past or in the future
Arakian	- conclusion marker of a sentence, paragraph or an episode of a descriptive indirect speech within the story - always occurs at the beginning of the concluding unit, i.e. in the preframe part of a Frame Content construction - not modified by comment marker -lah
Demikian	- conclusion marker of a Dialogue Paragraph or a Complex Dialogue Paragraph level, and also of a story as a discourse unit.

     To my knowledge most of the definitions or information given above are not found in any old or current Malay or Indonesian dictionary. This is due to the fact that most definitions in dictionaries I have consulted tend to be lexically centred rather than textually or discourse centred.

4.1.5. The following are the construction types that I discovered:

(1) pun-lah constructions

(2) Frame-Content constructions

(3) -lah constructions

(4) Other constructions

(5) Embedded structures.

(For a detailed summary see section 3.6.6.)

Note that the -lah and the pun-lah construction types have one thing in common. That is the constituent that is modified by the enclitic lah usually contains new information. Their difference is in the commented entity, the object of the -lah constituent (the commenting entity). In the pun-lah construction the commented entity, marked by the topic marker pun, usually carries old information, whereas in the -lah construction, the commented entity, not marked by pun and usually occurring as a separate text unit (either as a clause, sentence, sentence cluster, paragraph or discourse) preceding or following the commenting entity depending on the deictic particle used, usually carries new information.

In Hopper (1976:9), clauses marked with -lah are viewed as the crucial foci of the narrative, i.e. they provide a synopsis of the dynamic line of the episode. In my work I take a different view regarding this. I view the enclitic particle -lah as a comment marker, that is the text unit it modifies usually carries new information. The newness of the information based on my work operates on two levels: on the content (or lexical) level and on the metalevel.

4.2. PROBLEMS FOR LATER WORKS

In conclsuion, I will point out issues that need further verification by later works.

(1) The widespreadness of the patterns - the pun-lah constructions, the frame-content constructions, the -lah constructions, the other constructions, and the embedded constructions - i.e. how common and how widespread they were in different Classical Malay texts, needs to be investigated.

(2) The widespreadness of the particles, i.e. the conclusion markers arakian and demikian, the definite articles ini *'this'* and itu *'that'*, the event sequence sentence marker maka, the evaluation marker syahdan, hatta as the marker of the change in the action or the event in an episode, the topic marker pun and the comment marker -lah, needs to be investigated.

(3) The widespreadness of some text-building strategies[2] - the use of introductory and concluding sentences as quotative strategy, the use of temporal adverbials to mark the outline of the text, the use of frame and frame in frame-content construction type to foreground the content as theme or the topic sentence of the text - needs to be investigated.

(4) Except for the terms (or notions) that occur in point (2) and a few others such as topic, comment, precore, core, elaboration, most of the terms I use in describing and illustrating the embedded structures in section 3.6.5. (consult the list of abbreviations immediately preceding Chapter 1 for this) and section 1.1., have not been justified. In other words, these notions need to be investigated in further detailed works on clause level and levels below clause, i.e. phrase level, word level and morpheme level. For this reason, some of the cells of the nodes in the tree diagrams have been left unfilled.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. This is not an exhaustive list of all the particles, deictic or connective, in my text.

2. The widespreadness of etymologizing about names as a text-building strategy is one of the few that has been pretty much investigated. See Becker's essay on 'Text building, epistemology, and aesthetics in Javanese shadow theatre' (to appear).

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