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SOME NOTES ON THE TEACHING OF STANDARD INDONESIAN
TO SPEAKERS OF IRIANESE INDONESIAN

Ignatius Suharno

Ikhtisar

Kertas ini menyajikan penemuan bahwa diantara Bahasa Indonesia Baku dan Bahasa Indonesia yang dipakai di Irian Jaya terdapat berbagai perbedaan. Perbedaan-perbedaan itu menurut penulis dapat diklasifikasikan, antara lain, dalam level fonologi, morfonologi, tata bahasa dan semantik. Bahasa Indonesia Baku ternyata sangat terbatas pemakaiannya, sedang Bahasa Indonesia dialek Irian lebih luas pemakaiannya.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Irian Jaya, formerly known as Netherlands New Guinea, has generally been known through European sources. The first visitors to the island of New Guinea, however, were thought to be Indonesians (Souter, 1963:17). A long time ago, the seafaring Malay speaking traders must have known this land of Seng-k'i (dark-skinned and curly-haired) or papua (curly-haired) people. Its name is related to the slaves who were presented to the Emperor of China by the eighth century king of Shrivijaya. The 14th century document Nagara Kertagama also mentioned the Bird's Head region of Irian Jaya as being under the jurisdiction of the

Majapahit kingdom. If these are evidences, the exposure of the now easternmost province of Indonesia to Indonesian culture must have not only taken place a long time ago, but also involved the use of some lingua franca.

Whether the first lingua franca had evolved from Old Malay is not the present issue, but there are strong indications that direct contacts in the last two or more centuries between Irian people and Indonesians from the Moluccas must have involved the use of some form of Bazaar Malay. By cursory observation we can see that varieties of Indonesian spoken in Irian Jaya are suis generis yet have a greater similarity to the varieties spoken in the Moluccas than to those spoken further west. Bazaar Malay was evidently also the language used in Irian Jaya by officials of the Moluccan sultanate of Tidore. The sultanate's sovereignty over Irian Jaya ended in 1905, when it was purchased by the Dutch government. Six years later it was annexed to the residency of Ambon.

Relatively recent events have also been instrumental in the dissemination of Indonesian which is highly Moluccan in dialectal features. One was the work of teachers from Ambon, Kei, and other adjacent islands who were sent by Christian churches to live among the Irianese. This occurred long before the Dutch administration reached even a limited number of the mission areas. Another was the work of, ironically enough, the Dutch administrators, who had to resort to "Basa Melayu Ambon" as the practical, though not official, language to govern the natives. This was inevitable because of the more than two hundred local languages in Irian Jaya (Capell, 1962 and 1969; Galis, 1955; Voorhoeve, 1975). Moreover, it was only after World War II that the Dutch introduced their language into education, and then only in a limited way.

To say that there is only one variety of Indonesian in Irian Jaya resulting from the mixture of Malay and the characteristics of the speech of its disseminators, amounts to a misconception similar to saying that local languages in Irian Jaya play no role in shaping the new lingua franca. It would be safer to say that there is more than one variety of Indonesian in Irian Jaya and that external as well as local influences have contributed to the development of new varieties of Indonesian in this area. This paper will refer to all of these varieties as Irianese Indonesian (II) as contrasted to Standard Indonesian (SI).

The purpose of this paper is to present my observations of the teaching of SI to II speakers, particularly those young students between the age of six and fifteen years old who attend primary schools in and around the small town of Abepura. In the presentation of this paper both the problems of teaching of SI in these schools and the contributing reasons, i.e. linguistic and non-linguistic, will be outlined.

Abepura is a small community of 20,000, about 15 kilometers from Jayapura, the capital of the province. In this small town, 17 primary schools are located within the town limits and are reachable by a land route. Only eight of these, however, are located in convenient places. There are another three schools outside the town which are reachable only by boat. Four of the schools in the town are run by private organizations: one by the Islamic faith, two by the Protestants, and another by a Catholic institution. The rest are government schools. Two of the schools in Abepura were observed more closely than the others. This was done in the last quarter of 1977 and the first quarter of 1978. As such, this paper makes no pretense of any large-scale generalization.

2.0 IRIANESE INDONESIAN vs STANDARD INDONESIAN

With the exception of Roosman (1977) and Silzer (1978), contrastive studies of SI and II have seldom been attempted. Even criteria for determining SI, despite a consensus among Indonesian linguists that they are distinguished, are yet to be established. Kridalaksana (1975) outlined several features of SI, a language which serves as a medium of communication in a context that is official, technical, public, and formal. His elaborations, however, were limited to grammatical and lexical differences. Although these function constraints seem to fit in with the criteria of SI as the state language (Halim, 1975), they are not always the actual case in all language events. In other words, while Bahasa Indonesia (BI) serves a function as the language of the state, it can only rightly do so in its SI variety. The function of BI as the national language (Halim, 1975), on the other hand, is manifested by SI, II, and other varieties of BI, and involves many different function constraints

II is spoken by the older generation as well as the younger generation of Irianese. As any dialect, it is contagious within its own locale and sometimes also beyond. My own children, who were brought up in Central Java and came to Irian Jaya three years ago, now speak II in addition to their mother tongue, i.e. Javanese, and in only certain situations SI. The II spoken by my children is not free from Javanese influence. This was apparent from the corrections made by their playmates, who mostly speak II as their first language.

II differs from SI in four respects: phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. In this paper no attempt is made to describe suprasegmental differences. In the most general sense, however, it can be said that II sounds more

musical than the flat and formal SI.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 High vs Low

A lower vowel of II tends to occur where a higher vowel of SI takes place.

[i] vs [e]

(1) [kasih] vs [kase] 'give'

(2) [ləbih] vs [lebe] 'more'

(3) [bikin] vs [beken] 'make'

[u] vs [o]

(4) [tau] vs [tao] 'know'

(5) [ləmbut] vs [lombo] 'soft'

[ə] vs [a]

(6) [sənan] vs [sanəŋ] 'happy'

(7) [sədikit] vs [sadeke] 'little bit'

2.1.2 SI Schwa vs Other Vowels of II

In initial and interconsonantal positions, where SI schwa occurs, II [ɛ], [e], or less frequently, [o] may take place.

(8) [əmas] vs [emas] 'gold'

(9) [bərsama] vs [bɛrsama] 'together'

(10) [bərat] vs [bɛrat] 'heavy'

(11) [tənaŋ] vs [tenaŋ] 'calm'

(12) [gəde] vs [gode] 'big'

2.1.3 SI Diphthong vs II Simple Vowel

There is no diphthong in II. Where an SI diphthong occurs, a simple vowel close to the glide of such a diphthong takes its place in II.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|----|----------------------|-----------|
| (13) | [kau] | vs | [ko] | 'you' |
| (14) | [kalau] | vs | [kalo] or [kalu] | 'if' |
| (15) | [saudara] | vs | [sodara] or [sudara] | 'brother' |
| (16) | [sampai] | vs | [sampe] | 'until' |
| (17) | [pantai] | vs | [pante] | 'beach' |
| (18) | [pakai] | vs | [pake] | 'use' |

2.1.4 SI [h] vs II [Ø] in Word-initial Position

Where [h] occurs in word-initial position in SI, a zero may be substituted in II.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------|----|------------------|-------------|
| (19) | [hutan] | vs | [utan] or [utan] | 'forest' |
| (20) | [hari] | vs | [ari] | 'day' |
| (21) | [hilang] | vs | [ilang] | 'disappear' |
| (22) | [hancur] | vs | [ancor] | 'shattered' |
| (23) | [habis] | vs | [abes] | 'finished' |

2.1.5 Fluctuation of [h] and [Ø] in Word-final Position

Where in SI [h] occurs in word-final position, a zero may be substituted in II. On the other hand, where SI has an open syllable, II may add [h] to this syllable. This fluctuation is frequently reflected in writing.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----|--------|--------------|
| (24) | [jauh] | vs | [jau] | 'far' |
| (25) | [mudah] | vs | [muda] | 'easy' |
| (26) | [gigih] | vs | [gigi] | 'persistent' |
| (27) | [kasih] | vs | [kasi] | 'give' |

but

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|----|---------|---------|
| (28) | [muda] | vs | [mudah] | 'young' |
| (29) | [sewa] | vs | [sewah] | 'hire' |
| (30) | [gigi] | vs | [gigih] | 'tooth' |
| (31) | [suka] | vs | [sukah] | 'like' |

Sometimes the semantic change resulting from this fluctuation may produce a comic effect :

(32) Sudirman melawan Belanda dengan *giginya
vs the correct SI sentence :

(33) Sudirman melawan Belanda dengan gigihnya
'Sudirman fought the Dutch persistently'

2.1.6 Fluctuation of [n] and [ŋ] in Word-final Position

Where [n] occurs in word-final position in SI, II substitutes [ŋ] in the same position. On the other hand, though less frequently, where [ŋ] occurs word-finally in SI, II uses [n] in the same position. This is also sometimes reflected in writing.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----|---------|-------------|
| (34) | [asin] | vs | [asiŋ] | 'salty' |
| (35) | [makan] | vs | [makaŋ] | 'eat' |
| (36) | [lain] | vs | [laeŋ] | 'different' |

but

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|----|-----------|--------------------|
| (37) | [məlayaŋ] | vs | [malayan] | 'float' |
| (38) | [binataŋ] | vs | [binatan] | 'animal' |
| (39) | [asiŋ] | vs | [asin] | 'strange, foreign' |

Again, as in 2.1.5, the semantic change resulting from this fluctuation may produce an unexpected effect:

(39) Dorang ditangka dan *diasinkan
vs the correct SI sentence :

(40) Dia ditangkap dan diasingkan 'He was seized and banned'

2.1.7 Omission of [t], [k], and [l]

For some SI words which end in [t], [k], or [l], the II equivalents omit these consonants. This is also reflected in the writing of many of the students under observation.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|----|----------------------|--------------|
| (41) | [baik] | vs | [bae] | 'good' |
| (42) | [sədikit] | vs | [sadeke] or [sadiki] | 'little bit' |

- (43) [məmaŋgil] vs [maməŋgi] 'call'
 (44) [tidak] vs [tida] 'not'
 (45) [laut] vs [lau] or [lao] 'sea'

2.1.8 Fluctuation of [f] and [p]

Where SI uses [p] in intervocalic position, II may, in some words and for some speakers, use [f].

- (46) [kəpala] vs [kefala] 'head, chief'
 (47) [lapar] vs [lafar] 'hungry'

Among a small number of students under observation, fluctuation of [p] with [b] also occurs:

- (48) [bəɾəŋgu] (SI) vs [pəɾegu] (II) 'in groups'
 (49) [pəɾoraŋan] (SI) vs [bəɾoraŋan] (II) 'individually'

Among even a smaller number of students, fluctuations of [r] and [l]; and [p], [t], [k] with [b], [d], and [g] respectively also occur.

2.2 Morphophonology

In a number of words, there is a tendency in II to reduce their size to smaller and simpler forms.

- | SI | | II | |
|--------------|----|----------------|-------------|
| (50) [sudah] | vs | [su] or [so] | 'already' |
| (51) [pəɾgi] | vs | [pigi] or [pi] | 'go' |
| (52) [əŋkau] | vs | [ko] | 'you' |
| (53) [puŋa] | vs | [puŋ] or [pu] | 'have, own' |

Some of the pre-reduction forms may not be acceptable SI forms:

- | SI | | II | |
|-------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------|
| (54) *[kita oraŋ] | | [kitorəŋ] or [kitəŋ] | 'we' |
| (55) *[dia oraŋ] | | [doraŋ] or [dəŋ] | 'he, she, they' |

For BI speakers not familiar with II, the following sentence will mean 'Where is the coffee?':

- (56) [kopimana]

while it really means: 'Where are you going?'

2.3 Lexicon

There are many vocabulary items that are unique to II. These lexical items are of three types: those that are distinct because of cultural difference; those that are loan words; and those independent innovations or loanwords which have undergone semantic change. Only a limited number of these words can be found in such a standard dictionary as Purwadarminta (1976)

2.3.1 Culturally Unique Words

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| (57) [forna] | 'sago bread mold' |
| (58) [maitua] | 'wife' |
| (59) [mambruk] | 'crown pigeon' |
| (60) [matoa] | 'kind of fruit' |
| (61) [koteka] | 'penis gourd' |
| (62) [nokɛŋ] | 'string bag' |
| (63) [paitua] | 'the boss, husband' |
| (64) [urip] | 'kind of bird' |
| (65) [mayari] | 'try to find a mate' |
| (66) [sekan] | 'plaited armband' |
| (67) [seman] | 'outrigger' |
| (68) [kabila] | 'chest' |

2.3.2 Loan Words

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| (69) [patatas] (Latin) | 'sweet potato' |
| (70) [pace] (Dutch) | 'guy, Mister' |

- | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------|----------------|
| (71) | [roksoe] | (Dutch) | 'bad, unlucky' |
| (72) | [tripan] | (Indonesian) | 'sea cucumber' |
| (73) | [sombor] | (Ambon) | 'shade' |
| (74) | [tritōn] | (Latin) | 'conch shell' |

2.3.3 Loan Words with Semantic Change

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|
| (75) | [matajalar] | 'intersection (II)'; 'observer, lookout (SI)' |
| (76) | [tempo] | 'early (II)'; 'time, period (SI)' |
| (77) | [kmuka] | 'earlier (II)'; '(go, come, etc.) to the front (SI)' |
| (78) | [langar] | 'meet, overtake (II)'; 'violate, collide (SI)' |
| (79) | [bapa ade] | 'uncle (II)'; phrase: non-existent in SI |
| (80) | [bapa mantu] | 'father in law (II)'; phrase: non-existent in SI |
| (81) | [spolo lagi saprampa] | 'fifteen minutes to ten (II)'; non-existent in SI. |
| (82) | [balabo] | 'park (for a car), stop, rest (II)'; |
| | [bər labuh] | 'cast anchor (SI)' |

2.4 Grammar

One of the most salient features of II in contrast to SI is its tendency to omit such verbal prefixes as bər- and məN-. When it does occur, however, the prefix bər- tends to be reduced to ba- or, less frequently, bə-.

II also employs prefix ta- to express an adjective or a verb, which in SI may be expressed by the use of different prefixes, i.e. tər- and bər-.

In many other cases II tends to use words that would be redundant in SI, where a synthetical construction is preferred. Still in other cases words that would function differently in SI are used in II to mark certain types of sentences or clauses. Word order unlike that in SI is sometimes also used in II.

2.4.1 Omission of Prefixes

The omission of prefixes, and sometimes also suffixes, in II qualifies it as a non-standard BI (Kridalaksana, 1975:15). There is no way to predict which bər- or məN- verb construction tends to undergo the omission. One of the most frequently used verbs is [bilan] 'say' in such constructions as [doran bilan] 'he, she, they, we say'; [mama bilan] 'mother says', where SI would use [ia bər kata] or [ia məŋatakan] and [ibu bər kata] or [ibu məŋatakan]. Other prefixes, e.g. di-, tər-, are sometimes also omitted.

Examples:

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|------|
| (83) | a. | [siapa yan piara itu binatang] | (II) |
| | b. | [siapa yan memelihara binatang itu] | (SI) |
| | | 'Who owns those animals?' | |
| (84) | a. | [saya rasa sadi betul] | (II) |
| | b. | [saya mərəsa sadi betul] | (SI) |
| | | 'I really feel sorry' | |
| (85) | a. | [ini tən sampa ukuran raksasa tara bisa anka dua oran] | (II) |
| | b. | [tən sampah ukuran raksasa ini tidak bisa diankat oleh dua oran] | (SI) |
| | | 'This huge garbage can cannot be moved by two men' | |

2.4.2 The Use of ta-

- (86) a. [rodaña mase taputar] (II)
 b. [rodaña masih bərputar] (SI)
 'The wheel is still spinning'
- (87) a. [doraŋ tabale dan lia itu ruma] (II)
 b. [dia bərbalik dan məlihat rumah itu] (SI)
 'He turns around and sees the house'
- (88) a. [macam tataruga tabale] (II)
 b. [səpərti kura kura tərbalik] (SI)
 'like a tortoise turned upside down'

2.4.3 Phrasal Markers

Such words as [ada] 'be', [beken] 'make', [kasi] 'give', and [puña] 'have, own' are among the most frequently used to mark certain II phrases.

2.4.3.1 The Word [ada]

This word is inserted between subject and the verb related to it. The phrasal verb it forms expresses a progressive aspect.

- (89) a. [doraŋ ada pi dipasar] (II)
 b. [dia (sədaŋ) pərgi kəpasar] (SI)
 'He is going to the market'
- (90) a. [meme ada makaŋ didalam] (II)
 b. [meme (sədaŋ) makan di dalam] (SI)
 'Meme is eating inside'

2.4.3.2 The Word [beken]

This word is used in II before another word to form a phrasal verb. The SI equivalent is normally expressed by a

synthetical construction.

- (91) a. [doraŋ bekeŋ mati itu mətər] (II)
 b. [məreka məmatikan mətər itu] (SI)
 'They stopped the engine'
- (92) a. [jaŋ bekeŋ abes itu papeda] (II)
 b. [jaŋan habiskan papəda itu] (SI)
 'Don't finish up the sago porridge'

2.4.3.3 The Word [kasi]

This word is used before another word to form a causative phrasal verb. The SI equivalent is a verb of synthetical construction.

- (93) a. [doraŋ kasi nae itu baraŋ] (II)
 b. [məreka mənaiŋkan baraŋ itu] (SI)
 'They loaded the goods'
- (94) a. [jaŋ kasi tingal sampe tamba takaruŋ] (II)
 b. [jaŋan ditingalkan sampai mənjadi tidak karuan] (SI)
 'Do not leave it, lest it should go wild'

2.4.3.4 The Word [puña]

The word [puña] is sometimes used after an adjective or words or phrases which function as such. It is used as an emphasis.

- (95) a. [ini dari luar nəgri puña] (II)
 b. [ini dari luar nəgri] (SI)
 'This is from overseas'
- (96) a. [dia puŋ bau tara bae puña] (II)
 b. [bauña tidak baik] (SI)
 'It smells bad'

2.4.4 Clause Type Markers

II employs certain words to mark certain types of clauses or sentences. These words have different functions in SI. Some of these are [sudah] '(SI) already', which is never shortened to [so] or [su] (cf. 2.2); [baru] '(SI) new, just, still'; and [trus] '(SI: [tərus]) go on, continue'.

2.4.4.1 The Word [sudah]

This word is used as an imperative marker or, in some cases, an emphatic marker. Used in this way, it always occurs at the end of an utterance.

- (97) a. [ko pigi sudah] (II)
 b. [pərgilah kau] (SI)
 'Go away'
- (98) a. [itu sudah] (II)
 b. [ya itulah dia] (SI)
 'That's really it'

2.4.4.2 The Word [baru]

This word is used as a contradictive marker. It occurs at the end of the clause or sentence it marks.

- (99) a. [tara laku baru mau stəlstəl lagi] (II)
 b. [sudah tidak baik masih bərgaya juga] (SI)
 'Despite (her) poor performance, she still put on airs'
- (100) a. [so cape baru disuru pi dipasar] (II)
 b. [sudah capai masih juga disuruh pərgi ka pasar] (SI)
 'Despite (my) being tired, I have to go to the market'

2.4.4.3 The Word [trus]

This word is used at the end of a clause or sentence to mark a completive aspect.

- (101) a. [dia pi trus] (II)
 b. [dia sudah pərgi] (SI)
 'He has already gone'

2.4.5 Word Order

2.4.5.1 The word order of a possessive construction in SI is Head + Poss. The word order in II is Poss + puña + Head.

- (102) a. [doraŋ pu buku] (II)
 b. [bukuña] (SI)
 'His book'
- (103) a. [dia puŋ doi] (II)
 b. [duitña] (SI)
 'His money'

2.4.5.2 The word order of a definitive construction in SI is Head + Det. The II word order is Det + Head.

- (104) a. [itu oraŋ] (II)
 b. [oraŋ itu] (SI)
 'that man'
- (105) a. [ini ruma] (II)
 b. [rumah ini] (SI)
 'this house'

2.4.5.3 The word order of an SI sentence is S-V-O. Some of the students under observation express sentences in S-O-V order.

- (106) a. [sayah ini mau minum] (II)
 b. [saya mau minum ini] (SI)
 'I like to drink this'

2.5 Sample Text

The following is a sample text of II, an article published in a local weekly. It is followed by an SI equivalent and an English translation. The article is a social jab written by the editor.

Jayapura pung cerita: Nene Dorkas bicara bahasa setengah2

Waktu Nene Dorkas kaluar negeri dia pung bahasa lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang kembali ke kitong pung tanah ini, eeh ..., dia pung bicara so laen lagi.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau bayar, dia mulai bilang "how much" (berapa harganya?). Sopir bilang: "Cuma seratus saja ibu". Nene Dorkas mulai balas lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend (sepuluh ribu)". Sopir taxi kaget lalu bicara sandiri diam2: "Ibu ini, tadi baru bilang pake bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia bilang deng bahasa laen lagi, macam bahasa Belanda, kah! Mungkin dia pung tete orang Inggris deng nene orang Belanda, tetapi dia pung bentuk sama saja deng orang Indonesia".

Kemudian dia kasi kembali nene Dorkas pung uang: "Terima kasi bu." Tante Dorkas balas: "Tankyu (terima kasih)".

Panumpang taxi deng sopir pung kaget, deng mulai bilang, waktu taxi su bajalang. "Kalau bicara bahasa itu jangan setengah2" "dan kalau mau bicara bahasa luar negeri itu, bicara buat orang luar negeri saja, kitorang ini orang Indonesia, baru dia kira kitong orang luar negeri lagi." Lalu satu orang penumpang mulai tambah lagi: "Iyo, dia sendiri orang Indonesia asli baru biking diri macam keturunan luar negeri kah. Rupanya dia pung mental Indonesia tara tau bagemana. Tara laku baru mau stel-stel lagi!!!"

(Berita Karya, January 24, 1977, p.3).

Ceritera dari Jayapura: Nenek Dorkas berbahasa setengah-setengah

Waktu Nenek Dorkas pergi ke luar negeri bahasa Indonesianya lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang ke tanah air kita ini, eeh ..., lagaknya sudah lain.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau membayar, dia mulai berkata: "How much?" Sopir menjawab: "Cuma seratus saja Ibu." Nenek Dorkas mulai bicara lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend." Sopir taxi terkejut dan berkata dalam hati: "Ibu ini, tadi baru saja berbicara dalam bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia berbahasa lain lagi, mungkin bahasa Belanda? Mungkin kakeknya orang Inggris dan neneknya orang Belanda, tetapi tubuhnya seperti orang Indonesia saja."

Kemudian dia memberikan uang kembali kepada Nenek Dorkas: "Terima kasih Bu." Tante Dorkas menjawab: "Tankyu."

Penumpang taxi dan sopir pun terkejut, dan mulai berbicara waktu taxi sudah berjalan. "Kalau berbahasa itu jangan setengah-setengah. Dan kalau mau berbahasa asing itu untuk orang asing saja. Kita ini orang Indonesia, tetapi dikiranya orang asing?" Lalu seorang penumpang menambahkan: "Ya, dia sendiri orang Indonesia tetapi berlagak seperti orang asing. Bagaimana mental Indonesianya? Sudah tidak baik masih berlagak juga."

Jayapura Story: Grandma Dorkas Speaks Inconsistently

When Grandma Dorkas went overseas, she spoke Indonesian fluently. But when she returned home, her language was different.

When she got off from a taxi and wanted to pay her fare, she asked in English: "How much?" The driver said: "Only one hundred, Ma'am". Grandma Dorkas continued, in Dutch: "But I have large cash here, ten thousand." The driver was surprised and said to himself: "This woman had just spoken in English, now she was speaking in ... was it Dutch? Perhaps her grandfather was English and her grandmother was Dutch, but she looks Indonesian all right".

Then he gave her the change and said, in Indonesian: "Thank you, Ma'am." Aunt Dorkas answered, in English: "Thank you."

The other passengers and the driver were startled. They began talking when the car started running again. "When you speak, speak consistently. Use a foreign language to foreigners only. We are all Indonesians, yet she spoke to us in a foreign language." Another passenger added: "Yes, she is an Indonesian, but acted like a foreigner. I don't know what has happened to her Indonesian self-respect. It was bad, but she put on airs anyway."

3.0 THE TEACHING IN THE SCHOOLS IN ABEPURA

3.1 General Aims

According to Halim (1975), the teaching of BI in Indonesian learning institutions aims at educating the children to become

Indonesians of noble moral values, strong faith in their national philosophy, and great pride in their language and literature. It also aims at providing the students with receptive skills as well as active mastery of BI. The goals of teaching SI in the primary schools in Irian Jaya are identical with the national goals as stated in the curriculum of 1968 and the newer 1975 curriculum. Those goals stated by Halim (1975) are basically not much different from those stated in these curricula.

3.2 Linguistic Backgrounds

Most of the parents of the children of the schools speak II as their second language. It is interesting, however, that these children's mastery of II is better than the mastery of their parents' first language. In Abepura and in many other places in Irian Jaya the need for a common language, i.e. BI, is greater than in such highly homogeneous communities as Central Java and East Java, where this need may be supplanted by the use of a local language. In Abepura, everyone seems able to speak in BI, or, more appropriately, II.

According to law, BI may be used as the language of instruction from the fourth grade on. But in Abepura and many other places in Irian Jaya BI is used right away from the first year. There are at least two reasons for this. One is the fact that most of the teachers are not originally from the local area, even when they, as in the majority of cases, are Irianese. The great possibility in this situation is that the teachers do not speak the local language. Another is the highly heterogeneous nature of the linguistic backgrounds of the schools in towns. Abepura, for example, is in an area where four different local languages are spoken. Then there are other people from different language communities who have settled in this small town.

In all of the schools under observation the teachers use, or try their best to use, SI. Some schools, particularly those farther from the center of town, have students more homogeneously Irianese in origin than the others. In some schools there are more children of non-Irianese descent than there are in others. In none of these schools do the students of non-Irianese descent constitute the majority. Many of these non-autochthonous students also know, and some even speak, their mother tongues.

In none of the schools near the town is there a completely homogenous linguistic background among the students. The languages found in the schools are Austronesian and Non-Austronesian. The Irian Austronesian languages are Arso, Biak, Tobati, and Waris. The non-Irian Austronesian languages are Makassarese, Buginese, Tobabatak, Sundanese, Madurese, Halmahera, Toraja, Javanese, and Buton.

It is interesting to note that students of Chinese descent speak only II. So do students of such various ethnic groups as Ambon, Tanimbar, Manado, Kei, Sangir.

3.3 Socioeconomic Backgrounds

Subsistence economy determines the life of most of the parents of the students in Abepura. Abepura is on a land owned by the Sentanis (Mebri and Deda clans), the Tobatis (less clearly defined various clans), and the Nafris (less clearly defined various clans). But these people no longer have jurisdiction over many of the residential areas that were established by the government. They exercise traditional ownership over arable areas and hilly forests. These are now also cultivated by newcomers from the nearby Genyem area, and also by people from as far away as Waris, about 40 kilometers to the east, and people from Muyu and Paniai in the interior parts of Irian Jaya.

Some of the parents of the students do some fishing to supplement their diet and increase their buying capacity. Only a few depend solely on fishing, although fish seem to abound in the nearby bay.

The second group consists of government civil servants, who are considered the elite in this town. While almost none of the first group have electricity in their homes, a great number of this elite group not only have electricity but also running water. In addition to Irianese, a number of people from Ternate and Buton constitute the first group. The majority of the elite group are Irianese, many of whom are in the lower ranking zone.

The third group consists of traders, shopowners, employees of private enterprises, and other people who earn their living acting as middlemen. The number of parents whose occupation is in such a service sector as barber, tailor, restaurateur, and so forth is smallest of all.

Most of the parents are Christians. The majority of them are Protestant, the rest are Catholic. A smaller number are Moslem. Traditional ways of life have almost disappeared. Marriages are done in church or in front of a Moslem functionary. Traditional songs and dances are still performed, but only rarely.

This overly simplified socioeconomic background, together with linguistic and cultural backgrounds, play an important role in the learning and use of SI among the students.

3.4 The Teaching Proper

3.4.1 The Curricula

Presently two different curricula are used in Abepura. The fifth and the sixth grades still use the 1968 curriculum, which

will be replaced completely by the 1975 curriculum in 1980. The newer curriculum began to be applied in the first and second grades in 1976.

The newer curriculum is supplemented by the central government in Jakarta with all the necessary textbooks. This is unquestionably an improvement from the previous system, where the students had to buy everything themselves. In general, the new curriculum is also better. All the lessons are broken down into specific units that are spelled out clearly. These units are to be completed within the time allotted to them. The same problems, however, remain. That is, either curriculum can only be carried out with full understanding if and when the teachers are given special upgrading courses. The other problem is that only a limited number of teachers can normally participate in these upgrading courses, and the rest of them can only get the information second hand.

The standard teaching amount is eight hours per week. In 1977, and I was told also in 1976, this was not uniformly practiced. For different practical reasons, some schools taught SI for six or seven hours, and one even for nine hours.

The teaching of SI in both curricula is ramified into these activities: conversation, basic reading and writing, i.e. spelling, reading and oral comprehension, and composition.

Basic reading and writing are given in the first and second years through conversation. The assumption is that the young students have already mastered a working knowledge in BI, therefore they only need stimulation and guidance. The problem is, however, that this knowledge is poor as far as SI is concerned. Most of the students know and speak some II, but the teachers start speaking to the students in SI. This situation is better

than those in many other places in Irian Jaya, where communication with the first year students in other than the local language may be impossible. In the face of this problem, the general tendency among teachers to switch to II, on the assumption that it facilitates communication, is obviously instrumental in establishing a language beachhead of non-standard BI.

In some schools, neat writing is still given to the third year students. In spite of time-consuming lessons in writing, spelling mistakes of the kinds shown in 2.1.5, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, and 2.1.8 are common among many of the students. More surprisingly, students in highschools and the university in Abepura are still prone to the same mistakes.

Oral comprehension is taught from the first year through the sixth, while reading comprehension, where grammatical matters are inculcated, are taught from the third year through the sixth. Composition is also taught from the third year through the sixth.

3.4.2 The Methods

In the first stages of learning SI, the teachers in Abepura use the so-called "SAS" ("struktural-analitik-sintetik") method. The students are first presented with oral materials with simple and complete grammatical structure, normally a phrase or a two or three word sentence. The utterance is then broken down into smaller parts, i.e. words. Finally, still in the oral stage, the parts are assembled again into sentences. The same procedures are used in the teaching of reading and writing. The examples below are taken from a textbook used in the 1975 curriculum (Ackbar, et. al, 1973).

i n i b u d i

ini budi

'This is Budi'

i n i i b u b u d i

ini ibu budi

'This is Budi's mother'

i n i b a p a k b u d i

ini bapak budi

'This is Budi's father'

i n i k a k a k b u d i

ini kakak budi

'This is Budi's older brother'

i n i a d i k b u d i

ini adik budi

'This is Budi's younger brother'

i b u d a n b a p a k b u d i

ibu dan bapak budi

'Budi's mother and father'

k a k a k d a n a d i k b u d i

kakak dan adik budi

'Budi's older brother and younger brother'

This method is different from the old spelling system, in which the students had to memorize each of the alphabetical symbols individually.

The methods used in the next grades, i.e. from the third year on, cannot be clearly identified either from the curricula or from the way the teachers teach SI. In the most general terms, however, one can see that none of the textbooks provided for primary schools in Irian Jaya has been prepared with teaching SI as a second language in mind. That is, there is no consideration of the fact that students never use SI outside the classroom. No simple mechanisms such as drills are used to master, for example, such simple words and phrases as tidak, tidak ada, sudah pergi, etc. to supersede the II forms: tra, trada, supi or sopi, etc.

3.4.3 The Textbooks

The textbooks used with the old and the new curricula were prepared in Jakarta. This seems to have been based on the need for standardization and efficiency. It would certainly be too

expensive to prepare a great number of different textbooks for the numerous primary schools in Indonesia with various different backgrounds. Two facts are sure: firstly, no nationwide research has been done to evaluate the merits of these nationally standardized books. Secondly, at least for the students in Abepura, there are many cultural gaps between the contents of the books and the real life of the students, not to mention the majority of the teachers as well. Pictures that are done with care are of great help to bridge these gaps, but unfortunately these have not been enough.

In none of the textbooks is there any explanation of how to overcome the problems of meaning which may arise from cultural differences. Items that do not exist in Irian Jaya such as duku 'kind of fruit', genting 'roof tile', dokar 'house-drawn cart', berko 'bicycle lamp' are just a few examples that are left for the ingenuity of the teachers to explain.

From their guide books, teachers would normally not know how to overcome problems which stem from linguistic differences. In one school, the II [ɛ] was used in lieu of the correct SI schwa in such an official tune as Satu Nusa Satu Bangsa when it was presented to a group of visiting officials. When asked about this, all the teachers were in agreement, wrongly, that in a stressed position the schwa becomes [ɛ]. The blame is actually to be found in the fact that in none of the textbooks is there any part that deals with correct SI pronunciation. These and other problems related to linguistic differences prove to be serious handicaps for teaching SI in Abepura.

3.4.4 Other Learning Problems

Most of the students perform in SI under the average level of expected achievement. This was reflected by the average grade of all the sixth year students who took examinations in November

1977. The average grade for SI of the total students of 465 was 5.8, whereas the ideal grade would be at least 7 or more. The following observations are explanatory.

3.4.4.1 Stamina and Discipline

Although their attendance records were generally high, many of the students begin to lose interest in learning after the second or third hour, i.e. about 9 - 10 o'clock. There are always a number of students who fail to do their homework. Their interest in learning SI is very low. The problem students are mostly from the less privileged families. After further questioning, it was found that these students never study at home, but spend their time playing. They go to bed late at night.

3.4.4.2 Reading Habit

The students generally enjoy reading comic books, but their interest in reading schoolbooks, which are few in number, is not very high. They said that the difficult words in the books, especially those supplemented for reading, were the main cause for their dislike. This may or may not be true. But what is true is the fact that none of these books is supplemented with adequate annotations.

3.4.4.3 Receptive vs Active Performance

Most of the Irianese students perform better in imaginative exercises, such as story telling and composition - as far as the contents go. But their active performance in SI, i.e. correct and acceptable expressions, is poor. This was also shared by students of other descents, whose every-day mastery of II seems to be the predominant cause of the same problem.

The same thing happens when the students have to cope with

comprehension texts in SI. Their understanding is frequently imperfect, but their expressions are worse: their language is always heavily II. Such II expressions as dorang bilang instead of dia berkata, kami instead of kita, sekakar instead of kikir, and so forth characterize their active performace.

Words that are frequently used in SI but do not belong to the lexicon of II, despite the contexts, always pose comprehension problems to the students. E.g. cenderung 'tend', serumit 'as complicated as', penghuni 'dweller', selaput 'film', and keabadian 'eternity'.

3.4.4.4 Cooperation and Levels of Achievement

In none of the schools under observation did cooperative learning activities exist. No study groups were established by the teachers. Only a limited number of students in the town worked together for some of their lessons. They were mostly children of teachers and other government officials. These few and relatively most privileged students performed better than the majority of the students. In almost all the schools steep differences in the levels of achievement were observed.

Despite the heterogeneity of the students' ethnic backgrounds, it is interesting that no grouping for study or other purposes on the basis of ethnic or language identity exists among the students. Children reciting lessons each day, a common sight elsewhere in Indonesia, is not known in Abepura.

This lack of cooperation as well as the lack of competition have been responsible for the perpetuation of the different levels of achievement.

4.0 CONCLUSION

As a result of the Indonesian five-year development programs, BI has been spreading more rapidly in Irian Jaya since 1969, when these programs were started nationwide. This rapid increase has particularly been noticeable these last three years, with the significant increase of the new Inpres ("Instruksi Presiden") schools. These schools are coming up almost every month in even the most remote places which have never before been reachable by an educational thrust. Children in these areas are taught SI.

II, a non-standard variety of BI, exists as the every-day speech of the people in Irian Jaya, many of whom speak it as their first language. II is similar to SI, but both are significantly distinct in terms of language characteristics and their communicative functions. These differences are clearly the very ones that escaped the attention of the educated, but linguistically uninformed Indonesians who are responsible for developing Irian Jaya. The impression is that teaching SI to these BI speaking people should not be difficult. This is a misconception which is contrary to realities. Problems have also arisen from the assumption that the students have to master SI for their communicative purposes. Granting this as the real motive of teaching SI, it obviously needs changing. SI is likely to remain a prestigious variety of BI, but it is used in limited contexts and will not eliminate local languages. Influences through such now rapidly increasing mass media as newspapers, radio, and television may help the spread and standardization of BI, but most probably not the elimination of local varieties of BI.

It would seem more sensible to improve the methods and materials of teaching SI so that the students will know how to

use it in its appropriate contexts. It would be a grave mistake to discourage them to stop using II. They would not. Reading books with adequate annotations are invaluable to increase the students' reading ability of SI materials. In addition to the books that are prepared nationally in Jakarta, there is a need for books that are relevant to the life of the students in Abepura. There is also an assumption that SI is prerequisite for developing Irian Jaya. That is, one of the marks of development is the capacity of using SI in all sectors of life. This is obviously an illusion. The development programs can evidently be carried out through the use of II where it is most appropriate and the use of SI where it is needed. This would mean that Indonesian government officials, as agents of development, should have some working knowledge of II to carry out their tasks.

The teachers should know not only SI, but also the fact that in classroom situations only SI should be acceptable. This requires the teachers to use SI themselves and to correct mistakes made by their students. In Abepura, few BI teachers accept this responsibility. Teachers of other subjects do not even care about the use of SI.

Further research is badly needed in a number of problem areas. An evaluation of the teaching of SI in Irian Jaya is very much needed.

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SOME FIGURE AND GROUND FUNCTIONS IN AMBAI NARRATIVE

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Ikhtisar

Bahasa pada umumnya memakai berbagai cara untuk menyatakan bagian-bagian yang terpenting dari suatu wacana. Kertas ini menyajikan pemakaian partikel mani yang memisahkan bahan latar belakang (ground) dari bahan latar depan (figure) yang terdapat dalam suatu teks naratif bahasa Ambai. Hubungan-hubungan 'ground-figure' ini terdapat baik dalam tingkat yang tertinggi dalam wacana maupun dalam tingkat kalimat. Dalam tingkat yang tertinggi mani berfungsi untuk memisahkan isi teks dari pendahuluannya, sedangkan dalam tingkat kalimat mani berfungsi memisahkan informasi yang dinyatakan dari informasi yang tak dinyatakan.

0. INTRODUCTION
- 1.0 HIGH LEVEL RELATIONS
- 1.1 DISCOURSE INTRO AS GROUND
- 1.2 DISCOURSE BODY AS FIGURE
- 2.0 SENTENTIAL RELATIONS
- 2.1 INTRA-CLAUSAL FIGURE AND GROUND FUNCTIONS
- 2.1.1 CAST
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- 2.2 INTER-CLAUSAL FIGURE AND GROUND FUNCTIONS
- 2.2.1 SUCCESSION OF TIME
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- 2.2.3 FRUSTRATED INTENT
- 2.2.4 LOGICAL GROUNDS

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the function of the particle mani in Ambai¹ discourse. To do so I will make use of the Gestalt notions FIGURE and GROUND² as applied to linguistic structure by Taber (1966:84-5). FIGURE is conceived as the prominent information part of linguistic structure from total discourse to sentence. GROUND, on the other hand, constitutes the background information that creates the framework for the assertion of the material in the FIGURE.

In what follows I will show that the Ambai particle mani serves to mark off preceding GROUND material from following FIGURE material in the narrative discourse. The various manifestations of the FIGURE-GROUND relation may be summarized in the following tree:

Discourse Information

	GROUND	mani	FIGURE
1.	INTRO		BODY
2.	Cast		Assertion
3.	Time		Assertion
4.	Succession of Time		Assertion
5.	Condition		Assertion
6.	Frustrated Intent		Assertion
7.	Logical Grounds		Assertion of Conclusion

Diagram 1

That is, 1) the Introduction (INTRO) and the Body (BODY) of a narrative discourse may be viewed as instances of a GROUND-FIGURE contrast. I discuss this high level major discourse division under Section 1.0 below. Items 2) - 7) in the diagram constitute background and foreground pairings not as large discourse divisions, but as lower sentence level instances of the same GROUND-FIGURE relation. These are treated in Section 2.0.

In the following discussion, I will refer to the "Pasai Kuri" text translated into English and located in the Appendix.

1.0 HIGH LEVEL RELATIONS

The grammar of a total discourse must recognize certain high level 'chunks' into which the narrative piece may be segmented. These parts are familiar to students of literature under such labels as 'introduction', 'body', and 'conclusion' of speeches, essays, etc. Thus, looking at discourse from the point of view of pragmatics or speech act theory, one may identify the following general structure:

NARRATIVE SPEECH

Aperture Margin (formulaic opener)	Nucleus	Closure (formulaic finis moral application summary)
	INTRO	BODY

Diagram 2

From the tree above note that the heart (Nucleus) of the narrative is distinguished from the marginal material which is primarily given by the speaker engaging and disengaging his audience. For

Ambai the Aperture involves a formulaic phrase such as "I want to tell you about" . Similarly the Closure is a formulaic phrase "that's all for now". The closure can also include a moral application, summary or conclusion.

The main context in which I wish to illustrate FIGURE and GROUND, however, is in connection with the Nucleus of the narrative, which is discussed below in terms of Introduction and Body constituents.

1.1 DISCOURSE INTRO AS GROUND

GROUND in relation to the Nucleus of the discourse includes the Introduction (INTRO) while the Body (BODY) constitutes the FIGURE. The term stage has been used to talk about that part of discourse that is necessary to get the main narrative going. Setting or background are similar terms usually including a general description of the main characters and setting the time and location of the events about to take place. However, in Ambai narratives, location seems to be considered more a part of the FIGURE than the GROUND as it is very seldom marked by mani.

Longacre (1976:143) describes Introduction as "a deep structure in which existence is predicated of something or someone and then a further predication is immediately made about that existent." So the INTRO in Ambai establishes the Cast or main characters and gives a description of them which sets the stage for the events of the main story or BODY.

In the "Pasai Kuri" text the particle mani occurs nine times in the INTRO which is Sentences 1-11. By contrast, the BODY contains only sixteen instances of mani in the remaining 55 sentences.

The following diagram distinguishes the INTRO from the BODY by the occurrences of mani.

Nucleus	
INTRO	BODY
greater number of <u>mani</u>	lesser number of <u>mani</u>

Diagram 3

The occurrences of mani in the BODY mark GROUND on the sentence level and will be discussed in Section 2.0.

1.2 DISCOURSE BODY AS FIGURE

In the BODY as FIGURE, the main participants and their actions that move the story along are contained in episodes as shown in the diagram below.

BODY	
Episode ₁	Episode _n

Diagram 4

The BODY may contain one or more Episodes. In the "Pasai Kuri" text, there are two Episodes (12-35 and 36-67). The Episodes consist of a number of Build-Ups, a Climax, and a Resolution.

The Build-Up is marked as to orientation of time, a succession of events which includes dialogue. These Build-Ups move

the story along and develop the conflict which leads to the Climax. The Build-Ups in the text are included in Sentences 12-28 and 36-59. The internal constructions of the Build-Ups have not been included in this paper.

The Climax is characterized by a series of short sentences with no dialogue. There is also a heightened sense of vividness, as in the second episode (Sentences 60-62) where each of the entrails is mentioned--the intestines, the lungs, and the heart--which were previously referred to as just 'entrails'.

The Resolution further unravels the story or adds information to the climax. As, for example, in the second episode (Sentences 63-67), the flashback to the time before Pasai died, when he kicked the ground causing various islands to be formed, gives added information about his death.

The diagram below summarizes the parts of an Episode which compose the BODY as FIGURE.

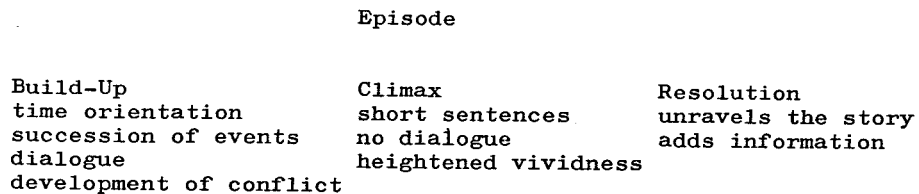


Diagram 5

2.0 SENTENTIAL RELATIONS

Sentence structures also contain the distinction between GROUND and FIGURE marked by the particle mani. This distinction

can exist within a sentence as well as between sentences. Within a sentence it marks Cast or Time setting as GROUND. Between sentences mani marks certain preceding clauses as background information to a following clause. Thus, Succession of Time, Condition, Frustrated Intent and Logical Grounds are marked as GROUND clauses. FIGURE, on the other hand, is an assertion of the preceding GROUND material.

FIGURE on the sentence level is an assertion of the GROUND. It is the information prominent part of linguistic structure in that it adds new information. It is that part which keeps the story progressing. It coincides with the functionalist concept of rheme. It has also been called foreground, focus, and primary content as well as FIGURE.

2.1 INTRA-CLAUSAL FIGURE AND GROUND FUNCTIONS

Cast and time function as GROUND against which an assertion can be made.

2.1.1 CAST AS GROUND

Cast as GROUND establishes the main characters of the story. These are usually the animate dramatis personae of the plot. Cast GROUND is found only in sentences in the INTRO of the narrative and not in the lower level division of BODY, as are succession of Time, Condition, and other types. Since Cast GROUND establishes the main characters, these are introduced at the beginning of the story, where they are marked with the particle mani, rather than in the BODY as are secondary characters. Examples of this function are shown below.

(1) Sentence

GROUND

Pasai Kuri uru
Pasai Kuri two

mani

FIGURE

mambetahatui suruine
brathers two

"Pasai and Kuri, they two were brothers (1)."

(2) Sentence

GROUND

Kuri
Kuri

mani

FIGURE

katui dine
small is

"Kuri was the younger (brother) (2)."

The numbers 1 and 2 at the ends of the glosses refer to sentences in the "Pasai Kuri" text in the Appendix. Other examples of Cast as GROUND are found in sentences 5, 6, and 11 in the text.

2.1.2 TIME AS GROUND

There are two types of Time GROUND. One occurs within a sentence establishing the time of the setting of the events to follow and the other occurs between sentences and establishes a succession of time between two events. The former is illustrated in this section; the latter under 2.2 below.

Time setting occurs both in the INTRO as well as in the BODY. Examples from the text are listed below.

(3) Sentence

GROUND

rahida neune
day each

mani

FIGURE

Pasai dama min fiaai
Pasai go kill pig

"Every day Pasai hunted pig ... (7)."

(4) Sentence

GROUND

rahida bei
day one

mani

FIGURE

Pasai da uai rei ...
Pasai go mountain land

"One day Pasai went hunting ... (12)."

Sentences 36 and 39 in the Appendix are also examples of Time setting as GROUND.

2.2 INTER-CLAUSAL FIGURE AND GROUND FUNCTIONS

The following functions illustrate how mani is used between clauses.

2.2.1 SUCCESSION OF TIME AS GROUND

This type of GROUND is found within the BODY, but not in the INTRO. It is found between clauses.

(5) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

Mayea	mani	netahatui	Kuri	dama
then		younger brother	Kuri	come

"(He slept until he snored.) Then his younger brother, Kuri, came (16-17)."

(6) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

mayea	mani	Pasai	dama
then		Pasai	come

"(But the stomach and lungs they wrapped and baked.) Then Pasai came (42-43)."

Other similar examples are sentences 41 and 64 in the text.

Occurrences of Succession of Time found between clauses translated by "when" are also illustrated below.

(7) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

Pasai	katuifo	mani	inan	dohon	aireafeai
Pasai	small		mother	give	magic stick

"When Pasai was small, his mother gave him a magic stick (4)."

(8) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

wape	sobu	inuntarai	ene	romi	...	mani	memeirai
but	find	people	pos	garden			destroy

"But when he encountered people's gardens ..., he destroyed them (8)."

Other examples of this are found in sentences 14, 21, 24, and 55.

2.2.2 CONDITION AS GROUND

Hypothetical or unrealized situations are also marked as GROUND by mani. In these cases, mani could be translated by 'if'.

(9) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

inuntaraifo etoyo damira mani wea ambori wiro damira fanai
 people say sick cough so incom sick neg

"The people said, 'If it hurts, cough so it won't hurt any-
 more (57).'"

(10) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

tonana mani merama metohoni afui ...
 that you-go you-give inside

"If that's the case, take my entrails out ... (48)."

Sentence 52 in the text gives a similar example of Condi-
 tion as GROUND.

2.2.3 FRUSTRATED INTENT AS GROUND

The intention to perform an action is normally followed by
 the performance of that action. However, if this intention is
 blocked, it results in frustration. This is shown below in
 example (11).

(11) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

etoyo emuni mani etohona tuarai
 they-say they-kill they-give in vain

"They wanted to kill him, but they couldn't (10)."

2.2.4 LOGICAL GROUNDS AS GROUND

Logical Grounds as GROUND makes a statement or an observation
 of a known fact. Then the Logical Conclusion as FIGURE is drawn
 from that observation or fact. Below is an example of Logical
 Grounds as GROUND.

Logical Grounds as GROUND

(12) Sentence

GROUND

FIGURE

Nehu nei fiabaifefe nana mani denten sewa menenne
 my pos big-reason that good more yours

"Mine are bigger and so they would be better (49)."

APPENDIX

Text of "Pasai Kuri"

INTRODUCTION

1. Pasai and Kuri, those two MANI they were brothers.
2. Pasai was the older and Kuri MANI was the younger.
3. They were giants.
4. When Pasai was small MANI his mother gave him a magic stick.
5. So Pasai MANI was strong.
6. But his younger brother Kuri MANI was like us ordinary people.
7. Every day MANI Pasai hunted pigs, possum and rats so they (3) could eat them.
8. But when he encountered people's gardens, canoes or homes MANI he destroyed them.
9. Finally the people got angry at him.
10. They wanted to kill him MANI but they couldn't.
11. But as for the younger brother Kuri MANI the people loved him because he loved them.

BODYEpisode 1

12. One day MANI Pasai went hunting for pigs, possum and rats.
13. But because he couldn't find any, he stayed out for one week.
14. When he came back home MANI, he was very tired.
15. Then he put down his bow and arrow and went to sleep.

16. He slept until he snored (very loud).
17. Then MANI his younger brother Kuri came.
18. When he saw MANI Pasai's magic stick lying on top of his chest.
19. Then he thought, "I'll go and hide Pasai's magic stick.
20. I'll get it for me.
21. Then when I get the things MANI (that can be gotten by using the magic stick) I'll give them to the people."
22. Then Kuri went and took Pasai's magic stick.
23. Then he fled from his mother and older brother to the Bay of Wandamen.
24. Pasai slept and when he got up MANI he looked for his magic stick.
25. He asked his mother, "Mother, where is my magic stick?
26. Who took it or did you already give it to Kuri?"
27. Pasai got mad and beat his mother and she died.
28. Then he said angrily, "Kuri, I'll kill you."
29. Pasai called to Kuri who was at the Bay of Wandamen.
30. He pulled up bamboo trees and threw them at Kuri.
31. Then Kuri pulled up mangrove trees and threw them at Pasai who was in the Waropen area.
32. They threw the trees back and forth until they were all gone.
33. Kuri fled to the west.
34. And Pasai stayed around the Waropen and Yapen area.
35. So finally the Wandamen Bay was full of bamboo and the Waropen area was full of mangrove.

Episode 2

36. Each day MANI the people wanted to kill Pasai because he destroyed their canoes, houses, gardens and animals.
37. Finally they said, "What can we do?
38. How can we kill him?"
39. Then one day MANI they planned a party.
40. So they got a pig and possum so they could kill and eat them.
41. Then MANI they killed the possum and boiled the meat.
42. But the stomach and lungs they wrapped and baked.
43. It wasn't long MANI (before) Pasai came.
44. He smelled the possum's stomach cooking.
45. It smelled good.
46. Then he asked them, "What are you cooking that smells so good?"
47. The people answered, "We are cooking our own entrails that we took out so we can eat them later."
48. (Pasai said) "If that's the case MANI, take my entrails out so we can cook and eat them.
49. Mine are bigger and so MANI they would be better."
50. Pasai asked again, "How did you take your entrails out?"
51. "We took them out with the barbed tip of the rattan vine."
52. "If that's the case MANI, put it inside me so you can take my insides out."
53. Then they ordered Pasai to lie down and open his mouth.
54. Then they put the barbed rattan vine into his mouth and pushed it in until it reached his stomach.
55. When it was inside his stomach MANI he felt sick.

56. So he said, "My stomach hurts."
57. The people said, "If it hurts MANI, cough so it won't hurt anymore."
58. Pasai coughed but the pain got worse.
59. Then he said, "They are teasing me because they want to kill me."
60. Then the people pulled real hard.
61. They pulled out his intestines, his lungs and his heart.
62. Then he died at once.
63. Before he died he kicked the ground.
64. Then MANI he broke off the islands of Nau, Kaifuri, Kurang and Ambai.
65. Then the people sang this song about how they killed Pasai.
66. "We killed Pasai
Pasai was strong
Kuri was strong
Kuri mourned
Pasai mourned."
67. Then Pasai died and Kuri fled to the west.

NOTES

¹ Ambai is an Austronesian language of the Geelvink Bay area of Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

The present paper is based on the dialect of Ambai which is spoken in the village of Ambai, as distinguished from the two other Ambai dialects spoken in Manawi and Randawaya.

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² The terms 'figure' and 'ground' are used in Gestalt psychology to talk about the perception of visual patterns in which objects with contours and boundaries are seen against a background. Figure is the more well defined area which stands out from the background or Ground.

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