



### 3. Voice Morphology in Standard Indonesian

- (1) (a) ?\* Adi pukul Bowo  
Adi hit Bowo  
"Adi hit Bowo"
- (b) Adi dipukul Bowo  
Adi **di**-hit Bowo  
"Adi was hit by Bowo"
- (c) Adi memukul Bowo  
Adi **meN**-hit Bowo  
"Adi hit Bowo"
- (d) \*\* Adi dimemukul Bowo  
Adi **di-meN**-hit Bowo  
"Adi was hit by Bowo" / "Adi hit Bowo"

★ Some ways in which Standard Indonesian passives and actives differ from those of Standard Average European: 4

- Passive and active both derived from a basic stem unmarked for voice
- Passive and active clauses of similar formal complexity
- Passive clauses more highly transitive (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980), used to express foregrounded events in narratives
- Passive clauses more frequent than active ones

### 4. Voice Morphology in Jakarta Indonesian

- (2) (a) Adi pukul Bowo  
Adi hit Bowo  
(i) "Adi hit Bowo"  
(ii) "Bowo hit Adi" [infrequent]
- (b) Adi dipukul Bowo  
Adi **di**-hit Bowo  
(i) "Adi hit Bowo" [infrequent]  
(ii) "Bowo hit Adi"
- (c) Adi mukul Bowo  
Adi **N**-hit Bowo  
(i) "Adi hit Bowo"  
(ii) "Bowo hit Adi" [infrequent]
- (d) Adi dimukul Bowo  
Adi **di-N**-hit Bowo  
(i) "Adi hit Bowo" [infrequent]  
(ii) "Bowo hit Adi" [infrequent]

- ★ Characteristics of *di-* and *N-* in Jakarta Indonesian: 5
- *di-* and *N-* have no grammatical functions.
  - In particular, *di-* and *N-* do not select a particular argument of the word to which they are attached and associate that argument with morphosyntactic properties such as linear order.
  - As a result, arguments of a word to which *di-* or *N-* are attached are unmarked with respect to thematic roles and the agent/patient distinction: (2), (3) - (8).
  - The function of *di-* and *N-* is purely semantic: marking the host word as having a patient or an agent in its argument structure: (9) - (11).  
(Thus, attaching *di-* or *N-* to a word is like adding an attributive adjective to a noun: the semantics of the NP is enriched, but its grammatical role in the clause remains unchanged.)
  - Whereas *di-* is very productive, the distribution of *N-* is constrained by arbitrary lexical factors: (12)

*Adult utterances from naturalistic corpora*

- (3) Nanti dokternya dipereksa *di-X preceded by non-patient*  
 FUT:PROX doctor-ASSOC **di-**examine  
 [Playing with toy animals, experimenter talking to child]  
 "The doctor will examine them"
- (4) Ntar ya, Tante dibikinin ya?  
 FUT:PROX yes aunt **di-**prepare-APPL yes  
 [Child wants to eat noodles, experimenter says to him]  
 "Wait a little bit, I'll make you some"
- (5) Plastiknya ditaro dulu yuk  
 plastic.bag-ASSOC **di-**put before EXHRT  
 [Mother talking to child while cooking]  
 "And now let's put it into the plastic bag"
- (6) Mama nibanin kaki aja sakit *N-X preceded by non-agent*  
 mother **N-**fall.on-APPL foot just hurt  
 [Mother warning son who is playing with a heavy object]  
 "If that drops on my foot it's going to hurt"
- (7) Lho, rambutnye motong, ye  
 EXCL hair-ASSOC **N-**cut yes  
 [Speaker, with two of his friends, encounters another friend]  
 "Hey, he had his hair cut"
- (8) Ini megang  
 DEM:PROX **N-**hold  
 [Speaker massaging friend, extends his hand and asks friend to hold it while he massages it with his other hand]  
 "Hold this"

(9) Kandangnya dikunci *Prefixes introducing new argument*  
 stable-ASSOC **di**-key  
 [Experimenter to child playing with toy animals]  
 "Lock the stable"

(10) Sekarang ayah ngopi  
 now father **N**-coffee  
 [Grandfather telling child to offer her father some coffee]  
 "Daddy wants some coffee now"

(11) Diminggirin dulu rambutnya *Stacked prefixes*  
**di-N**-edge-APPL before hair-ASSOC  
 [Experimenter talking to child]  
 "Move your hair aside"

(12) *Distribution of N-: The cycle of lexicalization*

<i>stage</i>		<i>stem</i>	<i>N-stem</i>	<i>gloss</i>
non-existent	(a)	pergi tidur susu	* <b>mergi</b> * <b>nidur</b> * <b>nyusu</b>	'go' 'sleep' 'milk'
↓				
rare	(b)	tali putih teh	R <b>nali</b> R <b>mutih</b> R <b>ngeteh</b>	'string' 'white' 'tea'
↓				
common	(c)	liat semir kopi	<b>ngeliat</b> <b>nyemir</b> <b>ngopi</b>	'see' 'polish' 'coffee'
↓				
usual	(d)	R intip R ompol R sangkut	<b>ngintip</b> <b>ngompol</b> <b>nyangkut</b>	'peek' 'wet bed' 'hook'
↓				
reanalyzed as part of stem and therefore	(e)	nonton nangis ngantuk	(Standard Indonesian: tonton) (Standard Indonesian: tangis) (Standard Indonesian: antuk)	'watch' 'cry' 'sleepy'
↓				
non-existent	(f)	makan minum masuk	(Tagalog: kain) (Tagalog: inum) (Tagalog: pasok)	'eat' 'drink' 'enter'
↓				
*	(g)	maling nyamuk mata	(Proto-Malayo-Polynesian: malin) (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian: ñamuk) (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian: mata)	'steal' 'mosquito' 'eye'

## 5. Some Previous Studies of the Acquisition of Malay and Indonesian

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>★ Jakarta Indonesian: Soenjono (2000)</li> <li>★ Lampung Indonesian: Patuan Raja (2000)</li> <li>★ Singapore Malay: Norhaida (1999)</li> </ul>	6
---	---

## 6. The MPI Jakarta Project

	Date of Birth	Age first recorded	Projected age at end of project	Utterances to date
Timoty	28.08.1998	1;6	5;2	9907
Hizkia	06.09.1997	1;7	6;1	15859
Riska	24.07.1997	1;8	6;3	20499
Michael	22.02.1998	2;0	5;8	9166
Priska	30.07.1997	2;7	6;3	15756
Larissa	16.04.1997	2;10	6;6	14617
Ido	01.01.1996	3;4	7;9	21518
Pipit	30.11.1994	4;4	8;11	16680
Total (target kids)				124002
Other kids				34357
Total kids				158359
Adults				165906
Grand total				324265

Table 1: The MPI Jakarta Project data

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>★ Some preliminary results: Cole, Gil, Hermon and Tadmor (2000, 2001), Tadmor (2000)</li> </ul>	7
--	---

## 7. The Acquisition of Voice Morphology in Jakarta Indonesian

<i>age</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>di-</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>di-</i> (%)	<i>N-</i> (%)	<i>di-</i> / <i>N-</i>
-1;5	328	0	0	0	0	NA
1;6-1;11	6307	29	11	0.46	0.17	2.6
2;0-2;5	17816	165	88	0.93	0.49	1.9
2;6-2;11	33471	645	282	1.9	0.84	2.3
3;0-3;5	22973	577	328	2.5	1.4	1.8
3;6-3;11	18286	575	438	3.1	2.4	1.3
4;0-4;5	11242	414	307	3.7	2.7	1.3
4;6-4;11	13177	616	338	4.7	2.6	1.8
5;0-9;11	34759	1307	761	3.8	2.2	1.7
10-	165906	8017	4512	4.8	2.7	1.8
<i>total</i>	324265	12345	7065	3.8	2.2	1.7

Table 2: Frequency of Occurrence of *di-* and *N-* in Naturalistic Corpus

- ★ *di-* and *N-* are used productively from a very young age, between 1;6 and 2;0. 8
- ★ The frequency of *di-* and *N-* increases until around 3;6 - 4;0, when it attains adult frequency.
- ★ *di-* occurs more frequently than *N-* from the beginning.

*Child utterances from naturalistic corpus, illustrating PRODUCTIVE use of the two affixes*

- (13) Dibuka Timo 1;8  
**di**-open  
 [Asking mother to open picture poster]  
 "Open it"
- cf. Buka Timo 1;7  
 open  
 [Asking mother to open door]  
 "Open it"
- (14) Buang aja. Dibuang Timo 1;11  
 throw just **di**-throw  
 [Playing with the microphone]  
 "Just throw it away. Throw it away"
- (15) Ditumpahin Riska 1;8  
**di**-spill-APPL  
 [Seeing another child dropping crackers from a bag]  
 "She's dropping them"
- cf. Bedak tumpah Riska 2;0  
 powder spill  
 [About some face powder]  
 "The powder's spilt"
- (16) Pasang. Dipasang. Riska 1;11  
 fasten **di**-fasten  
 [Watching experimenter set the camera up on the tripod; experimenter utters the bare form *pasang*, the child repeats and then adds the prefix *di*-]  
 "Setting it up. Setting it up"
- (17) Mbuka Timo 1;9  
**N**-open  
 [Asking mother to take his shirt off]  
 "Take it off"
- cf. Buka Timo 1;7  
 open  
 [Asking mother to open door]  
 "Open it"
- (18) xx ngeliat xx Timo 1;11  
 xx **N**-see xx  
 [Asking to see something (unclear)]  
 "See"
- cf. liat xx Timo 1;11  
 see xx  
 [Asking to see something (unclear)]  
 "See"

- (19) Apa, lagi ngapain Riska 2;0  
 what PROG N-what-APPL  
 [About a picture in a book]  
 "What's he doing?"
- (20) Ngambil buah Riska 2;1  
 N-take fruit  
 [Looking at a picture book with mother; mother points to a giraffe  
 and asks what he's doing]  
 "Taking fruit"
- cf. Ica ambil Riska 2;1  
 Ica take  
 [Asking for a pen that her mother is holding]  
 "I want to take it"
- (21) Eh, kasurnya pengen, pengen dinyuci dulu, Riska 2;10  
 EXCL mattress-ASSOC want want **di-N-wash** before  
 pengen dicuci  
 want **di-wash**  
 [Playing with toy animals in a farm]  
 "I want to, want to wash the mattress first, to wash it"
- (22) Dek Ido mo ke kantor di-, Ido 3;11  
 TRU-younger.sibling Ido want to office **di-**  
 dinabrakin ini, xx ah bom  
**di-N-collide-APPL** DEM:PROX xx EXCL EXCL  
 [Playing with toy car]  
 "I want to go to the office, it crashed, ah, boom"
- cf. Wah, tabrakan, we Ido 3;4  
 EXCL collide-AUG EXCL  
 [Playing with toy car]  
 "Wah, crash, yay"



## 8. Why Are *di-* and *N-* Acquired So Early in Jakarta Indonesian?

- ★ The prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Jakarta Indonesian are acquired early because they occur with high frequency in the adult language. 9
- ★ The prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Jakarta Indonesian are acquired early because they are simple, being associated with a single semantic function, without any grammatical consequences.

- ★ The greater frequency of the prefix *di-* (relative to *N-*) in the child data reflects its greater frequency in the adult data. 10
- ★ The greater frequency of the prefix *di-* (relative to *N-*) in the child data reflects the patient prominence of Jakarta Indonesian as a typical Austronesian language (Cena 1977, De Guzman 1976, 1992, Gil 1984, to appear).

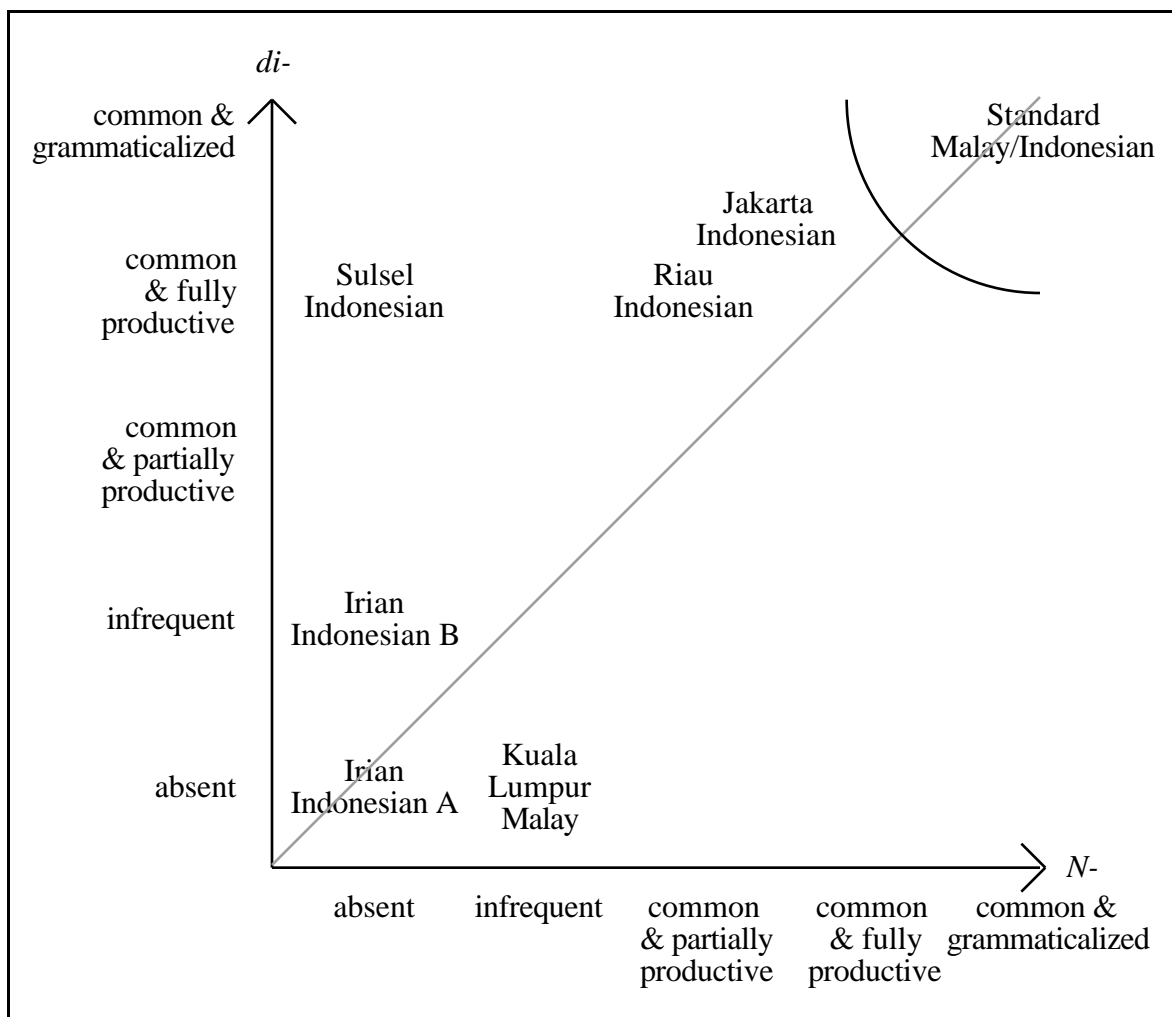


Diagram 1: The Prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Malay / Indonesian Dialects

## References

- Abdul Chaer (1976) *Kamus Dialek Jakarta*, Nusa Indah, Ende.
- Allen, Shanley E.M. and Martha B. Crago (1966) "Early Passive Acquisition in Inuktitut", *Journal of Child Language* 23:129-155.
- Cena, Resty M. (1977) "Patient Primacy in Tagalog", Paper presented at LSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, 28 - 30 December, 1977.
- Cole, Peter, David Gil, Gabriella Hermon and Uri Tadmor (2000) "The Acquisition of WH Forms in Jakarta Indonesian", Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 13 May 2000.
- Cole, Peter, David Gil, Gabriella Hermon and Uri Tadmor (2001) "The Acquisition of In-Situ WH-Questions and WH-Indefinites in Jakarta Indonesian", *Proceedings of the Twenty Fifth Boston University Conference on Language Development*, Boston.
- De Guzman, Videia P. (1976) *Syntactic Derivation of Tagalog Verbs*, PhD Dissertation, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- De Guzman, Videia P. (1992) "Morphological Evidence for the Primacy of Patient as Subject in Tagalog", in M. Ross ed., *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics, No. 2*. Pacific Linguistics Series A -82, Australian National University, Canberra, 87-96.
- Demuth, K. (1989) "Maturation and the Acquisition of Sesotho Passive", *Language* 65:56-80.
- Demuth, K. (1990) "Subject, Topic and Sesotho Passive", *Journal of Child Language* 17:67-84.
- Gil, David (1984) "On the Notion of 'Direct Object' in Patient Prominent Languages", in F. Plank ed., *Objects: Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*, Academic Press, London, 87-108.
- Gil, David (to appear) "The Prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Malay / Indonesian Dialects", in F. Wouk and M. Ross eds., *Papers From the 8-ICAL Workshop on Focus*, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra.
- Grijns, C.D. (1991) *Jakarta Malay: A Multidimensional Approach to Spatial Variation*. KITLV Press, Leiden.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson (1980) "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse" *Language* 56:251-299.
- Ikranagara, Kay (1980) *Melayu Betawi Grammar*. NUSA Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Volume 9, Universitas Atma Jaya, Jakarta.
- Kähler, Hans (1966) *Wörterverzeichnis des Omong Djakarta*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin.
- Muhadjir (1981) *Morphology of Jakarta Dialect, Affixation and Reduplication*, NUSA Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Volume 11, Universitas Atma Jaya, Jakarta.
- Norhaida Aman (1999) *How to Ask What in Malay: The Acquisition of WH-Questions in Singapore Malay*, PhD Dissertation, University of Delaware, Newark.
- Patuan Raja (2000) "The Phonological Processes of Two Indonesian Children in the Telegraphic Stage", Paper presented at the 4th International Symposium on Malay / Indonesian Linguistics, Jakarta, Indonesia, 26 July 2000.
- Pye, C. and P. Quixtan Poz (1988) *Precocious Passives and Antipassives in Quiche Mayan*, *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* 27:71-80.
- Soenjono Dardjowidjojo (2000) *Echa, Kisah Pemerolehan Bahasa Anak Indonesia*, Grasindo, Jakarta.
- Suzman, S.M. (1985) "Learning the Passive in Zulu", *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* 24:131-137.
- Tadmor, Uri (2000) "The Acquisition of First and Second Person Pronouns in Jakarta Indonesian", Paper presented at the 4th International Symposium on Malay / Indonesian Linguistics, Jakarta, Indonesia, 26 July 2000.
- Wouk, Fay (1989) *The Impact of Discourse on Grammar: Verb Morphology in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian*. PhD Dissertation, UCLA, Los Angeles.
- Wouk, Fay (1999) "Dialect Contact and Koineization in Jakarta, Indonesia", *Language Sciences* 21:61-86.

## Acknowledgements

*Jakarta Field Station coordinator* Uri Tadmor; *IT manager* Brad Taylor; *Data editors* Liana Husain, Betty Litamahuputty, Antonia Soriente; *Research assistants* Dalan Mehuli, Dini Andarini, Erni Farida Sri Ulina Ginting, Ferdinand Okki Kurniawan, Lanny Hidayat, Regina Yanti. Widva Setiabudi. Yokebed Triwigati.