The Acquisition of Stylistic Variation
by
Jakarta Indonesian Children

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The Acquisition of Stylistic Variation by Jakarta Indonesian Children

De verwerving van stilistische variatie
bij Indonesischtalige kinderen uit Jakarta

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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door

Kushartanti

geboren op 27 augustus 1969 te Jakarta, Indonesië

Promotor: Prof. dr. M. B. H. Everaert
Co-promotor: Dr. H. Van de Velde

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Contents

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION*

A	Arabic
ABST	abstract
ACT	active
Adj	adjective
ADJ	adjective marker
Adv	adverb
ADV	passive adversative marker
AS	'as-' (with classifier)
ASSOC	associative
APPL	applicative
BEN	benefactive
BI	Bahasa Indonesia
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumfix
CJI	Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia
CLASS	classifier
COHRT	cohortative
COP	copula
D	Dutch
DEF	definite
DEINT	deintensifier
Dem	demonstrative
E	English
EXCL	exclamation
FOC	focus
ForIn	Formal Interviewer
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
InfIn	Informal interviewer
INTR	intransitive
INVOL	involuntary
ITR	iterative
Jv	Javanese
N	noun
NOUN	noun marker

* The glossing abbreviation is mainly based on Gil and Tadmor (2007) and Leipzig Glossing Rule (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/**glossing-rules**.php)

NEG	negation
Num	numerals
O	object
ONE	‘one-‘ (with classifier)
P	predicate
PASS	passive
Pers	person
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PRF	perfect
Pron	pronoun
PRT	particle
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REP	repetitive
RED	reduplication
S	subject
SAME	‘same-’ (with classifier)
SIMIL	similitudinal
Skr	Sanskrit
Snd	Sundanese
SUPERL	superlative
TR	transitive
V	verb
VOL	volitional
WH-	interrogative
1PL	first plural pronoun
1:POSS	first person singular possesive
1SG	first singular pronoun
2PL	second plural pronoun
2SG	second singular pronoun
3PL	third plural pronoun
3:POSS	third person singular possesive
3SG	third singular pronoun

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The present study deals with the acquisition of two Indonesian language varieties by children of middle class families in Jakarta. In particular, we will investigate the development of the use of Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian by children between the ages of three and five. This will be completed in different situations and over a time period of six months. Our focus will be on factors that influence choice of the language variety, capability of style-shifting, and morphological variation. This introductory chapter sketches the background and aims of our study.

In Section 1.1 we present a discussion of stylistic variation. Related studies on the acquisition of sociolinguistic variation are discussed in Section 1.2. The linguistic situation in Indonesia is sketched in Section 1.3, followed by an overview of the development of studies on informal varieties of Indonesian and on the acquisition of Indonesian in Section 1.4. The research questions, the aims of the study, and hypotheses are presented in Section 1.5. The last section, Section 1.6, provides an outline of this dissertation.

1.1 Stylistic variation: an overview

This section describes the theoretical background of our study on stylistic variation. We present an overview of two important approaches to style-shifting that relate to the present study; namely *Attention to Speech* and *Audience Design,* proposed by Labov (1972, 1984) and Bell (1984) respectively. Since we are dealing with the acquisition of standard Indonesian, we present in the second part of this section Labov's model (1964) of the acquisition of Standard English by children in the US.

1.1.1 Approaches to stylistic variation

In sociolinguistics, a distinction is made between linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Extra-linguistic factors are divided into two categories: *social* and *stylistic*. While the former refers to differences in language use between separate speakers, the latter refers to differences within the speech of a single speaker (Bell, 1984:145; Eckert, 2001). Thus, stylistic variation can encompass the variation in the speech of an individual speaker and intra-speaker variation (Schilling-Estes, 2002: 375).

Labov (1984:29-30; see also Labov, 1972:208-209) put forward five working principles in linguistic style:

1. There are no single-style speakers.
2. Styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech.
3. Vernacular in which minimal attention is paid to speech is the most regular in its structure and in its relation to the history of the language.
4. Any systematic observation defines a formal context in which more than minimal attention is paid to speech.
5. Face-to-face interviews are the only means of obtaining the volume and quality of recorded speech that is needed for quantitative analysis.

Labov's view on style is associated with attention to speech. Labov's first principle, that there are no single style speakers, indicates that every single speaker does style-shift; that is, the speaker shifts on a continuum from one variety to the other, depending on context.

In order to be able to study a range of speech styles, Labov developed a sociolinguistic interview to elicit a continuum between careful speech and casual speech. In careful speech, the speaker pays close attention to their speech and is aware of being observed. This results in a higher use of linguistic features from the "prestigious" dialect or variety. Meanwhile, in casual speech the speaker pays less attention to their speech and is speaking more spontaneously, resulting in a higher use of features of the vernacular.

Labov's sociolinguistic interview also yielded another finding: stylistic variation is closely related to social class variation. The casual style is associated with the lower and working classes whereas the careful speech or formal style is associated with the middle and higher class. His findings also indicated another pattern, which has traditionally been coined as hypercorrection: the use of a higher level of the standard by the lower middle class. Labov (1972:126) defines this phenomenon as "irregular misapplication of an imperfectly learned rule"; Decamp (1972:87) as "incorrect analogy with a form in a prestige dialect which the speaker has imperfectly mastered". Meyerhoff (2011:179) prefers the term crossover effect when "speakers from one social class use even more tokens of a variant that has overt prestige than speakers in the next higher social class do."

Nevertheless, Labov's Attention to Speech approach of stylistic variation is limited, particularly considering that the observer's paradox could hamper the elicitation of the vernacular (Labov, 1972). Another approach was proposed by Bell (1984, 2001), namely Audience Design, which overcomes some of the limitations of the Labovian approach. Audience Design approaches style-shifting by the speaker as a response for and to his audience. It is inspired by Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland, 1975), which states that speakers tend to adjust their speech towards their addressees. In Speech Accommodation Theory there are two different tendencies of adjustment in the conversation. Convergence is the tendency of speakers to adjust their speech towards the interlocutor, commonly in order to gain the interlocutor's acceptance. Divergence is the tendency of speakers to differentiate themselves from the interlocutor, commonly in order to create a psychological distance.

Audience Design is primarily responsive: Speakers adjust their speech in response to their audience. Bell (1984) notes that there are three possible strategies of the speaker in responding to his addressee (p. 167):

1. Speakers assess the personal characteristics of their addressee and design their style to suit.
2. Speakers assess the general style level of their addressee's speech and shift relative to it.
3. Speakers assess their addressee's levels for specific linguistic variables and shift relative to those levels.

It should be noted that Bell also considers an initiative dimension (Bell, 1984:186-187), where the style shift itself initiates a change in the situation, rather than resulting from such a change. Essentially, it is a redefinition of the relationship between speaker and audience by the speaker (Bell, 1991: 126-127) and the speaker treats the addressees as if they were someone else, a third party or referee. In these early publications, Bell considers this to be a less frequent strategy, but in recent work Bell (2001:165) considers referee design to be "an ever present part of individual's use of language" and suggests that referee and audience design "may be two complementary and coexistent dimensions of style, which operate simultaneously in all speech events".

Becoming active participants in conversations in their communities is a part of the learning and socialization process that children face. The ability to adapt to communicative situations is a key to social maturation (see also, for example, Street and Capella, 1989; Hobbs, 1990; Reichman, 1990; Warren and McCloskey, 1993; Ninio and Snow, 1996). In other words, communicative competence is of crucial importance during child development. In order to examine children's development of communicative competence and

especially their style shifting capacities, insights from both the Attention to Speech and Audience Design models are used.

1.1.2 The acquisition of a standard variety: Labov's model

In this dissertation the acquisition of the Indonesian standard variety (Bahasa Indonesia) by Jakarta children is studied. It is important though to have insight in how children typically acquire a standard variety. Labov's (1964) paper still serves as a source of inspiration for recent work on the acquisition of variation by children – somewhat to his surprise (Labov 2013). Therefore, we will give an overview of the core findings.

On the basis of his studies of children's (age 8-19) and adults' English in New York City, Labov (1964:91-93) developed a model for the acquisition of the full range of stylistic variation in spoken English, consisting of six stages (slightly reformulated from Labov):

1. *The basic grammar.* The child masters the grammatical rules and lexicon of spoken English and is able to communicate his basic needs and experiences to his parents.
2. *The vernacular.* Children (age 5-8) learn to use the local variety in a form consistent with that of his immediate peer group. The influence of the parents is submerged under the influence of the peer group.
3. *Social perception.* The social significance of the dialect characteristics of his friends becomes gradually apparent to teenagers (age 14-15) as they get more exposure to other speech forms.
4. *Stylistic variation.* At high school (± age 16) they learn how to modify their speech in formal situations in the direction of the prestige standard.
5. *The consistent standard.* The ability to maintain standard styles of speech for any length of time is often not acquired at all.
6. *The full range.* Only some speakers (mainly from middle class origin) attain complete consistency, in a range of styles appropriate for a wide range of occasions.

1.2 Sociolinguistic studies on the acquisition of variation

In the process of language acquisition, not only should a child learn how to speak grammatically correct, but also how to speak appropriately (Hymes, 1972). Slösberg-Andersen (1990:32) affirms that "in achieving communicative competence, children must learn dialect or a set of dialects that will mark different aspect of their social identity, including their region of origin, as well as, their social class, ethnic group, age, and gender." In

addition, stylistic variation must be learned by children in order to engage in different topics of conversation, with different social groups, and in various settings. To become a competent speaker of a language variety in her or his community, a child has to learn variable structures, as well as, the invariable ones (Roberts, 2005); in other words, they must develop their sociolinguistic skills. Sociolinguistic skills can be viewed as the capability to adapt one's interaction strategies and linguistic variants to the interlocutor, topic, and setting. As Roberts says, the acquisition of variable rules is "… an integral part of the acquisition itself" (pp. 154).

The acquisition of register is a related study on linguistic variation. Here, the capability of using language in different roles and situations is examined. Roberts (1994) indicates that there is an overlapping area in the study of register and variation. *Style,* for example, when used in different ways in both areas, can be register, level of formality, or informal assessment by researchers of speaker's communication (pp. 23). Furthermore, Roberts distinguishes register variation from stylistic variation. While the former is dealing with "role" which is often dependent on the relative status of speakers as well as the topic and setting of the interaction, the latter is dealing with a continuum of formality.

Nardy *et al*. (2013:255) observe that the acquisition of sociolinguistic variation by children is still a largely unexplored domain. In their review of forty years of research on the acquisition of phonological variation, they observe a shift in focus: from the way children acquire adult rules of sociolinguistic variation (in the 1970s and 1980s) to the developmental process itself at work in the acquisition of variable rules (in the 1990s). The majority of studies on the acquisition of linguistic variation by children focus on phonological variables (Fischer, 1958; Macaulay, 1977; Reid, 1978; Foulkes *et al.,* 2001 and 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2007 and 2009; Nardy, 2008; Chevrot *et al.*, 2011), but some study the interface between phonology and morphology (see for example, Ingram *et al.,* 1985; Roberts, 1994), or morphological or lexical choice (see for example Purcell, 1984; Youseff, 1991).

The acquisition model of the standard variety by Labov (see Section 1.1) is a pioneering study in this field, and has been a model for the subsequent study of the development of sociolinguistic competence. However, more recent studies reveal that children as young as three years old use different variants according to the interaction type (Roberts, 1994 and 1997; Foulkes *et.al*, 2001 and 2005; Smith *et.al*, 2007; among others).

Studies on the acquisition of variation in general are interested in the influence of the social status. Results on the aforementioned tend to indicate

similarity; that is, the social economic status of children plays a role in the acquisition of variation. The higher the social class, the more frequent the use of standard variant is.

In sociolinguistic studies of production by adults, many found that women tend to be more aware of formality than men, using standard variants more than non-standard ones. However, it has been observed that gender is not a clear factor in the child language variation (see also Nardy *et al.*, 2013). Studies by Ingram *et al.* (1985) and Roberts (1994), among others, indicate that there is no gender effect on the production of (ing). Foulkes *et al.* (2001), Smith *et al.* (2007), and Docherty *et al.* (2006) indicate similar findings. Roberts (1994) found that boys seem to use more standard variants than girls, as she found that girls have higher frequencies of (t/d). Chevrot (1991, as cited by Nardy *et al.*, 2013) also found that boys' speech is closer to the standard than girls' speech.

Some studies show that at a very early age children distinguish different interlocutors using a different variety. This is similar to some findings in the study of early bilingual acquisition (see for example De Houwer, 1990, 2003, and 2009; Ghimenton, 2013). Others found that children are aware of the type of situation (Nardy, 2008) or of the conversational topic, as found in Smith *et al.* (2007). Findings of all the aforementioned studies indicate that at a very young age, far before adolescence, children seem to be aware of differences in situations and show systematic stylistic variation. Labov even states in his second principle of transmission (Labov 2001:437): "Linguistic variation is transmitted to children as stylistic variation on the formal/informal dimension, rather than as social stratification. Formal speech variants are associated by children with instruction and punishment, informal speech with intimacy and fun".

Roberts and Labov (1995:101) indicates that preschool period is the most active one for the acquisition of categorical rule and variable rule. This suggests that at very early age children acquire the grammatical and social constraint at the same time. Study by Youssef (1991) on Trinidadian Creole and Standard English, by Roberts (1994) on (ing), and by Smith, *et al.* (2007) on *hoose* variable support the suggestion. Yet, other study shows that grammatical and social constraints are not simultaneously acquired (see for example Robert, 1994, on (t/d) deletion; Smith *et al,* 2007 on (-s)). Smith *et al* (2007: 64) suggest that not all linguistic (level) variables are acquired at the same time and at the same way (see also Kerswill, 1996).

1.3 An overview of linguistic situation in Indonesia

Indonesia is home to more than 300 ethnic groups, and more than 700 languages are spoken, of which 13 have more than a million speakers. The number of languages is dropping due to language loss (Lauder and Lauder, 2012). Steinhauer (1994) demonstrated on the basis of census results that the younger generations increasingly shift to Indonesian, causing Indonesian or varieties therefore becoming the third language now in terms of number of speakers, after Javanese and Sundanese. Today, Indonesian, historically a Malay dialect, is the lingua franca spoken by most Indonesians. Note, though, that less than four decades ago, it was merely their second language. Nowadays many of younger generation speak Indonesian as their first language; rarely do they speak their own regional language.

Indonesian is by many Indonesians seen as a prestigious and modern language (Wallace, 1976; Oetomo, 1990; Sneddon, 2003 and 2004). Not to mention, the law plays an important role in developping the language for the whole of the country. In the *Undang-Undang Dasar* 1945 or the 1945 Constitution, the Indonesian government ratified it as the national language of Indonesia. The law encompasses the role of schooling as an institution too, as language(s) use at school also becomes a part of the national policy.

Indonesian has at least two varieties. The first one is the formal variety of Indonesian, learned and largely used in formal education and also used for most written and formal spoken purposes. This is the language variety that we have discussed previously: Bahasa Indonesia. The second one is a series of informal varieties of Indonesian, influenced by regional languages and used in daily conversation, of which the Jakarta variety has most prestige.

The formal variety of Indonesian is not regularly used in ordinary daily conversation. The Indonesian government institutionalized the standard national grammar in 1988 (see Moeliono and Dardjowidjojo, 1988). The language is widely known by Indonesians as *Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* 'the good and correct Indonesian' or *Bahasa Indonesia.* It is more difficult, though, to uniformly define the characteristics of informal Indonesian. Informal Indonesian spoken in Jakarta, for example, is different from that of Yogyakarta. Nevertheless, today informal Indonesian tends to be related to a language variety that Indonesian people – especially those who live in big cities – largely use; namely, Jakarta Indonesian. The language has increasingly developed as an informal variety of Indonesian and has a great influence throughout the country due to youth programs, commercial advertisements on television, and popular literature and magazines for urban youth. The latter variety is widely known as *Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta*.

Anton Moeliono claims (as cited in Oetomo, 1990:71) that the Jakarta dialect of Indonesian might become the model for standardizing non-formal, colloquial Indonesian.

In sum, there are two existing prestigious Indonesian language varieties. Each of them has their own function. Bahasa Indonesia, the official standard Indonesian, functions as the language of national mass media, government, and education. The proficiency in standard Bahasa Indonesia is a mark of a person's level of education (Tilden, 1985; Sneddon, 2006). Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian functions as the means of informal communication, and is becoming the standard colloquial form of Indonesian, as it is increasingly used in popular literature, magazines for urban youth, comics, and popular songs (Purwo, 1997; Sneddon, 2006). Given the language situation in Jakarta, we can use the term "standard" in the sense defined by Pedersen (2005:172) as "the common, or shared, language of a society that is more complex and inclusive than those using only vernacular."

Kridalaksana (1975) sets forward some characteristics of standard Indonesian (see also in Kushartanti, 2006) as in the following. The examples are presented in comparison with non-standard Indonesian, which, to some extent, is influenced by regional dialect. Glosses are added by us.

1) Explicit and consistent use of the complementizers *bahwa* and *karena*:

Standard	**Non-standard**
a)	b)
Dia ber-kata <u>bahwa</u> dia sakit	*Dia bilang dia sakit*
3SG ACT-say REL 3SG sick	3SG say 3SG sick
's/he says that he is ill'	's/he says (that) he is ill'
b)	b)
Dia tidak bisa datang <u>karena</u> sibuk	*Dia nggak bisa dateng, soal-nya*
3SG NEG can come because busy	3SG NEG can come matter-ASSOC
	dia sibuk
	3SG busy
's/he cannot come because he is busy'	's/he cannot come because he is busy'

2) Consistent use of the particles *–kah* (focus) and *pun* 'also':

Standard	**Non-standard**
a)	a)
Berapa-kah harga pisang ini?	*Berapa harga-nya pisang ini?*
how.many-WH.FOC price banana this	how.many price-DEF banana this
'how much this banana costs?	'how much this banana costs?'
b)	b)
Dia pun datang.	*Dia juga dateng.*
3SG also come	3SG also come
's/he also comes'	's/he also comes'

c) *Mereka pun pergi* 3PL FOC go 'off they go'	c) *Mereka pergi.* 3PL go 'off they go'

3) Consistent use of the verbal valency affixes *meN-* or *ber-*:

Standard	**Non-standard**
a) *Saya sudah mem-baca surat itu.* 1SG PRF ACT.TR-read letter that 'I have already read the letter'	a) *Saya udah baca surat itu* 1SG PRF read letter that 'I have already read the letter'
b) *Anak~anak itu ber-jalan kaki.* child~PL that ACT.INTR-walk foot 'the children go by foot'	b) *Anak~anak itu jalan kaki* child~PL that walk foot 'the children go by foot'

4) Explicit and consistent use of grammatical functions, [Subj. + V ±Obj./± Compl.], which are sometimes similar to the non-standard structure, or [aspect + agent + V). A more detailed description of the difference between both varieties is presented in Section 3.5.

Standard	**Non-standard**
a) *Saya | sudah mem-baca | surat itu* 1SG PRF ACT.TR-read letter that S P O 'I have read the letter'	a) *Saya | udah baca | surat itu* 1SG PRF read letter that S P O 'I have read the letter'
b) *Surat ini | sudah saya baca* letter this PRF 1SG read S aspect agent P 'I have read the letter'	b) Surat ini | saya udah baca letter this 1SG PRF read S agent aspect P 'I have read the letter'

5) The existence of synthetic constructions:

Standard	**Non-standard**
a) *harga-nya* price-DEF 'the price'	a) *dia punya harga* 3SG have price 'the price'
b) *mem-bersih-kan* ACT.TR-clean-CAUS 'to clean'	b) *bikin bersih* make clean 'to clean'
c) *mem-beri.tahu-kan* ACT.TR-give.know-TR 'to inform'	c) *kasih tahu* give know 'to inform'

6) Restricted use of dialectal and vernacular elements (the non-standard examples are in the Javanese-Indonesian dialect):

Standard	**Non-standard**
a)	a)
Mobil-nya bagus	*Mobil-nya dia bagus*
car-3SG.POSS good	car-3SG.POSS 3SG good
'her/his car is excellent'	'her/his car is excellent'
b)	b)
Dia paling cantik	*Dia paling cantik sendiri*
3SG most beautiful	3SG most beautiful alone
'she is the most beautiful (woman/ girl)'	'she is the most beautiful (woman girl)'

7) Consistent use of addressees such as *saya-tuan/nyonya* 'I-Sir/Ma'am.' , *saya –Anda* 'I-you', *saya-Bapak/Ibu* 'I-Sir/Ma'am' ,or *saya-Saudara* 'I-you' (nonstandard: *saya-kamu* 'I-you', or *gue-lo* 'I-you').

Purwo (1997) sets forward some characteristics of the spoken non-standard Indonesian in Jakarta, which are also found in young urban magazines (see also Kushartanti, 2006) such as the following. The examples are compared with standard Indonesia. Glosses are added by us.

1) The presence of phatic expression particles (discourse particles) such as *dong deh, sih, nih*, which are not found in the counterpart variety.

2) The presence of specific, deviant personal pronouns: *gue, gua* 'I, me' and *(e)lu, lo* 'you'[1]

3) The use of morphemes:

- the existence of *–in* to substitute the standard *–i* and *–kan*:

Standard	**Non-standard**
a)	a)
di-pinjam-kan	*di-pinjem-in*
PASS-borrow–TR	PASS-borrow-TR
'to be lent'	'to be lent'
b)	b)
di-teman-i	*di-temen-in*
PASS-friend-TR	PASS-friend-TR
'to be accompanied'	'to be accompanied'

- the lack of the morpheme *ber-* (symbolized by Ø-) and the replacement of *me-* with the simulfix nasal, such as *n-* [n], *ng-* [ŋ] (in the Chapter 3

[1]*Gue* 'I' is used in very informal situation. Sometimes *saya* 'I' is also used in such situation.

onward, it is symbolized by *N*-).

Standard	**Non-standard**
a)	a)
Saya mau ber-tanya	*Mau Ø-tanya nih*
1SG want ACT.INTR-ask	want ACT.INTR-ask FOC
'I want to ask (something)'	'(I) want to ask (something)'
b)	b)
Saya sudah meng-(k)irim surat	*Gue udah ng-*(k)*irim surat*
1SG PRF ACT.TR-send letter	1SG PRF ACT.TR-send letter
'I had sent the letter'	'I had sent the letter'
c)	c)
Saya men-(t)*unggu jawab-an*	*Gue n-*(t)*unggu jawab-an*
1SG ACT.TR-wait answer-NOUN	1SG ACT.TR-wait answer-NOUN
'I am awaiting the answer'	'I am awaiting the answer'

- the existence of *–in,* not to substitute either *–i* or *–kan*:

Standard	**Non-standard**
a)	a)
di-ganggu	*di- ganggu-in*
PASS-disturb	PASS- disturb–TR
'to be disturbed'	'to be disturbed'
b)	b)
di-bantu	*di-bantu-in*
PASS-help	PASS-help-TR
'to be helped'	'to be helped'
c)	c)
meng-apa	*ng-apa-in*
ACT–what	ACT-what–ACT
'why'	'why'
d)	d)
sedang apa	*ng-apa-in*
PROG what	ACT-what–ACT
'what are/is X doing'	'what are/is X doing'

4) The presence of abbreviated forms, while standard Indonesian only allows unimpaired forms: *(s)aja* 'only', *(s)udah* 'already', *(se)dikit* 'a few', *(seb)entar* 'a moment', *(te)tapi* 'but', *(be)gitu* 'like that', *(be)gini* 'like this'

5) Phonological changes (see also the Introductory Notes on the Indonesian Orthography):

Standard		**Non-standard**	
kalau	>	*kalo* [kalɔ]	'if'
sampai	>	*sampe* [sampɛ]	'to arrive' ,'until'
pakai	>	*pake* [pakɛ]	'to use'
ramai	>	*rame* [rame]	'crowded'
belum [bəlum]	>	*belon* [bəlɔn]	'not yet'
bulat	>	*bulet* [bulət]	'round'

dengar [dəŋar]	>	*denger* [dəŋər]	'to hear'
diam	>	*diem* [diəm]	'silent'

6) The combinations of abbreviations and phonological changes:

Standard		**Non-standard**	
bagaimana	>	*gimana*	'how'
tidak	>	*ndak* [ndaʔ], *nggak* [ŋgaʔ], *gak* [gaʔ]	'no, not'

7) The specific words that differ from the standard Indonesian. There are two types: the first type is a group of words that can only be replaced by other words in standard Indonesian as in (a), and the second type is a group of words that can be replaced by several other words in standard Indonesian, as in (b):

(a)

Standard	**Non-standard**
- *mem-buat* ACT.TR-make 'to make	- *bikin* *make* 'to make'
- *meng-(k)ata-kan* ACT-word-APLL 'to say'	- *bilang* *say* 'to say'
- *mem-beri* ACT.TR-give 'to give	- *kasih, ng-(k)asih* give, ACT.TR-give 'to give'
- *ber-bicara* ACT.INTR.- speak 'to speak'	- *ng-omong* ACT.INTR-speak 'to speak'
- *acuh tak acuh* heed NEG heed 'to be unconcerned'	- *cuek* unconcerned 'to be unconcerned'
- *hanya* only	- *cuma* only
- *se-mata~mata* ONE-eye~RED 'only'	- *melulu* only 'only'
- *saja* 'only'	- *doang* 'only'
- *seperti* 'like'	- *kayak* 'like'

- *sering* 'often'	- *suka* 'often'
- *untuk* 'for'	- *buat* 'for'

(b)

Standard	**Non-standard**	
- *sedang* - *baru*	- *lagi*	1)'be in process (2) 'just'
- *dengan* - *oleh*	- *(s)ama*	(1)'with' (2) 'by
- *betul* (as an answer) - *baik*	- *bener*	(1) 'yes' (2) 'good'
- *ber-temu* ACT.INTR-meet - *di-ke-temu-kan* PASS-PASS-meet-TR	- *ke-temu* PASS-meet	(1) 'to meet' (2) 'to be found'

We present a more detailed discussion on differences between BI and CJI in Chapter 3.

Indonesian is commonly described – especially in text books – as a standard variety (see for example Sarumpaet, 1977; Dardjowidjojo, 1978 – however, he also alluded to a few of the characteristics of the colloquial variety; Liaw Yock Fang, 1996; Kentjono, *et al.* 2004). Only a few incorporate the non-standard, colloquial variety and introduce it to the advanced learner (see for example Johns, 1996).[2] While there is a national standard Indonesian grammar, the colloquial varieties are still largely undescribed (however, see Ewing, 2005 and Sneddon, 2006).

In general, many Jakarta Indonesian children learn Indonesian as their first language in informal settings. According to Wouk (1989, 1999), it is the spoken Jakarta Indonesian that children first acquire. Yet, at very early age, before formal schooling, they are also confronted with Bahasa Indonesia, mostly due to television – especially children's programs. Some adults often

[2]Some Indonesian teachers abroad indicate the importance of teaching the non-standard variety that actually is used more frequently in daily conversation. Knowledge of this variety is important, especially for foreign learners who plan to stay in Indonesia for some time (Faizah Soenoto and Totok Suhardiyanto, personal communication).

use the BI, particularly the written structure, when they read a story to children at home. They also encourage young children to use Bahasa Indonesia, for instance, as a means of politeness to talk with other people. Teachers have an important role in teaching the use of Bahasa Indonesia in certain situation. For example, they use Bahasa Indonesia to explain natural phenomenon. In this case, BI is valued as "standard" language and acquired in prescriptive norms.

1.4 Studies on the acquisition of Indonesian and on the colloquial variety of Indonesian: an overview

There are still a few available studies on the colloquial variety of Indonesian. Even though some indicate that attention to the informal variety of Indonesian began to increase in the mid 1970s (see for example Mohamad, 1975; Oetomo, 1990), attention to the colloquial varieties, especially the one spoken in Jakarta, is still rare. Nevertheless, the area does exhibit various interests. A study by Gunarwan (1984) on grammatical variation of Indonesian indicates that the same Indonesian variety spoken in Jakarta is also used by Indonesian people in the Indonesian Embassy in the United States. He found that deletion of Indonesian prefixes *meN-* and *ber-* is influenced by social status and the age of the speakers in the embassy. Mahdi (1981) studies the phonological aspects of metropolitan Indonesian (which actually refers to Jakarta Indonesian). Tilden (1985) studies the influence of Jakarta dialect on Indonesian language in Indonesian novels – her main focus being dialect switching. Wouk (1989 and 1999) studies spoken Jakarta Indonesian; her focus is on discourse and grammar. And Errington (1986) looks at the development of Indonesian as a national language and the complex linguistic situation in Jakarta, highlighting linguistic continuities and discontinuities between that modern speech community and the traditional culture of the dominant Indonesian ethnic group: Javanese.

Studies on informal Indonesian increase after 2000. As with previous studies, various aspects are examined, and an interest in the Indonesian informal variety spoken among adults develops. Sneddon (2002 and 2006) conducted a quantitative study on Jakarta Indonesian, particularly word usage. Katubi (2003) led a pragmatic study on apologizing by educated speakers in Jakarta; Lumintaintang (2003) studied code-switching in a court of law in Jakarta. Meanwhile, Cole, Hermon, and Tjung (2004) examine the acquisition of relative clauses in Jakarta Indonesian; Tadmor and Struijke (2004) look at the differences between Standard Indonesian and Jakarta Indonesian, focusing on glottalization – a feature that distinguishes standard Indonesian from Jakarta Indonesian. Cole, Hermon, and Tjung (2006)

examine passive structure in Jakarta Indonesian. Englebretson (2007) studied colloquial Indonesian spoken in Yogyakarta; and Djenar (2006) studied colloquial Indonesian writing styles in teen literature – especially in address terms. Yet, still many aspects of this kind of variety are unexplored.

Until now, little attention has been paid to child language acquisition of Indonesian. Dardjowidjojo (2000) conducted a pioneering longitudinal study of the acquisition of Indonesian by his granddaughter. The data was obtained in Jakarta, in informal settings. However, he doesn't distinguish the varieties acquired by his granddaughter. Formal and informal Indonesian features, especially on the morpho-syntactic level, are only briefly alluded to in the later stage of acquisition. Nevertheless, this longitudinal study became the point of reference for subsequent studies on the acquisition of Indonesian. Raja conducted his studies in Lampung, examining early morphological development (2005) and negative construction (2006), yet he also didn't distinguish varieties. More recent studies on the acquisition of Indonesian focus on the Jakarta Indonesian variety. Gil examined the acquisition of Jakarta Indonesian syntactic categories (2003a) and morphology (2003b); Cole *et.al* (2008) the acquisition of *WH-* forms; Hidajat (2010) the acquisition of verb argument structures. Ada (2003) examined the acquisition of Indonesian morphological features – including standard Indonesian morphemes and the Jakarta Indonesian suffix *–in* – by a young child raised in Yogyakarta. However, the acquisition of linguistic variation is still rarely given attention. A study by Kushartanti (2006) examined the use of standard and non-standard Indonesian by two Jakarta preschoolers in their interactions with an adult.

The complex linguistic situation of Indonesia suggests that it is important to conduct child language acquisition research that incorporates the study of language variation. In a broader scheme of language education and language policy in Indonesia, the study of child language acquisition is important, especially regarding the time prior to and during the first years of formal schooling. This study is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of young children's language competence before they enter the school system. Schleppergell (2001:433) indicates that elementary school teachers hold implicit assumptions about how school texts (spoken and written) should look like. These assumptions are reflected in how they interact with children. This is in line with the educational situation in Indonesia where, in order to teach the standard variety – which also implies learning the written form – it is necessary to have an understanding of how children learn to be more formal with the spoken form. Besides, children who attend school will carry with them their own first language. In Jakarta, and in the majority of regions, it is colloquial Indonesian. The variety, which

is mutually intelligible with its counterpart, will be a "bridge" to learn the standard forms. In other words, it is necessary to understand how these children learn both standard and non-standard forms of Indonesian.[3]

1.5 Research questions, aims of this study, and hypotheses

In order to become competent speakers in their community, children who live in a place where several varieties or dialects are spoken must learn to make the appropriate linguistic choices in different situations. According to Clark (2003:363), choosing a language or a speech style, reflects, in part, what speakers know about or share as a common ground with their addressees. Our study deals with two Indonesian varieties used by Jakarta Indonesian preschoolers in different situations.

There is a continuum between formal and informal, colloquial Indonesian, and the use of standard and colloquial features depends on the situation (see also Sneddon, 2006; Hidajat, 2010). In this study, we use *Bahasa Indonesia* to refer to the formal variety of Indonesian. We employ *Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian*, following Sneddon (2006), to refer to the informal, colloquial variety of Indonesian that is used by speakers in Jakarta.

1.5.1 Research questions and aim of this study

The main research questions in our study are:

1. To what extent do middle-class Jakarta children use Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian features?
2. To what extent are middle-class Jakarta children capable to distinguish BI and CJI and use both varieties appropriately?
3. Do these children acquire grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously?

The main aim of this study is to explain the use of Bahasa Indonesia (BI) and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia (CJI) by Jakarta preschoolers (between three and five years old) of middle-class families, before they attend formal schooling. In particular, our aim is to examine the capability of stylistic variation, especially regarding the use of BI and CJI morphology in different situations. Our focus in morphology is the Bahasa Indonesia prefixes *meN-*

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[3]Kridalaksana (as cited by Steinhauer [1980], also in Sneddon, 2003) mentions that in the Indonesian education system, students are taught to have a more positive attitude towards standard Indonesian than the counterpart variety; he suggests that there should be the same attitude towards the non-standard one since it is more applicable in many situations.

and *ber-* and their counterparts in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian. In order to reach our aims, we will employ interview sessions. We will conduct an observation and utilize parental questionnaires in order to obtain supporting data.

The variables we examined were chosen for three reasons. First, the presence or absence of these prefixes distinguishes formal from informal Indonesian (see Kridalaksana, 1975 and 2007, Purwo, 1997; Dardjowidjojo, 1978). Second, in adult language, especially *meN-*, *ber-*, the nasal prefix and the zero prexifes – the variables are already examined (Gunarwan, 1984; Wouk, 1989, 1999, and 2004a-b) as distinguishing markers of formality. Third, these are the prefixes that are already acquired by children before they reach the age of five (see Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Ada, 2003; Raja, 2005). In this study, we examine the extent to which children use these variables, in order to have insight on their stylistic competence.

The age range of the children is appropriate to examine their production capability. Following Roberts's (1994) study, children in this age range are well within the critical period of language acquisition (p.6), and are already mature enough to produce the examined variables. They are also mature enough to participate in face-to-face verbal interaction, as we plan to employ interviews in order to elicit their production.

Slösberg-Andersen (1990) asserts that understanding the acquisition of variation is important in order to have an accurate picture of normal patterns of language development. This is a pioneering study of Indonesian children's development of stylistic competence, in which children's capability of style shifting is examined. We opt for children of middle-class families as they are familiar with both styles, as their parents and other family members generally speak both BI and CJI. Furthermore, we expect that these children have been exposed more to the standard variety BI than children from lower-class families.

1.5.2 Hypotheses

In this Section we briefly present the hypotheses tested in this dissertation. The numbering of the hypothesis directly refers to the numbering of the research questions presented in Section 1.5.1. This is a longitudinal study of the development of the use of BI and CJI by Jakarta children in a formal and an informal situation. The children are interviewed twice, with an interval of six months, and are stratified for birth cohort (ages ranging from three to five years old) and gender. The design of this study is sketched in detail in Section 4.5.

Generally, Jakarta children acquire CJI informally at home and CJI is considered their first language (see also Wouk, 1999). The expectation is that in general children start as CJI dominant speakers, as it is their vernacular variety. This leads to hypotheses 1a and 1b:

HYPOTHESIS 1A
Younger children will be more CJI dominant than older children both in situations triggering BI (formal situation) as in situations triggering CJI (informal situation).

HYPOTHESIS 1B
Children will become less CJI dominant in both situations over a time period of 6 months.

Studies in the acquisition of sociolinguistic variables show heterogenous findings for gender. Some indicate that girls show different capabilities from boys (see for example Slösberg-Andersen, 1990), while others show that boys tend to be more "formal" than girls, e.g., Roberts (1994) on t-deletion. Often, there is no difference between boys and girls, e.g., Roberts (1994) on (ing) (1994) and Smith *et al. (*2009). We do not have indications that the use of BI and CJI among 3-5 year old Jakarta middle class children is gender dependent. Therefore we expect that both boys and girls have a similar capability.

HYPOTHESIS 1C
There are no differences between boys and girls in the development of CJI and BI.

The following series of hypotheses focus on the development of the use of BI. As the standard variety is commonly the language of formal education and instruction, we expect that the children will develop BI both in the preschool setting and at home.

Various studies of language development show that age correlates positively with linguistic performances (see for example Romaine, 1984; Austin *et al.,* 1987; Slösberg-Andersen, 1990; Bates *et al.,* 1994). Gunarwan (1984) showed that age correlates with the use of BI: the older the participants in his study, the more frequently they use BI. Jakarta children acquire BI quite early in life, as they also learn it through mass media - such as television programs - and through storytelling. BI is also used by their parents in specific situations, e.g. for instruction and admonishing (see Section 2.3 and 5.4). It leads to the following hypotheses:

HYPOTHESIS 2A
Older children will use more BI in the formal situation than younger children.

HYPOTHESIS 2B
The use of BI will increase over time in the formal situation.

HYPOTHESIS 2C
Older children will use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children.

The aforementioned hypotheses will be tested for both the overall use of BI and CJI in the spontaneous speech data (Section 6.1), the use of BI and CJI verbs in the elicitation task (Section 6.2) and the morphological variables in the elicitation task (Chapter 7). Our final hypothesis concerns the relationship between the development of grammatical and sociolinguistic competence. We assume that these go hand in hand, following Chambers (2003), Roberts (2005:153-154) and Nardy *et al*. (2013), as children, at very early age are confronted with both varieties in different situation.

HYPOTHESIS 3
Children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously.

1.6 Outline of the dissertation

The chapters of this dissertation are organized in the following manner. Chapter 1, the present chapter, presents the background of this study, particularly previous related studies, the linguistic situation in Indonesia in general, the research questions and the aims of this study. Chapter 2 is an introduction to the sociolinguistic situation in Jakarta. This chapter focuses mainly on the middle class in Jakarta, and describes how families in general raise their children. We also present an overview of how children engage in story telling sessions, in which they learn the use of both BI and CJI varieties from the adult storyteller. Chapter 3 is an overview about the structure of BI and CJI. In this chapter, we present a comparison of both varieties from the phonological to the discourse level. Chapter 4 presents the methods and techniques of data collection and coding. Our observations, parental questionnaires, and interviews with the children are introduced and discussed. Chapter 5 discusses the results from our observations and parental questionnaires, presented as profiles of the children in this study and their social environment. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of children's stylistic development, focusing on their overall use of BI and CJI in the formal and informal interviews, and on the use of BI and CJI verbs in an elicitation task. Chapter 7 discusses the development of morphological

variation, on the basis of a number of morphological variables, elicited during the interviews with the children. Chapter 8 summarizes the findings of this study and presents the conclusion.

Chapter 2
The Social Environment of Jakarta Children

In this chapter, we present the socio-cultural situation of Jakarta, and more specifically the factors that might influence the city's linguistic situation. We describe how Jakarta middle-class families live and raise their children, and how these children acquire language(s). The first section of this chapter is a description of the socio-cultural situation in Jakarta (2.1). Following is a description of the language situation in Jakarta - a multilingual city (2.2). The third section is a description of the conditions in which children acquire the languages they speak: at home and through social activities, including school (2.3). In the last section we provide examples on how children acquire Bahasa Indonesia (BI) and Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (CJI) (2.4).

2.1 The socio-cultural situation in Jakarta

Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is the largest and most densely populated city in the country. Jakarta is, in fact, a 'region', divided into five sub-cities: Jakarta *Pusat* (Central Jakarta), Jakarta *Utara* (North Jakarta), Jakarta *Barat* (West Jakarta), Jakarta *Timur* (East Jakarta), and Jakarta *Selatan* (South Jakarta). Apart from being the political centre of the country, it is also the center of well-known and influential people in the areas of information, mass media, and culture—including lifestyle. It is also a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and a truly multi-lingual city. According to data from the Official Statistical Report of the Province of *Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Raya* (Greater Jakarta Special Capital Region) in 2009, the inhabitants mainly work in formal sectors as white-collar workers and management staff (64.5%). Another substantial group works in informal sectors as entrepreneurs (21.1%). The report indicates a growing number of middle-class people in Jakarta.[1]

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[1]It is mentioned that there are 5 stratified social classes in Jakarta: the upper (elite) class, middle class, transitional class, lower class, and lowest class (see also Suhut, 1985). The elite class has the highest income and a high-profile lifestyle. They have easy access to information and the political elite, and show high inter-continental mobility. The middle class usually has a higher educational background than the elite class, but have a slightly lower income. Many of them work in the formal sectors. The transitional class also works mainly in formal sectors, and is paid less

Since working people find it difficult to find suitable and affordable housing close to the center, most new accommodation is built in the rapidly growing areas on the outside yet within the vicinity of Jakarta; namely Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi (the areas bordering Jakarta, West Java, and Banten). The city and its surroundings have a fast-developing infrastructure, since many people—especially from the aforementioned areas—commute to work. As the transportation connections between these areas and Jakarta develop, the spatial structure of the city changes as well, resulting in an area called *Jabodetabek*—an acronym for *Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang*, and *Bekasi*. The more broadened spatial structure of the Jabodetabek region is closely related to the pattern of transport development (Forbes, 2004), as many people live in and come from the region.

The native Jakarta inhabitants are Betawi, ethnically speaking. Nowadays, however, the majority of residents are Javanese (the largest ethnic group in Indonesia) who mainly come from Central and East Java, and the Sundanese—an ethnic group whose origin lies in West Java. Another large ethnic group in Jakarta is of Chinese descent. There are other groups from Sumatra (Acehnese, Batak, Minangkabau, and Palembang), and from other islands such as Maluku (Ambonese), Nusa Tenggara (Flores and Bima), and Sulawesi (Manadonese, Bugis, Makasar, and Toraja). There is also a small minority of people of Arab and Indian descent.

This demographic situation has some obvious consequences. One of them is inter-ethnic marriage such as Javanese-Sundanese, Javanese-Chinese, Batak-Ambonese, or Betawi-Arab. This, subsequently, has an impact on the identity formation of the Jakarta inhabitants and the language they use in interactions. Rarely do the inhabitants of Jakarta define themselves as "Jakartan," but rather use their ethnic group as their identity. Jakartans, like many Indonesians, define their identities in several ways. They may be very specific, for example, "I am Javanese Yogyakartan" or "I am Sundanese Tasikmalayan." Or they simply mention a large ethnic group, for example, "I am Javanese" or "I am Sundanese." Sometimes they just say their place of origin, as in "I am from Java" or "I am from Tasikmalaya." It is more complicated for someone who comes from an inter-ethnic marriage as they must identify themselves as members of both ethnic groups; for example, "I

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than the middle-class. They have limited access to information, and are in the process of moving up the social ladder. The lower and the lowest class have the least income and limited access to the information channel. While some of the lower class still having basic formal education, the lowest class is uneducated and unemployed.

am Javanese-Ambonese" or "I am Acehnese-Minangkabau." Religious affiliation, which is included as part of the information in the *Kartu Tanda Penduduk (*the Indonesian identity card), also plays a significant role in Indonesian identity formation. Indonesians (and Jakartans are no exception) may identify themselves as, for example, "I am Javanese and Muslim."

A new phenomenon can be observed in the Chinese ethnic group, especially among the younger generation. In previous years, they were hesitant to admit themselves to be of Chinese descent. For a long time, they generally preferred not to be considered as a specific ethnic group, but simply as *warga negara Indonesia* 'Indonesian citizen' (WNI). Some (especially the upper class) used English, defining themselves as "Chinese" rather than using the Indonesian word *orang Cina* 'Chinese'—to which they were once referred with derogatory connotation. The political situation in Indonesia has changed and nowadays they are proud to define themselves as *keturunan Cina* or *Tionghoa* 'Chinese descendants.'[2] Sometimes they show their pride as Indonesian as well by adding a certain ethnic group to describe their identity, such as "Chinese-Manadonese" or a certain place such as "Chinese-Tangerang."

Until now, many inhabitants of Jakarta —both of older and younger generations—remain close to their roots. Some still gather with relatives in *arisan,*[3] *selamatan,*[4] or in religious communities such as *pengajian.*[5] Community gatherings are also held for celebrating religious feasts,

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[2]Before 1998 (the year when Soeharto stepped down) Chinese descendants were discriminated, their identity card had a distinctive marking. The presidency of Abdurrachman Wahid (1999-2001) brought change in many aspects for this minority group, withdrawing most of the regulations meant to limit the public display of Chinese religion and custom (see also in Somers-Heidhues, 2004). Act no.12/2006 removed the distinction in the identity card.

[3]A regular social gathering for women (and their families), in which every participant contributes a certain amount of money for a lottery. The winner of the lottery gets all the money, and at the next meeting the previous winner is not allowed to participate. Most arisans are held once a month and are held, in turn, at the households of participants (Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings, 2005:54). People participating in the arisan identify the group as, for example *Arisan Madura* 'the Madurese arisan,' *Arisan Naibaho* 'the Naibaho family arisan (Batak)', *Arisan Martadirdjan* 'the descendents of the Martadirdja family *arisan* (Javanese)', or *Arisan Kalumbuak* 'a group of Minangkabau *arisan*'.

[4]A (semi-religious) celebration of thanksgiving and/or to ask blessings and favors from god(s). This is done when people pass away or when celebrating the 40th day following a birth or a marriage. *Selamatan* is a pre-Islamic tradition, but sometimes people combine the celebration with their current beliefs.

[5]A gathering where Islam is discussed (Steven and Schmidgall-Tellings, 2005:438).

funerals, and traditional wedding ceremonies. Those who come from various regions—especially the older generation—are still firmly guided by their culture of origin. Some people of Chinese, Arab, and Indian descent still live in their own communities, maintaining their own traditions.

2.2. The linguistic situation in Jakarta

The socio-cultural situation in Jakarta has created an environment for huge linguistic diversity among its inhabitants. People mainly use "Indonesian" but their use of the language is influenced by other languages, such as the local language (Betawi Malay), their native region's language ("regional languages") or "foreign languages." In this study, the notion of regional language refers to the language of certain ethnic groups in Indonesia, indicating their identity as members of a group, while foreign language means that the language is not natively used in Indonesia, thus learned by non-native speakers.

For a long time, Indonesian has been used as the primary means of communication, or the *lingua franca*. For many younger generations in the last four decades, Indonesian is their first language (Oetomo, 1989 and 1990; Steinhauer, 1994; Sneddon, 2006). Nowadays, more than 63% of residents are native speakers of Indonesian (see also Samuel, 2005/2008). Today, Indonesian is even used in intra-ethnic marriages (cf. Oetomo, 1989).

In the first chapter it was mentioned that Indonesian spoken in Jakarta has (at least) two varieties: formal and informal. The formal variety of Indonesian is Bahasa Indonesia (BI), acquired and largely used in formal education and also used for most written forms of communication. It is also employed informal (spoken) purposes, such as church ceremonies. BI is the language taught as a main subject at schools, from elementary school to high school. The proficiency of BI indicates a person's level of education (Tilden, 1985; Alwi, et.al, 2000; Sneddon, 2006). The informal variety of Indonesian is influenced mainly by Betawi Malay, Chinese Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese (Wouk, 1999; Sneddon, 2006) and used mainly in daily conversations. Nowadays, it is widely known as "Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta" (to distinguish it from Betawi Malay), or *Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian* (CJI).[6] Furthermore, CJI has a substantial, and increasing, influence throughout the country, due to the use of CJI in films, television serials and variety shows, and through visits to Jakarta by people from other places (Sneddon,

[6]Grijns (1981) notes that the term *colloquial speech* should be used for the varieties that are not marked as either typically formal at one extreme, or as typically lower class at the other, and which are widely accepted in a range of social contexts.

2003:253). Anton Moeliono (cited in Oetomo, 1990:71) predicts that this variety might become the model for standardizing non-formal Indonesian. As it is mentioned in Chapter 1, the grammar of BI was institutionalized by the Indonesian government as a standard national grammar in 1988. Even though the book mainly discusses the standard grammar of Indonesian, and suggests the importance of using the standard variety, it is also alluded to by Alwi *et al.* (2000:21) that the use of the non-standard variety is also important, especially in daily communication.

In Jakarta, BI and CJI have their own functions. The former, the official standard Indonesian, functions as the language of government, (written) national mass media, and education. The latter functions as the means of informal communication, and is becoming the standard colloquial form of Indonesian, as it is increasingly used in popular literature, magazines for urban youth, comics, and popular songs (Purwo, 1997; Sneddon, 2006).

Betawi Malay, the language mentioned as one of the main influences on the CJI lexicon, is still spoken in Jakarta. It is a Malay dialect that developed in Batavia (Old Jakarta) and is the native language of "anak Betawi"—an ethnic group which blended from differing parts of Indonesia (Grijns, 1991; Wouk, 1989). The language has continued as the language of the Jakarta region to the present day (Muhadjir, 2000). It is the local language of Jakarta, and is taught in schools as the regional language. While for many people *bahasa Betawi* is associated with the language of *anak kampong*, the 'children of villagers' (Grijns, 1991; Sneddon, 2004) and a lower class indicator, CJI is associated with higher socio-economic classes and regarded as the spoken language standardly used by educated speakers (Purwo, 1997; Sneddon, 2006).

In certain circumstances, (aspects of) regional languages are also used, especially in intra-ethnic interactions. Clear examples are the use of kinship terms and ceremonial terms. In inter-ethnic communication it can happen that speakers use regional kinship terms, as an indication of solidarity or politeness. For example, an Ambonese person might call a Javanese male *mas (*Jv 'big brother') to show respect to the addressee. However, younger generations in Jakarta rarely use their regional languages in their everyday conversations, resulting in a decreasing use of the language. Especially in inter-ethnic communication they prefer to use Indonesian. Moreover, since there are also inter-ethnic marriages, many couples choose to raise their children using Indonesian instead of their own regional languages. The language choice in these families is also based on the fact that Indonesian is the language of instruction in formal education (Nababan, 1992).

Besides BI and CJI, Betawi Malay, and regional languages, there are several foreign languages spoken in Jakarta, such as English, Arabic, and Chinese. Some people also speak German, French, Japanese, and, nowadays, Korean, at work. Many educated Indonesians speak English—the number one foreign language in the country, as indicated by the government in the National Seminar for Language Policy (1975), based on the Ministry Decree no.096/1967 (see also Samuel, 2005/2008). The language is taught as a major subject in formal education as well. Since the majority of Indonesians are Muslim, specific Arabic expressions are commonly used, such as *Insya Allah* 'if God wills it' or *Alhamdulillah* 'Thank God'. Koranic Arabic is used in religious rites, while the use of Modern Arabic is restricted to certain communities. Meanwhile, some Indonesians of Chinese descent still speak Hakka (a dialect of Chinese) in their communities. Since bilateral trade between China and Indonesia thrives nowadays, the need to use the Chinese language also has grown. Today, there is a fast increasing interest in Mandarin (standard Chinese) among Indonesians. Private institutions that offer Mandarin courses are also increasing in numbers.

In sum, residents of Jakarta and the extended area of the city rarely speak only one language. The switch from one situation to another may lead to a different choice of language, and children are confronted with that at a very early age. In this dissertation we try to give an answer on the question of how children acquire the use of Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian in different situations.

2.3 How Jakarta children acquire the languages

This section has two parts. The first part is a description of how members of Jakarta middle-class families play a role in the linguistic input to their children (2.3.1). The second part describes how the wider environment, such as school and social activities, also has an influence on children's language development (2.3.2). The Indonesian educational system, which, of course, effects in language use, is also described in this part. We further provide an example of the situation in which children are confronted with the differences between BI and CJI.

2.3.1 Acquiring language(s) at home

The structure of many families in Jakarta (as well as all around Indonesia) consists not only of nucleus members but also of extended ones. Regardless of social class, many families still live with elders (see also Hasanbasri, 2000). Some families—especially those in which both the husband and wife work—hand over the children's upbringing to the grandparents for certain periods.

Apart from that, if any other relative stays with the family, s/he will usually be involved in the upbringing of the children. Today's households—in which many mothers also work—employ helpers too, such as nannies or servants (sometimes both). The majority of these helpers are female and mostly Javanese or Sundanese (see also Firman, 1999). They are also regarded as members of the family and the children have to address them with kinship terms such as *mbak* (Jv 'big sister') or *bibi* (Snd 'aunt') for female servants, and the nanny is usually called *suster* 'nurse'. Even though the main figure during the first year of a child's life is the mother, servants and nannies also play a role in children's upbringing.

Parents teach children to behave properly in interactions with others, especially older people, in their community. They also teach children the concept of sharing, common or social purposes, and the value of considering other's interests. In modern Indonesian upbringing and education, children are taught "three magic words" namely *tolong* 'please', *maaf* 'sorry' or 'excuse me' and *terima kasih* 'thank you.' *Tolong* is used when they ask for help; *maaf* is used when they make a mistake or as an expression of an excuse and *terima kasih* is used when someone gives them something. Among Muslims, greetings like *Assalamualaikum* 'peace be with you' and grateful expressions like *Alhamdulillah* 'praise be to God' are nowadays compulsory (Kushartanti *et al.,* 2010).

In Wouk's study (1989:62) on Jakartan, she says that "…it is Jakarta Indonesian, rather than Betawi, that their children acquire as a first language," which is also what we observe in this study. Pre-school children are, of course, exposed to CJI, which is used in daily conversation. However, in a study of language use and attitude by Jakarta parents (see Kushartanti *et al.*, 2010), it is found that parents claim to use BI most frequently in their interactions with their young child (aged three to five), and in many situations and different conditions, such as when they talk in front of their child's teacher. Children also learn that it is preferable to use BI to say something politely to elders (Kushartanti, 2006, 2009; Kushartanti *et al.,* 2010). Parents use CJI in more relaxed situations, and use it more frequently when the nanny or servants are present, or when there is nobody around. Regional languages are still spoken—though not frequently—and are used more often in front of children's grandparents. Sometimes, parents use a foreign language—especially when nobody is around.

Grandparents who are still active in their community bring their grandchildren with them to community activities. Thus, these children also learn to use certain expressions in a regional language, as the members in their ethnic community still use them in these situations. Children are taught

to use kinship addresses (which are very complicated in many Indonesian ethnic cultures), to convey their respect to other family members. Certain expressions, frequent in spoken language, like *matur nuwun* (Jv 'thank you') and *punten* (Snd 'excuse me'), are regarded as polite in the respective communities. However, many parents opt for speaking Indonesian to their grandparents, instead of using the regional language.

Nannies and servants interact with children during mealtimes, when giving them their baths, when bringing children to school or when picking them up. During weekdays in some households, they even spend more time with children than the parents do. After finishing their chores, some of them watch television, especially Indonesian dramas, and the employer's children might join them. Although the regional language is still used in their peer group, servants and nannies will mainly use CJI to communicate with others in the household, and with the employer's children. As observed by Oetomo (1990) and later by Sneddon (2003), CJI is regarded as a prestigious language. Those who come from other regions strive to adapt by using more CJI in daily conversations. The nannies and servants are no exception.

Therefore, at a very early age, children (in middle class families) in Jakarta acquire at least two varieties of Indonesian, spoken at home; and some even acquire more than one language. This is the result of a domestic situation where not only parents but other family members and servants as well are influencing children in the first years of their life.

2.3.2 Acquiring languages through educational settings and social activities

As they grow up, children learn to socialize—through parents' encouragement—in a wider environment, especially at school and through social activities. To have an overall picture of how that happens, particularly at school, it is important to gain understanding of the educational system in Indonesia since the educational policy also includes language policy at school.

In Indonesia, children can pursue their education in several ways. There is formal, non-formal, and informal education (see http://www.kemdiknas.go.id/kemdikbud/ Febr, 13, 2011). Formal and non-formal education is under the regulation of the government, while informal education is managed by children's family. In Indonesia, kindergarten is part of formal education, while playgroups are part of the non-formal education. However, some schools organize kindergarten as well as playgroups. In general, playgroups and kindergarten are managed by

private institutions (Statistik Pendidikan RI 2004-2005, http://www.kemdiknas.go.id/kemdikbud/).

There are two kinds of schools subject to government policy; namely, state schools and private schools. State schools have direct affiliation with the Ministry of Education and Culture, which regulates curriculum and fees. In some state schools, the school fee is free. The facilities—including books and equipments—are subsidized. Meanwhile, private schools have indirect affiliation with the government. They are managed by private foundations. The school fees are usually higher than the state schools' fee. Private schools can be public or non-public. A public school is managed by a specific group (e.g., a family or people sharing an interest), and anyone can freely register. They have the same curriculum as state schools. The non-public school is based on specific affiliation, such as religion. Registration is, therefore, conditioned. In these schools the core curriculum is the same as in public and state schools, but there is often unique aspect to the curriculum, such as language or music.

In Indonesian education, religion is taught as a compulsory subject—especially in elementary school and high school. At the level of playgroups and kindergarten there are classes in which knowledge of specific religions is taught. In agreement with the Education Act (2004), every student has the right to have religious education appropriate to her or his own religion. Especially in non-public schools that are affiliated to a specific religion, many activities are based on its affiliation. There are many private religious schools in Indonesia; many of them are Catholic, Protestant, or Islamic. At these schools students start classes with opening prayers. In the Islamic schools, they pray in Koranic Arabic, followed by a 'frozen' Indonesian translation. In Catholic or Protestant schools, prayers are in standard Indonesian.

Parents—especially from middle- and upper-class families— enroll their children in playgroups and kindergarten, in efforts to encourage their children to be more social. By the time children attend school their circle of friends has expanded. They develop interactions with their teachers and peers, who may come from different ethnic backgrounds.

At school, the main language of instruction is Indonesian (mainly BI).[7] Sometimes, both teachers and students mix BI with CJI. Teachers play a special role in the choice of language in the classroom. In playgroups, the

[7]However, some schools also use English as the language of teaching.

use of BI and CJI is equal. In a play situation, teachers use more CJI whereas when explaining something or inviting children to pray they use BI. For more than a decade, foreign languages—especially English—have been introduced to children early on, as it has a special position in Indonesian education. In playgroups and kindergarten, introductions to languages are mainly done through songs. Some schools in Jakarta—as in other big cities in Indonesia—claim to be bilingual schools, and use both Indonesian and English. Today, some schools also introduce Mandarin since it has becomes increasingly favorable in Indonesia.

Besides schooling, parents encourage children to take part in social activities. Some join sport or art clubs; some join language courses such as English and Mandarin, or additional reading, writing, and math courses. Others join religious activities, such as, for Muslim children, *Taman Pendidikan Quran* 'School of Koran', or, for Christian children, Sunday Schools. In the School of Koran children learn to recite the Koran and several prayers. Meanwhile, Christian children learn the religion by listening to biblical stories, praying, and singing. These activities will often create a somewhat different linguistic input from what they would hear at school or home.

As described above, children learn to use BI and CJI in specific situations - in daily interactions with those who are close to them at home, with teachers and peers at school, or in social activities. Children may also hear both varieties from different adults on the same occasion or from the same adult on different occasions. Differences between the two varieties mainly lay in the lexical aspects, but there are also some sentential, morphological and phonological distinctions. An illustration is in the following conversational segment (Example 2.1), taken from a story-reading session in a playgroup (Kushartanti, 2006, with some additional notes on the gestures of the speaker [between brackets] and glossing). Number 1 and 3 indicate BI utterances, while number 2 and 4 indicate CJI utterances.

Example 2.1

[…]

(pointing at the picture)

1 *Pada suatu hari, sang putri sedang ber-jalan~jalan*
on one day, Pers.PRT princess PROG ACT.INTR-walk~DEINT

di hutan. Dia harus men-cari buah~buah-an.
in forest. 3SG must ACT.TR-search fruit~PL-NOUN

'One day, the princess was strolling in the forest. She must find some fruit.'

(talking to the children)
2 *Tuh, sama siapa dia Ø-jalan~jalan?*
that with who 3SG ACT.INTR-walk~DEINT

Oh, sama burung hantu, sama kelinci-nya, sama siapa lagi ya?
EXCL with bird ghost, with rabbit-DEF, with who again yes

'There, with whom does she stroll? Oh, she walks along with the owl and the rabbit, who else?'

(continuing the story)
3 *Kemudian, dia me-lepas-kan mantel-nya dan duduk*
then, 3SG ACT.TR-take.off-TR coat-POSS and sit

di se-buah batu.
on ONE-fruit stone

'And then, she takes off her coat and sits on a rock.'

(talking to the children)
4 *Nah, terus dia duduk nih. Mungkin dia capek ya?*
EXCL then 3SG sit this maybe 3SG tired yes

Liat, dia lagi duduk di mana?
look, 3SG PROG sit on where

'So, she sits. She may be tired, may not she? Look, where is she sitting?'

In the conversational segment above, the adult uses both varieties on the same occasion. However, she distinguishes the style; she uses the formal one as she reads the story (Line 1 and 3) and the informal one as she talks with the children (Line 2 and 4). What apparently happens is that the adult wants to ensure that the children understand the story—which is read in BI—by using nonstandard Indonesian to address them directly. In this way, children are confronted with both BI and CJI simultaneously and can thus distinguish the differences. Several aspects are acquired at the same time; for example, the presence or absence of certain prefixes (*berjalan~jalan* [BI] and *jalan~jalan* [CJI] 'to stroll'), an expression that is only found in one of the varieties (*nih* [FOC.] in CJI), or a lexical difference (*sama* [CJI] 'with', which is in BI *dengan* 'with').

The conversational segment above is an example of how children might acquire the two varieties in the same condition. However, from their interactions with others, they also learn when and how to use the varieties in appropriate contexts. In sum, they are already familiar with these different contexts from a very early age.

2.4 Summary

The present chapter describes the social background in which children are confronted with language variation in Jakarta. From a very early age, they are confronted with at least two varieties of Indonesian and the question is whether they pick up when to use which variety. The example provided in the last section shows that they are confronted with both varieties. A more detailed description on the differences between BI and CJI will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3
The Structure of Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

Bahasa Indonesia (BI) and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI) are both spoken and written. While BI is used mainly in written form, CJI is used mainly as spoken language. Spoken BI can be observed in careful speaking, such as speeches, ceremonies, sermons, recitations, and when reading aloud. Meanwhile, CJI may appear in any written forms, such as personal messages, billboard advertisements (especially those targeting young people), and nowadays, in urban youth magazines (see Chapter 1 on the use of CJI in urban youth magazines, with discussion on differences between BI and CJI). BI spoken forms are mainly derived from the written one, while CJI written forms are derived from the spoken forms.

This chapter discusses BI and CJI in adult language and provides an overview of the varieties. At the end of this chapter, we will present the characteristics of both varieties - which of them are shared and which are distinct. The description is mainly based on the available literature. Some of the authors are mainly describing pedagogical norms of Indonesian, such as Dardjowidjojo (1978), or descriptive norms in standard Indonesian grammar such as Sneddon (1996) and Alwi *et al.*, (2000), and Mueller (2007). Others describe descriptive norms of both formal and informal varieties of Indonesian, such as Lapoliwa (1981), Hakim (1986), and Kridalaksana (1998, 2007). Only a few authors specifically describe informal Indonesian, such as Ewing (2005), Sneddon (2006), and Purwo (1997). It should be noted that the aforementioned authors use various names to refer the formal and informal varieties of Indonesian. As mentioned in Chapter 1, we use *Bahasa Indonesia* to refer the formal variety of Indonesian, and *Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian* to the informal variety of Indonesian

This chapter consists of eight sections. Section 3.1 discusses the phonological system. Section 3.2 discusses the morpho-syntax. We present a description of the order of constituents in BI and CJI in Section 3.3, on clauses of both varieties in Section 3.4, on passive and active construction in the Section 3.5, and on the type of utterances in Section 3.6. A more complete description about differences between BI and CJI is presented in Section 3.7, followed by the summary in Section 3.8.

3.1 The phonological system[1]

The Indonesian phonological system consists of 6 vowels and 23 consonants. Describing the realization of the phonemes can be challenging (cf. Stokhof, 1975; Mahdi, 1981), as "the continuous mutual interference between regional languages and dialects and BI necessarily results in a gamut of local, social, and individual variants" (Stokhof, 1975: 255). The precise size of the phoneme inventory basically depends on the influence of the speaker's first language—the regional language, for many Indonesian—and the other language(s) they happen to know (Dardjowidjojo, 1978; Lapoliwa, 1981; Hakim, 1986). Borrowings from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, Chinese, Dutch, and English enrich the Indonesian lexicon, affected in its phonological system. The loan phonemes are /f/, /ʃ/, /z/, /x/and there is also a loan diphthong, namely /ey/.

This section describes the vowels and phonemes, and their allophonic variations as spoken by many Jakartans. The two last parts of this section describe the syllable structures of BI and CJI.

3.1.1 Vowels and their allophones

The Indonesian (BI and CJI) vowel system comprises of 6 vowel phonemes (Stokhof, 1975; Lapoliwa, 1981; Zanten-Wervelman, 1989), as in the Table 3.1.

Table 3.1
Vowels in Indonesian

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/	/ə/	/o/
Low		/a/	

Vowel realizations mainly depend on whether they occur in open or closed syllables (Zanten-Wervelman, 1989: 2). Borrowed words also influence the realization of the phonemes. BI and CJI share the same vowels. However, there are differences in the allophonic variation, showing that CJI has a richer range, and at the same time, unpredictable patterns. Interferences from regional languages, dialects, and BI itself make the allophonic variation in CJI extremely rich (Stokhof, 1975; Dardjowidjojo, 1978; Lapoliwa, 1981; and Hakim, 1986). In CJI, /i/ and /u/ may become lower and centralized;

[1]In this section (3.1) hyphens mark syllable structure (and not morpheme boundaries).

the allophone [I] may alternate with [ɛ], and [o] with [ɔ] (cf.; Stokhof, 1975). Especially in borrowings, [o] may alternate with [u].

Of the six vowels, four of them, /i/, /u/, /e/, and /o/ have higher and lower allophones. The higher allophones occur in open syllables, while the lower allophones usually occur in closed syllables (Aminoedin *et al.,* 1984; Zanten-Wervelman, 1989; Alwi *et al.,* 2000).

/a/ has one realization [a], may occur both in open and closed syllable, as in:

ma-kan	[ma-kan]	'eat'

/ə/ has one realization [ə], may occur both in open and closed syllable, as in:

be-ras	[bə-ras]	'(uncooked) rice'
tem-pat	[təm-pat]	'place'

/i/ has two allophones [i] and [I], as in:

ha-ti	[ha-ti]	'heart'
di-ngin	[di-ŋIn]	'cold'

In CJI, [I] can alternate with [e], as in the following examples:

a-dik	[a-dIk] ~ [a-dIʔ] ~ [a-deʔ]	'younger sibling'

/e/ has two allophones [e] and [ɛ], as in:

be-bas	[be-bas]	'free'
be-bek	[bɛ-bɛk]	'duck'

The allophonic variation is not contextually triggered, as also shown in:

me-mang	[me-maŋ] or [mɛ-maŋ]	'indeed'

/u/ has two allophones [u] and [U], as in:

bi-ru	[bi-ru]	'blue'
bangun	[ba-ŋUn]	'awake'

In CJI, /u/ may have allophones [ɔ] and [U] as in BI, but it can alternate with [ɔ], as in the following examples:

be-lum	[bə-lUm]	'not yet'
be-lom	[bə-lɔm]	

/o/ has two allophones [o] and [ɔ], as in:

bo-san	[bo-san]	'bored'
ro-kok	[rɔ-kɔk]	'cigarette'

In CJI, [o] may also alternate with [u], especially in borrowings, such as in in the following examples (all come from Dutch):

[po-li-si] ~ [pu-li-si]	'police'
[ko-pi] ~ [ku-pi]	'coffee'

However, these alternations are unpredictable. Words such as *koperasi* [kopərasi] 'cooperation' and *koran* [koran] 'newspaper' never become *[kupərasi] and *[kuran] respectively.

3.1.2 Diphthongs

With respect to diphthongs, BI and CJI do not differ; namely, /ay/, /aw/, and /oy/, as in the following examples respectively:

da-mai	[da-may]	'peace'
pu-lau	[pu-law]	'island'
se-poi se-poi	[sə-poy sə-poy]	'gentle breeze'

Sometimes, /aw/ is pronounced as [ɔw], such as in *kalau* [kalɔw] 'if' even in a formal setting. Nevertheless, in many contexts /ay/ and /aw/ become more centralized or become monophthongs, in a less formal situation: /ay/becomes/ɛy/ or /ɛ/, as in *lantei* [lan-tey] or *lante* [lan-tɛ] 'floor', while /aw/ becomes /ɔw/ or /ɔ/, as in *kacau* [ka-cɔw][2] or *kaco* [ka-co] 'disarranged.' In present day Indonesian, there is also a loan diphthong, namely /ey/ (Alwi *et al.*, 2000), in words such as in *survei* [sur-fey] 'survey.'

3.1.3 Consonants

An overview of Indonesian consonants is presented in Table 3.2. All of the consonants may occur in syllable initial position. The voiced stops in initial position may also be "heavily" aspirated, when pronounced by Javanese-influenced speakers. Only the voiceless stops (except the affricate /c/) can occur in syllable final position. However, some speakers may pronounce voiced stops in syllable final position—especially those speakers who are influenced by Sundanese. BI and CJI share the consonants, including the borrowed fricatives /f/, /ʃ/, /x/, and /z/. However, some alternations may occur in CJI, which strikingly distinguishes it from BI.

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[2]Even though the pronunciation is [ka-cɔw], the spelling in CJI-situated written form is still maintained as in the standard spelling *kacau*. See Appendix 1 on the orthography of Indonesian.

Table 3.2
Consonants in Indonesian
(*) alternants in CJI

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
Voiceless	/p/	/t/		/k/*	/ʔ/*
Voiced	/b/	/d/		/g/	
Affricates					
Voiceless			/c/		
Voiced			/ɟ/		
Fricatives					
Voiceless	/f/*	/s/	/ʃ/*	/x/*	/h/
Voiced		/z/*			
Nasals	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/	/ŋ/	
Laterals		/l/			
Trills		/r/			
Semivowels	/w/		/j/		

a. Labials

/p/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

pan-dai	[pan-day]	'clever'
man-tap	[man-tap]	'stable'

/b/ occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

ba-ja	[ba-ɟa]	'steel'

/m/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

mu-dah	[mu-dah]	'easy'
ma-lam	[ma-lam]	'night'

/w/ occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

wi-su-da (Skr)	[wi-su-da]	'graduation'

The borrowed[3] fricative **/f/** may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

fa-jar (A)	[fa-ɟar]	'dawn'
ma-af (A)	[ma-ʔaf]	'forgiveness'
ak-tif (D/E)	[ak-tif]	'active'

In CJI, **/f/** tends to alternate with /p/, such as in:

farmasi [farmasi] ~ *parmasi* [parmasi]		'pharmacy'
vanili [fanili] ~ *panili* [panili]		'vanilla'

[3] In the following "A" stands for Arabic, "D" for Dutch, "E" for English, and "Skr" for Sanskrit.

It is commonly assumed that the alternation is mainly associated with lower class or dialectal influence, in this case Sundanese. However, in some cases the alternations have become more stable, as they are mentioned as doublets in the national dictionary, the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. Note, though, that in some words /f/ is never alternated with /p/, as in:

fakultas (D)	[fakultas]	'faculty'
faktor (D/E)	[faktor]	'factor'

b. Alveolars

/t/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

ta-mu	[ta-mu]	'guest'
ba-rat	[ba-rat]	'west'

/d/ occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

da-tang	[da-taŋ]	'come'
de-sa	[de-sa]	'village'

/s/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

sa-ma	[sa-ma]	'same'
ma-las	[ma-las]	'lazy'

/z/ is a loan phoneme, and may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

za-i-tun (A)	[za-i-tun]	'olive'
maz-mur (A)	[maz-mur]	'psalm'

In CJI, **/z/** tends to alternate with/ɟ/, as in:

[za-man] (A)	~ [ɟa-man]	'(stretch of) time)'
[la-zim] (A)	~ [la-ɟim]	'common (practice)'

/n/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

ni-la (Skr)	[ni-la]	'indigo'
te-kan	[tə-kan]	'press'

/l/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

la-bu	[la-bu]	'pumpkin'
ke-kal	[kə-kal]	'everlasting'

/r/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

ram-but	[ram-but]	'hair'
a-ir	[a-ir]	'water'

c. Palatal

/c/only occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

cu-ci	[cu-ci]	'wash'

/ɟ/ only occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

ju-ga	[ɟu-ga]	'also'

/ʃ/ is a loan phoneme. It has its origin in words borrowed from Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. It may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

sya-ha-dat (A)	[ʃa-ha-dat]	'creed'
musy-kil (A)	[muʃ-kil]	'difficult (to solve)'

In CJI, **/ʃ/** tends to alternate with /s/, as in:

[ʃu-kur] (A)	~	[su-kur]	'thanks (to God)'
[ʃa-ha-dat] (A)	~	[sa-ha-dat]	'creed'

Nevertheless, /ʃ/ is not always in alternation with /s/, as is illustrated by the following contrasting pairs:

syah (A) [ʃah] 'king'	vs	*sah* (A) [sah]	'legal'
syarat (A) [ʃarat] 'condition'	vs	*sarat* [sarat]	'to be full of'

/ɲ/ occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

nya-muk	[ɲa-muk]	'mosquito'

/ŋ/ also occurs in the final position, as in:

jan-ji	[ɟaŋ-ɟi]	'promise'

/j/ occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

ya-ya-san	[ja-ja-san]	'foundation'

/j/ may also occur in medial position, as in:

kya-i	[kja-i]	'Muslim cleric'

d. Velars and Glottal

/k/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

ku-da	[ku-da]	'horse'
ko-tak	[ko-tak]	'case'

/k/ may alternate with [ʔ] in syllable final position as in:

ko-tak	[ko-tak] ~ [ko-taʔ]	'case'
ti-dak	[ti-dak] ~ [ti-daʔ]	'no'
ba-nyak	[ba-ɲak] ~ [ba-ɲaʔ]	'many'
mak-na	[mak-na] ~ [maʔ-na]	'meaning'

/ʔ/ is optional in words with a vowel in the onset, as in:

a-bad	[a-bat] ~ [ʔa-bat]	'century'

/ʔ/ occurs between two vowels as well, as in:

do-a	[do-ʔa]	'prayer'
sa-at	[sa-ʔat]	'time'

/ʔ/ also occurs in word final position, alternating with /k/ (see description of /k/). In CJI, **/ʔ/** may follow the vowel final phoneme of a word, as in:

ke-na	[kə-na] ~ [kə-naʔ]	'(get) hit (by)'
ma-ti	[ma-ti] ~ [ma-tiʔ]	'die'

In both varieties, final position **/ʔ/** can be contrasted to /k/, as shown in the following:

/antiʔ/	'to be against'
/antik/	'antique'

/g/ only occurs in syllable initial position, as in:

gu-ru	[gu-ru]	'teacher'

/ŋ/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

ngi-lu	[ŋi-lu]	'gnawing pain'
bi-na-tang	[bi-na-taŋ]	'animal'

/x/ is a loan phoneme from Arabic, and may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

kha-la-yak	[xa-la-yak]	'(collective plural) people'
makh-luk	[max-luk]	'creature'

In CJI, /x/ in syllable initial position tends to alternate with /k/as in:

khas	[xas] ~ [kas]	'typical'
khot-bah	[xot bah] ~ [kot bah]	'sermon, preach'

In syllable final position, it tends to alternate with /h/, as in:

makh-luk	[max-luk] ~ [mah-luk]	'creature'
ta-rikh	[ta-rix] ~ [ta-rih]	'date'

/**h**/ may occur in syllable initial and syllable final position, as in:

ha-rus	[ha-rus]	'must'
pe-nga-ruh	[pə-ŋa-rUh]	'influence'

In CJI initial /h/ is often deleted, as in:

ha-bis	[habis] ~ [abis]	'all gone'
hu-jan	[huɟan] ~ [uɟan]	'rain'

Yet, this is not a stable pattern, as there are still words (which are also shared with BI) that maintain /h/ in initial position, as in:

ha-rus	[ha-rus]	'must'
hu-kum	[hu-kum]	'law, punish'

3.1.4 Syllable structure

An overview of Indonesian syllable structures is presented in the Table 3.3. V, VC, CV, and CVC are native Indonesian syllables, while the others are all borrowings.

Table 3.3
The Syllable Structures in Indonesian

	Syllable Structure	**Example**	
1	V	*i*-tu	'this'
2	VC	li-*at*	'tough'
3	CV	*ka*-wan	'friend'
4	CVC	*tan*-da	'sign'
5	VV	*au*-la	'auditorium'
6	CCV	pu-*tra*	'son'
7	CCVC	*stan*-dar	'standard'
8	VCC	*ons*	'ounce'
9	CVCC	*teks*	'text'
10	CCVCC	kom-*pleks*	'complex'
11	CCCV	*stra*-ta	'stratum'
12	CCCVC	*struk*-tur	'structure'

The most frequent word structure in Indonesian is bi-syllabic,[4] and the basic syllable structures of the language—or the indigenous Malay—are V, VC, CV, and CVC (Dardjowidjojo, 1978; Alwi, *et al.*, 2000; Kridalaksana, 2007). Of the four structures, the CV and CVC are predominant (Lauder, 1995). The influence from foreign languages (Sanskrit, Portuguese, Arabic, Dutch, and nowadays English) enriches the Indonesian syllable structures—especially in Bahasa Indonesia. Both BI and CJI share the basic syllable structure. In terms of borrowed syllables, they show differences, which will be discussed in the last part of this section.[5]

In BI, the sequential vowel in, VV (see number 5 in the table above), is considered a vowel cluster, not a diphthong. In CJI, VV tends to be treated as a diphthong, therefore:

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[4]This might be the reason underlying the observation by Dardjowidjojo (2000) that Indonesian children acquire and produce monosyllabic words earlier than English children, while the reverse is true for polysyllabic words.
[5]The stress of words tends to be penultimate. Note that stress in Indonesian phonology is not a distinctive feature (Dardjowidjojo, 1978; Zanten and Heuven, 2004).

BI		CJI	
[aula]	~	[owla]	'auditorium'

CJI has epenthesis between /s/ and /t/ in the prevocalic clusters /st/ (cf. Oglobin, 1972, as cited in Stokhof, 1975) and /str/, as in the following examples (in comparison with CCV and CCCV pattern in BI):

BI		CJI	
[stasiun]	~	[sətasiun]	'station'
[stok]	~	[sətok]	'stock'
[strategi]	~	[sətrategi]	'strategy'
[strɛs]	~	[sətrɛs]	'stress out'

Insertion of /ə/also tends to occur in the prevocalic cluster /tr/, as in:

BI		CJI	
[putra]	~	[putəra]	'son'
[sutra]	~	[sutəra]	'silk'

On the other hand, in CJI, syncope of /ə/ tends to occur before /t/, /r/, or /l/ (cf. Oglobin, 1972, as cited in Stokhof, 1975) when followed by a vowel in native word stems, as in the following examples (in comparison with BI):

BI		CJI	
[sətəŋah]	~	[stəŋah]	'a half'
[bərani]	~	[brani]	'brave'
[tələnɟaŋ]	~	[tlanɟaŋ]	'naked'

In cases of postvocalic clusters/ks/or/ns/ in borrowed mono- or bi-syllabic words, /s/ tends to be deleted, as in the following examples (in comparison with BI):

BI		CJI	
[kompleks]	~	[komplek]	'complex, housing clusters'
[konteks]	~	[kontek]	'context'
[spons]	~	[səpon]	'sponge'

3.2 Morpho-syntax

Compare the CJI fragment in (1a) to the BI equivalent in (1b), i.e. the conversational segment in (1a) can be compared to a prescriptively correct BI conversation (which is made up from the previous conversational segment):

(1a) 1 Expr	: (Name),	*kabar-nya*	*Kak*	*Lala*	*gimana?*
	(Name),	news-DEF	older.sibling	Lala	how
	'how is (your) sister Lala?'				

2 Chi : *Baik*
good
'she is fine'

3 Expr : *Kak Lala ada di mana?*
older.sibling Lala Ø-to.be in where
'where is she?'

4 Chi : *Sekolah.*
school
'(she) is at school'

5 Expr : *Lagi ng-apa-in?*
PROG. ACT-what-ACT
'what is she doing'

6 Chi : *Lagi sekolah.*
PROG Ø-school
'(she is) studying (at school)'

(1b) 1 Expr : (Name), *bagaimana kabar Kak Lala?*
(name) how news older.sibling Lala
'How is your sister Lala?'

2 Chi : *Dia baik*
3SG good
'She is fine'

3 Expr : *Kak Lala ber-ada di mana?*
older.sibling Lala INTR-to.be in where
'where is she?'

4 Chi : *Dia ber-ada di sekolah*
3SG INTR-to.be in school
'She is at school'

5 Expr : *Dia sedang apa?*
3SG PROG what
'what is she doing'

6 Chi : *Dia sedang ber-sekolah.*
3SG PROG INTR-school
'she is studying (at school)'

Indonesian (both BI and CJI) does not exhibit morphological markers of tense, person, gender, nor number. All these are mainly marked by lexical devices. As (1a) shows, in CJI highly accessible referents are usually not mentioned. CJI is a pro-drop language, and shows less verbal derivational morphology (for a comparison with BI, see Ewing, 2005). In BI, grammatical transitivity or intransitivity is usually morphosyntactically marked on the verb, which is not necessarily employed in CJI. We have indicated the absence of prefixes by a zero prefix,[6] which is symbolized by /Ø-/, to

[6]Here the term "zero" is a prefix marking while in another system it might be used as zero derivation (see Kridalaksana, 2007).

distinguish it from other verbal prefix occurring in CJI. Since CJI allows the zero prefix in verb formation, there seems to be some flexibility in the word classes. The example 1a and 1b below—CJI and BI respectively—illustrate this. Thus, *sekolah* 'school' in line 2 of (1a) is interpreted as a noun, since the preceding question in the preceding line elicits "something about a place," while in line 6 it is in fact a verb, as the morphological marking of (6) in fragment (1b) shows.

Indonesian main morphological devices are affixation, reduplication, composition, and today, abbreviation. Of the aforementioned morphological processes, affixation is the most prolific process in the formation of words, both derivational and inflectional. Below we will discuss some aspects of word formation, in particular affixation in verb formation.

3.2.1 Affixation

Indonesian exhibits prefixation, suffixation, circumfixation, affix combinations, and infixation. These morphological processes can be both inflectional and derivational.[7] Infixation is synchronically not a productive process in Indonesian morphology. That is, Indonesian has infixes *–el-* [-əl-] and *–em-* [-əm-], deriving verbs and nouns, but nowadays words derived from infixation are considered as mono-morphemic words, as in:

(2)	*getar* (stem: *getar*) <ACT.INTR>tremble 'to tremble'	>	*gemetar* [gəmətar] tremble 'to tremble'
(3)	*g< em>uruh* (stem: *guruh*) <NOUN>thunder 'rolling of thunder'	>	*gemuruh* [gəmurUh] thunder 'rolling of thunder'

Indonesian has bound and free morphemes. The bound morphemes are mainly affixes, many of which have more than one grammatical meaning, but the following example shows a non-affixal bound morpheme (both are BI):

(4) *juang* → *ber* + *juang* < *ber-juang* [bər-ɟuaŋ]
ACT.INTR-struggle
'to struggle'

---

[7]Inflectional morphology, according to Verhaar (1996:121) is a morphological process applied to words of the same lexical element, while derivational morphology is a morphological process transforming certain lexical elements into different elements.

(5) *aju* → *meN-* + *aju* + *kan* < *meng-aju-kan* [məŋ-aju-kan]
ACT.TR-advance-TR
'to advance (an argument)'

BI and CJI have several basic or native affixes, as presented in the Table 3.4. These affixes may be combined. In BI, affix combinations such as *meN-i* [məN-i] or *meN-kan* [məN-kan] derive verbs and adjectives, respectively. In the counterpart variety, CJI, affix combinations *N-in* or *Ø-in* have the same function. In BI, there are some prefix clusters, such as *memper-* [məmpər-] (from *meN-* + *per-*), *pemeN-an* [pəməN-an] (from *peN-* + *meN-* + *-an*), or *keber-an* [kəbər-an] (from *ke-an* + *ber-*). BI also has some borrowed affixes. Examples of borrowed prefixes are *adi-* (Skr), *pra-*(Skr), *supra-*(L)[8], while the borrowed suffixes are *–ir* (D), *–isasi* (D/E), *-al* (E), *-ah* (A), *-iah* (A), *-wan* (Skr), *etc.,* which are also used in less formal situations.

BI and CJI share several affixes in prefixation, such as a verbal prefix marker *di-*, a nominal prefix *peN-* [pəN-], *per-* [pər-], and *se-* [sə-]. Moreover they share the suffix *–an* and *–nya* [-ɳa], the circumfix *ke-an* [kə-an], *per-an* [pər-an], *peN-an* [pəN-an], and *se-nya* [sə-ɳa]. Except in the case of *di-, peN-, per-, per-an, peN-an,* and *se-nya,* certain conditions under which the affixation occurs may also distinguish both varieties. Meanwhile, there are also prefixes that are not shared in both varieties. The verbal prefixes in BI, *meN-* ,*ber-*, and *ter-* have their counterparts in CJI, namely Ø-, *N-* (for *meN-* and *ber-*) and *ke-* (for *ter-*). In this section, we limit our discussion to the affixes that distinguish both varieties.

[8] "L" stands for "Latin".

Table 3.4
Basic affixes in Indonesian

Name of affix		BI						CJI					
		Morphological Operation		Functions to form				Morphological Operation		Functions to form			
		Inflectional	Derivational	V	N	Adj	Adv	Inflectional	Derivational	V	N	Adj	Adv
Prefix	*məN-*[9]	+	+	+	-	+	-	+*	+*	+*	-	+*	-
	di-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	bər-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+*	+*	+*	-	+*	-
	N-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
	Ø-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	ŋe-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
	tər-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	kə-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
	pəN-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	pər-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	sə-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
Suffix	*–i*[10]	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	–kan[11]	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	–in[12]	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
	-an	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
	-ŋa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
Circumfix	*bər-an*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	bər-kan	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	kə-an	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	pər-an	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	pəN-an	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	se-ŋa	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+

(*) under certain conditions

[9]The italicized capital *N* represents a nasal homorganic with the initial consonant of the base.
[10]In combination with *meN-*
[11]In combination with *meN-*
[12]In combination with Ø- or *N-*

3.2.1.1 Prefix

In BI, *meN-* is an affix-marking transitivity, and as such it mainly derives transitive verbs. It is also an intransitive marker for certain verbs. In some conditions (both in BI and CJI), the prefix develops a specialized semantic function, no longer marking a transitive-intransitive distinction (Ewing, 2005:251), as in *meninggal* [məniŋgal], the euphemism meaning 'to die.' In CJI, *meN-* tends to be omitted, but, if retained, it has several counterparts, *N-*, and *nge-*. Since the omission of *meN-* is interchangeable with a nasal prefix in certain cases, we mark the omission with a zero prefix Ø- as its counterpart in CJI. The use of these prefixes can, thus, be distinguished in both varieties:[13]

BI	**CJI**
(6a) mem-bawa ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'	(6b) *Ø-bawa* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'
	(6c) *m-bawa* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'
	(6d) *nge-bawa* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'

A more detailed discussion on these prefixes will be presented in Chapter 7.

Prefixation with *ber-* in BI is both inflectional and derivational. It is an affix-marking intransitivity, and derives mainly intransitive verbs. In CJI, *ber-*, as with *meN-*, tends to be omitted. It has, however, an overt counterpart, namely the nasal form (*N-*). Since the omission of *ber-* is interchangeable with this nasal prefix in certain cases, we mark the absence of morphology with the zero prefix Ø-, to distinguish both forms occurring in informal situation. Thus:

BI	**CJI**
(7a) *ber-kumpul* ACT.INTR-gather 'to gather'	(7b) *Ø-kumpul* ACT.INTR-gather 'to gather'
	(7c) *ng-(k)umpul* ACT.INTR-gather 'to gather'

[13]See also the Appendix 1: The Indonesian Orthography.

Under certain conditions, an allomorph of *ber-*, /*bəl-*/is also used in CJI, in cases where a contrast in affixation marks an important semantic contrast (see also Ewing, 2005:251):

BI	**BI/CJI**	**CJI**
(8a) *meng- ajar* ACT.TR-teach 'to teach'		(8b) *ng- ajar* ACT.TR-teach 'to teach'
	(9) *bel-ajar* ACT.INTR-teach 'to study'	

A more detailed discussion on these prefixes will be presented in Chapter 7.

Prefix *ter-* [tər] in BI marks the derivation of a passive verb. In CJI, it has its counterpart, namely *ke-* [kə-]. The use of these prefixes can distinguish both varieties, as in

BI	**CJI**
(10a) *ter-bawa* PASS.INVOL-bring 'to be taken (unintentionally)'	(10b) *ke-bawa* PASS.INVOL-bring 'to be taken (unintentionally)
(11a) *ter-bayar* PASS.VOL-pay 'payable'	(11b) *ke–bayar* PASS.VOL-pay 'payable'

ter- in BI is also adjective-deriving affixes as in (12a), which in both BI and CJI can be lexicalized as *paling* 'the most', see (12b):

BI	**BI/CJI**
(12a) *ter-besar* SUPERL-big 'the biggest'	(12b) *paling besar* most big 'the biggest'

Prefix *se-* [sə-], shared in BI and CJI as a inflectional affix, is employed in both varieties as an adjective-deriving affix as in (13) and as noun-deriving affix as in (14):

	BI/CJI
(13)	*se-besar* AS-big 'as big as'
(14)	*se-bangsa* SAME-nation 'same nation'

In BI, *sə-* can also attach to a classifier, as in the (15), (16), and (17). These classifiers are not necessarily needed in CJI:

BI

(15) *se-buah*
ONE-fruit
'a ~' (used for general thing)

(16) *se-orang*
ONE-person
'a ~' (person)

(17) *se-ekor*
ONE-tail
'a ~' (used for animal)

3.2.1.2 Suffix

Both varieties have corresponding verbal suffixes, namely *-i* and *–kan* in BI, and *–in* in CJI. The BI verbal suffix *–i* and *–kan* function as transitivizers, in combination with the verbal prefix *meN-* (and *di-* for the passive marker—see Section 3.5). They may be called both an inflectional and derivational affix.*–i* has iterative or directional meaning, while*–kan* has benefactive or causative meaning. Corresponding with them is the CJI verbal suffix *–in,* which has an equal function to both *–i* and *–kan,* as shown in Figure 3.1.

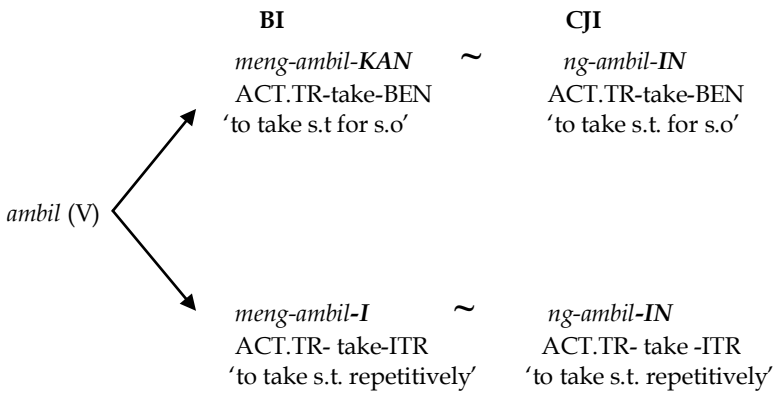

Figure 3.1
Correspondence between *–i, -kan,* and *–in* as inflectional affix

Meanwhile, only *meN–kan* corresponds with *N–in* as both a derivational and inflectional suffix, as shown in Figure 3.2.

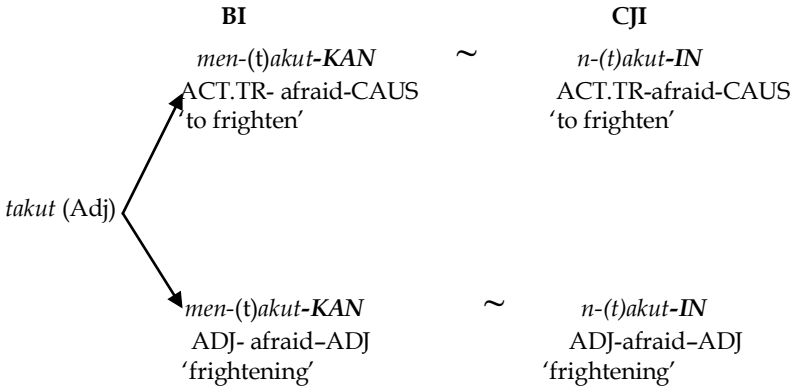

Figure 3.2
Correspondence between *-kan,* and *–in* as derivational and inflectional affix

In suffixation, BI and CJI also share *–an* under certain conditions. The use of this suffix in CJI is influenced by Betawi Malay (see also Muhadjir, 1984). The suffix *–an,* which is shared in BI and CJI, may be both an inflectional and a derivational suffix, employed as a noun-deriving suffix, as in (18), (19), (20), (21) or adjective-deriving suffix, as in (22).

(18) N → N *jalan-an*
street-NOUN
'street'

(19) Adj → N *manis-an*
sweet-NOUN
'sweets, preserved fruit'

(20) V → N *timbang-an*
weigh-NOUN
'scale'

(21)Num → N *satu-an*
one-NOUN
'unit'

(22) N → Adj *kampung-an*
kampong-ADJ
'unsophisticated'

As CJI employs the zero verbal prefix in this case (see above), a verb with the suffix *-an* may show an overlapping with adjective. As has already been mentioned, context will play a role to distinguish verb from adjective. The difference is shown in the example (23) and (24):

	BI	~	CJI
(23) Adj→V	*ber-baik-an* ACT.INTR-good-RECP 'to reconcile'		*Ø-baik-an* ACT.INTR-good-RECP 'to reconcile'
(24) Adj→ Adj	*lebih baik* more good 'better'		*baik-an* good-ADJ 'better'

3.2.1.3 Circumfix[14]

Circumfixation in both BI and CJI is mainly derivational. Both varieties share *per-an, peN-an,* and *se-nya*. *ber-an* is a BI verbal and adjectival circumfix (for an example, see (23) above), and *ber-kan* is a verbal circumfix. In BI and CJI, the circumfix *ke-an* [kə-an] is shared as inflectional and derivational affix, a verb- and noun-deriving affix. *ke-an* can be found in the examples (25a-c) as a verb-deriving affix (a passive adversative marker), and as a noun-deriving affix (an abstract noun marker) in the example (26a-d). *ke-an* derives abstract nouns from wide variety of bases from different word classes:

(25a)	V → V	*ke-jatuh-an* PASS.ADV-fall-CIRC 'to get hit by a falling object'
(25b)	Adj → V	*ke-dingin-an* PASS.ADV–cold-CIRC 'to get cold'
(25c)	N → V	*ke-hujan-an* PASS.ADV-rain-CIRC 'to get caught by rain'
(26a)	N → N	*ke-pulau-an* ABST–island-CIRC 'archipelago'
(26b)	V → N	*ke-lahir-an* ABST-born–CIRC 'birth'

[14]In the study of Indonesian the term *confix, confixation*, is used. See for example Alwi *et al*. (2000) and Kridalaksana (2007). We take that as equivalent to circumfix and circumfixation.

(26c)	Adj → N	*ke-agung-an* ABST-glorious-CIRC 'glory'
(26d)	Num → N	*ke-satu-an* ABST–one–CIRC 'unity'

In CJI, *ke-an* is also an adjective marker circumfix, whereas in BI it should be marked by an adverb, as in

(27)		**BI**	**CJI**
	Adj → Adj	*terlalu tua* too old 'too old'	*ke-tua-an* ADJ–old–CIRC 'too old'

3.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication in Indonesian can be full or partial, resulting in several meanings. The process (the plural or partial reduplication) can only be applied to certain input forms (Mueller, 2007:1210), but they can be found in all of the categories. Full reduplication of a noun, for instance, forms a plural, as in example (28).

(28) *anak~anak* '
child~PL
'children'

Plurals may also be yielded by the reduplication of an adjective, as in example (29). The example in (30) shows how at the phrasal level, this type of reduplication picks either the head or the modifier as the target for reduplication.

(29) *lucu~lucu*
funny~PL
'funny (several things)'

(30)	*anak~anak lucu* child~PL funny 'cute children'	~	*anak lucu~lucu* child funny~PL 'cute children'

In both varieties, full reduplication may combine with affixations as well. For example:

(31) *ber-senang~senang*
ACT.INTR-fun~REP
'having fun

(32) *mobil~mobil–an*
SIMIL~car-NOUN
'car (toy)''

(33) *ke-kanak~kanak-an*
ABST.ADJ~child~RED-CIRC
'childish'

Partial reduplication can also form pluralities; it is a reduplication of the first phoneme of the base, followed by /ə/. Some of these partial reduplications are combined with the affixation, and have another form in full reduplication. The following are examples of partial reduplication, which are mainly used in formal situation:

(34) *berapa* [bərapa] 'how much'	→	*be~berapa* RED~how.much 'some, several'		
(35) *daun* [daun] 'leaf'	→	*de~daun-an* PL~leaf-CIRC 'leaves'	~	*daun~daun* leaf~PL 'leaves'
(36) *pohon* [pɔhɔn] 'tree'	→	*pe~pohon-an* PL~tree-CIRC 'trees'	~	*pohon~pohon* tree~PL 'trees'

Finally, full reduplication of the verb derives the meaning of de-intensification, such as in (37) or repetition, such as in (38). All of the constructions are shared in both BI and CJI:

(37) *makan~makan*
eat~DEINT
'to have relaxed meal (usually in a great number of party)'

(38) *marah~marah*
angry ~ REP
'keep on being angry'

3.2.3 Composition

Of all of three word formation processes in Indonesian, composition is the least productive. It mainly affects noun and verbs. There may be idiomatic composition (as in 39a-c), non-idiomatic composition (40a-c) and semi-idiomatic composition (41a-c). All of them may be affixed, by which BI and CJI are distinguished:

(39a) **BI/CJI** *pecah* *belah*
break crack
'earthenware, crockery'

(39b) **BI**
mem-(p)ecah *belah*
ACT.TR-break crack
'to disintegrate'

(39c) **CJI**
m-(p)ecah *belah*
ACT.TR-break crack
'to disintegrate'

(40a) **BI/CJI** *anak* *cucu*
child grandchild
descendants'

(40b) **BI**
ber- anak *cucu*
ACT.INTR–child grandchild
'having descendants'

(40c) **CJI**
ng- anak *cucu*
ACT.INTR–child grandchild
'having descendants'

(41a) **BI/CJI** *banting* *harga*
throw.down price
'dumping'

(41b) **BI**
mem-banting *harga*
ACT.INTR-throw.down price
'to mark down prices'

(41c) **CJI**
Ø- banting *harga*
ACT.INTR-throw.down price
'to mark down prices'

3.3 The order of constituents in BI and CJI

This section compares BI and CJI with respect to word order (3.3.1), and special attention is devoted to a difference in the use of the possessive (3.3.2).

3.3.1 Word order in BI and CJI

In several constructions, BI and CJI share similar patterns of word ordering. However, overall, CJI employs a greater degree of flexibility with respect to word order.

a. Noun phrases

In BI and CJI the word order of the noun phrase is in general head-modifier, head-possessive. The modifier may be the noun (42) or the adjective (43), while the possessor may be the noun or the pronoun (44):[15]

	BI/CJI
(42)	*rumah kayu*
	house wood
	N N
	'wooden house'
(43)	*anak sehat*
	child healthy
	N Adj
	'healthy child'
(44)	*anak saya*
	child 1:POSS
	N Pron
	'my child'

In both BI and CJI, a demonstrative may follow the head and be put after the other modifier. However, in CJI it can be put before the head as well (45). In BI, the numeral and the classifier precede the head, which is not compulsory in CJI (46):

	BI/CJI	**CJI**
(45)	*anak itu*	*itu anak*
	child that	that child
	N Dem	Dem N
	'that child	'that child'

	BI	**BI/CJI**	**CJI**
(46)	*lima potong kue*	*lima kue*	*kue lima*
	five piece cake	five cake	cake five
	Num CLASS N	Num N	N Num
	'five pieces of cake'	'five pieces of cake'	'five pieces of cake'

b. Verb phrases

The word order in the verb phrase is generally is modifier-head, both in BI and CJI, most of which are adverbs, as in (47) and (48). BI and CJI only show lexical variation of the modifier:

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[15]However, it is not immediately clear that one would call this a compound.

	BI		CJI
(47)	*sedang mandi* PROG take.a.bath Adv V 'taking a bath'	~	*lagi mandi* PROG take.a.bath Adv V 'taking a bath'
(48)	*akan datang* FUT come Adv V 'will come'	~	*mau datang* FUT come Adv V 'will come'

c. Word order of negation

Both BI and CJI share a similar order of negation in noun and verb phrases. The negation of the noun is *bukan* [bukan] (49); while the negative elements used in the case of verbs is BI's *tidak* [tidak, tidaʔ] 'not,' or CJI's *enggak* [əŋgaʔ] *nggak* [ŋgaʔ] (50a-b), or *ndak* [ndaʔ], or *gak* [gaʔ] 'not'. The imperfective marker slightly differs: *belum* [bəlum] 'not yet' in BI and *belum* [bəlum], *belom* [bəlɔm] 'not yet' in CJI (51):

BI/CJI
(49) *bukan rumah*
NEG house
'not (a) house'

	BI		CJI
(50a)	*tidak makan* NEG eat 'not eat'	(50b)	*nggak makan* NEG eat 'not eat'

BI/CJI
(51) *belum makan*
IMPF eat
'not eat yet'

3.3.2 The function of *–nya* in BI and CJI

Even though we do not specifically focus on the enclitic *–nya* [ɳa], it is necessary to devote some discussion to this enclitic. Certain constructions with *–nya* distinguish CJI from BI. In BI, the enclitic *–nya* mainly functions as the third singular possessive pronoun, which is shared with CJI:

(52) *rumah-nya*
house-3:POSS
'his/her house'

In CJI, -*nya* has a different feature specification, and thus its use is different from BI. Sneddon (2006) calls it *ligature*, more or less associated with a music notation symbol of *ligature.* In (53) and (54), -*nya* is glossed as a general possessive marker in CJI variants:

	BI/CJI	**CJI**
(53)	*rumah-ku*	*rumah-nya aku*
	house-1:POSS	house-POSS 1:POSS
	'my house'	'my house'
(54)	*rumah-nya*	*rumah-nya dia*
	house-3:POSS	house–POSS 3:POSS
	'his/her house'	'his/her house'

Unlike BI, -*nya* in CJI functions as a deverbalizer, or, following Ewing (2005), gerund marker such as in (55) and (56):

(55) *makan-nya lama*
eat-DEF long
'the eating takes so long'

(56) *masak-nya sendiri nggak susah*
cook-DEF REFL NEG difficult
'the cooking (itself) is not difficult'

–*nya* in CJI also functions as possessor in topic-comment clause (see also in Sneddon, 1996:278; Englebretson, 2003:159) such as in (57):

(57) *aku baju-nya baru beli*
1SG dress-POSS new buy
'*my* dress is newly bought'

3.4 Clauses in BI and CJI

The following sections discuss both verbal and non-verbal predicates, but the focus is more on the verbal predicate clauses, related to the main focus of the present study.

3.4.1 Clauses with non-verbal predicate

Non-verbal predicates can be nominal (58b), adjectival (59a-b), or numeral (60) phrases. In BI, the copula *adalah* (58a), which is equivalent to the English verb *to be*, may (but need not) precede the NP predicates. This copula is rarely used in CJI, but instances can be found, especially when there is a topic-shift in conversation (see Sneddon's data, 2006):

(58a) **BI** : *Dia* | *adalah* *mahasiswa* *UI*
3SG COP student UI
S P
'he/she is an UI student'

(58b) **BI/CJI** : *Dia* | *mahasiswa* *UI*
3SG student UI
S P
'he/she is an UI student'

(59a) **BI** : *Orang itu* | *sangat baik*
man that very good
S P
'that man is very kind'

(59b) **BI/CJI** : *Orang itu* | *baik* *sekali*
man that good very
S P
'that man is very kind'

(60) **BI/CJI** : *Murid* *saya* | *dua* *orang*
student 1:POSS two Pers.CLASS
S P
'my students are two' ~ 'I have two students'

Apart from the aforementioned categories, predicates in BI and CJI can also be prepositional phrases (57), or adverbial phrases (58).

(61) **BI/CJI** : *Aku* | *di* *rumah* (s)*aja*
1SG PREP house only
S P
'I stay at home anyway'

(62) **BI/CJI** : *Anak* *kecil* | *boleh*
child small can
S P
'the small child is allowed (to do s.t)'

3.4.2 Clauses with verbal predicates

Verbal predicates (intransitive or transitive) can be mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic. This section will show the similarities and differences between BI and CJI in terms of the marking of intransitivity and transitivity.

3.4.2.1 Intransitive clauses

BI and CJI share many mono-morphemic verbs; for example *tidur* 'to sleep,' or *bangun* 'to wake up,' as exemplified in (63) and (64):

(63) *Adik* | *tidur*
younger.sibling sleep
S P
'little brother/sister is sleeping'

(64) *Kakak* | *belum* *bangun*
older.sibling IMPF wake.up
S P
'older brother/sister has not woken yet'

The poly-morphemic verbs in intransitive clauses in BI are usually marked by prefix *ber-* (65a); some are marked by prefix *meN-* (66a). Meanwhile, in CJI, there may be a zero prefix (65b) or a nasal prefix (66b):

	BI		**CJI**
(65a)	*Mereka ber-jalan* 3PL ACT.INTR-walk 'they walk'	(65b)	*Mereka Ø-jalan* 3PL ACT.INTR-walk 'they walk'
(66a)	*Bayi itu men-(t)angis* baby that ACT.INTR -cry 'the child cries'	(66b)	*Bayi itu n-(t)angis* baby that ACT.INTR-cry 'the child cries'

3.4.2.2 Transitive Clauses

Verbs in BI allow active transitive marking, using the verbal prefix *meN-* or the affix combination *meN-i* or *meN-kan* as in (67a) and (68a). As with the intransitive verbs, the presence of the transitive marker—especially the prefix—is not obligatory in CJI. The marker may be the nasal prefix or the zero prefix, as in (67b-c) and (68b-c):

BI	**CJI**
(67a) *Ibu men-(t)idur-kan Gia* mother ACT.TR-sleep-CAUS Gia 'mother put Gia to bed'	(67b) *Ibu n-(t)idur in Gia* mother ACT.TR-sleep–CAUS Gia 'mother puts Gia to bed' (67c) *Ibu Ø-tidur -in Gia* mother ACT.TR-sleep -CAUS Gia 'mother puts Gia to bed'

(68a)
Ibu *mem-bangun-kan* *Aska*
mother ACT.TR- wake up-CAUS Aska
'mother wakes Aska up'

(68b)
Ibu *m-bangun-in* *Aska*
mother ACT.TR-wake up-CAUS Aska
'mother wakes Aska up'

(68c)
Ibu *Ø-bangun-in* *Aska*
mother ACT.TR-wake up-CAUS Aska
'mother wakes Aska up'

3.5 Active and Passive Voice in BI and CJI

BI and CJI share similar active constructions, with a difference in the morpho-phonology of the verbal markers used. In the grammatical description of Indonesian grammar, two passive constructions are distinguished (see Darjowidjojo, 1978; Sneddon, 1996; Alwi *et al.*, 2000). The first type is characterized by the prefix *di-* and a post-verbal third person agent (see example (69) in BI and (70) in CJI); note that the difference between both varieties is the use of adverbs. The second type is characterized by a pre-verbal actor/agent, followed by the base (71).[16] Both types of passive have a corresponding active form, the *meN-* form (Sie, 1989: 50; see also more types of the Indonesian passive in his work):

(69) **BI** : *Surat* *sedang* *di-tulis* *(oleh)* *Budi*
letter PROG PASS.TR-write by Budi
'a letter is written by Budi'

(70) **CJI** : *Surat* *lagi* *di-tulis* *(sama)* *Budi*
letter PROG PASS.TR-write by Budi
'a letter is written by Budi'

(71) **BI/CJI** : *Surat* *itu* *belum* *saya* *Ø-baca*
letter that IMPF 1SG Ø-read
'I haven't read the letter'

The order of constituents of the passive clause in CJI displays more possibilities. While in BI, the actor needs to be a third person pronoun or noun (in the first type of passive), CJI allows the first and the second pronouns in such construction, as in (72):

(72) **CJI :** *Surat* *itu* *di-tulis* *(sama)* *saya*
letter that PASS.TR-write by 1SG
'the letter is written by me'

---

[16]The translation in English for the second type is similar to the active voice.

Moreover, while the second type of passive in BI stipulates that the adverb precedes the agent, this is not the case in the CJI, as (73) shows:

(73) **CJI:** *Surat itu saya belum Ø-baca*
letter that 1SG IMPF Ø-read
'I haven't read the letter'

3.6 Type of utterances: declarative, interrogative, and imperative

BI and CJI share almost similar constructions for declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Nevertheless, as already observed above, both are different in terms of lexical choice. Some examples of declarative utterances have been presented in the Section 3.4 and 3.5, in which constructions in CJI display more possibilities.

As far as interrogatives are concerned, both varieties share question intonation and several *WH*-words, namely *apa* 'what,' *siapa* 'who,' *kapan* 'when,' *mana* 'where,' and *berapa* 'how much.' Other *WH*-words are different in form, such as *bagaimana* (BI) ~ *gimana* (CJI) 'how,' *mengapa* (BI) ~ *kenapa* (CJI) 'why,' *sedang apa* (BI) ~ (*lagi*) *ngapain* (CJI) 'what is X doing.' CJI also has certain constructions, such as *kok* 'how come,' which are not shared with BI. Thus, for example:

BI
(74a) *Meng-apa lama sekali?*
ACT-what long very
'how come it takes so long

CJI
(74b) *Kenapa lama sekali?*
why long very
'how come it takes so long'

(74c) *Kok lama sekali?*
WH.FOC long very
'how come it takes so long'

Both BI and CJI shares similar construction in imperatives, in terms of the presence of prefixless verbs (75a-b) and (76). The particle *–lah* is used in BI construction (75a):

BI
(75a) *Ambil-lah buku itu*
take-FOC.IMP book that
'take the book'

BI/CJI
(75b) *Ambil buku itu*
take book that
'take the book'

(76) *Tolong buka pintu-nya*
help open door-DEF
'please open the door'

In BI and CJI imperatives also show a difference in lexical choice. For example, *silakan* 'please' or *mari* 'come on' are used in formal situations (BI), while *yuk* 'please, c'mon' is used in a less formal situations (CJI):

(77)	**BI**	**CJI**
	Silakan masuk	*Yuk masuk*
	please enter	COHRT enter
	'please come in'	'please come in'
(78)	*Mari makan*	*Yuk makan*
	let.us eat	COHRT eat
	'let's eat'	'let's eat'

3.7 More on Differences between BI and CJI

Ellipsis, omission, and incomplete sentences are common features in CJI (Sneddon, 2006:109). This means that CJI, compared with BI, requires more shared-knowledge between interlocutors in a conversation (see also the examples 1a-b in Section 3.2). Some CJI words may be distinguished from BI by their pronunciation. Final closed syllable [-a-] in BI is replaced by [-ə-] in CJI;[17] a diphthong in BI is replaced by monophthongization in CJI (which is already discussed in the section 3.1). BI's initial [s-] and [h-] may be omitted in CJI. An overview of sound-based lexical differences between BI and CJI are presented in the Table 3.5 (some of them are already presented in Chapter 1, Section 1.3).

However, it should be noted that the aforementioned patterns are unpredictable. Pattern number 1, for example, does not apply to *demam* [də-mam] 'cold,' or *kurang* [ku-raŋ] 'less.' Pattern number 5, does not apply to *jahat* [ja-hat] 'evil' or *sehat* [se-hat] 'healthy.' In some contexts, diphthongs are still maintained.

[17]As remarked by Sneddon (2006:17), the schwa in this position reflects [ə] in earlier Malay; this became [a] in Classical Malay, which is reflected in BI.

Table 3.5
Sound-based Lexical Differences between BI and CJI

	BI → CJI	BI	CJI	
1	[-a-] → [-ə-][18]	*pin-jam* *tə-man* *də-kat*	*pin-jəm* *tə-mən* *də-kət*	'borrow' 'friend' 'close'
2	[-ay] → [-ɛ] [-aw] → [-ɔ]	*ca-pay* *sam-pay* *ka-law*	*ca-pɛ* *sam-pɛ* *ka-lɔ*	'tired' 'until', 'to', 'arrive' 'if'
3	[s-] → [Ø]	*su-dah* *sa-ja*	*u-dah* *a-ja*	'already' 'only'
4	[h]→ [Ø]	*ha-bis* *haŋ-cur*	*a-bis* *aŋ-cur*	'all gone' 'broken'
5	[h-] → [Ø]	*ja-hit* *li-hat*	*ja-it* *li-(y)at*	'sew' 'look, see'

In CJI, there are some pragmatic particles which are not shared with BI; for example *deh* [dɛh], *dong* [dɔŋ], *kok* [kɔk], or *sih* [sIh]. The existence of these particles evokes a specific meaning. In BI the same pragmatic meaning may be expressed differently. Differences are exemplified in (79a-b), (80a-c) and (81a-b):

	BI	CJI
(79a)	*Se-benar-nya dia tidak marah* ADV-true-CIRC 3SG NEG angry 's/he is actually not angry'	(79b) *Dia nggak marah kok* 3SG NEG angry FOC 's/he is actually not angry'
(80a)	*Silakan men-coba!* please ACT- try 'please try (it)'	(80b) *Coba -in dɛh!* try-IMP IMP 'please try (it)'
		(80c) *Coba-in dong!* try-IMP IMP 'please try (it)'
(81a)	*Meng-apa lama sekali?* ACT-what long very 'how come it takes so long?'	(81b) *Lama bener sih?* long true WH.FOC 'how come it takes so long?'

[18] The arrow shows the replacements from BI to CJI; however, see also footnote 17.

Both BI and CJI share many nouns, which are considered as unmarked words. In this dissertation, we concentrate on the differences in lexical choice. Some of these words, which are generally used, are presented in Table 3.6. It is possible that the speakers use BI words in less formal situations. However, the more casual the situation, the more frequently CJI words are used by the speaker (see also Sneddon, 2002, some of them are presented in Chapter 1, Section 1.3 as well).

Table 3.6.
List of Other Lexical Differences between BI and CJI[19]

Categories	BI	CJI	
Verb	*mem-buat*	*bikin*	'make'
	mem -beri	*kasih*	'give'
	ber-bicara	*ngomong*	'talk'
	ber-kata	*bilang*	'tell'
Adjective	*besar*	*gede*	'big'
	bagus	*keren*	'awesome'
	cantik/tampan	*cakep*	'beautiful/handsome'
Adverb	*sedang*	*lagi*	'(PROG.)'
	akan	*bakal*	'will (FUT.)'
	nanti	*entar*	'later'
	tidak	*nggak*	'no', 'not'
	hanya	*cuma*	'only'
	seperti	*kayak*	'look like'
	sering	*suka*	'often'
	memang	*emang*	'indeed'
	sekali	*banget*	'very'
Preposition	*kepada*	*sama*	'to'
	dengan	*sama*	'with'
	dan	*sama*	'and'
	oleh	*sama*	'by'
	untuk	*buat*	'for'
	atau	*apa*	'or'
	ketika	*pas, waktu*	'when'
Conjungtion	*bahwa*	*kalau*	'that'
	karena	*soal-nya*	'because'
	supaya	*biar*	'so that'
Pronouns	*saya, aku*	*saya, aku, gue*	1SG
	anda, kam	*kamu, (e)lo*	2SG
Interrogative	*mengapa*	*kenapa*	'why'
	sedang apa	*lagi ng-apa-in*	'what is/are X doing'
	bagaimana	*gimana*	'how'

[19] See also the Appendix 1: The Indonesian Orthography

3.8 Summary

This chapter presents a comparison of BI and CJI, including phonological, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic aspects. It shows that at some points, BI and CJI share certain features. On the other hand, both are also distinguished by certain conditions, in which CJI seems more flexible and more context-dependent. While BI (prescriptively) in general requires well-formed construction (see Example 1b), CJI constructions in daily conversation occur in truncated sentences, which require shared knowledge between interlocutors. As Sneddon (2006:109) suggests, ellipsis and omission are common in CJI.

As it is mentioned in Chapter 1, we focus on the differences between BI and CJI with respect to morphology. A more detailed description on morphological variables in this study will be presented in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4
Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology and data collection of our study on the acquisition of stylistic variation by Jakarta children. Section 4.1 presents the methodological framework of this sociolinguistic study of child language acquisition in relation to its research aims. Section 4.2 explains how we approached the children in their school environments. Section 4.3 sketches how we collected the data on the children's personal and linguistic backgrounds. It includes subsections on the observations of the children in school environments (4.3.1), the personal information questionnaire (4.3.2), and the parental questionnaire on language use and language attitude (4.3.3). In Section 4.4, our pilot study of child speech data collection is discussed, with special focus paid to the consequences for the actual data collection techniques. Section 4.5 discusses in detail the research methodology of the children's speech data, which are the core sources used in this dissertation. It includes discussion on the instruments and variables, as well as the design of the study, participants, experimenters and the settings. The last section will discuss the transcription and data coding; included in this section is description on the coding of utterances as BI or CJI. This chapter ends with a brief summary and sketch of the following chapters (4.6).

4.1 A sociolinguistic approach to child language acquisition

Roberts (1994) has already suggested that studying young children's linguistic variation is a real challenge due to the following. First, it is extremely difficult to collect sufficient data from young children to be able to analyze their variation patterns statistically. Second, it is difficult to catch the children early enough in their development of grammatical forms, in order "to examine their earliest emergence while at the same time waiting until the child is verbal enough to produce adequate amounts of data for analysis" (Roberts 1994:3).

The sociolinguistic interview (Labov 1966) has been a popular data collection technique for gathering speech data from adults and adolescents, during the first wave of variationist research (Eckert 2012). Speech styles were ranked from informal to formal, based on the amount of attention paid to the speech itself (the higher the attention to speech, the more formal). The

traditional sociolinguistic interview consisted of face-to-face interviews about personal experiences, reading passages, word lists, and minimal pairs. Labov (1972:209) considers the sociolinguistic interview as "…the only way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of any one person [...]." However, during the second and third variationist wave (see Eckert 2012), spontaneous speech data obtained an almost royal status in the sociolinguistic study of language variation and change. Sociolinguists have mainly researched the speech of adults and – to a lesser extend – adolescents.

In studies of the development of sociolinguistic variation, especially in focusing on young children's production, the interview techniques had to be adapted, depending on the aims and the variables to be examined. Roberts (1994, 1996, and 1997) used play-interviews, picture-naming tasks and "reading" sessions in order to examine non-standard phonological variables of American English. Nardy (2008) investigated variable liaisons by young francophone children. She employed story-telling sessions, in which children had to tell a story to an unknown adult, in order to examine the use of the variables in a formal situation. She recorded (with a wireless microphone) children's free interaction within their peer group to examine the use of the variable in an informal situation. Chevrot *et al.* (2011) employed picture naming tasks to elicit children's production of obligatory and variable liaisons, by asking children to produce word1-word2 sequences in response to pictures shown to them. Menezes and Gomes (2012) conducted interviews with young Brazilian-Portuguese children in the presence of their primary caregiver or in kindergarten in order to elicit realizations of coda /r/. They also used figures, toys, and children's books to elicit conversation style speech.

Roberts (1994, 2002) also included caregivers' talk in order to investigate the adult's influence on the children's use of the examined variables. Smith *et al.* (2007 and 2009) compared child-caregivers and adult-adult interactions to examine the acquisition of a Scottish dialect. De Houwer (2003) recorded interactions in three Dutch-speaking families in Antwerp, in the absence of the investigator, in order to examine discourse elements used by the youngest child in each family.

As mentioned before, the main aim of the current study is to explain the use of Bahasa Indonesia (BI) and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia (CJI) by Jakarta children of middle-class families between the ages of three and five, before they attend formal schooling. In particular, we examine the children's development of their capability to adapt the choice of BI and CJI and the use of specific morphological variables to different situations.

This study uses interviews of children in conditioned situations in order to gain insight into young children's development of sociolinguistic competence. Our focus is on the use of morphological variation in BI and CJI. In our interviews, formal and informal situations are created by varying the interviewer and the settings (see Section 4.5.5), so as to elicit children's ability to linguistically distinguish formal from informal situations. Pictured scenarios (see 4.5.1) are used to elicit children's spontaneous production of the variables in our study in numbers that are sufficient for statistical analysis. In order to examine children's development of BI and CJI, we conduct the experiments during two different periods of time.

This study deals with very young children between three and five years old. Therefore, several points have to be taken into consideration. First, children are viewed as social actors who are "experts" on their own lives (Fargas-Malet *et al*., 2010: 175) and they themselves provide the data we need. To overcome the observer's paradox, the children need time to familiarize with newcomers. Therefore, it is important for the researchers — who will be present for some time in children's daily activities — to gain the children's acceptance. Second, as this study employs experimental techniques to obtain data from children, it is important to make children familiar with the equipment and research instruments. Third, the experiment is designed to elicit a set of morphological variables. Therefore, questions to elicit the examined variables should be constructed in such a way that the children can understand them. Fourth, very young children (the youngest ones are only 3 year old) have a short attention span and variable moods. Therefore, the experimental tasks should be tailored to these characteristics.

This study is conducted in a school setting. After giving permission to conduct the study, the school aided in getting the consent of the parents, which enabled us to conduct longitudinal research with a large group of children during a limited amount of time.

In the study of developmental sociolinguistic competence, it is important to have information on language input from those who are close to the children in order to have a better understanding of the children's language use (Slösberg-Andersen, 1990; Foster, 1990; Roberts, 1994 and 2005; Saville-Troike, 2003). In this study, in order to have an illustration of children's social background and language(s) input, we obtained supporting data from observations and parental questionnaires.

4.2 Approaching the children and their school environment

We recruited the participants of this study from schools in *Jabodetabek*. In order to find the children, our first step was to find schools and to approach their management. The second step was to obtain permission from the parents and the third one was earning acceptance from the children. This section discusses how we approached the schools, the parents and the children. Finding and selecting schools which would be suited for this study was quite challenging, and it will become clear that research on linguistic variation of children in Jakarta is not an easy job.[1]

The first step in our plan was to make a list of schools and approach the ones that meet our criteria:

- Indonesian as the main media of instructions[2]
- Playgroup and kindergarten under the same management and in the same school building
- Children from middle-class families
- The affiliation of the schools representing the social demographics of Jakarta
- Situated in *Jabodetabek.*

Seven schools met the requirements of this study and were contacted. Two schools refused. One of them indicated that they were difficult to be approached. We were able to reach them by phone, but they did not accept to discuss more details about participation. The other school's management reacted positively, but the teachers declined participation when we informed them that the researchers would mingle with the children. Two other schools were willing to participate, but they had very tight schedules for the children, and these could not be reconciled with our own schedules for data collection. Three schools, with three different affiliations, agreed to participate: a public, an Islamic, and a Catholic school. These schools were already familiar with observers from various institutions. The public school also permitted us to conduct the pilot study.

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[1]A similar difficulty was experienced by the Max Planck Institute, Jakarta Station when they conducted a research study with many young children at school in the *Jabodetabek*. Middle-class schools in general are difficult to approach. Having access to school (e.g., by knowing a director or teacher) is an important factor in gaining acceptance to conduct the research there (Erni Farida Ginting, 2013, in personal communication).

[2]It is difficult to find middle-class schools that only use Indonesian as the medium of instruction. Nowadays, schools in big cities have a weekly session introducing English to young children. At least, there is a session in which children learn to sing English songs. Many children are familiar with *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star*, and *ABC* (with English pronunciation).

After getting the permission from the three schools, the next step was selecting the children. This was also the very first step of our observation as we started to observe the general characteristics of the children and their social environment and behavior in the educational setting. The overall focus of this study is on young children under age 5 who are mainly learning in an informal situation, but have already some formal language instruction at school (for the characteristics of the Indonesian educational system, see Chapter 2). The children in our study had to meet the following criteria:

- Aged between 3;0 and 4;5 at the moment of first data collection
- Second generation acquirers of Indonesian as a first language
- Middle-class family
- Talkative
- Cooperative with other people.

The management and teachers of the schools played an important role in the selection of the children. They provided information about children's date of birth and their progress at school. The teachers and the headmasters also provided information on the character of each child and her/his family background. However, the actual selection of participants was done by us.

During the selection process, we began trying to get acquainted with the children. At the same time we proceeded to get permission from the parents. The headmistresses of the schools and the teachers took initiative regarding the parents, informing them about our presence in their child's classroom and about the observation before, during, and after class. None of the parents objected. Their acceptance apparently was also supported by their observation of our behavior. Some of them were present in class – accompanying their child who was not in a good mood (see Section 5.1 on the presence of parents at school) – when we were sitting and playing together with the children. We also introduced ourselves to the parents, and took time to sit and talk with them. The supporting letter from the headmistresses (and the head of the foundation) helped a lot when we sent the consent forms to the parents. However, when the selected children's parents were given the consent form, four of them did not reply. After we had asked them twice, they finally sent a blank form. We interpreted this as a refusal to let their child participate in the study.

We were aware that, in conducting research in a school setting with very young children, we had to be careful in approaching the children. As Fargas-Malet *et al.,* (2010) suggests, children might interpret experimental tasks as school work, and perceive the investigator as a "teacher," leading them to

feel pressured to give the "right" answers to questions (p.178). However, it appeared that approaching the children who participated in the study was generally not difficult. The teachers in all three of the schools played an important role in introducing the researchers in the classroom. Therefore, it was easy for us to mingle with the children in all activities while observing the children and selecting the candidates to be involved in the study. However, since there were some different characters among the children, it took some time to be accepted by some of the children. In total, there are 74 selected children in this study. Of the 74 children, only 63 fit all of the requirements in this study (see Section 4.5.3).

4.3 Obtaining information on children's personal information and linguistic input

In the study of the acquisition of variation, Roberts (2005) proposes the Language Acquisition Environment[3] as a partner of the Language Acquisition Device, in which the essential components are children's earliest interactions with the caregivers. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) and Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) also suggest that local cultural processes influence children's language behavior. Saville-Troike (2003) suggests that in research on children in educational settings observation should not only include the school and its environment, but also children's home and social environment, as those have the greatest affective and linguistic impact on the child. In the study of the acquisition of variation, insight into the child's linguistic environment is of crucial importance.

In order to have an overall understanding of children's language use, we collected information on their social background by means of observations and parental questionnaires. During our presence at the schools we observed the interactions between the children and their teachers, peer group members, and caregivers (Section 4.3.1). We administered two kinds of parental questionnaires. The first one was a children's personal information form, filled out by the parents and distributed after children were selected (Section 4.3.2). The second one was on parents' language use and attitudes (Section 4.3.3). Results of the observation and parental questionnaires are presented in Chapter 5.

4.3.1 Observation of the children at school

During our presence in the schools, we observed the interactions between children, their teachers, the helpers, their peer group, and their caregivers.

[3]It is equally similar to Bruner's (1983) proposal of Language Acquisition Support System that represents what caregivers and the environment provide.

Our observation includes children's topic of conversation, especially when they interact with teachers, helpers and friends. In the public school--especially in playgroup—it was not until two weeks after selection that we started the observation and conducted the pilot study; the researchers took two to five days of sitting-in in each class and mingling to make the children familiar with them. The observation also helped the researchers to get a good impression of the relationship between the teachers and the children.

The schools allowed us to mingle with the children, inside and outside the classroom. We were also allowed to play collectively with the children, join them in listening to the teachers, help them during mealtime, and play with them individually. The latter enabled the researchers to observe the children individually as well. When we played or sat together with the children, we could observe children's favorite topics of conversation. We also observed the language they used. We played with the selected children individually—mainly *lego* or reading books together. While we read books together, we also observed the extent to which children use BI and CJI, and especially on how they used our examined morphological variables. Indirectly, we had an opportunity to observe children's mastery of the lexical choice as well. By the time children were more familiar with us, they occasionally asked us for help—which helped us to understand them better. Regularly, we watched them from a distance to observe children's interaction without adults' interference. Once the children were familiar enough with us, we introduced them to our equipment, namely the voice and video recorder. We also prepared our pilot study (see Section 4.4) by introducing puppets and some pictures to the children. Children were very curious about our equipment, especially the voice recorder. Whenever we held the equipment, they approached us. To avoid their awareness of being observed, we did not use our voice recorder during the observation sessions.

Outside and inside the classroom, we observed the interactions between the children and their teacher, and between them and the helpers. As we were allowed to sit in the classroom, it was easy to see how teachers and children talked to each other. To avoid the observer's paradox, we sometimes eavesdropped on their conversations while preparing our equipment — especially in the morning before classes.

As there were helpers around the children, we also observed how children interacted with them. Sometimes, when many children needed help — especially after mealtime and after playing in the playground — we aided the helper in taking care of the children. While helping the children, we also eavesdropped on other children's conversations with the helpers.

We further listened in on caregivers' conversations with the children, particularly before they brought the children to their teachers. Before attending their classes, we observed the school, its surroundings and the daily activities: how each child started the day after their caregiver dropped them off at school and how they left school and were picked up by their caregivers. For some time, we also sat together with mothers, fathers, and caregivers in the waiting room before or after class—pretending that we were waiting for someone, but really just in order to obtain some information about the children. We were eager to get information on how they were raised at home.

4.3.2 Parental Questionnaire 1: Children's Personal Information

Another important source of information on children's social background is their personal information, obtained from a questionnaire (see Appendix 2A/2B) filled out by the parents. The form consists of four sections. The first section details basic information, such as the name of the child, the child's place, and date of birth, and the birth order of the child. The second section consists of information on the child's language use at home, the other caregivers (if any) and their language use, and amount of time spent with the child. The third section seeks to gain information on the parents' occupation, their first language, and the time they spend with their child. The fourth section focuses on parents' attitude about BI.

4.3.3 Parental Questionnaire 2: Language Use and Language Attitudes

Chapter 2 described the complex language situation in Jakarta due to its multi-ethnic population. There are at least two Indonesian varieties — Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, foreign languages (English, Chinese, and Arabic—which is mainly used in religious practices by Muslims), and regional languages (Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, *etc.*). In fact, this is the situation that the children in this study hear, or overhear, on a daily basis: several languages from the very beginning of their life. Therefore, it is important to examine how they learn from the ones who are close to them. We constructed a questionnaire (see Appendix 3A/3B) to obtain information on how children acquire the languages through their interaction with their parents. The questionnaires were distributed in the children's school during the second period of data collection, to 351 parents. Two hundreds and seven questionnaires (59%) were returned, and 58 of them are the parents of the children who participate in this study. Unfortunately, our attempts to get back all questionnaires about the children in our study were not successful: we lack information for 5 children.

The questionnaire focuses on the language use and language attitude of the parents.[4] The first section deals with language use; the second with language attitudes; and the last section with parents' personal information, included is their ethnic group, their spouse's ethnic group, and their use of foreign and regional languages. Since our main focus is BI and CJI input, we treat both varieties equally as different languages.[5] Therefore, the languages examined in this survey are BI, CJI, foreign, and regional language in Jakarta. The questionnaires were distributed to all the parents in the schools in the second period of data collection (see also Section 4.5.3 on design in this study).

In order to examine parents' language choice in interactions with their children, we put forward three categories of interactions, which are mainly based on our observations of children's daily conversation with adults at school and at home. The three categories are (i) parents educating child, (ii) parents teaching child appropriate language behavior, and (iii) children's favorite conversation topics. These categories are spread over nineteen questions on interactions between the parents and their child in specific situations.

In the category of "parents educating child", the following items can be found (with between brackets the abbreviations used in the presentation of the results):

- to admonish (ADMONISH)
- to advise (ADVISE)
- to ask the children to pray (PRAY)
- to console (CONSOLE)
- to forbid (FORBID)

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[4]The study is part of the project Jakarta Parents' Language Use and Language Attitude (Kushartanti, Van de Velde, Everaert, and Lauder [2010]), financed by Directorate of National Higher Education (DIKTI) through the Faculty of Humanities Universitas Indonesia. The result was presented in Depok, West Java, December 2010.

[5]We also conducted another pilot study, distributing questionnaires to parents of different educational backgrounds. Five mothers and five fathers participated in the survey. After they sent the filled-in questionnaire, we contacted them by phone to get feedback. We also asked them whether CJI is similar to Betawi Malay. An interesting gender difference showed up. While all fathers said that there is no difference between CJI and Betawi Malay, mothers said they are different languages; in fact, all mothers said that "…Betawi is used by lower class people, while CJI is the language we use now." The answer suggests that they have a positive attitude towards CJI, as also indicated by previous researchers (see also Oetomo, 1989 and Sneddon, 2003, 2006).

- to praise (PRAISE)
- to show anger (ANGER).

The category "parent teaching child appropriate language behavior" contains the following items, to teach the child how:

- to apologize to an adult (APO-AD)
- to apologize to the child's friend (APO-FR)
- to ask for help (HELP)
- to get permission (PERMIS)
- to greet (GREET)
- to thank (THANK)
- to offer something (OFFER).

In the category "children's favorite conversation topics," there are the following items in which parents explain and tell about:

- God (GOD)
- scientific phenomena (SCIENCE)
- mystical phenomena (MYSTIC)
- parent's personal experience (EXPER)
- fairy tales (TALE).

Hymes (1974) suggests that an important factor in communication is the participants of an interaction. The absence or presence of other audience members, especially the bystander or auditor, who have access to what speakers are saying and whose presence is recognized by the interlocutors (see also Bell, 1984; Clark, 1994), may influence language choice. In the questionnaire, the presence of auditors is integrated as a factor in language choice. We specified seven auditors: the child's friend, the child's teacher, nanny or servant, paternal grandparents and maternal grandparents,[6] parents' friend or relatives, and nobody's presence. In each context, there are four language choices: the foreign language (FL), the regional language (RL), Bahasa Indonesia (BI), and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI). For each option, the respondent had to indicate whether the language is frequently, sometimes, or very rarely, used in the given situation and context. We will only briefly discuss the results of this questionnaire in Section 5.4, but the questionnaire is also discussed as background for the interpretation of the linguistic behavior of specific children.

The parents' attitudes towards BI, CJI, RL, and FL were investigated on the basis of four statements about the given language:

- it should be learned at a very young age (YOUNG)

[6]We made a distinction between paternal and maternal grandparents as inter-ethnic marriage is quite common and often results in differences in (regional) language choices between both sides of the family.

- it is a convenient language to use in the interaction with the child (CONVENIENT)
- it is an awkward language to use in the interaction with the child (AWKWARD)
- the child's use makes the parent feel proud (PROUD).

In total, there are sixteen statements (four conditions multiplied by four languages). The parents had to tick one out of five options on a Likert Scale:

1. totally disagree
2. partially disagree
3. neither disagree nor agree
4. partially agree
5. totally agree

The main results of this questionnaire are discussed in Section 5.4.

4.4 Pilot study of children's speech data collection

In Section 4.2, we pointed out some of the problems of data collection in the study of the acquisition of sociolinguistic variation in young children. This section reports on the pilot study we conducted three weeks before the start of the actual data collection, and will discuss its participants (4.4.1), the development of its research instruments (4.4.2), the familiarization of the children with the research instruments and equipment (4.4.3), and the interview procedure (4.4.4). Section 4.4.5 point outs the main problems encountered in the pilot and its consequences for the actual data collection.

4.4.1 Participants

Eighteen children of the public school, 9 boys and 9 girls, aged 3;0-4;5 participated in the pilot study. All parents had given their consent form and filled in the questionnaire with the children's personal information (see 4.3.2). Thirteen of these children also participated in the actual study, which started three weeks later.

4.4.2 Instruments

For the story telling task, a scenario was constructed based on Elmo and Ernie, the well-known Sesame Street characters. A4-sized water-colored and laminated pictures were composed as a scenario. Several lines of sentences on the plot, typed on a piece of paper. The paper was adhered to the bottom side of each laminated picture. Hand puppets of Elmo and Ernie were used as well.

The characters and hand puppets used in the pilot study were chosen based on several assumptions. First, Elmo and Ernie are widely known by almost all children in the world. As the children in this study came from Jakarta middle-class families, we assumed that they were already familiar with both characters, from books, toys, clothing, and foreign television programs. Second, nowadays there is Sesame Street Indonesia—Jalan Sesama—as well, and both characters regularly play in its episodes. Several adaptations were made, including the language use. Both characters use BI. The main setting of Jalan Sesama is in Jakarta. Even though the program mainly uses BI, there are several characters having certain regional accents. We assumed that, if Elmo and Ernie were associated to this program, the children would not be bothered by Elmo and Ernie's language. Third, all of the children in this study were familiar with puppet shows at school. We assumed that the use of hand puppets would support the interaction between the interviewed child and the interviewer in the interview settings.

Our focus is on the use of BI and CJI verbal morphemes in different situations. To elicit the targeted words, we designed our questions into two different versions, a formal BI one and an informal CJI one, both in singular and plural forms. The BI and CJI versions of the questions are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1
Questions to Elicit the Morphological Variables in BI and CJI

'What is she/he doing?' / 'What are they doing?'	
BI	**CJI**
Dia sedang apa? 3SG PROG what 'what is s/he doing?'	*Dia lagi ng-apa-in?* 3SG PROG ACT-what-ACT 'what is s/he doing?'
Mereka sedang apa? 3PL PROG what 'what are they doing?'	*Mereka lagi ng-apa-in* 3PL PROG ACT-what-ACT 'what are they doing?'

The main examined variables are the BI verbal active prefix *meN-* and *ber-*, including their allomorphs and the variants in CJI, namely the verbal active prefix nasal (symbolized by *N-*) and its allomorph, and prefix /*nge-*/ [ŋə-]. We also examine the zero prefix /Ø-/ which corresponds to the examined BI prefixes. A detailed description on these prefixes is presented in Chapter 7.

4.4.3 Familiarizing the children with the research instruments and equipment

Our design is to elicit BI and CJI in formal and informal situations. Therefore we have different interviewers for each situation, one consistently using BI and the other CJI. From the very beginning of their presence at the school, they systematically played their role as a BI and CJI speaker respectively. A detailed description of the interviewers is presented in Section 4.5.3.

We spent three weeks in the public school (where the younger children attend school three days a week) to get familiar with the children before starting the pilot study. Once the children were familiar with the presence of the interviewers at school, they were introduced to the research instruments and equipment. A week before the pilot study was conducted, the interviewers started to show some of the pictures used in the pilot study and did some role-playing as if the children were being interviewed and video-taped. The hand puppets, Elmo and Ernie, were also introduced. To avoid a feeling of discrimination, the children not participating in the pilot also joined in role-playing. The pilot study was conducted a week later.

4.4.4 Procedures

To conduct the formal-style pilot interview, the school provided a vacant classroom. For the informal-style pilot interview, one of the school's terraces was used. In the formal interview, the interviewed child and the interviewer sat side-by-side at a table, while in the informal interview both sat side-by-side on the floor. In each situation, the child was interviewed by a different interviewer. A video camera and a small audio recorder (Zoom H4) were installed in front of the interviewer and child. Sometimes, the interviewer held the recorder in her hand. Nine children were interviewed in the formal situation, nine in the informal situation.

The interviewer opened the conversation, commenced the story and led the child to follow the plot and explore the pictures. She held the Elmo puppet, and used it as if Elmo was the speaker. Beforehand, she had told the child that Elmo wanted to share a story with the child. Therefore, instead of using "he" or "him" to refer to Elmo in the picture, she used "I." The child was asked to hold Ernie, and to pretend as if he were Ernie. The session ended with acknowledgement.

At some points in the scenario, the interviewer pointed out certain activities in the picture and asked questions to elicit verbs consisting of the target morphological variables. The child's task was to answer the questions, on

behalf of Ernie. Figure 4.1 is one of the pictures. At the left hand side we added the questions and the targeted answers (in BI).

	**ForIn**: *Nah, untunglah aku menemukan tempat yang cukup sepi. Coba lihat, aku sedang apa di dalam gambar ini?* 'Luckily, I found a quiet place' 'Look, what am I doing?' (variable to be examined: *BER*-) Targeted answer: *berlari* 'running' **ForIn**: *Lihat anak laki-laki itu. Dia lebih cepat dari aku dan mendahului aku ya. Di belakangnya ada anjing. Menurut kamu, anjing itu sedang apa?* 'Look at the boy. He is faster than I and he runs ahead of me. Behind him there is a dog. What do you think? What is the dog doing?' (variable to be examined: *ME*-) Targeted answer: *mengejar* 'running after'

Figure 4.1
Example of Picture and Questions in the Pilot Study

4.4.5 Lessons to learn from the pilot study

In the pilot study, several problems appeared. First, the puppets distracted many children's attention as they only stared at the Elmo puppet when the interviewer (as Elmo) asked a question and did not answer the questions. Many children just held the Ernie puppet and did not play with it. Second, many children had difficulties interpreting the pictures, and they were hesitant in answering the questions. It was also observed that some children—because they weren't familiar enough with the interviewers at that time—remained silent when they were interviewed if nobody they were familiar with was present. It was clear that the role-playing task was too complicated and/or the instructions were not clear enough for the children, as they looked confused with both their role and the interviewer's, especially because the interviewer mentioned "I" instead of "he" when she pointed to the Elmo character. We also tested several verbs containing the variables, but they appeared to be difficult for the children.

As a result, some changes were made for the actual study. New scenarios were arranged, the characters were changed, we decided not to use puppets, and changed some of the procedures. Before they were used in the real interviews, the new scenarios were tested to other children from other school—as young as 3 years old. These children were shown the sketches of the new scenario, and were asked about the actions in the pictures. When it

was clear that children were able to understand the instructions and the pointed actions in the pictures, the sketches were painted and arranged. As mentioned, some children had become quiet because they were not familiar with the interviewers, and they were not familiar with the setting of the individual interviews. Therefore, in each session of the interview in the first period, we planned to ask someone with whom the interviewed child was familiar to accompany her/him.

4.5 Data collection and analysis

This section presents the construction of the children's speech corpus - the main data set used for this dissertation. Included are the instruments, the process of transcription, data coding, and analysis. This section consists of 10 parts. We discuss the instrument of the research (4.5.1) and the target verbs in the scenario (4.5.2). Design and participants of this study are presented in Section 4.5.3. We also explain procedures in the interview (4.5.4) and describe the interviewers and settings (4.5.5). The process of transcription, including the role of context needed to interpret the date is presented in 4.5.6 to 4.5.8. The categorization of utterances is presented in Section 4.5.9 and Section 4.5.10 describes how the data are used.

4.5.1 The scenarios

New scenarios were constructed after the pilot study. We designed our study as a longitudinal study with two periods of data collection. At each time point, both situations were studied. Therefore, we have four scenarios: A, B, C, and D. In the first period of data collection, scenarios A and B were used; for the second period, scenarios C and D. Each scenario consists of a series of A4-size water-colored and laminated pictures. The scenarios consist of topics that are familiar to both boys and girls.

The topic of conversation may influence the choice of varieties and the use of specific variants (Hymes, 1974; Ervin-Tripp, 1973; Romaine, 1984; and Saville-Troike, 2003). In our study, however, we choose "neutral" topics, in the sense that in a Jakarta setting both BI and CJI can be used to discuss them. The scenarios were designed to elicit both varieties, so that they could be counterbalanced. That is, all children would get the same scenarios (which means the same topic), but in the first session half of them would be interviewed first in BI and half of them in CJI. In the second session, the order was reversed (see Table 4.3). Our aim is to examine whether they are sensitive with different variety used in the questions (see Table 4.1).

All scenarios were constructed according to the following plot: the introduction of a situation, a conflict, and its resolution, accompanied by pictures (see Appendix 4 both for a precise scenario description and pictures). These are, in summary, the four scenarios:

- *Scenario A* is a story about some activities in a traditional market. There were 7 pictures in the story and 9 questions to elicit the examined variables. First, the children were questioned about their knowledge of Indonesian traditional markets. In this scenario, there were several characters, a little girl accompanying her mother doing the groceries, vendors, a cat, and a chicken. There was no particular name for them, therefore the interviewer asked the interviewed child to give a name to the little girl. Sometimes the interviewer helped the child to do it.
- *Scenario B* is a story about a birthday party and the activities after the party. There were 9 pictures in the story, and 9 questions to elicit the examined variables. There were two characters in this scenario, a girl and a boy, named Tita and Tito, respectively. The interview started with the introduction of the characters and the situation.
- *Scenario C* was a story of how Tito and Tita—as in the Scenario B—spend their holiday on a beach resort and how they spend the rest of the day at home. There were 9 pictures (one of them is used for the filler question) shown in the story and 8 questions about activities. In the beginning of the interview, the interviewers helped the children recall the characters from the scenario B, which was used in 6 month earlier.
- *Scenario D* was a story on how Tito and Tita, who as previously mentioned, spend their holiday in a mountainous region, ended with their preparation before going to sleep. As in the previous scenario, there were 8 pictures and 8 questions depicting the activities.

Besides the questions through which the examined variables were elicited, there were several filler questions exploring each picture. Included were questions on certain things and children's experience related to the event in the scenario. Tagged in each picture were some lines to be read (which are written on a small piece of paper, attached to the picture), namely the plot of the story, the elicitation questions and filler questions. Included in the tagged lines were instructions for the interviewer, such as objects to be pointed to. Especially for children who were keen to talk, filler questions might lead them into digressions. The tagged lines helped the interviewers keep the plot on track.

4.5.2 The elicited target verbs in the scenarios

There were six verbs with target BI *meN-* and three verbs with target BI *ber-* in scenarios A and B (used in the first period), and five verbs with target BI prefix *meN-* and three verbs with target BI prefix *ber-* in scenarios C and D. In the informal interviews the scenarios were intended to elicit the CJI counterparts of the aforementioned prefixes: zero prefixes, nasal prefix and *nge-*. All verbs referred to actions of which children were familiar. These verbs were selected on the basis of our pilot study and observations of the children. Some of the verbs showed up in more than one scenario, such as *berjalan* 'walking', *berlari* 'running', and *memotong* 'cutting,' but they occur in different contexts, as the theme of each scenario is different. The overviews of the target verbs in the scenarios (in both periods) are presented in the Table 4.2 and Table 4.3. It should be noted that in the informal situation, the target is more than one option but has the same meaning.

Table 4.2
Targeted Verbs Split Up by Scenario and Situation in the 1st Period

Targeted verb	**Scenario and Targeted Verb**			
	Scenario A		**Scenario B**	
	Formal	**Informal**	**Formal**	**Informal**
1	*ber-jualan* 'to sell'	*Ø-jual-an* 'to sell'	*ber-ulang tahun* 'to celebrate s.o.'s birthday'	*Ø-ulang tahun* 'to celebrate s.o.'s birthday'
2	*mem-beli* 'to buy'	*nge-beli* *beli* 'to buy'	*mem-(p)otong* 'to cut'	*m-(p)otong* *potong* 'to cut'
3	*ber-belanja* 'to shop'	*Ø-belanja* 'to shop'	*men-dorong* 'to push'	*n-dorong* *nge-dorong* *Ø-dorong* 'to push'
4	*meng-(k)ejar* 'to chase'	*ng-(k)ejar* *Ø-kejar* 'to chase'	*men-(t)abrak* 'to hit'	*n-(t)abrak* *Ø-tabrak* 'to hit'
5	*meny-(s)apu* 'to sweep'	*ny-(s)apu* *Ø-sapu* 'to sweep'	*ber-salam-an* 'to shake hand'	*Ø-salam-an* 'to shake hand'
6	*me-marah-i* 'to scold'	*Ø-marah-in* 'to scold'	*meny-cuci* 'to wash'	*ny-(c)uci* *cuci* 'to wash'
7	*men-(t)angis* 'to cry'	*n-(t)angis* 'to cry'	*menge-lap* 'to wipe'	*nge-lap* *Ø-lap* 'to wipe'
8	*mem-(p)akai* 'to use'	*m-(p)ake* *Ø-pake* 'to use'	*mem-(p)etik* 'to pick (a flower)'	*m-(p)etik* *Ø-petik* 'to pick (a flower)'
9	*ber-jalan* 'to walk'	*Ø-jalan* 'to walk'	*ber-jalan* 'to walk'	*Ø-jalan* 'to walk'

Table 4.3
Targeted Verbs Split Up by Scenario and Situation in the 2nd Period

Targeted verbs	Scenario and Targeted Verb			
	Scenario C		Scenario D	
	Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal
1	*ber-jalan* 'to walk'	*Ø-jalan* 'to walk'	*ber-jalan* 'to walk'	*Ø-jalan* 'to walk'
2	*ber-main* 'to play'	*Ø-main* 'to play'	*ber-main* 'to play'	*Ø-main* 'to play'
3	*mem-(p)ancing* 'to fish'	*m-(p)ancing* *Ø-pancing* 'to fish'	*men-dengar* 'to hear'	*n-denger* *nge-denger* *Ø-denger/Ø-dengar* 'to hear'
4	*mem-bakar* 'to grill'	*m-bakar* *Ø-bakar* 'to grill'	*mem-(p)otong* 'to cut'	*m-(p)otong* *Ø-potong* 'to cut'
5	*mem-(p)egang* 'to hold'	*m-(p)egang* *Ø-pegang* 'to hold'	*mem-(p)etik* 'to pick (a flower)'	*m-(p)etik* *Ø-petik* 'to pick (a flower)'
6	*ber-lari* 'to run'	*Ø-lari* 'to run'	*ber-lari* 'to run'	*Ø-lari* 'to run'
7	*mem-(p)otong* 'to cut'	*m-(p)otong* *Ø-potong* 'to cut'	*menge-pel* 'to mop'	*nge-pel* *Ø-pel* 'to mop'
8	*meng-gambar* 'to draw'	*ng-gambar* *nge-gambar* *Ø-gambar* 'to draw'	*meng-gosok* 'to brush (the teeth)'	*ng-gosok* *nge-gosok* *Ø-gosok* 'to brush (the teeth)'

4.5.3 Design and participants

In order to examine children's development of BI and CJI, children were interviewed at two time points (periods), with an interval of six months. In each period, the child participated in both an informal and a formal interview situation. Each interview used a scenario (see Section 4.5.2), to elicit the morphological variables of the study.

The participants in this study were stratified for three birth cohorts and gender (boys-girls). Cohort 1 consists of those who were born in the second semester of 2006 (2006_2). Cohort 2 consists of those who were born in the first semester of 2006 (2006_1). Meanwhile, Cohort 3—the oldest group—consists of those who were born in the second semester of 2005 (2005_2). In the first period, they are between 3;0 and 4;5. Distribution of participant of the study is presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4
Participants in This Study (split up by gender and cohort)

Cohort	Gender		Total
	boy	girl	
1 (2006_2)	6	7	13
2 (2006_1)	12	9	21
3 (2005_2)	13	16	29
Total	31	32	63

Each cohort was separated into two sub-cohorts. In the first session, half of each cohort had Scenario A and was interviewed in the formal session (in BI), while the other half was interviewed in the informal session (in CJI). Each sub-cohort used the same scenario. In the 2nd session they switched situations and scenario B was used. Six months later, the second data collection was conducted. The tasks and the orders of scheduled interviews were the same, but now scenarios C and D were used. The scheme of data collection and distribution over cohorts who participated in all 4 sessions is presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5
Schemes in Data Collection

		Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
		BI	CJI	BI	CJI	BI	CJI
1st Period	1st session Scenario A	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)
	2nd session Scenario B	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)
2nd Period	1st session Scenario C	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)
	2nd session Scenario D	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)	sub-cohort (2)	sub-cohort (1)

In total, 74 children were interviewed. However, in one of the sessions, due to absence or lack of cooperation—resulting in no answer in the interview—11 of them were excluded from further analyses.

Each child had her/his own schedule. The interval between the two sessions was at least two days. However, there are two exceptions, as there were two children absent due to sickness at the time of their scheduled interviews. In these cases, both sessions were recorded on the same day, but with an interval of approximately three hours (before and after class sessions).

The formal and informal interviews were designed to last approximately 4-5 minutes per child. However, in the real interviews, there were some children keen to talk and prolong the conversation. More information on the procedures in the interview is presented Section 4.5.4.

4.5.4 Procedures in interview

With the exception of the public school where we conducted our pilot study, children in the other two schools were introduced to the equipment a week before the recording of the interviews. They also role-played in the playroom with the interviewers as if they were interviewed in front of the camera. The interviewers used pictures that were not used in the real interviews.

The initial procedures of interviews in the real data collection were almost the same as in the pilot study. Each session started with a greeting and ended with acknowledgements. The role of the interviewer was also the same as in the pilot study. She opened the conversation, commenced with the background of situation in the story, and led the interviewed child to follow the plot and explore the pictures. At some points, the interviewer pointed out specific activities and asked questions to elicit verbs containing the morphological variables of this study. The child's main task was to answer the questions.

Nevertheless, since we learned that children were confused with their own role in the interview in the pilot study, the interviewers did not ask the interviewed child to be a character in the story. The instructions were simplified as well. The interviewer told the child that she had a story picture to be shared and would like the child's help to name some pointed to objects. Given that in the pilot study the children had looked confused when the interviewer pointed and referred to the character with a first person pronoun, the new characters in the new scenarios were referred to as proper names or third person pronouns.

The scenarios also have some additional pictures that are used to tell a coherent story. In the middle or at the end of the story, the interviewers also posed additional questions, or filler questions, such as questions on certain objects and whether they had the same experience as the characters in the story. The children's answers to these filler questions were considered as spontaneous speech. The filler questions were not always posed in the interviews; they were mainly used to bring out "naturalness" in the conversations. For children who were not in a good mood when they were interviewed, (some or all of) the fillers were skipped. Some interviews lasted

longer because the interviewed children were keen to talk. Both of the answers from the filler questions and the children's additional speech were included in the analysis of the stylistic characteristics of the children (Chapter 6).

In both sessions of the first period, there was a female adult with whom the child was familiar present during the interview to make the child feel comfortable with the interviewers and the settings. She sat at a certain distance and pretended to read during the interview. In the formal setting, the child was accompanied by his teacher, while in the informal setting the child was accompanied by his mother, grandmother, nanny, or servant. As children became more familiar with the interviewers, there was no other person in the second period.

Ideally, an interview includes a closing part. Some children could manage their attention and cooperativeness until the end of the interview, including the closing part. Yet, other children did not want to stay until the end of the session and ran away right after the last main questions were answered. As long as they answered the elicitation questions, the recorded interviews were included in this study. At the end of both interviews in the second period, they were more patient as they knew that they would receive stickers as a gift from the interviewer.

In general, interviews in the first period lasted longer than in the second one. There were two reasons for this: first, there were more filler questions in the first interviews; and second, the children had more time to spend outside the class. The interviews in the second period were shorter because the children's time became more limited; it was near the end of the academic year, and the children had several tasks to be finished and evaluated in class.

At the end of each interview session, the interviewers made some notes, including the date of recording, the child's mood and behavior during the recording, and the child's degree of cooperativeness.[7] In case the scheduled child was absent, the interviewer rescheduled some interviews. These notes also support explanations on the changes the child made in the second periods.

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[7]Some of the originally selected children showed their cooperativeness before the recording, but in the interview session they appeared not to be cooperative at all by not giving answers to the questions, or by being very difficult to be persuaded to join the turn-taking during story telling. Two mothers of originally selected children interfered during the informal interview when their child looked hesitant. These children were excluded from the study.

4.5.5 Interviewers and settings

As mentioned before, we had different interviewers for the formal and informal situation. From the very beginning of their presence at school, they led the children to be familiar with their own different characteristics, including differences in language.

The formal interviewer (henceforth ForIn), a female in her early forties, conducted the formal conditioned situation interview. In the interviews, she consistently used BI. She aimed at consistently using BI inside and outside the classroom—even when she played with the children. It was not an easy task for ForIn, who occasionally slipped into informal expressions, such as *deh* (FOC) and *dong* (FOC) in more casual situations during mealtime or playtime. She posed as a mother to the children. Like the teachers, she used BI to admonish the children.

The informal interviewer (henceforth InfIn) is a young female in her early twenties. In the interviews she consistently used CJI, as well as inside and outside the classroom—even when she helped the children in the classroom. She posed like a big sister to the children. Contrary to the way the teachers and ForIn warned the children, InfIn used CJI whenever she admonished the children.

Despite their different characteristics, both ForIn and InfIn shared the same address term in each school. In the Catholic school, both were called *Miss*; in the Islamic school, *Ibu* 'ma'am'; and in the public school, *Tante* 'aunt'. ForIn and InfIn also wore similar clothes. In the next chapter we describe that teachers at each school wore different kinds of clothes (in the Catholic school, teachers wear skirts; in the Islamic school, female teachers wear veils; and in the public school, all teachers wear shirt and trousers). In this study, both ForIn and InfIn chose 'neutral' appearance, as they wore trousers and semi-formal blouses. Apparently, children did not pay attention to the interviewers' attire, as they mingled easily in the schools' activities. Besides, the head mistress' and teachers' role in the introduction supported the children's acceptance—both interviewers were introduced by teachers as "…friends of ours who want to play with you." To the parents and caregivers, they were introduced as guests of the school.

Fargas-Malet *et al.* (2010:178) suggests that it is important to choose appropriate rooms—especially those representing the formal and informal world—in the school setting. Formal and informal interviews were conducted in different settings. In the formal conditioned interview, ForIn and the child sat side by side at a table. During the interview, she tried to

create as much distance as possible (however, some children broke the barrier and tried to be closer to her). In the informal interviews, InfIn and the child sat side by side on the floor in the playroom or in a playhouse.

Each school provided different kinds of rooms and places for each conditioned interview. Particularly in the formal conditioned interviews, the use of the place depended on children's class schedules and the availability of rooms. In the Catholic School, the formal-conditioned interviews were located in the classroom or in the English lab. In the Islamic School, the interviews were located in a classroom, the library, or the *musala* 'prayer room.' Since there were no tables or chairs in the prayer room, both ForIn and the child sat on the floor. However, ForIn kept as much distance as possible from the child. In the public school, the formal interviews were located in the classroom and computer room. Meanwhile, there were more options for the informal-conditioned interviews. The interviews were located in the playground, the corridors, or in the playroom. Table 4.6 below illustrates the differences between formal and informal situations based on the interviewers and the settings.

Table 4.6
Overview of Interviewer Characteristics and Settings Split Up by Speech Style

		Formal	**Informal**
Interviewer's Characteristics	**Name**	ForIn	InfIn
	Variety	BI	CJI
	Age	40	22
	Pose to the children	mother-like	sister-like
	Appearance	semi-formal dress	semi-formal dress
	Position	sitting on chairs at a table	sitting on the floor or in a playhouse
	Physical distance	distanced	close
Settings	**Location**	classroom/lab/prayer room/library	playground/play room/corridors/playhouse
	Familiar person around the child (only in the first interview)	teacher	mother/grandmother/ nanny/servant

4.5.6 The role of context in transcription

In dealing with children's speech data, we have to consider that the carrying out of a single social act may cover the span of several utterances (Ochs and Schieffelin 1979). Gerken (2000:45) also claims, "Children's intended utterances are often different from what they actually produce; researcher cannot determine the exact form of the intended utterance from the actual utterance." Och (1979:44) says that the transcript should reflect the particular interests of the researcher. She also argued that transcription is not analysis neutral; it reflects analytical presuppositions and it prejudices interpretation (see also Foster, 1990: 193; De Houwer, 2009:62). This means that besides transcribing the actual utterance, there should be context to support the meaning of the intended utterance.

In the present study, context does play an important role in both interpreting the children's answers and the transcription process. Pictures, gestures, and the whole utterances are counted as the context of situation. It is found that the children, interviewer, and, later, the transcriber use context to interpret the situation.

4.5.7 The role of context in children's and researcher's interpretation

During the interview session, children could give their attention to the object pointed out by the interviewer. They could also give appropriate answers in the sense of interpreting questions such as *sedang/lagi apa* '(what is s/he) doing,' which elicit verbs. However, the children interpreted the pictures in this study in various ways. During the sessions, children gave different types of answers to some questions, reflecting their individual interpretation of the pictures. Sometimes they associated the pictures with their own experiences as well.

The complexity of the answers varied. There were several children who gave complete sentences, but in general, most gave short or truncated ones. There are several categories of truncated sentences, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, which can stand on their own. Since this study examines primarily verbal morphological variation, the eliciting questions are targeting verbs and the children's answers are mainly verbs. Apart from the targeted words, some other answers could be counted as instances of the variable, since in these cases the children used the examined variable. Examples below show how certain action in the picture can be multi-interpreted by children, and why these other answers can also be counted as variants of our variables (both varieties are presented in the following example).

Figure 4.2
Example of Picture (B9) and Questions in Interview (1)

Picture B9.
In BI: *Nah, setelah itu mereka pulang. Lihat apa yang terjadi?*
In CJI: *Nah abis itu mereka pulang. Liat deh, ini ada apa ya?*
'And then, they go home. Look, what happened'
(Interviewer points at the rain)

Question:
In BI: *Mereka sedang apa?*
In CJI: *Mereka lagi ngapain*
'What are they doing?'
(Interviewer points the characters' legs to elicit 'walking')

Targeted answer:
berjalan (BI) / *jalan* (CJI) 'walking'

A selection of the observed answers to question B9:

BI	CJI
a.1 *mem-bawa* *bunga* ACT.TR-bring flower 'bringing (a) flower'	a.2 *nge-bawa* *bunga* ACT.TR-bring flower 'bringing (a) flower'
	a.3 *Ø-bawa* *bunga* ACT.TR-bring flower 'bringing (a) flower'
b.1 *meng-ambil* *bunga* ACT.TR-take flower 'taking (a) flower'	b.2 *meng-ambil* *bunga* ACT.TR-take flower 'taking (a) flower'
	b.3 *ng-ambil* *bunga* ACT.TR-take flower 'taking (a) flower'
	b.4 *Ø-ambil* *bunga* ACT.TR-take flower 'taking (a) flower'
	c. *Ø-pegang* *bunga* ACT.TR- hold flower 'holding (a) flower'

d. *Ø-nyanyi*
ACT.INTR-sing
'singing'

e. *Ø-lari*
ACT.INTR -run
'running'

Since all of these utterances contain the target variables, they are also counted and analyzed.

On the other hand, for the researcher (the interviewer, and, later, the transcriber), the context of the utterance also plays an important role in the interpretation of the children's answers. In this case, the forms of children's utterances are related to the previous utterance, as in the following example (example is in informal context).

Figure 4.3
Example of Picture (D7) and
Questions in the Interview (2)

Picture D.7
InfIn :*Liat, Tito lagi ngapain?*
'Look, what is Tito doing?'
(Interviewer points to the boy character to elicit 'mopping')

Targeted answer:
ngepel 'mopping'

One of the answers to question D7 is *nyapu* [ɳapu] 'sweeping.' Some children also gave answers such as *pel* [pɛl] and *sapu* [sapu] from which the meanings are interpreted by the researcher as 'mopping' and 'sweeping' respectively. Other answers the children gave were *bersih* [bərsih] and *beres* [bɛrɛs] by which the meanings are interpreted as 'cleaning' and 'tidying up' respectively. In CJI, these words may also mean 'clean' and 'tidy' respectively. Meanwhile, the aforementioned words in BI are merely categorized as nouns (for *pel* and *sapu*) and adjectives (for *bersih* and *beres*) (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia,* 2008). In this study, we interpreted the

children's aforementioned answers as verbs, since the questions intended to elicit verbs (see also Section 4.5.6), and therefore as instances of CJI.

4.5.8 Transcription

In general, the recordings were good enough in terms of sound quality. However, it turned out that parts of a couple of conversations were corrupted—especially in the opening part—due to technical problems. Fortunately, the main parts of the interview—the elicitation questions and the replies (verbal and non-verbal)—are complete.

The interviews were immediately transcribed into orthographic transcription. The transcripts include the date of recording, the name of the child, his date of birth, and the name of the interviewer. Also changes in conversation topic were noted. We used a single utterance as the smallest discourse unit in conversation. We put an asterisk to code the elicitation question and the elicited answer. An example of the orthographic transcription is the following.

CHI	**: DNL (D)**
Date of birth	**: 16/09/05**
Date of recording	**: 11/05/10**
Interviewer	**: ForIn (K)**

1 K: *Selamat pagi, Daniella.*	'good morning, Daniella'
2 D: *Selamat pagi.*	'good morning'
3 K: *Daniella, masih ingat pada Tito dan Tita?*	'Daniella, do you still remember Tito and Tita?
4 D: *Masih.*	'(yes, I) still (remember them)
5 K: *Masih ya.*	'(so you) still (remember them)'
6 *Lihat mereka sekarang sedang berada di mana ya?*	'look, where are they now?'
7 D: *Di pantai.*	'on the beach'
8 K: *Mmm,, iya.*	'mm..yes'
9 **Mereka sedang apa?*	'what are they doing?'
10D: **Jalan.*	'walking'

In this study, whenever we need context to interpret children's utterances, we refer to the notes we made after the interview. We also refer to the pictures in order to understand the context. Previous utterances—in particular the interviewer's question—helped us to interpret children's answers. If necessary, we checked the video-recording as well. Context supporting in interpretation especially was needed when we found a word

that can be categorized as both noun and verb, for example *gambar* which can be interpreted as 'picture' or 'to draw.' In CJI, both are possible: while the former is an affixless noun, the latter could be interpreted as a zero-prefixed verb (see also Chapters 3 and 7).

For the analysis of spontaneous speech, we transformed the basic transcription to CHAT format (see MacWhinney, 2000). This transcription has three main tiers: the gloss (%flo), the morphological analysis (%mor), an English translation (%eng), and the additional tier, namely comments (%com). The transcription process, once again, does need interpretation when the data is transformed since several homophonic forms needed to be interpreted with the help of the context—especially when it comes to CJI words. An example is in the following.

*EXP: terus titonya ngapain ya?
%flo: then tito-NYA N-what-IN yes
%mor: ADV|then N|tito-DEF INTR|what
%eng: and then, what is tito doing?
*CHI: gambar -.
%flo: picture
%mor: V|Ø-draw
%eng: drawing
%com: moving her hand on the table

In this conversational segment, the transcribers (Indonesian native speakers) have to interpret the utterances of the children by different contexts: the previous utterance and the gesture of the child. The child's utterance, *gambar,* can literally be glossed as 'picture.' However, the conditioned question leads the meaning of the child's answer as:

Ø-gambar
ACT.INTR –draw
'drawing'

The child's gesture also supports his intended meaning (see [%com] in the segment), and later, the transcriber's interpretation. This interpretation is also supported by the video-recordings.

Our focus is on children's utterances in their conversation turns. In this study we have some different codes for several aims. We will examine children's stylistic characteristics, for which also their spontaneous speeches are examined. We will also look at their stylistic choice, development on morphological variation, and their capability of applying morphophonemic rules. Nevertheless, since children gave various kinds of utterances (BI, CJI, or mix of both, and unmarked ones), we have to classify them into several categories. The next section discusses the matter.

4.5.9 Categorizing Utterances

Children's utterances are categorized into four groups at all linguistic levels, namely *BI utterances, CJI utterances, unmarked utterances, and mixed utterances*. The utterances are mainly verbs—as we used pictures to elicit words for actions. Following the conventions of sociolinguistic research on language variation, the names of our variables are put between brackets.

a. *BI utterance (BI)*

A *BI utterance* is any complete or truncated sentence having the characteristics of a BI construction, on all linguistic levels, such as:

- *benar*
  true
  'true, right'

- *ber-belanja*
  ACT.INTR-shop
  'to shop'

- *sedang ber-belanja*
  PROG ACT.INTR-shop
  '(s.o. is) shopping'

- *dia sedang ber-belanja*
  3SG PROG ACT.INTR-shop
  's/he is shopping'

What can be considered a BI construction—more particular its morphology—is described in the standard Indonesian grammar, *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia* (Alwi *et al.,* 2000). It has formal affixes, such as *meN-*, *ber-*, *-kan, -i*, *-an* as their characteristic. For example:

- *mem-beli*
  ACT.TR- buy
  'buying'

- *ber-jual-an*
  ACT.INTR-sell-INTR
  'selling'

The words are found in the official monolingual dictionary of Indonesian, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*.

b. *CJI utterance (CJI)*:

A *CJI utterance* is any complete or truncated sentence having the characteristics of CJI construction, on all linguistic levels, such as:

- *bener*
  true
  'true, right'

- *Ø-belanja*
  ACT.INTR- shop
  'to shop'

- *lagi* *Ø-belanja*
  PROG ACT.INTR-shop
  's.o. is shopping'

- *orang-nya* *lagi* *Ø-belanja*
  person-DEF PROG ACT.INTR-shop
  's/he is shopping'

CJI words in the official Indonesian dictionary are marked as *cak.* (the abbreviated form of *percakapan* 'conversation' or 'colloquial'), or are referred to as such in the standard lemma, for example:[8]

dines [dinəs] → *dinas* [dinas] 'agency, service'

Some of them are not found in the dictionary, but used in daily and casual conversation. They have affixes such as the nasal in the initial (or *ng-, ny-, nge-*), or zero prefix, and/or suffix *–in* as their characteristic (see also Sneddon, 2006). For examples:

- *ng-ambil*
  ACT.TR-take
  'taking'

- *Ø-ambil*
  ACT.TR-take
  'taking'

- *ng-ambil-in*
  ACT.TR-take-REP
  'taking s.t repetitively'

There are several morphemes shared in both BI and CJI, especially the passive marker prefix *di-* and circumfix *ke-an*. Words formed by those affixes are categorized as a CJI word if the root is a CJI word, such as *ujan* 'rain' in:

ke-ujan-an
PASS.ADV-rain-CIRC
'being caught by rain'

or with CJI suffix *–in*, such as in

[8]In the Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings' dictionary (2005), however, some are found without any distinction or marking.

di-angkat-in
PASS- lift-CAUS[9]
'being lifted (with the help of somebody)'.

c. *Unmarked utterance: (UNM)*
An *unmarked utterance* has characteristics that are shared by both BI and CJI. Many of them are nouns or adjectives. Some of them are infinitive verbs; for example *marah* 'being angry.' *makan* 'eat,' *tidur* 'sleep,' or *pergi* 'go.' Passive marker prefix *di-* is also found in both varieties, especially when it occurs with a free morpheme, such as *gigit* 'bite.' Therefore, words such as

di-gigit
PASS-bite
'being bitten'

can be both a BI and a CJI word, and are categorized as an unmarked word. Also categorized as unmarked utterances are back-channel utterances such as *hmm* or *ya* 'yes.'

d. Mixed utterance (MIX):
A *mixed utterance* is any complete or truncated sentence having a mix or combination of BI- and CJI-elements, from a lexical to a sentential level. At the lexical level, a mixed word is a combination of certain BI affixes and CJI words or BI words and CJI affixes such as:

- * *sapukan*
  Ø- sapu -kan
  ACT-sweep-TR
  (CJI) (UNM) (BI)
  'sweeping'

- * *men-jalan*
  ACT- walk
  (BI) (UNM)
  'walk'

In larger constructions, mixed utterance may be mixed phrasal verbs, a combination of BI and CJI words, as in:

- **sedang* *Ø-bersih*
  PROG ACT-clean
  (BI) (CJI)
  '(s.o is) cleaning'

[9]The meaning of –*in* can be benefactive and repetitive as well.

- *lagi* *mem-bersih-kan*
  PROG. ACT.TR-clean–TR
  (CJI) (BI)
  '(s.o is) cleaning'

A mixed utterance may also be a combination of BI or CJI words that are unmarked, such as

- *sedang* *duduk*
  PROG. sit
  (BI) (UNM)
  '(s.o is) sitting'

To examine children's overall choice between BI and CJI, we include all their spontaneous speech production: the elicitation tasks, the filler questions and the initiations by the children. The morphological variables were analyzed exclusively on the basis of children' answers to the elicitation questions.

4.5.10 Data coding

Four data sets were constructed on the basis of the recordings and their transcriptions. We discuss the main characteristics of the data sets and how they are used in chapters 6 and 7. The first two data sets focus on children's development of stylistic variation and their ability to use BI utterances and BI verbs in the formal situation and CJI utterance and CJI verbs in the informal situation (Chapter 6). The third and fourth data sets are used to study's children morphological development in both BI and CJI (Chapter 7).

4.5.10.1 Stylistic variation: use of BI and CJI utterances

To examine children's overall use of BI and CJI, we use all of their speech from our recordings: answer or reply to the elicitation tasks and the filler questions and the initiations by the children. We have 4 dependent variables, namely:

- BI utterance (BIu);
- CJI utterance (CJIu);
- Unmarked utterance (UNMu); and
- Mixed utterance (MIXu) (see also Section 4.5.9).

For each variable, the number of utterances is counted and divided by the total number of utterances (per child). The four index scores add up to 100 and are the variables in the statistical analysis presented in Chapter 6.

Also children's repetitions of (part of) an adult's utterance are taken into consideration. Especially, *sedang* (BI) and *lagi* (CJI), the progressive adverbial markers, were often repeated and frequently resulted in mixed utterances

such as *sedang bersih* (in formal style BI+CJI) or *lagi membersihkan* (in informal style CJI+BI). This type of utterance is coded as MIXu as well. However, some children also used the correct construction such as *sedang membersihkan* or *lagi belanja.*

4.5.10.2 Stylistic variation: use of BI and CJI verbal morphology

To analyze the children's use of BI and CJI verbal morphology in informal and formal situations, we analyze the use of verbs based on children's answers to the elicitation questions. These contain BI verbal prefix *meN-* [məN-] and *ber-* [bər-], and their CJI counterparts, the nasal forms (symbolized by *N-*), prefix *nge-* [*yə-*], and zero prefix (symbolized by Ø-). Verbs consisting of *meN-* and *ber-* are coded as BI words, and coded as BI verb (BIv) while verbs consisting of nasal prefix, *nge-* and zero prefix are coded as CJI words, and coded as CJI verb (CJIv). We also include other verbal morphemes found in children's answers—as long as they are able to be distinctive between BI and CJI. Therefore, verbal prefix passive marker such as *ter-* [tər-] (PASS.INVOL) or *ke-* [kə-] (PASS. INVOL)—as we found in children's answers—are coded as (BIv) and (CJIv) respectively and included in the analysis. BI verbal suffix *–kan* and *–i* in and CJI verbal suffix *–in* are also coded and included in the analysis. Mixed morphemes are also analyzed, and are categorized as (BIv), since it consists of (BIv), which is used mainly in the formal situation.[10]

The morphemes that are shared by BI and CJI, such as the passive marker *di-*, are coded as missing values; they are considered as unmarked morphemes. Adverbs such as *sedang/lagi* (PROG), *sudah/udah* (PERF), *belum/belom* (IMPRF) or *tidak/nggak* (NEG) preceding the examined verbs were excluded in the coding. Any other answers in other lexical categories, such as nouns and adjectives are considered as irrelevant answers, and are also coded as missing values for these analyses.

4.5.10.3 Development of morphological variation

Data set 3 is used to examine the use of our main verbal morphological morphemes, namely the BI prefixes *meN-*, *ber-* and their counterparts in CJI, namely the zero prefixes, nasal prefix, and *nge-*. This data is derived from Data set 2 that consists of the elicited answers. To examine children's

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[10]Our decision is based on our interpretation that children are trying to produce the BI verb. Some examples are *me-lari* '*me*-run,' *ber-petik* '*ber*-pick,' *meny-(c)opot-in* '*me*-pull.out-*in*' (suffix belongs to CJI).

development of morphological variation, we focus on the following BI and CJI prefixes and code the data as in the following.

- *meN-*, as in *men-cuci* [mən̪-cuci] 'washing'; coded as (meN-)
- *ber-* , as in *ber-jalan* [bər-jalan] 'walking'; coded as (ber-)
- zero prefix /Ø-/ in correspondence with *məN-,* as in *cuci* [Ø-cuci] 'washing'; coded as (Ø-meN)
- zero prefix /Ø-/ in correspondence with bər-, as in *jalan* [θ-jalan] 'walking'; coded as (Ø -ber),
- nasal prefix (N-) in correspondence with *meN-;* as in n̪-(c)uci 'washing'; coded as (nasal)
- *nge-* in correspondence with *meN-*, as in *nge-dorong* [ŋə-doroŋ] 'pushing'; coded as (nge-)

We selected the verbs containing one of these prefixes and analyzed them according to situation, period, age group, and gender. The results will be presented in Chapter 7.

4.5.10.4 The mastery of morphological rules in BI and CJI

Data 4 is used to examine children's mastery of morphological rules of BI in the formal and CJI in the informal situation. Analysis of this data will answer one of our main questions: "Do children acquire grammatical and social competence simultaneously?"

The data are derived from the same data we used to analyze the morphological variables. In order to examine children's mastery of morphological rule in both varieties, we look into the verbs, based on children's answers and the compatibility with the situation. Therefore, we recode the data based on three criteria:

1. (sit): the appropriateness/inappropriateness of the morpheme in the situation
2. (rul) the use of word formation, in terms of morphological rule

Examples of variants of these variables in the formal and informal situation are presented in Section 7.3.

4.6 Summary

This chapter presented an overall description of our research methods, especially on how we obtained, interpreted, and categorized the data. The results of our observations and surveys will be presented in chapter 5. The children's development of stylistic variation will be presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 will focus on the children's morphological development.

Chapter 5
The Children in This Study

This chapter presents an overview of the children who participated in this study. It starts with the characteristics of the three schools that took part in our research (5.1) and is followed with the results from our observations of the children's interactions at school (5.2). The main results of the parental questionnaires are summarized in Sections 5.3 (children's personal information) and 5.4 (language use and language attitudes).

5.1 The characteristics of the schools in this study

The schools that participated in this study are all private. Each has both a playgroup and kindergarten. Each school has a different affiliation, with specific characteristics. One is a public school (5.1.1), while the others are religious schools, one Islamic (5.1.2), and one Catholic (5.1.3). The schools are described in the order of data collection. This section describes the characteristics of each school, its management, teachers, buildings and facilities, activities and language use. It also describes the caregivers who bring the children, and our general impression of the children. A comparison between the schools is presented in Section 5.1.4.

5.1.1 The public school

The public school is managed by a non-religious-affiliated foundation. The school team consists of the head of the foundation, the headmistress, a secretary, five teachers, and a school psychologist. There is also a helper who assists the children to clean their shoes after playing in the yard or when the children need to go to the toilet, and a gardener who manages the playground. The majority of the team is females; there is only one male teacher and the gardener is the only other male figure. The playgroup children have three teachers and the kindergarteners have two. Teachers are between 24 and 40 years old. Along with the non-academic staff, the teachers come from different ethnic groups (Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, Minangkabau and Manadonese). All of them speak Indonesian (both varieties) and they show no specific accents. All of the school team wears semi-formal clothing: trousers and button-up shirts. Children call the members of the school management and the female teachers *Tante* 'aunt,' the

male teacher *Oom* 'uncle,' the helper *mbak* (Jv.) 'big sister,' and the gardener *Pak* 'sir.'

The public school is located in Tangerang, on the border of South Jakarta and Banten. It is a large, house-like building with a sizable backyard as the playground. The building consists of several rooms. The main concept of this school is "a school-house". There is a waiting room outside the classroom. The children cannot see the person who brings or picks them up when the door is closed. The classroom is a big room with some small chairs and tables that are used for school activities. There is also a computer corner, a role-playing corner, a reading corner, and a music corner. The teachers use a piano or a keyboard in singing and dancing sessions. There is also a small library. In many sessions, the children sit around the teacher on the floor. In some sessions, the children are gathered into several groups, and they sit on the chairs, doing some class work or having a discussion with the teacher. They use the classroom to play indoors, and for singing and dancing. Each class (kindergarten and playgroup have a different time schedule) consists of 12 to 15 children. The kindergarteners attend the school every day – except for weekends – while the playgroup children attend three times a week.

The children, especially the toddlers, begin their activities in the backyard; these activities include playing around with friends and pets (there are rabbits, turtles, and fish to be fed), painting, or playing in the sand. They are accompanied by the teachers. The older children usually play with toys in the classroom or read in the reading corner. Afterwards, they gather in a big room to sing and dance. There are some indoor activities like arts and crafts, scientific observation, storytelling, and discussions. At the end of the day, they play in the big room before being picked up. Every Monday morning they join a flag-raising ceremony.

In the playgroup, the medium of instruction is both BI and CJI. In the kindergarten, BI is used as the main language. Before and after class, the teachers speak CJI to the children. They use BI for explanations and storytelling in the classroom. There is an English program, once a week for about 30 minutes; in this session, the teachers introduce some English vocabulary through pictures and songs. Every Friday, all the songs the children sing are in English. In the kindergarten, there is a session of religious talks once a week. The Muslim and Christian children are grouped based on their religion. Teachers teach some prayers and discuss some religious norms through telling stories from the Koran or the Bible. Especially in the Muslim group, there are always prayers in Koranic Arabic, followed by an Indonesian translation.

Commonly, the mother or grandparents bring the children. Some of them are picked up by nannies, drivers, or servants. The adults are not allowed to enter the classroom; the teacher will open the door to accept the children from the adults and to hand them over to the adult when class has finished. Some mothers and nannies wait for the children outside the school during class. Only recognized (and registered) persons are allowed to pick up the children. On the first days of the academic calendar year, parents are allowed to accompany the children in the classroom. In the children's performance at the end of the academic calendar, only parents (not other caregivers) are involved.

Many of the children in this school cannot easily become acquainted with newcomers, including the researchers. It takes some time to get their individual acceptance. Yet, they are friendly enough to welcome anyone by playing together in the playground or in the classroom. Teachers play a very important role in introducing the experimenters as their friends. The children called the researchers *tante* 'aunt,' on suggestion of the teachers.

5.1.2 The Islamic school

The Islamic school is managed by an Islamic-affiliated foundation. The school has a big team, from the school managers to the gardeners. There are some heads of division (whose positions are equal to headmaster) under the coordination of a school manager. Each class has two teachers, and almost all the teachers are female: there are only two male kindergarten teachers. The age range of the teachers is 24 to 40 years old. The school has a psychologist as well. There are two young helpers who assist the children when they need to go to the toilet or wash their hands before having meal or before praying. The helpers do not join in the classroom; they are on stand-by close to the classroom for help and join the children's outdoor activities. The children are familiar with all team members. The female team members wear Muslim dress and *jilbab* 'veil.' They come from different ethnic groups (Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, and Betawi). Some of them show no specific accent, others have a striking Sundanese accent. Children call the male adults at school *Pak* 'sir,' the helpers *mbak* (Jv.) 'big sister,' and other female adults *Ibu* 'ma'am/ mother.'

The school is located in Depok, the border of South Jakarta and West Java. It has several buildings surrounding a big playground with fruit trees and open space. These open-air spaces are often used as "classrooms," especially for exploring nature. There is a *mushalla* 'prayer house' and some small prayer rooms that are sometimes used for teaching or certain activities. The school provides some benches in the parking area for those who await the

children. There is a big gate separating the parking area from the path to the buildings. The children can see the one who brings or picks them up from the gate.

In the playgroup, each classroom is a big, semi-open room consisting of an audio- visual corner and play corner. The children sometimes sit at a table to do some class work, but mostly they sit on a big mat. Each classroom in the kindergarten has a big room, with several tables to be used for particular schoolwork by the children, and a space covered by a mat for certain activities. There are also rooms for puppet shows, arts and crafts, and for a playing house. The children spend their days both inside and outside the classroom. In the playgroup, each class consists of 10 to 15 children. There are 15 to 20 children in the kindergarten. The kindergarteners attend school all weekdays, whereas children in the playgroup attend three times a week.

The younger children start their activities by playing with some toys in their classroom, accompanied by the teachers. Afterwards, they make a big circle to pray in Koranic Arabic (followed by Indonesian translation). Every day, there are indoor and outdoor activities, and the themes are programmed each week. The outdoor activities include gardening, feeding pets (turtles and fish), and exploring insects in the garden. The kindergarteners start their activities by *Iqra* 'reading Koranic Arabic,' assisted by one of the teachers, for half an hour. Afterwards, they gather for an opening prayer, praying in Koranic Arabic followed by an Indonesian translation. During the day, they alternate indoor and outdoor activities. Like in the playgroup, the kindergarten teachers teach in the open air and use some natural explorations. At noon every Friday, all the kindergarteners join with their teachers to do *shalat jamaah* 'joint prayer,' a ritual prayer prescribed by Islam using Arabic phrases.

In the playgroup, instructions are both in BI and CJI. However, the instructions in the kindergarten are mostly in BI. English vocabulary is introduced in some sessions in the kindergarten, but there is no special English program for the playgroup. All children learn English words by singing and playing.

The children are brought to school by parents or nannies, and are picked up by nannies or drivers. The school also provides school buses to bring the children. Every morning, the caregivers hand the children to the teachers who greet them at the main gate of the school. The teacher brings the children to their own classroom. Adults also pick the children up at the main gate. Nannies or mothers are allowed to accompany the children – especially the toddlers – for some time, especially when they are not in a good mood.

The children who participated in this project were independent and easy to get acquainted with newcomers. Most of them had been in the same school for about two academic terms. The researchers were introduced as new teachers who would play with the children. They called the researchers *Ibu* 'ma'am' as the teachers had suggested them.

5.1.3 The Catholic school

The Catholic school is managed by an order of a convent. The headmistress of the school is a nun. All of the teachers are female. Their age range is 30 to 45 years old. All of them are Javanese and speak their regional language in daily conversation between them. Several of them have a striking Javanese accent when they speak Indonesian. There are two young female helpers who aid the children whenever they need to change their clothes if they are wet, or to go to the toilet. A male helper cleans the rooms before and after class, and the children are familiar with him. All of the helpers are Javanese too, and they have a striking Javanese accent. Since there are two autistic children in the playgroup, there is also a helper in the classroom. The children called her *Kakak* 'big sister' and all of them are close to her. She is from Flores, and speaks CJI with the children all the time. Children call the headmistress *Suster* 'nun'; the teacher *miss,* sometimes *Ibu* 'ma'am, mother'; the female helper *mbak* (Jv.) 'big sister'; and the male helper *Pak* 'sir.'

The school is located in South Jakarta. It is a big building, with big classrooms, a sports hall, labs (science, computers, and English). The school has a large chapel, a grotto, and a big playground. There is a waiting room for those who bring children, separated by a big gate from the main rooms. The children can see them through the gate. Classrooms are big rooms and have an audio-visual corner, a round table corner, a computer corner, and a playing corner. The children do some schoolwork at the table, and listen to stories from the teacher while sitting on a big mat in one of the corners. They spend their days mostly inside the classroom. In the playgroup, each class consists of 10 to 12 children. Meanwhile, in the kindergarten, there are 12 to 18 children in each class. All of the children attend school during the weekdays.

The children start their activities by marching in front of the main entrance of the school hall, singing and dancing, and are led by the teachers to their own classroom afterward. They start and end each day with prayers. There are certain days for the children to pray in BI, and certain days to pray in English—they know *Our Father, Hail Mary*, and some daily prayers in both languages. Every noon they pray *Angelus* (a prayer to honor Mary – the

mother of Jesus Christ – recited at specific times of the day) in BI. Before having their meal, they also pray their own Indonesian prayer.

In both playgroup and kindergarten, instructions are mainly in BI. The teachers also give some English instructions, especially when they lead the children to pray in English. They have English lessons once a week for about 45 minutes. They come to the English lab, where they learn through singing, playing, and watching video programs. There is an English teacher who consistently speaks English with the children.

The children are brought and picked up by their mother, nanny, servant, or grandmother. Some of them wait for the children in the waiting room during the class. The school also provides school buses to bring children to and from school. Adults can bring the children to their own classroom, and accompany the children until the starting bell rings. Some mothers and grandparents are allowed to accompany the children– especially the toddlers – when they are not in a good mood during the class.[1] When the class finishes, teachers escort the children to the gate and hand them to the caregivers.

The children who participated in this project were mostly independent. Yet, some of them still needed to be accompanied by their mother, grandmother, or nanny—especially the children in the youngest group at the first period of data recording (see Section 4.4.5). However, they were all very easy to acquaint with newcomers. We were introduced officially in front of all the children before they started their day, when they were all marching in front of the school's main entrance. The headmistress introduced us as their guests who would play interviewing the children. Children called us 'Miss,' as the teachers had suggested to them.

5.1.4 Comparison between schools

A comparison between the schools in this study, in terms of situation and those who are involved, is presented in Table 5.1.

[1]When the children were more settled and calm, the caretakers left them silently.

Table. 5.1
The Comparison between the Schools in This Study

	Catholic School	Islamic School	Public School
Activities (mainly)	inside classroom	inside/outside classroom	inside/outside classroom
Children's presence at school	weekdays	PG: 3 times a week	PG: 3 times a week
		KG: weekdays	KG: weekdays
Gender of teachers	females	PG: females	male + female
		KG: male +female	
Age range of teachers	30-45	24-40	24-40
Number of teachers per class	2	2	PG: 3
			KG:2
Ethnic of teachers	Javanese	multi-ethnics	multi-ethnics
Ethnic of non-academic staff	Javanese	multi-ethnics	multi-ethnics
English in special session	yes	no	yes
1st impression on the children characters	unreserved	unreserved	reserved
Teacher-children's interaction inside classroom	formal/informal	PG: formal/informal	formal/informal
		KG: mostly formal	
Teacher-children's interaction outside classroom	informal	PG: informal	informal
		KG: mainly formal	
Addresses to teachers	Miss/*Ibu* 'ma'am'	*Ibu* 'ma'am' *Pak* 'sir'	*Tante* 'aunt' *Oom* 'uncle'
Addresses to interviewers	Miss	*Ibu* 'ma'am'	*Tante* 'aunt'

(PG=playgroup; KG=kindergarten; BI=Bahasa Indonesia; CJI=Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian; FL=foreign language)

5.2 Interaction between children and others at school

In general, the interactions between the teachers and the children are more informal in the playgroups than in the kindergartens. The default variety outside the classroom is CJI, sometimes they use the variety in class too. Especially with the kindergarteners, teachers mainly use BI in class. All of the teachers uniformly use BI when they scold the children, as, for example, when the children disturb another child's work or pets. Especially in the Islamic school, whenever the teachers warn the children, they begin politely

with *"Maaf…"* 'excuse me..' followed by an explanation why the children should not do the action. Even though in general teachers are more formal in class, and create a distance with the children, the closeness between the teachers and the children during interaction – especially in the playgroups – is very natural. During mealtime, they mainly use CJI. Every Monday, teachers ask the children to talk – in BI – about their activities during the weekend. Usually, children expand on other topics, such as their siblings or other family members. The children mainly speak CJI.

In the public school, teachers and the non-academic staff make the children feel comfortable by posing as the children's friends. To make the children feel at home, teachers call themselves *aku* 'I' (less formal Indonesian address), to be equal to the children. The interaction between the teacher and the children is very casual – they sometimes even tease each other. They use CJI in the interaction outside the class. Nevertheless, children show their respect to the teachers.

In the Islamic school, the playgroup teachers pose themselves as substitute mothers. The children are very close to the teachers – they even hug the teachers or hold the teachers' hand whenever they can. Before and after class, the teachers speak CJI with the children. Meanwhile, the kindergarten teachers speak mostly in BI. Even before and after class, they speak carefully and politely in BI.[2] However, the children show their eagerness whenever they have an opportunity to sit next to the teacher. All of the female teachers call themselves *Ibu* 'mother, ma'am' and male teachers call themselves *Bapak* 'father, sir.'

In the Catholic school, the teachers pose themselves as the authority person—especially in front of the kindergarteners, but they still can get close to the children. Outside the classroom both the teachers and the children show their closeness. Teachers and children hug each other on specific occasions in a natural way. Children call them *Miss* or *Ibu* 'mother, ma'am.' Before and after class, the teachers speak CJI to the children. Teachers speak Javanese whenever they talk with their colleagues, and sometimes it happens in front of the children. The headmistress is called *Suster* 'nun'; and she calls herself so. She teaches Catholicism once a week and is close to the children. She consistently speaks BI to them.

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[2]At first, we thought that the teacher made up this kind of condition only when we were there (observer's paradox). Nevertheless, it turned out that teachers in kindergarten consistently used these style even when we were not there; once in a while we were sitting in a secluded place, and we overheard the interaction between these teachers and the children.

In all schools, the interactions between the children and the helpers are very casual. Like the playgroup's teachers, the helpers treat all the children very kindly, and the children are fond of them as well. Their interactions are mostly when the children change clothes or when accompanying them to the toilet. Sometimes, helpers also aid the teachers in watching over the children when they are playing outside. Both children and helpers use CJI in their interactions.

All of the children mainly use CJI when they interact with their peer group members, even in the classroom. However, on some occasions, the children use BI—as if they were in a formal and "serious" situation – especially when they are role-playing (for example, when playing "thief and police," or when playing house). Boys and girls in all schools show similar tendencies. An example is presented in (1):

Example (1).
(*Some boys were playing "police and thief." CHI 1 played a head commissioner, CHI 2 played an officer, the others played the thieves)*

CHI 1 : *Cepat kau-tangkap pen-curi itu!*
cəpat kaw-taŋkap pəɳ-curi itu
quick 2SG- catch NOUN-steal that
'catch the thief, hurry!'

CHI 2 : Baik, Pak
baik paʔ
good sir
'yes, sir'

In (1), both CHI 1 and CHI 2 use BI. They use BI lexical items (with their striking characteristics, see Chapter 3) with BI pronunciation. CHI 1 uses *cepat* [cəpat] (BI), instead of *cepet* [cəpət] (CJI), *kautangkap* [kawtaŋkap] (BI) instead of *tangkep* [taŋkəp](CJI). Meanwhile, CHI 2 uses *baik* [baik] (BI) instead of *baek* [baɛk] (CJI). Besides roleplaying, children in general like to talk about themselves or about their surroundings. Sometimes, they compete to tell their own story, especially when adults are around, including the researchers. Other favorite topics include children's favorite television programs, their pets, and ghosts. During mealtime and playtime children have some chats with their peers.

The interaction between the children and their caregivers who bring and pick them up is also very casual. They use CJI. The mothers and the other caregivers also speak CJI to the teacher when they hand over and accept the children.

In sum the children's interactions with the others, as observed in school, are presented in the Table 5.2. As the use of BI and CJI is almost exactly the same in the three schools, we do not expect that differences will appear in the children's acquisition of the morphological system and the development of their sociolinguistic competence.

Table 5.2
The Children's Interaction with the Others at School

Person(s) involved	**Activity**	**Setting(s)**	**Language Choice at School**		
			Catholic	**Islamic**	**Public**
Teacher	teaching	classroom	PG:BI/CJI	PG: BI/CJI	PG:BI/CJI
			KG:BI	KG:BI	KG:BI/CJI
	playing	classroom/ playing room/ playground	CJI	PG: BI/CJI KG: mainly BI	CJI
	mealtime	classroom	CJI	PG: BI/CJI KG: mainly BI	CJI
	warning	indoor/ outdoor	BI	BI	BI
	praying	classroom	BI/FL (Eng.)	BI/FL (Ar.)	BI/FL (Ar./Eng.)
Helper	changing clothes	classroom	CJI	CJI	CJI
	accompany-ing to toilet	toilet	CJI	CJI	CJI
Friend	studying	classroom	CJI	CJI	CJI
	playing	classroom/ playing room/ playground	CJI	CJI	CJI
	role-playing	playing room/ playground	"BI"	"BI"	"BI"
	chatting	classroom/ playing room	CJI	CJI	CJI
Caregiver	before/after school	outdoor	CJI	CJI	CJI

(PG= playgroup; KG=kindergarten; BI=Bahasa Indonesia; CJI=Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian; FL=foreign language; Eng.=English; Ar.=Arabic)

5.3 Children's personal information

Almost all of the children in this study were born in Jabodetabek (59 of 63 children or 93.7%). The other four were born in Jambi (Central Sumatra), Pekanbaru (Riau Islands), Semarang (Central Java), and Kuwait City (Kuwait). The children who were born outside Jakarta were brought to Jakarta before they celebrated their first birthday. Eighteen of the children (29%) were the only child in the family at the moment of data collection. Forty five children (71%) had siblings, who might have influenced the child's language input. Of these 45 children, 24 were the youngest child of their families, and 21 were the oldest.

According to parents, all of the children speak Indonesian at home. However, some of them use regional and foreign languages sometimes. In majority, the percentages of children speaking regional languages occasionally are as follows: Javanese (33%), Batak (6%), Betawi (3%), Sundanese (3%), Banjarmasin (2%), Minangkabau (1%), and Palembang (1%). It appeared that more than half of the children sometimes speak English at home (56%). Some of them sometimes also speak Chinese (2 children), Norsk (1), and Thai (1).

Besides schooling, there are several social activities in which some of the children join. Many of them join religious activities such as the School of Koran or Sunday School (35.8%), the others join activities such as sport clubs, art club, or math and reading courses (31.6%). Several children do not join any social activities; rather, they played at home after school (32.6%).

Apart from their parents, all the children had one or more other caregivers for part of the time. In majority, the caregivers are servants (70.6%) or grandmothers (58.6%). Other caregivers are nannies, relatives, and grandfathers. Some mothers (10.8%) do not employ a servant or a nanny, and are themselves taking care of the daily upbringing of the child. The non-parental caregivers spend their time with the children mostly when the parents are away. In majority the non-parental caregivers speak Indonesian (parents did not specify which variety) to the children (95%). Some of them (17%) sometimes speak their own regional language with the children.

Most of the fathers are non-governmental employees (56.5%), while most of the mothers are housewives (45.6%). A substantial amount of parents are entrepreneurs (fathers 22.8%; mothers 10.8%). Others have jobs as educators, governmental employees, police officers, doctors, pilots, researchers, journalists, lawyers, or architects. The mothers in this study have a more diverse professional background than the fathers.

In majority, the parents in this study spoke one language in their first five years of life, and in majority their first language is Indonesian (fathers 82%; mothers 82.6%). There are parents whose first language is Javanese (both parents 10%). The others' first language is various (Batak, Chinese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, Palembang, and Banjarmasin). Some parents grew up as Indonesian-Javanese bilinguals.

Many of the children in this study spend more time with their mother (64%) than with their father (36%). Children are familiar with storytelling: sometimes they spend their time listening to a story read by their parents. Of the parents, 60% of the mothers and 21.7% of the fathers read a book to their children at least twice a week.

Almost all the parents of the selected children totally agree that teaching children BI at a very young age is good (92.6%). They also agree that using BI is important to show politeness (75%). According to the parents, children learn how to use BI from storytelling (65.4%) and when parents explain scientific knowledge (65.5%). BI is also used to talk about serious matters (58.1%) and to make the children obey the parents' orders (55.5%). Some parents use good and correct BI to express their anger (49.4%). However, only a few of the parents claimed that their children already master BI at their very young age (23.4%).

5.4 Linguistic input from parents

We have 207 completed form of parental questionnaire 2 (see Section 4.3.3 and Appendix 3A-B). In this section, we will focus on the information on language use in interaction with children, provided by the parents of 58 of the 63 children (92.1%) who participated in our longitudinal study. 72.4% of the respondents are mothers, 26% fathers. One questionnaire was completed by the aunt of the child, who was the child's principle caregiver, as both parents worked abroad.

Of the 58 respondents, 57% of respondents' spouse comes from a different ethnic group. It means that, in majority, the children in this study come from inter-ethnic marriages; and also means that the language used in the family is – rather than regional language – Indonesian, as suggested by Nababan's study (1992). Of the 58 respondents, 70% also speak a foreign language, and 53% a regional language.

Most of the parents belong to the Javanese ethnic group (39.7%), or from an inter-ethnic marriage (17.1%). The other parents come from various ethnic groups (Chinese, Batak, Sundanese, Minangkabau, Manadonese, Betawi

Malay, Balinese, and others). These findings also support the parents' claim that they are Indonesian first language acquirers. This is in line with Nababan's study (1992) that states that inter-ethnic marriages strengthen the use of Indonesian, instead of regional language.

We examined 19 conditions of interactions in which parents may choose the varieties or language to talk with the children (see 4.3.3): to admonish (in the table below ADMONISH); to advise (ADVISE); to ask the children to pray (PRAY); to console (CONSOLE); to forbid (FORBID); to praise (PRAISE) and to show anger (ANGER); to teach the children to apologize to adults (in the table below abbreviated as APO-AD); to teach the children to apologize to the child's friend (APO-FR); to teach how to ask for help (HELP); to teach how to get permission (PERMIS); to teach how to greet (GREET); to teach how to thank (THANK); to teach how to offer something (OFFER); talking about God (in the table below GOD); scientific phenomenon (SCIENCE); mystical phenomenon (MYSTIC); parent's personal experience (EXPER); and fairy-tales (TALE). Seven contexts in which another person is present or absent in any interactions were examined. The other person as whom they are counted are the child's friend, the child's teacher, nanny, or servant, paternal grandparents and maternal grandparents, and parents' friends and relatives. The overall language choice patterns in each condition, averaged over the seven audiences, as reported by the 58 parents, are presented in Table 5.3.

It is found that in any condition of interaction with their child, BI is claimed to be the most frequent language the parents use. The CJI is the second majority of the language choice in any condition and interaction, followed by the foreign language. The least frequent language the respondents use is the regional language. When we looked into the language choice in detail, we found that parents' language choice is influenced by the presence and absence of the other participants. The presence of child's teacher has a big role as the influencing factor in the use of BI. In any condition, teacher's presence results in an increasing use of BI. Even though regional language is the language that is used the least frequently in all conditions, we found that the presence of the child's grandparents results in a higher use of the regional language. Meanwhile, the use of CJI increases in front of the servant or when no additional participant is present. The absence of the other participant also has an influence in the (occasionally) increasing use of foreign language (see also Kushartanti *et al.,* 2010).

Table. 5.3
Distribution of Parents' Language Choice in Each Situation (mean and standard deviation)

	FL (N=406)		RL (N=406)		BI (N=406)		CJI (N=406)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
ADMONISH	17.0	28.7	7.8	18.0	66.4	38.5	46.3	41.4
ADVISE	12.8	26.6	5.7	14.6	64.8	38.8	48.0	43.7
PRAY	7.4	23.4	3.4	14.0	69.7	41.7	39.7	45.3
CONSOLE	11.5	25.5	4.5	14.3	60.7	41.9	52.1	43.6
FORBID	21.9	35.8	5.2	14.6	68.7	40.3	36.7	43.2
PRAISE	27.6	37.5	4.7	14.8	68.0	38.2	41.4	42.7
ANGER	15.0	30.0	5.9	16.1	67.2	42.1	67.2	42.1
APO-AD	18.2	31.3	3.4	12.4	74.6	38.5	29.3	39.7
APO-FR	17.2	31.4	2.5	10.7	73.4	37.2	38.7	41.0
HELP	12.3	27.0	2.7	9.8	76.8	36.4	42.6	42.9
PERMIS	10.6	25.3	3.7	14.0	74.9	38.2	36.9	43.3
GREET	19.5	33.7	4.4	13.7	78.8	34.8	36.0	42.8
OFFER	13.5	28.6	4.9	15.3	67.5	40.1	39.4	41.9
THANK	25.6	37.6	3.7	13.3	72.9	39.5	34.5	42.6
GOD	3.9	16.0	4.2	14.4	73.2	37.5	36.5	42.3
MYSTIC	3.2	16.1	3.7	14.0	69.2	41.5	39.4	44.9
SCIENCE	5.9	16.3	3.7	12.4	69.2	38.1	44.8	43.8
EXPER	7.6	20.9	3.2	12.0	64.5	40.7	47.5	43.4
TALE	11.6	22.8	3.0	11.9	68.5	40.3	42.9	43.7

FL=foreign language; RL=regional language; BI=Bahasa Indonesia; CJI=Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (0 = never claimed to be used, 100 claimed by all parents to be used (with all audiences)

We also examined parents' attitude towards the language in four conditions, namely whether the language should be learned at very young age (YOUNG); whether the language is convenient to use in interaction with the child (CONVENIENT); whether the language is an awkward language to use in interaction with the child (AWKWARD); and whether the use of that language by the child makes them feel proud (PROUD). The mean scores and standard deviations are presented in Table 5.4. The scale ranges from totally disagree (1) to totally agree (5).

It is found that parents have more positive attitude towards BI and foreign language in terms of language to be learned at very young age (YOUNG). In other words, on average parents believe that the earlier children learn BI and foreign language, the better that is for the children. Similarly, parents are also more proud (PROUD) if their children are able to use BI and foreign language rather than regional language and CJI. They agree that children look more convenient (CONVENIENT) if they use BI and CJI rather than

foreign and regional language. In other words, on average parents opt for BI and CJI in interaction with their children. Parents also agree that the situation will be awkward (AWKWARD) if they use regional and foreign language in interaction with their children, to be compared with BI and CJI. This means that parents think that children will feel strange if they use regional and foreign language in interaction with them.

Table 5.4
Parents' Language Attitude towards Given Language in Certain Condition (means and standard deviation)

	FL (N=58)		**RL (N=58)**		**BI (N=58)**		**CJI (N=58)**	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
YOUNG	3.9	1.2	3.1	1.2	4.8	0.8	3.0	1.2
CONVENIENT	2.5	1.2	1.9	1.0	4.5	0.8	3.5	1.3
AWKWARD	2.8	1.1	3.2	1.2	1.9	1.3	2.3	1.3
PROUD	4.0	1.0	3.2	0.9	4.7	0.7	3.2	1.1

FL=foreign language; RL=regional language; BI=Bahasa Indonesia; CJI=Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

5.5 Summary

This chapter provided a characterization of the children in this study, and some information about their language use at school. It also presented information about how parents claim to use language in their interactions with their child. We conclude that children in this study are more exposed to CJI, since those around them at school use the variety more frequently in daily conversation. However, as parents claim that they used BI more frequent than CJI, we can assume that children are also familiar with this variety, even though it is used only on restricted occasions. In the next two chapters, our focus is on children's language production. We will correlate the findings we present in this chapter with the results of our analysis in both chapters.

Chapter 6
Development of Stylistic Competence

This chapter discusses our longitudinal study of Jakarta children's acquisition and use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia (CJI) and Bahasa Indonesia (BI) in informal and formal situations. Our focus is on how and when these children develop their stylistic competence. We assumed that these children are able to use both varieties, given that in their early lives they have already received different input, both in CJI and BI. This chapter will answer two of our main research questions:

1. To what extent do middle-class Jakarta children use BI and CJI features?
2. To what extent are middle-class Jakarta children capable to distinguish BI and CJI and use both varieties appropriately?

For a discussion of design and methodology, we refer to Chapter 4. We aimed to elicit from children BI in a formal situation and CJI in an informal one. Therefore, the interviewer and the setting were systematically varied (see 4.5.4 and 4.5.5).

In this chapter, six of our seven hypotheses (see Section 1.5.2) concerning situation, period, cohort, and gender are tested:

H1a: *Younger children will be more CJI dominant than older children both in situations triggering BI (formal situation) as in situations triggering CJI (informal situation) [cohort effect].*

H1b: *Children will become less CJI dominant in both situations over a time period of 6 months [period effect].*

H1c: *There are no differences between boys and girls in the development of CJI and BI [gender effect].*

H2a: *Older children will use more BI in the formal situation than younger children [interaction of cohort and situation].*

H2b: *The use of BI will increase over time in the formal situation [interaction of situation and period].*

H2c: *Older children will use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children [interaction of cohort and situation].*

In Section 6.1 we present the results of children's utterances in the spontaneous speech data (see 4.5.10.1). In Section 6.2 we focus on the use of

CJI and BI verbs on the basis of the elicited speech data (see Section 4.5.10.2). In this section special attention will be given to individual cases. A discussion of the findings is presented in Section 6.3. A conclusion of this chapter can be found in Section 6.4.

6.1 The use of BI and CJI in spontaneous speech

This section presents a first analysis of the children's stylistic competence. All of the children's utterances are analyzed to get insight in the stylistic variation in the interviews. The categorization of the utterances in BI (BIu), CJI (CJIu), mixed (MIXu) and unmarked utterances (UNMu) is discussed in Sections 4.5.9 and 4.5.10.1. We begin with a discussion of the number of utterances in both interviews (6.1.1), followed by a discussion on stylistic choice (6.1.2), influencing factors in spontaneous speech (6.1.3), and children's ability to style-shift (6.1.4).

6.1.1 Number of utterances in the interviews

In some interviews, talkative children were keen to answer both elicitation and filler questions. Sometimes, they added their own stories, and the interview became longer than anticipated. In the first period, one of the children of the youngest group even brought a magazine and used it in the formal interview, resulting in a longer conversation. Other children also added personal experiences, resulting in some digressions during the informal interview. On the other hand, several children were very limited in their talking due to many reasons, such as their health or mood on the day of their scheduled recording. In such cases, the filler questions were skipped, and the interview became shorter. Consequently, there are large inter-speaker differences for the number of utterances per session (range: 18-148). In all the interviews, the utterances were mainly responses to questions. The number of children's initiations on totally different topics is rather limited in our corpus.

Labov (1972) and Romaine (1984) not only observe that in formal environments children produce more careful speech, but also often speak less. Romaine also remarks that in formal settings, such as interviews, children often show linguistic competence that is below the level displayed in spontaneous performance. However, the reverse tendency is sometimes observed too.

During the interviews, we had observed that the children participating in our study seemed to be more at ease in the informal interviews. We also observed that interviews were shorter in the second period, as it was near

the end of the academic year, and the children had to complete several school tasks in class in order to be evaluated by their teachers (see Section 4.5.4). We will test whether these claims and observations are confirmed by a statistical analysis of the children's number of utterances. We conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with the number of utterances as dependent variable, child as a random factor[1], and situation, period, age cohort and gender as fixed factors. In Table 6.1 we present the results of a Mixed Models analysis (REML method), including all interactions (two-way, three-way, and four-way, as this model has the best fit (lowest AIC)[2].

Table 6.1
Total Utterances: Results of the Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	57	1059.147	.000
Cohort	2	57	2.328	.107
Situation	1	171	34.776	.000
Period	1	171	44.156	.000
Gender	1	57	.300	.586
Cohort * Gender	2	57	1.355	.266
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.467	.628
Cohort * Period	2	171	.111	.895
Situation * Gender	1	171	2.540	.113
Period * Gender	1	171	.157	.692
Situation * Period	1	171	3.226	.074
Cohort * Situation * Gender	2	171	.071	.932
Cohort * Period * Gender	2	171	.347	.707
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	1.836	.163
Situation * Period * Gender	1	171	.927	.337
Cohort * Situation * Period * Gender	2	171	1.033	.358
RANDOM FACTOR		Estimates	SE	*p*
Child		51.76	24.91	.038
AIC= 2034.114				

First, it should be noted that there is a significant effect of the random factor child (p=.038), confirming that there are large individual differences. Situation has a significant effect on the number of utterances in the interviews, *F(1, 171)=34.78, p=.000*. On average, children talked more in the informal (54.7 utterances/child) than in the in formal interview (41.1

[1]If school and child are included as random factors, the covariance estimate of school is zero, resulting in a not positive definite Hessian matrix. Therefore, school is excluded as a random factor.
[2]The significant effects are stable over all models.

utterances/child). This is in line with Romaine's (1984) observation and might suggest that in the informal situation children were more at ease to talk. It is also in line with Labov (1972): in the formal interviews the children tended to be aware of the style and the careful speech used by the interviewer, resulting in less response. Finally, it should be noted that the difference in length of utterance between the informal and formal situation might also indicate that the children are more competent and fluent in CJI than in BI.

In this study, the interviewers have an influence on the length of the conversation as well. The interviewer in the informal situation, InfIn, observed that the interviewed children in general looked at ease when they were interviewed. Therefore, she posed more filler questions, and got more response from the interviewed child. Besides, her positive comments on a child's response sometimes evoked more responses from the child, resulting in a longer conversation. Meanwhile, the interviewer in the formal situation, ForIn, observed that the children generally looked less at ease in the formal interview session, in comparison with their usual interaction inside or outside the classroom. Therefore, there were less filler questions posed in the formal interview. The children's turns in the formal interviews were mainly responses to the specific questions asked by ForIn.

There is also a significant effect of period on the length of the utterances, $F(1,171)=44.16$, $p=.000$. On average, children talked more in the first period (55.7 utterances/child) than in the second period (40.1 utterances/child). The number of utterances decreased in the interviews of the second period because it was near the end of the academic year and a lot of the children were in a hurry during the interview because they had to do some school tasks.

6.1.2 Stylistic choice in the interviews

In the children's spontaneous speech data we distinguished BI (BIu), CJI (CJIu), mixed (MIXu) and unmarked utterances (UNMu) (see Sections 4.5.9 and 4.5.10.1). In this section, we present the distribution of the aforementioned utterances in both formal and informal situations over time, in order to examine the tendency of their stylistic choice. It should be noted that in this analysis children's repetitions from the interviewer's speech are included. For each interview, the child's ratio of (BIu), (CJIu), (UNMu), and (MIXu) is calculated (the four scores add up to 100). Table 6.2 presents the median, mean and standard deviation, split up by period and situation.

Table 6.2 shows that in general children in this study already used (BIu) and (CJIu). (CJIu) and (UNMu) were used most frequently in both situations over time and were used most in the informal situation. (BIu) and (MIXu) are used less frequently and were used most in the formal situation.

Table 6.2
Type of Utterances, Split Up by Period and Situation
(given are the median, mean [M] and standard deviation [SD])

N=252	Period	Formal			Informal		
		Median	**M**	**SD**	**Median**	**M**	**SD**
(CJIu)	1	42.2	41.9	14.9	54.7	55.2	10.4
	2	42.9	43.2	16.4	53.8	54.2	9.9
(BIu)	1	9.4	12.8	11.2	3.8	4.5	3.6
	2	18.9	21.3	14.2	9.4	10.8	8.2
(MIXu)	1	6.7	8.2	7.4	1.3	2.1	2.7
	2	5.4	7.5	7.2	2.8	4.1	3.8
(UNMu)	1	36.4	37.1	11.6	36.5	38.2	11.3
	2	29.4	28.0	9.7	30.3	31.0	9.0

These tendencies indicate that children already showed their awareness of the differences between the situations by using different kinds of utterances in the interviews. In the next section we present the statistical analysis of the four index scores.

6.1.3 Statistical analyses of the four types of utterances

As a first step, each of the index scores was analyzed with a series of Mixed Models Analyses (REML method) with school and child (nested under school) as random factors and period, situation, age cohort, and gender as fixed factors. The AIC's of different models, systematically excluding non-significant factors and with and without interactions, were compared. We select the results of the model with the best fit (AIC closest to zero).

6.1.3.1 (MIXu)

Table 6.3 shows the Mixed Models analysis (method REML) of (MIXu) with the best fit. School had to be excluded as a random factor (estimate of covariance was 0). The selected model contains child as a random factor, and period, situation, age cohort, and gender as fixed factors. All interactions are included in the model. There is significant main effect of situation ($F(1,171)=53.566$, $p=.000$) and a significant interaction of situation and period ($F(1,171)=4.453$, $p=.036$). These effects are visualized in Figure 6.1.

Table 6.3
(MIXu): Results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	57	157.433	.000
Cohort	2	57	.308	.736
Gender	1	57	1.420	.238
Situation	1	171	53.566	.000
Period	1	171	.625	.430
Cohort * Gender	2	57	.308	.736
Cohort * Situation	2	171	2.746	.067
Cohort * Period	2	171	.141	.868
Gender * Situation	1	171	2.105	.149
Gender * Period	1	171	1.259	.263
Situation * Period	1	171	4.453	.036
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	1.304	.274
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	.693	.501
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.270	.763
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	.159	.690
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	1.257	.287
RANDOM FACTOR		**Estimate**	**SE**	***p***
Child		3.70	2.17	.088
AIC = 1493.837				

First of all, it should be noted that the scores for (MIXu) are very low and that a lot of speakers never or seldom used mixed utterances during the interviews, as can be seen from the very low median scores in Table 6.2. (MIXu) are used more in the formal than in the informal situation, but the difference between both situations are smaller in the 2nd period, due to an increase in the use of (MIXu) in the informal situation in the 2nd period.

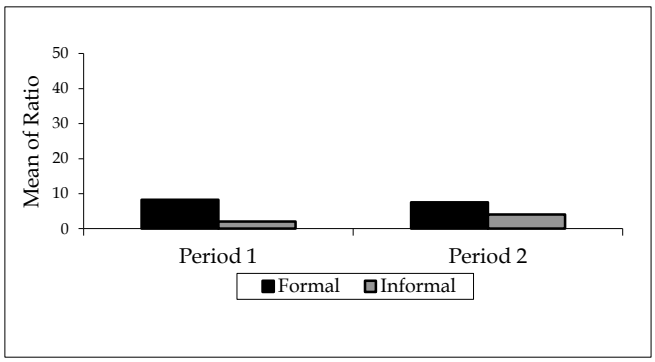

Figure 6.1
(MIXu): Interaction between Situation and Period

6.1.3.2 (UNMu)

(UNMu) includes back-channel utterances such as *hmm, he-eh* 'yes,' or *ya* 'yes' (see also Section 4.5.9). Since children were already able to join interactions verbally, (UNMu) was used frequently as a sign that they paid attention to the interlocutor's turn and was used as a "bridge" in conversation. The use of (UNMu) cannot be interpreted as an indication of children's capability to assess the formality of a situation, but shows their capability of turn taking. Therefore, we do not expect that situation influences the use of (UNMu). Furthermore, as we expect children to develop both BI and CJI over time, and to become more aware of these varieties in the interviews, the use of (UNMu) is likely to decrease over time, as they will respond more in the appropriate variety. Table 6.4 presents the results of the Mixed Models Analysis (method REML) of (UNMu). The full model, including the two random factors school and child, and all fixed factors and their interactions had the best fit (lowest AIC).

Table 6.4
(UNMu): Results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	1.941	476.340	.002
Cohort	2	56.044	4.218	.020
Gender	1	56.998	1.320	.255
Situation	1	171	2.733	.100
Period	1	171	56.634	.000
Cohort * Gender	2	56.839	.044	.957
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.138	.872
Cohort * Period	2	171	1.579	.209
Gender * Situation	1	171	1.546	.215
Gender * Period	1	171	.003	.956
Situation * Period	1	171	.891	.347
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	2.677	.072
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	.393	.675
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.622	.538
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	.134	.714
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	2.552	.081
RANDOM FACTORS		**Estimates**	**SE**	***p***
School		4.50	7.11	.526
Child		24.13	8.59	.005
AIC=1749.880				

There is a significant random effect of child (p=.005), and significant fixed effects of situation (*F(1,171)=56.63, p=.000*) and cohort (*F(2, 56.044)=4.218, p=.020*). None of the other fixed factors and none of the interactions is significant. As expected, there is a decrease in the use of unmarked

utterances over time: children used (UNMu) more frequently in the first period (M= 37.6, SD=11.4) than in the second period (M=29.5, SD=9.5). The differences between the cohorts are small (Cohort1=35.3, Cohort2=36.1, Cohort 3=31.0) Pairwise comparisons (Bonferroni corrected) show that there is only a significant difference (p=.030) between Cohort 2 and the oldest children of Cohort 3; the oldest children using a little bit less unmarked utterances than the middle aged children. Cohort 1 is not different from the other cohorts.

6.1.3.3 (CJIu)

Table 6.5 presents the results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML) of (CJIu). The full model, including the two random factors school and child, and all fixed factors and their interactions had the best fit (lowest AIC).

Table 6.5
(CJIu): Results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	2.138	366.637	.002
Cohort	2	55.771	1.201	.309
Situation	1	171	65.949	.000
Period	1	171	.193	.661
Gender	1	56.678	.079	.779
Cohort * Gender	2	56.452	.649	.526
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.451	.638
Cohort * Period	2	171	.977	.378
Situation * Gender	1	171	4.762	.030
Period * Gender	1	171	.113	.737
Situation * Period	1	171	.414	.521
Cohort * Situation * Gender	2	171	1.349	.262
Cohort * Period * Gender	2	171	.645	.526
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.138	.871
Situation * Period * Gender	1	171	.383	.537
Cohort * Situation * Period * Gender	2	171	.100	.905
RANDOM FACTORS		**Estimates**	**SE**	***p***
School		16.25	19.56	.406
Child		32.87	13.09	.012
AIC=1865.330				

There is a significant random effect of child (p=.012), a significant fixed effect of situation (*F(1,171)=65.949, p=.000*) and significant interaction of situation and gender (*F(1,171)=4.762, p=.030*). None of the other factors or interactions is significant. Children used more (CJIu) in the informal situation (M=54.7, SD=10.1) than in the formal one (M=42.53, SD=15.6), but there are no significant differences between periods and cohorts in the use of (CJIu).

The interaction between situation and gender is illustrated in Figure 6.2, showing that in the informal situation girls (M=56.7, SD=8.9) had a slightly higher use of (CJIu) than boys (M=52.6, SD=10.9), while in the formal situation boys (M=43.1, SD=16.4) have a marginally higher score than girls (M=42.0, SD=14.9). It suggests that girls are on average a bit more sensitive to the situation than boys, using more CJI in the informal situation and less in the formal situation. It should be noted that the differences and effect size are very small.

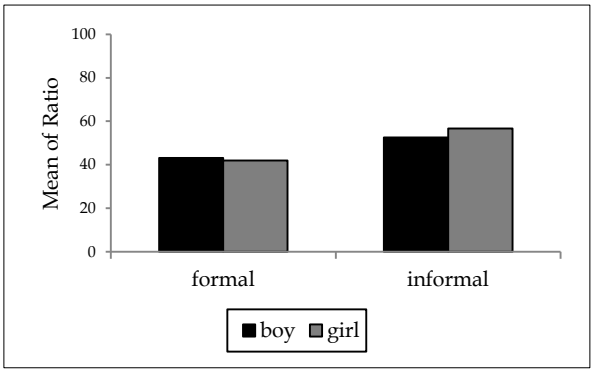

Figure 6.2
(CJIu): Interaction between Gender and Situation

6.1.3.4 (BIu)

Table 6.6 presents the results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML) of (BIu). The full model, including the two random factors school and child, and all fixed factors and their interactions had the best fit (lowest AIC). There is a significant random effect of child (p=.003), significant fixed effects of situation (*F(1,171)=64.535, p=.000*), and period (*F(1,171)=44.276, p=.000*).

The children used (BIu) more frequently in the formal situation (M=17.1, SD=13.4), i.e. the appropriate situation, than in the informal situation (M=7.7, SD=7.0). They also use significantly more (BIu) in the second (M=16.1, SD=12.7) than in the first period (M=8.6, SD=9.3). However, the interaction of situation and period is not significant, implying that the children equally increase the use of BI in both situations. None of the other factors and interactions is significant.

Table 6.6
(BIu): Results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	df1	df2	F	*p*
Intercept	1	1.910	43.095	.025
Cohort	2	55.912	1.005	.372
Gender	1	56.967	.009	.927
Situation	1	171	64.535	.000
Period	1	171	44.276	.000
Cohort * Gender	2	56.753	1.043	.359
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.085	.918
Cohort * Period	2	171	.538	.585
Gender * Situation	1	171	.555	.457
Gender * Period	1	171	1.189	.277
Situation * Period	1	171	2.007	.158
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	.319	.727
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	.055	.946
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.910	.404
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	.489	.485
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	1.298	.276
RANDOM FACTORS		**Estimates**	**SE**	***p***
School		6.08	8,88	.494
Child		25.94	8.71	.003
AIC=1742.002				

6.1.4 Children's ability to style-shift

In Section 6.1.3 it was observed that children show a tendency to adapt their language use to the situation: more (CJIu) in the informal than in the formal situation and more (BIu) in the formal than in the informal situation. In this section we present a further discussion of children's ability to style-shift in the informal (6.1.4.1) and in the formal situation (6.1.4.2).

6.1.4.1 Style-shifting in the informal situation

The children used (CJIu) most frequently in the interviews. There are several explanations for the use of (CJIu) in the informal situation. As the informal situation is tended to elicit (CJIu), the findings fit the audience design model (Bell 1984). Children appear to be able to assess a situation and use the appropriate style. Furthermore, children in the informal situation synchronize their style with the informal interviewer. However, as suggested previously, they were still predominant users of CJI, who were more at ease when they used the variety they were familiar with. These children had no difficulties at all when they used this variety in the informal situation. Therefore, it may be too premature to conclude from this finding that these children are already conscious of the informal situation and

respond linguistically to it (however, see Chapter 7, on their mastery of morphological rules).

We also found that some children used (BIu) in the informal situation. In this case, it does not indicate that they were not able to assess the style. On the contrary, in some cases it was observed that children actually considered the interview as "formal". Children might have been aware of what they were doing during the interview by trying to control their speech. Yet another possibility is that children tried to diverge from the interviewer (see Giles *et al*., 1991).

The use of (MIXu) in the informal situation, though rare, is similar to the use of (BIu) in the informal situation. Children might have associated the use of certain features of (BIu) with formality, even though they knew the interviewer used the counterpart variety. However, it shows that they still lack capability of using the "well-formed" lexical choice.

6.1.4.2 Style-shifting in the formal situation

We found that children tended to increase the use of (BIu) in the formal situation. Using (BIu) in the formal situation indicates the individual child's response to the style used by the interviewer, and/or the child's awareness of the situation. Following Bell (1984:167), these children might already be able to:

1) assess the personal characteristics of the interviewer, and adjust their style;
2) assess the general style level of the interviewer and shift relative to it;
3) assess the interviewer's level for specific linguistic variables, and shift relative to those levels.

At the very least the children showed their capability of assessing the personal characteristics of the interviewer (Bell 1984:168). They might also be able to assess the general style level—that is, the formal style that is used by the interviewer.

It is also found that several children used (MIXu), from single-word to multiple-word utterances. When children used utterances such as

sedang	*ny-(s)apu*	[sədaŋ ɳapu]
PROG	ACT.TR-sweep	
(BI)	(CJI) (UNM)	

'X is sweeping',

which is a combination of (BIu) and (CJIu) respectively, it is indicated that these children were actually able to assess the situation, and apparently tried to synchronize their speech with the interviewer. However, it also shown that they failed to produce the appropriate lexical choice of the appropriate style. Other examples are mixed morphemes, such as

meny-(c)opot-in [mənɲpɔtin]
ACT.TR-pull.out-TR
(BI) (CJI) (CJI)
'to pull out'

showing that they were not able to apply a grammatical constraint to produce the right construction in the appropriate situation.

The use of (CJIu) in the formal situation can be interpreted in different ways. First, it is possible that the children were still not able to assess the personal characteristics of the interviewer, nor the general style level. They still felt more comfortable with the variety they were familiar with, and consistently used it. Another possibility is that these children tried to create a distance with the formal interviewer, resulting in linguistic divergence (see also Giles, *et al.,* 1991). Nevertheless, the latter presumption was not supported, given the fact that children were in general very cooperative in conversations. In fact, at this early age the children were still CJI dominant language users.

6.2 The use of CJI and BI verbs in the elicited speech data

In her description of the Jakarta linguistic situation, Wouk (1999:61) claims: "…it is Jakarta Indonesian, […] that their children learn as a first language." In fact, findings presented in Section 6.1 confirm Wouk's statement: children use more (CJIu) than (BIu). In our observations of children's interactions with their teachers, peers, and helpers at school, we found that CJI was used more frequently than BI. CJI was also used in the interactions with nannies and servants when the children were brought to and picked up from school. And children were more at ease in the informal situation, in which the interviewer used CJI, resulting in longer conversations.

Yet, the results from the parental questionnaire, that are already discussed in Chapter 5, indicated, that in majority (70%), parents claimed to mainly use BI in interactions with the children in all conditions and situations. In other words, the children have more BI input from their parents. Findings from our observation at school confirm the parents' claim in a certain way. We found that children used BI when they were role-playing, especially as they played police, mother, or doctor. They also used BI for praying. From the parents' claim on the use of BI and from interactions between children and persons at school, it can be assumed that children in this study were already

bi-stylistic. The question to be addressed is the extent to which the children use both varieties when they are confronted with situations in which either BI or CJI is expected.

Previous analyses suggest that some of the children already showed their sensitivity to different situations. It could also show that young children in this study learned how to accommodate in communication. We can see how they learn to behave verbally in different situations, in which style becomes one of the important factors. Nevertheless, the analysis of children's stylistic characteristics in Section 6.1 was based on all the children's utterances in the interview, including BI components that were repeated from the interviewer such as:

sedang (BI)
PROG

or

me-laku-kan (BI)
ACT.TR-do-TR
'doing'

Occasionally, even in the informal situation, children style-shifted from CJI to BI. An example of such a condition is when a child (Dac) recited a part of a children's song lyric—in which the words are mainly formal BI or unmarked. The fifth to eighth utterance of Dac's turn below is an example of such a case.

(1)

(1) D:	*Iya*	*deh*			
	yes	FOC			
	(UNM)	(UNM)			
	'okay'				
(2)	*itu*	*adek*[3]	*punya*	*lagi*	
	that	younger.sibling	have	again	
	(UNM)	(CJI)	(UNM)	(UNM)	
	'that's mine'				
(3)	*aaa...*				
	FOC				
	(UNM)				
	'aaa'				
(4)	*itu*	*-nya*	*lagu-nya*	*(a)pa..*	*i...*
	that-DEF		song-DEF	what	FOC
	(UNM)	+(UNM)=(CJI)	(UNM)(UNM)	(UNM)	(UNM)
	'the song is …'				

[3]The child called himself *adek* [adeʔ] 'younger sibling' as his family called him at home.

(5) *"tiup lilin-nya"*
blow candle -DEF
(UNM) (UNM) (UNM)
'blow the candle'

(6) *"sehat badan -nya"*
healthy body -DEF
(UNM) (UNM)(UNM)
'healthier is the body'

(7) *"kuat iman -nya"*
strong faith -DEF
(UNM) (UNM) (UNM)
'stronger is the faith'

(8) "Tuhan 'berkat-i"
God bless-TR
(UNM) (UNM) (BI)
'God bless you'

In line (8) there is the BI suffix *-i* suggesting that the child already produces BI utterances. However, it becomes ambiguous to judge his utterance as an indication of his ability to spontaneously produce the word, since he is just mimicking the words of the song. The question to be addressed is the extent to which he – and the other children in the study - can spontaneously and creatively produce BI.

In this section, we examine children's stylistic competence by restricting the analysis to their answers to the elicitation questions. Our focus is on how children used CJI verbs (CJIv) and BI verbs (BIv)—see Section 4.5.10.2 for the coding. For these analyses we have the same number of (possible) observations for each child (contrary to the analyses presented in Section 6.1). Answers that contained morphemes shared by BI and CJI are coded as 'other', as well as, answers that were not a verb. Therefore, (CJIv) and (BIv) scores do not add up to 100 and are analyzed separately to get insight in the acquisition of verbal morphology in BI and CJI.

As can be seen from Table 6.7 the number of speakers with more than one missing values is much lower in the second than in the first period: 21 (formal) and 22 (informal) in period 1 versus 5 (formal) and 1 (informal) in period 2. Also the absolute numbers of missing values are much lower in the second (29, 18 formal and 11 informal) than in the first period (148, 78 formal and 70 informal). Note that there is no clear difference between the formal and the informal situation. This can be seen as an indication that the children became more competent in CJI and BI verbal morphology, although it cannot be excluded that they just became better in understanding the purpose of the elicitation task (producing verbs).

Table 6.7
Number of Children (n=63) Having Missing Values in the Elicitation Task, Split Up by Situation and Period

Mising values	Period 1		Period 2	
	Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal
0	17	23	51	53
1	25	18	7	9
2	13	15	4	1
3	6	6	1	
4	1	1		
5	1			

In Section 6.2.1 a general analysis of (BIv) and (CJIv) is presented. In Section 6.2.2 we will focus in more detail on individual patterns and differences. A case study of children with exceptional language behavior is presented in Section 6.2.3.

6.2.1 Statistical analysis of (BIv) and (CJIv)

The mean scores of (BIv) and (CJIv) split up by situation and period are presented in Figure 6.3. It is obvious that in all situations and periods the use of (CJIv) is much higher than that of (BIv). The results of the Mixed Models analysis (method REML) for (CJIv) are presented in Table 6.8, those for (BIv) in Table 6.10. For both variables, the full model, including the two random factors school and child, and all fixed factors and their interactions had the best fit (lowest AIC).

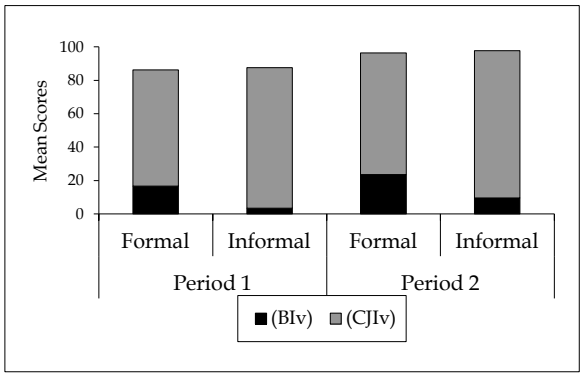

Figure 6.3
(CJIv) and (BIv) Split Up for Situation and Period

Table 6.8
(CJIv): Results of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	1.566	2267.025	.002
Cohort	2	54.107	.225	.799
Gender	1	55.473	.079	.780
Situation	1	171	41.697	.000
Period	1	171	1.210	.273
Cohort * Gender	2	55.548	.992	.377
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.342	.711
Cohort * Period	2	171	.180	.835
Gender * Situation	1	171	.019	.890
Gender * Period	1	171	2.005	.159
Situation * Period	1	171	.371	.543
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	.193	.824
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	2.054	.131
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.130	.878
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	2.495	.116
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	2.874	.059
RANDOM FACTORS		**Estimate**	**SE**	***p***
School		0.99	8.13	.903
Child		54.52	25.73	.034
AIC = 2037.206				

For (CJIv) there is a significant random effect of child (p=.034) and a significant fixed effect of situation (*F(1,171)=41.697, p=.000*). Children used (CJIv) more frequently in the informal situation (M=86.2, SD=13.7) than in the formal one (M=71.2, SD=22.6), but it should be noted that also in the formal situation – intended to elicit BI – CJI verbs are by far used the most. There is no significant period effect (Period 1: M=76.9, SD=19.8; Period 2: M=80.6, SD=20.3). Children do not use less (CJIv) over time, which rejects Hypothesis 1b.

Furthermore, there is no significant cohort effect (Cohort 1: M=77.5, SD=19.8; Cohort 2: M=79.9, SD=21.2; Cohort 3: M=78.3, SD=19.5), nor a significant interaction between cohort and situation (see Table 6.8). Thus, younger children do not use more (CJIv) than older children in both situations and older children do not use more (CJIv) in the informal than in the formal situation. Consequently, hypotheses 1a and 2c have to be rejected.

Table 6.9
(CJIv): Split up for Age Cohort and Situation

Cohort	Formal		Informal	
	M	SD	M	SD
1	70.1	22.6	85.3	13.2
2	71.2	22.9	88.6	15.3
3	71.7	22.6	84.9	12.8

The mean scores for (CJIv) of boys (M=78.8, SD=20.9) and girls (M=78.6, SD=19.4) do not significantly differ, which is a confirmation of Hypothesis 1c.

Table 6.10
(BIv): Results of Mixed Models Analysis

FIXED FACTORS	df1	df2	F	*p*
Intercept	1	1.740	29.891	.043
Cohort	2	55.819	.417	.661
Gender	1	56.893	.217	.643
Situation	1	171	33.575	.000
Period	1	171	10.208	.002
Cohort * Gender	2	56.773	.718	.492
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.442	.643
Cohort * Period	2	171	.103	.902
Gender * Situation	1	171	.062	.804
Gender * Period	1	171	.290	.591
Situation * Period	1	171	.280	.597
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	.855	.427
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	1.016	.364
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.128	.880
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	1.095	.297
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	2.499	.085
RANDOM FACTORS		**Estimates**	**SE**	***p***
School		6.45	15.49	.677
Child		81.84	28.80	.004
AIC = 2022.343				

For (BIv) there is a significant random effect of child (p=.004), and a significant fixed effect of situation (*F(1,171)=33.575, p=.000*) and period *F(1, 171)=10.208, p=.002*). For none of the other factors and none of the interactions there is a significant effect (see Table 6.10). Children used (BIv) more frequently in the formal situation (M=20.09, SD=23.62) than in the informal situation (M=6.53, SD=11.32), showing that in general the children are already aware of stylistic differences. Children also used (BIv) more frequently in the second period (M=16.6, SD=20.7) than in the first period (M=10.1, SD=18.2). However, as there is no significant interaction between period and situation, this is not a full confirmation of Hypothesis 2b. As can

be seen from Figure 6.3, they increase their use of BI in both situations (16.6 to 23.6 in the formal; 3.5 to 9.5 in the informal situation), not exclusively in the formal one.

In Table 6.11, the mean scores and standard deviations of (BIv), split up for cohort and situation are presented. It is shown that older children tended to use more BI in both situations. As this interaction is not significant ($F(1,171)=.442$, $p=.643$), Hypothesis 2a, claiming that older children will use more BI in the formal situation, is rejected. Finally, the (BIv) scores of boys (M=13.7, SD=20.7) and girls (M=13.0, SD=18.8) are not significantly different, which confirms Hypothesis 1c.

Table 6.11
(BIv): Split up for Age Cohort and Situation

Cohort	Formal		Informal	
	M	SD	M	SD
1	16.5	23.3	6.5	8.7
2	18.8	25.2	5.5	13.5
3	22.7	22.7	7.3	10.8

For both (CJIv) and (BIv) child observed as a significant random factor and standard deviations were often very high, pointing out large individual differences in the acquisition of stylistic variation. We will focus on these differences in Section 6.2.2.

6.2.2 Individual patterns and differences

In general, children used more (CJIv) in the informal than in the formal situation and more (BIv) in the formal than in the informal situation. We only observed a period effect for (BIv): the use of (BIv) increased in the period of 6 months, in both situations. For none of the variables a cohort effect showed up. Within group variation appeared to be large and child showed up as a significant random factor for both (CJIv) and (BIv).

To get more insight in the acquisition of stylistic variation in Indonesian spoken by Jakarta children, we will focus on the individual patterns of change (in the use of (CJIv) (6.2.2.1) and (BIv) (6.2.2.2). The individual scores for (CJIv) and (BIv) of the first and second data collection are compared in both the formal and informal situation, to get insight in the developmental patterns in a period of 6 months. In 6.2.2.3 we will present the correlations between the use of (CJIv) and (BIv).

For the categorization of the differences between the 2nd and 1st period, the scheme presented in Table 6.12 is used. Five categories were distinguished:

strong increase, moderate increase, stable, moderate decrease, and strong decrease. Unstable speakers are defined as those having at least a difference of two tokens in the compared elicitation tasks (which targeted at having 8 or 9 observations of the variables). As a result, stable is defined as a difference score of less than |15|. Unstable speakers with a difference score of |50| are categorized as strong increase or decrease.

Table 6.12
Classification scheme of individual developmental patterns for (CJIv) and (BIv)

individual pattern	**difference period 2 – period 1**
strong increase	$+50 \leq x \leq +100$
moderate increase	$+15 \leq x < +50$
stable	$-15 < x < +15$
moderate decrease	$-15 \leq x < -50$
strong decrease	$-50 \leq x \leq -100$

.

6.2.2.1 Individual changes in the use of (CJIv)

In this section the individual scores for (CJIv) of the first and second data collection are compared in both the formal and informal situation, to get insight in the individual patterns of change in the use of CJI verb forms in a period of 6 months. In Table 6.13 the children are categorized according to the classification scheme in Table 6.12, split up for situation.

Table 6.13
Changes in the Individual Scores of (CJIv) between the 1st and 2nd period

	formal situation		**informal situation**	
	n	%	n	%
strong increase	4	6.3	0	0.0
moderate increase	16	25.4	18	28.6
stable	25	39.7	38	60.3
moderate decrease	17	27.0	6	9.5
strong decrease	1	1.6	1	1.6

Table 6.13 shows that in the informal situation – intended to elicit CJI – 60.3% of the children are stable. All these children, except one, have (CJIv) scores of 75 or higher in both periods. Ten of these children (16.3%) have a maximum score of 100 for (CJIv) in both periods. They seem to assess the informal situation perfectly and are able to use consistently CJI verb forms in the informal situation.

The individual patterns are visualized in Figures 6.4a (formal situation) and 6.4b (informal situation). Figures 6.4a and 6.4b indicate that in both

situations many children have high (CJIv) scores in period 1. It is obvious that the patterns of change for (CJIv) are more diverse in the formal situation. Note that in the informal situation only two children – one in each period – have a score lower than 50. One of them, Ary, even becomes a strongly dominant BI speaker (see Section 6.2.2.3 and Section 6.2.3.2 for a further discussion). The high scores – especially in the informal situation – suggest that CJI is for most of the children their first and/or dominant language.

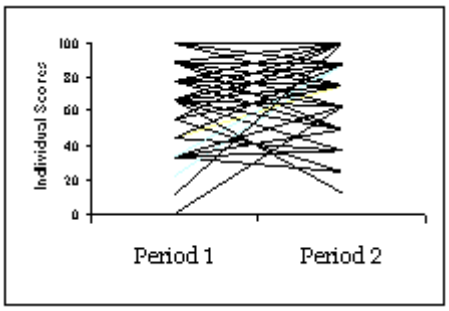

Figure 6.4a
Changes of (CJIv)in the Formal Situation

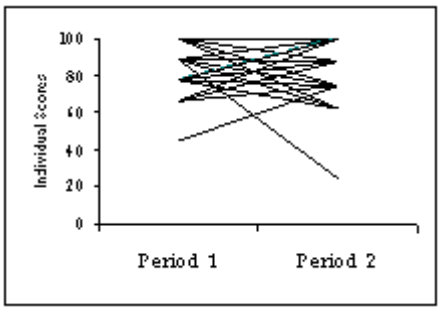

Figure 6.4b
Changes of (CJIv) in the Informal Situation

Eighteen children (28.6%) moderately increase the use of (CJIv) in the second period, which is an indication of their increasing capability to assess the informality of the situation and to adapt their language use to it. It should be noted that due to a ceiling effect, strong increases are impossible (except for the one speaker having a score lower than 50 in the first period).

Seven children (11.1%) decrease their use of (CJIv) in the informal situation in the second period, six of them moderately, one child strongly. It suggest that these children appear to loose their capacity to assess the informality of the situation and speak the appropriate colloquial variety. However, we should be careful in interpreting this as a decrease in their use of CJI verbal morphology or in their capacity to speak CJI. We think they developed to perceive the interviews as a formal interaction, although they were already familiar with InfIn, the informal interviewer (see also Section 6.2.3.2).

In the formal situation 39.7% of the speakers are stable. One of these children exclusively used (CJIv) in the formal situation (see also Section 6.2.3.2). Eighteen children (28.6%) decrease the use of (CJIv) in the second period, one child strongly, indicating that they learned that CJI is not the appropriate variety in a formal situation. However, 31.7% of the children increased their use of (CJIv) in the formal situation; 25.4% moderately and 6.3% strongly. Strikingly, the four increasing children were amongst those

having the lowest (CJIv) scores (all lower than 50)—and the highest ones for (BIv)—in the formal situation in the first period. An explanation might be found in the fact that these children were already familiar with the interview session, and became less aware of the situation. They were also more familiar with ForIn, the formal interviewer, and felt more at ease the formal situation and interpreted as informal, resulting in a higher use of (CJIv) in the second formal interview. These children will be discussed in Section 6.2.3.2.

6.2.2.2 Individual changes in the use of (BIv)

In this section the individual scores for (BIv) of the first and second data collection are compared in both the formal and informal situation, to get insight in the individual patterns of change in the use of BI verb forms in a period of 6 months. In Table 6.14 the children are categorized according to the classification scheme in Table 6.12, split up for situation.

Table 6.14
Changes in the Individual Scores of (BIv) between the 1st and 2nd period

	formal situation		**informal situation**	
	n	%	n	%
strong increase	5	7.9	1	1.6
moderate increase	15	23.8	8	12.7
stable	35	55.6	54	85.7
moderate decrease	5	7.9	0	0.0
strong decrease	3	4.8	0	0.0

The individual patterns are visualized in Figures 6.5a (formal situation) and 6.5b (informal situation). The patterns of change for (BIv) are more various in the formal situation than in the informal situation. Many children had low scores in the formal situation in the first period, almost half of them (31 out of 63) even never used BI verb forms in the first period, 13 of them continued to do so in the second period. A small amount of children had a (BIv) score equal to or above 50: nine in the first period and eleven in the second period. Strikingly, a number of children starting with high (BIv) scores in the formal situation in the first period decreased drastically the use of (BIv) in the second period. In the informal situation, the (BIv) scores are all low in the first period (maximum is 22.2; M=3.5, SD=5.9); in the second period variation is higher (minimum is 0.0, maximum is 75.0; M=9.5, SD=14.3).

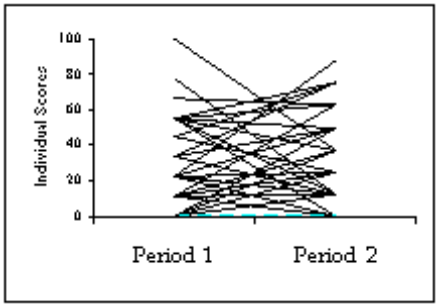

Figure 6.5a
Changes of (BIv) in the Formal Situation

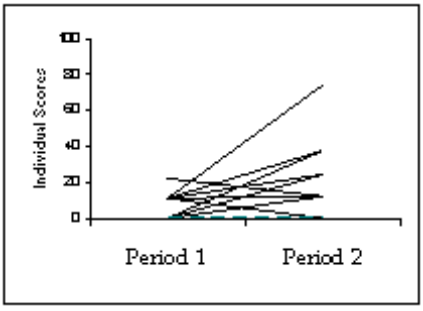

Figure 6.5b
Changes of (BIv)in the Informal Situation

Table 6.14 shows that in the formal situation – intended to elicit BI – 23.8% of the children showed a moderate and 7.9% a strong increase in the use of (BIv) in the second period. It means that they developed their capability to assess the formality of the situation and adapted their language use to it. More than half of the children (55.6%) remained stable, although they had considerable margin to increase their use of (BIv) within the first formal situation a mean index score of 9.8 and only three speaker with a score higher than 25.

Eight children (12.7%) showed a decrease in the use of (BIv) in the formal situation: five children a moderate and three a strong one. An explanation might be found in the fact that these children were already familiar with the interview session and became more familiar with ForIn, the formal interviewer. Consequently, they felt more at ease the formal situation and interpreted as informal, resulting in a lower use of (BIv) in the second formal interview (see Section 6.2.3.2).

In the informal situation none of the children decreased the use of (BIv), but as scores were very low in the first period (maximum=22.2), this is not a surprising observation. The majority of the children (85.7%) remain stable, therefore they kept the amount of BI low in the informal situation. Twenty seven of them even never used (BIv) in the informal situation. It might suggest that they were able to assess the situation as informal and succeeded in keeping the amount of BI features low.

Eight children (12.7%) increased the use of (BIv) in the informal situation; one of them did it strongly (and is the only child with an index score higher than 50 in the informal situation). A further discussion about these children is presented in Section 6.2.3.2. It is not excluded that these children in the second period considered the informal interview sessions as formal, and tried to use BI. Nardy *et al.* (2013) already suggested that Roberts' play-

interview method tends to elicit more formal speech. Another possibility is that these children increased the formal style, showing distance towards the interviewer, InfIn. As they have not yet fully acquired BI verbal morphology, their (BIv) scores remained relatively low.

6.2.2.3 The relationship between the use of (CJIv) and (BIv)

In this section we have a look at the relationship between the use of CJI and BI verbs. First, we will try to detect whether children have a dominant variety, then we will look at the correlations between (CJIv) and (BIv).We have already observed in the previous sections that most of the children used more (CJIv) than (BIv), even in the formal situation. If we compare Figures 6.4b ((CJIv) in the informal situation) and 6.5a ((BIv) in the formal situation), we can see that children are much more competent in producing CJI than BI in the appropriate situation. Only one child – in the first period – reaches the maximum of 100 for (BIv) in the formal situation. For (CJIv) the maximum score is reached by 17 children in the first and 28 children in the second period.

The children's dominant variety is established in each period by calculating the difference between the use of (CJIv) in the informal situation and (BIv) in the formal situation, i.e. the two appropriate varieties. Then, these scores are classified by means of the scheme in Table 6.15, resulting in five categories of children: strongly dominant CJI, moderately dominant CJI, balanced CJI-BI, moderately dominant BI, and strongly dominant BI speaker.

Table 6.15
Classification Scheme of the Children's Dominant Variety

individual pattern	**(CJIv)informal – (BIv)formal**
strongly dominant CJI speaker	$+50 \leq x \leq +100$
moderately dominant CJI speaker	$+15 \leq x < +50$
balanced CJI-BI speaker	$-15 < x < +15$
moderately dominant BI speaker	$-15 \leq x <- 50$
strongly dominant BI speaker	$-50 \leq x \leq -100$

The number of children in each category, split up by period, is given in Table 6.16. In the first period, 59 children are CJI dominant, none of the children is BI dominant, and only four children can be considered as balanced BI-CJI speakers, shifting to the appropriate variety in the formal and informal interview. In the second period, again almost all of the children (58) are CJI dominant. There are three balanced CJI-BI speakers and two BI dominant ones. One of the balanced children in the second period was also a balanced speaker in the first period.

Table 6.16
Patterns of Variety Dominance by Period

	Period 1	Period 2
strongly dominant CJI speaker	48	49
moderately dominant CJI speaker	11	9
balanced CJI-BI speaker	4	3
moderately dominant BI speaker	0	1
strongly dominant BI speaker	0	1

As expected, there is a strong negative correlation (Pearson's r = -.846, p<.001) between (BIv) and (CJIv) scores, implying that children having low (BIv) scores in an interview have high (CJIv) scores, those with higher (BIv) scores have lower (CJIv) scores. However, it is more interesting to have a look at the correlations split up by situation and period. These are presented in Table 6.17.

Table 6.17
Pearson Correlations between (BIv) and (CJIv) split up by situation and period (n=63)[4]

BIvF1	BIvF2	BIvI1	BIvI2	CJIvF1	CJIvF2	CJIvI1	CJIvI2
BIvF1	.413*	.146	.103	-.859**	-.332*	-.018	-.053
	BIvF2	.100	.518**	-.318*	-.937**	.000	-.444**
		BIvI1	.178	-.242	-.025	-.402*	-.191
			BIvI2	-.158	-.484**	-.017	-.932**
				CJIvF1	.263*	-.005	.095
					CJIvF2	-.029	.405**
						CJIvI1	.045
							CJIvI2

* p<.05, ** p<.001

Let us first look at the correlations between (BIv) and (CJIv), within the same period and situation. Three of them (BIvF1-CJIvF1; BIvF2-CJIvF2; and BIvI2-CJIvI2) are very strong negative correlations (between -.859 and -.937), but the negative correlation in the informal situation in the first period is much weaker (r=-.402). It cannot be explained by the presence of missing values,

[4](**BIvF1=** BI verb in formal situation 1st period; **BIvF2**=BI verb in formal situation 2nd period; **BIvI1**=BI verb in informal situation 1st period; **BIvI2**=BI verb in informal situation 2nd period ; **CJIvF1=** CJI verb in formal situation 1st period; **CJIvF2**=CJI verb in formal situation 2nd period; **CJIvI1**=CJI verb in informal situation 1st period; **CJIvI2**=CJI verb in informal situation 2nd period)

as in the formal situation in the first period there are an almost equal number of speakers with missing values (see also Table 6.7).

Let us also look at the correlations for (BIv) and for (CJIv) between the first and second period within the same situation. In the informal situation there are no significant correlations, implying that the two (BIv) and two (CJIv) scores are not related. In the formal situation there is a moderate correlation (r=.413) for (BIv) and a weak one (r=.263) for (CJIv), indicating that there is a small tendency that speakers with higher scores in one period also have higher scores in the other one.

Let us turn now to the question whether children who use more BI in the (appropriate) formal situation, also use more CJI in the (appropriate) informal situation. A strong positive correlation would imply that we have in fact language learners who are competent in both varieties (in other words are bi-stylistic) versus learners who are less advanced in their development of both BI and CJI. This is clearly not the case. In the first period there is no correlation between (BIv) in the formal situation and (CJIv) in the informal situation, in the second period there is even a moderate negative correlation (r=-.444). It implies that those who use a high amount of CJI verb forms in the informal situation use a low amount of BI verb forms in the formal situation. It suggests that – in the second period – some of the children are mono-stylistic (either formal or informal) or consider both situations of the same formality. This interpretation is confirmed by the significant correlations in the second period between the formal and informal scores for (CJIv) (r=.405) and (BIv) (r=.518).

In the next section, we will focus on the children that showed exceptional language behaviour.

6.2.3 Case studies of children with exceptional language behavior

In this section we will discuss the children that demonstrated exceptional language behavior in one or more of the interview sessions. Table 6.18 gives an overview of these children and their characteristics. The children are listed in alphabetical order on the basis of their nickname. First the speaker code, school (C stands for Catholic; I for Islamic; P for public), cohort and gender of each child is listed. Then eight index scores are given: (BIv)For1, (BIv)For2, (BIv)Inf1, (BIv)Inf2 and (CJIv)For1, (CJIv)For2, (CJIv)Inf1, (CJIv)Inf2, split up by situation and period. A (BIv)For1 score of 50 or higher was one of the criteria to be classified as exceptional. Then it is indicated whether the child is BI dominant in period 1 or 2: BI-dom-1 and

Table 6.18
Children with Exceptional Language Behavior

Code	**Ann**	**Ary**	**Bib**	**Cal**	**Che**	**Daf**	**Dio**	**Iac**	**Kal**	**Kay**	**Mey**	**Put**	**Rai**	**Ren**	**War**	**Yog**
CHI	3101	2105	1201	3102	3111	2302	3105	2107	2304	3206	1107	2205	1108	2103	2104	3117
School	C	C	I	C	C	P	C	C	P	I	C	I	C	C	C	C
Cohort	3	2	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	3
Gender	girl	boy	girl	girl	girl	girl	boy	boy	boy	girl	girl	girl	boy	girl	boy	boy
(BIv)For1	44.4	33.3	77.8	55.6	66.7	11.1	22.2	100.0	55.6	55.6	0.0	0.0	55.6	0.0	55.6	55.6
(BIv)For2	75.0	75.0	12.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	87.5	37.5	37.5	0.0	50.0	50.0	75.0	50.0	50.0	12.5
(BIv)Inf1	0.0	11.1	11.1	11.1	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	22.2	0.0	0.0	11.1	11.1	0.0	0.0
(BIv)Inf2	37.5	75.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	12.5	37.5	0.0	0.0	12.5	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	12.5	0.0
(CJIv)For1	55.6	55.6	22.2	44.4	33.3	66.7	66.7	0.0	33.3	11.1	66.7	88.9	33.3	77.8	33.3	33.3
(CJIv)For2	25.0	25.0	87.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	12.5	62.5	62.5	100.0	50.0	50.0	25.0	50.0	50.0	87.5
(CJIv)Inf1	77.8	88.9	66.7	77.8	77.8	100.0	88.9	88.9	100.0	66.7	66.7	100.0	77.8	77.8	100.0	100.0
(CJIv)Inf2	62.5	25.0	100.0	100.0	75.0	87.5	62.5	100.0	100.0	87.5	75.0	100.0	75.0	100.0	87.5	100.0
BI- dom-1			bal	**> 50**	bal			bal	**> 50**	bal					**> 50**	
BI-dom-2	bal	strong			bal		mod						bal			
↑(BIv) for						x	x				x	x		x		
↓(BIv) for			x					x		x						
↑(BIv) inf		x														
↓(BIv) inf																
↑(CJIv) for			x					x		x						x
↓(CJIv) for							x									
↑(CJIv) inf																
↓(CJIv) inf		x														

BI-dom-2. This was another criterion to be classified as exceptional. This is based on the classification presented in Table 6.16 (**bal** = balanced; **mod** = moderate BI dominance; **strong** = strong BI dominance; a blank cell indicates that the child is CJI dominant). Finally, it is indicated (by means of x) whether in the 6 months interval the child had a strong increase **(↑)** or decrease **(↓)** of (BIv) or (CJIv) in the formal or informal situation (see also Tables 6.11 and 6.13), which were the final criteria for selection. First we will give a general overview, then we will discuss – in alphabetical order – the individual children in more detail.

6.2.3.1 A general overview of the exceptional children

We found that there were nine children, spread across all schools, cohorts and genders, started with score >50 of (BIv) in the first formal interview. There are four girls – Bib from Cohort 1; Che, Cal, and Kay from Cohort 3 – and five boys – Rai from Cohort 1; War, Iac and Kal from Cohort 2; and Yog from Cohort 3. They all come from various ethnic backgrounds; and some come from inter-ethnic marriages. These children were spending on average more than ten hours a day with their mother. They were used to conditions that require the use of BI. Parents told them stories at least once a week, and they claimed to use BI frequently at home. Even though each of these children had unique personalities – shy, talkative, cheerful, polite, friendly, or moody – they were very cooperative in the interview session. All of them were also able to style-shift in accordance to the situations, given the fact that, at the one hand, they used CJI while they were playing with their peers or talking to other persons at school outside the classroom, and at the other hand, used BI while they were role-playing. The language use at home could have an impact on the use at school.

Within 6 months, many children changed their language behavior. Four of the children – Rai, War, Che, and Cal – remained frequent (BIv) users in the formal situation over time, the five others decreased the use of (BIv) in favour of (CJIv). The reasons for the changes were various, as will be explained in the discussion of the individual children. We found other exceptional children—those who increased (BIv) up to ≥ 50. They are Ann, Ary, Daf, Dio, Mey, Put, and Ren. Like others already mentioned before, these children come from various ethnic groups and background. In the following section we will present these children in alphabetical order.

6.2.3.2 A closer look at the exceptional children

Ann

Ann, a girl from Cohort 3, was a moderately dominant CJI speaker in the first period and became a balanced BI-CJI speaker in the second period. She is a polite, calm, and very cooperative girl. Ann belongs to a Batak family. She attended a Catholic school and was usually brought by school bus to and from school. She was easy to be approached and showed her cooperativeness from the very beginning of the interactions with both interviewers. On many occasions, she tried to accommodate with ForIn and converged her speech with that of ForIn. She moderately increased the use of (BIv) in both situations, (+33.8 in formal situation, and +37.5 in informal situation). In the second period, she used both varieties in each situation, but with a preference for the appropriate variety. The increasing use of (BIv) might come from her learning at school or home—while we were absent for six months.

Ary

Ary, a boy from Cohort 2, was a strongly dominant CJI speaker in the first period, and became a strongly dominant BI speaker in the second period. He strongly increased his use of (BIv) in both situations (+42.3 in the formal situation and +64.1 in the informal situation) and is the only child who strongly decreased the use of (CJIv). Ary is a very polite, rather shy boy. He is also very careful in his behavior and talking. Both of his parents are Chinese descendants, and are his main caregivers. He has a nanny and a servant, as well. He attends a Catholic school and his father regularly brings him to school and picks him up afterwards. Outside and inside the classroom, Ary played mostly with girls. While the majority of the children became more familiar and closer to both interviewers in the second session, Ary kept distance, even outside the classroom. His formality was more likely influenced by the fact that he perceived the interviews as formal and the interviewers as strangers. His increasing use of (BIv) is probably also the result of a learning process.

Bib

Bib, a girl from Cohort 1, started as a balanced CJI-BI speaker and became a strongly dominant CJI speaker. Within her age cohort, she was one of those who had the highest score of (BIv) in the formal situation, and within her gender group, she also has the highest score of (BIv) in the first period (77.8). In the second period, she strongly decreased the (BIv) and strongly increased the use of (CJIv) in the formal situation (increasing use is +65.3); and moderately increased in the informal situation (+33.5). Bib is a happy, polite, and very cooperative girl. She is very attentive to any new person at

school, including the interviewers. Bib comes from a Palembang family and attends an Islamic school. In the first period, her mother usually brought her to school and a servant picked her up. As she had a baby sibling in the second period, it was her servant who brought her to school and picked her up afterwards. She plays mainly with girls and is very cooperative with her peers. In the second period, she was much easier to be approached, happier and more talkative, and became very casual with both interviewers. She also looked very at ease in the interviews. The positive changes she experienced with her family affected her mood and she became more relaxed, which also affected her style, especially in the formal interview. In Bib's case, a good mood resulted in casualty. Furthermore, Bib became less aware of the formal situation, resulting in more use of (CJIv) than of (BIv).

Cal

Cal, a girl from Cohort 3, was a moderately dominant CJI speaker in both periods, but she was also among those who started with a score >50 (BIv) in the formal situation and maintained the high score over time. In the informal situation, she keep the high score of (CJIv) (77.8 in the first, and 100 in the second period), indicating that she was capable to assess the situation and developed her capability to style-shift. Cal is a polite, cheerful, talkative and cooperative girl. She is also very attentive with newcomers, including the interviewer. She belongs to a Javanese family and attends a Catholic school. It was her mother who usually sent and picked her up from school. Cal plays mainly with girls and is very cooperative with her peers. Her close friend is *Che* (see below) and sometimes both had some talks with both interviewers outside the classroom.

Che

Che, a girl from Cohort 3, was a balanced CJI-BI speaker in both periods. She was also among those who started with a score >50 (BIv) in the formal situation and maintained the high score over time. Even though she had high score of (CJIv) in the informal situation, apparently she also opted for (BIv) in such a situation. Like *Cal,* her close friend, Che is a cheerful, talkative and cooperative girl. She is also very friendly and attentive with newcomers, including the interviewers. Che also belongs to a Javanese family and attends a Catholic school. It was a female servant who always brought to and picked her up from school. Che played mainly with girls, but while she was waiting to be picked up, she sometimes also played with boys. She also spent more time chatting with the interviewers outside the classroom. Che was one of the children who enjoyed talking in front of the camera.

Daf

Daf, a girl from Cohort 2, was a strongly dominant CJI speaker in the first period. She showed a strongly increasing use of (BIv) in the formal situation (51.4), indicating that she developed her capability in assessing the formal style. She moderately decreased (CJIv) in the formal situation (28.8) as well. Daf is a polite, calm, and cooperative girl. She likes being in front of the camera and likes to hear her own voice from the recorder. Daf comes from an inter-ethnic family (Banjarmasin-Sundanese) and attends a public school. Usually, a female servant, who used to be her caregiver as well, brought her to school and picked her up afterward. Sometimes her mother did it. Daf played mostly with girls, and in role-playing, especially when playing house, she liked to take the mother-role and spoke BI. Daf was very easy to be approached, and showed her cooperativeness from the very beginning of the interactions with both interviewers. Outside the classroom, she played with the formal interviewer, ForIn, regularly. On many occasions with ForIn, she tried to synchronize the speech, as a way of accommodating to ForIn's speech. Apparently, the camera being turned on in front of her triggered her to switch to a more formal style, even though she was interviewed in the informal style. Being formal was more likely influenced by how she perceived the interview.

Dio

Dio, a boy of Cohort 3, started as a strongly dominant CJI speaker, and became a moderately dominant BI speaker. He showed a strong increase of (BIv) scores in the formal situation (+64.7). He also indicated to be more formal by moderately increasing the use of (BIv) in the informal situation (+26.4). Dio is a very talkative child. In the classroom, he is a very active student as well. He is easy to be approached, and showed his cooperativeness from the very beginning of interactions with both interviewers. Like Daf, he liked acting in front of the camera and hearing his own voice from the recorder. Dio comes from a Sundanese family and attends a Catholic school. The main caregiver at home is his mother, who used to bring him to school and pick him up afterward. Sometimes, a female servant replaced the mother. His grandmother from father's side is also his caregiver at home. According to his mother, Dio likes science fiction, and in many discussions he shows his interest in the subject. Dio plays mostly with boys. In the second period, Dio became more familiar with the interview sessions. As he is also camera-aware, he became more formal when he was interviewed in both conditioned situations. In both second interviews, Dio told additional stories, pretending to be one of the characters. This resulted in longer interviews, and more BI (both BIu and BIv). When the camera was turned on in front of him, he became aware of the formal style, even though

he was interviewed in the informal style. Like the previous two children, Dio developed his perception of the interviews as a "formal" interaction.

Iac

Iac, a boy of Cohort 2, started as a balanced CJI-BI speaker in the first period. He is the child who had the highest score of (BIv) in the first period (100). Yet, in the second period he became a strongly dominant CJI speaker. In the second formal interview, he strongly decreases (BIv), and increased (CJIv) (increasing score +62.5). Iac is an easy-going and happy child. He belongs to a Batak family and attends a Catholic school. Usually, his grandmother brought him to school and picked him up afterwards. The other caregivers are a nanny and a servant. Outside the classroom, Iac played mainly with boys and liked to play robber-and-police along with some of the other boys at school. In the first interview, he was among those who had the highest score of (BIv). He showed his capability of using BI, indicating that he was able to assess the situation. He did not look nervous when he was with ForIn in the first formal interview. In fact, he was one of the children who was very easy to be approached. Meanwhile, like Bib, in the informal interviews Iac maintained a high score of (CJIv), showing that he was already capable to style-shift. In the second period, Iac became familiar with the presence of both interviewers. However, he preferred to play with his peers whenever he had a break. Interactions with interviewers were mainly when he was alone waiting for his friends to finish their school tasks. In the second formal interview, Iac, like Bib, was so relaxed that he answered all of the questions mainly in CJI.

Kal

Kal, a boy from Cohort 2, started as a moderately dominant CJI speaker, but he was also among those who started with a score > 50 (BIv) in the formal situation. Kal moderately decreased his score of (BIv) in the formal situation (-17.9). In the informal situation, he was stable as he maintained a score of 100 for (CJIv). Kal is a calm, polite, and shy child. He speaks very softly in the classroom, as well as, in the interviews. However, he is also very cooperative in any conversation. Kal comes from a Javanese-Sundanese family and attends a public school. His mother used to await him at school. Besides his mother as the main caretaker, there is a servant who takes care of him at home. Kal played mainly with boys, and, as other boys do, he liked robots and dinosaurs toys a lot. In the first interview, Kal was nervous and was very formal to ForIn, resulting in a high (BIv) score. Nevertheless, Kal became more familiar with ForIn in the second period. Interactions with ForIn, however, seldom occurred and were mainly when he was alone awaiting his friends finishing their school tasks. Familiarity with the presence of ForIn, even though he knew that every time she used BI in

interaction with him, explains his decreasing use of BI and (BIv) in the second interview.

Kay

Kay, a girl of Cohort 3, started as a balanced CJI-BI speaker, and was among those who started with a score > 50 (BIv) in the formal situation. Kay showed an extremely decreased use of (BIv) in the formal situation, as she increased the use of (CJIv) (+87.5). Kay is a rather difficult and moody child. Sometimes, she could seem like an easy-going and happy child. Another day, she could be grumpy when something did not suit her. Kay comes from a Javanese family and attends an Islamic school. Every day, she was picked up by the school bus. According to her personal information, a nanny took care of her while her parents worked. Almost all of the conversations with her were coherent ones, inside and outside the classroom and the interview settings, as she was actually very good in turn-taking. She showed her cooperativeness in the first formal interview. Yet, on the day of the second formal interview, she had an argument with her friend before the interview and became very moody. That day, she only reluctantly joined the interview. She answered all the main questions in the formal interview, but mainly in CJI. Contrary to the reason behind the results of Bib's interview, it was her bad mood that influenced Kay to show less awareness of the situation and shift to CJI.

Mey

Mey, a girl from Cohort 1, started as a strongly dominant CJI speaker. Mey was among those who did not use (BIv) in the first period in the formal interview. In the second period, she strongly increased the use of (BIv) in the formal situation (+50) and moderately increased (BIv) in the informal situation (+25). Mey is a very shy, polite and calm girl. It took some time to approach and got her acceptance. However, she was very cooperative when she was with her peer and talkative enough. She comes from an inter-ethnic family. Her mother is a Javanese-Chinese, her father being Javanese and she attends a Catholic school. Her father usually brings her to school, while mother picks her up. She prefers to play mainly with girls. Over time, Mey became familiar with the presence of both interviewers. However, she preferred to play with her peers whenever she had a break. Interactions with interviewers were mainly when she was alone waiting for her friends to finish their school tasks or while she was awaiting her mother.

Put

Put, a girl from Cohort 2, started as a strongly dominant CJI speaker. Like Mey, she was also among those who did not use (BIv) in the first period of formal interview. In the second period, she strongly increased the (BIv) in

the formal situation (+50). In the same situation, she moderately decreased (CJIv) (-38.9). In the informal situation, she was stable as she maintained a score of 100 for (CJIv). Put is a happy, very talkative and cooperative child. She was also easy to be approached. Put comes from inter-ethnic family (Betawi-Javanese) and attends an Islamic school. Her grandmother and servant used to bring to and pick her up from school. Outside class, she preferred to play mainly with girls. Sometimes, she looked very dominant when she played with friends. We also assume that her developing capability of style shifting might be a result from learning while we were absent.

Rai

Rai, a boy from Cohort 2, was a moderately dominant CJI speaker and became a balanced CJI-BI speaker in the second period. He was also among those who started with a score >50 (BIv) in the formal situation, and moderately increased (BIv) in the second period (+19.4). Rai is a polite, happy and very friendly boy. He was also easy to be approached and very cooperative in the interview. Rai comes from inter-ethnic family (Batak-Manadonese) and attends a Catholic school. Besides his mother as the main caretaker at home, he was also taken care by a nanny and his grandmother. The nanny always brought him to school and awaited him. Rai played mainly with boys, and like the others, he liked to play police-robber (using BI). In both periods, he used both varieties in each situation, but with a preference for the appropriate variety.

Ren

Ren, a girl from Cohort 2, was a strongly dominant CJI speaker, but she strongly increased the use of (BIv) in the formal situation (increasing use +50). In the same situation, she moderately decreased the use of (CJIv) (decreasing use -27.8), showing that she was more aware of appropriate situation over time. Like Mey, Ren was among those who did not use (BIv) in the first period of formal interview. Ren is a happy, talkative and cooperative child. She was easy to be approached. She belongs to a Batak family and attends a Catholic school. Her mother used to bring to and pick her up from school. Outside the classroom, she played with both genders. Like other children, in some occasion she played or talked with the interviewers.

War

War, a boy from Cohort 2, was a moderately dominant CJI speaker in both periods. However, he was among those who started with a score > 50 (BIv) in the formal situation and maintain the score in the same situation. War is a happy and very friendly boy, very cooperative in the interview, and was

easy to be approached. He belongs to a Chinese descendant family and attends a Catholic school. His nanny used to bring and await him at school. War spent time mostly with his nanny. At school, War played only with boys, but sometimes he also played and talked with both interviewers outside the classroom. War is also among those who enjoyed to talk in front of the camera, and liked to hear his voice after the recordings.

Yog

Yog, a boy from Cohort 3, was a moderately dominant CJI speaker in the first period, and he was among those who had a score > 50 (BIv) in the formal situation. He moderately decreased the (BIv) (-43.1). In the informal situation, Yog was stable as he maintained a score of 100 for (CJIv). Yog is a polite, shy, but friendly child. He speaks very softly in the classroom as well as in the interviews. Yog comes from a Javanese-Chinese descendant family and attends a Catholic school. Every day, he was picked up by the school bus. Apart from his parents, there was also a servant who took care of him. Yog played only with boys. Like Iac, he liked to play robber-and-police. In the first formal interview, he was nervous and became very formal, resulting in high scores of (BIv) use. It suggests that this condition made him pay attention to his speech. He became more familiar with the presence of both interviewers in the second period. However, like Iac, interactions with interviewers were mainly when he was alone waiting for his friends to finish their school tasks. He became very relaxed with both interviewers, outside and inside the interview settings. Familiarity with the presence of ForIn - even though he was aware that she always used BI in interaction with him - was apparently Yog's main reason to use less BI, including decreased (BIv) in the second interview.

6.3 Discussion

This section discusses the findings on the analyses on stylistic variation and development of CJI and BI verbs. A discussion on children's tendencies of the stylistic choice is presented in 6.3.1. We present a further discussion on the use of CJI and BI verbs in 6.3.2, followed by a discussion on stylistic competence and development of BI verbs in 6.3.3.

6.3.1 On children's tendencies of the stylistic choice

From the beginning, many children in this study were able to use both varieties, regardless of the situation of the interview. It is observed that some children tried to synchronize with the interlocutor's speech, which implies that they were already capable of accommodating their speech to their interlocutor. However, it should be noted that—especially when using

(BIu)—the child's speech was often a replication of the speech of the interviewer, so we should be careful with any interpretation as proof of children's capacity to adapt their speech style to (adult norms of) the formality of the situation.

It appears that these children already had at least bi-stylistic receptive skills, given the fact that they could at least respond to both CJI and BI questions. They also tended to distinguish both varieties in different situations. Findings from our observations and the parental questionnaires confirm that these children are able to communicate in both varieties. This study finds that the type of situation influenced the use of BI in both the general analysis and the use of verbs, indicated by children's tendencies to choose BI more frequently in the formal. In concurrence with it, they were able to use the alternative variety, CJI, in the informal situation as well. The findings also indicate that the children tended to accommodate, converging their speech to both interviewers of given situations. In the interview sessions, they showed the capability of assessing the situation by using more characteristics of the appropriate variety.

Findings in this study show that these very young children have already begun to acquire the standard variety. The finding is not in line with Labov's (1964) model on the acquisition of standard varieties, which suggests that children begin to acquire the standard variety only after puberty.

However, it is also shown that their productive skills are not equal. Even though they are capable of distinguishing BI from CJI, it is clear that many of them were still strongly dominant CJI speakers. They still opted mainly for (CJIu), even when they were interviewed in formal situation. This finding is not surprising, given the fact that they are still more exposed to CJI, even in the school setting (see also Section 5.2).

It is shown that, at early age, children who acquire two language varieties show similar tendencies with those who acquire two languages. That is, they tend to use the different varieties in different contexts, and also take into account interlocutors (see also Youssef, 1993; and Purcell, 1984). In terms of language use, some of these children employ mixed utterances (MIXu) from the morphological to the clausal level. These mixed utterances are most frequently used in the formal situation. In the domain of bilingual first language acquisition, Vihman (1999) and De Houwer (2009) suggest that mixed utterances are a kind of highly creative features of speech of young bilingual children. Volterra and Taeschner (1978), and Genesee *et al.* (1995), among others, suggest that (bilingual) children use these types of utterances because they initially do not distinguish between two languages. In our

study of two varieties, however, it is too early to claim that our findings corroborate these suggestions, as we do not have enough data to support it. In fact, the finding that mixed utterance—especially mixed morpheme—is more frequently used in the formal situation could also be considered as hypercorrection, which is defined by Labov (1972:126) as the "irregular misapplication of an imperfectly learned rule". In this study, children did so as they apparently tried to be "correct" in the formal situation. The use of mixed utterances in the formal situation also suggests children's attitude towards BI as a prestigious variety—following Decamp's (1972:87) definition of "prestige dialect". Mixed utterances can also be considered as an indication of speech accommodation since these children apparently (but unsuccessfully) tried to converge their speech to the interviewer's speech. This phenomenon is almost similar to the interaction among adults (see also Niederhoffer and Pennebaker, 2002).

We also find that children used unmarked utterance (UNMu) regardless the situation. As it is mentioned previously, the unmarked utterance is used as a "bridge" in conversation. Apart from verbal answers, some of them gave non-verbal ones, including back-channel behavior such as nodding or shaking heads. When not able to express verbally, some children used gestures to answer the questions. The finding is similar to the patterns of interaction between adults (see also Giles and Powesland, 1975; Bernieri and Rosenthal, 1991; Niederhoffer and Pennebaker, 2002). The finding also suggests that these children are already mature to adapt communicative response (see also Street and Capella, 1989).

6.3.2 Findings on the use of CJI and BI verbs

Results on the use of (CJIv) and (BIv) indicate that in general children (59 of them) started as CJI dominant speakers. They also show that in majority they are more capable to assess the informal situation by using (CJIv) appropriately. In this study, it is also found that there are already a couple of balanced CJI-BI children who show their capability in using (CJIv) and (BIv) in appropriate situation. Nine of the children in this study even started with score >50 of (BIv).

There are five patterns of change: strong increase, moderate increase, stable, moderate decrease, and strong decrease. Some of the children change in a positive way: for (BIv) and (CJIv) some maintain the high score or even increase its use appropriately. Yet, some change in negative way, in that they decrease the use of appropriate variety. We found that the patterns of change are more complicated in the formal situation, indicating that there are large individual differences. It is suggested that children are still

"struggling," and learning BI as the second variety. Meanwhile, it is shown that the patterns of change are simpler in the informal situation, indicating that children are more competent in the use of CJI. It is suggested that these children are aware of the fact that in the informal situation there is no obligation to use BI. In addition, the difference reflects the variability of their learning experience.

Some children who started with high score of (BIv) even decreased the use of it in the second period. We still consider them as bi-stylistic as they are in fact able to assess the situation with the right stylistic choice. Outside the interview setting, these children still use BI in role-playing and praying, so we can say that their capability of assessing the situation still exists.

We also find that a small number of the children even used (BIv) in the informal situation. However, it does not mean that these children could not assess the situation. In fact, their use of (BIv) can be interpreted as a sign of divergence, in the sense that they created a distance with the informal interviewer. We already mentioned that the use of (BIv) could be influenced by the order of interview; the children learnt from the formal interview that was conducted before the informal one. However, as it is not systematic, it cannot be inferred that the order of interview has an effect on the use of (BIv). Apparently, these children wanted to show their ability to use those kinds of verbs as well.

Another finding in our study is that some children were stable, in terms of not using (BIv) in their answers to the elicitation questions. These children may be considered as strongly dominant CJI users. However, as they used several (BIu) in the interviews, we cannot infer that they were not capable of using BI. In fact, we also find that these children also used BI when they were role-playing or praying. Some children also maintained not to use (BIv) in the informal situation, indicating that they were able to assess the appropriate situation.

We found that some children were nervous in the first formal interview, resulting in the frequent use of (BIv). It might be that the style children used—especially the formal one—was their response to the circumstance imposed by the interviewer (see also Coupland, 2011:139). The finding is in line with Labov's aim (1972) to elicit careful speech in the formal interview. It might also be, as suggested by Labov (2001:437) that "… formal speech variants are associated by children with instruction and punishment, informal speech with intimacy and fun." This is in line with findings in our parental questionnaires, in which parents claimed to use BI, among others, to give instructions and to show anger. This is also in line with Romaine's

(1984) suggestion, that setting—especially the experimental setting—may affect children's linguistic performance. They might opt for the variety they are comfortable with. Nevertheless, at some points, these children showed that they could manage to use BI accordingly. In other words, these children are already competent language users, or, as defined by Hymes (1972:277), those who are able "…to accomplish repertoire of speech act, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others."

Labov (2001:420) suggests that, "children three to five years old pay close attention to this dimension (of formality), since it indicates to them if they are being placed in the category of "good" or "bad" children and will be rewarded or punished for what they have done." Through institutions such as school, young children learn that there are certain situations that require different expressions. This is in line with the findings of this study; in certain situations, children try to use the correct words. For instance, in role-playing, or when they talk in front of the class, they try to use the formal variety, while in daily conversation they use the informal variety.

This study also finds that familiarity with the interview session can influence the change of (BIv) and (CJIv). While decreasing use of (BIv) in the informal situation indicates children's developing competence on using the appropriate variety in appropriate context, decreasing (BIv) in the formal situation does not mean that these children experienced a setback in language acquisition. We found that these children are still able to use BI—inside and outside the interview settings—but several explanations prevail. We found that familiarity with the interview setting and the interviewers has an effect on certain children. They became more at ease, inside and outside the interview setting, resulting in less (BIv) use and more frequent CJIv use. We also found that a child used less frequent (BIv) in the second formal interview because she was not in a good mood (see *Kay* in Section 6.2.3.2). Bad mood, in her case, made her less aware of the situation.

Initially, we assumed that age was the influencing factor of both (CJIv) and (BIv). Yet, the results from the statistical analysis do not confirm our hypothesis. It is indicated that children's capability in using (BIv) in the formal situation is not equally distributed; there are high variations in individual differences. Some children already showed their capability of using (BIv) in appropriate situations, even in the first period, while others still use the counterpart variety. Both sides belong to all cohorts and both genders.

Finding that age cohort and gender are not influencing factors[5] on the use of CJI and BI verbs follows our other finding that there are children who change strongly—either increasing or decreasing their use of both varieties over time. All of them also belong to both genders and all cohorts.

Early studies on stylistic variation found that older children are more capable of demonstrating stylistic variation (Fischer, 1958; Romaine, 1978; Purcell, 1984; Labov, 1989). Labov (1964), Wolfram and Fasold (1974) have also indicated that stylistic variation starts appearing in adolescence. However, Roberts (1994) and Smith *et al.* (2007 and 2009) found that under-five-year-olds show no difference in the capability of stylistic variation. Our study confirms this. Even though older children—whom are still under-five—tended to use (BIv) more frequently in the right situation, it appears that, age difference is not a significant factor. In the youngest cohort we also found children who were capable of using (BIv), while others were still not using (BIv) over time; we have similar findings in older cohorts.

We did not expect gender differences in our study. This hypothesis was confirmed by our analyses. Findings in previous studies on stylistic variation show that females are more conservative than males (see for examples Trudgill, 1972 and 1983; Coates and Cameron, 1988; Holmes, 1997; and Chambers, 2003). However, Roberts' findings (1994 and 1997), especially on (t/d) deletion in American English, show the opposite. Other findings of her work indicate insignificancy of gender effect. Our results—even though we examine different type of variables—indicate a similar tendency. We find some children of both genders who show equal capability in the use of BI; and some children of both genders are found as strong dominant CJI speakers.

That gender has no effect on both (CJIv) and (BIv) might also be influenced by the input from caretakers. It is suggested in many papers that an influencing factor which correlates to the capability of language use is the role of those who give linguistic input to the child (see for example, Huttenlocher *et al.,* 1991; Camaioni *et.al.,* 1998; Vernon-Feagans *et al.,* 2008; Smith *et al.,* 2009; Foulkes *et al.,* 2005; Tamis-Lemonda *et al.*, 2012). In a lot of literature, it is the mother or another female from whom children learn to be a competent language user. Even though some findings indicate the superiority of girls in early language development, (e.g., Huttenlocher *et al.,* 1991; Bornstein *et al.*, 2004; Bouchard *et al.*, 2009; and Dabašinskienė, 2012),

[5]However, there was significant interaction between gender and situation on the use of (CJIu)—see Section 6.1.3.3—in the sense that girls used more CJI in the informal situation.

Roberts, following Lakoff (1973)[6], and Docherty *et al.* (2006) suggest that boys and girls show no differences in linguistic styles in their early age since they are under the care of female figures. Findings from Smith *et al.* (2009) indicate similarly. In our study, the main caretakers of the children are, in general, the mothers; the others are nannies or female servants, grandmothers or female relatives. Our findings suggest a similar explanation for the absence of gender differentiation.

6.3.3 The stylistic competence and the development of BI verbs

Children showed their ability to adapt the interlocutors' style in both the informal and formal interviews. In other words, they tended to converge in the interaction. Yet, as they are more exposed to the formal style in the school setting, some of them develop formality in the counterpart situation as well. In this case, children are more likely to make "divergence" in the informal situation. Even though some of them become familiar with the interviewers and already learn the characteristics of each interviewer, apparently they perceived the interviews—in both formal and informal situation—as formal interactions. Nonetheless, the finding also correlates with the setting where we conducted the interviews – school, an institution in which formality is favored. School is regarded as the institutional framework in which children are socialized into ways of formal learning in our society (Schleppegrell, 2001:437).

It is suggested that, peers also have an important role to play in children's language use (see for example, Chesterfield *et.al,* 1983; Ervin-Tripp, 1991; Gertner *et al.,* 1994; Justice *et al.,* 2011). Through interaction with their peers, children develop their communicative competence, and they start to distinguish "friends" from "playmates" (Howes, 1988). Meanwhile, from their teachers children in our study learn BI in more formal ways, such as in story-telling, praying, and teaching. Children learn from their playmates through role-playing, such as in doctor-patient, mother-child, police-robber. From friends who sit next to them in the classroom, children may develop their linguistic competence by observing their friends' interactions with teachers or by discussions around the table.

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[6]Lakoff (1973:47) suggests that "Since the mother and other women are the dominant influences in the lives of most children under the age of five, probably both boys and girls first learn 'women's language,' as their first language." Nevertheless we cannot infer that these children—who are still dominant CJI users—used this kind of language as gendered language, in the sense that CJI is regarded as the "language of woman."

As with the increasing use of (BIv), decreasing use of (BIv) can be influenced by the peer group. As Labov (1964) and Payne (1980) suggested, the peer group may influence the change of language use which is at first brought from home. We found that children who previously used BI frequently became less formal over time as they developed solidarity among peers. One indicator of solidarity is using more informal style, or CJI (Sneddon, 2006). Some even show an early use of Indonesian slang, such as *gue* 'I,' *elu* 'you,' or *coy* 'buddy.' It is suggested that these children have positive attitudes towards CJI—the prestigious variety for young speakers in Jakarta (Oetomo, 1990; Purwo, 1997; Sneddon, 2003 and 2006) and use it more frequently over time.

With the exception of one boy who played mainly with girls, children in this study preferred to choose the same gender as their playmate(s). The tendency of 'friend-preference' in these kinds of play, applies to all of the children in all of the observed schools. In role-playing, boys liked to play typical role such as police-robber whereas girls liked to play mother-child, or teacher-student. These typically-gendered kinds of role-playing are also found in, for example, Slösberg-Andersen (1990). However, we found no gender differences in terms of lexical choice. For example, we could hear:

"*Silakan masuk*"
please come.in
'please come in'

which is an expression in formal style, in police-robber play or mother-child play. We also could hear in police-robber play:

"*Jangan ber-gerak!*"
do.not ACT.INTR-move
'freeze'

or, in mother-child play:

"*Jangan men-(t)angis, sayang*"
do.not ACT.INTR-cry dear '
'don't cry, my dear'

Both expressions are in BI and use our examined morphological variables. In more neutral role-playing, both genders like to play doctor-patient. They also share the same interest in more neutral activities such as playing in the sandbox, playing hide-and-go-seek, growing plants, feeding pets, playing blocks, or painting. In these kinds of activities, both genders again did not show differences in lexical choice. In other words, gender-preference playmates are indicated to be supporting children's development of communicative competence, but there is no gender supremacy in terms of lexical choice, nor in linguistic capability.

In this study, we do not further explore a factor that might have influenced stylistic development: language use at home. Nevertheless, it could be the case that the changes in the children's speech developed through their family members. As it is discussed in the previous chapter, besides a nucleus family, there are also grandparents, relatives, nannies, or servants—who might stay permanently or temporarily in the family, and are considered members of the family. Unlike grandparents or relatives who keep contact with family even though they are not staying at the same house anymore, nannies and servants sometimes stay briefly. Relations between the children and the extended family members—both with whom they stay permanently or temporarily—might affect the use of the language, as they may communicate in their own regional languages, or have a different style of speech.

6.4 Summary

The main focus in the present chapter was on children's stylistic characteristics and development of stylistic competence. Data was obtained from interviews in the school setting, conducted in two different conditioned situations - formal and informal - and in two periods with a six-month-interval. Each interview consisted of elicitation questions to elicit morphological variables that distinguish BI from CJI. This chapter analyzed (1) all speech produced by children, classified in 4 types of utterances—CJI utterance, BI utterance, mixed utterance, and unmarked utterance; and (2) CJI verb and BI verb forms in the elicitation task.

It was shown that children learn how to use the appropriate variety in the appropriate context: the use of CJI tended to increase in the informal conditioned interviews, whereas BI increase in the counterpart situations. It was also indicated that children tried to accommodate their speech in the given situation. Therefore, we can say that Jakarta children are able to use both Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian. However, as indicated, the ability to use both varieties—generally—is not equal.

This chapter tested six hypotheses concerning cohort effect on CJI (H 1a), period effect on CJI (H 1b), gender effect on CJI and BI (H 1c), interaction of cohort and situation on the use of BI (H 2a), interaction of situation and period on the use of BI (H 2b) and interaction of cohort and situation on the use of CJI (H 2c). See also Section 1.5.2.

In order to test the hypotheses, we examine six dependent variables—consisting of unmarked utterance (UNMu), mixed utterance CJI-BI (MIXu), CJI utterance (CJIu), BI utterance (BIu), CJI verb (CJIv) and BI verb (BIv)—by

conducting Repeated Measures Mixed Models Analysis, with situation, period, age cohort and gender as the fixed factor, school and child as the random factors. The recapitulation of the significant effect from the Mixed Models analysis on the variables is presented in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19
Significant Effects from Mixed Models Analysis: Recapitulation (+ = significant)

FACTORS		UNMu	MIXu	CJIu	BIu	CJIv	BIv
Fixed	**Situation**		+	+	+	+	+
	Period	+			+		+
	Cohort	+					
	Gender						
	Situation*Period		+				
	Situation*Cohort						
	Situation*Gender			+			
	Period*Cohort						
	Period*Gender						
	Cohort*Gender						
Random	**School**						
	Child	+		+	+	+	+

It is also shown that children as the random factor significantly influenced the use of variables (except for MIXu which is used the least frequent). The result also indicates that there is no big variation in school as the random effect, indicating that the schools in the study have more or less similar characteristics, despite their different affiliations.

The results of the Mixed Models indicate that our hypotheses on CJI and BI are confirmed or rejected, as summarized in Table 6.20. The table shows that all hypotheses are rejected, except gender. It is also indicated that Hypothesis 1c for CJI is not fully confirmed as there is a significant interaction between gender and situation in CJIu.

Table 6.20
Confirmations/Rejections of Hypotheses (+ = confirmed; - = rejected)

Hypothesis	CJIu	CJIv	BIu	BIv
1a cohort effect for CJI	-	-		
1b period effect for CJI	-	-		
1c no gender effect for CJI and BI	+ (interaction of gender and situation)	+	+	+
2a interaction of cohort and situation for BI			-	-
2b interaction of period and situation for BI			-	-
2c interaction of cohort and situation for CJI	-	-		

Chapter 7
Development of Morphological Variation

The focus in this chapter is the use of our morphological variables, namely prefix *meN-, ber-, Ø-meN,* nasal prefix*, nge-,* and *Ø-ber*. We also examine children's grammatical and social competence. We begin this chapter with a recapitulation of the research questions:

1. To what extent do middle-class Jakarta children use Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian features?
2. To what extent are middle-class Jakarta children capable to distinguish BI and CJI and use both varieties appropriately?
3. Do these children acquire grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously?

Our discussion in this chapter is based on the seven hypotheses already presented in Section 1.5.2:

H1a: *Younger children will be more CJI dominant than older children both in situations triggering BI (formal situation) as in situations triggering CJI (informal situation)* [cohort effect].

H1b: *Children will become less CJI dominant in both situations over a time period of 6 months* [period effect].

H1c: *There are no differences between boys and girls in the development of CJI and BI* [no gender effect].

H2a: *Older children will use more BI in the formal situation than younger children* [interaction of cohort and situation].

H2b: *The use of BI will increase over time in the formal situation* [interaction of situation and period].

H2c: *Older children will use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children* [interaction of cohort and situation].

H3: *Children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously.*

The first two research questions and related hypotheses (H1a to H2c) have already been answered on the basis of the children's overall analysis of utterances and their use of BI-CJI verbs. In the present chapter we will focus on the analysis of the morphological variables. The findings will provide an

explanation of the confirmation/rejection hypotheses 1a to 2c. We will also address the third research question by testing Hypothesis 3.

The present chapter consists of five parts. Section 7.1 describes our examined morphological variables. Section 7.2 discusses the development of morphological variation, which mainly focuses on the use of BI and CJI verbal prefixes. Section 7.3 discusses children's mastery of morphological rules in the appropriate situation. In Section 7.4 we discuss the findings in the analyses in Section 7.2 and 7.3. A summary is presented in Section 7.5.

7.1 The morphological variables

A striking difference between BI and CJI is the presence of affixes such as *meN-* and *ber-* in the formal style, which tend to be absent in the informal style (Dardjowidjojo, 1978; Gunarwan, 1984; Sie, 1989; Kridalaksana, 2007; see also Chapter 3), as shown in 1a-b and 2a-b. This is not the only difference. As we can see in example 3 a-b, the Object and Complement tend to be dropped in the informal style as well (Kridalaksana, 2007).[1]

BI	**CJI**
(1a) *Saya sudah mem-baca buku itu* 1SG PRF ACT.TR- read book that 'I already read the book'	(1b) *Saya udah Ø-baca buku itu* 1SG PRF ACT-TR-read book that 'I have already read the book'
(2a) *Anak~anak ber- jalan~jalan* child~PL ACT.INTR-walk~DEINT *di pantai.* on beach 'the children stroll on the beach'	(2b) *Anak-anak Ø-jalan~jalan* child~PL ACT.INTR-walk~DEINT *di pantai.* on beach 'the children stroll on the beach'
(3a) Kakak *meny-*(s)*apu lantai* older.sibling ACT.TR- sweep floor 'brother/sister sweeps the floor'	(3b) *Kakak ny-(s)apu* older.sibling ACT.TR- sweep 'brother/sister sweeps (the floor)'

This section describes the morphological variables in this study: *meN-* is presented in 7.1.1 and *ber-* in 7.1.2. In each section the allomorphs and their counterparts in CJI are also discussed.

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[1]In informal conversation, speakers may use truncated sentences, especially as an answer to a question, such as:

- *udah* 'already' (as an answer of question 'have you read the book?')
- *jalan-jalan* 'strolling' (as an answer of question 'what are the children doing?')
- *nyapu* 'sweeping' (as an answer of question, 'what is s/he doing?')

7.1.1 *meN-*: the BI allomorphs and the CJI variants

meN- is mainly used as an active transitive verbal marker. Several intransitive verbs in BI are also formed by the prefix, but are not as productive as the transitive ones. It has several allomorphs, and the allomorphs are mostly the result of assimilation with the initial homorganic phoneme of the stem: *mem-* [məm-], *men-* [mən-], *meny-* [mən̪-], *meng-* [məŋ], *me-* [mə-], and *menge-* [məŋə-]. In the informal style, there are several variants which correspond to *meN-* (cf. Sneddon, 2006:20): (1) prefix *meN-* may occur (under certain conditions—see Section 3.2.2.1); (2) nasal prefix (from now on symbolized by *N-*) may occur (3) prefix *nge-* [ŋə-] may occur; (4) there may be no overt prefix at all. The allomorphs of CJI prefix *N-*, namely *m-, n-, ny-,* and *ng-* assimilate to the initial phoneme of the stem (an exception is for *ng-* that does not assimilate to the vowel-initial phoneme).

The allomorph /*mem-*/ precedes stems with initial labial phonemes. In prefixation, voiced bilabial (4a) and fricative labio-dental (5a) initial phoneme of the stem are retained, while voiceless initial phonemes fully assimilate with the prefix (6a). Corresponding with/*mem-*/, there may be /*m-*/, /*nge-*/, or a zero prefix preceding stems with a voiced bilabial phoneme in CJI, as in (4b-d); /*nge-*/ or zero prefix precede a fricative labio-dental initial phoneme, as in (5b-c); examples of prefix *N-* or zero prefix are given in (6b-c):

BI	CJI
(4a) *meN-* + *beli* > *mem-beli* ACT.TR-buy 'to buy'	(4b) *N-* + *beli* > *m-beli* ACT.TR-buy 'to buy'
	(4c) *nge-* + *beli* > *nge-beli* ACT.TR-buy 'to buy'
	(4d) Ø- + *beli* > Ø- *beli* ACT.TR-buy 'to buy'
(5a) *meN-* + *fitnah* > *mem-fitnah* ACT.INTR-accuse.falsely 'to accuse falsely'	(5b) *nge-* + *fitnah* > *nge-fitnah* ACT.INTR-accuse.falsely 'to accuse falsely'
	(5c) Ø- + *fitnah* > Ø-*fitnah* ACT.INTR-accuse.falsely 'to accuse falsely'

(6a) *meN-* + *potong* > *mem- (p)otong*
ACT.TR-cut
'to cut'

(6b) N- + *potong* >m-*(p)otong*
ACT.TR-cut
'to cut'

(6c) Ø- + *potong* > Ø- *potong*
ACT.TR-cut
'to cut'

The allomorph /*men-*/ precedes stems with apico-dental phonemes. In prefixation, the voiced initial phoneme of the stem is retained (7a), while the voiceless initial phoneme of the stem assimilates with the prefix (8a). Corresponding with /*men-*/, in CJI there may be /*n-*/, /*nge-*/ or zero prefix preceding the voiced apico-dental initial phoneme (7b-d), or prefix /*n*/- or zero prefix preceding the assimilation of the voiceless initial phoneme (8b-c):

BI **CJI**

(7a) *meN-* + *dengar* > *men-dengar* [mən-dəŋar]
ACT.TR-hear
'to hear'

(7b) *N-* + *denger* > *n-denger* [n-dəŋər]
ACT.TR-hear
'to hear'

(7c) *nge-* + *denger* > *nge-denger* [ŋə-dəŋər]
ACT.TR-hear
'to hear'

(7d) *Ø-* + *denger* > *Ø-denger* [Ø-dəŋər]
ACT.TR-hear
'to hear'

(8a) *meN-* + *tolong* > *men-(t)olong*
ACT.TR-help
'to help'

(8b) *N-* + *toloŋ* > *n-(t)oloŋ*
ACT.TR-help
'to help'

(8c) /*Ø-*/ + *toloŋ* > *Ø- toloŋ*
ACT.TR-help
'to help'

If the BI allomorph /*meny-*/ [mən̠-] precedes stems whose initial phoneme is lamino-alveolar, the results are as in (9a), (10a), and (11a). In prefixation, the voiced and voiceless affricate initial phonemes of the stem are retained (9a and 10a), while the voiceless fricative initial phoneme of the stem assimilates with the prefix (11a). Corresponding with /*meny-*/, there may be: a prefix /*ny-*/ preceding assimilation of the voiceless initial phoneme (9b and 11b); /*ny-*/, /*nge-*/ or zero prefix preceding a voiced initial phoneme (10b-d); or a zero prefix preceding the voiceless initial phonemes (9c and 10c).

BI	CJI
(9a) *meN-* + *cuci* > *meny- cuci* ACT.TR-wash 'to wash'	(9b) *N-* + *cuci* > *ny-(c)uci* ACT.TR-wash 'to wash'
	(9c) *Ø-* + *cuci* > *Ø-cuci* ACT.TR-wash 'to wash'
(10a) *meN-* + *jebak* > *meny -jebak* ACT.TR-trap 'to trap'	(10b) *N-* +*jebak* > *ny-jebak* ACT.TR-trap 'to trap'
	(10c) *nge-* + *jebak* > *nge-jebak* ACT.TR-trap 'to trap'
	(10d) *Ø-* + *jebak* > *Ø- jebak* ACT.TR-trap 'to trap'
(11a) *meN-* +*suruh* > *meny -(s)uruh* ACT.TR-order 'to order'	(11b) *N-* + *suruh* > *ny-(s)uruh* ACT.TR-order 'to order'
	(11c) *Ø-* + *su-ruh* >*Ø-suruh* ACT.TR-order 'to order'

/meng-/ [məŋ-] occurs in words whose stems have a velar, glottal, or vowel initial phoneme. In prefixation, voiced velar stops, voiceless glottal fricatives, and vowel initial phonemes of the stem are retained (12a-14a), while the voiceless velar stop initial phoneme of the stem assimilates with the prefix (15a). Corresponding with BI /*meng-/*, in CJI there may be: /*ng-/*, /*nge-/* or a zero prefix preceding the voiced velar stop initial phoneme (12b-d); /*ng-/* preceding a voiceless fricative glottal and voiceless velar stop initial phoneme (13b and 15b); /*ng-/* or zero prefix preceding a vowel initial phoneme (14b-c); or zero prefix preceding a voiceless consonant initial phonemes (13c and 15c).

BI	CJI
(12a) *meN-* + *gambar* > *meng-gambar* ACT.TR-draw 'to draw'	(12b) *N-* +*gambar* > *ng-gambar* ACT.TR-draw 'to draw'

(12c) *nge-* +*gambar* > *nge-gambar*
ACT.TR-draw
'to draw'

(12d) *Ø-* +*gambar* > *Ø-gambar*
ACT.TR-draw
'to draw'

(13a) *meN-*+ *hitung* > *meng-hitung*
ACT.TR-count
'to count'

(13b) *N-* + *hitung* > *ng-(h)itung*
ACT.TR-count
'to count'

(13c) *Ø-*+ *itung* > *Ø-itung*
ACT.TR-count
'to count'

(14a) *meN-*+ *ambil* > *meng-ambil*
ACT.TR-take
'to take'

(14b) *N-* + *ambil* > *ng-ambil*
ACT.TR-take
'to take'

(14c) *Ø-* + *ambil* > *Ø-ambil*
ACT.TR-take
'to take'

(15a) *meN-*+ *kejar* > *meng-(k)ejar*
ACT.TR-run.after
'to run after' 'to catch'

(15b) *N-* + *kejar* >*ng- (k)ejar*
ACT.TR-run.after
'to run after' 'to catch'

(15c) *Ø-* + *kejar* > *Ø- kejar*
ACT.TR-run.after
'to run after' 'to catch'

The BI allomorph /*me-*/ occurs in words with a trill, lateral, semi-vowel, or nasal in the initial position of the stem. In prefixation, the aforementioned initial phonemes are retained (16a-17a). Corresponding with /*me-*/, in CJI there are two possibilities for the trill and lateral initial phonemes. There may be /*nge-*/ or zero-prefix preceding the stem (16b-c, and 17b-c). A semi-vowel initial stem is preceded by *nge-* (18b), and nasal initial phonemes are preceded by zero prefix (19b[2]-20b).

[2]Note, however, *makan* 'eat' is also an unmarked verbs (see also Section 4.5.9)

BI	CJI
(16a) *meN-* + *rusak* > *me-rusak* ACT.TR-destroy 'to destroy'	(16b) *nge-* + *rusak* > *nge-rusak* ACT.TR-destroy 'to destroy'
	(16c) *Ø-* + *rusak* > *Ø-rusak* ACT.TR-destroy 'to destroy'
(17a) *meN-*+ *lipat* > *me-lipat* [mə-lipat] ACT.TR-fold 'to fold'	(17b) *nge-* + *lipet* > *nge-lipet* [ŋə-lipət] ACT.TR-fold 'to fold'
	(17c) *Ø-* + *lipet* > *Ø-lipet* Ø-lipət ACT.TR-fold 'to fold'
(18a) *meN-*+ *wabah* > *me-wabah* ACT.INTR-epidemy 'to be epidemic'	(18b) *nge-wabah* > *nge-wabah* ACT.INTR-epidemy 'to be epidemic'
(19a) *meN-*+*makan*> *me-makan* ACT.TR-eat 'to eat'	(19b) *Ø-*+ *makan* > *Ø-makan* ACT.TR-eat 'to eat'
(20a) *meN-* + *nyanyi* > *me-nyanyi* ACT.INTR-sing 'to sing'	(20b) *Ø-*+ *nyanyi* > *Ø- nyanyi* ACT.INTR-sing 'to sing'

The BI allomorph /*menge-*/ [*məŋə-*] applies to monosyllabic stems, such as in (21a-22a). In CJI, monosyllabic stems have a /*nge-*/ [ŋə-] prefix (21b-22b).

BI	CJI
(21a) *meN-* + *tik* > *menge-tik* ACT.TR-type 'to type'	(21b) *nge-* + *tik* > *nge-tik* ACT.TR-type 'to type'
(22a) *meN-* + *cat* > *menge-cat* ACT.TR-paint 'to paint'	(22b) *nge-* + *cat* > *nge-cat* ACT.TR-paint 'to paint'

Special attention is needed for lexical borrowings: voiceless initial phonemes are sometimes retained in verbal formation with *meN-* (23a and 24a). Another possibility is the assimilation of the initial phoneme of the stem (23b

and 24b). In CJI, there might be a zero prefix or a nasal phoneme preceding the assimilation of the initial of the stem (23c-d and 24c-d):

BI	**CJI**
(23a) *meN-* + *proses* > *mem- proses* ACT.TR-process 'to process'	(23c) *Ø-* + *proses* > *Ø- proses* ACT.TR-process 'to process'
(23b) *meN-* + *proses* > *mem-(p)roses* ACT.TR-process 'to process'	(23d) *N-* + *proses* > *m-(p)roses* ACT.TR-process 'to process'
(24a) *meN-i* + *taat* > *men-taat-i* ACT.TR-obey-TR 'to obey'	(24c) */Ø-in/* + *taat* > *Ø-taat-in* ACT.TR-obey-TR 'to obey'
(24b) *meN-i* + *taat* > *men– (t)aat– i* ACT.TR-obey-TR 'to obey'	(24d) */N-in/* + taat > *n-(t)aat-in* ACT.TR-obey-TR 'to obey'

Since there are many foreign words – especially English ones – in today's BI, there is a tendency to use purisms, thus instead of *to print* one should use *mencetak* [mənʤetak] and instead of *to download* one should use *mengunduh* [məŋundUh] (the stem *unduh* 'take' is itself a borrowing from Javanese; see also *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia,* 2008). Yet, in CJI, the new foreign words are sometimes retained, but still keep the native prefix *nge-*. Thus, there are, for example, *nge-print* 'printing' and *nge-download* 'downloading.' However, the influence of Indonesian pronunciation is still strong: [ŋə-prin], and [ŋə-dɔnlɔt]). Note that *nge-* is a common prefix used by young (adult) speakers, replacing prenasalisation of voiced consonants, or the nasal prefix, as used by older people of Javanese background (see also Sneddon, 2006:21).

In sum, the morphophonemic rules of BI prefix *məN-* and its variants in CJI are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1
Allomorphs of BI Verbal Prefix *meN-* and Their CJI Counterparts

BI			CJI		
allomorphs	**Onset of verbal stem**		**allomorphs**	**Onset of verbal stem**	
	assimilated*	**retained**		**assimilated**	**retained**
məm-	p	b, f	*m-*	p	b
mən-	t	d	*n-*	t	d
məɲ	s	c, j	*ɲ-*	s, c	j
məŋ-	k	g, h, all vowels	*ŋ-*	k, h, x	g, all vowels
mə-		r, l, w, y, m, n, ŋ, ň	*Ø-*		all poly-syllabic stems
məŋə-		mono-syllabic stem	*ŋə-*		b,f,d,g,j, r,l,w, mono-syllabic stem, foreign word

The table is adapted from Wouk (1989)
(* = except the borrowings)

7.1.2 *ber-:* the allomorphs and CJI variants

The prefix *ber-* in BI is an active intransitive verbal marker. It has several meanings, as in the following examples (Alwi *et al.,* 2000; Kridalaksana, 2007).

(i) 'to do~' as in

ber-jalan	or	*ber-teriak*
ACT.INTR-walk		ACT.INTR-shout
'to walk'		'to shout'

(ii) 'to have ~' as in

ber-istri	or	*ber-maksud*
ACT.INTR-wife		ACT.INTR-intention
'to have a wife'		'to intend'

(iii) 'to use ~/wear ~/ride ~ ' as in

ber-sepeda	or	*ber-kereta api*
ACT.INTR -bicycle		ACT.INTR-cart fire
'to ride a bike'		'to take a train'

(iv) 'to produce ~/result ~/bring on ~' as in

ber-telur	or	*ber-hasil*
ACT.INTR -egg		ACT.INTR-result
'to spawn'		'to succeed'

(v) 'in condition of being ~' as in
ber-dua
ACT.INTR -two
'the two of ~'

It has three allomorphs, namely /*ber-*/ [bər-], /*be-*/ [bə-], and /*bel-*/[*bəl*-]. Of the three, the most productive allomorph is /*ber-*/.

In BI, *ber-* poses no restriction on the category of the stem (for some exceptions, see example (31) to (34) below), or its phonology (with several exceptions as will be explained in the examples below), as is shown in the example (25) to (30).

(25) *ber* - + *doa* (N) > *ber–doa* [bər-doʔa]
ACT.INTR -prayer
'praying'

(26) ber- + *keluarga* (N) > *ber-keluarga* [bər-kəluarga]
ACT.INTR -family
'having family, married'

(27) ber- + *uban* (N) > *ber-uban* [bər-uban]
ACT.INTR -grey.hair
'having grey hair'

(28) *ber-* + *sepeda* (N) > *ber- sepeda* [bər-səpeda]
ACT.INTR -bicycle
'riding a bike'

(29) ber-+ *obat* (N) > *ber- obat* [bər-obat]
ACT.INTR -medicine
'being under treatment'

(30) ber-+ *dua* (Num) > *ber-dua* [bər-dua]
ACT.INTR -two
'two of~'

The allomorph /*be-*/ occurs in BI with any stem whose first closed syllable contains the phonemes /-ər-/ (cf. 31 and 32), and in any stem whose initial phoneme is /r/ (cf. 33 and 34).

(31) *ber-* + *kerja* (V) > *be-kerja* [bə-kərja]
ACT.INTR-work
'to work'

(32) *ber-* + *ternak* (N) > *be-ternak* [bə-tərnak]
ACT.INTR-cattle
'to raise cattle'

(33) *ber-* + *renang* (V) > *be-renang* [bə-rənaŋ]
ACT.INTR-swim
'to swim'

(34) *ber-*+ *rambut* (N) > *be-rambut* [bə-rambUt]
ACT.INTR -hair
'having hair'

A particular exception is the stem *ajar* 'to study/teach', where the BI allomorph of *ber-* is /*bel-*/ [bəl-], which is also shared with CJI:

(35) *ber-* + *ajar* (V) > *bel-ajar* [bəlaȷar]
ACT.INTR-study
'studying'

In CJI, *ber-* appears under certain conditions. The prefix *ber-* also has two other allomorphs, /*be-*/ [*bə-*] and /*br-*/ [br-]. /*be-*/ precedes a stem with a consonant initial phoneme (thus *berdua*~*bedua*; *berjuang* ~ *bejuang*), while /*br-*/ precedes a stem with a vowel initial phoneme (thus *berobat* ~ *brobat*). The prefix *ber-* is retained in some denominals (see *beternak* 'raising cattle and *berambut* 'having hair) and denumerals (see, *berdua* 'two of ~'), as well as bound verbal roots, such as in (36).

(36) *ber-*+ *-juang* (V) > *ber-juang* [bər-ȷuaŋ]
ACT.INTR-struggle
'struggling'

Contrary to BI, the occurrence of the intransitive markers in CJI seems to be more arbitrary (see also Wouk, 1989). Several possibilities of prefixation occur in CJI intransitive verbs: 1) a zero prefix-; 2) a prefix *N-* corresponding with the BI prefix *ber-*; or 3) a combination of zero prefix and suffix *–an.* There are several possibilities in word formation in CJI, corresponding to BI's meaning of 'to do' (see the meaning [i] of *ber-* above). Of the aforementioned possibilities, zero prefixation is the most prolific one.

In cases in which stems have a first closed syllable with a phoneme /ə/(37a-b) and stems with initial syllable /r/ (38a-b) only zero prefixation is available. For other stems, there is zero prefixation or nasalization (38a-b, 39a-c, 40a-c, 41a-c):

BI	CJI
(37a) *ber-* + *kerja* > *be-kerja* [bə-kərja] ACT.INTR-work 'to work'	(37b) Ø- +*kerja* > *Ø-kerja* [bə-kərja] ACT.TR-work 'to work'
(38a) *ber-*+ *renang* > *ber-(r)enang* [bə-rənaŋ] ACT.INTR-swim 'to swim'	(38b) Ø- + *renang* > *Ø- renang* [Ø-rənaŋ] ACT.INTR-swim 'to swim'
(39a) *ber-* + *kumpul* >*ber-kumpul* ACT.INTR-gather 'to get together'	(39b) Ø- + *kumpul* > *Ø-kumpul* ACT.INTR-gather 'to get together'
	(39c) *N-* + *kumpul* > *ng-(k)umpul* ACT.INTR-gather 'to get together'
(40a) *ber-* + *tanya* > *ber-tanya* ACT.INTR-ask 'to ask'	(40b) Ø- + *tanya* > *Ø-tanya* ACT.INTR-ask 'to ask'
	(40c) *N-* + *tanya* > *n-(t)anya* ACT.INTR-ask 'to ask'
(41a) *ber-* + *utang* > *ber-utang* ACT.INTR -debt 'to be in debt'	(41b) Ø- + *utang* > *utang* ACT.INTR -debt 'to be in debt'
	(41c) *N-* + *utang* > *ng-utang* ACT.INTR -debt 'to be in debt'

Another possibility is the combination of the zero prefix and a suffix *–an*. The combination of the affixes corresponds to the *ber-* related to the meaning of 'to have ~' or 'to use/ride/wear' (see meaning [ii] and [iii] respectively). The rule applies to nominal stems (42a-b, 43a-b, and 44a-b).

BI	CJI
(42a) *ber-* + *uban*> *ber-uban* ACT.INTR -grey.hair 'having grey hair'	(42b) *Ø-an* +*uban* > *Ø-uban-an* ACT.INTR-grey.hair-INTR 'having grey hair'
(43a) *ber-* + *sepeda* > *ber-sepeda* ACT.INTR-bicycle 'to ride a bicycle'	(43b) *Ø-an* +*sepeda*> *Ø-sepeda-an* ACT.INTR -bicycle-INTR 'to ride a bicycle'

(44a) *ber-* + *kebaya*> *ber-kebaya*
ACT.INTR *-kebaya*[3]
'to wear a kebaya'

(44b) *Ø-an* + *kebaya*> *Ø-kebaya-an*
ACT.INTR *-kebaya*-INTR
'to wear a kebaya'

In sum, the comparison of intransitive verbal prefixes between both varieties is presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2
ber-, BI Allomorphs and Variants in CJI

BI			CJI		
	Category of stem	**Onset of the stem**		**Category of stem**	**Onset of the stem**
bər-	All categories	All vowels and consonant (except /r-/)	*bər-**	Noun Numerals Verb (bound morphemes)	Vowel and consonant
bə-	All categories	/r-/, /-ər/	*bə-**	Numerals Verb (bound morphemes)	consonants
*bəl-**	Bound morpheme verb *ajar*	/a-/	*bəl-**	Bound morpheme verb *ajar*	/a-/
			*br-**	Noun Verb (bound morpheme)	/r/ and vowels
			*N-**	Verb Noun	Vowel and consonant
			Ø-	Verbs (free morpheme) Nouns*	Vowels and consonants
			Ø-an	Nouns*	Vowels and consonants

Adapted from Wouk (1989)
*(under certain conditions)

7.2 Development of morphological variation

This section will address the questions on the use of CJI and BI morphological variables. We will examine how children use the morphological features in both formal and informal situations over time. Included in the discussion are the role of age group and gender. The observed prefixes will be presented in Section 7.2.1. The success of the elicitation technique is presented in Section 7.2.2 and the distribution of the morphological variables in Section 7.2.3.

[3]A traditional Indonesian female dress

7.2.1 The observed prefixes

The analysis in this chapter is based on the data collected during the interviews. The data set is restricted to the individual child's utterances in their answers to the elicitation questions. We categorized the utterances according to the morphological variables already mentioned in Chapter 4. Answers consisting of the following prefixes were coded according to the following scheme:

a) *meN-*, coded as (meN*),* as in *men-cuci* [mən-cuci] 'washing'
b) *ber-,* coded as *(*ber*)* as in *ber-jalan* [bər-jalan] 'walking'
c) zero prefix /Ø-/ in correspondence with *meN-,* coded as (Ø~meN), as in *cuci* [Ø-cuci] 'washing'
d) zero prefix /Ø-/ in correspondence with bər-, coded as (Ø-ber), as in *jalan* [Ø-jalan] 'walking'
e) nasal prefix /N-/ in correspondence with *meN-,* coded as (nasal)*;* as in *ny-(c)uci* [ɳuci] 'washing'
f) *nge-* in correspondence with *meN-*, coded as (nge)*;* as in *ngedorong* [ŋə-doroŋ] 'pushing'

As we already discussed in Sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2, BI's *meN-* corresponds with CJI's zero, nasal and *nge-* prefix. BI's *ber-* corresponds with CJI zero and nasal prefix. In the interviews, we found that children use both *meN-* as in *membeli* 'to buy' and *ber-* as in *berjalan* 'to walk.' In many cases, however, we observe that these prefixes are replaced: the prefix *meN-* is dropped, as in *beli* 'to buy,' or *ber-* is dropped, as in *'jalan,'* or *nge-* and *nasal* is used, corresponding to *meN-,* as in respective *ngebawa* and *mbawa* 'to bring.' Children did not use the nasal prefix corresponding with *ber-*. We also found that some children use the 'wrong' morphemes in word formation, such as **men-jalan* '*men*-walk' or **ber-bawa* '*ber*-bring,' which are neither BI, nor CJI constructions (see also Section 4.5.9, especially on *mixed utterance*). Nevertheless, since *meN-* is one of our observed variables, the use of this kind of utterance will also be grouped in the *meN-* variable and included in our analysis (however, in Section 7.3, this kind of utterance will be coded differently).

7.2.2 The success of the elicitation technique

In general, children answered almost all of the elicitation questions in both situations. However, it should be noted that—as already discussed in Section 4.5.8 and Section 6.2 – the children did not always use the target variables. Some also gave quite different answers as they had a different

interpretation in mind when the interviewers pointed to certain objects. They used quite different words from what we expected, or words with the same stem but with different affixes—resulting in different meanings. An example of the latter is the Targeted Answer no. 6 of Scenario A and Targeted Answer no.4 of Scenario B (see Chapter 4). Instead of giving the answer *memarahi/marahin* 'to scold'—as we expected for no.6 Scenario A, many children answered *marah* 'to be angry,' a word which is shared in both BI and CJI. Likewise, instead of answering *menabrak/nabrak/tabrak* 'to hit' (as we expected for no.4 Scenario B), many of them answered *di-tabrak* 'being hit,' or *ke-tabrak* [kə-tabrak] 'accidentally being hit.' *Di-tabrak* is counted as an unmarked word, because it consists of the passive marker prefix *di-* that is shared in both BI and CJI. *Ke-tabrak* consists of CJI passive marker *ke-*—a non-examined morphological variable. These kinds of answers were counted as missing values in our analysis. The percentages of children who used the observed morphemes in their answers are presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3
Percentage of Children who Use the Morphological Variables in Their Answers in the Interview (Split Up by Scenario and Situation)

	Scenario A		**Scenario B**		**Scenario C**		**Scenario D**	
	For	Inf	For	Inf	For	Inf	For	Inf
TA	N= 31	N= 32	N= 32	N= 31	N= 34	N= 29	N= 34	N= 29
(1)	97	91	91	94	97	100	100	100
(2)	97	97	81	100	62	62	97	100
(3)	87	91	84	97	97	100	90	88
(4)	71	69	38	55	100	79	97	100
(5)	100	91	94	84	79	100	100	100
(6)	16	22	97	94	100	97	93	100
(7)	97	94	94	97	100	97	100	97
(8)	97	100	91	97	100	97	100	100
(9)	71	59	94	74				

TA = targeted answers in the scenario; N = number of children; For = formal situation; Inf = informal situation.

Table 7.3 shows that in both situations, children in general were able to answer the questions, and, more importantly, it is evidence that children were able to understand questions in both BI and CJI. All our children have listening skills in both BI and CJI. Nevertheless, it does not indicate the extent to which children used the morphemes, nor which variants, not to mention whether they were used in the appropriate situation. In the following section, we conduct further analyses on the use of the observed morphological variables.

7.2.3 Distribution of the morphological variables

This section discusses the distribution of the morphological variables, based on the situation over time, and based on age, cohort and gender. From the interviews, we obtain data on the distribution of BI and CJI prefixes in both situations over time, which is presented in Table 7.4. In the same table we also present the number of children who used the morphological variables in both situations and periods, in order to show the extent they used these variables.

Table 7.4
Distribution of the Morphological Variables (with Number of Children, Means and Standard Deviation) Split Up by Situation and Period

Period	Variety	Variable	Formal			Informal		
			n	M	SD	n	M	SD
1	BI	**(meN)**	27	15.2	22.3	16	3.4	5.9
		(ber)	13	3.4	7.3	5	1.1	3.8
	CJI	**(Ø-meN)**	61	46.4	23.2	63	52.7	20.6
		(Ø-ber)	50	16.9	12.2	50	19.0	12.6
		(nasal)	54	17.0	14.4	54	22.1	15.5
		(nge)	4	1.1	4.7	9	1.8	4.5
2	BI	**(meN)**	42	18.1	18.2	16	5.6	11.2
		(ber)	22	6.2	9.4	13	3.3	6.9
	CJI	**(Ø-meN)**	59	31.1	19.2	61	34.7	16.7
		(Ø-ber)	61	27.2	11.6	62	32.5	10.8
		(nasal)	44	14.0	11.9	50	17.5	13.3
		(nge)	16	3.5	6.3	32	6.5	6.4

n = number of children who used the variables

Table 7.4 shows that the morphological variables were already used by some of the children. However, it shows that the distribution of the variables and the individuals' capabilities are not equal. We have seen that many of these children were CJI dominant speakers (see Section 6.2); the table confirms that they were as shown by the number of those who use the CJI variables. The use of CJI variables—especially (Ø-meN), (Ø-ber), and (nasal)—is always higher than the BI variables, regardless the situation over time. Over time, it is indicated that children developed the BI variables (meN) and (ber). We also see that over time children learned a "new" CJI prefix, (nge), as indicated by the increasing use in the second period.

From Table 7.4 it is clear that less children used the BI morphemes (meN) and (ber) than the CJI morphological variables (Ø-meN), (nasal) and (Ø-ber). Paired sample t-tests indicate that there are significant differences between the mean scores of (meN), (ber) and their respective equivalences in CJI:

(meN) vs (Ø-meN), t(251)=-14.142, p<.001; (meN) vs (nasal), t(251)=-4.798, p=.001; and (ber) vs (Ø-ber), t(251)=-18.914, p<.001.

In the following sections we will present a more detailed discussion on the morphological variables. First we present a correlation study of the BI and CJI morphological variables in 7.2.3.1. A discussion of the BI morphological variables is presented in 7.2.3.2 and the CJI ones in 7.2.3.3.

7.2.3.1 The correlation of BI and CJI morphological variables

The correlations between the morphological variables are presented in Table 7.5. A number of significant correlations (p<.05) are estimated:

- There is a positive, weak correlation of (meN) and (ber) (r=.343, p<.01): an increasing use of (meN) coincides with an increasing use of (ber).
- There is a negative correlation of (Ø-meN) and both BI prefixes (for (Ø-meN)-(meN), r=-.585, p<.01; for (Ø-meN)-(meN), r=-.326, p<.01): the increasing use of (Ø-meN) coincides with the decreasing use of (meN) and (ber); decreasing use of (Ø-meN) coincides with the increasing use of (meN) and (ber).
- There is a negative, weak correlation of (meN) and (nasal) (r=-.153, p<.05): the increasing use of (meN) coincides with the decreasing use of (nasal); the decreasing use of (meN) coincides with the increasing use of (nasal).
- There is a negative correlation of (Ø-ber) and both BI prefixes (for (Ø-ber)-(meN), r=-.280, p<.01; for (Ø-ber)-(ber), r=-.320, p<.01) : the increasing use of (Ø-ber) coincides with the decreasing use of (meN) and (ber); decreasing use of (Ø-ber) coincides with the increasing use of (meN) and (ber).
- There is negative correlation of (Ø-meN) and (nasal) (r=-.339, p<.01) and of (Ø-meN) and (nge) (r=-.291, p<.01): the increasing use of (Ø-meN) coincides with the decreasing use of (nasal) and (nge); decreasing use of (Ø-meN) coincides with the increasing use of (nasal) and (nge).
- There is a weak positive correlation of (Ø-ber) and (nge) (r=.283, p<.01): the increasing use of (Ø-ber) influenced the increasing use of (nge)

Table 7.5
Pearson Correlations between Morphological Variables

(meN)	(ber)	(Ø-meN)	(Ø-ber)	(nasal)	(nge)
(meN)	.343**	-.585**	-.280**	-.153*	-.117
	(ber)	-.326**	-.320**	-.115	-.012
		(Ø-meN)	-.233**	-.339**	-.291**
			(Ø-ber)	-.205**	.283**
				(nasal)	-.089
					(nge)

* p<.05, **p<.01

Firstly, we tested the corresponding prefix variables, namely (meN), (Ø-meN), (nasal), and (nge). All of them show negative correlations; (meN)-(Ø-meN) and (meN)-(nasal) have moderate significant correlation. The correlation between (meN) and (nge) is not significant. The negative correlations (meN)-(Ø-meN), (meN)-(nasal), and (Ø-meN)-(nasal) suggest that—for the children—(Ø-meN) and (nasal) are in complementary distribution as variants of the BI (meN)*:*

BI		**CJI**		
(a) *men-(t)angis*	→	*n- (t)angis*	'to cry'	(not *menangis* → **tangis*)
(b) *men-dapat*	→	*Ø- dapet*	'to get'	(not *mendapat* → **ndapet)*

This is also in line with Dardjowidjojo (2000*:* 210). However, the tendency of not using the nasal forms only applies for the voiced consonant initials of the stem, such as *beli* [bəli] 'to buy,' *bayar* [bajar] 'to pay,' *denger* [dəŋər] 'to hear,' *goreng* [gorɛŋ] 'to fry.' It is found that children tended to interchangeably use the prefixes for the voiceless consonant or vowel initial of the stem. Therefore,

BI		**CJI**	
(c) *meny-(s)apu*	~	*ny-(s)apu* ~ *Ø-sapu*	'to sweep'
(d) *mem-(p)otong*	~	*m-(p)otong* ~ *Ø-potong*	'to cut'
(e) *meng-ambil*	~	*ng-ambil* ~ *Ø-ambil*	'to take'

Tendencies of using corresponding prefixes, based on children's own rules are presented in the Table 7.6. The table is based on the onset of the stems which occurred from our data of elicited answers.

Table 7.6
Tendencies on Using Corresponding Prefixes

	Onset of the stem	***meN-***	***Ø-meN***	***(assimilated with) nasal***	***nge-***
disyllabic	p	√	√	√	x
	b	√	√	x	√
	t	√	√	√	x
	d	√	√	x	√
	s	√	√	√	x
	c	√	√	√	?
	j	√	√	x	?
	k	√	√	√	?
	g	√	√	x	√
	ŋ	√	√	x	x
	w	√	√	x	x
	vowels	√	√	√	x
monosyllabic	p	√	√	x	√
	l	√	√	x	√

(√ = applied, x = not applied,? = no supporting data)

It indicates that in the eyes of the children, the use of (meN) and (Ø-meN) are interchangeable, and both can be attached to any initial phoneme of the stem. However, the negative correlation between (meN) and (Ø-meN) indicates that when they used (meN), they tended not to use (Ø-meN); or the other way round. Meanwhile, (meN), (Ø-meN), and (nasal); and (meN), (Ø-meN) and (nge), to a certain extent can be interchangeable.

Note, that when they were using (meN), children already knew how to apply the morphophonemic rules which include nasalization. It is also indicated that the children apply the rules nearly as well as adults, indicating that to some extent children already mastered the morphophonemic rule of the corresponding morphemes. A further discussion will be presented in Section 7.3.

Now we have a look at the second corresponding prefix variables. It is clear that children distinguish (ber) and (Ø-ber) as indicated by the negative correlation. When they used (ber), the use of (Ø-ber) tended to decrease; while they use (Ø-ber), the use of (ber) tended to decrease.

In the two following sections, we will present a more detailed discussion of BI and CJI morphological variables.

7.2.3.2 Distribution and statistical analysis of BI morphological variables

Table 7.4 indicates that the individual differences are large for the use of both (meN) and (ber) (as can be derived from the high standard deviations). This indicates that the capacity to use both variables is not equally distributed among these children. On average, (meN) is used more frequently than (ber). A paired sample t-test indicates that there is significant difference between (meN) (M=10.6, SD=16.8) and (ber) (M=3.5, SD=7.3), t(251)=7.077, p=.000. In the second period, there are still substantial individual differences of the use of the BI variables. It means that the use of the prefixes is not equally distributed among the children. Some children used it more frequently, but the others still used it less. Some even did not use it at all. These findings have already been suggested in Chapter 6.

In this section, we analyze the factors influencing the use of the BI morphological variables and discuss the results in the light of hypotheses 1a-2c.

7.2.3.2.1 (meN)

The developmental pattern of (meN) is visualized in Figure 7.1. First of all, it shows that (meN) was used more frequently in the formal than in the informal situation. It should be noted that the use of (meN) was fairly low.

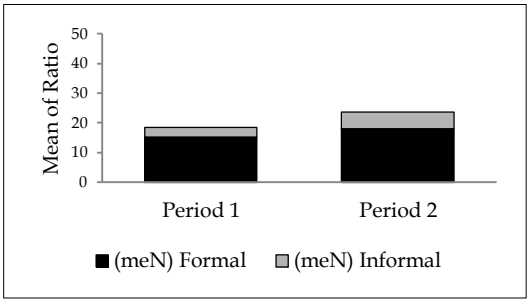


Figure 7.1
(meN): Split Up for Situation and Period
(Based on the Mean Scores of Individual Ratio)

We conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with (meN) as dependent variable, child as a random factor,[4] and situation, period, age cohort and gender as

[4] If school and child are included as random factors, the covariance estimate of school is zero, resulting in a not positive definite Hessian matrix. Therefore, school is excluded as a random factor.

fixed factors. In Table 7.7 we present the results of a Mixed Models analysis (REML method), including all interactions (two-way, three-way, and four-way, as this model has the best fit (lowest AIC).[5]

There is a significant effect of the random factor child (p=.007), confirming that there are large individual differences. Situation has a significant effect on the variable, *F(1, 171)=36.754, p=.000*. On average, children used (meN) more frequently in the formal situation (M=16.6, SD=20.3) than in the informal situation (M=4.5, SD=9.0).

None of the other factors or interactions is significant. There is no significant effect between boys (M=11.4, SD=17.8) and girls (M=9.8, SD=15.8); therefore the finding supports the Hypothesis 1c on no-gender effect.

Table 7.7
(meN): Result of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	57	54.351	.000
Cohort	2	57	.858	.430
Gender	1	57	.926	.340
Situation	1	171	36.754	.000
Period	1	171	2.127	.147
Cohort * Gender	2	57	.662	.520
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.484	.617
Cohort * Period	2	171	.064	.938
Gender * Situation	1	171	.001	.977
Gender * Period	1	171	.028	.867
Situation * Period	1	171	.181	.671
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	1.183	.309
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	1.817	.166
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.229	.796
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	2.159	.144
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	1.821	.165
RANDOM FACTOR		**Estimate**	**SE**	***p***
Child		54.57	20.05	.007
AIC = 1950.825				

There is no significant cohort effect, (Cohort 1: M=8, SD=14.5; Cohort 2: M=9.4, SD=17.6; Cohort 3: M=12.5, SD=17.0) nor a significant interaction between cohort and situation. Therefore, Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 2b are not supported.

[5]The significant effects are stable over all models.

7.2.3.2.2 (ber)

The developmental pattern of (ber) is visualized in Figure 7.2. We see that (ber) is used more frequently in the formal than in the informal situation. The figure shows that even though the use of (ber) is still fairly low, children's overall capability of using these variables increased over six months interval (Period 1: M=2.3, SD=5.9; Period 2: M=4.7, SD=8.3). In the following discussion, we will see that period has an effect on the use of (ber).

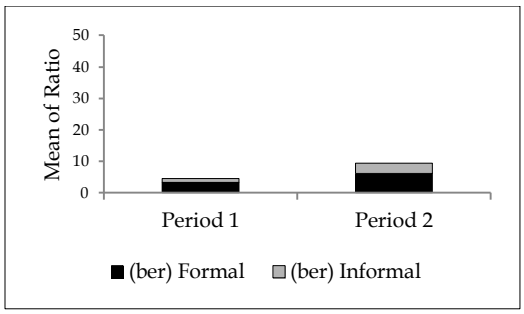


Figure 7.2
(ber): Split Up for Situation and Period
(Based on the Mean Scores of Individual Ratio)

We conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with (ber) as dependent variable, child as a random factor, and situation, period, age cohort and gender as fixed factors. In Table 7.8 we present the results of a Mixed Models analysis (REML method), including all interactions (two-way, three-way, and four-way, as this model has the best fit (lowest AIC).[6]

There is a significant effect of the random factor child (p=.011), confirming that there are large individual differences. Situation has a significant effect on the variable, *F(1, 171)=8.951, p=.003*. Also period has a significant effect *F(1, 171)=10.145, p=.002*. On average, children used (ber) more frequently in the formal situation (M=4.8, SD=8.5) than in the informal situation (M=2.2, SD=5.6). They also used the variable more frequently in the second period (M=4.7, SD=8.3) than in the first period (M=2.3, SD=5.9).

None of the other factors or interactions is significant. The absence of a gender effect (boys: M=3.1, SD=6.7; girls: M=3.9, SD=7.8) supports Hypothesis 1c. There is no cohort effect: all cohort on average used (ber) in almost similar frequency (Cohort 1: M=3.9, SD=8.4; Cohort 2: M=3.8, SD=7.2;

[6]School was excluded as a random factor as the model without this factor having the lowest AIC. The significant effects were stable over all models.

Cohort 3: M=3.1, SD=7.0). Therefore, Hypothesis 2a on cohort effect is not supported. We also found that there is no interaction between situation and period: over time (ber) increased in both situations. Therefore, Hypothesis 2b is not supported.

Table 7.8
(ber): Result of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	df1	df2	F	*p*
Intercept	1	57	30.146	.000
Cohort	2	57	.138	.872
Gender	1	57	.664	.419
Situation	1	171	8.951	.003
Period	1	171	10.145	.002
Cohort * Gender	2	57	1.763	.181
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.090	.914
Cohort * Period	2	171	1.570	.211
Gender * Situation	1	171	.014	.904
Gender * Period	1	171	.868	.353
Situation * Period	1	171	.485	.487
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	1.123	.328
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	.040	.961
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	.289	.750
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	.005	.945
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	1.095	.337
RANDOM FACTOR		Estimate	SE	*p*
Child		10.26	4.02	.011
AIC = 1593.727				

7.2.3.3 Distribution and statistical analysis of CJI morphological variables

Even though children preferred to use the CJI variables in the informal situation, it is found that CJI morphemes were used in the formal situation as well (see Table 7.4). Many children already used these morphemes—except (nge), suggesting that these children were already familiar with these variables. It is clear that the zero prefixes—both (Ø-meN) and (Ø-ber)—are used more frequently than the other prefixes. (nge) is the least frequently used morpheme by the children.

Paired sample t-tests indicate that there are significant differences between the following variables:

- (Ø-meN) vs (nasal), t(251)=12.610, p<.000;
- (Ø-meN) vs (Ø-ber), t(251)=9.807, p<.000;
- (Ø-meN) vs (nge), t(251)=24.953, p<.000;

- (Ø-ber) vs (nasal), t(251)=4.651, p<.000;
- (Ø-ber) vs (nge), t(251)=25.309, p<.000;
- (nasal) vs (nge), t(251)=14.567, p<.000.

In this section, we discuss the CJI morphological variables by examining the influencing factors, beginning with the presentation of the developmental pattern of each variable. Findings in the analyses which supported, or not, the hypotheses 1a-c and 2c, are also presented.

7.2.3.3.1 (Ø-meN)

The developmental pattern of (Ø-meN) is visualized in Figure 7.3. As it is discussed previously in 7.2.3.1, the variable is frequently used in both situations. However, its use decreased over time (Period 1: M=49.5, SD=22.1; Period 2: M=32.9, SD=18.0), see below.

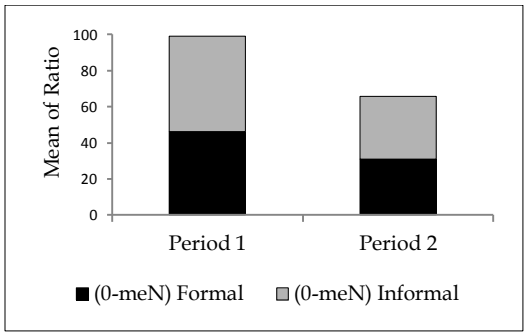


Figure 7.3
(Ø-meN): Split Up for Situation and Period
(Based on the Mean Scores of Individual Ratio)

We conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with the (Ø-meN) as dependent variable, child as a random factor, and situation, period, age cohort, and gender as fixed factors. In Table 7.9 we present the results of a Mixed Models analysis (REML method), including all interactions (two-way, three-way, and four-way, as this model has the best fit (lowest AIC).[7]

There is a significant effect of the random factor child (p=.000), confirming that there are large individual differences. Situation has a significant effect on the variable, *F(1, 171)=5.256, p=.023*. On average, children used (Ø-meN)

[7]As with two previous analyses, school is excluded as the random factor as we found that the latest model without this factor has the best fit with the lowest AIC. The significant effects were stable over all models.

more frequently in the informal situation (M=43.7, SD=20.8) than in the formal situation (M=38.7, SD=22.6).

Table 7.9
(Ø-meN): Result of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	*p*
Intercept	1	57	448.437	.000
Cohort	2	57	2.505	.091
Gender	1	57	.010	.920
Situation	1	171	5.276	.023
Period	1	171	68.573	.000
Cohort * Gender	2	57	.295	.746
Cohort * Situation	2	171	.148	.863
Cohort * Period	2	171	.673	.512
Gender * Situation	1	171	.181	.671
Gender * Period	1	171	2.172	.142
Situation * Period	1	171	.029	.864
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	1.397	.250
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	1.004	.368
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	1.486	.229
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	.360	.549
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	2.545	.081
RANDOM FACTOR		**Estimate**	**SE**	***p***
Child		158.24	41.48	.000
AIC = 2030.359				

There is also a significant period effect *F(1, 171)=68.573, p=.000.* Children decreased the use of (Ø-meN) in the second period (M=33.0, SD=18.0) than in the first period (M=49.5, SD=22.1). Hypothesis 1b, claiming that children will become less CJI dominant in both situation over time, for (Ø-meN), is supported (however, see the findings in the Chapter 6, and results of the analyses on (Ø-ber) and (nge)).

It is found there is no gender effect on the variable (boys: M=40.1, SD=22.3; girls: M=41.7, SD=21.4). Therefore, Hypothesis 1c is supported.

It is also indicated that there is no cohort effect (Cohort 1: M=46.0, SD=20.4; Cohort 2: M=44.2, SD=22.0; Cohort 3: M=36.9, SD=21.6), therefore the Hypothesis 1a is not supported. Moreover, there is no interaction of cohort and situation. Therefore, Hypothesis 2c, which claims that older children will use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children, is not supported by this finding.

7.2.3.3.2 (nasal)

The developmental pattern of (nasal) is visualized in Figure 7.4

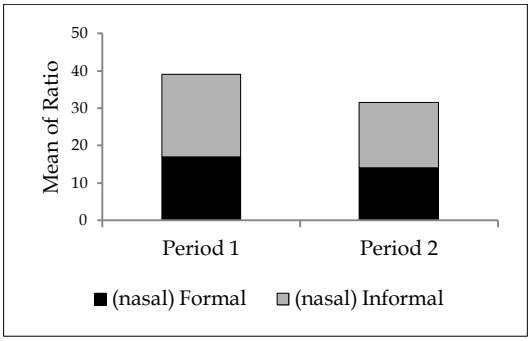


Figure 7.4
(nasal): Split Up for Situation and Period
(Based on the Mean Scores of Individual Ratio)

We conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with (nasal) as dependent variable, child as a random factor, and situation, period, age cohort, and gender as fixed factors. In Table 7.10 we present the results of a Mixed Models analysis (REML method), including all interactions (two-way, three-way, and four-way, as this model has the best fit (lowest AIC).[8]

The result shows that child as random factor is not significant (p=.056). There is a significant effect of age cohort on (nasal), $F(1, 57)=3.479$, $p=.038$. A post hoc test (Bonferroni corrected) indicated that there is only a significant difference (p=.022) between Cohort 2 (M=15.2, SD=12.4) and Cohort 3 (M=20.3, SD=15.3). The difference between Cohort 1 (M=15.7, SD=12.9) and Cohort 3 (M=20.3, SD=15.3) is close to significant (p=.056). The difference between Cohort 1 and Cohort 2 is not significant (p=.969). The oldest children use (nasal) slightly more frequently than the younger ones. Hypothesis 1a, claiming that younger children will be more CJI dominant than older children in both situations, is supported.

We found that gender has no significant effect (boys: M=18.3, SD=14.8; girls: M=17.0, SD=13.4). Therefore, Hypothesis 1c is supported.

There is no period effect (Period 1: M=19.6, SD=15.1; Period 2: M=15.7, SD=12.7). Therefore, Hypothesis 1b, claiming that children will become less CJI dominant in both situations over a time period of 6 months, is not

[8]As with other previous analyses, school is excluded as the random factor as the model without this factor has the lowest AIC.

supported. It is also indicated that there is no interaction of cohort and situation. Therefore, Hypothesis 2c is not supported by the finding.

Table 7.10
(nasal): Result of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	df1	df2	F	*p*
Intercept	1	57	253.582	.000
Cohort	2	57	3.479	.038
Gender	1	57	.036	.851
Situation	1	171	3.565	.061
Period	1	171	3.596	.060
Cohort * Gender	2	57	2.425	.098
Cohort * Situation	2	171	2.399	.094
Cohort * Period	2	171	2.646	.074
Gender * Situation	1	171	.460	.498
Gender * Period	1	171	2.267	.134
Situation * Period	1	171	.863	.354
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	171	1.113	.331
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	171	.154	.858
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	171	1.975	.142
Gender * Situation * Period	1	171	.677	.412
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	171	.404	.668
RANDOM FACTOR		**Estimate**	**SE**	***p***
Child		23.99	12.57	.056
AIC = 1885,467				

7.2.3.3.3 (Ø-ber)

The developmental pattern of (Ø-ber) is visualized in Figure 7.5.

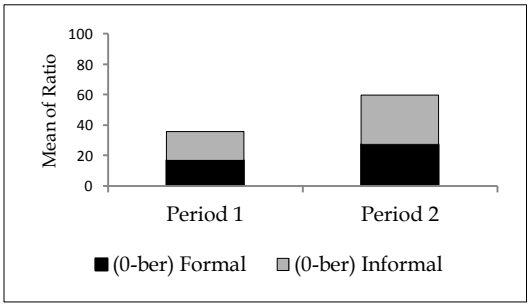


Figure 7.5
(Ø-ber): Split Up for Situation and Period
(Based on the Mean Scores of Individual Ratio)

The figure shows that the use of this variable increased over time (Period 1: M=17.9, SD=12.4; Period 2: M=29.8, SD=11.5).

We conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with (Ø-ber) as dependent variable, with situation, period, age cohort, and gender as the fixed factors. When both child and school were included as random factors in the Mixed Models Analysis of (Ø-ber), the covariance estimate of the child factor was zero, resulting in a not positive definite Hessian matrix. Therefore, we excluded child as the random factor. In Table 7.11 we present the results of a Mixed Models analysis (REML method), including all interactions (two-way, three-way, and four-way, as this model has the best fit (lowest AIC).

Table 7.11
(Ø-ber): Result of Mixed Models Analysis (method REML)

FIXED FACTORS	**df1**	**df2**	**F**	***p***
Intercept	1	1.888	293.318	.004
Cohort	2	221.147	.232	.793
Gender	1	217.690	.710	.400
Situation	1	225.980	6.081	.014
Period	1	225.980	50.237	.000
Cohort * Gender	2	218.392	.708	.494
Cohort * Situation	2	225.980	.098	.907
Cohort * Period	2	225.980	1.760	.174
Gender * Situation	1	225.980	.289	.591
Gender * Period	1	225.980	.212	.645
Situation * Period	1	225.980	.899	.344
Cohort * Gender * Situation	2	225.980	.583	.559
Cohort * Gender * Period	2	225.980	.197	.822
Cohort * Situation * Period	2	225.980	.029	.971
Gender * Situation * Period	1	225.980	.581	.447
Cohort * Gender * Situation * Period	2	225.980	.198	.820
RANDOM FACTOR		**Estimate**	**SE**	***p***
School		3.73	6.00	.534
AIC = 1840.005				

The result shows that situation has a significant effect on (Ø-ber), *F(1, 225.980)=6.081, p=.014.* On average, children used (Ø-ber) more frequently in the informal situation (M=25.7, SD=13.5) than in the formal situation (M=22.0, SD=12.9).

There is also a significant period effect, *F(1, 225.980)=50.237, p=.000.* The use of the variable increased over time. On average, children used (Ø-ber) more frequently in the second period (M=29.8, SD=11.5) than in the first period (M=17.9, SD=12.4). Hypothesis 1b, claiming that children will become less CJI dominant in both situation over time, is not supported for (Ø-ber) by this finding.

We found that there is no gender effect on the use of (Ø-ber) (boys: M=23.6, SD=13.5; girls: M=24.2, SD=13.2). Therefore, the Hypothesis 1c is supported.

None of the other factors—including school as the random one, or interactions is significant. We found that all cohorts on average used (Ø-ber) equally (Cohort 1: M=23.1, SD=13.7; Cohort 2: M=24.6, SD=13.2; Cohort 3: M=23.7, SD=13.3). Therefore, Hypothesis 1a, claiming that younger children will be more CJI dominant than older children in both situations, is not supported. Hypothesis 2c, claiming that older children will use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children, is also not supported by the finding.

7.2.3.3.4 (nge)

The developmental pattern of (nge) is visualized in Figure 7.6

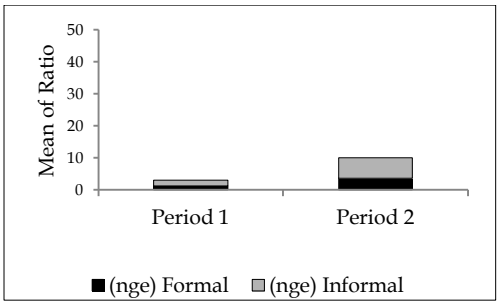


Figure 7.6
(nge): Split Up for Situation and Period
(Based on the Mean Scores of Individual Ratio)

A Repeated Measures General Linear Models Analysis is conducted with (nge) as dependent variable. Within subject factors are situation and period; between subject factors are cohort and gender.[9] The main purpose is to examine whether the findings support our hypotheses which are already discussed in Chapter 6. We expected that there would be interactions between the factors, especially between situation and period, and situation and cohort. The result is presented in Table 7.12.

[9]Initially, we conducted a Mixed Models Analysis with (nge) as dependent variable, situation, period, age cohort, and gender as fixed factors, child and school as random factors. However, when both child and school were included as random factors, the covariance estimate of both factors was zero, resulting in a not positive definite Hessian matrix.

The result indicates that situation has a significant effect, *F(1,57)=5.064, p=.028.* On average, children used (nge) more frequently in the informal situation (M=4.1, SD=6.0) than in the formal situation (M=2.3, SD=5.7). There is a significant period effect, *F(1,57)=41.660, p=.000.* The use of (nge) increased over time, as it was used more frequently in the second period (M=5.0, SD=6.5) than in the first period (M=1.5, SD=4.6). Therefore, Hypothesis 1b, claiming that children will become less CJI dominant in both situations over time, is not supported for (nge).

Table 7.12
(nge): Result of Repeated Measures General Linear Models (Test of Within-Subjects Effects)

Source	df	F	*p*	Partial Eta Squared
Situation	1	5.064	.028	.082
Situation*Cohort	2	.416	.661	.014
Situation*Gender	1	1.550	.218	.026
Situation*Cohort*Gender	2	.337	.716	.012
Period	1	41.660	.000	.422
Period*Cohort	2	.512	.602	.018
Period*Gender	1	.280	.599	.005
Period*Cohort*Gender	2	.507	.605	.017
Period*Situation	1	1.766	.189	.030
Period*Situation*Cohort	2	.699	.501	.024
Period*Situation*Gender	1	3.227	.078	.054
Period*Situation*Cohort*Gender	2	2.884	.064	.092
Error	57			

None of other factors or interaction is significant. First of all, we found that there is no significant difference between boys and girls (boys: M=3.0, SD=5.7; girls: M=3.5, SD=6.1). Therefore, Hypothesis 1c is supported.

It is also indicated that there is no significant effect of cohort (Cohort 1: M=3.3, SD=5.8; Cohort 2: M=2.9, SD=5.7; Cohort 3: M=3.5, SD=6.1); no significant interaction between cohort and situation as well. Therefore, Hypothesis 2c, claiming that older children use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children, is not supported for (nge).

7.3 The extent to which children apply the morphological rule

Results from the previous analysis have indicated that situation and period are the main factors which influenced the use of these morphemes. Children were already able to show that they were aware of different situations. Nevertheless, the extent to which they apply the morphological rule in given situation still needs to be examined.

This section will address our third main question: *"Do these children acquire grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously?"* We will test our last hypothesis (see also Section 1.5.2) as in the following.

Hypothesis 3:

> *Children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously.*

In order to test the hypothesis, we examine how children use the morphological variables over time in two criteria: 1) the appropriateness of situation, to examine children's ability to assess the situation; and 2) the application of morphological rule, to examine the mastery of this. Data analyzed in this section comes from the same data we used to analyze the morphological variables.[10] In order to examine how children apply the morphological rule in the appropriate situation, we have made new codes for the same data: criterion (1) is coded as *sit*; and criterion (2) as *rul*. How we coded the variable use in both formal and informal situation is explained hereafter.

a. Example in formal situation

Suppose we had *MEMBAWA* [məm-bawa] 'bringing' as the targeted word; our targeted morpheme being *meN-*, we expected children to use / məm- / in their answer.

- If the child gave *mem-bawa* as their answer, we would code it as "+sit+rul" which means that they used the word in the appropriate situation, using a prefix equivalent to the targeted morpheme, and applying a correct morphological rule. An answer such as *meng-ambil*, even though not exactly the expected answer, would also be coded as "+sit+rul" because it fits all the parameters as well.
- If the child gave *ber-jalan* as their answer, we would code it as "+sit+rule" as well, which means that they used the word which is

[10]Note that our focus is on the CJI and BI verb formation; we excluded the unmarked words. The latter are treated as the missing values, already discussed in the Section 6.2.

appropriate to the situation, and the correct morphological rule, even though the prefix he used is not equivalent to the targeted morpheme (see also Section 4.5.7 on children's interpretation on pictures in the scenario).

- If the child gave *nge-bawa* as their answer, we would code it as "-sit+rul," which means that they did not use a morpheme available in the formal situation. However, the prefix is equal to its counterpart—it is *nge-* which is equivalent to *meN-*. This child also applied verb formation with the appropriate morphological rule.
- If the child gave *jalan* as their answer, we would also code it as "-sit+rul," which means that they did not use a morpheme available in the formal situation. However, the morphological rule is appropriate in the counterpart situation. The stem is an inherently intransitive verb; therefore the prefix they used (which is zero, so equivalent to *ber-*) is considered non-equivalent to the targeted morpheme.
- If the child gave **men-jalan* as his answer, we would code it as "+sit -rul," which means that they used the targeted morpheme which is appropriate to the situation. However, the morphological rule is not properly applied because the stem *jalan* is an inherently intransitive verb, while the targeted morpheme is a transitive marker. In other words, they did not apply the appropriate morphological rule.
- If the child gave **ber-bawa* as their answer, we would also code it as "+sit-rule," which means that they used a morpheme which is available in the formal situation, but it is no an equivalent to the targeted morpheme nor the appropriate morphological rule. The stem is shared with the targeted word—which is inherently transitive; however, the prefix is not appropriately applied since it is inherently intransitive. In other words, this child did not apply the appropriate morphological rule.

The above examples of data coding are summarized in the Table 7.13.

b. Example in Informal situation

Suppose we had *BAWA* [bawa]/*MBAWA* [mbawa]/NGEBAWA[ŋəbawa] 'bringing' as the targeted word; the targeted morpheme is the zero prefix, which is equivalent to *meN* (Ø-*meN*-), or nasal prefix [m], or *nge* [*ŋə*-].

- If the child gave *m-bawa* as the answer, we would code it as "+sit+rul" which means that they used the word which consists of the targeted morpheme in the appropriate situation, equivalent to the targeted morpheme, and correct morphological rule. An answer such as *ambil* 'take' would also be coded as the same code as it fits all of the criteria as well.

- If the child gave *jalan* as the answer, we would also code it as "+sit+rul" which means that they used the word which is appropriate to the situation, even though not equivalent to the targeted morpheme. However, this child used the correct morphological rule.
- If the child gave *mem-bawa* as their answer, we would code it as "-sit+rul" which means that they did not use a morpheme available in the informal situation. However, the prefix is equal to its counterpart, *mem-,* which is equivalent to zero prefix, nasal prefix or *nge-*. In addition, the verb formation has the correct morphological rule.
- If the child gave *ber-jalan* as their answer, we would also code it as "-sit+rul," which means that they did not use a morpheme available in the informal situation. However, the morphological rule is correct.
- If the child gave **men-jalan* as their answer, we would code it as "-sit-rul," which means that they did not use the morpheme available in the informal situation, but used the prefix which is equivalent to the zero morpheme, nasal prefix or *nge-*. Even though the morphophonemic rule is correct (*meN* → *məŋ-*), the stem they used is inappropriate to either intransitive or transitive verb formation. In other words, this child did not apply the appropriate morphological rule.

The above examples of data coding are summarized in the Table 7.14.

Table. 7.13
Data Coding for Analysis of Word Formation: Formal Situation (with examples)

Situation	**Targeted answer**	**Child's answer**		**Coded answer**
Formal	*MEM-BAWA* ACT.TR-bring	*mem-bawa* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'	*ber-jalan* ACT.INTR-walk 'to walk	+sit +rul
		m-bawa ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'	*Ø-jalan* ACT.INTR-walk 'to walk'	-sit +rul
		**men-jalan* ACT.TR-walk '*men*-walk'	**ber-bawa* ACT.INTR-bring '*ber*-bring'	+sit -rul

Table. 7.14
Data Coding for Analysis of Word Formation: Informal Situation (with examples)

Situation	Targeted answer	Child's answer		Coded answer
Informal	*Ø-BAWA* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring' or	*m-bawa* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'	*Ø-jalan* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring	+sit +rul
	M-BAWA ACT.TR-bring 'to bring' or	*mem-bawa* ACT.TR-bring 'to bring'	*ber-jalan* ACT.INTR-walk 'to walk	-sit +rul
	NGE-BAWA ACT.TR-bring 'to bring	**men-jalan* ACT.TR-walk '*men*-walk'		-sit -rul

The present section will focus on the analyses of the word formations in formal and informal situations. A discussion of the distribution of the word formations in both situations is presented in Section 7.3.1. We discuss the influencing factors when children applying the rules in Section 7.3.2; the correlation study of word formations in 7.3.3.

7.3.1 Distribution of the use of word formations

In this section, we start with the number of children who used (+sit+rul), (-sit+rul), (+sit-rul), and (-sit-rul), the range of individual scores, mean and standard deviation in both situations and periods, presented in Table 7.16. It was BI words with rules that the children were expected to use in the formal situation and CJI in the informal situation.

Table 7.15 indicates that in the first period, all children (n=63) in this study had already started with their capability to assess the situation and apply morphological rules (+sit+rul) in the informal situation (CJI) whereas 31 children applied it in the formal situation (BI). It is also found that the range score is lower in the informal situation (the lowest score of the user was 44.4, the highest was 100), whereas in the formal situation it is higher (the lowest scores was 0, the highest was 88.9). The mean score is also higher in the informal situation than in the formal situation. Over time, it is indicated that (+sit+rul) developed in both situations.

It is also indicated that in the first period, only 14 children used (-sit+rul) in the informal situation (BI in informal situation), and almost all children (n=62) used it in the formal situation (CJI in formal situation). The range score is also lower in the informal situation (the lowest score was 0, and the highest was 22.2) than in the formal situation (the lowest score was 0, and the highest was 100). It is also indicated that in the second period the use of (-sit+rul) developed in both situations. In other words, there are still children who used CJI in the formal situation, and there are indications of increasing use of BI in the informal situation (see also Section 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2).

Table 7.15 also shows that only a few children applied incorrect morphological rules. Only 9 out of 63 children used the (+sit-rul) in the formal situation in each period (M=1.0, SD=3.7); in the informal situation 3 children in period 1 and one child in period 2 used the (-sit-rul) (M=0.2, SD=1.5).

Table.7.15
Distribution of Examined Word Formation Variable (with number of users), Split Up by Situation and Period

Period	Variable	Formal				Informal			
		n	Range	M	SD	n	Range	M	SD
1	(+sit+rul)	31	0.0 - 88.9	15.2	21.8	63	44.4 - 100	85.9	14.2
	(-sit+rul)	62	0.0 - 100	73.7	25.6	14	0.0 - 22.2	3.1	6.1
	(+sit-rul)	9	0.0 - 20.0	1.9	4.8	0	0.0 - 0.0	0.0	0.0
	(-sit-rul)	0	0.0 – 0.0	0.0	0.0	3	0.0 - 12.5	0.6	2.5
2	(+sit-rul)	42	0.0 - 85.7	22.6	23.1	63	25.0 - 100	91.2	14.7
	(-sit+rul)	63	14.3 - 100	75.4	23.5	24	0.0 -75.0	8.4	14.1
	(+sit-rul)	9	0.0 - 25.0	2.0	5.2	0	0.0 - 0.0	0.0	0.0
	(-sit-rul)	0	0.0 – 0.0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0 - 14.3	0.2	1.8

n = number of users

In order to examine whether children acquired the social and grammatical competence simultaneously, our focus in the next sections is exclusively on (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul).

7.3.2 Influencing factors when children applying the rules

It is indicated that children are already capable to apply the morphological rule in the informal situation (+sit+rul) in the first informal interview. Meanwhile, almost all of the children in this study were still learning to apply the morphological rule in the formal situation, as many of them still used (-sit+rul). Our preliminary findings suggest that these children already acquired the grammatical and social competence in the informal situation at

the same time. We assume that the use of (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) is influenced by situation, and over time children are more capable to apply the morphological rule in the appropriate situation.

In order to examine the influencing factors on both variables, we conducted a Repeated Measures General Linear Models analysis. Within-subject factors are situation and period; between-subject factors are age cohort and gender. The significant results are presented in Table 7.16 for (+sit+rul) and Table 7.17 for (-sit+rul).[11]

Table 7.16 indicates that situation has significant effect on (+sit+rul), *F(1,57)=476.171, p=.000.* As indicated before, children used the variable more frequently in the informal situation (M=88.5, SD=14.6) than in the formal situation (M=18.9, SD=22.7).

Table 7.16
(+sit+rul): Result of the Repeated Measures General Linear Model analysis

Source	**df**	**F**	***p***	**Partial Eta Squared**
Situation	1	476.171	.000	.893
Situation*Cohort	2	.699	.501	.024
Situation*Gender	1	.124	.726	.002
Situation*Cohort*Gender	2	.748	.478	.026
Period	1	9.956	.003	.149
Period*Cohort	2	.087	.917	.003
Period*Gender	1	2.568	.115	.043
Period*Cohort*Gender	2	1.574	.216	.052
Period*Situation	1	.328	.569	.006
Period*Situation*Cohort	2	.447	.642	.015
Period*Situation*Gender	1	.312	.579	.005
Period*Situation*Cohort*Gender	2	1.660	.199	.055
Error	57			

[11]As with (nge), initially, Repeated Measures Mixed Models Analysis is conducted in order to examine the influencing factors on the use of (+sit+rul) and (+sit-rul). We had four fixed factors, namely situation, period, age cohort, and gender, and included the children and school as the random factors. However, the analysis resulting in a not positive definite Hessian matrix because of the random factors—the covariance estimate of both factors is zero.

It is also indicated that period has a significant effect, *F(1,57)=9.956, p=.003.* As also indicated previously, children develop their capability to assess the situation and apply the morphological rule appropriately. They used the variable more frequently in the second period (M=56.9, SD=39.5) than in the first period (M=50.6, SD=39.9). The result confirms our assumption, that over time children became more capable to apply word formation rules in the appropriate situation. It is also supported with the finding that there is no interaction of period and situation, indicating that this development takes place in both situations.

There is no gender effect, as we expected in this study (boys: M=53.9, SD=40.0; girls: M=53.6, SD=39.7). It is also indicated that there is no age cohort effect (Cohort 1: M=52.3, SD=40.9; Cohort 2: M=54.3, SD=41.7; Cohort 3: M=53.9, SD=38.0). None of interactions is significant.

Table 7.17 indicates that situation has a significant effect on (-sit+rul), *F(1,57)=388.291, p=.000.* As it is indicated previously, children used the variable more frequently in the formal situation (M=74.6, SD=24.5) than in the informal situation (M=5.7, SD=11.2). In other words, there were still children applying CJI word formation in the formal situation—in which children are expected to use BI.

Table 7.17
(-sit+rul): Result of the Repeated Measures General Linear Model analysis

Source	**df**	**F**	***p***	**Partial Eta Squared**
Situation	1	388.291	.000	.872
Situation*Cohort	2	.186	.830	.006
Situation*Gender	1	.094	.760	.002
Situation*Cohort*Gender	2	.433	.651	.015
Period	1	2.640	.110	.044
Period*Cohort	2	.284	.754	.010
Period*Gender	1	.970	.329	.017
Period*Cohort*Gender	2	3.335	.043	.105
Period*Situation	1	1.006	.320	.017
Period*Situation*Cohort	2	.092	.912	.003
Period*Situation*Gender	1	.525	.472	.009
Period*Situation*Cohort*Gender	2	1.619	.207	.054
Error (Period*Situation)	57			

There is also a significant interaction of period, cohort and gender (p=.043). While the use of (-sit+rul) increased with other groups, it is found that girls of Cohort 2 even decreased it use in the second period (Period 1: M=44.1; Period 2: M=38.0). However, note that it is a weak effect.

There is no gender effect, as we expected in this study (boys: M=40.6 SD=39.6; girls: M=39.8, SD=39.2). It is also indicated that there is no age cohort effect (Cohort 1: M=41.7, SD=40.7; Cohort 2: M=39.7, SD=40.4; Cohort 3: M=39.8, SD=38.3).

7.3.3 Correlation study of (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul)

In order to examine the extent they develop and use these variables, especially how they relate these variables with situations, we conducted a correlation analysis. Pearson correlation coefficient between both variables in different situations and periods is presented in Table 7.18.

Table 7.18
Pearson Correlations between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) Split Up by Situation and Period (n=63)[12]

	(+sit+ru) INF1	**(+sit+rul) INF2**	**(-sit+rul) INF1**	**(-sit +rul) INF2**
(+sit+rul) FOR1	-.035	-.130	.383**	.156
(+sit+rul) FOR2		-.445**	.091	.460**
(-sit+rul) FOR1			-.416**	-.232
(-sit+rul) FOR2				-.459**

* p<.05, **p<.01

There is a strong negative correlation (Pearson's r = -.962, p<.01) between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) scores, implying that children having low (+sit+rul) scores had high (-sit+rul) scores, those with higher (+sit+rul) scores had lower (-sit+rul) scores.

In the first period, it is shown that there is a weak positive correlation coefficient between (+sit+rul) in formal situation and (-sit+rul) in informal situation (r=.383, p<.01), indicating that those who had high score of (+sit+rul) in the formal situation had also high score of (-sit+rul) in the informal situation; the lower the score of (+sit+rul) in the formal situation, the lower (-sit+rul) was. In other words, there was a tendency that the use of BI in the formal interview concurred with the use of BI in the informal situation. The tendency increased in the second period—there was a positive correlation of (+sit+rul) in the formal situation and (-sit+rul) in the informal

[12]FOR1= Formal situation in the 1st period; FOR2 =Formal situation int the 2nd period; INF1 = Informal situation in the 1st period; INF2 = Informal situation in the 2nd period.

situation (r=.460, p<.01) (see also Section 6.2.2.3, and finding that there are children who increased the use of BI in the informal situation). However, a test of the difference between the correlation coefficients of both variables in both periods (Preacher, 2002) is not significant, *p=.608.*

In the first period, it is also indicated that there was no significant correlation of the use of (+sit+rul) in the formal and informal situation. Nevertheless, there was a negative correlation of (+sit+rul) in both situations in the second period (r=-.445, p<.01), indicating that the more frequent use of (+sit+rul) in the formal situation tended to coincide with the less frequent use of (+sit+rul) in the informal situation. In other words, in the second period, children who used more BI in the formal situation in the second period tended to use less CJI in the informal situation; the tendency is similar in the reverse situations, respectively (see also Section 6.2.2.3).

It is shown that there is a negative correlation between (-sit+rul) in the formal situation and (-sit+rul) in the informal situation in the first period (r=-.416, p<.01) and the second period (r=-.459, <.01). The negative correlations indicate that the higher the score of (-sit+rul) in the formal situation coincided with the lower the score of (-sit+rul) in the informal situation; on the other hand, the lower the score of (-sit+rul) in the formal situation coincided with, the higher the score of (-sit+rul) in the informal situation. The increasing value of correlation coefficient is not significant.

To have an insight in children's social and grammatical competence, we will examine how they assess the situation and apply the morphological rules in both situations and periods. Our foci in the following two sections are the correlations between both variables within a given situation and within period and of the same variable in the same situation between periods.

7.3.3.1 Assessing the situation and applying morphological rules in the formal conditioned interview

In Table 7.19 we present the coefficient correlations of (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in the formal situation over time. As a reminder, it is BI which is expected to be used by children in the formal situation. The table shows that there is a significant correlation of (+sit+rul) between both periods (r=.363, p<.01), indicating that the increasing use of the proper word formation in the first period coincided with the increasing use of the proper word formation in the second period.

There is a strong negative correlation between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in the formal situation of the first period (r=-.872), indicating that in the formal

situation, those who had low score of (+sit+rul) had high (-sit+rul); those who had high score of (+sit+rul) had low score of (-sit+rul). In other words, there is a strong tendency that children who used more frequent BI would use less frequent CJI in the formal situation; those who used less frequent BI would use more frequent CJI in the given situation. Note, however, that in the formal situation of the first period less than half of these children used the BI morphemes accordingly (see Table 7.14). Almost all of them applied the counterpart morphology. In the second period, the negative correlation between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) became stronger (r=-.975). The test of the difference between the correlation coefficients of both periods (Preacher, 2002) is significant, *p=.000*.

Table 7.19
Pearson Correlations between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in Formal Situation Split Up by Period

(+sit+rul) FOR1	**(+sit+rul) FOR2**	**(-sit+rul) FOR1**	**(-sit+rul) FOR2**
(+sit+rul) FOR1	.363**	-.872**	-.384**
	(+sit+rul) FOR2	-.382**	-.975**
		(-sit+rul) FOR1	.404**
			(-sit+rul) FOR2

* p<.05, **p<.01

There is a moderate negative correlation between (+sit+rul) in the first period and (-sit+rul) in the second period (r=-.384, p<.01). The negative correlation suggests that the lower score of (+sit+rul) the children had in the first period, the higher score of (-sit+rul) they had in the second period. On the other hand, we found that there is negative correlation between (-sit+rul) in the first period and (+sit+rul) in the second period (r=-.382, p<.01). The negative correlation suggests that the higher score of (-sit+rul the children had in the first period, the lower score of (+sit-rul) the children had in the second period.

There is also a moderate positive correlation of (-sit+rul) between both periods (r=.404, p<.01), indicating that the increasing use of word formation that is not appropriate to the situation in the first period coincided with the use of the same kind of word in the second period; or the use of CJI word formation in the formal situation coincided with the use of the same kind of word in the second period.

The finding on the correlation of (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in the formal situation indicates that children in this study were still learning to apply the morphological rule in the formal situation. In other words, Hypothesis 3, claiming that children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and

sociolinguistic competence simultaneously, in the formal situation, is rejected.

7.3.3.2 Assessing the situation and applying morphological rule in the informal conditioned interview

In Table 7.20 we present the correlation coefficients of (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in the informal situation over time. As a reminder, it is CJI which is expected to be used by children in the formal situation.

Table 7.20 indicates that there is a weak negative correlation between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in the informal situation in the first period (r=-.262, p<.05). This indicates that those who had high score of (+sit+rul) tended to have low score of (-sit+rul); those who had low score of (+sit+rul) tended to have high score of (-sit-rul). Note, however, that all of the children already used the (+sit+rul) in the informal situation, that is, CJI in the appropriate situation. The correlation coefficient became even stronger in the second period (r=-.987, p<.01), the test of the difference between correlation coefficients in both periods (Preacher, 2002) is significant, *p=.000*.

Table 7.20
Pearson Correlations between (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) in Informal Situation Split Up by Period

(+sit+rul)INF1	**(+sit+rul) INF2**	**(-sit+rul) INF1**	**(-sit+rul) INF2**
(+sit+rul) INF1	-.028	-.262*	-.001
	(+sit +rul) INF2	-.148	-.987**
		(-sit+rul) INF1	.170
			(-sit+rul) INF2

* p<.05, **p<.01

The finding on the correlation of (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul) indicates that children in this study were already capable to apply the morphological rule in the informal situation. In other words, Hypothesis 3, claiming that children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously, in the informal situation, is confirmed.

7.4 Discussion

This section discusses the findings on the analyses on development of CJI and BI morphology. A discussion on BI and CJI prefixes in presented in 7.4.1, followed by a further discussion on BI prefixes (7.4.2) and CJI prefixes (7.4.3). A discussion on the development of grammatical and social competence is presented in 7.4.4. The gender and age cohort factors are discussed in 7.4.5. A note on the school factor is presented in 7.4.6.

7.4.1 Between BI and CJI prefixes

The results from the analyses indicate that, in both periods, children still use the CJI prefixes more frequently than the BI prefixes, even in the formal situation. It is found that there was a significant increasing use of *ber-*, whereas *meN-* more or less remained stable over time.

Within the corresponding prefixes *meN-*, *Ø-meN-*, nasal, and *nge-*, it is *Ø-meN-*, followed by nasal prefix, which are the most frequent prefixes the children opted for, indicating that they employed the prefixes based on the order of familiarity, as well as acquisition. We found a tendency that the older the children were, the more frequently they tended to use the *nasal* form, and the tendency is significant. It is indicated that while children were still learning to use *meN-* than zero prefix and nasal, they were still learning other CJI prefixes, especially *nge-* which were productively used by young adult speakers in informal situations. The findings indicate that children were still learning both BI and CJI morphology. The development of corresponding prefixes *meN-*, *Ø-meN-*, *nasal,* and *nge-* is illustrated in Figure 7.7.

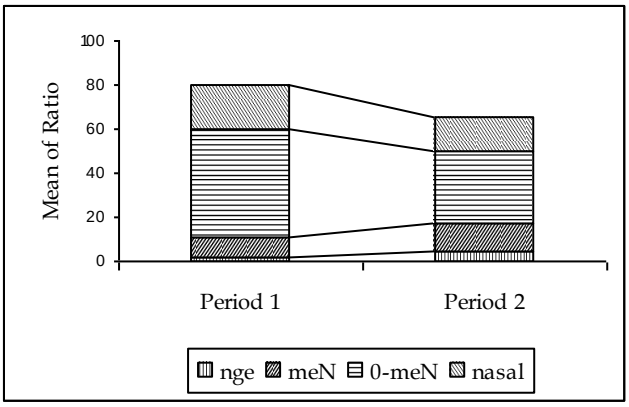


Figure 7.7
Development of the Prefixes *meN-*, *Ø-meN-*, *nasal,* and *nge-*

An intriguing question is: why were children very productive in using zero prefixes? It is tempting to speculate that this is a matter of input, and the simplicity of the form, which is suggested by Dardjowidjojo, in line with Clark (1993). Unfortunately, we do not have any quantitative data to support the argument on the input. However, findings in our observations suggest, that besides the children's social environment at school where CJI was dominantly used—especially outside the classroom, children were also

familiar with imperatives, which mainly use affixless verbs, in both BI and CJI, such as in the following examples:

BI	CJI	
Mari kita buka kotak ini!	*Yuk kita buka kotak ini!*	'let's open the box!"
Mari kita susun balok-balok ini!	*Yuk kita susun balok-balok ini!*	'let's arrange these blocks!'
Tangkap dia!	*Tangkep dia!*	'catch him'
Jangan pegang punyaku!	*Jangan pegang punyaku!*	'don't touch mine!'
Ambil buku itu!	*Ambil buku itu!*	'take the book!"

These children apparently mixed up the use of this kind of mood with the declarative ones. It might also be an explanation why children used the *Ø-meN* frequently in formal situations. However, given the fact that the tendency diminished over time, especially in the informal situation, we can infer that input cannot solely be held responsible for this fact.

It is also shown that (Ø-ber) is used more frequent than (ber). However, our finding also indicates that the former as the latter, is used more frequently in the second period. In other words, over time, the use of both prefixes develops, as illustrated in Figure 7.8.

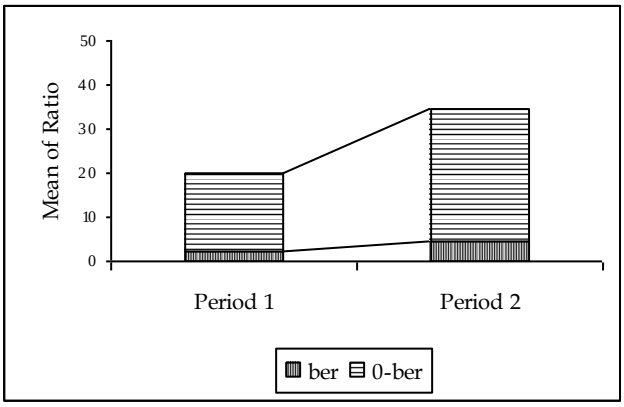


Figure 7.8
Development of the Prefixes *ber-* and *Ø-ber*

7.4.2 On the BI prefixes

It is found that the use of both BI prefixes was still low over time. The finding is similar to Dardjowidjojo (2000); that is, before the age of four, the child in his study rarely uses these prefixes.

It is suggested that these prefixes are still "new" for the children. It is also found that many children used the corresponding prefixes from the counterpart variety in the formal situation. Many of the children opted for the CJI variants, rather than the BI ones. However, as already mentioned, some children were already able to apply BI morphophonemic rules.

Results from analysis on the use of right words in both situations indicate that only a handful of children were capable of using *meN-* and *ber-* on the basis of the formal situation, not to mention the informal one. Given the fact that there is more advanced and various use of *meN-*, we can surmise that children are more familiar with this prefix than *ber-*. Most likely, children develop the former first, followed by the latter, as illustrated in the Figure 7.9 below. Result from the Mixed Models Analysis indicated that *ber-* significantly increased.

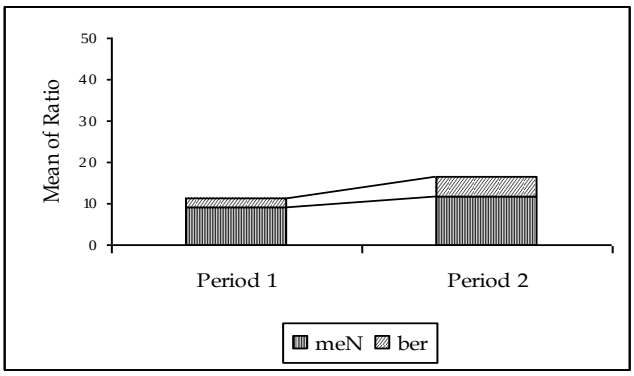


Figure 7.9
Development of BI Prefixes over Time

For children, *ber-* is apparently "newer" than *meN-*. Our findings imply that in the second period the use of the prefix was still less frequent than the use of *meN-*. Moreover, even though there were more targeted words using *ber-*, which we expected children to use more frequently, only a few children used it.

On the use of *ber-*, Dardjowidjojo (2000) suggests that the prefix is used as a denominal one, for example as in *ber-darah* 'to bleed' or used for the bound verbal morpheme stem such as *ber-diri* 'to stand.' The child in his study, at the age of four, still does not use it for the verbal stem. Our study indicates that children—though only a few of them—used already words such as *ber-jalan* 'to walk,' *ber-lari* 'to run,' *ber-main* 'to play' and *ber-senang~senang* 'to have fun.' Dardjowidjojo also suggests that this is dealing with the input. Our study, though not specifying the input, suggests the same. At school,

children had already heard and used words such as *ber-main* 'to play,' *ber-doa* 'to pray,' *ber-canda* 'to joke' or *ber-cerita* 'to tell a story.' Often we heard both teachers and children used these words inside and outside the classroom. Therefore, the *ber-* input is actually already there, but still children opted for the CJI variant.

Even though the use of *meN-* and *ber-* is still low in frequency, children seemingly distinguished both prefixes, and even tended to treat both differently. For *meN-*, children tended to put another "item" after the verb—which functioned as an object; for example, *mem-beli buah* 'buying a fruit,' *mem-(p)etik bunga* 'picking a flower' or *meng-(k)ejar ayam* 'chasing a chicken.' Meanwhile, children in general did not put any item after *ber-*. The findings suggest that within the BI variety, children already distinguished transitivity and intransitivity.

7.4.3 On the CJI prefixes

As previously discussed, children in our study were still predominantly CJI users (see Section 6.2.2). Dropped prefixes, which we call zero prefixes, in both transitive and intransitive verbs, are considerable. In the informal situation, it is also indicated that children developed transitivity first, followed by intransitivity. Children also tended to put items after the verb, which functioned as objects, such as *Ø-beli buah* 'buying fruit,' *m-(p)etik bunga* 'picking a flower' or *nge-dorong kereta* 'pushing a cart.' Among the CJI prefixes, it is *Ø-meN-* that the children used the most frequently over time. The same tendency is found in data from Gil and Tadmor (2007).

Previous discussion indicates that there are two patterns of CJI development: decreasing and increasing. Over time, the use of *Ø-meN-* and nasal diminished, while *Ø-ber* and *nge-* increased. These two patterns suggest that children are still learning CJI, although the variety is considered their first language, as illustrated in Figure 7.10. The figure also suggests that children in our study developed transitivity and intransitivity in CJI, as in BI. The result on descriptive analysis shows that in general, children were capable of applying the use of the zero prefixes (*Ø-meN-* and *Ø-ber-*) on word formation. On the other hand, not all children used the other prefixes.

We found that the older children tended to use *Ø-meN* less frequently than the younger ones did. However, the difference between cohorts was not significant. We also found that the older ones tended to use the nasal prefix more frequently than the younger ones did, and the difference was significant between Cohort 2 and Cohort 3.

If the assumption that the frequent use of Ø-meN was related to the frequent use of the affixless verb in imperatives (see 7.4.1), the finding suggests that the more mature children were, the more capable they were of distinguishing the mood of the utterances. At the same time, this shows that they were developing other aspects of linguistic competence. Nevertheless, we still have lack of data to support the finding.

Figure 7.10 shows that over time the use of both *Ø-meN* and nasal prefix decreased, providing "space" to develop other "newer" prefixes within the variety, the *nge-* and *Ø-ber*. Again, this is evidence that besides developing BI, the children are still developing their capability as CJI users.

This study is in line with Roberts' suggestion—that "they are still in the process of acquiring the language, they are in a situation that is for them one of language change" (1994*:* 120). It is also suggested that all of the prefixes will be still used by them over time.

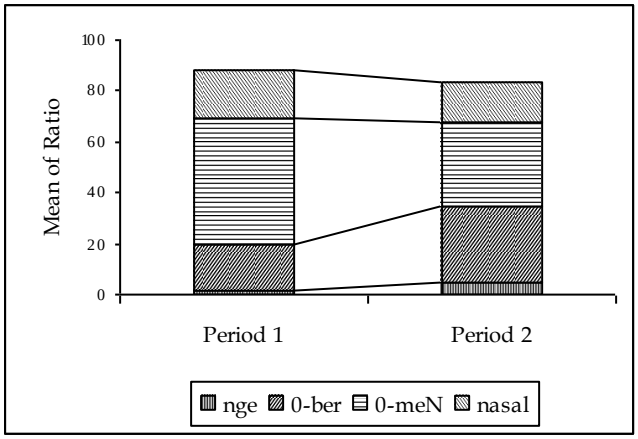


Figure 7.10
Development of CJI Prefixes over Time

7.4.4 The development of grammatical and social competence

Regardless of the situation as one of the main influencing factors, it is clear that children were already mastering the morphophonemic and morpho-syntactic rules of both BI and CJI. It is also indicated that many of them had already mastered the morpho-syntax rules. When children used BI, we did not find "mistakes" in applying the rule, such as **men-bawa* [mən-bawa] or **meng-makai* [məŋ-makai]. Only a few of them made a "mistake" in applying the morphological rule, as indicated by mixed utterances. Even though

some children used mixed utterance such as **meny-(c)opot-in* [mənɲpɔtin] (stem: *copot* 'to pull out'), they showed how they were able to choose the right nasal form to derive a word with palatal initial phoneme of the stem. We found that one child used the word *em-pel* [əm-pel] and the other used *e-pel* [ə-pel] to refer to a 'mopping activity,' which (until present time) is not found in Indonesians' everyday conversation. Nevertheless, they "created" formation that may possibly to be applied to a voiceless bilabial stop: 1) in the *em-pel* case, the child shows his awareness that only the nasal bilabial may attach to another bilabial; 2) for the *e-pel* case, the child apparently mixed the [ə-] with [ŋə-], which are closely related.

As discussed previously, *nge-* is considered "new" for children. Nevertheless, they already knew how to apply the morphophonemic rule of *nge-* affixation: they used *nge-* only with certain stems, in particular with *nge-pel* [ŋə-pɛl] 'to mop.' Findings in this study suggest that these children saw the word as mono-morphemic, and mainly they used it in the informal situation. Several other children used the stem *pel*, suggesting that they used the zero prefix. It might be that they have not acquired the *nge-* prefix, or it might be that *nge-* is already acquired but is not used in these cases. Only a few children used the prefix with other stems, but they understood the rule; for example, *nge-dorong* [ŋə-dɔrɔŋ] 'to push.' That is, the prefix can be attached with any monosyllabic stem or any stem with initial—among others—voiced consonants, semi-vowels, laterals, and trill.

We found that children did not have any problem with the morphophonemic rule of *ber-* as well. Even though we found that a child said **ber-potong,* the word formation he used shows that he had already known that "*ber-* can be attached with a voiceless stop initial of the stem." It is also indicated that over time children tended to distinguish it with its CJI variants, the *Ø-ber-*. We found that children had no problem in applying the morpho-syntax rule of the latter, as they applied it only on verbal stems, such as *Ø-lari* 'to run,' *Ø-jalan* 'to walk,' or *Ø-main* 'to play.' Outside the classroom, we overheard children saying:

(a) *Kita* ***Ø- main*** ***ber- dua***
1PL ACT.INTR-play INTR-two
'we play it together'

(b) *Aku* ***Ø-jalan-nya*** *pincang, soal-nya kaki-nya* ***ber-darah***
1SG ACT.INTR-walk-DEF lame, matter-DEF leg-POSS INTR- blood
'I walk haltingly, because my leg is bleeding'

Both examples suggest that these children were able to apply the morpho-syntax rule in the formal situation: 1) in case of *main* and *jalan-nya*, children used Ø-ber (or drop the *ber-*) being verbal stem; 2) in case of *ber-dua* and *ber-darah* children used *ber-*, being the non-verbal stem (see also Wouk, 1989; Dardjowidjojo, 2000). In the formal interviews, some children could say *ber-main* 'to play' and *ber-jalan* 'to walk.' The finding suggests that children may interchange both *ber-* and *Ø-ber* for the verbal stem, but will retain *ber-* for the non-verbal stem.

Our findings suggest that children mastered the grammatical rule first. As already discussed in the Section 7.4.1, very rarely we found children made "mistakes" when they were using BI or CJI word formation. Nevertheless, it is indicated that these children were better language users in the informal situation. They were more capable of using the appropriate prefixes with the right morphological rules in such situations, in which we expect that they use the CJI. As also already mentioned, it is CJI which is acquired first by these children. We can say that overall these children acquired the grammatical and social constraint simultaneously in the informal situation.

There are only small numbers of children who used BI prefixes in the formal situation in the first period. It might be that these children acquired the grammatical and social constraint in both situations, and have already mastered both of them. Yet, we can say that in majority these children were still learning to be competent speakers in the formal situation. As children grew older, they were becoming more competent speakers in informal situations, while at the same time they were still learning to be competent in formal situations. Overall, we can also conclude that children, on average, were better CJI-speakers than BI-speakers, as in the informal situation. In other words, children mastered grammatical and social constraints simultaneously in the informal situation.

7.4.5 The role of gender and age cohort

We found that there is no gender effect on the use of our morphological variables. As we expected, boys and girls have the same capacity in applying word formation rules in the appropriate situation. This is in line with findings from Roberts (1994), Foulkes *et al.* (2001), Smith *et al.* (2007), and Docherty *et al.* (2006), among others, that there is no gender effect in their study of the acquisition of sociolinguistic variables. The finding is also in line with our previous finding (see also Chapter 6).

We found that there is an indication that age cohort was not a significant factor in the use of both BI and CJI morphological variables, except for the

nasal prefix. However, the differences between the respective age-groups are small, and only between Cohort 2 and 3. In each discussion we found that the capability on using the morphological variables was highly varied across children. In each age cohort there were children who were already able to use both BI and CJI variables appropriately. Reversely, we also found that there were those who were still learning to use both of them. In other words, older children did not always do it better than the younger ones, as there are large individual differences in the development.

7.4.6 The school factor

Children in this study were selected from three different affiliated schools: Catholic, Islamic, and public. We also expected that there is no difference between schools, as they all fitted to one (and the most important) of our criteria: Indonesian (BI) as the main medium of instruction (see also Section 4.2). As already presented in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.2) these schools show similar patterns of interactions, in that children used BI and CJI in certain conditions and situations. Mixed Models analyses had shown that the school factor was never significant: there was no difference between the schools, despite their affiliations. Therefore, it is safe to generalize the observed patterns to middle class children schools in Jakarta.

7.5 Summary

This chapter addresses our main questions on children's development of morphological variation, as in the following

1. To what extent do middle-class Jakarta children use Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian features?
2. To what extent are middle-class Jakarta children capable to distinguish BI and CJI and use both varieties appropriately?
3. Do these children acquire grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously?

Section 7.2, is an explanation for the previous chapter, especially on how the hypotheses—on cohort, period, gender, interaction of situation and period, and interaction of situation and cohort—were confirmed or rejected. Six morphological variables were analyzed with Mixed Models Analysis, namely (meN), (ber), (Ø-meN), (nasal), (nge) and (Ø-ber) to examine the influencing factors. The recapitulation is presented in Table 7.21.

Table 7.21
Significant Effects from Repeated Measures Mixed Models Analysis for Morphological Variables: Recapitulation (+ = significant)

FACTORS		meN	ber	Ø-meN	nasal	nge[13]	Ø-ber
Fixed	Situation	+	+	+		+	+
	Period		+	+		+	+
	Cohort				+		
	Gender						
	Situation*Period						
	Situation*Cohort						
	Situation*Gender						
	Period*Cohort						
	Period*Gender						
	Cohort*Gender						
Random	School						
	Child	+	+	+			

Once again, we found that school has no significant effect on all of the morphological variables. We found that the results of the analyses varied, in terms of supporting or not supporting the hypothesis. The summary is presented in Table 7.22.

[13]Note that for (nge), we present the result of Repeated Measures General Linear Models.

Table 7.22
Supporting Results for the Hypotheses 1a-2c (+=supported; -=not supported)

Hypothesis	BI		CJI			
	meN	ber	Ø-meN	nasal	nge	Ø-ber
1a cohort effect for CJI			-	-	-	-
1b period effect for CJI			+	+	-	-
1c no gender effect for CJI and BI	+	+	+	+	+	+
2a interaction of cohort and situation for BI	-	-				
2b interaction of period and situation for BI	-	-				
2c interaction of cohort and situation for CJI			-	-	-	-

The third section of the present chapter discussed the children's mastery of morphological rules in the appropriate situation, based on the third main question. We coded the data and classified them according to two criteria, namely 1) the appropriateness of situation (+/- sit); and 2) the application of morphological rule (+/- rul). Based on the classification, two variables were examined, namely (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul), analyzed with Repeated Measures General Linear Model (GLM) Analysis. Within-subject factors we have type (of situation) and time (period), and between-subject factors we have cohort and gender. The recapitulation is presented in the Table 7.23. The confirmation of the Hypothesis 3, based on the analysis, is presented in Table 7.24.

Table 7.23 shows that type of situation has a significant effect on both (+sit+rul) and (-sit+rul). It is indicated that (+sit+rul) was used more frequently in the informal situation; while (-sit+rul) was used more frequently in the formal situation. Period also has significant effect on (+sit+rul): over time it increased. A significant small effect interaction of period, cohort, and gender in (-sit+rul) reveals that, while other children increased the use of the variable, there was a decreasing use by girls of Cohort 2 in the second period (see also Section 7.3.2). There is no gender and cohort effect on both variables.

Table 7.23
Significant Effects from Repeated Measures General Linear Model Analyses for Word Formations: Recapitulation (+ = significant)

Within- and between- subject factors and interactions	**(+sit+rul)**	**(-sit+rul)**
Situation	+	+
Period	+	
Cohort		
Gender		
Situation*Cohort		
Situation*Gender		
Situation*Cohort*Gender		
Period*Cohort		
Period*Gender		
Period*Cohort*Gender		+
Period*Situation		
Period*Situation*Cohort		
Period*Situation*Gender		
Period*Situation*Cohort*Gender		

Table 7.24
Confirmation of Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: *Children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously*		
	BI (not confirmed)	CJI (confirmed)
Grammatical constraint	+	+
Social Constraint	+/-	+

(+ = acquired; - = not acquired)

Analyses on the use of words which are appropriate to situation and correct in morphological rule indicated that children already acquired grammatical constraint in both BI and CJI. However, while they in general already showed their capacity to assess the informal situation, it is indicated that not all children acquired the social constraint in the formal situation.

Chapter 8
General Discussion and Conclusion

The present study dealt with the acquisition of Indonesian varieties used in Jakarta - Bahasa Indonesia (BI) and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI) - by children of middle class families. While CJI is acquired as their first language, and, generally used for informal situations, BI is acquired later than CJI. Nevertheless, children also learn BI at a very early age, in more formal situations. Our focus in this study is the use of BI and CJI morphology in formal and informal situations, respectively. The main research questions concern the following.

1. To what extent do middle-class Jakarta children use Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian features?
2. To what extent are middle-class Jakarta children capable to distinguish BI and CJI and use both varieties appropriately?
3. Do these children acquire grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously?

We have three introductory chapters and four main chapters. The former chapters describe the backgrounds of our research on the acquisition of variation, give a brief illustration of the social situation in Jakarta, and present a comparison between BI and CJI. The latter chapters present the methodology of this study, a description of the children in this study, an analysis of children's stylistic use, and an analysis of their morphological variation. The present chapter provides the recapitulation of the previous chapters of this book, the results of the analyses, the findings, conclusion and implications.

8.1 The aims and method of this study

The main aim of this study is to explain the use of BI and CJI by Jakarta children of middle-class families before they are old enough to attend formal schooling. In particular, our aim is to examine the use of BI and CJI morphology in different situations and to investigate whether grammatical and social constraints are acquired simultaneously. Our focus in morphology is on the Bahasa Indonesia prefixes *meN-* and *ber-* and their counterparts in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

The main hypotheses of our study were:

Hypothesis 1A: *Younger children will be more CJI dominant than older children both in situations triggering BI (formal situation) as in situations triggering CJI (informal situation).*

Hypothesis 1B: *Children will become less CJI dominant in both situations over a time period of 6 months.*

Hypothesis 1C: *There are no differences between boys and girls in the development of CJI and BI.*

Hypothesis 2A: *Older children will use more BI in the formal situation than younger children.*

Hypothesis 2B: *The use of BI will increase over time in the formal situation.*

Hypothesis 2C: *Older children will use more CJI in the informal situation than younger children*

Hypothesis 3: *Children will acquire Indonesian grammatical and sociolinguistic competence simultaneously.*

The hypotheses were tested and analyzed; the results are presented in our two main chapters. The analyses on development of stylistic variation are discussed in Chapter 6 while on BI and CJI morphology in Chapter 7.

In order to address the main research questions and to examine the extent children use BI and CJI, we conducted interviews that were set as two different types of conditioned situations; namely, formal and informal. We used interviews to obtain children's utterances as our main data. The interviews were conducted in two different periods, with a six-month interval. Several questions were posed to elicit children's use of BI and CJI verbs. Sixty-three children were selected from three schools, namely a Catholic-, Islamic-, and a public school. These children were stratified for gender (boys-girls) and three birth cohorts (Cohort 1: 2006-2; Cohort 2: 2006-1; and Cohort 3: 2005-2). Therefore, the children were between 3;0 and 4;5 in the first period and between 3;6 and 4;11 in the second period.

In order to have a comprehensive illustration of children's development of stylistic variation, this study is supported by other important data that were obtained from observation and parental questionnaires. The observations were conducted in children's schools in order to investigate children's interactions with others at school (teachers, friends, helpers, and caregivers).

The parental questionnaires were administered among parents in order to investigate children's personal information (included are their social activities and information about their caregivers) and parents' language use in interaction with their child.

The data was coded into four different data sets in order to fulfill different aims. The first data set consists of all of speech utterances produced by the children during the interviews, which was analyzed in order to examine children's stylistic characteristics. The second data set consists of children's elicited answers, in particular all verbs of BI and CJI—with more or less equal number for each individual child—which was analyzed in order to examine children's capability of style-shifting and to investigate the influencing factors. The third data set consists of the same children's elicited answers, in particular all verbs of BI and CJI containing the examined prefixes. The difference between the second and the third data is the observed prefixes that are employed in the latter. The fourth data set consists of the recoded data derived from the third data set, which was employed in order to examine children's mastery of social and grammatical constraints.

8.2 Recapitulation

This section recapitulates the findings in the study. Findings on methodological issues and characteristics of the children in this study are presented in 8.2.1. Children's stylistic characteristics and their ability to style-shift are presented in 8.2.2. The third part of this section, 8.2.3 presents the findings for the children's use of BI and CJI prefixes.

8.2.1 Methodological considerations and the characteristics of the children

The present study began with the procedure to approach the schools in which we conducted the interviews. After having the acceptance from the schools, we approached the children and started the selection of the participants in our study, with the help of the headmistress, school management, and teachers. They also played an important role to get parents' consent. At the same time, we began to observe the individual children, the school environment, and the interactions between children and other persons at school. After selecting the children, we administered parental questionnaires in order to gather children's personal information and to obtain information on how parents used language(s) in interactions with their children. Our presence at school helped us not only to have the information about children and their school environment, but it was also

easier for us to approach them—which also made it easier to conduct individual interviews. On their side, children were more familiar with our style—the formal interviewer consistently used BI, while the informal interviewer used CJI—inside and outside the classroom.

A pilot study in the public school helped us to make a better design of this study. In this study, we found that children were confused with the puppets we used in the pilot study and with the instructions we had constructed. We learned how to handle individual children in the interview.

This study employed an experimental approach in which interviews for an individual child were set in a formal and an informal situation; each situation having one specific interviewer. Pictures, arranged as scenarios, and specific questions were used to elicit children's utterances. Over time, children became more familiar with both experimenters. This might have affected children's linguistic choice in the interview. For some children, they learned to be formal—using more BI. Yet, other children showed otherwise. However, it is indicated that the individual changes were influenced by psychological factors as well. In this case, children's mood played important role when they were answering the questions from the interviewers.

Our observations revealed that children in this study were more exposed to CJI, the variety used in interactions between the children and others at school. BI was used only during specific occasions in the classroom, such as in prayers and discussions on scientific knowledge. However, BI was also used among children's peers, especially when they were role-playing. However, it was claimed in the parental questionnaires that parents used BI in many situations and conditions with their children, suggesting that children's main linguistic input outside the school setting was BI. Furthermore, parents have a very positive attitude towards BI. Nevertheless, it should be noted that those who filled out the questionnaires in majority were mothers, whom are often considered to use more standard language than men and tend to overestimate their own use of the standard variety.

The questionnaires on children's personal information reveal that in majority children had various social activities. While in majority children joined the religious activities (School of Koran for Moslem children, Sunday Schools for Christian children), the others joined other social activities such as sports clubs, art classes, and language or math courses. These kinds of activities may have influenced children's language use, since BI—especially in religious activities--is used more frequently than CJI. It is also found that more than one caregiver raises these children, and in general, these are female. The fact that children are mainly educated by women is observed in

many other studies on the acquisition of language variation. This is also the reason that at this age, there is no gender difference due to the influence of female caretakers. However, the finding also suggests that the source of linguistic input comes from several persons at home, who may also use other languages, such as a regional or foreign language.

From the questionnaires, it is also found that many children of this study come from inter-ethnic marriage (mostly Javanese with another ethnic origin). Therefore, these children might be familiar with more than one regional language since they still attend the family gatherings from both sides of their parents. The finding also suggests that, at a very early age, these children are already familiar with several languages used by the adults around them.

8.2.2 Children's stylistic characteristic and the ability to style-shift

It is shown that children in this study were still predominantly CJI users, as many of their utterances in the interviews were in CJI. This finding matched our observations that the children were more exposed to CJI than BI. However, we also found that they already used BI in the interview although some of them just repeated the interviewer's utterance. We observed that they used BI in role-playing and in prayers. So, these children already started to be familiar with BI at a very early age. We also found that some of the children were already bi-stylistic children and active BI-CJI users.

Given the fact that they could answer the questions in both conditioned situations—regardless the lexical choice—it is clear that they could understand both CJI and BI instructions. However, the ability to produce both varieties apparently was still not equal. In other words, comprehension of BI is already well established, but its production still needs to be developed.

In general, children in this study were able to participate in conversation. These children already mastered turn-taking, as they tended to accommodate to the interlocutor's style. It is found that mixed utterances were used more frequently in the formal situation, indicating that actually children were trying to accommodate their speech to the interviewer in this situation, although they did not always succeed. In both situations, children also used unmarked utterances which function as a "bridge" in conversation, indicating that they were already capable of turn-taking.

Several children used BI, even in the informal situation. The finding suggests that these children might see the interview as a formal interaction.

It shows that they were already capable of using the variety, and making a divergence in interaction with the informal interviewer. The tendency increased, indicating that they developed their perception of formality, especially when they were interviewed.

In order to examine the influencing factors of the use of BI and CJI (the respective utterances in spontaneous speech and verbs in the elicitation tasks), we conducted a Repeated Measures Mixed Models Analysis, examining four fixed factors: situation, period, age group, and gender; and two random factors: school and child. Type of situation has a significant effect on the use of BI and CJI: children tended to use BI in the formal and CJI in the informal situation. Over time, the use of BI significantly increased. We also found that children varied a lot in their capacity of using both BI and CJI, as indicated by the significance of child as the random effect. The result also indicates that there is no big variation in school as the random effect, indicating that the schools in our study have more or less similar characteristics, despite their different affiliations.

Individual patterns of change in CJI and BI verbs in the informal and formal situation are illustrated in Figure 6.4a-b and Figure 6.5a-b for CJI and BI respectively. It is shown that the patterns are more complicated in the formal situation, suggesting that on average children were still "struggling" to be formal. As it is already discussed, children apparently knew that they were "imposed" to use the appropriate variety (BI) in the formal situation. Meanwhile, the patterns of change in the informal situation indicate that these children knew that it was not mandatory to use BI in the informal situation, although some children apparently had a different view.

Our findings from the patterns of change in the use of BI matched with what we found in the observation: children used CJI more frequently than BI. These children, on average, were more at ease when they were interviewed in a casual way. The variety—CJI—which was used in the informal interview, was also used more frequent in daily conversations: in play situations, meal-time, and other activities that children do for enjoyment. Interaction with the others at school was also more in CJI than BI. The findings also support the initial observation that BI was learned later by the children. In general, children were still learning how to use the variety appropriately in the formal situation. Even though children actually used BI in role-playing, it turned out that not all of them succeeded to answer the questions using BI in the appropriate situation. This is also the variety in which children learn formality, politeness, warnings— conditions where children are naturally less at ease.

While children certainly develop the formal variety in the school setting, it is found that the informal variety was still frequently used as well. Referring to what we found in the observation about children's interactions with others at school, and about the language use there, findings in this study are not surprising. At school, children were still exposed to CJI, while they were learning BI. Besides, even though school is considered a formal setting, the use of non-standard variety is not "forbidden." Even though the use of BI is more favorable in formal setting such as school, the use of CJI is certainly favorable in daily conversation. As a matter a fact, it is also suggested, as indicated by Alwi *et al* (2000: 21), that the use of non-standard variety is important in daily communication.

The results from the Repeated Measures Mixed Models Analysis indicate that gender and age-related factors do not influence the use of BI and CJI in general. There is no gender, nor certain age group, supremacy on the use of a certain variety. We also find that several children from each cohort and gender group increased or decreased extremely the use of both varieties. An explanation concerning the gender and age related factor is already put forward: children of this age—regardless of the cohort—are still in the unstable condition of language development (Robert, 1994: 121). Besides, both girls and boys are still under supervision of female-dominant caretakers, from whom children receive more linguistic input.

8.2.3 On the use of BI and CJI prefixes

It is indicated that children tended to use BI prefixes *(meN-* and *ber-*) more frequently in the formal situation and CJI (*Ø-meN-*, *Ø-ber-* , nasal prefix and *nge-*) more frequently in the informal situation. This finding confirms the results from the previous analysis. These children dominantly used *Ø-meN-* even in the formal situation. Another prefix that was used frequently is the nasal prefix. It is found that the use of the prefix was influenced by age: the oldest children used it more frequently. It is also suggested that these children provide "space" to develop other "newer" prefixes within CJI—the *nge-* and *Ø-ber-*—and the BI prefixes. In other words, while children develop BI, they also develop CJI.

We also found that intransitivity tended to be mastered later, in both BI and CJI, as indicated by the more frequent use of *ber-* in the second period. Children also still used the zero prefix, but this time it corresponds with the aforementioned intransitive marker of BI. Again, the finding shows that besides learning the formal variety, children are also still learning the informal variety.

In general, children already mastered the morphophonemic rules of BI and CJI prefixes regardless the situation. Seldom did they make an "error" in applying the rule. Only a few of them showed that they were still learning the morpho-syntactic rules, as shown by the use of the mixed morphemes

Children are better language users in the informal situation. It is supported by the findings that in general they were capable to assess the situation, using the targeted prefixes, and apply the morphological rules correctly. In the formal situation, they are still learning to be competent language users.

8.3 Conclusion

The present research found that children in this study are able to use BI and CJI. Our main questions are answered as follows:

1. **Middle-class Jakarta children in our study still use CJI more frequently than BI.** These children tended to opt for the former than the latter, as they were still more exposed to the former. They were still learning BI, and also develop their skill to use CJI.
2. **Children tended to distinguish BI and CJI according to a given situation, and use BI more frequently in the formal situation and CJI in the informal situation.** Over time, children showed that this capability is increasing.
3. **Children do acquire grammatical and social competence at the same time, in the informal situation.** It is indicated that while children already mastered the grammatical constraint in both BI and CJI, it is found that generally they mastered the social constraint of CJI. In general, children are still learning to be competent speakers of BI socially. Nevertheless, our findings indicate that certain children had already mastered both grammatical and social competence in both situations.

8.4 Methodological and theoretical implication

This study employs interviews in order to elicit BI and CJI variants of specific variables. As in some other studies that use interviews to obtain data of stylistic competence, this study also succeeded to elicit children's utterances. However, interviews employed in this study are different, in terms of the procedures to elicit children's utterance. While others use this technique in order to elicit children's utterances in the formal style (see, for example, Roberts, 1994; Nardy, 2008; Chevrot *et al.*, 2011) this study used interviews in order to investigate children saying the same thing in both formal and informal styles. The technique reached its aim, especially because we have data which can illustrate children's stylistic competence.

Each interview is designed with questions that are constructed to elicit verbs. The technique utilized in this study yields elicited data that shows that there are various utterances expressing certain targeted words. We also employed observation techniques and parental questionnaires in order to get a better understanding of children's stylistic characteristics.

Some children—even the youngest ones—used BI frequently, suggesting that not only school—in which formality, including language, is more favorable—influences the use of BI, but the home environment does as well. Some children even showed that they already used it before they entered school, while others were still not using it. This suggests that the language the children brought from home—which is not examined in detail in this study—is also an influencing factor.

In this study, we find that Jakarta children, aged 3-5 years old—only the second generation of Indonesians who acquired Indonesian as their first language—were already sensitive to grammatical variation of their first languages. The fact that over time these children learn to be competent speakers is in line with Roberts (1994: 173), in that "…preschool years are also the critical period for the acquisition of variation." This study shows that at a very early age, Jakarta Indonesian preschoolers are already able to express what Walker (2010) refers to as "different ways of saying the same thing." It also shows that children were able to use different prefixes in order to distinguish different style.

Finding that children tended to use BI and CJI in different situations indicates that they have already learned the functions. It suggests that they were already aware of the bigger social schema, namely the position of both BI and CJI in the society. While the former functions as, among other things, the language of education, religious affairs, or, formality in general, the latter functions as the means of informal communication, and to a certain extent as the language of solidarity.

In the study of Indonesian, it is important to examine the acquisition of variation, especially when it is associated with language education in Indonesia. Children who attend school will bring their own first language, which—in Jakarta—is generally CJI. The variety, which is mutually intelligible with its counterpart, will be a "bridge" to learn BI. As Eastman (1983:87) suggests, the native variety of the language learner is important to be understood by the language planners—especially in terms of its interference (see also Marit, 1994). In order to learn the standard variety, which implies by definition learning the written form too, it is necessary to have an understanding on how children learn to be more formal in the

spoken form first. This study provided a better understanding of the learning process by Indonesian children who have not yet attended elementary school, which is an important part of language education, planning, and policies in Indonesia.

8.5 Future direction

In order to have an overall understanding of language acquisition of Jakarta Indonesian children, this study does not provide definitive answers. The present study opens up numerous prospects for future research.

a. This study was conducted in a very restricted area, and in the school-settings. Result from parental questionnaires suggests that parents might have over-reported answers since it was administered from school. We might have completed (or more precise) information on linguistic input if we distributed the questionnaires at home.
b. Schools, in which we conduct the research, represent an institution in which children are to be more formal in certain ways. The setting might have an impact on the way children see those talking to them. Adapting Labov's sociolinguistic interview in this study may lead children to become formal, even though the variety used by the interviewer is CJI. In this case, children were conscious that they were being recorded, that they should pay their full attention to their speech. It might be that children in this study saw the interviewers as the representatives of the school. Children might have different reactions towards different interviewers if the informal interview is conducted outside the school setting.
c. This study suggests that input from home is another factor that affects the overall results. In future research, it might be better if the observation could also be conducted at home. However, this implies that research would need to be more restricted in terms of the number of participants, since approaching children under the age of five will be time-consuming, and requires patience.
d. We find that over time children developed familiarity with both interviewers, even with the formal one. The result suggests that familiarity might have impact on the language choice. It might be an idea to change in longitudinal research the interviewer, especially the formal one, in each period.
e. This study was conducted in two periods with a six-month interval. Between the two periods, something could happen with the children, both at school and at home, that we might have missed. Changes the children experienced during the recess time might have an impact on the language use. Therefore, in future research, more

frequent observation and measurement could be a solution for gaining a more detailed explanation on the changes.

There are many other possibilities for the future research on the stylistic competence of Jakarta Indonesia children. In other words, considerable empirical research on this area still has to be conducted to have an overall understanding of how the children learn to be competent Indonesian speakers and how children acquire variation in general.

APPENDIX 1
The Indonesian Orthography

This note describes how standard Indonesian (or Bahasa Indonesia) and non-standard Indonesian (in this book called Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian) are written and pronounced. Examples will use both alphabetic and phonetic fonts. Most parts of this note use standard spelling, the official variety. There is no standard spelling for CJI, and written forms may vary. This section consists of two parts: the first describes the orthography of Bahasa Indonesia (see also Alwi *et al.* 2000), and the second of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian. Given that there are borrowings in Indonesian, the examples in this section—especially those with consonants—include the language origin in brackets.

A. Orthography of Bahasa Indonesia
A.1 Vowels
A.1.1 Monophtongs
In the Standard Indonesian Spelling — used in BI written form -- monophtongs are represented by the following vowel letters respectively.

1. <i>
<i> represents /i/ in open syllables and /I/ in closed syllables (especially if the following phonemes are nasal or velar), as in the following examples:

/i/ in *i-tu*	[i-tu]	'that'
/I/ in *da-ging*	[da-gIŋ]	'meat'

2. <u>
<u> represents /u/ in open syllables, and /U/ in closed syllable (especially if the following phonemes are nasal or velar), as in

/u/ in *u-dang*	[u-daŋ]	'shrimp'
/o/ in *bu-rung*	[bu-rUŋ]	'bird'

3. <e>
<e> represents /e/ and /ɛ/, as in

/e/ in *be-bas*	[be-bas]	'free'
/ɛ/ in *be-bek*	[bɛ-bɛk]	'duck'

<e> also represents the schwa /ə/ in all position, as in

/ə/ in *be-li*	[bə-li]	'buy'
/ ə/ in *kem-bar*	[kəm-bar]	'twins'

4. <o>
<o> represents /o/ and /ɔ/ in all positions, as in

/o/ in *bo-leh*	[bo-leh]	'can'
/o/ in *tom-bak*	[tom-bak]	'spear'
/ɔ/ in *ro-kok*	[rɔ-kɔʔ]	'cigarette'

/ɔ/ in *som-bong* [sɔm-bɔŋ] 'arrogant'

5. <a>

<a> represents /a/ in all position, as in

/a/ in *ba-nyak* [ba-ňak] 'many'
/a/ in *ban-tal* [ban-tal] 'pillow'

A.1.2 Diphtongs

In the Indonesian standard spelling, diphthongs are represented by two vowel letters, as in the followings.

1. <ai> represents diphthong /ay/, as in

pantai [pantay] 'beach'
sampai [sampay] 'arrive'
ain [ayn] 'essence'

2. <au> represents diphthong /aw/, as in

pulau [pulaw] 'island'
kalau [kalaw] 'if'

3. <oi> represents diphthong <oy>, as in

amboi [am-boy] 'wow'
sepoi-sepoi [səpoy- səpoy] 'gentle breeze'

4. <ei> represents diphthong <ey>, as in

survei [surfey] 'survey'

A.2 Consonants

The consonants are represented by the following letters respectively.

1. <p>

<p> represents /p/ in initial and final positions, as in

pu-tih [pu-tih] 'white'
tu-tup [tu-tup] 'close'

2. <b>

<b> represents /b/ in initial position and in some words represents /p/in final position, as in

ba-tu [ba-tu] 'stone'
sab-tu [sap-tu] 'Saturday'

3. <t>

<t> represents /t/ in initial and final positions, as in

tu-han [tu-han] 'god'
ber-kat (A) [bər-kat] 'bless'

4. <d>

<d> represents /d/ in initial position, and in some words represents /t/ in final position, as in the examples

da-ri [da-ri] 'from'
mur-tad (A) [mur-tat] 'apostate'

5. <k>

<k> represents /k/ in initial and final positions, as in the examples

kar-tu	[kar-tu]	'card'
ba-tak	[ba-tak]	'batak'

Many Indonesians (especially those who are influenced by regional languages from the western part of Indonesia, such as Batak, Betawi, Javanese, or Minangkabau) pronounce many words ending in <k> as [ʔ] such as in

ti-dak	[ti-daʔ]	'no, not'
ru-sak	[ru-saʔ]	'damaged'

6. <g>

<g> represents /g/ in initial position and in some words represents /k/ in final position, as in

ga-jah	[ga-ɟah]	'elephant'
gu-deg	[gu-dək]	'gudeg (a kind of Javanese dish)'

7. <c>

<c> represents /c/ in initial position, as in

cari	[ca-ri]	'search'

8. <j>

<j> represents /ɟ/ in initial position, as in

ja-ri	[ɟa-ri]	'finger'

9. <s>

<s> represents /s/ in initial and final positions, as in

su-sah	[su-sah]	'difficult'
ka-sus	[ka-sus]	'case'

10. <h>

<h> represents /h/ in initial and final positions, as in

ha-ri	[ha-ri]	'day'
ma-rah	[ma-rah]	'angry'

Sometimes, [h] in final positions are not pronounced, as in *marah* being pronounced as [mara], *masih* 'still' [masi]. Especially between *tahu* 'know' and *tahu* 'tofu', there is a special distinction: in the former <h> not being pronounced, while in the latter <h> should be pronounced.

11. <m>

<m> represents /m/ in initial and final position as in

ma-du	[ma-du]	'honey'
lam-pu	[lam-pu]	'lamp'

12. <n>

<n> represents /n/ in initial and final position as in

na-da	[na-da]	'tone, melody'

ka-nan	[ka-nan]	'right'

13. <l>

<l> represents /l/ in initial and final position as in

la-ut	[la-ut]	'sea'
na-kal	[na-kal]	'naughty'

14. <r>

<r> represents /r/ in initial and final position as in

ra-mah	[ra-mah]	'friendly'
ka-mar	[ka-mar]	'room'

15. <w>

<w> represents /w/ in initial position as in

wa-kil	[wa-kil]	'representative'

In borrowings that cluster other consonants with <w>, the latter is sometimes pronounced as [u], such as in

dwi (Skr.)	[dui]	'two'
swa-kar-sa (Skr.)	[sua-kar-sa]	'spontaneous'

16. <y>

<y> represents /j/ in initial position as in

ya-kin	[ja-kin]	'confident'

17. <f>

<f> represents /f/ in initial and final position as in

fat-wa (*Ar.*)	[fat-wa]	'legal decision'
mo-tif (*D/E*)	[mo-tif]	'motive'

18. <v>

<v> represents /f/ in borrowings—mainly from Dutch, as in the following examples

va-lu-ta (D)	[fa-lu-ta]	'currency'
va-ri-a-si (D)	[fa-ri-a-si]	'variation'

19. <z>

<z> represents /z/ in borrowings—mainly from Arabic and Dutch, as in

zat (A)	[zat]	'substance'
zeni (D)	[ze-ni]	'army engineer'

20. <ng>

<ng> represent /ŋ/ in initial and final position as in

nge-ri	[ŋə-ri]	'scared'
bin-tang	[bIn-taŋ]	'star'

21. <ny>

<ny> represent /ɳ/ in initial position as in

nya-nyi	[ɳa-ɳi]	'sing'

22. <sy>

<sy> represent /ʃ/ initial and final position as in

sya-rat (A)	[ʃa-rat]	'condition'

masy-hur (A) [maʃ-hur] 'famous'

23. <kh>

<kh> represent /X/ in initial and final position as in

kha-wa-tir (A) [xa-wa-tir] 'worried'
makh-luk (A) [max-luk] 'creature'

B. Orthography in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

There is no standard spelling for Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, despite the fact that there is agrowing use of the variety inwritten form, as in popular magazines,advertisements, banners or billboards. Words shared with Bahasa Indonesia are written in standard form, although pronunciations sometimes differ in certain situations. The examples for these kind of words are <damai> 'peace', <pantai> 'beach', <setengah> 'a half' (CJI *stenga*). Meanwhile, words which are not shared with BI, or have some variants, may be written variously; they are mainly based on the pronunciation (and perception) of the speakers. The following examples are found in many written Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

1. *nggak* [ŋgaʔ] (BI *tidak* or *bukan*) 'no, not'
   It may be written as <nggak>, <enggak>, <ngga>, <ngga'>, <gak>, or <ga>

2. *udah* [udah] (BI *sudah*) 'already'
   It may be written as <udah> or <uda>

3. *cape* [capɛ] (BI *capai*) 'tired'
   It may be written as <cape> or <capek>

4. *itu* [itu], *tu* [tu] (BI *itu*) 'that'
   It may be written as <itu>, <ituh>, <tu>, <tuh>.

In this dissertation, examples of CJI words will be written based on the standard spelling, as close as they are pronounced. Examples for these words are

<lante> [lantɛ] or <lantei> [lantey] 'floor'
<item> [itəm] 'black'
<nggak> [ŋgaʔ] 'no, not'.

In the discussion of phonological aspects, phonetic transcription is provided (see Chapter 3).

APPENDIX 2A
PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRES FOR SELECTED CHILDREN
(Indonesian Version)

PENGANTAR

Jakarta, November, 2009

Bapak/Ibu yang terhormat.

Perkenankanlah saya memperkenalkan diri. Nama saya B.Kushartanti. Saya adalah staf akademik Departemen Linguistik, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia. Saya sedang melakukan penelitian mengenai pemerolehan variasi bahasa Indonesia pada anak-anak usia 3—5 tahun dalam rangka studi S3.

(nama anak) terpilih untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini. Sehubungan dengan hal tersebut, saya akan melakukan pengambilan data di sekolah *(nama anak)*. Saya membutuhkan informasi tambahan mengenai bahasa *(nama anak)* dan aktivitas sosialnya, interaksi Bapak/Ibu dengannya, serta penggunaan bahasa Bapak/Ibu untuk mendukung analisis data.

Penelitian ini adalah proyek kerja sama antara Universitas Indonesia dan Universiteit Utrecht, Belanda, di mana saya menempuh studi saya. Hasil dari penelitian ini akan dipublikasikan secara internasional. Dalam publikasi, saya akan menjaga identitas *(nama anak)* dengan menyamarkan namanya.

Saya memohon kesediaan Bapak/Ibu untuk mengizinkan *(nama anak)* berpartisipasi dalam proyek ini. Jika Bapak/Ibu berkenan, saya memohon kesediaan Bapak/Ibu untuk menandatangani surat pernyataan dan mengisi kuesioner. Saya akan menjaga kerahasiaan Bapak/Ibu.

Terima kasih atas perhatian Bapak/Ibu.

Hormat saya,	Mengetahui
B. Kushartanti	(nama)
Departmen Linguistik	Kepala Sekolah
Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya	

PERNYATAAN KESEDIAAN
(untuk disimpan orang tua)

Nama Penelitian : The Acquisition of Two Indonesian Varieties

Nama Peneliti : B. Kushartanti

(beri tanda √ untuk konfirmasi)

Saya mengizinkan anak saya *((nama anak))* untuk
berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini . ……

Saya bersedia mengisi kuesioner untuk mendukung analisis
data di dalam penelitian ini, ……

_____	_____	_____
Nama orang tua	Tanggal	Tanda tangan

B.Kushartanti (peneliti) _____ _____
Tanggal Tanda tangan

PERNYATAAN KESEDIAAN
(untuk disimpan peneliti)

Nama Penelitian : The Acquisition of Two Indonesian Varieties

Nama Peneliti : B. Kushartanti

(beri tanda √ untuk konfirmasi)

Saya mengizinkan anak saya *((nama anak))* untuk
berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini . ……

Saya bersedia mengisi kuesioner untuk mendukung analisis
data di dalam penelitian ini, ……

_____ _____ _____
Nama orang tua Tanggal Tanda tangan

B.Kushartanti (peneliti) _____ _____
Tanggal Tanda tangan

KUESIONER

I. DATA ANAK **Nama sekolah:**

1. Nama lengkap: _____ Nama panggilan: (NAMA ANAK)
2. Jenis kelamin : L/P
3. Tempat lahir : _____
4. Tanggal lahir : _____200_
5. Urutan kelahiran : anak ke ____ dari____ bersaudara

Instruksi untuk bagian ini:

Isian berikut berhubungan dengan penggunaan bahasa (nama anak) di rumah dan kegiatan sosialnya. Silakan memberi tanda contreng (√) dalam kolom yang menjadi pilihan jawaban Anda. Anda dapat memberi lebih dari satu jawaban.

1. Bahasa yang dipakai oleh (nama anak) di rumah	**Frekuensi pemakaian**		
	Selalu	**Kadang-kadang**	**Sangat Jarang**
Aceh			
Batak			
Belanda			
Betawi			
Cina			
Indonesia			
Inggris			
Jawa			
Minang			
Sunda			
Lainnya (mohon jelaskan ……..)			

2. Aktivitas lain yang diikuti oleh (nama anak)	
Kegiatan religius (mohon dijelaskan……)	
Kegiatan komunitas adat (mohon dijelaskan komunitas adat ……...)	
Kegiatan olahraga	
Kegiatan seni	
Kursus matematika	
Kursus bahasa (mohon jelaskan…… ……)	
Lainnya (mohon dijelaskan……)	
Tidak ada	

3. Orang lain (selain Anda) yang mengurus (nama anak)	Bahasa yang dipergunakan untuk berbicara dengan (nama anak)										
	Ac	Btk	Bld	Btw	Cin	Ind	Ing	Jw	Min	Snd	Lain
Nenek dari pihak ibu											
Kakek dari pihak ibu											
Nenek dari pihak ayah											
Kakek dari pihak ayah											
Sanak keluarga											
Pengasuh anak (suster/baby sitter)											
Pembantu rumah tangga											
Lainnya (mohon dijelaskan ……).											
Tidak ada											

Catatan: Jika jawaban Anda untuk nomor 3 adalah TIDAK ADA, silakan langsung menjawab Bagian II.

4. Orang lain (selain Anda) yang mengurus (nama anak)	Waktu bersama (nama anak)			
	Sepanjang waktu	Hanya ketika mengantar anak ke sekolah	Waktu makan/ waktu mandi	Lainnya (mohon dijelaskan)
Nenek dari pihak ibu				
Kakek dari pihak ibu				
Nenek dari pihak ayah				
Kakek dari pihak ayah				
Sanak keluarga				
Pengasuh anak (suster/baby sitter)				
Pembantu rumah tangga				
Lainnya (mohon dijelaskan ……)				
Tidak ada				

II. DATA ORANG TUA

Pekerjaaan Ayah	
Pekerjaan Ibu	

Silakan memberi tanda contreng (√) dalam kolom yang menjadi pilihan jawaban Anda.

1. Bahasa pertama orang tua *(Yang dimaksud dengan "bahasa pertama" adalah bahasa yang diperoleh dalam lima tahun pertama setelah lahir)*	**Ayah**	**Ibu**	**Apakah bahasa ini masih dipakai di rumah?**			
			Ayah		**Ibu**	
			Ya	**Tidak**	**Ya**	**Tidak**
Aceh						
Batak						
Belanda						
Betawi						
Cina						
Indonesia						
Inggris						
Jawa						
Minang						
Sunda						
Lainnya (mohon dijelaskan……)						

2. Waktu yang dihabiskan bersama (nama anak)	**Ayah**	**Ibu**
≤ 2 jam		
2 – 4 jam		
4 – 6 jam		
6 – 8 jam		
8 – 10 jam		
≥ 10 jam		
3. Waktu untuk membacakan cerita bagi (nama anak)	**Ayah**	**Ibu**
Setiap hari		
2-6 kali dalam seminggu		
Kira-kira sekali seminggu		
Kira-kira sekali sebulan		
Tidak pernah		

Pilihlah pernyataan yang sesuai dengan pendapat Anda dengan memberi contreng (√) dalam kolom pilihan Anda.

		Sangat tidak setuju	**Agak tidak setuju**	**Netral**	**Agak setuju**	**Sangat setuju**
1.	Anak saya sudah menguasai Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar sebelum ia masuk sekolah.					
2.	Menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia sangat penting untuk menunjukkan kesantunan.					
3.	Mengajarkan Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar pada anak sejak kecil adalah hal yang baik.					
4.	Saya membacakan cerita untuk anak saya dalam Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar.					
5.	Saya menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar agar anak saya memperhatikan apa yang saya perintahkan kepadanya.					
6.	Saya menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar ketika membicarakan masalah serius dengan anak saya					
7.	Saya menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar ketika saya menjelaskan ilmu pengetahuan kepada anak saya.					
8.	Ketika saya marah, saya menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar.					

Terima kasih atas kesediaan Bapak/Ibu mengisi kuesioner ini

APPENDIX 2B
PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRES FOR SELECTED CHILDREN
(English Version)

INTRODUCTION

Jakarta, November, 2009

Dear parents.

Please let me introduce myself. My name is B. Kushartanti. I am on theacademic staff with theLinguistics Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia. I am conducting research on the acquisition of Indonesian varieties (3—5 years of age) in connection with my doctoral study.

(*child's name*) is selected to participate in this study. In line with it, I would like to collect data at (*child's name*)'s school. I need additional information on (*child's name*)'s language and her/his social activities, your interaction with her/him, and the language(s) you use, which will support the analysis of my data.

The research is a collaborative project between Universitas Indonesia and Universiteit Utrecht, Netherlands, where I pursue my study. The result of this study will be published internationally. In the publication, I will conceal (*child's name*)'s identityby disguising her/his name.

I would like to ask your permission to let (*child's name*) participate in this project. If you are willing to, I would like to ask you to sign the consent form and fill out the questionnaire. I will keep your confidentiality.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Yours sincerely,
B.Kushartanti
Linguistics Department
Faculty of Humanities
Universitas Indonesia

Acknowledged by,
(Headmaster)

CONSENT FORM
(for parents)

Name of Research : The Acquisition of Two Indonesian Varieties

Researcher : B. Kushartanti

(please tick [√] to confirm)

I am willing to let my child (*child's name*) to participate in this project of research
.....

I am willing to fill out the questionnaire to support the data analysis in this project of research .....

_____ _____ _____
(Parent's name) (Date) (Signature)

B.Kushartanti (researcher) _____ _____
(Date) (Signature)

CONSENT FORM
(for researcher)

Name of Research : The Acquisition of Two Indonesian Varieties
Researcher : B. Kushartanti

(please tick [√] to confirm)

I am willing to let my child (*child's name*) to participate in this project of research .....

I am willing to fill out the questionnaire to support the data analysis in this project of research .....

_____ _____ _____
(Parent's name) (Date) (Signature)

B.Kushartanti (peneliti) _____ _____
(Date) (Signature)

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. CHILD'S DATA **Name of School** **: _____**

1. Full name : _____ Nickname: *(CHILD'S NAME)*
2. Sex : M/F
3. Place of birth : _____
4. Date of birth : _____20__
5. Order of birth: #___child of ___ siblings

Instruction for this section:
This form is on (child's name)'s language use at home and her/his social activities. Please tick (√) your choice in the column. You are allowed to give more than one answer.

1. The language used by (child's name) at home	**Frequency of use**		
	Always	**Sometimes**	**Rarely**
Acehnese			
Batak			
Dutch			
Betawi Malay			
Chinese			
Indonesian			
English			
Javanese			
Minangkabau			
Sundanese			
Others (please mention ……..)			

2. Other (*child's* name) activity(ies)	
Religious activity (please mention ……..)	
Ethnic group activity (please mention the name of the ethnic group.....)	
Sports	
Arts	
Math course	
Language course (please mention ……)	
Others (please mention ……)	
No activity	

3. Other person (except you) who takes care of (*child's name*)	**The language to talk with (*child's name*)**										
	A	**Btk**	**D**	**Btw**	**C**	**I**	**E**	**J**	**M**	**S**	**Other**
Maternal grandmother											
Maternal grandfather											
Paternal grandmother											
Paternal grandfather											
Relatives											
Nanny											
Servant											
Other (please mention)											
Nobody											

(A=Acehnese; Btk=Batak; D=Dutch; Btw=Betawi Malay; C=Chinese; I=Indonesian; E=English; J=Javanese; M=Minangkabau; S=Sundanese)

Note: If your answer is NOBODY, skip number 4, please go to Section II.

4. Other person (except you) who takes care of (*child's name*)	**Time with (*child's name*)**			
	The whole time	**Only when bringing to or picking the child up from school**	**Mealtime/ bathing time**	**Other (please mention)**
Maternal grandmother				
Maternal grandfather				
Paternal grandmother				
Paternal grandfather				
Relatives				
Nanny				
Servant				
Other (please mention)				
Nobody				

II. PARENTS' INFORMATION

Father's occupation	
Mother's occupation	

Please tick (√) in the column of your choice.

1. Parents' first language ("first language" is the language acquired in the first five years after birth)	**Father**	**Mother**	**Is the language still used at home?**			
			Father		**Mother**	
			Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Acehnese						
Batak						
Dutch						
Betawi Malay						
Chinese						
Indonesian						
English						
Javanese						
Minangkabau						
Sundanese						
Others (please mention ……..)						

2. Time spent with *(child's name)*	**Father**	**Mother**
≤ 2 hours		
2 – 4 hours		
4 – 6 hours		
6 – 8 hours		
8 – 10 hours		
≥ 10 hours		

3. Time spent for telling story to *(child's name)*	**Father**	**Mother**
Every day		
2-6 times a week		
Approximately once a week		
Approximately once a month		
Never		

Please tick (√) in the column of your choice on the following statements.

		Totally disagree	**Disagree**	**Neutral**	**Agree**	**Totally agree**
1.	My child had already mastered the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia before s/he had attended school.					
2.	Using Bahasa Indonesia is important in politeness					
3.	It is good to teach the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia at a very early age					
4.	I have read a story to my child in the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia					
5.	I have used the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia to have my child obey my instructions					
6.	I have used the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia when talking to my child about a serious matter.					
7.	I have used the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia when giving an explanation on scientific knowledge to my child					
8.	When I am angry with my child, I use the "good and correct" Bahasa Indonesia					

Thank You

APPENDIX 3A
PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE
(Indonesian version)

KUESIONER

Survei ini diselenggarakan oleh Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS, Universiteit Utrecht bekerja sama dengan Universitas Indonesia, untuk memahami aktivitas penggunaan bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar, Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta, bahasa daerah, dan bahasa asing oleh anak-anak Jakarta dan sekitarnya berdasarkan informasi penggunaan bahasa dari orang tua.

Kuesioner ini terdiri dari tiga bagian. Bagian pertama merupakan bagian mengenai penggunaan bahasa asing, bahasa daerah, bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar, dan bahasa Jakarta Indonesia, dalam situasi tertentu bersama anak. Bagian kedua merupakan bagian yang berisi tentang pernyataan-pernyataan yang berhubungan dengan penggunaan bahasa asing, bahasa daerah, Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar, dan bahasa Jakarta Indonesia. Bagian ketiga adalah bagian mengenai informasi tentang Anda sebagai pengisi kuesioner ini.

Pada awal setiap bagian selalu terdapat instruksi. Bacalah dengan seksama instruksi setiap bagian dan tulislah jawaban Anda. Survei ini bukanlah sebuah tes, jadi tidak ada jawaban "benar" atau "salah".

Pada bagian terakhir dari kuesioner ini kami menanyakan informasi mengenai Anda, tetapi bukan nama Anda. Karena hasil dari survei ini akan digunakan untuk tujuan penelitian, maka kami mohon Anda memberikan jawaban yang sebenarnya.

Terima kasih atas kerja sama Bapak/Ibu

BAGIAN A

Di dalam bagian berikut ini terdapat terdapat beberapa situasi yang MUNGKIN Anda alami bersama dengan anak. Dalam situasi tersebut ada beberapa bahasa yang mungkin Anda pilih dengan mempertimbangkan keberadaan/ketiadaan orang di sekitar Anda.

(a) Jika Anda menggunakan hanya satu bahasa dalam situasi tertentu, tulislah angka 1 dalam kolom bahasa yang Anda pilih.

(b) Bila Anda menggunakan lebih dari satu bahasa, tulislah jawaban Anda berdasarkan seringnya penggunaan bahasa yang Anda pakai.
 # 1 adalah bahasa yang PALING SERING Anda gunakan
 # 2 adalah bahasa yang KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan
 # 3 adalah bahasa yang SANGAT JARANG (tetapi pernah) Anda gunakan
Jangan memberikan angka pada bahasa yang tidak pernah Anda gunakan.

Contoh:

Jika Anda bercerita mengenai kegiatan Anda sehari-hari bersama anak Anda

(a) Di depan teman anak Anda, Anda menggunakan bahasa Jakarta Indonesia
→tulislah (1) pada kolom bahasa Jakarta Indonesia

(b) Di depan gurunya, Anda, bahasa yang paling sering Anda gunakan adalah bahasa Indonesia Jakarta, dan kadang-kadang bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar
→tulislah (1) pada kolom Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta, dan (2) pada Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar

(c) Di depan pengasuh dan teman atau kerabat Anda, bahasa yang sering Anda gunakan adalah bahasa Indonesia Jakarta
→tulislah (1) pada kolom Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta

(d) Di depan nenek/kakek dari pihak ayah dan pihak ibu, Anda sering menggunakan bahasa Indonesia Jakarta, dan kadang-kadang menggunakan bahasa daerah
→tulislah (1) pada kolom bahasa Indonesia Jakarta dan (2) pada bahasa daerah

(e) Bila tidak ada orang lain, Anda menggunakan bahasa asing
→tulislah (1) pada kolom bahasa asing.

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika Anda bercerita mengenai kegiatan Anda sehari-hari kepada anak Anda					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				1
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan			2	1
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				1
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				1
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan		2		1
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan		2		1
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan	1			

	#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan	**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika anak Anda mengganggu anak lain, dan Anda menegur anak Anda dengan keras					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika anak Anda diganggu oleh anak lain, dan Anda menasihati anak Anda untuk tidak membalasnya					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika anak Anda menangis karena mainannya rusak, dan Anda menghiburnya					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika anak Anda bertanya mengenai bagaimana terjadinya pelangi, dan Anda menjelaskan kepadanya					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika anak Anda memenangkan sebuah kompetisi dan Anda memujinya					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika Anda menceritakan pengalaman Anda di masa kecil kepada anak Anda					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika Anda menceritakan sebuah dongeng kepada anak Anda					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika anak Anda membuat sebuah kesalahan, dan Anda menunjukkan kepadanya bagaimana cara meminta maaf					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika anak Anda mengganggu anak lain, dan Anda menunjukkan kepadanya bagaimana cara meminta maaf					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika Anda mengajari anak Anda bagaimana meminta bantuan pertolongan					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika anak Anda ingin menggunakan milik seseorang, dan Anda mengajarinya bagaimana cara meminta izin					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika Anda mengajari anak Anda menyapa orang lain					
A	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika Anda mengajari anak Anda untuk berterima kasih kepada seseorang yang memberikan sesuatu yang sangat disukai oleh anak Anda					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika anak Anda membuat Anda sangat marah, dan Anda ingin mengekspresikan kemarahan Anda dengan kata-kata					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika Anda melarang anak Anda untuk tidak menggunakan benda yang berbahaya					
a	**Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan**				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika Anda mengajari anak Anda untuk menawarkan sesuatu (misalnya berbagi kue) kepada orang lain					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika Anda mengajak anak Anda berdoa sebelum makan					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

#1 bahasa yang (mungkin) PALING SERING Anda gunakan #2 bahasa yang (mungkin) KADANG-KADANG Anda gunakan #3 bahasa yang (mungkin) SANGAT JARANG Anda gunakan		**BHS ASING**	**BHS DAERAH**	**BHS INDONESIA**	**BHS IND JAKARTA**
Jika Anda menjawab pertanyaan anak Anda mengenai Tuhan					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				
Jika Anda menjawab pertanyaan anak Anda mengenai ke mana perginya roh orang yang sudah meninggal					
a	Di depan temannya, Anda akan menggunakan				
b	Di depan gurunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
c	Di depan pengasuh/pembantu, Anda akanmenggunakan				
d	Di depan teman atau kerabat Anda, Anda akan menggunakan				
e	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ayahnya, Anda akan menggunakan				
f	Di depan kakek/nenek pihak ibunya, Anda akan menggunakan				
g	Jika tidak ada orang lain, Anda akan menggunakan				

BAGIAN B

Pada bagian ini, ungkapkanlah pendapat Anda mengenai pernyataan-pernyataan berikut ini, cukup dengan melingkari nomor pilihan Anda.

Sangat tidak setuju	Agak tidak setuju	Netral	Agak setuju	Sangat setuju
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Contoh:

Jika Anda sangat tidak setuju dengan pernyataan berikut, lingkarilah angka (1)

	Saya akan menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia setiap kali berbicara dengan anak saya	**(1) 2 3 4 5**

1	Menurut saya, mengajarkan **bahasa asing** sejak usia dini sangat baik untuk anak saya	**1 2 3 4 5**
2	Menurut saya, mengajarkan **bahasa daerah** sejak usia dini sangat baik untuk anak saya	**1 2 3 4 5**
3	Menurut saya, mengajarkan **Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar** sejak usia dini sangat baik untuk anak saya	**1 2 3 4 5**
4	Menurut saya, mengajarkan **Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta** sejak usia dini sangat baik untuk anak saya	**1 2 3 4 5**
5	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa nyaman jika saya menggunakan **bahasa asing** ketika berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
6	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa nyaman jika saya menggunakan **bahasa daerah** ketika berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
7	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa nyaman jika saya menggunakan **Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar** ketika berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
8	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa nyaman jika saya menggunakan **Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta** ketika berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
9	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa aneh jika saya menggunakan **bahasa asing** ketika saya berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
10	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa aneh jika saya menggunakan **bahasa daerah** ketika saya berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
11	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa aneh jika saya menggunakan **Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar** ketika saya berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
12	Saya rasa, anak saya akan merasa aneh jika saya menggunakan **Bahasa Jakarta Indonesia** ketika saya berbicara dengannya	**1 2 3 4 5**
13	Saya akan merasa bangga jika anak saya dapat berbicara dalam **bahasa asing**.	**1 2 3 4 5**
14	Saya akan merasa bangga jika anak saya dapat berbicara dalam **bahasa daerah**.	**1 2 3 4 5**
15	Saya akan merasa bangga jika anak saya dapat berbicara dalam **Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar.**	**1 2 3 4 5**
16	Saya akan merasa bangga jika anak saya dapat berbicara dalam **Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta**.	**1 2 3 4 5**

BAGIAN C

INFORMASI MENGENAI ANDA

Pada bagian ini, kami ingin menandapatkan informasi yang lebih rinci mengenai Anda, namun bukan nama Anda. Karena hasil kuesioner ini akan dipergunakan untuk keperluan penelitian, dimohon mengisi jawaban Anda sebenar-benarnya,

1. Relas Anda dengan anak : Ayah/Ibu (coret yang tidak perlu)

2. Tahun kelahiran Anda : _____

3. Pendidikan terakhir Anda : _____

4. Pekerjaan Anda : _____

5. Suku/kelompok etnis Anda : _____
   Suku/kelompok etnis pasangan Anda : _____

6. Bahasa yang Anda pergunakan, selain Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Indonesia Jakarta (jika ada)
   a. Bahasa asing : _____
   b. Bahasa daerah : _____

7. Bahasa yang sering Anda gunakan
   a. Di tempat kerja : _____
   b. Di rumah : _____
   c. Bersama teman-teman dekat: _____
   d. Bersama kerabat : _____

Terima kasih atas kerja sama dan partisipasi Anda!

APPENDIX 3B
PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE
(English version)

QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey is conducted by Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS, Universiteit Utrecht, in collaboration with Universitas Indonesia, for a better understanding of the use of *the good and correct* Bahasa Indonesia, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia, regional language, and foreign language by Jakarta children, based on the information from the parents.

The questionnaire consists of three sections. The first section is a section on the use of foreign language, regional language, *the good and correct* Bahasa Indonesia, and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia. The second section consists of statements on the use of foreign language, regional language, *the good and correct* Bahasa Indonesia, and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia. The third section aims to gather your personal information as a participant of this survey.

Each section has an instruction. Please read through it carefully and kindly write down your answers. This is not a test, hence there is no "right" or "wrong" answer.

In the last section of the questionnaire, we would like to have your information, except your name. Since the results of the survey will be used for a scientific purpose, please kindly fill in your answers accurately.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION A

In the following section there are several situations that MIGHT have been experienced by you when you have been with your child. In these situations, there are several languages from which you may choose, keeping in mind another person's presence or absence in the situation.

(a) If you used only one language in a certain situation, please write the number 1 in the column you choose.

(b) If you used more than one language, please write your answer based on frequency of language use
 # 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY
 # 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use
 # 3 is the language youVERY RARELY use
Do not put any number beneath the language(s) you have never used in the given situation.

For example:

Suppose you told a story about your daily activities to your child

(a) In front of your child's friend, you used Colloquial Jakarta Indonesia
➔ please write (1) in the column of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

(b) In front of your child's teacher you used Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, and sometimes you used Bahasa Indonesia
➔ please write (1) in the column of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian and (2) in the column of Bahasa Indonesia

(c) In front of your child's nanny and in front of your friends or your relatives, you used Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian
➔ Please write (1) in the column of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

(d) In front of paternal or maternal grandparents, you used Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian and sometimes you used your regional language
➔ Please write (1) in the column of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian and (2) in the column of your regional language

(e) In front of nobody, you used foreign language
➔ Please write (1) in the column of foreign language

# 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY **# 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use** **# 3 is the language you VERY RARELY use** (FL=foreign language; RL=regional language; BI=Bahasa Indonesia; CJI=Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian)		**F L**	**R L**	**B I**	**C J I**
Suppose you told a story about your daily activities to your child					
a	In front of her/his friend, you would use				1
b	In front of her/his teacher, you would use			2	1
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				1
d	In front of your friends or relatives, you used				1
e	In front of her/his paternal grandparents, you would use		2		1
f	In front of her/his maternal grandparents, you would use		2		1
g	If there is nobody around, you would use	1			

# 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY **# 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use** **# 3 is the language you VERY RARELY use**		**F L**	**R L**	**B I**	**C J I**
Suppose your child teased other child, and you admonish your child					
a	In front of her/his friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of the nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friends or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child teased other child, and you admonish your child					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child were teased by another child, and you suggested to her/him not to do the same					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				

# 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY # 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use # 3 is the language youVERY RARELY use		F L	R L	B I	C J I
Suppose your child cried because her/his toy were broken, and you calmed her/him down.					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child asked how the rainbow was made, and you gave an explanation					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child won a competition, and you praised hher/him.					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you talked about your childhood experiences with your child					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				

# 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY # 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use # 3 is the language youVERY RARELY use		F L	R L	B I	C J I
Suppose you told a fairy tale to your child					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child made a mistake and you wanted to show her/him how to apologize					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child teased another child and you wanted to show her/him how to apologize					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you taught your child how to ask for help					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				

# 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY # 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use # 3 is the language youVERY RARELY use		F L	R L	B I	C J I
Suppose your child wanted to use someone else's belongings and you taught her/him how to ask a permission					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you taught your child how to greet someone					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you taught your child how to thank someone who gives her or him something (s)he really likes					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose your child made you very angry, and you wanted to express your anger with words					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				

# 1 is the language you use THE MOST FREQUENTLY # 2 is the language you SOMETIMES use # 3 is the language youVERY RARELY use		F L	R L	B I	C J I
Suppose you forbade your child when (s)he played with a dangerous utensil					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you taught your child to offer something (eg. sharing a cake) to someone					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you led you child to pray before a meal					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you answered your child's question(s) about God					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				
Suppose you answered your child's question(s) about the place of a dead person					
a	In front of his/her friend, you would use				
b	In front of his/her teacher, you would use				
c	In front of nanny or servant, you would use				
d	In front of your friend or relatives, you used				
e	In front of his/her paternal grandparents, you would use				
f	In front of his/her maternal grandparents, you would use				
g	If there is nobody around, you would use				

SECTION B

Please circle your choice of answer on the following statements

Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

For example:
If you totally disagree with the following statement, please encircle (1)

	I will use Bahasa Indonesia every time I talk with my child	**(1) 2 3 4 5**

1	In my opinion, teaching **foreign language** at a very early age is very beneficialto my child	**1 2 3 4 5**
2	In my opinion, teaching a **regional language** at a very early age is very beneficial to my child	**1 2 3 4 5**
3	In my opinion, teaching **Bahasa Indonesia** at a very early age is very beneficial to my child	**1 2 3 4 5**
4	In my opinion, teaching **Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian** at a very early age is very beneficial to my child	**1 2 3 4 5**
5	I think my child would feel comfortable if I spoke in a foreign language when I speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
6	I think my child would feel comfortable if I spoke in a regional language when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
7	I think my child would feel comfortable if I spoke in Bahasa Indonesia when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
8	I think my child would feel comfortable if I spoke in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
9	I think my child would feel awkward if I used a foreign language when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
10	I think my child would feel awkward if I used a regional language when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
11	I think my child would feel awkward if I used Bahasa Indonesia when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
12	I think my child would feel awkward if I used Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian when speaking with her/him	**1 2 3 4 5**
13	I would be proud if my child could speak in a foreign language	**1 2 3 4 5**
14	I would be proud if my child could speak in a regional language	**1 2 3 4 5**
15	I would be proud if my child could speak in Bahasa Indonesia	**1 2 3 4 5**
16	I would be proud if my child could speak in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian	**1 2 3 4 5**

SECTION C

YOUR PERSONAL INFORMATION

In this section, we would like to have more information about you (though do not include your name). Since the result of the questionnaire will be used for research purposes, please kindly answer as accurately as possible. .

1. Your relationship with the child : Father/Mother
   (strike out the incorrect)

2. The year you were born : _____

3. Your latest education : _____

4. Your occupation : _____

5. Your ethnic group : _____
   Your spouse's ethnic group : _____

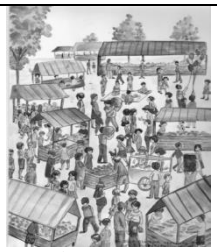
6. The language(s) you use besides Bahasa Indonesia and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (if any)
   a. Foreign language(s) : _____
   b. Regional language(s) : _____

7. The language(s) you usually use
   a. At work : _____
   b. At home : _____
   c. With your close friends : _____
   d. With your relatives : _____

Thank you for your cooperation and participation!

APPENDIX 4
SCENARIOS (with translation) AND PICTURES

SCENARIO A
(ForIn=Formal Interviewer ; InfIn=Informal Interviewer ; Interv= Interviewer ; EQ=Elicitation Question)



Picture A1

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: (nama) sudah pernah pergi ke pasar? Coba kita lihat gambar ini. Ini adalah pasar tradisional. Di sini terdapat banyak pedagang dan pembeli. Mari kita lihat bersama-sama. **ForIn**: (pointing to the fish-and fruit sellers) **(EQ1)** Mereka sedang apa? (**targeted answer**: BERJUALAN) **ForIn:** (pointing to the the fish- and fruit buyers) **(EQ2)** Mereka sedang apa? (**targeted answer**: MEMBELI BUAH/IKAN) **ForIn:** Mari kita lihat gambar selanjutnya	**InfIn :** (nama) udah pernah ke pasar?Yuk kita liat gambar ini. Ini namanya pasar tradisional. Di sini ada banyak pedagang sama pembeli.Yuk kita liat sama-sama. **InfIn:** (pointing to the fish-and fruit seller) **(EQ1)**Mereka lagi ngapain? (**targeted answer**: JUALAN) **InfIn:** (pointing tothe fish- and fruit buyers) **(EQ2)** Mereka lagi ngapain? (**targeted answer**: BELI BUAH/IKAN) **InfIn:** Yuk kita liat gambar selanjutnya.	Interv **:** Have you ever been to the market, (name)? Look at this picture. This is a traditional market. There are many buyers and sellers. Let's have a look. **Interv:** (pointing to the fish-and fruit seller) **(EQ1**)What are they doing?(**targeted answer**: BERJUALAN/ JUALAN 'selling things') **Interv:** (pointing to the the fish- and fruit buyers) **(EQ2)** What are they doing? (**targeted answer**: MEMBELI/ BELI BUAH/IKAN 'buying fruit/fish) **Interv:** Let's look at the next picture

Picture A2

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Di pasar, orang berjualan macam-macam barang. Ada sayur, ada buah, seperti di gambar ini. Coba kita lihat, ada buah dan sayur apa saja ya? (*the ForIngives the child time to mention all vegetables and fruit in the picture)* **ForIn: (***pointing to the watermelon)* Nah, kalau semangka ini berwarna apa,? (targeted word: HIJAU) **ForIn:** Apa bentuknya? (targeted word: BULAT/BUNDAR) **Exp:** Nah, sekarang mari kita lihat gambar selanjutnya!	**InfIn:** Di pasar, orang jualan macem-maacem. Ada sayur, ada buah, kayak di gambar ini.Coba kita liat, ada buah sama sayur apa aja ya? (*the InfIn gives the child time to mention all vegetables and fruit in the picture)* **InfIn: (***pointing to the watermelon)* Nah, kalo semangka ini warnanya apa, (nama)? **(**targeted word: IJO**)** **InfIn:** Apa bentuknya? (targeted word: BULET/BUNDER) **InfIn:** Nah, sekarang kita liat gambar selanjutnya yuk!	Interv : In the market, people sell many things. There are vegetables and fruit, like in this picture. Look, what kind of vegetables and fruit are there?(Interv *gives the child time to mention all vegetables and fruitin the picture)* **Interv**: **(***pointing to the watermelon)*.Nah, what is the color of the watermelon? (targeted word: HIJAU/ IJO 'green') **Interv:** What is the shape of the watermelon? (targeted word: BULAT/ BUNDAR (BI)—BULET/ BUNDER (CJI) 'round') **Exp**: Now let's have a look at the next picture.

Picture A3

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Nah, coba kita perhatikan gambar ini. Ini ada seorang anak perempuan. Namanya siapa ya? Kamu boleh menamai anak ini… *(ForInlets the child name the girl*) ForIn: Nah, si (*character*) ini sedang menemani ibunya. Coba lihat, dia sedang apa ini? (*lets the child give the answer)* **ForIn:** Ibu si (*c's n*) berkata, " Ini wortel sekilo berapa ya?" Lalu pedagang berkata, "Dua ribu, Bu." "Baiklah," kata ibu (*c's*), "Ini uangnya" **(EQ3) Ibu si (*character's name*) sedang apa ya? (targeted answer: BERBELANJA)** **ForIn:** Hei, coba perhatikan gambar ini. Ada seekor ayam berjalan melewati mereka.	**InfIn:** Nah, coba kita perhatiin gambar ini. Ini ada anak perempuan. Namanya siapa ya? Kamu boleh namain anak ini… *(InfIn lets the child name the girl*) InfIn: Nah si (*character*) ini lagi nemenin ibunya . Liat, dia lagi ngapain ya? (*lets the child give the answer)* **InfIn:** Ibu si (*c's*) bilang, "ini wortel sekilo berapa ya?" Terus pedagangnya bilang, "Dua ribu, Bu." "Ya udah," kata ibunya (*c's*), "Ini duitnya." **(EQ3) Ibunya si (*character's name*) lagi ngapain ya? (targeted answer: BELANJA)** **InfIn:** Hei, perhatiin deh gambar ini. Ada ayam jalan ngelewatin mereka	**Interv**: Now, look at the picture. There is a girl here. She accompanies her mother. What is her name? You can name her… *(Interv lets the child name the girl – when there is a long pause, the Interv gives a name of the character*) **Interv**: What is she doing? (*lets the child give the answer)* **Interv:** The mother says, "How much is a kilo of carrots?" The merchant says, "It's two thousands rupiah, Ma'am." "Okay," her mother says. "Here is the money." **(EQ3) What is her mother doing? (targeted answer: BERBELANJA /BELANJA 'shopping')** **Interv:** Hey, take a closer look at the picture. There is a chicken walking in front of the girl.

Picture A4

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Tiba-tiba….. "Petok!Petok! Meong! Meong! Coba lihat, apa yang terjadi? Ini ayam yang tadi melewati (c's name), bukan? . **(EQ4) Kucing ini sedang apa?** **(targeted answer: MENGEJAR AYAM)** **ForIn:** Coba kamu ceritakan apa yang sedang terjadi. *(ForInlets the child describe the picture*) **ForIn:** Lihat, semua menjadi berantakan dan sangat kotor, bukan?	**InfIn**: Tiba-tiba… "Petok!Petok! Meong! Meong!"Coba liat, apa yang terjadi? Ini ayam yang tadi ngelewatin (c's name), kan? **(EQ4) Kucing ini ngapain?** **(targeted answer: MENGEJAR AYAM)** **InfIn**: Coba kamu ceritain apa yang lagi terjadi. *(InfIn lets the child describe the picture*) **InfIn**: Liat tuh, semua jadi berantakan sama kotor banget, kan?	**Interv**: Suddenly….. *mimicking cat andchicken sound* Look, what happened? This is the same chicken, isn't it? **(EQ4)What is the cat doing? (targeted answer:MENGEJAR AYAM/NGEJAR AYAM/ KEJAR AYAM 'chasing the chicken')** **Interv:** Please tell me what happened. *(Interv lets the child describe the picture*) **Interv:** Look, everything becomesa mess, doesn't it?

Picture A5

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Karena semua berantakan dan kotor, semua orang menjadi	**InfIn**: Karena semua berantakan sama kotor, semua orang jadi sibuk.	Interv**:** Since everything has become messy and dirty, everyone becomes

sibuk. **(EQ5)Coba lihat, ibu ini sedang apa?** **(targeted answer: MENYAPU)** **ForIn**: Apa yang di--- (*root of the verb*) (the answer might be KOTORAN 'dirt' or something she/he sees in the picture) **ForIn:** Kotorannya ada di mana? **(targeted word: LANTAI)** **ForIn:** Lalu, orang yang berbaju merah itu sedang apa? (*lets the child describe the picture)* **ForIn**: Nah, (c's) dan ibunya cepat-cepat pergi dari tempat itu.	**(EQ5)Coba liat, ibu ini lagi ngapain?** **(targeted answer: NYAPU)** **InfIn**: Apa yang di--- (*root of the verb*) Chi: (the answer might be KOTORAN 'dirt' or something she/he sees in the picture) **InfIn:** Kotorannya ada di mana? **(targeted word: LANTE)** **InfIn:** Terus, orang yang pake baju merah itu ngapain? (*lets the child describe the picture)* **InfIn:** Nah, (c's) sama ibunya cepet-cepet pergi dari tempat itu.	very busy. **(EQ5)Look, what is the woman doing?** **(targeted answer: MENYAPU/NYAPU 'sweeping')** **Interv**: What does she sweep? Chi: (the answer might be KOTORAN 'dirt' or something she/he sees in the picture) **Interv:** Where is the trash? (targeted word: LANTAI/ LANTE) **Interv:** And what is the man in red doing? (*lets the child describe the picture)* **Interv:** The character and her mother leave the spot in a hurry.
 **Picture A6**		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Lalu, sampailah mereka di sebuah tempat mainan. Wah, banyak sekali mainan di sini ya. Coba kamu sebutkan ada apa saja di tempat ini. (*ForIngives the child time to name the toys in the picture*) **ForIn:**	**InfIn:** Terus mereka sampe di tempat mainan. Wah, banyak banget mainan di sini ya. Coba kamu sebutin ada apa aja di tempat ini. (*InfIn givesthe child time to name the toys in the picture*) **InfIn:**	**Interv:** And then, they come to a toy shop. Wow, there are a lot of toys here. Can you name them? (*Interv givs the child time to name the toys in the picture*) **Interv:** The character wants the toys. She is

(character) ingin sekali dibelikan mainan. Jadi dia merengek-rengek minta dibelikan mainan. Tetapi, coba lihat gambar ini. **(EQ6) Ibunya sedang apa ini? (targeted answer: MEMARAHI)** **ForIn**: **(EQ7) Dan apa yang terjadi dengan (character)?** **(targeted word: MENANGIS)** **ForIn:** Lalu ibunya berkata, "Wah, kamu mulai rewel ya. Ibu tidak suka. Ayo, kita pulang saja." Coba lihat, menurut kamu, apa yang dilakukan (c's) ini baik atau tidak? Sebaiknya apa yang harus kita lakukan pada saat menemani ibu/bunda berbelanja? **(*ForInlets the child give her/his opinion*)**	(c;s) kepingin banget dibeliin mainan. Jadi dia ngerengek-rengek minta dibeliin mainan. Tapi, coba liat gambar ini. **(EQ6) Ibunya ngapain ni? (targeted answer: MARAHIN)** **InfIn**: **(EQ7) Terus, (character)nya kenapa ni? (targeted word: NANGIS**) **InfIn**: Terus ibunya bilang, "Wah, kamu mulai rewel ya. Ibu nggak suka ah. Ayo, kita pulang aja." Coba liat, kelakuan (c's) ini baik nggak? Kalo kita nemenin Ibu/Bunda, belanja, kita harusnya gimana? **(*InfIn lets the child give her/his opinion*)**	whining all the time, begging for the toys. But look at her mother. **(EQ6) What is she doing? (targeted answer: MEMARAHI/MARAHIN 'scolding')** **Interv:** **(EQ7) And, what is happeing with (character)?** **(targeted word: MENANGIS/ NANGIS 'crying')** **Interv:** Her mother says, "You are now becoming troublesome. I don't like it. Let's go home." Look. What do you think of her? Is she being good or not? What are we supposed to do when we accompany our mother? (*Interv lets the child give her/his opinion*)
 Picture A7		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Namun, apa yang terjadi ketika mereka akan pulang? **(targeted word:**	**InfIn**: 11. Tapi, apa yang terjadi waktu mereka mau pulang? **(targeted word: UJAN)**	Interv: * 11.But what happens while they are going home? (targeted word:

HUJAN) **ForIn**: **(EQ8) Di dalam gambar ini, (c's) dan ibu nya sedang apa ya?** **(targeted answer: MEMAKAI PAYUNG)** **ForIn**: Coba kamu ceritakan apa yang dilakukan oleh mereka ini… *(ForInlets the child describethe picture, following the arrows*) **ForIn:** **(EQ9) Dan, ayam ini sedang apa?** **(targeted word: BERJALAN)** **ForIn:** Karena hujan semakin deras, mereka cepat-cepat pulang. Untunglah mereka segera sampai di rumah. TERIMA KASIH ,(nama). TANTE/IBU/MISS KIKI SENANG MENDENGAR (nama) BERCERITA.	**InfIn**: **(EQ8) Di gambar ini, (c's) sama ibunya ngapain ya?** **(targeted answer: PAKE PAYUNG)** **InfIn**: Coba kamu ceritain apa yang dikerjain sama mereka di gambar ini…*(InfIn lets the child describe the picture, following the arrows*) **InfIn:** **(EQ9) Terus, ayam ini lagi ngapain?** **(targeted word: JALAN)** **InfIn:** Karena ujan makin deres, mereka cepet=cepet pulang. Untungnya mereka cepet sampe rumah. TERIMA KASIH ,(nama). TANTE/IBU/MISS META SENENG DENGER (nama) CERITA.	HUJAN/UJAN 'rain') **Interv:** **(EQ8) In this picture, what are (character) and her mother doing?** **(targeted answer: MEMAKAI PAYUNG/PAKE PAYUNG 'using an umbrella')** **Interv**: Please tell me what other people are doing…. *(Interv lets the child describe the picture, following the arrows*) Interv: **(EQ9) And, what is this chicken doing?** **(targeted word: BERJALAN/JALAN)** Interv: Since the rain falls heavily, they go home right away, and finally reach their home. THANK YOU. I LIKE TO HEAR YOUR STORY

SCENARIO B

Picture B1

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Mari kita lihat gambar ini. Ini adalah seorang anak bernama Tita. Dia memakai topi. Teman-temannya juga. Ada balon ya. (*Exp sang Indonesian Happy Birthday)* **(EQ1) Nah, Tita dan teman-temannya sedang apa ya? (targeted answer: BERULANG TAHUN)**	InfIn: Yuk kita liat gambar ini. Di gambar ini ada anak yang namanya Tita. Dia pake topi. Temen-temennya juga. Ada balon ya. . (*Exp sang Indonesian Happy Birthday)* **(EQ1) Nah, Tita sama temen-temennya lagi ngapain ya? (targeted answer: ULANG TAHUN)**	Interv: Let's have a look at the pictures. This is Tita. She is wearing a hat. Her friends are also wearing hats. There are balloons. . (*Exp sang Indonesian Happy Birthday)* **(EQ1) So, what are Tita and her friends doing? (targeted answer: BERULANG TAHUN /ULANG TAHUN ' to celebrate s.o.'s birthday')**

Picture B2

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: **(EQ2) Nah, setelah itu, apa yang dilakukan Tita di sini?**	InfIn: **(EQ2) Nah, abis itu, Tita ngapain di sini? (targeted answer:**	Interv: **(EQ2)** And then, what is Tita doing? **(targeted answer:**

(targeted answer: MEMOTONG KUE) **ForIn:** Oya, apa warna baju Tita? (targeted word: HIJAU) **ForIn:** Bagaimana bentuk kue yang dipotong oleh Tita? (targeted word: BULAT/ BUNDAR) **ForIn:** Coba lihat, Tita memegang apa di atas kue ini? (targeted word: PISAU)	**MOTONG KUE)** **InfIn:** Oya, apa warna bajunya Tita? (targeted word: IJO) **InfIn:** Gimana bentuknya kue yang dipotong sama Tita? (targeted word: BULAT/BUNDAR) **InfIn:** Coba liat, Tita pegang apa ni di atas kue? (targeted word: PISAU)	**MEMOTONG KUE/MOTONG KUE 'cutting the cake')** **Interv:** What color is Tita's dress? (targeted word: HIJAU/ IJO 'green') **Interv:** What shape is the cake? (targeted word: BULAT/BUNDAR — BULET/BUNDER I) 'round') **Interv:** *Look, what is Tita holding above the cake? Chi: (targeted word: PISAU/PISO (knife')

Picture B3

BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Lalu Tita membagi-bagi kue ini untuk teman-temannya. Lalu, dia mengambil bagian kue yang besar. Dia akan menyimpannya di lemari es. Tetapi, kamu melihat anak laki-laki ini, bukan? Nah, nama anak laki-laki ini Tito. **(EQ3) Dia sedang apa? (targeted answer: MENDORONG**	InfIn: Terus, Tita mbagi-bagiin kue ini buat temen-temennya. Terus dia ngambil bagian kue yang besar. Dia mau nyimpen di lemari es. Tapi, kamu liat anak laki-laki ini, kan? Nah, nama anak laki-laki ini Tito. **(EQ3) Dia lagi ngapain? (targeted answer: NDORONG KERETA)** **InfIn:**	Interv: And then, Tita gives the slices of cake to her friends. She brings the biggest slice to be kept in the refrigerator. But, you see this boy, don't you? His name is Tito. **(EQ3) What is he doing? (targeted answer: MENDORONG KERETA/ NDORONG KERETA 'pushing a**

KERETA) **ForIn**: Coba lihat. Wah, ada apa saja di dalam keretanya? (*the ForIn let the children describe the contents of the chart)*	Coba liat. Wah, ada apa aja di dalem kretanya ya? (the InfIn let the children describe the contents of the chart)	**chart')** **Interv**: *Look. Wow, can you tell me what is inside the cart? *(the Interv let the children describe the content of the chart*)
 Picture B4		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Dan tiba-tiba, "Braak!". Wah, apa yang terjadi dengan mereka ini? **(EQ4)** Aduh, dia sedang apa ini? (targeted answer: MENABRAK TITA) **ForIn:** Apa yang terjadi dengan Tita? (*ForIn lets the children describe the picture*)	**InfIn:** Terus, tiba-tiba," Braak!" Wah, kenapa ini mereka? **(EQ4)**Aduh, Tito ngapain ya? (targeted answer: NABRAK TITA) **Exp:** Tita kenapa? (*InfIn lets the children describe the picture*)	**Interv:** All of sudden… Oh, what happened to them? **(EQ4)** Uhoh, what is Tito doing? (targeted answer: MENABRAK TITA/ NABRAK TITA 'hitting TITA') **Interv:** What happened to Tita? (*Interv lets the children describe the picture*)

Picture B5

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Dan, aduh, coba lihat. Kue yang dibawa Tita jatuh.. Jatuh ke mana ini? (targeted word: LANTAI) **ForIn:** Menurut kamu, bagaimana perasaan Tita? (*the ForIn lets the children explain their thoughtsor tshare their own experiences*)	**InfIn:** Terus, aduh, coba liat. Kue yang dibawa Tita jatoh. Jatoh ke mana ini? (targeted word: LANTE) **InfIn:** Kamu pikir, gimana perasaan Tita?(*the InfIn lets the children explain their thoughts or sharetheir own experiencse*)	**Interv:** Uhoh, look! The cake has fallen down! Where does the cake fall down? (targeted word: LANTAI/ LANTE 'floor') **Interv:** What do you think of Tita? How does she feel? (*the Interv lets the children explain their thoughts or share their own experiences*)

Picture B6

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Lihat, semua menjadi kotor . Untunglah, Tito segera meminta maaf kepada Tita. "Maaf ya, Tita. Aku memang bersalah," kata Tito. **(EQ5) Nah, mereka**	**InfIn:** Liat, semuanya jadi kotor. Untung Tito cepet-cepet minta maaf sama Tita. "Maaf ya, Tita. Aku emang salah.," kata Tito. **(EQ5) Nah, mereka lagi**	Interv: Look! Tita's dress is dirty now. Tito feels sorry and apologizes. "I am sorry, Tita. It was my fault," Tito says. **(EQ5)What are they doing? (targeted**

sedang apa di sini? (targeted answer: BERSALAMAN) **ForIn:** "Mari saya bantu ..," kata Tito.Nah, kira-kira, Tito mau membantu apa ya? Bukankah ruangan ini sangat kotor dan berantakan? **ForIn**: Kalau di rumahmu kotor dan berantakan, kamu akan melakukan apa? *(Let the children explain their own experiences)*	**ngapain di sini? (targeted answer: BERSALAMAN)** **InfIn**: "Sini saya bantuin…," kata Tito. Nah, kira-kira Tito mau mbantuin apa ya? Ruangan ini kotor banget sama berantakan, kan? **InfIn**: Kalo rumah kamu kotor sama berantakan, kamu bakal ngapain? *(Let the children explain their own experiences)*	**answer: BERSALAMAN/ SALAMAN 'to shake hands')** **Interv**: "Let me help you," Tito says. The room is very dirty and messy. What kind of help will Tito do? **Interv**: If you found your house dirty and messy, what would you do? *(Lets the children explain their own experiences)*
 Picture B7		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Pesta ulang tahun Tita sudah selesai. Sesuai dengan janji Tito, ia membantu Tita. Coba lihat, mereka sedang apa di sini? **(EQ6) Tito sedang apa? (targeted answer: MENCUCI PIRING)** **ForIn**: **(EQ7)** Dan Tita sedang apa? (targeted answer: MENGELAP PIRING) **ForIn:** Lalu, Tita berkata. "Tito, terima kasih ya. Setelah ini, kita bermain di kebun yuk!" "Ayo," kata	**InfIn**: Pesta ulang tahun Tita udah selesai. Seperti janjinya Tito, dia mbantuin Tita. Coba liat, mereka lagi ngapain di sini? **(EQ6) Titonya ngapain? (targeted answer: NYUCI PIRING)** **InfIn**: **(EQ7)** Dan Tita sedang apa? (targeted answer: NGELAP PIRING) **InfIn:** Terus Tita bilang, "Tito, makasih ya! Abis ini kita main di kebon yuk!" "Ayo, " kata Tito	**Interv:** Tita's party is over. Tito fulfills his promise to help Tita. Look, what are they doing? **(EQ6) What is Tito doing? (targeted answer: MENCUCI PIRING /NYUCI PIRING 'washing the dishes')** **Interv**: **(EQ7)**And what is Tita doing? (targeted answer: MENGELAP PIRING/ NGELAP PIRING 'wiping the plate) **Interv**:

Tito.		And then, Tita says,"Thank you, Tito. Let's go to the garden after this." "Okay!" Tito agrees
 Picture B8		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Jadi, mereka pergi ke kebun. **(EQ8) Coba lihat, mereka sedang apa ya? (targeted word: MEMETIK BUNGA)** **ForIn**: Mereka kelihatan senang . Tito berkata kepada Tita, "Tita, ayo kita segera masuk ke rumah. Lihat, cuaca sudah mendung." "Baik Tito, sebentar lagi ya. " Bunyi guruh sudah terdengar. Tanda akan ada apa ya	**InfIn**: Jadi, mereka pergi ke kebun. **(EQ8) Coba liat, mereka lagi ngapain ya? (targeted word: METIK KEMBANG/BUNGA)** **InfIn**: Mereka keliatan seneng. Tito bilang ke Tita, "Tita, ayo kita cepet masuk rumah. Liat, cuaca udah mendung." "Iya, Tito, bentar lagi ya." Bunyi guruh udah kedengeran. Tanda mau apa ya?	**Interv**: So, off they go to the garden. **(EQ8)Look, what are they doing?" (targeted word: MEMETIK BUNGA/METIK BUNGA 'picking the flowers')** **Interv**: They look so happy. And then, Tito says,"Let's go home, Tita. Look, it's already cloudy." "Okay, Tito. Wait a minute." They hear thunder. What will happen?

Picture B9

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Ketika Tita dan Tito pulang, apa yang terjadi di sini? (targeted word: HUJAN) **ForIn:** Tetapi , mereka tampak senang sekali ya? **(EQ9) Coba lihat, Tito dan Tita sedang apa? (targeted word: BERJALAN)** **ForIn:** Karena semakin deras, mereka segera pulang. Nah, biasanya kalau keadaan hujan seperti ini, apa yang kamu lakukan? Pernah melakukan hal yang sama seperti Tito dan Tita? *(Lets the children explain their own experiences)* TERIMA KASIH (name)! IBU/TANTE/MISS KIKI SENANG MENDENGAR (name) BERCERITA.	**InfIn:** Waktu Tita sama Tito pulang, ada apa ya? (targeted word: UJAN) **InfIn:** Tapi, mereka keliatannya seneng banget, ya. **(EQ9) Coba liat, Tito sama Tita lagi ngapain? (targeted word: JALAN)** **InfIn:** Karena makin deres, mereka cepet-cepet pulang. Nah, biasanya kalo ujan begini, kamu ngapain? Pernah kayak Tito sama Tita? *(Lets the children explain their own experiences)* MAKASIH (name)! IBU/TANTE/MISS META SENENG DENGER (name) CERITA.	**Interv:** What happened when Tita and Tito go home? (targeted word: HUJAN/UJAN 'rain') **Interv:** Yet, they look so happy. **(EQ9) Look, what are they doing? (targeted word: BERJALAN/ JALAN 'to walk')** **Interv:** Since the rain falls heavily, they go home right away. When the rain falls, what do you usually do? Have you ever done the same as Tito and Tita? *(Interv lets the children explain their own experiences)* THANK YOU (name). I'M GLAD TO HEAR FROM YOU!

SCENARIO C

Pic ture C1

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Masih ingatkah kalian pada Tito dan Tita? Nah, coba lihat mereka sekarang berada di mana ya? (Targeted word: *PANTAI* 'beach') **(EQ1) Mereka sedang apa? (targeted answer: *BERJALAN* 'walking')** Tito berkata kepada Tita, "Wah, di sini ramai sekali ya, Tita!" "Iya," kata Tita.	**InfIn**: Masih inget kan, sama Tito sama Tita? Liat, mereka lagi di mana sekarang? (Targeted word: *PANTE*) **(EQ1) Mereka lagi ngapain? (targeted answer: *JALAN*)** Tito bilang sama Tita, "Wah, di sini rame banget ya, Tita!" "Iya," kata Tita.	**Interv**: Do you remember Tito and Tita? Look, where are they now?(Targeted word: *PANTAI* 'beach') **(EQ1) What are they doing? (targeted word: *BERJALAN* /JALAN 'walking')** "This place is very crowded, Tita," Tito says to Tita. "Indeed," Tita replies.

Picture C2

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Matahari bersinar dengan terangnya. Wah, silau ya. Lalu ,	**InfIn:** Matahari bersinar terang banget. Wah, silou ya! Terus, coba liat, Tito	**Interv:** The sun shines so brightly. Tito and Tita are dazzled. Look, Tito and

coba lihat, Tito dan Tita memakai kacamata berwarna apa? (targeted word: HITAM) Coba lihat, apa warna baju Tita? (targeted word: HIJAU) "Wah, kita kelihatan keren ya, Tito!" kata Tita. "Iya! Ayo kita melakukan sesuatu yang menyenangkan!" "Ayo!"	sama Tita pake kacamata warna apa? (targeted word: ITEM) Coba liat, apa warna baju Tita? (targeted word: IJO) "Wah, kita keliatan keren ya, Tito!" katanya Tita "Iya! Yuk kita bikin sesuatu yang asyik!" "Yuk!"	Tita wear sunglasses. Whatcolor are the sunglasses? (targeted word: HITAM / ITEM'black') Look, what color is Tita's shirt? (targeted word: HIJAU/IJO 'green') "Wow, I think we look awesome, Tito!" says Tita. Great, Tito! Let's do something exciting!" "Okay!"
 Picture C3		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Jadi, pergilah mereka ke tempat yang agak ramai. **(EQ2) Coba lihat, mereka sedang apa? (Targeted answer: BERMAIN PASIR)** Wah, senangnya! Coba lihat, ada beberapa anak lainnya sedang melakukan berbagai kegiatan. Kamu bisa sebutkan mereka sedang apa saja? Lalu, Tito berkata,"Tita, lama-lama kita bosan juga di sini ya. Ayo kita	**InfIn:** Jadi, mereka pergi ke tempat yang rada rame. **(EQ2) Coba liat, mereka lagi ngapain? (Targeted word: MAIN PASIR)** Wah, seneng ya! Coba liat, ada anak-anak lain yang lagi bikin macem-macem kegiatan. Kamu bisa sebutin mereka lagi ngapain aja? Terus, Tito bilang sama Tita,"Tita, lama-lama kita bosen juga ya di sini. Yuk kita pergi ke tempat lain!" "Iya Tito! Aku tau ada tempat yang nyenengin	**Interv:** So, they find a place to do something. **(EQ2) Look, what are they doing? (Targeted word: BERMAIN PASIR / MAIN PASIR 'playing with sand')** How exciting! Look, there are several children doing some different activities. Can you tell me what they are doing? "I feel bored, Tita. Let's find another place," says Tito. "Okay, Tito! I know there is an interesting place

pergi ke tempat lain!" "Iya, Tito! Aku tahu, ada tempat yang cukup menyenangkan di sini. "	di sini."	over there," says Tita.
 Picture C4		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Ternyata, inilah tempat yang menyenangkan itu. **(EQ3) Lihat, mereka sedang apa? (Targeted word: MEMANCING)** Lihat, ikan hasil tangkapan mereka banyak juga ya! Tita mengatakan begini kepada Tito,"Tito, ikan kita sudah cukup banyak. Ayo kita pindah!" "Iya," kata Tito. "Dan aku sangat lapar." Nah, kira-kira, apa yang akan mereka lakukan ya?	**InfIn**: Ternyata, ini tempat yang nyenengin itu. **(EQ3) Liat, mereka lagi ngapain? (Targeted word: MANCING)** Liat, ikan tangkepan mereka banyak juga ya. Tita bilang begini ke Tito,"Tito, ikan kita udah cukup banyak. Yuk kita pindah!" "Iya," kata Tito. "Aku juga laper banget." Kira-kira, mereka mau ngapain ya?	**Interv:** Oh, this is the place thatTita mentioned. **(EQ3) Look, what are doing? (Targeted word: MEMANCING IKAN/ MANCING IKAN 'fishing')** Look, they are catching quite a lot of fish. Tita says, "Tito, let's move! We have got enough fish.""Okay! And I am very hungry," Tito replies. What do you think will be their next activity?

Picture C5

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: **(EQ4) Nah, coba kamu lihat. Tita sedang apa? (Targeted word: MEMBAKAR ikan)** Lihat, Tito kelihatan tidak sabar ya? **(EQ5) Dia sedang apa? (Targeted word: MEMEGANG PIRING)** "Sabar, Tito!" kata Tita. "Sebentar lagi ikan ini matang!" Jadi, mereka makan bersama. Tidak terasa, cuaca mulai mendung. Ada suara guntur. "Tito, ayo kita bereskan barang-barang kita!" Kira-kira, kalau cuaca mendung dan ada suara guntur itu akan ada apa ya?	InfIn: (**EQ4) Nah, coba liat. Tita lagi ngapain? (Targeted word:BAKAR ikan)** Liat, Tito keliatannya nggak sabar ya? **(EQ5) Dia lagi ngapain? (Targeted word: PEGANG piring)** "Sabar dong, Tito," kata Tita. "Sebentar lagi ikan ini mateng." Jadi mereka makan sama-sama. Nggak kerasa, cuaca mulai mendung. Ada suara guntur. "Tito, yuk kita beresin barang-barang kita!" Kira-kira, kalo cuaca mendung terus ada suara guntur bakalan ada apa ya?	Interv: (**EQ4)Look, what is Tita doing? (Targeted word: MEMBAKAR ikan/ MBAKAR IKAN 'grilling a fish)** And Tito looks impatient. **(EQ5) What is he doing? (Targeted word: MEMEGANG piring/MEGANG PIRING 'holding a plate')** "Be patient, Tito!" says Tita. "It's almost cooked." So, they eat the fish. Time flies, and the clouds become dark. They also hear the sound of thunder. "Tito, let's put away our things!" What will happen when you hear the sound of thunder?

Picture C6

BI version	CJI version	Translation
Nah, apa yang terjadi? (Targeted word: HUJAN) **(EQ6) Lihat, Tito dan Tita sedang apa? (Targeted word: BERLARI)** "Ayo kita cepat pulang, Tito!"	Nah, ada apa ni? (Targeted word: UJAN) **(EQ6) Liat, Tito sama Tita lagi ngapain? (Targeted word: LARI)** "Ayo kita buruan pulang, Tito!"	Look, what happened? (Targeted word: HUJAN /UJAN'rain') **(EQ6)What are Tito and Tita doing? (Targeted word: BERLARI /LARI'running')** "Let's go home, Tito!"

Picture C7

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: **(EQ7) Nah, sesampainya di rumah mereka, lihat, Tita sedang apa? (Targeted word: MEMOTONG ikan)** Lihat, apa yang dipegang Tita? (Targeted word: PISAU) Sementara itu, Tito	**InfIn:** **(EQ7)Begitu sampe di rumah, Tita ngapain ya? (Targeted word: MOTONG IKAN)** Liat, apa yang dipegang Tita? (Targeted word: PISO) Waktu Tita ngurusin ikan, Tito mandi. Kira-kira abis ini mereka ngapain ya?	**Interv:** **(EQ7) Now, when they are at home, Tita is doing something. Can you tell me what she is doing? (Targeted word: MEMOTONG ikan/MOTONG IKAN 'cutting the fish')** What kind of utensil does Tita use? (Targeted word: PISAU/PISO

mandi. Kira-kira, apa yang akan mereka lakukan setelah ini ya?		'knife') Meanwhile, Tito is taking a bath. Can you tell me what they will do afterwards?
 Picture C8		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Nah, setelah itu, Tito dan Tita pergi ke kamar mereka. **(EQ8) Lihat, mereka sedang apa ya? (targeted answer: MENGGAMBAR)** Tidak terasa, hari sudah mulai gelap. Dan lihat, ada bulan di luar sana. Coba beritahu saya, kapan bulan datang? (targeted word: MALAM) Mereka begitu asyiknya sampai lupa waktu. Tita tertidur di mejanya.	**InfIn:** Nah, abis itu, Tito sama Tita ke kamar mereka. **(EQ8) Liat, mereka lagi ngapain ya? (targeted answer MENGGAMBAR)** Nggak kerasa, hari mulai gelap. Terus, liat, ada bulan di luar sana. Coba kasih tahu saya, kapan sih bulan dateng? (targeted word: MALEM) Saking asyiknya, mereka lupa waktu. Terus Tita ketiduran di mejanya.	**Interv**: And then, Tito and Tita spend time in their study room. **(EQ8)Look, what are they doing? (targeted answer: MENGGAMBAR/ NGGAMBAR 'drawing')** And the day becomes dark. The moon comes out. Can you tell me when the moon comes? (targeted word: MALAM 'night') They are so busy drawing, and they become tired and fall asleep.

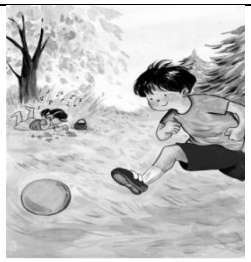
Picture C9

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Lihat, Tita tertidur sampai pagi ya. Nah,lihat ada kertas dan pinsil yang jatuh. Kertas dan pinsil ini ada di mana?. (targeted word: LANTAI) Rupanya Tita benar-benar kelelahan ya. Apakah kalian pernah mengalami seperti Tita, tertidur di meja? Terima kasih sudah mau bercerita bersama Tante/Ibu/Miss Kiki	**InfIn**: Liat, Tita ketidura sampe pagi ya. Nah, liat, ada kertas sama pinsil yang jatuh ya. Kertas sama pinsil ini ada di mana?(targeted word: LANTE) Rupanya Tita bener-bener kecapean ya. Kamu perrnah seperti Tita, ketiduran di meja? Makasih udah mau cerita sama Tante/Ibu/Miss Meta ya.	**Interv**: Look, the morning comes, and Tita is still sleeping on her desk. There is a piece of paper and a pencil under the desk. Can you tell me where the pencil and the paper are? (targeted word: LANTAI 'floor') Hmm...Tita is really tired. Have you ever slept on your desk? Thank you for joining me!

SCENARIO D

Picture D1

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Kamu pernah pergi ke Puncak? (*lets the child tell her/his own story about her/his holiday*) Nah, inilah yang dilakukan Tito dan Tita ketika sekolah libur. **(EQ1) Lihat, mereka sedang apa ya?** **(Targeted answer: BERJALAN-JALAN)** Coba kalian lihat, pemandangannya indah sekali ya. Kalian lihat, baju Tita seperti warna daun-daun di sekitarnya ya. Apa warna baju Tita? (Targeted word: HIJAU)	InfIn: Kamu pernah pergi ke Puncak? (*lets the child tell her/his own story about her/his holiday*) Nah, ini yang dilakuin Tito dan Tita waktu sekolah libur. **(EQ1) Liat, mereka lagi ngapain?** **(Targeted word: JALAN-JALAN)** Coba kamu liat, pemandangannya bagus banget ya. Liat deh, baju Tita seperti warna daun di sekitarnyany ya. Warna baju Tita apa? (targeted word: IJO)	Interv: Have you ever been to Puncak? (*lets the child tell her/his own story about her/his holiday*) That's how Tito and Tita spend their holiday. **(EQ1)Look, what are they doing?(targeted word: BERJALAN-JALAN 'strolling around')** Look, the scenery is beautiful. Tita's dress has the same color as the leaves. What color is Tita's dress?(targeted word: HIJAU/IJO 'green')



Picture D2

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Nah, sampailah mereka di suatu tempat. **(EQ2) Lihat, Tito sedang apa ya?** **(Targeted answer: BERMAIN BOLA)** Dan Tita, dia tampak sedang asyik ya. **(EQ3) Kira-kira Tita sedang apa ya?** **(targeted answer: MENDENGARKAN MUSIK)**	**InfIn:** Nah, terus mereka sampe di suatu tempat. **(EQ2) Liat, Tito lagi ngapain?** **(Targeted answer: MAIN BOLA)** Terus, Tita, dia lagi asyik deh kayaknya. **(EQ3) Kira-kira dia lagi ngapain ya? (targeted answer: NDENGERIN MUSIK)**	**Interv:** And they arrive at a place. **(EQ2) Look, what is Tito doing?** **(targeted answer: BERMAIN BOLA/MAIN BOLA)** And, Tita looks busytoo. **(EQ3) What is she doing? (targeted answer: MENDENGARKAN MUSIK/NDENGERIN MUSIK 'listening to the music)**

Picture D3

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Nah, tidak lama sesudah itu, Tita merasa lapar. **(EQ4) Lalu, coba lihat, Tita sedang apa ya?** **(Targeted answer: MEMOTONG KUE)**	**InfIn:** Nah, nggak lama abis itu, Tita laper. **(EQ4) Coba liat. Tita ngapain ya?** **(Targeted answer: POTONG KUE)** Liat, Tita megang apa ya?	**Interv:** Not long after that, Tita feels hungry. **(EQ4) Look, what is Tita doing? (targeted answer: MEMOTONG/ POTONG KUE)** Look, what does Tita

Lihat, Tita memegang apa ya? (Targeted word: PISAU) Tita berkata kepada Tito,"Tito, mau tidak? Ini kue kesukaanmu!" Tito berkata,"'Aku mau! Tunggu sebentar ya!" Tito kelihatan asyik sekali ya!	(targeted word: PISO) Tita bilang sama Tito, "Tito, mau nggak? Ini kue kesukaan kamu lho!" Tito bilang, "Mau dong! Tunggu sebentar ya!" Tito keliatannya asyik banget ya!"	hold? (targeted word: PISAU/PISO 'knife') Tita calls Tito and says, "Tito, this is your favorite cake. Do you want it?" Tito answers, "Of course! Wait a minute!" Tito enjoys his playing so much.
 Picture D4		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: Kemudian, mereka pulang. Ada banyak bunga di tengah perjalanan. **(EQ5) Lihat, Tita sedang apa ya?** **(targeted answer: MEMETIK BUNGA)** Oya, coba lihat, Tita memakai topi ya? Apa warna topi Tita? (targeted word: HITAM) Tito berkata kepada Tita, "Tita, ayo cepat! Anginnya kencang sekali. Lihat, langit mulai mendung dan ada suara guntur. Kira-kira akan terjadi apa ya?	**InfIn**: Terus, mereka pulang. Ada banyak bunga di tengah jalan. **(EQ5) Liat, Tita lagi ngapain ya?** **(targeted answer: METIK BUNGA)** Ayo, coba liat, Tita kan pake topi ya? Apa warna topi Tita? (targeted word: ITEM) Tito bilang sama Tita,"Tita, ayo cepet! Anginnya kenceng banget. Liat, langitnya mulai mendung, terus ada suara guntur." Kira-kira, bakalan ada apa ya?	**Interv**: And then, they leave for home. There are a lot of flowers along their way home. **(EQ5) Look, what is Tita doing?** **(targeted answer: MEMETIK BUNGA/ METIK BUNGA)** Tita wears a hat, doesn't she? What color is Tita's hat? (targeted word: HITAM/ ITEM 'black') Tito says to Tita, "Tita, let's go! Look, it is cloudy now, and there is the sound of thunder." What will happen?

Picture D5

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Lihat, apa yang terjadi? (targeted word: HUJAN) **(EQ6) Dan mereka sedang apa? (targeted answer: BERLARI)** Dan mereka cepat-cepat pergi ke rumah.	**InfIn**: Liat, ada apa ya? (targeted word: UJAN) **(EQ6) Terus, mereka ngapain? (targeted answer: LARI)** Terus, mereka cepet-cepet pergi ke rumah.	**Interv**: And, what happened? (targeted word: HUJAN/UJAN 'rain') **(EQ6) What are they doing? (targeted answer: BERLARI/ LARI 'running')** And they run as fast as they can to their house.

Picture D6

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Nah, sesampainya di rumah, mereka basah kuyup. Tita berkata kepada Tito,"Aduh, Tito, maaf ya. Kalau saja aku tidak memetik bunga, tentu kita tidak akan kehujanan." Lihat, ada air di sekitar mereka. Air itu ada di	**InfIn**: Nah, begitu sampe di rumah, mereka basah kuyup. Tita bilang begini ke Tito,"Aduh Tito, maaf ya. Kalo aku nggak metik-metik bunga, pasti kita nggak bakalan keujanan." Liat, ada air di sekitar mereka. Airnya ada di	**Interv**: When they get home, they are already wet. Tita says, "Tito, I am very sorry. If only I had not picked the flowers, we would not have been caught in the rain." Look, there is a puddle of water around them. Where is it? (targeted

mana ya? (targeted word: LANTAI) "Sudahlah, Tita. Ayo, kita lakukan sesuatu sebelum Ibu marah!"	mana ya? (targeted word: LANTE) "Udahlah, Tita. Yuk, kita bikin sesuatu sebelum Ibu marah!"	word: LANTAI/ LANTE 'floor) "It's okay, Tita. Let's do something before Mom scolds us."
 Picture D7		
BI version	**CJI version**	**Translation**
ForIn: **(EQ7) Jadi, lihat. Mereka sedang apa? (targeted word: MENGEPEL).** Dan mereka bekerja dengan sangat rajin. Kalau di rumah kalian basah, apa yang kalian lakukan? (*lets the child tell her/his own story*)	**InfIn**: **(EQ7) Nah, jadi liat deh. Mereka ngapain ni? (targeted word: NGEPEL)** Terus, mereka kerja dengan rajin. Kalo rumah kamu basah, kamu ngapain? (*lets the child tell her/his own story*)	**Interv**: **(EQ7) So, look. What are they doing? (targeted word: MENGEPEL/ NGEPEL 'mopping')** They work diligently. If the floor of your house is wet, what do you do? (*lets the child tell her/his own story*)

Picture D8

BI version	CJI version	Translation
ForIn: Nah, tidak terasa, hari mulai gelap. Lihat, ada bulan dan bintang di luar. Kalian tahu, kapan bulan dan bintang datang? (targeted word: MALAM) **(EQ8) Coba lihat, Tito dan Tita sedang apa? (targeted word: MENGGOSOK GIGI)** Kira-kira, setelah ini, apa yang akan mereka lakukan? Apakah kalian melakukan hal yang sama setiap hari? (*lets the child tell her/his own story*) Terima kasih sudah bercerita bersama Tante/Ibu/Miss Kiki.	**InfIn**: Nah, nggak kerasa, hari udah mulai gelap. Liat, ada bulan dan bintang di luar. Kamu tau nggak kapan bulan dan bintang datengnya? (targeted word: MALEM) **(EQ8) Coba liat, Tito sama Tita lagi ngapain ya? (targeted word: GOSOK GIGI)** Kira-kira, abis ini mereka ngapain ya? Kamu begini nggak setiap hari? (*lets the child tell her/his own story*) Terima kasih udah cerita sama Tante/Ibu/Miss Meta ya!	**Interv**: They don't realize that the day turns dark. Look, there is a moon and stars outside. When do you think the moon and the stars come? (targeted word: MALAM/MALEM 'night') **(EQ8) Look, what are they doing? (targeted word: MENGGOSOK GIGI/ GOSOK GIGI 'brush the teeth)** What will they do afterward? Do you do the same thingeveryday? (*lets the child tell her/his own story*) Thank you for sharing your story with me!

APPENDIX 5a
Individual Scores of Bahasa Indonesia Verb in Formal and Informal Situation

CHI : child
Cohort : 1 = (2006_2); 2 = (2006_1); 3 = (2005_2)

CHI	Cohort	Gender	BIv. For.1	BIv. For.2	BIv. Inf.1	BIv. Inf.2
1101	1	girl	0	0	0	13
1102	1	girl	11	25	11	0
1103	1	girl	0	13	0	0
1104	1	boy	0	0	0	13
1105	1	boy	0	13	0	0
1106	1	girl	0	25	11	13
1107	1	girl	0	50	0	25
1108	1	boy	56	75	11	25
1109	1	boy	0	25	11	25
1201	1	girl	78	13	11	0
1202	1	girl	11	25	0	0
1301	1	boy	11	0	0	0
1302	1	girl	0	0	0	0
2101	2	boy	0	13	0	0
2102	2	boy	0	25	0	38
2103	2	girl	0	50	11	0
2104	2	boy	56	50	0	13
2105	2	boy	33	75	11	75
2106	2	boy	0	0	0	0
2107	2	boy	100	38	0	0
2108	2	boy	0	0	0	13
2201	2	girl	0	25	0	13
2202	2	girl	0	25	0	0
2203	2	girl	0	0	0	0
2204	2	girl	22	0	22	13
2205	2	girl	0	50	0	0
2206	2	boy	11	0	0	13
2207	2	girl	0	13	0	0
2301	2	boy	0	0	0	0
2302	2	girl	11	63	0	13
2303	2	boy	0	25	0	0

BIv.For.1 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 1;
BIv.For.2 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 2;
BIv.Inf.1 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 1;
BIv.Inf.2 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 2

CHI : child
Cohort : 1 = (2006_2); 2 = (2006_1); 3 = (2005_2)

CHI	Cohort	Gender	BIv. For.1	BIv. For.2	BIv. Inf.1	BIv. Inf.2
2304	2	boy	56	38	0	0
2305	2	girl	0	0	0	0
2306	2	boy	11	0	0	0
3101	3	girl	44	75	0	38
3102	3	girl	56	63	11	0
3103	3	girl	0	0	11	0
3104	3	girl	0	0	0	0
3105	3	boy	22	88	11	38
3106	3	girl	11	0	0	0
3107	3	girl	22	13	0	13
3108	3	boy	0	13	11	0
3109	3	boy	11	38	11	0
3110	3	girl	33	50	0	13
3111	3	girl	67	63	0	25
3112	3	girl	0	13	11	25
3113	3	boy	0	13	0	0
3114	3	girl	22	13	11	0
3115	3	boy	0	0	0	0
3116	3	boy	11	25	0	13
3117	3	boy	56	13	0	0
3201	3	boy	22	25	0	0
3202	3	boy	11	25	0	25
3203	3	boy	0	25	0	13
3204	3	girl	22	50	0	0
3205	3	girl	44	25	0	0
3206	3	girl	56	0	22	13
3207	3	boy	22	50	0	25
3301	3	boy	0	0	11	0
3302	3	girl	0	38	11	25
3303	3	boy	11	13	0	38
3304	3	girl	33	13	0	0
3305	3	girl	0	0	0	0

BIv.For.1 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 1;
BIv.For.2 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 2;
BIv.Inf.1 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 1;
BIv.Inf.2 = use of Bahasa Indonesia Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 2

APPENDIX 5b
Individual Scores of Colloquial Jakarta IndonesianVerb in Formal and Informal Situation

CHI : child
Cohort : 1 = (2006_2); 2 = (2006_1); 3 = (2005_2)

CHI	Cohort	Gender	CJIv. For.1	CJIv. For.2	CJIv. Inf.1	CJIv. Inf.2
1101	1	girl	89	75	100	88
1102	1	girl	67	75	67	100
1103	1	girl	78	50	100	100
1104	1	boy	100	88	89	88
1105	1	boy	89	63	67	88
1106	1	girl	44	75	89	88
1107	1	girl	67	50	67	75
1108	1	boy	33	25	78	75
1109	1	boy	100	75	89	63
1201	1	girl	22	88	67	100
1202	1	girl	89	75	67	88
1301	1	boy	44	75	100	100
1302	1	girl	89	100	89	100
2101	2	boy	89	88	78	100
2102	2	boy	67	75	100	63
2103	2	girl	78	50	78	100
2104	2	boy	33	50	100	88
2105	2	boy	56	25	89	25
2106	2	boy	89	100	89	88
2107	2	boy	0	63	89	100
2108	2	boy	67	88	67	88
2201	2	girl	78	63	78	88
2202	2	girl	89	63	67	100
2203	2	girl	100	88	100	100
2204	2	girl	67	100	67	88
2205	2	girl	89	50	100	100
2206	2	boy	67	88	100	88
2207	2	girl	89	88	100	100
2301	2	boy	78	100	100	100
2302	2	girl	67	38	100	88
2303	2	boy	100	75	78	100

CJIv.For.1 = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 1; **CJIv.For.2** = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 2; **CJIv.Inf.1** = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 1; **CJIv.Inf.2** = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 2.

CHI : child
Cohort : 1 = (2006_2); 2 = (2006_1); 3 = (2005_2)

CHI	Cohort	Gender	CJIv. For.1	CJIv. For.2	CJIv. Inf.1	CJIv. Inf.2
2304	2	boy	33	63	100	100
2305	2	girl	78	75	78	100
2306	2	boy	56	100	89	75
3101	3	girl	56	25	78	63
3102	3	girl	44	38	78	100
3103	3	girl	78	100	89	100
3104	3	girl	100	100	89	100
3105	3	boy	67	13	89	63
3106	3	girl	78	100	89	100
3107	3	girl	78	88	78	88
3108	3	boy	100	75	67	88
3109	3	boy	78	63	89	100
3110	3	girl	67	50	78	88
3111	3	girl	33	38	78	75
3112	3	girl	78	88	44	75
3113	3	boy	89	88	67	100
3114	3	girl	67	88	78	88
3115	3	boy	89	100	100	100
3116	3	boy	89	75	78	88
3117	3	boy	33	88	100	100
3201	3	boy	67	75	100	100
3202	3	boy	78	75	78	75
3203	3	boy	89	75	100	75
3204	3	girl	78	50	89	100
3205	3	girl	56	75	89	88
3206	3	girl	11	100	67	88
3207	3	boy	67	50	89	75
3301	3	boy	78	100	78	88
3302	3	girl	67	63	78	75
3303	3	boy	67	88	100	63
3304	3	girl	44	88	78	100
3305	3	girl	89	100	78	100

CJIv.For.1 = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 1; **CJIv.For.2** = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Formal Situation, Period 2; **CJIv.Inf.1** = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 1; **CJIv.Inf.2** = use of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian Verbs in Informal Situation, Period 2.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Deze studie behandelt de verwerving van twee Indonesische taalvariëteiten gesproken in Jakarta door kinderen van middenklassenfamilies: de standaardtaal Bahasa Indonesia (BI) , en de Jakarta-Indonesische omgangstaal (JIO). Tegenwoordig verwerven in Jakarta veel kinderen JIO als moedertaal. Op zeer jonge leeftijd worden deze kinderen echter blootgesteld aan de formele variëteit van het Indonesisch, het BI, bijvoorbeeld in kinderprogramma's op televisie en in verhalen verteld door ouders of verzorgers. Kinderen worden ook aangespoord om BI te gebruiken als beleefdheidstrategie.

In deze studie bestuderen we welke factoren de keuze en het gebruik van de taalvariëteiten bepalen, hoe het vermogen van de kinderen om te veranderen van stijl zich ontwikkelt en de verwerving van een aantal morfologische variabelen. De onderzoeksvragen zijn :

1. In welke mate beheersen Jakarta middenklassenkinderen BI- en JIO-variabelen?
2. In welke mate kunnen Jakarta middenklassenkinderen een onderscheid maken tussen BI en JIO en beide taalvariëteiten in de gepaste situaties gebruiken?
3. Hebben Jakarta middenklassenkinderen deze grammaticale en sociolinguïstisch competenties tegelijk verworven?

Voor dit onderzoek is spraak van kinderen verzameld in het kader van een formeel en een informeel interview. Het formeel interview diende om BI uit te lokken, en het informele om JIO. Drieënzestig kinderen werden geselecteerd in drie scholen. Zowel het formele als het informele interview werden twee keer afgenomen met een tussentijd van zes maanden. De kinderen werden gestratificeerd voor sekse (jongens-meisjes) en voor drie leeftijdscohorten (2006-2, 2006-1 en 2005-2). Ze waren tussen 3;0 en 4;5 tijdens de eerste testafname en tussen 3;6 en 4;11 tijdens de tweede testafname.

De hypotheses van deze studie hebben betrekking op de factoren situatie, periode, leeftijdscohort en sekse:

Hypothese 1a: Jongere kinderen zijn dominanter in JIO dan oudere kinderen in zowel formele als informele situaties. [cohorteffect]

Hypothese 1b: Kinderen worden minder dominant in JIO in beide situaties over een periode van zes maand. [periode-effect]

Hypothese 1c: Er zijn geen verschillen tussen jongens en meisjes in de verwerving van JIO en BI. [geen sekse-effect]
Hypothese 2a: Oudere kinderen gebruiken meer BI in de formele situatie dan jongere kinderen. [interactie van cohort en situatie]
Hypothese 2b: In de formele situatie neemt het gebruik van BI toe tussen de eerste en tweede periode. [interactie van periode en situatie]
Hypothese 2c: Oudere kinderen gebruiken meer JIO in de informele situatie dan jongere kinderen. [interactie van cohort en situatie]
Hypothese 3: Kinderen verwerven de Indonesische grammaticale en sociolinguïstische competenties tegelijk.

Hoofdstuk 1: Introductie

In de introductie wordt een overzicht gegeven van theorieën over stilistische variatie, de verwerving van sociolinguïstische competentie en de kenmerken van het Bahasa Indonesia en de Jakarta-Indonesische omgangstaal. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat verschillende aspecten van deze studie nog weinig bestudeerd zijn.

Hoofdstuk 2: De sociale omgeving van Jakarta kinderen

Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft de sociaal-culturele situatie in Jakarta – een multi-etnische, multi-culturele en multilinguale stad, wat de taalsituatie beïnvloedt. Naast BI en JIO – de twee taalvariëteiten die verschillende functies vervullen in Jakarta - worden ook regionale talen gesproken door etnische minderheden en vreemde talen – zoals het Engels – door buitenlanders en Indonesiërs. Belangrijk is dat zowel BI als JIO in Jakarta als prestigevariëteiten beschouwd worden. Dit hoofdstuk toont aan hoe complex de taalsituatie is waarmee de inwoners van Jakarta worden geconfronteerd en laat zien hoe de jongere generaties (dus ook de jongste kinderen van onze studie) leren de juiste taal te gebruiken in de juiste situatie.

We beschrijven ook hoe kinderen van middenklassenfamilies talen verwerven, zowel thuis als daarbuiten, zoals op school of in het kader van sociale activiteiten. Bij het voorlezen van verhalen worden de kinderen aan beide variëteiten tegelijk blootgesteld en leren ze die geleidelijk onderscheiden. Het blijkt dat verschillende aspecten tegelijk worden verworven, bijvoorbeeld de aan- of afwezigheid van sommige prefixen (*berjalan~jalan* [BI] en *jalan~jalan* [JIO] 'lopen'), uitdrukkingen die in een van de variëteiten voorkomt (*nih* [FOC] in JIO) of lexicale verschillen (*sama* [JIO] 'met' equivalent van *dengan* in BI).

Hoofdstuk 3: De structuren van het Bahasa Indonesia en de Jakarta-Indonesische omgangstaal

In dit hoofdstuk worden BI en JIO op verschillende linguïstische niveaus vergeleken. We laten zien dat het onderscheid tussen BI en JIO soms moeilijk te maken is, daar de variëteiten een aantal kenmerken gemeenschappelijk hebben. JIO blijkt echter een flexibelere en contextonafhankelijkere variëteit te zijn. Terwijl BI in het algemeen vastgelegde constructies eist, komen in JIO verkorte zinnen, ellipsen en weglatingen vaak voor.

Hoofdstuk 4: Methodologie

De methode van deze studie wordt gepresenteerd in hoofdstuk 4. Het hoofdstuk begint met een overzicht van de sociolinguïstisch benadering van taalverwerving, gevolgd door een discussie over de selectie en benadering van de kinderen voor deze studie. De eerste stap om data te verzamelen was het contacteren van de scholen die aan de volgende criteria voldeden:

- het Indonesisch hebben als belangrijkst onderwijstaal
- een creche en kleuterklasse organiseren in hetzelfde gebouw en onder hetzelfde schoolbestuur
- kinderen hebben uit middenklassenfamilies
- de gezindte van de scholen is een afspiegeling van de sociale demografie van Jakarta
- gesitueerd zijn in *Jabodetabek,* een acroniem van *Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi*, het gebied aangrenzend aan Jakarta, West-Java en Banten.

Met de toestemming van de scholen hebben we kinderen geselecteerd en benaderd die aan de volgende criteria voldeden:

- tussen 3;0 en 4;5 jaar oud op het moment van de eerste testafname
- deel uitmaken van de tweede generatie die het Indonesisch als moedertaal verwerft
- uit een middenklassenfamilie komen
- spraakzaam zijn
- coöperatief zijn

De ouders van de geselecteerde kinderen werden vervolgens om hun toestemming gevraagd.

Om een compleet beeld van de kinderen te verkrijgen, werd informatie verzameld over de interacties tussen de kinderen en de volwassenen in hun

omgeving en over de talen die gebruikt worden in schoolactiviteiten. Gegevens werden verzameld met enquêtes ingevuld door de ouders en door participerende observatie. We hebben twee types enquêtes aan de ouders voorgelegd: de ene over persoonlijke informatie van het kind en de andere over het taalgebruik en de taalattitudes van de ouders.

Om de te bestuderen variabelen uit te lokken, werden tijdens de interviews plaatjes gebruikt in vier verschillende scenario's (Scenario A, B, C, D). Uit een pilot werd duidelijk welke methode het best werkt met kinderen van die leeftijd. De volgende vragen werden gesteld om BI en JIO te ontlokken:

'Wat is zij/hij aan het doen?' / 'Wat zijn ze aan het doen?'	
BI	**CJI**
Dia sedang apa? 3SG PROG what **'Wat is zij/hij aan het doen?'**	*Dia lagi ng-apa-in?* 3SG PROG ACT-what-ACT **'Wat is zij/hij aan het doen?'**
Mereka sedang apa? 3PL PROG what **'Wat zijn ze aan het doen?'**	*Mereka lagi ng-apa-in* 3PL PROG ACT-what-ACT **'Wat zijn ze aan het doen?'**

In elke periode werd elk kind individueel geïnterviewd in een formele en informele situatie door twee verschillende interviewers: een 40-jarige vrouw die systematisch BI sprak met de kinderen in formele situaties en een 22-jarige vrouw die systematisch BI sprak met de kinderen in informele situaties. Voor de formele situaties vonden de opnames plaats in de klas, in de bibliotheek, in het lab of in het gebedskamer, voor de informele situaties op de speelplaats, in de speelkamer, in de gangen of in het theater. Voor beide testafnames binnen een periode was er een interval van minstens twee dagen tussen het formele en informele interview.

De volgorde van de interviews werd gebalanceerd tussen de cohorten. Tijdens het eerste interview kreeg de helft van elke cohort scenario A en werd geïnterviewd in een formele situatie (BI), terwijl de andere helft in een informele situatie (JIO) geïnterviewd werd. In het tweede interview werd deze volgorde omgedraaid met scenario B. Zes maanden later werd hetzelfde schema gebruikt: twee interviews, een voor elke situatie, maar deze keer met nieuwe scenario's, namelijk C en D.

De antwoorden van de kinderen werden gecategoriseerd in vier types uitingen: BI uitingen, JIO uitingen, gemengde uitingen en niet-gemarkeerde uitingen. De distributie van deze uitingen gaf inzicht in de stilistische competentie van de kinderen. Verder werd het gebruik van de

werkwoorden in BI en JIO geanalyseerd. Ten slotte werd de ontwikkeling van de morfologische variatie en de sociale competentie bestudeerd.

Hoofdstuk 5: De kinderen van deze studie

Dit hoofdstuk presenteert een samenvatting van onze observaties op school en van de resultaten van de enquêtes ingevuld door de ouders. We beschrijven de scholen, de interacties tussen kinderen en leerkrachten, dagelijkse activiteiten en de talen die gebruikt worden tijdens de verschillende activiteiten. Behalve voor de specifieke godsdienstgerelateerde activiteiten (islamitische kinderen bidden in BI en Arabisch en katholieke kinderen in BI en soms in het Engels) vertonen de scholen heel vergelijkbare taalkeuzes in de interacties tussen kinderen en schoolpersoneel (leerkrachten, verzorgers, enz). Het blijkt dat JIO het vaakst wordt gebruikt op school. BI wordt echter ook gebruikt onder de kinderen, vooral tijdens rollenspelen. BI wordt ook gesproken door de leerkrachten om te onderwijzen en om te waarschuwen, en door zowel leerkrachten als kinderen om te bidden.

De enquête ingevuld door de ouders tonen aan dat de meerderheid van de kinderen vaak door meerdere verzorgers opgevoed worden, meestal vrouwen. Ouders beweren dat ze BI gebruiken in de meeste situaties met hun kinderen, waardoor de taalinput die de kinderen horen, vooral BI is. Het blijkt echter uit de observaties dat de kinderen vooral blootgesteld worden aan JIO, gezien de meeste mensen op school vaker JIO spreken dan BI. Omdat de ouders beweerden dat ze vaker BI gebruiken, concluderen we dat kinderen op zeer jonge leeftijd vertrouwd zijn met BI.

Hoofdstuk 6: De ontwikkeling van de stilistische competentie

Dit hoofdstuk bespreekt de analyse van de stilistische competentie van de kinderen en van hun gebruik van BI en JIO werkwoorden in de gepaste situaties. We analyseren (1) de spraak geproduceerd door de kinderen en geclassificeerd in vier types uitingen (BI uitingen, JIO uitingen, gemngde uitingen en niet-gemarkeerde uitingen); en (2) BI- en JIO-werkwoorden in de ontlokkingstaak. Om hypotheses 1a-2c te testen, hebben we een Mixed Models analyse gebruikt met school en kind als random factoren en situatie, periode, cohort en sekse als fixed factoren.

Het blijkt dat situatie een effect heeft op het aantal uitingen die de kinderen produceren: ze waren spraakzamer in de informele dan in de formele situatie. Verder gebruikten de kinderen BI uitingen vaker in de formele situatie, en JIO uitingen meer in de informele situatie. Kinderen hadden de

neiging om meer gemengde uitingen te gebruiken in de formele situatie. Het blijkt ook uit hun gebruik van niet-gemarkeerde discourse uitingen (zoals *hmm* 'hmm' *ya/iya* 'ja') dat kinderen al gevoelig waren voor de pragmatiek en turn-taking van een gesprek.

We hebben gevonden dat BI werkwoorden vaker gebruikt worden in de formele situatie en JIO werkwoorden vaker in de informele situatie. De kinderen van deze studie zijn overwegend JIO-sprekers en worstelen nog met het verwerven van BI werkwoorden in formele situaties. Sommige kinderen zijn echter al bistilistisch en een aantal lijken ook BI-dominant te zijn. Daarnaast vinden we ook een aantal uitzonderlijke kinderen met een afwijkend gebruik van BI en JIO. De resultaten laten zien dat het gebruik van de BI en JIO werkwoorden beïnvloed werd door de situatie. Het gebruik van BI-werkwoorden neem toe tussen de twee periodes. Het blijkt echter dat de individuele variatie aanzienlijk is.

Uit de statistische analyse blijkt dat enkel hypothese 1c (over sekse) bevestigd wordt. We vonden immers dat er geen sekseverschillen zijn in het gebruik van BI en JIO. De andere hypotheses werden verworpen. Kind als random factor heeft een significant effect op alle variabelen, behalve de gemengde uitingen, waaruit blijkt dat de individuele verschillen groot waren. De resultaten tonen aan dat de variatie tussen scholen klein is en dus dat de scholen van onze studie vergelijkbaar kenmerken vertonen ondanks hun verschillende godsdienstige richtingen.

Hoofdstuk 7: De ontwikkeling van morfologische variatie

In dit hoofdstuk presenteren we de analyse van het gebruik van morfologische variatie en van de mate waarin de kinderen morfologische regels toepassen. In het eerste deel van dit hoofdstuk worden de morfologische variabelen beschreven, namelijk BI werkwoordelijke prefixen *meN-* en *ber-*, en hun JIO-tegenhangers, namelijk *∅–meN-*, *∅-ber-*, nasale prefixen en *nge-*. We presenteren ook hun allomorfen. In het tweede deel van dit hoofdstuk analyseren we het gebruik van deze morfologische variabelen door de kinderen.

De analyse van morfologische variabelen betreft vooral de factoren die aan bod komen in hypotheses 1a-2c. Behalve de nasale prefixen werden alle andere variabelen beïnvloed door de situatie: *meN-* en *ber-* werden vaker gebruikt in de formele situatie, terwijl *∅–meN-*, *∅-ber-* en *nge-* vaker in de informele situatie voorkomen. Over tijd steeg het gebruik van *ber-*, *∅-ber-* en *nge-*, terwijl het gebruik van *∅–meN-* daalde. Verder blijkt ook dat hoe ouder de kinderen, hoe vaker ze nasale prefixen gebruiken. In het algemeen zien

we dus duidelijk dat de verwerving van BI later van start gaat, maar ook dat JIO nog steeds in ontwikkeling is. De resultaten van de analyse van *∅–meN-* en de nasale prefix bevestigen hypothese 1b (*Kinderen zullen minder dominant in JIO worden in beide situaties over een periode van ze maanden*), terwijl dat niet het geval is als we naar *∅-ber-* en *nge-* kijken. Voor geen enkele variabele is er een sekse-effect, wat hypothese 1c bevestigd (*Er zijn geen verschillen tussen jongens en meisjes in de verwerving van JIO en BI*). Er waren geen significante interacties waardoor de andere hypotheses (1a, 1b en 2a-2c) niet bevestigd werden.

In het derde deel van dit hoofdstuk werd hypothese 3 getest: *Kinderen verwerven de Indonesische grammaticale en sociolinguïstisch competities tegelijk*. We bespreken hoe het gebruik van de morfologische variabelen zich ontwikkeld aan de hand van twee criteria: 1) de gepastheid van de situatie (de mate waarin kinderen in staat zijn om de formaliteit van de situatie goed in te schatten) en 2) de toepassing van de morfologische regels. Hiervoor werden dezelfde data hercodeerd. Criterium 1 wordt gecodeerd als *sit* en criterium 2 als *rul*. We hebben dus vier nieuwe variabelen:

- +sit+rul: gepaste inschatting van de situatie uitgedrukt met een correcte toepassing van de morfologische regel
- -sit+rul: ongepaste inschatting van de situatie uitgedrukt met een correcte toepassing van de morfologische regel
- +sit-rul: gepaste inschatting van de situatie uitgedrukt met een incorrecte toepassing van de morfologische regel
- -sit-rul: ongepaste inschatting van de situatie uitgedrukt met een incorrecte toepassing van de morfologische regel

Uit de resultaten blijkt dat slechts een paar kinderen de morfologische regels incorrect toepassen. De meeste kinderen zijn dus in staat om de morfologische regels van BI en JIO toe te passen. Onze analyse focust op de mate waarin kinderen deze regels in de gepaste situaties gebruiken (+sit+rul en -sit+rul). Hiervoor werden Repeated Measure General Linear Models gebruikt met situatie en periode als within-subject factoren en cohort en sekse als between-subject factoren. Resultaten tonen aan dat situatie een significant effect heeft op zowel +sit+rul als -sit+rul. Het gebruik van +sit+rul was frequenter in informele situaties, terwijl -sit+rul frequenter was in formele situaties. Met andere woorden, kinderen waren in staat om de informele situatie correct in te schatten en de morfologische regel toe te passen. Ondanks hun correcte toepassing van de morfologische regels in die situatie moeten ze hun inschatting van een formele situatie nog verbeteren.

In conclusie hebben kinderen de grammaticale constraints in BI en JIO al verworven. Daarentegen hebben nog niet alle kinderen de sociale

constraints van de formele situatie verworven, ook al ze de informele situatie meestal wel correct inschatten. Dit blijkt uit hun gebruik van JIO-vormen in een formele situatie.

Hoofdstuk 8: Algemene discussie en conclusie

Dit hoofdstuk vat de vorige hoofdstukken en de bevindingen van deze studie samen. Als conclusie beantwoorden we de drie hoofdonderzoeksvragen:

1. Middenklasse Jakarta kinderen gebruiken vaker JIO dan BI. De kinderen van deze studie hadden de neiging om vaker JIO te kiezen, gezien ze in het algemeen meer JIO input krijgen. Ze zijn BI nog aan het verwerven en ze breiden hun BI-kennis uit.
2. Kinderen onderscheiden BI en JIO op basis van de situatie. Ze gebruiken vaker BI in formele situaties en vaker JIO in informele situaties. Over tijd stijgt deze competentie.
3. Kinderen verwerven grammaticale en sociale competenties tegelijk in de informele situaties.

Deze studie geeft inzicht in het taalverwervingsproces van Indonesische kinderen voor aanvang van de basisschool. De basisschool is een belangrijk terrein voor het talenonderwijs en taalbeleid in Indonesië. Meer empirisch onderzoek is echter nodig om te begrijpen hoe kinderen competente Indonesische sprekers worden en hoe kinderen variatie in het algemeen verwerven.

Curriculum vitae

B. Kushartanti was born in Jakarta, Indonesia on August 27, 1969. She has lived most of her life in Jakarta. Her Bachelor degree in Indonesian linguistics was obtained from the Faculty of Letters at the Universitas Indonesia (1993). In 1994, she began her career in her alma mater as a teacher of Bahasa Indonesia for the BIPA Program (Indonesian for non-native speakers). Later in 1994 she also joined in the Indonesian Program as a junior lecturer in the Faculty of Letters (now the Faculty of Humanities) at the same university. In the year 2000, she obtained her Master degree in Linguistics from the Universitas Indonesia. Then she also became a lecturer in the Linguistics Department. From 2009 until 2013, she worked largely on her PhD research at the Utrecht University, The Netherlands. Upon finishing her dissertation, she has continued working as a lecturer at the Universitas Indonesia.