What is Malay / Indonesian?

✯ A family of colloquial languages with as much internal diversity as Romance or Slavonic; plus also a single standard language with two closely related variants, Standard Malay and Standard Indonesian
✯ This paper focusses on a single variety of Malay / Indonesian, namely Jakarta Indonesian.
✯ However, the main results are probably valid for most of the Malay / Indonesian varieties spoken in the western archipelago and Malay peninsula, including Kuala Lumpur Malay.

What is Jakarta Indonesian?

✯ Jakarta Indonesian is the general colloquial language of Jakarta, used in most everyday contexts for inter-ethnic and ethnically-neutral communication, and increasingly also for intra-ethnic communication; it is acquired naturally and completely at a young age by most children growing up in Jakarta. In addition, Jakarta Indonesian is beginning to gain currency as a colloquial koiné in other parts of Indonesia, alongside other regional varieties of Indonesian.
✯ Jakarta Indonesian is not:
  • Standard Indonesian, used in more formal contexts in Jakarta and throughout Indonesia; acquired by children at a later age, often "imperfectly", largely from the media and via conscious schooling;
  • Betawi Malay, the native dialect of the indigenous ethnic community of Jakarta, now a small minority of the total the population of Jakarta.
✯ However, there exists a continuum of language varieties between Jakarta Indonesian and Standard Indonesian, and between Jakarta Indonesian and Betawi Malay.
## Syntactic Categories and Cross-Linguistic Variation

### Superficial similarities ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAKARTA</th>
<th>Arip</th>
<th>baca</th>
<th>buku hijau</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>rumah</th>
<th>Bowok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDONESIAN</td>
<td>Arip</td>
<td>read</td>
<td>book</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Prep</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRENCH</th>
<th>Alain lisait</th>
<th>le livre vert</th>
<th>dans la maison de Bertrand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alain read-IMPF:3SG DEF:SGM book green-SGM in DEF:SGF house of Bertrand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Allan was reading the green book in Bill's house'

### ...conceal deeper differences ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAKARTA</th>
<th>Ayam makan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDONESIAN</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FORM**

- symmetry: symmetric

**MEANING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number</th>
<th>unmarked: also...</th>
<th>marked: singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on CHICKEN</td>
<td>'The chickens are eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>definiteness</th>
<th>unmarked: also...</th>
<th>marked: definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on CHICKEN</td>
<td>'A chicken is eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense</th>
<th>unmarked: also...</th>
<th>marked: present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on EAT</td>
<td>'The chicken was eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The chicken will be eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>unmarked: also...</th>
<th>marked: progressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on EAT</td>
<td>'The chicken eats'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The chicken has eaten'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thematic role</th>
<th>unmarked: also...</th>
<th>marked: agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on CHICKEN</td>
<td>'Someone is eating the chicken'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Someone is eating for the chicken'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Someone is eating with the chicken'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ontological type</th>
<th>unmarked: also...</th>
<th>marked: activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on CHICKEN EAT</td>
<td>'The chicken that is eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Where the chicken is eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'When the chicken is eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
...which suggest the following analyses ...

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{S}_0 \\
\text{S}_0 \\
\text{Ayam} & \text{makan} \\
\text{CHICKEN} & \text{EAT} \\
'\text{entity associated with chicken and with eating}'
\end{array} \]

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{Syntactic Categories and Universal Grammar}  
[following Gil (2000a)]
\item \textit{Syntactic Categories: Basic Properties}
(a) Syntactic categories are defined exclusively in terms of syntactic properties;
(b) Syntactic categories consist of words and of larger constituents;
(c) Syntactic category membership is defined in terms of prototypes;
(d) Syntactic categories exhibit different degrees of productivity.
\item \textit{Syntactic Categories: Categorial-Grammar}
Syntactic categories are of two types, primitive and derived. Derived categories are obtained by the application of category-formation operators to other (primitive or derived) categories. Resulting is a "family tree" of syntactic categories [such as in box 5 below].
\item \textit{Category Formation (Paradigmatic)}
(a) One primitive category, \( \text{S}_0 \), corresponding roughly to the intuitive pre-theoretical category of Sentence.
(b) Two category formation operators:
(i) \textit{Slash Operator:}
For any two categories \( X \) and \( Y \), \( X/Y \) is a category, called "\( X \) slash \( Y \)".
(ii) \textit{Kernel Operator:}
For any category \( X^n \), \( X^{n+1} \) is a category, called "the kernel category of \( X^n \)."
\item \textit{Category Combination (Syntagmatic)}
(a) Identity Combination:
\[ X \leftrightarrow [X, X, X \ldots] \]
(b) Slash Combination:
\[ X \leftrightarrow [Y, X/Y, X/Y \ldots] \]
\end{enumerate}
(5) **Ancestor categories:**
For any syntactic category, all of the categories that dominate it in the syntactic category tree are its ancestor categories. If Y is an ancestor of X, Y is simpler than X.

(6) **Three empirical consequences of the Syntactic Category Tree:**
(a) **Typological / Cross-Linguistic:** [Gil (2000a)]
   If a language has a certain syntactic category, it has all of its ancestor categories.
   (Categories higher on the tree are more cross-linguistically widespread.)

(b) **Evolutionary:** [Gil (2000b)]
   If a stage in the evolution of language has a certain syntactic category, it has all of its ancestor categories.
   (Categories higher on the tree evolved earlier.)

(c) **Acquisitional:** [this paper]
   If a stage in the first-language acquisition of language has a certain syntactic category, it has all of its ancestor categories.
   (Categories higher on the tree are acquired earlier.)
Syntactic Categories in Jakarta Indonesian
[following Gil (1994, 2000a, 2001) for Riau Indonesian]

Jakarta Indonesian on the Syntactic Category Tree

(7) Syntactic Categories in Jakarta Indonesian
(a) $S^0$
   An open category, containing all multi-word expressions and almost all single-word expressions.
   $S^0$ expressions may stand on their own as complete non-elliptical sentences.
(b) $S^0/S^0$
   A closed category, containing a small, finite set of single-word expressions.
   $S^0/S^0$ words cannot stand on their own as complete non-elliptical sentences. Rather, they combine with $S^0$ expressions to yield $S^0$ expressions. $S^0/S^0$ words belong to two subtypes, those which occur before their $S^0$ arguments, and those which occur after their $S^0$ arguments.

The three basic constructions of Jakarta Indonesian

Syntactic Categories in Jakarta Indonesian
[following Gil (1994, 2000a, 2001) for Riau Indonesian]
### A Partial Lexicon of Jakarta Indonesian: $S^0$ words

**Preceding**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. ayam</th>
<th>b. buku</th>
<th>c. rumah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>book</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. ijo</td>
<td>e. gede</td>
<td>f. lapar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. lari</td>
<td>h. makan</td>
<td>i. kasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Pian</td>
<td>k. Mangga Besar</td>
<td>l. Lebaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[name of person]</td>
<td>[name of place]</td>
<td>[name of holiday]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. abang</td>
<td>n. gue</td>
<td>o. ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder.brother</td>
<td>I:SG</td>
<td>DEM:PROX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. gini</td>
<td>q. sini</td>
<td>r. tadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like-DEM:PROX</td>
<td>LOC-DEM:PROX</td>
<td>PAST:PROX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. tiga</td>
<td>t. semua</td>
<td>u. lain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. apa</td>
<td>w. mana</td>
<td>x. kapan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>where / which</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. ada</td>
<td>z. punya</td>
<td>aa. bisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exist</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb. udah</td>
<td>cc. paling</td>
<td>dd. nggak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFCT</td>
<td>SUPERL</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee. lagi</td>
<td>ff. sendiri</td>
<td>gg. sama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also / more / again / next / FUT / CONTR</td>
<td>only / alone / SUPERL / REFL / CONTR</td>
<td>with / and / same / NON.ABS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Following**

| a. kayak       | b. untuk      | c. buat    |
|               |               | for        |
| like          | for           |            |
| d. di         | e. ke         | f. dari    |
| LOC           | to            | from       |
| g. dengan     | h. tentang    | i. gara-gara |
| with / and / by | about          | because:ADVRS |
| j. tiap       | k. pada       | l. ato     |
| every         | PL            | or         |
| m. yang       | n. si         | o. kalo    |
| REL           | PERS          | TOP        |

### A Partial Lexicon of Jakarta Indonesian: $S^0$/$S^0$ words

**Preceding**

| a. kayak       | b. untuk      | c. buat    |
|               |               | for        |
| like          | for           |            |
| d. di         | e. ke         | f. dari    |
| LOC           | to            | from       |
| g. dengan     | h. tentang    | i. gara-gara |
| with / and / by | about          | because:ADVRS |
| j. tiap       | k. pada       | l. ato     |
| every         | PL            | or         |
| m. yang       | n. si         | o. kalo    |
| REL           | PERS          | TOP        |

**Following**

| a. kayak       | b. untuk      | c. buat    |
|               |               | for        |
| like          | for           |            |
| d. di         | e. ke         | f. dari    |
| LOC           | to            | from       |
| g. dengan     | h. tentang    | i. gara-gara |
| with / and / by | about          | because:ADVRS |
| j. tiap       | k. pada       | l. ato     |
| every         | PL            | or         |
| m. yang       | n. si         | o. kalo    |
| REL           | PERS          | TOP        |
Predictions for Acquisition

**Prediction**
Since $S^0$ is the ancestor category of $S^0/S^0$, $S^0$ should be acquired before $S^0/S^0$.

**Subsidiary prediction**
After $S^0/S^0$ is acquired, specific words belonging to $S^0/S^0$ will first be assigned to $S^0$, and then subsequently reassigned to $S^0/S^0$.

Testing the prediction through errors of overgeneralization
If the prediction is true, we would expect to find errors of overgeneralization: instances of $S^0/S^0$ words behaving like $S^0$ words.

*Type A overgeneralization:*
$S^0/S^0$ words occurring on their own as complete non-elliptical sentences.

*Type B overgeneralization:*
$S^0/S^0$ words occurring in larger constructions, but without their $S^0$ arguments.

*Type C overgeneralization:*
$S^0/S^0$ words occurring in construction with their $S^0$ arguments, but in the wrong order.

*Type D overgeneralization:*
$S^0/S^0$ words functioning as arguments of other $S^0/S^0$ words.

Syntactic categories and the acquisition of utterance length
✯ Maximal utterance length imposes logical constraints on syntactic category inventories:
✯ One-word stage: maximal inventory: $S^0$
✯ Two-word stage: maximal inventory: $S^0$, $S^0/S^0$, $S^1$, $S^0/S^1$
✯ A corollary of (6c) is that the first syntactic category to be acquired is $S^0$. Thus, (6c) is consistent with the existence of a one-word stage in early language acquisition.
✯ However, (6c) does not entail the existence of a one-word stage, since one could imagine a hypothetical language-acquisition scenario in which the child began with multi-word utterances consisting entirely of $S^0$ expressions. Rather, the occurrence of one- and two-word stages in language acquisition most probably reflects the development of syntagmatic rather than paradigmatic competence.
✯ Thus, in order to test the prediction, it is necessary to examine the development of syntactic categories at two- or multi-word stages of development, where the effect of utterance length on syntactic category inventories can be factored out.
The MPI Jakarta Corpus


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Child</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Age at First Recording</th>
<th>Age at Last Recording</th>
<th>11 Utterances Coded to Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>28.8.98</td>
<td>1:06</td>
<td>5:02 (projected)</td>
<td>17,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hizkia</td>
<td>6.9.97</td>
<td>1:07</td>
<td>6:01 (projected)</td>
<td>23,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riska</td>
<td>24.7.97</td>
<td>1:08</td>
<td>6:03 (projected)</td>
<td>31,606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>22.2.98</td>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>3:11</td>
<td>17,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priska</td>
<td>30.7.97</td>
<td>2:07</td>
<td>6:03 (projected)</td>
<td>26,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larissa</td>
<td>16.4.97</td>
<td>2:10</td>
<td>6:06 (projected)</td>
<td>19,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ido</td>
<td>1.1.96</td>
<td>3:04</td>
<td>6:06</td>
<td>30,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipit</td>
<td>30.11.94</td>
<td>4:04</td>
<td>8:11 (projected)</td>
<td>24,372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL: Target children** | **191,921**

**Other children** | **65,899**

**TOTAL: all children** | **257,820**

**TOTAL: all adults** | **282,793**

**TOTAL** | **540,613**
Type A Overgeneralizations

(10) Context: Older brother Timo is drawing in a book; experimenter, mother and grandmother are giving him advice, while Ari is off to one side echoing Timo’s speech.

(-5) Nih aku cuman coret-coret.  
    'See, I can only make scratches.'

(-4) Jangan pake ...  
    'Don't use ...'

(-3) Cuman begitu doang.  
    'It's only like this.'

(-2) Tangan kiri, dong!  
    'Use your left hand!'

(-1) Nih Tante pegangin.  
    'Here, let me hold it for you.'

☞ (0) Doang  
    'Only.'

(1) Timo gambar yang benar!  
    'Draw it right.'

(2) Bagus.  
    'Good.'

(3) Pakai tangan mana?  
    'Which hand are you using?'

(-3')Ah, nggak bisa ini.  
    'I can't do this.'

(-2')Bisa.  
    'Yes you can.'

(-1')Masa nggak bisa udah segede gini?  
    'How come a big boy like you can't do it?'

☞ (0') Doang.  
    'Only.'

(1') Aku cuman begini doang.  
    'I can only do it like this.'

(2') Heh...  
    'Excl.
Context: Experimenter notices that Ari's hands are dirty.

(-6) Kotor 'kan tanganmu, 'kan?'  
   experimenter  
   dirty Q hand-2 Q  
   'You're hands are dirty, aren't they?'

(-5) Cuci, cuci!  
   experimenter  
   wash wash  
   'Wash them, wash them.'

(-4) Dicuci?  
   PAT-wash  
   'Will you wash them?'

(-3) Mo cuci?  
   experimenter  
   want wash  
   'Do you want to wash them?'

(-2) Nih, tanganku juga.  
   experimenter  
   DEM:PROX hand-1:SG also  
   'Here, my hand as well.'

(-1) Mo dicuci?  
   experimenter  
   want PAT-wash  
   'Do you want to wash it?'

☞ (0) Aja.  
   [Ari 1:08]  
   just  
   'Just.'

(1) Nanti, ya?  
   experimenter  
   FUT:PROX yes  
   'Later, right?'
(12) **Context:** Experimenter is holding doll without any hair on its head; Michael, who also has very short hair, tries to stick something on the doll's head; experimenter pretends to speak for the doll.

(-5) Heh, kamu ape? [Michael 2;08]  
\text{	extemdash EXCL 2 what 'Hey, what's with you?'}

(-4) Hmm... [Michael 2;08]  
\text{	extemdash EXCL 'Here.'}

(-3) "Eh, jangan taro di kepalaku, dong." experimenter  
\text{	extemdash EXCL NEG:IMP put LOC head-1:SG EMPH "Hey, don't put that on my head."}  

(-2) "Kepalaku 'kan botak." experimenter  
head-1:SG Q bald "My head's bald."  

(-1) "Kayak kepala kamu, nggak?" experimenter  
like head 2 NEG "Like your head, right?"

☞ (0) Kayak. [Michael 2;08]  
like  'Right.'

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (s0) at (0,0) {S\textsuperscript{0}};
  \node (s0s0) at (-1,-1) {S\textsuperscript{0}/S\textsuperscript{0}};
  \node (s0) at (1,-1) {S\textsuperscript{0}};
  \node (s0) at (0,-2) {\texttt{Kayak}};
  \draw[->] (s0s0) -- (s0);
  \end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Adult Grammar} \hspace{2cm} \textbf{Child Grammar}

Cf. hypothetical grammatical paraphrase with S\textsuperscript{0}/S\textsuperscript{0} expression \textit{kayak} 'like' replaced by S\textsuperscript{0} expression \textit{mirip} 'resemble':

\textit{Mirip kepala kamu, nggak?}  
\textit{Mirip.}
Priska, older child and experimenter playing with hand puppets; Priska is Teddy Bear, older child is Winnie the Pooh, and experimenter is Mr. Elephant.

(-5) "Winnie de Pooh, kamu udah umur berapa?"

Winnie the Pooh 2 PFCT age how.much

"Winnie the Pooh, how old are you?"

(-4) "Empat tahun."

four year

"Four."

(-3) Ini apaan ini?

DEM:PROX what-AUG DEM:PROX 'What's this?'

(-2) Trompet, pret.

trumpet IMIT 'A trumpet, pret.'

(-1) "Kalo kamu Teddy Bear, umur berapa?"

TOP 2 Teddy Bear age how.much

"What about you, Teddy Bear; how old are you?"

☞ (0) Untuk. [Priska 3;02]

for 'For.'

(1) "Tiga tahun."

three year

"Three."

(2) "Tiga tahun."

three year

"Three."

(3) Oh. [Priska 3;02]

EXCL 'Oh.'

experimenter

adult grammar

child grammar

untuk

untuk

missing
(14) Context: Larissa, older sister and experimenter sitting in front of the computer.

(-2) Awas! older sister
   watch.out 'Move over!'

(-1) Kak(ak) mo minum dulu, ah. older sister
   elder.sibling want drink first EXCL
   'I want to get something to drink.'

☞ (0) Juga. [Larissa 4;10]
   also 'Too.'

(1) Juga. experimenter
   also 'Too.'

(2) He-em. [Larissa 4;10]
   EXCL 'Uh-huh.'

(3) Om juga. experimenter
   uncle also 'Me too.'

(4) Tunggu. older sister
   wait 'Wait a minute.'
Type B Overgeneralizations

(15) **Context:** Larissa and her older sister have been drawing; older sister has just completed a drawing, and the experimenter turns her attention to Larissa.

(-1) Nah.  

experimenter  

'There.'

☞ (0) Sekarang, kok, aku kok, [Larissa 4;06]  

now why:EMPH 1:SG why:EMPH  

nggak bisa gambar bunga, kek?  

NEG can picture flower UNCERT  

'Now me, how come I can't seem to draw flowers?'

(1) Bisanya bikin pohon doang. [Larissa 4;06]  

can-ASSOC make tree only  

'I can only do trees.'

(2) Ya udah, bikin pohon! experimenter  

eyes PFCT make tree  

'Fine, make trees then.'

(3) Nggak pa-pa. experimenter  

NEG DISTR-what  

'It doesn't matter.'
Type C Overgeneralizations

(16) **Context:** Michael examining a toy first aid kit.

(-9) Apa ini? [Michael 2;10]
what DEM:PROX
'What's this?'

(-8) Ini apa ini? [Michael 2;10]
DEM:PROX what DEM:PROX
'What's this?'

(-7) Ini apa ini? [Michael 2;10]
DEM:PROX what DEM:PROX
'What's this?'

(-6) Ini namanya... [Michael 2;10] experimenter
DEM:PROX name-ASSOC
'This is called ...'

(-5) Ini yang me(rah)-merah apa? [Michael 2;10]
DEM:PROX REL DISTR-red what
'What's this red thing?'

(-4) Palang merah. [Michael 2;10] experimenter
cross red
'A red cross.'

(-3) Yang merah-me(rah). [Michael 2;10]
REL DISTR-red
'The red thing.'

(-2) Palang merah apa? [Michael 2;10]
cross red what
'What's a red cross?'

(-1) Hmm? [Michael 2;10] experimenter
EXCL
'Huh?'

(0) Palang merah apa untuk? [Michael 2;10]
cross red what for
'What's the red cross for?'

(1) Palang merah ini. [Michael 2;10] experimenter
cross red DEM:PROX
'This is a red cross.'

(2) Bantuan untuk orang sakit. [Michael 2;10] experimenter
help-AUG for person sick
'It's for helping sick people.'

---

**Adult Grammar**

```
S₀
  └── S₀
       └── apa
```

**Child Grammar**

```
S₀
  └── S₀
       └── apa
```
(17) *Context:* Michael, playing with a construction kit, smashes his creation and plans to begin afresh and build a temple.

(-2) Yah, rusak lagi, deh.  
*experimenter*  
Oh no, it's broken again.

(-1) Eh, Kel, kemaren Michael ke mana, sih?  
*experimenter*  
'Hey, Michael, where did you go yesterday?'

☞ (0) *Candi buat.*  
[Michael 2;06]  
'temple for 'For a temple.'

(1) Hah?  
*experimenter*  
'Huh?'

---

![Diagram](image.png)

**Adult Grammar**

```
S0
  \-- S0
    \-- S0
        candi
  \-- S0/S0
    \-- S0
        buat
```

**Child Grammar**

```
S0
  \-- S0
    \-- S0
        candi
  \-- S0
    \-- S0
        buat
```

↔  
**Wrong order**
(18) Context: Michael pretending to be a cook.

(-4) Maunya mi goreng?  
want-ASSOC noodles fry  
'Do you want fried noodles?'

(-3) Sapi aja.  
cow just  
'I want beef.'

(-2) Mau mi goreng.  
want noodles fry  
'Fried noodles.'

(-1) Oh, iya, mi goreng, deh.  
EXCL yes noodles fry EXCL  
'Oh alright, fried noodles then.'

(0) Mi goreng nya yang berapa?  
noodles fry-ASSOC REL how.much  
'How many fried noodles?'

(1) Tiga.  
three  
'Three.'

(2) Tiga.  
three  
'Three.'

(3) He-em.  
EXCL  
'Uh-huh.'
(19) **Context:** Priska is playing with coloured stickers, and has a little squabble with her mother over a pair of small toy bags.

(-4) Mana?
which
'Where is it?'

(-3) 'Tasnya buat kamu?'
bag-ASSOC for 2
'Is the bag for you?'

(-2) 'He... ya.'
excl
yes
'Yeah.'

(-1) 'Tasnya yang buat kamu?'
bag-ASSOC REL for 2
'Is this the bag that's for you?'

(0) *Mana di* warna kuningnya?
which
LOC
colour
yellow-ASSOC
'Where's the yellow?'

(1) Lha?
excl
'Hey?'

(2) Hi hi hi, ni dia.
excl
dem:prox 3
'Hee hee hee, here it is.'
(20) **Context:** Discussing ghosts.

(-7) Berarti ada berapa?  
'Meaning exist how many are there?'

(-6) Satu, dua, tiga, empat, lima.  
'One, two, three, four, five.'

(-5) Banyak banget, takut aku!  
'So many, I'm scared.'

(-4) Pipit takut, nggak?  
'Are you scared?'

(-3) Takut.  
'Yes.'

(-2) Tapi kalo berdoa, hantunya takut, nggak?  
'But if you pray, the ghosts are afraid, aren't they?'

(-1) Kalo berdoa hantunya turun.  
'If you pray, the ghosts will come down.'

(0) Mo pulang, takut pada.  
'They'll go home, they're scared.'

---

**Diagram:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult Grammar</th>
<th>Child Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation:**

(0) Mo pulang, takut pada.  
'They'll go home, they're scared.'
Type D Overgeneralizations


(−1) C(er)itanya udah... udah malam.  
    ‘Suppose it’s already, already night.’

☞ (0) Eh, kacanya pada aja ditutup!
    ‘Hey, let’s just close all the windows.’

Alternative constituency would suggest analysis as Type C overgeneralization:

Adult Grammar

Child Grammar

agrammatical combination
Conclusions

As predicted, $S^0$ is acquired before $S^0/S^0$ in Jakarta Indonesian.

Further support is thereby obtained for the universal theory of syntactic categories, and for the specific analysis of Jakarta Indonesian as possessing just two syntactic categories, $S^0$ and $S^0/S^0$.

Further empirical questions:

- At what stage of language acquisition is the category $S^0/S^0$ acquired?
- At what stages and in what order are individual words assigned to the category $S^0/S^0$?

Further theoretical question:

On the basis of what evidence does the child assign individual words to the category $S^0/S^0$?

A possible answer:

- If the child observes that in certain contexts an otherwise preferred construction is repeatedly avoided, s/he may accordingly infer that, in the contexts in question, this construction is disallowed.
- In the case at hand, the Jakarta Indonesian child observes that in certain contexts members of $S$ occur by themselves as complete utterances; however, when, in similar contexts, a certain expression occurs over again and again in construction with another expression, s/he may conclude that the expression in question belongs to the closed syntactic category $S^0/S^0$.

...which raises yet another theoretical question:

Is the child predisposed by an innate universal grammar to assign words with certain meanings (e.g., more abstract ones) to certain syntactic categories (e.g., more complex ones)?
References

— (to appear) "The Acquisition of WH Forms in Jakarta Indonesian, A Preliminary Study", in U. Tadmor ed., Studies in the Acquisition of Malay / Indonesian, NUSA.
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