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Towards an account of information structure in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

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In this paper I make some preliminary observations about the coding of information structure in colloquial Jakarta Indonesian based on analysis of some of the large archive of conversational Jakarta Indonesian compiled by people at the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.

Jakarta Indonesian is a colloquial variety of the Indonesian language spoken in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta and is the first language of perhaps 10 million or more people in the Jakarta region. Jakarta Indonesian differs quite considerably from standard Indonesian, having developed in large part from Betawi Malay, a creole Malay variety which emerged in the old Dutch East Indies capital of Batavia. Like many creole Malay varieties, Jakarta Indonesian tend towards what Gil (2005) calls an 'Isolating-Monocategorial Associational Language' meaning that the language has little internal morphological structure, litel evidence for the existence of syntactic categories, and a largely associational semantic. Conners, Bowden and Gil (2012) discuss these features of Jakarta Indonesian as the relate to the idea of valence classes in the language, and show that there is very little in the realm of valence classes in the language if it is viewed from the perspective of what is allowable for different groups of verbs. It would appear that principles of information structure and information flow actually account better for the structure of the utterances that are made than do any morphological or syntactic principles. This paper will constitute a first attempt to delineate some of these principles.

1. Introduction

Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian is the native language of 10 million or more people living in the greater Jakarta metropolitan area of Indonesia. Like other colloquial varieties of Malay, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (henceforth CJI) differs considerably from standard Indonesian in its structure. CJI is a contemporary descendant of Betawi Malay, a bazaar Malay variety that sprung up in the region of Batavia, the former Dutch colonial capital of the Dutch East Indies during early Dutch settlement of the port.

Tadmor (2013) gives an overview of earl Betawi Malay history. The earliest records of Betawi show that it was a variant of eastern bazaar Malay, its negative marker *trada* clearly related to that of Ternate *tarada* (from *tidak/tak ada*). The distinctive Betawi applicative suffix *–in* was borrowed from Balinese. While early Betawi may have been similar to contemporary Ambon, Manado, Kupang Malay etc. influences from the Batavia hinterland meant that Betawi lost much of its early isolating character when its first Chinese and Balinese speakers were joined by Sundanese and Javanese immigrants to Batavia. These immigrants – speakers of languages closely related to Malay – ensured that the verbal alternations characteristic of vernacular Malay varieties did not disappear altogether as they did in many of the eastern bazaar varieties.

Today, colloquial Jakarta Indonesian exists on a diglossic continuum between standard Indonesian (SI) through mesolectal CJI to basilectal Betawi. Basilectal Betawi speech is characteristic of less-well educated people who are descendants of long-time Jakarta residents and those from the hinterland satellite towns of Bekasi and Tanggerang etc. Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian is a more educated variety spoken by more recent immigrants to Jakarta and their offspring. While closer to standard Indonesian than basilectal Betawi, CJI still has many of the characteristics of Betawi, and it is difficult to state with any clarity where Betawi ends and CJI begins. These days, CJI is itself a prestigious 'low' form, it being the best known of all the colloquial Indonesian varieties spoken across the archipelago. It is the language of much of the Indonesian media: many television talk shows, soap opera or *sinetron*, much popular music, etc. As such, it is recognised across Indonesia, and is making its own mark on the colloquial varieties spoken in many other parts of the country. Nowadays it could be labelled a prestigious mesolectal variety of Indonesian that is more and more used across the country.

A graphical representation of the continuum between SI, CJI and Betawi is given in figure one.

High		Standard Indonesian
	↕	
Mid-low		Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian
Low		Betawi Malay
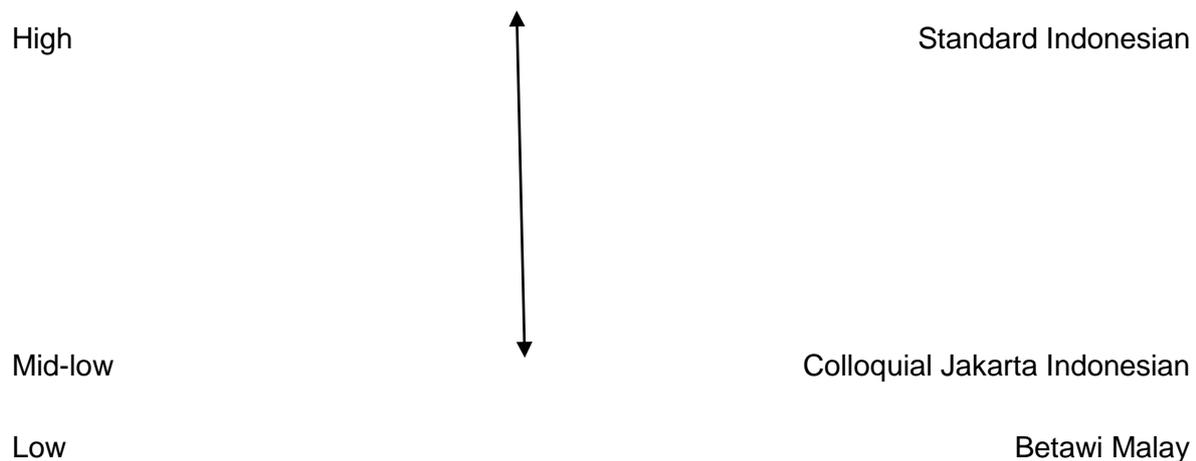
Figure 1. Diglossic continuum between standard Indonesian, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, and Betawi Malay

This paper focuses on what might be called a high basilectal or low mesolectal variety of Jakarta Indonesin as might be spoken in everyday informal situations by reasonably well educated Jakartans. Data is drawn from the archives of the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. The Jakarta Indonesian corpus consists of two major components: a corpus of about 1,000,000 utterances of child language and child-directed adult speech, as well as over 100,000 utterances of adult speech. Unless otherwise specified, all of the data for this paper come from the purely adult component of the database.

2. Previous studies of colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

Being the colloquial variety spoken in the national capital, CJI is possibly the best studied of all the low varieties of Indonesian used across the country. The best-known and largest study of the language is Sneddon (2006). This work takes the shape of a pedagogical grammar, but describes CJI in terms of its differences from Standard Indonesian, focussing on the features that distinguish CJI from SI. It is not so much a reference grammar as a grammatical guide for students who already have some mastery of Standard Indonesian. A reference grammar treating CJI on its own terms would no doubt look quite different. This work pays little attention to information structure, although a few features of information structure are mentioned in passing.

Other studies worth mentioning in the context of this discussion of CJI information structure is listed below. The list is by no means exhaustive, and some areas of research (such as prosody) are ignored completely. Wouk (1999) sketched out the diglossic situation as it

pertains to varieties of Jakarta Indonesian. Wouk (2004a) and (2004b) concern themselves with the differences between the discourse functions of transitive verbs with bare stems and those with prenasalised stems. Hidajat (2013) also examines the role of nasalised verbs in CJI discourse and, like Wouk, concludes that nasalised verbs are generally used to advance a narrative while the bare forms are used for other purposes.

Conners, Bowden and Gil (2012) examine 'valency classes' in Jakarta Indonesian, in a study that examined the valency patterns associated with a range of lexemes representing around 80 basic verbal meanings in CJI. 'Valency patterns' were defined as consisting of variations in word order, co-occurrence of roots with verbal derivational affixes, and co-occurrence of verbs with arguments that had been 'flagged' with prepositional elements such as *(s)ama* etc. They looked at both the range of grammatically possible variation and the most common forms of variation actually found within the Jakarta Field Station corpus. While it became apparent that CJI speakers would tolerate an enormous range of variation in what was sanctioned, there were also quite strong preferences encountered in actual discourse for a limited range of patterns. Conners, Bowden and Gil characterise CJI as a language rich in what Gil (2005) calls 'associational semantics'. The associational semantics of CJI is illustrated in the examples below.

(1)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 1)
        Hape   gembira
        mobile.phone happy
        [speaker talking enviously about his friends who had recently acquired mobile phones]
        (MOBILE PHONE, HAPPY)
        'If you have a mobile phone you're happy'

Example (1) was uttered by someone talking enviously about his friends' new mobile telephone and asserting that if one has a mobile phone one is happy. According to Gil's (2005) view of 'associational semantics', the utterance is best interpreted as a simple association of the elements MOBILE PHONE and HAPPY. The addressee is left to determine the most salient semantic association, given the whole context of the utterance. In this particular case, the most appropriate meaning is simply that mobile phones are associated with happiness.

(2)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 2)

Tembak   ma   bencong

shoot   PRT   transgendered.

[speaker talking dismissively about his friends who had their ears pierced by a "shooting" method]

(SHOOT , SISSY)

'Shooting is for sissies'   [DGD]

Example (2) can be similarly interpreted: in this case, SHOOT and SISSY are associated so that the particular method of getting one's ears pierced is seen as something appropriate only for 'sissies'.

(3)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 3)

O,   *dia   ujan ni,*   *Timo*

Oh   3   rain DEM.PROX   Timo

[adult and child playing with colouring books; adult talking about Mickey Mouse, who, in one of the pictures, is walking in the rain]

(HE, RAIN)

'Oh, he's getting rained on, Timo'   [JFS 6130251161552120601]

The meaning of example (3), again, is interpreted in the same way: HE and RAIN are associated semantically, and the best interpretation in teh coontext (that a picture of this situation is in view) is that he, i.e. Mickey Mouse, is being rained on.

The linear ordering of elements in CJI is extremely flexible. In (4) below, an 'intransitive verb' appears before its 'argument' in (4a) but after its 'argument' in (4b).

(4)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 11)

   a. ***Ais* *tidur***

       Ais sleep

       [Small talk]

       'Ais is sleeping'

       [JFS 820946082433020201]

   b. *Oh Tidur **Intan***

       Oh sleep   Intan

       [Somebody asks where Intan is]

       Oh, Intan is sleeping'

       [JFS 283860014242281007

Further evidence of flexible linear ordering of elements is seen in (5) and (6) below, where the 'transitive verb' *bawa* 'bring' is used. In (5a) the agent *Tante* 'aunty' occurs before *bawa* 'carriers' while in (5b) the same agent occurs after the verb. In neither of these examples is the assumed patient overtly mentioned.

(5)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 12)

    a. ***Tante***   *nggak* *bawa*
       aunt   NEG   carry
       [Child asks speaker for something]
       'I didn't bring it'

    b. Nggak   *bawa*   ***tante***
       NEG   carry   aunt
       [Child asks speaker whether she brought a pencil]
       'I didn't bring one'

In example (6) it is the patient of *bawa* 'carry' that is mentioned, and the agent which is not overtly mentioned. In (6a) the patient precedes the verb, but in (6b) the patient follows the verb.

(6)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 13)

    a. **Kuartet** *bawa*
       quartet   carry
       [Speaker is asked if he brought the quartet (a card game), and answers]
       'I brought the quartet'

    b. *Bawa*   ***koper***
       carry   suitcase
       [Playing a *lego* game with a child]
       'He's carrying a suitcase'

Finally, to further illustrate the flexibility of word order in CJI, example (7) shows both the agent and the patient of *bawa* 'carry' being mentioned, but in (7a) the agent precedes *bawa* and the patient follows, while in (7b) it is the patient that precedes *bawa* while the agent follows.

(7)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 14)

  a. *Tapi Om   Okki   nggak   bawa   duit-duitannya*
     But   uncle Okki   NEG   carry   <IMIT>money<CIRC>-ASSOC
     [Playing with child]
     'But I didn't bring the toy money'

  b. *Piso-pisoan   nggak   bawa Om   Okki*
      <IMIT>knife<CIRC>   NEG   carry   uncle Okki
     [Playing with child]
     'I didn't bring the toy knife'

Conners, Bowden and Gil (2012) conclude that CJI exhibits no obligatory grammatical valence classes since each 'verb' shows such a promiscuous range of co-occurrence possibilities with it, involving not just the elements that co-occur with it, but also the order in which they may occur. Notwithstanding the fact that no obligatory grammatical valence classes can be seen, CJI nevertheless shows rather strong statistical preferences for different sorts of elements to occur in particular orders. We will turn to those preferences later in the paper, when we will also test the possibility that departures from preferred arrangements of elements may actually be used to signal departures from unmarked information structure in some way. Before turning our attention to this possibility, though, we need first to examine some alternations in CJI morphosyntax, and look at a range of derivational affixes which may be used with predicating elements in a clause.

3. Basic overview of syntax and the major verbal alternations

Before turning to look at information structure in particular it is worthwhile examining some of the more basic clausal patterns found in CJI. As should be evident from the preceding discussion, pervasive 'ellipsis' of arguments is a common feature of CJI discourse. Furthermore, there is no verbal cross-referencing of any arguments, although particular elements may be highlighted or downplayed through the use of affixes that are attached to the predicative elements found in clauses. While there is not space in this paper for an exhaustive discussion of all these elements, a few salient points are made below. The interested reader is directed to Conners, Bowden and Gil for more details.

3.1. Patient oriented *di-* and agent oriented *N-*

These elements are often seen as markers of passive (*di-*) or active (*N-*) voice respectively. However, this characterisation of the elements is not without problems. To begin with, the

forms are not in complementary distribution since bare stems are also possible. Secondly, the elements are often found in constructions where the patients or agents concerned would not normally be associated with the predicative form at all unless the affixes were present. This situation is illustrated in (8) below.

(8)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 21)

    a.   *Ini   kan   senter bagus,   Timo*
       DEM   Q   torch   good   Timo
       [Mother suggesting to her son to use a torch]
       'This is a good torch, Timo'

    b.   *Oo   cuma senter kepalanya   Ica   tuh*
       aunt   only   torch   head:ASSOC Ica   DEM.DIST
       [Playing with a torch]
       'I'm only shining it on your head'

    c.   *Enggak, Oo...   Oo   cuman   nyenter...*
       NEG   aunt   aunt only   G.ACT:torch
       [Playing with a torch]
       'No, I'm just shining it'

    d.   *Ica   ntar   disenter   lho*
       Ica   FUT   G.PASS:torch   PRT
       [To a child about to be recorded]
       'They're going to film you'

Example (8a) illustrates the most common use of *senter* 'torch (Bristish English)' or 'flashlight (Americaan English)': as an entity referring form. Example (8b) shows *senter* being used predicatively without any further adornment by affixation. In this example it has shifted from being an entity-referring form to being an activity-referring form. Example (8c) occurs with what Conners, Bowden and Gil call *N-* marked 'generalised active voice' and the presence of an agent with an activity-referring form is highlighted. Example (8d) shows another version of activity-referring senter but this time with the 'generalised passive voice' marking *di-* which highlights the existence of a patient role.

Example (9) below shows *N-* and *di-* being used with a form that is usually activity-referring, i.e. *buka* 'open'.

(9)   (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: example 22)

    a. *Daud,   Daud juga uda jarang buka*
        Daud,   Daud also PFCT seldom open
        [Discussing Friendster]
        'Daud also seldom opens it any more'

    b. *Dia ngebuka   aura*
        3   G.ACT:open aura
        [Discussing mysticism]
        'He can open the aura'

    c. *Orang ma pada dibuka*
        person PRT PL   G.PASS:open
        [About people at railway station buying food bags and eating]
        People were opening them'

In (9a) *buka* appears without any affixation. Example (9b) serves to accentuate the actor by the use of the *N-* prefix, and (9b) accentuates the bags people were eating from by use of *di-*.

It should be noted that other writers have remarked on the narrative advancing properties of *N-* prefixation. See Wouk (2005a) and Hidajat (2013) for details.

3.2. 'Applicative'/'causative' *–in*

Most commonly suffixation by –in adds either a causer or a benefactive role to the frame of the word being affixed, although this is not always the case and there is some idiosyncrasy in the way different forms are affixed by *–in*. The more commonly preferred role of *-in* is illustrated below, where (10a) shows non-applicativised *beli* and a beneficiary *Timo* marked separately by the preposition *buat* 'for'. Example (10a) shows the applicativised version of *beli* with an otherwise unmarked beneficiary *kamu* '2sg'.

(10) (Conners, Bowden and Gil, 2012: examples 32 & 33)

    a. *He, Oo mau beli   mainan   buat Timo*
        FILL aunt want buy   play:NMLZ   for   Timo
        [Adults playing with child]
        'Hey, I'm going to buy a toy for Timo'

b. *Oo   kan   beliin   kamu   es   krim   sama   biskuit?*
aunt   Q   buy:G.APPL   2SG   ice   cream   with   biscuit
[Adult playing with child]
'But I bought you ice cream and biscuits, didn't I'

4. Preliminary notes on information structure in CJI

Although Conners, Bowden and Gil manage to show that CJI is remarkable free of hard and fast rules for the obligatory marking of valency classes in any way, they also show that certain orderings of words and co-occurrence of affixation are strongly preferred in actual CJI discourse. The question that I wish to ask (and provide some preliminary answers for) in this paper is whether the use of marked patterns for representing certain meanings can be explained as a result of marked information structure rather than strictly in morphosyntactic terms. I do not propose to attempt a comprehensive analysis of the valency data in terms of information structure here, but rather to make a preliminary attempt to see if an information structure account may provide a fruitful analysis of word order peculiarities and such. I will do this by focussing on the verb *bawa* 'carry', and by looking at its distribution in the CJI corpus from the Jakarta Field Station.

4.1. Number of occurrences of *bawa* 'bring' and its derived forms

Table 1 provides an overall view of the different forms derived from *bawa* which occur in the corpus.

Verb form	No. of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
Ø-bawa 'bring'	230	63.4
di-bawa 'PASS-carry'	98	26.4
Ø-bawa-in 'carry-APPL'	12	3.3
di-bawa-in 'PASS-carry-APPL'	12	3.3
m-bawa 'N-carry'	10	2.8
m-bawa-in 'N-carry-APPL'	3	0.8
Total	365	100

Table 1. Basic alternations of *bawa* 'bring'

It can be seen from table 1 that bare *bawa* with no affixation of any kind is far more prevalent than any derived form of the verb (accounting for almost two thirds of all occurrences. 'Passivized' *dibawa* is also rather common, with just over a quarter of all occurrences. Other derived forms – applicativized stems, passivized and applicativized stems, nasalized stems, and both nazalized and applicativized stems – occur in decreasing frequency.

4.1.1. Bare *bawa*

Table 2 provides a break-down of participant pattern alternations with bare *bawa* stems. While it is true, as Conners, Bowden and Gil (2012) point out, that colloquial Jakarta Indonesian tolerates an enormous variety of patterns for the realization (or non-occurrence) of arguments with bare verb stems, it is equally true (as shown below) that some patterns are much more commonly realized in actual discourse than others. By far the most common pattern is for the verb *bawa* to appear with a following patient argument but no overtly realised agent. This pattern occurs in a little over one third of all attestations of bare *bawa*. The patterns AVP, V Goal, and just plain V with no overt arguments also occur rather frequently with more than 10% of occurrences each. Following these patterns come an agent with a verb and no overt patient, and a relativized (and omitted A) followed by the verb and an overt patient. Both of these patterns occur in seven percent of attested instances of bare *bawa*.

Participant pattern	No. of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
VP	82	35.7
AVP	28	12.2
V Goal	26	11.3
V	25	10.9
AV	16	7.0
REL (A) VP	16	7.0
AV Goal	7	3.0
PAV	6	2.6
VPA	4	1.7
PV	4	1.7
PV Goal	4	1.7
Others	12	5.2
Total	230	99.9 (due to rounding)

Table 2. Participant pattern alternations of bare *bawa* 'bring'

In examples (11) to (16) below we will first exemplify the most commonly encountered and unmarked (in terms of word order at least) patterns just outlined, and following these examples we will turn to some of the less frequent and more marked patterns to see if these patterns might be explained in terms of information structure.

(11) **VP**

blum   bawaq alatnya,   ya?
Not.yet bring   tool-ASS   DP
'You didn't bring the instruments, right?'

(12) **AVP**

dia bawaq mi   dah.
3s   bring noodles already
'He brought noodles.'

(13) **V Goal**

bawaq ke   mari.
Bring   to   here
'He brought it here.'

(14) **V**

bawaq   kata-nya
bring   say-ASS
'bring it', she told me

(15) **AV**

saya samaq suamiq   sih   bawaq,
1sg   with   husband DP   carry
'My husband and I brought it'

(16) **REL (A) VP**

adaq yang bawaq kué, adaq yang bawaq makanan.
Exist REL   carry cake exist REL bring food
'Some will bring cakes and some will bring food.'

While omitted arguments in all the above examples are clearly recoverable from the context of the utterances, there does not generally seem to be any particular marked focus with these and other examples like them, following the preferred word order of (A) V (P). It is a different case, however, with examples having arguments occurring in dispreferred positions, as exemplified in the following utterances. In both of the cases shown here, the element occurring in the dispreferred position is also clearly in focus. In example (17), the speaker chooses to focus on the fact that it is only noodles (and nothing more enticing) that the person referred to would bring. In (18) the person who brought a bus is in focus, as the English translation suggests.

(17) **PAV (focused P)**

paling   mi   dia   bawaq

most   noodles   3sg   bring

It will just be noodles he brings'

(18) **VPA (focused A)**

biar   bawaq   bis   dia...

even.though   bring   bus   3sg

'Even though he brought a bus, he did'

4.1.2. Passive *di-bawa*

As we saw with the bare stems, it appears as if there are some highly preferred patterns, and a few other patterns which occur only in a handful of instances. The most common pattern found is for a bare verb with no overt arguments. This pattern occurs in roughly 17% of cases. Other common patterns are P *dibawa*, *dibawa* manner adverb, *dibawa* Goal, *dibawa* Goal P and P *dibawa* Goal. Less common are patterns such as *dibawa* P, A *dibawa* P and *dibawa* Goal *(s)ama* A. (Although standard Indonesian uses *oleh* to mark the demoted agent of a passive, the form *(s)ama* is more commonly used in cJI for this function.

Participant pattern	Number of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
dibawa	17	17.3
P *dibawa*	14	14.3
dibawa manner-verb	14	14.3
dibawa Goal	14	14.3
dibawa Goal P	11	11.2
P dibawa Goal	7	7.1
dibawa P	4	4.1
A *dibawa* P	3	3.1
dibawa Goal (s)ama A	3	3.1
others	11	11.2
Total	98	100

Table 3. Participant pattern alternations with *di-bawa* 'PASS-bring'

Examples (19) to (22) illustrate the most common kinds of constructions that passivised *dibawa* is found in. These all seem to involve instances where the P argument is topical, as might be expected for a 'passive' form.

(19) **dibawa**

　　di-bawaq.

　　PASS-bring

　　'He was brought along'

(20) **P dibawa**

　　Arèm　di-bawaq

　　Arèm　PASS-bring

　　'Arèm was brought'

(21) **dibawa Manner Verb**

　　di-bawaq　lariq

　　PASS-bring run

　　'They were brought running'

(22) **dibawa Goal**

　　trus　langsung　di-bawaq　ke sini.

　　then　directly　PASS-bring　to　here

　　'Then he was brought straight here.'

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate two of the less common cases, where unusual orderings are found: in (23) with a goal and an agent marked with the preposition ama, and in (24) with a goal and a postposed P argument.

(23) **dibawa Goal** *(s)ama* **A**

　　dibawaq　ke Kota　amaq　mamangnya.

　　PASS-bring to Kota by　uncle-POSS

　　'He was brought to Kota by his uncle'

(24) **dibawa Goal P**

　　ampéq　di-bawaq　ke ruma.sakit　saya

　　until　PASS-bring to hospital　1sg

　　'Until I was brought to hospital'

In (23), the postposed agent *mamangnya* 'his uncle' is new information, as is the goal argument *Kota* which is a place name. In (24), the postposed patient is clearly in focus.

4.1.3. 'Applicative' *bawa-in*

Table four shows the participant realisation patterns for 'applicativized' *bawa-in*. There are only twelve instances of *bawa-in* found in the corpus, and the pattern *bawa-in* P is found in seven of these. Although the 'applicative' *–in* licenses an extra argument with many verbs this is not the case with any of the *bawa-in* examples found in the corpus. Rather, it serves to

further emphasise and draw attention to the already existing theme, and thus might be seen as inherently a way of focussing the P argument whatever order is found.

Participant pattern	Number of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
bawain P	**7**	**58.3**
bawain	2	16.7
bawain A	1	8.3
REL (P) *bawain*	1	8.3
REL (P) *bawain*	1	8.3
Total	12	99.9 (due to rounding)

Table 4. Participant realisation patterns for applicativized *bawa-in*

Examples (25) and (26) show the use of *bawa-in* P in utterances from the corpus.

(25) **bawa-in P**

    Bawaq-in   dah   gelas stengah losin gitu.

    Bring-APPL already glass half   dozen like.that

    'I already brought her half a dozen glasses like that'

(26) **bawa-in P**

    o   bawaq-in   makanan   di-jual-in?

    o   bring-APPL food   PASS-sell-APPL

    'She brought food to be sold'

4.1.4. 'Applicativised' and 'passivised *di-bawa-in*

While plain applicativized bawa-in does not usually involve the licensing of a new argument, doubly applicativized and passivized di-bawa-in does usually involve the addition of a beneficiary argument, which can be left unexpressed. This could be because the passive morpheme *di-* already serves to emphasise the patient, or perhaps because of a preference for verbs with no more than two arguments.

Participant pattern	Number of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
dibawain P	6	50
dibawain	2	16.7
dibawain P	1	8.3
dibawain	1	8.3
dibawain P	1	8.3
dibawain	1	8.3
Total	12	99.9 (due to rounding)

Table 4. Participant realisation patterns for applicativized and passivized *di-bawa-in*

The most commonly encountered argument realisation pattern with *di-bawa-in* is *di-bawa-in* P with an overt P argument, and an unexpressed beneficiary, which is nevertheless clear from the context. Examples (27) and (28) illustrate the use of *di-bawa-in* P.

(27) *Di-bawa-qin   duaq   biji.*
     PASS-bring-APP   two   CLASS
     'He brought two for us'

(28) *Di-bawaq-in   pisang*
     PASS-bring-APPL   banana
     'I was brought bananas'

5. Discussion

While this discussion of preferred information structure in colloquial Jakarta Indonesian is very preliminary – we have only looked in detail at one verb – it seems clear that cJI is not nearly as promiscuous in terms of what word order patterns are allowed as might be at first thought by looking at the allowable patterns pointed to by Conners, Bowden and Gil (2012). While cJI does allow a rather extreme number of variations in word order, these are far from equally encountered in real life, and the least common patterns seem to be employed for marking either contrastive focus or other kids of marked information structure patterns.

Further research, with a larger variety of verbs is clearly needed before this thesis can be fully laid out. One noteworthy feature of *bawa* is the fact that it rarely occurs with prenasalisation. This would appear to be a matter of phonetic structure: prenasalisation is more often found with roots that do not have voiced initial segments, so the role of prenasalisation in advancing narrative needs to be looked at again with more verbs. A program for future research is clearly shown here though: it seems clear that dispreferred word order is largely used for marked information structure patterns. Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian may not in fact be quite as free as suggested by Conners, Bowden and Gil.

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