Indonesian 'Family Problems' Stories for SCOPIC*

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This article carries Indonesian narrative texts elicited using a 'Family Problems Picture Task' designed by San Roque et al. (2012), which was collected for the SCOPIC project. It includes both standard Indonesian and colloquial Indonesian texts to demonstrate the lexical and structural differences between the two registers.

Keywords: Indonesian, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, register, narrative, SCOPIC

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1. Indonesian and its varieties

Indonesian is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. It is based on Malay, a Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian family. This article presents two pieces of text collected in Jakarta: one in standard Indonesian (SI) and the other in colloquial Indonesian (CI) spoken in Jakarta.

SI developed based on the classical Malay, a literary language of the courts of Riau and Johore (Adelaar 2000). It is used as a written language or spoken language on formal occasions. It shares many structural features with Malaysian Malay, as is shown in Malaysian Malay texts in Nomoto (2022). The basic constituent order is Subject-Predicate or Subject-Predicate-Object. The core constituents, such as a subject NP and an object NP, occur as unmarked (bare) NPs while the obliques are marked by prepositions. In NPs, the head noun occurs in the phrase initial position, followed by the attributes. (See Sneddon et

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al. 2010 for more details on Indonesian grammar.)

CI is used in informal situations, typically, such situations which are 'interactive, unplanned and, crucially, emblematic of relaxed interpersonal relations' (Ewing 2005: 227). The speakers call SI *bahasa baku* 'standard language', while CI, *bahasa sehari-hari* 'everyday language'. They consider them as contrastive registers of the same language, that is, Bahasa Indonesia 'Indonesian'.

It should be noted that the CI spoken in Jakarta nationwide is considered a regional variety labelled *logat Jakarta* or 'the dialect of Jakarta' or *bahasa Jakarta* 'Jakarta language'. It has a special 'prestigious' status related to an urban society in the capital city, which is a symbol of the political, economic, and cultural centre of Indonesia.¹

The following list shows a part of the linguistic features observed in CI spoken in Jakarta observable in the text presented in Section 4. (See Sneddon (2006) for a more detailed features of colloquial Indonesian spoken in Jakarta and Ewing (2005) for those of colloquial Indonesian in general.)

- (i) Weakening of the vowel *a* to *p*, typically (but not exclusively) in the final syllable, as in *tətəp* 'definitely, constantly', *di-tangkəp* 'PASS-catch', which correspond to SI *tətap* 'definitely, constantly' and *di-tangkap* 'PASS-catch'.
- (ii) Use of the verbal morphology: the suffix *-in* for applicatives and the prefix N_1 for marking the active voice.² They correspond to the SI suffix *-kan* or *-i* and the prefix meN_2 -, respectively.³
- (iii) Use of personal pronouns of Chinese origin: *gua* or *gue* for the first person singular and *lu* for the second person singular, which correspond to *saya* and *anda* in SI, respectively.
- (iv) Use of the negator *ŋgak~gak* and perfective particle *udah*, which correspond to *tidak* and *sudah* in SI, respectively.
- (v) Use of discourse particles, such as *tuh*, *nih*, *deh* and *sih*, to draw the attention of the addressee; the first two are derived from the demonstratives *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this'.
- (vi) Use of the adverb *kayak* or *keyek* or *kek* which originally means 'like' in order to show the probability.

The structure of the text is as follows. The first lines show text that represents the speech as faithfully as possible. They include hesitations or pauses indicated by three-point leaders ('...'), unclear words indicated by 'xx' or put into parentheses when recoverable, and false starts, which are omitted in the second line.

¹ It should be noted that CI should be distinguished from Betawi Malay that had been used traditionally in Jakarta. Betawi Malay shares substantial structural features with other low Malay or bazar Malay that have been used as a lingua franca in the eastern part of Indonesia, such as Papuan Malay, Kupang Malay or Manado Malay. CI is different from Betawi Malay in that it is structurally very similar to SI.

 $^{^{2}}$ Morphologically unmarked forms may also occur in the active voice sentence as shown in *certain* 'narrate' in sentence (1) in Section 4.

³ For vowel-initial bases, N_1 occurs as the sound y (e.g., *ambil* $\rightarrow \eta$ -*ambil* 'take'). For consonant-initial bases, it occurs as a nasal that is homorganic to the base initial sound or as ye; When the initial consonant is voiced, N_1 simply occurs before the base (e.g., *beli* \rightarrow *m*-*beli* or ηe -*beli* 'buy'), while when it is voiceless, N_1 replaces the base-initial sound (e.g., *pukul* \rightarrow *mukul* 'hit'). The exception is that it appears as p before s (e.g., *salin* \rightarrow *palin* 'exchange'), as ηp -before liquids (e.g., *lihat* $\rightarrow \eta e$ -*lihat* 'see'), and as zero before nasals (e.g., *nikmati* $\rightarrow \emptyset$ -*nikmati*). The realization of N_2 is almost the same as N_1 except it occurs as zero when the base initial sound is a liquid (e.g., *lihat* \rightarrow *me*-*lihat* 'see').

The transcription adopted in the first lines follows Indonesian orthography, while the second line employs IPA. In Indonesian orthography, e is employed for both the schwa [ϑ] and the mid-front vowel [e]; thus, an ambiguity occurs. ng and ny are used for the velar nasal [η] and palatal nasal [η], respectively, and c and j are used for voiceless [f] and voiced [d_3] postalveolar affricate, respectively.

The second and third lines show separate words corresponding to the first line and their meanings, respectively. There, only a limited number of morphological boundaries are broken down. The third person pronominal clitic =pa, which may function as a definite marker 'DEF,' the two voice-related prefixes (i.e., the active voice marker (me)N- 'ACT' and the passive voice marker di- 'PASS'), the prefix s- indicating 'one,' (e.g., s-buah 'one-cLF'), and reduplication showing plurality or frequency are broken down, while other derivational affixes (e.g., the prefixes b-and t-provide the prefixes the prefixes the prefixes the show free English translations.

2. Data collection method

The data were collected data using the picture stimulus titled 'Family Problems Picture Task' story', designed by San Roque et al. (2012). The participants completed the five tasks described below.

Task 1: Individual card descriptions: Participants A and B described the situation depicted in each picture.

Task 2: Arranging into order: Participants A and B discussed sorting the 16 pictures to create a story.

Task 3: Conventional third person telling (conversation): Participants A and B told the story together to participant C with the pictures.

Task 4: First person telling: A and B separately told the story to participant C, pretending to be one of the characters in the story.

Task 5: Conventional third person telling (monologue): A and B separately told the same story to participant C from the third-person perspective.

We collected data at the Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, located in Jakarta, in July 2018. Six groups of three people participated in the data collection session. Three groups were asked to speak in SI, while the remaining three groups were asked to speak in CI. Two of the three participants (A and B) in the group were involved in all the tasks, while the remaining participant (C) was involved only in Tasks 3 to 5 as an audience. Among the 42 recordings, which are listed in the appendix at the end of this paper, we selected two third-person narratives obtained through Task 5 to be included in the article. One is described in SI, which is presented in Section 3 and the other is told in CI, which is demonstrated in Section 4. Table 3 shows the details of the two recordings.

File ID	register	duration	corpus size
SocCog-ind05_06	SI	5 min 15 sec	1308 words
SocCog-ind03_06	CI	3 min 58 sec	561 words

Table 1 Details of the texts

The SI and CI are asymmetrical in the use of the features attributed to each register. In speaking SI, the speakers, to a greater extent, stick to the SI features to avoid deviations from the norm. In contrast, in speaking CI, the speakers use CI phonological or lexical features on the basis of SI syntactic structure according to the degree of (in)formality they judge to be appropriate in the given speech settings. This 'mixture' is observable in the text shown in Section 4. For example, the speaker uses the CI applicative suffix *-in* in *ceritain* 'narrate' in sentence (1), while the SI actor voice prefix *meN-* and the applicative suffix *-kan* in *menceritakan* 'narrate' in (37).

In the CI sessions, all of the texts obtained exhibited substantial CI features. However, the degree of the mixture varied depending on the task the speakers conducted. In this article, we present a third-person narrative for cross-linguistic comparison.⁴ There, the speakers employ CI features to a lesser extent than in any other task. This may be because the genre conflicts with the characteristics of CI, which are inherently interactive and interpersonal.

3. Standard Indonesian text



Garden together (1)-(2)

⁴ See introduction for the volume (Kimotoa and Shiohara 2022) for the details of our attempt.

(1) Jadi, ini ada cerita tentang sebuah keluarga di mana pekerjaan sehari-harinya adalah me... memetik buah, mengumpulkan buah dari kebunnya. dzadi ini ada f]ərita təntaŋ sə-buah kəluarga di mana pəkərdzaan then this exist story concerning one-clf family at which work səhari-hari=pa adalah məmətik buah məŋumpulkan buah dari kəbun=na from garden=DEF everyday=DEF COP Act.pick fruit Act.gather fruit

'So, this is a story about a family whose job was picking and collecting fruits from their garden.'

(2) Nah, setelah ... setelah keluarga, suami dan istri ini... bekerja mengumpulkan buah tersebut...
 nah sətəlah sətəlah kəluarga suami dan istri ini bəkərdza
 PTC after after family husband and wife this work
 məŋumpulkan buah tərsəbut
 ACT.gather fruit above.mentioned

'Then after this family, the husband and the wife finished collecting the fruits...'



Walking together (3)-(6)

(3) Ia bersama anak-anak... ia bersama anak-anaknya xx..., eee... membawa buah tersebut ke pasar, buat dijual.

					<i>anak-anak=ɲa</i> pL~child=DEF	
	<i>tərsəbut</i> above.ment				0	

'They, with their children, brought the fruits to the market for selling them.'

(4) Bekerja... menjual ke... tengkulak gitu. bəkərd3a məp-d3ual kə təŋkulak gitu work AcT-sell to broker like.that

'(They are) working ... to sell it to a fruitmonger, like that.'

Kemudian... setelah mereka menjual hasil pekerjaan mereka, hasil bumi mereka, (5) mereka berpisah, me... untuk melakukan kegiatan masing-masing. kəmudian sətelah məreka məp-dzual hasil pəkərdzaan məreka hasil after 3pl ACT-sell product work then 3pl product bumi məreka məreka bərpisah untuk mə-lakukan kəgiatan masing-masing earth 3PL 3pl separate for ACT-act activity each

'Then... after they sold their products and their crops, they separated to do their own activities.'

(6) Ibunya pulang ke rumah dan ayahnya pergi berkumpul bersama teman-temannya. *ibu=pa pulaŋ kə rumah dan ayah=pa pərgi bərkumpul* mother=DEF return to house and father=DEF go gather

bərsama təman-təman=pa together.with PL~friend=DEF

'The wife went home and the husband went to gather with his friends.'



Sitting drinking(7)

ayah terse(but) ayahnya berkumpul bersama teman-temannya (7) Nah... eee... sambil... atau sembari minum... minuman... beralkohol. nah ə ayah tərsə ayah=na bərkumpul bərsama FILL father above.mentioned father=DEF gather together.with PTC təman-təman=pa sambil atau səmbari minum minuman bəralkohol PL~friend=DEF while drink beverage alcoholic as or

'Then... um... the father gathered with his friends and they drank alcoholic beverages.'



Drunken gossip (8)-(9)

(8) Kemudian... mereka sambil bercerita... dan ternyata salah satu temannya... ada yang ... ada yang memfitnah istrinya, yang..., yang..., bilang bahwa istrinya telah berselingkuh dengan pria lain.

kəmudian məreka sambil bərffərita dan tərpata salah.satu təman=pa then 3pl. tell and evidently one.of friend=DEF as yaŋ yaŋ bilaŋ bahwa ada van ada yan məm-fitnah istri=pa exist REL exist REL ACT-slander wife=DEF REL REL sav COMP təlah bərsəlinkuh dənan pria lain istri=na wife=def prf have.an.affair with man other

'Then... they were having a small talk... and it happened that one of his friends, who slandered his wife, who said that his wife was cheating on him with another guy.'

(9) Jadi saat itu suaminya langsung marah, dan langsung... me... menemui istrinya yang lagi bersama anaknya.

dzadi saat suami=na itu lansun marah dan lansun mənəmui then moment that husband=DEF direct angry and direct ACT.meet yaŋ lagi istri=na bərsama anak=na PROG together.with child=DEF wife=def rel

'Then, at that time, the husband promptly got angry and approached his wife who was with their child.'



About to hit (10)–(14)

(10)Suaminya pulang... suaminya ber... mer... bertemu dengan istrinya suaminya marah dan dia bilang bahwa... suami=pa pulan suami=pa ber mer bərtəmu dənan istri=na husband=DEF return husband=DEF meet with wife=DEF FS FS marah dan dia bilan bahwa suami=na husband=DEF angry and 3 say сомр

'The husband returned and met his wife. The husband got angry and said that ...'

maksudnya dia bilang bahwa istrinya telah "kamu telah berselingkuh" (11)Eee.. misalnva. maksudna dia bilan bahwa istri=na təlah kamu təlah bərsəlingkuh Э FILL I.mean 3 wife=DEF 2sg have.an.affair sav COMP PRF PRF misalna for.example

'Umm, I mean he said that the wife is already..., (he said,) "You have cheated on me", for example.'

(12)Nah, suaminya ini sa(king)... karena marahnya... ia tidak me... mengecek... Kebenaran berita tersebut, yang ternyata bahwa istrinya tidak berselingkuh dengan pria lain, melainkan ia menjual perhiasannya... ke pedagang lelaki gitu. marah=pa ia tidak məŋə-tfek nah suami=pa ini sa karəna because angry=DEF 3 РТС husband=DEF this FS NEG ACT-check kəbenaran bərita tərsəbut van tərnata bahwa istri=na tidak truth news above.mentioned REL evidently COMP wife=def Neg məlainkan ia məp-dzual pərhiasan=pa kə bərsəliŋkuh dənan pria lain jewelry=DEF have.an.affair with man other but 3 ACT-sell to pədagaŋ ləlaki gitu merchant male like.that

'Then the husband was so angry that he did not check the truth, which turned out that the wife did not cheat on him with another guy, but sold her jewellery to the male seller instead, like that.'

(13) Jadi, dia sama sekali tidak berselingkuh. *d̄zadi dia sama.sekali tidak bərsəliŋkuh* then 3 completely NEG have.an.affair

'So...in fact she did not cheat at all.'

(14) Namun karena suaminya marah dan tidak mau mendengarkan istrinya, suaminya pun... memukul istrinya... saking marahnya.

namunkarənasuami=pamarahdantidakmaumən-dəŋarkanhoweverbecausehusband=DEFangryandNEGwantACT-hearistri=pasuami=papunməmukulistri=pasakiŋmarah=pawife=DEFhusband=DEFPTCACT.hitwife=DEFdue.toangry=DEF

'But because the husband got angry and did not want to listen to his wife, the husband hit the wife because of anger.'



Hitting (15)–(18)

(15) Mukul istrinya... dan kejadian itu ter(jadi) disaksikan oleh ayah... ayah i(bu)... ayah ayah ibu ini... ayah perempuan ini... atau kakeknya anak itu. dan kədzadian itu *mukul istri=na* tər di-saksikan oleh ayah avah ACT.hit wife=DEF and incident that FS pass-witness by father father ayah avah ibu ini ayah pərəmpuan ini atau kakek=na i FS father father mother this father woman this or grandfather=DEF anak itu child that

'He hit his wife and the incident was witnessed by the father of the wife or the grandfather of the child.'

 (16) Nah, eee... kakek itu terkejut melihat bahwa oh, suaminya memukul anaknya. nah ə kakek itu tərkedzut mə-lihat bahwa oh suami=pa PTC FILL grandfather that surprised ACT-see COMP ITJ husband=DEF məmukul anak=pa ACT.hit child=DEF

'Then, the grandfather was shocked after watching the husband hit his daughter.'

(17) Dan anaknya pun juga kaget, anak yang masih kecil itu pun juga kaget bahwa ayahnya memukul ibunya.

dan anak=na pun dzuga kaget anak yaŋ masih kətfil itu pun and child=DEF PTC also surprised child REL still small that PTC dzuga kaget bahwa ayah=pa məmukul ibu=na surprised COMP father=DEF ACT.hit mother=DEF also

'And the child, who was still small, was also shocked because his father hit his mother.'

(18)Setelah itu kakek ini... melaporkan... kejadian... KDRT ini ke pihak yang... pihak vang berwajib. mə-laporkan kədzadian KDRT⁵ sətəlah itu kakek ini ini after that grandfather this ACT-report incident domestic.violence this kə pihak yaŋ pihak yaŋ bərwadzib REL side REL authority to side

'After that, the grandfather reported the incident of domestic violence to the authority.'



Taken by police (19)–(20)

⁵ An abbreviation for Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Taŋga 'Violence in the family'.

(19) Lalu setelah... dilaporkan dan sete(lah) setelah dilaporkan, suaminya pun ditangkap.
 lalu sətəlah di-laporkan dan sətə sətəlah di-laporkan suami=pa pun then after PASS-report and FS after PASS-report husband=DEF PTC *di-taŋkap* PASS-arrest

'Then after it was reported, the husband was arrested.'

(20)Dan istrinya pun juga... merasa kesakitan sedih... sehingga dia duduk, nggak, me... tidak men... mendukung suaminya... atau me... membela suaminya. dan istri=pa pun dzuga mərasa kəsakitan sədih səhiŋga dia duduk wife=def ptc also feel sad until sit and pain 3 atau məm-bela ngak tidak mən-dukun suami=na suami=pa ACT-support husband=DEF or ACT-protect husband=DEF NEG NEG

'And the wife was hurt and sad, so she only sat down and neither protected nor supported her husband.'



In Court (21)-(24)

(21) Setelah itu eee... istrinya dan suaminya pun dibawa ke... balai desa gitu. Ke balai desa di mana ada... beberapa pejabat desa.

								<i>di-bawa</i> PASS-bring		
desa	gitu	kə	balai	desa	di	mana	ada	bəbərapa some	pəd3	abat
<i>desa</i> village										

'After that um... the wife and the husband were brought to the village hall, like that, where there were some village officers.'

(22) Nah, di sana... istrinya... menceritakan kejadian... ia dipukul sehingga mukanya luka. nah di sana istri=pa mən-f]əritakan kədzadian ia di-pukul səhinga

nan al sana istri=jia mən-tjəritakan kəazaalan ta al-pukul səntijga prc at there wife=DEF ACT-tell incident 3 pass-hit so.that muka=pa luka face=DEF wound

'And there, the wife talked about the incident in which she was hit until her face was injured.'

(23)Dan... suaminya pun di sana yang mendengarkan cerita tersebut juga menyesal... terhadap kejadian tersebut. dan suami=pa pun di sana yaŋ mən-dəŋarkan tfərita tərsəbut above.mentioned and husband=DEF PTC at there REL аст-hear story dzuga məpəsal tərhadap kədzadian tərsəbut ACT.regret directed.to incident above.mentioned also

'And the husband who was listening to the story also regretted the incident.'

(24) Setelah... setelah xx... mendengarkan keterangan ini... suaminya dinyatakan bersalah. Dia dipenjara.

sətəlah sətəlah mən-dəŋarkan kətəraŋan ini suami=pa di-patakan after after ACT-hear explanation this husband=DEF PASS-declare bərsalah dia di-pəpidzara wrong 3 PASS-prison

'After they heard the testimony, the husband was sentenced to imprisonment.'



Thinking about goal (25)

(25) Di penjara... ia pun merasa takut dan cemas memikirkan kehidupan dia selama di penjara. Dia... dipukuli atau dia tidak bisa sebebas dahulu. di pəndzara ia pun mərasa takut dan ffəmas məmikirkan kəhidupan at prison 3 PTC feel afraid and unease ACT.think life dia səlama di pənd \hat{z} ara dia di-pukuli atau dia tidak bisa səbebas at prison PASS-hit as.free.as 3 during 3 or 3 NEG can dahulu in.the.past

'In the prison, he also felt afraid and uneasy, thinking about his life in jail. He would be hit or he would not be able to live as freely as before.'



Thinking of home (26)-(27)

(26) Di penjara pun... eee... suaminya te... tetap memi(kirkan) terus... tetap memikirkan anak-anaknya... eh, anaknya dan istrinya di rumah.

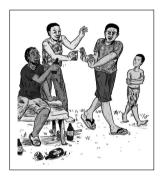
		-	<i>suami=pa</i> husband=def	-			
	*		<i>anak-anak=ɲa</i> pL~child=DEF			0	
<i>run</i> hou							

'In the prison, um..., the husband also kept thinking about his children, no (I meant), his child and wife at home.'

(27) Ia memikirkan saat-saat ketika ia baru pulang pa... bekerja... lalu ia disambut oleh anaknya, atau... baru pulang dari penjara ia disambut anaknya yang sudah... tumbuh besar, dan istrinya juga.

	n saat-saat PL~moment			
<i>di-sambut</i> PASS-welcome	<i>oleh anak=pa</i> by child=pa			
<i>di-sambut</i> PASS-welcome	anak=na yan child=def Rei			

'He thought about the time when he came home from work and was welcomed by his child, or... when he came back from the prison, he was welcomed by his grown-up child and his wife.'



Alone in the cell (28)

(28) Setelah memikirkan hal tersebut suaminya pun... merasa sangat sedih. Dia... dia merindukan... keluarganya di rumah, ia pun tidak mau... makan... makanan yang disediakan.

sətəlah məmikirkan hal tərsəbut suami=pa pun mərasa after ACT.think matter above.mentioned husband=DEF feel PTC dia mə-rindukan kəluarga=pa sədih dia di rumah tidak saŋat ia pun sad 3 3 ACT-miss family=DEF at house 3 very PTC NEG таи makan makanan yaŋ di-sədiakan want eat food REL PASS-provide

'After thinking about that the husband felt very sad, he missed his family at home until he did not want to eat the provided meal.'



Receiving clothes (29)-(30)

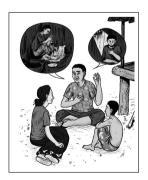
(29) Setelah itu... setelah beberapa tahun suaminya di penjara akhirnya suaminya... bebas.

			<i>suami=pa</i> husband=def		
<i>suami=j</i> husband					

'After that, after several years in prison, finally the husband was released.'

(30)Suaminya bebas... eee... petugas lapas pun memberikan pakaian baru buat diganti dengan pakaian waktu ia di penjara. Pakaian baru. suami=pa bebas ə pətugas lapas pun məm-bərikan pakaian husband=DEF free тт officer penitentiary PTC ACT-give clothes baru buat di-ganti dənan pakaian waktu ia di pəpdzara pakaian new for PASS-replace with clothes time 3 at prison clothes baru new

'The husband was released... umm... the prison warden also gave new clothes to replace his clothes while in the prison.'



Standing in light (31)

(31) Lalu suami... suaminya memakainya dan ia pun bebas. Ia menghirup udara segar kembali, melihat cuaca dan alam yang... ia belum lihat selama ia di penjara. lalu suami suami=pa məmakai=na dan ia pun bebas ia mən-hirup then husband husband=DEF ACT.wear=DEF and 3 PTC free 3 ACT-inhale udara səgar kəmbali mə-lihat tluatla yan ia bəlum dan alam lihat weather and world REL air fresh again ACT-see 3 NEG.PRF see səlama ia di pəndzara during at prison 3

'Then the husband put on it and he was free and he inhaled fresh air again and saw the weather and nature that he had never seen while in the prison.'



Homecoming (32)-(34)

(32) Kemudian... setelah dia bebas, dia langsung menemui keluarganya di rumah. *komudian sotolah dia bebas dia langsung monomui koluarga=pa di rumah* then... after 3 free 3 direct Act.meet family=DEF at house

'Then... after he was released, he immediately met his family at home.'

(33) Keluarganya di rumah yang ternyata... sudah... ada perubahan di mana anaknya dulu yang... dahulu masih kecil sekarang sudah bertumbuh besar. kəluarga=na di rumah yan tərnata sudah ada pərubahan di mana family=DEF at house REL evidently PRF which exist change at anak=pa dulu yaŋ dahulu masih ket*j*il səkaran sudah child=DEF in.the.past REL in.the.past still small now PRF bərtumbuh bəsar grow big

'It turned out that his family at home had already changed; his child who was little had now grown up.'

(34) Istrinya pun juga baru pulang dari... mengambil buah... memetik buah menyambut suaminya beserta... ayahnya juga. *istri=pa pun d̄3uga baru pulaŋ dari məŋ-ambil buah məmətik buah* wife=DEF PTC also newly return from ACT-take fruit ACT.pick fruit *məpambut suami=pa bəsərta ayah=pa d̄3uga* ACT.welcome husband=DEF together.with father=DEF also

'His wife also just came back from picking fruits, greeted her husband together with her father.'



Family talking together (35)

Setelah itu suaminya... dan suaminya mengajak anak dan istrinya untuk duduk (35) sembari bercerita tentang pengalaman waktu ia di penjara. məŋ-adzak anak dan sətəlah itu suami=pa dan suami=pa after that husband=DEF and husband=DEF ACT-invite child and duduk səmbari bərtfərita təntaŋ istri=na untuk pənalaman waktu ia wife=def for sit while concerning experience time 3 tell di pəpdzara at prison

'Then, the husband asked his wife and child to sit down, telling them the story of his experience while he was in prison.'



Refusing drink (36)

(36) Setelah itu... ketika... dia kembali bertemu dengan temannya yang sedang meminum minuman... minum minuman keras..., ia menolak minuman tersebut. kətika dia kəmbali bərtəmu dənan təman=pa yaŋ sədan sətəlah itu after that when 3 again meet with friend=DEF REL PROG mə-minum minuman minum minuman kəras ia mənolak minuman ACT-drink beverage drink beverage hard 3 ACT.reject beverage tərsəbut above.mentioned

'After that... when he met again with his friends who were drinking alcohol, he rejected the drink.'



4. Colloquial Indonesian text

Garden together (1)–(6)

(1) Oke... eee... gua mau ceritain nih ce(rita) eee... yer... tentang... eee... keyek kekerasan dalam rumah tangga tapi itu kesalahannya... karena dia dihasut. oke gua mau tfəritain nih tfə ə ver təntaŋ ә Э kevek okay fill 1sg want tell PTC tell FILL yer concerning FILL like kəkərasan dalam rumah.taŋga tapi itu kəsalahan=pa karəna dia but that misdeed=DEF abuse inside family because 3 di-hasut PASS-instigate

'Okay... um I want to tell you a story, yer, um... about... um... a domestic abuse, but the misdeed was made because he was instigated.'

 (2) Jadi... gini ceritanya.
 *d*zadi gini tfərita=pa then like.this story=DEF

'So, the story goes like this.'

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- (3) Jadi ada... di sebuah desa itu ada keluarga.
 dzadi ada di sə-buah desa itu ada kəluarga then exist in one-clf village that exist family
 'So, there was... a family in a village.'
- (4) Keluarga itu sangat damai awalnya.
 kəluarga itu sanjat damai awalna family that very peaceful beginning

'They lived in peace at the beginning.'

(5) Dia punya pekerjaannya bercocok tanam, bareng-bareng. Nah, ini tuh dia lagi mengambil hasil cocok tanamnya dia itu.

dia pupa pəkərdīzaan=pa bərtfotfok.tanam barəŋ-barəŋ nah ini tuh dia 3 have job=DEF farm together PTC this PTC 3 lagi məŋ-ambil hasil tfotfok.tanam=pa dia itu PROG ACT-take crop farming=DEF 3 that

'He had a job as a farmer together (with his wife). Here he was harvesting the crops.'

(6) Nah lalu... hasil tanamannya itu dia bawa ke pasar untuk dijual dan hasilnya itu untuk membiayai kehidupan mereka sehari-hari. nah lalu hasil tanaman=pa itu dia bawa kə pasar untuk di-dzual then crop farming=DEF that 3 PTC bring to market for PASS-sell dan hasil=pa itu untuk məm-biayai kəhidupan məreka səhari-hari and crop=DEF that for аст-рау life 3pl everyday

'Then... the crops were brought to a market to be sold and the proceeds from the sale were used for living.'



Walking together (7)

(7) Nah ini anaknya dia... nemenin orang tua... Nah ini pen(jual) eee... pembelinya nanti, pembeli buah-buahan yang sudah jadi itu.

	5	<i>nəmənin</i> Act.accompany	5			1 3	
		li buah-buahan fruits		<i>sudah</i> PRF	0		

'Then here is their child... accompanying the parents. This was the seller um... the buyer, the buyer of the ripe fruits.'



Sitting drinking (8)–(9)

(8) Nah terus... ternyata bapaknya ini ngumpul-ngumpul sama temen-temennya, bukannya pulang sama anak istrinya.
 nah tərus tərnata bapak=na ini numpul-numpul sama təmen-təmen=na prc then evidently father=DEF this gather with PL~friend=DEF
 bukanna pulang sama anak istri=na NEG return with child wife=DEF

'Then...it turned out that the father hung out with his friends and did not go home with his child and wife.'

(9) Nah, lalu... dia itu minum-minum nih, mabuk-mabukan. *nah lalu dia itu minum-minum nih mabuk-mabukan* PTC then 3 that drink PTC get.drunk

'And then... he drank and got drunk.'

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Drunken gossip (10)-(12)

(10) Nah, temennya ini... dia tuh waktu... di jalan tuh gak sengaja kalo misalnya... Dia ngeliat istrinya tuh... selingkuh.
 nah tomen=pa ini dia tuh waktu di dzalan tuh gak sonadza kalo prc friend=per this 3 prc when in way prc neg intentionally if

misalpa dia ŋə-liat istri=pa tuh səliŋkuh for.example 3 Act-see wife=DEF PTC have.an.affair

'And his friend here..., on his way, he coincidently caught the wife cheating.'

Nah, ini... dia menghasut is(tri) eee... si suami. Katanya istrinya selingkuh dengan (11)laki-laki yang lebih cakep, lebih cakep daripada lu ya. dia məŋ-hasut nah ini is ə suami kata=pa istri=pa si this 3 ACT-instigate FS FILL ART husband say=DEF wife=DEF PTC səlinkuh dənan laki-laki yan lebih tlakəp lebih tîakəp have.an.affair with more handsome more handsome man REL daripada lu ya than 2sg yes

'Then here... he instigated the husband, saying, "the wife is cheating (on you) with a man who was more handsome than you".'

(12) Oke. oke okay

'Okay.'



About to hit (13)–(17)

(13) Nah, terus i(tu) suaminya marah dong tuh. Marah, terus dia pulang tuh ke rumah.
 nah tərus i(tu) suami=pa marah dong tuh marah tərus dia pulang PTC then that husband=DEF angry PTC PTC angry then 3 return
 tuh kə rumah PTC to home

'Then the husband got angry and then went home.'

(14) Pas dia pulang ke rumah... dia ngelihat anak istrinya tuh lagi main. Didatengin deh tuh.

pas dia pulaŋ kə rumah dia ŋə-lihat anak istri=ŋa tuh lagi main just 3 return to home 3 AcT-see child wife=DEF PTC PROG play di-datəŋin deh tuh PASS-approach PTC PTC

'Upon arriving at home...he saw his child and wife were playing. Then he approached them'.

(15) Dia... lagi main xx ni ini di halaman. Ini ada kakeknya.
 dia lagi main ni ini di halaman ini ada kakek=pa
 3 prog play ni this in yard this exist grandfather=DEF

'He... they were playing at the yard; There was also the grandfather'.

(16) Nah terus... suaminya tuh marah karena istrinya selingkuh. Padahal istrinya tuh lagi bertransaksi, men(jual)... apa... membeli kebutuhan sehari-hari dari hasil menjual buah-buahannya itu. nah tərus suami=na tuh marah karəna istri=na səliŋkuh PTC then husband=DEF PTC angry because wife=DEF have.an.affair bərtransaksi mən-($d\overline{z}ual$) apa məm-bəli padahal istri=na tuh lagi although wife=DEF PTC PROG trade аст-sell what ACT-buy hasil mən- $d\hat{y}$ ual buah-buahan=na itu kəbutuhan səhari-hari dari what.needed everyday from crop ACT-sell fruits=DEF that

'Then... the husband got angry because the wife cheated on him. But in fact, the wife was only doing a trade, buying daily necessities using the money she got from selling the fruits.'

(17) Anaknya ketakutan. *anak=pa kətakutan* child=DEF get.scared

'The child got scared.'



Hitting (18)-(20)

(18) Nah, terus... karena udah sangat marah nih dia megang nih kan dalam keadaan mabok tuh dipukullah istrinya. nah tərus karəna udah sanat marah nih dia megan nih kan then because PRF ACT.hold PTC isn't.it РТС very angry ртс 3 dalam kəadaan mabuk tuh di-pukul=lah istri=pa inside situation drunken PTC PASS-hit=PTC wife=DEF

'Then... because he was really angry, he clenched his arm —and is drunk, isn't he? — he hit his wife.' (19) Anaknya... takut jatuh kan karena... ibunya dipukul. anak=pa takut $\hat{dz}atuh$ kan karena ibu=pa di-pukul child=DEF scared fall isn't.it because mother=DEF PASS-hit

'The child was afraid that he would fall because his mother had been beaten.'

(20) Kakeknya cuma bisa... diem doang. Terkaget-kagetnya karena dipukul. *kakek=pa tJuma bisa diəm doaŋ tərkaget-kagetpa karəna* grandfather=DEF only can be.quiet only shocked because *di-pukul* PASS-hit

'The grandfather could only ... stay quiet, (he was) shocked because [she] was hit.'



Taken by police (21)-(22)

(21) Nah... kakeknya tuh manggil polisi akhirnya suaminya itu... ditangkep sama polisi. *nah kakek=pa tuh mangil polisi akhirpa suami=pa itu* PTC grandfather=DEF PTC ACT.call policeman finally husband=DEF that *di-tankəp sama polisi* PASS-catch with police

'The grandfather called police and the husband was finally arrested by the police.'

(22) Dan keadaan anak istrinya sudah... dalam keadaan berlumuran darah. *dan kəadaan anak istri=pa sudah dalam kəadaan bərlumuran darah* and situation child wife=DEF PRF inside situation covered blood

'And the child and wife were covered in blood.'

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In court (23-24)

(23) Lalu istrinya itu diajak ke kantor polisi buat memberikan keterangan... kejadiannya yang... yang sebenernya gimana.

lalu	istri=j	ia i	itu	di-adz	zak	kə	kantor	polis	si	buat	məm-bərikan
then	wife=r	DEF t	that	PASS-11	ivite	to	office	polic	ce	for	ACT-give
	0	~					səbənə actually	•	~		-

'Then the wife was brought to the police office to give a testimony... how the incident happened.'

(24) Tuh.

tuh

РТС

'Look.'



Thinking about goal (25)-(26)

(25) Akhirnya, suaminya... di...penjara selama lima tahun. akhirpa suami=pa di-pəpdzara səlama lima tahun finally husband=DEF PASS-prison during five year

'As a result, the husband was imprisoned for five years.'

(26) Nah, ini keadaan dia nih di penjara. Keadaan dia diperlakukan di penjara. nah ini keadaan dia nih di pendagara keadaan dia di-perlakukan di prc this situation 3 prc in prison situation 3 pass-treated in pendagara prison

'Here is his condition in the jail, how he was treated in the jail.'



Thinking of home (27)

(27)Dan dia kek menyesal seandainya kalo dia gak keyek gitu mungkin dia sudah bisa main sama anak istrinya di rumah. dan dia kek məpəsal səandaipa kalo dia keyek gitu muŋkin gak and 3 like regret if 3 NEG like like.that maybe if

dia	sudah	bisa	main	sama	anak	istri=pa	di	rumah
3	PRF	can	play	with	child	wife=def	in	home

'And he regretted it. If only he had not done that he might have been able to play with his child and wife at home.'



Alone in the cell (28)-(30)

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(28) Nah, ini dia semakin meratapi nasibnya dia... sampai makanan aja tuh dia gak dimakan tuh kayaknya. Roti? dia səmakin mə-ratapi nah ini nasib=na dia sampai makanan РТС this 3 the.more ACT-Cry.over destiny=DEF 3 until food $ad\hat{z}a$ tuh dia gak di-makan tuh kayakpa roti PTC it.looks.like bread just ртс 3 NEG PASS-eat

'And he became more and more grieved at his condition until he stopped eating food, I think. Is this bread?'

(29) Gak enak, Pak, di penjara, Pak. gak enak pak di pəndzara pak NEG comfortable sir in prison sir

'It was not comfortable being in a jail, Sir.'

(30) Tetep aja gak enak. *tətəp adza gak enak* definitely just NEG confortable

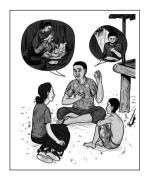
'It definitely was uncomfortable.'



Receiving clothes (31)

(31) Nah terus lima tahun tuh berlalu... nah dia dapet deh tuh baju dan celana dan sen(dal) sendal yang bagus yang baru untuk ketemu anak istrinya. nah tərus lima tahun tuh bərlalu nah dia dapət deh tuh badzu dan PTC then five vear PTC pass 3 get PTC ртс clothes and ITJ t]əlana dan sən səndal yan bagus yan baru untuk kətəmu anak sandals REL good child trousers and FS REL new for see istri=pa wife=DEF

'Then after five years... he got good clothes and pants and slippers then he met with his child and wife.'



Standing in light (32)

(32) Nah, dia lalu pulang ke rumah... pulang... keluar bisa menghirup udara segar. *nah dia lalu pulan kə rumah pulan kəluar bisa məŋhirup udara səgar* PTC 3 then return to home return go.out can breath air fresh

'Then he went home getting out (of the jail) and he could breathe fresh air.'



Homecoming (33)-(36)

- (33) Lalu... pulang ke rumah... ketemu anak istrinya dan... kakeknya. *lalu pulaŋ kə rumah kətəmu anak istri=pa dan kakek=pa*then return to home see child wife=DEF and grandfather=DEF
 'Then ... (he) went back home... met his child and wife and the grandfather.'
- (34) Di sini muka anaknya masih tetep takut sih. *di sini muka anak=pa masih tətəp takut sih* in here face child=DEF still still scared PTC

'Here the child's face still looked scared.'

- (35) Dan istrinya masih kaget kan... ih, suaminya uda pulang gitu. dan istri=pa masih kaget kan ih suami=pa uda pulang gitu and wife=DEF face shocked isn't.it TTJ husband=DEF PRF return like.that 'And the wife still felt shocked... (she thought), "Oh the husband was back", like that.'
- (36) Tapi istri dan anaknya memaafkan bapaknya. *tapi istri dan anak=pa mə-maafkan bapak=pa* but wife and child=DEF ACT-forgive father=DEF

'But the wife and child forgave the husband.'



Family talking together (37)

(37) Terus bapaknya kek menceritakan gimana dia di penjara terus dia merenungkan... terus dia merasa bersalah.

tərus	bapak=ɲa	kek	mən-t]əritakan	gimana	dia	di	pəpdzara	tərus	dia
then	father=DEF	like	ACT-narrate	how	3	in	prison	then	3

mə-rənuŋkan tərus dia mərasa bərsalah Act-think then 3 feel wrong

'Then it seems that the husband told that when he was in the prison, he contemplated and felt guilty.'



Refusing drink (38)–(39)

Lalu karena dia udah merasa bersalah, dia... udah gak mau lagi ikut-ikutan (38) temen-temennya dia tuh buat minum minum gitu..., dia udah menolak. dia udah mərasa bərsalah dia udah gak mau lalu karəna lagi then because 3 PRF fee1 wrong 3 PRF NEG want prog ikut-ikutan təmən-təmən=na dia tuh buat minum-minum gitu dia udah PL~friend=DEF join 3 PTC for drink like.that - 3 PRF mənolak ACT.refuse

'Then because he had felt he was wrong, he did not want to join his friends again for drinking, like that, he rejected it.

(39) Dah... seperti itu ceritanya yer keluarga mereka. *dah səpərti itu tfərita=pa yer kəluarga məreka* PRF like that story=DEF ITJ family 3PL

'Done ... their family story is like that.'

Abbreviations

~: reduplication, 1, 2, 3: first, second, third person; ACT: active voice; CLF: classifier; COMP: complementiser; COP: copula; CORR: correction; DEF: definite; FS: false start; TTJ: interjection; NEG: negator; PASS: passive; PRF: perfect; PL: plural; PROG: progressive; PTC: particle; REL: relativiser; SG: singular

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Appendix: The list of recordings

CI Recordings

Audio and video files from two of the three sessions (SocCog-ind02 and SocCog-ind03) are archived in PARADISEC as Danielle Barth (collector), Theresia Lenny S (participant), Stefanus Chandra (participant), Pierre Orodoxa Waka Wora Tola (participant), 2018.

ID	register	duration	words	Doi of the wav file
SocCog-ind01_01	CI	4:17	674	
SocCog-ind01_02	CI	2:18	253	
SocCog-ind01_03	CI	3:29	532	
SocCog-ind01_04	CI	2:51	419	
SocCog-ind01_05	CI	4:05	590	
SocCog-ind01_06	CI	1:10	140	
SocCog-ind01_07	CI	2:14	300	
SocCog-ind02_01	CI	16:15	2178	doi.org/10.26278/B7Y2-XC66
SocCog-ind02_02	CI	4:14	525	doi.org/10.26278/AE8Y-Q933
SocCog-ind02_03	CI	14:20	1861	doi.org/10.26278/2EF6-5T11
SocCog-ind02_04	CI	9:30	3009	doi.org/10.26278/6P4R-2W58
SocCog-ind02_05	CI	7:25	1643	doi.org/10.26278/0787-V461
SocCog-ind02_06	CI	6:26	1356	doi.org/10.26278/2CWG-VS27
SocCog-ind02_07	CI	10:39	3279	doi.org/10.26278/HXCF-8H84
300C0g-III002_07		10.39	5219	(MP4 file)
SocCog-ind03_01	CI	9:17	2865	doi.org/10.26278/921C-V872
SocCog-ind03_02	CI	2:28	601	doi.org/10.26278/2Z2P-NT16
SocCog-ind03_03	CI	5:39	818	doi.org/10.26278/YPYG-5661
SocCog-ind03_04	CI	2:11	192	doi.org/10.26278/N8MY-ZC78
SocCog-ind03_05	CI	4:30	569	doi.org/10.26278/79FH-FP20
SocCog-ind03_06	CI	3:58	561	doi.org/10.26278/0N3C-8N17
SocCog-ind03_07	CI	4:28	427	doi.org/10.26278/765E-8855

SI Recordings

Audio and video files from two of the three sessions (SocCog-ind04 and SocCog-ind05) are archived in PARADISEC as Barth, Danielle (collector), Aprillionna (participant), Rangga Panusuan Lubis (participant), Theresia Lidya (participant), 2018

ID	register	duration	words	Doi of the wav file
SocCog-ind04_01	SI	10:44	3075	doi.org/10.26278/59TE-FH36
SocCog-ind04_02	SI	6:19	1844	doi.org/10.26278/8JD1-YK44
SocCog-ind04_03	SI	4:45	1289	doi.org/10.26278/ED86-V211
SocCog-ind04_04	SI	6:37	1575	doi.org/10.26278/2HBS-8W55
SocCog-ind04_05	SI	3:08	726	doi.org/10.26278/W3VS-SR95
SocCog-ind04_06	SI	1:30	365	doi.org/10.26278/7GMK-WG65
SocCog-ind04_07	SI	6:29	1522	doi.org/10.26278/3TYP-K827
SocCog-ind05_01	SI	15:33	5246	doi.org/10.26278/GKNG-6M86
SocCog-ind05_02	SI	9:53	3265	doi.org/10.26278/Q5MJ-0D17
SocCog-ind05_03	SI	7:24	2297	doi.org/10.26278/4SZ7-1H65
SocCog-ind05_04	SI	0.375	1935	doi.org/10.26278/N0ED-YW81
SocCog-ind05_05	SI	5:27	1193	doi.org/10.26278/R10E-FV24
SocCog-ind05_06	SI	5:15	1308	doi.org/10.26278/7ZZX-3Y60
SocCog-ind05_07	SI	10:01	1972	doi.org/10.26278/GN3D-BR42
SocCog-ind06_01	SI	13:26	4801	
SocCog-ind06_02	SI	2:17	866	
SocCog-ind06_03	SI	8:42	2819	
SocCog-ind06_04	SI	5:48	1500	
SocCog-ind06_05	SI	4:30	1412	
SocCog-ind06_06	SI	5:38	1562	
SocCog-ind06_07	SI	5:09	1626	