DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY OF ASPECTS OF MALAY NARRATIVES*

Yap Siew Peng

Abstract
This study investigates the developmental patterns in Malay based on elicited narratives. It focuses specifically on whether the children display any preferences in the use of the different structures available in the language. Thirty-four subjects were involved in the study, eleven adults, eleven 5-year olds and twelve 7-year olds. Three narratives were also collected from 3-year olds. These have generally been excluded from the main analysis but are nonetheless discussed briefly. The results showed clear developmental patterns in the use of relative clauses, passives and locatives. The results also suggest that the children have not yet fully mastered the complex system of affixes in Malay.

INTRODUCTION
Mature language use, as Berman & Slobin (1987) have stated, involves more than just knowing the words. One also has to know when and how to use them. And with this knowledge one then has the ability to choose between the different forms and perspectives to take in the relaying of information.

In extending this to crosslinguistic studies, Slobin (1990a:7) proposes that children not only acquire the grammatical forms and functions but also a ‘framework for schematizing experience’. This means that there is a particular framework into which all sentences are put, dealing with temporal and spatial relations, voice and so forth. Berman & Slobin (1987:1) claim that in every language there is, what they call ‘a set of preferred perspectives’ which are acquired at an early age. Although there may be different perspectives and structures available to the speakers, there are structures which are preferred over the others, and by 3-years of age, children are already sensitive to these.

This finding is based on the results obtained from a large crosslinguistic study which examined the different ways in which children acquiring a language talk about events and experiences. The study investigated several languages: English, German, Hebrew, Spanish and Turkish. A number of papers have been written on this study (Berman 1988; Slobin 1987, 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Slobin & Bocaz 1988) which involved children from the three age groups, 3, 5 and 9, as well as adults.

In order to obtain comparable speech samples, a wordless picture book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969) was used. The book consists of 24 pictures that tell a story of a boy whose pet frog has escaped and how he and his dog go in search of it. Since there are no words in the book, speakers rely solely on what they see in the pictures to construct a story. Thus, whatever differences there may be in their narratives would be expected to be due entirely to either the age (among speakers of the same language) or the patterns of the specific language used, and not to other external factors.

* I would like to thank my supervisor, Edith Bavin, for her invaluable support and advice throughout my research for this paper.

1 The book was first used for eliciting child data by Bamberg (1987).
An example of the differences found in the study (Slobin, 1989:7) was in the use of relative clauses. When the three typologically similar languages - English, Spanish and German were compared, it was found that a very high percentage of the Spanish speakers used relative clauses in their stories. In fact, 50% of the 3 year olds used at least one relative clause, and by 9, there were already as many children as adults using at least one relative clause in their stories. The next highest percentage of speakers came from the English speaking subjects who had 17% of their 3-year old speakers using a relative clause. Although by adulthood all Spanish and English speakers used relative clauses, only 75% of the German adults did.

Berman & Slobin (1987) also found substantial differences in the use of locatives by speakers of the five languages. Although all languages in Berman & Slobin’s study allow for the elaboration of the goal, it was evident throughout the four age groups investigated (3, 5, and 9-year olds and adults), that the German speakers used more locatives in comparison to the other speakers. They produced a higher average of locative tokens per subject in all age groups. It was found that none of the 3-year old German children used the bare verb alone in describing a scene in which a deer throws the boy over a cliff. They used three times as many locative particles as locative phrases. None of the Spanish, Turkish and Hebrew 3-year olds used a verb with a locative particle in describing this particular scene. This suggests that the German 3-year olds were already sensitive to the salient use of locatives in German and seem to have assimilated to the predominant pattern of locative use in narratives.

Another difference found was in the use of tense and aspect distinctions. For example, in comparing the scene where there were two simultaneous events occurring, Slobin (1987:437) found that the Spanish speakers preferred to mark the first event as punctual with a perfective form and the second either with an imperfective or a gerundive expression. This is characteristic of Spanish which has an elaborate system of marking of grammatical aspect. German and Hebrew speakers, on the other hand, tended to use the same tense-aspect form for both events (Slobin, 1987:438). Spanish and English speakers tended to use different aspectual perspectives in marking the two events, while German and Hebrew speakers did not.

In the light of the findings discussed above, a study was set up to investigate the preferred structures in Malay narratives and to examine whether there was any evidence of these in narratives produced by 3-7 year old Malay speakers.

**METHOD**

**Subjects**

Subjects for this study were limited to Malaysian Malays (i.e. not Malaysian Chinese or Indians), since they are the ones in Malaysia who speak Malay as their first language. A total of thirty-seven narratives were collected. There were eleven from adults, eleven from 5-year olds and twelve from 7-year olds. Several 3-year olds were interviewed but only three were able to produce a usable narrative.

**Materials**

The picture book *Frog, Where are you?* (Mayer, 1969) was used in all the interviews. The book contains 24 pictures depicting the story of a little boy and his dog who go in search of his frog that had escaped. They encounter various adventures before finally finding the frog and bringing it home with them again. There are no words or prompts in the book and subjects had to construct a story purely from the pictures alone (see Appendix 1 for a summary of the pictures).
Procedure
The subjects were all interviewed individually. The subjects were seated opposite the interviewer so that the interviewer was not looking at the book. This is so that the subjects were forced to tell the story without assuming that the interviewer had access to the book as well. The subjects were asked to look through the whole book first and then to construct a story from the pictures. Adults were told to tell the story as if they were telling it to a child. The stories were all recorded and then transcribed, glossed and translated using the Interlinear Text Processing (IT) program produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). (See Appendix 2 for a sample transcription.)

Coding of Results
The adults were identified by a number and gender, For example, A01M means Adult subject number 1, Male. The children were identified with more detail, for example, 707-10-F means 7-year old subject number 7, age: 10 months, Female; and 511-03-M means 5-year old subject number 11, age: 3 months, Male.

The program allows different annotations like morpheme breaks. This was done with the Malay narratives in this study. For example, the word *mengusik* ‘to disturb’ is broken up into morphemes thus: *me-usik*. The prefix and stern are then glossed accordingly. For combinations of affixes, only the prefix is glossed with the grammatical function that it marks. The suffix is then glossed with a ‘=’ to denote a link to an earlier affix. Similarly for words like *tiba-tiba* ‘suddenly’ and *mula-mula* ‘at the start’, only the first morpheme is glossed with its meaning. The second morpheme is simply glossed ‘=’.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction
At the macro-level, the adult stories generally had a clearer plot than the children. They also made more mention of the continuative search for the lost frog and so manage to explicitly mark the objective in the story.

In the following sections, I will discuss the use of relative clauses, passives and locatives as well as the developmental pattern observed in the use of affixes.

Relative Clauses
The data collected in this study showed that all but one adult used relative clauses in their stories while none of the children did. Recall that previous studies on other languages have shown that children as young as 3 already use relative clauses (Slobin, 1989). In fact, in the Berman and Slobin study, speakers from all age groups (3, 4, 5, 9 and adults) used relative clauses in their stories. Even speakers of German, which has the most complex set of forms of relative pronouns in the group, had 8% of its 3-year old speakers using at least one relative clause in their narratives. Table 1, incorporating data from Slobin, shows how the Malay narrators from the current study compare with the Spanish, English and German speakers from Slobin’s study. As can be seen from Table 1, the Malay children are the only ones who did not use any relative clauses at all in their stories.

Slobin (1989: 9,10) put forth two factors that may account for the differences in the use of relative clauses. One was in the choice of relative pronouns available in the language, and the other was in the pattern of information flow. German, as noted earlier, has the most complex system in forming a relative clause: it has a set of forms that mark number, gender, case and animacy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Age 3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, Spanish has a general relativizer *que*, which does not mark any of these. It was because of this linguistic complexity that the German speakers were expected to have a late relative clause development, which was indeed found to be so.

The Malay *yang* is equivalent to the English ‘who, ‘which and ‘that. Thus, it is similar to the Spanish *que*, in serving as a general ‘all-purpose relativizer’. Based on this similarity with Spanish, then, it is surprising that the Malay children did not use any relative clauses while 50% of the Spanish children already displayed a competence in using relative clauses. The second factor discussed by Slobin was in the difference of the patterning of information flow. He argues that it is in the typological differences in patterns of use that account for the differences seen between Spanish and English (Slobin, 1989:10). In Spanish, modification follows the noun, while English, on the other hand, generally has modifications (other than relative clauses) occurring before the noun. Thus, the pattern of information flow in Spanish may be more conducive to the formation of relative clauses.

However, Slobin’s suggestion that it is the patterning of information flow in Spanish which accounts for the early relative clause acquisition does not account for the development seen in Malay. The patterning of information in Malay is similar to that in Spanish in that the modification follows the noun. The following examples show the patterning of information in Spanish and Malay:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>MALAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) a. noun—adjective</td>
<td>b. noun—adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un tubo roto</td>
<td>bunga cantik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a broken tube</td>
<td>flower pretty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a <em>broken tube</em></td>
<td><em>a pretty flower</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) a. noun—relative clause</td>
<td>b. noun—relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un tubo <em>que está roto</em></td>
<td>bunga <em>yang cantik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tube that is broken</td>
<td>flower WH pretty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a <em>tube that is broken</em></td>
<td><em>a flower which is pretty</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Slobin, 1989:10]

Although the difference in information patterning may account for the differences between English and Spanish, it does not explain why Malay, which is similar to Spanish in the patterning of information, has such a late relative clause development. It is clear that the present analysis cannot fully account for the data. Further study would be needed to determine the actual cause for the difference observed between the Spanish and Malay narratives.
Nevertheless, there are two possible solutions that are available to us at this stage. One reason why the Malay children might have such a late development of relative clause use is possibly due to the different functions of the relativizer yang.

The Malay yang has at least two functions. One is as a relative clause marker and the other is as a sort of intensifier, where it is used when two or more adjectives, or an intensifier is used in referring to an object. This is shown in the following examples, where (3a) contains the use of yang with an intensifier while (3c) contains the use of yang with two adjectives:

(3)  a. **Gadis yang sangat cantik itu**  
   girl WH very pretty the  
   the very pretty girl

   b. **Gadis sangat cantik itu**  
   girl very pretty the  
   the very pretty girl

   c. **Dahan pokok yang ramping dan kuat itu**  
   branch tree WH slender and strong the  
   the slender and strong branch of the tree

   [Kwee, 1976:13]

   d. **511-03-M(S1)**  
   Tapi yang anjing tu masuk dalam uh ... bakul.  
   but WH dog that enter inside basket  
   But as for that dog, he entered inside the basket.

In the narratives collected in this study, yang was found to also function as a topicalizer (see 3d above). Hence, there are at least three different functions designated to the Malay yang. Of the three functions noted, the children seem to acquire the use of yang as a topicalizer first before learning of the other two functions.

Slobin (1985) suggests Operating Principles (OP’s) which govern the storage of information, among which are the OP’s LIMITED FUNCTIONS and UNIFUNCTIONALITY (Slobin, 1985:1222, 1227). Both of these OP’s gear children towards the analysis of one form - one function and one function - one form. The late development of the use of relative clauses in Malay seems to be another example of the preference for one form - one function by young children.

Another reason why the Malay children in the study show such a late development of relative clause use may be that the children are currently acquiring some other more salient aspects of the language, for example, the complex system of affixes in Malay.

**Affixes**

The present study revealed an increasing use of the different affixes by the children, whereas the adults displayed a flexible use of the different affixes. All except one subject in the study were found to use at least one affix in their narratives. Table 2 shows the average number of different affixes (prefixes, suffixes and the combinations of both) used by the three age groups in the study, as well as the average number of affixes used for every ten words, Only subjects who used at least one affix were counted.

**TABLE 2. Average number of affixes and different forms used**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Average number of affixes every 10 words</th>
<th>Average number of different affixes used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults N=11</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-year-olds N=12</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-year-olds N=10</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The average was taken for every ten words, because the adult narratives tended to be longer than the children’s, and hence, taking the average number of affixes used in the entire narrative alone would not have produced a fair representation of the data. Therefore, this gives a more realistic picture of the differences between the Malay adult and children narrators in this study. As can be seen, the adults used an average of 1.37 affixes in every ten words, while the children used less than one, although the 7-year olds had a higher average than the 5-year olds. This shows an increasing use of affixes with age.

The table also shows the adults using a far wider range of affixes than did the children. The adults averaged approximately seven different affixes per speaker while the 7-year olds only three. The 5-year olds used only approximately two different affixes per speaker. This is a clear increase in the use of different affixes across the age groups, and suggests that the children are still learning them. Further analysis reveals a clearer picture of the development seen in the children narratives in the current study. Of the 5-year olds, 55% of them used only one form of affix in their study and one narrator actually used none, while only 17% of the 7-year olds used less than two different affixes in their stories.

An indication that the children have not yet mastered the rather complex system of affixes in Malay is in the misformation of words when attaching affixes to the stems. An example of this is given as (4) below, taken from the narrative of a 7-year old:

(4) 709-00-F (S8)
Lepas itu orang, orang itu me-ambil (meng-ambil)  
af ter that person person that A-take  
katak dia satu.  
frog he one  
_After that the person, the person took one of his frogs._

As can be seen, the subject here produced the form _me-ambil_ instead of _meng-ambil_. This is not merely an isolated error, for the subject had mentioned the same form earlier in the narrative. The child has learned the use of the prefix _me-_ but not yet the phonological variants.

The data show that the Malay children are sensitive to the prevalent use of affixes in their language before 5-years, and that by 7-years, 83% of them are already using at least two different forms of affixes.

**Passives**

From the data collected, a clear increase in the overall use of passives was found with age. However, there was a difference in the type of passive used.

Chung (1976) argues that Bahasa Indonesia, which is very similar to Malay, has two passive formations. She argues that the form most readily identifiable as a passive is the Canonical Passive which has a similar structure to the English passive, while the second construction, referred to as Object Preposing, looks more like a sort of topicalization and, indeed, Chung reports that such constructions are often identified by the native speakers as ‘the equivalent of an active sentence or object topicalization in English’ (Chung, 1976:62). Consider the following active sentences and their corresponding passive in Indonesian:

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2  It is not my intention here to discuss the analysis presented by Chung. Her analysis is referred to in this paper simply to compare the two different structures in Malay and Indonesian.
As can be seen from (5a,b), the Canonical Passive in Indonesian is derived by moving the direct object to subject position, while the subject is moved to a prepositional phrase with an optional oleh ‘by’ (Chung, 1976:60). There is also a passive marker di-, which gets attached to the verb in such constructions, replacing the prefix me-. The second passive construction in Indonesia involves the use of the theme as the subject, as is seen in (6a,b).

Chung refers to such constructions as Object Preposing (but argues that they really are passives). Chung also noted that the verb in such constructions does not take any affixes and always appears in its stem form (Chung, 1976:60). Such passive constructions are also possible in Malay and were found in the narratives collected in the study. Table 3 below shows the percentage of speakers in the study who produced at least one passive construction in their narrative and the percentage of the passive distribution between the two forms:

### Table 3. Percentage of narrators who used at least one passive construction, and distribution of type of passive used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>At least one passive construction</th>
<th>Canonical Passive</th>
<th>Object Preposing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-years</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-years</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 3 shows, all the adult passive constructions were of the Canonical type, while the children had both. The table also shows a clear increase in the use of the Canonical Passive and a decrease in the use of Object Preposing. This implies that the Canonical Passive is the predominant structure in the formation of passives in Malay, at least in this type of discourse.

Recall that the Canonical Passive in Malay involves the use of the theme as subject, the attachment of the di- prefix on the verb plus the optionality of the oleh ‘by’ insertion. This suggests, then, that the children’s low use of passives in general is due to the complexity of its formation and thus the children do not use it frequently until later.

In English, there is a distinction between full passives and truncated passives. Examples of each are given below:
(7) a. Full Passives
   The cat was chased by the dog.
   The house was built by Jack.

   b. Truncated Passives
   The cat was chased.
   The house was painted.

Full passives have an overt agent while truncated passives do not. Harwood (1959) reports
that full passives do not occur in children’s free speech and other studies have shown that this
may not necessarily be because the children have not acquired them yet, for they did produce
full passives in controlled experiments (Horgan, 1978:66).

Truncated passives are also possible in Malay, as the following examples show:

(8) a. Kuching itu pun di-kejar (oleh) anjing.
    The cat was chased by the dog.

   b. Kuching itu pun di-kejar.
    The cat was also chased.

    Ali’s book was stolen by Samad.

    All’s book was stolen.

In the above examples, the (a) sentences are the full passives while the (b) sentences are the
truncated ones. In the full passives, there is still another option of having *oleh* ‘by’ insertion
as noted earlier. Hence, there are three different forms in the Malay Canonical Passives, and
they are:

(10) a. Full passives - with *oleh* ‘by’
    Anjing itu dirnarah oleh dia.
    The dog was scolded by him.

   b. Full passives - without *oleh* ‘by’
    Anjing itu dirnarah dia.
    The dog was scolded (by) him.

   c. Truncated passive
    Anjing itu diniarah.
    The dog was scolded.

All three forms were evident in the adult narratives collected in the present study. The
following are examples of each:

(11) Full passive - with *oleh* by’ A06F (S9)
    Dan anjing itu telah um, di-buru oleh lebah-lebah
    And dog the already um PASS-hunt by bees
    yang ber-ada di dalam sarang lebah itu.
    which V-exist at inside nest bee the
    *And the dog was, urn, hunted by the bees which were inside the bee hive.*
(12) Full passive - without oleh ‘by’ A09M (S8)
Mmm ... Ahmad pun terus, men-erus-kan pen-cari-an-nya
mmm ... Ahmad also straight A-straight-CAUS AB/N-search-AB/N-POSS
dan, berbagai halang-an telah dia hadap-i. Seperti, uh
and various obstruct-N already he face-T as
di-serang burung, uh....
PASS-attack bird
Mmm. Ahmad continued his search and he faced various
obstacles. Like, uh being attacked by a bird, uh...

(13) Truncated passive A05F (S 10)
Ali yang sedang ter-tengok-tengok dalam lubang tu, ter-rasa
Ali WH PROG NI-see-see inside hole that NI -feel
hidung dia ter-gigit.
nose he NI -bite
Ali who was looking inside the hole, felt his nose bitten.

Note that in (13), the passive marker di- was not used on the verb gigit ‘bite’. Instead, the
prefix ter- was used, signifying the Non-Intentionality of the action, even though there is a
passive reading to the final clause. This shows that in the formation of the passive in Malay,
the passive marker di- may be substituted with the ter- prefix.

The children, however, did not show as much flexibility as the adults did in the use of the
different Canonical Passive constructions. Even when the children did use the Canonical
Passive, they did not ever produce the full form of the passive with the optional oleh ‘by’, as
did the adults. The following are the passive forms used by the children in this study.

(14) 703-00-F (S3)
Orang itu di-gigit lebah.
person the PASS -bite bee
The person was bitten by the bees.

(15) 705-00-M (S7)
Dia-pun di-kejar.
he-also PASS -chase
He was chased.

(16) 503-04-M (S2)
Budak itu men-cari katak ... ini pun ... tanpa di-sedari
child the A -search frog ... this also ... without PASS -conscious
anjing dia tu pun me-manjat di atas pokok.
dog he that also A-climb at top tree
The child searched for the frog ... this also ... without it
being realised (by him) ... his dog climbed on top of the tree.

In the examples above, the passive di- is present on all the verbs, marking the clause as a
passive construction. However, in (15) and (16) there is no explicit agent in the sentence.
Reich (1986:125) claims that for English speaking children, ‘the subjects of children’s short
passives are almost all inanimate objects’. However, the Malay data collected in this study
does not show this. In the truncated passives in the children’s stories, the boy of the story was
selected as subject. This shows that this is the way the children speakers attempt to maintain
the child as the main character. The Malay adults do not do this. Their use of passives did not
show this bias towards the child character. Other NPs were also used, such as the dog, as seen in (11) above.

The data collected indicate that the Malay children first re-assign the arguments, add the prefix on the verb and put the agent after the verb in the formation of passives. It is hypothesized that the use of the optional *oleh* is a later development. However, other data need to be collected to test this hypothesis.

One indication of the children’s attempt at referring to a passive was found in the narratives. Some of the subjects used the word *kena* ‘experience’ instead of *di-* as the following excerpts show:

(17) 712-04-M (S6)  
Lepas tu, anjing ni pun lari kena kejar dengan lebah.  
*After that the dog this also run experience chase with bee*

(18) 703-00-F (S4)  
Gopoh-gopoh, Mereka kena patuk.  
*In haste, they were pecked.*

The above two constructions are still grammatical in Malay. It is interesting to note here that although the passive marker *di-* was not used, the use of the theme as subject is observed, which seems to support the earlier hypothesis that the children first learn to assign different arguments to subject position before they learn the complexities of the passive construction. This use of the word *kena* to refer to a passive was not only restricted to the children, however. One adult subject was found to use the word *kena* in this manner although none of the 5-year olds did. An example from the adult narrative is repeated below:

(19) A08M(S13)  
... ila sarang tu dah pecah, anjing dia kena kejar.  
*when nest that finish break dog he experience chase*

Hootch *kena kejar.*  
Hootch experience chase  
*when the nest was broken, the dog, he was chased. Hootch was chased.*

The three 3-year old’s narratives collected in this study did not contain any of the passive constructions as discussed above. One subject did, however, make ise of the word *kena* in attempting to avoid marking an agent. An example of such a construction by this 3-year old subject is given below:

(20) 301-11-M(S7)  
Pas tu anjing tu kena lari. Lepas tu ada rusa dah.  
*after that dog that experience run after that exist deer finish*

Dia *kena, kena turun bawah.*  
he experience experience descend below  
*After that the dog was chased. After that there was already a deer. He had descended below.*

As can be seen, the narrator does not assign the subject to the role of an active agent. This is avoided by using an experiencer subject with the word *kena.*
Locatives

In analysing the description of the same scene as did Berman and Slobin, it was found that all subjects made an explicit mention to the scene where the boy falls into the water, and the majority of them used a locative phrase to specify the goal. The average number of locative tokens and the distribution of the three types of motion descriptions used in this scene are as follows:

### Table 4. Average number of tokens and percentage of types of motion descriptions used per Malay subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Average number of locative tokens</th>
<th>% of bare verbs</th>
<th>% of locative particles</th>
<th>% of locative phrases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults 7-yearolds</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-yearolds</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>83.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-yearolds</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Malay adult speakers have the lowest average number of locative tokens in comparison to the results obtained in Berman and Slobin’s study. The lowest average (adults) in their study was scored by the Hebrew speakers who had an average of 1.8 compared to the Malay 1.7. But this is only a slight difference and is not statistically significant.

The Malay 5-year olds, however, do seem to use relatively more locative particles than the Hebrew 5-year olds, with an average of 1.1 to 0.9. This could be due to the typological differences between the two languages. Hebrew, like Spanish, has a relatively small set of ‘general locative-directional’ markers (Berman & Slobin, 1987:7). Thus, locative specification is encoded in verbs with inherent directionality and not by separate locative particles or phrases. Malay, on the other hand, has a varied range of locative particles, like di ‘at’, ke ‘to’, dalam ‘inside’, atas ‘top’ and bawah ‘below’. Also, Malay verbs do not generally conflate Motion and Path as Spanish does. Motion verbs in Malay normally require separate locative prepositional phrases to mark the goal of the motion. Therefore, the predominant pattern in Malay is to have separate locative phrases, which might explain the relatively high average of locative particles used by the 5-year olds.

This pervasive use of prepositional phrases to mark the goal in Malay is noted even with the few verbs of inherent directionality. Both children and adults were found to use locative particles and locative phrases even with words of inherent directionality, to specify the goal or source. One common construction is the phrase masuk ke dalam, masuk di dalam or simply masuk dalam ‘enter into’. Examples of this from the narratives are given below:

(21) a. A07F(S12)
   … lalu Ali di-jatuh-kan dari-pada kepala-nya
   therefore Ali PASS-fall- CAUS from-at head- POSS
   masuk ke dalam se-buah kolam.
   enter to inside one-CL lake
   therefore Ali was dropped from his head, and entered into a lake.

b. 703-00-F (S4)
   Orang itu terus masuk ke dalam air.
   person the straight enter to inside water
   The person immediately entered the water.
All three examples above, one from each age group, make use of the verb masuk ‘enter’ with a prepositional phrase to denote the boy’s entry into the water. These examples show the use of the locative phrases to mark the goal of the motion. Other verbs of inherent directionality like naik ‘ascend’ and turun ‘descend’ used with different prepositional phrases to mark the goal were also found throughout the narratives.

Locative phrases were also used by the Malay speakers to mark the source of the motion even with verbs of inherent directionality like keluar ‘exit’. Although these did not occur in the scene where the boy falls into the water, they did occur in the description of other scenes, and examples from the adults and the 7-year olds are repeated below:

(22) a. A01M(S2)
   *katak ini keluar dari-pada balang tersebut.*
   This frog exited from the bottle.
   b. 703-00-F (S5)
   *Orang itu mahu keluar dari-pada air.*
   The person wanted to exit from the water.

The 5-year old subjects in this study did not ever specify the source of the motion although they did specify the goal as already shown in (21c). This suggests that the children acquire the coding of the goal of the motion before the source.

Almost all subjects in the current study used some form of locative phrase or locative particle in their narratives. In comparing the use of locatives in this scene where the boy falls into the water, it was found that the majority of the narrators specified the goal of the motion. This was true even of the 5-year olds. In fact, all the adults and all the 5-year old subjects used locative phrases in describing the scene. The only difference was in the 7-year old age group, where two narrators used only the bare verb *terjatuh* ‘accidental-fall’. Thus, it may be concluded that Malay is like German and English which emphasize sources and goals (Berman & Slobin, 1987:4). There were two instances in the adult narratives where both the source and goal were explicitly mentioned as well as the cause. These are given as examples (23) and (24) below:

(23) A06F(S13)
   *Kemudian, rusa itu men-campak-kan budak itu dan anjing-nya juga jatuh sekali dari-pada ... tempat curam itu ke dalam satu gaung.*
   Then, the deer threw the boy and his dog also fell together from the steep place into a valley.
Therefore Ali was caused to fall headfirst into a lake.

The results show that the Malay children as young as 5 are already sensitive to their language’s emphasis on the locality of the motion. All of the 5-year olds (i.e. 100%) were found to use locative phrases in describing the scene compared to 43% of the English 3-year olds in Berman and Slobin’s study, which was the highest (along with Spanish) amongst the 5 languages.

It is worth noting that of the three narratives collected from the 3-year olds in this study, two subjects used only the bare verb while the other used a locative phrase masuk dalam air ‘enter inside water’. Of the two who used only the bare verb, one of them did specify the locality and cause, as illustrated in (25).

(25) 303-08-F (S7)

Pas tu yang ni, dia tolak, dia jatuh dengan anjing ni.
After that this he push he fall with dog this

Pas tu anjing ni, dia, dia ada dalam sungai. Dia jatuh.
After that this dog he he exist inside river he fall

After that, this one, he pushed, he fell with this dog.
After that, this dog, he, he was in the river. He fell.

It can be seen in (25) that the subject was trying to communicate the causal action of the deer (‘he push’) and then the locality of the fall - ‘he fell with his dog. After that, this dog, he was in the river’. Although she did not specify the fall into the water, by noting the end state of the dog (and thus the boy as well, who fell with the dog), the subject is attempting to imply just that.

CONCLUSION

Most studies using the Frog Story have mainly concentrated on the distinctions made in the marking of tense and aspect. However, in this study I have investigated instead the salient structures in Malay. This is because Malay does not mark tense on the verb and the time of events is derived from the context, while some words are used to show aspect changes.

The main findings from the present study reveal a late development in the use of relative clauses in Malay. None of the child subjects produced a relative clause in their narratives while the majority of the adults did. It was concluded that the children’s lack of use of relative clauses was not because the children were not aware of the general relativizer yang, but rather because the children were found to use the Malay yang as a topicalizer. It was suggested that the late development of relative clauses was due to either the multi-functionality of the one form yang, or that the children were in the process of acquiring more salient features of the language, for example, the complex system of affixes.

A clear developmental pattern was observed in the use of affixes by the subjects in this study. While the adults displayed a flexible use of the various affixes in the language, the children were found to use a smaller range of affixes at a lower frequency. It was suggested that the children were in the process of acquiring the complex system of affixes in Malay and this was supported by the misformation of certain words when affixes were attached. The data showed that Malay children as young as 5-years were already using affixes in their stories.
Another interesting observation was made in the use of passives. Although not all subjects produced a passive construction in their stories, it was used by subjects from all age groups. It was concluded that the Canonical Passive is the preferred structure because there was an increase observed in the use of the Canonical Passive with a decrease in the use of the Object Preposing construction. Truncated Passives were also evident in the narratives and were observed in the children narratives. It was hypothesized that the use of the optional *oleh* is a later development. The word *kena* ‘experience’ was found to be used as an alternative to the passive marker *di-* by a number of speakers.

Finally, it was noted that the pervasive use of locative phrases in Malay was evident even in the use of verbs with inherent directionality. Both adults and children were found to use prepositional phrases to specify the goal or source. It was also noted that the majority of the subjects used locative phrases in describing the scene under discussion.

**REFERENCES**


APPENDIX 1
SUMMARY OF PICTURES

Picture 1: The scene is set in a bedroom. A boy is sitting on a stool looking at a frog. The frog is in an open jar. A dog is looking inside the jar. It's night time.

Picture 2: The boy and dog are sleeping on the bed. The frog is climbing out of the jar.

Picture 3: It is day time and the boy and the dog are still on the bed, looking at the empty jar.

Picture 4: The boy is holding up a boot and looking inside it. The jar is lying on its side and the dog is looking in the jar. His head is in the jar.

Picture 5: The boy is calling out the window and the dog is on the window sill, his head still in the jar.

Picture 6: The dog is shown in midfall from the window, and the boy is looking at him from the window. The jar is still on the dog's head.

Picture 7: The boy is standing on the ground outside the window, holding the dog and frowning. The dog is licking the boy's cheek and there are broken pieces of glass on the ground.

Picture 8:* The boy and dog are standing in a clearing. The boy's hands are cupped at his mouth. In a distance in front of them, there are trees and a beehive hanging from one of the trees. There are bees flying out of the beehive and the dog is on his hind legs sniffing in the air at them. Behind them, there is a house in a distance.

Picture 9: The boy is on his hands and knees calling down a hole in the ground. The dog is at the tree jumping at the beehive.

Picture 10: The boy is holding his nose and leaning away from the hole. There is a mole-like creature coming out of the hole. The dog is in the background still looking up at the tree with his paws on the trunk of the tree.

Picture 11:* The beehive is on the ground and bees are swarming out. The dog still has his front paws on the tree trunk and is looking back at it. The child is sitting on the branch of another bigger tree, looking into a hole in the tree.

Picture 12:* The boy is lying on his back on the ground and there is an owl coming out of the hole in the tree. The dog is running across with the bees after it.

Picture 13: The owl is hovering over the boy who is at some big rocks. The boy is shielding his head with his right arm. Behind the biggest rock are bushes and branches sticking out.

Picture 14: The boy is on the biggest rock holding onto some branches with his right hand and calling out. His left hand is cupped at his mouth. The owl is sitting on the branch of a tree in the background, looking at him. The dog is cowering at the base of the rock.

Picture 15: (See picture below.) The branches which the boy was holding onto in the preceding picture are shown to be the antlers of a deer. Only the deer's head and antlers can be seen from behind the rocks. The boy is lying on the deer's head between the antlers. The boy is lying on his front. The dog is looking behind the rocks.

* These scenes are spread across two pages.
Picture 16:  (See picture below.) The deer is running towards a cliff with the boy still on his head. The dog is running in front of the deer barking at him.

Picture 17:* The deer is standing on the cliff and both the boy and the dog are in midfall into a pool of water.

Picture 18: The boy and dog land in the water and the deer is leaning over the cliff towards them.

Picture 19: The boy is sitting up in the water and the dog is on his head. The boy’s left hand is cupped at his ear and both the boy and the dog seem to be smiling.

Picture 20: The boy is at the edge of the water with one hand on a rotten piece of log and the other at his lips telling the dog to be quiet. The dog is in the water, swimming towards him.

Picture 21: Both the boy and dog are shown from behind, leaning over the rotten piece of log. The dog is on the log.

Picture 22: The boy is climbing on the log and the dog is leaning down towards two big frogs which are on the ground. Both the boy and the dog are looking at the frogs.

Picture 23: Both the boy and dog are now sitting up on the log looking in wonder at nine smaller frogs which are jumping out from the nearby weeds. Both the bigger frogs are looking proudly at the smaller frogs.

Picture 24:* Both the big frogs and seven smaller frogs are sitting on the log, while one small frog is on the ground behind them. All the frogs on the log are looking at the boy, except for one small frog which is looking behind at the one on the ground. The boy and the dog are wading through the water, away from the frogs. The boy is waving back at them with a small frog sitting on his right hand.

END OF STORY

Sample Pictures

Picture 15

Picture 16
ref 506-01-F.itx sentence 1

TX: Uh dia tengok katak di dalam bekas. Budak jaga katak.

MP: uh dia tengok katak di dalam bekas budak jaga katak

WG: uh he see frog at inside container child care frog

TX: Dia tidur. Katak nak lari. Dia tengok katak tak ada.

MP: Dia tidur Katak hendak lari Dia tengok katak tak ada

WG: He sleep frog want run He see frog not exist

TX: Kasut ... anjing ni masuk dalam bekas. /

MP: kasut anjing ini masuk dalam bekas

WG: shoe dog this enter inside container

FT: He looked at the frog inside the container. The child cared for the frog. He (is) sleeping. The frog wants to run away. He looked, the frog is not there. Shoe ... this dog enters inside the container.

ref 506-01-F.itx sentence 2

TX: Anjing ni masuk dalam bekas. Anjing jatuh. Dia tengok

MP: anjing ini masuk dalam bekas anjing jatuh Dia tengok

WG: dog this enter inside container dog fall He see

TX: Anjing terjatuh. Dia pegang anjing. Anjing jilat pipi. /

MP: anjing ter-jatuh Dia pegang anjing anjing jilat pipi

WG: dog NI-fall He hold dog dog lick cheeks

FT: The dog enters inside the container. Dog falls. He sees the dog fall. He holds the dog. The dog licks (his) cheeks.

ref 506-01-F.itx sentence 3

TX: Dia panggil katak. Kat atas ada labah. Dia tengok dalam

MP: Dia panggil katak dekat atas ada labah Dia tengok dalam

WG: He call frog near top exist spider He see inside

TX: lubang. Dia ... tikus. Dia ... lebah jatuh. Tikus, ... dia

MP: lubang Dia tikus Dia lebah jatuh tikus dia

WG: hole He rat He bee fall rat he

TX: panjat pokok. Dia terjatuh, ada burung hantu. /

MP: panjat pokok Dia ter-jatuh ada burung hantu

WG: climb tree He NI-fall exist bird ghost

FT: He calls the frog. At the top there were some spiders (means bees). He looks inside the hole. He .. rat. He ... bees fall. Rat, .... he climbs the tree. He falls, there is an owl.
ref 506-01-F.itx sentence 4

tx Anjing lari. Burung hantu, dia takut. Dia panjat ... mmm ...
mp anjing lari burung hantu dia takut Dia panjat mmm
wg dog run bird ghost he scare He climb mmm

tx dia ...... rusa ... anjing ada. Rusa uh dia pergi dekat sini. /
mp dia rusa anjing ada rusa uh dia pergi dekat sini
wg he deer dog exist.deer uh he go near here

ft (The) dog runs. An owl, he is scared. He climbs ... mm he .... deer....
the dog is there. The deer, uh he goes near here.

ref 506-01-F.itx sentence 5

tx Anjing lari. Rusa, dia jatuh dengan anjing. Dia jatuh dekat
mp anjing lari rusa dia jatuh dengan anjing Dia jatuh dekat
wg dog run deer he fall with dog He fall near

tax air. Anjing ada dekat rambut dia. Dia ada dekat pokok.
mp air anjing ada dekat rambut dia Dia ada dekat pokok
wg water dog exist near hair he He exist near tree

tax Anjing senyum. /
mp anjing senyum
wg dog smile

ft The dog runs. The deer, he falls with the dog. He falls to the water.
The dog is at his hair. He is near the tree. The dog smiles.

ref 506-01-F.itx sentence 6

tx Anb ... budak itu dengan anjing le ... tak jatuh. Dia
mp anjing budak itu dengan anjing lebih tak jatuh Dia
wg dog child that with dog bee not fall He

tax sudah nampak katak. Katak ada anak dia. Dia ... dia ambil
mp sudah nampak katak Katak ada anak dia Dia dia ambil
wg finish see frog frog exist child he He he take

tax katak ... pah ... kat ... katak ada dekat pokok.
mp katak apa dekat katak ada dekat pokok
wg frog what near frog exist near tree

ft The child with the dog ... do not fall. He has seen the frog. The frog
has his child. He ... he takes a frog .... the frog is near the tree.