The Acquisition of WH Forms in Jakarta Indonesian

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Part I: WH Forms in Adult Jakarta Indonesian

1. What is Jakarta Indonesian?

> ✶ Jakarta Indonesian is the general colloquial language of Jakarta, used in most everyday contexts for inter-ethnic and ethnically-neutral communication, and increasingly also for intra-ethnic communication; acquired naturally and completely at a young age by most children growing up in Jakarta; described by Wouk (1989,1999).
>
> ✶ Jakarta Indonesian is not:
> • Standard Indonesian, used in more formal contexts in Jakarta and throughout Indonesia; acquired by children at a later age, often 'imperfectly', largely from the media and via conscious schooling.
> • Betawi Malay, the native dialect of the indigenous ethnic community of Jakarta, now a small minority of the total the population of Jakarta — described by Kähler (1966), Abdul Chaer (1976), Ikranagara (1980), Muhadjir (1981), Grijns (1991) and others.
>
> ✶ However, there exists a continuum of language varieties between Jakarta Indonesian and Standard Indonesian, and between Jakarta Indonesian and Betawi Malay.

2. Lexicon of WH Forms

(1) (a) *apa*   'what', 'do what'
     (b) *diapa*   'do what'   *di-* PATIENT ORIENTED
     (c) *diapain*   'do what'   *di-* PATIENT ORIENTED, *-in* APPLICATIVE
     (d) ? *ngapa*   'do what'   *N-* AGENT ORIENTED
     (e) *ngapain*   'do what'   *N-* AGENT ORIENTED, *-in* APPLICATIVE
     (f) *apaan*   'what'   *-an* AUGMENTATIVE
     (g) *apanya*   'what of'   *-nya* ASSOCIATIVE
     (h) *apaannya*   'what of'   *-an* AUGMENTATIVE, *-nya* ASSOCIATIVE
     (i) *siapa*   'who'   *si-* PERSONAL
     (j) *berapa*   'how much'   *ber-* MEDIAL
     (k) *kenapa*   'undergo what', 'why', 'how'   *kena* 'undergo'

(2) (a) *mana*   'which', 'where'
     (b) *gimana*   'what circumstance','how'   < *bagai* 'like'

(3)   *kapan*   'when'

(4)   *kok*   'how come'

3. Polyfunctionality: Non-WH Usages of WH Forms

(5) (a) all   indefinite
    (b) all (?)   dummy
    (c) *apa*   disjunction
    (d) *apa*   disjunction with negation forming YN question
    (e) *apa*   YN question
    (f) *apaan*   protest exclamation
    (g) *mana*   negation
    (h) *kok*   contrastive, surprise

4. WH Questions: Distribution of WH Forms

> ✶ Does the distribution of WH forms expressing WH questions differ from that of other, non-interrogative forms?
>
> Mostly: **no**   In some restricted cases: **yes**

4.1. objects to the left of the verb   (same)

(6) (a) *Rambutnya* <u>potong</u> di mana?   [*object* before <u>verb</u>]
       hair-ASSOC   cut   LOC where   *limited distribution*
       [adult asking child]
       'Where do you have your hair cut?'

    (b) Di sekolahan *buku gambarnya* <u>beli</u> di mana?
       LOC school-AUG book picture-ASSOC buy LOC where
       [adult asking child]
       'At school where do you buy drawing books?'

    (c) *Orangnya* <u>suruh</u> masuk, Dek
       person-ASSOC order   enter   TRU-younger.brother
       [adult and child playing with toy car; adult opens the door of the car and asks child to tell the make-believe people to go in to the car]
       'Tell the people to go in!'

(7) (a) Dia <u>bilang</u> *apa*?   [object *apa* after <u>verb</u>]
       3   say   what
       [adult and child playing with puppets; adult encouraging child to make his puppet say something]
       'What's it going to say?'

    (b) *Apa* tadi dek   Ido <u>bilang</u>?   [object *apa* before <u>verb</u>]
       what PST:PROX TRU-younger.brother Ido   say
       [adult asking child to repeat what he had just said]   *limited distribution*
       'What did you say?'

(8) (a) <u>Liat</u> *siapa*?   [object *siapa* after <u>verb</u>]
       see   PERS-what
       [adult playing with child; child beckons adult into back yard; adult asks]
       'Who do you want to see?'

    (b) ———   [object *siapa* before <u>verb</u>]

                                           unattested

⋆ Riau Indonesian:

(9)   (a)   *Apa*   <u>tarok</u>?   [object *apa* before <u>verb</u>]
            what   put
            [playing cards]
            'What did you put down?'

      (b)   Kau   *apa*   <u>li-lihat</u>?
            2   what   DISTR-see
            [to a nosy onlooker]
            'What are you looking at?'

      (c)   *Apa*   kalian   <u>li-li-lihat</u>?
            what   2:PL   DISTR-see
            [crowd of curious children gathered around foreigner,
            woman addresses them]
            'What are you all looking at?'

⋆ Singapore Malay: Norhaida (1999)

(10) (a)   *Apa*   dia   <u>cari</u>?   [object *apa* before <u>verb</u>]
            what   3   seek
            [adult playing with child, talking about an animal in a story,
            who is looking for something in a box]
            'What's he looking for'

      (b)   *Apa*   kau   nak   <u>buat</u>?
            what   2   want   do
            [adult playfully threatening child she will eat her up,
            asking her what she will do then]
            'What will you do?'

A straw man:
WHQ *apa* cannot occur initially because that function is usurped by YNQ *apa*

(11) (a)   <u>Dipasang</u>   semua   *apa*?   [YNQ *apa* after <u>verb</u>]
            PAT-attach   all   what
            [talking about a pair of earrings, child is going to put them away, adult asks]
            'Are you going to put them both on?'

      (b)   *Apa*   ini   nggak   <u>bisa</u>?   [YNQ *apa* before <u>verb</u>]
            what   DEM:PROX   NEG   can
            [about a recalcitrant remote control apparatus]
            'Doesn't this work?'

4.2. an ordering tendency for NP and PP predicates   (different)

(12) (a) <u>Itu</u>   *jerapah*   [*NP* after <u>subject</u>]
DEM:DIST   giraffe
[looking at pictures in a book]
'That's a giraffe'

      (b) *Buntut*   <u>itu</u>   [*NP* before <u>subject</u>]
tail   DEM:DIST
[looking at pictures in a book,   limited distribution
child points to mouse's tail and says it's a snake.
adult says it isn't, and then explains]
'That's a tail'

(13) (a) <u>Itu</u>   *apa*?   [*apa* after <u>subject</u>]
garage-ASSOC   LOC
[looking at pictures in a book]
'What's that'

      (b) *Apa* <u>itu</u>?   [*apa* before <u>subject</u>]
LOC   where   room   wash-ASSOC
[looking at pictures in a book]
'What's that?'

(14) (a) <u>teleponnya</u>   *di*   *dalem*   [*PP* after <u>subject</u>]
telephone-ASSOC LOC   inside
[looking at photo album, picture of house,
child asks where the phone is, adult answers]
'The phone is inside'

      (b) *Di*   *dalam*   *tanah*   <u>akarnya</u>   [*PP* before <u>subject</u>]
LOC   inside   soil   root-ASSOC
[reading book with child, talking about tree]   limited distribution
'Its roots are in the soil'

(15) (a) <u>Bengkelnya</u>   *di*   *mana*?   [*di mana* after <u>subject</u>]
garage-ASSOC   LOC   where
[to child, playing with toy car,
which has make-believedly caught fire]
'Where's its garage?'

      (b) *Di*   *mana* <u>kamar</u>   <u>mandinya</u>?   [*di mana* before <u>subject</u>]
LOC   where   room   wash-ASSOC
[to child, about his toy house]
'Where's the bathroom?'

4.3. a negative intervention-effect tendency for *kenapa*   (different)

> ✴ French: Mathieu (1999)
>
> (16) (a) Jean <u>mange</u>   *quoi*?
>   John   eat-PRES:3:SG what
>   (b) *Qu*'est-ce   que   Jean <u>mange</u>?
>   what-be:PRES:3:SG-DEM:SG COMP John eat-PRES:3:SG
>   'What is John eating?'
>
> (17) (a) *Jean **ne** <u>mange</u> **pas** *quoi*?
>   John   NEG eat-PRES:3:SG NEG what
>   (b) *Qu*'est-ce   que   Jean <u>ne</u> <u>mange</u>   <u>pas</u>?
>   what-be:PRES:3:SG-DEM:SG COMP John NEG eat-PRES:3:SG NEG
>   'What isn't John eating?'

(18) (a) <u>Dimut</u>   tangannya *kenapa*?   [*kenapa* after <u>verb</u>]
          PAT-suck   hand-ASSOC   why
          [adult scolding child]   9 examples
          'Why are you sucking your finger?'
      (b) *Kenapa*   <u>dibongkar</u>?   [*kenapa* before <u>verb</u>]
          why   PAT-take.apart
          [adult and child talking; child says that his room is all messed up;   6 examples
          adult asks]
          'How did it get messed up?'

(19) (a) Oo **nggak** <u>percaya</u> *kenapa* sih?   [*kenapa* after **negated** <u>verb</u>]
          aunt NEG   believe   why   EXCL
          [child begins to tell adult secret story,   0 examples
          but then says that adult won't believe her,   (but attested in larger sample)
          adult then reassures her]
          'Why don't I believe it?'
      (b) *Kenapa* **nggak** mau   <u>makan</u>?   [*kenapa* before **negated** <u>verb</u>]
          why   NEG   want eat
          [to child who doesn't want to eat]   11 examples
          'Why don't you want to eat?'

> ✴ Riau Indonesian:
>
> (20) Jadi   David **tak** <u>mau</u> mobil *kenapa*?   [*kenapa* after **negated** <u>verb</u>]
>   become David NEG want   car   why
>   [asking David about his reluctance to own a car]
>   'So why don't you want a car?'
>
> ✴ Singapore Malay: Norhaida (1999)
>
> (21) **Tak** <u>boleh</u> *kenapa*?   [*kenapa* after **negated** <u>verb</u>]
>   NEG want   why
>   [adult playing with child; child wants storybook character to eat all the cookies;
>   adult says he can't; child asks why; adult repeats the question rhetorically ...
>   ... and then goes on to explain that food must always be shared]
>   'Why can't he?'

4.4. a constraint against post-verbal position for *kok*   (different)

(22) (a)   ————   [*kok* after <u>verb</u>]

             unattested

    (b) *Kok*   <u>tanyanya</u> ke Tante?   [*kok* before <u>verb</u>]
         how.come ask-ASSOC to aunt
         [adult and child playing game in which adult points to pictures and asks child
         to name the objects; child's older brother, who is watching, points to a picture
         and asks the adult what it is; adult, surprised the he is asking her rather than his
         younger brother, responds]
         'How come you're asking me?'

    (c) *Kok*   bonekanya <u>dibuang-buang</u>?
         how.come doll-ASSOC   PAT-RED-throw
         [child has thrown his dolls all over the floor; adult asks]
         'How come you've thrown them all over the place?'

    (d) Kamu *kok*   <u>tidur</u> terus?
         2   how.come sleep continue
         [adult teasing child]
         'How come you keep on sleeping?'

  ✶ A tentative conclusion:
      Jakarta Indonesian has no movement of WH words to scopal position

5. The Odd Guy: *kok*

5.1. *kok* as Contrastive Marker

(23) (a) <u>Baek</u> *kok*!   [*kok* after <u>verb</u>]
good   how.come
[adult and child playing game in which adult points to pictures and asks child
to name the objects; child sees picture of crocodiles and backs away; adult asks
why; child says he's afraid; adult responds]
'But they're good'

(b) Jangan diludahin, pake aja, <u>kedengeran</u> *kok*
NEG:IMP PAT-spit-APPL use   just   AFF-hear   how.come
[during recording session, child puts the microphone in his mouth; adult scolds
him]
'Don't get spit all over it, just wear it, we'll hear you'

(c) <u>Pinter</u> *kok*   anak ini
smart   how.come   child DEM:PROX
[adult praising child for eating up her food]
'You're really good'

5.2. *kok* as Surprise Marker

(24) (a) *Kok*   <u>pinter</u> nggak keluar garis   [*kok* before <u>verb</u>]
how.come smart   NEG   go.out   line
[child colouring picture, praised by adult onlooker]
'You really know how not to go out of the line'

(b) Lho *kok*   <u>banyak</u>!
EXCL how.come much
[child, looking at pictures of different kinds of telephones in the newspaper,
points to one after another saying she wants each one; adult exclaims]
'So many!'

5.3. *kok* with Other WH Forms

(25) (a) Nggak <u>kenapa-kenapa</u> *kok*   kak   [*kok* after <u>reduplicated indefinite</u>]
NEG   RED-why   how.come TRU-elder.sibling
[sisters teasing each other; elder sister laughs; younger sister teases her for
laughing; elder sister says 'so what if I'm laughing'; younger sister says]
'So nothing'

(b) Nggak, Mama nggak ke <u>mana-mana</u>   *kok*
NEG   mother NEG   to RED-where   how.come
[mother reassuring worrying son]
'I'm not going anywhere'

(c) Orang nggak <u>apa-apa</u> *kok*,   ini   gambar
person NEG   RED-what how.come DEM:PROX picture
[adult and child playing game in which adult points to pictures and asks child
to name the objects; child sees picture of a crocodile and says he's afraid; adult
responds]
'It can't do anything to people, it's just a picture'

(26) (a) <u>Kenapa</u> *kok* gatel?   [*kok* after <u>kenapa</u>]
         why   how.come itch
         [to child scratching his foot]
         'Why is it itching?'

      (b) <u>Kenapa</u> *kok* nggak pernah dipake?
         why   how.come NEG   EXP   PAT-use
         [about a wine glass]
         'Why haven't you ever used it?'

(27) (a) <u>Apaan</u>   *kok*!   [*kok* after other <u>WH words</u>]
         what-AUG   how.come
         [child looks at adult, wanting something, but adult does not know what]
         'What?'

      (b) <u>Mana</u> *kok* nggak terbang, di bawah?
         where   how.come   NEG   fly   LOC   under
         [to child playing with toy car as if it were an airplane]
         'Where doesn't it fly, down below?'

(28) (a) *Kok* nggak sama <u>kenapa</u>?   [initial *kok* plus final <u>kenapa</u>]
         how.come NEG   same   why
         [child comparing his toy car to one in a picture says they're not the same; adult asks why]
         'Why aren't they the same?'

      (b) Lho *kok* rusak <u>kenapa</u>?
         EXCL how.come break.down   why
         [child talking about one of her toys, says it got broken]
         'How did it break?'

      (c) *Kok* bisa ditinggal <u>kenapa</u>?
         how.come   can   PAT-leave   why
         [child begins telling story about how she was left at home alone; adult asks]
         'How could you have been left behind?'

6. Verbal WH Words

(29) (a) Terus   ini,   orangnya   *apa*?
         continue   DEM:PROX person-ASSOC   what
         [looking at picture book, adult points to picture of people boarding boat and asks child]
         'And here, what are the people doing?'

      (b) Aku *gimana*?
         1:SG   how
         [adult getting ready to play game with child, isn't sure of her role, and asks]
         'What about me?'

      (c) Mas   tadi   kakinya   *kenapa*?
         elder.brother PST:PROX foot-ASSOC   why
         [adult sees child has wound]
         'What happened to your foot?'

      (d) Temen-temen lagi *ngapain*?
         RED-friend   PROG   AG-what-APPL
         [adult and child viewing video, adult prompting child to talk]
         'What are they doing?'

      (e) Si   Endut *diapain*   sama   ayam?
         PERS   fat   PAT-what-APPL   with   chicken
         [looking at picture book, adult prompting child to talk]
         'What is the chicken doing to fatso?'

Part II: WH Forms in Child Jakarta Indonesian

7. The Naturalistic Data Collection Project

✶ Four children (two boys, two girls); two under age 2;2, two over age 3;4.

✶ weekly or bi-weekly one-hour video-recording sessions.

✶ 42,967 records, containing 4494 WH questions

8. The Distribution of WH Forms with WHQ Interpretations in Adults and Children

WH word	meaning	adults		children > 3;4		children < 2;2	
apa	'what', 'do what'	45%	1580	40%	313	29%	71
mana	'which', 'where'	17%	592	23%	177	40%	98
siapa	'who'	14%	488	14%	109	15%	38
gimana	'what circumstance'	7%	247	1%	7	0%	1
kenapa	'undergo what'	4%	136	3%	20		0
berapa	'how many'	3%	119	1%	4		0
kok	'how come'	3%	103	13%	99	0%	1
ngapain	'do what'	2%	84	1%	11	1%	2
apanya	'what', 'do what'	2%	54	1%	11		0
apaan	'what', 'do what'	1%	30	2%	19	14%	34
kapan	'when'	1%	22	0%	3		0
diapain	'do what'	1%	20	0%	1	0%	1
bagaimana	'what circumstance'	0%	3	0%	1		0
diapa	'do what'	0%	1		0		0
total			3479		775		246

Table 1: WH Forms with WHQ Interpretations in Jakarta Indonesian

✶✶ Summary:
   • Order of acquisition: 'what', 'which', 'where', 'who' > all others

(30) (a) *Apa* ini? (Hiz 1;9)
    what   DEM:PROX
    [about some chocolate]
    'What's this?'

    (b) Dek   Ido mo maen *apa* sih? (Ido 3;8)
    FAM-younger.sibling Ido want play   what EXCL
    [wondering what to do]
    'What game should I play?'

(31) (a) Ini   baju *siapa*? (Ris 2;0)
    DEM:PROX garment who
    [holding some clothes]
    'Whose clothes are these?'

    (b) *Siapa* yang bikin di rumah dek   Ido? (Ido 3;9)
    who   REL make LOC house fam-younger.sibling Ido
    [looking at pictures in a drawing book]
    'Who drew it in my house?'

(32) (a) Ayah mau *mana*? (Ris 2;1)
    father   want   where
    [asking her father, who is passing by]
    'Where are you going?'

    (b) Dibeli di   *mana* ya, kecil (Ido 3;4)
    PAT-buy LOC   where yes small
    [wondering about his toy car]
    'Where did I buy it? It's small'

(33) (a) Ini   lagi *ngapain*? (Ris 2;1)
    DEM:PROX PROG   AG-what-APPL
    [about a doll the experimenter is holding]
    'What is it doing?'

    (b) *Ngapain*   mobilnya itu? (Ido 3;4)
    AG-what-APPL car-ASSOC   DEM:DIST
    [playing with toy car]
    'What's that car doing?'

✳ English:

WHQ words	*average age*	*number of children*
'what'	2; 2	7
'where'	2; 2	7
'who'	2; 4	7
'how'	2; 9	7
'why'	2; 11	7

Table 2: Average age of emergence of WH questions
(adapted from Bloom 1993, Table 4)

(based on 7,877 WH Questions, ages 1;10 - 3;0)

✳ Cantonese: Cheung and Lee (1994), similar results

9. Adult and Children WH Questions: Differences Due to General Development

✮ English:

(34) (a) Who that? Klima and Bellugi (1966)
     (b) What cowboy doing? (C., 2;0) cited as "early WH questions"
     (c) Where horse going?
     (d) Where doggie go? Bowerman (1973)
     (e) Where pillow go? (Kendall 1;11)

✮ Cantonese: Cheung and Lee (1994)

Transitive actional verbs used with very first WH questions
(but no careful comparison with verbless sentences presented)

Clause Type*	adults		children	
WH word in **isolation**	22%	768	23%	233
WH word with **demonstrative** anchor	26%	909	31%	312
WH word with **thing phrase** (NP) anchor	18%	632	21%	218
WH word with **activity phrase** (V) anchor	23%	788	13%	135

Table 3: WH Questions in Various Clause Types

* other clause types not included in above table: property phrase (adjective, PP), quantifier.

(35) *Siapa*, sih Bu? [*WH word* in isolation]
     who EXCL FAM-mother (Ris 1;11)
     [about a picture she is being shown]
     'Who is she, Mum?'

(36) (a) *Siapa* **tuh**? [*WH word* with **demonstrative** anchor]
          who DEM:DIST (Ido 3;4)
          [about a man who just came into the house]
          'Who's that?'
     (b) **Ini** *apa*, tapi (Ido 3;5)
          DEM:PROX what but
          [about the experimenter's drink]
          'But what is it?'

(37) (a) **Namanya** *apa*?　　　　　　[*WH word* with **thing phrase (NP)** anchor]
　　　　name-ASSOC　what　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ido 3;6)
　　　　[about some food]
　　　　'What it called?'

　　(b) *Mana*　**ayah**　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ris 2;0)
　　　　where　father
　　　　[wondering where her father is]
　　　　'Where's father?'

(38) (a) **Makan**　　*apa*?　　　　　[*WH word* with **activity phrase (V)** anchor]
　　　　eat　　　　what　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Hiz 2;0)
　　　　[about a mouse in a picture book]
　　　　'What's it eating?'

　　(b) Ini　　　**naik**　*apa*?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ido 3;5)
　　　　DEM:PROX　go.up　what
　　　　[about a picture of Mickey Mouse riding a pig]
　　　　'What is he riding?'

Clause Type: Environment of WH word	*adults*		*children > 3;4*		*children < 2;2*	
in **isolation**	22%	768	19%	145	35%	88
with **demonstrative** *anchor*	26%	909	29%	227	36%	85
with **thing phrase (NP)** *anchor*	18%	632	22%	169	20%	49
with **activity phrase (V)** *anchor*	*23%	788	15%	118	7%	17

**Table 4: WH Questions in Various Clause Types:
　　　　　Older vs. Younger Children**

* comprises 26% as input to children > 3;4, 18% as input to children < 2;2.

✭✭ Summary:
- Younger kids have fewer verbal WH questions; at least 7 different verbs:
  makan 'eat'; *mimik* 'drink'; *masak* 'cook'; *maem* 'eat'; *ndengerin* 'listen';
  pake 'use/wear'; *setel* 'turn on';
  (Bloom et al's "descriptive verbs")
- Older kids add about 10 new verbs:
  naik 'ride'; *nonton* 'watch'; *liat* 'see'; *cari* 'look for'; *bikin* 'make';
  jadi 'become'…
- As the usage of verbs increases over time, the use of WH questions with verbs also increases. There is no development in the syntax of WH questions, just development in the lexicon. Thus, children do not differ from adults as far as their grammar of WH questions is concerned.

9.1. WH Questions with demonstrative and thing phrase (NP) anchors

WH word	WH before demonstrative				WH after demonstrative			
	adults		children		adults		children	
apa 'what'	42%	303	13%	26	34%	242	67%	134
siapa 'who'	44%	56	20%	10	36%	46	55%	27
mana 'where'	46%	6	25%	2	38%	5	63%	5

Table 5: Word Order with Demonstrative Anchor

✶✶ Summary:
- Adults exhibit preference for WH before demonstrative;
- Children exhibit strong preference for WH after demonstrative;
- Adults and children thus make use of the same constructions,
  but children tend to use the canonical non-interrogative order more than adults.
  This is true for younger and older children, and for different WH words.

(39) (a) *Apa* **ini**?   [*WH word* before **demonstrative** anchor]
       what   DEM:PROX   (Ris 2;0)
       [about some crackers]
       'What's this?'

       (b) *Mana* **ini**   mana   masukinnya   (Pit 4;8)
       where   DEM:PROX   where   go.in-APPL-ASSOC
       [looking for the coin box in a telephone]
       'Where is it, where is the place for it to go in?'

(40) (a) **Ini**   *apa*?   [*WH word* after **demonstrative** anchor]
       DEM:PROX what   (Ris 1;9)
       [pointing to a bag of nuts]
       'What's this?'

       (b) **Ini**   dari   *mana*   sih?   (Ido 3;9)
       DEM:PROX from   where   EXCL
       [about some pictures]
       'Where is this from?'

	WH before thing phrase (NP)				WH after thing phrase (NP)			
WH word	adults		children		adults		children	
apa 'what'	55%	90	1%	2	46%	73	94%	*32
siapa 'who'	36%	21	0%	0	65%	38	100%	*13
mana 'where'	41%	71	27%	34	53%	93	60%	75

Table 6: Word Order with Thing Phrase (NP) Anchor

* 20/32 and 10/13 are fixed expressions:
   namanya apa, *namanya siapa* "what is its/your/his/her name?".

✯✯ Summary:
- Adults allow WH before and after NP;
  relative preference depends on WH word;
- Children exhibit strict ordering of *apa* and *siapa* after NP,
  and strong preference for *mana* after NP;
- Children use the canonical non-interrogative order.

(41) (a) *Apa* **lu**?   [*WH word* before **thing phrase (NP)** anchor]
      what   you   (Ris 1;9)
      [speaker angry at her friends who were staring at her]
      'What's with you?'

   (b) *Mana* **rodanya**?   (Ris 1;8)
      where   wheel-ASSOC
      [speaker looking for her pram]
      'Where are the wheels?'

(42) (a) **Namanya** *apa*?   [*WH word* after **thing phrase (NP)** anchor]
      name-ASSOC   what   (Ido 3;6)
      [about a picture of an insect]
      'What's its name?'

   (b) **Tante** *mana*?   (Ido 3;6)
      aunt   where
      [looking at the experimenter through the camcorder]
      'Where are you?'

9.2. WH Questions with activity phrase (V) anchors

	WH before activity phrase (V)		WH after activity phrase (V)	
WH word	adults	children	adults	children
apa 'what'	1% 3	2% 1	99% 339	98% 48
siapa 'who'	0% 0	0% 0	100% 39	100% 11

**Table 7: Word Order with Activity Phrase (VP) Anchor
for Object WH Words**

✼✼ Summary:
- The 48 children's WH questions after V involve 15 different verbs, suggesting that this is a productive construction type;
- Both adults and children exhibit near absolute preference for WH word after V.

	WH before activity phrase (V)		WH after activity phrase (V)	
WH word	adults	children	adults	children
mana 'where'	5% 6	11% 3	95% 105	89% 24

**Table 8: Word Order with Activity Phrase (VP) Anchor
for *Mana* 'Where"**

✼✼ Summary:
- Both adults and children exhibit strong preference for *mana* after V. (Though children's figures are small.)

	WH before activity phrase (V)		WH after activity phrase (V)	
WH word	adults	children	adults	children
gimana 'how'	38% 41	0 0	62% 67	2
kenapa 'why'	56% 28	0% 0	44% 22	100% 2

**Table 9: Word Order with Activity Phrase (VP) Anchor for
Gimana 'How' and *Kenapa* 'Why'**

✼✼ Summary:
- Adults exhibit split between two orders, with *gimana* more frequently after V and *kenapa* somewhat more frequently before;
- Children's figures are too small to warrant conclusions.

9.3. WH Questions with *yang* phrase anchors

WH word with **yang** phrase*	adults		children > 3;4	
siapa 'who'	19%	94	5-20%	**30
apa 'what'	1%	21	1%	7
mana 'where', 'which'	9%	42	3%	8
total	7%	157	3-6%	45

Table 10: WH Questions with *Yang* Phrase Anchor

* percentages are out of total number of WH questions for each WH question word.

**23 out of 30 are variations on *Siapa yang bikin?* "Who made it?" by Ido, 3;9; 22 in a single recording session. Hence, 20% constitutes an overestimation of Ido's grammar at this stage.

(43) *Siapa* **yang jalannya jadi kebalik**   [*siapa* before **yang phrase** anchor]
who   REL   go-ASSOC   become   PASS-return   (Ido 3;7)
[playing with a toy car]
'who's going to be knocked over?'

(44) Satu **yang bikin** *siapa*?   [*siapa* after **yang phrase** anchor]
one   REL   make   who   (Ido 3;9)
[about some pictures]
'Who did this one?'

	adults		children > 3;4		children < 2;2	
yang *phrase**	5%	841	5%	487	0.6%	39

Table 11: *Yang* Phrases in General

* percentage of all non-WH uttrerances.

✮✮ Summary:
- Younger children have only partial mastery of the *yang* construction.
- As soon as children master the *yang* construction, they use it in WH questions.
- There is no dedicated WH-question-with-*yang* construction in Jakarta Indonesian. A WH question whose anchor is a *yang* phrase is a mere accidental cooccurrence of a WH question and an NP with the internal structure of a *yang* phrase.

✶✶ Grand summary, Tables 1, 3-11:
- The grammar of WH questions seems to be very adult-like even in younger children.
- Differences between adults and children can be explained in terms of the interaction of an adult-like WH question syntax with other aspects of the grammar which are subject to development:
  - Certain WH words are acquired before others, following universal tendencies probably having to do with general cognition;
  - WH questions in verbal clauses exhibit development, but this is due to the independent development of verbal clauses in general;
  - Children may have less word-order freedom than adults in WH questions;
  - WH questions with *yang* phrases exhibit development, but this merely reflects the development of the *yang* construction itself.

10. Adult and Children Indefinite Interpretations of WH Words: Differences Due to Specific Development

	older children: ages 3;0-5;0	younger children: ages 1;6-2;6
question interpretation	774 examples (89%)	245 examples (100%)
indefinite interpretation	44 examples (5%)	0 examples (0%)

Table 12: WH Forms with Question and Indefinite Interpretations

forms	*meaning*	*adult*	*child*	*age of first appearance*
NEG *(a)pa-(a)pa (kok)**	'nothing', 'anything'	56	28	3;7
apa aja	'anything'	4	6	4;6
NEG *ke mana-mana*	'to nowhere', 'to anywhere'	3	3	3;4
NEG *siapa-siapa*	'nobody', 'anybody'	2	1	4;7
siapa (plus attributive)	'whoever'	2	0	---
siapa aja	'anybody'	1	2	4;7
NEG *kenapa-kenapa*	'for no reason'	0	2	4;6
NEG *ngapa-ngapain*	'not do anything'	0	1	4;5
ngapain aja	'do anything'	0	1	4;6

**Table 13: WH Forms with Indefinite Interpretations:
Age of First Appearance**

✵✵ Summary:
- Children acquire the question interpretations of WH words before they acquire their indefinite interpretations.

(45) Mobilnya **nggak** *pa-pa,*   *we*   [*indefinite WH word* with **negative**]
     car-ASSOC   NEG   RED-what EXCL   (Ido 3;8)
     [playing with a toy car]
     'The car's alright'

(46) Dek   Ido **nggak** jadi   *apa-apa* deh   (Ido 3;6)
     FAM-younger.sibling Ido NEG   become RED-what EXCL
     [playing with toy boat; experimenter asks who's going to be captain; child's older
     brother volunteers; then experimenter asks child what he wants to be, and he
     answers]
     'I'm not going to be anything'

(47) Main *apa* **aja**   [*indefinite WH word* with **conjunctive operator**]
     play   what just   (Pit 4;6)
     [Child's older sister asked her what she was doing just before; child answers]
     'Nothing much'

(48) *Siapa* **aja**   (Pit 4;7)
     who   just
     [Experimenter asks child whose houses she went visiting to earlier in the day;
     child answer]
     'Nobody much'

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