

The Acquisition of WH Forms in Jakarta Indonesian

Peter Cole, David Gil, Gabriella Hermon, Uri Tadmor

University of Delaware, Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS,
Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

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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) | <i>apa</i> | 'what', 'do what' | |
| | (b) | <i>diapa</i> | 'do what' | <i>di-</i> PATIENT ORIENTED |
| | (c) | <i>diapain</i> | 'do what' | <i>di-</i> PATIENT ORIENTED, <i>-in</i> APPLICATIVE |
| | (d) | ? <i>ngapa</i> | 'do what' | <i>N-</i> AGENT ORIENTED |
| | (e) | <i>ngapain</i> | 'do what' | <i>N-</i> AGENT ORIENTED, <i>-in</i> APPLICATIVE |
| | (f) | <i>apaan</i> | 'what' | <i>-an</i> AUGMENTATIVE |
| | (g) | <i>apanya</i> | 'what of' | <i>-nya</i> ASSOCIATIVE |
| | (h) | <i>apaannya</i> | 'what of' | <i>-an</i> AUGMENTATIVE, <i>-nya</i> ASSOCIATIVE |
| | (i) | <i>siapa</i> | 'who' | <i>si-</i> PERSONAL |
| | (j) | <i>berapa</i> | 'how much' | <i>ber-</i> MEDIAL |
| | (k) | <i>kenapa</i> | 'undergo what', 'why', 'how' | <i>kena</i> 'undergo' |
| (2) | (a) | <i>mana</i> | 'which', 'where' | |
| | (b) | <i>gimana</i> | 'what circumstance', 'how' | < <i>bagai</i> 'like' |
| (3) | | <i>kapan</i> | 'when' | |
| (4) | | <i>kok</i> | '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 potong di mana?* [object before verb]
 hair-ASSOC cut LOC where
 [adult asking child] [limited distribution]
 'Where do you have your hair cut?'
 (b) *Di sekolahan buku gambarnya beli di mana?*
 LOC school-AUG book picture-ASSOC buy LOC where
 [adult asking child]
 'At school where do you buy drawing books?'
 (c) *Orangnya suruh 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 bilang apa?* [object *apa* after verb]
 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 bilang?* [object *apa* before verb]
 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) *Liat siapa?* [object *siapa* after verb]
 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 verb]

★ Riau Indonesian:

- (9) (a) *Apa tarok?* [object *apa* before verb]
 what put
 [playing cards]
 'What did you put down?'
- (b) *Kau apa li-lihat?*
 2 what DISTR-see
 [to a nosy onlooker]
 'What are you looking at?'
- (c) *Apa kalian li-li-lihat?*
 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 cari?* [object *apa* before verb]
 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 buat?*
 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) *Dipasang semua apa?* [YNQ *apa* after verb]
 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 bisa?* [YNQ *apa* before verb]
 what DEM:PROX NEG can
 [about a recalcitrant remote control apparatus]
 'Doesn't this work?'

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

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

- (18) (a) Dimut tangannya *kenapa*? [*kenapa* after verb]
PAT-suck hand-ASSOC why
[adult scolding child] 9 examples
'Why are you sucking your finger?'
- (b) *Kenapa* dibongkar? [*kenapa* before verb]
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** percaya *kenapa* sih? [*kenapa* after **negated verb**]
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 makan? [*kenapa* before **negated verb**]
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 <i>kenapa</i> ? [<i>kenapa</i> after negated verb] 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> <i>kenapa</i> ? [<i>kenapa</i> after negated verb] 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]	

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

(22) (a) _____ [*kok* after verb]

unattested

(b) *Kok* tanyanya ke Tante? [*kok* before verb]

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 dibuang-buang?

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* tidur 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) Baek *kok*! [*kok* after verb]
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, kedengeran *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) Pinter *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* pinter nggak keluar garis [*kok* before verb]
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* banyak!
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 kenapa-kenapa *kok* kak [*kok* after reduplicated indefinite]
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 mana-mana *kok*
NEG mother NEG to RED-where how.come
[mother reassuring worrying son]
'I'm not going anywhere'
- (c) Orang nggak apa-apa *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) Kenapa *kok* gatal? [*kok* after kenapa]
 why how.come itch
 [to child scratching his foot]
 'Why is it itching?'
- (b) Kenapa *kok* nggak pernah dipake?
 why how.come NEG EXP PAT-use
 [about a wine glass]
 'Why haven't you ever used it?'
- (27) (a) Apaan *kok!* [*kok* after other WH words]
 what-AUG how.come
 [child looks at adult, wanting something, but adult does not know what]
 'What?'
- (b) Mana *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 kenapa? [initial *kok* plus final kenapa]
 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 kenapa?
 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 kenapa?
 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]

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

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

<i>WHQ words</i>	<i>average age</i>	<i>number of children</i>
'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)		

<i>Clause Type*</i>	<i>adults</i>		<i>children</i>	
<i>WH word in isolation</i>	22%	768	23%	233
<i>WH word with demonstrative anchor</i>	26%	909	31%	312
<i>WH word with thing phrase (NP) anchor</i>	18%	632	21%	218
<i>WH word with activity phrase (V) anchor</i>	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?'

<i>Clause Type: Environment of WH word</i>	<i>adults</i>	<i>children > 3;4</i>	<i>children < 2;2</i>
<i>in isolation</i>	22% 768	19% 145	35% 88
<i>with demonstrative anchor</i>	26% 909	29% 227	36% 85
<i>with thing phrase (NP) anchor</i>	18% 632	22% 169	20% 49
<i>with activity phrase (V) anchor</i>	*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
<i>apa</i> 'what'	42% 303	13% 26	34% 242	67% 134
<i>siapa</i> 'who'	44% 56	20% 10	36% 46	55% 27
<i>mana</i> '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 word	WH before thing phrase (NP)		WH after thing phrase (NP)	
	adults	children	adults	children
<i>apa</i> 'what'	55% 90	1% 2	46% 73	94% *32
<i>siapa</i> 'who'	36% 21	0% 0	65% 38	100% *13
<i>mana</i> '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 word	WH before activity phrase (V)				WH after activity phrase (V)			
	adults		children		adults		children	
<i>apa</i> 'what'	1%	3	2%	1	99%	339	98%	48
<i>siapa</i> '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 word	WH before activity phrase (V)				WH after activity phrase (V)			
	adults		children		adults		children	
<i>mana</i> '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 word	WH before activity phrase (V)				WH after activity phrase (V)			
	adults		children		adults		children	
<i>gimana</i> 'how'	38%	41	0	0	62%	67		2
<i>kenapa</i> '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

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

	<i>adults</i>		<i>children > 3;4</i>		<i>children < 2;2</i>	
<i>yang phrase*</i>	5%	841	5%	487	0.06%	39

Table 11: *Yang* Phrases in General

* percentage of all non-WH utterances.

☆☆ 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

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

Table 12: WH Forms with Question and Indefinite Interpretations

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