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'
(c) diapain 'do what'
(d) ? ngapa 'do what'
(e) ngapain 'do what'
(f) apaan 'what'
(g) apanya 'what of'
(h) apaannya 'what of'
(i) siapa 'who'
(j) berapa 'how much'
(k) kenapa 'undergo what', 'why', 'how'

(2) (a) mana 'which', 'where'
(b) gimana 'what circumstance', 'how'

(3) kapan 'when'

(4) kok 'how come'

(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] 'Where do you have your hair cut?'
     (b)  Di sekolah buku gambarnya beli di mana?  [limited, distribution]
     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]  unattested
Riau Indonesian:

(9) (a) *Apa* tarok?  
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?  
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*?  
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?  
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) **Itu** jerapah [NP after subject]
          DEM:DIST giraffe
          [looking at pictures in a book]
          'That’s a giraffe'

(b) **Buntut** itu [NP before subject]
          tail DEM:DIST
          [looking at pictures in a book, 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) **Itu** apa? [apa after subject]
          garage-ASSOC LOC
          [looking at pictures in a book]
          'What’s that'

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

(14) (a) **teleponnya** di dalem [PP after subject]
          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 akarnya [PP before subject]
          LOC inside soil root-ASSOC
          [reading book with child, talking about tree]
          'Its roots are in the soil'

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

(b) **Di** mana kamar mandinya? [di mana before subject]
          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 mange quoi?
   John eat-PRES:3:SG what
(b) Qu'est-ce que Jean mange?

'What is John eating?'

(17) (a) *Jean ne mange pas quoi?
   John NEG eat-PRES:3:SG NEG what
(b) Qu'est-ce que Jean ne mange pas?

'What isn't John eating?'

(18) (a) Dimut tangannya kenapa?
   PAT-suck hand-ASSOC why
[adult scolding child]
   9 examples
'Why are you sucking your finger?'

(b) Kenapa dibongkar?
   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?
   aunt NEG believe why EXCL
[child begins to tell adult secret story, but then says that adult won't believe her, (but attested in larger sample) adult then reassures her]
   10 examples
'Why don't I believe it?'

(b) Kenapa nggak mau makan?
   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 mau mobil kenapa?
   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 boleh kenapa?
   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 ]

(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! good how.come [kok after verb ]
[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 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 gatel?**

Kenapa kok gatel?

*Why is it itching?*

(b) **Kenapa kok nggak pernah dipake?**

Kenapa kok nggak pernah dipake?

*Why haven't you ever used it?*

(27) (a) **Apaan kok!**

Apaan kok!

*What?*

(b) **Mana kok nggak terbang, di bawah?**

Mana kok nggak terbang, di bawah?

*Where doesn't it fly, down below?*

(28) (a) **Kok nggak sama kenapa?**

Kok nggak sama kenapa?

*Why aren't they the same?*

(b) **Lho kok rusak kenapa?**

Lho kok rusak kenapa?

*How did it break?*

(c) **Kok bisa ditinggal kenapa?**

Kok bisa ditinggal kenapa?

*How could you have been left behind?*

6. Verbal WH Words

(29) (a) **Terus ini, orangnya apa?**

Terus ini, orangnya apa?

*And here, what are the people doing?*

(b) **Aku gimana?**

Aku gimana?

*What about me?*

(c) **Mas tadi kakinya kenapa?**

Mas tadi kakinya kenapa?

*What happened to your foot?*

(d) **Temen-temen lagi ngapain?**

Temen-temen lagi ngapain?

*What are they doing?*

(e) **Si Endut diapain sama ayam?**

Si Endut diapain sama ayam?

*What are they doing?*
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

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

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's this?

(b) *Dek Ido mo maen apa sih?* (Ido 3;8)

> What game should I play?

(31) (a) *Ini baju siapa?* (Ris 2;0)

> Whose clothes are these?

(b) *Siapa yang bikin di rumah dek Ido?* (Ido 3;9)

> Who drew it in my house?

(32) (a) *Ayah mau mana?* (Ris 2;1)

> Where are you going?

(b) *Dibeli di mana ya, kecil* (Ido 3;4)

> Where did I buy it? It's small

(33) (a) *Ini lagi ngapain?* (Ris 2;1)

> What is it doing?

(b) *Ngapain mobilnya itu?* (Ido 3;4)

> What's that car doing?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>WHQ</em> words</th>
<th>average age</th>
<th>number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'what'</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'who'</td>
<td>2; 4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'how'</td>
<td>2; 9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'why'</td>
<td>2; 11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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? Bowerman (1973)
(d) Where doggie go? (Kendall 1;11)

✯ Cantonese:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>adults</th>
<th>children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WH word in isolation</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH word with demonstrative anchor</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH word with thing phrase (NP) anchor</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH word with activity phrase (V) anchor</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: WH Questions in Various Clause Types

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

(35) *Siapa, sii Bu?* [WH word in isolation]

[about a picture she is being shown]

'Who is she, Mum?'

(36) (a) *Siapa tuh?* [WH word with demonstrative anchor]

[about a man who just came into the house]

'Who's that?'

(b) *Ini apa, tapi* (Ido 3;5)

[about the experimenter's drink]

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type: Environment of WH word</th>
<th>adults</th>
<th>children &gt; 3;4</th>
<th>children &lt; 2;2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>in isolation</em></td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with demonstrative anchor</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with thing phrase (NP) anchor</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with activity phrase (V) anchor</td>
<td><em>23%</em></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH word</th>
<th>WH before demonstrative</th>
<th>WH after demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adults</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa 'what'</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siapa 'who'</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana 'where'</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

* 20/32 and 10/13 are fixed expressions: 
amanya 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]  (Ris 1;9)
    what you
    [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]  (Ido 3;6)
    name-ASSOC what
    [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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH word</th>
<th>WH before activity phrase (V)</th>
<th>WH after activity phrase (V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adults</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa 'what'</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siapa 'who'</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH word</th>
<th>WH before activity phrase (V)</th>
<th>WH after activity phrase (V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adults</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana 'where'</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH word</th>
<th>WH before activity phrase (V)</th>
<th>WH after activity phrase (V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adults</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gimana 'how'</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenapa 'why'</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH word with yang phrase*</th>
<th>adults</th>
<th>children &gt; 3;4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siapa 'who'</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5-20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>**30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa 'what'</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children &lt; 2;2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana 'where', 'which'</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children &gt; 3;4</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yang phrase*</th>
<th>adults</th>
<th>children &gt; 3;4</th>
<th>children &lt; 2;2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yang phrase*</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Table 12: WH Forms with Question and Indefinite Interpretations

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

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 [playing with a toy car] 'The car's alright'

(46) Dek Ido nggak jadi apa-apa deh (Ido 3;8) 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'


References


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