

Wh-agreement across three domains in Indonesian

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BACKGROUND. Cross-linguistically, morphological wh-agreement has been observed either on C/T or on verbs (Zaenen 1983; Reintges et al. 2006), coinciding with classic domains for successive-cyclic A' movement. This suggests that other phasal XPs may be also marked with morphological wh-agreement.

PROPOSAL. This paper argues that in Indonesian, wh-agreement occurs in three domains: CP, VoiceP and DP. By examining cases in which possessors undergo A' movement out of DP, I show that obligatory changes in morphology are an instantiation of wh-agreement on DP.

PROPERTIES OF WH-AGREEMENT. Reintges et al. (2006) identify the following cross-linguistic profile of wh-agreement: (A) Wh-agreement is a reflex of A' movement, i.e. occurring in constituent questions, focus constructions and relatives. (B) Unlike other agreement phenomena, wh-agreement does not register DP-internal phi features. (C) Wh-agreement is sometimes realized as special morphology or lack of morphology; it can also surface as a morpheme that occurs elsewhere in the language but (in wh-agreement) does not have semantic content, except to mark A' movement.

WH-AGREEMENT ON C. Based on (A-C), I argue that the Indonesian complementizer system exhibits wh-agreement (morphological wh-agreement is bolded in examples.) The overt C *bahwa* introduces embedded declarative clauses (1). When A' movement crosses two Cs (2), neither C can occur as *bahwa*. Instead, the highest C occurs as *yang*, immediately following the surface position of the A'-moved DP, while any intermediate Cs crossed by movement must be null.

(1) Aku pikir **bahwa** Susan mem-beli se-buah tas kemarin.

1SG think COMP Susan ACTV-buy one-CLF bag yesterday

'I think that Susan bought a bag yesterday.'

(2) Apa **yang**/*bahwa kamu pikir Ø/*bahwa Susan Ø-beli/*mem-beli ___ kemarin?

what COMP 2SG think COMP Susan buy ACTV-buy yesterday

'What do you think Susan bought yesterday?'

Yang is usually treated as a focus or relative marker (Saddy 1991), but I present evidence that *yang* belongs to category C: it does not form a constituent with the moved DP, and occurs higher than subjects. Further analysis of cleft structure also supports this view.

WH-AGREEMENT ON VOICE. Wh-agreement is also marked on verbs. Nominal movement across active verbs requires a null prefix (Saddy 1991; Cole et al. 2008); compare prefix *mem-* in (1) with the required null prefix in (2). In contrast, when movement does not cross the verb (3), the active prefix is licit:

(3) Kamu pikir siapa **yang** ___ mem-beli se-buah tas kemarin?

2SG think who COMP ACTV-buy one-CLF bag yesterday

'Who do you think bought a bag yesterday?'

The overt/null alternation in the *mem-* prefix has been called "blocking"/"deletion" (Voskuil 2000), or voice "agreement" that registers the features of the moved argument (Cole et al. 2008). Since the null verbal prefix in (2) is a reflex of A' movement over the verb, the null morphology is straightforwardly captured under an analysis of wh-agreement, under properties (A) and (C).

WH-AGREEMENT ON D. I make the novel claim that Indonesian also has morphological wh-agreement within the nominal domain. When a possessor escapes its possessive DPs, the possessum that remains in situ must be suffixed with *-nya* (cf. Jeoung 2017). In (4) the null verbal morphology and the complementizer *yang* show that the wh-possessor *siapa* 'who' has undergone A' movement to SpecCP:

(4) Siapa **yang** adik Ø-baca buku-**nya** ___?

who COMP sibling read book-DEF

'Who is it that brother is reading (her) book?'

(5) buku-(nya) Siti/siapa

book-DEF Siti/ who

'Siti's book/whose book'

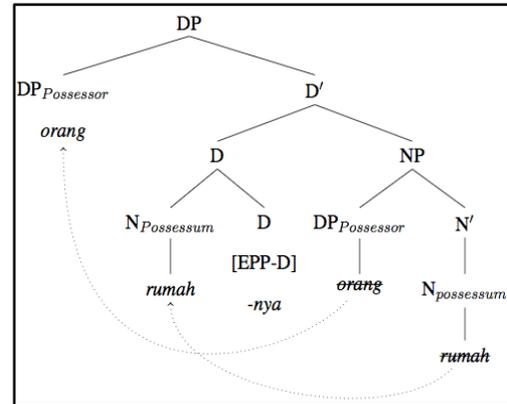
The possessum *buku* is obligatorily suffixed with *-nya* as a reflex of possessor extraction in (4). In contrast, *-nya* is optional in possessive DPs without extraction (5). Thus *-nya* is required just in case of A' movement out of the DP, i.e. property (A) of morphological wh-agreement.

Specifically for cases of possessor extraction as in (4), I argue that *-nya* marks wh-agreement instead of a (resumptive) 3 possessive pronoun (*pace* Voskuil 2000; Musgrave 2001), based on the following evidence: (i) *-nya* cannot occur resumptively in general (non-possessive) argument extraction. (ii) *-nya* co-occurs with lexical (5) and pronominal possessors (6), which is unexplained if *-nya* is a 3 pronoun. (iii) *-nya* is not limited to 3 person, but occurs with extracted 1 and 2 person arguments (7).

(6) rumah(-nya) aku/ kamu/ dia/ kita/ mereka/ orang
 house-DEF 1SG/ 2SG/ 3SG/ 1PL/ 3PL/ person
 'my/your/his/our/their/someone's house'

(7) Aku/ kamu yang rumah-nya di-ratakan.
 1SG/ 2SG COMP house-DEF PASS-destroy
 'It is I/you whose house was destroyed.'

(8) Possessor A' movement to SpecDP
 (structure for example 6).



SUCCESSIVE-CYCLIC A' MOVEMENT THROUGH THE EDGE OF DP, VOICEP AND CP. To derive the possessor extraction in (4), the possessor undergoes movement through phase edges. The structure of the possessive DP 'someone's house' (6) is given in (8): an edge feature [EPP-D] on D must be checked by raising the possessor to SpecDP. From this position on the edge of DP, the possessor is visible for further movement. [EPP-D] on

Voice and C drive successive-cyclic movement of the possessor through the edge of VoiceP, then to its surface position in SpecCP, resulting in wh-agreement on each phase head (C, Voice, D).

IMPLICATIONS. Wh-agreement in the nominal domain supports the phasehood of DP in Indonesian. The data also expand the range of attested wh-agreement patterns in two ways: (a) to our knowledge, DP-internal wh-agreement has not previously been reported; and (b) wh-agreement is marked different on highest C and intermediate C, which departs from previously attested patterns (Reintges et al. 2006).

SELECTED REFERENCES. Cole, Hermon & Yanti. 2008. Voice in Malay/Indonesian. *Lingua* 118. Jeoung. 2017. Possessor sub-extraction and its implications. Presentation at 24-AFLA. Musgrave. 2001. Non-subject arguments in Indonesian. Doctoral diss, Univ. of Melbourne. Reintges, LeSourd & Chung. 2006. Movement, wh-agreement and apparent wh-in-situ. In *WH-Movement: Moving On*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Saddy. 1991. Wh-scope mechanisms in Bahasa Indonesia. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics: More Papers on WH-movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Voskuil. 2000. Indonesian voice and A-bar movement. In *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Zaenen. 1983. On syntactic binding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14.

(9) Possessor A' movement to SpecCP
 (structure for example 4). Possessor represented by OP; details omitted due to space.

