

DP movement and a layered DP: Indonesian case study
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Overview. In this talk I explore the constituent order within the Indonesian DP and argue that Indonesian employs two kinds of definite articles: (i) anaphoric article, and (ii) uniqueness article, which have different semantic properties (along the lines of Schwarz 2009) and are encoded by two distinct DP-layers. My proposal has interesting typological implications, since it suggests that in addition to NP and DP languages (e.g., Boskovic 2008), there are also languages with the layered DP structure. I also argue that the uniqueness DP layer and ClassifierP are in fact one and the same phrase, which is supported by the fact that the uniqueness definite article and classifiers are in complementary distribution; that classifiers are closely related to the uniqueness DP layer has also been suggested elsewhere (Watanabe 2006). My proposal also derives in a natural way the order of DP-internal elements in Indonesian, and provides further support to Cinque’s (2005) roll-up theory of the DP.

Two Definite Articles. I argue that Indonesian has a layered DP. The language evidently has two kinds of definite article: (i) “uniqueness” definite article *-nya*, and (ii) “anaphoric” definite article “itu” (see Schwarz 2009 for German). If a noun has been linguistically introduced in the discourse, then “itu” can be used as a definite article to refer to that specific noun.

(1) Saya baru beli baju baru. Baju itu mahal sekali.

I just buy clothes new. Clothes DEF expensive very

‘I just bought some new clothes. The clothes are very expensive.’

However, to denote truly “unique” entities like “the sun,” only “-nya” can be used; and interestingly, both types of definite articles can co-occur in certain contexts.

(2) Matahari -nya/*itu panas sekali

sun DEF hot very

‘The sun is very hot’

(3) sepeda baru -nya itu.

bicycle new DEF DEF

Even though “itu” is often translated simply as the demonstrative “that,” it behaves differently than the English “that.” Roberts (2002) observes that, with two equally possible antecedents, an anaphoric definite description is unacceptable, but a demonstrative description necessarily refers to the most recently mentioned potential antecedent.

(4) A woman_i entered from stage left. Another woman_j entered from stage right.

a. #The woman_i/That woman_j/She_j was carrying a basket of flowers.

In Indonesian, however, using the same context; and replacing “that” with “itu” doesn’t yield the same result. In fact, using “itu” results in the same type of awkwardness that arises with using the unique definite article “-nya”. Thus, I conclude that “itu” is a “true” anaphoric definite article, not a demonstrative. Considering this fact and the co-occurrence possibility of both types of definite articles, I posit a layered DP in Indonesian. The higher DP1 contains the anaphoric definite article while the lower DP2 contains the unique definite article.

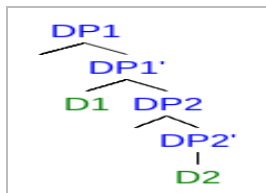


Figure 1: layered DP in Indonesian

Two theories of DP. Cinque (2005) argues that of the 24 logically possible orders of Dem, Adj, Num, and N, only 14 are attested as unmarked word orders in some natural language. To derive this generalization he proposes (i) that elements in the DP are underlyingly all left-headed and base-generated under the universal hierarchy [**Determiner** > **Number** > **Adjective** > **Noun**], and (ii)

that different DP orders are achieved by strictly leftward and local, partial or full phrasal movement of maximal projections within the DP which proceeds through Spec positions (see Figure 2)). Abels and Neeleman (A&N 2012) propose an alternative which shares many core assumptions with Cinque’s theory, but in which maximal projections are allowed to be both left and right headed. A&N argue that such a theory yields exactly the same result and eliminates the need for roll-up movement. The Indonesian word order: [Num N Adj Det] is particularly important since it is among few of those which the two theories derive in different ways. Figure 2 shows Cinque’s version and Figure 3 A&N’s.

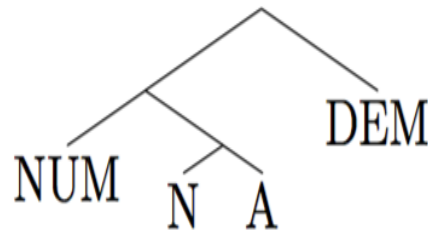
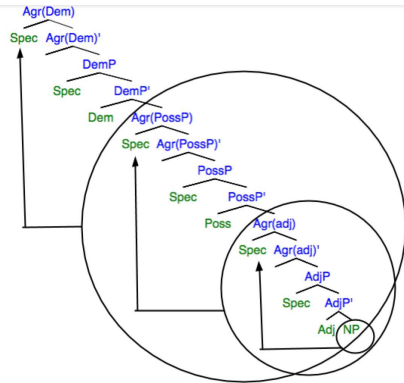


Figure 2: Cinque’s roll-up movement

Figure 3: A&N base generation

The placement of adjective modifiers in Indonesian, which is in between the noun and the adjective cannot be generated without movement in A&N’s theory.

- (5) wanita sangat cantik
 woman very pretty
 “the very pretty woman”

Since Adj has to c-command the noun under A&N’s theory, the only possible configurations for the adjective modifiers are either pre-nominal or post-adjectival, which is not what we have in the data in sentence (5). However, This order is predicted by Cinque’s theory, because the NP moves above (and to the left) of the AP and its modifier.

Complementarity of DP2 and ClassP. The DP2 layer containing the uniqueness article “-nya” (See Figure 1 above) is also in complementary distribution with the classifier in Indonesian. Since these are the two maximal projections that cannot co-occur together, I hypothesize that they are actually one and the same projection within the Indonesian DP. Classifiers, however, are pre-nominal, while the DP2 containing “-nya” is post-nominal. This complementarity is surprising under A&N’s base-generation theory, but expected under Cinque’s theory, on a natural assumption that a numeral always occupies Spec of AgrP associated with ClassP (note that classifiers cannot appear without numerals) and thus blocks movement.

- (6) Matahari-nya panas sekali hari ini.
 sun DEF hot very day this
 “The sun is very hot today.”

- (8) *satu (buah) matahari -nya
 one class. sun DEF

- (7) Tiga (buah) bola merah saya itu.
 three class. ball red my that
 “Those three balls of mine”

- (9) [_{AgrP} NUM [_{Agr} Agr_{CLASS} [_{ClassP} Class]]]

Selected References. Abels, K. and A. Neeleman. 2012. Universal 20 without the LCA. Cinque, G. 2005. Deriving Greenberg’s universal 20 and its exceptions. Li, Roberts, C. 2002. Demonstratives as Definites. Schwarz, F. 2009. Two Types of Definites in Natural Language.