ON THE LEFT PERIPHERY IN INDONESIAN[*]

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In this paper, I argue that the complex array of question formation processes seen in Indonesian most readily receives a unified analysis when questions are viewed as a type of focus construction (following e.g. Kader 1981 for Malay; Horvath 1986 for Hungarian; Rizzi 1997 for Italian; and Bošković 2002 for Slavic multiple-*wh*-fronting languages). I identify a set of five Foc(us) heads in Indonesian, each with a unique constellation of properties, that together yield all types of constituent questions, *yes-no* questions, and non-interrogative focus constructions attested in Indonesian. I also claim that a number of asymmetries observed in Indonesian questions can be accounted for with this type of analysis, and discuss many of the directions for future research needed to fully develop this analysis. Lastly, I argue that in the overall typology, Indonesian is a 'Unique Focus' (Stoyanova 2008) language, albeit one with certain unexpected properties.

1. Overview

My goal in this brief paper is to outline an empirically adequate, theoretically sound, unified analysis of both *wh*-questions and *yes-no* questions in Indonesian. Indonesian has a robust array of question formation processes, and an equally robust array of asymmetries in these processes, both described in Section 2, that must be accounted for in a satisfactory analysis. The main idea defended here, proposed in Section 3, is that Indonesian *wh*-questions and *yes-no* questions are formed with the same mechanisms, and together represent a special type of focus construction. In support of this idea, I describe the many empirical properties that questions share with non-interrogative focus constructions in Indonesian. I emphasize that this paper represents the outline of the analysis, and do not purport to advance here a complete analysis, nor one that necessarily extends to Malay, which displays some significantly different properties. Consequently, I devote a substantial portion of the paper, Sections 4 and 5, to identifying directions for future research.

2.   How to Ask Questions in Indonesian
2.1.   *wh*-questions

In Indonesian, generally speaking, both left-peripheral *wh*-phrases (1a) and *wh*-in-situ (1b) are possible.

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(1) a. **Apa** yang akan Ali beli?   b. Ali akan membeli **apa**?
     what COMP FUT Ali buy   Ali FUT *meng*-buy what
     'What will Ali buy?'   'Ali will buy what?'

There is no matrix/embedded asymmetry with respect to the possibility of *wh*-in-situ. There are, however, several other significant asymmetries.

     First, left-peripheral *wh*-phrases can be (but need not be; this point will be discussed further below) marked with –*kah* (2a). Researchers (e.g. Cheng 1997) frequently refer to –*kah* as a question marker, and I follow this convention in the glosses. –*kah* cannot appear on in-situ *wh*-phrases (2b). The limited distribution of –*kah* can be interpreted as evidence that the morpheme is uniquely affiliated with a left-peripheral position, and not with the *wh*-phrase itself, although it does encliticize to the *wh*-phrase.[1] More empirical support will be advanced for this claim below.

(2) a. **Apa(+kah)** yang Ali beli?   b. Ali membeli **apa(*+kah)**?
     what(*+QUES) COMP Ali buy   Ali *meng*-buy what(*+QUES)
     'What did Ali buy?'   'Ali bought what?'

     Second, left-peripheral *wh*-DPs – even subjects – must be set off from the remainder of the clause by *yang* (3a), which left-peripheral *wh*-adjuncts resist (3b). For the moment, I suggest that *yang* is simply a complementizer that is in complementary distribution with a phonologically null complementizer; this point will also be returned to below.

(3) a. **Siapa *(yang)** membeli mobil baru?
     who *(COMP) *meng*-buy car new
     'Who bought a new car?'

   b. **Kapan/Dari siapa (*yang)** Ali membeli mobil baru?
     when/from who (*COMP) Ali *meng*-buy car new
     'When/From who did Ali buy a new car?'

     Third, only left-peripheral *wh*-phrases are sensitive to island effects (4a); in situ *wh*-phrases easily appear within islands of all types, such as adjunct clauses (4b).

(4) a. ***Apa** yang Ali jadi terlalu gemuk [CP karena dia makan]?
     what COMP Ali be too chubby [CP because 3SG eat]
     'What did Ali get fat because he ate?'

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[1] -*kah* cannot float free at the left edge of the clause:

(i) ***Kah** Ali membeli **apa**?
    QUES Ali *meng*-buy what
    'What did Ali buy?'

b. Ali menjadi terlalu gemuk [CP karena dia makan **apa**]?
   Ali *meng*-be too chubby[CP because 3SG eat what]
   'Ali got fat because he ate what?'

The fourth, and perhaps the most widely-discussed (Cole & Hermon 1998, inter alia), asymmetry involves the verbal prefix *meng-,* which marks transitive verbs in active voice clauses. This prefix cannot appear on a verb whose complement or subcomplement appears left-peripherally (5b), although it does not prevent a *wh*-complement or *wh*-subcomplement from appearing in situ (5a). Furthermore, *meng-* does not block a left-peripheral *wh*-adjunct (6).

(5) a. Ali membeli **apa**?   b. **Apa** yang Ali **(*mem)**beli?
       Ali *meng*-buy what   what COMP Ali (*meng*-)buy
       'Ali bought what?'   'What did Ali buy?'

(6) **Kapan/Dari siapa** Ali **mem**beli mobil baru?
    when/ from who Ali *meng*-buy car new
    'When/From who did Ali buy a new car?'

To account for the asymmetries illustrated in (4)-(6), Cole & Hermon (1998), in their analysis of Singaporean Malay, propose that in-situ *wh*-phrases are unselectively bound by an operator Merged directly into [Spec, CP], and do not undergo covert movement (cf. Huang 1982). In my view, the simplest explanation for these asymmetries invokes an asymmetry in movement, as the *meng-* related asymmetry illustrated in (5)- (6) can be construed as a type of island: namely, *meng-* renders some projection of the verb bearing it an island.[2] Thus, I adopt the Cole & Hermon-style non-movement analysis for Indonesian *wh*-in-situ questions, and for questions containing left-peripheral *wh*-phrases, I assume a standard *wh*-movement analysis (following e.g. Kader 1976 for Malay).

The big picture, as far as *wh*-questions go, is this. Left-peripheral *wh*-phrases have fronted, and thus are constrained by islands; in situ *wh*-phrases, which are unselectively bound and undergo no movement, are not. The question marker (–*kah*), which cannot appear on in-situ *wh*-phrases, is associated with a left-peripheral position. Fronted *wh*-DPs require a special complementizer, *yang*, while all other fronted *wh*-phrases require a phonologically null complementizer.

2.2.   *yes-no* questions

Indonesian also displays several strategies for forming *yes-no* questions. Two such strategies are pragmatically neutral; a third strategy involves focusing of a constituent. The two types of pragmatically neutral *yes-no* questions, under which no changes in word order obtain, are shown

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[2] Analyses of *meng-*'s blocking effect on movement are numerous; see, e.g., the works cited above, and references therein. However, the precise cause of *meng-*'s blocking effect remains controversial, and a stand won't be taken here.

in (7). The first strategy involves question intonation only (7a); under the second strategy, a question particle, *apa(kah)*, appears left-peripherally (7b).

(7) a. Siti   sudah   pulang?   b. **Apa(kah)** Siti   sudah   pulang?
      Siti   already   go.home   QUES   Siti   already   go.home
      'Did Siti go home?'   'Did Siti go home?'

Under the third strategy, a constituent is fronted and marked with *–kah*, yielding a non-pragmatically neutral interpretation (8). In (8a), for example, a vP is focused; in (8b), the subject is focused.

(8) a. **[Sudah   pulang]+kah** Siti?   b. **Siti+kah** yang   sudah   pulang?
      already   home   + QUES Siti   Siti+ QUES COMP   already   go.home
      'Did Siti ALREADY GO HOME?'   'Did SITI already go home?'

Overall, then, a common characteristic of Indonesian questions is the optional fronting of a constituent. We've seen that both *wh*-phrases (in constituent questions) and non-*wh*-phrases (in *yes-no* questions) are able to, but are not required to, overtly front. Although it is not demonstrated here for lack of space, fronted non-*wh*-phrases are subject to the same island constraints (including the blocking effect of *meng-*) that *wh*-phrases are. Both types of fronted phrases can be (and, in the case of non-*wh*-constituents, must be) marked with *–kah*.

The availability of such a wide number of possibilities for forming questions in Indonesian means that developing a empirically adequate, unified analysis will be difficult, although such an analysis arguably is desirable. In the next section, I briefly review one previous unified analysis of Indonesian questions, that of Cheng 1997, which I argue to be unsuccessful. I then propose a different analysis which capitalizes on the common characteristic identified above: the optional fronting and *–kah*-marking of a constituent.

3.   A Unified Analysis of Indonesian Questions
3.1.   Cheng 1997

Cheng (1997) seeks to propose an analysis of *wh*-questions which accounts for their differing properties crosslinguistically. Primarily concerned with understanding why an individual language will choose to exploit a *wh*-in-situ or *wh*-movement strategy, she proposes the Clausal Typing Hypothesis (CTH) (9), which states that all questions need to be 'typed' as such at S-Structure. Typing is accomplished with *wh*-movement to, or a *wh*-particle in, the left periphery.

(9)   *Clausal Typing Hypothesis* (Cheng 1997: 22, ex. 9)
    Clauses need to be [overtly] 'typed'… either a *wh*-particle in C is used or … fronting of a *wh*-word is used.

The CTH predicts that overt *wh*-movement and question particles are in complementary distribution, a prediction which appears to be falsified by the Indonesian facts. To maintain this

prediction, Cheng argues that left-peripheral *wh*-phrases in Indonesian do not undergo *wh*-movement. Left-peripheral *wh*-adjuncts (6) are base-generated topics, while left-peripheral *wh*-DPs (5b) are base-generated pivots of clefts, an analysis which has the further benefit of capturing the apparent structural similarities between these questions and relative clauses (10).

(10) Buku yang Ali beli   itu   mahal   sekali.
      book COMP Ali buy   DEM   expensive very
      'The book that Ali bought is very expensive.'

Cheng's analysis, particularly of those questions containing *wh*-adjuncts, faces non-trivial difficulties. On the empirical side, we've seen that certain *wh*-adjuncts – namely, PPs – are permitted to appear in situ; these are undergenerated by Cheng's analysis. On the 'conceptual' side, the assumption that *wh*-adjuncts are 'topics' appears to ignore a serious semantic incompatibility (see e.g. Molnár 2006: 206 for discussion): 'topics' are standardly taken to encode only old or given information, which *wh*-phrases are not. Fortunately, it further appears that the larger theoretical motivation for the Clausal Typing Hypothesis does not hold up: Bruening (2007) cites typological data on about 500 languages, showing there to be no correlation cross-linguistically between *wh*-in-situ and question particles, meaning that nothing a priori prevents *wh*-movement and *wh*-in-situ strategies from co-existing within a language.[3]

3.2.   Proposal: questions are focus constructions

The unified analysis of Indonesian questions that I seek to advance in this paper relies not on 'topics', as Cheng's does, but on a different information-structural construct: focus. I adopt Lambrecht's (1994: 207) definition of focus as new information, 'the portion of the proposition which cannot be taken for granted… the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element of an utterance', and I propose that questions in Indonesian are best analyzed as focus constructions. This proposal follows a long tradition of viewing questions as a special type of focus construction, including Horvath 1986 for Hungarian, Rizzi 1997 for Italian, Bošković 2002 for Slavic multiple-*wh*-fronting languages, and Stoyanova 2008 for Berber, Somali, and Irish. I begin with the hypothesis that the *–kah* observed in *yes-no* questions and the *– kah* observed in *wh*-questions are the same *–kah*, which is a focus marker. I also hypothesize that the fronting seen in both types of questions is focus fronting.

Certain aspects of *wh*-movement in Indonesian/Malay have previously been analyzed as involving focus. Saddy (1991) assumes that fronted Indonesian *wh*-arguments, although not *wh*-adjuncts, are focused, although the reason for this division is unclear. Kader (1981) characterizes Malay *–kah* and *–lah* as 'focus morphemes', which, by marking a constituent, enable that constituent to participate in a process of 'Focus Fronting'.[4] Similarly, Cole, et al. (to appear: 17) describe Malay *–kah* as 'the interrogative focus particle', and *–lah* as 'the affirmative focus

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[3] I am grateful to an anonymous AFLA reviewer for directing me to this work.
[4] Kader notes two further 'focus morphemes' in Malay: *–tah*, which appears in rhetorical questions, and *pun*, which has a range of meanings including 'also, too, even'. To the best of my knowledge, Indonesian does not display *–tah* at all. I do not discuss *pun* here, which in Indonesian (as in Malay) behaves quite differently from *–kah* and *–lah*.

particle', but do not delve more deeply into the ramifications of this classification for question formation in Malay.

3.2.1. The framework

My proposal is couched within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), including the Probe-Goal theory of agreement (Chomsky 2001). Under this theory of agreement, feature-checking obtains long-distance; a head with an unchecked feature (the probe) can agree with a goal bearing a matching feature in its c-command domain. Movement to a specifier position, such as *wh*-movement, is thus not taken to be driven by the need to check (for example) a *wh*-feature, since the *wh*-feature is checked at a distance. Movement to a specifier is thus exclusively by the need to check driven by an EPP feature on a head.

       I further assume the particulars of Rizzi's (1997) Split CP Hypothesis, under which the left periphery of the clause (the CP) is split into a number of projections concerned with information structure and illocutionary force, as illustrated in (11).

(11)   ForceP > TopP* > **FocP** > TopP* > FinP > IP

In Rizzi's framework, which was influenced most heavily by Italian, English, and other Indo-European languages, TopP – the functional projection related to topics, or old/given information – is able to iterate, but FocP – the functional projection related to focused constituents, or new information – is not. Multiple topics are permissible in an Italian clause (12a), but only one focus phrase is allowed (12b).

(12)a. Il libro, a Gianni, domani,   glielo daro   senz'altro   (Italian)
         the book, to Gianni, tomorrow, to.3SG give.FUT.1SG for.sure
         'The book, to Gianni, tomorrow, I'll give it to him for sure'   (Rizzi 1997: 290, ex. 21)

    b. *A GIANNI   IL LIBRO   daro   (non a Piero, l'articolo)
        TO GIANNI   THE   BOOK   give.FUT.1SG
        'To Gianni the book I'll give (not to Pierre, the article)'   (Rizzi 1997: 290, ex. 22)

       Rizzi (1997) further argues that [Spec, FocP] is the landing site for *wh*-movement in Italian. He notes that while a *wh*-phrase can co-occur with a topic (13a), a *wh*-phrase and a focused phrase cannot co-occur (13b). Moreover, only one *wh*-phrase is permitted; there is no possibility for a second, in situ, *wh*-phrase (14).

(13)a. A Gianni, **che cosa** gli   hai   detto?
         to Gianni, what   to.3SG have.2SG tell.PAST
         'To Gianni, what did you tell him?'   (Rizzi 1997: 291, ex. 24a)

b. *A GIANNI   **che cosa**   hai   detto   (non   a   Piero)?
    to   GIANNI,   what   have.2SG   tell.PAST
    'TO GIANNI what did you tell (not to Piero)?'   (Rizzi 1997: 291, ex. 25a)

(14)   ***Che cosa**   hai   dato   a   **chi**?
       what   have.2SG   give.PAST   to   who.ACC
       'What was given to whom?' (Stoyanova 2008: 3)

3.2.2. Extending the framework cross-linguistically

Since Rizzi's original proposal, it has been recognized that if *wh*-movement is focus movement, whether or not FocP can iterate must be parametrized. As shown above, Italian has 'unique focus' (Stoyanova 2008): it permits a maximum of one focused phrase, whether or not it is *wh*-, per clause. On the other hand, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Russian permit any number (in principle) of fronted *wh*-phrases (15). If *wh*-movement is movement to [Spec, FocP], this implies that FocP is able in these languages to iterate without limit, in order to host the multiple fronted *wh*-phrases (Bošković 2002).[5]

(15)   **Koj**   **kogo**   **kak**   e   tselunal?   (Bulgarian)
       who.NOM   who.ACC   how   is   kiss.PAST
       'Who kissed whom how?'   (Bošković 2002: 366)

English appears to be somewhere in between Italian and the Slavic multiple *wh*-fronting languages. Like Italian, only one *wh*-phrase overtly fronts, but unlike Italian, the number of *wh*-phrases per clause is not limited to one (16).

(16)   a.   Who gave what to whom when?
       b.   * Who what to whom when gave?

In Indonesian, like Italian, no more than one *wh*-phrase - even in situ - is permitted (17).

(17)   a. ***Siapa**   yang   membeli   **apa**?
         who   COMP   *meng*-buy   what
         'Who bought what?'

       b. * Kamu membeli   **apa**   **dari**   **toko**   **yang**   **mana**?
         2SG   *meng*-buy   what   from   store   COMP   which
         'What did you buy from which store?'

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[5] Alternatively, FocP in the Slavic languages has multiple specifiers, or otherwise permits attraction of multiple phrases to a single head.

Indonesian thus far appears to be another example of a language with unique Focus, in which iteration of FocP (or multiple adjunction to [Spec, FocP], or multiple specifiers of FocP) is not possible.

3.3.   Indonesian (non-*wh*) Focus

In order to bolster my contentions that (i) Indonesian has unique Focus and (ii) Indonesian question formation involves focus movement, I now describe less controversial instantiations of focus in Indonesian, and demonstrate that question formation behaves similarly. Indonesian has a non-interrogative focus marker, –*lah*, which has a distribution and behavior similar to that of –*kah*, which I've suggested is also a focus marker.[6] First, like –*kah*, –*lah* is associated with a left-peripheral position, and encliticizes to a constituent which is treated as new information (18a). Also like –*kah*, –*lah* cannot appear on constituents in situ (18b).

(18)   a.   Kemarin+**lah** Ali membeli   mobil baru.
              yesterday+FOC Ali *meng*-buy car   new
              'It was YESTERDAY that Ali bought a new car (not last Tuesday).'

        b.   Ali membeli   mobil baru   kemarin(***+lah**).
              Ali *meng*-buy car   new   yesterday(*+FOC)
              'Ali bought a new car YESTERDAY.'

         The constraints on the movement to this left-peripheral position are identical. Once again, *meng*-blocks fronting of DPs that are c-commanded by the verb bearing *meng*- (19), but has no impact on the fronting of c-commanded AdvPs/PPs (20). Additionally, as was the case with the fronted *wh*-phrases, fronted DPs require (19), and fronted AdvPs/PPs (20) reject, the complementizer *yang*.

(19)   a.   [Pintu itu]+lah   ***(yang)**   Ali **(*mem-)**buka.
              [door   DEM]+FOC COMP   Ali (*meng-)open
              'It is this door that Ali opened.'

        b.   [Pintu yang   mana]+kah   ***(yang)**   Ali **(*mem-)**buka?
              [door   COMP   which]+QUES COMP   Ali (*meng-)open
              'Which door did Ali open?'

(20)   a.   [Kemarin]+lah   **(*yang)**   Ali **mem-**beli mobil baru.
              yesterday+FOC   COMP   Ali *meng*-buy car   new
              'It was yesterday Ali bought a new car.'

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[6] Kader (1981: 303) characterizes Malay –*lah* as 'the focus morpheme in declarative and imperative sentences', in contrast to –*kah*, which appears in interrogatives.

    b. Kapan+kah   **(*yang)**   Ali **mem-**beli mobil baru.
        when+QUES   COMP   Ali *meng-*buy car   new
        'When did Ali buy a new car?'

    Next, as is the case with multiple *wh*-phrases, multiple focused phrases cannot occur (21). Similarly, a focused phrase cannot co-occur with a *wh*-phrase, whether or not that *wh*-phrase is marked with *–kah* (22a) or even fronted (22b).

(21)   *Kemarin+**lah**   [pintu itu]+**lah**   yang   Ali buka.
        yesterday+FOC   door   DEM+FOC COMP Ali open
        'It was YESTERDAY that Ali opened THIS DOOR (not that window last Tuesday).'

(22)   a.* Kemarin+**lah** siapa+**kah** yang   menelpon?
        yesterday+FOC who+QUES COMP *meng-*phone
        'It was YESTERDAY (not last Tuesday) that who phoned?'

       b.* Kemarin+**lah** kamu menelpon   siapa?
        yesterday+FOC 2SG   *meng-*phone   who
        'It was YESTERDAY (not last Tuesday) that you phoned who?'

    This pattern of data indicates that *–kah* and *–lah* are in complementary distribution, although the clash does not appear to be semantic; instead, it appears that the two markers are competing for the same structural position, which I take to be, in Rizzi's framework, Foc. It further indicates that *wh*-phrases and non-*wh*-focused phrases in complementary distribution; since at most one (of either type) can appear in a clause, it again appears that the two types of phrases are competing for the same structural position, which I take to be [Spec, FocP]. I conclude that Indonesian is, indeed, like Italian, a language with unique Focus.

3.3.1. Indonesian focus: the fuller picture

I claimed above that *–lah* and *–kah* are both instances of Foc. Clearly, they differ in some respects: as has already been made evident, *–lah* lacks *–kah*'s interrogative interpretation. Still, both *–kah* and *–lah* can mark both fronted *wh*-phrases and non-*wh*-phrases, and the four possible combinations yield four distinct focus constructions. The first three are familiar; the fourth, which combines the non-interrogative focus marker with a *wh*-phrase, is a rhetorical question.

Table 1: Recipes for Indonesian Focus

combination	*construction*	*example*
-kah + *wh*-phrase	constituent question	(2a)
-kah + non-*wh*-phrase	*yes-no* question	(8a)
-lah + non-*wh*-phrase	non-interrogative focus construction	(18a)
-lah + *wh*-phrase	rhetorical question (Cheng 1997)	(23)

(23) **Apa+lah**   yang   mampu   aku   beri?
      what+FOC   COMP can   1SG   give
      'Whatever can I afford to give?' (Cheng 1997[7])

3.4. Indonesian Questions as Focus Constructions

I argue, then, that the Indonesian lexicon contains at least two types of Foc: *-kah*, which is an interrogative Foc, and *–lah*, which is a non-interrogative Foc.[8] As we've seen, both of these markers appear only in conjunction with fronted phrases. Focused phrases must be marked with one of the two focus markers if the phrase itself is not a *wh*-phrase, although fronted *wh*-phrases can appear without *–kah*. Within the Minimalist Program, the 'optional' application of an operation is hypothesized to be impossible; as such, the 'optional' *wh*-movement seen in Indonesian, poses a problem. Given the probe-goal theory of agreement, however, and the concomitant hypotheses that all movement to a specifier is driven by an EPP feature on that specifier's head and all variation is rooted in the lexicon (Chomsky 2001), this apparent 'optionality' can straightforwardly be accounted for. To begin, both *–kah* and *–lah* have a strong Foc feature which is checked, long-distance, against some constituent in its c-command domain bearing a matching feature. Both *–kah* and *–lah* also contain an EPP feature which drives movement of the focused constituent to [Spec, FocP].

    The Indonesian lexicon further contains two phonologically null interrogative Foc, analogous to *-kah*. Both null Foc contain, like *–kah/–lah*, a focus feature that is checked long distance against a constituent bearing a matching feature in its c-command domain. One of these null Foc differs from *–kah/–lah* in lacking an EPP feature, with the consequence that the focused constituent remains in situ; the second null Foc does bear an EPP feature, which drives movement of the focused constituent to its specifier.[9] It is unclear at this point (at least to me) whether the non-interrogative Foc, *-lah*, also has a phonologically null analog lacking an EPP feature, which would generate non-interrogative focus constructions in which the focused constituent remains in situ (e.g. *I saw SAM (not Pat) at the party*). Given that non-interrogative focus constructions in which the focused constituent remains in situ should display a distinctive intonation contour, more research in this area will necessarily involve close attention to prosody.

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[7] Although Cheng (1997) describes these types of questions in Indonesian, it is not yet clear to me how widely accepted they are, as my own consultants reported that they found them rather odd. More data needs to be gathered.
[8] Or, more precisely, the Indonesian lexicon contains at least two types of Foc. Whether or not *pun* 'even, also, too' in Indonesian is also an instance of Foc, as is claimed by Kader (1981) for Malay, requires additional research.
[9] Under a perhaps more explanatory hypothesis, the optional appearance of *–kah* in questions containing a fronted *wh*-phrase is accounted for by the interrogative Foc being optionally lexicalized only if a *wh*-phrase is fronted. Given that *wh*-phrases are inherently focused, this hypothesis is plausible, although the details remain to be worked out. This alternative hypothesis is desirable for a second reason: the lexically-based analysis proposed in the text is in danger of overgenerating questions in which a non-*wh*-phrase, in combination with the phonologically null interrogative Foc with the EPP feature, fronts. Such a combination does not appear to be attested in Indonesian (i) (cf. 9a), although, according to Kader (1981), this combination is possible in Malay.

(i)   *[Sudah pulang] Siti?
     already   go.home Siti
     'Did Siti already go home?'

It does appear to be the case, however, that Indonesian lacks a non-interrogative Foc with an EPP feature; non-*wh*-constituents that are focus-fronted are obligatorily marked with –*lah*.

I've thus far accounted for non-interrogative focus constructions, *wh*-questions (both wh-in-situ and *wh*-movement varieties), and the two of the three *yes-no* question formation strategies described above. The third strategy, which involves focus fronting and –*kah* marking of a constituent (8), resulting in a pragmatically marked question, of course makes use of the same –*kah* seen in *wh*-questions. Similarly, the first strategy, which involves a question intonation only (7a), makes use of the phonologically null interrogative Foc which lacks an EPP; this is the same Foc seen in *wh*-in-situ questions. As noted earlier, these *yes-no* questions are pragmatically neutral, which means that no sub-constituent is focused; instead, the IP itself presumably bears the focus feature, with the result that the entire clause, in a sense, is focused. Only the second yes-no question strategy (7b) remains to be accommodated, and this is easily done: the *yes-no* particles, *apa/apakah*, are also interrogative Foc which bear no EPP feature. In these pragmatically neutral questions, too, Foc checks its focus feature against the entire IP.

To conclude this section, I've proposed that Indonesian's wide variety of question formation processes follows from the wide array of Foc in its lexicon; these are listed in Table 2. I've also noted that there appear to be gaps in the paradigm, and that certain logically possible Foc – for example, a phonologically null non-interrogative Foc with an EPP feature – do not appear to be attested in Indonesian.

*Table 2: The Five Flavors of Indonesian Foc*

head	*semantics*	*EPP?*	*construction(s)*
-*kah*	interrogative	+EPP	*wh*-questions with a fronted *wh*-phrase
			yes-no questions with a focused non-*wh*-phrase
-*lah*	non-interrogative	+EPP	focus constructions with a fronted non-*wh*-phrase
			rhetorical questions with a fronted *wh*-phrase
apa/apakah	interrogative	-EPP	pragmatically neutral *yes-no* questions
$\emptyset_1$	interrogative	+EPP	*wh*-questions with a fronted *wh*-phrase
$\emptyset_2$	interrogative	-EPP	*wh*-questions with an in-situ *wh*-phrase
			pragmatically neutral *yes-no* questions

3.4.1. On *yang*

It is also necessary to consider where the 'complementizer', *yang,* fits into the Rizzian clause structure adopted here. (One possibility is that *yang* is an instance of Fin, similar to English *that*. In Rizzi's framework, Fin (short for Finite) is the head within the CP field that is 'closest' to the IP field, and which, in a sense, 'agrees' in finiteness with the IP.) In order to account for the limited distribution of *yang* – in particular, *yang* only appears when a DP has been focused and fronted – it is logical that *yang* has some type of strong feature which needs to be checked against the focused constituent, and an EPP feature which is sensitive to the syntactic category of

this constituent. There is also a second, phonologically null, instance of Fin, also with an EPP feature sensitive to syntactic category, which is only compatible with non-DP focused phrases.[10]

(24)   *The Indonesian (Partial) CP*
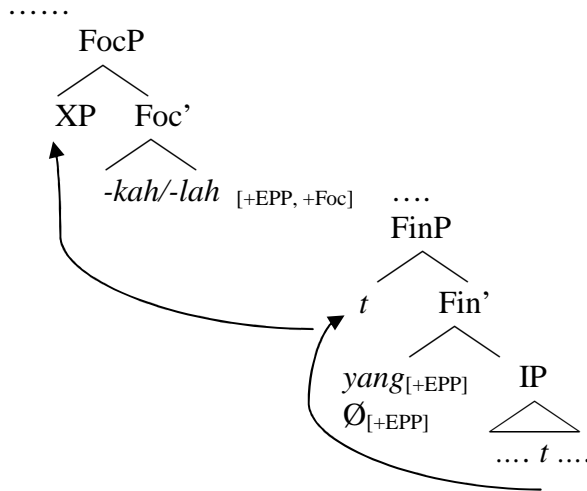
Treating *yang* as Fin is not, however, a crucial component of the proposal advanced here. For example, a Cole et al. (to appear) style analysis of Malay *yang* constructions as a type of cleft construction appears to be compatible with the key portions of my proposal sketched out in the previous section. Adopting such an analysis for Indonesian *yang* constructions would have the additional benefit of capturing the apparent similarities between these constructions and relative clauses that were alluded to in Section 3.1, and consequently merits further exploration.

3.4.2. Support from ellipsis

Returning to the central threads of my proposal, I now present further support, from sluicing, for treating *–kah* as a unique functional head, merged into the derivation separately from the fronted phrase it cliticizes to. As is well known, sluicing cross-linguistically requires C to be phonologically null (e.g. Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey 1995; Merchant 2001). Sluicing in Indonesian sluicing requires a 'bare' *wh*-phrase; *-kah*, surprisingly, is prohibited. (Also, and less surprisingly, *yang* is blocked as well.)

(25)   Ada   seseorang   yang   membuat   kue-kue   ini,
       exist   someone   COMP   *meng*-make   cake-REDUP   DEM
       tapi   saya   tidak   tahu   **siapa(*+kah) (*yang)**.
       but   1SG   NEG   know   who(*+QUES) (*COMP)
       'Someone made these cakes, but I don't know who.'

---

[10] Under this analysis, other phonologically null Fin of course exist as well; for example, the Fin in regular declarative sentences, in which no constituents are focused or fronted, would not have an EPP feature.

If –*kah* were affiliated with the *wh*-phrase prior to its movement to the left periphery – for example, if *siapakah* were a lexical item – the prohibition illustrated above would be unexplained. On the other hand, if –*kah* is, as I've argued, a type of C (in particular, Foc), this prohibition is entirely expected.

4. Malay v. Indonesian

Although Indonesian and Malay have much in common lexically as well as structurally, to the extent that the two are to a large extent mutually intelligible, there are non-trivial differences in the structure of interrogatives in the 'near-standard' varieties of the two languages. I do not at the moment claim that the proposal described here necessarily extends to Malay, given that the Malay facts (as described by Kader (1981), for 'Standard Malay', and Cole, et al. (to appear), for 'Educated Informal Malay') are, in some critical domains, quite different from the Indonesian facts. Several of the most dramatic differences are briefly described below, although the necessary fine-grained comparative consideration of focus structures in the two languages remains to be undertaken.

First, as shown above, Indonesian -*kah* and –*lah* are restricted to marking clause-initial constituents. In Malay, on the other hand, their placement is much freer: -*kah* and –*lah* are able to mark most predicate-internal constituents in situ.[11] This suggests that Malay –*kah/–lah* are not themselves located in Foc, although they are nonetheless licensed by Foc.[12]

(26)   Fatimah   kata   Siti   membeli   [buku itu**kah**]   semalam?   (Malay)
        Fatimah   say   Siti   *meng*-buy book   DEM+QUES yesterday
        'Did Fatimah say that Siti bought THAT BOOK yesterday?'
        (=Cole et al. to appear: 17, ex. 37)

The 'unique focus' restriction I've identified for Indonesian seems to hold of Malay, as well, but in a slightly different fashion. Kader (1981) reports that certain multiple *wh*-questions are somewhat acceptable in 'colloquial' Malay, although not in the 'Standard' Malay he is concerned with. Nonetheless, these questions, however, allow one instance of –*kah* at most:

(27)   Siapa**(kah)**   yang   pukul   siapa**(*kah)**?
        who(QUES)   REL   hit   who**(*QUES)**
        'Who hit who?'

---

[11] Kader (1981) notes a handful of idiosyncratic restrictions preventing –*kah* from marking certain in-situ constituents within the predicate. Additionally, -*kah* and –*lah* cannot mark an in situ subject in Malay. Kader (1981) suggests that this restriction is not at all syntactic, but instead has its roots in information packaging preferences: subjects in Malay are normally 'old' information, and old information cannot be focused.

[12] Kader (1981), working within a transformational framework, proposes a set of phrase structure rules that permit –*kah* to optionally follow any head. For Kader, focus-fronting a constituent is not syntactically driven; rather, it is an optional process that is 'pragmatically motivated… by the desire of the speaker to put the focus of his utterance as near as possible to sentence-initial position so that the hearer will pay more attention to it' (p. 97-98).

The ramifications of these (and other) differences between Malay and Indonesian for the theoretical treatment of questions and focus constructions in these languages deserve to be closely examined, and I plan to undertake this in future research.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I've argued that a unified analysis of Indonesian questions – both constituent and *yes-no* questions – that does not appeal to the problematic Clausal Typing Hypothesis (Cheng 1997) is possible. I've sketched out the broad outlines of this analysis, which centers on the hypothesis that Indonesian *wh*-movement is focus movement, and that the wide range of question types attested in Indonesian follows directly from the generous array of Foc heads, each with unique properties, in its lexicon.

The analysis outlined here raises a large number of questions which merit further research. Some of these I've already noted, and others I'll briefly address here. For one, I've suggested that Indonesian, like Italian, has 'Unique Focus' (Stoyanova 2008), since it permits at most one focused *wh-* or non-*wh*-phrase per clause. Interestingly, Indonesian is unlike the other Unique Focus languages that Stoyanova describes in that it displays a *wh*-in-situ strategy; the ramifications of this for the typology of *wh*-questions-as-focus-constructions also await future exploration.

Second, an additional asymmetry with respect to *wh*-movement that requires further research involves a split in behavior between AdvPs, on the one hand, and PPs and DPs, on the other. AdvPs, such as *kapan* 'when', cannot appear in situ (28a), and are required to front (28b). On the other hand, both DPs (1) and PPs (28) are able to appear in situ as well as in a left-peripheral position.

(28)   a. Ali membeli mobil baru   **dari   siapa/*kapan**?
           Ali *meng*-buy car   new   from   who/ *when
           'Ali bought a new car from who/*when?'

     b. **Kapan/Dari siapa** Ali membeli   mobil baru?
         when/ from   who   Ali *meng*-buy car   new
         'When/From who did Ali buy a new car?'

While adverbials and PPs, both adjuncts, would reasonably be expected to pattern together, they do not. Instead, 'nominal adjuncts' (in the terminology of Cole and Hermon 1998) – that is, PPs which contain a *wh*-DP – pattern with *wh*-DPs. The underlying cause of this asymmetry is presently poorly understood, and is complicated by the fact that the restriction in (28a) is not observed by all speakers.

Finally, how does topicalization fit into the overall picture? Rizzi's framework, adopted here, predicts that topics and focus co-occur. More data needs to be collected, but preliminary exploration indicates this prediction is realized (29).

(29) a. Kemarin, buku ini,   siapa yang   baca?
          yesterday, book DEM, who   COMP read
          'Yesterday, this book, who read?'

      b. ? Siapa,   buku ini,   yang   baca?
          who,   book DEM, COMP read
          'Who, this book, read?'

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