

Movement and Locality in Sundanese *Wh*-Questions

Nominal *wh*-questions (non-prepositional arguments) in Indonesian-type languages have received two principal analyses in recent years. Saddy (1991) for Indonesian and Cole & Hermon (1998) for Malay have proposed in situ, long distance movement, and partial movement analyses for the Malay sentences in (1-3), respectively. Madurese apparently has the same three structural options, but Davies (2003) has proposed that there is no interclausal *wh*-movement in Madurese and that all nominal *wh*-arguments are generated in situ. Sundanese appears to have the same array of structures as these other languages (4-6), so it is of some interest to determine whether either analysis can adequately account for the facts. We will conclude that there is no interclausal *wh*-movement for Sundanese, and that the apparent cases of movement, e.g. (5-7) are best analyzed in other ways.

We first lay out what the in situ and movement structures entail, adopting the analysis in Cole & Hermon (1998) of unselective binding of the in situ *wh*-element by a matrix Q feature. We then focus on the long distance movement structure. As is true of both Malay/Indonesian and Madurese, any verb that intervenes between a fronted *wh*-nominal and its apparent thematic position in an embedded clause must not be in the active voice, thus (8) is ill-formed. In addition, neither can there be a voice neutral verb in Sundanese, (9). Any verb intervening between a fronted *wh*-nominal and its embedded thematic position obligatorily occurs in the passive (6,7), a fact that a movement analysis must account for.

An appropriate analysis must also take into consideration the fact that not all complement-taking predicates allow all of the structures. For instance, control predicates are incompatible with long distance *wh*-movement. With embedded nominals, object control predicates countenance only in situ questions (10). Given standard analyses of control structures as having embedded CP structure, this is unexpected. Any adequate account of the facts must include an explanation for this inability of *wh*-nominals to move out of dependents of control predicates. Two other classes of matrix predicates present slightly different structural patterns. With verbs such as *percaya* 'believe', *sangka* 'think' and others, the embedded *wh*-nominal may occur in sentence-initial position (11a) (the long distance structure) or in situ in the embedded clause (11b). With verbs such as *carita* 'say', *téléla* 'mention', and others, the *wh*-nominal may occur in embedded position (12a) or sentence-initial position (12b). However, when the *wh*-nominal is sentence initial, the matrix verb obligatorily occurs with the applicative suffix *-keun*. When this affix is absent, the sentence is ungrammatical (12c).

We propose an analysis for the movement structure which includes no interclausal *wh*-movement, which is consistent with the analysis of cleft structures. We show how the restriction against interclausal *wh*-movement explains the impossibility of long-distance movement in control clauses and the peculiarities with the *percaya*-type vs. *carita*-type matrix predicates, as well as the requirement that intervening verbs occur in passive voice. We also address additional facts concerning plural verbal marking and a subject restriction on moved *wh*-nominals.

Data

- (1) Bill harap [guru itu akan mendenda siapa]? (Malay, Cole & Hermon 1998)
'Who does Bill hope that teacher will punish?'
- (2) Siapa (yang) Bill harap [yang akan membeli baju untuknya]? (Malay, Cole & Hermon 1998)
'Who does Bill hope will buy clothes for him?'
- (3) Ali memberitahu kamu tadi [apa (yang) Fatimah baca]? (Malay, Cole & Hermon 1998)
'What did Ali tell you just now Fatimah was reading?'
- (4) Eri mutuskeun [Meli kudu maca buku naon]?
'What book did Eri decide that Meli will read?'
- (5) Buku naon nu diputuskeun ku Eri [nu dibaca ku Meli]?
'What book did Eri decide that Meli should read?'
- (6) Eri mutuskeun [buku naon nu kudu dibaca ku Meli]?
'What book did Eri decide that Meli should read?'
- (7) Naon nu dipercaya ku Eri nu dibaca ku Meli?
'What did Eri believe that Meli read?'
- (8) *Naon (nu) Eri percaya nu dibaca ku Meli?
- (9) *Naon nu diputuskeun ku Eri Meli kudu maca?
- (10) a. Eri maksa Meli kudu maca buku naon?
'What did Eri force Meli to read?'
b. *Naon nu Meli dipaksa ku Eri kudu dibaca?
c.. *Naon nu dipaksa ku Eri kudu dibaca ku Meli?
- (11) a. Naon nu dipercaya ku Ahmad nu dibeuli ku Hasan?
'What did Ahmad believe that Hasan bought?'
b. Ahmad percaya Hasan meuli naon?
'What did Ahmad believe that Hasan bought?'
- (12) a. Eri nyarita (yén) Ahmad bakal ngecét naon?
'What did Eri say that Ahmad will paint?'
b. Naon dicaritakeun ku Eri nu bakal dicét ku Ahmad?
'What did Eri say that Ahmad will paint?'
c.*Naon dicarita ku Eri nu bakal dicét ku Ahmad?