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The Syntax of Indonesian Imposters

DANIEL KAUFMAN

1. Introduction

1.1 IMPOSTERS: REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS WITH PRONOMINAL FUNCTIONS

Referential expressions are commonly used in place of first and second person pronominals in a wide range of languages. Collins and Postal (2012) argue that referential expressions in this function, e.g., “You won’t have *Nixon* to kick around anymore” (as spoken by Nixon), possess a radically different syntactic representation from their plain noun phrase counterparts. The variety we are concerned with here involves a name or other referential expression not containing any overt first or second person features but which nonetheless refers to the speaker or hearer. These kinds of expressions are termed by Collins and Postal “imposters” (alluding to the covert pronominal work that they carry out) and are defined as follows:

- (1) An imposter is a notionally X person DP that is grammatically Y person, $X \neq Y$ (Collins and Postal 2012: 5)

Imposters display a mixed behavior with regard to binding facts and agreement that had not been previously well documented. For instance, in the context of (2), *Mommy*, an imposter referring to the speaker, can only antecede a third singular pronoun.¹

- (2) Mommy_i^[1] needs her_i/*my_i quiet time now.

Based on this evidence alone, we could imagine a purely notional theory of imposters that treated them as a phenomenon of interpretation rather than syntax. On such an analysis, imposters would not differ from regular (third person) phrasal

¹ Subscripted indices are employed here in the traditional manner to indicate coreference. Superscripted ^[1] and ^[2] are used to indicate the first and second person features associated with imposters.

arguments but would be interpreted as referring to the speaker based on real-world, extra-grammatical inferences. Such a theory runs into immediate trouble, however, when confronted with other English facts, such as the optionality shown in (3). Unlike (2), we find that the imposter can antecede both a third person anaphor as well as a first person anaphor, unexpected if imposters were a purely pragmatic phenomenon.

- (3) In this reply, the present authors_i^[1] attempt to defend ourselves_i/themselves_i against the scurrilous charges which have been made.

More troubling for the purely notional approach to imposters is the discovery that there exists principled variation in their distribution across languages (as amply documented in the present volume). Variation of this type is traditionally modeled as part of the grammar and not the pragmatics.

The crux of the imposter problem is that they must sometimes be treated according to their overt NP form, that is, as third person, other times according to their covert reference, that is, as first or second person, and yet other times may be treated as either. The structure Collins and Postal (2012) posit to account for this and other attendant facts contains both an indexical (first or second person) pronoun and an ascriptive noun phrase. This stands in contrast to notional approaches to imposter phenomena, which see the referential expression as a plain noun phrase with a non-canonical interpretation. Unfortunately, differentiating between notional and syntactic accounts of imposters and related phenomena is rarely straightforward. First, the vast majority of the evidence for the syntactic differences come from complex binding facts, which themselves straddle the domains of syntax and semantics. Second, English and other familiar languages are rarely found to linearize imposter and non-imposter phrases differently (but see the chapters of Wood & Sigurðsson and Vázquez Rojas in this volume for unique distributional patterns of indefinite imposters). In this chapter, I show that Indonesian² holds a special

² Malay, the national language of Malaysia, and Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia, are best understood as two dialects of the same language. Confusingly, there exist other languages also referred to as Malay varieties, in both Indonesia and Malaysia, which are best treated as separate languages. The variety I focus on here is “Standard Indonesian.” It is occasionally claimed (typically by foreign scholars) that Standard Indonesian is a purely engineered language only existing within textbooks, news broadcasts and other official media. This is an exaggeration. While there does exist strong diglossia, the situation is not far removed from other well-known cases described extensively for Greece and the Arab world, among many others. This point is important here because the central syntactic feature here, proclisis of referring expressions, is something which has been lost in many colloquial varieties. Nonetheless, speakers, especially those more familiar with the formal language, have strong intuitions about proclisis, even if they typically speak varieties that do not employ it regularly. The data in this chapter not attributed to other sources were obtained primarily from native speakers Amalia Suryani (Jakarta) and Lutfi Kurniawan (Yogyakarta). Citations of Classical Malay (labeled by text: Bayan Budiman, SAB, Bangka, S) were obtained from the Malay Concordance Project (<http://mcp.anu.edu.au/>).

place in differentiating the two approaches, as the referential features of imposters actually determine their surface position, forcefully ruling out a notional account.

1.2 INDONESIAN PRONOMINALS AND VOICE

In what we can consider the default case, person features in the input are spelled out by standard pronominals in Indonesian as expected. The unmarked pronouns of the standard language are shown in Table 5.1.

However, under a wide variety of common situations, often involving the need to be polite, imposters are employed instead. What makes Indonesian particularly interesting in this regard is that one type of argument is positioned differently in the overt syntax when functioning as an imposter. Specifically, imposters as patient voice agents (henceforth PV-agents) follow the same pattern as pronominals; they both procliticize to the verb when referring to “local” (i.e., first or second person) features, seemingly replacing the patient voice prefix *di-*, but follow the verb when referring to third person, as shown schematically in (4).³

- (4) The Patient Voice (PV) Paradigm
 a. Local person: 1/2=V
 b. Non-local person: *di*-V-3

Table 5.1 Standard Indonesian person-markers

Feature	Nominative	Genitive/Accusative	Proclitic
[+1, -2, -PL] (1sg)	<i>aku, saya</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>ku=</i>
[-1, +2, -PL] (2sg)	<i>engkau/kamu</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>kau=</i>
[-1, -2, -PL] (3sg)	<i>dia</i>	<i>-nya</i>	<i>(dia=)</i>
[+1, -2, +PL] (1pl, excl)	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami=</i>
[+1, +2, +PL] (1pl, incl)	<i>kita</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>kita=</i>
[-1, +2, +PL] (2pl)	<i>kalian</i>	<i>kalian</i>	<i>kalian=</i>
[-1, -2, +PL] (3pl)	<i>mereka</i>	<i>mereka</i>	<i>(mereka=)</i>

³ What is termed “patient voice” here has gone under a wide variety of names in the linguistic literature, usually involving the term “passive.” The verb form with pronominal proclitics which we focus upon here is typically analyzed as a sub-type of the *di-* form, and has gone under the name of “Type II Passive” (Dardjowidjojo 1976; Sneddon 1996; Cole and Hermon 2005b), “Subjective Passive” (Sie 1989; Guilfoyle et al. 1992), “objective voice” (Arka and Manning 1998), “object preposing” (Chung 1976) and “patient voice” (Aldridge 2008). In the data discussed here, verbs in the actor voice are consistently prefixed with the actor voice prefix *meng-* and thus always glossed AV. Patient voice verbs, on the other hand, can either be prefixed with the dedicated patient voice prefix *di-*, glossed PV, or procliticized to by pronominals or imposters. In the latter case, the verbs are not explicitly glossed as patient voice, but this should be understood from the presence of the proclitic.

This can be seen more concretely in (5), where we find the basic case of a first person versus a third person pronominal PV-agent.

- (5) Local versus Non-local Pronominals as PV-Agents
- a. ini yang **ku**=pilih
 this RELT 1SG=choose
 “This is what I choose.”
- b. ini yang di-pilih-**nya**
 this RELT PV-choose-3SG.GEN
 “This is what s/he chooses.”

The sentences in (6) and (7) show how two common types of imposters, proper names and kin terms, follow precisely the same pattern.

- (6) Local versus Non-local Proper Names as PV-Agents
- a. ini yang **Lia**^[1/2]=pilih
 this RELT Lia=choose
 “This is what Lia (I/you) chooses.”
- b. ini yang di-pilih (oleh) **Lia**
 this RELT PV-choose by Lia
 “This is what Lia (she) chooses.”
- (7) Local versus Non-local Kin Terms as PV-Agents
- a. ini yang **ibu**^[1/2]=pilih
 this RELT mother=choose
 “This is what mother (I/you) chooses.”
- b. ini yang di-pilih (oleh) **ibu**
 this RELT PV-choose by mother
 “This is what mother (she) chooses.”

This syntactic parity between imposters and pronouns offers a striking confirmation of the syntactic relevance of person features, even when they are not overtly spelled out by dedicated pronouns. The difference between imposters and regular noun phrases can thus not be one of mere pragmatic construal. That is, imposters do not merely allude to first and second person pronouns in Indonesian but rather contain their syntactic features. Given that imposters must contain local person features, the question arises of precisely where in the structure these features are found. I argue here that the radically syntactic implementation of Collins and Postal (2012), who posit the existence of null first and second person pronouns within an expanded DP structure, cannot be easily adapted to Indonesian. Rather, it appears more appropriate to maintain the standard phrase structure of the referential expression while allowing it to contain the appropriate person features morphologically.⁴

After locating this phenomenon within its proper historical and geographical context, I introduce the morphology of the morphological paradigms relevant to imposter phenomena and the anaphora and agreement facts in section 2. I consider the consequences of the Indonesian facts for Collins and Postal's (2012) theory of imposter phenomena in section 3.1. An alternative approach to the phenomena is briefly sketched out in section 4, and I conclude in section 5.

2. Titles and Agreement in West Indonesia

The key features of Indonesian imposters as described above were borne of a fortuitous coincidence of a partially developed agreement system and the ubiquitous use of titles with respected addressees to refer both to first and second persons. By way of background, both of these independent phenomena are described in the following.

2.1 TITLES AND POLITENESS

The use of titles and kinship terms as terms of address is one of the most common politeness strategies cross-linguistically. In the more stringent systems, this strategy has been extended to strictly exclude the use of regular pronouns when referring to respected referents. Instead, a stock set of titles and kin terms are used in these cases, with or without the addition of a name. This is, of course, not completely alien to English, where one could not felicitously address the Queen of England, judges, and other dignitaries using the second singular pronoun "you." Conventionalized titles, such as *her majesty*, *the queen*, or *your honor*, must be used here instead, as in (8).

- (8) Would *her majesty*^[2] like another cup of tea?

While the use of imposters for purposes of politeness is quite restricted in English, it is the norm in everyday speech in most parts of East and Southeast Asia. Pronouns in most languages of mainland East and Southeast Asia vary

⁴ One of Collins and Postal's arguments in favor of covert pronouns in imposter constructions is the presence of overt referential pronouns in what they term "camouflage" constructions: "your majesty," "your highness," etc. Indonesian does not have such constructions, neither for the sake of politeness, as might be predicted by the strong avoidance of second person pronouns, nor of the jocular sort, e.g., "your ass." As Marsden (1812) notes, earlier stages of Malay did employ overt second person pronouns in imposters with first person reference, e.g., *amba-mu tâu servant-2SG. GEN know* "I (your servant) know" (Marsden 1812: 44).

according to social position, level of intimacy, age, and other factors. Names and kin terms are commonly used as substitutes for first and second person pronouns, which generally have a very circumscribed usage in the languages of this region.

In Indonesian, the focus of this chapter, there exists a plethora of kin terms that are used both to refer to real kin as well as to those who are simply of commensurate age with those kin. In Jakarta, the most common of these include *bapak/pak* “father,” *ibu/bu* “mother,” *om* “uncle,” *tante* “aunt.” Typically, each dialect area has other terms which are also added to the mix, such as *mas* “elder brother” and *mbak* “elder sister” in Java, or *uda* “elder brother” and *uni* “elder sister” in Minangkabau-speaking areas, among many others. These terms function both as titles (e.g., *Mas Joko* “elder brother Joko”) as well as vocatives, (e.g., *Jangan, mas!* “Don’t, brother!”) and imposters (e.g., *Mas sudah makan?* “Did elder brother already eat?”).

The use of these titles is ubiquitous in Indonesian. They are described briefly by Sneddon (1996: 163) in his descriptive grammar of Indonesian:

As pronoun substitutes, *bapak* and *ibu* can also mean “I.” Here they are restricted to use by older people to younger people, whether their own children or not:

Ibu mau ke pasar
mother want to market
“I’m going to the market.” (Said by a woman to someone younger)

Kasi pada bapak!
give to father
“Give it to me!” (Said by a man to someone younger)

Personal names are also commonly used as substitutes for “I” and “you.” This is particularly common among children, as a substitute for *aku* and *kamu*:

Dinah mau ikut
Dinah want follow
“I want to come along.” (Said by a girl named Dinah)

Ini untuk Dinah
this for Dinah
“This is for you.” (Said to a girl named Dinah)

The extent to which imposter use has affected Indonesian can be seen clearly in its large repertoire of pronominals. Although pronouns are often cited as one

Table 5.2 Borrowed pronouns in Indonesian

Feature	Inherited	Sanskrit	Arabic	Chinese	Dutch	English
+1	<i>aku</i> (SG)	<i>sa(ha)ya</i> (SG)	<i>ane</i> (SG)	<i>gue</i> (SG)	<i>ik</i> (SG)	<i>mi</i> (SG)
+2	<i>engkau/kamu</i> (SG)	<i>kalian</i> (PL)	<i>ante</i> (SG)	<i>elo/lu</i> (SG)	<i>jij</i> (SG)	<i>yu</i> (SG/PL)

of the linguistic categories most impervious to borrowing, Indonesian/Malay appears to have quite a long tradition of creating new pronouns through borrowing from all the languages it has come into prolonged contact with (Donohue and Smith 1998; Tadmor 2007).⁵ All of the borrowed pronouns in Table 5.2 can be heard in Jakartan Indonesian depending on the context and ethnic background of the speaker and hearer. For instance, the pronoun *yu* (you) will often be employed when speaking to Western foreigners, the Arabic pronouns are commonly used by Indonesians of Arab ancestry, and the Dutch pronouns were commonly employed until recently in certain social circles.⁶

In sum, the pronominal system of Indonesian and other Malay varieties has been historically volatile and is far more synchronically dynamic than more familiar pronominal systems. The relevance of this here is that choice of pronoun is significant on several social dimensions: the status, age, and ethnic origin of both speaker and hearer are typically taken into account. The socially loaded content of even the inherited pronouns within a strict politeness system has led to a situation in which these pronouns must always be replaced by respectful titles when addressing social superiors.

Based on the heavy use of titles and kin terms as pronominals, Mahdi (2001) has argued that there is no category of “pronoun” in Indonesian. Rather, there are only nouns that can be used in a pronominal function. Some evidence in favor of treating pronouns as plain nouns in Indonesian is that they can be modified by demonstratives and the definite marking *-nya*, for example, *kamu itu* (2SG that), *aku-nya* (1SG-DEF), a cross-linguistically unusual state of affairs. However, unlike plain nouns in Indonesian, putative pronouns cannot be reduplicated to indicate plurality, for example, *sapi~sapi* (cow~PL) “cows” but **aku~aku* (1SG~PL),

⁵ Although, see Thomason and Everett (2001) for evidence that pronominal borrowing may not be all that rare.

⁶ On the other hand, the relation between the etymology and the context is not always so clear. The pronouns *lu* (2SG), and *gue* (1SG), although originating from Chinese, are used colloquially by native Jakartans of all ethnicities. Uri Tadmor (p.c.) takes this as one piece of evidence that the Betawi ethnicity, which employs the Chinese pronouns most regularly, developed through intermarriages between Balinese women and Chinese men in Jakarta during the colonial period.

**kamu~kamu* (2SG~PL).⁷ This is not the case with imposters, whose morphological behavior is identical to plain nouns including the possibility of plural marking via reduplication, as in (9).

- (9) Bapak~bapak^[2] sudah siap pergi?
 father~PL already ready go
 “Are fathers (you pl.) ready to go already?”

Real pronouns also resist modification by possessors. While no forms such as **engkau-ku* (2SG-1SG.GEN), **kamu-ku* (2PL-1SG.GEN), or **dia-ku* (3SG-1SG.GEN) exist or have ever been attested, we do encounter imposters with possessor modification, as in (10), from a Classical Malay text.

- (10) Ya, Tuan-ku! Jikalau Tuan-ku hendak be-layar . . .
 EXCL master-1SG.GEN if master-1SG.GEN want AV-sail
 “Oh my master! If my master (you) wants to sail . . .”
 (Bayan Budiman 319: 3)

Taking the above two facts as diagnostic, we find that none of the forms in Table 5.2 behave like a plain noun; they all resist plural marking and possessors. Thus, the position taken here is that there does exist a category of real pronominals in Indonesian, including borrowed forms, which belong to a distinct morphosyntactic class. The use of titles and other descriptors as pronominals is therefore comparable to the phenomena subsumed under imposter and camouflage constructions by Collins and Postal (2012), albeit subject to far more frequent use.

2.2 PERSON MARKING IN INDONESIAN

In the most common Indonesian agreement pattern, person markers from the genitive set are prefixed or procliticized to the verb. The accretion of proclisis across the Austronesian languages of Indonesia follows the person hierarchy quite strictly. With very few exceptions, second person only enters the agreement

⁷ Mahdi (2001: 167) claims that “The personal pro-names do however have a reduplicated form resembling that of the plural of the nonpersonal nominals, which one could call the emphatic plural. . . .”

- (i) saya~saya lagi=lah yang di-salah-kan
 1SG~EMPH again=EMPH RELT PV-wrong-APPL
 “And it’s me again who gets the blame.”

This, however, clearly has a different function, as there is no question about the singular interpretation of *saya* (1SG).

Table 5.3 Person marking in the patient voice

	<i>Old Malay</i>	<i>Karo Batak</i>	<i>Gayo</i>	<i>Clas. Malay</i>	<i>Minangkabau</i>
1SG.	ni-V-(η)ku	ku -V	ku -V	ku -V	den -V
2SG.	(ni-V- māmu)	i-V- əŋkō	i-V- kō	kau -V	aŋ -V
3SG.	ni-V- ña	i-V- na	i-V- é	di-V- ña	iño -V
1PL.EXCL	?	i-V- kami	kami -V	kami -V	kami -V
1PL.INCL	ni-V-(n)ta	si -V	kitō -V	kita -V	kito -V
2PL.	ni-V- māmu	i-V- kam	i-V- kam	kamu -V	kau -V
3PL.	ni-V-(n)da	i-V- na	i-V- é	di-V- mereka	iño -V

system if first person has, and third person only enters if both first and second have. Many partial systems exist in which verbs only inflect for first person or first and second person. These developments, first documented by Haaksma (1933) for Western Indonesia and discussed by Wolff (1996), can be shown to have occurred independently in Sumatra and Sulawesi. The evidence for step-by-step accretion in Sumatran languages is shown in Table 5.3. The markers *ni-*, *i-*, and *di-* are cognate to Indonesian *di-*, and all mark the patient voice.

The pattern in which all pronominals encliticize almost certainly represents the original state of affairs. Accretion of only first person singular and inclusive plural markers in Karo Batak represents the first step toward full proclitic/prefixal agreement. In the next step, represented by Gayo, first person inclusive and exclusive are procliticized. In Classical Malay, all first and second persons are procliticized, while in the final stage, represented by Minangkabau, all PV-agents' pronominal arguments are procliticized. The pattern of pronominal proclisis shown above is a relatively recent development in Malay. We can see in (11) that both first person and third person were treated alike during the earliest documented stages of Old Malay; both *-ku* and *-ña* are suffixed to the verb.

(11) *Old Malay*

a. ni-galar-ku

PV-title-1SG.GEN

"I titled (him)." (Karang Brahi r. 9, 14–15, Kota Kapur r. 4,8)

b. ni-minuŋ-ña

PV-drink-3SG.GEN

"He drank (it)." (Talang Tuwo r. 5)

However, it was the intermediate stage of Indonesian as found in Classical Malay and represented above in Table 5.3 that gave rise to the modern pattern found with imposter pronouns. In Classical Malay, we almost only find elements

with [+1] or [+2] features procliticizing to the verb, as illustrated schematically in (12).⁸

(12) *Classical Malay Paradigm*

- a. Apa yang **ku**=ingin?
 what RELT 1SG=want
 “What would I like?”
- b. Apa yang **kita**=ingin?
 what RELT 1PL.INCL=want
 “What would we (incl.) like?”
- c. Apa yang **kami**=ingin?
 what RELT 1PL.EXCL=want
 “What would we (excl.) like?”
- d. Apa yang **kau**=ingin?
 what RELT 2SG=want
 “What would you like?”
- e. Apa yang **kamu**=ingin?
 what RELT 2PL/SG=want
 “What would you (pl.) like?”

⁸ A careful empirical study of the development of proclisis in Malay has yet to be done. Needless to say, the historical record is not perfectly neat in this regard. Texts from several periods occasionally show third person PV-agents in pre-verbal position. This could have been due to influence from Minangkabau, whose speakers played an important role in the development of the national language. However, sentences such as (ii) and (iii) indicate that this might also be another construction altogether, as the pronoun is probably not proclitic. It precedes the adverb in (ii) and is modified by a demonstrative in (iii), apparently impossible in earlier stages of Classical Malay.

- (i) ber-jalan pasiar senang-kan hati, ber-bagei macam jang **dia lihat-i**
 AV-walk wander happy-APPL liver AV-various kinds RELT 3SG see-APPL
 “Strolling gladdens the heart, the various things he sees” (SAB 111: 3b)
- (ii) tiada tahu apa yang **dia sudah buat** di tanah Bangka
 NEG know what RELT 3SG already do OBL land Bangka
 “. . . didn’t know what he did in the land of Bangka.” (Bangka 115: 19)
- (iii) hal kehinaan dan kekejian yang **mereka itu per-laku-kan** itu
 thing insult and cruelty RELT 3PL that CAUS-do-APPL that
 “the insult and cruelty that they did” (S 3Oct31: 6)

An alternative structure for examples of these types is posited and discussed at length by Cole and Hermon (2005b) and below in section 4.1. See also Nomoto (2006: 110), who rejects the complementarity of local and non-local persons in the proclitic and post-verbal position, respectively, as “no more than an ideal.” I believe that complementarity will emerge once variety and time-period are controlled for. Nomoto, for instance, cites the Old Malay data in (11) as evidence that first person PV-agents could always appear post-verbally, but this misses the point. Proclisis of local persons had not yet begun to develop at all in Old Malay but rather only begins to appear in Classical Malay.

- f. *Apa yang **dia**=ingin?
 what RELT 3SG=want
 (“What would s/he like?”)
- g. *Apa yang **mereka**=ingin?
 what RELT 3PL=want
 (“What would they like?”)

Crucially, imposter pronouns in the contemporary language still tend strongly to follow the more conservative pronominal syntax of Classical Malay, an intuition shared by the majority of Jakartan speakers interviewed and also corroborated by descriptive grammars (e.g., Sneddon et al. 2010). The imposter paradigm thus appears as in (13), parallel to (12).

(13) Imposter Proclisis Paradigm

- a. Mana yang akan bapak^[2]=pilih?
 which RELT FUTURE father=choose
 “What will sir/father (you) choose?”
- b. Mana yang akan bapak^[1]=pilih?
 which RELT FUTURE father=choose
 “What will sir/father (I) choose?”
- c. Mana yang akan di-pilih bapak?
 which RELT FUTURE PV-choose father
 “What will sir/father (he) choose?”
- d. *Mana yang akan bapak=pilih?
 which RELT FUTURE father=choose

The robustness of the imposter proclisis pattern in Classical Malay can be seen in the following unambiguous examples drawn from *Bayan Budiman*, the earliest Classical Malay text in the Malay Concordance Project. The most common procliticized imposters in this text are *tuan* “master,” with second person reference, *hamba* “slave,” with first person reference, and the combination *tuan hamba* “slave’s master,” an imposter embedded in an imposter ultimately referring to second person. The use of these three in proclitic position can be seen in examples (14)–(16).⁹

⁹ There are rare instances of non-procliticized patient voice agents in *Bayan Budiman*, as in the following two examples:

- (i) tuan hamba hendak belayar, seyogianya hamba di-bawa oléh tuan hamba
 master slave want sail fitting slave PV-bring by master slave
 “As slave’s master (you) wants to sail, it is only fitting that slave (I) be brought by master (you).”
 (*Bayan Budiman* 4: 28)

- (14) a. ... apa=kah nama Tuan Puteri yang **Tuan-ku**^[2]=mimpi-kan itu ...
 what=QM name master princess RELT MASTER-1SG.GEN=dream-APPL that
 “What is the name of that princess that my master (you) dreamt of?”
 (Bayan Budiman 97: 20)
- b. Telah ku=ampun-i=lah barang dosa tuan yang tiada
 already 1SG=forgive-APPL=EMPH thing sin master RELT NEG
tuan^[2]=ketahu-i dan sengaja
 master=know-APPL and intention
 “I’ve already forgiven all of master’s (your) sins that master (you) did not know
 of and did not intend.”
 (Bayan Budiman 172: 4)
- (15) telah **hamba**^[1]=ampun-i=lah dosa dan ke-salah-an meréka itu
 already slave=forgive-APPL=EMPH sin and NMLZ-wrong-NMLZ 3PL that
 “Slave (I) has already forgiven their sins and errors.”
 (Bayan Budiman 214: 27)
- (16) Hamba^[1]=lah bayan yang **tuan hamba**^[2]=pelihara-kan dahulu itu
 slave=EMPH parrot RELT master slave=care.for-APPL earlier that
 “It was slave (I) who was the parrot slave’s master (you) cared for at the time.”
 (Bayan Budiman 14: 26)

There should be no question as to the robustness of this pattern within certain historical periods and contemporary variants. In the following sections we explore certain grammatical properties of imposters in contemporary formal Jaktan usage.¹⁰

2.3 PRONOMINAL COREFERENCE

Collins and Postal (2012) discuss at length the patterns of pronominal coreference with English imposters. In many contexts in English, coreference is possible with either what is termed there the “ultimate antecedent,” the actual local person reference of the imposter, or the “immediate antecedent,” the formally

- (ii) mem-be-lajar ilmu me-mindah-kan nyawa seperti di-ajar oléh **tuan hamba** kepada
 AV-AV-learn science AV-move-APPL spirit like PV-teach by master slave to
 hamba ini.
 slave this
 “to learn the science of switching the spirit as taught by master (you) to this slave (I).”
 (Bayan Budiman 160: 19)

Most of these examples involve imperatives, as may be the case in (i), but further research is needed to determine if there exists a pattern to the exceptions or if proclisis was already in flux at the earliest attested stages of Classical Malay. Chris Collins (p.c.) notes that the postposition of complex PV-agents in examples like (43) below may be relevant here as well.

¹⁰ I have attempted to bypass the above-mentioned complications in modern Jaktan speech by eliciting judgments in the more formal variant. Although separating distinct grammatical patterns within a diglossic situation is fraught with difficulty, a particular register can be targeted

third person noun phrase that directly antecedes the anaphor or pronoun. A simple case of optionality is shown in (17) (Collins and Postal 2012: 97).

- (17) The present authors are proud of ourselves/themselves.

Unlike English, Indonesian imposters cannot be referred back to by third person pronouns, as shown in (18a). Either the entire imposter pronominal must be repeated, as in (18b), or the actual first or second person pronoun must be used, as in (18c). This third option, not entirely acceptable to all speakers, would only be felicitous at all when the social context permits the familiarity associated with pronouns.

- (18) a. *Bapak_i^[1] mau tidur dulu sebelum dia_i pergi
 father want sleep first before 3SG go
 “Father (I) wants to sleep before he leaves.”
 b. Bapak_i^[1] mau tidur dulu sebelum bapak_i^[1] pergi
 father want sleep first before father go
 “Father (I) wants to sleep before father leaves.”
 c. %Bapak_i^[1] mau tidur dulu sebelum saya_i pergi
 father want sleep first before 1SG go
 “Father (I) wants to sleep before I leave.”

The same pattern can be seen in the slightly different context of pronominal agreement between the possessor of an object and the subject of the clause. This is shown in (19).¹¹

- (19) a. *Bapak_i^[1] mau mem-baca buku-nya dia_i dulu.
 father want AV-read book-3SG.GEN 3SG first
 b. Bapak^[1] mau mem-baca buku bapak^[1] dulu.
 father want AV-read book father first
 “Father (I) wants to read father’s book first.”

by creating stimuli that employ forms only appropriate in that register. An example of this is the use of the affixes common in formal speech (e.g., *me-nemu-kan* AV-find-APPL) in places where other affixes (or lack thereof) would be employed in colloquial speech (e.g., *n-emu-in* AV-find-APPL). It bears repeating here that modern colloquial varieties have almost completely lost the local person restriction on proclisis and allow PV constructions with fronted third person pronouns, e.g., *Mana yang dia pilih?* (which RELT 3SG choose) “Which did he choose?” I claim such proclisis was ungrammatical in earlier stages, a state of affairs still reflected by imposter patterns in formal usage.

¹¹ One complication should be mentioned first, which is that the third singular genitive pronoun *-nya* also has a non-anaphoric, definite determiner-like function as well as being an optional possessor marker. It is thus acceptable in many contexts where an anaphoric dependency with an imposter cannot in fact be established. We can, however, force the anaphoric reading by using *-nya* in its genitive function followed by the desired pronoun, e.g., *X-nya dia X-3SG.GEN 3SG*, where the second occurrence of the third person pronominal can only have an anaphoric referent (as in (19)).

- c. %Bapak_i^[1] mau mem-baca buku-ku_i dulu.
 father want AV-read book-1S.GEN first
 (For, "Father (I) wants to read his book first.")

2.3.1 Reflexives

Reflexives again behave in the same way, disallowing coreference between a third person reflexive and a local person imposter antecedent, as seen in (20).¹² The preferred means of expressing the proposition in (20) is as in (20a), with the imposter being repeated in object position.¹³ The sentence in (20b) is perfectly acceptable as well, and that in (c) can be accommodated in a hybrid situation where both *bapak* and *Anda* are socially acceptable terms of address for the hearer. The (d) sentence, however, is unacceptable, as coreference between the imposter and the third person reflexive cannot be obtained.

- (20) a. Hanya bapak^[2] bisa meng-erti bapak^[2]
 only father can AV-understand father
 "Only father (you) can understand father (you)."
 b. Hanya bapak^[2] bisa meng-erti diri bapak^[2]
 only father can AV-understand self father
 "Only father (you) can understand father's self."
 c. Hanya bapak^[2] bisa meng-erti diri anda
 only father can AV-understand self 2SG
 "Only father (you) can understand yourself."
 d. *Hanya bapak^[2] bisa meng-erti diri-nya dia
 only father can AV-understand self-1SG.GEN 3SG
 "Only father (you) can understand himself."

¹² As discussed by Cole and Hermon (2005a), not everything that looks like a reflexive in Indonesian is a true reflexive. The conclusions reached in that work were that the *diri*+pron forms were ambiguous between reflexive and pronominal, whereas the *diri*+pron *sendiri* form was a true reflexive. For our purposes, the locality issues involved are not critical and I will thus use the ambiguous form.

¹³ Note that, as in English *Daddy votes for Daddy*, there is no Principle C violation here. This is not the case with plain R-expressions in either language, as shown by (i).

- (i) a. Aisha_i me-lihat diri-nya/*Aisha_i di koran
 Aisha AV-see self-3SG.GEN/Aisha PREP newspaper
 "Aisha saw herself in the newspaper."

In English, the lack of Principle C effects may be due to the possibility of imposters having inherently reflexive (homophonous) counterparts and the lack of a distinct reflexive type of the form **Daddy's self* (although Chris Collins (p.c.) points out that some Condition C effects do hold, e.g., **He_i voted for Daddy*). There do, however, exist overtly reflexive constructions built off imposters in Indonesian, e.g., *diri-nya bapak* (self-3SG.GEN father). It is possible that the lack of Principle C effects in (20) could be due to focus induced by *hanya* "only," but this possibility cannot be addressed fully here.

2.3.2 Coordinate Imposters

Coordinate imposters show a priori unexpected behavior in English and other languages. They license anaphora with first person plural pronouns in cases where a non-coordinate NP would not allow anaphora with a first person singular pronoun. Coordinate imposters in Indonesian, however, behave consistently with non-coordinate imposters in disallowing third person anaphora, as shown in (21).

- (21) [Mama dan Papa]^[1] tak bisa menemu-kan paspor kami^[1]/*mereka^[1]
 mother and father NEG can AV.find-APPL passport 1PL.EXCL/3PL
 “Mama and Papa can’t find their passport.”
- (22) Papa^[1] sama Dahlia^[2] harus habis-in makanan kita^[1+2]/*mereka^[1]dulu!
 father and Dahlia must finish-APPL food 1PL/3PL first
 “Papa and Dahlia have to finish our food first!”

2.3.3 Nominal Predicates

Collins and Postal (2012) discuss similar patterns of optional agreement with first or second person versus third person in nominal predication. Specifically, we find two possibilities for anaphora in structures like (23) (from Collins and Postal 2012: 159).

- (23) You are an experienced teacher who takes care of himself/yourself.

Consistent with the facts outlined above, Indonesian does not countenance optionality with nominal predication. As shown in (24), a reflexive anaphor of the *diri+pron sendiri* form must be bound by a local pronoun (Cole and Hermon 2005a).

- (24) Saya tahu men-jaga diri-ku/*-nya sendiri
 1SG know AV-guard self-1SG.GEN/3SG.GEN self
 “I know how to guard myself.”

In the case of nominal predicates, consultants tended to reject third person anaphora with a local first person subject, as in (25) and (26).

- (25) a. Saya tipe orang yang bisa men-jaga diri(-ku/*?-nya) sendiri
 1SG type person RELT know AV-guard self-1SG.GEN/3SG.GEN self
 “I am the type of person who knows how to guard myself.”
- b. Kita para tipe orang yang tahu men-jaga diri (kita/*?mereka) sendiri
 1PL PL type person RELT know AV-guard self 1PL/3PL
 “We are the type of people who know how to guard ourselves.”

Web searches for both patterns using *aku tipe orang yang* (1SG type person RELT) yielded strong confirmation of the judgments received through elicitation. Several examples, given in (26)–(29), were found with a first person anaphor but none with third person *diri-nya* (self-3SG.GEN).

- (26) Aku tipe orang yang banyak me-nyetir diri-ku sendiri.
 1SG type person RELT much AV-drive self-1SG.GEN self
 "I'm the type of person who often drives myself."
 (www.kpopluperz.wordpress.com/page/11/)
- (27) Ya aku tipe orang yang gak me-nunju-kan kerapuhan diri-ku.
 yeah 1SG type person RELT NEG AV-point-APPL weakness self-1SG.GEN
 "I'm the type of person who doesn't like to point out my own weakness."
 (http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=190425082025&topic=13432.)
- (28) aku se-orang ber-dosa yang tidak bisa me-nyelamat-kan diri-ku sendiri.
 1SG one-person AV-sin RELT NEG can AV-save-APPL self-1SG.GEN self
 "I'm a sinner who can't save myself."
 (http://jawaban.com/news/spiritual/detail.php?id_news=071213100441&next=1&total=6)
- (29) Aku tipe orang yang suka ber-senang-senang dengan diri-ku.
 1SG type person RELT like AV-happy-happy with self-1SG.GEN
 "I'm the type of person who likes to have fun by myself."
 (http://celebrity.okezone.com/read/2010/10/04/34/378734/enrique-iglesias-senang-telanjang-bareng-teman)

2.3.4 Summary of Agreement Patterns

Seen together, the patterns above all show the impossibility of what Collins and Postal (2012) analyze as agreement with an immediate antecedent. In Indonesian, as in Chinese, according to Wang (2009), the only agreement possibilities are those determined by the ultimate antecedent, that is, the first or second person notional reference. Collins and Postal (2012, Chap. 19) ask what underlies the difference between languages like Indonesian and Chinese on the one hand and English on the other. One possibility that is suggested for further research is that the difference may boil down to differences in the internal structure of the imposters themselves. The fact that the same pattern holds in cases of nominal predication discussed above in 2.3.3 militates against the idea that the structure of imposters can be held to account for this. This is because there is no imposter proper in the case of nominal predication. Rather it is the relative pronoun (the immediate antecedent) that appears to lose out in competition with the notional referent (the ultimate antecedent).

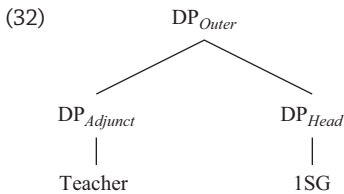
Wang (this volume) argues that similar phenomena in Chinese suggest that putative imposters should be treated as appositives. Chinese disallows anaphoric relations with the immediate antecedent, as shown by Wang in (30), where only the first person pronoun *wo* can refer back to the imposter *laoshi* "teacher."

- (30) Laoshi_i kuai yao shiqu *ta_i/wo_i de naixing le
 teacher almost going.to lose 3SG/1SG POSS patience INCHO
 "Teacher_i (I) is going to lose [*his_i/*her_i/my_i] patience."

Interestingly, Wang shows that Chinese allows the appearance of an indexical pronoun alongside the imposter, as in (31). He offers convincing evidence that this is not the result of a topic construction but rather that the imposter and the corresponding pronoun to its right form a constituent.

- (31) Laoshi_i wo_i kuai yao shiqu wo_i de naixing le
 teacher 1SG almost going.to lose 1SG POSS patience INCHO
 “Teacher_i I_i is going to lose my_i patience.”

Given both the ungrammaticality of agreement with the immediate antecedent as well as the possibility of an overt indexical, Wang posits the structure in (32) to account for Chinese imposters. This structure contains the indexical pronoun adjoined to on the left by the referential expression. The resultant structure is an appositive, conceived of here as a complex DP.



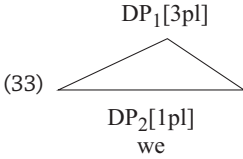
Although Indonesian shows a similar anaphoric pattern with Chinese, it differs in two crucial respects. First of all, there is no possibility of including an indexical pronoun together with an imposter in Indonesian. Second, there is strong evidence that imposters can appear where appositives cannot. The complex DP approach, while seemingly appropriate for Chinese, is thus at odds in accounting for the full set of Indonesian data. In the following section, I explore an analysis that treats Indonesian imposters as syntactically unremarkable DPs with non-canonical morphological features.

3. Accounting for Indonesian Imposters

3.1 COLLINS AND POSTAL 2012: A SYNTACTIC APPROACH TO IMPOSTER PHENOMENA

Collins and Postal (2012) propose a radically syntactic theory of imposters in which both the referential expression (e.g., *daddy*, *this reporter*, *yours truly*, etc.) as well as the true indexical reference (e.g., ME, YOU, etc.) have their own independent positions in the phrase structure. Abstracting away from the details, their proposal posits a structure shown schematically in (33) for an imposter pronoun like *the present authors*. Crucially, every imposter is made up of two

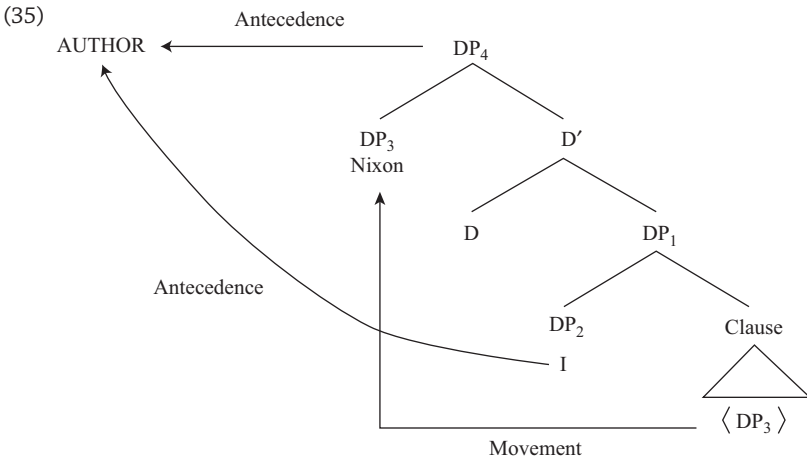
full DPs, termed “shells,” an inner one which contains an indexical, that is, the intended reference of the imposter, and an outer one containing the expected (third person) feature makeup of a regular noun phrase. It is the interplay between these two shells that is argued by Collins and Postal (2012) to account for the mixed behavior of imposters in terms of agreement and coreference.



Crucial to their analysis are certain parallels between imposters and appositives, termed “precursors.” The relation between the two DPs referring to the subject, “I” and “Nixon,” in (34) mirrors the relation between the overt DP and hidden indexical (e.g., YOU, ME) found with imposters.

(34) I, Nixon, am going to get even.

Collins and Postal (2012) offer the following derivation transforming appositives into imposters. From the nonrestrictive clause, the appositive raises to an outer DP shell where it is spelled out as the only overt portion of the entire DP structure. The two possibilities for anaphora are derived from the option of agreeing with the third person features of the raised predicate or with the indexical pronoun in the inner shell.



Collins and Postal (2012: 63–64) note certain discrepancies between precursor structures and imposters which are difficult to account for under this view. For

instance, unlike imposters, precursor structures do not allow anaphoric relations or agreement with the third person appositive, as they show with the examples in (36) and (37).

- (36) Anaphora with Precursors versus Imposters
a. *I, Nixon_i, support him_i/himself_i.
b. Nixon supports himself.
- (37) Agreement with Precursors versus Imposters
a. Are/*Is you, Madam, unhappy with that outcome?
b. Is/*Are Madam unhappy with that outcome?

To this, we can also add another discrepancy between the two constructions regarding the syntactic context in which they can appear. Collins and Postal (2012: 50) show that both imposters and appositives can appear in subject and object position in examples such as (38).

- (38) a. Gwen wrote to me (, Nixon).
b. Me (, Nixon), she will never write to.
c. You (, Gladys), and I (, Nixon), should see more of each other.

However, when we extend the scope to include possessors, we find that while imposters are fully acceptable in this position, appositives are not, as seen by the ungrammatical (39b).

- (39) a. Nixon^[1]'s autobiography did not sell as hoped.
b. *My, Nixon's, autobiography did not sell as hoped.

Incorporation provides a second environment which appears to allow imposters while excluding appositives. The context for (40a) is one in which a father speaks to his child, asking her whether or not “Mommy” can participate in the game of “daddy-hunting.”

- (40) a. Can Mommy go Daddy^[1]-hunting too?
b. *Can Mommy go, me, Daddy^[1]-hunting too?

Here, “Daddy” cannot refer to the generic act of hunting one’s father, as it would then only obtain the sloppy reading in which permission is being asked for “Mommy” to hunt her own father. The perfect acceptability of the strict reading thus appears to necessitate an imposter construction, but crucially, the incorporated object cannot be replaced by an appositive, as shown in (40b).

Both (40) and (39) suggest that there exist environments which are perhaps in some sense too small to accommodate appositives but which gladly host imposters. While I do not aim here to offer a solution to these English facts, I would like to avoid a similar difficulty with the Indonesian data, which we turn to now.

3.2 THE SIZE PROBLEM

As discussed above, one consequence of Collins and Postal (2012) is that imposters have a larger structure than ordinary DPs. This appears problematic from the perspective of Indonesian because for some speakers, what can appear in the proclitic position appears to be less than even a single DP.¹⁴ For these speakers, determiners, adjectival modification, and relatives (although perhaps not NP possessors) are blocked in proclitic position. Furthermore, no speakers allow a full overt appositive in the proclitic position.

Compare the acceptable actor voice clause in (41a) with the rejected procliticized version in (41b). In the former, an imposter modified by a relative clause appears in subject position. In the latter, the modified imposter is blocked from appearing in proclitic position.

- (41) a. [Bapak yang terhormat]^[2] sudah memilih itu
 father RELT respected already AV:choose that
 “Respectable sir already chose that one.”
 b. *Mana yang [bapak yang terhormat]^[2]=pilih?
 which RELT father RELT respected=choose
 (For, “Which one does respected sir (you) choose?”)

Nishiyama (2003) claims that only X^0 elements can undergo proclisis, citing the example in (42) where bare pronominals appear in proclitic position but the DP headed by a determiner cannot.

- (42) a. Buku ini akan saya/kamu/dia/mereka=beli
 book this FUTURE 1SG/2SG/3SG/3PL=buy
 “This book will be bought by me/you/him.”
 b. *Buku itu akan mereka itu beli
 book that FUTURE 3PL that buy
 (For, “This book will be bought by them.”)
 c. *Buku ini akan orang itu beli
 book this FUT person that buy
 (For, “This book will be bought by that man.”) (Nishiyama 2003: 111)

In these cases, complex imposters surface post-verbally, in the position of regular third-person patient voice agents, as shown in (43).

- (43) a. Mana yang di-pilih [bapak yang terhormat]^[2]?
 which RELT PV-choose father RELT respected
 “Which one did father choose?”

¹⁴ This was rather clearly the case in Classical Malay to a large extent and is still reflected in formal Indonesian. See footnotes 2 and 8 regarding variation in the current language and historical varieties, and see below for the inclusion of possessor NPs.

- b. Buku itu akan di-beli oleh mereka itu
 book that FUTURE PV-buy by 3PL that
 “The book will be bought by those people.” (Nishiyama 2003: 111)

Note, however, that the evidence is not entirely unequivocal on this point. Sentences like (44) were judged by native speakers as acceptable, although naturally occurring instances were not found.

- (44) Koran ini sudah [mama dan papa]^[1/2]=baca
 paper this already mama and papa=read
 “Mommy and Daddy already read this paper.”

Mahdi (2001) furthermore cites examples such as (45) and (46), for which he suggests that the complex PV-agent is still pronounced with the prosody characteristic of shorter clitics.

- (45) Katakan=lah, gambar mana=kah yang paling
 tell=EMPH picture which=QM RELT most
 [tamu-tamu=ku=yang=terhormat]^[2]=senang-i
 guest-PL=1S.GEN=RELT=respected=like
 “Do tell me, which of the pictures you [my respected guests] like the most.”
 (Mahdi 2001: 189)
- (46) Anak-anak, kalau anak-anak rajin, anak-anak nanti
 child-PL if child-PL diligent child-PL later
 [pak=guru=mu=ini]^[1]=berikan angka baik
 sir=teacher=2S.GEN=this=give grade good
 “Children, if you [children] are diligent, I [this teacher of yours] will give you [children] good marks.” (Mahdi 2001: 189)

While these were not judged unacceptable, I show in section 4.1 that they represent an innovative structure which is significantly different from the proclitic construction we are concerned with here. More universally rejected are examples such as (47b), which directly reflect the appositive structure thought to underlie imposters in English. Note that appositives do exist more generally in Indonesian, as exemplified by (47a).

- (47) a. Aku, bapak-mu, memilih itu
 1SG father-2SG.GEN AV.choose that
 “I, your father, choose that one.”
- b. Mana yang bisa (*aku,) bapak=pilih?
 which RELT FUTURE 1SG father=choose
 “Which one will father (I) choose?”

The fact that an imposter reading is fully acceptable with arguments in proclitic position more generally seems to suggest that there is no larger covert structure for the majority of speakers, who reject examples like (41b) and (47).

Honing in on the size of minimal imposter expressions, we find that certain elements thought to be present in simple DPs cannot be included in procliticized imposters either. Pronominals in argument position can be followed by modifying demonstratives in Indonesian, as in (48).¹⁵ Pronouns modified by demonstratives cannot, however, appear in proclitic position, as shown in (49) (ignoring for the moment the example in (46) to which we return in section 5.4.1).

- (48) Saya ini sudah mem-baca koran itu
 1SG this already AV-read newspaper that
 “I already read that newspaper.”
- (49) a. Koran itu sudah saya=baca
 paper that already 1SG=read
 “This paper was already read by me”
 b. *Koran itu sudah [saya ini]=baca
 paper that already 1SG this=read

For the speakers whose judgments are reported here, it would appear from the above that the proclitic position should be restricted to being occupied by an NP constituent.¹⁶ Note, however, that examples such as (14) and (16), repeated here as (50), show an imposter NP containing a possessor (which in the case of (50) is also an imposter). Recall that this example is from the earliest text in the Malay Concordance, and thus the proclitic domain must have already included possessors at this early stage.

- (50) Hamba^[1]=lah bayan yang **tuan hamba**^[2]=pelihara-kan dahulu itu
 slave=EMPH parrot RELT master slave=care.for-APPL earlier that
 “It was slave (I) who was the parrot slave’s master (you) cared for at the time.”
 (Bayan Budiman 14: 26)

There is no paradox here, as demonstratives are external to possessors in Indonesian, as seen in (51).

- (51) rumah (*itu) Ali (itu)
 house that Ali that
 “That house of Ali’s”

¹⁵ Although unusual, we find a potential structural cognate in Hebrew *ha-hu*, *ha-hi* (DEF-3SG.MSC) and (DEF-3SG.FEM), respectively. The demonstrative modification of pronominals strongly supports the [local] feature. First and second person pronouns can only be modified by *ini* PROXIMATE/LOCAL, while only third person pronouns can be modified by *itu* DISTAL/NON-LOCAL. Compare to the English imposter “this reporter,” where the proximate demonstrative refers to the first person.

¹⁶ Note, though, that all speakers accept complex names in proclitic position, e.g., *yang [Ibu Husna]=beli* (RELT mother Husna=buy) “what Mrs. Husna bought.” This can be accounted for plausibly by reanalysis of complex names as simple NPs.

The size of the imposter can thus be described as a subtree along the DP projection which contains possessors but excludes demonstratives and relatives.

As suggested earlier, the position of the PV-agent proclitic in Indonesian has been steadily increasing in featural and syntactic scope over time. Whereas this position originally disallowed third person pronouns, it now accepts them. Similarly, while the position appears to have originally excluded complex imposters (i.e., larger than NP + possessor), certain types of complex imposters are acceptable to a large number of speakers. However, the fact that there exist varieties which disallow complex constituents in this position is taken to be central in the following.

4. A Morphological Theory of Imposters

The Indonesian facts reviewed above appear to demand a theory that countenances “small imposters,” that is, imposters that are no larger than medium-size noun phrases. Evidence for this came from the fact that complex imposters (containing demonstratives, relative modification, and appositives) are unacceptable to many speakers, suggesting that only smaller phrases can procliticize to the patient voice verb.

In this section, I will sketch out a rather different approach to imposters that does not treat the indexical pronoun associated with imposters as a covert noun phrase. Rather, the indexical nature of imposters will stem from morphological features that are merged to a lexical noun phrase. The syntactic representation of an imposter is thus no different from its corresponding plain NP, the only difference being that the imposter carries with it local person features, for example, as suggested by the notation in *Mommy*^[1], *Daddy*^[2].¹⁷ Thus, while the input for an ordinary noun phrase *father* could be trivially represented as {father}, the same expression as a second person imposter would have the input {father, [+2]}. This can be viewed as a compromise that allows for a real morphosyntactic difference between imposter and non-imposter noun phrases while at the same time avoiding some of the thorny size issues reviewed above. In the following, I examine one approach to local person proclisis in Indonesian and its extension to imposters.

4.1 DERIVING PROCLISIS

The facts to be accounted for here can be divided into those that are common to all varieties, given in (52), and the additional conservative features enumerated in (53).

¹⁷ I argue in Kaufman (2010) on the basis of the syntax of second-position clitics that certain differences between clitic and free pronominals are best modeled by allowing features to be merged directly to terminal nodes as well as phrase edges. If there exists such a degree of freedom in the merging of functional features, we can easily conceive of imposters as ordinary noun phrases to which person features have been added.

- (52) Features of All Varieties
- a. Proclitics do not double NPs in argument position
 - b. Proclisis only occurs in the PATIENT VOICE and not in the ACTIVE VOICE
 - c. Indonesian languages show an implicational hierarchy for proclisis: third person if second person and second person if first person
- (53) Distinctive Features of Conservative Dialect
- a. Proclisis is restricted to local [+1]/[+2] persons
 - b. Local persons are highly marked as post-verbal agents
 - c. Only X^0 elements can procliticize

Although the proposal put forth here relies more on morphological features than covert functional phrases, a purely morphological solution is clearly impossible. Such an approach would treat local person proclitics as the spell-out of a patient voice head merged with [+1]/[+2] features in AgrS or some such similar projection, as in (54). The default spell-out of the patient voice head would be the prefix *di-* (54-a), which, following the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky 1973), would surface only in the absence of more specified inputs, such as in (54-b) and (c).

- (54) a. Voice[Pat] → *di-*
 b. Voice[Pat] + AgrS[1sg] → *ku-*
 c. Voice[Pat] + AgrS[2sg] → *kau-*

While this treatment could handle the verb morphology, by treating the proclitics as agreement, we wrongly predict clitic doubling, as in (55). Furthermore, a purely morphological account would have no way to insert imposters in the place of the local person proclitics.¹⁸

- (55) a. Ini yang ku=beli (*aku)
 this RELT 1SG=buy 1SG
 ‘‘This is the one I bought.’’

¹⁸ Legate (2012: 516–517) makes precisely the same argument against treating a similar phenomenon in the related Achenese language as agreement. Achenese, like Indonesian, also allows for the use of imposters as verbal proclitics, as shown in (i-b) (in comparison with (i-a) with second person morphology). Unlike Indonesian, the proclitics in Achenese double the agent argument rather than being in complementary distribution with it. Nonetheless, Legate argues that the use of imposters in this position, as well as the lack of a regular syntactic position for the trigger, still militates against a canonical agreement analysis.

- (i) *Achenese*
- a. Teungku neu-piyôh u dalam
 religious.scholar 2.POL-rest to inside
 ‘‘You teungku, please rest inside here.’’ (Legate 2012: 516)
 - b. Teungku teungku=piyôh u dalam
 religious.scholar religious.scholar=rest to inside
 ‘‘You ‘teungku,’ please rest inside here.’’ (Asyik 1987: 274)

- b. Mana yang kau=beli (*kamu)?
 which RELT 2SG=buy 2SG
 “Which one did you buy?”

Based on the preceding, we may assume that both pronominal clitics and imposters originate in the base position in the same way as their (third person) referential expression counterparts. If this can be agreed upon, then proclisis of local person arguments can be analyzed via movement of intervening material, phrasal movement of the agent, or verb movement. I review these different analyses in turn below.

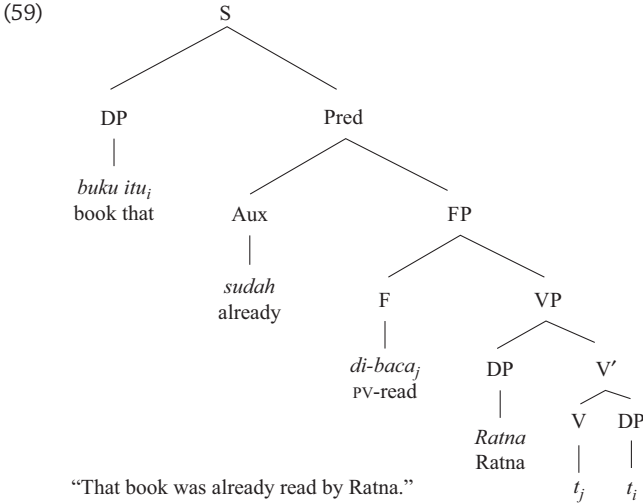
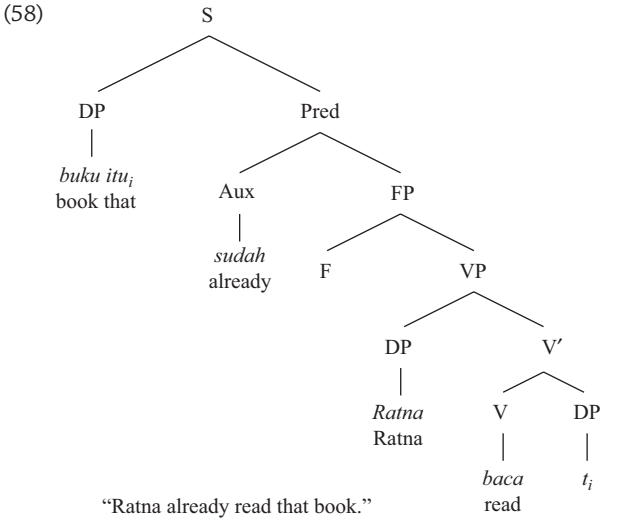
Assuming the canonical base structure [Agt [V Pat]] across actor voice and patient voice, apparent proclisis can be derived by movement of the functional material between the ultimate position of the Agt and the V in the patient voice. Proclisis would thus be epiphenomenal, a possibly welcome result, as it would account for its application to full NPs as well as traditional clitics. However, such an approach would have to treat the actor voice and patient voice asymmetrically, as shown in (56), since evacuation of auxiliaries and adverbs from their base position could not occur in the actor voice. While the two voices are typically analyzed as corresponding to different movements of their arguments, such differences could not be extended to motivate movement of the functional complex between the subject and the verb. It is unclear if there exists any plausible motivation for the movement of modals, negation, and other functional heads in this case.

- (56) a. Aku sudah tidak bisa mem-bantu
 1SG already NEG can AV-help
 “I can no longer help.”
 b. Sudah_i tidak_j bisa_k ku t_i t_j t_k bantu
 already NEG can 1SG help
 “I can no longer help.”

Voskuil (1996) considers and rejects this approach based on the fact that independent evidence for auxiliary movement in Indonesian shows that certain auxiliaries, for example, *telah* “already” in (57), cannot move but nonetheless appear to the left of local person proclitics in the patient voice. This, in addition to the unmotivated movement of intervening functional heads in one voice but not the other, is sufficient to remove the above analysis from serious consideration.

- (57) a. Sudah=kah kamu mem-baca buku itu?
 ALREADY=QM 2SG AV-read book that
 “Have you read that book already?”
 b. *Telah=kah kamu mem-baca buku itu?
 ALREADY=QM 2SG AV-read book that
 (For, “Have you read that book already?”) (Voskuil 1996: 61)

The second approach treats the proclitic position as the base position of Agents. The difference between procliticized and post-verbal patient voice agents then boils down to verb movement. When the verb does not move, as in (58), the agent surfaces to its left. When the verb moves to the higher functional projection headed by *di-* (labeled by Voskuil (1996) FP), as in (59), then the agent surfaces post-verbally.



This derivation succeeds in obtaining the order of proclitics but over-generates for the conservative dialect of interest here in predicting that DPs of all sizes and person feature compositions will appear in proclitic position. While this may be true of innovative dialects, it is clearly incorrect for more conservative

contemporary dialects. Nishiyama (2003) takes a similar approach while recognizing the differences between local and non-local agents. Agents which cannot be procliticized on his account must be “demoted” to post-verbal position. As this step requires lowering of a subject to a previously occupied object position, it is not a particularly attractive option.

Taking proclisis as both the result of movement of local person arguments to higher functional projections in addition to verb movement can avoid these problems as well as offer a unified account of the variation discussed here. We turn now to fleshing out such a proposal. Given the lack of clitic doubling, I assume movement from argument position to proclitic position. The fact that proclisis is restricted to local persons can be derived by positing articulated agreement projections corresponding to [+1] and [+2] person features. If pronouns and NPs must move around the verb from their base generated argument position to 1P and 2P when they possess the relevant person features, we can account for why only local persons cliticize to the left side of the verb. Pronouns and DPs which lack these features remain down below and surface to the right of the verb. We can further derive the implicational hierarchy in (52c) if 1P dominates 2P. In familiar fashion, the extent of verb movement in any given language will determine which persons procliticize and which encliticize. If the verb stays put, we expect all person markers to surface to the left of the verb, deriving either proclisis or prefixation. If the verb moves only to the first projection, it will have crossed the position of a non-local external argument but will remain below the positions of external arguments with [+1] or [+2] features, as in the conservative Indonesian variety. If the verb continues to move to the next projection, then only first person agents should surface to the verb’s left, deriving the situation found in Gayo and Karo Batak, among others.¹⁹ Finally, if the verb moves above the person projections entirely, then all persons will be encliticized, as in Old Malay. The typological possibilities with their attestations are given in (60), where the lower domain represents the base positions of arguments and the higher domain represents the functional field in which person features are checked. (See Bianchi (2006) and references therein for the basis of a person feature domain.)

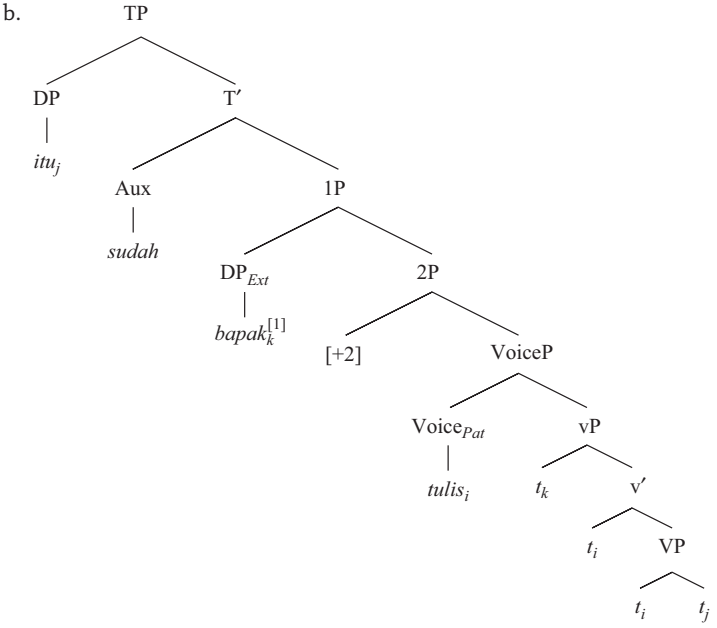
- (60) a. (Sbj) . . V_i 1P 2P DP_{Ext} t_i All enclisis (*Old Malay*)
 b. (Sbj) . . . 1P V_i 2P DP_{Ext} t_i Only 1st person proclisis (*Gayo/Karo Batak*)
 c. (Sbj) . . . 1P 2P V_i DP_{Ext} t_i Only 1st and 2nd person proclisis (*Conservative Indo.*)
 d. (Sbj) . . . 1P 2P DP_{Ext} V All proclisis (*Minangkabau*)

We now have to account for the fact that proclisis only occurs in the patient voice, feature (52b) above. There exist only two voices in Indonesian, Actor Voice (Voice_{Act}), which developed historically from a less transitive form (ANTIPASSIVE, on the ergative analysis), and Patient Voice (Voice_{pat}), which developed from the canonical

¹⁹ As seen in Table 5.3, Gayo requires proclisis of 1PL.EXCL forms where Karo Batak prohibits it. This distinction is perhaps more difficult to derive meaningfully in a syntactic fashion.

transitive form. I posit that Voice_{Pat} attracts the verb but that Voice_{Act} does not.²⁰ When the patient voice head attracts the verb, it also requires the external argument to check any local person features it may have in 1P or 2P. When the external argument is a pronoun, it is spelled out as one of the traditional proclitics given earlier in Table 5.1. However, when the external argument is a DP with local person features, that is, an imposter, this results in Indonesian’s unique pattern of imposter clisis. A simplified derivation is shown below for a minimal pair of sentences in which the external argument of a patient voice clause is a DP with a local person feature (61), and without (62).²¹

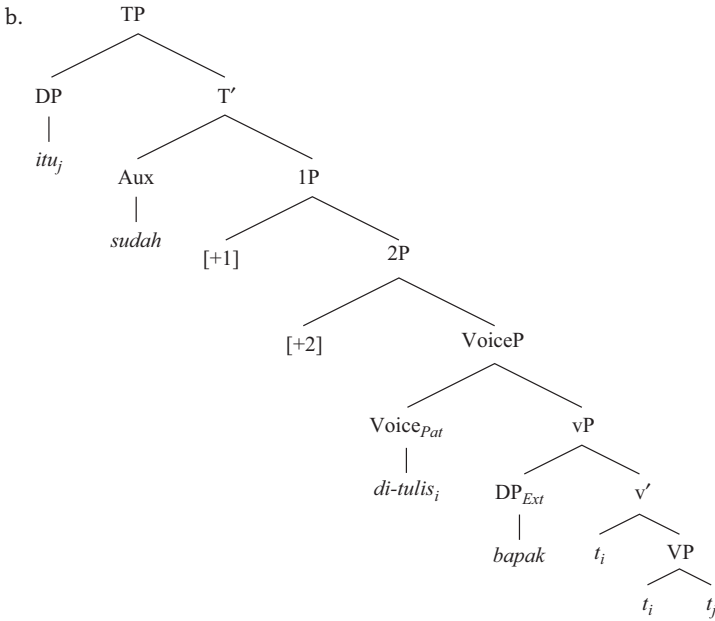
- (61) a. Itu sudah bapak^[1] tulis
 that already father write
 “Father (I) already wrote that.”



²⁰ This should also ultimately be able to account for the independent word order facts discussed extensively by Cumming (1991) whereby both arguments tend to follow a patient voice verb but where the external argument subject precedes an actor voice verb.

²¹ Guilfoyle et al. (1992) also derive Indonesian word order via similar movement of the verb and external argument. However, they treat the default instantiation of patient voice as a third person proclitic and thus cannot account for enclisis of third person pronominals. See Musgrave (2001) for a more general critique of their account. Note also that earlier arguments against verb movement in Indonesian by Adisasmito-Smith (1998) do not hold if the verb is raising below the domain of auxiliaries and adverbs. There are several recent proposals for the derivation of Indonesian word order and extraction restrictions in a Minimalist framework (Cole et al. 2008; Aldridge 2008; Chung 2008; Nomoto 2006; Soh 1998; *inter alia*). Chung (2008) offers a good summary of the issues regarding V versus VP movement, arguing that both may be necessary to capture different varieties. As this chapter concentrates solely on the syntax of imposters, I leave it to further work to integrate this account with extraction restrictions and other aspects of the syntax.

- (62) a. Itu sudah di-tulis bapak
 that already PV-write father
 "Father already wrote that."



The X^0 or XP status of the proclitics is purposefully left vague. In the conservative and historical varieties, it tends strongly to be X^0 , whereas in innovative varieties, it becomes increasingly larger, as seen clearly by the acceptability of sentences such as Mahdi's (2001) (46) above.²² The innovative features which characterize colloquial Jakartan and other contemporary varieties are shown in (63). These have been discussed by Cole and Hermon (2005b) and Nomoto (2006), among others.

- (63) Distinctive Features of Innovative Dialects
 a. Proclisis applies to all persons
 b. Proclisis applies to both XP and X categories²³

Given the derivation sketched out above, we can easily derive the innovative dialects via the lack of verb movement in the patient voice and movement to the specifiers of the local feature phrases rather than their heads.

²² Recall, though, that even in its largest instantiations, this position does not allow appositives of the type required by Collins and Postal (2012), as seen earlier.

²³ As Chris Collins (p.c.) points out, the XP vs. X^0 distinction in proclisis can alternatively be cast as one between DPs and NPs, respectively. Unfortunately, I am unable here to explore ways of distinguishing these two possibilities.

4.2 PERSONAL *SI-*

There is one further distinction of considerable interest between otherwise homophonous imposter and non-imposter arguments. Indonesian *si-*, inherited from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian nominative case marker for personal names, has lost its case function but continues to (optionally) mark personal names as arguments. Currently, *si-* precedes names employed diminutively and also has a derivational function, turning adjectives into nominals that denote persons characterized by those adjectives, for example, *kecil* “small,” *si kecil* “small one, baby,” *gemuk* “fat,” *si gemuk* “fat one.” In Tagalog, this morpheme appears obligatorily with names, as in (64), and also constitutes the initial part of the third person pronouns *siya* 3SG.NOM and *sila* 3PL.NOM, but does not appear on first or second person pronouns.

- (64) Tagalog personal *si-*
 Ito *(si) Juan
 this PERS.NOM Juan
 “This is Juan.”

Crucially, the Indonesian personal marker of the same form, while optional with third person arguments, is ungrammatical with imposters, as shown in (65) and (66).

- (65) Indonesian Personal *si-* with Proper Names
 a. (Si) Lia sudah datang
 PERS Lia already arrive
 “Lia has already arrived.”
 b. (*Si) Lia^[2] sudah datang
 PERS Lia already arrive
 “Lia (you) has already arrived.”
- (66) Indonesian Personal *si-* with Titles
 a. (Si) ibu sudah datang
 PERS mother already arrive
 “Mother/Madame has already arrived.”
 b. (*Si) ibu^[2] sudah datang
 PERS mother already arrive
 “Mother/Madame (you) has already arrived.”

This behavior is expected if *si-* is a third person determiner and thus unable to agree with a complement containing first or second person features. On this analysis, the distribution of *si-* also appears to lend support to a morphologically oriented theory of imposters, as it is a direct reflection of the third person features of non-imposter DPs. On a notional theory of imposters, the ungrammaticality of (66b) and (65b) is unexpected, as there is no reason that arguments such as *si ibu* would be any more difficult to interpret semantically as addressees than those without the determiner *si-*.

5. Conclusion

I have aimed here to show the relevance of Indonesian proclisis to imposter phenomena more generally. Indonesian shows in spectacular clarity that a purely notional theory of imposters cannot derive the basic morphosyntactic facts discussed here. Specifically, on a notional theory, structures like (61) where the phrase *bapak* “father” indicates the speaker, and (62) where it does not, should be identical. On the other hand, the largely syntactic theory argued for by Collins and Postal (2012) was shown to also be problematic for deriving these facts. In particular, while imposters had a unique syntax, they behaved significantly differently from appositives. The theory briefly sketched out here takes imposters to be structurally identical to non-imposter DPs, only differing in containing local person features. In Indonesian, a DP with such features is attracted above the verb, resulting in proclisis. A DP without such features remains in a lower position. The two types of DPs are furthermore distinguished by agreement with *si-*, a third person determiner that attaches to personal names. It is predicted that other languages which show sensitivity to local person features (i.e., Algonquian-style inverse languages) should also treat imposters differently from ordinary DPs in the syntax.

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