

**NP demarcative markers and topicalisation in two Indonesian languages**

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**1. Determiner position within the NP**

Indonesian

- (1) *Rumah ini. Orang Prancis itu. Baju warna biru dan putih ini.*  
 house DET person French DET cloth colour blue and white DET  
 “This house.” “This Frenchman.” “This blue and white cloth.”
- (2) *Si buta dari gua hantu. Si Budi datang.*  
 DET blind man from cave ghost DET PRN come  
 “The blind man from the ghost cave.” “(The famous) Budi comes.”
- (3) *Kesaksian sang Menteri. Para mahasiswa datang.*  
 testimony DET Minister DET.PLUR student come  
 “The (honourable) Minister’s testimony” The students come.

**2. Determiners used as NP demarcative markers in Indonesian**

- (4) *Hari Sabtu hotel -nya selalu penuh.*  
 day Saturday hotel -DET always full  
 “On Saturdays the hotels are always full.”
- (5) *Rumah tua ini, yang di- jual tetangga -ku, akan kami renovasi.*  
 house old DET REL UV- sell neighbour-1SG FUT 1PL.EXCL renovate  
 “This old house, which is sold by my neighbour, we will renovate (it).”
- (6) *Rumah tua yang di- jual tetangga -ku ini akan kami renovasi.*  
 house old REL UV- sell neighbour-1SG DET FUT 1PL.EXCL renovate  
 “This old house which is sold by my neighbour, we will renovate (it).”
- (7) *(Sineas) ayah anak tiga ini/itu men- (t)inggal kemarin.*  
 (cineast) father child three DET AV- die yesterday  
 “This (cineast) father of three died yesterday.”
- (8) *\*(Sineas) ayah ini/itu anak tiga men- (t)inggal kemarin.*  
 (cineast) father DET child three AV- die yesterday  
 “This (cineast) father of three died yesterday.”
- (9) *Sineas yang me- lahir -kan banyak film ini/itu*  
 cineast REL AV- give.birth -APPL many film DET  
 “This/The cineast who gave rise to many movies”
- (10) *Sineas yang me- lahir -kan film-film dan artis-artis  
 kondang ini men-derita stroke sejak beberapa tahun.*  
 filmmaker REL AV- give.birth -APPL film-RED and artist-RED  
 famous DET AV- suffer stroke since some year  
 “This/the cineast who gave rise to famous movies and artists suffered from stroke since a few years.”

NP   VP
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- (11) *Sembuh-kan -lah rasa ber- salah dan  
 malu saya yang kian besar ini.*  
 cure -APPL -EMP feeling IMPF- wrong and  
 shame 1SG REL increase be.big DET  
 “(Please) heal my feeling of guilt and shame which worsen.”

### 3. Determiners used as topicalisation devices in Indonesian

- (12) *Sineas sutradara film kami ini/itu*  
 cineast director film 1PL.EXCL DET  
 “This/The cineast director of our film”
- (13) *Anak saya ini selalu bikin marah.*  
 child 1SG.POSS DET always do be.angry  
 “My child (he) always makes (me) angry”
- (14) *Sineas yang me- lahir -kan film tersebut ini/itu.*  
 cineast REL AV- give.birth -APPL film above DET  
 “This/The cineast who gave rise to the film mentioned above”
- (15) *Pak Ujo ini /itu pelopor kebudayaan Sunda.*  
 Mr PRN DET/DET pioneer culture Sunda  
 “Mr. Ujo was a pioneer of the Sundanese culture”
- (16) *Saya ini me- mulai segala sesuatu dari bawah.*  
 1SG DET AV- begin all everything from bottom  
 “(As for me,) I started everything from scratch.”
- (17) *Apakah saya ini hamil ?*  
 INTERR 1SG DT be.pregnant  
 “Am I, me, pregnant?”
- (18) *Kurang apa saya ini ?*  
 less INTERR 1SG DET ?  
 “What less do I have?”

Sundanese (SETIAWAN, p.c.)

- (19) *Abdi mahalim ngical bumi anu di- damel ku pun bapak ieu teh.*  
 1SG EMP unwill sell house REL UV- build by by father DÉT EMP  
 I am unwilling to sell the house that was build by my father.

Sumbawa (SHIOHARA 2010: 139)

- (20) *nya= Mèk ta nongka ya =gita lukét punti nan.*  
 title= Mek this NEG IRR =see skin banana that  
 “Mek did not see the banana skin.”

### 4. NP demarcative marker in Lamaholot

- (21) *Ikan ni go hopé si wulin.*  
 fishDET 1SG buy at market  
 “This/the fish, I bought (it) at the market.”  
*bura* ‘be white’ > *bur’ã-n* [ bur?ã<sup>n</sup> ] or [ bur?ẽ<sup>n</sup> ] “white”
- (22) *Aho bur’ã -n medo.*  
 dog white -DMS ugly  
 White dogs are ugly.
- (23) *Tité t= enu wai pelati -n.*  
 1PL.INCL AGR.1PL=drink water be.hot -DMS  
 “We drink hot water.”
- (24) *go bur’ã -n mo bur’ã -n na bur’ã -n tité bur’ã -n*  
 1SG white -DMS 2SG white -DMS 3SG white -DMS 2PL.INCL white -DMS  
 “I am white” “you are white” “she/he/it is white” “we are white”

- (25) *mo bur'ã -n*                      *mo bura -ko*  
 2SG white -DMS                      2SG white -PFCT  
 “you are white”                      “you have turned white”, “you have whitened”

An adjective will be suffixed only to mark the final boundary of the NP. The suffix *-n* is ruled out if the adjective is followed by any complement within the NP: adjective reduplication (intensity), adverbs, complement noun or relative clause.

- (26) *Labu bur'ã -n*  
 cloth white -DMS  
 “white cloth”
- (27) *labu bura' -bura' / bura' tua / bura' wa' ni*  
 cloth white -red / white very / white not.yet DET  
 “this/the really white / very white / not yet white cloth”

Vowel alternation: final /e/ > /i/, ± nasalised. *pelaté* [pəlate] > *pelati-n* [pəlatɛ̃<sup>n</sup>] “hot”.

- (28) *Wai ni pelati -n.*                      *Wai ni pelaté tua. / loo.*  
 water DET be.hot -DMS                      water DET be.hot very not anymore  
 “This water is hot.”                      “This water is very hot. / not hot anymore.”
- (29) *Aho bur'ã -n ni hobo-hobo.*  
 dog white -DMS DET bark-RED  
 This white dog barks (usually).

NISHIYAMA & KELEN (2007: 22) note that “personal pronouns can be modified with a demonstrative” and they give the following example in the Lamaholot Lewoingu dialect.

- (30) *go pi'in*                      *na pe'en*  
 1SG here                      3SG there  
 “I this”                      “he that”  
 “as for me”                      “as for him” (our translation)

## Conclusion

Indonesian (WMP) and Lamaholot (CMP) have a final-position definite determiner, playing a demarcative role particularly helpful when dealing with long NP expansions: the boundary between the subject NP and the VP is clearly materialised. Indonesian and Lamaholot have different constructions for signalling the NP boundary. Indonesian relies on the determiners *ini* “this, the” or *itu* “that, the”, while Lamaholot owns a composite system: *ni* “this, the” or *né* “that, the” along with a demarcative *-n*, suffixed to an adjective if and only if the NP is not further expanded.

Topicalisation rests not only on fronting, but also on the apparently redundant determination of a NP: proper nouns, and NP specified by possessive, indefinite or numeral determiners, may in addition end with *ini* or *itu* (or their cognates in Lamaholot). In this case, they must be regarded as plain topicalisation markers, e.g. in Indonesian *saya ini* (1SG this) “as for me”.

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