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# Sundanese complementation

Eri Kurniawan

*University of Iowa*

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# **SUNDANESE COMPLEMENTATION**

by

Eri Kurniawan

## An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Linguistics in  
the Graduate College of  
The University of Iowa

May 2013

Thesis Supervisor: Professor William D. Davies

## ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis is the description and analysis of clausal complementation in Sundanese, an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. The thesis examined a range of clausal complement types in Sundanese, which consists of (i) *yén/(wi)réhna* ‘that’ complements, (ii) *pikeun* ‘for’ complements, (iii) *sangkan/supaya/ngarah/sina* ‘so that’ complements, (iv) raising complements, (v) crossed control complements, and (vi) nominalizations. This varied set of complement structures display distinct properties in terms of the sort of elements admitted in the complements.

The theoretical aspect of the thesis is the examination of two important generalizations: (i) that complementation is a universal feature of human languages (Noonan 1985, 2007); and (ii) the well-accepted precept that finiteness plays a role in the world’s languages. This thesis provides evidence that Sundanese evinces (syntactic) complementation and that any claim to the contrary is unfounded. In terms of finiteness, despite the lack of overt morphological manifestations of finiteness, the thesis argues that finiteness seems to be at work in Sundanese and that it operates as it does in other languages to account for the distribution of overt subjects.

In addition, the body of data presented herein is also germane to a host of other theoretical issues, especially with regard to Austronesian languages. The first is inclusion of VoiceP in a clausal structure. Following (Sukarno 2003, Son 2006, Son & Cole 2008, Cole et al. 2008, Ko 2009 and Legate 2011), the thesis adopts an additional functional layer above *vP*, i.e. VoiceP, to harbor voice marking. It is proposed that in Sundanese transitives, both actor DPs in active sentences and actor PPs in passive counterparts are arguments and are therefore merged in the same slot, i.e. Spec,*vP*.

The second theoretical point investigated in this thesis is whether Raising to Object and Proleptic NP constructions are alike or different. In this thesis, I claim that the two types of constructions should be analyzed as instantiations of two distinct structures, mainly due to structural properties: Raising to Object involves movement, while prolepsis does not.

The next theoretical issue has to do with a subset of control predicates, which exhibits behaviors atypical of canonical control. I propose a slightly different analysis that draws upon earlier accounts (Polinsky & Potsdam 2008; Fukuda 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012). On the basis of (a) the presence of a plural marked-verb inside the crossed control complement and (b) the apparent parallelism between the ordinary control and the crossed control, I postulate that the structure for the two types of control of the same predicates is identical, in which case their complement includes VoiceP.

The last theoretical concern is related to the fact certain nominal structures display verb-like properties. Following Alexiadou (2001), the present thesis proposes that, like verbal structures, some nominals contain functional projections such as AspP, VoiceP and VP. This naturally explains why nominals exhibit verbal properties that they do.

Abstract Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Thesis Supervisor

\_\_\_\_\_

Title and Department

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

# **SUNDANESE COMPLEMENTATION**

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May 2013

Thesis Supervisor: Professor William D. Davies

Graduate College  
The University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Eri Kurniawan

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Linguistics at the May 2013 graduation.

Thesis Committee: \_\_\_\_\_  
William D. Davies, Thesis Supervisor

\_\_\_\_\_  
Alice L. Davison

\_\_\_\_\_  
Elena Gavruseva

\_\_\_\_\_  
Paula Kempchinsky

\_\_\_\_\_  
Roumyana Slabakova

And whenever you give your word, say the truth!

[al-An'aam 6:152]

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF MAPS.....	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiv
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION....	1
1.1 General Goals.....	1
1.2 Background.....	4
1.3 Previous Studies.....	7
1.4 Methodology.....	11
1.4.1 Place and Time of Reseach.....	11
1.4.2 Data Collection.....	12
1.4.3 Language Informants and Consultants.....	12
1.5 Some Basic Sundanese Morphosyntax.....	13
1.6 Analysis of Sundanese Voice Marking.....	27
1.6.1 Distribution of Actor Voice.....	28
1.6.2 Voice Projection.....	31
1.7 Structure of the Study.....	41
II. COMPLEMENTATION AND FINITENESS.....	46
2.1 Complementation.....	47
2.2 Complementation Types and Strategies.....	50
2.2.1 Complementation Types.....	50
2.2.1.1 The Morphology of the Predicate.....	51
2.2.1.2 The Syntax of Complementation.....	54
2.2.1.3 The Semantics of Complementation.....	58
2.2.2 Complementation Strategies.....	59
2.2.2.1 Verb Serialization.....	60
2.2.2.2 Relativization.....	63
2.2.2.3 Nominalization.....	64
2.2.2.4 Clause Linkage.....	65
2.2.2.4.1 Parataxis.....	65
2.2.2.4.2 Purposive Linking.....	68
2.3 Finiteness.....	70
2.3.1 Definition.....	70
2.3.2 Morpho-syntactic Features of Finiteness.....	71
2.3.2.1 Main Clausehood.....	72
2.3.2.2 Nominative Subject.....	74
2.3.2.3 Tense and Agreement.....	74

2.3.2.4 Modality .....	81
2.3.3 Languages without Finiteness .....	87
2.4 Sundanese Complementation .....	92
2.5 Finiteness in Sundanese .....	98
2.5.1 ‘Finite’ Auxiliaries .....	98
2.5.2 Agreement .....	106
2.5.3 Modal Verbs .....	108
2.5.4 Overt Subject Licensing .....	113
2.6 Conclusions .....	118
 III. RAISING AND CONTROL: DATA .....	 120
3.1 Overview of Raising and Control .....	121
3.2 Raising and Control Diagnostics .....	123
3.2.1 Standard Diagnostics .....	123
3.2.1.1 Thematic Roles .....	123
3.2.1.2 Embedded Passive .....	126
3.2.1.3 Selectional Restrictions .....	128
3.2.1.4 Temporal Specification .....	131
3.2.2 Other Distinguishing Properties of Raising and Control .....	136
3.2.2.1 Temporal/aspectual Auxiliaries .....	136
3.2.2.2 Complementizers .....	139
3.2.2.3 Modal Verbs .....	143
3.2.2.4 Prepositional Object Controller .....	146
3.3 Different ‘Flavors’ of Sundanese Control: Obligatory Control and Non-Obligatory Control .....	149
3.3.1 General Overview .....	149
3.3.2 Null Complementizer Complements .....	155
3.3.3 Complements with Overt Complementizers .....	159
3.3.4 Overt Pronouns in Object Control Complements .....	165
3.4 Putting It All Together .....	174
3.5 No Auxiliaries in Object Control Complements .....	176
3.6 Conclusions .....	181
 IV. RAISING AND CONTROL: ANALYSIS .....	 183
4.1 Movement Theory of Control .....	184
4.2 Complementation Strategies Account .....	188
4.3 Raising/Control Ambiguity .....	194
4.4 Adjunct Control .....	199
4.5 Standard Account .....	204
4.5.1 Control in CP Complements .....	205
4.5.2 Raising in TP Complements .....	213
4.6 Implications .....	217
4.7 Conclusions .....	221

V. RAISING AND BASE-GENERATED CONSTRUCTIONS.....	223
5.1 Background.....	223
5.2 Base-Generation versus Raising.....	225
5.2.1 Base-Generated Constructions.....	225
5.2.2 Raising to Object (RtoO) .....	236
5.3 Analysis.....	239
5.3.1 Finite Raising Accounts.....	239
5.3.2 Proleptic NP Account .....	241
5.3.3 Standard Account.....	246
5.4 Implications and Conclusions .....	249
VI. CROSSED-CONTROL CONSTRUCTIONS (CCC).....	251
6.1 Overview of CCC .....	253
6.2 Sundanese CCC .....	258
6.3 Previous Analyses.....	268
6.3.1 The Verb Serialization Analysis .....	269
6.3.2 The Raising Analyses .....	271
6.3.2.1 Polinsky & Postdam (2008).....	272
6.3.2.2 Fukuda (2008).....	276
6.3.2.3 Nomoto (2008).....	278
6.3.2.4 Sato and Kitada (2012) .....	283
6.4 The Proposed Analysis .....	288
6.5 Conclusions.....	303
VII. NOMINALIZED COMPLEMENTATION .....	304
7.1 Nominalized Marker in Sundanese.....	306
7.2 Sundanese Nominals.....	310
7.3 The Verbal Properties of Nominals .....	316
7.4 Analysis.....	328
7.4.1 Complementation Strategies Analysis .....	328
7.4.2 Alexiadou's (2001) Analysis.....	332
7.5 Excursus: Preferability.....	341
7.6 Conclusions.....	344
VIII. CONCLUSIONS.....	345
APPENDIX A. BASELINE SCREENING SENTENCES .....	351
APPENDIX B. SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE .....	354
APPENDIX C. SAMPLE JUDGEMENT TASK .....	355
APPENDIX D. PREDICATES AND THEIR COMPLEMENTS .....	356

APPENDIX E . PRONOUNS IN DIFFERENT REGISTERS .....	357
APPENDIX F. TEMPORAL/ASPECTUAL MARKERS .....	358
REFERENCES.....	361



## LIST OF TABLES

### Table

1.	Complement-taking Predicate Classes.....	59
2.	Properties of OC versus NOC.....	150
3.	Summary of Sundanese raising and control properties .....	177
4.	Prolepsis vs. Raising Properties.....	246
5.	Base-generated constructions = Prolepsis.....	246

## LIST OF MAPS

### Map

1. The distribution of languages spoken on the west part of Java Island  
(Hardjadibrata 1985:2).....5
2. The Sundanese-speaking area before the spread of Javanese  
(<http://www.lowlands-l.net/anniversary/sunda-info.php>).....5

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First-person
2	Second-person
3	Third-person
ACC	Accusative
AOR	Aorist
APASS	Antipassive
APPL	Applicative
ASP	Aspect
AV	Active Voice
CAUS	Causative
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DECL	Declarative
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
ERG	Ergative
EXCESS	Excessive
FUT	Future
HON	Honorific
INCHO	Inchoative
INFIN	Infinitive
INFL	Inflectional
INT	Intransitive
INVOL	Involuntary
IRR	Irrealis
ITER	Iterative
MASC	Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
NOML	Nominalizer
OV	Object Voice
PART	Particle
PAST	Past Tense
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PLF	Plural Female

PLM	Plural Male
POL	Polite Marker
PRES	Present Tense
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximate
PURP	Purposive
PV	Passive Voice
Q	Quantifier
REC	Reciprocal
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
SGF	Singular Female
SGM	Singular Male
STAT	Stative
SUBORD	Subordination
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SUPERESS	Superessive

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 General Goals

The focus of this study is the description and analysis of clausal complementation in Sundanese, an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. In the following examples, the clausal complements occur in brackets and the complementizers are in italics.

(1) [*Yén* Ujang kabur ti imah téh] nga-genjleng-keun masarakat.<sup>1</sup>

COMP U escape from house PART AV-uproar-CAUS community

‘That Ujang ran away from home caused neighborhood uproar.’<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The orthography employed in this dissertation conforms to the standardized Sundanese orthography (not entirely phonemic) as is evident in recent publications in Sundanese such as Tamsyah’s (1996) Sundanese-Indonesian dictionary, Hardjadibrata’s (2003) Sundanese-English dictionary, and Danadibrata’s (2006) Sundanese-Sundanese dictionary. Certain points to note include:

- The letter **é** represents the tensed mid front unrounded vowel, which is different from the regular **e** that is an orthographic symbol for a schwa, [ə].
- The letters **eu** represent a lax central unrounded vowel, which is articulatorily produced higher than the schwa.
- The letters **ng** and **ny** represent a velar nasal and a palatal nasal, respectively.
- The letters **c** and **j** represent a voiceless and voiced palatal stop/affricate, respectively. And, **y** represents a palatal glide.

The above conventions will be used throughout. In Sundanese sentences and their morphemic glosses, affixes are indicated by a hyphen (-) to help the readers discriminate each morpheme and its meaning as well as function. When fusion between the nasal prefix and the following root onset occurs such as in the context of actor voice prefixed verbs, its morphemic gloss will be indicated by a period (.).

<sup>2</sup> The English translations of the Sundanese structures throughout this study are mostly framed in the past tense largely because they sound the most natural in English. The lack

(2) Ujang nyoba-nyoba [*pikeun* kabur ti imah-na].

U AV.try-RED to escape from house-DEF

‘Ujang tried to run away from home.’

(3) Bapa maréntah Ujang [*sangkan* manéhna kabur ti imah-na].

father AV.order U so that 3SG escape from house-DEF

‘The father ordered Ujang to run away from home.’

(4) Ujang di-percaya [*geus* kabur ti imah-na].

U PV-believe PERF escape from house-DEF

‘Ujang was believed to have run away from home.’

---

of verbal morphology in Sundanese makes the distinction between “present” and “past” tense forms indeterminate. The following sentences are temporally ambiguous.

- (i) a. Manéhna (*geus/keur/rék*) nyaba ka Sumatera.  
 3SG (PERF/PROG/FUT) wander to Sumatera.  
 ‘He has wandered/is wandering/will wander (to make a living) to Sumatera.’
- b. Manéhna nyaba ka Sumatera  
 3SG wander to Sumatera  
 (*baréto/mangkukna/cikénéh/isukan/taun hareup*)  
 (long time ago/two days ago/just now/tomorrow/next year)  
 ‘He wandered/will wander (to make a living) to Sumatera (long time ago/two days ago/just now/tomorrow/next year).’

Neither temporal/aspectual auxiliaries (a) nor temporal adverbs (b) are obligatory, the absence of which does not lead to ungrammaticality. Their presence is otherwise required only when an explicit temporal point is deemed necessary by the speaker to avoid unnecessary confusion.

- (5) [Kabur-na Ujang ti imah-na téh] can di-béja-keun ka ema.  
 escape-NOML U from house-DEF PART PERF.NEG PV-news-APPL to mother  
 ‘(I) have yet to tell the mother about Ujang’s running away from home.’

Unlike English, Sundanese does not have outward signs of finiteness, which figures prominently in discussions of clausal complements. In the English translations (1-2), the morphological shape of the verb “run” is contingent upon whether the verb appears inside a finite or non-finite clause, i.e. *ran* vs. *run*. Sundanese, on the other hand, does not exhibit this distinction. The verb *kabur* ‘leave’ (1-4) has the same morphological form without regard to where it occurs, suggesting the lack of finiteness opposition. Thus, it is the concern of this study to explore how Sundanese clausal complement structures syntactically behave in comparison to those of other languages such as English or neighboring languages such as Indonesian and Madurese in terms of whether finiteness plays a role and if so, how. Some specific questions to entertain include what type of element is (not) permitted to surface inside a complement clause; how an embedded element structurally interacts with some element in a matrix clause; and what co-occurrence patterns between a predicate and other elements exist in a matrix or an embedded structure.

The study is largely couched in the framework of Chomsky’s (1995, 2000) Minimalist Program and takes into account recent developments in Austronesian linguistics. The present study aims to accomplish two important goals: descriptive and theoretical. The former is to provide an accurate and detailed description of Sundanese complementation, particularly focusing on its types and properties, which reflects the

genuine linguistic intuition of the native speakers. The latter seeks to examine the extent to which existing linguistic generalizations and universal linguistic principles can naturally explain the observed facts in the language and, in turn, the extent to which the data may bear on existing generalizations. The findings are hoped to provide a repository of data that contributes not only to current linguistic debates but also to those in the future.

## 1.2 Background

Indigenous to West Java and Banten Provinces, Sundanese is spoken by approximately 34 million people, making it the third most widely spoken language in Indonesia (after Indonesian and Javanese).<sup>3</sup> Sundanese is also spoken in transmigration areas outside of West Java such as in Lampung province.

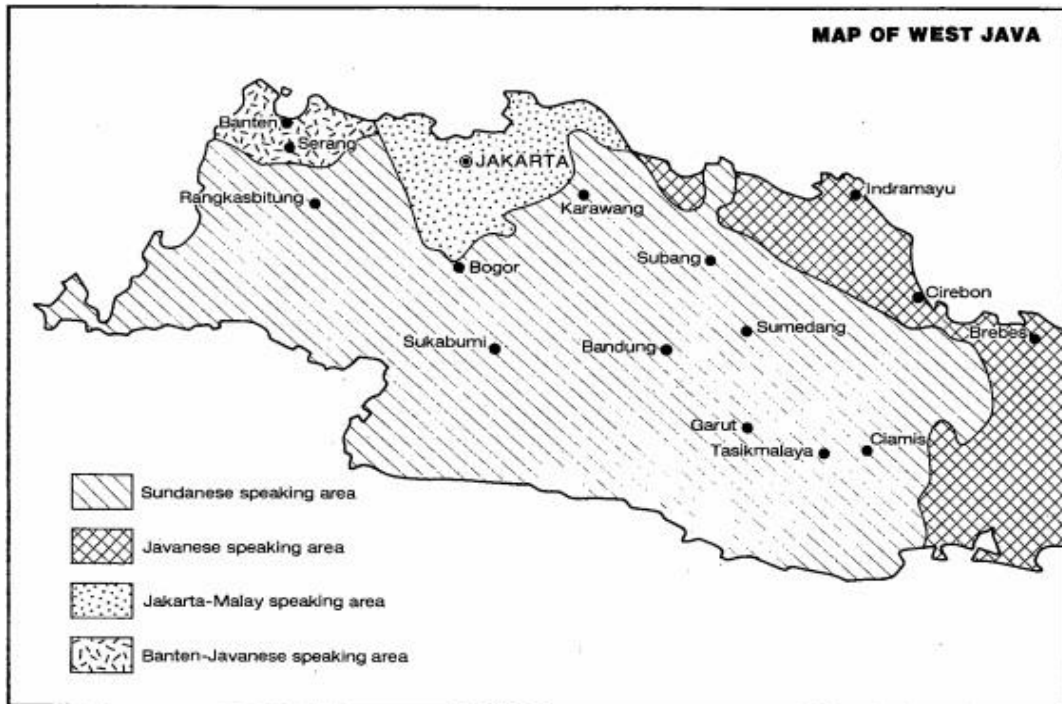
The Sundanese speaking area is often referred to as ‘Pasundan’ (see Map 1.1), a term originating from *Sunda* and the circumfix *pa-an*, meaning a place of or the lands of Sundanese, and historically was much larger than it is now. Prior to the westward spread of Javanese, Sundanese was spoken in roughly the western half of the island of Java (see Map 1.2). In some Javanese-speaking areas such as Bantarkawung, Pasir Batang, and Sidareja, there are a small number of Sundanese enclaves preserving their Sundanese despite living amidst Javanese speakers (Rosidi 1984). On the border of the province of West Java and Central Java, a unique mixture of Sundanese and Javanese is widely

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<sup>3</sup> This figure is based on 2000 census as reported in Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version.



spoken, which some people refer to as Javanized Sundanese or Javanized dialects of Sundanese.



Map 1 The distribution of languages spoken on the western part of Java Island (Hardjadibrata 1985: 2)



Map 2 The Sundanese-speaking area before the spread of Javanese (<http://www.lowlands-l.net/anniversary/sunda-info.php>)

Sundanese is a thriving language, even in the face of the encroaching national language, Indonesian. In rural areas, Sundanese is the principal mode of communication and the language of instruction in the first three years of primary school and a subject to be taught thereafter.<sup>4</sup> However, in urban areas, Indonesian has increasingly become the primary language, especially among young people in the cities such as Bandung. There, Sundanese is predominantly used in the family circle and on informal occasions.

Due to heightened interest in local languages and a renewed ethnic pride, the number of Sundanese newspapers and magazines as well as radio and television broadcasts has seen a dramatic increase. The same level of enthusiasm is apparent from the soaring number of online Sundanese posts, e.g. blogs, news reports, Wikipedia articles and even Facebook updates and tweets. Moreover, in an effort to support local language revitalization, the local government has recently put in place a regulation that establishes a special day each week, i.e. Wednesday, in which to speak Sundanese by law in all settings, including offices and schools. The regulation, however, is hardly enforced due to the lack of commitment on the part of the law-makers and Sundanese speakers in general.

Of the numerous dialects of Sundanese, the Priangan dialect, which is widely used in Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Bandung, Sumedang, Sukabumi, and Cianjur, is the focus

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<sup>4</sup> Current developments in terms of the new curriculum to be implemented in Indonesia appear to show that Sundanese will no longer be a subject matter in primary schools, due to the inexplicable and ungrounded concerns on the part of the central government regarding the lack of proficiency of Indonesian among members of the young generations.

of the present study, for it is generally accepted as the standard dialect.<sup>5</sup> In particular, the language variety spoken in Bandung is the main (sub)dialect examined here.

As is true of neighboring languages, i.e. Javanese and Madurese, Sundanese contains multiple speech levels, which reflect asymmetrical social relationships among different groups of people, distinguished by choice of vocabulary.<sup>6</sup> Lezer (1931 cited in Wessing 1974) identifies four basic levels: i) *lemes pisan* (very polite) used to talk to or about persons of very high rank such as a mayor; ii) *lemes* (polite/deferential) used for someone a little higher than the speaker in rank, age or other social attributes; iii) *kasar* (ordinary/colloquial) used for contemporaries or inferiors; and iv) *kasar pisan* (vulgar) used mainly in curses and insults or to speak to and about animals. The current study focuses on the colloquial level since this is the most-frequently used in daily conversations and writing.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.3 Previous Studies

Despite its large number of speakers, Sundanese has received surprisingly little attention in the Austronesian literature, much of which has thus far dealt with

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<sup>5</sup> Uhlenbeck (1964) notes that the declaration of the dialect of Bandung, the capital of West Java province, was based upon the decision of the Dutch colonial government in 1912, which was then reinforced by the Sundanese Language Congress in 1926.

<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, speech levels were historically not native to Sundanese. These are thought to be a later development from Javanese influence around the 16th century, when the lands of Sunda were under the power of Mataram kingdom (Purwo 1993). The system began to be widely used among ordinary Sundanese in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as a result of widespread schooling (Rosidi 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Most likely, it will make no difference which level of speech to be employed as there are no obvious syntactic differences arising out of varying levels, for differences in speech level system are largely lexical more than anything else.

neighboring languages, i.e., Indonesian/Malay, Javanese, Madurese, and Balinese. The literature on Austronesian languages itself has experienced tremendous growth in the past 15-20 years. Much of this work has focused on multiclausal structures in a variety of languages including Indonesian/Malay (Arka & Manning 1998; Arka 2000; Chung 1976; Cole & Hermon 1998, 2000, 2005; Cole, Hermon & Aman 2008; Gil 1997, 2002; Kana 1986; Musgrave 2001; Polinsky & Potsdam 2008; Saddy 1991; Sukarno 2003 and others), Javanese (Cole et al. 2008; Connors 2008; Davies 1993, 1995), Madurese (Davies 2000, 2003, 2005a-c, 2008, 2010), Balinese (Arka 2003, Arka & Simpson 1998, Wechsler & Arka 1998), Malagasy (Paul 1996, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2008; Polinsky & Potsdam 2002, 2003, 2005; Potsdam 2004, 2012; and others), Tagalog (Aldridge 2002, 2003; Gerrassimova 2005; Gerrassimova & Sells 2008; Rackowski & Richards 2005; Richards 2005; and many others), and a variety of other less closely related languages. However, work on Sundanese syntax is strikingly rare.

Hardjadibrata (1985) notes that early Sundanese grammar publications can be traced as far back to 1800s, such as the work of Coolsma (1873) and Oosting (1884). Among later works, according to Hardjadibrata, are Kats and Soeridiradja (1929), Lazer and Borst (1931) and Hodson (1952). All of these are primarily based on the traditional grammatical descriptions of Greek and Latin with a predominant focus on morphology and very limited syntax, if any at all.

The pioneering modern linguistic work on Sundanese was undertaken by Robins (1953a, 1953b, 1957, 1959, 1965, 1968), and more recent works include Wessing 1974, Stevens 1977, Hardjadibrata 1985, Idat 1986, and Anderson 1993. However, the majority of these studies have concentrated on phonological and morphological properties of the

language. For instance, Robins 1953b, 1957, Anderson 1972 and Cohn 1992 are all concerned with nasal harmony in Sundanese. Wessing 1976 deals with word formation, as does Robins 1959. None addresses more recent issues in syntax. There are, however, some relatively recent works that have constituted some significant contribution to the study of Sundanese.

First, Hardjadibrata 1985 is the only detailed Sundanese reference grammar accessible to Western researchers since it is written in English. It is a syntactic study that specifically examines Sundanese constructions at the word, phrase, clause and sentence levels. The work, couched in the tagmemic approach (following Pike and Pike 1977), treats some important generative issues only tangentially, if at all.

Second, Hanafi's (1997) dissertation, entitled "A Typological Study of Sundanese", is a fairly extensive descriptive work laying out a wide range of constructions including intransitive, transitive, subjectless, applicative, passive, causative, and complex structures. However, aside from briefly describing complement clauses in a few pages, it leaves many structures of particular interest to the present study untouched as they are of less interest to a typological functional framework (e.g. Comrie 1992; Dixon 1991, etc.) and Relational Grammar (e.g. Perlmutter and Postal 1984; Blake 1990), which form the theoretical bases of the study.

Third, Müller-Gotama's (2001) book offers a brief overview of Sundanese grammar. The book is theory-neutral and provides a basic description of certain aspects of the language including speech levels, the elaborate system of word formation through reduplication, and some essential syntactic issues, e.g. basic word order, phrase structure, negation, topic and focus structures, and coordination and subordination.

More recent descriptions of the grammar of Sundanese by Sundanese linguists include *Tata basa Sunda kiwari* ‘Recent Sundanese Grammar’ (Sudaryat et al. 2007) and *Sintaksis basa Sunda* ‘Sundanese Syntax’ (Kuswari and Hernawan 2010). Sudaryat et al. present a comprehensive picture of Sundanese grammar, emphasizing phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse. It spells out at some length a rich variety of sentence types and their functions but offers only a short section on clausal complements. Kuswari and Hernawan’s book, on the other hand, is more specifically a syntactic description of the language. The book explores such pertinent issues as phrase structure, clause structure, and various sentence types. However, it contains a rather short section on subordination, which subsumes clausal complementation, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. Neither book provides a comprehensive catalogue of Sundanese clausal complementation nor addresses theoretical issues. As these two books are in Sundanese, they are inaccessible to the wider linguistic community.

There is a recent Sundanese (generative) work by Gumilar (2009) on long distance *wh*-questions delineating a number of syntactic properties of Sundanese *wh*-questions, including optionality in the formation of questions. It provides one view of how the Minimalist Program can naturally tackle such optionality. Unfortunately, the work is in Indonesian and thus inaccessible to most Western scholars. Moreover, it merely captures one of the many components of clausal complementation. Hence, this study seeks to fill a void in the relatively small literature on Sundanese and to contribute importantly to comparative work by adding Sundanese to the current and future discussions of Austronesian syntax.

In addition, there are many structures such as nominalized complements that have not received a thorough examination and still others that have not received even a cursory examination such as raising and control, adjunct control, crossed control constructions, and prolepsis. Therefore, the study investigates a wide range of structures subsumed under clausal complementation, and, consequently, should present a far-reaching picture of Sundanese complementation that will complete and enrich our knowledge of Sundanese syntax. These apparently disparate phenomena will be discussed and examined in depth in this study to provide converging evidence that (i) Sundanese evinces syntactic complementation, as will be evident in the ways matrix clauses and embedded clauses in various structures exhibit syntactic properties; and (ii) despite the lack of any morpho-syntactic features that correlate with finiteness, finiteness seems to be operative in Sundanese, as identifiable by the distribution of overt subjects in a clause.

## **1.4 Methodology**

This sub-section covers three main points: place and time of research, data collection, and language informants and consultants.

### **1.4.1 Place and Time of Research**

Preliminary studies were undertaken at the University of Iowa in the course of 2009-2011, which were aimed at investigating whether certain linguistic topics and properties are of particular interest. The major (fieldwork) research was conducted in Bandung, the capital of West Java province, Indonesia from October 2011 to August

2012. The research site was at the campus of the Indonesia University of Education, where all the informants and consultants work.

#### **1.4.2 Data Collection**

In the current study, the sources of the data comprise:

- i) existing accounts of the language (e.g. Hardjadibrata 1985, Hanafi 1997, Müller-Gotama 2001, Sudaryat et al. 2007, and Kuswari & Hernawan 2010),
- ii) recorded conversations (conference talks, speeches, stories and plays),
- iii) written texts (e.g. short stories, folk tales, fables, essays, news reports, speeches, conference papers, song lyrics, blogs, Bibles, Qur'an),
- iv) dictionaries (e.g. a Sundanese-English dictionary by Hardjadibrata 2003 and a Sundanese-Sundanese dictionary by Danadibrata 2006), and
- v) direct elicitation (interviews, translation tasks, grammaticality judgment tasks and felicity judgment tasks).

Of all these methods, direct, face-to-face elicitation was the principal source of data, and the rest was supplementary. See appendices for samples of questionnaires and other types of tasks administered to informants. All the data obtained during the fieldwork were incorporated into a corpus of Sundanese containing over two million words.

#### **1.4.3 Language Informants and Consultants**

A representative number of Sundanese informants were used to crosscheck the validity and reliability of data under study. Five reliable dominant-Sundanese native



speakers were used.<sup>8</sup> If there was general agreement on data, the structure under examination was considered robust. In addition, there were two Sundanese linguists—both of whom are faculty members of Sundanese Education Department, the Indonesia University of Education, who I consulted to verify certain peculiar aspects of the language. All informants and consultants were between the ages of 40-60. Some portion of the data analyzed in this work originates from the author, who is also a native speaker of Sundanese. He was born, raised, and educated in the Sundanese-speaking area of Garut and Bandung.

### 1.5 Some Basic Sundanese Morphosyntax

There are several fundamental facts about Sundanese that bear emphasizing. First, like other Indonesian-type languages such as Indonesian, Javanese, Madurese and Balinese, Sundanese is a predominantly SVO language.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> While it is too naive to claim that my informants are monolingual speakers of Sundanese given the natural bilingual (or even multilingual) environment in which they live, they are dominant speakers of Sundanese. By that, I mean they speak Sundanese at home and at work, which is rather unusual in big cities like Bandung. They also religiously ‘teach’ their children to speak Sundanese, an increasingly rare situation in Bandung.

<sup>9</sup> Other possible word orders are VS or VOS in which the predicate is displaced to sentence-initial position. This varying ordering of major constituents is motivated by some permutation in information structure status, as indicated by the obligatory appearance of the particle *téh*. This particle signals that the major constituent that immediately precedes it carries old information, *Handi* in (ii) and *sagala tugas ti sakola* in (iii). The rest of the sentence, hence, carries new information.

(ii) Neunggeul Amung *Handi téh*.  
 AV.hit     A     H     PART  
 Lit: ‘Hit Amung, Handi.’  
 ‘Handi hit Amung.’

(6) Ujang mikeun jarikén butut ka Amung.

U      AV.give jerrycan bad    to A

‘Ujang gave a bad jerry can to Amung.’

As is illustrated in the above example, Sundanese is a head-initial language. In the noun phrase *jarikén butut* ‘a bad jerry can’, the adjective *butut* follows the head noun *jarikén*. Additionally, the verb *mikeun* ‘give’ precedes its complements *jarikén* and *Amung*, and the preposition *ka* ‘to’ surfaces before its object *Amung*.

As is typical of West Austronesian languages (Guilfoyle, Hung & Travis 1992; Klammer 1996; Wouk 1984; Wouk & Ross 2002, inter alia), Sundanese exhibits the type of marking on verbs that has been referred to as voice marking in Western Austronesian languages (Wouk & Ross 2002). Actor voice (AV) morphology typically occurs when a pre-verbal predicate’s grammatical subject is an actor.<sup>10</sup> The theme/patient argument, if needed, surfaces post-verbally.

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(iii) Handi mah di-pi-gawé waé sagala tugas ti sakola téh.  
 H      PART PV-APPL-work always Q      assignment from school PART  
 ‘As to the schoolwork, Handi always does it.’

<sup>10</sup> There is a circumscribed set of predicates that are obligatorily bare-marked. That is, active voice morphology is barred from attaching to these predicates, which include *percaya* ‘believe/entrust’, *yakin* ‘sure’, *poho* ‘forget’, *ingat* ‘remember’, *hayang* ‘want’ and others. Some derivational morphemes have to appear for the active voice prefix to occur with this predicate set as in *percaya-keun* ‘entrust’ or *mika-hayang* ‘want’.

(7) a. Ujang **najong** éta korsi.

U AV.kick DEM chair

‘Ujang kicked that chair.’

b. Ujang **miceun** runtah ka solokan.

U AV.throw garbage to river

‘Ujang threw away the garbage into the river.’

Omission of the prefix results in ungrammaticality in transitive constructions.<sup>11</sup>

(8) a. \*Ujang **tajong** éta korsi.

U kick DEM chair

‘Ujang kicked that chair.’

b. \*Ujang **piceun** runtah ka solokan.

U throw garbage to river

‘Ujang threw away the garbage into the river.’

AV is marked by a homorganic nasal prefix. This prefix, underlyingly /ŋ/, has the allomorphs /ŋ/, /ŋa/, /m/, /n/, and /ɲ/, phonologically conditioned by whether or not the root of the predicate has an onset and, if it does, the place of articulation and the voicing of that onset. In (7), for instance, the surface form [najon] derives from the underlying form /ŋ-tajon/ and [mitʃin] from /ŋ-pitʃin/.

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<sup>11</sup> This obligatory occurrence of the nasal prefix applies to colloquial (spoken) Sundanese as well. This is quite different from the situation in colloquial Indonesian and some varieties of Malay in which the nasal prefix is omissible. The only place in which bare verb forms in (8) are grammatical is in an imperative structure.

AV marking in Sundanese may occur twice within a word, that is, in the prefix and in the root. As seen below, the benefactive prefix *mang-* stems from *pang-* and the root *néwak* from *téwak*.

(9) a. Imas **mang-néwak**-keun hayam keur anak-na.

I AV.BEN-AV.catch-APPL chicken for child-DEF

‘Imas caught a chicken for her child.’

b. Bapa **mang-maca**-keun anak-na surat.

father AV.BEN-AV.read-APPL child-DEF letter

‘The father reads the letter to his child.’ (Robins 1968)

As is the case in other Indonesian-type languages, subjects may be dropped in Sundanese AV-constructions as long as the referent of the implied subject is easily recoverable from the context, as in the following examples. Pragmatic salience is of course crucial here.

(10) a. Ukur bisa nga-go-goréng batur.<sup>12</sup>

only able AV-RED-bad others

‘(s/he) can only bad-mouth others.’

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<sup>12</sup> (Partial/Full) reduplication takes place in Sundanese to convey the meaning of plurality, variety, and continuity/iterativity/repetition.

b. Ukur mencét hapé, bisa ng-obrol naon waé.

only AV.press cellphone able AV-chat what PART<sup>13</sup>

‘Just press (the button) on the cell phone, (we) can talk about anything.’

(<http://warungbasasunda.blogspot.com/>)

c. Ayeuna baé ningal jeung ng-usap sa-wareg-na simbul

now PART AV.see and AV-touch as-full-NOML symbol

ka-sarjana-an téh.

NOML-bachelor-NOML PART

‘Now (I) can see and touch your bachelor’s degree symbol as much as I like.’

In the same way, objects can be dropped provided they are salient enough from the context to be recovered.

(11) a. Teu mawa urang mah, manéh mawa teu?

NEG AV.bring 1SG PART 2SG AV.bring NEG

‘I did not bring (it), did you?’

(<http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/refleksi?before=1297607980>)

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<sup>13</sup> Sundanese is blessed with a significant number of particles such as *mah*, *téh*, *téa*, *wae* and others, the functions of which are largely pragmatic. Given the number of particles that exist in addition to a range of functions they have, the precise status of each article goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

b. Kuring mah teu apal.<sup>14</sup>

1SG PART NEG know

‘As for myself, I don’t know (it).’

In each example, the unpronounced object refers to some entity in the discourse understood by both speaker and interlocutor. Lack of such shared understanding or salience renders the sentences in (11) deviant.

Auxiliaries such as *rék* ‘will’, modal verbs such as *kudu* ‘must’, and negation such as *teu* ‘not’ always precede AV-marked verbs.<sup>15</sup>

(12) a. Kabayan *rek* ng-ala (\**rek*) nangka di kebon abah.

K FUT AV-pick FUT jackfruit in farm grandfather

‘Kabayan will pick some jackfruit at the grandfather’s farm.’

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<sup>14</sup> See Appendix E for a list of pronouns in Sundanese.

<sup>15</sup> For expository purposes, I will gloss temporal/aspectual auxiliaries in Sundanese by using English tense/aspect labeling such as PAST ‘past’, PROG ‘progressive’, and FUT ‘future’. It is obvious, though, from Sundanese examples like (12), that these auxiliaries do not mark grammatical tense or even manifest finiteness (see Chapter 2 for further details). What is more, these temporal/aspectual morphemes are indeed auxiliaries, not adverbs. This is evident, for instance, in the fact that they cannot co-vary with intensifiers such as *pisan* ‘very’. Contrast the grammaticality of *pisan* with typical adverbs (iv) and the ungrammaticality in (v).

(iv) Manéh kudu indit *ayeuna pisan*.

2SG must leave now very

‘You must leave right now/this very moment.’

(v) \*Manéh *rék pisan* indit.

2SG FUT very leave

\*‘You very will leave.’

b. Iteung *kudu* ng-anteur-keun (\**kudu*) dahar-eun ka sawah.

I must AV-deliver-APPL must food-NOML to paddy field

‘Iteung has to deliver food to the paddy field.’

c. Abah *geus teu* macul (\**geus teu*) deui ayeuna mah.

grandfather PERF NEG AV.hoe PERF NEG again now PART

‘The grandfather does not till the soil with a hoe anymore.’

d. Ambu *teu bisa* matur-an \**teu bisa*) abah ka dayeuh.

A NEG able AV.other-APPL NEG able grandfather to town

‘The grandmother cannot accompany the grandfather to the town.’

The principal voice other than AV is the passive voice (PV), in which the grammatical subject occurs pre-verbally and the prepositional agent, if any, is typically post-verbal.<sup>16</sup>

(13) a. Éta korsi **di**-tajong (ku) Ujang.

DEM chair PV-kick by U

‘That chair was (deliberately) kicked by Ujang.’

b. Éta korsi **ka**-tajong (ku) Ujang.

DEM chair PV-kick by U

‘That chair was (accidentally) kicked by Ujang.’

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<sup>16</sup> As will be elaborated in section 1.6, Sundanese passive voice is not Indo-European-style passive despite the optionality of the oblique PP agent. This is because the PP agent is an argument, not an adjunct.

As is clear from above examples, PV is morphologically marked by the prefix *di-* or *ka-* depending on the intended meaning of the verbs. The prefix *di-* is generally used with the verbs describing intentional events (13a), and *ka-* with the verbs describing involuntary events (13b). In other words, the *di*-passive is agentive or volitional, whereas the *ka*-passive is accidental or non-volitional.

It is not uncommon (and is even more natural in colloquial contexts) for an adjunct agent to precede the passive verb and the patient/theme to follow it (14a), or for both arguments to precede the passive verb, as in (14b).

- (14) a. Ku batur mah, di-harga-an kuring téh.

by others PART PV-price-APPL 1SG PART

‘I am appreciated by others.’

- b. Ku batur mah, kuring téh di-harga-an.

by others PART 1SG PART PV-price-APPL

‘I am appreciated by others.’

The preposition *ku* ‘by’ in passive constructions is optional but its optionality is not completely unconstrained. The preposition is optional only if the agent adjunct is third person. When it is first or second person, absence of *ku* results in ungrammaticality.

- (15) a. Buku éta di-baca \*(ku) kuring.

book DEM PV-read by 1SG

‘The book was read by me.’



b. Buku éta di-baca \*(ku) manéh.

book DEM PV-read by you

‘The book was read by you.’

Even with a third person agent, the passive marker is obligatory when the agent is not immediately post-verbal. Omission of the preposition renders the sentence ill-formed.

(16) a. \*(Ku) batur mah di-harga-an kuring téh.

by others PART PV-price-APPL 1SG PART

‘I am appreciated by others.’

b. Ujang di-kirim-an waé béas unggal bulan \*(ku) kolot-na.

U PV-send-APPL PART price every month by parent-DEF

‘Ujang was sent rice every month by his parents.’

When it comes to the ‘double AV-marking’, only the leftmost morpheme is passivized; the AV marking on the root remains.

(17) a. Anak-na **di-pang-néwak**-keun hayam ku Imas.

child-DEF PV-BEN-AV.catch-APPL chicken by I

‘Imas caught a chicken for her child.’

b. Anak-na **di-pang-maca**-keun surat ku bapa.

child-DEF PV-BEN-AV.read-APPL letter by father

‘The father reads the letter to his child.’ (Robins 1968)

There is neither case nor overt tense morphology in Sundanese, a typical characteristic of Indonesian-type languages.

(18) a. *Amung* kamari *meuli* sapatu anyar.

A yesterday AV.buy shoes new

‘Amung yesterday bought a new pair of shoes.’

b. Ujang kamari nitah *Amung* pikeun *meuli* sapatu anyar.

U yesterday AV.order A to AV.buy shoes new

‘Ujang yesterday ordered Amung to buy new shoes.’

In (18a), *Amung* as the subject has exactly the same form when it is the object, as in (18b). In the same way, *meuli* in the root clause (18a) has the same form as it does in the embedded clause (18b). The absence of grammatical tense, therefore, makes it difficult to determine whether or not the embedded predicate is finite.

Temporal reference can be made explicit by a temporal/aspectual auxiliary such as *rék/bakal* ‘will’ or a temporal adverb such as *isukan* ‘tomorrow’.<sup>17</sup> Its occurrence is not obligatory, however. That is, (19) is temporally ambiguous without the auxiliary. Its temporal point can be in the past, present, or future.

(19) *Amung (rék/bakal) meuli sapatu anyar (isukan).*

A (FUT) AV.buy shoes new tomorrow

‘Amung will buy new shoes tomorrow.’

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<sup>17</sup> See Appendix F for a list of temporal/aspectual markers in Sundanese.

As auxiliaries, *rék/bakal* ‘will’ are free morphemes and they do not conjugate. Thus, (19) may not count as evidence for the existence of tense morphology in Sundanese.

Though Sundanese lacks case and overt tense marking, it includes some (optional) agreement between the actor DP and the predicate in the sense that its presence is not obligatory.<sup>18</sup> In (20a), the plural verb *taréang* ‘seek.PL’ agrees with the plural subject DP. The predicates are infixed by the plural marker *-ar* or *-al*, the choice of which is phonologically conditioned.<sup>19</sup> (20b) shows a decisive piece of evidence that even when the actor argument is in a prepositional phrase, agreement remains operative. It is noteworthy that the term ‘actor’ here roughly corresponds to ‘the logical subject’, the argument with the highest thematic role on some hierarchy of thematic roles.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The term ‘predicate’ is used here, instead of ‘verb’, since adjectival (vi), nominal (vii), and prepositional predicates (viii) can all participate in this number agreement as well, as shown by the data below.

- |        |   |                 |
|--------|---|-----------------|
| (vi)   | Murid téh <b>palinter</b> .<br>student PART PL.smart<br>‘The students are smart.’   | (adjectival)    |
| (vii)  | Ujang jeung Amung téh murid-murid-na Pa Amung.<br>U and A PART RED.student-DEF Mr. A<br>‘Ujang and Amung are Mr. Amung’s students.’ | (nominal)       |
| (viii) | Ujang jeung Amung keur di <b>ar-imah</b> .<br>U and A PROG in PL-house<br>‘Ujang and Amung are in the house now.’                   | (prepositional) |

<sup>19</sup> Some DPs like *barudak* ‘children’ are also composed of roots and the plural infix *-ar*. This is not a regular morphological process, however. Most DPs get pluralized by the process of reduplication, such as *murid-murid* ‘students’ from *murid* and *kekembangan* ‘flowers’ from *kembang*.

<sup>20</sup> Benton (1971: 167 cited in Davies 1993) defines an actor as “the entity to which the action is attributed.”

- (20) a. Masarakat keur n-**ar**-éang-an kapal nu ragrag téa.  
 community PROG AV-PL-**seek**-ITER plane REL fall PART  
 ‘The people are searching for the falling plane.’
- b. Kapal ragrag téa téh keur di-t-**ar**-éang-an (ku masarakat).  
 plane fall PART PART PROG AV-PL-**seek**-ITER (by community)  
 ‘The falling plane was being searched (by the people).’

In the passive clause in (20b), the verb includes a plural infix owing to the plural actor in a prepositional phrase. When the actor is singular and the predicate is marked for plurality, the sentence is rendered ill-formed even though the grammatical subject is plural, as shown in (21).

- (21) a. \*Ujang jeung Amung keur di-**tar**éang-an ku indung-na.  
 U and A PROG PV-PL-**seek**-ITER by mother-DEF  
 ‘Ujang and Amung were being searched by their mother.’
- b. \*Kamari barudak di-**car**aréék-an ku Pa Haji Adé.  
 yesterday child.PL PV-PL.scold-ITER by Mr. Hajj A  
 ‘Yesterday, the children were scolded by Mr. Ade.’

In addition to number agreement, Sundanese also instantiates limited person agreement.<sup>21</sup> As the following examples show, the *-eun* suffix may optionally appear on verbs when the grammatical subject is third-person without regard to its number feature.

(22) a. Ujang teu nyaho-**eun** yén si Amung téh jéger terminal.

U NEG AV.know-3 COMP PART A PART thug terminal

‘Ujang does not know that Amung is a thug at the bus station.’

b. Ujang jeung adi-na teu ny-**ar**-aho-**eun** yén si Amung téh

U and brother-DEF NEG AV-PL-know-3 COMP PART A PART

jéger terminal.

thug terminal

‘Ujang and his little brother do not know that Amung is a thug at the bus station.’

The appearance of the person suffix is licit with either a singular subject (22a) or a plural subject (22b). The plural infix and the number suffix can both occur in the same verb (22b).

The sentence below demonstrates that when this optional person agreement co-occurs with a first-person or second-person grammatical subject, the sentence is ungrammatical, indicating that the suffix in question is a third-person agreement marker.

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<sup>21</sup> It is important to point out that the range of predicates taking this person marker is relatively restricted; the suffix can be affixed only to non-agentive predicates such as *nyaho* ‘know’, *sadar* ‘realize’, *ngarti* ‘understand’, *boga* ‘have’, *hayang* ‘want’, *poho* ‘forget’, *inget* ‘remember’, *resep* ‘like’, *keuheul* ‘angry’, *bisa* ‘capable’ and *cicing* ‘still’ and others.

- (23) a. \*Kuring teu nyaho-*eun* yén si Amung téh jéger terminal.  
 1SG NEG AV.know-3 COMP PART A PART thug terminal  
 ‘I do not know that Amung is a thug at the bus station.’
- b. \*Manéh daék-*eun* di-buruh-an sapuluh rébu pikeun ng-*anter* kuring  
 2SG want-3 PV-pay-APPL ten thousand for AV-drop 1SG  
 ka dayeuh.  
 to town  
 ‘You are willing to be paid ten thousand rupiahs to drop me off to the town.’

As is typical of Austronesian languages, Sundanese contains an applicative suffix, *-keun*, cognate to Indonesian *-kan*. Of its diverse uses, the common use is a suffix on the verb of a clause in which a prepositional argument becomes a core argument, such as subject or object. It typically occurs with utterance predicates such as *omong* ‘say’, *carita* ‘tell’, *haréwos* ‘whisper’ *lapor* ‘report’, and others. The following are illustrative.

- (24) a. Ujang ng-*omong* ka Amung ngeunaan masalah warisan.  
 U AV-say to A about issue inheritance  
 ‘Ujang talked to Amung about the inheritance issues.’
- b. Ujang ng-*omong-keun* masalah warisan ka Amung.  
 U AV-say-APPL issue inheritance to A  
 ‘Ujang talked about the inheritance issues to Amung.’

c. Masalah warisan      di-omong-*keun* ku Ujang ka Amung.

issue      inheritance PV-say-APPL      by U      to A

‘The inheritance issues were talked about by Ujang to Amung.’

In (24a), the subject matter being communicated is *masalah warisan* ‘inheritance issues’, which is the object of the preposition *ngeunaan* ‘about’. This subject matter (theme PP complement) gets ‘promoted’ as the direct object and the grammatical subject of the verb *omong* ‘say’, as in (24b-c) respectively. Notice that the verb in (24b-c) surfaces with the applicative suffix *-keun*.

To conclude, Sundanese exhibits properties typical of other Austronesian languages, namely voice marking. It does not instantiate overt case and tense morphology, but does have temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and adverbs to indicate explicit and specific temporal information. It also incorporates some (optional) actor-verb agreement, i.e. number and person, making Sundanese rather atypical Indonesian-type language.

## 1.6 Analysis of Sundanese Voice Marking

While it may appear unconventional to propose any analysis in an introductory chapter, an exception has to be made to explain where in the structure Sundanese voice marking resides. This is highly important because analyses for a variety of constructions in subsequent chapters, such as raising and control (chapter 4-5), prolepsis (chapter 6), crossed control (7), and nominalized complements (chapter 8), rest heavily on the precise structural position of voice marking.

### 1.6.1 Distribution of Actor Voice

Actor voice marking has been analyzed to be a transitive marker in a wide variety of languages (among others Indonesian by Sneddon 1996; Balinese, Bima and Lamaholot by Arka and Manning 2007; Malay varieties by Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2007) and an agent (trigger) marker (Indonesian by Wouk 1989, Postman 2002). There is a set of facts about Sundanese AV marking that will constitute counterevidence to the previous analyses that crucially associate voice marking with transitivity and agentivity.

To begin, although the AV marking occurs pervasively in transitive sentences, there are a large number of intransitive sentences whose verbs are AV-marked. (25) provides an illustration.

(25) a. Barudak *ng-al-abring* ka masigit.

child.PL AV-PL-flock to mosque

‘The kids are flocking to the mosque.’

b. Budak keur *ng-ojay* di sisi walungan.

kid PROG AV-swim in side river

‘The kid is swimming in the side of the river.’

Examples (25) are problematic for the transitivity analysis, since the actor prefix can also attach to intransitive roots, *abring* ‘flock’ and *ojay* ‘swim’. The agentivity analysis, on the other hand, could easily account for the facts in (25) given that the grammatical subject in each case is an agent.



The occurrence of AV-marking on unergative intransitive verbs is not confined to a very limited set of verbs. The following lists a host of unergative verbs bearing the AV marker.

(26) AV-marked unergatives

Root	Verbal form	English translation
golér	ngagolér	to sleep
igel	ngigel	to dance
ajleng	ngajleng	to jump
apung	ngapung	to fly
aclog	ngaclog	to hop
korondang	ngorondang	to crawl

Second, AV-marking can occur on unaccusative intransitive verbs.<sup>22</sup> This is unexpected under the agentivity analysis, since the grammatical subject of the AV-

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<sup>22</sup> The identification of unaccusative verbs in Sundanese is based on the transitive-intransitive criterion. That is, unaccusatives can alternate with transitive counterparts, where the unaccusative subject appears in direct object position. The same is not true of unergatives, however, as illustrated as follows.

(ix) *Unaccusatives*

- a. Asih *nutup* **panto kamar**.  
A AV.close door room  
'Asih closed the room's door.'
- b. **Panto kamar** *nutup*.  
door room AV.close  
'The room's door closed.'

(x) *Unergatives*

- a. Asih *ng-inum* **ci-kopi**.  
A AV-drink water-coffee  
'Asih drinks coffee.'
- b. \***Ci-kopi** *ng-inum*.  
water-coffee AV-drink  
\*'The coffee drinks.'

marked verb is clearly not an agent, but a theme. In the following sentences, the nasal prefix attaches to unaccusative roots *tutup* ‘close’ and *tepi* ‘arrive’.

(27) a. Panto kelas geus *nutup*.

door class PERF AV.close

‘The classroom door closed.’

b. Sémah kakara *nepi*.

guest just AV.arrive

‘The guest has just arrived.’

Other unaccusative verbs that take the actor-voice prefix are presented in (28).

(28) AV-marked unaccusatives

Root	Verbal form	English translation
tulak	nulak	to lock
buka	muka	to open
purag	murag	to drop
gubrag	ngagubrag	to fall
golak	ngagolak	to boil
beku	ngabeku	to freeze

Other verbs that evince similar behavior in terms of the semantic role of the subject—the internal argument functioning as the grammatical subject—are inchoative-type verbs.

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Note that the direct object of an unergative verb in (ixa) cannot appear in subject position in (xb), an indication that unergatives do not undergo transitive-intransitive alternations.

- (29) a. Orok téh *nga-lintuh-an*.  
           baby PART AV-fat-INCHO  
           ‘The baby gets fatter.’
- b. Manéhna rada *nga-jangkung-an*.  
           3SG       rather AV-tall-INCHO  
           ‘She gets a bit taller.’

Inchoative formation is quite productive in this language; hence, the AV marking on verbs of this kind is robust.

It is obvious that the Sundanese AV marking facts above clearly challenge the agentivity and transitivity analyses. Not only does the nasal marking occur on transitive verbs, it also occurs quite productively on intransitive verbs, particularly inchoatives.

### 1.6.2 Voice Projection

I adopt the notion of VoiceP from recent proposals for Indonesian/Malay varieties and Acehnese (Sukarno 2003, Son 2006, Son & Cole 2008, Cole et al. 2008, Ko 2009 and Legate 2011), which builds on Kratzer’s (1996) idea that external arguments are not arguments of verbs. The reason is that external arguments, unlike internal arguments, seem to rarely trigger an idiomatic reading of the verb. She therefore proposes a separate functional element called VoiceP, dominating the VP, which is essentially the Minimalist *v*P.

Following Ko (2009), Pylkkänen (2002) Sukarno (2003), I propose that VoiceP in Sundanese is distinct from the verbalizing head *v*P (Marantz 1997). Examining

anticausatives in Acehnese, Ko argues that VoiceP and *v*P are two separate projections, in which the former is headed by the person agreement prefix *geu-*, and the latter by the causative morpheme *peu-*. To substantiate his argument for locating the agreement on Voice (rather than Tense), he demonstrates two pieces of evidence. First, agreement must be lower than aspectual marker (presumably dominated by T), as shown in (30), where the agreement prefix cannot precede the progressive marker *teungoh*.

- (30) Ureueng inong nyan (\*geu)-teungoh \*(geu)-taguen bu. (Acehnese)  
 person female that 3POL-PROG 3POL-cook rice  
 ‘The woman is cooking rice.’ (Legate 2008: 8)

Second, in the passive voice with the agent PP (31a), agreement surfaces on the verb. In the object voice (31b), however, where the agent DP occurs pre-verbally, agreement is obligatorily absent, indicating that it is competing for the same spot as the agent (31b).

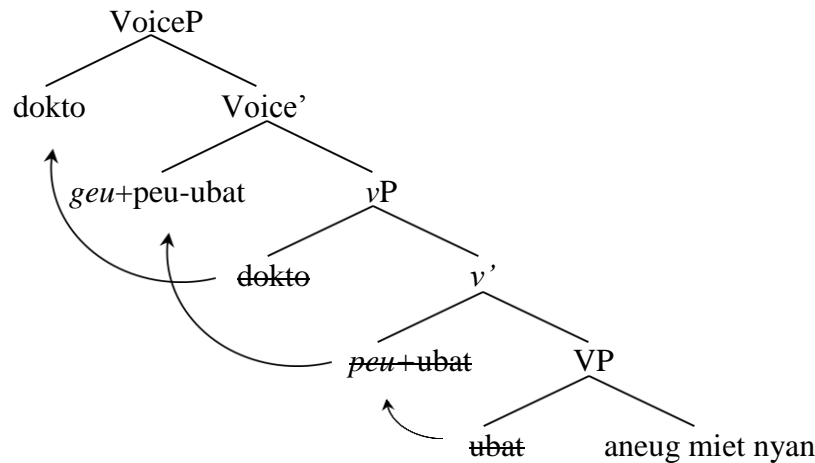
- (31) a. *Passive voice* (Acehnese)  
 Ibrahim ka **geu**-peu-ubat lé dokto.  
 Ibrahim PERF 3POL-CAUS-medicine LE doctor  
 ‘Ibrahim was treated by the doctor.’  
 b. *Object voice*  
 Ibrahim ka dokto peu-ubat.  
 Ibrahim PERF doctor CAUS-medicine  
 ‘Ibrahim was treated by the doctor.’ (Legate 2011: 2)

Ko also argues for VoiceP dominating  $\nu$ P based on the fact that the agreement always precedes the causative morpheme *peu-*, which he takes to be the  $\nu$  head. Note that, cross-linguistically, causative morphemes have been analyzed as instances of  $\nu$  (e.g. Svenonius 2001, Folli & Harley 2004, Travis 2000, Harley 2008).

- (32) Dokto **geu-peu-ubat** aneug miet nyan. (Acehnese)  
 doctor 3POL-CAUS-medicine child small that  
 ‘The doctor cured the child.’

The structural representation of (32) would be illustrated in (33).

- (33) *Active Voice in Acehnese*



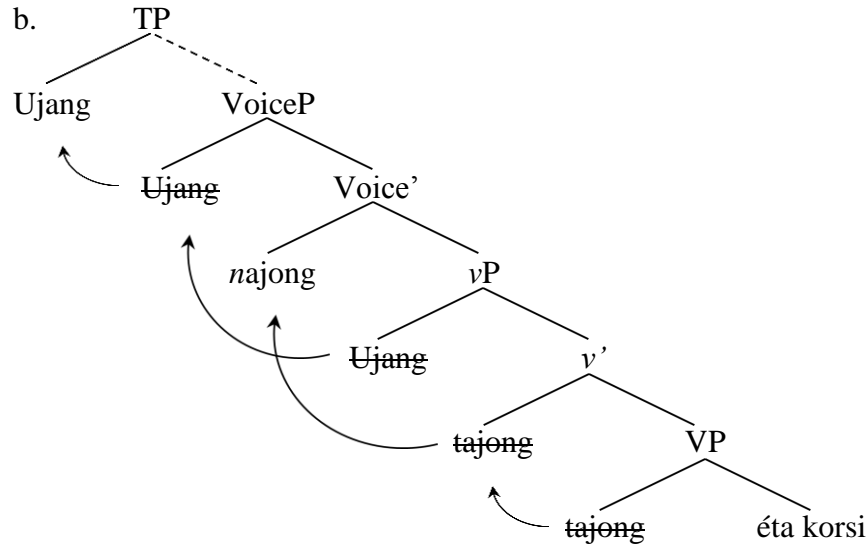
The theme *aneug miet nyan* ‘that small child’ is generated as the complement of V. The verb *ubat* ‘cure’ raises from its base-generated position to  $\nu$  to adjoin to *peu* and onto Voice. The causer *dokto* ‘doctor’ is merged in Spec, $\nu$ P and receives the agentive thematic role and then moves up to Spec,VoiceP to satisfy the EPP feature on Voice.

Following Ko's proposal, as well as parallel proposals from Sukarno (2003) and Cole et al. (2008) for Indonesian/Malay, I posit that voice prefixes, namely the actor voice *ng-* and the passive *di-/ka-*, are the heads of VoiceP. Following Sukarno (2003), I take VoiceP as a functional projection for voice marking that always projects a specifier, saturated by a grammatical subject. VoiceP is therefore not responsible for introducing an external argument, for the external argument will always be merged in Spec, $\nu$ P. This line of analysis is consistent with the facts regarding the distribution of voice marking outlined in the preceding section, which essentially suggest that the occurrence of nasal prefix marking on verbs should be disassociated from the thematic role of their pre-verbal argument. I assume that movement of a nominal argument into Spec,VoiceP is driven by an EPP feature on Voice (see Aldridge 2005 for a parallel view). The syntactic derivation for the active sentence in (7) *Ujang najong éta korsi* 'Ujang kicked that chair' will be as in (34).<sup>23</sup>

- (34) a. [<sub>TP</sub> Ujang [<sub>VoiceP</sub> ~~Ujang~~ [<sub>Voice'</sub> najong [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> ~~Ujang~~ [ <sub>$\nu'$</sub>  ~~tajong~~ [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> ~~tajong~~ éta korsi]]]]]]]

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<sup>23</sup> In Chapter 6, I will take the insights from Ko's proposal of the Acehnese agreement to account for Sundanese plural agreement *-ar/-al* inside a crossed-control structure. This lends further support to the necessary split between VoiceP and  $\nu$ P.

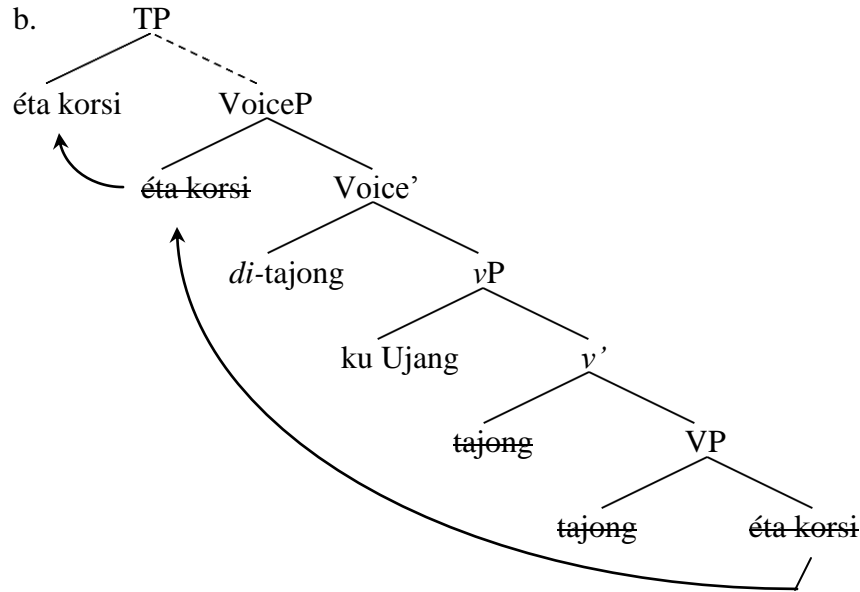


In this structure, the verb *tajong* ‘kick’ is base-generated in V and raises to *v* on its way to Voice. Given that the causer DP *Ujang* and the external argument is identical, the DP is first merged in the specifier of *vP* receive the external thematic role and then moves up to the specifier of VoiceP for the EPP. *Ujang* will continue to raise to the specifier of TP to satisfy the EPP feature on T.

The structural derivation for the passive sentence in (13a) *Éta korsi di-tajong ku Ujang* ‘That chair was kicked by Ujang’ is illustrated as follows.

- (35) a.  $[_{TP} \text{éta korsi} [_{VoiceP} \text{ditajong} [_{vP} \text{ku Ujang} [_{v'} \text{tajong} [_{VP} \text{tajong éta korsi}]]]]]$ <sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Movement of the theme argument to Spec,Voice by skipping another argument *ku Ujang* ‘by Ujang’ in Spec,*vP* seems to run afoul the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995: 181), which essentially prescribes the ‘shortest move’, i.e. movement of *ku Ujang* takes precedence over that of *éta korsi* ‘the chair’. However, *Ujang*’s case is checked by the preposition *ku*. Hence, it is inactive for further syntactic operation, making ‘the chair’ the only available goal for Voice.



In this derivation, the verb starts out as the V-head and raises to  $v$  then into Voice to combine with the passive morpheme. The theme DP will be attracted from its base position to the specifier of VoiceP for the EPP feature and finally into Spec, TP for the same reason. Notice that, under this proposed analysis, the actor and passive voice differ only in two respects: (i) the Voice head is occupied by different prefixes, *ng-* and *di-*;<sup>25</sup> and (ii) actor and passive VoicePs differ mainly with regard to whether Spec, $v$ P is saturated by a DP or a PP, respectively. In this way, active and passive structures receive a unified analysis. Also note that the structure in (35) derives the proper word order for the passive verb and its actor PP.

The assumption that the actor PP of the passive is merged in Spec, $v$ P may appear controversial, but evidence from the binding facts supports this analysis. The distribution

<sup>25</sup> It is worthy of note that cross-linguistically, while the head of the Active/Actor Voice is unmarked or has a default form (cf. Bowers 2002, Pylkkänen 2002), in Indonesian-type languages, including Sundanese, the heads of both Active and Passive VoiceP are morphologically realized.



of anaphora in the actor voice is of a familiar variety. An actor can bind a reflexive in object position.

(36) Manéhna osok ng-agul-ng-agul dirina sorangan.

3SG        always AV-brag-RED    3SG    self

‘He always brags about himself.’

Here, *manéhna* binds the reflexive *dirina sorangan*, but not vice versa. The object cannot be the antecedent for a reflexive in subject position in active clauses.

(37) \*Dirina sorangan osok ng-agul-ng-agul manéhna.

3SG    self        always AV-brag-RED    3SG

\*‘Himself always brags about him.’

The ungrammaticality of (37) conforms to expectations on the basis of c-command. That is, the object DP is not in a c-command relation with the subject reflexive anaphor. The same ungrammaticality obtains in (38), where the possessor in the subject DP is unable to antecede the reflexive object.

(38) \*Kampak manéhna nyilaka-keun dirina sorangan.

axe        3SG        AV-hurt-CAUS 3SG    self

\*‘His axe hurt himself,’

In this structure, only the entire DP *kampakna manéhna* ‘his axe’ can bind the reflexive, yielding the pragmatically odd reading. However, an actor PP in a passive can bind a reflexive in subject position.

(39) *Dirina sorangan osok di-agul-agul ku manéhna.*

3SG self always PV-brag.RED by 3SG

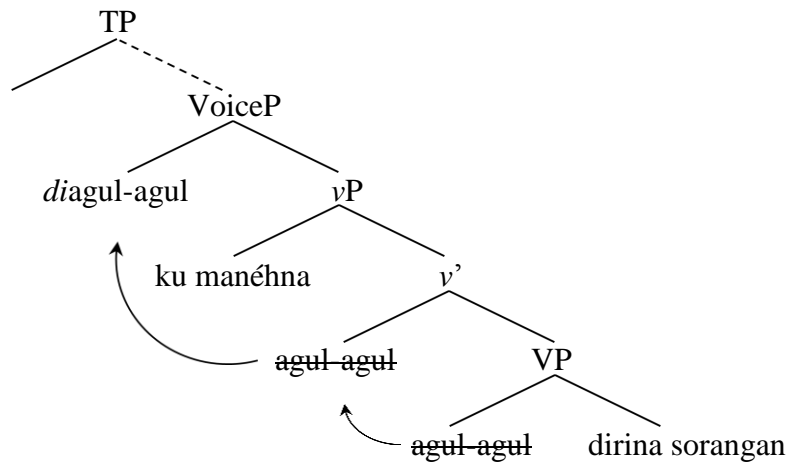
‘Himself is always bragged by him.’

‘He always brags about himself.’

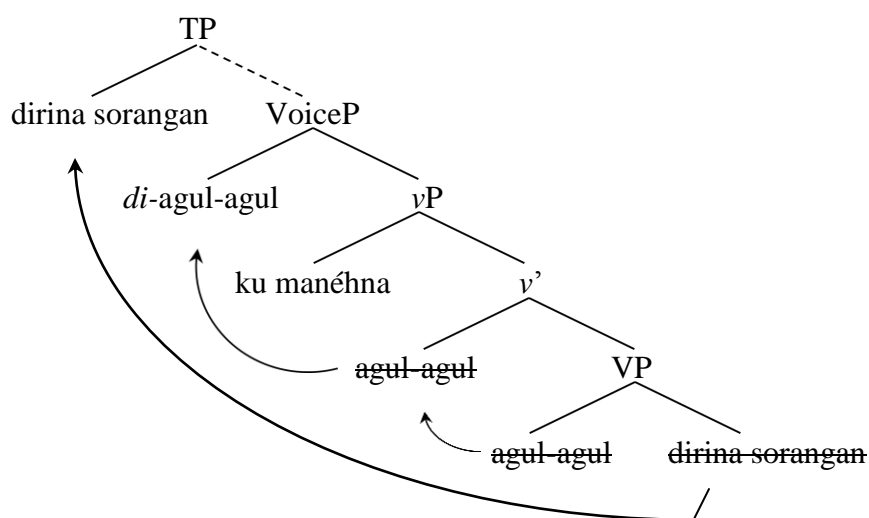
This binding possibility is accounted for by virtue of the fact that the passive actor is merged in Spec,vP and thus c-commands the reflexive prior to its movement out of the VP.<sup>26</sup> Structure (40) shows the c-command relations between *manéhna* and *dirina sorangan* prior to movement of *dirina sorangan* to Spec, TP.

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<sup>26</sup> In their investigation of Toba Batak, Cole and Hermon (2008) observe a similar situation as found in Sundanese with respect to the fact that passive agents can antecede reflexives in subject position.

(40) *Structure prior to raising subject out of VP*

In the course of this derivation, *ku manéhna* ‘by him’ c-commands the theme *dirina sorangan*, thus binding is satisfied. The following structure shows the attested surface structure, in which the theme gets attracted out of VP to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP feature.

(41) *Theme raised to Spec, TP to be the subject*

A question that emerges is how a DP inside a PP can be an antecedent for a reflexive anaphor. Actually, this is not an idiosyncratic property of Sundanese. In English, for example, it is possible for a PP argument to bind an anaphor in an active clause.

- (42) God made promises *to him<sub>I</sub>* about *himself<sub>I</sub>* and his descendants.

(<http://bibleinhand.org/articles/2012/12/10/gods-consistent-message-of-hope>)

A similar situation is identifiable in Sundanese, where a PP argument serves as the antecedent for a reflexive in an active sentence.

- (43) Kuring ng-obrol *jeung Maman<sub>I</sub>* ngeunaan *dirina sorangan<sub>I</sub>*.

1SG AV-talk and M about 3SG self

‘I talked with Maman<sub>I</sub> about himself<sub>I</sub>.’

The Sundanese and English facts in (39) and (42) suggest that PP branching is irrelevant for at least some c-command relations. In a similar vein, DP arguments and PP arguments share the same syntactic property in being a legitimate controller in control structures (see chapter 3 for details). The following are illustrative.

- (44) a. *Maman<sub>1</sub>* mindeng akon-akon [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> jadi utusan mahasiswa].

M often pretend become representative student

‘Maman often pretends to be the students’ representative.’

b. Kampus mindeng nitah      *ka Maman*<sub>1</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> jadi

campus    often      AV.order to M      so that      become

utusan      mahasiswa].

representative student

‘The campus often ordered to Maman to be the students’ representative.’

In this set of examples, both the DP argument *Maman* and the PP argument *ka Maman* are the licit controllers for the referents of PRO in the embedded clause.

Summarizing, in this section I have argued that Sundanese furnishes good evidence for the introduction of VoiceP to harbor the voice markers. The binding facts provide compelling arguments that both actor DPs in active sentences and actor PPs in passive counterparts are merged in the same slot, the specifier of vP.

## 1.7 Structure of the Study

Beyond this introductory chapter, this dissertation consists of seven chapters.

*Chapter 2 Complementation and Finiteness* presents a literature review of studies pertaining to complementation and finiteness. It begins with Noonan’s (1985, 2007) claim on the universality of (syntactic) complementation, a position with which Dixon (1995, 2006) and Englebretson (2003) disagree. I outline the basic tenets, arguments and evidence from each camp in order to lay out theoretical frameworks with which to examine parallel Sundanese structures in the subsequent chapters. On the topic of finiteness, I highlight a number of properties cross-linguistically cited as the correlates of finiteness, which include subject licensing and case assignment, tense, agreement and

mood/modality. I then flesh out how clausal complements behave in Sundanese by underlining the properties critical to my central claim that finiteness is not germane in Sundanese despite the fact that the language contains temporal auxiliaries, modal verbs, and person and number agreement. I show that any of these potential finiteness markers (auxiliaries, modals, agreement) are not overt manifestations of finiteness in Sundanese. Overt subject licensing, however, may point to a finiteness contrast.

*Chapter 3 Raising and Control: Data* delineates empirical data on raising and control constructions in Sundanese. A wide range of diagnostics derived from relevant studies of different languages such as thematic role, embedded passive, selectional restriction, and temporal specification are utilized to examine whether raising and control are necessarily two distinct constructions and if so whether the distinctions are syntactic. In addition, I provide other defining properties of raising and control peculiar to Sundanese, which include temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, complementizers, modal verbs, and preposition object controller. Employing the standard diagnostics of Obligatory Control vs. Non-Obligatory Control, I show that Sundanese gives evidence of cases of OC. One of the noteworthy features of Sundanese control is a stark contrast between subject control and object control in terms of complementizers and the admissibility of resumptive pronouns despite their structural similarity.

*Chapter 4 Raising and Control: Analysis* posits an analysis for the structural distinctions between raising and control in Sundanese; and evaluates whether Hornstein's (1999, 2001) movement analysis of control and complementation strategies analysis hold up in accounting for the syntactic differentiation between raising and control in Sundanese. I argue that the two analyses fail to adequately provide a straightforward

account for the body of facts of Sundanese raising and control. Alternatively, I propose that Sundanese raising and control are best treated by appealing to different categories for the complement clauses: CP and TP. That is, I argue that raising predicates take a TP complement, while control predicates select a CP complement, in line with most common analyses of raising and control in European languages such as English. Also, this chapter spells out cases in which certain predicates are structurally ambiguous between raising and control. Finally, I provide purported cases of adjunct control in Sundanese and show evidence that Sundanese adjunct control is markedly different from the complement control such that the former is largely determined by semantics and pragmatics, while the latter is mostly syntactic. The crucial aspect of this chapter is the proposal that finiteness appears to be operative in Sundanese, characterized by the possible presence and the obligatory absence of an overt subject in a clause. Consequently, raising and control complements are considered non-finite in light of the fact that these complements do not license an overt subject.

*Chapter 5 Raising and Base-Generated Constructions* presents new empirical data on Raising to Object (RtoO) constructions and related constructions in Sundanese. I argue that Sundanese basically contains two types of constructions: base-generated constructions and Raising to Object constructions. I show that the two should be analyzed as two distinct structures by virtue of the fact that they exhibit different structural and interpretive characteristics. Additionally, the chapter assesses the extent to which existing analyses, namely the ‘finite’ raising accounts (Copy Raising by Postdam and Runner 2001; Superraising by Ura 1994, 1996, 2007; Hyper raising by Ura 1994, Fernández-Salgueiro 2008, Martins & Nunes 2009, Ademola-Adeoye 2011; and Further raising by

Fernández-Salgueiro 2008) and the base-generated account, i.e. Proleptic NP (Davies 2000, 2004, 2005a, 2010), can naturally capture the Sundanese facts. Even assuming that finiteness is crucial in Sundanese, these finite raising analyses are still unable to account for the Sundanese facts mainly due to the fact that the matrix argument can be coreferential to a non-subject or a possessor element in the embedded clause, apparent counterevidence for all finite raising accounts. As an alternative, I propose that the base-generated construction is best treated as proleptic construction, which is structurally distinct from the raising construction.

*Chapter 6 Crossed Control Constructions* investigates a rather unusual syntactic phenomenon most commonly referred to as a “crossed control construction”, reportedly attested in some Austronesian languages such as Indonesian/Malay, Madurese and Balinese. The crossed control occurs with desiderative, implicative and aspectual predicates. I first identify corresponding examples in Sundanese and underscore the possible occurrence of number agreement inside the crossed control complement, calling into question previous accounts of vP/VP complements for Indonesian and Malay (Polinsky & Potsdam 2008; Fukuda 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012). I propose a slightly revised analysis of the crossed control construction in Sundanese, according to which the crossed control predicates take a VoiceP complement. Inclusion of VoiceP allows for a straightforward account for a variety of interrelated facts, including i) the distribution of voice marking in Sundanese; ii) the presence of plural agreement inside the crossed control complement; iii) the apparent parallelism between ‘ordinary’ control and crossed control with aspectuals and some other predicates. I adopt Sato & Kitada’s



(2012) feature inheritance model to explicate the crossed alignment of the experiencer/theme thematic roles and the arguments.

*Chapter 7 Nominalized Complementation* delineates syntactic properties of noun phrases, specifically examining nominals and nominalized elements in comparison to verbal clausal complements in Sundanese. I evaluate the extent to which verbal clauses and nominals are syntactically similar. I argue that nominalization exhibits structural properties, as evident in the constellation of arguments in conjunction with the predicate, voice marking and other functional elements. I adopt Alexiadou (2001)'s structural model, according to which nominals exhibit verbal properties such as argument structure. Eventivity reading in nominals therefore arises from the verbal projection of VoiceP/vP and some functional projections such as AspectP inside the nominal structure. I show that this model successfully captures a range of verbal properties in Sundanese nominalized complements such as the occurrence of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, modal verbs, voice marking, negation, and other functional elements inside a nominal. Relatedly, I describe some facts regarding the Sundanese speakers' preferences for certain types of nominal constructions over ordinary complement clauses.

*Chapter 8* summarizes the findings of the research.

## CHAPTER 2

### COMPLEMENTATION AND FINITENESS

As was shown in the foregoing chapter, Sundanese displays a diversity of clausal complement types, many of which can be optionally preceded by overt complementizers. It was also shown that Sundanese lacks overt case and tense marking, making a finite vs. non-finite distinction indeterminate. Temporal/aspectual information may be supplied by temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and adverbs. At the same time, Sundanese does have agreement markers, i.e. person and number, quite atypical from its neighboring languages. As shown below, though, agreement features seem to be irrelevant to finiteness.

In this chapter, I spell out two main topics: complementation and finiteness. In Section 2.1, I briefly review the definition of complementation in the literature, and in Section 2.2, I contrast two accounts: the universality of complements (Noonan 1985, 2007) and complementation strategies (Dixon 1995, 2006; Englebretson 2003) by mainly looking at English structures and corresponding structures in related languages. I outline the basic tenets of each theoretical framework and principal properties with which to examine Sundanese structures. On the topic of finiteness, in Section 2.3, I highlight a number of cross-linguistic correlates of finiteness that many researchers have reported in the literature. Section 2.4 fleshes out how clausal complements behave in Sundanese and quite briefly touch on several grammatical elements that may (not) point to finiteness. In Section 2.5, I assess whether a number of finiteness marking categories in other

languages are crucial in Sundanese, none of which appears not to be relevant in Sundanese. Section 2.6 presents conclusions.

## 2.1 Complementation

A complement clause is a component of a multiclausal construction in which a clausal constituent serves as a core argument of a predicate, functioning either as the subject or the object of that predicate (Noonan 1985, 2007; Givón 2001) as in the following English examples:

- (1) a. [That a frog got into my apartment] really surprised me.
- b. [For him to come to my apartment] will be a pleasant nightmare.
- c. I did not know [that a frog got into my apartment].
- d. I wondered [who broke into my apartment].

The bracketed constituents are instances of subject complements (1a-b) and object complements (1c-d). Each sentential component receives a theta role from the predicate in the main clause, making it an argument of the predicate.

Noonan (1987, 2007) posits three criterial properties for the identification of various complement types across languages: (i) the morphology of the predicate, i.e. whether or not the verb is reduced; (ii) the syntax of complementation, e.g. whether or not the embedded subject is identical to the matrix subject; and (iii) the semantics of complementation, i.e. how complement types are commensurate with the semantic bond

between the predicate and its complement. This will be elaborated further in Section 2.2.1.

Another property attributed to a sentential complement is that it has the internal constituent structure of a clause (Dixon 2006). It is clear from looking at (1) that the bracketed parts of the sentence meet this requirement, in that they have both a subject and a predicate. Dixon adds two more grammatical criteria for a constituent to be considered a complement clause:

“a complement clause will always describe a proposition; this can be a fact, activity or a potential state, etc.; and (ii) in every language that has complement clauses, they function as a core argument for verb meaning such as *see, hear, know, believe, like* insofar as the language has such verbs.” (Dixon 2006: 15)

Not all embedded clauses count as complements. If such clauses are not arguments of the predicate, they are clearly not complements. Among these are relative clauses, such as (2) and adverbial clauses, such as (3).

(2) Kim recognized the boy [who stole a wallet in the mall].

(3) [When she graduates from school], she will return to her home country.

Noonan claims that complementation is a universal property of all of the world's languages. However, a closer look at certain spoken languages calls this claim into question (see Thompson 2002, Englebretson 2003). Moreover, Dixon (1995, 2006) disagrees sharply with Noonan's claim and contends that not all languages have grammatical complementation. In some languages, 'complementation strategies' are used

to express the range of universal semantics which other languages represent by virtue of morphosyntactic means.<sup>27</sup> That is, complementation strategies are utilized to compensate for the lack of syntactic complementation in a language. By complementation strategies, Dixon means a variety of grammatical resources or mechanisms—non-embedding structures such as verb serialization, relativization, and nominalization—used for expressing a proposition of canonical complement-taking predicates. Dixon cites the Australian language Dyirbal, which he claims makes use of complementation strategies without having grammatical complementation. An example from Dyirbal is as follows.

(4) *Dyirbal*

naja bura-n [gayu-ŋga nyalŋga wanda-ŋu]

1SG see-PAST cradle-LOCATIVE child hang-REL

‘I saw the child hanging in a cradle.’ (Dixon 2006: 35)

Dixon argues that structures such as (4) exemplify one of the complementation strategies (i.e. relativization, to be elaborated in Section 2.2.2). In a language with complement clauses such as English, Immediate Perception Predicates like *see* typically take a complement clause.

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<sup>27</sup> Dixon (2006) criticizes Noonan’s (1985) paper and its updated online version in that it fails to provide a necessary distinction between grammaticalized complement clauses and complementation strategies.

## 2.2 Complementation Types and Strategies

This section delineates various types of clausal complements and complementation strategies attested in the world's languages.

### 2.2.1 Complementation Types

There are various kinds of clausal complements even within a single language. In English, for example, there are four principal complement types.

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| (5) a. [That Kim left the country] disappointed Raul. | (that-clause)        |
| b. [For Kim to leave the country] disappointed Raul.  | (infinitive clause)  |
| c. [Kim's leaving the country] disappointed Raul.     | (gerund clause)      |
| d. Raul saw Kim [leaving the country].                | (participial clause) |

Other languages may incorporate a greater or a lesser number of complement types. Irish, for instance, exemplifies only two types: a *go*-clause and a nominalized complement (Noonan 2007). The *go*-clause in Irish is akin to a *that*-clause in English.

#### (6) *Irish*

- a. Dúirt sé go dtiocfadh sé.  
 said.3SG he COMP come.COND he  
 'He said he would come.'

- b. Is maith liom iad a fheiceáil.

COP good with.me them COMP see.NOML

‘I like to see them.’ (Noonan 2007: 54)

As Section 2.3 will illustrate, Sundanese displays a greater number of clausal complement types than Irish but a lesser number than English.

As stated in Section 2.1, Noonan argues that a clausal complement can be characterized by three important criteria: the morphology of the predicate, the syntax of complementation, and the semantics of complementation.

### 2.2.1.1 The Morphology of the Predicate

Noonan asserts that every language must exhibit a sentence-like (s-like) complement, namely a clausal constituent in which the verb has the same syntactic relation to its subject and other arguments (7b) as it does in the main clause (7a). That is, the verb in an s-like complement behaves morphologically and syntactically as a matrix verb and the argument therein is case-marked in the same way as a matrix argument.

(7) a. Kim is a family man.

b. Raul knows [that Kim is a family man].

S-like complements may come in various types. The bracketed clause illustrated in (7b), which most closely mirrors the root clause in (7a), is *indicative*. Non-indicative complements are referred to as *subjunctives*, which differ from indicatives in that

subjunctives typically are marked with special conjugation, particle or complementizer. In English, for example, the difference between a subjunctive (8a) and an indicative (8b) lies in its morphology.

(8) a. Sarah insisted that Dave *lives* with her.

b. Sarah insisted that Dave *live* with her.

Noonan proposes that only in languages with grammatical tense/aspect can an indicative-subjunctive distinction be found. It appears to be a tenable prediction since Sundanese, lacking tense/aspect in its verbal morphology, does not distinguish subjunctives from indicatives.

Other common types of clausal complements are verb serialization and parataxis, to be discussed in Section 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.4. Noonan argues that verb serialization and parataxis may be analyzed as complement structures, a position with which Dixon disagrees. Dixon instead treats those two types of constructions as instantiations of complementation strategies (see section 2.2).

Next of note is an infinitive complement, which, according to Noonan, resembles a paratactic complement in that both lack an overt subject. A paratactic clause is distinct from an infinitive in allowing the verb to be inflected for subject agreement and a paratactic structure is not a subordinate clause.<sup>2829</sup> In addition, paratactic complements may not countenance a complementizer.

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<sup>28</sup> This characterization of an infinitive complement is not entirely true as languages like Portuguese are apparently counterevidence. Martins (2001), for instance, shows that inflected infinitives in the Modern Portuguese share some syntactic properties with finite



A nominalized complement differs from other complement types because it has an internal structure of a noun phrase. In the English example (9), the verb *beat* gets nominalized, taking on a verbal noun form and its argument *the thug* occurs as a genitive with the nominalized verb as the head noun. Articles, case markers and adpositions may appear with the nominalized predicate.

(9) [The thug's beating of an old man] is being investigated by the local police.

Both the notional subject *the thug* and object *an old man* have a genitival relation with the nominalized predicate as coded by *'s* and *of*, respectively. Again, Dixon rejects the analysis of nominalization as complementation by arguing that nominalization is a complementation strategy, as will be discussed in 2.2.2.3.

Noonan's last type is a participial complement, whose role is somewhat restricted. The reason is that being adjectival/adverbial verbs, participials serve to modify some

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clauses in taking nominative lexical subjects and displaying subject-verb agreement morphology. Compare the infinitive in (i) with the finite clause in (ii).

- (i) Vi        [eles prenderem            o    ladrão].  
       saw-1SG they catch-INFL.INFIN-3PL the thief  
       'I saw them catch the thief.'
- (ii) Vi        [que eles prenderam o    ladrão].  
       saw-1SG that they caught-3PL the thief  
       'I saw them catch the thief.'

The embedded clause in each example contains a nominative overt pronoun *eles* 'they' and the verb inflected for person.

<sup>29</sup> It remains unclear why a parataxis counts as a complement structure in light of the fact that it involves no subordination, as Noonan acknowledges himself.

noun, which acts as the head. The only place where participials normally occur as clausal complements is with immediate perception predicates such as *see*.

- (10) a. Ahmad saw a beautiful girl *crossing* the street.  
       b. Ahmad saw a beautiful girl *cross* the street.

The English participial structures above code voice distinctions to reflect aspectual contrasts. (10a), in particular, is structurally ambiguous between a complement structure and a relativization structure.

### 2.2.1.2 The Syntax of Complementation

Certain complements may be reduced in the sense that some components of the clause are missing. In (11a), *Imas* is both the matrix and embedded subject, but it is pronounced only once, i.e. in the matrix clause. Similarly, *Imas* in (11b) is both the matrix object and embedded subject, but only the former is lexically realized.

- (11) a. Imas tried [to water the flowers].  
       b. Ahmad asked Imas [to water the flowers].

These are typical control structures (which Noonan refers to “equi-deletion”, following the tradition of early transformational theory). In this type of structure, the reference of the null embedded subject is controlled by that of the matrix subject or object.

As Noonan asserts, null subjects in control (or deleted subjects in the equi-deletion analysis) have to be differentiated from other null elements. In pro-drop languages, for instance, it is not uncommon for subject arguments and other arguments to be dropped provided their reference is salient from the discourse context. Noonan cites the following example from Indonesian.

(12) Saya meng-ingat [bahwa sedang men-curi ayam]. (Indonesian)

1SG AV-remember COMP PROG AV-steal chicken

‘I remember that he was stealing the chicken.’ (Noonan 2007: 78)

The complement clause in (12) is distinct from a control complement because the reference of the embedded subject is not necessarily controlled by a matrix argument. The complement in (12), therefore, can be treated as an independent clause or an s-like complement.

Noonan also makes a brief mention of *counter-equi*, referred to as *backward control* in current theories, where a matrix argument is deleted under coreference with an overt embedded argument.<sup>30</sup> An example from Malagasy is as follows.

(13) m-an-omboka [m-i-tondra ny fiara Rabe<sub>i</sub>] Δ<sub>i</sub> (Malagasy)

PRES-AV-begin PRES-AV-drive the car R

‘Rabe is beginning to drive the car.’ (Polinsky & Postdam 2002: 3)

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<sup>30</sup> Due to the controversial nature of the analyses of this phenomenon and the rarity of its occurrence in human languages, Noonan decides not to provide an example. He rather refers the readers to Polinsky and Postdam (2002) for references.

Polinsky and Postdam (2002) claim that the overt controller *Rabe* structurally resides in the embedded clause and the null subject, i.e. the controllee, is in the matrix clause, as represented by the triangle and the co-indexation to signal the coreference.

In addition to control, another mechanism for producing a non-s-like complement is via *raising*, which involves movement of an argument, notionally part of an embedded clause, into a position in a higher clause. In (14a) the embedded argument *Imas* initially originated from the embedded subject position and then raises to the matrix subject position. Meanwhile, (14b) has been analyzed in some generative analyses as involving movement of the embedded subject to the matrix object position.

- (14) a. Imas seems [~~Imas~~ to be watering the flowers].  
 b. Ahmad expects Imas [~~Imas~~ to water the flowers].

Although alike on the surface, raising and control are structurally distinct (as will be discussed in Chapter 3). Cross-linguistically, Noonan remarks that raising is not as common as control, as many languages simply do not display raising of any sort. If a language does instantiate raising, though, the most common type is Raising to Object, as illustrated in (14b).

Other sorts of reduced complements are *simple clause reduction* and *clause union*. The former refers to a kind of reduction in which a complement predicate can preserve its own grammatical relations, independent from those governed by the matrix verb. The latter illustrates a construction where the matrix and the embedded predicates constitute

one set of grammatical relations. French (data from Mathias 1978 cited in Noonan 2007: 84) offers a contrast between these two constructions in question.

(15) a. Roger laissera Marie marcher. (French)

‘Roger will let Marie walk.’

b. Roger laissera Marie manger les pommes.

‘Roger will let Marie eat the apples.’

(16) a. Roger laissera marcher Marie. (French)

‘Roger will let Marie walk.’

b. Roger laissera manger les pommes à Marie.

‘Roger will let Marie eat the apples.’

(15) are instances of simple clause reduction, while (16) exemplify clause union. In (15b), both the matrix verb and the embedded verb have an object, *Marie* and *les pommes*, respectively. In (16b), however, the verbs have been merged and consequently share one set of grammatical relations. That is, they form a single unit, selecting for two arguments, *les pommes* as direct object and *Marie* as indirect object.

There are other types of reduced complements that Noonan elaborates such as *lexical union* and *negative raising*. However, I will not discuss them here since such phenomena are not available in Sundanese.

### 2.2.1.3 The Semantics of Complementation

The matching of a particular complement type with a particular complement-taking predicate is never coincidental. Noonan states that such matching is highly reliant on the semantic relation between predicate and complement inherently encoded in the meaning of complement-taking predicates (CTP). He maintains that the stronger the semantic bond between a predicate and its complement, the greater the degree of syntactic integration. Reduced complement types exhibit a strong bond of syntactic integrity. This matching of complement type to CTP, however, is not universal. Each individual language has different inventories of complement types and complement types given the same label in other languages may be structurally variable.

Noonan argues that the semantic potential of a complement type is determined by a number of factors:

- (17) a. inherent modality, e.g. indicative vs. subjunctive
- b. degree of reduction, e.g. infinitive
- c. choice of complementizer
- d. method of syntactic relation to the matrix clause: subordination vs. parataxis
- e. grammatical status of the notional predicate: verb, noun (in nominalized complements) and adjective (in participial complements)

Noonan identifies fourteen classes of CTPs, which are determined based on the semantic properties of predicates:

Table 1 Complement-taking Predicate Classes

NO	Types	Examples
1.	utterance	<i>say, tell, report, promise, ask</i>
2.	propositional attitude	<i>believe, think, suppose, assume, doubt, deny</i>
3.	pretense	<i>imagine, pretend, make believe, fool (into thinking), trick (into thinking)</i>
4.	commentative predicates/factives	<i>regret, be sorry, be sad, be odd, be significant be important</i>
5.	predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge/semifactives	<i>know, discover, realize, find out, forget, dream</i>
6.	fearing	<i>be afraid, fear, worry, be anxious</i>
7.	desiderative	<i>want, wish, desire, hope</i>
8.	manipulative	<i>force, make, persuade, tell, threaten, let, cajole, press, command, order, request, ask</i>
9.	modal	<i>can, be able, ought, must, should, may, be obliged</i>
10.	achievement	<i>manage, chance, dare, remember to, happen to, get to, try, forget to, fail, avoid</i>
11.	phasal/aspectual	<i>begin, start, continue, keep on, finish, stop, cease</i>
12.	immediate perception	<i>see, hear, watch, feel</i>
13.	negative	<i>sega 'won't' (Fijian)</i>
14.	conjunctive	<i>tê 'and then' (Lango)</i>

To sum up, this sub-section has presented a variety of clausal complement types from the standpoint of the morphology, syntax and semantics of complementation. At heart is Noonan's claim that universally, a language has at least an s-like complement.

## 2.2.2 Complementation Strategies

In the great majority of the world's languages, verbs like *see, know, believe*, and *want* select for either an NP or a clausal complement.

- (18) a. Sarah believes [Kim's apology].  
       b. Sarah believes [that Kim was sorry for what she had done].

However, contra Noonan's claim of complementation being a universal property of the world's languages, Dixon argues that there are languages for which complementation is not a syntactic category. These languages have other mechanisms, which he refers to as complementation strategies, to enable them to express complementation meanings. These strategies comprise verb serialization, relativization, nominalization, and clause linkage. Whether or not Sundanese exhibits complementation strategies will be examined in subsequent chapters.

#### **2.2.2.1 Verb Serialization**

A serial verb construction (henceforth SVC) is a structure in which more than one (typically two) verbs come together to function as one predicate, and thus encode one single event. To a certain extent, a SVC is similar to a monoverbal clause. Dixon cites the following properties of a SVC.

- (19) a. there is no marker or conjunction (e.g. coordination, subordination);  
       b. there is no intonation or pause break between SVC components;  
       c. the verbs share one argument, tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force and polarity value; and  
       d. the verbs constitute subparts of a single event.



Muysken and Veenstra (1995 quoted in Johnson 2006) lists two additional characteristics of a SVC, namely (i) the two (or more) verbs have one overt direct object; and (ii) the verb can only have one possible negator. Along the same line, Bisang (2001) defines verb serialization as the unmarked juxtaposition of more than one verb (phrase), with or without an actor/undergoer, and each verb can form its own sentence outside of the SVC. The following is an example from Taba (Bowden 2001).

- (20) *n=babas welik n=mot do* (Taba)  
 3SG=bite pig 3SG=die real  
 ‘It bit the pig dead’

The SVC in (20) represents one event, i.e. the pig died during the act of biting. The same set of verbs can occur in a coordination structure, showing that each verb can stand on its own, forming a sentence. Thus, (21) is not an SVC.

- (21) *n=babas welik n=ha-mot i* (Taba)  
 3SG=bite pig 3SG=CAUS-die 3SG  
 ‘It bit the pig and killed it.’ (Bowden: 297-8)

Bowden describes (21) as encoding two events in which the death of the pig came about as an indirect result of biting, but the death itself was not necessary, contrary to (20).

In his corpus-based study, Englebretson (2003) contends that colloquial Indonesian also contains no true complementation but does have structures similar to Taba.

(22) *Mau main di tempat itu.* (Indonesian)

want play at place DEM

‘(He) wants to play (video games) at that place.’ (Englebretson: 130)

In (22), the two verbs *mau* ‘want’ and *main* ‘play’ are adjacent and no element can be interposed. A complement analysis would then argue that *main di tempat itu* is a subordination structure in which the verbs are located in two different clauses, *mau* in the matrix and *main* in the embedded, serving as a complement to *mau*. Englebretson indeed identified evidence of overt connectors, e.g. *terus* ‘then’ and *untuk* ‘to’, between the two verbs in what he claims is a SVC, despite its low frequency in the corpus.

(23) *Indonesian*

a. *kapling terus tidur.*

divide.up then sleep

‘I divided it up and then slept.’

b. *di-paksa untuk ngerubut ke situ to*

PV-force PURP AV.crowd.around to there PART

‘they force you to join the crowd there.’ (Englebretson: 140)

The occurrence of any overt connectors in a purported SVC contravenes one of the defining properties of verb serialization, that is, no intervening connectors between the two verbs (Foley and Olson 1985). In spite of this, however, Englebretson prefers to treat such cases as exceptions.

#### 2.2.2.2 Relativization

According to Dixon, a second strategy that a language lacking syntactic complementation may employ to express complementation is relativization. To illustrate, consider the following examples from English.

- (24) a. They love [the boy [(who is) selling popcorn in the theater]].  
       b. They love [the boy ('s) selling popcorn in the theater].

The relative clause (*who is) selling popcorn in the theater* serves to supply extra information regarding the boy. (24a) indicates that *they* love *the boy* who happens to be selling popcorn and there is no indication about whether *they* also love what *the boy* is doing. In (24b), by contrast, what *they* love is the activity of selling popcorn in the theater that the person who is doing the selling happens to be a boy. And, the bracketed constituent in (24b) is an instance of a complement structure. Observe that neither *who is* in (24a) and 's in (24b) is obligatory, making the two structures indistinguishable. In a language such as Dyirbal, such a distinction is not found.

(25)    ηaja bura-n    [gayu-ηga            nyalηga wanda-ηu].            (Dyirbal)

1SG see-PAST cradle-LOCATIVE child    hang-REL

‘I saw the child hanging in a cradle.’ (Dixon 2006: 35)

The sentence above is ambiguous between a relative clause reading (I saw the child who was hanging in a cradle.) and a complement clause reading (I saw the child’s hanging in a cradle.). Whether the emphasis of what *I saw* lies on *the child* (relative clause) or the event of *hanging in a cradle* can only be resolved in the discourse context. Therefore, Dixon conjectures that a language that fails to distinguish between a relative clause and a complement clause may lack syntactic complementation.

### 2.2.2.3 Nominalization

According to Dixon, nominalization is yet another strategy that can be used to describe a proposition typically expressed via syntactic complementation in many languages. Compare the following English sentences.

(26)    a. [Kim’s playing a flute] pleased his wife.

          b. [Kim’s playing of a flute] pleased his wife.

The only noticeable difference between the two sentences is the appearance of the preposition *of* in (26b), an instance of nominalization. In Dixon’s framework, (26b) should be necessarily differentiated from (26a), which is an apparent case of complementation. The different meanings of the two structures in question confirm the

necessary distinction. In (26a), Kim's wife was excited about Kim, who in the past might dislike playing a flute, whereas (26b) states that his wife was happy because of the way Kim plays it.

Languages that have no complement clauses like Kham, a Tibetan language, (Watters 2002 cited in Dixon 2006) will utilize nominalization as a complementation strategy. (27) presents an example of nominalization in Kham.

(27)     $\eta$ a: a-tə                      [cuh-si-u]                       $\eta$ a-pəĩ-zya                      (Kham)

1SG PROX-SUPERESS sit-MIDDLE-NOML 1SG-want-CONTINUOUS

‘I want to sit here/on this.’ (Dixon 2006: 37)

The null subject of the nominal constituent *cuh-si-u* marked by the nominalizer *u* has to corefer to the matrix subject. It should be noted that the English paraphrase is expressed in a complement structure. Dixon reports that the same nominalization strategy is also attested in Akkadian, Tariana, Goermai, and Matsigenka.

#### 2.2.2.4 Clause Linkage

Dixon includes two complementation strategies subsumed under the clause linkage category: parataxis and purposive linking.

##### 2.2.2.4.1 Parataxis

Noonan and Dixon differ in their assessments of parataxis. Parataxis itself refers to a complex structure containing two independent clauses that are semantically parasitic.

Noonan lists a number of defining characteristics of a paratactic construction, which he takes to be a case of complementation.

- (28)
- a. It consists of a subject NP followed by verb phrases;
  - b. Each verb phrase is fully inflected;
  - c. There is no complementizer or any marker of subordination.
  - d. There are no special verb forms.

Noonan mentions that paratactic constructions are common in African languages such as Luo. In this language, paratactic constructions occur typically with causative predicates whose complements are implied to be true (Creider 1974 cited in Noonan 2007: 66).

- (29)    əmīyɔ                      ɔnyāŋgo ori.ŋgo                      (Luo)
- gave.1SUBJ:3SG.OBJ O                      ran.3SG
- ‘I made Onyango run.’
- (lit: ‘I gave it to Onyango, he ran.’)

The predicates in paratactic constructions are like canonical CTPs in that they can be inflected. In (29), we see that the verbs exhibit number and person agreement with the notional subject. Noonan, therefore, considers (29) to be a complement structure.

Dixon (2006), on the other hand, proposes that parataxis must be categorized as a complementation strategy. In parataxis, more than one verb (typically two) come together

as a sequence, typically thought to encode a single event. In some languages, two clauses are simply juxtaposed. The following illustration comes from Kiowa, a native American language (Watkins 1984 cited in Dixon 2006: 20).

- (30) à-ǵ n                      mágyá èm-k<sup>h</sup>oóydé-t'ǵ                      (Kiowa)  
 1SG-think+that might 2SG-turn.back-FUT  
 'I thought that you might turn back'  
 (lit: 'I think that; you might turn back.')

Dixon claims that there is no evidence to suggest that the Kiowa analog of *(you) might turn back* is the complement of *I thought*. What we see here, instead, are two clauses being apposed. The same line of reasoning is pursued by Englebretson (2003) who analyzes Indonesian constructions such as (31) as juxtaposed clauses “in which one clause serves as a frame for one or more additional clauses which impose specific material into that frame” (p. 46).

- (31) ingat-kan                      dari rumah, jangan bawa duit.                      (Indonesian)  
 remember-APPL from house don't bring money  
 'Remind me at home not to bring money.'

Englebretson maintains that there is no reason to assume that *jangan bawa duit* 'don't bring money' should be analyzed as subordinated to, embedded in, or the grammatical

complement of the first verb *ingatkan* ‘remind’. The first clause sets up a frame, a generic event, which is further specified by the second clause.

#### 2.2.2.4.2 Purposive Linking

Observe the following sentences.

- (32) a. [I ran] [(in order) to catch the Hawkeye-Interdorm cambus].  
 b. [I wanted [to catch the Hawkeye-Interdorm cambus]].

Being an intransitive verb, *run* does not select a complement. Therefore, without the purpose clause *in order to catch the Hawkeye-Interdorm cambus*, the sentence remains well-formed. The purpose clause simply serves to offer additional information for why *I ran*. The verb *want*, on the other hand, is a transitive verb, which necessarily takes a complement. If the complement clause *to catch the Hawkeye-Interdorm cambus* is omitted, the sentence is rendered ill-formed. Thus, syntactically, there is a significant difference between these two structures (32a-b).

Some languages employ a purpose clause as a complementation strategy and consequently miss a distinction such as the one illustrated in (33). In such a language, no such apparent differences can be found. Dixon claims that this is true of Akkadian and Dyirbal. In Dyirbal, for instance, the verb *want*, or the Dyirbal equivalent *walɥgarray*, which precisely means ‘want to do something to satisfy a persistent emotional worry or desire’, takes a purposive linking strategy.



- (33)    *ɲaja        walɲgarra-nyu wugu-gu    ɲaŋga-na-ygu                    (Dyirbal)*  
          1SG:NOM want-PAST        food-DAT eat-APASS-PURP  
          ‘I want to eat some food.’ (Dixon 2006: 271)

*Walɲgarra* is different from the corresponding desiderative verbs in English such as *want* because *walɲgarra* is an intransitive verb, hence does not take another argument. Another Dyirbal verb that takes a purpose clause is *ask*, or *ɲanba*.

- (34)    *ɲaygu-na ba-ɲgu-l                    ɲanba-n    yanu-li                    (Dyirbal)*  
          1SG-ACC    there-ERG-MASC ask-PAST go-PURP  
          ‘He asked me to go.’ (Dixon 2006: 271)

In this respect, Dixon points out that underlyingly, (34) is composed of two clauses: *ɲayguna baŋgul ɲanban* ‘he asked me’ and *ɲaja yanuli* ‘for me to go’. Dixon then recapitulates that a language lacking a wide range syntactic complementation may use various complementation strategies including purposive clause linking.

In summary, I have discussed two contested accounts: the universality of complements (Noonan 1985, 2007) and complementation strategies (Dixon 1995, 2006; Englebretson 2003). In subsequent chapters, I will employ the criterial properties from each account to examine Sundanese complex structures. In what follows, I will review the existing literature regarding finiteness, specifically spelling out what morpho-syntactic features are cross-linguistically analyzed as finiteness marking categories.

## 2.3 Finiteness

As stated earlier, finiteness plays an important role in discussions of and analyses of complementation. This section primarily explores the definition of finiteness from the standpoint of morphology and syntax. It crucially lays out the features generally taken to determine finiteness in the world's languages.

### 2.3.1 Definition

Now, let us begin by defining what finiteness actually means. Etymologically, the term finiteness harks back to the Latin *finitus*. One of the meanings is 'definite' or 'determined' relative to a particular person (Sauter et al. 1968). Historically, the notion of finiteness referred to personal pronouns and then person and number agreement. This person and number agreement motivated the split of the verbal system into two major classes: finite verbs indicating the presence of agreement, including indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative and non-finite ones that do not, comprising infinitives and participles (see Nikolaeva 2007).

Although initially finiteness was motivated with the presence of agreement (person and number), in a later development, 'tense' was incorporated into the notion of finiteness and became so crucial that finiteness was equated to the presence of tense. A finite verb is then defined as a verb that exhibits person, number, and tense properties (cf. Huddleston 1988, Hogg 1992). Huddleston (1988: 44), for instance, defines the finite verb as a verb 'limited by properties of person, number and tense', and Hogg (1992: 541) defines finiteness as describing 'a verb which is marked for tense and number'.

In a similar vein, Thiébault (1802 cited in Subirats-Rüggeberg 1990) states that the only difference between finite and non-finite complements rests in the fact that the former has explicit subjects and verb agreement, while the latter may have explicit subjects without agreement. Thus, it is clear that agreement and tense have been construed as the defining features of finiteness.

As Bisang (2001) notes, there is some consensus within the functionalist framework (e.g. Givón 1990) and the generative framework that finiteness is a clausal property. According to the functional approach, finiteness should be viewed in terms of scalarity and obligatoriness. Givón posits four principal characteristics of finiteness: clausal domain, complexity and scalarity, coding function/syntactic dependence, and scope of dependency. As far as obligatoriness is concerned, Givón claims a finite/non-finite asymmetry can only be obtained in languages where grammatical categories such as tense/aspect and number are obligatorily marked. Predictably, in languages like Chinese, Vietnamese and Sundanese where these categories are left unmarked, the finiteness distinction is indeterminate.

### **2.3.2 Morpho-syntactic Features of Finiteness**

Literature on the investigation of finiteness across languages has so far indicated that the connection between tense and agreement morphology with nominative subjects remains unclear and the feature responsible for assigning nominative case on the subject NP is still a matter of controversy. In some languages, tense is the finiteness marker, but in other languages, finiteness is determined by agreement morphology. There are also languages in which the crucial finiteness feature is modality.

### 2.3.2.1 Main Clausehood

In the literature, there have been a host of properties viewed as the principal marking category of finiteness: main clausehood, nominative case subject, agreement, tense, and modality. Some researchers (e.g. Jespersen 1924, Johns and Smallwood 1999) propose that main clausehood is an indication of finite/non-finite opposition. The assumption is that an independent clause is formed by a finite verb and a dependent clause by a non-finite one. Matthew (1997) also pinpoints the ability of a verb to stand alone in a clause as the distributional property of finiteness. The following examples are illustrative.

- (35) a. Ahmad *runs* a marathon.  
       b. Imas persuaded Ahmad *to run* a marathon.  
       c. \*Ahmad *to run* a marathon.

The verb *run* in (35a) is considered finite as it can free-stand in a (root) clause, besides being inflected for agreement and tense. The same verb in (35b) is non-finite as it occurs in a dependent clause. When this infinitival verb surfaces in an independent clause (35c), the sentence is ungrammatical. In a nutshell, a clause is finite when it can stand on its own like a root clause and it is non-finite when it cannot. In this respect, Hornstein (1990) states, “root clauses must be finite.”

This particular assumption of finiteness appears to encounter a problem when faced with the fact that a limited number of languages reportedly possess root infinitives

(see Lasser 2006 for a catalog of languages of this kind). Some examples are shown below. All data are cited from Lasser (2006).

(36) a. *French (Haegeman 1995)*

Comment lui expliquer cela?!

how to-him explain-INF this

‘How to explain this to him?!’

b. *German (Fries 1993)*

Wohin sich noch wenden?

where oneself still turn-INF

‘But where to get help?’

c. *Dutch (Reuland 1983)*

Hij toen snikkend naar zijn moeder lopen.

he then sobbing to his mother run-INF

‘Then he ran to his mother, sobbing.’

d. *Russian (Avrutin 1999)*

Carevna xoxotat’

princess laugh-INF

‘The princess laughed.’

It must be noted, however, that these root infinitives are treated as exceptional or “special” (Rizzi 1994) by virtue of the fact that they have special functions such as rhetorical questions, counterfactuals, jussives/hortatives and anecdotes (Lasser 2002:

773). In light of this, the apparent association between main clausehood and finiteness can be maintained.

### **2.3.2.2 Nominative Subject**

Nominative case subject has also been proposed as another criterial characteristic of finiteness (see e.g. Cowper 2002). In many languages including English, the subject of a finite clause is marked with nominative case.

- (37) a. Imas believes that he/\*him runs a marathon.  
       b. Imas expects him/\*he to run a marathon.

(37a) shows that the subject of the embedded clause, which is finite, is ascribed nominative case. The accusative case-marked argument in the same position results in ungrammaticality. On the other hand, in (37b), an Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction, the embedded subject is accusative case-marked. A nominative subject cannot appear in the same slot (37b) in light of the fact that the clause in which it appears is non-finite. In short, finiteness is associated with a nominative subject on the basis of the fact that nominative subjects do not occur in non-finite contexts.

### **2.3.2.3 Tense and Agreement**

The finiteness contrast, as characterized by subject case, has been traditionally correlated with tense and agreement. That is, the presence of an overt subject in the nominative case is related to a finite verb (i.e. inflected for tense and agreement) and the

absence of a nominative subject to a non-finite verb (uninflected). The Government and Binding (GB) theory, assuming the traditional morphological view of finiteness, has made explicit the interrelationship between finiteness, case tense and agreement. The functional category of INFL (I) is specified for tense and agreement features of verbs. Featural specification of I will then determine whether a clause is finite or not. To be precise, the finite I contains [+tense] and [+agr], whereas the non-finite counterpart contains [-tense] and [-agr]. Under this system, a nominative case-marked subject coincides with the positive featural specification of I. This will correctly capture the following examples.

- (38) a. I believe [that he is a studious student].  
       b. I believe [him/\*he to be a studious student].  
       c. He tries [PRO/\*he to be a studious student].

The bracketed constituent (39a) is an instance of a finite clause as indicated by the finite *to be is*, so that its subject must be ascribed nominative case. In (39b), the embedded clause, being non-finite, cannot have a nominative subject. The licit subject is accusative case-marked by the verb in the higher clause. Accordingly, the embedded clause in (39c) is non-finite and hence cannot license nominative case on its subject. The embedded subject is instead null. In the GB theory, a null subject in a clause that does not assign case is treated as PRO. In other words, PRO appears iff the clause is non-finite and no case is assigned.

Within the GB theory, as pointed out by Haegeman (1991), what feature is responsible for licensing nominative case on the subject of a finite clause is not clear-cut. If the featural specification of I is the licenser, then there are four logical featural permutations as follows.

- (39) a. [+tense][+agr] I  
 b. [+tense][-agr] I  
 c. [-tense][+agr] I  
 d. [-tense][-agr] I

If it is the positive specification of tense that licenses nominative case on subject, then (39a-b) are finite I, thus finite clauses. This is, for instance, the position propounded by Chomsky (1980). If it is instead the positive feature of agreement that is the licenser of nominative case, (39a & c) are finite, as proposed by Chomsky in his later works (1981, 1986). Haegeman conjectures that it may be a combination of the two features that assigns nominative case.

Martin (2001) supports Chomsky's (1980) position that it is a property of [+tense] that assigns nominative case on a subject. That is to say, while a finite clause contains a nominative subject, non-finite clauses may contain a null case subject (PRO) as in control infinitives or a trace as in raising.

A language for which the principal correlate of finiteness is tense is Modern Greek (Iatridou 1993). Consider the following.



- (40) a. vlepo ton Kosta na tiganizi psaria. (Greek)

see DET K.ACC SUBJ fry.3SG fish

‘I see Kostas fry fish.’

- b. \*Idha/vlepo ton Kosta na tiganize psaria.

(I) saw/see DET K.ACC SUBJ fry.3SG.PAST fish

‘I saw/see Kosta fried fish.’

- (41) a. elpizo o Kostas na tiganizi psaria (Greek)

hope DET K.NOM SUBJ fry.3SG fish

‘I hope Kostas fries fish.’

- b. elpizo o Kostas na tiganise psaria

hope DET K.NOM SUBJ fry.3SG.PAST fish

‘I hope Kostas fried fish.’

Modern Greek lacks infinitival complements and instead utilizes subjunctives. As seen above, the subjects of these subjunctive constructions get accusative case (40), or nominative case (41). Note that (40a) is akin to an English ECM construction and when the embedded verb in the clause of this sort is marked for tense, the sentence is ill-formed (40b). On the contrary, the verb can be inflected for tense in the clause with the nominative subject (41). This provides an indication that the positive tense feature, not the agreement feature, is at play in licensing the occurrence of nominative subjects in Modern Greek. Put differently, (40) exemplifies non-finite clauses as indicated by the ill-formedness of tensed verb in the clause and (41) are finite clauses.

Another language displaying the same correlation between [+tense] and nominative case-marked subjects is West Flemish, as reported by Haegeman (1985: 134).

(42) *West Flemish*

a. Da-tet Valère morgen weggoat.

that-tet V tomorrow away goes

‘that Valère goes away tomorrow.’

b. \*Dan-k gisteren tet Valère zagen weggoan.

that-I tomorrow V saw leave

‘that I saw Valère leave tomorrow.’

Haegeman argues that (42a) is a finite complement clause as evident in the appearance of the complementizer *da*, which is specified for [+tense]. (42b) provides evidence for this claim since the occurrence of an accusative subject leads to ungrammaticality. The ungrammaticality results as a finite clause cannot license an accusative case on its subject, suggesting the crucial interplay between [+tense] and nominative subjects in finite contexts.

By contrast, there are languages in which the agreement feature is taken to be responsible for nominative case assignment. Languages of this sort include European Portuguese and Turkish. European Portuguese infinitives exhibit agreement inflection but lack tense inflection. Data in (43) come from Raposo (1987: 86).

(43) *European Portuguese*

- a. Será difícil [eles/*pro* aprov-ar-em a proposta].  
 will.be difficult 3PL.NOM approve-INF-3PL the proposal  
 ‘It will be difficult for them/*pro* to approve the proposal.’
- b. Será difícil [PRO aprov-ar (\*-em) a proposta].  
 will.be difficult approve-INF-3PL the proposal  
 ‘It will be difficult (\*for them) to approve the proposal.’
- c. Será difícil [que eles/\*PRO aprov-(\*-ar)-em a proposta].  
 will.be difficult that 3PL.NOM approve-INF-3PL the proposal  
 ‘It will be difficult that they approve the proposal.’

The infinitival structure in (43a) allows a nominative case-marked lexical subject or a null *pro* subject and the verb is inflected for (person and number) agreement, on a par with a prototypical finite clause. When the subject is PRO, however, the sentence is rendered bad (43b). The same ungrammaticality obtains in (43c) when the subject of the embedded clause is PRO. It is to be noted that the infinitival structure in (43a) and the complement clause with the complementizer *que* (43c) behave in the same way in sanctioning the nominative-subject. This obviously suggests that (43a) and (43c) contain finite complement clauses. Raposo argues that the nominative case assignment on the subject is correlated with the [+agr] feature on the verb in this language.

Along the same line, George and Kornfilt (1981) propose that finite clauses and tensed clauses have to be distinguished. Based on Turkish data, they hypothesize that finiteness may be signaled by person agreement.

(44) *Turkish*

- a. Ahmet [biz-i viski-yi iç-ti] san-iyor.

A.NOM 1PL-ACC whisky-ACC drink-PAST believe-PRES

‘Ahmet believes us to have drunk the whisky.’

- b. Ahmet [biz viski-yi iç-ti-k] san-iyor.

A.NOM 1PL-NOM whisky-ACC drink-PAST-1PL believe-PRES

‘Ahmet believes we drank the whisky.’

The embedded verb in (44a) conjugates for tense, i.e. past tense but is not marked for agreement. The same verb in (44b) conjugates for both tense and agreement. What is crucial here is the fact that the embedded subject in (44a) bears accusative case, while that in (44b) nominative case. On this basis, George and Kornfilt conclude that it is the agreement feature that positively correlates with nominative case licensing in Turkish. Furthermore, they add that finiteness opposition is apparent in both tensed and nominal clauses, both of which demonstrate person agreement. They remark, however, that languages lacking agreement morphology can also exemplify finiteness. Agreement as the feature determining finiteness may prove useful in the examination of finiteness in Sundanese, since, as stated in Chapter 1, Sundanese does exhibit person (and number) agreement, albeit lacking grammatical tense.

Unfortunately, all these criteria, i.e. tense and agreement, cannot easily be applied to languages without inflectional morphology such as Slave (Rice 1989) and Mandarin Chinese, where the verbal form stays the same in all syntactic environments. Besides, Noonan (1992) contends that neither agreement nor tense is a universally defining feature

of finiteness. If agreement is a defining finiteness category, then a language like Japanese that contains tense but lacks agreement evinces no finiteness. If tense is the defining property, then a language like Lango lacks a finiteness distinction, for verbs in Lango do not conjugate.

#### 2.3.2.4 Modality

It has also been proposed that finiteness is associated with mood in conjunction with modality. Contra George and Kornfilt, Aygen (2002), for example, reasons that it is mood and epistemic modality, not the agreement feature, which assign nominative case in Turkish. Observe the following examples.

(45) *Turkish*

a. Kürşat gel-di.

K.NOM come-PERF/PAST.3SG

‘Kürşat came/has come.’

b. Ben [Kürşat gel-di] san-dı-m.

1SG.NOM K.NOM come-PERF/PAST.3SG think-PERF/PAST.1SG

‘I thought Kürşat came/has come.’

c. Ben [Kürşat-ı gel-di] san-dı-m.

I.NOM K.ACC come-PERF/PAST.3SG think-PERF/PAST.1SG

‘I thought Kürşat came/has come.’

Aygen shows that from the standpoint of inflection, the verb in the complement clauses in (45b-c) is analogous to the one in (45a). It is morphologically marked for tense and agreement. However, only the verb in (45a-b) licenses nominative subjects, whereas that in (45c) contains an accusative subject. If agreement is the licenser of nominative case on the subject, then (45c) has to be ruled out automatically by the system. The data, however, show the contrary. Adopting the view that a mood feature on C reflects agreement morphology and Lyons' (1977) proposal that tense is a kind of modality, Aygen maintains that (45a-b) are finite clauses, while (45c) is not. The finite clauses are taken to bear [+indicative mood] and epistemic modality, which the non-finite, i.e. the ECM complement, lacks. Evidence to back up this claim emerges from the distributional properties of epistemic modals.

(46) *Turkish*

- a. Ben [Kürşat gel-ebil-ir] san-dı-m.

I.NOM K.NOM come-epistemic.modality/ability-AOR think-PERF/PAST.1SG

'I thought that Kürşat might/could come.'

- b. Ben [Kürşat-ı gel-di/ecek/iyor/miş/ır/meli/ebil-ir] san-dı-m.

I.NOM K.ACC come-ASP/deontic.modality-AOR think-PERF/PAST.1SG

'I considered Kürşat to have come/to be coming/to have to (to be required to) come/to be able to come.'

Example (46a), which includes a putative finite clause, shows that the modal *ebil* can denote epistemic modality or deontic modality. By contrast, in (46b), an apparent ECM

structure, the only available meaning of *ebil* is deontic modality. Epistemic modality reading is simply unavailable. This explicates why a nominative subject is sanctioned in (46a) and but not in (46b). In light of this, Aygen argues that [+mood] and [+epistemic modality] features are both the nominative case licensors in Turkish.

Another language for which mood and modality play a crucial role in the assignment of nominative case on the subject of finite clauses is Korean (Lee 2009). Lee proposes that mood endings on verbs or modalities on complementizers license nominative subjects in a finite clause.

(47) *Korean*

- a. Minho-nun [caki-ka ku sang-ul tha-(*\*ss*)]-leyko ayssu-ess-ta.  
M-TOP self-NOM the prize-ACC win-PAST-COMP endeavor-PAST-DECL  
‘Minho endeavored to win the prize.’
- b. Emeni-nun [Mina-ka na-wa hammkkey ka-(*\*ss*)]-tolok helakha-si-ess-ta.  
mother-TOP M-NOM I-with together go-COMP allow-HON-PAST-DECL  
‘Mother allowed Mina to go with me.’
- c. Swuni-ka ka-(*\*ss*)-ya Minho-to ka-n-ta.  
S-NOM go-PAST-only.if M-also go-PRES-DECL  
‘Minho goes only if Swuni goes.’

While (47a-b) exemplify complement clauses or control structures, to be precise, (47c) is an example of an adverbial clause. Korean contains a tense suffix such as *-ss* for the past tense, which is prohibited from occurring in any of the subordinate clauses. Notice that

the subject of each clause is marked for nominative case, suggesting that the tense feature is not the defining feature of finiteness in Korean. Lee points out that the complementizer *–leyko* (47a) conveys some sort of intentional or desiderative modality and *tolok* (47b) is viewed to pertain to obligative or necessitative modality. The subordinating marker *–ya* (47c) carries a conditional modality. She claims that it is these modality markers that license nominative case on the subject in finite clauses.

This proposal, according to Lee, accords with several theories that tie finiteness to the complementation domain (CP). Evidence comes from languages such as Irish and West Flemish in which complementizers are inflected. On the basis of his examination of Italian, Rizzi (1997) identifies two distinct complementizers, namely *che* and *di*. Rizzi argues that these complementizers differ in the type of clause in which they occur. The complementizer *che* occurs in finite clauses, whereas *di* in non-finite clauses. The following are illustrative.

(48) *Italian*

- a. Credo **che** *il tuo libro*, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto  
     ‘I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot.’
- b. \*Credo *il tuo libro*, **che** loro lo apprezzerebbero molto  
     ‘I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot.’

(49) *Italian*

- a. \*Credo **di** *il tuo libro*, apprezzarlo molto  
     ‘I believe ‘of’ your book to appreciate it a lot.’



- b. Credo, *il tuo libro*, **di** apprezzarlo molto

‘I believe that, your book, ‘of’ to appreciate it a lot.’ (Rizzi 1997: 288)

As the data above show, *che* must precede the topicalized constituent, *il tuo libro* ‘your book’ but cannot follow it, hence the ill-formedness of (48b). On the other hand, *di* must follow the topicalized constituent and cannot precede it, hence the ill-formedness of (49a). Rizzi takes this to indicate that CP has several layers to host these elements in question. He claims that *che* heads Force’, the topicalized element is in Top’, and *di* saturates Fin’, the lowest CP layer. The head Fin’ encodes whether a clause is finite or not, as it bears an interpretable feature [finite: +]. The introduction of FINP receives empirical support from other languages. For example, Cottell (1995) pinpoints that in Irish, the complementizer inflects for tense. Below is an illustration.

(50) *Irish*

- a. Deir se go dtogfaidh se an peann

say.PRES he that take.FUT he the pen

‘He says that he will take the pen.’

- b. Deir se gur thog se an peann

say.PRES he that.PAST take.PAST he the pen

‘He says that he took the pen.’

As is clear in (50b), the complementizer ‘that’ is inflected for [past]. Additionally, West Flemish (Haegeman 1992) offers further evidence that CP and finiteness are connected. In this language, the complementizer is specified for phi-features, as illustrated in (51).

(51) *West Flemish*

- a. kpeinzen dan-**k** (ik) morgen goan  
 I-think that-1SG (I) tomorrow go  
 ‘I think that I’ll go tomorrow.’
- b. kpeinzen dan-**j** (gie) morgen goan  
 I-think that-2SG (you) tomorrow go  
 ‘I think that you’ll go tomorrow.’
- c. kpeinzen dan-**se** (zie) morgen goan  
 I-think that-3SG (she) tomorrow go  
 ‘I think that I’ll go tomorrow.’
- d. kpeinzen dan-**ze** (zunder) morgen goan  
 I-think that-3PL (they) tomorrow go  
 ‘I think that I’ll go tomorrow.’ (Haegeman 1992: 49)

Examples in (51) show that the complementizer in West Flemish is inflected for person and number, as indicated by suffixes of different sorts.

### 2.3.3 Languages without Finiteness

In spite of the fact that a great deal of research on finiteness has been conducted, the vast majority has been devoted to languages with tense inflections (Hu, Pan, and Xu 2001). Little has been done in the investigation of the same phenomenon in languages without tense inflections. Looking at Jordanian Arabic (JA) that reportedly lacks grammatical tense but marks aspects, Al-Aqarbeh (2011) explores the notion of finiteness to see whether it is a relevant category in distinguishing a range of clausal complement types. Identifying the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of various complement types, she contends that finiteness is not an important category in the language.

On the basis of overt realis morphology, Al-Aqarbeh classifies CTPs in JA into two sets. The first set includes predicates that select for embedded verbs marked with an overt realis prefix. The prefix makes it possible for the embedded clause to have the aspectual and temporal information to be distinct from that in the matrix predicate. (52) illustrates some examples.

- (52) a. Layila qaal-at            ‘innu SaHb-at-ha    *bi-yi*-Sawar-an  
           L        PERF.say-3.SGF that friend-PLF-her REALIS-3-photograph-PLF  
           il-Hafilih.  
           the-party  
           ‘Laila said that her friends were photographing the party.’

b. Layila shaaf-at            SaHb-at-ha    *bi*-yi-Sawar-an            il-Hafilih.

L            PERF.see-3.SGF friend-PLF-her REALIS-3-photograph-PLF the-party

‘Laila saw her friends photographing the party.’

We see in (52a-b) that the complement verb takes the realis prefix *bi*, which expresses aspectual and temporal information independent from that of the matrix clause. Aspectually, the event in the matrix clause is conceived as complete, whereas the embedded event is encoded incomplete. That is, the event of saying and seeing is over, while that of photographing is underway relative to the event time. Temporally, the embedded event can occur before the matrix event (52a) or the two events occur simultaneously (52a-b).

In contrast to Set 1, the second set involves complement-taking predicates that take embedded verbs without aspect marking. Due to the absence of realis marking, the embedded clause of these predicates cannot convey distinctive aspectual information. Predicates of this type are generally observed in non-finite clauses in tensed languages. One such predicate type is manipulative such as *aqna9* ‘persuade’.

(53) Layila ‘aqna9-at            il-banaat [yi-Sawar-an            il-Hafilih].

L            PERF.persuade-3.SGF the-girls 3-photograph.3-PLF the-party

‘Laila persuaded the girls to photograph the party.’

Note that the embedded verb is left unmarked for aspect/mood, which signifies that the embedded event may be realized or not in the actual world.

The same is true of implicative predicates such as *ithakkar* ‘remember’ and aspectual predicates such as *ballash* ‘begin’, both of which select nominalized complements.

(54) a. *ballash*                      9ali [li9ib    kurat il-qadam].

PERF.begin.3SGF A    playing ball    the-foot

‘Ali began playing football.’

b. *ithakkar*                      9ali [li9ib    kurat il-qadam].

PERF.remember.3SGM A    playing ball    the-foot

‘Ali remembered playing football.’

The nominalized predicate *li9ib* ‘playing’ expresses the process of playing. While the completion of the playing time in (54a) is indeterminate, the playing event in (54b) is completed. Therefore, it is apparent that the realization of the embedded event is parasitic to the semantics of the matrix CTPs.

What is crucial, according to Al-Aqarbeh, is whether or not a clause projects a CP layer. Agreement is not the relevant feature of finiteness insofar as subject licensing and case assignment are concerned because complement clauses in JA all inflect for agreement, except in nominalized complements, as the above JA examples (54) show. In a CP clause, the complementizer is optional and the subject may be lexically realized. When realized, however, the pronominal subject has to be nominative, as in (55b)



c. il-mudiirah<sub>1</sub>      ‘aqna9-at      il-banat<sub>2</sub> [inn-hin\*<sub>1/2</sub> yi-safir-an]  
 the-headmistress PERF.persuade-3.SGF the-girls that-them 3-travel-PLF  
 ‘The headmistress persuaded the girls to travel.’

(56a) is on a par with a canonical control structure found in a great many languages such that the controllee is null and obligatorily coreferential with the matrix subject, the controller. (56b) shows that complement of control predicates in JA can be preceded by a complementizer with a coreferring null pronoun, and (56c) shows that a resumptive pronoun may co-exist with a complementizer. Both (56b-c) demonstrate the obligatory coreference between the matrix subject and the subject of the embedded clause. What is particularly striking, in this respect, is the fact that the pronominal subject in (56c) *hin* is assigned accusative case by the complementizer. With this, Al-Aqarbeh claims that control clauses in JA are different from those in languages with a finiteness contrast such as English.<sup>31</sup>

Overall, Al-Aqarbeh concludes that the morphological properties of JA clausal complements do not predict their syntactic properties. JA complements, which may be distinguished along the line of finiteness in other languages, generally pattern the same in terms of subject type, case assignment and other properties. All of these characteristics

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<sup>31</sup> This claim seems not to be accurate. As is the case in JA, English also allows an (accusative) subject in the complement of control introduced by the complementizer *for*. Observe the following.

(iii) I needed [*for* **her** to comeback].

It is not impossible for a control complement to have an accusative-marked pronoun, since the complementizer is able to properly license an accusative case to the pronoun in English. This appears to be true in JA.

cast doubt on the validity of finiteness as a universal property of human languages, as Noonan claims. Al-Aqarbeh winds up claiming that finiteness is a language-specific unification of morphosyntactic features, which does not appear to apply to JA.

The picture sketched above has demonstrated that there is ample cross-linguistic evidence that suggests the apparent connection between main clausehood, subject licensing, case assignment, agreement, tense and modality with finiteness. Languages vary from one another in choosing which morpho-syntactic feature(s) should be associated with finiteness, and for some languages, finiteness seems to not even be a significant category. It was also stated that most finiteness research is conducted on languages with tense and/or agreement inflections. Little has been done on languages lacking such inflections. The presence of finiteness in such languages, therefore, remains relatively mysterious. It is therefore of significant interest to ascertain how Sundanese, which has been shown to have some inflection (number), manifests finiteness.

## 2.4 Sundanese Complementation

As is case in many of the world's languages, Sundanese has a range of clausal complement types.<sup>32</sup> The *yén*-clause is analogous to the English *that*-clause.

- (57) a. [**Yén** Ujang kabur ti imah] nga-genjleng-keun masarakat.  
           COMP U       escape from home AV-uproar-CAUS   community  
           ‘That Ujang ran away from home caused uproar in the neighborhood.’

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<sup>32</sup> See Appendix D for a list of Sundanese predicates and their complements.



b. [Ujang kabur ti imah] nga-genjleng-keun masarakat.

U escape from home AV-uproar-CAUS community

‘\*(That) Ujang ran away from home caused uproar in the neighborhood.’

Unlike English, however, the complementizer in the *yén*-clause is completely optional, even when it surfaces as the subject of a clause (58b). Notice in the English paraphrase that the complementizer ‘that’ is obligatory in such a syntactic context.

Like English, there appear to be infinitive clauses (58) and nominalized clauses (59).

(58) Bapa maréntah Ujang [**sina** kabur ti imah].

father AV.order U so that escape from home

‘The father ordered Ujang to run away from home.’

(59) [Kabur-**na** Ujang ti imah] nga-genjleng-keun masarakat.

escape-NOML U from home AV-uproar-CAUS community

‘Ujang’s running away from home caused uproar in the neighborhood.’

It is unclear whether the bracketed clausal constituent in (58) can be deemed an infinitive clause given the lack of morphosyntactic finiteness vs. non-finiteness distinctions in Sundanese. In (59), the appearance of the definite morpheme (or nominalizer) *-na* to the right of the complement verb is actually what crucially makes the whole clausal constituent a nominalized complement.

Sundanese seems to lack participial clauses, since the language has no participial morphology.

- (60) Kim manggih-an ba-batur-an kamar-na keur nga-dahar pizza sésa].  
 K AV.find-APPL RED-other-NOML room-DEF PROG AV-eat pizza leftover  
 a. ‘Kim found her roommate eating the leftover pizza.’  
 b. ‘Kim found (that) her roommate was eating the leftover pizza.’  
 c. ‘Kim found her roommate who was eating the leftover pizza.’

Example (60) is structurally ambiguous such that it can be interpreted as a participial structure (60a), a complement clause with a covert *yén* (60b), or a (unmarked) relative clause structure (60c). The similar participial/relative clause ambiguity arises in English, since the relativizer *who* and the copula are omissible. English, however, has the apparatus to encode the participial nature of the verb through its verbal morphology.

In addition, Sundanese displays another kind of construction analogous to a *yén*-clause.

- (61) Kuring geus jangji ka kolot [(wi)réhna kuring rék jadi jalma  
 1SG PERF promise to old.people COMP 1SG FUT become person  
 bener].  
 right  
 ‘I have promised my parents that I will be a righteous person.’

A similar example exhibiting a *yén*-clause equivalent from a naturalistic data is shown below.

- (62) “Aya hiji udagan ...[**wiréh** dina sastra Sunda mémang ka-tingal-na  
 there one goal ... COMP in literature Sunda indeed PV-see-NOML  
 aya hiji hal nu kirang].”  
 exist one matter REL lack  
 ‘There is one goal ... [that in Sundanese literature it seems that something is  
 missing].’

(*wi*)*réhna/wiréh* and *yén* are in complementary distribution and semantically they are synonymous.

The conjunctive elements *supaya*, *sangkan*, *ngarah*, and *pikeun* function as *sina* does such that they occur with control predicates.

- (63) a. Maranéhna di-titah [*sangkan* mikeun ngaran ka éta patung-patung].  
 3PL PV-order so that AV.give name to DEM statue-RED  
 ‘They were ordered to name those statues.’  
 (<http://abufarraz.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/kitab-tauhid-2012.pdf>)  
 b. Budak téh keur di-olo [*ngarah* daék-eun dahar bu-buah-an].  
 child PART PROG PV-persuade so that want-3 eat RED.fruit-NOML  
 ‘The kid is being persuaded so that he wants to eat fruits.’

- c. Urang di-tungtut [*supaya* muka deui kisah ka-toat-an Nabi  
we PV-demand so that AV.open again story NOML-faith-NOML Prophet  
Ibrahim].  
I  
'We are demanded to revisit the story of the faith of Prophet Abraham.'  
(<http://pokjaluhanjur.blogspot.com/2011/10/khutbah-iedul-adha1432h.html>)
- d. Anjeun di-pénta [*pikeun* nulis-keun kecap aksés].  
2SG PV-ask so that AV.write-APPL word access  
'You are asked to write the word 'access'.'  
([http://www-support-downloads.sonymobile.com/st15/userguide\\_SU\\_ST15\\_1252-0187.1.pdf](http://www-support-downloads.sonymobile.com/st15/userguide_SU_ST15_1252-0187.1.pdf))

All these complementizers are interchangeable in most contexts, for they are synonymous. However, they differ in some grammatical properties, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

The lack of overt case marking makes it difficult to determine whether an intermediary DP such as *manéhna* 'he' is a member of the matrix clause or a dependent of the embedded clause.

(64) Kuring percaya *manéhna* geus meunang gawé.

1SG believe 3SG PERF win job

- a. 'I believe he has secured a job.'  
b. 'I believe him to have secured a job.'

The fact that complementizers in this language are optional complicates the indeterminacy of the intermediary element *manéhna*. The strings in italics as in (64) can be construed as an instance of a canonical (finite) complement clause with a null complementizer, as in (64a), or a case of subject-to-object raising, where *manéhna* has arguably raised from the embedded subject position to the matrix clause (64b). When the complementizer *yén* does appear and intercedes between the matrix verb and *manéhna* as in (65), *manéhna* undeniably is the embedded subject.

(65) Kuring percaya [*yén manéhna geus meunang gawé*].

1SG believe COMP 3SG PERF win job

'I believe that Ujang has secured a job.'

In the discussions of raising structures and related constructions (chapter 3-5), to avoid the above difficulty, I will mostly use passive structures in complex sentences; that is, by using the passive voice form of the matrix predicate, as illustrated in (66).

(66) *Manéhna* di-percaya [*geus meunang gawé*].

3SG PV-believe PERF win job

'He was believed to have secured a job.'

In this structure, *manéhna* moves from the embedded subject position to the matrix subject position, as signaled by the passive voice verb in the matrix clause. Still, in the

lack of an overt complementizer and passive matrix verb, the status of intermediary DPs in Sundanese structures remains difficult to pin down.

In the next section, I will touch on the notion of finiteness in Sundanese, specifically examining whether Sundanese has morpho-syntactic manifestations of finiteness.

## **2.5 Finiteness in Sundanese**

As described above, a finiteness distinction is not manifested on the verb morphology in Sundanese. The lack of (un)tensed verbs renders Sundanese complement clauses indeterminate between finite and non-finite clauses, unlike English. In languages where finiteness is conspicuously manifested in their verbal forms, non-finiteness becomes one of the features distinguishing complement clauses from main clauses. It is an empirical question whether finiteness is syntactically manifested or whether it is a relevant category at all in a language like Sundanese given the absence of overt case and tense marking.

In the following sub-sections, I will examine the extent to which finiteness marking categories such as temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, agreement, modality, and subject licensing are germane in defining finiteness in Sundanese.

### **2.5.1 ‘Finite’ Auxiliaries**

Kana (1986) and Arka (2000, 2011) take the position that Indonesian, a language typologically close to Sundanese, exhibits finiteness, which is manifested by temporal/aspectual auxiliaries such as *akan* ‘will’, *sudah* ‘already’ or *sedang* ‘still’. These

auxiliaries are identifiable in independent clauses, putative finite complement clauses, as in (67) and some dependent clauses such as in a raising complement (68). In the following examples, the finite complement clause is introduced by a *wh*-complementizer *apakah* ‘whether’.

(67) Tapi saya belum tahu [apakah saya (*akan*) mampu meng-unggul-i Irene].

but 1SG NEG.FUT know whether 1SG FUT able AV-defeat-APPL I

‘But, I’m not sure yet whether I will be able to defeat Irene.’ (Arka 2000: 4)

(68) a. Penonton tanpa tiket di-perkira-kan [(*akan*) mem-banjir-i Belanda].

spectator without ticket PV-think-APPL FUT AV-flood-APPL Netherlands

‘(Football) supporters without tickets are believed flood the Netherland.’

(Arka 2000: 4)

b. Mereka men-duga saya [*akan* datang hari ini].

3PL AV-assume 1SG FUT come day DEM

‘They presumed me to be coming today.’ (Kana: 244)

Assuming *akan* ‘will’ indicates finiteness, control verbs in Indonesian do not take finite complement clauses, even though the intended time of reference time is future.

(69) a. Para ibu juga ingin [meng-ubah penampilan-nya].

Q mother also want AV-change appearance-DEF

‘Mothers also want to change their appearance.’

- b. \*Para ibu ingin [*akan* mengubah penampilan-nya].

Q mother want FUT AV.change appearance-DEF (Arka 2000: 4)

Unlike Indonesian, control and raising structures in Sundanese readily admit temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, as in (70) where the complements include the future auxiliary *rék*.

- (70) a. Ujang ng-usaha-keun [(*rék*) indit ka dayeuh]. (control)

U AV-attempt-APPL FUT go to town

‘Ujang attempted to go to town.’

- b. Ujang di-anggap (ku) bapa-na [(*rék*) indit ka dayeuh]. (raising)

U PV-assume by father-DEF FUT go to town

‘Ujang was assumed by his father to be going to town.’

If we were to follow Arka and assume that *rék* is an instantiation of the finite auxiliary, we would then be compelled to take (70) to be cases of ‘finite control’ and ‘finite raising’, respectively, which are attested in some languages.<sup>33</sup> Note that ‘finite’ auxiliaries in Indonesian and the Sundanese analogues are not obligatory, as indicated by parentheses. In defense of his proposal, Arka (2011) argues that despite being optional, the presence of ‘finite’ auxiliaries in certain (non-finite) contexts renders the sentence ill-

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<sup>33</sup> Chapter 4 *Raising and Control: Analysis* and Chapter 5 *Raising and Base Generated Constructions* will entertain this line of analysis based on the relevant data in Sundanese.



formed. This is what he refers to as ‘the finiteness constraints’.<sup>34</sup> Below are examples from Arka (2011: 76).

(71) *Control complement*

- a. Saya menyuruh dia [makan].

1SG AV.ask 3SG AV.eat

‘I asked him to eat.’

- b. \*Saya menyuruh dia [*akan/sedang/sudah* makan].

1SG AV.ask 3SG FUT/PROG/PERF AV.eat

\*‘I asked him to will/still/already eat.’

(72) *“Small clause”*

- a. Orang itu men-dorong saya [jatuh].

person DEM AV-push 1SG fall

‘The person pushed me (and as a result I) fell off.’

- b. \*Orang itu men-dorong saya [*akan/sedang/sudah* jatuh].

person DEM AV-push 1SG FUT/PROG/PERF fall

Arka contends that the fact that these temporal auxiliaries are prohibited from occurring in certain types of clauses suggests that finiteness is operative and that these clauses are non-finite. The ungrammaticality of (71b and 72b) is therefore ascribed to the finiteness

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<sup>34</sup> Kana (1986: 243) makes a similar claim that finiteness in a clause is essentially based on whether or not it allows a tense/aspect auxiliary. Non-finite clauses are, therefore, those in which the occurrence of such markers is prohibited.

constraints. While the parallel object control structures seem to heed the finiteness constraint (73a), the same is not true of subject control structures (73b), which allows the future auxiliary.

- (73) a. Kuring ng-olo pamajikan [*(\*rék)* nyoba-an masak-an Jepang].  
 1SG AV-persuade wife FUT AV.try-ITER food-NOML Japan  
 ‘I persuaded my wife to try Japanese food.’
- b. Kuring geus jangji ka pamajikan [*rék* nyoba-an masak-an Jepang].  
 1SG PERF promise to wife FUT AV.try-ITER food-NOML Japan  
 ‘I promised my wife to try Japanese food.’

The facts above challenge an explanation of the prohibition of *rék* ‘will’ in object control complements in terms of the finiteness constraint. Such an analysis would lead to the unconventional conclusion that while the complement of subject control is finite, the object control counterpart is non-finite. An independent explanation for the facts is developed in Chapter 3.

In English, where finiteness opposition apparently exists, there are cases in which aspectual markers are permitted in non-finite clauses.

- (74) a. The thief was believed [to *have murdered* the princess in the palace].  
 b. John is assumed [to be *working* on his final project].

In fact, Noonan (1985) notes that non-finite predicates may be inflected for aspect, voice, or object agreement. Thus, the presence of temporal/aspectual markers even in non-finite clauses as Arka argues in Indonesian is not unexpected.

Given her proposal that tense/aspect auxiliaries are indicators of finiteness in Indonesian, Kana (1986) is impelled to propose two subsets of adjunct clauses along the lines of finiteness: a finite set (those only introduced by causal adjuncts such as *karena* ‘because’) that allows overt finite markers and a non-finite set that does not. The latter is introduced by adjuncts of several types: temporal (*sesudah* ‘after’, *sebelum* ‘before’, *sambil* ‘while’), manner (*dengan* ‘with’, *tanpa* ‘without’), and reason (sensory verbs such as *melihat* ‘seeing’, *mendengar* ‘hearing’). In (75), we see Kana’s examples of finite adjunct clauses, and (76) are non-finite counterparts, as indicated by the absence of temporal auxiliaries.

- (75) a. Karena *sudah* menang dalam pertandingan, hadiah di-beri-kan kepada  
 because PERF win in competition prize PV-give-APPL to  
 Amir.  
 A  
 ‘Because (he’d) already won the competition, the prize was given to Amir.’
- b. Saya di-kirim-i kamus itu, karena tidak *akan* di-pakai-nya lagi.  
 1SG PV-send-APPL dictionary DEM because NEG FUT PV-use-NOML again  
 ‘I was sent the dictionary, because (it) would not be used by him again.’  
 (Kana: 307)

- (76) a. Sambil ber-main, gadis itu jatuh.

while INT-play girl DEM fall

‘While playing, the girl fell.’

- b. Amir di-beri hadiah itu sesudah di-beli di toko.

A PV-give gift DEM after PV-buy in store

‘Amir was given the gift after (it) was bought at the store.’ (Kana 304-305)

In Sundanese, however, overt temporal/aspectual markers are permissible in almost all adjunct clauses, as evident in the following.

- (77) a. Saacan (*rék*) pamit, rék nga-degung-keun heula sirah manehna.

before FUT farewell FUT AV-drum-APPL first head 3SG

‘Before saying goodbye, (I) will push his head with my finger first.’

- b. Kuring osok nga-renghik nalika (*keur*) ka-kandung-an téh.

1SG always AV-weep when PROG RED-pregnant-NOML PART

‘I always wept when I was pregnant.’

- c. Maranéhanana nga-rasa dosa ku lantaran (*geus*) jalir jangji.

3PL AV-feel sin by because PERF break promise

‘They felt bad because (they) broke their promise.’

([http://su.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talaga\\_Remis](http://su.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talaga_Remis))

d. Siti *keur* diuk di tempat biasa, sabari (*keur*) maca buku.

S PROG sit in place usual while PROG AV.read book

‘Siti was sitting on his usual seat while reading a book.’

(<http://myblogsen4.blogspot.com/>)

To the extent that temporal/aspectual auxiliaries occur robustly in these environments, if one assumes these elements mark a clause as finite, there is no indication of a finite vs. non-finite distinction in adjunct clauses in Sundanese.

One peculiar property of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries in Sundanese is the possibility for two auxiliaries to co-exist in one clause.

(78) a. Alam *geus rék* mimiti-an poék.

nature PERF FUT begin-ITER dark

Lit: ‘The nature has been going to begin to be dark.’

‘It is getting dark.’ (<http://jhonsundanesse.blogspot.com/>)

b. Ka-raja-an Sunda *geus rék* runtag.

NOML-king-NOML Sunda PERF FUT fall

Lit: The Sundanese Kingdom has been going to fall apart.’

‘The Sundanese Kingdom is about to fall apart.’

(<http://fathandino.blogspot.com/2012/03/loba-situs-di-narimbang-conggeang-makam.html>)

This string of markers *geus rék* ‘past+fut’ encodes a sort of progressive event—an event that temporally commenced in the past and will continue into the future. This special aspectual meaning of the auxiliary sequence falls out naturally if auxiliaries of this sort are analyzed as aspectual markers, not temporal markers. Therefore, their presence in any complement clause cannot necessarily be associated with finiteness.

Disassociation of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and finiteness provides a natural explanation for why such markers are admissible inside a nominalized complement.

- (79) Bapa masih teu panuju ngeunaan [*rék* di-kirim-na Ujang ka Suriah].  
 father still NEG agree about FUT PV-send-NOML U to Syria  
 ‘Father does not agree yet about (the fact that) Ujang will be sent to Syria.’

Notice that, cross-linguistically, finite nominalized elements are relatively rare.<sup>35</sup> Hence, the fact in (89) is rather problematic for the proposal that associates temporal/aspectual auxiliaries with finiteness (See Chapter 7 *Nominalized Complementation* for further details.).

### 2.5.2 Agreement

As mentioned earlier, (person) agreement has been proposed as a relevant feature of finiteness, as argued by George and Kornfilt (1981) in Turkish. The presence of agreement is therefore correlated with the finiteness of a clause. Such a hypothesis is difficult to maintain in Sundanese, though, since person agreement can be observed in a

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<sup>35</sup> Edzard (2003) and Sun (2012) report what they take to be cases of finite nominalized clauses in Sumerian and Caodeng rGyalrong, respectively.

wide range of syntactic contexts, even in those generally conceived of as non-finite contexts such as nominalizations.

- (80) a. Ujang yakin [yéñ pamajikan-na bakal resep-*eun* kana dewegan].  
 U      sure    COMP wife-DEF      FUT like-3      to      young.coconut  
 ‘Ujang is sure that his wife will love young coconuts.’
- b. Ujang di-anggap [geus nyaho-*eun* ka-jadi-an                      kamari].  
 U      PV-assume PERF AV.know-3 NOML-become-NOML yesterday  
 ‘Ujang was assumed to have known about yesterday’s incident.’
- c. Ujang di-olo              [sangkan daék-*eun* ng-ala      dewegan].  
 U      PV-persuade so that    will-3      AV-pick young coconut  
 ‘Ujang was persuaded to be willing to pick young coconuts from the tree.’
- d. Ujang langsung nuduh      adi-na      [saenggeus apal-*eun* laptop-na  
 U      directly AV.accuse brother-DEF after              know-3 laptop-DEF  
 leungit].  
 lost  
 ‘Ujang directly accused his little brother right away after finding out his  
 laptop is missing.’
- e. Ujang masih kénéh teu percaya ngeunaan [daék-*eun*-na Imas di-kawin  
 U      still    just    NEG believe about              will-3-NOML I      PV-marry  
 ku Ohang].  
 by O  
 ‘Ujang still does not believe of Imas’ willingness to marry Ohang.’

As examples in (80) show, person agreement can occur not only in standard complements (80a), but is also possible in raising complements (80b), control complements (80c), adjunct clauses (80d) and nominalizations (80e). The facts make questionable any attempt to assert that agreement marks finiteness in Sundanese.

### 2.5.3 Modal Verbs

In English, in addition to full-fledged verbs, modal verbs are also tensed and hence finite. They are analyzed as defective and so cannot occur without bearing the tense feature.

(81) When I was young, I *could* swim for an hour without stopping.

When the main verb is tensed in addition to the modal, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(82) \*When I was young, I could *swam* for an hour without stopping.

Recall that Arka (2011) suggests that Indonesian modal verbs are tensed, like English. He cites as evidence the fact that prototypical non-finite clauses such as the one in (83b) do not countenance modals.

(83) a. Saya belajar [agar *bisa* menembak].

1SG study so that can AV.shoot

‘I am studying so that I can shoot.’



b. \*Saya belajar [*bisa* menembak].

1SG study can AV.shoot

‘I’m studying to be able to shoot.’

It is, therefore, of interest to ascertain if Sundanese exhibits the same set of facts because, if so, the possible presence or obligatory absence of modal verbs will help identify non-finite contexts. An examination on Sundanese modals, however, reveals that Sundanese modal verbs act quite differently from the Indonesian analogues in that they can occur in a range of syntactic contexts including the prototypical non-finite contexts in other languages such as in the complements of raising (85a), control (85b), and in nominalizations (85c).

(84) a. Maranéhna tangtu [*perlu* datang acara paturay tineung di sakola].

3PL certain need come program farewell in school

‘They are certain to attend the farewell party at school.’

b. Manéhna di-paksa [*kudu* ng-injeum-keun duit ka ba-batur-an-na].

3SG PV-force must AV-lend-APPL money to RED-other-NOML-DEF

‘She was forced to lend some money to her friend.’

- c. ‘Masarakat teu satuju ngeunaan [*perlu* di-cabut-na subsidi BBM  
community NEG agree about need PV-lift-NOML subsidy gasoline  
ku pa-maréntah].  
by NOML-AV.order  
‘The people do not agree about (the fact that) oil subsidy needs to be  
revoked by the government.’

Also, there are essentially no restrictions on modals in adjunct clauses.

- (85) a. [Saencan *bisa* nyieun buku], tong ng-aku-ngaku pa-ngarang.  
before can AV.make book NEG AV-claim.RED NOML-AV.write  
‘Before (you) can write a book, don’t consider yourself a writer.’
- b. Ujang di-titah masak ku pamajikan-na, sabari *kudu* ng-asuh budak.  
U PV-order AV.cook by wife-DEF while must AV-care child  
‘Ujang was ordered by his wife to cook, while having to take care of his  
child.’

Further support comes from the fact that temporal/aspectual auxiliaries can co-occur with modal verbs, which is a problem for the modal hypothesis.

(86) a. Ujang *moal bisa* nga-batur-an Asih ka dayeuh.

U FUT.NEG can AV-other-NOML A to town

Lit: ‘\*Ujang *will not can* accompany Asih to (go to) town.’

‘Ujang won’t be able to accompany Asih to (go to) town.’

b. Motor téh *geus kudu* di-oméan deui.

motorcycle PART PERF must PV-fix again

Lit: ‘\*The motorcycle *has must* be fixed again.’

‘Time has come to fix the motorcycle again.’

c. Pamajikan téh *encan meunang* di-bawa balik ti rumah sakit-na.

wife PART PERF.NEG may PV-bring return from house.ill-DEF

Lit: ‘\*My wife *has not may* to be brought home from the hospital.’

‘I haven’t been allowed to bring my wife home from the hospital.’

Note that in (86), the modal follows the temporal auxiliary, an unexpected order if the modal is taken to indicate tense, hence finite.

There are contexts in which the permissible modal in an embedded clause is restricted only to *bisa* ‘can/able’. This occurs, for instance, in the complements of predicates like *di-ajar* ‘learn’ and *hayang* ‘want’. As (87) demonstrates, when other sorts of modal occur in this environment, the sentence is bad.

- (87) a. Kamar téh hayang [geura (*bisa*)(*\*kudu/perlu/meunang*) di-eusi-an].  
 room PART want soon can must need may PV-fill-APPL  
 Lit: ‘The room wants to soon must/need/may be filled.’  
 ‘(I) want to move into my room soon.’
- b. Asih di-ajar [(*bisa*)(*\*kudu/perlu/meunang*) ba-bantu ka kolot-na.]  
 A STAT-learn can must/need/may RED-help to parent-DEF  
 ‘Asih learns to help out her parents.’

The occurrence of *bisa* in this very context can be accounted for by assuming that *bisa* is a lexical verb, unlike other modal verbs. Englebretson (2003) argues in spoken Indonesian that *bisa* is actually grammaticalized from a verb expressing ability, which typically occurs in serial verb constructions. The following example from Indonesian illustrates his point.

- (88) Inti-nya dia malam itu nggak *bisa nemui* saudara-nya itu.  
 gist-NOML 3SG night that NEG can AV-meet-APPL sibling-DEF that  
 ‘The gist of it was he couldn’t meet his brother that night.’

The string in italics is taken to instantiate verb serialization, in which *bisa* indicates that the agent was *unable* to carry out the action of meeting someone.

Another piece of evidence for *bisa* imparting the meaning of *ability* rather than *possibility* stems from the fact that *bisa* can co-occur with the modal verb *kudu* ‘must’ and *perlu* ‘need’.

- (89) a. Sabenerna lalaki ogé *kudu bisa* bé-bérés di imah.

actually male also must able RED-tidy in house

‘Actually, a man also has to be capable of taking care of the house.’

([http://repository.upi.edu/operator/upload/t\\_bind\\_0808630\\_chapter4.pdf](http://repository.upi.edu/operator/upload/t_bind_0808630_chapter4.pdf))

- b. Manéhna *perlu bisa* basa Arab mun hayang di-gawé di Mekah.

3SG need able language Arabic if want STAT-work in Mecca

‘He has to be able (to speak) Arabic if he wants to work in Mecca.’

Hence, the impossibility of a certain type of embedded clause to admit all range of modal verbs does not necessarily point to the non-finiteness nature of the clause. It could be the case that the complement in question is structurally so small that it does not have enough room to harbor modal auxiliaries.

#### 2.5.4 Overt Subject Licensing

An almost universal property of finite clauses is that they sanction lexical (nominative) subjects, whereas non-finite ones generally do not. Cross-linguistically, the presence of nominative subjects is licensed by tense, agreement morphology and modality. It is of particular interest, therefore, to examine whether overt subject licensing plays a role in defining finiteness in Sundanese, given the lack of association between overt temporal/aspectual auxiliaries/agreement markers/modal verbs and a finiteness contrast.

Looking first at control structures, we find that the subject of control complement clauses typically must be null or PRO.

- (90) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> nyoba-nyoba [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* jual-an sapatu di pasar].  
 U AV.try-RED FUT sell-ITER shoes in market  
 ‘Ujang tried to sell shoes in the traditional market.’
- b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [*yén* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* jual-an sapatu di pasar].  
 U AV.decide-APPL COMP FUT sell-ITER shoes in market  
 ‘Ujang decided (that he would) sell shoes in the traditional market.’
- c. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah [*pikeun/sina* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> jual-an sapatu di pasar].  
 U PV-order so that sell-ITER shoes in market  
 ‘Ujang was ordered to sell shoes in the traditional market.’

In (90), the subject of the control complement is obligatorily null and must be co-indexed with the matrix subject, a signature property of control structures. When the embedded subject is lexically realized, the sentence is deviant, as is expected.

- (91) a. \*Ujang<sub>1</sub> nyoba-nyoba [manéhna<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* jual-an sapatu di pasar].  
 U AV.try-RED 3SG FUT sell-ITER shoes in market
- b. \*Ujang<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [manéhna<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* jual-an sapatu di pasar].  
 U AV.decide-APPL 3SG FUT sell-ITER shoes in market
- c. \*Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah [manéhna<sub>1/\*2</sub> jual-an sapatu di pasar].  
 U PV.order 3SG sell-ITER shoes in market

However, there is a particular class of control complement clauses that permits a pronominal, the referent of which must be co-indexed with the matrix subject, indicative of control structures.

- (92) Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah [*sangkan/supaya/ngarah* (manéhna)<sub>1/\*2</sub> jual-an sapatu di  
 U PV-order so that 3SG sell-ITER shoes in  
 pasar.  
 market  
 ‘Ujang was ordered to sell shoes in the traditional market.’

Appealing to finiteness as an explanation for the (in)admissibility of an overt embedded subject may be troublesome due to the fact that an overt subject is allowed in a subset of object control complements and prohibited in others, despite the same matrix predicates with which these various complements occur and the semantic similarity of the complementizers (*sangkan/supaya/ngarah* vs. *pikeun/sina*). It should be pointed out that the future auxiliaries *rék* and *bakal* are ungrammatical with both sets of complementizers, indicative of the fact that temporal/aspectual auxiliaries are not responsible for licensing an overt subject in an embedded clause.





b. Ujang di-anggap [(*\*manéhna*) geus wawuh-*eun* ka pamajikan ngora-na

U PV-assume 3SG PERF know-3 to wife young-DEF

Pa Haji].

Mr Hajj

‘Ujang was assumed to have recognized Haji’s younger wife.’

c. Ujang di-anggap [(*\*manéhna*) *kudu* nga-hadir-an kawin-an-na

U PV-assume 3SG must AV-attend-APPL wed-NOML-DEF

Pa Haji].

Mr. Hajj

‘Ujang was assumed to have to attend Haji’s wedding ceremony.’

(95) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku kolot-na [yén *manéhna*<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* nga-baruntak

U PV-assume by parent-DEF COMP 3SG FUT AV-rebel

pa-maréntah].

NOML-AV.order

‘Ujang’s parents assumed of Ujang that he would rebel against the government.’

b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku kolot-na [yén *manéhna*<sub>1/\*2</sub> geus wawuh-*eun* ka

U PV-assume by parent-DEF COMP 3SG PERF know-3 to

pamajikan ngora-na Pa Haji].

wife young-DEF Mr. Hajj

‘Ujang’s parents assumed of Ujang that he had recognized Haji’s younger wife.’

- c. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku kolot-na [yén manéhna<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu* nga-hadir-an  
 U PV-assume by parent-DEF COMP 3SG must AV-attend-APPL  
 kawin-an-na Pa Haji].  
 wed-NOML-DEF Mr. Hajj  
 ‘Ujang’s parents assumed of Ujang that he had to attend Haji’s wedding  
 ceremony.’

Note that, other things being equal, only the base-generated construction allows an overt coreferring pronoun in its complement clause, indicating that none of these overt markers—temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, agreement suffixes and modal verbs—are associated with the licensing of an overt subject in an embedded clause. In light this, an analysis that ties overt subject licensing to a finiteness contrast may be difficult to maintain.

## 2.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have shown that there are two theoretical frameworks with which to examine complex sentences in Sundanese, namely syntactic complementation and complementation strategies. The thrust of the difference between the two revolves around the fact of whether complex sentences involve embedding/subordination or not. I will utilize the principal properties of each framework in the subsequent chapters to evaluate which is more tenable. I will argue that the syntactic complementation account trumps the complementation strategies account. Additionally, I have argued in this chapter that Sundanese lacks morpho-syntactic correlates of finiteness. That is, neither

temporal/aspectual auxiliaries nor modal verbs are demonstrably indicators of finiteness, contra Kana's (1986) and Arka's (2000, 2011) claim in Indonesian. Agreement is also not a relevant finiteness parameter. Ultimately, I show that it remains unclear how overt subject licensing is associated with a finiteness contrast. In the next chapters, I will address this particular issue to explore how overt subject licensing may play a role in defining finiteness in Sundanese.

### CHAPTER 3

#### RAISING AND CONTROL: DATA

As we have seen in Chapter 2, there is some question about whether Sundanese complex sentences can be best analyzed as instances of syntactic complementation (embedding structures) or complementation strategies (non-embedding structures). In this chapter, I will provide evidence to demonstrate that so-called raising and control constructions in Sundanese are syntactically governed and involve subordination, on the basis of which I will argue in favor of the syntactic complementation analysis in Chapter 4. Also, I have shown in Chapter 2 that finiteness may not be germane to Sundanese such that its hypothetical presence may not discriminate among various types of clausal complements. I will show, here, that the hypothetical finite markers, namely temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and modals, can surface in both raising and control constructions.

The main purpose of this chapter is to enumerate syntactic and semantic properties of raising and control constructions in Sundanese. Polinsky and Potsdam (2006) reaffirm Jackendoff & Culicover's (2003) concern that much of the investigation on raising and control has been done on English and similar languages, and there has been an impression from the literature that control behaves quite uniformly across languages. This chapter, therefore, aims to address such concerns by providing new empirical data on raising and control from a language typologically unrelated to English. The overall picture of raising and control is complicated by an apparent complexity of

many complementizers and a stark contrast between subject control and object control in terms of complementizers and resumptive pronouns despite their structural similarity.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 3.1, I set the scene by briefly introducing raising and control in Sundanese and the theoretical controversies with respect to the proper analysis for the two constructions in question. Section 3.2 sketches out how raising and control differ in Sundanese by means of various standard diagnostics such as thematic roles, embedded passive, selectional restrictions and temporal specification. It also presents additional features peculiar to Sundanese that tease apart raising and control including temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, complementizers, modal verbs, and prepositional object controller. Section 3.3 lays out different variants of control in Sundanese, mainly focusing on obligatory vs. non-obligatory control. Section 3.4 gives the summary of all the criterial characteristics of raising and control. I suggest in Section 3.5 that the obligatory absence of the future markers in object control complements may be ascribed to the manipulativity of the complement. The last section provides conclusions.

### **3.1 Overview of Raising and Control**

The following are pairs of complex sentences, which appear to instantiate raising and control constructions, respectively.

- (1) a. Amung di-anggap (ku) abah      [ \_ indit ka dayeuh].

A      PV-assume by grandfather go to town

‘Amung was assumed by grandfather to have gone to town.’

b. Amung di-titah (ku) abah [ \_ indit ka dayeuh].

A PV-order by grandfather go to town

‘Amung was ordered by grandfather to go to town.’

Despite the virtually identical surface strings, the two constructions have been standardly argued in other languages to exhibit syntactic and semantic differences.<sup>36</sup> Cross-linguistically, some of the differences hinge on a number of properties, including the (non)finite nature of the complement clause, overt tense and case marking, and agreement morphology. As I have shown in Chapter 1, Sundanese lacks overt grammatical tense and case markers, making it difficult to pinpoint how raising and control constructions differ in this language, and which analyses will naturally explain the differences.

Recent years have seen an ongoing debate regarding how to best account for the differences between raising and control. Among the many frameworks linguists have proposed and adopted, two have enjoyed the majority of attention; namely the traditional view from the Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), adopted in most minimalist treatments (Chomsky 1995), and the Movement Theory of Control (Hornstein 1999, 2003). The former holds that raising and control are two disjoint processes, whereas the latter claims that raising and control should be treated in a grammatically uniform fashion. I will take up the implications of Sundanese for these theories in Chapter 4.

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<sup>36</sup> The most principled similarity between (1a) and (1b) is the occurrence of a silent element in the embedded clause, which occupies subject position, and this lower, unpronounced subject has an interpretive dependency on an overt argument in the matrix clause.

## 3.2 Raising and Control Diagnostics

This section delineates syntactic and semantic facts of raising and control in Sundanese. Importantly, through the application of the well-established diagnostics and some additional properties peculiar to Sundanese, I show that raising is syntactically and semantically different from control.

### 3.2.1 Standard Diagnostics

Raising is distinguishable from control through various familiar tests such as thematic roles, embedded passives, selectional restrictions, and temporal information. Another standard diagnostic, i.e. idiomatic expressions, is not available in light of the fact that the internal elements of Sundanese idioms must always remain intact. If any external element intervenes, their idiomatic meanings disappear.

#### 3.2.1.1 Thematic Roles

Control constructions have been widely assumed to be syntactically and semantically different from raising constructions in a number of ways, the first of which pertains to semantic role of the subject. Observe the following sentences.

(2) a. Amung tangtu mariksa deui balanja-an-na.

A certain AV.examine again shop-NOML-DEF

‘Amung was certain to reexamine the items he purchased.’

b. Amung ati-ati mariksa deui balanja-an-na.

A careful AV.examine again shop-NOML-DEF

‘Amung was careful to reexamine the items he purchased.’

At first glance, the difference between (2a) and (2b) seems to lie merely in the use of matrix predicate, i.e. *tangtu* ‘certain’ and *ati-ati* ‘careful’.<sup>37</sup> However, when we dig deeper, it becomes apparent that the two sentences are significantly different in terms of the thematic role of the subject *Amung*. The crucial difference here lies in the number of thematic roles the subject gets assigned. In (2a), *Amung* bears only one single role, that is, the agent of *mariksa* ‘examine’. This is an instance of Raising-to-subject construction, in which *Amung* is analyzed as having raised from embedded subject position to matrix subject position. In (2b), on the contrary, *Amung* bears two thematic roles: the experiencer of *ati-ati* and the agent of *mariksa*. (2b) is commonly analyzed as a case of subject control construction, in which an explicit argument in the matrix clause controls the referent of an understood argument, PRO, in the embedded clause, accounting for the

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<sup>37</sup> *Ati-ati* ‘careful’ indeed is a (adjectival) predicate, not an adverbial such as *sigana* that has a corresponding raising English predicate *seem*. Observe the distinct distribution of *ati-ati* and *sigana* in the following examples.

- (i) (Sigana), Amung (sigana) geus maca buku ieu (sigana).  
probably A probably PERF AV.read book DEM probably  
‘(Probably), Amung (probably) read this book (probably).’
- (ii) (\*Ati-ati), Amung ati-ati maca buku ieu (\*ati-ati).  
careful A careful AV.read book DEM careful  
‘(\*Careful) Amung was careful to read this book (\*careful).’  
‘Amung was careful to read this book.’

The fact that *ati-ati* cannot precede the subject provides empirical evidence for its predicative function. In fact, *ati-ati* can act like an adverbial by obligatorily combining with a preposition such as *kalawan* ‘with’.



thematic properties of *Amung*. Thus, an important difference between raising (2a) and control (2b) is that raising predicates do not assign a thematic role to their subject, while control predicates do.

The distinct thematic structures between raising and control predicates can be observed in constructions with clausal subjects. The raising predicate *tangtu* is a one-place predicate, selecting for a single propositional argument while the control predicate *ati-ati* obligatorily takes two arguments, thus predictably will be incompatible with clausal subjects. (3b), in fact, demonstrates that our prediction is borne out.

(3) a. [Yén Amung osok mariksa deui balanja-an-na] geus tangtu.

COMP A always AV.examine again shop-NOML-DEF PERF certain

‘That he always reexamines the items he purchased is certain.’

b. \*[Yén Amung osok mariksa balanja-an-na] geus ati-ati.

COMP A always AV.examine shop-NOML-DEF PERF careful

\*‘That he always reexamines the items he purchased is careful.’

*Ati-ati* is a two-place predicate and hence it cannot take a single propositional argument.

That is why (3b) is ill-formed.

A similar thematic difference is also identifiable with transitive raising and control verbs, in which case the difference centers on the thematic role of the pre-verbal DP. Observe the following sentences.

(4) a. Amung<sub>1</sub> di-anggap [*t*<sub>1</sub> nulis surat pikeun ka-bogoh-na].

A PV-assume AV.write letter for NOML-love-DEF

‘Amung was assumed to write a letter to his girlfriend.’

b. Amung<sub>1</sub> di-titah [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> nulis surat pikeun ka-bogoh-na].

A PV-order AV.write letter for NOML-love-DEF

‘Amung was ordered to write a letter to his girlfriend.’

Aside from the different matrix verbs, the surface forms of the pair in (4a-b) are identical. The key difference resides in the thematic roles of the subject, i.e. *Amung*. *Amung* in (4a) is semantically linked solely to the embedded verb *nulis* ‘write’. That is, it is only assigned one thematic role, i.e. the agent. In (4b), on the other hand, *Amung* appears to have a thematic relation to both the matrix verb *dititah* ‘be ordered’ and the embedded verb *nulis*. It gets ascribed two thematic roles: the patient of *dititah* and the agent of *nulis*. Thus, control and raising predicates have distinct argument structures.

### 3.2.1.2 Embedded Passive

Rosenbaum (1967) offers an additional diagnostic that is able to distinguish the behavior of raising from control, namely embedded passives. Raising and control behave differently when the embedded clause is passive. With raising predicates, sentences with a passive and active complement are synonymous. This is exemplified in (5a-b).

(5) a. Amung ng-anggap paraji<sub>1</sub> [t<sub>1</sub> bakal mariksa pamajikan-na].

A AV-assume midwife FUT AV.examine wife-DEF

‘Amung assumed the midwife to have examined his wife.’

b. Amung ng-anggap pamajikan-na<sub>1</sub> [t<sub>1</sub> bakal di-pariksa (ku) paraji].

A AV-assume wife-DEF FUT PV-examine by midwife

‘Amung assumed his wife to have been examined by the midwife.’

In both cases, Amung’s assumption remains the same; that is, the midwife has examined his wife. Such synonymy is expected in raising structures. Conversely, with control predicates like *nitah* ‘order’, a sentence with a passive complement is not synonymous with the active counterpart. Compare (6a) and (6b).

(6) a. Amung nitah paraji<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> mariksa pamajikan-na].

A AV.order midwife AV.examine wife-DEF

‘Amung ordered the midwife to examine his wife.’

b. Amung nitah pamajikan-na<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> di-pariksa (ku) paraji].

A AV.order wife-DEF PV-examine by midwife

‘Amung ordered his wife to be examined by the midwife.’

In (6a), it was the midwife whom Amung ordered to examine his wife, while in (6b), it was Amung’s wife who received the order to see the midwife for an examination. This difference is due to the thematic structure of the matrix verbs. Thus, despite the

superficial similarity, the structures underlying the raising verb *anggap* ‘assume’ and the control verb *titah* ‘order’ are distinct.

As a matter of fact, embedded passives are not always possible in Sundanese control structures.

(7) a. Amung ng-olo        budak-na<sub>1</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> miara oray].

A        AV-persuade child-DEF so that        AV.pet snake

‘Amung persuaded his child to pet a snake.’

b. #Amung ng-olo        oray<sub>1</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> di-piara (ku) budak-na].

A        AV-persuade snake so that        PV-pet by child-DEF

#‘Amung persuaded the snake to be petted by his child.’

The oddness of (7b) can be attributed to the fact that the control verb *ngolo* ‘persuaded’ selects as its object a volitional entity. Since *oray* ‘snake’ does not meet the criteria of being volitional, it cannot serve as the object of *ngolo*. To recap, (non)synonymy of embedded active and passive sentences provides another diagnostic for raising and control distinction.

### 3.2.1.3 Selectional Restrictions

Another test by which raising can be distinguished from control is based on selectional restrictions imposed by embedded predicates on their arguments. Predicates such as *ngomong* ‘speak’ require their subject be a sentient entity. When a non-sentient entity becomes the subject of *ngomong* (8b), the sentence is semantically ill-formed.

Sentence (8a) is, on the other hand, well-formed since the predicate *maok lauk* ‘steal fish’ goes together with any animate subject without regard to the sentence property of its subject.

(8) a. Oray téh nga-leg-leg anak hayam.

snake PART AV-swallow child chicken

‘The snake swallowed a chick.’

b. #Oray téh ng-omong basa Inggeris.

snake PART AV-speak language English

#‘That snake speaks English.’

The constraints imposed by the embedded predicate help diagnose the difference between raising and control. In raising constructions, when the selectional restrictions of the embedded predicate are met, the sentence is perfectly grammatical (9a). If they are violated, though, the whole sentence is semantically odd (9b).

(9) a. Oray téh<sub>1</sub> di-anggap [*t*<sub>1</sub> nga-leg-leg anak hayam].

snake PART PV-assume AV-swallow child chicken

‘The snake was assumed to have swallowed a chick.’

b. # Oray téh<sub>1</sub> di-anggap [*t*<sub>1</sub> bisa ng-omong basa Inggeris].

snake PART PV-assume able AV-speak language English

#‘The snake was assumed to be able to speak English.’

The oddity of (9b) follows from the fact that the verb *ngomong* must felicitously combine with a volitional agent, and a snake is definitely not such an agent.

The situation is different with control structures. In (10), both sentences are semantically odd regardless of whether the selectional restrictions are obeyed (10a) or violated (10b). This is due to the semantics of *titah* ‘order’, which ascribes a thematic role to its object and requires it to be agentive, sentient and volitional—a requirement that can never be met by a feline.<sup>38</sup>

- (10) a. #Oray téh<sub>1</sub> di-titah [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> nga-leg-leg anak ayam].  
           snake PART PV-order           AV-swallow child chicken  
           #‘The snake was ordered to swallow a chick.’
- b. #Oray téh<sub>1</sub> di-titah [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> ng-omong basa       Inggeris].  
           snake PART PV-order           AV-speak   language English  
           #‘The snake was ordered to speak English.’

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<sup>38</sup> The same selectional restrictions are similarly respected in subject control constructions, as the following examples show.

- (iii) Ujang nyoba-nyoba di-ajar   basa   Inggeris.  
       U    AV.try-RED   STAT-learn language English  
       ‘Ujang tries to learn English.’
- (iv) #Oray nyoba-nyoba di-ajar   basa   Inggeris.  
       snake AV.try-RED   STAT-learn language English  
       #‘The snake tries to learn English.’

The verb ‘try’ prescribes that its agent must be sentient and a cat certainly does not meet such a requirement, thus the oddity of (iv).

Thus, the contrast between (9) and (10) provides an argument that selectional restrictions distinguish raising from control.

### 3.2.1.4 Temporal Specification

In his influential paper on the tense of infinitives, Stowell (1982) reasons that temporal specification is a diagnostic to indicate distinctions between raising and control constructions. At issue is whether or not the complement clause may take a temporal specification independent from the temporal specification of the matrix clause. More specifically, the time frame of the control complement is understood as *unrealized* relative to the tense of the matrix. Observe the following English example.

(11) Kim tried [PRO to break the lock].

The control structure in (11) entails that Kim does not succeed in breaking the lock when he tries to do so. Thus, the event of ‘breaking the lock’ is never realized. The situation is different with the raising complement, however. Stowell argues that the tense of the raising complement is not internally specified. The time frame for these complements instead depends largely on the semantics of the matrix verbs (see Bresnan 1972, Pesetsky 1991, Bošković 1997, Landau 2000, Martin 2001 for a similar observation).

- (12) a. Kim remembers Adam [to be the most charming].  
       b. Kim considers herself [to be the luckiest].  
       c. Kim expects Adam [to buy her a flower].

The understood tense of the raising complement is past in (12a), present in (12b) and future (12c). Therefore, the distinguishing property of raising vs. control in terms of (semantic) tense is that while the tense of the control complement is restricted by the matrix tense, the tense of the raising counterpart is relatively flexible, depending on the lexical meaning of the matrix verb.

To some extent, this is what we find in Sundanese, where raising and control can be differentiated by means of the tense of their complements. As examples (13) indicate, the control complements may have their own temporal modifier although its interpretation is restricted by the tense in the higher clause.

- (13) a. *Ti leuleutik Bruno Mars<sub>1</sub> geus mutus-keun [(yén) ka-hareup-na*  
 from little B M PERF AV.decide-APPL COMP NOML-next-NOML  
*PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> hayang hirup di dunya karir musik].*  
 want live in world career music  
 ‘From childhood, Bruno Mars has decided (that he would) live in the music  
 world in the future.’
- b. *Amung<sub>1</sub> kamari jangji [(yén) semester hareup PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék leuwih*  
 A yesterday promise COMP semester next FUT more  
*rajin di-ajar].*  
 diligent STAT-learn  
 ‘Yesterday, Amung promised to study more intensely next semester.’



What (13) shows is that the complement of control verbs such as *mutuskeun* ‘decide’ and *jangji* ‘promise’ can have their own temporal adverb different from the time adverbial modifying the matrix clause.<sup>39</sup> Take (13a) for example. The time frame of the embedded clause is supplied by the future adverbial *kahareupna* ‘in the future’, which differs from the time modifier in the matrix, as indicated by the perfective auxiliary *geus* and the past adverbial *ti leuleutik* ‘from childhood’. The temporal interpretation in control complements is restricted, however, as is expected. The only available temporal frame for the control complement is future relative to the matrix tense.

- (14) a. \**Kamari* Bruno Mars<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [(yén) PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *minggu kamari*  
 yesterday B M AV.decide-APPL COMP week yesterday  
 rék hirup di dunya karir musik].  
 FUT live in world career music  
 \*‘Yesterday, Bruno Mars decided to live in the music world last week.’
- b. \**Amung<sub>1</sub> kamari jangji* [(yén) PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *baheula leuwih rajin*  
 A yesterday promise COMP ago more diligent  
 di-ajar].  
 STAT-learn  
 \*‘Amung yesterday promised to study more intensely a while ago.’

<sup>39</sup> There are exceptions to this, of course. Some control predicates such as *ati-ati* ‘careful’, *nyoba-nyoba* ‘try’ and *ngusahakeun* ‘attempt’, for example, disallow separate temporal specification in their complements. Yet, Stowell’s generalization still holds. That is, the tense of complements of these predicates is restricted relative to the tense of matrix clause.



specification in raising complements, which is relatively free but governed by the semantics of the matrix verb.

- (16) a. Mang Ujang *geus* tangtu [ $t_1$  *pernah/keur/bakal* nga-wuruk ngaji  
 Uncle U PERF certain once/PROG/FUT AV-teach recite.Koran  
 ka barudak].  
 to child.PL  
 ‘(It was) certain (that) Uncle Ujang once taught/was teaching/would be  
 teaching Koran to children.’
- b. Préman téh<sub>1</sub> di-sangka [ $t_1$  *kungsi/keur/rék* meres tukang dagang di pasar].  
 thug PART PV-suspect once/PROG/FUT AV.mug laborer sell in market  
 ‘The thug was assumed to have mugged/ be mugging the vendors in the  
 market.’
- c. *Kamari* Amung<sub>1</sub> ka-béja-keun [ $t_1$  *pernah/keur/rék* mi-gawé proyek  
 yesterday A PV-news-APPL once/PROG/FUT AV.APPL-work project  
 di Pameungpeuk].  
 in Pameungpeuk  
 ‘Yesterday, Ohang was said to be have worked/ be working on a project in  
 Pameungpeuk.’

As seen in (16), the temporal frame of the raising complement can be *past*, *present* or *future*, irrespective of the temporal specification of the matrix clause or the semantics of the matrix predicate.

To sum up, while raising complements can have an entirely unrestricted and independent temporal specification, control complements are restricted. They may have their own time modifier, but it must be dependent on the matrix tense.

### 3.2.2 Other Distinguishing Properties of Raising and Control

There are several additional properties peculiar to Sundanese that point to structural differences between raising and control. All these properties concern what kind of element can readily appear in the complement clauses.

#### 3.2.2.1 Temporal/aspectual Auxiliaries

A raising complement can contain the full range of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and their negative counterparts, making it markedly distinct from a control complement.

- (17) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> tangtu [*t<sub>1</sub> rék/keur/geus/can*          nepung-an    kolot-na  
          U        certain   FUT/PRES/PERF/PERF.NEG AV.meet-APPL parent-DEF  
               di lembur].  
               in village  
               ‘Ujang is certain to be visiting/to have (not) visited his parents in the  
               village.’
- b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku bapa-na    [*t<sub>1</sub> rék/keur/geus* naheur cai].  
          U        PV-assume by father-DEF FUT/PRES/PERF AV.boil water  
               ‘Ujang was assumed by his father to be boiling/have boiled some water.’

c. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku bapa-na [t<sub>1</sub> *moal/can* naheur cai].

U PV-assume by father-DEF FUT.NEG/PERF.NEG AV.boil water

‘Ujang was assumed by his father to not be boiling/have not boiled some water.’

In control structures, however, the only temporal/aspectual auxiliaries admissible in their complement are the future *rék* and *bakal* ‘will’, in line with Stowell’s (1982) generalization described earlier.<sup>40</sup>

(18) a. Para pamuda itu<sub>1</sub> nyoba-nyoba [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék*/(*\*geus*) nyasab-keun

Q youth DEM AV.try-RED FUT/PERF AV.lose-CAUS

maranéh].

2PL

‘Those young people tried to make you lose your path.’

b. Pa direktur<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *bakal*/(*\*keur*) ng-onslah

Mr. director AV.decide-APPL FUT/PROG AV-fire

pa-gawé-na].

NOML-work-DEF

‘The director decided to fire his subordinates.’

In each case, the complement of subject control verbs such as *try* and *decide* only permits the future/irrealis marker. This is apparently not an idiosyncratic property of Sundanese

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<sup>40</sup> Recall in Chapter 2 that Kana (1986) and Arka (2000, 2011) have shown that in Indonesian, the future auxiliaries cannot occur in control complements, hence his claim that Indonesian control complements are non-finite.

control. As Landau (2004) remarks on Hebrew, the complement of control can contain a future marker.

(19) Gil<sub>1</sub> hivti<sub>ax</sub> [še-*ec*<sub>1/\*2</sub> yitna'heg yafe]. (Hebrew)

G promised COMP will-behave.3SG.M well

‘Gil promised to behave.’ (Landau: 824)

In (19), the complement verb *yorid* represents the English corresponding phrase *would lower*. Landau argues that only future markers are available in control complements.

Not all control structures countenance temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, though. The complement of object control predicates allows no future markers, despite its compatibility with (relative) future time frame.

(20) a. Asih<sub>1</sub> di-paksa [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (\**rék/bakal*) kawin ka Uyat].

A PV-force FUT marry to U

‘Asih was forced to marry Uyat.’

b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> bakal di-pénta [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (\**rék/bakal*) balik].

U FUT PV-ask so that FUT return

‘Ujang will be asked so that he would come back.’

Likewise, *pikeun*-complements also do not license the future auxiliaries in their complements.

- (21) a. Amung ng-usaha-keun [pikeun PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (*\*rék/bakal*) mopoho-keun  
 A AV-attempt-APPL to FUT AV.forget-APPL  
 manéhna].  
 3SG  
 ‘Amung tried to forget her.’
- b. Asih sok di-titah [pikeun PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (*\*rék/bakal*) mantu-an kolot-na].  
 A always PV-order to FUT AV.help-ITER parent-DEF  
 ‘Asih is always ordered to help out her parents.’

Summarizing, the raising complement is different from the control complement in that the former allows the full range of temporal/aspectual markers while the latter is restricted only to the future/irrealis markers, if any at all.

### 3.2.2.2 Complementizers

Control complements can be introduced by a variety of synonymous conjunctive elements, namely *sangkan/ngarah/supaya/sina*, all of which are analogous to the English phrase *so that*. The following is an illustration.

- (22) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> keur di-olo [*ngarah* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> daék dahar bu-buah-an].  
 U PROG PV-persuade so that want eat RED-fruit-NOML  
 ‘Ujang is being persuaded so that (he) wants to eat fruits.’
- b. Barudak<sub>1</sub> di-paksa [*sina* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> di-garawé maraké ragaji butut].  
 child.PL PV-force so that STAT-work.PL AV.use.PL saw bad  
 ‘The kids were forced so that (they) work with a bad saw.’

These conjunctive elements occur only with object control predicates, as shown in (22). Their presence in the complements of subject control predicates is entirely unacceptable.

- (23) a. Ujang nyoba-nyoba [(*\*sangkan*) ng-oméan sapédah-na].

U AV.try-RED so that AV-fix bicycle-DEF

‘Ujang tried (*\*so that*) to fix his bicycle.’

- b. Ujang akon-akon [(*\*supaya*) rék indit ka kebon].

U pretend so that FUT go to farm

‘Ujang pretended (*\*so that*) to be going to the farm.’

As an alternative, subject control complements can be introduced by *yén* ‘that’ and *pikeun* ‘to’.

- (24) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> mi-harep [*yén* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> bakal meunang pamuji].

U AV.APPL-expect COMP FUT win accolade

‘Ujang expects that he will win some accolade.’

- b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> nga-longok indung-na nu keur

U AV.decide-APPL to AV-see mother-DEF REL PROG  
gering].

ill

‘Ujang decided to come visit his ailing mother.’



Unlike *pikeun*-complements that can introduce both subject and object control complements, *yén*-complements are compatible only with subject control predicates.

- (25) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> keur di-olo [(*\*yén*)/*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> daék dahar bu-buah-an].  
           U        PROG PV-persuade COMP/for                    want eat RED-fruit-NOML  
           ‘Ujang is being persuaded to be willing to eat fruits.’
- b. Barudak<sub>1</sub>di-paksa [(*\*yén*)/*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> di-garawé        maraké ragaji  
           child.PL PV-force COMP/for                    STAT-work.PL use.PL saw  
           butut].  
           bad  
           ‘The kids were forced to work with a bad saw.’

A peculiar characteristic of Sundanese object control is the fact that a particular set of complementizers, i.e. *sangkan/supaya/ngarah*, license overt pronouns in their complements (26a), while others, i.e. *yén/pikeun/sina*, do not (26b).

- (26) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah [*sangkan/supaya/ngarah* (**manéhna**)<sub>1/\*2</sub> meuncit        domba].  
           U        PV-order so that                    3SG                    AV.slaughter sheep  
           ‘Ujang was ordered so that he (would) slaughter a sheep.’

b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> mi-harep [yén (\*manéhna)<sub>1/\*2</sub> bakal meunang pamuji].<sup>41</sup>

U AV.APPL-expect COMP 3S FUT win accolade

‘Ujang expects that he will win some accolade.’

c. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah [sina/pikeun (\*manéhna)<sub>1/\*2</sub> meuncit domba].

U PV-order so that 3S AV.slaughter sheep

‘Ujang was ordered so that he (would) slaughter a sheep.’

Notice that the overt pronoun must be coreferential with the subject argument in the matrix clause, suggesting that the presence of an overt pronoun does not necessarily void the control nature of this structure. I will explore this issue in some length in sub-section 3.2.3.4. Notice, also, that the possible occurrence of an overt pronoun in these control structures provides a ground for analyzing *sangkan*-type elements as complementizers.

Conversely, complements of raising predicates cannot be preceded by any complementizer, as is apparent in the ill-formedness of the following examples.

(27) a. Ujang nyampak [(yén) keur nga-huap-an budak-na].

U AV.appear COMP PROG AV-feed-ITER child-DEF

---

<sup>41</sup> This sentence is unacceptable as a control structure. It is otherwise a perfectly grammatical sentence as an indicative complement clause in which case the embedded pronominal subject is not necessarily co-indexed with a matrix argument.

b. Ujang nyampak [(\**sangkan*/\**supaya*/\**ngarah*/\**pikeun*/\**sina*) keur

U      AV.appear      so that      PROG

nga-huap-an budak-na].

AV-feed-ITER child-DEF

‘Ujang appeared to be hand-feeding his child.’

(28) a. Ujang di-wawar-keun [(\**yén*) bakal nga-wawancara Obama].<sup>42</sup>

U      PV-tell-APPL      COMP FUT      AV-interview      O

b. Ujang di-wawar-keun [(\**sangkan*/\**supaya*/\**ngarah*/\**pikeun*/\**sina*) bakal

U      PV-tell-APPL      so that      FUT

nga-wawancara Obama].

AV-interview      O

‘Ujang was told to public to be going to interview Obama.’

Thus, an important structural difference between raising and control rests on the fact that raising complements cannot be introduced with any complementizer, while control complements can.

### 3.2.2.3 Modal Verbs

Modal verbs provide another property for distinguishing raising and control in Sundanese. As shown in Section 3.2.2.1, a raising complement countenances

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<sup>42</sup> In fact, the sentence is not ungrammatical. I will argue in Chapter 4 that (27b) is actually an instance of a proleptic NP structure, which has been reported to exist in Madurese (Davies 2000, 2004, 2005) and many other languages.

temporal/aspectual auxiliaries of all sorts. In the same way, the raising complement admits a range of modals such as *kudu* ‘must’, *perlu* ‘need’, *meunang* ‘may’ and *bisa* ‘can’.

- (29) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> tangtu [<sub>t<sub>1</sub></sub> *kudu/perlu/meunang/bisa* nga-bérés-keun  
 U        certain    must/need/may/can        AV-finish-CAUS  
 pa-gawé-an        sakola-na    di imah-na].  
 NOML-work-NOML school-DEF in house-DEF  
 ‘Ujang is certain (that he) *must/need/may/can* finish his homework at  
 home.’
- b. Ujang di-anggap [<sub>t<sub>1</sub></sub> *kudu/perlu/meunang/bisa* nga-wakil-an    Indonesia  
 U        PV-assume    must/need/may/can        AV-deputy-APPL Indonesia  
 dina Olimpiade Matématika Internasional.  
 in    Olympiad    Mathematics International  
 ‘(Someone) assumed that Ujang *must/need/may/can* represent Indonesia in  
 The International Mathematical Olympiad.

Control complements, by contrast, exhibit some restrictions. Control complements with overt complementizers, for example, allow no modals except *bisa*.

- (30) a. Abah<sub>1</sub>        jangji    [yén PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> \*kudu/\*perlu/\*meunang/bisa  
                  grandfather promise COMP                    must/need/may/can  
                  nga-batur-an    Ujang ka dayeuh].  
                  AV-other-APPL U            to town  
                  ‘The grandfather promised (that he) \*must/\*need/\*may/can accompany  
                  Ujang to go to the town.’
- b. Asih<sub>1</sub> keur di-olo        [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> \*kudu/\*perlu/\*meunang/bisa  
                  A        PROG PV-persuade so that                    must/need/may/can  
                  balik ka lembur].  
                  return to village  
                  ‘Asih is being persuaded so that (she) \*must/\*need/\*may/can return to the  
                  village.’

Control with null complementizer complements, however, allows *kudu* ‘must’ in addition to *bisa* ‘can’.

- (31) a. Asih<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun        [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu/bisa* nga-jual sawah-na].  
                  A        AV.decide-APPL                    must/can    AV-sell paddy.field-DEF  
                  ‘Asih decided (that she) should/could sell her paddy fields.’
- b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> bakal di-titah [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu* balik    deui    ka lembur].  
                  U        FUT    PV-order                    must return again to village  
                  ‘Ujang will be ordered to have to come back to the village.’

Here, the emerging patterns between raising and control in terms of modals are in line with the similar patterns with temporal/aspectual auxiliaries in that only in raising complements is a full array of modal verbs permitted.

#### 3.2.2.4 Prepositional Object Controller

A well-known characteristic of Indonesian-type languages such as Indonesian and Sundanese is the fact that control predicates can take a prepositional DP as object. Observe the following examples from Indonesian and Sundanese, respectively.

- (32) *a. Indonesian*

Pe-merintah me-minta *kepada DPR*<sub>1</sub> [supaya PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub>

NOML-AV.order AV-ask to House of Legislatives so that

menyetuju-i RUU Anti Pornografi].

AV.agree-APPL bill anti pornography

‘The government asked the House of Legislatives to pass the Anti-Porn Bill.’

- b. Sundanese*

Masyarakat menuntut *ka pa-maréntah*<sub>1</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> teu nyabut  
community AV.demand to NOML-AV.order so that NEG AV.lift  
subsidi BBM].  
subsidy gasoline  
'The people demanded the government not to lift the gasoline's subsidy.



- (34) a. Oge *ng-ajak* (ka) *para warga*<sub>1</sub> [supaya PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *nga-jaga*  
also AV-invite to Q resident so that AV-keep  
*ka-tartib-an...*].  
NOML-orderly-NOML  
‘(The local government) also called its people to maintain the orderliness...’  
(<http://www.kotabogor.go.id/index.php>)
- b. Maung *maksa* (ka) *peucang*<sub>1</sub> [supaya PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *masrah-keun* beubeur  
tiger AV.force to deer so that AV.submit-APPL belt  
*raja téa*].  
king PART  
‘The tiger forced the deer to hand over the king’s belt.’  
(<http://ucke-artschool.blogspot.com/p/articles.html>)
- c. Dinas Pendidikan ogé kudu *nga-dorong* (ka) *sakola*<sub>1</sub> [pikeun PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub>  
division education again must AV-push to school to  
*negak-keun disiplin*].  
AV.enforce-APPL dicipline  
‘The local division of education also has to encourage the school to enforce  
discipline.’ (<http://m.pikiran-rakyat.com/node/144703>)

The fact that a prepositional object can be a controller bears significantly on the discussion of which analysis is superior given this set of facts, which will be deliberated in Chapter 4. In particular, I will demonstrate that the facts at hand potentially challenge the Movement Theory of Control.



### 3.3 Different ‘Flavors’ of Sundanese Control: Obligatory Control and Non-Obligatory Control

This section examines whether or not the control structures in Sundanese we have discussed so far are indeed instances of Obligatory Control.

#### 3.3.1 General Overview

An important distinction in control constructions often recognized in the literature is that between Obligatory Control (OC) and Non-Obligatory Control (NOC) (cf. Williams 1980, Chomsky 1981, Bresnan 1982, Manzini 1983, Bouchard 1984, Koster 1984, Lebeaux 1985, Martin 1996, Manzini & Rossou 2000, Wurmbrand 1998, Hornstein 1999 & 2001, Landau 2000).

- |      |  |     |
|------|--|-----|
| (35) | a. Ujang <sub>1</sub> tried [ <i>ec</i> <sub>1</sub> to buy fried rice]. | OC  |
|      | b. Ujang signaled (to Imas) [ <i>ec</i> to buy fried rice].              | NOC |

One fundamental difference between OC and NOC is that the phonetically empty category standardly represented as PRO in the embedded subject, in (35a) is obligatorily co-indexed with the explicit matrix argument. This is not the case in (35b), however. PRO need not be controlled by the matrix argument. It may have an arbitrary interpretation.

Most linguists agree that OC vs. NOC distinction is crucial in the analysis of complement control. Therefore, a number of defining (structural and interpretive) characteristics to distinguish the two types of control have been proposed in the literature

(Fodor 1975, Williams 1980, Lebeaux 1985, Higginbotham 1992) summarized in Hornstein (1999) and Polinsky (in press). With the properties in (36), which are widely accepted in the literature as the distinguishing criteria for OC/NOC, I will examine whether Sundanese control structures exhibit OC/NOC properties.

Table 2 Properties of OC versus NOC

Properties	OC	NOC
a. unique controller	yes	no
b. local antecedent	yes	no
c. c-commanding antecedent	yes	no
d. split antecedent	no	yes
e. sloppy reading under ellipsis	yes	no
f. <i>de re</i> interpretation	no	yes

Uniqueness of the controller, one of the signature properties of OC, refers to the fact that there is single, unique referent for PRO. Contrast the following examples.

(36) a. \*Di-harep-keun [PRO nga-batur-an Imas].

PV-expect-APPL AV-other-APPL I

\*‘It is expected PRO to accompany Imas.’

b. Di-yakin-keun ku saréréa [yén PRO mi-boga ba-batur-an

PV-believe-APPL by all COMP AV.APPL-own RED-other-NOML

téh penting].

PART important

‘It was believed by everyone that PRO to have friends is important.’

(36a) is not acceptable because PRO in that context requires a single antecedent, which is not available. By contrast, (36b) is acceptable because PRO here can take multiple possible antecedents. The identity of PRO in this construction is free; it can be anyone.

Similarly, the antecedent for OC PRO has to be local. In other words, a long-distance antecedent is impossible. In optional control constructions, on the contrary, the controller may be far away from its controllee.

(37) a. *Asih*<sub>1</sub> *geus apal-eun* [*yén* *Asép*<sub>2</sub> *pernah jangji ka Ujang*<sub>3</sub> [*pikeun*

A PERF know-3 COMP A once promise to U to  
PRO<sub>\*1/2/\*3</sub> *nga-batur-an Imas*]].

AV-other-APPL I

‘Asih knew that Asep once promised to Ujang PRO to accompany Imas.’

b. *Asép*<sub>1</sub> *nga-béja-an Ujang*<sub>2</sub> [*yén geus waktu-na* [*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/2</sub> *nelpon*

A AV-news-APPL U COMP PERF time-DEF to AV.call  
Imas]].

I

‘Asep told Ujang that it was time PRO to call Imas.’

We see in (37a), the only possible controller for PRO is the subject argument of the clause immediately preceding the clause in which PRO occurs. The long-distance argument, i.e. *Asih*, cannot be the legitimate antecedent for PRO. This does not happen in NOC (37b), though, where PRO is separated from its possible antecedents by a clause boundary.

In addition, the antecedent in OC must c-command PRO, which is not a necessary requirement in NOC.

- (38) a. [Ba-batur-an-na      Asép<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> jangji    [moal    PRO\*<sub>1/2</sub> nga-heureuy-an  
                  RED-other-NOML-DEF A            promise FUT.NEG                   AV-tease-ITER  
                  Imas].  
                  I  
                  ‘Asep’s friends promised PRO not to tease Imas.’
- b. [PRO nga-heureuy-an Imas téh]    mangrupa-keun ka-resep-na  
                  AV-tease-ITER    I            PART is-APPL                   NOML-like-DEF  
                  ba-batur-an-na            Asép.  
                  RED-other-NOML-DEF A  
                  ‘PRO to tease Imas is Asep’s friends’ hobby.’

In (38a), Asep cannot be the controller since it does not c-command PRO. The c-commanding antecedent for PRO in this case is *babaturanna Asép* ‘Asep’s friends’. In NOC, however, the antecedent for PRO needs not regard c-command. In (38b), there is no way the controller *babaturanna Asép* is in a c-commanding relation with PRO since the controller is embedded inside the DP ‘Asep’s friend’s hobby’.

Along the same line, OC PRO cannot have split antecedents. (39a) is ill-formed because the embedded verb requires PRO to have a plural controller. As a singular DP, *Ujang* cannot be the sole controller, and taking both *Asép* and *Ujang* as valid controllers

is not possible. The reverse, however, is possible for optionally controlled PRO, as in (39b). In this regard, the controller for PRO is arbitrary.

- (39) a. \*Asép<sub>1</sub> nitah ka Ujang<sub>2</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1+2</sub> pada-pada ngirim surat].

A AV.order to U so that REC AV.send letter

\*‘Asep ordered Ujang PRO to write to each other.’

- b. Asép nga-béja-an ka Ujang [yén PRO silih kirim surat téh penting].

A AV-news-APPL to U COMP REC send letter PART important

‘Asep told Ujang that PRO to write to each other is important.’

OC and NOC also display interpretive differences, specifically in the interpretation of PRO in verbal-gapping constructions.

- (40) a. Asép nga-harep-keun [PRO meunang hadiah], pon kitu deui Ujang.

A AV-expect-APPL win award, also again U

‘Asep hopes to receive an award, and Ujang does, too.’

- b. Asép nyaho [yén PRO nyukur-an dirina sorangan téh hésé];

A AV.know COMP AV.shave-ITER he self PART difficult

pon kitu deui Ujang.

also again U

‘Asep knows that shaving himself is difficult, and Ujang does too.’

OC PRO as in (40a) only permits a sloppy reading under VP ellipsis. That is, PRO in the reconstructed VP of the second conjunct cannot be controlled by *Asép*. Differently put, (40a) can only mean that Ujang also expects himself to receive an award. On the other hand, NOC PRO in (40b) allows both strict and sloppy readings. The sentence can be taken to mean (i) Ujang thinks that Asep's cutting his own hair will be difficult (strict); or (ii) Ujang thinks that Ujang's cutting his own hair will be difficult (sloppy).

Lastly, OC and NOC can be distinguished in terms of a *de se* vs. *de re* contrast. Landau (2000) remarks that the *de se/de re* contrast typically arises when a subject of an attitude verb is misinformed about his/her own identity. Consider a scenario (excerpted from Landau: 35-36) where a war hero is suffering from amnesia and forgets his wartime experiences. He sees a TV program describing his own exploits and impressed by the courage exhibited by that person, who he forgets is himself. Observe the following statements.

- (41) a. Manéhna mi-harep [PRO narima medali ti pa-maréntah].  
           3SG       AV.APPL-expect       AV.get medal from NOML-AV.order  
           ‘He hopes to get a medal from the government.’
- b. Manéhna percaya [yén PRO narima medali ti pa-maréntah téh  
           3SG       believe COMP       AV.get medal from NOML-AV.order PART  
           teu pati penting].  
           NEG PART important  
           ‘He believes that getting a medal from the government is not that  
           important.’

Given the above scenario, (41a) is false while (41b) is true. This is because in (41a), for the statement to be true, a belief about self (*de se*) is required. The fact that the war hero remembers nothing of his wartime experiences suggests that he does not have such a belief. Thus, statement (41a) is necessarily false. On the contrary, (41b) is ambiguous between the *de se* and *de re* interpretation. It can be interpreted by the *de se* where the war hero is aware of himself as the person potentially getting a medal; or by the *de re* where he is totally unaware of his own identity and thus believes that someone else will be the recipient of the medal. In short, this interpretive contrast provides another principled distinction between OC and NOC structures.

In the next sub-sections, I will employ the properties discussed herein to ascertain whether all the control structures we have seen in preceding sections thus far are instances of OC constructions.

### 3.3.2 Null Complementizer Complements

Observe the following control constructions without any embedding marker.

- (42) a. Manéhna<sub>1</sub> mi-harep [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> meunang pamuji].  
           3SG          AV.APPL-expect          win          accolade  
           ‘He expects to win some accolade.’
- b. Abah          nitah          manéhna<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> balik ka lembur].  
           grandfather AV.order 3          return to village  
           ‘The grandfather ordered him to go back to the village.’

In (42), the only possible and plausible antecedent of the PRO is the matrix subject and matrix object, respectively. It is impossible for that the referent of the null subject to be outside the sentence, i.e. in discourse, irrespective of how salient the potential pragmatic referent is.

In light of the fact that Sundanese is a pro-drop language, it is not impossible for PRO to take a null pro(noun) as its antecedent. It cannot take a disjoint referent in discourse different from the referent of *pro*, however. All this suggests that control constructions with null ‘complementizers’ induce OC structures.

- (43) a. *pro*<sub>1</sub> mi-harep      [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> meunang pamuji].  
                                  AV.APPL-expect                      win                      accolade  
                                  ‘He expects to win some accolade.’
- b. Abah                      nitah      *pro*<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> balik ka lembur].  
                                  grandfather AV.order                                      return to village  
                                  ‘Grandfather ordered him to go to the village.’

Another line of evidence supporting this conclusion stems from the VP ellipsis diagnostic.

- (44) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> mi-harep      [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> meunang pamuji], pon kitu deui Imas.  
                                  U                      AV.APPL-expect                      win                      accolade, also                      again I  
                                  ‘He expects to win some accolade, and Imas does, too.’



b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku abah [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> balik ka lembur],

U PV-order by grandfather so that return to village

pon kitu deui adi-na.

also again brother-DEF

‘Ujang was ordered by his grandfather to go back to the village, and

Ujang’s brother was, too.’

Under the ellipsis test, both sentences in (44) yield a sloppy reading, a signature characteristic of OC. That is, (44a) does not mean *Imas expects that Ujang wins some accolade* (she instead expects herself to win some accolade), and (44b) cannot read *Grandfather also ordered Ujang’s brother (to talk to Ujang) into going back to the village*. Instead, it should mean that Grandfather also ordered Ujang’s brother to go back to the village.

Recall the structures in (18), repeated below, in which control complements allow the future markers such as *rék* and *bakal* ‘will’. It is instructive to determine whether such structures are OC.

(45) a. Para pamuda itu<sub>1</sub> nyoba-nyoba [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* nyasab-keun maranéh].

Q youth DEM AV.try-RED FUT AV.lose-CAUS 2PL

‘Those young people tried to make you lose your path.’

b. Pa direktur<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *bakal* ng-onslah salah sahiji

Mr. director AV.decide-APPL FUT AV-fire one of

pa-gawé-na].

NOML-work-DEF

‘The director decided to fire one of his subordinates.’

First, in terms of unique controllers, the null complement subject in (45a-b) must corefer to the subject argument in the matrix clause. That is, the agents of both the complement and matrix verbs must be of the identical referent. PRO taking another antecedent results in ungrammaticality, as illustrated in the co-indexation.

Additionally, the structures in (46-47) behave similarly under the interpretation of the null subjects in VP ellipsis.

(46) Para pamuda<sub>1</sub> itu nyoba-nyoba [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* nyasab-keun maranéh],

Q youth DEM AV.try-RED FUT AV.lose-CAUS 2PL

pon kitu deui kolot-kolot-na.

also again parent-RED-DEF

‘Those young people tried to lead you astray, and their parents did too.’

a. \*Strict: The parents also tried (to have) the young people to lead you astray.

b. Sloppy: The parents also tried to lead you astray.

- (47) Pa direktur<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *bakal* ng-onslah salah sahiji  
 Mr. director AV.decide-APPL FUT AV-fire one of  
 pa-gawé-na], pon kitu deui nu mi-boga parusahaan-na.  
 NOML-work-DEF also again REL AV.APPL-own company-DEF  
 ‘The director decided to fire one of his subordinates, and the company’s owner  
 did too.’
- a. \*Strict: The company’s owner also decided that the director would fire one  
 of the employees.
- b. Sloppy: The company’s owner also decided that he would fire one of the  
 employees.

As shown above, OC constructions exclude the strict reading. Thus, we can conclude that control predicates taking complements without complementizers indeed exhibit OC properties despite the appearance of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries.

### 3.3.3 Complements with Overt Complementizers

As we have discussed in the preceding section, the null complementizer complements are evidently OC constructions. This is expected given the robust cross-linguistic evidence that OC control generally takes complements with null complementizers. Now, let us consider the control complements preceded by a variety of conjunctions.

(48) a. Asép<sub>1</sub> ng-usaha-keun [*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> mopoho-keun urut ka-bogoh-na].

A AV-attempt-APPL to AV.forget-APPL ex NOML-love-DEF

‘Asep attempts to forget his ex-girlfriend.’

b. Ema nga-jurung-keun Asép<sub>1</sub> [*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> nyaba ka Sumatera].

mother AV-encourage-APPL A to wander to Sumatera

‘The mother encouraged Asep to wander to find a living in Sumatera.’

As the co-indexation indicates, the unexpressed complement subjects must take the matrix subject in subject control (48a) and the matrix object (48b) as their only antecedents. It is not possible for PRO to take a discourse antecedent as its controller, indicating that complements of this sort are OC.

The interpretive property of PRO under VP ellipsis offers further support for the OC analysis of *pikeun*-complements in control structures. Under elliptical constructions, a strict reading of PRO is impossible in *pikeun*-complements, characteristic of OC.

(49) Asép<sub>1</sub> ng-usaha-keun [*pikeun* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> mopoho-keun urut ka-bogoh-na],

A AV-attempt-APPL to AV.forget-APPL ex NOML-love-DEF

pon kitu deui Ujang.

also again U

‘Asep attempts to forget his ex-girlfriend, and Ujang does too.’

a. \*Strict: Ujang makes some attempts so that Asep will forget his ex-girlfriend.

b. Sloppy: Ujang makes some attempts so that he will forget his ex-girlfriend.

We now turn to another set of complementizers, namely *sangkan*, *supaya* and *ngarah*. These conjunctive elements occur in object control complements, as described in (22), repeated below.

- (50) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> keur di-olo [ngarah PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> daék dahar bu-buah-an].  
           U        PROG PV-persuade so that                want eat    RED-fruit.NOML  
           ‘Ujang is being persuaded so that he wants to eat fruits.’
- b. Barudak<sub>1</sub> di-paksa [*sina* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> di-garawé        maraké    ragaji butut].  
           child.PL    PV-force so that                STAT-work.PL AV.use.PL saw    bad  
           ‘The kids were forced to work with a bad saw.’

These structures display OC properties, since PRO in the embedded subject is obligatorily controlled by the matrix argument. Locality provides the first piece of evidence for this. That is, the antecedent for PRO in structure like (50) cannot be separated by another clause, as apparent in the ungrammaticality of (51).

- (51) a. \*Budak téh<sub>1</sub> nyarita yén si Ujang<sub>2</sub> keur di-olo [ngarah PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub>  
           child    PART AV.tell COMP PART U        PROG PV-persuade so that  
           daék dahar bu-buah-an].  
           want eat    RED-fruit.NOML  
           ‘The kid said that Ujang is being persuaded so that he wants to eat fruits.’

b. \*Maranéhna<sub>1</sub> nyarita yén barudak<sub>2</sub> di-paksa [*sina* PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> di-garawé

3PL AV.tell COMP child.PL PV-force so that STAT-work.PL

maraké ragaji butut].

AV.use.PL saw bad

‘They said that the students were ordered to help clean up the mosque.’

Further support for the OC nature of *sangkan*-type complements emerges from the fact that PRO in these complements cannot take split antecedents.

(52) \*Budak téh<sub>1</sub> keur di-olo ku si Ujang [*ngarah* PRO<sub>1+2</sub> silih

child PART PROG PV-persuade by PART U so that REC

tulung-an].

help-ITER

‘The kid is being persuaded by Ujang so that he wants to help each other.’

The reciprocal particle *silih* ‘each other’ is not licit in this kind of complement because it dictates that the subject argument of the verb must be plural. Therefore, *silih* is unacceptable in a clause when the controller is a single, unique entity, such as *budak téh* ‘the kid’ as in (52).

The last type of complement to consider is *yén* complements, which subject control predicates can select.

(53) a. Bapa<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [yén PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék nga-jual kebon nu di Sangojar].

father AV.decide-APPL COMP FUT AV-sell farm REL in Sangojar

‘The father decided that (he) would sell the farm in Sangojar.’

b. Ema<sub>1</sub> jangji ka tukang warung<sub>2</sub> [yén PRO<sub>1/\*2/\*3</sub> rék

mother promise to laborer store COMP FUT

mang-mayar-keun hutang-na Usup].

AV.BEN.AV.pay-APPL debt-DEF U

‘The mother promised to the store’s owner that (she) would pay Usup’s debt.’

Although a possible referent is salient enough in discourse, PRO in the complement clause (53) is necessarily controlled by the argument in the higher clause, indicating that subject control with *yén* complements is a case of OC. That is, *bapa* ‘father’ is the agent of selling the farm (54a) and *ema* ‘mother’ corresponds to the agent of paying the debt in (54b).

Under ellipsis, only the sloppy reading is felicitous with these *yén*-complementizers, indicative of OC.

- (54) Bapa<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [yén PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék nga-jual kebon nu di Sangojar],  
 father AV.decide-APPL COMP FUT AV-sell farm REL in Sangojar  
 pon kitu deui ema.

also again mother

‘The father decided that he would sell the farm in Sangojar, and the mother did too.’

- a. \*Strict: Mother also decided that father would sell the farm.  
 b. Sloppy: Mother also decided that she would sell the farm.

- (55) Ema<sub>1</sub> jangji ka tukang warung [yén PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék mang-mayar-keun  
 mother promise to laborer store COMP FUT AV.BEN.AV.pay-APPL  
 hutang-na Usup], pon kitu deui bapa.

debt-DEF U also again father

‘The mother promised to the store’s owner that she would pay Usup’s debt, and the father did too.’

- a. \*Strict: Father also promised that his wife would pay Usup’s debt.  
 b. Sloppy: Father also promised that he would pay Usup’s debt.

It is actually possible for *yén*-complements to have a pronominal subject following the complementizer, analogous to the corresponding *yén*-complements in indicative clauses. When an overt pronoun does occur, though, the resulting structure is no longer control.



- (56) a. Bapa<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [yén *manéhna*<sub>1/2</sub> rék nga-jual kebon nu di  
 father AV.decide-APPL COMP 3SG FUT AV-sell farm REL in  
 Sangojar].  
 Sangojar  
 ‘The father decided that (he) would sell the farm in Sangojar.’
- b. Ema<sub>1</sub> jangji ka tukang warung [yén *manéhna*<sub>1/2</sub> rék  
 mother promise to laborer store COMP 3SG FUT  
 mang-mayar-keun hutang-na Usup].  
 AV.BEN.AV.pay-APPL debt-DEF U  
 ‘The mother promised to the store’s owner that (she) would pay Usup’s  
 debt.’

The complement subject pronominal may corefer to the matrix subject or to any salient entity in discourse. This provides a strong indication that control structures with overt pronouns in their complement clause, as in (56), are not instantiations of control. This particular interpretive property of lexical pronouns versus null pronouns is not unexpected. As Landau (2004) and Legate (2012) argue based on Hebrew and Aceh, respectively, lexical pronouns typically yield non-control structures.

### 3.3.4 Overt Pronouns in Object Control Complements

Recall from Section 3.2.2.2 that all control complements necessarily take null subjects except in object control complements introduced by *sangkan/supaya/ngarah*. In

the following, I contrast object control complements with an optional overt pronoun with those with an obligatory null pronoun.

(57) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku abah [sangkan/supaya/ngarah (**manéhna**)<sub>1/\*2</sub>

U PV-order by grandfather so that 3SG

meuncit embé].

AV.slaughter goat

‘Ujang was ordered by his grandfather so that he (would) slaughter a goat.’

b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku abah [sina/pikeun (\***manéhna**)<sub>1/\*2</sub>) meuncit

U PV-order by grandfather so that 3SG AV.slaughter

embé].

goat

‘Ujang was ordered by his grandfather so that he (would) slaughter a goat.’

This differential distribution of embedded subjects in Sundanese control structures, in particular the possibility of an overt pronoun in control complements, is problematic for the existing proposals of OC PRO. It has been proposed OC PRO can be paraphrased by a reflexive (Manzini 1983, Bouchard 1984, Martin 1996, Hornstein 1999, *inter alia*). Hornstein, in particular, states that the difference between OC PRO and NOC PRO amounts to the difference between locally bound anaphors and pronouns. From this, it follows that OC PRO *must* not alternate with a pronoun. Thus, the fact that PRO and a pronoun appear to be interchangeable is rather unexpected. An examination of the

properties of subject pronominals in control structures is necessary in order to resolve the problem.

There are at least two arguments to conclude that pronominal DPs in certain object control structures are merely a morphological reflex of PRO. First, as stated by Hornstein (1999), OC PRO is a sort of anaphor, implying that PRO in OC contexts is replaceable with a reflexive. If an overt pronoun in Sundanese object control can be replaced by a reflexive anaphor, then the pronoun in question is akin to PRO, which has no inherent reference, unlike an ordinary pronoun. This prediction is tenable. As (58) shows, the resumptive pronoun in object control structures can be paraphrased by a reflexive without altering the obligatory coreference between the embedded subject and the matrix argument.

- (58) a. Asih<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku salaki-na<sub>2</sub> [sangkan *manéhna*<sub>1/\*2/\*3</sub> gura-giru nyeuseuh  
 A PV-order by husband-DEF so that 3SG soon AV.wash  
 saragam-na].  
 uniform-DEF  
 ‘Asih was asked by her husband so that she would soon wash his uniforms.’
- b. Asih<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku salaki-na<sub>2</sub> [sangkan *manéhna sorangan*<sub>1/\*2/\*3</sub> gura-giru  
 A PV-order by husband-DEF so that 3SG self soon  
 nyeuseuh saragam-na].  
 AV.wash uniform-DEF  
 ‘Asih was asked by her husband so that she herself would soon wash his  
 uniforms.’

Further confirmation for the treatment of overt pronouns as manifestations of PRO in this structure comes from the fact that the pronominal cannot take a long-distance antecedent.

(59) Imas<sub>1</sub> nyarita [saenyana Asih<sub>2</sub> di-titah ku salaki-na [sangkan *manéhna*\*<sub>1/2</sub>

I AV.tell actually A PV-order by husband-DEF so that 3SG  
gura-giru nyeuseuh saragam-na]].

soon AV.wash uniform-DEF

‘Imas said that Asih was ordered by her husband so that she would soon wash his uniforms.’

Of the two potential, equally plausible antecedents for *manéhna* ‘she’ in this sentence, i.e. *Imas* and *Asih*, *Asih* is the only possible controller, since it appears in a clause immediately preceding the controllee. If *manéhna* were an ordinary pronoun in this respect, it would be able to take *Imas* as a possible referent or even a salient discourse antecedent.

(60) Imas<sub>1</sub> ng-obrol jeung Asih<sub>2</sub> yén *manéhna*<sub>1/2/3</sub> mah tara nyeuseuh pakéan

I AV-talk with A COMP 3SG PART never AV.wash clothes  
salaki-na.

husband-DEF

‘Imas talked to Asih that s/he never washes her husband’s clothes.’

In a non-control structure, such as the one in (60), the referent for the pronoun *manéhna* ‘she’ is relatively unrestricted. It can refer to Imas, Asih, or someone else in the discourse context.

The second argument for analyzing the overt pronoun in control structures as a morphological realization of PRO is associated with the interpretive properties of the controllee. Many researchers (e.g. Chierchia 1990, Higginbotham 1992, Hornstein 1999, Landau 2000) have observed that PRO and lexical pronouns exhibit distinct interpretive properties. That is, PRO only supports a sloppy reading under VP ellipsis, and must be interpreted *de se*. Meanwhile, lexical pronouns support a strict reading under ellipsis and allow a *de re* interpretation. Let us first compare a subject control structure (61) and an indicative structure with an overt pronoun in the complement clause (62).

(61) Bapa<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [yé<sub>n</sub> PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék nga-jual kebon nu di Sangojar],

father AV.decide-APPL COMP FUT AV-sell farm REL in Sangojar

pon kitu deui ema.

also again mother

‘The father decided that he would sell the farm in Sangojar, and the mother did too.’

a. \*Strict: Mother also decided that father would sell the farm.

b. Sloppy: Mother also decided that she would sell the farm.

(62) Bapa<sub>1</sub> yakin [yéñ manéhna<sub>1/2</sub> rék nga-jual kebon nu di Sangojar],

father sure COMP 3SG FUT AV-sell farm REL in Sangojar

pon kitu deui ema.

also again mother

‘The father was sure that he would sell the farm in Sangojar, and the mother was too.’

a. Strict: Mother was also sure that father would sell the farm.

b. Sloppy: Mother was also sure that she would sell the farm.

As seen in (61), the subject control structure is possible only with a sloppy reading under ellipsis. However, an equivalent structure with an overt pronoun induces both strict and sloppy readings under ellipsis (62). This is consonant with the observation from many researchers that pronominal subjects generally are distinct from PRO.

In object control structures, however, overt pronouns and PRO behave in the same way in only allowing a sloppy interpretation under ellipsis constructions, providing another line of evidence that overt pronouns in control structures are like overt PRO.

(63) Asih<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku salaki-na [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> gura-giru nyeuseuh

A PV-order by husband-DEF so that soon AV.wash

saragam-na, pon kitu deui adi-na].

uniform-DEF also again sister-DEF

‘Asih was ordered by her husband to soon wash his uniforms, and her sister was ordered as well.’

- a. \*Strict: Asih's husband also ordered Asih's sister so that (she would talk)

Asih into washing his uniforms.

- b. Sloppy: Asih's husband also ordered Asih's sister to wash his uniforms.

(64) Asih<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku salaki-na [sangkan *manéhna*<sub>1/\*2</sub> gura-giru nyeuseuh

A PV-order by husband-DEF so that 3SG soon AV.wash

saragam-na, pon kitu deui adi-na].

uniform-DEF also again brother-DEF

‘Asih was ordered by her husband to soon wash his uniforms, and her sister was ordered as well.’

- a. \*Strict: Asih's husband also asked Asih's sister so that Asih will wash his

uniforms.

- b. Sloppy: Asih's husband also asked Asih's sister to wash his uniforms.

Additionally, as stated earlier, PRO differs from a pronominal in that PRO must be interpreted *de se* and a lexical DP *de re*. Let us first compare a subject control structure with a comparable structure that contains an overt subject. Consider the following scenario, adopted from Schlenker (2003: 61).

- (65) Situation: “John, an amnesiac who does not remember his own name, is the manager of a company. He heard a rumor among the employees that John should leave the company since he is responsible for a devastating deficit. Hearing the

rumor, John promises the employees that John will leave the company, without realizing that John is no one other than himself.”

- a. #John<sub>1</sub> nga-jangji-keun ka para pa-gawé-na [(yén) PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> bakal

J AV-promise-APPL to Q NOML-work-DEF COMP FUT

ng-undur-keun diri].

AV-back-APPL self

‘John promised to his employees to resign.’

- b. John<sub>1</sub> nga-jangji-keun ka para pa-gawé-na [(yén) manéhna<sub>1/2</sub> bakal

J AV-promise-APPL to Q NOML-work-DEF COMP 3SG FUT

ng-undur-keun diri].

AV-back-APPL self

‘John promised to his employees to resign.’

Given the situation, sentence (65a) with a null subject is necessarily false, since *John* does not have the awareness of himself, a core property of a *de se* reading. The only possible scenario in which (65a) can be true is when John realizes the problem he has caused and therefore promises to be responsible and resign. Conversely, (65b) is possibly true because the overt subject *manéhna* ‘he’ can corefer to anyone in the discourse context. That is, there is no obligation such that John recognizes that the person to resign is no one but himself. In other words, (65b) refers to a *de re* interpretation.

Now, using the same diagnostic, let us compare an object control structure with a null pronoun versus the one with an overt pronoun.



(66) Situation: At a party, John is told that ‘Mary is being particularly obnoxious. He tells the person he is having a conversation with that ‘Mary should leave’. But that person is no one other than Mary herself.

a. #Mary<sub>1</sub> di-pénta ku John [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> indit].

M PV-ask by J so that leave

‘Mary was asked by John to leave.’

b. #Mary<sub>1</sub> di-pénta ku John [sangkan manéhna<sub>1/\*2</sub> indit].

M PV-ask by J so that 3SG leave

‘Mary<sub>1</sub> was asked by John that she<sub>1</sub> leaves.’

Unlike the overt subject in (66b), which can receive a *de re* reading, the parallel in object control structure in (66b) can only be given a *de se* reading. That is, both structures with a null subject and an overt pronoun carry a strong implicature of Mary’s self-awareness as the one who should leave, and thus (66a-b) must be false, since Mary does not have such awareness as the situation indicates.

The presence of an overt pronominal in control structures is not entirely anomalous. Recent studies (Cardinaletti 1999, Belletti 2005, Szabolcsi 2009, Barbosa 2009), for example, have shown that a number of languages such as Hungarian and European Portuguese possess so-called overt PRO, explicit nominative subject pronouns in infinitival control structures.



(69) *Subject Control*a. *Adjectives*

asa-asa (reluctant)

ati-ati (careful)

sumanget (eager)

taliti (thorough)

b. *Verbs*

akon-akon/pura-pura (pretend)

jangji/ngajangjikeun (promise)

mutuskeun (decide)

nolak (refuse)

ngusahakeun (attempt)

nyoba-nyoba (try)

Meanwhile, the object control verbs in Sundanese are as follows.

(70) *Object Control*

maksa (force)

mamatahan (advise)

ménta (ask)

miharep/ngaharepkeun (expect)

nitah/maréntah (order)

nungtut (demand)

ngadorong (encourage)

ngajak (invite)

ngayakinkeun (convince)

ngidinan (allow, permit)

ngolo (persuade)

nyaréék/ngalarang (prohibit)

nyababkeun/ngabalukarkeun (cause)

percaya (assign/entrust)

Additionally, the following are verbs that exhibit raising properties.

(71) *Raising to Subject*

babari/gampang (easy)

hésé (difficult)

pamohalan/mustahil (impossible)

pasti/tangtu (certain)

nyampak (appear)

(72) *Raising to Object*

manggihan (discover)

ngabéjakeun/nyaritakeun (tell)

ngabuktikeun (prove)

ngaharepkeun (expect)

ngajamin (guarantee)

nganggap (assume)

ngawawarkeun (to spread the news)

ngira-ngira (guess, predict)

nuduh (accuse)

nyangka (suspect)

percaya (believe)

All properties of raising and control attested in Sundanese are summarized as follows.

Table 3 Summary of Sundanese raising and control properties

Construct ion	Complementizer	Resumptive Pronoun	Temporal/aspectual Auxiliary	Modal
Raising	no	no	all	all
Subject Control	yén ‘that’	no	‘will’	‘can’
	pikeun ‘to’	no	no	‘can’
	null	no	‘will’	‘must’, ‘can’
Object Control	sangkan/ supaya/ngarah ‘so that’	no	no	‘%must’, ‘can’
		yes	no	‘can’
	pikeun ‘to’/sina ‘so that’	no	no	‘can’
	null	no	no	‘must’, ‘can’

All of the similarities and contrasts discussed thus far point to the differential structural size of the complement clauses for raising and control predicates.

### 3.5 No Auxiliaries in Object Control Complements

Before we proceed to examine which of the existing analytical approaches can best account for the array of facts concerning Sundanese raising and control, some explanation regarding the restrictions of auxiliaries in certain types of control complements is in order. As we have discussed in Section 3.2.2.1, in Sundanese, the future interpretation of a control complement can be morphologically realized by the future auxiliaries *rék* and *bakal* ‘will’.

- (73) a. Para pamuda itu<sub>1</sub> nyoba-nyoba [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *rék* nyasab-keun maranéh].

Q youth DEM AV.try-RED FUT AV.lose-CAUS 2PL

‘Those young people tried to make you lose your path.’

- b. Pa direktur<sub>1</sub> mutus-keun [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *bakal* ng-onslah pa-gawé-na].

Mr. director AV.decide-APPL FUT AV-fire NOML-work-DEF

‘The director decided to fire his subordinates.’

Object control complements, however, do not admit such future auxiliaries, as the following demonstrate.

- (74) a. Asih<sub>1</sub> di-paksa [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (*\*rék/bakal*) kawin ka Uyat].

A PV-force FUT marry to U

‘Asih was forced to marry Uyat.’

- b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> bakal di-pénta [sangkan/sina PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (*\*rék/bakal*) balik].

U FUT PV-ask so that FUT return

‘Ujang will be asked so that he would come back.’

Likewise, *pikeun*-complements also pattern with object control complements in not licensing the future auxiliaries.

- (75) a. Amung ng-usaha-keun [pikeun PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (\**rék/bakal*) mopoho-keun  
 A AV-attempt-APPL to FUT AV.forget-APPL  
 manéhna].  
 3SG  
 ‘Amung tried to forget her.’
- b. Asih sok di-titah [pikeun PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> (\**rék/bakal*) mantu-an kolot-na].  
 A always PV-order to FUT AV.help-ITER parent-DEF  
 ‘Asih is always ordered to help out her parents.’

An obvious question emerges. Why is it not possible to sanction a future marker in an object control complement and a *pikeun*-complement? Let us tackle the first complement type, i.e. the object complement. Notice that a complementizer is optional in control structures. Thus, the (im)possibility of ‘will’ in the complement has nothing to do with the presence of the complementizers (or the absence thereof). Hence, the answer to this question may derive from the distinctive properties of an object control complement, particularly object control predicates.

It has been commonly assumed that control is a function of the semantics of the matrix verb. That is, the semantics of the matrix verb determines what kind of control relation the verb selects and which matrix argument has to be the controller. In this respect, the kind of constellation of properties in object control complements is largely parasitic to the matrix predicates.

It is of importance to point out that the majority of complement-taking predicates involved in object control structures is classified as ‘manipulative predicates’ or in some sense ‘directive predicates’. Semantically, all these verbs encode some process of

manipulating the (human) object toward performance of the complement-clause event or code some sort of attempted dissuasion. An example of this is:

- (76) Bapa geus nga-larang budak-na<sub>1</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> ulah ng-ojay di leuwi éta,  
 father PERF AV-forbid child-DEF so that NEG AV-swim in lake DEM  
 (tapi budak-na bedegong)].  
 but child-DEF rowdy  
 ‘The father forbid his kid to swim in that lake, (but he didn’t listen).’

In this example, the father has made some attempt to deter his kid from swimming in a particular lake but the kid did it anyway. Thus, *ngalarang* ‘forbid’ as a manipulative predicate of this sort expresses an attempt to prevent things from happening without necessarily implying a success.

I would like to suggest that, as manipulative CTPs, object control predicates crucially restrict which element can surface inside their complement clause. Predictably, a ‘manipulative’ modal verb such as *kudu* will be allowed to appear given its compatibility with the semantics of the matrix verb. This turns out to be the case.

- (77) a. Asih<sub>1</sub> di-paksa [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu* kawin ka Uyat].  
 A PV-force must marry to U  
 ‘Asih is forced to have to marry Uyat.’

b. Urang<sub>1</sub> bakal di-pénta [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu* balik].

we FUT PV-ask must return

‘We will be asked to have to come back.’

That *kudu* cannot co-occur with *sangkan*-like complementizers may be ascribed to a tendency of the language that disprefers double marking within a single clause. I am assuming that object control complementizers such as *sangkan*, *supaya*, and *ngarah* carry some ‘manipulative’ meaning. They express an inherent expectation that ‘the controllee’ or ‘the manipulee’ performs an action. That is why these complementizer and *kudu* ‘must’ are in complementary distribution, an apparent avoidance of double marking on manipulativity.

(78) a. \*Asih<sub>1</sub> di-paksa [*sangkan/supaya/ngarah* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu* kawin ka Uyat].

A PV-force so that must marry to U

‘Asih was forced so that (she) must marry Uyat.’

b. \*Urang<sub>1</sub> bakal di-pénta [*sangkan/supaya/ngarah* PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> *kudu* balik].

we FUT PV-ask so that must return

‘We will be asked so that (we) must come back.’

The source of the ungrammaticality, according to my informants, owes to the fact that the complementizer and the modal share a similar meaning, perhaps manipulativity. Several informants, however, permit such co-occurrence in light of the fact that the two elements in question are semantically compatible. Despite these variable judgments, what is clear



is that it is possible that a manipulative modal such as ‘must’ occurs in the complement of object control given its semantic compatibility with the matrix predicates. The future marker ‘will’, on the other hand, is illicit in the same environment because ‘will’ can be conceived as neutral; it does not carry some manipulative meaning.

In the absence of other explanations, the above explanation regarding manipulativity seems plausible to account for the inadmissibility of the future auxiliaries in object control complements. This is an honest stipulation, though, which is not based on deeper principles. However, Landau (2004: 842) states, “*any* theory of control appeals to some stipulation, and frequently to several,” in order to provide a satisfactory explanation for the full array of facts.

The second type of complements in which the future auxiliaries are barred is the *pikeun*-complement. As shown in (75), the unavailability of future markers cannot be ascribed to the semantics of control predicates since complements of this type can occur with the full range of control predicates. Therefore, why ‘will’ is undesirable in this complement remains puzzling. Much additional work is required before a complete understanding of why the future markers are prohibited in object control complements and *pikeun*-complements occurs.

### 3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that raising and control in Sundanese presents a complicated picture. On the one hand, the two structures display typical structural and interpretive properties generally exhibited in parallel structures in many languages in terms of thematic roles, embedded passive, selectional restrictions, and temporal

specification. On the other hand, there are a host of idiosyncratic properties that make Sundanese part company with other languages. In particular, while subject and object control structures have a number of properties in common, they significantly differ in several respects: the kinds of complementizers, the possibility of overt pronouns in object control, and the impossibility of the future auxiliaries in object control. In spite of all these differences, I will argue in the next chapter that subject control and object control are of the same category, i.e. a CP complement, whereas raising predicates take a TP complement.

## CHAPTER 4

### RAISING AND CONTROL: ANALYSIS

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are at least three noteworthy properties of raising and control in Sundanese that any analysis must take into account: (i) raising complements admit a range of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and modal verbs, while control complements admit only ‘will’ and ‘must’ in certain structures; (ii) raising complements cannot be preceded by any complementizer, but control complements can; and (iii) a subset of object control complementizers, i.e. *sangkan/supaya/ngarah* sanction overt pronouns whereas another subset *pikeun/sina* does not. Again, if one takes finiteness as an important grammatical category of Sundanese, one could draw a dividing line between raising/control structures and indicative structures along the line of finiteness. I will propose an analysis for the structural distinctions between raising and control in Sundanese by entertaining the finiteness account.<sup>43</sup>

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.1 examines whether Hornstein’s (1999, 2003) movement theory of control holds up in accounting for the syntactic differentiation between raising and control in Sundanese. I argue that such an analysis fails to provide a straightforward account because Sundanese raising and control constructions are significantly and structurally different. In Section 4.2, I argue against a complementation strategies analysis (Dixon 1995, 2006; Englebretson 2003). I show that

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<sup>43</sup> I will not consider the finite control account such as the one developed by Landau (2000, 2004) due to the fact that Sundanese control constitutes no morphological manifestations of finiteness in its complement clause. I have shown in Chapter 2 that the possible presence of the future auxiliaries in control complements is not correlated with a finiteness contrast, despite the claim to the contrary from Kana (1986) and Arka (2000, 2011) concerning Indonesian.

Sundanese control structures constitute evidence in favor of syntactic complementation. Section 4.3 presents cases in which certain predicates are structurally ambiguous between raising and control. In Section 4.4, I show evidence that Sundanese adjunct control is markedly different from complement control such that the former is largely determined by semantics and pragmatics, while the latter is mostly syntactic. Section 4.5 provides arguments that Sundanese raising and control constructions are best treated by recognizing two different categories for the complement clauses: CP and TP. While the raising complement is a TP, the control counterpart contains a CP layer. In section 4.6, I provide evidence that finiteness appears to play an important role in Sundanese, despite the lack overt manifestations of case and tense. The last section presents conclusions.

#### **4.1 Movement Theory of Control**

In a relatively recent approach to control, Hornstein (1999, 2003), following O'Neil (1995), has departed from the traditional view of control by proposing what Landau (2003) referred to as 'the reductionist view of control'. Hornstein analyzes control as movement from one argument position to another. On this view, both raising and control are now derived via movement, the difference being merely that the movement under control is linked to a thematic position, whereas that of raising is non-thematic. Observe the following sentences.

- (1) a. John tried to embarrass Kim.                      (control)  
       b. John tended to embarrass Kim.                      (raising)

The derivations for (1) within Hornstein's proposal are given in (2).

- (2) a. [TP John [vP ~~John~~ tried [TP ~~John~~ to [vP ~~John~~ to embarrass Kim]]]]  
 b. [TP John [vP ~~John~~ tended [TP ~~John~~ to [vP ~~John~~ to embarrass Kim]]]]

Notice that the derivations for both structures in (2) are alike. In the control structure in (2a), *John* merges in the lower vP, where it receives an external  $\theta$ -role; it first moves to the embedded [Spec, TP], then further into the matrix [Spec, vP], where it receives another  $\theta$ -role; and finally it ends up in the matrix [Spec, TP]. Meanwhile, the derivation for the raising sentence (2b) is essentially identical to the one for the control sentence, except that *John* is not theta marked when it moves to the matrix [Spec, vP] on its way to the matrix [Spec, TP].

One of the most far-reaching consequences of this innovation, despite its apparent elegance, is that the contrast between control and raising is no longer substantial. PRO and its special "null case" are discarded and theta roles are taken as features provided by verbs and checked off by DPs. In this view, raising and control are now derived via movement, the difference being merely that the movement under control is linked to a thematic position, whereas that of raising is non-thematic.

This view of control has faced challenges from many quarters. Culicover and Jackendoff (2001), for instance, argue that Hornstein's movement theory of control is untenable, by presenting some data that show that "the position of the controller is determined in part by semantic constraints" (p. 495). A semantic account can naturally capture the generalizations in a manner impossible for the purely syntactic account.

Along the same lines, Landau (2003) argues "Hornstein's system overgenerates non-existing structures and interpretations ... and a wide empirical range of raising/control contrasts makes an overwhelming case against the reductionist view" (p. 472).

Regardless of these criticisms, an empirical question arises, i.e. is the movement theory of control consistent with the facts of raising and control constructions in Sundanese? Recall that the movement view of control essentially reduces certain cases of control to movement. Landau (2003) notes that this view is not an attempt to obliterate the distinction between raising and control, since it still recognizes the single difference between the two, namely the fact that the raised DP is ascribed two thematic roles in control but only one role in raising. This entails that raising and control have the same syntactic structure, a prerequisite for the movement theory of control to stand. If one can reveal systematic differences between the two constructions, then the theory will not be supported. Put differently, if it can be shown that there is an incontrovertible structural contrast between raising and control in Sundanese, then it seems reasonable to argue that the movement theory of control is untenable in Sundanese.

To that end, I have shown in Chapter 2, Table 1 that raising and control are profoundly dissimilar in a number of peculiar properties summarized in (3).

Table 3 Summary of Sundanese raising and control properties

Construction	Complementizer	Resumptive Pronoun	Temporal/aspectual Auxiliary	Modal
Raising	no	no	all	all
Subject Control	yén	no	'will'	'must', 'can'
	pikeun	no	no	no
Object Control	sangkan/	no	no	'must', 'can'
	supaya/ngarah	yes	no	no
	pikeun/sina	no	no	no

It is immediately clear from this table that the Sundanese facts furnish such a compelling argument against Hornstein's movement theory because raising and control exhibit salient structural distinctions that are impossible to reduce solely to a thematic difference. The theory would be forced to invoke a set of stipulations to handle each of those properties, which eventually introduce more complexities than simplification. If this is what happens, then the theory has to abandon its major promise, i.e. grammatical downsizing.

Furthermore, Sundanese contains a case in which the controller can occur in a prepositional phrase. To illustrate, recall this example from chapter 2, repeated below.

- (3) Masarakat nungtut      *ka pa-maréntah*<sub>1</sub> [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> teu nyabut subsidi  
      community AV.demand to NOML-AV.order so that                      NEG AV.lift subsidy  
      BBM].  
      gasoline  
      'The people demanded the government not to lift the gasoline's subsidy.'

As we see in (3), the implicit subject of the embedded clause is co-indexed with an explicit controller inside a PP, *ka pamaréntah* 'to the government'. If structures such as (3) the controller *pamaréntah* were to move from the lower clause into the higher one, then the MTC would have to posit movement into a prepositional phrase.

Another requirement for the movement theory of control to hold, according to Polinsky & Postdam (2006), is the fact that the complement clause should be transparent for A-movement, since the basic mechanism for both constructions is movement. That is,

the complement clause has to be transparent enough that its subject can move into the higher clause. Many researchers have taken the position that non-finite clauses are transparent for A-movement. However, recent research has also documented the possibility of A-movement out of finite clauses (cf. Motapanyane 1995 for Raising to Subject in Rumanian, Tanaka 2002 for Raising to Object in Japanese and Landau 2004 for finite control in Hebrew). Polinsky (in press) claims that finite clauses that allow A-movement are more permeable and ‘defective’ to the extent that the clauses are in subjunctive or irrealis mood. While Sundanese control complements could be argued to be ‘defective’ in the sense that the range of embedded (semantic) tense and the admissibility of modal verbs are somewhat constrained, the same cannot be said of the raising complement, the tense of which is unconstrained or independent and any modal is admissible. This provides yet another piece of evidence Sundanese raising and control are morpho-syntactically and semantically distinct and that any theory that attempts to diminish the apparent differences between the two constructions will be unable to account for the entire range of Sundanese facts.

Implicationally, until a new control theory is conceived, the full array of Sundanese raising and control facts are best accounted for by the classic, well-established control theory developed within the Principles and Parameters framework and its predecessors.

#### **4.2 Complementation Strategies Account**

The proponents of the complementation strategies approach such as Englebretson (2003 for the colloquial Indonesian) and Dixon (2006 for Akkadian and Dyirbal) may



offer an alternative analysis for Sundanese control structures. Englebretson, in particular, on the basis of the behaviors of *bahwa* ‘that’ in spoken Indonesian, could claim that *yén* introducing subject control complements is not a complementizer, but rather a local discourse marker. The following illustrates an instance of a *yén*-clause in subject control.

(4) Ujang<sub>1</sub> mi-harep        [*yén*    PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> bakal meunang pamuji].

U        AV.APPL-expect COMP                FUT win        accolade

‘Ujang expects that he will win some accolade.’

Englebretson claims that the most critical argument for this claim would be non-contiguity, that the ‘that’-clauses do not immediately follow a verbal predicate, signaling the fact that such clauses are not arguments of the higher clause. In other words, Englebretson may take (4) to be a case of juxtaposed clauses, in which *Ujang miharep* ‘Ujang expects’ and *yén bakal meunang pamuji* ‘that (he) will win some accolade’ can stand on their own as separate clauses. Although *yén* is for the most part optional, a *yén*-clause cannot be a main clause on its own, as shown in the ungrammaticality in (5). It is indeed a subordinate marker that generally occurs in a complement clause, akin to the English complementizer *that*.

(5) \**yén*    *pro* bakal meunang pamuji.

COMP        FUT win        accolade

\*‘that (s/he) will win some accolade.’

The first clause *Ujang miharep* is able to be free-stand as a main clause only under the assumption that the verb *miharep* ‘expect’ takes an implicit, pragmatically determined pronoun as its object.

(6) *Ujang mi-harep*            *pro*

U        AV.APPL-expect

‘Ujang expects (it).’

Thus, *yén* in (6) signifies the grammatical relations between clauses in control structures, especially the fact that control predicates take a lower clause as its argument, arguing in favor of syntactic complementation.

Additionally, the proponents of complementation strategies may analyze structures like (7) as involving a purposive linking strategy instead of complementation.

(7) *Amung ng-olo*        *budak-na<sub>1</sub>* [*sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> miara ucing*].

A        AV-persuade child-DEF so that            AV.pet cat

‘Amung persuaded his child to pet a cat.’

Recall from Chapter 2 that Dixon proposed that in Dyirbal, a purpose clause is employed as a complementation strategy. The following example is from Chapter 2, example (34), repeated below.

(8) *ɲaja walŋarra-nyu wugu-gu jaŋga-na-ygu* (Dyirbal)

1SG:NOM want-PAST food-DAT eat-APASS-PUR

‘I want to eat some food.’ (Dixon 2006: 271)

Dixon argues that *walŋarray* ‘want’ is different from the corresponding desiderative verbs in other languages like English because ‘want’ in Dyirbal is an intransitive verb, and hence does not take another argument.

Purposive linking as a complementation strategy has also been claimed to exist in Goemai, a Nigerian language (Hellwig 2006). Although the language does include complement clauses, they are used exclusively to express facts as in factive complements. Hellwig claims that any other type of meaning is encoded via complementation strategies, including purposive linking. According to Hellwig (2006), the extensive use of complementation strategies can be attributed to Goemai’s morphosyntactic properties, asserting that the language “regularly omits core arguments, does not cross-reference arguments on the verb, and does not have morphologically marked voice alternations” (p. 208). It is difficult, therefore, to determine whether a clausal constituent is an argument of a verb. The following are examples of purposive linking.

(9) *a. ni k’wal ndoe hen de hen wul yi* (Goemai)

SG talk CONJ 1SG PURP 1SG arrive SUBORD

‘He persuaded me that I should come.’

b. *hen rang degoe shin shit hok*

1SG think PURP do work DEF

‘I thought to do the work’ (Hellwig: 220)

Turning to Sundanese, one might try to claim that object control structures such as (7) are instances of complementation strategies of the type exhibited in Goemai. Recall that the complement clause with which object control verbs occur can be introduced by a variety of purpose-type conjunctive elements such as *sangkan*, *supaya*, *ngarah*, *sina* and *pikeun*, all of which can be roughly translated as ‘so that’. Unlike Goemai, however, Sundanese evinces morphosyntactic cues to precisely determine the syntactic status of a constituent, more specifically to indicate whether a phrase or a clause functions as an argument of a verb. One of the noticeable cues is the voice marking, i.e. *ng-* and *di-*, as in (10). As discussed in Chapter 1, voice marking generally indicates whether the pre-verbal noun phrase is an agentive argument (actor voice) or a non-agentive argument (passive voice).

(10) a. *\*(Manéhna) bakal ménta \*(duit séwa) ka urang.*

3SG FUT AV.ask money rent to 1PL

‘He will ask the rent from us.’

b. *\*(Urang) bakal di-pénta \*(duit séwa) ku manéhna.*

1PL FUT PV.ask money rent by 3SG

‘We will be asked the rent by him.’

With the presence of the actor voice marker on the verb (10a), it is clear that the pre-verbal element *manéhna* ‘he’ is the agentive subject of the clause. When the verb is prefixed with the passive marker (10b), the DP occurring pre-verbally, i.e. *urang* ‘we’, is the non-agentive subject of the clause. These pre-verbal elements are the arguments for the verb *pénta* ‘ask’ in the way as the post-verbal element *duit séwa* ‘rent’, the omission of which renders the sentences ill-formed.<sup>44</sup>

Now, observe the parallel between a monoclausal structure with a biclausal structure containing a purpose embedded clause with the same verb *pénta* ‘ask’.

- (11) a. *Urang bakal di-pénta \*(duit séwa) ku manéhna.*

1PL FUT PV-ask money rent by 3SG

‘We will be asked the rent by him.’

- b. *Urang bakal di-pénta [\*(sangkan mayar duit séwa)] ku manéhna.*

1PL FUT PV-ask so that AV.pay money rent by 3SG

‘We will be asked to pay the rent by him.’

Note that the bracketed constituent in (11), whether phrasal (a) or clausal (b), is an obligatory element of the sentence, without which the sentence is rendered deviant. Note also that the *sangkan*-clause occurs within the VP of *pénta* ‘ask’, coming as it does between the verb and the PP agent *ku manéhna*. The obligatoriness of the constituents provides evidence that the purpose-type clauses that (object) control predicates select fill

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<sup>44</sup> Here, I am assuming that the null *pro* is also absent, thus the structures are ill-formed owing to the lack of an argument.

an argument slot of the predicate. Not surprisingly, the same purpose-type conjunctions can also surface in canonical purposive adverbial clauses.

(12) Manéhna gura-giru ninggal-keun kantor (*sangkan* bisa ng-udag cambus).

3SG            soon        AV.leave-APPL office    so that    able AV-catch cambus

‘He hurriedly left the office so that he could catch the cambus.’

The *sangkan* clause, in this respect, is obviously an adverbial clause (indicated by its optionality), which functions mainly to supply some additional information regarding the sole purpose of leaving the office in a hurried fashion.

In summary, control structures, especially those introduced by *yén* and purpose-type conjunctions are clausal complements, not instantiations of complementation strategies.

### 4.3 Raising/Control Ambiguity

Postal (1974) identifies cases in English in which certain predicates such as *allow*, *find*, and *permit* display the characteristics of both raising and control-type predicates. In Sundanese, there are at least two predicates, i.e. *percaya* ‘believe/assign’ and *ngaharepkeun* ‘expect’, which can occur in both raising and control structures.

The first thing to be noted concerning *percaya* is that the verb itself is semantically ambiguous, as is apparent in the English glosses (13). *Percaya* exhibits raising properties when it means ‘believe/sure’ and it is a control verb when it denotes ‘assign/entrust’.

- (13) a. Ujang di-percaya geus pi-pisah-an jeung Enéng. (raising)

U PV-believe PERF RED-separate-APPL and E

‘Ujang was believed to have divorced Eneng.’

- b. Ujang di-percaya sangkan nga-wakil-an kulawarga. (control)

U PV-entrust so that AV-deputy-APPL family

‘Ujang was assigned to represent the family.’

Such semantic ambiguity, however, does not arise with the Sundanese parallel of *expect*. *Ngaharepkeun* has a single meaning without regard to the context in which the verb occurs.

- (14) a. Ujang di-harep-keun geus akur deui jeung Enéng. (raising)

U PV-expect-APPL PERF get.along again and E

‘Ujang was expected to have reconciled with Eneng.’

- b. Ujang di-harep-keun sangkan nga-wakil-an kulawarga. (control)

U PV-expect-APPL so that AV-deputy-APPL family

‘Ujang was expected to represent the family.’

There is a slight differential meaning between (14a) and (14b). As a raising predicate, *ngaharepkeun* expresses the mere expectation that something should have happened, could be happening or will be happening. On the other hand, as a control predicate, *ngaharepkeun* conveys some sort of directive or indirect command via expectation. That is why the temporal interpretation of the complement in (14b) has to be always future

relative to the speech utterance time, unlike the one in (14a), in which the temporal point can be specified relatively freely.

The first piece of evidence that *percaya* and *ngayakinkeun* are raising predicates emerges from the fact that they can take a dummy, unpronounced subject, a typical characteristic of a raising predicate.

- (15) a. Di-percaya yén Ujang geus pi-pisah-an jeung Enéng.

PV-believe COMP U PERF RED-separate-APPL and E

‘It was believed that Ujang divorced Eneng.’

- b. Di-harep-keun yén Ujang geus akur deui jeung Enéng.

PV-expect-APPL COMP U PERF get.along again and E

‘It was expected that Ujang reconciled with Eneng.’

The next piece evidence has to do with the fact that the active embedded complement is synonymous with the passive counterpart, indicative of raising structures.

- (16) a. Masarakat percaya Ujang geus pi-pisah-an jeung Enéng.

people believe U PERF RED-separate-APPL and E

‘The people believed Ujang to have divorced Eneng.’

- b. Ujang di-percaya ku masarakat geus pi-pisah-an jeung Enéng.

U PV-believe by community PERF RED-separate-APPL and E

‘Ujang was believed by the community to have divorced Eneng.’



- (17) a. Masarakat nga-harep-keun Ujang geus akur deui jeung Enéng.  
 community AV-expect-APPL U PERF get.along again and E  
 ‘The community expected Ujang to have reconciled with Eneng.’
- b. Ujang di-harep-keun ku masarakat geus akur deui jeung Enéng.  
 U PV-expect-APPL by community PERF get.along again and E  
 ‘Ujang was expected by the community to have reconciled with Eneng.’

Finally, the fact that raising complements allow not only the future auxiliaries as in control complements but also the perfective and progressive auxiliaries provides yet another argument that ‘believe’ and ‘expect’ in Sundanese induce raising.

- (18) a. Ujang di-percaya [*rék/keur/geus* nga-réngsé-keun sakola S3-na].  
 U PV-believe FUT/PROG/PERF AV-finish-CAUS school S3-DEF  
 ‘Ujang is believed to be finishing/have finished his Ph.D.’
- b. Ujang di-harep-keun [*rék/keur/geus* nga-longok dulur-na nu keur  
 U PV-expect-APPL FUT/PROG/PERF AV-visit relative-DEF REL PROG  
 gering].  
 ill  
 ‘Ujang is expected to be seeing/have seen his relative who is ill.’

On the other hand, *percaya* and *ngaharepkeun* behave as control predicates. First, the complement of these predicates can be introduced by a set of complementizers commonly found in control complements.



b. Hadiah di-harep-keun ku Asih ti salaki-na.

gift PV-expect-APPL by A from husband-DEF

‘A gift is being expected by Asih from her husband.’

What is crucial in this ambiguity is that when selecting for a complementizer, these predicates are projected onto a control structure with a CP complement. However, when the same verbs permit a full range of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, they are mapped onto a raising structure.

#### 4.4 Adjunct Control

In the generative literature, it has been claimed that some languages may exhibit so-called adjunct control constructions, whereby the implicit argument in an adverbial clause is coreferential with an overt argument in another clause. The following illustrate an example of adjunct control in English (from Polinsky in press: 28) and the corresponding example in Sundanese.

(22) a. Kim<sub>i</sub> saw her husband<sub>j</sub> [while PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> buying groceries at a mall].

b. Kim<sub>i</sub> ningal-i salaki-na<sub>j</sub> [nalika PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> balanja sembako di mall].

K AV.see-APPL husband-DEF while shop groceries in mall

(22) demonstrates cases of control into an adverbial clause, in which the matrix subject *Kim* is obligatorily co-indexed with the null argument inside the adverbial clause. Note

that, in this case, the possibility of the matrix object *salakina* 'her husband' to be the controller is ruled out.

Polinsky notes that whether adjunct control is an instance of OC or NOC has been a matter of controversy. Focusing on VP-level adjuncts such as *without*, *before*, *after* and *while*, Adler (2006), for example, takes the position that adjunct control is a case of OC. She points out that while adjunct control is not lexically governed, since adjuncts are not part of a verb's subcategorization, some factors structurally determine control into adjuncts. This claim is supported by the fact that adjunct control exhibits OC properties as illustrated in the following (excerpted from Boeckx et al. 2010).

- (23) a. *Adjunct-control PRO requires a local antecedent:*

John<sub>1</sub> said [that [Mary<sub>2</sub>'s brother]<sub>3</sub> left [after PRO<sub>\*1/\*2/3</sub> eating<sub>i</sub> a bagel]].

- b. *Adjunct-control PRO only licenses a sloppy reading under ellipsis:*

John left before PRO singing and Bill did too.

'and Bill<sub>1</sub> left before he<sub>1</sub>/\*John sang'

- c. *Adjunct-control PRO can have a bound interpretation when controlled by only-DPs:*

Only Churchill left after PRO giving the speech.

'[Nobody else]<sub>1</sub> left after he<sub>1</sub>/\*Churchill gave the speech'

- d. *In the appropriate type of adjuncts, adjunct-control PRO obligatorily requires a de se interpretation;*

The unfortunate wrote a petition (in order) PRO to get a medal.

'[The unfortunate]<sub>1</sub> wrote a petition so that [he himself]<sub>1</sub> would get a medal'

Boeckx et al. claim that subject-object asymmetry as illustrated in (24) is a signature property of adjunct control. That is, PRO must be controlled by the subject in the higher clause. This is not entirely true of Sundanese adjunct control, however.

(24) John<sub>i</sub> saw Mary<sub>k</sub> after PRO<sub>i/\*k</sub> eating lunch.

There are reasons to believe that Sundanese adjunct control structures do not exhibit properties of OC. To start, subject-object asymmetry is not always attested in Sundanese. The referent of adjunct PRO can be the subject in the higher clause.

(25) Ujang<sub>1</sub> ng-obrol jeung Imas<sub>2</sub> sabari PRO<sub>1/\*2/\*3</sub> meuli sangu pikeun

U AV-talk and I while AV.buy rice for  
manéhna sorangan.

3SG self

‘Ujang talked to Imas while buying rice for himself.’

In some cases, however, the controller of adjunct PRO can only be the object in the higher clause.

- (26) Enéng<sub>1</sub> mikeun simbut ka indung-na<sub>2</sub> saeunggeus PRO<sub>\*1/2/\*3</sub> nga-rasa

E AV.give blanket to mother-DEF after AV-feel

ka-tiris-an.

PV-cold-EXCESS

‘Eneng gave a blanket to her mother after (her mother) felt cold.’

It would sound pragmatically odd if the whole reason for Eneng to give the blanket to her mother was because Eneng herself felt cold.

There are also cases in which adjunct PRO can refer to either the subject or the object in the higher clause.

- (27) Kuring<sub>1</sub> can nepung-an lanceuk<sub>2</sub> tisaprak PRO<sub>1/2</sub> balik ka Indonesia.

1SG PERF.NEG AV.meet-APPL brother since return to Indonesia

‘I have yet to meet up with my big brother since (I/he) returned to Indonesia.’

Additionally, adjunct control PRO may take a non-local c-commanding antecedent.

- (28) Imas<sub>1</sub> nyaksi-an yén [adi-na Ujang<sub>2</sub> téh]<sub>3</sub> kalakah nga-léos

I AV.witness-APPL COMP brother-DEF U PART PART AV-leave

saeunggeus PRO<sub>\*1/2/3/4</sub> nga-ruksak konci pager.

after AV-destroy lock fence

‘Imas witnessed that Ujang’s little brother left after breaking the fence’s lock.’

In this context, there are three potential referents for the adjunct PRO: Ujang, Ujang's brother or someone in the discourse, all of which are plausible and licit antecedents.

With respect to the VP ellipsis diagnostic, PRO in adjunct clauses permits both a sloppy and strict interpretation.

(29) Aep ka-saré-an        nalika lalajo wayang dina TV, pon kitu deui Kusman.

A    PV-sleep-INVOL while watch puppet in    TV, also        again K

a. Strict: Kusman fell asleep while Aep was watching TV.

b. Sloppy: Kusman fell asleep while Kusman was watching TV.

The ability of PRO in adjunct clauses to take split antecedents provides another argument to suppose that adjunct control yields NOC.

(30) Ema    keur nyaré-an        Imas<sub>1</sub> pedah PRO<sub>1+2</sub> tadi        silih jenggut jeung

mother PROG AV.scold-ITER I        because        just.now REC pull.hair and

ba-batur-an-na<sub>2</sub>.

RED-other-NOML-DEF

'The mother is scolding Imas because PRO and her friend pulled each other's hair.

In conclusion, it appears that Sundanese adjunct control evinces behaviors of NOC, and the choice of PRO controller is largely dependent upon the pragmatics. Thus, the absence of clear-cut subject-object asymmetry as attested in English and the lack of

uniform behaviors in terms of adjunct PRO provide evidence that pragmatics trumps syntax in Sundanese adjunct control.

#### 4.5 Standard Account

In traditional approaches to control within the Principles and Parameters framework, raising and control have been analyzed as two substantially different structures. While raising is the by-product of movement, control is produced by having a base-generated PRO as the subject of the lower clause that must be coindexed with an argument of the higher clause. This distinction is crucially based on the following major assumptions: (i) an argument chain bears only one theta role; (ii) movement to a theta position is barred; (iii) theta roles are not checkable features; (iv) PRO and DP-trace are distinct; and (v) the control module that governs the controller of PRO and its interpretation exists (see, for example, Chomsky and Lasnik 1993). Recall the sentences in (13), repeated below.

- (31) a. John tried to embarrass Kim.  
b. John tended to embarrass Kim.

Under this standard view, the derivations for raising and control structures in (31) are exemplified in (32).

- (32) a. [TP John<sub>i</sub> [vP ~~John~~<sub>i</sub> tried [CP [TP PRO<sub>i</sub> to [vP ~~PRO~~<sub>i</sub> to embarrass Kim]]]]]  
b. [TP John<sub>i</sub> [vP ~~John~~<sub>i</sub> tended [TP ~~John~~<sub>i</sub> to [vP ~~John~~<sub>i</sub> to embarrass Kim]]]]



In the control structure, PRO is merged in [Spec, vP], where it is assigned a thematic role by the embedded verb. It raises to the embedded [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP feature on embedded T. Null C is then merged, bearing the case feature [null], which values the case feature on PRO. *John* is merged in the matrix [Spec, vP], where it receives a  $\theta$ -role; and finally it ends up in the matrix [Spec, TP]. The derivation for the raising structure significantly differs from that of control, as shown in (32b). *John* is base-generated in the embedded [Spec, vP] where it gets ascribed a theta role. It moves first to the embedded [Spec, TP] for EPP reasons, then moves on to the matrix [Spec, vP] to have its case feature valued by the case feature on the matrix T. *John* finally sits in the matrix [Spec, TP] to satisfy EPP.

Here, I would like to argue that the apparent differences between raising and control in Sundanese are best accounted for by invoking this standard approach. That is, control predicates take CP complements while raising predicates select TP complements.

#### 4.5.1 Control in CP Complements

With the theoretical assumptions laid out in the preceding section, Sundanese raising and control are derived in the following manner.

- (33) a. Ujang<sub>i</sub> di-titah [sangkan PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> meuncit domba].

U PV-order so that AV.slaughter sheep

‘Ujang was ordered to slaughter the sheep.’

- b. [TP Ujang<sub>i</sub> [VoiceP ~~Ujang~~ di-titah [vP Ujang<sub>i</sub> titah [VP ~~titah~~ [CP sangkan [TP PRO<sub>i</sub> [VoiceP ~~PRO~~ meuncit [vP PRO<sub>i</sub> peuncit [VP peuncit domba]]]]]]]]]]]

- (34) a. Ujang<sub>i</sub> di-anggap [<sub>t<sub>1</sub></sub> keur meuncit domba.  
 U PV-assume PROG AV.slaughter sheep  
 ‘Ujang was assumed to be slaughtering the sheep.’
- b. [<sub>TP</sub> Ujang<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VoiceP</sub> ~~Ujang~~ di-titah [<sub>VP</sub> ~~Ujang~~ titah [<sub>VP</sub> ~~titah~~ Ujang [<sub>TP</sub> ~~Ujang~~  
 [<sub>VoiceP</sub> ~~Ujang~~ meuncit [<sub>VP</sub> ~~Ujang~~ ~~peuncit~~ [<sub>VP</sub> ~~peuncit~~ domba]]]]]]]]]

This CP/TP proposal is further backed up by the fact that raising complements cannot be introduced by any complementizer (35b) and never allow a resumptive pronoun (35c), whereas control complements can (35a). Observe this contrast.

- (35) a. Ujang di-titah [*sangkan manéhna*<sub>1/\*2</sub> meuncit domba].  
 U PV-order so that 3SG AV.slaughter sheep  
 ‘Ujang was ordered so that he would slaughter the sheep.’
- b. \*Ujang di-anggap [*sangkan* keur meuncit domba].  
 U PV-assume so that PROG AV.slaughter sheep  
 \*‘Ujang was assumed to be slaughtering the sheep.’
- c. \*Ujang di-anggap [*manéhna* keur meuncit domba].  
 U PV-assume 3SG PROG AV.slaughter sheep  
 \*‘Ujang was assumed to be slaughtering the sheep.’

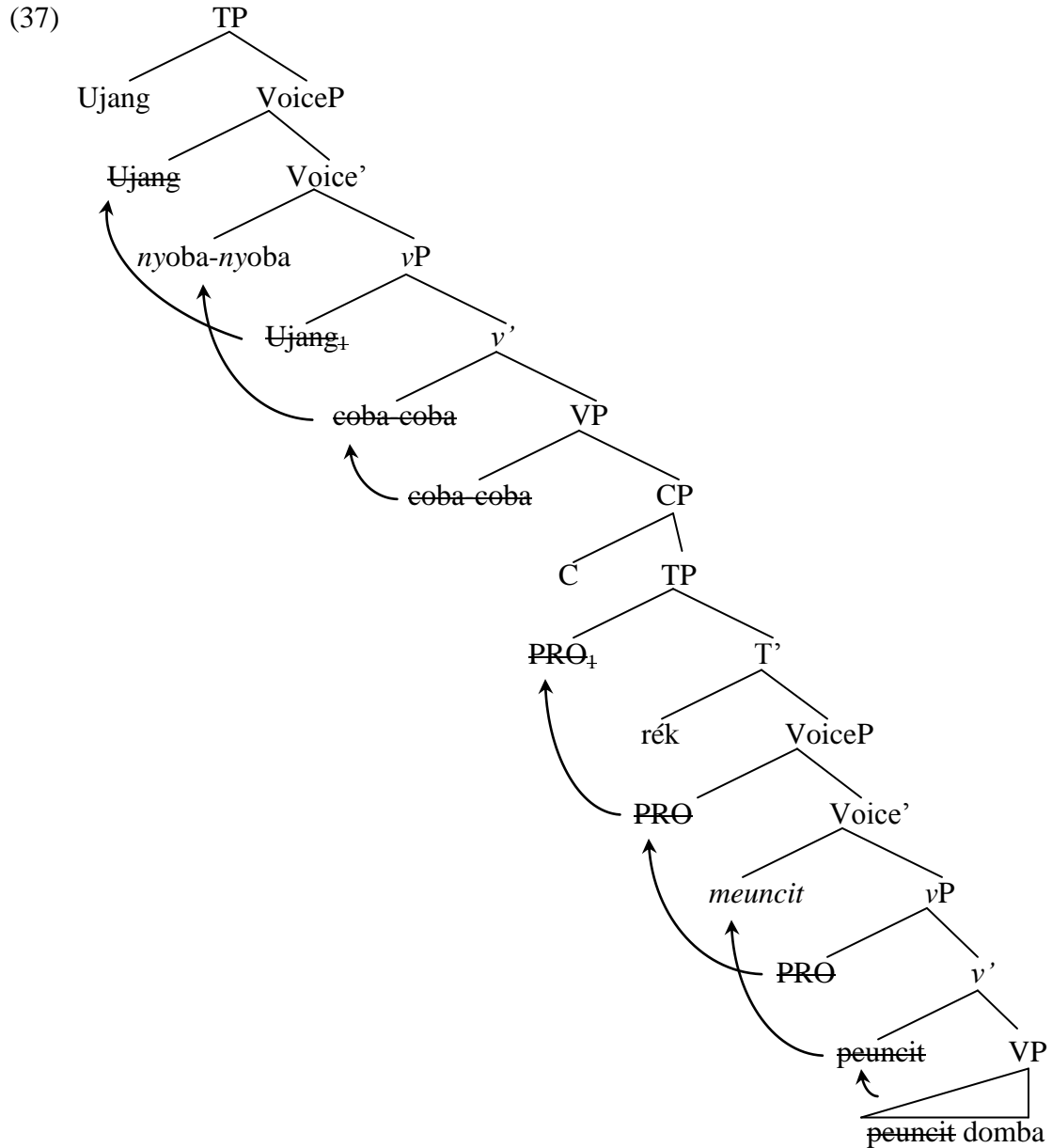
The ungrammaticality of a raising structure in (35b) is due to the presence of the complementizer *sangkan* ‘so that’ and the resumptive pronoun *manéhna* ‘he’, both of which are ruled out in a raising complement clause. The impossibility of inserting a

complementizer and an overt subject in such an environment provides evidence for the fact that a raising predicate takes a TP complement, instead of a CP complement. A CP control complement can be headed by a range of complementizers: *yén* ‘that’, *sangkan/supaya/ngarah/sina* ‘so that’ and *pikeun* ‘to’. In what follows, I will provide structural derivations for a variety of control and raising constructions. To begin, the structure for a subject control construction as in (36) is schematized in (37).

(36) Ujang nyoba-nyoba [rék meuncit domba].

U AV.try-RED FUT AV.slaughter sheep

‘Ujang try to slaughter the sheep.’



In this derivation, the embedded verb *meuncit* 'slaughter' is merged in its base position and then attracted to *v*, and finally ends up in Voice. The same derivation goes for the matrix verb *nyoba-nyoba* 'try'. *PRO* appears in the specifier of *vP* to receive the external thematic role. On its way to the specifier of embedded *TP* to check off the EPP feature on *T*, it stops over at the specifier of *VoiceP*. The matrix subject *Ujang* is generated in the matrix specifier of *vP*, moves up to *VoiceP* and into the specifier of matrix *TP*. It is to be

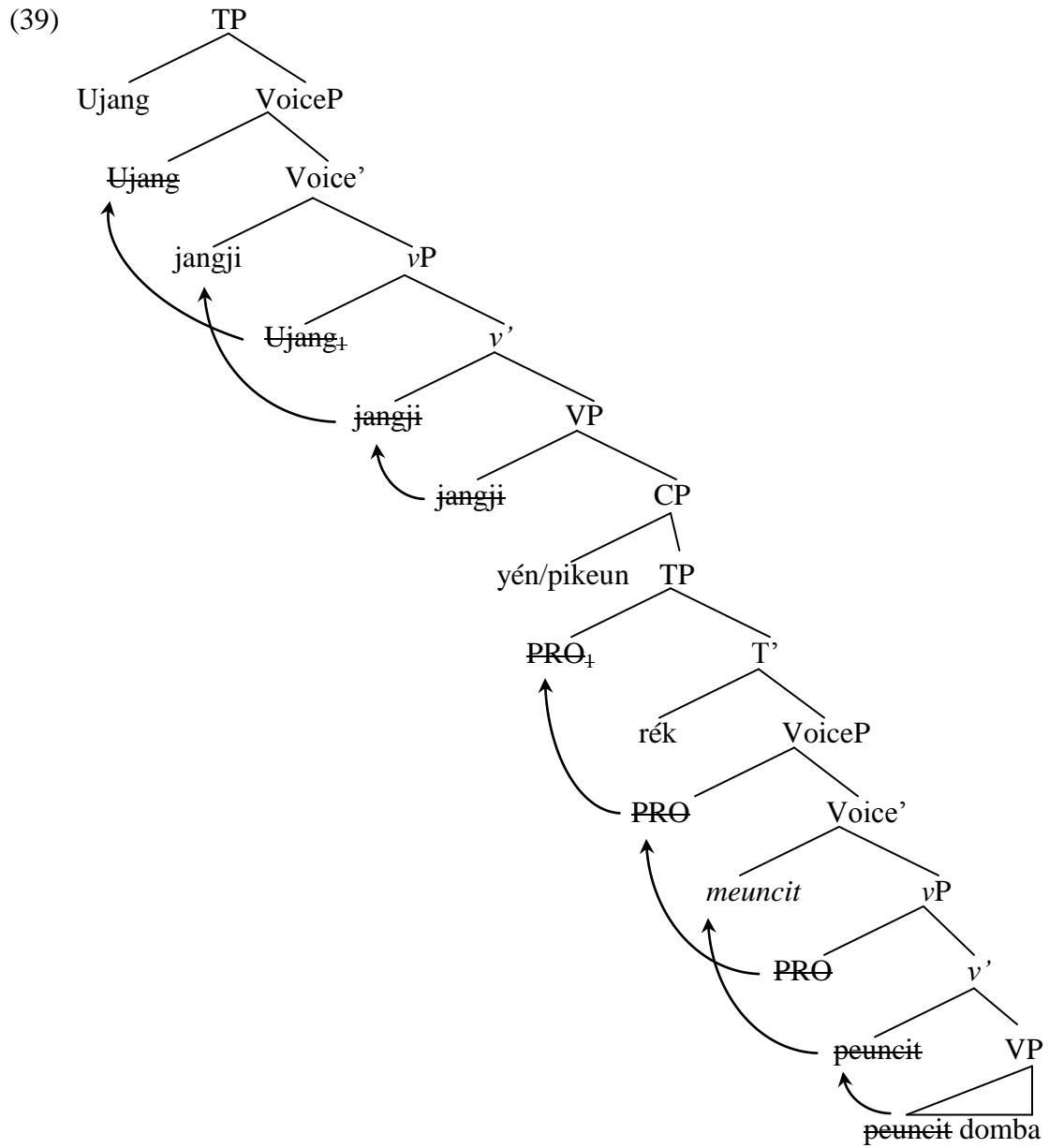
noted that the T head in subject control structures can be saturated by the future auxiliaries *rék* and *bakal* ‘will’.

The *yén* complement in control constructions as exemplified in (38) is structurally represented in (39).

(38) Ujang<sub>1</sub> jangji [yén/pikeun (\***manéhna**)<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék meuncit domba].

U        promise COMP                3SG                FUT AV.slaughter sheep

‘Ujang promised that (he) would slaughter the sheep.’



The derivation for this *yén* complement precisely mirrors the one for the subject control with null complementizer with the difference being that the C-head is occupied by *yén*.



(40), PRO is phonetically realized as an overt pronoun *manéhna* ‘he’. Being a C element, *sangkan* is merged as the C head. Note that the T head is obligatorily empty in this structure since any temporal/aspectual auxiliaries are banned in complements of this type.

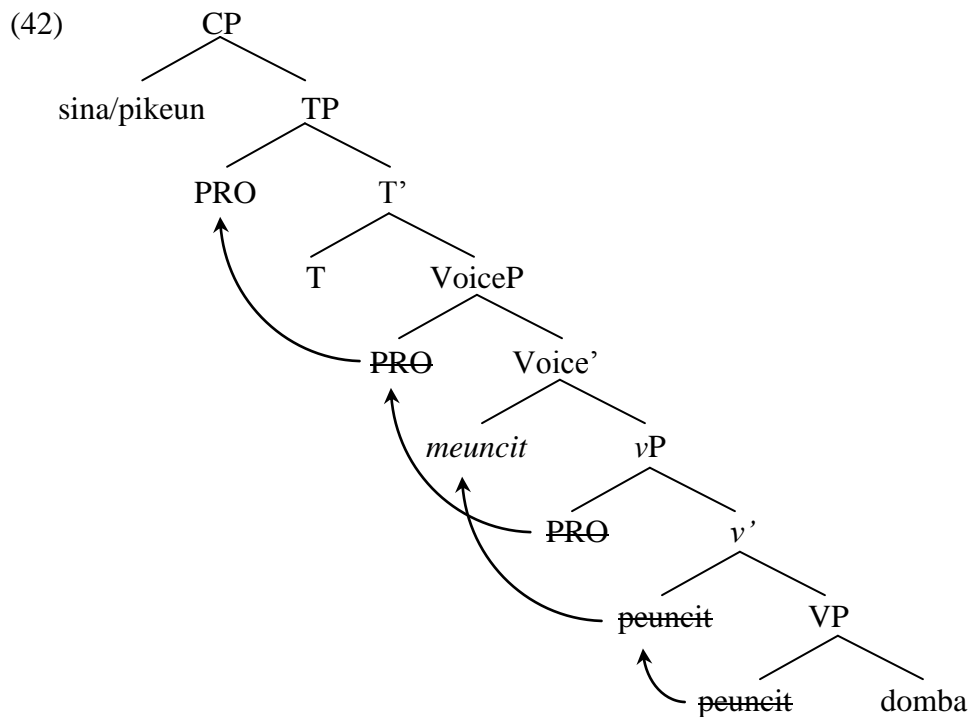
The last variety to be accounted for is the *sina/pikeun* complements. The structure is essentially the same as the structure of the *sangkan*-type complements, except that in *sina/pikeun* complements, overt subjects are not acceptable.

(41) Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah ku abah [sina/pikeun (\***manéhna**)<sub>1/\*2</sub> meuncit domba].

U PV-order by grandfather so that 3SG AV.slaughter sheep

‘Ujang was ordered by his grandfather so that he (would) slaughter the sheep.’

The derivation for the complement clause in (41) is as follows.





Recall that only in *sangkan*-type complements is an overt pronoun permitted in control structures. Thus, the following generalization holds.

- (43) The subject of control complements is unpronounced/null except in *sangkan*-type complements.

The generalization in (43) is consistent with the data and in accordance with the most common assumption regarding subjects in control complements in many of the world's languages. In this way, *sangkan*-type complementizers stand out as exceptions. I would like to suggest that the complementizers *sangkan/supaya/ngarah* are akin to the English complementizer *for* in licensing an overt subject. The crucial difference between the two rests on the fact that these are control structures in Sundanese and thus, only (coreferring) overt pronominals are licensed in *sangkan*-type complements.

#### 4.5.2 Raising in TP Complements

Recall from Chapter 3 that raising complements admit a wide range of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, signifying that the complement includes a TP layer which accords with the commonly held-view of TP status of raising complements (e.g. Chomsky 1986, Landau 2004). The standard analysis of raising in the Minimalist Program generally assumes that raising complements are defective (Chomsky 2001). The canonical finite complements are assumed to have T-heads carrying tense and/or agreement features inherited from C, which are responsible for licensing nominative Case

on the subjects. Raising complements, however, lack a CP-layer. Compare a finite clausal complement to a raising complement.

- (44) a. It seems that he loves flying kites.  
       b. He seems to love flying kites.

As a CP complement, T in (44a) possesses a set of grammatical features, i.e. tense and agreement features; therefore, the nominative Case-marked subject *he* is licensed in the complement subject position. Due to the fact that raising predicates like *seem* do not assign an external thematic role, a pleonastic subject such as *it* can be inserted to serve as the matrix subject. By contrast, T in (44b) lacks the grammatical features and hence is unable to value the case feature of *he*. Consequently, *he* has to *raise* to the matrix subject position to get its Case. Movement of this sort is possible only when it does not take place over a phase boundary. Since CP is considered as one of the phases, movement out of a CP complement is considered not viable. On this basis, a raising complement is then analyzed as lacking a CP layer. In other words, the complement of *seem* is only a TP.

Similarly, raising complements in Sundanese constitute a TP. Motivation comes from (i) the mandatory absence of a complementizer (45a); and (ii) the possible occurrence of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries (45b), and modal verbs (45c).

- (45) a. Gayus di-tuduh [(\*)*yén*] baris nga-wiwirang pa-jabat pajeg].

G      PV-accuse COMP FUT   AV-embarrass NOML-task tax

‘Gayus was accused to be willing to embarrass the tax officials.’

b. Gayus nyampak [*keur malsu-keun duit*].

G AV.appear PROG AV.fake-CAUS money

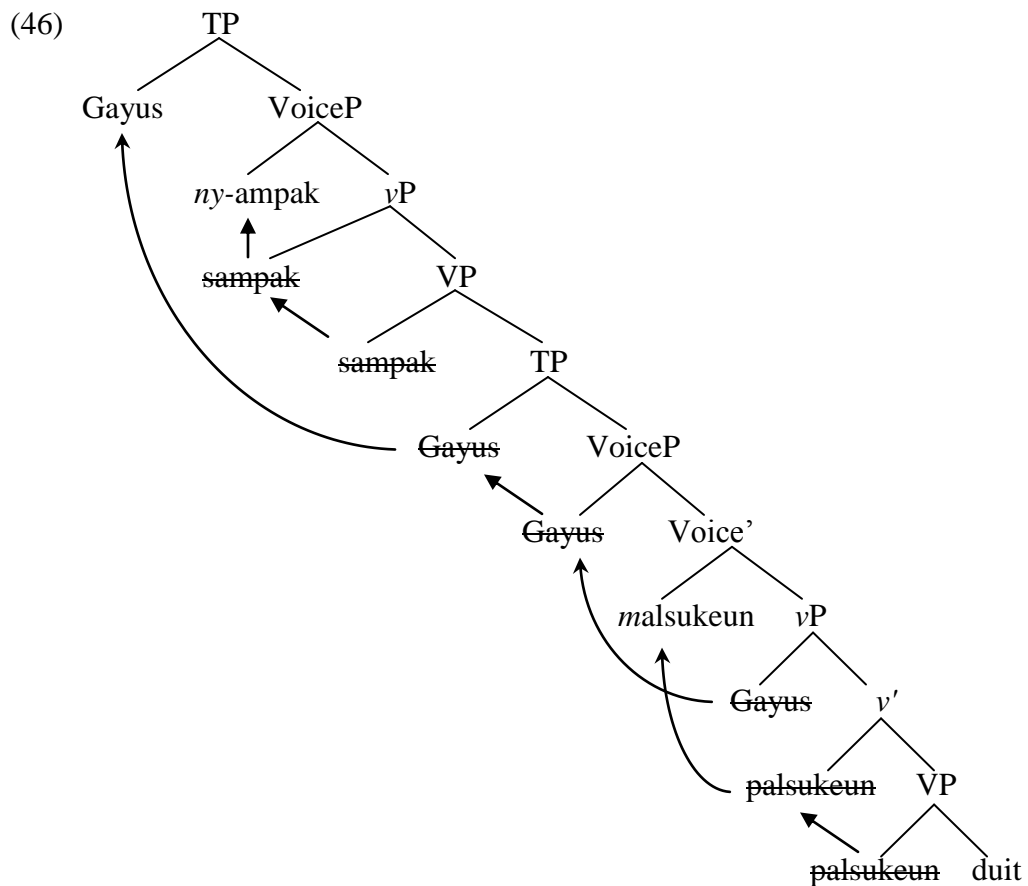
‘Gayus appeared to be forging the money.’

c. Gayus di-anggap [*kudu mulang-keun duit korupsi-na*].

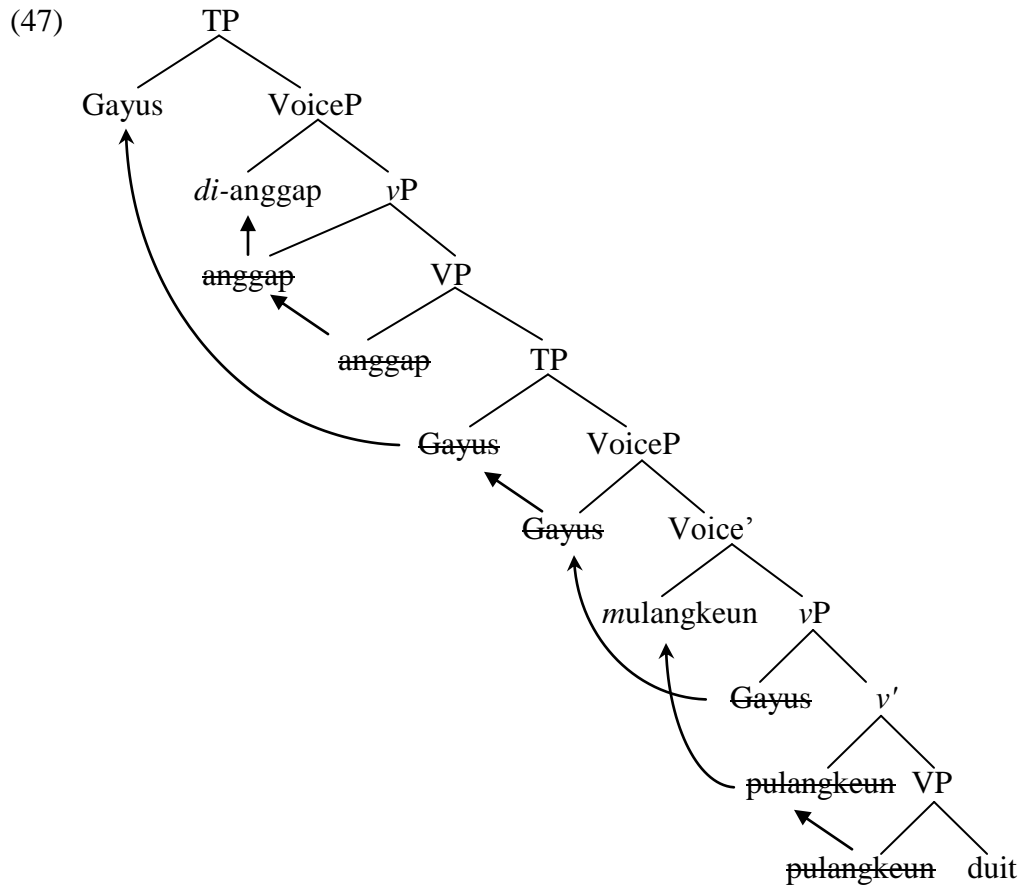
G PV-assume must AV.return-APPL money corruption-DEF

‘Gayus was assumed to have to return all the money he embezzled.’

The structure of an Raising to Subject example like (46b) would be illustrated in (47).



Meanwhile, the structural representation of an Raising to Object example like (45c) is given in the following tree.



In both of the raising structures (46-47), the DP *Gayus* is merged in the specifier of vP to get an agentive theta role and raises to the specifier of VoiceP. It moves first to the specifier of the embedded TP for EPP reasons, then gets ascribed accusative case by the matrix verb. After that, *Gayus* gets attracted to the specifier of the matrix TP to satisfy the EPP feature. The verb in each clause is first generated in the V head, then moves up to *v* and finally onto Voice.

To recap, raising and control differ structurally. Raising complements only include a tense projection, whereas control counterparts include CP.

#### 4.6 Implications

The analysis of Sundanese raising and control structures just motivated provides insight into the issue of finiteness in Indonesian-type languages. Recall that in Chapter 2, Kana (1986) and Arka (2000, 2011) claim that Indonesian, a language typologically close to Sundanese, exhibits finiteness (constraints), manifested by temporal/aspectual auxiliaries such as *akan* ‘will’, *sudah* ‘already’ or *sedang* ‘still’ and modal verbs. These elements can optionally occur in finite clauses but are unacceptable in non-finite clauses, such as control complements. However, I have provided evidence in Chapter 2 that neither temporal/aspectual auxiliaries nor modal verbs can be associated with finiteness in Sundanese. The person agreement has also been shown to not correlate with a finiteness contrast. Sundanese thus appears to lack any morphological realizations of finiteness, but this does not necessarily mean that finiteness is irrelevant in Sundanese grammar whatsoever. The issue of what licenses overt subjects remains.

Recall in Chapter 2 that there is a well-accepted generalization that nominative subject licensing depends on finiteness. In a finite clause, a nominative subject is licensed whereas in a non-finite counterpart it is not. The traditional morphological approach to finiteness, however, associates subject licensing to some morphosyntactic features: tense and agreement. I have shown in Chapter 2 that this type of approach falls short in accounting for the properties of finiteness in languages without inflections such as Chinese, Vietnamese and the Slave languages. It has been proposed, for instance, that in

the Slave languages, finiteness is manifested structurally, not morphologically (Rice 1989). Huang (1984), in particular, claims that in Chinese, structural finiteness is responsible for overt subject licensing. This same notion seems to be at work in Sundanese, where, like Chinese, finiteness is completely abstract. It is conceivable though, that structural finiteness does play a role in accounting for the distribution of overt subjects.

For example, consider some examples of root clause in Sundanese.

(48) a. *Manéhna keur ngumbah-an wadah.*

3SG          PROG AV.wash-ITER dishes

‘She is washing dishes.’

b. *Wadah keur di-kumbah-an ku manéhna.*

dishes    PROG PV-wash-ITER by 3SG

‘The dishes are being washed by her.’

Overt subjects, such as *manéhna* ‘she’ in (48a) and *wadah* ‘dishes’ in (48b), are always licensed in root clauses. Root clauses are generally considered finite domains.<sup>46</sup> I would like to propose that finiteness is identified via structural means, i.e. through the possible licensing of an overt subject in a clause. By assuming an abstract binary [finite] feature on T (in the spirit of Huang 1984), we can account for the presence of an overt subject in a clause. More specifically, it is the positive specification of the [finite] feature that is

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<sup>46</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, the potential counterevidence for this claim comes from Russian and other languages whereby infinitival forms lacking tense and agreement inflection are licensed in root clauses (Tallerman 1998, Evans 1989).

responsible for licensing an overt subject in a finite clause. Therefore, examples in (48) are analyzed as finite clauses.

Another type of prototypically finite clause is exemplified by *yén*-indicative complements.

- (49) a. Ujang teu apal-eun [*yén manéhna keur ngumbah-an wadah*].

U NEG know-3 COMP 3SG PROG AV.wash-ITER dishes

‘Ujang does not know that she is washing dishes.’

- b. Ujang teu apal-eun [*yén wadah keur di-kumbah-an ku manéhna*].

U NEG know-3 COMP dishes PROG PV-wash-ITER by 3SG

‘Ujang does not know that the dishes are being washed by her.’

Here, the pronominal subject *manéhna* ‘she’ and the lexical subject *wadah* ‘dishes’ in the embedded clause is licensed since the *yén*-indicative complement is endowed with a [+finite] feature. The lack of such a feature induces non-finite clauses. To illustrate this, let us compare a finite indicative complement and raising/control complements.

- (50) a. Ujang<sub>1</sub> yakin [*yén (manéhna)<sub>1/2</sub> rék meuncit domba engké soré*].

U sure COMP 3SG FUT AV.slaughter sheep next afternoon

‘Ujang was sure that he would slaughter the sheep this afternoon.’

- b. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-anggap [*(\*manéhna)<sub>1/\*2</sub> rék meuncit domba engké soré*].

U PV-assume 3SG FUT AV.slaughter sheep next afternoon

‘Ujang was assumed that (he) would slaughter the sheep this afternoon.’

c. Ujang<sub>1</sub> di-titah [pikeun (\***manéhna**)<sub>1/\*2</sub> meuncit domba engké soré].

U PV-order to 3SG AV.slaughter sheep next afternoon

‘Ujang was ordered that (he) would slaughter the sheep this afternoon.’

A crucial question to ask is what accounts for the possible presence of an overt subject in (50a) and the obligatory absence of an overt subject in (50b-c). It is the presence of the [+finite] feature in the indicative clause in (50a) that licenses the overt subject *manéhna*. In a raising complement as in (50b), the overt DP *Ujang* obligatorily undergoes raising into the matrix clause because its presence in the embedded clause is not licensed, owing to the negative specification of a [finite] feature. Its matrix clause, on the other hand, bears the [+finite] feature to license the occurrence of an overt subject. The same explanation extends to a control complement as in (50c), in which the lack of the [+finite] feature requires the embedded subject to be null. The characterization of finiteness in terms of the abstract feature of finiteness on T provides a straightforward account of why overt subjects are impossible in raising and control complements.

What of *sangkan*-type complements that allow an overt pronoun in OC structures? Recall that *sangkan*-type complementizers are comparable to the English case-assigning complementizer *for*.<sup>47</sup> They share the property of structurally ascribing

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<sup>47</sup> *Sangkan*-type complements also share with the English *for*-complement a property that they can appear in subject position.

(ii) [*For* John to fail the test] is unthinkable.



case on an overt subject in a non-finite clause. In this way, the occurrence of overt subjects in this environment can be accounted for naturally.

The merit of this finiteness proposal is clear. That is, despite the lack of systematic overt manifestations of finiteness, Sundanese raising and control pattern in the same way as has been proposed for many other languages in that the two constructions involve non-finite clauses, as identifiable by the obligatory absence of an overt subject in the complement clause. I will leave open the possibility of extending this solution to Indonesian and other Indonesian-type languages.

#### 4.7 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have provided arguments against the Movement Theory of Control by essentially showing that raising and control are structurally distinct in terms of the kinds of complementizers, temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, modal verbs, and others in the complement clauses. I also have provided evidence, contra the Complementation Strategies Account, that Sundanese raising and control are instantiations of syntactic complementation, as indicated by the obligatoriness of embedded clauses and the grammatical function of conjunctive elements such as *yén*, *sangkan*, *pikeun*, etc. Adopting the standard account under the Minimalist Program, I proposed that raising and control can be accounted for by appealing to complement syntactic architecture. That is, a raising predicate takes a TP complement whereas a control counterpart selects for a CP

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- (iii) [*Sangkan* Ujang ka-tarima di Universitas Iowa) mangrupa-keun  
 so that U PV-accept in University Iowa is-APPL  
 pang-harep-an kolot-na.  
 NOML-expect-NOML parent-DEF  
 ‘[So that Ujang will be admitted into the University of Iowa] is his parent’s  
 expectation.’

complement. Ultimately, I have shown that, despite the lack of morphological realizations of finiteness, raising and control in Sundanese can be taken to include non-finite clauses, as typified by the inadmissibility of an overt subject in the complement clause.

## CHAPTER 5

### RAISING AND BASE-GENERATED CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 5.1 Background

The central concern of this chapter is to examine two superficially similar sentences: raising and base-generated constructions, as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. Amung di-anggap ku abah geus indit ka dayeuh.

A PV-assume by grandfather PERF go to town

‘Amung was assumed by grandfather to have gone to town.’

b. Amung<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku abah yén manéhna<sub>1</sub> geus indit ka dayeuh.

A PV-assume by grandfather COMP 3SG PERF go to town

‘The grandfather assumed about Amung<sub>1</sub> that he<sub>1</sub> had gone to town.’

In (1a), *Amung* has raised from a position in the embedded clause into the subject position in the matrix clause, and in (1b), *Amung* is base-generated in the clause in which it appears and anticipates the reference of the coreferring pronominal in the embedded clause.

Recent analyses of parallel structures in Madurese have concluded that due to the lack of positive evidence to keep such constructions as (1) distinct, they are best treated as a single structure, i.e. the proleptic NP structure (Davies 2000, 2005a, 2010). It is an empirical question as to whether Sundanese constructions in (1) should be analyzed as a single structure or two.

Furthermore, on the basis of a finiteness opposition outlined in Chapter 4, which ties finiteness to overt subject licensing, the construction in (1b) would have to be taken as an instantiation of finite raising, in which *Amung* is analyzed as having A-moved from an embedded finite clause into the matrix clause. This chapter will assess the extent to which finite raising accounts can naturally capture the Sundanese data.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 5.2, I enumerate distinguishing properties of Raising to Object (RtoO) and the related construction, which I will hereafter refer to as ‘base-generated constructions’. Afterwards, I show that the two constructions in question are two disparate entities and should be kept distinct in Sundanese. In Section 5.3, I first outline the competing analyses for the corresponding constructions. By virtue of their core characteristics, these accounts can be classified into two: the movement accounts (copy raising, superraising, hyper raising and further raising) and the base-generated account (prolepsis). I then evaluate how each of these accounts can be extended to Sundanese data. I demonstrate that the finite raising analyses are not able to accommodate the fact that the matrix argument can corefer to an object or even a possessor in the embedded clause. I argue that Sundanese base-generated constructions are best analyzed as proleptic constructions. Ultimately, I posit an analysis to account for the syntactic distinctions between RtoO and base-generated constructions on the basis of the existing Minimalist account. In the last section, I present implications and conclusions.

## 5.2 Base-Generation versus Raising

In this section, I will begin by presenting numerous arguments that base-generated constructions and raising constructions are two disparate structures. In so doing, a number of defining characteristics of base-generated constructions will be highlighted. Then, I will lay out the properties of ordinary raising constructions, which, as we have seen, precisely mirror the parallel construction in other languages such as English.

### 5.2.1 Base-Generated Constructions

Observe the following English constructions that are semantically alike.

(2) a. Kate is believed by many to have been selected Daughter of the Year.

b. Many believe of Kate that she was selected Daughter of the Year.

(Davies 2010: 358)

Davies (2000, 2005a, 2010) argues that the two constructions at hand exhibit many differences. Most notable is that (2a) is a case of raising, whereby *Kate* has raised from a position in the lower clause to the subject position in the higher clause, while (2b) is a base-generated structure, in which *Kate* surfaces in the matrix clause to anticipate its referent that occurs in the embedded clause. Crucially, raising does not take place in this structure. That is, *Kate* does not undergo raising from the embedded clause.

As seen below, Sundanese has cases that strikingly parallel the English sentences illustrated in (2).

(3) a. *Ipah di-percaya ku balaréa geus ka-pilih salaku Puteri Indonesia 2013.*

I PV-believe by all PERF PV-select as Miss Indonesia 2013

‘Ipah is believed by many to have been selected as Miss Indonesia 2013.’

b. *Balaréa percaya ka Ipah<sub>1</sub> yén manéhna<sub>1</sub> geus ka-pilih salaku Puteri*

all believe to I COMP 3SG PERF PV-select as Miss

Indonesia 2013.

Indonesia 2013

‘Many believe of Ipah<sub>1</sub> that she<sub>1</sub> was selected Miss Indonesia 2013.’

Here, similarly to English, I would like to propose that both raising and base-generated constructions are attested in Sundanese. In what follows, I will describe the properties of structure (3b), which point to a base-generation analysis and present the characteristics of structure (3a), the raising structure.

There is a host of facts suggesting that structures like (3b) involve base-generation. To begin with, base-generated constructions are characterized by a lack of thematic identity of the sentences with the DP in the matrix clause and those with the DP in the embedded clause. This clearly contrasts with raising constructions. If the matrix DP and the coindexed pronoun in the embedded clause bear a single thematic role, the raised and non-raised structures should be cognitively synonymous. Sundanese data below, in fact, do not show such synonymy.

(4) a. Amung apal-eun pisan yén Handi osok nyitak-an duit palsu.

A know-3 very COMP H always AV.print-ITER money fake

‘Amung knew well that Handi always printed forged bills.’

b. Amung apal-eun pisan ngeunaan Handi<sub>1</sub> yén manéhna<sub>1</sub> sok nyitak-an

A know-3 very about H COMP 3SG always AV.print-ITER

duit palsu.

money fake

‘Amung knew well of Handi<sub>1</sub> that he<sub>1</sub> always printed forged bills.’

While these sentences present the identical basic state of affairs, they diverge in terms of the object of knowing. In (4a), *Amung* knew of an event in which *Handi* printed forged bills, but in (4b), *Amung* knew a particular fact about *Handi* that he printed forged bills. This asymmetry suggests that the canonical indicative structure (4a) and the base-generated structures (4b) are thematically distinct. Thus, the absence of thematic identity between the matrix DP and the embedded DP is crucial evidence for the base-generation analysis.

Second, a pronoun coreferential with the matrix DP can occur in the embedded clause.<sup>48</sup> In what follows, the DP in the matrix clause is coindexed with the pronominal *manéhna* in the embedded clause. It is worthy of note that the embedded pronoun with which the matrix DP is associated is not restricted to that occurring in the subject position.

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<sup>48</sup> Researchers such as Flegg and Paul (2002) and Law (2011) take a position that the matrix DP in parallel constructions is thematic, thus the matrix predicate is not a raising verb.

- (5) a. Sekar ng-omong-keun Handi<sub>i</sub> ka ba-batur-an-na yén anak-na bupati  
 S AV-talk-APPL H to RED-other-NOML-DEF COMP child-DEF mayor  
 bogoh-eun ka manéhna<sub>i</sub>.  
 love-3 to 3SG  
 ‘Sekar talked about Handi<sub>i</sub> with her friend that the mayor’s daughter loves  
 him<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. Amung nyarita-keun Handi<sub>i</sub> ka tatangga-na yén paraji embung-eun  
 A AV.talk-APPL H to neighbor-DEF COMP midwife unwilling-3  
 mariksa pamajikan manéhna<sub>i</sub>.  
 AV.examine wife 3SG  
 ‘Amung talked about Handi<sub>i</sub> to his neighbors that the midwife was unwilling to  
 examine his<sub>i</sub> wife.’
- c. Pulisi nga-boléker-keun perkara Gayus<sub>i</sub> ka média yén parusahaan loba nu  
 police AV-reveal-APPL about G to media COMP company many REL  
 mindeng méré duit sogokan ka manéhna<sub>i</sub>.  
 often AV.give money gratuity to 3SG  
 ‘The police revealed about Gayus<sub>i</sub> to the media that many companies often gave  
 gratuities to him<sub>i</sub>.’

In (5), the DP in the matrix clause *Handi* is coreferential with the embedded object pronoun *manéhna* (5a) and the embedded possessive pronoun (5b). The matrix DP can also be co-indexed with the indirect object of the following clause (5c). Crucially, coreference between the DP in the higher clause and the pronoun in the lower clause is



obligatory. That is, the resumptive pronoun has to be *referentially* identical with a matrix element. If such is not the case, ungrammaticality results.

- (6) a. \*Sekar ng-omong-keun Handi<sub>i</sub> ka ba-batur-an-na yén anak-na bupati  
S AV-talk-APPL H to RED-other-NOML-DEF COMP child-DEF mayor  
bogoh-eun ka manéhna<sub>\*i/j</sub>.

love-3 to 3SG

\*‘Sekar talked about Handi<sub>i</sub> with her friend that the mayor’s daughter loves  
him<sub>\*i/j</sub>.’

- b. \*Amung nyarita-keun Handi<sub>i</sub> ka tatangga-na yén paraji embung-eun  
A AV.talk-APPL H to neighbor-DEF COMP midwife unwilling-3  
mariksa pamajikan manéhna<sub>\*i/j</sub>.

AV.examine wife 3SG

\*‘Amung talked about Handi<sub>i</sub> to his neighbors that the midwife was unwilling to  
examine his<sub>\*i/j</sub> wife.’

- c. \*Pulisi nga-boléker-keun perkara Gayus<sub>i</sub> ka média yén parusahaan loba nu  
police AV-reveal-APPL about G to media COMP company many REL  
mindeng méré duit sogokan ka manéhna<sub>\*i/j</sub>.

often AV.give money gratuity to 3SG

\*‘The police revealed about Gayus<sub>i</sub> to the media that many companies often gave  
gratuities to him<sub>\*i/j</sub>.’

In each case, the pronominal in the embedded clause takes reference from the discourse. It does not take the matrix argument (either surfacing as a prepositional object or an applicative argument) as its antecedent, automatically voiding the obligatory coreference between the matrix argument and its resumptive pronoun. Thus, the unacceptability of (6).

Additionally, the base-generated DP in the matrix clause can corefer with an element inside an island, providing further evidence that the constructions at hand involve base-generation instead of raising. For instance, the matrix DP can refer to an element inside a conjoined structure. In (7), *Handi* is coindexed with the possessor of the second DP of the conjoined structure. The sentence is rendered ungrammatical when the second conjunct is occupied by another DP, i.e. *Sekar*, as in (7b). This provides converging evidence for the obligatory coreference between the matrix DP and the position in the coordinate structure.

- (7) a. Amung nyarita-keun Handi<sub>i</sub> yén kamari tukang pos ngirim pakét ka  
 A AV.tell-APPL H COMP yesterday laborer post AV.send package to  
 masjid jeung ka imah-na<sub>i</sub>  
 mosque and to house-DEF  
 ‘Amung told about Handi<sub>i</sub> that yesterday a mail officer sent a package to the  
 mosque and his<sub>i</sub> house.’

- b. \*Amung nyarita-keun Handi yén kamari tukang pos ngirim pakét ka  
 A AV.tell-APPL H COMP yesterday laborer post AV.send package to  
 masjid jeung ka imah-na Sekar.  
 mosque and to house-DEF S  
 \*‘Amung told about Handi that yesterday a mail officer sent a package to the  
 mosque and Sekar’s house.’

Moreover, the based-generated matrix DP, i.e. Handi, can also refer to the pronoun inside a complex DP, i.e. *lalaki nu nenggeul manéhna* ‘the man who bit him’, as in (8).

- (8) Amung nyebut-keun Handi<sub>i</sub> yén kamari pulisi geus néwak lalaki  
 A AV.mention-APPL H COMP yesterday police PERF AV.capture man  
 nu nenggeul manéhna<sub>i</sub>.  
 REL AV.beat 3SG  
 ‘Amung mentioned about Handi<sub>i</sub> that yesterday the police had captured a man who bit  
 him<sub>i</sub>.’

The presence of another DP, i.e. *bupati* ‘mayor’, within the complex DP renders the sentence ill-formed.

(9) \*Amung nyebut-keun Handi yén kamari pulisi geus néwak lalaki

A AV.mention-APPL H COMP yesterday police PERF AV.capture man

nu nenggeul bupati.

REL AV.beat mayor

‘Amung mentioned about Handi<sub>i</sub> that yesterday the police had captured a man  
who bit the mayor.’

Thus, the fact that Sundanese data exhibit immunity to the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Complex DP Constraint (Ross 1967) offers an additional argument for the base-generation nature of these constructions.

The other defining property is the fact that the matrix DP can also occur as a prepositional matrix object. The base-generated examples in (10) and those with the prepositional matrix object in (11) are thematically identical.

(10) a. Handi nyarita-keun Sekar<sub>i</sub> yén manéhna<sub>i</sub> embung-eun di-pariksa (ku)

H AV.talk-APPL S COMP 3SG unwilling-3 PV-examine by

paraji

midwife

‘Handi told about Sekar<sub>i</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> was unwilling to be examined by the  
midwife.’

b. Amung nga-lapor-keun Ujang<sub>i</sub> ka pulisi yén manéhna<sub>i</sub> maok

A AV-report-APPL U to police COMP 3SG AV.steal

hayam-na Pa Haji tadi peuting.

chicken-DEF Mr Hajj last night

‘Amung reported about Ujang<sub>i</sub> to the police that he<sub>i</sub> had stolen Pa Haji’s

chicken last night.’

c. Asép<sub>i</sub> di-tuduh ku Imas yén manéhna<sub>i</sub> sok ng-intip nu keur mandi.

A PV-accuse by I COMP 3SG always AV-peek REL PROG bath

‘Imas accused Asep<sub>i</sub> of the fact that he<sub>i</sub> always peeks at someone taking a

bath.

(11) a. Handi nyarita *ngeunaan* Sekar<sub>i</sub> yén manéhna<sub>i</sub> embung-eun di-pariksa

H AV.talk about S COMP 3SG unwilling-3 PV-examine

(ku) paraji

by midwife

‘Handi told about Sekar<sub>i</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> refused to be examined by the midwife.’

b. Amung nga-lapor-keun *perkara* Ujang<sub>i</sub> ka pulisi yén manéhna<sub>i</sub> maok

A AV-report-APPL about U to police COMP 3SG AV.steal

hayam-na Pa Haji tadi peuting.

chicken-DEF Mr Hajj last night

‘Amung reported Ujang<sub>i</sub> to the police that he<sub>i</sub> had stolen Pa Haji’s chicken

last night.’

c. *Imas nuduh ka Asep<sub>i</sub> yén manéhna<sub>i</sub> sok ng-intip nu keur mandi.*

I AV-accuse to A COMP 3SG always AV-peek REL PROG bath

‘Imas accused Asep<sub>i</sub> of the fact that he<sub>i</sub> always peeks at someone taking a bath.

Note that examples in (10) and those in (11) are synonymous with the difference being that the matrix DPs in (11) are preceded by prepositions such as *ngeunaan*, *perkara*, and *ka*, all of which denote ‘aboutness’.

Lastly, as earlier examples illustrate, the complement of these base-generated constructions is *always* introduced by the complementizer *yén*, coupled with an optional resumptive pronoun *manéhna*. The following show that the complementizer in the embedded clause is obligatory, thus the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (12), counterparts of the grammatical sentences in (11).

(12) a. \**Handi nyarita ngeunaan Sekar<sub>i</sub> manéhna<sub>i</sub> embung-eun di-pariksa (ku)*

H AV.talk about S 3SG unwilling-3 PV-examine by  
paraji

midwife

\*‘Handi told about Sekar<sub>i</sub> she<sub>i</sub> refused to be examined by the midwife.’

b. \*Amung nga-lapor-keun *perkara* Ujang<sub>i</sub> ka pulisi manéhna<sub>i</sub> maok

A AV-report-APPL about U to police 3SG AV.steal

hayam-na Pa Haji tadi peuting.

chicken-DEF Mr Hajj last night

\*‘Amung reported Ujang<sub>i</sub> to the police he<sub>i</sub> had stolen Pa Haji’s chicken last night.’

c. \*Imas nuduh *ka* Asép<sub>i</sub> manéhna<sub>i</sub> sok ng-intip nu keur mandi.

I AV-accuse to A 3SG always AV-peek REL PROG bath

\*‘Imas accused Asep of he always peeks at someone taking a bath.’

The optionality of the resumptive pronoun is evident in the example below, for it does not affect the grammaticality, which is not unexpected in a null pronoun language.

(13) Handi nyarita-keun Sekar<sub>i</sub> ka kolot-na yén pro<sub>i</sub> embung-eun di-pariksa

H AV.talk-APPL S to parent-DEF COMP unwilling-3 PV-examine

ku paraji

by midwife

‘Handi told about Sekar<sub>i</sub> to her parents that (she) refused to be examined by the midwife.’

Note that when neither the complementizer nor the pronominal are present, the sentence is perfectly well-formed.

- (14) Sekar di-carita-keun (ku) Handi embung-eun di-pariksa ku paraji  
 S PV-talk-APPL by H unwilling-3 PV-examine by midwife  
 ‘Handi told (that) Sekar refused to be examined by the midwife.’

I will argue in the next sub-section that the structure in (14) is actually an instance raising-to-object, which in a number of ways differs from a base-generated construction.

### 5.2.2 Raising to Object (RtoO)

As outlined in chapters 3 and 4, RtoO constructions in Sundanese exhibit many properties characteristic of canonical raising structures in many of the world’s languages. Here, I examine those properties that crucially distinguish RtoO and the base-generated structure just described.

The cognitive synonymy of (15) provides the first piece of evidence for the difference between the Sundanese constructions. That is, the raising structure (15b) and its non-raised counterpart (15a) are semantically synonymous.

- (15) a. Imas nyangka yén Karnadi mindeng pisan nga-heureuy-an adi-na  
 I AV.suspect COMP K often very AV-tease-ITER sister-DEF  
 di sakola.  
 in school  
 ‘Imas suspects that Karnadi often teases her sister at school.’



b. *Adi-na di-sangka (ku Imas) mindeng pisan di-heureuy-an ku Karnadi.*

sister-DEF PV.suspect by I often very PV-tease-ITER by K

‘Imas’ sister is suspected by Imas to be often teased by Karnadi.’

In each case, Imas is suspecting an identical state of affairs in which Karnadi often teases her sister.

Next, only the embedded subject may undergo raising, as is characteristic of raising in many of the world’s languages. When an embedded non-subject gets moved, the sentence is ill-formed.

(16) a. *Acéng<sub>i</sub> di-anggap (ku) Enéng kakara balik ti Iowa.*

A PV-assume by E recently return from Iowa

‘Aceng was assumed by Eneng to have recently returned from Iowa.’

b. *\*Acéng<sub>i</sub> di-anggap (ku) Enéng treuk nabrak pamajikan<sub>i</sub>.*

A PV-assume by E truck AV.run.over wife

\*‘Aceng<sub>i</sub> was assumed the truck ran over his<sub>i</sub> wife.’

c. *\*Acéng<sub>i</sub> di-anggap (ku) Enéng Amung nyéwa-keun mobil ka pamajikan<sub>i</sub>.*

A PV-assume by E A AV.rent-APPL car to wife

\*‘Aceng<sub>i</sub> was assumed Amung rent the car out to his<sub>i</sub> wife.’

In (16a), the matrix subject DP originates from the embedded subject position, and the sentence is grammatical. If the raised DP derives from the embedded object position, the sentence is rendered ungrammatical, as exhibited in (16b-c).



### 5.3 Analysis

This section begins with an overview of the existing accounts in other languages that could be relevant to the Sundanese base-generated constructions. These accounts fall into two types: (a) the finite raising accounts, comprising the Copy Raising (Postdam and Runner 2001), the Superraising Analysis (Ura 1994, 1996, 2007), the Hyper Raising/Further Raising Analysis (Fernández-Salgueiro 2008; Martins and Nunes 2009; Ademola-Adeoye 2011), and (b) the Proleptic NP Account (Davies 2000, 2005a, 2010). It concludes with a proposed account that adopts Davies' proleptic NP proposal for the base-generated construction and the standard Minimalist account for the raising construction—by treating its complement as a TP, as argued in the previous chapter.

#### 5.3.1 Finite Raising Accounts

Looking at English data, Postdam and Runner (2001) argue for raising out of a finite clause, which they refer to as 'Copy Raising'. In Copy Raising, a single thematic role apparently corresponds to two different DPs, a non-thematic one in the matrix clause and the thematic pronominal copy in the embedded clause. Ura (1994, 1996, 2007) proposes a distinct type of 'finite raising' which he dubs 'superraising'—a construction in which an embedded DP moves out of a finite embedded clause into a matrix clause crossing a closer potential checker, i.e. another embedded DP. Along the same lines, Fernández-Salgueiro (2008), Martins and Nunes (2009), and Ademola-Adeoye (2011) present cross-linguistic evidence for the existence of what they refer to as 'hyper raising'. Fernández-Salgueiro splits 'finite raising' into two types: Hyper Raising (a DP from a finite embedded clause raises to the matrix clause and it agrees in features with the

matrix and embedded verbs) and Further raising (a DP raises from a finite embedded clause but only agrees with the embedded verb).

There are several reasons why these finite raising accounts are not consistent with the Sundanese based-generated facts. The most obvious is that each of these accounts relies on the very fact that raising elements are confined to subjects of an embedded clause. This restriction does not hold of the Sundanese structure, as we saw in (5), repeated below.

- (18) a. Sekar ng-omong-keun Handi<sub>1</sub> ka ba-batur-an-na yén anak-na  
           S      AV-talk-APPL    H      to RED-other-NOML-DEF COMP child-DEF  
           bupati bogoh-eun ka manéhna<sub>1</sub>.  
           mayor love-3      to 3SG  
           ‘Sekar talked about Handi<sub>1</sub> to her friend that the mayor’s daughter loves him<sub>1</sub>.’
- b. Amung nyarita-keun Handi<sub>1</sub> ka tatangga-na yén paraji embung-eun  
           A      AV.talk-APPL H      to neighbor-DEF COMP midwife unwilling-3  
           mariksa      pamajikan manéhna<sub>1</sub>  
           AV.examine wife      3SG  
           ‘Amung talked about Handi<sub>1</sub> to his neighbors that the midwife was  
           unwilling to examine his<sub>1</sub> wife.’

- c. Pulisi nga-boléker-keun perkara Gayus<sub>i</sub> ka média yén parusahaan loba  
 police AV-reveal-APPL about G to media COMP company many  
 nu mindeng méré duit sogokan ka manéhna<sub>i</sub>.  
 REL often AV.give money gratuity to 3SG  
 ‘The police revealed about Gayus<sub>i</sub> to the media that many companies often  
 gave gratuities to him<sub>i</sub>.’

The purportedly ‘raised’ DP in the matrix clause *Handi* is coreferential with the embedded object pronoun *manéhna* (18a), the embedded possessive pronoun (18b), and the indirect object of the following clause (18c). These examples make the ‘subject-only’ raising accounts untenable for Sundanese. Even though Ura claims that superraising may involve both subject and object raising, his analysis cannot be applied to Sundanese given the fact that the matrix argument can be coreferential to a possessor in the embedded clause. It has been generally recognized that possessors simply cannot raise across a clause boundary and inter-clausal possessor raising is never attested in the world’s languages.

In the subsequent sub-section, I will argue that base-generated structures in Sundanese are best accounted for by Davies’ (2000, 2005a, 2010) Proleptic NP account for Madurese.

### 5.3.2 Proleptic NP Account

Prolepsis can be defined as a construction in which a base-generated non-thematic object in the matrix clause binds a thematic argument in the embedded clause (Gonda

1958, Higgins 1981). Flegg and Paul (2002) for Malagasy and Law (2011) for Tagalog consider prolepsis as a kind of control structure, in which there is a base generation of an argument in the matrix clause that binds a pro/PRO in the embedded clause, but this is clearly not control in the technical sense. Observe the following.

(19) I believe about Kim<sub>1</sub> that he<sub>1</sub> just left the country.

The object DP *Kim* is base-generated in the matrix clause and it anticipates the referent of that object, i.e. the pronominal *he*, which is the embedded subject.

As cited in Higgins (1981), Sayth (1956: 488) identifies a number of verbs that most commonly occur in a proleptic construction. These include verbs of *saying*, *seeing*, *hearing*, *knowing*, *fearing* and *effecting*. As we have seen in Section 2, predicates that appear in the base generated constructions are mostly verbs of this sort.

Davies and Dubinsky (2004) point out that prolepsis analyses have been proposed for a wide range of languages, which include Greek (Ingria 1981, Kotzoglou 2002), Korean (Song 1994), Japanese (Saito 1985, Oka 1988, Hoji 1991, Takano 2003), Malagasy (Flegg & Paul 2002), and others. Davies himself (2000, 2005a, 2010) has proposed a prolepsis analysis for Madurese constructions such as (20), which he believes share a large number of properties with the corresponding English sentence (19).

(20) Hasan ngèra Siti<sub>1</sub> jhâ' abâ'eng<sub>1</sub> mellè motor.

H AV.think S COMP she AV.buy car

Lit: 'Hasan thinks about Siti<sub>1</sub> that she<sub>1</sub> bought a car.'

'Hasan thinks Siti bought a car.'

In this structure, *Siti* is not derived from embedded subject position, but rather generated in the clause in which it occurs, i.e. the matrix clause and Siti must be co-indexed with the pronominal in the embedded clause, *aba'eng* 'she'.

In examining Madurese, Davies calls into question the appropriateness of the RtoO (or Exceptional Case Marking) analysis that has been hitherto proposed for Indonesian-type languages (Indonesian by Chung 1976, Javanese by Davies 1990, Balinese by Wechsler & Arka 1998, and others). He reveals that the raising analysis faces severe challenges and concludes that it is less convincing than the proleptic analysis. He then suggests that the purported RtoO constructions in Madurese should be analyzed as proleptic NP constructions. That is, RtoO and prolepsis constructions are isomorphic in Madurese.

Davies lays out the distinctive characteristics of Madurese proleptic constructions as the following.

- (21) a. Lack of thematic identity of the sentences with the DP in the matrix clause  
and those with the DP in the embedded clause.
- b. The DP in the matrix clause need not be the subject of the complement clause.

- c. Embedded idioms lose their idiomatic interpretation with the DP in the matrix clause.
- d. In certain instances, adverbial clauses may participate.
- e. The construction includes all predicates that take ‘finite’ complements, not a circumscribed set of predicates.
- f. The construction is immune to island conditions.

As Davies acknowledges, the above-mentioned characteristics, except (21a), do not necessarily provide counterarguments to a raising analysis for the Madurese structure since many of these properties have been reported in a variety of languages for which a raising analysis has been proposed. It is, nonetheless, unusual for one language to exhibit all of these properties. Hence, it seems more justifiable to assume that the properties as a group may be the defining characteristics of proleptic DP constructions.

Ultimately, Davies recognizes the fact that when prolepsis is attested in a language, it does not necessarily preclude RtoO constructions. The fact that a grammar of a language recognizes prolepsis does not in and of itself prove there is no RtoO. English, for instance, is language in which its grammar recognizes both prolepsis and RtoO.

(22) John believes of Kate that she won the game.

(23) John believes Kate to have won the game.



In (22), *Kate* in the *of*-phrase is a proleptic object that is base-generated in the matrix clause and binds a pronominal subject *she* in the embedded clause. Meanwhile, *Kate* in (23) is generated in the embedded clause and raises to the matrix object position.

Moreover, there are obvious differences between the two constructions in questions, as exhibited in the table below.

Table 4 Prolepsis vs. Raising Properties

Properties	Prolepsis	RtoO
thematic identity when DP is in complement and in matrix	No	Yes
matrix DP must be complement subject	No	Yes
idioms retain idiomatic meaning	No	Yes
embedded argument may be in adverbial clause	Yes	No
all predicates taking finite complements allow structure	Yes	No
immunity to island conditions	Yes	No

It is immediately clear from the table above that prolepsis and RtoO constructions in English grammar are distinct. This is the line of reasoning that I will pursue in investigating the corresponding constructions in Sundanese.

Davies' proleptic NP account provides a satisfactory account for the Sundanese base-generated constructions in light of the fact that the criterial characteristics of prolepsis are analogous to those of base-generated constructions, as summarized below.

Table 5 Base-generated constructions = Prolepsis

Properties	Prolepsis	Base-Generation
Cognitive synonymy	No	No
Subject-only 'raising'	No	No
Immunity to islands	Yes	Yes
Complementizer	Yes	Yes
Resumptive pronoun	Yes	Yes

However, unlike Davies' (2000, 2005a, 2010) proposal for Madurese in which the purported RtoO constructions receive proleptic analysis, I have shown that RtoO constructions in Sundanese exhibit some properties atypical of proleptic constructions, supporting a raising analysis. In other words, I am arguing that Sundanese patterns with English, not with Madurese, in exhibiting both proleptic and RtoO structures.

### 5.3.3 Standard Account

As I have argued in Chapter 4, RtoO predicates take a TP complement, as supported by the fact that a raising complement cannot take a complementizer and an overt pronoun. In this chapter, I have shown that Sundanese raising is subject to familiar restrictions instantiated in a multitude of raising cases in the world's languages, namely that only the subject of the lower clause can undergo raising into the higher clause. Crucially, what Chapters 3-5 have illustrated is the fact that Sundanese exemplifies an ordinary type of raising as is attested in many languages, despite the fact that Sundanese raising exhibits peculiar characteristics with respect to no constraints in temporal specification of the embedded clause and admissibility of the full range of modal verbs.

With regard to proleptic complements, it is understood that they contain a complementizer projection as indicated by the obligatory occurrence of the complementizer *yén*. The ungrammaticality of a proleptic example in (264b) is due to the lack of a complementizer in the complement. Note that the same ungrammaticality

obtains in the English paraphrase, which highlights the similarities between Sundanese and English prolepsis.<sup>49</sup>

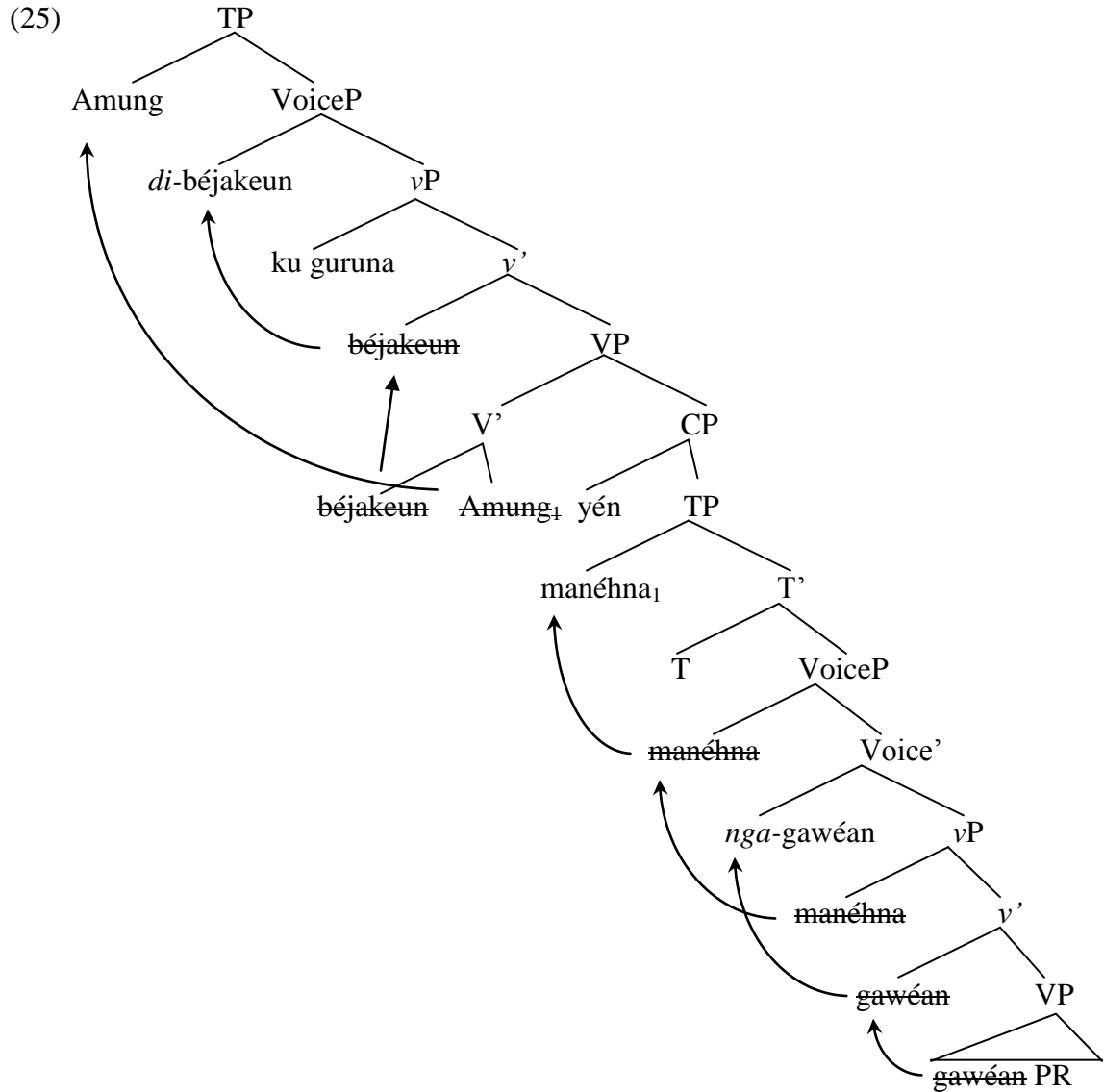
- (24) a. Amung<sub>1</sub> di-béja-keun ku guru-na ka kolot-na<sub>1</sub> [yén manéhna<sub>1</sub> tara  
 A PV-news-APPL by teacher-DEF to parent-DEF COMP 3SG never  
 nga-gawé-an PR sakola-na<sub>1</sub>].  
 AV-work-ITER homework school-DEF  
 ‘The teacher reported Amung<sub>1</sub> to his<sub>1</sub> parents that he<sub>1</sub> never does his<sub>1</sub>  
 homework.’
- b. \*Amung di-béja-keun ku guru-na ka kolot-na [manéhna tara  
 A PV-news-APPL by teacher-DEF to parent-DEF 3SG never  
 nga-gawé-an PR sakola-na].  
 AV-work-ITER homework school-DEF  
 \*‘The teacher reported Amung to his parents he never does his homework.’

A resumptive pronoun that can co-occur with the complementizer is welcome under a CP complement, for a nominative (lexical) subject is ordinarily licensed only inside a CP. The structure of the proleptic NP example in (24a) is presented in (25). Irrelevant details are not included.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> It should be noted that this complementizer restriction appears not to hold in Madurese (cf. Davies 2005a).

<sup>50</sup> I am not representing the structure for applicatives despite the applicative morphology on most of the proleptic verbs, since such a structure is considered immaterial in the present thesis.



In this derivation, the pronominal embedded subject *manéhna* ‘he’ is merged in its base position, then raises through the specifier of VoiceP to satisfy the EPP feature and winds up in the specifier of the embedded TP for the same reason. The associated matrix DP *Amung* is generated in the matrix theme position and raised to the specifier of TP.

## 5.4 Implications and Conclusions

The parallelism between Sundanese and English in recognizing RtoO and prolepsis constructions as two disparate structures has a significant bearing on the proposed association between finiteness and overt subject licensing outlined in the preceding chapter. The featural specification of [finite] on T is responsible for the possible presence or obligatory absence of an overt subject in a clause. I have proposed that the impossibility of a raising complement to have an overt subject is explainable on the assumption that the T head in its embedded clause bears a [-finite] clause, and consequently does not license an overt subject.

The postulation of an abstract finite feature allows for a natural explanation for why a prolepsis complement is able to have an overt pronoun. That is, the prolepsis complement is finite owing to the fact that its T head is specified with a [+finite] feature that licenses an overt subject. Sundanese is, therefore, like English in exhibiting a contrast between RtoO and prolepsis along the line of finiteness. A raising complement is non-finite, whereas a prolepsis complement is finite.

In conclusion, there are substantial differences between the raising structure, i.e. RtoO, and the base-generated structure, i.e. proleptic NP construction, in Sundanese. These differences are mainly due to structural properties: RtoO involves movement, while base generated construction does not. All accounts subsumed under finite raising are insufficient to account for the base-generated constructions mainly because prototypical raising cases are subject-only raising. I have shown here that the matrix DP can refer to an embedded object and embedded object possessor, apparent counterevidence for finite raising accounts. Sundanese base-generated constructions are

best analyzed as instantiations of proleptic NP constructions. I have argued that Sundanese shares with English the fact that its grammar contains both RtoO and prolepsis. Also, I have shown that despite its peculiar characteristics in terms of admissibility of a variety of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries and modal verbs, Sundanese raising is basically not different from familiar cases of raising in the world's languages. Finally, I have shown that the raising and prolepsis distinctions lend further support to the proposed abstract finite feature in Sundanese in that the feature straightforwardly explains why a raising complement cannot have an overt subject, while a prolepsis complement can.

## CHAPTER 6

### CROSSED-CONTROL CONSTRUCTIONS (CCC)

This chapter explores a particular kind of control structure involving a subset of control predicates such as desideratives, implicatives and aspectuals that exhibit properties atypical of the canonical control constructions discussed in Chapter 3. Observe the following examples.

- (1) a. Sapédah geus réngsé di-oméan ku Ujang. (crossed control)

bicycle PERF finish PV-fix by U

Lit: 'The bicycle has finished being fixed by Ujang.'

'Ujang has finished fixing the bicycle.'

- b. Ujang geus réngsé ng-oméan sapédah. ('ordinary' control)

U PERF finish AV-fix bicycle

'Ujang has finished fixing the bicycle.'

(1a) instantiates what is now commonly referred to as the 'crossed control construction' (CCC), in which the thematic alignment between predicates and their arguments is crossed. That is, the theme argument *sapédah* 'the bicycle' has raised out of the embedded clause into the matrix clause, whereas the argument receiving the agentive  $\theta$ -role from the matrix and embedded verbs, i.e. *Ujang*, resides in the embedded clause.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> I will use the terms 'matrix' and 'embedded' clauses in describing the data only for expository purposes in order to avoid confusion. I will later analyze these structures as monoclausal, in agreement with earlier proposals.

(1b) is the non-crossed counterpart with the ordinary thematic alignment of the predicates and their arguments. The agentive argument *Ujang* occurs as the grammatical subject, as is the case of canonical control constructions. Two things have to be accounted for here: (i) the fact that the embedded theme can escape from complement position; and (ii) the assignment of the ‘experiencer’ role of the matrix verb to an embedded argument.

Recently, there have been a number of proposals to account for CCC in Indonesian and Malay (Polinsky & Potsdam 2008; Fukuda 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012). The fundamental similarity among these proposed accounts is the fact that the higher predicate takes a *v*P/VP complement. This chapter presents empirical data of the crossed control structure and the non-crossed counterpart in Sundanese, and posits a slightly different analysis by drawing upon earlier accounts. I propose that the crossed control predicates select a VoiceP complement. I argue that VoiceP provides a straightforward explanation for a set of interrelated facts: (a) the presence of a plural marked-verb inside the crossed control complement and (b) the apparent parallelism between the ordinary control and the crossed control. That is, I postulate that the structure for the two types of control of the same predicates (e.g. *hayang* ‘want’, *poho* ‘forget’ and aspectual predicates) is identical, in which case their complement contains VoiceP. The unavailability of the crossed control reading with the ordinary control structure can be explained by invoking Chomsky’s (2000) Phase Impenetrability Condition. I adopt Sato and Kitada’s (2012) feature inheritance model to explicate the rather unusual alignment of the experiencer/theme thematic roles and the arguments.

The present chapter is organized as follows. In Section 6.1, I first enumerate a number of principal characteristics of CCCs from the recent literature and extend them to



the parallel structures in Sundanese in Section 6.2. It is shown that there is an apparent parallelism between crossed control structures and ordinary control structures with the same set of predicates. In Section 6.3, I review the existing (possible) analyses for crossed control constructions, including the verb serialization analysis and a variety of raising-type analyses. I show that these proposals are unable to accommodate the body of facts concerning Sundanese CCCs. As an alternative, in Section 6.4, I propose that the complement of the crossed control is of the category of VoiceP. Section 6.5 presents conclusions.

## 6.1 Overview of CCC

Predicates such as *mau/ingin* ‘want’ in Malay/Indonesian have been claimed to evince a peculiar construction, often referred to as ‘funny control’, or ‘crossed control’ (Purwo 1984; Sneddon 1996; Arka 2000; Musgrave 2001; Gil 2002; Polinsky & Postdam 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato 2010; Sato & Kitada 2012). When these predicates embed an active verb, the canonical subject control reading obtains, in which the matrix subject, the controller, bears a semantic relation to both the matrix verb *mau* ‘want’ and embedded verb *cium* ‘kiss’. In other words in (2), *anak itu* ‘the child’ is both the wanter and the kisser.

(2) Anak itu mau/ingin men-cium ibu. (Malay/Indonesian)

child DEM want AV-kiss mother

‘The child wants to kiss the mother.’ (Polinsky & Postdam 2008: 1617)

On the other hand, when the embedded clause is passive, two potential interpretations arise, one being rather unusual, or what Gil (2002) refers to as ‘funny’.

(3) Anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu. (Malay/Indonesian)

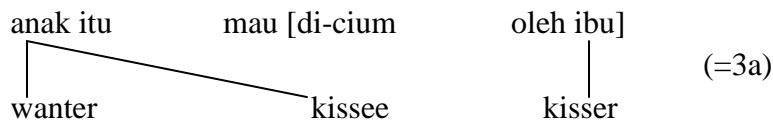
child DEM want PV-kiss by mother

(i) ‘The child wants to be kissed by the mother.’

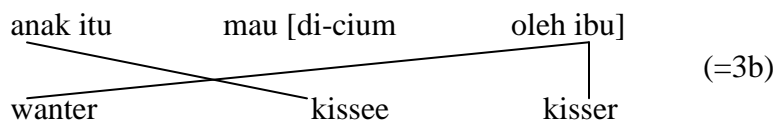
(ii) ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’ (Polinsky & Potsdam 2008: 1618)

The first interpretation is analogous to the English paraphrase (i), which is simply the passive counterpart of the ordinary subject control in (2). The second interpretation involves the crossed alignment of semantic association. That is, the argument construed as the experiencer of *want* and the agent of *kiss* occurs in the embedded clause, i.e. the adjunct agent position, while the embedded theme surfaces in the matrix clause. This is the ‘crossed’ nature of the structure. Following Nomoto (2008), we can illustrate the thematic relationships between arguments in regular control versus crossed-control.

(4) a. *Regular control* (3i)



b. *Crossed control* (3ii)



Cross-linguistically, as Sato & Kitada (2012) point out, the crossed control structure is a rare phenomenon that is not found in well-studied languages such as English, Italian, Dutch, German and Japanese.<sup>52</sup> In English, for example, the ‘crossed’ interpretation (5b) is illicit for the corresponding English paraphrase of (2)<sup>53</sup>. (5) clarifies this point.

(5) The child wants to be kissed by the mother.

(i) ‘The child wants to be kissed by the mother.’

(ii) ‘\*The mother wants to kiss the child.’

Structure (5) allows only the regular reading control (5i), with the ordinary alignment between predicates and the experiencer/theme arguments, where the matrix argument ‘the child’ controls the referent of the null embedded subject. The crossed-control reading (5ii) is ruled out.

The crossed-control phenomenon is also found in Madurese (Davies 2011) and Balinese (Natarina 2011).

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<sup>52</sup> Polinsky and Postdam (henceforth P&P) report that CCCs have also been found in other Austronesian languages such as Javanese, Tagalog, Malagasy, *Tukang Besi*, Tongan, and Samoan. In each case, the complement argument is the wanter and the matrix argument is the theme.

<sup>53</sup> A non-standard dialect of English, namely the Pittsburgh dialect, apparently has the identical parallel of the Malay/Indonesian CCC as in (2). This is given in (i).

(i) The house wants painted by the owner. (Tenny 1998 quoted in P&P: 1620)

P&P, however, mention that (i) can only mean “the house should be painted by the owner”. Thus, *want* does not imply willingness in this respect, and (i) is, therefore, entirely different from the Malay/Indonesian CCC in interpretation.

(6) Motor sè anyar terro [è-belli-yâ moso anom]. (Madurese)

car REL new want OV-buy-IRR by uncle

‘Uncle wants to buy a new car.’

(7) Motore coba [umbaha taken I Mongkeg]. (Balinese)

motorbike-DET try.OV wash.PV by DET M

‘Mongkeg tried to wash the motorbike.’

In both examples (6-7), the embedded arguments *Anom* and *Mongkeg* serve as the agent for both the matrix and embedded verbs.

Davies states that there is preference among Madurese speakers for the matrix subject of CCCs to be an inanimate entity, as in (8b).

(8) *Madurese*

a. Ina molaè nyèmprot roma-na bi' cèt.

I start AV.spray house-DEF with paint

‘Ina began to spray her house with paint.’

b. Roma-na molaè è-sèmprot bi' cèt moso Ina.

house-DEF start OV-spray with paint by I

‘Ina began to spray her house with paint.’

Under appropriate contexts, however, structures with ambiguous readings equivalent to the Indonesian sentence (2) can arise.

(9) *Madurese*

- a. Kana' rowa èpasemma'      bâkto *terro è-sèyom-a moso embu'*.  
 child that OV-CAUS-close time want OV-kiss-IRR by mother  
 'The child was brought close when the mother wanted to kiss it.'
- b. Kana' rowa nyemma' polana *terro è-sèyom-a moso embu'*.  
 child that AV.close because want OV-kiss-IRR by mother  
 'The child came close because he wanted to be kissed by mother.'

In (9a), the crossed control reading results, in which it is the mother who is the wantee. The child is brought close to her because she desires to kiss him. By contrast, in (9b), the child is the wantee, who is actively seeking out his mother to get a kiss.

P&P put forth a number of defining characteristics of Indonesian CCCs. Essentially, the crossed control verbs *mau/ingin* 'want' share some of the characteristics of raising verbs and finite auxiliaries as that they are syntactically restricted. The properties are presented in (10).

- (10) a. do not passivize  
 b. do not embed under a control complement  
 c. do not form an imperative  
 d. do not combine with other auxiliaries  
 e. do not allow an independent temporal specification for its complement  
 f. do not allow a complementizer in complement clause  
 g. do not allow the complement clause to be fronted. (P&P: 1630)

P&P conclude from all of these properties that *mau/ingin* in the crossed control context are actually raising auxiliaries, which subordinate a reduced clausal complement that projects a VP.

## 6.2 Sundanese CCCs

As stated in the preceding section, a certain set of predicates in Sundanese display characteristics of the crossed-control reading, aside from ‘ordinary’ control.<sup>54</sup> In the ‘ordinary’ control construction (11), the argument *kuring* ‘I’ occurs in its prototypical subject position to receive the agentive  $\theta$ -roles from the main and complement verbs.

- (11) a. *Kuring geus hayang ng-oméan imah.*

1SG PERF want AV-fix house

‘I wanted to fix the house.’

- b. *Abah poho teu nulak-an panto tukang.*

grandfather forget NEG AV.lock-APPL door back

‘The grandfather forgot to lock the back door.’

When the theme of the complement clause moves up to occupy the matrix subject position, the crossed control construction obtains.

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<sup>54</sup> I use the term ordinary in quotation marks here mainly because only a limited subset of control predicates exhibit the properties to be spelled out in this section. Most of the properties are not observed in canonical control cases.

- (12) a. Imah téh geus hayang di-oméan ku kuring.

house PART PERF want PV-fix by 1SG

‘I wanted to fix the house.’

- b. Panto tukang poho teu di-tulak-an ku abah.<sup>55</sup>

door back forget NEG PV-lock-APPL by grandfather

‘The grandfather forgot to lock the back door.’

Here, the experiencers of *want* and *forget* that are also the agents of *fixing* and *locking* remain in its base position in the embedded clause, whereas the arguments that undergo the fixing and locking are attracted into the matrix clause. Notice that the control relation is crossed in this respect.

Sundanese parts company with Indonesian and other languages in that the parallel structure in Sundanese (13) is unambiguous. Only the ‘ordinary’ control reading results.

- (13) Budak téh hayang di-cium ku indung-na.

child PART want PV-kiss by mother-DEF

- a. The child wants to be kissed by her mother.

- b. \*The mother wants to kiss her child.

In (13), the only available interpretation is the one in which the subject *budak téh* ‘the child’ is the one who wants (13a). The other interpretation whereby *indungna* ‘the

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<sup>55</sup> Negation in this particular context is pleonastic. It does not function to negate anything but simply to reinforce the meaning of forgetting not to do something.

mother' is the wanter is out (13b). (14) provides a semi-exhaustive list of Sundanese predicates partaking in both crossed control and 'ordinary' control.

(14) *Desiderative, implicative and aspectual predicates*

bisa 'able'	bérés/réngsé 'finish'
eureun 'stop'	gagal 'fail'
hayang 'want'	pantes 'deserve'
perlu 'need'	poho 'forget'
suksés 'succeed'	tutuluyan 'continue'

In what follows, I will employ P&P's diagnostics to the parallel structures in Sundanese to investigate how they are the same or different from the corresponding structures in Indonesian. Also, there are additional properties that set CCCs apart from standard raising/control that P&P did not identify. Importantly, I will show that verbs employed in CCCs exhibit characteristics attested in both crossed control and 'ordinary' control contexts, suggesting necessary parallelism between CCCs and non-crossed structures with the same set of verbs.

First, verbs partaking in both crossed control and 'ordinary' control use cannot undergo passivization.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Verbs such as *hayang* 'want' and *poho* 'forget' actually have passive counterparts, i.e. *di-pika-hayang* and *di-po-poho-keun*, as in (iia-b). These passive forms, however, cannot take a clausal complement, as illustrated in (iic-d).

- (ii) a. Sapédah nu Udin téh di-pika-hayang ku si Ujang.  
       bicycle REL U PART PV-APPL-want by PART U  
       'Ujang wants Udin's bicycle.'



(15) *Crossed Control*

- a. \*Imah téh geus di-hayang di-oméan.

house PART PERF PV-want PV-fix

‘(I) want to fix the house.’

- b. \*Panto tukang téh di-poho teu di-tulak-an.

door back PART PV-forget NEG PV-lock-APPL

‘(I) forgot to lock the back door.’

(16) *‘Ordinary’ control*

- a. Kuring hayang ng-oméan imah.

1SG want AV-fix house

‘I want to fix the house.’

- b. \*Imah di-hayang di-oméan ku kuring.

house PV-want PV-fix by 1SG

\*‘The house is wanted to be fixed by me.’

- 
- b. Kajadian kamari moal bisa di-po-poho-keun.  
incident yesterday FUT.NEG able PV-RED-forget-APPL  
‘I cannot forget yesterday’s incident.’
- c. \*Imah téh geus di-pika-hayang di-oméan.  
house PART PERF PV-APPL-want PV-fix  
‘(I) want to fix the house.’
- d. \*Panto téh di-po-poho-keun teu di-tulak-an.  
door PART PV-RED-forget-APPL NEG PV-lock-APPL  
‘(I) forgot to lock the door.’

The ungrammaticality of examples in (15b-16b) indicates that the higher verb behaves like modal verbs in not allowing passivization. Canonical control verbs of the sort examined in Chapter 3 and 4 behave differently in allowing passivization.

- (17) a. Kuring nyoba-nyoba nerap-keun métode anyar di kelas linguistik.  
 1SG AV.try-RED AV.apply-CAUS method new in class linguistics  
 ‘I tried to implement a new method in the linguistics class.’
- b. Métode anyar di-coba di-terap-keun ku kuring di kelas linguistik.  
 method new PV-try PV-apply-CAUS by 1SG in class linguistics  
 ‘I tried to implement a new method in the linguistics class.’

Second, verbs used in CCC and ‘ordinary’ control do not embed under a control complement and cannot be used in imperatives, again behaving like modals.

(18) *Crossed Control*

- a. \*Panto tukang téh di-coba poho teu di-tulak-an.  
 door back PART PV-try forget NEG PV-lock-APPL  
 ‘(I) tried to forget to lock the back door.’
- b. \*Hayang [di-oméan imah téh]!  
 want PV-fix house PART  
 ‘Be willing to fix the house!’

(19) *'Ordinary' Control*

- a. \*Kuring nyoba-nyoba [hayang di-ajar ng-ojay].

1SG AV.try-RED want STAT-learn AV-swim

'I tried to want to learn how to swim.'

- b. \*Poho mulang-keun buku perpustakaan!

forget AV.return-APPL book library

'\*Forget to return the library's books!'

Examples (a) in (18-19) show that the crossed control and 'ordinary' control predicates cannot be subordinated to a canonical control predicate, and examples (b) show the impossibility of imperative formation with the crossed and 'ordinary' control predicates. By contrast, the canonical verb can be embedded under another control element (20a) and can be used in imperatives (20b).

- (20) a. Kuring mutus-keun rék nyoba-nyoba néang-an pa-gawé-an

1SG AV.decide-APPL FUT AV.try-RED AV.seek-ITER NOML-work-NOML

anyar.

new

'I decided to try to look for a new job.'

- b. Sok putus-keun rék indit kamana!

PART decide-APPL FUT go where

'Decide where (we) are going!'

The CCC predicates do not allow an independent temporal specification in their complement. In (21), the crossed control complement does not admit temporal adverbs (21a) or aspectual auxiliaries (21b).

- (21) a. \**Kamari imah téh hayang* [di-oméan *bulan hareup*].  
 yesterday house PART want PV-fix month next  
 ‘Yesterday, (I) want to fix the house next month.’
- b. \**Minggu kamari panto tukang téh poho* [*rék* di-tulak-an].  
 week yesterday door back PART forget FUT PV-lock-APPL  
 ‘Last week, (I) forgot (that I would) lock the back door.’

The following examples illustrate that the same fact is observed in ‘ordinary’ control analogues.

- (22) a. \**Kamari kuring téh hayang* [ng-oméan imah *bulan hareup*].  
 yesterday 1SG PART want AV-fix house month next  
 ‘Yesterday, (I) wanted to fix the house next month.’
- b. \**Minggu kamari kuring téh poho* [*rék* nulak-an panto tukang].  
 week yesterday 1SG PART forget FUT AV-lock-APPL door back  
 ‘Last week, (I) forgot (that I would) lock the back door.’

The facts in (21-22) appear to suggest that the crossed and ‘ordinary’ control structures express a single event, a general property of monoclausal structures. Recall in Chapter 3

that the complement of certain canonical control predicates can have a temporal/aspectual auxiliary *rék* ‘will’. What is more, the time frame of the control complement clause can be different from the matrix time frame.

- (23) *Kamari kuring geus mutus-keun rék eureun gawé taun hareup.*  
 yesterday 1SG PERF AV.decide-APPL FUT stop job year next  
 ‘Yesterday, I decided (that I) would quit my job next year.’

From (23), it is clear that canonical control is different from crossed control and its non-crossed counterpart in that only the former allows its complement to possess temporal specification separate from the matrix temporal marker.

Additionally, the complement of the crossed control verbs cannot be headed by any complementizers. This provides a preliminary indication that the complement size in this construction is relatively small compared to the control structures described in Chapter 4.

- (24) a. \**Imah téh hayang [supaya/pikeun di-oméan].*  
           house PART want so that PV-fix  
           ‘(I) want to fix the house.’  
       b. \**Panto tukang téh poho [yén teu di-tulak-an].*  
           door back PART forget COMP NEG PV-lock-APPL  
           ‘(I) forgot to lock the back door.’

Yet again, this is also the characteristic of the complement of the same verbs in the ‘ordinary’ control.

- (25) a. \*Kuring téh hayang [*supaya/pikeun* ng-oméan imah].

1SG PART want so that AV-fix house

‘(I) want to fix the house.’

- b. \*Kuring téh poho [*yén* teu nulak-an panto tukang].

1SG PART forget COMP NEG AV.lock-APPL door back

‘(I) forgot to lock the back door.’

But, recall from Chapter 3 that prototypical control complements can be introduced by a variety of complementizers such as *yén*, *sangkan*, *sina*, *pikeun* and others, indicative of the fact that the crossed control and ‘ordinary’ control are distinct structures.

Binding facts provide another property that sets crossed control apart from canonical control. In crossed control, a matrix subject reflexive can be bound by the embedded agent (26a). By contrast, the same cannot hold in canonical control (26b).

- (26) a. Adi-na sorangan<sub>1/\*2</sub> poho teu di-pang-néang-an-keun

brother-DEF self forget NEG PV-BEN-AV.seek-ITER-APPL

pa-gawé-an ku Asmawi<sub>1</sub>.

NOML-work-NOML by A

Lit: ‘Asmawi’s own brother forgot to be looked for a job by Asmawi.’

‘Asmawi forgot to find a job for his own brother.’

- b. Adi-na      sorangan\*<sub>1/2</sub> geus di-jangji-keun      rék  
 brother-DEF self      PERF PV-promise-APPL FUT  
 di-pang-néang-an-keun      pa-gawé-an      ku Asmawi<sub>1</sub>.  
 PV-BEN-AV.seek-ITER-KEUN NOML-work-NOML by A  
 Lit: ‘Someone’s brother was promised to be looked for a job by Asmawi.’  
 ‘(Someone) promised to his own brother that Asmawi will find him a job.’

As manifested in the corresponding English paraphrases, in (26a), Asmawi forgot to do something for his *own* brother, while in (26b), Asmawi forgot to do so for *someone else’s* brother. As described in Chapter 1, the agent PP can antecede the subject in a root clause. Following is an illustration.

- (27) Adi-na      sorangan<sub>1/\*2</sub> teu di-pang-néanga-an-keun      pa-gawé-an  
 brother-DEF self      NEG PV-BEN-AV.seek-ITER-KEUN NOML-work-NOML  
 ku Asmawi<sub>1</sub>.  
 by A  
 ‘Asmawi did not find a job for his own brother.’

A crossed control structure (26a) and a monoclausal structure (27) share the same binding property in allowing the agent PP to bind the grammatical subject.

Put all together, the properties characterizing a particular set of predicates used in crossed control and ‘ordinary’ control environments can be summarized as follows.

- (28)
- a. the verbs cannot be passivized
  - b. the verbs cannot embed under a control complement
  - c. the verbs cannot be used in imperatives
  - d. their complement cannot have temporal markers
  - e. their complement cannot be preceded by any complementizers
  - f. an embedded agent can antecede a matrix subject reflexive in the CCC

All these characteristics appear to point to three things: (i) the set of predicates used in crossed control and ‘ordinary’ control act like modal/stative verbs in resisting passivization, embedding and imperative formation; (ii) the apparent parallelism between crossed control and ‘ordinary’ control; and (iii) a kind of analysis in which the complement is relatively small, smaller than CP (canonical control), as indicated by the ill-formedness with a complementizer, nor TP (raising), as evident in the inadmissibility of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries. Whether the size of the complement is  $\nu$ P, VP or something else is a matter to be discussed in the following section.

### 6.3 Previous Analyses

There are a number of competing analyses that could potentially accommodate the body of facts enumerated above. In essence, all of these analyses posit reduced complements, which do not include projections beyond the thematic layer.



### 6.3.1 The Verb Serialization Analysis<sup>57</sup>

As elaborated in Chapter 2, verb serialization essentially is a process in which more than one verb appears in sequence and functions as a single unit. The verbs typically share a subject and an object and no conjunction can intervene. Recall from Chapter 2 that Englebretson (2003) claims that verb serialization is observed in colloquial Indonesian, as in (29).

- (29) *Mau main* di tempat itu. (Indonesian)  
 want play at place DEM  
 ‘(He) wants to play (video games) at that place.’ (Englebretson: 130)

In (23, the two verbs *mau* ‘wanti and *main* ‘play’ are in close juncture and nothing can intervene between the verbs. The crossed control structure superficially resembles what Englebretson analyzes as serial verb construction, as two verbs come together and share an argument.

- (30) a. *Sambel sésa téh poho ka-piceun pas bé-bérés tadi.*  
 sauce leftover PART forget PV-throw when RED-clean just now  
 ‘(I) forgot (that I) threw away the leftover sauce when I was cleaning up.’

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<sup>57</sup> P&P have argued effectively against the clause union analysis of Indonesian CCCs and therefore, I will not repeat their arguments that undermine the clause union analysis here. I believe that the same set of arguments can be used contra a restructuring analysis, given the identical nature of clause union and restructuring. Additionally, P&P have provided convincing arguments against the (backward) control analysis, which I will not review here.

- b. Timnas            *gagal di-kirim-keun* ka Itali ku sabab dana-na kurang.  
 national.team fail    PV-send-APPL to Italy because fund-DEF lack  
 ‘(The football federation) failed to send the national team to Italy because  
 they were short of funds.’

In (30a), the shared argument is *sambel sésa* ‘the leftover sauce’ and in (30b), it is *timnas* ‘the national team’. Nothing can intercede between *poho* ‘forget’ and *kapiceun* ‘be thrown’ or between *gagal* ‘fail’ and *dikirimkeun* ‘be sent’. The presence of intervening elements such as complementizers renders the structures ill-formed (see 25), which appears to favor the verb serialization analysis.

Another argument that seems to further corroborate the verb serialization analysis is the fact that Sundanese CCCs countenance only one temporal specification, which appears to suggest that the two clauses encode a single event. Recall in (22) that the presence of an additional temporal marker in the complement clause is ungrammatical.

Examination of the entire properties of the crossed-control construction, however, reveals that such an analysis would be inaccurate given the fact that some elements indeed intercede between the two verbs in these structures. First, adverbs can intercede between the first and second predicate with no effect on the crossed-control interpretation of the structure.

- (31) Imah téh hayang *geura* di-oméan.  
 house PART want soon PV-fix  
 ‘(I) want to soon fix the house.’

The temporal adverb *geura* ‘soon’ occurs right between *hayang* ‘want’ and *dioméan* ‘be fixed’. The second element that may intercede is negation, which signifies that each verb is an individual syntactic element.

(32) a. Imah téh *teu* hayang di-oméan.

house PART NEG want PV-fix

‘(I) do not want to fix the house.’

b. Imah téh hayang *teu/ulah* di-oméan.

house PART want NEG PV-fix

‘(I) want to not fix the house.’

As enumerated in Chapter 2, among the characteristics of serial verb constructions is that serial verbs share one negation. This is obviously not what we see in the purported serial verb construction in (32), where the second verb can be independently negated. Hence, the fact that an adverb and a negation can occur between two verbs voids the analysis claiming that constructions with predicates of this sort exhibit verb serialization.

### 6.3.2 The Raising Analyses

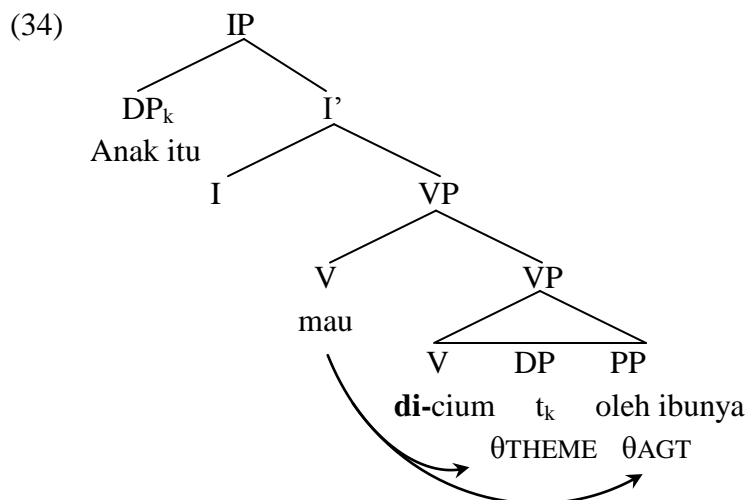
Indonesian/Malay crossed control has sparked at least four competing analyses: Polinsky & Postdam (2008), Fukuda (2008), Nomoto (2008) and Sato & Kitada (2012). The following sub-sections review each analysis and flesh out their shortcomings.

### 6.3.2.1 Polinsky & Postdam (2008)

P&P (2008) extract two generalizations regarding the crossed control structure in Indonesian.

- (33) a. *mau/ingin* must be a distinct head in the syntax;  
 b. the initial DP is the subject of the clause.

P&P propose that *mau/ingin* are simply raising auxiliary verbs that crucially take no external argument. These modal predicates take a VP complement. They hold the position that there are no intermediate argument positions in the complement, which commits them to the VP-complement structure. This also commits them to an analysis in which the voice prefixes are merged as a unit with the verb. The derivation of a CCC is schematized as follows (from P&P 2008: 1629).



In this structure, the theme ‘child’ and the embedded agent ‘by mother’ are both generated inside the embedded VP, after which the theme undergoes A-movement into Spec, IP. Note that *mau* ‘want’ assigns no experiencer theta role in the structure. Note, also, that the passive marker *di-* is projected in the VP, a rather atypical proposal in comparison to the standard accounts of passives, in which a passive marker is commonly projected above VP.

There is a limitation in this line of analysis, as P&P admit themselves. This has to do with semantic oddities. If treating *mau/ingin* as raising verbs is on the right track, why do these verbs show selectional restrictions, the way canonical control verbs do? More specifically, how can the verbs semantically restrict the type of embedded subject they can select if they assign no thematic role? In the following are Indonesian data showing that the crossed control verbs are sensitive to selectional restrictions.

- (35) a. kota ini di-hancur-kan oleh api (Indonesian)  
           town DEM PV-destroy-CAUS by fire  
           ‘This town was destroyed by fire.’
- b. #kota ini mau/ingin di-hancur-kan oleh api  
           town DEM want PV-destroy-CAUS by fire  
           #‘Fire wants to destroy this town.’ (P&P: 1631)

P&P acknowledge that their proposed structure does not capture the selectional restrictions exhibited above. To overcome this shortcoming, P&P explore the idea that *mau/ingin* are semantically analogous to subject-oriented adverbs (SOA) such as

*deliberately, reluctantly, and willingly* in permitting a thematic dependency with a local argument. Like *mau/ingin*, SOAs ascribe some property to a prepositional argument, even though it is not the grammatical subject of the clause.

- (36) a. Madonna was willingly interviewed by Barbara.  
       b. The interview was willingly cancelled by Barbara. (P&P: 1632)

(36) demonstrates that the SOA ascribes *willingness* to *Barbara*, regardless of its syntactic realization as an adjunct.<sup>58</sup> P&P couch this observation within Wyner's (1998) theory of thematically dependent adverbs, which differentiates between theta roles and thematic properties. The former refer to syntactic objects governed by the  $\theta$ -Criterion (Chomsky 1981), while the latter are thematic sub-components of a  $\theta$ -role (Dowty 1991). Despite the success in capturing the selectional restriction of the matrix verb to the embedded oblique DP, P&P leave a residual problem, which they themselves identified. Since voicing on the verb is not crucial to their analysis, given the lexical semantics of *mau*, their prediction is that the crossed control reading will be possible when the

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<sup>58</sup> P&P (2008: 1632) point out this characteristic of SOAs in their ability to ascribe some semantic property, such as *willingness*, to an argument in a certain position is sensitive to voice. In (35), passive voice sentences, the adverb *willingly* can ascribe some property to the agent. In active voice counterparts, however, the property gets ascribed to the subject of the sentence, as shown below.

- (iii) a. Barbara willingly interviewed Madonna.  
       b. Madonna willingly was interviewed by Barbara.

In short, P&P capture the selectional restrictions of 'want' to the embedded agent in CCCs by drawing a similarity between 'want' and SOAs in passive structures.

embedded verb is active voice marked. This is, of course, unfounded. In such a context, ambiguity never emerges, as evident in (37).

(37) Bambang mau/ingin menelpon istri-nya. (Indonesian)

B want AV.phone wife-DEF

a. 'Bambang wants to call his wife.'

b. \*'Bambang's wife wants to be called by Bambang.'

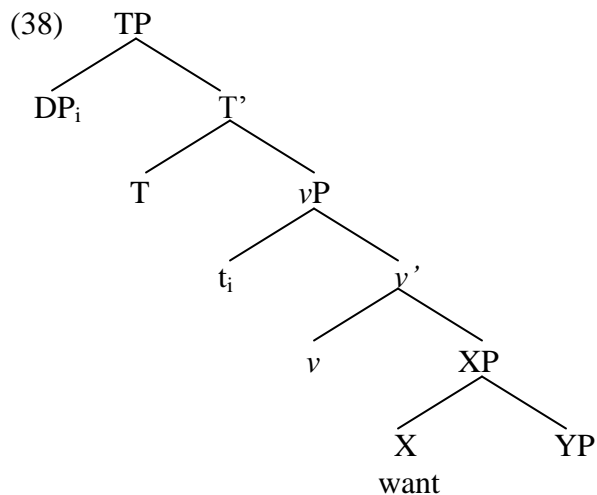
Since P&P's analysis is exclusively tailored for *mau/ingin* with the crossed reading, P&P are compelled to stipulate two different lexical entries for these predicates, one for the derivation of crossed control and the other for ordinary control. Nomoto (2008) argues that not only is such a treatment redundant in the grammar, it raises a question as to why only a certain predicate class can have two different entries. Additionally, as P&P also acknowledged themselves, their analysis raises two pressing issues: First, what types of thematic dependencies can be established outside of  $\theta$ -roles? Second, why has  $\theta$ -role assignment been assumed to be local, whereas assignment of thematic properties to a referent beyond  $\theta$ -roles need not be?

Another problem faced by P&P's analysis is the fact that the passive prefix *di-* occupies the V head. This runs counter to the recent proposals that *meN-* and *di-* saturate a single position, i.e. head of *v*, due to their complementary distribution (cf. Soh 1998, Musgrave 2001, Tjung 2006, Aldridge 2008).

### 6.3.2.2 Fukuda (2008)

In a competing analysis, Fukuda (2008) sees the interpretational difference of the want-type verbs in Indonesian as a structural difference between control and raising. He argues that, unlike P&P, a single lexical entry for *mau/ingin* for the two distinct interpretations can be maintained by positing two different structural positions, below or above  $\nu$ P, just as aspectual verbs like *begin*.<sup>59</sup>

When the *want*-verb embeds an active complement, the verb is generated below  $\nu$ P, as shown below.



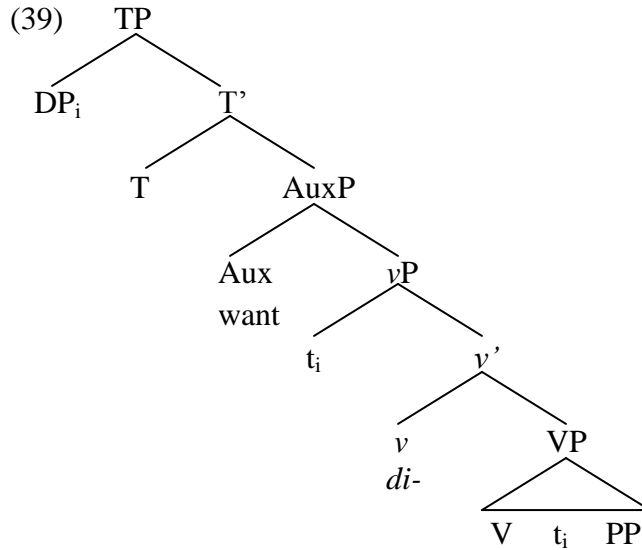
In this environment, the DP in Spec, TP is the experiencer and the unambiguous canonical control reading results, where the subject DP is the ‘wanter’. With a passive

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<sup>59</sup> Fukuda (2008) proposes a structural approach for the raising/control ambiguity with aspectual predicates such as ‘begin’. He claims that the ambiguity arises from different syntactic positions that the predicate can occupy. When it occupies a position under the scope of an external argument, i.e. Spec,  $\nu$ P, it is interpreted as a control predicate. When the predicate otherwise occupies a position higher than  $\nu$ P, it is a raising predicate.



complement (39), however, *want* is generated above  $vP$ , with the passive marker *di-* occupying the head of  $v$ .



Fukuda claims that the two readings—ordinary and crossed controls—arise in the following mechanisms. The experiencer role can be ascribed to the oblique DP, in which case the unusual reading occurs. On the other hand, when the external argument, which is generated below *want*, raises to Spec, TP, the expected, ordinary control reading obtains.

There are several problems with Fukuda's analysis. First, unlike P&P analysis in which they propose two thematic layers to harbor the matrix and embedded verbs, Fukuda's posits a single thematic layer in his structure, which in turn commits him to treating 'want' as an auxiliary verb. This special treatment of 'want' runs counter to the central tenet of his own analysis, i.e. 'want' is a lexical verb with two distinct structural positions. It is difficult to see how 'want' can be construed as a single lexical entry if in one case it is an Aux and in the other it is a main verb.

Second, generating ‘want’ in AuxP is a radical departure from the standard assumption that lexical verbs are generated within a thematic layer, i.e VP (see e.g. Baker 1988, Marantz 1993, Koizumi 1995, Pesetsky 1995, Anagnostopoulou 2003).

Third, the assignment of the experiencer  $\theta$ -role from ‘want’ in AuxP to the oblique DP deviates from the well-accepted assumption in the minimalist literature that  $v$  assigns the experiencer  $\theta$ -role to an argument via the Spec-Head configuration. It is obvious in (39) that the oblique DP to which the thematic role is assigned is not in the appropriate structural position.

### 6.3.2.3 Nomoto (2008)

Nomoto identifies two other problems that Fukuda’s analysis suffers. First, just as P&P’s analysis, Fukuda’s analysis only captures the *want*-verbs. Therefore, it may not work with other types of verbs that also instantiate a crossed interpretation. Second, Fukuda will be compelled to posit that the structural position for the active marker *meN*- is different from the one for the passive counterpart. Since the crossed control verb that precedes the active complement has to be generated under  $v$ P under Fukuda’s analysis, *meN*- will occupy a position even lower than *want*. Nomoto contends that such a position runs counter to the recent proposals for Indonesian/Malay, according to which that *meN*- and *di*- are base-generated in the  $v$  head (see a similar criticism to P&P’s analysis).

Looking at Malay’s crossed control constructions, Nomoto offers an alternative analysis couched within Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004). (40) is an example.

(40) Pencuri itu mahu di-tangkap polis.

(Malay)

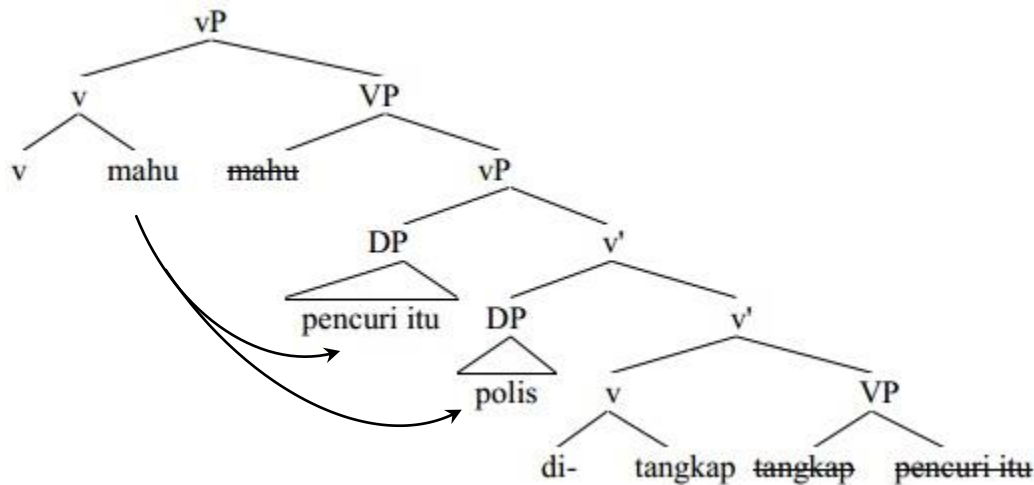
thief DEM want PV-catch police

a. 'The thief wanted to be caught by the police.'

b. 'The police wanted to catch thief.'

Nomoto proposes that the complement in the crossed control structures is  $vP$  (in the spirit of P&P's reduced clause proposal), with the active and passive voice morphemes as the head of  $v$ . Note that voice-marking plays a pivotal role in Nomoto's analysis. Nomoto accounts for the ambiguity of sentences such as the one in (40) through different possible theta-role assignment by the matrix predicate.

(41)



Ambiguity can be accounted for by assigning the 'wanter' role of the matrix verb to either of the DPs at the phase edge, the specifier of  $vP$ . When *pencuri itu* 'that thief' receives the experiencer role, the regular control reading arises; when *polis* is assigned

the  $\theta$ -role, the crossed control reading results. This type of theta role assignment is operative under the following assumptions.

- (42) a.  $\theta$ -roles can only be assigned under a Merge operation (Theta-Role Assignment Principle; Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005);
- b.  $\theta$ -roles assignment must be completed in a local domain; and
- c. an argument can receive more than one  $\theta$ -role (Gruber 1965, Jackendoff 1972), hence movement into a  $\theta$ -position is allowed (Bošković 1994; Hornstein 1999, 2001).

Nomoto (2008) provides a sizable number of crossed control predicates as the basis for his analysis. They include *berani* 'dare', *berjaya* 'to succeed', *berhak* 'to have the right to', *berhasil* 'to succeed', *berusaha* 'make effort', *cuba* 'to try', *enggan* 'reluctant', *gagal* 'to fail', *hendak* 'to want', *ingin* 'to want', *layak* 'qualified', *mahu* 'to want', *malas* 'lazy', *malu* 'ashamed', *mampu* 'capable', *rela* 'willing', *sempat* 'to have the time/opportunity to', *suka* 'to like', *takut* 'afraid', and *terpaksa* 'forced to'. These predicates have one thing in common, i.e. they express modal meanings. The apparent advantage of Nomoto's analysis is that the conceptual redundancy problem that P&P analysis encounters can be circumvented. The crossed control predicates are lexically specified as one lexical entry.

Nomoto also scrutinizes P&P's analysis, which rests on treating *mau/ingin* as a subject-oriented adverb with no theta-role to assign. However, Nomoto argues that even

if the analysis works for *mau/ingin*, it is extremely doubtful that each of the numerous predicates he cites could easily be incorporated into this type of analysis.

There is a problem, however, with the word order under Nomoto's analysis. In his proposed structure in (49), the agent of the embedded passive, i.e. *polis* 'police', is generated in Spec,  $\nu$ P, yet, the agent surfaces post-verbally. Thus, Nomoto's structure induces an unattested word order *\*polis ditangkap* 'the police be caught'. To surmount this problem, Nomoto has to simply stipulate the order.

In addition, Nomoto's proposed structure constitutes an empirical problem. That is, it places the embedded oblique DP in one of the specifiers of  $\nu$ , which runs afoul the standard analysis of Indonesian *di*-passive. According to the commonly held analysis of *di*-passives (e.g. Arka & Manning 1998, Cole et al. 2008), the oblique DP or the passive agent is not an argument, since it cannot bind a grammatical subject reflexive.

- (43) a. ?\**Dirinya di-serah-kan ke polisi oleh Amir* (Indonesian)  
           self.3 PV-surrender-APPL to police by A  
           'Himself was surrendered to the police by Amir.'
- b. ??*Dirinya yang di-aju-kan sebagai calon oleh-nya/oleh dia.*  
           self.3 REL PV-nominate-APPL as candidate by-3 by 3SG  
           'It is himself that is nominated as a candidate by him/her'.
- (Arka & Manning: 5)

The ungrammaticality of (43) follows fact that the agent PP *oleh Amir* 'by Amir' occurs in an adjunct position, that never c-commands the theme *dirinya* 'himself'. Consequently,

at no point of the derivation can *oleh Amir* bind *dirinya*. On the contrary, agent pronominals in the bare passive exhibit properties of binding different from those of agent PPs. In the following sentence, the pronominal *dia* ‘s/he’ can antecede the subject reflexive, *dirinya* ‘her/himself’, since *dia* c-commands *dirinya* prior to the theme’s movement to Spec, TP.

(44) Dirinya yang mesti dia serahkan ke polisi (Indonesian)

Self.3 REL must 3SG surrender-APLL to police

‘It is herself/himself that (s)he must surrender to the police.’

(Arka & Manning: 8)

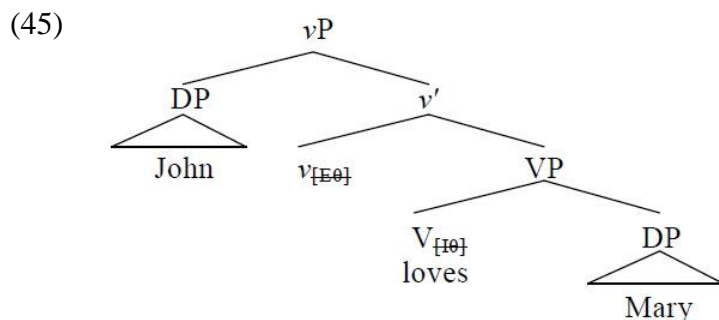
These binding facts suggest that while an agent DP is an argument, an agent PP is not, and these differences derive from the syntactic position in which an agent is generated. An agent DP is merged in Spec,  $\nu$ P, whereas an agent PP is generated under VP as an adjunct.

The last problem is conceptual. The assignment of the external  $\theta$ -role under Nomoto’s analysis departs from the standard assumption in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), which basically states that the external  $\theta$ -role is assigned to an argument by  $\nu$  in the Spec-Head configuration. As we can see in (41), the external  $\theta$ -role is assigned by the matrix  $\nu$  to the specifier of its complement, which is otherwise unattested.

#### 6.3.2.4 Sato and Kitada (2012)

Sato & Kitada propose yet another analysis of the CCC in Indonesian by adopting a Successive Feature Inheritance Analysis to attempt to overcome the drawbacks of P&P's raising analysis with regard to the semantics. Building on Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2008) Phase Theory and recent proposals on  $\theta$ -roles (Bošković and Takahashi 1998; Hornstein 1999 *inter alia*), they argue that the non-locality of the assignment of the 'wanter' role from the matrix verb to the embedded agent PP is made possible by assuming that the  $\theta$ -role of the matrix verb can be inherited by the embedded verb.

According to the Phase theory, the uninterpretable features on the phase head (C or  $v$ ) trigger agreement and movement. To account for the fact that non-phase heads such as the T head need to have some uninterpretable feature to attract some nominal to its specifier, Chomsky (2007, 2008) posits so-called feature inheritance. That is, the uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features from the phase head C are inherited by T. Sato & Kitada reason that the parallel mechanism extends to the phase head  $v$ , whose uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features are passed down to V. Researchers such as Lasnik (1995) and Bošković and Takahashi (1998) treat  $\theta$ -roles as uninterpretable formal features that drive syntactic movement. Following this line of argumentation, Sato & Kitada dub the feature that an external argument has to check the 'E $\theta$ -feature' and the feature linked with an internal argument the 'I $\theta$ -feature'. The structure for the derivation of *John loves Mary* would be illustrated in (45), adopting Sato & Kitada (2012: 7).



The internal argument *Mary* merges with V to check off the Iθ-feature and the external argument *John* is merged in the specifier of vP to check the Eθ-feature on v.

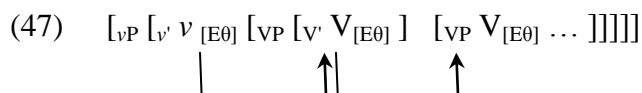
To explicate the long-distance thematic relationship in CCCs, Sato & Kitada hypothesize that θ-features can be passed from the higher V down onto the lower V inasmuch as no phasal boundaries (i.e. CP and vP) intervene. This way, feature inheritance heeds the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

(46) Phase Impenetrability Condition

In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, only H and its edge are accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ .

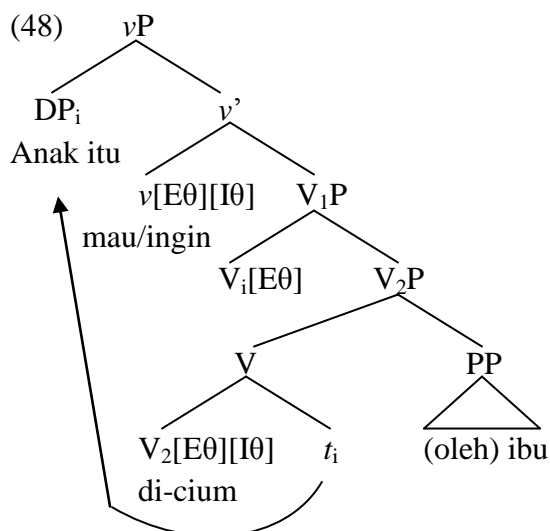
(Chomsky 2000: 18)

The following illustrates θ-feature inheritance from the matrix V to the embedded V occurs (from Sato & Kitada: 9).





The syntactic configuration of the feature inheritance model with the example *Anak itu mau dicium oleh ibunya* ‘The mother wants to kiss her child’ is schematized as follows (Sato & Kitada: 10).



The DP *anak itu* checks off the Iθ (object)-feature of *dicium* and later moves up to Spec, vP after V<sub>1</sub>P is merged into the structure. The Eθ (subject)-feature of *dicium* is checked by the PP *oleh ibu*. The V<sub>2</sub>P merges with the V<sub>1</sub>P to check its Iθ-feature. The Eθ-feature of the *v mau/ingin* is inherited by V<sub>1</sub> and then by V<sub>2</sub>. The experiencer reading obtains when the Eθ-feature is assigned by the V<sub>2</sub> to the PP. The θ-feature inheritance is made possible due to the absence of phase boundary.

Sato & Kitada claim that the proposed analysis makes a clear prediction regarding the blockage of feature inheritance by a phase head, i.e. the intervening *v*. When *mau/ingin* embeds an active complement introduced by the prefix *meN-* which is analyzed as the head of *v*, the crossed reading becomes unavailable, as shown in (49b).

- (49) Kucing-nya coba men-cium Esti. (Indonesian)

cat-3SG try AV-kiss E

- a. 'Her cat tried to be kissed by Esti.'  
 b. \*'Esti tried to kiss her cat.' (Sato 2012: 10)

The crossed reading is also impossible when the complement clause is preceded by *supaya* and *untuk*, as in (50-51). The complementizers *supaya* and *untuk* are taken to be the heads of C, another phase boundary. That is why feature inheritance is blocked.

- (50) Si Yem ingin [<sub>CP</sub> *supaya* di-cium si Dul]. (Indonesian)

Miss Y want so.that PV-kiss Mr. D

- a. 'Yem wants to be kissed by Dul.'  
 b. \*'Dul wants to kiss Yem.' (Purwo 1984: 75)

- (51) \*Bagian kalimat ini mau [<sub>CP</sub> *untuk* di-tegas-kan-nya]. (Indonesian)

section sentence DEM want COMP PV-emphasize-APPL-3SG

'He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.' (P&P 2008: 1631)

Despite the apparent merits of their proposed analysis, Sato & Kitada (2012) make contradictory explanations. On the one hand, they claim that their feature inheritance analysis provides a straightforward explanation for why the crossed reading disappears when the embedded verb is *meng*-prefixed. The unavailability of CCC in such a context arises as the E $\theta$ -feature from a matrix *v* cannot be inherited by the lower *v*, due to the

blockage by the strong phase  $\nu$  (p. 10). See the ungrammaticality of the crossed reading for (49). In contradiction to this, they also claim that their account can explain why the crossed reading is available in bare passive constructions.

(52) Bagian kalimat ini mau dia=tegas-kan. (Indonesian)

section sentence DEM want 3SG=emphasize-APPL

‘He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.’ (P&P 2008: 1636)

This structure exemplifies a CCC in a bare passive construction, in which an agent pronominal *dia* ‘he’ precedes an unmarked voice verb *tegaskan* ‘emphasize’. Sato and Kitada point out that a crossed control interpretation is available here since the  $\theta$ -feature can be passed from the higher clause down onto the embedded  $\nu$  (pp. 13-14). Such a feature is possible in this respect because the pronominal is located in Spec,  $\nu$ P. The embedded  $\nu$  is the goal of the inherited feature; thus, nothing intervenes. This is troubling, especially because active clauses and bare passives *must* be treated in precisely the same fashion in light of the fact the semantic subjects in each structure, i.e. agents, are arguments and thus projected in the same place, the specifier of  $\nu$ . Consequently, if the theta feature inheritance is blocked due to the presence of the strong phasal  $\nu$  head in the embedded active, the very same mechanism must be true in the embedded bare passive.

In my proposed analysis in the next section, I will take the notion of feature inheritance to account for the assignment of the external theta role of the matrix verb to the oblique NP in CCCs.

## 6.4 The Proposed Analysis

There are two key elements that any syntactic analysis for CCCs must take into account: (i) the size of complements, which existing accounts have taken them to be  $\nu$ P, at best; and (ii) the rather unusual alignment between thematic roles and arguments; in particular the assignment of the experiencer  $\theta$ -role from the matrix predicate to an embedded argument.

Here, I will propose a slightly revised analysis that builds upon the insights of previous proposals (P&P 2008; Fukuda 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012) and incorporates the functional layer of VoiceP motivated in Chapter 1. Inclusion of VoiceP will provide an account for several important properties: number agreement, reflexive binding, and word order.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, Sundanese includes optional number agreement between a predicate and one of its arguments. (53) provides an example in which the plural marker *-ar/al-* is present with the plural agent *barudak* ‘kids’.

- (53) Barudak keur *ar*-ulin di buruan.  
 children PROG PL-play in yard  
 ‘The kids are playing in the yard.’

Prima facie, (53) appears to be an instance of subject-verb agreement. (54), however, shows that it is impossible to use the plural morpheme to indicate the plurality of the subject. The plural subject *Ujang jeung Imas* ‘Ujang and Imas’ cannot agree with the plural verb *ditaréangan* ‘be sought’.

(54) \*Ujang jeung Imas keur di-t-ar-éang-an ku indung-na.

U and I PROG PV-PL-look-ITER by mother-DEF

Lit: 'Ujang and Imas are being looked for by their mother.'

'The mother is looking for Ujang and Imas.'

Example (55) offers further evidence that Sundanese number agreement is not simply a case of subject-verb agreement. In this example, the plural agreement marker appears on the verb despite the fact that surface subject *budak nu leungit téh* 'the lost child' is singular.

(55) Budak nu leungit téh keur di-t-ar-éang-an ku bapa-bapa.

child REL lost PART PROG PV-PL-look-ITER by father-RED

Lit: 'The lost child is being looked for by the gentlemen.'

'The gentlemen are looking for the lost child.'

Note that plural agreement take place with a plural oblique actor. The contrast between (54) and (55) makes it clear that number agreement occurs between predicates and actors, not subjects, even when the actor is located in a by-phrase.

The generalization that Sundanese agreement is an instantiation of actor-verb agreement may run into difficulties when confronted by the fact that the sole argument in both unergative and unaccusative constructions may agree with the verb.

- (56) a. Barudak *ng-al-abring* ka masigit. (unergative)  
 children AV-PL-flock to mosque  
 ‘The children flocked to the mosque.’
- b. Ke-kembang-an *p-ar-aéh*. (unaccusative)  
 RED-flower-NOML PL.die  
 ‘The flowers are dying.’

The facts in (56) show that a plural verb may agree with an agentive argument in (a) or a non-agentive argument in (b), which poses a problem for the actor-verb agreement analysis. In recognition of number agreement in unaccusatives in addition to unergatives, Clemens (2012) formulates a working generalization for Sundanese number agreement by stating, “actors determine number agreement, where actor is defined as the argument with the most prominent theta role, since the theme in an unaccusative has the most prominent theta role de facto” (p. 12). This is actually not a novel formulation. Benton (1971: 167 cited in Davies 1993) defines an actor as “the entity to which the action is attributed.” Thus, the term ‘actor’ here may roughly correspond to ‘the logical subject’.

Here, the term “predicates” is used instead of “verbs”, given the fact that, as outlined in Chapter 1, Sundanese number agreement is not restricted to agreement between verbs and arguments. Agreement may also surface between an argument and a non-verbal predicate. (57a) is an example of an equative clause with an adjectival predicate and (57b) has a locative PP predicate.

- (57) a. Murid-murid kelas hiji téh p-al-inter.

student-RED class one PART PL.smart

‘The first-graders are smart.’

- b. Guru-guru keur di k-al-antor.

teacher-RED PROG in PL.office

‘The teachers are in the office.’

Based on the fact that agreement may occur between an argument and an adjective/locative predicate, Clemens (2012) observes that Sundanese number agreement is a relationship between the relevant DP and a phrase head higher than  $\nu$ P. This is crucial because we saw the fact that number agreement can surface in unaccusatives as well as nonverbal predicates, neither of which, she claims, project  $\nu$ P. She proposes a structural analysis of Sundanese number agreement, according to which an agreeing head resides in T. Her analysis is based on two critical assumptions: (i) all actors are external arguments generated in the specifier of  $\nu$ P, and (ii) Agree is established between  $T^0$  and the closest DP it c-commands via downward probing (Chomsky 2000). This way, the difference between number agreement in unaccusative vs. passive clauses, where of the two, only the unaccusative contains licit agreement, is naturally accounted for.

- (58) a. Ke-kembang-an paraéh.

RED-flower-NOML die.PL

‘The flowers were dying.’

b. \*Ke-kembang-an di-p-ar-éh-an ku Ujang.

RED-flower-NOML PV-die.PL-ITER by U

‘The flowers were killed by Ujang.’

On the assumption that unaccusatives do not project  $\nu$ P, Clemens captures the contrast between (58a) and (58b) by proposing that in passive clauses,  $T^0$  probes only as far as the specifier of  $\nu$ P where it finds either an explicit or an implicit actor argument in a *by*-phrase, while in unaccusatives,  $T^0$  probes all the way down to the theme argument. (59) provides schematic representations for the examples in (58).

(59) a. [<sub>TP</sub> kekembangan [~~#~~num:pl] [<sub>VP</sub> paéh kekembangan[pl] ]]

b. \*[<sub>TP</sub> kekembangan [~~#~~num:pl] [<sub>VP</sub> **ku Ujang[sing]** paéh [<sub>VP</sub> paraéh kekembangan[pl] ]]

(59a) illustrates a licit relationship in terms of plurality between the agreeing head in T and the sole argument in the complement of V. On the contrary (59b) illustrates an illicit relationship, where the agreeing head agrees with the argument in the complement of V by skipping over the closest DP, i.e. *Ujang*.

Recall that earlier accounts of CCCs in Malay/Indonesian (P&P 2008; Fukuda 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012) have converged in assuming that CCC verbs have a reduced complement structure, which is construed as  $\nu$ P/VP. Confirmation for this stems from the inability of CCC verbs to combine with other auxiliaries and to allow an independent temporal specification in its complement. Sundanese CCCs provide an



additional argument for this, namely that a matrix subject reflexive can be bound by the embedded agent, as shown previously in (26), repeated below for the reader's convenience.

- (60)    *Adi-na        sorangan<sub>1/\*2</sub> poho    teu    di-pang-néanga-an-keun*  
              brother-DEF self                forget NEG PV-BEN-AV.seek-ITER-APPL  
              *pa-gawé-an                ku Asmawi<sub>1</sub>.*  
              NOML-work-NOML by A  
              ‘Asmawi forgot to find a job for his own brother.’

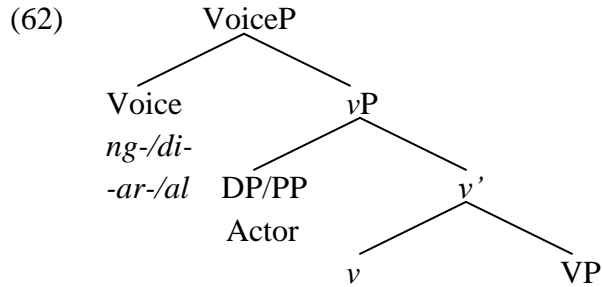
Here, the passive agent PP *ku Asmawi* ‘by Asmawi’ in the complement clause binds the subject reflexive *adina sorangan* ‘his own brother’ in the matrix clause. Recall in Section 6.2 that an agent PP can antecede a subject reflexive in monoclausal structure as well, suggesting the monoclausal nature of CCCs. With the agent PP generated in Spec, *v*P, the binding facts in monoclausal passives is accounted for. Note that this binding property is not observed in a canonical control construction (see (26b)) and in a raising construction.

- (61)    *Adi-na        sorangan<sub>\*1/2</sub> geus    di-jamin        bakal    di-pang-néanga-an-keun*  
              brother-DEF self                PERF PV-guarantee FUT    PV-BEN-AV.seek-ITER-APPL  
              *pa-gawé-an                ku Asmawi<sub>1</sub>.*  
              NOML-work-NOML by A  
              ‘(Someone) guaranteed to his own brother<sub>1</sub> that Asmawi would find him<sub>1</sub> a  
              job.’

In this raising structure, the embedded agent PP does not antecede the grammatical subject reflexive, indicative of the fact that control and raising constructions exhibit distinct binding properties from crossed control and ‘ordinary’ control constructions.

To adequately accommodate the entire range of number agreement facts coupled with the clustering properties of Sundanese voice marking and CCC, I would like to propose that the Voice head, projected higher than  $\nu$ P, constitutes the locus of number agreement in Sundanese. As Clemens remarks, the projection of an agreeing head above  $\nu$ P is necessary to account for the fact that number agreement takes place in unaccusatives and non-verbal predicates. A reduced complement clause, something smaller than TP, is nevertheless imperative to explain the syntactically restricted behaviors of CCCs. It is of significance to note that, as we saw in Section 6.2, CCCs behave like monoclausal structures, as the binding facts and other properties indicate. A complement clause smaller than TP is therefore most reasonable.

As in Clemens’s account, there are two key components to this analysis: (i) all actors (in active and passive sentences) are generated in Spec, $\nu$ P (as motivated in Chapter 1 Section 1.6.2); and (ii) Agree is made possible between Voice<sup>0</sup> and the closest DP it c-commands, adopting Chomsky’s (2000) downward probing. Voice<sup>0</sup> probes until it finds the closest goal. In transitives and unergatives, Voice<sup>0</sup> finds the closest DP in the specifier of  $\nu$ P, while in unaccusatives, the closest DP that Voice<sup>0</sup> c-commands is in the complement of V<sup>0</sup>.



My account successfully captures two critical facts: (i) active and passive structures receive an identical analysis since the verb invariably agrees in number with the actor; and (ii) binding facts behave in the same fashion in both active and passive sentences, an indication that the actors in actives and passives are arguments (see Chapter 1, Section 1.6.2 for details). Thus, they are merged in the same position.

The fact that number agreement may surface inside a CCC complement poses difficulties for Clemens's analysis, which crucially relied on a T head. The fact that number agreement may take place in the crossed control complement will prove pivotal to rejection of the previous analyses as well. In (63), the plural infix *-ar* appears inside the verb *dikonci* 'to be locked', which is subordinated to the CCC verb *poho* 'forget'.

(63) Panto lab poho teu di-k-ar-onci ku barudak.

door lab forget NEG PV-PL.lock by children

'The children forgot to lock the lab's doors.'

(63) provides a key piece of evidence for two things: (i) the agreeing head *must* be located below T since the complement of crossed control cannot be TP; and (ii) the

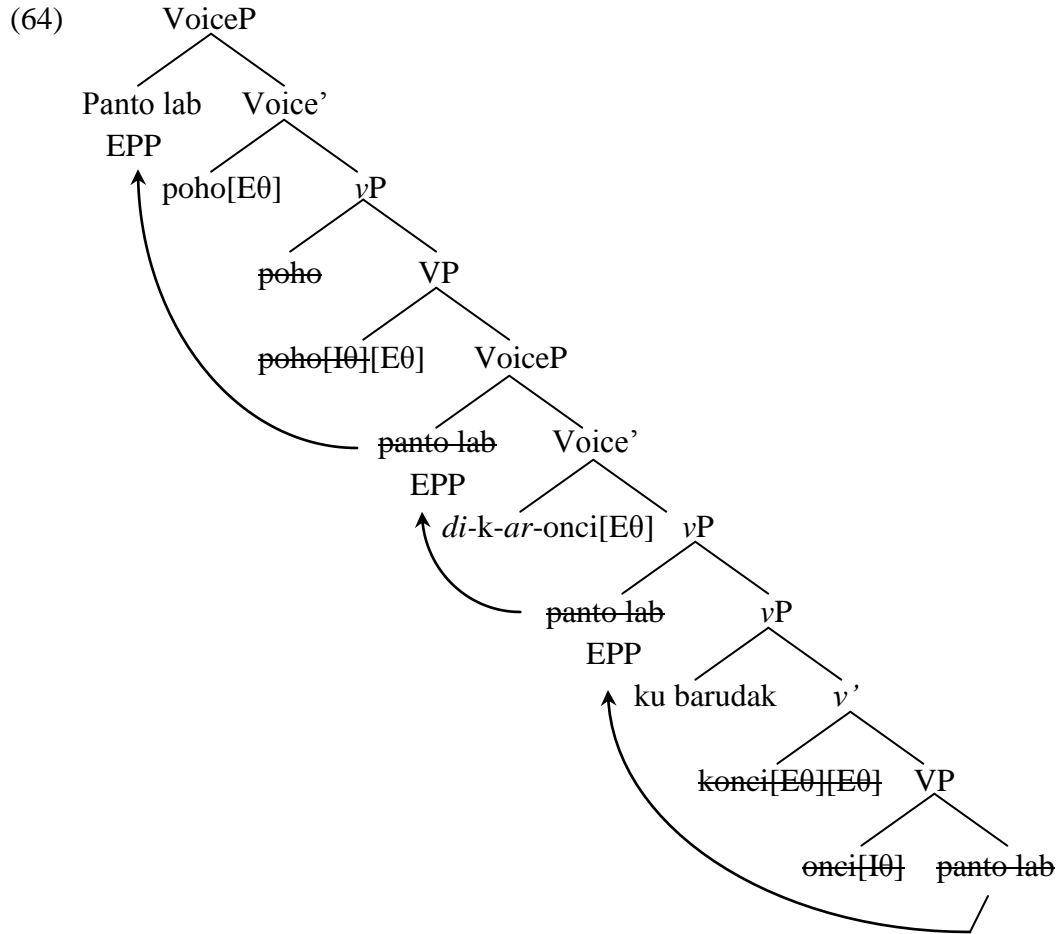
agreeing head cannot be in  $\nu$ P (unlike Legate's (2012) proposal for Acehnese) since plural agreement may take place in non-verbal constructions (see 57).

Turning to Sundanese CCCs, I propose, based on the above arguments, that the CCC complement—at least in Sundanese—should include VoiceP.<sup>60</sup> The merits of this proposal lie in the fact that VoiceP conspicuously ties together the syntactic facts of voice markers, binding facts, and the possibility of number agreement inside a CCC complement. What is more, it also provides a straightforward account without stipulations for the proper word order of passive complements in CCCs, for which Nomoto (2008) has to stipulate some aspects of his analysis. The syntactic derivation for the CCC example in (63) is shown in (64), with irrelevant details omitted.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Davies, Kurniawan & Natarina (2013) argue that Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese all provide evidence for positing a complement headed by VoiceP.

<sup>61</sup> It is worth noting that CP is the maximal projection for the matrix clause in crossed-control constructions, which is not represented here due to the limitations of space.



In this derivation, the embedded theme *panto lab* ‘the lab’s door’ checks the Iθ-feature of the embedded verb *konci* ‘lock’. It first undergoes A-movement into the specifier of lower *vP* and lower Spec,VoiceP to satisfy the EPP feature in both projections before further movement into the specifier of higher VoiceP for the same feature (and eventually winds up in Spec,TP). The agent PP *ku barudak* ‘by the children’ is merged in the specifier of *vP* and deletes the Eθ-feature of *konci*. The embedded verb raises to the voice head, combining with the voice and plural marker. Note that the number agreement agrees downwardly with the agent PP. The VoiceP is then adjoined to the higher verb to check off its Iθ-feature. Importantly, as the last step of the derivation, the Eθ-feature of

the higher verb *poho* ‘forget’ is passed down successively onto V, Voice, and finally onto *v*. The experiencer interpretation for the oblique PP results as the [Eθ] features on *v* is checked by the PP. Through the theta feature inheritance mechanism, the crossed alignment between arguments and predicates in CCCs falls out naturally.

There is one crucial assumption to make in my proposed analysis, especially to ascertain that the Eθ-feature of the higher verb can successfully percolates downwardly to its intended goal, i.e. lower *v*. I am assuming that *v*P is a phase head (Chomsky 2000, 2001; Aldridge 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012), despite the inclusion of VoiceP. This is because *v*P corresponds to full argument structure. VoiceP, as was described in Chapter 1, is required to host a grammatical subject in conjunction with being an agreeing head.

As Sato & Kitada mention, the postulation of *v*P as a phase head allows a straightforward account for why the crossed control interpretation is absent when the embedded verb is active voice marked.

(65) Mang Adé nu hayang **nyakola**-keun Ujang ka Amérika téh.

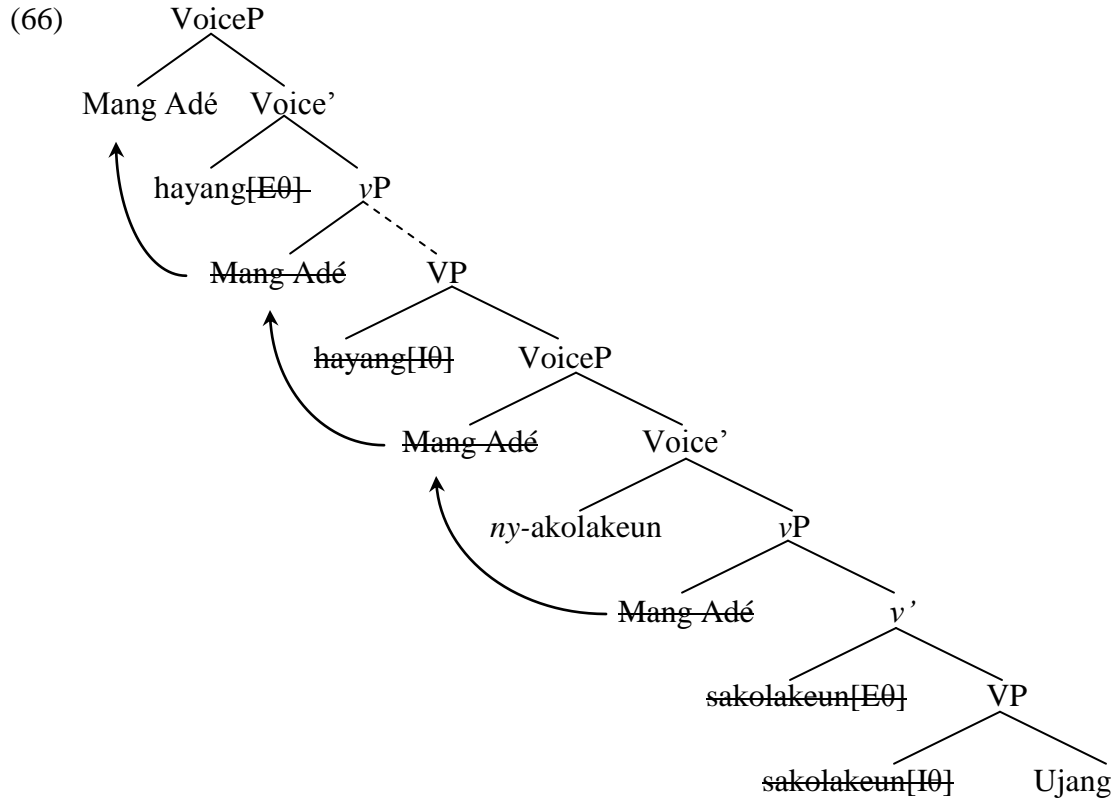
uncle A REL want AV.school-APPL U to America PART

a. ‘Uncle Ade is the one who wants to send Ujang to the U.S. to study.’

b. \*‘Ujang is the one who wants to be sent by Uncle Ade to the U.S. to study.’

The unavailability of the crossed reading with active verbs (65b) is attributable to fact that the embedded theme cannot escape the embedded clause, for it has to cross the phase head.

In fact, Aldridge's (2008) account of the well-known *no* movement restrictions across the *meng*-marked verb in Malay/Indonesian provides the explanation for the impossibility of the crossed reading with the embedded active verb. Aldridge argues that the DP movement restriction follows from two reasons: (i) the phasehood of *v*P (or PIC) prevents any DP to move across the phase *v* head; and (ii) *meng*- cannot have the EPP feature, which will attract the DP it c-commands to make it accessible for further syntactic operations. Lack of the EPP feature on the *v* headed by *meng*- owes to the fact the nasal prefix is a historical residue of the Malagasy antipassive *man*-, which is independently construed to have no EPP (see Aldridge: 1455-1459 for the details). The absence of the crossed interpretation in the nasal prefix context, then, naturally follows from the inability of the embedded theme to move up to the matrix TP, since such a movement will be blocked by the PIC. Let us first consider the derivation for the 'ordinary' control in (65) with the attested meaning in (65a).

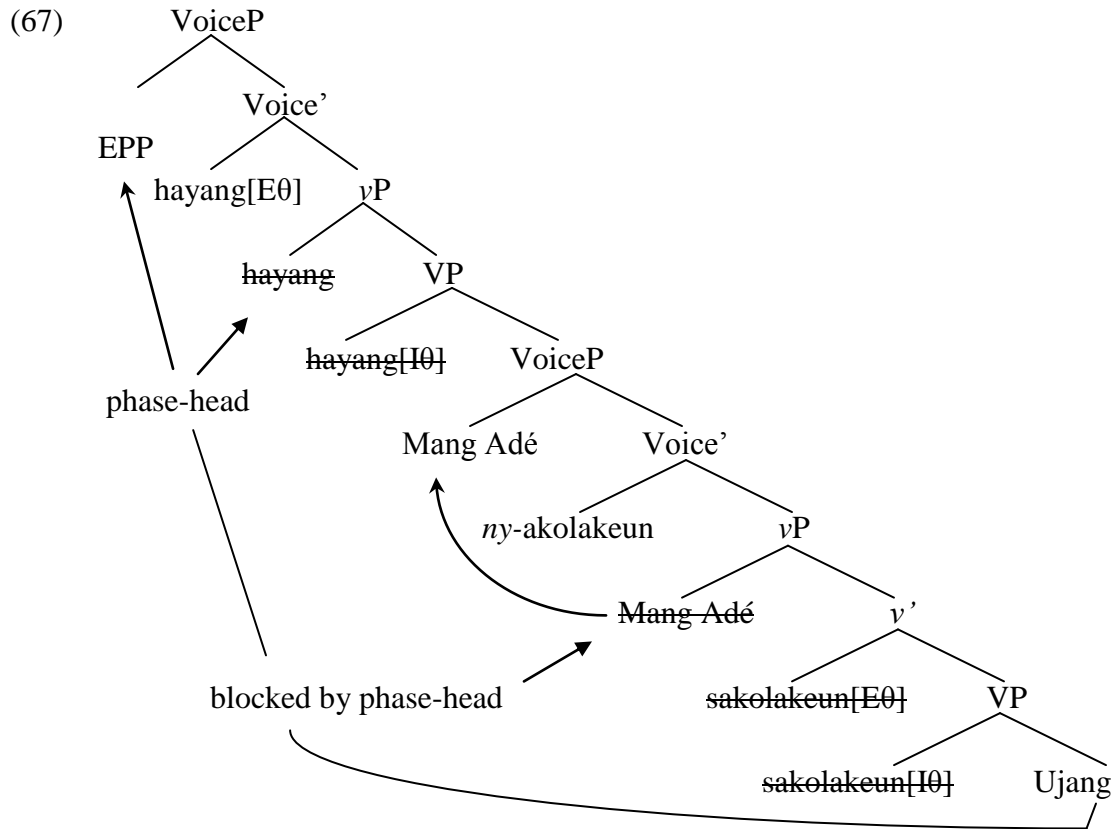


In this ‘ordinary’ control structure, the agentive argument *Mang Adé* ‘Uncle Ade’ is base-generated in Spec, lower *vP*, after which it moves into Spec, lower VoiceP to check off the [Eθ] feature on the lower verb *nyakolakeun* ‘send to school’. The argument then raises to Spec, higher *vP* before winding up in Spec, higher VoiceP to satisfy the [Eθ] feature on the higher verb *hayang* ‘want’. What is crucial to note in this proposed analysis is the fact that the underlying structure for the ‘ordinary’ control (66) is essentially the same as the one for the crossed control in (64). The most notable difference is that in ‘ordinary’ control, the surface subject originates from Spec, lower *vP*, whereas in crossed control, it originates from the complement of lower V. The success of my analysis crucially rests on the assumption that an argument can receive more than one



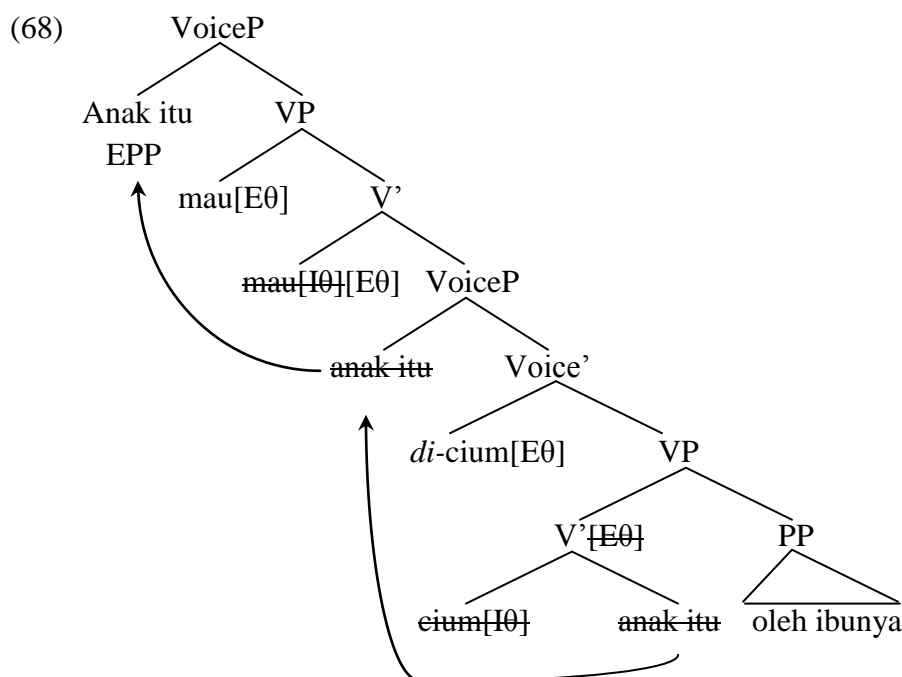
$\theta$ -role (Gruber 1965, Jackendoff 1972), hence movement into a  $\theta$ -position is allowed (Bošković 1994; Hornstein 1999, 2001).

Now, consider the derivation for (65) with the illicit interpretation in (65b).



In this structure, the derivation for the crossed reading does not converge because A-movement of the embedded theme, *Ujang*, to Spec, higher vP is blocked by the phase head, lower vP. Note that *Ujang* has to cross over the phase head on its way to Spec, higher VoiceP and TP to yield the hypothetical crossed reading. Lack of the extra specifier in the lower vP makes it impossible for *Ujang* to A-move crossing the phase head. Thus, the PIC provides an explanation for the absence of crossed reading when the embedded verb is in active voice.

The availability of the crossed control interpretation with the canonical passive in Indonesian receives a natural account in this analysis. Recall that the oblique agent DP is an adjunct, not an argument, due to its inability to bind a pronoun or a reflexive in a subject position. The agent is then generated in the embedded theme position. With this assumption in mind, consider the derivation for the sentence in (2), *Anak itu mau di-cium oleh ibu* ‘Mother wants to kiss her child’.



In this syntactic derivation, the embedded theme *anak itu* ‘the child’ is generated as the complement of the embedded verb *cium* ‘kiss’. As a result, the Iθ role of *cium* is erased. The agent PP is adjoined to V’. The verb then moves to the voice head to combine with the passive marker. After that, VoiceP is merged in the complement of the matrix verb *mau* ‘want’ to check the Iθ role of *mau*. The embedded theme is attracted to the specifier of VoiceP by the EPP feature, after which it raises into Spec, higher VoiceP for the same

feature. Crucially, the E $\theta$  role of *mau* percolates downwardly into the lower V head until it is finally assigned to the agent PP. The inheritance of the E $\theta$  role of the matrix clause to the oblique agent follows naturally from the fact that there is no phase boundary that intervenes between the higher and lower verbs.

## 6.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented a slightly new analysis of the crossed control construction in Sundanese. According to this analysis, the crossed control predicates take a VoiceP complement, which explicates a host of interrelated facts, including (i) the distribution of voice marking in Sundanese; (ii) the possible presence of number agreement inside the crossed control complement; (iii) the apparent parallelism between the ‘ordinary’ control and the crossed control. I proposed that the structure for the regular control and the crossed control of the same predicates (e.g. *hayang* ‘want’, *poho* ‘forget’ and aspectual predicates) is identical, in which case their complement is of the category VoiceP. The proposed analysis correctly predicts the absence of the crossed control reading with the regular control (with active verbs in the embedded clause) since the embedded theme cannot licitly raise to the matrix subject position without contravening the Phase Impenetrability Condition. Likewise, the impossibility of crossed control in an embedded clause headed by complementizers naturally follows from the same mechanism. I adopt Sato & Kitada’s (2012) feature inheritance model to explain the puzzling association of the experiencer/theme thematic roles and the arguments that apparently runs afoul the standard locality constraint on  $\theta$ -role assignment.

## CHAPTER 7

### NOMINALIZED COMPLEMENTATION

We have discussed in the preceding chapters—Raising and Control, Prolepsis, Crossed Control Constructions—that Sundanese exemplifies some sort of grammatical link between a higher clause and a lower clause, which is at the heart of syntactic complementation. This is precisely how Dixon (1995) defines complementation, whose function is “to code the relation between a matrix verb and the complement clause verb” (p. 178). He claims that this semantic function is expressed universally in all languages either via grammatical means or some other mechanisms, which vary from one language to another. Nominalization, according to Dixon, is often utilized as a complementation strategy in languages that lack syntactic complementation to convey the relationship between clauses.

Englebretson (2003) holds that nominalization as a complementation strategy is employed by the colloquial Indonesian, whereby a predicate gets nominalized by the clitic *-nya*, and serves to provide framing for the rest of the sentence. (1) illustrates an example.

(1) Film bagus tuh    horror *kaya-nya*. (Indonesian)

film    good    PART horror like-*nya*

‘it seems to be a good horror movie.’ (Englebretson: 177)

In this example, *kayanya* ‘it seems’ functions as the framing element, which according to Englebretson provides evidential modality for the preceding clause in the same way as syntactic complements do in other languages.

In this chapter, I delineate syntactic properties of noun phrases, specifically examining nominals/nominalized elements in comparison to verbal clausal complements. I evaluate the extent to which verbal clauses and nominals are syntactically alike. I eventually argue that nominal structures cluster with verbal structures in containing functional layers.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 7.1 reviews the various functions that the Sundanese suffix *-na* has. In Section 7.2, I describe classifications for Sundanese nominals and lay out their characteristics. In Section 7.3, I show that event/process nominals exhibit verb-like properties, such as taking voice marking and arguments, admitting temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, modals, negation, agreement and others. In Section 7.4, I review the complementation strategies analysis and argue that such an analysis is untenable in Sundanese. After that, I adopt Alexiadou’s (2001) structural model, according to which, like verbal structures, nominals may include functional projections such as AspP, VoiceP and VP. This naturally explains why nominals exhibit the verbal properties that they do. Section 7.5 illustrates data regarding Sundanese speakers’ preference for nominal structures over prototypical complement structures. The last section presents conclusions.

## 7.1 Nominalized Marker in Sundanese

Before enumerating different kinds of nominals, it is imperative to set the scene by providing a brief overview of the suffix *-na*—an equivalent of the Indonesian clitic *-nya*—which will be found in most of nominal structures in Sundanese.

The suffix *-na* is very frequently used in Sundanese, given the broad range of functions that it has. To begin, *-na* can function as a possessive marker, suffixed to an NP to mark the noun as possessed. The following are illustrative.

(2) a. *jidar-na barudak*

ruler-NOML children

‘children’s rulers’

b. *arloji-na bapa*

watch-NOML father

‘father’s wrist watch’

c. *bumi-na Pa Amung*

house-NOML Mr. A

‘Mr. Amung’s house’

In each case, the possessed noun is optionally marked with *-na* and is followed by the possessor. In Indonesian, the parallel suffix occurs exclusively with third-person referents. This is true with the Sundanese suffix *-na*, as shown in (2), in which the possessors are all third-person. The occurrence of *-na* with first and second-person referents leads to unacceptable results.

(3) a. jidar(\*-na) maranéh

ruler-NOML 2PL

‘your rulers’

b. arloji(\*-na) kuring

watch-NOML 1SG

‘my watch’

c. imah(\*-na) manéh

house-NOML 2SG

‘your house’

With first and second persons, the possessed noun is not marked.

The second use of the suffix *-na* is an identification marker or a definite marker.

The presence of *-na* here encodes an entity which is presumably identifiable in the discourse or has been mentioned in the preceding sentence.

(4) Sanggeus *tiung-na* di-paké, tuluy manéhna indit.

after      veil-DEF PV-use      then 3SG      leave

‘After wearing the veil, she then left.’ (<http://dongengbudak.blogspot.com/2005/05/si-tiung-beureum.html>)

In (4), *tiung-na* ‘the veil’ refers to a specific veil, i.e. ‘the red veil that a grandmother made for her granddaughter’, mentioned in an earlier part of the passage. (5) provides another example.

(5) Sayidina Umar nampi surat ti *gubernur-na* nu aya di Irak.

S U AV.receive letter from governor-DEF REL exist in Iraq

‘Sayidina Umar received a letter from the governor who resides in Iraq.’

(<http://binadakwah.wordpress.com/2011/01/24/gerentes-hate-bd-370/>)

Example (5) presents an interesting case in which the word *gubernur* ‘governor’ has never been mentioned earlier in any part of the text. The definite DP *gubernur-na* ‘the governor’ is used here despite the absence of an overt antecedent, for it refers to a specific governor in Iraq, the referent of which is construed to be salient in the discourse.

The next function of the suffix *-na* is as a nominalizer. Appending it to a non-nominal word makes it a nominal. Following is an example.

(6) “Bapa punten ... *linggih-na* palih dieu.”

sir excuse stay-NOML over here

‘Sir, excuse me ... your seat is over here.’

([http://file.upi.edu/Direktori/FPBS/JUR.\\_PEND.\\_BAHASA\\_DAERAH/196307261990011-](http://file.upi.edu/Direktori/FPBS/JUR._PEND._BAHASA_DAERAH/196307261990011-)

DEDE\_KOSASIH/PDF/Artikel/GAW%E9\_MC\_KATUT\_Unak.pdf)

The word *linggih-na* derives from the verb *linggih* ‘stay’. Thus, the literal meaning of the deverbal noun is ‘a place of staying’ or ‘house’, which in this case denotes ‘a seat’. Additionally, the suffix can be appended to an adjective, such as *jangkung* ‘tall’, yielding *jangkung-na* ‘height’.



(7) Tutuwuhan ieu *jangkung-na* 1 – 2.5 méter.

plant          DEM high-NOML   1 – 2.5 meter

‘The height of this plant is 1-2.5 meters.’ (<http://su.wikipedia.org/wiki/Céngék>)

The suffix *-na* can also serve as a direct object enclitic, essentially representing a third-person pronominal argument, like the English *it*.

(8) Kumaha *mareum-an-na*?

how          AV.turn.off-NOML-DEF

‘How to turn it off?’

The morpheme *-na* is suffixed to the active transitive verb *mareum-an* ‘turn off’ to indicate that the suffix counts as the theme argument of the verb. A similar example is given below. Here, the suffix is present in lieu of ‘the door’.

(9) Teuing teu apal kumaha cara *ngonci-na*.

NEG    NEG know how          way AV.lock-NOML

‘I don’t know how to lock it.’

Lastly, *-na* is used as an adverbial marker. In the following example, *-na* is suffixed to an adjective *siga* ‘like’ to form *siga-na* ‘likely, seemingly, possibly’.

- (10) Siga-na manéhna (*siga-na*) beurat ka-leungit-an kuring (*siga-na*).  
 like-NOML 3SG like-NOML hard PV-lose-INVOL 1SG like-NOML  
 ‘Possibly, it is too hard for him to (possibly) lose me, (possibly).’

The suffix *-na* as an adverbial marker can combine with another adverb such as an intensifier *kacida* ‘very’ to induce intensifying adjectives.

- (11) a. Manéhna *kacida atoh-eun-na* lantaran rék maké baju weuteuh.  
 3SG very happy-3-NOML because FUT AV.wear clothes new  
 ‘She was extremely happy because she would wear new clothes.’  
 b. Dédi *kacida reueus-na* ningal-i ka-geulis-an wanoja itu.  
 D very impressed-NOML AV.see-APPL NOML-beauty-NOML lady DEM  
 ‘Dedi was impressed after seeing the beautiful lady.’

In this section, I have provided an overview of the general functions and characteristics of the suffix *-na*. Among its various uses are a possessive marker, an identifiability marker, a nominalizer, a pronominal affix, and an adverbial marker. The next section will further review at some length how *-na* occurs in nominal contexts.

## 7.2 Sundanese Nominals

Sundanese has different types of nominal constructions, as exemplified in the following.

(12) a. *derived nominal*

pang-ruksak-an      leuweung lindung      ku pihak pe-ngembang  
 NOML-destroy-NOML forest      conservatory by party NOML-AV.develop  
 ‘the developer’s destruction of the forest conservatory’

b. *active event nominal*

nga-ruksak-na      pihak pe-ngembang      kana leuweung lindung  
 AV-destroy-NOML party NOML-AV.develop to      forest      conservatory  
 ‘the developer’s destroying the forest conservatory’

c. *passive event nominal*

di-ruksak-na      leuweung lindung      ku pihak pe-ngembang  
 PV-destroy-NOML forest      conservatory by party NOML-AV.develop  
 the forest conservatory being destroyed by the developer’

Of interest here is the fact that derived nominals as in (12a) are construed to bear the same semantic relationships as the ordinary monoclausal construction in (13).

## (13) Pihak pe-ngembang      nga-ruksak leuweung lindung.

party NOML-AV.develop AV-destroy forest      conservatory  
 ‘The developer destroyed the forest conservatory.’

In both the derived nominal and verbal clause cases, the verb *ruksak* ‘destroy’ takes two arguments, *pihak pengembang* ‘the developer’ as its agent and *leuweung lindung* ‘the forest conservatory’ as its theme. As Alexiadou (2001) observes for other languages,

however, the nominals in (12a-c) actually differ among themselves in several respects, such as their distribution and interpretation.

Morphologically, only event nominals are suffixed by the nominal marker *-na*. Derived nouns, on the other hand, are formed through a range of morphemes such as the circumfix *pa-an* (e.g. **pa-ng-ajar-an** ‘teaching’), the suffix *-an* (e.g. **kaluar-an** ‘graduates’), the prefix *ka-* (e.g. **ka-bogoh** ‘loved one’) and others. Most of these derivational morphemes are not productive and are idiosyncratic.

Derived nouns can be subdivided into two types: process and result nouns.

- (14) a. *pa-narjamah-an*                      *dongéng Inggeris*                      (process noun)  
               NOML-AV.translate-NOML story      English  
               ‘the translation of English stories’
- b. *tarjamah-an*      *dongéng Inggeris*                      (result noun)  
               translate-NOML story      English  
               ‘the translation of English stories’

Again, the classification of these derived nominals does not hinge on their morphology, but is subject to idiosyncratic variations.

In terms of productivity, event nominals, especially the passive ones, are the most productive. This gains support from the fact that all transitive verbs have a corresponding passive nominal. Note that the derived analogue (16c) is absent.

- (15) Angin nga-ruksak paré.  
 wind AV-destroy rice  
 ‘The wind destroys the rice.’
- (16) a. nga-ruksak-na angin kana pare  
 AV-destroy-NOML wind to rice  
 ‘the wind’s destroying the rice’
- b. di-ruksak-na paré ku angin  
 PV-destroy-NOML rice by wind  
 ‘the rice being destroyed by the wind’
- c. \*pang-ruksak-an pare ku angin  
 NOML-destroy-NOML rice by wind  
 ‘the rice’s destruction by the wind’

Causative verbs evince an interesting case in which the corresponding passive nominal (18b) is more desirable than the active correspondent (18a) in spite of the fact that both options are perfectly grammatical. Yet again, the derived nominal correspondent (18c) is unavailable.

- (17) Ohang nga-gantung-keun baju kotor.  
 O AV-hang-CAUS clothes dirty  
 ‘Ohang hung his dirty clothes.’

- (18) a. nga-gantung-keun-na Ohang kana baju kotor  
 AV-hang-CAUS-NOML O to clothes dirty  
 ‘Ohang’s hanging his dirty clothes’
- b. di-gantung-keun-na baju kotor ku Ohang  
 PV-hang-CAUS-NOML clothes dirty by O  
 ‘the dirty clothes being hung by Ohang’
- c. \*pang-gantung-an baju kotor ku Ohang  
 NOML-hang-NOML clothes dirty by O  
 ‘Ohang’s hanging of his dirty clothes.’

As for intransitive verbs, only active nominals are licit nominalizations.

- (19) a. Manéhna nga-bohong.  
 3SG AV-lie  
 ‘He lied.’
- b. nga-bohong-na manéhna  
 AV-lie-NOML 3SG  
 ‘his lying’

The unavailability of passive nominals for intransitive verbs is explainable under the assumption that intransitives only select one argument.

Lastly, process/event nouns and result nouns differ in their compatibility with verbs that encodes duration such as *to last*, *to take x time* or *during x time*. As expected, process/event nominals can easily occur with verbs of this type.

- (20) a. Pa-mariksa-an                      pulisi ka Anas téh lumangsung salila lima jam.  
               NOML-AV.examine-NOML police to A     PART last                for     five hour  
               ‘The police’s examination of Anas lasted for five hours.’
- b. Mariksa-na                      pulisi ka Anas téh lumangsung salila lima jam.  
               AV.examine-NOML police to A     PART last                for     five hour  
               ‘The examination of Anas by the police lasted for five hours.’
- c. Di-pariksa-na                Anas ku pulisi téh lumangsung salila lima jam.  
               PV-examine-NOML A     by police PART last                for     five hour  
               ‘The examination of Anas by the police lasted for five hours.’

One would expect that such syntactic environments with durational meaning would not be compatible with result nouns such as *tarjamahan* ‘translation’. This is borne out.

- (21) \*Tarjamah-an     dongéng Inggeris lumangsung salila lima bulan.  
               translate-NOML story     English last                      for     five month  
               ‘The translation of English stories lasted for five months.’

In the next section, I provide a number of verbal properties of nominals in Sundanese, essentially supporting a position that nominals pattern like verbal clauses in having analogous functional projections.

### 7.3 The Verbal Properties of Nominals

The main goal of this section is to demonstrate that certain types of nominals such as event/process nouns evince verb-like properties. In the section that follows, I argue that nominals contain a set of functional projections, just as verbal complement structures.

The first observation to be made about event nominals from the data we saw in the preceding sections is the presence of morphological voice marking, in which the active event noun is prefixed with *ng-* and the passive counterpart occurs with *di-*. The presence of such verbal marking on nominalized elements suggests that nominals of this sort exhibit some verbal properties.

As is the case with verbal clauses, nominals also take internal arguments, albeit not obligatorily, as seen in (22c-d).

- (22) a. pang-wangun-an      gedong rahayat  
       NOML-construct-NOML building people  
       ‘the construction of the people’s building’
- b. pa-ng-ajar-an      (kana) widang sastra  
       NOML-AV-teach-NOML to field literature  
       ‘the instruction of literature’



c. Pang-wangun-an téh di-waragad-an ku duit rahayat.

NOML-construct-NOML PART PV-body-APPL by money people

‘The construction was funded by the people’s money.’

(<http://siayi.wordpress.com/tag/kakuasaan/>)

d. Pa-ng-ajar-an téh kudu di-lenyep-an heula saacan

NOML-AV-teach-NOML PART must PV-reflect-APPL first before

di-laksana-keun.

PV-realize-APPL

‘The instruction has to be pondered upon before being administered.’

It is also possible to include an external argument in conjunction with an internal argument in a nominal structure.

(23) a. Pa-mariksa-an *pulisi* ka Anas baris di-intensip-keun.

NOML-examine-NOML police to A FUT PV-intensify-CAUS

‘The police’s examination of Anas will be intensified.’

b. Pa-mariksa-an ka Anas *ku pulisi* baris di-intensip-keun.

NOML-examine-NOML to A by police FUT PV-intensify-CAUS

‘The examination of Anas by the police will be intensified.’

Unlike derived nominals in which arguments are optional, arguments are obligatory in nominalized verb structures.

- (24) a. [Nga-gebug-na éta préman ka Ujang téh] can di-lapor-keun  
 AV-hit-NOML DEM thug to U PART FUT.NEG PV-report-APPL  
 ka pulisi.  
 to police  
 ‘The thug’s hitting of Ujang has yet to be reported to the police.’
- b. [Di-gebug-na Ujang ku éta préman téh] can di-lapor-keun  
 PV-hit-NOML U by DEM thug PART FUT.NEG PV-report-APPL  
 ka pulisi.  
 to police  
 ‘Ujang’s being hit by the thug has yet to be reported to the police.’

In each case, both arguments, the agent *éta préman* ‘the thug’ and the patient *Ujang* are required in the structure, otherwise deviant results obtain.

- (25) a. \*[nga-gebug-na ka Ujang téh]  
 AV-hit-NOML to U PART  
 ‘the (thug’s) hitting of Ujang’
- b. \*[di-gebug-na ku éta préman téh]  
 PV-hit-NOML by DEM thug PART  
 ‘being hit by the thug.’

Argument PPs are optional, though, just as they generally are in verbal clauses.

(26) [di-gebug-na Ujang (ku éta préman téh)]

PV-hit-NOML U by DEM thug PART

‘Ujang being hit (by the thug).’

In nominalized elements, as we saw in (24), the external argument’s position relative to the nominalized verb is dependent on the voicing of the verb. If the verb is active voice-marked, the agent immediately follows the nominalized verb. When the verb is otherwise passive, the agent follows the theme. Any other permutations are unacceptable.

(27) a. \*[Nga-gebug-na ka Ujang eta preman téh] can di-lapor-keun

AV-hit-NOML to U DEM thug PART FUT.NEG PV-report-APPL

ka pulisi.

to police

b. \*[Di-gebug-na ku eta preman Ujang téh] can di-lapor-keun

PV-hit-NOML by DEM thug U PART FUT.NEG PV-report-APPL

ka pulisi.

to police

Of interest to note concerning Sundanese nominalizations is the fact that there are two notable types: nominalized complements and nominalized matrix clauses. The former refers to nominalized elements filling the slot of an argument, whereas the latter denotes those in which what appears to be the matrix clause gets nominalized. Contrast the following.

- (28) a. Pulisi keur nalungtik [kabur-na Kardin tina bui tengah peuting  
 police PROG AV.research escape-NOML K from prison middle night  
 tadi].  
 last  
 ‘The police are investigating Kardun’s escaping from the jail last midnight.’
- b. [Di-sangka-na ku pulisi mah] Kardun kabur tina bui tengah peuting  
 PV-suspect-NOML by police PART K escape from prison middle night  
 tadi.  
 last  
 Lit: ‘The assumption by the police is that Kardun escaped from the jail last  
 night.’  
 ‘It was assumed by the police (that) Kardun had escaped from the jail last  
 midnight.’

In (28a), the nominalized constituent serves as the object of the predicate *nalungtik* ‘to research’, occupying the canonical complement position. In (28b), by looking at the English paraphrase, it appears that the nominalized element *disangkana ku pulisi mah* ‘lit: being assumed by the police’ corresponds to a matrix clause in English. The Sundanese structure in (28b), however, is not biclausal. It instantiates an equative construction, in which the nominalized element is simply the subject DP, not a matrix clause. The equative nature of (28b) is evident below.

- (29) Kardun kabur tina bui tengah peuting tadi [di-sangka-na ku pulisi  
K escape from prison middle night last PV-suspect-NOML by police mah].

PART

‘The assumption by the police is that Kardun escaped from the jail last night.’

Note that (29) is the exact mirror image of (28b), indicate of the fact that both of these (28b-29) are equative constructions.

Another property of nominalized elements is that the verb can be pluralized.

- (30) a. Pulisi keur nalungtik [di-s-**ar**-oék-an-na Quran ku para pamuda].  
police PROG AV.research PV-PL-tear-ITER-NOML Koran by Q youth  
‘The police are investigating (the incident in which) the Koran was ripped  
by the youths.’
- b. Acéng teu bébéja ka sasaha ngeunaan [k-**al**-bur-na barudak  
A NEG RED-news to anyone about PL-escape-NOML children  
santri ti pasantrén].  
student from religious.school  
‘Aceng did not tell anyone about the students’ running away from the  
religious school.’

Negation can also occur inside a nominalized element. When it does, it precedes the nominalized verb.

- (31) a. [**Teu** di-bagi-keun-na raskin ku Pa Lurah] nyabab-keun  
 NEG PV-share-APPL-NOML free.rice by Mr. chief AV.cause-CAUS  
 warga hareundeun.  
 community upset  
 ‘That the free rice was not distributed by the chief of the village  
 disappointed the community.’
- b. Para mahasiswa ng-aya-keun protés ngeunaan [**moal**  
 Q student AV-exist-CAUS protest about FUT.NEG  
 di-tuluy-keun-na program béasiswa ku pa-maréntah].  
 PV-continue-CAUS-NOML program scholarship by NOML-AV.order  
 ‘The students staged a protest concerning (the fact that) the scholarship  
 program will be discontinued by the government.’

Another functional element that can occur inside a nominal and precede the nominalized verb is a temporal/aspectual auxiliary.

- (32) a. % [**Keur** néang-an-na pulisi ka Usro] geus nga-gégér-keun masarakat.  
 PROG AV.seek-AN-NOML police to U PERF AV-uproar-CAUS community  
 ‘The police’s looking for Usro has sparked a neighborhood uproar.’
- b. [**Keur** di-téangan-na Usro (ku pulisi)] geus nga-gégér-keun masarakat.  
 PROG PV.seek-AN-NOML U by police PERF AV-uproar-CAUS community  
 ‘That Usro is being looked for by the police has sparked a neighborhood  
 uproar.’

As seen above, the active nominalized construction (32a) is not as acceptable. Much in-depth analysis is necessary—but lies outside the scope of this section—to seek to investigate the contrast exhibited in (32), which seems to boil down to a difference in voice marking.

In addition, a modal verb can immediately precede the nominalized verb.

- (33) a. [**Perlu** di-onslah-na pa-gawé éta] can di-putus-keun ku  
 need PV-fire-NOML NOML-work DEM PERF.NEG PV-decide-APPL by  
 pihak manajémén.  
 party management  
 ‘That the employee needs to be fired has not been decided yet by the  
 management.’
- b. Bapa masih kénéh can yakin ngeunaan [**kudu** di-jual-na harta  
 father still PART PERF.NEG sure about must PV-sell-NOML wealth  
 warisan pikeun munah-an hutang-hutang-na].  
 inheritance for AV.pay.off-NOML debt-RED-DEF  
 ‘The father is not so sure about (the fact that) the inheritance must be sold  
 to pay off all of his debts.’

With respect to complementizers, researchers such as Stowell (1981) and Kayne (1981) have reported an asymmetry in terms of the presence of a complementizer in the complement of a noun in contrast to that of a verb. That is, the complementizer *that* is obligatory in the complement of a noun but optional in the complement of a verb.

- (34) a. John believed (that) she was ill.  
 b. the statement \*(that) John is guilty (Ogawa: 20)

Sundanese, in this respect, behaves like English in having a similar asymmetry. Complementizers are optional in the complement of a verb but obligatory in the complement of a noun.

- (35) a. Ujang yakin (yén) manéhna gering.  
           U       sure   COMP 3SG       ill  
           ‘Ujang was sure that she was ill.’  
 b. kamandang \*(yén) Ujang salah  
           opinion       COMP U       wrong  
           ‘the opinion \*(that) Ujang is guilty’

Let us compare the clausal complement of a verb and a nominalized complement in terms of the use of complementizers.

- (36) a. Sakabéh dosén geus pada apal [(yén) Pa Ujang di-panggil ku Présidén].  
           all       lecturer PERF Q   know COMP Mr. U       PV-call   by President  
           ‘All faculty members know that Ujang was called to meet with the  
           President.’



b. Sakabéh dosén geus pada apal ngeunaan [(\*)yén) di-panggil-na Pa Ujang  
all lecturer PERF Q know about COMP PV-call-NOML Mr. U  
ku Présidén].

by President

‘All faculty members know about Ujang having been called to meet  
with the President.’

An obvious asymmetry arises. The verbal complement invariably admits a complementizer (36a)—either optionally or obligatorily—but the nominalized one does not, as apparent in the ill-formedness of (36b).

Verbal projections in such constructions as Raising to Object, Double Objects, Object Control have been reported to lack corresponding derived nominals (see Rappaport 1983; Kayne 1984; Abney 1987), though the possessive nominal correspondents are possible. The following are relevant examples in English.

- (37) a. \*John’s belief / believing of [Bill to be Caesar] Raising to Object  
b. John’s believing [Bill to be Caesar]

- (38) a. \*John’s gift / rental / giving (of) Mary of a flat Double objects  
b. John’s giving/renting Mary a flat

- (39) a. \*John’s persuasion / persuading of Mary [PRO to stay] Object Control  
b. John’s persuading Mary [PRO to stay]

As we see in (40-41), the same set of facts are attested in Sundanese, derived nominals are not available for Raising to Object, Double Objects, but nominalized nominals are possible.

- (40) a. ?\*anggap-an Ujang ngeunaan Ohang geus jadi geremo  
 assume-NOML U about O PERF become pimp  
 \*‘Ujang’s assumption of Ohang to be a pimp’
- b. ng-anggap-na Ujang ka Ohang geus jadi geremo  
 AV-assume-NOML U to O PERF become pimp  
 ‘Ujang’s assuming Ohang to be a pimp’
- c. di-anggap-na Ohang ku Ujang geus jadi geremo  
 PV-assume-NOML O by U PERF become pimp  
 ‘(that) Ohang was assumed by Ujang to have been a pimp’
- (41) a. \* kirim-an Ujang ka Imas pakét lebaran.  
 send-NOML U to I package Eid  
 \*‘Ujang’s gift of Imas an Eid’s package’
- b. \*sok ngirim-an-na Ujang Imas pakét lebaran  
 always AV.send-ITER-NOML U I package Eid  
 ‘Imas’ always giving Ujang an Eid’s package’
- c. sok di-kirim-an-na Imas pakét lebaran ku Ujang  
 always PV-send-ITER-NOML I package Eid by U  
 ‘(that) Imas was always given an Eid’s package by Ujang’

In object control, however, all types of nominals are possible, even those whose complements are introduced by a complementizer in conjunction with a resumptive pronoun, as illustrated in (43).

- (42) a. pa-ménta Ujang ka Imas [pikeun di-gawé deui]  
 NOML-ask U to I for STAT-work again  
 \*‘Ujang’s request of Imas to work again’
- b. ménta-na Ujang ka Imas [pikeun di-gawé deui]  
 AV.ask-NOML U to I for STAT-work again  
 ‘Ujang’s requesting Imas to work again’
- c. di-pénta-na Imas ku Ujang [pikeun di-gawé deui]  
 PV-ask-NOML I by U for STAT-work again  
 ‘(that) Imas was requested by Ujang to work again.’
- (43) a. pa-ménta Ujang ka Imas [sangkan manéhna di-gawé deui]  
 NOML-ask U to I so that 3SG STAT-work again  
 \*‘Ujang’s request of Imas so that she will work again’
- b. ménta-na Ujang ka Imas [sangkan manéhna di-gawé deui]  
 AV.ask-NOML U to I so that 3SG STAT-work again  
 ‘Ujang’s requesting Imas so that she will work again’
- c. di-pénta-na Imas ku Ujang [sangkan manéhna di-gawé deui]  
 PV-ask-NOML I by U so that 3SG STAT-work again  
 ‘(that) Imas was requested by Ujang so that she will work again.’

The next section demonstrates that the verbal properties of the Sundanese nominals can be accounted for by Alexiadou's (2001) proposed VP analysis in nominal structures.

## **7.4 Analysis**

At the outset of this section is an examination of whether the nominalization facts in Sundanese can be analyzed as an instantiation of a complementation strategy (Dixon 1995, 2006; Englebretson 2003). The section then considers Alexiadou's (2001) structural model to allow a straightforward account for the verbal properties that event/process nominals display.

### **7.4.1 Complementation Strategies Analysis**

Englebretson (2003) claims in spoken Indonesian that nominalized elements are often employed to express epistemic/evidential modality, which basically pertains to a speaker's evaluation, judgment or knowledge of a proposition. This type of modality is often conveyed via clausal complementation in many languages. The following are parallel examples from Sundanese.

- (44) a. Jalan Raya Pos *sabener-na* mah di-wangun ogé pikeun mangpaat  
 street R P actual-NOML PART PV-construct PART for benefit  
 militér-na.  
 military-NOML  
 ‘Jalan Raya Pos actually was also built for military purposes.’  
 ([http://su.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman\\_Willem\\_Daendels](http://su.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman_Willem_Daendels))
- b. *Béja-na*, aya dokter bageur.  
 news-NOML exist doctor kind  
 ‘I heard that there is a kind-hearted doctor.’

According to Englebretson, the functional similarities between *-nya* constructions and grammatical constructions in other languages lie in their function to frame a clause. However, given their adverbial nature, *-nya* constructions are actually instances of a complementation strategy in which a nominalized element is used as the framing element, which is embedded into the framed clause as an adverb. What we see in (45) is an example in which a *-na*-suffixed adverbial may surface in various locations in a sentence, a signature property of adverbials.

- (45) *Pasti-na* manéhna (*pasti-na*) boga jabat-an penting di  
 certain-NOML 3SG certain-NOML own task-NOML important in  
 kantor-na (*pasti-na*).  
 office-NOML certain-NOML  
 ‘Certainly, he (certainly) has an important position at his office (certainly).’

The adverbial element *pasti-na* carries epistemic meaning. That is, it involves speaker's knowledge or judgment of the truth value of propositions. Given the epistemic meaning that it has and its adverbial function, Englebretson might analyze structures containing –*nya* of this sort as a complementation strategy.

*Pace* Englebretson, the adverbial behavior of certain *na*-suffixed-elements does not necessarily argue for the existence of complementation strategies. Support for this comes from English, in which syntactic complementation is evident. English has a number of adverbs, whose function is on a par with the prototypical complementation. Observe the following.

- (46) a. This policy *is predicted* to disappoint many of his party's constituents.  
       b. *Predictably*, this policy is going to disappoint many of his party's constituents.

(46a) exemplifies a complementation structure, in which *predict* exhibits properties of a raising predicate. (46b), conversely, is a monoclausal structure, which is semantically identical to (46a). What makes (46b) distinct is the fact that *predict* occurs adverbially, suffixed by the derivational morpheme *-able* and the adverb of manner marker *-ly*. Other predicates that behave in the same way include adjectives such as *clear/clearly*, *seeming/seemingly*, *possible/possibly* and verbs such as *decide/decidedly*, *expect/expectedly* and *presume/presumably*.

The fact that certain predicates operate adverbially cannot be taken as evidence for complementation strategies or the lack of syntactic complementation in the language.

Thus, it is more reasonable to suggest that a set of seemingly nominalized elements in Sundanese act as adverbial markers.

Turning to Dixon's (1995, 2006) complementation strategies account, recall in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.3 that he claims that in a language without complement clauses like Kham, nominalization is employed as a complementation strategy. Below is an example from Chapter 2, repeated below.

(47)     $\eta$ a: a-tə                      [cuh-si-u]                       $\eta$ a-pəĩ-zya                      (Kham)

1SG PROX-SUPERESS sit-middle-NOML 1SG-want-CONT

‘I want to sit here/on this.’ (Dixon 2006: 37)

Crucial to note regarding Dixon's argumentation is his claim that Kham has no complement clauses. That is why, according to Dixon, a desiderative predicate in this language such as ‘want’ does not take a complement. Unlike Kham, as I have thus far shown in this thesis, Sundanese contains complement clauses and nominalizations and both can serve as arguments of the predicate. Recall examples in (30), repeated below.

(48)    a. Pulisi keur nalungtik \*(di-s-ar-oék-an-na      Quran ku para pamuda).

police PROG AV.research PV-PL-tear-ITER-NOML Koran by Q      youth

‘The police are investigating (the incident in which) the Koran was ripped  
by the youths.’

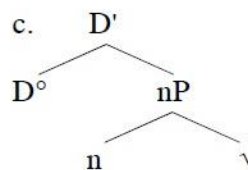
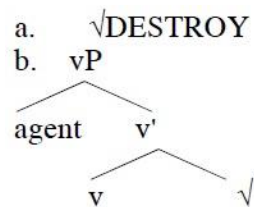
- b. Acéng teu bé-béja ka sasaha ngeunaan \*(k-al-bur-na barudak  
 A NEG RED-news to anyone about PL-escape-NOML children  
 santri ti pasantrén).  
 student from religious.school  
 ‘Aceng did not tell anyone about the students’ running away from the  
 religious school.’

What (48) shows is the fact that the omission of the nominal elements results in ungrammaticality, suggesting the obligatory presence of such elements as an indicator of an argument. Thus, the fact that Sundanese nominals are arguments of the predicate provides evidence against the complementation analysis.

#### 7.4.2 Alexiadou's (2001) Analysis

Alexiadou (2001) proposes the functional determination hypothesis, also referred to as the structural model, according to which the category of a lexical head is entirely determined by functional heads (following Marantz 1997, 1999). Lexical items are not specified for syntactic category until they enter into functional projections, after which they become verbs, nouns, and etc. The following are illustrative (Alexiadou: 7).

(49)





Take the root DESTROY, for example. When it is placed in a verbal structure (49b), it becomes a verb. Likewise, when it enters into a nominal environment (49c), it becomes a noun.

Alexiadou bases her proposal on the following reasons. First, a syntactic approach to word formation is superior to models adhering to an omnipotent lexicon (see Borer 1999). Second, redundancy between lexical and functional categories is eliminated. Three, this approach readily captures the intuition about nominalization that nouns share with verbs some semantic properties. And, finally, the difference among various types of nominals can be derived from structural variation.

In a similar vein, recent proposals from a number of Austronesian linguists (e.g. Donohue 1999, Foley 1998, Klamer 1998, van der Berg 1989) adopt a syntactic approach to word formation. On the basis of morphological properties and syntactic distribution in Tagalog, Foley (1998), for instance, proposes that the dividing line between nouns and verbs is somewhat blurred. Roots are ‘precategorical’ and lexical clauses are identifiable once roots are mapped onto the syntactic projections.

Alexiadou argues that under her structural model, different properties of process vs. result nominals as outlined in the preceding section can be accounted for configurationally. That is, process nominals include a set of functional projections associated with verbal clauses, while result nominals do not. She invokes a VP analysis to accommodate the verb-like properties of event/process nominals, i.e. the obligatory presence of an internal argument, the presence of agent-oriented modifiers and aspectual modifiers, and so on. She takes Borer’s (1993) position that the head of VP assigns thematic roles to the arguments in process nominals. Result nominals, on the contrary,



- (52) a. i katastrofi ton egrafon *prosektika/me prosohi* (Greek)  
           the destruction the documents-gen carefully/with care
- b. \*i katastrofi prosektika  
           the destruction carefully (Alexiadou: 15)

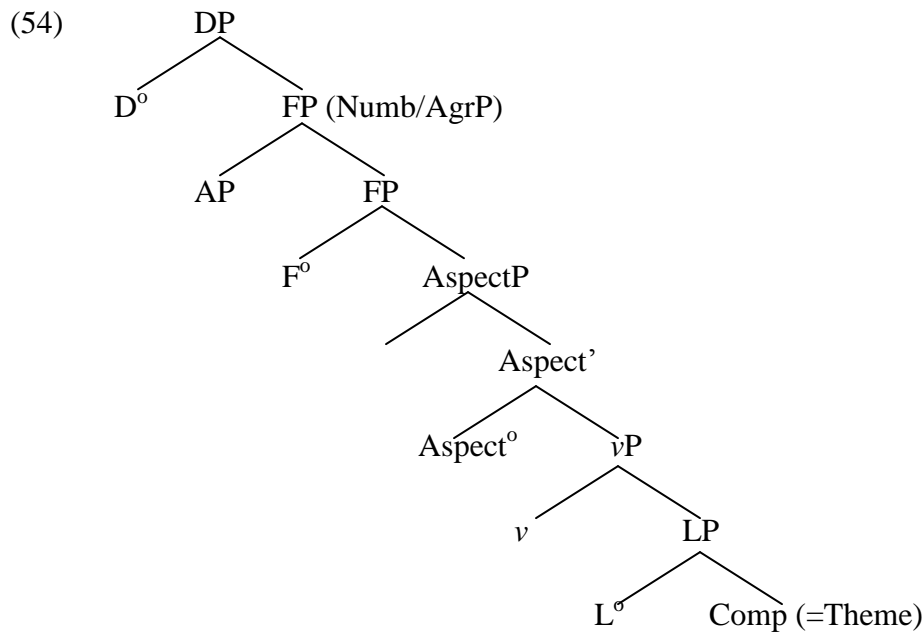
As is obvious in examples (51-52), adverbs of manner are licensed in process nominals. The presence of such adverbs in result nominals is ungrammatical, as shown in (52b). Assuming that adverbs exclusively modify VPs, and not NPs, the presence of adverbs provides an argument for the VP analysis of process nominals. The Hebrew example (51) further shows that an accusative case-marked argument *ha-kfar* ‘the village’ can occur inside a process nominal, indication that a process nominal has a similar structure as a verbal construction.

On Alexiadou’s account, eventivity and aspect readings obtain in process nominals by proposing that these nominals include VoiceP/vP and AspectP. The Aspect projection is taken to contain features related to the telicity of the event denoted by the verb such as perfective vs. imperfective. On the other hand, following Kratzer (1994) and Chomsky (1995), *v* is viewed to have the following properties.

- (53) a. contains relevant features to license an external argument.
- b. contains features related to eventivity.
- c. bears the object case.
- d. comes into types: one with an external argument and one without, e.g.  
       unaccusatives.

The variations in nominalizations within a language and across languages arguably result from the featural specifications of these two projections.

To recapitulate, event/process nominals include verbal projections such as VoiceP and AspectP in addition to nominal functional projections such as Number/AgrP. (54) represents a nominal structure with various projections ((Alexiadou: 18).<sup>62</sup>



Before extending Alexiadou's model to Sundanese nominal data, it is worthwhile to recapitulate a number of important verbal properties of Sundanese event nominals.

- (55)
- a. can be prefixed with voice markers.
  - b. take an external argument and an internal argument if transitive.
  - c. can admit an adverb.

<sup>62</sup> LP in this structure denotes "a category neutral-lexical projection (LP) headed by a stem, identical to that of the corresponding verb" (Alexiadou 2001: 71)

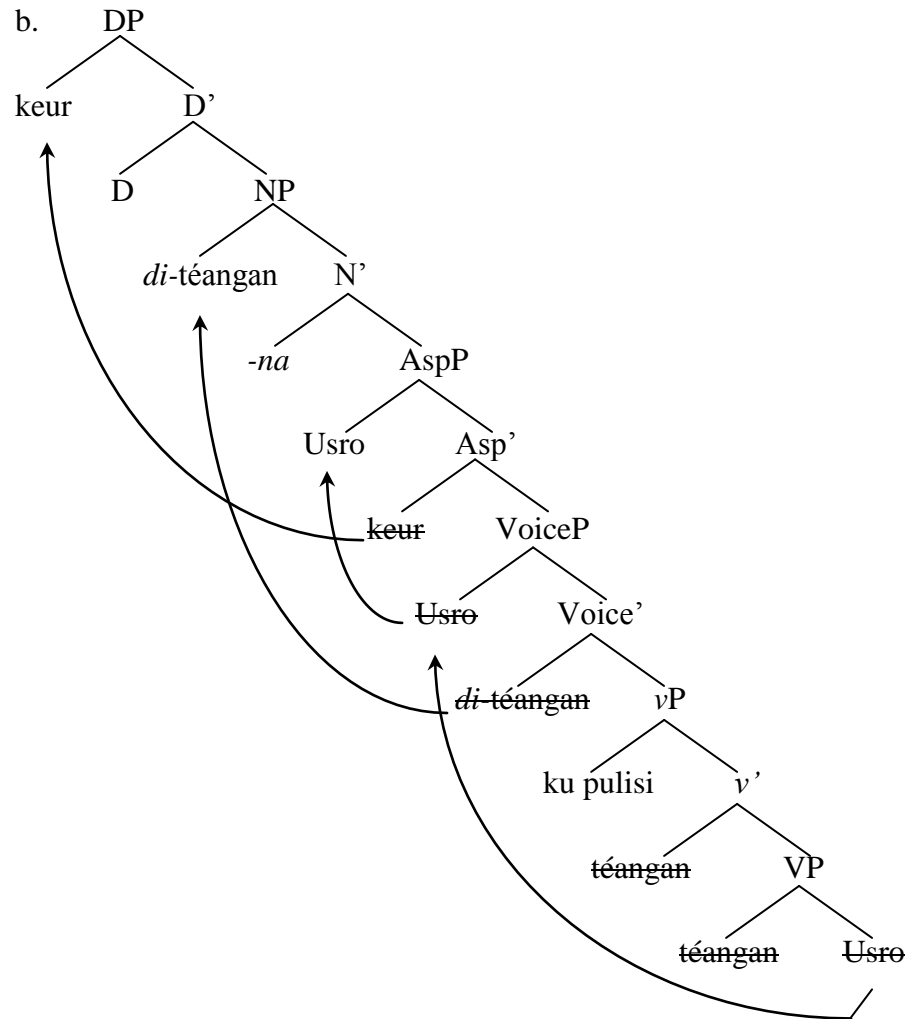
- d. can admit functional elements such as an aspectual auxiliary, a plural marker and a modal verb.
- e. can embed with another verb.

These properties suggest that Sundanese event nominals share with verbal constructions functional projections that host functional elements. The functional layers that can be projected inside event nominals include the following.

- (56)
- a. AspectP to host aspectual auxiliaries.
  - b. ModP to host modal verbs.
  - c. NegP to host negation.
  - d. VoiceP to host voice and plural markers.
  - e.  $\nu$ P and/or VP to host verbs.

The structure of the nominal example in (32), *Keur ditéanganna Usro ku pulisi geus ngagégérkeun masarakat* ‘It has caused uproar in the neighborhood that the police are searching for Usro’ is illustrated below.

- (57) a. [<sub>DP</sub> *keur*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *di-téangan*<sub>j</sub> [<sub>N</sub> *-na* [<sub>AspP</sub> *Usro*<sub>k</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *t<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>Voice</sub> *di-* [<sub>VP</sub> *ku pulisi* *t<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* *t<sub>k</sub>*]]]]]]]]]]]



The theme *Usro* is generated inside a VP along with the verb *téangan* ‘search’. The agent *ku pulisi* ‘by the police’ is generated in the specifier of *vP*. The verb moves to VoiceP to combine with the Voice morpheme on its way to the specifier of NP to receive the nominalizer. *Usro* is raised to AspP to satisfy an EPP feature. Head-movement of the aspect marker *keur* to D then takes place for the derivation to converge.

One obvious merit of this proposal is its ability to naturally account for the possibility for the nominal to contain a full-fledged clausal complement.

- (58) di-pénta-na Imas ku Ujang *pikeun di-gawé deui*  
 PV-ask-NOML I by U to STAT-work again  
 ‘(that) Imas was requested by Ujang to work again’

The structural representation for (58) is illustrated in (59).





*pénta* ‘ask’. Finally, the matrix verb ends up in Spec, NP to combine with the nominalizer.

In summary, Alexiadou’s model provides a straight-forward account for the parallelism between the syntactic structures of verbal clauses and event/process nominals and for the fact that event/process nominals have verb-like properties.

### 7.5 Excursus: Preferability

What is of interest is here that Sundanese speakers<sup>63</sup> overall show a certain degree of preference for nominal structures over ordinary complement structures or a certain type of nominal over another. To start, the Sundanese speakers like nominalized elements (60b) as opposed to raising complements (60a).

(60) a. *Manéhna ka-béja-keun rék indit ka Singapur.*

3SG PV-news-APPL FUT go to Singapore

‘He was said to be going to Singapore.’

b. *Béja-na manéhna rek indit ka Singapur.*

news-NOML 3SG FUT go to Singapore

‘The rumor is (that) he is going to Singapore.’

The preference here can be ascribed to the fact that there is a distinction in terms of the structural size of the sentence. (60a) exemplifies a raising construction, an obviously biclausal structure, whereas (60b) is a case of an equative construction, a monoclausal

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<sup>63</sup> The preference under discussion is based upon the results of a set of questionnaires and interviews that were administered to my informants.

structure. Thus, it appears that Sundanese speakers prefer monoclausal structures over biclausal structures, presumably to avoid complexity.

The same trend is what we see in (61). While (61a) is biclausal, (61b) is monoclausal, and again the monoclausal is more preferable.

- (61) a. Kardun di-sangka ku pulisi kabur ti bui pas tengah peuting.  
 K PV-suspect by police escape from prison when middle night  
 ‘Kardun was assumed to have escaped from the jail last midnight.’
- b. Di-sangka-na ku pulisi Kardun kabur ti bui pas tengah peuting.  
 PV-suspect-NOML by police K escape from prison when middle night  
 ‘It was assumed (that) Kardun had escaped from the jail last midnight.’

Additionally, a nominalized structure (62a) is considered more desirable than a subject clause (62b).

- (62) a. [Teu di-bagi-keun-na raskin ku Pa Lurah] nyabab-keun warga  
 NEG PV-share-APPL-NOML free.rice by Mr. chief AV.cause-CAUS people  
 hareundeun.  
 upset  
 ‘That the free rice is not being distributed by the chief of the village  
 disappointed the people.’

- b. [Yén teu di-bagi-keun-na raskin ku Pa Lurah] nyabab-keun  
 COMP NEG PV-share-APPL-NOML free.rice by Mr. chief AV.cause-CAUS  
 warga hareundeu.  
 people upset  
 ‘That the free rice is not being distributed by the chief of the village  
 disappointed the people.’

As described in Section 7.2 and 7.3, the passive nominals are, for the most part, more frequently used, partly because the active counterparts are not as acceptable (see 36 as an illustration). In fact, even when the active nominal (63a) is as perfectly grammatical as the passive counterpart (63b), the latter is more preferred.

- (63) a. [Nampiling-na Wasmin ka Ujang] nga-gégér-keun masarakat.  
 AV.slap-NOML W to U AV-uproar-CAUS community  
 ‘Wasmin’s slapping Ujang’s face sparked a neighborhood uproar.
- b. [Di-tampiling-na Ujang ku Wasmin] nga-gégér-keun masarakat.  
 PV-slap-NOML U by W AV-uproar-CAUS community  
 ‘(That) Ujang’s face was slapped by Wasmin has sparked a neighborhood  
 uproar.’

Future research is required to provide an explanation for why (i) a nominal structure is sometimes preferred over a prototypical clausal complement; and (ii) a certain type of nominal structure is more preferable to another.

## 7.6 Conclusions

What we have seen in this chapter is the fact that a certain type of nominal, i.e. an event/process nominal exhibits verbal properties, including (i) the ability to take voice marking and arguments; and (ii) the admissibility of functional elements such as temporal/aspectual auxiliaries, modal verbs, negation, and agreement. All these properties have been generally associated with verbal structures. What seems to be rather striking is the ability of a nominalized structure to embed a full-fledged clausal complement. I adopt Alexiadou's (2001) structural model, which integrates functional projections such as AspP, VoiceP, VP and others into nominal structures. This model is able to naturally accommodate the verb-like properties of event/process nominals and to capture the intuition that nouns share with verbs some identical semantic properties. Relatedly, I show data illustrating Sundanese speakers' preference of a nominal structure to a prototypical complement structure and their preference of certain of type of nominals over another.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSIONS

The main goals of the present thesis were two-fold: descriptive and theoretical. The first goal was to provide as complete and coherent description of clausal complementation in Sundanese as possible, particularly focusing on its types and properties. In this thesis, I fleshed out a range of clausal complement types in Sundanese, which consists of (i) *yén* ‘that’ complements (identifiable in indicative complements, subject control complements, prolepsis complements), (ii) *pikeun* ‘for’ complements (identifiable in control complements), (iii) *sangkan/supaya/ngarah/sina* ‘so that’ complements (identifiable in object control complements), (iv) raising complements (without complementizers), (v) crossed control complements (without complementizers), and (vi) nominalizations.

I demonstrated that this varied set of complement structures exhibits distinct properties in terms of the sort of elements admitted in the complements, even those of the same type. Object control complementizers, for instance, while semantically identical, i.e. in encoding purpose meanings, differ syntactically from one another. The complementizers *sangkan/supaya/ngarah* license an overt coreferring subject pronoun in their clause, whereas *pikeun/sina* do not. However, these object complementizers cluster together in not admitting the future auxiliaries *rék* and *bakal* ‘will’ in their complement, unlike the subject control complement.

The second goal was to examine the extent to which existing linguistic generalizations and universal linguistic principles can naturally explain the observed facts

in the language. The thesis concerned two important generalizations: (i) that complementation is a universal feature of human languages (Noonan 1985, 2007); and (ii) the well-accepted precept that finiteness plays a role in the world's languages. I have demonstrated throughout this thesis that there is good evidence that Sundanese evinces (syntactic) complementation and that any claim to the contrary is unfounded. That is, the no-complement structure analyses ((Dixon 1995, 2006; Englebretson 2003) cannot be extended to Sundanese data in light of the fact that (i) there is evidence of embedding in Sundanese; and (ii) complement clauses are arguments of the matrix predicate.

On the topic of finiteness, I showed that there are no overt morphological manifestations of finiteness. I furnished evidence that temporal/aspectual auxiliaries do not determine finiteness, contra Kana's (1986) and Arka's (2000, 2011) claim for Indonesian. Person agreement and modality were also shown not to correlate with a finiteness opposition. Nevertheless, I have argued that finiteness plays a syntactic role, as manifested in the possible occurrence or the obligatory absence of an overt subject in a clause. More specifically, I proposed that it is the positive specification of an abstract [finite] feature on T that licenses an overt subject in a finite clause. Implicationally, this establishes a clear-cut dividing line in terms of finiteness along which clausal complements are differentiated. An indicative complement clause and a prolepsis complement are finite owing to their ability to license an overt subject, whereas raising, control and crossed control complements are all non-finite due to the inadmissibility of an overt subject. In short, I argued that finiteness seems to be at work in Sundanese and that it patterns like other languages to account for the distribution of overt subjects. In this way, Sundanese appears to be less 'exotic' than it might appear on the surface.

The body of data presented herein is also germane to a host of other theoretical points. The first is inclusion of VoiceP in a clausal structure. I adopted the notion of VoiceP from recent proposals for Indonesian/Malay varieties and Acehnese (Sukarno 2003, Son 2006, Son & Cole 2008, Cole et al. 2008, Ko 2009 and Legate 2011) to harbor voice marking. Following Sukarno (2003), I took VoiceP as a functional projection for voice marking that always projects a specifier, which is saturated by a grammatical subject. I assumed that movement of a nominal argument into Spec, VoiceP is driven by an EPP feature on Voice (see Aldridge 2005 for a parallel view). The proposed analysis can naturally capture the distribution of Sundanese AV morphology in a wide range of verb types even when it falls outside the limits of the agentivity and transitivity analyses. Additionally, I argued that Sundanese passives do not evince characteristics of Indo-European-type passive in that actor PPs are arguments, just as actor DPs in active sentences, and are merged in the same slot, the specifier of *v*P.

The second theoretical point investigated in this thesis was the controversy behind the proper analysis for the following superficially similar sentences.

(1) a. Amung di-anggap ku abah                      geus indit ka dayeuh.

A              PV-assume by grandfather PERF go      to town

‘Amung was assumed by grandfather to have gone to town.’

b. Amung<sub>1</sub> di-anggap ku abah                      yén      manéhna<sub>1</sub> geus indit ka dayeuh.

A              PV-assume by grandfather COMP 3SG                      PERF go      to town

‘The grandfather assumed about Amung<sub>1</sub> that he<sub>1</sub> had gone to town.’

(1a) is a case of Raising to Object construction and (1b) a proleptic NP construction. Recent analyses of parallel structures in Madurese have concluded that due to the lack of positive evidence to keep such constructions as (1a-b) distinct, they are best treated as a single structure, i.e. the proleptic NP structure (Davies 2000, 2005a, 2010). In this thesis, I made the claim to the contrary. That is, (1a) and (1b) should be analyzed as instantiations of two distinct structures, mainly due to structural properties: Raising to Object involves movement, while prolepsis does not.

The next theoretical issue was to do with the behaviors of a subset of control predicates such as desideratives, implicative and aspectuals, as illustrated below.

(2) a. Sapédah geus réngsé di-oméan ku Ujang.

bicycle PERF finish PV-fix by U

Lit: 'The bicycle has finished being fixed by Ujang.'

'Ujang has finished fixing the bicycle.'

b. Ujang geus réngsé ng-oméan sapédah.

U PERF finish AV-fix bicycle

'Ujang has finished fixing the bicycle.'

(2a) instantiates 'ordinary' control whereas (2b) is crossed-control. Recent proposals for the crossed control in Indonesian and Malay (Polinsky & Potsdam 2008; Fukuda 2008; Nomoto 2008; Sato & Kitada 2012) have posited that the higher predicate takes a  $\nu$ P/VP complement. This thesis proposed a slightly different analysis that draws upon earlier accounts. It was proposed that the crossed control predicates select a VoiceP



complement. I argued that VoiceP provides a natural explanation for a set of interrelated facts: (a) the presence of a plural marked-verb inside the crossed control complement and (b) the apparent parallelism between the ordinary control and the crossed control. That is, I postulated that the structure for the two types of control of the same predicates is identical, in which case their complement includes VoiceP.

The last point of theoretical concern was related to nominalization. The issue of concern here is the fact that a nominal structure exhibits verb-like properties, such as the occurrence of voice marking, the obligatory presence of arguments, the admissibility of temporal/aspectual auxiliaries (3a), and the ability of a nominalized element to embed a full-fledged clausal complement (3b).

- (3) a. [**Keur di**-téangan-na      *Usro* (ku pulisi)] geus nga-gégér-keun masarakat.  
           PROG PV-find-ITER-NOML U      by police    PERF AV-uproar-CAUS community  
           ‘Usro’s being looked for by the police has sparked a neighborhood uproar.’
- b. [ménta-na      Ujang ka Imas [*sangkan manéhna di-gawé      deui*]]  
           AV.ask-NOML U      to I      so that    3SG      STAT-work again  
           ‘Ujang’s requesting to Imas so that she will work again’

I adopted Alexiadou’s (2001) structural model, according to which like verbal structures, nominals include functional projections such as AspP, VoiceP and VP. This naturally explains why nominals exhibit verbal properties that they do.

Beyond the theoretical musings, what I hope to be the lasting contribution of this thesis is its descriptive nature. The rich, detailed description of Sundanese structures

herein provides a repository of data that will be of significance for a substantial audience of linguists of and educated general public alike.

**APPENDIX A**  
**BASELINE SCREENING SENTENCES<sup>64</sup>**

**Petunjuk: Terjemahkan kalimat berikut ke dalam bahasa sunda yang benar!**

**Intransitive**

1. Ibu berjalan ke pasar.
2. Anak-anak berenang di sungai.
3. Anak itu jatuh dari kursi.
4. Surat itu tiba kemarin.

**Adjective**

5. Anak-anak itu pintar.
6. Dinding itu berwarna biru.

**Transitive**

7. Anak-anak itu memahami masalah.
8. Bapak mencintai ibu.
9. Ali memukul adiknya.
10. Kakak membeli motor baru.

**Ditransitive**

11. Ina mengirimkan surat kepada bibi.
12. Ibu memberi uang kepada anaknya.

**Imperative**

13. Baca buku itu!
14. Simpan kotak itu di sana!
15. Jangan membaca buku itu!
16. Jangan menyimpan kotak itu di sana!
17. Mari membaca buku!
18. Mari menendang bola!

**Existential**

19. Ada kambing di halaman.

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<sup>64</sup> This instrument is adopted from Davies' (2009: 36-38) baseline elicitation instrument.

20. Ada paket di atas meja.

### **Equational**

21. Siti adalah penyanyi.

22. Pak Hasan adalah seorang guru.

23. Gurunya Ina adalah Pak Hasan.

### **Locative**

24. Mobil itu di belakang rumah.

25. Ibu ada di kantor.

### **Causative**

26. Bambang membuat ayahnya marah.

27. Koki itu menajamkan pisaunya.

28. Ibu menyuruh anak-anak untuk berjalan kaki ke rumah.

29. Bos itu menyuruh Ali bekerja.

30. Bapak menyuruh Ina membaca buku.

31. Bapak meminta Bambang mencuci mobil.

32. Ibu menyuruh anak-anak menyimpan mainan ke dalam kotak.

33. Kakak meminta Ali memberikan buku kepada temannya.

### **Question**

34. Apakah Siti seorang penyanyi?

35. Apakah Gurunya membaca buku?

36. Apakah Ali memberikan buku kepada temannya?

37. Apakah Ita menyukai kopi atau teh?

38. Apakah kamu sedang membaca buku atau majalah?

39. Apakah Ali sedang bekerja atau tidur?

40. Siapa yang membeli mobil baru?

41. Apa yang menggingit tanganmu?

42. Apa yang sedang ibu baca?

43. Apa yang Siti beli di Surabaya?

44. Apa yang bibi simpan di atas meja?

45. Dimana bibi menyimpan paket itu?

46. Apa yang ibu berikan kepada anaknya?

47. Kepada siapa ibu memberikan uang?

48. Kenapa Bu Ina pergi?

49. Bagaimana mereka tiba ke Bandung?

50. Bagaimana paman bisa menangkap begitu banyak ikan?

51. Kapan mereka pindah ke Jakarta?

**Relative clause**

52. Adiknya adalah orang yang memecahkan jendela itu.

53. Bambang adalah orang yang digigit oleh domba itu.

54. Bibi adalah orang yang diberi uang oleh ibu.

55. Pak Dayat mencoba memperbaiki komputer itu.

56. Anak-anak sekolah itu tidak tahu kepada siapa meminta pertolongan.

57. Ina berpikir bahwa Hasan sudah membeli mobil baru.

58. Para pekerja memulai mengecat rumah itu.

59. Ibu meyakinkan bapa untuk menjual mobil.

60. Bapak menjanjikan kepada istrinya bahwa dia akan membetulkan pintu itu.

## APPENDIX B

## SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

**Petunjuk:** tentukan rujukan kata yang dicetak tebal. Jawaban bisa lebih dari satu.

*Contoh: Ujang ngomong ka **dirina sorangan** di jero WC.*

- a. Ujang (jawaban benar)*
- b. Orang lain*

1. Situasi: Santi datang bersama Yadi ke acaranya Bambang. Ibing menceritakan hal itu kepada temannya. Kata Ibing, “*Santi ngenalkeun **manehna** ka Bambang.*”
  - 1) Santi
  - 2) Yadi
  - 3) Ibing
  - 4) Teman Ibing
2. Situasi: Santi datang bersama Yadi ke acaranya Bambang. Ibing menceritakan hal itu kepada temannya. Kata Ibing, “*Santi ngenalkeun **maneh** ka Bambang.*”
  - 1) Santi
  - 2) Yadi
  - 3) Ibing
  - 4) Teman Ibing
3. Situasi: Santi datang bersama Yadi ke acaranya Bambang. Ibing menceritakan hal itu kepada temannya. Kata Ibing, “*Santi ngenalkeun **manehna sorangan** ka Bambang.*”
  - 1) Santi
  - 2) Yadi
  - 3) Ibing
  - 4) Teman Ibing
4. Situasi: Santi datang bersama Yadi ke acaranya Bambang. Ibing menceritakan hal itu kepada temannya. Kata Ibing, “*Santi ngenalkeun **diri manehna** ka Bambang.*”
  - 1) Santi
  - 2) Yadi
  - 3) Ibing
  - 4) Teman Ibing
5. Situasi: Santi datang bersama Yadi ke acaranya Bambang. Ibing menceritakan hal itu kepada temannya. Kata Ibing, “*Santi ngenalkeun **dirina** ka Bambang.*”
  - 1) Santi
  - 2) Yadi
  - 3) Ibing
  - 4) Teman Ibing

## APPENDIX C

## SAMPLE JUDGEMENT TASK

**Petunjuk:** *Baca kalimat di bawah ini dengan seksama dan nilai berdasarkan skala berikut:*

- 1: *sangat tidak bagus (awon pisan)*                      2: *tidak bagus (awon)*  
 3: *cukup bagus (lumayan merenah)*                      4: *bagus (sae)*  
 5: *bagus sekali (sae pisan)*

No	Kalimat	1	2	3	4	5
1.	Ngomean mobilna nu ruksak, manehna nyoba-nyoba.					
2.	Ujang geus ngusahakeun mulas kamarna sorangan.					
3.	Asih geus mutuskeun pikeun ngajual jongkona.					
4.	Budak teh nolak balik ka lembur.					
5.	Sangkan mantuan mereskeun gudang, kuring menta manehna.					
6.	Sangkan imahna direhab ku bapana, Imas hayang.					
7.	Manehna nyoba-nyoba ngomean mobilna nu ruksak.					
8.	Emang geus nganiatan rek nyaba ka Sumatera.					
9.	Rek nyieun pajangjian jeung Raja Jawa, Raja Sunda geus satuju.					
10.	Bapa nitah Ade sangkan ngala cai ka lebak.					
11.	Abah poho nulak panto warung.					
12.	Pikeun ngomean mobilna nu ruksak, manehna nyoba-nyoba.					
13.	Sina jadi ajengan, Pa Kosim hayang budakna.					
14.	Asep geus jangji rek ngabaturan lanceukna ka kota.					
15.	Sina ngala cai ka lebak, bapa nitah Ade.					
16.	Eneng ngolo babaturannana milu ka pasar.					
17.	Sangkan nulak panto warung, abah poho.					
18.	Sangkan mobilna nu ruksak aya nu ngomean, manehna nyoba-nyoba.					
19.	Manehna nyoba-nyoba pikeun ngomean mobilna nu ruksak.					
20.	Mulas kamarna sorangan, Ujang geus ngusahakeun.					
21.	Pikeun ngajual jongkona, Asih geus mutuskeun.					
22.	Kuring menta manehna mantuan mereskeun gudang.					
23.	Bi Ipah maksa alona cicing jeung manehna.					
24.	Pangeran geus gagal pikeun meunangkeun Putri Geulis.					
25.	Pikeun eureun digawe, Sule nyangka Ohang.					
26.	Rek ngomean mobilna nu ruksak, manehna nyoba-nyoba.					
27.	Imas hayang sangkan imahna direhab ku bapana.					
28.	Balik ka lembur, budak the nolak.					
29.	Rek sakola ka Amerika, Siti percaya Alam.					
30.	Sule nyangka Ohang rek eureun digawe.					

## APPENDIX D

## PREDICATES AND THEIR COMPLEMENTS

Predicate Types	Predicate	Complementizer	Complement Type
utterance	<i>omong</i> ‘say’, <i>carita</i> ‘tell’, <i>lapor</i> ‘report’, <i>bébéja</i> ‘tell the news’	<i>yén/(wi)réhna/</i> null	indicative/prolepsis
		null	raising
	<i>jangji</i> ‘promise’	<i>yén/(wi)réhna/</i> <i>/pikeun/null</i>	indicative/prolepsis/ control
propositional	<i>percaya</i> ‘believe’, <i>anggap</i> ‘assume’, <i>sangka</i> ‘suspect’	<i>yén/(wi)réhna/</i> null	indicative/prolepsis
		null	raising
semifactives	<i>apal</i> ‘know’, <i>panggih</i> ‘discover’, <i>sadar</i> ‘realize’,	<i>yén/(wi)réhna/</i> null	indicative/prolepsis
	<i>poho</i> ‘forget’	null	‘ordinary’ control & crossed control
desiderative	<i>hayang</i> ‘want’,	null	‘ordinary’ control & crossed control
	<i>piharep</i> ‘hope’	null	raising
		<i>sangkan/pikeun/</i> <i>etc./null</i>	control
manipulative	<i>paksa</i> ‘force’, <i>olo</i> ‘persuade’, <i>ancam</i> ‘threaten’, <i>titah</i> ‘order’, <i>pénta</i> ‘ask’	<i>sangkan/pikeun/</i> null	control
achievement	<i>suksés</i> ‘manage’, <i>gagal</i> ‘fail’, <i>poho</i> ‘forget’,	nul	‘ordinary’ control & crossed control
	<i>putuskeun</i> ‘decide’, <i>satujuan</i> ‘agree’	<i>yén/(wi)réhna/</i> <i>pikeun/null</i>	indicative/prolepsis/ control
	<i>inget</i> ‘remember’,	<i>yén/(wi)réhna/</i> null	indicative/prolepsis
	<i>kabeneran</i> ‘happen to’,	null	raising
	<i>coba-coba/usaha</i> ‘try’,	<i>pikeun/null</i>	control
phasal/ aspectual	<i>mimiti</i> ‘begin’, <i>tuluy</i> ‘continue’, <i>bérés</i> ‘finish’,	null	‘ordinary’ control & crossed control
immediate perception	<i>tingali</i> ‘see’, <i>déngé</i> ‘hear’	null	raising
negative	<i>embung</i> ‘not.want’	null	‘ordinary’ control



## APPENDIX E

## PRONOUNS IN DIFFERENT REGISTERS

PRONOUNS	<i>Kasar</i> 'coarse'	<i>Loma</i> 'colloquial'	<i>Lemes</i> 'polite'	<i>Lemes Pisan</i> 'very polite'
1 <sup>st</sup> Singular	déwék, aing, uing	kuring	abdi	sim abdi, sim kuring
1 <sup>st</sup> Plural	urang	urang	kami	kami
2 <sup>nd</sup> Singular	manéh, sia, silaing	anjeun	anjeun	anjeun
2 <sup>nd</sup> Plural	maranéh	aranjeun	aranjeun	aranjeun
3 <sup>rd</sup> Singular	manéhna	manéhna	anjeunna	anjeunna
3 <sup>rd</sup> Plural	maranéhna	aranjeunna	aranjeunna	aranjeunna

## APPENDIX F

## TEMPORAL/ASPECTUAL MARKERS

PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
<i>kungsi/pernah</i> ‘once’ <i>(eung)geus</i> ‘PERF’ <i>(en)can</i> ‘PERF.NEG’ <i>kamari</i> ‘yesterday’ <i>mangkukna</i> ‘day before yesterday’ <i>minggu kamari</i> ‘last week’ <i>bulan kamari</i> ‘last month’ <i>taun kamari</i> ‘last year’ <i>baheula/baréto/harita</i> ‘a while ago’ <i>cikénéh</i> ‘a little while ago’	<i>masih/(eu)keur</i> ‘still’ <i>ayeuna</i> ‘now’ <i>poé ieu</i> ‘today’	<i>(é/a)rék/bakal/baris</i> ‘will’ <i>moal</i> ‘won’t’ <i>kahareupna</i> ‘in the future’ <i>éngkéna</i> ‘in the future’ <i>isukan</i> ‘tomorrow’ <i>pagéto</i> ‘day after tomorrow’ <i>minggu hareup</i> ‘next week’ <i>bulan hareup</i> ‘next month’ <i>taun hareup</i> ‘next year’ <i>sakeudeung deui</i> ‘in a little while’

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