

The Crossed-Control Construction and the Syntactic Role of Passive Morphology in Standard Indonesian

Abstract: This paper proposes a new analysis of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian first observed in Gil (2002) and recently analyzed in Polinsky and Potsdam (2008) and Nomoto (2008, To appear). Indonesian verbs of desire, *maw/ingin* ‘want’, behave like ordinary subject control constructions but when they embed a passive complement, they exhibit a “crossed-reading” which involves an unusual alignment between the predicates and their arguments. Specifically, the matrix surface subject is thematically related to the embedded predicate whereas the subordinate oblique phrase is construed as the agent of the matrix control predicate. I propose that this reading arises because the passive morpheme *di-*, clitic-doubled with a third person oblique agentive phrase, undergoes syntactic incorporation into the matrix control predicate. The present analysis allows for a straightforward explanation of a wide variety of other facts, including 1) the presence of the crossed-reading in a different type of passive commonly known as *zero passives*, 2) the absence of the crossed reading in an active complement headed by the active voice marker *meN-*, and 3) the unavailability of the crossed-reading in the corresponding control constructions in languages such as English.

1. Introduction

This article explores the syntax of the crossed-control construction observed in the literature on Malay/Indonesian (Kaswanti Purwo 1984, Sneddon 1996, Arka 2000, Musgrave 2001, Gil 2002) and recently analyzed by Polinsky and Potsdam (2008) (henceforth P&P) and Nomoto (2008, To appear). The central issue regarding this construction concerns Indonesian verbs such as *mau* and *ingin* that translate as ‘want’ or ‘wish’. These verbs behave like typical subject control verbs, as illustrated in (1). However, once they embed a passive construction, as shown in (2), an additional, unpredictable reading arises.¹

- (1) Anak itu mau/ingin men-cium ibu.
 child that want AV-kiss mother

‘The child wants to kiss the mother.’

CONTROL READING

(P&P, p. 1617)

¹ The following abbreviations are used in data sections of this article: AV, active voice; COMP, complementizer; EMPH, emphatic particle; INTR, intransitive; NEG, negation; PL, plural; PV, passive voice; RED, reduplication; SG, singular; TRAN, transitivity; 1/2/3, first/second/third persons.

(2) Anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu.

child that want PV-kiss by mother.

a. 'The child wants to be kissed by the mother.' CONTROL READING

b. 'The mother wants to kiss the child.' CROSSED READING

(P&P, p. 1618)

The second interpretation for the sentence in (2), paraphrased in English as in (2b), involves an unusual alignment of the arguments with the two predicates. The experiencer argument of the matrix predicates *mau/ingin* 'want, wish' (i.e., *(oleh) ibu* '(by) mother') appears as the oblique element within the embedded clause whereas the theme argument of the embedded predicate *cium* 'kiss' (i.e., *anak itu* 'the child') appears as the subject within the matrix clause. Thus, the alignment involved in the interpretation in (2b) is crossed.

This crossed-reading is cross-linguistically unusual; the corresponding English sentence in (3), for example, only allows the normal control reading, which results from the predictable alignment between the experiencer/theme arguments and their respective predicates.

- (3) The child wants to be kissed by the mother.
- a. The child wants to be kissed by the mother. CONTROL READING
- b. * The mother wants to kiss the child. CROSSED READING
- (P&P, p. 1618)

The purpose of this article is to present a new analysis of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian. According to this analysis, the apparent unusual reading arises from an independently motivated morphosyntactic role of the passive morpheme *di-* as a third person agentive clitic. I propose that this marker, clitic doubled with a third person agentive element in the oblique position, undergoes syntactic incorporation into the embedding control predicates *mau/ingin* ‘want’ to receive the experiencer θ -role from it. The present analysis allows for a straightforward explanation of a wide variety of other facts, including 1) the presence of the crossed-reading in a different type of passive commonly known as *zero passives* (Chung 1976; Willet 1993; Dardjowidjojo 1978; Sneddon 1996; Arka and Manning 1998), 2) the absence of the crossed reading in an active complement headed by the active voice marker *meN-* and 3) the unavailability of the crossed-reading in the corresponding control constructions in languages such as English. In so doing, I also compare the

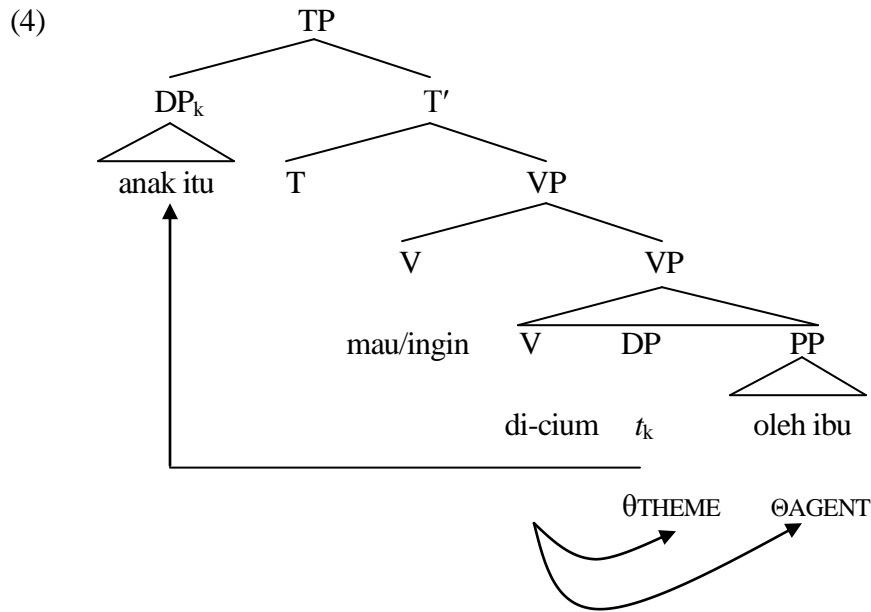
current analysis with two recent alternative approaches to the crossed-control construction proposed by P&P and Nomoto (2008, To appear). I present conceptual and empirical problems with these approaches, which I show can be naturally resolved or circumvented under the present analysis.

The present article is organized as follows. In section 2, I review central issues in the syntax and semantics of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian and review P&P's raising analysis. In section 3, I first provide independent evidence that the canonical passive marker *di-* is a clitic-doubled element that is coindexed with the oblique third person agent argument. I then propose that the crossed-control reading arises as the natural byproduct of the syntactic incorporation of the *di*-verb in the embedded clause into the control predicate. The proposed analysis provides a straightforward explanation for the presence vs. absence of the crossed-control reading in the zero passive vs. active construction and for the lack of the reading in the corresponding construction in English. Section 4 is the conclusion.

2. The Crossed-Control Construction in Standard Indonesian

This section briefly reviews P&P's raising analysis of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian. They propose that *mau/ingin* 'want' are raising auxiliary verbs

with no external argument. According to this analysis, the derivation of the sentence in (2) with the crossed-reading proceeds as shown in (4).



(P&P, p. 1629, with a minor modification)

In this derivation, 1) the verbs *mau/ingin* ‘want’ take the VP complement and 2) the theme argument of the embedded verb, *anak itu* ‘the child’, undergoes A-movement into [Spec, TP]. P&P present independent support in favor of both aspects of the derivation. First, the verbs *mau/ingin* share signature properties listed in (5a-g) with raising verbs in English, which can be captured by making the complement of these predicates a VP. These properties are illustrated in (6-12).

(5) Characteristics of *mau/ingin*

- 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 the complementizer *untuk* in complement clause
- g. do not allow the complement clause to be fronted.

(P&P, p. 1630)

(6) * Rumah ini di-ingin oleh mereka.

house this PV-want by 3PL

‘This house is wanted by them.’ (P&P, p. 1622))

(7) * Anak ini men.coba mau di-ajar Bahasa Inggris oleh Ali.

child this AV.try want PV-teach language English by Ali

‘The child tried for Ali to want to teach him English.’ (P&P, p. 1630)

(8) * Ingin(-lah) di-baca sura ini!

want-EMPH PV-read letter this

‘Be willing to read this letter!’ (P&P, p. 1630)

(9) * Mereka sempat/bisa/perlu/boleh/suka mau di-tolong oleh Ali.

3PL have the opportunity/can/must/may/like want PV-help by Ali

‘They have a chance/can/must/may/would like to want to help them.’

(P&P, p. 1630)

(10) * Kemarin rumah itu mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh mereka minggu depan.

yesterday house that want PV-destroy by 3PL week next

‘Yesterday they wanted to destroy that house next week.’ (P&P, p. 1621)

(11) * Bagian kalimat ini mau (*untuk) di-tegaskan-nya.

section sentence this want COMP PV-emphasize-3SG

‘He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.’ (P&P, p. 1631)

(12) * [di-cium oleh ibu] (yang) mau/ingin anak itu.

PV-kiss by mother COMP want child that

‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’ (P&P, p. 1631)

Second, P&P observe that the surface subject in the crossed-control construction exhibits characteristics suggestive of A-movement into [Spec, TP]. Although space limitations prevent me from reproducing the examples from P&P (see their (35-45), pp. 1627-1629), the initial DP in this construction behaves like grammatical subjects in Standard Indonesian; specifically, the initial DP 1) can be non-specific or quantificational, 2) must occur after the yes-no question particle *-kah*, 3) can be clefted, 4) does not allow the wh-in-situ strategy, 5) licenses the depictive secondary predicate, and 6) permits VOS word order.

The remaining question, then, is where the experiencer interpretation for the embedded oblique argument in the crossed-control construction in (2) comes from, if *mau/ingin* are raising predicates without an external argument. The contrast between (13a) and (13b) shows that the construction indeed imposes selectional restrictions on the oblique argument. In (13b), the inanimate object, *api* ‘fire’, is not acceptable.

(13)a. Kota ini di-hancurkan oleh api.

city this PV-destroy by fire

‘This town was destroyed by fire.’

b. # Kota ini mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh api.

city this want PV-destroy by fire

‘Fire wants to destroy this town.’

(P&P, p. 1625)

P&P suggest that the apparent experiencer reading for the oblique element arises through the lexical semantics of the verbs *mau/ingin* ‘want’. Specifically, these verbs ascribe the experiencer role to a volitional participant of the event described by the sentence, regardless of its syntactic position, in the same way that subject-oriented adverbs like *willingly*, *deliberately* and *reluctantly* in English have been argued to pick up and ascribe a similar semantic role to an agent, even when it is the oblique element, as illustrated in (14c). In (14a-c), the participant to which agentivity/willingness are ascribed indicated in boldface.

(14)a. Barbara willingly interviewed Madonna.

- b. Madonna was willingly interviewed by Barbara.
- c. Madonna was willingly interviewed by Barbara. (P&P, p. 1632)

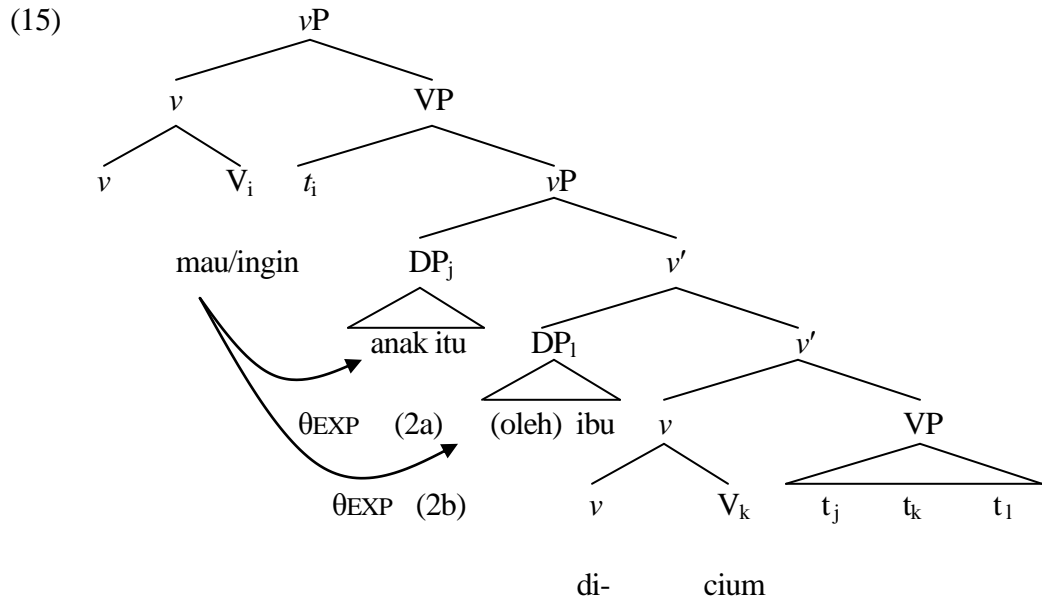
P&P couch this observation within Wyner's (1998) theory of thematically dependent adverbs, which recognizes the difference between θ -roles and thematic properties. The former are syntactic objects governed by syntactic principles such as the θ -Criterion (Chomsky 1981) whereas the latter are thematic sub-components of a θ -role such as volitional involvement in the state/event, sentience/perception, and movement (Dowty 1991). P&P suggest that the wantee/experiencer role in the crossed-control construction arises because *mau/ingin* ascribe a desire to the agent of the sentence.

Though evidence in favor of their raising analysis of the crossed-control construction is convincing, P&P's treatment of the experiencer role for the oblique argument creates more problems than it solves. First of all, their analysis is specifically tailored for the two predicates only when they exhibit the crossed-control interpretation. Thus, when these verbs exhibit the ordinary control reading in (2a), P&P is forced to stipulate two different homophonous lexical entries for *mau/ingin*, one for the raising/crossed-control derivation and the other arguably for the subject control derivation (see P&P, p. 1637). Nomoto (2008, To appear) observes that Malay/Indonesian has some twenty other predicates than *mau/ingin* (see section 3.2 for relevant discussion) which allow the crossed-control reading and that they can be

characterized as verbs having to do with modality or psychological states. P&P's analysis, then, would bring about non-trivial redundancies in the lexicon. Second, as P&P acknowledge (p. 1637), their analysis begs two important questions: 1) What types of thematic dependencies can be established outside θ -roles and 2) why assignment of thematic properties can be non-local whereas assignment of θ -roles must be local. As far as I can see, the most pressing question is how we know when the apparent experiencer/wanter role in the control construction arises through syntactic θ -role assignment or thematic dependency. Without an independent principle that governs this division of labor, their analysis is void of content. Finally, as I will show in the next section, the question regarding the experiencer is naturally resolved without introducing the rather ad hoc distinction between θ -roles and thematic dependency once we take seriously the morphosyntactic role of the passive morpheme *di-* in the crossed-control construction that has been widely acknowledged in the Indonesian literature. This consideration, thus, suggests that the wanter/experiencer role does not warrant any special treatment such as the one suggested by P&P.

Nomoto (2008, To appear) suggests an alternative analysis of the construction framed within Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004). According to this analysis, the ambiguity of the sentences like (2) boils down to the fact that the external θ -role of *maw/ingin* 'want' can be assigned either to the internal or the external argument of the

lower predicate as long as the targets of θ -roles are in the edge of the phase that contains the θ -role assigners. To see how Nomoto's analysis works, consider the relevant part of the derivation in (15) for the example in (2).



(cf. Nomoto 2008, p. 14)

The two DPs, *anak itu* ‘the child’ and *ibu* ‘the mother’, are located in the edges/specifiers of vP . The predicates *mau/ingin* can assign the experiencer to either one of these arguments because they both stand on the edges/specifiers of vP . When it is assigned to *anak itu* ‘the child’, the normal control reading arises; when it is assigned to *ibu* ‘mother’, on the other hand, the crossed-control reading results, as desired. This

analysis avoids the conceptual redundancy problem with P&P's analysis; *mau/ingin* are each lexically specified as one lexical entry, whether it is syntactically manifested as the crossed-control or regular control configurations.

As attractive as the analysis may be, I find several conceptual and empirical problems with it. First, the assignment of the external θ -role in (15) relies on a syntactic configuration (i.e., between a head and the specifier of its complement), which is otherwise unattested for external θ -role assignment. It has been standardly assumed in the minimalist literature (Chomsky 1995) that the external θ -role is assigned to an argument by ν in the Spec-Head configuration. The analysis above, thus, involves a radical departure from this standard assumption. Second, the analysis assumes that the passive *di-* in the ν head position can host multiple specifiers, which again departs from basic precepts of current Phase Theory. It has been commonly held (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004) that passive and unaccusative ν Ps do not constitute strong phases, meaning that the ν head in those cases lacks an EPP feature. Indeed, Tjung (2006) and Aldridge (2008) argue that the ν P projected by *di-* lacks a specifier position. The question then immediately arises why the ν head can host a second specifier in addition to one reserved for external θ -role assignment. In (15), *ibu* 'mother' is moved into a specifier of ν , but given the standard assumption above, it is not clear at all what the driving force for the movement in question is. Without the EPP on the ν

head, the DP should have to move in one fell swoop into the specifier of TP, which makes Nomoto's edge-based version of θ -role assignment untenable. The final problem is empirical. Nomoto's analysis crucially assumes that the embedded oblique element in (2) (i.e., *ibu* 'the mother') occupies one of the specifier positions of the v head. We therefore predict that the passive agent in Standard Indonesian, in principle, should be able to bind a pronoun in the surface subject position through reconstruction. This prediction is not borne out. Arka and Manning (1998) (see also Cole et al. 2008 for a related discussion) show, based on the example in (16), that the passive agent is not in a position to c-command the base position of the surface subject. The example in (17) shows that the same binding pattern holds for the crossed-control configuration.

- (16) Surat-nya_{*i/j} di-baca (oleh) semua orang_i.
 letter-3SG PV-read by every person
 'His_{*i/j} letter was read by each person.' (P&P, p. 1626, with a modification)

- (17) Surat-nya_{*i/j} mau di-baca (oleh) semua orang_i.
 letter-3SG want PV-read by every person
 'Each person_i wants to read his_{*i/j} letter.' (P&P, p. 1626, with a modification)

If the agent DP *semua orang* ‘every person’ without the preceding preposition *oleh* ‘by’ were an argument in the specifier of the ν , it would be expected that this DP could be the licit antecedent for *surat-nya* ‘his letter’. The ungrammaticality of (16) and (17) fall into place, however, if the agent DP is an adjunct and is merged below the base-generated position of the theme argument. As a result, at no point in the syntactic derivation can the agent DP c-command the theme. The binding pattern observed here thus speaks against the derivation shown in (15). Based on the considerations above, I conclude that Nomoto’s analysis of the crossed-control construction is difficult to maintain.

3. The Morphosyntactic Role of “Passive” *Di-* and Syntactic Incorporation

This section proposes a new analysis of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian. I argue that the crossed-control reading results from an independently motivated morphosyntactic role of the canonical passive marker *di-* as a third person agentive clitic coindexed with the oblique argument. The *di+* verb complex then undergoes syntactic incorporation into the matrix control predicates *mau/ingin* ‘want’ so that the clitic receives the wanter/experiencer role from the predicates. According to this analysis, the apparently unusual alignment between the arguments and the

predicates is explained is nothing but a natural consequence of two independent claims:
di- as third person agentive clitic and syntactic incorporation.

3.1. *Di- as Third Person Agentive Clitic and Syntactic Incorporation*²

The hypothesis that the passive marker *di-* is a reduced form of the free pronoun *dia* ‘he, she, it’ has been around in the Malay/Indonesian literature for a long time (Mills 1975: 165-166; Cartier 1979; Shibatani 1985: 845). This position appears to have been long held by early Dutch Indonesianists (Van den Berg 2004). This hypothesis has been revisited in Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992: 400), who postulates that “the prefix *di-* is the realization of the set of features representing the third person.” The main argument for this hypothesis comes from two observations. First, in conservative varieties of Malay and Indonesian (i.e., Classical Malay; Standard Malay; Standard Indonesian), *di-* can only be used with third person oblique agents. Sneddon (1996: p. 249) notes that canonical passives with first or second person agents do occasionally occur in spontaneous speech, even among educated speakers. However, I take this pattern to deserve an exceptional treatment because they are regarded as ungrammatical in Standard Indonesian by native speakers and can only be possible when the agent is added as an afterthought or via contrastive focus.

² Thanks to Hiroki Nomoto and Thomas Connors for very useful discussions on the content of this section.

Second, there is a formal similarity between the free pronouns and their corresponding passive prefixes, as shown in the paradigm below, modeled on the examples from Mills (1975: 166).

- (18)a. Rumah itu **ku**-lihat. (**aku** = 1sg free pronoun)
 house that 1SG-see
 ‘I saw this house.’
- b. Rumah itu **kau**-lihat (**engkau** = 2sg free pronoun)
 house that 2SG-see
 ‘You saw this house.’
- c. Rumah itu **di**-lihat (**dia** = 3sg free pronoun)
 house that 3SG-see
 ‘He/she saw this house.’ (Standard Indonesian)

For the first and second persons the second syllable is retained (i.e., *aku* → *ku*–; *engkau* → *kau*–) whereas for the third person it is the first syllable that is preserved (i.e., *dia* → *di*–). With this difference in truncation aside, the examples here clearly indicate an obvious formal similarity between the free pronouns and the clitic pronouns in the canonical passive construction.

It is important to note here that the restriction on third persons in the canonical passive only holds for the conservative varieties of Malay/Indonesian. In other words, there is no restriction on first and second person pronominal agents in oblique agentive phrases in other more liberal varieties of these languages (Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis 1992). Thus, the example in (19) is acceptable in Betawi, the spoken Malay-based variety spoken by local inhabitants of Jakarta, and a number of other colloquial dialects of Indonesian, but the corresponding example in Standard Indonesian is unacceptable, as in (20).

- (19) Buku itu udah di-baca ama **gue/loe**.
 book that already PV-read by 1SG/2SG
 ‘The book was already read by me/you.’

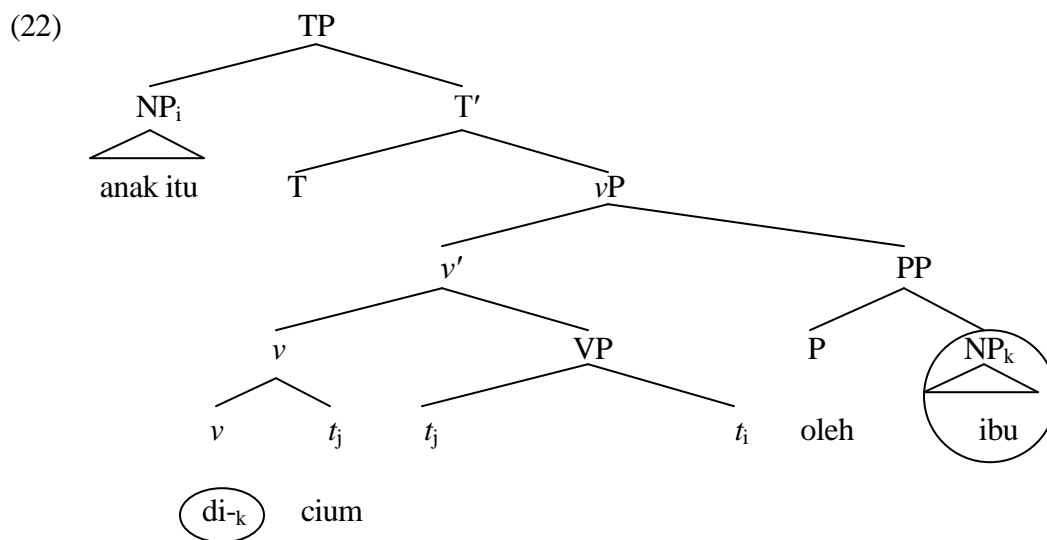
(Betawi: Thomas Connors, personal communication)

- (20) * Buku itu sudah di-baca (oleh) **saya/anda**.
 book that already pv-read by 1SG/2SG
 ‘The book was already read by me/you.’

(Standard Indonesian)

I propose now, based on the arguments above, that in Standard Indonesian, the syntactic derivation of the canonical passive involves the morpheme *di-*, clitic-doubled with a third person oblique agent phrase. The syntactic derivation for the sentence in (21), then, will be as in (22).

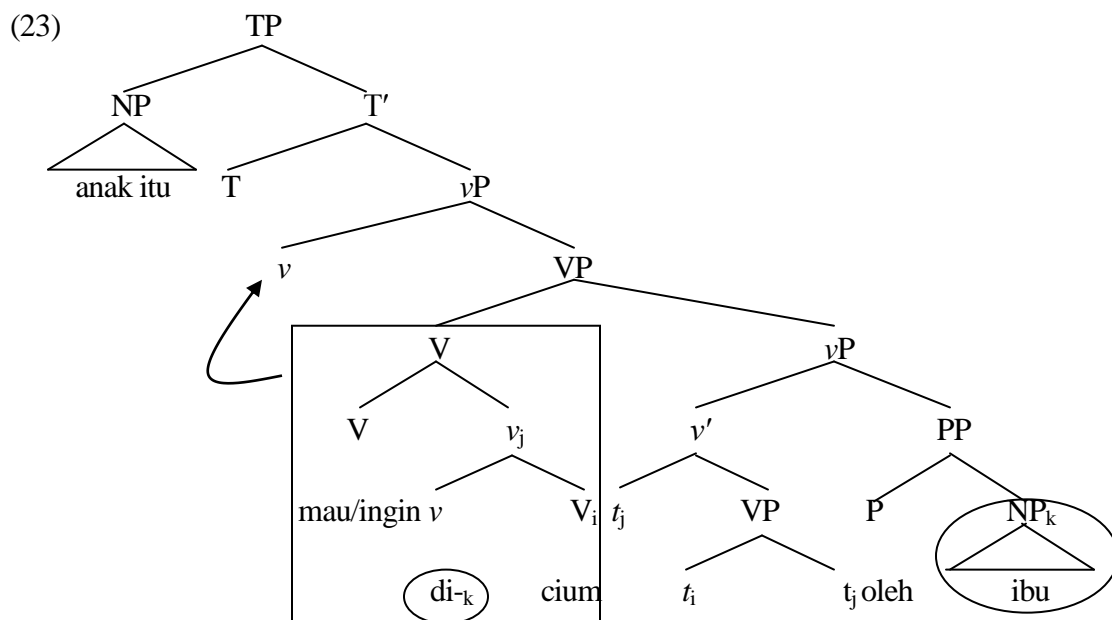
- (21) Anak itu di-cium (oleh) ibu.
 child that PV-kiss by mother
 ‘The child was kissed by the mother.’



In this derivation, the DP *anak itu* ‘the child’ is base-generated in the complement of the verb *cium* ‘kiss’ and receives the theme role from the verb. It then undergoes

movement into the specifier of TP. The agent role of the predicate is retained in the passive morpheme *di-* itself, an assumption that makes sense, if the morpheme is a clitic pronoun originating from the free pronoun *dia* ‘he, she, it.’ The most crucial part of the derivation lies in the idea that this morpheme is a clitic, doubled with the oblique third person element. This doubling makes it possible for the agent role to be transferred from the passive prefix *di-* to the oblique argument.

I propose that the crossed-control reading in the example in (2b) arises from the syntactic incorporation of the embedded verbal complex *di-cium* ‘kissed’ into the matrix control predicates *mau/ingin* ‘want’. Consider the derivation shown in (23).



In this derivation, the DP *anak itu* ‘the child’ is base-generated in the complement of the verb *cium* ‘kiss’ to receive the theme role and later moved into the specifier of TP. The agent role of the verb is assigned to the passive marker *di-*, which in turn discharges this role to the oblique agentive phrase *ibu* ‘mother’ through co-indexation. The verb complex *di-cium*, then, further undergoes syntactic incorporation to the matrix verbal head position to combine with the control verbs *mau/ingin* ‘want’; then the whole verbal complex undergoes head movement into the matrix *v* head position. At this last step of the derivation, the passive marker *di-* receives the wantee/experiencer role from the matrix *v*. Since the passive morpheme clitic-doubles the oblique agentive phrase in the controlled clause, the wantee/experiencer role is also shared by the phrase. This additional θ -role assignment made possible by syntactic incorporation, I claim, accounts for the unusual alignment between arguments and predicates that obtains in the crossed-control construction.

Note that this is not the only way the agent θ -role of the matrix verb *mau/ingin* can be discharged. Alternatively, the DP *anak itu* ‘the child’ can move into the specifier of the matrix *v* to receive this role. When this derivational option is chosen, the normal control reading in (2a) obtains.

3.2. *The Crossed Reading in Active Controlled Complements*

The proposed analysis provides a straightforward explanation for a number of other core properties of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian. The crossed-control reading disappears when either the matrix or the embedded verb is marked with the active voice prefix *meN-*.³ The example in (1), repeated here as (24), illustrates the blocking effect of the prefix attached to the embedded verb.

- (24) Anak itu mau/ingin **men-**cium ibu.
 child that want AV-kiss mother
 a. ‘The child wants to kiss the mother.’ CONTROL READING
 b. ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’ CROSSED CONTROL READING

Nomoto (2008, To appear) observes that the verbs *cuba* ‘try’ in Malay/*coba* ‘try’ in Indonesian are like *mau/ingin* ‘want’ in exhibiting the crossed-control reading for their

³ The prefix *meN-* takes one of the phonologically conditioned allomorphs, as shown in (ia-e).

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|--------------|---|
| (i)a. | <i>meN-</i> | → meng/menge | (if the stem starts with a, e, g, h, i, o, u) |
| b. | <i>meN-</i> | → mem | (if the stem starts with b, f, p, v) |
| c. | <i>meN-</i> | → men | (if the stem starts with c, d, j, t, z) |
| d. | <i>meN-</i> | → men/meny | (if the stem starts with s) |
| e. | <i>meN-</i> | → meny | (if the stem starts with k, l, m, n, v, w, y) |

passivized complement. The example in (25) illustrates this fact in Standard Indonesian. Now, when the matrix complement in (25) is marked with the active voice prefix, however, the crossed-control reading becomes unavailable. This is shown in (26).

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (25) | Kucing | kesayangan-nya | coba | di- cium | (oleh) Esti. |
| | cat | pet-3SG | try | PV-kiss | by Esti |
| a. | 'Her pet cat tried to be kissed by Esti.' | | | | CONTROL READING |
| b. | 'Esti tried to kiss her pet cat.' | | | | CROSSED READING |
-
- | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|------------------|---------|-----------------|
| (26) | Kucing | kesayangan-nya | men- coba | di-cium | (oleh) Esti. |
| | cat | pet-3SG | AV-try | PV-kiss | by Esti |
| a. | 'Her pet cat tried to be kissed by Esti.' | | | | CONTROL READING |
| b. * | 'Esti tried to kiss her pet cat.' | | | | CROSSED READING |

It is not clear under P&P's semantic account why the presence of the active voice marker in one of the verbs blocks the otherwise available crossed-control reading. Recall that under their account, the wantor/experiencer interpretation is assigned to an agentive phrase, regardless of its surface syntactic position. P&P (p. 1637) speculate that the relevant reading is unavailable because *mau/ingin* in examples such as (24)

instantiate the ordinary (arguably subject) control use, but this takes us back to the conceptual problem raised in section 2.

The proposed analysis, on the other hand, provides a straightforward explanation for the blocking effect of *meN-* on the crossed-control construction. It has been widely acknowledged in the literature on Malay/Indonesian (Saddy 1991; Cole and Hermon 1998; Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008; see also many references cited therein) that the movement of an NP results in the obligatory omission of the active voice prefix from the verb within its extraction path. Cole and Hermon (1998) establish the descriptive generalization shown in (27) for a dialect of Malay used by educated speakers in Singapore and note that it also holds for Indonesian.

- (27) The obligatory omission of *meng-* with verbs that would otherwise permit *meng-* – indicates the movement of an NP argument over the *meng-* + verb.
(Cole and Hermon 1998: 233)

Below, I illustrate this generalization with A'-movement, A-movement and the movement of an NP vs. non-NP in turn, using SI examples. First, (28a, b) show that *wh*-movement and relativization, two instances of A'-movement, cause AV-deletion from the verb located within their extraction path.

(28)a. Siapa_i yang Bill (***mem**)-beritahu ibu-nya [CP yang t_i *(**men**)-cintai

who that Bill AV-tell mother-his that AV-love

Fatimah]]?

Fatimah

‘Who_i does Bill tell his mother that t_i loves Fatimah?’

b. [Buku [CP OP_i yang [t_i John (***mem**)-beli t_i] itu]] menarik.

book that John AV-buy that interesting

‘That book that John bought is interesting.’

(Standard Indonesian: based on Cole and Hermon (1998, p. 232, 233))

In (28a), the movement of *siapa* ‘who’ crosses the matrix verb *beritahu* ‘tell’ but not the embedded verb *cintai* ‘love’. Thus, the AV prefix must be deleted from the matrix verb whereas it must *not* be deleted from the embedded verb. A similar pattern holds for the example (28b), which involves A'-movement in the form of relativization. Second, AV deletion is also caused by A-movement, as shown in (29).

(29) Ali_i saya (*men)-cubit t_i.

Ali I AV-pinch

‘I pinched Ali. / Ali was pinched by me.’

(Standard Indonesian: based on Cole and Hermon (1998, p.232))

Chung (1976) shows that preposing in (29) involves A-movement. Consider (30a-d).⁴

(30)a. Dia atang untuk ber-cakap-cakap dengan Ali.

he come for INTR-talk-RED with Ali

‘He came to talk with Ali.’

b.?* Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk teman saya (dapat) (mem)-baca.

I AV-bring letter the for friend my can AV-read

‘I brought the letter for my friends to (be able to) read.’

c. Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk (dapat) di-baca oleh teman saya.

I AV-bring letter the for can PV-read by friend my

‘I brought the letter to (be able to) be read by my friends.’

⁴ The examples here from Chung (1976) are converted to the current spelling of Bahasa Indonesia.

d. Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk (dapat) kau baca.

I AV-bring letter the for can you read

‘I brought the letter to (be able to) be read by you.’ (Chung 1976: p. 46-47))

The contrast between (30a) and (30b) shows that the embedded subject, not the embedded object, can become PRO. (30c) exemplifies the canonical passive. This construction takes the Neg + Aux + *di*-verb +(oleh) NP order. (30c) shows that the derived subject of this construction can become PRO. (30d) is our crucial case. This example illustrates the zero passive, which takes the Neg + Aux + pronominal subject + stem verb in SI. Now, the fact that the derived subject in (30d) patterns with that in (30c) in its ability to become PRO suggests that the zero passive instantiates A-movement. Accordingly, (29) provides evidence that AV deletion is also caused by A-movement in SI. Finally, what matters for AV-deletion is the movement of an NP across *meN*- verbs. This observation is illustrated by (31a-c). Here, the movement of the non-nominal phrases (*kenapa* ‘why’, *di mana* ‘where’ and *kepada siapa* ‘to whom’) across the verb with *meN*- does not trigger AV deletion.

- (31)a. [AdvP Kenapa]_i Mary *(**mem**)-beli buku itu t_i ?
 why Mary AV-buy book that
 ‘Why did Mary buy that book?’
- b. [PP Di mana]_i John *(**mem**)-beri Mary buku itu t_i ?
 at where John AV-give Mary book that
 ‘Where did John give Mary that book?’
- c. [PP Kepada siapa]_i Mary *(**mem**)-beri buku itu t_i ?
 to who Mary AV-give book that
 ‘To whom did Mary give that book?’

Recent work (see Aldridge 2008, Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008, Tjung 2006, Sato 2010 and references cited therein) has developed a theory of what behinds the active voice deletion in several varieties of Malay/Indonesian within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004) but precise theoretical mechanisms behind it are immaterial for our present purposes, insofar as the descriptive generalization in (27) holds for Standard Indonesian. Under our proposed analysis, the derivation of the crossed-control reading in (24) involves A-movement of the DP *anak itu* ‘the child’ across the embedded verb into the specifier of the matrix T. This movement, however, is blocked when the verb in question is marked with *meN-* as per Cole and Hermon’s Generalization. The same analysis holds for the example in

(26), where it is the matrix control predicate that is marked with *meN-*. Again, the movement of the theme DP *kucing kesayangan-nya* ‘her pet cat’ must cross the matrix verb in order to yield the hypothetical crossed-control reading. However, this movement is blocked because the matrix verb is marked with the active voice prefix.

Notice, of course, that the present analysis also correctly predicts the unavailability of the relevant reading if both embedded and matrix verbs are marked with *meN-*, as shown in the example in (32).

- (32) Anak itu **men-coba** **men-cium** ibu.
 child that AV-try AV-kiss mother
- a. ‘The child wants to kiss the mother.’ CONTROL READING
- b. * ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’ CROSSED CONTROL READING

3.3. *The Crossed Reading under Zero Passive Complements under Mau/Ingin*

P&P (p. 1636) notes that the so-called zero passive construction can be embedded under *mau* ‘want’ to yield the crossed-control reading, as shown in (33).

- (33) Bagian kalimat ini mau dia=tegaskan.
 section sentence this want 3SG=emphasize
 ‘He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.’ (P&P, p. 1636)

The syntax of the zero passive construction is a matter of considerable inquiry (Chung 1976; Willet 1993; Dardjowidjojo 1978; Sneddon 1996; Arka and Manning 1998; Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis 1992; Cole and Hermon 2005; Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008). In Standard Indonesian, a zero passive construction has the order of Negation + Auxiliary + pronominal subject + bare verb, as shown in (34).

- (34) Dia tidak bisa kau = jemput.
 3SG NEG can 2SG=meet
 ‘He cannot be met by us. We cannot meet him.’

The pronominal subject in this construction most typically occurs as proclitic to the following bare verb. Thus, Sneddon (1996, p. 249) observes that “...if the agent is *aku* ‘I’ or *kamu* ‘you’, the bound forms, *ku-* and *kau-* respectively, usually occur.” This observation is illustrated in (35a, b).

- (35)a. Buku ini sudah ku=baca.
 book this already 1SG=read
 ‘I have already read this book.’
- b. Buku ini harus kau=baca.
 book this must 2SG=read
 ‘You must read this book.’ (Sneddon 1996: p. 249)

The account of the crossed-reading under the zero passive construction is straightforward once we take seriously the clitic-pronominal nature of the agent in this construction. To account for this pro-clitic nature, let us suppose that the pronominal agent in the zero passive construction is base-generated in [Spec, ν P] and is later fused with the verb as a one complex predicate. The assumption that the agent pronoun has an independent existence as an argument at some earlier stage of the derivation is independently motivated. Arka and Manning (1998) show that such an agent can antecede a reflexive surface subject, as shown in (36a). Recall that this binding pattern is impossible in the canonical *di*-passive construction, as already shown in (16) and further illustrated in (36b).

(36)a. **Dirimu** mesti **kau** serahkan ke polisi.

self-2SG must you surrender to police

‘Yourself must be surrendered to the police.’

(Arka and Manning (1998), as cited in Cole, Hermon and Yanti (2009: 1507))

b. ***Dirinya** tidak di-perhatikan **Amir**.

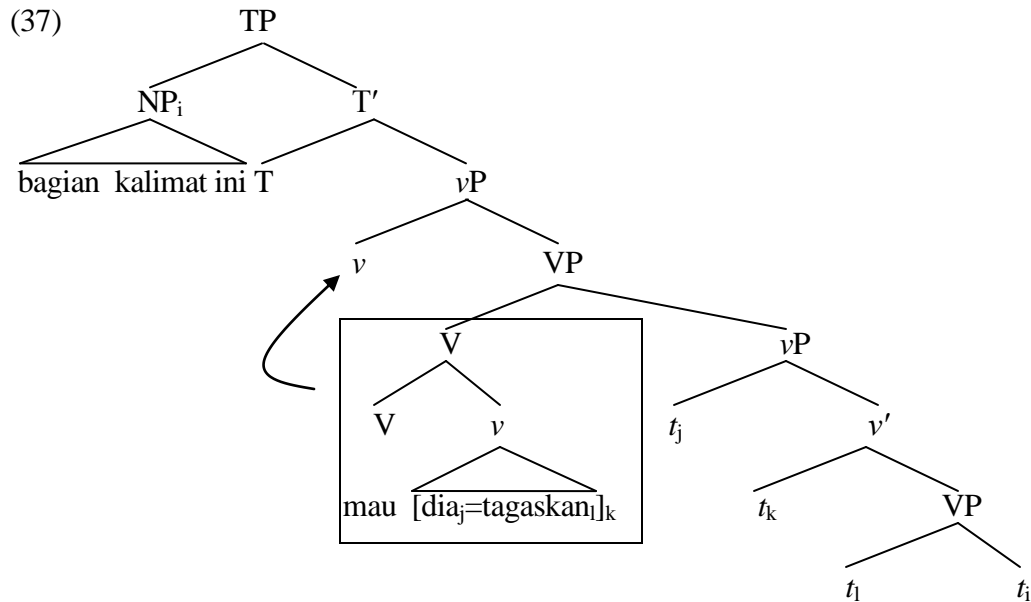
self-3SG NEG PV-care Amir

‘Himself was not taken care of by Amir.’

(Arka and Manning (1998), as cited in Cole, Hermon and Yanti (2009: 1509))

The grammaticality of (36a) falls out if *kau* ‘you’ occupies the external argument position and binds the reflexive before the latter undergoes movement into [Spec, TP]. If *kau* ‘you’ were an adjunct located lower than the reflexive, there would be no point of the derivation where the Agent NP can bind the reflexive. The contrast in grammaticality between (36a) and (36b), thus, shows that the pronominal agent is indeed base-generated as an independent external argument, presumably in [Spec,

vP], at some stage of the syntactic derivation. With this assumption in mind, consider the syntactic derivation for the sentence in (33), shown in (37).



In this derivation, the DP *bagian kalimat ini* ‘this part of the sentence’ undergoes movement from the embedded object position into the specifier of the matrix T. The third person argument *dia* is base-generated in the specifier of the embedded v . This argument receives the agent θ -role in this position and is later procliticized to the embedded verb *tagaskan* ‘emphasize’. The newly derived complex *dia=tagaskan*, then, undergoes overt syntactic incorporation into the matrix control verb *mau* ‘want’. At this

point, the proclitic *dia* receives another agent θ -role from *mau* (or the *v* head that dominates it after the whole verbal complex moves into the *v* position).

3.4. *On the Absence of the Crossed-Control Reading in English*

This section explores the question why the crossed-control reading is impossible with verbs of wanting in English. The example in (3), repeated here as (38), illustrates this.

(38) The child wants to be kissed by the mother.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| a. | The child wants to be kissed by the mother. | CONTROL READING |
| b. | * The mother wants to kiss the child. | CROSSED READING |

In principle, it is possible that this pattern is simply a reflection of the fact that the English verb *want* is lexically stipulated only as a control verb. However, this verb shows certain patterns of raising in some non-standard dialects of English such as the Pittsburgh dialect, as illustrated in (39).

(39) The house wants painted by the owner.

a. 'The house should be painted by the owner.' RAISING READING

b. 'The owner wants to paint the house.' CONTROL READING

(P&P, p. 1619)

In light of the tendency of verbs of wanting to be susceptible to the raising configuration in English and Romance languages (Strozer 1981; Rizzi 1982; Manzini 1983; Di Sciullo and Rosen 1991; Pickle 1990; Cinque 2004), it is not very illuminating to attempt an analysis of the lack of the crossed-reading in English merely by a lexical stipulation. Our proposed analysis, on the other hand, provides an alternative, more principled account for the pattern in question. Our analysis is claiming that the otherwise atypical crossed-control reading arises in Standard Indonesian because of the syntactic incorporation of the verbal complex involving a pronoun clitic-doubled with the oblique argument in the controlled clause. Jaggeli (1986) and Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1988) provide evidence that the passive morpheme *en-* in English is essentially a clitic element coindexed with the oblique argument. To the extent that this analysis holds, the reason for the absence of the crossed-control reading in English needs to be sought elsewhere.

I suggest that the syntactic incorporation in question is blocked for an independent reason having to do with the categorial status of the controlled complement in the two languages. Unlike *mau/ingin* ‘want’ in Standard Indonesian, it has been commonly held that the complement of the control verbs such as *want* in English involve a functional layer, whether it is of the category CP (Chomsky 1981) or of TP (Bošković 1995). It is cross-linguistically attested that incorporation/head movement never contains C/T material between two verb. I adopt Li’s (1990) analysis. To account for why head movement does not move lexical categories through functional categories back to lexical categories, Li proposes the notion of improper head movement, which bans movement through an A’-position ending in an A-position (Chomsky 1973; May 1979; Fukui 1993). According to Li, the A vs. A’-distinction of head elements coincides with the lexical/functional distinction. Thus, lexical categories (i.e., V, N, A and P) are in A-positions whereas functional categories (i.e., T, C, and D) are in A’-positions. Baker and Hale (1990) also independently observe that head movement is indeed sensitive to the difference between lexical and functional categories. Specifically, an intervening lexical category constitutes a minimality barrier (in the sense of Rizzi (1990)) to the movement of another lexical category but not to the movement of a functional category. Similarly, an intervening functional category creates a minimality barrier to the movement of another functional category but not to

the movement of a lexical category. Adopting Li's/Baker and Hale's analysis for the issue at hand, the incorporation of the passive verb into the matrix verb *want* in English involves head movement from an A-position (either V or *v*) through an A'-position (either T or C) into another A-position (either V or *v*). This incorporation is successful in Standard Indonesian, on the other hand, because the complement of the control verbs *mau/ingin* 'want' does not contain any functional category but is of category *vP*.

4. Conclusions

This paper presented a new analysis of the crossed-control construction in Standard Indonesian. The analysis adopts the independently motivated claim that the morpheme *di-* is a pronominal element, clitic-doubled with an oblique third agentive argument in the canonical passive construction. I have shown that the otherwise unusual alignment between the arguments and the predicates in the crossed-control construction arises through the interaction of this claim with the syntactic incorporation of the passive verb into the matrix control predicates. The proposed analysis also correctly predicts the presence/absence of the crossed-control reading in the active complements headed by *meN-* and the zero passive construction. I have also claimed that the analogous reading in the English control construction with *want*

is blocked by the intervening functional categories (C or T) that intervene between the matrix and embedded verbs.

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