A unified analysis of funny control

Hiroki Nomoto

University of Minnesota

`nomot002@umn.edu`

1 Introduction[1]

This paper discusses a construction in Malay/Indonesian which Gil (2002) calls the funny control construction.

(1)   Normal control

Polis   cuba men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit   itu.
police try   ACT-catch   motorcycle.gang that

   (i) 'The police tried to catch the motorcycle gang.'
     —'normal control reading'
  (ii) *'The mortorcycle gang tried to be caught by the police.'
     —'crossed reading'[2]

A normal control construction is unambiguous. Assuming that *cuba* 'to try' and *men-(t)angkap* 'to catch' are in different clauses, the external argument of the former, i.e. *polis* 'police', is coreferential to that of the latter.

(2)   Funny control

Mat Rempit   itu   cuba di-tangkap polis.
motorcycle.gang that try   PASS-catch police

   (i) 'The motorcycle gang tried to be caught by the police.'
     —'normal control reading' (funny!)
  (ii) 'The police tried to catch the motorcycle gang.'
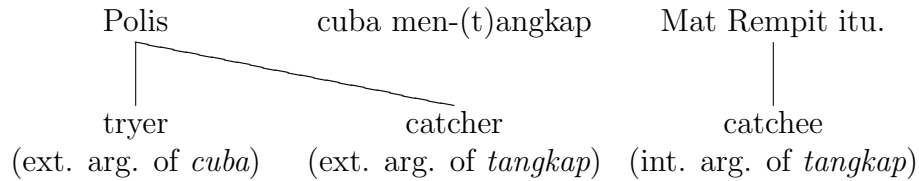   —'crossed reading'

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[1]I would like to thank my informants for this study: Kartini binti Abd. Wahab, Mat Zubir bin Ladin, Mohd. Azizul bin Ladin, Noradilah Mohd Nasir and Sharifah Raihan Syed Jaafar. I would also like to thank my adviser Hooi Ling Soh for her comments on a draft of this handout.

Example sentences in this paper are in Standard Formal Malay used in Malaysia unless otherwise noted. The following abbreviations are used: ACT: active; PASS: passive; PERF: perfect; TOP: topic.
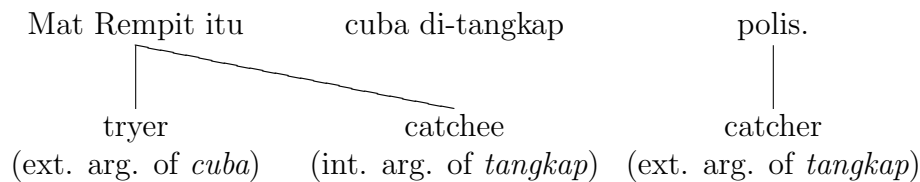
[2]The terms 'normal control reading' and 'crossed reading' are from Polinsky and Potsdom (in press).

As the translations above show, the funny control construction is in principle ambiguous. The ambiguity arises because the external argument of funny predicates (i.e. 'tryer') can be identified not only with the internal argument (i.e. 'catchee' = *Mat Rempit itu* 'the motorcycle gang') but also with the external argument (i.e. 'catcher' = *polis* 'police') of the lower predicate.
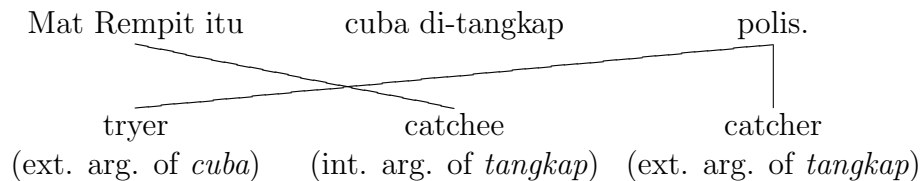
(3) a. Normal control (1)

Polis   cuba men-(t)angkap   Mat Rempit itu.

tryer   catcher   catchee
(ext. arg. of *cuba*)   (ext. arg. of *tangkap*)   (int. arg. of *tangkap*)

  b. Funny control, normal control reading (2(i))

Mat Rempit itu   cuba di-tangkap   polis.

tryer   catchee   catcher
(ext. arg. of *cuba*)   (int. arg. of *tangkap*)   (ext. arg. of *tangkap*)

  c. Funny control, crossed reading (2(ii))

Mat Rempit itu   cuba di-tangkap   polis.

tryer   catchee   catcher
(ext. arg. of *cuba*)   (int. arg. of *tangkap*)   (ext. arg. of *tangkap*)

(4)   Syntactic frame of the funny control construction
      NP1 'funny predicate' PASS-V (oleh 'by') (NP2)

(5)   List of 'funny predicates' (not inclusive)
      berani 'dare', berjaya 'to succeed', berhak 'to have the right to', berhasil 'to succeed', berusaha 'make effort', cuba (*Indo* coba) 'to try', enggan 'reluctant', gagal 'to fail', hendak (*ColMal* nak) 'to want', ingin (*ColIndo* pengen) 'to want', layak 'qualified', mahu (*ColMal, Indo* mau) 'to want', malas 'lazy', malu 'ashamed', mampu 'capable', rela 'willing', sempat 'to have the time/opportunity to', suka 'to like', takut 'afraid', terpaksa 'forced to'

These predicates have the following characteristics:

* Semantically, their meanings have to do with modality. They express psychological attitudes (e.g. *ingin* 'to want') or external circumstances that affect the probability of the realisation of a situation (e.g. *layak* 'qualified').

* Morphologically, they are affixless or have the prefix *ber-* or *ter-*. They do not take the prefix *meN-*. Thus, while the affixless *cuba* 'to try' is a funny predicate, its *meN-* prefixed form *men-cuba* is not; a sentence with *men-cuba* only has the normal control reading. See section 3.4.

See Appendix for example sentences from natural texts of the two readings for these predicates.

The ambiguity is usually resolved pragmatically.
cf. Kaswanti Purwo (1984:75-76) points out the following two generalisations with regard to the possible readings of the construction.

- When the agent of the complement clause is first person, speakers vary as to whether the ambiguity exists. The reading that is available for all speakers is the crossed reading.

- When the matrix subject is inanimate, only the crossed reading is possible.

I think that these two points should be taken as tendencies rather than absolute rules because there are many counterexamples, especially to the second point (see the (a) examples in Appendix).

The construction is often found in relative clauses.

(6)   a.   Normal control reading

Jangan Pandang Belakang adalah untuk mereka [yang suka di-takutkan]...[3]
don't   look   back   is   for   they   that   like   PASS-scare
'Jangan Pandang Belakang (Don't Look Back) is for those who like to be scared...'

       b.   Crossed reading

Kenyataan ini   telah mendorong kami meneliti pelbagai karya [yang suka
fact   this PERF encourage   us   examine various   work   that   like
di-rujuk   oleh ulama Makkah].[4]
PASS-refer by   ulama Mecca
'This fact drove us to examine various works to which ulamas in Mecca like to refer.'

The crossed reading is not available in the equivalent sentences in English and Japanese[5].

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[3]Sinema Malaysia, `http://www.sinemamalaysia.com.my/main/forums/viewtopic.php?t=89`, accessed 12/06/2008.

[4]KURNIA ILHAM ≪ 2003 ≪ May, `http://www.ilhamkanku.com.my/?m=200305`, accessed 12/06/2008.

[5]However, a sentence like *Food and drinks are not allowed to be consumed on the bus* in English appears to have the crossed reading in that the participant which is given permission is not the internal argument of *consume*, i.e. *food and drinks*, but the implicit external argument of it, i.e. the addressee (cf. *Food and drinks are consumed by you; You are not allowed to consume food and drinks*). The corresponding Japanese sentence only has the normal control reading, which sounds funny.

(7)   Japanese equivalent to (2)

Sono boosoozoku-wa   keisatu-ni tukamae-rare yootosi-ta.
the   motorcycle.gang-TOP police-by catch-PASS   try-PAST

(i)   'The motorcycle gang tried to be caught by the police.' (normal control reading)
(ii) *'The police tried to catch the motorcycle gang.' (crossed reading)

However, Polinsky and Potsdom (in press) suggest that the crossed reading is available in some other Austronesian languages, which include Javanese, Tagalog, Malagasy, Tukang Besi, Tongan and Samoan[6].

Question: What makes the funny control construction ambiguous?

2 Previous analyses

2.1 Dual categorial analysis

The ambiguity has been explained by positing two different syntactic categories for funny predicates. This approach is taken by most researchers (e.g. Shoho 1995; Musgrave 2001; Sato 2004; Polinsky and Potsdom in press).

(8)   Normal control reading

a.   Funny predicate: Main/control verb, adjective
b.   Syntactic structure: Normal biclausal control structure
c.   Interpretation: Via normal subject control
d.   NP1$_i$ V/A$_{\text{funny}}$ [$_{\text{CP}}$ PRO$_i$ PASS-V (oleh) (NP2$_j$)]

(9)   Crossed reading

a.   Funny predicate: Auxiliary/raising verb, adverb
b.   Syntactic structure: Biclausal raising structure or monoclausal structure
c.   Interpretation:
    i   Via lexical semantics of the funny predicate (Polinsky and Potsdom, in press)
         (assumption: funny predicates do not have an external θ-role)
    ii   Not discussed
d.   NP1$_i$ Aux/V/Adv$_{\text{funny}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ t$_i$ PASS-V (oleh) (NP2$_j$)]

Polinsky and Potsdom's (in press) analysis of the semantics of 'want'

Polinsky and Potsdom (in press) posits the syntactic structure in (11) for the crossed reading of sentence (10)[7].

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[6]They only discuss the predicate meaning 'to want' in respective languages. Thus, it is uncertain whether the crossed reading is found in sentences with other predicates in these languages.

[7]They leave the structure for the normal control reading for future research. However, the structure to be proposed must be different from the one for the crossed reading because there is no way to derive the normal

(10)   *Indonesian* (Polinsky and Potsdom, in press: (2))

Anak itu   mau/ingin di-cium   oleh ibu.
child that want   PASS-kiss by   mother

(i)   'The child wants to be kissed by the mother.' (normal control reading)
(ii)   'The mother wants to kiss the child.' (crossed reading)

(11)
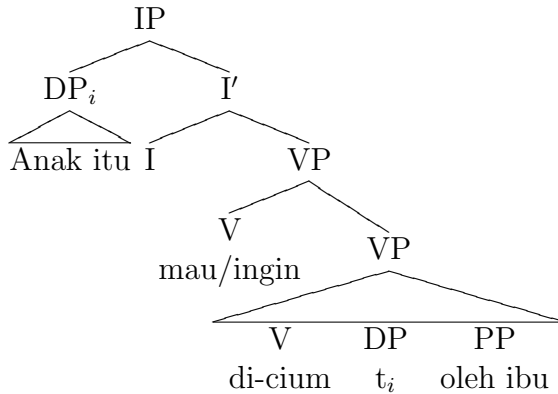
(12)   a.   Semantics of *mau/ingin* 'to want'
              $\lambda P\lambda s[\text{want}(s) \ \& \ \text{Goal}(s) =^\wedge \exists e(P(e) \ \& \ \underline{\text{volition}(e) = \text{Experiencer}(s))}]$
        b.   Semantics of *di-cium* 'to be kissed' (and $\overline{\textit{men-cium} \ \text{'to kiss'}}$)
              $\lambda y\lambda x\lambda e[\text{kissing}(e) \ \& \ \underline{\text{Agent}(e) = x \ \& \ \text{volition}(e) = x} \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e) = y]$

(12) is based on Wyner's (1998) analysis of thematically dependent adverbs. This approach is inspired by the parallelism between *mau/ingin* 'to want' and subject-oriented adverbs (called 'thematically dependent adverbs' by Wyner (1998)) in English such as *deliberately, reluctantly, willingly, etc.* Both ascribe the relevant semantic property to the subject of a sentence (both active and passive) and to the agent of a passive sentence.

(13)   *willingly* (The participant to which willingness is ascribed is indicated in **boldface**.)[8]
        a.   **Barbara** willingly interviewed Madonna. [subject as well as agent]
        b.   **Madonna** willingly was interviewed by Barbara. [subject but not agent]
        c.   Madonna was willingly interviewed by **Barbara**. [agent but not subject]

Their discussion is restricted to the crossed reading of sentences involving two verbs meaning 'to want', i.e. *mau* and *ingin*.
Questions:

    1. Can the same analysis account for the normal control reading?
       $\rightarrow$ No. Another syntactic or semantic mechanism is needed.

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control reading with the structure and the mechanism of interpretation proposed for the crossed reading. It is likely that the structure for the normal control reading is one of normal subject control, which involves a main/control verb rather than an auxiliary/raising verb. This is the reason why I included their study in this section (the dual categorial analysis).
    [8]Polinsky and Potsdom (in press:(57)–(58)).

2. Can the semantics of 'want' be extended to other funny predicates?
   → Yes, at least to funny predicates that express psychological attitudes.
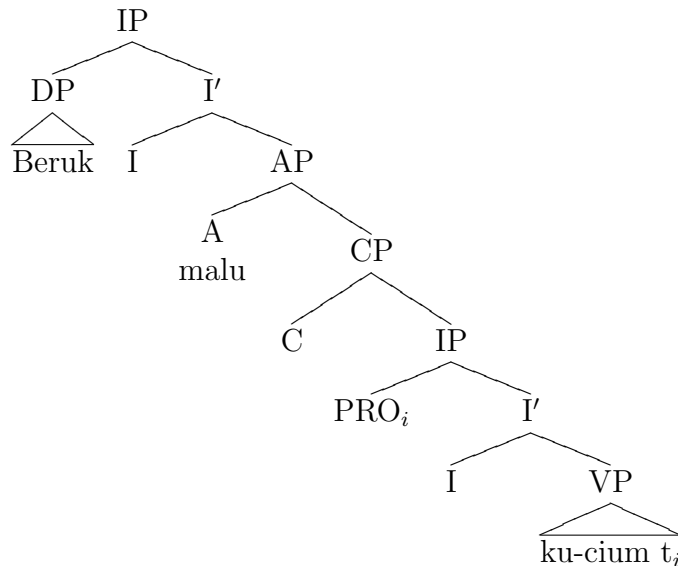
Problems with the dual categorial analysis

- Two different syntactic categories/structures (hence two lexical entries) must be stipulated for more than ten funny predicates, which seem to form a semantic class. This brings about redundancies in the lexicon.

- There is no principled explanation of the semantic mechanism by which the two different interpretations arise from different syntactic categories/structures.

2.2   Semi-dual categorial analysis: Shoho (2004)

Shoho (2004) proposes an analysis which obtains the same effect as the dual categorial analysis by lowering the funny predicate to I^0.

(14)   Beruk   malu   ku-cium.[9]
       pig-tailed.macaque ashamed I-kiss

   (i)   'The pig-tailed macaque is ashamed to be kissed by me.' (normal control reading)
   (ii) 'I am ashamed to kiss the pig-tailed macaque.' (crossed reading)

(15)   a.   Normal control reading[10]

```
                    IP
                  /    \
                DP      I'
               / \     /  \
            Beruk  I   AP
                      /  \
                     A    CP
                   malu  /  \
                        C    IP
                            /  \
                        PRO_i   I'
                               /  \
                              I    VP
                                  /  \
                             ku-cium t_i
```

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[9]Shoho (2004:(79)). The sentence is in another type of passive called the bare passive, which, roughly speaking, uses a personal pronoun in place of the prefix *di-*.

b.   Crossed reading
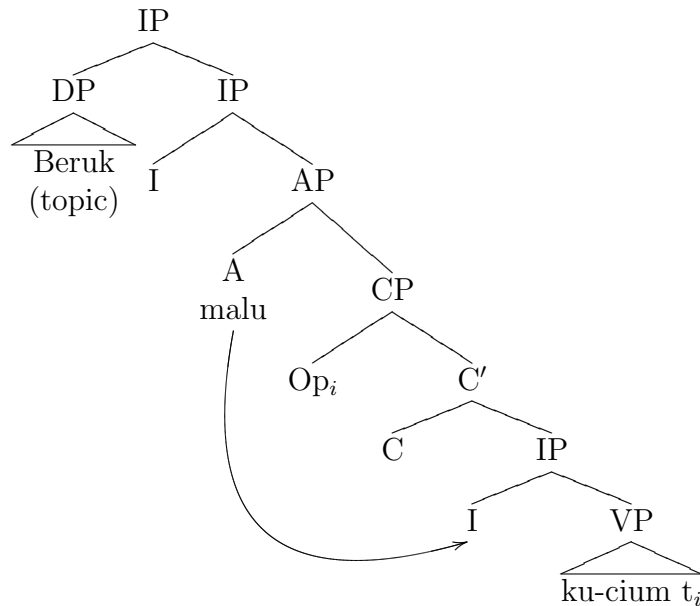
Problems with this analysis

- The lowering movement is unmotivated.

- As with some authors who adopt the dual categorial analysis, the reason why the crossed reading results from the fact that the funny predicate occupies I^0 is not very clear.[11]

2.3   Single category + reconstruction analysis: Fukuda (2007)

Fukuda (2007) claims that crosslinguistically *want*-type verbs can be base-generated in two positions, specifically above and below the vP node. He hypothesises that 'want' in Indonesian is located above vP when its complement clause is in the passive voice while it is located below vP when its complement clause is in the active voice.
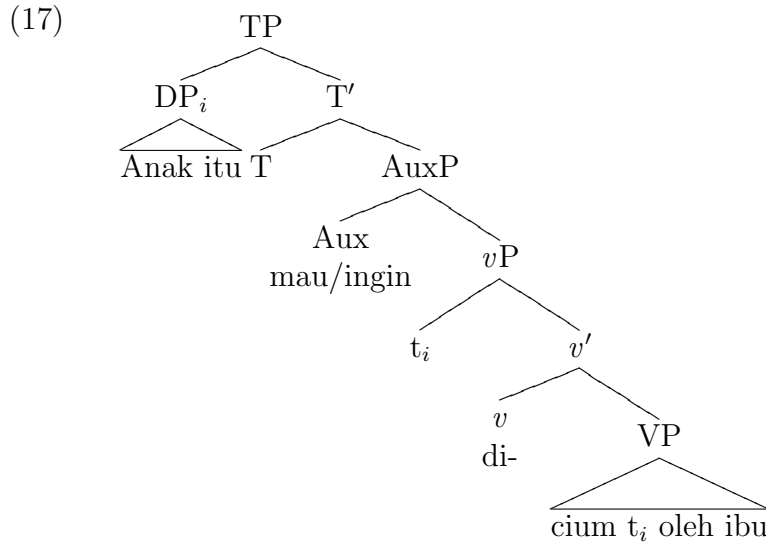
(16)   *Indonesian* (= (10))

Anak itu   mau/ingin di-cium   oleh ibu.
child that want   PASS-kiss by   mother

(i)   'The child wants to be kissed by the mother.' (normal control reading)
(ii)   'The mother wants to kiss the child.' (crossed reading)

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[10]The trees shown here are slightly modified from the original with the author's permission.

[11]Shoho (2004) states that being lowered to I^0, '*malu* comes to have a close semantic association with the agent' of the verb *cium* 'to kiss', namely the clitic *ku* 'I'. However, the details of that semantic association and how it is established are not discussed.

(17)

```
                        TP
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
            DP_i                    T'
          ┌───┴───┐        ┌────────┴────────┐
      Anak itu     T                        AuxP
                          ┌──────────────────┴──────┐
                        Aux                          vP
                      mau/ingin           ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                        t_i                     v'
                                                       ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                                       v                   VP
                                                      di-          ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                              cium t_i oleh ibu
```

The two readings are obtained according to where the external argument is interpreted:

- Normal control reading when the external argument is interpreted in its surface position (DP_i in the tree)

- Crossed reading when it is interpreted in its underlying position (t_i in the tree); via reconstruction + Polinsky and Potsdom's lexical semantics of 'want'

<u>Problems with this analysis</u>

- The author's hypothesis is exclusively based on the description of the two 'want' verbs by Polinsky and Potsdom (in press). Can the author's assumption that *want*-type verbs can be base-generated in two positions be extended to other funny predicates? (If it can be, crosslinguistically so?)

- The success of the author's analysis depends on that of Polinsky and Potsdom's lexical semantic analysis, which I argued to be problematic.

- Positing different positions for 'want' depending on the voice of the complement clause is not justified. It is also implausible given that the active prefix *meN-* and the passive prefix *di-* have been analysed to be complementary and accordingly fill the same slot by many researchers at least since Abdullah (1974) (e.g. Soh 1998; Musgrave 2001; Tjung 2006; Aldridge in press).

3   Proposal

(18)   Assumptions

  a.   Funny predicates take a reduced clause as their complements, specifically a *v*P, but not a CP. See Polinsky and Potsdom (in press) for syntactic arguments for this.

  b. θ-roles can only be assigned under a Merge operation (Theta-Role Assignment Principle; Hornstein et al. 2005).

    c. θ-role assignment must be completed in a local domain.

    d.   An argument can receive more than one θ-role (Gruber 1965; Jackendoff 1972). In other words, movement into a θ-position is allowed (Bošković 1994; Hornstein 1999, 2001).

(19)   Claims

    a.   The funny control construction is ambiguous because the external θ-role of funny predicates can be assigned ambiguously, either to the internal or the external argument of the lower predicate.

    b.   *v*Ps and CPs projected by certain verbal prefixes and complementisers constitute a local domain. The relevant *v*s and Cs include the prefix *meN-*(ACT) and the complementisers *supaya* 'so that' and Ø (and perhaps some others too). Importantly, the prefix *di-* (PASS) and the complementiser *untuk* 'for' are not included in them.

3.1   Normal control with no overt complementiser

(20)   Polis cuba $[_{vP}$ **men-**(t)angkap Mat Rempit   itu]. (= (1))
            police try   ACT-catch   motorcycle.gang that

    (i)   'The police tried to catch the motorcycle gang.' (normal control reading)
    (ii)*'The motorcycle gang tried to be caught by the police.' (crossed reading)

The prefix *meN-* introduces a locality. Thus, the external θ-role of *cuba* 'to try' cannot be assigned to *Mat Rempit itu* 'the motorcycle gang', which is confined in a domain that is inaccessible from *cuba*. This explains the unavailability of the crossed reading (ii). The external θ-role can only be assigned to the matrix subject *polis* 'police', hence the normal control reading (i) is available.

(21)   Partial derivation of (20)

    a. $[_V$ tangkap] + $[_{DP}$ Mat Rempit itu]
        $\rightarrow [_{VP}$ tangkap Mat Rempit itu]
                      θ_{int}

    b. $[_v$ meN-] + VP formed in (a)
        $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu]

    c. $[_{DP}$ polis] + *v*P formed in (b)
        $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ polis men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu]
                    θ_{ext}

    d. $[_V$ cuba] + *v*P formed in (c)
        $\rightarrow [_{VP}$ cuba $\boxed{[_{vP}$ polis men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu]}$]

    e.   *v* + VP formed in (d)
        $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ *v* cuba $\boxed{[_{vP}$ polis men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu]}$]
        (Note: The external θ-role of *cuba* is not assigned to *polis* at this point because *polis* is in the locality indicated by the box[12].)

    f. $[_{DP}$ polis] + vP formed in (e)
        $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ polis v cuba $[_{vP}$ ~~polis~~ men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu]]
               θ_{ext}

3.2 Funny control

(22)   Mat Rempit   itu   cuba **di-**tangkap polis. (= (2))
       motorcycle.gang that try   PASS-catch police

      (i)   'The motorcycle gang tried to be caught by the police.' (normal control reading)
      (ii) 'The police tried to catch the motorcycle gang.' (crossed reading)

Unlike the prefix *meN-*, the prefix *di-* does not introduce a locality and hence the local domain for *cuba* 'to try' is the matrix clause. Thus, the external θ-role of *cuba* 'to try' can be assigned not only to the matrix subject *Mat Rempit itu* 'the motorcycle gang' (normal control reading) but also to *polis* 'police' (normal control reading). Hence, the sentence is ambiguous.

(23)   Partial derivation of (22) [13]

    a. $[_V$ tangkap] + $[_{DP}$ Mat Rempit itu]
       $\rightarrow [_{VP}$ tangkap Mat Rempit itu]
             θ_{int}

    b. $[_v$ di-] + VP formed in (a)
       $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]
    c. $[_{DP}$ polis] + vP formed in (b)
       $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ polis di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]
               θ_{ext}

    d. $[_{DP}$ Mat Rempit itu] + vP formed in (c)
       $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ Mat Rempit itu $[_{v'}$ polis $[_{v'}$ di-tangkap ~~Mat Rempit itu~~]]]
    e. $[_V$ cuba] + vP formed in (d)
       $\rightarrow [_{VP}$ cuba $[_{vP}$ Mat Rempit itu$[_{v'}$ polis $[_{v'}$ di-tangkap ~~Mat Rempit itu~~]]]]
    f. v + VP formed in (e)
                   (i) θ_{ext}
       $\rightarrow [_{vP}$ v cuba $[_{vP}$ Mat Rempit itu $[_{v'}$ polis $[_{v'}$ di-tangkap ~~Mat Rempit itu~~]]]][14]
                   (ii) θ_{ext}

       (Note: The external θ-role of *cuba* is assigned either to *Mat Rempit itu* or to *polis*. Both are in Spec of vP.)

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[12]Under the phase-based analysis discussed in section 3.6, the θ-role assignment takes place at this point.
    [13]Step (d) in this derivation is problematic. There is another problematic step which is not included here. See section 3.6.
    [14]The surface word order *di-tangkap polis* is thought to be obtained either (i) by linearising Spec of vP to

3.3   Normal control with an overt complementiser

3.3.1   *Supaya* 'so that'

According to Kaswanti Purwo (1984:75), the ambiguity disappears when the complement clause of a funny predicate is introduced by the complementiser *supaya* 'so that' in Indonesian. The sentence only has the normal control reading.

(24)   *Indonesian* (Kaswanti Purwo 1984:75)

Si   Yem ingin [$_{CP}$ supaya di-cium   si   Dul].
Miss Yem want   so.that PASS-kiss Mr. Dul

(i)   'Yem wants to be kissed by Dul.' (normal control reading)
(ii) *'Dul wants to kiss Yem.' (crossed reading)

This was replicated in Malay too.

(25)   Ali mahu [$_{CP}$ supaya di-cium   Siti].
Ali want   so.that PASS-kiss Siti
(i)   'Ali wants to be kissed by Siti.' (normal control reading)
(ii) *'Siti wants to kiss Ali.' (crossed reading)

The absence of the crossed reading can be accounted for if the complementiser *supaya* also introduces a locality which makes the external argument of the lower clause inaccessible to the funny predicate. In this case, the locality is the CP indicated by the brackets. Thus, the external θ-role of *ingin* and *mahu* 'to want' cannot be assigned to *Si Dul* and *Siti* in the above examples.

This type of sentences are thought to have a standard control structure with PRO. For example, (25) can be represented as follows.

(26)   Ali mahu $\boxed{[_{CP} \text{ supaya } [_{TP} \text{ PRO di-cium Siti}]]}$.

3.3.2   *Untuk* 'for'

The crossed reading is possible when the complement clause of a funny predicate is introduced by *untuk* 'for' in Malay[15].

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the right of v', (ii) by a head movement of v + V *di-tangkap* to the matrix T, which also hosts the raised matrix verb *cuba* or (iii) by merging *pro* with the vP formed in (c), with this *pro* and *polis* in an adjunct position being in a coreference relation.

[15]It seems that Indonesian *untuk* behaves just like *supaya*. Polinsky and Potsdom (in press) report that it is not possible to introduce the complement clause with *untuk* when the crossed reading is intended. Below is their example (53).

(i)   Bagian kalimat   ini   mau   (*untuk) di-tegaskan-nya.
section sentence this want   for   PASS-emphasise-him
'He wants to emphasise this part of the sentence.'

(27)   Perkara ini   cuba untuk di-tegaskan-nya.
         matter   this   try   for   PASS-emphasise-him

    (i) #'This matter tried to be emphasised by him.' (normal control reading)
    (ii) 'He tried to emphasise this matter.' (crossed reading)

<u>Explanation</u>

- *Untuk* is a complementiser which does not introduce a locality.

- Both verbal prefixes (*v*) and complementisers (C) are parametrised with respect to whether they introduce a locality. *MeN-* and *supaya* introduce a locality whereas *di-* and *untuk* do not. Semantically, the former appear to be more contentful than the latter[16,17].

3.4 *Men-cuba* 'to try'

The crossed reading also disappears when the matrix verb has the prefix *meN-*. Thus, while *cuba* 'to try' is a funny predicate, its *meN-* form *men-cuba* 'to try' is not.

(28)   a.   Kucing kesayangan-nya cuba di-cium   Amy.
              cat   pet-his   try   PASS-kiss Amy
        (i)   'His pet cat tried to be kissed by Amy.' (normal control reading)
        (ii) 'Amy tried to kiss his pet cat.' (crossed reading)
    b.   Kucing kesayangan-nya **men-**cuba di-cium   Amy.
              cat   pet-his   ACT-try   PASS-kiss Amy
        (i)   'His pet cat tried to be kissed by Amy.' (normal control reading)
        (ii) *'Amy tried to kiss his pet cat.' (crossed reading)

(28b) cannot have the same structure as (28a). (28a) involves a DP movement of *kucing kesayangan-nya* across the matrix verb *cuba*. The same movement is not possible in (28b) because it crosses the prefix *meN-*, which is not allowed in the language (cf. section 3.5).

(29)   [kucing kesayangan-nya]$_i$ **men-**cuba [$_{v\text{P}}$ Amy [$_{v'}$ t$_i$ [$_{v'}$ di-cium t$_i$]]].

Hence, (28b) has a standard control structure with PRO as in (30).

(30)   Kucing kesayangan-nya men-cuba $\boxed{[_{\text{CP}}\ \text{C}^0\ [_{\text{TP}}\ \text{PRO di-cium Amy]]}}$.

The null complementiser used here introduces a locality. If it did not, the external θ-role of *cuba* would be wrongly assigned to *Amy*.

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[16]This statement is concerned with the *untuk* which is used to introduce a complement clause of a predicate. The *untuk* which introduces an adverbial clause is clearly semantically contentful, meaning 'in order to', and thus different from the first *untuk*. For the meaningfulness of the prefix *meN-*, see Benjamin (1993). Syntactic differences between *supaya* and *untuk* are discussed by Shoho (1999, 2007) in relation to verbs that co-occur with them.

[17]A similar parametrisation may be applied to *bahawa* vs. *yang* and Ø, which are complementisers that introduce a factive clause. Only *bahawa* gives rise to the so-called COMP-trace effect (Nomoto 2006:53).

If the present analysis is correct, the fact that no funny predicate takes the prefix *meN-* is given a principled account.

3.5 The prefix *meN-* and locality

Locality introduction by the prefix *meN-* is not an ad hoc stipulation just to explain the funny control construction, though *supaya* has never been discussed in connection with locality.

The presence of *meN-* prevents extraction of arguments (Saddy 1991; Soh 1998; Cole and Hermon 1998)[18]. On the other hand, the presence of *di-* does not prevent extraction of arguments. This contrast can also be accounted for in terms of the locality introduction ability of each prefix.

(31)   a.   Ali **mem-**beli apa?
            Ali ACT-buy   what
            'What did Ali buy?'
    b.   *Apa Ali $\boxed{[_{v\mathrm{P}}\ \textbf{mem-}\text{beli}\ \sout{\text{apa}}]}$?
    c.   Apa Ali $[_{v\mathrm{P}}\ \textbf{Ø-}\text{beli}\ \sout{\text{apa}}]$?
            'What did Ali buy?'
    d.   Apa $[_{v\mathrm{P}}\ \textbf{di-}\text{beli}\ \ \ \sout{\text{apa}}\ \text{oleh Ali}]$?
            what   PASS-buy what by   Ali
            'What was bought by Ali?'

The present analysis of the funny control construction is superior to previous analyses not only because it does not suffer the problems that the previous analyses have but also because it utilises a general mechanism which is already available in the grammar of Malay/Indonesian. Previous analyses hypothesise something special to the funny control construction.

## 3.6 A unified account based on the phase theory

In recent generative studies, the constraint on extraction across *meN-* has been explained by means of phase (Aldridge 2005, in press; Tjung 2006; Cole et al. in press). It is possible to apply a similar phase-based analysis to the θ-role assignment mechanism involved in the funny control construction.

(32)   Phase-Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000)
    In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

The external θ-role of the funny predicate is assigned to DPs in Spec of vP, which is the edge of the phase vP.

---

[18]See Hassal (2005) for cases which appear to be counterexamples to this generalisation. Interestingly, one of them is concerned with the funny control construction. I leave to future research the issue of why the funny control construction sometimes revokes the prohibition against movement across *meN-*.

(33)   (23f) in the tree format
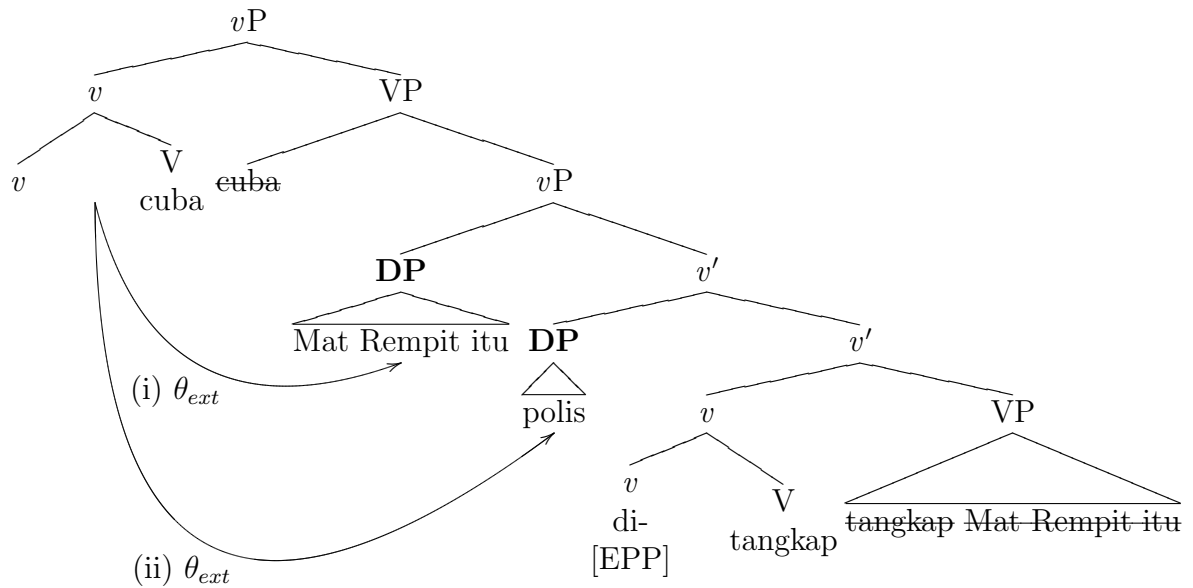
The structure of morphological passive clauses (= *di-* clauses) above is based on Aldridge (2005), where no distinction is made between strong and weak phases and the prefix *di-* has an EPP feature.

Problems with this structure

- Why does *Mat Rempit itu* have to move?

- Why is it *Mat Rempit itu* rather than *polis* that moves to Spec of TP? (not shown in (33))

The crucial characteristic of the structure of the morphological passive is that both external and internal argument of the lower predicate are in the edge of vP[19]. On the other hand, morphological active clauses (= *meN-* clauses) can only have one specifier position for the external argument. In other words, *meN-* lacks an EPP feature. This gives rise to a locality.

A phase-based account is preferred to a strict locality-based account because the latter fails to accommodate movement of a predicate internal subject in cases like (31).

(34)   [TP Ali [[vP ~~Ali~~ mem-beli apa]]]?

---

[19]Tjung (2006) and Aldridge (in press) both assume that the vP projected by *di-* lacks a specifier position for the external argument and that the external argument is adjoined to VP. Thus, their structure does not face the problems pointed out for (33) just now. However, I am not very sure if this adjoined position is equally accessible to 'v + funny predicate' in the next higher phase. Extraction from this position results in ungrammaticality, but this may be due to some other reasons.

(i)   *Siapa buku itu   [vP di-   [VP [VP beli ~~buku itu~~]   ~~siapa~~]]?
        who   book that   PASS   buy book that who
        'Who was the book bought by?'

An alternative position for adjunction would be vP, in which case the structure is in effect identical to (33).

4 Conclusion

4.1 Summary

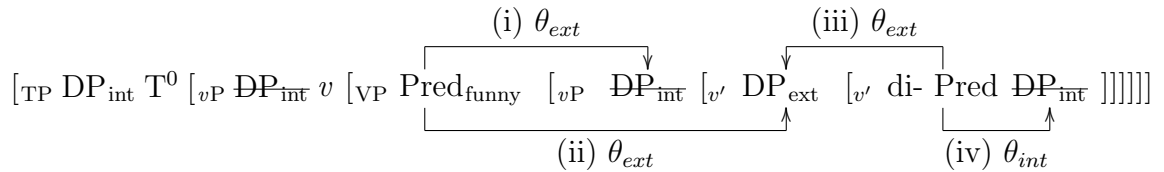The proposed analysis of the funny control construction is 'unified' in the following two ways.

1. Single category/structure for funny predicates
   Funny predicates have only one syntactic category/structure regardless of whether the funny control construction is interpreted as the normal control reading or the crossed reading.

2. Single locality constraint
   Both argument extraction and θ-role assignment are constrained by the same locality constraint. Both operations are possible only when the target arguments are in the edge of a phase (Phase-Impenetrability Condition (32))[20].

(35) The structure of the funny control construction with the relevant θ-role assignment

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(i) } \theta_{ext} \qquad\qquad \text{(iii) } \theta_{ext} \\
[_{\text{TP}} \text{ DP}_{\text{int}} \text{ T}^0 [_{v\text{P}} \cancel{\text{DP}_{\text{int}}}\ v\ [_{\text{VP}} \text{Pred}_{funny}\ [_{v\text{P}}\ \cancel{\text{DP}_{\text{int}}}\ [_{v'} \text{ DP}_{ext}\ [_{v'}\text{ di- Pred } \cancel{\text{DP}_{\text{int}}}\ ]]]]]] \\
\text{(ii) } \theta_{ext} \qquad\qquad \text{(iv) } \theta_{int}
\end{array}
$$

(i) + (iii) + (iv) $\rightarrow$ normal control reading
(ii) + (iii) + (iv) $\rightarrow$ crossed reading

The paper revealed that not only verbals prefixes but also complementisers are parametrised with respect to locality introduction ability.

(36)

	[+locality]	[−locality]
v	meN- (ACT)	di- (PASS), Ø
C	supaya 'so that', Ø (, *untuk* in Indonesian?)	untuk 'for' (Malay)

Where the verbal prefixes are concerned, [+locality] and [−locality] correspond to the absence and the presence of an EPP feature on v respectively.

4.2 Residual issues and implications

- I have not examined whether the same locality effects are observed in extraction from CPs whose head have different [locality] values. My hypothesis predicts that extraction is impossible from a CP headed by *supaya* and Ø[21] whereas extraction is possible from a CP headed by *untuk*.

---

[20]This supports the idea that θ-roles should be treated as features on a par with Case and agreement (Hornstein 1999, 2001; Manzini and Roussou 2000).

[21]The null complementiser used in a factive clause is no doubt [−locality]. Therefore, my prediction turns out to be false if this Ø is the same null complementiser as the one used in a factive clause.

- How about other verbal prefixes and complementisers? The example from Polinsky and Potsdom (in press) below suggests that (the passive) *ter-* behaves like *meN-* in Indonesian.

  (37)   *Indonesian* (Polinsky and Potsdom, in press: (73))

           *Surat ini ingin ter-baca oleh Amir.
            letter this want TER-read by   Amir

           For: 'Amir wants to read this letter.' (crossed reading)

- How can the common property shared by verbal prefixes and complementisers be captured in the phase theory? EPP too? Chomsky (2005)?

- The value of [locality] for *untuk* seems to be specified differently in Indonesian from Malay. It is expected that other morphemes will also exhibit similar variations amongst different varieties of Malay/Indonesian. For example, the equivalent of *meN-* in Riau Indonesian, *N*, seems not to introduce a locality. In Gil's (2002) analysis, the sentence below is an example of funny control in the sense that the external argument of *mau* 'to want' (i.e. 'wanter') is identified not with the implicit external argument of the verb *simer* 'to polish' (i.e. 'polisher'), which is the speaker, but with the benefactive[22].

  (38)   *Riau Indonesian* (Gil 2002:(35))
           [Gang of shoeshine boys sitting around, somebody suggests that speaker go and polish shoes, to which he responds]

           Orang tak mau **ny-**(s)imer lagi.
           person not want N-polish   more

           'People don't want to have their shoes polished any more.' (Not 'People don't want to polish shoes any more'.)

If Riau Indonesian *N* does not introduce a locality, word order in clauses containing *N* in Riau Indonesian should be more flexible than *meN-* clauses in Standard Malay/Indonesian. This is true as convincingly argued by Gil (2002).

Appendix   Further examples

The (a) and (b) sentences are respectively interpreted with the normal control reading and the crossed reading.

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[22]It must be noted, however, that the sentence may not be an instance of funny control. There are two other possible analyses of the sentence. Firstly, in Colloquial Malay the word *orang* can refer to the speaker. If this is also the case in Riau Indonesian, the meaning of the sentence is 'I don't want to polish shoes any more', which is also felicitous in the given context. Secondly, in Japanese 'I don't want to cut my hair' can mean 'I don't want to have my hair cut (by someone else)'. As Japanese does not have the funny control construction, the latter interpretation is due to other factors such as pragmatic inference. The same may be true in Riau Indonesian.

(39)   berani 'dare'

    a.   Borhan seakan-akan mencabar bangsa Melayu, khususnya cendekiawan Melayu-masa kini, dalam hal memartabat dan mempertahankan kebudayaan kebangsaan, sehingga akhirnya ia **berani dicabar** kelompok tertentu di negara ini. (Berita Harian, 03/05/2001)

    b.   Jika dihayati titah Tengku Mahkota Kelantan, Tengku Muhammad Faris Petra kelmarin, sebenarnya bukan sahaja baginda tetapi semua orang Melayu dapat merasai petunjuk bahawa kedaulatan dan ketuanan Melayu kini semakin **berani dicabar**. (Utusan Malaysia, 24/05/2008)

(40)   berjaya 'to succeed'

    a.   Syarikat Kumpulan Binladin **berjaya dipilih** untuk membina jambatan itu. (Utusan Malaysia, 18/01/2006)

    b.   Menurut seorang jurucakap polis, lelaki itu telah **berjaya dikesan** seterusnya ditahan di Alor Star, Kedah. (Bacaria, 21/03/2007)

(41)   berhak 'to have the right to'

    a.   Mereka mendakwa pelajar juga **berhak diberi** ruang bagi menyuarakan isu-isu kepemimpinan negara, pentadbiran dan masa depan negara? (Berita Harian, 18/02/2001)

    b.   Harta pusaka yang tidak ada ahli waris atau yang tidak habis diambil oleh ahli waris adalah **berhak diberi** kepada Zawu al Arham daripada harta peninggalan pusaka. (e-fatwa, `http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/mufti/fatwa_warta_view.asp?keyID=972`, accessed 06/06/2008)

(42)   berhasil 'to succeed'

    a.   *Indo* Dibawah kepemimpinan Soekarno, Indonesia berhasil mempertahankan kemerdekaannya dari tangan-tangan asing yang ingin masuk lagi ke Negara kita dan Indonesia **berhasil diakui** oleh dunia luar sebagai sebuah negara baru, tetapi sayang gaya kepemimpinan Soekarno yang sebelumnya demokratis menjadi otoriter. (BLOGLEPPO: Bangkitlah, Mahasiswa Indonesia, `http://blogleppo.blogspot.com/2006/05/bangkitlah-mahasiswa-indonesia.html`, accessed 07/06/2008)

    b.   Dua daripada tiga syarikat sendirian berhad iaitu Sungai Harmoni SdnBhd dan Taliworks (Langkawi) Sdn Bhd **berhasil diambil alih** 100 peratus. (Berita Harian, 14/11/2000)

(43)   berusaha 'make effort'

    a.   Mereka tidak sepatutnya berbangga mewakili negeri saja tetapi cuba **berusaha disenaraikan** dalam skuad kebangsaan. (Berita Harian, 23/01/2001)

    b.   Umumnya, apabila seseorang remaja bawah umur mendapat jagaan kami, kami akan **berusaha diletakkan** di bawah jagaan keluarga angkat paling sesuai. (Berita Harian, 18/02/2001)

(44)   cuba (*Indo* coba) 'to try'

    a.   Ya allah! Sekelip mata kau merampas dia dariku... Kau bawa ia pergi dariku... Semalam aku menyemai cinta.... Hari ini cinta itu dirampas, lantaran kuasaMu...

Aku gagahi diri untuk pasrah.... Berkali pun aku belajar bercinta.... Berjuta kali pun aku **cuba dicintai**.... Cinta itu tetap bukan milikku.... Kematian penyudah cintaku... (Tokeikedai Online Hyper Portal: Cinta....Bukan Milikku 10, `http://www.tokeikedai.net.my/v8/index.php?module=News&func=main&name=News&file=article&sid=5055&comments_startnum=1`, accessed 07/06/2008)

b. Kenangan hitam yang dilalui semasa usia remajanya terus **cuba dilupakan**. (Dewan Masyarakat, Mac 2006, p. 17)

(45) enggan 'reluctant'

a. JIKA boleh, dia **enggan dikenali** sesiapa malah jiran tetangga pun tidak mengetahui pekerjaannya yang sebenar. (Harian Metro, 17/11/2007)

b. Dalam hubungan ini, kata beliau, meskipun negara ini memberi kerjasama dalam banyak kes melibatkan keganasan, sumbangan itu dianggap tidak setimpal dan **enggan diiktiraf**. (Utusan Malaysia, 29/02/2002)

(46) gagal 'to fail'

a. Menurut Suhaimi, kebanyakan pelajar yang mendapat lima A di peringkat UPSR turut **gagal ditempatkan** di sekolah asrama penuh. (Utusan Malaysia, 05/06/2002)

b. Sementara itu, Timbalan Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri, Chia Kwang Chye **gagal dihubungi** sejak pagi tadi bagi mendapatkan pengesahan. (Utusan Malaysia, 06/01/2006)

(47) hendak (*ColMal* nak) 'to want'

a. "Selepas membuka mata dan terjaga, Along dan Angah terus minta air, barangan mainan dan mereka **hendak didukung**... tapi saya kata tak boleh dukung, mereka masih sakit. (Utusan Malaysia, 25/09/2002)

b. Ketika bercakap kepada pemberita selepas itu, Perdana Menteri berkata, Kuala Lumpur memerlukan kerjasama Singapura sekiranya rancangan menghubungkan dua ibu negara ASEAN dengan kereta api laju **hendak dilaksanakan**. (Utusan Malaysia, 14/04/2002)

(48) ingin (*ColIndo* pengen) 'to want'

a. Dari dahulu sehingga sekarang golongan remaja merupakan salah satu isu hangat yang dibincangkan dan dikaji oleh pengkaji, ahli psikologi dan **ingin difahami** oleh masyarakat. (Unit Kaunseling – Memahami Remaja, `http://www2.uitm.edu.my/hep/uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=69&Itemid=1`, accessed 07/06/2008)

b. "Bagaimanapun jika pasar tani kekal **ingin diwujudkan**, FAMA dan pihak kerajaan terpaksa menyediakan tapak kekal melalui sistem sewaan atau pajak," tambahnya. (Utusan Malaysia, 13/02/2006)

a? *Indo* Karena wanita **ingin dimengerti**; Lewat tutur lembut dan laku agung; Karena wanita **ingin dimengerti**; Manjakan dia... dengan kasih sayang (Karena Wanita (Ingin Dimengerti) by Ada Band)

(49) layak 'qualified'

a. Pegawai tinggi kerajaan yang gagal mengisytiharkan aset mereka boleh dike-

nakan tindakan tatatertib dan tidak **layak diberi** kenaikan pangkat. (Utusan Malaysia, 13/02/2006)

b. Katanya, lagu-lagu yang disiarkan oleh radio itu tidak boleh dikategorikan sebagai genre klasik kerana status tersebut hanya **layak diterima** oleh lagu-lagu yang berusia 200 tahun ke atas. (Laman Web Pengurusan Maklumat Strategik BPMS, Kementerian Penerangan Malaysia – RIMA: Tokoh budaya sokong PM, `http://bpms.kempen.gov.my/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=168&Itemid=61`, accessed 07/-6/2008)

(50) mahu (*ColMal, Indo* mau) 'to want'

a. Menurutnya, amalan cara hidup sekarang yang diwarisi sejak turun-temurun perlu diubah sekiranya masyarakat itu secara keseluruhannya **mahu dilihat** duduk sama rendah dan berdiri sama tinggi dengan kaum-kaum lain di negara ini. (Utusan Malaysia, 22/01/2006)

b. "Jika etika **mahu dijadikan** aspek penting dalam pembinaan semula ini, Islam sebagai agama rasmi mesti memainkan peranan utama," katanya. (Utusan Malaysia, 21/02/2002)

(51) malas 'lazy'

a. Fathil mengakhiri perbualan dengan tiba-tiba. **Malas dilayannya** lagi gadis itu. Dia masuk ke compartment Umar. (Hatiku Milikmu, `http://msmcork.files.wordpress.com/2008/03/hatiku-milikmu.pdf`, accessed 07/06/2008)

b. Ucapan pemimpin di Malaysia **malas didengar** oleh orang awam kerana meleret dan superbombastik. (Mari Membaca ≪ halwa romantis, `http://romantis.wordpress.com/2006/11/14/mari-membaca/`, accessed 07/06/2008)

(52) malu 'ashamed'

a. *Indo* Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) mengemukakan, Indonesia sangat **malu disebut** sebagai bangsa terkorup. (Suara Merdeka, 21/05/2005)

b. Mengapakah buku-buku agama **malu dibaca** di tempat-tempat awam? (Universiti Terbuka PTS: Malu Membaca Buku Agama, `http://ainonmohd.blogspot.com/2005/08/malu-membaca-buku-agama.html`, accessed 07/06/2008)

(53) mampu 'capable'

a. Malah dia merasakan lagu-lagu Nafas Cahaya, dendangan Misha Omar dan ciptaan sifu M. Nasir serta lirik oleh Loloq dan lagu Bisakah (Aubrey Suwito/Tessh RS) **mampu dipilih** Lagu Terbaik oleh lima juri profesional iaitu Datuk Wah Idris, penyanyi Nurul, komposer S. Atan, Helen Yap dan diketuai Asnawi Mutaal. (Utusan Malaysia, 01/05/2007)

b. Ketua Pegawai Eksekutifnya, Datuk Maruan Mohd. Said berkata, pihaknya percaya promosi terbaru itu akan menjadikan kereta-kereta Proton lebih **mampu dimiliki** oleh rakyat Malaysia. (Utusan Malaysia, 31/03/2006)

(54) rela 'willing'

a. Aku lebih **rela dipanggil** kakak daripada dipanggil PUAN. (Putaran Hidup, `http://madulebah.blogspot.com/2007/02/blog-post_07.html`, accessed 22/06/2008)

b. *Indo* Pernah pula sekali dimandikannya hewan itu. Si Pus rupanya tak nya-

man mandi dengan air dan busa sabun. Akibatnya, cakaran dan gigitan pun harus **rela diterima** Adik. (Si Pus, `http://sukmakutersenyum.multiply.com/journal/item/55/Si_Pus`, accessed 22/06/2008)

(55)   sempat 'to have the time/ooportunity to'

    a.   Penderitaan Muhd. Fakhrul mendapat perhatian umum ekoran kematian seorang kanak-kanak yang menghidap penyakit yang sama, Sofea Qhairunnissa Ali, 15 bulan, pada 27 Ogos lalu sebelum **sempat dibedah** kerana menunggu derma bagi mencukupkan kos pembedahan sebanyak RM265,000. (Utusan Malaysia, 10/11/2002)

    b.   Kejadian itu **sempat disaksikan** oleh abang mangsa, Cheng Chong yang ketika itu turut melabuhkan pukat lebih kurang 1 batu nautika dari bot yang diculik oleh lanun Indonesia. (Utusan Malaysia, 19/06/2002)

(56)   suka 'to like'

    a.   "Tetapi saya lebih **suka dibedah** di sini sebab saya mempunyai keyakinan terhadap doktor Malaysia. (Utusan Malaysia, 09/09/2002)

    b.   *Sing* Otak-otak berasal dari tiga negara iatu Malaysia, Singapura dan Indonesia. Ia **suka dimakan** di negeri-negeri lain. (Si Anak Warisan: Asal Makanan Melayu Singapura, `http://sianakwarisan.blogspot.com/2007/03/asal-makanan-melayu-singapura.html`, accessed 11/06/2008)

(57)   takut 'afraid'

    a.   Katanya, dia juga tidak **takut didakwa** semula kerana inilah peluang untuk membuktikan bahawa dirinya tidak bersalah. (Utusan Malaysia, 16/06/2006)

    b.   Bagi seorang Muslim, bidang biotek tidak seharusnya menjadi asing dan **takut didekati**. (Utusan Malaysia, 18/05/2007)

(58)   terpaksa 'forced to'

    a.   Mereka sentiasa mengekalkan suasana harmoni dan tidak mengadakan sebarang mogok, walaupun gaji mereka tidak seperti yang dituntut oleh mereka dan adakalanya mereka **terpaksa diberhentikan** kerja. (Utusan Malaysia, 21/09/2002)

    b.   Namun menurutnya, segala-galanya **terpaksa dikorbankan** demi kasih sayang kepada adiknya, malah tidak pernah terlintas perasaan jemu untuk terus menjaga Fatimah yang dilahirkan sebagai insan istimewa itu. (Utusan Malaysia, 10/01/2006)

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