A unified analysis of funny control

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1 Introduction

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

(1) Normal control

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Polis} & \quad \text{cuba} \quad \text{men-(t)angkap} \quad \text{Mat Rempit} \quad \text{itu.} \\
\text{police} & \quad \text{try} \quad \text{ACT-catch} \quad \text{motorcycle.gang} \quad \text{that}
\end{align*}
\]

(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’

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

(2) Funny control

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mat Rempit} & \quad \text{itu} \quad \text{cuba} \quad \text{di-tangkap} \quad \text{polis.} \\
\text{motorcycle.gang} & \quad \text{that} \quad \text{try} \quad \text{PASS-catch} \quad \text{police}
\end{align*}
\]

(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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Example sentences in this paper are in Standard Formal Malay used in Malaysia unless otherwise noted. The following abbreviations are used: \textit{act}: active; \textit{pass}: passive; \textit{perf}: perfect; \textit{top}: topic.
2 The terms ‘normal control reading’ and ‘crossed reading’ are from Polinsky and Potsdome (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  ↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖(^ext. arg. of cuba)  ↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖(^ext. arg. of tangkap)  ↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖(^int. arg. of tangkap)
Mat Rempit itu  ↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖↖(^ext. arg. of cuba)  ↖↖↖↖↖↖↖(^int. arg. of tangkap)  ↖↖↖↖↖↖(^ext. arg. of tangkap)
catcher  ↖↖↖↖↖↖(^int. arg. of tangkap)  ↖↖(^ext. arg. of tangkap)  ↖(^ext. arg. of tangkap)

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

Mat Rempit itu  ↖↖↖(^ext. arg. of cuba)
cuba di-tangkap  ↖(^int. arg. of tangkap)
polis.

Mat Rempit itu  ↖(^ext. arg. of cuba)
cuba di-tangkap  ↖(^int. arg. of tangkap)
polis.

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

Mat Rempit itu  ↖(^ext. arg. of cuba)
cuba di-tangkap  ↖(^int. arg. of tangkap)
polis.

(4) Syntactic frame of the funny control construction
NP1 ‘funny predicate’  pass-V (oleh ‘by’)  (NP2)

(5) List of ‘funny predicates’ (not inclusive)

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]…
   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].
   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.

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5However, 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 boosozoku-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.

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. NP1i V/A\text{funny} [\text{CP PRO}_i \text{PASS-V (oleh)} (\text{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 \(\theta\)-role)
   ii Not discussed
d. NP1i Aux/V/Adv\text{funny} [\text{VP t}_i \text{PASS-V (oleh)} (\text{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)\(^7\).

\(^6\)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)

```
    IP
      ↓
   DP_i  I'
      ↓     V
   Anak itu  mau/ingin
          ↓    V
            DP  PP
              ↓
                 di-cium t_i oleh ibu
```

(12) a. Semantics of *mau/ingin* ‘to want’
\[
\lambda P \lambda s[\text{want}(s) \land \text{Goal}(s) = ^\exists e(P(e) \land \text{volition}(e) = \text{Experiencer}(s))]
\]
b. Semantics of *di-cium* ‘to be kissed’ (and *men-cium* ‘to kiss’)
\[
\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e[\text{kissing}(e) \land \text{Agent}(e) = x \land \text{volition}(e) = x \land \text{Theme}(e) = y]
\]

(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**.)

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?
   → 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).

*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 I0.

(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 reading10

\[
\text{IP} \quad \text{DP} \quad I' \quad \text{Beruk} \quad I \quad \text{AP} \\
\quad \quad \text{A} \quad \text{malu} \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{IP} \quad \text{PRO}_i \quad I' \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{PRO}_i \quad I \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{ku-cium } t_i
\]

9Shoho (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

```
IP
  DP
  Beruk (topic)
  I
  AP
    A
    malu
    CP
      Op_i
      C'
      C
        I
        VP
          ku-cium t_i
```

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.\footnote{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.}

2.3 Single category + reconstruction analysis: Fukuda (2007)

Fukuda (2007) claims that crosslinguistically \textit{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.

\begin{equation}
\text{Indonesian } (= (10))
\end{equation}

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)

\footnote{The trees shown here are slightly modified from the original with the author’s permission.}
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 (DPₐ in the tree)
- Crossed reading when it is interpreted in its underlying position (tᵢ in the tree); via reconstruction + Polinsky and Potsdom's lexical semantics of 'want'

Problems with this analysis

- 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 vP, 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. \( \theta \)-role assignment must be completed in a local domain.

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

(19) **Claims**

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

b. vPs and CPs projected by certain verbal prefixes and complementisers constitute a local domain. The relevant vs and Cs include the prefix me\( N \)-(act) and the complementisers supaya ‘so that’ and \( \emptyset \) (and perhaps some others too). Importantly, the prefix di- (pass) and the complementiser \( \text{untuk} \) ‘for’ are not included in them.

### 3.1 Normal control with no overt complementiser

(20) Polis cuba \([vP \text{men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu}]\). (= (1))

(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 me\( N \)- introduces a locality. Thus, the external \( \theta \)-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 \( \theta \)-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. \([V \text{tangkap}] + [DP \text{Mat Rempit itu}]\)

\[\rightarrow [VP \text{tangkap Mat Rempit itu}] \quad \theta_{int}\]

b. \([v, \text{meN-}] + \text{VP formed in (a)}\)

\[\rightarrow [vP \text{men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu}]\]

c. \([DP \text{polis}] + vP \text{formed in (b)}\)

\[\rightarrow [vP \text{polis men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu}] \quad \theta_{ext}\]

d. \([V \text{cuba}] + vP \text{formed in (c)}\)

\[\rightarrow [VP \text{cuba} [vP \text{polis men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu}]]\]

e. \(v + \text{VP formed in (d)}\)

\[\rightarrow [vP \text{polis men-(t)angkap Mat Rempit itu}]]\]

(Note: The external \( \theta \)-role of cuba is not assigned to polis at this point because polis is in the locality indicated by the box\(^{12}\).)
3.2 Funny control

(22) Mat Rempit itu cuba di-tangkap polis. (= (2))

(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]
   → [VP tangkap Mat Rempit itu]
   \[θ_{int}\]

b. [v di-] + VP formed in (a)
   → [vP di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]

c. [DP polis] + vP formed in (b)
   → [vP polis di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]
   \[θ_{ext}\]

d. [DP Mat Rempit itu] + vP formed in (c)
   → [vP Mat Rempit itu[v polis [v di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]]]

e. [v cuba] + vP formed in (d)
   → [VP cuba[vP Mat Rempit itu[v polis [v di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]]]]

e. v + VP formed in (e)
   → [vP v cuba[vP Mat Rempit itu[v polis [v di-tangkap Mat Rempit itu]]]]
   \[θ_{ext}\]
   \[(i) θ_{ext}\]

(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)

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

(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 [**CP supaya [TP 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.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\)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)

Explanation

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

- Both verbal prefixes (*ν*) 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.

    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)

    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 [νP Amy [ν’ t_i [ν’ di-cium t_i]].

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

(30) Kucing kesayangan-nya men-cuba [CP C^0 [TP PRO di-cium Amy]]

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

\(^{16}\)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.

\[(31)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \quad \text{Ali mem-beli apa?} \\
& \quad \text{Ali act-buy what} \\
& \quad \text{‘What did Ali buy?’} \\
b. & \quad *\text{Apa Ali [vP meN-beli apa]?
}

c. & \quad \text{Apa Ali [vP Ø-beli apa]?} \\
& \quad \text{‘What did Ali buy?’} \\
d. & \quad \text{Apa [vP di-beli apa oleh Ali]?} \\
& \quad \text{what pass-buy what by Ali} \\
& \quad \text{‘What was bought by Ali?’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(\theta\)-role assignment mechanism involved in the funny control construction.

\[(32)\]
\[
\text{Phase-Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000)}
\]
\[
\text{In phase } \alpha \text{ with head } H, \text{ the domain of } H \text{ is not accessible to operations outside } \alpha, \text{ only } H \text{ and its edge are accessible to such operations.}
\]

The external \(\theta\)-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-.
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 \(\text{PASS}\) 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 $\theta$-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))\(^{20}\).

\[
\begin{align*}
(35) \quad & \text{The structure of the funny control construction with the relevant } \theta\text{-role assignment} \\
& [TP \ DP_{int} \ T^0 \ [vP \ DP_{int} \ v \ [vP \ DP_{int} \ Pred_{funny} \ [vP \ DP_{ext} \ [v' \ DP_{ext} \ [v' \ di-Pred \ DP_{int} \ ]]]]]] \\
& \quad (i) \ \theta_{ext} \\
& \quad (ii) \ \theta_{ext} \\
& \quad (iii) \ \theta_{ext} \\
& \quad (iv) \ \theta_{int}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(ii) + (iii) + (iv) $\rightarrow$ crossed reading

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(36) \quad & \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
& [+\text{locality}] & & [-\text{locality}] \\
\hline
v & \text{meN- (ACT)} & & \text{di- (PASS), } \emptyset \\
\hline
C & \text{supaya ‘so that’, } \emptyset (, \text{untuk in Indonesian?}) & \text{untuk ‘for’ (Malay)} & \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

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 $\emptyset$\(^{21}\) whereas extraction is possible from a CP headed by untuk.

\[^{20}\]This supports the idea that $\theta$-roles should be treated as features on a par with Case and agreement (Hornstein 1999, 2001; Manzini and Rousso 2000).

\[^{21}\]The null complementiser used in a factive clause is no doubt [−locality]. Therefore, my prediction turns out to be false if this $\emptyset$ 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)  *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 benefactive22.

(38)  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.

---

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.
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)

berjaya ‘to succeed’

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

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

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)


berhasil ‘to succeed’


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)

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)

berusaha (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...

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** sejauh pagi tadi bagi mendapatkan pengesahan. (Utusan Malaysia, 06/01/2006)

(47) hendak (ColMal nak) ‘to want’


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

(48) ingin (ColIndo pengen) ‘to want’


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 mengisyiharkan aset mereka boleh dike-
nakan tindakan tatatertib dan tidak layak diberi kenaikan pangkat. (Utusan Malaysia, 13/02/2006)

(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’

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

(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 Mutal. (Utusan Malaysia, 01/05/2007)

(54) rela ‘willing’
b. Indo Pernah pula sekali dimandikannya hewan itu. Si Pus rupanya tak nya-

(55) sempat ‘to have the time/opportunity to’
   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’

(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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