Crossed control in Madurese

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A structure that appears to be common to Indonesian-type languages but is somewhat more unusual cross-linguistically is exemplified in the Indonesian sentence in (1). The unusual characteristics of (1), which is referred to as crossed 'control' in the recent literature, are (a) the fact that some speakers report the ambiguity noted in the translation and (b) the fact that the NP which is the experiencer of the wanting in (1ii) appears never to be a direct argument of the predicate *mau/ingin* 'want'. In this paper, I examine the parallel structure in Madurese (2) and indicate some of the challenges that the Madurese data presents to recent analyses of the Indonesian structure (Polinsky and Potsdam 2008, Nomoto 2008).

In standard control structures, e.g. (3), the controller (here *Hasan*) that bears a semantic relation to both the matrix verb (*coba* 'try') and embedded verb (*apabhenḍer* 'fix') is the subject of the matrix clause. In crossed control the element bearing a semantic relation to both verbs is the embedded agent (here *Anom* 'uncle'), that is, control is 'crossed'.

The Madurese sentence in (2) differs somewhat from the Indonesian sentence in (1). (2) is not ambiguous, though one would not expect it to be as it would not make sense for *motor sè anyar* to 'want' something as it is not a sentient being. But the structure is indicative of an important difference between the Madurese sentence and the reports about the Indonesian sentence: when the subject of the entire sentence is a sentient entity, the agent of the second verb cannot be construed as the one who wants. So, (4) is reported to be unambiguous. Despite the lack of ambiguity, the Madurese structure presents some challenges to analysis.

I first outline important characteristics of the Madurese which distinguish them from other complement structures, including:

(i) embedded temporal auxiliaries (future and perfective) are disallowed (5),
(ii) PP adjuncts can occur in sentence-initial position (6),
(iii) a reflexive in the matrix subject position can corefer with the embedded agent (7), and
(iv) unlike data reported in the published literature for Indonesian/Malay, the matrix verb can take passive morphology, *è-* in Madurese, (6/7).

These facts cannot be easily accommodated in an analysis such as Polinsky & Potsdam 2008, which relies on a standard raising-type analysis, nor in Nomoto's 2008 approach, which relies on specific properties of Malay morphology not shared by Madurese (that is, the second passive).

Despite the existence of two verbs, the cross-control structure has characteristics of single clauses rather than complex clauses, most notably the reflexive facts (7) and the fronting of PP adjuncts (6). These point to the likelihood of some type of clause-combining or serial verb structure.

Data

(1) Anak itu   mau/ingin dicium   oleh ibu.
    child that want   PASS.kiss by   mother
    i. 'The child wants to be kissed by the mother.'
    ii. 'The mother wants to kiss the child.'

(2) Motor sè   anyar terro èbelliâ   moso Anom.
    car   REL new   want PASS.buy.IRR by   uncle
    'Uncle wants to buy a new car.'

(3) Hasan nyoba' mabhenḍer sapèdhâ motorra.
    Hasan ACT.try ACT.fix   motorcycle.DEF
    'Hasan tried to fix his motorcycle.'

(4) Ali terro èsanḍâ'a   Atin.
    Ali want PASS.visit.IRR Atin
    'Ali wants to be visited by Atin.'

(5) *Motor sè   anyar terro bhâkal èbelliâ   moso Anom.
    car   REL new   want will   PASS.buy.IRR by   uncle
    (Uncle wants to buy a new car.)

(6) Bi' obhing,   sapèdhâ motorra ècoba' èpabhenḍer moso Hasan.
    with screwdriver motorcycle.DEF PASS.try PASS.fix   by   Hasan
    'Hasan tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

(7) Sapèdhâ motorra dhibi' ècoba' èpabhenḍer moso Hasan bi'   obhing.
    motorcycle.DEF self   PASS.try PASS.fix   by   Hasan with screwdriver
    'Hasan tried to fix his own motorcycle with a screwdriver.'