

Phase-based Account of Extraction in Indonesian

This paper proposes an account of the well-known subject extraction restriction in standard Indonesian within the theory of Multiple Spell-Out. As shown in (1), only the subject of the clause is eligible to undergo A'-movement. In order to extract an object, the clause must be passivized and so that the extracted element is promoted to subject status.

In the theory of Multiple Spell-Out, a derivation proceeds phase by phase. For material within a phase to be accessible to syntactic operations in the next phase, that material must be located in the edge of the lower phase. This means that movement must proceed through a head or specifier position of each phase on the way to the final landing site. Additionally, given that movement is feature-driven, the phase head must have an appropriate feature to induce movement of the element in question. *Wh*-movement from object position, for instance, requires not only a [wh] feature on interrogative C but also an EPP feature on *v* to move the object to the *v*P phase edge so that it is accessible to the [wh] feature on C. This is shown in (2).

I propose for Indonesian that only passive *v* can carry an EPP feature; active *v* cannot. This ensures that only the subject is extractable in an active clause and that passivization is required for extracting an internal argument, as shown in (3).

It may be noted that the proposal that passive *v* carries an EPP feature, while active *v* does not, goes against some assumptions that unaccusative (including passive) *v* is a weak phase and therefore does not host an EPP feature or project a specifier. However, my analysis actually makes precisely the right prediction regarding Indonesian passive clauses. It has often been noted that passives in Indonesian are not typical passives, in that the agent is not necessarily demoted and that this clause type can appear in narrative discourse as active and transitive, as shown in (4). I note additionally that other Austronesian languages which exhibit the extraction pattern exactly as Indonesian. Depending on the particular analysis, it is the subject or the topic which is eligible for extraction. In Tagalog, for example, only external arguments or single arguments of intransitives (i.e. subjects) can be extracted in clauses with actor topic (i.e. active) verbal morphology. Extraction of internal arguments requires the appearance of non-actor topic morphology (i.e. passive) on the verb.

- (1)a. Siapa yang **mem**-beli buku-nya?
 who C Act-give book-Def
 "Who bought the book?"
- b. *Apa yang **mem**-beli Ali?
 what C Act-buy Ali
 "What did Ali buy?"
- c. Apa yang **di**-beli Ali?
 what C Pass-buy Ali
 "What did Ali buy?"
- (2) [_{CP} What [_C did_[wh]] you [_{vP} t_{what} [_v t_{you} [_v v_[EPP] [_{vP} eat t_{what}]]]]]]?
- (3) [_{CP} Apa [_C yang_[wh]] [_{TP} [_{vP} t_{apa} [_v v_[EPP] **di**-beli Ali t_{apa}]]]]]]?
 what C Pass-buy Ali
 "What did Ali buy?"
- (4) **Di**-tawar-kan-nya rokok ke ujung hidung si penjaga.
 Pass-offer-App-3sGencigarette to tip nose PN guard
 "He offered out a cigarette under the tip of the guard's nose."