

## Obligatory Control in Indonesian: Against the Movement Analysis

Hornstein (1999) documents systematic differences between obligatory control (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC) structures. As discussed in Polinsky and Potsdam (2003), PRO under OC and PRO under NOC have different properties, as summarized in Table 1. To explain the differences between the OC and NOC structures, it has been proposed that OC should receive a movement analysis, but NOC is proposed to involve a base-generated null pronominal, *pro*, and no movement.

As seen in (1), OC in Indonesian is like English in having the properties listed in Table 1 and is therefore expected to receive a movement analysis. We shall show, however, that OC in Indonesian is better accounted for by a PRO-based analysis than by a movement analysis. Our argument will be based on the following empirical generalization:

- (i) The nasal verbal prefix typically attached to active transitive verbs must be omitted whenever an NP is moved across that verb (Saddy, 1991, 1992).

The generalization in (i) holds of sentences like (2c), in which an NP undergoes A-movement. As seen in the contrast between (2b) and (2c), whenever an NP moves across a verb which would otherwise be marked with the nasal prefix *meN-*, the nasal prefix must be omitted. The same phenomenon is exemplified by (3), in which an OP undergoes A-bar-movement.

- (ii) [Pemuda]<sub>i</sub> [OP<sub>i</sub> yang Ali (\**mem*)bantah *t<sub>i</sub>* mencium Siti]<sub>RC</sub> ditangkap polisi.

To sum up, the generalization in (i) holds in Indonesian whenever an NP is moved across a verb irrespective of the movement type.

Let us now consider an example of OC like (4) in Indonesian. According to the movement analysis of OC, the NP *pemuda itu* 'the young man' undergoes movement from its base position inside the lower clause across the verb *mencoba* 'to try'. Based on (i), such movement should result in the deletion of the nasal prefix on the verb *mencoba* 'to try'. This prediction, however, is not borne out since the sentence with the verb *mencoba* is perfectly grammatical, as illustrated in the derivation in (iii).

- (iii) [Pemuda itu]<sub>i</sub> mencoba untuk *t<sub>i</sub>* mencium Siti.

In contrast, under the PRO-based analysis of OC, (4) will instead have the derivation shown in (iv).

- (iv) [Pemuda itu]<sub>i</sub> mencoba untuk PRO<sub>i</sub> mencium Siti.

As seen in (iv), under the PRO-based analysis, the NP *pemuda itu* 'the young man' is generated in the subject position and acts as the controller for PRO. Since the derivation in (iv) does not involve movement, the nasal prefix on the verb *mencoba* 'to try' is therefore expected not to be omitted. Based on this contrast, we conclude that the PRO-based analysis, rather than the movement analysis, provides a better account of OC in Indonesian.

### References

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## Obligatory Control in Indonesian, data:

Table 1. Properties of PRO under OC versus NOC		
	OC	NOC
a. no antecedent, allows PRO to have arbitrary reading	×	✓
b. permits a strict reading under ellipsis	×	✓
c. paraphrasable with a pronoun	×	✓
d. allows a non-local antecedent	×	✓
e. allows a non-c-commanding antecedent	×	✓

1. a. *Diharapkan PRO untuk menang.*  
 DI-expect for win  
 ✓ Someone (specific) was expected to win.  
 X Someone (arbitrary) was expected to win.
  - b. *Amir mengharapkaN PRO untuk menang dan Ali juga.*  
 Amir MEN-expect for win and Ali too  
 ✓ Sloppy: Amir expected to win and Ali expected to win.  
 X Strict: Amir expected to win and Ali expected Amir to win.
  - c. *Amir<sub>i</sub> mengharapkaN dia<sub>\*i/j</sub> untuk menang.*  
 Amir MEN-expect 3sg for win  
 'Amir expected him to win.'
  - d. *\*Amir<sub>i</sub> pikir bahwa diharapkaN PRO<sub>i</sub> untuk menang.*  
 Amir think that DI-expect for win  
 'Amir thought that someone (specific) was expected to win.'
  - e. *[Ibunya Ali<sub>j</sub>] mengharapkaN PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> untuk menang.*  
 mother-Poss Ali MEN-expect for win  
 'Ali's mother expected to win.'
- (2) a. *Saya mengirimi gadis itu surat.* (Active Declarative)  
 1sg meN-send-I girl that letter  
 'I sent the girl the letter.'
  - b. *\*[Gadis itu]<sub>i</sub> saya mengirimi \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> surat.* (Passive)  
 girl that 1sg meN-send-I letter  
 'The girl was sent the letter by me.'
  - c. *[Gadis itu]<sub>i</sub> saya kirim \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> surat.* (Passive)  
 girl that 1sg send-I letter  
 'The girl was sent the letter by me.'
- (3) *[Pemuda] [yang Ali (\*mem)bantah mencium Siti] ditangkap polisi.*  
 young.man COMP Ali MEN-deny MEN-kiss Siti DI-arrest police  
 'The young man that Ali denied kissed Siti was arrested by the police.'
  - (4) *Pemuda itu mencoba untuk mencium Siti.*  
 young.man that MEN-try for MEN-kiss Siti  
 'The young man tried to kiss Siti.'