CROSSED CONTROL AS VOICE RESTRUCTURING[*]

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1.   Introduction

A range of languages allow constructions in which an embedded object is promoted to matrix subject, a phenomenon we refer to as LONG OBJECT PROMOTION (LOP). In English, we see this in raising, as in *The cake seems to have been eaten.* The evidence for LOP comes from Case, agreement, and language specific A-movement properties. In this paper, we look at the distribution of LOP, in particular at cases where the matrix verb has an external argument, such as *try.* The structure in (1) shows schematically what LOP looks like. We call this representation VOICE RESTRUCTURING, following Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017).

(1)   DP.OBJ … *try* .PASS/PV [V.PASS/PV t.DP]   VOICE RESTRUCTURING
       The cake tried to eat/to be eaten.   Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017)
       Meaning: Someone tried to eat the cake.

Within the context of LOP, we look at CROSSED CONTROL: a special type of Voice Restructuring, where the *embedded* agent in a passive or PV (Patient Voice) clause controls the reference of the external argument of the *matrix* predicate, and the embedded object is promoted to matrix subject, as in (2). This example is ambiguous: it has the expected control reading, as in the translation in (2a). But it also has a Crossed Control reading, as in (2b). On this second reading, the agent *polisi* appears in the embedded clause but is interpreted as both the external argument of the embedded predicate *ringkus* 'catch' and the matrix predicate *berhasil* 'succeed'. The theme of the embedded verb appears in the matrix subject position, but has no thematic relation to the matrix verb.

(2)   Tujuh anggota komplotan berhasil [di-ringkus   polisi]   INDONESIAN
       seven member gang   succeed PASS-catch   police
       a. 'Seven members of the gang succeeded in being caught by the police.'
       b. 'The police succeeded in catching seven members of the gang.'
       (Sneddon 1996:271)

Crossed Control is found in Indonesian, Malay and related Austronesian languages (Balinese, Sundanese, Madurese). Polinsky and Potsdam (2008) report that it is also possible in Javanese, Malagasy, Tagalog, Tongan, Tukang Besi and Samoan. Although Crossed Control may initially appear to be typologically unusual (Kaswanti Purwo 1984, Gil 2002, inter alia), we suggest that it may in fact be more widespread.

Stepping back from Crossed Control, we consider different types of Voice Restructuring and propose a unified analysis. For Crossed Control, we adapt Berger's (2019) approach and employ a *bi-directional Voice dependency* between matrix and embedded Voice, which results in sharing of the agent and morphological properties. This analysis not only places Crossed Control within the broader class of Voice Restructuring, but it also makes one new prediction, which our initial survey shows is borne out.

This paper is organized as follows. We first introduce Voice Restructuring and show how it accounts for Voice matching and default Voice under restructuring. In Section 3, we turn to the core data, with an overview of Voice in Indonesian and Crossed Control. Section 4 presents the REVERSE VOICE RESTRUCTURING analysis and Section 5 considers some of the implications. We conclude in Section 6.

2.   Voice Restructuring

We begin by looking at some constraints on restructuring and show how treating Voice Restructuring as bi-directional allows us to account for these constraints. This approach will extend naturally to Crossed Control. Consider an example of restructuring in (3).

(3) Der   Frachter   wurde   zu versenken / *versinken   versucht   GERMAN
    the.NOM freighter   was   to sink.CAUS / *sink.INCH   tried
     'People tried to sink the freighter.' (Pitteroff 2014:235)

Under the traditional analysis (Wurmbrand 2001), the embedded complement is a bare VP that lacks a subject and objective case. The object therefore undergoes movement to the matrix clause. A bare VP analysis, however, raises several questions: **i)** why are embedded unaccusatives (such as the inchoative above) impossible? **ii)** how is the interpretation of the subject of the complement derived? **iii)** how do we account for Voice morphology on the embedded predicate in instances of restructuring in Austronesian languages, such as Isbukun Bunun in (4)?

(4) a.   Miliskin   saikin   tu   ma-baliv bunbun-cia   ISBUKUN   BUNUN
             AV.want   1SG.NOM   TU   AV-buy   banana-that.OBL
             'I want to buy the bananas.'
     b.   Iliskinun-ku   bunbun-a tu   baliv-un.
             want.**PV**-1SG.ACC   banana-that.NOM TU   buy-**PV**
             Lit. 'The bananas are wanted to be bought by me.' (Wu 2013:73)

To answer these questions, we adopt Voice Restructuring, as proposed by Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017). Under this approach, the matrix restructuring verb takes as its complement a VoiceP with an underspecified Voice head, as illustrated in (5).

(5)
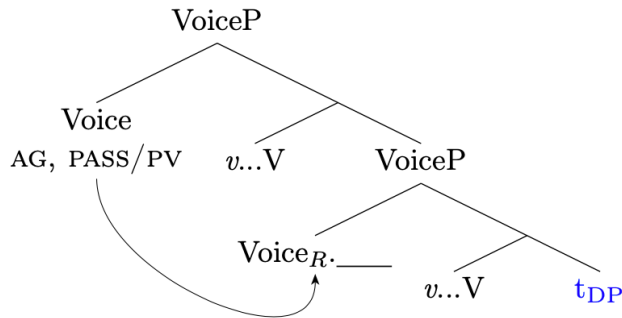
Voice Restructuring refers to the dependency between the matrix and embedded Voice heads, which results in sharing of the agent and morphological properties. This immediately answers question iii) above: in languages like Isbukun Bunun (also Saisiyat, Tsou; see V. Chen 2021), Voice Restructuring gives rise to matching of the morphological Voice values.

In other languages, such as Matu'uwal Atayal, the embedded predicate is realized with default morphology, as illustrated in (6). In T.C. Chen (2010), arguments from extraction and clitics are presented that show that AV is syntactically inactive and simply acting as a morphological default.

(6) naqaru.un i   t.um.uting   ni yumin   ku   bawwak
     finish.PV   LNK   beat.AV.beat   GEN Yumin   NOM pig
     'Yumin finished beating/killing the pigs.' (Chen 2010:5) MATU'UWAL ATAYAL

Other languages that have default Voice include Acehnese, Amis, Croatian, Czech, European Portuguese, German, Italian, Japanese, Kannada, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Saaroa, Seediq, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, and Takibakha Bunun. For these languages, Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) propose that the embedded VP (or *v*P) is spelled out before the embedded Voice receives features from the matrix Voice, as illustrated in (7).

Voice Restructuring also allows us to approach question ii), subject sharing. Although we cannot provide the full analysis here (see Pietraszko and Wurmbrand 2021), the basic mechanism set into motion by Voice Restructuring is sharing of the index associated with the (overt or implicit) agent argument of the fully specified Voice head.

(7)
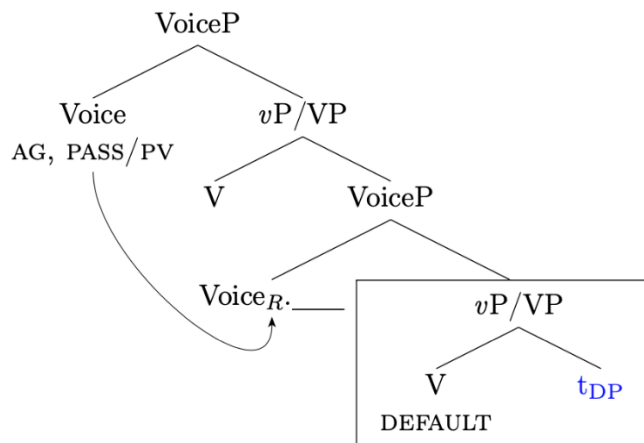
Lastly, question i) above leads us to an additional property of Voice Restructuring, namely its bi-directional character. The structure of an embedded inchoative is given in (8)b, and the question is why this configuration is excluded in a Voice Restructuring context, (3). Nothing would prohibit LOP here, which is indeed possible in the same embedded configuration if the matrix predicate is a non-thematic raising verb (cf. *The freighter seems to be sinking*). The key to the unaccusativity puzzle, as suggested in Wurmbrand, Kovač, and Lohninger (2021), is that Voice Restructuring not only can have an embedded agent representation, but it must have one. In other words, Voice Restructuring is a mutual dependency—the embedded Voice depends on the matrix Voice for features, and the matrix Voice depends on the embedded Voice in that a thematic matrix Voice is only possible when there is an embedded Voice that can associate with the matrix Voice.
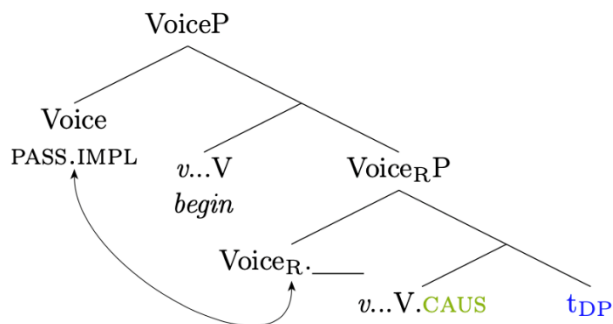
(8) a.   b.
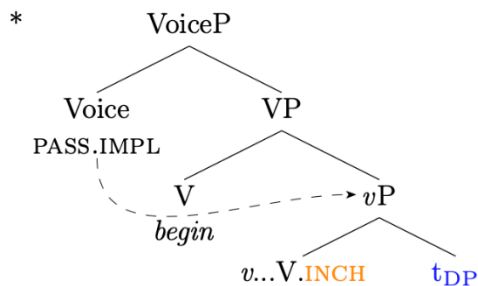
The bi-directional approach to Voice Restructuring opens the possibility for a reversed feature dependency, which we suggest is the case in Crossed Control.

3.   Background on Crossed Control

We now turn to the core data under discussion. We begin with an overview of the Voice system of Indonesian and related languages and then turn to Crossed Control in 3.2.

3.1   Voice system of Indonesian and related languages

We assume that Indonesian, Malay and Balinese all have three Voices: Agent Voice (AV), Patient Voice (PV) and passive, as illustrated in (9)-(11) for Indonesian. With AV, the verb carries a prefix (*meN-*, where *N* is an underspecified nasal segment) and the agent is the subject. The verb in PV lacks overt morphological marking and the pronominal agent, which is obligatory, surfaces pre-verbally. Finally, passive verbs are marked with a *di-* prefix and the agent optionally appears in a post-verbal PP.

(9)   AGENT VOICE (AV): Agent is subject
         Ali   mem-baca buku.INDONESIAN
         Ali   AV-read   book
         'Ali read a book.'

(10)   PATIENT VOICE (PV): Theme is subject; agent is obligatory
         Buku itu   *(kau)   ø-baca
         book that   2SG   PV-read
         'You read the book.'

(11)   PASSIVE: Theme is subject; optional agent
         Buku itu   di-baca   (oleh Ali)
         book that   PASS-read   by   Ali
         'The book was read by Ali.' (Berger 2019:61-62)

The related languages Sundanese and Madurese have only AV and PV (no passive). The basic properties of the different Voices across these languages are summarized in Table 1. It should be noted that the theme (Th) subject in PV can be reflexively bound by the agent (A), but not in the passive. Moreover, for those languages which have AV, PV and passive, the agent is obligatory in PV.

Table 1. Voice systems across neighbouring Indonesian-type languages

	AV (Agent Voice)	**PV (Patient Voice)**	**Passive**
Indonesian	A (aux) (*meN-*)V Th	Th (aux) A$_{pronoun/kin}$=V	Th (aux) *di*-V ((Prep) A)
Malay	A (aux) (*meN-*)V Th	Th (aux) A V	Th (aux) *di*-V ((Prep) A)
Balinese	A (aux) *N*-V Th	Th (aux) V A Th (aux) V-*a* [3 pers. clitic]	Th (aux) V-*a* ((Prep) A)
Madurese	A (aux) *N*-V Th	Th (aux) *e*-V ((Prep) A)	—
Sundanese	A (aux) *N*-V Th	Th (aux) *di*-V ((Prep) A3) Th (aux) *di*-V *(Prep) A1/2	—

For more information about Indonesian-type Voice systems, we refer the interested reader to Gil (2002), Arka (2003), Arka and Ross (2005), Davies (2010), Kurniawan (2013), among others.

3.2   Crossed Control

As described in the introduction, Crossed Control is a structure where the embedded agent in a passive, (12), or PV clause, (13), controls the reference of the external argument of matrix predicate. In (12), *John* is the passive agent of the embedded verb *di-tendang* 'kicked' and it is interpreted as the external argument of the matrix predicate *mau* 'want'. In (13), the embedded agent of the PV verb *tegaskan* 'examined' is the pronoun *dia* '3SG' and it is also understood as the experiencer of the matrix predicate *mau* 'want'. In both cases, the matrix subject is inanimate and therefore cannot be interpreted as the matrix experiencer.

(12) Pintu itu   mau di-tendang oleh John . INDONESIAN
      door that   want PASS-kick by   John
      'John wanted to kick the door.'
      # 'The door wanted to be kicked by John.' (Arka 2012:36)

(13) bagian   kalimat   ini   mau dia=ø-tegaskan
      section   sentence   this   want 3SG=PV-emphasize
      'He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.'
      (# 'The part of the sentence wants to be emphasized by him.')
      (Polinsky and Potsdam 2008:1636)

What is crucial for Crossed Control is the fact that the agent appears in the embedded clause. While the word order in (12) and (13) is suggestive, we can provide independent evidence for the low position of the agent. First, recall that in PV, the agent is obligatory, as shown in (10), repeated here as (14).

(14) PATIENT VOICE (PV): agent is obligatory   INDONESIAN
     Buku itu   *(kau)   ø-baca
     book that   2SG   PV-read
     'You read the book.' (Berger 2019:61)

When the agent appears in this position, left-adjacent to the embedded verb as in (15)a, it can be interpreted as the experiencer of the matrix predicate. This is the Crossed Control reading. If, on the other hand, the agent occurs left-adjacent to the matrix predicate (15)b, it is only interpreted as the agent/experiencer of that predicate.

(15) a.   Anak itu   yang ingin ku=ø-cium   INDONESIAN
          child that   REL   want 1SG=PV-kiss
          i) 'The child (is the one that) I want to kiss.' [CC reading]
          ii) 'The child wants to be kissed by me.'   [typical reading]

     b.   Anak itu   yang ku=ingin ø-cium
          child that   REL   1SG=want PV-kiss
          i) 'The child (is the one that) I want to kiss.'
          ii) *'The child wants to be kissed by me.' (Arka 2014:17)

The second piece of evidence comes from agreement. In Sundanese, the agent triggers (optional) plural agreement. In Crossed Control, this agreement appears on the embedded predicate, see (16). As shown by (17), plural agreement is not possible on the matrix predicate.

(16) Budak   leungit   téh   poho teu di-t<ar>éang-an deui ku bapa-bapa.
     child   lost   PRT   forgot NEG PV-seek<PL>-ITER PRT by father-RED
     'The gentlemen forgot to look for the missing child.'

(17) *Budak   leungit   téh   p<ar>oho teu   di-téang-an deui ku bapa-bapa.
     child   lost   PRT   forgot<PL> NEG PV-seek-ITER PRT by father-RED
     (Intended: 'The gentlemen forgot to look for the missing child.'
     (Eri Kurniawan, p.c.)

We take this pattern of agreement to show that the agent in Crossed Control is in the embedded clause.

Given this low position of the agent, the question arises as to how it can be interpreted as an argument of the matrix predicate. There are various accounts in the literature. We do not provide a detailed discussion of these analyses, but we note some key aspects. Most importantly, all previous analyses agree that Crossed Control involves some form of Long Object Promotion (LOP). The differences lie in how the embedded agent is interpreted as an argument of the matrix predicate. They also differ in the size of

the complement (VoiceP/*v*P/VP).[1] We can divide the analyses into three main groups. First, Polinsky and Potsdam (2008) argue that in Crossed Control the matrix predicate does not assign a theta role; in other words, Crossed Control is raising. The Crossed Control interpretation arises due to lexical semantics (thematic properties) of *mau/ingin* 'want'. The second group of analyses assume the matrix predicate does assign an external theta role to the embedded agent and this assignment is analyzed in different ways: via Feature-Inheritance of the theta role (Sato and Kitada 2012; Kurniawan 2013; Natarina 2018), via the locality of the agent in Spec,*v*P of the embedded predicate (Nomoto 2011), via argument-sharing in a serial verb construction (Arka 2012, 2014), or via argument structure unification (Kroeger and Frazier 2019). The third analysis (Berger 2019) claims that Crossed Control is Reverse Voice Restructuring (Wurmbrand 2015, Wurmbrand and Shimamura 2017). In other words, there is a dependency between Voice heads. It is Berger's analysis that we develop in the next section.

4. Analysis

We propose that Crossed Control is an instance of REVERSE VOICE RESTRUCTURING, where the higher Voice$_R$ is inserted unvalued (Berger 2019), and it is valued by the lower Voice head. The Crossed Control example in (18)a is derived as shown in (18)b.

(18) a.   Tujuh anggota   komplotan berhasil   [di-ringkus   polisi] INDONESIAN
             seven member   gang   succeed   PASS-catch   police
       i.   'Seven members of the gang succeeded in being caught by the police.'
       ii.   'The police succeeded in catching seven members of the gang.'
             (Sneddon 1996:271)

b.
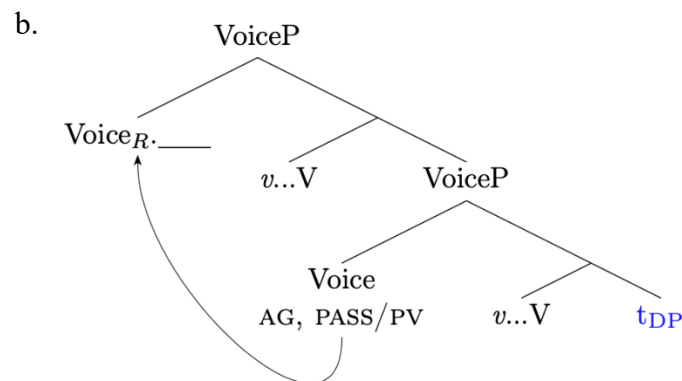
As shown in the structure above, the features of the lower Voice head are passed up to the higher head. For Berger (2019) only the features of the agent are shared, not Voice features. We claim, however, that all features (Voice and agent) are valued by the lower

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[1] Jeoung (2020) claims that the Crossed Control reading may be related to the auxiliary status of the matrix predicate. See Vander Klok and Paul (2021) for a response.

Voice head. We will show that this approach makes correct new predictions about the distribution of Voice (matching vs. default) in Crossed Control.

To begin, recall from Section 2 that in cases of restructuring, languages either show Voice matching or default Voice. Voice matching is the result of head movement of the lower V to *v* to Voice$_R$. This lower Voice head is valued at next phase (by the higher VoiceP). With default Voice, however, the embedded VP is spelled out before the higher Voice features value the lower Voice head. For this reason, the verb is realized with default features.

Turning now to Crossed Control, across all languages we have investigated, Voice matching is found. For example, it is ungrammatical to have matrix passive and embedded PV, as seen in (19).

(19) *Mobil   itu   yang di-coba   ku=ø-jual.
      car   that REL PASS-try   1SG=PV-sell
      (intended: 'That car is the one I tried to sell.')   (Arka 2014:44)

Similarly, if the matrix predicate is AV, the Crossed Control reading is not possible.

(20) Dia mencoba   di-cium   oleh artis itu.
      3SG AV.try   PASS-kill   by   artist that
      i. 'He tried to be kissed by the artist.'
      ii. *'The artist tried to kiss him.' (Arka 2012:29)

We suggest that the absence of default Voice is a direct consequence of Reverse Voice Restructuring, where it is the lower Voice head that has Voice features. As illustrated in (21), a reverse default Voice configuration would mean that the matrix VP is spelled out before the matrix Voice is merged. However, if this is the case, the features of the lower Voice will never reach the matrix Voice, since Spell-out of the matrix VP would also spell out the embedded VoiceP, making those features inaccessible for matrix Voice and leaving the matrix Voice without features.

(21)
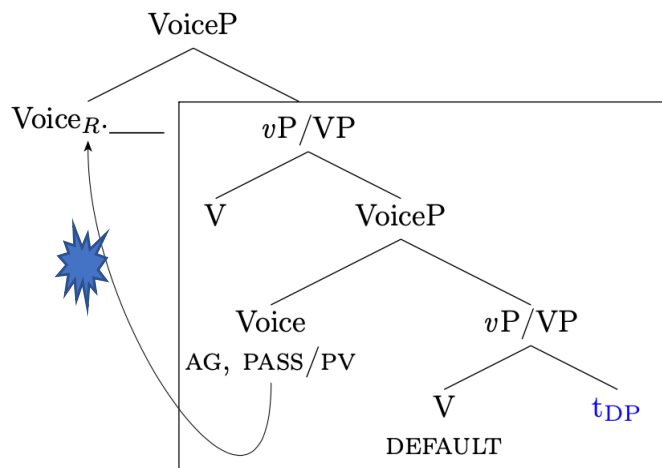
In other words, our analysis predicts that Reverse Voice Restructuring is always matching, never default. As noted above, this prediction appears initially to be incorrect: the matrix predicate in Crossed Control is typically bare, lacking Voice morphology. While this absence of Voice may at first glance appear to be an instance of default Voice, we claim that in fact these predicates are simply incompatible with Voice marking. In other words, the features of the lower Voice (e.g. PASS) are inherited by the higher Voice head, but the morphology does not always reflect these features. Strikingly, certain predicates that participate in Crossed Control (e.g. *coba* 'try') can take overt Voice marking, as illustrated in (22). When Voice marking occurs, it is always matching, as predicted by our analysis.

(22) Dia di-coba   di-bunuh (oleh)   teman-nya.   INDONESIAN
     3SG PASS-try   PASS-kill by   friend-3POSS
     'His friend(s) tried to kill him.' (Arka 2012:29)

On a more general level, Crossed Control as a type of restructuring leads to the typology in Table 2. While traditionally restructuring has been seen as the result of downward feature sharing, once we include the possibility of upward sharing, Crossed Control provides an important missing piece in the general picture of restructuring.[2]

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[2] A mechanism similar to what we suggest for Crossed Control is proposed in Pietraszko (2021) for backward control in Ndebele.

Table 2. Direction of feature valuation

Matrix V	Embedded V	Agent position	Language
features →	match	high	Norwegian, Isbukun Bunun
features →	default	high	German, Matu'uwal Atayal
match	← features	low	Indonesian, Balinese, etc.
default	← features	low	***

In the next two sections, we consider some implications of the proposed analysis and some areas for future research.

5.   Taking stock and next steps

If we step back briefly from the details of Crossed Control and consider how it fits into the literature on restructuring, the following insights emerge. As noted above, restructuring is typically seen as involving a defective embedded clause, but in Crossed Control it is the matrix predicate that is deficient (where deficiency arises due to a deficient Voice head). While this result may seem counterintuitive, it shows us that restructuring is not uni-directional: the embedded and the matrix predicates depend on each other, as discussed in Section 2.

Our analysis also leads us to new research questions. For example, we suggest that Chamorro has Crossed Control, as illustrated in (23).

(23) Malägu'   ni-risibi   katta-nña   as   Juan.   CHAMORRO
      NPL.RL.IN.want   NPL.RL.IN.PASS-receive   letter-3SG OBL Juan
      'Juan wants to receive her letter.' (Chung 2004:221)

The agent in restructuring contexts can appear either high or low. While Chung (2004) argues for downward scrambling, we hypothesize that the agent *Juan* is in fact generated low (as we have claimed for Indonesian and related languages). Agreement with the agent surfaces on the embedded verb, which Chung argues to be via Voice Restructuring, but we suggest is in fact Reverse Voice Restructuring. Similarly, agent wh-agreement appears on the embedded verb (see Chung 2004 for discussion). We therefore intend to look more closely at the Chamorro data in the future.

Second, as noted in section 3.1, the distribution of the Voice forms varies across the Indonesian-type languages. Some have both PV and passive, while others only have PV. More research is required to understand the implications of this pattern, in particular the consequences for agents: whether they are obligatory, whether they appear in a PP and whether they allow an implicit interpretation when null.

Finally, as noted in our analysis, most of the predicates that allow Crossed Control readings are incompatible with Voice morphology. We ask whether the absence of overt Voice morphology can be correlated with the presence of Reverse Voice Restructuring and what role diachronic shift might play, given the variation in voice morphology marking across the Indonesian-type languages.

6.   Conclusion

Voice Restructuring is a theoretical tool that captures a dependency between two clauses. By looking at Crossed Control, we have shown that Voice Restructuring can go in either direction. The crucial data come from the low positioning of the embedded agent that is possible with Austronesian PV. While Voice Restructuring can be downward or upward (see Table 2), it is not a fully symmetric phenomenon. When the embedded Voice is deficient, it can be valued via matching or receive a default value. When the matrix Voice is deficient, however, only matching is possible. We have seen that this restriction falls about from the syntactic properties of Voice Restructuring and its interaction with cyclic spell-out. The absence of overt morphology on the matrix verb in Crossed Control appears to be a default strategy, but this absence is simply a morphological accident. The apparent puzzle of Crossed Control and the distribution of voice morphology thus emerge as a consequence of Voice Restructuring.

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