

Subject and Nonsubject Relativization in Indonesian*

Peter Cole and Gabriella Hermon

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I. Introduction

It has been claimed widely that in Indonesian the most frequent type of relative clause, that formed with the complementizer yang and with a gap in place of the relativized NP, is restricted to subject relativization. For instance, Sneddon (1996, p. 286) states that "a relative clause can contain any constituent occurring in an independent clause except the subject, which is identical to the head of the embedding noun phrase... If the [head] noun stands as object the verb must be passive."

An example of a relative clause employing the complementizer yang and a gap in place of the relativized NP is found in (1):

(1) [_{NP} Perempuan [_{CP} yang t pergi] itu] menangis.

girl that leave that meN-cry

'That girl who left is crying.'

In (1) the complementizer yang is employed and a gap (indicated by a trace *t*) occurs in the position of the relativized noun phrase. We shall refer to relative clauses like (1) as instances of complementizer/gap (CG) relativization.

The claim that CG relativization is limited to subjects is based on the fact that when objects are relativized the transitive prefix *meN-* cannot be employed:

(2) Dia me-lihat perempuan itu.

he meN-see woman that

'He sees that woman.'

(3) *[Perempuan [yang dia me-lihat t] itu] menangis.

woman that he meN-see that cry

'That woman that he saw cried.'

The ungrammaticality of (3) is taken to show that objects cannot be relativized.

While (3) is ungrammatical, (4), in which the transitive prefix meN- does not occur, is well formed:

(4) [Perempuan [yang dia lihat] itu] menangis.

woman that he see that cry

'That woman that he saw cried.'

Examples like (4) would appear to be counter examples to the claim that objects cannot be relativized. The proponents of the subject-only-relativization hypothesis (SORH), however, explain such examples as due to the operation of passivization. Thus, according to the SORH, relative clauses like (4) are based on passives ("Passive Type Two") like (5) rather than on actives like (2):¹

(5) Perempuan itu dia lihat.²

woman that he -see

'The woman was seen by him.'

In this paper we shall argue that Passive Type Two cannot be the source for examples of object relativization. This position was taken earlier by Chung (1976).³ Our purpose is to add additional arguments to those which she put forward more than twenty years ago. We shall do so by demonstrating that the distributional restrictions on Passive Type Two do not hold for object relativization. We will also argue that the distribution of the verbal prefix meN-, which appears on initial examination to provide a strong argument for the SORH, can best be explained without reference to passivization.

We shall then turn to the question of whether the restrictions on the grammatical role of the relativized NP can best be understood in terms of a

hierarchy of grammatical relations along the lines of the Keenan/Comrie NP Accessibility Hierarchy (1977). Indonesian was employed by Keenan and Comrie as an instance of a language, the grammar of which contains a stipulation that the primary relativization strategy (CG relativization) applies only to subjects and direct objects. We shall argue that no such stipulation need be included in the grammar of Indonesian. Rather, the appearance of conformity to the Accessibility Hierarchy is epiphenomenal, and the restrictions on the grammatical role of the relativized NP follow from independent principles of grammar, and do not need to be specified in the grammar of Indonesian. Thus, Indonesian does not provide support for the Accessibility Hierarchy as an independent principle of grammar.

II. Distributional Restrictions on Passive Type Two and Object Relativization

Two types of passives are found in Indonesian. Using the terminology of Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (1996), we shall refer to them as Passive Type One (P1) and Passive Type Two (P2). In P1 the verb is marked by the prefix di- and the agent follows the verb (optionally preceded by oleh 'by'):

(6) Anjing itu di-lihat (oleh) Budi.

dog that passive-see by Budi

'The dog was seen by Budi.'

In P1 the agent cannot precede the verb:

(7) *Anjing itu (oleh) Budi dilihat.

dog that by Budi passive-see

'The dog was seen by Budi.'

In contrast, in P2 the prefix di- does not occur. There is a preference that the agent be a pronoun and the agent must occur immediately before the verb.⁴

(8) Anak itu kami hukum.

child that we punish

'The child was punished by us.'

(9) ??Anak itu bapak hukum.

child that father punish

'The child was punished by father.'

P2 sentences, in addition, display the following characteristics: the negative marker tidak and auxiliaries must precede the agent:

(10) a. Buku ini tidak akan kami baca.

book this not will we read

'This book will not be read by us.'

b. *Buku ini kami tidak akan baca.

book this we not will read

'This book will not be read by us.'

c. *Buku ini tidak kami akan baca.

Book this not we will read.

'This book will not be read by us.'

Thus, P2 manifests a number of syntactic properties: The agent should be a pronoun and when a negative and/or auxiliary is present, they must precede the agent (in the order [negative-auxiliary-agent-verb]).

We shall now show that object relativization lacks the characteristic properties of P2. We shall first review an argument, originally presented by Chung (1976), based on the restriction of the agent in P2 to pronouns. If apparent object relativization were in fact subject relativization of P2 sentences, it would be expected that the agents in object relativization would be restricted to pronouns. In (11) and (12), however, the agent is a noun rather than a pronoun, and there is no reduction in grammaticality:

(11) Orang yang Ali jemput adalah adiknya.

person that Ali pick up is brother his

'The person that Ali picked up is his brother.'

(12) Orang yang polisi tangkap di pasar telah mencuri tas.

person that police arrest in market already steal purse

'The man that the police arrested in the market had stolen a purse.'

Compare the grammaticality of (11)-(12) with the reduced grammaticality of the corresponding Type Two Passives when the agent is not a pronoun:

(13) a. ??Orang itu Ali jemput.

man that Ali pick up

'That man was picked up by Ali.'

b. Orang itu kami jemput.

man that we pick up

'That man was picked up by us.'

(14) a. ??Orang itu polisi tangkap di pasar.

man that police arrest in market

'That man was arrested by the police in the market.'

b. Orang itu kami tangkap di pasar.

man that we arrest in market

'That man was arrested by us in the market.'

The fact that (11)-(12) do not manifest the same reduced grammaticality seen in (13a)-(14a) shows that the restriction of the agent of P2 to a pronoun does not hold of object relativization. This suggests that object relativization is not derived from P2.

We shall now show that the word order restrictions on P2 sentences do not hold of object relativization. If object relativization were derived from P2, it would be expected that in object relativization, as in P2, the agent would

follow negatives and auxiliaries. As can be seen in (15)-(16), however, in object relativization agents can precede negatives and auxiliaries:

(15) [Buku [yang Budi tidak akan baca]] sangat menarik.

book that Budi not will read very interesting

'The book that Budi will not read is very interesting.'

(16) Anak [yang Wati tidak pukuli] itu menangis.

child that Wati not hit that cry

'The child that Wati didn't hit is crying.'

Note that the word order seen in (15) and (16) is not possible in P2⁵:

(17) a. *Buku itu ^{Budi} tidak akan baca.
_{dia}

book that ^{Budi} not will read
_{he}

'The book will not be read by ^{Budi}
_{him}.'

b. Buku itu tidak akan dia baca.

book that not will he read

'The book will not be read by him.'

(18) a. *Anak itu ^{kami} tidak sedang jemput.
_{Wati}

child that ^{kami} not prog pick up
_{Wati}

'The child is not being picked up by ^{us}
_{Wati}.'

b. Anak itu tidak sedang kami jemput.

child that not prog we pick up

'The child is not being picked up by us.'

While the word order seen in (15) and (16) is ungrammatical in P2, this is in fact the unmarked word order in active sentences:

(19) Dia tidak akan membaca buku itu.

he not will meN-read book that

'He will not read that book.'

(20) Kami tidak sedang menjemput anak itu.

we not prog meN-pick up child that

'We are not picking up that child.'

Thus, the word order facts suggest that CG object relativization derives from an active source rather than from one that has undergone P2.

There is additional evidence that CG object relativization derives from an active rather than a passive source. As was noted by Butar-Butar (1976) and Chung (1976) *inter alia*, certain transitive verbs in Indonesian cannot undergo passivization. Among those which for our informants cannot undergo P2 are ingin 'want' and percayai 'trust'. These verbs are grammatical in the active:

(21) Saya ingin buku ini banget.

I want book this really

'I really want this book.'

(22) Saya percayaai tetangga kami.

I trust neighbor our

'I trust our neighbor.'

They are, however, ungrammatical in P2:

(23) *Buku ini saya ingin banget.

book this I want really

(24) *Tetangga kami saya percayaai.

neighbor our I trust

'Our neighbor is trusted by us.'

Turning now to relative clauses, relativization of the objects of ingin and percayai is well formed:

(25) Buku yang kami ingin banget terlalu mahal.

book that we want really too expensive

'The book that we really want is too expensive.'

(26) Tetangga yang kami percayai mencuri mobil saya.

neighbor that we trust steal car our

'The neighbor that I trusted stole my car.'

Examples (21)-(26) demonstrate that verbs which cannot be passivized can undergo CG object relativization. These facts are mysterious under the SORH since according to the SORH P2 is an essential intermediate step in object relativization. The pattern seen in (21)-(26) is, however, expected if CG relativization applies directly to objects as well as to subjects.

An additional distributional argument against the SORH is based on the restriction that in Indonesian P2 subjects must be specific. The following examples show that while objects in active sentences can be definite or indefinite, the subjects of P2 sentences must be definite.⁶

(27) a. Active

Kami me-milih dua durian kemarin.

we meN-choose two durian yesterday

'We chose two durians yesterday.'

b. Passive Type Two

*Dua durian kami pilih.

one durian we choose

'Two durians were chosen by us.'

c. Definite Passive Subject

Durian itu kami pilih.

durian that we choose

'That durian was chosen by us.'

This restriction, however, does not hold for relativized objects:

(28) Saya mau beli [dua durian [yang saya pilih]].

I want buy two durian that I choose

'I want to buy two durians that I pick out.'

Examples (27) and (28) show that CG object relativization is not subject to the same distributional constraint on definiteness that holds for passives. Thus, examples like (28) constitute further evidence that CG object relativization does not derive from passivized sentences as would be predicted by the SORH. We conclude that the distributional evidence supports the claim that CG relativization can apply to both subjects and objects.⁷

III. The Omission of MeN-

We have presented a number of arguments that CG object relativization does not involve intermediate Passive Type Two. Our purpose in this section is to show that a seemingly strong arguments in favor of the SORH does not on closer examination provide support for an intermediate P2 stage. Rather, these facts turn out to be fully consistent with the direct relativization of objects without a P2 stage.

The distribution of meN- in relative clauses provides the basis for what seems on initial examination to be a strong argument in favor of an intermediate P2 stage in the derivation. As can be seen in (29)-(30) (as well as in (3) above), the presence of meN- renders CG object relativization ungrammatical:

(29) *[Buku [yang Wati menulis t]] ada di atas meja itu.

book that Wati meN-write is on top table that
'The book that Wati wrote is on the table.'

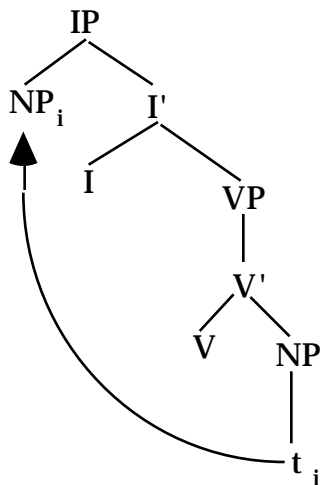
(30) [Buku [yang Wati tulis t]] ada di atas meja itu.

book that Wati write is on top table that
'The book that Wati wrote is on the table.'

The ungrammaticality of (29) and the grammaticality of (30) are expected if object relativization must derive from Passive Type Two. This is because in P2 the verb occurs obligatorily in stem form and cannot bear the prefix meN-. Thus, the SORH provides an explanation for the absence of meN- in object relativization.

While these facts appear to support the proposal that CG object relativization involves a P2 stage, there is in fact an alternative hypothesis, first put forward by Saddy (1991), that meN- is omitted whenever an NP is moved across a verb.⁸ Such a movement occurs in P2:

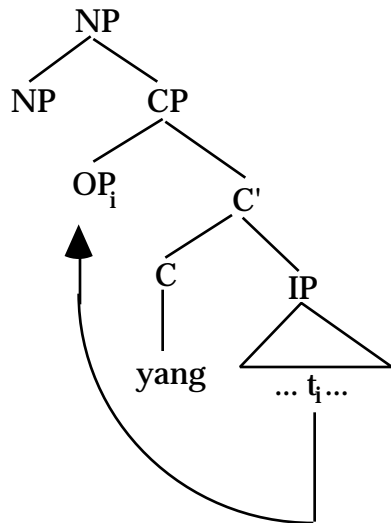
(31)



As (31) illustrates, in P2 the object moves to subject position crossing the verb. In P2 (unlike P1) there is no overt morphological indicator of passivization. The absence of meN- reflects the fact that this movement has taken place.

There is reason to believe that movement across the verb occurs in relativization as well. On the assumption that sensitivity to islands (in the sense of Ross 1967 and later work) is indicative of movement, there is evidence that CG relativization involves covert movement, as illustrated below:

(32)



The movement analysis of relativization would provide an explanation for the absence of meN- in object relativization which does not assume an intermediate P2 stage in the formation of object relative clauses.

IV. Evidence from Island Constraints for Movement

We shall now show that CG relativization is sensitive to Ross islands and therefore involves movement.⁹ (The (a) examples illustrate the island structure into which CG relativization is blocked. The island boundaries are indicted with bold oversized brackets in the (b) examples.)

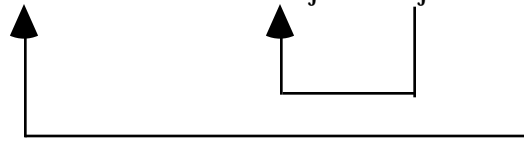
Example (33) demonstrates that CG relativization is illformed from complex NPs:

(33) a. Orang yang menulis buku itu terkenal.

man that write book that famous

'The man that wrote that book is famous.'

b. *[Buku [OP_i yang [orang OP_j [yang t_j tulis t_i terkenal]]]] ada di atas meja.



book that person that write famous is on top table

'The book that the man that wrote is famous is on the table.'

CG relativization from sentential subjects is also illformed:

(34) a. [Ali beli mobil] bikin saya marah.

Ali buy car make me angry

'That Ali bought a car made me angry.'

b. *[_NP Mobil [_CP OP yang [_CP Ali beli t]] bikin saya marah]] rusak.



car that Ali buy make me angry broke down

'The car that that Ali bought made me angry broke down.'

CG relativization from an adjunct is ungrammatical as well:

(35) a. Ali tidak naik bis [karena dia baru membeli mobil].

Ali not take bus because he recently buy car

'Ali did not take the bus because he recently bought a car.'

b. *[Mobil [OP yang Ali tidak naik bis [karena dia beli t]]] rusak.



car that Ali not take bus because he buy broke down

'The car that Ali did not take a bus because he bought broke down.'

Finally, CG relativization is not possible from a WH island:

(36) a. Ali tanya [di mana Wati membeli mobil].

Ali ask at where Wati buy car

'Ali asked where Wati bought a car.'

b. *[Mobil [OP yang Ali tanya [di mana Wati beli t]]] rusak.



car that Ali ask at where Wati buy broke down

'The car that Ali asked where Wati bought broke down.'

To summarize, examples (33)-(36) show that CG relativization is sensitive to islands, and, thus, involves movement.

Note that the omission of *meN-* does not occur in non-gap relative clauses, in which a resumptive pronoun occurs in place of a gap. When the resumptive pronoun strategy is applied, and no movement occurs, relativization into islands is possible (or at least is greatly improved):

(37) [Buku [yang [orang OP_j [yang t_j **tulis* nya terkenal]]]] ada di atas meja.
menulis nya
write
 book that person that write it famous is on top table
meN write it

'The book that the man that wrote it is famous is on the table.'

(38) [_{NP} Mobil [_{CP} yang [_{CP} Ali **beli* nya] bikin saya marah]] rusak.
membeli nya
buy
 car that Ali buy it make me angry broke down
meN buy it

'The car that that Ali bought made me angry broke down.'

(39) [Mobil [yang Ali tidak naik bis karena dia **beli* nya] rusak.
 ?*membeli nya*
buy
 car that Ali not take bus because he buy it broke down
meN buy it

'The car that Ali did not take a bus because he bought it broke down.'

(41) Saya memujuk Fatimah yang Ali suka padanya.

I persuaded Fatimah that Ali like to ^{him}
_{her} .

'I persuaded Fatimah that Ali likes ^{him}
_{her} .'

(42) Saya tahu yang dia bercakap benar.

I know that he speak truth.

'I know that he is speaking the truth.'

As examples (41)-(42) show, yang in Singapore Malay can be used in a fashion similar to that of bahawa/bahwa in formal Malay/Indonesian:

(43) Mary tahu bahawa John membeli buku di kedai itu semalam.

Mary knows that John buy book at shop that yesterday.

'Mary knows that John bought a book at that shop yesterday.'

Unlike bahawa/bahwa, yang does not convert the clause it introduces into a syntactic island:

(44) *Siapakah yang Bill tahu bahawa Ali cintai t?

Who that Bill know that Ali love

'Who does Bill know that Ali loves?'

(45) Siapakah yang Bill tahu yang Ali cintai t?

Who that Bill know that Ali love

'Who does Bill know that Ali loves?'

We shall now make use of the properties of complement clauses introduced by the complementizer yang to examine which hypothesis provides a more general explanation of the distribution of yang omission, passivization or movement across a verb bearing the meN- prefix. Consider WH questions in which the element undergoing WH movement is the complement subject. In such cases, as was shown in Cole and Hermon (1995

and 1998), the predictions of Saddy (1991) are borne out: The matrix verb cannot bear the prefix meN-:

(46) Meng Lost When Complement Subject Extracted

a. Siapa_i (yang) Bill (*mem)-beritahu ibunya [yang t_i men-yintai Fatimah]?

who that Bill meN-tell mother his that meN-love Fatimah

'Who does Bill tell his mother that loves Fatimah?'

b. Siapa (yang) Ali (*mem)-buktikan [yang t men-curi kereta]?

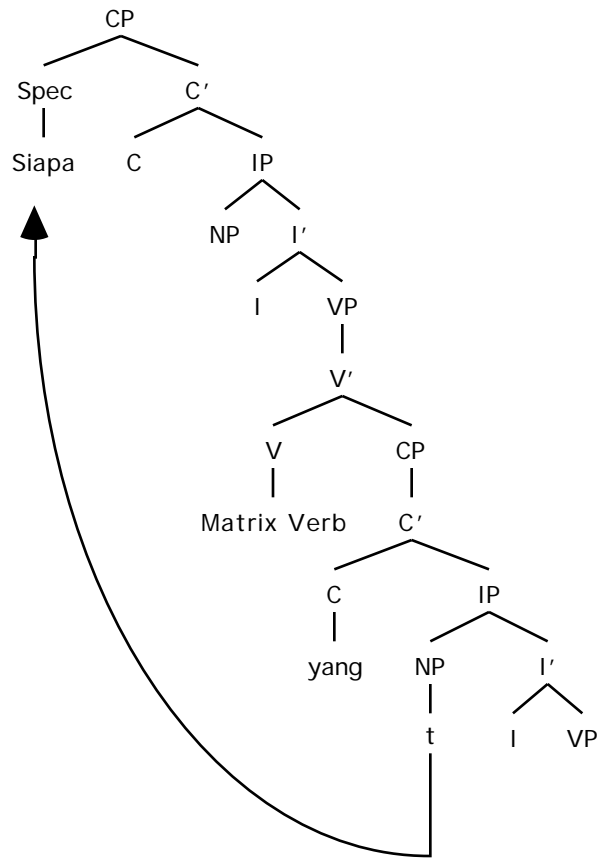
who that Ali meN-prove that meN-steal car

'Who did Ali prove stole the car?'

The examples of (46) show that meN- must be omitted on the matrix verb when the complement subject is extracted by WH movement. The complement subject, however, could not have undergone P2 because the complementizer yang intervenes between the complement subject and the matrix verb, eliminating the possibility of ECM by the matrix verb. Thus, the omission of meN- in (46) cannot be explained by P2.

The movement hypothesis, however, provides a ready explanation for the omission of meN- in sentences like (46): In (46) the question word crosses the matrix verb en route to the matrix spec of CP.

(47)



Thus, the movement hypothesis predicts the ungrammaticality of meN- in (46). Since the movement hypothesis can explain the omission of meN- both in (46) and in the full range of cases discussed in Section II, there is no reason to hypothesize two mechanisms for meN- omission. We, therefore, conclude that the movement analysis is the correct explanation for meN- omission in Singapore Malay. Returning to Indonesian, since the distribution of meN- is the same in Indonesian as it is in Singapore Malay, it is reasonable to use the Malay facts to choose between the two possible analyses of Indonesian. Thus, we conclude that analysis which is consistent with the distributional facts discussed in Section II (movement) is also the preferred analysis on the basis of cross dialectal comparison. The distribution of meN- does not constitute an argument in favor of P2.¹⁰

VI. Relativization of Obliques

We have argued that there is strong distributional evidence that CG relativization in Indonesian is possible from both subject and object position, and that the constraints on the distribution of meN- in relativization do not constitute evidence that relativization is restricted to subjects. We will now show that CG relativization is not possible from oblique positions. Instead an overtly moved relative pronoun is employed.¹¹ Consider CG relative clauses like those of (49), based on sentences like (48), in which the relativized NP is the object of a preposition:

(48) a. Saya tinggal di rumah ini.

I live in house this

'I live in this house'

b. Fatimah pergi karena dia capai.

Fatimah left because she tired

'Fatimah left because she was tired.'

c. Saya datang dari Singapura.

I come from Singapore

'I come from Singapore.'

(49) a. *[Rumah [yang saya tinggal (di) t]] besar.¹²

house that I live (di) big

'The house in which he lives is big.'

b. *[Alasan [yang Fatimah pergi t]] adalah karena dia capai.

reason that Fatimah left is because she tired

'The reason that Fatimah left was that she was tired.'

c. *[Tempat [yang saya datang (dari) t]] adalah Singapura.

place that I come from is Singapore

'The place that I come from is Singapore.'

While CG relativization of obliques is ungrammatical, relativization employing an overtly moved relative pronoun is well formed:

(50) a. [Tempat [di mana Fatimah tinggal t]] adalah Singapura.

place at where Fatimah live is Singapore

'The place where Fatimah lives is Singapore.'

b. [Alasan [kenapa Fatimah pergi t]] adalah karena dia capai.

reason why Fatimah left is because she tired

'The reason Fatimah left is because she was tired.'

c. [Tempat [dari mana saya datang t]] adalah Singapura.

place from where I come is Singapore

'The place I come from is Singapore.'

VII. Complementizer Gap Relativization and the NP Accessibility Hierarchy

Examples (48)-(50) show that CG relativization cannot be employed when an oblique argument is relativized. They further show the ungrammaticality of preposition stranding. These examples raise the question of why CG relativization can be employed when the relativized NP is a subject or an object, but not when it is an oblique. Are these facts to be explained along the lines of the NP Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie (1977)? In this influential paper, Keenan and Comrie propose that the grammar of a language includes a specification of the positions on a universal NP Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) to which the primary relativization strategy will apply. If the primary relativization strategy applies to a particular position on the hierarchy, it will also apply to all higher positions on the hierarchy. The Accessibility Hierarchy is specified as :

(51) Accessibility Hierarchy

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison

The question we would like to raise is whether the grammar of Indonesian must contain a specification of the position of Indonesian (CG) relativization on the AH. This is a matter of some general interest because contemporary linguistic theories like Minimalism (Chomsky 1995) treat constraints based on grammatical relations like the AH as epiphenomenal: The putative constraint is not specified in the grammar of the particular language, but, rather, the effect is treated as derived from the interaction of independent principles of grammar.

VII. The Accessibility Hierarchy in Hebrew

An early example of the reduction of apparent AH facts to epiphenomenal status is the treatment of apparent AH effects in Hebrew. The analysis of Hebrew is instructive for the understanding of Indonesian so we shall review it here. Keenan and Comrie treat Hebrew as an example of a language in which the primary relativization strategy is restricted to subjects and direct objects. However, it was shown in Cole (1976a and 1976b) that the apparent restriction of CG relativization in Hebrew to subjects and direct objects is due to the interaction of independent principles of grammar that result in the appearance of an AH effect.

(52) Subject CG Relativization in Hebrew

Macati [sefer [she t nafal al haricpa]]
found-1ps book that fell on the floor
'I found a book that fell on the floor.'

(53) Direct Object CG Relativization

Macati [sefer [she ata zarakta t]]

found-1ps book that you discarded

'I found a book that you threw out.'

(54) Illformed Indirect Object CG Relativization

*[Hamora [she natata (le) t sefer]] lo baa hayom.

the teacher that gave-2ps to book not come-3psf today

'The teacher that you gave a book to is not coming today.'

(55) Illformed Oblique CG Relativization

*Raiti et [hamilon [she ata histakalta (be) t]]

saw-1ps acc the dictionary that you looked at

'I saw the dictionary that you looked at.'

The ungrammaticality of sentences like (54) and (55) is explained in the AH analysis as due to the fact that Hebrew CG relativization is restricted to subjects and direct objects. However, Cole (1976a and 1976b) shows that the ungrammaticality of such examples is, in fact, due to the interaction of the ungrammaticality of preposition stranding in Hebrew and the impossibility of deleting the preposition in these sentences. When, under special circumstances, the preposition can be deleted, CG relativization of obliques is well formed.

As is shown in (56)-(57) in special circumstances, Hebrew prepositions can be deleted under identity with a higher preposition.¹³ When this occurs, CG relativization is grammatical:¹⁴

(56) Preposition le- Deleted Under Identity

Natati sefer le oto [yeled [she Miriam natna (*le) t sefer]]

give-1ps book to same child that Miriam gave to book

'I gave a book to the same child to whom Miriam gave a book.'

(57) Preposition be- Deleted Under Identity

Histakalti [bamilon [she ata histakalta (*be) t]]

saw-1ps in-the-dictionary that you looked at

'I looked at the dictionary that you looked at.'

In (56) and (57) the preposition in the relative clause can be deleted under identity with the preposition preceding the head of the relative clause. Under these circumstances, CG relativization of an oblique is grammatical.

These examples show that the grammar of Hebrew does not contain a constraint that relativization is limited to certain grammatical relations.

Rather, the appearance of such a constraint is an epiphenomenon, and the ungrammaticality of (54)-(55) is unrelated to the AH.

IX. The Status of the AH in Indonesian CG Relativization

Returning to Indonesian, in light of the Hebrew facts just discussed, the following question arises: Is the appearance of an AH-related limitation of CG relativization to subjects and direct objects truly an AH effect, or can the ungrammaticality of CG relativization of obliques shown in Section VI be explained without recourse to the AH?

An attractive alternative to the AH is the proposal that the apparent AH effects in Indonesian facts can be explained in the same way as the apparent AH effects in Hebrew, as due to a ban on preposition stranding (a ban which might, itself, be due to some deeper constraint like the Empty Category Principle (ECP) etc.).¹⁵ However, as was shown by Chung (1976), while preposition stranding is, indeed, ungrammatical in Indonesian, there exist prepositionless noun phrases that cannot be relativized. These include prepositionless passive agents and the patient NP in "dative shift" structures. This is illustrated with a Passive Type One example in (58) and with two types of dative shift examples in (59) and (60):¹⁶

(58) a. Active

Ibu saya memasak makanan ini.

mother I meN-cook food this

'My mother cooked this food.'

b. Passive 1

Makanan ini dimasak ibu saya.

food this passive-cook mother I

'This food was cooked by my mother.'

c. Grammatical Relativization of Passive Subject

[Makanan_i [yang t_i dimasak t_i ibu saya]] enak sekali.

food that passive-cook mother I delicious very

'The food that was cooked by my mother was very delicious.'

d. Ungrammatical Relativization of Passive Agent

*[Orang_j [yang makanan_i ini dimasak t_i t_j]] adalah ibu saya.

person that food this passive-cook is mother I

'The person that this food was cooked by is my mother.'

e. Grammatical Relativization of Active Subject

f. [Orang [yang t memasak makanan ini]] adalah ibu saya.

person that cook food this is mother I

'The person that cooked this food is my mother.'

(59) a. Grammatical Sentence Using -kan Without Dative Shift

Saya membelikan buku untuk adik saya.

I meN-buy-KAN book for brother I

'I bought a book for my brother.'

b. Grammatical Sentence Using -kan With Dative Shift

Saya membelikan adik saya buku.

I meN-buy-KAN brother I book

'I bought my brother a book.'

c. Grammatical Relativization of Patient Without Dative Shift

[Buku [yang saya belikan t untuk adik saya]] ada di atas meja itu.

book that I buy-KAN for brother I is at top table that

'The book that I bought for my brother is on the table.'

d. Ungrammatical Relativization of Patient With Dative Shift

*[Buku [yang saya belikan t adik saya]] ada di atas meja itu.

book that I buy-KAN brother I is at top table that

'The book that I bought my brother is on the table.'

(60) a. Ungrammaticality of Sentence Using -i Without Dative Shift¹⁷

Saya menulis(*-i) surat ^{untuk} kepada ibu saya.

I meN-write-I letter ^{for} to mother I

'I wrote a letter to my mother.'

b. Grammatical Sentence Using -i With Dative Shift

Saya menulis ibu saya surat.

I meN-write-I mother I letter

'I wrote my mother a letter.'

c. Grammatical Relativization of Patient Without Dative Shift

[Surat [yang saya tulis(*-i) t ^{untuk} kepada ibu saya]] ada di atas meja itu.

letter that I write-I ^{for} to mother I is at top table that

'The letter that I wrote to my mother is on the table.'

d. Ungrammatical Relativization of Patient With Dative Shift

*[Surat [yang saya tulis-i t ibu saya]] ada di atas meja itu.

letter that I write-I mother I is at top table that

'The letter that I wrote my mother is on the table.'

X. The VP Shell Hypothesis

The sentences of (58) show that while the passive agent can appear without being preceded by a preposition, the agent cannot be relativized. Sentence (59) shows that the patient (underlying direct object) with dative shifted -kan verbs appears without a preposition, but despite the absence of a preposition, the patient cannot be relativized. The same phenomenon occurs with dative shifted -i verbs (60). Again, despite the absence of a stranded preposition, relativization of the patient is not possible. Thus, as was noted by Chung (1976), the relativization possibilities in Indonesian do not appear to be determined solely by a constraint against preposition stranding.

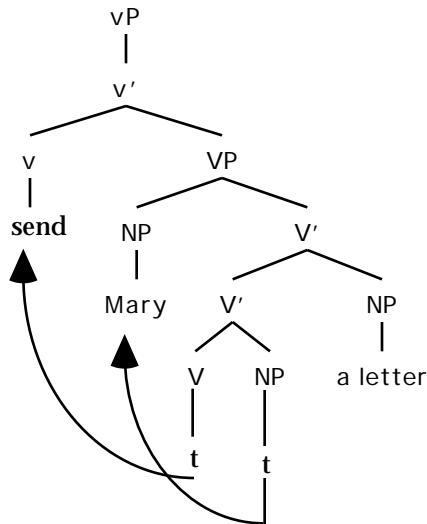
While the ungrammaticality of the relativization of the underlying direct object cannot be explained in terms of preposition stranding, this does not entail that the possibilities for relativization must be specified in terms of a hierarchy of grammatical relations like the AH. Rather, we shall argue that the possibilities for relativization follow from (other) general principles of sentence structure. Let us first consider dative shifted sentences like (59d) and (60d). We shall show that the ungrammaticality of relativization in such sentences follows from the VP Shell analysis of Larson (1988).

Larson argues that English sentences like (61)

(61) John sent Mary a letter.

have a derivation like (62):

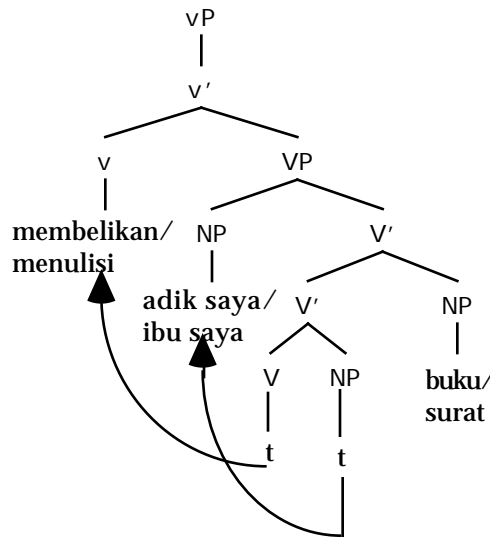
(62)



In (62) \underline{v} is a light verb. The verb \underline{V} moves to \underline{v} and the complement of \underline{V} (the indirect object) moves to Spec of VP.

Applying similar structures to Indonesian, the VPs of (59b) and (60b) would have a structure like (63):

(63)

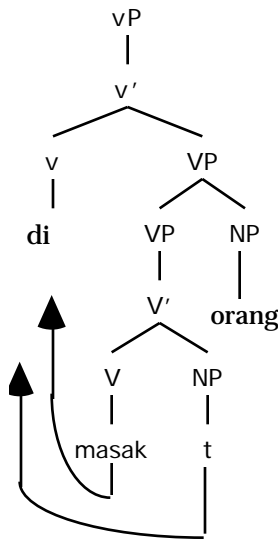


In (63) the patient buku/surat is separated from the (trace of the) verb by the (trace of the) indirect object. On the assumption that in Indonesian the extraction of a noun phrase from VP would require that the noun phrase stand in a local (sisterhood) relationship with V (the head government

requirement of the ECP), the extraction of the patient buku in (59d) and surat in (60d) by relativization would be predicted not to be possible.

We shall now consider the ungrammaticality of the relativization of passive agents, as in (58d), shown in (64):

(64)



Tree (64) represents the structure of the VP for P1 sentences. We have represented the agent as adjoined to VP. While it is not clear whether the agent is adjoined to VP or V', it is clear that the passive agent is not the complement of V and hence is not internal to V'. Regardless of whether the agent is adjoined to VP or V', the trace of the direct object separates the agent from the verb. Thus, as was true for the patient in (63), the passive agent is not the sister of V, and, therefore, does not stand in an appropriately local relationship with the V head so as to license extraction.¹⁸ Thus, it is predicted that relativization of the agent will not be possible.¹⁹

XI. Conclusions

In the first five sections of the paper we showed that, contrary to claims in the literature, complementizer/gap relativization is possible from both subject and object position. In the remaining sections we examine whether the

possibility of CG relativization should be viewed constrained by parameterization on the AH, as was claimed in Keenan and Comrie (1977). This parameterization is based on the fact that CG relativization is not possible for obliques, passive agents or the patient NP in dative shifted constructions. While these facts give the appearance of conformity to the AH, we argue that each receives an independent explanation, and that the appearance of conformity to the AH is epiphenomenal. The impossibility of CG relativization of oblique NPs is due to a general ban on proposition stranding combined with the absence of an independent means of deleting prepositions. (The ban on preposition stranding is presumably a side effect of more general conditions on extraction like the ECP or its contemporary equivalent.) The ungrammaticality of extracting passive agents and dative shifted patients also follows from configurational (ECP-like) requirements on the relationship between extraction sites and heads (the "Head Government" requirement). We, therefore, conclude that the facts of Indonesian do not provide evidence in favor of the AH as an independent principle of grammar. The analysis of Indonesian suggests that it may be appropriate to review the full range of AH facts to determine whether the facts continue to motivate the hypothesis of the AH as a principle of grammar, or whether the AH facts should be analyzed across languages as due to the interaction of other principles.

* The data in this paper is based on the speech of educated Indonesian speakers from the Jakarta area speaking what they consider to be standard Indonesian. While our informants view the register in question as "correct Indonesian" rather than local Jakarta dialect ("Betawi"), we make no claim

regarding the degree to which this register conforms to the requirements of prescriptive grammars of Indonesian. This paper builds on earlier work by Sandy Chung. We would like to express our appreciation for her elegantly argued analyses and our thanks for her many helpful suggestions over the years.

The research on which this paper is based was supported in part by grants from the National Science Foundation (SBR-9121167, INT-9423291 and SBR-9729519).

¹ We adopt the term "Passive Type Two" from Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (1996).

² While the question remains controversial, there are a variety of arguments that sentences like (5) are passives (instances of A-movement) rather than topicalization (A'-movement). See Chung (1976), Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992), Alsagoff (1993) and Soh (1996) for extensive discussion. While it is not, in fact, crucial for our analysis, we accept the position that sentences like (5) are passives.

³ Soh (1996) takes a similar position to Chung's. Soh's concern is with WH questions rather than relative clauses, but in general the same arguments apply to the two constructions.

⁴ There appears to be considerable variability among speakers with regard to the degree to which the use of non-pronominal agents reduces the grammaticality of P2 sentences.

⁵ We do not wish to suggest that P2 cannot provide the basis for relativization. In (i) the word order within the relative clause is [negative-auxiliary-agent-verb], an order that could only have been derived from a P2 source:

(i) Buku yang tidak akan kami baca sangat menarik.

book that not will we read very interesting

‘The book that will not be read by you is very interesting.’

But note that while this word order is obligatory in P2, it is optional in apparent object relativization. This is consistent with the claim that examples like (15)-(16) are derived by direct relativization of the object rather than by passivization of the object followed by subject relativization.

⁶ The restriction may be one of specificity rather than definiteness. See Sneddon (1996) *inter alia*.

⁷ Soh (1996) presents additional distributional arguments from Malay that meN- omission cannot be due to P2. These include arguments based on Weak Crossover, apparent that trace asymmetries and predictions with respect to the extraction of the subject of meN- verbs. The that trace argument is based on putative facts drawn from Md. Salleh (1987) that we have not been able to replicate in either Indonesian or Singapore Malay. The argument based on the extraction of the subject of meN- verbs is directed at a specific analysis, that of Nakamura (1993) for Tagalog.

⁸ This position taken in Saddy (1991, 1992), and was later adopted by Cole and Hermon (1996, 1997, 1998) and Soh (1996).

⁹ For earlier work, showing that WH questions formed by WH movement in Indonesian obey Ross constraints, see Saddy (1991,1992). For similar evidence from Malay, see Cole and Hermon (1995, 1998) and Rogayah (1995). The same meN- omission facts found in relative clauses occur in questions. Soh (1996) proposes an explanation in terms of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1991) for why movement of an NP across meN- might be ungrammatical.

¹⁰ We have not discussed the question of why movement across meN- should result in ungrammaticality. Soh (1996) provides an explanation for this in terms of an extension of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). According to Soh, meN- is a nominal element in an A' position. Thus, movement of a nominal element to an A' position across meN- will be blocked. This is not the case in sentences in which the verb occurs in stem form (i.e. without meN-).

While Soh's proposal is initially attractive, it has two serious problems. First, the analysis assumes that verbs may occur optionally in either stem form or with the prefix meN-. Thus, the occurrence of stem forms requires no explanation seems it is assumed to be licensed in all environments. However, while the presence or absence of meN- is optional in spoken Malay, it is obligatory in most transitive sentences in Indonesian. However, Malay and Indonesian display the same distribution of meN- when movement across a meN- bearing verb occurs. Soh's analysis fails to explain why, in Indonesian, meN- can be omitted only in this environment.

Secondly, Soh's relativized minimality analysis predicts that meN- omission will be restricted to A' movement. However, we have shown that meN- omission occurs in the P2 construction, an instance of A movement. Thus, Relativized Minimality does not appear to provide an adequate analysis for the omission of meN-.

Another approach, one that we suggested as a possibility in earlier work (1995 and 1998), is that the omission of meN- should be viewed as WH agreement, similar to that described by Chung (1982 and 1994,) for Chamorro. We hope to develop this idea in a later work.

11 Another possibility is that a resumptive pronoun occurs in the site of the relativized NP. See Alsagoff (1992), Sneddon (1996) and Schindler (1998) *inter alia*.

12 The verb tinggal is ambiguous between 'live, stay' and 'leave'. This sentence is grammatical on the (irrelevant) reading under which the verb is interpreted as 'leave'.

13 The conditions under which prepositions can be deleted under identity are complex and will not be discussed here.

14 These facts were first observed by Gad Ben-Horin (circa 1971) and were later independently observed and noted in print by Givon (1973).

15 While we do not assume the existence of a principle based on government like the Empty Category Principle (ECP), it is clear that the descriptive content of the ECP must be captured within current frameworks like Minimalism.

16 Chung also provides examples showing that the agent cannot be relativized in P2.

17 There are two suffixes associated with productive dative shift in Indonesian, -kan and -i. For a discussion of the differences between these suffixes, see Chung (1976) and Sneddon (1996) *inter alia*. Most verbs require one of these suffixes when dative shift occurs. One difference between the two suffixes is that -kan is normally compatible with both the dative shifted form and with the presence of the appropriate dative or benefactive prepositional phrase. In contrast, the suffix -i cannot occur together with the dative or benefactive prepositional phrase.

18 Put in terms of the ECP, the passive agent is not head governed by V.

¹⁹ This analysis predicts that both relativization and passivization will be impossible for both the passive agent and of the patient in dative shift sentences. This prediction is correct. We leave open the question of why in English passive is ungrammatical for dative shifted patients, but relativization is well formed:

(i) *The book was given Mary by John

(ii) The person who was given the book is Mary.

Sentence (ii) would be expected to be ungrammatical

It may be relevant that English relaxes other apparent ECP effects. The impossibility of stranding prepositions is often attributed to a failure of the preposition to head govern the trace. However, reposition stranding is possible in English:

(iii) What_i did you for there for t_i?

Perhaps the absence of expected head government effects in (ii) are due to the same source as in (iii).