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REPLY

What categorial ambiguity doesn't tell us about crossed control: Commentary on Jeoung 2020

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Jeoung (2020) argues that certain predicates in Indonesian are categorially ambiguous between auxiliaries and lexical verbs. Moreover, she claims that the auxiliary reading has been overlooked in analyses of so-called crossed control in Indonesian. As we show in this reply, however, the auxiliary reading is in fact independent of crossed control.*

Keywords: auxiliary, Indonesian, crossed control, restructuring, semantic methodology

1. INTRODUCTION. In the literature on restructuring, there is a long debate about the lexical versus functional status of restructuring predicates (Napoli 1981, Cinque 1997, 2001, 2002, Wurmbrand 2004, Grano 2015, inter alia). It is also recognized that there is no sharp functional-lexical divide (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004) and that the distinction between functional predicates, auxiliaries, and main verbs is not always easy to define. The question of what an auxiliary is and how this status interacts with syntactic phenomena such as restructuring is therefore a rich and important one. Against this backdrop, Jeoung (2020) presents data from Indonesian (Austronesian) to argue that certain predicates in this language are ambiguous between auxiliaries and (lexical) verbs and, further, that this ambiguity calls into question previous analyses of so-called crossed control. While her data appear to support categorial ambiguity (though see §6), we argue that they do not inform our understanding of crossed control, as Jeoung presents no evidence that the auxiliary version of these predicates is necessarily involved in crossed control.

This reply is structured as follows. We first present Jeoung's main claims and an illustration of crossed control (§2). We then put forward arguments that the categorial ambiguity of crossed control predicates does not shed light on the analysis of crossed control (§§3–5). First, in §3, we argue that the crossed control reading is real and cannot be reduced to an auxiliary interpretation. We show in §4 that although some predicates that appear in crossed control environments are indeed ambiguous between main verbs and auxiliaries, as Jeoung claims, some crossed control predicates are unambiguously verbs. We apply Jeoung's own diagnostics to crossed control clauses in §5 to show that crossed control predicates are not always auxiliaries. Section 6 concludes.

2. JEOUNG'S DATA AND ANALYSIS. Jeoung focuses on two Indonesian predicates, *mau* 'want' and *suka* 'like'. As noted in Sneddon et al. 2010, these predicates can be main verbs, as seen in the examples in 1, where they occur as the sole predicate and select a nominal argument.[1]

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[1] Glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules; additional glosses are: ACT: active voice, AV: actor voice, RED: reduplication, UV: undergoer voice. Note that where Jeoung uses the gloss ACT for 'active voice', we use AV for 'actor voice'.

(1) a. Aku **mau** sepatu sepakbola itu.
      1SG want shoe   football   that
      'I want those football shoes.'

   b. Kamu **suka** durian?
      2SG   like durian
      'Do you like durian?'   (Jeoung 2020:e158, exs. 1–2)

Jeoung shows that *mau* and *suka* can also be auxiliaries, in which case they act as temporal or aspectual elements, as previously noted by Musgrave (2001:147, 163–64, 180) and Arka (2014), among others. The different interpretations that arise between the main verb and auxiliary are suggested by Jeoung's free translations (p. e158, exs. 3–4), given here in 2–3.

(2) Dia mau men-cium tangan saya.
    3SG MAU ACT-kiss   hand   1SG
    a. 'She wanted to kiss my hand.'   (main V)
    b. 'She was about to kiss my hand.'   (auxiliary)

(3) orang yang suka me-nonton film di rumah
    person REL SUKA ACT-watch film at house
    a. 'people who like to watch movies at home'   (main V)
    b. 'people who often watch movies at home'   (auxiliary)

The main goal of Jeoung's paper is to argue that when *mau* and *suka* have temporal or aspectual meanings, they are not main verbs, but have a distinct category; namely, they are auxiliaries. Moreover, as just noted, the category of these predicates determines the meaning: the verb *mau* means 'want', and the auxiliary *mau* means 'about to'. Similarly, the main verb *suka* means 'like', and the auxiliary *suka* means 'often'. Jeoung presents two diagnostics to distinguish between verbs and auxiliaries in the language: (i) a language-internal diagnostic, using the structure of object voice[2] in Indonesian, and (ii) a crosslinguistic diagnostic, using semantic incongruity. These two tests—discussed further in §5—are used together to argue for a tight syntax-semantics connection in which the semantics of Indonesian *mau* and *suka* differ according to their syntactic category, as suggested in 2–3.

  A second goal of Jeoung's paper is to show that this categorial ambiguity provides new insight into the analysis of crossed control. Crossed control is a phenomenon that has been extensively studied in Indonesian and related languages for several decades. Scholarly work on crossed control in Indonesian or Malay includes Kaswanti Purwo 1984, Sneddon 1996, Gil 2002, Fukuda 2007, Polinsky & Potsdam 2008, Sato 2010, Nomoto 2011, Arka 2012, 2014, Sato & Kitada 2012, Berger 2019, and Kroeger & Frazier 2019. Crossed control has also been studied in Sundanese (Kurniawan 2013), Madurese (Davies 2014), and Balinese (Natarina 2018). Examples of crossed control in Indonesian are given in 4–5 (Jeoung, p. e165, exs. 44–45).

(4) Siti **mau** di-cium   oleh ibu.
    Siti MAU PASS-kiss by   mother
    a. 'Siti wants to be kissed by Mother.'   (typical reading)
    b. 'Mother wants to kiss Siti.'   (crossed reading)

(5) Pemain Arema **suka** di-tonton   oleh supporter-nya.
    player Arema SUKA PASS-watch by   supporter-POSS
    a. 'Arema players like to be watched by their supporters.'   (typical reading)
    b. 'Their supporters like to watch Arema players.'   (crossed reading)

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[2] Also known as *pasif semu* 'pseudopassive', 'patient voice', 'undergoer voice', or 'passive type II'.

In these examples, the predicate *mau*/*suka* is followed by a verb in the *di-* passive form. What is striking is that these examples are ambiguous, as reported in the literature. In what Jeoung calls the 'typical reading', the matrix subject is interpreted as the experiencer of *mau*/*suka* as well as the theme of the embedded predicate (what may be called 'normal control'). The crossed reading involves the agent of the embedded verb (introduced in a PP) being interpreted as the experiencer of the matrix predicate. This reading is crosslinguistically unusual and also theoretically challenging from the perspective of locality: the external theta role of the matrix predicate, as a verb, is seemingly assigned to the nonlocal PP agent of the passivized embedded predicate across a clause boundary. Because of these challenges, there have been many proposals to solve this (see the references above).

Jeoung claims that the puzzle of crossed control may only be apparent, appealing to the auxiliary use of the matrix predicates *mau* and *suka*. In other words, the examples in 4–5 are ambiguous, but not in the way that has been traditionally described in the literature. Instead, they have the typical reading (subject control in some analyses), where *mau* and *suka* are verbs (the (a) readings in 4–5), and they have another reading that arises due to *mau* and *suka* being auxiliaries. Under the auxiliary reading, 4–5 are interpreted as in 6–7 (Jeoung, p. e165, exs. 46–47).

(6) Siti **mau** di-cium   oleh ibu.
    Siti MAU PASS-kiss by   mother
      'Siti is about to be kissed by Mother.'   (auxiliary)
(7) Pemain Arema **suka** di-tonton   oleh supporter-nya.
    player   Arema SUKA PASS-watch by   supporter-POSS
      'Arema players are often watched by their supporters.'   (auxiliary)

Because *mau* and *suka* are auxiliaries, these sentences are monoclausal. The PP agent is not embedded but is associated with the sole verb in the sentence, *cium* 'kiss' in 6 and *tonton* 'watch' in 7. The theme raises to subject position, as to be expected with a passive. Because this reading has been overlooked in the literature on crossed control, Jeoung raises the issue that what has been reported as the crossed reading may in fact only be the auxiliary reading: 'I suggest that the data should be revisited in the various languages for which crossed control has been reported in order to carefully diagnose whether the crossed readings arise from an auxiliary interpretation of the [crossed control] predicate' (p. e166).

While it may be the case that the readings in 6–7 are available and that *mau* and *suka* are categorially auxiliaries for this reading, we cannot necessarily conclude that the crossed reading in 4–5 is explained away. In what follows, we offer three arguments why categorial ambiguity does not inform us about crossed control.

3. THE EXISTENCE OF THE CROSSED READING. While 6–7 purport to show that Indonesian *mau* and *suka* can be interpreted as auxiliaries, Jeoung does not show that the crossed reading is not possible or is unavailable. In other words, are the (b) readings in 4–5 actually unattested? Jeoung writes that 'without eliminating the possibility that the [crossed control] predicate occurs as an auxiliary, the robustness of the crossed reading remains uncertain' (p. e170). The (perhaps implicitly assumed) counterpart to this reasoning is to show that the crossed reading with the main verb interpretation is unavailable.

In this section, we first illustrate this reasoning with the Indonesian predicate *coba*.[3] We find that the crossed reading is available even in contexts where the auxiliary read-

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[3] We discuss the availability of the crossed reading with Indonesian *mau* 'want' and *suka* 'like' in §5 with respect to the diagnostics that Jeoung proposes.

ing is ruled out, contrary to Jeoung's hypothesis. Second, we point to some examples in the literature on Malaysian Malay, which suggest that the crossed reading is available for *mahu* 'want' and *cuba* 'try' in this language, despite the lack of an auxiliary reading in the given context. As Jeoung (p. e170) notes, the predicates and languages or varieties may differ in possible categorial ambiguity, so it may be the case that (varieties of) Indonesian and Malay differ in this regard. Nevertheless, as we show below, the availability of the crossed reading with the main verb interpretation in these instances calls into question Jeoung's claim that the crossed control reading can be reduced to an auxiliary interpretation.

   We begin with a discussion of the Indonesian predicate *coba*. Jeoung argues that crossed control predicates other than Indonesian *mau* and *suka* are also categorially ambiguous between a main verb and an auxiliary, including the predicate *coba*.[4] As a main verb, *coba* is translated as 'try', while the auxiliary interpretation of *coba* has a 'modal-like meaning', translated as 'can' (Jeoung, p. e167). A striking example from Jeoung with *coba* is given in 8. For this example, Jeoung notes that the typical reading in 8a is 'ruled out because it is pragmatically unlikely' (p. e167). The apparent crossed reading in 8b, however, could arise from the auxiliary *coba* and could therefore more accurately be translated as 'The gang members can/could be caught by police', according to Jeoung (p. e167, ex. 48).

   (8) Anggota gang itu   coba di-tangkap oleh polisi.
       member gang that try   PASS-catch by   police
       a. #'The gang members tried to be caught by police.'   (typical reading)
       b.   'The police tried to catch gang members.'   (crossed reading)

   We therefore ask whether speakers make the distinction between 'The gang members can be caught by the police' (auxiliary reading) and 'The police tried to catch the gang members' (crossed reading with main verb interpretation). If the sentence is presented in the relevant contexts, such a distinction should be available (if it exists). Consider, for example, the discourse contexts in 9–10: the context in 9 targets only the auxiliary reading, while the context in 10 targets only the main verb interpretation. Jeoung's hypothesis that the auxiliary reading is what is responsible for the crossed control effect then predicts that 8 will be felicitous only in the context in 9, not in 10.

   (9) ['can' context: The gang members were not careful this past week and left
       some clues that the police might easily discover by chance! The gang mem-
       bers know that the police are not currently trying to catch them because of
       their inside spy. Now it is certainly possible that because of the gang mem-
       bers' careless mistakes, …]
       a.   The gang members can be caught by the police.
       b. #The police are trying to catch the gang members.

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   [4] Other predicates discussed by Jeoung (p. e168) include (here with their main verb translations) *gagal* 'fail' and *berhasil* 'succeed, manage to'. Both predicates are argued to also be categorially ambiguous between a main verb and an auxiliary. The predicate *berhasil* is bimorphemic, composed of *ber-*, a prefix that derives intransitive verbs from adjectival and nominal stems, and the stem *hasil*; this possible complication with respect to a categorial status as auxiliary is not discussed by Jeoung. Nomoto (2011:4) lists the following additional crossed control predicates (note that three have the *ber-* prefix): *minta* 'request', *benci* 'hate', *lupa* 'forget', *ingat* 'remember', *mampu* 'capable', *malu* 'shy', *layak* 'deserve', *berhenti* 'stop', *berhak* 'deserve', and *berusaha* 'attempt'.

(10) ['try' context: The police have been working hard on a case against the gang members for three years now. The gang members are very slippery characters, and the police have so far not been able to obtain solid evidence against any one of the gang members.]
   a. #The gang members can be caught by the police.
   b.   The police are trying to catch the gang members.

We tested Jeoung's hypothesis by asking six Indonesian speakers—all of whom were also fluent English speakers—if the sentence in 8 (repeated below in 11) is felicitous in these contexts. The speakers were presented with a written questionnaire with English contexts and the target sentence in Indonesian. Their instructions were: '*Menurut anda, apakah kalimatnya cocok/sesuai dalam konteksnya?*' ('Does this sentence fit in this context in your view?'). In addition to this first instruction, we included the following in English: 'Please add any comments and/or change the sentence if you see the need.'

(11) Anggota gang itu coba di-tangkap oleh polisi.
     member gang that try PASS-catch by police
   a. 'Auxiliary reading' as tested in the context 'can' in 9:
      #?'The gang members can be caught by the police.'
                                    (accepted by 1/6 speakers)
   b. 'Crossed reading' as tested in the context 'try' in 10:
      ✓'The police are trying to catch the gang members.'
                                      (accepted by 5/6 speakers)

The results, as also summarized in Table 1, indicate that the crossed reading with *coba* shown in 11b (with the main verb interpretation) is available for most speakers (5/6).[5] In contrast, only one speaker found the auxiliary interpretation as 'can' to be acceptable (and only in follow-up elicitation), at least in this context.[6] All other speakers provided alternative interpretations for 11a, replacing *coba* with a future marker: *bakal* 'FUT', *akan* 'FUT', or *mau* 'FUT/about to', or replacing *coba* with the actor voice (AV) form *mencoba*, which would result in the English translation 'The gang members tried to be caught by the police'.

	'CAN' CONTEXT (AUXILIARY READING)	'TRY' CONTEXT (CROSSED READING)
Speaker 1	✓ (originally offered a sentence with *coba* interpreted as 'try', but accepted translation with 'can' in follow-up)	✓
Speaker 2	* (replaced *coba* with *mau* 'FUT/about to')	✓ (added … *sudah coba* …)
Speaker 3	? (replaced *coba* with *bakal* 'FUT')	✓
Speaker 4	* (replaced *coba* with *akan* 'FUT')	* (offered sentence with AV)
Speaker 5	* (replaced *coba* with *akan* 'FUT')	?✓ (also offered sentence with AV)
Speaker 6	* (replaced *coba* with *mencoba* 'AV.try')	✓

TABLE 1. Summary of results for 11 as tested in the two different contexts in 9–10.

Importantly, from the results in 11, we can conclude that the auxiliary categorial status is not enough to explain the crossed readings for the Indonesian predicate *coba*, calling into question Jeoung's hypothesis.

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[5] Speaker 4, who did not accept 11b, generally dispreferred crossed control, offering instead sentences with the embedded verb in the actor voice. This speaker did, however, allow crossed control in some cases.
[6] It remains to be understood what types of contexts allow for the 'modal-like' interpretation as 'can'; Jeoung (p. e167) observes that an inanimate subject in an actor voice clause allows for the 'can' reading.

A second illustration of this reasoning is based on corpus examples with *mahu* 'want' and *cuba* 'try' in Malaysian Malay from Nomoto 2011. We find a robust crossed reading with the main verb interpretation with these predicates. In 12, *mahu* is understood to mean 'want' (main verb), and the experiencer is interpreted as the implicit agent of the passive verb *di-jadikan* 'PASS-make': this is the crossed reading. In consultation with Nomoto (p.c.), we added the glosses and an English translation (original example is from the newspaper *Utusan Malaysia*, Feb. 21, 2002).

(12) Jika etika **mahu di-jadikan** aspek penting   dalam pembinaan semula
     if   ethics want PASS-make aspect important in   construction again
          ini, …
          this

   a. 'If [you] want to make ethics an important aspect in this reconstruction … '   (crossed reading)

   b. #'If ethics is about to be made an important aspect in this reconstruction … '   (auxiliary reading)

   c. #'If ethics wants to be made an important aspect in this reconstruction … '

      (typical control reading)

(Nomoto 2011:21, ex. 51b; gloss and translations added)

Similarly, in 13, *cuba* is interpreted as 'try', and the agent of *cuba* is understood as the implicit experiencer of the passive predicate *di-lupa-kan* 'forget'. Again, this example illustrates the crossed reading with a main verb interpretation (original example is from the magazine *Dewan Masyarakat*, May 2006, p. 17).

(13) Kenangan hitam yang di-lalu-i   semasa usia remaja-nya
     memory   black REL PASS-happen-APPL while   age adolescence-DEF
          terus   **cuba di-lupa-kan**.
          continue try   PASS-forget-APPL

   a. '[He] kept on trying to forget the black memories he went through during his adolescence.'   (crossed reading)

   b. #'The black memories he went through during his adolescence kept on being able to be forgotten.'   (auxiliary reading)

   c. #'The black memories he went through during his adolescence tried continuously to be forgotten.'   (typical control reading)

(Nomoto 2011:20, ex. 45b; gloss and translations added)

Crucially, Nomoto (p.c.) reports that the auxiliary reading (as well as the normal control reading) is not available in either of these examples. Therefore, the crossed reading is not due to the (possible) categorial ambiguity of *mahu* and *cuba*.[7] While Jeoung (p. e170) points out that a reexamination of the availability of auxiliary readings is necessary for individual languages and predicates, we underscore that it is also necessary to rule out the crossed control reading with a main verb interpretation. This reasoning is lacking in Jeoung's paper.

4. NOT ALL CROSSED CONTROL PREDICATES ARE AUXILIARIES. Our second critique of Jeoung's paper starts from the (implicit) prediction that all predicates that participate in crossed control can be auxiliaries. That is, if the crossed reading is reducible to the reading associated with an auxiliary categorial status, then Jeoung predicts that all crossed

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[7] Nomoto (p.c.) also notes that in Malaysian Malay, the 'about to' reading is more commonly expressed by *nak*/*hendak*, rarely by *mahu*. The 'often' reading exists for *suka*, but he has not encountered the auxiliary reading of *cuba* as 'can' in Malay; thus, this predicate may not be categorially ambiguous.

control predicates should be categorially ambiguous between a main verb and an auxiliary and, further, that it is the auxiliary that occurs in a crossed control construction. The first part of this prediction is already flagged by Jeoung, as she notes in the last paragraph of her paper that '[i]t is possible that upon reexamination, it will be demonstrated that some [crossed control] predicates do not occur as auxiliaries' (p. e170). She does not discuss the second part.

In this section we give three pieces of evidence that falsify Jeoung's predictions: first, some predicates that participate in crossed control are only main verbs (they are not categorially ambiguous). Second, even in cases where predicates are categorially ambiguous, overt passive morphology (the prefix *di-*) indicates that it is the main verb variant that is present in crossed control. Third, in Malay the predicates that occur in crossed control cannot undergo fronting, unlike auxiliaries. These arguments provide evidence against Jeoung's claim that the crossed reading is reducible to the auxiliary reading.

Concerning the first argument, while Indonesian *mau* and *suka* may be categorially ambiguous, this is not true for all predicates that participate in crossed control. Arka (2014) points out that some crossed control predicates can never be auxiliaries, including *ingin* 'want'. The crossed reading and typical reading with *ingin* are illustrated in 14.[8]

> (14) Anak itu   yang **ingin** ku=cium.
>   child that REL   want 1SG=UV.kiss
>   a. 'The child (is the one that) I want to kiss.'   (crossed reading)
>   b. 'The child wants to be kissed by me.'   (typical reading)
>   (Arka 2014, ex. 33b)

Arka (2014) observes that *ingin* 'want' always assigns an actor-like/experiencer role to its external argument, and thus inanimate subjects are infelicitous, as shown in 15.

> (15) {John/#Buah itu} **ingin** jatuh.
>   John/ fruit that want   fall
>   a.   'John wanted to fall off.'
>   b. #'The fruit wanted to fall.'   (Arka 2014, ex. 25)

Polinsky and Potsdam (2008) furthermore show that the string in 16b, with two inanimate arguments (the matrix subject *kota ini* 'this town' and the embedded PP agent *oleh api* 'by fire'), is judged as infelicitous. In other words, the typical control reading is not possible, as *kota ini* 'this town' cannot be the experiencer of *ingin* 'want'. The crossed reading is also not possible, as *api* 'fire' cannot be an experiencer either. The grammaticality of 16a shows that *api* 'fire' can be the passive agent of *di-hancurkan* 'PASS-destroy', so the issue with 16b is the matrix predicate.

> (16) a.   Kota ini di-hancurkan oleh api.
>   town this PASS-destroy by   fire
>   'This town was destroyed by fire.'
>   b. #Kota ini **ingin** di-hancurkan oleh api.
>   town this want PASS-destroy by   fire
>   #'Fire wants to destroy this town.'   (Polinksy & Potsdam 2008:1625, ex. 29)

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[8] It is clear that there is speaker variation concerning the crossed reading. For example, Jeoung reports that her consultants do not accept the crossed control reading with *ingin* 'want' (p. e167, n. 14). What underlies this speaker variation is not yet understood, but we advocate for using semantic elicitation techniques or corpora as in Nomoto 2021, in order to better understand which readings are available and how speakers might vary.

Thus *ingin* 'want' is only a main verb and never an auxiliary. This restriction is in contrast with *mau*, which as an auxiliary allows for inanimate subjects.[9] Thus, in 17, the same inanimate subject *buah itu* 'that fruit' is not infelicitous but gives rise to a temporal reading translated as 'about to', designated by Arka (2014) as a 'modal auxiliary'.

(17) Buah itu   **mau** jatuh.
    fruit   that MAU   fall
    a.   'The fruit was about to fall off.'   (modal auxiliary, raising)
    b.   #'The fruit wanted/was willing to fall off.'   (control, no raising)
                                                                   (Arka 2014, ex. 24b)

These data show that *ingin* 'want' is always a main verb and can nevertheless participate in crossed control, as in 14, contrary to Jeoung's predictions.

Turning to our second argument, the presence of voice morphology indicates that a main verb can participate in a crossed control construction, even with predicates that are argued to be categorially ambiguous. Recall that Jeoung hypothesizes that Indonesian *suka*, *mau*, and other predicates that are categorially ambiguous between main verbs and auxiliaries are in fact auxiliaries in the environment of the crossed reading. This hypothesis predicts that these predicates should be morphologically invariant, as auxiliaries, in the crossed control construction. However, we point to examples in the literature which show that *suka* 'like' and *coba* 'try' allow for voice morphology in the crossed control construction, suggesting that the main verb can occur in this environment.

In Indonesian, there are three voice types: (i) actor voice, indicated by the prefix *meN-*, in which the prefix-final consonant is a homorganic nasal that undergoes nasal substitution with the stem; (ii) object voice, indicated by a bare verb stem plus an agent proclitic; and (iii) passive, indicated by the prefix *di-*.[10] There are also predicates, including *suka* and *mau*, that are defective for voice and do not normally take any voice marking. We refer to these predicates as 'bare'. For the crossed control reading, neither the matrix nor the embedded predicate can be in actor voice (Nomoto 2011, Arka 2012, 2014). For reasons we do not discuss here, only passive voice (as indicated by the prefix *di-*) on the matrix predicate in a crossed control construction is relevant for our discussion.

Among the predicates that allow crossed control, the passive prefix *di-* has been reported in the Indonesian/Malay literature to occur most commonly on the matrix predicate *coba* (Indonesian)/*cuba* (Malay), as shown in 18–20. In the examples where the matrix predicate is *di-* marked, in some cases the embedded predicate is bare, as in 18,

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[9] Polinsky and Potsdam (2008:1625) also include *mau* 'want' as infelicitous in 16b. Although one would expect *mau* to be felicitous in 16b with the 'about to' reading (cf. Arka 2014), we suggest that this reading may not have been salient as it was not discussed in their paper. We tested this possibility with two speakers with the example in (i), where the 'about to' reading is made salient in the discourse context and the target sentence has two inanimate arguments. The sentence was accepted by both speakers, supporting the idea that *mau* is possible with inanimate subjects when it is interpreted as 'about to', in line with the data in Arka 2014.

    (i) [Context: There is a big storm outside with strong winds. Right now, the door of your house is still
        standing straight, but you hear the hinges of the door cracking from the strong winds.]
        Pintu itu   mau {di-roboh-kan   /di-tumbah-kan} angin.
        door DEM MAU PASS-destroy-APPL/PASS-fall-APPL   wind
          'The door is about to be broken/knocked down by wind.'

[10] Recall that Jeoung uses the gloss ACT 'active voice', whereas we use AV 'actor voice'. Nomoto (2021) analyzes the bare verb with the order Agent > (Aux) > Verb > Patient as a separate subtype of the actor voice, resulting in four voice types. This is tangential to our paper, as neither the matrix nor embedded predicate can occur in actor voice within the context of crossed control.

while in others, the embedded predicate also has the *di-* prefix, as in 19–20.[11] The translations in 18–20 are reproduced from the original sources, but the discussion in these sources makes clear that the crossed control reading obtains.

(18) Setiausaha.Agung yang baru … **di-cuba bunuh** oleh Datuk.Musa … [12]
     Secretary.General REL new   PASS-try kill   by   D.M.
         'The new Secretary-General … was tried to be killed by Datuk Musa … '
                                                              (Kroeger & Frazier 2019:164, ex. 9a)

(19) Perampok **di-coba di-tangkap** oleh polisi.
     thief   PASS-try PASS-catch by   police
         'The police tried to catch the thief.'   (Berger 2019:70, ex. 34)

(20) Mobil mana yang **di-coba di-curi**   (oleh) orang?
     car   which REL PASS-try PASS-steal (by)   person
         'Which car was tried to be stolen by somebody?'   (Arka 2014, ex. 11a)

Kroeger and Frazier (2019) also report examples with *di-* with the predicate *suka* in crossed control environments, as in 21–22. If the crossed reading is due to its auxiliary categorial status, the fact that *di-* can mark *suka* or *coba* is surprising. In other words, the passive *di-* marking seems to indicate that the main verb can be used in a crossed control construction—despite the availability of the auxiliary *suka* or *coba*.[13]

(21) Tapi kita   tak tahu apa yang **di-suka makan** … [14]
     but 1PL.INCL NEG know what REL PASS-like eat
         'But we don't know what they like to eat … '
                                                              (Kroeger & Frazier 2019:165, ex. 9b)

(22) Segala macam daun **di-suka di-makan** langsung bahkan tanpa
     all   type leaf PASS-like PASS-eat   direct   even   without
         di-olah.[15]
         PASS-process
         'All kinds of leaves are liked to be eaten (by them) immediately, even
         without being processed.'   (Kroeger & Frazier 2019:165, ex. 10c)

In sum, the presence of the passive prefix *di-* on the matrix predicate with *coba* and *suka* is unexpected under the hypothesis that these predicates are auxiliaries for the apparent crossed reading.[16]

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[11] Berger (2019:70) reports that the 'typical reading' is unavailable with *di-* marking on the matrix predicate. What remains stable for our argument is that the crossed reading is available in all examples in 18–20 with the passive voice marking on the matrix predicate.

[12] http://shalattas.blogspot.com/2012/06/politik-serpihan-1989-gagak-meniru-ayam.html

[13] Kroeger and Frazier (2019:166–67) observe that the examples in 21–22 are interesting because *suka* does not also take the applicative suffix *-i*, which is otherwise required with the *di-* prefix or AV prefix as a 'pseudo-transitive' verb. If these examples are cases of restructuring, the voice marking can be understood as a case of 'reverse voice matching', as proposed by Berger (2019), building on ideas in Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017 that languages may have either a 'voice matching' or a 'default voice' strategy in restructuring contexts (see also Kroeger & Frazier 2019:167). We also note that Nomoto (2021) reports that for the Indonesian predicate *coba*, affixation with the passive *di-* followed by a bare predicate is extremely rare within his corpus study, and it is not found for *suka*.

[14] https://abdrahims.blogspot.com/2013/02/kenal.html

[15] http://ini-salma.blogspot.com/2018/04/the-sundanese-…

[16] Other examples of Indonesian crossed control predicates with the *di-* prefix are *habis* 'finish' and *mula* 'begin' (Kroeger & Frazier 2019:171–72) and *tolak* 'reject' (Arka 2012:29). We did not find any examples in the literature of passive voice marking with the predicate *mau*. See also Nomoto 2021 for an analysis of these constructions—with *di-* marked on both predicates—as a biclausal structure, not related to his analysis of crossed control.

A third argument against reducing the crossed control reading to the auxiliary status comes from auxiliary fronting in polar questions in Malay (see also Nomoto 2021). As noted by Nomoto and Kartini (2012), when there are two (or more) auxiliaries, they must all front together. Thus 23a is grammatical, where both *sudah* 'already' and *boleh* 'can' are fronted (their base positions are indicated by __). If only one auxiliary is fronted, as in 23b–c, the result is ungrammatical.

(23) a. **Sudah boleh**-kah rumah itu ___ ___ di-jual?
         already can-Q   house that   PASS-sell
         'Can the house now be sold?'
     b. ***Sudah**-kah rumah itu ___ **boleh** di-jual?
         already-Q house that   can PASS-sell
     c. ***Boleh**-kah rumah itu **sudah** ___ di-jual?
         can-Q   house that already   PASS-sell

         (Nomoto & Kartini 2012:373, ex. 30)

Thus, fronting is a test for auxiliary status (auxiliaries can and must front) in Malay.[17] Turning now to predicates that allow crossed control, such as *cuba* 'try', we see that fronting is ungrammatical (24a). Only the auxiliary *sudah* 'already' can front; *cuba* 'try' must remain in its base position, as in 24b.

(24) a. ***Sudah cuba**-kah rumah itu ___ ___ di-jual?
         already try-Q   house that   PASS-sell
     b. **Sudah**-kah rumah itu ___ **cuba** di-jual?
         already-Q house that   try PASS-sell
         'Did they already try to sell the house?' (Nomoto & Kartini 2012:374, ex. 33)

Following Nomoto and Kartini (2012), we therefore conclude that the predicates involved in crossed control are not auxiliaries in Malay.

To sum up this section, we have put forward three arguments against Jeoung's (2020) claim that the crossed reading arises from the auxiliary categorial status: (i) some Indonesian predicates that are unambiguously verbs (*ingin* 'want') give rise to the crossed reading (as initially argued by Arka 2014), (ii) some potentially categorially ambiguous Indonesian predicates are clearly verbs in crossed control constructions, as indicated by their taking passive morphology (as also observed by Kroeger & Frazier 2019), and (iii) crossed control predicates in Malay are main verbs, based on their ungrammaticality in auxiliary fronting in polar questions (as shown in Nomoto & Kartini 2012 and argued in Nomoto 2021).

5. APPLYING JEOUNG'S DIAGNOSTICS. In this section, we show a third gap in Jeoung's reasoning concerning the significance of categorial ambiguity for crossed control constructions. In particular, even when Indonesian *mau* and *suka* appear in a position reserved for auxiliaries (as argued by Jeoung), they may still be interpreted as main verbs. We also show that the apparent categorial ambiguity of *mau* and *suka* does not affect the availability of the main verb interpretation in crossed control constructions when the embedded verb is passivized, as indicated by *di-* (as already shown for *coba* 'try' in §3).

As mentioned in §2, Jeoung (2020) argues for a syntax-semantics mapping in which a categorial distinction between auxiliary and verb is necessarily tied to a semantic dis-

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[17] This test is language-specific: Indonesian does not seem to make this categorial distinction in fronting with *-kah* in polar questions, as we also note in the conclusion (§6). Moreover, the ungrammaticality of 24a could be due to independent syntactic constraints, such as the constituency relation between *cuba* 'try' and the verb *di-jual* 'sell'.

tinction. For instance, she argues that as an auxiliary, Indonesian *suka* has a repetitive temporal meaning and is best translated as 'often', compared to its meaning of 'like' as a main verb. Similarly, Indonesian *mau* as an auxiliary is best translated as 'about to', while as a main verb, it is 'want'. She uses the syntactic test of the structure of object voice (OV) combined with semantic incongruity to argue that the Indonesian predicates *suka* and *mau* are only auxiliaries in the crossed control construction. In an OV structure in Indonesian, auxiliaries are distinguished from verbs in that they can linearly occur only to the left of the agent proclitic. The strict linear order of OV is schematized as Subj > Aux > Agent > Verb. Further, she argues that in the context of crossed control constructions, this test should be used with an inanimate matrix subject to avoid the possible confound of a biclausal structure.

We repeat Jeoung's argumentation with her examples in 25–27. First, Jeoung argues that based on the placement of *mau* and *suka* in the OV structure in 25, these predicates are auxiliaries since they occur linearly to the left of the agent proclitic on the predicate *minum* 'drink'. That they are auxiliaries is reflected in the free translations as 'going to' for *mau* and 'often' for *suka*. Second, Jeoung predicts that the main verb interpretation for *mau* and *suka* is unavailable in this position. She tests this hypothesis using semantic incongruity with the auxiliary reading: if the auxiliary reading is ruled out due to semantic incongruity, then the main verb interpretation could still be available (if it is possible in this syntactic position). In 26, Jeoung uses the adverbial *tadi pagi* 'earlier this morning' as semantically incompatible with the auxiliary readings of *mau* 'about to' and *suka* 'often'. She reports that this sentence is ungrammatical. Since the verbal meanings of *mau* and *suka* are not available, she argues that it follows that 26 is 'ruled out because in an object voice clause, this position is reserved for auxiliaries' (p. e164). In contrast, the verbal meanings of *mau* and *suka* are available in the AV clause in 27 (the absence of the agent proclitic on *minum* 'drink' indicates that the verb bears AV).

(25) Kopi   Nescafe **mau/suka** ku-minum.
      coffee Nescafé MAU/SUKA 1SG-drink
        'I am going to drink Nescafé coffee/I often drink Nescafé coffee.'

                                                                    (p. e163, ex. 31)

(26) *Kopi   Nescafe **mau/suka** ku-minum tadi   pagi.
       coffee Nescafé MAU/SUKA 1SG-drink before morning
         ('I am about to drink Nescafé coffee earlier this morning/I often drink
          Nescafé coffee earlier this morning.')   (p. e164, ex. 34)

(27) Aku **mau/suka** minum kopi   Nescafe tadi   pagi.
      1SG want/like drink   coffee Nescafé before morning
        'I wanted to drink/I liked drinking Nescafé coffee this morning.'

                                                                    (p. e164, ex. 35)

Given these results, Jeoung questions the robustness of the crossed control construction with the main verb interpretation (*mau* 'want', *suka* 'like'), suggesting that the crossed reading may be due to the use of the auxiliary (*mau* 'about to', *suka* 'often'), which creates a monoclausal structure.

We begin with a gap in her reasoning: while Jeoung (p. e164) argues that 'the verbal meanings of *mau* and *suka* present no semantic incongruity per se [in 26]' but are nevertheless not accepted, she does not show that the main verb interpretation is always ruled out in this position. In other words, we question whether the main verb interpretation is in fact possible in a configuration like 25—when the discourse context makes salient the relevant reading. We tested this with *mau*: is the 'want' interpretation available when *mau* is linearly left of the agent proclitic on the embedded predicate? We

found that speakers did in fact allow for this reading, when within a discourse context that targets the 'want' interpretation and excludes the auxiliary interpretation. Specifically, four speakers accepted this reading, as shown in 28, while two others preferred the embedded AV construction, again showing variation.

(28) [Context: It has been a long workday. You want to have a coffee, but you decide that you will not have one now. It would not be a good idea because it is already close to 17h00 and if you have a coffee now, you will not be able to have a good sleep and it is not healthy for you. Instead you decide to do some exercise (20 jumping jacks!). You think to yourself:]

  a. Kopi **mau** saya minum, tapi itu nggak sehat   {di waktu ini/
    coffee MAU 1SG drink   but that NEG   healthy at time this
      kalau sekarang}.
      if   now
    'I want to drink coffee, but it's not healthy at this hour/right now.'

<div align="right">(speakers 1, 5, and 6)</div>

  b. Kopi ini **mau** saya minum, tapi sekarang bukan waktu yang baik.
    coffee this MAU 1SG drink   but now   NEG time REL good
    'I want to drink this coffee, but it is not a good time.'   (speaker 4)

The results are summarized in Table 2.[18] The free translations in 28 were also offered by the Indonesian speakers themselves (speakers 1 and 4), providing additional support that the 'want' interpretation is available when *mau* is linearly left of the agent proclitic.

<div align="center">EXAMPLE 28</div>

Speaker 1	✓ (28a)
Speaker 2	* (prefers AV on embedded verb *minum* 'AV.drink')
Speaker 3	? (prefers AV on embedded verb *minum* 'AV.drink')
Speaker 4	✓ (28b)
Speaker 5	✓ (28a, but with *ku-minum* '1SG-drink')
Speaker 6	✓ (28a, but with subject *kopi-nya* 'coffee-DEF')

TABLE 2. Summary of elicitation results across six Indonesian speakers for example 28.

Thus, even when Indonesian *mau* appears in a position 'reserved for auxiliaries' (as argued by Jeoung), *mau* can still be interpreted as a main verb. This result shows that the OV structure cannot be used by itself to argue for auxiliary status with a crossed control predicate, without also explicitly showing that the main verb interpretation is unavailable using discourse contexts wherein this interpretation is salient. Moreover, this result questions the evidence for categorial ambiguity, an issue we return to in the conclusion. Overall, it raises the issue of how difficult it is in an isolating language like Indonesian to tell whether the matrix predicate is an auxiliary or a main verb, especially if crossed control constructions are in fact restructuring, as argued recently by Kroeger and Frazier (2019) and Berger (2019). That is, it could be the case that these predicates

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[18] The original sentence in Indonesian that speakers were asked to judge was as follows.

  (i) Kopi mau saya minum, tapi itu nggak sehat   waktu ini.
     coffee MAU 1SG drink   but that NEG   healthy time this
      'I want to drink coffee, but it's not healthy at this hour.'

Three speakers who accepted *mau* to the left of the agent proclitic *saya* offered slightly different versions of this sentence, as shown in 28. Speakers 5 and 6 preferred the informal proclitic *ku* instead of the formal *saya* '1SG'.

are main verbs, but in the context of restructuring, this results in the appearance of a monoclausal structure with an auxiliary.

Second, the crossed reading not only is found with the embedded predicate in an OV structure, but also is always reported in the literature to occur when the embedded predicate is marked as passive with the *di-* prefix (Kaswanti Purwo 1984, Sneddon 1996, Gil 2002, Fukuda 2007, Polinsky & Potsdam 2008, Sato 2010, Nomoto 2011, Arka 2012, 2014, Sato & Kitada 2012, Berger 2019, Kroeger & Frazier 2019). Jeoung, however, does not investigate crossed control in these contexts. How does categorial ambiguity inform us regarding the landscape of the crossed reading with a passive embedded predicate?

We argue that it does not inform us because the crossed reading with a main verb interpretation is still available in these cases. We use the semantic incongruity test that Jeoung employs in the following elicited examples to show that the crossed control reading is available with the main verb interpretation. In each example in 29–31, the auxiliary reading of *mau* 'about to', *suka* 'often', or *coba* 'can' is ruled out due to semantic incongruity with the adjunct phrase headed by *tapi* 'but', rendering only the main verb interpretation felicitous (if it exists). Further, we used inanimate subjects, as Jeoung suggests, to avoid the possible confound of a biclausal structure. We elicited these examples with six Indonesian speakers in total; out of these, four speakers robustly have the crossed control reading (but not always), while two speakers often rejected crossed control examples (but not consistently).

(29) Permen coklat   **suka di-makan** anak-nya teman-ku, tapi
candy   chocolate SUKA PASS-eat   child-DEF friend-my but
　{nggak sering/cuman jarang}.
　 NEG   often /only   rarely
　a.　 'My friend's child likes to eat chocolate candies, but not often/only rarely.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (crossed)
　b.　#'My friend's child often eats chocolate candies, but not often/only rarely.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (auxiliary)

(30) [Context: You are at the market, looking at the fruit. You remember that your spouse wants durian for this coming Saturday, but today is only Tuesday. You don't have durian at home now but you think to yourself that it would be better to buy the durian later on in the week so it will be fresh for Saturday.]
Durian **mau di-makan** suami-ku,   tapi bukan   hari ini.
durian MAU PASS-eat   husband-my but NEG.NOM day this
　a.　 'My husband wants to eat durian, but not today.'   (crossed reading)
　b.　#'My husband is about to eat durian, but not today.'   (auxiliary reading)

(31) [Context: Novi is 4 years old. She got a book as a birthday present from her Aunt!]
Bukunya **coba di-baca**   Novi, tapi dia belum bisa (mem)baca.
book-DEF COBA PASS-read Novi but 3SG not.yet can AV.read
　a.　 'Novi tried to read the book, but she cannot/could not read yet.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (crossed reading)
　b.　#'Novi is able to read the book, but she cannot read yet.' (auxiliary reading)

The results are summarized in Table 3. We find that for *suka* in 29 and *coba* in 31, the crossed reading with a main verb interpretation is accepted by four and five speakers, respectively, and for *mau* in 30 it is fully accepted by three speakers. Other speakers prefer that the embedded verb be in AV form (e.g. *makan* 'AV.eat', *maca* 'AV.read'), which entails that the subject is the agent. Despite this variation, a main verb interpreta-

tion is possible, showing that the crossed reading remains robust, even with predicates
that are argued to be categorially ambiguous as auxiliaries.

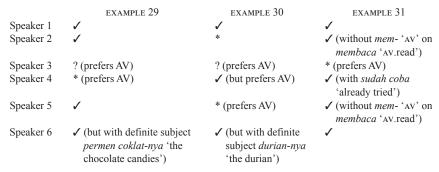|	EXAMPLE 29	EXAMPLE 30	EXAMPLE 31
Speaker 1	✓	✓	✓
Speaker 2	✓	*	✓ (without *mem-* 'AV' on *membaca* 'AV.read')
Speaker 3	? (prefers AV)	? (prefers AV)	* (prefers AV)
Speaker 4	* (prefers AV)	✓ (but prefers AV)	✓ (with *sudah coba* 'already tried')
Speaker 5	✓	* (prefers AV)	✓ (without *mem-* 'AV' on *membaca* 'AV.read')
Speaker 6	✓ (but with definite subject *permen coklat-nya* 'the chocolate candies')	✓ (but with definite subject *durian-nya* 'the durian')	✓

TABLE 3. Results of elicitation of examples 29–31 across six Indonesian speakers.

Summing up, Jeoung proposes semantic incongruity tests to distinguish between
auxiliary and main verb readings of *mau* and *suka*. We have shown that these tests in
fact show that these predicates can be main verbs in crossed control, contra Jeoung's
prediction.

6. CONCLUSION. This paper has demonstrated that the categorial ambiguity of *mau*
and *suka* in Indonesian does not provide a satisfactory explanation of crossed control,
contra Jeoung 2020. We have pointed out gaps in Jeoung's reasoning, drawing on data
in the literature and from our own elicitation. While Indonesian predicates *mau* and
suka do have auxiliary readings, they can be main verbs in crossed control contexts, as
indicated by acceptability judgments and semantic contrasts. Moreover, not all crossed
control predicates are categorially ambiguous (some are only verbs) and some can take
voice morphology, which is incompatible with auxiliaries. We thus take crossed control
to be a robust syntactic phenomenon in Indonesian (and related languages), one that
cannot be reduced to auxiliaries.

Before concluding, we raise one final empirical question. As noted in the introduc-
tion, one of the main goals of Jeoung 2020 is to argue that Indonesian *mau* and *suka*
(and potentially other predicates) are categorially ambiguous: they each map to two
separate lexical items. We question this strict syntax-semantics mapping (e.g. of the
main verb *mau* to 'want' and the auxiliary *mau* to 'about to' (or some purely future mor-
pheme)), drawing on data from Arka 2012.

Arka (2012:36) observes that the minimal pair in 32a and 32b differ in their available
interpretations. In 32a, the polar question with base word order and question intonation
is ambiguous between the typical (what Arka calls 'ordinary') reading and the crossed
reading. In contrast, in 32b, the polar question formed by fronting *mau* (with the focus
marker *kah*) has only the typical reading and not the crossed reading.

(32) a. Kau **mau** di-cium   oleh orang itu?   (ambiguous)
        2SG want PASS-kiss by   person that
         i) 'Did/do you want to be kissed by the person?'
        ii) 'Did the person want to kiss you?'
     b. **Mau=kah** kau di-cium   oleh orang itu?   (unambiguous)
        want=KAH 2SG PASS-kiss by   person that
          'Do you want to be kissed by the person?'   (Arka 2012:36–37, ex. 37)

Indonesian allows for both an auxiliary and a verb to front together with -*kah* in polar questions (Sneddon et al. 2010:329–30), differing from Malay, which allows only auxiliaries to front (as seen in §4 and discussed in Nomoto & Kartini 2012). Thus, we cannot use fronting in polar questions to investigate the category (or possible ambiguity) of Indonesian crossed control predicates. Importantly, *mau* in 32b retains the interpretation of 'want', as indicated by Arka's discussion of the 'fronted verb *mau*' and suggested by the free translation in English. Yet at the same time, there is an additional meaning difference. Arka (2012:36) writes that for 32, 'there is also a slight nuance of temporal difference, with the fronted *maukah* focusing on present/future event'. The fact that *mau* in 32b has both a future temporal orientation and the meaning of 'want' (however this is analyzed) calls into question Jeoung's conclusion that there are two lexical items *mau*.[19]

We therefore raise the issue of whether it is necessary for Indonesian *mau* to be analyzed as two distinct lexical items (the main verb *mau* 'want' and the auxiliary *mau* 'about to'), as argued for in Jeoung 2020. We suggest that it is plausible that there is only one lexical item *mau*, and that its different readings result from independent factors (such as interactions with the tense-aspect-mood system in Indonesian) rather than a tight syntax-semantics mapping associated with categorial ambiguity. Further research will determine whether these predicates are truly ambiguous, such as extending Copley's 2010 analysis of Indonesian *mau* as an aspectualized future modal to include the 'want' interpretation.

We end with a general methodological issue we find in Jeoung 2020: none of the examples in the paper are presented within a discourse context, from either elicitation or corpora. While the semantic incongruity tests are useful and are plausible without a discourse context, we find that it is also necessary to pair these tests with examples within a discourse context. It has been established in semantic fieldwork methodology that any elicited production task or acceptability judgment task should be presented within a specific discourse context in order to have robust and replicable results, even including so-called out-of-the-blue contexts (e.g. Matthewson 2004, Bohnemeyer 2015, Bochnak & Matthewson 2020). We therefore have questioned the examples that purport to show the unavailability of the main verb interpretation of the predicates under discussion (cf. 25). We remain hopeful that in future papers on crossed control constructions, a range of methodologies will be employed to allow researchers to better understand when these constructions are used, and to provide a better understanding of possible speaker or dialectal variation.

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[19] Arka (2012) argues that when *mau* is fronted, argument sharing is blocked, which leads to the absence of the crossed control reading. He does not, however, analyze the difference in temporal interpretation.

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