

# The Javanese free exceptive and its implications for ellipsis constraints in Austronesian\*

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## Summary

- Previous consensus: voice mismatch under clausal ellipsis is impossible.
- We investigate the possibility of voice mismatch in clausal ellipsis constructions in Javanese and other western Austronesian languages.
  - ↔ Voice mismatch under clausal ellipsis shown possible in Austronesian.

**Claim:** Austronesian voice is not the same as English voice and should be analyzed differently (in agreement with Chung 1994, 1998; Pearson 2001, 2005; Chen 2021, 2023)

## 1 Introduction

- ⊗ Relying heavily on Indo-European facts, it has been argued that voice mismatch is impossible under clausal ellipsis (1) (e.g. Merchant 2001, 2013).

### (1) a. *German – Active-Passive*

Erika hat jemanden ermordet, aber sie wissen nicht, wer  
Erika has someone murdered but they know not who.NOM  
\*(von ihr ermordet wurde).  
by her murdered was  
(Lit. ‘Erika murdered someone, but they don’t know who \*(was murdered by her).’) (Merchant 2013:81)

### b. *German – Passive-Active*

\*Peter wurde von jemandem ermordet, aber sie wissen nicht,  
Peter was by someone murdered but they know not  
wer \*(ihn ermordet hat).  
who.NOM him murdered has  
(Lit. ‘Peter was murdered by someone, but they don’t know who  
\*(murdered him).’) (Merchant 2013:82)

- ⊗ **English exceptives** – Free exceptives are a clausal ellipsis construction (Potsdam & Polinsky 2019; Vostrikova 2019, others) (2), and disallow voice mismatch with their antecedents (3).

### (2) Nobody left **except Mary** [left].

- (3) a. \*Everyone helped<sub>ACT</sub> me except (~~I was not helped<sub>PASS</sub>~~) by Mary.  
b. \*I was helped<sub>PASS</sub> except Mary (~~did not help<sub>ACT</sub> me~~).

- ⊗ Free exceptives in **Javanese** are also underlying clausal (4); however, they allow voice mismatch with their clausal antecedents (5); same for several Philippine-type Austronesian languages, such as Malagasy (6) and Tagalog.

### (4) *Javanese clausal free exceptive*

Kabeh are’ cili’ iku nangis, **kecuali Hasan** sing gak nangis.  
all youngster little DEM AV.cry **except Hasan** COMP NEG AV.cry  
‘All the children are crying, except Hasan is not crying.’

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(5) *Voice mismatch in Javanese – Actor Voice-Passive*

Are'-are' iku **ny**olong kabeh permen-e **kecuali permen kojek**  
 child-RED DEM **AV**.steal all sweet-DEF **except sweet lollipop**  
 sing gak **di**colong.  
 COMP NEG **PASS**-steal

‘The children stole all the sweets except lollipops weren’t stolen (by the children).’

(6) *Voice mismatch in Malagasy – Actor Voice-Patient Voice*

Mihinana ny voankazo rehetra Raso, **afa-tsy** ny akondro **nø tsy**  
 eat.**AV** DET fruit all Raso, **except** DET banana FOC NEG  
**hanin** dRaso.  
 eat.**PV** Raso

‘Raso eats all fruits except bananas (are not eaten by Raso).’

⊗ **Main claims**

- Exceptives are clausal ellipsis constructions in (some) Austronesian languages and are thus useful in theorizing about clausal ellipsis.
- Austronesian (Philippine-type) voice behaves differently from English voice with respect to the possibility of voice mismatch under clausal ellipsis.
- Clausal exceptives in English disallow voice mismatch, whereas clausal exceptives in Austronesian languages do allow mismatches.
- Javanese clausal exceptives allow voice mismatch which points to it having an Austronesian-style voice system.
- To account for this difference, Javanese and Austronesian (Philippine-type) voice should not be analyzed the same as English-type voice.

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**2 The phenomenon****2.1 Javanese syntax basics**

- Javanese (ISO 639-2 *jav*), an Indonesian-type language spoken on the island of Java, Indonesia, is traditionally described as possessing a three-way voice system: Active Voice (AV) (7), Object Voice (8), and the so-called “passive” Voice (*di*-construction) (9).

(7) Hasan ng-irim hadiah.  
 Hasan AV-send gift  
 ‘Hasan sent a gift.’

(Actor Voice)

(8) Hadiah iki tak/mbok/\*di-kirim.  
 gift this 1SG/2SG/3SG=OV.send  
 ‘I/You/\*(S)he sent this gift.’ (Object Voice)

(9) Hadiah-e di-kirim ((ambek) Hasan).  
 hadiah-DEF DI/3-send ((by) Hasan)  
 ‘The gift was sent (by Hasan).’ (*di*-construction)

→ The **AV** (7) is characterized by a homorganic nasal prefix on the verb, English-style word order (S (AUX) V O), pre-verbal agent/initiator, and post-verbal theme.

→ The **OV** (henceforth NAV<sub>1/2</sub>) (8) is characterized by a bare verb. The agent is restricted to the **1st person or 2nd person singular** and surfaces as an immobile pre-verbal proclitic (1SG: *tak*; 2SG: *mbok*). The theme can appear pre-verbally or remain in a post-verbal position.

→ The “**passive voice**” (henceforth NAV<sub>3</sub>) (9) is characterized by a 3rd-person affix *di-* traditionally glossed as a passive marker. The agent is restricted to the **3rd person** and surfaces as an immobile proclitic *di-*. The theme can either appear preverbally or remain postverbal.

- Javanese uses the exceptive marker *kejaba* (native) or *kecuali* (borrowed from Indonesian) for both connected exceptives (10a) and free exceptives (10b)<sup>1</sup>.

(10) a. *Connected exceptive*

Kabeh arek **kecuali** Joko ngejar asu iku.  
 all child except Joko AV.chase dog DEM  
 ‘All the children except Joko chased the dog.’

b. *Free exceptive*

Kabeh arek ngejar asu iku **kecuali** Joko.  
 all child AV.chase dog DEM except Joko  
 ‘All the children chased the dog except Joko.’

- As a typical Indonesian-type language, Javanese provides an ideal testing ground for examining the possibility of Austronesian-type voice mismatch in clausal ellipsis constructions.

## 2.2 Javanese exceptives are clausal ellipsis constructions

### A. Full expression of the clause

A straightforward diagnostic to determine whether free exceptives are clausal is whether a full clause can be pronounced.

- ⊗ A full clause can be expressed (11):

(11) Kabeh arek cilik iku ngguyu, kecuali Hasan (**sing** gak ngguyu).  
 all child little DEM AV.laugh, except Hasan C NEG AV.laugh  
 ‘All the children laugh **except** Hasan (does not laugh).’

- ⊗ The full clause must be in the form of a cleft (11); use of non-cleft yields a distinct reading (*kecuali* interpreted as ‘unless’):

(12) \*Kabeh arek cilik iku ngguyu, kecuali Hasan gak ngguyu.  
 all child little DEM AV.laugh, unless Hasan NEG AV.laugh  
 (Intended: ‘All the children laugh *except* Hasan does not laugh.’)

- ⊗ For the exception (e.g. ‘Hasan’ in (11)) to extract from the underlying clause, it must be in pivot status, as in (12). This ‘pivot-only’ constraint on  $\bar{A}$ -extraction is common across western Austronesian languages (Keenan & Comrie 1977).

### B. Non-DP exceptives

- Exceptions in clausal exceptives can be non-nominal, whereas those in a phrasal exceptive must be nominal. The possibility of non-DP exceptions follows if the mechanism that allows the exception to avoid ellipsis is insensitive to the category of the exception. With phrasal exceptives, however, the exceptive marker selects only DP complements.

<sup>1</sup> *Kejaba* has fallen out of use with younger generations and although recognised as meaning ‘except’, our Javanese language consultants (East Java; under 40) preferred using the Indonesian loanword, *kecuali*. Using either *kecuali* or *kejaba* did not affect syntactic judgements.

- PP exceptives in free exceptives are possible in Javanese but generally deemed redundant (13a). This is contrasted with connected exceptives (13b) where the inclusion of a preposition results in ungrammaticality.

- (13) a. Aku muteli kembang nang saben kebon saksuwene mongso  
 1SG AV.pick flower PREP every park during season  
 ketigo kejaba (**nang**) kebon iki.  
 dry except PREP park DEM.PROX  
 ‘I pick flowers in every park during the summer except in this park.’
- b. Aku muteli kembang nang saben kebon kejaba (**\*nang**) kebon  
 1SG AV.pick flower PREP every park except PREP park  
 iki saksuwene mongso ketigo.  
 DEM.PROX during season dry  
 ‘I pick flowers in every park except this park during the summer.’

### C. Ambiguity in Sluicing

- Ambiguity in sluicing also constitutes evidence for the presence of a reduced exceptive structure (see Stockwell & Wong 2020 and Merchant 2001).

- (14) Nobody liked the musical **except Mary** but I don’t know why.  
 (a) ...but I don’t know why <**nobody except Mary** liked the musical>  
 (phrasal)  
 (b) ...but I don’t know why <**Mary** liked the musical> (clausal)
- (15) Nobody liked the musical except Mary [liked the musical] but I don’t know why.
- (16) **Nobody except Mary** liked the musical but I don’t know why.  
 (a) ...but I don’t know why <**nobody except Mary** liked the musical>  
 (phrasal)  
 \*(b) ...but I don’t know why <**Mary** liked the musical> (clausal)

→ This is borne out in (17a–b), where the sluiced clause ‘*but I don’t know why*’ can take as its antecedent the (i) **whole main clause**, or (ii) **the clause that has been elided in the exceptive**. The second meaning shows that there is a clause available in the exceptive phrase.

- (17) *Free exceptive*: NAV<sub>3</sub>

Kabeh jajan di=pangan ambek de’e, kecuali kismis tapi aku gak  
 all snack DI=drink by 3SG, except raisins but I NEG  
 ngerti opo’o  
 AV.know why

‘The snacks were eaten by him, except raisins, but I don’t know why.’

(a) ... but I don’t know why <**the snacks except the raisins** were eaten by him> (phrasal)

(b) ... but I don’t know why <**the raisins** weren’t eaten by him>

(clausal)

- (18) *Connected exceptive*: NAV<sub>3</sub>

Kabeh jajan kecuali kismis, dipangan ambek de’e tapi aku gak  
 all snack except raisins DI=drink by 3SG but I NEG  
 ngerti opo’o  
 AV.know why

‘All the snacks except raisins were eaten by him, but I don’t know why.’

(a) ... but I don’t know why <**the snacks except the raisins** were eaten by him> (phrasal)

\*(b) ... but I don’t know why <**the raisins** weren’t eaten by him>

(clausal interpretation unavailable)

### D. Multiple exceptives

- It has been shown that the exceptive marker in phrasal exceptives cannot select multiple complements. Consider (19):

(19) Every boy danced with every girl except [John] [with Mary].

- ⊗ Exceptives with multiple exceptions are allowed in Javanese which, as predicted, is only grammatical for clausal exceptives ((20a) vs. (21)). (21) is simply one attempt at ‘re-inserting’ the free exceptive into a connected

position, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence. (21) also results in a slightly different interpretation where, instead of the exception being that Hasan was not introduced to Eva, Hasan was not introduced to any girls and nobody was introduced to Eva.

(20) a. *Free exceptive*

Saben arek lanang tak=kenal-no nyang saben arek wedok  
every child male 1SG=OV.know-APPL PREP every child female  
kecuali Hasan nyang Ema.  
except Hasan PREP Ema

‘Every boy was introduced to every girl by me except Hasan to Ema.’

b. *Full pronunciation of underlying clause*

Saben arek lanang tak=kenal-no nyang saben arek wedok  
every child male 1SG=OV.know-APPL PREP every child female  
kecuali Hasan (sing gak tak=kenal-no) nyang Ema.  
except Hasan COMP NEG 1SG=OV.know-APPL PREP Ema

Lit.: ‘Every boy was introduced to every girl except Hasan (was not introduced) to Ema (by me).’

(21) a. *Connected exceptive*

??Saben arek lanang kecuali Hasan tak=kenal-no nyang  
every child male except Hasan 1SG=OV.know-APPL PREP  
saben arek wedok kecuali (\*nyang) Ema .  
every child female except PREP Ema

Lit. Every boy except Hasan was introduced to every girl except Eva by me.’

### E. Clausal/Sentential adverbs

- This diagnostic is based on the assumption that temporal adverbs and speaker-oriented adverbs require a clause to modify and cannot modify NPs (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012; Soltan 2016). As demonstrated below, clausal exceptives allow a clause-level adverb in the exception (22b), while phrasal exceptives do not (22a).

(22) a. *Connected exceptive with clausal modifier*

Kabeh pegawe kecuali Hasan (??pas dino Senin) mangan nang  
all worker except Hasan when day Monday AV.eat PREP  
kene sa’ben dino.  
here every day.

‘All the workers except Hasan (\*on Mondays) eat here every day.’

b. *Free exceptive with clausal modifier*

Kabeh pegawe mangan nang kene sa’ben dino kecuali Hasan  
all worker AV.eat PREP here every day except Hasan  
pas dino Senin.  
when day Monday.

‘All the workers eat here every day except Hasan on Mondays.’

### F. Island sensitivity

- Elided clausal exceptives have been shown to be island-sensitive (Reinhardt 1991; Potsdam 2019), unlike regular sluicing. Island sensitivity is attested with Javanese’s free exceptives, illustrated below with adjunct islands (23) and subject islands (24).
- In adjunct islands (23), the exceptive phrase ‘the coffee’ may be interpreted as a connected exceptive (‘everything except the coffee’) inside the adjunct island (23a), but it cannot surface as a free exceptive outside the adjunct island (‘because I bought everything at the store’) (23b).

(23) **Adjunct Island**

a. Emak-ku nesu [marga aku tuku sembarang kaler  
mother-1POSS angry [because 1SG buy some anything  
kejaba kopi-ne neng toko wingi].  
except coffee-DEFPREP store yesterday ]

‘My mother was angry [because I bought everything except the coffee at the store yesterday].’

→ **No clausal interpretation:** ‘My mother was angry because I bought everything at the store yesterday except [my mother was not angry that I bought coffee].’

- b. #Emak-ku nesu [ merga aku tuku sembarang kaler  
mother-1POSS angry [ because 1SG buy some anything  
neng toko wingi] kejaba kopi-ne.  
PREP store yesterday ] except coffee-DEF.  
(Intend: ‘My mother was angry because I bought everything at  
the store yesterday except [my mother was not angry that I bought  
coffee].’)

- In subject islands (24), the exceptive phrase (‘tigers’) may be interpreted as a connected exceptive (‘animals except tigers’) inside the subject island (24a), but it cannot surface as a free exceptive outside the subject island (‘stories about animals’) (24b).

#### (24) Subject Island

- a. Crito (tentang/soal) kewan kecuali macan medek-no Anu.  
story (with/about) beast except tiger AV.scare-APPL Anu  
‘Stories about animals except tigers always scare Anu.’
- b. #Crito (tentang/soal) kewan medek-no Anu kecuali macan.  
story (with/about) beast AV.scare-APPL Anu except tiger  
(Intend: ‘Stories about animals always scare Anu except [stories  
about tigers do not scare Anu].’)

### 2.3 Voice mismatch in Javanese exceptives and sluicing

#### *What we have shown so far . . .*

- Javanese free exceptives are clausal ellipsis constructions with a missing cleft clause.
- The exception corresponds to the focus of the cleft.
- The pivot-only restriction in Javanese clefts is a valuable tool for determining what the underlying voice of the missing exceptive clause must be.
- ⊗ Various combinations of voice mismatch are possible in Javanese’s clausal free exceptives (25). The underlying clause can optionally elide but is deemed redundant and preferred unpronounced.

#### (25) a. *Combination 1: AV–NAV<sub>3</sub>*

Asu-ku nyokot wong-wong (kabeh) kecuali Ema (sing  
dog-1SG.POSS AV.bite person-RED all except Ema COMP  
gak di-cokot (ambek asu-ku)).  
NEG DI=bite PREP dog-1SG.POSS.

‘My dog bit all the people except Emma (did not get bitten (by my  
dog)).’

#### b. *Combination 2: AV–NAV<sub>1/2</sub>*

Aku tuku kabeh buah-buahan pas mongso ketiga kecuali  
1SG AV.buy all fruit-RED when season dry except  
apel (sing gak tak=tuku).  
apple COMP NEG 1SG=OV.buy.

‘I bought all the fruit during the summer except apples (were not  
bought by me).’

#### c. *Combination 3: NAV<sub>3</sub>–AV*

Gedang-e di-pangan (ambek) arek-arek iku kabeh kecuali Joko  
banana-DEF DI=eat PREP child-RED DET all except Joko  
(sing gak mangan (gedang-e)).  
COMP NEG AV.eat banana-DEF.

‘The bananas were eaten by all the children except Joko (did not eat  
the bananas).’

(26) *Summary of all logically possible combinations of voice mismatch*

	AV exceptive clause	NAV <sub>3</sub> exceptive clause	NAV <sub>1/2</sub> exceptive clause
AV antecedent	voice match	✓	✓
NAV <sub>3</sub> antecedent	✓	voice match	∅
NAV <sub>1/2</sub> antecedent	∅	∅	voice match

\*The symbol ∅ stands for implausible combinations limited by person restrictions on NAV verbs.

⊗ Voice mismatch is possible in sluicing (27), where the optionally elided cleft is also subject to the ‘pivot-only’ extraction restriction.

→ The sluiced cleft structure in clausal free exceptives thus parallels the structure of other ellipsis constructions.

(27) a. *AV–NAV<sub>3</sub>*

Hasan njiwet wong tapi aku gak eruh sopo (sing di-jiwit  
Hasan AV.pinch person but 1SG NEG know who COMP DI=pinch  
(ambek) Hasan).  
by Hasan.

(Lit.: ‘Hasan pinched a person but I don’t know who (was pinched by Hasan).’)

b. *NAV<sub>3</sub>–AV*

Apel-e Eva di=pangan wong (liyo), tapi de’e gak  
apple-DEF.POSS Eva DI=eat person (other), but 3SG NEG  
eroh sopo (sing mangan apel-e).  
know who COMP AV.eat apple-POSS

(Lit.: ‘Eva’s apple was eaten by some other person but she doesn’t know who ate her apple.’)

c. *AV–NAV<sub>1/2</sub>*

Aku mecahne barang tapi aku gak ileng opo (sing  
1SG AV.break thing but 1SG NEG remember what COMP  
tak=pecahke).  
1SG=OV.break.

(Lit.: ‘I broke something but I don’t remember what (was broken by me).’)

**Interim summary**

- Javanese clausal ellipsis constructions allow voice mismatch between the antecedent and the missing clause.
- Remember that English does not allow such a mismatch.  
→ What accounts for the difference between Javanese voice and English voice?

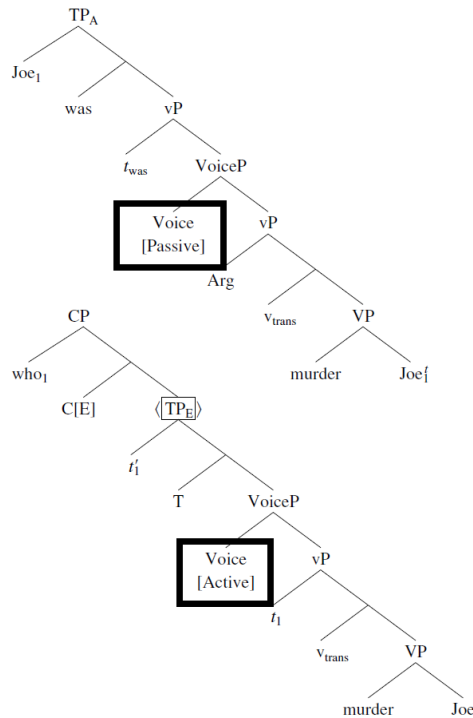
**3 Explaining the English - Javanese contrast**

- It is widely accepted that there must be some kind of identity between the antecedent and the elided material in ellipsis constructions. A purely semantic identity condition (e.g. Merchant 2001) would incorrectly allow voice mismatch in languages like English since active and passive clauses are semantically equivalent.  
↔ There must be some kind of syntactic identity condition. A hybrid identity condition captures both syntactic and semantic requirements and has been argued for in recent literature (Merchant 2013; Chung 2006, 2013; AnderBois 2011, 2014; Barros 2014; Weir 2014).

**3.1 English’s ban on voice mismatch: the Hybrid Identity Condition**

- Merchant (2013): voice mismatch in clausal ellipsis will be disallowed in languages that pattern with English since Voice is internal to the ellipsis site.  
→ This is shown in (28) where the antecedent has one voice value (passive) and the elided clause has a different voice value (active). The hybrid identity condition is able to account for the English data.

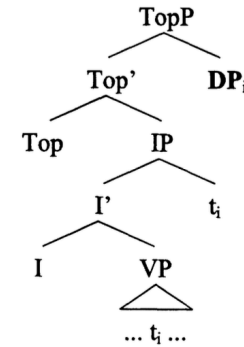
- (28) \*Joe was murdered (by someone) but we don't know who (murdered Joe/him).  
(Merchant 2013:92)



### 3.2 Javanese

- Assuming the same identity conditions applied to English hold for Javanese, the grammaticality of voice mismatch in Javanese indicates that voice in English and voice in Javanese are not the same type of alternation.
- Mismatches for Malagasy and Tagalog are expected under the hybrid identity condition if the mechanism/node actually responsible for dictating what we call Austronesian “voice” is analysed as  $\bar{A}$ -agreement hosted in the left periphery, external to VoiceP and the ellipsis site (29) (Chung 1994, 1998; Pearson 2001, 2005; Chen 2017, 2023).
- Javanese voice in clausal ellipsis constructions thus patterns with other Austronesian languages, indicating that voice in Javanese would be best analysed as  $\bar{A}$ -agreement as well.

- (29) Austronesian  $\bar{A}$ -agreement, responsible for the “voice” alternation, is hosted outside of the ellipsis site (e.g. Chung 1998; Pearson 2005; Chen 2023: a.o.)  
(Pearson 2005:441)



### Summary

- English and Austronesian voice behave differently with respect to mismatch under clausal ellipsis because they have very different structures. English voice is represented by a VoiceP projection but Austronesian (Philippine-style voice) is a type of  $\bar{A}$ -agreement indexing the internal topic.

## 4 A prediction: AN languages with English-style voices

- **Prediction:** Austronesian languages with an English-type voice construction should behave like English and disallow voice mismatch.
- ↪ We investigate this prediction in sluicing data from existing literature on Indonesian (Fortin 2007) and Chamorro (Chung 2006, 2013), as well as primary fieldwork on Acehnese and Puyuma, all of which have been claimed to have an English-style passive voice.

### 4.1 Indonesian

Indonesian (ISO 639-3 *ind*), another Malayo-Polynesian language, has two passive-like constructions which prioritise the theme: (i) the ‘canonical’ passive, an English-like *di*-passive that uses the (optional) preposition *oleh* by, and (ii) the ‘subjective’ passive, a passive-like construction with no overt marking on the verb (Chung 1976; Guilfoyle et al., 1992).



- Given the similarities between the canonical passive (Non-AV canonical (NAV<sub>canon</sub>) and the English passive as opposed to the subjective passive (Non-AV (NAV<sub>subjective</sub>) and the object voice in Javanese, the prediction would be that the canonical passive should pattern with English clausal ellipsis construction and disallow voice mismatch, whereas the subjective passive should pattern with other Philippine-type languages and allow voice mismatch.
- This prediction is borne out, as Fortin (2007) observes, and it is illustrated with her sluicing examples in (30):

(30) *Indonesian sluicing*a. *Voice mismatch AV-NAV<sub>subjective</sub>*

Saya tahu Ali membeli sesuatu, tapi (saya) tidak tahu  
 1SG know Ali *meng*.AV-buy something but (1SG) NEG know  
 apa (yang dia beli).  
 what COMP 3SG OV.buy

‘I know Ali bought something, but (I) don’t know what (he bought).’  
 (Fortin 2007:164)

b. *Voice mismatch NAV<sub>canon</sub>-AV: no ellipsis allowed*

Dapur itu sudah dibersihkan, tapi saya tidak tahu siapa  
 kitchen DEM already PASS-clean but 1SG NEG know who  
 \*(yang membersihkan+nya).  
 (COMP *meng*.AV.3SG)

‘The kitchen was cleaned, but I don’t know who \*(cleaned it).’  
 (Fortin 2007:175)

## 4.2 Chamorro

- Chamorro also shows this pattern, with voice mismatch disallowed with English-style voice (Chung 2006, 2013).

(31) *Chamorro: passive-active mismatch*

??Pära ufan-ma-gächa’, lao ti in-tingu’ [hayi \_\_].  
 FUT AGR-PASS-catch but not AGR-know who?

(Intended: ‘They’ll be caught, but we don’t know who [will catch them].)

(Chung 2006:16)

## 4.3 Acehnese

- Acehnese (ISO 639-3 *ace*), another Malayo-Polynesian language with a three-way voice system, has been argued to differ from other prototypical Philippine-type Austronesian languages and is argued to have an English-type passive (Legate 2014; Patrianto & Chen 2023).
- Acehnese Active voice (32a) has the agent in pre-verbal position and agreeing with the verb: [Agent - Agreement-Verb - Theme].
- The so-called passive voice (32b) has the theme in pre-verbal position but the verb still agrees with the agent, which is now in post-verbal position (Theme-Agr.Verb-Agent).
- The Object voice (32c) is characterised by a lack of agreement on the verb and with both the theme and the agent in pre-verbal position (Theme-Agent-Verb).

(32) *Acehnese: three-way voice alternation*a. *Active Voice*

**Dokto** ka **geu**-peu-ubat Ibrahim.  
 Doctor PFV 3POL-CAUS-medicine Ibrahim

‘The doctor has treated Ibrahim.’ (Legate 2014:47)

b. *Passive Voice*

Ibrahim ka **geu**-peu-ubat **le dokto**.  
 Ibrahim PFV 3POL-CAUS-medicine by doctor

‘Ibrahim was treated by the doctor.’ (Legate 2014:47)

c. *Object Voice*

Ibrahim ka **dokto** (\***geu**)-peu-ubat.  
 Ibrahim PFV doctor 3POL-CAUS-medicine.

‘Ibrahim was treated by the doctor.’ (Legate 2014:47)

### Acehnese free exceptives are clausal ellipsis constructions

Like Javanese, Acehnese also uses the Indonesian loanword *kecuali* as exceptive marker in both connected (33a) and free exceptives (33b).

(33) a. *Connected Exceptive*

Mandum aneuk miet nyan kecuali si Ampon ka di-let le  
all child small DEM except si Ampon PFV 3FAM-chase by  
asèe lon  
dog 1SG.POSS.

‘All the children except Ampon were chased by my dog.’

b. *Free exceptive*

Mandum aneuk miet nyan ka doto peu-ubat kecuali si  
all child small DEM PFV doctor CAUS-medicine except si  
Ampon.  
Ampon.

‘All the children were treated by the doctor except Ampon.’ (OV)

- Free exceptives in Acehnese behave like their Javanese counterparts and by applying the same diagnostic tests shown in §1.2 (examples included in the appendix), it is clear that Acehnese free exceptives are also underlyingly clausal (34).

(34) *Full expression of the free exceptive*

Asèe lon ka di-let mandum aneuk miet kecuali  
**dog** 1SG.POSS PFV 3FAM-chase all child small except  
Ampon (**yang hana di-let (le asèe lon)**).  
Ampon YANG NEG 3FAM-chase **by dog** 1SG.POSS

‘My dog chased all the children except Ampon (was not chased (by my dog)).’

- Acehnese clausal free exceptives allow voice mismatch ((35a): active-passive; (35b): active-OV). Again, this is made apparent by the pivot-only extraction restriction applicable in Acehnese and the fact that it is possible to pronounce the elided material.

(35) a. *English-type voice mismatch in clausal exceptive: Passive + AV*

Lon ka di-let le mandum asèe kecuali asèe dron  
1SG PFV 3FAM-chase **by all** dog except dog 2.SG.POL  
(yang hana di-let lon).  
(COMP NEG 3FAM-chase 1SG)

‘I was chased by all the dogs except your dog (did not chase me).’  
(“Passive”-AV mismatch)

b. *AV antecedent-OV elided clause*

Doto nyan ka geu-peu-ubat banmandum aneuk  
**doctor** DEM PFV 3POL-CAUS-medicine all child  
miet kecuali si Ampon (yang hana doto peuubat).  
small except si Ampon (COMP NEG **doto** CAUS-medicine

‘The doctor treated all the children except Ampon (was not treated by the doctor).’ (AV-OV mismatch)

- Acehnese sluicing also allows voice mismatch (36).

(36) a. *Passive antecedent - AV in sluiced clause*

Pisang keuneuleuh ka jibloe le sidroe ureung, tapi hana  
banana last PFV {3FAM-buy by si-self **person** but NEG  
lon teusoe soe (yang bloe).  
1SG know who COMP buy

‘The last banana was bought by someone but I don’t know who (bought it).’

b. *AV antecedent - Passive in sluiced clause*

Maria ka di-jiep sipeu peu cuman hana lon teupeu  
Maria PFV 3FAM-drink something what but NEG 1SG know  
peu (yang di-jiep le Maria).  
what (YANG 3FAM-drink (by Maria))

‘Maria has drunk something but I don’t know what (was drunk by Maria).’

c. *AV antecedent - OV in sluiced clause*

Guree lon na geu-yue sipeu peu tapi hana  
 teacher 1SG.POSS EXIS 3POL-request something what but NEG  
 deuh lon deunge peutra nyan (yang gopnyan yue).  
 audible 1SG listen what DET YANG 3SG.POL OV.request

‘My teacher requested something but I couldn’t hear what (was re-  
 quested by them).’

## 4.4 Puyuma

- Puyuma (ISO 639-3 *pyu*), a Philippine-type language spoken in southeastern Taiwan, also allows mismatches of English-style voices under clausal ellipsis.
- Voice mismatch is allowed in both sluicing and clausal free exceptive constructions (37)–(40), even for constructions that contain English-style passives (38)–(40).
- Puyuma exhibits two passive-like voices on top of Philippine-type voice alternation: (i) *u*-marked Pass<sub>1</sub> (anti-agentive passive) and (ii) *ki*-marked Pass<sub>2</sub> (adversative passive) (Teng 2022; Chen 2023).

(37) *Philippine-type voice mismatch in sluicing: LV + AV*

Tu=trakaw-ay i Sawagu i,  
 3.GEN=steal-LV SG.PIVOT Sawagu TOP,  
 ma-ulit=ku [cleft dra i manay na  
 AV-don’t.know=1SG.PIVOT [cleft C SG.PIVOT who PIVOT  
 tr<em>akaw ].  
 <AV>steal ]

‘Someone stole from Sawagu, but I don’t know who ~~was the one that stole from him.~~’

(38) *English-type voice mismatch in sluicing: Pass<sub>1</sub> + Active*

M-u-asalr na barasa i,  
 AV-PASS<sub>1</sub>-move DEF.PIVOT stone TOP  
 ma-ulit=ku [ dra i manay na  
 AV-don’t.know=1SG.PIVOT [ C SG.PIVOT who PIVOT  
 em-asalr ].  
 AV-move

‘The stone got moved, but I don’t know who ~~was the one that moved it.~~’

(39) *English-type voice mismatch in clausal exceptive: Pass<sub>2</sub> + Active*

Ki-pulang=ku dra trawtraw adaman,  
 AV.PASS<sub>2</sub>-help=1SG.PIVOT INDEF.OBL people yesterday  
 maumau i Isaw (na adri pulang kanku).  
 except SG.PIVOT Isaw PIVOT NEG help.AV.NEG me

‘I was helped by everyone yesterday, except Isaw (did not help me).’

(40) *English-type voice mismatch in clausal exceptive: LV + Pass<sub>2</sub>*

Tu=pulang-ay na lalak, maumau i Senten  
 3.GEN=help-LV DEF.PIVOT children except SG.PIVOT Senten  
 (na adri ki-pulang).  
 PIVOT NEG PASS<sub>2</sub>-help

‘All children got helped, except Senten ~~did not get helped.~~’

## 4.5 Summary

- **Prediction:** Austronesian languages with English-like passives should behave like English and disallow voice mismatch in clausal ellipsis.

⊗ However, the prediction is only partially confirmed:

↔ English-like passives in Indonesian (and Chamorro) behave as expected

↔ English-like passives in Acehnese (and Puyuma) are apparent counterexamples and allow voice mismatch.

## 5 Conclusion, implications, and remaining questions

	Voice mismatch		structure of elided clausal exceptive	structure of sluiced clause
	clausal exceptive	sluicing		
a. Javanese	✓	✓	cleft	cleft
b. Malagasy	✓	✓	cleft	cleft
c. Tagalog	✓	✓	cleft / RC	cleft
d. Indonesian	?	✗	cleft	cleft
e. Chamorro	?	✗	?	cleft
f. Acehnese	✓	✓	cleft	cleft
g. Puyuma	✓	✓	cleft	cleft

\* Mandar (ISO 639-3 *mdr*), where *wh*-extraction need not be done through (pseudo)clefting (Brodkin p.c.), may shed some light on this puzzle.

- Free exceptives in some languages are a clausal ellipsis construction and are valuable for theorizing about the constraints and conditions on clausal ellipsis.
- In languages with Austronesian/Philippine-type voice, voice mismatch is possible under clausal ellipsis because Austronesian/Philippine-type voice may be hosted external to the VoiceP domain.

→ This makes the elided information recoverable and mismatch is possible. Since Javanese patterns with Philippine-type languages in allowing mismatches of this type, its “voice” system best aligns with Austronesian-style “voice” and not English.

- However, some Austronesian languages with English-style voice (Acehnese/Puyuma) unexpectedly allow voice mismatch in clausal ellipsis constructions.

↔ **Remaining question:**

Why do some Austronesian languages allow genuine cases of voice mismatch under clausal ellipsis?

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## 7 Appendix

### Acehnese clausal exceptive diagnostic tests

#### (41) a. Full expression of the clause

Asèe lon ka di-let mandum aneuk miet kecualli  
 dog 1SG.POSS PFV 3FAM-chase all child small except  
 Ampon (yang hana dilet (le asèe lon)).  
 Ampon YANG NEG 3FAM-chase by dog 1SG.POSS

‘My dog chased all the children except Ampon (was not chased (by my dog)).’

#### b. Non-DP exceptive

Maria ka i-bloe bungoeng dari/bak mandum kuede kecualli  
 Maria PFV 3FAM-buy flower PREP all store except  
 (dari/bak) keude nyoe.  
 PREP store this

‘Maria bought a flower from all the stores except this store.’

#### c. Multiple exceptives

Mandum aneuk agam ka di-meunari ngen mandum aneuk  
 all child male PFV 3FAM-dance PREP all child  
 inong kecualli si Faris ngen si Ema.  
 female except si Hasan PREP si Ema.

‘All the boys danced with all the girls except Hasan with Emma.’

#### d. Clausal adverb

Murid-murid nyan sabee i-pajoh inoe kecualli si Hasan uroe  
 student-RED DET always 3FAM-eat here except si Hasan day  
 nyan.  
 Monday

‘The students always eat here except Hasan on Mondays.’

#### e. Murid-murid nyan kecualli si Hasan (\*uroe nyan) sabee student-RED DET except si Hasan day Monday always i-pajoh inoe. 3FAM-eat here

‘The students except Hasan (\*on Mondays) always eat here.’

#### f. Ambiguity in sluicing

Mandum aneuk miet nyan kaleuh i-pajoh snack kecualli si Ema  
 all child small DET PFV 3FAM-eat snack except si Ema  
 cuman hana lon tupu pakön.  
 but NEG 1SG know why

‘All the children ate their snack except Emma but I don’t know why.’

i) ... but I don’t know why <all the children except Emma ate their snacks> (phrasal)

ii) ... but I don’t know why <Emma didn’t eat her snack> (clausal)