

Crossed control as an illusion: Insights from Javanese*

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1 Introduction

- Javanese (ISO 639-2 *jav*), like many other Indonesian-type languages, exhibit a phenomenon known as “crossed control” or “funny control” (1b), which is formally ambiguous with an ordinary control construction (1a).

(1) *Javanese*

Bambang arep di= \emptyset -jak (ambè’) Danu.
Bambang want 3SG=OV-invite by Danu

- a. Standard control: ‘Bambang wants to be invited by Danu.’
- b. Crossed control: ‘Danu wants to invite Bambang.’

○ **Standard control (SC) reading** (1a):

- sentence-initial DP interpreted as the matrix agent
- sentence-final *by*-phrase interpreted as the embedded agent

○ **Crossed control (CC) reading** (1b):

- sentence-initial DP interpreted as the theme of the embedded verb;
- sentence-final *by*-phrase interpreted as the matrix agent

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- A similar phenomenon in Malay/Indonesian (2) has received various analyses: backward control (Arka 2014), raising (Polinsky & Potsdam 2008), restructuring (Kroeger & Frazier 2019; Jeoung 2020; Paul et al. 2021, Nomoto 2021), and reverse restructuring (Berger 2019).

(2) *Indonesian*

(Polinsky & Potsdam 2008:1618)

Anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu.
child that want PASS-kiss by mother

- a. Standard control (SC): ‘The child wants to be kissed by mother.’
- b. Crossed control (CC): ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’

- **The puzzle:** How does the ambiguity arise?; How can the embedded *by*-phrase be interpreted as the matrix agent? (P & P 2008, inter alia.)

↔ **Consensus among previous analyses:** CC is tied to crosslinguistically common control/restructuring verbs (e.g. ‘want,’ ‘try’).

Main claims

⊗ The SC/CC ambiguity is yielded by a specific type of **verb subcategorization** (and not restructuring / long object movement).

→ The ambiguity arises where a verb allows both **infinitival VoiceP** and **finite CP complementation**:

- SC structure: [CP DP_{Bambang} . . . V_{want} [CP . . . V₂ DP_{Danu}]]
- CC structure: [CP DP_{Bambang} . . . V_{want} [VoiceP . . . V₂ <↑>]] DP_{Danu}]]

- ‘Bambang’ is a theme pivot that lands in the matrix \bar{A} -position
- ‘Danu’ is matrix-originated; its sentence-final word order is a sign of monoclausality

⊗ “Crossed” control is an illusion created by the traditional A-approach to Javanese voice – which assumes the sentence-initial theme is the matrix subject (A-element).

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• Speaker information

	dialect	number of speaker consulted
a. Javanese	Surabaya	4 + 1 ; 2 are linguists
b. Indonesian	2 varieties	monolingual (3); 2 are linguists Semende L1 (1); a linguist

2 How CP complementation yields standard control

⊗ **Claim:** “Standard control” reading is tied to the bi-clausal structure (3):

(3) Finite CP complementation

[T (AUX) DP₁ . . . V₁(_{AV/NAV}) [CP (C) V₂(_{AV/NAV}) DP₂ DP₃]]

• Characteristics

- (i) optionally overt complementizer
- (ii) free voice alternation in both matrix and embedded clauses
- (iii) optionally overt matrix voice
- (iv) *by*-phrase immobility
- (v) the embedded pivot may but need not be a PRO

2.1 Optionally overt complementizer

• **Standard control constructions** allow an optional complementizer *nè*’:

(4) Dè’é n-jajal [(**nè**) ng-gawé apem].
3SG AV-try [C₁ AV-make pancake].
Standard control: ‘S/he tried to make pancakes.’

(5) Dè’é pingin [(**nè**) ng-gawé apem].
3SG want [C₁ AV-make pancake].
Standard control: ‘S/he wants to make pancakes.’

2.2 Free voice alternation in both matrix and embedded clause

• **Free voice alternation:** Both the matrix and embedded clauses allow free voice alternation (6)–(9).

(6) *Combination 1: AV + AV*

Burhan nyoba’ [n-dandan-i omah-é].
Burhan AV.try [AV-fix-APPL house-DEF]

Standard control: ‘Burhan tries to fix his house.’

- (7) *Combination 2: AV + NAV*
 Burhan nyoba' [di=Ø-ajar-i matematika (ambè' Rudi)].
 Burhan AV.try [3=OV-teach-APPL math-DEF by Rudy]
 Standard control: 'Burhan tries to be taught math by someone/Rudy.'
- (8) *Combination 3: NAV + AV*
 Roni ta'/mbo'/di=Ø-jajal [supoyo dè'é mangan sego].
 Roni 1SG/2SG/3=OV-try [C₂ 3SG AV.eat rice]
 Standard Control: 'Roni was tried by me to eat rice.'
- (9) *Combination 4: NAV + NAV*
 Roni ta'/mbo'/di=Ø-jajal [supoyo dè'é
 Roni 1SG/2SG/3=OV-try [C₂ 3SG
 ta'/mbo'/di=Ø-ke'-i sego ((karo) suster)].
 1SG/2SG/3=OV-give-APPL rice by nurse]
 Standard Control: 'Roni was tried by me/you/him/her to be given rice by me/you/nurse.'

2.3 Optionally overt matrix voice

- SC allows overt AV morphology on the matrix verb:

(10) Joko (n)-jajal [(nè') ng-gawé jagan asem].
 Joko (AV)-try [C₁ AV-make soup sour]
 'Joko tried to make a sour soup/Joko tried that he made a sour soup.'
- SC also allows NAV indexing (i.e. person affixes) on the matrix verb:

(11) Dian (ta'/mbo'/di=Ø)-jajal [(nè') ng-gawé dingklik].
 Dian (1SG/2SG/3=OV)-try [C₁ NAV-make stool]
 'Dian was tried by me/you/him/her that she made a stool.'

2.4 By-phrase immobility

- In SC, where the embedded agent is cross-referenced by a *by*-phrase, the *by*-phrase must remain in the embedded clause and cannot surface to the left of the embedded verb and the complementizer.

- (12) a. Candra (*ambè' Rina) nyoba' [supoyo di=Ø-gawè'no
 Candra (by Rina) AV.try [C₂ 3=OV-make-APPL
 bubur].
 porridge]
 (Intended SC: 'Candra tried to be made porridge by Rina.')
- b. (*Ambè' Rina) Candra nyoba' [supoyo di=Ø-gawè'no
 (by Rina) Candra AV.try [C₂ 3=OV-make-APPL
 bubur].
 porridge]
 (Intended SC: 'Candra tried to be made porridge by Rina.')

2.5 Embedded pivot need not be a PRO

- Three possible ways of embedded pivot realization:

The embedded pivot can either be **(i) a PRO**, **(ii) a pronoun coindexed with the matrix agent**, or **(iii) a distinct DP**:

- (13) Joko_j (ng-)arep [(nè') { Ø / (dè'é)_j / Sari } di_k=Ø-ambung
 Joko (AV-)want [(C₁) { PRO / (3SG) / Sari } 3SG=OV-kiss
 (ambè') Maria_k].
 by Maria]
- (a) 'Joko wants to be kissed by Maria.' (⇒ SC)
 lit. Joko_j wants that Maria kisses him_j.
- (b) 'Joko wants for himself to be kissed by Maria.' (⇒ SC)
 lit. Joko_j wants that Maria kisses him_j.
- (c) 'Joko wants for Sari to be kissed by Maria.' (≠ SC)
 lit. Joko wants that Maria kisses Sari.

→ In short, the embedded pivot **may but need not be a PRO**. See also:

- (14) Bambang_i pingin [supoyo { Ø / dè'é_i_j / aku / koen / Mira }
 Bambang want [C₂ { PRO / 3 / 1SG / 2SG / Mira }
 di=Ø-gawa'-no jajan ambe' Catur].
 3=OV-bring-APPL snack by Catur]

- (a) ‘Bambang wants to be brought snacks by Catur.’ (⇒ SC)
lit. Bambang_i wants that Catur brought him_i snacks.
- (b) ‘B. wants (for himself) to be brought snacks by C.’ (⇒ SC)
lit. Bambang_i wants that Catur brought him_i snacks.
- (c) ‘B. wants for h/m/y/M. to be brought snacks by C.’ (≠SC)
lit. B._i wants that C brought him_j/me/you/Mira snacks.

- ⊗ “Standard control” reading arises when the the embedded agent is realised as a PRO (14a) or coindexed with the matrix agent (14b).
- ⊗ Verbs that can yield SC are not necessarily “control verbs”. Any CP-selecting verbs can do.

2.6 Interim summary

- The SC reading is associated with finite CP complementation.
 - Where the embedded pivot is a PRO or a coindexed pronoun, SC reading arises.
- ↔ Therefore, the “SC” constructions is not restricted to crosslinguistically common control verbs (further evidence in §4).

3 How VoiceP complementation yields CC

- ⊗ **Claim:** “Crossed control” reading is tied to the monoclausal structure (15):

- (15) VoiceP complementation
[T (AUX) DP₁ V₁{(null: NAV)} [VoiceP V₂{voice concord} DP₂]]

• Characteristics

- (i) absence of embedded complementizer
- (ii) voice dependency
- (iii) optional NAV-indexing on the matrix verb
- (iv) obligatory PRO
- (v) mobile *by*-phrase agent

- (16) Joko Ø-arep ((ambè’) Maria) [(*nè’) di=Ø-ambung ((ambè’) Joko want (by Maria) [(*C₁) 3SG=OV-kiss (by Maria)]
CC: ‘He/she/Maria wants to kiss Joko.’

3.1 Signs of monoclausality

3.1.1 Absence of embedded complementizer

- CC disallows a complementizer:

- (17) De’è jajal [(*nè’) ta’/mbo’/di=Ø-undang ((ambè’) Mawar)].
3SG try [C₁ 1SG/2SG/3=OV-invite by Rose]
(Intended: ‘I/you/s/he/Rose tried to invite him/her.’)
- (18) Bambang { pingin / arep } [(*nè’) ta’/mbo’/di=Ø-kirim-i
Bambang { want / want } [C₁ 1SG/2SG/3=OV-send-APPL
dui’ ((ambè’) ema’)].
money by mother]
(Intended: ‘I/you/s/he/Mother wanted to send Bambang money.’)
- (19) De’è jajal [(*supoyo) ta’/mbo’/di=Ø-rangkul ((ambè’) Melati)].
3SG try [C₂ 1SG/2SG/3=OV-hug by Jasmine]
(Intended: ‘I/you/s/he/Jasmine tried to hug him/her.’)
- (20) Bambang { pingin / arep } [(*supoyo)
Bambang { want / want } [C₂
ta’/mbo’/di=Ø-gawe’-no gado-gado ((ambè’) buli’)].
1SG/2SG/3=OV-make-APPL salad by aunt]
(Intended: ‘I/you/s/he/Aunty wanted to make Bambang salad.’)

3.1.2 Voice dependency

- **Obligatory voice concord:** in CC, the embedded voice must be in NAV and aligns with the matrix voice type – NAV (which may be morphologically null but inferable from the thematic role of the matrix DP).

- (21) a. Burhan ta'/mbo'/di=Ø-coba' [ta'/mbo'/di=Ø-undang
Burhan_{Theme} 1SG/2SG/3=OV-try [3=OV-invite
(('ambè') Mawar)].
by Rose]
'Rose/I/you tried to invite Burhan_{Theme}.'
- b. Burhan coba' [ta'/mbo'/di=Ø-undang (('ambè')
Burhan_{Theme} try.(NAV) [1SG/2SG/3=OV-invite by
Mawar)].
Rose]
'Rose/I/you tried to invite Burhan_{Theme}.'

⊗ Where the matrix voice is in AV, **only SC reading is possible** – this is because a key trait of CC is that the matrix DP receives theme-interpretation (so the matrix voice must be in NAV) (22) (see also §2.2).

- (22) Burhan nyoba' [ta'/di=Ø-undang (('ambè') Mawar)].
Burhan AV.try [1SG/3=OV-invite by Rose]
a. ✓SC: 'Burhan tried to be invited by Rose/me.'
b. *CC: ('Rose/I tried to invite Burhan.')

3.1.3 Opacity in matrix voice indexing

- NAV indexing can be null on the matrix verb and only be inferable:

- (23) Sepèda iku (ta'/mbo'/di)=Ø-jajal [ta'/mbo'/di-dandan-i
bike DEM (1SG/2SG/3)=OV-try [1SG/2SG/3=OV-fix-APPL
(('ambè') Danu)].
by Danu]
CC: 'Danu/I/you tried to fix that bike.'

3.1.4 Obligatory PRO

- In CC, the embedded complement cannot contain an overt pronoun or a third DP (contra SC (§2.2))

- (24) Joko_i coba' [(*dè'é_{ij} / aku / koen / Danang) di=Ø-gawè'-no
Joko try [(3 / 1SG / 2SG / Danang) 3=OV-make-APPL
apem ambè' Rina.
pancake by Rina]
CC: 'Rina tried (*for Danang/him_{ij}/me/you) to make pancakes for Joko_i.'
- (25) Bambang_i pingin [(*dè'é_{ij} / aku / koen / Mira)
Bambang want [(3 / 1SG / 2SG / Mira)
di=Ø-gawa'-no jajan ambè' Catur].
3=OV-bring-APPL snack by Catur]
CC: 'Catur wants (*for Danang/him_{ij}/me/you) to bring snacks for Bambang_i.'

3.1.5 By-phrase mobility

- CC constructions allow the by-phrase agent to freely surface either sentence-finally or in the matrix clauses (contra SC (§2.4)):

- (26) a. Candra coba' [di=Ø-gawè'no bubur] (ambè' Rina).
Candra try [3=OV-make-APPL porridge] by Rina
CC: 'Rina tried to make Candra some porridge.'
- b. Candra (ambè' Rina) coba' [di=Ø-gawè'no bubur].
Candra (by Rina) try [3=OV-make-APPL porridge]
CC: 'Rina tried to make Candra some porridge.'
- c. (Ambè' Rina) Candra coba' [di=Ø-gawè'no bubur].
(by Rina) Candra try [3=OV-make-APPL porridge]
CC: 'Rina tried to make Candra some porridge.'

3.1.6 Interim conclusion

- ⊗ SC takes finite CP complement; CC takes VoiceP complement. CC therefore shows various signs of monoclausality.

(27) SC: CP complement

[T (AUX) DP₁ V₁{(AV/NAV)} [CP (C) V₂{(AV/NAV)} DP₂ DP₃]]

(28) CC: VoiceP complement

[T (AUX) DP₁ V₁{(null: NAV)} [VoiceP V₂{voice concord} DP₂]]

3.2 Status of the theme and the agent in CC

(29) *Javanese*

Burhan coba' [di= \emptyset -undang ((ambè') Mawar)].

Burhan try.(NAV) [3=NAV-invite by Rose]

CC: 'Rose tried to invite Burhan.'

• Shared assumption of previous analyses:

- (i) the sentence-initial theme undergoes long-object movement to the matrix subject position (i.e. restructuring)
 - (ii) the *by*-agent is originated in the embedded clause
- ↪ so CC is “funny” or “crossed”

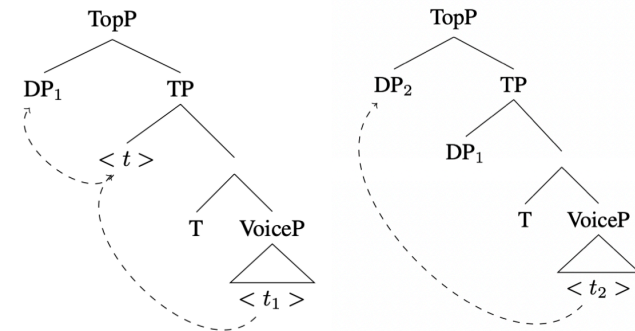
• **Our claim:** neither (i) nor (ii) applies to Javanese:

- (i) the sentence-initial theme is an ordinary \bar{A} -topic (object pivot)
 - (ii) the *by*-agent is matrix-originated and mobile (sign of monoclausality)
- ↪ Javanese CC is neither “funny” nor “crossed”.
- ↪ no long object movement involved.

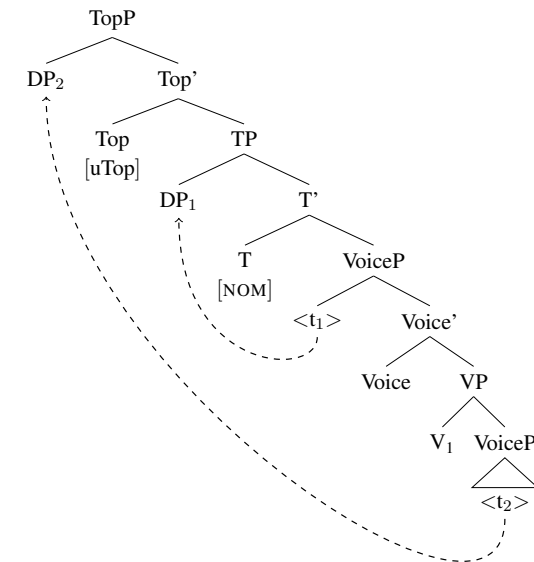
• \bar{A} -oriented voice in Javanese

- We assume that Javanese voice is \bar{A} -oriented and indexes obblitatory topicalization in finite clauses (Patrianto & Chen 2023).
 - “AV” marks subject topicalization ([Spec, TP] to [Spec, TopP])
 - “OV” involves nonsubject topicalization (θ -position to [Spec, TopP])
 - The alleged passive involves topicalization of a nonsubject and a 3rd-person subject/agent that is optionally null and triggers subject agreement (i.e. *di*-) on the verb

(30) a. “AV” (subj. topicalization) b. “NAV” (nonsubj. top.)



(31) *Proposal: \bar{A} approach to “crossed” control*



- DP₁ (e.g. ‘Rose’) is matrix-originated and A-moves to [Spec, TP], cross-referenced by an optional *by*-phrase;
 - It is syntactically present and may trigger subject agreement on the verb (aka. person proclitics) although can be optionally null
- DP₂ (e.g. ‘Burhan’) is originated in the embedded VoiceP and \bar{A} -moves to [Spec, TopP] as the object pivot

3.2.1 Sentence-initial theme as \bar{A} -topic

- **Testable prediction:** the sentence-initial theme in CC should behave like an \bar{A} -topic, and not a subject (A-element)

A. Prediction borne out by **binding tests:**

(a) The theme pivot can surface as a reflexive bound by the agent:

(32) *Javanese*

- a. Awa'-é déwé arep [di= \emptyset -krawu'] ambè' Ayu.
body-3.POSS self want [3=OV-scratch] by Ayu
CC: \checkmark Herself_i, Ayu wanted to scratch ___i.
- b. Awa'ku déwé pingin [ta'= \emptyset -delo' nang koco].
body-1.POSS self want [1SG=OV-see P mirror]
CC: \checkmark Myself_i, I wanted to scratch ___i.

- ⊗ Notably, Indonesian CC shows the opposite binding pattern – the theme pivot does not reconstruct (32).

(33) *Indonesian*

- *Diri-nya sendiri mau/coba [di-sakit-i (oleh) AJ].
body-DEF self want/try [PASS-pain-APPL by AJ]
CC: *Himself_i, AJ wanted/tried to hurt ___i.'

→ This follows from our observation (yesterday's talk) that **Indonesian voice is A-oriented**, where the pivots are true subjects/binders.

(b) The theme pivot cannot constitute a binder (unexpected if it's a genuine subject):

- (34) *AJ arep [di= \emptyset -krawu' ambè' awa'-é déwé].
AJ want [3=OV-scratch by body-3.POSS self]
CC: *AJ wanted to be scratched by herself.'

- ⊗ As expected, Indonesian shows the opposite binding pattern – the theme pivot can constitute a binder (35).

- (35) Rina ingin/mau [di-calon-kan (oleh) diri-nya
Rina want [PASS-nominate-APPL by body-3.POSS
sendiri].
self]
CC: 'Rina wanted to be nominated by herself'.

B. Support from quantifier floating pattern

- Quantifier stranding is a reliable diagnostic of \bar{A} -movement (Fitz-partick 2006; a.o.)
- Quantifier stranding facts in Javanese CC supports the presence of \bar{A} -movement from theme pivot's postverbal θ -position (and no intermediate landing at [Spec, TP]) (30b).

(36) *Javanese CC (matrix NAV)*

- Konco-ku (*limo) wis arep [di= \emptyset -ja'
friend-1.POSS Theme Pivot (five) PERF want [3=OV-invite
(limo) ambè' Ayu].
(five) by Ayu]
CC: 'Ayu has wanted to invite five of my friends.'

- In contrast, SC (which indicates matrix AV) allows pre-auxiliary QF but not postverbal QF (contra CC):

(37) *Javanese SC (matrix AV)*

- Konco-ku Agent Pivot (limo) wis arep nge-ja' (*limo)
friend-1.POSS (five) PERF want AV-invite (five)
Ayu.
Ayu
SC: 'Five of my friends have wanted to invite Ayu.'

→ This follows from our analysis that the AV contains subject topicalization with intermediate landing at [Spec, TP] (30a).

- The SC/CC asymmetry in pre-AUX QF is unexplained under the traditional long passive approach to CC, which assumes pivots invariably land in [Spec, TP] in all voices.

C. Support from PP's eligibility to render the pivot in CC

- In CC, a definite PP may surface to the left of the matrix verb and constitute the pivot:

(38) *Javanese CC: sentence-initial slot filled by a PP*

Nang kebon *(**iku**) arep [di=Ø-tandur kembang opo aé
P field DEM want [3=OV-plant flower any AE
 ambè' Hero].
 by Hero]

CC: 'Hero wanted to plant any flower in that/*a field.'

- Given Javanese's strict definiteness constraint on pivots, it can be inferred that the preverbal definite PP (and not the postverbal indefinite theme) is the pivot (and not the indefinite theme).
- That a PP can constitute the pivot in CC (i.e. matrix NAV) lends further support against the traditional long-passive analysis for CC's theme pivot, as PPs cannot satisfy EPP on T and render the subject.
 ⇒ Javanese pivot ≠ subject /A-element

3.2.2 Sentence-final *by*-phrase as matrix-oriented (no "crossing")

- **Claim:** the *by*-phrase agent in CC is matrix-oriented, as evident by its full mobility within the CC construction (see §3.1.5).
 → No particular evidence for the *by*-phrase as originated downstairs
 → Since CC is monoclausal, *by*-phrase mobility is expected.

3.3 Interim conclusion

- ⊗ Javanese "CC" is neither "funny" nor "crossed":

- (i) the *by*-phrase agent is matrix-originated
 - (ii) the theme is an ordinary \bar{A} -topic (object pivot)
- ↔ no long-distance A-movement involved.

4 How does SC/CC ambiguity arise?

- **What verbs yield SC/CC ambiguity?**

New data from six native speakers suggest:

- SC/CC ambiguity is not tied to crosslinguistically common control verbs (which require a PRO).
- All verbs compatible with both CP and VoiceP complementation yield CC/SC ambiguity.

→ For example: 'reluctant' (39), 'have a chance to' (39), 'forget' (40), 'dare' (41), 'remember' (42), 'be careful,' 'cancel,' and 'happen':

(39) *'Reluctant / have the opportunity to'*

Bambang { males / sempet } di-undang
 Bambang { reluctant / have.the.opportunity } 3.OV-invite
 ambè' Sari.
 by Sari

- a. SC: 'B. {was reluctant / had a chance} to be invited by S.'
- b. CC: 'S. {was reluctant / had a chance} to invite B.'

(40) *'Forget'*

Joni { lali } di-kè'-i dui' ambè' Sandra.
 Bambang { forget } 3.OV-give-APPL by Sandra

- a. SC: 'J. {forgot} that he was given money by S.'
- b. CC: 'S. {forgot} to give J money.'

(41) *'Dare'*

Are' iku { wani } di-tantang totoan ambè'
 child DEM { brave } 3.OV-challenge bet by
 konco-ku Sandra.
 friend-1SGPOSS

- a. SC: ‘That boy {dared} to be challenged for a bet by my friend.’
 b. CC: ‘My friend {dared} to challenge that boy for a bet.’

(42) ‘Remember’

Danu { iling } di-gawa’-no buku ambè’ Wati.
 Danu { remember } 3.OV-bring-APPL by Wati

- a. SC: ‘D. {remembered} that he was brought a book by W.’
 b. CC: ‘W. {remembered} to bring D a book.’

5 Conclusion

- ⊗ Javanese’s SC/CC ambiguity arises from verbs that subscribe both CP and VoiceP complements.
 - ⊗ Javanese “crossed” control
 - { is monoclausal;
 - { the sentence-initial theme is an \bar{A} -topic/pivot;
 - { the sentence-final *by*-phrase is matrix-oriented;
 - { has nothing to do with long object movement or smuggling of embedded agent.
 - ⊗ The \bar{A} -approach to Javanese voice offers a simpler account for “CC”:
- ↔ “CC” is an illusion resulted from
- the A-approach to Javanese voice &
 - the fact that many crosslinguistically common control/restructuring verbs allow both CP and VoiceP complementation in Javanese.
- ⊗ However, this (simpler) analysis may not be extendable to Indonesian-type languages with A-oriented voice, such as Acehnese and Indonesian.
 - ⊗ A closer look at CC’s variation across these languages needed!

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