



The syntax and semantics of wanting in Indonesian

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Abstract

The Indonesian verbs *mau* and *ingin* ‘want’ look like typical control verbs. When they are followed by a passive predicate however, an additional, unexpected interpretation arises. The sentence *Siti mau/ingin di-cium oleh Ali* means ‘Siti wants to be kissed by Ali’ but also ‘Ali wants to kiss Siti’. We call the latter interpretation Crossed Control (CC). In CC, the wantee is not the surface subject of ‘want’ but an oblique element in the complement clause and the surface subject is the theme of the embedded predicate and not an argument of ‘want’. For the syntax of CC, we reject clause union and backward control analyses and propose that ‘want’ in this construction is an auxiliary/raising verb that does not assign an external θ -role. We then propose that the control interpretation is encoded in the lexical semantics of the auxiliary. ‘Want’ takes a propositional argument but forces the volitional participant in this event to be construed as an experiencer of wanting. We hypothesize that this approach can be extended to volitional constructions in other languages.
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1. Introduction

This paper presents and analyzes the structure of a particular use of verbs of desire in Indonesian. Indonesian has two lexical items, *mau* and *ingin*, that translate as ‘want, wish’. Two of their uses when followed by a complement clause are illustrated in (1) and (2).

- (1) anak itu mau/ingin men-cium ibu
child that want ACT(IVE)-kiss mother
‘The child wants to kiss the mother.’

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- (2) anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu
child that want PASS(IVE)-kiss by mother
a. ‘The child wants to be kissed by the mother.’ CONTROL READING
b. ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’ CROSSED READING

Example (1) and example (2) with the meaning in (a) look like ordinary control verb structures (Vamarasi, 1999; Arka, 2000) and parallel their English translations. We will not be concerned with such sentences. This paper focuses on the second interpretation available for (2) in (b), which we will call the CROSSED CONTROL CONSTRUCTION (CCC). In this use, there are two overt arguments: the experiencer of the matrix verb ‘want’, which is also the agent of the embedded verb, and the theme of the embedded verb. The alignment of these arguments with their predicates, however, is “crossed”. The experiencer shows up inside the embedded clause and the theme appears as the subject of the matrix clause. Note that the interpretation is not available for the corresponding English sentence: *The child wants to be kissed by the mother* cannot mean “The mother wants to kiss the child”. This unusual use of ‘want’ in Indonesian has been noticed by a number of researchers (Sneddon, 1996; Arka, 2000; Musgrave, 2001; Gil, 2002).

The goal of this paper is to investigate the syntax and the semantics of the CCC. Before we turn to these analytical issues we would like to set the scene for the paper by showing that ‘want’ exhibits unusual behavior in English and other languages and that crossed control is found elsewhere in Austronesian. Our initial cross-linguistic considerations are offered in section 2. In section 3 we explore the syntax of the construction and argue against two analyses: a complex predicate analysis and a backward control analysis. We claim instead that ‘want’ is an auxiliary verb whose subject raises from the complement clause. Despite the fact that the sentence’s meaning includes a ‘wanter’, it has no syntactic expression. In section 4 we attribute the unusual interpretation of the CCC to the semantics of ‘want’. The essence of the proposal is that ‘want’ is akin to a subject-oriented adverb such as *willingly*. ‘Want’ does not assign a thematic role to the volitional agent; however, like the adverb, it requires that one of the arguments in the sentence have this characteristic. It is able to identify this argument in its lexical semantics and further restrict it to being the experiencer of wanting. Section 5 presents our conclusions and outlines questions that follow from this study.

2. Cross-linguistic considerations

‘Want’ and related verbs have been well-studied in numerous languages. It is repeatedly seen that ‘want’ shows unusual syntactic and/or semantic behavior, leading to a variety of proposals to account for the idiosyncrasies (Grimshaw, 1990; Belletti and Rizzi, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995, among many others). In English, for example, *want* is a pseudo-transitive verb: it takes a direct object and participates in an exceptional case marking pattern but as has been often observed it does not readily allow passivization¹:

- (3) a. Everyone wants chocolate.
b. *Chocolate is wanted by everyone.

¹ Den Dikken et al. (1996) propose an explanation for why ‘want’ does not passivize: ‘want’ takes a silent verb HAVE, which in turn takes a DP object (i). This object is inaccessible to passivization.

(i) want [_{VP} HAVE [_{DP} chocolate]]

- 79 (4) a. I want there to be a new rule.
80 b. We want Sandy to help with the proposal.
81 c. *Sandy is wanted to help with the proposal.

82 English ‘want’ is unlike other psych-predicates in allowing contraction to *wanna* (Lakoff, 1970;
83 Postal and Pullum, 1978; Pullum, 1997, and many others), which indicates that it is a
84 restructuring verb in some way (Goodall, 1991). Finally, in some non-standard English dialects,
85 for example the Pittsburgh dialect illustrated in (5) (Tenny, 1998), *want* behaves more like an
86 auxiliary and shows a unique pattern of raising not found in Standard English:

- 87 (5) The house wants painted by the owner.
88 (meaning: ‘the house should be painted by the owner’
89 does not mean: ‘the owner wants to paint the house’)

91 The dialect data suggest that *want* can be a raising verb, a tendency that we appeal to for
92 Indonesian.

93 The behavior of ‘want’ is particularly well-studied in the Romance languages. ‘Want’
94 shows restructuring properties and is variously analyzed as a modal, an adverbial, a light verb,
95 or a quasi-auxiliary (Strozer, 1981; Rizzi, 1982; Manzini, 1983; DiSciullo and Rosen, 1991;
96 Picallo, 1990, and many others). This brief overview indicates that ‘want’ is thematically
97 and syntactically very light. Again, our analysis of Indonesian will build on this line of
98 analysis.

99 Within Austronesian, the crossed control construction is found in other languages. Parallel
100 examples from Javanese, Tagalog (Paul Kroeger, p.c.), Malagasy, *Tukang Besi* (Mark Donohue,
101 p.c.), Tongan, and Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen, 1992:715) are given in (6) through (11).

- 101 (6) *Javanese*
102 bagian kalimat iki arep di-tegesake karo guru
103 section sentence this want PASS-emphasize by teacher
104 ‘The teacher wanted to emphasize this part of the sentence.’

- 105 (7) *Tagalog*
106 ?gusto siya ng halikan ni Pedro
107 want 3SG.NOM COMP kiss by Pedro
108 ‘Pedro wants to kiss her.’

- 109 (8) *Malagasy*
110 te ho-vidi-n- dRaso a ilay fiara
111 want FUT-buy-PASS Raso that car
112 lit. ‘That car wants to be bought by Raso’
113 ‘Raso wants to buy that car.’

- 114 (9) *Tukang Besi*
115 ku-hada ku-peku-‘e na ‘obu
116 1SG-want 1SG-hit-3PATIENT NOM dog
117 lit. ‘The dog is wanted by me to be hit by me.’
118 ‘I want to hit a/the dog.’
119
120

- 121 (10) *Tongan*
122 ‘oku loto ‘a Sione ke nau fakalangilangi’i
123 PRES want ABS Sione COMP 3PL praise
124 ‘Sione wants to be praised by them.’ (contra Otsuka, 2000:238)
125 ‘They want to praise Sione.’
- 126 (11) *Samoan*
127 afai e i ai se mai tigaina mai Atuā
128 if TMA exist DET sick hurt from Atuā
129 e fia aumai i le falema’i
130 TMA want bring to DET hospital
131 ‘If there is a seriously ill patient from Atuā,
132 whom one wants to bring to the hospital/
133 who wants to be brought to the hospital.’
134

135 In each case, the ‘wanter’ is expressed in the complement clause and the subject of the main
136 clause is the theme of the embedded verb. Given that the pattern is found in other Austronesian
languages and is not unique to Indonesian, a coherent and principled analysis is called for.

137 3. Syntax

138 In this section, we investigate the syntax of the CCC. We begin by laying out what we see
139 the challenge to be. In a nutshell, the CCC seems to violate well-known locality requirements
140 on θ -role assignment because the experiencer, an argument of ‘want’, appears structurally in
141 the complement clause. We propose three possible syntactic approaches to this problem. In the
142 first, the CLAUSE UNION ANALYSIS, ‘want’ plus the following verb constitutes a complex
143 predicate *want-verb*. The experiencer is therefore a local argument of the single (complex)
144 predicate. The second analysis, couched in terms of CONTROL, appeals to the unusual pattern of
145 backward control. In backward control the overt experiencer in the embedded clause is
146 coindexed with an unpronounced representation of the experiencer in the clause containing
147 ‘want’. This unpronounced argument of ‘want’ makes θ -role assignment local for ‘want’. The
148 configuration represents backward control because the overt controller is structurally inferior
149 to the null controllee. Finally, our preferred syntactic analysis, the RAISING ANALYSIS, concludes
150 that the thematic role problem is not actually a syntactic issue. The analysis ascribes a
151 relatively conventional raising syntax to the CCC but at the expense of not solving the θ -role
152 puzzle. The solution will need to be sought elsewhere. In subsequent sections, we show that the
153 Raising Analysis more adequately captures the syntax of the CCC despite its other
154 shortcomings.

155 3.1. The Clause Union Analysis²

156 Under the Clause Union Analysis, the CCC contains one complex predicate consisting of two
157 verbs, *mau/ingin* plus the main verb. This complex predicate can take two arguments, the
158 agentive experiencer (the ‘wanter’) and the theme. For example, with the main verb *cium* ‘kiss’,
159 the complex predicate is as follows:
160

161 ² We are indebted to Peter Sells for suggesting to us that this analysis should be included in the paper.

(12) *mau cium* ‘want-kiss’ < θ_{EXP} , θ_{THEME} >

To form the CCC, the complex predicate as a whole undergoes passivization, with the theme being realized as the surface subject and the experiencer being demoted to the *by*-phrase. This passivization is realized morphologically only on the lower verb, which is not unexpected given that *mau* and *ingin* are morphologically deficient in a number of ways (Vamarasi, 1999:141–153). Similar analyses, which can be unified under the rubric of Clause Union, have been proposed for complexes involving ‘want’ in other languages, most notably in Spanish (Aissen and Perlmutter, 1983).

An argument in favor of the Clause Union analysis comes from the fact that the CCC allows only one temporal specification for the two verbs, as expected under complex predication.

- (13) a. rumah itu mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh mereka
house that want PASS-destroy by 3PL
‘They want to destroy that house.’
b. *kemarin rumah itu mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh mereka minggu depan
yesterday house that want PASS-destroy by 3PL next week
(‘Yesterday they wanted to destroy this house next week.’)

Several other facts seem to further support the Clause Union analysis: the second verb cannot be preceded by the complementizer *untuk*, or the adverb *sangat* ‘very much’, and some speakers allow clitic climbing as in (14b), where the clitic *ku* ‘1SG’ appears before the first verb. These facts follow if the complex predicate *mau*+V is in some sense a single lexical item that cannot be separated in the syntax.

- (14) a. kau mau ku=bunuh
2SG want 1SG=kill.PASS
b. %kau ku=mau bunuh
2SG 1SG=want kill.PASS
‘I want to kill you.’

As attractive as the Clause Union Analysis may be we find several problems with it. First, a crucial assumption in the Clause Union analysis is that ‘want’ can passivize but simply does not register passivization morphologically. Indonesian has two kinds of passive, the prefixal *di-* passive, which has appeared in a number of examples above, and a bare passive, seen in (14), and further illustrated in (15) (Chung, 1976; Sneddon, 1996; Vamarasi, 1999). In the latter, the embedded verb appears in an uninflected form and the passive agent is proclitic to the verb.

- (15) bagian kalimat ini dia=tegaskan
section sentence this 3SG=emphasize
‘This part of the sentence was emphasized by him.’

Mau and *ingin* by themselves cannot be passivized using either of these strategies. A sentence with *mau/ingin* followed by a DP complement, (16), or a VP complement, (17), does not passivize regardless of the strategy used³:

³ *Mau/ingin* are what Vamarasi (1999:146–148) calls pseudo-transitive. Although followed by a DP, *mau*+ DP does not behave like a transitive structure.

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- 206
207 (16) a. mereka ingin rumah ini
208 3PL want house this
209 ‘They want this house.’
210 b. *rumah ini di-ingin oleh mereka
211 house this PASS-want by 3PL
212 (‘This house is wanted by them.’)
213 c. *rumah ini mereka=ingin
214 house this 3PL=want
215 (‘This house is wanted by them.’)
216
217 (17) a. anak itu mau/ingin men-cium ibu
218 child that want ACT-kiss mother
219 The child wants to kiss the mother.’
220 b. *men-cium ibu mau/ingin oleh anak itu
221 ACT-kiss mother want by child that
222 (‘To kiss the mother is wanted by the child.’)
223 c. *men-cium ibu dia=mau/ingin
224 ACT-kiss mother 3SG=want
225 (‘To kiss the mother is wanted by him.’)
226

227 Given these facts it is surprising that *mau/ingin* should be able to undergo passivization when it is
228 part of a complex predicate.

229 The second argument against the Clause Union Analysis comes from the fact that ‘want’ and
230 the main verb have independent syntactic existences. In (18), they can have their own separate
231 negations.

- 232
233 (18) a. rumah itu **tidak** mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh mereka
234 house that NEG want PASS-destroy by 3PL
235 ‘They don’t want to destroy that house.’
236 b. anak-anak mau **tidak** di-belikan sepeda oleh ibu
237 children want NEG PASS-buy bicycle by mother
238 ‘The mother wants to not buy bicycles for the children.’

239 Similarly, *mau* can be deleted independently from the main verb in a gapping-like ellipsis
240 construction⁴:

- 241
242 (19) mobil ini mau di-jual oleh Ali dan sepeda itu
243 car this want PASS-sell by Ali and bicycle that
244 ~~mau~~ di-beli oleh Siti
245 want PASS-buy by Siti
246 ‘Ali wants to sell this car, and Siti, to buy that bicycle.’

247 The material following *mau* can also be deleted in a construction that Lobeck (1992) likens to VP
248 ellipsis:
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252 ⁴ For reasons that we do not understand, deletion of the main verb alone is degraded.

- 253
254 (20) mobil ini mau di-jual oleh Ali dan sepeda itu
255 car this want PASS-sell by Ali and bicycle that
256 mau ~~di-beli oleh Ali~~ juga
257 want PASS-buy by Siti also
258 ‘Ali wants to sell his car, and his bicycle also.’

259 This is surprising if the two verbs form a single lexical unit. Their separability argues against the
260 Clause Union Analysis.

261 The third argument against Clause Union comes from the distribution of the emphatic
262 (foregrounding) particle *-lah*. This particle, whose semantics is rather subtle, attaches to the first
263 constituent of a complex predicate (Sneddon, 1996:261–263):
264

- 265 (21) a. dapat-**lah** di-simpulkan bahwa ...
266 can-EMPH PASS-conclude that
267 ‘It can be concluded that. . .’
268 b. *dapat di-simpulkan-**lah** bahwa ...
269 can PASS-conclude-EMPH that
270

271 If the CCC involved a complex predicate, *-lah* should only attach to *mau* and not the following
272 main verb. This prediction is not borne out however. *-Lah* can attach to either verb and (22b) is
273 grammatical, in contrast to the ungrammatical (21b).

- 274 (22) a. Kamis ini buku itu mau-**lah** di-beli oleh Siti
275 Thursday this book that want-EMPH PASS-buy by Siti
276 ‘Siti actually wants to buy that book on Thursday.’
277 b. Kamis ini buku itu mau di-beli-**lah** oleh Siti
278 Thursday this book that want PASS-buy-EMPH by Siti
279 ‘Siti wants to actually buy that book on Thursday.’
280

281 Based on these data we reject the complex predicate analysis for Indonesian. Such an analysis
282 may work for the syntax of wanting in other languages but for the case at hand we need to
283 consider other alternatives.
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285 3.2. *The Control Analysis*

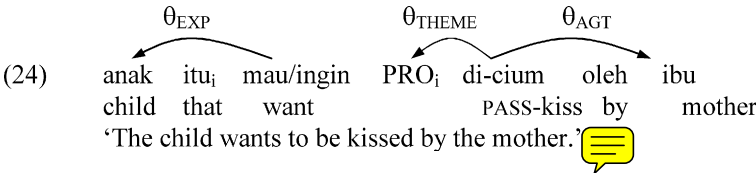
286 Given our rejection of the Clause Union Analysis in which the two verbs have a unified
287 argument structure, we turn to an alternative in which each verb retains its own argument
288 structure. In such an approach, *mau/ingin* ‘want’ will have an experiencer external argument
289 representing the ‘wanter’ and a clausal complement corresponding to the event wanted. The
290 embedded verb *cium* ‘kiss’ will have its two arguments, an agent and a theme—the kisser and the
291 person being kissed, respectively. We can represent this state of affairs with the lexical entries in
292 (23).

- 293 (23) a. *mau/ingin* ‘want’ $\langle \theta_{\text{EXP}}, \theta_{\text{EVENT}} \rangle$
294 b. *cium* ‘kiss’ $\langle \theta_{\text{AGT}}, \theta_{\text{THEME}} \rangle$
295

296 In an ordinary control construction involving these two verbs, (24), there are four θ -roles but
297 only three overt argument XPs. One argument is not expressed. The missing argument

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298 corresponds to the embedded clause subject, which is realized as PRO and coindexed with the
 299 matrix subject in the Government-Binding tradition. Here and below we ignore the event θ -role
 300 of ‘want’.



301 Such a structure is motivated by familiar assumptions about the linking between θ -roles and
 302 syntactic positions. The Theta Criterion in (25) requires that every θ -role be assigned to exactly
 303 one argument XP and that every argument XP be assigned exactly one θ -role. In addition, θ -role
 304 assignment is local, (26). A common Government-Binding assumption is that a predicate may
 305 only assign θ -roles to XPs within its clause, specifically, those that it governs.

- 306 (25) *Theta Criterion (Chomsky, 1981)*
 307 a. each argument bears exactly one θ -role
 308 b. each θ -role is assigned to exactly one argument

- 309 (26) *Locality of θ -Role Assignment*
 310 θ -roles are assigned under government

311 Returning to the CCC in (27), two problems arise under this view.

- 312 (27) anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu
 313 child that want PASS-kiss by mother
 314 ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’

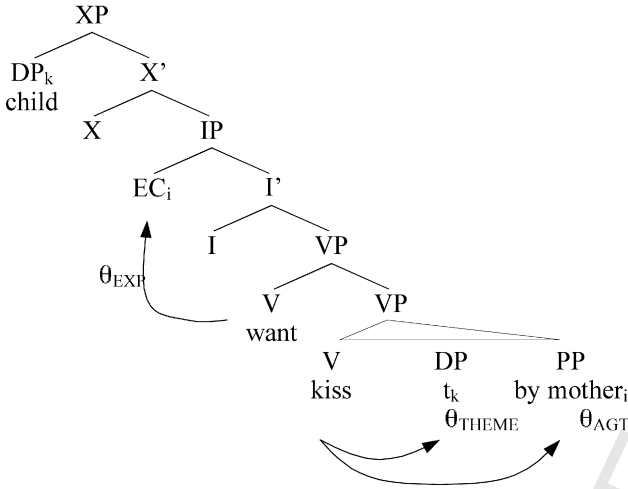
315 First, both ‘want’ and the embedded verb need to assign θ -roles to ‘mother’; however, there is
 316 only one syntactic representation of this participant. It would violate the Theta Criterion to assign
 317 two θ -roles to this XP. Further, assignment of *mau*’s experiencer θ -role to ‘mother’ would violate
 318 Locality on the assumption that the agent is syntactically in the complement clause. Second, the
 319 matrix subject is an argument of the embedded predicate but it does not occur local to the
 320 embedded predicate, again in violation of Locality.

321 Parallel to the introduction of PRO in ordinary control, the first problem must be solved by
 322 introducing an empty category (EC) in the matrix clause to bear the experiencer θ -role. We
 323 assume that this empty category would be the external argument and hence the subject of the
 324 clause. It will occupy spec,IP.

325 The second problem can be solved by having the initial DP move from the embedded clause
 326 into the matrix clause. It receives the theme θ -role locally in the embedded clause before
 327 movement. Since spec,IP is occupied by the experiencer EC, the movement must be an instance
 328 of A’-movement. We will assume that it is to a position outside the clause.⁵ A tree might look like
 329 the following, where XP is some A’ projection in the left periphery. The structure satisfies both
 330 the Theta Criterion and Locality.

⁵ This movement will need to be obligatory, as the CCC is ungrammatical if the theme remains in a lower position.

(28)



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Such a structure instantiates backward control (Polinsky and Potsdam, 2002): an overt argument in a complement clause is coindexed with and determines the interpretation of a silent expression in a higher clause. This is the opposite of the ordinary control relationship between the empty category and its antecedent seen in (24).⁶ In summary, we can bring the CCC within the bounds of normalcy with respect to Theta Theory by assigning it a less common but otherwise attested syntactic derivation.

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The Control Analysis adequately captures the fact that the CCC is associated with selectional restrictions that are standard in control structures:

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- (29) a. kota ini di-hancurkan oleh api
town this PASS-destroy by fire
'This town was destroyed by fire.'
b. #kota ini mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh api
town this want PASS-destroy by fire
'#Fire wants to destroy this town.'

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The two ingredients of the Control Analysis are as follows:

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- (30) a. there is a null representation of the experiencer in the matrix clause subject position that receives a θ -role from 'want'
b. the embedded theme undergoes A'-movement into the matrix clause and is not the matrix subject

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However, it turns out that these claims are incorrect. We start with (30a). In general, providing evidence for the silent element in the matrix clause co-indexed with an overt DP in the lower clause is crucial for establishing backward control, and the more compelling cases of backward

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⁶ For the sake of argument, we will ignore how the empty category comes to be coindexed with the lower argument. Since we will reject this hypothesis on other grounds, solving this issue is not relevant to the following discussion.

control, such as Tsez (Polinsky and Potsdam, 2002) or Malagasy (Potsdam, 2006), rely on such evidence. In Indonesian, binding facts suggest that there is no empty category.

Arka and Manning (1998) show that the passive agent in Indonesian cannot bind a pronoun in the subject position. The example below indicates that the passive agent does not c-command the base or surface positions of the theme.

- (31) surat-nya_{*i,j} di-baca oleh semua-orang_i
letter-3SG PASS-read by all-person
'His_{*i,j} letter was read by each person_i.'

The same binding restriction is found in the CCC, as illustrated by (32):

- (32) surat-nya_{*i,j} mau di-baca oleh semua-orang_i
letter-3SG want PASS-read by all-person
'Each person_i wants to read his_{*i,j} letter.'

This is unexpected under the Control Analysis in which there is an empty category in the matrix clause and therefore the pronoun is bound prior to A'-movement:

- (33) surat-nya_i EC_i mau di-baca ~~surat-nya_i~~ oleh semua-orang_i
letter-3SG want PASS-read by all-person

(34) shows that an A'-fronted element can otherwise be bound from within the clause via reconstruction.

- (34) surat-nya_i semua-orang_i membaca ~~surat-nya_i~~
letter-3SG all-person ACT-read
'His_i letter, everyone_i read.'

The Control Analysis therefore does not account for the ungrammatical bound pronoun reading in (32). If there is no empty category, however, the facts follow.⁷

The evidence against the claim in (30b) is even more compelling. We discuss a range of arguments below. In each case, we show that a particular generalization holds of subjects but not A'-fronted elements. The initial DP in the CCC behaves like a subject according to each diagnostic.

Subjects in Indonesian are not subject to discourse restrictions often associated with topics or A'-moved elements (Sneddon, 1996:254–256; Chung, this volume). Subjects, for example, can be non-specific or quantificational, (35a) from Sneddon (1996:134), while fronted elements may not be, (35b).

- (35) a. sebagian dari transmigran itu sudah tahu tentang persawahan
a.number of transmigrants those PERF know wet.rice.cultivation
'A number of the transmigrants know about wet rice cultivation.'

⁷ Wechsler and Arka (1998) argue that binding is not based on c-command in the related language Balinese. If this is correct, then this argument might not stand.

- 404 b. *apa-apa tidak membaca Ali
405 anything NEG ACT.read Ali
406 ('Ali does not read anything.')

407 The initial DP in the CCC patterns with subjects and is not restricted:

- 408 (36) tidak setiap kata ingin di-ucapkan oleh murid itu
409 NEG every word want PASS-say by student that
410 'The student does not want to say every word.'

411 Yes–no question particles also help to identify subjects. They appear before the subject in
412 ordinary SVO clauses (Sneddon, 1996:321):

- 413
414 (37) **bukankah** saudara kaya?
415 Q 2SG rich
416 'Isn't it the case that you are rich?'

417 In the CCC, the particles occur in this same position, (38), if we take the initial DP to be the
418 subject. This contrasts with topical left-periphery constituents. These elements preferably
419 precede the question particle, (39).
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- 422 (38) a. **bukankah** bagian kalimat ini mau di-tegaskan-nya?
423 Q section sentence this want PASS-explain-3SG
424 'Did he want to explain this part of the sentence?'
- 425 b. *bagian kalimat ini **bukankah** mau di-tegaskan-nya?⁸
426 section sentence this Q want PASS-explain-3SG
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428 (39) a. ***bukankah** Kamis ini Siti mau membeli buku itu?
429 Q Thursday this Siti want buy book that
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431 b. Kamis ini **bukankah** Siti mau membeli buku itu?
432 Thursday this Q Siti want buy book that
433 'Does Siti want to buy that book on Thursday?'

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435 A further, well-known test for subjects in Indonesian is that they can be clefted in a question or
436 focus construction (Vamarasi, 1999; Cole et al., 2005). A cleft is formed by placing the particle
437 *yang* between the initial clefted constituent and the rest of the clause. Simplifying things
438 somewhat, this option is generally not available to non-subjects (Sneddon, 1996:285–291; Saddy,
439 1991, and others).⁹ (40) shows that clefting is possible with the CCC, providing evidence that the
440 initial DP is a subject.

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444 ⁸ An anonymous reviewer finds this example to be grammatical with the initial NP interpreted as a topic. In support of
445 the topic interpretation, one of our consultants accepted this sentence with a marked pause between the initial DP and the
446 question particle.

447 ⁹ See Cole and Hermon (2005) for the discussion of dialectal variation and various complications concerning this
general claim.

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- (40) a. apa yang mau di-tegaskan oleh guru?
what COMP want PASS-emphasize by teacher
'What did the teacher want to emphasize?'
b. bagian kalimat ini yang mau di-tegaskan-nya
section sentence this COMP want PASS-emphasize-3SG
'It's this part of the sentence that he wants to emphasize.'

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On the other hand, Indonesian also permits wh-in-situ for questions; however, for many speakers it is not available to subjects (Sneddon, 1996:317; Saddy, 1991).

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- (41) a. dia men-ulis apa?
he ACT-write what
'What did he write?'
b. *siapa men-ulis buku ini?
who ACT-write book this
'Who wrote this book?'

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Wh-in-situ is also not possible with the CCC, which follows if the initial DP is a subject:

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- (42) *apa mau di-tegaskan-nya?
what want PASS-emphasize-3SG
'What did he want to emphasize?'

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Another argument for the subject status of the initial DP comes from depictives. Simple examples of depictives are given in (43), which suggest that depictives are only licensed by subjects and not by non-subjects or fronted elements.

474
475
476
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479

- (43) a. mereka_i mem-ukul anak-anak_j bersama-sama_{i,*j}
they ACT-hit children together
b. anak-anak_j mereka_i mem-ukul bersama-sama_{i,*j}
children they ACT-hit together
'They_i hit the children_j together_{i,*j}.'

480
481

(44) shows that depictives associated with the initial DP in the CCC are allowed, again supporting the subject analysis and arguing against the A'-fronted element analysis.

482
483
484
485

- (44) buku-buku_j mau di-baca oleh para murid bersama-sama_j
books want PASS-read by students together
'The students want to read the books_j together_j.'

486
487
488
489

Finally, Indonesian is known to allow VOS word order (Chung, this volume; Sneddon, 1996:257). If the initial DP is a subject it should be able to appear at the end of the clause. This prediction is borne out:

490
491
492
493
494

- (45) a. mobil ini mau di-jual-nya
car this want PASS-sell-3SG
b. mau di-jual-nya mobil ini
want PASS-sell-3SG car this
'He wants to sell this car.'

495 Such an option would presumably not be available for A'-moved elements under the assumption
 496 that the A'-position is clause-initial or at least occurs on the left periphery of the clause. We
 497 conclude that the initial DP in the CCC is the subject of its clause and the Control Analysis cannot
 498 be maintained.

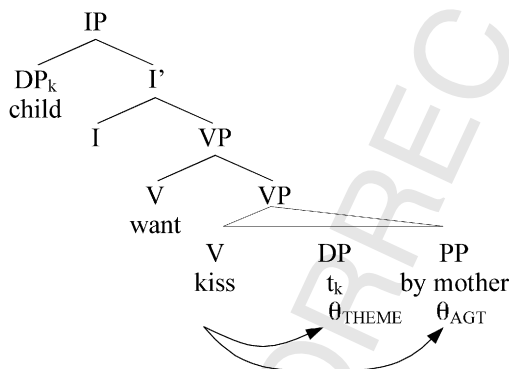
499 3.3. *The Raising Analysis*

500 Having excluded Clause Union and Control Analyses, we turn to our preferred solution. The
 501 preceding discussion has yielded the following conclusions about the CCC:

- 502 (46) a. *mau* must be a distinct head in the syntax
 503 b. the initial DP (theme) is the subject of the clause
 504

505 A syntactic analysis of the CCC compatible with these findings is that *mau/ingin* are simple
 506 raising auxiliary verbs with no external argument. We call this the Raising Analysis and the
 507 derivation of a CCC example proceeds as in (47).
 508

(47)



509 In this structure, ‘want’ is a verbal head in the syntax that takes a reduced clausal complement,
 510 which we represent as a VP. The theme of the embedded verb undergoes A-movement to spec,IP.
 511 The drawback to this structure is that there is no syntactic representation of the ‘wanter’ and we
 512 do not capture the selectional restriction facts in (30) and the interpretation that the embedded
 513 agent in the CCC is the wanter. We will return to this problem after demonstrating that a raising
 514 syntax is nevertheless more desirable than that posited under the Clause Union and Control
 515 Analyses.
 516

517 It should be clear from the Raising analysis why the initial DP has subject characteristics, as
 518 shown in the previous section: because it is a derived subject. In the remainder of the section we
 519 show that *mau/ingin* also have characteristics of raising verbs.

520 (48) lists ways in which *mau/ingin* in the CCC are syntactically restricted. In English, these
 521 properties are shared by raising verbs and finite auxiliaries. The properties suggest that *mau/ingin*
 522 are raising verbs and/or they have a reduced complement structure. This is captured in our
 523 structure by making the complement of *mau/ingin* a VP rather than something larger, such as IP
 524 or CP. We illustrate the observations below.

- (48) *characteristics of mau/ingin*
- a. do not passivize
 - b. do not embed under a control complement
 - c. do not form an imperative
 - d. do not combine with other auxiliaries
 - e. do not allow an independent temporal specification for its complement
 - f. do not allow the complementizer *untuk* in complement clause
 - g. do not allow the complement clause to be fronted

We already saw that *mau/ingin* do not passivize, (16) and (17). (49) shows that they do not occur embedded under uncontroversial control verbs, even if the meanings of the respective verbs are compatible¹⁰:

- (49) *anak ini mencoba mau di-ajar Bahasa Inggris oleh Ali
child this try want PASS-teach English by Ali
(‘The child tried for Ali to want to teach him English.’)

This fact might indicate two things. First, raising verbs are also known to resist embedding under control verbs, so the data point could be construed as supporting the Raising Analysis. Second, finite verbs also are generally ruled out in this context. Further investigation is needed to determine which, if either, of these properties underlies the ungrammaticality of (49).

Mau/ingin also do not form imperatives:

- (50) *ingin(-lah) di-baca sura ini!
want-EMPH PASS-read letter this
(‘Be willing to read this letter!’)

Here too, the problem could be due to the finiteness of the verbs or to the inherent incompatibility of imperatives with the semantics of volitional predicates.

Mau/ingin do not combine with other auxiliaries such as *bisa* ‘can’, *perlu* ‘must’, *boleh* ‘may’, and others. This is illustrated in (51). A possible explanation for this co-occurrence restriction is that there is a dedicated head position for auxiliaries, such as I°, and only one element can occur in this position. This was not encoded in our structure.

- (51) *mereka sempat/bisa/perlu/boleh/suka mau di-tolong oleh Ali
3PL have the opportunity/can/must/may/like want PASS-help by Ali
(‘Ali has a chance/can/must/may/would like to want to help them.’)

Three further observations support the reduced complement clause that we propose. We already saw in (13b) that CCC examples allow only one temporal specification for the two verbs, indicating that there is only one event (see Wurmbrand (2003) for discussion of this diagnostic):

- (52) a. rumah itu mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh mereka
house that want PASS-destroy by 3PL
(‘They want to destroy that house’)

¹⁰ See Vamarasi (1999:145) for co-occurrence of Indonesian auxiliaries and auxiliary-like verbs.

- 570 b. *kemarin rumah itu mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh mereka minggu depan
571 yesterday house that want PASS-destroy by 3PL next week
572 ('Yesterday they wanted to destroy this house next week.')

573 The complement clause cannot be introduced by the complementizer *untuk*, which is normally
574 optional with control complements (Arka, 2000).

- 575 (53) bagian kalimat ini mau (*untuk) di-tegaskan-nya
576 section sentence this want COMP PASS-emphasize-3SG
577 'He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.'

578 Lastly, the complement clause is inert for movement. It cannot be fronted or focused in a cleft,
579 which is surprising given that complement clauses in general undergo this type of movement in
580 Indonesian (Arka, 2000; Vamarasi, 1999):

- 581 (54) *[di-cium oleh ibu] (yang) mau/ingin anak itu
582 PASS-kiss by mother COMP want child that
583 ('The mother wants to kiss the child.')

584 From these data we conclude two things: *mau/ingin* belong to the class of raising/auxiliary
585 verbs in Indonesian, at least in the CCC use. They also take a reduced clausal complement which
586 limits the kind of material that can appear following *mau/ingin*. We have captured this latter fact
587 by categorizing this complement as a VP. Our analysis is thus very similar to Aissen's (1994)
588 proposal for Tzotzil auxiliaries, with the difference that in Tzotzil, the auxiliary occurs with an
589 expletive subject. It is also similar to Cinque's (2004) analysis of Italian. The central point of our
590 analysis is that *mau/ingin* lack an external argument and the associated syntax is one of raising.
591 This leaves us with the puzzle we started with, where does the control-like interpretation come
592 from? We will address this puzzle in the next section.

593 4. Semantics

594 The previous sections concluded that the CCC repeated below involves a raising syntax.

- 595 (55) anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu
596 child that want PASS-kiss by mother
597 'The mother wants to kiss the child.'

598 *Mau/ingin* has no external argument and its surface subject has raised from the complement
599 clause. There is no experiencer θ -role in the structure. However, 'want' genuinely seems to place
600 selectional restrictions on the embedded agent. As we have already seen, inanimate elements in
601 the *by*-phrase are judged anomalous:

- 602 (56) a. kota ini di-hancurkan oleh api
603 town this PASS-destroy by fire
604 'This town was destroyed by fire.'
605 b. #kota ini mau/ingin di-hancurkan oleh api
606 town this want PASS-destroy by fire
607 '#Fire wants to destroy this town.'

609 The question is how ‘want’ can semantically restrict the embedded agent without assigning it a
610 θ -role. We propose that it does so via its lexical semantics. In this section we develop our analysis
611 of the semantics of ‘want’. We point out a similarity between ‘want’ and subject-oriented adverbs
612 in section 4.1 and develop a formal analysis in section 4.2.

613 4.1. Subject-oriented adverbs

614 Building on the observation that *mau/ingin* are not full verbs and on the well-known fact that
615 verbs and adverbs often form contiguous classes, we explore the idea that *mau/ingin* have much
616 in common semantically with subject-oriented adverbs in English such as *deliberately*,
617 *reluctantly*, *willingly*, etc. These adverbs are known to introduce a thematic dependency with a
618 local argument similar to what was seen above with ‘want’. In this section we lay out the relevant
619 behavior of English subject-oriented adverbs and highlight the parallel with *mau/ingin* that we
620 will build on.

621 Jackendoff (1972) recognized a subset of S-adverbs that he called subject-oriented adverbs
622 (see also McConnell-Ginet, 1982; Wyner, 1994, 1998; Ernst, 2002, and others). We will use
623 Wyner’s (1998) label THEMATICALLY DEPENDENT ADVERB (TDA) for the class of adverbs that
624 includes *purposely*, *reluctantly*, *willingly*, and others. TDAs have the unusual characteristic of
625 ascribing some semantic property, such as willingness, to the subject of the sentence. In (57a),
626 willingness is ascribed to Barbara. In (57b), willingness is ascribed to Madonna.

- 627 (57) a. Barbara willingly interviewed Madonna.
628 b. Madonna willingly was interviewed by Barbara.
629

630 TDAs also show so-called PASSIVE SENSITIVITY, whereby they ascribe some property to the agent in
631 a passive sentence. In the passive sentences in (58), willingness can be ascribed to Barbara, even
632 though *Barbara* is not the subject of the clause.¹¹

- 633 (58) a. Madonna was willingly interviewed by Barbara.
634 b. The interview was willingly cancelled by Barbara.
635
636

637 A number of semantic analyses of TDAs exist in the literature (McConnell-Ginet, 1982; Wyner,
638 1994, 1998; Ernst, 2002; and others). What they all share is that that the thematic dependency
639 introduced by the adverb is not captured using syntactic θ -roles but, instead, is done in the lexical
640 semantics of the adverb.

641 Wyner (1998), whose analysis we will ultimately follow, argues that linguistic theory needs to
642 recognize both θ -ROLES and THEMATIC PROPERTIES. Θ -roles are syntactic objects governed by
643 syntactic principles. As codified in the Theta Criterion, (25), every argument receives exactly one
644 θ -role and every predicate assigns exactly as many θ -roles as it has arguments. Thematic
645 properties, on the other hand, are sub-aspects of θ -roles. Θ -roles like Agent and Theme are made
646 up of prototypical thematic properties (Dowty, 1991). An argument bearing the Agent θ -role has
647 all (or at least most) of the thematic properties in (59).

648 ¹¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that there are two patterns here: subject sensitivity in (57) and agent sensitivity in
649 (58). As our analysis will make clear, we eventually assume that both classes are subsumed by the label agent sensitivity.
Subject sensitivity arises when the agent happens to be the subject.

- 650
651 (59) *proto-Agent properties* (Dowty, 1991:572)
652 a. volitional involvement in the event/state
653 b. sentience (and/or perception)
654 c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
655 d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)

656 Thematic properties are not governed by the Theta Criterion.

657 The parallel between TDAs and *mau/ingin* in the CCC is that both ascribe some semantic
658 property to an agent of the event they are embedded in. In the TDA examples above, the adverb
659 *willingly* ascribes willingness to the agent of the sentence, independent of its syntactic
660 realization. In the Indonesian CCC example below, ‘want’ ascribes a desire to the agent of the
661 clause, ‘teacher’.

- 662
663 (60) bagian kalimat ini mau di-tegaskan oleh guru
664 section sentence this want PASS-emphasize by teacher
665 ‘The teacher wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.’
666

667 Wyner (1994, 1998) provides an analysis of TDAs that allows them to assign a thematic property
668 to an Agent in the clause without assigning it a θ -role. Although we will not review Wyner’s
669 analysis of TDAs here, we use it below for the Indonesian case.

670 4.2. A semantics for ‘Want’

671 This section proposes a semantics for *mau/ingin* that accounts for the unusual interpretation of
672 the CCC. We first present an analysis of simple clauses without *mau/ingin*. We then offer a
673 semantics for the auxiliary verbs that combines with the semantics of the simple clauses to
674 account for the interpretation of the CCC.

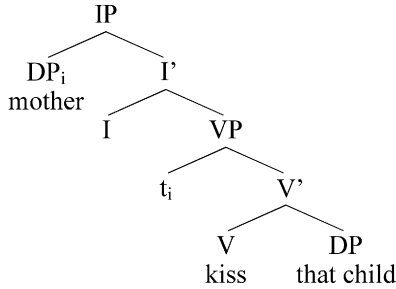
675 Wyner adopts an event-based semantics (Parsons, 1990; Davidson, 2001). Within such
676 a framework, the passive and active sentences in (61a,b) have the semantic representation in
677 (61c).

- 678
679 (61) a. ibu men-cium anak itu
680 mother ACT-kiss child that
681 ‘The mother kissed the child.’
682 b. anak itu di-cium oleh ibu
683 child that PASS-kiss by mother
684 ‘The child was kissed by the mother.’
685 c. $\exists e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=mother & Theme(e)=child]
686 d. $\exists e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=mother & volition(e)=mother & Theme(e)=child]

687 The formula in (61c) says that there is an event that is a kissing event, that the agent of this event
688 is the mother, and that the theme of this event is the child. Because a proto-typical Agent has the
689 volitional thematic property given Dowty’s proto-Agent properties, we can expand (61c) to (61d)
690 and make the volitional participant explicit without harm.

691 We now need to connect to the syntax of these sentences. For the active, the structure is as in
692 (62) (English words substituted). The surface subject originates in a VP-internal position, which
693 we identify as spec,VP for simplicity. It then raises to spec,IP.

(62)



694

The corresponding semantic calculation is in (63). *Kiss* has two arguments plus an event argument, the interpretation in (63a). *Kiss* combines semantically with the object, *the child*, translated as *c*, to yield the V' in (63b). The trace in spec,VP is translated as a free variable, which will ultimately be bound by the raised subject. The VP has the interpretation in (63c). Following Heim and Kratzer (1998), the raised subject introduces a lambda abstraction operator below spec,IP which binds the variable corresponding to the raised subject. I' has the interpretation in (63d), in which a lambda operator has been reintroduced to bind the free variable. The IP thus receives the interpretation in (63e), where *m* is a constant interpreted as the mother. Finally, existential closure binds the event variable once all arguments have been introduced, (63f).

704

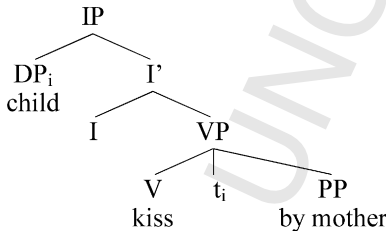
- (63) a. *kiss* $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*x* & Theme(*e*)=*y*]
 b. V' $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*x* & Theme(*e*)=*y*](*c*) \rightarrow
 $\lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*x* & Theme(*e*)=*c*]
 c. λe [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*x* & Theme(*e*)=*c*](*z*) \rightarrow
 λe [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*z* & Theme(*e*)=*c*]
 d. I' $\lambda z \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*z* & Theme(*e*)=*c*]
 e. IP $\lambda z \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*z* & Theme(*e*)=*c*](*m*) \rightarrow
 λe [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*m* & Theme(*e*)=*c*]
 f. $\exists e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*m* & Theme(*e*)=*c*]

713

The interpretation of the passive example proceeds similarly. For exposition we assume a simple passive structure as in (64), which yields the same interpretation as in (65).

716

(64)



725

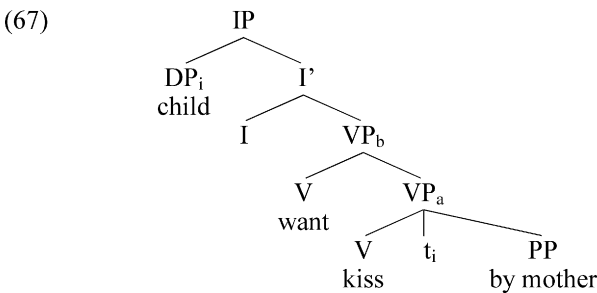
- (65) a. *kiss* $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*x* & Theme(*e*)=*y*]
 b. VP $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*x* & Theme(*e*)=*y*](*m*)(*z*) \rightarrow
 λe [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*m* & Theme(*e*)=*z*]
 c. I' $\lambda z \lambda e$ [kissing(*e*) & Agent(*e*)=*m* & Theme(*e*)=*z*]

729

- 730 d. IP $\lambda z \lambda e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=m & Theme(e)=z](c) \rightarrow
 731 λe [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=m & Theme(e)=c]
 732 e. $\exists e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=m & Theme(e)=c]
 733

Now we insert *mau* ‘want’ into the passive structure. The syntactic structure of the crossed reading use of *mau/ingin* is simply the passive example (64) with the auxiliary verb inserted into a VP about the main verb phrase, as we proposed in section 3.3 (see (47)):

- 734 (66) anak itu mau/ingin di-cium oleh ibu
 735 child that want PASS-kiss by mother
 736 ‘The mother wants to kiss the child.’
 737
 738
 739
 740
 741



742 The correct interpretation relies crucially on the semantics that we assign to *mau/ingin*,
 743 in (68).

- 744 (68) $\lambda P \lambda s$ [want(s) & Goal(s) = $\hat{=}$ $\exists e$ (P(e) & volition(e)=Experiencer(s))]

745 ‘Want’ is a one-place predicate that takes as its single argument a proposition (Heim, 1992;
 746 Pustejovsky, 1995, among many others), which we call the Goal. This Goal coincides with the
 747 desired state of affairs. This argument structure is consistent with the raising syntax of ‘want’
 748 discussed above; the proposition is realized as the VP complement in (67). The semantics of
 749 ‘want’ then explicitly picks out the volitional participant in this proposition and identifies it as
 750 the experiencer of wanting. ‘Want’ does this without actually taking this DP as its argument.


751 The interpretation of the CCC in (67) is determined as follows. The passive VP has the same
 752 interpretation as above. Because the volitional property of the Agent will be relevant, it has been
 753 reintroduced into the meaning of *kiss* (see (61)).

- 754 (69) a. *kiss* $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=x & volition(e)=x & Theme(e)=y]
 755 b. VP_a $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=x & volition(e)=x & Theme(e)=y](m)(z) \rightarrow
 756 λe [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=m & volition(e)=m & Theme(e)=z]
 757 c. *want* $\lambda P \lambda s$ [want(s) & Goal(s) = $\hat{=}$ $\exists e$ (P(e) & volition(e)=Experiencer(s))]
 758 d. VP_b $\lambda P \lambda s$ [want(s) & Goal(s) = $\hat{=}$ $\exists e$ (P(e) & volition(e)=Experiencer(s))](VP_a) \rightarrow
 759 $\lambda P \lambda s$ [want(s) & Goal(s) = $\hat{=}$ $\exists e$ (P(e) & volition(e)=Experiencer(s))](λe [kissing(e) &
 760 Agent(e)=m & volition(e)=m & Theme(e)=z]) \rightarrow
 761 λs [want(s) & Goal(s) = $\hat{=}$ $\exists e$ ($\lambda e'$ [kissing(e') & Agent(e')=m & volition(e')=m & Theme(e')=z](e)
 762 & volition(e)=Experiencer(s))]
 e. IP $\lambda z \lambda s$ [want(s) & Goal(s) = $\hat{=}$ $\exists e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=m & volition(e)=m & Theme(e)=z &

20

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768

volition(e)= Experiencer(s)](c) → 
 λs [want(s) & Goal(s)= $\exists e$ [kissing(λx Agent(e)=m & volition(e)=m & Theme(e)=c &
 volition(e)= Experiencer(s))]
 f. $\exists s$ [want(s) & Goal(s)= $\exists e$ [kissing(e) & Agent(e)=m & volition(e)=m & Theme(e)=c &
 Experiencer(s)=m]]

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The resulting interpretation in (69f) is that there is a propositional goal such that it holds true in all the worlds compatible with an event of the mother kissing the child and a state of wanting in which the mother wants the event. In other words, the mother wants it to be true that she experiences the state in which she kisses the child. This is the desired interpretation. Observe that the ‘wanter’ is determined semantically as the participant who is the volitional Agent in the propositional argument. As a result, ‘want’ can assign a thematic property to a participant without assigning it a θ -role and without it being an argument of ‘want’.

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Our analysis predicts that the syntactic realization of the passive VP is not important to the construction. All that matters is that the passive VP contain a volitional Agent. This result is verified internal to Indonesian. We have already seen that Indonesian has a second, bare passive, repeated in (70), in which the embedded verb appears in an uninflected form and the passive agent is proclitic to the verb.

780
781
782
783

(70) bagian kalimat ini dia=tegaskan
 section sentence this 3SG=emphasize
 ‘This part of the sentence was emphasized by him.’

784

This passive can also be embedded under *mau* to yield the crossed reading:

785
786
787

(71) bagian kalimat ini mau dia=tegaskan
 section sentence this want 3SG=emphasize
 ‘He wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.’

788
789
790
791

On the other hand, Indonesian has another, passive-like prefix *ter-*, with a variety of functions (Sneddon, 1996:112–120). It typically indicates a state or an accidental/involuntary action. If an agent can be expressed, it is interpreted as non-volitional (Arka and Manning, 1998:(10b)):

792
793
794

(72) obat itu ter-makan oleh anak itu
 medicine that TER-eat by child that
 ‘The medicine was unintentionally taken by the child.’

795
796
797
798

Our analysis correctly predicts that such verbs should be impossible in the VP complement of the CCC because there is no volitional participant:

799
800

(73) *surat ini ingin ter-baca oleh Amir
 letter this want TER-read by Amir
 (‘Amir wants to read this letter.’)

801
802
803
804

In fact, the embedded VP need not even be passive. We hypothesize that an active example such as (1), repeated below as (74), can involve the auxiliary use of *mau*, as nothing rules this out.¹²

¹² Cinque (2004) argues that in Italian, even apparent control cases with ‘want’ (and ‘seem’) can be reduced to raising.

805 In such cases, the volitional agent and the surface subject align so it is not possible to distinguish
806 such examples from an ordinary control use of *mau*, which we believe may also exist.¹³

807 (74) anak itu mau/ingin men-cium ibu
808 child that want ACT-kiss mother
809 The child wants to kiss the mother.'

810 We leave for future investigation what other kinds of predicates can embed under *mau/ingin*.

812 5. Conclusions

814 Unusual properties associated with the verb 'want' are known from such familiar languages as
815 English and Romance, and Indonesian 'want' is no less challenging. As we have shown,
816 Indonesian verbs meaning 'want', *mau* and *ingin*, participate in a Crossed Control Construction
817 in which the alignment of the two overt arguments with their predicates is "crossed". The
818 experiencer of wanting is in the embedded clause and the theme of the embedded verb appears as
819 the subject of the matrix clause:

820 (75) bagian kalimat ini mau di-tegaskan oleh guru
821 section sentence this want PASS-emphasize by teacher
822 'The teacher wants to emphasize this part of the sentence.'

823 For the syntax of this construction, we argued that 'want' is an auxiliary verb with raising of the
824 theme argument from the complement. In our account the embedded agent is not an argument of
825 'want' at all. Our analysis is quite similar to the structure of clauses headed by auxiliaries in
826 Tzotzil (Aissen, 1994) or recent analyses of functional verbs, including 'want', in Italian
827 (Cinque, 2004). It remains to be seen if the proposed analysis of crossed control can also be
828 extended to other Austronesian languages, which show similar patterns.

829 Despite a raising syntax, the control semantics in the CCC is quite robust. We proposed to
830 account for the interpretation of the CCC with the lexical semantics of 'want'. Although 'want'
831 has only one (propositional) argument, it ascribes an experiencer thematic property to the
832 volitional argument within this proposition, making it the 'wanter'. This move is different from
833 assigning a θ -role to that participant as such θ -role assignment would violate basic locality
834 principles of θ -role assignment. The thematic relationship between 'want' and the Agent of its
835 complement is located outside its predication structure.

836 The analysis raises a pressing set of issues: If thematic relationships can be constructed in the
837 lexical semantics in this way using thematic properties distinct from θ -roles, linguistic theory
838 needs to develop principled ways of constraining such relationships. First, what types of thematic
839 dependencies can be established outside θ -roles? Second, whereas θ -role assignment has always
840 been assumed to be local, thematic properties ascribed to a referent beyond θ -roles can be less
841 local, as seen here. How much distance should be possible in such associations?

¹³ A number of colleagues and reviewers have pointed out the importance of determining the structure of the ordinary non-crossed use in (74). Is it a standard control structure (with PRO), does it also make use of the raising structure, or is it structurally ambiguous? If it is a control structure, it should have different syntactic behavior from what we have documented for the CCC and should behave more similarly to *mencoba* 'try' and other control verbs, which the language does seem to have. Time and space considerations have prevented us from exploring the structure of the ordinary use of *mau/ingin*. We leave that for future research.

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