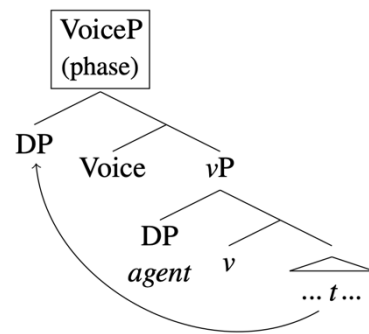


The clause-medial *verbal phase* was first proposed by Chomsky (2001) as headed by a functional head (*v*) that introduces the external argument (agent) and hosts the phase edge. In this talk, we argue that these functions are split across two heads (as in Collins 2005, Gallego 2008, a.o.) in Malayic languages: Voice is the phase head, providing an escape hatch, and *v* introduces the agent; see tree at right, illustrated with movement through the edge. Our proposal accounts for voice and A'-extraction facts in Standard Indonesian and Malay (SI/SM) — including a novel, explanatory account of so-called “*meN*-deletion” — and Malayic-internal cross-linguistic variation in these behaviors.



Proposal for voices: A core assumption in our theory is that **VoiceP can only host one DP specifier**. We also assume that Voice hosts the voice prefixes (e.g. *meN*-/*di*-) which lower onto the verb in *v* via Local Dislocation (Embick & Noyer 2001). (We discuss case licensing and movement of non-DPs at the talk.) We summarize the clause types in SI/SM for eventive transitive verbs in (2a–c), derived as in (1a–c):

- (1) a. In actives (2a), the agent moves to Spec,VoiceP. Voice is realized as *meN*-.
 - b. In *di*-passives (2b), no agent is generated by *v* (although one can be adjoined postverbally) and the theme moves to Spec,VoiceP. Voice is realized as *di*-.
 - c. In “bare passives” (2c), the theme moves across the agent (see tree above) to Spec,VoiceP. We propose Voice realizes a null allomorph when not linearly adjacent to *v*. (If Voice did realize an overt prefix, it would fail to lower to *v* via Local Dislocation, which requires linear adjacency.)

In all three cases, the DP subject in Spec,VoiceP then moves to Spec,TP to satisfy the EPP. The high subject then precede any auxiliaries; see “Aux*” in (2a–c) below. (We discuss the (2d) case below.)

(2) Clause types in Standard Indonesian / Malay (SI/SM):

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. Active: | subj/agent | Aux* | <i>meN</i> - | V | obj/theme |
| b. <i>Di</i> -passive: | subj/theme | Aux* | <i>di</i> - | V | |
| c. Bare passive: | subj/theme | Aux* | agent | V | |
| d. Non-subject extraction: | DP _{A'} | subj/agent | Aux* | (* <i>meN</i> -) | V t _{DP_{A'}} |

Cross-linguistic support for the organization of VoiceP: Many regional Malay(ic) varieties exhibit voice morphosyntax distinct from the SI/SM pattern above. Our two-head proposal supports the analysis of many such patterns by analyzing *meN*- as a reflection of *me*- in Voice and *N*- in *v*. In SI/SM, *me*- and *N*- are in a selectional relationship and must be pronounced together, but this assumption can be relaxed.

1. “*di*-*N*-*V*” forms: In some Malay(ic) varieties, *N*- has been reanalyzed as encoding an aspectual value and can then appear in *di*- passives as well (3) (Gil 2002, Adelaar 2005). This supports our analysis of *me*- and *di*- as realizing a higher head (Voice), with *N*- lower (*v*). 2. “*di*=agent *N*-*V*” forms: Adelaar (2005) furthermore shows that *di*- may procliticize to an in-situ agent in Salako (W. Borneo) passives (4). This supports our analysis for the position of the in-situ agent relative to Voice (*di*-/*me*-) and *v* (*N*-).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3) di-m -injam (< <i>di-N-pinjam</i>) | (4) di =kau matàh-matàh (< <i>N-patàh</i> -RED) |
| DI-N-borrow | DI-2SG N-break-RED |
| ‘be borrowed’ (Riau Indonesian; Gil 2002) | ‘be broken by you’ (Salako; Adelaar 2005) |

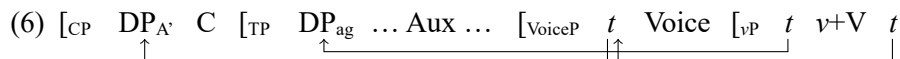
3. Non-subject extraction in Desa: Suak Mansi Desa (W. Kalimantan) allows both long (*meN*-) and short (*N*-) actives, but only the short *N*-*V* form allows for object extraction; see (5). These Desa facts motivate the view (detailed below) whereby non-subject extraction requires Voice to be null, but not *v*.

- (5) Tali [_{RC} yang aku {***me-n**-iku’ / **n**-iku’} ___ ke’ perau yen] kuat.
 rope C 1SG ME-N-tie N-tie ___ to boat that strong
 ‘The rope that I tie to the boat is strong.’ (Suak Mansi Desa; Sommerlot 2020)

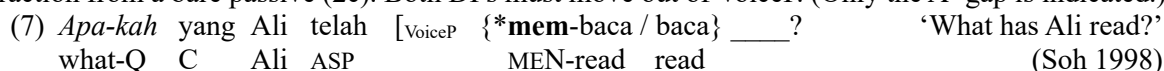
Proposal for A'-extraction restrictions: We adopt Fox & Pesetsky’s (2005) *Cyclic Linearization* proposal for phase impenetrability effects. In brief: full phases (e.g. VoiceP, CP) undergo Spell-Out, establishing a relative ordering for their terminals (following vocabulary insertion), which cannot be violated later in the derivation. We correctly predict that no non-subject DP can be extracted from VoiceP in actives (1a) and *di*-passives (1b). The subject occupies the sole nominal specifier of VoiceP,

so any other nominal moving out of VoiceP will lead to an ordering contradiction: at VoiceP, we establish “Voice < DP” order, but leftward movement of DP will lead to a conflicting “DP < Voice” order at CP.

We predict just one situation where two DPs can move out of VoiceP: DP_{A'} moved to Spec, VoiceP and the local agent can both move out, in “DP_{A'} < DP_{ag}” order, *if and only if* Voice is phonologically null. In (6), at VoiceP Spell-Out, DP_{A'} and the agent DP_{ag} will be the leftmost nodes in VoiceP, so their further movement to Spec, CP and Spec, TP respectively will not lead to an ordering conflict at CP Spell-Out.



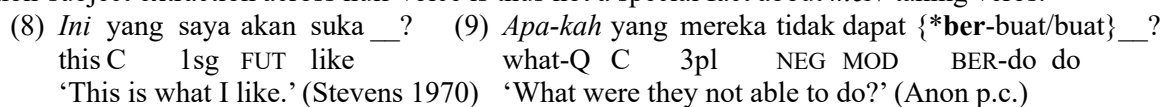
This correctly predicts the possibility of non-subject A'-extraction across a subject in Spec, TP with a bare verb (2d); see (7). Notice that the agent (*Ali*) precedes the auxiliary, so (7) is not simply subject extraction from a bare passive (2c). Both DPs must move out of VoiceP. (Only the A'-gap is indicated.)



While many have investigated this so-called “*meN*-deletion” effect (Aldridge 2008, Cole & Hermon 2008, Sato 2012, Georgi 2014, a.o.), these prior works ultimately stipulate the non-pronunciation of *meN*- in non-subject extraction (2d/6/7). Instead, our proposal offers a deeper explanation for why a null prefix is required for non-subject nominal extraction across the high (pre-auxiliary) subject.

Predictions from our Cyclic Linearization account: 1. No non-subject local agent extraction: Because movement of the two nominals must be order-preserving in (6), it is never possible for the local external argument to A'-move to Spec, CP with another nominal moving to Spec, TP. In other words, we explain why there is no non-subject agent extraction (data at talk), regardless of Voice form. 2. Flexibility in the choice of A'-nominal: In contrast, any nominal besides the local external agent can be DP_{A'} in (6), including various internal arguments as well as embedded clause arguments. At the talk, we show how we derive Saddy's (1991) generalization that all Voice along the path of A'-movement must be null.

On the importance of null Voice: On our account, non-subject extraction specifically requires Voice to be null, rather than simply some special extraction-marking allomorph; any pronounced form would lead to a failure of linearization. We provide three pieces of evidence supporting this view. 1. Extraction from psych verbs: Many psych verbs bear no voice prefix in their active use, and their objects can be extracted; see (8). 2. ber-deletion effects: The middle voice prefix *ber-* is used with some stems, especially intransitives. However, certain verbs may bear *ber-* in a transitive use. Soh (1998, 2013) show that non-subject extraction across a *ber*-taking verb requires the absence of *ber-*; see (9). The availability of non-subject extraction across null Voice is thus not a special fact about *meN*-taking verbs.



3. Madurese register variation: Jeoung (2017) shows that polite Madurese has the bare passive (2c) but familiar Madurese does not, and polite Madurese allows for non-subject A'-extraction across a prefixless verb and a high (pre-auxiliary) agent, but familiar Madurese does not. We can treat this as one difference: in polite Madurese, Voice realizes a null allomorph when Voice is not linearly adjacent to *v* (see (1c)), but there is no such null allomorph in familiar Madurese. If we build a bare passive clause (with VoiceP from the top) in familiar Madurese, Voice will be an overt prefix that must affix to *v+V* under linear adjacency, but will fail to do so because of the intervening agent. Similarly, if we build a non-subject extraction clause (6) in familiar Mad., overt Voice leads to an ordering conflict with DP_{ag}.

Lessons for Cyclic Linearization theory: Our proposal requires that null terminals are pruned and thus ignored for linearization, but we propose (with Davis 2020) that null phrases *are* linearized. We thus can maintain the view that many such nominal A'-constructions involve null operator movement.

Selected references: Adelaar 2005 “Structural diversity in the Malayic subgroup” • Aldridge 2008 “Phase-based account of extraction in Indonesian” • Fox & Pesetsky 2005 “Cyclic linearization of syntactic structure” • Gallego 2008 “Four reasons to push down the external argument,” ms. • Gil 2002 “The prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Malay/Indonesian dialects” • Sato 2012 “Successive cyclicity at the syntax-morphology interface” • Soh 1998 “Certain restrictions on A-bar movement in Malay” • Sommerlot 2020 “A reanalysis of the Austronesian nasal prefix: Evidence from Desa”