

The apparent lack of a complementizer-trace effect in Indonesian *supaya* complements

Complementizer-trace (C-*t*) effects, where a preverbal subject cannot be extracted from an embedded clause headed by an overt C (*Who did you think [[∗]that/[∗]∅ ___ met Budi yesterday]?*), are considered part of UG and have been reported in a number of unrelated languages (Pesetsky 2017). This paper points out that *supaya* complement clauses in Standard Indonesian present a potential counterexample to the universality of C-*t* effects. We argue, however, that they involve obligatory control, and hence no C-*t* configuration.

Supaya clauses can contain a subject gap, as in (1), thus suggesting the absence of a C-*t* effect.

- (1) Siapakah yang kamu usulkan [[∗]*supaya*/[∗]∅ ___ ketemu Budi besok]?
'To whom did you suggest meeting Budi tomorrow?'

However, the relevant gap is unlikely to have resulted from extraction. A pseudo-raising sentence like (2) indicates that a subject gap can in fact arise without extraction. (2) cannot involve A-movement; given that A-movement does not stop by Spec,CP, the putative movement would incur a locality violation (e.g. Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition).

- (2) Mesin itu diusulkan [_{CP} *supaya* ___ diperbaiki oleh tukang].
'The machine was suggested to be repaired by a craftsman.'

We analyse *supaya* complement clauses by extending Fortin's (2006) analysis of adjunct clauses. Fortin claims that CP adjuncts without an overt subject involve obligatory control, where the T head lacks Case-assigning ability, unlike those with an overt subject. (2) and its overt subject counterpart have the structures shown in (3a) and (3b), respectively.

- (3) a. Mesin itu_i diusulkan [_{CP} *supaya* **PRO**_i T diperbaiki oleh tukang].
b. Mereka mengusulkan [_{CP} *supaya* mesin itu T_[NOM] diperbaiki oleh tukang].
'They suggested that the machine be repaired by a craftsman.'

We argue that in (2)/(3a), *mesin itu* 'the machine' is a based-generated topic and the matrix subject position is empty. This is because the former DP is not subcategorized by the verb *usulkan* 'to suggest', as shown in (4). Moreover, (5) confirms that the preverbal subject position can be left open for passive verbs taking a clausal complement.

- (4) *Mereka mengusulkan [_{DP} mesin itu] [_{CP} *supaya* PRO/ia diperbaiki oleh tukang].
(5) Telah diusulkan [*supaya* mesin itu diperbaiki oleh tukang].
'It was suggested that the machine be repaired by a craftsman.'

In conclusion, Indonesian *supaya* complements are compatible with the hypothesis that C-*t* effects are part of UG. The presence of the pseudo-raising structure as in (2) can be regarded as a way of circumventing the illicit C-*t* configuration.

References

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