The Doubly-Filled *v*P Filter and Repair by Obliteration: With a Focus on Indonesian *meN-* *

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1. Introduction

It has been widely acknowledged in the literature (Saddy 1991) that, in Indonesian, the movement of an NP across a verb marked with the active voice prefix *meN-* results in obligatory deletion of the prefix.

(1) Previous analyses of *meN-* in Malay/Indonesian
   a. Aldridge's (2008) antipassive EPP-based analysis
   b. Cole et al.'s (2008) symmetric voice-agreement analysis
   c. Fortin's (2006) antipassive/demoted adjunct analysis
   d. Keenan and Comrie's (1977) NP-accessibility analysis
   e. Sato's (2008, 2010, 2012) phase-theoretic Distributed Morphology analysis
   f. Soh's (1998) category-based relativized minimality analysis
   g. Voskuil's (2000) *pro*-based analysis

> **Questions: What exactly is the nature of this *meN-*deletion?**

The distribution of *meN-* is sensitive to the overt movement of an NP across a verb marked by the prefix. I propose that such movement results in a doubly-filled *v*P edge configuration, which violates what I call the **derivational syntactic OCP constraint/filter**.

Adopting insights from recent interface-oriented approaches to such filters (Martinović 2015, 2016; Erlewine 2016), I argue that the violation of the relevant filter is repaired at the syntax-phonology interface by **obliterating the *v* node hosting *meN-* from the post-syntactic/PF-representation**.

2. *v*P-Mediated Successive Cyclicity in Indonesian

(2) a. [$_{CP1}$ Siapa$_i$ yang Bill (***mem-**)beritahu ibu-nya [$_{CP2}$ yang t_i **men**-cintai Fatimah]]
       who   COMP Bill   AV-tell   mother-his COMP   AV-love   Fatimah
       'Who$_i$ does Bill tell his mother that t_i loves Fatimah?'
   b. Buku$_i$ [$_{CP1}$ OP$_i$ yang   John (***mem-**)beli t_i itu   menarik.
       book   COMP   John AV-buy   DEM   interesting
       'The book OP$_i$ that John bought t_i is interesting.' (adopted from Cole and Hermon 1998:231, 233)

(3) a. [PP Di mana]ᵢ John **mem**-beri Mary buku itu *t*ᵢ?
　　　　LOC where John AV-give Mary book DEM
　　　'Whereᵢ did John give Mary that book *t*ᵢ?'
　b. [PP Kepada siapa]ᵢ Mary **mem**-beri buku itu *t*ᵢ?
　　　　to who Mary AV-give book DEM
　　　'To whomi did Mary give that book *t*ᵢ?'　　　(adopted from Cole and Hermon 1998:232)

(4) a. [CP1 Siapaᵢ Bill (***mem-**)beritahu ibu-nya [CP2 yang Iwan (***men-**)cintai *t*ᵢ]]?
　　　　who Bill AV-tell mother-his COMP Iwan AV-love
　　　'Whoᵢ does Bill tell his mother that Iwan loves *t*ᵢ?'
　b. [CP1 Bill **mem**-beritahu ibu-nya [CP2 siapaᵢ yang Iwan (***men-**)cintai *t*ᵢ]]?
　　　　Bill AV-tell mother-his who COMP Iwan AV-love
　　　'Whoᵢ does Bill tell his mother that Iwan loves *t*ᵢ?'
　c. [CP1 Bill **mem**-beritahu ibu-nya [CP2 Iwan **men**-cintai siapa]]?
　　　　Bill AV-tell mother-his Iwan AV-love who
　　　'Whoᵢ does Bill tell his mother that Iwan loves *t*ᵢ?'

(5) a. [CP1 Di manaᵢ Bill **mem**-beritahu ibu-nya [CP2 Iwan **mem**-beli emas *t*ᵢ]]?
　　　　LOC where Bill AV-tell mother-his Iwan AV-buy gold
　　　'Whereᵢ does Bill tell his mother that Iwan bought gold *t*ᵢ?'
　b. [CP1 Bill **mem**-beritahu ibu-nya [CP2 di manaᵢ Iwan **mem**-beli emas *t*ᵢ]]?
　　　　Bill AV-tell mother-his LOC where Iwan AV-buy gold
　　　'Whereᵢ does Bill tell his mother that Iwan bought gold *t*ᵢ?'
　c. [CP1 Bill **mem**-beritahu ibu-nya [CP2 Iwan **mem**-beli emas di mana]]?
　　　　Bill AV-tell mother-his Iwan AV-buy gold LOC where
　　　'Whereᵢ does Bill tell his mother that Iwan bought gold *t*ᵢ?'

(6) Aliᵢ saya (***men-**) cubit *t*ᵢ.
　Ali I AV-pinch
　'I pinched Ali. /Ali was pinched by me.'　　　(adopted from Cole and Hermon 1998:232)

(7) a. Dia datang untuk ber-cakap-cakap dengan Ali.
　　　he come for BER-talk-RED with Ali
　　　'He came to talk with Ali.'
　b.?* Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk teman saya (dapat) (mem-)baca.
　　　I AV-bring letter DEM for friend my can AV-read
　　　'I brought the letter for my friends to (be able to) read.'
　c. Morphological Passive
　　　Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk (dapat) di-baca oleh teman saya.
　　　I AV-bring letter DEM for can PV-read by friend me
　　　'I brought the letter to (be able to) be read by my friends.'
　d. Zero Passive/Bare Passive/Passive Type-2
　　　Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk (dapat) kau baca.
　　　I AV-bring letter DEM for can you read
　　　'I brought the letter to (be able to) be read by you.'　　　(Chung 1978:46, 47)

(8) Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk (dapat) kau (***mem-**)baca.
　I AV-bring letter DEM for can you AV-read
　'I brought the letter to (be able to) be read by you.'

(9) The Movement-Sensitive Distribution of *meN-* in Indonesian:
        * NP   *meN*-V t_{NP}
    → The movement of an NP across a verb marked with *meN-* results in obligatory omission of *meN-*.

3. The Derivational OCP at the *v*P-Edge at the Syntax-Phonology Interface

3.1. The Doubly-Filled *v*P Edge Filter and Obliteration

(10) The Derivational Syntactic OCP at the *v*P Edge (see also Martinović 2015, 2016 and Erlewine 2016)
    Multiple elements with an identical morphosyntactic feature (e.g., D-feature) are prohibited at *v*P edge.

(11) a.   [$_{vP}$ XP [D] [$_{v'}$ *v/meN-* [D] …t_{XP}…]]
         (syntactic representation → violation of the *v*P-edge OCP)
      b.   [$_{vP}$ XP [D] [$_{v'}$ *v/meN-* [D]- …t_{XP}…]]
         (post-syntactic/PF-representation → repair by obliteration of the *v* node)

(12) [$_{PP}$ Di   mana] kamu **mem**-beli   emas   ini?
        LOC   where   you   AV-buy   gold   DEM
     'Where did you buy this gold?'

(13) [$_{vP}$ EA [D]   [$_{v'}$ *v/meN-* [D]   …]] → violates (10), doesn't it!?

→   We've lived through the *v*P shell era to the tripartite VP structure era (Alexiadou et al. 2006; Harley 2013; Pylkkänen 2002; see already Fujita 1993, 1996 for a much earlier antecedent). See also Erlewine (2023) and Erlewine and Sommerlot (2023).

(14) [$_{VoiceP}$ EA [D]   [$_{Voice'}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ … [$_{v'}$ *v/meN-* [D]   …]]]]

3.2. Other Derivational Prefixes in Indonesian: Intransitive *Ber-* and Comparative *Se-*

(15) a.   Apa$_i$ yang mereka (***ber-**)harap t_i akan di-terima?
        what COMP they   BER-hope   will PV-accept
        'What$_i$ do they hope t_i will be accepted?'
    b. [$_{PP}$ Ke mana] Ali   (**ber-**)lari t_i ?
          to where   Ali   BER-run
        'Where did Ali run to?'   (Adopted from Soh 1998:305)

(16) a. * Siapa$_i$ yang   Ali   **se**-tinggi t_i?
         who   COMP   Ali   SE-tall
         'Who is Ali as tall as?'
    b. Siapa$_i$ yang   **se**-tinggi Minah?
        who   COMP   SE-tall   Minah
        'Who is as tall as Minah?'
    c. [$_{PP}$ Sejak   kapan]$_i$ Ali   **se**-tinggi Minah t_i?
          since   when   Ali   SE-tall   Minah
        'Since when was Ali as tall as Minah?'   (Adopted from Soh 1998:306)

4. Towards the Generalized Doubly Filled Phase Edge Filter

4.1. The Doubly Filled Comp Filter

→ In Wolof (an Atlantic language of the Niger-Congo family), the φ-feature, which appears in the form of CM (a nominal class marker), may occur in the C head or its *wh*-specifier, but not in both positions.

(17) a. [CP k-an [C′ l-a Mussa gis]]? b. [CP Ø [C′ Y-u Mussa gis]]?
　　　 CM-Q 　 *l*-C$_{WH}$ 　Mussa see 　　　　　　　　 CM.PL-L-C$_{WH}$ Mussa see
　　　 'Who did Moussa see?' 　　　　　　　　　'What (PL) did Moussa see?'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Martinović 2016: 235)

(18) Morphological Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP$_φ$) in Wolof
　　 * [CP Y$_{[φi]}$ 　 [C′ C$_{[φi]}$ …]] 　　　　　　　　(Martinović 2016: 236)

(19) The Doubly-Filled Comp Filter
　　 When an overt phrase occupies the Spec of some CP, the head of that CP must not dominate an overt complementizer. (Haegeman 1994:383)

(20) a. * The man [CP who$_i$ that you were seeing t_i last year] just came to see me.
　　 b. 　 The man [CP who$_i$ Ø you were seeing t_i last year] just came to see me.

(21) Derivational Syntactic OCP at Phase Edges (see also Hiraiwa 2010a, b and Richards 2010)
　　 Multiple elements with an identical morphosyntactic feature are prohibited at phase edges in C$_{HL}$.

4.2. The Doubly Filled Determiner Filter in Romanian and English

(22) a. * frumoas-**a** 　　fat-**a** 　 b. frumoas-**a** 　　fată 　 c. * frumoasă 　　 fat-**a**
　　　 beautiful-DEF girl-DEF 　　 beautiful-DEF girl 　　　 beautiful 　　 girl-DEF
　　　 'the beautiful girl' 　　　　 'the beautiful girl' 　　　 'the beautiful girl'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ungureanu 2006:236)

(23) The Doubly Filled Determiner Filter
　　 a. Only one of the definite markers in DP is lexicalized.
　　 b. The definite affix in Spec/DP is lexicalized.
　　　　 (Cornilescu 1995, as cited in Ungureanu 2006:237; see also Giusti 1995, 1997, 2002)

(24) a. John's homework
　　 b. his homework
　　 c. * John's his homework

(25) * John's {the/that/some} book 　　　　　　　　　　(Abney 1987:270)

(26) The Doubly-Filled Determiner Filter
　　 When an overt phrase occupies the Spec of some DP, the head of that DP must not dominate an overt determiner (see also Abney 1987:271, Hamamatsu 1996 and Giusti 1995, 1997, 2002)

4.3. The Doubly-Filled PP Filter in English (Collins 2007)

(27) a. We went (*to) there.
     b. Who went (*to) where.
     c. We went (*to) everywhere/nowhere/somewhere. (Collins 2007:4)

(28) R-pronouns obligatorily move to the specifier of TO/AT in English. (Collins 2007:4)

→ van Riemsdijk (1978: 41, 87): R-pronouns in Dutch: *daar* 'there', *waar* 'where', *overal* 'everywhere', *nergens* 'nowhere', *ergens* 'somewhere' move overly to [Spec, PP] in Dutch.

(29) "I propose that the non-pronunciation of "to" and "at" follows from a more general version of the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter …, which I take to be a principle of UG." (Collins 2007:3)

(30) a. Edge(X) must be phonetically overt
     (Edge(X) includes both X (the head) and the specifier of X.
     b. The condition in (a) applies in a minimal way so that either the head, or the specifier, but not both, are spelled-out overtly. (Collins 2007:3)

4.4. An Implication of the Analysis for the Phasehood of Unaccusative Verbs in Indonesian

✚ Imagine we live in a world where unaccusative verbs do not have the *v*P phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, *pace* Legate 2003).

(31) a. Tarif   listrik   **turun**.   b. Tarif   listrik   **me**-nurun.
     price   electricity   fall   price   electricity   AV-fall
     'The electricity price fell.'   'The electricity price is falling.'
                                  (adopted from Soh and Nomoto 2011:87)

5. Conclusion

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