

Passives and clitic-doubling: A view from Classical Malay

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Introduction

Goals

Empirical: point out similarities between Classical Malay **hybrid type *di-* passives** and object clitic-doubling.

Theoretical: propose an analysis of the syntax and semantics of the hybrid type that takes into account these similarities.

Classical Malay passives

passive	di- passive	bare passive	(no overt voice marker)—not discussed
		implicit type	(implicit agent)
		<i>oleh</i> type	(<i>oleh</i> ‘by’ agentive phrase)
		DP type	(post-adjacent DP agent)
		hybrid type	(post-adjacent DP = <i>nya</i> + <i>oleh</i> ‘by’ phrase)

(1) *Oleh* type: *di*-V *oleh* DP

Maka duit itu **di-ambil oleh bapa=*nya***
and money that PASS-take by father=3

‘And the money was taken by their father’ (Abd: 17)

(2) DP type: *di*-V DP

a. tiada ia **di-makan hulat**
not it PASS-eat worm
‘it [= knowledge] is not eaten by worms’ (Abd: 23)

b. Serta **di-lihat=*nya*** nakhoda itu
and PASS-look=3 captain that
‘And he [= my father] looked at the captain’ (Abd: 43)

(3) Hybrid type: *di*-V =*nya* *oleh* DP

maka **di-lihat=*nya* oleh mereka itu** ada se-orang Cina baharu bangun
and PASS-look=3 by 3PL that be one-CLF Chinese just get.up
dari tidur.
from sleep

‘and they saw a Chinese man who had just gotten up.’ (Abd: 296)

• Hybrid type is no longer available in Modern Malay.

• Its existence has been noted before (e.g. Cumming 1991; Sato 1997), but no serious study has been done on it.

Clitic-doubling properties

Hybrid type has characteristics of direct object clitic-doubling reported in the literature (e.g. Anagnostopoulou, to appear). See my LSJ paper (Nomoto, to appear) for details.

(4) Clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli 1986:32)

Lo vimos a Juan.
him we.saw A Juan

‘We saw Juan.’

(I) Optionality

Oleh type & DP type = counterpart without clitic-doubling.

(II) Special preposition (Kayne’s Generalization)

Oleh = special preposition required in clitic-doubling comparable to *a* in Spanish.

(III) High referentiality

Data: The agents of all hybrid type passive phrases in *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, *Hikayat Abdullah* and *Hikayat Marakarma* (18th–19th century)

Results: Definite 241, specific indefinite 3, non-specific indefinite 1

By contrast, DP type has indefinite agents in most cases.

(IV) Clause-mate condition

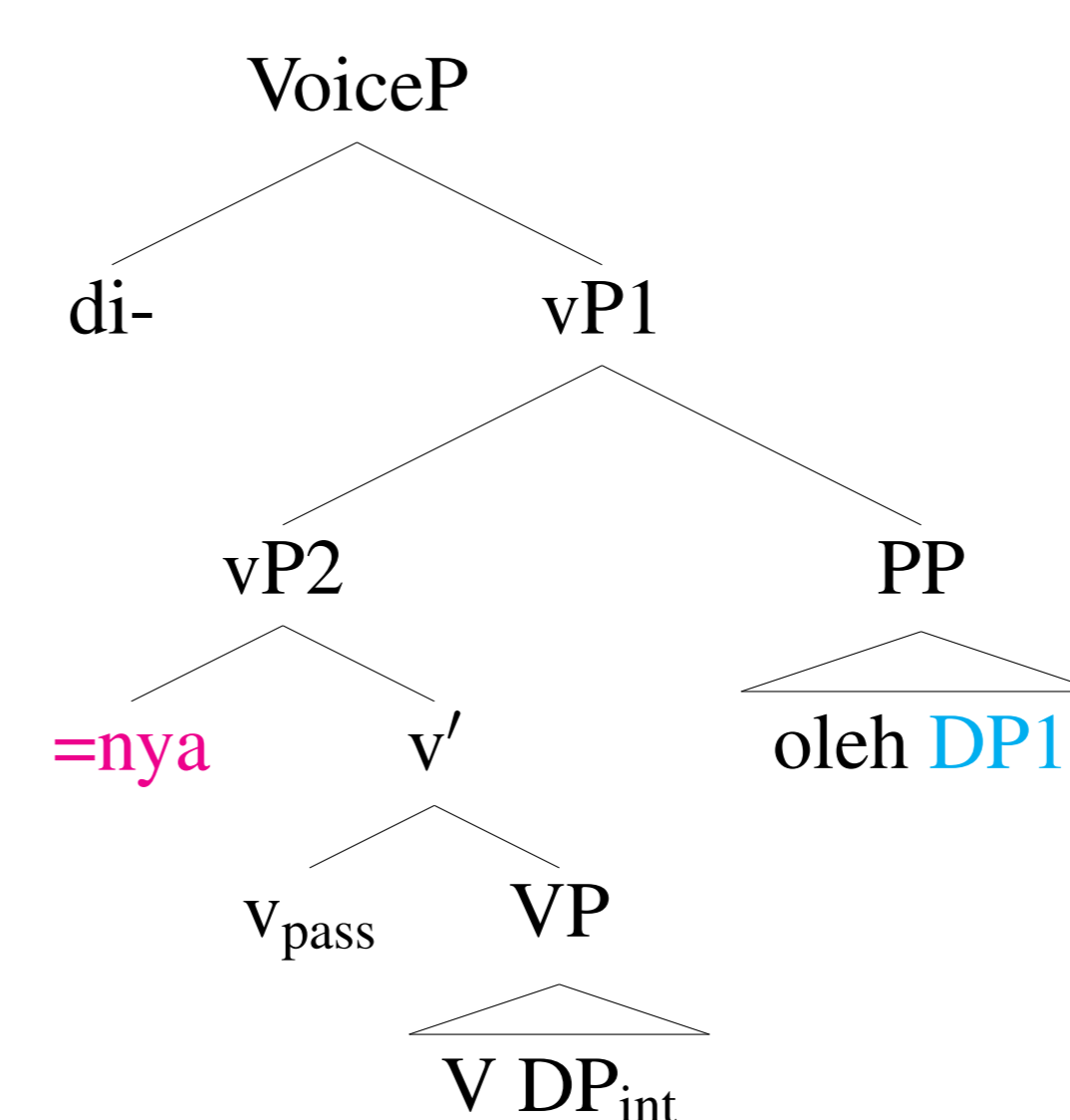
Oleh phrase and =*nya* occur in the same clause in all 245 examples.

Analysis

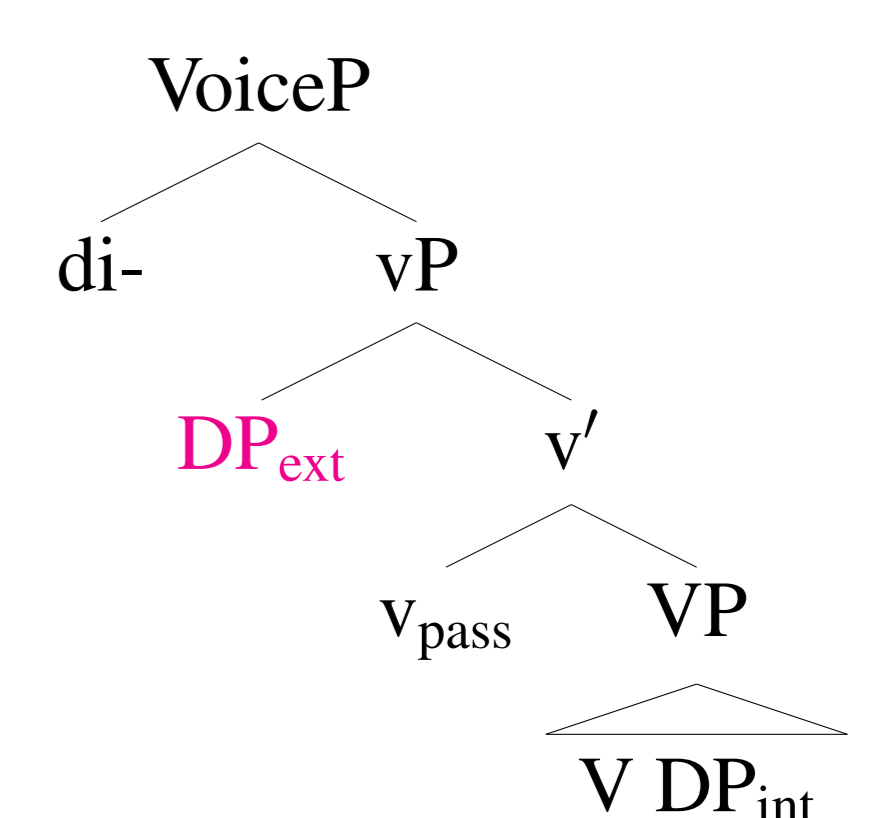
Syntax

The passive marker and the ‘by’ phrase both c-select a passive vP (Bruening 2013).

(5) a. Hybrid type



b. DP type



(6) Passive v (v_{pass})

a. Spec occupied by external argument and assigned θ -role. (= v_{act})

b. No accusative case assignment ability. ($\neq v_{act}$)

Agentive PP is an adjunct. → (I) Optionality

Semantics of clitic-doubling

BASIC IDEA

• The link between the clitic and its associate (i.e. the agentive PP) is not a syntactic chain, but instead is created semantically.

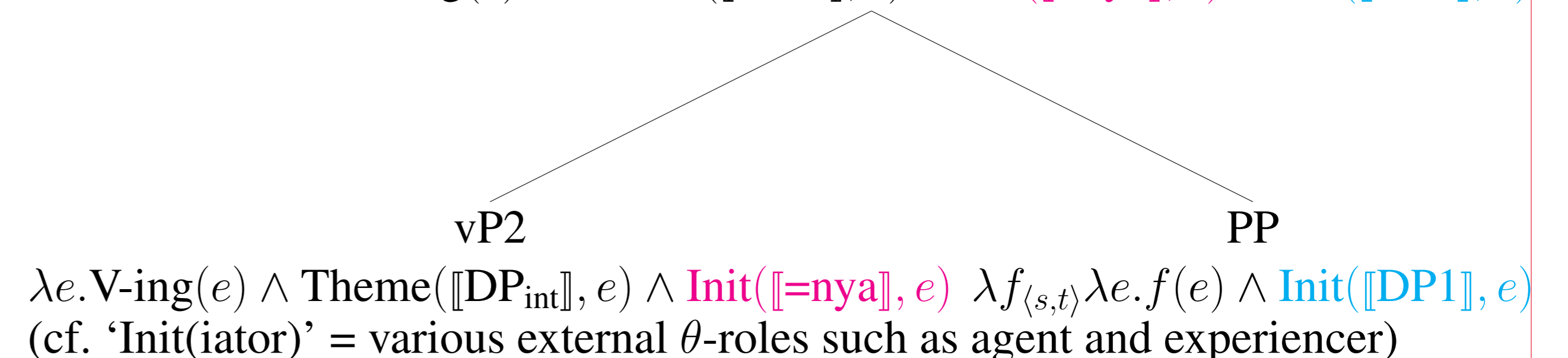
• Clitic pronouns are semantically dependent on

- a referential expression in the same clause (hybrid type)
- a salient entity in the discourse (DP type)

• The agent expressed by the *oleh* phrase in the hybrid type must be referential enough to serve as the clitic’s semantic host. → (III) High referentiality

SEMANTIC DEPENDENCY BASED ON θ -ROLES

(7) $vP1: \lambda e. V\text{-ing}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}([\text{DP}_{int}], e) \wedge \text{Init}([\text{=nya}], e) \wedge \text{Init}([\text{DP1}], e)$



(8) The θ -Criterion (semantic)

An argument is assigned only one θ -role.

A θ -role is assigned to only one argument.

Init and *Init* are the same initiator role. Given the θ -Criterion, $[\text{=nya}] = [\text{DP1}]$.

OTHER CLITIC-DOUBLING PROPERTIES

• *Oleh* ‘by’ is not a meaningless case assigner, but plays a role of guiding the clitic to its semantic host by means of a particular θ -role. → (II) Special preposition

• Assuming existential closure of an event at VoiceP, successful thematic guiding is guaranteed only within the same VoiceP. A ‘by’ phrase introduced outside of the VoiceP specifies the initiator of a distinct event. → (IV) Clause-mate condition

Implications

• Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989) are basically correct in comparing passives to clitic-doubling.

• Unlike Baker, Johnson, and Roberts, this study claims that the shared properties are mostly not syntactic but semantic, rooted in the dependent nature of clitics.

• Extension to English-type passives (i.e. the implicit and *oleh* types). One can postulate a null pronoun in Spec,vP (cf. Collins 2005; Nomoto and Kartini 2014).

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