

PASSIVES AND CLITIC DOUBLING: A VIEW FROM CLASSICAL MALAY*

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This paper investigates the hybrid type *di-* passive in Classical Malay, in which the agent occurs twice in a clause, namely as the third person enclitic and in the agentive PP (*di-V=nya oleh DP*). I argue that the construction is an instance of clitic doubling involving external arguments by pointing out its similarities to direct object clitic doubling. I propose a formal analysis of the hybrid type, according to which the core clitic doubling properties common to both constructions stem from the semantically dependent nature of clitic pronouns. This study supports Baker, Johnson, and Roberts's (1989) basic insight of comparing passives to clitic doubling.

1. Introduction

In Classical Malay, the passive agent may occur twice in a clause, namely as the post-adjacent third person enclitic =*nya* and as a part of the agentive PP, as in (1).

- (1) Hybrid type: *di-V=nya oleh DP*
maka di-lihat=*nya* [oleh *mereka itu*] ada se-orang Cina baharu
and PASS-look=3 by them that be one-CLF Chinese just
bangun dari tidur.²
get.up from sleep
'and they saw a Chinese man who had just gotten up.' (Abd.H 296:14)

I refer to this passive type as the 'hybrid type' for the reason clarified below (section 2). The existence of the hybrid type has been noted in the relevant literature (e.g. Cumming 1991; Sato 1997). However, no serious study has been done regarding its characteristics.³ Empirically speaking, this paper points out similarities between

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²This paper uses the following non-standard abbreviation not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules. PART: particle.

³Recently, Kartini Abd. Wahab and I have examined its frequency compared to those of the three other *di-* passive types in the two 19th century texts studied by this paper (Nomoto and Kartini 2016).

the hybrid type and direct object clitic doubling (section 3). Theoretically, the paper proposes an analysis of the syntax and semantics of the hybrid type that takes into account its clitic doubling aspect (section 4). The other *di-* passive subtypes are also analysed in such a manner that all subtypes are neatly connected.

Classical Malay is a language of literature, and hence does not represent the Malay language spoken in the 19th century or earlier. In fact, it is thought to reflect the state of spoken Malay at much earlier time, given the general spoken-written divide found in Malay up to the present as well as the fact that literary language tends to follow an older established style.

The main source of data for this study consists of the following three 18th and 19th century texts: *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (18th century; Tuah), *Hikayat Abdullah bin 'Abdul Kadir* (19th century; Abd.H) and *Hikayat Marakarma* (19th century; Misk). Classical Malay texts usually have multiple manuscripts and editions which differ in form and content. This is because it was the norm of traditional Malay literature that scribes modified the language and story to suit the linguistic and sociocultural taste of their age. This study uses the Malay Concordance Project (<http://mcp.anu.edu.au/>). The versions of the three texts adopted in this study are thus those available there, unless otherwise noted.⁴

2. Classical Malay passives

As in Modern Malay, Classical Malay has two kinds of passives: '*di-* passives' with the passive marker *di-* and 'bare passives' with no overt voice marker.⁵ In bare passives, the external argument (e.g. agent, experiencer) occurs immediately before a bare verb; auxiliaries, adverbs and negation, if any, must precede them, as shown in (2).⁶ It is the *di-* passive that is directly relevant to this study.

(2) Bare passive: Aux/Adv/Neg DP_{ext} V

- a. anak bini=nya itu boleh kompeni beri gaji
child wife=3 that can company give allowance
'the Company can give his wife and children an allowance' (Abd.H 234:12)

⁴They are Kasim 1975 (*Hikayat Hang Tuah*), Sweeney 2006 (*Hikayat Abdullah bin 'Abdul Kadir*) and Inon Shaharuddin 1985 (*Hikayat Marakarma*).

⁵Bare passives are referred to by various names in the literature: 'object-preposing construction' (Chung 1976), 'Passive Type 2' (Dardjowidjojo 1978), 'pasif semu' [pseudo-passive] (Asmah 2009), 'object(ive) voice' (Arka and Manning 1998; Cole, Hermon, and Yanti 2008), and so forth.

⁶Classical Malay as well as Modern Malay have another voice that involves a bare verb, i.e. 'bare actives', which has been dismissed by some previous authors as either nonexistent or a variant of bare passives. Bare actives differ from bare passives in that the external argument *precedes* Aux/Adv/Neg (DP_{ext} Aux/Adv/Neg V). Crucially, without the presence of Aux/Adv/Neg, one cannot distinguish between these two bare voices. See section 2 of Nomoto 2015 for my view of Malay voice system.

- b. alur yang boleh kapal lalu
channel REL can ship pass
'channels along which ships can pass' (Abd.H 328:7)

Di- passives can be subclassified according to how the external argument is encoded. Like English passives, the external argument can be implicit (3) or expressed by an *oleh* 'by' phrase (4). In addition, the external argument can also occur immediately after the passive verb (5). The third person pronoun in this position cliticizes to the verb, as in (5b).

- (3) Implicit type: *di-V*
Dari mana datang Enci' Nakhoda dan apa *di-cari*?
from where come Mr. Captain and what PASS-look.for
'Where did you come from and what are you looking for, Captain?' (Abd.H 43:1)
- (4) *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.H 17:11)
- (5) DP type: *di-V DP*
a. tiada ia *di-makan hulat*
not it PASS-eat worm
'it [= knowledge] is not eaten by worms' (Abd.H 23:11)
b. Serta *di-lihat=nya* nakhoda itu
and PASS-look=3 captain that
'And he [= my father] looked at the captain' (Abd.H 43:13)

Furthermore, the example in (1) above is a hybrid of the *oleh* type and the DP type, involving both an *oleh* phrase and a post-adjacent third person pronoun. This hybrid type is no longer available in Modern Malay. (6) provides another example of the hybrid type. In this example, the *oleh* phrase and the passive verb occur before the internal argument. While the *oleh* phrase is almost exclusive to the postverbal region in Modern Malay, it moves around quite freely for information structural reasons in Classical Malay.

- (6) *oleh ibu bapa=ku di-jemputkan=nya-lah* segala adik kakak dalam
by mother father=my PASS-invite=3-PART all sibling in
Melaka
Malacca
'my parents invited all their siblings in Malacca' (Abd.H 32:4)

Virtually nothing is known about the hybrid type to date except its existence. In the next section, I argue that the hybrid type involves clitic doubling.

3. Hybrid type as a clitic doubling construction

3.1. Clitic doubling

In a clitic doubling construction, the clitic and its double together refer to a single individual rather than two distinct ones. The example in (7) below illustrates direct object clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish. The clitic *lo* before the verb does not refer to an individual separate from Juan, denoted by the full DP *Juan*. Conversely, *lo* and *Juan* together refer to a single individual, i.e. Juan.

- (7) Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli 1986:32)
Lo vimos a Juan.⁸
him we.saw A Juan
'We saw Juan.'

The hybrid type *di-* passive in Classical Malay resembles this construction. The clitic =*nya* must refer to the same individual as that denoted by the full DP in the *oleh* phrase. The latter DP is comparable to the clitic's double in clitic doubling.

Two clear differences exist between the two constructions. First, the Spanish construction above and other phenomena discussed in the clitic doubling literature involve internal arguments, whereas the Malay construction involves external arguments. Second, the double (i.e. the full DP) occurs in an argument position in the former, but not in the latter. As seen in section 2, an *oleh* phrase can move rather freely, indicating that it is an adjunct. The second difference is presumably related to the first one. This is because an asymmetry exists between internal and external arguments with regard to the nature of the position in which it is first merged, namely, complement to V and specifier of v, respectively. In an active transitive clause like (7), complement to V allows a full DP to remain there. By contrast, specifier of v in a passive clause does not allow a full DP to remain there.⁹

If the second difference is a principled one related to the first, it does not warrant rejecting a clitic doubling construction whose double is not an argument. In fact, some authors (for example, Anagnostopoulou, to appear) consider the argumenthood of the double as a defining property of clitic doubling. However, that is

⁸Under Jaeggli's analysis, *a* transmits the case that the verb has to assign.

⁹I assume that a DP can stay there if it is syntactically cliticized. This means that an external argument that looks like a full DP in bare passives (2) and DP type *di-* passives (5) in fact has undergone syntactic cliticization. Given that only pronouns have special clitic forms in Malay, the morphological effect of syntactic cliticization can be observed only for pronouns, but not for common nouns and proper names.

the case only insofar as internal arguments are concerned. Hence, the hybrid type *di-*passive in Classical Malay can be considered a clitic doubling construction if it has clitic doubling properties. The next section demonstrates that indeed it does.

3.2. Clitic doubling properties

The hybrid type *di-* passive has the following four properties associated with direct object clitic doubling (hereafter simply ‘clitic doubling’) reported in the literature (Anagnostopoulou, to appear): (i) optionality of doubling; (ii) special preposition; (iii) high referentiality of the referent; and (iv) clausemate condition on the clitic and its double. I will discuss these properties one by one below.

3.2.1. Optionality

Clitic doubling is known to be optional. That is, a clitic doubling sentence is still grammatical if either the clitic or its double is omitted. Thus, the Spanish sentence in (7) is grammatical without the clitic *lo*. It is also grammatical without the full DP *a Juan*, in which case the clitic alone refers to a contextually salient individual. This ability to refer differentiates clitics from agreement markers. The former can refer either by themselves or together with a full DP, whereas the latter cannot refer but can indicate the presence of a referring expression in a certain syntactic position.

The optionality of doubling in the sense above is also found with the hybrid type *di-* passive in Classical Malay. The counterpart without the clitic is the DP type like (5a), where the external argument is a full DP. The external argument DP in (5a) is non-referential, but it can be referential as well, as in (8).

- (8) pakaian segala anak raja-raja itu semuanya *di-suruh* *permaisuri*
clothes all child king-PL that all PASS-order queen
kenakan kepada anak=*nya*.
put.on to child=3
‘the queen ordered that all the clothes of those kings’ children be put on her child.’ (Misk 23:13)

The counterpart without the double is the DP type seen in (5b), where the external argument is a clitic pronoun. As shown in the translation, the enclitic =*nya* in this example refers to the author’s father. Hence, it should not be analysed as an agent agreement marker.¹⁰

¹⁰Nor is the enclitic =*nya* a spell-out of ‘restrictive ϕ -features’ proposed by Legate (2014) for verbal prefixes in the closely related language Acehnese. Restrictive ϕ -features are adjoined to a Voice head and restrict the external argument in terms of ϕ -features. They are not pronominal, and hence do not refer.

3.2.2. Special preposition (Kayne's Generalization)

In Romance clitic doubling, the double of a clitic is introduced by a special preposition. The relevant preposition in the Spanish example in (7) is *a*. Clitic doubling is unavailable unless a language has such a special preposition (Kayne's Generalization).

The preposition *oleh* can be regarded as the Malay equivalent of Spanish *a*. The preposition that introduces the external argument in *di-* passives must be *oleh*. (9) shows that the external argument of *kedengaran* 'to be heard' and *terdengar* 'to be heard', which are both derived from the root *dengar* 'to hear', can be introduced by the preposition *kepada* 'to'. However, the related *di-* passive verb *didengar* only allows *oleh* to introduce its external argument, as shown in (10).

- (9) a. Maka kedengaran-lah khabar itu *kepada* orang² Cina yang kaya²
and be.heard-PART news that to people Chinese REL rich
dan kapitan Cina
and headman Chinese
'And the news was heard by the rich Chinese people and Chinese headmen'
(Abd.H 320:1)
- b. Maka setelah terdengar khabar itu *kepada* raja, maka ia memberi
and after be.heard news that to king then he give
titah
command
'And after the king heard the news, he gave a command' (Abd.H 68:3)
- (10) Maka apabila di-dengar *oleh* Holanda akan khabar Inggeris hendak
and when PASS-hear by Holland of news British is.going.to
membuat negeri di Singapura itu,
make state at Singapore that
'And when the Holland heard the news that the British was going to make a
state in Singapore,' (Abd.H 198:8)

3.2.3. High referentiality

The direct object in clitic doubling is known to receive a highly referential interpretation.¹¹ Languages vary as to the required level of referentiality: definites (e.g. Greek), specifics (e.g. Rioplatense Spanish), or both definite and specifics (e.g. Romanian) (Anagnostopoulou, to appear). Rioplatense Spanish examples showing this point are given in (11).

¹¹According to Anagnostopoulou (to appear), animacy also affects the possibility of clitic doubling. Indeed, most *di-* passives examined in this study have animate external arguments. However, some have inanimate external arguments such as *ghali* 'galley' and *peluru* 'bullet'.

- (11) Rioplatense Spanish (Suñer 1988)
- a. La oían a {Paca / la niña}. (definite, specific)
her they.listened A Paca the girl
'They listened to {Paca/the girl}.'
- b.*Lo alabarán al niño que termine primero. (definite,
him they.will.praise A+the boy who finish first non-specific)
'They will praise the boy who finishes first.'

The external argument in the hybrid type *di-* passive is also high in referentiality. I examined all instances of hybrid type *di-* passives that appear in the three 18th to 19th century texts. It was found that all but one of the 245 instances are definite (241 instances) or specific indefinite (3 instances). I consider the example in (12) to be the sole exception. The relevant argument is *orang* 'people'. This word occurs very frequently in the DP type to denote non-specific human(s), but it is rarely used in the *oleh* and hybrid types. In fact, one could analyse *orang* in (12) as specific indefinite, referring to a specific group of people who should not have known about the murder plan. As a result, there will be no exception in the three texts.

- (12) Pada malam itu Patih Gajah Mada pun tiada tidur duduk membicarakan pekerjaan hendak membunuh Laksamana,
kerana pekerjaan=nya itu semuanya di-ketahui=nya oleh *orang*.
because operation=3 that all PASS-know=3 by person
'That night, Prime Minister Gajah Mada did not sleep a wink, discussing the operation of killing the Admiral (= Hang Tuah), because that operation of his had been entirely known to people.' (Tuah 273:7)

It is interesting to note that while the external argument of the hybrid type is either definite or specific, the DP type has non-specific indefinite external arguments in most, if not all, cases (see (5a)). However, this does not mean that the DP type does not allow external arguments with high referentiality. For instance, the external argument is the third person enclitic pronoun =*nya* in (5b) and a bare definite DP *permaisuri* 'the queen' in (8). DPs with overt determiners and proper names are also possible. In other words, the set of the DPs allowed for the hybrid type and that of the DPs allowed for the DP type do not complement each other. Conversely, the former is a subset of the latter. This inclusion relationship underlies the optionality discussed in section 3.2.1 above.

3.2.4. Clausemate condition

One important difference between direct object clitic doubling and object agreement is that while the clitic and its double must occur in the same clause in clitic doubling, agreement can be long-distance, crossing a clause boundary (Anagnostopoulou, to appear). It is not possible to check by means of elicitation whether an *oleh* agentive

phrase can occur outside the clause hosting the passive verb encliticized by =*nya* in Classical Malay. However, it turned out that the two occur in the same clause in all 245 hybrid type *di*-passive examples in the three texts.

3.3. Alternative analysis as clitic dislocation

There is a clitic construction that resembles but is distinct from clitic doubling, namely clitic dislocation. Examples from Rioplatense Spanish are given in (13). Unlike clitic doubling, clitic dislocation does not require a special preposition introducing the full DP, as shown in (13b). In other words, it is not subject to Kayne's Generalization (cf. section 3.2.2).

(13) Rioplatense Spanish (Anagnostopoulou, to appear)

- a. A Juan, lo vimos ayer.
A Juan him we.saw yesterday
'We saw Juan yesterday.'
- b. El libro, lo compramos ayer.
the book it we.bought yesterday
'We bought the book yesterday.'

If the hybrid type is a clitic dislocation construction, it is anticipated that some agentive phrases occur without *oleh* ('DP *di*-V=*nya*' or '*di*-V=*nya* DP'). In fact, one of the 245 examples follows this pattern:

- (14) Setelah sudah di-mandikan itu maka *di-perbuat=nya orang*-lah
after already PASS-bathe that then PASS-treat=3 people-PART
seperti adat raja-raja yang besar-besar berputera.
like custom king-PL REL great have.prince
'After [Princess Ratna Dewi's newly-born daughter was] bathed by people,
she was treated by them as great kings customarily do when they got a prince.'
(Misk 8:16)

Interestingly, in the version edited by J. S. A. van Dissel (Abu Bakar 1985), the relevant portion does not appear in the hybrid type but in the DP type: *di-perbuat orang* without the clitic =*nya*.

There are a few possible reasons why the version included in the Malay Concordance Project (Inon Shaharuddin 1985) appears in the unusual hybrid type without *oleh*. First, the two manuscripts from Sri Lanka consulted by Inon Shaharuddin may indeed have had the clitic =*nya*. Note that even if they did, there is still the possibility that the original author could have written =*nya* by mistake, given that he did not use the pattern elsewhere in the same text. Second, an error could have been made in the course of transliteration either in Abu Bakar 1985 or Inon Shaharuddin 1985. Classical Malay texts were written in a variant of Arabic scripts called Jawi. The

clitic *=nya* might have been mistakenly dropped or added when Jawi scripts were romanized. It is not clear at the moment which of these possibilities is actually the case. Therefore, I shall put aside the problematic *oleh*-less hybrid type, and conclude that the hybrid type is not a clitic dislocation construction.

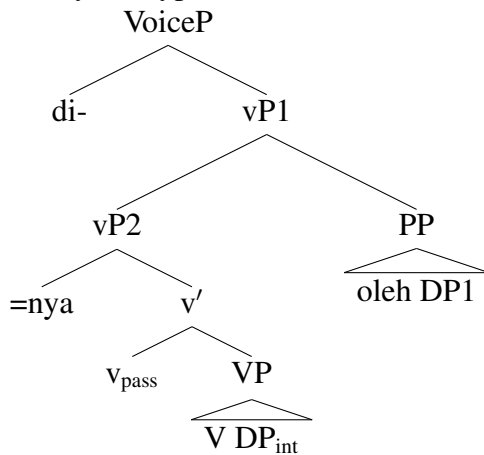
4. Analysis

This section presents a formal analysis of the syntax and semantics of the hybrid type *di-* passive, which was identified as a clitic doubling construction involving external arguments in the last section.

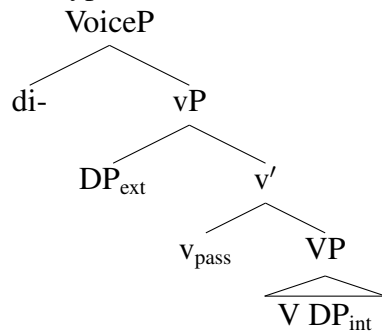
4.1. Syntax

I propose the base structure in (15a) for the hybrid type *di-* passive. This structure minimally differs from that of the DP type, shown in (15b), in having the agentive PP adjoined to vP.¹² Since the agentive PP is an adjunct, it is optional (cf. section 3.2.1). The external argument is merged in Spec,vP and assigned a θ -role there, as it is in the active. The passive differs from the active in having the passive *v* (v_{pass}), which lacks the accusative case assignment ability. Following Bruening (2013), I assume that the passive marker (*di-*) and the ‘by’ phrase both c-select a passive vP headed by v_{pass} .

(15)a. Hybrid type



b. DP type



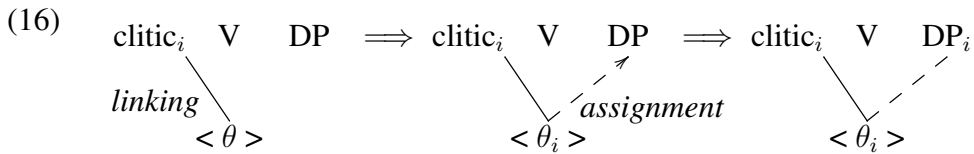
Previous analyses of (object) clitic doubling capture the joint reference by the clitic and its full DP double by syntactic means. There are three major approaches, of which only one is feasible for analysing the hybrid type *di-* passive. First, Harizanov

¹²The surface orders ‘ $DP_{\text{int}} di-V=nya\ oleh\ DP1$ ’ and ‘ $DP_{\text{int}} di-V\ DP_{\text{ext}}$ ’ are obtained through the movement of *V* to *v* to Voice (and possibly further to *T*) and that of DP_{int} to Spec,TP. One of the notable differences between Classical Malay and Modern Malay is the abundance of verb-initial clauses in the former. Verb-initial order results from the remnant movement of VoiceP: ‘ $[di-V=nya\ oleh\ DP1]\ DP_{\text{int}}$ ’ and ‘ $[di-V\ DP_{\text{ext}}]\ DP_{\text{int}}$ ’.

(2014) and Kramer (2014) analysed a clitic and its double as the head and tail of a movement chain, to which a single θ -role is assigned. In the clitic doubling construction, both head and tail are overtly spelled out, as in resumption. An analysis along these lines is unlikely for clitic doubling involving external arguments discussed in this paper. This is because the putative movement will take place from Spec,vP to within the PP adjoined to vP. Such a movement is unconceivable as a normal kind of movement.¹³

Another syntactic approach treats the clitic as an agreement morphology agreeing to its double DP (Sportiche 1996). Since an agreement morphology does not receive independent interpretation, the issue of joint reference does not arise in the first place. However, this analysis is not plausible because there are facts suggesting that the clitic in both object clitic doubling and the hybrid type *di*-passive is not an agreement morphology (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.4).

Finally, Jaeggli (1986) argues that a clitic and its double are base-generated in their surface positions, and accounts for their joint reference by indirect co-indexation through linking to the θ -grid. The diagram in (16) schematically shows how this co-indexation takes place. It is assumed that clitics must have a referential index and that they are not assigned a θ -role. The index of a clitic is claimed to be linked with a θ -role in the θ -grid of the verb hosting the clitic. If this θ -role is assigned to the clitic's double, the clitic and its double DP will end up with the same index, resulting in joint reference.



According to Jaeggli, co-indexation in this way is required to satisfy Borer's (1984) Complement Matching Requirement (or the Grid Matching Requirement in Borer and Grodzinsky 1986), which guarantees the uniformity of indices associated with a θ -role.

This last approach, though oldest among the three, is more promising than the other two as a general analysis of clitic doubling applicable to clitic doubling involving external as well as internal arguments. It is similar in spirit to the semantic analysis presented below in that joint reference is explained by a condition on θ -role assignment. Besides its purely syntactic nature, it differs from my analysis in that the special preposition (cf. section 3.2.2) is no more than a case transmitter and plays no role in the account of joint reference.¹⁴

¹³The same objection applies to a movement analysis of clitic doubling whereby the clitic and its double start as a single nominal constituent and subsequently the clitic moves out, an extension of Uriagereka's (1995) or Nevins's (2011) analysis of object clitic doubling.

¹⁴Two other clitic doubling properties discussed in section 3.2 can be accounted for as follows. (i) The clitic's double must be highly referential (cf. section 3.2.3) because a θ -role linked

4.2. The semantics of clitic doubling

I will now offer an alternative semantic analysis of the hybrid type *di-* passive in Classical Malay. Similar to Jaeggli (1986), I argue that the association between a clitic and its double is not created by movement or agreement but rather by a condition on θ -role assignment. However, unlike Jaeggli and many others, I take θ -roles to be essentially semantic objects, the assignment of which may be partly constrained by morphosyntax. Borer's (1984) Complement Matching Requirement, which plays a crucial role in enabling joint reference in Jaeggli's analysis, is a syntactic condition on syntactic objects such as indices and the syntactic operation of linking. The present analysis does not resort to these syntactic devices, but instead relies on basic semantic tools such as θ -roles and the θ -Criterion. It must be noted here that I have adopted a semantic conception of the θ -Criterion. The reasoning behind this decision is that since θ -roles are semantic objects, the condition regulating their assignment (that is, the θ -Criterion) should be semantic as well. I will return to this point below. The proposed analysis is also intended to apply to clitic doubling involving internal arguments with necessary adjustments.

The basic idea is that clitic pronouns are dependent not just phonologically but also semantically. Just as a clitic pronoun cannot be pronounced independent of its phonological host, it also cannot be interpreted, more specifically it cannot fulfil its referring potential, without the support of its semantic host. What counts as a clitic's semantic host comes in two types: a referential expression in the same clause or a salient entity in the discourse. Clitic doubling is a construction that involves the first type, whilst a clitic construction without doubling involves the second type. In the case of *di-* passives, they are the hybrid type (*di-V=nya oleh* DP) and the DP type whose external argument is the enclitic *=nya* (*di-V=nya*) respectively. The external argument expressed by the *oleh* phrase in the hybrid type, which is the clitic's double, must be highly referential, in order for it to serve as the semantic host of the clitic. In short, the high referentiality of a clitic's double follows from the dependent nature of the clitic.

I propose deriving the relevant semantic dependency as a consequence of the θ -Criterion. I assume the denotations in (18a) and (18b) for vP2 and PP in (15a), repeated below as (17) in a labelled bracket notation. The 'Init(iator)' role encompasses various external θ -roles such as agent, causer and experiencer. Notice that the clitic pronoun *=nya* is assigned a θ -role, as shown in (18a). In this respect, clitic pronouns behave as pronouns, but not as agreement morphology. Significantly, (18a) and (18b) contain the same initiator role. They are combined to yield (18c).

with the referential index of a clitic cannot be assigned to a non-referential DP such as *no one*, which does not come with a referential index. A problematic aspect of this account is that it draws too sharp of a distinction between the DPs allowed in clitic doubling and those which are not, despite the observed cross-linguistic variation as to what is considered "highly referential." (ii) The clitic and its double are clausemates because in object clitic doubling, because the clitic attaches to the verb that takes the doubled DP as its complement.

(17) $[\text{VoiceP di-} [\text{vP1} [\text{vP2} =\text{nya} [\text{v}' \text{v} [\text{VP V DP}_{\text{int}}]]]] [\text{PP oleh DP1}]]$

(18)a. $[[\text{vP2}]] = \lambda e. \text{V-ing}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}([\text{DP}_{\text{int}}], e) \wedge \text{Init}([\text{=nya}], e)$

b. $[[\text{oleh DP1}]] = \lambda f_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda e. f(e) \wedge \text{Init}([\text{DP1}], e)$

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

The θ -Criterion requires the identity of $[[\text{=nya}]]$ and $[[\text{DP1}]]$. As noted above, this study assumes that the θ -Criterion is a semantic principle. This semanticized θ -Criterion is a biuniqueness condition that holds between a θ -role and a referent to the effect that a θ -role (from the same tier, cf. Jackendoff 1990) is assigned to only one referent and a referent is assigned only one θ -role. Under this definition, $=\text{nya}$ and DP1 must refer to the same individual in order to comply with the θ -Criterion because their denotations are both assigned the same initiator role. Otherwise, the initiator role would be assigned to more than one referent, violating the θ -Criterion.

It must be emphasized that the analysis above should not be understood in syntactic terms. As correctly pointed out by one of the reviewers of my AFLA abstract, the θ -Criterion as generally assumed in syntactic theories will rule out the hybrid type as ungrammatical. This is because θ -roles in syntax are concerned with argument *expressions* rather than their denotations; θ -roles are syntactic markers that determine an expression's interpretation. The syntactic version of θ -Criterion dictates that a θ -role cannot be assigned to two distinct DPs. It is thus impossible to assign the same initiator role to both the clitic $=\text{nya}$ and DP1, without giving rise to ungrammaticality.

4.3. Consequences of the analysis: Clitic doubling properties

The proposed semantic analysis accounts for three of the four clitic doubling properties discussed in section 3.2. First, in the present analysis, the preposition *oleh* 'by' is not just a meaningless case assigner/transmitter. It also plays the significant role of guiding the clitic to its semantic host by means of a θ -role. Joint reference by a clitic and its double DP is made possible because the two are assigned the same θ -role. This explains why clitic doubling involves a special preposition (Kayne's Generalization). A special preposition is special in that it assigns a θ -role that is generally associated with a particular syntactic position. For example, Malay *oleh* assigns an external θ -role (termed "initiator") encompassing more particular roles such as agent, causer and experiencer. This role is generally associated with Spec,vP. Similarly, Spanish *a* assigns an internal θ -role encompassing more particular roles such as theme, stimulus and goal. This role is generally associated with complement to VP. Some languages rely on morphological cases rather than adpositions to indicate different thematic relations. Kayne's Generalization is expected not to hold in at least some such languages. Indeed, Balkan languages such as Greek and Bulgarian are cited as counterexamples to Kayne's Generalization (Anagnostopoulou, to appear). In these languages, clitic doubling is possible without a special preposition. Nouns in Balkan languages have richer case morphology than Malay and Romance.

Next, the high referentiality of a clitic's double has to do with the fact that a clitic pronoun is inherently referential. Since a clitic is referential, the DP with which it shares a denotation, namely its double, must also be referential. This much is also predicted by Jaeggli's syntactic analysis, but not by more recent approaches based on movement and agreement. I think that the cross-linguistic variation regarding the degree of referentiality arises from subtle semantic differences found in clitic pronouns in different languages, specifically in terms of a clitic's inherent referential strength. I claim that the mechanism of unifying the denotations of two different DPs, namely a clitic and its double, to satisfy the θ -Criterion works only when their combined referential strength exceeds a certain level. A weak clitic pronoun must depend on its host more than a stronger one to function as a full-fledged referential pronoun, which means that its host must be stronger than that of the latter.

Finally, the clausemate condition follows from the mechanism of θ -role mediated joint reference discussed above. Given that an event argument is existentially closed at VoiceP, the success of the relevant mechanism is guaranteed only within the same VoiceP. This is because an *oleh* 'by' phrase introduced outside of the VoiceP containing the clitic specifies the initiator of a distinct event, which is not necessarily identical to the role assigned to the clitic.

5. Conclusions and implications

This paper has demonstrated that the hybrid type *di*- passive in Classic Malay is a clitic doubling construction involving external arguments. Moreover, it has provided a semantic analysis of its clitic doubling properties.

The proposed analysis of the hybrid type *di*- passive can be extended to the implicit and *oleh* 'by' types, which are also found in English. One can postulate a null pronoun in Spec,vP instead of the overt third person clitic =*nya* (cf. Collins 2005; Nomoto and Kartini 2014). This null pronoun differs from =*nya* in one crucial aspect: it is unspecified in terms of person and number. Hence, the agent does not need to be highly referential (and third person) in the *oleh* type, unlike in the hybrid type, though both involve clitic doubling. Moreover, the agent can be arbitrary in the implicit type. The proposed analysis with a null pronoun achieves the same result as analyses capitalizing on existential closure of the external argument (e.g. Bruening 2013; Legate 2014). However, only the former can capture the synchronic and diachronic connection between different passive subtypes in Malay (see Nomoto and Kartini 2016 for the passive continuum in Malay).

The hybrid type *di*- passive behaving similarly to object clitic doubling means that Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989) are basically correct in comparing passives to clitic doubling. They analyse the passive *-en* as a clitic doubled by a *by* phrase. As in my analysis, *-en* as a clitic receives an external θ -role. They claim that *-en* forms a θ -chain with the DP in the *by* phrase. The θ -Criterion prevents the latter DP from receiving a separate θ -role. Thus, it can be said that my analysis is a semantic reincarnation of Baker, Johnson, and Roberts's syntactic analysis, as both deal with the issue of joint reference by means of the θ -Criterion. One important difference be-

tween the two analyses concerns the role of a special preposition. In Baker, Johnson, and Roberts's analysis, it is a mere case assigner and does not assign its own θ -role. Hence, the *by* occurring in passives has no obvious relation to the preposition *by* in other contexts; they just happen to be homophones.¹⁵ In my own analysis, however, it is crucial for a special preposition to have its own θ -role to assign, for the purpose of realizing joint reference in clitic doubling.

In conclusion, a clitic doubling analysis of passives is worth a serious reconsideration. With passives as a type of clitic doubling, the scope of the study of clitic doubling should broaden considerably. This study indicates that properties common to clitic doubling in general—that is, clitic doubling involving external as well as internal arguments—stem from the semantically dependent nature of clitic pronouns and the general semantic principle of θ -Criterion. Syntactic mechanisms to connect a clitic and its double DP may differ across constructions (external vs. internal arguments) and across languages.

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¹⁵Bruening (2013) criticizes such a view, showing parallelisms between *by* phrases in passives and nominals.

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