Person restriction on passive agents in Malay and givenness[*]

Hiroki Nomoto
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

1 Introduction

The agent of *di-* passives in Malay appears to be restricted to third person. In Nomoto and Kartini (2014), we analysed this restriction as resulting from the influence of the givenness of the eventuality described by the passive verb phrase on that of the agent. Specifically, the low givenness/salience (= high newness) of the former forces the latter to be also low. Since first and second person agents are speech act participants (i.e. speakers and hearers) and highly given, they are not suitable as a *di-* passive agent.

This paper elaborates on our previous analysis, with particular focus on the following two theoretical issues: the givenness of implicit passive agents (analysed as *pro*) and givenness of eventualities. The notion of givenness is usually discussed of individual-denoting referential noun phrases (e.g. Chafe 1976; Prince 1992; Gundel et al. 1993). However, the notion is also relevant to other constituent types such as verb phrases, and plays a role in information structure-related linguistic phenomena (Schwarzschild 1999; Riester 2008). In discussing these theoretical issues, this paper also makes a few modifications to our previous analysis of Malay passives in Nomoto and Kartini (2014).

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the voice system of Malay assumed in this paper, including different passive subtypes in Malay and how their agents are expressed. Section 3 introduces the person restriction on the agent in *di-* passives and the essence of Nomoto and Kartini's (2014) analysis of it in terms of information structure, particularly givenness. The section thus contains a brief review of the notion of givenness. Sections 4 and 5 discuss issues concerning givenness that arise from our analysis: the status of the implicit passive agent (section 4) and givenness of eventualities (section 5). Section 6 is the conclusion.

2 Passives in Malay

Malay has two types of passive(-like) constructions: morphological passives with the prefix *di-* (1a) and bare passives (1b).[1] They are so called based on their surface morphological characteristics. The verb bears the overt passive voice marker *di-* in the former whereas it bears no overt voice marker in the latter.[2] Besides this morphological difference, the two passives also differ

---

[1]Non-standard abbreviations used (those not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules): ACT: active; FAM: familiar; PART: particle; POL: polite.

[2]Bare passives are referred to by various names in the literature: 'object-preposing construction' (Chung 1976; Willett 1993), 'Passive Type 2' (Dardjowidjojo 1978; Sneddon et al. 2010), 'pasif semu' [pseudo-passive] (Asmah

in the status of the agent. The agent in *di-* passives appears to be optional whereas that in bare passives is obligatory and immediately precedes the verb. Note that I use the term 'passive' to refer to a construction type in which the theme argument does not occur as a direct object but as a subject, regardless of the syntactic status of the agent (see below for further details).

(1)   a.   *Di-* passive

        Dokumen itu sudah *di*-semak   oleh mereka.

        document that already PASS-check by   them

        'The document has already been checked by them.'

    b.   Bare passive

        Dokumen itu sudah   *(mereka) semak.

        document that already   they   check

        'They have already checked the document.'

Di- passive agents are encoded in three ways, as shown in (2). In the '*pro* type' (2a), no overt agent occurs, though the presence of an agent is entailed. In the '*oleh* type' (2b), the agent is introduced by the preposition *oleh* 'by'. Finally, in the 'DP type' (2c), the agent immediately follows the verb, with no preposition.

(2)   a.   *Pro* type

        Surat itu sudah   di-poskan *pro*.

        letter that already PASS-post

    b.   *Oleh* type

        Surat itu sudah   di-poskan *oleh kerani*.

        letter that already PASS-post by   clerk

    c.   DP type

        Surat itu sudah   di-poskan *kerani*.

        letter that already PASS-post clerk

        'The letter was already posted (by the clerk).'

I propose the structures in (3) for the three *di-* passive subtypes and the bare passive. In *di-* passives, the verb moves from V to v to Voice, to supply the prefix *di-* with a verbal host to attach to.[3] Nomoto and Kartini (2014) analyse an implicit agent as a null unspecified pronoun (*pro*) rather than being absent altogether from the structure.[4] This ensures that the presence of an agent is entailed even if it is not explicitly expressed. The meaning of *pro* can be left unspecified, but it can also be specified either overtly by an *oleh* 'by' phrase or covertly by the context outside of the passive clause. In other words, *pro* is involved in the *oleh* type as well as the *pro* type. By contrast, the DP type *di-* passive and bare passive must have an overt agent DP.[5]
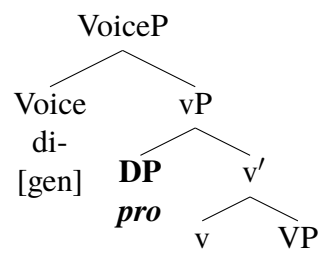

2009), 'object(ive) voice' (Arka and Manning 1998; Cole, Hermon, and Yanti 2008), and so forth. See Nomoto (2006) for a summary of various existing terms.

    [3]I revised the structures proposed in Nomoto and Kartini (2014). In the latter paper, we posited the voice markers *di-* and Ø in v. The verb movement in *di-* passives lacked a clear motivation in this analysis, unlike the current one. Cole et al. (2008) also posit the voice-related prefixes *di-* and *meN-* in the Voice head distinct from v.
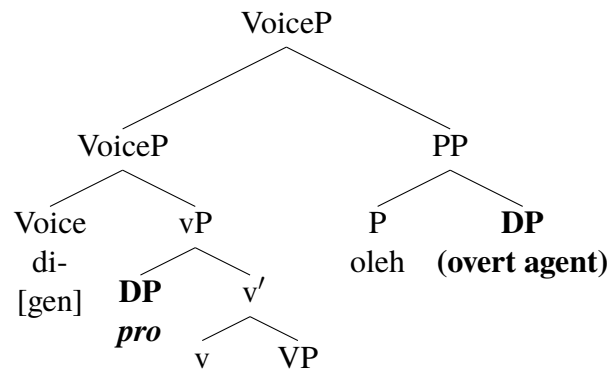
    [4]Alternatively, the agent argument can be existentially closed (cf. Legate 2010, 2012, 2014; Kartini and Nomoto 2012).

    [5]One known problem with positing the agent of the DP type *di-* passive in Spec,vP is that it cannot bind a reflexive in the subject position, unless it is a pronoun, as in (ia) (Arka and Manning 1998; Cole et al. 2008; Kroeger 2014). Cole et al. (2008) thus posit the agent DP below the theme position as a V′ adjunct, as in (ib).
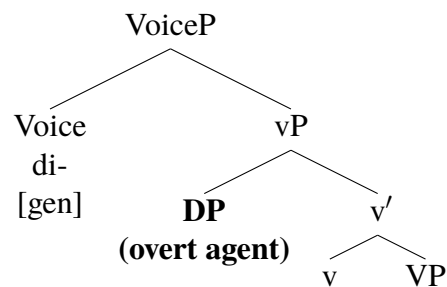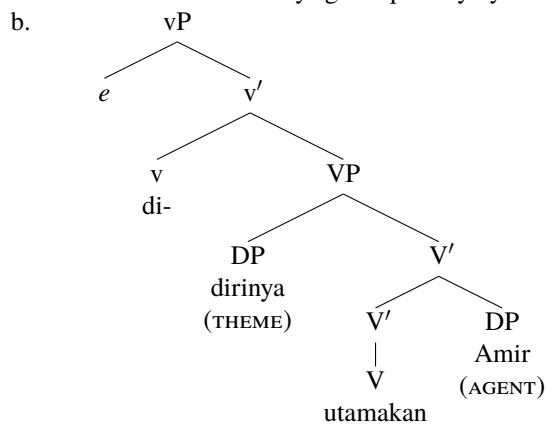
(3)   a.   *Pro* type *di-* passive

```
            VoiceP
           /      \
      Voice        vP
      di-         /  \
      [gen]    DP      v′
               pro    /  \
                     v    VP
```

   b.   *Oleh* type *di-* passive

```
                    VoiceP
                  /        \
            VoiceP          PP
           /      \        /   \
      Voice        vP     P     DP
      di-         /  \    oleh  (overt agent)
      [gen]    DP      v′
               pro    /  \
                     v    VP
```

   c.   DP type *di-* passive

```
            VoiceP
           /      \
      Voice        vP
      di-         /   \
      [gen]    DP       v′
            (overt agent) / \
                         v   VP
```
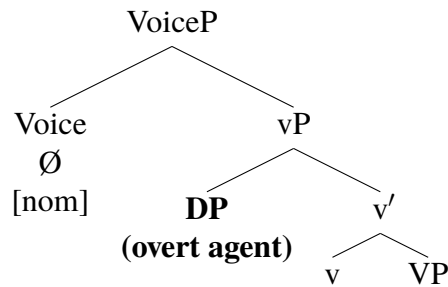

(i)   a.   Diri-nya (sendiri) selalu di-utamakan   -nya/*Amir.
           self-3   own   always PASS-prioritize -3/Amir
           'Himself was always given priority by him/*Amir.'

   b.

```
            vP
           /  \
          e    v′
              /  \
             v    VP
             di-  /  \
               DP      V′
             dirinya  /  \
             (THEME) V′    DP
                     |    Amir
                     V   (AGENT)
                  utamakan
```

3

d.　Bare passive

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
              Voice         vP
                Ø          /  \
              [nom]      DP      v′
                    (overt agent) /  \
                              v    VP
```

I assume that Voice licenses the agent DP introduced in Spec,vP through Case assignment. In Malay, abstract Case is thought to be reflected on the type of clitics: *di-* with [gen(itive)] licenses enclitics whereas Ø with [nom(inative)] licenses proclitics.

At this point, I should clarify the relation between *voice categories* such as active and passive, and *voice markers* that I assume. My definition of voice categories is based solely on whether and how an argument is licensed. The active-passive distinction (in my definition) is concerned with how the functional head v licenses an internal argument, which is introduced by a lexical verb (V).[6] In short, the active-passive distinction is a property of v. The active v licenses an internal argument by assigning accusative case to it whereas the passive v lacks this ability and cannot license it. The v head has another role; it introduces an external argument. The external argument thus introduced needs to be licensed, and it is Voice that does this job. Crucially, in my definition, how an external argument is licensed is a different voice distinction than the active-passive distinction and is orthogonal to the active-passive distinction. It enables one to subclassify actives/passives.[7]

However, Voice is not totally irrelevant to the active-passive distinction. This is because it has a selectional restriction on the type of vP it takes to its complement, though it does not determine the type. *Di-* selects for a passive vP, that is, a vP headed by the passive v. It is in this sense that *di-* is a passive voice marker. Similarly, the prefix *meN-* in the *meN-* morphological active (4a) is an active voice marker in the sense that it selects for an active vP. The null Voice head involved in the bare active (4b) and bare passive has no selectional restriction, that is, it is compatible with either an active or a passive vP.[8] Table 1 summarizes voice categories and voice markers in Malay.

(4)　a.　*MeN-* active

　　　Mereka sudah　meny-[s]emak dokumen　itu.
　　　they　　already　ACT-check　　document　that

---

[6]From a typological perspective, it is more adequate to refer to what I call 'passive' as the undergoer voice. This is because the term 'passive' is normally used to refer to a construction in which the external rather than internal argument is suppressed (Keenan and Dryer 2007). My choice of the term 'passive' here is based on the norm in Malay linguistics, whereby *di-* clauses are referred to as 'passives'. It goes without saying that what is important is not the name but the properties of the construction at issue.

[7] While bare passives are a subtype of the passive in my definition of voice categories, they are seen as a third kind of voice, the so-called 'object(ive) voice', in a definition that conflates the two independent factors of Voice and v (cf. symmetric(al) voice hypothesis). See also Table 1.

[8]Many researchers make little of the bare active despite its frequent use in daily speech. It is either simply ignored or seen as the *meN-* active whose *meN-* is omitted/deleted. In the present analysis, the bare active involves the unmarked voice marker and no such omission/deletion takes place.

Table 1: Voice markers and voice categories in Malay

Construction	Voice (marker)	vP selection	Case by Voice	Case by v	Voice category
meN- active	*meN-*	active	nominative	accusative	active
di- passive	*di-*	passive	genitive	none	passive
bare passive	Ø	either	nominative	none	passive
bare active				accusative	active

b. Bare active

Mereka sudah semak dokumen itu.
they already check document that
'They have already checked the document.'

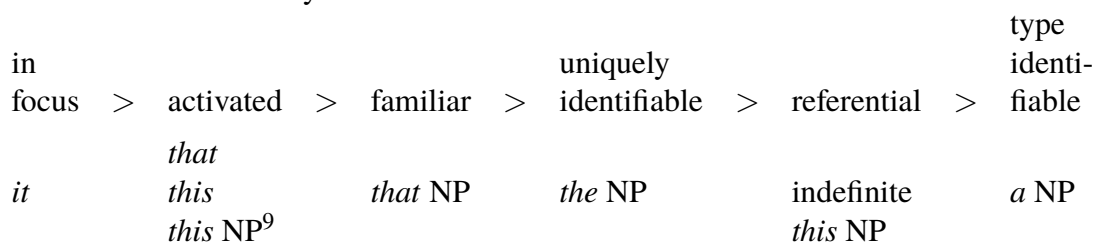# 3 Person restriction on *di-* passive agents and givenness

Prescriptive grammars of Malay (and Indonesian) state that the agent in *di-* passives should be third person and prohibit first and second person agents. Researchers are not unanimous as to whether this statement is descriptively accurate. In order to resolve this empirical unclarity, Nomoto and Kartini (2014) examined various texts in Formal and Colloquial Malay, and showed that the restriction exists as a strong tendency rather than an absolute syntactic rule. No similar person restriction exists for the agent in bare passives.

How can we explain these facts? Since the restriction is not an absolute syntactic rule, a plain syntactic account will be too restrictive and face an undergeneration problem. Nomoto and Kartini (2014) thus propose an account in terms of information structure, particularly givenness.

Before introducing our account more specifically, I would like to briefly overview the notion of givenness. Givenness has to do with the speaker's assessment of the addressee's consciousness/attention state and knowledge with regard to a referent (e.g. Chafe 1976; Prince 1992; Gundel et al. 1993; Lambrecht 1994). Initially, the notion was conceived as a binary distinction between 'given' and 'new', where a given referent is already activated in the speaker's consciousness at the time of utterance whereas a new referent is not and newly activated by the relevant utterance. However, it is nowadays common to identify multiple statuses with different degrees of givenness.

One of the popular theories of givenness is the Givenness Hierarchy of Gundel et al. (1993), which has been adopted in studies of many languages including Austronesian languages such as Bantik (North Sulawesi, Indonesia; Utsumi 2014) and Kalanguya (Northern Phillipines; Santiago 2014) (see Hedberg 2014 for a list of other languages). The Givenness Hierarchy and English examples that represent each status are given in (5).

(5) The Givenness Hierarchy

in focus	>	activated	>	familiar	>	uniquely identifiable	>	referential	>	type identifiable
it		*that* *this* *this* NP[9]		*that* NP		*the* NP		indefinite *this* NP		*a* NP

What distinguishes the Givenness Hierarchy in (5) from other similar theories of givenness is that the status categories form a hierarchy in such a way that a status entails all the statuses to its right. Thus, if a referent is 'in focus', it is also 'activated', 'familiar', 'uniquely identifiable', 'referential' and 'type identifiable'. This feature elegantly captures the fact that one form can be employed for multiple adjacent statuses. For example, '*the* NP', categorized as 'uniquely identifiable', can be used to refer to referents of higher statuses such as 'familiar' and 'in focus' as well. Furthermore, consisting of a single dimension, the Givenness Hierarchy also enables an easy comparison between different statuses with respect to degrees of givenness. The feature is crucial for the account of the person restriction on passive agents in Malay proposed by Nomoto and Kartini (2014).

Although studies of givenness usually centres around individual-denoting noun phrases, the notion is not exclusively for individuals, but it also applies to other semantic types. Thus, the Coding Protocol for Statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al. 2006) takes into consideration eventualities and propositions when discussing the usage of the italicized nominals in (6) and (7).

(6)   John fell off his bike. *This/it* happened yesterday.

(7)   A: John fell off his bike.
        B: *That*'s not true.

This/it in (6) refer to the event of John's falling off his bike that is introduced into the discourse and consequently the addressee's consciousness by the first sentence. *That* in (7) refers to the proposition associated with that same event.[10] While Gundel et al.'s concern lies in the italicized nominal expressions, an adequate description of them presumes that their non-individual antecedents have givenness statuses. For example, one should be able to say things like "the event described by sentence S is 'in focus', 'activated', etc."[11]

With this background, let us return to the issue of the person restriction on passive agents. To recapitulate, there is a strong tendency that the agent in *di-* passives is third person whereas no such tendency exists for the agent in bare passives. According to Nomoto and Kartini (2014), first and second person referents are rare in *di-* passives because *di-* passive agents are supposed to be low in givenness/salience. First and second person agents are speech act participants and highly given. Hence, they are not so suitable for *di-* passive agents. The lack of a similar person restriction in bare passives means that bare passives impose no givenness specification. Note

---

[9]The DP hypothesis is assumed here, whereby the traditional noun phrases are analysed as determiner phrases with a determiner head and an NP complement ([$_{DP}$ D NP]).

[10]Similarly, German *da* can refer not only to individuals but also to eventualities and propositions associated with them (p.c. Arndt Riester). (i) is an example taken from *Grosses Deutsch-Japanisches Wörterbuch* (second edition, Shogakukaku, 2000).

(i)   Er schenkte mir eine Brosche, und ich freute   mich   sehr *dar*-über.
        he presented me a   broach   and I   pleased myself very DA-about
        'He presented me a broach, and I was very pleased about *it*.' [*it*: (i) his presenting me a broach, (ii) the broach]

[11]It may sound worthless to think about different givenness statuses for eventualities/verb phrases because they almost always introduce new events in typical narratives, as claimed by Nikolaus Himmelmann during the workshop. The latter fact definitely makes it much more difficult to find examples of different givenness statuses for eventualities/verb phrases (if any) compared to individuals/noun phrases. However, I am uncertain whether it serves to completely reject the initial hypothesis that the same theory of givenness applies to the two types.

that even though the restriction is directly relevant to the agent DP, one cannot just focus on the agent DP. This is because the restriction is not on the agent DP in general, but only on that in *di-* passives.

One may wonder if the restriction is present only in *di-* passives but not in bare passives because the agent is suppressed in *di-* passives. However, such an argument does not go through, because an overt agent is obligatory in the DP type of *di-* passives, as seen in section 2. Moreover, Nomoto and Kartini analyse the *pro* and *oleh* types as containing a null unspecified pronoun *pro*, that is to say, the agent is not suppressed in all types of *di-* passives. I will postpone discussing *pro* to the next section, as its givenness status needs special attention.

Nomoto and Kartini do not state how low the relevant givenness status is. However, a sentence like (8) shows that the relevant givenness status is the lowest one, 'type identifiable'. The noun phrase *dua hingga lima ekor burung betina* 'two to five female birds' is only type identifiable.

(8) [Burung unta makan secara berkumpulan yang terdiri daripada enam hingga 10 ekor.]
Se-ekor burung jantan akan di-temani   oleh *dua hingga lima ekor burung*
one-CLF bird   male will PASS-accompany by   two to   five CLF bird
betina.
female
'[Ostriches eat in a group of six to ten.] A male bird will be accompanied by *two to three female birds*.'   (DBP Corpus)

Since a form associated with a status can be employed for higher statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy, if *di-* passive agents must be only 'type identifiable', any form can occur as *di-* passive agents. What is crucial, however, is that the Givenness Hierarchy predicts that not all forms are equally frequent; forms with a distant status becomes infrequent. This explains the fact that first and second person agents do occur but much less frequently than the third person pronouns (cf. (1a)). Even though personal pronouns are generally very high in givenness (probably 'in focus'), first and second pronouns are more given than third person pronouns.[12]

Furthermore, if a referent associated with a high status is expressed by a form associated with a lower (entailed) status, Gricean (1975) maxim of quantity gives rise to the implicature that the high status does not hold. In the present context, this means that if a first or second person referent is chosen as a *di-* passive agent, it is presented as if the speech act participant at issue were a third person referent, making an otherwise subjective description objective. The following example cited by Nomoto and Kartini (2014) as a "marked case" is a case in point. The agent in this example involves coordination and refers to a first person (exclusive) plural referent.

(9) Malaysia di-wakili   oleh *saya dan tiga orang lagi rakan.*
Malaysia PASS-represent by   me   and three CLF   more colleague
'Malaysia is represented by *me and three other colleagues*.'   (DBP Corpus)

Nomoto and Kartini's account predicts that if a referent can be referred to by either a third person pronoun or an alternative form of a lower status, the latter is more likely to occur as a *di-* passive agent. In order to verify this prediction, it is necessary to identify the givenness statuses for major referential expressions in Malay. This task is beyond the scope of this study, and I leave it for future research.

Now, what determines the low givenness status of *di-* passive agents? Since the property is

---

[12]I thank Novi Djenar for bringing my attention to this point.

concerned only with *di-* passives and is not shared by other voice types, it should be attributed to an element that only *di-* passives have. The most likely source of the low givenness status, of course, is the prefix *di-*. This is also a logical extension of the situation in the nominal domain to the verbal domain. The givenness properties of noun phrases are usually regarded as lexically specified. For example, determiners such as *this*, *that*, *the* and *a* in English encode as part of their meanings different degrees of givenness associated with the DP headed by them, as specified in the Givenness Hierarchy. Although I know of no serious study that applies the Givenness Hierarchy to Malay, demonstratives such as *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this' are thought to encode particular degrees of givenness in addition to their deictic meanings. As seen above, the notion of givenness is not limited to noun phrases/individuals but also relevant to verb phrases/eventualities. If so, there should be morphemes that encode givenness in verb phrases too. Moreover, a parallelism between the nominal and verbal domains suggests that such morphemes should encode givenness on top of other meanings or functions. *Di-* is thought to be one such morpheme. Specifically, it encodes a low level of givenness, besides its syntactic function as a passive voice marker.

Two possibilities are conceivable as to how *di-* encodes a low givenness status. First, the prefix *di-* encodes the givenness status of the agent directly. This option may sound reasonable, but it is in fact not so straightforward. This is because under the current syntactic analysis (cf. section 2), the prefix *di-* takes a passive vP and licenses the agent argument in Spec,vP by assigning it a genitive case. In other words, the only way for *di-* to access the agent directly is by means of case assignment. One is thus forced to claim that genitive case is associated with low givenness.

Another possibility is that the low givenness of a *di-* passive agent is a consequence of the property of the passive clause (vP) of which it is part. That is to say, a property that was initially thought of as one of an argument (DP) is in fact a property of an eventuality (vP). This option may sound counterintuitive at first, but it is more compatible with the current syntactic analysis. Given that *di-* takes a vP, it is possible that it specifies the property of the vP it takes (including the kind of v, i.e. passive v). Nomoto and Kartini (2014) adopt this second option, and claim that the prefix *di-* selects for a vP describing an eventuality that is low in givenness and the low givenness of the eventuality makes its agent also low in givenness. The givenness property of the passive prefix *di-* can be formulated as a selectional restriction, as in (10).

(10)   The prefix *di-* in Voice selects for a vP describing an eventuality that is low in givenness.
         [$_{VoiceP}$ *di-* [$_{vP[low\ givenness]}$]]

An alternative formulation would let *di-* mark the givenness of the phrase it heads, i.e. VoiceP. Given that *di-* passives and bare passives share the same kind of vP (i.e. passive vP, cf. Table 1) and no person restriction exists on the agent in bare passives, the givenness of passive vPs can be either high or low. Thus, the formulation as a selectional restriction in (10) rejects a vP describing a highly given eventuality whereas the alternative formulation alters the givenness of such a vP to fit its requirement.

It is difficult to decide on which formulation is adequate based on empirical data. I opt for the formulation in terms of a selectional restriction, because it operates in other areas of Malay grammar (Nomoto 2013b). We have seen above that overt voice markers such as *meN-* and *di-* select for a vP of an appropriate type (see Table 1). Overt number marking by means of classifiers and reduplication restrict an otherwise unrestricted (i.e. number-neutral) noun denotation to singularities and pluralities respectively (Nomoto 2013a). Soh and Nomoto (2011, 2015) propose that the active prefix *meN-* selects for an eventuality with stages in the sense of Landman (1992, 2008) to capture the aspectual contrast between sentences with and without *meN-*, as in

(11). This selectional restriction can be formulated in a parallel fashion to that of the passive marker *di-* above, as in (12).

(11) a. Harga minyak turun selama/dalam tiga   hari.
           price oil   fall for/in   three day
           'The oil price fell for/in three days.'
      b. Harga minyak men-[t]urun selama/*dalam tiga   hari.
           price oil   ACT-fall   for/in   three day
           'The oil price was falling for three days.'   (Soh and Nomoto 2015:151–152)

(12) The prefix *meN-* in Voice selects for a vP describing an eventuality with stages.
       *[$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ *meN-* [$_{\text{vP[−stages]}}$]][13]

Soh and Nomoto's finding about *meN-*'s aspectual meaning indirectly supports Nomoto and Kartini's (2014) claim that *di-* encodes givenness. Since the active voice marker is more than a purely syntactic formative, it is not surprising if the passive marker also has a semantic/pragmatic function. However, Nomoto and Kartini's claim needs empirical support based on concrete data. That said, it is not very easy to prove the low givenness of *di-* passive clauses for a few reasons. I will discuss these issues in section 5.

4   Givenness of implicit passive agents

In the previous section, I put aside the implicit agent *pro* involved in the *pro* type *di-* passive with an implicit agent. The *pro* type is most frequently used amongst the three types of *di-* passives. At first brush, the prevalence of the *pro* type appears to run counter to our information-based analysis of *di-* passive agents. This is because it is generally agreed upon in the literature of information structure that the level of givenness inversely correlates with the amount of overt material, i.e. the more given a denotation is, the less phonetic material the linguistic expression associated with it contains. Gundel et al. (1993) thus identify "Ø (zero) NPs" as the form with the highest givenness status "in focus" in Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Russian and Spanish. If what is represented as *pro* above is the same entity as their "Ø NPs," *pro* should be more given than the overt first and second person pronouns. Under Nomoto and Kartini's analysis, whereby the agent of *di-* passive is low in givenness, one would expect the *pro* type *di-* passive to be at least as infrequent as *di-* passives with first and second person agents, quite contrary to actual fact.

   Nomoto and Kartini argue that *pro* is not a kind of "Ø NP," and that *pro* is low in givenness due to its unspecified nature. If so, the prevalence of the *pro* type *di-* passive makes perfect sense. Indeed, the interpretation of *pro* is not always clear. In many cases, it seems most appropriate to analyse *pro* as "unspecified," though its referent is obvious in some cases. Moreover, according to Nomoto (to appear), the same null unspecified pronoun *pro* is employed in the following anaphoric expressions: as a possessor argument of *diri* '(physical) self' and with the intensifier *sendiri* 'own, alone', as shown in (13a) and (13b) respectively.

(13) a. diri *pro*   'oneself'   b. kereta *pro* sendiri   'one's own car'
          diri-ku   'myself'   kereta-ku sendiri   'my own car'
          diri-mu   'yourself'   kereta-mu sendiri   'your own car'
          diri-nya   'himself/herself'   kereta-nya sendiri   'his/her own car'

---

[13]Soh and Nomoto assume that *meN-* occupies v rather than Voice. Hence, their original formulation differs slightly from the one presented here.

Notice that *pro* occurs in the same position as enclitics do. The agent position of *di-* passives also allows enclitics. Both positions are associated with genitive case. The relevant position is not associated with accusative case, given that *pro* cannot occur as a preposition object position (e.g. **di-semak oleh* pro [PASS-check by]). Incidentally, Nomoto and Kartini claim that the agent in bare passive is obligatory because the agent position in bare passives is not a genitive case position allowed for *pro*.[14]

While the unspecified nature of *pro* is sufficiently reasonable, considering it as distinct from Ø causes proliferation of covert forms.[15] I thus argue that, insofar as Malay is concerned, *pro* and Ø capture different stages of the same entity: *pro*/Ø is inherently low in givenness (in the lexicon, before interpretation) but can be understood as referring to highly given referents through contextual restriction (after interpretation).

The situation is comparable to the interpretation of pronouns. Suppose that John is talking with Mary about their mutual friend Ali. In this situation, *I* refers to John, *you* to Mary and *he* to Ali. However, these are by no means the lexical meanings of *I*, *you* and *he*. The observed meanings are the results of interpretation with respect to a particular context. For example, the lexical meaning of *he* is a singular individual who is not a speech act participant and is male. The context restricts the set of its possible referents further until the set becomes a singleton consisting only of Ali.

Pro in *di-* passives can be restricted in the same way. Although the referent of *pro* can be left unspecified, when it undergoes contextual restriction, it can sometimes refer to a highly given referent such as first and second person referents. In (14), the originally unspecified referent of *pro* is restricted by the context to a first person referent, i.e. the writer of the article in question or 'the media' including the writer. The person who met *beliau* 'him' cannot be the reader (second person) or a third party excluding the writer/reader (third person). Likewise, in (15), the originally unspecified referent of *pro* is restricted to first person referents, this time, overtly by the agentive phrase *oleh kita* 'by us'.

(14) Beliau di-temui *pro* selepas merasmikan Seminar Pengurusan Sukan Institusi
      he   PASS-meet   after   officiate   seminar management sport institution
      Pengajian Tinggi (IPT) 2010 di UiTM kampus Khazanah Alam Bandar Jengka di
      study   high   2010 at UiTM campus Khazanah Alam Bandar Jengka at
      sini.
      here
      'He was met (by *pro*) after he had officiated the 2010 Higher Academic Institution
      Sports Management Seminar at UiTM, Khazanah Alam Bandar Jengka campus here.'
                                                              (*Utusan Malaysia*, 01/01/2011)

(15) Usia tidak mengampunkan segala dosa yang di-buat *pro* oleh kita.
      age not forgive   all   sin REL PASS-do   by us
      'Age does not forgive all the sins that were committed by (*pro* =) us.'   (DBP Corpus)

Classical Malay provides a case where an overt pronominal passive agent is restricted by an *oleh* 'by' phrase. *Di-* passives in Classical Malay have an additional subtype that is no longer available in Modern Malay. I refer to this type as the 'hybrid type', as the agent is expressed simultaneously by an *oleh* phrase as well as the third person enclitic *-nya*. It is situated between

---

[14]This means that obligatory agent expression is not a defining property of bare passives. Rather, it is a matter of licensing condition of *pro*. If so, it is predicted that the agent could be optional (i.e. allow *pro*) in comparable constructions in other languages. Kroeger (2014) reports two candidates for such languages: Pangutaran and Mualang.

[15]I put aside instances of Ø that arise from ellipsis.

the *oleh* type and the DP type.[16] An example is given in (16). A direct translation of the clause that reflects the compositional interpretation would be '… by a third person referent who is him'.

(16) maka lalu di-baca-*nya oleh* baginda surat itu.
      and   then PASS-read-3 by   him   letter that
      'and then the letter was read by him.'   (*Hikayat Maharaja Marakarma*: 139b)[17]

Nomoto and Kartini (2014) report that first and second person agents are found least frequently in the DP type. With the revised syntactic structures in (3), Nomoto and Kartini's analysis offers a possible explanation for this fact. Unlike the *pro* and *oleh* types, the agent in Spec,vP is not further restricted by the context or an *oleh* phrase in the DP type. This suggests that the givenness of the DP in Spec,vP is more important as a determinant of the well-formedness of *di-* passives than that of the final referent after contextual restriction. If the ultimate source of the pressure against first and second person agents is *di-* in Voice, its effect applies to its c-command domain, i.e. vP. It is the agent DP in Spec,vP that is directly affected by the givenness constraint of *di-*. In the *pro* and *oleh* types, the agent comes to refer to a first and second person referent not because of *pro* in Spec,vP but because of the *oleh* phrase or context, which are added outside the scope of *di-*. By contrast, the DP type cannot have a first and second person referent unless the DP in Spec,vP itself is first or second person.

5   Givenness of eventualities

In this section, I discuss issues related to Nomoto and Kartini's (2014) claim that the eventuality described by a *di-* passive verb phrase is low in givenness. Although this claim offers a way to capture the low givenness of the *di-* passive agent without stipulation, it is not so easy to prove its correctness. There are two main reasons for this. First, theories of givenness have developed through studies of noun phrases, which typically denote individuals rather than eventualities. Second, in Modern Malay, most passive clauses have a preverbal subject, unlike earlier stages of the language and some regional Malay varieties. Consequently, the informational status of the verb phrase gets obscured by that of the subject. It is known that the clause-initial noun phrase (i.e. subject) in Malay is highly topical, that is, it often sets the topic on which the rest of the clause make comments (Alsagoff 1992; Nomoto 2009). Before going into details, I should qualify that due to these and other reasons, the rest of this section is rather preliminary in nature. Its aim is more to share problems and their possible solutions than to solve them persuasively.

---

[16]This construction is reminiscent of Legate's (2012) analysis of Acehnese passives, whereby verbal prefixes in v restrict the agent, as shown in (i). Note that in terms of their semantic function, the verbal prefixes in Acehnese correspond to the enclitic *-nya* in Malay rather than the passive prefix *di-*; Acehnese does not have an overt morpheme corresponding to *di-* in Malay. This supports the current analysis, where (Malay) *di-* occupies a head higher than v.

(i)   a.   Aneuk miet nyan *di*-kap   (*lé* uleue nyan).
             child   small that 3FAM-bite by snake that
             'The child was bitten (by the snake).'
       b.   Aneuk miet nyan *meu-/ neu-/ geu*-tingkue *lé* kamoe/ droeneuh/ gopnyan.
             child   small that 1EXCL- 2POL- 3POL-carry by us   you   him/her
             'The child is carried by us/you/him/her.'   (Legate 2012:497)

[17]Data obtained from the Malay Concordance Project of the Australian National University (`http://mcp.anu.edu.au`).

5.1   Previous studies on the givenness of non-individuals

To my knowledge, it is Schwarzschild (1999) who first provided an explicit definition of givenness for non-individuals. His basic idea is that while givenness of individuals is based on coreference, that of non-individuals is determined by entailment. Consider the example in (17). Uppercase letters here and elsewhere indicate pitch accents.

(17)   NObody murdered JOHN although BOB WANted to kill him.

<div align="right">(adapted from (22) in Riester 2008:79)</div>

Given the first verb phrase *murdered John*, the event denoted by the second verb phrase *kill him* counts as given in some sense. It is possible that the events described by the two verb phrases are identical. That is to say, the killing in question is achieved by means of murder. But even if not, a murdering event necessarily involves a killing event. So, the event of killing John is not completely new. Importantly, in this second case, givenness is not based on coreference but a lexical relation; specifically *murder* is a hyponym of *kill*. As Baumann and Riester (2012) point out, hyponymy like this is verified by entailment, as shown in (18). Schwarzschild developed a procedure to make such verification possible, including existential type-shifting, which turns verb phrase meanings into propositions, as found in (18).

(18) $\exists x.\mathrm{murder}(x, j)$ *entails* $\exists x.\mathrm{kill}(x, j)$
         (someone murdering John)   (someone killing John)

Baumann and Riester (2012) push this idea a step further and propose to differentiate two kinds of givenness, i.e. referential givenness and lexical givenness. These two kinds of givenness are respectively based on coreference and lexical relations such as identity, synonymy and hyponymy. The new notion of lexical givenness captures the fact that sometimes an expression is treated as given due to the presence of a related expression rather than a coreferential entity. For example, in (19), *a big German Shepherd* and *Anna's dog* are not corerential. However, the word *dog*, which heads the latter noun phrase, cannot be accented, which means that it is treated as given. This is because *a big German Shepherd* is a hyponym of *dog*. Similarly, in (20), the two occurrence of *Italian* are not coreferential, with the first one denoting a language and the second one a nationality. However, the second occurrence of *Italian* cannot be accented, and hence is treated as given, because the language name *Italian* is closely related to *Italian* as nationality.

(19)   On my way home, a big German Shepherd barked at me. It reminded me of ANna's
         dog.   (Baumann and Riester 2012:133)

(20)   (Why do you study Italian?) I'm MARried to an Italian.   (Büring 2007)

While Schwarzschild distinguishes between individual-denoting (type *e*) and non-individual denoting (non-type *e*) expressions in his definition of a single notion of givenness, Baumann and Riester associate referential and lexical givenness with referential and non-referential expressions respectively. The borderlines coincide in the case of nominal expressions, but not in non-nominal expressions. For instance, in Schwarzschild's definition, a referential event is given if it is entailed by its antecedent. In Baumann and Riester's theory, on the other hand, a referential event is considered (referentially) given if it has a coreferential antecedent. Unfortunately, Baumann and Riester focus on nominal expressions and do not discuss non-nominal expressions. Nevertheless, Baumann and Riester's theory has a conceptual advantage over Schwarzschild's. It is not obvious in Schwarzschild's theory why only individual-denoting referential expressions

invoke coreference. See Appendix for further details on Baumann and Riester's referential and lexical givenness, and their relation to the Givenness Hierarchy of Gundel et al. (1993).

5.2 Challenges

While the criteria developed for individuals can be extended to eventualities, an actual (referential) givenness identification task is not so straightforward. The difficulty is due to different natures of individuals and eventualities. First, while it is common that an individual is repeatedly referred to in discourse, an eventuality is usually not repeated. Hence, criteria for givenness statuses based on coreference are not helpful in many cases. In theory, an event is high in givenness if the same action involving the same participants has occurred in immediate discourse. Thus, among the four continuations to (21) in (22) (temporal locations put aside), the event described by sentence (22a) is higher in givenness than those described by the other three. In actual discourse, however, such a repetition situation is rare.

(21)   [The speaker and addressee are talking about their roommate John.]
         John$_1$ was eating your bread this morning.

(22)   a.   He$_1$ was eating your bread again.   (same action, same agent, same theme)
         b.   He$_1$ was eating your eggs too.   (same action, same agent, different theme)
         c.   Mary was eating your bread too.   (same action, different agent, same theme)
         d.   Mary was watching TV.   (different action, different agent, different theme)

Second, eventualities typically involve more than one individual. The same action can be conducted by the same agent on a different theme, as in (22b); it can also be conducted on the same theme by a different agent, as in (22c). Is there a difference in givenness between these two cases? If so, which event is higher in givenness?

Relating to the second difference, assuming that the event argument of a verb is existentially closed at vP (or VoiceP), a sentence involves at least two levels of referential givenness for eventualities, corresponding to different syntactic nodes denoting eventualities: vP (or VoiceP) and TP.[18] Both vP and TP eventualities can serve as an antecedent for nominal expressions indicating particular degrees of givenness such as *(do) it*, *this* and *that* (see (6) for an example of a TP eventuality referred to by *this/it*). Although (22a) and (22c) have different degrees of givenness at the TP level, they do not differ at the vP level, as shown in (23).

(23)   a.   [$_{TP}$ He$_1$ was [$_{vP}$ eating your bread] (again)] (= (22a))
         b.   [$_{TP}$ Mary was [$_{vP}$ eating your bread] (too)] (= (22c))

Moreover, at the vP level, voice alternation affects givenness. Consider the passive counterpart of (23a).

(24)   [$_{TP}$ Your bread was [$_{vP}$ eaten by him$_1$] (again)]

While the sentence as a whole describes the same event as (23a), i.e. John's eating the addressee's bread, the events described at the vP level are different between (23a) and (24), i.e. someone's eating the addressee's bread and John's eating something. The givenness statuses associated with (23a) and (24) should also differ accordingly.

---

[18]I assume that the lexical verb (V) and its projection VP are assigned lexical givenness, in line with Baumann and Riester's (2012) treatment of the lexical noun (N) and its projection NP.

5.3 "Foregrounding" in discourse as a low givenness indicator

Nomoto and Kartini (2014) do not address the issues pointed out above when they claim that *di-* passive verb phrases are low in givenness. Instead, they reinterpret Hopper's (1983) notion of "foregrounding" as indicating low givenness.

Hopper studies discourse functions of three clause types in the Early Modern Malay text *Hikayat Abdullah*: 'active', 'passive' and 'ergative'. Hopper's active construction is the same as that in the present study. He argues that what is collectively refrerred to as the passive in the present study in fact consists of two distinct voices, though they share the same morphology (i.e. *di-* and proclitics) and are sometimes indistinguishable. The two constructions are distinguished by functional and formal criteria, of which he states the former is primary. In Hopper's definition, the "passive" has the discourse function of backgrounding, and the theme precedes the verb, as in (25). By contrast, the "ergative" foregrounds events, and the theme follows the verb, as in (26a). Clauses with a preverbal theme are not "passive" but "ergative" if (i) the theme is followed by the particle *pun* or *semua-nya* 'all of them', as in (26b), or (ii) it has a foregrounding function (e.g. part of an event sequence), as in the first clause of (26c).

(25)   Hopper's "passive"

maka dua puncha kiri kanan itu di-matikan
then two ends   left right the PASS-knot
'and the two ends to the right and left are knotted'   (Hopper 1983:71)

(26)   Hopper's "ergative"

a.   di-champakkan-nya puntong cherutu itu   ka-dalam kapal
     PASS-throw.away-3 stub   cheroot that into   ship
     'and they threw away the stubs into the boat'

b.   Maka segala pengana itu pun di-bahagikan-lah   ka-pada segala
     and all   cakes   the PUN PASS-distribute-PART to   all
     budak-budak
     boy.PL
     'Then all the cakes were passed around to all the boys'

c.   maka duit   itu di-ambil oleh ibu-bapa-nya, di-belikan-nya   penganan
     then money the PASS-take by   parents-his   PASS-use.to.buy-3 cakes
     atau barang-barang makanan, di-makan-nya
     or   things   eating   PASS-eat-3
     'Then his parents take the money and use it to buy cakes or other things to eat,
     and they eat them.'   (Hopper 1983:72–73)

He demonstrates the foregrounding and background difference between the two constructions by examining the Transitivity index of each of the 100 clauses (= 50 "ergative" + 50 "passive" clauses). Each clause is inspected as to whether it exhibits a positive (i.e. more Transitive) or negative value for the ten Transitivity parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). The results show that that "ergative" clauses are more Transitive than "passive" clauses with respect to all Transitivity parameters, especially kinesis (action involving movement), punctuality (no discernible duration), aspect (telic) and agent potency (animate). Since high Transitivity reflects foregrounding in discourse in Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Theory, the high Transitivity of the "ergative" justifies Hopper's definition of the construction as a foregrounding construction.

It must be noted here that Hopper treated all clauses with a preverbal theme as "passive" to guarantee the objectivity of the examination. Hence, Hopper's "ergative" and "passive" data

roughly correspond to verb-initial and theme-initial passives in the term of the present study. In short, verb-initial passives are more Transitive than theme-initial passives, and hence have a foregrounding function. I think that this statement about Early Modern Malay is also valid in Modern Malay, though it is not as evident as in Early Modern Malay due to the general scarcity of verb-initial passives.[19] Although I do not find Hopper's functional definitions and identification of voice categories very useful,[20] his characterizations of verb-initial passives are worth quoting. He writes that a verb-initial passive clause "focuses purely on the event—the change—itself" and "narrates sequenced events which pertain to the main line of the discourse" (Hopper 1983:84). Verb-initial passive clauses are used in the same way in Modern Malay, though they are limited to the literary genre and certain subordinate contexts.

Hopper states that the foregrounding function of verb-initial passive clauses is obliterated by the positioning of a noun phrase before the verb, which he analyses as "a device for arresting the flow of the discourse and holding up the action by momentarily focusing attention away from ACTIONS to PARTICIPANTS" (87). This quote indicates that by "foreground" Hopper means "require or draw attention of the addressee." In terms of givenness, it is a denotation which is not already given enough in the address's consciousness that requires his/her special attention. Hence, in verb-initial passive clauses, the verb is low in givenness. The verb is arguably low in givenness in theme-initial passive clauses too, but the low givenness of the verb does not come to the fore because of the fronted theme.

If the reasoning above is justified, givenness of eventualities correlates with (or possibly *is*) Transitivity. The second last sentence of Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity article is suggestive of this connection:

> While we claim that the discourse distinction between foregrounding and back-grounding provides the key to understanding the grammatical and semantic facts we have been discussing, we also explicitly recognize that grounding itself reflects a deeper set of principles—relating to decisions which speakers make, on the basis of their assessment of their hearers' situation, about how to present what they have to say. (Hopper and Thompson 1980:295)

It seems to me that the relevant "deeper set of principles" is in fact givenness.[21] Givenness has to do with the speaker's assessment of the addressee's consciousness/attention state and knowledge with regard to a referent, which can be eventualities as well as individuals. Based on their assessment, speakers choose a form that encodes the most appropriate givenness status, e.g. *it* over *that* (English DPs), *di-* over Ø (Malay VoicePs).

6 Conclusion

This paper has reviewed and elaborated on Nomoto and Kartini's (2014) analysis of the person restriction on the agent of *di-* passives in Malay. In doing so, I have made the following two main claims. First, the implicit agent *pro* involved in *di-* passives is not distinct from "Ø NPs" in the Givenness Hierarchy: *pro*/Ø is lexically low in givenness due to its unspecified nature and often interpreted as referring to a highly given referent, including speech act participants.

---

[19]See Cumming (1991) and Djenar (2015) for descriptions of verb-initial passives in Modern Indonesian and how they differ from Classical Malay.

[20]See Kroeger (2014) for a critical review of functional definitions of voice categories in Malay/Indonesian.

[21]Reinhart (1984) expresses a different view. She proposes that grounding in discourse is "a temporal extension of the principle governing the spatial organization of the visual field into figure and ground."

Second, morphemes exist that encode givenness not only for noun phrases/individuals but also for verb phrases/eventualities. The paper has also discussed issues concerning givenness of eventualities. The discussion is still premature. Especially, more empirical work is necessary, to demonstrate the low givenness status of *di-* passive verb phrases in Modern Malay and the connection between givenness and Transitivity cross-linguistically.

Appendix. Referential and lexical givenness statuses, and the Givenness Hierarchy

Baumann and Reister's (2012) referential givenness statuses (cf. Table 2) basically correspond to one of the coding criteria for the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al. 2006), and hence match nicely with the Givenness Hierarchy, as shown in Figure 1 (Baumann and Riester 2012:143).[22] This means that one can compare different statuses with respect to the degree of givenness: one status is more given than another.

Table 2: Referential givenness (Baumann and Riester 2012:138)

r-given	anaphor corefers with antecedent in previous discourse
r-given-sit	referent is immediately present in text-external context (in particular discourse participants)
r-unused-known	discourse-new item which is generally known
r-given-displaced	coreferring antecedent does not occur in previous 5 intonation phrases or clauses
r-bridging	non-coreferring anaphor, dependent on previously introduced scenario
r-environment	refers to item in text-external context (conversational environment)
r-bridging-contained	bridging anaphor which is anchored to an embedded phrase
r-unused-unknown	discourse-new item which is identifiable from its linguistic description but not generally known
r-new	specific or existential indefinite introducing a new referent
r-cataphor	item whose referent is established later on in the text

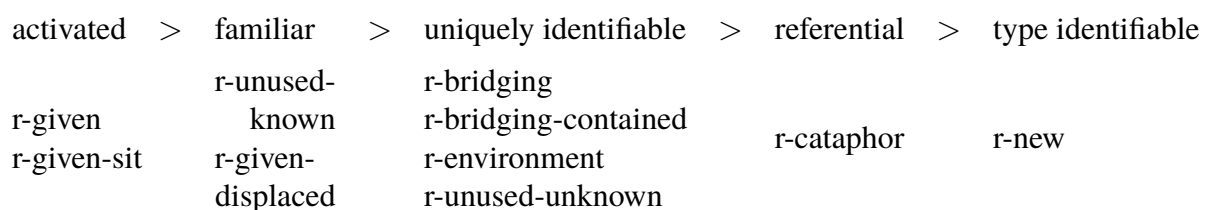| activated	>	familiar	>	uniquely identifiable	>	referential	>	type identifiable
				r-bridging				
r-given		r-unused-known		r-bridging-contained		r-cataphor		r-new
r-given-sit		r-given-displaced		r-environment				
				r-unused-unknown				

Figure 1: Referential givenness and the Givenness Hierarchy

Baumann and Reister's lexical givenness statuses are summarized in Table 3.[23] They discuss neither the relative degrees of givenness for these lexical givenness statuses nor their cognitive statuses, i.e. positions on the Givenness Hierarchy. However, it would be possible to rank these

---

[22]I omitted 'r-generic'. Baumann and Riester align their 'r-new' with 'referential' on the Givenness Hierarchy. This is because they only discuss the middle four statuses available in the latter.

[23]I substituted "expression" for "noun" in their article.

categories to each other, because I see parallelisms between the categories of referential and lexical givenness. To begin, 'l-given-same' is obviously the lexical counterpart of 'r-given', and 'l-new' is that of 'r-new'. The abstract relationship among referents underlying bridging inference involved in 'r-bridging(-contained)' is arguably identical to that holding between linguistic expressions ('l-given-supr', 'l-accessible-sub', 'l-accessible-other'). Furthermore, 'l-given-syn' is comparable to 'r-given-displaced' in that both are pretty close to the highest givennnes but do not quite reach it because they do not share the same phonetic form (sound) or attention span (time) with the antecedent. The preliminary ranking resulting from these parallelisms is: l-given-same > l-given-syn > l-given-supr, l-accessible-sub, l-accessible-other > l-new.

Table 3: Lexical givenness (Baumann and Riester 2012:144)

l-given-same	recurrence of same expression
l-given-syn	relation between expressions at the same hierarchical level (synonyms)
l-given-supr	expression is lexically superordinate to previous noun
l-accessible-sub	expression is lexically subordinate to previous noun
l-accessible-other	two related expressions, whose hierarchical lexical relation cannot be clearly determined
l-new	expression not related to another expression within last 5 intonation phrases or clauses

References

Alsagoff, Lubna. 1992. Topic in Malay: The Other Subject. Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University.

Arka, I Wayan, and Christopher D. Manning. 1998. Voice and grammatical relations in Indonesian: A new perspective. In *Proceedings of the LFG98 Conference*, ed. Mirriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Asmah Hj. Omar. 2009. *Nahu Melayu Mutakhir*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 5th edition.

Baumann, Stefan, and Arndt Riester. 2012. Referential and lexical givenness: Semantic, prosodic and cognitive aspects. In *Prosody and Meaning*, ed. Gorka Elordieta and Pilar Prieto, 119–162. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Büring, Daniel. 2007. Semantics, intonation and information structure. In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces*, ed. Gillan Ramchand and Charles Reiss, 445–474. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In *Subject and Topic*, ed. Charles N. Li, 25–55. New York: Academic Press.

Chung, Sandra. 1976. On the subject of two passives in Indonesian. In *Subject and Topic*, ed. Charles N. Li, 57–99. New York: Academic Press.

Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon, and Yanti. 2008. Voice in Malay/Indonesian. *Lingua* 118:1500–1553.

Cumming, Susanna. 1991. *Functional Change: The Case of Malay Constituent Order*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dardjowidjojo, Soenjono. 1978. *Sentence Patterns of Indonesian*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Djenar, Dwi Noverini. 2015. Active/passive alternation and switch function in Indonesian narrative discourse. In *Proceedings of the Second International Workshop on Information Structure in Austronesian Languages*.

Grice, H. Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In *Syntax and Semantics: Speech Acts*, ed. Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan, volume 3, 41–58. New York: Academic Press.

Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg, and Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69:274–307.

Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg, Ron Zacharski, Ann Mulkern, Tonya Custis, Bonnie Swierzbin, Amel Khalfoui, Linda Humnick, Bryan Gordon, Mamadou Bassene, and Shana Watters. 2006. Cording protocol for statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy. URL `http://www.sfu.ca/~hedberg/Coding_for_Cognitive_Status.pdf`.

Hedberg, Nancy. 2014. Applying the Givenness Hierarchy framework: Methodological issues. In *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Information Structure of Austronesian Languages*, 1–18.

Hopper, Paul, and Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56:251–299.

Hopper, Paul J. 1983. Ergative, passive, and active in Malay narrative. In *Discourse Perspectives on Syntax*, ed. Folora Klein-Andreu, 67–88. New York: Academic Press.

Kartini Abd. Wahab, and Hiroki Nomoto. 2012. Passives without 'by' in Malay. Paper presented at the 19th Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA).

Keenan, Edward L., and Matthew S. Dryer. 2007. Passive in the world's languages. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Volume I, clause structure*, 325–361. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kroeger, Paul. 2014. Passive agents in malay: The binding properties and discourse functions of agentive =*nya*. In *Current Trends in Malay Linguistics*, ed. Siaw-Fong Chung and Hiroki Nomoto, volume 57 of *NUSA*, 5–29. Jakarta and Tokyo: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Landman, Fred. 1992. The progressive. *Natural Language Semantics* 1:1–32.

Landman, Fred. 2008. 1066: On the differences between the tense-perspective-aspect systems of English and Dutch. In *Theoretical and Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Semantics of Aspect*, ed. Susan Rothstein, 107–166. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Legate, Julie Anne. 2010. The structure of implicit agents in passives. Paper presented at NELS 41.

Legate, Julie Anne. 2012. Subjects in Acehnese and the nature of the passive. *Language* 88:495–525.

Legate, Julie Anne. 2014. *Voice and v: Lessons from Acehnese*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Nomoto, Hiroki. 2006. Voice in Colloquial Malay relatives. In *Gengojouhougaku Kenkyuuhoukoku 12*, ed. Yoichiro Tsuruga, Nobuyuki Miyake, and Yuji Kawaguchi, 97–116. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Nomoto, Hiroki. 2009. On indefinite subjects of pivot verbs in Malay. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14:221–254.

Nomoto, Hiroki. 2013a. Number in Classifier Languages. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Nomoto, Hiroki. 2013b. On the optionality of grammatical markers: A case study of voice marking in Malay/Indonesian. In *Voice Variation in Austronesian Languages of Indonesia*, ed. Alexander Adelaar, volume 54 of *NUSA*, 121–143. Jakarta and Tokyo: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Nomoto, Hiroki. to appear. Decomposing Malay anaphoric expressions. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA)*.

Nomoto, Hiroki, and Kartini Abd. Wahab. 2014. Person restriction on passive agents in Malay: Information structure and syntax. In *Current Trends in Malay Linguistics*, ed. Siaw-Fong Chung and Hiroki Nomoto, volume 57 of *NUSA*, 31–50. Jakarta and Tokyo: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Prince, Ellen. 1992. The ZPG letter: Subjects, definiteness, and information-status. In *Discourse Description: Diverse Linguistic Analyses of a Fund-Raising Text*, ed. William C. Mann and Sandra A. Thompson, 295–325. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Reinhart, Tanya. 1984. Principles of gestalt perception in the temporal organization. *Linguistics* 22:779–809.

Riester, Arndt. 2008. The Components of Focus and Their Use in Annotating Information Structure. Doctoral Dissertation, Universität Stuttgart. Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung (AIMS). Vol. 14(2).

Santiago, Paul Julian. 2014. Information structure, voice alternation and text genre in Kalanguya. Paper presented at Workshop on 'Cross-linguistic Perspective on the Information Structure of Austronesian Languages'.

Schwarzschild, Roger. 1999. GIVENness, AvoidF and other constraints on the placement of accent. *Natural Language Semantics* 7:141–177.

Sneddon, James Neil, Alexander K. Adelaar, Dwi N. Djenar, and Michael Ewing. 2010. *Indonesian: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge, 2nd edition.

Soh, Hooi Ling, and Hiroki Nomoto. 2011. The Malay verbal prefix *meN-* and the unergative/unaccusative distinction. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 20:77–106.

Soh, Hooi Ling, and Hiroki Nomoto. 2015. Degree achievements, telicity and the verbal prefix *meN-* in Malay. *Journal of Linguistics* 51:147–183.

Utsumi, Atsuko. 2014. Newly introduced NPs and given NPs in Bantik discourse. In *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Information Structure of Austronesian Languages*, 183–192.

Willett, Marie Louise. 1993. Object preposed constructions in Malay. Master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.