

A preliminary analysis of the typology of analytical passives: With a focus on Southeast Asian languages [Supplemental material]

Hiroki Nomoto (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

LSJ169, 9 November 2024

The example numbers in the poster are indicated in []. The sentences without such indications are additional examples.

1 Overview

(1) Standard Malay [1]

- a. *Synthetic passive*
Ali **di-tipu** (oleh Siti).
Ali PASS-cheat by Siti
'Ali was cheated (by Siti).'
- b. *Analytic passive*
Ali **kena** tipu (oleh Siti).
Ali KENA cheat by Siti
'Ali got cheated (by Siti).'

2 Three-layer verb phrase structure (Collins 2005; Nomoto 2015)

- Cole et al. (2008: 1532): 'The most important innovation [...] is the introduction of an additional functional category, VoiceP. We take VoiceP to be the phase rather than vP.'
cf. Erlewine and Sommerlot (2024) for a recent implementation and empirical support for positing VoiceP on top of vP
- v is basically phonologically null. However, its flavour can be identified by means of (i) an overt Voice, (ii) an agentive phrase or (iii) the context.

(i) Overt Voice

(2) Standard Malay

- a. Ali *men-*[t]ipu Abu. ($\rightarrow v_{act}$)
Ali ACT-cheat Abu

- ‘Ali cheated Abu.’
 b. Abu *di*-[t]ipu Ali. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{pass}}$)
 Ali PASS-cheat Abu
 ‘Abu was cheated by Ali.’

(ii) Agentive phrase

- (3) Acehnese (Legate 2012: 497) [3]
 a. Uleue nyan **di-kap** lôn. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{act}}$)
 snake DEM 3FAM-bite 1SG
 ‘The snake bit me.’
 b. Lôn **di-kap** lé uleue nyan. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{pass}}$)
 1SG 3FAM-bite by snake DEM
 ‘I was bitten by the snake.’
- (4) Manggarai (Arka and Kosmas 2005)
 a. Aku **cero** latung=k. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{act}}$)
 1SG fry corn=1SG
 ‘I fry/am frying corn.’
 b. Latung hitu **cero** l=aku=i. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{pass}}$)
 corn that fry by=1SG=3SG
 ‘The corn is (being) fried by me.’
- (5) Coastal Terengganu Malay (Wu 2023: 401, 269)
 a. kambing ni dɔʔ **makaŋ** buwɔh pɛ. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{act}}$)
 goat DEM.PROX NEG eat fruit pear
 ‘the goat didn’t eat pears.’ (adapted)
 b. ikaŋ hɔʔ aku bəli p=pasɔ taʔdi **makaŋ** k=kuciŋ. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{pass}}$)
 fish REL 1SG buy LOC=market just.now eat AGT=cat
 ‘The fish I bought at the market was eaten by the cat.’

(iii) Context

- (6) Standard Malay (Nomoto and Kartini 2012: 377)
 a. Polis **ter-tangkap** lelaki itu. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{act}}$)
 police TER-catch man that
 ‘The police arrested the man by mistake.’
 b. Lelaki itu **ter-tangkap** polis. ($\rightarrow v_{\text{pass}}$)
 man that TER-catch police
 ‘The man was mistakenly arrested by the police.’

3 Three factors and their consequences

4 Examples

The syntactic analyses provided here are mine. The original authors may not assume them or may have other analyses in mind.

[A] (1) V (2) Free (3) Obligatory

Standard Malay *kena*

- Normally described as ‘adversative passive’, but not always adversative (Nomoto and Kartini 2012: 364)
- Modal meaning: ‘regardless of the subject/speaker’s own will’, ‘pressed by external circumstances’, or ‘destined to’ (Nomoto and Kartini 2012: 367)

(7) *Agentless* [1b]

Ali **kena** tipu.
Ali KENA cheat

‘Ali got cheated.’

(8) *Agentful* [1b]

Ali **kena** tipu oleh Siti.
Ali KENA cheat by Siti

‘Ali got cheated by Siti.’

(9) *Aux co-occurring with Voice (passive)* [5]

Penyeluk saku itu [_{VP} **kena** [_{VoiceP} **di-**tangkap polis]].
pickpocket that KENA PASS-catch police

- (i) ‘The pickpocket got arrested by the police.’ (normal control reading)
(ii) ‘The police have got to arrest the pickpocket.’ (crossed reading)

(Nomoto and Kartini 2012: 376)

(10) *Aux co-occurring with Voice (active)* [6]

Polis [_{VP} **kena** [_{VoiceP} **men-**[t]angkap penyeluk saku itu]].
police KENA ACT-catch pickpocket that

- (i) ‘The police have got to arrest the pickpocket.’ (normal control reading)
(ii) *‘The pickpocket got arrested by the police.’ (crossed reading)

(Nomoto and Kartini 2012: 376)

(11) *Non-adversative modalized passive*

Dia selalu **kena** puji.
3SG always KENA praise

‘S/he is always praised.’

(Nomoto and Kartini 2012: 364, adapted)

(12) *Non-adversative neutral passive*

- a. *Novel ini **kena** tulis oleh Faisal Tehrani.
novel this KENA write by Faisal Tehrani
(Intended: ‘This novel was written by Faisal Tehrani.’)
b. *Masjid itu **kena** bina pada tahun 1965.
mosque that KENA build at year 1965
(Intended: ‘The mosque was built in 1965.’)

[B] (1) V (2) Free (3) Optional

Kimaragang Dusun *maan*

- Most examples provided by Kroeger (2024) appear to be adversative. However, not all of them are.

(13) *Agentless, co-occurring with Voice (dative)*

M⟨in⟩**aan** dombul-**ai** i=tobpinee ku dit okodok po.
<PST>MAAN tonsure-DV.ATEMP NOM=sibling 1SG.GEN COMP small still

‘My brother/sister was tonsured (head shaved, leaving tuft on crown) when he/she was still small.’ (Kroeger 2024: (11a))

(14) *Agentful, co-occurring with Voice (objective) [7]*

[_{TP} M⟨in⟩**aan**_i [_{VP} *t_i* [_{VoiceP} akan-**o**’ do=tusing]] ilot sada].
<PST>MAAN eat-OV.ATEMP GEN=cat that(NOM) fish

‘That fish was eaten by a cat.’ (Kroeger 2005: 417)

(15) *Co-occurring with Voice (actor)*

Missing

- Atemporal form of actor voice: Ø
- Described as ungrammatical Kroeger (2024), but no example is provided

(16) *Non-adversative neutral passive*

M⟨in⟩**aan** no taar-o’ ah=ralan nga’ okikibak.
<PST>MAAN IAM tar-OV.ATEMP NOM=road but short

‘The road was paved (with tar), but only a short section of it.’ (Kroeger 2024: (11b))

[C] (1) Voice (2) Free (3) Obligatory

Aux is analysed as Voice in languages of groups [C]–[F] because there is no motivation for positing an extra structure.

Vietnamese *bị, được*

- *bị*: adversative
- *được*: benefactive

(17) *Agentless*

- Nam **bị** đánh.
Nam BỊ hit
‘Nam was hit (and suffered).’ (Bruening and Tran 2015: 134)

- Nam **được** khen.
Nam ĐƯỢC praise
‘Nam was praised (and benefited).’ (Bruening and Tran 2015: 135)

(18) *Agentful, ‘Aux V by Agent’ word order*

- a. Bee cũng từng **bị** ghét bởi mọi người.
Bee also REMOTE.PAST BỊ hate by every person
'Bee also used to be hated by everybody (and suffered).' (Bruening and Tran 2015: 134)
- b. Email đã **được** nhận bởi một số nhân-viên tại
email PST ĐƯỢC receive by one number worker at
SonyPicturesEntertainment.
SonyPicturesEntertainment
'Email was received by some workers at Sony Pictures Entertainment (and someone benefited).'
- (19) *Agentful, 'Aux Agent V' word order*
- a. Nam _[VoiceP] **bị** _[vP] Nga _{v_{pass}} _[VP] đánh _{]]}.
Nam BỊ Nga hit
'Nam was hit by Nga (and suffered).' (Bruening and Tran 2015: 134)
- b. Nam **được** bác sĩ nói là (Nam) nên ói cho khỏe.
Nam ĐƯỢC doctor say COMP Nam ought vomit for health
'Nam had the doctor say that he ought to vomit for better health (and benefited).'
- (20) *B&T's analysis of (19a) as embedding active VoiceP*
Nam _[VoiceP] **bị** _[vP] λx _[vP] Nga _{v_{act}} _[VP] đánh *pro_x* _{]]}
Note: B&T's BP and VoiceP correspond to my VoiceP and vP.
- (21) *Active sentences*
- a. Nam **bị** xem một phim kinh dị.
Nam BỊ watch one film horror
'Nam watched a horror film (and suffered).' (Bruening and Tran 2015: 134, based on Simpson and Ho's (2008) (48))
- b. Nam **bị** mù.
Nam BỊ blind
'Nam was/became blind (and suffered).' (Bruening and Tran 2015: 134, based on Simpson and Ho's (2008) (36))

[D] (1) Voice (2) Free (3) Optional

Patani Malay *kenor*

- The data was collected in 2022 from an exchange student from a Thailand university. It is available on Tatoeba (<https://tatoeba.org>) with the language name 'Kelantan-Pattani Malay'. Note, however, that Patani Malay (spoken in Thailand) is very different from Kelantan Malay (spoken in Malaysia) due to strong influence from Thai in the former and from Standard Malay in the latter.
- Patani Malay is usually written in Jawi (= locally adapted Arabic scripts) or Thai scripts and does not have a consensed method of romanization. Thus, I asked my consultant to invent a Roman orthography system of his own, sometimes suggesting the ways often used by Malaysians. The following three are used in addition to the letters used in Standard

Malay: *ae* [ɛ], *or* [ɔ], *gh* [ɣ]. I proposed to represent /ʔ/ by either *q* or *ʔ*, but my consultant preferred not to write a glotal stop altogether. Hence, *kenor* is pronounced [kənɔ].

(22) *Agentless*

yangae **kenor** tipu lah.
don't KENOR cheat PART

'Don't be deceived.' (#10983961)

(23) *Agentful, 'Aux V by Agent' word order*
Missing (adversative) cf. (26b) (non-adversative)

(24) *Agentful, 'Aux Agent V' word order*

a. yangae [_{VoiceP} **kenor** [_{VP} Tom v_{pass} [_{VP} tipu]]]. [9]
don't KENOR Tom cheat
'Don't be deceived by Tom.' (#10983972, adapted)

b. fua mung tuh fua **kenor** yor tipu dorh.
all? 2 that all? KENOR 3 cheat already
'You've been deceived by them.' (#10983932)

(25) *Active sentence*

kenor gi beli baghae.
KENOR go buy thing

'(I) have to go shopping.' (#10965756)

(26) *Non-adversative neutral passive*

a. *Agentless*
wat nih **kenor** sang dalae tahung tujoh atoh lapae puloh.
temple this KENOR build in year seven hundred eight ten
'This temple was built in 780.' (#10945907)

b. *Agentful, 'Aux V by Agent' word order*
niyai hor nih [_{VoiceP} **kenor** [_{VP} nyuleh] pador nakkian orghae meka]].
novel REL this KENOR write at writer person America
[10]

'This novel was written by an American writer.' (#10945884)

c. *Agentful, 'Aux Agent V' word order*
Missing

[E] (1) Voice (2) Clitic (3) None

Kayan *an*

(27) *Agentless*

kanən anən **an** kuman.
rice DIST AN eat

'That rice was eaten.' (Smith et al. 2024: 94)

- (28) *Agentful*
- a. kanən anən **an** { akuj / ikaʔ / ihaʔ / naɲaŋ / hina-k } kuman.
 rice DIST AN 1SG 2SG 3SG Nanyang mother-1SG.SHORT eat
 ‘That rice was eaten by {me/you/him/Nanyang/my mother}.’ (Smith et al. 2024: 94)
- b. ikaʔ [VoiceP **an=** [_{VP} kuj v_{pass} [_{VP} ɲinəŋ]]]. [11]
 2SG AN= 1SG.GEN see
 ‘You are seen by me.’ (Smith et al. 2024: 96)
- (29) *Aux + Agent fusion (‘agent-inflected passive’)*
- a. *Non-fused* (= (28b))
 ikaʔ **an= kuj** ɲinəŋ.
 2SG AN= 1SG.GEN see
- b. *Fused*
 ikaʔ **ak** ɲinəŋ.
 2SG AN.1SG see
 ‘You are seen by me.’ (Smith et al. 2024: 96)

[F] (1) Voice (2) Clitic/Affix (3) None

Lebo’ Vo’ ən

- (30) *Agentless*
- kayu bioʔ ini **ən** nəvəŋ.
 tree big DEM 3N cut.down
 ‘The big tree was cut down.’ (Erlewine and Smith 2024: (2))
- (31) *Agentful, ‘Aux Agent V’ word order*
- kayu bioʔ ini **ən** Kule nəvəŋ. [12a]
 tree big DEM 3N Kule cut.down
 ‘The big tree was cut down by Kule.’ (Erlewine and Smith 2024: (2))
- a. My analysis: Aux = proclitic in Voice, Agent and V do not move
 kayu bioʔ ini [VoiceP **ən=** [_{VP} Kule v_{pass} [_{VP} nəvəŋ]]]
- b. E&S’s analysis: Aux = free morpheme above VoiceP, Agent and V move
 kayu bioʔ ini [PassP **ən** [VoiceP Kule_i v-nəvəŋ_j [_{VP} t_i t_j [_{VP} t_j]]]]
- (32) *Agentful, ‘Aux V Agent’ word order*
- kayu bioʔ ini **ən** nəvəŋ Kule. [12b]
 tree big DEM 3N cut.down Kule
 ‘The big tree was cut down by Kule.’ (Erlewine and Smith 2024: (2))
- a. My analysis: Aux = prefix in Voice
 kayu bioʔ ini [VoiceP **ən-v_{pass}-nəvəŋ_i** [_{VP} Kule t_i [_{VP} t_i]]]
- b. E&S’s analysis: Aux = free morpheme above VoiceP
 kayu bioʔ ini [PassP **ən** [VoiceP v-nəvəŋ_i [_{VP} Kule t_i [_{VP} t_i]]]]

References

- Arka, I Wayan, and Jeladu Kosmas. 2005. Passive without passive morphology? Evidence from Manggarai. In *The Many Faces of Austronesian Voice Systems: Some New Empirical Studies*, ed. I Wayan Arka and Malcolm Ross, 87–117. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. URL <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/160609525.pdf#page=93>.
- Bruening, Benjamin. 2013. *By* phrases in passives and nominals. *Syntax* 16:1–41. URL <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9612.2012.00171.x>.
- Bruening, Benjamin, and Thuan Tran. 2015. The nature of the passive, with an analysis of Vietnamese. *Lingua* 165:133–172. URL <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2015.07.008>.
- Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon, and Yanti. 2008. Voice in Malay/Indonesian. *Lingua* 118:1500–1553.
- Collins, Chris. 2005. A smuggling approach to the passive in English. *Syntax* 8:81–120. URL <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9612.2005.00076.x>.
- Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka, and Alexander D. Smith. 2024. Bornean passives in comparative perspective. Ms, National University of Singapore.
- Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka, and Carly J. Sommerlot. 2024. Voice and extraction in Malayic. Ms, University of Helsinki and National University of Singapore. URL <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/007614/current.pdf>.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, ed. Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring, 109–137. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2005. Kimaragang. In *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, ed. Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann, 397–428. London: Routledge.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2024. On the diversity of the periphrastic passive in borneo. Paper presented at the First International Symposium on Bornean Linguistics (ISBL).
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2012. Subjects in Acehnese and the nature of the passive. *Language* 88:495–525. URL <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2012.0069>.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2014. *Voice and v: Lessons from Acehnese*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Nomoto, Hiroki. 2015. Person restriction on passive agents in Malay and givenness. In *Proceedings of the Second International Workshop on Information Structure of Austronesian Languages*, 83–101. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. URL <https://doi.org/10.15026/84511>.
- Nomoto, Hiroki, and Abd. Wahab Kartini. 2012. *Kena* adversative passives in Malay, funny control, and covert voice alternation. *Oceanic Linguistics* 51:360–386. URL <https://doi.org/10.1353/ol.2012.0017>.
- Simpson, Andrew, and Hao Tam Ho. 2008. The comparative syntax of passive structures in Chinese and Vietnamese. In *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL20)*, ed. Majorie K. M. Chan and Hana Kang, volume 2, 825–841. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University. URL https://naccl.osu.edu/sites/naccl.osu.edu/files/54_simpson_ho.pdf.
- Smith, Alexander D., Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine, and Carly J. Sommerlot. 2024. Voice and pronominal forms in Kayan (Uma Nyaving). *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* 17:81–104. URL <https://doi.org/10.524/52527>.
- Wu, Jiang. 2023. Malayic Varieties of Kelantan and Terengganu: Description and Linguistic History. Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden University. URL <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3642470>.