Passive subtypes in Malay: Their structures, frequencies and diachrony

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Introduction

- Malay has many passive subtypes.

- Richer at least than English and Japanese.

- This talk:
  - Summarises passive subtypes available in Malay
  - Reports frequencies of different subtypes in various texts/corpora
  - Proposes a hypothesis about their diachronical development

What is the passive voice?

- Very chaotic due to different conceptions of 'passive' by different authors.
- Nomoto (2015): Syntactic definition
- Not morphological
  - Not all sentences with *ter-* verbs are passive.
- Not functional
  - Not all sentences in which the agent is backgrounded are passive.
  - Not all sentences that express adversity (or high affectedness) are passive.

My definition (Nomoto 2015)

My definition of voice categories is based solely on whether and how an argument is licensed. The active-passive distinction [...] is concerned with how the functional head v licenses an internal argument, which is introduced by a lexical verb (V). [...] The active v licenses an internal argument [...] whereas <u>the passive v lacks this ability and cannot license it</u>. [...] Crucially, [...] how an external argument is licensed [...] is orthogonal to the active-passive distinction. It enables one to subclassify actives/passives.

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.'

Marker: *di-*

Marker: Ø

Subtypes of *di-* passives

a.   *Pro* type

Surat itu   sudah   di-poskan *pro*.
letter that already PASS-post

                          Agent: implicit

b.   *Oleh* type

Surat itu   sudah   di-poskan *oleh kerani.*
letter that already PASS-post by   clerk

                          Agent: explicit, introduced by *oleh*

c.   DP type

Surat itu   sudah   di-poskan *kerani.*
letter that already PASS-post   clerk

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

                          Agent: explicit, immediately after the verb

Hybrid type in Classical Malay (cf. Nomoto 2016)

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Malay used to have another *di-* passive subtype with two concurring agent expressions : hybrid type.

Agent 1: 3rd *person* enclitic *=nya*, immediately after the verb

Agent 2: introduced by *oleh*

Hybrid type: *di*-V=*nya oleh* DP

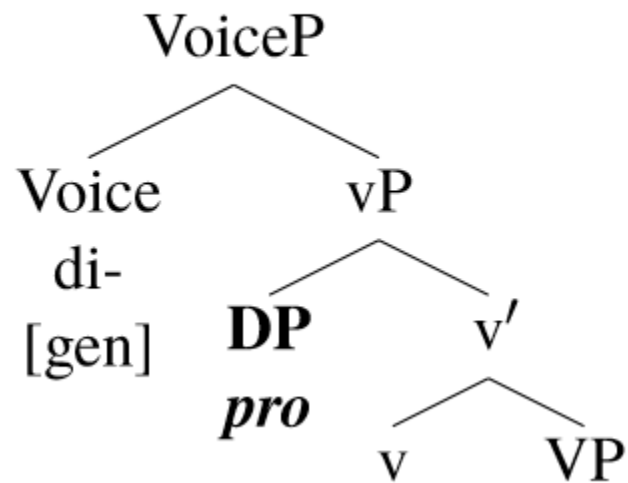| maka	di-lihat=*nya*	[oleh	*mereka*	*itu*]	ada	se-orang	Cina	baharu
and	PASS-look=3	by	them	that	be	one-CLF	Chinese	just

bangun dari tidur.
get.up from sleep

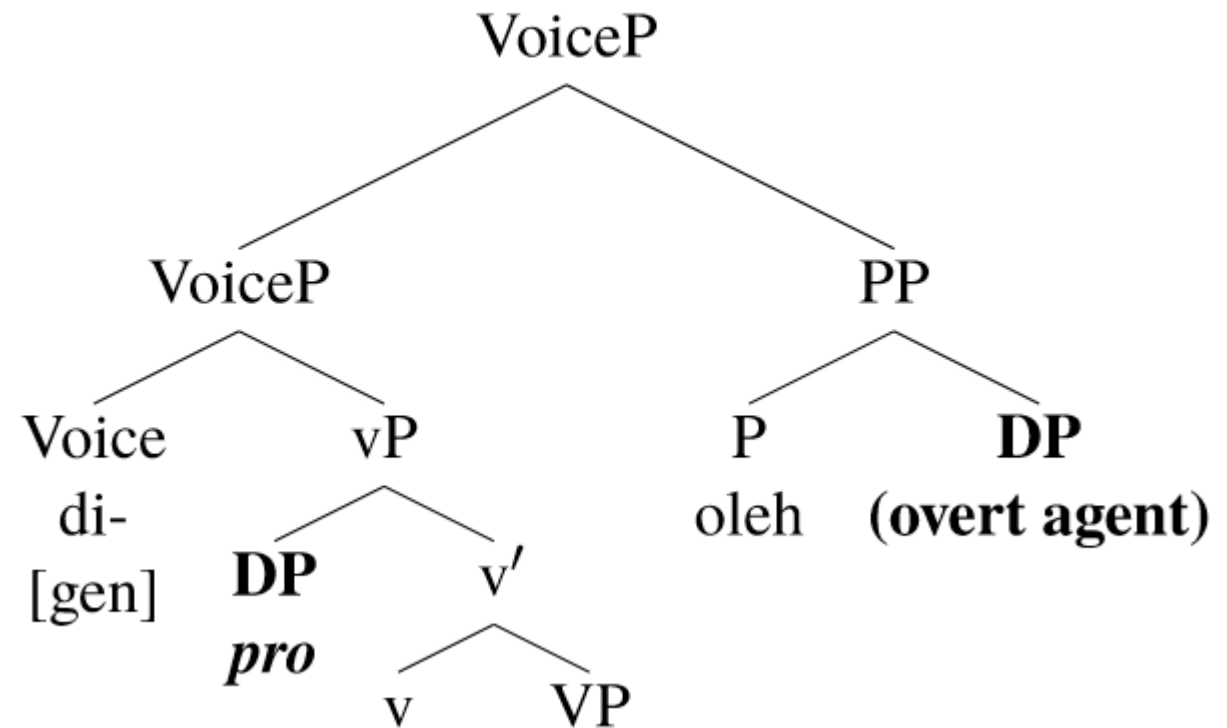'and they saw a Chinese man who had just gotten up.' (Abd.H 296:14)
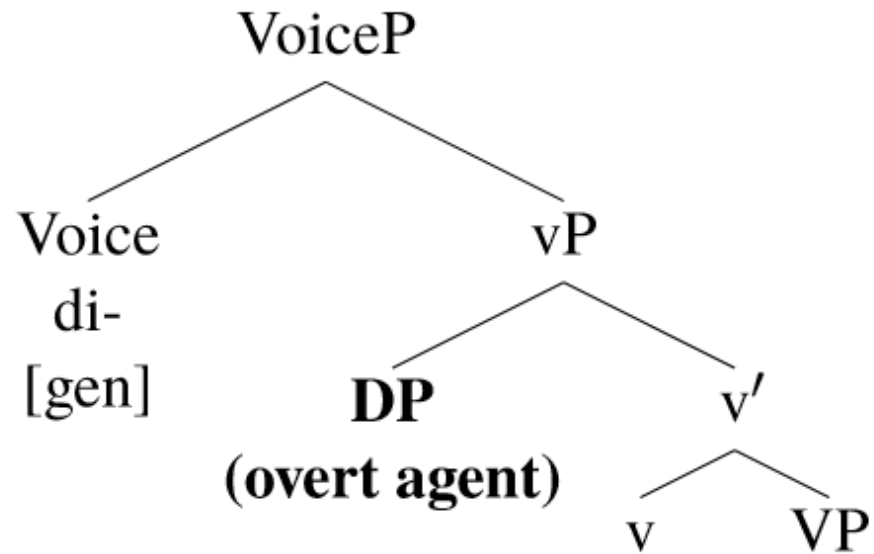
a. *Pro* type *di-* passive

VoiceP
- Voice
  - di-
  - [gen]
- vP
  - **DP** *pro*
  - v′
    - v
    - VP

b. *Oleh* type *di-* passive

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

c. DP type *di*- passive

d. Bare passive
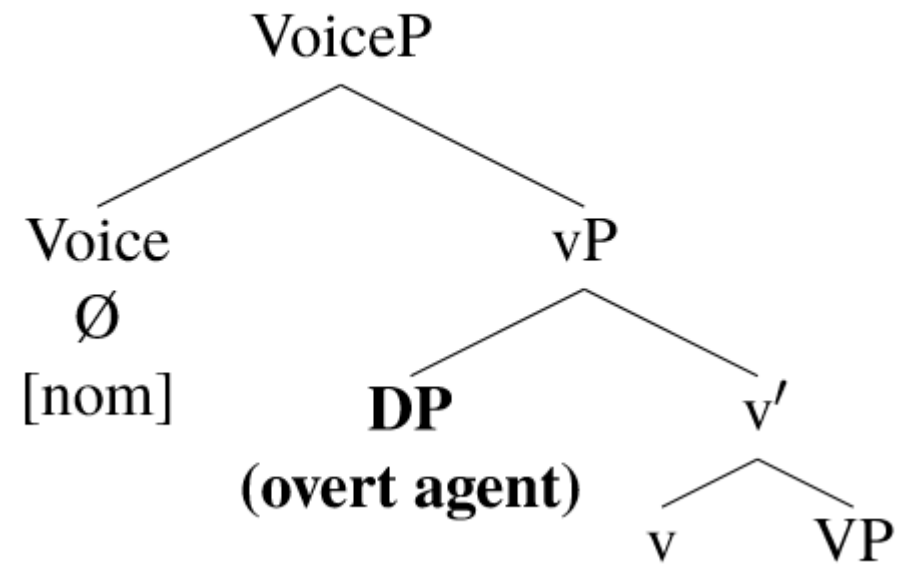
(15) a. Hybrid type
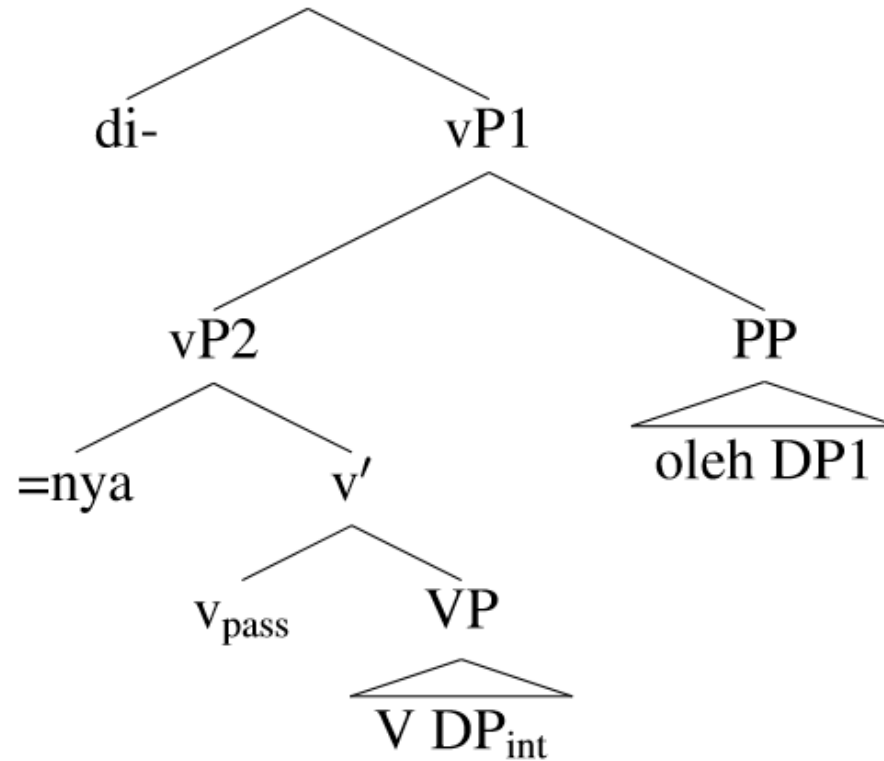
- Speech
  - Clear cases of bare passives are very limited.
  - Within *di-* passives, <u>pro > oleh > DP</u>
- Writing
  - Bare passive are commonly used.
  - Within *di-* passives, <u>pro > DP > oleh</u>
- Classical Malay
  - Bare passives are commonly used.
  - Within *di-* passives, <u>DP > oleh > pro > hybrid</u> or <u>DP > pro > oleh > hybrid</u>

The data

- Writing (Nomoto & Kartini 2014)

  1. Utusan Malaysia front page in 2011
  2. Folktale (*cerita rakyat*)

- Speech (*Nomoto & Kartini 2014)
  1. *Multilingual Corpora (Malay) (Shoho et al. 2005)
  2. Korpus Variasi Bahasa Melayu: Standard Lisan (Nomoto 2018)
     Searched using MALINDO Conc (Nomoto et al. 2018)

- Classical Malay (Nomoto & Kartini 2016)
  1. Hikayat Marakarma (Si Miskin) (1855)
  2. Hikayat Abdullah (1849)
     Searched using Malay Concordance Project (Proudfoot 1991)

Modern Malay

Speech

	Multilingual Corpora	Korpus Variasi
Pro 1	253	43
Oleh 2	30	23
DP 3	17	6

Writing

	Utusan Malaysia	Folktale
Pro 1	173	135
Oleh 3	52	60
DP 2	75	105

Classical Malay

		Hikayat Marakarma	Hikayat Abdullah
Pro	3,2	50	102
Oleh	2,3	97	60
DP	1	140	136
Hybrid	4	13	2
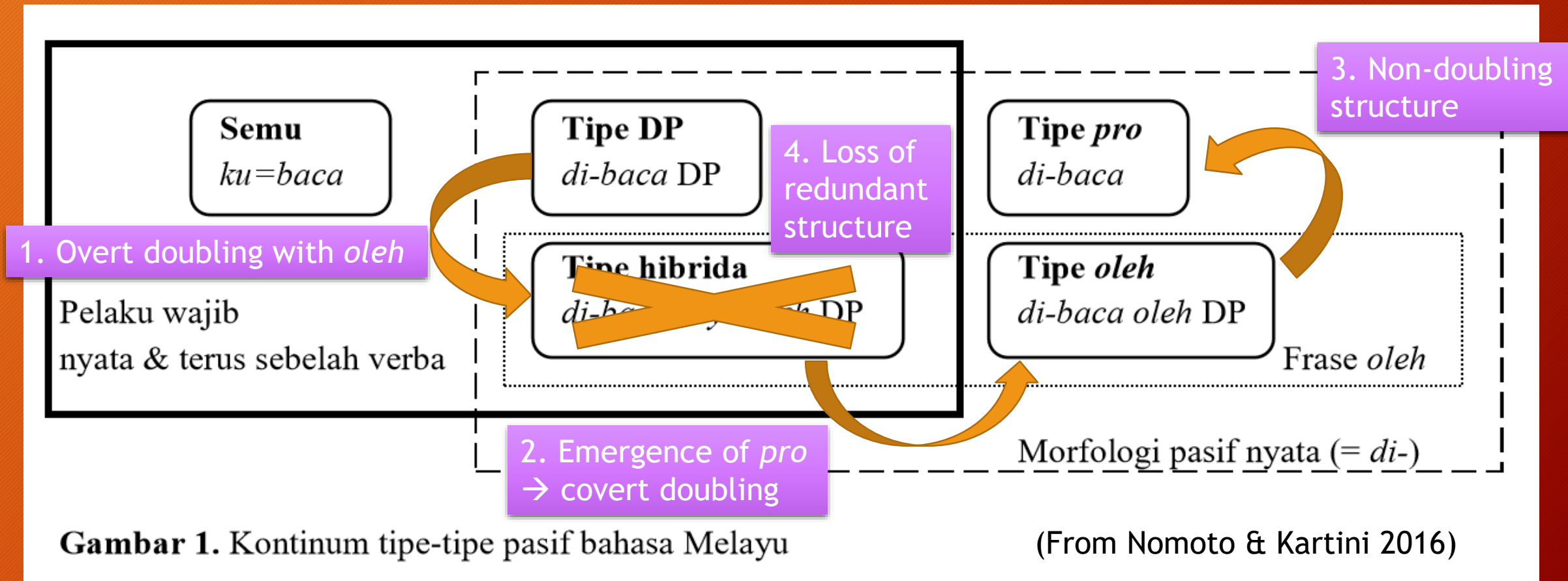
3. Non-doubling structure

4. Loss of redundant structure

1. Overt doubling with *oleh*

2. Emergence of *pro* → covert doubling

Semu
ku=baca

Tipe DP
di-baca DP

Tipe *pro*
di-baca

Tipe hibrida
di-baca ... DP

Tipe *oleh*
di-baca oleh DP

Pelaku wajib
nyata & terus sebelah verba

Frase *oleh*

Morfologi pasif nyata (= *di-*)

Gambar 1. Kontinum tipe-tipe pasif bahasa Melayu

(From Nomoto & Kartini 2016)

Acknowledgements

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