Passive subtypes in Sarawak Malay

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Nomoto and Kartini (2014) (Standard Formal and Colloquial Malay)

- Identified three *di-* passive subtypes: *pro*, *oleh*, DP.
- *Di-* passive agents are not restricted to 3rd person.
- They tend to be 3rd person for information structural reasons.

Nomoto (2015)

- The relevant factor is the low givenness of the eventuality described by a *di-* verb phrase.
- *Di-* lexically encodes low givenness (i.e., *di-* is not a pure grammatical marker).

Nomoto (2016) (Classical Malay)

- Identified an additional subtype: hybrid.
- *Di-* passive agents are never suppressed.
- *Di-* passives are a clitic doubling construction, where the agent, overt (=*nya*) or covert (*pro*), is doubled by an *oleh* phrase.

Nomoto and Kartini (2016)

- The four *di-* passive subtypes and bare passives are connected both synchronically and diachronically.
- Cautioned against the passive-"object(ive) voice" dichotomy.

Nomoto (2018a)

- Extended the clitic doubling analysis to Balinese *-a* constructions.
- Typology of passives
    1. Agent expression: overt or covert
    2. Doubling: yes or no

Malay is rich in passive subtypes

Argument DP	Doubling ('by')	Balinese	Classical Malay	Modern Malay	Tagalog	English
overt	no	DP type (bare & -*a*)	DP type (bare & *di*-)	DP type (bare & *di*-)	PV	—
overt	yes	hybrid type (bare)	hybrid type (*di*-)	—	—	—
covert	no	*pro* type (-*a*)	*pro* type (*di*-)	*pro* type (*di*-)	—	short
covert	yes	*teken* type (-*a*)	*oleh* type (*di*-)	*oleh* type (*di*-)	—	long

Text	Variety	Reported in
Utusan Malaysia (newspaper; 2011)	Standard, formal	Nomoto and Kartini (2014)
Folktale (*cerita rakyat*)	Standard, formal~colloquial	Nomoto and Kartini (2014)
Multilingual Corpora (Shoho et al. 2005)	Standard, colloquial	Nomoto and Kartini (2014)
Hikayat Marakarma	Classical	Nomoto and Kartini (2016)
Hikayat Abdullah	Classical	Nomoto and Kartini (2016)
Korpus Variasi Bahasa Melayu: Standard Lisan (Nomoto 2018b)	Standard, colloquial	Nomoto (2019b)

The goals of this study

1. Examine the presence/absence and the frequencies of the different *di-* passive subtypes in Sarawak Malay (*Dialek Melayu Sarawak*)
2. Describe notable featuers of passives in Sarawak Malay

Sarawak, Malaysia
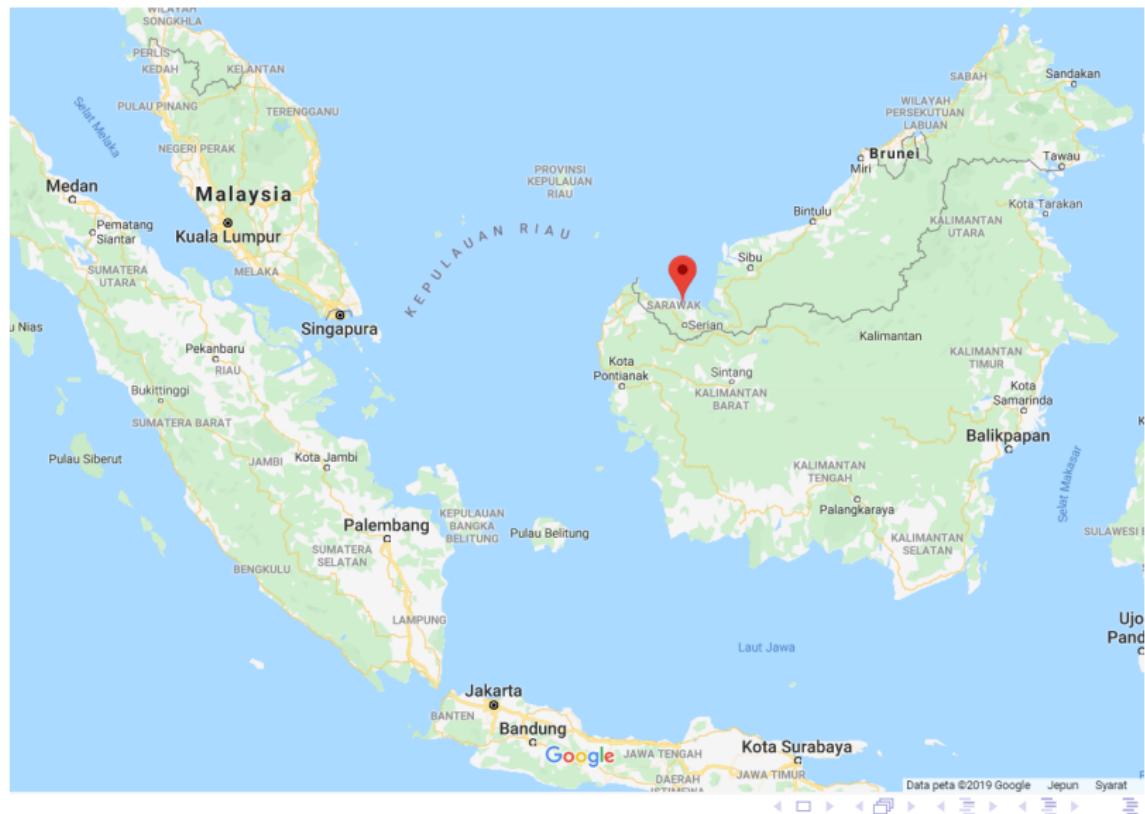
The definition of passives and its consequences

> **Definition**
>
> A construction in which the internal argument of a transitive verb is not licensed by default
> (External argument is irrelevant.)

Consequences Special ways of licensing the internal argument
(case, word order, intonation)
$\rightarrow$ External argument is also influenced
(special ways of licensing, phonological/semantic bleaching)

Criteria for subclassification [1] verbal morphology [2] how the external argument is expressed

Passive subtypes in Malay: Verbal morphology

1. *di-* passive
2. bare passive

Passive subtypes in Malay: How the external argument (agent) is expressed

1. *Pro* (implicit) type: No overt agent
2. DP (adjacent) type: Agent noun phrase immediately after the verb
3. *Oleh* type: Agent introduced by *oleh* (or its equivalent)
4. Hybrid type: Two concurring agent expressions
   1. 3rd person pronoun immediately after the verb
   2. *oleh* agentive phrase

Subtype	*di-* passive	bare passive
Pro	√	
DP	√	√
Oleh	√	
Hybrid	(lost)	

(1) a. *Pro* type
        Dokumen itu sudah di-semak *pro*. (*pro*: null
        pronoun)
    b. DP type
        Dokumen itu sudah di-semak mereka.
    c. *Oleh* type
        Dokumen itu sudah di-semak oleh mereka.
    d. Hybrid type (hypothetical)
        Dokumen itu sudah di-semak=nya oleh kerani itu.
        'The document has already been checked (by
        them/the clerk).'

(2) a. *Pro* type (hypothetical)
         Dokumen itu sudah *pro* semak. (*pro*: null pronoun)
     b. DP type
         Dokumen itu sudah mereka semak.
     c. *Oleh* type (hypothetical)
         Dokumen itu sudah semak oleh mereka.
     d. Hybrid type (hypothetical)
         Dokumen itu sudah dia semak oleh kerani itu.
         'The document has already been checked (by
         them/the clerk).'

Subtype	*di-* passive	bare passive
Pro	√	
DP	√	√
Oleh	√	
Hybrid	√	

Subtype	*di-* passive	bare passive
Pro	√	
DP		
Oleh	√	
Hybrid		

Subtype	*di-* passive	bare passive
Pro		
DP	$\sqrt{}$	?
Oleh		
Hybrid		

The data

1. *Korpus Variasi Bahasa Melayu: Sarawak* (Nomoto 2019a)
   —monologues including Jackal and Crow stories
   `https://github.com/matbahasa/Melayu_Sarawak`
2. Mohd. Ali (2015) *Dialek Melayu Sarawak: Perkataan, Ayat dan Perbualan*

Both will be added to MALINDO Conc (Nomoto et al. 2018).
`https://malindo.aa-ken.jp/conc/`
(Thanks to Mohd. Ali Salim for the permission.)

Methodology

- Both texts are morphologically annotated and formatted as XML files.
- The annotated data for *Korpus Variasi Bahasa Melayu* is publicly available:
  `https://github.com/matbahasa/Melayu_Sarawak/blob/master/var_sarawak.xml`
- Manually added annotations for the passive agent.
  - Attribute: `pa`
  - Values: `pro`, `DP`, `oleh`, `hybrid`

# Result: Subtypes of *di-* passives (*Korpus Variasi Bahasa Melayu*)

DP > pro > oleh

Subtype	Frequency	(%)
pro	19	(34.5)
DP	23	(41.8)
oleh	13	(23.6)
Total	55	(100.0)
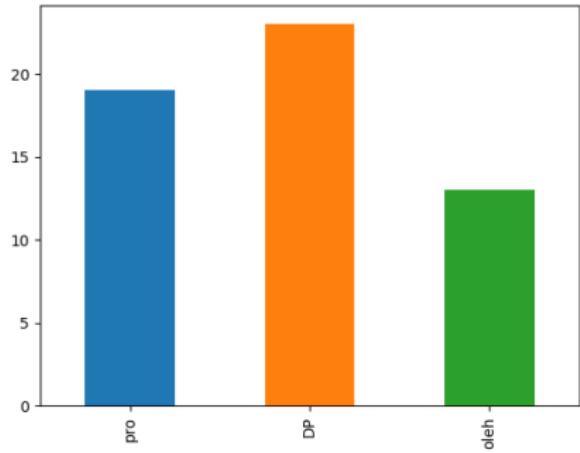
Result: Subtypes of *di-* passives (Mohd. Ali 2015)

pro > DP > oleh

| Subtype	Frequency	(%)
pro	39	(45.9)
DP	37	(43.5)
oleh	9	(10.6)
Total	85	(100.0)
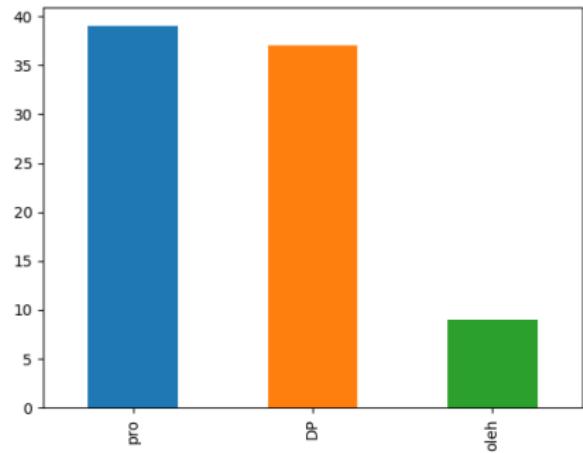
Mohd. Ali (2015) without *cerpen*

The *cerpen* data is a translation from Standard Malay.

| DP > pro > oleh |

Subtype	Frequency	(%)
pro	23	(43.3)
DP	27	(50.9)
oleh	3	(5.7)
Total	53	(100.0)
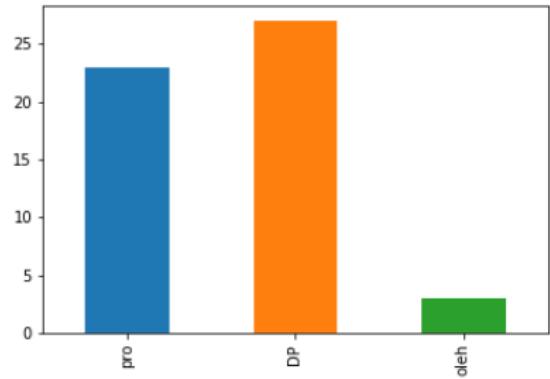
Comparison with Standard Malay and Classical Malay

Variety	Frequency ranking	Source
Standard (speech)	pro > oleh > DP	Nomoto and Kartini (2014), Nomoto (2019b)
Standard (writing)	pro > DP > oleh	Nomoto and Kartini (2014)
Sarawak	DP > pro > oleh	This study
Classical (*Hikayat Abdullah*)	DP > pro > oleh > hybrid	Nomoto and Kartini (2016)
Classical (*Hikayat Marakarma*)	DP > oleh > pro > hybrid	Nomoto and Kartini (2016)
Brunei	?	Future work

Examples: DP type

- *di-V nya/nyo/nye(y)*: 12/23 (*Korpus Variasi Bahasa Melayu*), 3/37 (Mohd. Ali 2015)

(3) Apabila tek   burong makan ikan, di-embak   nya terbang.
    when   PART bird   eat   fish PASS-bring 3SG fly
    'When the bird ate the fish, it carried away the fish up in the sky.'   (Sarawak201812)

(4) Semah sik ny-[s]ingo   di-tunggah emak   nya.
    Semah not N-look.around PASS-call   mother 3SG
    'Semah did not look around when called by his mother.'
    (Mohd. Ali 2015:47)

Di- passives with a second person agent

(5) Bukan kaki kamek tuk bemban di-gigit kita tuk.
     not   foot 1SG   this shrub? PASS-bite 2SG this
     'My foot isn't a shrub, you're biting it.'   (Sarawak201811)

(6) Nok ni   baju   di-kenan kau?
     REL where clothes PASS-like 2SG
     'Which clothes do you like?'   (Mohd. Ali 2015:31)

(7) Apa di-mbak   kau?
     what PASS-bring 2SG
     'What did you bring?'   (Mohd. Ali 2015:32)

(8) Adek, sakit kaki aku di-tinjak   kau!
     ouch hurt foor 1SG PASS-step.on 2SG
     'Ouch, my foot hurts because you're stepping on it!'
     (Mohd. Ali 2015:68)

(9) Musang dah   kenyang, burong di-tipu   tek.
     civet   already full   bird   PASS-cheat PART
     'The civent was already full; the bird was cheated.'
     (Sarawak201808)

(10) Sidak ya   ndak alah di-padah, ntingai.
      3PL   that won't lose PASS-tell stubborn
      'They don't listen; they are stubborn.' (Mohd. Ali
      2015:32)

Examples: *Oleh* type

(11)   Tiba-tiba dekat pokok tetangga   ikan di-embak   leh
        suddenly at   tree   neighbour fish PASS-carry by
        burong.
        bird
        'Suddenly at the neigbour's tree, a fish was by carried
        away by a bird.'   (Sarawak201803)

(12)   Dah   yo tek, alu   di-buang   oleh burong tek   lalu
        already that PART then PASS-discard by   bird   PART then
        nyey makan tek   lalu Ø-embak ya   dalam babas.
        3SG eat   PART then carry   that in   shrub
        'After that, (the fish) was discarded by the bird, and then
        it (= the civet) ate (the fish) and carried it into the
        shrubs.'   (Sarawak201819)
        [Note: bare active (followed by the object)]

(13)   Makan ikan, ikan di-gugok atas yo tek, di-ambik nyo
          eat   fish fish PASS-drop on   that PART PASS-take 3SG
          tek,   di-embak nya lari.
          PART PASS-carry 3SG run
          'Ate the fish, the fish was dropped on it, taken by it,
          carried away by it.'   (Sarawak201825)

Bare passives I

- 'V Ag' rather than 'Ag V'

(14)   Ni eh kunci Ø-padah kau tek?
        which key   tell   2SG just.now
        'Which one is the key that you mentioned just now?'
        (Mohd. Ali 2015:31)

(15)   Ø-Pake kau jamban s-igek   gik   nun.
        use   2SG toilet   one-CLF more there
        '(You) Use the other toilet there.'   (Mohd. Ali 2015:32)

(16)   Ndak cukup   nasi se-besen   pake Ø-makan Bujang nak
        won't enough rice one-basin for   eat   Bujang REL
        rangkak   gilak yo.
        gluttonous very that
        'A basin of rice won't be enough for that gluttonous
        Bujang to eat.'   (Mohd. Ali 2015:60)

Bare passives II

(17)   Baju   nak Ø-pake Azlan agik sembab, yo   bebau.
       clothes REL use   Azlan still damp   that stink
       'The shirt that Azlan wears is still damp; it stinks.'
       (Mohd. Ali 2015:60)

(18)   Yorabbi, kacak   nak Ø-drow kau!
       ITJ   beautiful REL draw   2SG
       'Wow, your drawing (*lit.* what you drew) is beautiful!'
       (Mohd. Ali 2015:68)

(19)   Nang   bena nak Ø-padah kau marek.
       indeed true REL tell   2SG yesterday
       'What you told yesterday is indeed true.'
                         (Mohd. Ali 2015:69)

Hypothesis 1 (Nomoto and Kartini 2014; Nomoto 2019c):
Clitic doubling & null unspecified pronoun (*pro*)

di-baca=nya	*di-*.DP	
	↓	
di-baca=nya oleh Ali	*di-*.hybrid	(clitic doubling with *=nya*)
	↓	
di-baca pro oleh Ali	*di-*.oleh	(doubling with *pro*)
	↓	
di-baca pro	*di-*.pro	(no doubling)

Hypothesis 2 (Yanti et al. 2018): Reanalysis & optionality

di-Ø-baca=nya	AGR-bare.DP	(*di-*: 3rd person AGR)
	↓	
di-Ø-baca=nya	AGR-bare.hybrid	("clarificatory phrase")
oleh Ali	↓ Reanalysis of *di-* and *=nya*	
di-baca(-nya) oleh Ali	*di-*.hybrid/*oleh*	(*-nya*: optional linker)
	↓	
di-baca (Ali)	*di-*.DP/*pro*	(post-adjacent DP: optional)
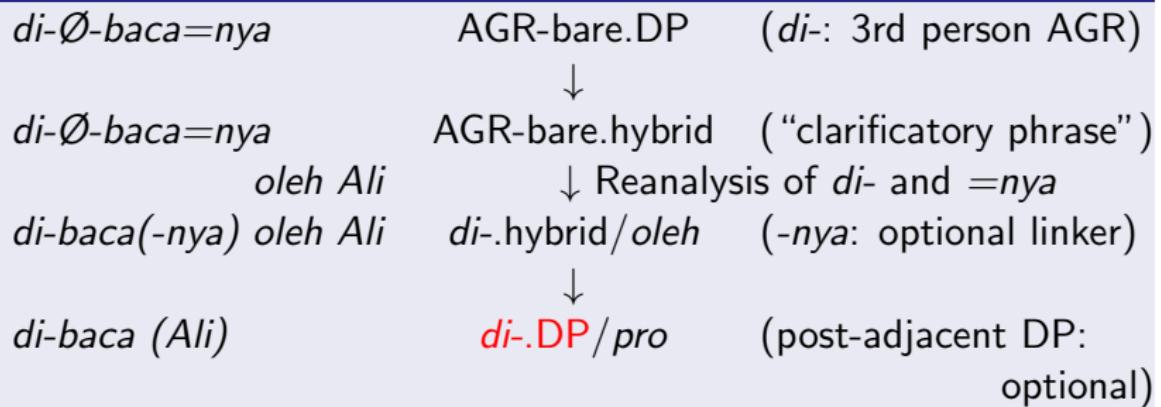
1. Did *di-* passives arise from bare passives?
2. Are agent agreement prefixes inherited or an innovation?
3. Is the passive marker *di-* related to the pronominal *di-/dia*?

Q1. Did *di-* passives arise from bare passives?

- "Yes" for Yanti et al. (2018). I also used to think so.
- Alternatively, bare passives could have developed from the DP type *di-* passive or its predecessor.

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di-/ni--V   DP   (*di-* passive, DP type)
    ↓ Loss of *di-*
    Ø-V   DP   (bare passive, DP type, post-verbal agent)
    ↓ Loss of V-fronting
        DP V   (bare passive, DP type, pre-verbal agent)

- Sarawak Malay data supports this alternative view.
  - 'V Ag' order
  - No person restriction

Q2. Are agent agreement prefixes inherited or an innovation?

Inherited

- Yanti et al. (2018:fn. 12); bare passive > *di-* passive
- Perspective from Sumatran languages (e.g., Toba Batak, Acehnese)

Innovation

- Compatible with the alternative view (*di-* passive > bare passive)
- Perspective from Borneo (and the Phillipines)

Q3. Is the passive marker *di-* related to the pronominal *di-/dia*?

Yanti et al. (2018)

There are a variety of proposals in the literature regarding the etymology of the modern-day prefix *di-* (for an brief overview of these proposals see Adelaar 2005). We do not take any position on this issue, since we see the etymology of the prefix *di-* as an issue which is orthogonal to our claim that the *di*-passive originated from an object voice construction containing a 3rd person agent.

Nomoto (2018a) 'The development of the English-type passive in Balinese'

bare.DP > bare.hybrid (strict person restriction) > *-a.teken* (person restriction relaxed) > *-a.pro* > *-a*.DP

Newman (1984); Blust (2004)

When NS occurs with g in a language, it also occurs with b, d and voiceless obstruents.

Languages	Consonants replaced by nasals						
	p	t	s	k	b	d	g
Malay, Pangasinan	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
Sama Bajau, Bikol	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
Cebuano, Ilokano	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
Kalinga, Bario Kelabit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sarawak Malay	+	+	+	+	−	−	+

Counterexample to the cline of susceptibility to nasal substitution II

(20) a. <u>N- + b → mb</u>
N- + basak → mbasak
N- + bukak → mbukak
N- + barak → mbarak

b. <u>N- + d → nd</u>
N- + diat → ndiat
N- + dekik → ndekik
N- + drow → ndrow

c. <u>N- + g → ŋ (*ŋg)</u>
N- + galik → ŋalik
N- + garuk → ŋaruk
N- + gedek → ŋedek

Note: *ngutik* [ŋgutik] (Mohd. Ali 2015:8) is the only counterexample so far. But it may not actually involve *N-* because *gutik* has no meaning by itself.

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