

Passives without ‘by’ in Malay*

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1 Introduction

Two passives in Malay

Malay (Standard Formal Malay; Malaysia) has two types of passives:

- (1) *Di-* passive
 - Verbal morphology: *di-*
 - Canonical word order: Theme V (*oleh* ‘by’) AgentBaju baru **di**-beli (oleh) ibu untuk awak.
clothes new PASS-buy by mother for you
‘New clothes were bought by Mother for you.’
- (2) Bare passive¹
 - Verbal morphology: none (Ø)
 - Canonical word order: Theme (Aux/Adv/Neg) Agent VBaju baru akan ibu Ø-beli untuk awak.
clothes new will mother buy for you
‘New clothes will be bought by Mother for you.’

Consensus

- (i) The agent phrase in bare passives is a DP argument in Spec,vP, as it is obligatory and follows an auxiliary.
- (3) a. Baju baru sudah *(ibu) Ø-beli untuk awak.
clothes new already mother buy for you
‘New clothes were already bought by Mother for you.’

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¹ Bare passives are also known as ‘object-preposing construction’, ‘Passive Type 2 (P2)’, object(ive) voice, etc. The construction is not a topicalization construction, in which the agent phrase *precedes* Aux/Adv/Neg. The topicalization sentence corresponding to (2) is *Baju baru, ibu akan beli untuk awak*.

b. ... [T^r sudah [v_P ibu [v^r Ø-beli ...

- (ii) The agent phrase in *di-* passives with *oleh* ‘by’ is part of a PP adjunct, as the PP is optional and can be positioned rather freely.
- (4) a. Baju baru di-beli ([_{PP} **oleh ibu**]) untuk awak.
clothes new PASS-buy by mother for you
‘New clothes were bought by Mother for you.’
- b. Baju baru di-beli untuk awak [_{PP} **oleh ibu**].
- c. % [_{PP} **Oleh ibu**], baju baru di-beli untuk awak.

The issue

What is the syntactic status of the agent phrase in *di-* passives without *oleh*?

Goal

This paper discusses the syntax of *di-* passives without *oleh* and proposes a new analysis of them.

Claims

- (i) The agent phrase in *di-* passives without *oleh* is a DP argument in Spec,vP like bare passives, and unlike *di-* passives with *oleh*.
- (ii) The prefix *di-* is a *v* that specifies Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2004) as the semantic operation to apply next.

Organization

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Section 3: Proposal

Section 4: Conclusion

2 Similarities between *di-* passives without *oleh* and bare passives

At first glance, *di-* passives without *oleh* appear to be a variant of *di-* passives with *oleh* in which *oleh* is omitted. However, they actually resemble bare passives, except for the verbal morphology.

2.1 No *oleh*

In both *di-* passives without *oleh* and bare passives, the agent phrase does not take *oleh*.

- (5) Bare passive
Baju baru akan (*oleh) ibu Ø-beli untuk awak.
clothes new will by mother buy for you
‘New clothes will be bought by Mother for you.’

2.2 Strict adjacency requirement

In both *di-* passives without *oleh* and bare passives, the agent phrase must be adjacent to the verb.

- (6) *Di-* passive without *oleh*
- Baju baru di-beli **ibu** untuk awak.
clothes new PASS-buy mother for you
'New clothes were bought by Mother for you.'
 - *Baju baru di-beli untuk awak **ibu**.
 - ***Ibu**, baju baru di-beli untuk awak.
- (7) Bare passive
- Baju baru akan **ibu** Ø-beli untuk awak.
clothes new will mother buy for you
'New clothes were bought by Mother for you.'
 - *Baju baru akan Ø-beli untuk awak **ibu**.
 - ***Ibu**, baju baru akan Ø-beli untuk awak.

No such requirement exists for *di-* passives with *oleh*.

- (8) a. Baju baru di-beli **oleh ibu** untuk awak.
clothes new PASS-buy by mother for you
'New clothes were bought by Mother for you.'
- Baju baru di-beli untuk awak **oleh ibu**.
 - %**Oleh ibu**, baju baru di-beli untuk awak.

2.3 Reflexive binding

For some speakers, the agent phrase can be the antecedent of the reflexive *dirinya sendiri* only in *di-* passives without *oleh* and bare passives, but not in *di-* passives with *oleh* (Pattern B below).

- (9) a. Ali sudah **di-tinggalkan oleh Siti** untuk kebaikan diri-nya
Ali already PASS-leave by Siti for good self-3SG
sendiri.²
own
- Ali sudah **di-tinggalkan Siti** untuk kebaikan diri-nya sendiri.
Ali already PASS-leave Siti for good self-3SG own
 - Ali sudah **Siti Ø-tinggalkan** untuk kebaikan diri-nya sendiri.
Ali already Siti leave for good self-3SG own
'Ali was left by Siti for himself/herself.'

² The noun *kebaikan* 'sake, good' is omissible for some speakers, but not for others.

d.

	(a) <i>di-</i> passive with <i>oleh</i>	(b) <i>di-</i> passive without <i>oleh</i>	(c) bare passive
✓A:			
✓B:			dirinya sendiri = Ali or Siti
*C:	dirinya sendiri = Ali		

2.4 Fortin's (2007) analysis

Fortin (2007) explains the behaviours of the agent phrase in *di-* passives without *oleh* by positing a null preposition comparable to *oleh* that requires a verbal host.

- (10) a. Baju baru di-beli [_{PP} Ø_{oleh} **ibu**] untuk awak. (= (6))
clothes new PASS-buy by mother for you
'New clothes were bought by Mother for you.'
- *Baju baru di-beli untuk awak [_{PP} Ø_{oleh} **ibu**]. (no host for Ø_{oleh})
 - *[_{PP} Ø_{oleh} **ibu**], baju baru di-beli untuk awak. (no host for Ø_{oleh})

Problems

Fortin's analysis seems plausible, given that a common verbal morphology (i.e. *di-* in this case) usually gives rise to a common syntactic structure. Also, it makes a wrong prediction about the reflexive binding patterns.

3 Proposal

3.1 Claims

- The agent phrase in *di-* passives without *oleh* is a DP argument in Spec,vP like bare passives, and unlike *di-* passives with *oleh*.
→ The agent phrase behaves similarly to that in bare passives.
- The prefix *di-* is a *v* that specifies Restrict, a non-predicate-saturating mode of composition (Chung and Ladusaw 2004), as the semantic operation to apply next. In bare passives, which have a null *v*, the default mode of composition is employed, i.e. function application.
→ The verbal morphology is identical to that of *di-* passives with *oleh*.

3.2 Backgrounds

3.2.1 Chung and Ladusaw (2004) *Restriction and Saturation*

- In addition to function application (FA), which saturates the predicate, another mode of composition exists that does not saturate the predicate, i.e. (Predicate) Restriction.
- The argument position remaining unsaturated after Restriction is saturated by existential closure (EC) or FA.

- (11) Object incorporation in Chamorro
- a. No extra object
 Gäi-[kareta] si Antonio.³
 AGR.have-car UNM Antonio
 ‘Antonio has a car.’ (Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 107)
- b. Extra object
 Si Carmen gäi-[ga’] i ga’lagu.
 UNM Carmen AGR.have-pet the dog
 ‘Carmen has the dog as pet.’ (Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 109)

- [Incorporated object]: NP; property denoting; restricts the predicate’s internal argument position.
- *Extra object*: DP; individual denoting; saturates the predicate’s internal argument position.

- (12) a. VP in (11a): internal argument saturation by EC
 $\lambda y \lambda x [\text{have}'(x,y)](\text{car}')$
 $= \lambda x \lambda y [\text{have}'(x,y) \wedge \text{car}'(y)]$ (by Restrict)
 $= \lambda x [\exists y [\text{have}'(x,y) \wedge \text{car}'(y)]]$ (by EC)
- b. VP in (11b): internal argument saturation by FA
 $\lambda y \lambda x [\text{have}'(x,y)](\text{pet}'(\text{dog}))$
 $= \lambda y \lambda x [\text{have}'(x,y) \wedge \text{pet}'(y)](\text{dog})$ (by Restrict)
 $= \lambda x [\text{have}'(x, \text{dog}) \wedge \text{pet}'(\text{dog})]$ (by FA)

3.2.2 Legate’s (2010, 2011) analysis of the passive

A passive *v* introduces the external argument and restricts it in terms of ϕ -features (sometimes vacuously). However, the external argument is not merged in Spec,vP; instead, it is saturated by EC.

³ Non-standard abbreviations unavailable in Leipzig Glossing Rules: FAM: familiar; POL: polite; UNM: unmarked morphological case.

⁴ The event argument is omitted. Chung and Ladusaw (2004: 10) state that it is possible to demote an argument after it is targeted by a composition operation. This is a notational assumption to ensure that a right argument is saturated by the subsequent operation.

- (13) a. The book was read.
 b. $\lambda x [\text{read}'(x, \text{book})](\phi)$
 $= \lambda x [\text{read}'(x, \text{book}) \wedge \phi(x)]$ (by Restrict)
 $= \exists x [\text{read}'(x, \text{book}) \wedge \phi(x)]$ (by EC)

Acehnese has distinct forms of *v* depending on the person, number and politeness of the agent.

- (14) a. Aneuk miet nyan **di**-kap (lé uleue nyan).⁵
 child small that 3FAM-bite by snake that
 ‘The child was bitten by the snake.’ (Legate 2011)
- b. Aneuk miet nyan **lôn-/ neu-/ geu**-tingkue lé lôn/ droeneuh/
 child small that 1SG- 2POL- 3POL-carry by me you
 gopnyan.
 him/her
 ‘The child is carried by me/you/him/her.’ (Legate 2011)
- c. $[[a)] = \lambda x [\text{bite}'(x, \text{child})](3\text{FAM})$
 $= \lambda x [\text{bite}'(x, \text{child}) \wedge 3\text{FAM}(x)]$ (by Restrict)
 $= \exists x [\text{bite}'(x, \text{child}) \wedge 3\text{FAM}(x)]$ (by EC)

3.3 *Di*- passives without *oleh*

In Chung and Ladusaw’s (2004) system, the argument left unsaturated after Restriction can be saturated by both EC and FA. Combining their system and Legate’s analysis thus predicts that some passive constructions employ FA instead of EC to saturate the external argument position. We argue that *di*- passives without *oleh* is one such construction.

- (15) a. Buku itu di-baca lelaki itu.
 book that PASS-read man that
 ‘The book was read by the man.’
- b. $\lambda x [\text{read}'(x, \text{book})](\phi)(\text{man})$
 $= \lambda x [\text{read}'(x, \text{book}) \wedge \phi(x)](\text{man})$ (by Restrict)
 $= [\text{read}'(\text{man}, \text{book}) \wedge \phi(\text{man})]$ (by FA)

⁵ The boldface prefixes are not passive voice markers, as they also occur in active sentences. Voice alternation in Acehnese does not involve any overt morphemes. A similar covert voice alternation is also found in some constructions in Malay (Nomoto and Kartini, to appear).

⁶ Prescriptive grammars (e.g. Nik Safiah et al. 2008) dictate that the agent in *di*- passives must be third person. Some authors consider this restriction as descriptively valid (e.g. Arka and Manning 1998; Donohue 2007) whilst others contend that such a restriction does not exist (e.g. Chung 1976; Abdullah 2006).

Under this analysis, the agent phrase in *di-* passives without *oleh* turns out to be a DP argument, as only DPs, denoting individuals, can saturate an argument position by FA. It then is thought to occupy Spec,vP, and is actually obligatory, like the agent phrase in bare passives.

3.4 Deriving Malay passives

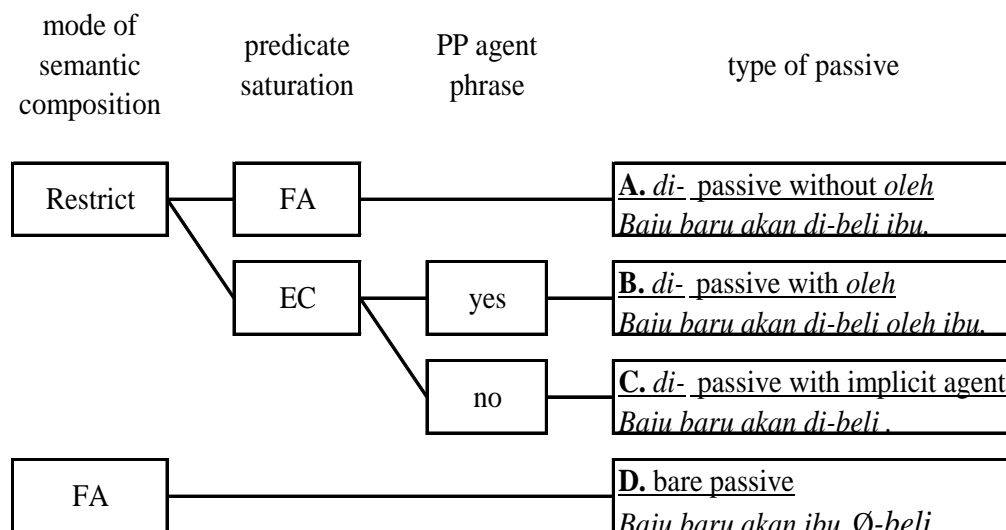


Figure 1. Types of Malay passive and how they are derived

3.5 Explaining the similarities to bare passives

3.5.1 No *oleh*

The agent phrase does not take *oleh*, because only DPs, denoting individuals, can saturate an argument position by FA.

3.5.2 Strict adjacency requirement

The agent phrase is an argument DP merged in Spec,vP. This configuration explains the strict adjacency fact, as nothing intervenes between Spec,vP and v, where the v-V complex is located.

- (16) Bare passive
 [TP baju baru akan [vP ibu [v Ø + beli] [vP t_v t_{DP}]]]
 clothes new will mother buy
 ‘New clothes will be bought by Mother.’

- (17) *Di-* passive without *oleh*
 [TP baju baru [T akan [v di- + beli]] [vP ibu t_v [vP t_v t_{DP}]]]
 clothes new will PASS↑ buy mother

‘New clothes will be bought by Mother.’

(The agent phrase occurs after the verb as a result of a v-to-T movement.)

3.5.3 Reflexive binding

According to Collins (2005), the agent phrase in English passives can in principle bind a reflexive, but there is considerable speaker variation as to the acceptability.

- (18) a. ??Testimony was given about himself by the suspect.
 b. Testimony was given by the suspect about himself.
 (Collins 2005: 111)

Only *di-* passives with *oleh*, but not *di-* passive without *oleh*, are comparable to English passives. Hence, speaker variation is found only for *di-* passives with *oleh*, but not for *di-* passives without *oleh* and bare passives (9d).

4 Conclusion

4.1 Summary

- The agent phrase in *di-* passives without *oleh* is a DP argument in Spec,vP like bare passives, and unlike *di-* passives with *oleh*.
- The prefix *di-* is a v that specifies Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2004) as the semantic operation to apply next.

4.2 Implications

4.2.1 Support for other studies

- The present paper corroborates the validity of Chung and Ladusaw’s (2004) Restrict, as the Malay prefix *di-* explicitly specifies it as the relevant mode of semantic composition.
- It also supports Legate’s (2010, 2011) analysis of the passive in terms of ‘Restrict + EC’, and further shows that there are also passives involving ‘Restrict + FA’.

4.2.2 Typology of passives

Passives can be classified into three categories according to how the external argument position remaining unsaturated after Restrict is saturated.

(19)

	external argument saturation	agent phrase	example
a.	EC	adjunct PP	English
b.	EC & FA	adjunct PP & argument DP	Standard Malay
c.	FA	argument DP	Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci Malay

(20)

- Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci (McKinnon, Cole and Hermon 2011: 732)
- a. Kakiy nəh **di**-gigit *pro*.⁷
leg.O 3 PASS-bite.O
'His leg was bitten (e.g. by him).' (definite agent)
- b. Kakiy nəh **di**-gigit *(hah/binati).
leg.O 3 PASS-bite.O person.A/animal.A
'His leg was bitten by someone/some animal.' (indefinite agent)
- c. *Kakiy nəh **di**-gigat.
leg.O 3 PASS-bite.A

Speculation on the development path of passives in Malay varieties

- (21) a. Stage I: di-V DP_{ext} DP_{int}
- *Di*- IS NOT associated with Restrict, i.e. not a passive marker.
- Proto Malay (Proto Malayo-Polynesian?)
- b. Stage II: DP_{int} di-V DP_{ext}
- *Di*- IS NOT associated with Restrict, i.e. not a passive marker.
- Riau Indonesian (Gil 2002)
- c. Stage III: DP_{int} di-V *(DP_{ext})
- *Di*- IS associated with Restrict, i.e. a passive marker.
- Saturation by FA only.
- Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci Malay
- d. Stage IV: DP_{int} di-V *(DP_{ext}) & DP_{int} di-V ([_{PP} oleh DP_{ext}])
- *Di*- IS associated with Restrict, i.e. a passive marker.
- Saturation by FA and EC.
- Standard Malay

⁷ Lexical roots in Kerinci Malay have two realizations differing in the rhyme of the final syllable: Absolute and Oblique. These two forms have to do with indefinite and definite interpretations. Verbs in the Absolute form are used when a noun phrase (definite or indefinite) occurs in the complement. When no overt noun phrase occurs in the complement, the interpretation is such that there is a definite noun phrase. McKinnon, Cole and Hermon (2011) posit a null pronoun to account for this interpretation. We thus added *pro* in (20a).

- e. Stage V: DP_{int} di-V ([_{PP} oleh DP_{ext}])
- *Di*- IS associated with Restrict, i.e. a passive marker.
- Saturation by EC only.
- XXX Malay (!?)

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