On the person restriction on the agents in *di-* passives in Malay[*]

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1.   Introduction

1.1.   Background

(1)   Two types of passives in Malay/Indonesian
 a.   *Di-* passive: overt passive marker *di-*, agent = adjunct
  Dokumen itu sudah **di-**semak (oleh <u>mereka</u>).
  document that already PASS-check by 3PL
  'The document has already been checked by them.'
 b.   Bare passive: no overt voice marker, agent = argument (Spec,vP)
  Dokumen itu sudah *(mereka) semak.
  document that already 3PL check
  'They have already checked the document.'

- The topic of this paper: the person restriction on the <u>agent</u> in *di-* passives (1a)

(2)   Three patterns to encode agents
 a.   **"Oleh" type**: introduced by the preposition *oleh* 'by'
  Surat itu sudah di-poskan **oleh <u>kerani</u>**.
  letter that already PASS-post by clerk
 b.   **"DP" type**: immediately after V, no preposition
  Surat itu sudah di-poskan <u>**kerani**</u>.
  letter that already PASS-post clerk
 c.   **"*pro*" type**: no overt agent
  Surat itu sudah di-poskan ***<u>pro</u>***.
  letter that already PASS-post
  'The letter was already posted (by the clerk).'

- Prescriptive grammars impose a person restriction on the agent (e.g. Nik Safiah et al. 2008):

(3)   Person restriction on the *di-* passive agent
 di-V <u>Agent</u>$_{*1/*2/\checkmark3}$
 "The agent must be 3rd person.   No 1st and 2nd person agents are allowed."

- Descriptive grammars are not uniform with respect to the person restriction.

(4)   a.   The restriction is descriptively real.
   e.g. Arka and Manning (1998), Donohue (2007), Sneddon et al. (2010)
 b.   The restriction is only a prescriptive rule and descriptively inadequate.
   e.g. Chung (1976), Lufti (1985), Mintz (2002), Abdullah (2006)
 c.   Two groups of speakers exist that differ in the presence of the restriction.
   Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992)

1.2.   The issue

Q: Is the person restriction in (3) descriptively real?   If so, to what extent?

- The answers to these questions delimit the possible analyses of the syntax of *di-* passives.
- This paper attempts to answer these questions by examining various naturally occurring texts in Standard Formal and Standard Colloquial Malay (Malaysia).[1]

Our answer: Yes, but not in the form as strict as (3).

1.3.   Organization
§1   Introduction
§2   The data
§3   Study 1: Concordance
   — deals with the "oleh" type; shows the existence of *di-* passives with 1st and 2nd person agents
§4   Study 2: Frequency
   — deals with all types; shows the frequencies of 1st and 2nd person agents
§5   Conclusion
   — discusses implications for the syntax of *di-* passives

[1]   These Malay varieties should not be confused with the prescriptive variety, which we refer to as 'Standard*ized* Malay' (*bahasa Melayu baku*).

2. The data

(5) a. The magazine (*majalah*) subcorpus of the DBP Corpus
    b. Front page articles of *Utusan Malaysia* for the entire period of year 2011
    c. A collection of folktales (*cerita rakyat*): used to be available at the DBP website[2]
    d. The Multilingual Corpora (Malay)[3]
    e. Miscellaneous (e.g. web pages)

Table 1   The data for this study

Texts	Data type	Token	Type
DBP (5a)	formal	14,406,888	(unknown) [4]
Utusan Malaysia (5b)	formal	501,272	17,728
Folktale (5c)	formal ~ colloquial	66,711	6,263
Multilingual Corpora (5d)	colloquial	232,310	9,974

- Utilizing multiple data sources ensure that our data is large and representative enough, and contains both Formal and Colloquial Malay sentences.

3. Study 1: Concordance

3.1. Method

(6) a. Data: The magazine subcorpus of the DBP Corpus (5a)
    b. Procedure: Searched for the following patterns using the online concordance system:[5]

    di (PASS) oleh 'by' saya (1SG)
    di   oleh   aku (1SG)
    di   oleh   ku (1SG)   [*ku*: the enclitic form of *aku*]
    di   olehku (1SG)
    di   oleh   kami (1EXCL)
    di   oleh   kita (1INCL)
    di   oleh   awak (2)
    di   oleh   kamu (2)

    di   oleh   mu (2)   [*mu*: the enclitic form of *kamu*]
    di   olehmu (2)
    di   oleh   engkau (2)
    di   oleh   kau (2)
    di   oleh   anda (2)
    di   oleh   saudara (2)

    c. Limitations
      (i) The system only allows one to handle the "oleh" type. The "DP" and "*pro*" types are (almost) impossible to find automatically.
      (ii) The search results are limited to 100 instances, which include many duplicates. → Unsuitable for a quantitative analysis.

3.2. Results

- Many *di-* passives were found with 1st and 2nd person agents.

Table 2 *Di-* passives with 1st and 2nd person agents in the DBP Corpus

Agent		Frequency	Subtotal	Total
1SG	saya	27		
	aku	0		
	ku	0	77	
	-ku	3		
1EXCL	kami	16		
1INCL	kita	31		
2	awak	3		149
	kamu	8		
	mu	2		
	-mu	2	72	
	engkau	1		
	kau	0		
	anda	55		
	saudara	1		

3.3. Examples

(7) Perkara yang paling **diingati oleh saya** ialah kalau apa-apa hal yang berlaku, emak akan memanggil saya ….
'The thing that **is remembered by me** most is that if anything happened, my mum would call me ....'

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[2] We thank Khazriyati Salehuddin for sharing the folktale data with us.
[3] http://coelang.tufs.ac.jp/multilingual_corpus/ms/index.html?contents_xml=top& menulang=en (accessed 28/05/2013)
[4] http://www.dbp.gov.my/lamandbp/main.php?Content=vertsections&SubVertSectionID= 551&VertSectionID=25&CurLocation=238&IID=&Page=1&PHPSESSID=c092e0301b 47bf01ad2447587af8788b (accessed 28/05/2013)
[5] http://sbmb.dbp.gov.my/korpusdbp/SelectUserCat.aspx (accessed 28/05/2013)

(8) Usia tidak mengampunkan segala dosa yang **dibuat oleh kita**.
'Age does not forgive all the sins that **were committed by us**.'

(9) ... Planta Soft telah menyediakan segala yang **diingini oleh anda** iaitu majerin yang lembut dan sangat lazat.
'… Planta Soft has prepared everything that **is wanted by you**, namely margarine that is soft and very tasty.'

3.4. Unsolved questions

- While the restriction in (3) seems inadequate for the "oleh" type, it may be valid for the "DP" and "*pro*" types.

Q1: Are 1st and 2nd person agents also possible for the "DP" and "*pro*" types?

- Prescriptive grammars tend to ban a pattern when it is rarely used.   Indeed, one seldom encounters *di-* passives with 1st and 2nd person agents.

Q2: How frequent are 1st and 2nd person agents?

4.   Study 2: Frequency

4.1.   Method

(10) a.   Data
   (i)   Front page articles of *Utusan Malaysia* in 2011 (5b)
   (ii)   Folktales (5c)
   (iii)   The Multilingual Corpora (Malay) (5d)
   b.   Procedure
   (i)   Took the first 100 instances of *di-* verbs.
   (ii)   For each item, coded
      ➢   the type of agent encoding: "oleh", "DP", "*pro*"
      ➢   the person of the agent: "1st", "2nd", "3rd"

- When more than one analysis is possible, the most likely code was assigned.

4.2.   Results
- 1st and 2nd person agents were attested, but very infrequent (0–3%).
- All instances of them occurred in the "*pro*" type.

Table 3   *Di-* passive agents in Utusan Malaysia (5b)

	oleh	DP	*pro*	Total
1st	0	0	3	3
2nd	0	0	0	0
3rd	11	12	74	97
Total	11	12	77	100

Table 4   *Di-* passive agents in Folktale (5c)

	oleh	DP	*pro*	Total
1st	0	0	0	0
2nd	0	0	0	0
3rd	11	31	58	100
Total	11	31	58	100

Table 5   *Di-* passive agents in Multilingual Corpora (5d)

	oleh	DP	*pro*	Total
1st	0	0	1	1
2nd	0	0	1	1
3rd	16	15	67	98
Total	16	15	69	100

4.3.   Examples

4.3.1.   Utusan Malaysia

(11) Beliau **ditemui *pro*** selepas merasmikan Seminar Pengurusan Sukan Institusi Pengajian Tinggi (IPT) 2010 di UiTM kampus Khazanah Alam Bandar Jengka di sini. (01/01/2011)
'He **was met by *pro*** after he had officiated the 2010 Higher Academic Institution Sports Management Seminar at UiTM, Khazanah Alam Bandar campus here.'
   ◆   *pro* = 1 writer, *2 reader, *3 a third party excluding writer/reader

(12) Jika **dilihat *pro*** blog-blog dan laman sosial popular Facebook turut mendedahkan 'keberanian' golongan gay itu berkongsi pengalaman peribadi dan kehidupan mereka sebagai pengamal seks songsang. (02/01/2011)
'If **looked at by *pro***, blogs and the popular social site Facebook also expose the "bravery" with which the gay people share personal experiences and their lives as practitioners of sexual perversion.'
   ◆   *pro* = 1 writer, 1/2 writer & reader, 2 reader, *3 a third party excluding

writer/reader

(13) "Sifat tidak malu itu juga jelas **dilihat** *pro* ketika mereka menari bersama-sama dalam keadaan separuh bogel ketika serbuan dibuat di premis urut berkenaan," katanya. (02/01/2011)
'"The lack of sense of shame **was** also **seen by** *pro* when they were dancing together in a half-naked condition when the raid was carried out at the massage premise," he said.'
- ◆ *pro* = $\boxed{1}$ speaker, *$\boxed{2}$ hearer, *$\boxed{3}$ a third party excluding speaker/hearer

4.3.2. Multilingual Corpora (Malay)

(14) [Hmm] yang aku paling best tu, [eh] yang bab aku paling best pulak yang rasenye macam kalau nak **dibandingkan** *pro* dengan drama Jepun dengan drama Korea, aku le /// aku lebih suka tengok drama Jepun. (01Dec#3-B4)
'Hmm… what's I'm best is, eh, my best favourite is, I guess, like, if Japanese dramas **are compared by** *pro* with Korean ones, for me… I like to watch Japanese dramas better.'
- ◆ *pro* = $\boxed{1}$ speaker, ?$\boxed{1/2}$ speaker & hearer, *$\boxed{2}$ hearer, *$\boxed{3}$ a third party excluding speaker/hearer

(15) Payah jugak kan kalau kita belajar bahasa lepas tu masih keliru, tapi kan (Zu) [erm] kalau hendak **dibezakan** *pro* antara bahasa Melayu dengan bahasa Jepun /// rasanya mana yang lebih mudah dipelajar /// dipelajari? (01Dec#3-B105)
'If you learn a language and still don't get it, it looks it's not that easy.   Don't you think so?   But, Zu, erm… if Malay **is compared by** *pro* with Japanese… which do you think is easier to learned… learn?'
- ◆ *pro* = *$\boxed{1}$ speaker, ?$\boxed{1/2}$ speaker & hearer, $\boxed{2}$ hearer, *$\boxed{3}$ a third party excluding speaker/hearer

4.3.3. Miscellaneous

(16) KTM Berhad (Malayan Railway) signboard (Figure 1)
Anda **dinasihatkan** *pro₁* supaya menjaga keselamatan barang-barang yang **dibawa** *pro₂* semasa berada di stesen dan di dalam tren.
'You **are advised by** *pro₁* to take care of the security of the belongings that **are carried by** *pro₂* while at the station and on board the train.'
- ◆ *pro₁* = $\boxed{1}$ writer, *$\boxed{2}$ reader, *$\boxed{3}$ a third party excluding writer/reader
- ◆ *pro₂* = *$\boxed{1}$ writer, $\boxed{2}$ reader, *$\boxed{3}$ a third party excluding writer/reader

Figure 1   *Di-* passives with 1st and 2nd person agents in a signboard (picture taken 22/05/2013)

- • 1st and 2nd person agents are difficult to find for the "DP" type.

(17) Ini yang paling comel dan **disukai aku**!
'This is the one that is cutest and **is liked by me**!' (SHEILA & SHAHFIEKRY[6])

(18) Liriknya pula **ditulis saya sendiri**.
'The lyrics on the other hand **were written by me myself**.' (Harian Metro, 17/10/2012)

(19) Berapa buah lagu yang **ditulis anda** dalam album kedua tersebut dan apakah judul single pertama? — Terdapat 10 buah lagu yang kesemuanya **ditulis oleh saya**.
'How many songs are those **written by you** in the second album and what is the title of the first single? — There are 10 songs, all of which **were written by me**.' (KOSMO!, 27/11/2012)

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[6]   http://www.sheilashahfiekry.my/2012/08/ini-entri-takda-makna-pun.html (accessed 26/05/2013)

(20) INDONESIAN
Bila ku **diterimamu**
Bintangpun ku berikan
Bila kau menerimaku
Ku berikan pelangi
'When I**'m accepted by you**
Even a star I'll give to you
When you accept me
I'll give you a rainbow' (GIGI *Jomblo*)

5. Conclusion

5.1. Summary

(3) Person restriction on the *di-* passive agent
di-V <u>Agent</u>$_{*1/*2/\checkmark 3}$
"The agent must be 3rd person.   No 1st and 2nd person agents are allowed."

- The person restriction on *di-* passive agents does exist.   Most *di-* passives have a 3rd person agent rather than a 1st or 2nd person one.
- However, the restriction is **not an absolute syntactic constraint** as formulated in (3).   Instances of 1st and 2nd person agents are found for all three types of *di-* passives: "oleh", "DP" and "*pro*".
- Instead, the restriction is **a strong tendency** whose nature is largely **non-syntactic**.
- Besides the existence of the person restriction, this study has also revealed:

(21) a.   *Di-* passives are typically used without an overt agent ("*pro*" type).[7]
   b.   1st and 2nd person agents become more difficult in the following order:
   "*pro*" type > "oleh" type > "DP" type

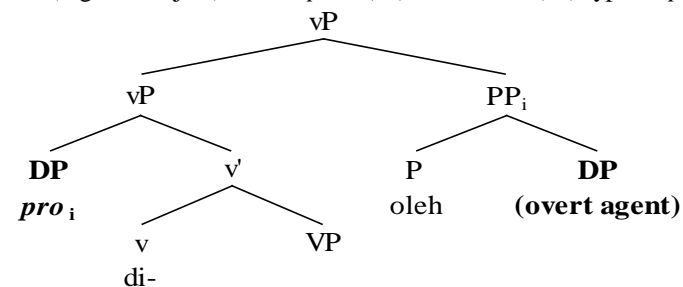[7]   *Di-* passives in Malay thus fit with the following characterization by Keenan and Dryer (2006: 332):
   "And text counts for various languages (e.g. English by Svartvik (1966), Dutch by Kirsner (1976), Chamorro by Cooreman (1987), Modern Greek by Roland (1994)) show that agented passives are much less frequent than agentless ones."

5.2.   Implications for the syntax of *di-* passives
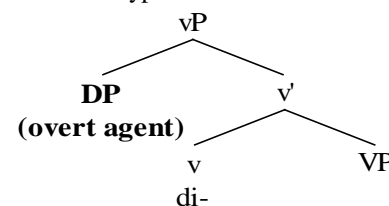- The generalizations in (21) are in accordance with Kartini and Nomoto's (2012) analysis of *di-* passives.

(22) Kartini and Nomoto (2012)
   a.   No morphosyntactic condition on the agent DP.
   b.   *di-* = v that specifies Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2004) as the semantic operation to apply next
      (= *Di-* passives are an external argument "incorporation" construction.)
   c.   Spec,vP (logical subject) of the "*pro*" (2c) and "oleh" (2a) types = *pro*

   d.   Spec,vP (logical subject) of the "DP" type (2b) = overt DP[8]
      The "DP" type is not a kind of the "oleh" type with a null *oleh* 'by'.

(23) a.   Buku itu   di-baca   lelaki itu.
      book   that   PASS-read man   that
      'The book was read by the man.'
   b.   λx[read′(x, book)](φ)(man)   (φ: not restricted to '3rd'[9])
      = λx[read′(x, book) ∧ φ(x)](man)   (by Restrict)
      = [read′(man, book) ∧ φ(man)]   (by Function Application)

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[8]   The agent DP occurs after the verb as a result of V-to-v and v-to-T movements.
[9]   While the passive markers in Malay and English impose no restriction on the agent, the related language Acehnese employs different passive markers that impose different restrictions on the agent in terms of person, number and familiarity.   See Legate (2012) for a Restrict-based analysis of Acehnese passives.

> (21) a. *Di-* passives are typically used without an overt agent ("*pro*" type).
>   b. 1st and 2nd person agents become more difficult in the following order:
>   "*pro*" type > "oleh" type > "DP" type

- Why (21a)?
  Agents are informationally backgrounded in *di-* passives (22b).
- Why (21b)?
  - ➢ Assumption: Speech act participants (1st and 2nd) are more prominent than non-participants (3rd).
    → 1st and 2nd person agents are very rare.
  - ➢ Overt materials are more prominent than covert ones.
    → "*pro*" > "oleh"/"DP"
  - ➢ Arguments are more prominent than adjuncts.
    → "oleh" > "DP"
    cf. Prediction based on the amount of overt materials: "DP" > "oleh"
- The results of this study are incompatible with the analyses by Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992) and Donohue (2007).   These studies predict that 1st and 2nd person agents are totally ungrammatical.
  - ➢ Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992)
    di- = a realization of the 3rd person-related features (in the conservative variety).
  - ➢ Donohue (2007)
    *OBL/L/Agt (Do not assign the grammatical function oblique to participants which represent local (1st or 2nd person) persons if they are agents) is the undominated, highest ranked constraint.

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