

Two Voices Calling Out as One: A Split Voice Analysis of Javanese Passives

Introduction: Surakarta Javanese (Austronesian) has two ‘passive voice’ constructions: a *tak-/kok*-passive and a *di*-passive. The *tak-/kok*-passive is restricted to first and second person singular Agents, and is formed via the proclitics *tak-* (1SG) and *kok-* (2SG), as in (1a). *tak-/kok*-passives are incompatible with overt Agent-denoting DPs or by-phrases (1b). In *di*-passive constructions, the Agent can be realized as a by-phrase, available for any kind of Agent (2), or a postverbal bare DP, available for all Agents except 1SG/2SG (3). Even when *di*-passive Agents are implicit, they can be bound by higher quantifiers (4), like a pronoun, unlike the implicit Agents of typical passive constructions cross-linguistically; impossible in English without an overt by-phrase. The full paradigm of passive constructions in Surakarta Javanese is schematized in (5). In this talk, we answer the following: Why are *di*-passives with bare DP Agents and *tak-/kok*-passives in complementary distribution, conditioned by the Agent’s person? How do quantifiers bind implicit Agents in Javanese passives?

Analysis: We follow Harley (2013); Privoznov (2022), where voice is decomposed into *v* and Voice projections. We assume *v* is mandatory, while Voice is optional. Motivated by the availability for implicit Agents to be bound by higher quantifiers in Javanese passives, we propose an indexed version of *v* (6c), spelt out as *di-*. The verbalizing head *v* introduces an indexed Agent, modelling the pronominal nature of the implicit Agent in Javanese. Javanese passives with bare DPs are syntactically distinguished from the ones with by-phrases by the presence/absence of a projected VoiceP — adverbs (*cêpêt-cêpêt* ‘quickly’) can be inserted between verbs and by-phrases (2), but not between verbs and a post-verbal bare DPs (3a).

When the Agent is a bare DP, we assume an additional VoiceP projection above *v*P. The Voice-head abstracts over assignment functions (6d), and merges with the *v*P through function application, introducing the current evaluation function as its argument (Privoznov 2022). The resulting phrase has an open entity argument, binding the Agent, which the bare DP in SpecVoiceP mandatorily saturates (6a-i). When a 1SG/2SG pronoun is merged in SpecVoiceP, the SpecVoiceP, Voice, and *v* form a span (Svenonius 2019) spelled out as the proclitics *tak-/kok-* (6a-ii), resulting in the complementary distribution between *tak-/kok-* and bare DP *di*-passives. When the Agent is realized as a by-phrase, no VoiceP is projected; the index of *v* undergoes predicate abstraction at some point in the structure in order to allow for reference — either through the optional by-phrase, or binding by some quantifier (6a-iii).

This analysis subcategorizes Javanese passives based on the presence of a VoiceP, corresponding to traits observed regarding Patient and passive voice constructions in other Austronesian languages: constructions with VoiceP require bare DP Agents while still promoting the Patient argument, similar to Patient voice (Legate 2014; Wurmbrand 2021), while constructions without a VoiceP allow for binding via a by-phrase or an implicit Agent, similar to ‘true’ passive voice, except for the ability for binding by higher quantifiers.

- (1) a. *Surat-é { tak / kok }-tulís.*
letter-DEF { 1SG.CL / 2SG.CL }-write
'The letter was written by { me / you.SG }.'
- b. **Surat-é { tak / kok }-tulís (dening) { aku / kowe }.*
letter-DEF { 1SG.CL / 2SG.CL }-write by { 1SG / 2SG }
- (2) a. *Surat-é di-tulís (cêpêt-cêpêt) (dening { Surti / dhèwèké sakloron }).*
letter-DEF PASS-write quickly (by { Surti / 3 two })
'The letter was written (by { Surti / them two }).'
- b. *Surat-é di-tulís (cêpêt-cêpêt) dening { aku / kowe / aku sakloron }.*
letter-DEF PASS-write quickly by { 1SG / 2SG / 1 two }
'The letter was written by { me / you_{SG} / us two }.'
- (3) a. *Surat-é di-tulís *(cêpêt-cêpêt) { Surti / aku saklorong }.*
letter-DEF PASS-write quickly { Surti / 1 two }
'The letter was written by { Surti / us two }.'
- b. **Surat-é di-tulís { aku / kowe }.*
letter-DEF PASS-write { 1SG / 2SG }
Intended: 'The letter was written by { me / you_{SG} }.'
- (4) *Ora ana sing ngaku [nèk surat-é wis di-tulís].*
NEG there.is REL ACT.admit [COMP letter-DEF PFV PASS-write]
'No one_i admits that the letter was written (by them_i)'

	Agent Realization	Agent Distribution	Morphology	Structure
(5)	Implicit Agent	—	<i>di</i> -passive	[_v P <i>v</i> VP]
	by-phrase (PP)	all person/numbers		
	Bare DP	all but 1sg/2sg		
	proclitic <i>tak-/kok-</i>	1sg/2sg	<i>tak-/kok</i> -passive	[VoiceP Voice [_v P <i>v</i> VP]]

- (6) a. i. **Bare DP (not 1sg/2sg)** ii. **Proclitic (1sg/2sg)** iii. **Implicit Agent/By-Phrase**
- i. Bare DP (not 1sg/2sg)**
- Voice_iP
- DP Surti Voice_i'
- Voice_i v_iP
- v_i VP
- di-* write the letter
- ii. Proclitic (1sg/2sg)**
- Voice_iP
- DP 1sg/2sg Voice_i'
- tak-/kok-* Voice_i v_iP
- v_i VP
- write the letter
- iii. Implicit Agent/By-Phrase**
- XP
- QP / *dening* DP / ∃ XP
- λi ...
- ... v_iP
- v_i VP
- di-* write the letter
- b. $[[VP]]^{w,g} = \lambda e_v. \text{write}(e) \wedge \text{TH}(e) = \text{the letter}$
- c. $di- = [[v_i]]^{w,g} = \lambda P_{\langle v,t \rangle} \lambda e_v. P(e) \wedge \text{AG}(e) = g(i)$
- d. $[[Voice_i]]^{w,g} = \lambda F_{\langle g, \langle v,t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x_e \lambda e_v. F(g[x/i], e)$
- e. $n- = [[v_{\text{Actor}}]]^{w,g} = \lambda P_{\langle v,t \rangle} \lambda x_e \lambda e_v. P(e) \wedge \text{AG}(e) = x$

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