

BARE PASSIVE AGENT HIERARCHY*

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This paper shows that the strict restriction on bare passive agents reported in Standard Indonesian does not apply to most languages that have bare passives. An implicational hierarchy of possible bare passive agents is proposed. The selected means of licensing the agent accounts for the observed cross-linguistic variation. Languages higher on the hierarchy employ head-head adjacency in place of case licensing.

1. Introduction

Austronesian languages in Nusantara are often characterized by the presence of two types of passive constructions. In both types, the internal argument of the verb behaves as a subject. The two types differ in the presence of an overt passive voice marker. The verb is morphologically marked by an overt passive voice marker in one type (morphological passive) but not in the other (bare passive). The bare passive is also known as passive type 2, *pasif semu* (pseudo-passive), zero passive, object(ive) voice, object preposing, and so on. The Standard Malay examples in (1) illustrate the two types.

- (1) a. Surat ini perlu *di-tandatangani* mereka. (Morphological passive)
letter this need PASS-sign.on 3PL
b. Surat ini perlu mereka *tandatangan*. (Bare passive)
letter this need 3PL sign.on
'This letter needs to be signed by them./They need to sign this letter.'

Another important property of bare passives is that the external argument (represented by 'agent' hereafter) must occur adjacent to the verb. Unlike voice morphology, this property is not exclusive to bare passives but also holds with a subset of morphological passives. Thus, in (1a), no element can intervene between the verb and the agent (e.g. **Surat ini perlu ditandatangani segera mereka* [*segera* 'soon']).

The topic of the present paper is yet another property of bare passives, i.e. the restriction on possible agents. The most famous such restriction is that reported in Standard Indonesian.¹ The standard formulation of the restriction would be that by Sneddon et al. (2010:257): bare passive agents must be pronouns or pronoun substitutes (i.e. non-pronominals referring to speech act participants). Thus, the common noun *bapak* 'father' in (2) is acceptable only when used as a pronoun substitute.

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1. In Indonesian linguistics, 'Standard Indonesian' usually refers to the formal register of the standard (i.e. non-regional) variety. The corresponding informal register is referred to as Colloquial Indonesian. Hence, the term 'standard' is used differently from Standard English, Standard Malay, Standard Japanese, etc.

(2) Surat ini harus *bapak* tandatangani.

letter this must father sign.on

{You/*Father} must sign this letter.'

(Sneddon et al. 2010:259)

I have the impression that many researchers presume this particular formulation of the restriction extends to other languages that have bare passives. However, no such restriction exists in Standard Malay, the language with bare passives with which I am most familiar. Now, a question arises: Which is the norm among the languages with bare passives, the Standard Indonesian type or the Standard Malay type?

In this paper, I show the Standard Malay type is the norm based on a cross-linguistic survey (section 2). Moreover, I propose an implicational hierarchy of possible bare passive agents (section 3). I also present an analysis of bare passives and their cross-linguistic variation (section 4).

2. A cross-linguistic survey

To answer the question raised above, I conducted a cross-linguistic survey of mainly languages in Malaysia and Indonesia. No systematic sampling was applied. The languages I examined have readily available grammar descriptions.

I should note that not all grammar descriptions explicitly state the restriction on possible bare passive agents, as Sneddon et al. do. When no explicit statement was available, I examined examples to determine which items are possible as bare passive agents. However, what is impossible often remained unclear.

To identify bare passives, one must first check whether a language has bare actives. Bare actives resemble bare passives in that the verb bears no overt voice marker. However, the former is not a variant of the latter but behaves syntactically as an active clause (see Chung 1978 for a convincing argument regarding bare actives in Standard Indonesian). (3a) gives an example of a simple bare active clause. The verb occurs in the bare stem form rather than the morphological active form *menghabiskan* or the morphological passive form *dihabiskan*. (3b) is created by topicalizing the object.²

(3) Standard Indonesian, bare active

a. Sejak 2001 aku sudah *habiskan* [ratusan juta rupiah]. . . .

since 2001 1SG already finish hundreds million rupiah

'Since 2001, I've spent hundreds of millions of rupiah'³

b. Sejak 2001 [ratusan juta rupiah] aku sudah *habiskan*.

since 2001 hundreds million rupiah 1SG already finish

'Since 2001, hundreds of millions of rupiah, I've spent.'

2. Erlewine, Levin, and van Urk (2017) analyse a construction similar to (3b), more specifically, relativization of the object from a bare active clause, as involving multiple extraction from a bare passive clause. Under their analysis, in (i), not only the object but also the agent is extracted: *tidak akan Budi baca* → *Budi tidak akan <Budi> baca*. They do not explain why the otherwise ungrammatical agent extraction becomes possible when the object is also extracted. Hence, I do not adopt this analysis and continue to assume the bare passive agent is unextractable, no matter what, and examples such as (3b) and (i) involve a simple object extraction from a bare active clause.

(i) [Buku [yang Budi tidak akan baca]] sangat menarik.

book REL Budi not will read very interesting

'The book that Budi will not read is very interesting.'

(Erlewine, Levin, and van Urk 2017)

The topicalized bare active sentence in (3b) can be easily confused with a bare passive sentence by wrongly analysing the topicalized object in the brackets as the subject. It is not a bare passive sentence because the agent is separated from the verb by the auxiliary *sudah* ‘already’. The real bare passive counterpart of (3a) is (4), in which the agent is adjacent to the verb. The relative order ‘Aux/Adv/Neg agent’ is thus a crucial diagnostic of the bare passive.

- (4) Sejak 2001 [ratusan juta rupiah] sudah aku *habiskan*.
 since 2001 hundreds million rupiah already 1SG finish
 ‘Since 2001, I’ve spent hundreds of millions of rupiah.’

For languages with bare actives, bare passives need to be distinguished from bare actives when investigating bare passives. This is because bare active agents are not restricted in the same manner that bare passive agents are. The distinction is clear when Aux/Adv/Neg is present. However, when Aux/Adv/Neg does not occur, as in (5), the distinction is not immediately obvious, unless the noun phrase before the agent is clearly not topical.

- (5) a. [pembicaraan indah itu] aku *akhiri* dengan ucapan salam khas
 discussion beautiful that 1SG end with greetings special
 ‘I ended the beautiful discussion with a special greeting ...’⁴
 b. [Motor] aku *kendarai* dengan kecepatan sedang.
 motorcycle 1SG drive with speed moderate
 ‘I rode the motorcycle at a moderate speed.’⁵

Unfortunately, most grammar descriptions lack information about bare actives.⁶ We thus need to ascertain the presence or absence of bare actives from available examples.

Philippine-type languages are outside the scope of this study. However, they have sentences that resemble bare passives and can be identified as bare passives, depending on one’s morphological analysis. For example, the Tagalog perfective theme voice sentence in (6) exhibits the two defining properties of bare passives if the verb *binili* is analysed as shown here: (i) the verb bears no overt voice marker and (ii) the agent must occur adjacent to the verb.

- (6) *B<in>ili-Ø* ng lalake ang isda sa tindahan.
 <PFV>buy-TV GEN man NOM fish DAT store
 ‘The man bought the fish at the store.’ (adapted from Kroeger 1993:13)⁷

3. This sentence was taken from the IND MXD2012 subcorpus of the Leipzig Corpus Collection (LCC; Goldhahn, Eckart, and Quasthoff 2012) using MALINDO Conc (Nomoto, Akasegawa, and Shiohara 2018). http://asmakmalaikat.com/asmak_malaikat.htm

4. LCC, IND WEB2012, <http://alrisblog.wordpress.com/>

5. LCC, IND MXD2012, <http://arfen-arfen.blogspot.com/>

6. Some authors treat bare actives as derived from morphological actives through the omission of the overt active voice marker. However, the indeterminacy persists, as long as the omission occurs.

7. Kroeger calls the theme voice construction the ‘Objective Voice’. He uses the same term for the bare passive construction (Kroeger 2014). This seems to be a coincidence, as he states: “I follow Arka & Manning (1998) and Cole, Hermon & Yanti (2008) in using the term OBJECTIVE VOICE” (p. 6).

The result of the survey is summarized in (7). See (9) for the source of information for each language.

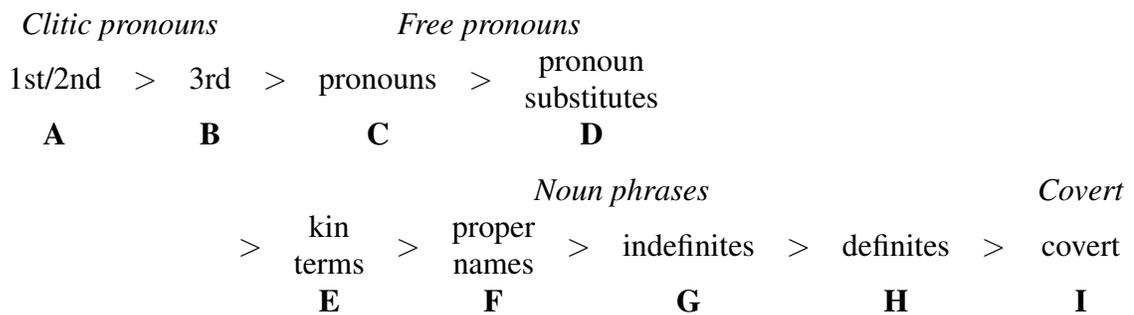
- (7) a. Languages that allow only pronouns and pronoun substitutes:
 Sama Bangingi', Standard Indonesian, Standard Javanese
 b. Languages that allow more than just pronouns and pronoun substitutes:
 Acehese, Balinese, Colloquial Indonesian, Kendal Javanese, Madurese, Malay (Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis's (1992) variety), Standard Malay, Jambi Malay, Sarawak Malay, Mi-nangkabau, Mualang, Sama Pangutaran, Sasak

Standard Indonesian clearly treats the restriction on possible agents in a way that is outside the norm. Conversely, the restriction reported in Standard Indonesian turns out to be unusually strict. Given Standard Javanese is also in group (7a), one may think the strict restriction is either an influence from Javanese or somewhat prescriptive in nature. Incidentally, Moeliono et al. 2017, the most comprehensive grammar of Indonesian produced by local grammarians, does not restrict bare passive agents as strictly as Sneddon et al. 2010 does, and it allows proper names with third person reference. Western scholars tend to believe Moeliono et al.'s work represents prescriptive Indonesian grammar, but Sneddon et al. 2010 may be more prescriptive in some cases, given that it was written for language education (Sneddon et al. 2010:1).

3. Implicational hierarchy

Although a number of languages belong to group (7b), they are not monolithic. Neither are the languages in group (7a). The range of possible bare passive agents differs from language to language. At the same time, the variation does not seem random. I propose the implicational hierarchy for possible bare passive agents in (8) to capture the regularity. If a language allows the items in a slot to be bare passive agents, then it will also allow the items to the left of that slot to be bare passive agents. (9) summarizes languages that belong to the groups shown in (8). No language has been found yet for Group C.

(8) THE BARE PASSIVE HIERARCHY



- (9) A. Standard Javanese (Conners 2008)
 B. Sama Bangingi' (Gault 2002)
 D. Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al. 2010)
 E. Madurese (Jeoung 2017)
 F. Malay (Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis's (1992) variety)
 G. Balinese (monotransitive; Artawa 1998)
 H. Balinese (ditransitive; Udayana 2012), Sasak (Asikin-Garmager 2017), Kendal Javanese (Sato 2010), Colloquial Indonesian, Standard Malay, Jambi Malay (Yanti 2010), Sarawak Malay (Mohd. Ali 2015), Minangkabau (Crouch 2009), Acehnese (Legate 2014), Sama Pangutaran (Walton 1986)
 I. Mualang (Tjia 2007)

Clearly, the system represented by Group H is the norm, where the requirement for bare passive agents is simply that they must be overt. Although items toward the left side of the hierarchy may be preferred, DPs consisting of multiple words are also possible. In what follows, I discuss each group (except Groups C and D) in detail.

Group A: Standard Javanese In this most restricted group, a clear person-based split exists between bare and morphological passives (Conners 2008:171–172): bare passives for first and second person agents, and morphological passives with the prefix *di-* for third person agents.⁸

- (10) Buku iku *tak=/kok=/*di=* jupuk.
 book that 1=/2=/3= take
 'That book was taken by me/you/(him/her).' (adapted from Conners 2008:172)

Group B: Sama Bangingi' Sama Bangingi' employs bare passives when the agent is a pronoun, regardless of the person. Bare passives cannot be used if the agent is a common noun.

- (11) Bare passive
 a. Bay na bowa=*ku* palauk-in pe' ma=*iya*.
 PST CP bring=1SG.ERG viand-the there OBL=3SG
 'I have already taken the viand there to her.'
 b.*Bay na bowa *e' si Inah* palauk-in pe' ma=*iya*.
 PST CP bring ERG PM mother viand-the there OBL=3SG
 For: 'Mother has already taken the viand there to her.' (Gault 2002:372)

According to Gault (2002:372), the passive-like marker *ni-/in-* is preferred but not required when the agent is a third person pronoun. I also consider sentences such as (12b), where *ni-/in-* is absent, as instances of the bare passive.⁹

8. However, the third person free pronoun *dheke* is possible as a bare passive agent in colloquial speech (Sri Budi Lestari, p.c.).
 9. Gault refers to bare passives as 'patient focus'.

(12) Morphological passive

a. With *-in-*

Bay na b(in)owa e'=na palauk-in pe' ma=iya.
 PST CP <PASS>bring ERG=3SG.ERG viand-the there OBL=3SG
 'I have already taken the viand there to her.'

b. Without *-in-* (constructed) = bare passive

Bay na bowa e'=na palauk-in pe' ma=iya.
 PST CP bring ERG=3SG.ERG viand-the there OBL=3SG
 'I have already taken the viand there to her.'

(Gault 2002:372)

Group E: Madurese Madurese differs from Standard Indonesian in that it allows kin terms as bare passive agents. Unlike Standard Indonesian, Madurese does not have the pronoun substitute use of kin terms (Jeoung 2017:fn. 14).

(13) Potra-epon ampon {*ramah* / **Pak Tono*} tembhal-ih.

son-DEF PRF father Mr. Tono call-APPL
 '{Father/*Mr. Tono} called his son.'

(Jeoung 2017)

Group F: Malay (Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis's (1992) variety) According to Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992), the Malay variety they discuss allows proper name agents, but not common noun ones.

(14) Anjing itu {*Ali* / *saya* / *ku=* / **lelaki itu*} pukul.

dog the Ali 1SG 1SG boy the hit
 'The dog was hit by {Ali/me/me/*the boy}.'¹⁰

(Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis 1992)

Group G vs. Group H: Construction-based split in Balinese Balinese exhibits a construction-based split. A monotransitive clause cannot have a definite agent (15) (Group G) whereas a ditransitive one can (16) (Group H).

(15) Nasi-n oke-ne amah *bangkung*(*-e).

rice-LINK 1SG-POSS eat pig(-DEF)
 '{A/*The} pig ate my rice.'

(Artawa 2013:10)

(16) Anak ento beli-nin *sabilang anak* baju ento.

person that buy-APPL every person shirt that
 'Everybody bought that shirt from the man.'

(Udayana 2012:108–109)

Group H As pointed out above, this group is the most common among the languages surveyed. (17) shows an example in Colloquial Indonesian, as the sentence contains colloquial expressions such as *gw* (= *gue*) 'I' and *ga* 'not'. A noun phrase with a demonstrative, which is ungrammatical

10. Because Aux/Adv/Neg is absent, this sentence may be a bare active sentence as well (see section 2).

in the related Malay variety in Group F, is used in this example. The position of the auxiliary *sudah* ‘already’ validates that the relevant clause is bare passive as opposed to bare active.

- (17) Gw ga akan men-jelaskan apa yang terjadi sebelum gw tau apa yang
1SG not will ACT-explain what REL happen before 1SG know what REL
sudah orang itu katakan.¹¹
already person that say
‘I won’t explain what happened before I know what the person already said.’

In fact, Standard Indonesian also belongs to this group, at least for some speakers. For instance, I would consider sentence (18) a Standard Indonesian sentence, given its use of *memiliki* ‘to possess’ rather than *punya* ‘to have’. The agent in this sentence is neither a pronoun nor a pronoun substitute, but rather a common noun phrase.

- (18) Layanan ini me-miliki banyak fungsi yang dapat tenaga pengajar memanfaatkan
service this ACT-possess many function REL can power teacher utilize
ketika meng-ajar jarak jauh.¹²
when ACT-teach distance far
‘This service has many functions that teachers can utilize when teaching remotely.’

Group I: Mualang Bare passive agents do not have to be overt in Mualang, an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan.¹³

- (19) Manuk pro pakay p-amis da pian.
chicken eat CAUS-finished LOC bathing.place
‘The chickens were eaten up at the bathing place.’ (*pro* = those who were attending the rite)
(Tjia 2007:177)

According to Tjia (2007), Mualang does not have bare actives. The verb of an active clause must be prefixed by the active voice marker *N-*, as shown in (20). Hence, (19) is not a bare active sentence with subject pro-drop and object topicalization, but rather a bare passive sentence with a covert agent.

- (20) Ku *(N-)bunuh manuk.
1SG ACT-kill chicken
‘I killed a chicken.’
(Tjia 2007:147)

11. *Ternyata Tidak Mudah Menemukanmu* - Scribd, <http://id.scribd.com/doc/243107189/Ternyata-Tidak-Mudah-Menemukanmu>, accessed 19/8/2020.

12. *Cara Membuat Tugas di Google Classroom*, <https://www.liputan6.com/tekno/read/4325263/cara-membuat-tugas-di-google-classroom>, accessed 28/8/2020.

13. Tjia refers to the bare passive as ‘inverse’.

4. Analysis

In this section, I present an analysis of bare passives and the various types of restrictions on their agents that we saw in the previous sections. I take Group H as the default case because it is cross-linguistically most common.

4.1. The syntax of bare passives: The default case (Group H)

It is generally assumed that distinct functional heads are responsible for different voice properties. I refer to the head responsible for the passive voice as v_{pass} here. It is essentially identical to Aldridge’s (2008) v_{Erg} (but not her v_{Pass}). v_{pass} differs from the active voice head v_{act} in its case-licensing property. What is common to v_{pass} in all languages is that it does not assign a structural accusative case to the internal argument (represented by ‘patient’ hereafter).¹⁴ v_{pass} may vary across languages with respect to the licensing of the agent argument. In the default case, it assigns an inherent case to the agent. I follow Aldridge (2008) and refer to this case as ‘ergative’. Both v_{pass} and v_{act} project a specifier, hence they are transitive syntactically as well as semantically (cf. Collins 2005; Merchant 2013).

(21) shows the underlying structure of a passive verb phrase.

- (21) $[\text{VoiceP Voice } [_{\text{VP}} \text{Agent } [_{v'} v_{\text{pass}} [_{\text{VP}} \text{V Patient }]]]]$
[Erg]

Under this analysis, the Voice head above vP does not determine the voice and does not introduce the agent either. Instead, it signals the type of v projecting its complement by means of a selectional restriction (Nomoto 2015). Besides indicating the voice, the elements in Voice may contribute meanings such as aspect and givenness (Soh and Nomoto 2009, 2011, 2015; Nomoto 2015). The category label ‘Voice’ is a little confusing, but a similar label-function mismatch has occurred in other phenomena as well. For example, the items called ‘focus particles’ do not actually encode focus, but instead require or are sensitive to focus semantics, which in turn is achieved without dedicated overt marking. I will thus continue using the label Voice, given that the relevant markers have been established as voice markers in the literature.

The selectional restrictions imposed by Voice are summarized in (22), with concrete examples in Standard Malay/Indonesian in parentheses.

- (22) Bare active/passive: $[\text{VoiceP } \emptyset \text{ } [_{\text{VP}} \dots v_{\text{act}}/v_{\text{pass}} \dots]]$ (\emptyset)
 Morphological active: $[\text{VoiceP ACT } [_{\text{VP}} \dots v_{\text{act}} \dots]]$ (*meN-*)
 Morphological passive: $[\text{VoiceP PASS } [_{\text{VP}} \dots v_{\text{pass}} \dots]]$ (*di-*)

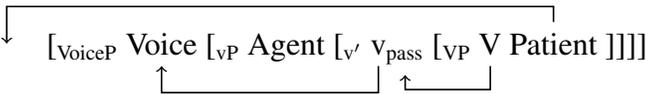
The Patient-Agent-V order of bare passives is derived by fronting the Patient. I assume a V-to-v movement as well.

- (23) $[\text{VoiceP Voice } [_{\text{VP}} \text{Agent } [_{v'} v_{\text{pass}} [_{\text{VP}} \text{V Patient }]]]]$
-

14. Constructions called ‘passive’ in which the patient retains accusative case marking are treated as a related but separate phenomenon, even if they involve a marker apparently identical to that found in the canonical passive. Such constructions exist in Ukrainian and Japanese among others.

- (24) Standard Indonesian
- a. Surat ini harus saya tandatangani.
letter this must 1SG sign.on
'I must sign this letter.'
 - b. Surat ini harus [VoiceP \emptyset [VP saya [v' [v_{pass} \emptyset + tandatangani] [VP <tandatangani> <surat ini>]]]]

The Patient-V-Agent of bare passives can be obtained by fronting v+V to Voice.

- (25) 

- (26) Balinese (Artawa 2013:10)
- a. Nasi-n oke-ne amah bangkung.
rice-LINK 1SG-POSS eat pig
'A pig ate my rice.'
 - b. Nasi-n oke-ne [VoiceP [Voice \emptyset + [v_{pass} \emptyset + amah]] [VP bangkung [v' <v_{pass}> [VP <amah> <nasi-n oke-ne>]]]]

Exactly the same set of movements are involved in morphological passives with the Patient-V-Agent order, with the only difference being that the voice marker is overt.

- (27) Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al. 2010:259)
- a. Surat ini harus di-tandatangani bapak.¹⁵
letter this must PASS-sign.on father
'This letter has to be signed by father.'
 - b. Surat ini harus [VoiceP [Voice di- + [v_{pass} \emptyset + tandatangani]] [VP bapak [v' <v_{pass}> [VP <tandatangani> <surat ini>]]]]

4.2. Voice-Agent realization reversal (Groups H and I)

Unlike Group H above, Group I allows a covert agent (cf. (19)). Assuming the covert agent is *pro*, Group I but not Group H allows *pro* as a bare passive agent.

If that is the only difference, then Group I is expected to be as common as Group H. However, it is so rare that many authors include the overtness of the agent as part of the definition of bare passives. I claim that both groups employ *pro* in passives, but *pro* is exclusive to morphological passives in Group H.

Classical Malay provides evidence supporting the agent-denoting *pro* in morphological passives (Nomoto 2016). Both (28a) and (28b) contain an *oleh* 'by' agentive phrase. Notice that in (28b), the agent is also expressed by the third person enclitic pronoun =*nya*. It is thus reasonable to think that (28a) also contains a post-adjacent pronoun doubled by the *oleh* PP, as indicated by *pro*.

15. See Nomoto 2020 for evidence for the argument status of the post-adjacent agent DP.

- (28)a. Maka duit itu di-ambil *pro* [oleh ibu bapa=nya]
 and money that PASS-take by mother father=3
 ‘And the money was taken by their parents’ (Abd.H 17:11)
- b. [oleh ibu bapa=ku] di-jemputkan=*nya*=lah segala adik kakak dalam Melaka
 by mother father=1SG PASS-invite=3=PART all sibling in Malacca
 ‘my parents invited all their siblings in Malacca’ (Abd.H 32:4)

I propose that with regard to the phonological realization of Voice and Spec,vP (= Agent), languages generally follow the constraint in (29).

- (29) VOICE-AGENT REALIZATION REVERSAL
 Either Voice or Agent can be overtly realized.

This constraint is a soft constraint. Hence, violations are avoided but can actually occur, and languages will evolve in such a way that (29) will be obeyed.

Bare passives in Group I violate this constraint. Although Voice is covert, Agent can also be covert, which explains the rarity of this group.

Voice-Agent realization reversal also explains the historical changes that happened to morphological passives in Malay. As seen above, Classical Malay had a subtype of morphological passive in which both Voice and Agent are overtly realized (cf. (28b)). This subtype disappeared and is no longer available in most modern varieties of Malay. The loss is thought to be reinforced by the constraint in (29). Furthermore, Nomoto and Kartini (2016) show that in Standard Malay, the subtype in which an overt agent DP occurs immediately after the verb (cf. (1a)) has been in decline since the era of Classical Malay. Again, the reversal constraint played a role in the decline.

Beyond Austronesian, the reversal constraint explains why many languages with morphological passives lack bare passives, as in English. Likewise, it is predicted that many languages with bare passives lack morphological passives. However, in this case, I suspect the relevant construction has not been described as passive in the first place. Moreover, the reversal generalization probably has bearing on the following common views: (i) passives are intransitive (i.e. v_{pass} does not project a specifier) and (ii) passive markers often develop from agent pronouns.

4.3. Special cases (Groups A–G)

For Groups A–G, the default mechanism does not work. I argue that in these groups, the agent is not licensed by the inherent ergative case assigned by v_{pass} . That is, v_{pass} in Groups A–G lacks inherent ergative case.

4.3.1. Licensing by adjacency

The part of the hierarchy involving Groups A–F resembles Silverstein’s (1976) hierarchy of split ergativity. Nominals higher on Silverstein’s hierarchy are less likely to be realized as ergative. Assuming the inherent ergative case is involved in ergativity (e.g. Legate 2002; Aldridge 2008), it can be said that the items in A–F are not so compatible with the inherent ergative case. Such incompatibility, whatever its reasons may be, is thought to make the languages in Groups A–F give up case-licensing and resort to an alternative argument licensing mechanism.

I adopt Levin's (2015) idea of licensing by adjacency as the alternative mechanism. According to Levin, an argument can be licensed by head-head adjacency. The Balinese bare passive sentence in (30) illustrates licensing by adjacency. The adjective *liu* can either precede or follow the noun it modifies. However, when it occurs in a bare passive agent, it cannot precede the noun. This, Levin argues, is because if it occurs prenominally, the adjacency between V⁰ and N⁰ will be broken, leaving the agent unlicensed.

- (30) Nyoman gugut (*liu) cicing (liu).
 Nyoman bite many dog many
 'Many dogs bit Nyoman.' (Levin 2015:76)

In Groups A–D and F, the agent DP consists only of a D head. As for Group E, the three examples given by Jeoung (2017) are all single words: *ramah* 'father', *ebhu* 'mother' and *ale* 'younger sibling'. As far as these examples are concerned, head-head adjacency holds.

4.3.2. Construction-based split (Groups H and G)

As seen in section 2, Balinese disallows definite agents in monotransitive clauses (cf. (15)), but not in ditransitive clauses (cf. (16)). This construction-based split remains a puzzle. I conjecture that the strong quantifier *sabilang* 'every' in (16) heads a QP above DP, whereas the weak quantifier *liu* 'many' in (15) is an adjunct AP within NP.¹⁶ If so, definite agents should be possible in general if they are QPs rather than DPs, whether the clause is monotransitive or ditransitive. More work is necessary.

4.4. Size

Finally, I should note that the size of the agent also matters, at least in Standard Malay/Indonesian.¹⁷ The agents of bare passives are usually short compared to those of morphological passives. I know of no study on the size of bare passive agents in Standard Malay. As for Standard Indonesian, Moeliono et al. (2017:471) state that proper names can occur as bare passive agents if they are relatively short. The authors point out the contrast in (31). When the agent consists of two conjoined pronouns, the morphological passive (31b) is more acceptable than the bare passive (31a).

- (31)a. ?Tugas itu harus [kamu dan saya] selesaikan.
 duty that should 2 and 1SG finish
 b. Tugas itu harus di-selesaikan oleh [kamu dan saya].
 duty that should PASS-finish by 2 and 1SG
 'The duty should be finished by you and me.' (Moeliono et al. 2017:470)

It is not clear at this point why the size matters. I speculate the reason has to do with the position between the subject and the verb in an SVO language. Whether similar size restrictions exist in other languages is also unclear. If my speculation is correct, no restriction will be found in non-SVO languages and SVO languages in which bare passive agents follow the verb, as in Sarawak Malay.

16. I thank Helen Jeoung for suggesting the relevance of quantifiers in (16).

17. I thank Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine for drawing my attention to this point.

5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that the majority of languages with bare passives are unlike Standard Indonesian in that the agent is not restricted to pronouns and pronoun substitutes. I proposed an implicational hierarchy for possible bare passive agents (cf. (8)). Passive agents are normally licensed by the inherent ergative case assigned by v_{pass} . However, languages higher on the hierarchy have a variant of v_{pass} that lacks the inherent ergative case. In such languages, bare passive agents are licensed by head-head adjacency.

This study has implications for the definition of bare passives and the analysis of passives in general. First, the Mualang data in (19), in which the bare passive agent is covert, indicates that the definition of bare passives must not include the overtiness of the agent, but rather that the overtiness is a characteristic specific to individual languages. Second, to the extent that bare passives are related to English-type morphological passives (Nomoto 2018), an ergative analysis of bare passives à la Aldridge (2008) is valid for passives in general.

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