**Kena Passives and Unvoiced Voiced Alternations**

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1 Introduction

**Background**

- Most previous studies on voice in Malay have focussed on the morphological passive (1) and the bare passive (2) (e.g. Saddy 1991; Soh 1998; Cole and Hermoon 1998; Voskuil 2000; Nomoto and Shoho 2007; Sato 2008). 1

1 These two passives are referred to variously in the literature. ‘Morphological passive’ is also called ‘canonical passive’ (Chung 1976; Guilfoyle et al. 1992), ‘pasif jati’ [genuine passive] (Asmah 2009) etc. ‘Bare passive’ is also known as the object-preposing construction (Chung 1976; Willett 1993), Passive Type 2 (Dardjowidjojo 1978; Sneddon 1996), ‘pasif semu’ [pseudo passive] (Asmah 2009) etc. See Nomoto (2006) for a summary of the various existing terms.

1 Most descriptions of the morphological passive in Malay state that its agent is restricted to the third person and its distribution is complementary to the bare passive, whose agent is restricted to the first and second persons according to these grammars. Although prescriptive grammars dictate this rule, such descriptions are not adequate from a descriptive perspective (Chung (1976) makes a similar remark on Indonesian). Morphological passive sentences with a first or second person agent are actually used in appropriate contexts. For example, if a document has to be examined by three people before it is sent to the client and only the speaker, but not the other two people, has examined it, the speaker can express the contrast “me, but not the other two” better by (1) than by (2).

(1) Dokumen itu sudah di-semak oleh saya. 2
‘The document has already been checked by me.’

(2) Dokumen itu sudah saya semak.
‘I have already checked the document.’

- However, other types of passives have been also recognised in the literature (Nik Safiah 1978; Arbak 1981; Asmah and Subbiah 1983; Abdul Hamid 1992): (i) ter- passives, (ii) ber- passives, (iii) ke-...an passives and (iv) kena passives.

- The term ‘passive’ is simply a label. Malay grammars use the label ‘passive’ for any constructions whose semantic and pragmatic functions resemble those of prototypical passives, e.g. foregrounding the patient/theme, backgrounding the agent and increased affectedness (Shibatani 1985; Keenan 1985; cf. Koh 1990:169).

**A big question**

Are these other passives related to the morphological and bare passives syntactically? Do their common “passive meanings” stem from common syntactic mechanisms?

- In this paper, we examine one of these other passives, namely the *kena* passive as in (3) below, which is often used in Colloquial Malay (cf. Chung 2005).

(3) Pencuri itu kena tangkap oleh polis.
‘The thief got arrested by the police.’

**Specific questions**

1. How are *kena* passive sentences like (3) related to morphological and bare passives?

2. How are *kena* passive sentences related to sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ as in (4)? 3,4

3 Chung (2005:209) regards this use of *kena* as a modal verb and distinguishes it from *kena* in *kena* passives.

4 In this paper, we are concerned with the synchronic aspects of *kena*. We will not discuss how each present-day use of the word has developed historically.
(4) Polis kena tangkap penyeluk saku itu.
   police KENA arrest pickpocket that
   ‘The police have to arrest the pickpocket.’

3. What is the structure of kena passive sentences?

Our answers to these questions
1. Kena in kena passives is orthogonal to morphological and bare passives. Kena only adds an adversity flavour and is not the source of passive syntax. The passive syntax is due either to the latter two types of voices or to “unvoiced voices.”
2. We analyse sentences like (4) as the active counterpart of kena passive sentences.
3. Kena is a ‘funny predicate’, which takes a reduced clause (vP) as its complement.

Organisation of the paper
Section 1: Introduction
Section 2: Basic facts about the three kinds of passives
Section 3: Relationship between kena passives and sentences with kena meaning ‘have to’
Section 4: Kena sentences and funny control
Section 5: Unvoiced voice alternation
Section 6: Conclusion

2 Basic facts about the three kinds of passives
2.1 Morphological passives
(5) Defining characteristics of morphological passives:
   a. The verb is prefixed by di-.
   b. The theme/patient DP rather than the agent DP is the subject.
   c. The canonical word order is ‘Theme/Patient V (oleh Agent)’.

(6) Buku itu di-baca oleh Siti.
   book that PASS-read by Siti
   ‘The book was read by Siti.’

(7) Siti mem-baca buku itu.
   Siti ACT-read book that
   ‘Siti read the book.’

2.2 Bare passives
(8) Defining characteristics of bare passives:5
   a. The verb appears in its stem form.
   b. The theme/patient DP rather than the agent DP is the subject.
   c. The agent is obligatory and often cliticises to the verb.
   d. Aux/Adv/Neg precedes the agent and the verb.
   e. The canonical word order is ‘Theme/Patient (Aux/Adv/Neg) Agent V’.

(9) Surat itu sudah Ali baca.
   letter that already Ali read
   ‘Ali has already read the letter.’

(10) Ali sudah baca surat itu.
    Ali already read letter that
    ‘Ali has already read the letter.’

- Corresponding to morphological passives are morphological active sentences with the prefix meN-.

- Corresponding to bare passives are bare active sentences, in which the agent precedes Aux/Adv/Neg as in (10).

5 See Chung (1976) for evidence that this construction is a passive, but not a topicalisation construction. Nomoto and Shoho (2007) claim that the bare passive does not exist in Colloquial Malay grammar and that occurrences of it in casual discourse are due to code-mixing with Formal Malay (called ‘Written Malay’ by them). Similarly, Cole, Hermon and Tjung (2006) argue that the same construction (called ‘pasif semu/P2’ by them) does not exist in Jakarta Indonesian, the language spoken in casual situations by the natives of Jakarta.
2.3 *Kena* passives

- ‘*Kena* passives’ have been mentioned/discussed by a number of researchers (e.g. Nik Safiah 1978; Asmah and Subbiah 1983; Abdul Hamid 1992; Koh 1990; Nik Safiah et al. 1993; Bao and Wee 1999; Chung 2005). They are reported to have the following properties:

**Property 1:** The subject must be adversely affected (Koh 1990; Bao and Wee 1999; Chung 2005).

(11) Aminah *kena* tapar.
Aminah *KENA* slap
‘Aminah got slapped.’

**Property 2:** The agentive *oleh* ‘by’ phrase is optional (Nik Safiah et al. 1993; Bao and Wee 1999; Chung 2005).

(12) Amin *kena* tangkap *(oleh)* polis.
Amin *KENA* catch *(by)* police
‘Amin got arrested *(by)* the police.’

**Property 3:** Stative verbs cannot appear in *kena* passive sentences (Bao and Wee 1999).

(13) a. *Perkara itu *kena* tahu.
thing *that* KENA know

b. *Buku itu *kena* punya.
book *that* KENA have

(Bao and Wee 1999:5)

**Property 4:** The verb does not take the suffix -kan (Chung 2005)

(14) *Dia *kena* tipu-kan oleh pemuda itu.
s/he CHONG cheat-KAN by youth that
For: ‘She/he got cheated by the man.’

(Chung 2005:197)

**Property 5:** The verb is affixless (Nik Safiah et al. 1993; Bao and Wee 1999). We will show that this is not true in section 4.2 (cf. footnote 13).

(15) Abu *kena* *denda* oleh cikgu.
Abu *KENA* punish by teacher
‘Abu was punished by the teacher.’

3 *Kena* passives and their active counterparts

- Unlike morphological and bare passives, *kena* passive sentences have never been discussed in relation to corresponding active sentences.

- As the category of ‘passive’ is defined based on semantic and pragmatic functions (section 1), it is possible that there is no active counterpart for *kena* passives. But is that true?

3.1 Proposal

- There are active counterparts to *kena* passives, namely sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ as in (4), repeated below as (16).

(16) Polis *kena* tangkap penyeluk saku itu.
police *KENA* catch pickpocket that
‘The police have to arrest the pickpocket.’

- This use of *kena* has been considered unrelated to *kena* passive sentences (Chung 2005).

- We relate the two uses of *kena* because they both involve a common meaning, i.e. ‘regardless of the agent/subject/speaker’s own will’?, ‘pressed by external circumstances’ or ‘destined to’.

- The active and passive *kena* sentences can be paraphrased, e.g., by *terpaksa ... (walaupun tak nak)* ‘forced to … (though not want to)’.

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6 Koh (1990:168) states that *ber-* and *ke-...-an* passives do not have corresponding active sentences, but is not explicit about whether or not the same is the case with *kena* passives and *ter-* passives.

7 The possessor of the will is the speaker when the speaker has empathy with the subject (usually inanimate) as in Dompet aku *kena* curi ‘My purse was stolen’ and Rumah adik aku *kena* rompak ‘My sister’s house was broken into’.
(17) a. Polis *kena* tangkap pencuri itu.  
**Paraphrase:** Polis *terpaksa* men-(t)angkap pencuri itu  
‘The police have to arrest the thief.’

b. Pencuri itu *kena* tangkap oleh polis.  
**Paraphrase:** Pencuri itu *terpaksa* di-tangkap  
‘The thief was forced to be arrested by the police.’

External circumstance: It is the police’s obligation to arrest thieves.

(19) Passive  
a. Salmah *kena* [demam panas] sejak se-minggu yang lalu.  
Salmah *KENA* fever since one-week that lalu.  
‘Salmah has had a fever since last week.’

b. Kaki Abu *kena* [ekzos motosikal].  
leg Abu *KENA* exhaust.pipe motorcycle  
‘Abu burned his leg on a motorcycle exhaust pipe.’

(20) Active  
a. *Mereka* *kena* [perceraian].  
they *KENA* divorce  
For: ‘They have to divorce.’

cf. *Mereka* *kena* [VP (ber)-cerai].  
they *KENA* (BER)-divorce

3.2 Potential counterarguments to this analysis

**Problem 1:** The passive *kena* takes DPs, but the active *kena* seems not to take DPs.

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8 Chung (2005:198) notes that *kena* passives are similar to a construction in English represented by sentences such as *The fax will get sent tomorrow* and *Things got mixed up*, which she distinguishes from the *get* passive. However, she does not discuss in what respects they are similar.

9 There are cases where the active *kena* appears to take a DP as its complement as in (i).

(i)  
a. *Kita* *kena* [pakaian kemas] semasa bekerja.  
we *KENA* clothes neat when work  
‘You must dress neatly when at work.’

b. *Kamu* *kena* [motivasi] sikit.  
you *KENA* motivation bit  
‘You have to get yourself motivated a bit.’

These cases may have resulted from prefix drop common in Colloquial Malay. Thus, *pakaian kemas* ‘neat dress’ and *motivasi* ‘motivation’ in (i) can be attached to by the verbal prefix *ber-* as in *berpakaian kemas* ‘to dress neatly’ and *bermotivasi* ‘to be motivated’. When the apparent DP does not take any verbal affix, the sentence is ungrammatical, as is the case with *perceraian* ‘divorce’ (*berperceraian, *mempercerai*), and *pembelian*... (*berpembelian, *mem(*pembelian)) in (20).
b. *Kita kena [pembelian barangan buatan we KENA purchase goods product Malaysia].
Malaysia
For: ‘We have to buy Malaysian goods.’

Solution: We analyse kena taking DPs as a transitive verb meaning ‘suffer from; get’. This use of kena does not necessarily entail adversity, unlike kena taking VPs (cf. Bao and Wee 1999).

(21) a. Felix kena [loteri sebanyak RM50 000] semalam.
Felix KENA lottery as.much.as RM50 000 yesterday
‘Felix won a lottery worth RM50 000 yesterday.’
b. Abu kena [hadiah tempat pertama] dalam Abu KENA prize place first in pertandingan itu.
competition that
‘Abu won first prize in the competition.’

Problem 2: While the verb does not take the suffix -kan in kena passives (Chung 2005), there is not such a restriction with active kena sentences.

(22) a. *Dia kena tipu-kan oleh pe-muda itu.
3S.NOM KENA cheat-KAN by PE-being.young that
b. Dia kena tipu-kan pe-muda itu.
3S.NOM KENA cheat-KAN PE-being.young that
‘He/she has to cheat that young man.’

Solution:

• Chung’s (2005) account for this restriction: ‘The use of -kan with the kena adversative passive is probably ungrammatical here because -kan carries with it a benefactive meaning when added to a transitive verb’ (197).

• Prediction: Kena and -kan can co-occur if -kan does not convey a benefactive meaning, i.e. if the function of kena is to make causatives, goal-PP constructions, inherent ditransitives. This prediction borne out.

(23) a. Causative
Kuku Aminah kena merah(-kan) oleh Siti.
Aminah’s finger nails were coloured red by Siti.
cf. Hasnah me-merah*(-kan) kuku Aminah.
‘Hasnah’s finger nails were coloured red by Siti.’

b. Goal-PP construction
Bola adik-ku itu kena lempar(-kan) ke ke tempat pertama itu.
My brother’s ball was thrown into the dustbin by Ali.
cf. Hasnah me-lempar(-kan) bola adik-ku
‘Hasnah threw my younger brothe’s ball into the dustbin.’

c. Inherent ditransitive
Tugas penting itu kena serah(-kan) kepada Task important that KENA entrust(-KAN) to
Abu yang pemalas itu oleh dia.
Abu that lazy that by him/her
‘The important task was entrusted to that lazy Abu by her.’
Thus, the contrast in (22) stems from the semantics of -kan, but not from the existence of two distinct kena morphemes.

Problem 3: Some authors even say that the verb must be affixless (e.g. Nik Safiah et al. 1993; Bao and Wee 1999).

Solution:
- This is not true. The verb can take the suffix -kan (23). It can also take the morphological voice markers di- (passive) and meN- (active) (see (26) below).
- The observation that the verb is affixless would be due to the casual register in which the construction is used. Affixless verbs are very common in Colloquial Malay.

Problem 4: Kena is a passive voice marker in kena passives. It is contradictory that a passive marker occurs in active sentences.

Solution: We will argue that kena is not a voice marker but a ‘funny predicate’ (cf. Nomoto 2008, to appear), contra Nik Safiah et al. (1993:493) and Bao and Wee (1999), who claim that kena is an auxiliary verb and a passive voice marker respectively.

4 Kena sentences and funny control

4.1 Funny control and funny predicates (Nomoto 2008, to appear)

- ‘Funny control’ refers to a phenomenon where the (external 0-role of the) matrix predicate is associated with either the internal argument or the external argument of the embedded passive verb (Gil 2002).\(^\text{11}\)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(24) Pencuri itu mahu [ ___ di-tangkap polis].}^{12} \\
\text{thief that want PASS-catch police} \\
\text{(i) ‘The thief wants to be arrested by the police.’ (normal control reading)} \\
\text{catch: police <thief>} \\
\text{\hspace{1em} ‘wanter’} \\
\text{(ii) ‘The police want to arrest the thief.’ (crossed reading)} \\
\text{catch: police <thief>} \\
\text{\hspace{1em} ‘wanter’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(25) Polis mahu [ ___ men-(t)angkap pencuri itu].} \\
\text{police want ACT-catch thief that} \\
\text{(i) ‘The police want to arrest the thief.’ (normal control reading)} \\
\text{catch: police <thief>} \\
\text{\hspace{1em} ‘wanter’} \\
\text{(ii) *‘The police wants to be arrested the thief.’ (crossed reading)} \\
\text{catch: police <thief>} \\
\text{\hspace{1em} ‘wanter’}
\end{align*}\]

- The matrix predicates are restricted to a certain class of predicates (= ‘funny predicates’) which express (i) psychological attitudes (e.g. ingin

\(^{11}\) Some speakers told us that the construction did not involve the kind of ambiguity as we point out here. Nevertheless, it seems to us that the conclusion that the construction is in principle ambiguous is inevitable because we find in naturally occurring texts many instances of the same predicate being associated with both readings (see the examples in Appendix in Nomoto, to appear). Such native speakers’ reactions are reasonable, given that in most cases only one reading is compatible with the context. See also footnote 12. \(^{12}\) In ordinary situations, where the police want to arrest thieves and thieves try to escape from the police, only interpretation (ii) makes sense. Interpretation (i) requires some special contexts: e.g. the thief is fatigued with having run away from the police for years; but s/he cannot stop repeating crimes by himself/herself, though s/he wish to; s/he does not have courage to surrender himself/herself to the police; s/he just hopes that s/he will get arrested someday.
‘to want’) or (ii) external circumstances that affect the realisation of a situation (e.g. layak ‘qualified’) (Nomoto 2008, to appear).


4.2 Evidence that kena is a funny predicate

Evidence 1: Co-occurrence with basic voices
- Kena can co-occur with verbs in the morphological voices. This is expected if kena is a not a passive voice marker (cf. Bao and Wee 1999), but a funny predicate.

(26) a. Penyeluk saku itu kena di-tangkap oleh polis.13 pickpocket that KENA PASS-catch by police
   ‘The pickpocket got arrested by the police.’

   b. Polis kena men-(t)angkap penyeluk saku itu, police KENA ACT-catch pickpocket that
   ‘The police got to arrest the pickpocket.’

- Kena may co-occur with bare voices only if there is no Aux/Adv/Neg. This is compatible with our assumption that kena takes a vP, which does not have a position for Aux/Adv/Neg.

(27) a. Penyeluk saku itu kena [vP aku tangkap]. pickpocket that KENA I catch
   (i) ‘The pickpocket got arrested by me.’ (passive)
   (ii) ‘I have to arrest the pickpocket.’ (active)

   b. *Penyeluk saku itu kena [TP akan [vP aku tangkap]]. pickpocket that KENA will I catch

Evidence 2: Fronting
- When there are two or more auxiliaries in a clause, all of them must be fronted together; otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical (Ramli 1995:104).

(28) a. Sudah boleh-kah rumah itu ___ ___ dijual?
   already can-Q house that PASS-sell
   ‘Can the house already be sold?’

   b. *Sudah-kah rumah itu ___ boleh dijual?
   already-Q house that can PASS-sell

   c. *Boleh-kah rumah itu sudah ___ dijual?
   can-Q house that already PASS-sell

- Kena does not behave like auxiliaries in this respect. Fronting an auxiliary plus kena leads to ungrammaticality.

(29) a. *Sudah kena-kah rumah itu ___ ___ dijual?
   already KENA-Q house that PASS-sell

   b. Sudah-kah rumah itu ___ kena dijual?
   already-Q house that KENA PASS-sell
   ‘Had the house already been sold?’

   c. *Kena-kah rumah itu sudah ___ dijual?
   KENA-Q house that already PASS-sell

- Thus, kena is not an auxiliary, contra Nik Safiah et al. (1993).
- (29a) is ungrammatical because sudah and kena do not form a constituent on our analysis.

(30) [CP -kah [TP rumah itu ] _[TP sudah [vP kena|dijual]].

Cuba ‘to try’, a funny predicate, exhibits the same pattern as kena.

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13 This sentence seems to sound unnatural to some speakers while it is totally grammatical for others and similar examples are easily found in naturally occurring texts.

(i) Tiada se-orang BN UMNO yang kena di-tangkap oleh ISA pun?
   there isn’t one-CLF BN UMNO that KENA PASS-catch by ISA too
   ‘There is not a single BN UMNO member who got arrested by ISA!’
   (Harapan Baru Untuk Malaysia,
Evidence 3: Ambiguity

- The sentence is ambiguous when *kena* is followed by a passive clause in the same manner as funny control sentences. This confirms our claim that *kena* is a funny predicate.

(32) Penyeluk saku itu *kena* [ ___ di-tangkap polis]. (cf. (24))
pickpocket that *KENA* PASS-catch police
(i) ‘The pickpocket got (i.e. had to be) arrested by the police.’ (normal control reading)
(ii) ‘The pickpocket has to be arrested by the police.’ (crossed reading)

= The police have to arrest the pickpocket.’

(33) Polis *kena* [ ___ men-(t)angkap penyeluk saku itu]. (cf. (25))
police *KENA* ACT-catch pickpocket that
(i) ‘The police have to arrest the pickpocket.’ (normal control reading)
(ii) ‘The pickpocket got (i.e. had to be) arrested by the police. (crossed reading)

This contrast cannot be accounted for if one regards there are two distinct *kena* morphemes or *kena* involves “lexical” ambiguity. If such an analysis were correct, one of the following should hold true:

(a) If double voice marking is allowed, i.e. adversative passive (*kena*) + neutral active/passive (*meN*/-di-), interpretation (ii) in (33) should be available.
(b) If such double voice marking is not allowed, interpretation (i) in (32) should be unavailable.

4.3 Interim summary

- *Kena* passives have an active counterpart, namely sentences in which *kena* means ‘have to’.
- *Kena* is not a passive marker but a funny predicate.

Q: If *kena* is not a passive marker, how is the voice marked?

5 Unvoiced Voice Alternation

5.1 Proposal

- We argue that no overt voice morphology is involved in the alternation between *kena* active and passive sentences. We dub this kind of voice alternation “unvoiced voice alternation.”
- We hypothesise the presence of the null voice morphemes $\emptyset_{ACT}$ and $\emptyset_{PASS}$ and that they head the same syntactic position as *meN*- and *di*- in morphological voices. The relevant position is usually thought to be v (or Voice) (Aldridge 2008; Cole et al. 2008; Tjung 2006; Sato 2008; Son and Cole 2008; Nomoto, to appear).15

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14 This type of double voice marking is found in Japanese (probably not all speakers). We searched Google for “rare-rare-ta” [PASS-PASS-PAST] and got 739 hits (25/04/2010). Most instances only contain one overt subject like the Malay sentences we are concerned with, and do not seem to convey meanings very different from “rare-ta” [PASS-PAST], with a single passive morpheme. Of course, there are also cases where one or both of the two rare’s is/are in other uses, e.g. honorifics.

15 Alternatively, one can also hypothesise a semantic operation of passivisation (and/or activisation) that applies freely and is not indicated by any overt morphology. Such a hypothesis is likely as Malay grammar seems to utilise other phonologically deficient semantic operations, e.g. INST(antiation) giving rise to the object reading of NPs (Nomoto 2010) and S(ingular)-summing giving rise to atelicity of events (Rothstein 2008a, b; Soh and Nomoto, under review). cf. association operator (Gil 2004)
(34) Unvoiced voice alternation in *kena* sentences
   a. Active
      DP_{ext} kena [vP Ø_{ACT} [VP V DP_{int}]]
   b. Passive
      DP_{int} kena [vP Ø_{PASS} [VP V] (oleh) DP_{ext}]

- Without *oleh* ‘by’, the surface word order of ‘DP kena V DP’ can be parsed as either (34a) (= active) or (34b) (= passive), giving rise to (structural) ambiguity.
- Most native speakers do not notice this ambiguity as it is normally resolved by pragmatics (cf. funny control).
- However, the ambiguity is real. The same sentence can be either active or passive depending on the context.

(35) Abu kena tipu perempuan itu.
   a. ‘Abu had to deceive the woman.’ (active)
      Paraphrase: Abu kena men-(t)ipu perempuan itu.
      Context: Abu is a member of a fraud syndicate and has to sell five fake diamond rings every day. If he cannot meet his sales quota, he will get beaten up by gangsters.
   b. ‘Abu was deceived by the woman.’ (passive)
      Paraphrase: Abu kena di-tipu oleh perempuan itu.
      Context: Abu had bought many presents for the woman, believing that her words that she loved him were true. But after he bought her a BMW car, he has not been able to contact her. The woman turned out to be a “pisau cukur” or a gold digger.

5.2 Other examples of unvoiced voice alternation

**Ter-**
- It is probable that unvoiced voice alternation is also responsible for constructions with *ter-* because *ter-* may also occur in both active and passive sentences with no overt morphosyntactic clue to distinguish between the active and the passive.\(^{16}\)

(36) a. Active
    Polis *ter-tangkap* lelaki itu.
    police TER-arrest man that
    ‘The police arrested the man by mistake.’
   b. Passive
    Lelaki itu *ter-tangkap* (oleh) polis.
    man that TER-catch (by) police
    ‘The man was mistakenly arrested by the police.’

(37) Unvoiced voice alternation in *ter-* sentences
   a. Active
      DP_{ext} [vP Ø_{ACT} [FP ter- [VP V DP_{int}]]]
   b. Passive
      DP_{int} [vP Ø_{PASS} [FP ter- [VP V]] (oleh) DP_{ext}]

**Passive in Thai**
- Thai passive with *dooy* ‘by’ exhibits essentially the same pattern, i.e. the active and the passive differ only in the relative order of the theme and the agent DPs, and the presence of the word meaning ‘by’.

(38) a. Nákkhian mii hō khian róng nán
    writer have name write story that
    ‘A famous writer writes that story.’
   b. Róng nán khian *dooy* nákkhian mii chō
    story that write by writer have name
    ‘The story is written by a famous writer.’
    (Sudmuk 2003:406)

\(^{16}\) The prefix *ter-* conveys multiple meanings. See Soh (1994a, b) for a description and an analysis of them. Kartini (in preparation) discusses unvoiced voice alternation in *ter-* sentences in more detail, paying attention to different functions of the prefix.
6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

- *Kena* passives have an active counterpart, namely sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’.
- *Kena* is not a passive marker but a funny predicate.
- In previous studies, the ambiguity of *kena* (adversative passive and ‘have to’) is a lexical ambiguity: either there are two *kena* morphemes or *kena* is polysemous. However, the two findings above led us to a novel analysis: the ambiguity is a structural one, with *kena* sentences being a funny control construction (see Nomoto 2008, to appear for an analysis of why funny control sentences are ambiguous).
- There is no overt voice marker in *kena* sentences when *kena* is not followed by morphological or bare voice sentences (unvoiced voices).

6.2 Implications

6.2.1 Passive without passive morphology

- Haspelmath (1990) claims that given the definition of passives in (39), “in general passive constructions without passive morphology do not exist” (27).

(39) a. The active subject corresponds either a non-obligatory oblique phrase or to nothing; and
   b. the active direct object (if any) corresponds to the subject of the passive; and
   c. the construction is somehow restricted vis-à-vis another unrestricted construction (the active), e.g. less frequent, functionally specialized, not fully productive.

- We are uncertain whether the third point in (39) is essential. If it is not, unvoiced voice alternation in Malay (and Thai) provides a counter example to Haspelmath’s claim.

6.2.2 Riau Indonesian

- According to Gil’s (2002) description of Riau Indonesian, the language does not indicate thematic roles either by word order or verbal morphology.\(^\text{17}\) (In (40)-(42), the external and the internal argument of the predicate are indicated by italics and boldface respectively.)

(40) a. *Aku* pasang *dua ribu*, Rip.
   1SG attach two thousand FAM-Arip
   [Playing cards and betting]
   ‘I’ll place two thousand, Arip.’

   b. *Bom* pasang *dia*.
   bomb attach 3
   [Watching a movie on TV.]
   ‘They’re going to set off a bomb.’

(Gil 2002:247)

(41) *Saya* di-cari *sepuluh* lagi.
   1SG DI-seek ten CNJ.OP
   [Playing Mario, trying to get additional bonus points]
   ‘I’m trying to get ten more.’

(Gil 2002:250)

(42) *Eddy Tansil* tak bisa nangkap orang.
   Eddy Tansil NEG can N-catch person
   [About an infamous criminal who escaped Indonesia to China]
   ‘Nobody can catch Eddy Tansil.’

(Gil 2002:260)

- One can analyse this flexibility of Riau Indonesian in terms of unvoiced voices.

\(^\text{17}\) Gil (2007) further claims that prosody does not help either. Incidentally, similar sentences are also found in Malay (Standard Colloquial and Sabah Malay), and speakers report the intuition that the two meanings for sentence (i) below are distinguished by the presence/absence of a pause.

(i) *Buaya* tengok *aku* tadi.
   alligator see 1SG just.now
   (a) ‘An alligator was watching me just now.’ (neutral intonation)
   (b) ‘As for alligators, I saw one just now.’ (a pause between *buaya* and *tengok*)

Note that such an intuition does not necessarily have to be reflected in the actual acoustics of the sentence, as it may be an “illusion” that the speakers have reflecting a particular kind of syntactic or informational structure.
• Unvoiced voice alternation is found in at least two constructions in Malay: sentence with *kena* and sentences with *ter*.

• Then, it becomes possible to capture differences between Malay and Riau Indonesian by means of the degree of productivity of unvoiced voices—Riau Indonesian is as ordinary/extraordinary a language as Malay.

### 6.3 Remaining problems

1. What is the identity of null voice morphemes in unvoiced voice sentences?

   Possibility 1: Unpronounced version of morphological voice markers, i.e. *men* and *di*.

   Possibility 2: The same morphemes as involved in bare voices.

   Possibility 3: A third type of voice, which cannot be reduced to the two basic voices.

(43) Morphological voices

   a. Active: Ali [*vP mem-* [vP baca surat itu]].

(44) Bare voices

   a. Active: Ali sudah [*vP Ø [vP baca surat itu]].
   b. Passive: Surat itu sudah [*vP Ali Ø [vP baca]].

(45) Unvoiced voices (with *kena*)

   a. Active: Ali kena [*vP Ø [vP baca surat itu]].

2. What are the licensing conditions of unvoiced voices?

3. Indonesian does not seem to have the active use of *kena* (‘have to’). How could one explain this dialectal difference between Malay and Indonesian?

   Tentative answer: *Kena* is a funny predicate in Malay, but not in Indonesian (then, what is it?).

### References


Soh, Hooi Ling and Hiroki Nomoto. Under review. The Malay verbal prefix meN- and the unergative/unaccusative distinction.


