

***Kena* adversative passives in Malay, funny control, and covert voice alternation**

Hiroki Nomoto and Kartini Abd.Wahab

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

Abstract

This paper investigates the syntax of *kena* adversative passives in Malay. First, we establish the relation between *kena* passives and sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ as a passive-active pair. These two constructions have been considered to be unrelated. A close examination of *kena* passive sentences in relation to their active counterparts reveals that *kena* is actually not a passive marker but a member of a class of predicates giving rise to funny control, a phenomenon whereby the external argument of these predicates is associated with either the internal or the external argument of the passive clause they embed (Nomoto 2011). This enables a principled syntactic explanation for why *kena* is used in the two relevant constructions. We argue that voice, both active and passive, is indicated covertly in *kena* sentences when the lower verb bears no morphological voice marker. It is suggested that “covert voice alternation” is one of the typologically common voice alternations and it will enable us to understand the seemingly manifold voice systems of Austronesian languages in the Malay Archipelago in a more connected manner.

1. INTRODUCTION

Most of the previous studies on voice in Malay have focused on the morphological passive as in (1) and the bare passive as in (2) (Saddy 1991; Soh 1998; Cole and Hermon 1998; Voskuil 2000; Nomoto and Shoho 2007; Sato 2008). The passive voice is indicated by the verbal prefix *di-* in the former while it is signalled by a special word order in the latter. (We will overview the properties of these two voices in Section 2.)

- (1) Dokumen itu sudah di-semak oleh mereka.
document that already PASS-check by 3PL
‘The document has already been checked by them.’
- (2) Dokumen itu sudah mereka semak.
document that already 3PL check
‘They have already checked the document./The document has already been checked by them.’¹

However, other types of passives have also been recognized in the literature (Nik Safiah 1978; Arbak 1981; Asmah and Subbiah 1983; Abdul Hamid 1992): *ter-* passives, *ber-* passives, *ke-...-an* passives, and *kena* passives. The term “passive” is no

¹ The meaning of bare passives is similar to active sentences in English. Thus, we provide both active and passive English sentences as their translations. Note, however, translation has nothing to do with whether the Malay construction is active or passive.

more than a label here. 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, increased affectedness (Shibatani 1985; Keenan 1985; cf. Koh 1990: 169). Given all sorts of passives like these, questions arise as to (i) whether/how these other passives are related to the morphological and bare passives syntactically and (ii) whether their common “passive meaning” stems from common syntactic mechanisms.

This paper examines one of these other passives, namely the *kena* passive as in (3), which is often used in Colloquial Malay (Chung 2005).

- (3) Penyeluk saku itu kena ditangkap oleh polis.
pickpocket that KENA catch by police
'The pickpocket got arrested by the police.'

This paper addresses the following three specific questions. (i) How are *kena* passives related to morphological and bare passives? (ii) How are *kena* passive sentences (synchronously) related to deictive *kena* sentences, in which *kena* means ‘have to’ as in (4) below, in terms of their syntax? This usage of *kena* is usually regarded as distinct from *kena* in *kena* passives (e.g., Chung 2005: 209). (iii) What is the structure of *kena* passive sentences?

- (4) Polis kena menangkap penyeluk saku itu.
police KENA catch pickpocket that
'The police have to arrest the pickpocket.'

As for the first question, we claim that *kena* in the *kena* passive is orthogonal to morphological and bare passives. *Kena* only adds an adversity flavour and is not the source of passive syntax. It is claimed that the passive syntax is due to the covert version of the morphological passive marker *di-*. Regarding the second question, we analyse a sentence like (4) as the active counterpart of a *kena* passive sentence. As for the structure of *kena* sentences, both active and passive, we show that *kena* is not a voice marker but belongs to a class of predicates called “funny predicates” by Nomoto (2011), which takes a reduced clause (vP) as its complement. The difference between active and passive *kena* sentences results from the different choice of the voice morpheme in the complement clause.

The variety of Malay discussed in this paper is standard Colloquial Malay used in Malaysia, unless otherwise specified. It refers to the spoken/informal variety of the Malay language used among native speakers of Malay from different dialectal backgrounds (e.g., Kedah dialect, Melaka dialect, and so forth). Descriptions of this variety of Malay are not many, but can be found in Koh (1990), Nomoto (2006a), Shoho (2006, 2011), and Soh (2011) among others. It is important not to confuse Colloquial Malay with Bazaar Malay or *bahasa Melayu pasar*. The latter is a Malay-based pidgin used especially in communication at markets among speakers of different languages, including (non-pidgin) Malay, Hokkien, and Cantonese. The variety that exists alongside standard Colloquial Malay is standard Formal Malay, which is the written/formal counterpart of standard Colloquial Malay. Although the two varieties have many features in common, there are also considerable differences between the two.

Hence, it is legitimate to regard them as two distinct varieties in classic diglossia (Nomoto and Shoho 2007). The uses of the word *kena* as discussed in the present study are exclusive to Colloquial Malay and not found in Formal Malay. However, we argue that the mechanisms underlying them are common to both varieties. In what follows, we will refer to standard Colloquial Malay simply as “Malay.”

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 will present the basic facts about the three kinds of passives in Malay, i.e., morphological, bare, and *kena* passives. In section 3, we establish the relationship between *kena* passive sentences and sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ as a passive-active pair. Sections 4 and 5 are concerned with the syntactic structure of *kena* sentences. We first show in section 4 that *kena* is a funny predicate, but not a passive marker. Then, in section 5, it is claimed that the alternation between *kena* active and passive sentences is what we call “covert voice alternation,” that is, a type of voice alternation that does not involve any overt voice morphology. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE THREE KINDS OF MALAY PASSIVES

This section first overviews the characteristics of the two basic passives, namely morphological passives (section 2.1) and bare passives (section 2.2). It then reviews the existing descriptions of *kena* passives, some of which we point out need fine-tuning (section 2.3).

2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL PASSIVES

Morphological passives are so called because the verb is marked by the prefix *di-*. An example of a morphological passive sentence is given in (5).

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

The canonical word order for morphological passives is “Theme/Patient V (oleh Agent),” where the theme/patient DP rather than the agent DP is the subject. Morphological passives are also called “canonical passive” (Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis 1992) or “pasif jati” [genuine passive] (Asmah 2009).

Many descriptions of the morphological passive in Malay state that the agent is restricted to the third person and its distribution is complementary to the bare passive, whose agent is claimed to be restricted to the first and second person. Although prescriptive grammars dictate this rule, such descriptions are not adequate from a descriptive point of view (Chung [1976] makes a similar remark on Indonesian). Morphological passive sentences with a first or second person agent are actually used in appropriate contexts.

Corresponding to morphological passives are morphological active sentences with the prefix *meN-* as in (6).

- (6) Siti **mem**-baca buku itu.²
 Siti ACT-read book that
 ‘Siti read the book.’

2.2 BARE PASSIVES

Unlike morphological passives, there is no verbal morphology involved in bare passives. The verb appears in its stem form. Instead, the passive voice is marked by a special word order. That is, the agent must be expressed obligatorily and often cliticizes to the verb, hence Aux(iliaries)/Adv(erbs)/Neg(ation) precede the agent and the verb. An example of a bare passive sentence is given in (7).

- (7) Surat itu sudah Ali baca.
 letter that already Ali read
 ‘Ali has already read the letter./The letter has already been read by Ali.’

The canonical word order for bare passives is “Theme/Patient (Aux/Adv/Neg) Agent V,” where the theme/patient DP rather than the agent DP is the subject; hence the construction is indeed a passive but not a topicalization (see, e.g., Chung [1976] for evidence). Bare passives are referred to by various names in the literature: “object-preposing construction” (Chung 1976; Willett 1993), “Passive Type 2” (Dardjowidjojo 1978; Sneddon et al. 2010), “pasif semu” [pseudo passive] (Asmah 2009), “objective voice” (Arka and Manning 1998),³ and so forth. (See Nomoto [2006b] for a summary of various existing terms.)

Corresponding to bare passive sentences are bare active sentences, in which the agent precedes Aux/Adv/Neg as shown in (8).

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

The bare active voice category is needed in addition to the morphological active because there are cases where the morphological active is not available and also because sentences with and without the morphological active marker *meN-* may convey different aspectual meanings (Soh and Nomoto 2011, in preparation). In other words, the existence of bare active voice cannot be reduced to a mere omission of the prefix *meN-* from the morphological active.

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.

² Non standard abbreviations used (those not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules): ACT, active; CNJ, conjunctive; FAM, familiar; OP, operator.

³ Arka and Manning (1998) and other researchers who use the term “objective voice” avoid using the term “passive” to refer to the bare passive because for them the oblique/non-term status of the external argument is a crucial part of their definition of passives.

2008; Bao and Wee 1999; Chung 2005). They are reported to have the following four properties.

First, the subject is usually adversely affected (Koh 1990; Bao and Wee 1999; Chung 2005).

- (9) Aminah kena tampar.
Aminah KENA slap
'Aminah got slapped.'

In (9), the subject "Aminah" is affected by the unpleasant experience of being slapped. In fact, the affected party can be the speaker too, when s/he has empathy with the subject, which is usually inanimate. Two examples that illustrate this point are given in (10).

- (10) a. Dompet aku kena curi semalam.
purse 1SG KENA steal yesterday
'My purse got stolen yesterday.'
b. Rumah adik aku kena rompak.
house younger.sibling 1SG KENA break.into
'My younger brother/sister's house got broken into.'

It is interesting to note here that *kena* passives are sometimes also used in positive contexts. (11) is a sentence taken from an online message board. The sentence contains three instances of *kena*. The first one describes a negative event, but the second and third ones do not. The latter *kena* passives describe positive events that make the subject feel pleased.

- (11) **kena** tegur sikit terus lembik, pasal kat sekolah dulu dia
KENA criticize a.bit immediately feeble because at school before 3SG
jadi murid favorite cikgu pasal dia pandai, selalu score A1,
become pupil favourite teacher because 3SG smart always score A1
selalu **kena** puji, selalu **kena** angkat.
always KENA praise always KENA raise
'When they get criticized a bit, they'll just feel low, 'cause when they were at
school, they were their teachers' favorites 'cause they were smart, they always
scored A1s, they were always praised, and they were always the focus of their
attention.'
(PERGH!, <http://pergh.com/forum/index.php?topic=2629.0>, accessed 29/06/2010)

Data like this suggests that the meaning of adversity associated with *kena* passives is a result of pragmatic inference rather than a part of *kena*'s semantic meaning, which, in section 3, we claim is a modal one, paraphrased as 'regardless of the subject/speaker's own will', 'pressed by external circumstances' or 'destined to'.

Second, stative verbs cannot appear in *kena* passive sentences (Bao and Wee 1999).⁴

- (12) a. *Perkara itu kena tahu.
 thing that KENA know
 b. *Buku itu kena punya.
 book that KENA have

This restriction is presumably related to the first point. Stative verbs are low in affectedness. Beavers (2011) distinguishes four levels of affectedness based on how specific a predicate specifies the change undergone by the theme. The four levels can be summarized as in (13). Note that stative verbs are at the lowest level on the hierarchy, as they entail neither an actual change nor potential for change.

(13) The Affectedness Hierarchy (Beavers 2011)

quantized	>	non-quantized	>	potential	>	unspecified
change		change		for change		for change
accomplishments/ achievements (<i>break, shatter</i>)		degree achieve- ments/cutting (<i>widen, cool, cut</i>)		surface contact/impact (<i>wipe, hit</i>)		other activities/ states (<i>see, smell</i>)

The fact that stative verbs cannot occur in *kena* passives (presumably due to the low affectedness inherent to them) contributes to the high Transitivity of *kena* passives as reported by Chung (2005), who measured the Transitivity of *kena* passives using three of Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) ten Transitivity components, namely “kinesis” (action vs. non-action), “punctuality” (punctual vs. non-punctual), and “aspect” (telic vs. atelic).

Third, the verb is usually affixless. It must be noted that the stronger claim that the verb is totally free from any kind of morphological marking (e.g., Nik Safiah et al. 2008; Bao and Wee 1999) cannot be maintained. Although the verb is indeed affixless in most *kena* sentences that one encounters in naturally occurring discourse, some affixes may occur with the verb in *kena* passive sentences. For instance, we will see in section 4.2 that the verb can take the morphological voice markers *meN-* (active) and *di-* (passive) (see [34] below). The observation that the verb is affixless may be due to the casual register in which the construction is used. Affixless verbs are very common in Colloquial Malay.

Fourth, the agentive *oleh* ‘by’ phrase in *kena* passives is optional (14b) (Nik Safiah et al. 2008: 493; Bao and Wee 1999; Chung 2005). Furthermore, the preposition *oleh* can be omitted when the agentive phrase is present (14c).

- (14) a. Amin kena tangkap oleh polis.
 Amin KENA catch by police
 ‘Amin got arrested by the police.’

⁴ The sentences in (12) become grammatical if the verbs are affixed by *di-...-i* as in *di-ke-tahu-i* ‘to be known’ and *di-punya-i* ‘to be possessed’. This does not affect the generalization, given Soh and Nomoto’s (2009) claim that sentences containing verbs suffixed by *-i* are not stative but eventive.

- b. Amin kena tangkap.
Amin KENA catch
'Amin got arrested.'
- c. Amin kena tangkap polis.
Amin KENA catch police
'Amin got arrested *(by) the police.'

In these respects, *kena* passives are similar to morphological passives.

Before leaving this section, it is necessary to discuss briefly the cases where *kena* takes DPs as in (15).

- (15) a. Salmah kena [DP demam panas] sejak se-minggu yang lalu.
Salmah KENA fever since one-week that pass
'Salmah has been having a fever since last week.'
- b. Kaki Abu kena [DP ekzos motosikal].
leg Abu KENA exhaust.pipe motorcycle
'Abu burned his leg on a motorcycle exhaust pipe.'

Given the adversative meaning conveyed by sentences like these, one might be tempted to regard the morpheme *kena* in these sentences as identical to the *kena* in *kena* passives. However, we analyse *kena* taking DPs as in (15) as a transitive verb meaning 'to incur; to get', which is distinct from *kena* in *kena* passives.⁵ This use of *kena* does not necessarily entail adversity (cf. Bao and Wee 1999).

- (16) Felix kena [DP loteri sebanyak RM 50 000.00] semalam.
Felix KENA lottery as.much.as RM 50 000.00 yesterday
'Felix won a lottery worth RM 50 000.00 yesterday.'

Incidentally, *kena* meaning 'have to' does not take DPs. When it appears to take a DP, the alleged DP must be one that can potentially be verbalized. For example, the heads of the (alleged) DPs in (17), i.e., *pakaian* 'clothes' and *pembelian* 'purchase', both contain nominal affixes: *pakaian* = *pakai* 'to wear' + *-an*; *pembelian* = *peN-* + *beli* 'to buy' + *-an*. Only the former can be verbalized by the prefix *ber-*: *berpakaian* 'to wear clothes' vs. **berpembelian* 'to make a purchase'.

- (17) a. Kita kena [DP? pakaian kemas] semasa bekerja.
1PL KENA clothes neat when work
'We have to dress neatly when at work.'

⁵ Another use of *kena*, which is distinct from *kena* in *kena* passives as well as from the transitive verb *kena*, is the adjective *kena* meaning 'suitable, right', as illustrated in the sentences in (i).

- (i) a. Warna baju Aminah kena dengan warna selendang-nya.
colour clothes Aminah suitable with colour shawl-3SG
'The colour of Aminah's clothes matches with that of her shawl.'
- b. Dia menjadi berang kalau ada sesuatu yang tidak kena di hati-nya.
3SG become furious if be something REL not right at heart-3SG
'She becomes furious if there is something that she doesn't like.'

- b. *Kita kena [_{DP} pembelian barangan buatan Malaysia].
 1PL KENA purchase goods product Malaysia
 For: ‘We have to buy Malaysian products.’

We account for this contrast by hypothesizing that what appears to be a DP on the surface in sentences like (17a) has undergone a covert process of verbalization, hence it is actually a verb phrase.

3. *KENA* PASSIVES AND THEIR ACTIVE COUNTERPARTS

Unlike morphological and bare passives, *kena* passive sentences have never been discussed in relation to their corresponding active sentences. This may be due to the fact that the category of “passive” is defined based on semantic and pragmatic functions in most grammars of Malay (cf. section 1). If passives are defined this way, a passive sentence does not necessarily have to have a corresponding active sentence. For instance, Koh (1990: 168) states that *ber-* and *ke-...-an* passives do not have corresponding active sentences. She is not explicit about whether or not the same is the case with *kena* passives and *ter-* passives.

By contrast, we take passives to be defined syntactically. They are a construction type in which the internal argument (e.g., theme, patient) of a predicate is expressed as a grammatical subject (Spec,TP) and the external one (e.g., agent, experiencer) in a less prominent manner, neither as a grammatical subject nor as an object. In the case of the two types of passives in Malay discussed in the last section, the external argument is realized as an adjunct in the morphological passive whilst in the bare passive, it remains in the initially merged position (Spec,vP), which is sometimes referred to as the thematic/logical subject position, often cliticizing to the verb stem. An active sentence differs from its corresponding passive sentence in the way the arguments are realized. That is, the external argument is realized as a grammatical subject and the internal one as an object.

We claim that *kena* passives do have corresponding active sentences and that they are sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ as in (4), repeated below as (18).

- (18) Polis kena tangkap penyeluk saku itu.
 police KENA catch pickpocket that
 ‘The police have/had to arrest the pickpocket.’

This use of *kena* has been considered unrelated to *kena* passive sentences (Chung 2005). However, we relate the two uses of *kena* because they both involve a common modal meaning, i.e., ‘regardless of the subject/speaker’s own will’, ‘pressed by external circumstances’ or ‘destined to’. A similar view has been expressed by Ansaldo (2009: 175–6), who discusses *kena* constructions in contact varieties of Malay and suggests that the obligation meaning of active *kena* sentences could “be seen as one interpretation of non-volition” conveyed by passive *kena* sentences. The active and passive *kena* sentences can be paraphrased, e.g., by *terpaksa* ‘forced to’. For example, (19a) and (19b) can be paraphrased as in (20a) and (20b) respectively.

- (19) a. Polis kena tangkap pencuri itu semalam.
 police KENA catch thief that yesterday
 ‘The police had to arrest the thief yesterday.’
- b. Pencuri itu kena tangkap oleh polis semalam.
 thief that KENA catch by police yesterday
 ‘The thief got arrested by the police yesterday.’
- (20) a. Paraphrase of (19a)
 Polis terpaksa men-[t]angkap pencuri itu semalam
 police forced ACT-catch thief that yesterday
 (tak boleh tak mau; itu dah tanggungjawab dan arahan, kan?).
 ‘The police were forced to arrest the thief yesterday (, they can’t refuse to do so; that’s their responsibility and that’s what they are ordered to do, right?).’
- b. Paraphrase of (19b)
 Pencuri itu terpaksa di-tangkap semalam (walaupun tak nak).
 thief that forced PASS-catch yesterday
 ‘The thief was forced to get arrested yesterday (though he did not want to).’

In (19a), the external circumstance that is associated with the meaning of *kena* is the fact that it is the police’s obligation to arrest thieves, whereas in (19b), it is the situation in which the thief finds himself/herself, e.g., s/he had his/her escape cut off.

As hinted by the verbal prefixes *meN-* (active) and *di-* (passive) in the paraphrases with the verb *terpaksa* in (20) above, the pair of *kena* sentences that we claim to be an active-passive pair differs in the voice of the complement of *kena*. In section 4, we will argue that *kena* is a verb that takes a reduced clause, more specifically vP. A vP is a “reduced clause” because it contains all thematic relations—not only the internal but also the external argument of the verb—and voice, but lacks finiteness and (viewpoint) aspect information available in TP and CP. We assume that voice is encoded by the functional head *v*. (21) schematically shows the structure when *kena* is merged.

- (21) [_{VP} kena [_{VP} DP_{ext} v [_{VP} V DP_{int}]]]

Strictly speaking, the active-passive alternation with which we are concerned occurs in vP in (21), but not in the matrix clause. That is to say, a *kena* passive sentence and its corresponding active sentence are truth-conditionally equivalent only at the level of (the lower) vP, but not at the level of the entire sentence. However, the voice of the lower vP determines the grammatical subject of the whole sentence. This is because one of the arguments of the lower verb raises to the matrix subject position (Spec,TP) at a subsequent point of derivation, depending on the voice encoded by *v*. The relevant argument is the external argument if *v* encodes the active while it is the internal argument if *v* encodes the passive. (See section 4 for more details on the syntax of *kena* sentences.) Although this is no more than a secondary effect caused by the syntax of *kena*, we will continue to refer to sentences thus derived as active and passive *kena* sentences respectively, for convenience. What is crucial is the fact that it is possible to relate *kena* passives and sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ in terms of voice

alternation, without having to posit two separate morphemes, despite their common semantics.

Our claim that the two uses of *kena* are related receives support from the fact that there are other languages that employ the same morpheme to express the relevant meanings. For example, in many varieties of English, the morpheme *get* occurs both in an expression of obligation (e.g., *have got to*) and an adversative passive sentence. The examples below are from Standard Singapore English.

- (22) a. The police **(have) got to** arrest the thief.
 b. The thief **got** arrested by the police.

Thai, Vietnamese (Prasithratsint 2004), Hokkien (Bodman 1955), and Khmer (Hiromi Ueda, p.c.) also employ the same morpheme for the two meanings: *thùuk* (Thai), *bi* (Vietnamese), *tioq* (Hokkien), and *trəw* (Khmer).

There are two potential counterarguments to this analysis. We show that neither poses a real problem to our claim. First, according to Chung (2005), while the verb does not take the suffix *-kan* in *kena* passives, no such restriction is found with active *kena* sentences.

- (23) a. *Dia kena tipu-kan oleh pemuda itu.
 3SG KENA cheat-KAN by youngster that
 b. Dia kena tipu-kan pemuda itu.
 3SG KENA cheat-KAN youngster that
 ‘S/he has to cheat that young man.’

(Chung 2005: 197)

At first glance, this contrast appears to suggest that *kena* in *kena* passives and *kena* meaning ‘have to’ are two distinct morphemes. However, we argue that such a conclusion is not justified.

As for the contrast in (23), Chung (2005) surmises that “[t]he use of *-kan* with the *kena* adversative passive is probably ungrammatical because *-kan* carries with it a benefactive meaning when added to a transitive verb” (197). We basically concur with her reasoning and further infer that *kena* and *-kan* should be able to co-occur if *-kan* does not convey a benefactive meaning. It is well-known that the suffix also has other functions such as making causatives (24a), goal-PP constructions (24b), and inherent ditransitives (24c). (We adopt Son and Cole’s [2008] classification of the functions of *-kan* and their terminologies.)

- (24) a. Causative
 Siti me-merah*(-kan) kuku Aminah.
 Siti ACT-red(-KAN) nail Aminah
 ‘Siti coloured Aminah’s finger nail red.’

- b. Goal-PP construction
 Hasnah me-lempar(-kan) bola adik-ku itu ke dalam
 Hasnah ACT-throw(-KAN) ball younger.sibling-1SG that to in
 tong sampah.
 dustbin
 ‘Hasnah threw my younger brother/sister’s ball into the dustbin.’
- c. Inherent ditransitive
 Dia meny-[s]erah*(-kan) tugas penting itu kepada Abu yang
 3SG ACT-entrust(-KAN) task important that to Abu that
 pemalas itu.
 lazy that
 ‘S/he entrusted the important task to that lazy Abu.’

Our prediction is in fact borne out. *Kena* may co-occur with *-kan* when the latter has functions other than creating a benefactive construction. (25) below shows *kena* adversative passive sentences based on the non-benefactive *-kan* constructions in (24).⁶

- (25) a. Kuku Aminah kena merah(-kan) oleh Siti. (cf. [24a])
 nail Aminah KENA red(-KAN) by Siti
 ‘Aminah’s finger nails got coloured red by Siti.’
- b. Bola adik-ku itu kena lempar(-kan) ke dalam
 ball younger.sibling-1SG that KENA throw(-KAN) to in
 tong sampah oleh Ali. (cf. [24b])
 dustbin by Ali
 ‘My younger brother/sister’s ball got thrown into the dustbin by Ali.’
- c. Tugas penting itu kena serah(-kan) kepada Abu yang pemalas
 task important that KENA entrust(-KAN) to Abu that lazy
 itu oleh dia. (cf. [24c])
 that by 3SG
 ‘The important task got assigned to that lazy Abu by him/her.’

Thus, the contrast in (23) stems from the semantics of *-kan*, but not from the existence of two distinct *kena* morphemes, i.e., one used in *kena* passives (“*kena* 1”) and another which means ‘have to’ (“*kena* 2”).

⁶ It is interesting to note here that the suffix *-kan* that is obligatory in an active sentence sometimes becomes optional or even ungrammatical in corresponding passive sentences, as in (25a) and (25c). The sentences in (i), adopted from Nomoto (to appear), shows that this phenomenon is not restricted to *kena* passives. The prefix *ter-* expresses that the action in question is accidental (cf. section 5.1).

- (i) a. Saya ter-pecah*(-kan) gelas itu. (active)
 1SG TER-break-CAUS glass that
 ‘I broke the glass by mistake.’
- b. Gelas itu ter-pecah*(-kan) oleh tetamu. (passive)
 glass that TER-break-CAUS by guest
 ‘The glass was broken by a guest by mistake.’

It is not yet clear to us specifically in which contexts this phenomenon is observed and why it occurs.

The second potential counterargument to our claim is based on a certain assumption concerning the identity of *kena*. It is often taken for granted that *kena* in *kena* passives is a passive voice marker (e.g., Bao and Wee 1999). Under such an assumption, our claim that *kena* in *kena* passives is the same morpheme as *kena* in sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ should sound self-contradictory. This is because a passive marker would appear in active sentences (and somehow brings about the ‘have to’ meaning). Therefore, in order for our claim to be true, *kena* cannot be a passive marker. In the next section, we show that *kena* is actually not a passive voice marker, but it is what Nomoto (2011) calls a “funny predicate.”

4. *KENA* SENTENCES AND FUNNY CONTROL

In this section, we show that *kena* exhibits the behaviour of what Nomoto (2011) calls “funny predicates,” which are a class of main verbs, contra Nik Safiah et al. (2008: 493) and Bao and Wee (1999), who claim that *kena* is an auxiliary verb and a passive voice marker respectively. Since funny predicates and the construction in which they occur (the “funny control” construction) must be unfamiliar to most readers, we provide a brief introduction to the phenomenon in section 4.1. Then, in section 4.2, evidence that *kena* is a funny predicate is put forward.

4.1 FUNNY CONTROL AND FUNNY PREDICATES (NOMOTO 2011)

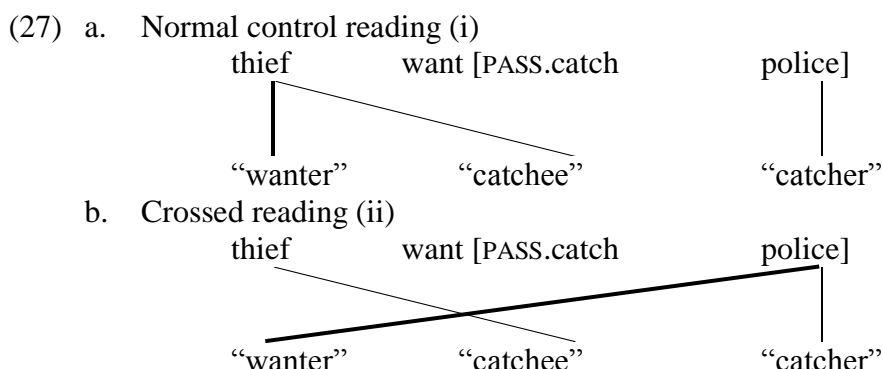
Malay has a unique construction, in which the matrix predicate is associated with either the internal or external argument of the embedded passive verb.⁷ The construction has been reported to exist in Indonesian (Kaswanti Purwo 1984) and Madurese (Davies 2011) as well. We follow Gil (2002) and call it “funny control,” though according to Nomoto’s (2011) analysis, despite its initial appearance, the mechanism involved in the construction is actually raising rather than control. (26) is an example of the funny control construction.

- (26) *Pencuri itu mahu [di-tangkap polis].*
 thief that want PASS-catch police
 (i) ‘The thief wants to be arrested by the police.’ (normal control reading)
 (ii) ‘The police want to arrest the thief.’ (crossed reading)⁸

Notice that the sentence has two possible interpretations. On the normal control reading (i), the external argument of the matrix verb *mahu* ‘to want’ (i.e., the “wanter”) is associated with the internal argument of the embedded verb *tangkap* ‘to catch’, whereas on the crossed reading, it is associated with the external argument of *tangkap*. This relation can be diagrammed as in (27).

⁷ 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 one can find in naturally occurring texts many instances of the same predicate being associated with both readings (see the examples in Appendix in Nomoto [2011]). The native speakers’ reactions are reasonable because in most cases only one reading is compatible with the context.

⁸ The terms “normal control reading” and “crossed reading” are used by Polinsky and Potsdom (2008).



In ordinary situations, where the police want to arrest thieves, and thieves try to escape from the police, only the crossed reading (ii) makes sense. The normal control reading (i) requires some special contexts: e.g., the thief is fatigued with having run away from the police for years; but she cannot stop repeating crimes by herself, though she wish to; she does not have courage to surrender herself to the police; she just hopes that she will get arrested someday.

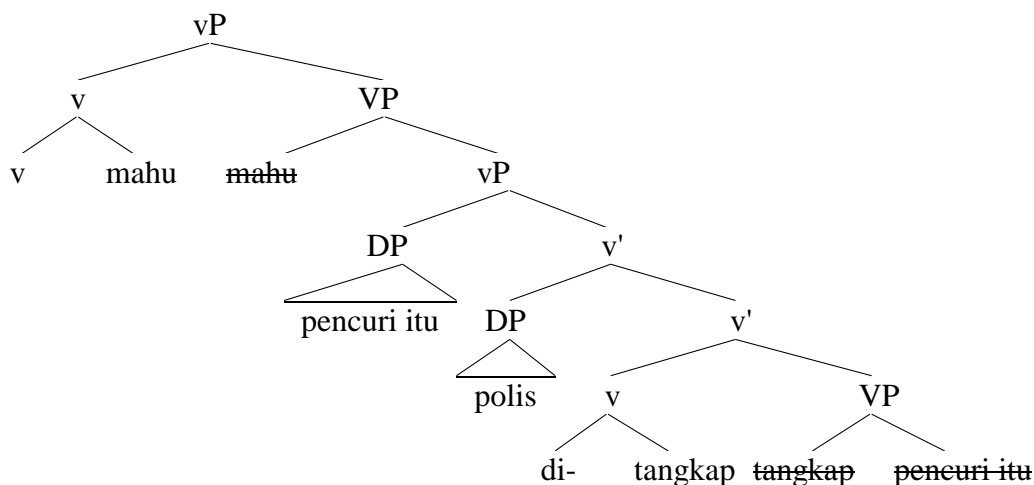
It is important to note that this kind of ambiguity only arises when the embedded verb is passive. The crossed reading is unavailable when the embedded verb is active as shown in (28).

- (28) Polis mahu [men-[t]angkap pencuri itu].
 police want ACT-catch thief that
- (i) ‘The police want to arrest the thief.’ (normal control reading)
 (ii) *‘The thief wants to be arrested by the police.’ (crossed reading)

Only a restricted class of predicates qualifies as the matrix predicate of the funny control construction. These predicates are called “funny predicates” by Nomoto (2011). In terms of their semantics, funny predicates express modal meanings. Based on the type of modal meanings they express, they can be classified into the following two groups: (i) predicates that express psychological attitudes (e.g., *ingin* ‘to want’) and (ii) predicates that express external circumstances that affect the realization of a situation (e.g., *layak* ‘qualified’). Nomoto (2011) identifies as many as 20 funny predicates, to which we propose to add *kena*.

Regarding the structure of funny control sentences, Nomoto (2011) assumes that funny predicates take a reduced clause (vP) rather than a full-fledged clause (CP), following Polinsky and Potsdom (2008). Thus, the structure of (26) is as shown in (29) when the funny predicate *mahu* ‘to want’ has been merged and then adjoined to the matrix v to form the verbal complex [_v v + mahu].

(29)



Under Nomoto's (2011) analysis, the ambiguity arises because the "wanter" role can be assigned to either *pencuri itu* 'the thief' or *polis* 'police', both of which are in Spec,vP. The ambiguity does not occur when the embedded verb is active because it is not possible to form the same multiple specifier configuration in this case for an independent reason.

Two qualifications need to be mentioned with regard to the derivation of a funny control sentence like (26). First, Nomoto (2011) makes the following assumptions about θ -role assignment: (i) θ -roles can only be assigned under a Merge operation (Theta-Role Assignment Principle; Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005); (ii) θ -role assignment must be completed in a local domain; and (iii) an argument can receive more than one θ -role (Gruber 1965; Jackendoff 1972), hence movement into a θ -position is allowed (Bošković 1994; Hornstein 1999, 2001). This set of assumptions ensures that an extra θ -role (i.e., the "wanter" role) may be assigned by the matrix verbal complex (= [_v v + *mahu* 'to want']) to either the internal argument (= *pencuri itu* 'the thief') or the external argument (= *polis* 'police') of the lower clause, both of which have already been assigned one θ -role within the lower vP and stand in an equal distance from the matrix verbal complex.

Second, unlike what is shown in the diagram in (29), the external (agent) argument of a passive clause (i.e., *polis* 'police' in [29]) occurs after the passive verb as in (26). Four possibilities have been suggested by Nomoto (2011: footnote 11) to account for this word order fact: (i) linearization of Spec,vP to the right; (ii) head movement of v to T (cf. Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis 1992); (iii) merger in Spec,vP of *pro* that is co-referential with the overt agent DP right-adjoined to vP, as in [_{vP} [_{vP} *pro*_i [_v di- tangkap pencuri itu]] polis_i] (cf. Tjung 2006; Fortin 2007; Aldridge 2008); and (iv) incorporation of the agent into the verbal complex, as in [_v [_v di- tangkap] polis]. Recently, another possibility has been proposed by Legate (2011). Her proposal is similar to the third option above in that the overt agent phrase is adjoined to vP. However, it differs from this option in that no DP is merged in Spec,vP to saturate the external argument. The external argument is introduced (semantically) by the v head

and existentially bound.⁹ All of these possibilities are compatible with our analysis of the ambiguity involved in the funny control construction.

4.2 EVIDENCE THAT *KENA* IS A FUNNY PREDICATE

As is obvious from the discussion in the last section, funny predicates are not auxiliaries, nor are they related to voice. This is also the case with *kena*.

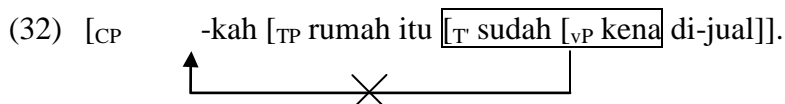
Firstly, the syntactic behaviour of *kena* is similar to funny predicates rather than to auxiliaries. This can be seen in the fronting facts. In Malay, when there are two or more auxiliaries in a clause, all of them must be fronted together; otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical (Ramli 1995: 104). This is shown in the contrast between (30a) on one hand, where two auxiliaries (i.e., *sudah* ‘already’ and *boleh* ‘can’) are both fronted, and (30b–c) on the other, where only one of them is fronted.

- (30) a. **Sudah boleh**-kah rumah itu ___ ___ di-jual?
 already can-Q house that PASS-sell
 ‘Can the house now be sold?’
 b. ***Sudah**-kah rumah itu ___ **boleh** di-jual?
 already-Q house that can PASS-sell
 c. ***Boleh**-kah rumah itu **sudah** ___ di-jual?
 can-Q house that already PASS-sell

Kena does not behave like auxiliaries. Fronting an auxiliary plus *kena* leads to ungrammaticality (31a). The auxiliary can be fronted by itself (31b).

- (31) a. ***Sudah kena**-kah rumah itu ___ ___ di-jual?
 already KENA-Q house that PASS-sell
 b. **Sudah**-kah rumah itu ___ **kena** di-jual?
 already-Q house that KENA PASS-sell
 ‘Had the house already been sold?’
 c. ***Kena**-kah rumah itu **sudah** ___ di-jual?
 KENA-Q house that already PASS-sell

The ungrammaticality of (31a) follows naturally if *kena* is a funny predicate as we claim, for *sudah* and *kena* then do not form a constituent, as shown in (32) below.



⁹ In Acehnese, the v head is occupied by a prefix that specifies the person and familiarity of the external argument as in (i), an example taken from Legate (2011). The prefix restricts the denotation of the external argument by means of Predicate Restriction (Chung and Ladusaw 2004). As noted in section 2.1, the passive prefix *di-* in Malay and Indonesian impose no such restriction, except in the prescriptive, standardized varieties, in which the agent of the morphological passive is limited to third person referents.

(i) Lôn di-kap lé uleue nyan.
 1SG 3FAM-bite by snake that
 ‘I was bitten by the snake.’

To confirm the status of *kena* as a funny predicate, *cuba* ‘to try’, which is a funny predicate, exhibits exactly the same pattern as *kena*. Compare (31) with (33) below.

- (33) a. ***Sudah cuba**-kah rumah itu ___ ___ di-jual?
 already try-Q house that PASS-sell
 b. **Sudah**-kah rumah itu ___ **cuba** di-jual?
 already-Q house that try PASS-sell
 ‘Did they already try to sell the house?’
 c. ***Cuba**-kah rumah itu **sudah** ___ di-jual?
 try-Q house that already PASS-sell

Therefore, *kena* is not an auxiliary, contra Nik Safiah et al. (2008).

Secondly, *kena* can co-occur with verbs in the morphological voices. This fact is expected if *kena* is a funny predicate. However, it remains mysterious if one regards *kena* as a passive voice marker (cf. Bao and Wee 1999). This is so because under the latter hypothesis, an active sentence like (34a) would contain both active and passive markers while a passive sentence like (34b) would contain two passive markers.

- (34) a. Polis **kena men**-[t]angkap penyeluk saku itu.
 police KENA ACT-catch pickpocket that
 ‘The police have got to arrest the pickpocket.’
 b. Penyeluk saku itu **kena di**-tangkap oleh polis.¹⁰
 pickpocket that KENA PASS-catch by police
 ‘The pickpocket got arrested by the police.’

Kena may co-occur with bare voices only if Aux/Adv/Neg precedes *kena* or when Aux/Adv/Neg is not present. (35) and (36) show examples of bare active and bare passive sentences respectively.

- (35) a. Aku **belum** kena tangkap budak itu lagi.
 1SG not.yet KENA catch kid that yet
 ‘I don’t have to catch that kid yet.’
 b. *Aku kena **belum** tangkap budak itu lagi.
 1SG KENA not.yet catch kid that yet
 c. Aku kena tangkap budak itu sekarang.
 1SG KENA catch kid that now
 ‘I have to catch that kid now.’
- (36) a. Budak itu **belum** kena aku tangkap lagi.
 kid that not.yet KENA 1SG catch yet
 (i) ‘That kid hasn’t got caught by me yet.’
 (ii) ‘I don’t have to catch that kid yet.’

¹⁰ This sentence seems to sound unnatural to some speakers although it is totally grammatical for others. Similar examples are easily found in naturally occurring texts.

- b. *Budak itu kena **belum** aku tangkap.
 kid that KENA not.yet 1SG catch
- c. Budak itu kena aku tangkap.
 kid that KENA 1SG catch
 (i) ‘That kid got caught by me.’
 (ii) ‘I’ve got to catch that kid.’

Proponents of the hypothesis that *kena* is an auxiliary would explain the contrast above as a restriction on the relative order between negation/aspect and modal. However, the very same contrast also follows if *kena* is a funny predicate. This is because as a funny predicate, *kena* takes a reduced clause (vP), which has no position for Aux/Adv/Neg. To summarize, *kena* can co-occur with both morphological and bare voices. Therefore, *kena* cannot be a passive marker.

Lastly, as is shown in the translations of (36), sentences with *kena* are ambiguous when *kena* is followed by a passive clause in the same manner as funny control sentences. (37) shows the same point using a *kena* sentence with a morphological passive complement clause.

- (37) Penyeluk saku itu kena [di-tangkap polis]. (cf. [26])
 pickpocket that KENA PASS-catch police
 (i) ‘The pickpocket got arrested by the police.’ (normal control reading)
 (ii) ‘The police have got to arrest the pickpocket.’ (crossed reading)

If *kena* is indeed a funny predicate, it is predicted that this ambiguity disappears if the complement clause is changed into an active clause. This prediction is borne out. (38) only has a normal control reading (i).

- (38) Polis kena [men-[t]angkap penyeluk saku itu]. (cf. [28])
 police KENA ACT-catch pickpocket that
 (i) ‘The police have got to arrest the pickpocket.’ (normal control reading)
 (ii) *‘The pickpocket got arrested by the police.’ (crossed reading)

This corroborates our claim that *kena* is a funny predicate.

In section 4.1, we characterized *kena* adversative passives and sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’ as a passive-active pair. In this section, we showed that *kena* is not a passive marker but a funny predicate. If so, how is the voice marked in such a passive-active pair? This brings us to our next topic.

5. COVERT 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 “covert voice alternation.” We hypothesize 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 of as v (or Voice) (Aldridge 2008; Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008; Tjung 2006; Sato 2008; Son and Cole 2008; Nomoto 2011).

(39) Covert 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}]

Notice that without *oleh* ‘by’, the surface string “DP *kena* V DP” can be parsed as either (39a) (= active) or (39b) (= passive), giving rise to (structural) ambiguity. Most native speakers do not notice this ambiguity since it is normally resolved by pragmatics. However, the ambiguity is real. The same sentence can be either active or passive depending on the context. (40) shows a *kena* sentence without *oleh* ‘by’ with two interpretations, each accompanied by a sample context.

(40) Abu *kena* tipu perempuan itu.

Abu KENA cheat woman that

(i) ‘Abu had to deceive the woman.’ (active)

Context: Abu, a man with a warm heart but a tremendous amount of debt, is forced to sell five fake diamond rings every day by a fraud syndicate, from which he borrowed the money, to pay his debt back.

(ii) ‘Abu was deceived by the woman.’ (passive)

Context: Abu had bought many gifts for the woman, believing her words that she loved him were true. But after he presented her a BMW car, he has not been able to contact her. The woman turned out to be a gold digger.

Covert voice alternation is not something we stipulated to explain sentences with *kena*. It is also found in other constructions in Malay, as well as in other languages. First, covert voice alternation is also responsible for constructions with *ter-* in Malay. The prefix has multiple functions: accidental *ter-* (‘happened to V’), abilitative *ter-* (‘be able to V’), and result state *ter-* (‘be V-en’; “adjectival passive” in Soh’s [1994a, 1994b] term). When *ter-* constructions show the active-passive alternation, neither overt morpheme signalling the voice nor a special word order indicating the voice is used (Za‘ba 2000: 213; Abdullah 1974: 107; Nik Safiah et al. 2008: 172–3). (41) shows active and passive accidental *ter-* sentences (see Kartini [in preparation] for covert voice alternation in other types of *ter-* sentences).

(41) a. Active

Polis *ter-tangkap* lelaki itu.

police TER-catch man that

‘The police arrested the man by mistake.’

b. Passive

Lelaki itu *ter-tangkap* (*oleh*) polis.¹¹

man that TER-catch (by) police

‘The man was mistakenly arrested by the police.’

¹¹ Some grammars (e.g., Abdullah 1974) state that *oleh* ‘by’ is obligatory in passive *ter-* sentences. Such a description, however, is not adequate. A Google search for the strings “tertangkap oleh polis” and “tertangkap polis” (conducted on 3 March 2011) indicates that the absence of *oleh* is quite common, yielding 35 and 234 hits respectively.

We analyse these sentences to have the schematic structures in (42), where *ter-* heads a functional projection above vP.

- (42) Covert voice alternation in *ter-* sentences
- a. Active
 $DP_{ext} \text{ ter- } [_{vP} \emptyset_{ACT} [_{VP} V DP_{int}]]$
 - b. Passive
 $DP_{int} \text{ ter- } [_{vP} \emptyset_{PASS} [_{VP} V] \text{ (oleh) } DP_{ext}]$

Unlike *kena* sentences, the use of which is almost exclusive to Colloquial Malay, *ter-* sentences are used this way not only in Colloquial Malay but also in Formal Malay. Hence, covert voice alternation exists in both varieties of Malay.

It must be noted that the existence of covert voice alternation does not mean that a third type of voice exists in Malay which is distinct from the morphological and the bare voices. It is plausible to think that the null voice morphemes involved in covert voice alternation are those which are employed in the morphological and bare voices. Otherwise, there would be too many null voice morphemes for children to acquire. We assume that \emptyset_{ACT} is the same null morpheme as involved in the bare active. \emptyset_{PASS} is thought to be a phonologically null allomorph of the prefix *di-* of the morphological passive, but not the same null morpheme as involved in the bare passive. This is because the verb's external argument is realized exactly in the same fashion in both morphological passive and *kena* passive sentences, i.e., as an adjunct with the optional preposition *oleh* 'by'. If \emptyset_{PASS} were the null morpheme involved in the bare passive, the agent should have been obligatory and always preceded the verb. The distribution of \emptyset_{PASS} is strictly restricted unlike that of \emptyset_{ACT} . It is licensed only by *kena* and *ter-*. We suppose that this lexically conditioned aspect of \emptyset_{PASS} facilitates its acquisition by children. What they have to learn is a rule to the effect that "(features associated with) *di-* need not be pronounced when it occurs in certain positions in *kena* and *ter-* sentences."

There are two dialectal differences worth noting between Malay and Indonesian. First, *kena* in Indonesian never means 'have to', for which the word *harus* is used instead.

- (43) Indonesian
- Joko kena tipu wanita itu. (cf. [40])
 Joko KENA cheat woman that
- (i) *'Joko had to deceive the woman.'
 - (ii) 'Joko was deceived by the woman.'

Second, *ter-* sentences in Indonesian seldom take an agent DP as their subjects. Thus, in Indonesian only the equivalent of (41b), in which the patient is the subject, is grammatical, but that of (41a) is not. The relevant Indonesian data is given in (44) below.

- (44) Indonesian
- a. *Polisi ter-tangkap laki-laki itu. (cf. [41a])
 police TER-catch man that
 For: ‘The police arrested the man by mistake.’
 - b. Laki-laki itu ter-tangkap (oleh) polisi. (cf. [41b])
 man that TER-catch (by) police
 ‘The man was mistakenly arrested by the police.’

Our analysis of *kena* and *ter-* sentences in Malay offers a unified account for these two differences. That is, unlike Malay, Indonesian does not normally allow the active counterpart of the covert voice alternation shown in (39) and (42). In other words, covert voice alternation is strictly constrained in Indonesian. We would like to refer the readers to Nomoto and Kartini (2011), which discusses in more detail dialectal differences between Malay and Indonesian with respect to *kena* and *ter-* sentences, as well as how the various attested uses of *kena* have developed over time.

5.2 COVERT VOICE ALTERNATIONS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Covert voice alternation is not limited to Malay. It is commonly found in other Austronesian languages in the Malay Archipelago. For instance, Arka and Kosmas (2005) convincingly argue that the Manggarai sentence in (45b) below is a passive sentence corresponding to the active sentence in (45a). The basic word order of the language is SVO, hence (45a) is a transitive clause, wherein *aku* ‘I’ is the subject cross-referenced by the first person singular pronominal enclitic =*k* attached to the object *latung* ‘corn’. The object *latung* ‘corn’ in (45a) is the subject in (45b), as indicated by the third person singular pronominal enclitic =*i*, which cross-references it. Arka and Kosmas show that the *le* agent phrase is an oblique based on the flexibility in its positioning in the sentence, reflexive binding, and control facts (see Arka and Kosmas [2005] for details).

- (45) Manggarai (Arka and Kosmas 2005: 88)
- a. Aku cero latung=*k*.
 1SG fry corn=1SG
 ‘I fry/am frying corn.’
 - b. Latung hitu cero l=*aku*=*i*.
 corn that fry by=1SG=3SG
 ‘The corn is (being) fried by me.’

Notice that the verb form is *cero* in both sentences and there is no voice morphology on the verb in either sentence. Like *kena* and accidental *ter-* sentences in Malay, the active and the passive differ only in the relative order of the theme and the agent DP, and the only signals of the voice are the presence/absence of the morpheme meaning ‘by’ and the context.

Acehnese has long been considered to be a language without grammatical relations and the passive voice, based on the descriptions of the language by Mark Durie (Durie 1985, 1987, 1988). However, a recent re-evaluation of the language’s voice system capitalizing on modern syntactic tools by Legate (2011) has revealed that the language actually possess a voice system very similar to that of Malay. Importantly,

Acehnese has distinct constructions corresponding to the morphological active and passive voices in Malay. The relevant examples are given in (46).

(46) Acehnese (Legate 2011)

- a. Uleue nyan di-kap lôn.
snake that 3FAM-bite 1SG
'The snake bit me.'
- b. Lôn di-kap lé uleue nyan.
1SG 3FAM-bite LE snake that
'I was bitten by the snake.'

Durie analyses *lé* in (46b) as an ergative case marker, and hence *lé uleue nyan* 'LE snake that' is an argument DP. According to his analysis, (46a) is an agent topic sentence while (46b) is a theme topic sentence. It is claimed that the alleged ergative case marker disappears in the agent topic construction. Hence, the preverbal DPs in (46) are in an A-bar position.

Legate (2011) shows that the *lé* agent phrase behaves as an adjunct PP rather than an argument DP based on the facts concerning topicalization, questions with the complementizer (*n*)*yang*, floating quantifiers, the distribution, and the optionality. She also shows that the preverbal DP is not in an A-bar but an A-position and functions as a grammatical subject. Her argument is based on Condition C reconstruction effects, Weak Crossover effects, locality effects, and the differentiation of restructuring verbs from control verbs, which were treated indiscriminately by Durie. Given these facts, she concludes convincingly that (46a) and (46b) are an active and a passive sentence respectively. Since the verbal prefix *di-* occurs in both voices and restricts the person and familiarity of the verb's external argument (cf. footnote 9), it is not a voice marker. This leads us to regard the voice alternation in (46) as another instance of covert voice alternation.

Given that Acehnese has another voice that corresponds to the bare passive in Malay, we agree with Legate that the active and passive voices in Acehnese correspond to the morphological voices in Malay, though the morphology does not have a direct bearing with voice in Acehnese. Legate's analysis of Acehnese together with our analysis of Malay makes the voice systems of the two related languages look much more similar to each other than previously thought.

Another Austronesian language in the Malay Archipelago that has been described to have a peculiar voice system is Riau Indonesian. We would like to suggest that the language can be analysed as a language in which covert voice alternation is maximally productive, though other analyses are also possible in the absence of a systematic syntactic analysis of carefully controlled data.¹² According to Gil's (2002) description of Riau Indonesian, the language does not indicate thematic roles either by word order or verbal morphology.¹³ Thus, with the surface string "DP1 V DP2," one

¹² For instance, Gil (2004, 2007, 2008) accounts for the freedom in word order, which we partly ascribe to covert voice alternation, by claiming that the language relies heavily on "associational semantics" and tolerates underspecified thematic relations.

¹³ Gil (2007) further claims that prosody does not help either. This is different from Malay, where speakers report the intuition that the two meanings for sentence (i) below are distinguished by the presence/absence of a pause.

possible interpretation is that DP1 is an agent and DP2 a theme/patient, but another interpretation is also possible where DP2 is an agent and DP1 a theme/patient. This is exactly the same pattern exhibited by *kena* and *ter-* sentences in Malay when the agentive preposition *oleh* ‘by’ is absent (cf. [39], [42]). The difference between Malay and Riau Indonesian lies in productivity: while covert voice alternation is found only in certain restricted contexts in Malay, i.e., in *kena* and *ter-* sentences, there is no such condition in the case of Riau Indonesian. In this respect, Riau Indonesian resembles Acehnese.

Examples (47)–(49) below from Gil (2002) show that the presence/absence of particular verbal prefixes does not constrain the interpretation possibilities. In the examples below, the external (agent) and the internal (theme/patient) argument of the predicate are indicated by underlines and boldface respectively.

(47) Riau Indonesian (Gil 2002: 247)

- 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 3SG
 [Watching a movie on TV.]
 ‘They’re going to set off a bomb.’

(48) Riau Indonesian (Gil 2002: 250)

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

(49) Riau Indonesian (Gil 2002: 260)

- Eddy Tansil** tak bisa menangkap orang.
 Eddy Tansil not can N-catch person
 [About an infamous criminal who escaped Indonesia to China]
 ‘Nobody can catch Eddy Tansil.’

To take (49) for example, under our analysis (but not Gil’s), one can relate this sentence to *Orang tak bisa menangkap Eddy Tansil* by means of covert voice alternation, that is to say, the former can be seen as the passive counterpart of the latter. Note that the verbal prefixes *di-* in (48) and *N-* in (49) are not voice markers in Riau Indonesian, though

-
- (i) Buaya tengok aku tadi.
 alligator see 1SG just.now
 (a) ‘An alligator was watching me just now.’ (neutral prosody)
 (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 speakers have, indicating a particular syntactic or informational structure.

their cognates in Standard Malay and other Malayic languages are usually considered as voice markers (Gil 2002). This line of analysis is plausible, given that Riau Indonesian is both genetically and geographically close to Malay.¹⁴

Outside the Austronesian family, Cobbinah and Lüpke (to appear) point out that covert voice alternation (the term used by them is “zero-coded passive”) is found in a number of African languages, most prominently in the West-African Mande languages (e.g., Bambara, Jalonke) and the neighbouring Gur languages (e.g., Supyire, Ditammari), as well as in some creoles formed under the substratal influence from these languages. (50) shows examples in Bambara. The language has an extremely rigid word order: subject + auxiliary (+ object) + verb (+ oblique). The subject of (50a) *ù* ‘they’ is demoted to an optional oblique in (50b) *u fɛ̀* ‘by them’, while the object of (50a) *ɲò* ‘millet’ is promoted to a subject in (50b), occurring before the auxiliary *bɛ*. Thus, the two sentences are undoubtedly an active-passive pair. Notice that there is no voice marker in either the active (50a) or the passive (50b) sentence.

(50) Bambara (Cobbinah and Lüpke, to appear: [3]–[4])

- a. *Ù bɛ ɲò dan.*
 3PL PRS millet sow
 ‘They sow millet.’
- b. *ɲò bɛ dan (u fɛ̀).*
 millet PRS sow 3PL POSTPOSITION
 ‘Millet is sown (by them).’

We agree with Cobbinah and Lüpke (to appear) that covert voice alternation is a phenomenon characteristic of languages that are predominantly isolating. All languages discussed in this section are largely isolating.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have investigated the syntax of *kena* adversative passives in Malay. Our analysis is novel in the following three points. First, we have established a reasonable relation between *kena* passives and sentences with *kena* meaning ‘have to’, that is, they constitute a passive-active pair (at the level of the embedded clause). The two constructions have been thought to be syntactically unrelated by previous studies. Second, we have shown that *kena* is not a passive marker but a funny predicate. In previous studies, the ambiguity of *kena* between the adversative passive use and the

¹⁴ Gil (2002) states that “Kuala Lumpur Malay” does not possess the prefix *di-* and shows no morphological active-passive distinction. It seems that what Gil refers to as “Kuala Lumpur Malay” is the same variety of Malay as discussed in this paper, given his characterization of the relevant variety: “used by the ethnic Malay residents of the capital city of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, as a vehicle for colloquial intraethnic communication” “distinct from other colloquial varieties of Malay, also used in Kuala Lumpur ... for interethnic communication” whose data can be obtained by “elicit[ing] from my Malay students at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia” (271). If the two are indeed the same, we cannot accept his statement. A corpus of Colloquial Malay consisting of approximately 20 hours of casual conversation among ethnic Malay students at the same university where Gil conducted his elicitation contains a considerable number of instances of the passive *di-* prefix, though they are far less frequent than bare verbal forms (Nomoto 2006b). Thus, in our view, Riau Indonesian and Malay do not differ with respect to the availability of the prefixes (*me*)*N-* and *di-*, but in their functions: while these prefixes are voice-related in Malay, they are not so in Riau Indonesian.

‘have to’ use has been considered as a *lexical* ambiguity: either there are two *kena* morphemes or *kena* is polysemous. However, the two points above enabled a more principled view. Specifically, the ambiguity is a *structural* one. The kind of ambiguity observed with *kena* sentences are exactly the same as that found with sentences with other funny predicates such as *mahu* ‘to want’ and *cuba* ‘to try’. The third novel feature of our analysis is that we argued that voice is not signalled overtly, either by verbal morphology or by a special word order in *kena* sentences (when *kena* is not followed by morphological or bare voice clauses). We dubbed this type of voice as “covert voices” and showed that it is not restricted to just *kena* sentences in Malay, but they are also found in sentences with *ter-* in Malay and in many other languages.

Arka and Kosmas (2005) present Manggarai data that shows covert voice alternation as a counterexample to Haspelmath’s (1990) claim that given the definition of passives in (51), “in general passive constructions without passive morphology do not exist” (27).

- (51) a. The active subject corresponds either to 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.

The same objection is expressed by Cobbinah and Lüpke (to appear) with evidence from more languages. Malay *kena* passives satisfy the first two criteria in (51). Although we have not done any systematic study on the third point, our knowledge of the language enables us to say that *kena* passives also satisfy it as far as frequency is concerned. *Kena* active sentences, where *kena* means ‘have to’, are more frequent than *kena* passives. Thus, *kena* passives, which we analysed as involving passive syntax, count as passives under Haspelmath’s criteria too.¹⁵ We have shown that the morpheme *kena* is not a passive marker, occurring in both active and passive sentences, and hence there is no overt morphology indicating the passive voice. Therefore, *kena* passives in Malay provide another counterexample to Haspelmath’s claim. Also, given Legate’s (2011) new analysis of the Acehnese voice system, Acehnese could be another counterexample to his claim, provided that the third criterion is satisfied. The findings in this paper suggest that covert voice alternation should be considered as one of the typologically common voice alternations.

REFERENCES

- Abdul Hamid Mahmood. 1992. *Ayat pasif bahasa Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
 Abdullah Hassan. 1974. *The morphology of Malay*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
 Aldridge, Edith. 2008. Phase-based account of extraction in Indonesian. *Lingua* 118: 1440–69.

¹⁵ Bare passives do not satisfy the first condition in (51) because the active subject remains an obligatory element in them. Hence, they are not considered as passives under Haspelmath’s criteria and do not count as a counterargument to his generalization.

- Ansaldo, Umberto. 2009. *Contact languages: Ecology and evolution in Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arbak Othman. 1981. *Tatabahasa bahasa Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Sarjana Enterprise.
- Arka, I Wayan and Jeladu Kosmas. 2005. Passive without passive morphology? In *The many faces of Austronesian voice systems: Some new empirical studies Evidence from Manggarai*. ed. by I Wayan Arka and Malcolm Ross, 87–117. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Arka, I Wayan and Christopher D. Manning. 1998. Voice and grammatical relations in Indonesian: A new perspective. In *Proceedings of the LFG98 Conference*, ed. By Mirriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, In *Proceedings of the LFG98 Conference*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Asmah Hj. Omar and Rama Subbiah. 1985. *An introduction to Malay grammar*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Bao, Zhiming and Lionel Wee. 1999. The passives in Singapore English. *World Englishes* 18: 1–11.
- Beavers, John. 2011. On affectedness. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29: 335–70.
- Bodman, Nicholas C. 1955. *Spoken Amoy Hokkien*. Kuala Lumpur: Charles Grenier and Company.
- Bošković, Željko. 1994. D-Structure, Theta Criterion, and movement into theta positions. *Linguistic Analysis* 24: 247–73.
- Chung, Sandra. 1976. On the subject of two passives in Indonesian. In *Subject and topic*, ed. by Charles. N. Li, 57–99. New York: Academic Press.
- Chung, Sandra and William Ladusaw. 2004. *Restriction and saturation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chung, Siaw Fong. 2005. *Kena* as a third type of the Malay passive. *Oceanic Linguistics* 44: 194–214.
- Cobbinah, Alexander and Friederike Lüpke. To appear. Not cut to fit – zero coded passives in African languages. In *Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics*, ed. by Matthias Brenzinger and Anna-Maria Fehn Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cole, Peter and Gabriella Hermon. 1998. The typology of wh-movement: Wh-questions in Malay. *Syntax* 1: 221–58.
- Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon and Yanti. 2008. Voice in Malay/Indonesian. *Lingua* 118: 1500–53.
- Dardjowidjojo, Soenjono. 1978. *Sentence patterns of Indonesian*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Davies, William. 2011. Crossed control in Madurese. Paper presented at the 3rd International Symposium on Languages of Java (ISLOJ).
- Durie, Mark. 1985. *A grammar of Acehnese on the basis of a dialect of North Aceh*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- . 1987. Grammatical relations in Acehnese. *Studies in Language* 11: 387–421.
- . 1988. The so-called passive of Acehnese. *Language* 64: 104–13.
- Fortin, Catherine R. 2007. *Indonesian sluicing and verb phrase ellipsis: Description and explanation in a minimalist framework*. PhD diss., University of Michigan.

- Gil, David. 2002. The prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Malay/Indonesian dialects. In *The history and typology of Western Austronesian voice systems*, ed. by Fay Wouk and Malcom Ross, 241–83. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- . 2004. Riau Indonesian *sama*: Explorations in macrofunctionality. In *Coordinating constructions*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath, 371–424. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- . 2007. Intonation and thematic roles in Riau Indonesian. In *Topic and focus: Cross-linguistic perspectives on meaning and intonation*, ed. by Chungmin Lee, Matthew Gordon and Daniel Büring, 41–68. Dordrecht: Springer.
- . 2008. How complex are isolating languages? In *Topic and focus: Cross-linguistic perspectives on meaning and intonation*, ed. by Matti Miestamo, Kaius Sinnemäki and Fred Karlsson, 109–32. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gruber, Jeffrey S. 1965. *Studies in lexical relations*. PhD diss., MIT.
- Guilfoyle, Eithene, Henrietta Hung and Lisa Travis. 1992. Spec of IP and spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10: 375–414.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. The grammaticalization of passive morphology. *Studies in Language* 14: 25–72.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56: 251–99.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 1999. Movement and control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 69–96.
- . 2001. *Move! A minimalist theory of construal*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hornstein, Norbert, Jairo Nunes and Kleantes K. Grohmann. 2005. *Understanding minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kartini Abd. Wahab. In preparation. *Struktur pasif bahasa Melayu*. PhD diss., Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Kaswanti Purwo, Bambang. 1984. *Deiksis dalam bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Keenan, Edward. 1985. Passive in the world's languages. In *Language typology and syntactic description*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 243–81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koh, Ann Sweesun. 1990. *Topics in Colloquial Malay*. PhD diss., University of Melbourne.
- Legate, Julie A. 2011. Subjects in Acehnese and the nature of the passive. Ms. University of Pennsylvania.
- Nik Safiah Karim. 1978. *Bahasa Malaysia syntax: Some aspects of its standardization*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Nik Safiah Karim, Farid M. Onn, Hashim Haji Musa and Abdul Hamid Mahmood. 2008. *Tatabahasa Dewan (edisi ketiga)*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Nomoto, Hiroki. 2006a. The multi-purpose preposition *kat* in Colloquial Malay. *Gengojouhougaku kenkyuuhoukoku 11*, ed. by Yoichiro Tsuruga, Nobuyuki Miyake, Yuji Kawaguchi and Toshihiro Takagaki, 69–94. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

- . 2006b. Voice in Colloquial Malay relatives. In *Gengojouhougaku kenkyuuhoukoku 12*, ed. by Yoichiro Tsuruga, Nobuyuki Miyake and Yuji Kawaguchi, 97–116. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- . 2011. Analisis seragam bagi kawalan lucu. In *Isamu Shoho: Tinta kenangan “kumpulan esei bahasa dan linguistik”*, ed. by Hiroki Nomoto, Anwar Ridhwan and Zaharani Ahmad, 44–91. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- . To appear. Mareeshiago no voisu to sono shuuhēn. *Gogaku kenkyuujo ronshuu 17*. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Nomoto, Hiroki and Isamu Shoho. 2007. Voice in relative clauses in Malay: A comparison of written and spoken language. In *Corpus-based perspectives in linguistics*, ed. by Yuji Kawaguchi, Toshihiro Takagaki, Nobuo Tomimori and Yoichiro Tsuruga, 353–70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nomoto, Hiroki and Kartini Abd. Wahab. 2011. Konstruksi *kena* dalam bahasa Indonesia: Perbandingan dengan bahasa Melayu. *Linguistik Indonesia 29*: 111–131.
- Polinsky, Maria and Eric Potsdom. 2008. The syntax and semantics of wanting in Indonesian. *Lingua 118*: 1617–39.
- Prasithratsint, Amara. 2004. The adversative passive markers as a prominent areal feature of Southeast Asian languages. In *Paper from the Eleventh Annual Meeting of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society 2001*, ed. by Somsong Buruphat, 583–98. Tempe, AZ: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University.
- Ramli Haji Salleh. 1995. *Sintaksis bahasa Melayu: Penerapan Teori Kuasaan dan Tambatan*: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Saddy, Douglas. 1991. WH scope mechanism in Indonesian. In *MIT working papers in linguistics*, vol. 15: *More papers on wh- movement*, ed. by Lisa L. S. Cheng and Hamida Demirdash, 183–218. Cambridge, MA: Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT.
- Sato, Yosuke. 2008. *Minimalist interfaces: Selected issues in Indonesian and Javanese*. PhD diss., University of Arizona.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions: A prototype analysis. *Language 61*: 821–48.
- Shoho, Isamu. 2006. Nonreferential use of demonstrative pronouns in Colloquial Malay. In *Spoken language corpus and linguistic informatics*, ed. by Yuji Kawaguchi; Susumu Zaima and Toshihiro Takagaki, 287–301. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- . 2011. Unsettled problems of Malay demonstrative pronouns. In *Isamu Shoho: Tinta kenangan “kumpulan esei bahasa dan linguistik”*, ed. by Hiroki Nomoto, Zaharani Ahmad and Anwar Ridhwan, 145–87. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Sneddon, James N, Alexander Adelaar, Dwi N. Djenar and Michael C. Ewing. 2010. *Indonesian: A comprehensive grammar (second edition)*. London: Routledge.
- Soh, Hooi Ling. 1994a. External arguments and *ter-* in Malay. In *Proceeding of the 1994 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, ed. by Päivi Koskinen, 535–46. Toronto: Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto.
- . 1994b. Aspect and the organization of argument structure and phrase structure: Evidence from Malay. MA thesis, University of Calgary.

- . 1998. Certain restrictions on A-bar movement in Malay. In *Proceedings of the Third and Fourth Meetings of Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association 1996–1999*, ed. by Matthew Pearson, 295–308. Los Angeles: Department of Linguistics, University of California.
- . 2011. The syntax of *dah* in Colloquial Malay. Paper presented at the 15th International Symposium on Malay/Indonesian Linguistics (ISMIL).
- Soh, Hooi Ling and Hiroki Nomoto. 2009. Progressive aspect, the verbal prefix *meN-*, and the stative sentences in Malay. *Oceanic Linguistics* 48: 148–71.
- . 2011. The Malay verbal prefix *meN-* and the unergative/unaccusative distinction. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 20: 77–106.
- . In preparation. Degree achievements, telicity and the verbal prefix *meN-* in Malay.
- Son, Minjeong & Peter Cole. 2008. An event-based account of *-kan* constructions in Standard Indonesian. *Language* 84: 120–60.
- Tjung, Yassir. 2006. *The formation of relative clauses in Jakarta Indonesian: A subject-object asymmetry*. PhD. Diss., University of Delaware.
- Voskuil, Jan E. 2000. Indonesian voice and A-bar movement. In *Formal issues in Austronesian linguistics*, ed. by Ileana Paul, Vivianne Phillips & Lisa Travis, 195–214. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Willett, Marie Louise. 1993. Object preposed constructions in Malay. MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Zainal Abidin Ahmad (Za'ba). 2000. *Pelita bahasa Melayu, penggal I–III, edisi baharu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.