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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 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. 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 enables us to understand the seemingly manifold voice systems of Austronesian languages in the Malay Archipelago in a more connected manner.

1. INTRODUCTION.[1] Most of the previous studies on voice in Malay have focused on the morphological passive as illustrated in (1), and the bare passive, as in (2) (for example, 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 signaled by a special word order in the latter. (We will give an overview of the properties of these two voices in section 2.)

1. This paper is based on our presentations at the 14th International Symposium on Malay/Indonesian Linguistics (ISMIL) at University of Minnesota, April 30–May 2, 2010, and Persidangan Linguistik ASEAN V at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, December 21–22, 2011. We are grateful for valuable comments from the audiences at these conferences, especially Hooi Ling Soh. We would also like to express our gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers of *Oceanic Linguistics*, whose detailed comments and criticisms helped us refine our arguments. We thank the following native speakers of Malay for providing judgments on Malay sentences: Andriano Bronio, Anita Bakir, Azlina Tuai, Muhamad Hanam Hamid, Muhammad Idham Adli bin Musa, Norhusnaini Rahim, Norsalizawati Shasudin, Nurul Afnieza Md. Zin, Rosalita Alfred Intung, Siti Kartini Hatikoh Jamaludin, and Umi Kalsum Abu Bakar. Any remaining errors are ours.

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(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.'[2]

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 more than a label here. Malay grammars use the label "passive" for any constructions whose semantic and pragmatic functions resemble those of prototypical passives, for example, foregrounding the patient/theme, backgrounding the agent, or increased affectedness (Shibatani 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 shown in (3), which is often used in Colloquial Malay (Chung 2005).

(3) Penyeluk saku itu kena tangkap 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 (synchronically) related to debitive *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 (for example, Chung 2005:209). (iii) What is the structure of *kena* passive sentences?

(4) Polis kena tangkap penyeluk saku itu.
police KENA catch pickpocket that
'The police have/had 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 flavor and is not the source of passive syntax. It is claimed that the passive syntax is due to the covert passive marker. Regarding the second question, we analyze 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.

2. 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.

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 (for example, Kedah dialect, Melaka dialect, and so forth). Descriptions of this variety of Malay are not numerous, 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 (nonpidgin) 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 are 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 presents the basic facts about the three kinds of passives in Malay, namely 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 gives an overview of the characteristics of the two basic passives, namely morphological passives (2.1) and bare passives (2.2). It then reviews the existing descriptions of *kena* passives, some of which we point out need fine-tuning (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 passives" (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 *me*N- as in (6).[3]

(6) Siti **mem-**baca buku itu.
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 of being marked morphologically, 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, for example, 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),[4] 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 *me*N- may convey different aspectual meanings (Soh and Nomoto 2011, to appear). In other words, the existence of bare active voice cannot be reduced to a mere omission of the prefix *me*N- from the morphological active.

2.3 *Kena* PASSIVES. *Kena* passives have been mentioned or discussed by a number of researchers (for example, Nik Safiah 1978, Asmah and Subbiah 1983, Abdul

3. Nonstandard abbreviations used that are not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are: ACT, active; CNJ, conjunctive; FAM, familiar; OP, operator; PART, particle.
4. 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/nonterm status of the external argument is a crucial part of the definition of passives (but see Nomoto 2012).

Hamid 1992, Koh 1990, Bao and Wee 1999, Chung 2005, Nik Safiah et al. 2008). They are reported to have the following four properties.

First, the subject is usually adversely affected (cf. 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 he or she 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. Example (11) is a sentence taken from an online message board. The sentence contains three instances of *kena*. The first describes a negative event, but the second and third 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
jadik murid favorite cikgu pasal dia pandai, selalu score A1,
become pupil favorite 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 June 29, 2010)

Data like these suggest that the meaning 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).[5]

(12) a. *Perkara itu kena tahu.
thing that KENA know
Intended: 'That got found out.'

5. 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. *Buku itu kena punya.
book that KENA have
Intended: 'The book got owned (by somebody).'

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's specification of the change undergone by the theme/patient is. 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 > change	**nonquantized > change**	**potential > for change**	**unspecified for change**
accomplishments/ achievements (*break, shatter*)	degree achievements/cutting (*widen, cool, cut*)	surface contact/impact (*wipe, hit*)	other activities/ states (*see, smell*)

The fact that stative verbs cannot occur in *kena* passives (presumbaly due to the low affectedness inherent in 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. nonaction), "punctuality" (punctual vs. nonpunctual), 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 (for example, 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 4.2 that the verb can take the morphological voice markers *me*N- (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) (Bao and Wee 1999, Chung 2005, Nik Safiah et al. 2008:493). Furthermore, the agentive phrase can follow the verb without the preposition *oleh* (14c).

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

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 concludng 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 REL 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 analyze *kena* taking DPs as in (15) as a transitive verb meaning 'to incur, to get', which is distinct from *kena* in *kena* passives.[6] 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 [Malaysian ringgit] 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), that is, *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* (intended: '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.'

b. *Kita kena [DP pembelian barangan buatan Malaysia].
1PL KENA purchase goods product Malaysia
Intended: '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

6. 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.
color clothes Aminah suitable with color shawl-3SG
'The color of Aminah's clothes matches 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.'

that *ber-* and *ke-…-an* passives do not have corresponding active sentences. She is not explicit about whether or not the same is true for *kena* passives and *ter-* passives.

By contrast, we take passives to be defined syntactically. They are a construction type in which the internal argument (for example, theme, patient) of a predicate is expressed as a grammatical subject (Spec,TP) and the external one (for example, 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 (with *oleh* 'by'), while 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, namely 'regardless of the subject/speaker's own will', 'pressed by external circumstances', or 'destined to'. A similar view has been expressed by Ansaldo (2009:175–76), 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, for example, by *terpaksa* 'forced to'. For instance, (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. Polis terpaksa men-[t]angkap pencuri itu semalam.
police forced ACT-catch thief that yesterday
'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. Pencuri itu terpaksa di-tangkap semalam.
thief that forced PASS-catch yesterday
'The thief was forced to get arrested yesterday (though s/he did not want to).'

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

As hinted by the verbal prefixes *me*N- (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. Example (21) schematically shows the structure when *kena* is merged.

(21) $[_{VP}$ kena $[_{\mathbf{vP}}$ 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, downplaying 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 (as in *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 (Prasithrathsint 2004), Hokkien (Bodman 1955), and Khmer (Hiromi Ueda, pers. comm.) also employ the same morpheme for the two meanings: *thùuk* (Thai), *bị* (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 (2005:197) surmises that "the 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." We basically concur with her reasoning, and further infer that *kena* and *-kan* should be able to cooccur if *-kan* does not convey a benefactive meaning. It is well known that the suffix also has other functions, such as producing 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. See Kroeger [2007] for a different classification.)

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

b. Goal-PP construction
Hasnah me-lempar(-kan) bola adik-ku itu ke
Hasnah ACT-throw(-KAN) ball younger.sibling-1SG that to
dalam tong sampah.
in 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
3SG ACT-entrust(-KAN) task important that to Abu
yang pemalas itu.
REL lazy that
'S/he entrusted the important task to that lazy Abu.'

Our prediction is, in fact, borne out. *Kena* may cooccur with *-kan* when the latter has functions other than creating a benefactive construction. Example (25) below shows *kena* adversative passive sentences based on the nonbenefactive *-kan* constructions in (24).[7]

7. 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 (ii), adopted from Nomoto (to appear), show that this phenomenon is not restricted to *kena* passives. The prefix *ter-* expresses the fact that the action in question is accidental (cf. section 5.1).

(ii) 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.

(25) a. Kuku Aminah kena merah(-kan) oleh Siti. (cf. [24a])
nail Aminah KENA red(-KAN) by Siti
'Aminah's fingernails got colored 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 REL 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, namely one used in *kena* passives ("*kena* 1"), and another that means 'have to' ("*kena* 2").

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 (for example, 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 behavior 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. As 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 4.1. Then, in 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.[8] 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

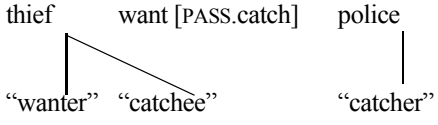
8. Some speakers told us that the construction did not involve the kind of ambiguity we point out here. Nevertheless, it seems to us that the conclusion that the construction is in principle ambiguous is inevitable, because one can find in naturally occurring texts many instances of the same predicate being associated with both readings (see the examples in the appendix in Nomoto [2011]). The native speakers' reactions are reasonable, because only one reading is compatible with the context in most cases.

Nomoto's (2011) analysis, the mechanism involved in the construction is actually raising rather than control, despite its initial appearance. (26) is an example of the funny control construction. The terms "normal control reading" and "crossed reading" are used by Polinsky and Potsdam (2008).

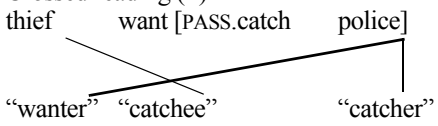
(26) Pencuri itu mahu [di-tangkap polis].
thief that want PASS-catch police
(i) 'The thief wants to be arrested by the police.' (normal control reading)
(ii) 'The police want to arrest the thief.' (crossed reading)

Notice that the sentence has two possible interpretations. On the normal control reading as in (i), the external argument of the matrix verb *mahu* 'to want' (that is, 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).

(27) a. Normal control reading (i)



b. Crossed reading (ii)



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, for example, the thief is fatigued with having run away from the police for years; but she cannot stop repeating crimes by herself, though she wishes to; she does not have courage to surrender herself to the police; she just hopes that she will get arrested someday. When both normal control and crossed readings are equally compatible with the actual world, speakers usually understand the sentence with the crossed reading.

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).

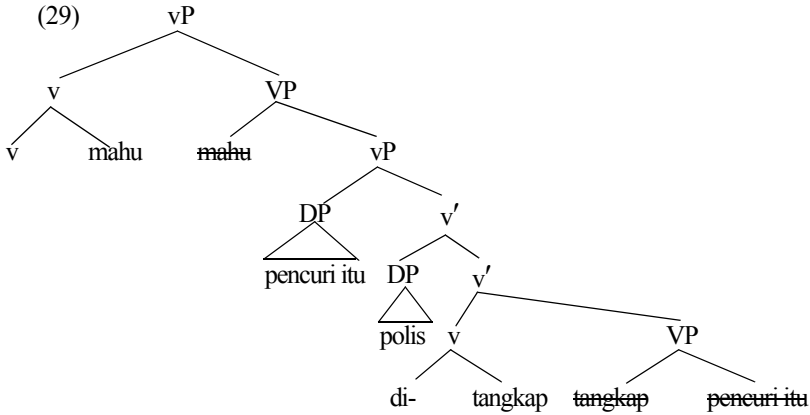
(28) Polis mahu [men-[t]angkap pencuri itu].
police want ACT-catch thief that
(i) 'The police want to arrest the thief.' (normal control reading)
(ii) *'The thief wants to be arrested by the police.' (crossed reading)

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 (for example, *ingin* 'to want'),

and (ii) predicates that express external circumstances that affect the realization of a situation (for example, *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 Potsdam (2008). The reduced clause is not VP, given the standard assumption that voice morphology occurs in v (or Voice).[9] 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 (that is, 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*

9. This suggests that the funny control construction is not an instance of restructuring. By contrast, Acehnese has a restructuring construction involving the verb *cuba* 'to try', whose cognate in Malay is a funny predicate. The embedded verb cannot take a verbal prefix that occurs in morphological active/passive sentences, as in (iii). Legate (2012) analyzes the prefix as occupying v, and claims that the embedded verb phrase is VP, but not vP.

(iii) ACEHNESE
Batée ji-cuba (*ji-)pajôh lé aneuk miet nyan.
rock 3FAM-try 3FAM-eat by child small that
'The rock was tried to be eaten by the child.' (Legate 2012)

'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 (that is, *polis* 'police' in [29]) occurs after the passive verb, as in (26). Four possibilities have been suggested by Nomoto (2011:65, footnote 10) 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 coreferential 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 (2012). 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. 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*.

First, the syntactic behavior 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 passive clause, all of them must be fronted together; otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical.[10] 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

10. Ramli (1995:104) proposes a less restricted generalization that covers both active and passive clauses. However, fronting only the first auxiliary is possible in an active clause. Compare (iv) with (30).

(iv)a. **Sudah boleh**-kah kita ___ ___ men-jual rumah itu?
already can-Q 1PL ACT-sell house that
'Can we already sell the house?'

b. **Sudah**-kah kita ___ **boleh** men-jual rumah itu?
already-Q 1PL can ACT-sell house that
'Can we already sell the house?'

c. ***Boleh**-kah kita **sudah** ___ men-jual rumah itu?
can-Q 1PL already ACT-sell house that

Nik Safiah (1978:186) makes a different generalization based on examples with *sudah* 'already' and *hendak* 'to want'. Her argument is problematic because the word *hendak* can be a verb and is one of the most famous funny predicates.

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 costituent, as shown in (32) below.

(32) $[_{CP}$ -kah $[_{TP}$ rumah itu $[_{T'}$ sudah $[_{vP}$ kena di-jual]]]].
X

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).

Second, *kena* can cooccur 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.[11]
pickpocket that KENA PASS-catch by police
'The pickpocket got arrested by the police.'

An anonymous reviewer notes that *kena* cooccurring with the active *me*N- verbs is fairly common, whereas *kena* cooccurring with the passive *di-* verbs is extremely rare. We do not think that such a striking asymmetry actually exists. A quick Google search (restricted to the ".my" domain; conducted on May 20, 2012) shows that for certain verbs, the "*kena* + *di-*" pattern is not only common but even more frequent than the "*kena* + *me*N-" pattern (for example, *kena di-bayar* [300] vs. *kena mem-bayar* [143]S [*bayar* 'to pay']). The true asymmetry, we suppose, exists between *kena* adversative passives and sentences with *kena* meaning 'have to' (with verbs in the morphological voices): the

latter is far more frequent than the former. Our analysis of *kena* as a funny predicate predicts this asymmetry. As we shall discuss shortly, "*kena* + *di-* verb" can receive not only an adversative passive interpretation but also a debitive one. Of these, it is the debitive interpretation that is expected to be more common, as it instantiates the crossed reading, which we have seen is the preferred interpretation of a funny control sentence (section 4.1). Moreover, "*kena* + *me*N- verb" only has a debitive interpretation.

Kena may cooccur 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.'

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.'

11. 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. Some examples are given below.

(v) "... Anak saya **kena** **di-**tangkap ISA, tak tahu apa sebab, banyak (lagi) guru-guru
child 1SG KENA PASS-catch ISA not know what cause many more teachers
agama," kata Nik Aziz lagi.
religion say Nik Aziz more
'My child got arrested under the ISA (Internal Security Act); I don't know why; there are many other religion teachers," added Nik Aziz.'
(The Malaysian Insider, http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/bahasa/article/nik-aziz-walaupun-mb-tapi-saya-hanya-tumpang-rumah-orang/, accessed May 17, 2012)

(vi) basically s-org **kena** **di-**jatuhkan dlm tangki yang penuh dgn liquid campur
basically one-CLF KENA PASS-fell in tank REL full with liquid mixture
benda2 yg tak senonoh ni laa.
things REL not decent this PART
[Describing a scene from last night's Fear Factor (a sports stunt/dare reality game show)] 'Basically, a person got pushed down into a tank filled with liquid made up of a mixture of gross stuffs.'
(CARI Malay Forums's Archiver, http://mforum.cari.com.my/archiver/?tid-59063-page-6.html, accessed May 17, 2012)

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 cooccur with both morphological and bare voices. Therefore, *kena* cannot be a passive marker.

Finally, 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. Example (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)

The crossed reading can also be translated as 'The pickpocket has got to be arrested by the police'. Note that the obligation meaning conveyed by the morpheme *kena* is associated with the police, but not the pickpocket, in either translation. The second translation, thus, does not necessarily support the traditional view, where *kena* meaning 'have to' is distinct from *kena* in *kena* passives.

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 in (38), which only has a normal control reading, as in (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 passive-active pairs. In this section, we have shown 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 that the null voice morphemes $\emptyset_{ACT}$ and $\emptyset_{PASS}$ are present and that they occupy the same syntactic position as *me*N- and *di-* in morphological voices. The relevant position is usually thought of as v (or Voice) (Tjung 2006; Aldridge 2008; Cole, Hermon, and Yanti 2008; Sato 2008, Son and Cole 2008; Nomoto 2011).

(39) Covert voice alternation in *kena* sentences
a. Active
DP_{ext} kena $[_{vP}\ \emptyset_{ACT}\ [_{VP}\ V\ DP_{int}]]$

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, as 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] terms). When *ter-* constructions show the active-passive alternation, neither overt morpheme signaling the voice nor a special word order indicating the voice is used (Abdullah 1974:107, Za'ba 2000:213, Nik Safiah et al. 2008:172–73). Example (41) shows active and passive accidental *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.[12]
man that TER-catch by police
'The man was mistakenly arrested by the police.'

We analyze these sentences as having the schematic structures in (42), where *ter-* heads a functional projection above vP.

12. Some grammars (for example, 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 March 3, 2011) indicates that the absence of *oleh* is quite common, yielding 35 and 234 hits, respectively.

(42) Covert voice alternation in *ter-* sentences
a. Active
DP_{ext} ter- [$_{vP}$ $Ø_{ACT}$ [$_{VP}$ V DP_{int}]]
b. Passive
DP_{int} ter- [$_{vP}$ $Ø_{PASS}$ [$_{VP}$ V] (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, one 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 that are employed in the morphological and bare voices. Otherwise, there would be too many null voice morphemes for children to acquire. We assume that $Ø_{ACT}$ is the same null morpheme as involved in the bare active, but that $Ø_{PASS}$ is not the same null morpheme as involved in the bare passive. Rather, it resembles the prefix *di-*, because the verb's external argument is realized in exactly the same fashion in both morphological passive and *kena* passive sentences, that is, as an adjunct PP headed by the preposition *oleh* 'by' or as a DP directly following the verb (cf. Donohue 2007, Kartini and Nomoto 2012). If $Ø_{PASS}$ were the null morpheme involved in the bare passive, the agent should have been obligatory and always preceded the verb. $Ø_{PASS}$ differs from *di-* in that a passive clause containing it does not give rise to the funny control phenomenon. For example, (40) lacks the crossed control reading 'The woman had to deceive Abu' (when read with neutral prosody).[13] The distribution of $Ø_{PASS}$ is strictly restricted, unlike that of $Ø_{ACT}$. It is licensed only by *kena* and *ter-*. We suppose that this lexically conditioned aspect of $Ø_{PASS}$ facilitates its acquisition by children.

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 are given in (44).

(44) INDONESIAN
a. *Polisi ter-tangkap laki-laki itu. (cf. [41a])
police TER-catch man that
Intended: '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.'

13. We thank one of the anonymous reviewers for bringing this fact to our attention.

We concur with one of the reviewers in linking the first difference with the fact that Malay has been in closer contact with Hokkien and Mainland Southeast Asian languages including Thai, which also employ the same morpheme for the two relevant meanings. Moreover, our analysis of *kena* and *ter-* sentences in Malay suggests that a unified account is possible that explains both 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 refer readers to Nomoto and Kartini (2011), where we discuss 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

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.' (Arka and Kosmas 2005:88)

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 or 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 reevaluation of the language's voice system capitalizing on modern syntactic tools by Legate (2012) has revealed that the language actually possesses 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
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.' (Legate 2012)

Durie analyzes *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 (2012) 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, distribution, and 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) is an active sentence and (46b) a passive sentence. As the verbal prefix *di-* occurs in both voices and restricts the person and familiarity of the verb's external argument, 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 make 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 as having a peculiar voice system is Riau Indonesian. We would like to suggest that the language can be analyzed 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.[14] According to Gil's (2002) description of Riau Indonesian, the language does not indicate thematic roles, either by word order or verbal morphology.[15] Thus, with the surface string "DP1 V DP2," one 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,

14. 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.

namely 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

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.'
(Gil 2002:247)

(48) RIAU INDONESIAN
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)

(49) RIAU INDONESIAN
Eddy Tansil tak bisa nangkap orang.
Eddy Tansil not can N-catch person
[About an infamous criminal who escaped Indonesia to China]
'Nobody can catch Eddy Tansil.' (Gil 2002:260)

To take (49), for example, under our analysis (but not Gil's), one can relate this sentence to *Orang tak bisa nangkap* ***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 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.[16]

Outside the Austronesian family, Cobbinah and Lüpke (2012) 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 (for example, Bambara, Jalonke) and the neighboring Gur languages (for example, Supyire, Ditammari), as well as in some creoles formed under the substratal influence from these

15. 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 (vii) below are distinguished by the presence or absence of a pause.

(vii) Buaya tengok aku tadi.
alligator see 1SG just.now
(a) 'An alligator saw 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.

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 *u fɛ̀* 'by them' in (50b), while the object of (50a) *ɲɔ* '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
a. Ù bɛ ɲɔ̀ dan.
3PL PRS millet sow
'They sow millet.'
b. N̰ɔ̀ bɛ dan (u fɛ̃).
millet PRS sow 3PL POSTPOSITION
'Millet is sown (by them).' (Cobbinah and Lüpke 2012: [3]–[4])

We agree with Cobbinah and Lüpke (2012) 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 ways. 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 in 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 '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 is 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 argue that voice is not signaled 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 "covert voice" and showed that it is

16. 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" (2002:271). 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.

not restricted to just *kena* sentences in Malay, but it is also found in sentences with *ter-* in Malay, and many other languages also have it.

Arka and Kosmas (2005) present Manggarai data that show 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" (1990:27).

(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 (2012) 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 are more frequent than *kena* passives. Thus, *kena* passives, which we analyzed as involving passive syntax, count as passives under Haspelmath's criteria, too.[17] 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 (2012) 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.

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17. 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.

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