

***Kena* passives and unvoiced voice alternations**

Most previous studies on voice in Malay have focussed on the bare passive as in (1) and the morphological passive as in (2) (e.g. Soh 1998; Cole and Hermon 1998, 2008).

- (1) Dokumen itu sudah saya semak.
'I have already checked the document.'
- (2) Dokumen itu sudah **di**-semak oleh saya.
'The document has already been checked by me.'

However, other types of passives have been also recognised in the literature (Nik Safiah 1975; Arbak 1981; Abdul Hamid 1992; Nik Safiah et al. 1993). This paper examines one of them, namely the *kena* passive as in (3), which is often used in Colloquial Malay (cf. Chung 2005).

- (3) Pencuri itu **kena** tangkap oleh polis.
'The thief got arrested by the police.'

We show that the *kena* passive shares many characteristics with the morphological passive with *di*- (e.g. optionality of the agent phrase, optionality of *oleh* 'by', postverbal positioning of the theme/patient NP) and hence it is considered to be a passive "construction"; however, the morpheme *kena* is not a passive "marker".

This is because aside from the additional adversity meaning it conveys, *kena* differs from *di*- used in the morphological passive in one important respect. That is, unlike *di*-, *kena* may also occur in corresponding active sentences as illustrated by (4)-(5).

- (4) a. Passive: Kari ayam itu **di**-masak oleh Aminah.
'The chicken curry was cooked by Aminah.'
- b. Active: *Aminah **di**-masak kari ayam itu.
For: 'Aminah cooked the chicken curry.'
- (5) a. Passive: Penyeluk saku itu **kena** tangkap oleh polis.
'The pickpocket got arrested by the police.'
- b. Active: Polis **kena** tangkap penyeluk saku itu.
'The police got to arrest the pickpocket.'

We analyse sentences like (5a) and (5b) as involving null voice morphemes $\emptyset_{\text{PASS-}}$ and $\emptyset_{\text{ACT-}}$ (presumably the same ones as involved in the bare passive and the bare active), rather than regard *kena* as being homophonous adversative passive and active markers. We argue that *kena* is a modal auxiliary. Our claim is supported by the fact that *kena* can be followed by verbs in the morphological voices as in (6), which clearly shows that *kena* is independent of voice morphology.

- (6) a. Penyeluk saku itu **kena di**-tangkap oleh polis. (cf. (5a))
'The pickpocket got arrested by the police.'
- b. Polis **kena men**-(t)angkap penyeluk saku itu. (cf. (5b))
'The police got to arrest the pickpocket.'

Our description of *kena* passives is novel in that it relates *kena* in the *kena* passive with an apparently unrelated other use of the word, i.e. *kena* meaning 'have to', as a passive-active pair. Our analysis indicates that the use of null morphology in voice alternation, "unvoiced voice alternation" so to speak, is more prevalent in Malay than previously thought. It is probable that unvoiced voice alternation is also responsible for constructions with *ter*- because *ter*- may also occur in both passive and active sentences as in (7).

- (7) a. Passive: Lelaki itu **ter**-tangkap oleh polis.
'The man was mistakenly arrested by the police.'
- b. Active: Polis **ter**-tangkap lelaki itu.
'The police arrested the man by mistake.'

Then, it will turn out that Malay is not so different from Riau Indonesian as reported in Gil (2002), in which unvoiced voice alternation seems to be just more productive.