

VOICE IN BUGIS: AN RRG PERSPECTIVE

by

Douglas C. Laskowske  
Bachelor of Arts, Taylor University, 2011

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

August

2016

This thesis, submitted by Douglas Laskowske in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

---

James Roberts, Chairperson

---

Janet Allen, Committee member

---

Adam Baker, Committee member

---

,

---

,

This thesis is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

---

Dr. Grant McGimpsey  
Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

---

Date July 6, 2016

## PERMISSION

Title           Voice in Bugis: An RRG Perspective

Department   Linguistics

Degree        MA

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the chairperson of the department or the dean of the School of Graduate Studies. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this dissertation or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Name: Douglas Laskowske

Date: July 6, 2016

## CONTENTS

List of Figures . . . . .	vii
List of Tables . . . . .	viii
Abbreviations . . . . .	ix
Acknowledgments . . . . .	xi
Abstract . . . . .	xii
CHAPTER	
1. Introduction . . . . .	1
1.1. Bugis society and language . . . . .	3
1.2. Bugis clause-level syntax . . . . .	6
1.3. Past studies in Austronesian voice . . . . .	9
1.4. RRG and its application to symmetrical voice . . . . .	11
1.5. My research . . . . .	16
2. Undergoer Voice and Actor Voice . . . . .	19
2.1. Undergoer voice . . . . .	19
2.2. Actor voice . . . . .	21
2.2.1. The <i>m</i> - prefix . . . . .	24
2.2.2. The transitivity of AV . . . . .	25
2.2.2.1. Benefactives . . . . .	28
2.2.2.2. Semantic transitivity . . . . .	31

2.3. A symmetrical analysis . . . . .	32
2.4. Discourse functions of UV and AV . . . . .	37
2.5. The PSA in Bugis . . . . .	39
2.6. Irrealis constructions . . . . .	43
2.6.1. Negation . . . . .	44
2.6.2. Purpose clauses . . . . .	45
2.6.3. Future clauses . . . . .	46
2.6.4. Interrogatives . . . . .	46
3. Passive and Antipassive Voice . . . . .	48
3.1. Passive voice . . . . .	48
3.1.1. Contrasting UV and passive constructions . . . . .	51
3.1.2. Undergoer voice with indefinite actors . . . . .	52
3.1.3. Irrealis passives . . . . .	53
3.1.4. The <i>taC-</i> construction . . . . .	55
3.2. Antipassive voice . . . . .	56
3.2.1. Contrasting AV and antipassive constructions . . . . .	62
3.2.2. Semantic properties of the antipassive . . . . .	63
3.2.3. The <i>maC-</i> prefix . . . . .	67
4. Alternative Analyses . . . . .	70
4.1. Semitransitivity . . . . .	70
4.1.1. Jukes on semitransitivity . . . . .	70
4.1.2. A core index . . . . .	72
4.1.3. Summary . . . . .	74
4.2. A focus system . . . . .	75

5. Related Languages . . . . .	79
5.1. Makasar . . . . .	79
5.2. Coastal Konjo . . . . .	81
5.3. Seko Padang . . . . .	83
6. Summary and Conclusion . . . . .	87
Appendix A <i>Cuppang-cuppang Kapuru</i> ' "The Wrinkled Old Toad" . . . . .	90
References . . . . .	97

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Bugis people of South Sulawesi . . . . .	4

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Pronominal forms in Bugis . . . . .	7
2. Case and position of constituents in English . . . . .	13
3. PSA defaults in accusative and ergative systems . . . . .	14
4. Syntactic treatment of actor and undergoer arguments in each of the four voices	17
5. Frequency of clauses in the folktale <i>Cuppang-cuppang kapuru'</i> . . . . .	38
6. Case marking for macrorole arguments . . . . .	39
7. Core index for Bugis . . . . .	73
8. Characteristics of voices in Seko Padang . . . . .	85
9. Syntactic characteristics of each of the four voices . . . . .	87
10. Discourse functions of the four voices in Bugis . . . . .	88

## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolutive
ANTIP	antipassive
AV	actor voice
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COMPL	completive
DEF	definite
DET	determiner
DIST	distal
ERG	ergative
EXIST	existential
FAM	familiar
FUT	future
INCOMP	incompletive
INTR	intransitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negation, negative
NVOL	non-volitional
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
POL	polite

POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
Q	question particle/marker
REAL	realis
REL	relative
SG	singular
STAT	stative
TR	transitive
UV	undergoer voice

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for their contributions to the research and writing of this thesis: Pak Husain, my primary language informant, who hosted me for the weeks of my research in the village of Pacongkang and patiently responded to hundreds of questions, provided sentences during elicitation sessions, and helped me clean up my dictionary; his wife, Tante Muli', who is a wonderful cook; the townsfolk of Pacongkang, for helping me with my language study; Sam Gill, for providing me with language data over Skype and email after I returned to the U.S.; Mama Mila and her family, for hosting me during the thesis revision process in Soppeng, and providing further input as Bugis speakers; my thesis committee (including former members): James Roberts (chair), for his patience and pride in my work, Adam Baker, for his meticulousness, Janet Allen, for helping me choose a thesis topic and advocating for me in RRG circles, Stephen Marlett and Robert Fried, for their oversight, feedback and corrections; my parents, Tom and Kathy Laskowske, for providing the Seko Padang data and for giving valuable proofreading input; Barbara Friberg, for supplying me with the Konjo data as well as articles on Makasar that are rather difficult to obtain; Paul Kroeger, for his valuable input and expertise on Austronesian voice; my aunt Virginia Trogen for her proofreading; Anna Kimmel from the UND writing center for her encouraging input; Davis Prickett, Kevin Cline, Andrew Lamicela, Aidan Aannestad, and Larinda Matson for their comments as peer readers; Keith Slater and Dianne Parkhurst, for their helpfulness in arranging the defense; and all the linguistics faculty and staff of the University of North Dakota who contributed to my education and enabled me to conduct this research successfully. I thank God for enabling me to write this thesis. As for the shortcomings and any remaining errors in this thesis, they are of course my own responsibility.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis describes the voice system of Bugis (also known as Buginese), a Western Austronesian language of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Using Role and Reference Grammar as a theoretical framework, I analyze the Bugis voice system as symmetrical in the sense of Arka (2003), with two distinct transitive constructions: actor voice, in which the actor is the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) and undergoer voice, in which the undergoer is the PSA. This contrasts with previous analyses, which have classified Bugis as lacking a symmetrical voice system (Hanson 2003; Jukes 2006). The choice between the two transitive voices in Bugis is determined by the definiteness of the undergoer. Essentially, a transitive clause with a definite undergoer appears in undergoer voice, while a transitive clause with an indefinite undergoer appears in actor voice. In addition, I describe passive and antipassive constructions in Bugis, which are defined in terms of syntactic demotion (rather than promotion) of their actor and undergoer arguments. I make reference to the discourse functions of each of the four voices throughout the presentation.

# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

This paper examines the voice system of Bugis,<sup>1</sup> a member of the South Sulawesi subgroup in the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. The thesis is based on original field research carried out in Indonesia in 2014 and 2015. My analysis, which takes into account previous research on Austronesian languages, uses Role and Reference Grammar as a theoretical framework, and concludes that four separate grammatical voices are necessary to adequately describe the Bugis system. I shall argue that the Bugis voice system is *symmetrical* in the sense of Arka (2003), who defines a symmetrical voice system as one that features two distinct transitive constructions: one with the actor as grammatical subject, and the other with the undergoer as subject.<sup>2</sup> Grammatical voice is best known among English speakers by the distinction between active and passive voice. Other languages employ different distinctions in voice; for example, ergative systems most commonly feature antipassive voice. In each case, voice may be said to be a means of syntactically favoring certain constituents over others for the sake of discourse. For instance, the English passive gives special syntactic treatment to the undergoer argument, promoting it to subject and giving it prominence in the discourse, while demoting the actor to an optional oblique.

While many languages have two voices, or even three, I argue that Bugis exhibits a four-voice system. The four example sentences in (1) illustrate what I have identified as the four voices in Bugis. Central to this analysis is the presence of two distinct transitive constructions, one giving special prominence to the undergoer argument, also known as undergoer voice (1a), and the other giving special prominence to the actor argument,

---

<sup>1</sup> ISO 639-3 code [bug]. Also known as Buginese; the endonym is *Ogi* or *Ugi*.

<sup>2</sup> A different definition is used by Himmelmann (2005:112), who says that a voice system is symmetrical only if neither of the two transitive constructions is the "basic" or "default" voice.

also known as actor voice (1b). In addition, I identify both passive and antipassive constructions, shown in (1c) and (1d), respectively. As the default voice, undergoer voice (1a) is morphologically unmarked and is the only voice that marks both the actor and undergoer constituents on the verb (an ergative proclitic crossreferencing the actor, and an absolutive enclitic crossreferencing the undergoer). The other three voices are all morphologically marked (*m-* for actor voice, *i-* for passive, and *maC-* for antipassive), and each only crossreference one argument on the verb using an absolutive enclitic.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) a. Na= uno =i ula-é Popi. UNDERGOER VOICE  
 3ERG= kill =3ABS snake-DEF Popi  
 'Popi killed the snake.'
- b. M-uno =i ula Popi. ACTOR VOICE  
 AV-kill =3ABS snake Popi  
 'Popi killed a snake.'
- c. I-uno =i ula-é ku Popi. PASSIVE VOICE  
 PASS-kill =3ABS snake-DEF OBL Popi  
 'The snake was killed by Popi.'
- d. Mabb-uno ula =i Popi. ANTIPASSIVE VOICE  
 ANTIP-kill snake =3ABS Popi  
 'Popi was killing snakes.' (lit. 'Popi was snake-killing.')

One may note that in (1a) and (1c), the affected argument (*ula* "snake") is definite, while in (1b) and (1d), it is indefinite; this is a key difference, which shall be discussed further in subsequent chapters. The voices represented by (1a) and (1c) give prominence to the undergoer argument, while the voices represented by (1b) and (1d) give prominence to the actor argument. Also, the actor is syntactically most marginalized in (1c), while the patient argument is most marginalized in (1d).

One may also note that, in seeming opposition to the claim that both undergoer voice and actor voice are transitive constructions, while the undergoer voice construction in (1a) features two clitics on the verb *uno* "kill", the actor voice construction in (1b) features

<sup>3</sup> A brief note on the orthography used for Bugis examples throughout this paper: ⟨é⟩ represents the phoneme /e/, ⟨e⟩ represents the phoneme /i/, ⟨'⟩ represents a glottal stop, ⟨c⟩ represents the phoneme /tʃ/, ⟨j⟩ represents the phoneme /tʃ/, ⟨y⟩ represents the phoneme /j/, and ⟨ng⟩ represents the phoneme /ŋ/. All other symbols represent their corresponding IPA phonemes.

only one clitic on the verb. This begs an explanation, which is offered in chapter 2. The transitivity of actor voice clauses such as (1b) is largely seen through their contrast with antipassive voice clauses such as (1d), which involve noun incorporation, argued for in section 3.2.1.

In defense of the four-voice analysis, I shall provide evidence for the transitivity of actor voice and undergoer voice clauses (1a and 1b), as well as the intransitivity of passive and antipassive clauses (1c and 1d), and the relative prominence of actor and undergoer arguments in each construction. Before I enter a detailed description of the Bugis voice system, however, several introductions are in order. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to briefly describing the following elements, which together constitute the background for this thesis: Bugis society and language, Bugis clause-level syntax, past studies in Austronesian voice, Role and Reference Grammar, which is the theoretical framework for this thesis, and my own research process.

## **1.1 Bugis society and language**

The Bugis people number about five million (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015); they live mainly in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, as shown in Figure 1. The Bugis diet generally consists of rice, maize, fish, chicken, fruits, and vegetables.<sup>4</sup> Common cash crops include cocoa and cloves. The Bugis constitute the largest people group in Eastern Indonesia, and tend to be dominant in political and social spheres. At the time of writing this thesis, the vice president of Indonesia is Bugis. A seagoing people, the Bugis have mainly settled on the coastlines of Indonesia as they spread out from their homeland. In South Sulawesi, however, they live both on the coast and inland.

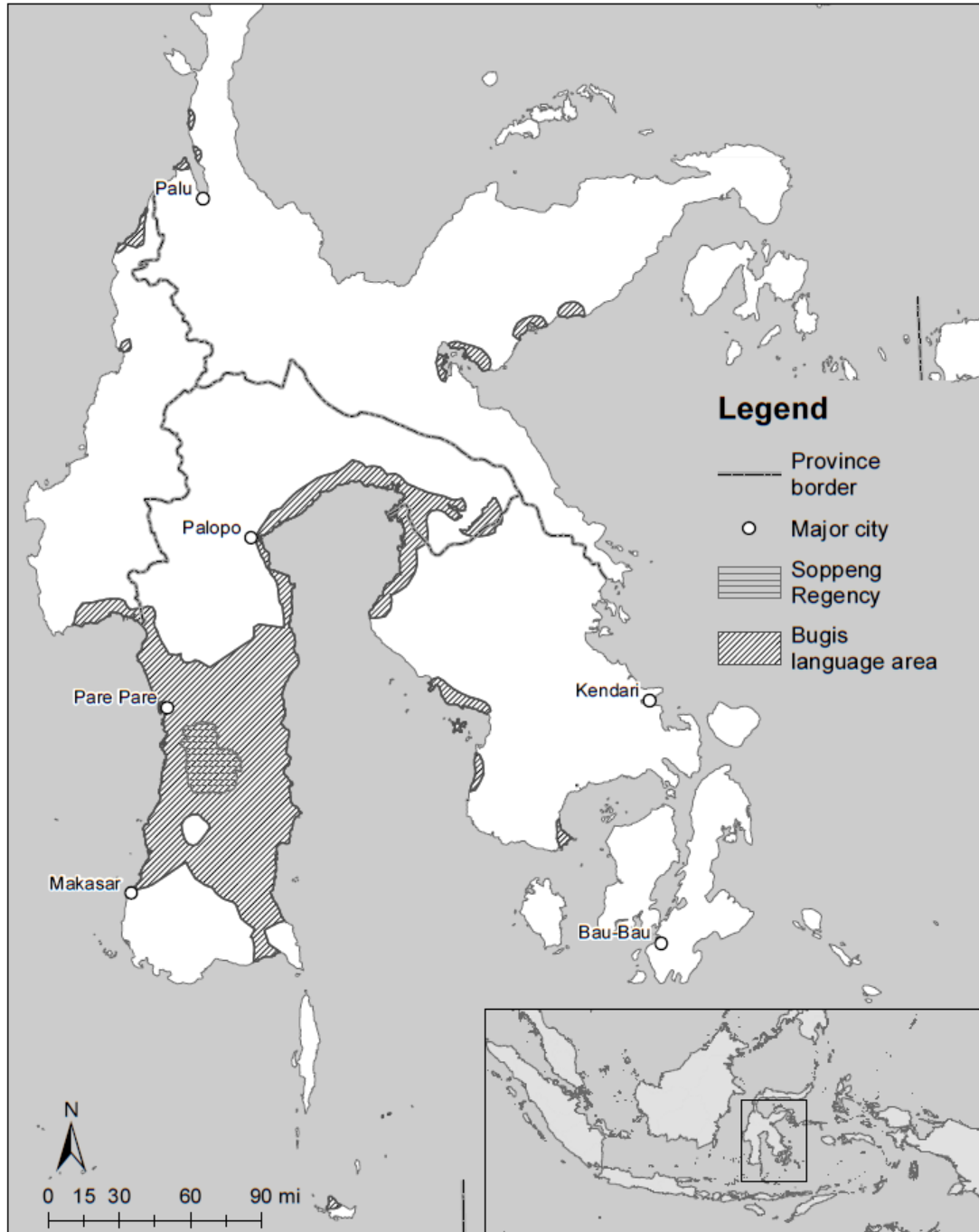
There are eleven major dialects of Bugis (Friberg and Friberg 1988:306); this thesis is based on the Soppeng dialect, which is arguably the most central of the Bugis dialects. As seen in Figure 1, Soppeng is bordered on all sides by other Bugis regions; for this reason it lacks contact with other local languages. In my initial studies of Bugis, I conducted a simple interdialectal survey focusing on mutual comprehension between dialects, and

---

<sup>4</sup> Uncited information in this section is based on personal knowledge and observation from having lived among the Bugis for about two years beginning in March 2013.

found that the Soppeng dialect was generally the best understood in other regions, and may be said to be a good representative of the Bugis language.

## Bugis Language Area, Sulawesi, Indonesia



Language Data from SIL International, © 2016.

Figure 1. The Bugis people of South Sulawesi

Before Indonesia's independence in 1945 or the Dutch colonial rule that preceded it, the Bugis were self-governing using a system of kingdoms and serfdom (Pelras 1996). The present-day regencies, including Soppeng, Bone, Wajo, Barru, and Sinjai, are basically delineated based on the territory of the most prominent kingdoms of the past. Culture and traditions dating back to the time of the kingdoms still run deep in society, and some families of royal descent maintain genealogies. Bugis culture is largely centered around the concept of social status (Millar 1989). In the past, this was primarily ascribed based on royal descent, but since the kingdoms have been dissolved, more and more people attain status through wealth and position. Successful entrepreneurs, as well as government officials and employees, including police, teachers, bank employees, doctors, and village council members, enjoy high social status.

Language use among the Bugis is vigorous in rural settings, but yields to bilingualism with Indonesian in the smaller cities, and is usually not passed on to the younger generation of families who move to the provincial capital. However, as the majority of the Bugis population continues to live in the rural setting, the language is in no danger of becoming extinct. The Bugis are highly literate in both their own language and Indonesian. They have had their own writing system, known as the *lontara'* script, for hundreds of years. Ancient Bugis literature includes one of the longest epics in history, the Galigo cycle (Pelras 1996:34). Since Indonesia's independence, this script has been replaced in everyday use by the Roman script, which I use in my transcriptions in accordance with modern Bugis orthography (Laskowske 2016). For a presentation of the history and development of the *lontara'* script, see Macknight (2014). For a fuller description of Bugis history and society, see Pelras (1996).

Quite a bit of linguistic research has already been conducted on Bugis. The earliest description of the language is a grammar written in Dutch by B.F. Matthes (1875). Later study was conducted by A.A. Cense, another Dutch linguist, in the 1930s. Notes from a lecture by Cense on Bugis grammar were included in a thesis by Noorduyn (1955), another Dutchman, and only recently translated into English (Macknight 2012). Russian linguist Ülo Sirk wrote a basic grammar of Bugis in 1975, published in English eight years later (Sirk 1983). Most recently, Hanson (2003) has written a doctoral dissertation describing

Bugis grammar. This dissertation is referenced frequently throughout this thesis. The Bugis voice system and the constructions I have identified as four distinct voices, however, are not discussed as such in these publications.

## 1.2 Bugis clause-level syntax

As part of the foundation for a discussion of the voice system, an introduction to Bugis clause-level syntax is in order.

Clauses in Bugis are verb-initial by default, as shown in (2). In this basic intransitive clause, the verb is *tudang* "sit," with the pronominal enclitic =*i* crossreferencing the third person actor *ambo'-ku* "my father."

- (2) *Tudang =i ambo'-ku.*  
*sit = 3ABS father-1SG.POSS*  
 'My father sat.'

Compare the basic intransitive clause in (2) with the transitive clauses in (3), which feature the verb *ita* "see." In the transitive clauses (3), the absolutive enclitic (= *i* in 3a, = *ka'* in 3b) refers to the undergoer, while the actor is indicated by a proclitic (*u=* in 3a, *na=* in 3b).

- (3) a. *U= ita =i ambo'-ku.*  
*1SG.ERG= see = 3ABS father-1SG.POSS*  
 'I saw my father.'
- b. *Na= ita =ka' ambo'-ku.*  
*3ERG= see = 1SG.ABS father-1SG.POSS*  
 'My father saw me.'

The fact that the undergoer of a transitive clause has the same case marking as the single argument of an intransitive clause demonstrates that Bugis is morphologically ergative. However, this is limited to realis constructions; irrealis constructions follow a nominative-accusative pattern, as described in section 2.6. In Bugis, irrealis constructions include negative, future, and purpose clauses, and some interrogatives. In addition to the case-marking system, Bugis also exhibits some syntactic ergativity, such as in the pattern of

definiteness constraints (see section 2.5). This syntactic ergativity is present in both realis and irrealis constructions.

Note from the examples in (3) that ergative pronouns appear as proclitics on the verb, while absolutive pronouns appear as enclitics. A complete set of basic pronominal forms is provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Pronominal forms in Bugis

	Free pronoun	Ergative	Absolutive	Possessive
<b>1SG</b>	ia'	u =	= ka'	= ku
<b>2f</b>	iko	mu =	= ko	= mu
<b>2h/1PL</b>	idi'	ta =	= ki'	= ta'
<b>3</b>	aléna (SG) / iaro taué (PL)	na =	= i	= na

Ordering of actor and undergoer constituents following the verb does not affect meaning, as shown in (4). In (4a), the actor precedes the undergoer, while in (4b), the undergoer precedes the actor. Therefore, in traditional typological terms, Bugis basic word order is VSO/VOS.

- (4) a. Na= baca =i ambo'-ku bo'-é.  
 3ERG= read =3ABS father-1SG.POSS book-DEF  
 'My father read the book.'
- b. Na= baca =i bo'-é ambo'-ku.  
 3ERG= read =3ABS book-DEF father-1SG.POSS  
 'My father read the book.'

The verb-initial ordering is part of a general pattern: Bugis syntax is basically head-initial. Adjectives follow the nouns they modify, as seen in (5).

- (5) U= ita =i bola loppo-é.  
 1SG.ERG= see =3ABS house large-DEF  
 'I see the large house.'

Relative clauses likewise follow the nouns they modify, as shown in (6).

- (6) M-elli =ka' waju ia i-balu'-é ku Takkalala.  
 AV-buy =1SG.ABS shirt REL PASS-sell-DEF PREP Takkalala  
 'I bought a shirt that was sold in Takkalala.'

One may also observe from (6) that *ku* "in" precedes its object, demonstrating that Bugis has prepositions rather than postpositions.

Second, Bugis clauses are typologically head-marking in the sense that case is not marked on NP constituents. Actor and undergoer constituents are marked on the verb as pronominal clitics, even if the full NPs they correspond to are not actually present in the clause. In (7), for example, repeated from (5) above, *u=* references the actor, while *=i* crossreferences the undergoer.<sup>5</sup>

- (7) U= ita =i bola loppo-é.  
 1SG.ERG= see =3ABS house large-DEF  
 'I see the large house.'

I follow Hanson (2003) and Jukes (2006)<sup>6</sup> in identifying these morphemes as clitics rather than affixes. Evidence for this analysis is found in the versatility of these prosodically dependent morphemes. For example, the absolutive enclitic follows any adverbs modifying the verb (such adverbs are syntactically incorporated into the verb; see section 3.2.1). This is portrayed in (8), where the enclitic *=i* follows the adverb *tongeng* "truly" rather than the verb *buang* "fall."

- (8) Buang tongeng =i ambo'-ku.  
 fall truly =3ABS father-1SG.POSS  
 'My father truly fell.'

Bugis also features a preverbal focus position, which may be occupied by either a full NP (9a) or a free-standing pronoun (9b, 9c). In either case, the fronted constituent no longer appears as a clitic on the verb. Note that the fronted constituent may be the undergoer (9a) or the actor (9b, 9c) argument of the clause.

<sup>5</sup> In identifying this system of pronominal marking as crossreferencing rather than verbal agreement, I follow Foley and Van Valin (1984:19), Hanson (2003), and Jukes (2006). Further justification for this choice of terminology may be found in Klamer (1998:61).

<sup>6</sup> Jukes (2006) writes on the closely-related neighboring language of Makasar, which has a nearly identical case-marking system.

- (9) a. Bo'-é      na =      baca ambo'-ku.  
 book-DEF 3ERG = read father-1SG.POSS  
 'My father read *the book*.'
- b. Aléna baca =i      bo'-é.  
 3SG read = 3ABS book-DEF  
 'He read the book.'
- c. Aléna tudang.  
 3SG sit  
 'He sat.'

Bugis is a "second position" language in the sense that the pronominal absolutive enclitic will follow whatever constituent occupies the first position in the sentence, be it a verb, preposition (10a), adverb (10b), or almost any other part of speech.<sup>7</sup>

- (10) a. Ku =ka'      pasa-é      melli balé.  
 OBL = 1SG.ABS market-DEF buy fish  
 'I bought some fish *at the market*.'
- b. Céddé' =ki'      buang polé motoro'-é!  
 almost = 2POL.ABS fall from motorcycle-DEF  
 'You (hon) almost fell off the motorcycle!'

### 1.3 Past studies in Austronesian voice

Up to this point, I have introduced Bugis society and language, including a brief overview of Bugis clause-level syntax. In order to appreciate where this presentation of the Bugis voice system fits into the conversation of Austronesian linguistics, however, it is also necessary to briefly review some of the relevant recent literature. This will enable the reader to understand the important precedents that set the stage for the concepts described in this thesis, as well as to appreciate the significance of my conclusions regarding the voice system of Bugis.

The subject of grammatical voice has been of high interest in Austronesian linguistics for quite some time. For example, Chung (1976) argued that a phenomenon she termed

<sup>7</sup> Second position is also known as the Wackernagel position, or 2P; this feature is also attested in neighboring languages (Jukes 2006:318).

Object Preposing in Indonesian constituted a passive construction distinct from the canonical passive; she challenged grammarians of her day to ensure their theoretical frameworks could account for two distinct passive constructions in a language (Chung 1976:88). Her well-presented argument centered around the fact that in Object Preposing, the undergoer was promoted to be the grammatical subject of the clause. However, the construction contrasted with the canonical passive in some significant ways. For example, while the agent in an Object Preposing construction was demoted to a non-subject, unlike the demoted agent of a canonical passive it was neither oblique nor omissible. Also, the verb in the Object Preposing clause remained semantically active while that of the canonical passive was semantically stative (Chung 1976:84).

Arka and Manning (1998) present a different analysis of the same phenomenon. They analyze the construction Chung called Object Preposing as a unique voice distinct from both the canonical passive and the traditional active voice. They termed this voice "Objective Voice" and called it an "ergative construction," claiming that it featured the undergoer argument as the grammatical subject, yet remained syntactically transitive. This analysis of the Indonesian/Malay voice system parallels that of Balinese presented by Wechsler and Arka (1998).

Balinese is one of the clearest and strongest examples of a language featuring a voice system with two distinct transitive constructions, one syntactically favoring the actor above the other constituents, and the other favoring the undergoer. The following Balinese clauses are included from Wechsler and Arka (1998:388), who use the term "grammatical subject" to refer to the syntactically favored constituent (regardless of semantic role). In (11a), the actor (*tiang* "I") is identified as the grammatical subject, while in (11b), the undergoer (*bawi-ne punika* "the pig") is the subject. The clause in (11a) is termed an *actor voice* or AV clause, while (11b) is referred to as an *undergoer voice* or UV clause.<sup>8</sup>

- (11) a. *Tiang numbas bawi-ne punika.* ACTOR VOICE  
           1       AV:buy pig-DET DIST  
           'I bought the pig.'

---

<sup>8</sup> Wechsler and Arka (1998) used the terms *agentive voice* and *objective voice* to refer to what later came to be known as actor voice and undergoer voice; I have edited the original glosses in (11) to match the more recent terminology of Arka (2003) and Himmelmann (2005).

- b. *Bawi-ne punika tumbas tiang.* UNDERGOER VOICE  
pig-DET DIST UV:buy 1  
'I bought the pig.'

Wechsler and Arka (1998) present evidence for their conclusions using a series of tests for grammatical subjecthood in Balinese. They also present evidence for the transitivity of both constructions. At first glance, some may consider (11b) above to be a passive. However, Wechsler and Arka present conclusive evidence against such an analysis, demonstrating that the actor constituent (*tiang* "I") remains a core argument of the clause and is not demoted to an oblique. Moreover, Balinese features a separate passive construction (Wechsler and Arka 1998:429). It is important to note that in the Balinese passive, the actor constituent is demoted to an optional by-phrase, in contrast with the UV construction exemplified by (11b) above.

A voice system featuring both actor voice and undergoer voice is known in Austronesian linguistic literature as a *symmetrical* voice system (Arka 2003, Himmelmann 2005).<sup>9</sup> Just as Wechsler and Arka (1998) argued for a symmetrical voice system in Balinese, I shall argue for a symmetrical analysis of the Bugis voice system. It is notable that while precedents have been set for a three-voice system (with actor voice, undergoer voice, and passive, as in Balinese), there are not many descriptions of a four-voice system (consisting of actor voice, undergoer voice, passive and antipassive).<sup>10</sup> Bugis is not the only language that can be analyzed this way, however, as shown in chapter 5. For further summary of recent literature on symmetrical voice, the interested reader is referred to Kroeger (2014:7-8).

#### 1.4 RRG and its application to symmetrical voice

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) is the theoretical framework employed in this thesis. It is therefore appropriate at this point to provide a basic orientation to those RRG concepts that shall play a significant role in describing the Bugis voice system.

---

<sup>9</sup> Writing on Philippine languages, Foley (1998) was apparently the first to use the term "symmetrical voice" in this sense.

<sup>10</sup> One such four-voice description is Allen (2014), which describes the voice system of Kankanaey, also from an RRG perspective. However, actor voice in Kankanaey is less than fully transitive, with oblique marking on the undergoer.

The first concept that must be introduced is that of *macroroles*. Much of the theoretical framework of RRG is built around the understanding that semantic roles may be generalized into two macroroles: actor and undergoer (Van Valin 2005:60-61). The actor macrorole subsumes roles such as agent, effector, perceiver, possessor, etc., while the undergoer macrorole subsumes roles such as patient, theme, stimulus, possessed, etc. This generalization is reflected in grammar, especially when dealing with voice. For example, only agents, effectors, perceivers, possessors, etc. can be the subject of an active clause, while only patients, themes, stimuli, things possessed, etc. can be the subject of a passive clause. Speaking in terms of macroroles, we can state that in an active English clause, the actor is subject and the undergoer is direct object, while in a passive, the undergoer is subject and the actor, if included, is oblique. It is in describing constructions like this that the concept of macroroles is so helpful.

It is also important to note that while there may be multiple obliques in a given clause, each clause will only feature at most one actor macrorole argument and one undergoer macrorole argument (Van Valin 2005:63). In clauses involving multiple undergoer-type arguments in addition to an actor macrorole argument, languages employ various means of determining which candidate will be selected as the undergoer macrorole argument.

Another foundational concept to the RRG framework is that of the "privileged syntactic argument of a grammatical construction," or the *PSA*. This is in fact the only grammatical relation posited by the RRG framework. The PSA corresponds most closely to the traditional concept of grammatical subject, although the two differ in some significant ways. As for the concepts of direct or indirect objects, they do not exist in RRG (Van Valin 2005:89). The main way the concept of a PSA differs from that of a grammatical subject is that a PSA is construction-specific rather than clause-specific. In other words, while the traditional concept of subject is limited to one per clause, there can be as many PSAs in a clause as there are grammatical constructions (2005:99). Furthermore, one may speak of "the PSA with regard to triggering verb agreement" or "the PSA with respect to the omitted argument" (2005:94); this shall be explained further below.

A PSA of a construction is defined as a restricted syntactic neutralization of semantic roles. That is to say, if various semantic roles demonstrate uniform syntactic behavior in a

given context, in contrast to the behavior of other semantic roles in the same context, those "neutralized" roles together constitute a PSA. An example in English is in the neutralization of S (sole argument of an intransitive clause),<sup>11</sup> A<sub>T</sub> (actor of a transitive clause), and U<sub>PASS</sub> (undergoer of a passive clause) with regard to case and position, as shown in (12a-12c). The fact that the third person pronoun in (12d) appears in a different case and position is conclusive evidence that the neutralization of case and position of the third person pronoun that takes place in the other contexts is restricted to those contexts.

- (12) a. He ran.  
 b. He kicked a ball.  
 c. He was hit by a bicycle.  
 d. I helped him.

From the third person pronouns in (12) we can generate Table 2.

Table 2. Case and position of constituents in English

LABEL	FUNCTION	CASE	POSITION
S	sole argument of intransitive clause	NOM	preverbal
A <sub>T</sub>	actor of transitive clause	NOM	preverbal
U <sub>PASS</sub>	undergoer of passive clause	NOM	preverbal
U <sub>T</sub>	undergoer of transitive clause	ACC	postverbal

From the examples in (12), as portrayed in Table 2, we see neutralization of S, A<sub>T</sub>, and U<sub>PASS</sub> in both case and position; they all appear as the pronoun "he" at the beginning of the clause. The fact that U<sub>T</sub> does not share these characteristics means that this neutralization is "restricted" to S, A<sub>T</sub>, and U<sub>PASS</sub>. Therefore the PSA with respect to case and position in these sentences is the set [S, A<sub>T</sub>, U<sub>PASS</sub>]. This particular set constitutes the PSA for most constructions in English. Indeed, this set is the typical neutralization pattern for the PSA

<sup>11</sup> Using S to indicate the sole argument of an intransitive clause in itself is a statement a neutralization of semantic roles, namely, that actor and undergoer macroroles behave the same syntactically as the sole arguments of an intransitive clause. It is important to note that while this is the case in English, Bugis, and the majority of the languages of the world, it is not universal; Acehnese represents an exception to this neutralization (Foley and Van Valin 1984:90-91).

of accusative languages in general, whereas the typical PSA in ergative systems is the set [S, U<sub>T</sub>, A<sub>ANTIP</sub>] (Van Valin 2005:97-100).<sup>12</sup>

Since a PSA is construction-specific, it is possible for different constructions to have different PSAs. However, Van Valin (2005:99) states that most languages feature the same PSA for most of their major syntactic constructions. In Bugis, a PSA is identifiable by the case-marking system, as well as by two syntactic behaviors unique to the absolutive constituent; these are described in section 2.5.

RRG uses the term *voice alternation* to describe a non-default grammatical voice, such as the English passive.<sup>13</sup> The definition of voice alternation is broken down into the following components, at least one of which must be fulfilled in order for a construction to exemplify a case of voice alternation (Van Valin 2005:116):

1. PSA modulation voice: permits an argument other than the default argument ... to function as the privileged syntactic argument.
2. Argument modulation voice: gives non-canonical realization to a macrorole argument.

The default PSAs referenced above are displayed in Table 3, taken from Van Valin (2005:100):

Table 3. PSA defaults in accusative and ergative systems

Syntactic system	Default choice for PSA	Choice for PSA requiring special construction
Accusative	Actor	Undergoer [Passive]
Ergative	Undergoer	Actor [Antipassive]

<sup>12</sup> Here, "A<sub>ANTIP</sub>" refers to the actor of an antipassive construction, which typically allows the actor in an ergative system to be selected as PSA (Van Valin 2005:98). Van Valin uses "d-S" ("derived-S," or "derived single core argument") to refer to either the undergoer of a passive clause, or the actor of an antipassive clause.

<sup>13</sup> A default grammatical voice is a basic transitive construction such as active voice in English. In the absence of a passive construction, there would be no need to even call a transitive construction "active voice." Therefore, the term "voice alternation" especially applies to non-default voices such as passive or antipassive.

In the RRG framework, the English passive is a voice alternation exhibiting both PSA modulation (because the undergoer rather than the actor is PSA) and argument modulation (because the actor appears as an oblique rather than a core argument). This is cross-linguistically characteristic of a canonical passive construction. Likewise, in a canonical antipassive, the actor is selected as PSA in an otherwise undergoer-oriented system and the undergoer is demoted to oblique. The rationale behind separating these two characteristics from one another is that certain constructions in some languages feature only one of these characteristics (Van Valin 2005:116). A good example of this is the Object Preposing passive construction in Indonesian, as described by Chung (1976), which involves PSA modulation but not argument modulation (because the actor remained a core argument).

Taking undergoer voice to be the basic voice in Bugis, the remaining three voices may be characterized in terms of PSA and argument modulation as follows: actor voice involves only PSA modulation,<sup>14</sup> passive voice involves only argument modulation, and antipassive voice involves both PSA and argument modulation.

Note that the notion of a direct object does not enter into the RRG conception of voice alternations. Rather, voice alternations in RRG are defined purely in terms of which macrorole argument (actor or undergoer) is selected as PSA, and whether the non-PSA argument is given "non-canonical realization" (i.e., is demoted to a non-term).

Given this framework, remember that a symmetrical voice system features two transitive constructions: actor voice, in which the actor is selected as PSA, and undergoer voice, in which the undergoer is selected as PSA. This makes symmetrical voice systems difficult to categorize as either accusative or ergative. In light of Table 3, actor voice is accusative in nature, while undergoer voice is ergative in nature. In other words, a symmetrical voice system is neither fully ergative nor fully accusative in nature. Thus, a basic neutralization pattern that one may expect as the PSA in a symmetrical voice system is (omitting, at this point, the possible derived single arguments afforded by passive and antipassive voices) [S, U<sub>U</sub>, A<sub>A</sub>], U<sub>U</sub> being the undergoer of a transitive clause in undergoer voice, and A<sub>A</sub> being the actor of a transitive clause in actor voice.

---

<sup>14</sup> Depending on the analysis, AV could also be said to involve argument modulation, in the sense that the undergoer is no longer crossreferenced on the verb. Here, I refrain from labeling this as argument modulation because (as I shall argue) the undergoer is not realized as oblique, neither is it omissible, as is indicated by the label "argument modulation voice" regarding the passive actor or the antipassive undergoer.

As for the intransitive voices, passive constructions are accusative in nature, whereas antipassive constructions are ergative in nature. Nevertheless, given the double nature of a symmetrical voice system, we should not be overly surprised to encounter both passive and antipassive constructions therein.

## 1.5 My research

Having set the background for this presentation, I include here a brief description of the research process. Before beginning research for this thesis, I had spent about a year studying Bugis while living in South Sulawesi in the Bugis homeland. During the course of academic study, I became familiar with the concept of symmetrical voice in the context of Austronesian linguistics, and with Role and Reference Grammar as a theoretical framework. Exploring options for writing a thesis on some aspect of Bugis grammar, I was able to tentatively identify four different grammatical voices, including passive and antipassive voice. I thus pursued my research in that vein, and was able to conclude that Bugis indeed features a symmetrical voice system. In my research, I especially focused on the transitivity of the voices constituting the symmetrical alternation as opposed to the intransitivity of passive and antipassive voices. I also set out to study the syntactic characteristics of each voice, which included exploring the concept of a privileged syntactic argument (PSA) in Bugis.

I conducted research for this thesis from October 2014 to April 2015, collecting data in the district of Soppeng in South Sulawesi, in the town of Pacongkang. As a result, the data presented in this thesis is taken from the Soppeng dialect of Bugis, the same dialect described by Hanson (2003). My research on the Bugis voice system consisted of three main stages. First, I familiarized myself with existing literature on symmetrical voice systems in Austronesian languages. The most notable symmetrical voice systems I looked at were those of Balinese (Wechsler and Arka 1998), Indonesian/Malay (Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008), Sama (Walton 1986), Acehnese (Legate 2012), and West Coast Bajau (Miller 2007). Second, I recorded a series of texts, about twenty in number, focusing on the behavior of clauses potentially identifiable as actor voice and undergoer voice, passive and antipassive. Third, together with my primary language consultant, Pak Husain, I examined these

clauses and sought to establish bounds of grammaticality for features such as definiteness, the use of prepositional phrases, and noun incorporation. I especially explored two important syntactic distinctions: the distinction between the privileged syntactic argument of a clause and other constituents, and the distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses, especially the distinction between actor voice and antipassive constructions. The examples in this paper are generally taken from various texts that I recorded during my research. The texts ranged from five to fifteen minutes in spoken duration, including personal narratives, sermons, and elicited sentences. This was supplemented by numerous personal conversations that took place over the course of about two years living among the Bugis people.

As a summary of the facts behind my analysis, Table 4 lists the basic properties of each of the four voices, especially in their syntactic treatment of undergoer and actor macrorole arguments.

Table 4. Syntactic treatment of actor and undergoer arguments in each of the four voices

	Actor is...	Undergoer is...	See example
<b>Undergoer voice</b>	ergative case, obligatory	absolutive case, obligatory	(1a)
<b>Actor voice</b>	absolutive case, obligatory	not marked for case, obligatory	(1b)
<b>Passive</b>	oblique, optional	absolutive case, obligatory	(1c)
<b>Antipassive</b>	absolutive case, obligatory	oblique, optional	(1d)

Definiteness and referentiality of the undergoer are two properties that are integral to determining which of the four voices is used for a given clause. The undergoer constituents in the following English examples illustrate contrast in these properties.<sup>15</sup>

- (13) a. *I fought the bull.* (definite)  
 b. *I fought a bull.* (indefinite, referential)  
 c. *I was bull-fighting.* (nonreferential)

Definite constituents form a subset of referential constituents: all definite constituents are referential, and all nonreferential constituents are indefinite. Generally speaking, for Bugis clauses with definite undergoers (as in 13a), either undergoer voice or passive voice

<sup>15</sup> Thanks to Adam Baker for providing these examples.

is used; for clauses with indefinite, referential undergoers, actor voice is used (as in 13b); for clauses with nonreferential undergoers, antipassive voice is used (as in 13c). Minor variations to these generalizations are explained in the coming chapters.

An outline of the remainder of this thesis is as follows: In chapter 2, the two transitive voices (undergoer voice and actor voice) are presented along with evidence for a symmetrical voice system. Then in chapter 3, the two intransitive voices (passive and antipassive) are presented and contrasted with their transitive counterparts. In chapter 4, alternative analyses are discussed, namely Jukes' (2006, 2013) "semitransitive" analysis of AV clauses and the concept of a "focus" system (Hanson 2003). Then in chapter 5, data is presented from a symmetrical analysis perspective on a few languages closely related to Bugis, namely Makasar, Coastal Konjo, and Seko Padang. Finally, a brief summary and conclusion are found in chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 2

### Undergoer Voice and Actor Voice

In this chapter, I present the two distinct transitive constructions that comprise the symmetrical voice alternation in Bugis: undergoer voice, presented in section 2.1, and actor voice, presented in section 2.2.

#### 2.1 Undergoer voice

A basic transitive construction, or default voice, has been identified in Bugis (Hanson 2003:139-140); this construction is exemplified in (14).

- (14) U=            ita =i        ula-é.  
1SG.ERG= see =3ABS snake-DEF  
'I saw the snake.'

I refer to this construction as *undergoer voice*.<sup>1</sup> Undergoer voice is the basic voice in Bugis in the sense that it is overwhelmingly more used than any other voice. In the folktale in appendix A, for example, 22 out of 25 transitive clauses are undergoer voice. Undergoer voice is morphologically unmarked; there is no undergoer voice prefix. This contrasts with the other three voices in Bugis: *m*-prefixed actor voice (see section 2.2), *i*-prefixed passive voice (see section 3.1), and *maC*-prefixed antipassive voice (see section 3.2). I see no reason to posit a zero morpheme  $\emptyset$ - on undergoer voice verbs. Note from (14) that in undergoer voice, the actor is referenced using the ergative proclitic (here, *u=*), while the undergoer is crossreferenced with the absolutive enclitic (here, *=i*).

As stated in section 1.2, Bugis is ergative with regard to its system of pronominal clitics. While in accusative systems the actor is the privileged syntactic argument (PSA)

---

<sup>1</sup> Others have labeled this construction a "simple transitive" (Sirk 1983:67) or an "ergative construction" (Hanson 2003:142ff).

of transitive clauses, in ergative systems, it is the undergoer that is the PSA of transitive clauses (Foley and Van Valin 1984:100). Applying this to Bugis, in (14), it is *ula-é* "the snake" rather than the first person actor that is the PSA. At this point, we may identify it as PSA specifically with regard to the case marking system; section 2.5 explains how the absolutive argument is PSA in other regards as well. The reason that clauses like (14) are called "undergoer voice" is because it is the undergoer rather than the actor that is the syntactically favored argument of the clause (Foley 1998, Arka 2003, Himmelmann 2005).

The undergoer of a UV clause must be definite, such as *bo'-é* "the book" in (15a). Attempting to make the undergoer of (15a) indefinite results in an ungrammatical construction, as shown in (15b).

- (15) a. U=             *baca =i        bo'-é.*  
           1SG.ERG= read =3ABS book-DEF  
           'I read the book.'
- b. \* U=             *baca =i        bo'.*  
           1SG.ERG= read =3ABS book  
           ('I read a book.')

Since the undergoer of a UV clause must be definite, it is necessary to examine more closely what constitutes definiteness in Bugis grammar and discourse. A **definite** NP in this context refers to one of the following:

1. Someone or something assumed by the speaker to be identifiable by the hearer, whether previously established in the discourse, obvious from context, or a unique referent (e.g. "the sun"),
2. A general class of objects, or
3. An object of a preposition, which must be definite, even when it does not fit either (1) or (2).

With regard to syntactic definiteness constraints in Bugis, the following NPs behave as definite: NPs marked with the definite suffix *-é*, proper nouns, pronouns, and NPs with possessive suffixes.

The exception to the definiteness rule is that the undergoer of a UV clause may be indefinite if it is fronted for focus, as shown in (16). Fronting in this manner typically indicates narrow or contrastive focus, but may also mark new information in the discourse. As described in section 1.2, the fronted constituent (in this case, *bo'* "a book") is not crossreferenced on the verb.

- (16) *Bo' na= baca tau-é.*  
 book 3ERG= read people-DEF  
 'The people read *a book*.'

In the absence of fronting, if the undergoer of a transitive clause is indefinite, a different type of construction must be used: namely, actor voice, which will be presented in section 2.2.

It is noteworthy that the actor of a UV clause may be either definite or indefinite. This construction plays a unique role in Bugis discourse, and shall be presented in section 3.1.2.

## 2.2 Actor voice

In contrast to the UV construction presented in section 2.1, if the undergoer argument of a transitive clause is indefinite, Bugis requires that a distinct construction be used, as seen in the examples in (17). I identify this construction as actor voice (AV). Notice that the verb *ita* "see" features no ergative clitic, only an absolutive clitic (=i) crossreferencing the actor.

- (17) a. *M-ita =ka' ula.*  
 AV-see = 1SG.ABS snake  
 'I saw a snake.'
- b. *M-ita =i Saénal ula.*  
 AV-see = 3ABS Saenal snake  
 'Saenal saw a snake.'

Just as the undergoer of a UV clause must be definite, the actor of an AV clause must be definite; this is reflected in the fact that it is Saenal rather than the snake that must be

understood as the actor in (17b). As is reflected in the gloss, the *m-* prefix in the verb *mita* "see" indicates that this is an AV clause; the functionality of this prefix is described fully in section 2.2.1.

As with UV clauses, the order of the constituents following the verb does not affect meaning. Attempting to make the actor constituent indefinite results in an ungrammatical construction, as seen in (18b).

- (18) a. *M-ita =i ula-é balawo.*  
 AV-see =3ABS snake-DEF mouse  
 'The snake saw a mouse.'
- b. \* *M-ita =i ula balawo.*  
 AV-see =3ABS snake mouse  
 ('A snake saw a mouse.')

Just as is the case with the undergoer of a UV clause, the exception to the definiteness rule for the actor of an AV clause is when it is fronted, as in (19).

- (19) *Ula m-ita balawo.*  
 snake AV-see mouse  
 'A *snake* saw a mouse.'

From the behavior of AV clauses with regard to the case-marking system and definiteness constraints, it is the actor rather than the undergoer that is identifiable as the privileged syntactic argument (PSA). In this regard, AV clauses follow an accusative pattern: it is the actor rather than the undergoer that patterns after the single argument of intransitive clauses. However, since the forms of the pronominal enclitics used in AV constructions are the same as those of UV constructions, and since undergoer voice is the unmarked, basic voice, I continue to use the label "absolutive" for the case-marking in AV constructions.

It is helpful at this point to examine the differences between AV and UV clauses. Compare the examples in (17) to the corresponding examples in (20), repeated again from (14).

- (20) a. U=            ita =i        ula-é.  
           1SG.ERG= see =3ABS snake-DEF  
           'I saw the snake.'
- b. Na=        ita =i        Saénal ula-é.  
           3ERG= see =3ABS Saenal snake-DEF  
           'Saenal saw the snake.'

There are two main syntactic differences between AV constructions as in (17) and UV constructions as in (20). First, in the AV clauses in (17), the absolutive enclitic is used to refer to the actor, whereas in the UV clauses in (20), it is the ergative proclitic that refers to the actor. Second, in the AV clause (17), the undergoer (*ula* "snake") is not crossreferenced by a clitic, while in the UV clause (20), the undergoer is crossreferenced by the absolutive enclitic =*i*.

Unlike the undergoer of a UV clause, which must be definite (in absence of fronting), attempting to make the undergoer of an AV clause definite results in an ungrammatical construction, as shown in (21).

- (21) \* M-ita =ka'        ula-é.  
           AV-see =1SG.ABS snake-DEF  
           ('I saw the snake.')

The undergoer of AV constructions, like *ula* "a snake" in (17), while indefinite, must still be referential in the sense of Cooreman (1994): it is an individuated participant or object in the discourse, as opposed to a generic, unindividuated entity.<sup>2</sup> Referential NPs are more prominent in Bugis discourse than nonreferential NPs in the sense that once introduced, referential NPs can be further manipulated in subsequent discourse, while nonreferential NPs cannot.<sup>3</sup>

Undergoers of AV clauses cannot be fronted. First of all, the result of such an attempt would be indistinguishable from a UV clause with a fronted actor. Consider (22b), which represents an attempt to front the undergoer *ula* "snake" of the AV clause (22a) (repeated from (17b) above). We are forced to reinterpret (22b) as a UV clause, in which *ula* "snake"

<sup>2</sup> Nonreferential undergoer-type arguments, in contrast with AV constructions, must be expressed using the antipassive (see section 3.2).

<sup>3</sup> The categories "referential" and "non-referential" as I use them here are also called "manipulable" and "non-manipulable" (Hopper and Thompson 1984:711).

is now the actor and *Saéna* is the undergoer. The *m-* prefix here is no longer an indicator of actor voice, but of realis mood, as is explained in the coming section.

- (22) a. *M-ita =i Saéna ula.*  
 AV-see =3ABS Saenal snake  
 'Saenal saw a snake.'
- b. *Ula mita =i Saéna.*  
 snake see =3ABS Saenal  
 'A snake saw Saenal.' (not 'Saenal saw a snake.')

Since indefinite undergoers of UV clauses can be fronted, and UV is the default/basic voice, UV rather than AV must be used for transitive clauses with fronted indefinite undergoers. So, to front the undergoer *ula* "snake" of (17), the UV clause (23) must be used.

- (23) *Ula na = ita Saéna.*  
 snake 3ERG = see Saenal  
 'Saenal saw a snake.'

### 2.2.1 The *m-* prefix

The verb in (24), repeated from (17) above, consists of the root *ita* "see" and the *m-* prefix, which here indicates actor voice (AV).

- (24) *M-ita =i Saéna ula.*  
 AV-see =3ABS Saenal snake  
 'Saenal saw a snake.'

The *m-* prefix only appears on vowel-initial verbs. Historically, however, the *m-* prefix in Bugis seems to have also appeared on consonant-initial verbs, which is now only evidenced through rather archaic forms such as *nrengngeng* (from *rengngeng* "hunt") or *mpuno*, from *wuno*, an archaic form of *uno* "kill."

The *m-* prefix in Bugis roughly parallels that of many other western Austronesian languages, including the *N-* prefix in Balinese (Wechsler and Arka 1998:388), West Coast Bajau (Miller 2007:129), and Sama (Walton 1986:108), and the *aN-* prefix in Konjo (Friberg 1991:107) and *aN(N)-* Makassarese (Jukes 2006:251). However, while the prefix often

indicates actor voice in Bugis, in certain circumstances, it may also appear on clauses that are not actor voice. To be precise, the *m-* prefix appears on all vowel-initial verbs in realis constructions that lack an ergative proclitic. There are three cases where the *m-* prefix appears that are clearly not AV constructions: clauses with only one argument as in (25), subordinate UV clauses as in (26), and UV clauses with fronted actors, as in (27).<sup>4</sup> To this point, I have been leaving the *m-* prefix unglossed in these three cases. Because the *m-* prefix is an indication of realis mood in these cases, I will henceforth gloss it as "REAL" in these cases rather than glossing it differently in each case.

(25) *Ku =ka' Soppéng m-onro.*  
 PREP = 1SG.ABS Soppeng REAL-stay  
 'I live in Soppeng.'

(26) *U= ita =i m-anré =i béppa-é.*  
 1SG.ERG= see = 3ABS REAL-eat = 3ABS cake-DEF  
 'I saw her eat the cake.'

(27) *Ia' m-anré =i otti-mmu.*  
 1SG. REAL-eat = 3ABS banana-2FAM.POSS  
 'I ate your bananas.'

This diverse functionality of prefixes paralleling the *m-* prefix in Bugis is not new to the discussion of Austronesian voice system (see for example Walton 1986:68). In this paper, I focus on the particular function of this prefix as indicating actor voice, and for this purpose have chosen to gloss it as "AV" in such cases.

### 2.2.2 *The transitivity of AV*

The question of the transitivity of AV clauses depends on the status of this undergoer argument. If the undergoer of an AV clause is a core syntactic argument, then such clauses are transitive. If, on the other hand, it has been demoted to the point of no longer being a core syntactic argument, then AV clauses are intransitive. Evidence for the transitivity

<sup>4</sup> It is significant that there is a contrast in Makassarese between *aN-* (used in transitive clauses with fronted actors) and *aN(N)-* (Jukes 2006:243). The *aN(N)-* prefix, although not analyzed as a voice marker by Jukes, parallels the AV *m-* prefix in Bugis. This distinction in Makassarese, which is closely related to Bugis, may support analyzing the *m-* prefix in Bugis as distinct morphemes for each of its functions.

of AV clauses includes the obligatoriness of the undergoer, its lack of oblique marking, and the omission of crossreferencing clitics in fronting and in benefactive constructions (section 2.2.2.1). The concept of semantic transitivity (see section 2.2.2.2) also provides supporting evidence, demonstrating that being crossreferenced on the verb is not always required for core arguments.

The main argument against the transitivity of the AV construction stems from the fact that the undergoer is not crossreferenced with a pronominal clitic on the verb. Jukes (2006) raises this very question regarding a nearly identical construction in the neighboring language of Makasar<sup>5</sup> and chooses to label the construction "semitransitive"; this position is discussed in more detail in section 4.1.1.

Given the dominant frequency of UV clauses, which indeed features two clitics on the verb, crossreferencing both actor and undergoer, it is easy to look at AV clauses and think that something is missing. If undergoer voice is the standard for what a syntactically transitive clause looks like in Bugis, actor voice does not qualify. If the AV construction is evaluated in its own right, however, the undergoer of such a clause may be identified as a core syntactic argument despite the lack of crossreferencing. By this analysis, the undergoer of the AV construction remains a core syntactic argument of the clause, and the AV construction is syntactically transitive. It would then follow that the UV/AV alternation constitutes a symmetrical voice alternation in the sense of Arka (2003).

Let us examine in greater detail the evidence for a transitive analysis of AV clauses. First of all, the undergoer NP in AV clauses is not set off by a preposition and lacks oblique marking. It is also significant that the undergoer of an AV clause is an obligatory constituent; omitting the undergoer of an AV clause results in an ungrammatical construction, as shown in (28).

- (28) \* M-ita =ka'.  
AV-see = 1SG.ABS  
(I see.)

---

<sup>5</sup> ISO 639-3 code [mak]; also known as Makassarese.

It would be strange for an intransitive construction to require an undergoer constituent (in addition to the actor constituent). Therefore, the fact that the undergoer is obligatory in AV clauses is also evidence for a transitive analysis.

The author of the most significant recent publication on Bugis grammar, Hanson (2003) lends implicit support to the transitive analysis of AV clauses. He states that clauses with two indefinite NP arguments have a strict constituent ordering (actor-verb-undergoer), as shown below (Hanson 2003:62).

- (29) Pajjala peppé paggalung.  
 fisherman hit farmer  
 'A fisherman hit a farmer.'

Example (29) is actually an AV clause with a fronted actor (see 19 above). As usual, the fronted constituent is not crossreferenced on the verb. The same clause is shown in (30), but without fronting. However, this construction is ungrammatical due to the definiteness constraint on absolutive arguments. This definiteness constraint does not apply when the constituent is fronted, which is why the ordering seen in (29) is the required ordering.

- (30) \* Peppé =i pajjala paggalung.  
 hit =3ABS fisherman farmer  
 ('A fisherman hit a farmer.')

The observation to draw from (29) above is that Hanson (2003) identifies this as a transitive construction, despite the lack of crossreferencing clitics on the verb. The ergative clitic is absent by nature of the AV construction, and the absolutive clitic is absent because of fronting. If we begin with the assumption that crossreferencing is a requirement for constituents to be core arguments, we would have a total of zero arguments. Even if we make fronting an exception to the requirement, using this assumption, we are still left with only one core argument in (29). In other words, by identifying (29) as a transitive clause with two core arguments, Hanson (2003:62) rejects the assumption that constituents must be crossreferenced on the verb in order to be core arguments of the verb.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> RRG would further specify and identify these as "direct core arguments" as opposed to "oblique core arguments" (Van Valin 2005:7).

A transitive construction that does not crossreference both arguments on the verb (in a crossreferencing system comparable to Bugis) is not without precedent in Austronesian languages. Donohue (1999:53) presents *Tukang Besi* data that resemble AV and UV clauses in Bugis. The undergoer is crossreferenced in the clause corresponding to the UV clause in Bugis, but not in the clause corresponding to the AV clause in Bugis. Himmelmann (2005:136) comments on these clauses, identifying both as transitive, despite the fact that the undergoer of the one clause is not crossreferenced on the verb. This is further support for the position that crossreferencing should not be considered a requirement for transitivity.

### 2.2.2.1 Benefactives

I present the benefactive construction here because it lends further support to the transitive analysis of AV clauses. The benefactive construction is marked by the verbal benefactive suffix *-eng*; allomorphs of the suffix on vowel-final verbs are *-ngeng* and *-reng*, as seen in (31). The benefactive construction is ditransitive, and has three arguments, but only two can be crossreferenced on the verb. Therefore, being crossreferenced on the verb is not a requirement for syntactic arguments in Bugis. By extension, undergoers of AV clauses may be considered syntactic arguments despite the fact that they are not crossreferenced on the verb.

The benefactive construction, exemplified in (31), involves an actor constituent as well as two obligatory constituents with undergoer-type semantic roles. In (31a), these two undergoer-type constituents are a recipient (*ambo'na* "his father") and a theme (*doko'doko'é* "the package"). As illustrated in (31a) and (31b), meaning is unaffected by the respective ordering of the recipient and theme.

- (31) a. Na= tiwi-reng =i Saénal ambo'-na iaro doko'doko'-é.  
 3ERG= carry-BEN =3ABS Saenal father-3POSS that package-DEF  
 'Saenal brought his father that package.'
- b. Na= tiwi-reng =i Saénal iaro doko'doko'-é ambo'-na.  
 3ERG= carry-BEN =3ABS Saenal that package-DEF father-3POSS  
 'Saenal brought his father that package.'

Based on the absence of oblique marking on the full NPs in these sentences, I hypothesize that these clauses are ditransitive, with a total of three core syntactic arguments each. Under this analysis, it is the benefactive suffix *-reng* that increases the valency of the transitive verb *tiwi* "carry (something)" to the ditransitive *tiwireng* "bring (someone something)."

Observe from (32) that the theme (*doko'doko'* "a package" in 32a) may be indefinite, while attempting to make the recipient indefinite (*tau* "a person" in 32a) results in an ungrammatical sentence.<sup>7</sup>

- (32) a. Na= tiwi-reng =i Saéna! ambo'-na doko'doko'.  
 3ERG= carry-BEN =3ABS Saenal father-3POSS package  
 'Saenal brought his father a package.'
- b. \* Na= tiwi-reng =i Saéna! tau iaro doko'doko'-é.  
 3ERG= carry-BEN =3ABS Saenal person that package-DEF  
 ('Saenal brought a person that package.')

Note that only one of the two undergoer-type arguments in the example sentences in (31) is crossreferenced on the verb as an pronominal enclitic; i.e., is the absolutive argument and therefore the PSA. In all other constructions in Bugis, in the absence of fronting, the absolutive argument must be definite. In light of this, the examples in (32) point to the recipient rather than the theme as being the PSA in such constructions, since only the recipient here is obligatorily definite. However, some ambiguity remains when both undergoer-type arguments are definite, such as in (31). In such cases, one test to clarify the referent of the enclitic is to front one of the arguments, as seen in (33). In (33a) and (33b), the recipient (*ambo'na* "his father") is fronted:

- (33) a. Ambo'-ku u= tiwi-reng iaro doko'doko'-é.  
 father-1SG.POSS 1SG.ERG= carry-BEN that package-DEF  
 'I brought *his father* that package.'
- b. \* Ambo'-ku u= tiwi-reng =i iaro doko'doko'-é.  
 father-1SG.POSS 1SG.ERG= carry-BEN =3ABS that package-DEF  
 ('I brought *his father* that package.')

<sup>7</sup> That is, in the absence of fronting.

As described in section 1.2, fronted constituents are not crossreferenced on the verb. If fronting a constituent results in the omission of the enclitic, one may conclude the enclitic referred to that constituent. Notice that the inclusion of the absolutive enclitic =i in (33b) results in an ungrammatical construction. The obligatory omission of the enclitic in (33a) provides clear evidence that in this sentence, it is the recipient (*ambo'na* "his father") that is the PSA, not the theme (*doko'doko'é* "the package").

In (34), it is the theme (*doko'doko'é* "the package") that is fronted. In (34a), the inclusion of the absolutive enclitic again indicates that the clitic refers to *ambo'na* "his father", and again the recipient is PSA. If the enclitic is omitted, however, as shown in (34b), the theme *doko'doko'é* "the package" is identified as the absolutive argument, i.e. is the PSA.

- (34) a. *Iaro doko'doko'é u= tiwi-reng =i ambo'-ku.*  
 that package-DEF 1SG.ERG= carry-BEN =3ABS father-1SG.POSS  
 'I brought my father *that package*.'
- b. *Iaro doko'doko'é u= tiwi-reng ambo'-ku.*  
 that package-DEF 1SG.ERG= carry-BEN father-1SG.POSS  
 'I brought my father *that package*.'

Overall, then, there is a tendency for the recipient of benefactive constructions to be the PSA, but it is possible for the theme to be the PSA in certain situations. This is confirmed when the benefactive is passivized, as shown in (35): either the theme or the beneficiary may be the PSA. Based on the omission of the absolutive enclitic, in (35a), the beneficiary may be identified as the PSA, while in (35b), the theme may be identified as the PSA.

- (35) a. *Ambo'-ku i= tiwi-reng iaro doko'doko'é.*  
 father-1SG.POSS PASS= carry-BEN that package-DEF  
 'My father was brought that package.'
- b. *Iaro doko'doko'é i= tiwi-reng ambo'-ku.*  
 that package-DEF PASS= carry-BEN father-1SG.POSS  
 'That package was brought to my father.'

The ability for both undergoer-type constituents to be the PSA of the passive construction constitutes further evidence for analyzing these verbs as ditransitive, with both undergoer-type arguments as core rather than oblique. However, only one of these undergoer-type arguments is ever crossreferenced on the verb. Therefore, unless one contests the syntactic status of these constituents as direct core arguments, one may conclude from these examples that not all direct core syntactic arguments are crossreferenced on the verb in Bugis. One might also ask, since in Bugis there are only two positions for crossreferencing clitics on the verb (the ergative position and the absolutive position), how could a third argument be crossreferenced? The most straightforward analysis is that being crossreferenced on the verb is not a requirement for core syntactic arguments in Bugis. By extension, the undergoer of an AV clause may also be considered a core syntactic argument even though it is not crossreferenced on the verb. In other words, the fact that the undergoer of an AV clause is not crossreferenced on the verb does not mean that the clause is intransitive. Rather, I propose that the undergoer is prevented from being crossreferenced on the verb because the enclitic slot on the verb is already occupied by the clitic crossreferencing the actor constituent.

#### 2.2.2.2 Semantic transitivity

Up till now, we have been primarily concerned with the *syntactic transitivity* of AV clauses, that is, the status of both actor and undergoer as core syntactic arguments of the clause. It may be helpful, however, to also consider the concept of *semantic transitivity* as set forth by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252). They list ten properties as being indicative of either high or low transitivity in a given verb: number of participants, kinesis, aspect (telic vs. atelic), punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode (realis vs. irrealis), agency, affectedness of the undergoer, and individuation. If AV clauses were not transitive, one would supposedly see a contrast in several of these properties, such that AV clauses would feature lower semantic transitivity than their UV counterparts. However, of all of these properties, individuation is the only one in which AV clauses exhibit a shift in meaning or semantic transitivity from their UV equivalents. The same verbs can be cast in either

construction, UV or AV, as we saw in (17) and (20), reincluded here for discussion purposes. For sake of review, (36) is an example of an AV clause, while (37) is an example of a UV clause. The only significant semantic difference between these examples (other than the identity of the actor constituent) is the definiteness of the undergoer; the same may be said of any UV/AV pair. In Hopper and Thompson's framework, indefinite constituents are less individuated than definite ones, with nonreferential constituents being the least individuated. The undergoer of the AV clause (36), *ula* "a snake," is indefinite and referential, so it is somewhat less individuated than the definite undergoer in the UV clause (36).

(36) *M-ita =i Saénal ula.*  
*AV-see = 3ABS Saenal snake*  
 'Saenal saw a snake.'

(37) *U= ita =i ula-é.*  
*1SG.ERG= see = 3ABS snake-DEF*  
 'I saw the snake.'

With only partial difference in only one of the ten properties of semantic transitivity from Hopper and Thompson's framework, AV clauses can be stated to exhibit hardly any contrast in semantic transitivity from UV clauses. In other words, when applied to the Bugis voice system, the concept of semantic transitivity is supporting evidence for a transitive analysis of the AV construction.

In summary, there is significant evidence, both syntactic and semantic, supporting a transitive analysis of AV clauses. Therefore, in the absence of strong counterevidence, AV clauses should be considered transitive.

### 2.3 A symmetrical analysis

As stated previously, the ergative case pattern of pronominal clitics is limited to realis UV clauses. In other words, only UV clauses feature both actor and undergoer arguments as pronominal clitics on the verb, as seen in (38).

(38) U=            ita =i        ula-é.  
 1SG.ERG= see =3ABS snake-DEF  
 'I saw the snake.'

As has also been presented, AV clauses behave differently. Only the actor is referenced on the verb, as seen in (39).

(39) M-ita    =ka'        ula.  
 AV-see =1SG.ABS snake  
 'I saw a snake.'

UV clauses such as (38) are uncontested in their transitivity; in the previous section I presented strong evidence for the transitivity of AV clauses as well, despite doubt on the part of some authors. As explained in section 1.4, symmetrical voice systems are by nature neither fully ergative nor fully accusative: the UV construction is by nature an ergative construction (with the undergoer argument patterning after the single argument of an intransitive clause), while the AV construction is by nature an accusative construction (with the actor argument patterning after the single argument of an intransitive clause).

Recently, typologies in Austronesian literature have begun to categorize the languages of Indonesia as either featuring or lacking a symmetrical voice system. Two such typologies are Arka (2003) and Himmelmann (2005). While their approaches are similar in many ways, these two typologies represent two competing definitions of symmetrical voice that have emerged since the publication of Foley (1998). The definition used in the present thesis is that of Arka (2003), namely that a symmetrical voice system is one that consists of two distinct transitive constructions: one with the actor as grammatical subject, and the other with the undergoer as subject (or, using RRG terminology, PSA). By my analysis of the transitivity of both the UV and AV constructions, Bugis clearly qualifies as a symmetrical voice language by Arka's definition.

A stricter definition is given by Himmelmann (2005:112), who says that a voice system is symmetrical only if neither of the two transitive constructions is the basic voice. Under Himmelmann's definition, Bugis is not a symmetrical voice language (Himmelmann 2005:114), since in Bugis, UV is the unmarked, basic transitive construction (Hanson

2003:139-140; also seen above, section 2.1). In this way, Bugis is comparable to *Tukang Besi*, presented by Donohue (2002), which is identified as symmetrical by Arka (2003:6-7), but not by Himmelmann (2005:137). Because Himmelmann uses the stricter definition of symmetrical voice, voice systems that are symmetrical in Himmelmann's typology form a subset of the symmetrical voice systems in Arka's typology.

A concern I have for the current conversation on symmetrical voice in Austronesian linguistics is that much of the literature neither makes reference to the difference between Arka's (2003) and Himmelman's (2005) definitions of symmetrical voice nor clarifies which of these definitions is being used. I fear misunderstanding is being perpetuated through ambiguity surrounding the term.

Among the voice systems of Indonesia that he identifies as symmetrical, Arka (2003) states that UV does tend to be the more basic voice, while acknowledging that not all the languages of Indonesia fit this generality:

Evidence from text statistics... shows that UV verbs are more frequently used than AV verbs, suggesting that the UV verbs are unmarked/basic. For example, Cooreman, Fox and Givón (1984) report that 166 out of 281 transitive clauses in Tagalog contain non-AV verbs (i.e. 59%) in contrast to 24% AV verbs. Norwood (2002) reports 193 out of 272 verbs in Karo Batak are in UV forms (71%) and only 63 are in AV forms (23%). And, Donohue (2002) reports that the frequency of UV verbs in *Tukang Besi* is around 70%. However, the evidence from other [Austronesian] languages of Nusantara [i.e., Indonesia] does not seem to support a strong U-orientation (Arka 2003:13).

In addition to its tendency to appear more frequently in discourse, the UV verb "is generally 'unmarked' (i.e. has no clear voice prefix) whereas the AV counterpart is marked by a prefix" (Arka 2003:12). In such cases, many argue for the presence of a zero prefix on the UV verb. Under this analysis, in the Balinese example (40), repeated from (11) above, the UV marker is a zero prefix on the verb *tumbas* "buy," while the AV marker is a nasal prefix (Arka 2009).

- (40) a. *Bawi-ne punika tumbas tiang.* UNDERGOER VOICE  
 pig-DET DIST UV:buy 1
- b. *Tiang numbas bawi-ne punika.* ACTOR VOICE  
 1 AV:buy pig-DET DIST  
 'I bought the pig.' (Arka 1998:10)

Himmelman (2005:135-136), in contrast to Arka, finds arguments for UV as typically being the basic voice in Indonesian symmetrical languages to be unsubstantial. That is to say, even in the voice systems that both Himmelmann and Arka agree are symmetrical, there is a measure of disagreement over the existence of a basic voice. I will not delve further into this controversy here; I merely present it as the context for the discussion of the Bugis voice system. As previously stated, I identify UV as the basic voice in Bugis. In light of the data from Arka (2003) above, UV being the basic voice in a symmetrical voice alternation is not new to the scene of Austronesian linguistics.

In support of the symmetrical analysis, I have already presented evidence for the syntactic transitivity of AV clauses in section 2.2.2, in response to the most significant argument against the symmetrical analysis, the lack of a clitic crossreferencing the undergoer of the AV clause. Another aspect of the Bugis voice system that seems to stand in opposition to the symmetrical analysis is the fact that the constituents of a given UV clause cannot be "remapped" to result in an AV clause, or vice versa. In other words, in contrast to the Balinese examples in (40a) and (40b) above, one cannot freely choose between actor voice or undergoer voice for any given transitive Bugis clause. If the undergoer is definite, one must use undergoer voice, and if the undergoer is indefinite, one must use actor voice. It is because of this restriction that Jukes (2006) calls the transitivity of the AV construction into question.<sup>8</sup> In defense of the idea that a voice alternation should not be so restricted, he states that "[v]oice is conventionally understood as being a means whereby the speaker can realign the mapping of participants onto grammatical functions in a clause" (Jukes 2006:270). Since the definiteness constraint prevents this in Bugis, some would question whether the distinction between what I have called UV and AV is not a voice alternation after all.

<sup>8</sup> Jukes (2006) is arguing against the transitivity of a construction in the neighboring language of Makasar which, for all practical purposes, is identical to the Bugis AV construction.

However, it is not unprecedented for definiteness constraints to affect the choice of voice in Austronesian languages. For example, Wechsler and Arka (1998:401-402) present the following example illustrating a definiteness constraint in Balinese. Namely, the actor of an Objective Voice (OV) clause must be a third-person pronominal clitic, a free pronoun, or an indefinite NP, as in (41).

- (41) I   Wayan gugut   cicing / \*cicinge ento  
       Art Wayan OV.bite dog   / dog       that  
       A/\*the dog bit Wayan.

They proceed to write the following regarding the Balinese symmetrical voice system, citing Foley and Van Valin (1984:139-140) and Kroeger (1993):

A full treatment of the definiteness restriction ... must await further research, but we will make some general remarks here. As in many of its Austronesian relatives, Balinese uses the subject (= pivot) position for discourse topics... One consequence is that these languages typically have important conditions on the distribution of definites; for example, Tagalog definite patient arguments must appear in nominative case, i.e., must be subjects (= 'pivots') (Wechsler and Arka 1998:401-402).<sup>9</sup>

Using Wechsler and Arka's terminology, much like the case with Tagalog, Bugis definite patient arguments must appear in absolutive case, i.e., must be subjects.

Definiteness also plays a central role in the Sama voice system, as described by Walton (1986). Walton uses the term "actor focus" rather "actor voice," but the phenomenon he describes is the same. He states that for Sama, "in actor focus constructions the undergoer is demoted from definite to indefinite and the verb is reduced in transitivity, with the potential for omitting the undergoer" (Walton 1986:106).<sup>10</sup>

Finally, even the Bugis passive, which is uncontestedly a voice alternation, features definiteness constraints: both actor (if present) and undergoer must be definite. The con-

<sup>9</sup> Wechsler and Arka use the terms "subject" and "pivot" here to refer to what is known in RRG terms as the PSA.

<sup>10</sup> Unlike the "actor focus" construction in Sama, the Bugis AV verb is not reduced in transitivity, and the undergoer may not be omitted. The omissibility of the undergoer in Sama reflects the fact that, unlike Bugis, Sama does not feature an actor voice/antipassive distinction.

sequences of these constraints on the use of undergoer and passive voice will be examined in section 3.1.

To summarize, the definite constraints involved in the UV/AV alternation do not really stand in opposition to the symmetrical analysis, since definiteness constraints are quite common in Austronesian voice oppositions. Perhaps a helpful way of looking at this issue is to remember that in any language, voice selection for a given clause does not take place independently of discourse motivation. Choice of voice is always motivated by discourse, and discourse is also what motivates expression of topicality and its correlating definiteness. What we might see as needless restriction on voice selection in Bugis may simply be a grammaticalization of a discourse tendency, to the point that there is no overlap in discourse function between different voices. Thus, the discourse status encapsulated by definiteness and referentiality of each constituent dictates the choice of voice for a given clause. It is also possible that diachronically, the specialization of the voices in the Bugis system evolved along these lines.<sup>11</sup> In other words, perhaps Bugis was historically like Balinese, in that UV and AV were once in free variation, but have now developed complementary distribution based on the definiteness factor.

In the remainder of this chapter, I describe the discourse functions of UV and AV clauses as well as the syntactic characteristics of the PSA in Bugis.

## **2.4 Discourse functions of UV and AV**

The topic of a UV clause is the undergoer argument by default, while the topic of an AV clause is the actor argument. Because of this, AV is only used when the actor has already been introduced to a discourse but the undergoer has not. When both actor and undergoer have already been introduced or are readily accessible in context, UV is used. The following examples illustrate this; they are selected from a Bugis folktale (included in appendix A).<sup>12</sup> The AV clause in (42) serves to introduce a minor participant in the discourse; this is a common function of AV clauses.

---

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to my thesis committee chair, James Roberts, for this suggestion.

<sup>12</sup> Recorded during a language session with Ibu Marhani, a language tutor, on August 14, 2013.

- (42) *Runtu' si =i pabbéngkung.*  
 meet again =3ABS hoe.user  
 'Again he met a farmer hoeing.' (lit. 'a hoer')

The second clause of (43), which is UV, illustrates how UV clauses are used when both actor and undergoer have already been introduced.

- (43) *Makk-ada =i cuppang-cuppang kapuru', na= sappa =i*  
 INTR-word =3ABS old.toad wrinkled 3ERG= look.for =3ABS  
*ana'dara-é.*  
 virgin-DEF  
 'The wrinkled old toad said he was looking for the virgins.'

Other than using actor voice, an intransitive construction may also be used to introduce participants; this construction is headed by the existential stative *engka*, as exemplified in (44). In the existential construction, the single argument (here, *cuppang-cuppang kapuru'* "wrinkled old toad") is not crossreferenced on the verb.

- (44) *Aga teppa engka tongen =na cuppang-cuppang kapuru'.*  
 then suddenly EXIST truly =COMPL old.toad wrinkled  
 'Then all of a sudden there really was a wrinkled old toad.'

Finally, since UV is the default voice used when all the participants of a transitive clause have already been introduced, UV clauses appear much more frequently in discourse than clauses of any other voice. In the folktale in appendix A, for example, disregarding the 63 simple intransitive clauses, 22 out of 35 clauses were UV clauses. The number of each type of clause is shown in Table 5.<sup>13</sup>

Table 5. Frequency of clauses in the folktale *Cuppang-cuppang kapuru'*

Clause	Number
Undergoer voice	22
Actor voice	3
Antipassive	3
Passive	5
Simple intransitive	63

<sup>13</sup> Simple intransitive clauses (i.e., clauses that are not one of the four voices) are not included in Table 5. Also, negated clauses are not included due to the neutralization of UV and AV that takes place in such clauses (see section 2.6.1).

## 2.5 The PSA in Bugis

As was explained in section 1.4, the concept of a privileged syntactic argument (PSA) is central to the discussion of a voice system from an RRG perspective. Since identifying a PSA largely depends on understanding the main constructions of a language, I have waited until presenting both undergoer voice and actor voice to present what I have identified as the PSA in Bugis for realis clauses. While realis clauses form an ergative-absolutive system, irrealis clauses form a nominative-accusative system, as described in section 2.6.

The basic pattern of the case of pronominal clitics in different types of realis clauses in Bugis is portrayed in Table 6.

Table 6. Case marking for macrorole arguments

LABEL	FUNCTION	CASE MARKING
S	sole argument of intransitive clause	absolutive
A <sub>U</sub>	actor of UV clause	ergative
U <sub>U</sub>	undergoer of UV clause	absolutive
A <sub>A</sub>	actor of AV clause	absolutive
U <sub>A</sub>	undergoer of AV clause	unmarked

As shown in Table 6, S, U<sub>U</sub>, and A<sub>A</sub> are all crossreferenced using the absolutive pronominal enclitic. In RRG terms, this particular set of semantic roles is *neutralized* with regard to case and position. It is this neutralization that qualifies the set [S, U<sub>U</sub>, A<sub>A</sub>] as the PSA in Bugis for this context. I propose that it is this exact set ([S, U<sub>U</sub>, A<sub>A</sub>]) that is the basic neutralization pattern of a symmetrical voice system, such as has been established for Balinese (Arka and Manning 1998), Acehnese (Legate 2012), West Coast Bajau (Miller 2007), and various dialects of Malay/Indonesian (Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008). Another way of stating this is to say that the basic set of semantic arguments that make up the PSA in symmetrical voice systems consists of the single argument of an intransitive clause, the actor of an AV clause, and the undergoer of a UV clause. Since AV clauses have been shown to be transitive, the fact that UV and AV clauses each select a different argument as PSA (undergoer for UV, and actor for AV) is in itself sufficient evidence for identifying this as an alternation in voice. Furthermore, given the transitivity of AV clauses, the fact

that the neutralization pattern for the PSA in Bugis matches that of symmetrical voice systems may likewise be considered sufficient evidence for classifying the Bugis voice system as symmetrical.

There are three behaviors that I have been able to identify as delineating a PSA in Bugis: pronominal case-marking, the definiteness constraint, and second position behavior. All three point to the absolutive argument of the construction as being PSA. Of these behaviors, the most visible is the case-marking system (Table 6). The second behavior common to all PSAs is the definiteness constraint: all PSAs are required to be definite, as shown in (45). Example (45a) portrays an intransitive clause, (45b) an AV clause, and (45c) a UV clause. In each case, the clause is ungrammatical if the absolutive argument is indefinite. Note from (45c) that the ergative argument, that is, the actor of a UV clause, may be either definite or indefinite.

- (45) a. *Mag-golo' =i anana'-é / \* anana'.*  
 INTR-ball =3ABS child-DEF / child  
 'The/\*some children play soccer.'
- b. *M-ita =i anana'-é / \* anana' ula.*  
 AV-see =3ABS child-DEF / child snake  
 'The/\*some children saw a snake.'
- c. *Na= uno =i anana'(-é) ula-é / \* ula.*  
 3ERG= kill =3ABS child(-DEF) snake-DEF / snake  
 '(The) children killed the/\*a snake.'

There is an exception to the definiteness constraint: a PSA that is fronted may be indefinite, as shown in (46). As stated in section 1.2, the fronted constituent is no longer crossreferenced on the verb.

- (46) a. *Anana' mag-golo'.*  
 child INTR-ball  
 'Children play soccer.'
- b. *Anana' m-ita ula.*  
 child AV-see snake  
 'Children saw a snake.'

- c. Ula na= uno anana'(-é)  
 snake 3ERG= kill child(-DEF)  
 '(The) children killed a snake.'

The third characteristic unique to PSAs is second position behavior, as shown in (47). More specifically, the clitic crossreferencing the privileged syntactic argument occupies the second position of the clause, in the sense that it follows whatever constituent begins the sentence, be it a verb, preposition, adverb, or almost any other part of speech. The examples in (47) all begin with prepositional phrases; it is interesting to note that the first constituent here is not the entire prepositional phrase, as one might expect, but the preposition itself. In these examples, (47a) demonstrates second position behavior with an intransitive clause, (47b) with an AV clause, and (47c) with a UV clause. Example (47d) demonstrates that the actor of a UV clause cannot exhibit second position behavior.

- (47) a. Ku =ka' Soppéng m-onro.  
 PREP = 1SG.ABS Soppeng REAL-stay  
 'I live in Soppeng.'
- b. Ku =i galung-é m-uno ula.  
 PREP = 3ABS rice.field-DEF AV-kill snake  
 'She killed a snake in the rice field.'
- c. Ku =ka' bola-é na= ita.  
 PREP = 1SG.ABS house-DEF 3ERG= see  
 'He saw me at the house.'
- d. \* Ku =na bola-é (m-)ita =ka'.  
 PREP = 3ERG house-DEF (REAL-)see = 1SG.ABS  
 (He saw me at the house.)

The conclusion to draw from these examples is that second position behavior is a privilege reserved for the PSA, which in Bugis is the absolutive enclitic, no matter what type of construction is used. Irrealis constructions, however, follow a different pattern for PSA; this is described in section 2.6.

A number of tests that serve to identify the PSA in other languages do not work for Bugis. For example, in both Balinese and Dyirbal, only the privileged syntactic argument may be relativized (Wechsler and Arka 1998:390, Foley and Van Valin 1984:112). In

Bugis, however, both ergative and absolutive arguments may be relativized, as shown in (48). In (48a), (48b), and (48c), the absolutive argument is relativized, while in (48d), the ergative argument is relativized. Examples (48a) and (48b) depict embedded intransitive and AV clauses respectively, while (48c) and (48d) depict embedded UV clauses. In the relative clauses, notice the omission of the absolutive enclitics in (48a), (48b), and (48c), and of the ergative proclitic in (48d).

- (48) a. U=            ita =i        tau-é        ia    lari.  
           1SG.ERG= see =3ABS person-DEF REL run  
           'I saw the person who ran.'
- b. U=            ita =i        tau-é        ia    pura m-uno ula.  
           1SG.ERG= see =3ABS person-DEF REL has AV-kill snake  
           'I saw the person who had killed a snake.'
- c. U=            ita =i        tau-é        ia    u=            babba.  
           1SG.ERG= see =3ABS person-DEF REL 1SG.ERG= hit  
           'I saw the person who I hit.'
- d. U=            ita =i        tau-é        ia    babba =ka'.  
           1SG.ERG= see =3ABS person-DEF REL hit        =1SG.ABS  
           'I saw the person who hit me.'

Likewise, while control of omitted arguments in embedded clauses limits the controllee (in RRG terms, "pivot") to a privileged syntactic argument in Indonesian (Chung 1976:64), Balinese (Wechsler and Arka 1998:396-397), and Dyirbal (Dixon 1979:128-129),<sup>14</sup> the same does not hold true for Bugis: either ergative or absolutive arguments may be the pivot in an embedded clause, as shown in (49). Once again, examples (49a) and (49b) depict embedded intransitive and AV clauses respectively, while (49c) and (49d) depict embedded UV clauses. In (49a), (49b), and (49c), the absolutive argument is being controlled, while in (49d), the ergative argument is being controlled.

- (49) a. Na=        suro =ka'        lari =\_\_.  
           3ERG= order =1SG.ABS run (=1SG.ABS)  
           'She told me to run.'

<sup>14</sup> This type of construction (control of omitted arguments) includes what others have referred to as Equi (Chung 1976:66; Kroeger 2004:288) and Subject-to-Object Raising (Chung 1976:64; Wechsler and Arka 1998:396).

- b. Na= suro =ka' babba =\_\_ tau.  
 3ERG= order =1SG.ABS hit (=1SG.ABS) person  
 'She told me to hit a person.'
- c. Na= ita =ka' na= babba =\_\_.  
 3ERG= see =1SG.ABS 3ERG= hit (=1SG.ABS)  
 'She saw him hit me.' (or 'She saw me be hit by him.')
- d. Na= ita =ka' \_\_= babba =i.  
 3ERG= see =1SG.ABS (1SG.ERG=) hit =3ABS  
 'She saw me hit him.'

Other tests for privileged syntactic arguments that are useful for other languages but not for Bugis include coordination reduction (cf. Dixon 1972:130-131) and the scope of adverbial modifiers (cf. Dixon 1972:118).

To summarize, then, the following features are characteristic of the PSA: 1) it is cross-referenced by an absolutive enclitic, 2) it must be definite, unless fronted, and 3) it exhibits second position behavior. It is possible that further investigation will lead to the discovery of more syntactic behaviors unique to the PSA in Bugis.

## 2.6 Irrealis constructions

Irrealis constructions in Bugis are not marked morphologically, but are identifiable by their unique case-marking pattern. While the basic neutralization pattern with respect to case-marking in Bugis described up to this point is [S, U<sub>U</sub>, A<sub>A</sub>], S being the single argument of an intransitive clause, U<sub>U</sub> being the undergoer of a UV clause, and A<sub>A</sub> being the actor of an AV clause, irrealis constructions exhibit a different pattern. The case-marking of irrealis clauses follows the pattern [S, A<sub>U</sub>, A<sub>A</sub>]; this is the pattern that defines nominative-accusative languages, in which the actors of both UV and AV clauses align with S in their case-marking. Simply put, single arguments in irrealis clauses appear in ergative rather than absolutive case. However, this is a relatively superficial difference, in the sense that the PSA remains the same for irrealis and realis constructions with respect to their respective optionality and definiteness requirements (see Table 4).

As pointed out by Mithun (1995:367), futures, questions, imperatives, and negatives show variation cross-linguistically as to whether they are treated as realis or irrealis. Irrealis constructions in Bugis, identified as a category of their own by their case patterning,

include negated clauses, purpose clauses, certain interrogative clauses, and future clauses. It is notable that in some of these cases the accusative-type PSA pattern is required, while in others it is merely preferred or permitted: it is required in negated and purpose clauses (sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2), but only preferred in future clauses (section 2.6.3). In interrogatives, either an ergative or accusative-type pattern is acceptable (section 2.6.4).

### 2.6.1 Negation

In negated clauses, marked with the negator *dé*, the single arguments (actor or undergoer) of intransitive clauses are crossreferenced by an ergative proclitic, as seen in (50). Notice that while the pronominal clitic crossreferencing to the third person argument of the intransitive verb in (50a) is absolutive (=i), it is ergative (*na=*) in the corresponding negated clause (50b).

- (50) a. Nangé =i Anhar.  
 swim =3ABS Anhar  
 'Anhar is swimming.'
- b. Dé na= nangé Anhar.  
 NEG 3ERG= swim Anhar  
 'Anhar is not swimming.'

Attempting to use the absolutive case to refer to the single argument of a negated intransitive clause results in an ungrammatical construction, as seen in (51).

- (51) \* Dé nangé =i Anhar.  
 NEG swim =3ABS Anhar  
 (Anhar is not swimming.)

This use of the ergative case for single arguments is also the behavior of negated AV clauses (52): the actor, which appears as an absolutive enclitic (=ko) in the non-negated clause (52a), appears as an ergative proclitic (*mu=*) in the negated clause (52b).

- (52) a. M-elli =ko waju.  
 AV-buy =2FAM.ABS shirt  
 'You (familiar) bought a shirt.'

- b. Dé mu= elli waju.  
 NEG 2FAM.ERG= buy shirt  
 'You (familiar) didn't buy a shirt.'

UV clauses show no contrast in the case-marking pattern of non-negated and negated clauses, as shown in (53a) and (53b), respectively.

- (53) a. U= elli =wi waju-é.  
 1SG.ERG= buy =3ABS shirt-DEF  
 'I bought the shirt.'
- b. Dé u= elli =wi waju-é.  
 NEG 1SG.ERG= buy =3ABS shirt-DEF  
 'I didn't buy the shirt.'

Because the pronominal clitic crossreferencing the actor of negated AV and UV clauses is in the same case as the single argument of negated intransitive clauses, the case-marking system for negated clauses may be said to follow a nominative-accusative pattern.

Prohibitives in Bugis are marked with *aja'* "don't!" and feature the same case-marking pattern as basic negated clauses, as portrayed in (54).

- (54) Aja' mu= lari!  
 don't 2FAM.ERG= run  
 'Don't run!'

### 2.6.2 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses follow the same case-marking pattern as negated clauses. Note that the pronominal clitic *u=* of the second clause in (55), which is intransitive, refers to the first person actor in the ergative rather than absolutive case.

- (55) Aléng =nga' dui' u= lésu matu'.  
 give =1SG.ABS money 1SG.ERG= return later  
 'Give me money that I might return later.'

It is noteworthy that the only encoding of the relationship between the two clauses in (55), namely that the second clause is to be interpreted as the purpose, is the ergative case of the pronominal clitic *u=*.

Whereas the subordinate clause in (55) is a simple intransitive, (56) illustrates the same behavior for a subordinate AV clause: the argument crossreferenced by the pronominal clitic is ergative rather than absolutive.

- (56) Aléng =nga'      kaing u=      jai waju.  
 give = 1SG.ABS cloth 1SG.ERG= sew shirt  
 'Give me cloth that I might sew a shirt.'

### 2.6.3 Future clauses

Following the same pattern as negated clauses and purpose clauses, future clauses feature sole pronominal clitics in the ergative rather than absolutive case, as seen in the examples in (57). In (57a), the future clause is *umaté* "until I die," while in (57b), the future clause is *ulésu* "I will return."

- (57) a. Dé =na      na=      ma-étta      u= maté.  
 NEG=COMPL 3ERG= STAT-long(time) 1SG.ERG= die  
 'It's already not long until I die.'
- b. Baja      =pi      u=      lésu.  
 tomorrow = 3ABS.INCMP 1SG.ERG= return  
 'I will return tomorrow.'

While the ergative case is preferred for the clitic referring to the single argument in clauses like (57), the absolutive case is also permissible, as shown in (58).

- (58) Dé =na      na= ma-étta      maté =ka'.  
 NEG=COMPL 3ERG= STAT-long(time) die = 1SG.ABS  
 'It's already not long until I die.'

### 2.6.4 Interrogatives

Interrogatives such as "why?" or "when?" that question entire clauses (as opposed to those that question certain constituents, such as "who?" or "what?") also follow the case-marking pattern described above.<sup>15</sup> The questioned clauses in (59a) and (59b) illustrate

<sup>15</sup> This does not include yes-no questions.

an intransitive clause and a stative clause, respectively. Once again, the clitic referring to the single argument of the clause appears in ergative rather than absolutive case.

- (59) a. Uppanna mu= lésu?  
 when.FUT 2FAM.ERG= return  
 'When will you return?'  
 b. Magai mu= ma-cai?  
 why 2FAM.ERG= STAT-anger  
 'Why are you angry?'

The pronoun referring to the single argument of the clause questioned in a "why?" construction, while ergative in (59b), may also appear in the absolutive case (60); neither case seems to be preferred over the other for such constructions.

- (60) Magai na= ma-cai =ki?  
 why 3ERG= STAT-anger =2POL.ABS  
 'Why are you angry?'

The third person pronoun *na=* in (60) is rather mysterious, as there is no clear referent. It is unlikely that it refers to the second person, since the absolutive enclitic already does this. The most likely analysis is that *na=* is an impersonal third person ergative dummy subject similar to those found in some negated passives (see section 3.1.3), comparable to the English question, "Why *is it* that you are angry?"

## CHAPTER 3

### Passive and Antipassive Voice

In addition to the two transitive constructions (UV and AV) which I have argued constitute a symmetrical alternation in voice, Bugis has two intransitive constructions derived from transitive clauses: passive and antipassive. In the following sections, I describe the syntax of these two constructions, as well as their semantic and pragmatic characteristics.

While it may seem unusual to have both passive and antipassive constructions in a single language, in one sense these constructions are also reflective of the hybrid nature of symmetrical voice. As explained in section 1.4, symmetrical voice systems are by nature neither fully ergative nor fully accusative. Generally speaking, AV and passive constructions are characteristic of nominative-accusative systems, while UV and antipassive constructions are characteristic of ergative-absolutive systems.

I will demonstrate that both passive and antipassive constructions in symmetrical voice systems involve demotion of an argument. Specifically, the passive demotes the actor of what would otherwise be a UV clause, while the antipassive demotes the undergoer of what would otherwise be an AV clause. Both the passive and antipassive constructions are syntactically intransitive, although they are headed by verbs derived from a transitive root.

#### 3.1 Passive voice

In addition to UV and AV clauses, Bugis also features a passive construction, which involves adding the passive prefix *i-* to a transitive verb.<sup>1</sup> Compare the "active" UV clause in (61a) to its corresponding passive clause in (61b). In both cases, the undergoer (*ajé-na* "his leg") is crossreferenced by the absolutive enclitic (= *i*) on the verb and is the PSA of

---

<sup>1</sup> When *i-* is prefixed to a verb beginning with *i*, an *r* is inserted epenthetically.

the construction. Unlike the UV clause (61a), however, which crossreferences the actor on the verb, in the passive clause (61b), the actor (*buaja-é* "the crocodile") is oblique, having been set off by the preposition *ku*, and is no longer a core syntactic argument. Passive actors are restricted to third person arguments.

- (61) a. Na= tikkeng =i ajé-na buaja-é.  
 3ERG= catch =3ABS leg-3POSS crocodile-DEF  
 'The crocodile caught his leg.'
- b. I-tikkeng =i ajé-na ku buaja-é.  
 PASS-catch =3ABS leg-3POSS OBL crocodile-DEF  
 'His leg was caught by the crocodile.'

By demoting the actor, more prominence is given to the effect of the action on the undergoer, as opposed to the enacting of that action by the actor.

Passive clauses may also omit the actor altogether, as in (62):

- (62) I-tikkeng =i ajé-na.  
 PASS-catch =3ABS leg-3POSS  
 'His leg was caught.'

Both undergoer and actor (if present) must be definite in a passive clause, as shown in (63), the exception being that the undergoer may be indefinite if fronted. In the following examples, the ungrammaticality of (63b) owes to the non-fronted undergoer *paggalung* "a farmer" being indefinite; the ungrammaticality of (63c) owes to the demoted actor *macang* "a tiger" being indefinite.

- (63) a. Ir-ita =i paggalung-é ku macang-é.  
 PASS-see =3ABS farmer-DEF OBL tiger-DEF  
 'The farmer was seen by the tiger.'
- b. \* Ir-ita =i paggalung ku macang-é.  
 PASS-see =3ABS farmer OBL tiger-DEF  
 (A farmer was seen by the tiger.)
- c. \* Ir-ita =i paggalung-é ku macang.  
 PASS-see =3ABS farmer-DEF OBL tiger  
 (The farmer was seen by a tiger.)

The definiteness requirement for the passive undergoer is a subset of the definiteness constraint on all PSAs, as described in section 2.5. Regarding the requirement for oblique actors of passive clauses to be definite, this is merely a subset of a constraint on objects of prepositions in general, and may be considered an indirect consequence of passive voice. The undergoer of a passive clause, in common with all other PSAs, may be indefinite only if it is fronted, as seen in (64):

- (64) *Ma-éga béppa i-anré ku acara-é.*  
 STAT-many pastry PASS-eat OBL event-DEF  
 'Many pastries were eaten at the party.'

Since an oblique actor in a passive clause must be definite, it is appropriate to identify the use of passive constructions that include the actor as a means of demoting or "backgrounding" a definite actor to oblique. As previously stated, the actor may also be omitted altogether, in which case its definiteness is immaterial. As for indefinite actors, they are already backgrounded in Bugis discourse when occurring in UV clauses. Thus it is understandable from a discourse perspective that the passive disallows indefinite actors. In fact, many elicitations based on passive clauses in English or Indonesian resulted in UV clauses with indefinite actors (see section 3.1.2) rather than passives in Bugis.

The greatest amount of contrast is seen between passive and UV constructions when the actor is left out of the passive construction altogether. The examples in (65), quoted from a Bugis sermon, illustrate usage of the passive voice omitting the actor. In (65a), both the main clause and the subordinate clause are passives, whereas in (65b) it is the subordinate clause (in brackets) that is passive.

- (65) a. *I-aseng-é teppe', i-pégau' =i sininna passuroan-na Puang*  
 PASS-call-DEF faith PASS-do =3ABS all.of command-3POSS Lord  
*Allata'ala.*  
 God  
 'That which is called faith is obeying all the commands of God.' (lit. '...all of God's commands are done.')
- b. *Dé na= wedding [ i-gau'bawang =i tau-é. ]*  
 NEG 3ERG= may PASS-exploit =3ABS people-DEF  
 'It is not permissible to take advantage of people.' (lit. 'It is not permissible for people to be taken advantage of.')

Regarding the pragmatic function of the passive in Bugis, Hanson (2003:193-194) presents a very interesting study in which he observed from personal conversation a direct relationship between a speaker's relative position in the social hierarchy with the addressee and the frequency of passive clauses used. He found that out of 100 clauses in each of the following three settings, 27 passives were used by speakers talking to someone of higher social status, 18 by those talking to equals, and only 12 by speakers talking to someone of lower social status. This study provides evidence that the passive is used in Bugis to show deference in situations of imbalanced social status. This is connected to the fact that in many Indonesian cultures it is impolite to refer to oneself when speaking to someone of higher status; Hanson proposes that the passive construction (among its other functions) provides a means by which the speaker may avoid referring to oneself in such situations.

Finally, as Hanson (2003:186) states in his description of the passive, it "can only be formed with non-stative semantically transitive verbs." In other words, stative verbs like *punna* "to have" cannot be passivized.

### *3.1.1 Contrasting UV and passive constructions*

There are several precedents for arguing a distinction between passive and undergoer voice in symmetrical voice systems, including Balinese (Wechsler and Arka 1998), Indonesian (Arka and Manning 1998), Acehnese (Legate 2012), West Coast Bajau (Miller 2007), and Sama (Walton 1986). While symmetrical voice systems do not necessarily feature a separate passive voice, in all voice systems it is necessary to demonstrate that UV clauses are not merely a special type of passive construction. In order for a voice system to be identified as symmetrical in the sense of Arka (2003), it must be demonstrated that both AV and UV clauses are transitive; passive clauses, on the other hand, are intransitive, with the actor argument demoted to an optional oblique constituent. Voice systems that feature both UV and passive constructions, as in Bugis, are convenient in that a clear contrast may be seen between the two voices.

Having described UV constructions in section 2.1 and passive constructions in 3.1, I have concluded that UV constructions are transitive clauses featuring both actors and undergoers, while passives are intransitive, with optional actors that are no longer core

syntactic arguments. The syntactic differences between passive and UV constructions are summarized as follows:

1. Passives are intransitive while UV clauses are transitive.
2. The actor may be relegated to a PP in passives, but not in UV clauses. As a result, the actor must be definite in passives, while UV clauses have no such constraint.
3. The actor is optional for passives but obligatory for UV clauses.
4. Passive constructions involve the prefix *i-*, whereas UV clauses have no prefix on the verb.

### 3.1.2 Undergoer voice with indefinite actors

The specialized role of passive voice in Bugis is further elucidated by considering a specific subset of UV clauses which fulfills a similar function: those with indefinite actors, as shown in the example sentences in (66).

- (66) a. Na= anré =wi api bola-na.<sup>2</sup>  
 3ERG= eat =3ABS fire house-3POSS  
 'Her house was consumed by fire.' (or, 'Fire consumed her house.')
- b. Jaga =ko, na= anré =ko matu' buaja.  
 beware =2FAM.ABS 3ERG= eat =2FAM.ABS later crocodiles  
 'Watch out, you'll be eaten by crocodiles.' (or, 'Watch out, crocodiles will eat you.')
- c. Na= elli =wi tau bara' waju-kku.  
 3ERG= buy =3ABS person west shirt-1SG.POSS  
 'My shirt was bought by a Westerner.' (or, 'A Westerner bought my shirt.')
- d. Na= soppa' =i dori ajé-ku.  
 3ERG= pierce =3ABS thorn foot-1SG.POSS  
 'My foot was pierced by a thorn.' (or, 'A thorn pierced my foot.')

The passive rendering of the free translations above is intended to preserve the topicality of the undergoer. These free translations also reflect the fact that these sentences

<sup>2</sup> The enclitic =wi here and elsewhere is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of =i in which the w has been inserted epenthetically.

*cannot* be in passive voice in Bugis: passive clauses allow no indefinite actors. In other words, the type of UV clause illustrated in (66) fills the same role in Bugis discourse that is filled by the passive construction in both English and Indonesian when the actor is indefinite.

As was stated earlier in this chapter, a passive clause with an indefinite actor is simply not allowed in Bugis grammar. This restriction makes sense from a discourse standpoint as well: in undergoer voice sentences such as those above, the actor, being indefinite, already exhibits low discourse prominence and does not require the demotion afforded by passive voice. In other words, a UV clause with an indefinite actor already features the disparity in discourse prominence between actor and undergoer that people achieve by using a passive in English. With no need to add prominence to the undergoer (which is already PSA) or demote the actor (it is already of little import as an indefinite constituent), a passive clause with an indefinite actor is simply unnecessary in Bugis discourse. This might even be a reason the grammar has evolved to disallow indefinite passive actors.

### 3.1.3 *Irrealis passives*

Irrealis passives exhibit unique behavior in certain circumstances; negated passives are representative of this. As is the case with negated clauses in general, described in section 2.6.1, the pronominal clitic appearing on the verb in most negated passive clauses is ergative rather than absolutive, as shown in (67).

- (67) Tapi Kabil sibawa pabbéré-na dé' na = i-tarima.  
but Cain with gift-3POSS NEG 3ERG = PASS-accept  
'But Cain and his offering were not accepted.'

However, negative passive clauses with first or second person undergoers follow a different pattern, exemplified in (68). The grammaticality of (68a) is surprising, given the passive morpheme and the presence of both absolutive and ergative clitics. Instead of following the pattern of the third person clitic in (67), we find in (68a) that the first person clitic = *ka*' remains absolutive; attempting to make it ergative results in an ungrammatical construction (68b).

- (68) a. Dé na= ir-ita =ka'.  
 NEG 3ERG= PASS-see =1ABS  
 'I wasn't seen.'
- b. \* Dé u= ir-ita.  
 NEG 1SG.ERG= PASS-see  
 ('I wasn't seen.')

While the enclitic in (68a) clearly refers to the undergoer, there is no clear referent of the ergative third person proclitic *na=*. It is unreasonable to assume it refers to an actor, since that would defeat the purpose of the passive altogether, which serves to suppress the actor. It is much more likely a dummy argument applying to the passive clause *ir-ita=ka'* "I was seen" like the English "it" in the sentence "It's not true that I was seen."

The examples shown in (69) are also intriguing. At initial glance, the difference between (69a) and (69b) makes it appear that the absolutive enclitic in (69a) crossreferences the actor of the clause.

- (69) a. Dé na= i-anré =i iaro béppa-é.  
 NEG 3ERG= PASS-eat =3ABS that cake-DEF  
 'That cake wasn't eaten (by a certain person).'
- b. Dé na= i-anré iaro béppa-é.  
 NEG 3ERG= PASS-eat that cake-DEF  
 'That cake is uneaten.'

However, in light of (68a) above, it is most likely that the absolutive enclitic in (69a) is crossreferencing the undergoer ("that cake") rather than the actor ("a certain person"). What then is responsible for the difference in meaning between (69a) and (69b)? I propose that the passivized verb for "eat" in (69b) is acting as a derived stative, much like the English gloss "uneaten," whereas the enclitic in (69a) prevents a stative interpretation. In RRG terms, (69a) exhibits core negation, while (69b) exhibits nuclear negation (Van Valin 2005:9). Further evidence for this distinction is seen in the examples in (70). In (70a), the person's words are audible but (actively) ignored, whereas in (70b) they are simply inaudible.

- (70) a. Dé na= ri-éngkalinga =i ada-nna.  
 NEG 3ERG= PASS-hear =3ABS word-3POSS  
 'Her words were not heard / heeded.'
- b. Dé na= ri-éngkalinga ada-nna.  
 NEG 3ERG= PASS-hear word-3POSS  
 'Her words were inaudible.'

### 3.1.4 The *taC-* construction

The *taC-* construction resembles the passive, but does not constitute a voice alternation.<sup>3</sup> Like the passive prefix *i-*, it results in an intransitive construction. Compare the clause with the *taC-* prefixed verb (71a) to the passive clause (71b). In both cases, the absolutive enclitic =*i* refers to the undergoer of the clause.

- (71) a. Tac-cala' =i tange'-é \*(ku Cici).  
 NVOL-lock =3ABS door-DEF (OBL Cici)  
 'The door is locked \*(by Cici).'
- b. I-cala' =i tange'-é (ku Cici).  
 PASS-lock =3ABS door-DEF (OBL Cici)  
 'The door was locked (by Cici).'

Despite their similarity, the *taC-* and passive constructions differ significantly. First of all, *taC-* prefixed verbs often exhibit a shift in meaning from the root (e.g. *tarala* "sold" from *ala* "take"), while passive verbs do not. Second, *taC-* prefixed clauses imply either state (such as the door's state of being locked) or non-volition, while passive clauses imply agentivity, even if the actor is omitted from the clause. Third, *taC-* prefixes to intransitive as well as transitive verbs (e.g. *taddenne'* "fall accidentally" from *denne'* "fall"), while the passive *i-* only prefixes to transitive verbs.

While *taC-* roughly parallels the Indonesian *ter-*, which results in non-volitional and abilitative constructions (Sneddon et al 2012:116ff), the Bugis *taC-* is much less productive. Also, while the Indonesian *ter-* seems more productive as an indicator of non-volitionality, the majority of *taC-* derivatives function as statives.

<sup>3</sup> When *taC-* is affixed to consonant-initial words, *C* appears as a geminate consonant. When attached to roots beginning with *w*, the *w* becomes a *b* before gemination. Before vowels, the *C* appears as either *kk* or *r*; these are not phonologically predictable. The phonological realization of the *taC-* prefix is similar, but not identical, to the realization of the *maC-* prefix to be presented in section 3.2.3.

In functioning as statives, *taC-* constructions remain distinct from the more common stative construction in Bugis, which involves the stative prefix *ma-*. Since *taC-* only attaches to verbs, it is in complementary distribution with *ma-*, which derives statives from adjectives (e.g. *madécéng* "be good" from *décéng* "good"), numerals (e.g. *madua* "second" from *dua* "two"), and prepositional phrases (e.g. *marimunri* "be at the back" from *ri munri* "at the back").

To summarize, while the intransitive *taC-* construction shows some resemblance to the passive, it is not a passive construction, nor does it imply a transfer of action as the passive does. Rather, it is best classified as a stative or nonvolitional construction which always features only a single undergoer argument.

### 3.2 Antipassive voice

There is one more construction in Bugis which deserves our attention with respect to the overall voice system: the antipassive. Verbs that I identify as antipassive involve adding the prefix *maC-* to a transitive verb.<sup>4</sup> In RRG terms, the antipassive construction is one in which the actor macrorole is selected as PSA, and the undergoer is syntactically demoted to no longer be a direct core argument of the clause. The undergoer constituent either appears as an oblique, is incorporated into the verb (in which case it loses its status as an undergoer macrorole argument), or is omitted entirely.

Compare the transitive UV clause in (72a) to the corresponding antipassive in (72b), which is intransitive. The undergoer (*aléna* "him/her") in the antipassive (72b) has been relegated to an oblique, marked with the preposition *lao ri*, and is no longer a syntactic argument. Meanwhile, the actor has been promoted to PSA, referenced by the absolutive enclitic =*ka'*. It should be noted that the option of relegating the antipassive undergoer to an oblique is limited to clauses with an approximately action-goal relationship between verb and undergoer.

- (72) a. U =                    olli = wi.  
           1SG.ERG = call = 3ABS  
           'I called him/her.'

---

<sup>4</sup> The *maC-* prefix does not attach to intransitive verbs, but it may derive intransitive verbs from other parts of speech, most commonly nouns (see section 3.2.3).

- b. Mang-olli =ka'      lao ri aléna.  
 ANTIP-call = 1SG.ABS OBL 3SG  
 'I'm calling [to] him/her.'

The actor argument crossreferenced by the absolutive enclitic is reminiscent of the AV construction. However, AV clauses, by comparison, do not allow the undergoer to be relegated to an oblique, as shown in (73).

- (73) \* M-olli =ka'      lao ri aléna.  
 AV-call = 1SG.ABS OBL 3SG  
 ('I'm calling [to] him/her.')

In allowing the undergoer to be syntactically demoted, the antipassive contrasts with both undergoer voice and actor voice. Like the distinction between UV and passive constructions, the distinction between AV and antipassive constructions is important to a symmetrical analysis. Specifically, since both AV and antipassive constructions feature the actor as PSA, it must be shown that these are not simply different types of a single construction, such as is stated by Hanson (2003). If AV and antipassive in Bugis are simply different types of a single (antipassive) construction, then UV is the only transitive construction in Bugis, and there is no symmetrical voice system. For this reason, in this section I shall focus primarily on contrasting AV and antipassive constructions.

As mentioned in the discussion of passive actors in section 3.1, objects of prepositions in Bugis must be definite. The oblique undergoer of an antipassive such as in (72b) above is no exception. Therefore, in contrast with a UV clause such as (72a), which affords discourse prominence to both actor and undergoer, an antipassive that involves relegating the undergoer to a PP may be described as having the discourse function of demoting a definite undergoer. The demotion of the undergoer in the antipassive construction parallels the demotion of the actor in the passive construction to an oblique prepositional phrase. Unlike adverbial PPs, neither the undergoer PP in the antipassive nor the actor PP in the passive may be fronted, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (74a) and (74b), respectively.

- (74) a. \* Ku =ka' indo'-ku mar-énggerang.  
 OBL = 1SG.ABS mother-1SG.POSS ANTIP-remember  
 ('I'm reminiscing about *my mother*.)
- b. \* Ku =i Saéna! ri-nasu nanré-é.  
 OBL = 3ABS Saéna! PASS-cook rice-DEF  
 (The rice was cooked *by Saena!*)

Relegating the undergoer to a PP is not the only way of suppressing the undergoer in the antipassive construction; the undergoer may also be omitted altogether, as shown in (75).

- (75) Mar-oki =ka'.  
 ANTIP-write = 1SG.ABS  
 'I'm writing.'

While the undergoer of an antipassive is optional, as has been previously stated, that of an AV clause is obligatory. Consider the examples shown in (76). Omitting the undergoer of the AV clause (76a) results in an ungrammatical construction (76b); to preserve the grammaticality of such a clause, the verb must be prefixed with *maC-*. In other words, an antipassive construction must be used, as seen in (76c).

- (76) a. Baca =ka' bo'.  
 read = 1SG.ABS book  
 'I'm reading a book.'
- b. \* Baca =ka'.  
 read = 1SG.ABS  
 ('I'm reading.')
- c. Mab-baca =ka'.  
 ANTIP-read = 1SG.ABS  
 'I'm reading.'

In that it optionally relegates the undergoer to an oblique PP or omits it altogether, the antipassive parallels the passive construction in its treatment of the non-PSA constituent. However, the antipassive construction also employs another means of suppressing the undergoer: incorporating it into the verb. This is exemplified in (77a). The incorporation of the affected argument *sure'* "letter" into the verb in the antipassive is indicated by the

position of the absolutive enclitic =ka'. Antipassives are ungrammatical if an undergoer not set off by a preposition is not incorporated into the verb, as shown in (77b).<sup>5</sup> The incorporated noun phrase is indefinite and nonreferential, and is therefore not considered an undergoer macrorole in the RRG framework; in RRG terms, it is not available for undergoer macrorole assignment (Van Valin 2005:63-64).

- (77) a. Mar-oki      sure' =ka'.  
 ANTIP-write letter = 1SG.ABS  
 'I'm writing a letter.' or 'I'm letter-writing.'
- b. \* Mar-oki      =ka'      sure'.  
 ANTIP-write = 1SG.ABS letter  
 ('I'm writing letters' or 'I'm letter-writing.')

In light of Bugis being a second position language (see section 1.2), the position of =ka' after the NP in (77a) is strong evidence that the verb and incorporated NP now form an indissoluble unit, and the enclitic must follow the whole unit. The significance of the position of the absolutive enclitic is confirmed by comparing antipassives with AV clauses, shown in (78). In (78a), the first person enclitic =ka' immediately follows the verb, indicating that the undergoer is not incorporated. Attempting to incorporate the undergoer by placing the enclitic =ka' after the verb results in an ungrammatical construction, as seen in (78b).<sup>6</sup>

- (78) a. M-oki      =ka'      sure'.  
 AV-write = 1SG.ABS letter  
 'I'm writing a letter.'
- b. \* M-oki      sure' =ka'.  
 AV-write letter = 1SG.ABS  
 ('I'm writing a letter.')

<sup>5</sup> Posing this example to native speakers met with some variety of responses, with a few labeling it as either acceptable or questionable, but the general consensus was that it was unacceptable.

<sup>6</sup> There are cases of noun incorporation in clauses that are not antipassive; however, in such cases the noun is not an undergoer, but rather an adverbial modifier of the verb, as shown in (i).

- (i) Manré tédong      =i.  
 eat water.buffalo = 3ABS  
 'He is eating like a water buffalo.' (not 'He is eating water buffalo.')

The incorporation analysis is confirmed when the incorporated NP of an antipassive is questioned. Whereas questioned constituents are normally fronted in Bugis, as seen in the UV clause (79a), the incorporated NP of the antipassive must be questioned *in situ*, as in (79b).

- (79) a. Aga mu= eelli?  
 what 2FAM.ERG= buy?  
 'What did you buy?'
- b. Mang-elli aga =ko?  
 ANTIP-buy what =2FAM.ABS?  
 'What are you buying?'

Attempting to front the affected constituent of an antipassive clause results in an ungrammatical construction (80).

- (80) \* Aga mu= (m)ang-elli?  
 what 2FAM.ERG= ANTIP-buy?  
 (What are you buying?)

To further illustrate the contrast between AV and antipassive clauses, (81) depicts the ungrammatical result of attempting to question the undergoer of an AV clause *in situ*.

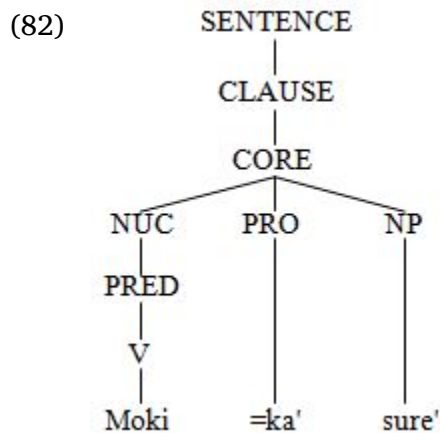
- (81) \* M-elli =ko aga?  
 AV-buy =2FAM.ABS what?  
 (What did you buy?)

Having been incorporated into the verb, the undergoer of such an antipassive clause is no longer a syntactic argument. The phenomenon of noun incorporation in Bugis is comparable to noun incorporation in Lakhota, described in RRG terms by Van Valin (2005:8):

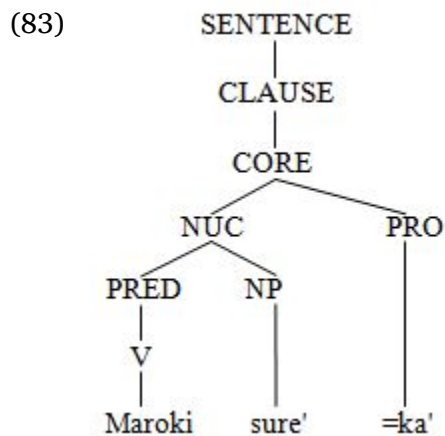
In Lakhota, the noun *čhą* 'tree, wood' can be compounded with the verb *kaksá* 'chop' to create *čhąkákksa* 'wood-chop', a noun + verb combination that can function as the nucleus of a Lakhota clause.

The **core** of a clause in RRG refers to its predicate and arguments, whereas the **nucleus** refers to the predicate of a clause (verb + auxiliaries) along with any other morphemes

incorporated into the verb. This is depicted in the RRG model of clause structure, portrayed in the following trees. The syntactic representations of the AV construction (78a) and of the antipassive construction (77a) are shown in (82) and (83), respectively.



'I wrote a letter.'



'I'm writing a letter.' or 'I'm letter-writing.'

As depicted in the antipassive in (83), the result of undergoer incorporation is that the clause is syntactically intransitive; the undergoer is no longer a core syntactic argument. This is contrasted by the AV clause in (82), in which the undergoer is not incorporated, and thus remains a core syntactic argument. The incorporation is indicated by the absolutive PRO clitic, which always appears in second position, immediately after the first constituent of the clause (here, the nucleus).

The suppression of the undergoer argument in the ways described above is unique to antipassive clauses. That is to say, none of the other voices permit a demotion of the undergoer argument, whether by omission, relegation to a PP, or noun incorporation. Syntactically, marginalizing the undergoer argument is the main function of the Bugis antipassive; the antipassive does not promote the actor to PSA in Bugis, as it is already PSA in actor voice. In this way, it parallels the passive, the primary function of which is to marginalize the actor argument. Apart from noun incorporation, the means by which the antipassive undergoer is demoted are the same as those by which the actor is demoted in a passive construction: either relegation to a PP or omission.

In conclusion, the antipassive construction in Bugis is an intransitive construction involving prefixation of the antipassive prefix *maC-* to a transitive verb and demotion of the undergoer argument. This demotion is accomplished by omitting the undergoer, relegating it to a PP, or incorporating it into the verb. This is to my knowledge the first full recognition of the antipassive as a distinct construction in Bugis. Hanson (2003:152ff) briefly discusses an antipassive analysis of *maC-*, but neglects to distinguish it from AV clauses, which feature *m-* rather than *maC-*; he calls the two prefixes allomorphs and glosses them AF for "Agent/Actor focus" (see section 4.2).

### *3.2.1 Contrasting AV and antipassive constructions*

The distinction between AV and antipassive clauses parallels that of UV and passive clauses. As of yet, however, according to Kroeger (2007), discussion of symmetrical voice systems in Austronesian languages has primarily centered around arguing either for a symmetrical voice analysis, in which AV and antipassive constructions are together identified as actor voice, or else for an "ergative system" analysis, in which AV and antipassive constructions are together identified as antipassive. This is due to the fact that many languages feature no distinction between AV clauses and antipassives as presented in the Bugis voice system. Such languages typically employ the same morphology for referential and non-referential indefinite undergoers, and the AV/antipassive construction optionally omits the undergoer. Sama is an example of such a language, as presented by Walton

(1986). In Bugis, however, there is a clear distinction between AV and antipassive constructions: AV clauses have referential, obligatory undergoers, while antipassives have optional undergoers that are no longer core syntactic arguments.

Having described the AV construction in section 2.2 and the antipassive construction in 3.2, the basic differences between the two are summarized as follows:

1. Antipassives are intransitive while AV clauses are transitive.
2. The undergoer may be relegated to a PP for antipassives but not for AV clauses.
3. The undergoer is optional for antipassives but obligatory for AV clauses.
4. The undergoer may be incorporated into the verb for antipassives but not for AV clauses.
5. Indefinite undergoers are nonreferential in antipassives but referential in AV clauses.
6. Antipassives are marked with the *maC-* prefix on the verb, while AV clauses are marked with the *m-* prefix on the verb if it is vowel-initial.

Many of the differences listed here concern the demoted undergoer of an antipassive construction; such cases are especially useful for the characterization of the antipassive construction. That being said, it is most common in discourse to omit the undergoer of an antipassive clause altogether. For example, in ten texts collected as part of research for this thesis, 15 out of 17 antipassives omitted the undergoer.

### *3.2.2 Semantic properties of the antipassive*

Cooreman (1994) presents a typology of antipassives in which she identifies two main types of antipassive: a "structural" antipassive, which fills primarily syntactic functions, and a "semantic/pragmatic" antipassive, which is best described in terms of semantic and pragmatic characteristics. Cooreman defines a "structural antipassive" as one that primarily functions to promote the undergoer argument to PSA in a variety of contexts, the prototypical example of this being the Dyirbal antipassive (Dixon 1972). Our discussion, however, centers around the semantic/pragmatic antipassive; I shall argue that the Bugis antipassive fits this category. The Bugis antipassive is not a structural antipassive by

Cooreman's typology, since structural antipassives are characterized as primarily serving to promote the actor to PSA in an ergative system. Such a role is already played by actor voice in Bugis, a transitive construction in which the actor is PSA (I defend this position in section 2.2). In other words, the primary function of the Bugis antipassive from a syntactic perspective is not facilitating the promotion of the actor, but rather the demotion of the undergoer, using the means described above in section 3.2.

Drawing on Hopper and Thompson's (1980) framework of semantic transitivity, Cooreman (1994) sets forth three characteristics of the semantic/pragmatic antipassive. We shall find that all three of these characteristics accurately describe the construction I have identified as the Bugis antipassive.

The first and most common property of semantic/pragmatic antipassives Cooreman identifies is that they serve to indicate an indefinite, unidentifiable undergoer. This description fits the Bugis antipassive as well, in which the undergoer is optionally omitted or is non-referential by default. Cooreman explains the discourse relationship between low identifiability of the undergoer and its deletion:

No language in my sample uses the antipassive with the function of indicating a low degree of identifiability of the [undergoer] without using the antipassive to allow for optional or obligatory deletion of that same referent as well. This can hardly be coincidental. When an [undergoer] is indefinite, non-specific, generic, or even non-referential, its identity is of relatively low importance to the discourse, and hence the [undergoer] is easily deleted (Cooreman 1994:56).

The second property Cooreman identifies as typical of the semantic/pragmatic antipassive is aspectual: the use of the antipassive implies that the activity of the verb has no clear onset or conclusion. Antipassives with this feature may refer to an action that is ongoing, habitual, or iterative. The Bugis antipassive exhibits this property as well. Compare the AV clause (84a) with the corresponding antipassive clause seen in (84b). The action referred to in (84a) is telic, and therefore tends to be interpreted as having already taken place. The action referred to in (84b), on the other hand, is atelic, with no implied onset or conclusion. Therefore it is interpreted as either habitual or progressive.

- (84) a. *M-elli =ka' balé*  
 AV-buy = 1SG.ABS fish  
 'I bought a/some fish.'
- b. *Mang-elli balé =ka'*  
 ANTIP-buy fish = 1SG.ABS  
 'I'm (in the process of) buying fish.' or 'I buy fish (for a living).'

In connection with the aspectual property of the semantic/pragmatic antipassive, Cooreman states that shifts in meaning of antipassives from their transitive counterparts often "imply duration, iteration, or some similar change towards imperfective aspect of the predicate" (Cooreman 1994:58). This is well-attested in Bugis antipassives: for example, *makkanré* "eat away at s.t. (re. fire or crop pests)" is an antipassive form of *(m)anré* "eat."<sup>7</sup> Other examples of meaning shift are shown in (85).

- (85) *banting* 'hit, pound'    *mabbanting* 'thresh rice by pounding'  
*parala* 'cause to take'    *mapparala* 'organize a gathering of s.t.'  
*rakkala* 'plow s.t.'    *maddakkala* 'work at plowing'

The third property that Cooreman identifies as characteristic of the semantic/pragmatic antipassive is that it may indicate low affectedness of the undergoer. Once again, this is also characteristic of the Bugis antipassive, as seen in (86). Note that the undergoer *asu-é* "the dog" is highly affected in (86a), which is a UV clause, but not in the antipassive clause (86b).

- (86) a. *Na= sémpe' =i Saénal asu-é.*  
 3ERG= kick = 3ABS Saenal dog-DEF  
 'Saenal kicked the dog.'
- b. *Mas-sémpe' =i Saénal lao ri asu-é.*  
 ANTIP-kick = 3ABS Saenal OBL dog-DEF  
 'Saenal kicked at the dog (but didn't necessarily hit it).'

To conclude the discussion of Cooreman's typology, I have found evidence that all three properties characterizing the semantic/pragmatic type antipassive described above

<sup>7</sup> This meaning shift results in *(m)anré* "eat" being a special case: since the antipassive *makkanré* applies only to fire or crop pests, the active form *(m)anré* fills in for both transitive and intransitive clauses. In other words, it behaves like an AV clause except that its undergoer argument may be omitted.

are characteristic of the Bugis antipassive, and thus conclude that the *maC-* construction is a semantic/pragmatic antipassive by this typology. As previously stated, the Bugis antipassive is not primarily a structural antipassive by her typology, because the Bugis antipassive does not primarily promote the actor to PSA, since the actor is already PSA in actor voice.

It is worth noting here that in his Bugis grammar, Hanson (2003:157) concedes that "the *ma(C)-* construction is readily identifiable as an antipassive in terms of its semantic and pragmatic characteristics." Hanson goes on to cite Cooreman's (1994) typology, but identifies "low identifiability of the undergoer" (the first of the three properties listed in this section) as the sole property from her typology that is characteristic of the Bugis antipassive, and ultimately labels the *maC-* prefix as "Actor focus" rather than antipassive. As I explain in section 4.2, this difference in understanding stems from a false dichotomy between "focus" and "ergative" analyses. Elsewhere Hanson tentatively recognizes two subtypes of the *ma(C)-* construction (2003:154-55); had he analyzed each separately, I believe he would have found one "subtype" to be convincingly antipassive by Cooreman's typology, and the other a distinct "Actor focus" construction (a Philippinist term for "actor voice").

Returning to the concept of semantic transitivity as set forth by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252), antipassives are found to exhibit lower semantic transitivity than UV or AV constructions. Of the ten properties listed by Hopper and Thompson as indicative of either high or low transitivity in a given clause, four are directly relevant when examining the semantic transitivity of antipassive clauses in Bugis: aspect, punctuality, individuation, and affectedness of the undergoer. The following examples illustrate how an antipassive clause exhibits lower semantic transitivity than its transitive AV counterpart in at least one of these four properties. Contrast in the first three properties (aspect, punctuality, and individuation) is the most common, as seen in (87). For each property, the antipassive clause in (87b) shows lower semantic transitivity than the AV clause in (87a). First, the action referred to by the verb in the AV clause (87a) is interpreted as *telic*, implying a completed action and effective transferral of activity. In contrast, the action in the antipassive clause (87b) is interpreted as *atelic*; the activity has no clear endpoint or completion

of action. Second, the action in the AV clause (87a) is *punctual*, referring to a particular moment in time when a snake met its demise. The action of the antipassive clause (87b), however, is *non-punctual*, inherently indicating an activity that takes place over a period of time. Third, the undergoer of the AV clause (87a) is *individuated*; a particular snake is being referred to. The undergoer of the antipassive clause (87b), on the other hand, is *non-individuated*. In these three properties, the antipassive clause (87b) exhibits lower semantic transitivity than the AV clause (87a); of the ten properties of semantic transitivity identified by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252), there is no property in which the antipassive (87b) clause exhibits higher transitivity than the AV clause (87a).

- (87) a. M-uno =ka' ula iwenni.  
 AV-kill = 1SG.ABS snake yesterday  
 'I killed a snake yesterday.'
- b. Mabb-uno ula =ka' iwenni.  
 ANTIP-kill snake = 1SG.ABS yesterday  
 'I went snake-killing yesterday.' or 'I was killing snakes yesterday.'

Contrast in the fourth property, affectedness of the patient argument, has already been discussed above (see 86).

To summarize, antipassive constructions exhibit lower semantic transitivity than UV and AV clauses. This contrast simply confirms the evidence presented in section 2.2.2 in favor of a transitive analysis of the AV construction.

### 3.2.3 The *maC-* prefix

The *maC-* prefix functions not only as an antipassive marker, but also generally as an intransitive verbalizer, deriving intransitive verbs from almost any grammatical category. As seen in the examples listed in (88), the meaning of the derived word is related to, but not always predictable from, the meaning of the root.

- (88) golo' 'ball' maggolo' 'play soccer'  
 ri munri 'at the back' maddimunri 'come later'  
 sibawa 'with' massibawa 'be together'  
 waju 'shirt' mabbaju 'wear a shirt'  
 wenni 'night' mabbenni 'spend the night'  
 laleng 'road' mallaleng 'walk'

When affixed to transitive verbs, the result is the intransitive verb used in the antipassive construction, as described in the previous section. The *maC-* prefix does not attach to intransitive verbs.

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, while I gloss *maC-* as a single prefix, it is most likely composed of two morphemes, *aC-* being the antipassive morpheme and *m-* being the prefix described in 2.2. The reason I continued to group them together is that *m-* and *aC-* co-occur in practically all antipassives, the exception being in irrealis clauses. The evidence that *maC-* can actually be split into two morphemes is as follows.

In negated clauses, when only one constituent is crossreferenced on the verb, it is crossreferenced with an ergative proclitic, and the *m-* is absent. In (89), (89b) is the negation of the AV clause (89a). Notice the omission of the *m-* prefix in the negative (89b).

- (89) a. *M-anré =ka'*      *otti.*  
*AV-eat = 1SG.ABS banana*  
 'I'm eating bananas.'
- b. *Dé u=*      *anré otti.*  
*NEG 1SG.ERG= eat banana*  
 'I'm not eating bananas.'

We see the same omission of the initial *m-* in the antipassive *maC-* prefix in the negation (90b) of the antipassive in (90a).

- (90) a. *Mab-baca =ka'*.  
*ANTIP-read = 1SG.ABS*  
 'I'm reading.'
- b. *Dé u=*      *ab-baca.*  
*NEG 1SG.ERG= ANTIP-read*  
 'I'm not reading.'

Note that the first person singular proclitic *u=* in (89b) replaces the initial *m-* prefix from the non-negated example (89a). Similarly in (90b), the *u=* replaces the initial *m-* of the verb in (90a), but we are still left with the distinct morpheme *aC-*, which is present in both (90a) and (90b). This indicates that *aC-* has an identity distinct from its appearance

together with *m-* in *maC-*. The logical conclusion from this distinction is that *m-* is the same morpheme in both AV and antipassive constructions, identifying *aC-* as the true antipassive marker.

## CHAPTER 4

### Alternative Analyses

There are two alternative analyses that are discussed in this chapter. The first, represented by Jukes (2006), identifies the actor voice construction as "semitransitive" rather than fully transitive (section 4.1). The second, represented by Hanson (2003), analyzes the alternation between UV and AV as a "focus" system rather than a voice system (section 4.2).

#### 4.1 Semitransitivity

##### *4.1.1 Jukes on semitransitivity*

Makasar (a.k.a. Makassarese) is a neighboring language to Bugis, and the two languages feature nearly identical case-marking and voice systems (see section 5.1). In his description of Makasar grammar, Jukes (2006) rejects the transitive analysis of the actor voice construction (see also Jukes 2013).<sup>1</sup> As in Bugis, the AV construction in Makasar is only used with indefinite undergoers. Evidence for transitivity seems divided. On the one hand, the undergoers are obligatory; this seems to support the transitive analysis. On the other hand, the undergoers are not crossreferenced on the verb, which seems to support the intransitive analysis. Jukes (2006:331-332) comments on this tension:

---

<sup>1</sup> Jukes (2006) refers to this construction as "semitransitive" rather than "actor voice." I continue to refer to the construction as actor voice (AV) for the purpose of discussion and comparison with the Bugis voice system.

What then is the status of these indefinite arguments? They are clearly important, as can be shown by the fact that they cannot be omitted... They are not oblique. They are not incorporated... So it comes down to a tension between morphosyntactic marking (clitic pronouns) on the one hand, versus the non-omissibility of indefinite arguments on the other.

Jukes proceeds to propose that there are two situations in which NPs themselves (as opposed to their pronominal clitics on the verb) serve as core arguments: first, when they are fronted for focus (in which case they are not crossreferenced on the verb), and second, when they are indefinite. The latter is especially significant when it comes to the undergoer of the construction in question (by my analysis, actor voice).

Up to this point in his presentation, it appears that Jukes supports the transitive analysis of actor voice, since he identifies the undergoer in such constructions as core arguments. However, because of the lack of crossreferencing, he ultimately opts for the term "semitransitive," explained in Jukes (2013:78):

Its very flexibility makes [the term "semitransitive"] preferable as it neatly captures the fact that the *aN(N)*- construction is not quite fully transitive (because there is only one argument marked directly on the verb), but is also not quite intransitive (because the Undergoer NP is neither omissible nor oblique). The exact status of the indefinite Undergoer needs to be investigated further.

The fact that the undergoer of the "semitransitive" construction does not behave the same as the typical undergoer does not in itself constitute sufficient evidence against the transitive analysis. However, since this construction is clearly distinct from the default transitive construction, I do not blame Jukes for his choice of terminology. In the end, it appears that it really is primarily a difference in terminology, rather than analysis. While he explicitly rejects the "actor voice" analysis, it is essential to note that Jukes employs Himmelmann's (2005) definition of symmetrical voice rather than Arka's (2003). As stated in section 2.3, Arka defines a symmetrical voice system as one in which there are two transitive constructions: one in which the actor is the syntactically favored constituent (traditionally, "grammatical subject"), and the other in which the undergoer is favored. Himmelmann, on the other hand, defines a symmetrical voice system as one in

which neither of the two transitive constructions can be considered the basic or default voice. Under Himmelmann's definition, it is true that neither Makasar nor Bugis qualify as symmetrical voice languages, since in both, the construction I identify as undergoer voice is clearly the default transitive construction. In this context, it is no wonder that Jukes has chosen the term "semitransitive." I would dare to venture that under Arka's (2003) definition, however, the "semitransitive" construction may be identified as actor voice.

#### *4.1.2 A core index*

In the context of the "semitransitive" analysis, Jukes (2013:78 fn. 13) references Arka (2005), who explores "semi-core" properties in Austronesian languages using a charting system termed a "core index." The basic idea of the core index is that the core-oblique distinction is sometimes better analyzed as gradient rather than binary. Jukes himself does not draw up such a chart, but he suggests that it might be useful for analyzing the semitransitive construction in Makasar. Such a core index is intended to assist in analyzing constituents that seem to be halfway between core and oblique. As a leading proponent of this approach, Arka (2005) has applied this type of chart to (most notably) Balinese and Indonesian.

I have applied this approach to the Bugis voice system: Table 7 is a core index chart modeled after those in Arka (2005). I must state up front that after attempting the core index approach, I do not find it to be useful in the context of the Bugis voice system. Rather than utilizing a chart like Table 7 to measure transitivity, in the case of the undergoer of the AV construction, I find it best to simply refer to the tension between the two primary indicators of coreness: the lack of crossreferencing on the one hand, and lack of oblique marking on the other.

In Table 7, a check mark indicates that the constituent of the column has the property of the row, while a dash indicates that the constituent lacks that property. The idea behind the "core index," or the numerical point value assigned to each constituent, is that by generating a list of properties that one may assume indicate "core-ness," (in RRG terms, properties of Direct Core Arguments), as opposed to obliques, one may discern more clearly the relative "core-ness" of various constituents; the higher the numerical value, the

more "fully core" a constituent is. As a reference point, a "semi-core" constituent according to Arka (2005:16) is one with a core index between 0.60 and 0.40.

Table 7. Core index for Bugis

Core properties	ABS	ERG (A of UV)	U of AV	A of PASS	U of ANTIP	Other obliques
<b>1. Crossreferenced on verb</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>2. No oblique marking</b>	✓	✓	✓	-	- / ✓ <sup>2</sup>	-
<b>3. Obligatory</b>	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
<b>4. Not incorporated into verb</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ / - <sup>3</sup>	✓
<b>5. Available for fronting</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓
<b>6. Available for topicalization</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓
<b>7. Can be relativized</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>8. Controllee of subord. clause</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>9. Coordination reduction</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>10. Reflexive binding</b>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
<b>Core Index:</b>	10/10	10/10	3/10	1/10	1/10	3/10

While a chart like Table 7 may be useful for illustrating the concept of coreness as a gradient property, I also find the chart slightly misleading in several ways. Were we to simply take the results of Table 7 at face value, it would be reasonable to conclude that the only core arguments are those with 10/10 core indexes: absolutive and ergative arguments. A score of 3/10 (or 0.30) cannot be considered enough for a "semi-core" status (for U of AV); it is outside the semi-core range of 0.60 to 0.40.

The general lesson to draw from Table 7 is that the core index approach can be misleading. There are a myriad of disclaimers that need to be made. First of all, by assigning

<sup>2</sup> The U of ANTIP is, if present, either referential with oblique marking, or nonreferential and incorporated into the verb (in which case it loses its status as a macrorole argument). Because these two features are mutually exclusive, the sum core index is still one point.

<sup>3</sup> See 2.

a number value (one) to each of the core properties, it communicates that each of these properties contribute equally to the coreness of a constituent. It would be more accurate to give certain properties a greater weight than others. Even so, assigning such values would be highly subjective. Another way this chart may be misleading is that what may be a good test for one argument might not be for another. For example, the incorporation of an antipassive undergoer into the main verb is a good indication that it is not a core argument. However, this is the only type of oblique with this characteristic: other obliques are not incorporated into the verb. A third drawback to this chart is the lack of external confirmation regarding whether these properties actually reflect the coreness of constituents. For example, properties 5 and 6 above make it appear as if the non-PSA arguments of AV, antipassive, and passive constructions are not core; but then again, they also make it appear as if other oblique arguments *are* core. Therefore, while I have included properties 5 and 6 in the chart for the purpose of this discussion, I consider them unreliable measures of coreness. The same may be true of properties 7 through 10. One final disclaimer regarding this chart: sometimes what are listed as two properties for measuring coreness are in essence multiple implications of a single property. For example, it is possible that properties 8 and 9 result directly from property 1 (being crossreferenced on the verb), in which case their added values are superfluous.

To summarize, for the reasons listed above, I do not find the core index approach helpful in confirming or denying the semitransitive analysis. If anything, it makes the AV construction appear intransitive. It seems a much better approach would be to consider each interrelated property of "core-ness" individually, assessing the significance of each for indicating "core-ness" and transitivity.

#### *4.1.3 Summary*

To summarize, I find the semitransitive analysis to be an inferior alternative to the transitive analysis for AV clauses in Bugis. However, I understand that a significant influencing factor in Jukes' (2006) semitransitive analysis for Makasar is that he apparently employs Himmelmann's (2005) definition of symmetrical voice. In Himmelmann's definition, a symmetrical voice alternation consists of transitive voices that are like mirror

images of each other, with neither voice more basic than the other; the UV/AV alternation in Bugis does not have this quality.

Regardless, the main evidence for the semitransitive analysis is the fact that undergoers in AV clauses are not crossreferenced on the verb. Considering that both actors and undergoers are typically crossreferenced on the verb in UV clauses, and that UV clauses are clearly the basic transitive construction in Bugis, one may indeed conclude from this that AV clauses are only partially transitive. This is a view that I previously held; I abandoned it because I felt it involved circular reasoning: AV clauses are not transitive because the undergoer is not crossreferenced on the verb, and crossreferencing on the verb is required for transitivity because that is how transitive clauses in Bugis behave. While it is true that UV is the basic transitive construction, I find it unreasonable to expect every other transitive construction to use crossreferencing the same way. The AV construction should be evaluated for transitivity in its own light, as in section 2.2.2 above.

## 4.2 A focus system

As seen in the following quote, Hanson (2003:152-53) states that the alternation between what I identify as undergoer voice and actor voice may be analyzed as a "focus system." As explained below, I find this to primarily be a difference in terminology rather than a substantive difference in analysis.

[T]here are two viewpoints from which the Bugis data can be accounted for: an 'ergative' analysis or a 'focus' analysis. If Bugis is viewed as having an ergative system, then those clauses which have an inherently transitive verb prefixed with *ma(C)-* and the Agent encoded by a member of the absolutive enclitics could be classed as antipassive. On the other hand, Bugis may be viewed as operating on a 'focus system'; the unmarked focus being 'Patient focus', the *ma(C)-* construction indicating 'Agent focus' and the benefactive and locative suffixes (*-eng* and *-i*) representing 'benefactive' and 'locative' focus respectively.

The term "focus system" here is a Philippinist term for "voice system" (Kroeger 2010). Moreover despite Hanson's claim above, I find the "ergative" and "focus" analyses to both

hold true, rather than being two alternative analyses. In the remainder of this section, I examine and explain this dichotomy.

In his description, Hanson presents the term "focus" in the context of Philippine-type languages. The concept of a "focus system" (also called the "topic-focus model") in Austronesian studies traces its origins to Philippinists beginning in 1958 (Healey 1958, Thomas 1958, Dean 1958). Philippinists use the terms "topic" and "focus" very differently from the outside world (see Manaster-Ramer 1992, Ross and Teng 2005, Wu 2007, Kroeger 2010); this difference in understanding has been the source of much confusion. In fact, McKaughan, who first introduced the term "topic" in its Philippine usage (1958), later apologized for causing misunderstanding between Philippinists and non-Philippinists and requested that the term be abandoned in favor of the traditional term "subject" (1973). Despite this and more recent requests for abandonment of the terminology (e.g. Ross and Teng 2005, Wu 2007), this unique use of "topic" and "focus" persists. The corresponding concepts in general linguistics are subject and voice, respectively (Manaster-Ramer 1992, Kroeger 2010). In other words, a "focus system" is a Philippinist term for a "voice system." This is confirmed in Walton's (1986) description of Sama grammar, which also employs "focus system" terminology. He writes that "until 1958 Filipinists referred to the phenomenon of focus in terms of voice oppositions such as active and passive" (Walton 1986:10). In interpreting Hanson's above quote, therefore, we may assume that, albeit with different terminology, Hanson is stating that the Bugis data may be interpreted as constituting a voice system with both "Patient focus" (undergoer voice) and "Agent focus" (actor voice). While Hanson does not elaborate on the syntactic transitivity of the "Agent focus" construction, the fact that he noticed the similarity between the Bugis voice system and those of Philippine languages, which may generally be classed as symmetrical (Foley 1998), lends implicit support to the symmetrical analysis of the Bugis voice system. In light of the confusion caused by the term "focus," exemplified by the false equation here between the term in general and Philippine linguistics, I add my voice to the others in calling for an abandonment of the Philippine terminology.

The dichotomy Hanson proposes is reminiscent of an ongoing debate in Philippine languages between the "focus system" analysis and the "ergative" analysis. The difference

revolves around the identity of a certain type of construction, which is called "actor focus" in the "focus system" analysis, and is called an antipassive in the "ergative" analysis (Kroeger 2007). Once again, the Philippine term "focus system" corresponds to the concept of "voice system" in general linguistics. Understanding that Hanson identifies "Patient focus" as the ergative construction (i.e., UV), the question regarding the Bugis data, then, is whether a Patient-Agent focus alternation (using my terminology, a UV-AV alternation) is really mutually exclusive with an ergative-antipassive alternation (using my terminology, a UV-antipassive alternation). I argue that the two are not mutually exclusive, but rather that the two alternations exist independently, owing to the existence of both actor voice and antipassive constructions in Bugis.

By referring to *m-* and *maC-* as a single morpheme ("the *ma(C)-* construction"), Hanson implies they form a single construction. He then states that antipassive and "Agent focus" are two mutually exclusive analyses of this construction (2003:152-53). Throughout his thesis, Hanson glosses both prefixes as "AF" (Agent/Actor focus). However, I identify these as two distinct constructions (actor voice and antipassive, respectively; see section 3.2.1). Interestingly enough, Hanson goes on to acknowledge that there seem to be two subtypes of the *ma(C)-* construction; he illustrates this with a pair of examples (2003:154). The first (the example with the *maC-* prefix) features a low-identifiability undergoer; the second (with the *m-* prefix), an indefinite but referential undergoer. While Hanson notes that the former incorporates the undergoer into the verb and the latter does not, he fails to associate this contrast with the different prefixes. In fact, elsewhere he states that these are allomorphs of a single prefix (2003:31). He does not further explore the syntactic characteristics of each verb form, such as the fact that the *m-* prefixed verb requires an undergoer argument, while the *maC-* prefixed verb does not. Most important to the discussion of this thesis, Hanson does not investigate the relative syntactic transitivity of these two constructions. Hanson states that he follows Noorduyn (1955) and Sirk (1983) in writing this prefix *ma(C)-* (2003:28). However, while Hanson (2003:31) states that *mangelli* and *melli* (the *maC-* and *m-* forms of the verb root *elli* "buy") are in free variation, Noorduyn identifies *mangelli* as intransitive and *melli* as transitive (Macknight 2012:49-50). Also, upon further investigation, Sirk (1983) refers to the prefix as *maC-* (sans parentheses), and describes

the *m-* prefix separately rather than identifying it as an allomorph of *maC-* (1983:41-43). In other words, the literature provides no basis for considering *m-* and *maC-* allomorphs of a single prefix as Hanson implies.

To summarize, there is more than sufficient evidence to conclude that the two "subtypes" of the *ma(C)-* construction that Hanson identifies are actually two separate constructions. As a result, the "Agent focus" and antipassive analyses of the construction are not mutually exclusive, but are both correct: the *m-* construction is "Agent focus" and the *maC-* construction is antipassive. Accordingly, the "ergative" and "focus system" analyses are not mutually exclusive either; both apply to the Bugis data. And finally, the "focus system" analysis does not stand in opposition to a "voice system" analysis; it is simply a borrowing of terms from Philippinist literature.

## CHAPTER 5

### Related Languages

For comparison purposes, I present brief descriptions of the voice systems of three other languages of South Sulawesi: Makasar, Coastal Konjo, and Seko Padang, which are members along with Bugis of the South Sulawesi sub-group in the Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian languages. I approach these languages as I have approached Bugis: with Arka's (2003) definition of symmetrical voice, and the understanding that even in head-marking languages, a semantic undergoer may be considered a core argument of a clause even when not marked on the verb.

#### 5.1 Makasar

Makasar, also called Makassarese, is spoken by about 2 million individuals in South Sulawesi and is closely related to Bugis (Jukes 2006:6). From data presented in Jukes (2006), I have identified the same four voices I identified in Bugis: UV, AV, passive, and antipassive. The selection of UV or AV for a transitive clause depends once again on the definiteness of the undergoer. As a reminder, my analysis of Makasar as symmetrical is based on Arka's (2003) definition of symmetrical voice, while Jukes (2006) approaches the data with Himmelmann's (2005) definition (see section 2.3), which leads him to reject the symmetrical analysis for Makasar.

I identify the default transitive construction in Makasar as UV, exemplified in (91).<sup>1</sup> In the absence of fronting, the undergoer is required to be definite.

- (91) Ku=     kanre =i     taipa-nu  
1ERG= eat     =3ABS mango-2FAM.POSS  
'I eat your mangoes.' (Jukes 2006:244)

---

<sup>1</sup> I have altered Jukes' glosses in the following examples to add case information and voice marker labels.

I identify the construction Jukes labels "semitransitive" as AV; it is marked with the *aN(N)*- prefix, as shown in (92).<sup>2</sup> The undergoer is required to be indefinite.

- (92) *AN(N)*-kanre = a' taipa  
 AV-eat = 1ABS mango  
 'I eat mangoes.' (Jukes 2006:244)

The Makasar passive is prefixed with *ni-* and features an optional oblique actor PP, as shown in (93).

- (93) *Ni*-kokko' = a' (ri meong-ku)  
 PASS-bite = 1ABS (OBL cat-1POSS)  
 'I was bitten (by my cat).' (Jukes 2006:257)

Unlike Bugis, objects of the preposition may be indefinite in Makasar; this applies to actors of passive clauses as well (Jukes 2006:258).

Jukes (2006) does not identify an antipassive in Makasar; Jukes (2013) argues against an antipassive analysis of the *aN(N)*- prefix. However, it is the *aC*- prefix that parallels the Bugis antipassive marker. In analyzing the *aC*- prefix as the antipassive prefix in Makasar, like the Bugis antipassive, it is primarily a semantic/pragmatic rather than a structural-type antipassive by the typology of antipassives presented by Cooreman (1994).

Examples of antipassives by this analysis, formed by adding the *aC*- prefix to transitive verb roots, are included in (94) from Jukes (2006:248-250).

- (94) *cini*' 'see (transitive)' *accini*' 'see (intransitive)'  
*boya* 'search for' *a'boya* 'search'  
*tayang* 'wait for' *attayang* 'wait'

Jukes (2006:253) lists more of what I identify as antipassives, some of which exhibit meaning shift from their transitive counterparts, as shown in (95). The first column, prefixed by *aN(N)*-, is the AV form of the verb, and the second column, prefixed by *aC*-, is the antipassive.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Jukes' analysis of AV clauses, see 4.

- (95) ammanynyang 'stretch (something)' a'banynyang 'stretch (self)  
 angngokkoro' 'knock down' akkokkoro' 'tumble down'  
 anynyokko 'hide (something)' accokko 'hide (self)  
 angnganre 'eat' akkanre 'be consumed (e.g. by fire)'  
 allesang 'move (something)' a'lesang 'move (self)'

Like the Bugis *maC-*, the Makasar *aC-* is also used to derive intransitive verbs from nouns and other parts of speech (Jukes 2006:248-250). Notice from the examples listed in (96) that the meaning of the derived verb is not fully predictable from the root.

- (96) jarang 'horse' a'jarang 'ride a horse'  
 tedong 'buffalo' attedong 'keep buffalo'  
 oto 'car' a'oto 'go by car'  
 buburu' 'rice porridge' a'buburu' 'make rice porridge'  
 bayao 'egg' a'bayao 'lay an egg'  
 jonga 'deer' a'jonga 'hunt deer'  
 juku' 'fish' a'juku' 'go fishing'

A significant difference between Bugis and Makasar is that the Bugis antipassive prefix does not attach to intransitive verbs, but the Makasar *aC-* does.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that the *aC-* prefix has a wider range in Makasar than does *maC-* in Bugis, especially with regard to verbs. In other words, the Bugis prefix is more specialized in its role of marking antipassive voice.

## 5.2 Coastal Konjo

The coastal variety of Konjo<sup>4</sup> is spoken by about 125,000 people on the southeastern part of South Sulawesi. It is closely related to both Bugis and Makasar, and by examining data presented in Friberg (1991), I have identified the same four voices in Konjo as have been described in the other two languages. Once again, the choice between UV and AV depends on the definiteness of the undergoer.

<sup>3</sup> (Jukes 2006:334) states that intransitive verbs in Makasar are usually marked with *aC-*, but that certain intransitive verbs do not require this.

<sup>4</sup> ISO 639-3 code [kjc].

What I identify as UV clauses, shown in (97), feature definite undergoers and ergative proclitics that crossreference the actor, and absolutive enclitics that crossreference the undergoer (Friberg 1991:107, 115).<sup>5</sup>

- (97) a. Na= itte =a.  
 3ERG= see =1ABS  
 'He sees me.'
- b. Ku= halu' =i tappere'-ku.  
 1ERG= roll.up =3ABS mat-1POSS  
 'I roll up my mat.'

AV clauses feature an indefinite undergoer and are marked with *ang-*, as shown in (98). A significant difference between the Konjo voice system and that of Bugis is that clauses headed by such a verb permit omission of the undergoer (Friberg 1991:115).

- (98) a. Ang-halu' =a.  
 AV-roll.up =1ABS  
 'I roll up something.'
- b. Ang-halu' =a tappere.  
 AV-roll.up =1ABS mat  
 'I roll up a mat.'

The Konjo passive is prefixed with *ni-*, and features an optional oblique actor in a prepositional phrase, as shown in (99), taken from (Friberg 1991:128).

- (99) Ni-kiring-i =ko sura' (ri bohe-nu)  
 PASS-send-LOC =2FAM.ABS letter (OBL grandparent-2FAM.POSS)  
 'You were sent a letter (by your grandparent).'

While Friberg (1991:105, 129) labels *a'* as an "intransitive verb prefix," I identify *a'*-prefixed verbs as antipassive, deriving intransitive clauses from transitive verbs. Examples of these are seen in (100), taken from (Friberg 1991:108).

<sup>5</sup> I have altered some of the glosses in these examples to fit my analysis (for example, glossing the ergative pronouns as proclitics rather than prefixes, and using the labels "AV" and "ANTIP").

- (100) a. A'-ranrang = a.  
 ANTIP-hack = 1ABS  
 'I hack (something).'
- b. A'-dongko' oto = a  
 ANTIP-ride car = 1ABS  
 'I ride in a car.'

Note that the undergoer is either implied (100a) or incorporated (100b), and is non-specific.

As in Makasar, the antipassive prefix in Konjo can also attach to intransitive verbs, whereas in Bugis it does not. Because of this, it is reasonable to consider the *a'*- prefix in Konjo to function as an indicator of antipassive voice when attached to transitive verbs, and simply as an indicator of intransitive activity in other situations.

Due to the optionality of the undergoer in AV clauses in Konjo, there is less evidence for a distinction between AV clauses and antipassives in Konjo than in Bugis. The next step to confirm an antipassive analysis in the sense of Cooreman (1994) would be to check for occasional meaning shift, an implied lack of onset and conclusion to the activity, and/or a decrease in affectedness of the undergoer in antipassive clauses. These characteristics, along with non-referentiality of the undergoer, have been identified by Cooreman (1994) as common to the semantic/pragmatic type of antipassives.

### 5.3 Seko Padang

Seko Padang, also known as Seko,<sup>6</sup> is a language spoken by roughly 6,000 people in the mountainous region on the northern tip of South Sulawesi, with population pockets near Palu in Central Sulawesi as well. Although Seko it is not as closely related to Bugis as either Makasar or Coastal Konjo, I propose that the four voices posited by Payne and Laskowske (1997) for the Seko voice system correspond to those of the Bugis voice system.<sup>7</sup> In other words, Seko also features a symmetrical voice alternation between undergoer voice and actor voice, as well as passive and antipassive constructions.

<sup>6</sup> ISO 639-3 code [skx].

<sup>7</sup> Tom Laskowske, my father, is an expert in the language and provided the examples listed in this section.

As shown in (101), the single argument of an intransitive clause is indicated by an absolutive proclitic on the verb.

- (101) a. **Ku= mirruru.**  
 1ABS= run  
 'I run.'
- b. **∅= Mirruru.**  
 3ABS= run  
 'She runs.'

Examples (102a) and (102b) are transitive (UV) clauses. Notice that the undergoer, rather than the actor, patterns after the single argument of the intransitive clause: the third person enclitic is null as the single argument of the intransitive clause (101b) and as the undergoer argument of the transitive clause (102a), but appears as *na=* when functioning as the actor of the transitive clause (102b); this identifies the null form as absolutive and the *na=* form as ergative.

- (102) a. **∅= Ku= ita.**  
 3ABS= 1ERG= see  
 'I see her.'
- b. **Ku= na= ita.**  
 1ABS= 3ERG= see  
 'She sees me.'

As in Bugis, the choice between undergoer voice and actor voice in Seko is dictated by how established the undergoer is in the discourse; definite undergoers require undergoer voice clauses (103a), while indefinite undergoers require actor voice clauses (103b). As is the case with the Bugis AV construction, in the Seko AV clause, exemplified by (103b), the actor appears in absolutive case, and the undergoer is not crossreferenced on the verb.

- (103) a. **∅= Na= patei ti talubamma'**  
 3ABS= 3ERG= kill DEF snake  
 'He killed the snake.'
- b. **∅= Mam-patei talubamma'**  
 3ABS= AV-kill snake  
 'He killed a snake.' / 'He killed snakes.'

The Seko passive, marked by the prefix *ni-*, as seen in (104a), requires omission of the actor. This is demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of (104b), which attempts to place the actor in an oblique PP.

- (104) a. *Ku= ni-ita.*  
 1ABS= PASS-see  
 'I was seen.'
- b. \* *Ku= ni-ita i inang-ku.*  
 1ABS= PASS-see OBL mother-1POSS  
 (I was seen by my mother.)

I identify the prefix *mu-* (allomorphs *miN-*, *m-*) as marking the antipassive construction in Seko. In the examples in (105), the left column lists (transitive) actor voice forms, while the right column lists (intransitive) antipassive forms.

- (105) *mam-patidolu* 'tell about'    *mu-patidolu* 'tell a story'  
*mam-patongang* 'believe'    *mu-patongang* 'believe'  
*mam-paturo* 'teach'    *mu-paturo* 'teach'  
*mam-pantuyu* 'assign'    *mu-pantuyu* 'assign work'  
*man-tunna* 'curse'    *mu-tunna* 'curse'  
*man-tuda* 'fight against'    *mu-tuda* 'fight'

To summarize, Table 8 depicts the four Seko voices, the first column listing the terms for the four voices used by Payne and Laskowske (1997:424), second column listing the corresponding terminology in a symmetrical analysis, and the third and fourth columns listing identifying morphology and macrorole argument status, respectively.

Table 8. Characteristics of voices in Seko Padang

Voice (term used by Payne and Laskowske)	Voice (term used in a symmetrical analysis)	Morphology	Status of A and U
Active-transitive	Undergoer voice	ABS = ERG =	A is erg. case, U is PSA (abs. case)
Antipassive	Actor voice	ABS = <i>maN-</i>	A is PSA (abs. case), U is not crossreferenced on the verb
Passive	Passive	ABS = <i>ni-</i>	U is PSA, A is obligatorily omitted

Voice (term used by Payne and Laskowske)	Voice (term used in a symmetrical analysis)	Morphology	Status of A and U
Super-antipassive	Antipassive	ABS = <i>mu-</i> <i>/miN-/m-</i>	A is PSA, U is obligatorily omitted

## CHAPTER 6

### Summary and Conclusion

This thesis presents the evidence for analyzing Bugis as exhibiting a symmetrical voice system in the sense of Arka (2003), consisting of UV and AV constructions, both fully transitive. In addition, Bugis also features passive and antipassive constructions. I have identified the absolutive argument as the PSA in realis constructions. Including passives and antipassives, the basic neutralization pattern for this PSA is represented by the set [S, U<sub>UV</sub>, A<sub>AV</sub>, U<sub>PASS</sub>, A<sub>ANTIP</sub>]. Including the symmetrical voice alternation, consisting of actor and undergoer voice, I have identified and described four distinct voices in Bugis, the syntactic characteristics of which are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9. Syntactic characteristics of each of the four voices

	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Transitivity</b>	<b>Undergoer is...</b>	<b>Actor is...</b>
<b>Undergoer voice</b>	none	Transitive	absolutive case, obligatory, definite	ergative case, obligatory, either definite or indefinite
<b>Actor voice</b>	<i>m</i> <sup>1</sup>	Transitive	unmarked for case, obligatory, indefinite	absolutive case, obligatory, definite
<b>Passive</b>	<i>i</i> -	Intransitive	absolutive case, obligatory, definite	oblique, optional, definite
<b>Antipassive</b>	<i>maC</i> -	Intransitive	oblique, optional, definite	absolutive case, obligatory, definite

Table 10 presents a summary of the discourse functions of the four voices, illustrating the choice of voice for a given clause headed by an underlyingly transitive verb:

<sup>1</sup> Only on vowel-initial words

Table 10. Discourse functions of the four voices in Bugis

To...	Use...
...refer to a undergoer that is definite in a transitive clause (actor may or may not be prominent)	Undergoer voice
...refer to a undergoer that is indefinite but referential in a transitive clause (actor is prominent)	Actor voice
...demote a definite actor	Passive with actor in a PP
...omit actor altogether	Passive with no actor
...demote a definite undergoer	Antipassive with undergoer in a PP <sup>2</sup>
...demote undergoer from referential to nonreferential	Antipassive with an incorporated NP
...omit undergoer altogether	Antipassive with no undergoer

While attention has been given to each of the four voices in this presentation, UV has been identified as the basic voice in Bugis. From a discourse perspective, the reason UV is the most basic is that it is the voice used to track previously introduced participants, and tracking participants tends to occupy a much greater portion of a narrative than introducing new participants. Moreover, as stated in section 2.4, Bugis has an intransitive existential construction that serves as an alternative to actor voice in introducing new participants. For these reasons, AV clauses are relatively infrequent.

In addition to presenting evidence for the transitivity of AV clauses, I contrasted such clauses with antipassive clauses, drawing special attention to the difference in treatment of the patient argument in each construction. Most significantly, the antipassive undergoer, when present, undergoes syntactic demotion, and may be incorporated into the main verb as a nonreferential noun phrase.

The significance of my thesis is twofold: First, in demonstrating transitivity of AV clauses, I present a symmetrical voice system analysis of Bugis; to my knowledge such an analysis has not been explored previously for this language. Second, this may be one of only a few clear AV-antipassive distinctions presented in the context of symmetrical voice systems.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This option is limited to clauses featuring an approximately dative relationship between verb and undergoer.

<sup>3</sup> Payne and Laskowske (1997) may constitute a presentation of such a distinction in the voice system of Seko Padang, albeit with different terminology (see section 5.3).

By providing data on the Bugis voice system, it is my hope that this thesis can help bring clarity to the debate between actor voice and antipassive analyses of other Austronesian languages. I also hope the clear distinction presented here between the definitions of symmetrical voice used by Arka (2003) and Himmelmann (2005) can prevent confusion in future usage of the term, and assist in working toward a unified typology of symmetrical voice.

APPENDIX A

*Cuppang-cuppang Kapuru'* "The Wrinkled Old Toad"

- (106) Engka ana'dara pitu silaung, polé map-pasa.  
 EXIST virgin seven together come.from INTR-market  
 Once upon a time there were seven virgins coming home together from market.
- (107) Tapi iaro wettu-nna ana'dara-é polé =na map-pasa  
 But that time-3POSS virgin-DEF come.from =COMPL INTR-market  
  
 m-élo' =i mal-létto ku salo'-é, na lémpé' raja =i.  
 REAL-want =3ABS ANTIP-cross OBL river-DEF and flood large =3ABS  
 But at that time, the virgins coming from market had to cross the river, and it was  
 flooded.
- (108) Dé na= ullé mola =i salo'-é.  
 NEG 3ERG= possible pass.by =3ABS river-DEF  
 It was impossible to cross.
- (109) Makk-ada =i ana'dara-é, "Dé muna kasi' gaga pal-létto  
 INTR-word =3ABS virgin-DEF NEG even pity! EXIST CAUS-cross  
  
 =ka', namuni cuppang-cuppang kapuru' mana pal-létto  
 =1SG.ABS even old.toad wrinkled remain CAUS-cross =1SG.ABS  
  
 =ka' ku salo'-é, lo to=ka' pulakkai =wi!"  
 OBL river-DEF will also =1SG.ABS marry =3ABS  
 The virgins said, "What a pity! There's no one to get me to the other side. If anyone  
 helps me cross, even a wrinkled old toad, I'll marry him!"
- (110) Aga teppa engka tongen =na cuppang-cuppang kapuru'.  
 then suddenly EXIST truly =COMPL old.toad wrinkled  
 What of all things should take place but that without warning, along came a wrinkled  
 old toad!

- (111) I-pal-létto =ni ku cuppang-cuppang kapuru'-é.  
 PASS-CAUS-cross =3ABS.COMPL OBL old.toad wrinkled-DEF  
 The wrinkled old toad helped them cross. (lit. 'They were brought across by the wrinkled old toad.')
- (112) M-énré' =ni ku iasé'-na lekke'-na cuppang-cuppang-é,  
 REAL-go.up =3ABS.COMPL OBL top-3POSS back-3POSS old.toad-DEF  
 jokka =ni cuppang-é.  
 go =3ABS.COMPL toad-DEF  
 They climbed up onto the toad's back, and then he swam across.
- (113) Lettu' =ni pottanang-é, wirin-na salo-é, maka lari =na  
 arrive =3ABS.COMPL land-DEF side-3POSS river-DEF so run =COMPL  
 ana'dara m-eddé'.  
 virgin REAL-go.home  
 When they reached land, on the other side of the river, the virgins ran away home!
- (114) Dé =na na= lo pulakkai =wi cuppang-cuppang  
 NEG =COMPL 3ERG= want marry =3ABS old.toad  
 kapuru'-é.  
 wrinkled-DEF  
 They didn't want to marry the wrinkled old toad.
- (115) Makk-ada =ni cuppang kapuru', "Téga =ni ro  
 INTR-word =3ABS.COMPL toad wrinkled where =3ABS.COMPL that  
 onna' ana'dara-é, lo =ka' pubéné =wi."  
 earlier virgin-DEF want =1SG.ABS marry =3ABS  
 Wrinkled Toad asked, "Where did those virgins go? I want to marry them."
- (116) Lari =i m-eddé'.  
 run =3ABS REAL-go.home  
 They had all run home.

- (117) **Jokka =ni**                    **sijoppa-joppana iaro cuppang-cuppang kapuru'-é**  
**go =3ABS.COMPL walking-around that old.toad wrinkled-DEF**
- sappa =i ana'dara-é, engka =na passubbé' kuro, na=**  
**look.for =3ABS virgin-DEF EXIST =COMPL spade.user there 3ERG=**
- subbé' =i dare'-na.**  
**spade =3ABS garden-3POSS**
- The wrinkled old toad walked and walked looking for the virgins, and there was a farmer with a spade, working in his garden.
- (118) **"Assalam ualaikum."**  
**(Muslim greeting)**  
**"Assalam ualaikum."**
- (119) **Makk-ada =i paddare'-é, "Walaikum salam.**  
**INTR-word =3ABS farmer-DEF (Muslim greeting)**  
**"Walaikum salam," the farmer answered.**
- (120) **Agangaré' to parallu-tta'?"**  
**what(polite) also need-2POL.POSS**  
**"How many I help you?"**
- (121) **Makk-ada =i cuppang kapuru'-é, "Lo =ka makk-utana,**  
**INTR-word =3ABS toad wrinkled-DEF want =1SG.ABS ANTIP-ask**
- engka ga ana'dara mu= ita onna' lalo pitu kué, polé**  
**EXIST Q virgin 2FAM.ERG= see earlier pass.by seven here from**
- map-pasa?"**  
**INTR-market**
- The wrinkled toad said, "I want to ask, did you see seven virgins pass by here, coming from market?"
- (122) **Makk-ada =i passubbé, "Aga to na= aseng cuppang-cuppang**  
**INTR-word =3ABS spade.user what also 3ERG= suppose old.toad**
- kapuru'? Lo u= subbé =i tu matu' ulu-mmu."**  
**wrinkled will 1SG.ERG= spade =3ABS that later head-2FAM.POSS**
- The farmer said, "What are you getting at? Watch out, I'll go after your head with my spade!"

- (123) *Ma-cai paddare'-é.*  
 STAT-anger farmer-DEF  
 The farmer was angry.
- (124) *I-cai-ri cuppang-é ku paddare'-é.*  
 PASS-anger-TR toad-DEF OBL farmer-DEF  
 He yelled at the toad. (lit, 'The toad was yelled at by the farmer.')
- (125) *Ma-séssabua =ni, sajang-rennu =ni*  
 STAT-pain.stomach =3ABS.COMPL ebb-hope =3ABS.COMPL
- cuppang-cuppang kapuru'-é, jokka si =i, engka si bulu*  
 old.toad wrinkly-DEF go again =3ABS EXIST again mountain
- céddi na= ola.*  
 one 3ERG= pass.by
- The wrinkled old toad felt hurt and disappointed, and continued walking, and passed over one mountain.
- (126) *Runtu' si =i pabbéngkung.*  
 meet again =3ABS hoe.user  
 Then he met a farmer hoeing (lit. 'a hoer').
- (127) *"Assalam ualaikum."*  
 (Muslim greeting)  
 "Assalam ualaikum."
- (128) *Makk-ada =i pabbéngkung, "Walaikum salam."*  
 INTR-word =3ABS hoe.user (Muslim greeting)  
 The farmer answered, "Walaikum salam."
- (129) *Makk-ada =i, "Engka ga ana'dara pitu lalo kué, seddé-na*  
 INTR-word =3ABS EXIST Q virgin seven pass here near-3POSS
- dare'-ta'?"*  
 garden-2POL.POSS
- The toad said, "Were there seven virgins who passed this way, near your garden?"

- (130) Mak-kada =i pabbéngkung-é, "Lo béngkung amma =i  
 INTR-word =3ABS hoe.user-DEF will hoe later(warning) =3ABS  
 ulu-mmu kutu!"  
 head-2FAM.POSS there  
 The farmer said, "Watch out, or I'll get your head with my hoe!"
- (131) I-cai-ri si =i ku pabbéngkung-é.  
 PASS-anger-TR again 3ABS OBL hoe.user-DEF  
 The toad was yelled at again. (lit, 'He was yelled at again by the hoer.')
- (132) Ésenna ma-étta jokka sijoppa-joppana, runtu' si =i paddonra,  
 after STAT-long(time) go walking-around meet again 3ABS thresher  
 makk-ada =i, "Assalam ualaikum."  
 INTR-word =3ABS (Muslim greeting)  
 He walked and walked, and by and by met a woman threshing rice.
- (133) Makk-ada =ni paddonra-é, "Walaikum salam."  
 INTR-word =3ABS.COMPL thresher-DEF (Muslim greeting)  
 The thresher replied, "Walaikum salam."
- (134) Makk-ada =i, "Lo =ka' bu makk-utana, engka ga ir-ita  
 INTR-word =3ABS want =1SG.ABS ma'am ANTIP-ask EXIST Q PASS-see  
 onna' ana'dara pitu silaung kué?"  
 earlier virgin seven together here  
 He said, "Excuse me ma'am, may I ask, did you see seven virgins here recently?"
- (135) Makk-ada =i paddonra-é, "Lo u= tettu amma =i  
 INTR-word =3ABS thresher will 1ERG= pound later(warning) =3ABS  
 ulu-mmu kutu!"  
 head-3POSS there  
 The thresher said, "Watch out, I'll pound your head!"

(136) Nappa rékéng na= sambung si =i paddonra makk-ada =i,  
 then happen 3ERG= connect again =3ABS thresher INTR-word =3ABS

"Énré' =no bola-é, engka =i ku bola-édé to  
 go.up =2FAM.ABS.COMPL house-DEF EXIST =3ABS OBL house-DEF that

ana'dara-é, pitu-édé mu= sappa-é."  
 virgin-DEF seven-DEF 2FAM.ERG= look.for-DEF

Then the thresher followed up by saying, "Go up to the house, the seven virgins you're looking for are in that house."

(137) M-énré' =ni bola-é cuppang-cuppang kapuru'.  
 REAL-go.up =3ABS.COMPL house-DEF old.toad wrinkled  
 So the wrinkled old toad went up to the house.

(138) Makk-ada =i cuppang-cuppang kapuru', na= sappa =i  
 INTR-word =3ABS old.toad wrinkled 3ERG= look.for =3ABS

ana'dara-é.  
 virgin-DEF

He said he was looking for the virgins.

(139) Engka =ni ro ana'dara-édé pitu-é?  
 EXIST =3ABS.COMPL those virgin-DEF seven-DEF  
 "Are the seven virgins there?"

(140) Makk-ada =i, "Makk-ada =ko onna', 'Aku cuppang-cuppang  
 INTR-word =3ABS INTR-word =2FAM.ABS earlier if old.toad

kapuru' pa-létto =ka', lo to =ka' pulakkai =wi."  
 wrinkled CAUS-cross =1SG.ABS will also =1SG.ABS marry =3ABS

He said, "You said earlier, 'If a wrinkled old toad helps me across, I'll marry him."

(141) Makk-ada =i iaro ana'dara-édé, "Lokka =no iolo  
 INTR-word =3ABS those virgin-DEF go =2FAM.ABS.COMPL first

mu= léu, Cuppang-cuppang Kapuru', ku ranjang-é,  
 2FAM.ERG= lie.down old.toad wrinkled OBL bed-DEF

u= pellang-ek =ko uaé."  
 1SG.ERG= heat-BEN =2FAM.ABS water

The virgins said, "Come in and lie down first, Wrinkled Old Toad, there on the bed. We'll heat you up some water."

- (142) Tapi iaro pahan-na                      Cuppang Kapuru' na=      aseng  
 but that understanding-3POSS toad      wrinkled 3ERG= suppose  
  
 pellang-eng uaé i-ébbu-reng kopi.  
 heat-BEN water PASS-make-BEN coffee  
 Wrinkled Toad thought they meant heat up water to make him some coffee.
- (143) Ésenna rédé uaé-yé, na= bolo =i Cuppang Kapuru' ku  
 after boil water-DEF 3ERG= pour.on =3ABS Toad Warty OBL  
  
 ranjang-é, maté =ni.  
 bed-DEF dead =3ABSCOMPL  
 When the water boiled, they poured it on Warty Toad in the bed, and he died.
- (144) Dé =na na= pulakkai =wi apa' maté =ni.  
 NEG =COMPL 3ERG= marry =3ABS because dead =3ABSCOMPL  
 They no longer [had to] marry him because he died.

## References

- Allen, Janet. 2014. *Kankanaey: A Role and Reference Grammar Analysis*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Arka, I Wayan. 1998. *From morphosyntax to pragmatics in Balinese*. University of Sydney dissertation.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2003. Voice systems in the Austronesian languages of Nusantara: Typology, symmetry and Undergoer orientation. *Linguistik Indonesia* 21(1). 113-39. Page numbers cited in this thesis are from the working paper version of July 2002.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2005. The core-oblique distinction and core index in some Austronesian languages of Indonesia. International ALT VI (Association of Linguistic Typology) conference, Padang, Indonesia.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2009. On the zero (voice) prefix and bare verbs in Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. In Bethwyn Evans, *Discovering history through language: papers in honour of Malcolm Ross*, 247-70. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Arka, I Wayan, and Christoffer Manning. 1998. Voice and grammatical relations in Indonesian: A new perspective. In M. Butt and T. King (eds), *Proceedings of the LFG '98 conference*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.  
<http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/LFG/3/lfg98-toc.html>.
- Chung, Sandra. 1976. On the subject of two passives in Indonesian. In C.N. Li, *Subject and Topic*, 57-98. New York: Academic Press.
- Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon and Yanti. 2008. Voice in Malay/Indonesian. *Lingua* 118(10). 1500-53.
- Cooreman, Ann. 1994. A functional typology of antipassives. In B. Fox and P. Hopper, *Voice: Form and Function*, 49-86. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dean, James C. 1958. Some principal grammatical relations of Bilaan. *Oceania Linguistics Monographs* 5. 83-90.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1972. *The Dyirbal Language of North Queensland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55. 59-138.
- Donohue, M. 1999. *A Grammar of Tukang Besi*. Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Donohue, M. 2002. Voice in Tukang Besi and the Austronesian focus system. In F. Wouk and M. D. Ross, *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems*, 81-99. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Foley, William. 1998. Symmetrical voice systems and precategoriality in Philippine languages. The Third Lexical Functional Grammar Conference. Brisbane, 30 June-2 July, 1998.
- Foley, William and Robert Van Valin. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Friberg, Barbara. 1991. Ergativity, focus and verb morphology in several South Sulawesi languages. In Ray Harlow, *VICAL 2: Western Austronesian and contact languages, parts I and II: Papers from the fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 103-30. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Friberg, Timothy, and Barbara Friberg. 1988. A dialect geography of Bugis. *Papers in Western Austronesian Linguistics no. 4* (Pacific Linguistics, A-79), ed. Hein Steinhauer. 303-30. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Hanson, Christopher. 2003. *A grammar of Bugis based on the Soppeng dialect*. La Trobe University dissertation.
- Healey, Alan. 1958. Preface. In Cappell, A. and Wurm. S., *Studies in Philippine linguistics by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Pacific Branch*, Oceania Linguistics Monographs 3. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus. 2005. Typological characteristics. In Adelaar, A. and Himmelman, N., *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 110-81. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56. 251-99.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. The discourse basis for lexical categories in universal grammar. *Language* 60(4). 703-52.
- Jukes, Anthony. 2006. *Makassarese*. University of Melbourne, Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics dissertation.
- Jukes, Anthony. 2013. Voice, valence and focus in Makassarese. *NUSA: Linguistic studies of languages in and around Indonesia* 54. 67-84.

- Klamer, M.A.F. 1998. *A Grammar of Kambera*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kroeger, Paul. 1993. *Phrase Structure and Grammatical Relations in Tagalog*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2004. *Analyzing syntax: A lexical-functional approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2007. Balinese morphosyntax: A lexical-functional approach (review). *Oceanic Linguistics* 46(1). 306-13.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2010. McKaughan's analysis of Philippine voice. In Loren Billings & Nelleke Goudswaard, *Piakandatu ami Dr. Howard P. McKaughan*, 207-12. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2014. Passive agents in Malay: The binding properties and discourse functions of agentive = *nya*. *NUSA* 57. 5-29.
- Laskowske, Douglas. 2016. Bugis orthography: Then and now. MS.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2012. Subjects in Acehnese and the nature of the passive. *Language* 88(3). 495-525.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Macknight, Campbell (ed.). 2012. *Bugis and Makasar: Two Short Grammars (South Sulawesi Studies 1)*. Canberra: Karuda Press.
- Macknight, Campbell (ed.). 2014. The triumph of *lontara'*. International Workshop on Endangered Scripts of Island Southeast Asia. Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. [http://lingdy.aacore.jp/doc/endangered-scripts-issea/campbell\\_macknight\\_paper.pdf](http://lingdy.aacore.jp/doc/endangered-scripts-issea/campbell_macknight_paper.pdf).
- Manaster-Ramer, Alexis. 1992. What's a topic in the Philippines? In Martha Ratliff and Eric Schiller, *Papers from the First Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, 271-91. Tempe: Arizona State University.
- Matthes, B.F. 1875. *Boeginesche spraakkunst*. 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- McKaughan, Howard. 1958. *The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- McKaughan, Howard. 1973. Subject versus topic. In Andrew B. Gonzalez, *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez: Essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth*

- birthday*, 206-13. Philippine Linguistic Society Special Monograph 4. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Miller, Mark T. 2007. *A Grammar of West Coast Bajau*. The University of Texas at Arlington dissertation. <http://hdl.handle.net/10106/577>.
- Millar, Susan Bolyard. 1989. *Bugis Weddings: Rituals of Social Location in Modern Indonesia*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California. [Monograph Series 29].
- Mithun, Marianne. 1995. On the relativity of irreality. In Bybee, Joan and Suzanne Fleischman, *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*, 367-88. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Noorduyn, J. 1955. *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van wadjos: Buginese historiografie*. 's Gravenhage: H.L. Smits.
- Payne, Thomas E. and Thomas Laskowske. 1997. Voice in Seko Padang. In Bybee, Joan, John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson, *Essays on Language Function and Language Type, Dedicated to T. Givón*, 423-36. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.
- Pelras, Christian. 1996. *The Bugis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ross, Malcolm, and Stacy Fang-ching Teng. 2005. Formosan languages and linguistic typology. *Language and Linguistics* 6.4. 739-81.
- Sirk, U. 1983. translated by E.H. Tsipan, ed. Lina Skharban. *The Buginese Language*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Sneddon, James Neil et al. 2012. *Indonesian: A Comprehensive Grammar*. : Routledge.
- Thomas, David D. 1958. Mansaka sentence and sub-sentence structures. *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 23. 339-58.
- Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Walton, Charles. 1986. *Sama verbal semantics: Classification, derivation and inflection*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines Manila. <http://www.sil.org/resources/archives/9505>.
- Wechsler, Stephen and I Wayan Arka. 1998. Syntactic ergativity in Balinese: an argument structure based theory. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 16(2). 387-442.
- Wu, Joy. 2007. "Voice" markers in Amis: a Role and Reference Grammar analysis. *Language and Linguistics* 8. 95-142.