

Optional Ergative Marking and the Emergence of Passive Structures in Austronesian Languages

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Optional Ergative Marking and the Emergence of Passive Structures in Austronesian Languages

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This paper focuses on the optionality of ergative marking pronouns in Austronesian languages, and discusses some morphosyntactic developments that took place in association with the optional ergative marking.

First, it will point out that, in a system which is commonly found in western Austronesian languages, a transitive sentence occurs in which the use of an ergative pronoun is obligatory, even when the agent of the event need not be expressed. It is assumed that such was also the system of their commonly shared ancestral language, Proto-Extra Formosan. Several developments have taken place in some of the daughter languages that are considered to result from this situation, including the emergence of optional ergative marking. These developments are examined.

The second half of the paper deals with optional ergative marking and related morphosyntactic developments. In some Austronesian languages, it is found that an ergative clitic pronoun indicating the agent of a transitive sentence optionally alternates with a verb formative which marks passive. A diachronic examination of such interaction between ergative and passive sheds light on the conditions whereby optional ergative marking emerges and how the phenomenon is formalized to develop into a new sentence structure. Mechanisms of the change and possible motivations for each stage of the change are provided, as well as examples from some of the languages in which optional ergative clitic pronouns are observed.

Key words: passive, ergative, morphosyntactic comparison, diachronic change, Austronesian

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1. Introduction

Some western Austronesian languages are known to have two different clitic positions within a single pronominal paradigm. Example sentences from Totoli, spoken in North Sulawesi, are given in (1) illustrating this situation. As can be seen in (1)a, the first person singular clitic pronoun *ku=* indicating an actor occurs as a proclitic, while the second person singular clitic pronoun *=mu* indicating an actor occurs as an enclitic as in (1)b.

(1) Totoli (North Sulawesi)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. <i>Ingga ku=kotoi.</i> NEG 1SG.GEN=know ‘I don’t know.’</p> | <p>b. <i>Ingga kotoi=mu?</i> NEG know=2SG.GEN ‘You don’t know?’</p> |
|---|---|
- (Himmelman 1996: 125)

Such a system appears to reflect an intermediate stage during which enclitics are becoming proclitics, or vice versa. A pronominal set showing alternation such as those in Totoli will be referred to as a “mixed-position pronoun set” in this paper.¹⁾

There are some interesting facts associated with mixed-position pronoun sets. First, a mixed-position pronoun set is always a post-genitive pronoun set, in other words, it is always the set of pronouns which historically goes back to an earlier genitive set, the function of which was to express the “A” of transitive sentences, and to case-mark them as ergative.²⁾ Second, in some languages with a mixed-position pronoun set, it is found that the proclitic pronouns alternate with a verb prefix. For example, the first person and second person genitive pronouns in Pendau, a Central Sulawesi language, may occur either as proclitic or enclitic. In (2)a, when the verb is marked with the realis prefix *ni-* the first person singular genitive pronoun occurs as an enclitic *=’u*, while in (2)b, when the verb is not realis, the same form occurs as a proclitic, in effect replacing *ni-*.

(2) Pendau (Central Sulawesi)

- a. *Si= papa ni-tuju = 'u.*
 PERS.NOM³= grandpa R-send =1 SG.ERG
 'I sent Grandpa.' (Quick 2002: 105)
- b. *Oo 'u= raga, ... paey 'u= pate-i.*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.ERG.IR= chase and then 1SG.ERG.IR= kill-LOC
 'I'll chase you, ... and then I'll kill you.' (Quick 2002: 106)

The alternation between pronominal proclitics and verb prefixes is not uncommon in western Austronesian languages. It takes place not only in languages with mixed-position pronouns but also in languages in which the ergative set consists entirely of proclitics. Example sentences are given in (3) from Makassarese to illustrate this situation. In (3)a, the third person ergative pronoun *na=* occurs as a proclitic to the verb. In (3)b, it can be seen that the prefix *ni-* appears in place of the ergative clitic pronoun.

(3) Makassarese (South Sulawesi)

- a. *Kongkong-a, na=buno=i miong-a.*
 dog-DET 3SG.ERG=kill=3.NOM cat-DET
 'The dog, it killed the cat.' (Jukes 2005: 668)
- b. *Miong-a ni-buno=i (ri kongkong-a).*
 cat-DET PASS-kill=3.NOM by dog-DET
 'The cat was killed (by the dog).' (Jukes 2005: 678)

The verb prefix *ni-* in Pendau is analysed as a realis mood marker, while in Makassarese the same form is analysed as a passive marker. In languages where this alternation is found, the form that alternates with the proclitic pronoun is often described as a tense or aspect marker, such as a past tense marker, a completive aspect marker, or a realis mood marker as in Pendau. However, the form is also commonly described as marking "passive" as in Makassarese. In all of the languages in which this type of alternation occurs, some or all of the proclitic pronominal forms can be shown to be reflexes of an earlier genitive pronominal set that marked the (ergative) agent of a transitive sentence.

The phenomena described above raise at least two questions related to ergative marking pronouns in Austronesian languages and their development. The first question is about the optionality of the ergative pronouns; while ergative marking pronouns alternate with a verb formative in some Austronesian languages, in others (such as those in the Philippines), their presence is typically required in any transitive sentence. In some other languages, the remnants of the earlier pronominal forms marking ergative are found as agreement markers on the verb, implying that the pronominal forms were obligatory in an earlier system, and that they were eventually grammaticalized. The second is the classic question as to the relationship between "ergative" and "passive" structures, whether these structures are diachronically related, and if so, what the exact processes of change were that took place. The two questions, in the context of the diachronic development of sentence structures in Austronesian languages, are directly related to each other, as we will see in this paper.

The similarity between ergative sentence structures and passives has long been recognized, and discussions were particularly active in the field of linguistic typology in the 70's and 80's. These include Estival and Myhill (1988) who claimed that ergative and passive constructions are “morphologically similar but syntactically different”. They argue that “ergative constructions developed diachronically from passive constructions” (1988: 441), and in this context refer specifically to changes they claim to have taken place in some Austronesian languages (1988: 472–478). Active debate took place on the historical development of case-marking systems in the Polynesian language family, one of the lower subgroups in the Austronesian family, which consists of both ergative and accusative languages. Just as in Estival and Myhill, some arguments were typologically based, focusing on the similarities between the marking patterns of non-pronominal noun phrases, rather than utilizing the comparative-historical method (Hohepa 1969, Sinclair 1976, Chung 1977, Chung 1978, Ota 1999, Ball 2007). Some, however, attempted to reconstruct genetically related (prepositional) forms (Clark 1976), and a few focused on possible changes that took place in the pronominal systems and structural changes (Kikusawa 2002, 2003b).

This paper also deals with the diachronic relation between ergative and passive structures. I argue that optional ergative clitic pronouns alternating with a verb formative observed in the transitive constructions of some Austronesian languages is a precursor to the emergence of a true passive structure in those languages. I will show that in many Austronesian languages, a passive sentence structure developed, not by replacing the earlier transitive structure, but by splitting off from it. It will be shown that in some languages, the agent of a transitive sentence that was typically expressed with a post-genitive clitic pronoun became optional when it had indefinite reference. At a later stage, the agent of such a structure could be expressed, but only by an optional oblique prepositional phrase, and not with a clitic pronoun. In these languages, the passive structure that resulted from these developments was not the result of a reinterpretation of transitive sentences as passives, since both transitive and pre-passive structures co-exist in the language. Although the reinterpretation of transitive sentences as passives is a plausible sequence of development in other languages, these are not within the scope of the present discussion.⁴⁾

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides some background knowledge necessary for the arguments presented in this paper. It includes a brief description of sentence structures observed in Austronesian languages, as well as definitions of terms used in this paper, including what I mean by the term “passive”. In Section 3, the precondition for the development of a system where ergative marking is optional is discussed. In Section 4, I will present a scenario as to how a passive sentence structure developed from an earlier transitive sentence structure in many ergative Austronesian languages. Languages that still retain the earliest stage in which agent phrases are obligatory are first exemplified. Examples will then be given from languages in which agent phrases have become optional, and the roles such optional agents have taken in the course of language change will be demonstrated. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. Background

This section provides background information for the discussion in the following sections. These include a brief introduction to Austronesian languages (2.1), a summary of typical ergative case-marking patterns found in pronominal systems in Austronesian languages (2.2), different terminologies appearing in the description of Austronesian languages and the definitions of some of the terms used in this paper (2.3), and in particular, what is meant here by the term “passive” (2.4).

2.1. Austronesian languages

The Austronesian language family consists of more than a thousand languages, which are spread through island and mainland Southeast Asia, Madagascar and the Pacific. Although the genetic relationship among the member languages is well-established, there are still many internal subgrouping relationships that are controversial.

One subgrouping hypothesis of Austronesian languages is shown in Figure 1. Proto-Extra Formosan (boxed with solid lines) is the proto-language that is dealt with in this paper. The names of languages that appear in this paper and which subgroup they belong to are summarized in Table 1. The term “western Austronesian” is used to refer to the languages that do not belong to the Oceanic subgroup (which is shaded with gray).

Collections of typological summaries of some member languages appeared recently as Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) and Adelaar and Himmelmann (2005), and collections of papers on the voice/focus systems in Austronesian languages, most of which are directly relevant to what is discussed in this paper, are available (Wouk and Ross 2002, Arka and Ross 2005). Grammatical descriptions and dictionaries are available also on a good number of languages.

2.2. Case-marking patterns in western Austronesian languages

Many western Austronesian languages have a pronominal system with an ergative pattern. The agent of transitive sentences (‘A’) is typically expressed with a genitive clitic pronoun,⁵⁾ the patient of the transitive sentence (‘O’) and the subject of the intransitive sentence (‘S’) are both expressed with either a nominative pronoun, or a pronoun unmarked for case. Example sentences are given from Betsimisaraka Malagasy. It can be seen that while ‘A’ is expressed with *=ko* ‘1SG, genitive clitic pronoun’ in (4)a, the ‘S’ and ‘O’ are expressed with *izy* ‘3SG’ a morphologically unmarked independent pronoun that is interpreted as nominative when it occurs in the sentence-final position of canonical intransitive and transitive constructions (4) a–b. The language thus shows an ergative pattern.

(4) Betsimisaraka Malagasy (Madagascar)

- a. *Tia=ko izy.*
 like=1SG.GEN 3SG.(NOM)⁶⁾
 ‘I like him.’

(Kikusawa fieldnotes)

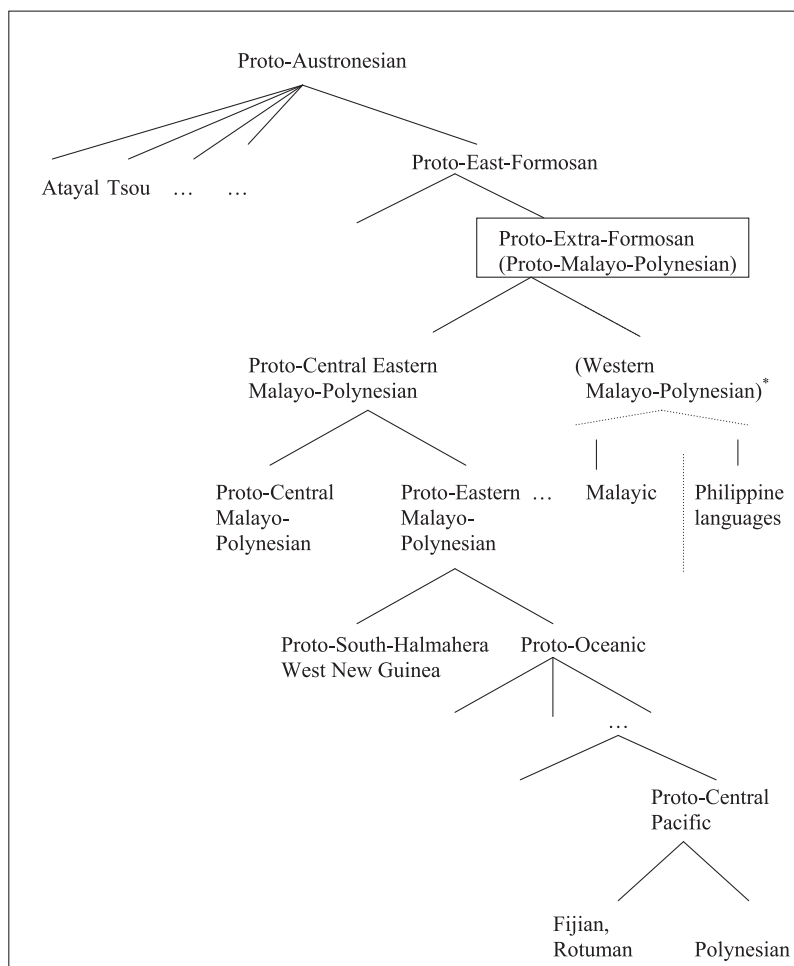


Figure 1 An Austronesian family tree[†]

* 'Western Malayo-Polynesian has... been used as a convenient "catch-all" category for all M[alayo-] P[olynesian] languages which do not exhibit the innovations diagnostic of Central-Eastern Malayo Polynesian...the WMP languages are the residue that results from subtracting the CEMP languages from the MP category' (Blust 1997: 30).

[†] The family tree is based on Blust 1977, 1997; Reid 1982, p.c.

- b. *Mandry izy.*
 be.asleep 3SG.(NOM)
 'S/he is asleep.'

(Kikusawa fieldnotes)

In addition to transitive and intransitive sentences, Austronesian languages with an ergative system typically have an "extended" intransitive sentence (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000), where the semantic actor ('S') is expressed with a nominative. In Betsimisaraka Malagasy, the undergoer ('E') in an extended intransitive sentence is expressed either with a

Table 1 A list of languages referred to in this paper, and the subgroups they belong to

| Language | Appearing in this paper | Place Spoken | Subgroup ¹⁾ |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Bontok (Guina-ang) | 3 | Northern Luzon, the Philippines | W. (Central Cordilleran, Northern Luzon) |
| Da'a | 4.1, 4.1.3, Table 9 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona) |
| Dampelas | 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Tomini-Tolitoli) |
| Dayak (Kendayan, Selako) | Table 9 | Kalimantan | W. (Land Dayak) |
| Embaloh | 4.1, 4.2.2, Table 9 | Borneo | W. (Sulawesi, South Sulawesi) |
| Hiligaynon | 2.2 | Western Bisayas, the Philippines | W. (Meso-Philippine, Central Philippine) |
| Ilokano | 3 | Northern Luzon, the Philippines | W. (Northern Cordilleran, Northern Luzon) |
| Indonesian | Table 9 | | W. (Malayic, Malayan) |
| Indonesian (Colloquial) | Table 9 | | W. (Malayic, Malayan) |
| Kaili | 4.1.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona) |
| Kapampangan | 3, fn. | Central Luzon, the Philippines | W. (Central Luzon) |
| Karo Batak | 4.2.2 | Sumatra | W. (Sumatra, Batak) |
| Konjo | 4.1, 4.1.2 | South Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, South Sulawesi) |
| Kulawi | 4.1, 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona) |
| Kulisusu | 4.2.3 | Southeast Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Bungku-Tolaki) |
| Lauje | 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Tomini-Tolitoli) |
| Makassarese | 1, 2.4, 4.1, 4.1.4 | South Sulawesi | W. (Malayic) |
| Malagasy (Betsimisaraka) | 2.2 | Madagascar | W. (Barito) |
| Middle Malay (Seraway) | Table 9 | | W. (Malayic, Malayan) |
| Minangkabau | Table 9, 4.2.2, 4.2.3 | Sumatra | W. (Malayic, Malayan) |
| Muna | 4.1.1.2 | Southeast Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Muna-Buton) |
| Nias (Selatan) | 4.1.1.2, 4.1.2 | Nias and Batu Islands (off Sumatra) | W. (Sundic, Sumatra, Northern) |
| Old Javanese | 4.2.2 | | W. (Javanese) |
| Old Malay | 4.2.2 | | W. (Malayic, Malayan) |
| Padoe | 4.2.3 | South Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Bungku-Tolaki) |
| Pamona | 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona) |
| Pendau | 1, 2.2, 4.1.2, 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Tomini-Tolitoli) |
| Polynesian languages | | | Oceanic |
| Proto-Celebic | 4.1.1.1 | | =Proto Sulawesi |
| Proto-Kaili-Pamona | 4.1.1.1, fn. | | a daughter protolanguages of Proto-Celebic |
| Sinama (or, Sama Bajau) | Table 9, 4.2.2 | Sama, Southern Philippines | W. (Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo) |
| Standard Malay | Table 9 | | W. (Malayic, Malayan) |
| Tagalog | 4.1 | the Philippines | W. (Meso Philippine, Central Philippine) |
| Taje | 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Tomini-Tolitoli) |
| Tajio | 4.2.3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Tomini-Tolitoli) |
| Tetun | 3 | Timor | Central-Eastern, Central Malayo-Polynesian |
| Tolaki | 4.2.3 | Southeast Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Bungku-Tolaki) |
| Tongan | 2.4 | Tonga | Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, (Oceanic) |
| Totoli | 1 | North Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Tomini-Tolitoli) |
| Uma | 3 | Central Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona) |
| Wolio | 4.1.2 | Southeast Sulawesi | W. (Sulawesi, Wotu-Wolio) |

¹⁾ The symbol "W." indicates NON-Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (see also footnote * for Figure 1).

phrase that is described either as oblique or locative, or by a morphologically unmarked independent pronoun. In (5)a, the unmarked form *izy* occurs, while in (5)b, it is the oblique form *ananjy* that expresses the undergoer.⁷⁾ In both these sentences, the unmarked pronoun *zaho* ‘1SG’, occurring as it does at the end of the sentence, is interpreted as nominative.

(5) Betsimisaraka Malagasy (Madagascar)

- a. *Tia izy zaho.*
 like 3SG.(OBL) 1SG.(NOM)
 ‘I like him/her/it.’

(Kikusawa fieldnotes)

- b. *Tia ananjy zaho.*
 like 3SG.OBL 1SG.(NOM)
 ‘I like him/her/it.’

(Kikusawa fieldnotes)

The typical ergative pattern case alignment of pronouns in Austronesian languages is summarized in Table 2.

One characteristic of many western Austronesian languages (especially those referred to as ‘Philippine-type languages’) is that the semantic role of “O”, the element that is expressed with the nominative phrase in transitive sentences, may vary depending on the morphological derivation of the verb. The set of different verb-nominative relations are traditionally referred to as different “focuses”, such as “goal focus”, “locational focus”, “instrumental focus” and “benefactive focus”, and in more recent literature these are referred to as different “voices”.⁸⁾ Table 3 shows typical semantic distinctions that exist in such a system.

Example sentences with nominative phrases having four different semantic properties are given in (6)a–d from Hiligaynon, one of the languages spoken in the Central Philippines. The morphological element marking different transitive structures is indicated in braces in the glosses. In these examples, the actor is always expressed with a genitive clitic pronoun and

Table 2 Typical case alignment patterns in Austronesian ergative pronominal systems

| | ACTOR | UNDERGOER |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| INTRANSITIVE | S (NOM) | |
| EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE | S (NOM) | E (OBL/LOC) |
| TRANSITIVE | A (GEN) | O (NOM) |

Table 3 Semantic features expressed by the O of transitive sentences

| | ACTOR | UNDERGOER |
|-----------------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| TRANSITIVE (“Goal Focus”) | A (GEN) | O (NOM): Goal |
| TRANSITIVE (“Locational Focus”) | A (GEN) | O (NOM): Location |
| TRANSITIVE (“Instrumental Focus”) | A (GEN) | O (NOM): Instrument |
| TRANSITIVE (“Benefactive Focus”) | A (GEN) | O (NOM): Beneficiary |

the undergoer is expressed with an independent pronoun, interpretable as nominative. However, the semantic role of the element expressed with the independent pronoun differs depending on the form of the verb, such as goal of an action (6)a, the location related to the action (6)b, the person who received advantage/disadvantage in the event (6)c, and the instrument used to perform the action (6)d. Example (6)e is an extended intransitive sentence, where the actor is expressed with a nominative clitic pronoun, and the undergoer with an oblique phrase.

(6) Hiligaynon (Western Visayas, Philippines)⁹⁾

a. Transitive (“GF”)

Buas nga daan duawon=ko ikaw.
 tomorrow LG way will.visit{-on}=1SG.GEN 2SG.(NOM)
 ‘First thing tomorrow I’ll visit you.’ (Wolfenden 1975: 62)

b. Transitive (“LF”)

Pungkoan=mo ang bangko.
 will.sit.on{-an}=2SG.GEN (NOM) chair
 ‘You will sit on the chair.’ (Wolfenden 1975: 113)

c. Transitive (“BF”)

Ilutuan=ko kamo sang paniudto.
 will.cook.for{i-, -an}=1SG.GEN 2PL(NOM) OBL lunch
 ‘I will cook lunch for you all.’ (Wolfenden 1975: 95)

d. Transitive (“IF”)

Ipangluto’=ko sang lumpya ang kalaha’.
 will.cook.with{i-}=1SG.GEN OBL lumpia (NOM) frying.pan
 ‘I will use the frying pan to cook some lumpia.’ (Wolfenden 1971: 131)

e. Intransitive (“AF”)

Naglampos=ako kay Pedro.
 {nag-}struck=1SG.NOM OBL Pedro
 ‘I struck Pedro.’ (Wolfenden 1975: 104)

The four different transitive constructions exemplified in (6)a–d above are commonly found in languages in the Philippines and Taiwan, and somewhat reduced contrasts are also common in other Austronesian languages including many of the languages referred to in later sections in this paper. In Betsimisaraka Malagasy, for example, the semantic role of the element expressed with a nominative phrase is coordinated (to some degree) with the verb morphology in two ways, one is referred to as a “plain transitive” construction, as in (7)a, and the other as an “applicative transitive,” as in (7)b. In the former, the semantic role of the argument expressed with a nominative phrase is the goal of the action, while in the latter, it is the location.

(7) Betsimisaraka Malagasy (Madagascar)¹⁰⁾

- a. *Nikajiky* *kafè.*
N-ikaji=ky *kafè.*
 R-put.away=1SG.GEN coffee.(NOM)
 ‘I put away the coffee.’ (Kikusawa fieldnotes)
- b. *Nikajiàna* *ananji* *traño.*
N-ikaji-àna=ko *ananji* *traño.*
 R-put.away-APP=1SG.GEN 3SG.OBL house.(NOM)
 ‘I put it away in the house.’ (Kikusawa fieldnotes)

In languages with the kind of system described above, it is typically the nominative argument that may be topicalized by fronting. Examples are shown again from Betsimisaraka Malagasy in (8), where the nominative arguments in sentences (4) and (5) appear as topics in clause-initial position.

(8) Betsimisaraka Malagasy (Madagascar)

- a. *Zaho,* *tia* *izy/ananjy.* (cf. (5)a–b)
 1SG.(TOP) like 3SG.(OBL)/3SG.OBL
 ‘As for me, (I) like him.’ (Kikusawa fieldnotes)
- b. *Izy,* *tia=ku.* (cf. (4)a)
 3SG.(TOP) like=1SG.GEN
 ‘As for him, I like (him).’ (Kikusawa fieldnotes)

Some languages have developed a system in which the nominative phrase preceding the main verb has become fixed, and the relative position of each noun phrase to the main verb determines (fully or partially) its case relation (Kikusawa 2003a). Example sentences are given from Pendau (Central Sulawesi). In (9)a, a third person pronoun occurring before the main verb is interpreted as the actor, while the one following the verb is understood as the undergoer. In (9)b, however, because of the morphology of the verb, the pronoun preceding the main verb is interpreted as the undergoer, while the clitic pronoun =*onyo* is understood as the actor.

(9) Pendau (Central Sulawesi)¹¹⁾

- a. *Io* *neng-ebiling* *’a’u.*
 3SG AV/R.leave 1SG
 ‘He left me.’ (Quick 1997: 467)
- b. *’A’u* *ni-ebiling=onyo.*
 1SG IV/R.leave=3SG.GEN
 ‘He left me.’ (Quick 1997: 467)

I will refer to languages with a system such as that of Pendau as “Malay-type” languages. Both Philippine-type languages and Malay-type languages appear in discussion in this paper.¹²⁾

2.3. Terminology

One of the problems in a morphosyntactic comparison of Austronesian languages is the inconsistent use of terminology. Different terms have been used in the descriptions and analyses of the sentence structures of Austronesian languages and even the same sentence structure in a single language may be described differently. For example, what is referred to as an “extended intransitive sentence” in this study may be called “transitive”, “antipassive”, “actor voice”, “agent voice”, etc. A summary of terminology correspondences is given in Table 4.¹³⁾

Because it is the historical development of sentence structures that is discussed in this study, it is important that “cognate structures,” that is, sentence structures that are considered to have developed from the same earlier structure be recognized. Therefore, terms that reference their historical source, as explained below, are consistently used in this paper, regardless of the terms used in the descriptions from which each example sentence is cited.

The commonly shared ancestor language of the languages discussed in this study is Proto-Extra-Formosan (also known more widely as Proto-Malayo-Polynesian), which is considered to have had Philippine-type sentence structures as shown in (10).¹⁴⁾

Table 4 Terminology used in the description of various Austronesian languages

| | S | S, E | A, O | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| TRANSITIVITY ANALYSES (1) | Intransitive | Extended Intransitive | Transitive | This paper, Reid and Liao 2004 (Philippine), Ruffolo 2005 (Philippine), Kikusawa 2009 (Malagasy), Sinclair 1976 (Maori) |
| TRANSITIVITY ANALYSES (2) | Intransitive | Anti-passive | Transitive | Mead 2002 (Celebic), Adelaar 1992 (Malayic) |
| FOCUS ANALYSES | Actor focus, stative | Actor focus | GF, IF, LF, BF | descriptions of languages in the Philippines such as Shibatani 1988 (Philippine) |
| VOICE ANALYSES (1) | | AV AV | AV, PV, LV, CV UV | Himmelman 2005 (western Austronesian), Goudswaard 2005 (Begak) descriptions of languages in Indonesia |
| VOICE ANALYSES (2) | | Agentive voice | Objective voice | descriptions of languages in Indonesia |
| VOICE ANALYSES (3) | | Active voice | Passive voice (direct passive, local passive, instrumental passive, etc.) | Wolff 1996 (Philippine, Sulawesi, Indonesia) descriptions of Malagasy, such as Rasoloson and Rubino 2005, Boutin 2002 (Bonggi, Sabah), Evans 1996 (Kaili) |
| INVERSE ANALYSES | | Active | Inverse | Quick 1997 (Pendau), Cook 1997 (Samoan) |
| ACCUSATIVE ANALYSES | Intransitive | Transitive | Passive | Lynch 1972 (Tongan), Chung 1977 (Maori) |

(10) Proto-Extra-Formosan Pronominal System (Kikusawa 2009)

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. Intransitive | V | N_{PRON} | |
| | INTR | NOM | |
| b. Extended | V | N_{PRON} | PP |
| Intransitive | INTR.EX | NOM | OBL/LOC |
| ("AF") | | actor | undergoer |
| c. Transitive | V | =N_{PRON} | N_{PRON} |
| ("GF/LF/BF/IF") | TR | =GEN | NOM |
| | | =actor | undergoer |

The following terminology provides a means to discuss such structures regardless of the terms and analyses applied in the description of each language.

Post-intransitive sentences

Sentence structures that have developed from an earlier intransitive sentence structure (with no second complement noun phrase). This includes what have been characterized as "actor focus (without objects)" and "intransitive" constructions.

Post-extended intransitive sentences

Sentence structures that have developed from an earlier intransitive sentence structure with two complement noun phrases. This includes what have been characterized as "actor focus" (with "objects"), "agentive voice", "pseudo-transitive" and "antipassive" constructions.

Post-transitive sentences

Sentence structures that have developed from an earlier transitive sentence structure. This includes what are often described as "object/goal focus," "locative focus," "instrumental focus," and "benefactive focus" in Philippine-type languages, and "objective voice", or "undergoer oriented construction" in languages in Indonesia, and "transitive sentence" in other languages.

Likewise, any clitic pronoun set that has developed from an earlier genitive set will be referred to as a post-genitive set. The post-genitive set(s) in each language is determined by sound correspondences of the initial consonant of the three singular pronouns (*k*- '1sg.', *m*- or *n*- '2 sg.', and *n*- '3.sg', and/or a set with the prenasalised counterparts of these consonants), although details are not discussed in this paper. The recognition of post-genitive sets plays an important role in identifying cognate sentence structures. For details of the methodology of morphosyntactic comparison, see Kikusawa 2003a.

2.4. What is meant by "passive"

The major argument of this paper is that passive structures in some Austronesian languages (especially certain Malay-type languages) developed from a structure in which the ergative phrase of a transitive sentence became optional, and alternated with an affix on the verb. Thus, it is important at this point to clarify what is meant by "passive". The meaning of "passive" is defined as follows by Trask (1993: 201):

“A construction in which an intrinsically transitive verb is construed in such a way that its underlying object appears as its surface subject, its underlying subject being either absent (a ‘short passive’) or expressed as an oblique NP (a ‘long passive’, or ‘passive-with-agent’), the construction usually being overtly marked in some way to show its passive character.”

In this paper, I will refer to a sentence structure as “passive” when there is a syntactic device to derive a structure, i) which corresponds to a transitive/post-transitive sentence but in which the agent is either suppressed or marked as oblique or locative, and ii) in which the semantic role of the nominative phrase is identical to that in the equivalent transitive/post-transitive sentence. A system with such a passive structure is schematically shown in (11). Sentence examples from Makassarese are given in (12)a–b, illustrating the transitive-passive alternation.

(11) A system with a passive structure

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. Intransitive | V | =N_{PRON} | |
| | INTR | NOM | |
| b. Extended Intransitive | V | =N_{PRON} | PP |
| | INTR.EX | NOM | LOC |
| | | actor | undergoer |
| c. Transitive | V | =N_{PRON} | N_{PRON} |
| | TR | GEN | NOM |
| | | actor | undergoer |
| d. Passive | V | =N_{PRON} | (PP) |
| | PASS | NOM | (OBL) |
| | | undergoer | (agent) |

(12) Makassarese (South Sulawesi)

- a. *Miong-a na= buno kongkong-a.*
 cat-DET 3SG.ERG= kill dog-DET
 ‘The dog killed the cat.’ (Jukes 2005: 669)
- b. *Miong-a ni-buno =i ri kongkong-a.*
 cat-DET PASS-kill =3.NOM by dog-DET
 ‘The cat was killed (by the dog).’ (Jukes 2005: 678)

It should be noted that the term “passive” in this paper does not include those structures that are analysed as passive in languages analysed as accusative instead of ergative, and which are better treated as post-transitive. Because a language with the Sentence structures (11)a–c could be analysed as showing either an ergative, accusative, or a split-ergative system

(Kikusawa 2002: 97–101), the alternation between extended-intransitive and transitive has been described by some analysts as an active-passive voice alternation (cf. Table 4 in this paper, Kikusawa 2008b). Such a situation is illustrated with a pair of Tongan examples analysed as showing an ergative pattern in (13) and an accusative system in (14).¹⁵

(13) Tongan (Polynesia)—Ergative analysis (Lynch 1972: 13; my analysis)

- a. *Na'e kai 'a e sianá 'i he ika.* (Extended Intransitive)
 PAST eat NOM DET man LOC DET fish
 'The man ate (part) of the fish.'

- b. *Na'e kai 'e he sianá 'a e ika.* (Transitive)
 PAST eat ERG DET man NOM DET fish
 'The man ate the fish.'

(14) Tongan (Polynesia)—Accusative analysis (Lynch 1972: 13)

- a. *Na'e kai 'a e sianá 'i he ika.* (= (13a), analysed as Active)
 PAST eat NOM DET man ACC DET fish
 'The man ate (part) of the fish.'

- b. *Na'e kai 'e he sianá 'a e ika.* (= (13b), analysed as Passive)
 PAST eat AGT DET man NOM DET fish
 'The fish was eaten by the man.'

As the translation shows, however, there is a semantic difference between the two sentences, that is, the undergoer in sentences (13)a and (14)a are partitive or indefinite, while those in (13)b and (14)b are interpreted as complete or definite. Thus, analyzing the relationship between an extended intransitive and a transitive sentence as an active-passive derivation would be similar to considering the English passive sentence in (15) with a definite nominative noun phrase as a derivation of the English active sentence in which the accusative noun phrase is indefinite.

(15) English

- Active I bought a book.
 *Passive The book was bought by me.

The relationship between these two sentence types usually involves a change in the meaning of the nominative noun phrase; it does not qualify as an active-passive alternation as described above. The term "passive" in this paper does not include the extended intransitive sentence analysed as passive, such as in (15).

3. Pressure for ergative marking becoming optional

The kind of contrast between an extended intransitive structure and a transitive structure such

as the one presented in (13)a–b with Tongan sentences becomes important in the context of the examination of the precondition for the emergence of optional ergative marking. The two sentence structures are schematically shown in (16).

(16) Two sentence structures with two arguments

| | | | |
|---------------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Extended | V | =N_{PRON} | PP |
| Intransitive | INTR.EX | NOM | OBL/LOC |
| | | actor | undergoer |
| b. Transitive | V | =N_{PRON} | =N_{PRON} |
| | TR | GEN | NOM |
| | | actor | undergoer |

In many western Austronesian languages, it is commonly found that an extended intransitive sentence has a corresponding transitive sentence, typically with the former showing characteristics that are associated with lower transitivity, such as ‘partitive’ and ‘indefiniteness’, as in Tongan. This contrast is most obvious in Philippine languages, where the undergoer expressed by a non-nominative element in an extended intransitive sentence is generally interpreted as “partitive or indefinite” as in (17)a, while the undergoer expressed by a nominative phrase in a transitive sentence is interpreted as “definite” as in (17)b (Reid and Liao 2004). Corresponding English sentences are given in (18). Similar differences, or possible remnants of them, are found in non-Philippine-type Austronesian languages and Polynesian languages showing an ergative system, such as Tongan (see (13)).

(17) Ilokano (Reid and Liao 2004)

- a. *Mangan=ka (i)ti mansánas.* (Extended Intransitive)
 eat=NOM.2SG DET apple.(OBL)
 ‘You eat an apple.’ or ‘You eat some apples.’
- b. *Kanem ti mansánas.* (Transitive)
 eat.2SG.actor DET apple.(NOM)
 ‘You eat the apple.’

(18) English

- a. You eat an apple. (Equivalent of Extended Intransitive)
 b. You eat the apple. (Equivalent of Transitive)

It was mentioned in 2.3 that a Philippine-type pronominal system is reconstructible for Proto-Extra Formosan, and its basic sentence structures were shown in (10). Detailed research is still required to determine the clitic status of the pronominal forms in this stage, however it is likely that i) genitive pronouns were already enclitics, while ii) the nominative pronouns were probably second position pronouns, however, whether or not they were enclitics in transitive constructions is uncertain (Blust 1977, Reid 1999, Ross 2002: 36).¹⁶⁾

It seems that there is reasonably good evidence to assume that the pronoun expressing the agent was obligatory in transitive sentences in Proto-Extra Formosan. First, there is the fact that the obligatory marking of the A of transitive sentence (with a genitive pronoun) is common in Philippine languages (Reid and Liao 2004). Second, in some other languages, post-genitive pronouns are found grammaticalized or as fossilised forms, typically as agreement markers, implying an earlier system where ergative marking was obligatory. An example of such a language is Tetun (spoken in Timor) in (19), where post-genitive forms appear as subject agreement markers *n-* and *k-*, sometimes co-occurring with their corresponding full pronoun as in (19)b–c.

(19) Tetun

a. *N-ák* “*Ó, k-aré ti?an.*”
 3SG-say oh 1SG-see already
 “(He) said ‘Oh, (I) have seen (it).’” (van Klinken 1999: 179)

b. *Nia n-alai ti?an.*
 3SG 3SG-run already
 “She has run away.” (van Klinken 1999: 179)

c. *Tán nia n-aklelek ha?u, foin ha?u fota nia.*
 because 3SG 3SG-speak.abuse 1SG then 1SG hit 3SG
 “Because she verbally abused me, then I hit her.” (van Klinken 1999: 179)

Third, the distribution of the occurrence of post-genitive pronouns in post-transitive sentences in Austronesian languages which have changed their actancy systems, such as certain Malay-type languages and Oceanic languages, can be best explained by assuming that the pronoun was obligatory in an earlier system (Kikusawa 2003c, 2008a). In addition to these, the motivation of the development of the various passive structures described in Section 4 in this paper is best explained by assuming that the ergative marking in the transitive sentences in Proto-Extra-Formosan was obligatory, as explained below.

In languages where there is a contrast between extended intransitive and transitive sentences as found in the Philippine languages, the definiteness of the undergoer in the event to be described forces the speaker to use either of the two possible sentence structures, namely, the extended intransitive structure, or the transitive structure. If the undergoer should be interpreted as definite, the event typically has to be expressed with a transitive sentence. However, as has been mentioned earlier, it is obligatory that the agent of the transitive sentence also be expressed. The question here is how the agent is coded (or not coded) in languages with such a system when the undergoer is definite but the speaker wants to leave the agent not overtly expressed. In other words, if one wants to say, ‘The apple was eaten.’, what would he do?

There are at least two strategies that are found in Austronesian languages spoken today, which appear to have developed to deal with such a situation in the earlier system.¹⁷⁾

One is to use a dummy element that does not carry any semantic content. In some lan-

guages of both Philippine and Malay-type, a third person pronoun (singular or plural) is used as a dummy element when the agent is not known, or the speaker does not want to express it overtly. In this way, the sentence structures are formally retained, as shown in (20) and (21), while reference to the actor is not expressed.

(20) Transitive structures in two ergative languages

a. V =N_{PRON} N (PHILIPPINE-TYPE)
 TR =GEN NOM
 =actor undergoer

b. N V =N_{PRON} (MALAY-TYPE)
 NOM TR =GEN
 undergoer =actor

(21) Transitive sentence structure with a sample genitive clitic pronoun

a. V =*niya* N (PHILIPPINE-TYPE)
 TR =3SG.GEN NOM
 =actor undergoer

b. N V =*ni*¹⁸⁾ (MALAY-TYPE)
 NOM TR =3SG.GEN
 undergoer =actor

In (22) examples come from Guina-ang Bontok, where a third person genitive form is used to mark an unspecified agent. In (22)a, a transitive construction is given in which the enclitic genitive pronoun =*cha* ‘they’ indicates a specific agent. In (22)b, however, where the agent is non-specific, the same third person form occurs, but without pronominal reference. It is no longer enclitic to the verb, but forms, with the enclitic form of the nominative pronoun, =*ka* ‘you (SG.)’, an independent second-person singular pronoun *chaka* ‘you (SG.)’, functioning as the grammatical subject of a passive construction. Note that in this language, the earlier clitic pronoun *cha* is grammaticalized and the meanings of the two sentences are differentiated by how the undergoer is expressed.

(22) Guina-ang Bontok (Northern Luzon, the Philippines)

a. As *fa-ikhen=cha sik-a*.
 FUT beat=3PL.GEN 2SG
 ‘They will beat you’ (L.A. Reid, pers.comm.)

b. As *fa-ikhen chaka*.
 FUT beat 2SG
 ‘You will get beaten.’ (L.A. Reid, pers.comm.)

In Uma (Central Sulawesi), a similar situation is found. The third person plural proclitic

ergative form *ra=* “can mark an unspecified agent, in which case the sentence is functionally equivalent to and can be translated as an English passive” (van den Berg 1996: 99). Examples are given in (23). Sentences with a third person pronoun are ambiguous, allowing two readings for a single sentence as indicated in the translation. These are typically disambiguated by context.

(23) Uma (Cenral Sulawesi)

a. *Ra=weba’*.

3PL.GEN-hit

‘They hit (him).’

‘He was hit.’

(van den Berg 1996: 99)

b. *Kumpe toe ra=babehi ngkai kuluma kaju to ra-hanga’ nunu’*.

barkcloth this 3PL.GEN-make from skin tree LG 3PL.GEN-name *nunu’*

‘This barkcloth is made from the bark of a tree called *nunu’*.’

‘This barkcloth they make from the bark of a tree they call *nunu’*.’

(van den Berg 1996: 99)

In (24)a, another example from Betsimisaraka Malagasy is given where a third person singular form allows for two possible readings.

(24) Betsimisaraka Malagasy (Madagascar)

a. *Nitapai=ni ka:kàzo taminy boriziny*.

R.cut=3SG.GEN wood R.with bush.knife

‘He cut the wood with a bush knife.’

‘The wood was cut with a bush knife.’

(Kikusawa, fieldnotes)

While a third person pronoun is used to fill the slot for ergative marking in some languages, as described above, in other languages the ergative marking is optional, eventually resulting in a new sentence structure that can be referred to as passive. In the next Section, various Austronesian languages are mentioned where the agent of a transitive structure is optionally marked, and subsequently developed into passive structures.

4. Optional ergative marking and the emergence of passive sentence structures

In the previous section, an earlier system where a genitive phrase was a required constituent of a transitive construction and could be expressed by an enclitic pronoun is described. In this section, languages where a post-genitive clitic alternates with a verb prefix, which is interpretable as a passive-marking prefix are described. These systems vary in different ways and will be described according to the probable order of their historical development.

4.1. Development of passive verb prefixes in some western Austronesian languages

A prefix on the verb replacing a genitive clitic pronoun, rather than a suffix, is a commonly

found feature in some western Austronesian languages. Such a system is schematically shown in (25) with the form *ni-* representing the prefixes. Example sentences from Konjo illustrating this system are shown in (26), where the first person genitive singular pronoun *ku=* in (26)a alternates with the verb prefix *ni-* in (26)b.

(25) A verb formative alternating with optional ergative clitic pronouns

a. $N_{\text{PRON}} = V \quad N$
 GEN NOM
 actor undergoer

b. *ni-* $V \quad N$
 NOM
 undergoer

(26) Konjo (South Sulawesi)

a. *Ku= peppe' =ko*
 1EX.GEN= hit =2.NOM
 'I hit you.'

(Friberg 1996: 165)

b. *Ni- peppe' =ko (ri nakke).*
 PASS- hit =2.NOM by me
 'You were hit (by me).'

(Friberg 1996: 165)

cf. *Ulunna ni-peppe'.*
 head-3SG.GEN PASS-hit
 'His head was hit./He was hit on his head.'

(Friberg 1996: 165)

A verb prefix alternating with genitive clitic pronouns, such as *ni-* in (21), is analysed in various ways. Examples where it is analysed as a realis mood prefix (cf. Pendau (2)), and as a passive prefix (cf. Makassarese (3) and Konjo (26)) have already been shown. The prefix is also analysed as an “undergoer focus marker” in (27), and as a “goal focus marker” in (28).¹⁹⁾

(27) Da'a (Central Sulawesi)

Ni-oli-ku ose etu.
 UF/R-buy-1SG.GEN rice DEM
 'The rice was bought by me.'

(Himmelman 1996: 129)

(28) Kulawi (Central Sulawesi)

I-uli-ku nu-wai mara.
 GF/R-think-1SG.GEN 2SG.GEN-give for.nothing
 'I thought you would give it for nothing.'

(van den Berg 1996: 100)

Table 5 Embaloh Pronominal Forms (Adelaar 1995: 376)

| | INDEPENDENT | NOMINATIVE | ERGATIVE | | GENITIVE |
|-------|-------------|------------|----------|---------|----------|
| 1SG | (da)iak | -(?)ak | ku(d) | -V | -ku? |
| 2SG | (da)iko | -ko | i | -V iko | -(n)u |
| 3SG | (da)ia | – | d(a)- | | -(n)a |
| 1PLIN | (da)iki? | -ki? | i | -V iki | -ka? |
| 1PLEX | (da)ikam | -kam | i | -V ikam | -(n)am |
| 2PL | (da)ikin | -kin | i | -V ikin | -(n)in |
| 3PL | (da)ira | – | d(a) | -V | -da? |

It may be also described as a part of the pronominal system, as the form *i-* in Embaloh (Table 5, examples (29)).

(29) Embaloh (Tamanic, Borneo)

- a. **I-** *talán* =*ak* **iko.**
 ERG- swallow =1SG.NOM 2SG.IND
 ‘You swallowed me.’ (Adelaar 1995: 379)

- b. *Aisi na?an ku= tiŋkam =ko ...*
 how not 1SG.ERG= catch =2SG.NOM
 ‘Why shouldn’t I grab you...’ (Adelaar 1995: 378)

I argue that historically, these all developed from the same source, and a scenario as to how these forms and structures developed will be illustrated in what follows in this section.

4.1.1. Proto-Extra-Formosan and post Proto-Extra-Formosan clause structures

In Proto-Extra-Formosan, genitive pronouns are reconstructed as enclitics (as has been mentioned in 2.3), and thus transitive sentences in their perfective aspect had the structure shown in (30). It should be noted that in a number of languages (such as Tagalog), the reflex of the reconstructed perfective infix *<in> had a phonologically conditioned variant *ni-*, which became the default form in a number of other languages. I claim that the sentence structure where a verb prefix alternates with a genitive proclitic pronoun developed from such a structure.

(30) Proto-Extra-Formosan transitive sentence structures

| | | | | |
|-------------|------|----|--------------------|-----------|
| Perfective: | <in> | V | =N _{PRON} | N |
| | PERF | TR | GEN | NOM |
| | | | actor | undergoer |

The new transitive sentence structure is shown in (31), where the genitive clitic pronoun co-occurred with a verb formative (represented here with <in>, although in many languages it became a prefix *ni-*) and is considered at this stage to still be obligatory.

(31) Post Proto-Extra-Formosan transitive structures

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Philippine type: | <i>ni-/<in></i> | V | =N _{PRON} | N |
| | | | GEN | NOM |
| | | | actor | undergoer |
| Malay type: | N | <i>ni-</i> | V | =N _{PRON} |
| | NOM | | GEN | |
| | undergoer | | actor | |

4.1.1.1. Explanation. Historically, the prefix *ni-* is considered to be a (metathesised) reflex of an infix **<in>* in Proto-Extra-Formosan, and has been reconstructed as a perfective aspect affix for both transitive and intransitive verbs (van den Berg 1996, Mead 2002, Ross 2002, and others). Proto-Extra-Formosan is considered to have had a complex verb morphology system. For example, it is known that in Proto-Extra-Formosan, there were affixes distinguishing different types of transitive and intransitive verbs (**<um>*, **ma-*, **-ən*, **-an*, and **i-*), different aspects (**<in>*, reduplication, and **-a/-i*), as well as derivational affixes such as **paN-* and **paR-*, which co-occurred with the other affixes (Ross 2002, Reid pers. comm.). However, the system was simplified in some daughter languages with many of the earlier verb affixes now occurring only in fossilised forms. For example, the Proto-Celebic system reconstructed by van den Berg (1996: 90) is as simple as shown in Table 6, now with only four patterns of productive marking on the verb.²⁰⁾

Note that in the system shown in Table 6, the reflex *ni-* of the earlier perfective aspect marker **<in>*, which occurred both on intransitive and transitive verbs, was restricted to occur only with transitive verbs.²¹⁾ This distribution allowed it to be uniquely associated with the occurrence of genitive pronouns. I claim that this is one of the preconditions for the alternation between the verb prefix *ni-* and genitive clitic pronouns to have taken place. The form of the prefix found in languages today differs depending on the language. In some languages the form was reduced from *ni-*, to *i-*, then to zero. In some languages, the form has been replaced with the third person plural clitic pronoun such as *ra-*, as we will see in 4.1.3, and 4.2.3.

4.1.1.2. Supporting evidence. It is difficult to find examples where both a *ni-* prefix and a genitive enclitic always co-occur in main clauses in modern languages. Supporting evidence for the proposed earlier structure (31) comes from structures that are found in relative clauses where the earlier sentence structures have been retained.

In Nias, for example, the form *ni-*, described as a “passive marker” by Brown (2005: 579–580), occurs only in relative clauses, the heads of which are the (gapped) undergoers of the clause.²²⁾ An example sentence is shown in (32).

Table 6 Proto-Celebic verb affixes (based on van den Berg 1996: 91)

| | REALIS | IRREALIS |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| POST-EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE | <i>ne-V</i> | <i>me-V</i> |
| | <i>na-V</i> | <i>ma-V</i> |
| | <i>no-V</i> | <i>mo-V</i> |
| POST-TRANSITIVE | <i>ni-V=GEN</i> | GEN=V |

- (32) Nias Selatan (Brown 2005: 580)
skhula ni-rökhi=nia
 coconut *ni-grate-3SG.GEN*
 ‘the coconut which she grated’
 [lit. coconut that was grated by her]
- cf. *I-rökhi zekhula.*
 3SG.R-grate coconut.MUT
 ‘She grated the coconut.’

Note that the form *ni-* occurs as a prefix on the verb, while the third person genitive pronoun *=nia* occurs as an enclitic, rather than alternating with the form *ni-*. From this it is possible to infer that in the earlier system, *ni-V=GEN* existed as part of the structure of main transitive clauses.

Likewise, although Muna has developed a pronominal system with an accusative-nominative case-marking pattern, a remnant of the earlier system is retained in relative clauses as in (33) a–b. Again, it can be seen that the form *ni-* (or *ne-*), which is described as “passive” is prefixed to the verb, while the actor of the event is expressed with a genitive enclitic pronoun.

- (33) Muna (van den Berg 1996: 105)
- a. *Kenta ne-fumaa=no dahu no-bhala.*
 fish *ni-eat=3SG.GEN* dog 3SG.R.NOM-big
 ‘The fish that the dog ate was big.’
- b. *Lambu ni-gholi=ku mina na-bhala.*
 house *ni-buy=1SG.GEN* not 3SG.IR.NOM-big
 ‘The house that I bought is not big.’

The grammatical role assignments and sentence patterns of these relative clauses correspond exactly to those that are found in languages where the earlier intransitive, extended intransitive, and transitive sentence structures are maintained and where the agent of the transitive sentence is expressed with an enclitic genitive pronoun. However, both Nias and Muna have developed proclitics for marking the agent of transitive main clauses. The existence of these *ni-V=GEN* structures in relative clauses is strong evidence that pronominal genitive agents were first enclitics and only subsequently became proclitics.

4.1.2. Development of mixed position clitic pronouns

The genitive enclitic pronoun in structure (31) began to occur in the position of the prefix in some languages, and alternated with it. Such systems are schematically shown in (34) and (35) showing both Philippine-type and Malay-type structures. In both structures, in the pre-verbal position (indicated with a box) where the prefix *ni-* occurred in the earlier system, a genitive pronoun may now occur as a proclitic as in (34)b and (35)b.

(34) Transitive structures with the verb formative *ni-* (Philippine-type)

| | | | | |
|----|--|----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| a. | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"><i>ni-</i></div> | V | = N_{PRON} | N |
| | | | =GEN | NOM |
| | | | =actor | undergoer |
| b. | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">N_{PRON} GEN= actor=</div> | V | | N |
| | | | | NOM |
| | | | | undergoer |

(35) Transitive structures with the verb formative *ni-* (Malay-type)

| | | | |
|-------------|--|----------|---------------------------|
| a. N | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"><i>ni-</i></div> | V | = N_{PRON} |
| NOM | | | =GEN |
| undergoer | | | =actor |
| b. N | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">N_{PRON} GEN= actor=</div> | V | |
| NOM | | | |
| undergoer | | | |

In some languages, this happens only with limited pronouns, yielding a system described above as having “mixed-position pronouns” (section 1). Example sentences are shown again from Pendau. In the two Pendau sentences shown in (36), the verb carries the form *ni-*, and a genitive pronoun (*nijimo* in (36)a, =’*u* in (36)b) follows the verb.

(36) Pendau (Central Sulawesi)

- a. *Ami ni-tuju nijimo*
 1PLEX.NOM *ni-send* 3PL.GEN
 ‘They sent us.’ (Quick 2002: 106)
- b. *Si papa ni-tuju =’u. (= (2)a)*
 PERS.NOM grandpa *ni-send* =1SG.GEN
 ‘I sent Grandpa.’ (Quick 2002: 105)

However, in sentence (37) the genitive pronoun =’*u* occurs as a proclitic to the verb, taking over the position of the verb prefix.

(37) Pendau (Central Sulawesi)

- Oo =’u raga, ... paey =’u pate-i. (= (2b))*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN.IR= chase and then 1SG.GEN.IR= kill-LOC
 ‘I’ll chase you, ... and then I’ll kill you.’ (Quick 2002: 106)

In Pendau, this alternation is optional and occurs only with first and second person singular pronouns in irrealis mode and only with first person singular in the realis mode, as summarized in Table 7.

| EXTENDED TRANSITIVE | | IRREALIS | | REALIS | |
|---------------------|---------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | | <i>mong-oli</i> | | <i>nong-oli</i> | |
| TRANSITIVE | general | <i>ro-oli</i> | | <i>ni-oli</i> | |
| | 1SG | <i>ro-oli</i> = 'u | 'u= <i>oli</i> | <i>ni-oli</i> = 'u | no 'u= <i>oli</i> |
| | 2SG | <i>ro-oli</i> =mu | mu= <i>oli</i> | <i>ni-oli</i> =mu | |
| | 3SG | <i>ro-oli</i> =nyo | | <i>ni-oli</i> =nyo | |
| | 1PLIN | <i>ro-oli</i> =to | | <i>ni-oli</i> =to | |
| | 1PLEX | <i>ro-oli mami</i> | | <i>ni-oli mami</i> | |
| | 2PL | <i>ro-oli miu</i> | | <i>ni-oli miu</i> | |
| | 3PL | <i>ro-oli nijimo</i> | | <i>ni-oli nijimo</i> | |

There are some languages, however, where all genitive clitic pronouns have become proclitic, but they still retain the verb prefix *ni-* and show a clear alternation between the genitive clitic pronouns and the prefix *ni-*. This yielded what is referred to in this paper as the new “passive” sentence structure. Examples from Konjo are repeated in (40) to illustrate this, (40)a

showing a transitive sentence structure with a genitive proclitic pronoun expressing the agent and a nominative enclitic pronoun, and (40)b showing the corresponding passive sentence where the prefix *ni-* occurs on the verb and is analysed as a passive marker.²⁵⁾

(40) Konjo (South Sulawesi) (= (26))

a. *Ku= peppe' =ko*
 1EX.GEN= hit =2.NOM
 'I hit you.' (Friberg 1996: 165)

b. *Ni- peppe' =ko (ri nakke).*
 PASS- hit =2.NOM by me
 'You were hit.' (Friberg 1996: 165)

The sentence structures are schematically shown in (41).

(41) Transitive and corresponding passive structures

a. $N_{\text{PRON}} = V = N_{\text{PRON}}$ (TRANSITIVE)
 GEN NOM
 actor undergoer

b. *ni-* $V = N_{\text{PRON}}$ (PP) (PASSIVE)
 PASS NOM AGT
 undergoer actor

4.1.3. Optional agents

There were some languages that underwent a subsequent change from the structures shown in (31), different from those described in 4.1.2. In such languages, the genitive clitic pronoun in the sentence structure shown in (31) became optional. For example, in Kaili, the verb prefixes *ni-* (realis) and *ra-* (irrealis) occur in the post-transitive sentence structure.²⁶⁾ When the agent is expressed with a pronoun, the sentence follows the earlier pattern shown in (31), as in (42)a and (42)b. The agent can be expressed with a genitive non-pronominal noun phrase as in (42)c. However, a genitive phrase is not an obligatory element in the sentence, as in (42)d and (42)e.

(42) Kaili (Central Sulawesi)

a. *Ni-kande=ku loka riavi.*
 ni-eat=1SG.GEN banana yesterday
 '[The] bananas were eaten by me yesterday.' (Evans 1996: 176)

b. *Ra-kande=na loka haitu.*
 ra-eat=3SG.GEN banana that
 'That banana will be eaten by him.' (Evans 1996: 176)

- c. *Ni-kande n-tona loka.*
ni-eat GEN-people banana
 '[The] bananas were eaten by people.' (Evans 1996: 176)
- d. *I Ona ni-tag-i-Ø mo-more ri dala.*
 PERS Ona *ni-forbid IR-play on road*
 'Ona was forbidden to play in the road.' (Evans 1996: 174)
- e. *Ngana haitu ni-popa-turu-Ø ri bangku.*
 child [t]hat *ni-CAUSE-sleep on bench*
 'That child was caused to sleep on the bench.' (Evans 1996: 174)

Note that in Kaili, the post-verbal genitive pronominal position may be empty. Parallel examples, such as (43), are found in Da'a, a closely related language of Kaili.

- (43) Da'a (Central Sulawesi)
 a. *Loka etu ma-tasa kana ra-koni-Ø.*
 banana that STATE.IR-ripe must *ra-eat*
 '(When) that banana is ripe, it must be eaten.' (Himmelman 1996: 129)

In neither Kaili nor in Da'a did a morphologically new sentence structure develop. The change was only that the agent noun phrase became optional. When the new sentences (with no agent phrase) are translated into English, however, a passive translation conveys the meaning well.

4.1.4. Development of an agent oblique phrase

In the previous section, some languages were mentioned which developed a system where the agent-marking clitic pronoun alternates with the verb prefix *ni-*, which now functions to derive a passive verb. Some languages, such as Konjo, have further developed a structure where the agent of the passive sentence is optionally expressed with an oblique phrase. Once a language has reached this stage, the structure is clearly passive. A transitive-passive pair is shown in (44), with a transitive sentence ((44)a) and its corresponding passive ((44)b). Example (44)c is another passive sentence. Friberg (1996: 165) describes the Konjo sentences shown in (44)b and (44)c, as deriving from a transitive sentence where "the patient becomes the subject, a passive prefix *ni-* replaces the actor prefix and the actor is demoted to an oblique phrase or dropped altogether."

- (44) Konjo (South Sulawesi)
 a. *Na=beta=i Ali i Amir.*
 3.GEN=beat=3.NOM Ali DET Amir
 'Amir beat Ali.' (Friberg 1996: 141)

- b. *Ni-beta-i* *Ali ri Amir.*
 PASS-beat-3.NOM Ali by Amir
 ‘Ali was beaten by Amir.’ (Friberg 1996: 165)
- c. *Ni-peppe* ‘=*ko* (*ri nakke*).
 PASS-hit=2.NOM by 1EX.IND
 ‘You were hit by me.’ (Friberg 1996: 165)

Likewise, in Makassarese, “The prefix *ni-* replaces the ergative proclitic in a transitive clause, and results in the undergoer (marked with an absolutive enclitic) becoming the only core argument. The actor may optionally be expressed as an oblique marked by the preposition *ri* – this must follow the verb.” (Jukes 2005: 678) Sentence examples are given in (45), where the three sentence structures, namely, extended intransitive, transitive, and passive can be compared. Example (45)a is an extended intransitive structure with a nominative pronoun, expressing the actor. Example (45)b is a transitive structure, where the actor is expressed with the genitive noun phrase, and the undergoer with a nominative noun phrase. Its corresponding passive is shown in (45)c, where the actor is now expressed with an oblique phrase, while the undergoer is in the pre-verb nominative position in the sentence. It is not clear from Jukes (2005), however, if pronominal agents can also occur in an oblique phrase in Makassarese.

(45) Makassarese

- a. *Angnganrea*’ *taipa*. (EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE)
aN-kanre=a’ *taipa*
 eat=1SG.NOM mango
 ‘I eat mangoes.’ (Jukes 2005: 664)
- b. *Kongkonga*, *nabunoi* *mionga*. (TRANSITIVE, WITH TOPICALIZATION)
kongkong-a *na=buno=i* *miong-a*
 dog-DET 3SG.GEN=kill=3.NOM cat-DET
 ‘The dog, it killed the cat.’ (Jukes 2005: 668)
- c. *Mionga* *nibunoi* *ri kongkonga*. (PASSIVE)
miong-a *ni-buno=i* *ri kongkong-a*
 cat-DET PASS-kill=3.NOM by dog-DET
 ‘The cat was killed (by the dog).’ (Jukes 2005: 678)

4.1.5. A summary

In this section, I have discussed changes where a passive sentence structure developed from one of the post-transitive sentence structures of an earlier system. The resulting system is shown in (46), where the original ergative case-marking system was retained, but with the addition of a passive construction.

(46) A new system with a passive sentence structure

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| a. Intransitive | V | NP | |
| | INTR | NOM | |
| b. Extended Intransitive | V | NP | PP |
| | INTR.EX | NOM | LOC |
| | | actor | undergoer |
| c. Transitive | N_{PRON}= | V | NP |
| | GEN | TR | NOM |
| | actor | | undergoer |
| d. Passive | ni- | V | NP (PP) |
| | PASS- | INTR | NOM (AGT) |
| | | undergoer | (actor) |

In should be noted that, in the derivation of the passive structure from the transitive structure demonstrated here, there was no need to “acquire” subjecthood (cf. Cole *et al.*, 1980). In ergative systems found in western Austronesian languages, it is the nominative (thus the undergoer in transitive sentences) that shows the properties commonly associated with the “subject”. It can be relativized, fronted to be topicalized, foregrounded, gapped in relative clauses, etc. Such noun phrases always remain nominative throughout the change. There is no shift in the distribution of the properties of the phrase that are either exclusively associated with, or necessary in the change.

The different stages of change shown in this section are all related to the development of the new passive structure in one way or another. However, the details of the order of change seem to differ depending on the language, and are not homogeneous among the languages that developed a passive structure. In the rest of this section, the actual course of one such development is shown, taking Embaloh as an example.

Embaloh has a structure that appears to be transitional. It has an agentive prepositional phrase marked with *kuleʔ-a* ‘by’ co-occurring with an ergative clitic pronoun on the verb. In (47), the third person actor is indicated on the verb with the proclitic *da=*, while its identity is expressed in a prepositional phrase *kuleʔ-a Bakiʔ Raja Rabiŋ* ‘Grandpa king Rabiŋ’.

(47) Embaloh (South Borneo)

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>Da=tɪŋkam=ak</i> | <i>kuleʔ-a</i> | <i>Bakiʔ</i> | <i>Raja</i> | <i>Rabiŋ.</i> |
| 3.ERG=grab=1SG.NOM | by-3SG.POS | Grandpa | king | Rabiŋ |
| ‘King Rabiŋ grabbed me.’ | | | | (Adelaar 1995: 378) |

According to Adelaar, “If the agent is a third person that is not well-identified, it is not expressed, and the verb has the ergative prefix *i-* rather than *d(a)-*” (1995: 379). An example sentence is shown in (48) where the prefix *i-* occurs, and there is no form to express the actor (translated as “they”) in the sentence.

- (48) *I-asan=ak labalik i Korak karuŋ daun.*
 ERG-call=1SG.NOM then PERS Korak crust rice
 ‘So they call me Korak rice crust.’ (Adelaar 1995: 377)

Given these facts, the development of a passive structure in Embaloh can be illustrated as follows. First, the actor is marked as an ergative proclitic, while the undergoer occurs as a nominative enclitic on the verb as in (49). An independent pronoun expressing the actor (*iak*) co-occurs with the ergative pronominal form (*ku-*) on the verb.

- (49) Embaloh (Adelaar 1995: 379)
Ku=gata=ak iak.
 1SG.ERG=call=2SG.NOM 1SG.IND
 ‘I will call you.’

The ergative marking pronominal form is optional, yielding the sentence structure such as one shown in (50). Note that the form *i-*, which probably developed from **ni-*, occurs on the verb in place of the ergative marking form. If the noun phrase expressing the actor is dropped, this would yield a sentence with the same structure, as (51).

- (50) Embaloh (Adelaar 1995: 379)
I-talan=ak iko.
 ERG-swallow-1SG.NOM 2SG.IND
 ‘You swallowed me.’

- (51) *I-tiŋkam=ak.*
 ERG-grab-1SG.NOM
 ‘(Someone) grabbed me. / I was grabbed.’

4.2. Discussion: Evidence for the direction of the proposed change

In 4.1, it was proposed that the passive sentence structures that are found in Austronesian languages today are (independent) innovations resulting from the earlier ergative-marking pronouns becoming optional. In this section, some pieces of evidence supporting the direction of the proposed claim are provided.

4.2.1. Stability of the function and forms of post-ergative pronouns marking the agent of transitive sentences

In Austronesian languages spoken today, the post-genitive pronouns occurring in a transitive sentence are commonly found in a wide variety of languages belonging to various subgroups. This is clear evidence that passive sentence structures must have split off from transitive structures rather than the other way round. If transitive structures (with ergatively-marked actors) had developed from earlier passive structures, it could only have been by independent parallel innovations spread across the entire family, including one of the lowest order subgroups, Polynesian, a highly unlikely hypothesis.²⁷⁾

4.2.2. Agent marking prepositions are non-cognate

An examination of the agent-marking prepositions makes it obvious that the forms developed relatively recently, independently in each language (group). The forms of the agent marking prepositions differ depending on the language, as shown in Table 8. Example sentences are given in (52) and (53), in addition to those that have been already shown in 4.1.4 and 4.1.5. There are at least four sets in the table with clearly different origins. Among the similar forms, further research is necessary to determine whether they were inherited from a common ancestor or borrowed.

(52) Coloquial Indonesian

Masa dia di:-ikut-in sama Intél.

D.PRCL 3S di-follow-APP by Intelligence.office

‘No way was she followed by someone from Intel.’

(Ewing 2005: 232)

(53) Sama Bajau

bey ni-?adjal deying durapu? le? ?ingkalla.

CPL ni-cook fish grouper AGT bachelor

‘The bachelor cooked the grouper fish.’

(Akamine 2005: 389)

An interesting development of agent-marking prepositions is found in Malayic languages and in Sama Bajau. For example, according to Akamine (2002, 2005) the form *le?*,²⁸⁾ which marks the agent in Sinama, also occurs as a prefix on post-extended intransitive verbs. An extended intransitive sentence and a corresponding sentence with the form *le?*- are shown in (54)a and (54)b. Example (54)c shows that a *le?*- verb even functions as a relative clause, just as the *ni*-verb discussed in section 4.1.1.2.

Table 8 Prepositions introducing the agent of a passive sentence

| LANGUAGE | ON PRONOUNS | ON NON-PRONOUNS | SOURCE |
|---|----------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Makassarese (Sulawesi) | | <i>ri</i> | Jukes 2005 |
| Konjo (Sulawesi) | <i>ri</i> (IND) | <i>ri</i> | Friberg 1996 |
| Minangkabau, Middle Malay (Seraway), Kendayan-Dayak, Selako-Dayak | | <i>di</i> | Adelaar 1992: 161-163, (replaced the earlier form *ni-) |
| Sinama | <i>leq</i> - (GEN) | <i>leq</i> NP | Akamine 2002, 2005 |
| Embaloh (Borneo) | <i>kule?</i> - (GEN) | <i>kule?-a</i> (3SG.GEN) N | Adelaar 1995 |
| Indonesian, Standard Malay | | <i>oleh</i> | Adelaar 1992: 155 |
| Colloquial Indonesian | | <i>sama</i> | Ewing 2005: 232 |
| Da'a | | <i>nu</i> | Mead 2002: 147 |

(54) Sama Bajau

- a. *ngadjal ?aku manuk.*
 cook 1SG chicken
 ‘I cooked the chicken.’

(Akamine 2005: 391)

- b. *leʔ-ngadjal leʔ ku manuk.*
leʔ-cook AGT 1SG.GEN chicken
 ‘I have cooked the chicken.’

(Akamine 2005: 391)

- c. *isi sapi leʔ-ngalunok*
 flesh cow leʔ-soften
 ‘beef which is tenderized’

(Akamine 2002: 361)

These examples not only illustrate the extended use of the agent marking form *leq-*, but also related structural changes that the language is currently undergoing. Parallel cases, such as (55), are also found in some other languages; space restrictions prevent further discussion.

(55) Minangkabau

- a. *Di kawan-ño di-cilo? pitih.*
 by friend-his be-stolen money.
 ‘Money was stolen by his friend.’

(Adelaar 1992: 162)

- b. *Si Amin di-pangia di tuan.*
 (personal article) Amin be-called by lord
 ‘Amin is summoned by his master.’

(Adelaar 1992: 162)

The reason why the agent-marking preposition often has the same form as the passive-marking prefix is not clear (see discussion by Adelaar 2005, 2009).

4.2.3. Alternate forms of passive-marking prefixes.

In the discussion above the newly-developed verb prefix has been represented by the most commonly observed form, *ni-*. However, in some languages, a different form developed, or the form was replaced.

Although *ni-* is the form which is most commonly found on transitive verbs in languages where the form alternates with the genitive clitic pronoun, other forms also occur. The details of the process by which each of these forms has developed requires further research, but the following can be pointed out.

First, some forms that are found today have replaced an earlier *ni-* (or <in>). For example, in Malayic languages, the form *di-* functions in the same way as has been described for *ni-*. See the Minangkabau examples shown in (55).

Adelaar argues that *di-* did not exist as a verb prefix in Proto-Malayic (1992: 162–163), based on the fact that *di-* with this usage has a limited distribution, and also that there is clear evidence that the form replaced one such as <in> (Old Javanese), or *ni-* (Old Malay).

In some languages, such as Karo Batak, Embaloh, etc., the form that alternates with the genitive clitic pronoun is *i-*. There is evidence that this form developed from *ni-*. In Karo Batak, Woollams (1996: 46) notes that the prefix *i-* is a phonologically-determined alternant of *ni-*, however, according to Norwood, the form *ni-* is “said to be used only by older speakers, now occurs rarely even in written genres”, and the form *i-* often does not always occur either (2002: 185, also Woollams 1996: 46–47). Example sentences are shown to illustrate the situation in Karo Batak in (56), where a genitive proclitic, as in (56)a, and a genitive enclitic, as in (56)b, occur.

(56) Karo Batak

- a. *Bagi-bagi enggo ku=tandai kalak ah.*
 as.if already 1SG=know person that
 ‘It’s as if I already know that fellow.’ (Woollams 1996)

- b. *Engkai maka Ø-pelawes=ndu ia?*
 why that CAUSE=2SG he
 ‘Why did you send him away?’ (Woollams 1996)

In some languages, however, completely different forms are observed.

In languages in Sulawesi, the form *ra-* ‘irrealis’ alternates with the genitive clitic pronoun, often showing a contrast with *ni-* ‘realis’. Example sentences from Da’a are given in (57), where the first and second person singular proclitics alternate with the verb formative *ra-* in post-transitive irrealis sentences. Example sentences are given below.

(57) Da’a (Kaili-Pamona, Central Sulawesi)

- a. *Pade ra-ala-ta kulimba nu bando...*
 then GF.IR-get-1PLIN.GEN hide of dwarf.buffalo
 ‘Then we get the hide of a dwarf buffalo...’
 (Barr 1988: 101, cited from Mead 2002: 147)

- b. *Da’a ma-mala aku mu-rage.*
 NEG IR-able 1SG 2SG.GEN-chase
 ‘You can’t chase ME!’ (Barr 1988: 40, cited from Mead 2002: 148)

- c. *Da’a ma-mala ra-raga nu asu.*
 NEG INTR.IR-able GF.IR-chase by dog
 ‘(He) couldn’t be chased by the dog.’
 (Barr & Barr 1988: 149, cited from Mead 2002: 147)

One interesting fact about these prefixes is that while the realis form *ni-* is a reflex of earlier *<in>/*ni- ‘perfective’, it is also formally identical to the third person singular genitive clitic pronoun *ni=*. Moreover the irrealis form *ra-* is formally identical with the third person plural pronoun *ra=*. Mead (2002) argues that the *ra-* verbal prefix originates from the

third person plural form *ra=*, which was eventually reanalysed as a verb prefix. Van den Berg notes that in Kulawi, there are sentences such as (58), in which the prefix *ra-* and the third person plural nominative form *=ra* co-occur.

- (58) Kulawi (van den Berg 1996: 101)
Ne ra-epe=ra ngana.
 NEG *ra(IR)-hear=3PL.NOM* child
 ‘Let the children not hear it.’

Cases where the form of the verb prefix and one of the third person clitic pronouns are identical are found in other language groups as well. Not all the forms, however, seem to go back to the same source. In Lauje, there is a verb prefix *no-* that alternates with the genitive clitic pronoun, as in (59)a–b.

- (59) Lauje
 a. *‘udendenima ine*
 ‘u-dendeng-i-me-a ine
 1SG-hit-UG.L-CPL PROX
 ‘I’ll bang it.’ (Himmelman 2002: 134)
 b. *inyaa nrape’i a’e*
 inyaa **no-rape’-i** a’e
 don’t IR.UG-close.by-UG.LOC 1SG.NOM
 ‘Don’t get closer to me.’ (Himmelman 2002: 128)

Himmelman notes that the form *no-* in Lauje is unique “with regard to the segmental shape of this prefix. In southern Timini [*sic*] languages (Tajio, Taje, Dampelas and Pendau) the functionally equivalent prefix has the shape *ro-* or *ho-* (which in some of the languages undergoes vowel harmonic alternations) and in Kaili-Pamona languages it generally has the shape *ra-*. Apart from its uniqueness, the Lauje form *no-* is also highly conspicuous and somewhat confusing in that *n-* initial formatives in western Austronesian languages generally signal realis mood.” (2002: 128). Considering these factors, it is more likely that the form *no-* in Lauje has a different source from those which indicate realis, or completive aspect, which are apparent reflexes of the earlier **<in>/*ni-* ‘perfective’. It should be noted though that in some languages spoken in Sulawesi, such as Kulisusu, Padoe, and Tolaki (Mead 2002), the form *no=* or *(=no)* functions as the third person singular genitive clitic pronoun.

The fact that the prefixes that alternate with post-genitive pronouns have various forms and different sources supports the conclusion that the passive structures which developed as a result, post-date earlier (ergatively-marked) transitive constructions. However, as has been mentioned above, most of these forms appear to have developed from third person pronominal forms, supporting the hypothesis that the passive structures observed today developed from the change from obligatory ergatively-marked agents of transitive sentences to optional-marking as a way to downgrade non-referential agents.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I first pointed out some of the conditions that resulted in ergatively-marked agents in transitive sentences becoming optional. Second, I have shown how passive structures have developed as a result of the optionality of ergatively-marked agents. It has been shown that, in Austronesian languages, the direction of change was from a transitive sentence structure with an ergative noun phrase to a passive structure, rather than the reverse as has been argued in some of the literature. The passive structure emerged from a system in which the ergative noun phrase had become optional and alternated with a verbal prefix which was originally formally identical to one of the post-genitive third person clitic pronouns, but which lost its pronominal reference and became a passive prefix. It has also been shown that the passive structure did not replace the transitive structure but that it developed from it as an additional structure in the system. This resulted in an ergative system with a passive sentence structure having a derivational relation to the transitive sentence.

Although I consider that I have built a solid case demonstrating the development of some passive structures, this is not meant to claim that all passive structures emerged from structures in which ergative-marking was optional. Nor does it claim that all ergative languages are likely to develop the kind of passive structure as has been described in this paper. Many other changes have taken place in some languages along with the changes described in this paper, including change in the case-marking pattern from ergative to accusative, and the development of preposed possessors in noun phrases, instead of the earlier postposed position, resulting in the considerable morphosyntactic diversity observed in Austronesian languages today.

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|--------|--------------------|---------|---|
| ACC | accusative | EX | exclusive |
| AF | actor focus | FUT | future |
| AGT | agentive | GEN | genitive, post-genitive (see 2.3) |
| APP | applicative | GF | goal focus |
| AUX | auxiliary verb | IF | instrumental focus |
| AV | actor voice | IN | inclusive |
| BF | benefactive focus | IND | independent (pronoun) |
| BV | benefactive voice | INTR | intransitive, post-intransitive (see 2.3) |
| CAUS | causative | INTR.EX | extended intransitive, post- extended intransitive (see 2.3) |
| CPL | completive | IR | irrealis |
| CV | conveyance voice | IV | inverse voice |
| DAT | dative | LF | locative focus |
| DEM | demonstrative | LG | ligature |
| DET | determiner | LOC | locative |
| D.PRCL | discourse particle | | |
| ERG | ergative | | |

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| LV | locative voice | PV | patient voice |
| MUT | mutated form | R | realis |
| N | noun | PP | prepositional phrase |
| NEG | negative | SG | singular |
| NOM | nominative | STATE | stative |
| OBL | oblique | TOP | topic |
| OV | object voice | TR | transitive, post-transitive (see 2.3) |
| PASS | passive | UF | undergoer focus |
| PAST | past | UV | undergoer voice |
| PERF | perfective | 1 | first person |
| PERS | person marking (determiner) | 2 | second person |
| PL | plural | 3 | third person |
| POS | possessive | <x> | marks x as an infix |
| PREP | preposition | = | boundary of a clitic form |
| PRON | pronoun | - | boundary of an affix |
| PROX | proximal | | |

Notes

- 1) The existence of such mixed-position systems has attracted the attention of various researchers, and possible scenarios for the historical development of such a mixed system have been proposed (Himmelmann 1996, Kikusawa 2003c, Mead 2002, van den Berg 1996, Wolff 1996).
- 2) See 2.3 for a description of the earlier case-marking system.
- 3) I use the term “nominative” to refer to the element case-marked as the “S” of an intransitive sentence regardless of whether the language is accusative or ergative. Thus the term includes what is commonly referred to as “absolutive” in descriptions of ergative languages. This usage has a particular advantage when discussing changes involving the development of case-marking systems, in that it provides a consistent name for a constituent that remains unchanged during the shift from an ergative to an accusative language, whereas labeling the constituent as absolutive when ergative and nominative when accusative gives the false impression that a change has taken place in the function of the constituent.
- 4) It should be noted also that the re-interpretation of post-transitive sentences as passives is the reverse version of the hypothesis presented in Estival and Myhill 1988, and Chung 1978, who claim that passives were reinterpreted as transitive structures in a shift from an accusative to an ergative actancy system.
- 5) In many Austronesian languages, the clitic pronouns that express A are identical to those that express the possessor on a noun, and are therefore referred to as “genitive” instead of “ergative”. See also 2.3 for the use of the term “genitive” in this paper.
- 6) Cases that are not marked morphologically but which can be identified by their potential for substitution either by case-marked pronominal forms or by word order are indicated in parentheses.
- 7) The form *izy* by itself does not carry any case, and in this context, it is interpreted as oblique because of its possible alternation with the oblique pronoun *ananjy*.
- 8) It is possible to further classify transitive clauses into basic transitive and extended transitive

structures (e.g., Liao 2002: 142). However, such a distinction is not directly relevant to the present discussion, and will therefore not be further discussed in this paper.

- 9) The form expressing the genitive noun phrase or pronoun in each sentence is underlined with a double line, while that expressing the nominative is underlined with a single line.
- 10) Alternation between the first person singular genitive forms =ki and =ko is phonologically conditioned.
- 11) What are referred to as independent and genitive pronouns in this paper are described as proximate and obviate pronouns by Quick.
- 12) In Kikusawa 2003a, I demonstrated that the Malay-type system developed from an earlier Philippine-type system by treating the topic position of a sentence as the unmarked position for the nominative argument, whether it was transitive, intransitive, or extended intransitive. Many languages show a transitional stage between Philippine-type and Malay-type languages, rather than being exemplary instances of one or the other type.
- 13) Himmelmann (2005: 112), attempts to typologically classify western Austronesian languages with the notions “symmetrical voice languages” and “preposed possessor languages”. His “symmetrical voice” system is basically what is referred to as the Malay-type system in this paper, and what is referred to as the Philippine-type system in this paper is treated as a sub-class of the symmetrical voice system. Although his proposal could be taken as an attempt to apply a consistent method to the description of western Austronesian languages, it is not applied here for the following two reasons. First, a voice analysis is not more cross-linguistically applicable than a transitivity analysis is, and within the Austronesian family, once we include non-western Austronesian languages, the transitivity analysis provides greater generalizations and is far more revealing of the morphosyntactic changes that have taken place in the languages. Second, and more importantly for the purpose of this paper, his classification obscures the historical development of these languages from the Philippine-type to Malay-type and is not suitable in the diachronic context.
- 14) In Proto-Extra-Formosan, the nominative pronouns in intransitive sentences and the genitive clitic pronoun occurring in transitive sentences were “second position clitics”, that is, when the main verb was preceded by an auxiliary verb(s), the pronouns occurred following the clause initial verb (Kikusawa 2009). Thus, the following was another possible set of sentence structures in Proto-Extra-Formosan.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| a. Intransitive | V | N_{PRON} | V | |
| | AUX | NOM | INTR | |
| b. Extended Intransitive (‘AF’) | V | N_{PRON} | V | PP |
| | AUX | NOM | INTR.EX | OBL/LOC |
| | | actor | | undergoer |
| c. Transitive (‘GF/LF/BF/IF’) | V | =N_{PRON} | V | N_{PRON} |
| | AUX | =GEN | TR | NOM |
| | | =actor | | undergoer |

- 15) The examples are chosen from sentences with lexical noun phrases to make the difference clear.
- 16) In some present-day daughter languages of Proto-Extra-Formosan, such as Kapampangan, an agreement marking system, where obligatory pronominal elements are involved, has developed by grammaticalizing the earlier clitic pronouns. Mithun (1994: 251, 253) shows that while agreement marking is obligatory for genitive NPs, it is not obligatory for nominative NPs.

- 17) The third strategy is to broaden the usage of the extended intransitive sentences, so that the undergoer can be definite in this structure and the agent can be left out. However, this hypothesis involves various factors that are not relevant to the discussion presented in this paper, and will not be discussed further here.
- 18) In Malay-type languages, the genitive pronoun may be either proclitic or enclitic.
- 19) See Table 4 in Section 2.3 for terminology correspondences.
- 20) Mead (2002), based on a detailed examination of the pronominal forms and their distributions in Celebic languages, argues that the system proposed by van den Berg did not develop until Proto-Kaili-Pamona, a daughter language of Proto-Celebic.
- 21) This was the result of phonological developments by which the perfective forms of intransitive verbal prefixes, such as **m<in>a-*, lost their first two segments, leaving a contrast between *m-* initial non-perfective forms and *n-* initial perfective forms. The only perfective transitive voice prefix, **ʔ<in>i-*, likewise lost its first two segments, leaving *ni-* as the perfective form for some transitive verbs (Reid pers. comm.).
- 22) With reference to the *ni-* ‘passive marker’ in Nias Selatan, Brown notes “*Ni-* forms of the verb resemble typical passives in other languages: the verb is explicitly marked, the patient is pivot in the sense of being the gapped argument and the agent is marked obliquely. Most uses of the *ni-* form of the verb, however, differ from a typical passive in that it is more common for the A argument to be present than for it to be omitted. It is also the case that *ni-* forms are restricted to use in relative clause formation, and do not occur as main clause verbs” (Brown 2005: 580). As for discussion as to the conservatism of subordinate clauses (which include relative clauses), see, for example, Bybee 2002. “In addition to changes at the syntactic level, there are also well-documented cases of innovation in main clauses and conservatism in subordinate clauses in grammaticalization, ... in morphological replacement ... and even at the level of morphophonemic change” (Bybee 2002: 1)
- 23) See 4.1.1.2 for evidence for the claim that Nias also had a *ni-* prefix on the verb at an earlier stage of its development.
- 24) As for the change in Wolio and Muna, see van den Berg 1996: 113, where the change is referred to as “passive to active drift”. For such a change in Austronesian languages in general, see Kikusawa 2003a, 2003b, 2009, 2008b.
- 25) In Konjo, nominative pronouns subsequently developed into enclitics as are seen in the example sentences.
- 26) Evans (1996) analyses the post-extended intransitive sentence as “active” and the post transitive sentence as “passive”. He refers to the form *ni-* as the passive-marking prefix in realis mode.
- 27) A detailed examination of ‘subject’ marking pronouns reveals that post-genitive pronouns still marked ergative agents at the stage of Proto-Polynesian (Kikusawa 2003b).
- 28) Akamine represents glottal stop with *q*.

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