

A Voice Opposition without Voice Morphology

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1. Voice systems in Austronesian languages

The symmetrical voice systems of the western Austronesian languages are well known; Schachter (1976, 1977) provides a succinct summary of the issues, and numerous works before and since have argued variously for passive and ergative (and other) interpretations of the data. It is widely supposed that the Central-eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages lack voice oppositions: such mechanisms are widely reported to be absent in Papuan languages, and are generally assumed to be absent from the Austronesian languages of the area.¹ The complex voice systems of the western Austronesian languages are present in only relic form (see Wouk and Ross 2002), and the Oceanic passives (*ta- and *ma-) are only weakly attested (Donohue 2004).

Another pattern of voice marking is found in many eastern Indonesian and western Melanesian languages, separated from the more well-recognised western languages that have overt, dedicated voice marking morphology, and separate from the well-described passive and passive-like morphemes (*ta or *ma) that are found in the Pacific. *Tukang Besi*, the south-easternmost Western Malayo-Polynesian language, is one such language. Like other Muna-Buton languages, *Tukang Besi* has pronominal agreement on the verb to index the core arguments of the clause. The morphological template for the pronominal inflection on the verb is shown in (1) (the same template holds for other pronominal voice languages):²

Morphological template for verbal inflection

(1) Verb = Agreement_{S,A} - Verb root - (Agreement_P)

While agreement for the S,A argument is obligatory agreement for the P is not. The conditions that determine its appearance are complex, and shall be mentioned here only as far as they concern the presentation of this form of variation as part of the grammatical voice system. The bulk of this paper deals with an analysis of the voice system of *Tukang Besi*, which, has both a complex verbal agreement system as well as the last fully developed (and obligatory) case marking system among Austronesian languages with an increasingly head-marking trend to the east (case marking of core constituents only becomes functional again in Vanuatu and the Solomons, and is well-developed in Polynesia). For that reason, as well as personal acquaintance with the language, it is a sensible starting point.

2. *Tukang Besi* voice: multifunctional morphology

The voice system in *Tukang Besi* is marked only by variation in the verbal agreement system, as described in (1), not by the presence of any distinct voice-marking morphology. In *Tukang Besi* agreement for the S,A argument is obligatory, while agreement for a P is by enclitic, and is for most lexemes

generally optional. When it occurs there are further morphosyntactic changes in the sentence, affecting word order possibilities, case marking coding, and most relevantly grammatical function assignment. What does *NOT* change is the identity of the argument indexed by the agreement prefix, indicating that the voice system is not one that involves demotion of one argument in order to promote the other, such as familiar passive or antipassive systems from languages like English or the Mayan languages, but is more similar to the Austronesian voice systems from the west, as might be expected. This also indicates that when the voice changes the categories that determine which agreement markers are used to index an argument do not, showing that ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are not appropriate labels to apply to the prefixes and enclitics.

2.1. The voice system: basics and argumentation

In both voices the verb is prefixed to index the values of the S or A, and in the non-active voice there is an enclitic which bears the pronominal features of the P. When the P is indexed no fixed order holds between the DPs representing the postverbal A and P arguments, while a clause that lacks P agreement is only grammatical when the P precedes the A, in a VP constituent.³ These facts are summarised in table 1, and illustrated in (2) - (6).

- (2) *Ku-'ita='e (te iaku) na ana.*
 1SG-see=3P CORE 1SG CORE child
 ‘I saw the child.’
- (3) *~ Ku'ita'e na ana te iaku.*
- (4) *Ku-'ita te ana (na iaku).*
 1SG-see CORE mother NOM 1SG
 ‘I saw a child.’
- (5) ** ku'ita na iaku te ana.*
- (6) *No-waliako=mo na anai kampo.*
 3R-return=PF NOM child OBL village
 ‘The child returned to the village.’

Table 1. Agreement, word order and case marking in Tukang Besi

Clause type	variant	Agreement	word order	case marking		
				A	S	P
Bivalent	P indexed on V	A-V=P	V A P (~ VPA)	<i>te</i>		<i>na</i>
	P not indexed on V	A-V	V P A	<i>na</i>		<i>te</i>
Monovalent		S-V	V S			<i>na</i>

The relevant testable phrase-structure configuration of the clause, with no preverbal elements, is shown in (7), which also shows the positional possibilities for adjunct material of different classes. Adverbs appear within the VP, left- or right- adjoined to any element. Locative adjuncts appear following the VP, while time adjuncts are constrained to appear following the S or A of the clause, that is, right of the IP. Table 2 shows the pronominal forms.⁴ The free pronouns are listed to show the degrees of relative grammaticalisation between them and the bound verbal forms, the P clitics clearly being a more recent grammaticalisation than the prefixes.

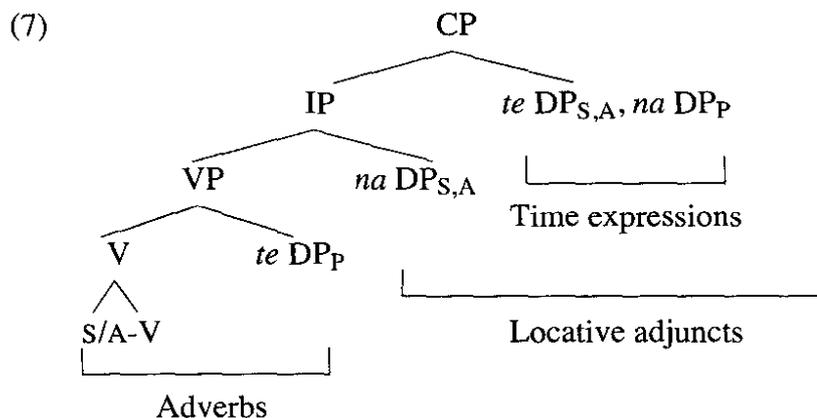


Table 2. Pronominal forms in Tukang Besi

Position:	Pre-root		Post-root	Post-root	Independent
Role:	S,A		P	nominal POSS'R,	(any)
(mood):	realis	irrealis		subordinate A, S, P	
1SG	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>=aku</i>	<i>=su</i>	<i>iaku</i>
2SG	<i>'u- / nu-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>=ko</i>	<i>=u</i>	<i>iko'o</i>
3SG	<i>no- / o-</i>	<i>na- / a-</i>	<i>=e</i>	<i>=no</i>	<i>ia</i>
1PA	<i>ko-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>=kami</i>	<i>=nto</i>	<i>ikami</i>
1PL	<i>to-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>=kita</i>	<i>=mami</i>	<i>ikita</i>
2PL	<i>i-</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>=komiu</i>	<i>=miu</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>
3PL	<i>no- / o-</i>	<i>na- / a-</i>	<i>=e</i>	<i>=no</i>	<i>amai</i>

We shall return to the restrictions on the appearance of free and bound pronouns in more detail in 2.3.

2.2. The syntax of pronominal voice in Tukang Besi

While the use of S,A prefixes is obligatory, the use of P clitics is not. This has been seen in (2) and (4). The use of P-coding clitics on the verb has consequences for the assignment of properties associated with grammatical functions. This has been described elsewhere (Donohue 1999a, 1999b, 2002), but the essential properties are:

- the restriction of floated quantifiers;
- conjunction reduction;
- eligibility to appear as the head of an internal relative clause;
- external possession (possessor raising, possessor ascension).

Floated quantifiers can only refer to a nominative argument; this will be the single argument of a monovalent clause, and for a bivalent clause it will be the P, if there are P-coding clitics on the verb, or the A if there are not.

Floated quantifier referring to an A

- (8) [QUANT *Saba'ane*] *no-lamba te kaluku [na amai].*
 all 3R-carry CORE coconut NOM 3PL
 'All of them carried coconuts.'
 * 'They carried all of the coconuts.'

Floated quantifier referring to a P

- (9) [QUANT *Saba'ane*] *no-lemba='e* [*na kaluku*] *te amai*.
 all 3R-carry=3P NOM coconut CORE 3PL
 'They carried all of the coconuts.'
 * 'All of them carried coconuts.'

Conjunction reduction preferentially applies between nominative arguments in adjacent clauses. A textual example is presented in section 3, but the following sentences illustrate the principle. In both sentences the preferred controller for the third person argument of the monovalent clause *nowaliakomo di kampo* is the nominative argument of the following clause, even if there are no overt nominals in the second clause.

Coreference between S and A, both nominative

- (10) *No-waliako=mo di kampo, maka no-'ita te ana*.
 3R-return=PF OBL village and.then 3R-see CORE child
 'Ø_i returned home, and then Ø_i saw a child.'

Coreference between S and P, both nominative

- (11) *No-waliako=mo di kampo, maka no-'ita='e (te ana)*.
 3R-return=PF OBL village and.then 3R-see=3P CORE child
 'Ø_i returned home, and then (a child/Ø)_j saw Ø_i.'

Internal relative clauses show complex restrictions; only an absolutive argument (an S or a P) may appear as head, and moreover that argument must be nominative. This is trivial for an S, but for the P we can see that this restriction forces P-voice.

Internal relative clauses referring to a nominative P

- (12) *No-waliako=mo* [RC *to-siasia='e na mia i aba*].
 3R-return=PF 1PL.R-beat.up=3P NOM person OBL previous
 'The person we beat up before has gone home.'

Internal relative clauses referring to a non-nominative P

- (13) * *no-waliako=mo* [RC *to-siasia te mia i aba*]
 3R-return=PF 1PL.R-beat.up NOM person OBL previous
 'The person we beat up before has gone home.'

External possession is restricted to Ps and patient-like Ss (unaccusative subjects) (Donohue 1999b), in non-active, if bivalent, thus establishing a requirement that the external possessor must be nominative.

External possession with a nominative P

- (14) *No-siasia=ko=mo na ikaka='u*.
 3R-beat.up=2SG.P=PF NOM eSi=2SG.GEN
 'They beat up your big brother.'

External possession with a non-nominative P

- (15) * *no-siasia=moq (na / te) iko'o (na / te) ikaka='u*
 3R-beat.up=PF NOM / CORE 2SG NOM / CORE eSi=2SG.GEN
 'They beat up your big brother.'

Clearly there are far-reaching grammatical consequences to the clause, in terms of constructional restrictions, that correlate with the choice of the verb

appearing with P-enclitics or not. We have, thus, established a voice system in which the identity of the grammatical subject changes (see Falk 2000 for arguments on why these constructions are suitable to establish grammatical subject status, and are not simply ones that identify an argument structure position). Evidence that the A is a core argument in both the P-agreement and the non-P-agreement constructions is easy to find. The A participant:

- remains indexed on the verb by invariant prefix regardless of voice, as seen in the invariant use of *ku-* to show agreement with the S,A in both (2) and (4);

This shows that the determination of prefixal verbal agreement is based on lexically-assigned argument structure relationships, and not the voice-sensitive grammatical functions.

- is marked with a core case, *na* ‘nominative’ or *te* ‘generic core argument’, depending on the voice (again, see examples (2) and (4) above);

Neither the general oblique *i*, nor any of the more specialised oblique prepositions, may be used to mark an A.

- is available to bind a reflexive regardless of its status with respect to the voice system (cf. Arka and Manning 1998).

The reflexive facts can be seen in the following two sentences (Donohue 1999a: 418), in which the marking or absence of marking for the P on the verb does not affect the ability of the A to bind a reflexive.

(16) *O-pepe='e na karama=no te ana.*
 3R-hit=3P NOM self=3GEN CORE child
 ‘The child hit her/himself.’

(17) *O-pepe te karama=no na ana.*
 3R-hit CORE self=3GEN NOM child
 ‘The child hit her/himself.’

A sentence with a reflexive agent, analogous to the English ‘He was promoted by himself’, is ungrammatical in *Tukang Besi*. This is most apparent with a non-third person S,A. (18) has a verb with prefixal agreement for the S,A, and (19) additionally shows agreement with the reflexive P, just as in (2) and (4). (20) is ungrammatical because it assigns the reflexive *karama'u* to the A position, grammatical in English since it is an oblique in the passive construction. The ungrammaticality of sentences such as (20) shows that the P-voice construction cannot be interpreted as a passive with an oblique A. This leads us to assume that the voice system involves an effective reversal of the assignment of grammatical functions to the two arguments of the bivalent verb. (Examining three or more place predicates shows that the voice system deals only with the highest two arguments for the purposes of voice assignment. Further arguments (such as the theme of a verb like *hu'u* ‘give’) are syntactically inert ‘second objects’.)

(18) *'U-tulumi te karama='u.*
 2SG.R-help CORE self=2SG.GEN
 ‘You helped yourself.’

- (19) 'U-tulumi='e na karama='u.
 2SG.R-help=3P NOM self=2SG.GEN
- (20) * no-tulumi=ko te karama='u
 3R-help=2SG.P CORE self=2SG.GEN
 'You were helped by yourself.'

This voice system cannot be characterised as active/passive, or active/antipassive: in both of the bivalent coding options there are two core arguments. The voice system then represents more closely those of the Philippine languages, or the inverse systems of some Cariban or Algonquian languages (though not all; see Dahlstrom 1991). This can be shown with the following crude mapping of argument structure positions to grammatical functions in *Tukang Besi* (shown using the conventions from Alsina 1996) (Arguments against an ergative-with-antipassive analysis are given in Donohue 1999a: 160-166).

- A-structure / GF-mapping for the pronominal voice alteration
- (21) a. No enclitics $\langle \text{---}_A, \text{---}_P \rangle$ b. P enclitics $\langle \text{---}_A, \text{---}_P \rangle$
- | | | | |
|------|-----|------|-----|
| | | / | / |
| SUBJ | OBJ | SUBJ | OBJ |

An approach such as that advocated in Sells (2001), in which the P is raised in a clause with P clitics on the verb, would more formally capture the generalisations illustrated here. Note that, in *Tukang Besi*, rather than being covert the pronominal incorporation on the verb posited by Sells is overt, in the form of the P agreement clitics.

2.3. Interactions with person

It is not ungrammatical for an indexed pronominal to also be represented by a free pronoun in the same clause; this is extremely rare, but is attested in texts. Such constructions are usually associated with pragmatically marked information, and so are judged as being more natural if the case-marked pronoun appears preverbally, as in (23) and the textual (25).

- (22) No-'ita=aku te ana (#! na iaku).
 3R-see=1SG.P CORE child NOM 1SG
 'The child saw me.'
- (23) Te iaku no-'ita=aku te ana.
 CORE 1SG 3R-see=1SG.P CORE child
 'The child saw me.'
- (24) # To-waliako=mo i kampo na ikita.
 1PL.R-return=PF OBL village NOM 1PL
- (25) ...te iaku habuntu ('u-hu'u=aku te kuli=no ...
 CORE 1SG in.fact 2SG.R-give=1SG.P CORE skin=3GEN
 '...in fact you've just given me the peel (of the bananas) ...'

Sentences such as (26), while consistently judged to be grammatical possible, are at best marginally felicitous, and are not part of any corpus of naturally-occurring speech. This implies a constraint requiring local person Ps to be the subject of their clause; morphologically, local persons should be

marked on the verb. This does not apply to all local person, regardless of syntactic role; (27) shows an instance of a non-nominative local person A.

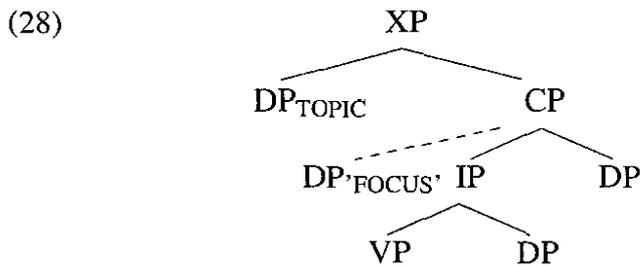
(26) */ # *no-'ita te iaku na ana*
 3R-see CORE 1SG NOM child
 'The child saw me.'

(27) "Oho, 'u-pidi='e te iko'o na loka saba'ane='e."
 yes 2SG.R-rubbish=3P CORE 2SG NOM banana all=3P
 'Yes, you've rubbished all of the bananas.'

2.4. Grammatical voice, not (just) pragmatic topic

Given what is known about the evolution of agreement systems in language (for instance, Givón 1976), we might ask whether the construction with P-clitics involves a change in the pragmatic function status of the P, but not the grammatical function status. This is a position that would be hard to sustain given the data on clause-internal constructions presented in the previous section, detailing the syntactic correlates of P-agreement, and the interaction with the person hierarchy.

Further evidence against a topic analysis involves the regular attestation of pre-verbal topics. Expanding the structure seen in (7), we might describe a monoclausal sentence in *Tukang Besi* as follows (after Donohue 1999: 80xxx). This accords well with what is described for other Austronesian languages.



Examples of these structures can be found in the following textual extracts. The first shows that a 'true' topic, in preverbal position, need not have any grammatical connection with the arguments of the clause at all. In (29), in which two characters discuss the yield of a banana tree, the topic of the sentence, *te iaku*, is not the subject of the predicate. The textual extracts shown in (30) and (31) demonstrate that when a topic does serve as a term in the clause it is possible for it to be realised in the topic position alone, as in (30), or in both the preclausal topic position and overtly in the normal IP-internal position.

	TOPIC				SUBJECT	
(29)	"E	<i>iaku</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>no-ha'a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>iso!</i>
	CORE	1SG	yon	3R-why	NOM	yon
		<i>No-'ido</i>	<i>sa-ro'o,</i>	<i>o-mate</i>	<i>sa-ro'o."</i>	
		3R-live	1-leaf	3R-die	1-leaf	
		'And me, it's just like that (ie., nothing at all). One leaf lives, and one leaf dies (ie., it's not doing too well).'				

- (30) TOPIC
 ... *te iaku ku-[m]e-mbula te hu'u=no ...*
 CORE 1SG 1SG-VRB.SI-plant CORE trunk=3GEN
 'I will plant the trunk.'
- (31) TOPIC
Po'oli te ia iso no='eka=mo
 finish CORE 3SG that 3R-ascend=PF
na La bela kape'ingkape'i kua wunua-no.
 NOM Mr dear Fool ALL house=3GEN
 'And then he, The Fool, went (back) up to his house.'

On the other hand, it remains true that nominative encoding is not compatible with pragmatically focussed question words; questions can be formed of and A or a P only if it is non-nominatively coded, or in a cleft; an S may only be questioned in a cleft.

- (32) '*U-ala te paira?* (33) * '*u-ala='e na paira?*
 2SG.R-fetch CORE what 2SG.R-fetch=3P
 'What did you fetch?'
- (34) *No-ala='e te emai?* (35) * *no-ala na emai?*
 3R-fetch=3P CORE who 2SG.R-fetch
 'Who fetched it?'
- (36) *Te emai na [m]jaliako?* (37) * *no-waliako na emai?*
 CORE who NOM return.SI 2SG.R-fetch
 'Who returned?'
- (38) *Te paira na ni-ala='u?*
 CORE what NOM PP-fetch=2SG.GEN
 'What did you fetch?'
- (39) *Te emai na [um]ala te loka?*
 CORE what NOM fetch.SI CORE banana
 'Who fetched the banana(s)?'

This is not completely surprising, given the well-known correlations between the relative topicality of an A and a P and the choice of voice. This is summarised in table 3.

Table 3. Topicality and voice choice

Relative topicality of A and P	Preferred voice	Subject =
A » P	antipassive	A
A > P	active	A
A < P	inverse	P
A « P	passive	P

(Rarely are more than three of these voices instantiated for any one language. See Payne (1994), or Sells (2001) for the use of these labels as a combined voice+pragmatic function descriptors.)

There are, nonetheless, good reasons to consider the alternations to represent a voice system, and not simply an artefact of topicalisation (such as has been demonstrated for, amongst others, Chichewa – see section 3). The evidence involves the syntactic tests shown in 2.2, and the semantic correlates described in the following section.

2.5. Semantic correlates of the pronominal voice system

Other reasons for assuming that the pronominal voice system is a real voice system, and not simply an extended topicalisation phenomenon, become apparent when we examine the necessary semantic correlates of the voice choice made with this paradigm. In addition to the change in status of the grammatical functions, other effects associated with the use of P-clitics when there is an alternation include the following specification of the P argument:

- greater specificity or definiteness associated with the P;
- more referential or retrievable P.

The contrast between the following clauses shows the instantiation of these semantic parameters.

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| (40) | <i>Ku-ala te loka.</i>
1SG-fetch CORE banana
'I fetch some/a banana(s).'
(irrealis, indefinite, nonspecific) | (41) | <i>Ku-ala='e na loka.</i>
1SG-fetch=3P NOM banana
'I fetched the banana(s).'
(perfective, specific) |
|------|---|------|--|

The fact that local persons are almost invariably marked on the verb, including when they have the role of the P in a clause (see section 2.3) also matches what is known about correlations between animacy and voice choice/subject selection.

There are also correlations between aspectual interpretation and the choice of pronominal voice, something that we would not expect to find with a system that simply marked incorporate pronominal status and relative topicality. A P-voice clause is more telic/punctual/realis than an otherwise equivalent clause in active voice. Relative clauses with an *-um-* infixed verb (necessarily with an S or A as head), in which the normal perfective clitic *=mo* cannot be used, use P-voice as one way to indicate a perfective aspect.

The telicity parameter has been illustrated in (40) and (41). This contrast in relative clauses can be seen in (42) and (43) (which, with (44), also demonstrate the continued function of the older Austronesian voice morphology *-um-* 'actor voice' and *-in-* 'PV' in subordinate clause, and show that in *Tukang Besi* they have become disassociated from the determination of grammatical functions).by a verb infixed with *-um-*; independently, the P clitics may be used to indicate a nominative P in the relative clause, and a level of perfectivity not otherwise associated with this construction. Interestingly, relative clauses are one of the few cases in which local person Ps do not have to be coded on the verb, though that is still the preferred option.

- | | |
|------|--|
| (42) | <i>Te wowine [RC s[um]ampi te loka]</i>
CORE woman pick.SI CORE banana
'the woman who pick(ed, s) bananas' |
| (43) | <i>Te wowine [RC s[um]ampi='e na loka]</i>
CORE woman pick.SI=3P NOM banana
'the woman who has picked the banana(s)' |
| (44) | <i>Te loka [RC ni-sampi nu wowine]</i>
CORE banana PP-pick GEN woman
'the bananas which were/are being picked by the woman' |

All of the semantic correlates illustrated here are factors that Hopper and Thompson associate with higher transitivity, and all are also variables commonly associated with the alternations of a voice system: voices that assign high grammatical status to the P of a clause are more likely to appear in past or perfective clauses, and to refer to more specific referents. Again, the agreement alternation in *Tukang Besi* functions semantically as a voice system can be expected to function.

3. The genesis of a pronominal voice system

While I have argued that the P-voice in *Tukang Besi* is not (simply) a case of a clause reflecting incorporated pronominal material and a topical P argument, there are striking similarities with such phenomena as reported in, for instance, Chichewa (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987). In both languages a P DP in a clause *with* P-coding agreement is outside the VP, while a P DP in a clause *without* agreement is inside the VP. We shall propose formal representation of the structure of clauses with and without P agreement on the verb in (99) - (99).

Having two transitive verb forms differentiated by the presence or absence of P-agreement is not limited to *Tukang Besi*. Georgopoulos (1985, 1998) discusses similar correlations of ‘object agreement’ in Palauan, as does Kissonck (2003) on Rotuman, and there is evidence that other languages of Melanesia also show pronominal voice alternations (section 4). In all cases these are languages that no longer display the original Austronesian voice morphology in its original function.

The historical loss and development of Austronesian voice morphology is summarised in (45), with considerable simplification.

(45)		Main Clause		Subordinate clause	
		S,A subject	P subject	S,A subject	P subject
	PAN	V- <i>um-</i>	V- <i>in-</i>	V- <i>um-</i>	V- <i>in-</i>
	(Celebic)	V- <i>um-</i>	S,A-V	V- <i>um-</i>	V- <i>in-</i>
	P M-B	S,A-V	S,A-V-P	V- <i>um-</i>	V- <i>in-</i>

The *Tukang Besi* system reflects the proto-Muna Buton system; we have seen the alternation in the main clause correlating with the presence or absence of P enclitics; the subordinate clause morphology has been seen in (36) and (38) - (39), as well as in (42) - (44). By comparison in Tagalog the original Austronesian voice morphology (Ross 2002) is used in a voice function in both main clause and subordinate clause positions.

- (46) *P[um]unta ang bata sa pulo.*
 examine.AV NOM child DAT island
 ‘The child went to the island.’
- (47) *S[um]juri ng kaibigan niya ang bata.*
 examine.AV GEN friend 3SG.GEN NOM child
 ‘The child examined her/his friend.’
- (48) *S[in]juri ng bata ang kaibigan niya.*
 examine.PV GEN child NOM friend 3SG.GEN
 ‘A child examined her/his friend.’

We can see that there are good reasons to consider that the morphological alternation associated with the presence or absence of P clitics has replaced, in main clauses, the encoding of the voice by means of the infixes. The use of this voice alternation in discourse has been hinted at in 2.2 can be illustrated with a real textual example in (49). Here we can see that the preferred target of a clause-chaining construction is the subject of that clause, and the voice in that clause is selected to guarantee such coreference.

(49) *Ara ku-[m]o-busu na-t[um]alo=aku, kene te*
 if 1SG-REC.SI-forward.fist 3I-win.SI=1SG.P and CORE
ia no-pande di lola-'a, jari labi ku-akala='e.
 3SG 3R-clever OBL fly-NL so better 1SG-trick=3P
 'If I_i want to fight he_j'll beat me_i, and he_j's good at flying, so
 it'd be better if I_i tricked him_j.' (Reiger & Aap: 24)

(49)' 1SG: S → P A | SUBJ → SUBJ OBJ
 him: A → S → P | OBJ → SUBJ → SUBJ

In (50) we have an alternative version of the same passage from the story, in which the syntactic roles of the participants are the same, but in which the grammatical function status of those arguments has been changed to deny the SUBJ → SUBJ preference in coreference. This retelling is uniformly judged to be much less felicitous than the original in (49).

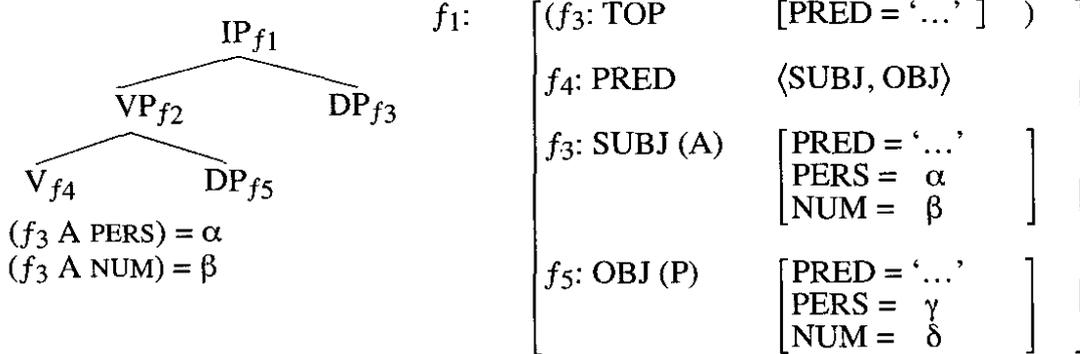
(50) */# *Ara ku-[m]o-busu na-t[um]alo te iaku,*
 if 1SG-REC.SI-forward.fist 3I-win.SI CORE 1SG
kene te ia no-pande di lola-'a,
 and CORE 3SG 3R-clever OBL fly-NL
jari labi ku-akala te ia.
 so better 1SG-trick CORE 3SG
 'If I_i want to fight him he_j'll beat me_i, and he_j's good at flying,
 so it'd be better if I_i tricked him_j.' (retold, badly)

(50)' 1SG: S → P A | SUBJ → OBJ SUBJ
 him: A → S → P | SUBJ → SUBJ → OBJ

Following Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) I assume that the difference between clauses with P agreement on the verb and those without, in Chichewa, can be modelled as in (51) and (52). In (51) we see the DP representing the P internal to the VP external to the VP, since it is already present in the VP in the form of the object agreement prefix on the verb. Furthermore, as described in Bresnan and Mchombo, there are positional freedoms associated with the P in this clause that are not found in a clause in which the verb lacks agreement for the P. In a clause with no P clitics, the DP representing the P must appear inside the VP, and is not eligible for any special positional privileges. This is shown in (52).

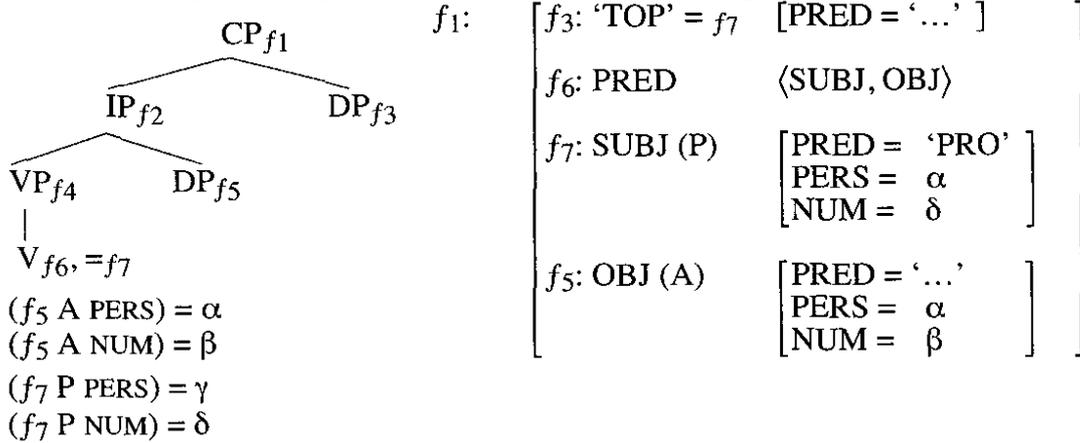
involves an alternation between a structure such as (54), representing the clause without P-enclitics, and (55).

(54) *Tukang Besi*: Agreement for A only: A & P core



OBJ	SUBJ
(54)' [IP [VP <i>No-'ita</i> [DP:P <i>te</i> <i>kene=no</i>]] [DP:A <i>na</i> <i>ana</i>].	
3R-see CORE friend=3GEN	NOM child
'The child saw her/his friend.'	

(55) *Tukang Besi*: Agreement for A and P: P more topical, A core



OBJ	SUBJ
(55)' [CP [IP [VP <i>No-'ita='e</i> [DP:A <i>te</i> <i>ana</i>]] [DP:P <i>na</i> <i>kene=no</i>]].	
3R-see=3P CORE child	NOM friend=3GEN
'The child saw her/his friend.'	

Some predicates can be used either monovalently or bivalently. When they are used bivalently they must appear with P-enclitics (Donohue 1999a: 100). This indicates a slight preference for the inverse voice in a bivalent clause. This suggests that the bivalent use is dependent on combination with a predicate, either a causative one that specifies only the linking of the predicates, or a pronominal voice derivation that not only specifies predicate linking but also the voice that assigns the grammatical function subject to the P. See Sells (2000) for a model that is even more plausibly instantiated in *Tukang Besi* than in the languages for which it was developed.

4. Other attestations of pronominal voice

Similar evidence for pronominal voice systems similar to that described here can be found in other Austronesian languages to the east (Larike, Ansum and Ambai, Misima, Saliba, Tawala; Laidig and Laidig 1995, Callister 1987, Margetts 1999, Ezard 1997); the unrelated (but geographically contiguous) West Papuan languages of North Halmahera (eg., Wimbish 1991) (in an inverted form); Mixe (Oto-Manguean, Mexico; Dietermann 1998), Dullay (Cushitic, east Africa; Sasse 1984: 247) and Lango (xxxx, east Africa; Noonan 1992 and others).

Generally there is less reported morphosyntactic evidence for the pronominal voice system in these languages; in some cases this reflects the level of published documentation (eg., Muna; van den Berg 1989), in some cases it reflects genuine 'fuzzy' language phenomena, in which the level of grammaticisation is not complete, such as in Ansum; the most comparable construction is textual coreference: for a chain of subjects; new participants are introduced as objects, and then (if they stay) become subjects.

Endnotes

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1. There are exceptions to this trend of under-reportage; Arka (2000) reports on the behaviour of passives in several languages of eastern Indonesia, where the nominal marking (case and/or position) is overtly present and correlates with demonstrable syntactic behaviour, but there is no dedicated passive morphology on the verb. Palu'e (Donohue 2004) has a similar system.
2. Because of the Philippinist controversy over grammatical functions, I shall use the labels A, S and P (following Comrie 1978) to refer to the syntactic roles, without making claims for their grammatical status at this stage. A, S and P refer to the most agentive argument in a lexically bivalent clause, the single argument in a monovalent clause, and the non-A non-oblique argument(s) in a bi- or trivalent clause, respectively.
3. A further alternative is available in which one nominally appears preverbally (yet clause-internally), with pragmatic focus: this argument can only be the P in a clause with P-enclitics, or the A (or S) in a clause without P enclitics. Additionally, any DP may appear preverbally if it is topical. A preverbal argument is invariably marked with *te*. See 2.3 and 2.4 for examples.
4. The P clitics only show morphophonemic variation: the third person clitic is realised as [kE] following a syllable with a glottal stop onset. The variation in the third person prefixes, and in the 2SG realis prefixes, is unconditioned.

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