

COMPARING TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BALINESE AND PENDAU

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1 Introduction

This paper will begin by examining the prototypical transitive patterns of two distinct transitive clause types that can be contrasted in both Balinese and Pendau (Tomini-Tolitoli group in Central Sulawesi; both distantly related Western Austronesian languages).¹ These will be referred to as Active Voice and Inverse Voice constructions (see examples 1 and 2—note that the pivot² is marked in the English translation by capital letters). Since it is difficult if not impossible to determine one transitive clause type as basic (as well as other morpho-syntactic evidence and quantitative evidence from topic continuity), we will refer to this voice contrast as a symmetrical voice system in both languages (see Himmelmann 2002, Ross 2002a, 2002b). For example, both Balinese and Pendau can form ditransitive constructions via applicative and causative morphology in either active or inverse voice constructions. The fact that ditransitives in these languages are syntactic constructions with three core arguments, necessitates *a priori* that there exists a transitive construction in each of these voice constructions with two core arguments.

We will begin by following Andrews (1985) definition of prototypical transitive constructions, or “primary transitive verbs” and present a brief background of these struc-

¹ Pendau is a Western Austronesian language group of about 4500 speakers found in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. See Himmelmann 2001 for discussion of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, and for Pendau in particular see Quick 1999 and 2003. For Balinese see Arka 1998, Artawa 1994, Beratha 1992, Clynes 1995, and Pastika 1999. Interlinear abbreviations used in this paper are: 1SG first singular person, 3P third person, 3PL third plural person, AB absolute case, AGNZ agentive nominalizer, APPL applicative, AV active voice, CN common noun, CONT continuative aspect, DEF definite, DY dynamic verb class, GE genitive case, LOC locative, IM intransitive marker, IR irrealis, IV inverse voice, NEG negative, NT nasal marked transitive verb class, PN proper noun, PT primary transitive verb class, RE realis modality, RED reduplicated, SF augmented stem former, ST stative verb class, and ZT zero marked transitive verb class.

² The identification of subject is based on a methodological procedure which requires identifying the pivot first in two clauses of the same sentence (for the mechanics of this procedure see Quick 2003). The use of the term ‘pivot’ in this paper reflects this preliminary procedure when it is used before identifying the grammatical subject in Pendau. For purposes of understanding this paper the terms ‘pivot’ and ‘grammatical subject’ may be understood to mean the same thing. This however does not mean they are the same thing, since the pivot could be understood to reflect the etic reality and the grammatical subject to reflect the emic reality.

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tures for Balinese and Pendau.³ Then for Balinese we will proceed to compare constructions which have a low transitivity, based on four of the ten parameters in Hopper and Thompson (1980), which we will refer to as ‘false transitives.’ These are constructions with an incorporated object in Balinese, or for Pendau an incorporated-like object. We will then compare these ‘false transitives’ with the primary transitive constructions. We will then discuss middle voice and reflexive constructions and how they compare to the primary transitive verb constructions as relevant to Balinese and Pendau. For Balinese, the middle voice has verbs that commonly occur with ‘grooming’ or ‘body’ actions (e.g. as described in Kemmer 1993). Pendau has a different type of productive middle voice which is based primarily on the stative verb construction and adds an effector adjunct; however, transitive roots can be ‘detransitivized’ with this same construction. Balinese reflexive constructions can be derived from middle verbs, but they must become a transitive verb inflected in either active or inverse voice. Pendau has a marginal reflexive construction, but it does have productive reflexive intensifiers.

2 Active Voice and Inverse Voice

Transitive verbs can be inflected in either active voice or inverse voice without a change in transitivity.⁴ Examples (1) and (2) contrast the Active Voice and the Inverse Voice constructions respectively in Balinese and Pendau. Figure 1 contrasts the affixation used for Balinese and Pendau. Compare examples (1)-(2) with figure 2 which clearly shows inverse voice results from the realignment of the macro roles. (capital letters in the English translation indicate the grammatical subject or pivot).

(1) ACTIVE VOICE

a. BALINESE

<i>Nglaut ia</i>	<i>ngojog</i>	<i>dagang</i>	<i>bebek.</i>
<i>nglaut ta</i>	<i>N-ojog</i>	<i>dagang</i>	<i>bebek</i>
then 3P	NT-approach	seller	duck

Pivot=A **non-pivot=P**

‘Then HE (=Belog) approaches a duck seller.’

b. PENDAU

<i>Siama'u</i>	<i>nonuju</i>	<i>siina'u.</i>
<i>si=ama='u</i>	<i>N-pong-tuju</i>	<i>si=ina='u</i>
PN/AB=father=1SG/GE	RE-SF/PT-send	PN/AB=mother=1SG/GE

Pivot=A

non-pivot=P

‘MY FATHER sent my mother.’

³ See Ross (2002:26-30) for a good discussion of ‘semantic transitivity’ and ‘morpho-syntactic transitivity’ in the context of Austronesian linguistics.

⁴ See Quick 1997, 1999, and 2003 for the background and basis for the pragmatic inverse voice construction and the analysis for which the Pendau data is based upon. We assume that similar evidence used for Pendau is also applicable to Balinese.

(2) INVERSE VOICE

a. BALINESE

Nglaut dagang bebek ojog-a
nglaut dagang bebek Ø-ojog-a
then seller duck ZT-approach-3SG

Pivot=A non-pivot=P

‘Then he (=Belog) approaches A DUCK SELLER.’

b. PENDAU

Siamas’u nituju niina’u.
si=ama=’u ni-tuju ni=ina=’u
 PN/AB=father=1SG/GE IV/RE-send PN/GE=mother=1SG/GE

Pivot=P

non-pivot=A

‘My mother sent MY FATHER.’

Active Voice		Inverse Voice	
Balinese	Pendau	Balinese	Pendau
N-	mong-nong-	Ø-	ro-ni-

Figure 1: Comparison of Active Voice and Inverse Voice Prefixes in Balinese and Pendau

Active Voice	Subject/pivot <i>actor role</i>	V	Object/non-pivot <i>undergoer role</i>
Inverse Voice	Subject/pivot <i>undergoer role</i>	V	Object/non-pivot <i>actor role</i>

Figure 2: Macro Role Realignment in Balinese and Pendau

3 False Transitive (Incorporated Object)

In this section we discuss constructions which appear to be syntactically transitive, but that we will call ‘false transitives’ (following Donohue 2001). We assume that the syntactic pattern follows the prototypical primary transitive clause due to internal language pressure as suggested by Andrews (1985:68-69). This pressure appears to produce skewing between morpho-syntactic transitivity and semantic transitivity, and can therefore be analyzed as a ‘false transitive’.

3.1 Balinese False Transitive

The ‘false transitive’ has a very low degree of transitivity in terms of Hopper and Thompson’s parameters (1980). There are four (out of ten) parameters that can show the degree of transitivity: (i) punctuality, (ii) aspectuality, (iii) agency, (iv) affectedness of Object and

(v) individuated Object. With the punctuality and aspectuality and agency parameters, the false transitivity exhibits the nuance of habitual activity, while with the parameter of agency the Agent seems to be low in potency and the activity is not completed. If we look at the parameter of affected Object, then the Object is not fully affected by the action since there is incomplete transferring of action from the Agent to the Patient. In terms of the individuated Object, the false transitive construction can only have an indefinite object; it is not possible with a definite Object. In the data below, we select some verbs that are formed by *ma-*. This prefix is originally an intransitive marker (IM). Only small numbers of the *ma-* verbs can occur with an incorporated Object.

- (3) a. *I meme medaar nasi.*
 i meme ma-daar nasi
 PN mother IM-eats rice
 ‘Mother eats rice.’

*b. *I meme medaar nasi-ne.*

- (4) a. *Timpale mekena bubu di carik.*
 timpale ma-kena bubu di carik
 friend IM-sets fish.trap LOC ricefield
 ‘The friend sets a fish trap in the ricefield.’

*b. *Timpale mekena bubu-ne di carik.*

- (5) a. *Imbok medagang kucit di peken.*
 imbok ma-dagang kucit di peken
 younger.sibling IM-sell piglet LOC market
 ‘Younger sibling sells piglets in the market.’

*b. *Imbok medagang kucit-e di peken.*

The real transitives are presented below. The plus value of the five parameters that show the high degree of transitivity can be applied to the real transitive construction. For this degree, the verb must be turned into the Nasal Transitive (NT). The use of the Nasal Prefix⁵ makes the action volitionally transferred by the Agent to the Patient. In this real transitive construction, the Agent is the initiator or the controller of the action. The Object of the Nasal Transitive can be definite or indefinite, while in the False Transitive, the definite noun phrase Object is not allowed.

- (6) a. *I meme naar nasi.*
 i meme N-daar nasi
 PN mother NT-eat rice
 ‘Mother eats rice.’

⁵ The phonological form of the Nasal Prefix is /N-/. This nasal then assimilates the initial consonant of the verb.

- b. *I meme naar nasi-ne.*
i meme N-daar nasi-ne
 PN mother NT-eat rice-DEF
 ‘Mother eats the rice.’
- (7) a. *Timpale ngenaang bubu di carik.*
timpale N-kena-ang bubu di carik
 friend NT-set-APPL trap LOC ricefield
 ‘The friend sets a fish trap in the ricefield.’
- b. *Timpale ngenaang bubu-ne di carik.*
timpale N-kena-ang bubu-ne di carik
 friend NT-set-APPL trap-DEF LOC ricefield
 ‘The friend sets the fish trap on the ricefield.’
- (8) a. *Imbok ngadepkucit di peken.*
Imbok N-kadep kucit di peken
 younger.sibling NT-sell piglet LOC market
 ‘The younger sibling sells piglets in the market.’
- b. *Imbok ngadepkucit-e di peken.*
imbok N-kadep kucit-ne di peken
 younger.sibling NT-sell piglet-DEF LOC market
 ‘The younger sibling sells the piglet in the market.’

The ‘false transitive/incorporated object’ is semantically an antipassive construction, but if we follow Dixon’s parameter on antipassive, an antipassive construction should have a patient in the form of an oblique (Dixon 1994:146-152). In Balinese, there are a small number of constructions that can be treated as antipassive. The small number of antipassives can be distinguished by verbs that take *N-* and those that take *ma-* depending on the base form in the lexicon. If the lexical form is morphologically dependent but semantically a verb, it takes the prefix *N-*. On the other hand, if the base form is a noun, it takes the intransitive marker *ma-*. Both of these verb types can be interpreted as having a semantic antipassive since they do not have a specific morphological marker, although they do have a patient in the oblique form. It is semantically antipassive since the patient is not fully affected by the action that is initiated by the agent.

The other difference between the incorporated object construction and the active voice construction is that the latter can be alternatively formed in the inverse voice while the former construction cannot be formed in the inverse voice. By applying Hopper and Thomson’s parameters (1980) on transitivity, we can treat the real transitive construction as an event transitive while the incorporated object is a stative transitive since the former construction semantically or syntactically carries a high degree of transitivity while the latter is absolutely in a low degree of transitivity.

3.2 False Transitive in Pendau (Incorporated-like object)

The *M-/N-* *pe-* prefix seems to behave similarly to the Indonesian *ber-* prefix, and to have a similar range of meanings (although there is not a one-to-one correlation in Pendau). The base may be certain verbs or certain nouns (see Quick 2003 for a representative list). Normally it is used in an intransitive clause where the single argument is an actor (contrast this with stative verbs where the single argument is an undergoer).

The meanings of dynamic verbs which are often denominal-like include:

- wear something, e.g. *me-salana* ‘wear pants’ from *salana* ‘pants’, *me-baju* ‘wear a shirt’ from *baju* ‘shirt’
- own something, e.g. *me-junjung* ‘own house’ from *junjung* ‘house’
- activity X is done by the agent [S=A], e.g. *me-intolu* ‘lay eggs’ from *intolu* ‘egg(s)’, *me-raa* ‘to bleed’ from *raa* ‘blood’, *me-gayo* ‘use a dip net’ from *gayo* ‘dip net’, *ne-gempang* ‘to walk’ from *gempang* ‘walk’, *me-ngkani* ‘eat’ from *ngkani* ‘eat’

3.3 Incorporation-like behavior with dynamic verbs

Dynamic verbs are a verb class in Pendau which has mixed transitivity. Some verbs like *lolo* ‘search’ require two arguments and requires the use of the dynamic verb prefix *pe-*. Some dynamic verbs seem to incorporate the noun which follows the verb into the verb phrase (albeit syntactically and not morphologically). In examples (9)-(10) “ocean-bathing” and “fresh-water-bathing” are clearly focused on the different kinds of activities and not the different locations. Example (11) shows that the location is designated with the use of an oblique phrase. Some of the corresponding functions of the dynamic prefix *pe-* is found with the Indonesian prefix *ber-*. Wolff et. al. (1982:282) describes the functions of *ber-*:

However, this word or phrase that complements the verb with *ber-* is not the recipient, the thing affected by the action (as the English translation might lead you to view it), but rather it tells what type of action it is: it qualifies the action. Thus *berbahasa Inggris* or *berbicara Inggris*, “to speak English” are phrases consisting of a verb with *ber-* meaning “speak” and the word *Inggris* which tells what type of studying one is doing.

- (9) *Diang moje too ndau neriing dagat.*
diang moje too ndau N-pe-riing dagat
 EXIS again person NEG RE-SF/DY-bathe ocean
 ‘There was again a person who wasn’t ocean-bathing.’
 [tanjong.pin 031-2]

- (10) *Jimo neriing ogo.*
jimo N-pe-riing ogo
 3PL/AB DY/RE-bathe water
 ‘They fresh-water bathed.’ [EN98-003.54]

- (11) *Jimo neriing ridagat.*
jimo N-pe-riing ri=dagat
 3PL/AB RE-SF/DY-bathe LOC=ocean
 ‘They bathed in the ocean.’ [EN98-003.54]

Also a few words, such as *riing* ‘bathe’ can be contrasted between active voice constructions and dynamic verb constructions. In these cases there is a clear contrast in the direction of the activity (12).

- (12) *Tagu’u noriing unganyo.*
tagu=’u N-pong-riing unga=nyo
 friend=1SG/GE RE-SF/PT-bathe child=3SG/GE
 ‘My friend bathed his/her child.’ [EN97-002.46]

4 Middle Voice vs. Reflexive Construction

Kemmer (1994:179), who quotes from Lyons (1965), states that the middle voice is used to express events in which the action or state affects the subject of the verb or its interest. She has successfully formulated how middle construction and reflexive constructions have a similar semantic valency but differ in the syntactic one. In terms of the semantic valency, both constructions carry only a single participant that functions as the ‘Initiator’ and at the same time this single participant is also the ‘Endpoint’ of the event. In the syntactic valency, on the other hand, the middle voice occurs with a single core argument that functions as Subject, while the reflexive construction occurs with two core arguments: the Agent and the reflexive Object.

Middle construction and reflexive construction are two types of construction which express events and the events affect the subject for its interest (cf. Lyons, 1968:373; cf. Kemmer 1994:179). Semantically the subject of the clause acts for himself so that the actor is affected by its action. In the morphosyntax, the middle construction differs from the reflexive construction in the way that the middle is a one core argument construction or an intransitive clause while its counterpart is a transitive construction because it has two core arguments. The object argument here must be a reflexive pronoun.

4.1 Middle Voice in Balinese

Kemmer (1994:195) claims that there are cross-linguistic facts that show verbs of middle voice construction commonly occur with the verb of ‘grooming’ or ‘body’ actions. This typical verb class include verbs such as ‘wash’, ‘shave’, ‘dress’, ‘undress’, etc. The Balinese examples also support her claim. The base form of the Balinese Middle is a noun. The noun here is commonly a thing used or applied to the body (parts). To make it middle construction, the noun must be attached with the intransitive marker *ma-*, as shown in figure 3.

Semantically Balinese is a language with a two-form middle system. The first type is the body action verb which is possible only with one participant as exemplified in figure 3 and this verb takes an intransitive marker. The second type is a verb taking a reflexive pronoun where this verb is a syntactically transitive construction and the two core arguments of the reflexive construction refer to the same referent as exemplified in figures 5-6.

If we follow Kemmer (1994:209) on the ‘degree of distinguishability of partici-

pants' in relation with Hopper and Thompson's parameters of transitivity, then the middle construction will be one level higher than the canonic intransitive, while the syntactic reflexive construction will occur one level higher than the middle construction. The semantic relation of these situation types can be distinguished in figure 4.

Middle Voice	Parse and Gloss	translation
ma-pupur	MA-powder make up	'to do powder make up'
ma-kuris	MA-beard	'to beard', 'to shave (only....part)'
ma-payas	MA-make up	'to get dressed up (with make up)'
ma-kemuh	MA-rinse the mouth	'to rinse the mouth'

Figure 3: *Examples of Balinese Middle Voice*

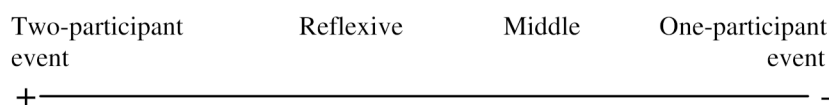


Figure 4: *Degree of Distinguishability of Participants*

Since the middle construction is syntactically an intransitive construction which carries only one single argument, but semantically this intransitive type differs from a reflexive construction which canonically can be categorised as a transitive type. With the former type the subject acts for its benefits, i.e. the actor and undergoer role refer to the same subject Noun Phrase while the subject of the non-middle intransitive has either actor subject or undergoer subject. Thus following Kemmer (1994:210), the subject of the middle exhibits the single case of experiencer in the sense that the initiating is not different from the endpoint entity. This is also true for the reflexive construction (i.e. the canonic transitive). However, as mentioned before, if we take Hopper and Thompson's parameter and Kemmer's parameter, then the reflexive construction has a higher degree of distinguishability of participant than the middle construction. This is because the reflexive is a construction with 'multiple-entity participants' as mentioned by Kemmer (1994:193):

In reflexive situations, it might be noted, the Initiator participant can consist of more than one entity, as in the event expressed by the sentence *the boys saw themselves*. In general, multiple-entity participants take part in the same type of Initiator-Endpoint relations as single entity Initiator participants, with the added complication that the situation described might be construed as one in which each individual entity is in a seeing relation with itself, or the group as a whole is in a seeing relation with itself.

Examples of reflexive constructions for active voice are given in figure 5. Here the NP Agent and the pronominal reflexive Object must refer to the same referent.

{ mupurin
ngurisin
mayasin
ngemuhin }

{ powders
beards
makes up
goggles }

Pengigele	ibane pedidi
The dancer	himself/herself

Figure 5: *Examples of Reflexive Constructions in Active Voice*

Examples of reflexive constructions for inverse voice are given in figure 6. Here the third person *-a* binds to the NP subject. In other words, the NP Subject is coreferential with the third person *-a*.

ibane pedidi	{ pupurina kurisina payasina kemuhina }	
He/she	{ powders beards makes up gargles }	himself/herself

Figure 6: *Examples of Reflexive Constructions in Inverse Voice*

4.2 Middle Voice in Pendau

Stative verb constructions with a P core argument and an A adjunct argument are rather problematic to describe. In Quick (2003) stative verb constructions are described in which stative clauses sometimes appear with an additional A adjunct. One explanation is that these are constructed by analogy to the detransitivized transitive roots (and can be considered to be a middle voice), and the ‘agent’ is an adjunct agent which is an ‘effector’. Statives derived from transitive roots are also described in Quick (2003). These are described below as detransitivized verbs. However, because the root is transitive the stative construction allows an agent adjunct to occur (a similar construction to inverse constructions, see Quick 2003).

Verb roots affixed with the stative prefix *mo-/no-* occasionally appear with an adjunct which is marked in precisely the same way as A arguments are marked for inverse clause constructions. It appears that statives can marginally increase their transitivity by adding a genitive agent as a syntactic adjunct, i.e. it is an ‘effector’ of the stative verb which results in an affect, as in (13). Example (14) shows that the P argument of a stative verb is not required overtly, whereas the genitive agent may appear in the same clause (both the P argument and the adjunct genitive agent may be omitted as well).

- (13) *Aniong notou' nijimo.*
aniong no-tou' nijimo
 rice ST/RE-finish 3PL/GE
 'The rice was finished by them.' [EN97-002.28]
- (14) *Notou' nijimo.*
no-tou' nijimo
 ST/RE-finish 3PL/GE
 'It (something) was finished by them.' [EN97-002.28]
- (15) *A'u ndaupo maate miu.*
a'u ndau=po mo-ate miu
 1SG/AB NEG=CONT ST/IR-die 2PL/GE
 'I was not killed (lit. die) by/via you all.' [miracle1.pin 126]
- (16) *Junjung narava nijimo.*
junjung no-rava nijimo
 house ST/RE-clean 3PL/GE
 'The house was cleaned by/via them.' [bulagon.pin 011]
- (17) *Odo noonda' nuapi.*
odo no-onda' nu=api
 monkey ST/RE-hot CN/GE=fire
 'The monkey was warmed by/via the fire.' [EN97-003.15]
- (18) *Piso moo mountul nutopomintis.*
piso moo mo-untul nu=topomintis
 machete this ST/IR-sharp CN/GE=blacksmith
 'This machete is being sharpened by/via the blacksmith.'
- (19) *Sapatu moo mebe'as niamanyo.*
sapatu moo mo-be'as ni=ama=nyo
 shoe this ST/IR-open PN/GE=father=3SG/GE
 'This shoe was removed by/via his/her father.'

There are a few transitive roots which may take either the stative verb construction or the *ni-* verb construction without intermediary derivations. These roots include *alap* 'get, take, find', and *gansing* 'damage'. For the first contrast, in (20)-(21), note that in the Indonesian translation my language helper used two different words to convey the difference in meaning: *dapat* 'find, get' for the stative verb, and *ambil* 'take, carry' for the inverse verb. A third contrast with the root *alap* can be formed with the prefix *me-/ne-* pre-

ceding the non-volitional aspect formative *te-*, as in example (22). Stative verb constructions are readily translated into English as passives, and inverse voice constructions are usually translated as active voice constructions. In order to distinguish active voice and inverse voice constructions capital letters in the English translations below indicate the pivot or grammatical subject in Pendau.

- (20) *Bau uo naalaponyo.*
bau 'uo no-alap=nyo
 fish yonder ST/RE-get=3SG/GE
 'THAT FISH was found by/via him.'
 [Indonesian: 'Ikan itu dia dapat.' = fish that he got]
- (21) *Bau uo nialaponyo.*
bau 'uo ni-alap=nyo
 fish yonder IV/RE-get=3SG/GE
 'He took THAT FISH.'
 [Indonesian: 'Ikan itu dia ambil.' = fish that he took]
- (22) *Bau uo netealaponyo.*
bau 'uo ne-te-alap=nyo
 fish yonder AV/RE-NV-get=3SG/GE
 'The fish was (able to be) taken at once when he/she got it.' [EN97-002.24]

Examples (23)-(24) are a similar minimal pair. The Pendau language assistant suggested the stative verb construction denoted an unintentional act (23) whereas the inverse verb construction referred to an intentional one (24). Although the semantic meaning of the verb in the inverse voice is semantically the same as in the active voice counterpart (and both are syntactically transitive—see Quick 2003), pragmatically the degree of topicality of the P argument is equal to or higher than the A argument of the same clause.⁶

- (23) *Motor'u nagansingonyo.*
motor='u no-gansing=nyo
 motorcycle=1SG/GE ST/RE-damage=3SG/GE
 'MY MOTORCYCLE was damaged by/via him.'
- (24) *Motoro'u nigansingonyo.*
motor='u ni-gansing=nyo
 motorcycle=1SG/GE IV/RE-damage=3SG/GE
 'He damaged MY MOTORCYCLE'

In addition to the minimal pairs presented above, there are some near minimal pairs that suggests that the stative verb really is intransitive, as in (25)-(26). The applicative di-

⁶ As expressed by Givón (1994:8) and discussed in detail in Quick 2003, the A>P in active voice constructions, and the P>A in inverse voice constructions. Also see Quick (1997, 1999).

rectional suffix *-i* cannot be used on stative verbs such as in (25), however it is mandatory on some verb roots such as in (26) when affixed in the inverse voice (see Quick 2003).

- (25) *Oto'u* *narampung* *nutoo*.
 oto='u *no-rampung* *nu=too*
 car=1SG/GE ST/RE-burn CN/GE=person
 'MY CAR was burned by/via a person (or: by someone).'

- (26) *Oto'u* *nirampuni* *nutoo*.
 oto='u *ni-rampung-i* *nu=too*
 car=1SG/GE IV/RE-burn-DIR CN/GE=person
 'Someone burned my CAR.'

5 Conclusion

We find that all of these constructions lend additional support to our preliminary analysis of both Balinese and Pendau as indeed having symmetrical voice systems (or at least highlighting it). This suggests that allowing for the obvious differences between these two languages, a typological similarity in voice constructions persists and the symmetrical voice constructions are fundamental to understanding other syntactic constructions in both languages respectively.

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