Voice, Valence, and Focus in Makassarese

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Makassarese (South Sulawesi) has a set of verb prefixes cognate with voice-marking morphology in other Austronesian languages of Indonesia and the Philippines. However, unlike many of these languages, Makassarese has an asymmetrical voice system with a passive prefix *ni-* opposed to several constructions loosely termed 'active'. One construction with the prefix *aN(N)-* shares features of both transitive and intransitive clauses. This paper will examine this construction, evaluate previous analyses suggesting it is 'formally intransitive', 'antipassive' or a marker of 'agent focus', and propose a different analysis with the label 'semi-transitive'. Finally, it will discuss the use of a pre-predicate focus slot, which serves several of the functions typically fulfilled by a voice system in other West Austronesian languages.

1. Introduction

Makassarese (also referred to as Makassar, Makasar or Macassarese — the endonym is *basa Mangkásara'*) is one of the larger regional languages of eastern Indonesia, spoken by the Makassarese people in and around the city of Makassar in the province of South Sulawesi. The number of speakers is estimated at about two million (Jukes 2006), making Makassarese the second largest ethnic group in Sulawesi — the largest being Bugis with an estimated 3,600,000 (Pelras 1996:1). The language is still widely spoken, though there has been a significant shift away from it in Makassar city itself.
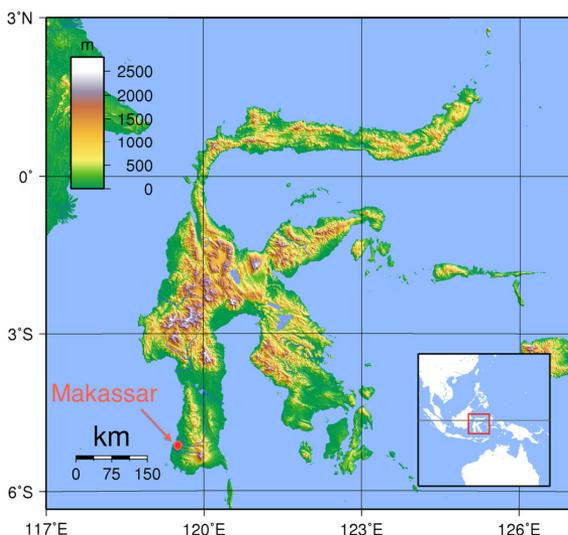

Figure 1: Sulawesi and Makassar

Makassarese is a member of the South Sulawesi language subgroup, within the (Western) Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Blust 2009). Its closest relatives are the nearby languages Konjo and Selayarese, sometimes thought of as dialects of Makassar. More distantly related are the other languages of South

Sulawesi such as Bugis, Mandar, and Sa'dan Toraja. Adelaar (1994, 2005) has also shown the subgrouping relationship between South Sulawesi languages and the Tamanic languages in Borneo.

The structure of this paper is as follows: in §2 there will be a discussion of basic clause structures, including intransitive, transitive, and the semi-transitive construction. In §3 the system of verb prefixes will be briefly introduced. Then in §4 the semi-transitive construction will be examined in more detail, and alternative analyses will be discussed. Finally in §5 there will be a discussion of the voice system and the way in which it interacts with a focus position.

2. Basic clause structure

Makassarese is head-marking and (morphologically) ergative, with grammatical relations being primarily signified by pronominal clitics on the predicate. The pronominal clitic system is shown in Table 1, along with the associated free pronouns and possessive suffixes.[1]

	Free Pronoun	Proclitic (ERG)	Enclitic (ABS)	Possessive suffix (POSS)
1s	*inakke*	*ku=*	*=a'*	*-ku*
2 fam	*ikau*	*nu=*	*=ko*	*-nu*
2 pol/1pl inc.	*ikatte*	*ki=*	*=ki'*	*-ta*
1 pl exc.[2]	*ikambe*		*=kang*	*-mang*
3	*ia*	*na=*	*=i*	*-na*

Table 1: Pronominal elements

2.1 Intransitive clauses

In intransitive clauses there will be an absolutive enclitic (=ABS) cross–referencing the sole argument S, if S is definite or otherwise salient in the discourse, and not in focus (§5.2). The ABS enclitic tends to attach to the first constituent and is thus a second-position or 'Wackernagel' clitic.

Intransitive verbs are typically marked with a verb prefix, usually *aC–* as in (1), but a small set of basic verbs such as *tinro* 'sleep' (2) does not require these.

(1)   *A'jappai Balandayya*

    aC–   jappa =i   balanda -a
    INTR– walk =3ABS Dutch -DEF

    The Dutchman is walking

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[1] The distinction between affixes and clitics can be drawn partly on phonological grounds — affixes are counted as part of the word when stress is assigned, while clitics are not. However this phonological diagnostic is only useful for enclitics, because stress is counted back from the right edge of the word.

[2] The 1st person plural exclusive category lacks a proclitic form and is considered archaic.

(2) *Tinroi iAli*

> tinro =i   i   Ali
> sleep =3ABS PERS Ali

Ali is sleeping

Many other types of phrase may head intransitive clauses, for example adjectives (3), nominals (4) including pronouns (5), and prepositional phrases (6):

(3) *Bambangi alloa*

> bambang =i   allo -a
> hot   =3ABS day -DEF

The day is hot

(4) *Jaranga'*

> jarang =a'
> horse =1ABS

I am a horse

(5) *Inakkeji*

> inakke =ja   =i
> 1PRO   = LIM =3ABS

It's only me

(6) *Ri balla'nai*

> ri   balla' -na   =i
> PREP house -3.POSS =3ABS

He's at home

2.2 Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses both proclitic (A) and enclitic (P) are canonically on the verb, and there is no verb prefix.

(7) *Nakokkoka' miongku*

> Na=   kokko' =a'   miong -ku
> 3ERG= bite   =1ABS cat   -1.POSS

My cat bit me

(8) *Lakuarengko Daeng Nakku'*

> La= ku=   areng =ko Daeng nakku'
> FUT= 1ERG= name =2 (title) yearning

I'll call you 'Daeng Nakku"

When both arguments are third person it can sometimes be unclear which clitic pronoun indexes which argument, and the order of free NPs does not help to clarify this, as can be seen in (9). In these situations context or pragmatics must resolve the ambiguity.

(9) *Naciniki tedongku i Ali*

> Na=   cini' =i   tedong -ku   i   Ali
> 3ERG= see =3ABS buffalo -1.POSS PERS Ali

Ali sees my buffalo / my buffalo sees Ali

Exceptions to the normal transitive pattern occur for three main reasons:

(1) either A or P may be in focus position (§5.2);

(2) the clitics may appear on separate words if there is some preverbal element (due to second-position or 'Wackernagel' constraints); or

(3) the clause may have an indefinite Undergoer argument. Examination of this type of clause — labeled 'semi-transitive' — is the topic of the remainder of this paper.

2.3 Semi-transitive clauses

The term *semi-transitive* refers to clauses which, although clearly describing events involving two participants, only include a clitic pronoun cross-referencing one of those participants — the Actor, as seen in (10) and (11). The clitic is from the absolute set (S/P).

(10) *ammallia' ballo'*

    aN(N)– balli =a'   ballo'
    TR–   buy =1ABS palm.wine

    I buy palm wine

(11) *angnganrea' unti*

    aN(N)– kanre =a'   unti
    TR–   eat   =1ABS banana

    I eat bananas

Thus, semi-transitive clauses contain verbs which are generally bivalent lexically, but the Undergoer appears as a full NP and is not cross-referenced. The verb is marked with a verb prefix, usually the nasal-substituting *aN(N)–* (see §3). The general rule is that Undergoers must be definite to be cross–referenced — in other words referred to by name or title, otherwise pragmatically salient such as first and second person, or marked with the determiner *–a* or a possessive suffix. Compare the fully transitive parallel to (11):

(12) *kukanrei untia*

    ku=   kanre =i   unti -a
    1ERG= eat   =3ABS banana -DEF

    I eat the bananas

In most instances semi-transitive clauses such as (10) and (11) require an overt Undergoer NP and there is no possible intransitive interpretation, (cf **ammallia'* 'I buy'). With a few verbs, for example *kanre* 'eat' and *inung* 'drink', omission of the Undergoer is allowed and results in an intransitive clause which is quite well-formed, though obviously it differs in meaning. This is because these verbs are ambitransitive, equally allowing intransitive and transitive readings.[3]

(13) *angnganrea' taipa*

    aN(N)– kanre =a'   taipa
    TR–   eat   =1ABS mango

    I eat a mango/mangoes

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[3] An alternative analysis gives these verbs an inherent Undergoer, e.g. 'eat (rice)'.

(14) *angnganrea'*

    aN(N)–   kanre   =a'
    TR–   eat   =1ABS

    I eat, I'm eating

The term *semi-transitive* for clauses with indefinite Undergoers was chosen because it captures the fact that these clauses exhibit properties that fall in between those of normal intransitive and transitive clauses. They differ from intransitive clauses because of the obvious fact that they contain Undergoers, both in their logical structure and in their syntax. They differ from fully transitive clauses in that the Undergoer is not marked with a clitic — signalling that it is not like an ordinary P, if it is a P at all.

Other labels which have been or could be used are **actor focus**, **actor voice**, **antipassive**, **extended intransitive**, or simply **intransitive**. There are arguments against each of these labels, as I will explain later. First however it will be necessary to briefly describe the major verb prefixes, focusing on the difference between *aC-* and *aN(N)-*.

3. Verb prefixes

The class of verbs in Makassarese is largely defined and subclassified by association with a paradigm of verb prefixes. Some verbs such as *mange* 'go', *ero'* 'want', and *tinro* 'sleep', do not appear with verb prefixes at all and can be called 'basic' verbs. The majority of verb roots take *aC–*[4] or *aN(N)–*[5] and a minority of verb roots can appear with either, usually with a distinction related to the valence of the verb. A small class of vowel-initial intransitive verbs takes the less common prefix form *amm-*.[6]

There is also a passive prefix *ni-* (§5.1); and a non-nasal-substituting prefix *aN-*, which occurs when there is a preposed Actor nominal in the Actor Focus position (§5.2).

The fundamental contrast between the two major verb prefixes *aC–* and *aN(N)–*, is that they denote (roughly) <u>lexically</u> monovalent and bivalent verbs respectively. In context within a clause the prefixes can be seen as valence-<u>signalling</u> (rather than valence-reducing), in that their very presence identifies a clause as being less than fully transitive (ie: intransitive or semi-transitive), because a fully transitive clause will have an ERG= proclitic pronoun rather than a verb prefix. Verbs derived with *aC-, aN(N)-,* and the less common *amm-* are contrasted in Table 2, followed by examples contrasting intransitive with *aC-*, semi-transitive with *aN(N)-* (both with =ABS enclitic pronoun) and fully transitive (with ERG= proclitic and =ABS enclitic).

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[4] *aC-* appears as *aʔ-* on stems beginning with a vowel, voiced stop, nasal, or approximant; e.g. *a'oto* 'go by car', *a'bayao* 'lay an egg', *a'ngisi* 'sneer', *a'lange* 'swim', *a'rua* 'be divided'. On stems beginning with a voiceless consonant, *aC-* assimilates, thus forming a geminate, e.g *attedong* 'keep buffalo', *appasara'* 'go to market', *asse're* 'be united'.

[5] The first nasal of *aN(N)–* is part of the prefix while the second nasal is formed by nasal substitution of the initial consonant of the stem, at the same place of articulation. This occurs on roots with voiceless initial consonants and /b/, e.g *pekang* 'hook' → *ammekang* 'fish with a hook', *kanre* 'rice' → *angnganre* 'eat', *balli* 'price' → *ammalli* 'buy'. The nasal assimilates to initial /l/ (*allesang* 'move something'), while with roots in /s/ the nasal may be alveolar or palatal in seemingly free variation.

[6] A reflex of the proto-Austronesian active verbal infix *<um>*.

ROOT	GLOSS		DERIVED FORM	DERIVED MEANING
jarang	horse	→	*a'jarang*	ride a horse
tedong	buffalo	→	*attedong*	keep buffalo
kelong	song	→	*akkelong*	sing a song
oto	car	→	*a'oto*	go by car
pekang	hook	→	*ammekang*	hook (something)
balli	price	→	*ammalli*	buy (something)
tunrung		→	*annunrung*	hit (something)
kanre	rice	→	*angnganre*	eat (esp. rice)
ana'	child	→	*ammana'*	have a child
empo		→	*ammempo*	sit

Table 2: Examples of verbs with *aC-*, *aN(N)-*, and *amm-*.

(15) *a'jaranga'*

    aC-   jarang =a'
    INTR- horse   =1ABS

    I ride a horse

(16) *ammekanga' juku'*

    aN(N)- pekang =a'   juku'
    TR-   hook   =1ABS fish

    I hook fish

(17) *kupekangi jukuka*

    ku=   pekang =i   juku' -a
    1ERG= hook   =3ABS fish -DEF

    I hook fish

The combination of a verb plus prefix, without further marking, also functions as an infinitive form of a verb, for the simple reason that without further morphological marking (in the form of pronominal or aspectual clitics) such forms contain no information about argument structure or tense/aspect. Furthermore these are the forms typically found as complements of verbs such as *ero'* 'want', *isseng* 'know', and the like, as seen in (18) and (19):

(18) *Eroka' angnginung*

    ero'   =a'   aN(N)– inung
    want =1ABS TR–   drink

    I want to drink

(19) *Tanaissengai a'lange*

    ta=   na=   isseng –a   =i   aC–   lange
    NEG= 3ERG= know –SBJV =3ABS INTR– swim

    He doesn't know how to swim

Generally roots are associated with only one of the major prefixes depending on the basic valence of the verb, but as mentioned earlier there are also several examples of roots that can take either *aC–* or *aN(N)–* with monovalent and bivalent meanings respectively. A small selection of these is seen in Table 3.

banynyang	*stretch	→	*a'banynyang*	stretch (self)
		→	*ammanynyang*	stretch (something)
kanuku	nail, claw	→	*akkanuku*	have nails/claws
		→	*angnganuku*	scratch with nails/claws
kanyame	taste	→	*akkanyame*	have a flavour
		→	*angnganyame*	try, sample
kokkoro'	crumbling	→	*akkokkoro'*	tumble down
		→	*angngokkoro'*	knock down
cokko	secret	→	*accokko*	hide (self)
		→	*anynyokko*	hide (something)
jari	so	→	*a'jari*	become something
		→	*anjari*	succeed in something
kanre	food	→	*akkanre*	be consumed (eg. by fire)
		→	*angnganre*	eat
lesang	*move	→	*a'lesang*	move (self)
		→	*allesang*	move (something)

Table 3: Verb roots taking both *aC-* and *aN(N)-*

4. Analysis of the semi-transitive construction

In this section I summarize alternative analyses of the semi-transitive construction in Makassarese and related languages. Three of these (labeling it as **intransitive**, **extended intransitive**, or **antipassive**) basically analyze the construction as a type of intransitive. Two of them (**antipassive** and **'actor focus'** or **actor voice**) see it as a voice phenomenon. I argue that it is neither an intransitive construction, nor a voice alternation.

4.1 The 'intransitive' analysis

Friberg (1996:144) and Hasan Basri (1999:19) have claimed that clauses such as (10) (repeated below as (20) for convenience) should be considered 'formally intransitive'.

(20) *ammallia' ballo'*

    aN(N)– balli =a'   ballo'
    TR–   buy =1ABS palm.wine

    I buy palm wine

Their main reason for considering these types of clause as intransitive is the absence of a clitic cross-referencing the Undergoer, based on an assumption that clitics index core arguments and therefore only an argument cross-referenced with a clitic is core. However this position is tested when one considers intransitive examples such as the following:

(21) *Battui jai toanayya*

    battu =i   jai   toana -a
    come =3ABS many guest -DEF

    The many guests are coming

(22) *Battu jai toana*

    battu jai   toana
    come many guest

    Many guests are coming

In these two intransitive sentences S is cross-referenced with an =ABS enclitic when it is definite, and is not when it is indefinite. However it can hardly be assumed that *toana*

'guest' in (22) is not core and that therefore this sentence has no core arguments. It is the only argument, it is not marked as oblique, it most certainly cannot be omitted, and it is clearly present in the thematic structure of the sentence. It is simply lacking a corresponding =ABS enclitic, in the same way that an indefinite Undergoer lacks one — recall here that indefinite Undergoers are similarly essential to the clause and cannot be omitted.

Another fact to consider is that indefinite Undergoers are available for syntactic operations such as Focus (§5.2), in which event the clitic cross–referencing the Actor will change from =ABS (S) to ERG= (A), as in (23).

(23) *ballo' kuballi*

     ballo'   ku=   balli
     palm.wine 1ERG= buy

     I buy palm wine

This is further evidence that the indefinite Undergoers are present in the thematic structure of these clauses and should be considered arguments.

Finally, also consider the fact that verbs in these types of clauses overwhelmingly host the prefix *aN(N)–*, which in general distinguishes lexically bivalent verbs from monovalent verbs derived with *aC–*. This is not in itself conclusive, but certainly shows that these clauses are not the same as normal intransitive clauses.

4.2 The 'extended intransitive' analysis

Lee (2008) has suggested using the label 'extended intransitive' for a parallel construction in the related language Mandar. This also relies on the explicit identification of clitics as core arguments, and adds an analysis of the indefinite Undergoer as 'a non-core obligatory extended argument' (2008:65). He also identifies the 'fronted' (i.e. Focused, see §5.2) argument as a core argument:

> I have identified core arguments in Mandar by two forms of morphosyntactic coding. The first form of coding is the marking on the verb by pronominal clitics. That is, the pronominal clitics are core arguments. The second form of coding is position in the clause as a fronted NP. This fronted NP is also a core argument. (2008:61)

He goes on to state: 'Others might make a case that the obligatory status of the NP[P] makes it a candidate for core status, but I do not' (2008:62). This is where my analysis differs as I do consider this argument to be core, not only because of its non-omissibility, but also because it has the potential to be fronted (focused).[7] I also disagree with the label 'extended intransitive' as the construction does not seem to match the definition as given by Dixon (1994:123):

> There may also be a subset of the intransitive class, which we can call 'extended intransitive', that involves two core roles - one is mapped onto S relation and the other is marked in some other way, e.g. by dative case… An important point to note here is that these 'extended' subclasses are always relatively minor… most intransitive verbs will be canonically intransitive,

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[7] Lee's analysis would interpret the act of fronting (focusing) an argument as promoting it from non-core to core status.

> with one core role; the extended intransitives, with an extra role, are always relatively few in number. (Dixon 1994:123)

The indefinite Undergoer is not marked in 'some other way', e.g. it is neither in dative case nor is it marked as oblique. Furthermore, any transitive (bivalent) verb can be derived with *aN(N)-* and occur in this construction, thus it cannot be argued either that the subclass is 'relatively minor', nor indeed that they are a subclass of intransitive verbs. For this reason I believe it is not appropriate to interpret these forms as 'intransitive plus'.

4.3 The antipassive analysis

Another intransitive possibility is that *aN(N)–* should be analyzed as an antipassive marker.[8] This is (for example) Mead's analysis of the function of a similar prefix *poN–* in Mori Bawah (Mead 2005). This may be appropriate in a very general sense in that *aN(N)–* appears in clauses in which an =ABS enclitic cross-references the Actor rather than the Undergoer, and thus it could be assumed that *aN(N)–* has 'demoted' the Undergoer. However it is worth looking at Dixon's criteria for antipassives:

    a. Applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive

    b. The underlying A becomes S of the antipassive

    c. The underlying O goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it

    d. There is some explicit formal marking of an antipassive construction (Dixon 2012:208)

While *a*, *b* and *d* are arguably satisfied by the semi-transitive construction, the points in *c* are not. The Undergoer is not marked as oblique, nor can it be omitted. It is also instructive to look at Dixon's statement as to why antipassives might be used:

> Antipassive may be used to satisfy some syntactic constraint (pivot feeding), or to focus on what the A argument is doing, or to avoid stating the O argument. (Dixon 2012:220).

The *aN(N)-* construction does not appear to serve any of those purposes, as (a) Makassarese tends to mark arguments on each clause rather than relying on a pivot; (b) the A argument does not appear to gain any focus from the semi-transitive construction, and (c) in the majority of cases the 'O argument' (Undergoer) must be stated.

It is also worth mentioning that the prefix *aN(N)–* appears in some 'normal' intransitive constructions such as *angnganrei* 'he's eating', where it resists analysis as an antipassive marker. Furthermore, the prefix cannot be used when the speaker wishes to realign the grammatical functions in a clause (as in a typical voice system), but rather its presence is a given if the Undergoer is indefinite. Finally, an antipassive analysis is made slightly anomalous by the fact that there is a perfectly regular passive formed by *ni–* (§5.1).

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[8] This could be seen as 'transitive minus' in the way that extended intransitive is 'intransitive plus'.

4.4 The 'actor focus' or actor voice analysis

In two papers (1988; 1996), Friberg analyzes the verb prefix and cross-referencing systems of the closely related language Konjo as part of a 'focus' system, as does Hanson in his work on Bugis (2001, 2003). The use of the label is confusing, since the term **focus** (from a Philippinist tradition) is often argued to be better analyzed as **voice** (e.g Himmelmann 2002) and conflicts with a more general understanding of **focus** as related to the marking of new or contrastive information.[9]

Friberg's analysis essentially boils down to an opposition between 'actor' or 'subject focus' (= actor voice), and 'goal' or 'object focus' (= undergoer voice). In the 1988 article, Friberg analyzes focus as being designated by the choice of verb prefixes in transitive clauses, with *aN(N)–* being used for 'actor focus', and *aN–* being used for 'goal focus… when the actor is a free form pronoun or a noun' (1988:109).[10] The fact that this noun or pronoun should canonically be in pre-predicate position is not made explicit, though Friberg later remarks that 'the absolutive suffix is dropped when the object (whether definite or indefinite) is fronted for focus' (1988:117). Thus, by this definition, actors receive focus simply as a result of there being an indefinite goal, while goals receive focus simply by virtue of being definite; on the other hand objects (= goals) may also be focused by being fronted. There are two problems here: the first is that there is no real explanation of what 'focus' is, or what it does; and the second is that the analysis misses the point that if arguments can be 'fronted for focus', then the *aN–* prefix (which in her analysis marks goal focus) appears in clauses where the actor has been 'fronted for focus', resulting in both the actor and goal being focused at the same time. This is because Friberg is using 'focus' in two senses: **focus = voice** and also **focus = new or contrastive information**.

In the later article, the terms are changed somewhat. Actor and goal focus have been replaced by subject and object focus, as follows:

> *Subject focus* implies that there is no object, or that the object is not relevant to the action at hand. *Object focus* implies that there is a specifically referred-to object. Subject focus requires an 'absolutive' enclitic referent to the subject. Object focus requires an 'ergative' proclitic referent to the subject while the object is referred to by an 'absolutive' enclitic. (Friberg 1996:143).

In this article, the phenomenon of 'fronting for focus' (contrastive focus, see §5.2) is analyzed as topicalization.[11]

Thus, in the 1996 article 'focus' was defined, but there are problems with the definition. For example, one of Friberg's examples of a sentence with 'subject focus' is the following:

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[9] I prefer to reserve the term 'focus' in Makassarese to describe the fronting of arguments (see §5.2) in a way which is more compatible with its general use (eg. Van Valin 1999).

[10] *aN-* is the non-nasal-substituting prefix occurring where there is a preposed (i.e Focused) Actor nominal.

[11] I made the same error in my Masters thesis (Jukes 1998).

(24) *Langnginranga berangta*

    la=   aN(N)–   inrang =a   berang -ta
    FUT=   VRt–   borrow =1ABS   knife   -2(H)POSS

    I want to borrow (one of) your knives (Friberg 1996:144).[12]

I find no obvious way to interpret this clause as having 'no object, or that the object is not relevant to the action at hand' (Friberg 1996:143). Clearly the object is integral to the event. Rather, the point (as made in Friberg's earlier paper (1988:108)), is that there is no **specific** referent. This however seems more relevant to the interaction between specificity/definiteness and cross-referencing rather than focus (=voice) as such.

A greater problem with Friberg's analysis of 'focus' or voice is that it is essentially redundant. In the 1996 paper, the analysis is that the argument cross-referenced by an =ABS enclitic is focused; ie. S in intransitive clauses, and P in fully transitive clauses. Friberg analyses clauses with indefinite P as intransitive, therefore by this definition, a clause can be transitive and have 'object focus' (= undergoer voice), or intransitive and have 'subject focus' (= actor voice). In this case, saying that a clause has 'object focus' is the same as saying it is transitive, and vice versa. But if the notions of transitivity and focus are cross-defined to this extent, it is difficult to see that they are both necessary.

A similar criticism could be made of Hanson's (2001:159) analysis of focus:

> the unmarked focus being 'Patient focus', the *maC–* construction indicating 'Agent focus' and the benefactive and locative suffixes (*–əŋ* and *–i*) representing 'Benefactive' and 'Locative' focus respectively.

Since *maC–* in Bugis seems to behave much like *aC–* in Makassarese (ie. marking intransitive verbs), the notion that it should also remove focus from the (absent) Patient is not especially enlightening. And again, if stating that a clause has a particular argument 'focus' is just a way of saying that a particular argument exists in the clause, it is difficult to reconcile this with a productive voice system.

4.5 The semi-transitive analysis

The error in the approaches presented above is either in interpreting the *aN(N)-* construction as intransitive; or in attempting to analyze South Sulawesi languages as having symmetrical voice systems, whereas as Himmelmann has argued (2005), they do not have this characteristic. Makassarese does show a voice alternation, but it is asymmetrical, with several constructions which may be loosely termed 'active', and a passive marked with the prefix *ni-*. For the 'active' constructions this system is simply marking the transitivity of the clause — a marking which is sensitive to real world or discourse considerations with regard to the definiteness or specificity of the Undergoer. This is unlike a prototypical Philippine-type system, or other Indonesian voice systems, in which speakers may use affixes or other marking to realign the mapping of participants on to grammatical functions in a clause. In Makassarese a speaker does not choose whether the Undergoer should be marked with an ABS enclitic or with an obligatory full NP: this choice is in a sense made for them, according to those real world or discourse considerations. Whether or not this should still be described as a 'voice' phenomenon is debatable.

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[12] VRt = Transitive verbalizer, H = Honorific.

For these reasons I have elected to use the term 'semi-transitive', as proposed by Dryer (2007):

> In many languages… there are some clauses that… behave in some ways like intransitive clauses, but in other ways like transitive clauses… nothing is intended beyond observing that they exhibit properties that fall in between those of normal intransitive and transitive clauses… the best analysis will vary from language to language (Dryer 2007:270-4).

Its very flexibility makes this term preferable as it neatly captures the fact that the *aN(N)-* construction is not quite fully transitive (because there is only one argument marked directly on the verb), but is also not quite intransitive (because the Undergoer NP is neither omissible nor oblique). The exact status of the indefinite Undergoer needs to be investigated further.[13]

5. Voice and Focus

5.1 Passive

As has been shown, the basic voice alternation in Makassarese is not a symmetrical alternation between Actor and Undergoer voice, but a contrast between a variety of constructions which are marked for different levels of transitivity and could be labeled active, and a passive construction formed with the prefix *ni-*. This prefix attaches to bare verb stems, in complementary distribution with the verb prefixes or ERG= proclitics. It functions to promote an Undergoer to the only core argument (S), which is marked with an =ABS enclitic. The demoted Actor may optionally be expressed in an adjunct preceded by the preposition *ri*, which must follow the verb. The contrast between a passive clause and an active transitive clause is shown below:

(25) *Nikokkoka' (ri meongku)*

    ni–   kokko' =a'   (ri   meong -ku)
    PASS–   bite   =1ABS (PREP cat   -1.POSS)

    I was bitten (by my cat)

(26) *Nakokkoka' meongku*

    na=   kokko' =a'   meong -ku
    3ERG=   bite   =1ABS cat   -1.POSS

    My cat bit me

The frequency of passive clauses is variable according to the style and genre of texts, with older, more formal, literary texts showing a larger proportion and more recent or conversational texts showing very few uses (Jukes 2006:258). In narrative contexts the most common use of the passive is when the Actor cannot be identified, as in (27) where the Actor is magic, or (28) where it is generic 'they' or people in general:

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[13] It may be that it fits with Wayan Arka's (2009) analysis of some arguments in Indonesian languages as having 'semi-core' properties.

(27) *Niroko'mi bulaeng balla'na Puttiri Bida Sari.*

ni–	roko'	=mo	=i	bulaeng	balla'	≡na	puttiri	Bida Sari
PASS–	pack	=PRF	=3	gold	house	≡3.POSS	princess	Bida Sari

Puttiri Bida Sari's house was filled with gold (by magic).

(28) *areng kalenna. iangku mabassung. nikana. I Mangayoaberang.*

areng	kale	≡nna	iang	≡ku	ma–	bassung	ni–	kana
name	self	≡3.POSS	PROH	≡1.POSS	STV–	swollen.belly	PASS–	word

I	Mangayoaberang
PERS	Mangayoaberang

His personal name, may I not swell up, was I Mangayoaberang

5.2 Focus

In conjunction with the use of ERG= and =ABS clitic pronouns, the other main way of marking and tracking argument structure in Makassarese is with a phenomenon best described by the label **focus**, despite the inconsistent and confusing use of that term in the Austronesianist literature (Himmelmann 1996, 2002). In its most basic manifestation, this involves an NP referring to a core argument being placed in pre-predicate position. Arguments fronted in this way are not cross-referenced (i.e. they may not be doubled with a clitic). Compare (29) and (30):

(29) *Tinroi i Ali*

tinro	=i	i	Ali
sleep	=3ABS	PERS	Ali

Ali is asleep

(30) *I Ali tinro*

i	Ali	tinro
PERS	Ali	sleep

Ali is asleep

This pre–predicate slot performs a variety of pragmatic functions associated with focus, such as disambiguating, emphasizing, adding certainty or uncertainty. So while (29) is just a statement of fact, (30) with S in focus can express such meanings as: 'Are you sure it's Ali who is asleep?', 'I tell you that Ali is asleep', 'I've heard that Ali is asleep'. It is also the answer to the question *inai tinro?* 'who is asleep?' (interrogative pronouns are typically focused as the structure of this sentence shows). Another example of how focus conveys extended meanings is the following:

(31) *Ballakku kicini'*

balla'	-ku	ki=	cini'
house	-1.POSS	2pERG=	see

You see **my house**

This could be given as an answer to the question: what can you give as a guarantee for a loan? (The unmarked way of saying 'you see my house' is *kiciniki ballakku* <ki=cini'=i balla'-ku | 2fERG=see=3ABS house-1.POSS>).

In fully transitive clauses either the Actor (A) or the Undergoer (P) can be in focus. The following two sentences show A focus and P focus respectively where both arguments are definite:

(32) *Kongkonga ambunoi mionga*

    kongkong -a   aN– buno =i   miong -a
    dog   -def   AF– kill =3ABS cat   -DEF

    The **dog** killed the cat

(33) *Mionga nabuno kongkonga*

    miong -a   na=   buno kongkong -a
    cat   -DEF 3ERG= kill dog   -DEF

    The dog killed the **cat**

Thus, in (32) there is no proclitic cross-referencing *kongkonga* (A), while in (33) *mionga* (P) lacks a corresponding enclitic.[14] Also note that in (32) the verb is marked with the Actor focus prefix *aN–* (which unlike *aN(N)-* does not cause nasal substitution of the initial consonant of the stem), whereas Undergoer focus is simply shown by the absence of a doubling =ABS enclitic.

If the Undergoer is indefinite (ie. if the corresponding non-focused clause is semi-transitive) either argument may still be focused, so sentence (34) shows Actor focus, while (35) shows indefinite Undergoer focus:

(34) *Inakke angnganre juku'*

    inakke aN(N)– kanre juku'
    1PRO   TR–   eat   fish

    I'm eating fish

(35) *Juku' kukanre *inakke*

    juku' ku=   kanre
    fish 1ERG= eat

    I'm eating **fish**

Note that in (34) the verb is marked as semi-transitive with the prefix *aN(N)–* (the missing clitic pronoun being 1st person *=a'*), but in (35) the verb hosts a proclitic, identical to clauses with focused definite P such as (33) above. This suggests that focus promotes an indefinite Undergoer to P (ie. promotes it from a semi-core to a core argument), with concomitant promotion of S to A.[15] Note also that the pronoun *inakke* is not permitted outside of the focus position.

Sentences with indefinite A are marginal as a general rule.

(36) *?Miong ammuno kongkong*

    miong aN(N)– buno kongkong
    cat   TR–   kill dog

    A **cat** killed a dog / **cats** kill dogs

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[14] When A is in focus this has obvious similarities with the phenomenon of 'ergative extraction' as described for Mayan languages (Aissen 1992)— except that there is a parallel 'absolutive extraction' when O is in focus.

[15] Basri & Finer (1987) have a different analysis, in which it is the trace (left behind when the indefinite Undergoer is moved) that is definite and this triggers the ERG= marking of S[A].

(37) *?Kongkong nabuno miong*

kongkong na= buno miong
dog 3ERG= kill cat

A cat killed a **dog** / cats kill **dogs**

Note however, that to make it even marginally acceptable in (37) *miong* (A) has been cross-referenced with *na=* even though it is indefinite and indefinite arguments are not usually cross-referenced. This could again suggest that focusing the indefinite Undergoer promotes it to P, which further promotes S to A.

Finally, sentences in which A is not only indefinite but lower on the animacy hierarchy than P are unacceptable.[16]

(38) **Miong angkokkoka'*

miong aN– kokko' =a'
cat AF– bite =1ABS

A cat bit me

(39) **Inakke nakokko' miong*

inakke na= kokko' miong
1PRO 3ERG= bite cat

A cat bit **me**

6. Conclusions

It has been shown that the Makassarese voice system is unlike 'typical' Indonesian voice systems in that it is not symmetrical, and that some of the prefixes which might have been analyzed as marking voice are instead marking degrees of transitivity, sensitive to the discourse or real world situation regarding the definiteness of the Undergoer. Clauses with an indefinite Undergoer share features of both transitive and intransitive clauses, and can be described as semi-transitive. Makassarese uses this system, in conjunction with a pre-predicate focus position, to code and track arguments in ways that parallel the use of voice in other Indonesian languages.

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[16] This appears to be the case whether or not focus is involved.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive	AF	actor focus
DEF	definite	ERG	ergative
FUT	future	INTR	intransitive
LIM	limitative	NEG	negative
PERS	personal prefix	POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition	PRO	pronoun
PROH	prohibitive	SBJV	subjunctive
STV	stative	TR	transitive

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