

# From pronouns to agreement (and back again) – The Sulawesi case –

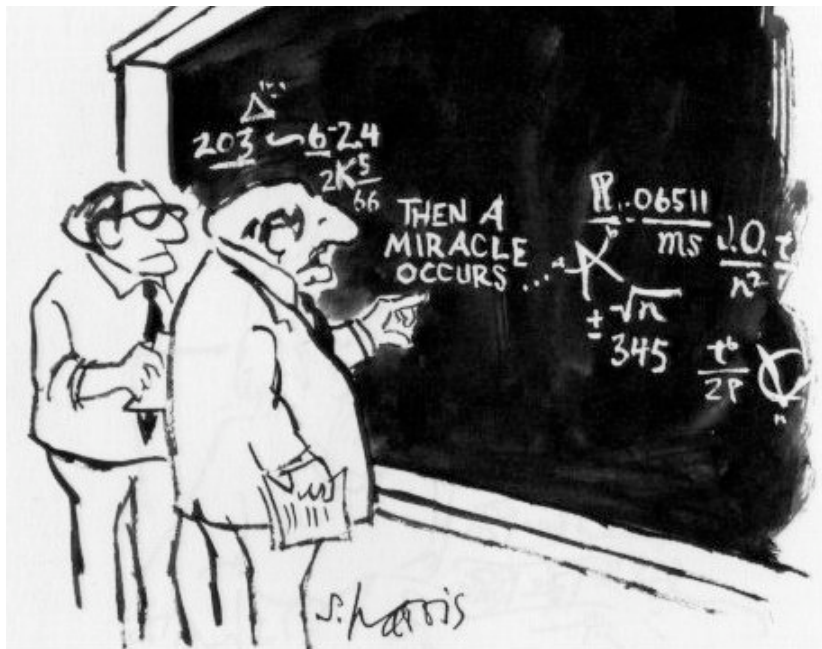
Michael Cysouw  
ZAS Berlin  
cysouw@zas.gwz-berlin.de

Symposium  
'Grammatikalisierung: Wege von der Performanz zur Kompetenz'  
FU Berlin, 28.-29. November 2003

## 1. Givón on the rise of agreement

'Agreement arises via *topic-shifting* constructions in which the topicalised NP is coreferential to one argument of the verb. ... When a language reanalysed the topic constituent as the normal subject or object of the *neutral*, non-topicalised sentence pattern, it per-force also has reanalyzed subject-topic agreement as subject agreement and object-topic agreement as object agreement.' (Givón 1976: 151)

- (1) The man, he came.    □    The man he-came.  
      TOPIC    PRO VERB                SUBJ            AGR-VERB



"I think you should be more explicit here in step two."

from *What's so Funny about Science?* by Sidney Harris (1977)

Three different questions (Givón 2001: 420-1):

- (2) a. Why do contrastive stressed independent pronouns become unstressed – and eventual cliticized – anaphoric pronouns?
- b. Why do anaphoric pronouns cliticize on the verb – rather than on any other word type in the clause?
- c. Why do anaphoric pronouns become obligatorily grammatical agreement in the presence of the full NP?

Givón's (2001: 421-6) answers:

- (3) a. Because of communicative over-use.
- b. Because the verb is the most likely word to appear in a clause.  
(But how does it get there?)
- c. Through topicalizing constructions: left/right-dislocation.  
(But how does this dislocation gets incorporated in the sentence?)

## **2. My approach: morpho-syntactic reconstruction**

- Investigation of various linguistic families that show a large variability in their usage of person markers (e.g. Munda, Iranian, Uto-Aztecan, Pama-Nyungan).
- Through comparative analysis, a reconstruction of the history is proposed.
- However, the details of such morpho-syntactic reconstruction are highly problematic.
- It is clearly possible to establish morpho-syntactic correspondences (Harris & Campbell 1995: 347 ff.), but it is mostly difficult to extract a direction of change.

## **3. The languages from Sulawesi**

- Jonker (1911) argues for person prefixes as part of the reconstruction of Malayo-Polynesian.
- Esser (Esser 1929) argues that the person prefixes have arisen in some Sulawesi-languages through *omzetting*, 'transposition', from erstwhile suffixes.
- Haaksma (1933) gives an extensive survey, though without arguing for one or the other position.
  
- Friberg (1991) on South Sulawesi languages (from talk on 5th ICAL).
- Van den Berg (1996) and Himmelmann (1996) on the rise of Sulawesi prefixes (from talks on the 6th ICAL).
- Van den Berg edited two volumes from NUSA (1994, 1995) on person marking in Sulawesi.
- Reactions by Friberg (1996), Wolff (1996) and most recently Mead (2002).
- Zobel (2002) again proposes a prefixes set to be very old (like Jonker). He thinks of Proto-Nuclear-Malayo-Polynesian, a sister of the Philippine-languages.

#### 4. Stages in the obligatoriness of person marking

Various stages can be found in the Sulawesi languages:

- a. clitics only for out-of-focus ('backgrounded') arguments
- b. possible full arguments together with the clitics for 'backgrounded' arguments
- c. generalisation to other arguments

##### 4.1 Toratán: rise of ergative person affixes

Free pronoun with 'Actor Focus', ergative enclitics directly after verb with non-actor focus. Full subject nouns and subject pronouns occupy the same positions in the verbal clauses either preverbal or sentence final

(4) Toratán (Himmelman & Wolff 1999: 31-2, exs. 83, 84)

- a. *araq sé k<um>ukuk e*  
if 3SG <AF>cry\_out PART  
'When he cried out.'
- b. *wu yaq nang-aaq kurin*  
then 1SG AF-take pot  
'Then I fetched a pot.'
- c. *s<in>are=ku sinapang*  
<PST>lean\_on=1SG.ERG weapon  
'I was leaning on (my) weapon.'

##### 4.2 Uma: strict usage of person affixes

In (5a), the sentence is in 'Actor Focus', viz. the sentence is about the actor. The actor is mentioned preverbally and does not get cross-reference on the verb. In (5b), the sentence is in 'Non-Actor Focus', viz. the sentence is not about the actor. The actor is cross-referenced on the verb and can be mentioned optionally immediately after the verb (for recoverable information only?).

(5) Uma (Martens 1988a: 243, exs. 18, 19)

- a. *Ntinapu mpo-wangu tomi-na hi Bulu'*  
NAME AF-build house-3SG.POSS at PLACE  
'Ntinapu built his house at Bulu.'
- b. *na-wangu (Ntinapu) tomi-na hi Bulu'*  
3SG.ERG-build NAME house-3SG.POSS at PLACE  
'Ntinapu built his house at Bulu.'

### 4.3 Konjo: loss of Actor Focus

Basic order is Verb-initial. There is obligatory cross-reference between verb and following noun phrases. However, topicalised noun phrases in preverbal position do not get cross-reference. A preposed element with cross-reference is possible, though only if it is ‘outside’ the regular sentence structure.

(6) Konjo (Friberg 1996: 140, exs. 1-2)

- a. *a'lampa-i (Amir)*  
go-3ABS NAME  
‘He (Amir) goes.’
- b. *Amir a'lampa*  
NAME go  
‘Amir goes.’

(7) Konjo (Friberg 1996: 141-2, exs. 10-12)

- a. *na-kanre-i Amir loka-ku*  
3ERG-eat-3ABS NAME banana-1POSS  
‘Amir ate my banana.’
- b. *Amir ang-kanre-i loka-ku*  
NAME VOICE-eat-3ABS banana-1POSS  
‘(It is) Amir (who) ate my banana.’
- c. *lokaku na-kanre (Amir)*  
banana-1POSS 3ERG-eat NAME  
‘(It was) my banana he (Amir) ate.’

(8) Konjo (Friberg 1996: 151, ex. 47)

- manna Baco' , suang-a na-tulung*  
even NAME BREAK often-1ABS 3ERG-help  
‘Even Baco’, he often helps me.’

Finer (1994; 1997), doing a generative analysis of Salayarese, proposes two different preverbal positions. The position inside the sentence, without cross-reference, is called ‘Focus’ and the position outside the sentence, with cross-reference, is called ‘Topic’. He argues that it is possible to have both positions filled simultaneously.

### 4.4 Tukang Besi: strict agreement

Complete agreement can be found in Kulisusu (Mead 2002: 167-8), Wolio (van den Berg 1996: 103-5), Muna (van den Berg 1996: 105-7) and Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999). For Tukang Besi, Donohue (1999: 60-1) also distinguished between a ‘focus’ position inside the clause (only open for core arguments) and a ‘topic’ position outside the clause (open for all kind of constituents, followed by an intonation break).

(9) *Tukang Besi* (Donohue 1999: 51, 60, 61, exs. 1, 31, 35)

- a. *no-‘ita-‘e na kene-no te ana*  
 3NOM-see-3ACC ART friend-3POSS ART child  
 ‘The child saw its friend.’
- b. *te kene-no no-‘ita-‘e te ana*  
 ART friend-3POSS 3NOM-see-3ACC ART child  
 ‘That child saw its friend.’
- c. *te kene-no , no-‘ita-‘e te ana*  
 ART friend-3POSS BREAK 3NOM-see-3ACC ART child  
 ‘That child saw its friend.’

All these three languages (*Kulisusu*, *Muna*, *Tukang Besi*) have also strictly nominative-accusative alignment of the person affixes.

#### 4.5 Summary:

<i>Toratán</i>	Actor Focus:	no clitics
	non-Actor Focus:	ergative clitics or full NP
<i>Uma</i>	Actor Focus:	no prefix
	non-Actor Focus:	ergative prefix, addition of NP possible
<i>Konjo</i>	Preverbal NP:	no affixes
	Postverbal NP:	ergative prefix
<i>Tukang Besi</i> :	always nominative agreement prefix	

There seems to be a link between the rise of person inflection and the loss of a Philippine-type focus system (cf. Himmelmann 1996). However, the link is not perfect. It appears that the inflection is already there before the focus-system disappears.

‘Double marking’ of participants (full NP and person affix/clitic) first arises in contexts where the referent is ‘backgrounded’. It is only later extended to other contexts. This is rather different as the proposal by Givón.

## 5. On the attachment of the person affixes to the verb

### 5.1 Survey of person affixes

Two sets of person enclitics, reconstructable for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (Ross 2002: 51).

#### (10) Proto-Malayo-Polynesian

	Free	Pivot	Genitive
1SG	*[i]aku	=aku	=ku
2SG	*ikahu	=kaw	=mu
3SG	*[s]iya	=ya	=nia
INCL	*[i]kita	=ta	=ta
EXCL	*[i]kami		
2PL	*[i]kamu(-ihu)		
3PL	*sida		

Prefixes are reconstructed by Jonker, though Sulawesi shows an aberrant exclusive prefix (cf. Mead 2002: 174). They are clearly related to the genitive of PMP.

#### (11) Prefixes

	Jonker (1911)	Sulawesi prefixes	suffixes
1SG	*ku-	ku-	-ku
2SG	*mu-	mu-	-mu
3SG	*na-	na-	-na
INCL	*ta-	ta-	-ta
EXCL	*ma-	ki-	-mami/ki
2PL	*mi-	mi-	-mi(u)-
3PL	*ra-	ra-	-ra

The southern half of Sulawesi has developed a new suffix set. There might be two independent innovations on the two ‘legs’ of Sulawesi.

#### (12) Sulawesi ‘absolute’ suffixes

	South Sulawesi (and some Kaili-Pamona)	Moma and Uma (Kaili-Pamona)	Bungku-Tolaki, Muna-Buton
1SG	-a	-a	-aku
2SG	-ko	-ko	-ko
3SG			
INCL	-ki	-ta	-kita
EXCL	-ka(n)	-kami	-kami
2PL	-ko	-komi	-komiu
3PL			

## 5.2 Structural division of Sulawesi languages

- I: - ergative/possessive suffixes  
- incipient ergative prefixes  
- no absolutive suffixes  
  Ia. prefix only in first singular intimate  
  Ib. prefix only in first and second singular intimate  
  Ic. complete set of prefixes
- II: - complete set of ergative prefixes  
- complete set of absolutive suffixes  
- ergative/possessive suffixes restricted use for argument cross-referencing  
- incipient nominative usage of prefixes  
  IIa. exclusive *-ta* suffix, floating suffixes  
  IIb. exclusive *-ki* suffix, floating suffixes  
  IIc. exclusive *-kita* suffix, floating prefixes
- III: - nominative prefixes  
- accusative suffixes  
- no floating of affixes

## 5.3 Origin of prefixes

which languages show the situation closest to the historical origin? Problem of establishing the direction of the arrow in morpho-syntactic reconstruction.

- 1) Himmelmann (1996): Original Wackernagel clitics, then **enclitics** are attracted to head, then movement to **prefixes** starting with first/second person (cf. Esser's (1927) *omzetting* 'transposition').
- 2) Resemblance with possessive suffixes: most clearly in South Sulawesi.
- 3) Variable attachment in Bungku-Tolaki (see below).
- 4) Maybe very old prefixes (Jonker 1911, Zobel 2002).

Bungku-Tolaki shows some conservative features:

- a. prefixes are sometimes found as wackernagel suffixes
- b. 'possessive' suffixes are still used for argument cross-reference

Ad A.) Ergative prefixes (related to the *ku/mu/na*-series) sometimes found as Wackernagel enclitic, typically after:

- negation
- conditional particles
- clause linking particles

Is there a reason to consider these conservative structures?

- Padoe (Vuorinen 1995: 109): *ako* ('because'), *ba* ('if', 'when'), *ka* ('so that'), *la* (negation), *aambo* ('not yet')
- Tolaki (Mead 2002: 158): *ke* ('if'), *a* ('and', 'so that')
- Moronene (Andersen 1999: 80): *ka* ('then'), *ki* ('if'), *ha* ('whenever'), *hi* (complementizer), *taba* ('how!'), *na*, *sa* (negation)

(13) Padoe (Vuorinen 1995: 107, 109, ex. 54, 66, 68)

- a. *umari sie ku-nahu-o*  
finish that 1SG-cook-3SG  
'After that I cooked it.'
- b. *la-ku to 'ori-o name-no*  
NEG-1SG know-3SG name-3SG.POSS  
'I do not know his name.'
- c. *la-u huru kee l<um>eko ndi dotoro*  
NEG-2SG ever Q <VOICE>go to doctor  
'Have you not gone to a doctor?'

Ad B.) Possessive suffixes (also related to the *ku/mu/na*-series, though synchronically different from the ergative prefixes) used sometimes for argument marking. Could these be left-overs from erstwhile ergative suffixes? Note that the passive infix <*in*> is related to an original non-actor-focus infix.

- Padoe (Vuorinen 1995: 106): agent of passive verbs
- Mori (Barsel 1994: 60-1): agent of passive verb, initial adverbial clause
- Tolaki (Mead 2002: 158-60): some intransitive verbs

() Mori (Barsel 1994: 60, ex. 4.49)

- o manu p<in>owee-do mia mota'u*  
? chicken <PASS>give-3PL.POSS people years  
'A chicken as given by the elders.'

#### 5.4 Origin of nominative marking

Subjects of intransitives is often marked by the prefix *in* in specific contexts ('split ergative'). This mainly happens in South Sulawesi and Bungku-Tolaki. It appears to be an intermediate stage to the full nominative/accusative system in Muna-Buton.

Two examples:

##### **Tolaki (Bungku-Tolaki, Mead 2002: 156-8) nominative marking after:**

- imperative
- negative
- concessive *ke* ('if')
- sequential *a* ('and, so that')
- scene setting at the beginning of narrative
- certain complement clauses
- durative



### **Duri (South Sulawesi, Valkama 1995: 58-62 ) nominative marking after:**

- prohibitive *danggiq*
- negative *teqda*
- conditionals: subordinating *ia-na* ('if'), *sanggen-na* ('until'), *ia ton-na* ('when')
- sequential: after consecutive proclitic *na-*, *dikua* ('so that'), *ia-mo* (therefore), AF with close tie to preceding sentence
- scene setting: after certain time phrases
- interrogative: after question clitic =*ka*, with WH-items *umbo* ('where'), *ciapari* ('why'), *piran* ('when')

These contexts also seem related to the notion 'irrealis' as summarised in Elliot (2000). There is a proposal by van den Berg (1996) to reconstruct the person prefixes in Sulawesi only for 'irrealis' (note that he does not elucidate the precise contexts which use irrealis). Tentatively, I propose that with the extension of the prefixes to other contexts, the irrealis-contexts turned to nominative (why?).

This development is still rather unclear

### **6. Conclusions**

- Morphosyntactic historical-comparative work is possible: interpret differences as signs of change
- The most difficult part is the establishment of direction of change
- Morphosyntactic features appear to show massive diffusion/borrowing
- 'Agreement' of person affixes first appears with 'backgrounded' arguments
- Irrealis contexts (negation, imperative, interrogative, conditionals) are conservative?
- How do consecutive clauses and scene setting clauses fit in there?

## Sources for the languages investigated

### Sangir-Minahasan

- 11 Tondano (Sneddon 1975)
- 12 Ratahan/Toratán (Himmelman & Wolff 1999)

### Tomini-Tolitoli

- 21 Tolitoli (Himmelman 1996, 2002)
- 22 Lauje (Himmelman 2002)
- 23 Pendau (Quick 2002)

### Kaili-Pamona

- 31 Ledo (Esser 1934)
- 32 Da'a (Barr 1988a, b)
- 33 Moma/Kulawi (van den Berg 1996: 99-102, citing Adriani & Esser 1939)
- 34 Napu (ten Kate 1915)
- 35 Uma (Martens 1988c, a, b)
- 36 Bada/Besoa (Haaksma 1933: 89-90, citing Adriani & Kruy 1914)
- 37 Pamona/Bare'e (Adriani 1909, 1931)
- 38 Rampi/Leboni (Haaksma 1933: 90-92, citing Adriani & Kruyt 1914)

### South Sulawesi

- 41 Seko Padang (Laskowske 1994; Payne & Laskowske 1997)
- 42 Mamuju (Strømme 1994)
- 43 Mamasa (Matti 1994)
- 44 Duri (Valkama 1995)
- 45 Bugis (Matthes 1875; Sirk 1983)
- 46 Makasar (Matthes 1858)
- 47 Konjo (Friberg 1996)
- 48 Selayarese (Finer 1994, 1997)

### Bungku-Tolaki

- 51 Mori (Esser 1927, 1933; Barsel 1994)
- 52 Padoe (Vuorinen 1995)
- 53 Tolaki (Mead 2002: 156-161)
- 54 Moronene (Andersen 1999)
- 55 Kulisusu (Mead 2002: 167-170)

### Muna-Buton

- 61 Muna (van den Berg 1989, 1991)
- 62 Wolio (Anceaux 1952)
- 63 Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999)

### Saluan-Banggai

- 71 Banggai (van den Bergh 1953)

## References

- Adriani, N. (1909). Een en ander over de werkwoorden in de Bare'e-taal. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap* 53: 310-27.
- (1931). *Spraakkunst der Bare'e-Taal*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen; 70). Bandoeng: Nix.
- Anceaux, J. C. (1952). *The Wolio Language: Outline of Grammatical Description and Texts*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; 11). The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Andersen, Suree (1999). When the Moronene say no. In: David Mead (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 5, pp. 73-112. (NUSA; 45). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Barr, Donald F. (1988a). Da'a verbal affixes and clitics. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Western Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 11-49. (Pacific Linguistics; A 79). Canberra: Australian National University.
- (1988b). Focus and mood in Da'a discourse. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Western Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 77-129. (Pacific Linguistics; A 79). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Barsel, Linda A. (1994). *The Verb Morphology of Mori, Sulawesi*. (Pacific Linguistics; B 111). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Van Den Berg, René (1989). *A Grammar of the Muna Language*. (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks; 139). Dordrecht: Foris.
- (1991). Muna historical phonology. In: James Neil Sneddon (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 2, pp. 1-28. (NUSA; 33). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- (1996). The demise of focus and the spread of conjugated verbs in Sulawesi. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 3, pp. 89-114. (Pacific Linguistics; A 84). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Van Den Bergh, J. D. (1953). *Spraakkunst van het Banggais*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Donohue, Mark (1999). *A Grammar of Tukang Besi*. (Mouton Grammar Library; 20). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Elliot, Jennifer R. (2000). Realis and irrealis: Forms and concepts of the grammaticalisation of reality. *Linguistic Typology* 4 (1): 55-90.
- Esser, S. J. (1927). *Klank- en Vormleer van het Morisch*. Vol. 1. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen; 67-3). Leiden: Vros.
- (1929). Nogmaals de vervoegde vormen. In: *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan 1778-1928*. Vol. 1, pp. 161-81. Weltevreden: Kolff.
- (1933). *Klank- en Vormleer van het Morisch*. Vol. 2. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen; 67-4). Bandoeng: Nix.
- (1934). *Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Ledo-Taal: Inleiding, Teksten met Vertaling en anteekeningen en Woordenlijst*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen; 72.1). Bandoeng: Nix.
- Finer, Daniel L. (1994). On the nature of two A'-positions in Selayarese. In: Norbert Corver & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.) *Studies on Scrambling: Movement and Non-Movement Approaches to Free Word-Order Phenomena*, pp. 153-83. (Studies in Generative Grammar; 41). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- (1997). Contrasting A'-dependencies in Selayarese. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15: 677-728.
- Friberg, Barbara (1991). Ergativity, focus and verb morphology in several South Sulawesi languages. In: Ray Harlow & Ross Clark (eds.) *VICAL 2: Western Austronesian and Contact Languages: Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, pp. 103-30. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- (1996). Konjo's Peripatetic Person Markers. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 3, pp. 137-71. (Pacific Linguistics; A 84). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Givón, T. (1976). Topic, Pronoun and Grammatical Agreement. In: Charles N. Li (ed.) *Subject and Topic*, pp. 149-88. New York: Academic Press.
- (2001). *Syntax: An Introduction*. Vol. 1. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Haaksma, Rémy (1933). *Inleiding tot de Studie der Vervoegde Vormen in de Indonesische Talen*. Leiden: Brill.

- Harris, Alice C. & Lyle Campbell (1995). *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics; 74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus P. (1996). Person marking and grammatical relations in Sulawesi. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 3, pp. 115-36. (Pacific Linguistics; A 84). Canberra: Australian National University.
- (2002). Voice in two northern Sulawesi languages. In: Fay Wouk & Malcolm D. Ross (eds.) *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, pp. 123-42. (Pacific Linguistics; 518). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus P. & John U. Wolff (1999). *Toratán (Ratahan)*. (Languages of the World/Materials; 130). München: Lincom.
- Jonker, J. C. G. (1911). Over de 'vervoegde' werkwoordsvormen in de Maleisch-Polynesische talen. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 65: 266-333.
- Ten Kate, P. (1915). De voornaamwoorden in het Napoesch. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelingsgenootschap* 59: 65-79.
- Laskowski, Kathryn B. (1994). Negation in Seko Padang. In: René van den Berg (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 3, pp. 49-64. (NUSA; 36). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Martens, Michael (1988a). Focus and discourse in Uma. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Western Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 239-56. (Pacific Linguistics; A 79). Canberra: Australian National University.
- (1988b). Focus or ergativity? Pronoun sets in Uma. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Western Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 263-77. (Pacific Linguistics; A 79). Canberra: Australian National University.
- (1988c). Notes on Uma verbs. In: Hein Steinhauer (ed.) *Papers in Western Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 167-237. (Pacific Linguistics; A 79). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Matthes, B. F. (1858). *Makassaarsche Spraakkunst*. Amsterdam: Muller.
- (1875). *Boegineesche Spraakkunst*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Matti, David F. (1994). Mamasa pronoun sets. In: René van den Berg (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 3, pp. 65-89. (NUSA; 36). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Mead, David (2002). Proto Celebic focus revisited. In: Fay Wouk & Malcolm D. Ross (eds.) *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, pp. 143-77. (Pacific Linguistics; 518). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Payne, Thomas E. & Thomas Laskowski (1997). Voice in Seko Padang. In: Joan Bybee, John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.) *Essays on Language Function and Language Type, Dedicated to T. Givón*, pp. 423-36. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Quick, Phil (2002). A sketch of the primary transitive verbs in Pendau. In: Fay Wouk & Malcolm D. Ross (eds.) *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, pp. 101-22. (Pacific Linguistics; 518). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Ross, Malcolm D. (2002). The history and transitivity of western Austronesian voice and voice-marking. In: Fay Wouk & Malcolm D. Ross (eds.) *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, pp. 17-62. (Pacific Linguistics; 518). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Sirk, Ü (1983). *The Buginese Language*. (Languages of Asia and Africa). Moscow: Nauka.
- Sneddon, James Neil (1975). *Tondano Phonology and Grammar*. (Pacific Linguistics; B 38). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Strømme, Kari K. (1994). Person marking in the Mamuju language. In: René van den Berg (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 3, pp. 91-113. (NUSA; 36). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Valkama, Kari (1995). Person marking in Duri. In: René van den Berg (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 47-95. (NUSA; 37). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Vuorinen, Paula (1995). Person marking in Padoe. In: René van den Berg (ed.) *Studies in Sulawesi Linguistics*. Vol. 4, pp. 97-121. (NUSA; 37). Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Wolff, John U. (1996). The development of the passive verb with pronominal prefix in Western Austronesian languages. In: Bernd Nothofer (ed.) *Reconstruction, Classification, Description - Festschrift in Honor of Isidore Dyen*, pp. 15-40. (Asia-Pacific; 3). Hamburg: Abera.
- Zobel, Erik (2002). The position of Chamorro nad Palauan in the Austronesian family tree: evidence from verb morphosyntax. In: Fay Wouk & Malcolm D. Ross (eds.) *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, pp. 405-34. (Pacific Linguistics; 518). Canberra: Australian National University.