Towards a typology of pseudo antipassive constructions in western Austronesian languages

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Introduction

This paper concerns **Actor Voice (AV) constructions** in western Austronesian languages, and the treatment of these as antipassives. We examine traits of these putative antipassive constructions in 53 languages in light of the broader typological literature.

Our claims:

- **True antipassives are rare** in western Austronesian languages.
- There is strong evidence that **AV constructions are syntactically transitive**, though they commonly show traits that superficially resemble antipassives.
- We classify AV and similarly marked constructions into **four types**, showing that they form a gradient of semi-transitives that are potentially evolving into true antipassives.

Roadmap

1. Antipassives from a typological viewpoint
2. The Austronesian pseudo-antipassives
3. Four types of Austronesian AV-marked constructions: A cline of (in)transitivity
4. Wrap-up & implications

Canonical antipassive

(1) Dyirbal (Pama–Nyungan)

a. *yabu* *ŋuma-ŋgu* *bura-n.*
mother.ABS father-ERG see-NFUT
'Father saw mother.' (basic trans.)

b. *ŋuma* *bural-ŋa-nyu* *(yabu-gu).*
father.ABS see-ANTIP-NFUT (mother-DAT)
'Father saw mother.' (antipassive)

c. *ŋuma* *banaga-nyu.*
father.ABS return-NFUT
'Father returned.' (monovalent intrans.)

(Dixon 1994: 10, 13)

An antipassive is a **morphologically derived intransitive construction**. As described by Dixon (1994: 146):

- A verb that is usually transitive is marked intransitive.
- The agentive argument becomes the subject of an intransitive verb.
  - (Notice the coding.)
- The patientive argument is demoted to an oblique or omitted entirely.

AV construction

(2) Tagalog

a. *h⟨in⟩abol* ***ni*** ***aya*** ***si*** ***lia***.
chase⟨PV.PRF⟩ PN.CM$_2$ A. PN.PIV L.
'Aya chased Lia.' (Patient Voice)

b. *h⟨um⟩abol* ***si*** ***aya*** ***kay*** ***lia***.
chase⟨AV⟩ PN.PIV A. PN.CM$_1$ L.
'Aya chased Lia.' (Actor Voice)

c. *d⟨um⟩ating* ***si*** ***aya***.
⟨AV⟩arrive PN.PIV A.
'Aya arrived.' (Actor Voice; monovalent)

(primary data)

In a typical AV construction:

- A transitive verb bears the same morphology as certain monovalent intransitives.
- The agent of this verb is coded the same as the agent of the intransitives.

Many authors treat these as antipassives, but:

- The patient is not freely omissible.
- Not clearly valency-decreasing.
- Not clearly derived.

Antipassives in the typological literature

An antipassive is standardly defined by the following traits (Baker 1988; Campbell 2000; Cooreman 1994; Dixon 1977, 1994; Dryer 1990; England 1988; Anderson 1976; Polinsky 2017; Heaton 2017).

(3) Key traits of antipassives reported in the literature
   a. **Explicit morphology** that indicates antipassivization.
   b. The patient phrase is marked by a **non-core case or adposition**.
   c. The patient can be **optionally omitted**.

(4) Other characteristic traits of antipassives
   a. The patient is often **indefinite/non-specific**.
   b. The clause often bears a partitive reading and the patient is interpreted as **less affected**.
   c. The event tends to be interpreted as **less telic** and/or non-punctual (imperfective).

Sample and methodology

(5) Antipassive characteristics to be examined in this paper

		(Y, N)	additional info
1	Does the alleged AP construction bear overt antipassive marking?	(Y, N)	(if Y, specify form)
2	Does the language bear overt marking for monovalent intransitive?	(Y, N)	(if Y, specify form)
3	Does the language bear overt marking for basic transitive?	(Y, N)	(if Y, specify form)
4	Can patient be expressed in the alleged AP construction?	(Y, N)	(if Y, optional or obligatory?)
5	Can an overt patient be definite?	(Y, N)	–
6	How are antipassive patients indexed?	–	(specify)
7a	How are transitive agents indexed?	–	(specify)
7b	How are antipassive agents indexed?	–	(specify)
7c	How are monovalent intransitive agents indexed?	–	(specify)

Sample

TW 9
PH 13
BOR 6
JAV 3
SUM 7
SUN 2
SUL 10
other 3
53 Total

1. Atayal, Atayalic, TW
2. Seediq, Atayalic, TW
3. Bunun, Bunun, TW
4. Amis, E. Formosan, TW
5. Kavalan, E. Form., TW
6. Siraya, E. Form., TW
7. Paiwan, Paiwan, TW
8. Puyuma, Puyuma, TW
9. Tsou, Tsouic, TW
10. Ibatan, Batanic, PH
11. Blaan, Bilic, PH
12. Botolan Sambal, C. Luzon, PH
13. Tagalog, GCP, PH
14. Cebuano, GCP, PH
15. W. Subanon, GCP, PH
16. Tawbuid, GCP, PH
17. Hiligaynon, GCP, PH
18. Arta, N. Luzon, PH
19. Ilocano, N.Luzon, PH
20. Tondano, Minahasan, SUL
21. Chamorro, Chamorro, Other
22. Balantak, Celebic, SUL
23. Mori Bawah, Celebic, SUL
24. Muna, Celebic, SUL
25. Tukang Besi, Celebic, SUL
26. Embaloh, S. Sul., BOR
27. Bugis, S. Sul., SUL
28. Duri, S. Sul., SUL
29. Makasar, S. Sul., SUL
30. Mandar, S. Sul., SUL
31. Seko Padang, S. Sul., SUL
32. Enggano, Sumatran, SUM
33. Karo Batak, Sumatran, SUM
34. Gayo, Sumatran, SUM
35. Nasal, Sumatran, SUM
36. Indonesian, WIN, Other
37. Begak, WIN, BOR
38. Kelabit, WIN, BOR
39. Lun Bawang, WIN, BOR
40. Matéq, WIN, BOR
41. Mualang, WIN, BOR
42. Paku, WIN, BOR
43. Javanese, WIN, JAV
44. Sundanese, WIN, JAV
45. Madurese, WIN, JAV
46. Balinese, WIN, SUN
47. Sasak, WIN, SUN
48. Malagasy, WIN, Other
49. Sama Bangingi', WIN, PH
50. S. Sinama, WIN, PH
51. Yakan, WIN, PH
52. Acehnese, WIN, SUM
53. Besemah, WIN, SUM

Verbal morphology I

In Formosan and Philippine languages of the sample, the verbal morphology used for the putative antipassive is largely **indistinguishable from that used in monovalent intransitives**.

(6) Paiwan

a. *?⟨em⟩au-?aung ti baleng.*
RED⟨AV⟩-cry PIV.PS.SG B.

'Baleng is crying.'

monovalent intransitive

b. *na=?⟨em⟩alup ti palang ta vavuy*
PERF=hunt⟨AV⟩ PIV.PS.SG P. CM$_1$ wild.pig

'Palang hunted wild pigs.'

(Chang 2006: 113, 192)

putative antipassive

On the other hand, PV morphology is not found on the putative antipassives.

Verbal morphology II

In Formosan and Philippine languages of the sample, the verbal morphology used for the putative antipassive is largely **indistinguishable from that used in monovalent intransitives**.

(7) Tagalog

a. *s⟨**um**⟩ayaw ang babae.*
⟨AV⟩**dance** PIV woman

'The woman danced.' monovalent intransitive

b. *s⟨**um**⟩ulat ang babae ng liham.*
⟨AV⟩**write** PIV woman INDF.CM$_1$ letter

'The woman wrote a letter.' putative antipassive

On the other hand, PV morphology is not found on the putative antipassives.

Optionality of the patient I

In Philippine-type languages, **the patient in AV generally is not freely omissible** without contextual support. Exception: Ambivalent verbs, e.g. 'eat', 'drink'.

(8) Subanon

a. *k⟨in-um⟩an og libun.*
⟨REAL.AV⟩eat PIV woman
'The woman ate.'

Patient omission with an ambivalent verb

b. ***d⟨in-um⟩api' og gotow**
⟨REAL.AV⟩slap PIV man
('The man slapped.')

Patient omission banned with a non-ambivalent verb

(O'Brien 2016: 11)

Optionality of the patient II

In Philippine-type languages, **the patient in AV generally is not freely omissible** without contextual support. Exception: Ambivalent verbs, e.g. ‘eat’, ‘drink’.

(9) Tagalog

a. *k⟨**um**⟩ain=ako.*
⟨AV⟩eat=1SG.PIV

‘I eat.’

Patient omission with an ambivalent verb

b. ***h⟨**um**⟩abol si aya.*
chase⟨AV⟩ PN.PIV A.

(‘Aya chased.’)

Patient omission banned with a non-ambivalent verb

Definiteness/specificity I

Many researchers report that definite and/or specific patients may appear in AV.

(10) Malagasy

nanapahan'i sahondra ***ity hazo ity*** *nu antsy.*
PAST.AV.CUT S. **this tree this** DET knife

'Sahondra cut **this tree** with the knife.' (Paul & deMena Travis 2006: 316)

(11) Amis

mi-takaw cingra ***t-una paysu****.*
AV-steal 3SG.PIV **CM$_1$-that money**

'He stole **that money**.' (*ODFL* n.d.)

(12) Paiwan

taliw anan aken ***tua ku tseqelap****, aya ti sapayas.*
<AV>whet.stone still 1SG.PIV **CM$_1$ my knife** say PIV.PS.SG S.

'I'll just sharpen **my sword**,' said Sapayas.' (Early & Whitehorn 2003: Text 34: 020)

Definiteness/specificity II

(13) Subanon

k⟨um⟩an si uan ***nog saging koyon***

⟨AV.IRR⟩eat PIV J. **NPIV banana DET**

'Juan will eat **that banana**.' (O'Brien 2016)

In a subset of Philippine-type languages, indefinite/nonspecific patients are preferred in AV, however, definite patients remain possible.

(14) Tagalog

B⟨um⟩isita si juan ***sa hari*** *nang nagiisa.*

⟨AV⟩visit PN.PIV J. **CN.DEF.CM$_1$ king** ADV AV.IPFV-one

'Juan visited **the king** alone.' (Kroeger 1993: 41)

Definiteness/specificity III

That the alleged antipassive patients do not conform to a definiteness/specificity constraint is further evident from the fact that AV constructions allow a **pronominal patient**.

→ This suggests that **such patients may be specific with high individuation**.

(15) a. Tagalog
Na-ka-kita ako ***sa'yo***.
PFV-RED-see 1SG.PIV 2SG.CM$_1$
'I saw you'. (Actor Voice; the alleged antipassive)

b. Amis
mi-nengneng kaku ***cingranan***.
AV-see 1SG.PIV 3SG.CM$_1$
'I will see him.' (Huang 2005: 788) (Actor Voice; the alleged antipassive)

c. Puyuma
Sagar=ku ***kanu***.
AV.like=1SG.PIV 2SG.CM$_1$
'I like you.' (Actor Voice; the alleged antipassive)

Syntactic operations

The patient phrase in AV also has access to syntactic operations generally restricted only to core arguments, e.g. object control, raising-to-object constructions.

(16) Object control construction

a. ***Muwai*** ***kanku*** *pa-trima dra* *kiping i* *nanali.*
AV.permit 1SG.CM$_1$ CAUS-buy INDF.CM$_1$ clothes PN.PIV my.mother
'My mother permitted *me* to buy clothes.' (Puyuma)

b. ***Nagpabili*** ***kay*** ***maria*** *ng* *bigas ang nanay.*
PFV.AV.let PN.CM$_1$ M. INDF.CM$_1$ rice PIV mother
'Mother let *Maria* buy some rice.' (Kroeger 1993: 197) (Tagalog)

Case marking I

In Philippine-type languages, **the patient in AV shares case marking with other core arguments**.

(17) Tagalog

a. *Nag-kurot si aya **kay maria**.*
AV.PFV-pinch PN.PIV A. PN.CM$_1$ M.

'Aya pinched Maria.' **alleged antipassive object**: *kay*-marked

b. *I-p⟨in⟩a-kanta=ko **kay ivan** ang kanta.*
CV-CAUS⟨PRF⟩sing=1SG.CM$_2$ PN.CM$_1$ I. PIV song

'I asked Ivan to sing a song.' **causee**: *kay*-marked

c. *I-p⟨in⟩ampalo=ko ang kanyang pamalo **kay juan**.*
CV-⟨PRF⟩hit=1SG.CM$_2$ PIV 3SG.POSS stick PN.CM$_1$ J.

'I hit Juan with his stick.' **theme of 3-place clause**: *kay*-marked

Case marking II

In Philippine-type languages, **the patient in AV shares case marking with other core arguments**.

(18) Amis

a. *Mi-nengneng ci mama* ***t-una kolong****.*
AV-see PN.PIV father CM$_1$-that cow

'Father saw that cow.'

alleged antipassive patient: *t*-marked

b. *Pa-pi-takaw-en aku* ***t-una wawa*** *k-una paysu.*
CAUS-TR-steal-PV 1SG.CM$_2$ CM$_1$-that child PIV-that money

'I will ask that child to steal that money.'

causee: *t*-marked

c. *Sa-pi-tangtang aku* ***t-una futing*** *k-una wawa.*
CV-TR-cook 1SG.CM$_2$ CM$_2$-that fish PIV-that child

'I cooked that fish for that child.'

theme in 3-place clause: *t*-marked

Sentence properties I

- AV clauses show much **greater textual frequency than predicted for antipassives**.
  - Givón (1994) suggests that antipassives occur with a frequency of only **10–15%**.

(19) Textual frequency of different voice types in five Philippine-type Formosan languages (Huang 2002: 786)

	Actor Voice	Patient Voice	Locative Voice	Circumstantial Voice
Tsou	**57.5%**	**27.2%**	12.3%	2.9%
Atayal	**48.2%**	**29.9%**	17.7%	4.2%
Saisiyat	**77%**	**19.2%**	0%	3.8%
Seediq	**66.3%**	**15.8%**	15.6%	2.5%
Tagalog	**56.5%**	**31.7%**	10.3%	1.4%

Sentence properties II

- AV clauses show much **greater textual frequency than predicted for antipassives**.
  - Givón (1994) suggests that antipassives occur with a frequency of only **10–15%**.

(20) Textual frequency of main voice types in three western Austronesian languages (Hemmings 2015: 401)

	Cebuano	**Kelabit**	**Indonesian**
Total voice marked clauses	32	50	51
Total AV	8	31	38
Total non-AV	24	17	13
Percentage AV	**25%**	**62%**	**75%**
Percentage non-AV	**75%**	**34%**	**25%**

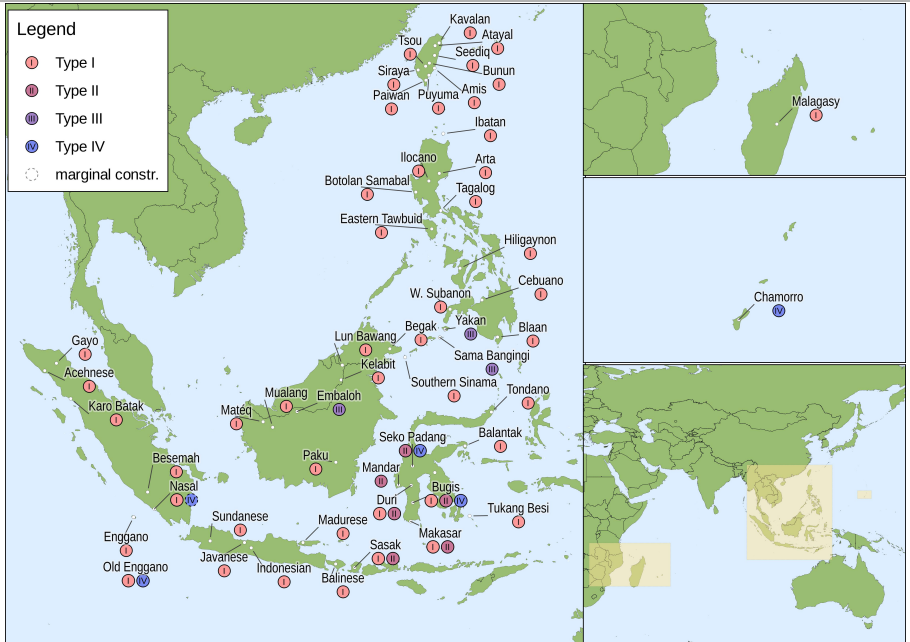
Philippine-type AV is not antipassive

(21)
a. The construction lacks **distinct valency-decreasing morphology**.
b. The patient is **case-marked as a core argument**.
c. The patient **cannot be freely omitted** without prior context.
d. The patient is accessible to syntactic operations that should be unavailable to syntactic obliques.
e. The construction shows a **textual frequency much higher than canonical antipassives**.
f. The construction in many languages shows TAM properties that do not necessarily align with those observed with canonical antipassives (e.g., lower telicity and affectedness).

A cline of (in)transitivity

(22) Four types of antipassive-like constructions in western Austronesian languages

	Type	Criterion	Languages
I	**Spurious antipassive**	**Patients are obligatory without given context, may be definite, and share case-marking with core arguments in other constructions**.	**Formosan languages, Tagalog, most Philippine languages**
II	Functional antipassive	Patients are obligatorily indefinite and coded as a bare NP	Mori Bawah, Duri
III	Semi-antipassive	Patients are frequently omitted and may be marked as an oblique or surface as a bare NP.	Sama Bangingi', Embaloh
IV	True antipassive	Patients are optional or suppressed; when present, are marked as oblique or incorporated into the verb.	Chamorro, Bugis, Seko Padang


Legend
Type I
Type II
Type III
Type IV
marginal constr.
Kavalan
Atayal
Tsou
Seediq
Bunun
Siraya
Amis
Paiwan
Puyuma
Ibatan
Malagasy
Ilocano
Arta
Botolan Sambal
Tagalog
Eastern Tawbuid
Hiligaynon
Cebuano
W. Subanon
Chamorro
Yakan
Begak
Blaan
Gayo
Lun Bawang
Sama Bangingi
Acehnese
Kelabit
Southern Sinama
Tondano
Mualang
Embaloh
Karo Batak
Mateq
Balantak
Seko Padang
Besemah
Paku
Mandar
Nasal
Bugis
Duri
Tukang Besi
Sundanese
Madurese
Makasar
Enggano
Sasak
Javanese
Old Enggano
Indonesian
Balinese

Type I: Spurious antipassive

(23) **Spurious antipassive**

The patient is obligatorily present without given context, may be definite, and shares case marking with core arguments in other (transitive) constructions.

(24)

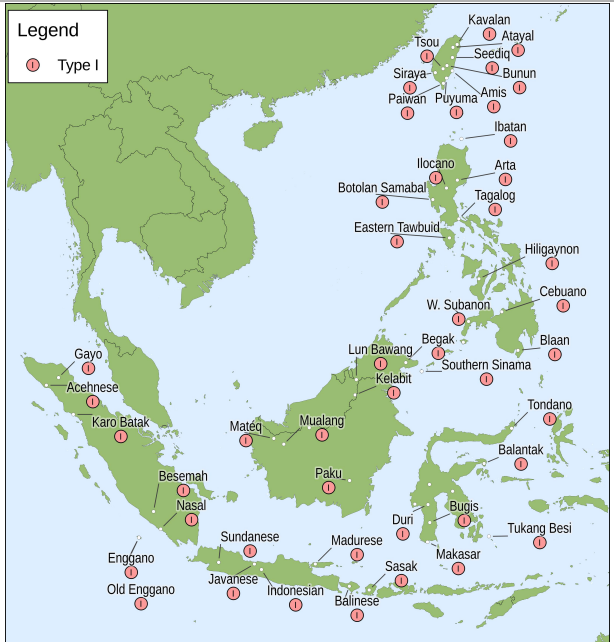
	Type I Spurious antipassive
a. Can the patient be definite and/or specific?	Yes
b. Is the patient marked by a peripheral case or adposition?	No
c. Can the patient be freely omitted without a given context?	No
d. Does the construction carry specific valency-decreasing morphology not present in monovalent intransitives?	No

Type I: Spurious antipassive

- Key trait: **Shared verbal morphology with monovalent intransitives.**
  → This pattern can be traced back to Proto-Austronesian (PAn)

(25) Proto-Austronesian verbs reconstructable with *⟨um⟩ Actor Voice morphology

1-place verbs	2-place verbs
*q<um>ajaw **'to shine (sun)'**, *N<um>aŋuy **'to swim'**,	*k<um>aRaC **'to bite'**, *q<um>aNup **'to hunt'**,
*q<um>etut **'to fart'**, *q<um>aŋqaŋ **'to bark (dog)'**,	*k<um>aCu **'to carry'**, *k<um>ali **'to dig'**,
*q<um>uzaN **'to rain'**, *S<um>eyup **'to blow'**,	*d<um>ilaq **'to lick'**, *k<um>eRet**'to cut'**,
*C<um>aŋis **'to cry'**, *s<um>akay **'to walk'**,	*t<um>enun **'to weave'**, *g<um>aruC **'to comb'**
*C<um>ubuq **'to sprout, to grow'**, *S<um>uni **'to chirp (bird)'**	*s<um>usu **'to suckle'**, *p<um>anaq **'to shoot with a bow'**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Type I
Kavalan
Atayal
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Tukang Besi
Sundanese
Madurese
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Makasar
Sasak
Javanese
Old Enggano
Indonesian
Balinese

Type II: Functional antipassive

(26) **Functional antipassive**
The patient in this type of construction is obligatorily indefinite and coded as a bare NP.

(27) Key traits of Type I and II constructions

	Type I Spurious antipassive	Type II Functional antipassive
a. Can the patient be definite and/or specific?	Yes	No
b. Is the patient marked by a peripheral case or adposition?	No	No (bare NP)
c. Can the patient be freely omitted without a given context?	No	No
d. Does the construction carry specific valency-decreasing morphology not present in monovalent intransitives?	No	No

Type II: Functional antipassive

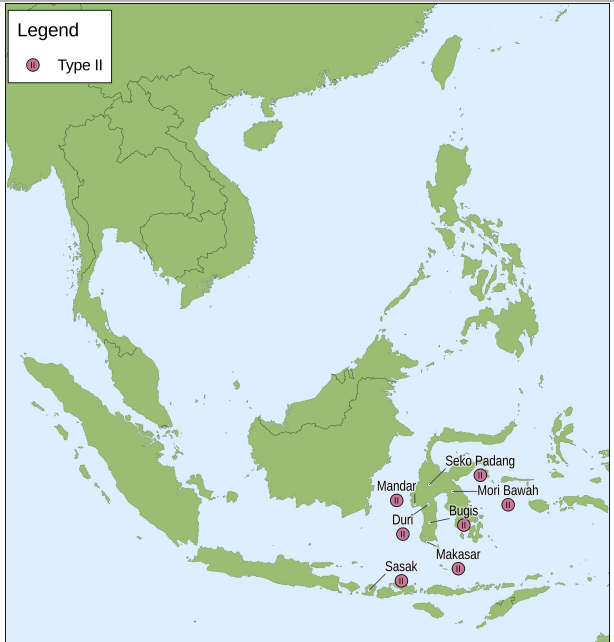
Primarily found in Sulawesi languages, in a Type II construction, the patient is obligatorily indefinite and coded as a bare NP (while obliques are preposition marked).

(28) Mori Bawah

a. *...ka=i pepate='ira ana-no.*
and=3SG kill=3PL child-3SG.POSS
'...and she killed her children.' (basic transitive)

b. *...ka=i pom-pepate singa.*
and=3SG ANTIP-kill lion
'...and he killed a lion.' (Mead 2005: 698) (functional antipassive)

In South Sulawesi languages, the patient NP is **obligatorily overt**.


Legend
Type II
Seko Padang
Mandar
Mori Bawah
Bugis
Duri
Makasar
Sasak

Type III: Semi-antipassive

(29) **Semi-antipassive**
The patient in this type of construction is frequently omitted and may be marked as an oblique or surface as a bare NP.

(30) Key traits of Type I–III constructions

	Type I Spurious antipassive	Type II Functional antipassive	Type III Semi-antipassive
a. Can the patient be definite and/or specific?	Yes	No	(varies)
b. Is the patient marked by a peripheral case or adposition?	No	No (bare NP)	Yes
c. Can the patient be freely omitted without a given context?	No	No	Yes
d. Does the construction carry specific valency-decreasing morphology not present in monovalent intransitives?	No	No	No

Type III: Semi-antipassive

The patient is frequently omitted and may be marked as an oblique or surface as a bare NP. Found in Yakan, Sama Bangingi', and Embaloh.

(31) Sama Bangingi'

a. *Abaya' tood aku amangan **sin nangka' u**.*
want INTS 1SG.ABS AV.eat **OBL jackfruit that**
'*I* really want to eat that jackfruit.' (oblique-marked patient)

b. *Abaya' tood iya amangan **nangka' inaan**.*
want INTS 3SG.ABS AV.eat **jackfruit that**
'*She* really wants to eat that jackfruit.' (Gault 1999: 29, 78) (bare NP patient)


Legend
Type III
Yakan
Sama Bangingi
Embaloh

Type IV: True antipassive

(32) **True antipassive**
The patient in this type of construction is optional or suppressed; when present, it is marked as oblique or incorporated into the verb.

(33) Key traits of Austronesian Type I–IV constructions

	Type I Spurious antipassive	Type II Functional antipassive	Type III Semi-antipassive	Type IV True antipassive
a. Can the patient be definite and/or specific?	Yes	No	(varies)	Yes
b. Is the patient marked by a peripheral case or adposition?	No	No (bare NP)	Yes	Yes
c. Can the patient be freely omitted without a given context?	No	No	Yes	Yes
d. Does the construction carry specific valency-decreasing morphology not present in monovalent intransitives?	No	No	No	(varies)

Type IV: True antipassive

The patient is **optional or suppressed**; when present it is marked oblique or incorporated into the verb. Found in Bugis, Seko Padang, Chamorro, and Old Enggano.

(34) Bugis

a. *Na=sémpe'=i* *Saénal* ***asu-é***.
3SG.ERG=kick=3SG.ABS S. dog=DEF
'Saenal kicked the dog' (basic transitive)

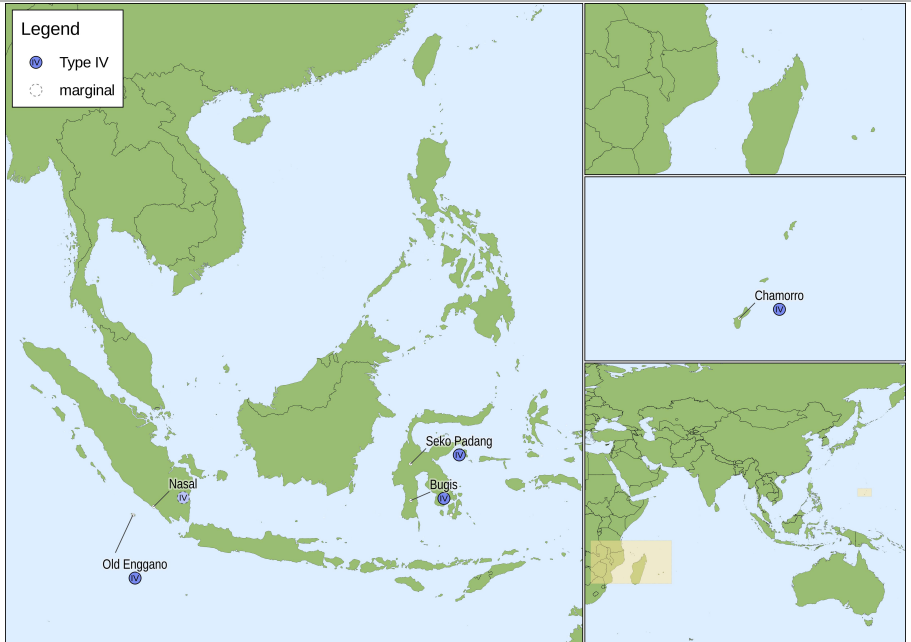
b. ***Mas****-sémpe'=i* *Saénal* ***lao ri asu-é***.
ANTIP-kick=3SG.ABS S. ALL OBL dog=DEF
'Saenal kicked at the dog (but didn't necessarily hit it.)' (antipassive)
(Laskowske 2016: 56–57)

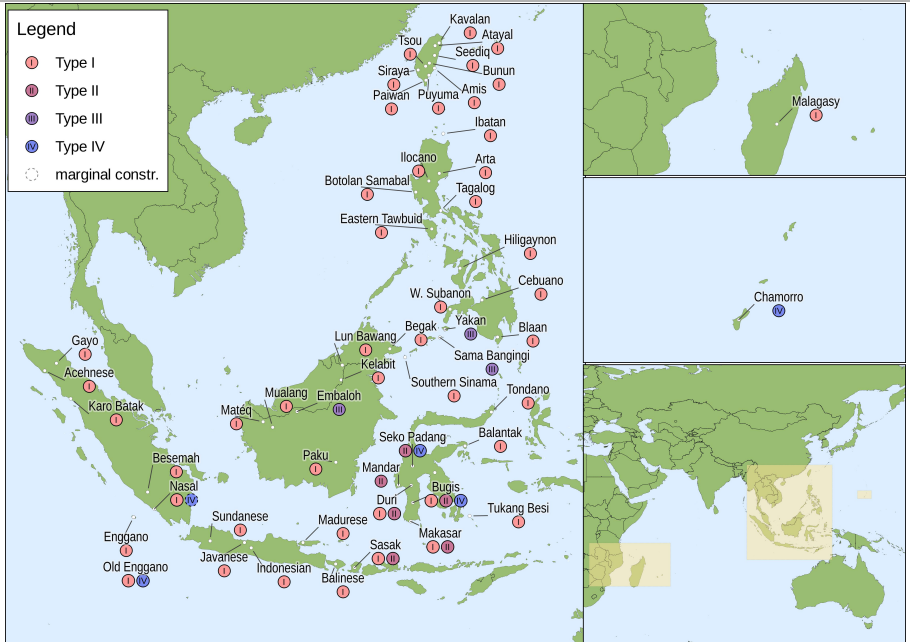
Type IV: True antipassive

(35) Bugis

a. ***M**-elli=**ka'*** *balé*
AV-buy=1SG.ABS fish
'I bought a/some fish.' (Type II)

b. ***Mang**-elli* ***balé**=**ka'***
ANTIP-buy fish=1SG.ABS
'I'm (in the process of) buying fish.' or 'I buy fish (for a living).' (Type IV)
(Laskowske 2016: 65)


Legend
Type IV
marginal
Chamorro
IV
Seko Padang
IV
Nasal
IV
Bugis
IV
Old Enggano
IV


Legend
Type I
Type II
Type III
Type IV
marginal constr.
Kavalan
Atayal
Tsou
Seediq
Bunun
Siraya
Amis
Paiwan
Puyuma
Ibatan
Malagasy
Ilocano
Arta
Botolan Sambal
Tagalog
Eastern Tawbuid
Hiligaynon
Cebuano
W. Subanon
Chamorro
Yakan
Begak
Blaan
Gayo
Lun Bawang
Sama Bangingi
Acehnese
Kelabit
Southern Sinama
Tondano
Mualang
Embaloh
Karo Batak
Mateq
Balantak
Seko Padang
Besemah
Paku
Mandar
Nasal
Bugis
Duri
Tukang Besi
Sundanese
Madurese
Makasar
Enggano
Sasak
Javanese
Old Enggano
Indonesian
Balinese

Development

- Type I–IV constructions share **morphological marking cognate** with PAn AV.
- Type I is **broadly distributed**, found across primary branches of PAn.
- In languages showing more than one type,
  - Type I is often found **only in certain dependent clauses** and focus constructions,
  - while Type II–IV are found in main clauses and with neutral word order.
- The use of Type II–IV constructions is **discourse-driven**.

Therefore, in some languages, Type I (bivalent AV) appears to be **evolving into an intransitive** clause type, driven by low topicality of the patient.

Wrap-up

Our findings:

- **True antipassives are rare** in western Austronesian languages.
- There is strong evidence that AV constructions are **syntactically transitive**, though they commonly show traits that superficially resemble antipassives.
- We classify AV and similarly marked constructions into **four types**, showing that they form a gradient of semi-transitives that are potentially evolving into true antipassives.

Implications

1. Calls into question **the ergative approach** to Philippine-type and two-way symmetrical voice languages, as it relies crucially on the antipassive/intransitive analysis of AV.

The case alignment of Philippine-type languages

1. The transitive analysis of Actor Voice calls into question **the ergative view** of Philippine-type languages, as it relies on the antipassive/intransitive analysis of AV.

(36) The ergative view of Tagalog

	Actor Voice → alleged antipassive	**Patient Voice** → alleged basic transitive
agent	***si* (alleged S)**	*ni*
patient	*kay*	***si* (alleged O)**

(37) The new empirical picture

	Actor Voice (⇒ syntactically transitive)	**Patient Voice** (⇒ syntactically transitive)
agent	***si* (A)**	*ni*
patient	*kay*	***si* (O)**

The driving force of true antipassive

- We propose that structural pressures (e.g. low topicality, prominence of patient) lead to the emergence of true antipassives and semi-transitive constructions in a small subset western Austronesian languages.
  - See details of this proposal in our write-up: https://shorturl.at/oxyhY

The evolution of voice affixes into true valency-decreasing morphology

(38) The evolution of Philippine-type voice morphology in Chamorro

a. **Philippine-type Actor Voice affix → antipassive marker**

b. **Philippine-type Patient Voice affix → passive marker**

(39) Chamorro

a. *Ha* ***bisita*** *si dolores si antonio.*
AGR **visit** UNM dolores UNM antonio

'Dolores visited Antonio.' basic transitive

b. ***Man-bisita*** *si dolores (as antonio).*
AGR.ANTIP-visit UNM Dolores (OBL Antonio)

'Dolores visited (Antonio).' antipassive; implicit patient allowed

c. ***B⟨in⟩isita*** *si Antonio (gi)as Dolores.*
AGR.PASS.**visit** UNM Antonio OBL Dolores

Antonio was visited by Dolores.' (Chung 2013: 6) passive

Conclusion

1. True antipassives are rarely attested in Austronesian.
2. Existing typological classifications should be approached with caution. More fine-grained typological classifications with unified, systematic diagnostics are needed.
3. The ergative approach to Philippine-type and two-way symmetrical voice languages merits reconsideration, given its reliance on treating AV as an antipassive.

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Aspectual interpretations

- Aspectual interpretations of AV vary across Philippine-type languages, e.g.,

(40) Default aspectual interpretation of different voice constructions in five Austronesian languages

	AV	PV	LV	Source
a. Atayal/Seediq	imperfective	(future)	perfective	Huang 2005
b. Puyuma (Nanwang)	perfective	perfective	perfective	Teng 2008
c. Paiwan (Northern)	perfective	perfective	perfective	Chang 2006
d. Amis (Central)	imperfective	future	?	Wu 2006
e. Tagalog	(must be inflected with an aspect marker)			Schachter & Otanes 1972
f. Malagasy	imperfective	perfective	n/a	Pearson 2012

Old Enggano

(41) Old Enggano

a. *'O'o' ki-pudu e-koyo e'ana.*
2SG FOC-kill CORE-pig DEM
'You kill that wild boar.' (transitive)

b. *'O'o k-a-budu (i'ioo) u-koyo e'ana.*
2SG FOC-ANTIP-kill OBL OBL-pig DEM
'You are a killer of that wild boar.' (antipassive)
(Hemmings under review, citing Kähler 1940)

Differentiation of voice marking

(42) Voice marking in Bugis and Seko Padang

Construction	Bugis	Seko Padang
Monovalent intr.	∅, *ma-*, *maC-*	*miN-*, *mu-*, *mi-*, *m-*, *mammu-*, ⟨*um*⟩
Type I (bivalent)	*m-*	–
Type II	*m-*, *(maC-)*	*maN-*
Type IV	*maC-*	*miN-*, *mu-*, *m-*, ⟨*um*⟩