

## Historical Development of the “Malay-type” Voice System

KIKUSAWA Ritsuko (ritsuko@minpaku.ac.jp)

(National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka)

(The Graduate University for Advanced Studies, Kanagawa)

In this paper, I will present two hypotheses which explain part of the historical development of the voice systems found in languages in Indonesia.

One involves a word order change, which explains the existence of the two “symmetrical” sentence structures in the languages under consideration. In languages with such sentence structures, the noun phrase indicating the actor may precede the one indicating the undergoer as in (1)a, or may follow it as in(1)b. Such relative positions are fixed in each sentence structure. I will demonstrate that a simple word order change, namely, the earlier nominative phrase acquiring a fixed sentence initial position readily yielded this system.

- (1) Indonesian (Adelaar 2005)
- a. “AV”      Aku      *məN-tulis-i*      amplop itu.  
1SG      AV-write.on      envelope      DIST  
‘I scribbled on the envelope.’
- b. “UV/PV”      Amplop itu      ku=tulis-i.  
envelope      DIST      1SG=write.on  
‘I scribbled on the envelope.’

The other involves the development of the applicative constructions, which are often characterized by the form of the verbs carrying *-i* and *-akan* like endings, such as those appearing in (1) and (2) respectively. I will claim that those with *-i* are the reflex structure of an earlier locative transitive structure, while those with *-akan* verbs must have developed from an earlier general transitive structure having an oblique NP immediately following the verb after the fronting of the actor NP. The oblique preposition was encliticized to the verb and ultimately incorporated as a suffix

- (2) Indonesian (Adelaar 2005)
- a. “AV”      *Ia*      *məN-tulis-kan*      *saya*      *bon*.  
3SG      AV-write.for      1SG      receipt  
‘He wrote me a receipt.’
- b. “OV/PV”      *Saya*      *di-tulis-kan*      *bon*.  
1SG      UV-write.for      receipt  
‘(They) wrote me a receipt.’

Mechanisms and specific scenarios of the proposed changes are expected to contribute to the descriptive work of languages in Indonesia in that they provide some clues as to the kind of morphosyntactic features one should be looking for. They may also provide explanations of the grammaticalization processes involved that brought about some of the “unusual” looking grammatical characteristics found in some languages today.