

# Voice and grammatical relations in Lamaholot of eastern Indonesia\*

Naonori NAGAYA

National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

This paper analyses voice and grammatical relations in Lamaholot (eastern Indonesia) in light of the typologies of voice systems in western Austronesian languages. In the literature, languages of eastern Indonesia are assumed either not to display any grammaticized voice contrasts, or to show asymmetrical voice alternations if they do. However, this literature does not take Lamaholot into account. On the one hand, this language does display various conceptual voice contrasts, such as antipassive, anticausative, and middle, by means of the transitivity alternation, addition of prepositional elements, and other periphrastic strategies. On the other hand, there are also construction types differentiated by word order for different pragmatic requirements: the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions, the ditransitive alternation, and the benefactive alternation are all used to express the same conceptual content with different arguments highlighted for pragmatic purposes. These alternations essentially perform the same syntactic/pragmatic function as the focus system in Philippine languages. Therefore, the data and analyses presented here as well as the diversity shown in the growing literature on eastern Indonesian languages call for a more comprehensive and systematic typology of western Austronesian voice systems. At the very least, it is too early to conclude that eastern Indonesian languages lack voice alternations.

## 1 Western Austronesian voice systems

In the current typologies of western Austronesian languages,<sup>1</sup> languages of eastern Indonesia are believed to be in contrast with those of the Philippines and western Indonesia with regard to the nature of voice systems (Arka & Ross 2005a, b; Himmelmann 2005). To begin with, let us observe that voice systems in languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia can be characterized by two major features. The first feature is the existence of multiple voice constructions: there are multiple morphologically distinguished voice alternations. Another equally important feature lies in the symmetrical nature of voice systems. Voice alternations are marked by morphology of equal complexity, making it difficult to determine if one voice

---

\* Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the 11th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics in 2009 and at the Workshop on Indonesian-type Voice System in the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 2010. I am grateful to the audience for their comments and criticism that have helped in improving the manuscript. My thanks also go to Sander Adelaar, I Wayan Arka, Masayoshi Shibatani, Fay Wouk, and two anonymous reviewers for their detailed comments and suggestions. Of course, any errors that remain are my responsibility. This work was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Grant-in-Aid #24-9187).

<sup>1</sup> The term ‘western Austronesian’ refers to Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar (plus Palau and Chamorro) (Himmelmann 2005:111).

construction is basic, or unmarked, vis-à-vis another.<sup>2</sup> For example, consider the Balinese examples in (1).

(1) **Balinese (Wechsler & Arka 1998:388)**

a. **Agentive Voice:**

*Tiang numbas bawi-ne punika.* (high register)  
 I AV-buy pig-DEF that  
 'I bought the pig.'

b. **Objective Voice:**

*Bawi-ne punika tumbas tiang.* (high register)  
 pig-DEF that OV.buy I  
 'I bought the pig.'

As in (1), Balinese has a two-way voice contrast between agentive and objective voice. The verb appears in its nasal form *numbas* in example (a) of (1), but in oral form *tumbas* in (b) of (1). Another characteristic is that an agent occurs in the clause-initial preverbal position in the former but a patient appears in that position in the latter. This voice alternation is considered as morphologically symmetrical because different voice forms are marked by different forms of a verb and appear in different word orders. See Arka (2003a, b).

Standard Indonesian displays a more elaborate three-way voice system as in (2): active, inverse, and passive. Again, we can see that there are multiple voice constructions in this language and that each voice form is marked in one way or another.

(2) **Standard Indonesian (Donohue 2008:1475)**

a. **Active:**

*Dia me-[n]onton gadis cantik itu.*  
 3SG ACT-watch girl beautiful that  
 'He watched that beautiful girl.'

b. **Inverse:**

*Gadis cantik itu di-tonton-nya.*  
 girl beautiful that NON.ACT-watch-3SG.GEN  
 'He watched that beautiful girl.'

c. **Passive:**

*Gadis cantik itu di-tonton (oleh dia).*  
 girl beautiful that NON.ACT-watch by 3SG  
 'That beautiful girl was watched (by him).'

A four-way voice contrast is found in Tagalog as shown in (3), where different voice constructions with different pivots are distinguished by different verbal morphology.

---

<sup>2</sup> Another related characteristic of symmetrical voice systems is the possibility of the actor and undergoer arguments being equally linked to syntactic subject/pivot without demotion of either.

(3) **Tagalog (Nagaya 2009:160)**a. **Actor Focus (Antipassive):**

*K<um>ain =ako nang= mansanas.*  
 eat<AF> =1SG.NOM GEN= apple  
 ‘I ate an apple/apples.’

b. **Patient Focus (Active):**

*K<in>ain-∅ =ko ang= mansanas.*  
 eat<RL>-PF =1SG.GEN NOM= apple  
 ‘I ate the apple.’

c. **Locative Focus (Locative applicative):**

*K<in>ain-an =ko ang= pinggan ni= John Rey.*  
 eat<RL>-LF =1SG.GEN NOM= plate PN.GEN= J.R.  
 ‘I ate off of John Rey’s plate.’

d. **Circumstantial Focus (Benefactive applicative):**

*I-k<in>ain =ko si= Fiona.*  
 CF-eat<RL> =1SG.GEN PN.NOM= Fiona  
 ‘I ate for Fiona (because she could not eat for some reason).’

In a nutshell, languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia are believed to show two characteristics: (i) multiple voice constructions and (ii) symmetrical voice alternations. In contrast, with typologies of voice systems in western Austronesian, it is believed that languages of eastern Indonesia, specifically, languages of Flores, Timor, and Papua ‘either do not show any grammaticized voice alternations at all or the voice alternations are clearly asymmetrical’ (Himmelmann 2005:114). In other words, languages of eastern Indonesia are believed to not display the two features mentioned above.

It is in this context that Lamaholot, with which this paper is concerned, becomes important. This language displays a constructional contrast between two competing transitive constructions, the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions. The Subject-Topic construction is a transitive clause with a Subject-Verb-Object word order, with a subject argument in the sentence-initial topic position. See (4), for example.

(4) **Subject-Topic construction:**

Tanti bəŋo Ika.  
 Tanti hit Ika  
 ‘Tanti hit Ika.’

In the Object-Topic construction, by contrast, a non-subject core argument occupies the topic position, yielding an Object-Subject-Verb word order. To illustrate, compare examples in (4) and (5).

(5) **Object-Topic construction:**

*Ika, Tanti bəŋo.*  
 Ika Tanti hit  
 ‘Ika, Tanti hit.’

The constructional contrast between (4) and (5) does not involve additional morphological marking, unlike the above-mentioned Balinese, Standard Indonesian, and Tagalog voice alternations. Nevertheless, the Lamaholot pattern still seems to have two features in common with other western Austronesian voice systems. On one hand, the contrast between the two types of transitive constructions is expressed by different word orders, like it is in Balinese and Standard Indonesian. On the other hand, the alternation between the two construction types can be analyzed as symmetrical in the sense that the verb predicate in one construction is as morphologically unmarked as the verb predicate in the other. How should we understand these similarities?

In this paper, we present a description and analysis of the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions and other voice-related phenomena in Lamaholot with special reference to the way these voice phenomena change and interact with grammatical relations. There are two major claims in this paper. The first is that Lamaholot does not have voice morphology but expresses voice oppositions in a periphrastic way. Secondly, two distinct sets of grammatical relations are required for a better understanding of voice phenomena in Lamaholot, especially for the contrast between the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions.

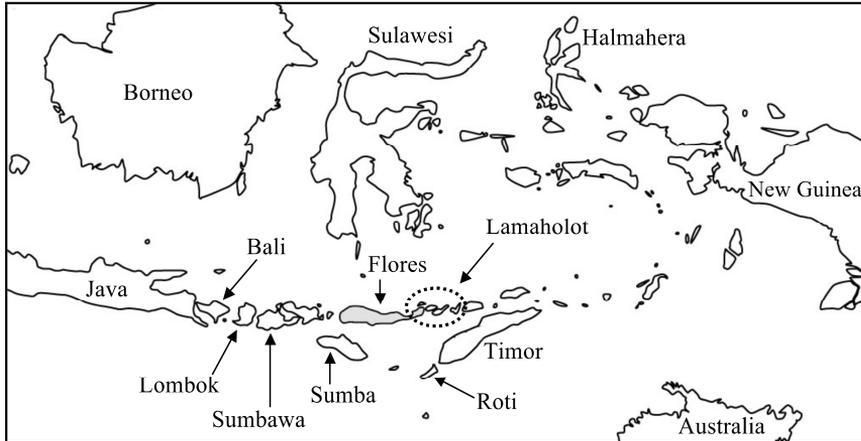
This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we provide a preliminary description of the Lamaholot language and its typological characteristics. This language is strongly isolating and a typical example of a ‘preposed possessor language’ (Himmelman 2005). Section 3 introduces grammatical relations and discusses how they are recognized in Lamaholot. In Section 4, it is demonstrated that this isolating language has various periphrastic means for expressing voice and transitivity-related functional domains. These voice phenomena without voice morphology interact with grammatical relations (which are explored in Section 3). In Section 5, then, the topic, another type of grammatical relation, is introduced to describe the Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions. Finally, Section 6 concludes this paper with some remarks about the symmetry of Lamaholot voice systems.

## 2 Lamaholot, an Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia

Lamaholot is a Central Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1993). It is spoken in the eastern part of Flores Island and neighboring islands of eastern Indonesia, serving as the lingua franca of the region (Grimes et al. 1997). See Map 1.

Lamaholot is best understood as a dialect chain with enough substantial differences between some of the dialects to make them mutually incomprehensible (Keraf 1978; Bowden 2008). In this description, we focus exclusively on Lewotobi, the most westerly dialect in the chain. This dialect is spoken by approximately 6,000 speakers in Kecamatan Ile Bura.

Two notes on the typological characteristics of Lamaholot are in order. First, Lamaholot is a strongly isolating language. Flores languages, including Lamaholot, are known for having little morphology (Himmelman 2005; Arka 2007; Donohue 2007a; McWhorter 2007). The grammatical formatives of Lamaholot are S/A-agreement prefixes (Table 1), S-agreement enclitics (Table 2), the possessive/nominalization markers *-N* and *=kə̃*, the pronominal possessive/nominalization marker *-ə̃ʔ*, and several others. Central to our investigation is the lack of any dedicated affix for voice and valence-related functions.



**Map 1: Flores Island and the islands of Indonesia**

Second, Lamaholot is a typical instance of a **proposed possessor language**, despite **transitional languages** being predominant on this island (Himmelmann 2005 for preposed possessor and transitional languages), and represents an array of typical eastern Indonesian features (cf. Klamer 2002; Donohue 2007a; Musgrave 2008a). To begin with, like other eastern Indonesian languages, Lamaholot has person marking for S and A arguments (Table 1), while it also has agreement markers for S arguments (Table 2). S/A-agreement prefixes obligatorily occur with certain verbs, either transitive or intransitive, while S-agreement enclitics are optionally used with intransitive verbs. Agreement phenomena provide strong evidence for positing the subject grammatical relation in this language (see Section 3.1).

	SG	PL
1	k-	m- (EXC) t- (INC)
2	m-	m-
3	n-	r-

**Table 1: S/A-agreement prefixes**

	SG	PL
1	=əʔ	=kə (EXC) =kə (INC)
2	=ko	=kə
3	=aʔ	=ka

**Table 2: S-agreement enclitics<sup>3</sup>**

Now consider word order in Lamaholot. The basic word order of Lamaholot is SVO as in (6).

- (6) *go buka knaweʔ.*  
1SG open door  
'I opened the door.'

Turning to the structure of noun phrases, a possessor precedes its possessum when it is realized as a lexical noun, whereas a noun precedes a numeral. See (7) and (8), respectively.

<sup>3</sup> S-agreement enclitics take different forms when preceded by a nasalized vowel (Nagaya 2010:184ff). For example, =nəʔ is used rather than =əʔ in (56), and =na instead of =ka in (58).

(7) *Hugo laŋo?* =*kə̃*  
 Hugo house =NMLZ  
 ‘Hugo’s house’

(8) *ata rua*  
 person two  
 ‘two persons’

Importantly, as is often the case in languages of eastern Indonesia, alienable and inalienable possessive relationships take different possessive markers in Lamaholot.<sup>4</sup> Compare (7) and (9).

(9) *Hugo kotə̃?*  
 Hugo kotə? -N  
 Hugo head -NMLZ  
 ‘Hugo’s head’

In (7), which represents an alienable possessive relation, the possessive relation is marked by the possessive enclitic =*kə̃*. In the case of the inalienable possessive relation in (9), by contrast, such a semantic relation is indicated by the possessive suffix -*N*, which is realized as nasalization on the last vowel of the possessum noun. In either case, a possessor is followed by its possessum.

Lastly, the negator and other TAM markers occur in clause-final position. For instance, the negator *həla?*, the imperfective marker *morə̃*, and the perfective marker *kae?* appear clause-finally in (10), (11), and (12), respectively.

(10) *go isə kbako həla?*  
 1SG suck tobacco NEG  
 ‘I don’t smoke.’

(11) *go biho lama morə̃.*  
 1SG cook rice IPFV  
 ‘I am still cooking rice.’ or ‘I haven’t cooked rice.’

(12) *go biho lama kae?*  
 1SG cook rice PFV  
 ‘I have already cooked rice.’

### 3 Grammatical relations in Lamaholot

This section introduces grammatical relations and discusses how they can be posited in Lamaholot. In this paper, **grammatical relations** are considered as those higher-order groupings of arguments that are required in the analysis of grammatical phenomena of an individual language (cf. Dixon 1979, 1994; Dryer 1986, 1997; Croft 2001). This definition calls for two qualifications. First, according to this definition, different languages can have different grammatical relations. For instance, it is necessary to posit the absolutive grammatical relation for a description of the syntax of Dyrbal, but not for English. Second, even within a single language, different grammatical relations may

---

<sup>4</sup> The enclitic =*kə̃* and the suffix -*N*, both glossed as NMLZ, are used as nominalizers and possessive markers.

need to be recognized for different grammatical phenomena. For example, in Dyirbal, constructions such as coordination are governed by the absolutive relation, while other constructions, such as the imperative, make it necessary to posit the subject relation as well.

In this study, it is proposed that two kinds of grammatical relations must be distinguished in order to fully understand Lamaholot morphosyntax, as in (13) (cf. Shibatani 2008, 2009).

(13) **Grammatical relations in Lamaholot:**

a. **Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations:**

Subject, primary object, and secondary object

b. **Pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation:**

Topic

The former set of grammatical relations is a semantically-motivated syntactic category, while the latter is a grammaticalized pragmatic category. A similar distinction is made in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar ('argument functions' vs. 'non-argument functions,' and '(grammaticalized) discourse functions' vs. 'non-discourse functions'; Bresnan 2001:97-98). The A-position and A'-position in a Government and Binding framework is also similar to the distinction in question. Furthermore, the contrast between agent-like and topic-like subjects has been a point of contention for centuries in Japanese linguistics (Shibatani 1991) and has long been known as the distinction between **role-related** and **reference-related** properties of subjects in Philippine linguistics (Schachter 1976; Foley & Van Valin 1984).

To define these grammatical relations in Lamaholot, we refer to **proto-roles** as defined in (14).

(14) **Proto-roles:**

S Single argument in an intransitive clause

A More agent-like argument in a mono- or di-transitive clause

P More patient-like argument in a transitive clause

T Theme argument in a ditransitive clause

R Recipient argument in a ditransitive clause

To illustrate each proto-role, let us consider examples in (15), (16), and (17).<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Although there is no space to fully develop this argument here, verbs of mental events, such as LOVE-verbs and HATE-verbs, form a semitransitive clause, taking an experiencer as a subject argument and a stimulus as an adjunct-marked argument (see footnote 6 for the verb  $\phi$ - $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\alpha}$  'do'). See (i).

(i) *go brea =əʔ k- $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\alpha}$  Nia.*  
 1SG like =1SG 1SG-do Nia  
 'I like Nia.'

As is often the case with other Indonesian languages (Palu'e (Donohue 2005), Manggarai (Arka 2008), and Indonesian (Musgrave 2008b)), the stimulus NP of this construction type is marked differently from OBJ but can be in the TOP relation in the Object-Topic constructions and can even acquire reference-tracking properties associated with TOP such as relativization. See (ii).

(15) **Intransitive clause:***Ika pana.*

Ika walk

'Ika (S) walked.'

(16) **Transitive clause:***Ika sepa bal.*

Ika kick ball

'Ika (A) kicked the ball (P).'

(17) **Ditransitive clause:***Ika neĩ go doi.*

Ika give 1SG money

'Ika (A) gave me (R) money (T).'

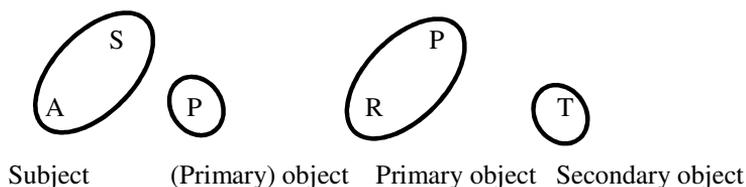
Example (15) is an intransitive clause, and thus its single argument *Ika* is considered an S argument. In the transitive clause in (16), the more agent-like argument *Ika* is identified as an A argument, the other argument *bal* 'ball' being a P argument. Example (17) is a ditransitive or double-object construction with three arguments. In this sentence, the giver *Ika* is analyzed as an A argument, the recipient *go* '1SG' as an R argument, and the entity given *doi* 'money' as a T argument.

On the basis of these proto-roles, grammatical relations can be identified. In Lamaholot, the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations listed in (18) are relevant to certain morphosyntactic phenomena and need to be postulated for their description.

(18) **Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations:**

a. Subject	SUBJ	{S, A}
b. Primary object	PO	{P, R}
c. Secondary object	SO	{T}
d. Oblique	OBL	{Neither SUBJ, PO, nor SO}

Alignment patterns of grammatical relations listed in (18) can be represented as in Figure 1, where those arguments that behave alike are indicated by a circle.



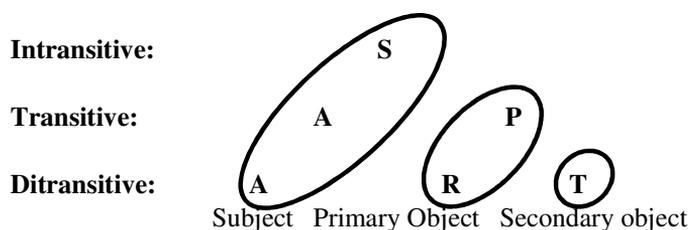
**Figure 1: Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations**

As shown in the left of Figure 1, S and A are treated alike in opposition to P, forming the subject relation as opposed to the (primary) object relation. This is an instantiation of the **nominative-accusative** alignment pattern. In contrast, the right of Figure 1 shows

(ii) Nia, go brea=ə?  
 Nia 1SG like=1SG  
 'Nia, I like.'

that P behaves like R and differently from T, bearing the primary object relation relative to the secondary object relation. In this sense, Lamaholot ditransitive constructions represent a **secundative** alignment type in the typology of alignment patterns for ditransitive clauses (Haspelmath 2005; Siewierska 2003).

Figure 1 can be also represented as in Figure 2, where each semantico-syntactic grammatical relation is indicated relative to clause types. Intransitive constructions have only one S argument, which automatically counts as subject. Transitive arguments have A and P arguments, which bear the subject and the primary object relations, respectively. Ditransitive clauses have three arguments: an A argument that is in the subject relation, an R argument in the primary object relation, and a T argument in the secondary object relation.



**Figure 2: Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations**

In addition, the pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation can be posited for a description of some other grammatical phenomena in Lamaholot, as in (19). It groups subject and pragmatically marked object relations, from which it follows that oblique elements cannot bear this relation (see Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

(19) **Pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation:**

Topic TOP {Subject, Pragmatically marked Object}  
(i.e., {{S, A}, Pragmatically marked {P, R, T}})

Now let us consider how these grammatical relations are justified in Lamaholot. As has been demonstrated by a number of recent typological works (Dryer 1997; Croft 2001; Haspelmath 2010, among others), grammatical relations are construction-specific and thus language-specific concepts. For example, the subject relation in Lamaholot can be justified by means of the grammatical phenomena listed in (20), where S and A arguments are coded in the same way and behave alike.

(20) **Grammatical phenomena justifying the subject relation {S, A}**

- a. [\_\_ V (ARG)]
- b. Agreement
- c. Reflexivization
- d. *Kədi?*-coordination (i.e., coordination with the conjunction *kədi?* ‘and, so’)
- e. Imperative construction

The other grammatical relations are grouped relative to the following grammatical phenomena. See (21) for the primary object relation, (22) for the secondary object relation, and (23) for the topic relation.

- (21) **Grammatical phenomena justifying the primary object relation {P, R}**
- [ARG V \_\_ (ARG)]
  - Enclitic pronoun =ro?
  - Ditransitive alternation
  - Benefactive alternation
  - Object-Topic construction
- (22) **Grammatical phenomena justifying the secondary object relation {T}**
- [ARG V ARG \_\_\_\_ ]
  - Ditransitive alternation
  - Object-Topic construction
- (23) **Grammatical phenomena justifying the topic relation {Subject, Pragmatically marked Object}**
- Sentence-initial position
  - Pragmatically marked status
  - Relativization
  - Kia gə*-coordination (i.e., coordination with the conjunction *kia gə* ‘and, then’)

In Section 3.1, we present a series of phenomena, as in (20), where S and A arguments are coded in the same way and behave alike, which in turn justifies the subject relation. Section 3.2 discusses a set of morphosyntactic phenomena, as in (21) and (22), so as to posit the primary object relation and the secondary object relation, respectively. Evidence for the topic relation in (23) is discussed later in Section 5.2, where we examine the nature of the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions introduced in Section 1.

### 3.1 Subjects {S, A}

There are several morphosyntactic phenomena that constitute evidence that S and A arguments are grouped together in Lamaholot. Evidence comes from both the structural coding and behavioral potential of S and A arguments.

Two structural coding phenomena are relevant to S and A arguments. First, only S and A arguments can appear directly to the left of the verb without any adjunct marking, such as a preposition.

Second, only S and A arguments can agree with verbs in terms of person and number. Observe in (24), (25), and (26) that S/A-agreement prefixes (Table 1) agree with S and A but not P.

(24) **Agreement with S:**

<i>go</i>	<i>k-aʔi</i>	<i>skola</i>	<i>k-ai</i>	<i>k-əʔə</i>	<i>Hugo.</i>
1SG	1SG-leave	school	1SG-go	1SG-do	Hugo

‘I went to school with Hugo.’

(25) **Agreement with A:**

<i>go</i>	<i>k-əte</i>	<i>kursi</i>	<i>k-ai</i>	<i>k-əʔə</i>	<i>Hugo.</i>
1SG	1SG-bring	chair	1SG-go	1SG-do	Hugo

‘I brought the chair with Hugo.’

(26) **Agreement with P:**

\**na*      *k-ala*      *go*      *k-ai*      *k-əʔə*      *Hugo*.  
 3SG      1SG-follow 1SG      1SG-go      1SG-do      Hugo  
 Intended for ‘S/he followed me with Hugo.’

In (24), the S argument is *go* ‘1SG’. It agrees with the main verb *φ-aʔi* ‘leave’, the deictic motion verb *φ-ai* ‘go’, and the serialized verb *φ-əʔə* ‘make, do’.<sup>6</sup> In (25), all three verbs agree with the A argument *go* ‘1SG’. However, in (26), the main verb *φ-ala* ‘follow’, the deictic motion verb *φ-ai* ‘go’, and the serialized verb *φ-əʔə* ‘make, do’ agree with the P argument *go* ‘1SG’, not the A argument *na* ‘3SG’, leading to an ungrammatical sentence.

Turning to behavioral potential, only S and A arguments can bind the reflexive expression *wəki* ‘self.’ See (27).

(27) **Reflexive *wəki* ‘self’ construction:**a. **S = antecedent, OBL = reflexive:**

*Hugo brea*      =*aʔ*      *n-əʔə*      *wəki nəʔə*.  
 Hugo happy      =3SG 3SG-do      self      3SG.NMLZ  
 ‘Hugo is happy with himself.’

b. **A = antecedent, P = reflexive:**

*Hugo plewə*      *wəki nəʔə*.  
 Hugo praise      self      3SG.NMLZ  
 ‘Hugo praised himself.’

c. **A = reflexive, P = antecedent:**

\**wəki nəʔə*      *plewə*      *Hugo*.  
 self      3SG.NMLZ      praise      Hugo  
 Intended for ‘Himself praised Hugo.’

In the *kədiʔ*-coordination construction, where two clauses are coordinated with the conjunction *kədiʔ* ‘and, so’, only S and A arguments can control a gap in the second clause. Consider (28) and (29).

(28) **S → S:**

*na gaka, kədiʔ* \_\_\_      *gwali*.  
 3SG cry      then      return  
 ‘S/he cried, and (s/he) returned.’

(29) **A → S, but not P → S:**

*na bəŋo go, kədiʔ* \_\_\_      *gwali*.  
 3SG hit      1SG then      return  
 ‘S/he hit me, and (s/he) returned.’

<sup>6</sup> The verb *φ-əʔə* has a number of different meanings and functions: (i) lexical verb ‘make, do’, (ii) serialized verb ‘use, with’ (instrumental), (iii) serialized verb ‘with’ (companion), (iv) conjunction ‘and’ (see Nishiyama 2011), (v) marker of a stimulus argument in verbs of mental events (see footnote 5), and (vi) periphrastic causative marker (see Section 4.3), among others.

Lastly, the addressee of an imperative must be S or A, but not P. To illustrate, see (30), (31), and (32).

(30) **S addressee:**

*mo gō<sup>7</sup>            =no   kia   ka!*  
 2SG eat.2SG       =2SG PROS EMP  
 ‘You eat!’

(31) **A addressee:**

*mo gō            ikā    kia   ka!*  
 2SG eat.2SG    fish   PROS EMP  
 ‘You eat (the) fish!’

(32) **P addressee:**

*\*ra            bəŋo   mo    kia   ka!*  
 3PL        hit    2SG   PROS EMP  
 Intended for ‘Be hit by them!’

The addressee of the imperative construction is the S argument in (30), the A argument in (31), and the P argument in (32). Only (32) is not appropriate as an imperative construction.

### 3.2 Primary object {P, R} and secondary object {T}

Lamaholot also provides an array of evidence for the primary and secondary object relations. In this section, we make an analysis of the two grammatical relations with special reference to the ditransitive alternation (Section 3.2.1) and the benefactive alternation (Section 3.2.2). To begin with, consider structural coding for P and R arguments. First, in terms of word order, P and R arguments appear directly to the right of the verb. See (33) and (34).

(33) **Transitive clause:**

*ra    raga   wata   klipī.*  
 3PL grasp corn   crush.NMLZ  
 A            P  
 ‘They grasped **crushed corn.**’

---

<sup>7</sup> The verb for ‘eat’ (Proto Malayo-Polynesian *\*kaen*) shows irregular person and number inflection of a subject argument. It is the only Lamaholot verb showing this inflection.

	SG	PL
1	kā	məkā (EXC) təkā (INC)
2	gō	gē
3	gā	rəkā

(34) **Ditransitive clause:**

*ra sorō Tanti wata klipĩ.*  
 3PL give Tanti corn crush.NMLZ  
 A R T  
 ‘They gave **Tanti** crushed corn.’

Second, the third person singular pronoun =*ro?* can be coreferential with only P and R arguments. Observe that in the transitive construction in (35), =*ro?* refers to the P argument, while the same pronoun designates the R argument in the ditransitive construction in (36).

(35) **Transitive construction:**

*go kã =ro? ia Ika.*  
 1SG eat.1SG =3SG LOC Ika  
 A P  
 ‘I ate it in Ika’s house.’

(36) **Ditransitive/Double-object construction:**

a. *go sorō Ika doi.*  
 1SG give Ika money  
 A R T  
 ‘I gave Ika money.’

b. *go sorō =ro? doi.*  
 1SG give =3SG money  
 A R T  
 ‘I gave him/her money.’

Turning to behavioral potential, P, R, and T arguments are involved in two syntactic alternations: the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations (Nagaya 2012; see also Sections 4.7 and 4.8). The ditransitive alternation involves the prepositional recipient construction and the double-object construction. In the former, a theme argument bears the primary object relation; in the latter, a recipient argument bears the same relation. In contrast, the benefactive alternation is concerned with the benefactive construction and the benefactive serial verb construction. In the former, a beneficiary argument appears in the primary object relation, but in the latter, it is only in the oblique relation. Our analysis of the two alternations is presented in advance in (37) and (38) for ease of reference.

(37) **Ditransitive alternation (← Topicality of a recipient)**

## a. Prepositional recipient construction:

Agent	Verb	Theme	<i>ia</i> Recipient
A		P	
SUBJ		PO	OBL

## b. Double-object construction:

Agent	Verb	Recipient	Theme
A		R	T
SUBJ		PO	SO

(38) **Benefactive alternation** (← **Topicality of a beneficiary**)a. *Benefactive serial verb construction (with a bivalent predicate):*

Agent	Verb	Patient	<i>neĩ/sorõ</i>	Beneficiary
A		P		
SUBJ		PO		OBL

b. *Benefactive construction:*

Agent	Predicate	Beneficiary	Patient
A		P	
SUBJ		PO	OBL

## 3.2.1 The ditransitive alternation

In a ditransitive alternation, the double-object construction is contrasted with the prepositional recipient construction in terms of the topicality of a recipient. Compare (39) and (40).

(39) **Ditransitive/Double-object construction:**

*go sorõ Ika doi.*  
 1SG give Ika money  
 A R T  
 ‘I gave Ika money.’

(40) **Prepositional recipient construction:**

*go sorõ doi ia Ika.*  
 1SG give money LOC Ika  
 A P Adjunct (Recipient)  
 ‘I gave money to Ika.’

The recipient *Ika* is foregrounded in (39), while the theme *doi* ‘money’ is highlighted in (40). As will be discussed in Section 5, this difference in topicality results in different behaviors of recipient participants with respect to topic-related grammatical phenomena.

Crucially, what is referred to by =*ro?* is the recipient in the double-object construction in (39) but the theme in the prepositional recipient construction in (40). Consider (41) and (42).

(41) **Ditransitive/Double-object construction (39) + *ro?*:**

*go sorõ =ro? doi.*  
 1SG give =3SG money  
 A R T  
 ‘I gave him/her money.’

(42) **Prepositional recipient construction (40) + *ro?*:**

*go sorõ =ro? ia Ika.*  
 1SG give =3SG LOC Ika  
 A P Adjunct (Recipient)  
 ‘I gave it to Ika.’

In typological studies on three-place predicates (Haspelmath 2005; Margetts & Austin 2007, to name a few), prepositional recipient constructions above are also often counted

as ‘ditransitive’, but in our analysis, the preposition-marked recipient element is an adjunct and the prepositional recipient construction is a mere transitive construction. There are several language-internal reasons to choose this analysis over the prevalent analysis. First, the recipient participant above is marked by the locative *ia* as an adjunct. Indeed, (40) is ungrammatical when the locative is omitted. See (43).

- (43) \**go sorō doi Ika.*  
 1SG give money Ika  
 Intended for ‘I gave money to Ika.’

Second, it is not possible for the prepositional recipient to appear in the topic position. To begin with, observe that the Object-Topic (OT) construction can be used to distinguish arguments from adjuncts: unlike arguments, oblique participants such as a companion and an instrument headed by serialized verbs cannot be in the sentence-initial topic position of the OT construction. See (44) and (45).

(44) **Companion SVC:**

- a. *go pana k-ā?ā Ika.* [ST: Topic = Agent]  
 1SG walk 1SG-do Ika  
 SUBJ OBL  
 ‘I walked with Ika.’

- b. \**Ika go pana k-ā?ā.* \*[OT: Topic = Companion]

- c. \**Ika go pana.*

(45) **Instrument SVC:**

- a. *go poro?ikā pake hepe te?ē.* [ST: Topic = Agent]  
 1SG cut fish use knife DEM.PROX.NMLZ  
 SUBJ PO OBL  
 ‘I cut the fish with this knife.’

- b. \**hepe te?ē, go poro?ikā pake.* \*[OT: Topic = Instrument]

- c. \**hepe te?ē, go poro?ikā.*

Consider next the combination of the OT construction with the double-object and the prepositional recipient constructions. Both the recipient and the theme can occupy the topic position in the double-object construction as in (46), while only the theme can be in the topic position in the prepositional recipient construction as in (47).

(46) **OT construction + Double-object construction (39):**

- a. *Ika, go sorō doi.* [Topic = Recipient = PO]  
 Ika 1SG give money  
 PO SUBJ SO  
 ‘Ika, I gave (her) money.’

- b. *doi, go sorō Ika.* [Topic = Theme = SO]  
 money 1SG give Ika  
 SO SUBJ PO  
 ‘Money, I gave her (it).’

(47) **OT construction + Prepositional recipient construction (40):**

a. *doi, go sorō ia Ika.* [Topic = Theme = PO]  
 money 1SG give LOC Ika  
 PO SUBJ OBL  
 ‘Money, I gave (it) to her.’

b. *\*Ika, go sorō doi ia.* \*[Topic = Recipient = OBL]  
 Ika 1SG give money LOC  
 OBL SUBJ PO  
 Intended for ‘Ika, I gave money to (her).’

This strengthens the case that the recipient participant is in the oblique relation in the prepositional recipient construction, whereas the theme is still a core argument in the double-object construction.

To summarize, the double-object construction is a syntactically ditransitive construction, taking a recipient as primary object and a theme as secondary object. The primary object status of a recipient is guaranteed by co-reference with the pronominal enclitic =*ro?*. Moreover, the core-argument status of primary and secondary objects is supported by the fact that both can be realized as the topic of OT constructions. On the other hand, the prepositional recipient construction is a syntactically transitive construction that takes a theme as primary object and has a recipient in the oblique relation. Taken together, the function of the ditransitive alternation lies in the manipulation of the topicality of the recipient. A recipient is foregrounded in the double-object construction but backgrounded in the prepositional recipient construction.

## 3.2.2 The benefactive alternation

The ditransitive alternation is similar to, but functionally different from, the benefactive alternation, in which benefactive serial verb constructions are contrasted with the benefactive construction in terms of the topicality of a beneficiary. On one hand, Lamaholot introduces a beneficiary into a clause by serializing the verb of giving (either *neĩ* ‘give’ or *sorō* ‘give’). See examples of benefactive serial verb constructions with an intransitive verb in (48) and with a transitive verb in (49).

(48) **Benefactive serial verb construction + intransitive verb:**

*go kriā sorō Ika.*  
 1SG work give Ika  
 S Adjunct (Beneficiary)  
 ‘I work **for Ika.**’

(49) **Benefactive serial verb construction + transitive verb:**

*go hope gula neĩ Ika.*  
 1SG buy candy give Ika  
 A P Adjunct (Beneficiary)  
 ‘I bought candies **for Ika.**’ (P = theme)

On the other hand, a relatively large number of transitive verbs of transaction and creation (BUY-verbs, COOK-verbs, etc) can promote a beneficiary participant of high topicality into the primary object position. Thus, the conceptual content in (49) can also be expressed as in the benefactive construction in (50).

(50) **Benefactive construction:***go hope Ika gula.*

1SG buy Ika candy

A P Adjunct (Theme)

'I bought **Ika** candies.' (P = Beneficiary)

There are two important differences in structural coding between the benefactive serial verb construction (49) and the benefactive construction (50). First, what occupies the primary object position is a theme in (49) but a beneficiary in (50). Second, what the enclitic pronoun =*ro?* can refer to is a theme in (49) but a beneficiary in (50). Compare (51) and (52).

(51) **Benefactive serial verb construction (49) + =*ro?*:***go hope =ro? neĩ Ika.*

1SG buy =3SG give Ika

A P Adjunct (Beneficiary)

'I bought **it** for Ika.' (P = theme)(52) **Benefactive construction (50) + =*ro?*:***go hope =ro? gula.*

1SG buy =3SG candy

A P Adjunct/Theme

'I bought **him/her** candies.' (P = Beneficiary)

These two facts show that, in the benefactive construction, a participant bearing a beneficiary role is in the primary object relation, while in benefactive serial verb constructions the beneficiary is only an adjunct.

Unlike the theme participant of the double-object construction, the theme of the benefactive construction should be analyzed as an oblique rather than as a secondary object. The oblique status of the theme in (50) is again confirmed by means of the OT construction. Consider (53).

(53) **OT construction + Benefactive construction (50):**a. *Ika, go hope gula.* [Topic = Beneficiary = PO]

Ika 1SG buy candy

PO SUBJ OBL

'I bought Ika a candy.'

b. *\*gula, go hope Ika.* \*[Topic = Theme = OBL]

OBL SUBJ PO

candy 1SG buy Ika

The contrast in (53) demonstrates that when the benefactive construction in (50) is combined with an OT construction, the beneficiary can be in the sentence-initial topic position, but the theme cannot. Paul Kroeger (pers. comm.) suggested that the ungrammaticality of (53) might be due to the indefinite interpretation of the topic *gula* 'candy'. But the theme of BUY-verbs cannot be raised to topic position, even if it is made definite with a demonstrative pronoun. See example (54).

(54) **OT construction + Benefactive construction:**

* <i>gula</i>	<i>teʔē</i> ,	<i>go</i>	<i>hope Ika.</i>	*[Topic = Theme = OBL]
candy	DEM.DIS.NMLZ	1SG	buy Ika	
OBL		SUBJ	PO	

Intended for ‘This candy, I bought Ika.’

In summary, in the benefactive construction, the theme is an adjunct and in oblique relation. This means that the theme in this construction cannot be involved in the topic-related morphosyntactic phenomena discussed in Section 5.

## 3.2.3 Primary and secondary object

To conclude, the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations look superficially similar, but work in a different way, and can only be understood by positing the grammatical relations PO, SO, and OBL. The primary object in Lamaholot can be defined by its position in a clause or by the possibility of replacing it with the enclitic pronoun =*roʔ*. It is also involved in the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations. In these two alternations, the division between PO/SO and OBL is highlighted. The former can be in the sentence-initial topic position in OT constructions, but the latter cannot.

## 3.3 Summary

In this section, we discussed the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations in Lamaholot, and argued that subject, primary object, and secondary object relations can be distinguished in terms of the morphosyntactic phenomena summarized in (20), (21), and (22). In Section 5, another type of grammatical relation is introduced, which is the topic. It is shown that the distinction between subject and topic is the key to understanding the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions in Lamaholot.

**4 Voice oppositions without voice morphology**

Lamaholot does not have any morphological means dedicated to voice and valence-changing operations (Section 2). However, the language utilizes other morphological and syntactic means for these purposes, such as the transitivity alternation (i.e., using a single verb interchangeably either as intransitive or transitive), agreement enclitics, and verb serialization. This section shows how voice and valence-changing operations are expressed in Lamaholot.

Following Shibatani’s (2006) conceptual framework for voice phenomena, voice and transitivity-related phenomena are divided into two types: **semantically-based** and **pragmatically-motivated** voice phenomena.

In **semantically-based voice alternations**, different voice forms represent different conceptual contents in terms of parameters pertaining to the evolution of an action (Shibatani 2006). Relevant parameters are, among others, whether the action extends beyond the agent’s personal sphere or is confined to it (**active** vs. **middle**), it achieves the intended effect in a distinct patient (**active/ergative** vs. **antipassive**), or it originates with an agent heading the action chain that is distinct from the agent or patient of the main action (**causative** vs. **non-causative**).

In Lamaholot, voice contrasts of the semantically-based type are expressed by the transitivity alternation, S-agreement enclitics (indirectly), the verb *ø-āʔā*, and the locative *ia*. See Table 3.

VOICE CATEGORY	CONSTRUCTION	SEMANTICS	SECTION
Active	Transitive clause	Two-place event	N/A
Antipassive	Intransitive clauses (+ S-agreement enclitics)	Incomplete achievement	4.1
Middle		Reflexive event Change of state	4.2
Causative	+ Verb $\phi$ - $\delta$ ? $\delta$	Addition of causer	4.3
Conative/antipassive	+ Locative <i>ia</i>	Unsuccessful impact	4.4

**Table 3: Semantically-based voice constructions in Lamaholot**

**Pragmatically-motivated voice alternations** are those in which different voice constructions are contrasted in terms of topicality and other discourse factors. For example, the English passive construction represents such a voice contrast. Its pragmatic function is to indicate that a patient is more topical than an agent by bringing a patient into the subject position.

For pragmatically-motivated voice alternations, Lamaholot also uses periphrastic strategies: word order, verb serialization, the locative *ia*, and the third person plural pronoun *ra*. See Table 4.

VOICE CATEGORY	CONSTRUCTION	TOPICALITY	SECTION
Subject- vs. Object-Topic	Word order	Object	4.5
Ditransitive	Word order + LOC	Recipient	4.6
Benefactive	Word order + SVC	Beneficiary	4.7
Passive(-like) (Generic agent)	<i>ra</i> '3PL'	Agent	4.8

**Table 4: Pragmatically-motivated alternations in Lamaholot**

These alternations change the grammatical relation of an argument from one relation to another, bringing about different interpretations with respect to reference-tracking. The Subject- and Object-Topic constructions are concerned with the topicality of arguments bearing the object relation. The ditransitive alternation and the benefactive alternation pertain to participants playing recipient and beneficiary roles, respectively. The terms 'ditransitive' and 'benefactive' may not always be used as terms for voice categories. However, they are included here, because their function is similar to that of applicatives, where the action develops further than its normal course, such that an entity other than the direct event-participants becomes a new terminal point registering an effect of the action (Shibatani 2006:241). The generic agent construction manipulates participants playing an agent role, resulting in a passive-like agent-defocusing effect (Shibatani 1985).

In the rest of this section, we offer a description of each voice category in the order listed in Tables 3 and 4.

#### 4.1 Antipassive

Syntactic transitivity of Lamaholot verbs is lexically determined. Some verbs are strictly transitive or intransitive; others are **ambitransitive**, involving the **transitivity alternation** between intransitive and transitive uses. Although there is no transitivity marker per se in this language, the syntactic transitivity of an ambitransitive verb can be explicitly indicated by the existence or absence of S-agreement enclitics (Table 2): since these enclitics are used to index the person and number of an intransitive subject, they practically function as intransitive markers.

For this reason, the transitivity alternation between the intransitive and the transitive uses of ambitransitive verbs is correlated with the voice oppositions between the intransitive-related voice categories (antipassive and middle) and the transitive-related one (active). In most of these cases, the intransitive categories are explicitly marked by S-agreement enclitics.

The first voice category expressed by the transitivity alternation or its combination with S-agreement enclitics is **antipassive**. In the conceptual framework for voice phenomena (Shibatani 2006), **the active voice** is defined as that in which an action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere and achieves its effect on a distinct patient. In **the antipassive voice**, by contrast, an action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere, but does not develop to its full extent and fails to achieve its intended effect on a patient. Consider the active-antipassive alternation between (55) and (56).

(55) **Active:**

*go kã*            *pao*            *peʔẽ*.  
 1SG eat.1SG    mango            DEM.DIS.NMLZ  
 'I ate that mango.'

(56) **Antipassive/indefinite object deletion:**

*go kã*            =*nəʔ*.  
 1SG eat.1SG    =1SG  
 'I ate (a meal or something one typically eats).'

The transitive clause in (55) expresses an active situation type where the agent achieved its intended action of eating, and the patient *pao* 'mango' was affected by that action. In (56), by contrast, the verb *kã* 'eat' is followed by an S-agreement enclitic, showing that it works as an intransitive verb. As a result, the antipassive reading is obtained, such that the object of the action of eating remains unspecified.

Sentences (57) and (58) form another pair of examples.

(57) **Active:**

*ra kriã*            *laŋoʔ goʔẽ*.  
 3PL work            house1SG.NMLZ  
 'They are working on (i.e., building) my house.'

(58) **Antipassive/indefinite object deletion:**

*ra kriã*            =*na*.  
 3PL work            =3PL  
 'They are working.'

Attention should be called to the fact that what brings about an antipassive effect is not the existence of S-agreement enclitics itself but the transitivity alternation (or indefinite object deletion). S-agreement marking is simply a consequence of this deletion process rather than that it causes the antipassive effect by itself. Thus, when an S-agreement marker is not available in a sentence, the resulting sentence is ambiguous between active and antipassive readings, as in (59).

- (59) *go kã*            *kaeʔ*.  
 1SG eat.1SG    PFV  
 Active reading: 'I already ate (the food object recoverable from the context).'  
 Antipassive reading: 'I already ate (a meal).'

The sentence in (59) has an active reading when it is construed to have an understood object argument or a so-called phonologically null pronoun; it has an antipassive reading when it is construed to have its object argument deleted and the verb *kə̃* ‘eat’ is used intransitively.

#### 4.2 Middle

Another voice alternation distinguished by the transitivity alternation or its combination with S-agreement enclitics is the **middle**, where the development of an action is confined within the agent’s personal sphere so that the action’s effect accrues back onto the agent itself. Consider an active-middle alternation between (60) and (61).

(60) **Active:**

*go həbo anaʔ goʔə̃.*  
 1SG bathe child 1SG.NMLZ  
 ‘I bathed my child.’

(61) **Middle (reflexive):**

*go həbo =əʔ.*  
 1SG bathe =1SG  
 ‘I took a bath.’ or ‘I bathed myself.’

The same verb *həbo* ‘bathe’ is used in (60) and in (61). In (60), it does not take an S-agreement enclitic and expresses an active meaning, where the agent did an action of bathing that affected his or her child. In (61), the verb is used intransitively and thus followed by an S-agreement enclitic, resulting in the middle reading that the agent bathed him- or her-self.

In terms of proto-roles, the transitivity alternations above are that of an S-A type, where the S argument of an intransitive clause corresponds to the A argument of a transitive clause. As is often the case in other languages, there is another kind of transitivity alternation in Lamaholot: an S-P type, where the S argument of an intransitive clause is on par with the P argument of a transitive clause. Compare (62) and (63).

(62) **Active (causative):**

*go ləŋa wato.*  
 1SG fall stone  
 ‘I dropped the stone.’

(63) **Middle (non-causative):**

*wato ləŋa =aʔ.*  
 stone fall =3SG  
 ‘The stone fell down.’

The same verb *ləŋa* ‘fall’ is used in (62) and (63). In (62), it is used transitively, meaning that the agent carries out some action towards the patient. But the verb in (63) takes an S-agreement enclitic and is used intransitively. As a result, it means a change-of-state event instead of a causative event.

Another example of such an alternation is found between (64) and (65) with the verb *buka* ‘open’. The causative meaning observed in (64) is not obtained in (65).

(64) **Active (causative):**

*go buka knawe?*  
 1SG open door  
 ‘I opened the door.’

(65) **Middle (non-causative):**

*knawe? buka =a?*  
 door open =3SG  
 ‘The door opened.’

## 4.3 Causative

The **causative** valence-changing operation forms a causative sentence from a change-of-state sentence. The verb  $\phi$ - $\tilde{a}?$  ‘make, do’ is used for this operation. Compare (66) and (67).

(66) **Adjectival verb predicate clause:**

*laŋo? go?ě belã?*  
 house 1SG.NMLZ big.NMLZ  
 ‘My house is big.’

(67) **Periphrastic causative:**

*go k-ã?ã belã? laŋo? go?ě.*  
 1SG 1SG-do big house 1SG.NMLZ  
 ‘I will make my house bigger (by renovating it).’

Example (66) expresses that the subject of the non-verbal predicate sentence has a property of being big; example (67) indicates that the speaker brings about such a state.

Another pair of examples is found in (68) and (69).

(68) **Intransitive verb predicate clause:**

*kamera go?ě da =a?*  
 camera 1SG.NMLZ break =3SG  
 ‘My camera broke.’

(69) **Periphrastic causative:**

*go k-ã?ã da kamera go?ě.*  
 1SG 1SG-do break camera 1SG.NMLZ  
 ‘I broke my camera.’

Importantly, Lamaholot does not have a lexical causative form for ‘make bigger’ and ‘break’. Thus, periphrastic causative constructions with the verb  $\phi$ - $\tilde{a}?$  ‘make, do’ are the only construction types that allow for expressing causative events.

## 4.4 Conative

One of the functions of the locative *ia* is to introduce an adjunct participant. When it is used with verbs of contact, it indicates an incomplete or unintended contact, which corresponds to an antipassive voice category, expressing **conative** situations in particular. Compare an active sentence in (70) and a conative sentence in (71).

(70) **Active:**

*go tədu knəbi.*

1SG collide wall

‘I collided with the wall (intentionally).’

(71) **Conative:**

*go tədu =əʔ ia knəbi.*

1SG collide =1SG LOC wall

‘I (almost) collided with the wall’ or ‘I collided with the wall (accidentally).’

## 4.5 Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions

Lamaholot has two competing (mono- and di-) transitive constructions, the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions (Sections 1 and 3). The former construction is a transitive clause with Subject-Verb-Object word order, and a subject argument in sentence-initial position. In the latter, by contrast, a non-subject argument occupies sentence-initial position, yielding Object-Subject-Verb word order. See Section 5.

## 4.6 Ditransitive

The ditransitive alternation is the constructional correspondence between the prepositional recipient construction and the double-object construction, in verbs of transferring ownership. In the former, the theme of the action of transferring ownership appears in the primary object relation; in the latter, the position in question is occupied by the recipient. See Section 3.2.1.

## 4.7 Benefactive

The benefactive alternation refers to a verb alternation concerning a beneficiary participant of high topicality and is found between the benefactive serial verb construction and the benefactive construction. See Section 3.2.2.

## 4.8 Generic agent

Lamaholot does not have a morphological passive, but expresses an agent’s low degree of topicality by means of the third person plural pronoun *ra*. The generic agent constructions in (72) and (73) indicate that someone non-specific or unknown did something to the speaker. This construction may be interpreted as an incipient stage of passive in the sense of ‘agent-defocusing’ (Shibatani 1985).

(72) *ra bəŋo go.*

3PL hit 1SG

Reading I: ‘They hit me.’

Reading II: ‘Someone hit me’ or ‘I was hit.’ (Generic agent)

(73) *ra brokago.*

3PL cheat 1SG

Reading I: ‘They cheated me.’

Reading II: ‘Someone cheated me’ or ‘I was cheated.’ (Generic agent)

## 4.9 Summary

Flores languages are considered to be isolating languages, and Lamaholot does lack any morphological means for showing voice oppositions. This Flores language, however,

uses periphrastic strategies, like the locative and word order, for distinguishing voice categories. In this sense, Lamaholot has voice alternations without voice morphology.<sup>8</sup>

## 5 Subject and topic

This section is concerned with the Subject-Topic (ST) and the Object-Topic (OT) constructions, as shown in (74) and (75), respectively.

(74) **Subject-Topic construction:**

*go loge spatu teʔẽ.*  
 1SG wear shoes DEM.PROX.NMLZ  
 ‘I will wear this pair of shoes.’

(75) **Object-Topic construction:**

*spatu teʔẽ, go loge.*  
 shoes DEM.PROX.NMLZ 1SG wear  
 ‘This pair of shoes, I will wear.’

We examine the nature of the contrast between the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions in detail and make the following arguments. First, the OT constructions are pragmatically marked constructions (Section 5.1). Second, the topic relation needs to be posited for a better understanding of the contrast between the ST and the OT constructions (Section 5.2). Third, and more crucially, this alternation does not change the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations posited in Section 3 (Section 5.3). Our analysis of the two constructions is presented in advance in (76).

(76) **Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions (← Topicality of an Object)**

a. **Subject-Topic construction:**

Argument structure:	Agent	Verb	Patient
Semantico-syntactic GRs:	SUBJ		OBJ
Pragmatico-syntactic GR:	TOP		

b. **Object-Topic construction:**

Argument structure:	Patient	Agent	Verb
Semantico-syntactic GRs:	OBJ	SUBJ	
Pragmatico-syntactic GR:	TOP		

### 5.1 Pragmatics of the ST and the OT constructions

According to Lamaholot speakers' intuition, there is no doubt that ST constructions are more basic than OT constructions. When they were asked, the consultants clearly stated that an ST construction is more *biasa* 'usual' than its OT counterpart. In elicitation sessions, they usually used ST constructions to answer the present author's questions.

---

<sup>8</sup> See Donohue (2004, 2005), Arka & Kosmas (2005), and Shibatani (2008, 2009) for other cases of voice alternations without voice morphology in eastern Indonesian languages.

This observation is also borne out by text frequency. OT constructions occur less frequently than ST constructions in the text data available at this point.

If ST constructions are basic and unmarked, then what is the best analysis of OT constructions? At this point, attention should be called to the fact that, in terms of surface structure, the OT construction uses the same word order as the inverse in Standard Indonesian (Donohue 2007b, 2008; Section 1) and the passive in Palu'e (Donohue 2005). Indeed, analyzing the same constructional contrast in another Flores language, Palu'e, Donohue (2005) concludes that the OT construction in Palu'e is passive, and an object is promoted into the clause-initial subject position (see also Arka & Kosmas 2005 for Manggarai passive). Is this analysis also applicable to Lamaholot? Or can it not be applied to the Lamaholot voice system, as argued by Shibatani (2009) for Sikka, another Flores language? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine OT constructions in more detail first.

The most prominent characteristic of Lamaholot OT constructions is that they show certain properties often associated with topicalization (in the broadest sense of the word) or marked topic constructions in other languages. First, the object of OT constructions usually has an intonationally distinct contour and is pronounced with emphasis. Second, it is optionally followed by an intonational break (i.e., pause). These characteristics are also found in the topicalization of obliques as in (77), as well as in the regular OT constructions.

(77) a. **Intransitive clause with an oblique:**

*go pana k-ãʔã Hugo.*  
 1SG walk 1SG-do Hugo  
 'I walked **with Hugo**.'

b. **Topicalization of an oblique:**

*k-ãʔã Hugo, go pana.*  
 1SG-do Hugo 1SG walk  
 'With Hugo, I walked.'

Third, OT constructions can be used only in main clauses. This is reminiscent of topicalization in topic-prominent languages such as Chinese and Japanese (Li & Thompson 1981 and Kuno 1973).

These formal characteristics suggest that OT constructions share some features with topicalization. Needless to say, this fact raises a question about the pragmatic status of the object argument of OT constructions. Interestingly, this argument is constrained pragmatically. First, the object argument of OT constructions cannot be the focus of the answer in question-and-answer pairs. In general, the portion of a sentence that corresponds to the answer of question is considered as focus (Halliday 1967). In the case of Lamaholot, an object argument can be the focus in an ST construction but cannot be the focus in an OT construction, although a subject argument can be the focus in either construction. Compare (78) and (79).

(78) **Agent is the focus of answer:**

Q: *hege gã ikã peʔě?*  
 who eat.3SG fish DEM.DIS.NMLZ  
 ‘Who ate that fish?’

A1: **ST construction:**

*Hugo gã ikã peʔě.*  
 Hugo eat.3SG fish DEM.DIS.NMLZ  
 ‘Hugo ate that fish.’

A2: **OT construction:**

*ikã peʔě, Hugo gã.*  
 fish DEM.DIS.NMLZ Hugo eat.3SG  
 ‘That fish, Hugo ate.’

(79) **Patient is the focus of answer:**

Q: *Hugo gã a?*  
 Hugo eat.3SG what  
 ‘What did Hugo eat?’

A1: **ST construction:**

*Hugo gã ikã.*  
 Hugo eat.3SG fish  
 ‘Hugo ate fish.’

A2: **OT construction:**

*?? ikã, Hugo gã.*  
 fish Hugo eat.3SG  
 Intended for ‘Fish, Hugo ate.’

Second, the object argument of OT constructions cannot be the focus of negation. In (80), *hua* ‘tuna fish’ is the focus of negation, being contrasted with the fish *kowi*. It cannot be in the sentence-initial topic position.

(80) a. **ST construction:**

*go kã ikã hua həlaʔ, kũ ikã kowiʔ.*  
 1SG eat.1SG fish tuna NEG but fish kowi  
 ‘I don’t eat tuna fish, but *kowi*.’

b. **OT construction:**

*\*ikã hua, go kã həlaʔ, kũ ikã kowiʔ.*  
 fish tuna 1SG eat.1SG NEG but fish kowi  
 Intended for ‘I don’t eat tuna fish, but *kowi*.’

The data above show that the object argument of OT constructions cannot be narrowly focused. In other words, the construction conveys topical/presupposed information rather than focal information.

In contrast, there is some evidence that the object argument of OT constructions can be in focus. On one hand, an interrogative word in a content question can occur in the topic position of OT constructions. See (81).

(81) **Content question:**

*a mo gō?*  
 what 2SG eat  
 ‘What did you eat?’

On the other hand, the additive particle *di* ‘too’ is often used in combination with OT constructions as in (82), where the noun phrases focused with this particle appear in the topic position of OT constructions.

(82) ***di*-focus construction:**

*go k-enũ a saja.*  
 1SG 1SG-drink what only

*tuho =di go k-enũ, tua =di go k-enũ.*  
 milk also 1SG 1SG-drink tuak also 1SG 1SG-drink  
 ‘I drink anything. I drink milk, too; I drink tuak, too.’

Therefore, we can conclude that the object argument of the OT construction is pragmatically marked. It can be either topic or focus, depending on the construction in which it is used.<sup>9</sup>

## 5.2 Establishing the topic relation

The discussions in Section 5.1 might give the impression that the topic relation in Lamaholot is only defined in terms of left-dislocation and special pragmatic status and that this relation does not have a syntactic function that changes any kind of grammatical relations. This is not the case, however. In this section, it is claimed that the topic relation in Lamaholot does display several behavioral properties that cannot be reduced to any simple semantic role or information structure and must be treated as another type of grammatical relation. A list of the topic-related grammatical phenomena is already given in (23).

In terms of structural coding, the topic relation appears in the sentence-initial position. As for behavioral potential, only topics can control a gap in the second clause in *kia gə* coordination, where two clauses are coordinated with the conjunction *kia gə* ‘and, then’. The ST-OT contrast results in different interpretations. See (83) and (84).

(83) **TOP → S**

a. **ST construction:**

*Besa n-oi Hugokia gə — pla?e.*  
 Besa 3SG-see Hugo PROS CONJ run  
 ‘Besa saw Hugo and then (Besa) ran away.’

---

<sup>9</sup> As pointed out by two anonymous reviewers, this fact casts doubt on the adequacy of the label ‘topic’ for the grammatical relation in question.

b. **OT construction:**

*Hugo, Besa n-oi kia gə \_\_\_ plaʔe.*  
 Hugo Besa 3SG-see PROS CONJ run  
 ‘Hugo, Besa saw (him) and then (Hugo) ran away.’

(84) **TOP → S**a. **ST construction:**

*Ika bəŋo Nia kia gə \_\_\_ plaʔe.*  
 Ika hit Nia PROS CONJ run  
 ‘Ika hit Nia and then (Ika) ran away.’

b. **OT construction:**

*Nia, Ika bəŋo kia gə \_\_\_ plaʔe.*  
 Nia Ika hit PROS CONJ run  
 ‘Nia, Ika hit (her) and then (Nia) ran away.’

Another topic-related construction is relativization. Only nominals bearing the topic relation (and a possessor of such nominals) can be relativized, regardless of their semantico-syntactic grammatical relation (cf. Kuno 1973; Schachter 1973, 1976).<sup>10</sup> See examples in (85) through (94).

(85) **SUBJ (S)**

*anaʔ yang= [\_\_\_ n-aʔi =aʔ Larantuka n-ai] səna.*  
 person REL= 3SG-go =3SG Larantuka 3SG-go handsome  
 ‘The person who went to Larantuka is handsome.’

(86) **SUBJ (A)**

*anaʔ yang= [\_\_\_ krið laŋoʔ teʔẽ] səna.*  
 person REL= work houseDEM.PROX.NMLZ handsome  
 ‘The person who built this house is handsome.’

(87) **PO (P)**

*anaʔ yang= [\_\_\_ go bəŋo] səna.*  
 person REL= 1SG hit handsome  
 ‘The person who I hit is handsome.’

<sup>10</sup> As Kunio Nishiyama (pers. comm.) points out, the constraint that only topics can be relativized may be explained in terms of a syntactic constraint on A-bar movement. In Lamaholot *wh*-questions, however, *wh*-words occur *in situ*, not triggering *wh*-movement. Moreover, a *wh*-word can appear in a position that is not relativizable. See (iii), for instance.

(iii) *mo hope gula neĩ hege?*  
 2SG buy candy give who  
 ‘Who did you buy a candy for?’

In (iii), the *wh*-word *hege* ‘who’ follows the serialized verb *neĩ* ‘give’ but the sentence is grammatical. Remember that the object of a serialized verb cannot be topicalized and thus is not relativizable as in (91)a. Therefore, it is difficult to postulate a single A-bar constraint on relativization and *wh*-question formation in this language.

(88) **Recipient:**a. **PO (R = Recipient) in the double-object construction:**

*Ika anaʔ yang= [\_\_ go neĩ gula].*

Ika person REL= 1SG give candy

‘Ika is the one whom I gave a candy.’

b. **OBL (Recipient) in the prepositional recipient construction:**

*\*Ika anaʔ yang [go neĩ gula ia \_\_].*

Ika person REL 1SG give candy LOC

Intended for ‘Ika is the one who I gave a candy to.’

(89) **Theme:**a. **SO (T = Theme) in the double-object construction:**

*teʔẽ gula yang= [\_\_ go neĩ Ika].*

DEM.PROX.NMLZ candy REL= 1SG give Ika

‘This is the candy I gave Ika.’

b. **PO (P = Theme) in the prepositional recipient construction:**

*teʔẽ gula yang= [\_\_ go neĩ ia Ika].*

DEM.PROX.NMLZ candy REL= 1SG give LOC Ika

‘This is the candy I gave to Ika.’

(90) **Theme:**a. **PO (P = Theme) in the benefactive SVC:**

*teʔẽ gula yang= [\_\_ go hope neĩ Ika].*

DEM.PROX.NMLZ candy REL= 1SG buy give Ika

‘This is the candy I bought for Ika.’

b. **OBL (Theme) in the benefactive construction:**

*\*teʔẽ gula yang= [go hope Ika \_\_].*

DEM.PROX.NMLZ candy REL= 1SG buy Ika

Intended for ‘This is the candy I bought Ika.’

(91) **Beneficiary:**a. **OBL (Beneficiary) in the benefactive SVC:**

*\*Ika anaʔ yang= [go hope gula neĩ \_\_]*

Ika person REL= 1SG buy candy give

Intended for ‘Ika is the person who I bought a candy for.’

b. **PO (Beneficiary) in the benefactive construction:**

*Ika anaʔ yang= [\_\_ go hope gula]*

Ika person REL= 1SG buy candy

‘Ika is the person who I bought a candy.’

(92) **OBL (Companion):**

*\*Ika anaʔ yang= [go pana k-ãʔã \_\_].*

Ika person REL= 1SG walk 1SG-do

Intended for ‘Ika is the person with whom I walked.’

(93) **OBL (Instrument):**

\*teʔẽ                    hepe yang=            [go poroʔikã pake \_\_\_\_].  
 DEM.PROX.NMLZ    knife REL=            1SG cut fish use  
 Intended for ‘This is the knife with which I cut the fish.’

(94) **POSS of TOP:**

ra mæla ata dikã    oto    =kã.  
 3PL steal person    car    =NMLZ  
 ‘They stole the person’s car.’

→ **OT construction:**

ata dikã    oto    =kã, ra mæla.  
 ‘The person’s car, they stole.’

→ **Relativization:**

ata dikã    yang=            [\_\_\_\_ oto    =kã ra mæla]səna.  
 ‘The person whose car they stole is handsome.’

To summarize, the Object-Topic construction is not merely a pragmatically-marked construction but involves inter-clausal reference-tracking phenomena. In order to make a full description of the phenomena, it is necessary to posit the topic relation independently of the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations.

## 5.3 Subject and topic

At the beginning of this section, it was mentioned that transitive clauses with a PAV word order in other Indonesian languages have been analyzed in various ways. To name a few, the Palu’e PAV construction is analyzed as passive [P = SUBJ, A = OBL] (Donohue 2005), while the Standard Indonesian PAV construction is considered inverse [P = SUBJ, A = OBJ] (Donohue 2007b, 2008).

The Lamaholot OT or PAV construction, however, is incompatible with these analyses, because in this language S and A arguments work as subject relative to the subject-related phenomena examined in Section 3.1, in either the ST or OT construction (see also Shibatani 2009, who proposed similar arguments based on Sikka). First, the ST-OT contrast does not change agreement patterns. As in (95), A arguments agree with the verb in both the ST and the OT constructions.

(95) **Agreement:**a. **ST; A agreement:**

go    k-enũ            tua    teʔẽ                    k-warō.  
 1SG    1SG-drink    tuak    DEM.PROX.NMLZ    1SG-can  
 ‘I can drink this tuak.’

b. **OT; A agreement:**

tua    teʔẽ,                    go    k-enũ            k-warō.  
 tuak    DEM.PROX.NMLZ    1SG    1SG-drink    1SG-can  
 ‘This tuak, I can drink.’

Even in the reflexivization of the OT construction, A arguments still control a reflexive expression. See (96).

(96) **Reflexivization + OT construction:**a. **SUB = antecedent, OBJ = reflexive:**

*wəki nəʔě, Hugoplewã.*  
 self 3SG.NMLZ Hugo praise  
 ‘Himself, Hugo praised.’

b. **SUB = reflexive, OBJ = antecedent:**

*\*Hugo, wəki nəʔě plewã.*  
 Hugo self 3SG.NMLZ praise  
 Intended for ‘Hugo, himself praised.’

In *kədiʔ* coordination, again, the ST-OT contrast does not change the general interpretation of the sentences. Only A arguments can control a gap in the second clause. See example (97).

(97) ***Kədiʔ* coordination:**a. **ST; A → S:**

*na bəŋo go, kədiʔ \_\_ gwali.*  
 3SG hit 1SG then return  
 ‘S/he hit me, and (s/he) returned.’

b. **OT; A → S:**

*go, na bəŋo, kədiʔ \_\_ gwali.*  
 1SG 3SG hit then return  
 ‘Me, s/he hit, and (s/he) returned.’

Lastly, the addressee of an imperative must be an A argument, even in OT constructions, as in (98).

(98) **Imperative constructions + OT construction:**a. **A addressee:**

*ikã, mo gõ kia ka!*  
 fish 2SG eat.2SG PROS EMP  
 ‘(The) fish, you eat!’

b. **P addressee:**

*\*mo, ra bəŋo kia ka!*  
 2SG 3PL hit PROS EMP  
 Intended for ‘Be hit by them!’

Turning to the primary object relation, the ST and OT constructions do not change the interpretation of *=roʔ*. Compare (99) and (100).

(99) **ST construction + =roʔ:**

*go neĩ =roʔ na gula.*  
 1SG give =3SG 3SG candy  
 ‘I gave him/her candies.’

(100) **OT construction + =roʔ:**

*na, go neĩ =roʔ gula.*

3SG 1SG give =3SG candy

‘As for him/her, I gave (him/her) candies.’

The pronominal enclitic =*roʔ* refers to the recipient argument of the verb *neĩ* ‘give’ not only when the recipient argument appears post-verbally in the ST construction (99) but also when it appears pre-verbally in the OT construction (100).

The data examined above clearly show that the alternation between ST and OT does not change semantico-syntactic grammatical relations like subject and object. Whether in the ST or the OT constructions, a grouping of S and A arguments consistently appears directly to the left of the main verb. It is moreover involved in agreement phenomena, controls reflexivization and *kədiʔ*-coordination, and can be the addressee of an imperative construction. In contrast, as observed in Section 5.2, whether it bears the subject relation or not, the topic always occurs in the sentence-initial position, has some pragmatic particularity, and controls relativization and *kia gə*-coordination.

Therefore, it is not appropriate to analyze the alternation between ST and OT as passive or as any other voice alternation that necessarily changes semantico-syntactic grammatical relations. Instead, it is necessary to postulate the topic relation independently of subject and object. In other words, the function of the ST-OT alternation lies in aligning one argument or another with the topic for pragmatic and reference-tracking purposes.

## 6 Conclusions: Lamaholot as a ‘symmetrical voice language’

This paper discussed voice and grammatical relations in Lamaholot. It was demonstrated that this language displays voice phenomena using periphrastic strategies, although it lacks voice-dedicated verb morphology. It was also shown how these voice phenomena change and interact with grammatical relations. The conclusion was that two different sets of grammatical relations are required for a better understanding of these voice phenomena.

By way of conclusion, let us consider the question posed at the beginning of Section 1, namely, whether or not Lamaholot voice systems are symmetrical. On one hand, voice contrasts made by the transitivity alternation, agreement markers, verb serialization, and the locative *ia* are asymmetrical voice alternations in that one construction is morphosyntactically more complex than another.

On the other hand, the alternation between ST and OT constructions is a symmetrical one; there is no surface difference between the two constructions, either on the verb or on the nominals, except in word order. Importantly, this alternation does not affect the alignment of the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations. Therefore, this eastern Indonesian language displays a symmetrical (non-demotional and non-promotional) voice alternation, which is characteristic of symmetrical voice languages in the Philippines and western Indonesia. Thus, the Lamaholot data and analyses presented in this paper are inconsistent with what the typologies of voice systems in western Austronesian languages predict: Lamaholot has a symmetrical voice alternation that eastern Indonesian languages are supposed not to have. Therefore, the findings of this paper, in addition to the diversity being revealed through the growing literature on eastern Indonesian languages (Donohue 2005; Arka & Kosmas 2005; Shibatani 2008,

2009, among others), should lead us to rethink the typologies of eastern Indonesian voice systems.

### Abbreviations

A	more agent-like argument in a mono- or di-transitive clause	ACT	active
AF	actor focus	ARG	argument
AV	agentive voice	CF	circumstantial focus
CONJ	conjunction	DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative	DIS	distal
EMP	emphatic marker	EXC	exclusive
GR	grammatical relation	INC	inclusive
IPFV	imperfective	LF	locative focus
LOC	locative	NEG	negator
NMLZ	nominalization	NON.ACT	non-active
OBJ	object	OBL	oblique
OT	object topic	OV	objective voice
P	more patient-like argument in a transitive clause	PF	patient focus
PFV	perfective	PL	plural
PN	personal name and kinship term	PO	primary object
PROS	prospective	PROX	proximal
R	recipient argument in a ditransitive clause	REL	relativizer
RL	realis	S	single argument in an intransitive clause
SG	singular	SO	secondary object
ST	subject topic	SUBJ	subject
T	theme argument in a ditransitive clause	TOP	topic
1	first person	2	second person
3	third person		

### References

- Arka, I Wayan. 2003a. *Balinese Morphosyntax: A Lexical-Functional Approach*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2003b. 'Voice systems in the Austronesian languages of Nusantara: Typology, symmetry and Undergoer orientation.' *Linguistik Indonesia* 21.1:113-139.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2007. *Creole genesis and extreme analyticity in Flores languages*. Presented at the 5th International East Nusantara Conference on Language and Culture (ENUS), Kupang, Indonesia, August 2007.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2008. 'Core argument alternations in some Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia.' In Austin & Musgrave 2008:183-227.
- Arka, I Wayan & Jeladu Kosmas. 2005. 'Passive without passive morphology? Evidence from Manggarai.' In Arka & Ross 2005a:87-117.
- Arka, I Wayan & Malcolm D. Ross, eds. 2005a. *The Many Faces of Austronesian Voice Systems: Some New Empirical Studies*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Arka, I Wayan & Malcolm D. Ross. 2005b. 'Introduction.' In Arka & Ross 2005a:1-15.
- Austin, Peter K. & Simon Musgrave, eds. 2008. *Voice and Grammatical Relations in Austronesian Languages*. Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

- Blust, Robert A. 1993. 'Central and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian.' *Oceanic Linguistics* 32.2:241–293.
- Bowden, John. 2008. 'A grammar of Lamaholot, Eastern Indonesia: The morphology and syntax of the Lewoingu dialect (review).' *Oceanic Linguistics* 47.1:247-251.
- Bresnan, Joan. 2001. *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1979. 'Ergativity.' *Language* 55.1:59-138.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donohue, Mark. 2004. *Voice oppositions without voice morphology*. Paper presented at the 11th Annual Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association. Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, und Typologieforschung und Universalienforschung (ZAS), Berlin, Germany, April 23-25, 2004.
- Donohue, Mark. 2005. 'The Palu'e passive: from pragmatic construction to grammatical device.' In Arka & Ross 2005a:59-85.
- Donohue, Mark. 2007a. 'Word order in Austronesian from north to south and west to east.' *Linguistic Typology* 11.2:349–391.
- Donohue, Mark. 2007b. 'Variation in voice in Indonesian/Malay: Historical and synchronic perspectives.' In Yoshiko Matsumoto, David Oshima, Orrin Robinson & Peter Sells (eds.), *Diversity in Language: Perspectives and Implications*, 71-129. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Donohue, Mark. 2008. 'Malay as a mirror of Austronesian: Voice development and voice variation.' *Lingua* 118.10:1470-1499.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 1986. 'Primary objects, secondary objects, and antitativity.' *Language* 62.4:808–845.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 1997. 'Are grammatical relations universal?' In Joan Bybee, John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Essays on Language Function and Language Type: Dedicated to T. Givón*, 115-143. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Foley, William A. & Robert D. Van Valin Jr. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimes, Charles E., Tom Therik, Barbara D. Grimes & Max Jacob. 1997. *A Guide to the People and Languages of Nusa Tenggara*. Center for Regional Studies, Paradigma, Series B, No 1. Kupang: Artha Wacana Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. 'Notes on transitivity and theme in English. Part 2.' *Journal of Linguistics* 3.2:199–244.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2005. 'Argument marking in ditransitive alignment types.' *Linguistic Discovery* 3.1:1-21.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2010. 'Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies.' *Language* 86.3:663-687.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 2005. 'The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar: Typological Characteristics.' In Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 110-181. London: Routledge.
- Keraf, Gregorius. 1978. *Morfologi Dialek Lamalera*. Ende: Arnoldus.
- Klamer, Marian. 2002. 'Typical features of Austronesian languages in Central/Eastern Indonesia.' *Oceanic Linguistics* 41.2:363-384.

- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Li, Charles N & Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Margetts, Anna & Peter K. Austin. 2007. 'Three-participant events in the languages of the world: towards a crosslinguistic typology.' *Linguistics* 45.3:393-451.
- McWhorter, John. 2007. *Language Interrupted: Signs of Non-Native Acquisition in Standard Language Grammars*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Musgrave, Simon. 2008a. 'Typology and geography in eastern Indonesia.' In Timothy Jowan Curnow ed., *Selected Papers from the 2007 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*. <http://www.als.asn.au>.
- Musgrave, Simon. 2008b. 'The grammatical function OBJ in Indonesian.' In Austin & Musgrave 2008:128-156.
- Nagaya, Naonori. 2009. 'The middle voice in Tagalog.' *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* 1:159-188.
- Nagaya, Naonori. 2010. 'A phonological sketch of Lewotobi Lamaholot.' *Asian and African Languages and Linguistics* 5:157-195.
- Nagaya, Naonori. 2012. *Ditransitives and benefactives in Lamaholot*. Presented at the 12th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Bali, Indonesia, July 2-6, 2012.
- Nishiyama, Kunio. 2011. 'Conjunctive agreement in Lamaholot.' *Journal of Linguistics* 47.2:381-405.
- Schachter, Paul. 1973. 'Focus and relativization.' *Language* 49.1:19-46.
- Schachter, Paul. 1976. 'The subject in Philippine languages: Topic, Actor, Actor-Topic, or none of the above.' In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*, 491-518. New York: Academic Press.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. 'Passives and related constructions: A prototype analysis.' *Language* 61.4:821-848.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1991. 'Grammaticization of topic into subject.' In Elizabeth Closs Traugott & Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Volume 2, 93-133. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2006. 'On the conceptual framework for voice phenomena.' *Linguistics* 44.2:217-269.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2008. 'Relativization in Sasak and Sumbawa, Eastern Indonesia.' *Language and Linguistics* 9.4:865-916.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2009. *Focus constructions without focus morphology in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara*. Presented at the 11th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Aussois, France, June 22-26, 2009.
- Siewierska, Anna. 2003. 'Person agreement and the determination of alignment.' *Transactions of the Philological Society* 101.2:339-370.
- Wechsler, Stephen & I Wayan Arka. 1998. 'Syntactic ergativity in Balinese: an argument structure based theory.' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16.2:387-441.