

Subject and topic in Lamaholot, Eastern Flores *

NAONORI NAGAYA
Rice University
nagaya@rice.edu

Purposes of the talk:

- ✓ Description of the Lewotobi dialect of the Lamaholot language
- ✓ Two types of alignment for bivalent verbs:
 - AF constructions: <A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ>
 - PF constructions: <A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP>
- ✓ PF constructions are best analyzed as topicalization rather than passivization.
- ✓ Subject and topic are involved in different grammatical phenomena.

Structure of the talk:

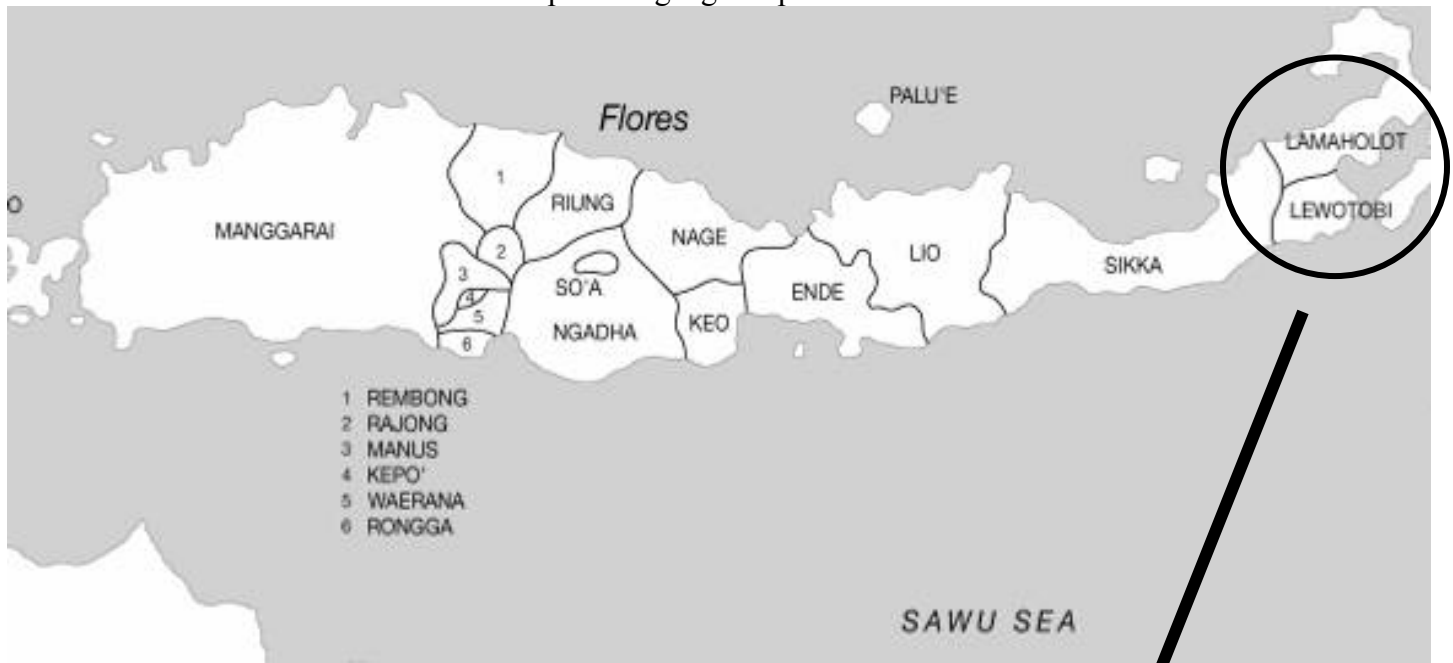
1. Lamaholot language and its dialects
2. Language characteristics
3. Actor Focus and Patient Focus constructions
4. PF construction as topicalization
5. Subject and topic
6. Conclusions

1. Lamaholot language and its dialects

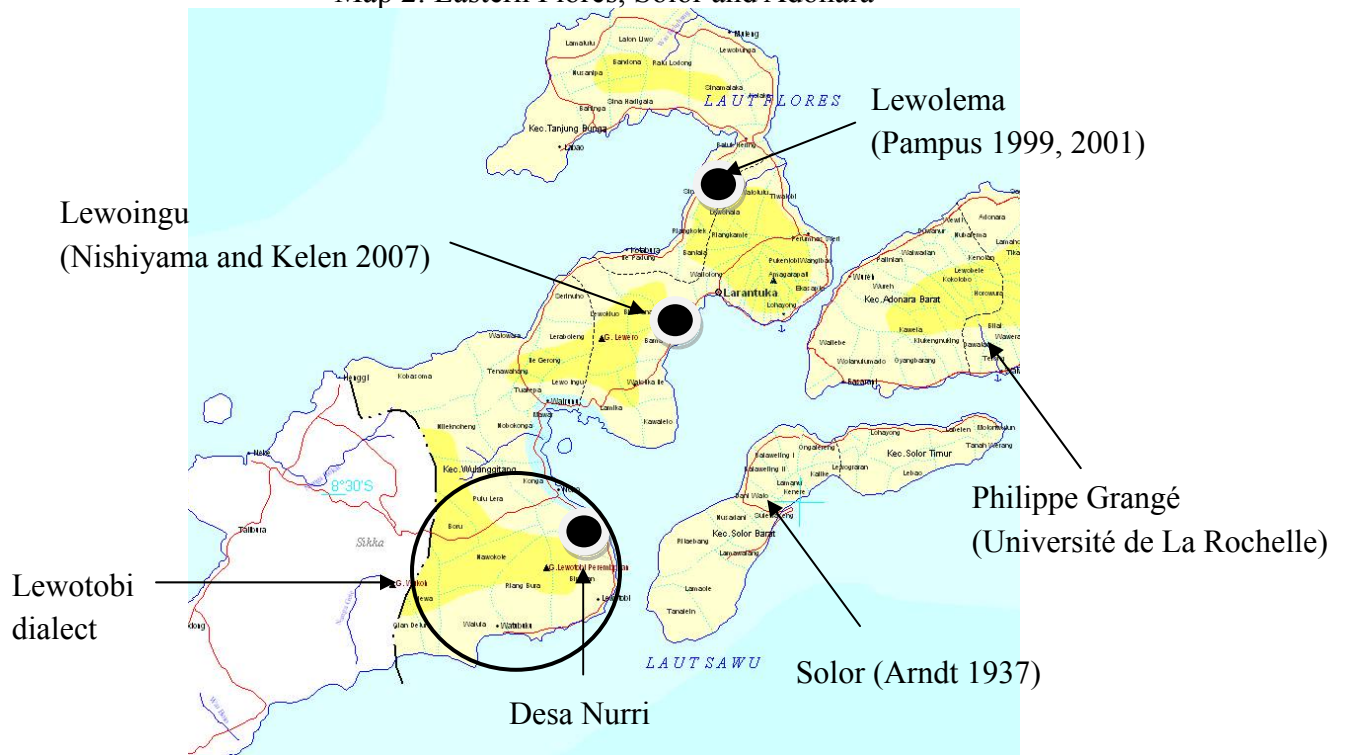
- Lamaholot:
 - Central Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1993, but see Donohue and Grimes 2008)
 - Approximately 200,000 speakers (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007)
 - Spoken in eastern part of Flores and its neighboring islands (Maps 1 and 2)
- Lewotobi dialect
 - Based on the fieldwork in Desa Nurri (Dusun Nurabelen)
 - Kecamatan Ile Bura and Kecamatan Wulungitang
 - Lewotobi (*lewo tobi* 'village of pohon asam') is the name of the volcano in the region. It is also the name of the capital village of Kecamatan Ile Bura.
 - "Lewotobi" language (Ethnologue) vs. "Lewotobi" dialect (Keraf 1978)
 - A language spoken in *keliling Lewotobi* 'around Mt. Lewotobi' (Nurri villagers)
- Prior research
 - Arndt (1937), Keraf (1978), Pampus (1999, 2001), Nishiyama and Kelen (2007)
 - Anthropological studies: Barnes (1996), Kohl (1989)

* I thank I Wayan Arka, Masayoshi Shibatani, and Fay Wouk for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of the handout. The research presented here is supported by the National Science Foundation grant for the project "Austronesian voice systems: an eastern Indonesian perspective" (BCS-0617198) headed by Masayoshi Shibatani. Lastly but sincerely, I would like to express my gratitude to people in Nurabelen, especially Hugo Hura Puka, who has been supporting me as the Kepala Desa of Desa Nurri and as my primary consultant.

Map 1: Language map of Flores



Map 2: Eastern Flores, Solor and Adonara



2. Language characteristics

- **Preposed possessor language** in terms of Himmelmann (2005)'s typology
 - Non-pronominal possessors precede the possessum.¹
 - (1) Hugo laŋoʔ=kã
Hugo house=3SG.POSS
'Hugo's house'
 - Inalienable possession is distinguished from alienable possession.
 - (2) Hugo kotãʔ (cf. kotãʔ 'head')
Hugo head.3SG.POSS
'Hugo's head'
 - The distinction between narrative and equational clauses is clear.
 - (3) Hugo n-aʔi=aʔ lali Maumere n-ai. (narrative)
Hugo 3SG-go=3SG DIR Maumere 3SG-go
'Hugo went (down) to Maumere.'
 - (4) Hugo ata Nurabelen. (equational)
Hugo person Nurabelen
'Hugo is a person from Nurabelen.'
 - There is person making for S/A arguments (see Section 5)
 - Nouns precede numerals.
 - (5) ata rua
person two
'two persons'
 - The negator and other TAM markers occur clause-finally.
 - (6) go isə kbako həlaʔ.
1SG suck tabaco NEG
'I don't smoke.'
 - The basic word order is SVO.
 - No voice system? (See Sections 4 and 5)
 - cf. Klamer (2002, 2004), Musgrave (2008)
- Few grammatical elements:
 - Agreement enclitics (see Section 5)
 - Agreement prefixes (see Section 5)
 - Personal pronouns

Table 1: Free personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1	go	kame (EXC) tite (INC)
2	mo	mio
3	na	ra

Table 2: Possessive personal pronoun

	SG	PL
1	goʔẽ	kəmẽʔ (EXC) titẽʔ (INC)
2	moʔẽ	miõʔ
3	nəʔẽ	rəʔẽ

¹ Abbreviations used in the paper are: CONJ-conjunction, DIR-directional, EXC-exclusive, INC-inclusive, PASS-passive, PL-plural, POSS-possessive, REL-relativizer, SG-singular, 1-first person, 2-second person, 3-third person.

➤ Enclitic pronoun *roʔ*:

The third person singular pronoun *roʔ* refers to Patient of bivalent verbs and Recipient (not Theme) of trivalent verbs. It can occur with the free pronoun *na*.

- (7) a. Hugo bəŋo=roʔ (na).
Hugo hit=3SG 3SG
'Hugo hit him/her.'
- b. Hugo hope=roʔ (na) gula.
Hugo buy=3SG 3SG candy
'Hugo bought him/her a candy.'
- cf. *roʔ* is not an agreement marker:
*Hugo bəŋo=roʔ Besa.

- Zero anaphora is widely allowed.
- Serial verb constructions
- Directionals: Absolute frame of reference
- Satellite-framed language (Talmy 1991) or equipollently-framed language (Slobin 2004)
→ See Nagaya (this conference)

3. Actor Focus and Patient Focus constructions

- Two types of alignment for bivalent verbs (Shibatani's paper presented in this workshop):

➤ AF construction:

Agent = **Subject** = **Topic**
Patient = Object = Non-topic

➤ PF construction:

Agent = **Subject** = Non-topic
Patient = Object = **Topic**

- (8) a. AF construction
Tanti bəŋo Ika. <A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ>
Tanti hit Ika AVP
'Tanti hit Ika.'
'Tanti pukul Ika.' (Bahasa Indonesia, consultants' translation)
- b. PF construction
Ika, Tanti bəŋo. <A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP>
Ika Tanti hit PAV
'Ika, Tanti hit (her).'
'Ika, Tanti pukul.' (Bahasa Indonesia, consultants' translation)

- No morphological change on verbs
- No morphological modification on nouns
- In general, the AF-PF contrast doesn't change the propositional meaning of a sentence, but in some cases it may change the aspectual meaning of a sentence.

- (9) a. AF construction:
Nius n-enu tuaʔ teʔẽ. (realis/past)
Nius 3SG-drink tuak this.POSS
'Nius drank this tuak.'

- b. PF construction:
- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|------|-----------|-------------------|
| tuaʔ | teʔẽ, | Nius | n-enu. | (irrealis/future) |
| tuak | this.POSS | Nius | 3SG-drink | |
- ‘This tuak, Nius will drink (it).’

- There is no doubt that AF constructions are more basic than PF constructions.
 - Native speakers’ intuition
 - Default construction they use for answering in elicitation sessions.
 - Text frequency
 - Then, what is the best analysis of PF constructions? (cf. Donohue 2005)
 - The PF construction is a pragmatically marked construction (Section 4).
 - The AF-PF distinction doesn’t change the grammatical status of the arguments of a clause (subject and object) (Section 5).
- The Lamaholot PF construction is not passivization but topicalization.

4. PF construction as topicalization

- PF constructions show properties often associated with topicalization.
 - Intonationally distinct contour on the P of PF constructions
 - Intonational break (pause) is usually found after the P of PF constructions.
 - These characteristics are also found in topicalization of obliques.
- (10) go pana k-ãʔã Hugo.
1SG walk 1SG-do Hugo
‘I walked with Hugo.’
→ kãʔã Hugo, go pana.
- (11) go bəŋo Tanti k-ãʔã lima.
1SG hit Tanti 1SG-do hand
‘I hit Tanti with hands.’
→ k-ãʔã lima, go bəŋo Tanti.
- Mainly used in main clauses (and in certain complement clauses, ex. *k-oi* ‘know’)

- (12) AF construction:
go k-oi Tanti bəŋo Ika.
1SG 1SG-know Tanti hit Ika
‘I know Tanti hit Ika.’
→ PF construction:
go k-oi Ika, Tanti bəŋo.

cf. Control constructions in Section 5

cf. Topicalization in Chinese and Japanese

- The P of PF constructions can leave a resumptive pronoun.

- (13) anaʔ teʔẽ, go bəŋo(=roʔ) na.
child this.POSS 1SG hit=3SG 3SG
‘This child, I hit **him or her**.’

- There are pragmatic constraints on the P of PF constructions.
 - The P of PF constructions cannot be the focus of answer in question and answer pairs. cf. Halliday (1967)
 - (14) Agent is the focus of answer:

Q: hege	gã	ikã	peʔẽ?
who	eat.3SG	fish	that.POSS

‘Who ate that fish?’

A1: AF construction:

Hugo	gã	ikã	peʔẽ.
Hugo	eat.3SG	fish	that.POSS

‘**Hugo** ate that fish.’

A2: PF construction:

ikã	peʔẽ,	Hugo	gã.
-----	-------	-------------	-----

‘That fish, **Hugo** ate.’
 - (15) Patient is the focus of answer:

Q: Hugo	gã	a?
Hugo	eat.3SG	what

‘What did Hugo eat?’

A1: AF construction:

Hugo	gã	ikã.
Hugo	eat.3SG	fish

‘Hugo ate **fish**.’

A2: PF construction:

?? ikã,	Hugo	gã.
fish	Hugo	eat.3SG

Intended for ‘Fish, Hugo ate.’
 - The P of PF constructions cannot be the focus of negation.
 - (16) a. AF construction:

go	kã	ikã	hua	həlaʔ,	kũ	ikã	kowiʔ.
1SG	eat.1SG	fish		NEG	but	fish	

‘I don’t eat **hua**, but kowi.’
 - b. PF construction:

*ikã	hua,	go	kã	həlaʔ,	kũ	ikã	kowiʔ.
fish		1SG	eat.1SG	NEG	but	fish	

Intended for ‘I don’t eat **hua**, but kowi.’
 - The data above show that the P of PF constructions cannot be narrowly focused (but note also that it is possible that *wh*-words, which are supposed to be narrowly focused in *wh*-questions, can appear as the P of PF constructions, cf. Section 5.3).
 - The P of PF constructions conveys topical/presupposed information rather than focal information.
- To summarize, PF constructions are best characterized as topicalization.

5. Subject and topic

- Agent serves as subject in both AF and PF constructions.
 - Agent is not demoted in PF constructions.
 - PF constructions are not passive.
- Subject and topic are involved in different grammatical phenomena. (cf. Schachter 1976 on Tagalog)
 - Subject-related phenomena
 - Topic-related phenomena
 - None of the above

5.1. Subject-related constructions

- In the following constructions, subjects control the grammatical phenomena, whether they are topic or not.
- Agreement prefixes. A certain number of verbs can take an agreement prefix to indicate the person and number of **either intransitive or transitive subject**.

Table 3: Agreement prefixes

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

- (17) S (intransitive subject):
 na n-aʔi=aʔ kaeʔ.
 3SG 3SG-leave=3SG PERFECTIVE
 ‘He or she has already left.’

- (18) A (transitive subject):
 go k-enu tuaʔ.
 1SG 1SG-drink tuak
 ‘I drink tuak.’

- The AF-PF contrast doesn’t change the agreement pattern.

- (19) a. AF construction:
 go k-enu tuaʔ teʔẽ k-waro.
 1SG 1SG-drink tuak this.POSS 1SG-can
 ‘I can drink this tuak.’

- b. PF construction:
 tuaʔ teʔẽ, go k-enu k-waro.
 tuak this.POSS 1SG 1SG-drink 1SG-can

- Subjects control agreement both in AF and PF constructions.

- Agreement enclitics. Agreement enclitics are employed to indicate the person and number of **intransitive subjects**.

- Enclitics rather than suffixes
 - ✧ High analyzability
 - ✧ Optional (but obligatory with specific meanings)
 - ✧ Can go with other than verbs

Table 4: Agreement enclitics

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

Table 5: Agreement enclitics (after nasalized vowels)

	SG	PL
1	=nəʔ	=nə (EXC) =nə (INC)
2	=no	=nə
3	=naʔ	=na

(20) go plaʔe=əʔ.
1SG run=1SG
'I ran away.'

(21) go tuba(*=əʔ) na.
1SG stab(=1SG) 3SG
'I stabbed him/her.'

→ Agreement enclitics are only for intransitive verbs.

- The verb for 'eat' is the only verb that uses suppletive forms for agreement.
→ See (14) and (15). In both AF and PF constructions, subjects agree with verbs.

Table 6: Verb 'eat'

	SG	PL
1	k̃ə	mək̃ə (EXC) tək̃ə (INC)
2	g̃ə	g̃ə
3	g̃ə	rək̃ə

- Reflexives. Only subjects can control a reflexive expression.

(22) a. Hugo plew̃ə wəki nəʔē. (AF, SUB=antecedent, OBJ=reflexive)
Hugo praise self 3SG.POSS
'Hugo praised himself.'

b. *wəki nəʔē plew̃ə Hugo. (AF, SUB=reflexive, OBJ=antecedent)

c. wəki nəʔē, Hugo plew̃ə. (PF, SUB=antecedent, OBJ=reflexive)

d. *Hugo, wəki nəʔē plew̃ə. (PF, SUB=reflexive, OBJ=antecedent)

- *Kədiʔ* 'kemudian' coordination. Only subjects can control the subject gap in the second clause. The AF-PF alternation doesn't change the interpretation of the sentences.

- (23) A=S
 a. AF construction:
 na bəŋo go, kədi? ___ gwali.
 3SG hit 1SG then return
 ‘S/he hit me, and (s/he) returned.’
 b. PF construction:
 go, na bəŋo, kədi? ___ gwali.
 1SG 3SG hit then return
 ‘Me, s/he hit, and (s/he) returned.’
- (24) A=A
 a. AF construction:
 na n-oi mame goʔē, kədi? ___ hiʔi=roʔ na.
 3SG 3SG-see uncle 1SG.POSS then get.mad=3SG 3SG
 ‘S/he saw my uncle, and then (s/he) got mad at him.’
 b. PF construction:
 mame goʔē, na n-oi,
 uncle 1SG.POSS 3SG 3SG-see
 kədi? ___ hiʔi=roʔ na.
 then get.mad=3SG 3SG
 ‘My uncle, s/he saw, and then (s/he) got mad at him.’

5.2 Topic-related phenomena

- In the following constructions, topics control the grammatical phenomena, whether they are subject or not.
- *Kia gə* coordination. Only topics can control the subject gap in the second clause. The AF-PF contrast results in different interpretations.

- (25) TOP=S
 a. AF construction:
 Besa n-oi Hugo kia gə ___ plaʔe.
 Besa 3SG-see Hugo CONJ CONJ run
 ‘Besa saw Hugo and then (Besa) ran away.’
 b. PF construction:
 Hugo, Besa n-oi kia gə ___ plaʔe.
 Hugo Besa 3SG-see CONJ CONJ run
 ‘Hugo, Besa saw (him) and then (Hugo) ran away.’
- (26) TOP=S
 a. AF construction:
 Ika bəŋo Nia kia gə ___ plaʔe.
 Ika hit Nia CONJ CONJ run
 ‘Ika hit Nia and then (Ika) ran away.’

b. PF construction:

Nia, Ika bəŋo kia gə ___ plaʔe.
Nia Ika hit CONJ CONJ run
'Nia, Ika hit (her) and then (Nia) ran away.'

• Relativization/Nominalization.

(27) SUBJ (S)

anaʔ yang [___ n-aʔi=aʔ Larantuka n-ai] səna.
person REL 3SG-go=3SG Larantuka 3SG-go cool
'The person who went to Larantuka is cool.'

(28) SUBJ (A)

anaʔ yang [___ kriõ laŋoʔ teʔẽ] səna.
person REL work house this cool
'The person who built this house is cool.'

(29) OBJ (O)

anaʔ yang [___ go bəŋo] səna.
person REL 1SG hit cool
'The person who I hit is cool.'

- Relativization is sensitive to Topic relations: what can be topicalized (i.e. the P of PF constructions) can be relativized, whatever its grammatical relation is.
cf. Kuno (1973),² Schachter (1973, 1976)

(30) Recipient of GIVE and BUY verbs:

go neĩ Ika gula.
1SG give Ika candy
'I gave Ika a candy.'

→ PF construction:

Ika, go neĩ gula.
'Ika, I gave a candy.'

→ Relativization:

Ika anaʔ yang [___ go neĩ gula].
'Ika is the one to whom I gave a candy.'

(31) Theme of GIVE verbs:

go neĩ Ika gula.
1SG give Ika candy
'I gave Ika a candy.'

→ PF construction:

gula, go neĩ Ika.
'The candy, I gave to Ika.'

→ Relativization:

teʔẽ gula yang [___ go neĩ Ika].
'This is the candy I gave to Ika.'

² Kuno (1973)'s theory of relativization: "what is relativized is not an ordinary noun phrase, but the theme (NP-*wa*) [i.e. topic ---NN] of the relative clause." (*ibid.* 2)

(32) Stimulus of LOVE and HATE verbs (cf. Donohue 2005, Arka 2008):

go brea=əʔ k-ẽʔẽ Nia.
1SG like=1SG 1SG-do Nia
'I like Nia.'

→ PF construction:

Nia, go brea=əʔ.
'Nia, I like.'

→ Relativization:

Nia anaʔ yang [__ go brea=əʔ].
'Nia is the child I like.'

(33) Possessor:

ra məla ata dikẽ oto=kẽ.
3PL steal person car=POSS
'They stole the person's car.'

→ PF construction:

ata dikẽ oto=kẽ, ra məla.
'The person's car, they stole.'

→ Relativization:

ata dikẽ yang [__ oto=kẽ ra məla] səna.
'The person whose car they stole is cool.'

➤ However, what cannot be topicalized (i.e. the P of PF constructions) cannot be relativized, whatever its grammatical relation is.

(34) Theme of BUY verbs:

go hope Ika gula.
1SG buy Ika candy
'I bought Ika a candy.'

→ PF construction:

*gula, go hope Ika.

→ Relativization:

*teʔẽ gula yang [go hope Ika __].
Intended for 'This is the candy I bought Ika.'

(35) Object of V2 in serial verb constructions:

go poroʔ ikẽ pake hepe teʔẽ.
1SG cut fish use knife this
'I cut the fish with this knife.'

→ PF construction:

*hepe teʔẽ, go poroʔ ikẽ pake.

→ Relativization:

*teʔẽ hepe [go poroʔ ikẽ pake __].
Intended for 'This is the knife with which I cut the fish.'

5.3. Other constructions

- PF constructions are not available in complement clauses of control predicates. In *wh*-questions and quantifier float constructions, both subject and topic can control the

phenomena. So they do not work as tests for examining subject and topic in this language.

- Control:
 - PF constructions are not allowed in complements of control constructions.
 - Subject control predicates
 - (36) a. go coba [(A) pləwē Hugo].
1SG try praise Hugo
'I tried to praise Hugo.'
 - b. *go coba [Hugo (A) pləwē].
1SG try Hugo pləwē
Intended for 'I tried to praise Hugo.'
 - Object control predicates
 - (37) a. go ruda Ida [(A) pləwē Hugo].
1SG tell Ida praise Hugo
'I told Ida to praise Hugo.'
 - b. *go ruda Ida [Hugo (A) pləwē].
1SG tell Ida Hugo pləwē
Intended for 'I told Ida to praise Hugo.'
- cf. *to*: 'want, hope'
 - (38) a. go to:=ə? [(A) plewẽ Hugo].
1SG want=1SG praise Hugo
'I want to praise Hugo.'
 - b. *go to:=ə? [Hugo (A) plewẽ].
1SG want=1SG Hugo praise
Intended for 'I want to praise Hugo.'
- *Wh*-questions. *Wh*-words occur in-situ in Lamaholot *wh*-questions.
 - (39) a. hege bəŋo Ika?
who hit Ika
'Who hit Ika?'
 - b. Nia bəŋo hege? (AF construction)
Nia hit who
'Who did Nia hit?'
 - c. hege, Nia bəŋo? (PF construction)
who Nia hit
'Who did Nia hit?'
- Quantifier float: Numerals and quantifiers appear right after nouns they quantify, and cannot float (cf. quantifiers in Palu'e, Donohue 2005).
 - (40) a. go foto ra rua=ka. (AF construction)
1SG take.picture 3PL two=3PL
'I took a picture of two of them.'
 - b. *ra, go foto rua=ka. (PF construction)
 - c. ra rua=ka, go foto. (PF construction)

- To conclude, subject and topic are involved in different grammatical phenomena (see Table 7). Importantly, subject in AF constructions is still subject in PF constructions, which means that PF constructions do not change the alignment of grammatical relations (subject and object). Therefore, they are not passive.

Table 7: Subject-related and topic-related phenomena

Subject-related phenomena	Topic-related phenomena	Other constructions
Agreement	Relativization	Control
Reflexivization	<i>Kia gə</i> -coordination	<i>Wh</i> -questions
<i>Kədiʔ</i> -coordination		Quantifier float

5. Conclusion

- Lamaholot has two different kinds of constructions for bivalent verbs:
 - AF constructions: <A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ>
 - PF constructions: <A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP>
- AF constructions are more basic and unmarked constructions.
- PF constructions are best analyzed as topicalization rather than passivization.
- Subject and topic are involved in different grammatical phenomena.

Note: Lamaholot doesn't have either morphological or analytic passive (cf. Donohue 2005):

- How do they translate Indonesian *di*-passives?
 - (41) Saya di-pukul. (Bahasa Indonesia)
1SG PASS-hit
'I was hit.'
 - (42) Saya di-tipu. (Bahasa Indonesia)
1SG PASS-cheat
'I was cheated.'
- Plural agent constructions
 - (43) ra bəŋo go.
3PL hit 1SG
'They hit me.' or 'I was hit.'
 - (44) ra broka go.
3PL cheat 1SG
'They cheat me.' or 'I was cheated.'

References

- Arka, I Wayan. 2008. Core argument alternations in some Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. In Peter K. Austin and Simon Musgrave, eds., *Voice and Grammatical Relations in Austronesian Languages*, 183-227. Stanford: CSLI.
- Arndt, Paul P. 1937. *Grammatik der Solor-Sprache*. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus-Drukkerij.
- Barnes, Robert Harrison. 1996. *Sea Hunters of Indonesia: Fishers and Weavers of Lamalera*. Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blust, Robert. 1993. Central and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32:241-293.

- Donohue, Mark. 2005. The Palu'e passive: from pragmatic construction to grammatical device. In I Wayan Arka and Malcolm D Ross, eds., *The Many Faces of Austronesian Voice Systems: Some New Empirical Studies*, 59-85. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Donohue, Mark and Charles E. Grimes. 2008. Yet more on the position of the languages of Eastern Indonesia and East Timor. *Oceanic Linguistics* 47(1): 114-158.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English. Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics* 3:177-274.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus P. 2005. The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar: Typological characteristics. In Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelman, eds., *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 110-181. London: Routledge.
- Keraf, Gregorius. 1978. *Morfologi dialek Lamalera disertasi*. Ende: Arnoldus.
- Klamer, Marian. 2002. Typical features of Austronesian languages in Central/Eastern Indonesia. *Oceanic Linguistics* 41:363-384.
- Klamer, Marian. 2004. East Nusantara: Genetic, areal, and typological approaches. *Oceanic Linguistics* 43: 240-244.
- Kohl, Karl-Heinz. 1998. *Der Tod der Reisjungfrau: Mythen, Kulte und Allianzen in einer ostindonesischen Lokalkultur*. Religionsethnologische Studien des Frobenius-Instituts Frankfurt am Main, Bd. 1. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Musgrave, Simon. 2008. 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>.
- Nagaya, Naonori. 2008. Ramahorotto-go no houkou-hyougen [Directional expressions in Lamaholot]. Presented at the 137th meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan, Kanazawa University, Kanazawa, November 29-30.
- Nagaya, Naonori. 2009. Space and motion in Lamaholot. Presented at the 11th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Aussois, France, June 22-26, 2009
- Nishiyama, Kunio and Herman Kelen. 2007. *A Grammar of Lamaholot, Eastern Indonesia: The Morphology and Syntax of the Lewoingu Dialect*. Muenchen: LINCOM.
- Pampus, Karl-Heinz. 1999. *Koda Kiwa: Dreisprachiges Wörterbuch des Lamaholot (Dialekt von Lewolema)*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, no. 52.4. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Pampus, Karl-Heinz (with help of Yohanes E. Lamuri). 2001. *Mue Moten Koda Kiwan: Kamus Bahasa Lamaholot, Dialek Lewolema, Flores Timur*. Frankfurt: Frobenius-Institut Frankfurt am Main.
- Schachter, Paul. 1973. Focus and relativization. *Language* 49:19-46.
- 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.
- Slobin, Dan. I. 2004. The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. In S. Strömquist and L. Verhoeven, eds., *Relating Events in Narrative, Volume 2: Typological and Contextual Perspectives*, 219-257. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1991. Path to realization: A typology of event conflation. *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 17, 480-519.