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.
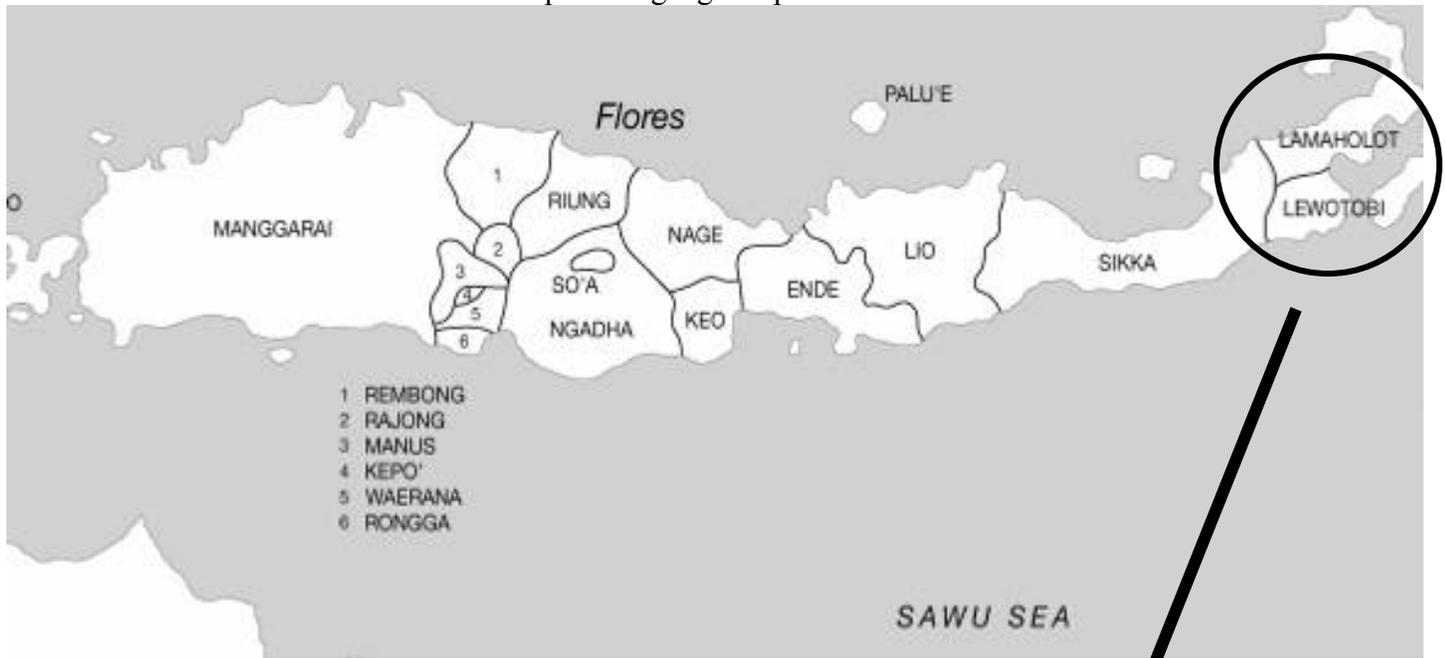
Structure of the talk:
1. Lamaholot language and its dialects
2. Language characteristics
3. Actor Focus and Patient Focus constructions
4. PF construction as topicalization
5. Subject and topic
6. Conclusions
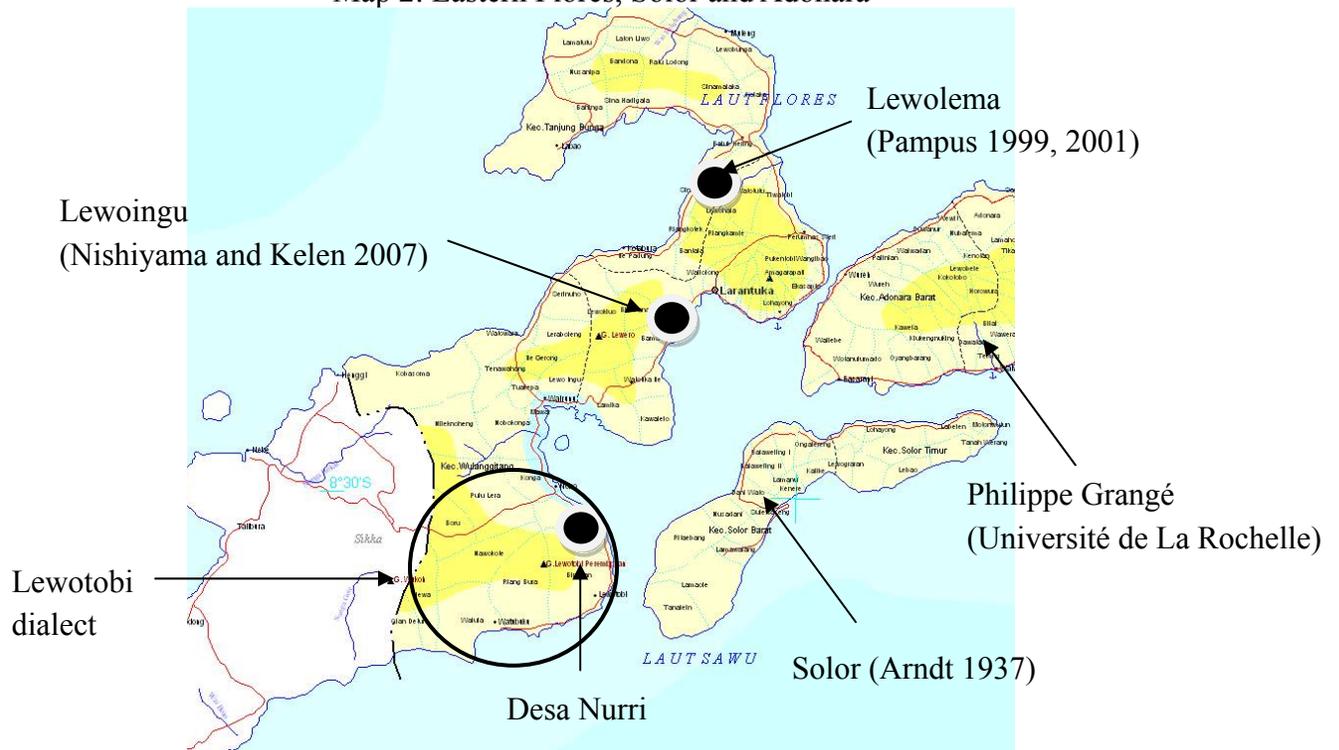
1. Lamaholot language and its dialects
- Lamaholot:
  - ➢ Central Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1993, but see Donohue and Grimes 2008)
  - ➢ Approximately 200,000 speakers (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007)
  - ➢ Spoken in eastern part of Flores and its neighboring islands (Maps 1 and 2)
- Lewotobi dialect
  - ➢ 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 Kecamantan 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)

Map 1: Language map of Flores

Map 2: Eastern Flores, Solor and Adonara

Lewolema
(Pampus 1999, 2001)

Lewoingu
(Nishiyama and Kelen 2007)

Philippe Grangé
(Université de La Rochelle)

Lewotobi
dialect

Solor (Arndt 1937)

Desa Nurri

2. Language characteristics

- **Preposed possessor language** in terms of Himmelmann (2005)'s typology
  - ➢ Non-pronominal possessors precede the possessum.[1]

    (1)   Hugo   laŋoʔ=kə̃

           Hugo   house=3SG.POSS

           'Hugo's house'

  - ➢ Inalienable possession is distinguished from alienable possession.

    (2)   Hugo   kotə̃ʔ   (cf. kotəʔ '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.   (narritive)

           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

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[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-ə̃ʔə̃   Hugo.
       1SG   walk   1SG-do   Hugo
       'I walked with Hugo.'
→   kə̃ʔə̃   Hugo,   go   pana.

(11)   go   bəŋo   Tanti   k-ə̃ʔə̃   lima.
       1SG   hit   Tanti   1SG-do   hand
       'I hit Tanti with hands.'
→   k-ə̃ʔə̃   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   gə̃   ikə̃   peʔẽ?
        who   eat.3SG fish   that.POSS
        'Who ate that fish?'
      A1: AF construction:
        Hugo   gə̃   ikə̃   peʔẽ.
        Hugo   eat.3SG fish   that.POSS
        '**Hugo** ate that fish.'
      A2: PF construction:
        ikə̃ peʔẽ, **Hugo** gə̃.
        'That fish, Hugo ate.'
    - (15) Patient is the focus of answer:

      Q: Hugo   gə̃   a?
        Hugo   eat.3SG what
        'What did Hugo eat?'
      A1: AF construction:
        Hugo   gə̃   **ikə̃**.
        Hugo   eat.3SG **fish**
        'Hugo ate **fish**.'
      A2: PF construction:
        ?? **ikə̃,**   Hugo   gə̃.
        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   kə̃   **ikə̃**   **hua**   həlaʔ, kũ   ikə̃   kowiʔ.
      1SG   eat.1SG **fish**   NEG   but   fish
      'I don't eat **hua**, but kowi.'
    -     b. PF construction:

      *****ikə̃   hua,**   go   kə̃   həlaʔ, kũ   ikə̃   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 (transtiive 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	kə̃	məkə̃ (EXC)
		təkə̃ (INC)
2	gõ	gẽ
3	gə̃	rəkə̃

- Reflexives. Only subjects can control a reflexive expression.

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

       b. *wəki nəʔẽ   plewə̃   Hugo.   (AF, SUB=reflexive, OBJ=antecedent)

       c. wəki nəʔẽ,   Hugo   plewə̃.   (PF, SUB=antecedent, OBJ=reflexive)

       d. *Hugo, wəki nəʔẽ   plewə̃.   (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,	kədiʔ	__	gwali.
3SG	hit	1SG	then		return

　　　　'S/he hit me, and (s/he) returned.'

　　　　b. PF construction:

go,	na	bəŋo,	kədiʔ	__	gwali.
1SG	3SG	hit	then		return

　　　　'Me, s/he hit, and (s/he) returned.'

(24)　　A=A

　　　　a. AF construction:

na	n-oi	mame	goʔẽ,	kədiʔ	__	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	goʔẽ,	na	n-oi,
uncle	1SG.POSS	3SG	3SG-see

kədiʔ	__	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	[__	kriə̃	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.'

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[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 dikə̃   oto=kə̃.
        3PL   steal   person   car=POSS
        'They stole the person's car.'
    →   PF construction:
        ata dikə̃   oto=kə̃,   ra   məla.
        'The person's car, they stole.'
    →   Relativization:
        ata dikə̃   yang   [__   oto=kə̃   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   ikə̃   pake   hepe   teʔẽ.
            1SG   cut   fish   use   knife   this
            'I cut the fish with this knife.'
        →   PF construction:
            *hepe   teʔẽ,   go   poroʔ   ikə̃   pake.
        →   Relativization:
            *teʔẽ   hepe   [go   poroʔ   ikə̃   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)   pləwẽ   Hugo].
      - 1SG   try   praise   Hugo
      - 'I tried to praise Hugo.'
    - b. *go   coba   [Hugo   (A)   pləwẽ].
      - 1SG   try   Hugo   pləwẽ
      - Intended for 'I tried to praise Hugo.'
  - ➢ Object control predicates
    - (37) a. go   ruda   Ida   [(A)   pləwẽ   Hugo].
      - 1SG   tell   Ida   praise   Hugo
      - 'I told Ida to praise Hugo.'
    - b. *go   ruda   Ida   [Hugo   (A)   pləwẽ].
      - 1SG   tell   Ida   Hugo   pləwẽ
      - Intended for 'I told Ida to praise Hugo.'
  - cf. *toː* 'want, hope'
    - (38) a. go   toː=əʔ   [(A)   plewə̃   Hugo].
      - 1SG   want=1SG   praise   Hugo
      - 'I want to praise Hugo.'
    - b. *go   toː=əʔ   [Hugo   (A)   plewə̃].
      - 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	*Kia gə*-coordination	*Wh*-questions
Kədiʔ-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.'

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Naonori Nagaya
nagaya@rice.edu

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