**The semantics of Semantic Alignment in eastern Indonesia**

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## 1. Introduction[1]

Over the past few decades, much research has addressed the nature of alignment systems, that is, how core syntactic functions are organized relative to each other. The major patterns of alignment are defined in relation to S (the single argument of a one-place predicate), A (the agent argument of a transitive verb) and P (the patient argument of a two-place transitive verb).[2] In this paper, I consider languages with alignment systems where S is sometimes treated like transitive 'agents', and sometimes like transitive 'patients' (Mithun 1991:511), depending on certain semantic features of the argument and/or its predicate. Such systems have been referred to as 'unaccusative - unergative' (Perlmutter 1978), 'split intransitive' (Merlan 1985, Van Valin 1990), 'split S' (Dixon 1979), 'agentive', 'Agent-Patient', 'Stative-Active' (Mithun 1991, Nichols 1987), and, more recently, 'Semantic Alignment ' (Wichmann, this volume).

This paper introduces the Semantic Alignment systems from nine lesser-known Austronesian and Papuan languages spoken in eastern Indonesia. In some Semantic Alignment systems, the criterial semantic feature refers to the agentive or patientive characteristics of the participant (resulting in an 'agent/patient' system), in others, it is the inherent aspect of the predicate as state vs. event that crucially determines the alignment (resulting in an 'active/stative' system), yet other systems are based on participant's semantics as well as inherent aspect of the predicate. Despite considerable variation in the grammatical

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[2] The terms A and P extend beyond agent and patient to other roles that are treated grammatically in the same way (Blake 2001: 25).

and semantic details, most of the languages discussed in this paper are of the former type, as we will see.

The aim of the present paper is two-fold. First, it illustrates the observation that the grammatical patterns and the semantic parameters of Semantic Alignment show considerable cross-linguistic variation (Van Valin 1990, Mithun 1991) by introducing data on the alignment systems of some lesser-known languages spoken in the eastern part of Indonesia.[3] Secondly, it presents a first synthesis of the semantic parameters that play a role in the alignment systems found in this part of the world.

In the description of the data, I distinguish between (i) the semantic features of the predicate's participant, using the proto-Agent and proto-Patient properties introduced by Dowty (1991) to characterize this role; and (ii) the inherent aspect of the predicate, distinguishing between dynamic event predicates and non-dynamic, static ones (cf. Arkadiev, this volume).

As the first contributing property for the Agent proto role, Dowty mentions 'volition' -- the 'volitional involvement in the event or state', while the first contributing property for the Patient proto role is 'undergoer of a change of state' (Dowty 1991:572). In the languages surveyed below, the alignment system is primarily determined by the semantics of the predicate's participant: in seven languages, the relevant parameter is the proto-Agent feature 'volition' (referring to a [+ volitional] or [-volitional] argument), in two languages, it is the proto-Patient feature 'undergoer of change of state'. The role of inherent predicate aspect in the encoding of S in these languages turns out to be limited; it only plays a role in the alignment system of two seven of them, but in those languages, argument semantics plays a role as well.

[3] See also Donohue (2004), who notes the existence of a number of languages with 'head-marking split-intransitive alignment' in eastern Indonesia, and further suggests that this alignment is an areal feature of eastern Indonesian languages. In fact, split-intransitivity is proportionally as common in eastern as in western Indonesia (Klamer 2006), and in both regions many languages without split-intransitivity also occur which suggests that this alignment type has no special status in the grouping of languages in the region (cf. Ewing, to appear).

Above, S was defined as the single argument of a one-place predicate, which is taken to include clauses with a non-verbal predicate.[4] Non-verbal predicates are intrinsically stative (non-dynamic), and their argument is typically[5] non-volitional. Apart from the obvious syntactic differences that exist between verbal and non-verbal clauses, the S of a non-verbal clause and the P of a verbal clause are semantically similar because both refer to typically non-volitional participants, and in this respect, are the semantic opposite of a prototypical A. In most of the languages in the survey reported here, this semantic parallel is formally reflected: they encode the S of non-verbal clauses identical to P, and unlike A.

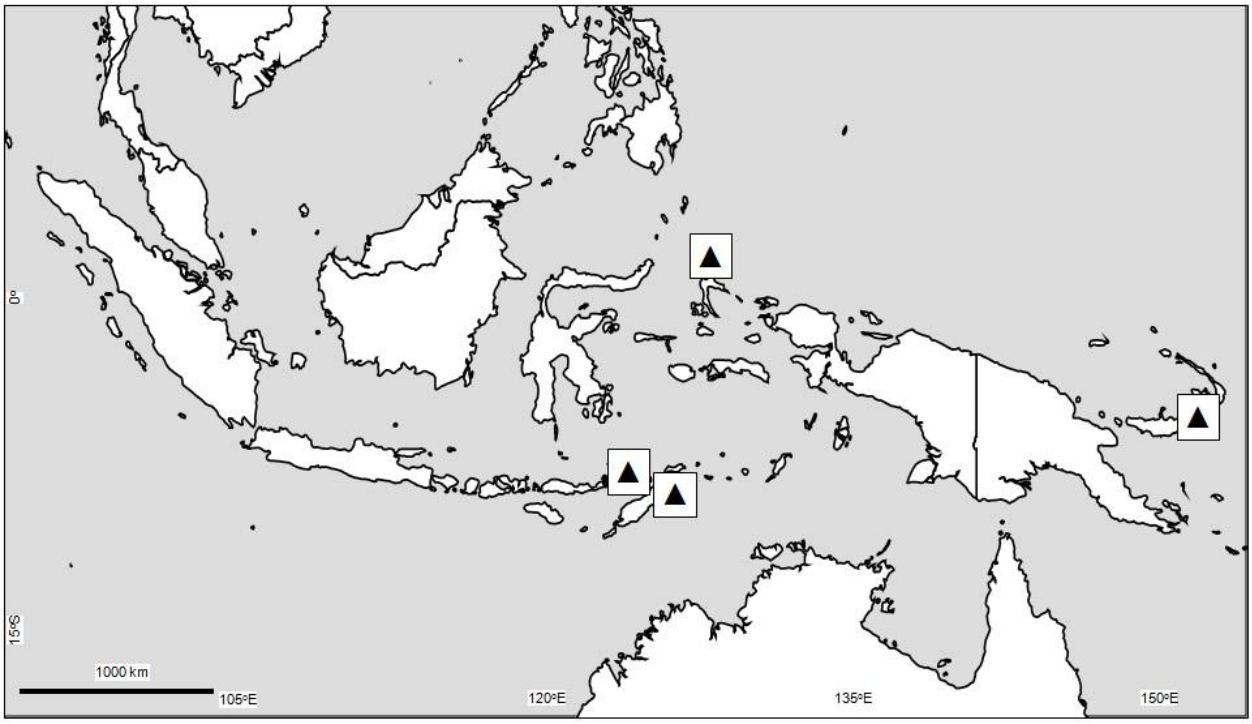
The geographical location of the languages discussed in this paper is indicated on Map 1. Indonesia is home to over 742 languages (SIL Ethnologue, Gordon (2005)) which belong to many different language families. In this paper, representatives of the two largest language families in eastern Indonesia are discussed: from the Austronesian (AN) family, we look at Kambera, Kedang, Taba, Larike, Selaru, and Dobel, and from the Trans New Guinea (TNG) family, we look at Klon, Abui, and Tanglapui.[6,7] The location of these languages is indicated on Map 1. Table 1 gives an alphabetical list of the languages, with their affiliation, the source(s) used, and the number they have on Map 1.

[4] In the languages discussed here, non-verbal clauses are intransitive and lack a (two-place) copular verb.

[5] Although non-verbal predicates can have a volitional argument ('Don't be lazy!'), volition appears to be relevant only for certain arguments of 'adjectival' predicates: 'In the domain of non-verbal predication the opposition between controlled and non-controlled states of affairs seems to be relevant only in the case of adjectival predicates (...) with first order arguments.' (Hengeveld 1992: 122).

[6] For discussion and references of genetic affiliations of Austronesian languages in Eastern Indonesia, see Blust 1993 and earlier work, and for references on the affiliation of the Trans New Guinea as well as other 'Papuan' languages, see Foley (1986, 2000), Pawley (2005), and Ross (2005).

[7] The languages in the survey presented here are from a sample of 36 languages (i) about which documentation was available, and (ii) which are spoken in Indonesia and East Timor, excluding Borneo and New Guinea. That 36-language sample was collected to study the geographic distribution of Split S patterns in this part of the archipelago, where a total number of approx. 385 languages are spoken. (For a list of the sample, see the Appendix in Klamer 2006.) The sample contains languages with, and without Split S phenomena. According to the definition in section 2 below, twelve of the 36 sample languages have semantic alignment. All of these are discussed in the present volume: ten in the present paper, and two (Tobelo and Pagu) in Holton (this volume).




Map 1. Indonesia. Areas black are overwhelmingly Papuan; Areas in white are Austronesian; ▲= Papuan languages in otherwise Austronesian areas

Table 1. Alphabetical list of languages discussed in this paper, with affiliation and source(s).

| *Language* | *Affiliation* | *Source* | *No. on Map 1* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abui | TNG | Kratochvíl, to appear | 4 |
| Dobel | AN | Hughes 2000 | 9 |
| Kambera | AN | Klamer 1998; in press | 1 |
| Kedang | AN | Samely 1991 | 2 |
| Klon | TNG | Baird 2004, 2005, in preparation | 3 |
| Larike | AN | Laidig and Laidig 1991, Laidig 1992 | 7 |
| Selaru | AN | Coward 1990 | 8 |
| Taba | AN | Bowden 2001 | 6 |
| Tanglapui | TNG | Donohue 1997 | 5 |

This paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I outline the criteria to diagnose a language as having a Semantic Alignment system, and illustrate how they are used in the analysis of the alignment system of Acehnese, the most cited Austronesian language with 'active/stative' alignment. In section 3, I then present case studies of semantic alignment in nine lesser-known languages in eastern Indonesia, going from west to east on the map: Kambera (3.1), Kedang (3.2), Klon (3.3), Abui (3.4), Tanglapui (3.5), Taba (3.6), Larike (3.7),

Selaru (3.8), and Dobel (3.9). In section 4, a summary of the semantic factors involved in the split in marking is presented, followed by a brief discussion.

## 2. Semantic alignment in the Indonesian area

In the case studies below, I describe how S, A, and P are encoded by pronouns. I will not consider lexical NPs, because languages discussed here are generally head-marking, with pronominals encoding the person, number (and sometimes case) features of S, A and/or P as affixes or clitics on the predicate, while the lexical NPs are generally optional adjuncts. Another reason to focus on the pronominals is that crosslinguistically, semantic alignment systems are often restricted to person markers referring to human beings, since proto-A features are more readily attributable to human beings than to inanimate objects (Mithun 1991:536). Lexical NPs always have 3rd person referents that are often non-human, while pronominal markers on verbs for 1st and 2nd person canonically have human referents. From this perspective it thus makes sense to study semantic alignment systems by focussing on the pronominal encoding of arguments.

In the survey reported below, a language is considered to have semantic alignment when it has an overt split in the marking of S, and when it marks an S with proto-Agent features and/or without proto-Patient features in the same way as an A, and an S with proto-Patient features and/or without proto-Agent features, in the same way as a P. In addition, I will assume that the split marking of S must be found with morphologically underived predicates. This restriction is relevant, because there are a number of Austronesian languages that have variable intransitive patterns depending on the derivational characteristics of the predicate. In such languages, we find intransitive verbs that belong to (at least) two different lexical classes (one with dynamic, 'unergative', or 'event' verbs, the other with non-dynamic, 'unaccusative' or 'state' verbs). In some of them, the semantic contrast between the lexical

classes of intransitive verbs is formally expressed by the presence viz. absence of certain derivational affixes, so that it is in fact the derivative prefixes of the verbs which determine the lexical-semantic class they belong to, and (indirectly) also the interpretation of S as more 'agent'-like or 'patient'-like. Examples of Austronesian languages which have been analysed as split intransitive on the basis of the morphological potential of their intransitive verbs include Buru (Grimes 1991: 99), Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999:482-484), Timugon Murut (Brewis 2002: 42), Balinese (Arka 2003:33-34) and Begak (Goudswaard 2005:201).[8] Although they possess intransitive verb classes that are semantically motivated, these languages do not have semantic alignment in the sense defined above, because the semantics of their intransitive predicates (and hence of S) is actually determined by derivational morphology. As derivational morphology (e.g. causative, applicative) interacts in important ways with the encoding of arguments (cf. Mithun 1991: 539), morphologically derived verbs should not be analysed on a par with underived verbs. In the survey reported here, I have therefore decided to focus on split intransitive patterns that occur with morphologically underived predicates only.

According to the definition given above, Acehnese (an Austronesian language of North Sumatra, Durie 1985, 1987) is diagnosed as a language with semantic alignment.[9] In Acehnese transitive clauses, A is marked with a proclitic, and P with an optional enclitic, as in (1). The encoding of S is variable. Sometimes it is marked like A, sometimes like P depending on the semantics of S.

One class of intransitives (referred to as 'controlled verbs'in Durie 1985: 63 passim) includes motion and posture verbs with an animate and controlling argument (*jak* 'go', *döng*

[8] See also the discussion in Himmelmann (2005: 134-135) of how the notion 'split-intransitive' is used in the analysis of some Austronesian languages.

[9] In his description of Acehnese, Durie (1985:63) also mentions the problem that: '[...] the semantic component of control – that of the Agent – is not always in itself a sufficient criterion [to account for the marking of S in Acehnese]: many roots allow this semantic component to be altered by the application of a derivative prefix. [...] It is significant that the meaning of a derivative verb is usually rather less general than that of its base, with more restricted connotations.' For similar reasons, we focus on the split marking of S with underived verbs here.

'stand', *beudöh* 'get up', *iem* 'be still', verbs of bodily activity (*khêm* 'laugh/smile', *klik* 'cry', *batôk* 'cough'), verbs of speech or mental activity (e.g., *marit* 'talk', *kira* 'think', *pham* 'understand'), and some emotion verbs (e.g. *chên* 'love/feel sympathy for', *têm* 'want, like'). The S of these verbs is marked like A because (in the terms of Durie 1985:63) the 'more general', 'natural' semantic characteristics of these verbs involve 'control' by the argument. That is, the argument of these verbs generally has the proto-Agent property of being volitional. An illustration is (2). [10]

(1) Gopnyan ka lon=ngieng(=geuh)
s/he IN 1SG=see=3SG
'I saw him/her' (Durie 1987:369)

(2) Geu=jak gopnyan
3SG=go s/he
'S/he goes' (Durie 1987:369)

The second class of Acehnese intransitives have an S that need not be animate, and is always non-volitional. This class includes event and state verbs (*rhët* 'fall', *reubah* 'topple over', *jeuet* 'become', *trôh* 'happen/arrive'), verbs of emotion (*ku'eh* 'envy', *seugan* 'not want to', *êk* 'like/feel inclined'), personal attributes (*beuhë* 'brave', *caröng* 'clever', *gasien* 'poor', *gasa* 'rude'), and bodily and mental states of animate arguments (*sakêt* 'sick/hurting', *gatay* 'itchy', *mumang* 'confused', *dawôk* engrossed) (Durie 1985:64-66). The lack of the proto-Agent feature of volitionality allows the S to be expressed like P:

(3) Gopnyan rhët(=geuh)
s/he fall(=3SG)
'S/he falls' (Durie 1987:369)

[10] In the glosses of the examples cited in this paper, I follow the original glosses of the authors as much as possible. However, the glosses of person, number and case of pronominals have been standardized following the Leipzig glossing conventions.

The third class overlaps with the other two,[11] and the S of these verbs is 'fluid': it is encoded like A when it refers to a 'wanting' (Durie 1985:55) participant, i.e. a volitional one, as in (4), and like P when it refers to the 'ultimately affected participant' of an event (Durie 1985: 55, 56, 63), as in (5). In other words, the proto-A feature of volitionality also determines the encoding of S in this verb class.

(4) Rila ji=matê
ready 3.(familiar)=dead
'He was ready to go to his death' (Durie 1985:57)

(5) … matê(=jih)
dead=3.(familiar)
'… he died' (Durie 1987: 376)

Finally, the S of non-verbal predicates in Acehnese is always encoded like P (Durie 1985: 126-128), as illustrated in (6). This marks the argument of non-verbal predicates as a non-volitional entity.

(6) Urueung nyan ubê raksasa=geuh
person that size giant=3SG
'That person is as big as a giant' (Durie 1985: 113)

In sum, Acehnese has semantic alignment: the split marking of S depends on the semantics of the argument. From Durie's (1985) description it is clear that the encoding is for a large part based on the lexical class a verb belongs to, i.e. is largely lexically specified.[12] Only the verbs of the third class show alignment that is entirely semantically determined. However, although the distinction between class one and two is now lexicalised, it is transparently based

[11] The third class contains many emotion verbs (*cinta* 'love/favour', *galak* 'like', *beungeh* 'angry'), verbs of thought or mental activity (*syök* 'suspect', *yakin* 'believe/be sincere'), ability (*jeuet* 'able', *keuneuk* 'likely to'), personal attributes or attitudes (*horeumat* 'polite', *kaya* 'rich', *malee* 'shy', *kiyanat* 'false, treacherous'), but also aspect verbs (*mulayi* 'begin', *piyôh* 'stop'), and verbs of motion (*teuka* 'arrive', *ilê* 'buzz off!'), and the verbs *udêp* 'live' and *matê* 'die' (Durie 1985: 66-67).

[12] For example, *muntah* 'vomit' marks S like A, but can S have control on vomiting? Additional examples can be found in Durie (1985).

on the distinction volition (or control in Durie's terms) (class one) versus the lack of it (class two), the same distinction that still applies regularly in the alignment of the third class, so that the split-S marking found in Acehnese can still be characterised as semantic alignment.

## 3. Case studies of semantic alignment in eastern Indonesia

In this section, nine case studies of semantic alignment in eastern Indonesia are presented, going from west to east: Kambera (3.1), Kedang (3.2), Klon (3.3), Abui (3.4), Tanglapui (3.5), Taba (3.6), Larike (3.7), Selaru (3.8), and Dobel (3.9).

### 3.1. Kambera

Kambera (Klamer 1998, in press) is spoken in the eastern part of Sumba island. In Kambera, A, S and P are expressed as obligatory clitics on the predicate,[13] by clitics from the paradigms in (7). Full pronouns are used for emphasis and disambiguation and are not discussed here as they are not differentiated into separate paradigms according to semantic or syntactic role.

(7) Kambera pronominal clitics

| | *NOM* | *GEN* | *ACC* | *DAT* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | ku= | =nggu | =ka | =ngga |
| 2SG | (m)u= | =mu | =kau | =nggau |
| 3SG | na= | =na | =ya | =nya |
| 1PL.INCL | ta= | =nda | =ta | =nda |
| 1PL.EXCL | ma= | =ma | =kama | =nggama |
| 2PL | (m)i= | =mi | =ka(m)i | =ngga(m)i |
| 3PL | da= | =da | =ha | =nja |

[13] Subject, direct and indirect objects are marked as enclitics with optional additional NPs; however, when objects are indefinite they are not cliticized, but expressed as NPs.

In a canonical transitive clause, A is marked with a nominative, and P with an accusative, as illlustrated in (8):

(8) Na=palu=ka

3SG.NOM=watch=1SG.ACC

'He hit me' (Klamer 1998:63, 369)

In intransive clauses, the default is to mark S like A, i.e., with a nominative clitic, as illustrated in (9)-(11). As these examples show, S does not need to have any proto-Agent features in order to be marked like A: the argument of *mbana* 'be hot/angry' and *mutung* 'burn' are not volitional, causing, or moving arguments, nor do they have sentience.

(9) Ba na=luhu=ka weling la pindu uma...

when 3SG.NOM=leave=PFV move.from LOC door house

'When he came out of the house door...' (Klamer 1998:205)

(10) Na=mbana na tau Jawa

3SG.NOM=be.hot/angry ART person Java

'The stranger is angry.' (Klamer 1998:118)

(11) Na=mutung na uma jàka[14] u=pajulu wàngu epi

3SG.NOM=burn ART house if 2SG.NOM=play use fire

'The house will burn down if you play with fire.' (Klamer 1998:152)

The S of non-verbal predicates in Kambera, as a typical non-volitional participant of a non-dynamic state of affairs, is marked with an accusative enclitic, as in (12) and (13).

(12) [Lai nú]=ya

LOC there=3SG.ACC

'S/he's over there' (Klamer 1998:162)

[14] In the Kambera examples <à> = [ɑ], and <í > = [i:].

(13) [Mbapa=nggu nyungga]=ya

husband=1SG.GEN I=3SG.ACC

'He is MY husband.' (Klamer 1998:156)

Apart from the non-verbal contexts where S is non-volitional and obligatorily marked like P, Kambera also has fluid S marking in verbal clauses. We noted that the default in declarative sentences is to mark S like A, as in (14a), but (14b) shows that S may optionally be marked like P. In the latter sentence, S is presented as explicitly non-volitional, and out of control.

(14) a. …hi **na**=hí=ma=a=ka i Mada una…

and 3SG.NOM=cry=EMPH=MOD=PFV ART Mada EMPH.3SG

'…and Mada was just crying…'

b. …hi hí=ma=a=**ya**=ka i Mada una…

and cry=EMPH=MOD=3SG.ACC=PFV ART Mada EMPH.3SG

'... and Mada just cried and cried' [i.e. could do nothing but cry]

Given the appropriate context, all Kambera intransitive verbs allow for such an optionally accusative S. All accusative S's are interpreted as less volitional than they would canonically be expected. Verbs attested with an accusative S include activity verbs (*pabànjar* 'chat'), directional verbs (*mài* 'come (towards speaker)'), as well as verbs denoting events (*meti* 'die', *hí* 'cry'), processes (*kalit* 'to grow dark'), or states (*hàmu* 'be good', *hangunja* 'sit idly, sit doing nothing', *haledak* 'be clear'). With predicates denoting states or processs, the accusative clitic always has an impersonal referent, referring e.g. to the weather, or to a situation. Personal arguments of such predicates cannot be marked with an accusative (Klamer 1998:166), compare (15a-b):

(15) a. Lalu haledak=ya

too be.clear=3SG.ACC

'It's very clear (weather)'

b. Lalu haledak=na

too be.clear=3SG.GEN

'He's very cheerful' (Klamer 1998:168)

In sum, while a Kambera S is marked like A by default, in contexts where S canonically has no proto-A properties, such as when it is the argument of a non-verbal predicate, it is marked like P. S can also be optionally marked like P, and in that case it has a less volitional interpretation. [15]

### 3.2. Kedang

Kedang (Samely 1991) is an Austronesian language spoken on Lamalera, a small island east of Flores. Kedang has fluid S-marking: in principle, one and the same verb allows its S to be expressed like A or like P. Lexical classes of verbs, or verbal aspect do not play a role.

Like Kambera, Kedang has two distinct paradigms to mark P (henceforth referred to as paradigm I and II). Either paradigm may be used to express S, depending on the semantic factors discussed below. Pronominal arguments in Kedang may be free words and/or attach to the predicate as clitics.[16] Kedang has no case marking on NPs, nor on pronouns -- except for the 1sg pronoun which distinguishes S and A from P. Non-first person free pronouns differentiate A/S from P only by their position relative to the verb: S/A pronouns precede the verb, while P pronouns follow it. In (13) the Kedang pronouns are given. An enclitic P may be marked with either of the two paradigms in (17).

[15] While I have focused here on describing the contrast between nominative and accusative marking of S, it should be noted that Kambera has three additional ways to mark S, see Klamer (1998 chapter 5, In press).

[16] There is a set of 19 verbs that obligatorily take subject prefixes (S or A) (Samely 1991:94-96). The prefixes are single consonants and attach to vowel-initial verbal stems. Such phonotactically triggered inflection is not considered here.

(16) Kedang free pronouns (cf. Samely 1991: 70-72)[17]

| | *S & A, pre-verbal* | *P, post-verbal* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | >ei [18] | >eqi |
| 2SG | o | o |
| 3SG | nuo | nuo |
| 1PL.INCL | te | te |
| 1PL.EXCL | e | e |
| 2PL | me | me |
| 3PL | suo | suo |

(17) Pronominal enclitics marking P or S in Kedang (cf. Samely 1991: 70-72)

| | *Paradigm I (PI)* | *Paradigm II (PII)* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | =ku | =u |
| 2SG | =ko | =o |
| 3SG | =i | =ne |
| 1PL.INCL | =te | =te |
| 1PL.EXCL | =ke | =e |
| 2PL | =me | =me |
| 3PL | =deq | =ya |

Samely (1991: 70) lists both P marking paradigms as synonymous –both have a 'subjective' as well as an 'objective' function. Since it appears from the source that an A in Kedang is always expressed as a free pronoun (cf. (18)), I interpret this to mean that in 'objective' function, pronominal enclitics encode P, and in 'subjective' function they encode S.

[17] These are the unmarked pronouns. The language has other special pronoun paradigms, not considered here.
[18] The Kedang examples retain Samely's orthography, where > marks breathy vowels.

The transitive clause in (18) illustrates the alignment of A and P. The A of the *maqo* 'steal' and *ehing* 'deny' is 3SG *nuo* 's/he', the P of *maqo* is *doiq* 'money', the P of *ehing* an enclitic.[19] (In the glosses, the numeral I and II refer to P-marking paradigm I and II).

(18) >Ei >oroq [nuo maqo doiq] [paq nuo ehing=i]
I suspect s/he steal money but s/he deny=3SG.I
'I suspect he steals money but he denies it' (Samely 1991:73)

Turning now to the intransitive clauses, we observe that S is marked like A in (19a), where *>ei* 'I' is a free pronoun, and precedes the verb *pan* 'go'. However, S is morphologically P-like in (19b), where it is an enclitic to the predicate phrase. In such constructions, a preverbal pronoun may optionally mark S in preverbal position, as in (19c).

(19) a. >Ei pan >owe >ul…
I go DEI market
'I go to the market…' (ibid., p. 79)

b. Pan >oteq=o?
go DEI=2SG.II
'Going up, are you?' (ibid., p. 71)

c. O pan >oteq=o?
you go DEI=2SG.II
'Going up, are you?' [slightly more courteous than (b)] (ibid., p. 71)

The pattern in (19b) is described as 'typical for most common, somewhat casual speech' (Samely 1991:71), while (19c) is presented as a polite variety of (19b). This suggests that the obligatory item is the clitic, with the additional NP optionally present for pragmatic reasons such as politeness, and/or for emphasis or disambiguation. The analysis presented here focusses on the distribution of the clitics.

[19] Samely refers to these as 'suffixes' (Samely 1991: 70) but since their domain of attachment is phrasal rather than morphological, I analyse them as clitics.

Samely (1991) does not discuss the factors that determine the choice to mark S like A or like P. However, Kedang non-verbal predicates align S like P, as in (20)-(22):

(20) Predicate is a noun:

>Anaq usun tèhèq tèlè: "kusing=ne."

child small speak say cat=3SG.II

'The children say: "It's a cat" ' (ibid., p. 153)

(21) Predicate is an adjective:[20]

Labur koqo miteng=ne

dress POSS.EMP black=3SG.II

'My dress is black.' (ibid., p. 77)

(22) Predicate is a location:

Koq lumar >ote bètè wela=ne

1SG.POSS field DEI interior=3SG.II

'My field is up there in the interior.' (ibid., p. 75)

As mentioned before, non-verbal predicates typically denote non-dynamic states of affairs, and their argument is typically non-volitional, and the fact that such S's are marked like P reflects this semantic similarity.

Regarding the fluid S marking in Kedang, this might relate to the interpretation of the argument: when S is expressed like P, it has a less agentive interpretation than when it is marked like A. Thus the S, which is expressed in (23a) and (24a) by verbal enclitics, [21] would be less agentive than the S in (23b) and (24b), which is expressed by the preverbal pronouns *suo* and *nuo*. Unfortunately the source provides no further information on the semantics of this distinction.

[20] Here I follow the classification of Samely (1991:84-87), where colour terms are included in the class of adjectives.

[21] As mentioned above, in constructions where the argument is marked by an enclitic and an additional pronoun, the pronoun is optional.

(23) a. Ebeng boraq bahe nape e bale=**ke**

watch look.at COMPL then 1PL.EXCL return=1PL.EXCL.I

'When we finished watching, we returned' /

'After we will have finished watching, we will return.' (ibid., p. 91)

b. Bahe **suo** bale=dèq.

then they return=PFV

'Then they returned home.' (ibid., p. 158)

(24) a. Heri, o kua kueq**=ko**?

Heri you why.2SG cry=2SG.I

'Heri, why do you cry?'

b. **Nuo** kueq oti mawang=i

s/he cry AG.focus 2.harm=3SG.I

'He cries because you harmed him.'

These examples also suggest a relation between the marking of S and other grammatical properties of the clause, for example, irrealis vs. realis, perfective vs. imperfective, but the scarcity of data does not allow more to be said about this. However, it is relevant to note that S=A marking (and not S=P) in Kedang is often found in combination with various kinds of aspect markers (Samely 1991:92) that give the predicate a more telic interpretation, such as the 'Inceptive' *dèq mè*:

(25) >Ei bèq pan dèq mè

I here go INC

'I am going' / 'I will be leaving now' / 'I am about to go' / 'I will go immediately'

Having addressed the marking of S like A or like P, we continue by studying more details about the marking of S like P. In Kedang, the split in P marking is reflected in a split

in the marking of: S is either an enclitic from PI, e.g. *=ko* '2SG.I' in (24a), or from PII , e.g. *=o* '2SG.II' in (19b).

When is S marked with PI, and when with PII? In Table 2 some illustrations of intransitive verbs found in examples throughout the sketch are given.[22] Those in the left-hand column mark S with a pronoun from paradigm PI, those in the right-hand column mark S with a pronoun from paradigm PII.

Table 2. Verbs attested in examples in Samely (1991) (numbers refer to pages in the source)

| *Verbs with their S marked as PI* | | *Verbs with their S marked as PII* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nore | 'exist' ('there are') (84) | tawe | 'laugh' (90) |
| beq | 'be here' (72) | pan | 'go' (70, 88, 89) |
| bale | 'return' (91) | hamang | 'dance' (93) |
| bute | 'sleep' (73) | pan >oteq | 'go up' (71) |
| bikil | 'broken' (73) | turu | 'come down' (91) |
| moruq | 'fall' (73) | bèyèng | 'run' (91) |
| | | moleng diqen | 'be better' (lit. 'healthy good') (89) |
| | | nihon | 'be light (of day)' (74) |
| | | mawin | 'be wet' (91) |
| | | adaq >alu | 'behave refined' (76) |
| | | mate | 'dead' (93) |
| | | bute | 'sleep' (73) |
| | | bikil | 'broken' (73) |
| | | moruq | 'fall' (73) |

Both PI and PII occur with verbs of states, events and processes, so that lexical aspect does not seem to determine the choice. Neither does it appear to be the case that the marking correlates strictly with certain verbal classes, since the verbs *bute, bikil* and *moruq* occur with both PI and PII. It seems that the split relates to the dynamicity of the predicate, i.e. whether it is a state or an event. In (26), this contrast is illustrated with the verb *bute* 'sleep'. In the first clause the S is marked with 3SG.II *=ne,* in the second sentence, it is a 3SG.I *=i*. The contrast is explained as follows: "*bute=ne* conveys the static nature of the action described, implying that the person is either sound asleep, or else has slept for a considerable time. *Bute=i*

[22] This list gives examples of which P marker is found with which verb. It is neither exhaustive, nor definitive; i.e., the source does not tell us that the verbs occurring with PI cannot take PII, or vice versa.

emphasizes the dynamic side of the action, in this case that the person has not slept for long but fell asleep only recently." (Samely 1991:72).

(26) Nuo bute=ne, doq-doq nuo hoko=i. Eeh, bute=i watiq.
s/he sleep=3SG.II suddenly s/he get.up=3SG.I EXCLAM sleep=3SG.I again
'He slept, (then) suddenly got up. Why, now he has fallen asleep again!' (ibid., p. 73)

In a similar way, the contrast between *=ne* and *=i* in (27) marks a difference in dynamicity: (27a) "describes the state that the flashlight is presently not usable because it is broken", while (27b) "draws the listerner's attention to the actual breaking as the cause for its present state of being unusable" (Samely 1991:73), i.e. *bikil* gets a more dynamic event reading.

(27) a. Koq senter bikil=ne *state*
1SG.POSS flashlight broken=3SG.II
'My flashlight is broken.' (ibid., p. 73)

b. Koq senter bikil=i *event*
1SG.POSS flashlight broken=3SG.I
'My flashlight got broken.'

The same distinction applies in (28). (28a) "stresses the result of the falling of the coconuts: they are now lying on the ground, while [(28b)] focuses on the falling as the prehistory of the present state." (ibid, 73). I interpret this as (28a) describing a non-dynamic resulting state ('to have fallen down'), and (28b) as a dynamic event ('to be/have been falling down').

(28) a. Taq muruq=ya *state*
coconut fall=3PL.II
'Coconuts fell.' (or '…have fallen down')

b. Taq muruq=deq *event*
coconut fall=3PL.I
'Coconuts fell.' (or '…are/have been falling down')

In sum, S is marked like PII when the predicate indicates a (resulting) state, and like PI when it is an event. [23]

To conclude, expressed as free pronouns, A is preverbal and P postverbal. S is marked like A when it is a more agentive participant, and when it is encoded like P it gets an less agentive interpretation. (This needs to be tested further on a richer set of data than is available in the source.) The pronominal enclitics follow an ergative-absolutive alignment system: they mark S and P identically, in contrast to A. Kedang has a split in the marking of P, and the encliticized S goes along in this split. As a result, an enclitic S is sometimes marked with PI and sometimes with PII. In this way, a distinction between stative or more eventive readings predicates are expressed -- a classic example of an active/stative split that is marked with two distinct P paradigms in Kedang.

### 3.3. Klon

Klon (Baird 2005, forthc.) is a non-Austronesian language spoken on the island of Alor, north of Timor island. A in Klon is marked as a free pronoun that occurs in preverbal position. P is expressed as a prefix or proclitic. The paradigms are given in (29). In general, the choice which prefix paradigm marks P depends on the lexical specification of the verb. More than 50% of the transitives align P with paradigm II, about 30% align P with paradigm I, and about 4% align P with paradigm IV.[24, 25]

(29) Klon free pronouns (full & reduced) and pronominal prefixes (Baird, 2005: 2, 3)

| *Free pronouns* | *PI* | *PII* | *PIV* |
|---|---|---|---|

[23] It is unclear how this alignment of S relates to the alignment of P with Paradigm I or II, though it seems that Paradigm I is typically used to mark P in contexts where the agentive features of A are emphasized, (the 'Agent' or the 'Action' is 'in focus' (ibid., p. 81-83)), while Paradigm II is used in unmarked contexts.

[24] About 10% of the transitives may be prefixed by a choice between to classes of prefixes; in which case the choice is motivated by the semantics of the context of use (Baird, in prep.).

[25] Class III of the P marking bound pronouns are not discussed in Baird's (2005) description, since they are not verbal prefixes, but rather weakly bound clitic-like pronouns that attach to syntactic phrases (see Baird, in prep.).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | na(n) | n- | no- | ne- |
| 2SG | a(n) | V-/ Ø | o- | e- |
| 3 | ga(n) | g- | go- | ge- |
| 1PL.INCL | pi | t- | to- | te- |
| 1PL.EXCL | ngi / ni | ng- | ngo- | nge- |
| 2PL | igi / i | Vg- | ogo- | ege- |
| 3PL | ini / i | ini g- | ini go- | ini ge- |

Agreement in Klon depends for a large part on the lexical class to which a root verb belongs. Klon has three lexical classes of intransitive root verbs: (i) verbs that mark S like A –with a free pronoun (ii) verbs that mark S like P – with a prefix, and (iii) verbs that mark S like A or like P, depending on the agentive properties of S. The encoding of the latter type of arguments is thus semantically motivated, see below.

The first class of verbs in Klon is the one that mark S like A. This is the largest class. It contains verbs of various semantic types, including *diqiri* 'to think', *hler* 'cut grass', *liir* 'to fly' and *mkuun* 'be fat' (Baird 2005:6). (30) and (31) illustrate that the A of *méd* 'take' and the S of *waa* 'go' are both marked by a free pronoun.[26]

(30) Biasa **ni** balok mé-méd iwi g-gten
Usually 1PL.EXCL beam RED-take house RED-make
'We usually take beams to build houses.'

(31) Nang **ini** hok waa nang
Neg 3.PL IRR go NEG
'No, they didn't go.' (Baird 2005:2)

[26] *Biasa* and *balok* are loans from Malay.

This class of intransitives marks S like A irrespective of the semantics of the argument or the verb, so that marking S like A can be considered the default pattern.

The second class of intransitive verbs is small. The S of this class is always marked with PII. The S of these verbs is a non-controlling, non-volitional participant, examples include *atak* 'rather large', *egel* 'tired' and *hrak* 'hot'. An illustration is (32), where both P and S are marked with a prefix from class II.

(32) a. Go-krui
3.II-scream
'Scream at him'

b. Go-hrak
3.II-hot
'He (is) hot' (Baird 2004)

The fact that the S of stative verbs like *hrak* 'hot' is marked like P has a transparent semantic motivation. However, since the first class also contains stative verbs, but the S of these verbs must be marked like A, we cannot make the generalisation that marking of S like P (versus A) always depends on the semantics of the verb or its argument. In fact, most of the marking of S's in Klon are determined solely by the class the verb happens to belong to just as we observed for Acehnese in section 2. However, Klon differs from Acehnese in that the semantic motivation for the verbal classes in Klon is much less clear than it is in Acehnese.

The third class of Klon intransitives shows a fluid split in agreement. In this class, the semantic properties of the argument do indeed determine the alignment: S is expressed like P when it is not a volitional and controlling participant, but rather an affected one. This is illustrated in (33b), where S is marked like P with a prefix from paradigm IV. In contrast to (33a), where S is marked like A with a free pronoun, S in (33b) is presented as a more affected participant. Obviously, 'being itchy' always has an argument that is somehow affected. In Klon, even an affected S like this is marked like A, following the default pattern, but the verbs of the third class in Klon allow such an S optionally to be marked like P, in

order to draw specific attention to its being affected. For marking of S like P, paradigm IV is used most frequently, although there are some verbs that select paradigm I (Baird 2005:10).

(33) a. A kaak
2SG itchy
'You're itchy.'

b. E-kaak
2SG.IV-itchy
'You're itchy (and affected).' (Baird 2005:8)

To conclude, Klon has multiple ways to mark S. In most cases the marking is a fixed property of the lexical class to which the verb belongs: class one always marks S like A, class two always like P. Only the third verbal class has fluid S-marking, and the split in the alignment of S in this class is motivated by the affectedness of S. If this property is rephrased in one of Dowty's (1991) proto-properties, this is the proto-Patient property 'undergoer of a change of state'. Note that S need not be a volitional and controlling participant to be aligned like A, since the argument of 'to be itchy' in (33a) cannot be considered volitional, nor can it exercize control on the experience of being itchy. Yet it is aligned like A in terms of agreement, which is in line with the analysis that the default alignment of a Klon S is like A. Only diverging from the default pattern needs a semantic motivation in Klon.

Default alignment is also found in Klon nominal clauses, which encode their pronominal argument like A. This is illustrated in ( 34), where the argument is a 3rd person dual pronoun that refers to actor arguments -- if a dual referent refers to an undergoer, it is marked with an additional undergoer prefix on the verb (see Baird forthc.).

( 34) Ele ool om
3.DUAL woman man
'They (dual) were husband and wife'

### 3.4. Abui

Abui (Kratochvíl, to appear) is a non-Austronesian language belonging to the Timor-Alor-Pantar subgroup of the Trans New Guinea family, spoken in the west-central part of Alor island. As in Klon, the A in Abui is marked by a free pronoun that precedes the verb. The forms are given in the first column of (35). A cannot be marked with a prefix, prefixes are used to mark non-controlling/volitional participants (while controlling/volitional participants are always marked like A) (Kratochvíl to appear, section 5.1). Abui has three prefix paradigms, they are also given in (35). Unlike in Klon, the choice for any one of the three P paradigms is not lexicalized but based on a set of semantic considerations that is too complex to discuss here in full. They may be summarized as follows. While all prefixes mark non-volitional participants in transitive and intransitive clauses, P.PAT marks the most prototypical patients, P.LOC marks less affected undergoers such as locations, benefactives, and purposes, and P.REC typically marks human/animate recipients or inanimate goals (see Kratochvíl to appear, section 5.5, for more details).

(35) Abui pronominals (Kratochvíl, to appear)

| | *A* | *P.PAT* | *P.LOC* | *P.REC* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | na | na- | ne- | no- |
| 2SG | a | a- | e- | o- |
| 3 | | ha- | he- | ho- |
| 1PL.EXCL | ni | ni- | ni- | nu- |
| 1PL.INCL | pi | pi- | pi- | po/pu- |
| 2PL | ri | ri- | ri- | ro/ru- |

An illustration of a transitive clause in Abui is (36) where A is a free pronoun, and P refers to an indefinite patient that is not marked on the verb. In (37), the patient is definite and P is prefixed to the verb.

(36) Na bataa tukong
I cut wood
'I cut wood' (Kratochvíl, to appear, section 5.3)

(37) Fani el ha-wel-i
F. before 3.PAT-pour-PFV
'Fani washed him' (Kratochvíl, to appear, section 5.4)

Intransitive verbs with a volitional argument express this argument like A, with a free pronoun, as illustrated in (38a) and (39a). Such an S cannot be expressed with any of the prefixes, as the b. examples show.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (38) a. Na ayong | b. | *Na-ayong, | *ne-ayong, | *no-ayong |
| 'I swim' | | 1SG.PAT-swim | 1SG.LOC-swim | 1SG.REC-swim |
| (39) a. Na furai | b. | *Na-furai, | *ne-furai, | *na-furai |
| 'I run' | | 1SG.PAT-run | 1SG.LOC-run | 1SG.REC-run |

Intransitive clauses with a non-volitional participant encode always encode it like P, whether it refers to an event, or a state. (40) illustrates the event verb *yei* 'fall' with a non-volitional/controlling argument, which is marked with the P prefix *ha-*, (40a), and cannot be expressed with a free pronoun, (40b).[27] (41)-(43) illustrate state verbs with a non-volitional argument. In (41a), the verb indicates a condition, in (42a) an attribute, and in (43a) a bodily experience. To show the parallel with transitive constructions, (41b)-(43b) present transitive clauses, each with a P that is marked with a prefix from the same paradigm as the one used in the (a) examples.

[27] Whether the argument in this clause can be marked with any of the other prefixes is irrelevant for the point being made here, since all of the prefixes mark non-volitional arguments ($S_P$/P), in contrast to free pronouns that mark volitional arguments ($S_A$/A).

(40) a. Ha-yei
3.PAT-fall
'It/s/he/they fall'

b. * Ha yei
it/s/he/they fall

(41) a. Na-rik (* Na rik)
1SG.PAT-be.ill
'I am ill'

b. Trans. with P.PAT: Simon na-wel
S. 1SG.PAT-bathe
'Simon bathes me'

(42) a. Ne-do kul (* Na kul)
1SG.LOC-hold.PUNCT white
'I am white'

b. Trans. with P.LOC: Simon ne-tatet
S. 1SG.LOC-stand
'Simon waits for me'

(43) a. No-lila (*Na lila)
1SG.REC-hot
'I feel hot'

b. Trans. with P.REC: Simon no-dik
S. 1SG.REC-prick
'Simon tickles me'

In sum, the alignment of S in Abui depends on its semantics: when it is a volitional participant, it is marked like A, when it is non-volitional, it is marked like P. Which of the P pronouns (PAT, LOC or REC) is selected for the marking of the non-volitional participant depends on a complex set of other semantic factors that are not relevant for the present discussion. (See Kratochvíl, to appear, chapter 5).

In Abui, arguments of non-verbal predicates are typically expressed with P pronouns. This is illustrated in ( 44a), where the 2nd person addressee is expressed with the prefix *e-* '2SG.LOC' , a P prefix on the verb *do* 'hold'. Note however, that in some contexts the argument of a nominal predicate may also be expressed as A, with a free pronoun. This is illustrated in ( 44b). In such contexts, the S of the nominal predicate is coreferent with the A of the following verbal clause.

( 44) a. E-do Ceko he-ama kang

2SG.LOC-hold.PUNCT Czech 3.INAL-person be.good

'You are a Czech'

b. A Ceko he-ama kang, hare bir faring buuk-e

2SG Czech 3.INAL-person be.good so beer much consume-IPFV

'You are a Czech, so you'll drink a lot of beer' [you don't drink enough now]

In general, the argument of a nominal clause in Abui is thus expressed as P, except when it is coreferent with an active, volitional participant in a verbal clause following it.

### 3.5. Tanglapui

Tanglapui is another language belonging to the Timor-Alor-Pantar subgroup of the Trans New Guinea family. It is spoken in the eastern highlands of Alor island. The data presented here are from Donohue (1996). Tanglapui has two types of transitive verbs. One type are the 'transitive non-affective' verbs. These verbs have a P that is not adversely affected by the event denoted by the predicate. An example is the verb *di* 'see', as in (45)-(46). The paradigms to express A and P of non-affective verbs are given in (47).

(45) Ng-ya-di

1-2-see

'I/we see you' (ibid, p.103)

(46) Nga-Ø-dia

1-3-see

'I/we see him/her/they'

(47) Person marking on ‘non-affective’ verbs in Tanglapui (Donohue 1997:103-104)

| | *A* | *P* | *S (‘non-affective’ V)* | *S (‘affective’ V)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | ng(a)- | ng(a)- | ng(a)- | ng(a)- |
| 1PL | ng(a)- | ng(a)- | i- | ng(a)- |
| 2 | ya- | ya- | ya- | ya- |
| 3 | Ø– | Ø– | ya– | ya– |

The other type of transitive verbs are those whose P undergoes a change of state, or is adversely affected by the action denoted by the predicate. These verbs are referred to as ‘transitive affective’ verbs. An example is *baba* ‘hit’ in (48). Unlike non-affective transitives, affective transitives do not always mark both A and P on the verb. In (48a), only A is marked on the verb, in (48b), only P. The pattern underlying this alternation is that the argument indexed on the verb is the one whose referent is ranked highest on the animacy hierarchy (highest: 1st person, lowest: 3rd person). Whenever an action is performed contrary to the expected direction of this hierarchy, an inverse marker (*na-*) must be used. In (48a), the Agent is the 1st person, and thus highest on the hierarchy; therefore no inverse morpheme is used on when it is indexed on the verb. In (48b), however, the Agent is 3rd person, which is lower on the hierarchy than the 1st person patient, so that the highest person on the hierarchy is not the Agent. In such cases, the inverse marker must be used when this argument is indexed on the verb.

(48) a. Nga-baba
1SG-hit
[A]
‘I hit her/him/it’

b. Nga-na-baba
1SG-INV-hit
[P]
‘He/she hit me’ (ibid., p. 106)

Similar to the transitive verbs, Tanglapui intransitive verbs are divided into non-affective and affective verbs. The non-affective intransitives include ‘most of the verbs which have been

referred to in the literature as 'active' [...] verbs' (ibid., p. 101), but they also include 'non-agentive verbs' – the four examples mentioned in the source are *ve* 'go', *mɨti* 'sit', *yi* 'go up', *te* 'sleep'. The S of non-affective intransitives uses the S paradigm given in (47) .

(49) Ng-ve

1SG-go 'I go'

(50) Ya- mɨti

2/3-sit 'You/they sit' (ibid., p. 102)

Examples of affective intransitives are *mata* 'sick', *ima* 'fever', *loki* 'wet' and *tansi* 'fall', the latter two are illustrated in (51)-(52). These verbs use a similar paradigm as the non-affective paradigm, except that in 1st person number is not marked (i.e., *nga-* is used for 1st person singular and plural). The reason why affective intransitives are considered a separate verbal class is that the S of such verbs only be marked on a verb with an inverse morpheme, as shown in (51)-(52).

(51) Nga-na-loki

1SG-INV-wet 'I'm/we're wet'

(52) Ya-na-tansi

2-INV-fall 'You fall'

In sum, in Tanglapui, intransitive verbs with an affected argument encode S like P. They use a a construction that is formally identical to the inverse construction with affective transitive verbs, where P is marked on the verb, and not A, as in (48b). The S of the other intransitive verbs is non-affected and expressed like A, with a prefix, and no inverse marker on the verb.[28] Assuming that it is possible to rephrase 'affectedness' in terms of Dowty's (1991) proto-Patient properties, the relevant property of the affected argument in Tanglapui will be the

[28] If the analysis is correct that the *-na-* morpheme derives inverse verb forms in Tanglapui, the alignment interacts with a verbal voice form and is thus less of a canonical example of semantic alignment given the definition in section 2 above.

property ‘undergoer of a change of state’ – whereas (lack of) volition is not a relevant notion in the alignment found in this language.

### 3.6. Taba

Taba (Bowden 2001) is an Austronesian language spoken on Makian island, west of Halmahera in north Maluku. In Taba, A is marked with proclitics, accompanied by optional free pronouns. The forms are given in (53).

(53) Taba free pronouns and proclitics marking A (Bowden 2001:189-190)

| | *Free* | *Proclitic to mark A* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | yak | k= |
| 2SG | au | m= |
| 3SG | i | n= |
| 1PL.INCL | tit | t= |
| 1PL.EXCL | am | a= |
| 2PL | meu | h= |
| 3PL | si | l= |

Taba has various ways to mark P, but for the present discussion only two characteristics shared by all of them are relevant: Unlike an A, P is never cross-referenced on the verb, and unlike a preverbal A, P normally follows the verb, whether the referent is definite, as in(54), or not, as in (55).

(54) I n=wet am
3SG 3SG=hit 1PL.e
He hit us (after ex. (80), ibid, p.167)

(55) Mina n=tua awai

Mina 3SG-buy vegetables

'Mina is buying vegetables' (ibid, p. 102)

In Taba, intransitive verbs with a human argument always mark S like A, as in (56), while the argument of non-verbal predicates is always marked like P, as in (57) (Bowden 2001: 161). (If A is additionally expressed with a pronoun, this appears before the predicate, as in (58).)

(56) N=amlih

3SG=laugh

'She's laughing' (ibid., p. 206)

(57) Australia si

Australia they

'They're Australian' (ibid., p. 139)

(58) Si l=wom

they 3PL-come

'They've come' (ibid., p. 188)

There is a split in the marking of non-human arguments of intransitives: they are marked like A when they are 'effectors' and like P when they are 'non-effectors' (Bowden 2001: 164). An effector is the dynamic participant doing something in an event, which differs from an agent in that an effector need not be either volitional, or even animate (Bowden 2001:106, referring to Van Valin and Wilkins 1996:289). In (59) and (60) S has a non-human referent that is an effector, and marked like A, with a proclitic.

(59) Motor n=han do

motor.boat 3SG=go REAL

'The motor boat has gone' (ibid., p. 107)

(60) Mai n=giat te. Karna wah Taba ni dad-doba kaklida.
but 3SG-shake NEG because island Makian 3SG.POSS RED-garden hard
'But it didn't shake. Because Makian island has hard earth' (ibid, p. 407)

In (61), the non-human referents of S is not an effector, but rather the non-volitional argument of a stative predicate. Such S's are encoded as P in Taba, postverbally with a free pronoun.[29]

(61) Mapot i (*n=mapot)
heavy 3SG
'It's heavy' (ibid., p. 102)

In sum, Taba encodes the human argument of intransitives always like A, and (any) argument of a non-verbal predicates always like P. Semantic alignment referring to the stative-dynamic distinction only applies in the domain of non-human arguments, when the (non-volitional) non-human S of a dynamic predicate is marked like A, and the (also non-volitional) non-human argument of a stative predicate is marked like P.[30]

### 3.7. Larike

Larike (Laidig and Laidig 1990, 1991, C. Laidig 1992, W. Laidig 1993) is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Ambon, in Central Maluku.[31] Larike pronouns and affixes are given in (62).

[29] When S is a lexical NP, it is pre-verbal: *Wola ne mlongan* 'rope PROX be.tall/long' 'This rope is long' (*...*n=mlongan*) (Bowden 2001: 119)

[30] Foley (2005:409) claims that the class of event verbs ('unergatives') in Taba marks S like A, while the state verbs ('unaccusatives') mark S like P. However, this only applies to Ss with a non-human referent, since human arguments of both state and event verbs are always encoded like A in Taba. As the semantic properties of the argument (being human or not) also play a role in the encoding, the Taba system cannot be described by referring to lexical classes of verbs alone.

[31] The language Allang is another variety of the same Allang-Waksihu-Larike language group. For an overview of agentive alignment in Allang and related Central Maluku languages, see Ewing (to appear).

(62) Larike free pronouns and pronominal affixes (Laidig and Laidig 1991: 30, 37)[32]

| | *Free* | *Prefix* | *Suffix* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | a'u | au- | -a'u |
| 2SG | ane | ai- | -ne |
| 3SG | mane | me- | -ma |
| 3SG.NH | - | i- | -a (-ya,-wa) |
| 1PL.EXCL | ami | ami- | -ami |
| 1PL.INCL | ite | ite- | -ite |
| 2PL | imi | imi- | -imi |
| 3PL | mati | mati- | -mati |
| 3PL.NH | - | iri- | -ri |

In Larike, A is indexed on the verb by a prefix, and P by a suffix, as illustrated in (63).

(63) Ai-tuhe-ya

2SG-cut.open-3SG.NH

'You cut it open' (Laidig & Laidig 1991: 33)

Larike has two classes of intransitive verbs: one class that marks S like A, and another that marks S like P.[33] Most Larike intransitives belong to the verb class that marks S like A. This class includes activity verbs such as *du'i* 'crawl', *lawa* 'run', *nanu* 'swim', *pese* 'work' and motion and event verbs like *wela* 'go home', *ra'a* 'climb', *keu* 'to go' and *piku* 'to burn'. It also contains verbs expressing property concepts such as *'ata* 'be tall', *'ida* 'be big', *ko'i* 'be small', *nala* 'be named' (ibid., p. 32, 60, 66, 88). In other words, both events and states can have an argument that is marked like A. Illustrations are (64)-(65).

[32] Only the singular and plural forms are listed in this survey; in addition the language has dual and trial paradigms, see Laidig and Laidig (1990).

[33] These classes are referred to as 'unergative' and 'unaccusative' verbs by Laidig and Laidig 1991:31-32 and in Foley (2005).

(64) Ai-du'i

2SG-crawl 'You are crawling.'

(65) Ai-'ida

2SG-be.big 'You are big.'

Examples where S is marked like P are (66)-(67), taken from Larike narratives. In both cases the referent is non-human ('NH').

(66) Tanei-u hise duma hilale

possession-POSS exist house inside

pe'a-**ri** tahi sasa lohana si'u.

finish-3PL.NH not anything little also

'His belongings inside the house were totally gone.' (ibid., p. 69-70)

(67) Mei-hete mise ma-ta dupu ao ri'a pusu-**a**.

3SG-say mentioned 3SG-NEG build fire for hot-3SG.NH

'He said he won't ever again start a fire during the dry season.'

(lit. ...for [when] it's hot) (ibid., p.74)

S is marked like P when it is non-volitional (ibid., p. 32), with verbs indicating states, such as *pe'a* 'be finished', *pehe* 'be tired', or *lopo* 'be wet', (68), or bodily experiences like *duarene* 'be hungry', (ibid., p. 32, 69). There are also event verbs like *hanahu* 'fall' with an S marked like P (ibid., p. 32), as in (69).

(68) Lopo-ne

wet-2SG

'You are wet.'

(69) Hanahu-ne

fall-2SG \

'You fell.'

Since the class of verbs that marks S like P includes both event and state verbs, the Larike system cannot be described by referring to 'dynamic' versus 'stative' verbs -- both types occur with an A-like S, as well as with a P-like S. The generalisation is thus that in Larike, an S marked like P will never have a volitional referent. The reverse is not true: an S lacking volition need not be marked like P.[34]

The S of Larike non-verbal predicates is marked with free pronouns, and is thus neither marked like A nor like P, as the following example illustrates:

(70) A'u putri, ane ma maka-pese-ta.

I princess you DET AGENT-work-NOMINALISATION

'I am a princess, you are the servant'

### 3.8. Selaru

Selaru is an Austronesian language, spoken in Selaru island, in the Tanimbar archipelago between Timor and New Guinea. Its pronominal forms are given in (71).

[34] This conclusion is supported in Ewing (to appear) who argues that the split in the Allang variety of Larike is broadly based on agentivity and affectedness, and differs from the one that Foley (2005) draws for Larike. Foley claims that the Maluku languages have two verbal subclasses; one for 'states' and one for 'performed events' (2005:409), the former marking S like P, the latter marking S like A, and he concludes that the Maluku languages 'lean towards' a split that is based on the aspectual contrast between states and events (2005:426). However, since both state and event verbs mark S like P or like A in Larike (Laidig and Laidig 1991:31), there must be other factors involved than just aspect.

(71) Selaru pronominal prefixes and pronouns (Coward 1990:14-15)[35]

| | *A prefix*[36] | *A* | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | k(u)- | yaw | yaw |
| 2SG | m(u)- | oa | o |
| 3s.ANIM | i- | ia | i |
| 3s.INANIM | ki- | Ø | Ø |
| 1PL.INCL | t(a)- | iti | iti |
| 1PL.EXCL | arami- | arami | arami |
| 2PL | mi- | ea | e |
| 3PL | r(a)- | sira | sir |

In a transitive construction, A is expressed with an obligatory prefix and P with a postverbal pronoun from the P marking paradigm. In (72), A is prefixed, and P is a (resumptive) free pronoun *i* following the verb.

| (72) | Enw-ne-ke | ra-ketya | **i** | ne | i-tesu[37] | inatw |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | turtle-this-ART | 3PL-butcher | him | this | 3SG-eggs | lots |

'This turtle they are butchering here has lots of eggs' (Coward 1990:80)

Intransitive verbs always mark S like A. These include actions, (73), events (74), and mental states or bodily experiences, (75).

[35] The orthography of Selaru used in this paper diverges from Coward's when high vowels in the pronominal prefixes are spelled consistently as such.

[36] As a rule, the C-prefix form attaches to vowel-initial verbs, and the CV-prefix to consonant-initial verbs. When the onset of the verb is simple, the high vowel of the pronominal prefix and the verbal onset metathesize (though there appear to be some exceptions to this rule). For example, *i-tabahunwa* '3SG-kill' becomes *t-i-abahunwa* (ibid., p. 53, see below). The low vowel /a/ in the 1st inclusive and 3rd plural prefix does not metathesize; in such contexts the consonantal form of the prefix is used, e.g. *t-maslyes* '1PL.INCL-sweat' (and not **t-m-a-aslyes*) (see Coward 1990:15).

[37] In Selaru, prefix vowels are phonologically incorporated into the verb through metathesis; for expository reasons, I added morpheme boundaries in verbs with such a metathesized prefix vowel.

(73) T-karia lan

1PL.INCL-work hard

‘We work hard’ (ibid., p. 43)

(74) a. R-sukar

3PL-enter

‘They enter’ (ibid., p. 27)

b. I-maty bony-o mu-hait i...

3SG-dead just-TENSE 2SG-drag him

‘Once he was dead, you dragged him...’ (ibid, p.142)

(75) a. Ete mu-mai

don’t 2SG-shy

‘Don’t be shy’ (ibid., p. 72)

b. ...de asu-Vre r-uka i nini i-nkol

and dog-PL 3PL-howl him until 3SG-tired

‘…and the dogs howled at him until he was tired’ (ibid., p. 127)

The only type of predicates that encode S like P are the non-verbal predicates, (76) illustrates a nominal predicate, (77) an adjectival one. The S in these clauses is animate, when it is inanimate it is not overtly expressed, as in (78).

(76) Guru i

teacher him

‘He is a teacher’

(77) Hahy-ke lan i

pig-ART big him

‘The pig is big’ (ibid., p.57)

(78) Batbatak-ke lan Ø

chest-ART big 3SG.INANIM

'The chest is big' (ibid., p.57)

In sum, in Selaru, the S of verbal predicates is marked like A, and the S of non-verbal predicates like P. The latter predicates are typically non-dynamic, with a non-volitional argument.

### 3.9. Dobel

Dobel (Hughes 2000) is an Austronesian language spoken in the Aru islands, located in the south-east of the Maluku province. In transitive clauses, A and P are marked by clitics, as illustrated in (79) and (80). In (81), the clitic paradigms are given.

(79) ʔA=dayar=ni

3PL=hit=3SG.ANIM

'He is hitting him.' (Hughes 2000:143)

(80) ʔA=yokwa=ni

1SG=see=3SG.ANIM

'He sees it.' (ibid., p. 148)

(81) Pronominal clitics in Dobel (Hughes 2000:140)

| | *A* | *P* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | ʔu= /ʔo=[38] | =ŋu |
| 2SG | m=/mo= | =ʔa |
| 3SG.ANIM | ʔa=/na= | =ni |

[38] The allomorphy is irrelevant for the present context.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3SG.INANIM | ʔa=/na= | =Ø/V#>i |
| 1PL.INCL | ma=/ma= | =ʔama |
| 1PL.EXCL | ta=/ta= | =da |
| 2PL | mi=/mina= | =ʔami |
| 3PL | da=/da= | =ye/=di |

Intransitives are divided into two classes in Dobel. One class marks S like A, with a proclitic. This class is semantically characterized as encoding events, and illustrated in (82)-(84).

(82) ʔA=num

3SG=dive

'He dives' (ibid., p. 151)

(83) ʔA=lesi

3SG=raise

'He raises' (ibid., p. 151)

(84) ʔA=bana ti

3SG=leave PFV

'He has left' (ibid., p. 148)

The argument of such event predicates does not need to be an agent. For example, the non-volitional argument of 'to sink' and 'to die' is encoded like A, as in (85) and (86):

(85) Na=ba'ʔarum

3SG=sink

'He sinks' (ibid., p. 142)

(86) Tamatu s-soba=ni ne ʔa=kwoy ti.

person RED-good-3SG.ANIM DEM 3SG=die PFV

'That good person had died'

The other class of intransitives mark S like P. This class encodes states (Hughes 2000:153), and is illustrated in (87)-(88).

(87) Tamatu ne soba yuʔu=ni

person DEM good INTENS=3SG.ANIM

'That person is very good' (ibid., p. 143)

(88) Ŋeŋan=ni

heavy=3SG.ANIM

'He is heavy' (ibid., p. 148)

Non-verbal predicates have an argument that is encoded like P:

(89) Nor wadi ʔa'ni=ye

coconut.tree DEM 3SG.POSS=3PL

'These coconut trees are his' (ibid., p. 146)

Clearly, the distinction between 'dynamic' and 'stative' predicates is pervasive in the semantic alignment of this language, but the encodings of S may cross the lexical class boundaries. For example, the argument of the state verb 'to be seasick', normally encoded like P, is marked like A in (90):

(90) Maysaʔa ʔa=sula ma'del

perhaps 3SG=drunk wave

'Perhaps she is seasick' (ibid., p. 162)

Furthermore, event verbs such as *doŋaluʔu* ‘appear’ and *koytul* ‘dive/sink’, can have an argument that is marked like P, with an enclitic, as shown in (91) and (92) (Hughes 2000:153). Hughes notes that this unexpected encoding entails that the participant is ‘not actively involved’ in the event (Hughes 2000:154), i.e. S is explicitly non-volitional here.

(91) Kwoyar ned oŋaluʔu=ni

dog DEM appear=3SG.ANIM

‘That dog appeared’ (ibid., p. 153)

(92) Yiram ne ʔom=ni ʔa=f-fan re,

axe REL 1SG.cause=3SG.ANIM 3SG=RED-fall LOC

koytul=ni ʔona’lay

dive/sink=3SG.ANIM indeed

‘The axe, which I dropped then, did indeed sink’ (ibid., p. 177)

In sum, while semantic alignment in Dobel is mainly based on the dichotomy between state and event verbs, the encodings of S do not always obey the lexical aspect patterns of state versus event verbs. The source mentions in particular that non-volitional arguments of events may be encoded like P.

**4. Summary and discussion**

In all the languages considered here, S is encoded with a dependent pronoun (affix or clitic) attached to the predicate. The majority of them also use dependent pronouns to mark A and P (Kambera, Tanglapui, Tobelo, Larike, Dobel), two use dependent forms only to mark A (Taba, Selaru), three use dependent forms only to mark P (Kedang, Klon, Abui). In none of the languages is semantic alignment expressed with independent pronouns only. This is in line with Mithun’s (1991:542) observation that ‘active/agentive patterns appear especially

frequently in pronominal affixes within verbs', and Siewierska's (2004: 54-55) finding that 'active alignment with independent pronouns is extremely rare, while with dependent pronouns, it is [more] common'. As both of these authors explain, this is no accident, since semantic alignment systems represent the grammaticalisation of semantic relations between verbs and their arguments.

Some of the languages studied have a lexicon with separate classes of intransitive verbs: one class has an S that is encoded like A, another class has an S encoded like P, and a third class has an S encoded like either A or P. Examples of such languages are Klon, Taba, and Dobel. In Klon, the semantic motivation for the verb classes is unclear; in Taba and Dobel, the verb class distinction is based on lexical aspect: event verbs pattern different from state verbs. Despite the existence of such verb classes, however, in Taba and Dobel, semantic features of the verbal argument (+/- volitional, +/- undergoing a change of state, +/- human) are also relevant parameters for its encoding.

In a number of languages verb classes do not play any role in the encoding of S. Examples are Kambera, Kedang and Selaru, where the alignment seems entirely dependent on a semantic feature of the argument.

Most of the semantic alignment patterns we observed can be described using the proto-Agent feature 'volition', referring to a [+ volitional] or [-volitional] argument. The proto-Patient feature 'undergoer of change of state' is crucial in Tanglapui and Klon. In Taba, volition is relevant only for the distinct encoding of human and non-human arguments.

Kambera, Larike and Klon use a default encoding for S, and the default is to mark S like A. In these languages only diverging from the default has a semantic motivation: in Kambera and Larike, a [-volitional] S may be marked like P, in Klon, an S that undergoes a change of state may be so marked.

Depending on the role the semantic feature of the argument plays in the SA, the following four types of systems can thus be distinguished:

(i) [+volitional] S = A, [-volitional] S = P (Kedang, Abui, Selaru, Dobel)

(ii) [+volitional] S = A, [-volitional] S = A *or* S = P, depending on other factors (Taba)

(iii) [+ undergoes change of state] S = P, [- undergoes change of state] S = A (Tanglapui)

(iv) Default marking of S = A (Kambera, Larike, Klon). S = P when it is [-volitional], as in (i) (Kambera, Larike); or [+undergoes change of state], as in (iii) (Klon).

Table 3 summarizes some of the conclusions.

Table 3. The encoding of S like A or P, according to the proto-Agent or proto-Patient feature of the argument ([+/- VOLitional] and [+/- undergoer of Change Of State (COS)]

| *Semantics of argument* | *Feature involved* | Kamb | Ked | Klon | Abui | Tangl | Taba | Lar | Sel | Dob |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Agent | +VOL | n/a | A | | A | | A | n/a | A | A |
| | -VOL | P | P | | P | | A (human)<br>P (non.human) | P | A | P |
| Proto-Patient | +COS | | | P | | P | | | | |
| | -COS | | | n/a | | A | | | | |

Regarding the encoding of S according to the predicate semantics, the generalisation emerged that none of the languages discussed here have a semantic alignment system based solely on a distinction between dynamic and static verbs. Only in Taba and Dobel do we find that verbal semantics plays a role, but note that in Taba, the split only pertains with non-human arguments, and that in Dobel, the volition of the argument is also relevant in the split. A summary of the patterns of S marking according to the aspectual semantics of the verbs is given in Table 4. Observe that there is an asymmetry in the encoding of S of dynamic and stative verbs: in all the languages dynamic verbs are allowed to have an S that is encoded like A (as well as like P, in most cases), while the stative verbs cannot always have such an S: in three of the languages it can only be marked like P.

Table 4. The encoding of S like A or P according to aspectual semantics of the predicate

| *Predicate semantics* | *Predicate type* | Kamb | Ked | Klon | Abui | Tangl | Taba | Lar | Sel | Dob |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| stative | state V | A/P | A/P | A/P | P | P | A(hum) P(non.hum) | A/P | A | P |
| dynamic | event V | A/P | A/P | A | A/P | A/P | A | A/P | A | A/P |

Turning now to the argument of non-verbal predicates, in Kambera, Kedang, Taba, Selaru and Dobel this argument is always encoded like P, in Abui this is the proto-typical pattern. In Larike is it encoded neither like A nor like P, and in Klon it is encoded like A, the default marking of any S. This is summarized in Table 5.[39]

Table 5. The encoding of the argument of non-verbal predicates

| *Semantics of argument* | *Predicate type* | Kam | Ked | Klon | Abui | Tangl | Taba | Lar | Sel | Dob |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -VOL | non-verbal | P | P | A | P (A) | [no data] | P | [oth] | P | P |

Apart from illustrating that predicates of different syntactic categories use different marking systems, I suggest that those patterns where the S of non-verbal predicates is marked like P, and unlike A, are also a formal reflection of the semantic parallel that exists between these two types of arguments. Like P, the S of a non-verbal predicates is typically[40] a non-volitional argument, and the semantic opposite of a prototypical A. (Note that S of non-verbal clauses is not a prototypical P: it does not undergo a change of state). In other words, in most of the languages of the survey, the non-volitional character of the S of non-verbal clauses is in harmony with how it is morpho-syntactically encoded: as P, unlike a typically volitional A.

[39] Note that Kedang does not fit this table well, because the only alignment where semantics is involved is done by using distinct P clitics, while the pronouns in general follow a nominative-accusative system, and the clitics an absolutive-ergative system.
[40] See note 5 above.

In sum, the semantic parameters of alignment in the languages of eastern Indonesia show considerable variation. They refer to the semantic features of the predicate's participant as well as to the inherent aspect of the predicate, and often it is not easy to tease the two types apart. The proto-Agent feature of 'volitional involvement in the event or state' plays an important role in the semantic alignment of seven languages, and the proto-Patient role 'undergoes change of state' is relevant for the semantic alignment in two.

**Notational conventions**

In the examples a clitic is separated from its host by [=], an affix by [-].

**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1,2,3 | person |
| ACC | accusative |
| AGENT.focus | agent focus |
| ALIEN | alienably possessed |
| ALL | allative |
| ANIM | animate |
| APPL | applicative |
| ART | article |
| CNJ | conjunction |
| COMPL | completive aspect |
| DAT | dative |
| DEI | deictic element |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DET | determiner |
| DIST | distal |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| EXCLAM | exclamative |
| EMPH | emphasis |
| GEN | genitive |
| INCL | inclusive |
| IMPF | imperfective aspect |
| IN | inchoative |
| INAL | inalienably possessed |
| INANIM | inanimate |
| INC | inceptive aspect |
| INTENS | intensifier |
| IRR | irrealis mood |
| LOC | locative preposition |

| | |
|---|---|
| MOD | mood marker |
| NH | non-human |
| NOM | nominative |
| NEG | negation |
| PAT | patient |
| PL | plural |
| PART | participle |
| POSS | possessor |
| PROX | proximate |
| PUNCT | punctual |
| PFV | perfective |
| REC | recipient |
| RED | reduplication |
| REL | relative clause marker |
| REAL | realis |
| REM | [not in list of abbreviations in Bowden 2001] |
| SG | singular |
| SIM | similitive |
| I, II, III, IV | P-marking paradigms |

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