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Part III

The Pacific

9

The semantics of semantic alignment in eastern Indonesia

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9.1 Introduction*

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).¹ Here, I consider languages with alignment systems where S is sometimes treated like a transitive ‘agent’ and sometimes like a transitive ‘patient’ (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 chapter 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 the participant’s semantics as well as inherent aspect of the predicate. Despite considerable variation in the grammatical and semantic details, most of the languages discussed here are of the former type, as we will see.

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¹ The terms A and P extend beyond agent and patient to other roles that are treated grammatically in the same way (Blake 2001: 25).

The aim of the present chapter is twofold. 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.² 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 proto-Agent role, Dowty mentions 'volition'—the 'volitional involvement in the event or state'—while the first contributing property for the proto-Patient 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 of them; but in those languages, argument semantics plays a role as well.

Above, S was defined as the single argument of a one-place predicate, which is taken to include clauses with a nonverbal predicate.³ Nonverbal predicates are intrinsically stative (non-dynamic), and their argument is typically⁴ non-volitional. Apart from the obvious syntactic differences that exist between verbal and nonverbal clauses, the S of a nonverbal 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 opposites 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 nonverbal clauses identical to P, and unlike A.

² See also Donohue (2004b), 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).

³ In the languages discussed here, nonverbal clauses are intransitive and lack a (two-place) copular verb.

⁴ Although nonverbal 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).

The geographical location of the languages discussed is indicated on Figure 9.1. Indonesia is home to over 742 languages (SIL Ethnologue: Gordon 2005), which belong to many different language families. In this chapter, 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.^{5, 6} The location of these languages is indicated on Figure 9.1. Table 9.1 gives an alphabetical list of the languages, with their affiliation, the source(s) used, and the number identifying them on Figure 9.1.

The chapter is structured as follows. In section 9.2 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 9.3, I present case studies of semantic alignment in nine lesser-known languages in eastern Indonesia, going from west to east on the map in Figure 9.1: 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 9.4, a summary of the semantic factors involved in the split in marking is presented, followed by a brief discussion.

9.2 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 cross-linguistically, 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

⁵ 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).

⁶ 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 9.2 below, 12 of the 36 sample languages have semantic alignment. All these are discussed in the present volume: 10 in the present chapter, and 2 (Tobelo and Pagu) by Holton.

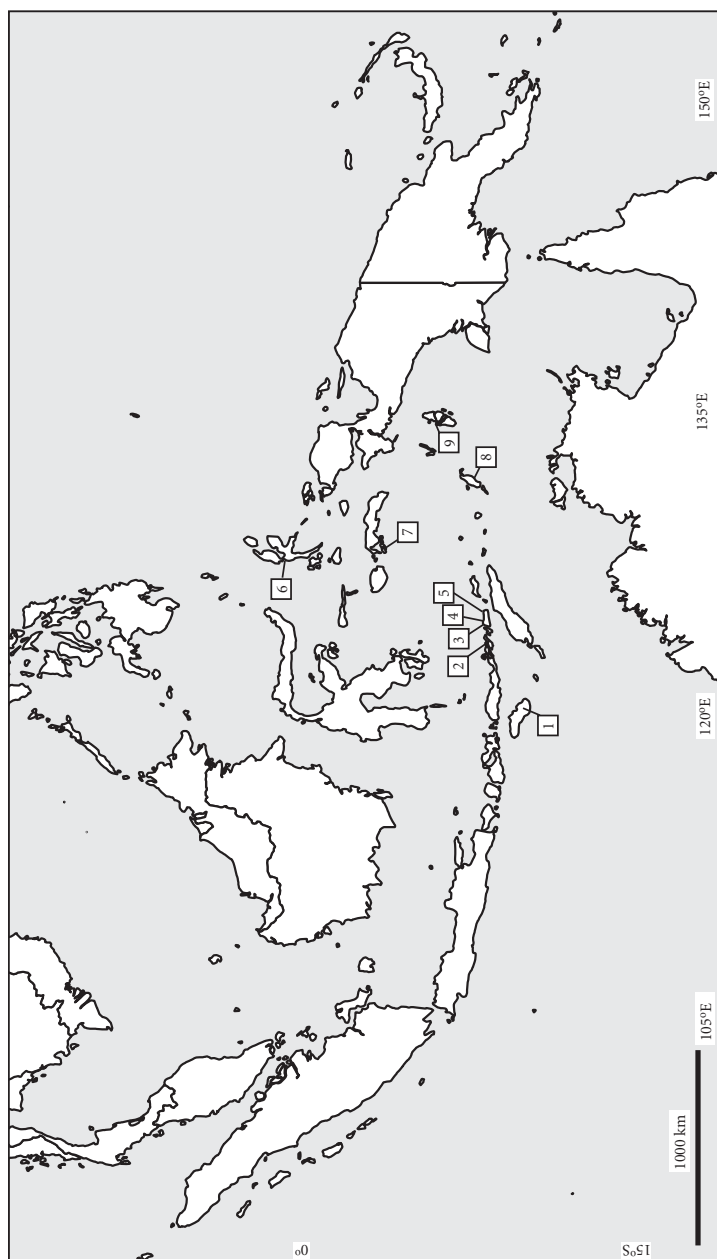


FIGURE 9.1. Indonesia: locations of languages discussed: 1 Kambera, 2 Kedang, 3 Klon, 4 Abui, 5 Tanglapui, 6 Taba, 7 Larike, 8 Selaru, 9 Dobel

TABLE 9.1. Alphabetical list of languages discussed, with affiliation and source(s)

Language	Affiliation	Source	No. on Fig. 9.1
Abui	TNG	Kratochvíl (2007)	4
Dobel	AN	Hughes (2000)	9
Kambera	AN	Klamer (1998, 2008)	1
Kedang	AN	Samely (1991)	2
Klon	TNG	Baird (2004, 2005, to appear)	3
Larike	AN	Laidig and Laidig (1991), Laidig (1992)	7
Selaru	AN	Coward (1990)	8
Taba	AN	Bowden (2001)	6
Tanglapui	TNG	Donohue (1996b)	5

study semantic alignment systems by focusing 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 vs. 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 1999a: 482–84), *Timugon Murut* (Brewis 2002: 42), *Balinese* (Arka 2003: 33–4), and *Begak* (Goudswaard 2005: 201).⁷ 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

⁷ See also the discussion in Himmelmann (2005a: 134–5) of how the notion ‘split intransitive’ is used in the analysis of some Austronesian languages.

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.⁸ 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* ‘stand’, *beudöh* ‘get up’, *iem* ‘be still’), verbs of bodily activity (*khêm* ‘laugh/smile’, *klik* ‘cry’, *batök* ‘cough’), verbs of speech or mental activity (*marit* ‘talk’, *kira* ‘think’, *pham* ‘understand’), and some emotion verbs (*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).⁹

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>Gopnyan ka lon=ngieng(=geuh)</i>
s/he INCH 1SG=see=3SG
‘I saw him/her.’ (Durie 1987: 369) | (2) <i>Geu=jak gopnyan</i>
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’, *dawök* ‘engrossed’) (Durie 1985: 64–6). 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)

⁸ 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.

⁹ In the glosses of the examples cited here, I follow the original glosses of the authors as far as possible. However, the glosses of person, number, and case of pronominals have been standardized following the Leipzig glossing conventions. In the examples a clitic is separated from its host by [=], an affix by [-].

The third class overlaps with the other two,¹⁰ 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) <i>Rila ji=matê</i>
ready 3.(familiar)=dead
‘He was ready to go to his death.’
(Durie 1985: 57) | (5) ... <i>matê(=jih)</i>
dead=3.(familiar)
‘... he died.’ (Durie 1987: 376) |
|--|--|

Finally, the S of non-verbal predicates in Acehnese is always encoded like P (Durie 1985: 126–8), as illustrated in (6). This marks the argument of nonverbal 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 in large part based on the lexical class a verb belongs to, i.e. is largely lexically specified.¹¹ 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 lexicalized, it is transparently based on the distinction volition (or control in Durie’s terms) (class one) vs. 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 characterized as semantic alignment.

9.3 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).

¹⁰ 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: 66–7).

¹¹ For example, *muntah* ‘vomit’ marks S like A, but can S have control on vomiting? Additional examples can be found in Durie (1985).

9.3.1 *Kambera*

Kambera (Klamer 1998, 2008) is spoken in the eastern part of Sumba island. In Kambera, A, S and P are expressed as obligatory clitics on the predicate,¹² 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	<i>ku=</i>	<i>=nggu</i>	<i>=ka</i>	<i>=ngga</i>
2SG	<i>(m)u=</i>	<i>=mu</i>	<i>=kau</i>	<i>=nggau</i>
3SG	<i>na=</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=ya</i>	<i>=nya</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>ta=</i>	<i>=nda</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>=nda</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>ma=</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=kama</i>	<i>=nggama</i>
2PL	<i>(m)i=</i>	<i>=mi</i>	<i>=ka(m)i</i>	<i>=ngga(m)i</i>
3PL	<i>da=</i>	<i>=da</i>	<i>=ha</i>	<i>=nja</i>

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

(8) *Na=palu=ka*

3SG.NOM=watch=1SG.ACC

‘He hit me.’ (Klamer 1998: 63, 369)

In intransitive 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 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 jàka¹³ 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)

¹² Subject and 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.

¹³ In the Kambera examples <à> = [a], and <i> = [i:].

The S of nonverbal 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)
- (13) [Mbapa=nggu nyungga]=ya
 husband=1SG.GEN I=3SG.ACC
 'He is MY husband.' (Klamer 1998: 156)

Apart from the nonverbal 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
- b. ...hi hí=ma=a=ya=ka i Mada una...
 and cry=EMPH=MOD=3SG.ACC=PFV ART Mada EMPH.3SG

Given the appropriate context, all Kambera intransitive verbs allow for such an optionally accusative S. All accusative Ss are interpreted as less volitional than they would canonically be expected to be. Verbs attested with an accusative S include activity verbs (*pabànjär* '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 processes, 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* b. *Lalu haledak=na*
 too be.clear=3SG.ACC too be.clear=3SG.GEN
 'It's very clear (weather).' '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.¹⁴

¹⁴ 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, 2008).

9.3.2 *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 Kambara, Kedang has two distinct paradigms to mark P (henceforth referred to as paradigms 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.¹⁵ 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 (16) the Kedang pronouns are given. An enclitic P may be marked with either of the two paradigms in (17).

(16) Kedang free pronouns (cf. Samely 1991: 70–72¹⁶)

	S and A, preverbal	P, postverbal
1SG	>e ¹⁷	>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

¹⁵ There is a set of 19 verbs that obligatorily take subject prefixes (S or A) (Samely 1991: 94–6). The prefixes are single consonants and attach to vowel-initial verbal stems. Such phonotactically triggered inflection is not considered here.

¹⁶ These are the unmarked pronouns. The language has other special pronoun paradigms, not considered here.

¹⁷ The examples retain Samely’s orthography, where > marks breathy vowels.

this to mean that in ‘objective’ function, pronominal enclitics encode P, and in ‘subjective’ function they encode S.

The transitive clause in (18) illustrates the alignment of A and P. The A of the verbs *maqa* ‘steal’ and *ehing* ‘deny’ is 3SG *nuo* ‘s/he’, the P of *maqa* is *doiq* ‘money’, the P of *ehing* an enclitic.¹⁸ (In the glosses, the numerals I and II refer to P-marking paradigm I and II).

- (18) >Ei >oroq [nuo maqa 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 DEIX market
 ‘I go to the market...’ (Samely 1991: 79)
 b. Pan >oteq=o?
 go DEIX=2SG.II
 ‘Going up, are you?’ (p. 71)
 c. O pan >oteq=o?
 you go DEIX=2SG.II
 ‘Going up, are you?’ [slightly more courteous than (b)] (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 focuses on the distribution of the clitics.

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

- (20) Predicate is a noun:
 >Anaq usun tètèq tètè: ‘kusing=ne.’
 child small speak say cat=3SG.II
 ‘The children say: “It’s a cat.”’ (Samely 1991: 153)

¹⁸ Samely refers to these as ‘suffixes’ (1991: 70) but since their domain of attachment is phrasal rather than morphological, I analyse them as clitics.

- (21) Predicate is an adjective:¹⁹
Labur koqo miteng=ne
 dress POSS.EMP black=3SG.II
 'My dress is black.' (p. 77)
- (22) Predicate is a location:
Koq lumar >ote bètè wela=ne
 1SG.POSS field DEIX interior=3SG.II
 'My field is up there in the interior.' (p. 75)

As mentioned before, nonverbal predicates typically denote non-dynamic states of affairs, and their argument is typically non-volitional, and the fact that such Ss 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,²⁰ 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.

- (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.' (Samely 1991: 91)
- b. *Bahe suo bale=dèq.*
 then they return=PFV
 'Then they returned home.' (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 AGT.FOC 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 marker (Samely 1991: 92) that give the predicate a more telic interpretation, such as the 'Inceptive' *dèq mè*:

¹⁹ Here I follow the classification of Samely (1991: 84–7), where colour terms are included in the class of adjectives.

²⁰ As mentioned above, in constructions where the argument is marked by an enclitic and an additional pronoun, the pronoun is optional.

TABLE 9.2. Verbs attested in examples in Samely (1991)

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

^a Numbers refer to pages in the source.^b See note 17 above.(25) *>Ei bèq pan dèq mè*

I here go INCEP

'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? Table 9.2 shows some illustrations of intransitive verbs found in examples throughout the sketch.²¹ 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. 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

²¹ 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.

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* 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!' (Samely 1991: 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 listener'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.' (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' (p. 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.²²

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

²² 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' (Samely 1991: 81–3)), while Paradigm II is used in unmarked contexts.

P it gets a 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.

9.3.3 *Klon*

Klon (Baird 2005, to appear) 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 of which prefix paradigm marks P depends on the lexical specification of the verb. More than 50 per cent of the transitives align P with paradigm II, about 30 per cent align P with paradigm I, and about 4 per cent align P with paradigm IV.^{23, 24}

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

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

Agreement in Klon depends to a large extent 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 *digiri* ‘to think’, *hler*

²³ About 10 per cent of the transitives may be prefixed by a choice between two classes of prefixes—in which case the choice is motivated by the semantics of the context of use (Baird, to appear).

²⁴ 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, to appear).

‘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.²⁵

- (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)

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* b. *Go-hrak*
 3.II-scream 3.II-hot
 ‘Scream at him.’ ‘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 generalization that marking of S like P (vs. A) always depends on the semantics of the verb or its argument. In fact, most of the marking of Ss in Klon is determined solely by the class the verb happens to belong to, just as we observed for Acehnese in section 9.2. 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).

²⁵ *Biasa* and *balok* are loans from Malay.

- (33) a. A *kaak* b. E-*kaak*
 2SG itchy 2SG.IV-itchy
 ‘You’re 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 exercise 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, to appear).

- (34) *Ele ool om*
 3.DUAL woman man
 ‘They (dual) were husband and wife.’

9.3.4 *Abui*

Abui (Kratochvíl 2007) 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). An 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 2007: 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 2007: section 5.5, for more details).

(35) Abui pronominals (Kratochvíl 2007)

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

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 2007: section 5.3)

- (37) *Fani el ha-wel-i*
 F. before 3.PAT-pour-pfv
 'Fani washed him.' (Kratochvíl 2007: 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 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 which cannot be expressed with a free pronoun (40b).²⁶ (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.

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

²⁶ 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).

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (41) | a. <i>Na-rik</i> (* <i>Na rik</i>)
1SG.PAT-be.ill
'I am ill.' | b. Trans. with P.PAT:
<i>Simon na-wel</i>
S. 1SG.PAT-bathe
'Simon bathes me.' |
| (42) | a. <i>Ne-do kul</i> (* <i>Na kul</i>)
1SG.LOC-hold.PUNCT white
'I am white.' | b. Trans. with P.LOC:
<i>Simon ne-tatet</i>
S. 1SG.LOC-stand
'Simon waits for me.' |
| (43) | a. <i>No-lila</i> (* <i>Na lila</i>)
1SG.REC-hot
'I feel hot.' | b. Trans. with P.REC:
<i>Simon no-dik</i>
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 2007: ch. 5).

In Abui, arguments of nonverbal 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.

9.3.5 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 (1996b). Tanglapui has two types of transitive verb. 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) and (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.’ (Donohue 1996b: 103)
- (46) *Nga-Ø-dia*
1-3-see
‘I/we see him/her/they.’
- (47) Person marking on ‘non-affective’ verbs in Tanglapui (Donohue 1996b: 103–4)
- | | A | P | S (‘non-affective’ V) | S (‘affective’ V) |
|-----|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1SG | <i>ng(a)-</i> | <i>ng(a)-</i> | <i>ng(a)-</i> | <i>ng(a)-</i> |
| 1PL | <i>ng(a)-</i> | <i>ng(a)-</i> | <i>i-</i> | <i>ng(a)-</i> |
| 2 | <i>ya-</i> | <i>ya-</i> | <i>ya-</i> | <i>ya-</i> |
| 3 | Ø- | Ø- | <i>ya-</i> | <i>ya-</i> |

The other type of transitive verb comprises 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 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* b. *Nga-na-baba*
1SG-hit 1SG-INV-hit
[A] [P]
‘I hit her/him/it.’ ‘He/she hit me.’ (Donohue 1996b: 106)

Like 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’ (Donohue 1996b: 101), but they also include ‘non-agentive verbs’ – the four examples mentioned in the source are *ve* ‘go’, *miti* ‘sit’, *yi* ‘go up’, *te* ‘sleep’. The S of non-affective intransitives uses the S paradigm given in (47).

- (49) *Ng-ve* (50) *Ya-miti*
1SG-go ‘I go.’ 2/3-sit ‘You/they sit.’ (Donohue 1996b: 102)

Examples of affective intransitives are *mata* ‘sick’, *ima* ‘fever’, *loki* ‘wet’, and *tansi* ‘fall’, the latter two are illustrated in (51) and (52). These verbs use a similar paradigm to the non-affective paradigm, except that 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 can only be marked on a verb with an inverse morpheme, as shown in (51)–(52).

- (51) *Nga-na-loki* (52) *Ya-na-tansi*
 1SG-INV-wet 2-INV-fall
 ‘I’m/we’re wet.’ ‘You fall.’

In sum, in Tanglapui, intransitive verbs with an affected argument encode S like P. They use 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.²⁷ 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 property ‘undergoer of a change of state’—whereas (lack of) volition is not a relevant notion in the alignment found in this language.

9.3.6 *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	<i>yak</i>	<i>k=</i>
2SG	<i>au</i>	<i>m=</i>
3SG	<i>i</i>	<i>n=</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>tit</i>	<i>t=</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>am</i>	<i>a=</i>
2PL	<i>meu</i>	<i>h=</i>
3PL	<i>si</i>	<i>l=</i>

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).

²⁷ 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 9.2 above.

- (54) *I n=wet am*
 3SG 3SG=hit 1PL.e
 'He hit us.' (after ex. (80): Bowden 2001: 167)
- (55) *Mina n=tua awai*
 Mina 3SG-buy vegetables
 'Mina is buying vegetables.' (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=amlɪh*
 3SG=laugh
 'She's laughing.' (Bowden 2001: 206)
- (57) *Australia si*
 Australia they
 'They're Australian.' (p. 139)
- (58) *Si l=wom*
 they 3PL-come
 'They've come.' (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 be neither volitional nor 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.' (Bowden 2001: 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.' (Bowden 2001: 407)

In (61), the non-human referents of S is not an effector, but rather the non-volitional argument of a stative predicate. Such Ss are encoded as P in Taba, postverbally with a free pronoun.²⁸

²⁸ When S is a lexical NP, it is preverbal: *Wola ne mlongan* 'rope PROX be.tall/long' 'This rope is long' (*...*n=mlongan*) (Bowden 2001: 119).

- (61) *Mapot i* (**n=mapot*)
 heavy 3SG
 'It's heavy.' (Bowden 2001: 102)

In sum, Taba encodes the human argument of intransitives always like A, and (any) argument of a nonverbal 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.²⁹

9.3.7 *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.³⁰ Larike pronouns and affixes are given in (62).

- (62) Larike free pronouns and pronominal affixes (Laidig and Laidig 1991: 30, 37)³¹

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

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 and Laidig 1991: 33)

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ 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).

³¹ 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).

Larike has two classes of intransitive verbs: one class that marks S like A, and another that marks S like P.³² Most Larike intransitives belong to the verb class that marks S like A. This class includes activity verbs such as *du'i* 'crawl', *lawā* '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' (Laidig and Laidig 1991: 32, 60, 66, 88). In other words, both events and states can have an argument that is marked like A. Illustrations are (64) and (65).

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|
| (64) | <i>Ai-du'i</i>
2SG-crawl
'You are crawling.' | (65) | <i>Ai-'ida</i>
2SG-be.big
'You are big.' |
|------|--|------|--|

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

- (66) *Tanei-u hise duma hilale pe'a-ri tahi sasa*
possession-POS exist house inside finish-3PL.NH not anything
lohana si'u.
little also
'His belongings inside the house were totally gone.' (Laidig and Laidig 1991: 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) (p. 74)

S is marked like P when it is non-volitional (Laidig and Laidig 1991: 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', (pp. 32, 69). There are also event verbs like *hanahu* 'fall' with an S marked like P (p. 32), as in (69).

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| (68) | <i>Lopo-ne</i>
wet-2SG
'You are wet.' | (69) | <i>Hanahu-ne</i>
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' vs. 'stative' verbs—both types occur with an A-like S, as well as with a P-like S. The generalization 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.³³

³² These classes are referred to as 'unergative' and 'unaccusative' verbs by Laidig and Laidig (1991: 31–2) and in Foley (2005).

³³ This conclusion is supported by 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).

The S of Larike nonverbal 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-NOMINALIZATION
 'I am a princess, you are the servant.'

9.3.8 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).

- (71) (Selaru pronominal prefixes and pronouns (Coward 1990: 14–15)³⁴

A prefix ³⁵	A	P	
1SG	<i>k(u)-</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>yaw</i>
2SG	<i>m(u)-</i>	<i>oa</i>	<i>o</i>
3SG.AN	<i>i-</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>i</i>
3SG.INAN	<i>ki-</i>	Ø	Ø
1PL.INCL	<i>t(a)-</i>	<i>iti</i>	<i>iti</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>arami-</i>	<i>arami</i>	<i>arami</i>
2PL	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>e</i>
3PL	<i>r(a)-</i>	<i>sira</i>	<i>sir</i>

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-tesu³⁶ inatw*
 turtle-this-ART 3PL-butcher him this 3SG-eggs lots
 'This turtle they are butchering here has lots of eggs.' (Coward 1990: 80)

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 (p. 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.

³⁴ The orthography of Selaru used here diverges from Coward's when high vowels in the pronominal prefixes are spelled consistently as such.

³⁵ 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* (Coward 1990: 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).

³⁶ 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.

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

- (73) *T-karia lan*
 1PL.INCL-work hard
 ‘We work hard.’ (Coward 1990: 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 ...’ (p. 142)
- (75) a. *Ete mu-mai*
 don’t 2SG-shy
 ‘Don’t be shy.’ (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.’ (p. 127)

The only type of predicate that encodes S like P are the nonverbal 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.’ (Coward 1990: 57)
- (78) *Batbatak-ke lan Ø*
 chest-ART big 3SG.INAN
 ‘The chest is big.’ (p. 57)

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

9.3.9 *Dobel*

Dobel (Hughes 2000) is an Austronesian language spoken in the Aru islands, located in the southeast 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) $\text{?A}=\text{dayar}=\text{ni}$
 3PL=hit=3SG.AN
 'He is hitting him.' (Hughes 2000: 143)
- (80) $\text{?A}=\text{yokwa}=\text{ni}$
 1SG=see=3SG.AN
 'He sees it.' (p. 148)

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

	A	P
1SG	$\text{?u} = / \text{?o} = ^{37}$	$= \text{?u}$
2SG	$m = / mo =$	$= \text{?a}$
3SG.AN	$\text{?a} = / na =$	$= \text{ni}$
3SG.INAN	$\text{?a} = / na =$	$= \emptyset / V\# > i$
1PL.INCL	$ma = / ma =$	$= \text{?ama}$
1PL.EXCL	$ta = / ta =$	$= \text{da}$
2PL	$mi = / mina =$	$= \text{?ami}$
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) $\text{?A} = \text{num}$
 3SG=dive
 'He dives' (Hughes 2000: 151)
- (83) $\text{?A} = \text{lesi}$
 3SG=raise
 'He raises.' (p. 151)
- (84) $\text{?A} = \text{bana } ti$
 3SG=leave PFV
 'He has left.' (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) $Na = ba' \text{?arum}$
 3SG=sink
 'He sinks.' (Hughes 2000: 142)
- (86) $Tamatu \text{ } s\text{-}soba = ni \quad ne \quad \text{?a} = kwoy \text{ } ti.$
 person RED-good-3SG.AN 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).

³⁷ The allomorphy is irrelevant for the present context.

- (87) *Tamatu ne soba yuʔu=ni*
 person DEM good INTENS=3SG.AN
 ‘That person is very good.’ (p. 143)
- (88) *Neʔan=ni*
 heavy=3SG.AN
 ‘He is heavy.’ (p. 148)

Nonverbal predicates have an argument that is encoded like P:

- (89) *Nor wadi ʔaʔni=ye*
 coconut.tree DEM 3SG.POSS=3PL
 ‘These coconut trees are his.’ (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 maʔdel*
 perhaps 3SG=drunk wave
 ‘Perhaps she is seasick.’ (p. 162)

Furthermore, event verbs, such as *doʔaluʔu* ‘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 an ‘undergoes’ in the event (p. 154), i.e. S is explicitly non-volitional here.

- (91) *Kwoyar ne doʔaluʔu=ni*
 dog DEM appear=3SG.AN
 ‘That dog appeared.’ (p. 154)
- (92) *Yiram ne ʔom=ni ʔa=f-fan re,*
 axe REL 1SG.cause=3SG.AN 3SG=RED-fall LOC
koytul=ni ʔonaʔlay
 dive/sink=3SG.AN indeed
 ‘The axe, which I dropped then, did indeed sink.’ (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.

9.4 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: 54–5) 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 grammaticalization 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 differently 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 system 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 9.3 summarizes some of the conclusions.

TABLE 9.3. 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.	Dobel
Proto-Agent	+VOL	n/a	A		A		A	n/a	A	A
	-VOL	P	P		P		A (hum.) P (non-hum.)	P	A	P
Proto-Patient	+COS			P		P				
	-COS			n/a		A				

Regarding the encoding of S according to the predicate semantics, the generalization emerged that none of the languages discussed here has 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 to 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 9.4. 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.

Turning now to the argument of non-verbal predicates, in Kambara, Kedang, Taba, Selaru, and Dobel this argument is always encoded like P, in Abui this is the prototypical pattern. In Larike it is 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 9.5.³⁸ Apart from demonstrating that predicates of different syntactic categories use different marking systems, I suggest that those patterns where the S

TABLE 9.4. The encoding of S like A or P according to aspectual semantics of the predicate

Predicate semantics	Predicate type	Kamb.	Ked.	Klon	Abui	Tang.	Taba	Lar.	Sel.	Dobel
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

³⁸ Note that Kedang does not fit this table well, because the only alignment where semantics is involved is achieved by using distinct P clitics, while the pronouns in general follow a nominative-accusative system, and the clitics an absolutive-ergative system.

TABLE 9.5. The encoding of the argument of nonverbal predicates

Semantics of argument	Predicate type	Kamb.	Ked.	Klon	Abui	Tang.	Taba	Lar.	Sel.	Dobel
–VOL	nonverbal	P	P	A	P (A)	[no data]	P	[other]	P	P

of nonverbal predicates is marked like P, and unlike A, are also a formal reflection of the semantic parallel that exists between these two types of argument. Like P, the S of a nonverbal predicate is typically³⁹ a non-volitional argument, and the semantic opposite of a prototypical A. (Note that S of nonverbal 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 nonverbal clauses is in harmony with how it is morphosyntactically encoded: as P, unlike a typically volitional A.

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 'undergoer of change of state' is relevant for the semantic alignment in two.

³⁹ See note 4 above.