

## **Differential Object Marking in Western Malayo-Polynesian symmetrical voice languages**

This appendix provides a tabular overview of all Western Malayo-Polynesian symmetrical voice languages for which sufficient grammatical information could be found to allow for a reasoned decision on whether or not they show DOM according to the definitions provided in Section 4.2. Recall from Section 3 that this group of languages includes most Austronesian languages of western Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Madagascar, with the exception of the languages of the southern half of Sulawesi (e.g. Buginese [bugi1244], Selayarese [sela1260]), the Barrier Island Languages (e.g. Nias [nias1242]), and Acehnese (achi1257). Our sample also does not include Chamorro, Palauan, and Formosan languages.

The languages reviewed here are ordered according to their genetic affiliation and further according to the DOM subclassification established in Section 5 (three subtypes). As for the genetic subclassification, we make use of the most recent Glottolog version 4.8 (Hammarström et al. 2023). We take into account only the first level of subgrouping the Malayo-Polynesian branch. Note that the size and internal complexity of these subgroups varies significantly, ranging from 94 languages and six or more further subgrouping levels in the case of the Greater Central Philippines branch, to just two languages in the case of the Tolitoli branch. To the best of our knowledge, the survey covers all first-level subgroups of the Malayo-Polynesian branch where symmetrical voice languages are attested.

All in all, the table includes 57 languages, with 34 languages showing DOM: 14 Type I (8 symmetric, 6 asymmetric); 7 Type II (5 symmetric, 2 asymmetric); and 13 Type III (3 symmetric, 10 asymmetric).

<b>Language</b>	<b>Glottolog Code</b>	<b>Genetic affiliation</b>	<b>DOM Classification</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Ivatan	ibat1238	Batanic	symmetric Type I	Reid (1966), Reid and Liao (2004: 441)
Yami	yami1254	Batanic	symmetric Type I	Rau and Dong (2006)
Northern Alta	nort2875	Northern Luzon	symmetric Type I	García Laguía (2018: 186, 205–213)
Pangasinan	pang1290	Northern Luzon	symmetric Type I	Benton (1971: 47–57, 193)
Ibaloy	ibal1244	Northern Luzon	symmetric Type I	Ruffolo (2004: 145–160)
Balangao	bala1310	Northern Luzon	symmetric Type II	Shetler (1976: 50–55, 124–145)

Limos Kalinga	limo1248	Northern Luzon	-DOM	Ferreirinho (1993: 10–17, 73–75)
Dupaningan Agta	dupa1235	Northern Luzon	-DOM	Robinson (2008: 92–99); Healey (1960)
Kankanaey	kank1243	Northern Luzon	-DOM	Allen (2014: 92–96, 113, 365–366)
Ibanag	iban1267	Northern Luzon	-DOM	Dita (2010)
Bontok <sup>1</sup> (Central)	cent2292	Northern Luzon	-DOM	Reid (1970); see also Seidenadel (1909: 25–26); Waterman (1932); Fukuda (1997: 47–48, 62)
Ilocano	ilok1237	Northern Luzon	-DOM	Rubino (1997: 31–32, 38–39, 47–48, 208, 449); Wimbish (1987: 75); Reid and Liao (2004: 465)
Kapampangan	pamp1243	Central Luzon	asymmetric Type I	Richards (1971: 62, 118–121); Gonzalez (1981: 100, 123, 194); Mirikitani (1972: 211)
Buol	buol1237	Greater Central Philippine	asymmetric Type I <sup>2</sup>	Zobel (2005)
Tagalog	taga1270	Greater Central Philippine	symmetric Type I	Latrouite (2011)
Hiligaynon	hili1240	Greater Central Philippine	symmetric Type I	Spitz (2001: 7–14, 47); Wolfenden (1971; 1975); Motus (1971); Mithun (2019)
Aklanon	akla1240	Greater Central Philippine	symmetric Type I	Chai (1971); de la Cruz and Zorc (1968: 145–155)
Tagabawa	taga1272	Greater Central Philippine	symmetric Type II	DuBois and DuBois (1991; 2005); Brainard and Dubois (1990)
Gorontalo	goro1259	Greater Central Philippine	asymmetric Type II	Little (1978: 112–120)
Matigsalug Manobo	mati1250	Greater Central Philippine	symmetric Type II	Wang et al. (2006: 45–49)
Cebuano	cebu1242	Greater Central Philippine	-DOM <sup>3</sup>	Tanangkingsing (2009: 109–119, 353–361, 401–405); Yap Lenches (1976); Wolff (1965)
Bikol	biko1240	Greater Central Philippine	-DOM	Mintz (1971); McFarland (1974: 156)
Iraya	iray1237	North Mangyan	-DOM	Or (2020), Reid (2017)
Agutaynen	agut1237	Kalamian	symmetric Type II	Quakenbush et al. (2010); Quakenbush (2005)
Tboli	tbol1240	Bilic	asymmetric Type II	Forsberg (1992: 68–70, 84); Porter (1977: 55–58)
Matéq	kemb1249	Land Dayak	-DOM	Connell (2013)
Toratán (Ratahan)	rata1244	Sangiric	symmetric Type II (plus indefinite specific special form)	Himmelmann and Wolff (1999: 21–23)

<sup>1</sup> Witzlack-Makarevich et al. (2012) refer to glottocode BONT1247, which includes 5 varieties in two further subgroups, CENTRAL and EASTERN-SOUTHERN. The few data available on the Eastern-Southern branch also suggest that there is no DOM in this branch as well.

<sup>2</sup> Only definite *human* undergoers get special marking, indefinite human and all non-human undergoers are unmarked in AV undergoer function.

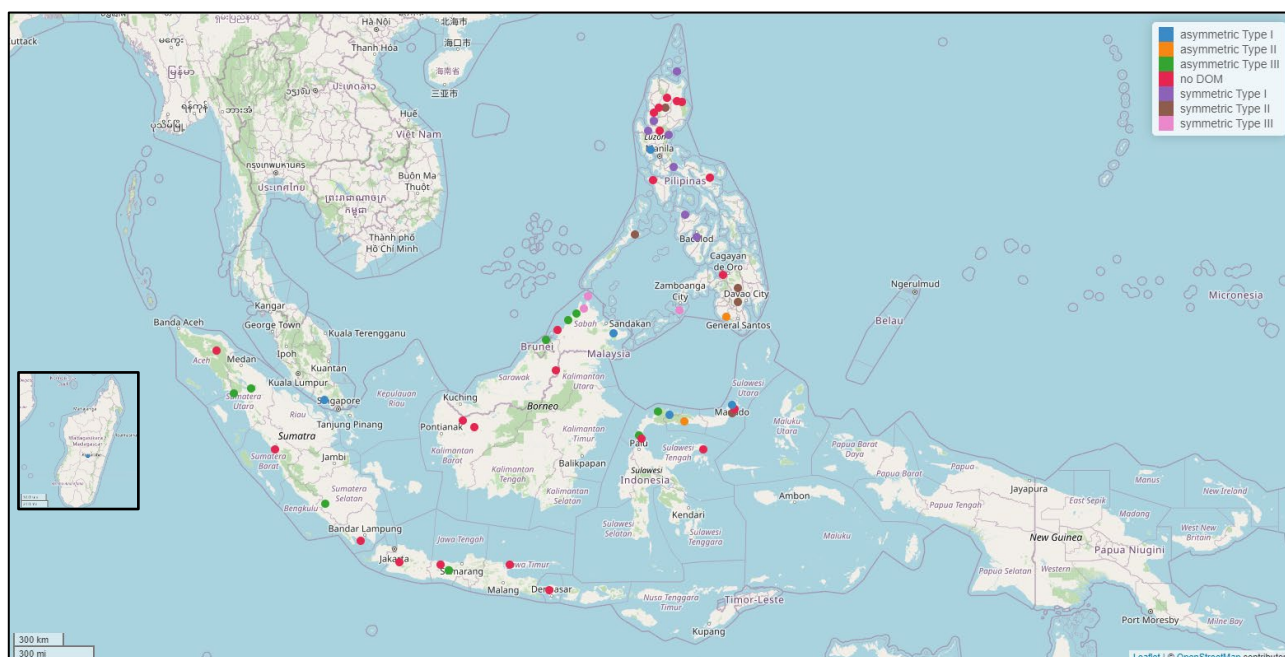
<sup>3</sup> But see Appendix 2 for further qualifying remarks.

Malagasy	mala1537	Basap-Greater Barito	asymmetric Type I	Iemmolo (2011: 205–207); Keenan (2008: 245–246); Zribi-Hertz and Mbolatianavalona (1999: 186–193); Pearson (2001); Bennett (1986: 55, 69); Adelaar and Kikusawa (2014); Rasoloson and Rubino (2005: 468–469)
Yakan	yaka1277	Basap-Greater Barito	symmetric Type III	Brainard and Behrens (2002: 187–188)
West Coast Bajau	west2560	Basap-Greater Barito	asymmetric Type III <sup>4</sup>	Miller (2007: 142–143)
Tondano	tond1251	Minahasan	-DOM	Brickell (2014: 339–344)
Totoli	toto1304	Tolitoli	asymmetric Type III	Authors' field notes
Pendau	pend1242	Celebic	asymmetric Type III	Quick (2007: 366–368)
Balantak	bala1315	Celebic	-DOM	van den Berg and Busenitz (2012)
Tajio	taji1246	Celebic	-DOM	Mayani (2013: 142–146, 170–171)
Begak-Ida'an	idaa1241	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	asymmetric Type I	Goudswaard (2005: 136–139)
Kimaragang	kima1244	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	symmetric Type III	Kroeger (2005: 413); Kroeger (1988: 220–224)
Bonggi	bong1289	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	symmetric Type III	Boutin (1994, 2002)
Belait	bela1260	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	asymmetric Type III	Clynes (2005)
Tindal Dusun	temp1235	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	asymmetric Type III	Robinson (2005: 10–16, 18)
Tatana	tata1257	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	-DOM	Dillon (1994: 15–17)
Kelabit	kela1258	North Borneo Malayo-Polynesian	-DOM	Hemmings (2016)
Batak (Karo)	bata1293	Northwest-Sumatra-Barrier islands	asymmetric Type III 3 <sup>rd</sup> person only	Woollams (1996: 115, 187)
Batak (Toba)	bata1289	Northwest Sumatra-Barrier Islands	asymmetric Type III 3 <sup>rd</sup> person only	Nababan (1981: 61–74)
Gayo	gayo1244	Northwest Sumatra-Barrier Islands	-DOM	Eades (2005)
Lampung (Pesisir)	lamp1243	Lampungic	-DOM	Walker (1976)
Javanese	java1254	Javanestic	-DOM	Suharno (1982); Ogloblin (2005)

<sup>4</sup> Partially counter specificity scale because DOM only for third person pronouns. For first and second persons, the same basic form is used for all core argument functions. Furthermore, only 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate obligatorily receives special marking, which is optional for 3<sup>rd</sup> person animate.

Manadonese (Manado Malay)	mala1481	Malayo-Sumbawan	asymmetric Type I	Iemmolo (2011: 104)
Baba Malay	baba1267	Malayo-Sumbawan	asymmetric Type I	Lee (2022: 135); see also Thurgood (1998: 99–112)
Indonesian	indo1316	Malayo-Sumbawan	asymmetric Type III	Sneddon et al. (2010)
Indonesian (Riau)	riau1236	Malayo-Sumbawan	asymmetric Type III	David Gil (personal communication)
Besemah	cent2053	Malayo-Sumbawan	asymmetric Type III 3 <sup>rd</sup> person only	McDonnell (2016: 76)
Minangkabau	mina1268	Malayo-Sumbawan	-DOM	Crouch (2009)
Sundanese	sund1252	Malayo-Sumbawan	-DOM	Müller-Gotama (2001); Hardjadibrata (1985: 35)
Madurese	nucl1460	Malayo-Sumbawan	-DOM	Davies (2010: 247–256)
Mualang	mual1241	Malayo-Sumbawan	-DOM	Tjia (2007: 152–153)
Balinese	bali1278	Malayo-Sumbawan	-DOM	Arka (2003: 225); Clynes (1995: 194–197)

The following map shows the location and DOM type for all 57 languages investigated here.



Map 1. Western-Malayo-Polynesian languages investigated in this study, classified according to absence or presence of DOM and, if applicable, the DOM type.

Austronesian languages that have been claimed to show DOM in the literature but are outside the area of our investigation (cp. Section 3) include the following ones. Iemmolo (2011: 274) discusses Selayarese (sela1260) from the WMP group, Marquesan (marq1246), Nêlêmwa (kuma1276), Tama[m]bo (malo1243), Tawala (tawa1275), Tinrin (tiri1258) and Tobati (toba1266) from the Oceanic branch, and finally Palauan in addition to the WMP symmetrical voice languages listed in Table 1. Hopperdietzel (2020) and von Prince (2015) discuss DOM in Daakaka (Oceanic, daka1243). Woolford (1995) as well as Levin (2019) deal with DOM in Palauan. Chung (1984) discusses “null objects” (viz.

3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun patient together with a non-pronominal agent) in Chamorro. Sinnemäki (2014: 313) reports “restricted case marking” for 11 Austronesian languages: the Formosan languages Atayal (atay1247), Paiwan (paiw1248) and Rukai (ruka1240); Malagasy, Tboli, Manadonese, and Palauan of the WMP group; Ngad’a (ngad1261) representing Central Malayo-Polynesian; Tobati, Maori (maor1246) and Rapanui (rapa1244) of the Oceanic branch.

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