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An introduction to the grammar of Selaru

Coward, David Forrest, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 1990

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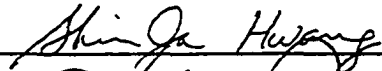
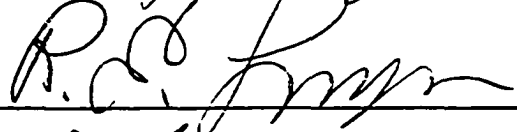
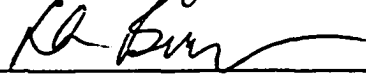
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF SELARU

The members of the Committee approve the masters
thesis of David Forrest Coward

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF SELARU

by

DAVID FORREST COWARD

**Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

May 1990

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of many different people, and so I would like to acknowledge their contribution here.

Shin Ja Hwang, the supervising professor for this thesis helped immensely with her skills in catching inconsistencies and awkwardness in my writing style--what everyone needs: a great editor who is pulling for you! Thank you Shin Ja.

I also want to thank the other members of my committee: Bob Longacre and Don Burquest for their input into this and for their encouraging comments at my defense.

I thank the government of Indonesia for extending a welcome to us, giving us the opportunity to travel to and live with the Selaru people; to Pattimura University, who sponsored this work; and to the Selaru people themselves who shared with us their time, their food, their language, and themselves.

The list of those from Selaru who helped us is long, but I do want to especially mention by name: B. Loblobly and his family, a great story teller who took care of us and overlooked our peculiarities; O. Nureroan, M. Hidungoran, B. Sambonu/K, and M. Abarua/B who faithfully answered our questions, helped correct and flesh out our dictionary, glossed several texts, and basically helped us get started learning their language.

Others who played a part in this project were H. Abarua, our university counterpart; A. Subitmele, our first Selaru friend; M. Hulkiawar and N. Watumlawar, two other Selaru friends who enjoyed our company, however strange we might have been at times. Thank you to all of you.

My wife Naomi, of course, deserves a great big thanks too, because without her faithful support, encouragement, and confidence in me (not to mention her proofreading), this thesis would never have been finished in time. Also a heart-felt thanks to Hannah Jane, our newborn, for kindly waiting until after my defense before making her big appearance!

And finally and most importantly, I want to thank the Lord for strengthening me for the task--enabling me to grow with it. If any praise or honor comes through this work, may it all go to Him.

April 9, 1990

ABSTRACT

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF SELARU

Publication No. _____

David Forrest Coward, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 1990

Supervising Professor: Shin Ja Hwang

This thesis provides an overview of the grammar of Selaru, an Austronesian language spoken in southeastern Maluku, Indonesia. It begins with a brief phonological sketch and a short discussion of the morphological behavior of Selaru glides. It then gives an in-depth syntactic description of the noun phrase, clause, relative clause, and sentence constructions. These topics constitute the bulk of the study. The thesis finishes with a fairly detailed look into clause ranking, text cohesion, and peak features in a Selaru narrative.

Some interesting characteristics of Selaru are that Selaru differentiates possession of food from general possession, something unusual for Moluccan languages but characteristic of Oceanic languages. Selaru has five clause types grouped into verbal and non-verbal predications. Verbal clauses are conjugated as to subject. Tense is not grammatically marked; aspect is the major sentence modifier.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 The Selaru Language.....	1
1.0.1 Purpose and Scope of this Study.....	1
1.0.2 Methodology.....	4
1.1 Classification of Selaru.....	4
1.1.1 Language Type--Agglutinating.....	5
1.1.2 Constituent Order Typology--SVO.....	6
1.2 Overview of the Thesis.....	6
1.3 Preliminaries.....	7
1.3.1 Notation.....	7
1.3.2 The Basic Phonology of Selaru.....	9
1.3.2.1 The Phonological Inventory.....	9
1.3.2.2 The Glides: y and w.....	11
1.3.3 Morphology.....	15
1.3.3.1 Subject Person-Number Prefixes.....	15
1.3.3.2 Personal Pronouns.....	16
NOTES.....	18
2. THE NOUN PHRASE.....	20
2.0 Introduction.....	20
2.1 The Article.....	20
2.2 Demonstratives.....	21
2.3 Plural NPs.....	22
2.3.1 Pluralization of Unspecified Head Nouns.....	22
2.3.2 Pluralization of Specified Head Nouns.....	24
2.4 Descriptive NPs (adjectives modifying nouns).....	25
2.5 Attributive NPs (nouns modifying nouns).....	25
2.6 An Intermediate Summary of the Basic NP.....	26
2.7 Enumerating Head Nouns.....	27
2.7.1 Numbering Unspecified Nouns.....	28
2.7.2 Numbering Specified Nouns.....	29
2.7.3 Quantifiers.....	30

2.8 Possessive NPs.....	31
2.8.1 Alienable.....	32
2.8.1.1 General.....	32
2.8.1.2 Edible.....	34
2.8.2 Inalienable Possessive Constructions.....	35
2.8.2.1 Singular Head.....	35
2.8.2.2 Plural Head.....	37
2.8.2.3 Complex Structure.....	38
2.8.2.4 A Function of Relationship.....	39
2.8.2.5 Closely Possessed Verb Stems.....	42
2.9 Full Summary of the Selaru NP.....	43
2.9.1 Summary of the Basic Noun Phrase.....	43
2.9.2 Summary of Possessive Constructions.....	44
2.9.3 Summary of the Attributive and Unspecified NPs.....	46
NOTES.....	47
3. CLAUSE STRUCTURE.....	49
3.1 Basic Clause Structure--an Overview.....	49
3.1.1 Simple Verbal Clauses.....	49
3.1.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Case-role Relationships.....	51
3.1.3 Preposed Topic Constructions.....	52
3.2 Reinterpretation of 'SVO'.....	55
3.3 Non-Verbal Clauses.....	57
3.3.1 Attributive Clause.....	57
3.3.2 Nominal Clause.....	59
3.3.3 Locative Clause.....	61
3.4 Prepositional Phrases.....	65
3.4.1 Locative Phrase.....	65
3.4.2 Benefactive (Recipient) Phrase.....	68
3.4.3 Comparative Phrase.....	68
3.5 Valence Changing Particles.....	69
3.5.1 The -i Transitive Suffix.....	70
3.5.2 The -ak Transitive Suffix.....	71
3.5.3 The -a Transitive Suffix.....	72
NOTES.....	74
4. EMBEDDED CLAUSE STRUCTURE.....	76
4.1 Relative Clause.....	76
4.1.1 Basic Relative Clause Structure.....	76
4.1.2 Relativization Strategy.....	77
4.1.2.1 Relative Prefix Strategy in Subject Relativization.....	77
4.1.2.2 Pronoun Retention in Non-Subject Relativization.....	80
4.1.3 Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy.....	81
4.1.3.1 Background Theory.....	81
4.1.3.2 NP Accessibility in Selaru.....	83
4.1.3.3 A Tally of Relative Clauses in a Selaru Discourse.....	85
4.1.4 Complex Relative Clauses--Embedding.....	86
4.2 Reduction of Transitivity.....	87
4.3 Nominalized Clauses.....	88
4.4 Summary.....	90
NOTES.....	91

5. SENTENCE STRUCTURE.....	92
5.1 Tense, Aspect, and Modality (TAM).....	92
5.1.1 Overview of Concepts and Terminology.....	93
5.1.2 Tense.....	94
5.1.3 Aspect.....	98
5.1.3.1 Completive and Incompletive Aspects.....	98
5.1.3.2 Continuative Aspect.....	100
5.1.3.3 Inceptive Aspect.....	102
5.1.3.4 Habitual and Iterative Aspects.....	102
5.1.4 Modality.....	103
5.1.4.1 Optative Mode.....	103
5.1.4.2 Potential Mode.....	104
5.1.4.3 Modal Particle.....	105
5.1.5 Interaction of the TAM system.....	107
5.2 Clause Combinations.....	108
5.2.1 Conjunctive Particles.....	109
5.2.2 Coordination.....	112
5.2.3 Conditional.....	114
5.2.4 Complementation.....	114
5.4 Interrogatives.....	116
5.4.1 'Yes/No' Questions.....	117
5.4.2 Coordinated Option Questions.....	118
5.4.3 Content Questions.....	119
5.4.3.1 'Who/What' Content Questions.....	119
5.4.3.2 'Where' Content Questions.....	121
5.4.3.3 'When/Why/How' Content Questions.....	121
5.4.3.4 Quantity Content Questions.....	124
5.5 Response.....	125
5.5.1 Positive Response.....	125
5.5.2 Negative Response and Negation.....	125
5.6 Conclusion.....	128
NOTES.....	129
6. SELARU NARRATIVE.....	132
6.0 Introduction.....	132
6.1 The Text.....	133
6.1.1 Text Quality and Intended Audience.....	133
6.1.2 Text Typology.....	135
6.1.3 Text Structure.....	135
6.2 Cline of Salience.....	139
6.2.1 Non-Storyline Constructions.....	140
6.2.1.1 Non-verbal Clauses.....	140
6.2.1.2 Bleached Verbal Clauses.....	141
6.2.1.3 Relative Clauses.....	143
6.2.2 Storyline Constructions.....	144
6.2.3 Summary to Cline of Salience.....	145
6.3 Coherence and Cohesion.....	146
6.3.1 Clause Conjunctions.....	147
6.3.2 Participant Reference.....	148
6.3.2.1 Tracking Reference in Subject Slot.....	148
6.3.2.2 Tracking Reference in Direct Object Slot.....	150
6.3.2.3 Introduction of Participants.....	151

6.3.3 Overlapping Back-reference	153
6.3.4 Repetition and Paraphrase	153
6.3.5 Time Sequencing and Cohesion	155
6.4 Peak and Climax	158
6.4.1 Increased Vividness	158
6.4.2 Length of Episodes	160
6.4.3 High Verb Concentration and Fast Action	160
6.4.4 Quotations	161
6.4.5 Summary of Peak	162
6.5 Conclusion	164
NOTES	166
APPENDIX A	168
APPENDIX B	182
APPENDIX C	187
REFERENCES	201

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1. Tanimbar Archipelago.....	3
2. Scale of Agentivity.....	65
3. Cline of Salience.....	145
4. Profile of <i>Mangkawar</i>	164

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1. The Selaru Consonantal Phonemes.....	10
2. The Selaru Syllabic Phonemes.....	11
3. Subject Person-Number Verb Prefixes.....	15
4. The Selaru Pronominals.....	16
5. The Demonstratives.....	21
6. Unspecified Pluralization Markers.....	22
7. Possessive Person-Number Suffixes.....	33
8. Person-Number Prefixes.....	50
9. Demonstrative Predicates.....	61
10. Topic Prefixes.....	62
11. Directionals.....	66
12. Relative Clause Types in a Narrative Text.....	85
13. Common Selaru Time Words.....	97
14. When/Why/How Content Question Words.....	122
15. The Major Episodes in <i>Mangkawar</i>	136
16. Sentence Initial Time Linkers.....	155
17. Uses of Second-Person Reference.....	160
18. Episode Length.....	160
19. Use of Quotations.....	161

ABBREVIATIONS

1s.....	First person-singular
1pi.....	First person-plural inclusive
1px.....	First person-plural exclusive
2s.....	Second person-singular
2p.....	Second person-plural
3s.....	Third person-singular
3p.....	Third person-plural
ADJ.....	Adjective
ART.....	Article
AttrNP.....	Attributive NP
CAUS.....	Causative suffix
CL.....	Clause
ClosePoss.....	Closely associated possession
CMP.....	Central Malayo-Polynesian
CONJ.....	Conjunctive particle
COOR.....	Coordinating conjunction
DEM.....	Demonstrative
DIR.....	Directional
DO.....	Direct object
EP _n	The n th Episode
IN.....	Singular Inanimate verb prefix ky- or sg. or pl. inanimate PRO
INSTR.....	Instrument suffix
IO.....	Indirect Object
LOC.....	Locative phrase
LOC-RC.....	Locative-headed RC
N _{attr}	Attributive noun (acts like ADJ)
N _{head}	Head noun of a noun phrase
NEG.....	Negative
NP.....	Noun Phrase
NP _{ClosePoss}	The possessed NP of a ClosePoss construct
NP _{poss'd}	Possessed noun phrase
NP _{poss'r}	Possessor noun phrase
NP _{rc}	Noun phrase with an RC
NUM.....	Number prefix de-
Num-SpNP.....	Enumerated specified-NP
Num-UnspNP.....	Enumerated unspecified-NP
PL.....	Unspecified plural clitic
PL/ART.....	Specified plural-article clitic -kre
POSS.....	Possessive infix (an empty vowel slot)
PossessWrd.....	Possession word (wasi, hina)
PossSuffx.....	Possessive person-number suffix

PREP.....	Preposition
PRO.....	Pronominal trace
QUES.....	Question marker
RC.....	Relative clause
REL.....	Relative (pronominal) prefix; relativizer
S.....	Subject
SpNP.....	Specified-NP
TAM.....	Tense-Aspect-Modality
TM.....	Time-change marker -o
TRANS.....	Transitive suffix
UnspNP.....	Unspecified-NP (no demonstrative)
V.....	Verb (in all chapters except Chapter 2)
V.....	Vowel in reference to CV skeletal tier (chapters 1 and 2)
X.....	Locative Clause Prefix for all animate subjects but 1s and 3p

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Selaru Language

The Selaru language (tel Masyarkwe) is an Austronesian language of the Central Malayo-Polynesian superstock (following Blust 1978). The speakers of Selaru number approximately 9,000, most of which inhabit a small island of the same name in the Tanimbar archipelago in the southeast region of the Maluku Province of Indonesia (see map, figure 1).

The data for this description was collected over a two year period (1987-89) in the village of Namtabung. Our presence there was made possible through a cooperative agreement between the government of Indonesia, Pattimura University in Ambon, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1.0.1 Purpose and Scope of this Study

Selaru is, for the most part, an unknown language to the linguistic community. As Blust points out, "many languages in Indonesia that are of potential interest to general linguistic theory or to comparative Austronesian linguistics remain almost unknown" (Blust 1987:32). The only published work on the language proper is Drabbe's (1932a) wordlist and cursory analysis of Selaru phonology and morphology.¹ Collins, in his report on linguistic research in Maluku, devotes only a single paragraph to Selaru concluding that "too little information about Selaru and Babar is

available" (1982:127) to determine its relationship to neighboring languages. Other works which mention Selaru appear to be based on Drabbe's work, although Hughes (1987) includes his own data on Selaru in his lexicostatistical classification of languages of the area.

To date, all linguistic research² involving or mentioning Selaru data, with the exception of Drabbe's work, is mainly comparative in nature, addressing the relationship of languages of the area (see Mills and Grima 1980, Mills 1981, Blust 1980, 1983-4, 1986 in addition to those already mentioned). As yet, there has been no analysis done on the grammar of the Selaru language.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide the linguistic community with a fairly comprehensive and accessible grammar of the Selaru language. This thesis will address the syntactic structure of the noun phrase up through discourse. It is hoped that by having a broader scope than is more common for this level of work, this thesis will be of interest to a larger audience and will provide the linguistic community at large with a good overview of the structure and operation of the language.

Because of the wide range of syntactic structures covered here, I am not able to delve in great depth into everything mentioned. Also, needless to say, because of size and time limitations, this thesis cannot and does not discuss every structural aspect of the language. But what is covered I hope will be of interest and use to those linguists working on or interested in Austronesian languages, especially those of or related to the Central Malayo-Polynesian languages of Maluku.

My hope is that this thesis will add a needed but heretofore missing piece in the big puzzle of "the Austronesian language family."

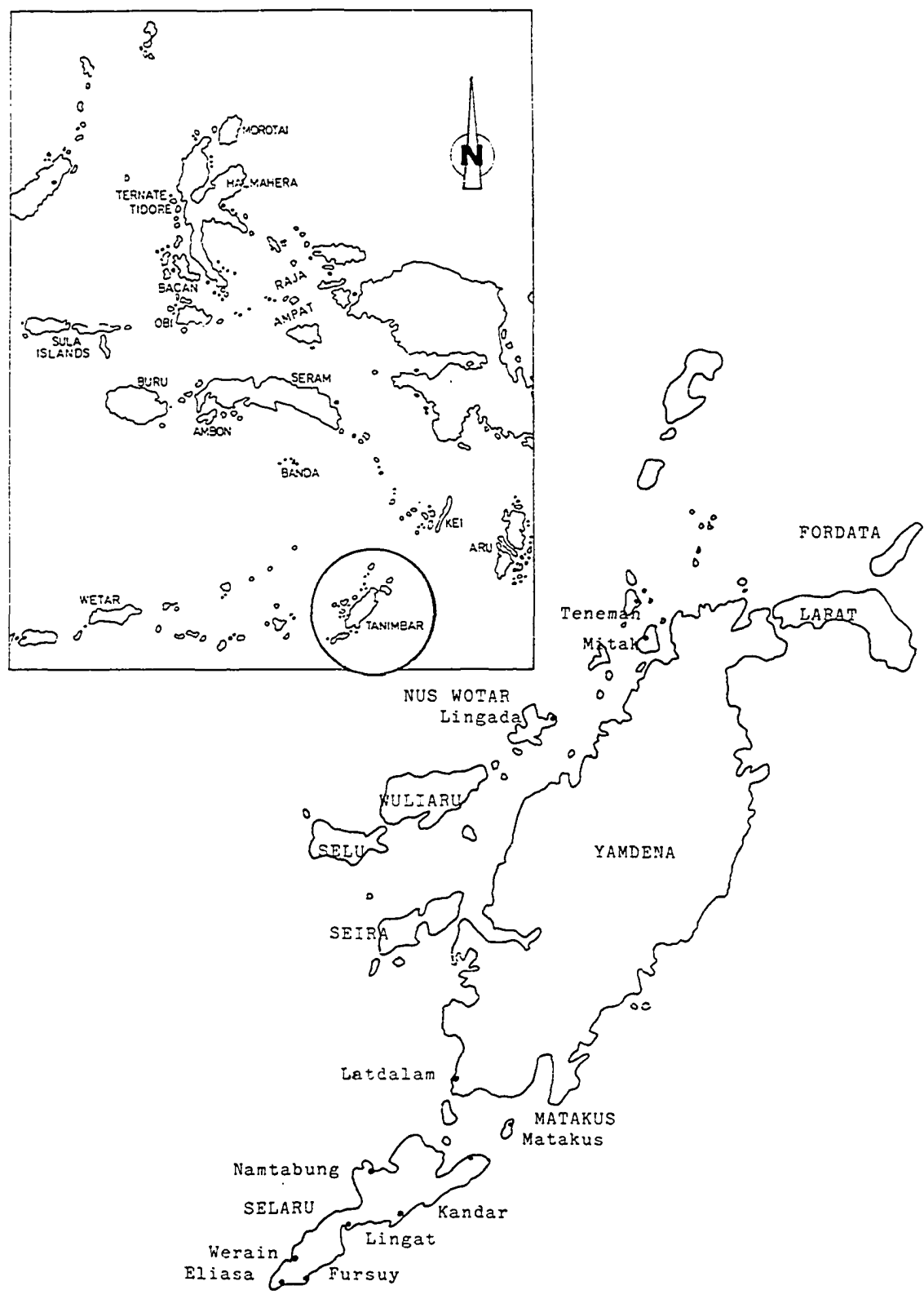


Figure 1: Tanimbar Archipelago

1.0.2 Methodology

This paper is not a highly theoretical work but rather a descriptive account of the grammatical structures of the Selaru language. When abstract theoretical explanations serve to clarify or generalize the structure, they will be used, but such explanations will not be included simply to argue for or against any particular theory.

The methodology used in this thesis is one more closely associated with the functional and typological perspective than with either a purely structural or generative approach, although my training covers both of these as well.

1.1 Classification of Selaru

As mentioned above, Selaru is classified as part of the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) language family. Blust states that CMP languages are "more closely related to such geographically distant languages as Nakanai, ... , Fijian, or Hawaiian than they are to the languages of western Indonesia" (1987:32). Pawley (1973) notes that Eastern Indonesian languages (which includes Selaru) may be the closest relatives to the languages of Oceania. This certainly appears to be true of Selaru when looking at its syntactic and lexical similarity to the languages of Oceania. Yet, Selaru also shares many structural similarities with Indonesian (as we shall see). Selaru also has many lexical cognates with Indonesian, though at first inspection such words may not appear cognate at all.

Hughes' (1987) lexicostatistical classification of the languages of Tanimbar places Selaru at a lexical similarity of only 56% with Seluwasan (a neighboring language on the island of Yamdena). All other languages in

the area rank even lower in relation to Selaru. In relation to the languages of the Aru archipelago (situated between Tanimbar and Irian Jaya, but still of the Austronesian CMP superstock), Selaru relates in the low- to mid-20's percentile; low enough to almost reclassify it in a separate superstock.

Selaru's unusual phonological structure could have been a contributing factor in the low relationship figures. It is possible that once the segmental alternations between languages are known the figures will rise.

1.1.1 Language Type--Agglutinating

Selaru is generally an agglutinative language. 'Agglutinating' is a term used to group languages whose "words typically contain a linear sequence of morphs--as seen in English *dis/establish/ment*" (Crystal 1985:11).³ Selaru's agglutinating character is seen in the concatenating enclitics of the following NP:

- (1) *naman-ne-ke*
 child-this-ART
 'this child'

In (1), there is a definite one-to-one correlation between morphemes and the linear sequence of morphs.

Rarely does a language fall completely into any one category, but certain general tendencies can be codified. Because Selaru seems to manifest a linear morph/meaning correspondence, it appears best to classify it as agglutinating as opposed to any other label.

1.1.2 Constituent Order Typology--SVO

The constituent order (often called 'word order') of Selaru is a fairly rigid SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) type as exemplified in this prototypical⁴ transitive clause:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|
| | S | V | O |
| (2) | namanare | roban | askwe |
| | children | hit | dog |
| | <i>'The children hit the dog'</i> | | |

This constituent order is rather expected, for Blust states that "in most of the Austronesian languages of Indonesia the order of major sentence constituents is (S)ubject-(V)erb-(O)bject" (1987:40).

Many of the predictions concerning the typology of word and morpheme order for VO languages (see Greenberg 1966 and Hawkins 1979, 1980) hold true for Selaru. For example, modifiers follow the noun in a noun phrase; Selaru is prepositional; verbal affixation is prefixial; and relative clauses are external with preposed head nouns. These characteristics will be addressed again in more detail in their respective sections.

1.2 Overview of the Thesis

Chapter 2 is a fairly detailed look into the structure of the noun phrase--one of the most complex syntactic structures in Selaru. This will include a discussion of the possessive constructions. Chapter 3 begins the analysis of clause level structure. Here the five basic clause types of Selaru are addressed and an effort is made to bring unity to their diversity. Chapter 4 deals mainly with relative clause structure, but also touches on nominalized clauses. It is also in Chapter 4 that the important concept of reduction or bleaching of verbs is presented. This concept has direct bearing on subordinate clauses and the cline of salience in

discourse. Chapter 5 picks up with the tense, aspect, and modality system of Selaru. From there it addresses clause conjunctions, interrogatives, and responses (including negation). Finally, Chapter 6 turns to discourse level structure. Here, several key areas of discourse analysis are brought to bear on a Selaru narrative text in order to ascertain the true meaning of the story. A cursory reading of the text does not reveal to the outside reader the true underlying implications of the story; rather, such a first look may leave the reader puzzled. But through the use of discourse analysis and background information the text falls into place and makes sense even to the outsider.

Appendices A, B, and C are different presentations of the same story. Appendix A is a Longacre and Levinsohn Chart, Appendix B is a macro-segmentation presentation with a fairly readable translation of the text. Finally, Appendix C gives the story in an interlinearized format.

1.3 Preliminaries

Before going on, it is best that I address some important preliminaries. First is a discussion of the notation used in this thesis. Then we will look at the basics of the Selaru sound system, and finally, one aspect of the morphological features of the language.⁵

1.3.1 Notation

To help eliminate any confusion for the reader, it is important that I give an explanation of the specific notation used in this thesis.

A list of abbreviations is included in the front matter of this thesis to assist the reader in decoding glossed examples, etc. Even so, I have strived to limit the number of unusual abbreviations.

The layout of a typical example is:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (3) | kbwa ti ku-ris | ← the Selaru |
| | 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe | ← morphemic glossing |
| | <i>'I'm going to take a bath'</i> | ← free translation |

The first line is the Selaru sentence or phrase under consideration. It is always bolded and is given in a phonemic representation, with individual morphemes in complex words divided by hyphens. This division of morphemes includes structures in a noun phrase that are actually "blended" through metathesis. It is only in the case of metathesized verb stems (e.g. **kbwa** 'I go' in (3) above) that the morphemes are not divided. In those cases, where the person-number subject prefix metathesizes onto a verb stem, it is shown combined with that stem (as opposed to merely attached to it, as in **ku-ris** 'I bathe' above). This is because metathesis on the verb stem plays an important role in clause and discourse analysis. In other words, there is an important distinction between when a verb stem metathesizes and when it does not, hence, for clarity of this function (at the expense of clarity of the morphemes), if a verb is metathesized, it will be given in that way; if not, it will be shown hyphenated.

Free English translations or glosses are given in single quotes and are italicized, e.g. *'I bathe'*. Morpheme by morpheme glosses (the second line in an example) are in normal type and include both literal English glosses and abbreviations for certain functors which are better captured by the abbreviation than by any one English gloss. If a Selaru morpheme requires an English gloss of more than one word, the gloss words will be connected by a period, e.g. -bai = go.to. The abbreviations used in this line are always in all-capital letters, e.g. CONJ marks a conjunctive

particle which can mean 'so', 'to', 'in order to', and 'and' depending on the clauses involved.

Any Indonesian words that are given will be marked in the same way as for English.

Often important words or phrases of an example will be underlined or set off with brackets ([]). Where these are used, an explanation will be given if it is not exactly clear what structures are being marked. One final note, usually when the Selaru form is referenced in the text (outside of an example) it will not be hyphenated. This is mainly to indicate to the reader the more exact reading of the form.

1.3.2 The Basic Phonology of Selaru

The phonology of Selaru is the focus of Coward and Coward's 1990 unpublished manuscript. The discussion here is simply to familiarize the reader with the phoneme inventory of Selaru and give a short discussion of the peculiarities of the glides that are found in the language. For a more in-depth look at the phonology of Selaru the reader is referred to the Coward and Coward work.

1.3.2.1 The Phonological Inventory

The phonological inventory of the Selaru language is rather straight forward, see Table 1.

The lack of /p/ and /g/ is the most notable feature of inventory. [g] is a manifestation of /k/ in voiced environments. Collins (1982) notes that in Selaru *p → [ɸ] or [x].⁶ Comparing Indonesian⁷ to Selaru we see evidence for this, as in:

- (4) 'fire' api Indonesian
 ay Selaru

Table 1: The Selaru Consonantal Phonemes

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop V1		t		k	ʔ
Vd	b	d			
Fricative	f	s			h
Nasal	m	n			
Liquid Lat		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	w		y		

Collins also notes that *b → h, *mb → b, and *s, *j, and *l → s. Concerning this last sound change Collins writes that this "contrast sharply with the distinct reflexes for each of these sounds in Yamdena" (1982:127). This again illustrates the divergent nature of Selaru from its neighboring languages.

Evidence for some of the sound changes Collins refers to are:

- (5) 'pig' babi Indonesian
 hahy Selaru
- (6) 'pestle' alu Indonesian
 asw Selaru

An important reflex to note is that word final high vowels have become glides in Selaru. I will address the nature of these glides in more detail in section 1.3.2.2.

The glottal stop may or may not be a phoneme, though currently we are treating it as such. Its functional load is so light that it may actually be a product of an unknown phonological process. In any case, for simplicity, the glottal stop is rendered in this thesis as an apostrophe ['], as in ati'at, for [atiʔat] 'bad'.

The vowel system of Selaru is a straight forward 5-vowel pattern. There is some tendency for mid-vowels to lax in closed syllables.

Table 2: The Selaru Syllabic Phonemes

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HI	i		u
MID	e		o
LOW		a	

1.3.2.2 The Glides: y and w

One peculiarity of the phonology of Selaru is its glides 'w' and 'y'. The basic features associated with these glides have been reduced historically from full vowel status to only the [+labial] or [+palatal] feature respectively. These segments are almost imperceptible phrase finally. It is not until they occur adjacent to a suffix or word that their presence becomes intrusive. Commonly, these glides will metathesize across morpheme boundaries (with simple consonant onsets) to manifest themselves as a consonantal off-glide onto the next vowel (as labialization or palatalization from the onset to the vowel). For example, the root morpheme for 'dog' is /asw/.⁸ When this occurs in a full noun phrase the resulting structure is [ask^we], i.e.:

- (7) /asw-ke/ ---> [ask^we] 'the dog'
 (8) /sihy-ke/ ---> [sihk^ye] 'the chicken'
 (9) /imbatwaw-ke/ ---> [imbat^wak^we] 'the cassava'

Because the actual phonetic nature and character of these glides is not always clear, I will spend a few lines addressing their phonetic production. From a standard generative point of view, these Selaru glides are just like /i/'s and /u/'s that have lost all sonorant quality, all syllabic quality, and are not specified as to voice (i.e., they adopt the voicing environment around them). So, to produce these in isolation, one begins by pronouncing an [i] or an [u], but stops just short of initiating

phonation, i.e., the mouth and tongue are shaped just as for the vowels, but no sound or air is expelled.

Producing such a segment word finally is even less intuitive. For [as^w] 'dog' one begins by pronouncing the [as] segments, and then, just as the [s] segment starts, one begins to move his lips and tongue into the position of an [u], but again, does not actually say [u]. Note that [as^w] is a monosyllabic word; there is no extra puffing of air after the [s]. The [ʷ] is completely analogous to the [w] in that the lips and tongue form an [i], but again it is not pronounced. With this description in mind we will continue our discussion.

Newer theories of phonology, i.e. autosegmental and CV phonology, are able to treat these peculiar segments elegantly. For an in-depth discussion of how the glides interact with their environment see Coward and Coward 1990. Suffice it here to say that under such an approach the segments y and w are actually /i/ and /u/ that are unattached on the CV skeletal tier (for a thorough treatment of these new theories see Clements and Keyser 1983, Clements 1985, Hayes 1986, and McCarthy 1986). For example, 'dog' [as^w] is underlyingly:



Notice the very important statement that this structure makes. It says that in the lexicon this morpheme has a segment that is unassociated with anything on the CV skeletal tier. Understand that in its underlying form it is unpronounceable. Phonological rules⁹ provide the needed linking to the CV tier making this a well-formed morpheme:

(11) V C
 | | \
 a s u
 'dog'

The formalism expressed in (11) captures the observed phonetic reality in that all of the "non-vowel" features of /u/ are transferred to /s/ making the surface manifestation of /s/ an [s] with lip rounding.

When /asw/ occurs in a noun phrase the glide appears to metathesize onto the following morpheme:

	UNDERLYING		LINKING ¹⁰		SURFACE
(12)	V C C V	==>	V C C V	==>	[ask ^w e] 'the dog'
			/		
	a s u-k e		a s u-k e		

The manifestation of metathesis in (12) can be explained as follows: in the linking process, all of the non-vowel features of /u/ are transferred to the /k/, making it a [k] with lip-rounding. When this modified k releases into the following vowel, it cannot help but sound like there is a labial off-glide onto the [e]. Traditional segmental phonetic transcriptions therefore depict the [w] occurring after the [k] and not before (or co-occurrent with) it; this apparent switch in position is 'metathesis'.

Note that the high vowels and their corresponding glides are in absolutely contrastive environments:

(13) tas^w
 'rope'

(14) tasi
 'ocean'

Underlyingly this is depicted as:

(15)	C V C		(after linking)
	t a s i		
	[tas ^w]		'rope'

(16)	C	V	C	V	
	t	a	s	i	
	[tasi]				'ocean'

This absolute contrast may make one think we should posit distinct phonemes for each of these segments, and, in segmental phonology, that is what would be required. With CV phonology, however, the relationship we know to exist between [ʔ] and [i] or [w] and [u] is made explicit: namely that a [ʔ] is a non-vocalic /i/ and a [w] is a non-vocalic /u/. These non-vowel segments have not, as yet, gained complete consonantality (i.e., they do not have their own 'C' timing unit on the CV skeletal tier).

(17)	Vowel	Glide	
	v		--CV skeletal tier
	u	u	--segmental tier

While all of this is necessary for a full understanding of Selaru phonology, for the sake of simplicity, these glide segments will be treated (and written) in this thesis simply as w and y, without any reference to the underlying structure. This simplification holds true everywhere except in Chapter 2, where I am describing plural and possessive constructions; the underlying characteristics of these glides are crucial for a clear understanding of these constructions.

The propensity of glides to metathesis is great and their presence is manifested in many areas of Selaru syntax. Any time a morpheme is written with a y or w morpheme finally it means that that segment has the ability to metathesize across to any following morphemes (with simple consonant onsets).

1.3.3 Morphology

As with Selaru phonology, the morphological processes of Selaru are addressed more fully in Coward and Coward 1990. I will merely touch on some of it here. Other aspects of Selaru morphology will be discussed throughout the thesis where appropriate.

1.3.3.1 Subject Person-Number Prefixes

The Selaru prefixes that mark subject person-number agreement on verbal predicates are given in the following table:

Table 3: Subject Person-Number Verb Prefixes

Verb:	1s	2s	3s	inanimate sg. & pl.	1pi	1px	2p	3p
1. vowel initial	k-	m-	y-	ky-	t-	aramy-	my-	r-
2. complex onset	ku-	mu-	i-	ki-	ta-	arami-	mi-	ra-
3. simple onset	k-w-	m-w-	-y-	k-y-	t-	aramy-	m-y-	r-

Table 3 gives the different forms for each of the verbal prefixes. The form which is used for each person-number is a function of the onset of the verb stem itself.¹¹ If the verb stem is vowel initial its prefix set comes from line 1. If the stem has a complex onset (two consonants) it takes the set from line 2. Simple (single consonant) onsets take line 3. There are exceptions to this, but they are rare.

Notice that line 3 is unusual. The extra hyphen indicates that the prefixes metathesize onto the verb stem. For example, the verb stem for 'go' is -ba. Since this stem has a simple onset, 'I go' would be /kw-/+/-ba/ ==> [k^wa] (I will normally write this as: kbwa), where the /w/ segment is manifested as a labial off-glide from the /b/ (see section 1.3.2.2 for more information). Notice that first-person plural inclusive (1pi) and third-person plural (3p) have no glide and therefore do nothing unusual.

The first-person singular (1s) and second-person singular (2s) prefix forms in line 1 also demonstrate an anomaly. On vowel initial verb stems the glide is lost. So, -enaf 'sleep' becomes kenaf 'I sleep' and not *kwenaf. Why the glide is lost in this case is not explainable as yet, and so is handled by an inelegant morphological deletion rule.¹²

The subject person-number prefix is the most common means of agentive reference. It is also nearly identical to the inalienable possessive suffix (see section 2.8.2).

1.3.3.2 Personal Pronouns

The Selaru Pronoun chart is as follows:

Table 4: The Selaru Pronominals

Person/number	Subject	Object
1s	yaw	yaw
2s	oa	o
3s	ia	i
Inanimate (sg. and pl.)	∅	∅
1pi	ity	ity
1px	aramy	aramy
2p	ea	e
3p	sira	sir

The final -a on many of the subject pronouns may be a feature of transitivity and not a part of the pronoun (see section 3.5.3). Independent subject pronominals are rare, but when they do occur, those that can be marked with an -a will be.

The ∅ pronominal (PRO) for inanimate nouns is somewhat abstract as it never occurs on the surface, yet there are many instances where such an interpretation simplifies the analysis.

- (18) a. ~~y-or~~ yaw arambyai bo-Vre
 3s-with me 1px-go.to garden-PL
 'He and I went to the gardens'

b. kutea ma ktwabal tunke khatuke it ma alwean -or Ø
 1s-ask that 1s-speak [word] one for 2s-grow 2s-with PRO
 'I wish to speak a word to you so you can grow with it.'

The verb *-or* 'be with' always takes an object, as is seen by the object pronominal *yaw* 'me' in (18a). Sentence (18b) is the only example in my corpus where *-or* does not appear to take an object. Yet it is unambiguous that the object of *-or* in the second clause is co-referential with the object noun phrase of the first clause, e.g. *tunke khatuke it* 'a word' or 'advice'. It is possible in Selaru to repeat the whole phrase over again as the direct object of the second clause but to do so would sound very stilted. Usually in cases where the repeated object is animate they will simply substitute a pronoun. Why then should we expect anything different here? The most insightful analysis then is to say that *-or* always subcategorizes a direct object, and that the inanimate direct object pronominal is simply marked with a Ø.¹³

Non-human plural animate nouns (e.g. *asure* 'dogs') take the object pronominal *sir* 'them', but such plural nouns can never take a pronominal in the subject slot (apparently *sira* 'they' is only for human subjects).

NOTES

¹Unfortunately, two other works of Drabbe (1932b, 1932c), on the neighboring languages of Fordata and Yamdena (also of the Tanimbar archipelago), were unavailable for this research. Drabbe was able to do a more extensive investigation of these languages than he was of Selaru, and had these works been available for me to cross check this analysis, it would have undoubtedly improved this work.

²Some anthropological work has been done as well. During the years 1985-6, a Belgian anthropologist, Simone Pauwels, lived in the village of Fursuy (see map, figure 1) and conducted research into the cultural aspects of the Selaru people. She has given a paper on kinship relations of the area (Pauwels 1985).

³'Agglutinating' languages are in contrast to languages that are 'isolating', i.e. where the words do not change, or 'inflectional', i.e. where grammatical relationships are marked morphologically in/on individual words, but which lack any "one-to-one correspondence between these morphemes and the linear sequence of morphs" (Crystal 1985:157).

⁴'Prototypical' is a term used extensively by Givón (1984) to describe the most central or purest example of a category or classificational label. In the case of 'transitive clause', there are many clauses which are classified as 'transitive' which are not notionally very transitive (that of an agent affecting a change in a patient). For example, '*She loved Robert*' does not necessitate a change in '*Robert*', and so does not constitute a very prototypical example of a transitive clause, even though syntactically it can be classified as having 'transitive clause' structure. A more prototypical example of a transitive clause in English would be '*I crushed the walnut*'.

⁵For a complete discussion of these and other phonological and morphological features of Selaru, see Coward and Coward 1990.

⁶In our analysis [x] is a product of a phonological rule where /h/ becomes [x] before velar stops. This is a rare occurrence. This rule does not agree with Collins, as we posit [x] is from /h/ (which is from *b, not *p).

⁷I am of course assuming Indonesian to be an adequate representation of proto-forms which have not undergone the same sound changes.

⁸Note that asw 'dog' is now a homophone of asw 'pestle' because of the loss of contrast between *s and *l. Many Austronesian languages of Maluku refer to 'dog' with a form similar to asu or aso, whereas 'pestle' was shown in (6) to derive from a form similar to alu.

⁹The phonological rules are involved and not necessary for this thesis. They describe a rule-ordered process by which linking is attempted. These are developed and defended in Coward and Coward 1990.

¹⁰From this example we can see that there is an obvious preference for glides to link rightward over linking leftward.

¹¹More accurately, the variation between each line is a function of the underlying structure of the prefixes (specifically, the unattached glide segments) and how they interact with the various onsets of the verb stems, but this does not concern us here. See Coward and Coward 1990.

¹²There is evidence that such a glide-deletion rule has a broader scope than just at the juncture of subject prefixes and vowel initial verb stems, but this must wait further investigation.

¹³By extension we posit Ø as the subject pronoun for inanimate nouns, as inanimate subjects are marked either by a full noun phrase and their verbal prefix *ky-*, or simply by their verb prefix alone; there is never any occurrence of a surface pronoun.

CHAPTER 2

THE NOUN PHRASE

2.0 Introduction

The noun phrase (NP) is one of the more interesting and complex structures in the Selaru language. In this section we will discuss only the structure of the basic NP, including: demonstratives, plurals, possessives, enumeration, etc. More complex NP structures, such as those involving relative clauses, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.1 The Article

The basic Selaru NP consists of a head noun and an article (ART). The article for a singular head is the clitic: *-ke* 'a, the'.

- (1) *kader-ke*
chair-ART
'a chair' or 'the chair'
- (2) *turi-ke*
machete-ART
'a machete' or 'the machete'

The article is a helpful 'road sign' in Selaru syntax, for it marks the end of a noun phrase. We will see how useful this marking can be when differentiating non-verbal clauses from demonstrative and descriptive NPs (see section 3.3) and determining the boundaries of a relative clause (see section 4.1.4).

The article is optional on direct object NPs or when a head noun is modified by a demonstrative, even though it is common, in simple sentences,

for the article to be used even when a demonstrative is present and it is in the direct object position.

As already noted, the gloss for *-ke* is both 'a' and 'the', meaning that it does not share the same roles as the English determiner, i.e., *-ke* plays both the role of introducing a new head noun to the scene of a text as well as maintaining its marking throughout a story. Should definiteness need to be indicated, Selaru uses a demonstrative.

2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives (DEM) can often take the place of the article *-ke*. Selaru has three demonstrative words indicating three degrees of distance from the speaker:

Table 5: The Demonstratives

<i>ne</i>	this (here)
<i>desy</i>	that (there)
<i>so</i>	that (over there out of sight)

The demonstrative comes immediately before the article. A head noun which has a glide morpheme finally will fuse with the following demonstrative, and although in this thesis they will normally be written separated by hyphens, actually they are said as one word:

- (3) *kader-ne-ke* ← no glide
 chair-this-ART
 'this chair'
- (4) *asdwesike* ← glide, as spoken
asw-desy-ke ← morphemically split
 dog-that-ART (note also: y ~ i)
 'that dog'
- (5) *sihsyoke*
sihy-so-ke
 chicken-that-ART
 'that chicken (over there)'

Any of these examples could be said without the article *-ke*:

- (6) *asdwesy*
asw-desy
 dog-that
 'that dog'

Notice that in (4) the glide *y* becomes an [i]. This happens when two morphemes with similar grammatical function come together with a glide between them (the underlying form of 'that (near)' is /desy/), the glide becomes its full-vowel counterpart. In all other combinations, except plurals, the glide metathesizes, see section 1.3.2.2.

2.3 Plural NPs

Unlike Indonesian, but like many other Austronesian languages, Selaru indicates the plurality of a head noun with a plural enclitic. Reduplication, used in Indonesian for pluralization (among other things), has other functions in Selaru (see Coward and Coward 1990).

2.3.1 Pluralization of Unspecified Head Nouns

An 'unspecified' head noun refers to a head that is not modified by a demonstrative (*ne*, *desy*, *so*). Such head nouns are pluralized by the clitic *-re*, with the following minor morphological variations:

Table 6: Unspecified Pluralization Markers

If the head noun (or other intervening morph) ends in:	add:
1. a consonant:	-are
2. a vowel:	-nare
3. a glide (the glide syllabifies):	-re
4. monosyllabic stems (plus a few exceptions):	-are

Table 6 describes the morphological alternation of the plural clitic for NPs with unspecified head nouns. The following are examples of this type of NP.

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| (7) | kader-are
chair-PL
'the chairs' or 'chairs' | (consonant final head) |
| (8) | turi-nare
machete-PL
'the machetes' or 'machetes' | (vowel final head) |
| (9) | asure
asw-re
dog-PL
'the dogs' or 'dogs' | (glide final head) |
| (10) | bo-are
garden-PL
'the gardens' or 'gardens' | (monosyllabic stem) |
| (11) | aro-are
boat-PL
'the boats' or 'boats' | (one of the exceptions) ¹ |

The plural morpheme could be posited as /-re/, with the additions or modifications on its attachment handled by descriptive morphological rules (such as given in Table 6). A more elegant alternative is to posit the plural clitic as /-Vre/, where the V indicates an unspecified vowel timing unit on the CV skeletal tier (meaning that the plural marker actually has two syllable beats, the first of which is underspecified² in the lexicon):

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (12) | V C V

- r e | (plural suffix marker) |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------|

When the plural suffix attaches to a morpheme ending in a glide (which is unattached underlyingly, see section 1.3.2.2) the glide automatically attaches to the V timing unit making it a full vowel (as seen in (9) above). If the morph ends in a consonant, there is nothing to link

to the empty-V unit (as all segments surrounding it are already linked up). In this case the features of an [a] are default assigned to the empty-V, creating what appears to be a default vowel epenthesis. Finally, vowel final morphs cause the insertion of a nasal [n] between the vowel and the empty V slot; the empty-V will then become an [a] as with consonant final morphemes. Why a nasal is inserted is not clear,³ nor is it clear why this does not always occur, as in the case of monosyllabic stems.

Positing an empty-V for the plural suffix enables us to collapse the rules of Table 6 a bit and gives us an explanation for the alternations observed, based on patterns found in other constructions involving glides, etc. (see Coward and Coward 1990 for more details). The concept of [a] insertion will be important again for possessive structures.

2.3.2 Pluralization of Specified Head Nouns

'Specified' head nouns are those modified by demonstratives. The plural clitic for such a noun phrase is *-kre*. The *-kre* morpheme appears to be a merger of the *-ke* article and the *-vre* unspecified plural marker, so I label it PL/ART. How this might have developed is not clear.

(13) *aro-ne-kre*
boat-this-PL/ART
'these boats'

(14) *aswesikre*
asw-desy-kre
dog-that-PL/ART
'those dogs'

The pattern is $N_{\text{head}} + \text{DEM} + \text{PL/ART}$, which is parallel to the $N_{\text{head}} + \text{DEM} + \text{ART}$ for a straight demonstrative NP.

2.4 Descriptive NPs (adjectives modifying nouns)

In a descriptive NP, the adjective comes just before the demonstrative or, if not present, the article.

- (15) a. aro lan-ke '*the big boat*'
 b. aro lan-ne-ke '*this big boat*'
 c. aro lan-ne-kre '*these big boats*'

Adjectives can occur in unspecified plural NPs as well:

- (16) aro lan-are '*big boats*'

Concatenation of multiple adjectives (e.g. '*the big, bad, ugly dog*') is not at all common in Selaru, though the following example was verified as acceptable:

- (17) ember lan mermer desy
 bucket big red that
 '*that big red bucket*'

I have no natural (unelicited) examples of such adjective concatenation in my data.

It is interesting to note that Indonesian does not normally use concatenated adjectives in its NPs either and usually resorts to a basic descriptive NP with an additional relativized attributive clause to accomplish this multi-faceted descriptive function. Selaru appears to follow a similar schema.

2.5 Attributive NPs (nouns modifying nouns)

Peck (1984:77) gives the term 'attributive noun phrase' to constructions with nouns modifying nouns. Although this has a similar structure to that of the closely associated possessive NP (see section 2.8.2.4), there is clearly a difference.

In the attributive NP, the nouns are in a reversed order from that of the closely associated possession construction (ClosePoss), and the total

structure is actually only one NP (as opposed to the NP-NP structure of the ClosePoss).

The attributive NP takes the form:

(18) AttrNP = N_{head} N_{attr} ART

For example:

(19) kuskus holholat-ke
key door-ART
'the door-key'

This contrasts with the closely associated NP (see section 2.8.2.4):

(20) holholatke kuskusake
holholat-ke kuskus-V-Ø-ke
door-ART key-POSS-IN-ART
'the key of the door'

(19) also differs semantically from (20) in that (19) refers to a type of key, i.e. a door-key as opposed to some other type of key, whereas (20) is actually a possessive construction, i.e. 'the door's key'. It appears then that the attributive NP in Selaru is acting like the compound noun in English.

2.6 An Intermediate Summary of the Basic NP

A summary of the basic Selaru NP is placed here to clarify what we have discussed thus far. If we think of the article and the plural markers as being the singular and plural counterparts of the same grammatical structure (filling the same syntactic slot) then we can posit that:

(21) A Generalization of Selaru Articles:

-ke and -Vre are the Selaru NP Articles (ART),

Where:

- -Vre surfaces as per Table 6 for unspecified NPs, and
- both -ke and -Vre merge to form -kre in specified NPs.

With this generalization, the Selaru NP as discussed thus far collapses to the following formulation:

(22) NP = N_{head} (ADJ)(DEM)(ART)

(where the article is optional only in the case of +DEM or in object NPs, otherwise it is obligatory).

Since all constituents of the Selaru NP are optional (except of course the head), one can infer that nouns should be able to stand alone in certain situations. Such free-standing head nouns do occur, although not very commonly:

(23) *lema kika wer*
 NEG exist water
 'there isn't any water'

(24) *kw-dakin ku masy*
 I -like eat fish
 'I like to eat fish'

Such truncated NPs usually refer to uncountable mass nouns or non-referential-indeterminate nouns. The noun *wer* 'water' in (23) is an example of a non-count (or uncountable) noun, while *masy* 'fish' in (24) is an example of a non-referential-indeterminate noun, i.e., the noun is not referring to any particular fish.

Finally, the attributive noun phrase has been described as:

(25) AttrNP = N_{head} N_{attr} ART

2.7 Enumerating Head Nouns

Specifying the number⁴ or quantity of a head noun in Selaru is fairly straight forward. Regardless of the numeric value of the head, a Selaru noun phrase, if specified as to number, will always be singular in construction. The lack of a plural marker on a numbered NP with numbers

greater than one is presumably because to mark it for plurality would be redundant.

As with pluralization, there is a distinction in noun phrase structure between numbering specified nouns and unspecified nouns. We will address unspecified nouns first.

2.7.1 Numbering Unspecified Nouns

The basic pattern for enumerating an unspecified-NP is:

(26) Num-UnspNP = NP Number

(where the NP must not have a demonstrative and is singular)

Notice first off that this construction is technically greater than a simple NP, since it is made up of a noun phrase plus a number, i.e., the number is outside the NP. Also note the stipulation that this construction must have no demonstrative and must be syntactically singular, i.e., it must have no -Vre plural marker. Such a construction may not contain a demonstrative as this would make it 'specified' (referential).

(27) aro-ke enaru
 boat-ART two
 'two boats'

The head noun of such a structure is non-referential, hence the gloss 'two boats' rather than 'the two boats'.

There is one apparent exception to the 'singular construction' rule:

(28) kwe-Vre ribun
 banana-PL thousand
 'The bananas are many'

The confusion arises over ribun 'thousand', which can also mean 'a lot'. In this example ribun is not acting as a number but rather as an adjective. This structure is an attributive clause, i.e. an NP + ADJ (see

sections 2.7.3 and 3.3.1). Had the speaker intended to specify that the number of bananas was literally one-thousand, it is likely the NP would have been singular, but as I have no overt evidence of this, this will have to wait confirmation.

2.7.2 Numbering Specified Nouns

'Specified' (specific, known, or referential) nouns are numbered differently from unspecified nouns. The pattern is:

(29) Num-SpNP = N_{head} de-Number (DEM)(ART)

(where the ART must be singular -ke)

The referentiality of the head noun is shown by the inclusion of the Number and the optional DEM within the NP, with the article closing the NP. The Number in this case is slightly modified from the number in the unspecified-NP. Numbers two through five (2-5) are truncated; the ena- prefix (meaning unknown) is dropped, leaving only the stem number. So, for example, enaru 'two' from (27) becomes ru and then gains the prefix de- (meaning unknown) in a specified-NP. Example (27) in a specified-NP would be:

(30) aro de-ru desy-ke
 boat NUM-two that-ART
 'those two boats'

As just mentioned, the meaning or function of de- in the numbering of specified-NPs is not known, but it is consistently used for all enumerations of specified heads (including 'one': de-sasan). It is possible that de- carries some element of 'referentiality' such that if the demonstrative were not present, this construction would still be interpreted as referential.

Comparing the two numbering patterns may be helpful. Used in complete sentences (27) and (30) act as follows:

- (31) a. aro-ke enaru ky-bai Kadar
 boat-ART two IN-go.to Kadar
 'two boats went to Kadar'
- b. aro de-ru desy-ke ky-bai Kadar
 boat NUM-two that-ART IN-go.to Kadar
 'those two boats went to Kadar'

Notice the distinction between these two examples in terms of the glossing. The second is clearly referential, while the first is certainly not. The fact that both NP structures are singular in form is confirmed by the use of the article *-ke* and not plural markers *-Vre* or *-kre*.

Finally, specified-NPs do not need to have a demonstrative, though it is far more common that they do. If a demonstrative is present, then its enumeration must follow the pattern given here for specified-NPs.

2.7.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Selaru are infrequent and use a variety of syntactic structures. *Mumu* 'all' appears to fill the same slot as the number in a specified NP. The morph *-kten* 'all' takes a person-number prefix (like a verb, see section 3.1.1) indicating it might be a verb meaning 'gather together'.

- (32) e i-ne **mumu** wasi-my bahy-ke i-desy
 you(pl) X-here all own-2p pig-ART 3s-there
 'You all here own that pig there'
- (33) ta-**kten** mais bo
 lpi-all same just
 'we all are just the same'

The number *ribun* 'thousand' can also mean 'many' or 'a lot'. This quantifier requires an attributive clause (see section 3.3.1). The

attributive clause can stand alone (as in (28) above) or act as a constituent of a matrix clause:

- (34) naman-vre ribun sir rbai Kadar
 child-PL many 3p 3p-go.to Kadar
 'Many children went to Kadar'

Unfortunately we do not have many good examples of other quantifiers from which to draw any firm generalizations. It appears that Selaru uses most of the syntactic structures available to encode these, depending on the quantifier itself.

2.8 Possessive NPs

The possessive NP construction in Austronesian languages has been a favorite topic among linguists for many years, and Selaru should prove to be of some interest in this area. Possession in Selaru is no exception to the rule of complexity for Austronesian languages; it uses two types of possessive structures (commonly called 'alienable' and 'inalienable') depending on the semantic relationship of the possessed noun to its possessor. The 'alienable' construction is subdivided into two distinct types: 'general' and 'edible'.

These various types of possession seem not only to mark semantic function, but also the degree of semantic association or 'closeness' (see section 2.8.2). The 'alienable' possessive construction has the least closely bound relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun, whereas the 'inalienable' possessive construction has the most closely bound relationship. Lynch (1973, 1982) concludes that such variations are a result of semantic relationships and not some syntactic restriction, e.g. not because of noun classes (see section 2.8.2.4).

2.8.1 Alienable

The alienable construction divides into two types, 'general' and 'edible'. This distinction seems common in languages of Oceania, but is fairly rare in Austronesian languages of Maluku (Laidig, to be published). Lynch (1973) gives four examples of languages from Melanesia which have at least a two way split of the alienable construction; some have even more. The difference in the alienable construction is lexical not syntactic, i.e., the possessive term differs depending on the relationship between the possessor and the noun possessed, yet the overall structure does not change.

2.8.1.1 General

The 'general' possessive construction is the most common and diversely applied possessive relation in Selaru (hence its label). It is actually a type of clause similar to the Ambonese Malay⁵ 'punya' or the English 'have' or 'own' constructions.

The general possessive construction can stand alone as a full clause or be embedded into an NP. The verbal character of this construction has been noted in the literature (see Lynch 1973). We will discuss the clausal possessive construction here under NP structure because, even though it can stand alone, it most often occurs filling an NP position in an encompassing clause.

The following are a few examples of the general possessive:

- (35) wasi-kw sey-ke
own-1s house-ART
'my house'
- (36) haby-ke wasi-~~g~~ o-ke
pig-ART own-3s pen-ART
'the pig's pen'

- (37) **ara wasi-my asw-vre**
 we own-1px dog-PL
 'our dogs'

The general possessive construction is marked by the word *wasi* or *wai* (a collapsed form of *wasi*, for 1pi and 3p possession). *Wasi* can be used with almost every type of noun, either animate or inanimate, but it is not used with food or with nouns that are 'inalienably' possessed.

Wasi is marked with a suffix that agrees in person and number with the possessor. These person-number suffixes deviate slightly from Table 3 given in Chapter 1 for verb prefixes. Below is the modified chart for the possessive suffixes:

Table 7: Possessive Person-Number Suffixes

Person-Number	Suffix	Possession Word Form
1s	-kw	wasikw
2s	-mw	wasimw
3s	-ŋ	wasi
inanimate	-ŋ	wasi
1p inclusive	ity -t	ity wait
1p exclusive	ara -my	ara wasimy
2p	-my	wasimy
3p	(sir) -t	(sir) wait

Notice that in Table 7, as mentioned above, every person-number suffix uses *wasi*, except the first-person plural inclusive (1pi) and third-person plural (3p) forms, which use *wai*. Another point of interest is the parallelism between the 1pi/3p and the first-person plural exclusive/second-person plural (1px/2p) forms. For each set, the first-person plural form takes a pronominal before the possession word. Without the pronominal, a Selaru speaker will interpret such a structure to be involving either a 2p or 3p referent (unless context eliminates any ambiguity).⁶

One puzzling detail in Table 7 above is the fact that the 3s affix is $-\emptyset$ and not $-y$ and the 3p affix is $-t$ rather than $*-r$. All other affix forms are exactly parallel to the person-number prefix for Selaru verb conjugation; the only difference being that for verbs the affix is prefixed to the verb whereas here it is suffixed to the possessive stem. Only the third-person forms are different. It appears that there has been a collapse of the person-number affix set at these points.

The general possessive construction can also be combined with demonstratives:

- (38) wasi-mw hahy-desy-ke
 own-2s pig-that-ART
 'your pig there' or 'that pig of yours'

Finally, the general possessive construction can be combined into a full descriptive NP:

- (39) ity wai-t aro lan ne-kre
 we own-1pi boat big this-PL/ART
 'our big boats here' or 'these big boats of ours'

2.8.1.2 Edible

Possession of edible nouns is identical in construction to that of general possessives with the exception that the possessive stem is *hina*.

For contrast, note that example (38) could be said as:

- (40) hina-mw hahy-desy-ke
 own-2s pork-that-ART
 'your pork there' or 'that pork of yours'

The only difference in the two examples is that in (40) *hina* indicates that the pig is considered food, i.e., it has been killed and cooked, whereas in (38) *wasi* indicates that the pig is not food, i.e., it is still alive, or at least not yet prepared as food.

The suffix set for edible possession is the same as that for general possession (see Table 7), e.g., a third-person singular referent has no affix form, etc.:

- (41) *hina kweke*
hina-Ø kwe-ke
 own-3s banana-ART
 'his banana'

2.8.2 Inalienable Possessive Constructions

The 'inalienable' possessive construction is common in many Austronesian languages. James Collins writes:

The inalienable category includes most body parts, kinship terms and 'name' as well as other nouns considered to be intimate, irrevocable possessions. ... Alienable nouns are objects of mere possession, simple property, things whose relation to the possessor is merely transitory (1983:27).

Collins clearly distinguishes the inalienable construction from the alienable here, but the term 'inalienable' is unfortunate. In Selaru and many other Austronesian languages there are nouns which can be possessed either with the general possessive construction or with the more intimate 'inalienable' construction. It would therefore seem more appropriate to call the inalienable construction something like a 'closely associated' possessive construction.

I will adopt the 'closely associated' (ClosePoss) terminology throughout this paper so as not to imply the nouns in such a construction are, as Collins puts it, "irrevocably associated with" the possessor (1983:29).

There is basically only one closely associated possessive construction, but we will address it in three stages of complexity.

2.8.2.1 Singular Head

The ClosePoss structure for singular head nouns uses the suffixes described in Table 7 but without the possession word *wasi*. In the ClosePoss construction, the person-number suffix is affixed directly onto the possessed noun. This direct attachment (without the use of a possession word) syntactically parallels the closeness of the bond between the possessor and the possessed noun, i.e., it reflects syntactic iconicity. Consider the following examples:

(42) *nurakkwe*
nura-kw-ke
 nose-1s-ART
 'my nose'

(43) *iblunkwe*
iblu-mw-ke
 skin-2s-ART
 'your skin'

Although it is difficult to find singular head nouns in a ClosePoss construction with plural possessors, the following is one:

(44) *ity amatke*
ity ama-t-ke
 we father-1pi-ART
 'our father'

The third-person singular (3s) suffix in a ClosePoss construction with a singular head is usually \emptyset but is sometimes *-na* or *-n*. Underlyingly, the 3s suffix appears to be either \emptyset or *-n*. The *-na* form appears only phrase finally with no *-ke* or other subsequent affixation.⁷ Two examples of the *-na* or *-n* possessive suffix are found in the following:

(45) a. *ama-na*
 father-3s
 'his father'

b. *iblu-n-ke*
 skin-3s-ART
 'his skin'

Whereas the \emptyset suffix is seen in the following:

- (46) *nurake*
nura- \emptyset -ke
 nose-3s-ART
 'his nose'

Compare this with (42), where the *-kw* possessive suffix for first-person singular clearly fills the same slot as the \emptyset in (46).

The role of the NP article *-ke* suppressing the third-person singular suffix deserves further investigation, for it is not insignificant that the suffixes *-n* and *-na*, as in (45a-b), are rare (in singular head ClosePoss constructions).

2.8.2.2 Plural Head

The syntactic structure of a ClosePoss for plural heads is nearly identical to that for single heads. The only differences are a) the plural head construction requires a plural marker and b) the 3s suffix always surfaces as *-na*.

Plural heads require the plural clitic *-Vre* word finally (or phrase finally in more complex NPs). The person-number suffixes are affixed to the possessed noun; the plural clitic is then suffixed to that. The empty V slot in the plural clitic will attract the unassociated glide segment from the preceding person-number affix (if there is one) giving the glide segment full vowel status. If there is no unassociated segment to link to the empty-V, a default feature value of [a] is assigned to the V (this applies to the 3s, 1pi, and the 3p suffix forms). With this analysis, we can simplify the third-person singular possessive suffix for plural heads as always *-n*, and never \emptyset .⁸ (See the discussion on Selaru glides in section 1.3.2.2 and the discussion on the underlying form of the plural

clitic section 2.3.1 for more on the theory and assumptions for this analysis.)

Let us look at a few examples:

	SURFACE	UNDERLYING		AFTER LINKING
(47)	matakure	C V C V -C -V C V		C V C V -C -V C V
	mata-kw-Vre		==>	/
	eye-1s-PL	m a t a -k u- r e		m a t a -k u- r e
	'my eyes'			

	SURFACE	UNDERLYING		DEFAULT [a] INSERTION
(48)	matanare	C V C V -C -V C V		C V C V -C -V C V
	mata-n-Vre		==>	
	eye-3s-PL	m a t a -n - r e		m a t a -n -a r e
	'his eyes'			

Example (48) shows why we can simplify the 3s possessive form and posit it as -n. This also gives us a way to explain why in example (45b) the 3s form is simply -n and not -na. (There is no empty-V requiring a default [a] in (45b), because the NP article -ke does not have an empty V slot underlyingly.)

2.8.2.3 Complex Structure

The ClosePoss structure allows for the possessor to be overtly specified, i.e., the possessor need not always be implied only by the person-number suffix but can be overtly specified with a noun phrase.⁹

- (49) Dorce ama-Ø
 Dorce father-3s
 'Dorce's father'

With the addition of a specified possessor the ClosePoss structure begins to look similar to that of the general-edible possession construction. Where the general-edible possessive construction uses a possession word (either wasi for general nouns and hina for edible nouns), the ClosePoss construction has none. So, rather than affixing to a

possession word, the person-number suffix attaches directly to the possessed noun. The order of constituents remains the same in both constructions: the possessor NP followed by the possessed NP.

Specifying the possessor with a free pronoun (rather than an NP) is not done for 1s, 2s, 3s, 2p, and 3p referents; it is considered redundant. The only place where a pronominal is used in the ClosePoss possession is when the referent is either first-person plural inclusive or exclusive. As mentioned in the discussion on Table 7, the use of these pronouns is not redundant here, because there has been a loss of differentiation between the 1px and 2p possessive suffixes as well as between 1pi and 3p suffix forms.

(50) ity ama-t-ke
we father-1pi-ART
'our father'

(51) ama-t-ke
father-3p-ART
'their father'

These two examples show how the ity in (50) is not redundant but needed to clarify the ambiguity of person-number suffix forms.

2.8.2.4 A Function of Relationship

As mentioned in section 2.8.2, the common term used in the literature to refer to the ClosePoss relationship is 'inalienable'. This term implies that such possessive constructions are required for certain types of nouns, and that the possessive relationship between the two nouns (the possessor and the possessed) is unbreakable.

More recent work (Pawley 1973, Lynch 1973 and 1982, and undoubtedly others) has shown that, for many Austronesian languages, the 'inalienable'

possessive is not restricted to only certain types of nouns, but rather it is a syntactic depiction of the perceived relationship between the two nominals. The various possessive constructions indicate overtly the degree of control, or bonding, that exists between them. This means that as the perceived relationship changes, i.e. becomes more or less 'bonded', the actual construction used to refer to the relationship changes. Selaru is no exception to this syntactic flexibility.

Several common nouns in Selaru can be 'inalienably' possessed, i.e. can be specified with the ClosePoss construction. The implication of such usage is that these common nouns are much more closely related to the possessor than they would be had they been marked syntactically with the general possessive construction. To use the ClosePoss construction implies that the possessed object is for the exclusive use of the owner, but it in no way indicates that the object is 'inalienable' from the owner.

- (52) **nurke** **kwenake**
nur-ke **kwen-V-Ø-ke**
 coconut-ART place-POSS-3s-ART
 'the place where coconuts are kept' or 'the place of the coconut'
- (53) **hahkye** **oake**
hahy-ke **o-V-Ø-ke**
 pig-ART pen-POSS-3s-ART
 'the pig's pen'
- (54) **holholatke** **kuskusake**
holholat-ke **kuskus-V-Ø-ke**
 door-ART key-POSS-IN-ART
 'the key of the door' or 'the door's key'

Notice that these examples are almost identical in construction to the complex structure discussed in the previous section. These examples are in ClosePoss constructions and yet it is difficult to call the relationships 'inalienable'. The basic relationship of example (53) was

given earlier as an example of general possessive (see (36)), how then can (53) be called 'inalienable'? And yet, there is definitely a semantic difference between (53) and (36): the pen in (36) could be any old pen that just happens to have a pig kept in it, whereas the pen in (53) is a pen that is strictly for holding pigs.

The *-a* infix between the possessed object and the closing ART *-ke*¹⁰ is important. This *-a* is an empty-V (vowel) slot. It acts like a linker between the head noun and the person-number suffix, and helps mark the 'inalienable' character of the possession.

The ClosePoss construction has the following genitive structure:

(55) ClosePoss = (NP) N_{head} (empty-Vowel) PossSuffix ART

The (empty-Vowel) in the ClosePoss construction is the empty vowel slot just mentioned. When this empty-V is required and when it is omitted is not clear, but it appears to always be required for things which are not normally possessed 'inalienably'.¹¹

The possessor need not be overtly specified with a noun phrase.

(56) *kaderakkwe*
kader-V-kw-ke
 chair-POSS-1s-ART
 'my chair'

Example (56) means 'the chair is mine-and-nobody-else's'. To express this possessive relationship with this type of structure implies a very close link between 'me' and 'the chair'. It would be used to refer to the place where someone sits at an office, or perhaps, in the American context, it would have the same strength as 'Dad's chair' (i.e., no one else may sit there).

Some further examples of pairs of general and ClosePoss construction are given here:

- (57) a. GENERAL POSSESSION
 wasikw aroke
 wasi-kw aro-ke
 own-1s boat-ART
 'my boat'

- b. CLOSE ASSOCIATION POSSESSION
 aroakkwe
 aro-V-kw-ke
 boat-POSS-1s-ART
 'my boat'

- (58) a. GENERAL POSSESSION
 wasimw huskwe
 wasi-mw husw-ke
 own-2s bow-ART
 'your bow'

- b. CLOSE ASSOCIATION POSSESSION
 husuakwe
 husw-V-mw-ke
 bow-POSS-2s-ART
 'your bow'

- (59) a. GENERAL POSSESSION
 ara wasimy seire
 ara wasi-my sey-Vre
 we own-1px house-PL
 'our houses'

- b. CLOSE ASSOCIATION POSSESSION
 ara seimire
 ara sey-V-my-Vre
 we house-POSS-1px-PL
 'our houses'

2.8.2.5 Closely Possessed Verb Stems

The ClosePoss construction can also be used to express possession of action. This involves substituting a verb stem in place of the possessed noun. The verb stem is not a nominalized verb, as Selaru uses reduplication of the verb stem to do that.¹²

	POSSESSION	SIMPLE CLAUSE
(60)	itmyaslyesatke ity maslyes-V-t-ke we sweat-PCSS-lpi-ART 'our toil/our sweat'	tmaslyes t-maslyes lpi-sweat 'We are sweating'
	POSSESSION	SIMPLE CLAUSE
(61)	itkyaria'at ¹³ ity karia-V-t we work-POSS-lpi 'our work' (singular)	tkaria lan t-karia lan lpi-work hard 'We work hard'
(62)	itkyaria'atare ity karia-V-t-Vre we work-POSS-lpi-PL 'our work' (plural)	

In each of these examples the pattern of close possessive construction is maintained. The only thing unique is the use of a verb stem as the head of the NP.

2.9 Full Summary of the Selaru NP

We will conclude the discussion of the Selaru NP with a summary of its structures. Again, this only covers the basic NP; it does not include the relative (or nominalized) clause.

2.9.1 Summary of the Basic Noun Phrase

The most dominant feature of the Selaru NP (other than the head noun) is the article, usually *-ke*. This single morpheme is so prominent in the language that newcomers tend to think that is all they hear. Its role of closing the NP is important to our analysis. We will see this when we discuss the attributive and relative clauses.

The basic NP structure was described earlier as:

(63) Basic NP = N_{head} (ADJ)(DEM)(ART)

We can now expand this to include numbers, possessives, and other structures. First numbers:

(64) Basic NP = N_{head} (ADJ)(de+Number)(DEM)(ART)

Where:

- ART is optional only in the case of +DEM or in Object NPs, otherwise it is obligatory,
- Number is the stem form of the number (minus ena-)

This formula assumes the generalization given earlier concerning

Selaru articles:

(65) A Generalization of Selaru Articles:

-ke and -vre are the Selaru NP Articles (ART),

Where:

- -vre surfaces as per Table 6 for unspecified NPs, and
- both -ke and -vre merge to form -kre in specified NPs.

Notice that the constituent order given in (64) conforms exactly to Greenberg's (1966) universals of language (number 20), which predicts that the constituent order will be: descriptive adjective, numeral, and demonstrative, if modifiers follow the noun in the NP.

2.9.2 Summary of Possessive Constructions

The possessive NP construction has two forms: a) general-edible and b) closely associated nouns. The first construction has the clausal form:

(66) General & Edible Possession = (NP_{poss'r}) PossessWrd-PossSuffx NP_{poss'd}

Where:

- NP_{poss'd} follows the structure of the Basic NP.
- NP_{poss'r} is optional for 3s and 3p possessors, but obligatorily:
 - present (as a pronoun) for 1px and 1pi possessors, and
 - absent for 1s, 2s, and 2p possessors (due to redundancy).
- PossessWrd is:
 - wasi or wai for general nouns,
 - hina for edible nouns.
- PossSuffx comes from Table 7 and is coreferential with the NP_{poss'r}.

Possession of closely associated nouns have the structure:

$$(67) \text{ ClosePoss} = (\text{NP}_{\text{poss}'r}) \text{NP}_{\text{ClosePoss}}$$

Where:

- $\text{NP}_{\text{poss}'r}$ has the same restrictions as in (66) above.
- $\text{NP}_{\text{ClosePoss}}$ is a modified Basic NP with the following form:

$$(68) \text{NP}_{\text{ClosePoss}} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_{\text{head}} \\ \text{Verb} \end{array} \right\} (\text{Vowel}) \text{PossSuffix} (\text{ADJ})(\text{de+Number})(\text{DEM})(\text{ART})$$

Where:

- $\text{NP}_{\text{ClosePoss}}$ is a Basic NP that is modified as follows:
 - the head is filled by either a noun or a verb,
 - the Vowel is an empty vowel slot on the CV skeletal tier,
 - the PossSuffix comes from Table 7, but 3s = -n, and is coreferential with $\text{NP}_{\text{poss}'r}$ in (67).

Verification that the possessive suffix attaches directly to the head noun and not further down the chain of words in a full NP is found in the following two examples:

$$(69) \begin{array}{lllll} \text{sawakswoke} & \text{yala} & \text{ma} & \text{byai} & \text{Somlaky} \\ \text{sawa-kw-sc-ke} & \text{y-ala} & \text{ma} & \text{y-bai} & \text{Somlaky} \\ \text{wife-1s-there-ART} & \text{3s-want} & \text{CONJ} & \text{3s-go.to} & \text{Saumlaki} \\ \text{'My wife there wants to go to Saumlaki'} \end{array}$$

$$(70) \begin{array}{lllll} \text{liakdwetelwe} & \text{rala} & \text{ma} & \text{rsor} & \\ \text{lia-kw-de-telw-ne} & \text{r-ala} & \text{ma} & \text{r-sor} & \\ \text{friend-1s-NUM-three-this} & \text{3p-want} & \text{CONJ} & \text{3p-hunt} & \\ \text{'My three friends here want to hunt (pig)'} \end{array}$$

In the first example the -kw 'my' possessive suffix comes between the head noun and its demonstrative. The second example shows this suffix coming between the head noun and its number.

The peculiar structure of ity karia'at 'our work' (from example (61) above) is covered by the stipulation that there are some verbs which can be possessed and thereby can fill the position of head in the $\text{NP}_{\text{ClosePoss}}$ formula (68) above, as indicated by the brackets ({}).

This summary of the intricacies of the Selaru Possessive should work in all known cases and with great productivity.

2.9.3 Summary of the Attributive and Unspecified NPs

The Attributive NP is unusual in that it has a head noun modified by a noun:

$$(71) \text{ AttrNP} = N_{\text{head}} N_{\text{attr}} \text{ ART}$$

This structure can be collapsed into the Basic NP and NP_{ClosePoss} formulas by simply stipulating that the adjective slot can be filled by nouns as well, but in such cases, it appears that the article (ART) must be present.

The only other noun phrase structure which deviates from the above generalizations for the basic NP is the enumeration of an unspecified NP (a non-referential noun phrase). This uses a truncated version of the basic NP with a full number morpheme given outside the noun phrase.

$$(72) \text{ Num-UnspNP} = \text{UnspNP Number}$$

Where:

- Number is the full morpheme form (including ena-).
- UnspNP is a truncated Basic NP:
 - it must not be specified with a DEM,
 - it must not be possessed in any way,
 - it cannot be numbered internally,
 - it must use the singular article -ke, but
 - it may have an adjective modifier.

NOTES

¹In this case, the pluralization results in a stress shift: from *ároke* 'the boat' to *aróare* 'boats'. Stress rules are discussed in Coward and Coward 1990 and will not concern us here.

²'Underspecified' means that a segment or timing unit is not completely defined in terms of features. In this case, the V has no features given to it from the segmental tier, i.e., it gains all its feature specifications after linking to the segmental tier.

³Such a nasal insertion might possibly be to break the resultant V-V pattern to create the more frequent V-CV pattern.

⁴The Selaru numbering system is as follows:

1. sasam		11. hean akresi sasam
2. enaru	(ru)	12. hean akresi enaru
3. enatelw	(telw)	20. hean ru
4. ena'at	('at)	21. hean ru akresi sasam
5. enasim	(sim)	22. hean ru akresi enaru
6. nem		30. hean telw
7. itw		31. hean telw akresi sasam
8. walw		100. atw
9. siw		1000. ribbon
10. hean		

The parentheses in numbers 2-5 indicate the truncated or stem form of the number. This stem form is used in specified NPs and for modifying the value of another decimal (e.g. 20 = two 10's). The term *akresi* (used in numbers over ten) simply means 'add'. This system can be used for almost all counting processes (though much of it is now being replaced by Indonesian). There are a few noun types which are counted with other types of systems. Ears of corn and coconuts are just a few examples of nouns which have their own counting system (for numbers one through ten).

⁵Ambonese Malay is the *lingua franca* of Central and Southern Maluku.

⁶The use of a free pronoun for any other referent makes the possessive structure a full clause: *yaw wasikw sekye* 'I own the house'. This would be for emphasis on the pronoun. Such a use in a possessive NP would be redundant and ungrammatical.

⁷The addition of *-a* to the end of words is a common occurrence in discourse. The function of *-a* is not clear, but see section 3.5.3 for more on this phenomenon.

⁸If the occurrence of \emptyset (or rather the absence of *-n*) in singular ClosePoss constructions could be predicted, we could then collapse this and say that the 3s suffix is always underlyingly *-n*, but which is deleted under certain conditions ('appearing' as \emptyset on the surface). The strength of this argument will be left for later research.

⁹Such constructions, though, are much rarer than those without the specified NP.

¹⁰Actually, the -a is separated from the article by a § third-person singular suffix marker.

¹¹There is some indication that many of the nouns in Selaru, commonly considered 'inalienable' in the literature, might also be marked by this empty-V. The word *mata* 'eye' might actually be /*mat*/ underlyingly. But, because it is very difficult to construct a situation in which a body part will always be referred to in a generic sense, e.g. 'an eye', etc., we have little evidence for this. We have heard on occasion references to *matke* 'an eye' or *nurke* 'a nose' (as opposed to the more common *nurake* 'his/its nose'), but these have been so seldom that I am reluctant to posit these without an 'a'. Besides, the Austronesian heritage of Selaru tends to press the analysis towards *mata* because of the strong historical evidence that this was indeed the protoform in these languages. (The tendency to reduce word final proto-vowels to glides in Selaru gives some support to this interpretation though.)

¹²See Coward and Coward 1990 for a discussion of reduplication.

¹³There is an independent phonological rule inserting a glottal stop between identical vowels.

CHAPTER 3

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

3.1 Basic Clause Structure--an Overview

In Chapter 1, Selaru was classified as an SVO language. This generalization will receive further discussion and refinement in this chapter, but first is an overview of Selaru clause types.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|-----------------------|
| (1) | a. Transitive | } | Verbal Predicates |
| | b. Intransitive | | |
| | c. Attributive | } | Non-verbal Predicates |
| | d. Nominal | | |
| | d. Locative | | |

The five basic clause types shown in (1) divide into two groupings: verbal and non-verbal predicates. This distinction simplifies the analysis, as the non-verbal clauses have a unique structure from that of the verbal clauses.

3.1.1 Simple Verbal Clauses

All verbal clauses have conjugated verbs and are either intransitive (SV), transitive (SVO), or more complex in structure. Verbal predicates are always marked with a person-number prefix that agrees with the subject referent (whether overtly present in the clause or not). The agreement prefixes were given in Chapter 1, Table 3, but are repeated here in Table 8 for convenience. The morphological characteristics of these prefixes are outlined in section 1.3.3.1.

Table 8: Person-Number Prefixes

Verb:	inanimate							
	1s	2s	3s	sg. & pl.	1pi	1px	2p	3p
1. vowel initial	k-	m-	y-	ky-	t-	arany-	my-	r-
2. complex onset	ku-	mu-	i-	ki-	ta-	arami-	mi-	ra-
3. simple onset	k-w-	m-w-	-y-	k-y-	t-	arany-	m-y-	r-

Regardless of the valence of the proposition, the structure of a verbal predicate remains consistent, i.e. person-number prefix + verb stem.

- (2) a.

S		V	
ama-ku		i-ris	
father-my		3s-bathe	

 (intransitive)
'My father is bathing'
- b.

S		V		O
naman-ke		y-oban	asw-Vre	
child-ART		3s-hit	dog-PL	

 (transitive)
'The child hit the dogs'
- c.

S		V		O		IO
sawa-na		y-al	turi-ke		ti	naman-desy-kre
wife-his		3s-give	machete-ART		to	child-that-PL/ART

 (ditransitive)
'His wife gave the machete to those children'

Example (2a) is intransitive in that it has a subject *amaku* 'my father' and a verb *iris* '(he) bathe', with no object constituent. The verbal prefix agrees in number and person with the subject. Example (2b) is a basic transitive clause with a subject, a verb, and an object. Here again, the verb prefix *y-* '3s' agrees with the subject *namanke* 'the child' and not the plural object *aswre* 'the dogs'. Notice that the presence of an object requires no change in verb structure. Because the subject-verb agreement for the transitive clause and the intransitive clause are syntactically identical, we can say that the Selaru verbal clause is nominative/accusative (Givón 1984:148).

Example (2c) is given to show the structure of a ditransitive clause. Note that the constituent order of this clause type is identical to English, and that neither the presence of the inanimate object *turike*

'machete' nor the presence of the plural indirect object *naman desikre* 'those children' requires the verb to be marked for this higher level of valency.

Whether a full noun phrase can be present in a clause is determined by the subcategorizational specifications of the verb, e.g. intransitive vs. transitive. Whether such a constituent will be present as a full NP or merely encoded with zero anaphora is a function rather of the pragmatic constraints of the discourse than a property of the verb itself (see sections 1.3.3.2 and 6.3.2).

3.1.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Case-role Relationships

In Selaru, there is no overt morphological marking on the noun (or noun phrase) of the subject or the direct object to indicate its syntactic or semantic relationship to the verb. Only indirect objects and obliques (locatives, etc.) have any morphological marking (prepositions) to indicate their semantic case-role.

Selaru is not alone in its lack of case-role markings on its core NPs. Wolff writes, '... every Austronesian language which I have examined, NPs in no way occur in constructions which mark role. Role is marked exclusively by the predicate in these languages' (1980:163).¹

The verb is marked to agree with the subject, and this is usually sufficient to code the case-roles since the Selaru verbal clause has a fairly rigid SVO constituent order. The grammatical relationship between the verb and its constituents is clear in most cases without any need of further markings; in fact in many cases the subject-verb agreement could be

considered redundant. In those cases where the semantic relationships are not clear, a context is needed to connect the roles with their referents.

Since the person-number of the subject is marked on the verb, Selaru speakers often leave off subject NPs (see section 6.3.2.1). But when a subject NP is included, the head is usually referential and definite (although non-referential indefinite subjects are possible). The direct object can be either definite or indefinite, referential or non-referential.

- (3) a. \emptyset kyeyera yaw (subjectless)
 \emptyset 3s-~~mad~~ me
 'He's mad at me'
- b. aro-ke kbya de (referential/definite)
 boat-ART IN-go already
 'The boat has already gone'
- c. asw-vre r-kuty hahy-ke (non-refer./indef.)
 dog-PL 3p-bite pig-ART
 'Dogs bit the pig'

3.1.3 Preposed Topic Constructions

While I have said constituent order is fairly rigid, Selaru does allow for constituent orders other than SVO. For pragmatic reasons Selaru allows the direct object noun phrase to be moved to sentence initial position creating an OSV construction. Foley and Van Valin classify any such NP movement as 'preposed topic constructions' (1984:125). Preposed topic constructions divide into two major types, 'topicalization' and 'left-dislocation'. These are distinguished as follows: left-dislocation has a pronominal element in the main clause referring to the preposed topic, while topicalization leaves no such trace. In another work, Foley

and Van Valin describe the functions of preposed topic constructions as follows:

The primary functions of these constructions are to introduce new referents into a discourse or to introduce a referent which was previously introduced but which has not been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse (Foley and Van Valin 1985:356).

Although more will be said in Chapter 6 on discourse structure and function, suffice it to say that Selaru appears to use such constructions in precisely this way.

When a noun phrase is moved to clause initial position, Selaru requires a pronominal trace² to be left in the constituent's original position. Because this NP movement in Selaru requires a pronominal referent, it is classified here as a left-dislocation process.³

- (4) a. irkye tyabahunwa Tulisama Botan-ke (Basic Divalent
man-ART 3s-kill Tulisama Botan-ART Transitive)
'The man killed Tulisama Botan'
- b. Tulisama Botan-ne irkye tyabahunwa i (Fronted)
Tulisama Botan-this man-ART 3s-kill him
'Tulisama Botan was killed by the man'

Translating (4b) as a passive is not altogether accurate. A better translation might be '*the man killed Tulisama Botan*' where stress in English points to the topic. In some cases, fronting an NP appears to functionally take the place of the passive voice in Selaru, as Selaru has no true passive construction.⁴

Left-dislocation in Selaru is under the pragmatic constraint that when it is used, if the preposed NP and the agent-subject are identical in person and number, the agent-subject must be specified overtly with an NP. Without the agent-subject NP irkye '*the man*', example (4b) would mean '*Tulisama Botan killed him*'. Even when the S and the preposed NP

constituents are not identical in person and number, it is often the case that the agent-subject will still be overtly specified. Stress and phrasing also help to clarify that the first NP is actually a fronted patient and not the agent.

Left-dislocation does not always place the DO NP sentence initially.

- (5)
- | | | |
|------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| | S | O |
| [sey-ke | krala ma-benw-desi-ke] | [nāman-desi-ke] |
| [house-ART | inside REL-fill-that-ART] | [child-that-ART] |
- └──────────┬──────────┘
- ├──────────┘
- r-hota i ode syusua sal-ke
- 3p-carry him and 3s-show way-ART

'Those who filled the house, that child, they carried him and he showed the way'

In this example the order is SOV (rather than the expected preposed order OSV). There is also a switch in agent-subject after the coordinating word *ode* 'and'. Because the constituents in this sentence contrast in number (third-person plural vs third-person singular), there is no danger of confusing which constituent is agent and which is patient--the person-number prefixes on the verbs make this perfectly clear (the 3s-trace *i* 'him' also helps connect the case-role of 'patient' to the DO). In other sentences where both the S and the DO have the same person-number attribute, such an arrangement of constituents would require a larger context for proper interpretation. Even though in this example it is clear which NP gets which case-role, one still wonders why the S and DO NPs are inverted. Looking at recent work in Austronesian languages will help explain this.

3.2 Reinterpretation of 'SVO'

In discussing Proto-Oceanic grammar, Pawley states that "in most Oceanic languages the preferred word order is subject + verb + direct object (SVO)" (1973:117). But he then goes on to point out that Fijian, most of the New Guinea Oceanic languages, and some others, are clear exceptions to this pattern (VSO for Fijian, and SOV for the others). The only evidence that these exceptions have ever had an SVO order is that "the SVO order is still obligatory for pronominal subjects and objects" (1973:117).

Wolff, in his article on Proto-Austronesian verbal morphology (1980), challenges the basis for using the terms 'subject', 'verb', and 'object' when discussing Austronesian languages. He states that "a great deal of clarity can be achieved if we rid ourselves of the terms 'subject', 'verb', and 'object' in the meanings in which these terms have been applied to Latin, English, and other European languages" (1980:163). Wolff's contention is that because Austronesian languages often allow for rather free movement of NP constituents (e.g. 'left-dislocation' above) linguists need a change in perception of these languages in order to capture the unifying characteristics of the Austronesian language family.

Austronesian languages mark the role of clause constituents on the predicate only (as noted earlier), with a preposed subject marker, a postposed direct object marker, or with both a preposed subject and a postposed object marker. Because the predicate carries the entire duty of encoding semantic case-roles (i.e., the NPs are present merely to expand or embellish the predicate), Wolff calls the noun phrase constituents "adjuncts to the predicate." Wolff also states that "an adjunct preceding

the predicate marks that adjunct rhetorically as a theme or topic" (1980:163-64).

Along this same line, Anceaux writes that "a construction of agent-marker + verb + goal-indicator (suffix, clitic, or pronoun) is a good hypothesis for a historical prototype, not only for the 'conjugating' languages [such as found in Eastern Indonesia] but also for the Oceanic languages not having any 'conjugation'" (1982:104). This approach resolves the problem with the constituent order of Fijian and others. The unifying factor for Austronesian languages is not where the full constituent NPs fall but rather the order of the predicate affixes.

This proposal seems to have a great deal of merit for simplifying the analysis of Selaru as it applies to the verbal predicates just discussed, but especially for the non-verbal predicates (as we shall see in section 3.3).

In the *Mangkawar* story, the verbal predicates have a very low frequency of full NP subjects and a near absence of pronominal subjects. They are, however, all marked with an agentive prefix. One is inclined then to agree with Wolff and consider the subject noun phrases and pronouns as mere adjuncts to the verbal predicates.

Direct objects on the other hand are more difficult to pass off as adjunctive (i.e. optional additional information). In Selaru, transitive verbal predicates have no object-marker on the verb, rather the full direct object NP is almost always present.

If direct object NPs are in fact adjuncts in Selaru then their presence in the prototypical object position (after the predicate) must suppress any object markings on the predicate, whereas their movement away

from this position 'reveals' (or necessitates the inclusion of) the object agreement marker (called a pronominal-trace above).

It is not clear (for verbal predicates) what such a view gains us except to allow us to posit a rigid Agent-Marker + Verb Stem + (Patient-Marker⁵) order to predicate phrase construction and allow the adjunct NPs to be free to move towards the front of the clause (never towards the rear) from their prototypical clause positions (SVO). Such an interpretation would then allow for the unusual SOV pattern found in example (5) without having to resort to any hand-waving. Note also that Wolff's generalization that adjuncts preceding predicates are more topical than those following them is verified by the Selaru left-dislocation strategy.

3.3 Non-Verbal Clauses

3.3.1 Attributive Clause

The attributive clause is a non-verbal clause with an adjectival predicate phrase as its core structure. There is no intervening copular ('be') verb linking the subject and the adjective. The predicate adjective is marked postpositionally with a pronominal that agrees with the number and person of the topic NP (whether present or not).

- (6) a. *hahy-ke lan i*
 pig-ART big 3s
 '*The pig is big*'
- b. *batbatak-ke lan Ø*
 chest-ART big IN
 '*The chest is big*'
- c. *atiat i*
 bad 3s
 '*He's bad!*'

- d. *namanare ribun sir*
 child-PL many 3p
 'There is a lot of children'

Example (6a) is the full attributive construction. It consists of a full NP, an adjective and a postpositional pronoun. The topic of example (6b) is inanimate (IN) which takes an empty 'Ø' pronominal referent.⁶ Example (6c) shows that a full topic-NP is not necessary to the attributive clause. (6d) shows an attributive clause with a plural topic.

As seen in (6c), all that is necessary for this type of clause structure is the adjective and the topic-pronominal. Note that a full NP cannot occur after the adjective, nor can the pronominal reference be left off if the topic is animate.

- (7) a. *Bob atiat i*
 Bob bad 3s
 '*Bob is bad*'
- b. **atiat Bob*
 c. **Bob atiat*

The attributive clause gives strong credence to Wolff's proposal for Proto-Austronesian clause structure. The subject of the attributive predicate adjective clause is clearly a patient-of-state; attributive clauses in Selaru never encode actions of any kind. Even though it is semantically patient, it is the only constituent in the clause and therefore must be the topic. The subject of an attributive clause is then 'patient-topic' of the clause.⁷ If this is true, then the subject (patient-topic) must be coreferential with the object side of the predicate (as per Wolff's predicate structure), and in (7a) the subject is in fact marked postpositionally on the adjective with the pronoun *i* '3s'.

Because the subject is the topic of the clause, any NP adjunct coreferential with it must come before the predicate (again following

Wolff). Example (7b) is ungrammatical then because it violates this principle. (Example (7c) is ungrammatical because the pronominal affix is missing, implying 'Bob' is inanimate.)

Finally, Wolff claims that Austronesian predicate phrases encode all the necessary referential case-role information of the clause. When we look at the simplest attributive clause predicate: *atiat i 'he is bad'* we see that Wolff is correct. If we assume that the postpositional pronoun, *i '3s'*, is in fact a patient-topic marker on the adjective *atiat 'bad'*, then the predicate phrase does encode all of the required information: the topic has a semantic case-role of patient-of-state; it is animate third-person singular; and it is 'bad'. An additional noun phrase (such as a name, etc.) is allowed but not necessary (unless to disambiguate the referent). In other words, the predicate structure is completely communicative by itself.

3.3.2 Nominal Clause

Predicate nominal clauses are fairly rare in Selaru, but they appear to have the same syntactic structure as the attributive clause (like other Austronesian languages, e.g. Indonesian).

- (8) a. *guru yaw*
 teacher 1s
 '*I am a teacher*'
- b. *anikw Dace Ø*
 name-my David IN
 '*My name is David*'

In place of the adjective there is a noun. This is marked with a postpositional pronoun coreferential with the subject-topic of the clause or discourse. In example (8a) the pronominal is clear: *yaw '1s'*. The

postpositional pronoun in (8b) is \emptyset (inanimate), because *ani* 'name' is not an animate noun; also, in this case, the predicate nominal is a proper noun.

Although the nominal clause is available, in most cases, Selaru employs a relative clause rather than a free-standing nominal. For example, the nominal 'liar' in English is, in Selaru, the relative clause:

- (9) *irya ma-kakmet*
 person REL-lie
 'a liar' lit. 'one who lies'

but the English sentence 'he is a liar' would be simplified in Selaru to:

- (10) *iry-ne-ke i-kakmet*
 person-this-ART 3s-lie
 'This person lies'

where the concept of the English nominal 'liar' is communicated through the use of the verb 'lie'.⁸

In the *Mangkawar* story (see Appendices), each participant (actor) is introduced with what appears to be a nominal clause in a complex ClosePoss NP construction (see sections 2.8.2.3-4 and 2.9.2).

- (11) [LOC] [NP_{poss'r}] [NP_{ClosePoss}]
 ti-a Enus ne -ke iry -ke it -a ani-na Tulisama Botan-ke
 at- \emptyset Enus this-ART person-ART one- \emptyset name-his Tulisama Botan-ART
 'In Enus, there lived a man named Tulisama Botan'

The clause *anina Tulisama Botan* 'his name is Tulisama Botan' is embedded in the closely possessed noun phrase, marked by the closing NP article *-ke*. The noun phrase *irkye it* 'a man' is the possessor, making the two noun phrases a complex ClosePoss construction. This composite NP appears then to relate to the locative phrase *tia Enus neke* 'in this Enus', making the total structure something which could be a type of nominal clause but is also existential in function.

This is a rather tentative analysis. How a complex NP relates to a locative phrase is not clear, and in the examples given earlier, none of the nominal predicates ended in an article. So, I am unsettled by the suggestion that a full NP can fill the role of a nominal predicate. If so, then the sentence '*I am a big person*' should be:

- (12) ?iry lan-ke yaw
 person big-ART is
 '*I am a big person*'

Nonetheless, example (11) is a well-formed sentence, and if further investigation should show that a nominal predicate cannot be filled by a full or complex NP (ending with an article), then I may need to posit another clause type to account for it. As was just said, all of this needs further investigation and should only be considered tentative at this time.

3.3.3 Locative Clause

The Selaru locative clause consists of an optional noun phrase (subject to pragmatic constraints) and a predicate locative construction. As with the predicate adjective, there is no copula, and the predicate locative and a pronominal marker constitute a complete clause. The predicate locative phrase is made up of a pronominal prefix (from an abbreviated pronominal set) and a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstratives that can function as predicate locatives are found in Table 9.

Table 9: Demonstrative Predicates

Predicate	Meaning
ne/san	this here
desy	that there (close by)
so	that there (far away)

- (13) a. [wasi-kw haŋy-ke] i-desy
 [own-1s pig-ART] 3s-that.there
 'That's my pig' or 'My pig is there'
- b. [kader-ke] Ø-ne
 [chair-ART] IN-this.here
 'This is the chair'

The basic structure of both (13a and b) is NP + predicate locative. The only difference between the two is the animacy of (13a) requiring the pronoun *i* 'he' and the inanimacy of (13b) taking a Ø pronoun.

The set of predicate-topic prefixes for the locative clause is not complete (i.e. not specified for each type of person-number) and is given in Table 10.

Table 10: Topic Prefixes

Pronominal	Topic Person-Number
yaw-	1s
i-	2s, 3s, 1pi, 1px, 2p
Ø-	(inanimate)
sir-	3p

Because of the overwhelming number of person-number categories covered by the *i-* and Ø-, one could mistake this system as an animate/inanimate distinction, but further investigation reveals that the two extreme cases (first-person singular and third-person plural) have their own pronominal prefixes (their standard pronoun forms).

- (14) a. yaw-so
 1s-that.there
 'That's me!' (e.g. hearing oneself on a cassette recording)
- b. naman-ne-kre sir-ne
 child-this-PL/ART 3p-this.here
 'The children are here'

The *yaw-* and *sir-* prefixes could be mistaken to be normal pronouns and not predicate prefixes, but (15) is evidence that predicate locative prefixes are not just pronouns.

- (15) e i-ka
 y'all X-where (ka is a question demonstrative)
 'Where are you all?'

The pronoun e 'you all' is an adjunctive pronoun, the i- prefix (here marked 'X' for lack of a better gloss) is indicating that the subject-topic is animate, but it is not first-person singular or third-person plural. Apparently, in those cases (such as (15)) where the i- prefix marker is insufficient to clarify who the referent(s) is (are), the speaker can add the appropriate pronominal form to make it clear.

Historically there may have been a full pronominal prefix set (analogous to the postpositional set for the attributive and nominal clauses), but such minute differentiation has been lost.

The structure of the locative non-verbal clause is fundamentally different from the attributive clause discussed in section 3.3.1 even though they are related structures. (In this discussion, I will assume that the nominal clause is subsumed under the term 'attributive clause', even though there are differences, they both serve to ascribe a characteristic to the topic.)

While the subject-topic of a locative clause would normally be classified as 'patient-of-state', just as for the attributive clause, here we see that the predicate-topic marker is preposed, not postposed-- indicating that the topic is 'agentive' (according to Wolff's analysis). The main distinction then between adjectival and locative predicates is in the type of semantic case-roles they subcategorize.

In the case of the attributive clause the subject-topic is 'patient'; the prototypical patient is unable to control the predicate but rather is simply affected or described by it. Whether a person is tall or short is

an intrinsic attribute outside that person's control (God or fate may be the unspecified agent in such a clause, but neither is the topic).

The locative clause on the other hand describes the position or location of the subject-topic. This is an external attribute--something that is changeable, and, in the case of animate topics, something the subject-topic usually has some control over. While this is hardly 'agentive' as normally conceived,⁹ it does indicate some degree of being less 'patient' than intrinsic attributes. On a scale of 'agentivity' the Selaru locative clause falls somewhere between the attributive clause and the verbal intransitive clause, both semantically and in its syntactic structure.

This distinction then between external and internal (intrinsic) attributes may be the explanation for why the attributive clause and the locative clause while so similar are yet quite different: they are similar in that neither makes use of a copular verb; both use a pronominal based reference system and so neither conjugates like a verbal predicate; and finally neither requires an adjunctive NP; and yet one predicate type subcategorizes a patient and the other an 'agent-like' referent.

To summarize the basic Selaru clause types, we have differentiated two major clause types (verbal and non-verbal) the first dividing into two subsets: transitive and intransitive, and the second subdividing into attributive, nominal (which can be considered a type of attributive clause), and locative clause types.

The distinction between the transitive and intransitive verbal clauses was shown to be only a function of the valency of a particular verb; it made no difference to the syntactic structure (e.g. conjugation)

of the verb itself. The distinctions between the non-verbal predicate types have just been discussed.

Placed on a scale of agentivity the five major clause types spread out rather neatly.

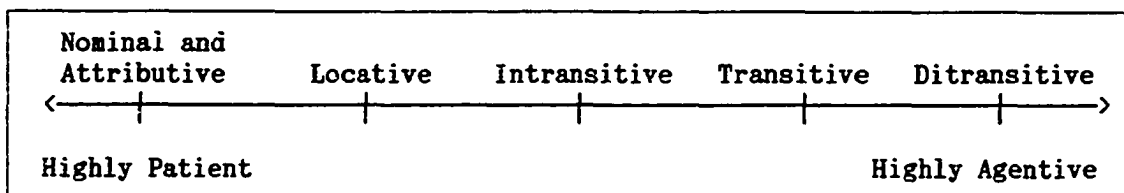


Figure 2: Scale of Agentivity

3.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases are those which commonly encode the indirect object, locational or directional information of a clause. Selaru prepositional phrases coalesce into three basic types: the locative phrase, the benefactive/recipient phrase, and the comparative phrase. As 'prepositional' (rather than 'postpositional') each of these constructions conforms to pattern expected for languages with a basic SVO constituent order (Hawkins 1979).¹⁰

3.4.1 Locative Phrase

The locative phrase (LOC) consists of a directional and a close-possessive NP-NP construction (see section 2.8.2.4), where the first NP is the object of location and the second NP is the locational part of the object. It is the locational part that is the head of the locative phrase, the object of the location is merely adjunctive information and is optionally present.

The possible directionals are listed in Table 11.

Table 11: Directionals

Direct.	Meaning
ma	towards speaker
ti	away from speaker (close by)
o	away from speaker (farther away)
ba/bai	move bodily in a horizontal direction
e/ei	move bodily in either a vertical or horizontal direction

- (16) a. toto, mswai [ei nur-ke sra-ke]
 boy 2s-climb [up(DIR) coconut.tree-ART top-ART]
 'Boy, climb up to the top of the coconut tree'
- b. msweaka mbinan-ke [ti sra-ke] (Close by)
- c. msweaka mbinan-ke [o sra-ke] (Farther away)
 2s-look plate-ART [to(DIR) top-ART]
 'Look at the plate up there'

Example (16a) contains a typical locative phrase. The two associated NPs (*nurke srake* 'the top of the coconut tree') demonstrate the possessor-possessed construction. The directional *ei* indicates a physical motion (vertical in this case) towards the head of the locative phrase (*srake* 'the top').

Examples (16b and c) show that the possessor NP is not obligatory. The possessing object (a shelf maybe) is left implicit. Also, these two examples differ only in their directionals. (16b) refers to an object somewhat closer than (16c) does.

The directionals listed in Table 11 serve multiple functions and so are grouped into three different sets. The first set (*ma* and *ti*) can also function as sentence-level conjunctive particles, acting something like complementizers in English but without the subordinating effect on the following clause. Their sentence-level function will be taken up again when we discuss sentence structure in section 5.2.

The second set (just 'o') means 'far away' and can be used to mark distance in space but can also mark time boundaries in discourse (see section 6.3.5). The third set consists of *ba/bai* and *e/ei* which are actually verb stems meaning 'go'.

- (17) a. *kw-bai namwata-ke*
 1s-go.to beach-ART
 'I'm going to the beach'
- b. *Korduan m-ei tasi-ke*
 Korduan 2s-go.to sea-ART
 'Korduan you went out to sea'

The verb stems *-bai* and *-ei* are used as directionals when the main verb is a specific-motion verb (e.g. climb, walk, run, etc., see *mswai* 'you climb' in example (16a)). Verbs which describe methods of motion are apparently unable to subcategorize a location without the addition of a directional verb, e.g. *-osy* 'come from', or one of the directionals *bai* or *ei*.

There is a restriction then between *ti/ma* and *bai/ei* in both form and function. The directionals *ti/ma* are used for verbs of motion and verbs of state (e.g. carry, put, sit, lay, etc.). Only verbs which describe methods of motion take *bai/ei*. Other than this, the structure of the locative phrase is the same in both cases.

There are a few verbs which require a shortened directional form.

- (18) a. *kbwa ti k-otuk makinire ba*
 1s-go to 1s-throw trash away
 'I'm going to throw away the trash'

Such verb adjuncts are called "verbal particles" by Schachter (1985). He says these are "a closed class of uninflected words that co-occur with certain verbs" (1985:45). In Selaru they are always directionals. The verb *-otuk ba* 'throw away' in example (18) is such a verb (just like its English counterpart). The reason the directional is *ba* and not *bai* is

discussed more fully in section 3.5.1, but suffice it here to say that *ba* means 'away' while *bai* means 'towards something'.

3.4.2 Benefactive (Recipient) Phrase

The benefactive or recipient phrase has a similar structure to the locative phrase just discussed. The main differences are a) only the *ti*, *o*, and *ma* directional-prepositions may be used, and b) the head of the benefactive phrase is an NP (ranging from a simple pronoun to a complex NP with a relative clause). In the following example *tia* is a variant of *ti*.

- (19) *Omi liw buku-ke [tia Dace]*
Naomi 1s-buy book-ART [DIR David]
'Naomi bought a book for David'

The prepositions, as alluded to in the previous section, are difficult to gloss in English. They should be glossed differently depending on the structure they are found in. Sometimes, as with the benefactive phrase, they mean 'for', other times, as in the locative phrase, 'to'. In either case the prepositions continue to maintain their directional property, i.e., *ma* can be glossed as 'for' (in a benefactive phrase) but the direction of the gift is always towards the speaker.

The main distinction then between a locative phrase and a benefactive phrase is more semantic than syntactic. It is a function of the head of the phrase and the semantic case-role assigned to the head by the verb, not the directionals. Syntactically they are for the most part identical.

3.4.3 Comparative Phrase

The Selaru comparative construction combines the attributive clause or the reflexive clause¹¹ (depending on whether the point of comparison is encoded as an adjective or a verb) with a benefactive phrase.

- (20) a. *amo auswa i [ma yaw]* (attributive)
 father old 3s [to me]
 'Father is older than me'
- b. *kw-salik yaw [ti i]* (reflexive)
 1s-different me [to him]
 'I'm different from him'

Left-dislocation of the object of the comparison is possible:

- (21) [Toto Dace] *auswa yaw ti [i]*
 boy David old 1s to him
 'I'm older than David'

The fronted *Toto Dace* in example (21) cannot be construed as coreferential with the postpositional pronoun *yaw* '1s', because first-person singular pronominals do not have full noun phrase referents. This is a syntactic restriction. Often Selaru people refer to themselves with full NPs but the syntactic person-number agreement is always in third-person singular in such cases. Hence, the pronoun that is coreferential with *Toto Dace* must be the *i* 'him' in the comparison phrase.

I have no examples of a comparative construction occurring with a full NP in the comparative phrase. Since benefactive phrases can have full NPs, the restriction to pronominals might be a characteristic of the comparative construction or might simply be a lack of data.

3.5 Valence Changing Particles

There are two valence increasing devices in Selaru that have a fairly clear historical relationship to attested Proto-forms. These are *-i* and *-ak*. They are verbal suffixes which are now almost completely non-productive in that only a few examples have been found where it is clear that the devices are having any semantic or syntactic effect. These suffixes apparently come from the Proto-Austronesian verb suffixes **-i* and

*-aki and, according to Pawley, are some type of 'transitive suffix' (1973:120).

There is also an -a suffix which in some cases appears to be acting like a transitive suffix, but is used so extensively that it is probably a discourse-level device for narratives.

Selaru does not appear to have any valence decreasing devices.

I am aware that a great deal of research and investigation has been devoted to the Proto-Austronesian transitive suffix markers. My treatment here is no way intended or assumed to be an in-depth discussion of the topic; I merely present the following as a summation to provide those more informed on the topic with a glimpse into Selaru's residual characteristics.

3.5.1 The -i Transitive Suffix

The -i ending is found on the motion verbs -ba, -e¹² (both mean 'go') and -ma 'come'. This suffix, in Selaru, functions to increase the valence of the verb by turning an intransitive verb into a transitive one (e.g. -ba 'go' becomes -bai 'go somewhere'). Very few other verbs make use of this suffix.

- (22) a. naman-are r-ba de
 child-PL 3p-go already
 'The children have already gone'
- b. naman-are r-ba [ti ra-ris]
 child-PL 3p-go [CONJ 3p-bathe]
 'The children went to bathe'
- c. naman-are r-ba-i nanwata-ke
 child-PL 3p-go-TRANS beach-AET
 'The children went to the beach'

Examples (22a and b) are both intransitive constructions. (22a) has the form: subject + verb + aspect marker; (22b) is made up of two intransitive clauses. Example (22c) is a true transitive (subject + verb + object) clause. The NP '*the beach*' is the goal of the children's motion. Without the -i ending, sentence (22c) would be ungrammatical.

3.5.2 The -ak Transitive Suffix

The -ak suffix in Selaru acts more like an instrument case marking suffix than just a generic valence increaser. Here again, there are very few examples where this device is still active in the language.

- (23) a. t-ba ti ta-bren
 lpi-go CONJ lpi-play
 'We are going (out) to play'
- b. ra-bren-ak bal-ke
 3p-play-TRANS ball-ART
 'They are playing soccer'

The verb stem -bren is an intransitive verb meaning 'to play'. Comparing examples (23a and b) one might conclude that the -ak suffix on -bren 'play' is merely a transitive marker, but the -ak in (23b) could be glossed as 'with' as in '*they are playing with the ball*'. This is more easily discernable from the following example. This sentence was given to me by a friend who was holding a toy made by the Selaru children. I had asked him what he was holding.

- (24) naman kakan-are ra-bren-ak Ø
 child small-PL 3p-play-INSTR PRO
 'small children play with (it)' or
 'something small children play with'

The toy really has a name, but the speaker knew I would not know it. So the toy is a '*something*' that children make to play with. The Ø pronoun is of course not actually discernible, but the -ak suffix implies its

presence. Had example (24) not had the *-ak* suffix it would have meant 'the children are playing' (an intransitive clause).

A possibly related (and also rare) suffix is *-k* which seems to be a causative marker.

- (25) a. *ete m̥w-mai*
 don't 2s-shy
 'Don't be shy' or 'Don't be afraid'
- b. *m̥w-mai-k sai de*
 2s-shy-CAUS what QUES
 'What are you afraid of?' or
 'What is causing you to be afraid?'
- c. **m̥w-mai* sai de

Normally *-mai* 'shy/afraid' is an intransitive verb as in (25a). But when a question is formed to ask why a person is acting afraid or shy (a structure which requires the object constituent *sai* 'what') a *-k* must be added, as in (25b). Without the suffix *-k*, as in (25c), example (25b) is ungrammatical.

3.5.3 The *-a* Transitive Suffix

There is an obtrusive suffix, *-a*, which not only attaches to verbs but also to prepositions and pronouns. It appears to act in many ways like the *-i* transitive marker discussed above, but its use is far too free to be classified as a syntactic valence increaser. Rather, it appears to be a discourse-level device used to "carry the story along," as the Selaru speaker would say. It is very common in narrative texts, but when individual sentences are removed from the text and read in isolation Selaru language consultants normally remove most of the *-a* suffixes.

- (26) a. *ku-ris aduk*
 1s-bathe first
 'I'll bathe first'

- b. ana ku-ris-a i
 later 1s-bathe-TRANS him
 'Later I'll give him a bath' lit. 'Later I'll bathe him'

Examples (26a and b) appear to support -a as a transitive marker, except that (26b) could be said without it. Selaru consultants say that sentence (26b) sounds better with the -a suffix, but if left off the sentence is acceptable (just not as pleasant).

The following is an example of how this suffix can be used throughout a sentence in a narrative discourse.

- (27) wamfwet-ke mdedan-a i ma kyarasy ti-a wasi-a hulosew
 woman-ART pregnant 3s so close to own-3s time

mana i-dur haf
 when 3s-squat down

'The woman was pregnant and her time to give birth
 was drawing near'

The underlined a's in (27) indicate where the -a suffix has been added by the narrator. These suffixes could be removed from the sentence without any change in meaning. Because the suffix has been added to adjectival predicates, prepositions, and possessive constructions, I do not feel it should be considered a suffix of the same class as -i and -ak discussed above. And yet it does carry the meaning of 'there is more to come', hence the truncated version of (26b) is ungrammatical, i.e., in *ana ku-ris-a, the verb ends in an -a without anything following it. (This cannot be construed to be referring to an inanimate object with a Ø pronominal, because the verb -ris 'bathe' is only used for animate nouns.)

NOTES

¹I assume here that Wolff is referring to only S and DO constituents and not IO constituents, because many (if not all) Austronesian languages mark NPs with dative case-roles with an adposition of some kind.

²'Trace' is a useful term from the Generative model (Radford 1981:194), and I use it for that reason.

³Selaru does not support core NP or oblique NP topicalization (i.e. allowing preposed NP movement without pronominal traces). If we follow Foley and Van Valin in classifying preposed temporals (e.g. 'yesterday') as topicalals (1984:125), then Selaru may be said to have topicalization, but I do not see what is to be gained from this fine distinction. For Selaru, the term preposed topic constructions (PTC) is adequate to incorporate all such processes and constructions.

⁴A definition of a 'true' passive is difficult to pin down, but the Relational Grammar (RG) framework has a useful generalization. Basically, RG defines 'passive' as a 2 to 1 raising (i.e. direct object to subject) where the original 1 becomes a *chômeur* or 'unemployed' construction (Perlmutter and Postal 1983). Such unemployed constructions are commonly demoted to the end of the clause and marked with an oblique case (e.g. the 'by' marking in English). Also, because of their unemployed status, original 1's are often left out of the clause altogether.

Such constructions do not occur in Selaru. When left-dislocation occurs (the closest substitute for a passive in Selaru) the verb remains fully active and still maintains its agreement with the original subject. There is no demotion of the original 1 constituent.

Foley and Van Valin (1984, 1985) have firmly stressed that the preposed topic construction (PTC) is functionally distinct from the passive construction (such that both constructions can be found in the same sentence: '*with the sword, the prisoner was quickly dispatched by the executioner*' (1984:125)), and although I accept their point, Selaru does not have both constructions. It would be interesting to see if the PTC does, in this case, fulfill both functional roles in discourse. This is my impression but further investigation is needed.

⁵Where the patient marker is suppressed in the presence of an adjunctive object NP and (of course) is not present in verbal intransitive constructions.

⁶The only syntactic difference on the surface between an attributive clause with an inanimate topic and a descriptive NP is the location of the NP article *-ke*. In a descriptive NP, the article closes the adjective within the structure; whereas, with an attributive clause, the adjective stands outside the NP.

⁷Givón (1984) often depicts 'subject' as subject-topic because of the discourse pragmatics of subjects of clauses (in conversations) being most often the local topic of the discourse.

⁸The concept of an habitual characteristic (i.e. a 'liar' is 'one who lies all the time, not just once') is accomplished through reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem (e.g. 'he lies all the time' is probably *ikakakmet*, but this form is not in my corpus). Habitual action is discussed further in Chapter 5.

⁹Givón defines the 'agent' as always being 'a conscious participant in an event since he is the volitional initiator of the change' (1984:88).

¹⁰Even though 'SVO' may not be the most accurate label for Selaru ('agent + predicate + patient' is better), the universals for SVO languages, first described by Greenberg (1966) and later by Hawkins (1979, 1980) and others, still apply to Selaru, because the core constituents are affixed to the verb in this order (see section 3.2).

¹¹A reflexive clause is a verbal clause which requires a pronominal postposition to be present and coreferential with the agent-subject. Which verbs are reflexive and which are not cannot be determined solely by semantics, i.e., *ku-ris* 'I bathe' is not reflexive, whereas *k-alya yaw* 'I get dressed' (lit. 'I clothe myself') is. Therefore reflexive verbs must be marked as such in the lexicon.

¹²The verb stem *-e* 'go' is unattested in my corpus; it is always *-ei* 'go somewhere'. This may be a frozen form or lack of data (as *-bai* is much more frequently used than *-ei*). If such a form exists it would appear in an intransitive sentence such as *?r-e de* 'they went already'.

CHAPTER 4

EMBEDDED CLAUSE STRUCTURE

4.1 Relative Clause

"A relative clause is a sentence embedded in a noun phrase of a larger sentence in such a way that it modifies the head of the noun phrase" (Sohn 1973:353).

The Selaru relative clause is one of the most fascinating devices of the Selaru language. Its use is frequent and its function indispensable.

4.1.1 Basic Relative Clause Structure

The Selaru relative clause (RC) is an externally headed postnominal structure, i.e., the RC follows the head noun. This is consistent with Hawkins' universal prediction that prepositional SVO languages will be N + RC and never RC + N (1979:629). The overall structure is:

$$(1) \quad NP_{RC} = N_{head} RC DEM ART$$

Keenan (1985) states that while the article (ART) or determiner (his term) can occur before or after the RC, it is more common for the determiner not to be separated from the head. In this case, Selaru does not follow the more common way.¹ I find this deviation satisfying, because the Selaru RC fulfills the same function as an adjective, i.e. it modifies (or restricts) the noun. Since the Selaru adjective comes in the same position in an descriptive NP (NP = N_{head} ADJ DEM ART), it is elegantly consistent to follow this same pattern in RC construction.

4.1.2 Relativization Strategy

The strategy used in Selaru for relative clause construction is a combination of two related types: the anaphoric and the relative pronoun strategies. Givón defines the anaphoric pronoun strategy as one "involving the replacement of the coreferent NP within the restricting clause with the anaphoric pronoun marked for the appropriate case, and often at the same syntactic position as the deleted NP" (1979:150). He goes on later to define the relative pronoun strategy as "involving case-marked pronouns which normally get attracted to a position between the head noun and the restricting clause" (1979:151). For example, the English relative pronouns include 'who', 'whom', 'whose', etc.²

4.1.2.1 Relative Prefix Strategy in Subject Relativization

Rather than a stand-alone relative pronoun as Givón describes (and as found in English), subject relativization in Selaru uses a relative verbal prefix. This prefix marks the clause it occurs in as a restrictive clause. It also indicates that the head of the encompassing noun phrase is the subject of the RC (what I will call a 'subject-headed RC'). In so marking the subject, the relative affix acts like a relative pronoun.

- SUBJECT HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSE (using a relative verbal affix)
- (2) *lema khwe iry ma-n-al Ø-ke*
 NEG 1s-know person REL-REL-take Ø-ART
 'I don't know who took (it)'

The verb stem of the RC in (2) is *-al*. It is affixed with the relative prefix *ma-* (the *n-* is also added to monosyllabic vowel initial verb stems when relativized).³ This marks *-al* as being in an RC, and that the subject of the RC has been relativized.

Subject-headed RCs can be headless, indicating that the head is indeterminate and non-referential.

- (3) \emptyset ma-kbo-ke ana i-mlar, \emptyset ma-ndil-ke ana byesur
 \emptyset REL-lazy-ART later 3s-hungry \emptyset REL-diligent-ART later 3s-full
 'Whoever is lazy will be hungry, whoever is diligent will be full'

Example (3) is a Selaru proverb that contains two headless RCs. Because each RC is headless (\emptyset) the referent could be anyone, but the referent is singular. We can determine this by the -ke endings on the RCs and by the fully inflected verbs *mlar* and *byesur*, both of which are marked for a third-person singular subject.

One further comment on example (3), the NP article -ke is an important indicator that a clause has been relativized or nominalized. In this example each relativized verb ends with a -ke. This never happens when these verbs form independent clauses; the -ke indicates that these verbs are nested within an encompassing NP (as per the pattern given in (1) above).

The NP article on a relative clause is not limited to -ke but can also be the plural marker -vre (see section 2.3).

- (4) i-hess iry ma-maty-vre
 3s-talk man REL-die-PL
 'He talked about dead people' lit: 'about people who have died'

In example (4) the relativized verb -maty 'to die' is suffixed by the plural marker -vre. This plural marker (as in a regular noun phrase) indicates that the head *iry* 'person' is plural. This is not the case when an object is present in the RC.

- (5) Dace kyodak \emptyset ma-tenw tais-vre
 David 3s-photographed \emptyset REL-weave cloth-PL
 'David photographed whoever was weaving cloth'

In example (5), the plural ending on the NP_{rc} applies to the object noun *tais* 'cloth' (making it 'pieces of cloth') and not to the indeterminate RC head (\emptyset). In other words, David could have been photographing any number of people (although normally one person cannot weave more than one piece of cloth at a time).

- (6) \emptyset na-min o Yabun-Vre r-tanuk sai de
 \emptyset REL-live in Ambon-PL 3p-say what QUES
 'What did the people who live in Ambon say?'

In this example the plural marker is affixed to the name of a city. The phrase *o Yabun* 'in Ambon' is a locative phrase and is required by the relativized verb *-min* 'live/exist'. It appears, in this case, that the plural marker agrees with the unspecified head. The *r-* affix on the main verb *-tanuk* 'say' indicates that the topic nominal is plural and so agrees with the plural value of the subject-head.

It is not certain which constituents the NP article specifies in a subject-headed RC. The above examples show different uses and functions, but it appears that if a subject-headed RC has no object NP specified then the article agrees in number with the head of the RC. If an object NP is specified (requiring its own article), then the article will agree with the object. This could be a case of 'equi-article' deletion (analogous to equi-NP deletion): where if the object and subject nominals agree in number then only one article is necessary for the NP_{rc} construction (the duplicate is deleted), but where they do not agree, both are included (the inner one agreeing with the object NP and the final article agreeing with the head of the RC). This is only speculation at this time, as I have no examples in

my corpus to support the 'double article' hypothesis, but it seems reasonable in light of other examples (such as (14)).

The relative **ma-** prefix also applies to inanimate subjects, as seen in the following example:

- (7) aro ma-min so-kre ana kbyai Somlaky
 boat REL-exist there-PL/ART later IN-go.to Saumlaki
 'Those boats which are there will go to Saumlaki later'

4.1.2.2 Pronoun Retention in Non-Subject Relativization

For relativization of non-subject NPs Selaru uses the anaphoric pronominal approach mentioned at the beginning of this section. To maintain the semantic case-role of the head, a pronominal trace⁴ links the fronted head with its original syntactic position.

- OBJECT HEADED RC (anaphoric pronominal reference)
 (8) enw-ne-ke ra-ketya i ne i-tesu inatw
 turtle-this-ART 3p-butcher him this 3s-eggs lots
 'This turtle they are butchering here has lots of eggs'

In (8) the RC constituent *i* 'he' holds the original place of the head *ennweke* 'this turtle'. Examples of animate object relativization are quite rare, and this one is a bit unusual in that the head is a full NP (normally it is simply a noun stem).⁵ Inanimate object-heads are much more common but have no overt anaphoric pronoun (the inanimate pronoun is \emptyset) to verify the presence of a trace. So, it looks on the surface to be the same as a deletion or gapping strategy.

- OBJECT HEADED RC (inanimate)
 (9) a. kotw i-na \emptyset -ke lema mtelas
 food 3s-eat PRO-ART NEG delicious
 'The food he ate wasn't good'
 b. mtwomolu nam ku-tanuk \emptyset -ke
 2s-listen stuff 1s-say PRO-ART
 'Listen to what I have to say'

The word *nam* in (9b) is the noun meaning 'stuff' and not a relative pronoun (e.g. 'what'). In this example, the RC-head is the object of the main clause, whereas in (9a) it is subject.

Whether the relativized object is singular or plural is marked by the article closing the RC construction.

- (10) a. *Dace y-kodak tais ra-tenw ʘ-ke*
 David 3s-photographed cloth 3p-weave PRO-ART
 'David photographed the (piece of) cloth they wove'
- b. *Dace y-kodak tais ra-tenw ʘ-Vre*
 David 3s-photographed cloth 3p-weave PRO-PL
 'David photographed the (pieces of) cloth they wove'

The only distinction between (10a and b) is the *-ke* (singular) and the *-Vre* (plural) NP articles sentence finally. This difference affects the plurality of the relativized object *tais* 'cloth', even though *tais* occurs in front of the RC. The fact that the articles work in this way (exactly like in a regular NP construction) again supports the generalization that the RC simply fills the role of an adjective in the encompassing NP.

4.1.3 Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy

4.1.3.1 Background Theory

In 1977 Keenan and Comrie introduced the concept of a noun phrase accessibility hierarchy for relative clause construction. Their NP accessibility scale is reproduced here for reference:

- (11) Subjects > Direct Objects > Indirect Objects > Obliques >
 Genitives > Objects of Comparisons

According to Keenan and Comrie, all languages adhere to this hierarchy. If a language has any relativizing strategy, it will at least

be able to relativize the subject position of the RC. Also, any language which can relativize a constituent occurring further down the scale will be able to relativize any constituent positioned above it (e.g., if a language can relativize obliques (locatives, etc.) it then must be able to relativize indirect objects, direct objects and subjects as well). The assumption is that the hierarchy represents ease of accessibility. Lower constituents are harder to access, and therefore, if accessible, then all higher constituents are easier and therefore possible.

In 1987, Barbara Fox proposed a reinterpretation of the NP accessibility hierarchy. Her main concern was addressed at the position and meaning of 'subject' in Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy. Fox argues that the primacy of 'subject' is not supported in natural oral communication.

Contrary to expectations, in the simple conversations comprising her data, the number of subject and object relative clauses came out equal.

This finding appears to contradict Keenan's 1975 conclusions at two levels: first, if subjects are inherently easier to process, there should always be a preponderance of subject relatives, even in conversation; and second, if simple texts have the highest ratio of subject to object relatives, then conversation should have the highest ratio of all, being syntactically and structurally simpler than Keenan's written texts. (Fox 1987:857)

This, she says, challenges the 'subject primacy' hypothesis. Rather, Fox suggests that "the distribution of subject vs. object relatives has more to do with the various functions of each of those kinds of clauses, and with the general treatment of information flow ... than with cognitive primacy" (1987:857).

Fox found in her corpus that relative clauses were most often headed by non-definite NPs, and that object-RCs usually had pronominal subjects (mostly first and second person) rather than full NPs. This indicates that

a major function of a relative clause (in conversational English anyway) is to bring new information onto the scene of a discourse and to link that new information with the immediate context. To capture this descriptive character of relative clauses and to differentiate Keenan and Comrie's terms 'subject' and 'object', Fox proposes using Dixon's (1979) case role terms A, S, and P.⁶ Fox calls this the 'absolute hypothesis' which equates S and P as both filling the most accessible position on the hierarchy, with A coming next, and then indirect object, etc.⁷

Viewing her data through this perspective yields the surprising fact that an overwhelming number of the RCs (82%) were either S or P headed, and only 10% were A headed.

How this hypothesis is supported in Selaru is discussed in section 4.1.3.3, but first we will look at which NPs in Selaru are accessible to relativization.

4.1.3.2 NP Accessibility in Selaru

We have already demonstrated the accessibility of both subject and object NPs to relativization. Selaru also allows oblique constructions to be relativized. The following is a locative-headed relative clause.

- (12) hatw ra-skyer ti q-ke
 stone 3p-cook.skyerker PREP PRO-ART
 'a skyerker *baking form*' lit: 'a rock they cook skerker in'

The object referred to appears to be a recent innovation in their culture, and yet it is central to their daily life. But rather than inventing a new lexeme for this important item, Selaru uses a fairly complex LOC-RC to codify it. The structure is such that the preposition *ti* 'in/on/at' (of the original locative phrase) remains in its original clause

position. In this position it can continue to mark the semantic case-role of the head (through the \emptyset pronominal trace).

Another example of a LOC-RC comes from the *Mangkawar* story. To refer to his father's grave, Mangkawar says:

- (13) kbwa tia ksusua ama-kua \emptyset ra-kali i ti \emptyset -ke
 1s-go to 1s-show father-my (place) 3p-bury him PREP PRO-ART
 'I'm going to point out the place where they buried my father'

This RC is parallel to example (12), but it is headless (noted by the first \emptyset constituent). The head is a word like 'place' or 'hole' that has been left implied through zero anaphora. Why the speaker did not fill in the head slot is not clear, but obviously it is unnecessary. The RC *rakali i ti ke* '(the place) they buried him in/at' is a substitute for the semantically complex nominal 'grave'.⁸ The relationship between *amaku* 'my father' and the place referred to by the RC is an 'inalienable' possession construction (see section 2.8.2 for more on this type of construction).

There is no evidence in our data that Selaru has the ability to relativize a genitive (possessor) NP. Keenan and Comrie's 'object of comparison' NP is encoded in Selaru as an oblique construction (see section 3.4.3). "In such cases we treat these NPs as ordinary OBLs [obliques], and the OCOMP [objects of comparison] position on the AH (accessibility hierarchy) is unrealized" (Keenan & Comrie 1977:66). Because the object of comparison NP is formed using an oblique phrase and locative obliques are accessible to relativization, one would expect the object of comparison to be accessible as well. I have found no evidence of this, but such a possibility can not be ruled out as yet.⁹

4.1.3.3 A Tally of Relative Clauses in a Selaru Discourse

As an application of Fox's research I checked the *Mangkawar* narrative text for all of the different types of relative clauses it contained. Out of 55 sentences there is a total of 10 RCs. The breakdown of the different types is given in Table 12.

Table 12: Relative Clause Types in a Narrative Text

<u>Type of RC</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A-RC	3	30%
S-RC	2	20%
P-RC	3	30%
<u>LOC-RC</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>20%</u>
Total	10	100%

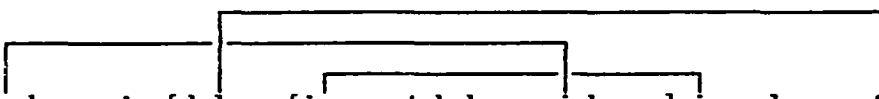
Because of the small number of examples of RCs, it is really impossible to make any binding generalizations, but it is significant that the A type RCs do not outnumber the other types by any appreciable margin. But this of course is assuming Fox's sub-division of subject-headed RCs into A type and S type RCs. Were the S type RCs sided with either the A or the P type RCs, that grouping would be the dominant RC type.

In fact, because of this ability to skew the analysis to one side or the other, we cannot support or refute Fox (or Keenan and Comrie) at this time.

Two important observations can be made though by looking at where the RCs occurred in the text. Firstly, 70% of the RCs occurred in quoted speech, the rest in plain narrative. Secondly, 70% (not all overlapping with the previous 70%) occurred in the Peak episode. These observations will be addressed more in 6.2.1.3.

4.1.4 Complex Relative Clauses--Embedding

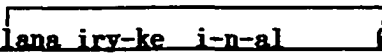
Selaru relative clause structure becomes most fascinating when one embeds in another. Example (14) comes from the *Mangkawar* story, and is only the object-NP of the clause 'I will show you...'. The brackets mark the beginning and ending of the two NP_{rcs} (the inner set form the embedded NP_{rc}, the outer set form the encompassing NP_{rc}). The lines show the anaphoric relations.

- (14) 

 (14) **ama-ku wasia [dolana [iry ma-tabahunwa i-ke] i-n-al Ø-ke]**
 dad-my own [gold [man REL-kill him-ART] 3s-REL-take Ø-ART]
 '...my father's gold the man who killed him took'

The structure of the two NP_{rcs} is consistent with the formulation given in (1). Each NP has a head, an RC, and an article. The embedded RC is a subject-headed RC, and it actually fills the slot of a specified subject for the object-headed relativized verb *inal* (*dolan* 'gold' is the fronted object of this verb).

As a test of my analysis I later asked the language helper if the sentence was acceptable without the embedded RC (where *iry-ke* 'the man' replaces the embedded NP_{rc}):

- (15) 

 (15) **ama-ku wasia dolana iry-ke i-n-al Ø-ke**
 dad-my own gold man-ART 3s-REL-take PRO-ART
 '...my father's gold which the man took'

He verified this to be a good and well-formed sentence.

It is also possible to link two relative clauses with a conjunction. Like the previous example, the following convoluted example was unelicited.

(16) kolnye, mi-sosana lan-a-mi-re bonyo, my-abuka usi ma
 like-this 2p-pack stuff-POSS-2p-PL just 2p-call (me) so

kwawa ma kbwihy ana ku-dakin Ø ma ku-n-al Ø-are
 1s-come so 1s-inspect later 1s-like PRO so 1s-REL-take PRO-PL

'So, how about when you're packing up your stuff you call me so I can come and see (what you have) so later that which I like I can take.'

Both -dakin 'like' and -al 'take' are relativized verbs. They are coordinated by ma 'so'. Both of these verbs have as their coreferential object some unspecified portion of the stuff (lan) mentioned in the sentence initial subordinate clause. The plural marker at the end of the sentence indicates that this unspecified PRO is plural (note that only one plural marker suffices for both RCs).

The only independent verbs in this example are 'you call me so I can come and see'. The rest of the verbs ('pack', 'like', and 'take') are subordinated (non-event line). The concept of event line vs. non-event line verbs will be addressed in the next section and again in section 6.2.

4.2 Reduction of Transitivity

In her description of the English relative clause, Fox points out that RCs "tend to use a very low-transitivity, semantically bleached verb as the relative verb" (1987:860). While Selaru has no substitutional, 'bleached' verbs (such as 'have' in English) it does manifest this same principle by 'deactivating' the RC verb.

In subject-headed RCs this is seen in the replacement of the active verb prefix with the relativizer ma-. In non-subject-headed RCs this is accomplished by demetathesizing the verb prefix from the verb stem. I repeat example (9) here to compare it with an active form of the same verb.

RELATIVE CLAUSE

- (17) a. kotw i-na Ø-ke lema mtelas
 food 3s-eat PRO-ART NEG delicious
 'The food he ate wasn't good'

INDEPENDENT CLAUSE

- b. wasi-Ø asw-ke nya masy-ke
 own-3s dog-ART 3s-eat fish-ART
 'His dog ate the fish'

In example (17b), the verb *-na* 'eat' is active and metathesized by the third-person singular prefix *y-*, but in example (17a), the verb is inactive and the prefix *i-* is merely adjacent to rather than inside the verb stem. This appears to be an overt manifestation of the 'bleaching' that Fox refers to.

As discussed in section 1.3.3.1, the person-number prefix metathesizes onto many Selaru verb stems that have simple onsets. But when a clause is off the main event-line of a discourse metathesis does not occur. The relative clause, the subordinate and other non-event line clauses (discussed in section 6.2.1.2), and the nominalized clause (discussed in the next section) all manifest this type of deactivation.

4.3 Nominalized Clauses

Selaru has several ways of nominalizing verbs, and some, such as reduplication, are beyond the scope of this thesis.¹⁰ The one of interest in this section is the nominalized clause. The structure is similar to a relative clause, though semantically they differ. In the nominalized clause, what is in focus is neither the subject nor the object of the verb, but rather the verb itself and its expansion which follows.

A nominalized clause is characterized by a 'bleaching' of the verb, the presence of the demonstrative *ne* 'this'¹¹ and an optional article. This type of clause is quite common and is used most often when the speaker

is about to explain a sequence of events that is encapsuled by a single verb (e.g. trips, etc.).

- (18) ku-ba-ne ketya tais ma kal ti ena-kw Nanere
 1s-go-this 1s-carry cloth so 1s-give to ma'am-1s Nanere
 'My going (involved) this: I took cloth to give it to Mrs. Nanere'

In this example the nominalized clause is ku-ba-ne. The verb stem is -ba 'go', which is normally metathesized ('I go' is normally kbwa). The presence of the ne 'this' is the main indication that this is a nominalized clause. The verb -ba never takes a locative phrase. To subcategorize a locative, -ba must increase its valency (see section 3.5.1) and become -bai 'go to'. Hence, the ne acts as if it is modifying the construction kuba, such as in the literal rendering 'this my going'.

The ne also references the following chain of events. This aspect of ne makes it a cataphoric referent (i.e. a referent that looks forward in the text; usually marked orthographically with a colon, see Halliday and Hasan 1976:68). Such a structure cannot be analyzed as a locative clause (although it has some resemblance to one, see section 3.3.3).

- (19) arami-susw-ne-ke byasara kseri timur ode kwakol kseri harat ne
 1px-fish-this-ART 3s-head side east and 1s-head side west this
 'We fished like this: he headed to the east side and I went west'

This example is taken from the *Mangkawar* story. The verb -susw 'to fish' never metathesizes, so the lack of it indicates nothing here. It is the concatenated -neke 'this' attached to the verb that indicates that the action of the verb itself is what is in focus and proves that such a construction is not a locative clause: the -ke 'the/a' marks the end of an NP, never the end of a locative clause. The rest of the sentence is a normal coordinated sentence elucidating the nominalized verb.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter we have addressed the various complexities of Selaru relative clause structure. We have seen that the Selaru RC is an externally headed postnominal structure able to access subject, object, and oblique NP positions.

Unfortunately we were unable to draw any conclusions from a Selaru narrative text to support or refute Fox's hypothesis that S and P type RCs are most prominent in accessibility. To be able to come to any useful conclusions would require checking a large number of Selaru texts--something outside the scope of this paper.

The important concept of 'bleaching' or deactivating verbs in Selaru was introduced. This will prove useful again in the analysis of Selaru discourse structure.

Finally we touched on the peculiar but often used nominalized clause.

This chapter concludes much of what remained of clause level constructions and leads us to the sentence, which is taken up in the next chapter.

NOTES

¹Nor do Mokilese and Kusailean, Micronesian languages discussed in Sohn 1973. These two languages also exhibit other similar RC characteristics with Selaru (such as the *ma-* prefix in subject-headed RCs).

²In contrast, Indonesian uses the relativizer '*yang*' which is not marked for case.

³Kähler (1974:260) indicates that the *ma-* prefix is a fairly common means of marking RCs in Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia. Sohn (1973) (from endnote 1) also indicates that *ma-* is used as an RC marker in some Micronesian languages. This shows the extent (geographically) this form still manifests itself.

⁴This structure is identical to that of the preposed topic constructions discussed in section 3.1.3. Also, the subsequent reinterpretation of object pronominals in transitive verbal constructions (section 3.2) could be applied here as well, but because there is no ambiguity here (as there was with non-verbal predicate constructions) either view will yield the same analysis.

⁵In fact, if later it proves not to be a relative clause at all, I would not be surprised.

⁶The label 'A' refers to subjects of transitive clauses ('agents'), 'S' refers to subjects of intransitive clauses (indeterminate, but usually 'patient'), and 'P' refers to objects of transitive clauses ('patients').

⁷'Ergative-Absolutive' languages have the general characteristic that direct objects of transitive clauses ('P') are marked syntactically the same way as subjects of intransitive clauses ('S'). The subject of transitive clauses are usually marked uniquely from either P or S. It is this analogous relationship that is meant by 'absolute hypothesis'.

⁸It is quite possible that since the person was murdered and buried in secret, the place where he was buried could not be referred to as a 'grave', but merely '*the place where they buried him*'.

⁹I have no examples of a comparative phrase filled by a full NP, only pronouns. Since an RC requires a pronominal trace to be left in the original constituent position anyway, one can only guess what difference the relativization of such a construction would look like.

¹⁰See Coward & Coward 1990 for a discussion of reduplication.

¹¹No other demonstrative appears to be able to fill this position.

CHAPTER 5

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

5.1 Tense, Aspect, and Modality (TAM)

"Of all the grammatical sub-systems, tense-aspect-modality is probably the most complex and frustrating to the linguist. For one thing, it is an obligatory category without which simple sentences cannot be produced" (Givón 1984:270).

If it is true that without an understanding of the TAM system of a language even simple sentences cannot be produced, one may wonder why this discussion is found in the chapter on the sentence and not in the chapter on the clause. This is because the expression of TAM in Selaru, for the most part, involves the use of TAM words and phrases in pre- or post-clausal positions and not as some obligatory grammatical affix or structural alternation of the verb stem. Hence, for Selaru, it is quite possible to construct perfectly grammatical clauses without knowing the TAM system. It is impossible, however, to create well-formed, logically-connected sentences or texts without any knowledge of this crucial element.¹

Since the Selaru TAM system is not as yet fully understood, the present discussion cannot be exhaustive, but the more common TAM devices are addressed.

5.1.1 Overview of Concepts and Terminology

It seems best to review the theoretical concepts encompassed by the terms 'tense', 'aspect', and 'modality' before discussing the particular manifestations of these terms in Selaru. The following is a short overview of the terminology and underlying principles of TAM gleaned from Comrie (1976, 1985), Elson and Pickett (1988), Givón (1984), and Thomas Payne (in preparation).

Tense refers to how the time of an event described in a clause relates to some specific reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered (Payne in preparation:26). Hence, if the event referred to in the clause occurred at some time previous to the utterance it is said to be in past tense. Ongoing events (or situations) that co-occur with the speech act are classified as present tense, and those situations that have yet to occur are future tense. How a language encodes these time relations does not necessarily coincide with these neat divisions (e.g., some languages divide time as past/non-past or future/non-future, etc.). Time relations are also complicated by the ability of languages to shift the point of reference to some time other than the time of utterance such that the relative position of the situation to that point may be 'future' while also being in the 'past' with respect to the time of utterance.

"Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency [make-up] of a situation [event/state]" (Comrie 1976:3). In simpler terms, the word 'aspect' is a cover term for all of the different ways languages have for capturing a situation (i.e. a process, event, or state) and pinning it to a time line. Because all situations take some amount of real time to occur (even punctiliar verbs like 'kick') there is

the potential that languages might (and often do) have many different grammatical ways of referring to that duration of time. For example, one might want to refer to an event as being in process at the present time, or that it was in process and has just been completed, etc. Each of these ways of referring to the duration of a situation is one type of aspect. Probably no language has the ability to encode grammatically all of the different types of aspects that are possible.

Modality (synonymous with 'mode' or 'mood') describes the degree of 'reality' or 'actuality' of a situation. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him or herself (Payne in preparation:29). Modality therefore involves the terms 'realis', i.e. that which is real and referential, and 'irrealis', i.e. that which is unspecified as to its reality.² Modality includes all degrees of a speaker's opinion from realis (strong feelings of truthfulness) to irrealis (no evaluation whatsoever). Terms for this continuum include: probability, conditional, potential, hypothetical, etc. Modality can also extend to a speaker's evaluation of the importance of a situation with respect to him or herself. Terms expressing this include obligation (e.g. 'must', 'should'), optative (e.g. 'hope', 'want', 'wish'), etc. These various modes are normally expressed through some syntactic combination with tense and/or aspect. Rarely, if ever, can various types of modes be expressed without any impingement on the tense or aspect of a clause.

5.1.2 Tense

Comrie divides all of the methods available to languages for situating an event in time into three types: a) lexical composite

expressions, e.g. 'three days later', b) lexical items, e.g. 'now', 'tomorrow', etc., and c) grammatical categories, e.g. verbal affixation which indicates tense (1976:8). Comrie is most interested in tense as "grammaticalized expressions of location in time" (1976:9). Nonetheless, Comrie's three-way division of possible expressions of time is useful for us here.

Selaru has no grammaticalized expressions for encoding tense. Simple independent clauses are identical (in their core structure) whether they refer to events or states that occurred at some earlier time, future time, or are co-occurring with the point of reference. Rather, to mark tense (or better 'time sequence' or 'time location') Selaru employs either lexical items or lexical composite expressions.

- (1) a. kbwa ti ku-ris
 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe
 'I am (now) leaving (in order) to bathe'
- b. dai bolbol-ne kbwa ti ku-ris
 earlier morning-this 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe
 'Earlier this morning I took a bath'
- c. ana kbwa ti ku-ris
 later 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe
 'Later I'll go take a bath'

Example (1a) is a simple independent clause. Example (1b) is a 'past time' clause construction indicating that the event described occurred prior to the utterance. (1c) is a 'future time' clause construction, i.e., the event has not yet occurred. The underlined phrase in example (1b) and word in (1c) are the only time frame indicators in the sentences (example (1b) uses a lexical composite expression, while (1c) uses a lexical item). The syntactic configuration of the core clause in each of these examples remains unchanged. For this reason I posit that Selaru is unmarked

grammatically (morphologically) for tense. This appears to be fairly common for Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia.

Generally, future time frames are marked with the word *ana* 'later' and past time frames are marked with the word *dai* 'earlier'. These occur most often clause initially. *Dai* usually occurs with more specific embellishments (as in (1b)) to pinpoint the time frame.³ When they do occur with specific time words, *ana* and *dai* will precede them.

Other examples of reference to specific points in time include:

- (2) a. *desio, sewah desike lai-na y-or iry-ke it r-ba ...*
 so evening that husband-her 3s-with man-ART a 3p-go ...
 'So, that evening her husband and a man went ...'
- b. *ana bolbolbol arambya*
 later tomorrow.morning lpx-go
 'Tomorrow morning we will go'

Example (2a) is from the *Mangkawar* text (see line 5, Appendix C). It references a specific time ('that evening') within the time frame given at the beginning of the story (*ti a Enus* 'in Enus' indicates this story is set in the early history of Selaru).

Sentence (2b) is simply another example of a lexical composite expression, but in this case, referencing future time.

If specific time words are used, *ana* and *dai* are not required.

- (3) a. *Liah-ke k-or ena-mu-a arambyai bo-Vre*
 yesterday-ART 1s-with mom-your-Ø lpx-go garden-PL
 'Yesterday your mother and I went to the gardens'
- b. *bolbolbol-ne Dortje mu-ta mbinan-Vre ...*
 tomorrow.morning-this Dortje 2s-clean plate-PL ...
 'Tomorrow morning, Dortje you wash the dishes ...'

Some of the more common Selaru lexical time words are listed in

Table 13:

Table 13: Common Selaru Time Words

Selaru	Meaning
ana, andeka	later
dai	earlier
kyalata	in a little while / soon
kyalake	a little while ago
senweke	today
sewah	this evening
detke	last evening
bolbol / bolbolbol	tomorrow / early morning
liahke	yesterday
heitke / heit	day-before-yesterday / day-after-tomorrow
hetylekwe / hetyelw	three days ago/ three days from now
heatke / heat	four days ago/ four days from now
hesinke / hesim	five days ago/ five days from now
heit-lulswo	days-long-ago
seidake	(in) that day / (in) those days

Looking at Table 13 reveals one further point of interest concerning Selaru time coding. In a few cases, the same time word is used to specify the same time gap from the point of reference, either into the future or the past. The only distinction between the two is the NP article *-ke* affixed to the time word for past time. Apparently, the article ascribes some degree of referentiality (or realis mode) to the time word. Since future time is always unrealis (even though specific nouns in a future time clause can be referential and realis), time words that are referring forward in time cannot take the *-ke* article and are left unspecified.

These are not the only time words available. I have not included references to other times of the day, etc., but those listed are the most common. Other considerations of time and its cohesive effect on Selaru discourse are addressed in section 6.3.5.

5.1.3 Aspect

Thomas Payne (in preparation:26) mentions that while English is mostly tense oriented, Austronesian languages tend to pay more attention to aspect. This is true of Selaru.

While many of the 'traditional' (Indo-European) aspects (e.g. perfect, pluperfect, and imperfect aspects) are not grammatically marked in Selaru, there is a great emphasis on the completive, incompletive, and inceptive aspects. The focus of much of discourse is on the sequential beginning and ending of events or situations, so, rather than saying, '*he had been working when she arrived*', a Selaru speaker will state this aspectual relation more overtly, as in, '*he finished the work, and just then, she arrived*'.

5.1.3.1 Completive and Incompletive Aspects

Completive and incompletive aspects play a key function in the Selaru language. They are crucial to Selaru discourse. Because there is no tense, Selaru uses completive and incompletive aspects to make clear to the listener the progression of the story. Like time marking, Selaru uses lexical items to mark these. The incompletive aspect is marked clause initially with *lenla* (or the variant *lea*) meaning '*not yet*'. These terms are analogous in meaning and function of the Indonesian incompletive marker '*belum*'. The completive aspect is marked clause finally with either *de*⁴ '*already*' (in Indonesian '*sudah*') or *ma ktei (de)* '*finished*' or '*until done*' (in Indonesian '*sampai selesai*').⁵

- (4) a. *Mu-ris da*?⁶
 2s-bathe QUES
 'You've bathed already?'

QUESTION

- b. *Lea* ku-ris ANSWER #1
 not.yet 1s-bathe
 'No, I've not bathed yet'
- c. Ou, ku-ris *ma* ktei de ANSWER #2
 yes 1s-bathe until done already
 'Yes, I've already finished bathing'

Other than the complication of the *da* in (4a) (see endnote 6) the above examples are straight forward. Notice that in (4b) the free translation includes a 'no' which is not in the Selaru (*lema* means 'no' or negative, see section 5.5.2); this is paralleled in Indonesian. The incomplete aspect implies a 'no' answer to the question because the question refers to the completed state of the event 'bathe'; the response clearly indicates the event is not completed (and also has not even begun). See section 5.1.3.2 for how one refers to situations in progress.

The following example of a completive aspect is from *Mangkawar* line 45.

- (5) desikeo r-seak *ma* mhwe lulw-o-liaw lan de
 then 3p-see CONJ 2s-know front-and-back big already
 'and then they saw that you already knew a lot about everything'

The completive aspect marker *de* sentence finally indicates that the state addressed in this sentence has already been achieved, i.e. *Mangkawar* (the referent of 'you') already knows a great deal.

The procedural discourse uses the completive aspect phrase *ma ktei* to a very high degree. It is the main cohesive device of such a text (the following is a description of daily chores):

- (6) Dortje *m-or* yaw ti t-has nam.
 Dortje 2s-with me go lpi-wash stuff
- T-has nam *ma ktei*, desio
 lpi-wash stuff finished, then

ta-noha kotw ma ta. Ta-knam ma ktei, desio ta-bren.
 lpi-cook food for we.eat lpi-eat finished then lpi-play

*'Dortje, you and I will wash (the clothes). We finish washing,
 then we cook food for us to eat. We finish eating then we play.'*

Note that **ma ktei** occurs here without **de**. This is because the clause with the completive aspect is concatenated with the continuing topic through the use of **desio** 'and then'. The **de** marker would be included if the phrase **ma ktei** occurred sentence finally.

From (6) we see that, in a procedural discourse, one activity is almost always indicated as completed before a description of the next activity is given. Such a text cohesion strategy is certainly tight, i.e. it is impossible to lose the sequential order of events, but it is also highly inflexible.

5.1.3.2 Continuative Aspect

The continuative aspect implies a situation is ongoing, e.g. 'he is washing his car'. This is the unmarked aspect in Selaru, although it is often additionally marked with the modal particles **bo** meaning 'just' (indicating speaker attitude, see section 5.1.4.3).

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------|
| (7) | a. mu-ris e?
1s-bathe QUES
'Are you bathing?' | QUESTION |
| | b. ou, ku-ris
yes 1s-bathe
'Yes, I'm bathing' | ANSWER |
| (8) | a. m-ala sai desy de?
2s-do what there QUES
'What are you doing?' | QUESTION |
| | b. ku-ndiry bo
1s-stand just
'I am just standing' | ANSWER |

Example (7b) is not marked with any aspect marker, hence it is indicating the situation is still in process. Example (8b) has the modal particle *bo* added to mitigate the sentence, but as it is not marked as completed action or for some other aspect, it is a present continuous situation (state).

The continuative aspect is uncommon in Selaru narrative, because almost all events, etc. are told sequentially. One clear example, however, comes from a text about a dog that found fresh drinking water.

- (9) *sew-desi-ke enmosw-ne-ke i-tenw-a tais*
 day-that-ART grandma-this-ART 3s-weave-Ø cloth
 'That day, this old woman was weaving cloth'

This example is in continuative aspect. The fact that *tais* 'cloth' is non-referential, i.e. lacks the article *-ke*, supports this interpretation. The non-referentiality of the NP indicates that the verbal process is what is in focus, not the product of the action. This interpretation is also supported by the overt use of the continuative aspect/conjunction of temporal simultaneity *malmata* 'while' a few sentences later:

- (10) *malmata i-tenw tais desikeo wasi-a asw-ne-ke bya ti*
 while 3s-weave cloth then own-Ø dog-this-ART 3s-go to

y-enw-a wer-ne
 3s-drink-Ø water-this

'While she was weaving, her dog went to drink water'

The aspect/time word *malmata* is very rare in discourse, but in (10) it overtly marks the first clause as continuative. We also know it is continuative because when the dog returns from the hidden spring the old woman is still weaving.

5.1.3.3 Inceptive Aspect

The inceptive aspect emphasizes the beginning of a process or event, e.g. 'he began working'. Selaru marks this aspect with *nenno*, *enno*, and the synonym *mamo* all meaning 'just then'.⁸

- (11) T-enah aduk ma bolbol ode *nenno* t-ba.
 lpi-sleep first until tomorrow and just.then lpi-go
 'Let's sleep first until tomorrow, and then we will go'

The word *nenno* indicates that at the specified time frame (*bolbol* 'tomorrow') the following event will begin. This is identical to the common Indonesian use of 'baru'. The aspect marker *mamo* is exemplified in (22b) below.

5.1.3.4 Habitual and Iterative Aspects

Habitual aspect indicates that an event takes place on a regular basis--indicating a fact or habit, not a specific real time event. Selaru morphologically marks habitual aspect on event verbs by using a type of reduplication strategy.

- SIMPLE
 (12) a. *r-oban asw-Vre*
 3p-hit dog-PL
 'They hit the dogs'

- HABITUAL
 b. ena ode *ama-na ra-oboban* i bo kali i-hdawan lan
 mom and dad-his 3p-hit.hit him just because 3s-bad big
 'His mother and father are always hitting him because he is very bad'

The verb stem for 'hit' is *-oban*. When this is in habitual aspect the verb becomes *-oboban*⁹ 'hit all the time'.

It is likely that the iterative aspect for event verbs is encoded in the same way as the habitual in Selaru. By definition iterative aspect

marks a series of specific real time events, e.g. 'he is coughing', but I have no clear examples of this aspect.

5.1.4 Modality

Thomas Payne (in preparation:29) points out that mode often interacts "significantly" with aspect and tense, and for this reason it is difficult to separate the modal characteristics of Selaru into neat sections. The following is an attempt.

5.1.4.1 Optative Mode

Optative mode describes the speaker's wishes or desires. The most common method of indicating speaker's desires (positive and negative) is with the verb stems *-buma* 'want' and *-brai* 'don't want'.¹⁰

- (13) *andeka t-seak ohe kbai-ke kbya ta kete kbyuma kwaty*
 later lpi-see whether disease-ART IN-go or rather IN-want 1s-die
 'Later we'll see whether this disease goes away or whether it
 wants me to die'¹¹
- (14) *majelis-ke r-buma ta-wahuk nur-Vre rahean.rahean*
 elders-ART 3p-want lpi-gather coconut-PL ten.by.ten
 'The church elders want us to gather coconuts in tens'
- (15) *ku-brai ktwabahunw-a i*
 1s-don't.want 1s-kill-Ø him
 'I don't want to kill him'

Notice that in each example the optative modal verb is concatenated with the following verb, i.e., there is no intervening conjunction. This is a very distinctive structure, as verbs are normally separated from each other by a conjunction (see section 5.2.1). But the optative modal verb acts like an auxiliary verb, combining with the matrix (main) verb to modify its modal specification.

The modal verb and the main verb do not necessarily agree as to subject, as in (13) and (14), but can, as in (15). However, it appears that *-brai* requires a conjunctive particle if there is a switch in subject:

- (16) *ku-brai ma ea mbya*
 1s-refuse CONJ you.all 2p-go
 'I don't want you (all) to go' or 'I won't let you (all) go'

Note also that this switch in subject requires the overt specification of the new subject through a pronominal (pronominal subjects are unusual and are addressed in section 6.3.2.1). Apparently, it is expected that the verb *-brai* will concatenate with predicates having the same subject. When this is not the case, this expectation forces the speaker to mark the switch more overtly.¹² This same-subject expectation does not appear to apply to *-buna* as it does not need any further specification of a switch in subject than what is already marked on the subsequent verb.

5.1.4.2 Potential Mode

Potential mode refers to the ability of the subject to accomplish or carry out the action encoded by the verb. This, like the optative mode, has no intervening conjunction but, surprisingly, requires a constituent order that is opposite from the optative mode; rather than preceding the main verb, the potential modal verb follows it. The potential mode is marked with the verb *-he 'know'*, but in this function it more accurately means *'able, can'*.

- (17) a. *lema kwasu khwe*
 NEG 1s-smoke 1s-know
 'I don't smoke'
 lit. 'I am not able to smoke' or 'I don't know how to smoke'

- b. ... keskye tyanuka **hve** tun-ke
 but 3s-speak 3s-know language-ART
 '... but he could speak the language' or
 '... but he knew how to speak the language'

Example (17a) demonstrates the potential mode in a negative clause, example (17b) in a positive one.

5.1.4.3 Modal Particle

There is one important particle whose function is not all together clear. This is the **bo** modal particle mentioned in section 5.1.3.2. For many uses it clearly means 'just' or 'simply' as in the following examples taken from the *Mangkawar* text (lines 7 and 12):

- (18) a. Korduana **m-ei** tasi-ke ti **mu-susw**;
 Korduan-Ø 2s-go sea-ART to 2s-fish

Tulisama Botan-neke **mu-susw** ti-a ra-ke **bo**
 Tulisama Botan-this 2s-fish at-Ø shore-ART just

'Korduan you went to sea to fish; Tulisama Botan you just fished near shore'

- b. lema ku-nal heal de ku-tot-a lkusy-ke **bo**¹³
 NEG 1s-get fish but 1s-find-Ø clay.jar-ART just
 'I didn't catch any fish; I just found a clay jar'

Both of these examples are clear uses of **bo** meaning 'just' or 'simply'. This modal particle indicates the speaker's attitude and mitigates the importance of the clause to which it is attached. This is especially clear in (18b) where Tulisama is trying to mention off-handedly that he found a clay jar--he does not mention that it contained treasures of gold.

A related form to **bo** is **bony**. The function and scope of use of **bony** is not quite as clear as **bo**. It is often used in conjunction with the completive aspect phrase **ma ktei** 'until done' and the discourse time marker

-o (for more information on -o see section 6.3.5). The following example comes from *Mangkawar*, line 14.

- (19) lema de, ra-sihw ma ktei bony-o r-ba ti-a ra-tunw masy ...
 so then, 3p-clean until done just-TM 3p-go to-Ø 3p-bake fish
 'so they cleaned (the fish) then they went to bake the fish ...'

I believe this example can be more accurately glossed as 'so they *just* cleaned the fish until *finished* and then went and baked it'. This is supportable from the context of the example. Line 13 of that story is a quotation, with Korduan saying: 'If that's the case, then let's clean the fish, then go and bake it, so we can eat.' The narrator follows on immediately with example (19)--a reiteration of the quotation--to make it clear that they did just what Korduan had suggested. So it is reasonable to expect (in English anyway) that the narrator would indicate that this was nothing new (mitigating its importance).

There are other places in the *Mangkawar* story that follow this same pattern (see lines 19, 23, 29, and others), but there are a few examples which seem to be totally incongruous with the interpretation that bony is merely a particle of mitigation. For example, in line 21, Korduan has just killed Tulisama, and then we read:

- (20) i-maty bony-o mhwait i ma tia mkwali i
 3s-dead just-TM 2s-drag him to to 2s-bury him
 'Once he was dead, you dragged him away to bury him'

Here bonyo is glossed as 'once' in English, but it could also be rendered as 'just then'. In other words, here bonyo could be called an inceptive aspect marker indicating that the inception of the following event occurs simultaneously with the conclusion of the preceding one, e.g. 'just as he died, you dragged him ...' In this sentence (and a few others in the *Mangkawar* story), bony cannot simply be considered a mitigating type

of modal particle. Whether this should be considered an inceptive aspect marker rather than a modal particle remains to be seen; in fact, the whole function and distribution of *bony* will require further research.

5.1.5 Interaction of the TAM system

The complexity of TAM, mentioned by Givón at the beginning of this chapter, comes when tense, aspect, and mode begin to interact. Because of the vast number of different situations man must describe, languages normally express the numerous shades of meaning of tense, aspect, and modality through a blending of two or more.

- (21) a. *ana lenla kbwa*
 later before 1s-go
 'Before then I will go' or 'will have gone'
- b. *ana ktei-o enmo ku-ba*
 later done-TM just.then 1s-go
 'After that (then) I will go'

Examples (21a) and (21b) both mix future time, completive, and incomplete aspect markers, and even the inceptive aspect marker, in the case of (21b). The specific point of reference for the time frame is not clear without further context, but the intention of the speaker is. Once a point in time is reached he will either (21a) already have left, or (21b) will just begin leaving.

Temporal sequencing (see Halliday and Hasan 1976:261) can be accomplished through the adverbs of time *aduk* or *kmuna*, both meaning 'first' or 'before', and the inceptive aspect markers *nenmo*, *enmo*, or *mamo* 'just then'.

- (22) c. *T-enah aduk = ba bolbol ode nenmo t-ba*
 lpi-sleep first until tomorrow and just.then lpi-go
 'Let's sleep first until tomorrow, and then we will go'

- b. Omi mu-ris-a *knuna*, *mamo* yaw ku-ris
 Omi 2s-bathe-Ø first just.then I 1s-bathe
 'Naomi you bathe first and then I'll bathe'

Example (22a) is a quotation using temporal sequencing, time words, and inceptive aspect (from line 17 of the *Mangkawar* story). (22b) is an example of the same structure, but it uses the synonym *knuna* (and the synonym *mamo* in place of the more common inceptive aspect marker *nenmo*).

Note that examples (22a) and (22b) are stated in present time and yet refer to future time. They demonstrate that Selaru, without any grammaticalized tense markings, is still able to handle a detailed variety of time references through the use of the full TAM system.

The overall complexity of the Selaru TAM system is reflected in many of the sentences in the *Mangkawar* text. To understand all of the fine variations in meaning in each of these sentences will take years.

5.2 Clause Combinations

While most of the examples given in Chapters 2-4 of this paper have dealt with short simple clauses (for the sake of clarity), short utterances are not the norm in daily conversation.¹⁴ Selaru is not a language that consists merely of simple clauses occurring one after another without any linking material between them. Complex events are described with series of clauses linked together with conjunctive particles. Non-serial (disjunctive) events are linked with coordinating particles. Conditional relations have their own coding. I will also address complementation in this section.

5.2.1 Conjunctive Particles

The most common means of linking clauses into a series is through the use of **ma** and **ti**. These 'linkers' do not fit nicely under any particular term from traditional grammar, e.g. complementizer, coordinators, etc. Rather, **ma** and **ti** have a multi-faceted function--sometimes acting like any one of these terms--making labelling them as difficult as giving them a single gloss.¹⁵ This multi-functional attribute of these particles is not peculiar to Selaru, as Manam, an Austronesian language just off the coast of Papua New Guinea, has very similar characteristics in its linking particle **be** (Lichtenberk 1983:522).

For the most part **ma** and **ti** can be glossed as 'so' or 'in order to', indicating their function is similar to the 'causal-purpose' conjunctive relation of Halliday and Hasan (1976:243). The following example will serve to illustrate this.

- (23) a. **kbwa ti ku-ris**
 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe
 'I'm going to take a bath'
- b. **k-al oboban-ke ma k-oban asw-Vre**
 1s-get stick-ART CONJ 1s-hit dog-PL
 'I grabbed a stick so that I could hit the dogs'¹⁶

Another side to **ma** and **ti** is their inherent directional quality. In section 3.4.1 (see also section 6.3.1), these are classified as directionals, **ma** meaning 'towards speaker' and **ti** meaning 'away from speaker'. This is manifested in the fact that the verb **-ba** 'go' in (23a) cannot be said in conjunction with **ma** but only with **ti**. Also, the use of **ma** in (23b) implies that the speaker did not move from his initial location.

With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the verb for 'come' in Selaru is **-ma**, as in the following example:

- (24) **mwa ma ta-knam**
 2s-come CONJ 1pi-eat
 'Come so we can eat'

The directional **ti** has no verbal counterpart, but because it is used so often with **-ba** 'go', **-ba** can be left off in some cases leaving **ti** to carry the directional intent alone.

- TYPICAL SENTENCE
 (25) a. **mbya ti myobaka i bony de**
 2p-go to 2p-look.for him just already
 'Just go look for him!'

- FROM MANGKAWAR LINE 29
 b. **ti myobaka i bony de**
 (go) to 2p-look.for him just already
 'Just go look for him!'

Dropping the verb **-ba** is quite common in everyday speech.

Sequences of events are usually coded as a string of clauses linked together by **ma** and **ti**. This follows Halliday and Hasan's 'temporal-sequential' conjunctive relations (1976:243).

- (26) **asw desike mbwa ti-a m-enw-a wer desike ma ktei no**
 dog that 2s-go to-Ø 2s-drink-Ø water that until done TM

mu-huk o ti-a wer desy ma mu-ris ode mu-ndiry ma mwa
 2s-dip you in-Ø water that to 2s-bathe and 2s-stand so 2s-come

 'This dog (you) went to drink that water and when done you
 dipped yourself into the water to bathe and then you stood
 up and returned'

This example comes from the text about the dog that found drinking water. Notice how each event is connected with either a **ma** or **ti** (or **ode**, a coordinating conjunction, see section 5.2.2). In this role **ma** and **ti** seem to act much like complementizers (see section 5.2.4), but this is not the case.

Noonan points out that "not all embedded sentences can be considered complements" (1985:43). Included in his list of non-complement clauses is 'purpose clauses'. As an example of such he gives '*Roscoe hit Floyd to cause trouble*', where '*to cause trouble*' does not fill either the subject or the object slot of '*hit*', but merely embellishes the clause with a statement of purpose.

Looking at example (26) again, we see that each use of *ma* and *ti* (as conjunctions) could be translated as '*in order to*', which is much more like a purpose clause than a complement clause. In fact, none of the linked clauses actually fill either the subject or the object of the preceding clause.

For example, had *tia menwa wer desike* '*in order to drink that water*' been the object of the verb *-ba* '*go*', then the verb would have had to be *-bai* '*go to (towards)*' (see section 3.5.1). The best gloss for *-ba* is '*leave*', making that portion of the sentence read '*that dog left in order to drink that water ...*'

Another peculiarity of *ma* and *ti* is they do not specify any aspect. Not only do *ma* and *ti* mean '*in order to*' but they can also imply '*and he did it*' depending on the time frame of the proposition. Since example (26) is a folk tale, it has an overall completed time frame, and since *ktei* '*finished*' marks completed aspect (see section 5.1.3.1), we know that *ma* and *ti* must also be saying '*in order to/and did*'. To counteract this interpretation the narrator would have to say: *keskye lema jadi* '*but it didn't happen*'.

In summary then, in addition to their role as directionals in a locative phrase (see section 3.4.1) *ma* and *ti* can act as conjunctive

particles with inherent directional properties. As conjunctive particles they link clauses together in a chain of closely related events (usually indicating intention or purpose). They do not indicate complementation, although they are used to link (verbal) complement clauses to their matrix clause (see section 5.2.4).

Even though a large amount of space has been devoted to addressing the basic functions of **ma** and **ti** (because of their high frequency of use), this topic is not exhausted. The more obscure functions of **ma** and **ti** must wait for treatment in a later paper.

5.2.2 Coordination

Selaru basically has four coordinators: **ode** 'and', **ta** 'or', **keskye** 'but', and **kali** 'because'. Their use is much less frequent than either **ma** or **ti**, with **ode** being still more frequent than **keskye** and **kali**. **Ta** is quite rare and is addressed under section 5.4.2, Coordinated Option Questions.

The coordinator **ode** can be used like 'and' in English:

- (27) **lema de, lia-n-ke tyabahunwa i ode y-ala lkusy-ne-ke**
 so then, friend-his-ART 3s-kill him and 3s-take urn-this-ART
 'Then his friend killed him and took this urn'

In this sense **ode** is like Halliday and Hasan's (1976) 'additive' conjunctive relation. But, as we saw in example (26), **ode** can also mark a temporal-sequential relation ('after that').

Keskye, on the other hand, marks 'adversative' conjunctive relations (Halliday and Hasan 1976, and John Payne 1985a). In Selaru, it conjoins a proposition that runs counter to one's expectations to a preceding series

of clauses. The following also comes from *Mangkawar* (see line 44, Appendix C):

- (28) *Mangkawar desike kakan i ma r-hot i ma mermer-a i*
Mangkawar that small 3s CONJ 3p-carry him CONJ red-Ø 3s

keskye tyanuk-a hye tun-ke
 but 3s-talk-Ø 3s-able language-ART

'That Mangkawar, he was small; they carried him; he was (still) red; but he could speak (the language)'

The narrator is pointing out that this child, *Mangkawar*, was an infant, he was helpless, and he was still red from birth, and yet he was able to speak! The proposition *tyanuka hye tunke* 'he could speak' is clearly unexpected, especially coming just after the rhetorical underlining describing the characteristics of a newborn baby.

Kali is used in much the same way as 'because' in English, except that *kali* must come between the two conjoined clauses; it cannot be moved to sentence initial position.

- (29) a. *ku-brai kbwai bo-Vre kali ku-mtaut hahy-ke*
 1s-refuse 1s-go.to garden-PL because 1s-fear pig-ART
 'I won't to go to the gardens because I'm afraid of the pig'
- b. *smwaknet-kw-ke ki-tayar kali ku-mtaut ni-ke*
 spirit-my-ART IN-hide because 1s-fear snake-ART
 'My spirit hid (fled) because I'm afraid of snakes'
- c. *Ongko y-enaf kali y-anw? Kali Ongko i-nkol.*
 Ongko 3s-sleep because 3s-condition because Ongko 3s-tired
 'Ongko is sleeping for what reason? Because Ongko is tired.'

Halliday and Hasan (1976) classify this type of conjunctive relation as 'simple reversed causal' relation. It is the opposite of a purpose-causal relation (marked by *ma* and *ti*, see section 5.2.1) in that the state or event in the clause following *kali* pre-exists the situation preceding *kali*, i.e. the clause order is reverse to the temporal/notional sequence.

5.2.3 Conditional

Selaru indicates conditional (if-then) structure with the conjunctive particle **mo** 'if, when' (this is like 'kalau' in Indonesian--meaning both 'if' and 'when'). Unlike English or Indonesian, Selaru places the **mo** particle between the condition and the consequence.

- (30) wasi-kw antiahw-ke lan ma ku-knam mo kbwesur
 own-1s plate-ART big CONJ 1s-eat if 1s-full
 'I have a big plate so that when I eat, I get full'

Notice that in (30) the **mo** must mean 'when'; the issue is not if the speaker will eat but when.

- (31) desi-ke mo ta-sihw ma t-bai ra-ke ...
 that-ART if 1pi-clean.fish CONJ 1pi-go land-ART
 'If that's the case, let's clean (the fish) and go inland ...'

In (31) the conjunctive particle means 'if'.

In either case, the preceding clause or phrase is always the condition, and the subsequent clause the consequence (if the condition is true or met).

5.2.4 Complementation

Noonan defines complementation as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate" (1985:42). He then limits this to predicates that are functioning as subject or object of the matrix (main) predicate. 'Complement' is the label given to the sentential structure that is filling the slot of object or subject of a verb. For a verb to be called 'complement taking' it must be able to subcategorize simple NP objects as well as sentential structures (according to Noonan 1985).

The attributive clause can fill the subject slot of most verbs, making this structure a common complement clause.

BASIC NP SUBJECT

- (32) a. naman-ne-kre r-bai namwata-ke
 child-this-PL/ART 3s-go.to beach-ART
 'These children went to the beach'

ATTRIBUTIVE COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS SUBJECT

- b. naman-Vre ribun sir r-bai namwata-ke
 child-PL many 3p 3p-go.to beach-ART
 'Many children went to the beach' or lit.
 'The children are many they went to the beach'

It is quite rare, however, for a verb to be able to subcategorize object NPs as well as sentential structures. It is almost always the case that a verb will be able to take one or the other but not both. One exception to this is the verb *-seak* 'to see'; it is able to take either an NP or a complement clause as its object.

PRONOMINAL OBJECT

- (33) a. iry-ke ena'at-a r-ma ma r-seak-a yaw
 person-ART four-Ø 3p-come CONJ 3p-see-Ø me
 'The four people came to see me'

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE AND COMPLEMENT CLAUSE

- b. r-seak ma mhwe lulw o liaw lan de
 3p-see CONJ 2s-know front & back big already
 'They saw that you already knew a lot about everything'

ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSE--NO CONJUNCTION

- c. lialaw-Vre r-seak nisi-n-Vre lan
 man-PL 3p-see tooth-his-PL big
 'The men saw (that) his teeth were big'

In each example, (33a-c), the verb *-seak* subcategorizes a different structure (marked with an underline): in (33a) the object slot is filled with a pronominal; in (33b), a full verbal clause, linked to *-seak* with the conjunctive particle *ma*; in (33c) an attributive clause with no conjunction at all.¹⁷

This is one of the few examples in Selaru where a verb actually can subcategorize a multiple set of structures. For instance, when we looked at *-ba* 'go' we found that in this form it can stand alone or take a purpose

clause, but the purpose requires the conjunctive particle *ti*. If *-ba* refers to going to a location it requires the valence increasing suffix *-i* and takes the location as an object, not as a locative phrase (see section 3.5.1). In other words, for a verb to subcategorize various types of structures, it usually requires some modification to the verb. With *-seak*, this is not the case.

In examples (33a-c) the verb remains basically the same. Sentences (33b) and (33c) constitute clear examples of object complementation in Selaru, i.e. these are sentential elements filling the slot of object. If the complement is a verbal clause, it is linked to the matrix clause by means of the conjunctive particle *ma* (and I assume *ti*, although I have no examples of this), but, if the complement is an attributive clause (i.e. a non-verbal clause), there is no conjunction at all. Rather, it seems that such a complement creates a merged sentence, where the subject/topic of the attributive clause also serves as the object of the matrix clause.

The fact that the verbal clause required a conjunctive particle when serving as a complement but the attributive clause (a non-verbal predicate structure) does not deserves further research.

I have no clear evidence of any other verb having the same subcategorizational properties of *-seak*, but this is probably a limitation of the data and not a statement that object complementation in Selaru is limited to one verb.

5.4 Interrogatives

An introductory description to the grammar of Selaru would not be complete without at least a short discussion of its interrogative/response

systems. The discussion here lacks a full treatment of the content question words (commonly called *wh*-words), because the internal structure of the *wh*-words is not as yet completely understood.

5.4.1 'Yes/No' Questions

The structure of 'yes/no' questions has already been seen in several examples in this chapter, especially as it relates to completive aspect (see section 5.1.3.1), but we will address it specifically here.

'Yes/no' questions in Selaru are simple independent propositions with the addition of a question marker 'e' sentence finally and with a slightly less accentuated fall in intonation at the end of the sentence, i.e., rather than a full high to low tone drop, typical for a proposition, a 'yes/no' question will stop at a mid-tone level. Note that the English translation in (34a) glosses the question marker with a tag question--the closest correlation in English to this particle.

- QUESTION
- (34) a. ena-mw i-so e
 mother-your 3s-there QUES
 'Your mother is over there, right?'
- ANSWER
- b. ou ena-kw i-so sey-ke
 yes mother-my 3s-there house-ART
 'Yes, my mother is over there in the house'

When the 'yes/no' question marker occurs sentence finally on a proposition which would normally end in *de* (the aspect marker meaning 'already'), the two markers coalesce into one morph, and the vowel /e/ becomes a mid-central vocoid or schwa (written here as 'a') producing *da*:

- STATEMENT
- (35) a. mu-ris maktei de
 2s-bathe done already
 'You have finished bathing already'

QUESTION

- b. **mu-ris maktei da**
 2s-bathe done already-QUES
 'You have finished bathing already?'

Example (35a) is a proposition stating that the subject has finished bathing. The second example is the 'yes/no' question counterpart to the statement. The intonational pattern in (35a) is the same as for any other proposition, while (35b) has the typical 'yes/no' question intonation.

5.4.2 Coordinated Option Questions

The coordinated option question and all other question types (except where noted) use the question marker *de* sentence finally. This morpheme is a homophone with the completive aspect marker *de*, but the context and/or the presence of a content question word eliminate any ambiguity.

'Coordinated option' questions encompass any question in which the speaker gives possible or acceptable answers within the question. Such structures always contain the coordinator *ta* 'or' linking the choices.

- (36) a. **mdwakin Ø ta lema de**
 2s-like IN or NEG QUES
 'Do you like (it) or not?'
- b. **nam mu-tulis desi-ke mlay ta sal de**
 stuff 2s-write that-ART correct or wrong QUES
 'That which you wrote, is it correct or wrong?'
- c. **ki-ka masy ta lema de**
 IN-exist fish or NEG QUES
 'Is there any fish or not?'

Sentences (37a-c) each exemplify the coordinated option question. Each ends in the question marker *de*, and each uses the coordinator *ta*. It is interesting that each has a different type of core clause: (37a) is a transitive verbal clause (from the verb stem *-dakin*¹⁸) with a *Ø* pronominal reference, (37b) is an attributive clause (the predicate adjectives are

mlay 'correct' and sal 'incorrect' and the subject/topic is an NP_{rel}), and (37c) is a transitive verbal clause (from the verb stem -ka 'exist') focusing on the existence of the object masy 'fish'.

Ta can also coordinate full clauses.

- (37) mbyuma mtyoha yaw ta mi-brai
 2p-want 2s-follow me or 2s-don't.want
 'Do you want to follow me or don't you (want to)?'

5.4.3 Content Questions

Selaru content question words (wh-words) cover the same basic concepts as in English: ese 'who', sai 'what', hekyabei 'when', ka 'where', and kolkyabei 'why, how'.

5.4.3.1 'Who/What' Content Questions

The content question words ese 'who' and sai 'what' are pronominals which replace the NP in question. They operate identically, but on the surface the animacy of ese manifests itself with pronominal traces and verbal affixes, whereas sai does not (being an inanimate pronominal it specifies a \emptyset or empty trace).

- (38) a. sai \emptyset -so de
 what IN-there QUES
 'What's that (over there)?'
- b. ese i-so de
 who 3s-there QUES
 'Who's that (over there)?'

Both (38a and b) are locative clauses (see section 3.3.3). The only syntactic difference between these examples and their statement counterparts (other than the presence of the wh-words in place of the explicit NPs) is the question marker de. There is no other morphological or syntactic alterations (such as word order, etc.).

The question marker is not, however, always required:

- (39) **mtwanuk sai desy**
 2s-say what that
 'What did you say?' or 'What was that you said?'

This example is a transitive verbal clause. The only indication that this is a question is the word *sai*; there is no other redundant question markings. The question marker is not required in this case, because the sentence ends in a demonstrative.¹⁹ The English translation does not accurately encode this demonstrative because there is no such structure in English. The demonstrative modifies the head of the object NP (*sai*); in English such an addition requires the formation of a relative clause (the second translation), whereas in Selaru this is not the case.

'Who' questions can also be formed with a modified possessive construction.

- (40) **ese wasi sey-desy-ke de**
 who owns house-this-ART QUES
 'Who owns this house?'

(40) is an interesting variation to the general possessive construction discussed in section 2.8.1.1. Normally such a construction is an NP in a locative clause.

- [NP] LOC
 (41) **amo wasi sey-ke desy**
 father owns house-ART this
 'This is father's house' or 'Father's house is this'

In (41) the subject of the clause is *sey* 'house', whereas in (40) the subject is *ese* 'who', i.e. the person who owns the house. Hence, *wasi* 'own' in (41) helps to modify the head noun while in (40) it is acting like a verb of a transitive clause.

5.4.3.2 'Where' Content Questions

The question word for 'where' is *ka*. It occurs sentence finally (instead of *de*). If it is used with the verb *-min* 'exist' it replaces the locative, but it can form a locative clause if by itself.

- | | | |
|-----------|--|---------------|
| STATEMENT | | |
| (42) a. | <i>Omi i-min o so</i> | VERBAL CL+LOC |
| | <i>Omi 3s-exist over there</i> | |
| | <i>'Naomi lives there'</i> (implies far away) | |
| QUESTION | | |
| b. | <i>Omi i-min o ka</i> | VERBAL CL+LOC |
| | <i>Omi 3s-exist over where</i> | |
| | <i>'Naomi lives where?'</i> (implies far away) | |
| c. | <i>Omi i-ka</i> | LOCATIVE CL |
| | <i>Omi 3s-where</i> | |
| | <i>'Where is Naomi?'</i> | |
| d. | <i>wasi-mw sey-ke Ø-ka</i> | LOCATIVE CL |
| | <i>own-2s house-ART IN-where</i> | |
| | <i>'Where is your house?'</i> | |

Example (42a) is a simple verbal proposition taking a locative phrase. Example (42b) is the same sentence but with the question word *ka* taking the place of the specified location. Both (42c) and (42d) are locative clauses where *ka* takes the place of a predicate locative (see section 3.3.3). In the locative clause construction the locative takes a subject prefix. In (42c) the subject is animate third-person singular and is marked with *i-*; in (42d) the subject is inanimate (IN) and so is marked with a \emptyset (i.e. unmarked on the surface).

5.4.3.3 'When/Why/How' Content Questions

The content question words for 'when', 'why', and 'how' are polymorphemic. Their structures are related, but exactly how the individual morphemes should be glossed is not completely clear. The basic

stem *-kabei* appears to mean 'which'. This stem is prefixed by specific morphemes (usually nouns) to produce various content question words.

Table 14: When/Why/How Content Question Words

Morpheme	Meaning	Full Form	Meaning
<i>hey</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>hekyabei</i>	<i>when, which day</i>
<i>hul</i>	<i>month</i>	<i>hulkabei</i>	<i>which month</i>
<i>koly</i>	<i>situation</i>	<i>kolhya</i>	<i>how²⁰</i>
"	"	<i>kolhyabei</i>	<i>how</i>
"	"	<i>kolhyabei mane</i>	<i>why</i>
<i>kyanw</i>	<i>situation</i>	<i>kyanw mane</i>	<i>why</i>

The *bei* ending (meaning unknown) on many of these content words is not always necessary, and *mane* 'until this' can be added as shown.

- (43) a. *hekyabei-o r-ba ti r-bih bo-Vre de*
 when-TM 3p-go to 3p-inspect garden-PL QUES
 'When [which day] are they going to inspect the gardens?'
 b. *hulkabei desike-o besa-Vre lan de*
 when such.that-TM wave-PL big QUES
 'When [which month] are the waves big?'

Both of these examples end in *de* (the question marker). The content question words come sentence initially and each has a time propagation marker *-o* affix either to the content word or on the following discourse linker *desike* (see section 6.3.5). For asking the particular time of an event, Selaru uses the quantity question 'how-much' (see section 5.4.3.4).

In Selaru, asking how something is done is much more common than asking why. In fact, the concept of 'why' is derived from the concept of 'how'.

- (44) a. *m-ala skyerker neke kolhya*
 2s-make cassava.cake this how
 'How do you make cassava cakes?'
 b. *mlwosu ma yaw mu-noha sayur-ke neke kolhyabei*
 2s-show to me 2s-cook vegetable-ART this how
 'Show me how you cook these vegetables'

- c. *kolkyabei mane mu-ka aro-ke ne de*
 why 2s-make boat-ART this QUES
 'Why did you make this boat?' or
 'How did this your making of a boat come to be?'

Notice in comparing these examples that (44b) is not a question; just as with the word 'how' in the English translation, the presence of the word *kolkyabei* does not necessarily constitute a question construction. Notice also that the second glossing of (44c) does not use the word 'why'. This is a more literal rendering, and it captures the fact that 'why' in this case is a derived sense, i.e. *kolkyabei mane* literally means 'how did it come to be this way'. This is not asking for a defense or justification of action so much as a simple explanation of what the motivating factors were.

Except for simple sentence structures, as in (44a), this type of wh-word requires the use of a nominalized clause (see section 4.3) to describe the condition or situation in question (or of interest). In example (44b), the situation that is of interest is *munoha sayurke* 'you cook vegetables'. The following *neke* 'this' closes the encompassing NP, making the embedded clause a nominalized process, hence the more literal translation 'this your cooking of these vegetables' better captures the sense of the Selaru.

The same explanation applies to (44c), but in this case the closing marker on the NP is simply *ne* 'this'.

The other form for 'why' is *kyanw mane*. This comes from the verb stem *-anw* meaning 'what's wrong' and it always has the expression *mane* 'until this' (or 'such that') with it when it means 'why'. This wh-word also requires the nominalization of the clause that is expressing the situation or condition of interest (marked in brackets in the following example).

- (45) **kyanw mane** [[**lema i-bai bo-Vre**] **ne**] **de**
 what's.wrong such.that NEG 3s-go garden-PL this QUES
 'Why didn't he go to the gardens?' or
 'What is the condition such that he isn't going to the gardens
 like this?'

Here again the literal translation of **kyanw mane** is more in line with 'how is it that x came to be?' than simply 'why'.

A more prototypical expression using the verb **-anw** would be:

- QUESTION
 (46) a. **toto m-anw**
 son 2s-what's.wrong
 'Son, what's wrong?'

- ANSWER
 b. **isi-kw-ke ksun**
 body-my-ART sick
 'My body aches'

5.4.3.4 Quantity Content Questions

The final area to cover under content questions is the topic of 'how much'. In Selaru this wh-word is **enai**, and it requires the question marker **de** sentence finally. **Enai** generally forms an attributive clause when there is no other verb present, thus making **enai** the attribute.

- (47) a. [**wasi-mw ain-ke**] **enai de**
 own-2s year-ART how.much QUES
 'How old are you?' or lit. 'Your years are how many?'
- b. [**utur-ke sasam kesi-ke**] **enai de**
 stick-ART one price-ART how.much QUES
 'One stick costs how much?' or lit.
 'One stick's price is how much?'

Examples (47a-b) show two uses for this wh-word. (47a) and (47b) are both attributive clauses with complex NPs (marked with brackets).

- (48) **kyoban enai-o t-ba de**
 IN-hit how.much-TM lpi-go QUES
 'When will we be going?' lit. 'It strikes how many then we go?'

Example (48) is the most common way of asking the time. It obviously derives from the ringing of the church bells to mark the passing of time.²¹ Note that this example is not an attributive clause. The verb *kyoban* carries the predication for the first clause. Note also that while the *wh*-word is in the first clause of the sentence the question marker is still sentence final.

5.5 Response

5.5.1 Positive Response

To agree with a question in Selaru one answers with *ou* 'yes' and usually a repetition of the question as a statement (see example (4c). To agree with a statement, one usually says *ou, mlai-mlai* 'yes, true-true'. To say 'I agree' is *k-ou*; 'he agrees' is *y-ou*, etc. (see *Mangkawar* Appendix C, line 18).

5.5.2 Negative Response and Negation

A negative response to a question can be simply *lema* 'no', but often such a response is couched in a more complex negation type structure. To respond negatively to a statement usually involves a denial of its truth, as in: *sal-sal* 'false-false'.

While sentential negation in Selaru is fairly straight forward, Selaru does differentiate between 'standard' negation and what I call 'temporal' negation.

'Standard' negation is defined by John Payne as the "type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences" (1985b:198). Standard negation in Selaru is marked with *lema* 'no' or 'don't'.

STANDARD NEGATION

- (49) a. **lema** ki-ka wer
 NEG IN-exist water
 'There isn't any water'
- b. det-ke **lema** kbwa
 last.evening-ART NEG 1s-go
 'Last evening I didn't go'

Both (49a) and (49b) demonstrate the standard negation strategy. Notice that the negation word precedes the verb (typical of an SVO language according to John Payne (1985b)). **Lema** may not occur before the subject:

- (50) a. klah-ke **lema** mtelas
 mouse-ART NEG delicious
 'A mouse does not taste good'
- b. ***lema** klah-ke mtelas

'Temporal' negation is negation that refers to a current state, but makes no comment concerning the future. This type of negation is marked by the incomplete aspect markers **lenla** and **lea** 'not yet'.²²

The fine distinction between standard negation and temporal negation is the implication of the negation. For example, if asked whether one has any children (if still at a childbearing age), he must answer **lea** and not **lema**. To answer with **lea** literally means 'no, not yet', and since (to the Selaru mind) every normal human being wants children, this is the only reasonable answer; whereas, if he answers with **lema**, the implication is 'no I don't have any, nor will I ever' (it implies he is sterile or refuses to have children). As another example, if asked, 'Do you speak Selaru?', (51a) and (51b) would make acceptable answers whereas (51c) implies one's brain is incapable of ever speaking the language.

- (51) a. **lea** khwe manak
 not.yet 1s-know well
 'I don't know (it) well yet'

b. lenla khwe ma lan
 not.yet 1s-know until much
 'I don't know very much yet'

c. ?lema khwe ma lan

Because *lea* and *lenla* are incomplete aspect markers their use indicates a verb has not yet occurred, and generally they must be used if there is a chance the event/situation will ever occur. In contrast, if there is no chance of the verb ever occurring, then *lema* is used (as in (49b) above).²³ The following is from a text about hunting a wild boar.

(52) *lialaw*-Vre lea r-*arasik* i
 men-PL not.yet 3p-near him

de *asw*-Vre r-*uk-a* i nini i-*nkol*
 and dog-PL 3p-howl-Ø him until 3s-tired

'The men hadn't approached him [the boar] yet and the dogs howled at [chased] him until he was tired'

In (52) the men will eventually reach the wild boar, hence the use of *lea*.

Another form of negation involves the 'willful' negation words *ete* or *kete*²⁴ 'will not'. This is used most frequently in commands (translated as 'don't!' in English but still addressing the will of the agent).

(53) a. ete *mtwanuk* *desy*
 don't 2s-say that
 'Don't say that!'

b. *k-oban* *naman*-Vre ma *sira* ete r-*sukar* *sey-ke*
 1s-hit child-PL so they won't 3p-enter house-ART
 'I (will) hit the children so they will not enter the house' or
 'I hit the children so they would not enter the house'

Example (53a) is the most common functional use of *ete*. (53b) demonstrates its extended use of thwarting or negating a willful act. *Ete* can either immediately precede the verb and follow the subject (as in (53b)), or it can precede the subject with no change in meaning:

- (54) k-oban naman-Vre ma ete sira r-sukar sey-ke
 1s-hit child-PL so won't they 3p-enter house-ART
 'I (will) hit the children so they will not enter the house' or
 'I hit the children so they would not enter the house'

Notice that the time frame is indeterminate for ete.

5.6 Conclusion

This concludes the syntactic analysis of sentence level grammar and below. This by no means constitutes all that can be said concerning the grammar of Selaru at these levels. In fact, throughout this thesis I have made specific references to areas which are in need of further investigation, areas of interest or difficulty, and to areas not covered or not understood at this time.

As was said in the introduction to this thesis, this work is not intended to be exhaustive in any one area, but rather a broad work, covering many areas and facets of the language, so as to be of interest to a larger linguistic community.

The final chapter in this thesis will address discourse level structure, specifically that of narrative texts, using a folk tale narrative as the data source.

NOTES

¹Many of the examples in this chapter come from texts, whereas previous chapters often employed simple clause data. This does not discredit the validity of the earlier examples; all are grammatical and can be used in isolation or in simple exchanges, but they are not marked so as to fit into long narrations or extended exchanges or dialogues.

²This is not to be confused with negation. Negation does assert that some situation did not occur, whereas the irrealis mode makes no statement one way or another (Payne in preparation).

³This is likely due to the fact that the time gaps (time span between the situation and the point of reference) of past events or states are (usually) known, hence their inclusion in the sentence. Future events, however, are speculative and although specific time gaps can be specified, they are not as common. Certainly, pragmatic discourse considerations impinge here, as in English. If one needs to make boat reservations for next Tuesday, one would use specific time expressions (e.g. '*three days from now*'), but if one is merely stating that later he will bathe, a specific time expression is less likely.

⁴A homophone of the question marker *de* but distinct in function and meaning (see section 5.4.2).

⁵I include the Indonesian for those linguists familiar with that language, because the function of the completive and incompletive aspect markers in Selaru is the same as for the Indonesian counterparts. There is no identical parallel to these aspects in English.

⁶The sentence final *da* is actually the completive aspect marker *de* meaning '*already*' and the 'yes/no' question marker: *e*. The two markers coalesce sentence finally and the vowel changes from 'e' to a more centralized schwa sound (here depicted simply as an 'a'). See section 5.4.1 for more on 'yes/no' questions.

⁷This question ends in an *e*, rather than with *da*, because it is not marked for completive aspect. The question marker *e* is used for making any statement into a 'yes/no' question. When this marker combines with the completive aspect marker they both coalesce into *da*. In example (7a), the lack of the completive aspect marker indicates that the question is referring to an ongoing process, i.e., it is in continuative aspect. For questions that employ question words the question marker is *de* (cf. example (8a) for contrast and see section 5.4.1 for further information on Selaru questions).

⁸There does not appear to be any difference in the meaning or usage between these forms.

⁹This is the same form as the nominalized verb (minus any prefixes) which means '*stick/switch*'. Apparently the reduplication strategy which

produces nominalized verbs (see Coward and Coward 1990) also marks a verb as habitual.

¹⁰I am not sure of the degree or strength of a speaker's negative desire in this case, so the verb *-brai* could also mean 'won't' or even 'refuse'.

¹¹The exact structure of the optional choices in (15) is not clear. The words that form the linking are not acting in their usual role: *ohe* literally means 'say' and *kete* means 'don't!' (*ta* does mean 'or'); however, they do work together to produce the translation given. Lines 27 and 28 in the *Mangkawar* text also contain a structure like this, where both *ohe* and *kete* mean 'whether'. This needs further investigation.

¹²It is also interesting that when a subject pronominal is used, it is always accompanied with a conjunctive particle, indicating that the syntactic relationship between the two predicates has been demoted from an auxiliary verb-matrix verb unit to a simple clause-clause conjunction. This demotion phenomenon might be worth further investigation.

¹³The precise meaning of *de* in (18b) is not clear, though it is a logic-linker between the two clauses. I suspect *de* is a contracted form of *ode*, which can be glossed as 'and' or 'but' (see section 5.2.2).

¹⁴In fact, most unelicited sentences are quite unwieldy.

¹⁵The reader will note the variety of glosses for *ma* and *ti* while looking through the Longacre and Levinsohn chart of the *Mangkawar* story in Appendix A.

¹⁶This example also means 'I grabbed a stick and I hit the dogs', although the *ma* in this construction more commonly means 'in order to', i.e. emphasizing the potential to do the following verb and not a completed action.

¹⁷*Nisinare lan* 'his teeth are big' is an attributive clause because the adjective *lan* is not within the NP. Had this been a genitive NP its structure would have been: *nisi-na lan-are* 'his big teeth', where the adjective is within the NP and the plural suffix is added to the adjective closing the NP. (This example is from a story about hunting a wild boar with big teeth.)

¹⁸*-dakin* optionally subcategorizes an object. In this case the clause is intransitive, but in other examples it could be transitive.

¹⁹Why the question marker is not necessary if the sentence ends in a demonstrative is not clear. The use of the question marker is still more common than its absence in such cases.

²⁰*Kolkya* can also mean 'how goes it' and is used as a greeting.

²¹Church bells are a recent influence (probably within the last 100 years). Watches and personal clocks are much more recent than the church bell (starting within the last 10-20 years, but still only for the rich), hence the language still manifests the older influence. Before the coming of Christianity, it appears time was marked by the height of the sun in the sky--involving vague terms like 'early morning', 'noon', 'evening', etc.

²²This type of negation is also found in Indonesian. Selaru does not have the further distinction found in Indonesian between verbal negation and nominal negation (stating the inaccuracy of a verb vs. the inaccuracy of a noun).

²³Notice that (49a) does not fit with this generalization: *lema kika wer* 'there isn't any water' in no way implies that there never will be water, it simply means that right now there is not any water. Why this is the case is not clear at this time.

²⁴The form *kete* is said to be more emphatic and harsher than *ete*. Other than this, there is no difference.

CHAPTER 6

SELARU NARRATIVE

6.0 Introduction

The traditional methodology employed by linguists in their study of syntax has been confined, almost exclusively, to the study of meaning and structure of isolated sentences, detached from speaker, hearer and communicative context ... While the study of sentences in isolation is a necessary preliminary step in identifying the inventory of coding devices which make morpho-syntactic structure, the goal of the investigation is to elucidate how those devices are used in coding and communicating knowledge (Givón 1984:10).

Thus far I have addressed the syntactic and semantic structures of Selaru from the morphemic level up to the sentence level. But real language, real communication, is "multi-propositional" and "sentence analysis only tells the linguist that some structures are possible ... It reveals nothing about the context and purpose of their occurrence" (Givón 1984:10-11). In this last chapter, I would like to turn the focus of this thesis to seeing these syntactic structures in operation in a natural multi-propositional text.

For this study I have selected a folk tale (or, more accurately, a historical narrative). I have entitled it *Mangkawar: The baby that spoke* (see Appendices A, B, and C). Its length and complexity are adequate enough to serve as the source text for this analysis. But, because the present study is limited to only one text, the observations and generalizations made here must be checked with other narrative texts to

verify their validity--unfortunately time and space will not permit this in this study.

I am assuming the reader is familiar with current principles of text analysis and much of the terminology associated with it. My main references (and hence, my 'brand') for this analysis come from Hwang (1987, 1989), Longacre (1980, 1983, 1989a, 1989b, and n.d.), Longacre and Levinsohn (1978), and Pickering (1980). Other sources are noted where appropriate.

6.1 The Text

We will begin the analysis of the *Mangkawar* story by looking at its quality, typology, and overall content (macro-structure).

6.1.1 Text Quality and Intended Audience

The *Mangkawar* folk tale was told to me by Bernardus Loblobly, the village head (or king) of Nantabung. As the village head, he is supposed to be well informed in the history of the Selaru people--making him a good language source. The people of Nantabung also acknowledge him as a good orator and having a good command of the language.

This tale was told to me in the privacy of my own room--only he and I were present.¹ The tape recorder was not new to him, nor was he uncomfortable with it. His delivery was with the same intonation and word lengthening characteristics found in all Selaru speeches (much like that of an orator).

Loblobly's intended audience is not easy to determine. Although I was the only person present when Loblobly told this story, my language ability at the time was very low; I could hardly understand any of it. He

was aware of this. So, to conclude that he was actually speaking to me is naive. We can at least assume that Loblobly was talking to the tape recorder (or rather the people who would listen to it at some later time). He also assumed that I would some day be able to understand the tape. But this is not the complete picture.

The text itself sheds more light on who else Loblobly's intended audience might have been. At several crucial points in the story Loblobly switches the subject person-number verb-prefix from a third-person impersonal account to a very direct second-person account. Loblobly later explained this by pointing out that the main characters in this story were real people who died long ago and who now roam the island in spirit form. When their stories are told, they are present to listen. At significant or highly emotional points in the story, Loblobly switches to second-person, i.e., he is talking straight to the characters in the story. Usually Loblobly switches back to third-person right after the highly emotional point, as if he were talking to me again about the others in the room. We can then assume from this that Loblobly's intended audience included the characters in the story, me, and anyone else who might listen to the tape.

As for receiver input and feedback on the story, because I was unable to understand the story at the time, and although I did grunt and express interest, I am not sure I actually did so in an appropriate manner or at the most appropriate times.

The quality of the recording is good. The story flows well. Loblobly seemed to enjoy relating the story even without my understanding him. I am confident then that this text can serve as a good example of a Selaru folk tale narrative.

6.1.2 Text Typology

Mangkawar is a historical narrative text. The notional structure of the text has the parameters: +Agent Orientation and +Contingent Temporal Succession, i.e., it involves certain actors doing things that are contingent upon each other in a time continuum (following Longacre 1983). Since Selaru has no tense markings, tracking the story's progression through time makes for an interesting study. Time is marked and propagated with phrases like 'and then', 'and so', etc., linking clauses and larger chunks together (see sections 5.1.2 and 6.3.5 for more discussion on this).

Because this text is historical, it is -Projection. The story begins with the phrase, *Tia Enus neke* 'In this [village of] Enus' which clearly marks the story as historical (Enus was the first village on Selaru--it no longer exists). The text is also +Tension (conflict); it involves a murder, its solution, another attempted murder and its resolution. It also has Climax and a clear Denouement.

6.1.3 Text Structure

The appendices of this paper present the *Mangkawar* story in three formats. Appendix A is the story in Selaru with English glossing laid out in a Longacre-Levinsohn chart (see Longacre and Levinsohn 1978:111). Appendix B is an English translation of the folk tale displayed in a macrosegmentation format (an approach useful for dividing the story into episodes or "gross chunks").² Appendix C is the text in an interlinear format.

It would benefit the reader to read through the story (the English version in Appendix B is the most accessible) before continuing on with

this analysis, but a quick overview of the structure and events of *Mangkawar* story will be given here.

Mangkawar is divided into four parts, consisting of a stage and three main episodes. The function of the stage is to set the time frame, to introduce two key participants, Tulisama Botan and his wife Alalyena Endamin, and to foreshadow the coming of their baby (*Mangkawar*). Episode 1 is the longest of the main episodes and involves the introduction of Korduan, his murder of Tulisama Botan (in order to obtain the gold that Tulisama found), and Korduan's denial of knowing anything about Tulisama's whereabouts. Episode 2 begins with the birth of *Mangkawar*, Tulisama's son. The baby begins to speak almost immediately, and directs the people of Enus to his father's grave, reveals the murderer, and finds the gold. Episode 3 begins with the statement that *Mangkawar* continued to grow up to be a little boy and that he was very wise. The people of Enus then decide to dispose of *Mangkawar*, and so they throw him into a river which carries him out to sea. Here he almost drowns but is rescued by a sailing ship that is passing by. The ship then takes him off to the West. The *Mangkawar* story concludes with the aside comment that *Mangkawar* helped to make the Westerner smarter than his own people.

These Episodes can be depicted as follows:

Table 15: The Major Episodes in *Mangkawar*

Segment	Lines	Summary
Stage	1-4	Introduction of Tulisama and his wife
Episode 1	5-31	Fishing, Murder, Korduan's Denial
Episode 2	32-44	<i>Mangkawar</i> 's Birth, Mystery Solved
Episode 3	45-54	What happens to <i>Mangkawar</i>
Finis	55	'The End'

See Appendix B for more on the macrosegmentation of this story.

With that quick overview in mind, we now want to reduce it into an all inclusive macro-structure statement. The following paragraph is a first attempt.

The *Mangkawar* story is about how a man, who was betrayed and killed by his friend, but is avenged by his son, who, though blessed with wisdom from God, is later also betrayed by his own people and left for dead. Yet he is recognized as wise and for that reason is saved from death by the white man, whom he blesses in return with his wisdom--making the white man smarter than his own people.

This macro-structure statement covers all the major points of the story and would be adequate except that it does not go on to explain any of the unexpected twists found in the story. For example, it is unsettling that there is no mention of what happened to the murderer after he is caught (or of the stolen gold for that matter). These would be key closures in an American story. It is conceivable that in Selaru everyone knows what would happen (he would be beaten--maybe killed, and the gold would return to the victim's family), and it is therefore unnecessary to include such details in the story. There is good evidence that this is not the correct explanation (as we shall see); rather, it is a function of who the main participants are in the text. If the murderer and the treasure were central to the story, more would have been said about them. They would constitute the key participants in the Denouement; as it is, they are not even mentioned after the murder is solved.

Tulisama is a main character, as he is introduced first, but he dies in the first Episode. The only other real choice for the central character in this story is Mangkawar, even though he does not enter the story until it is almost half way through. It is Mangkawar who is the amazing event--a newborn baby who can talk and who knows all things hidden. This

interpretation allows one to conclude that the murder is strictly a 'prop' for Mangkawar to solve, but even this is not complete enough. Such an analysis does not go on to explain the most amazing twist in the story--the reaction of the people as he grows older: they throw him into the ocean!

The first clue to what I believe is the deeper explanation of the story came from Loblobly when I asked why the people would do such a thing. He said, "Maybe they didn't like him knowing all of their secrets--knowing, just by looking, who were good people and who were bad." There was something about Mangkawar the people did not like, something they feared. The next clue comes from the story itself and the people's reaction at Mangkawar's birth. All those present said, '*He looks just like his father*'--this clause is repeated twice. The final clue is that in other versions of this story,³ the child's name is the same as his father's. The conclusion which seems to capture all of these diverse points is that the child is not '*directed by God*', as Loblobly suggests in line 44; he is actually possessed by his father's spirit. This explains why Mangkawar can speak, knows the location of his father's grave, and knows who killed him. This also explains the fear of the villagers towards Mangkawar as he grows older: they do not like having a spirit-possessed child living among them, knowing all of their thoughts and motives. If we assume that Mangkawar is really his father, Tulisama Botan, come back to life, then the macro-structure statement becomes:

The *Mangkawar* story is about a man, who is betrayed and killed by his friend, but who then returns to life to avenge his death in the form of his newborn son. Later, out of fear, the whole village throws the child into the sea, but he is saved from drowning by a passing ship (because of his great wisdom) which takes him to the West. The West thereby gains his wisdom--making the white man smarter than the man's own people.⁴

This statement ties the whole story together. Assuming that Tulisama and Mangkawar are one person makes the whole story a biography of Tulisama. It explains why the story begins with the existential statement *Tia Enus neke irkye ita ania Tulisama Botanke* 'In Enus, there was a man named Tulisama Botan' and not some other introduction; why the newborn baby can speak; why he knows where the grave and gold are; why the murderer and the gold are not given any overt closure (they are merely props); why the village bands together to kill the small child; and why we are told in detail of his test of wisdom in the sea. This story is about the miraculous events that took place in Tulisama/Mangkawar's life. Any other interpretation does not hold the story together as well.⁵

6.2 Cline of Salience

The concept of ranking verbs (or predicates) on a 'cline of salienc' comes from Longacre and receives a very thorough treatment in *Two hypotheses regarding text generation and analysis* (Longacre 1989b). Determining such a ranking involves cataloging all predicates in a given type of text and ranking them according to their relative importance in that text. Often such a ranking will reveal that certain tenses carry storyline information and are therefore the most prominent of the clause types, i.e. ranking highest on the scale of salienc; whereas other tenses might never carry the storyline, thereby ranking much lower on the scale.

Although much of the literature concerning the relative salienc of verbs addresses languages with tense encoded morphologically on the verb or in the verb phrase,⁶ this will not be possible with Selaru. As discussed in section 5.1, Selaru has no tense on the verb. Rather, the progression

of time is encoded with discourse particles and phrases located in the margins of the clause.⁷ For this reason, we will look at clause structure as a whole as a means of determining relative salience.

6.2.1 Non-Storyline Constructions

Non-storyline information (or non-event-line information) usually encompasses background information, staging, descriptions, time-sequencing, and the myriad of other types of information crucial to supporting and propagating the storyline. Longacre (1983) lumps all of this information under the label 'supportive' information. This seems quite appropriate.

6.2.1.1 Non-verbal Clauses

The attributive clause is used to relate background information. Such a clause has no copula and is 'verbless'—its predicate is simply an adjective (see section 3.3.1). The attributive clause is one of the least dynamic clauses in Selaru. Wrigglesworth (1984:238) states that non-verbal clauses are the most static (least dynamic) of the clause types in Manobo.⁸ Line 3 from the *Mangkawar* story is a good example of an attributive clause:

- (1) Wamfwet-ke mdedana i
 woman-ART heavy 3s
 'The woman was pregnant'

In the *Mangkawar* story, the first sentence is even more static than a typical attributive clause, making it the most inactive sentence in the story:

- (2) Tia Enus neke irkye ita ani-na Tulisama Botan-ke.
 In Enus this man a name-his Tulisama Botan-ART
 'In this [village] Enus, [there was] a man called Tulisama Botan'

Sentence (2) has no agent, verb, or adjective. It is a nominal clause stating the first piece of information in the whole story.

Grammarians have often said that 'there' in English is really a place holder for the empty subject slot. It is not surprising then to find that Selaru, which has no copular verb in its attributive clauses, would have neither a copula nor a dummy subject in its nominal clauses either (see section 3.3.2).

The locative clause (see section 3.3.3) is closely related to the attributive and nominal clauses, but it appears to have a slightly higher agentivity level (see figure 2). For this reason, it will be treated as being higher on the cline of salience than the other two until further evidence warrants reordering or collapsing them in some way.

6.2.1.2 Bleached Verbal Clauses

There are several sections in the *Mangkawar* story where the sentences appear to be normal verbal clauses but are in fact 'bleached' (using Fox's (1987) term, see sections 4.2 and 4.3). Bleaching is evidenced by the loss of metathesis of verbal prefixes on those verb stems which are normally metathesized. This bleaching appears to indicate a drop in transitivity.

Hopper and Thompson, in their work on transitivity, state that "the grammatical and semantic prominence of Transitivity is shown to derive from its characteristic discourse function: high transitivity is correlated with foregrounding and low transitivity with backgrounding" (1980:251).

This is true of Selaru narrative structure. A very clear example of such a backgrounding process (a moving off of the storyline) occurs at the end of the our story.

(3) r-salak i ei sra-ke = r-al i
 3p-lift him DIR on.top-ART CONJ 3p-take him

desyode r-or i bai-a kleti so
 so.then 3p-with him DIR-Ø bottom over.there

mane, i-bai-a kleti so ma ra-ke tel-ke
 so 3s-go.to-Ø bottom over.there CONJ 3p-know language-ART

ma ra-bilak i ti-a Tnebar-ne
 CONJ 3p-pass him in-Ø Tanimbar-this

'They lifted him up on board to take him (away), then they all went far away (to the West). So, he went far away, so they became smart such that they surpass the person from Tanimbar'

The single-underlined verbs in (3) are storyline verbs. The double-underlined verbs are the bleached ones. Their active forms are *byai* 'he went', *r-he* 'they know', and *r-bilak* 'they surpass' respectively.

Why the verbs in the last sentence of the *Mangkawar* story are bleached is not totally clear, but this final sentence is certainly not storyline (event-line) material; it does nothing to move the story forward. This sentence is actually an epilogue to the story, giving a synopsis of what happened after the story ended.

This example supports Fox, Hopper and Thompson in their evaluation of verbal functional roles and transitivity showing that indeed Selaru can demote clauses in narrative discourse (and that, without the use of tense).

Clauses which serve as margins of time, such as the beginning of line 21, can be bleached and act like a type of subordinate clause:

(4) i-myty bony-o mw-hait i ...
 3s-dead just-TM 2s-drag him ...
 'once he was dead, you dragged him ...'

Usually 'he died' is *myty* (where the third-person singular prefix metathesizes onto the verb stem), but in (4) the verb stem is bleached. Also the presence of the -o enclitic indicates this is a time-phrase (see

section 6.3.5). This clause serves as a lead-in into the storyline clause *mw-hait i...*

6.2.1.3 Relative Clauses

The relative clause is by its function a non-active clause structure used for relating background information. It is therefore quite low on the cline of salience.

- (5) *Lema de, sekve krala ma-benw desike, naman desike r-hota i*
 so then, house in REL-fill this child this 3p-carry him
'So then, those who filled the house carried the child'

The RC *'those who filled the house'* in this example presents new information, letting us know who the people were who carried him. This sentence raises the unspecified group of people that are gathered in the house to true actor status. In the three clauses previous to this one, these people, although in an agentive role, were simply referred to with an unspecified *'they'* prefix on the verb. Now the people are participants and not simply props.

The RC in this example also provides the crucial information needed to validate the story. The fact that the miraculous events were witnessed by a whole group of people lends credence to the story. But such information while important cannot be considered storyline material.

In section 4.1.3.3 we mentioned that most RCs in this story occur in quotations, not in event-line text, and most of these occur in Episode 2 (where Mangkawar solves the murder mystery). Why this is so is not clear, but I suspect that the effective pragmatic function of a relative clause, that of encoding relevant background or off storyline information compactly within a main storyline clause, is ideal for oral communication.⁹ The RC

allows us to bring on stage a participant and compactly ascribe to him linking material that is important for the cohesion of the discourse but not necessarily crucial to the on going storyline. In oral communication we want to get to the salient points quickly (lest we lose our listeners), so the RC enables us to avoid long digressions from the event-line. (If, when filling in background information, one digresses off the storyline for too long, he will confuse the listener into thinking the current stream of speech is in fact a new event-line and that the old topic has been dropped.)

In summary, non-storyline (stative) information is conveyed by means of non-verbal clauses and 'bleached' verbal clauses. The relative clause can also encode background information but since it is embedded in an NP it is not ranked as high as the free standing clauses. Because the nominal clause has such a low frequency of use (introductions, etc.), I posit that it is the least dynamic clause structure in Selaru. The relative clause, attributive clause, and the locative clause take the next three positions up on the cline of salience, with the 'bleached' verbal clauses taking the highest position (of any of the non-storyline clauses).

6.2.2 Storyline Constructions

The story or event-line of a Selaru narrative is carried by the fully active (unbleached) verbal clauses, both transitive and intransitive. The fully metathesized verbs (and their grammatical counterparts which, due to stem structure, show no overt prefix alternations) are the most dynamic and most salient of verbs in Selaru narrative. Transitivity makes the only distinction between the salience of transitive and intransitive verbal

clauses. I posit the transitive clause as the most salient clause type and the intransitive as coming second.

6.2.3 Summary to Cline of Saliency

The Selaru system of saliency is based on clause types rather than on verb morphology and can be diagrammed as in figure 3:

BAND 1	Transitive Clause
(event line)	
BAND 2	Intransitive Clause
(secondary event line)	
BAND 3	Bleached Verbal Clause
(background)	
BAND 4	Locative Clause
(background)	
BAND 5	Attributive Clause
(background and stage)	
BAND 6	Relative Clause
(parenthetical info)	
BAND 7	Nominal Clause
(participant introduction)	

Figure 3: Cline of Saliency

One further comment on the saliency scheme: as mentioned before, a narrator has at his disposal the ability to switch pronominal reference from the standard third-person reference to the more direct second-person. This narrative tool is also found in Manobo, an Austronesian language of the Philippines (Wrigglesworth 1984). Wrigglesworth explains that in Manobo this tool is used to heighten the vividness of particular sections of the text. She posits that any verb that is marked as second-person is raised one notch in 'dynamicness' on the scale of saliency. This analysis will also work well for the Selaru narrative. The following sentence,

including the embedded attributive clause, is promoted in its intrinsic importance by the fact that it is in second-person.

- (6) Mangkawar desike mlwean ma lanata___o ...
 Mangkawar this 2s-grow until big-a bit 2s ...
 'Mangkawar, you grew until you were a little bigger ...'

This sentence serves the double function of marking the beginning of the final episode, i.e. encoding a jump in time, and giving the important observation that Mangkawar continued to grow as a normal child (but with great wisdom), and this leads right into the final suspense.

6.3 Coherence and Cohesion

'Coherence' refers to the 'gluing together' of a text on a notional level. For *Mangkawar*, the notional progression is both logical and sequential (chronological). The only unexpected turn of events (for a non-Selaru speaker) is the villagers' eventual desire to get rid of the child. In section 6.1.3 we discussed the cultural implications of the child being born just after his father's murder and having a face that looked just like his father's. We also pointed out how, if Tulisama Botan had actually come back to life in the form of a newborn baby, the villagers, out of fear, would want to dispose of the child. With this cultural information, the story no longer has any unexplainable episodes or events; notionally, it is logical and well told.

'Cohesion' refers to surface level text linking devices. "In the discussion of cohesion, we are concerned with anything that signals redundancy as well as anything that serves to tie a discourse together in a linear way ... cohesion is signaled by five organizing factors: grammatical agreement, phoric reference, conjunction, lexical association, and given

information" (Pickering 1980:29). Longacre and Levinsohn (1978:107) also give the following list of devices for surface structure cohesion: a) tense and aspect, b) particles and affixes, c) anaphora, d) deictics, e) lexical ties and paraphrase, f) summary statements, g) conjunctions and introducers, and finally h) back-reference. Selaru does not have all of these signals or devices, but it does use several of them.

6.3.1 Clause Conjunctions

On the sentence level, cohesion is maintained through the use of various conjunctions (see section 5.2). In a Selaru narrative, closely related sequences of verbs (marking simultaneous or linear time) are linked together by either *ma* or *ti* (both mean 'in order to'). These conjunctive particles fill the same basic slot as the infinitive 'to' in English without the subordinating effect on the following clause. These particles simultaneously track location or direction of event-line action (see section 3.4.1). The *ma* means 'same location' whereas *ti* means 'changed location'. An example of a daily activity series which clearly manifests this cohesive feature is found in the following excerpt from the *Mangkawar* story (line 13):

(7) *Desi-ke mo, ta-sihw ma t-bai ra-ke*
 that-ART if lpi-clean.fish CONJ lpi-go.to land-ART

ti-a ta-layar mazy ma ta Ø
 CONJ-Ø lpi-bake fish CONJ lpi.eat PRO

*'If that's the case, let's clean the fish, go inland, bake it,
 and then eat it'*

Notice how the conjunctive particles encode the change in location of the events: between the 'cleaning the fish' (-*sihw*) event and the 'going' (-*bai*) event there is a *ma* indicating there is no change in location

between these events (although once the 'going' event actually begins, a change in location will occur); but, when the next event (-*layar* 'bake') is added to the sequence a *ti* is used (here with an *-a*¹⁰ added), indicating that this event occurs in a different location from the inception of the last one; finally, the 'eating' event (*ta*) occurs at the same location as the cooking and this fact is marked by the use of a *ma* again.

The particles *ma* and *ti* are crucial to any narrative speech act in Selaru. Out of the 55 sentences in this text there is a total of 53 occurrences of these particles.¹¹

There are a few sentences without either *ma* or *ti*; such sentences often use the less frequent ode 'and' or the still less frequent *keskye* 'but' (see section 5.2.2). In fact, there is only one occurrence of *keskye* in the text; it is found in the closure to the Peak (see line 44, Appendices B and C).

All of these conjunctions are vital to the cohesion of any Selaru narrative text.¹² Without them, the sentences would simply fall apart, reducing the text to a jumble of disconnected clauses.

6.3.2 Participant Reference

Tracking participants in the *Mangkawar* story yields some very interesting strands of cohesion. I will address these first by their syntactic function.

6.3.2.1 Tracking Reference in Subject Slot

The most obvious feature of the subject-NP is that it is almost always missing. Since transitive and intransitive verbs in Selaru are always marked with a person-number prefix that references the subject of

the clause, the use of a full NP is only necessary to remove ambiguity or to restore a participant to main actor status.


The use of a pronominal reference in the subject position is likewise considered very redundant by native speakers. There is one exception in the text to this avoidance of overt subject pronominals. Out of the 55 sentences, only one sentence has a pronominal in the subject position. The pronominal in this one case is marking a subject reference switch between two adjoining clauses:

- (8) lia-nke i-nal heal, ode ia i-tota lkusy-ne-ke
 friend-his 3s-get fish COOR he 3s-find urn-this-ART
 '*his friend caught fish, but he found this urn*'

If the pronoun ia 'he' were not in the second clause, this example would mean '*his friend caught fish and found this urn*' (where '*his friend*' is the subject of both clauses). Example (8) also shows that a full NP can be the participant reference of a subject (e.g. lianke '*his friend*'). Note also that ode which normally means '*and*' means '*but*' in this example, possibly indicating that ode is a more general coordinator than '*and*' is in English.

Proper nouns can also be used to track participants in the subject position, but, like the use of a subject-pronominal in (8), their use or the use of any other overt noun phrase serves to raise a new actor to subject position or to clarify the subject when it is not clear from the context.

The cohesive nature of participant reference is clearly shown in example (8) above. The two pronominals '*his*' and '*he*' are co-referential with the NP amaku '*my father*' found in the preceding clause of the story. Both (8) and its preceding clause (also in line 43) are linked as follows:

- (9) 

 dad-my-Ø 3s-hunt this friend-his 3s-get fish CONJ he 3s-find ...

'My father hunted like this: his friend caught fish,

but he found ...

This thread-like tracking of participants is necessary for any story to be comprehensible. A story will of course have many such strands which serve to weave the clauses of a story together structurally (cohesion) and notionally (coherence).

6.3.2.2 Tracking Reference in Direct Object Slot

The head noun of a direct object NP is not marked morphologically on the verb as is the subject head; therefore, as one would expect, pronominals are extremely common in the DO position. Complete NPs are also fairly common, but not as common as pronominals.

It appears that unless it is unclear from the context, animate direct objects are marked with pronouns instead of NPs. In contrast, since the pronoun for inanimate head nouns is Ø (see section 1.3.3.2), inanimate direct objects (props, places, etc.) are usually mentioned overtly with a full NP. There can be exceptions to this, where an inanimate object is referenced only by its empty pronominal. This usually occurs when the object-NP has already been overtly specified earlier in the sentence (thus avoiding the unnaturalness of having to repeat the same NP twice within the same sentence), i.e. a type of zero anaphora.

Animate object nouns can also be marked with full NPs or proper names for the sake of prominence. This is a rare, but appropriate, usage. When Korduan plots to kill Tulisama, the text does not record this as 'you plotted to kill him', but rather, 'you plotted to kill Tulisama Botan'.

This is not because the DO referent is unclear, but because of the audacity of the crime. Tulisama is the first character mentioned in the story, and he is much revered by the Selaru people. Referencing an animate noun in the object slot with a full NP or a proper noun is used occasionally for spotlighting or highlighting that object.

6.3.2.3 Introduction of Participants

The method for bringing major participants on stage in a story is very consistent. Generally, each participant is introduced in the direct object slot with a somewhat oblique noun and possibly his name. After this introduction, the participant can then ascend to subject position and begin acting out his part of the story. This ascent to subject position is often delayed slightly by having the new participant share the stage with the preceding actor. Once he has attained subject status, he retains it until the end of the episode or until he is replaced by some other actor. His reference in the subject position is of course governed by the restrictions mentioned above, e.g., he is raised to subject position with a full NP, after which the subject position is empty (until replaced by a new actor).

The use of this introduction strategy is very transparent at the beginning of this story. The following is a translation of the first few lines of the story:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. In [the town of] Enus,
[there was] <u>a man</u> named Tulisama Botan. | (nominal clause) |
| 2. He married <u>a woman</u> named Alalyena Endamin. | (subject)
(new part. in object) |
| 3. They were married for a long time,
and then <u>she</u> became pregnant. | (shared subject)
(new subject) |
| ... | |

4. One evening, her husband accompanied another man, (subj. switch)
 and *they* went fishing. (new part. in object)
 (shared subject)

5. Her husband, Tulisama Botan, Korduan invited him. (subj. switch)

...

(bold, italic, & underlining track participants)

Notice how one participant is used to introduce another. At the beginning of the story there are no participants so Tulisama had to be introduced vacuously (in English this is rendered 'there was', but in Selaru there is no such structure). Once Tulisama is introduced, all other introductions chain on the preceding actor.

It is also interesting to note that Tulisama is marked as 'her husband' twice (in lines 4 and 5), which seems rather odd in English, but shows that Alalyena has a front-stage position in terms of importance, even though she does not have an acting part at this point in the story (she comes on the scene as an actor in line 25, where she confronts Korduan concerning the whereabouts of her husband).

In line 5, Korduan takes over as the most prominent actor (specified with a proper noun in the subject slot) even though Tulisama is fronted (possibly depicting the rivalry between them). Korduan continues on as the actor for another line, after which Tulisama is mentioned by name and he takes over this position for a few clauses, and so on.

In summary, we have seen how in Selaru the positions of subject and direct object have a direct bearing on the possible types of NPs which can serve as fillers. Also we have seen how consistent the method of shuffling participants on and off stage is in a Selaru story.

6.3.3 Overlapping Back-reference

Nearly every sentence in the *Mangkawar* story has some type of back-linking material (be it repetition, participant reference, or overlapping reference), i.e., almost no sentence in a story contains completely new information.

The form of back-referencing we will address here is 'overlapping' which has the pattern 'after doing A, he did B; after doing B, he did C ...' This cohesive device is not as common in a Selaru narrative text as in a procedural text (where it is the mainstay of the text), but it is still used, usually to sum up a small non-punctiliar event.

An example of this is where *Mangkawar* shows the villagers his father's grave. The narrator continues the story by saying:

- (10) Syusu i maktei bony-o, byo ...
 3s-point him done then-TM 3s-said ...
 'After pointing out [the grave], he said ...'

This style of back-referencing is one of the most tedious aspects of the Selaru language for an English speaker. In English one tends to avoid this type of repetition. Not so in Selaru, in fact this back-referencing structure is vital to a well-connected story.¹³

6.3.4 Repetition and Paraphrase

The *Mangkawar* story is filled with parallel structures, repetition, and paraphrasing. The places where these cohesive devices seem to occur most heavily are the sad or tense points (the more emotional scenes). In the following example the murderer says, 'Go look for him [the missing man]' and then the narrator tells us what happened:

episode: the baby being born will speak, will solve the mystery of his father's murder, and is by all indications the return of Tulisama himself. The rest of the story pivots on this scene--without it there would be nothing more to say.

The use of repetition in a Selaru narrative takes several forms: exact repetition, repetition with amplification, and simple paraphrasing. When and why one method of repetition is used over another is not clear, but there is no indication that the various forms encode any functional purpose different from what has just been discussed.

6.3.5 Time Sequencing and Cohesion

The final cohesive device we will address is time cohesion through the use of time words and phrases. As was already mentioned in section 5.1, Selaru has no verb tense; time and its progression from one scene or event to the next is marked overtly with phrases like *lema de* 'so then' and *desikeo* 'after this'. Such time phrases or linkers usually come sentence initially. The narrator must use these time linkers to propel the story forward.

The repertoire of time linkers available to the narrator is quite limited. Straight from the text we find the following (listed from the most frequent to the least):

Table 16: Sentence Initial Time Linkers

<u>Selaru</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Occurrences</u>
<i>lema de</i>	and then	14
<i>desikeo</i>	so then	6
<i>ode/de</i>	and so	4
<i>desyo</i>	so then	2
<i>ma</i>	so	1
<i>jadi</i> (Indonesian)	so	1
<i>ya/oa/a</i>	(pause)	3 (one each)

Lema de and *desikeo* (and its variant *desyo*) are the most frequent time linkers, occurring a total of 22 times (out of 55 sentences). *Jadi* is a slip into Indonesian (in which *Loblobly* is fluent) and functions the same as *ma*. The less frequent linkers (*ode* and *ma*) are significant, because they are usually conjunctions at the inter-clause/intra-sentence level. The fact that they can be used as sentence-sentence linkers is not surprising--it is an extension of their normal syntactic function.

Lema de literally means 'not completed' and so literally carries the story forward. It is used at clear breaks between sentence semantics, and it serves to hold them together.

Notice that *desikeo* and *desyo* both end in *-o*. The root for both *desikeo* and *desyo* is the demonstrative pronoun *desy*, meaning 'that'. The *-o* enclitic overtly marks the passing of time, making these phrases mean something like: 'that [being so], time passes, now ...' In the *Mangkawar* text, there are also other words (*bony* 'just', *ma ktei* 'until done') which often occur with the *-o* enclitic but at the end of time phrases or sentences. I have examples of isolated sentences where these markers occur without the *-o* enclitic, but this is rare in the context of a discourse.¹⁵ I posit then that the *-o* enclitic is a discourse particle of time used to indicate the motion of time into the future.

It is significant to note that time phrases never occur sentence initially if an *-o* enclitic occurs sentence finally on the preceding sentence. Apparently, the presence of the *-o* suffices as a time-linker, and to repeat this linking with *lema de* or some other phrase is redundant.

The *-o* enclitic occurs sentence finally five times. It marks the end of embedded stages and minor episodes (where there is no time phrase

beginning the next episode). Something worth further investigation is the fact that -o never occurs sentence finally after main Episode 1 (although it is still frequently used on time phrases throughout the story), and there are no uses of de, the aspect marker meaning 'completed action', outside of quotations in this episode; while in the last episode (main Episode 3) there are several occurrences of de and no uses of sentence final -o. Episode 2 (the Peak episode) has neither. It is as if once the Peak is passed the narrator is no longer pointing to the future but bringing closure to the text.

Time cohesion is marked overtly across major divisions in the story. In Appendix B, the *Mangkawar* story is divided into episodes which are labeled EP_n. Each major episode begins with some overt time phrase that is more specific than either lema de and desikeo. These time phrases serve as dividers to mark sharp changes in time sequencing. For example, the development of Stage begins with Tia Enus neke 'In this Enus'. (This phrase has the same function as the English 'Once upon a time'.) Episode 1 begins with Desio sewah desike 'So that evening'. Episode 2 begins with Khiheita i bonyo 'Several days later' and Episode 3 begins with Mangkawar desike mlwean ma lanata o, 'Mangkawar, you grew until a little bigger'. Each of these phrases mark the fact that a time jump is occurring between the episodes.

Large sections of embedded flashbacks do not occur in any of the stories at my disposal. There are cases where descriptive background information could be taken as something of the sort (i.e. giving information about something that pre-exists the 'running time' of the story) but these do not function as true flashbacks. This lacuna is not a

language restriction--Selaru speakers employ embedded flashbacks in everyday speech. But, since the stories related to me were practiced in advance, it is possible that the narrators did not need to backtrack or fill in any gaps, hence the absence of such embedding. I see no reason at this time to posit that Selaru narratives disallow their use. Even so, it is notable that prepared stories are void of them, meaning that in all probability their use would be for filling in skipped information and not as a narrative device. Apparently, good stories are told in straight chronological fashion.¹⁶

6.4 Peak and Climax

Longacre describes Peak as "a zone of turbulence" and defines it as "any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the Climax and Denouement in the notional structure" (Longacre 1983:24-5). We will look at some of these surface features in order to determine where the Peak is in the *Mangkawar* story.

6.4.1 Increased Vividness

There are only four places where there is a shift from normal third-person reference to the more direct second-person. The first occurrence is the inciting incident where Korduan (the murderer) goes out to sea and Tulisama (the victim) stays in close to shore. Here, Tulisama discovers the clay water jar filled with treasure. It is this prop which causes his demise. The shift to second person is used here by the narrator as if he were reminding the characters of their actions (remember, from section 6.1.1, that the characters are believed to be present in spirit): 'And

you, Korduan, went out to sea, while you, Tulisama, stayed near shore and found the urn ...'

The second occurrence is the actual murder scene: '*Korduan, you woke up and you got a small piece of wood ...*' The story continues in second-person through the murder, the hiding of the body and his returning home, and continues until Alalyena (Tulisama's wife) comes to ask Korduan where Tulisama is, then it switches to third-person again (lines 20-24). What the narrator actually says at this transition is interesting: '*She came to ask you a question. She came to ask Korduan a question ...*' The narrator uses repetition with a switch from the second-person pronominal to a proper noun reference in order to bridge back into third-person.

The third scene to use increased vividness by the switching to second-person pronominal reference occurs when Alalyena Endamin gives birth to Mangkawar (lines 32-33). This use of second-person ends immediately after the birth of the child.

The final use of second-person reference is the single sentence, '*Mangkawar, you grew until you were a little bigger, and then they saw that you were already wise*' (line 45). The narrator then switches immediately to third-person with the sentence, '*So, they went to cause him trouble*' (i.e. do away with him).

It appears then that in every case, except the murder scene, the use of second-person coincides with or near to the beginning of a new episode to mark the inciting incident of that episode:

Table 17: Uses of Second-Person Reference

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | Tulisama found an urn filled with treasure (that later provoked his murder) |
| 2. | The murder scene through to the arrival of Alalyena |
| 3. | The birth of Mangkawar (who later solved the mystery) |
| 4. | Mangkawar continued to be wise (which led to his demise) |

6.4.2 Length of Episodes

The length of each episode in this story progresses from a long episode to subsequently shorter ones:

Table 18: Episode Length

Section	Lines	Total	Description
Stage:	1-4	4	Introduction/Setting
Episode 1:	5-31	27	Find treasure/murder
Episode 2:	32-44	12	Birth/murderer revealed
Episode 3:	45-54	9	Mangkawar's demise
Finis	55	1	'The end'

From this listing, it is clear that most of the story (in fact almost half) occurs in the first episode. This episode is an embedded narrative with its own stage and two embedded episodes (each of which also have a stage and embedded episodes). This is the most developed of the major episodes, and that is to be expected as it is here where all of the suspense builds and where the crisis (the murder) occurs.

6.4.3 High Verb Concentration and Fast Action

There are two places where there is a high concentration of verbs: the murder scene and the birth of Mangkawar. The murder scene has a total of 14 verbs (ten main line and four preposed linking verbs--the most intense concentration of verbs anywhere in the story); the birth scene has four (two main line and two preposed repetition verbs--the second most concentrated scene). There is no doubt that both scenes are crucial to the story.

6.4.4 Quotations

Quoted speech is a device a narrator can use to bring a story to life. In many ways quotations are similar to the switch from third-person pronominal reference to second. Quotations let us hear just what the actors are saying, making the text more vivid. Longacre and Levinsohn point out that "often the peak of a discourse contains dialogue, while previous sections do not" (1978:110).

All quotation formulas in *Mangkawar* are in either third-person singular or plural form. There are no examples of first or second-person quote formulas. Even when the narrator is referring to a participant in second-person, when that participant begins to speak, the narrator always switches back to third-person for the quote formula.¹⁷

Each major episode in the story has examples of quoted speech. Complex repartee occurs at important points in Episodes 1 and 3, while in Episode 2 (where *Mangkawar* solves the mystery) there is a very large section of what amounts to a series of monologues. Table 19 lists the use of quotations in the *Mangkawar* text.

Table 19: Use of Quotations

No.	Purpose
EP ₁	1. Korduan and Tulisama discuss what they have found, etc.
	2. Korduan suggests that they sleep and return to the village in the morning.
	3. Alalyena confronts Korduan as to Tulisama's whereabouts, and he denies knowing anything about him.
EP ₂	4. Onlookers say <i>Mangkawar</i> looks just like his father.
	5. <i>Mangkawar</i> solves the murder mystery step-by-step:
	5.1. "Come with me to see my father's grave."
	5.2. "Here it is."
	5.3. "Let's go see his murderer and the treasure."
5.4. "Here they are." Plus a summary quote.	
EP ₃	6. <i>Mangkawar</i> (in the ocean) begs for help from the ship's crew, who in turn test him to see if he is worthy, he answers well and is saved.

Each section of quoted speech is important to making the story happen. Numbers 1-3 help develop the murder scene. Number 4 is interesting, as mentioned before, because it gives a clue as to who Mangkawar is. Number 5 is a set of monologues by Mangkawar revealing the grave, treasure, and his father's murderer. Finally, dialogue number 6 is the culminating 'final suspense' ending with Mangkawar being saved by the ship's crew.

I am most interested in the section of monologues by Mangkawar. In this one episode there are seven recorded speeches. Mangkawar accounts for six of these. The other quote, number 4 in Table 19, comes from the people present at his birth. This type or amount of quoted speech is not found anywhere else in the story. It is also this episode which has the highest concentration of relative clauses, almost all of which are in the quotations (see sections 4.1.3.3 and 6.2.1.3).

The structure of Mangkawar's speeches is very logical, building his evidence and giving his conclusion (see Appendix B). The pattern is one of a detective gathering or exposing the evidence in a case. Mangkawar's final speech at the end of this episode is very similar to Inspector Poirot's solution speeches at the end of an Agatha Christie novel. It wraps up all of the loose ends.

6.4.5 Summary of Peak

Taking all of the evidence into account, I posit that the second embedded episode in the second main episode constitutes the Peak of the *Mangkawar* story. By Longacre's definition, Peak is an episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features. This episode fits the

definition: it has the very unusual use of a series of monologues rather than the more common repartee; the entire episode is raised in vividness by the use of quotations rather than descriptions; it is the only place in the text where a pronominal is used in the subject position--marking switch in reference; and it corresponds to Climax in that here Mangkawar is revealing his father's grave, the murderer and the stolen treasure--things impossible for a newborn to do or know.

The second episode also has a very unusual closure. It has a sentence structure not found anywhere else in the story. The sentence is actually a series of concatenated clauses that pivot around the word *keskye* 'but' (the only occurrence of this word in the story). This closure then ends with the narrator's comment, '*Maybe God enabled him to do this*' (line 44).

The remainder of the text gives the hearer a scene of final suspense, a quick resolution, and ends with Mangkawar going off to the West.

To graphically depict the overall structure of the text we can use a text profile. Hwang states that "a profile is designed to be a visual representation of the overall surface structure of the story" showing peaks which "correspond to ... where tension is greatest" (1987:70-1).

Figure 4 is a profile of the *Mangkawar* text. I interpret for this display that Hwang's reference to 'tension' includes tension of action as well as quotations. The surface structure in Episode 2 is quite different from Episodes 1 and 3 (which are structurally very similar) and to depict action while excluding the vividness of quotations would depress the Peak of Episode 2, making us miss its unique character.

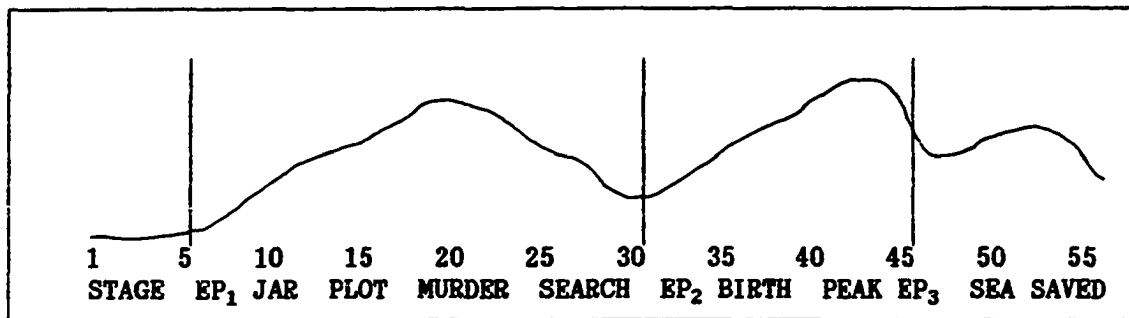


Figure 4: Profile of *Mangkawar*

Notice that Episodes 1 and 3, with their embedded narratives, have their own peaks, but looking at the *Mangkawar* text as a whole, it is Episode 2 which has the unique surface structures setting it off as the Peak for the whole discourse. If either of the other two peaks were considered the Peak of the text, the story would not hold together, whereas if *Mangkawar's* amazing feats are considered Climax, the whole story holds together in a tight unit.

6.5 Conclusion

I have but touched on the main topics of text analysis. There are still many areas of the Selaru narrative which need further research and investigation. These include pinning down where and when each type of time particle is used, and whether certain time markers always coincide with certain divisions in the macrosegmental structure.

A detailed look into subordinate or bleached clauses is also needed as this is a recent discovery (for me) in the grammatical patterns of Selaru, and time does not permit a more in-depth investigation. How these clauses are used would make a fascinating study: seeing when and where a narrator switches from active to inactive clause structure might enable one to determine why he would do so.

Although I feel fairly confident in this analysis as it stands and what it covers, it is only reasonable to caution that all of the generalizations and observations drawn from the *Mangkawar* story concerning the structure of a Selaru narrative must be verified with other texts of a similar nature before they can be accepted as accurate and predictive. No doubt some observations will be disproved with further investigation and many may need modification, but my hope in positing this tentative analysis is that it will serve as a starting point or foundation on which to build a more complete description and will in the mean time provide enough information on Selaru to whet the appetite of those interested in this linguistically obscure language.

NOTES

¹The telling of history in Selaru is now almost a *taboo* (I was not aware of this at the time I asked for this text). This seems to have several reasons, one being the fear that telling a tale incorrectly can cause illness and death. Also, some tales are insulting to some of the clans on the island (many stories imply that these clans descended from mutant or animal-like people). For these reasons, the telling of history stories is done in private and my getting a recording of such a story was quite exciting.

²This and the more detailed approach of 'microsegmentation' (or paragraph level) analysis are touched on in Longacre and Levinsohn 1978, and Longacre n.d., developed more fully in Hwang 1989 and Longacre 1979, 1980, 1983, and 1989b, and are used quite extensively in Longacre 1989a.

³A year later I recorded another version of this story from another man in the village.

⁴But one can only wonder what kind of wisdom this implies that we received.

⁵I have no interpretation of this story yet from the Selaru people, but stories of this type of possession do occur in other areas of South-east Asia.

⁶A notable exception is Burusphat's dissertation on Thai narrative (1986), which like Selaru has no tense.

⁷For example, the aspect marker *de*, sentence finally, means 'finished' or 'completed action', while *lea* or *lenla*, sentence initially, means 'unfinished' or 'non-completed action'.

⁸This is probably a universal observation although she does not say so specifically.

⁹The RC is also useful in written communication for the same reasons, but I say it is "ideal" for oral communication simply because of the limitations of the medium. It is far more difficult to recover the event-line if one becomes lost in oral communication than in written, because one cannot go back and reprocess a puzzling section over again; one must keep up with the flow of speech. The compactness of the RC keeps "side-trips" shorter.

¹⁰The *-a* suffix is apparently a narrative device used to propel a story along. It may have some relation to a proto-Austronesian transitivity suffix, but this is doubtful (see section 3.5.3).

¹¹Selaru also uses these words for prepositions, but those occurrences are not included in this count.

¹²This statement does not include non-narrative texts. The procedural text uses the form of back-referencing described in section 6.3.3 as its main cohesive device.

¹³Because of this, my attempts at the language are often met with, "You jump too much," or "Your sentences aren't complete."

¹⁴This is new information only in that it is a jump in the story and does not have any cohesive or coherent relationship with what has just occurred. Her giving birth is not actually totally new information in that it was foretold at the beginning of the text (see line 4).

¹⁵This is good evidence for why we need to do discourse analysis in the first place.

¹⁶One wonders if the lack of verb tenses has anything to do with this desire for stories with straight chronological ordering. The Selaru verb can be past, present or future, depending on the time phrases that surround it. Jumping out of the normal flow of time requires a severe break in the story; it cannot be handled 'covertly' within a clause by a simple switch in verb tense.

¹⁷This is not a language restriction, as first and second-person quote formulas are common in everyday conversations. It appears that this is a restriction of narrative discourse. Why this would be so is not clear, since the narrator can refer to the participants in second-person.

APPENDIX A

A LONGACRE-LEVINSOHN CHART OF THE *MANGKAWAR* TEXT

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A LONGACRE-LEVINSOHN CHART OF THE *MANGKAWAR* TEXT

A typical Longacre-Levinsohn chart "separates the discourse into sentences, each into independent clauses, dependent clauses and introducers, and each clause into its phrasal constituents" (Longacre and Levinsohn 1978:111). The following display of the *Mangkawar* narrative does not divide the discourse quite so finely.

The heading for the chart is divided into a) conjunctives (CONJ), b) preposed clauses and phrases, c) the main clause, which is divided into S, V, and O, d) postposed clauses and phrases, and finally e) tense, aspect, and modality markers (TAM). Along the left side of the chart is a column devoted to numbering the lines, giving notes, and tracking changes of time (T) and location (L) (starting at T_0 and L_0).

In the 'CONJ' column, I have divided out the main cohesive and conjunctive particles of the text. In the 'Preposed' column is the time phrases that introduce changes of time, scenes, episodes, etc. The 'Preposed' column also contains any fronted constituents (marked in their original position with a number and 'frnt', e.g. (2-frnt)), and any reduplicated clauses or other material which seem to be acting as back-reference cohesive devices.

The main clause columns are straight forward: subjects under 'S', verbal and non-verbal predicates under 'V', and objects under 'O'. Empty constituent slots are marked with a blank line and number, e.g. _____(1).

The 'Postposed' column contains the complement clauses, locative phrases, and other oblique constructs. Finally, the 'TAM' column is reserved for the more obvious TAM marking particles.

The columns and their contents are not rigidly linked. Occasionally similar syntactic structures will appear in different columns (usually fluctuating between Preposed, Main, and Postposed columns) depending on how the structures are operating in the discourse at that point.

The English translation is fairly free, catching more of the actual meaning of the text than giving a literal, syntactically-faithful transliteration. See Appendix C for a more literal glossing of this text.

Participants are numbered as follows:

- 1 = Tulisama Botan (the hero and victim)
- 2 = Alalyena Endamin (Tulisama's wife)
- 3 = Korduan (the murderer)
- 4 = unnamed villagers
- 5 = Mangkawar (the baby)
- 6 = ship's crew

Main props are lettered as follows:

- A = clay water-jar (with gold in it)
- B = clam shell
- C = sailing ship

# Notes	CONJ	Preposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
1. STAGE L ₀ no verb		Tin Enus neke In Enus,	irkye it-a a man	anina named	Tulisama Botanke(1). T. B.		
2.			_____(1) He	Yal married	wanfwetke ania Alalyena Endaminke(2). a woman named A. E.		
3. Attributive Cl	desikeyo		_____(1)(2) wanfwetke (2) They	Kasa mdedan a had been married was expecting.	i (2).	wa klenke sosou, for a while,	
	and now		she				
4. Reduplication of 3	ma	Wanfwetke (2) mdedan-a i (2)	_____	kyarasy		ti-a wasi-a hulosew muna idur haf.	
	and	The woman was with child	it	was near		to her time to give birth.	
5. EPISODE 1 L ₀ -L ₁ T ₀ Summary statement for 1 st scene	Desio ma ti-a So, CONJ CONJ	sewah desike that evening,	lain-a (1) _____(1)(3) _____(1)(3) her husband	yor-a rba rasusw. with went out fishing.	irkye it (3) another man		
6. Preposed Topic Reduplication Expansion on sentence 5		Lain neke Tulisama Botan neke nela Her husband, T. B.,	Korduan neke(3) _____(3) Korduan	ryubut-a ryubut invited invited	i (1-frnt) him	ma, ti-a rasusw, ti rasusw o. to go fishing to just fish TM.	
7. Shift to 2 nd prsn L ₁ (L _{1a} &L _{1b}) Expansion on sent. 5 & 6	ti to (while)		Korduan-a (3) _____(3) Tulisama Botan neke (1) Korduan, you T.B. you	mei mususw; mususw went to fish, fished	tasike sea	ti-a rake near shore	bo. just.

# Notes	CONJ	Preposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
8. BCI 2nd person Neg. irrealis	Ya, ah,		(1) (1) You you	lema kika mala auto:-a didn't get got	beal munal, lkunbye (A). any fish, a clay water jar.		
9a. Background		lkunbye (A) kralanare The contents of the water jar, bride wealth	dolanke kimin a was	kimin a (A-frnt) kralake inside (it).			
9b. Background		biyavanare lebit o a keura o wadan o kban gold: a gold pendant, gold earrings, hairpins, a necklace		kimin a (A-frnt) kralake. there was inside (it).			
Existential							
10. Shift to 3rd persn L1-L2, T1	Jadi, So,	manabeke ma rei rake ma the hide tide came so they went to shore to	(1)(3) (1)(3) they	rei rasihw wenti to clean	rake, ti-a elmatanare o. shore fish		at the beach. TH
11. Quote Question CI (See 25)		"Helamure "your fish	Korduanneke(3) byo sir Korduan they	said, are ka?" where?"			
12. Quote			Tulisama Ectanke (1) (1) (1) T.B. "I I	byo, "Lema kunal kutot-a said, didn't catch found	beal lkunbye (A) any fish this clay jar		bo." just."
Irrealis Counter- expectation	de but						

§ Notes	CONJ	Proposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
13. Quote	Lema de	"Desike mo	Korduan-a (3) ____(1)(3) ____(1)(3) ____(1)(3) ____(1)(3)	byo, tasihw tbai talayar ta."	rake many		
High Verbage	So then	"If that's the case,	Korduan let's wu wu	clean can go bake can eat."	the fish inland the fish		
14. 3 rd pran L2-L3 Y1-Y2	Lema de,		____(1)(3) ____(1)(3) ____(1)(3) ____(1)(3)	rasihw rba ratunw ra cleaned	____ many the fish		ma ktei bony-o, ti wait lasirkye. until done-TH
Repeats all just said	and so,		(they) they	went baked could eat	the fish		at their hut.
15. 3 rd pran Cognitive Serial Verbs	ma to		____(1)(3) Korduan a ____(3) ____(3) They Korduan	Raknas ryaky tyabahunw-a byu ti de byohe, ato planned kill so he said,	____ Tulisama Botan ne (1) Tulisama Botan		maktei until finish,
16. Quote	ma ode until and	"Liahw, a "My friend,	____(1)(3) ____(1)(3) basal nekre we've we this fish	taknas tbesur lenidik kele rai eaten are too full, has given indigestion to us	____ ity (1)(3)		de. already
17.	ode nenno and then		____(1)(3) ____(1)(3) Let's we	Tenah tba." sleep will go."	ma bolbol until tomorrow first		aduk

§ Notes	CONJ	Proposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
16. 3 rd pran I ₂ -I ₃	Lema de, ma So then and so		Tulisama Botanke (1) (1)(3) Tulisama Botan they	you renaf. agreed slept.			dakun also,
19. 3 rd pran			(1)(3) (1)(3) They	Renah ratepti slept soundly			bony-o bony-o. just-TH just-TH
20. Shift to 2 nd pran I ₄	ma	mal ma	Korduan-a (3) (3) (3)	mbwatar mal-a moban-a	akve kdusake Tulisama Botanke (1)		ti weino habanekre
PHAK-1	ma		(3) (3) (1)	mal kele msvilla shunw-a myaty.	i (1)		
many verbs	and	with (it)	Korduan, you	woke up got		a short piece of wood, T.B. in the face	
in order to until			you he	strike beat (murder) died.	him		
21. 2 nd pran L ₃ -L ₄	ma ti-a ma	Imaty bonyo mal ma Once he was dead,	(3) (3) (3) (3)	mhwait mhwai mal-a matos-a	i (1) i; slyesake (B) i (1).		
Bleached, subordinate CH	in order to to		you you	dragged bury got mark	him him; a clam shell him (his grave).		
22. 2 nd pran L ₄ -L ₅ , I ₅	Ode, bonyo.	bolbolboine	(3) (3)	mhwai-a mei	bruke, Enus.		
Paraphrase Generic > Specific	And, just so,	early morning	you	went back to to	the village, Enus.		

# Notes	CONJ	Proposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
23. 2 nd pran			(3) (3)	Mbwa moha	holam/ alyamv	ti munait	maktei bony-o.
Reiteration		You went until you arrived, you		cooked	your game, your catch		until done-TH
24. Re-introduce (2) 2 nd pran 3 rd pran	oa, ma Ah, to			Yulicama Botanke sava, Alalyena Endaminuke(2) mya yena yena T.B.'s wife, Alalyena Endamin, she	came ask asked	you (a question), Korduan (a question).	
25. Quote Question C1 (See 11)	de "Hane ode "So now	limhwe (1) She asked Korduan and your friend	(2) (2) (3) I (1)	Yena byo, mawa snid, come, is	Korduan kaf" where?"		
26. Quote	Desikeo ode After this "Last night and	"Detke aramisusweke: our fishing was like this: he I	Korduana (3) (1) (3) Korduan	byo, byasar-a kwakol-a said, headed to headed to	kseri timur kseri haratne. the east side the west side.		
27. Quoted Thoughts Serial Verb Coordinated alternatives or	Ma obe ta So, whether or		(3) (1) (3) I he I	Iema kinve nyuna kama can't say came home before me before	yaw (3) I (1). he him.		

# Notes	CONJ	Proposed	S	V	O	Postposed	YAM
28. Quoted Thoughts	Da atau Or or	keta detke whether last night	____(1) ____(1) he he	myuna lea mya beat hasn't yet come.	yaw (3) me me		deny, o. already TH
29. Quote Command	TI (Go) to		____(2)(4) ____(2)(4)	myobak-a look for	i (1) him		bondye," at oncs."
30. 3 rd pram L6 Y6			____(2)(4) ____(2)(4) ____(2)(4) They	Bobak-a lema ratot-a lema ratot-a sought	i (1) i (1), i. him		nini sewah-o until evening-TH
Reduplication	(but)			didn't find renah	him, went to sleep		they didn't find him. eta. in secret.
31. 3 rd pram L7 Y7	Lema de, So		____(2)(4) they (each)				
32. EPISODE 2 Shift-2 nd pram L8 Y8	ma until	Khibeita i bony-o, Several days later-TH, Mudur haba-ha anamkwu ma naman desike a You delivered your child so That child,	Alalyena Endaminke (2) ____(2) ____(2) A.E., you you you	mudur, mudur mudur haba-ha squattd, squattd delivered	anamkwu (5) ani-a Mangkavar. your child his name was Mangkavar		
33. 2 nd pram Shift-3 rd pram Fronting Redup. crowded stage, Inciting Incident			____(4) ____(4) ____(5) they they he	raki rauta raris-a ayer. named washed/bathed cried.	i (5) i (5-frnt), him him	ti Mangkavar Mangkavar.	
34. K01 Foreshadowing Quote	Lema de, "Edo, Then, "Ohi		manware (4) nemanako (5) matako o those watching this child's face	rboke, koko. said, looks like	amu. his father.		

# Notes	CONJ	Preposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
35. Quote			Welnohahanekre kola His facial features	are like	ama."		
36. Quote ECI Suprize point in story!!!	ti-a and to	(4)Eris i (5) ma ktei bonyo, "Eno-a _____(5) After they had bathed him "Mother,	_____(5) _____(2)(4) kbwa _____(5) he you all I'll	byohe, myor ksusu-a said, (come) with go show	yaw (5) amaku-a rakali i ti ke." me the place they buried my father."		
37. ECI Quote	Lema de, ode So then, and	sahye kraia ambendwesike, neman desike those who filled that house, the child,	_____(4-frnt) _____(5) _____(5) _____(4)(5) they he he "We	rhota syusua byo, "tosy carried showed said, take	i (5-frnt) salke, salne." him the way this road."		
38. Quote LocCI ECI	desikeo after this		_____(4)(5) _____(5) "Amaku rakali i ti ke They he "My father's grave	Eba byo, walked said, is	tititia ranaita wenake, ne. on until their arrival at his place, here.		
39. Quote (continues)		ral ma with (it)	_____(3) _____(3) They they	Eala rkahat eta got covered (hid)	slyem ne (B) i (1)." this clamshell, him."		

# Notes	CONJ	Frapriused	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
40.		Syusu i ma ktei booyi)	(5) (4) (4)(5) (5)	byo, mya the ksusu		amaku wasi-a a dolan-a iry matahahumu i ke insalke."	
Quote	"Ode ma tia	After pointing him out,	he	said, come go can show		my father's treasures that the man who killed him took."	
ECL-ECL		"NOW let so	us I				
41.	Lema de. tititi-a de	rba raukar-a byo, wasi	(4)(5) (4)(5) (5) "Anaku	continued on entered said, owns is	Korduan's house, this clay jar up here this one, that they've tied up here."	Korduan's wait sekye, Korduan ne (A) a srane ra-eti tola ne."	
Quote	nde so, until and yeah	they they he "My father it					
ECL							
42. Back- ground	Lema de, ti so to	rwal rwaluk. climbed up lower (it) down.	(4) (4) they				
43. Quote Background	ode	"Anaku-a (1) isimaut neke: lia-nke (3) is (1)	(5) (3) (1)	Byo, inal itot-a	beal Ikuznycke (A)kralake dolan neke kibebeuw (A-frnt), i (1) Ikuznycke (A)	mane."	
PEAK	Lema de ode	He "My father searched like this:	(3) (3) He	tyabahuw-a yal-a said,			
Here he tells all	but So and	his friend he his friend	got found killed took	fish this clay jar filled with treasures him this clay jar as you see."			

§ Notes	CD/HJ	Proposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
44. Summary for Episode 2	Lema de, ma ma keakye SO but	Mangkawar desike (5) this Mangkawar	(4) (5) Hulaokwe they hu he God	kaken rhoth serwer-a tyanuk-a hye anne syusu was small, carried was (still) red, could speak the language; maybe directed (him)	i (5-frnt) i (5-frnt) i (5-frnt), tunke;	ma kolnyeke.	
45. EPISODE 3 Change Scene & time Set stage, background, foreshadowing 3 rd pran	ma desikeo ma until after that that	Mangkawar desike (5) Mangkawar you (you) they you	alween lanata reask shwe grew (were) a little bigger saw knew	o lulw o liaw lan (you), a lot about everything already.			
46. Begin Action 3 rd pran	Lema de, ti-a ma ti-a SO, to SO to	 they they	rba rubdawan-a ror rtunik-a went cause trouble took threw	i (5) i (5) i (5)	ba o tasike. away into the sea.		
47. 3 rd pran (Continuation of sent. 46) Repetition	ti-a desikeo to after that	 (they)	kor rtunik-a trus They drop returned.	i (5) i (5) took him	be ti sahke, ma. him in the river;		

# Notes	CONJ	Preposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
48. Change Scene New Participants	A a Ah,		____(5) ____(5) kabal larare(C) he he a sailing ship	yal byesbesaka kmya couldn't keep swimming was tossed about a lot came	i (5)	de, ti tasike khahane, ma. anymore on the ocean; by.	
49. 3rd pram (Enhance sentence 48) Valence incr. -k suffix	desikeo, a lema de ti after that so		____(C) ____(6) ____(6) ____(6) It they they	Kyait-a rmatakita rba rarasik-a reached saw approached	i (5), i (5), i (5).	him, him, him.	
50. Quote w/nd Formula!! DRAMA	"O ma "Oh CONJ		____(6) ____(6) (you all)	alyobak-a asyalak-a help lift up	yaw (5) yaw (5)." me, me."		
51. Quote with quoted speech	Lema de, "de ode So (and) "So and		____(6) ____(6) ____(5) ____(5) kusuke tutuke they the base the tip	rtunik-a rbo mlwosw ohe asusu ohe _____ dropped said, tell us about point out is is	akwe klauke anweke kabsi ka." a tree trunk this wood which end where."	ti i (5) down to him	
52. Quote 3rd pram	Desikeo ode So then and	ikita de straight away	____(5) "Kusuk tutuke he "The base the tip	byohe, _____ said, is is	ne ne this; this,	kitermar ne kibosal ne." that which is sinking this which is rising.	

# Notes	COMJ	Preposed	S	V	O	Postposed	YAM
53. Quote 3 rd pran	Lema de "A So "Ah,	kabal-a kebanaru (6) irnyeke (5) _____(6) the ship's crew this man we	rbohe, i-ne Yal-a said, is here take	i (5)."			de. already.
54. CONCLUSION 3 rd pran	ma desyo de mane, ma ma	_____(6) _____(6) _____(6) _____(5) _____ They	Raalak ral ror iba rahe rabilak lifted take with went know surpass	i (5) i (5), i (5) telke i ti-a Tnebar ne. him him, him	ei srake bal-a kleti so ti-a kleti so		
CLOSURE (bleached verbs)	so as to after that, so so, so	they he they they	up on top went west, far away over there the language (are smart)				him (who lives) here in Tanimbar.
55. YIMIS	A	ktunwe teike desy This history's ending	is there				de. done

APPENDIX B

A MACROSEGMENTATION DISPLAY OF THE *MANGKAWAR* TEXT

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A MACROSEGMENTATION DISPLAY OF THE *MANGKAWAR* TEXT

The following macrosegmentation display of the *Mangkawar* story uses a fairly literal English translation so the reader can see how time phrases and other conjunctive material occur at the divisions of the macrosegments. The main divisions used in this display are STAGE, EP (episode), CLOSURE, and FINIS, with EP numbered to show the sequential order, e.g. EP₁. Also, two other labels are used: EVIDENCE and CONCLUSION. These mark the deductive steps Mangkawar uses to prove Korduan guilty of murder.

The italicized notes in parentheses give short summaries of each macrosegment.

STAGE: (*the when, where, and who of this story*)

1. In Enus, there lived a man named Tulisama Botan.
2. He married a woman named Alalyena Endamin.
3. They had been married for a while, and she was now expecting.
4. The woman was great with child and now her time to give birth was near.

EP₁: (*Tulisama Botan disappears*)

STAGE: (*it happened on a fishing trip*)

5. That evening, her husband and another man went out fishing.
6. Her husband, Tulisama Botan, he was invited to go fishing by Korduan.

EP₁: (*how it happened*)

STAGE: (*where they went and what Tulisama Botan found*)

7. Korduan, you went out to sea to fish [while] Tulisama Botan you just fished near shore.
8. You didn't get any fish, you got a clay water jar.
9. Inside this clay water jar was bride wealth; there was riches (a gold pendant, gold earrings, hairpins, and a bead necklace) inside (it).

EP₁: *(return to beach, talk, eat)*

10. So high tide came, so they went to shore. They came to shore to clean fish at the beach.
11. Korduan said, "Where is your fish?"
12. Tulisama Botan said, "I didn't catch any; I just found this clay jar."
13. So then Korduan said, "If that's the case, let's clean the fish so we can bake the fish and eat."
14. So, they cleaned all the fish and went and baked the fish so they could eat at their hut.

EP₂: *(Korduan plots Tulisama's murder--suggests sleep)*

15. After they finished eating, Korduan wanted to kill Tulisama Botan.
16. So he said, "My friend, we've eaten until we are too full, and this fish has given us indigestion.
17. Let's first sleep until morning, and then we will go."
18. So then Tulisama Botan agreed as well, and so they slept.
19. They just slept; they slept soundly.

EP₃: *(the murder)*

20. Korduan, you woke up and got a short piece of wood, you used (it) to strike Tulisama Botan in the face in order to beat him to death.
21. Once he was dead, you dragged him here to bury him; you got a clam shell to mark him [his grave].

EP₂: *(Tulisama Botan is missing)*

STAGE: *(Korduan returns home)*

22. And so, early in the morning, you went back to the village, to Enus.
23. When you arrived, you cooked your catch until it was all done.

EP₁: *(Alalyena confronts Korduan)*

24. Ah, Tulisama Botan's wife, Alalyena Endamin, came to ask you a question; she asked Korduan a question.
25. She asked Korduan and said, "So you've come, now where's your friend?"
26. After which Korduan said, "Last night when we went fishing, he headed to the east side and I headed to the west side.
- 27-28. So, I don't know whether he [came home] before me or I before him--or whether he beat me last night or he hasn't yet come.
29. Go look for him at once."

EP₂: *(Tulisama Botan cannot be found)*

30. They sought him on and on until evening, but they didn't find him, they didn't find him.
31. So they (each) went to bed quietly [sadly].

EP₂: *(the mystery revealed)*

EP₁: *(Inciting Incident: the birth of a special baby)*

32. Several days later, Alalyena Endamin, you squatted [gave birth] until you delivered; you child's name was Mangkawar.
33. You gave birth to your child, then they called him Mangkawar. That child, they washed and bathed him; he cried.

34. Then, those watching said, "Oh! this child's face looks just like his father.

35. His forehead-lips [facial features] are like his fathers."

EP₂: (*Mangkawar solves the mystery--PEAK*)

EVIDENCE₁: (*he shows the grave*)

36. After they had bathed him he said, "Mother, you all (come) with me and I'll go to show the place they buried my father."
 37. So then, those who filled that house carried the child and he showed them the way saying, "We take this road."
 38. They walked and walked until they arrived at his place, then he said, "My father they buried here."
 39. They got this clamshell, they got (it) to cover (hide) him [his grave]."

EVIDENCE₂: (*he shows the clay jar*)

40. After he finished showing (it), he said, "Come let's go so I can show you my father's treasures that the man who killed him took."
 41. So, they continued on until they entered Korduan's house, and he said, "My father owns this clay jar, this one, this that they've tied up here."
 42. So they climbed up to lower it down.

CONCLUSION: (*he wraps up the case*)

43. He said, "My father searched like this: his friend who got fish but he found this clay jar with treasures filling the insides. So his friend killed him and took the clay jar, as you can see."

CLOSURE: (*narrative summary*)

44. So then Mangkawar was small, so they carried him; he was red, but he could speak the language. God, maybe, enabled (him) to do this.

EP₃: (*Denouement: what happens to Mangkawar*)

EP₁: (*Inciting Incident: he is thrown into the sea*)

45. Mangkawar, you grew until a little bigger, after which they saw that you were already very wise.
 46. So, they went to cause him trouble, so they took him away to throw him into the sea.
 47. They took him to drop him in the river; after which (they) returned.

EP₂: (*he is drowning, and a ship saves him*)

48. Ah, he couldn't keep swimming, he was being tossed about on the sea; a sailing ship came by.
 49. It reached him, after which they saw him, so they went up close to him.
 50. "Oh help me; lift me up."
 51. So they dropped a tree trunk down to him and said, "Tell us about this mast, say which end is the base and which is the tip."
 52. Straight away he said, "This is the base; that which is sinking here, and this is the tip, this which is rising here."
 53. So the ship's crew said, "Ah, he is a man already, let's take him."

54. They lifted him up top to take him, after that, together they all went west, they went far away over there.

CLOSURE: (*moral*)

So, they are smart and they surpass a man [us] here in Tanimbar.

FINIS:

55. This history ends at that point.

APPENDIX C

THE *MANGKAWAR* TEXT IN INTERLINEAR FORMAT

APPENDIX C

THE MANGKAWAR TEXT IN INTERLINEAR FORMAT

The following is the *Mangkawar* story in an interlinearized format. Each sentence is given in a three-line bundle, the first being straight text in a close approximation to the phonemic transcription (with punctuation). The other two lines are analogous to the examples given in the body of the thesis: one divides the morphemes and the next glosses them. The free translation is not given in single quotes here so as to emphasize the quoted speech where it occurs.

Differences in notation from the body of the thesis:

For person/number prefixes:

1s = kw- here, never ku-	1pi = ta- here, never t-
2s = mw- here, never mu-	2p = my- here, never mi-
3s = y- here, never i-	3p = ra- here, never r-

The plural morpheme is simply marked by -re here, rather than -Vre; morphemes and hyphens are lined up rather than concatenated; and finally, ?? means I am unsure how the morpheme should be glossed.

Line 01

tia	Enus	neke	irkye	ita	anina	Tulisama	Botanke.		
ti-a	Enus	ne	-ke	iry	-ke	it -a	ani -na	Tulisama	Botan-ke
at-Ø	Enus	this-ART	person-ART	one-Ø	name-his	Tulisama	Botan-ART		

In Enus, there lived a man named Tulisama Botan.

Line 02

yal wamfwetke ania Alalyena Endaminke.
 y -al wamfwet-ke ani -Ø -a Alalyena Endamin-ke
 3s-take woman -ART name-her-Ø Alalyena Endamin-ART

He married a woman named Alalyena Endamin.

Line 03

rasa ma klenke soso, desikeo wamfwetke mdedana i.
 ra-sa ma klen -ke soso desike-o wamfwet-ke mdedan -a i
 3p-marry for little-ART while then -TM woman -ART pregnant-Ø 3s

They had been married for a while, and she was now expecting.

Line 04

wamfwetke mdedana i ma kyaras tia
 wamfwet-ke mdedan -a i ma kyaras ti -a
 woman -ART pregnant-3s she until near until-Ø

wasia hulosew mana idur haf.
 wasi-Ø -a hul -o -sew mana y -dur haf
 own -her-Ø month-and-day want 3s-deliver below

The woman was great with child and now her time to give birth was near.

Line 05

desio sewah desike laina yora irkye it ma
 desi-o sewah desi-ke lai -na y -or -a iry -ke it ma
 then-TM evening this-ART husband-her 3s-with-Ø person-ART one CONJ

rbatia rasusw.
 ra-ba -ti a ra-susw
 3p-go -to-Ø 3p-fish

That evening, her husband and another man went out fishing.

Line 06

lain neke Tulisama Botan neke neke Korduan neke
 lai -n ne -ke Tulisama Botan ne -ke ne -ke Korduan ne -ke
 husband-her this-ART Tulisama Botan this-ART this-ART Korduan this-ART

ryubuta i ma tia rasusw, ryubut ti rasuswo.
 y -rubit -a i ma ti-a ra-susw y -rubit ti ra-susw-o
 3s-invite-Ø him come to-Ø 3p-fish 3s-invite to 3p-fish-TM

Her husband, Tulisama Botan, he was invited to go fishing by Korduan.

Line 07

Korduana mei tasike ti musus Tulisama Botan neke
 Korduan-a mw-ei tasi-ke ti mw-susw Tulisama Botan ne -ke
 Korduan-Ø 2s-go sea -ART to 2s-fishing Tulisama Botan this-ART

mususw tia rake bo.
 mw-susw ti-a ra -ke bo
 2s-fishing in-∅ shallows-ART just

Korduan, you went to sea to fish [while] Tulisama Botan you just fished near shore.

Line 08

ya, lema kika heal munal mala mutot a lkusye.
 ya lema kika heal mw-nal mw-al -a mw-tot a lkusy -ke
 ah NEG there.is catch 2s-get 2s-get-∅ 2s-find ∅ clay.water.jar-ART

Ah, you didn't get any fish, you got a clay water jar.

Line 09

lkusnyeke kralanare dolanke kimin a kralake,
 lkusy -ne -ke krala -re dolan -ke kimin a krala -ke
 clay.water.jar-this-ART inside-PL marriage.wealth-ART exist ∅ inside-ART

blyawanare lebit o a kmura o wadan o kbuny
 blyawan-re lebit o a kmura o wadan o kbuny
 gold -PL gold.pendant and ∅ gold.earrings and hairpins and bead.necklace

kimin a kralake.
 kimin a krala -ke
 exist ∅ inside-ART

Inside this clay water jar was bride wealth; there was riches: a gold pendant, gold earrings, hairpins, and a bead necklace inside (it).

Line 10

jadi, manahmake ma rei rake, rei rake ma
 jadi manahma -ke ma ra-ei ra -ke ra-ei ra -ke ma
 so high.tide-ART so 3p-go shore-ART 3p-go shore-ART to

rasihw tia elmatanare o.
 ra-sifw ti-a elmata-re o
 3p-clean.fish at-∅ beach -PL TM

So (this is what happened), the high tide came so they came to shore. They came to shore to clean fish at the beach.

Line 11

Korduan neke byo, "helasure sirka?"
 Korduan ne -ke y -bo hela -mw -re sir-ka
 Korduan this-ART 3s-say success-your-PL 3p -where

Korduan said, "Where is your fish?"

Line 12

Tulisama Botan ke byo, "lema kunal heal de kutota
 Tulisama Botan ke y -bo lema kw-n -al heal de kw-tot -a
 Tulisama Botan ART 3s-say NEG 1s-REL-get catch but 1s-find-Ø

lkuskye bo."
 lkusy -ke bo
 clay.water.jar-ART just

Tulisama Botan said, "I didn't catch any; I just found this clay jar."

Line 13

lemade Korduana byo, "desike mo tasihw ma
 lema.de Korduana-a y -bo desi-ke mo ta -sifw ma
 so.then Korduana-Ø 3s-say that-ART if lpi-clean.fish in.order.to

tbai rake tia talayar masy ma ta."
 ta -bai ra -ke ti-a ta -layar masy ma ta
 lpi-go.to land-ART to-Ø lpi-bake fish to lpi.eat

So then Korduana said, "If that's the case, let's clean the fish so we can go inland to bake the fish so we can eat."

Line 14

lemade rasihw ma ktei bonyo, rba tia ratunw masy ma
 lema.de ra-sifw ma ktei bonyo ra-ba ti-a ra-tunw masy ma
 so.then 3p-clean.fish until done just-TM 3p-go to-Ø 3p-bake fish so

ra ti wait lasyerkye.
 ra ti wait lasyery-ke
 3p.eat at own.they shelter-ART

So, they cleaned all the fish and went and baked the fish so they could eat at their hut.

Line 15

raknam maktei Korduana ryeky ma tyabahunwa Tulisama Botan ne
 ra-knam ma -ktei Korduana-a y -reky ma y -tabahunw-a Tulisama Botan ne
 3p-eat until-done Korduana-Ø 3s-plan to 3s-kill -Ø Tulisama Botan this

byu ti de byohe,
 y -bu ti de y -bohe
 3s-say to and 3s-say

After they finished eating, Korduana planned to kill Tulisama Botan so he said,

Line 16

"liakw, a taknam ma tbesur lanidik ode heal nekre kele
 lia -kw a ta -knam ma ta -besur lanidik ode heal ne -kre kele
 friend-my Ø lpi-eat until lpi-full too and.so catch this-PL/ART feel

rai itdye.
 ra-ai ity de
 3p-queasy us already

"My friend, we've eaten until we are too full, and this fish has given us indigestion.

Line 17
 tenah aduk ma bolbol ode nenmo tba."
 ta -enaf aduk ma bolbol ode nenmo ta -ba
 lpi-sleep first until tomorrow and then lpi-go

Let's sleep first and then tomorrow we will go."

Line 18
 lemade, Tulisama Botanke you dakun ma renaf.
 lema.de Tulisama Botan-ke y -ou dakun ma ra-enaf
 so.then Tulisama Botan-ART 3s-agree also so 3p-sleep

So then Tulisama Botan agreed as well, and so they slept.

Line 19
 renaf bonyo; ratepti bonyo.
 ra-enaf bony-o ra-tepti bony-o
 3p-sleep just-TM 3p-sleep.soundly just-TM

They just slept; just slept soundly.

Line 20
 Korduana mbwatar ma mala akwe kdusake mal ma
 Korduana-a mw-batar ma mw-al -a aw -ke kdusa-ke mw-al ma
 Korduana-Ø 2s-awake to 2s-get-Ø wood-ART short-ART 2s-use in.order.to

mobana Tulisama Botanke mal ti welnohaha nekre ma
 mw-oban-a Tulisama Botan-ke mal ti welnohaha -Ø ne -kre ma
 2s-hit -Ø Tulisama Botan-ART hit on nose/mouth-his this-PL/ART CONJ

kele mswila mhunwa i ma myaty.
 kele mw-sil -a mw-hunw -a i ma y -maty
 in.order.to 2s-beat-Ø 2s-murder-Ø him until 3s-die

Korduan, you woke up and got a short piece of wood, you used (it) to strike Tulisama Botan in the face in order to beat him to death.

Line 21
 imaty bonyo mhwait i ma tia mkwali i mala slyenke
 y -maty bony-o mw-hait i ma ti-a mw-kali i mw-al -a slyem -ke
 3s-die just-TM 2s-drag him here to-Ø 2s-bury him 2s-get-Ø clamshell-ART

ma mai ma matosa i.
 ma mw-al ma mw -atos-a i
 to 2s-get to 2s -mark-Ø him

Once he was dead, you dragged him here to bury him; you got a clam shell to mark him [his grave].

Line 22

ode, bolbolbol ne bonyo, mbwai a hnuke, rei Enus.
 ode bolbol-REDUP ne bonyo-Ø mw-bai a fnu -ke mw-ei Enus
 and.so morning.early this just-TM 2s-go.to Ø village-ART 2s-go Enus

And so, early in the morning, you went back to the village, to Enus.

Line 23

mbwa ti munait mnoha helamw alyamw maktei bonyo.
 mw-ba ti mw-nait mw-noha hela -mw aly -mw ma -ktei bonyo-Ø
 2s-go until 2s-arrive 2s-cook plunder-your catch-your until-done just-TM

You went until you arrived, you cooked your game, your catch until it was finished.

Line 24

oa, Tulisama Botanke sawa, Alalyena Endamin neke, nya na
 ca Tulisama Botan-ke sawa Alalyena Endamin ne -ke y -na na
 ah Tulisama Botan-ART wife Alalyena Endamin this-ART 3s-come CONJ

yena o, yena Korduan
 y -ena o y -ena Korduan
 3s-ask you 3s-ask Korduan

Ah, Tulisama Botan's wife, Alalyena Endamin, came to ask you a question, she asked Korduan a question.

Line 25

yena Korduan de byo, "mane mwa ode liankwe ika?"
 y -ena Korduan de y -bo mane mw-na ode lia -mw -ke y -ka
 3s-ask Korduan and 3s-say so 2s-come and.so friend-your-ART 3s-where

She asked Korduan and said, "So you've come, now where's your friend?"

Line 26

desikeo Korduana byo, "detke aramisusw neke:
 desi-ke -o Korduan-a y -bo det -ke aramy-susw ne -ke
 that-ART-TM Korduan-Ø 3s-say last.night-ART lpx -fishing this-ART

byasara kseri timur ode kwakola kseri harat ne.
 y -basara kseri timur ode kw-bakola kseri harat ne
 3s-head side east and 1s-head side west this

After this Korduan said, "Last night we went fishing like this: he headed to the east side and I headed to the west side.

Line 27

ma lema khwe ohe myuna yaw ta kmuna i,
 ma lema kw-he ohe y -muna yaw ta kw-muna i
 so NEG 1s-know whether 3s-before me or 1s-before him

So, I don't know whether he [came home] before me or I before him,

Line 28

de kete detke myuna yaw deny, atau lea mya o.
 de kete det -ke y -muna yaw deny atau lea y -ma o
 and whether last.night-ART 3s-before me already or not.yet 3s-come TM

or whether he beat me last night or he hasn't yet come.

Line 29

ti myobak a i bony de."
 ti my-obak a i bony de
 (go) to 2p-see Ø him just already

Just go look for him already."

Line 30

robak a i nini sewaho, lema ratota i, lema ratot a i.
 ra-obak a i nini sewah -o lema ra-tot -a i lema ra-tot -a i
 3p-see Ø him kept.on evening-TM not 3p-find-Ø him not 3p-find-Ø him

They sought him on and on until evening, but didn't find him, they didn't find him.

Line 31

lemade renah eta.
 lema.de ra-enaf eta
 so.then 3p-sleep hide

So they (each) went to sleep in secret.

Line 32

kiheitai bonyo, Alalyena Endaminke mudur,
 kiheitai bony-o Alalyena Endamin-ke mw-dur
 several.days.later just-TM Alalyena Endamin-ART 2s-birth

mudur ma mudur hahaka anankwe ania Mangkawar.
 mw-dur ma mw-dur hahaka ana -mw -ke ani -Ø -a Mangkawar
 2s-birth until 2s-birth downward child-your-ART name-his-Ø Mangkawar

Several days later, Alalyena Endamin, you squatted [gave birth] until you delivered; you child's name was Mangkawar.

Line 33

mudur bahaka anankwe ma raki i ti Mangkawar
 mw-dur hahaka ana -mw -ke ma ra-ki i ti Mangkawar
 2s-birth downward child-your-ART then 3p-name him DIR Mangkawar

naman desike a rauta raris a i; syer.
 naman desi-ke a ra-uta ra-ris a i y -ser
 child that-ART Ø 3p-wash 3p-bathe Ø him 3s-cry

You gave birth to your child, then they named him Mangkawar. That child, they washed and bathed him; he cried.

Line 34

lemade, masuare rbohe, "edo, naman neke matake o
 lema.de ma -su -re ra-bohe edo naman ne -ke mata-Ø -ke o
 so.then REL-watch-PL 3p-say oh! child this-ART face-his-ART ??

kola ama.
 kola ama -Ø
 like father-his

Then, those watching said, "Oh! this child's face looks just like his father.

Line 35

welnohaha nekre kola ama."
 welnohaha -Ø ne -kre kola ama -Ø
 nose/mouth-his this-PL/ART like father-his

His nose/mouth [facial features] are like his father's."

Line 36

raris i ma ktei bonyo, byohe, "enoa myor yaw
 ra-ris i ma ktei bony-o y -bohe eno -a my-or yaw
 3p-bathe him until done just-TM 3s-say mother-Ø 2p-with me

kbwa tia ksusua anakua rakali i ti ke."
 kw-ba ti-a kw-susu-a ama -kw-a ra-kali i ti Ø -ke
 1s-go to-Ø 1s-show-Ø father-my-Ø 3p-bury him at PRO-ART

After they had bathed him he said, "Mother, you all (come) with me and I'll go to show the place they buried my father."

Line 37

lemade, sekye krala mabenw desike, naman desike
 lema.de sey -ke krala ma -benw desy-ke naman desy-ke
 so.then house-ART inside REL-full that-ART child that-ART

rhota i ode syusua salke, byo, "tosy salne."
 ra-hot -a i ode y -susu-a sal -ke y -bo ta -osy sal -ne
 3p-carry.on.back-Ø him and 3s-show-Ø road-ART 3s-say lpi-from road-this

So then, those who filled that house carried the child and he showed them the way saying, "We follow this road."

Line 38

rba tititia ranaita wenake desike byo,
 ra-ba tititi -a ra-nait -a wen -a -ke desy-ke y -bo
 3p-go continue-Ø 3p-arrive-Ø place-his-ART that-ART 3s-say

"amaku rakali i ti ke ne.
 ama -kw ra-kali i ti Ø -ke ne
 father-my 3p-bury him at PRO-ART this

The walked and walked until they arrived at his place, then he said, "My father they buried here."

Line 39

rala slyem ne ral ma rkahat eta i."
 ra-al -a slyem ne ra-al ma ra-kahat eta i
 3p-get-Ø clamshell this 3p-get to 3p-cover hide him

They got this clamshell, they got (it) to cover (hide) him [his grave]."

Line 40

syusu i ma ktei bonyo byo, "ode mmya ma tba
 y -susu i ma ktei bony-o y -bo ode my-ma ma ta -ba
 3s-show him until done just-TM 3s-say and.so 2p-come so lpi-go

tia ksusu amaku wasia a dolana iry myatabahunwa
 ti-a kw-susu ama -kw wasi-Ø -a a dolan-a iry y -ma -tabahunw-a
 to-Ø 1s-show father-my own -his-Ø Ø gold -Ø person 3s-REL-kill -Ø

i ke inal ke."
 i ke y -n -al Ø -ke
 him ART 3s-REL-take PRO-ART

After he finished showing (them), he said, "Come let's go so I can show you my father's treasures that the man who killed him took."

Line 41

lemade, rba tititia rsukara Korduan ne wait sekye,
 lema.de ra-ba tititi -a ra-sukar-a Korduan ne wait sey -ke
 so.then 3p-go continue-Ø 3p-enter-Ø Korduan this own.they house-ART

de byo, "amaku wasi lkuskye ne a sra ne
 de y -bo ama -kw wasi-Ø lkusy -ke ne a sra ne
 and 3s-say father-my own -his clay.water.jar-ART this Ø top this

nde ne raeti tola ne."
 nde ne ra-eti tola ne
 ?? this 3p-tie.up hanging here

So, they continued on until they entered Korduan's house, and he said, "My father owns this clay jar, this one, this that they've tied up here."

Line 42

lemade, rsai ti rnauk Ø
 lema.de ra-sai ti ra-nauk Ø
 so.then 3p-climb to 3p-drop PRO

So they climbed up to lower it down.

Line 43

byo, "amakua isinaut neke, lianke inal heal
 y -bo ama -kw-a y -sinaut ne -ke lia -na -ke y -n -al heal
 3s-say father-my-Ø 3s-look.for this-ART friend-his-ART 3s-REL-get catch

ode ia itota lkusnyeke, kralake dolan neke
 ode ia y -tot -a lkusy -ne -ke krala -ke dolan ne -ke
 and he 3s-fird-Ø clay.water.jar-this-ART inside-ART riches this-ART

kibebenw, lemade lianke tyabahunwa i ode
 ki-be -benw lema.de lia -na -ke y -tabahunw-a i ode
 it-very-full so.then friend-his-ART 3s-kill -Ø him and

yala lkusnyeke mane."
 y -al -a lkusy -ne -ke mane
 3s-take-Ø clay.water.jar-this-ART like.this

He said, "My father searched like this: his friend who got fish (while) he found this clay jar with treasures filling the insides. So his friend killed him and took this clay jar, as you can see."

Line 44

lemade, Mangkawar desike kakan i ma rhot i ma nermera i,
 lema.de Mangkawar desy-ke kakan i ma ra-hot i ma nermer-a i
 so.then Mangkawar that-ART small 3s so 3p-carry him CONJ red -Ø 3s

keskye tyanuka hye tunke hulasokwe anne syusu ma
 keskye y -tanuk-a y -he tun -ke hulasow-ke anne y -susu ma
 but 3s-say -Ø 3s-know word-ART God -ART maybe 3s-show so

kolnyeke.

koly-ne -ke
 way -this-ART

So then Mangkawar was small, so they carried him; he was red, but he could speak the language; God, maybe, directed (him) in this way.

Line 45

Mangkawar desike mlwean ma lanata o desikeo rseak
 Mangkawar desy-ke mw-lean ma lan-ata o desike-o ra-seak
 Mangkawar that-ART 2s-grow until big-a.little 2s then -TM 3p-see

ma mhwe lulw o lyaw lan de.
 ma mw-he lulw o lyaw lan de
 CONJ 2s-know front and behind big already

Mangkawar, you grew until a little bigger, after which they saw that you were already wise (could see the front/insides and back/out in a big way).

Line 46

lemade, rba tia rahdawana i ma ror i ba tia
 lema.de ra-ba ti-a ra-ndawan -a i ma ra-or i ba ti-a
 so.then 3p-go to-Ø 3p-cause.trouble-Ø him so 3p-with him away to-Ø

rtunika i o tasike.
 ra-tunik-a i o tasi-ke
 3p-drop -Ø him at sea -ART

So, they went to cause him trouble, so they took him away to throw him into the sea.

Line 47

ror i ba tia rtunika i ti sahke, desikeo trus ma.
 ra-or i ba ti-a ra-tunik-a i ti sah -ke desike-o trus ma
 3p-with him go to-Ø 3p-drop -Ø him in river-ART then -TM and.then come

They took him to drop him in the river; after which (they) returned.

Line 48

a lema nyau yal de, a byesbesaka i ti tasike
 a lema y -nau y -al de a y -REDUP-besak -a i ti tasi -ke
 Ø NEG 3s-swim 3s-strong already Ø 3s-very -tossed.about-Ø him on ocean-ART

khahane, kabal larare kmya ma.
 khaha-ne kabal lar -re ky-ma ma
 on -this ship sail-PL IN-come here

Ah, he couldn't keep swimming, he was tossed about a lot on the ocean; a sailing ship came by.

Line 49

kyaita i, desikeo, rnatakita i, lemade rba ti rarasika i.
 ky-ait -a i desike-o ra-natakita i lema.de ra-ba ti ra-arasik -a i
 IN-reach-Ø him then -TM 3p-see him so.then 3p-go to 3p-approach-Ø him

It reached him, after which they saw him, so they went up close to him.

Line 50

"o mlyobaka yaw ma msyalaka yaw!"
 o my-lobak-a yaw ma my-salak-a yaw
 oh 2p-help -Ø me CONJ 2p-lift -Ø me

"Oh help me; lift me up!"

Line 51

lemade, rtunika akwe klauke ti i rbo de, "mlwosw ohe
 lema.de ra-tunik-a aw -ke klau-ke ti i ra-bo de mw-losu ohe
 so.then 3p-drop -Ø tree-ART wood-ART to him 3p-say already 2s-tell say

anweke msusu ohe kusuke kabei ode tutuke ka."
 aw -ne -ke mw-susu ohe kusu-ke kabei ode tutu-ke ka
 tree-this-ART 2s-show say base-ART which and end -ART where

So they dropped a tree trunk down to him and said, "Tell us about this tree, say which end is the base and which is the tip."

Line 52

desikeo ikita de byohe, "kusuke ne, kitemar ne, ode
 desike-o i -kita de y -bohe kusu-ke ne ki-temar ne ode
 then -TM 3s-wait already 3s-say base-ART this IN-sink here and

tutuke ne, kibosal ne."
 tutu-ke ne ki-bosal ne
 end -ART this IN-rise here

Straight away he said, "This is the base, that which is sinking here, and this is the tip, this which is rising here."

Line 53

Lemade kabala kebnare rbohe, "a irnyeke ine de.
 Lema.de kabal-a kebu -re ra-bohe a iry-ne -ke i -ne de
 so.then ship -its crew -PL 3p-say Ø man-this-ART 3s-here already

tala i."
 ta -al -a i
 lpi-take-Ø him

So the ship's crew said, "Ah, now he is already a man, let's take him."

Line 54

rsalak i ei srake ma ral i, desyo de ror
 ra-salak i ei sra-ke ma ra-al i desy-o de ra-or
 3p-lift him DIR on -ART in.order.to 3p-take him that-TM already 3p-with

i bai a kleti so mane, iba tia kleti so ma
 i bai a kleti so mane y -ba ti-a kleti so ma
 him go.to Ø west there like.this 3s-go to-Ø far.away there CONJ

rahe telke ma rabilak i tia Tnebarne.
 ra-he tel -ke ma ra-bilak i ti-a Tnebar -ne
 3p-know language-ART then 3p-pass.by him in-Ø Tanimbar-this

They lifted him up on top so as to take him, after that, they with him went west, they went far away over there. So, they are smart and they surpass a man [us] here in Tanimbar.

Line 55

a ktunwe teike desdye.
 a ktunw -ne tei-ke desy -de
 Ø history-this end-ART there-already

Ah, this history ends at that point. (lit.: The end of this history is already there.)

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