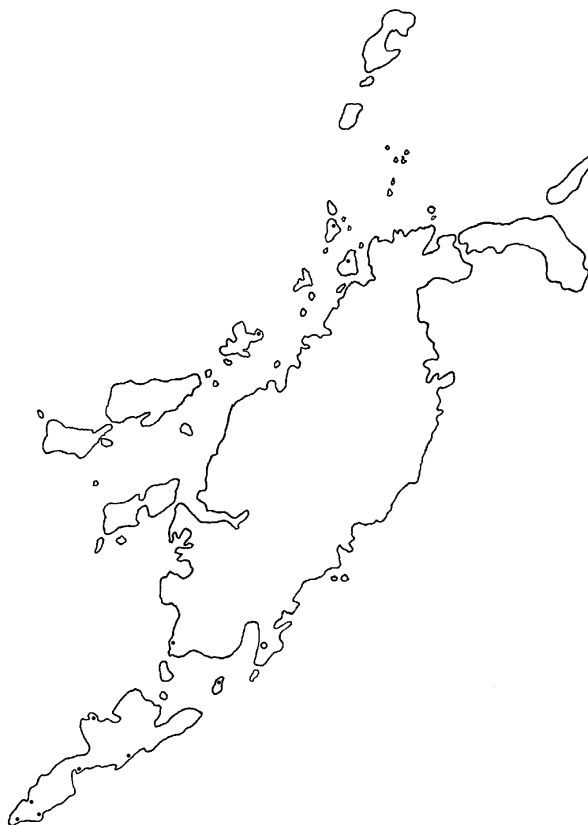# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF SELARU

by

DAVID FORREST COWARD

Version 2

SIL International

2005

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF SELARU

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PREFACE

TO VERSION 2

This current volume is a modified and expanded version of my M.A. thesis, submitted to the University of Texas at Arlington in 1990. This revision was begun shortly after finishing the M.A., because *Pacific Linguistics* showed an interest in publishing it, if it were revised based on suggestions from their review committee. So it began. Unfortunately, what with other work piling up, and my wife being seriously ill for a time, I simply had to put this effort on hold.

Now here we are 15 years later, and this volume is *still incomplete*. But I'm compiling it as is, since I'd prefer to make it available with the gaps that exist rather than hold on to it until it's done—as that just may never happen. So, please overlook the glaring shortcomings (often marked with @@@), the old references, and the incomplete analysis, and glean from what is given; for my hope is that there is still enough here to give you an adequate insight into one really cool language.

David F. Coward, October 2005
SIL International
Saumlaki, Maluku Tenggara Barat, Indonesia

ORIGINAL 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

This volume 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.

x

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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 nth Episode
Empty V ....Empty vowel
GEN ....Genitive empty vowel infix
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
P/NSuffix ....Person-number suffix
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

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE SELARU LANGUAGE

The Selaru language (*tel Masylarkwe*) is an Austronesian language located within the area encompassing what are classified as Central Malayo-Polynesian languages (see Blust 1978). The Selaru language is spoken on the island of Selaru, the southernmost island in the Tanimbar archipelago in the province of Maluku, Indonesia. The most closely related language to Selaru is Seluwasan at 56% lexical similarity (Hughes 1987).[1]

Blust (1987:32) writes 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," and Pawley (1973) notes that Eastern Indonesian languages (which includes Selaru) may be the closest relatives to the languages of Oceania. This 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 (a Western Malayo-Polynesian language).

Selaru verbal clauses generally mark the object NP (the Undergoer referent) in the post verbal position. 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.

The Selaru language is spoken by approximately 6,000 people in six of the seven villages on Selaru island (Kandar, Lingat, Namtabung, Eliasa, Werain, and Fursuy—see map, Figure 1.1), as well as in the village of Latdalam on the island of Yamdena where at least half of the population is comprised of Selaru speakers. There are four other villages of Selaru speakers who have migrated to other islands: Matakus, a small island northeast of Selaru; Lingada, located on the island of Nus Wotar off the west coast of Yamdena in northern Tanimbar; Tenaman and Mitak, on small islands farther north of Nus Wotar. There are also sizable

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[1]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.

communities of Selaru speakers in Saumlaki, the district capital, and Ambon, the provincial capital. The total number of Selaru speakers is approximately 8,000.
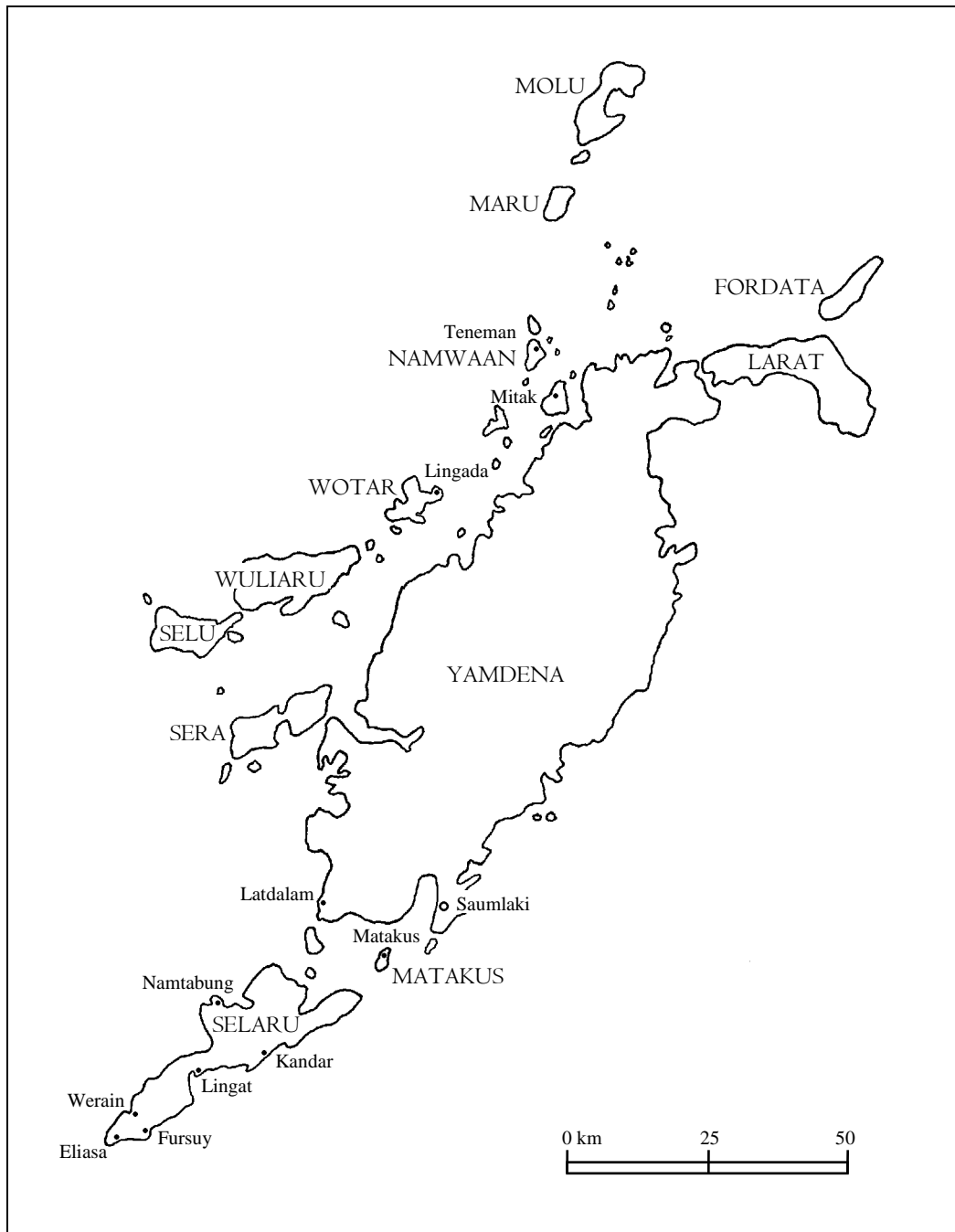
Figure 1.1: Selaru Speaking Towns in the Tanimbar Archipelago

Dialectal variation within the Selaru language is minimal for those speakers born or raised on the island of Selaru itself. Some variation in intonation patterns exist, with the Selaru spoken in the village of Kandar considered the most "pleasant sounding" by all those Selaru speakers queried on the subject. There are some minor phonetic differences between [k]~[g] and [f]~[h] between villages. No research has been done with those speakers who have migrated to islands other than Selaru, Yamdena, and Ambon.

This research was conducted under a cooperative agreement between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University of Ambon, Maluku. We (my wife and I) were able to be resident on the island of Selaru a total of twelve months over a period of four years. The majority of that time was in the village of Namtabung, population 1744 (Biro Pusat Statistik 1985). We have visited the other Selaru–speaking villages on the island and also Latdalam. Our data corpus includes over sixty texts, a beginning lexicon of 2000+ entries and our field notes.[2]

1.2   Purpose and Scope of this Study

Selaru is, for the most part, a language unknown to the linguistic community, since linguistic research on the Selaru language has been limited.. As Blust (1987:32) points out, "many languages in Indonesia that are of potential interest to general linguistic theory or to comparative Austronesian linguistics remain almost unknown."

The Catholic missionary P. Drabbe (1932) published a work that includes a grammar sketch and wordlist.[3] This was the most extensive work (32 pages) published on the Selaru language prior to N. Coward (1989) and D. Coward (1990). Brief mention of Selaru is also included in several comparative studies (Mills and Grima 1980, Mills 1981, 1991, Blust 1980, 1983–4a,b, 1986, Collins 1982, Hughes 1987). We believe all of these, but Hughes (1987) and Mills (1991), was based on the Drabbe wordlist. Selaru is also listed in various language atlases (Salzner 1960, Wurm and Hattori 1981, B. F. Grimes 1992). Simonne Pauwels, a Belgian anthropologist, stayed in the village of Fursuy during 1985 and 1986 and has published several works on Selaru culture (including 1985, 1990a, 1990b).

Collins (1982:127), 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" to determine its relationship to neighboring languages.

To date, nearly all linguistic research involving or mentioning Selaru data, with the exception of Drabbe's work and ours, is mainly comparative in nature, addressing the relationship of languages of the area.

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[2]Principal language helpers were B. Loblobly (60 year old male, village head), O. Nureroan (70 year old male), M. Hidungoran (50 year old male, *soa* head), M. Hulkiawar (40 year old male) and N. Watumlawar (25 year old male). We wish to thank them for giving of their time and being patient with our unending questions. Without their help this research would not have been possible.

[3] Drabbe's two other works (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 these might have proven helpful had they been available.

This present work[4] is introductory, and its purpose is to provide the linguistic community with a fairly comprehensive and accessible grammar of the Selaru language. It touches on morphology in this chapter and addresses the syntactic structures of the noun phrase up through discourse (text analysis) in subsequent chapters. It is hoped that by having a fairly broad scope, this work will be of interest to a larger audience within the linguistic community.

Because of the wide range of syntactic structures covered here, it is not possible to delve with great depth into everything mentioned, nor does this work 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, and that this work will add a needed but heretofore missing piece in the big puzzle of "the Austronesian language family."

1.2.1 METHODOLOGY

This work is a descriptive account of the grammatical structures of the Selaru language. When abstract 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 work 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.

1.2.2 OVERVIEW OF THE VOLUME

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 three basic clause types of Selaru are addressed. Chapter 4 deals with embedded clause structure; which includes the relative clause and the nominalized clause. It is also in Chapter 4 that the important concept of bleaching of verbs is presented. This concept has direct bearing on non-event line 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 text analysis are brought to bear on a Selaru narrative

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[4]This is a revised and expanded reworking of D. Coward (1990). I want to thank Shin Ja Hwang, who supervised the original effort, and Don Burquest and Bob Longacre, who were on my committee. Finally a special thanks to Chuck Grimes who commented on the original as well as on the revised versions for this volume. His help was invaluable.

text in order to ascertain the deeper meaning of the story. A cursory reading of the text does not reveal to the outsider the underlying implications of the story; rather, such a first look may leave the reader puzzled. But through the use of text 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 Selaru historical narrative. Appendix A gives the story in an interlinearized format. Appendix B is a macro-segmentation presentation with a fairly readable translation of the text. Appendix C presents the text in a Longacre-Levinsohn Chart (Longacre and Levinsohn 1978:111). This historical narrative is the basis for the text analysis of Chapter 6.

1.2.3 NOTATION

To avoid any confusion, it is important to give an explanation of the specific notation used in this volume. The layout of a typical example is:

(1) *Kw-ba ti   ku-ris.*   ←   the Selaru
     1s-go   CONJ   1s-bathe   ←   morphemic glossing
     'I'm going to take a bath.'   ←   free translation

The first line is the Selaru sentence or phrase under consideration. It is always in italic font and generally given in a phonemic representation, with individual morphemes in complex words divided by hyphens. If a form is given that is variant from the phonemic form (e.g. *ku-* '1s' in (1) above), it indicates that the surface form cannot be generated with the phonological rules (see Table 1.3).[5] Individual words are separated by spaces even when their structure actually merges together when spoken through spreading of word final glides (see section 1.3.2).

Free English translations or glosses are given in single quotes, e.g. 'I bathe.' Literal translations are given in parentheses, marked by 'lit.'. Morpheme by morpheme glosses (the second line in an example) include both literal English glosses and abbreviations for certain functors which are better captured by the abbreviation than by any one English gloss. Such abbreviations are 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. A list of abbreviations is included in the front matter of this volume to assist in decoding glossed examples, etc. I have tried to keep the number of unusual abbreviations to a minimum. If a Selaru morpheme requires an English gloss of more than one word, the gloss words will be connected by a period, e.g. *sra* = on.top.

Important words or phrases of an example often will be underlined or set off with brackets ([]). Where these are used, an explanation is given if it is not exactly clear what structures are being marked. 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   BASIC PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Selaru is the focus of *A Phonological Sketch Of The Selaru Language* (Coward and Coward 2000). The discussion here is simply to familiarize the reader with the phonemic inventory of Selaru and to 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.

1.3.1   THE PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORY

The phonological inventory of the Selaru language is rather straight forward, see Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: The Selaru Consonantal and Glide System

	Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stop Voiceless		t		k	ʔ
Voiced	b	d			
Fricative	f	s			h
Nasal	m	n			
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glide	w		y		

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 → Ø or [x].[6] Comparing Selaru to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) gives evidence for this, as in:

(2)   'fire'   *apuy   PMP
                        ay   Selaru

Collins also notes that *b > h, *mb > b, and *s, *j, and *l > s. Concerning this last sound change Collins writes that this "contrasts 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 (Yamdena is the closest language group geographically).

---

[5]The underlying form for '1s' is *kw-*, but the verb stem *-ris* 'bathe' is an irregular verb making the surface form *kuris* 'I bathed' rather than the expected **krwis*. For this reason the morphemic form for '1s' on 'bathe' reflects the surface form rather than the underlying form.

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

(3)	'pig'	*babuy	PMP
		hahy	Selaru
(4)	'dog'	*asu	PMP
		asw	Selaru
(5)	'pestle'	*qaSalu	PMP
		asw[7]	Selaru

An important reflex to note is that many 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.

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 volume as an apostrophe ['], as in *ati'at*, for [*ati ʔat*] '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 1.2: The Selaru Syllabic Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e		o
Open		a	

1.3.2   THE GLIDES: Y AND W

The most peculiar aspect of Selaru phonology is its glides '*w*' and '*y*'. The basic features associated with these glides have been reduced historically from full vowel status to only the [+hi,+rd] or [+hi,–rd] features respectively. These segments are almost imperceptible following a consonant phrase finally. It is not until they occur adjacent to an enclitic or word that their presence becomes intrusive. Commonly, these glides will spread across morpheme boundaries (with simple consonant onsets) to manifest themselves as a consonantal on-glide onto the next vowel (as labialization or palatalization from the onset to the vowel). For example, the root morpheme for 'dog' is /*asw*/. When this occurs in a noun phrase (with the morpheme -*ke* 'the') the resulting structure is [*askʷe*] 'the dog', i.e.:

(6)	/*asw-ke*/	→	[*askʷe*]	'the dog'
(7)	/*sihy-ke*/	→	[*sihkʸe*]	'the chicken'
(8)	/*imbatwaw-ke*/	→	[*imbatʷakʷe*]	'the cassava'

---

[6]In 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).

[7]Note that *asw* 'pestle' and *asw* 'dog' are now homonyms because of the loss of contrast between *s and *l.

Since the phonetic character of these segments is not always clear to the outside analyst, a more detailed explanation of their phonetic production is in order. Briefly, Selaru glides are 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) but have retained their lip and tongue shape and [+hi] features. To produce a Selaru glide in isolation, one begins by pronouncing an [i] or an [u], but then 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 in conjunction with a consonant is more complex. For [*asʷ*] 'dog', as one begins phonation of the [s] segment, one starts moving the lips and tongue into the position of an [u], but does not actually pronounce [u]. The [+hi,+rd] features of /w/ are achieved during the phonation of the [s] segment, basically adding these features to those of /s/ (a spreading process). Note that [*asʷ*] is a monosyllabic word; there is no extra puffing of air after the [s]. The /y/ is completely analogous to the /w/ in that the lips and tongue form an [i] with no syllabic quality, and its features [+hi,–rd] can spread to adjacent simple (C) consonants.

Newer theories of phonology, i.e. autosegmental and CV phonology, are able to treat these peculiar segments more insightfully. Under such an approach the segments *y* and *w* 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' [*asʷ*] is underlyingly:

(9)   VC   —CV skeletal tier
        | |
        a s w   —segmental tier
        'dog'

This structure makes an important statement. It says that in the lexicon this morpheme has a segment that is unassociated with anything on the CV skeletal tier (all non-glide segments are pre-attached to the CV tier). In this form it is not 'well-formed'. The following phonological rules provide the needed linking to the CV tier making this a well-formed morpheme:

Table 1.3: Association Rules for Selaru

> 1. Any CCC string on skeletal tier is restructured as CVCC (CCC violates allowable CV syllable patterns).
> 2. Unassociated segments link to any adjacent unattached V slot.
> 3. Unassociated–w's delete if between a C and a V at a morphological juncture.[8]
> 4. Unassociated segments associate rightward to the adjacent C, if there is one, and it is a simple (C) onset.
> 5. Unassociated segments associate leftward to the adjacent C, if there is one.
> 6. Unassociated segments are given a C timing unit on the CV skeletal tier (unless to do so would violate allowable CV syllable patterns) and are then linked to it.
> 7. Unassociated segments are given a V timing unit and linked to it.
> 8. Unassociated V's surface as [a] (the unmarked Selaru vowel).

As per Rule 5 (associate leftward) the /w/ links leftward to the C unit on the CV tier:

(10)   VC
        | |\
       a s w
       'dog'

The formalism expressed in (10) captures the observed phonetic reality in that all of the features of /w/ are transferred to /s/ making it surface as an [s] with lip rounding.

When /asw/ occurs in a noun phrase the glide appears to metathesize with the simple consonant onset of the following morpheme:

        UNDERLYING   LINKING[9]   SURFACE
(11)   VC   CV   VC   CV
        | | | | → | | / | | → [*ask^{w}e*]   'the dog'
        a s w - k e   *a s w - k e*

The apparent metathesis in the surface form in (11) is actually due to spreading and can be explained as follows: in the linking process, the features of /w/ 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 on-glide onto the [e]. Traditional segmental phonetic transcriptions therefore depict the [^{w}] occurring after the [k] and not before (or co-occurrent with) it.

These glides and their vowel counterparts contrast in identical environments:

(12) *asu*   'cheek'   *tasi*   'ocean'
       asw   'dog'   *tasy*   'rope'

       ku–ten 'I ask'   *rat*   'wild cat'
       ku–tenw 'I weave'   *raty*   'cemetery'

---

[8]This rule is obligatorily present for verb onset structure (for almost all Selaru speakers), but is either restricted to that domain or more pervasive depending on whether or not this new phonological process is real for the individual speaker.

[9]This example supports the preference for glides to link rightward over linking leftward.

Underlyingly *tasi* 'ocean' and *tasy* 'rope' are depicted as:

(13)   CVC
         | | | \   →   [*tasʸ*]   'rope'   (after linking; this is monosyllabic)
         t a s y

(14)   CVCV
         | | | | →   [*tasi*]   'ocean'
         t a s i

The details of how the phonological rules (in Table 1.3) interact with these unassociated glide segments is necessary for a full understanding of Selaru phonology, but a discussion of these details is found in Coward and Coward (2000) and so will not be repeated here. For the sake of simplicity, these glide segments will be treated (and written) in this volume simply as *w* and *y*, without any reference to the underlying structure. This simplification holds true everywhere except in the morphology section of this chapter and in Chapter 2, when describing the plural and possessive constructions; the underlying characteristics of these glides are crucial for a clear understanding of these constructions. Any time a morpheme is written with a *y* or *w* morpheme finally it means that segment will obey the association rules in Table 1.3, i.e., it has the ability to spread across morpheme and word breaks onto the following morpheme (with simple consonant onsets). If an example has the phrase *wasi-mw hahy desy* 'that is your pig', the final glides will cause this to be spoken as [*wasimhʷahdʸesʸ*]. The propensity of glides to spread is great and their presence is manifested in many areas of Selaru syntax.

1.4   Morphology

The basic morphology of the person-number prefixes and suffixes will be touch on here. Other aspects of Selaru morphology will be discussed throughout this volume where appropriate. A more detailed account of the morphological processes of Selaru is given in Coward and Coward (2000).

1.4.1   Subject Person-Number Prefixes

The surface forms for the person-number subject prefixes on verbs can be divided into three sets which are conditioned by the prenuclear syllable structure of the verb to which they attach (i.e. vowel initial, complex onset, and simple onset verb roots).

	1. Vowel Initial	**2. Complex (CC) Onset**	**3. Simple (C) Onset**
(15) a.	[*koban*]	[*kuknam*]	[*kbʷa*]
	/kw–oban/	/kw–knam/	/kw–ba/
	'I hit'	'I eat'	'I go'
b.	[*ʸoban*]	[*iknam*]	[*bʸa*]
	/y–oban/	/y–knam/	/y–ba/
	'he hit'	'he eats'	'he goes'
c.	[*roban*]	[*raknam*]	[*rba*]
	/r–oban/	/r–knam/	/r–ba/
	'they hit'	'they eat'	'they go'

Though there are exceptions, vowel initial verbs follow the pattern of Set 1 (where the labial glide *w* is lost, while *y* is unaffected), verbs with complex (CC) onsets take Set 2 (where the glides *w* and *y* become vocalic [+syllabic]), and verbs with simple consonant onsets follow Set 3 (where the glides spread their features to the simple C onset).

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

Table 1.4: Subject Person-Number Verb Prefixes

Verb Root begins with	1s	2s	3s	inani- mate	1pi	1px	2p	3p
SET 1 -V	k-	m-	y-	ky-	t-	aramy my-	my-	r-
SET 2 -CC	ku-	mu-	i-	ki-	ta-	aramy mi-	mi-	ra-
SET 3 -C	kCw-	mCw-	Cy-	kCy-	t-	aramy mCy-	mCy-	r-
Underlying Structure								
CV tier	C	C		C	C	V C V C C	C	C
	|	|		|	|	| | | | |	|	|
Segmental tier	k w	m w	y	k y	t	a r a m y my	m y	r
Shorthand	**kw-**	**mw-**	**y-**	**ky-**	**t-**	**aramy my-**	**my-**	**r-**
Possible Proto source	*(a)ku	*(ka)mu	*i(a)		*(ki)ta	*(ka)mi	*(ki)mi *mi(u)	*(si)Da

Table 1.4 lays out the person–number verbal subject prefixes 1) according to their three surface form sets, 2) their theoretical underlying form, 3) their "shorthand" form, used extensively in this volume, and 4) their possible historical forms. The complex prefix form *aramy my-* involves the 1px pronoun *aramy* 'we (exclusive)'. This person-number prefix has the same prefix form (*my-*) as 2p. It is mandatory in an utterance to include *aramy* when referencing 1px subjects, for the prefix *my-* alone will always be interpreted as referring to 2p. These person-number prefixes are nearly identical to the possessive or genitive suffixes (see section 2.8).

Each prefix (except 1pi and 3p) has a final glide segment *y* or *w*. The third singular prefix is merely the glide *y*, by itself, with no CV tier specifications at all. As shown above, a prefix

will surface in one of the three ways, depending on the onset of the verb root. These surface
forms are a function of the glides, their environment, and the association rules in Table 1.3.

If a verb root has a complex onset, then the glide on a subject prefix becomes a vowel.
This is explained by rule 1 (restructure CCC to CVCC) and rule 2 (link to adjacent empty V).
In the following example the root is *–knam* 'eat'.

(16) a. **Rule 1: Restructure CCC and Rule 2: Link to Empty V**

        C   CCVC   CVCCVC   CVCCVC
        | |||| → | |||| → |||||| →   [*kuknam*] 'I eat'
        kw - k n a m   k w k n a m k w k n a m

     b. **Rule 1: Restructure CCC and Rule 2: Link to Empty V**

        C   CCVC   CVCCVC   CVCCVC
        | |||| → | |||| → |||||| →   [*miknam*] 'you all eat'
        my - k n a m   m y k n a m m y k n a m
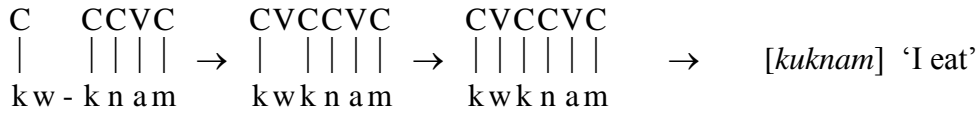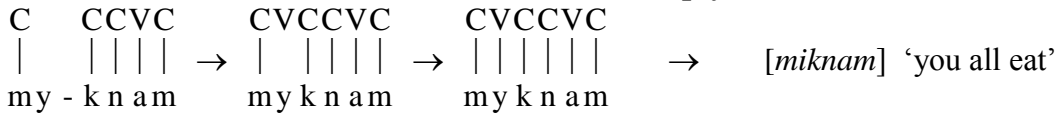
When *kw-* '1s' in (16)a is added to the root *-knam* 'eat', the CV tier is filled with a
sequence of three C's. Because the glide has no CV unit, the C associated with the /k/ of *kw–*
"bumps" up against the CCVC pattern of the verb root. A sequence of three C's is not
allowed in Selaru, so the CV pattern is restructure to CVCCVC (as per rule 1). This inserts
an empty V unit, i.e., the V is not associated with any phonemic segment. The glide in *kw–*
then links to this empty V gaining full vowel quality (as per rule 2). The process for *miknam*
'you all eat' in (16)b is completely analogous.

If the subject prefix does not have a glide morpheme finally, as in *t-* '1pi' and *r-* '3p', rule
1 and rule 8 come into play.

(17)   **Rule 1: Restructure CCC and Rule 8: Empty V Surfaces as [a]**

        C CCVC   CVCCVC   CVCCVC
        | |||| → | |||| → |||||| →   [*taknam*] 'we eat'
        t – k n a m   t k n a m   t a k n a m

In this case the CCC concatenation is restructured to CVCC, but the empty V has no
unassociated segment to attach to (as in the case with glides). At the end of the derivation it
surfaces as the unmarked phone [a]. The process of restructuring CCC units and the eventual
surfacing of the empty V as the unmarked phone [a] is not restricted to verbal prefixes, but
commonly occurs in general discourse (where two words abut, forming a CCC sequence).[10]

When the 3s prefix *y-* attaches to a complex CC onset verb root, it involves a completely
different process than discussed thus far. Since the 3s prefix is simply a *y-*, and this phoneme
is unspecified on the CV tier, the 3s prefix is completely by itself. It cannot cause any CCC

---

[10]It might appear more straight forward to posit the 1pi and the 3p prefixes as being *ta-* and *ra-* respectively
    (and from a historical perspective, more satisfying), but this creates greater problems with verbal

restructuring (as in preceding examples). The first rule that the 3s prefix could possibly obey is rule 6 (unassociated segments are given a C unit, unless to do so would violate allowable CV syllable patterns). In this case, adding a C to the CV tier for *y–* would create a CCC string, and this is not an acceptable pattern. So then rule 7 gives the still unassociated *y–* prefix a V timing unit, making *y-knam* 'he eats' surface as [*iknam*].

Verbs with simple (C) onsets can be exemplified using the verb root *-tomolu* 'to hear/listen'. Generally, if the prefix ends in a glide, the glide's features are spread over to the consonant on the verb, as per rule 4.

(18) **Rule 4: Associate Rightward**

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{C} & \text{CVCVCV} & & \text{C} \quad \text{CVCVCV} \\
| & |\,|\,|\,|\,|\,| & \rightarrow & |\ /\,|\,|\,|\,|\,|\,| \\
\text{k w} - \text{t omo l u} & & & \text{k w t omo l u}
\end{array}
\rightarrow [kt^womolu] \ \text{'I hear'}
$$
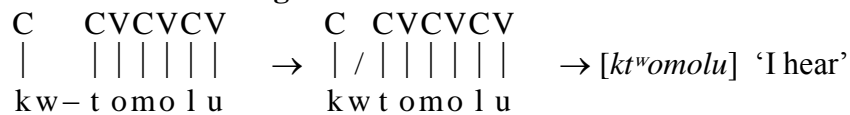
This spreading appears as 'metathesis' at the time of utterance (see section 1.3.2). Those prefixes which have no glides simply attach, creating a complex onset: *t-tomolu* 'we (incl.) hear' surfaces as [*ttomolu*] (the geminate *t*'s create a slightly delayed release), *r-tomolu* 'they hear' surfaces as [*rtomolu*].

There are some verbs which have simple consonant onsets which do not allow spreading of prefix glide features. Instead they act as though they have complex CC onsets (i.e., the glides become vowels and an [a] is inserted for those prefixes with no glides). For example, *kw-ris* 'I bathe' surfaces as [*kuris*], not the expected *[*krwis*]. When these verbs occur in an example in this volume, as in example (1), the person-number prefix will be written as it surfaces, e.g. *ku-ris*, so as to differentiate such verbs from the more common simple onset verbs which do allow for spreading, e.g. *kw-ba* 'I go' which surfaces as [*kbwa*]. Simple onset verbs, such as *-ris*, must be marked in the lexicon.

Vowel initial verb roots form an inconsistent pattern. The *w* in the 1s and 2s prefixes drops out before vowel initial verb roots, while the *y* in other prefixes do not. (Non-glide prefixes simply attach.)

(19) a. [*kasar*] b. [*m^yasar*] c. [*rasar*]

     kw-asar   *my-asar*   *r-asar*

     'I grill'   'you all grill'   'they grill'

It is not clear why the *w* in *kw-asar*, (19)a, would drop out while the *y* in *my-asar* in (19)b does not, although there is some evidence that a *y* is 'stronger' than a *w*. A word final *y* seems to have more force or puff of air after voiceless stops than a *w* (which is totally airless), and after other morphological processes, like reduplication, the reduplicated final-*y*

---

morphology than it solves and ignores the fact that the process of an empty V surfacing as an [a] occurs in

is retained where the final-*w* is not: [*nelnʸelʸ*] 'clean' (from /*nely–nely*/), but [*harharʷ*] 'new' (from /*harw–harw*/).

This inconsistency in the verb paradigm set requires the *w*-deletion rule (association rule 3):

(20)   **Rule 3:** Unassociated *w*'s delete in the following environment:
         C   V
         | |
         x w - x   where 'x' refers to any C segment and the '-' is a morpheme break.

On vowel-initial verb roots the 3s (*y–*) prefix is given a C timing unit by rule 6 (unassociated segments are given a C timing unit and linked to it, unless to do so would violate allowable CV syllable patterns).

1.4.2   PRONOUNS

The Selaru Pronoun chart is as follows:

Table 1.5: The Selaru Pronouns

Person-number	Actor	Undergoer	PMP
1s	*yaw*	*yaw*	*i-aku
2s	*o-a*	*o*	*i-kau
3s	*i-a*	*i*	*i-a
Inanimate (sg. and pl.)	Ø	Ø	
1pi	*ity*	*ity*	*i-kita
1px	*aramy*	*aramy*	*i-k-ami
2p	*e-a*	*e*	
3p	*sir-a*	*sir*	*siDa

The final -*a* on many of the Actor pronouns appear to be a syntactic feature and not a part of the pronoun itself (see section 3.6.3). Actor pronouns are rare, but when they do occur, those that can be marked with an -*a* will be.

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

(21) a. <u>*Y-or*   *yaw*   *aramy*   *my-ba-i*   *bo-Vre.*</u>
        3s-with   me   we (excl.) 1px-go-LOC   garden-PL
        'He and I went to the gardens.'

    b. *Ku-ten   ma   kw-tabal   <u>tun-ke   khatu-ke   it</u>   ma*
       1s-ask   CONJ   1s-speak   [speech-ART kernel-ART one] CONJ

       mw-lean   <u>mw-or   Ø.</u>
       2s-grow   2s-with   IN

       'I wish to speak <u>*a word*</u> (lit. 'a kernel of speech') so you can grow with <u>*it*</u>.'

The verb *-or* 'with' always takes an object, as is seen by the object pronoun *yaw* 'me' in (21)a. Sentence (21)b 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. By positing that the inanimate pronoun is marked with a Ø (i.e. has no surface form) then *-or* can be said to always take a direct object. By extension then, Ø can be posited as the Actor pronoun for inanimate nouns, as inanimate Actors are referenced either by a full noun phrase and the verbal prefix *ky-*, or simply by their verb prefix alone; there is never any occurrence of a surface inanimate pronoun.

Non-human plural animate nouns (e.g. *asure* 'dogs') can be referenced by the Undergoer pronoun *sir* 'them', but when such nouns are the Actors of a clause, they are never marked by a pronoun (apparently *sir-a* 'they' can only be used for human subjects).

CHAPTER 2

2.   THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1   INTRODUCTION

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

2.2   THE ARTICLE

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

(1)   *ltuat-ke*
       rice.steamer-ART
       'a rice steamer' or 'the rice steamer'

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

The *-ke* article is a helpful 'road sign' in Selaru syntax, for it brackets 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 *-ke* is optional when a head noun is modified by a demonstrative or when the NP is in the direct object position. The article plays 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.

2.3   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 2.1: The Demonstratives

ne	this (here)
desy	that (there)
so	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 volume they will normally be written separated by hyphens, they are actually said as one word:

(3)   *ltuat-ne-ke*   ← no glide
       rice.steamer-this-ART
       'this rice steamer'

(4)   *asdwesike*   ← glide, as spoken
       asw-desy-ke   ← morphemically split[1]
       dog-that-ART
       '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'

The Selaru NP as discussed thus far can be depicted with the following formulation:

(7)   **NP = N$_{head}$ (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:

(8)   *Lema kika wer*.
       NEG   exist   water
       'There isn't any water.'

---

[1]The glide *y* of *desy* 'that' in (4) beomes an [*i*] when affixed by the article *-ke*. This creates the surface form *desike* rather than the expected **deskye*. Why this happens is unclear, but could indicate that *desike* has become frozen. In all other syntactic combinations (not involving each other), both *desy* 'that' and *-ke* 'a/the' follow the association rules (see Table 1.3 in section 1.3.2).

(9)   *Kw-dakin   ku   masy.*
       I -like   eat   fish
       'I like to eat fish.'

Such truncated NPs referentially generic and usually refer to uncountable mass nouns or non-referential-indeterminate nouns. The noun *wer* 'water/steam' in (8) is an example of a non-count (or uncountable) noun (when referring to 'water'), while *masy* 'fish' in (9) is an example of a non-referential-indeterminate noun, i.e., the noun is not referring to any particular fish.

2.4   PLURAL NPS

Like many other CMP languages, Selaru indicates the plurality of a head noun with a plural enclitic (cf. Stresemann 1927:6@@@).

2.4.1   PLURALIZATION OF UNSPECIFIED HEAD NOUNS

An 'unspecified' head noun refers to a head noun that is not modified by a demonstrative (*ne* 'this', *desy* 'that', *so* 'that (far away)'). Such head nouns are marked phrase finally (in place of the NP article) with one of the following four surface forms:

Table 2.2: Surface Forms for the Plural Enclitic

If the last word in the noun phrase:		Add:
1. ends in a consonant or is monosyllabic:		*-are*
2. ends in a glide :	$(w \rightarrow u)$	*-re*
	$(y \rightarrow i)$	*-re*
3. is non-monosyllabic and ends in a vowel:		*-nare*

The surface form of the plural is not dependent on the head noun form but on the immediate environment of the plural enclitic. As mentioned before, the plural enclitic attaches to the last word in the noun phrase. If this word is an adjective, for example, then the adjective's structure is what determines the surface manifestation of the plural marker.

This plural enclitic has the somewhat abstract form:

Plural Enclitic
(10)   VCV
           | | the shorthand form being /–V*re*/
        –   r e

This underlying form for the plural enclitic implies that it is disyllabic.[2] This form, following the association rules (see Table 1.3 in section 1.3.2), will account for all attested surface forms except the [-*nare*] form (form 3. in Table 2.2).

It is not clear why some nouns ending in a vowel take the [-*nare*] form. Generally, most words which take this form are at least disyllabic. No solid explanation yet accounts for the [n] in this form, but it could be related to the 3s genitive enclitic (see section 2.8.2). Until this is fully understood, the following "patch" rule will have to suffice.

(11)   **Non-monosyllabic words ending in V take the embellished plural form: */-n-Vre/***

There are a few exceptions to this patch rule.

The following are examples of unspecified NP's using the plural enclitic.

(12)   *ltuatare*   (consonant final head)
        ltuat-Vre
        rice.steamer-PL
        'the rice steamers' or 'rice steamers'

 (13)   *asure*   (w glide final head)
        asw-Vre
        dog-PL
        'the dogs' or 'dogs'

(14)   *hahire*   (y glide final head)
        hahy-Vre
        dog-PL
        'the dogs' or 'dogs'

(15)   *boare*   (monosyllabic)
        bo-Vre
        garden-PL
        'the gardens' or 'gardens'

(16)   *turinare*   (non-monosyllabic vowel final—the patch rule)
        turi-n-Vre
        machete-Ø-PL
        'the machetes' or 'machetes'

(17)   *aroare*   (one of the exceptions to the patch rule)[3]
        aro-Vre
        boat-PL
        'the boats' or 'boats'

---

[2]The first V is an unspecified vowel timing unit on the CV skeletal tier. As is, it has no phonetic features from the segmental tier associated with it. It gains its phonetic features after it is linking to the segmental tier according to the association rules.

[3]In this case, the pluralization results in a stress shift: from *ároke* 'the boat' to *aróare* 'boats'. One other exception is [*abuare*] /*abu–Vre*/ 'black–eyed peas'.

When the plural enclitic attaches to a morpheme ending in a glide, the glide automatically attaches to the empty V unit making it a full vowel (as seen in (13) and (14) above). If the morpheme ends in a consonant, there is no unassociated segment available to link to the empty V unit (as all segments surrounding the empty V are already linked up). In this case the features of [*a*] are assigned to the empty-V, creating what appears to be a default vowel epenthesis. Finally, non-monosyllabic vowel final morphemes 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, e.g. (16). As stated before, why a nasal is inserted is not clear, nor is it clear why this does not always occur, as in the case of monosyllabic stems, e.g. (15).

Positing an empty V in the underlying form of the plural enclitic simplifies the surface form alternations given in Table 2.2 to simply one patch rule, given in (11). All of the other alternations are a product of the association rules (see Table 1.3 in section 1.3.2) and need no further treatment. The concept of an empty V becoming an [*a*] will be important again for the genitive possessive construction.

2.4.2   PLURALIZATION OF SPECIFIED HEAD NOUNS

'Specified' head nouns are those modified by demonstratives. The plural enclitic 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 it is labeled PL/ART. How this might have developed is not clear. The *-kre* form fills the same slot in the NP as *-ke* and *-Vre*.

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

(19)   *asdwesikre*
     asw   desy-kre
     dog   that-PL/ART
     'those dogs'

(20)   *naman   so-kre*
     child   that.far-PL/ART
     'those children (far away)'

As mentioned above, the article *-ke* and the plural markers *-Vre* and *-kre* are the singular and plural counterparts of the same grammatical structure, i.e. filling the same syntactic slot (the article) whether singular or plural. With this generalization, the basic NP structure will account for plural NP constructions as well:

(21)   **NP = N$_{head}$ (DEM)(ART)**

2.5   A*TTRIBUTIVE* NP*S* (A*DJECTIVES* M*ODIFYING* N*OUNS*)

In an attributive NP, the adjective comes just before the demonstrative or, if not present, the article.

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

(23) a. *naman atyat-ke*   'the bad child'
      b. *naman atyat desike* 'that bad child'
      c. *naman atyat desy-kre* 'those bad children'

Adjectives can occur in unspecified plural NPs as well:

(24) a. *aro lan-are*   'big boats'
      b. *naman atyat-are*   'bad children'

Concatenation of multiple adjectives (e.g. 'the big, bad, ugly dog') rarely occurs in Selaru, though the following example was verified as acceptable:

(25) *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. Selaru normally resorts to multiple attributive clauses or uses a relative clause in addition to a basic attributive NP to accomplish this kind of restriction to the domain of possible referential head nouns.

The attributive construction expands the basic NP formula to:

(26)   **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).

2.6   C*OMPOUND* NP*S* (N*OUNS* M*ODIFYING* N*OUNS*)

A compound NP consists of a noun, in stead of an adjective, modifying the head noun. This 'attributive' noun fills the same slot as the adjective in an attributive NP. Although the compound NP is similar to that of the genitive NP (see (86) in section 2.8.2.3), there is clearly a structural difference. The compound NP is a single noun phrase construction, while the genitive NP is structurally two NP's (i.e. an NP-NP construction).

The compound NP takes the form:

(27)   **Compound NP = N$_{head}$ N$_{attr}$ ART**

(28)   *kuskus   holholat-ke*
       key   door-ART
       'the door-key'

This contrasts with the genitive NP:

(29)   *holholatke   kuskusake*
       *holholat-ke   kuskus-*V*-Ø-ke*
       door-ART   key-GEN-IN-ART
       'the key of the door' (lit. 'the door's key')

Example (28) also differs semantically from (29) in that (28) refers to a type of key, i.e. a door-key as opposed to some other type of key, whereas (29) is actually a possessive construction, i.e. 'the door's key'.

The compound NP is fairly rare in Selaru.

2.7   ENUMERATING HEAD NOUNS

Specifying the number[4] or quantity of a head noun in Selaru is fairly straightforward. A Selaru noun phrase will always be singular in construction if enumerated, regardless of the numeric value of the head. 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 simply involves specifying the number <u>outside</u> the noun phrase (and the NP must be syntactically singular). This construction may not contain a demonstrative, as this would make it 'specified'.

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[4]The Selaru numbering system is as follows:

1.	*sasam*	11.	*hean a kresi sasam*
2.	*enaru* (*ru*)	12.	*hean a kresi enaru*
3.	*enatelw* (*telw*)	20.	*hean ru*
4.	*ena'at* ('*at*)	21.	*hean ru a kresi sasam*
5.	*enasim* (*sim*)	22.	*hean ru a kresi enaru*
6.	*nem*	30.	*hean telw*
7.	*itw*	31.	*hean telu kresi sasam*
8.	*walw*	100.	*atkwe sasam*
9.	*siw*	215.	*atkwe enaru ksala hean a kresi sasam*
10.	*hean*	1000.	*ribunke sasam*

    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 terms *a kresi* (used for numbers in the 10s) or *ksala* (used for numbers in the 100s) simply mean '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).

(30)   *aro-ke   enaru*
        boat-ART   two
        'two boats'

(31)   *Naman-ke   enatelw   r-ba-i   namwata-ke.*
        child-ART   three   3p-go-LOC   beach-ART
        'Three children went to the beach.'

The head noun of such a structure is non-specific, hence the glosses 'two boats' and 'three children' rather than 'the two boats' or 'the three children'. In (31), the numbered NP is filling the Subject-Actor slot of the clause.

This construction is a truncation or subset of the numbered attributive clause (see section 3.3.1.3):

(32)   *tuang   gurw-ke   enatelw*   (numbered unspecified NP)
        master teacher-ART   three
         'three teachers'

(33)   *Tuang   gurw-ke   enatelw   sir.*   (numbered attributive clause)
        master teacher-ART   three   they
        'There are three teachers.' (lit. 'the teachers number three')

The two main differences between these two constructions are 1) that the numbered unspecified NP is not a complete statement, whereas the numbered attributive clause is; and 2) the number in the unspecified NP does not take a topic person-number pronoun, whereas the numbered attributive clause does. These distinctions are nearly lost when the subject-topic is an inanimate object, because the person-number pronoun for an inanimate object is Ø, as the following numbered attributive clause demonstrates:

(34)   *Wasi-kw   buku-ke   hean   telu-kresi   enaru* Ø.
        own-my   book-ART   ten   three-plus   two   inanimate
        'I have thirty-two books.' (lit. 'my books number three tens plus two')

2.7.2 NUMBERING SPECIFIED NOUNS

'Specified' (specific or known) nouns are numbered as follows:

(35)   **Specified NP = N$_{head}$ *de*-Number (DEM)(ART)**

        (where the ART must be singular *-ke*)

This differs from the previous numbered NP in that 1) the **Number** is included within the NP structure, 2) there is an optional demonstrative within the NP, 3) the article closes the whole structure. Also, the numbers for a specified NP are slightly modified from the numbers used with the unspecified NP (or numbered attributive clause). Numbers two through five (2-5) are truncated; the *ena-* numeral prefix is dropped, leaving only the stem number. For

example, *enaru* 'two' from (30) becomes *ru* and is prefixed with *de-* (the number ligature) in a specified NP. Example (30) in a specified NP would be:

(36) *aro   de-ru   desike*
      boat   NUM-two that(ART)
      'those two boats'

In complete clauses, the two NP's (30) and (36) act as follows:

(37) a. <u>*Aro-ke   enaru*</u> *ky-ba-i   Kadar.*
          boat-ART   two   IN-go-LOC   Kandar
          'Two boats went to Kandar.'

      b. <u>*Aro de-ru   desike*</u> *ky-ba-i   Kadar.*
          boat NUM-two   that(ART)   IN-go-LOC Kandar
          'Those two boats went to Kandar.'

Notice in terms of the glossing, the second is referring to specific boats, while the first is not.

    Others examples of numbered, specified NP's (taken from a collection of folk tales) include:

(38) <u>*Hahy deru   desike*</u> *ana r-ala   ma   r-ba   ti...*
      pig   NUM-two that(ART) later 3p-plan   CONJ 3p-go CONJ
      'Those two pigs later planned to go and...'

(39) *Lemade   <u>naman detelw   ne-ke</u>   r-ndiry   ma   r-oban...*
      then   child   NUM-three this-ART 3p-stand CONJ   3p-hit
      'Then these three children stood up and hit...'

(40) *Askwe   nya   serahmyamin   mbinana deteldwesmyaktei.*
      asw-ke   y-na   serahy ma-min   <u>mbinana detelw   desy</u> ma   ktei
      dog-ART   3s-eat rice   REL-is.in plate   NUM-three   that   until   done
      'The dog ate the rice that was in those three plates all gone.'

These last three examples show the numbered NP in context, filling either the subject-actor slot or, as in (40), the object slot of a relative clause.

    The function of *de-* in numbering a specified NP is not clear, but it is consistently used for all enumerations of specified heads (including 'one': *de-sasam*). It is possible that *de-* carries some element of 'referentiality', since it is not only possible but common for the head noun to be deleted from such a NP leaving only the *de-*Number and article:

(41) *Lemade, <u>de-telw-ke</u>   r-ba.*
      then   NUM-three-ART   3p-go
      'Then the three left.'

(42) *...y-bu   ti   lia-n-ke   ma   <u>de-ru-ke</u>   r-knam.*
      ...3s-said   to   friend-his-ART CONJ NUM-two-ART   3p-eat
      '...he said to his friend that the two [of them should] eat.'

As stated before, all enumerated NP's are singular in form, as seen by the use of the article *-ke* and not the plural markers *-Vre* or *-kre* in these examples. But there are occasional counter examples to this 'singular NP' generalization:

(43) *Naman   ne-kre   ena-t-ke   kyeyera   sir;   lemade   naman*
       child   this-PL/ART   mother-3p-ART   3s-mad.at   them   then   child

       de-ru   desikre   ra-la.
       NUM-two   that(PL/ART)   3p-run
       'These children, their mother was mad at them; so then those children ran away.'

In (43), the numbered NP ends in the plural form *desikre* 'that(PL/ART)' rather than the expected *desike* 'that(ART)'. Why this occurs here is not clear. There are very few of these examples and may be all attributable to idiolect variations.

2.7.3   OTHER MEANS OF QUANTIFYING A NOUN

Quantifying words in Selaru are infrequent and use a variety of syntactic structures for their encoding. The most common are *ribun* 'a lot/many' and *mumu* 'all'. These two quantifying words do not fill the same syntactic slot:

(44) *Hahy-ke   y-bohe,   "Dai   warar   mury   ribun-ke   r-ma   ma*
       pig-ART   3s-said   earlier   girl   young   many-ART   3p-come
        CONJ

       ra-ten   Ø, mane   k-al   Ø   ti   sir mumu."
       3p-ask.for   Ø so   1s-give   Ø   to   them all
       'The pig said, "Earlier a bunch of young girls came and asked for [the coconuts], so I gave [them] all to them (the girls)."'

The term *ribun* 'a lot/many' often fills the same slot as the adjective inside a NP,[5] while *mumu* 'all' comes at the end of a syntactic clause. The referent of *mumu* is determined from context. For example, in (44), *mumu* does not refer to the girls, even though it is adjacent to their referent *sir*, but to the implied object of *kal* 'give' (a bunch of coconuts).

(45) *E   i-ne   mumu   wasi-my   hahy-ke   i-desy.*
       you(pl)   X-here   all   own-2p   pig-ART   3s-there
       'You all here own that pig there.'

In (45), *mumu* modifies the *e* 'you(pl)' of the embedded locative clause *e ine* 'you all here' (see section 3.3.2). This embedded locative clause is contained within a possessive

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[5]This particular NP has two adjectives: *mury* 'young' and *ribun*. Though it is not common to have multiple adjectives, it is done when needed.

construction and serves to clarify the possessor (see section 2.8.1.1).[6] Here again, the *mumu* quantifier comes at the end of a syntactic clause (in this case, an embedded one).

(46) *R-ail   ni-ni   <u>hena-t   masy-V</u>re ribun   sir   bonyo, ...*
      3p-fish on.and.on food-3p   fish-PL a.lot   them   already, ...
      'They fished on and on [until] their fish were already a lot'

The *ribun* in (46) is outside the NP (which ends with the plural marker). In this case *ribun* is an predicate-adjective in an attributive clause (which requires the *sir* person-number suffix referent to the animate topic 'fish', see section 3.3.1).

2.8 POSSESSIVE NPS

The possessive NP construction in Austronesian languages has been a favorite topic among linguists for many years, and Selaru proves to be of interest in this area as well. 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' or standard possessive construction is subdivided into two distinct types: 'general' and 'edible'.

These various types of possession not only mark semantic function, but also the degree of semantic association or 'closeness'. The standard possessive construction has the least closely bound relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun, whereas the 'inalienable' or genitive possessive construction has the most closely bound relationship (see section 2.8.2). Lynch (1973, 1982) concludes that, for Melanesian languages, such variations are a result of semantic relationships and not some syntactic restriction, e.g. not because of noun classes; this observation holds true for Selaru as well (see section 2.8.2.4)

2.8.1 STANDARD POSSESSION

The standard possessive 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 standard possessive construction; some have even more. In Selaru, these differences in the standard possessive construction are semantic, not syntactic, i.e., the possessive term differs depending on the

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[6]This possessive NP construction forms the topic NP for the all encompassing locative clause, marked by *...i desy* 'him there'.

semantic relationship between the possessor and the noun possessed, yet the overall syntactic structure does not change.

The general possessive construction is marked by the word *wasi* or *wai* (a collapsed form of *wasi*, for 1pi and 3p possession). The edible possessive construction is marked by the word *hina* or *hena* (a variant of *hina*).

The possession words *wasi* and *hina* are marked with a suffix that agrees with the person and number of the possessor. These person-number suffixes are nearly identical to the person-number verb prefixes given in Table 1.4, section 1.4.1. Here, Table 2.3 lays out the possessive suffixes and the form each possession word takes.

Table 2.3: Possessive Person-Number Suffixes

Person-Number	Suffix	General	Edible
1s	*-kw*	*wasi-kw*	*hina-kw*
2s	*-mw*	*wasi-mw*	*hina-mw*
3s/inanimate	*-Ø*	*wasi*	*hina*
1p inclusive	*ity -t*	*ity wai-t*	*ity hina-t*
1p exclusive	*ara -my*	*ara wasi-my*	*ara hina-my*
2p	*-my*	*wasi-my*	*hina-my*
3p	*-t*	*wai-t*	*hina-t*

As mentioned above, every person-number suffix uses *wasi* for general possession, except the first-person plural inclusive (1pi) and third-person plural (3p) forms, which use *wai*. This distinction is not found in the edible construction.

A point of interest is the parallelism that exists between the 1pi and 3p forms compared with the first-person plural exclusive and the second-person plural (1px and 2p) forms. For each set, the first-person plural form takes a pronominal before the possession word (*ity* 'we ex.' or *ara*, a contraction of *aramy* 'we inc.'). Without the pronominal, a Selaru speaker will always interpret such a structure to be involving either a 2p or 3p referent. The use of a free pronoun for any other referent (1s, 2s, 3s, 2p, or 3p) is redundant and ungrammatical.

Two puzzling details in Table 2.3 are the fact that the 3s and inanimate affix is -Ø and not *y or *ky and that 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 (singular and plural) and inanimate forms are different. It appears that there has been a collapse of the person-number affix set at these points.

The basic construction for standard possession is:

(47)   **Standard Possession = (NP$_{possessor}$) Poss'nWord-P/NSuffx Np$_{possessed}$**
                         where Poss'nWord = *wasi/wai*   (general possession)
                                 or   *hina/hena* (edible possession)

The structure clearly shows that this is not a simple NP construction, but rather a complex NP-PossessionWord-NP clausal construction. In fact, the standard possessive construction can stand alone as a full clause, but more commonly is embedded into the matrix of another clause. The verbal character of this type of construction has been noted in the literature (see Lynch 1973). The clausal possessive construction is discussed here under NP structure because, even though it can stand alone, it most often occurs filling an NP position in an encompassing clause.

2.8.1.1 GENERAL POSSESSION

The 'general' possessive construction is the most common and diversely applied possessive relation in Selaru. The general possession word, *wasi*, can be used with almost every type of noun, either animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract, but cannot be used with nouns that are in an edible relationship to the possessor or with nouns that are in a closely bound (genitive) relationship with the possessor.[7]

The following are a few examples of the general possessive:

(48) *wasi-kw sey-ke*
       own-1s   house-ART
       'my house'

(49) *Kw-ser kali   wasi-kw kawalin-ke ki-tayar.*
       1s-cry   because own-1s   shawl-ART   IN-lost
       'I'm crying because my shawl is lost.'

(50) *Liakw,   khwe   wasimw kakmet-are deny, mana mu-min...*
       friend-1s 1s-know own-2s   lie-PL   now   so   2s-stay
       'My friend, I know now your lies, so you stay...'

(51) *hahy-ke   wasi-Ø   o-ke   ki-ray   de*
       pig-ART   own-3s   pen-ART   IN-dirty already
       'The pig's pen is already dirty.'

(52) *...y-ba   ti   i-hera   tnyei-nare ti   wasi-Ø   bo-ke.*
       ...3s-go CONJ 3s-cut   weed-PL   PREP own-3s   garden-ART
       '...he went to cut weeds in his garden.'

(53) *Ete   m-oban   ara   wasi-my   asw-Vre!*
       don't 2s-hit   we   own-1px   dog-PL
       'Don't hit our dogs!'

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[7]These relationships between a possessor and the possessed noun can change, hence the inability to establish noun classes.

(54)   *Bolbol   ode   my-ba-i   <u>wasi-my-a   hnu-ke</u>.*
        tomorrow   and   2p-go-LOC   own-2p-Ø   village-ART
        'Tomorrow you all return to your own village.'

(55)   *Lia-kw,   ituru   ta-ris   ma   tnaw   ba-i   <u>ity   wai-t   hnuke</u>.*
        friend-1s together 1pi-bathe CONJ   1pi-swim go-LOC   we   own-1pi   village-
        ART
        'My friend, together let's get in the water to swim back to our own village.'

(56)   *...y-ba   ti   y-sai   <u>wai-t   aro-ke</u>.*
        ...3s-go   CONJ   3s-climb.in own-3p   boat-ART
        '...he went and climbed in their boat.'

(57)   *Ebutke   dyakin   <u>kwary   Almwakye   wasi-Ø-ke</u>   kali...*
        master-ART   3s-like   mat   Iguana-ART own-3s-ART   because
        'The master liked the Iguana's mat because...'

Most of these examples involve concrete possessed nouns, but (50) involves the abstract
noun *kakmet* 'lies'. Also, most of the examples involve the general possessive construction
filling the object or locative slot in the encompassing clause matrix, but (51) uses this
construction for the descriptive subject-topic NP of the encompassing clause.

The possessor and possessed NP's in the standard possessive construction can be
expanded to full demonstrative and descriptive NP's.

(58)   <u>*Wasi-mw   hahy   desike*</u>   *lan   i.*
        own-2s   pig   that(ART)   big   he/him
        'Your pig there is big.' or 'That pig of yours is big.'

(59)   <u>*Ity   wai-t   aro   lan   ne-kre*</u>   *ky-lakamet.*
        we   own-1pi   boat   big   this-PL/ART   IN-fast
        'Our big boats here are fast.' or 'These big boats of ours are fast.'

(60)   *...in-ait   <u>lia-n-ke   wai-t   sey-ke</u> bonyo...*
        ...3s-arrive   friend-3s-ART   own-3p   house once.then...
        '...once he arrived at his friend's house, then...'
        (lit. '...once he arrived at his friend their house, then...')

(61)   *...mw-ohut elik   <u>lal   ne-kre   wai-t   tota</u>...*
        ...2s-discern truly   fly   this-PL/ART   own-3p   behavior...
        '...you have accurately discerned the behavior of these flies...'

The NP *hahy desike* 'that pig' in (58) is a demonstrative NP, while *aro lan nekre* 'this big
boat' in (59) is a full descriptive NP with an adjective and a demonstrative contained inside
the closing *-kre* NP plural article. Both of these fill the slot of the possessed NP.

The general possessive construction in (60) contains the genitive possessive NP *lianke*
'his friend' in its possessor NP slot (see section 2.8.2 for more on genitives). Usually the
possessive suffix on the possessor word (the *-t* on *wait*) agrees with the person number of the

possessor, but in this case it does not, because houses are rarely considered owned by only one individual; his house is his family's house. So, when you want to say: 'his house', you must actually say: 'their house'; if you want to say: 'my house', you must actually say: *ity wait sekye* 'our incl. house' or *ara wasimy sekye* 'our excl. house' depending on who you are speaking to.

The possessor NP in (61) is a full demonstrative NP and the possessed NP is an abstract noun *tota* 'behavior' with no closing article (since this is filling the object slot of the encompassing clause of *mohuk* 'you discern', a closing article is not required).

2.8.1.2 EDIBLE POSSESSION

Possession of edible nouns is identical in construction to that of general possessives with the exception that the possessive stem is *hina* (or its variant *hena*). The edible possession word has no collapsed form for 1pi and 3p as the general possession does, see Table 2.3.

(62) *Lia-kw,   t-ba-i   bo-Vre   ti   t-atos   <u>hina-kw   kwemalay-ke</u>.*
       friend-1s 1pi-go-LOC   garden-PL CONJ   1pi-see   own-1s   papaya-ART
       'My friend, let's go to the gardens to see my papayas.'

(63) <u>*Hina-mw   kotw-Vre*</u> *mw-al   ti   botal-ke   krala-ke   ma...*
       own-2s   food-PL   2s-put   PREP   bottle-ART inside-ART CONJ...
       'You put your food inside the bottle, so...'

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

(65) *Mus-ke   y-tan   <u>hina-Ø   kwe-are</u>   ti   namwata-ke, ode*
        Civet-ART   3s-plant own-3s   banana-PL   PREP   beach-ART   and

       Enw-ke   y-tan   <u>hina-Ø-Vre</u>   ti   ra-ke.
       turtle-ART   3s-plant own-3s-PL   PREP   inland-ART
       'The Civet planted his bananas at the beach, and the turtle planted his inland.'

(66) *...ra-na   <u>ara   hena-my   serahy-ke</u>   ne!*
       ...3p-eat   1px   own-1px   rice-ART   this
       '...they ate our (excl.) rice, see!'

(67) *Lema   nya   <u>ity   hinat   kotw-Vre</u>.*
       NEG   3s.eat 1pi   own-1pi   food-PL
       'He didn't eat our (incl.) food.'

(68) *r-al   <u>hena-t   masy-Vre</u> ode   r-ba-i   wai-t-ke.*
       3p-take   own-3p   fish-ART and   3p-go-LOC own-3p-ART
       'They took their fish and went home (lit. to theirs).'

(69) *R-ail   nini   <u>hena-t   masy-Vre</u>   ribun   sir   dendye...*
      3p-fish   until own-3p   fish-PL   many   they   already
      'They fished until their catch was already large...' (lit. until their fishes, they were
      many)

In most of the above examples, the edible possessive construction occurs in the object or undergoer slot of the encompassing clause. This is most common, but not exclusive. In example (69), the possessive construction fills the subject-topic slot of the attributive clause *ribun sir* 'they are many'.

There are two parallel possessive constructions in (65), one includes the possessed NP (*wasi kweare* 'his bananas') and the other is reduced to its essentials (which surfaces as *hinanare* 'his [edibles of some type]'). Because the referent (*kwe* 'bananas') was established in the first clause of the sentence, it is reduntant (though not ungrammatical) to explicitly reiterate the noun in the second. This causes the possessed NP to collapse and affix the plural marker directly onto the possession word.[8]

It might seem there is a straight noun class distinction between general and edible nouns, but this is not the case. Example (58) is repeated here to show the semantic difference between *hina* and *wasi*:

(70) <u>*Wasi-mw   hahy   desike*</u>   *lan   i.*
      own-2s   pig   that(ART)   big   he/him
      'Your pig there is big.' or 'That pig of yours is big.'

(71) <u>*Hina-mw   hahy   desike*</u>   *mtelas.*
      own-2s   pork   that(ART)   delicious
      'Your pork there is delicious' or 'That pork of yours is delicious.'

The only difference in possessive construction of the two examples is that in (71) *hina* indicates that the pig is considered food, i.e., it has been killed and cooked, whereas in (70) *wasi* indicates that the pig is not food, i.e., it is still alive, or at least not yet prepared as food.

Edible possession also includes cash crops which are not necessarily edible, but none-the-less essential to life. Oddly, *wer* 'water' and other beverages are not possessed with *hina* but use the general possession word *wasi*.

2.8.2   GENITIVE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The genitive possessive construction is common in many Austronesian languages, though it has been referred to as an 'inalienable' possession in the literature. James Collins writes:

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[8]How *hinanare* is parsed is debatable (either *hina-Ø-nare* or *hina-n-are*), for the 3s suffix is usually Ø, but can be *-n* when the plural marker suffixes to it (see section 2.8.2.2 for more on plural genitives). In either case, the rule for the plural marker will create the attested form.

> 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 general construction 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 a genitive construction.

I will use the term 'genitive' throughout this volume in reference to such intimately associated possessive constructions, 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 genitive construction, but it will be address in three stages of complexity.

2.8.2.1 SINGULAR HEAD

The genitive structure for singular head nouns uses the same person-number suffixes described in Table 2.3, but does not use a possession word, either *wasi* or *hina*. The suffix forms are repeated here:

Table 2.4: The Genitive Possessive Suffixes

1s	2s	3s	inanimate	1pi	1px	2p	3p
–kw	–mw	Ø/–n	Ø	ity– –t	ara– –my	–my	–t

In the genitive 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 (I will address the 3s form later):

(72) a. *nurakkwe*
    nura-kw-ke
    nose-1s-ART
    'my nose'

    b. *simakkwe*
    sima-kw-ke
    hand-1s-ART
    'my hand'

    c. *iblukkwe*
    iblu-kw-ke
    skin-1s-ART
    'my skin'

    d. *enakkwe*
    ena-kw-ke
    mother-1s-ART
    'my mother'

(73) a. *nuramkwe*
    nura-mw-ke

    b. *simamkwe*
    sima-mw-ke

    nose-2s-ART   hand-2s-ART
    'your nose'   'your hand'

c. *iblumkwe*   d. *enamkwe*
   iblu-mw-ke   *ena-mw-ke*
   skin-2s-ART   mother-2s-ART
   'your skin'   'your mother'

Although it is difficult to find singular head nouns in a genitive construction with plural possessors, the following are some:

(74) a. *ity   amatke*   b. *ara   enamkye*
     ity   ama-t-ke   *ara   ena-my-ke*
     we   father-1pi-ART   1px   mother-1px-ART
     'our (incl.) father'   'our (excl.) mother'

   c. *anatke*   d. *enamkye*
     ana-t-ke   *ena-my-ke*
     child-3p-ART   mother-2p-ART
     'their child'   'your (pl.) mother'

The third-person singular (3s) suffix in a genitive construction with a singular head is usually Ø, but it can be *-n* (and rarely *-na*). Underlyingly, the 3s suffix appears to be either Ø or *-n*. Some examples of the *-n* or possessive suffix are found in the following:

(75) a. *ananke*   b. *iblunke*
     ana-n-ke   *iblu-n-ke*
     child-3s-ART   skin-3s-ART
     'his child'   'his skin'

   c. *smwaknanke*
     smwakna-n-ke
     back.neck-3s-ART
     'back of his neck'

The 3s *-na* form appears only phrase finally if there is no *-ke* or other subsequent affixation (this is rare).[9]

(76)   *ama-na*
     father-3s
     'his father'

Whereas the Ø suffix is seen in the following:

(77) a. *nurake*   b. *simake*
     nura-Ø-ke   *sima-Ø-ke*
     nose-3s-ART   hand-3s-ART
     'his nose'   'his hand'

---

[9]The addition of *-a* to the end of words is a common occurrence in discourse. The function of *-a* is not clear, but see section 3.6.3 for more on this phenomenon.

    c. *ebuke*   d. *enake*
        ebu-Ø-ke   *ena-Ø-ke*
        master-3s-ART   mother-3s-ART
        'his master'   'his mother'

Compare these with (72), where the *-kw* possessive suffix for first-person singular clearly fills the same slot as the Ø in (77).

2.8.2.2 PLURAL HEAD

The syntactic structure of a genitive 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 *-n*, and never as Ø.[10]

Plural heads require the plural enclitic *-Vre* word finally (or phrase finally in more complex NPs). The person-number suffixes are affixed to the possessed noun; the plural enclitic is then affixed to that. The empty V slot in the plural enclitic 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, the empty V surfaces as an [*a*] (this comes into effect for the 3s, 1pi, and the 3p suffix forms).[11]

                                  UNDERLYING   AFTER LINKING

(78) *matakure*   CVCV - C - VCV   CVCV - C - VCV
      mata-kw-Vre | | | | | | | → | | | | | / | |
      eye-1s-PL   *m a t a - k w - r e*   *m a t a - k w - r e*
      'my eyes'

                                  UNDERLYING   EMPTY V → [a]

(79) *matanare*   CVCV - C - VCV   CVCV - C - VCV
      mata-n-Vre | | | | | | | → | | | | | | | |
      eye-3s-PL   *m a t a - n - r e*   *m a t a - n - a r e*
      'his eyes'

Other examples (without the underlying structure) follows:

(80) a. *matakure*   b. *simakure*
        mata-kw-Vre   *sima-kw-Vre*
        eye-1s-PL   hand-1s-PL
        'my eyes'   'my hands'

---

[10]If the absence of *-n* (i.e. the occurrence of Ø) in most singular genitive constructions could be predicted, then the possessive suffix table could be simplified, stating that the 3s suffix is always underlyingly *-n*, but which is deleted under certain conditions ('appearing' as Ø on the surface). But as yet no pattern has arisen to account for the 3s alternations.

[11]See the discussion on Selaru glides in section 1.3.2 and the discussion on the underlying form of the unspecified plural enclitic in section 2.4.1 for more on the theory and assumptions of this analysis.

   c. *lwaukure*   d. *sawakure*
      lwau-kw-Vre   *sawa-kw-Vre*
      leg-1s-PL   wife-1s-PL
      'my legs'   'my wives' (once common)

(81) a. *matamure*   b. *simamure*
      mata-mw-Vre   *sima-mw-Vre*
      eye-2s-PL   hand-2s-PL
      'your eyes'   'your hands'

   c. *lwaumure*   d. *sawamure*
      lwau-mw-Vre   *sawa-mw-Vre*
      leg-2s-PL   wife-2s-PL
      'your legs'   'your wives' (once common)

(82) a. *ara   matamire*   b. *ara   simamire*
      ara   mata-my-Vre   *ara   sima-my-Vre*
      1px   eye-1px-PL   1px   hand-1px-PL
      'our (excl.) eyes'   'our (excl.) hands'

   c. *ara   lwaumire*   d. *ara   sawamire*
      ara   lwau-my-Vre   *ara   sawa-my-Vre*
      1px   leg-1px-PL   1px   wife-1px-PL
      'our (excl.) legs'   'our (excl.) wives'

(83) a. *matatare*   b. *simatare*
      mata-t-Vre   *sima-t-Vre*
      eye-3p-PL   hand-3p-PL
      'their eyes'   'their hands'

   c. *lwautare*   d. *sawatare*
      lwau-t-Vre   *sawa-t-Vre*
      leg-3p-PL   wife-3p-PL
      'their legs'   'their wives'

2.8.2.3 COMPLEX STRUCTURE

Like the standard possessive construction, the genitive possessive structure allows for the possessor to be overtly specified with a full noun phrase.

(84)   *...lema   rhe   asdwesike   totanare.*
      ...lema   r-he   <u>asw   desike   tota-n-Vre</u>.
      ...NEG   3s-know   dog   that(ART) behavior-3s-PL
      '...they don't know that dogs actions'

(85)   *Sew desike   naman   nekre   enatke   kyeyera   sir.*
      Sew desike   <u>naman   ne-kre   ena-t-ke</u>   y-keyer-a   sir
      day   that(ART) child   this-PL/ART mother-3p-ART 3s-mad-at   them
      'That day these children's mother got mad at them.'

With the addition of a specified possessor NP, the genitive structure looks similar to that of the standard possessive construction. Where the standard possessive construction uses a possession word (either *wasi* for general nouns and *hina* for edible nouns), the genitive construction has none. So, rather than affixing to a possession word, the person-number suffix attaches directly to the possessed noun (any embellishments to the possessed NP are added <u>after</u> the person-number suffix.. The order of constituents remains the same in both constructions: the possessor NP followed by the possessed NP.

(86)   **Genitive = (NP$_{\text{possessor}}$) + N$_{\text{head}}$ -P/NSuffix (ADJ) (DEM) (ART)**

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 genitive possession is when the referent is either first-person plural inclusive or exclusive. As mentioned in the discussion on Table 2.3, 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.

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

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

These two examples show how the *ity* in (87) is not redundant but needed to clarify the ambiguity of person-number suffix forms. Without the *ity* 'we' pronoun in (87) a Selaru speaker will always interpret it as referring to a 3p referent.

The possessor NP can itself be a genitive construction:

(89)   <u>*Nara-kw   sawa-n-a*</u>   *i-ne*.
         older sibling-1s wife-3s-Ø   3s-this
         'This is my older sibling's wife.' lit. 'My older sibling's wife is this.'

In this example neither of the genitives are closed with an article. When a genitive fills the possessor NP, it does not take an article. Also, it is not grammatical to use an article if referencing a person who is present, as is the case for the second genitive.

The possessive suffix attaches directly to the head noun and not onto words further down the chain in a full NP:

(90)   *Sawakswoke*   *yala*   *ma*   *byai*   *Somlaky*.
         <u>*sawa-kw   so-ke*</u>   *y-ala*   *ma*   *y-ba-i*   *Somlaky*
         wife-1s   there-ART   3s-want CONJ   3s-go-LOC   Saumlaki
         '<u>*My wife there*</u> wants to go to Saumlaki'

(91) *Liakdwetelnwe*   *rala*   *ma*   *rsor.*
      <u>lia-kw   de-telw   ne</u>   r-ala   ma   r-sor
      friend-1s NUM-three   this   3p-want   CONJ   3p-hunt
      '*My three friends here* want to hunt (pig*)'*

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.

2.8.2.4 A FUNCTION OF RELATIONSHIP

As mentioned at the beginning of section 2.8.2, the common term used in the literature to refer to the genitive 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 Oceanic languages where there is such a distinction, 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 'bound', the actual construction used to refer to the relationship changes. Selaru also exhibits this syntactic flexibility found in OC languages.

Several common nouns in Selaru can be possessed with the genitive 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 genitive 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.

	GENERAL POSSESSION		GENITIVE POSSESSION
(92) a.	*wasikw aroke*	b.	*aroakkwe*
	wasi-kw aro-ke		*aro-*V-*kw-ke*
	own-1s boat-ART		boat-GEN-1s-ART
	'my boat'		'my boat'

	GENERAL POSSESSION		GENITIVE POSSESSION
(93) a.	*wasimw huskwe*	b.	*husumkwe*
	wasi-mw husw-ke		*husw-*V-*mw-ke*
	own-2s bow-ART		bow-GEN-2s-ART
	'your bow'		'your bow'

	GENERAL POSSESSION			GENITIVE POSSESSION	
(94) a.	*ity*	*wait*	*sekye*	b. *ity*	*seitke*
	ity	*wai-t*	*sey-ke*	*ity*	*sey-V-t-ke*
	we	own-1px	house-PL	we	house-GEN-1px-PL
	'our (incl.) houses'			'our (incl.) houses'	

	GENERAL POSSESSION			GENITIVE POSSESSION	
(95) a.	*ara*	*wasimy*	*seire*	b. *ara*	*seimire*
	ara	*wasi-my*	*sey-Vre*	*ara*	*sey-V-my-Vre*
	1px	own-1px	house-PL	1px	house-GEN-1px-PL
	'our (excl.) houses'			'our (excl.) houses'	

The use of a genitive construction on a common noun is infrequent. When a speaker chooses to use the genitive for a common noun possession, he/she is indicating the possessed noun is more tightly bound to the possessor than usual. The structure of the genitive for common nouns is:

(96)   **Genitive = (NP$_{possessor}$) N$_{head}$ (empty V) P/NSuffx (ADJ) (DEM) (ART)**

As with all other possessive constructions, the possessor need not be overtly specified with a noun phrase (though its person-number suffix is obligatory). Comparing *aroke* 'the boat' of (92)a with *aroakkwe* 'my boat' of (92)b, clearly shows the genitive *-a* infix between the possessed noun and the person-number suffix. This *-a* is an empty V (vowel) on the CV. It links the head noun and the person-number suffix of a genitive possessive construction. It is glossed as 'GEN' in this volume. The genitive infix must be posited as an empty V (rather than something less abstract) because of its interaction with final glides on the possessed noun (see (93) and (94)). When *husw* 'bow' occurs in a genitive construction, the genitive infix causes the final *w* to become a full vowel. The same is true for *sey* 'house' of (94); the *y* becomes a *i*.

Comparing this structure with the genitive structure described in section 2.8.2.3 we see the only difference is the lack of a genitive infix for the 'typical' genitive construction (the formula in (86) is repeated here for convenience):

(97)   **Genitive = (NP$_{possessor}$) + N$_{head}$ -P/NSuffix (ADJ) (DEM) (ART)**

There 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 *matake* 'his/her eye' or *nurake* 'his/her nose'), but these have been so seldom that I am reluctant to posit these without an '*a*'. There is also

evidence that *ena* 'mother' and *ama* 'father' might be /*en*/ underlyingly, because their vocative forms are *eno* 'Mother' and *amo* 'Father' and they have related reduplicated forms *enen* 'older woman' and *amam* 'older man'. If it was certain that the many nouns which nearly always take the genitive have this truncated root form, then there would be no difference between the two genitive constructions:

AS ABOVE   ALTERNATIVE
(98) a. *simakkwe*   b. *simakkwe*
          sima-kw-ke   *sim-a-kw-ke*
          hand-1s-ART   hand-GEN-1s-ART
          'my hand'   'my hand'

While I feel this is the most probable analysis, it will require some further investigation.

As mentioned before, the 3s person/number suffix in singular head genitives is generally Ø and it is always Ø for non-human/inanimate possessors. This leads to a fairly abstract underlying morphemic structure:

GENERAL POSSESSION   GENITIVE POSSESSION
(99) a. *hahkye   wasi   o-ke*   b. *hahkye   oake*
          hahy-ke   wasi-Ø   o-ke   *hahy-ke   o-V-Ø-ke*
          pig-ART   own-3s   pen-ART   pig-ART   pen-GEN-3s-ART
          'the pig's pen'   'the pig's pen'

(100)   *holholatke kuskusake*
        holholat-ke kuskus-V-Ø-ke
        door-ART   key-GEN-IN-ART
        'the key of the door' or 'the door's key'

(101)   *nurke kwenake*
        nur-ke kwen-V-Ø-ke
        coconut-ART place-GEN-3s-ART
        'the place where coconuts are kept' or 'the place of the coconut'

All of the examples in this section can be possessed with a genitive construction and yet it is difficult to call any of the genitive relationships 'inalienable'. The basic relationship of example (99) was given earlier as an example of general possessive (as (51) but repeated here), how then can (99) be called 'inalienable'? And yet, there is definitely a semantic difference between (99)a and (99)b. The general possession makes no statement about the relationship between the pig and its pen; it is just a statement of fact. The genitive, on the other hand, focus on that relationship: possibly encoding the same semantics expressed in 'a pig's pen' vs. 'a pig-pen'.

Examples (100) and (101) have no standard possession counterpart, i.e. while it *could* be said, it isn't. One final example of common nouns possessed by a genitive is from a folk tale:

(102) | *Kolnye,* | | *irya* | *eras* | *o* | *mo* | *menw* | *wasikw* | *werke* | *desy* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *koly* | *ne* | *iry-a* | *eras* | *o* | *mo* | *mw-enw* | *wasi-kw* | *wer-ke* | *desy* |
| like | this | person-Ø | good | you | if | 2s-drink | own-1s | water-ART | there |

mejake	*khaha*	*desike,*	*dete*	*iry*	*atyat*	*o*	*mo*	*menw*
meja-ke	*khaha*	*desike*	*dete*	*iry*	*atyat*	*o*	*mo*	*m-enw*
table-ART	top	that(ART)	but	person	bad	you	if	2s-drink

wasikw	*bibyohahy*	*werat*		*o*	*henat*	*kotw*	*desikre.*
wasi-kw	*biby-o-hahy*	*wer-V-t*		*o*	*hena-t*	*kotw*	*desikre*
own-1s	animal	water-GEN-3p	and	own-3p		food	that(PL/ART)

'It's like this, if you are a good person, you may drink my water from the top of the table there, but if you are a bad person, you will drink my animals' (lit. goat and pigs) water and their food there.'

It is interesting to see the focus of the relationship between the animals and their water (usually *wer* 'water' is in a general possessive construction). This serves to emphasize the speakers seriousness of her threat; if the person proves to be evil, he will have to join the animals and drink their water (i.e. water only animals would drink). Why *kotw* 'food' uses the edible possession rather than the genitive is not clear, since it can occur in a genitive construction:

(103) | *...tba* | *sara* | *hah* | *desike* | *ti* | *taobaka* | *itkyotutke* | | *aduk.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *...t-ba* | *sara* | *hah* | *desike* | *ti* | *ta-obak-a* | *ity* | *kotw-V-t-ke* | *aduk* |
| ...1pi-go | land | top | that(ART) | to | 1pi-find-Ø | 1pi | food-GEN-1pi-ART | first |

'...let's go upland to find find our food.'

The alternation between the genitive and the standard possession construction in the coordinated NP in (102) may be simply stylistic or possibly a restriction of discourse.

2.8.2.5 GENITIVE POSSESSION OF VERB STEMS

The genitive 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.[12]

GENITIVE POSSESSION   SIMPLE CLAUSE
(104) a. *itmyaslyesatke*   b. *Tmaslyes.*
       ity   maslyes-V-t-ke   *t-maslyes*
       we   sweat-GEN-1pi-ART   1pi-sweat
       'our toil/our sweat'   'We are sweating.'

GENITIVE POSSESSION   SIMPLE CLAUSE
(105) a. *itkyaria'at*[13]   b. *Tkaria   lan.*
       ity karia-V-t   *t-karia   lan*

---

[12]Selaru uses reduplication of the verb stem to create nominalized verbs. See Coward and Coward (2000) for a discussion of reduplication.

we   work-GEN-1pi   1pi-work hard
'our (incl.) work' (singular)   'We (incl.) work hard.'

c. *itkyaria'atare*
   ity   karia-V-*t*-V*re*
   we   work-GEN-1pi-PL
   'our (incl.) work' (plural)

In each of these examples the pattern of the genitive construction is maintained. The only thing unique is the use of a verb stem as the head of the NP rather than a noun.

2.9   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 bracketing 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:

(106)   **Basic NP = N$_{head}$ (ADJ)(DEM)(ART)**

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

(107)   **Basic NP = N$_{head}$ (ADJ)(de+Number)(DEM)(ART)**
        @@@need some examples of de+number w/ a adj.
        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:

---

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

(108) **A Generalization of Selaru Articles:**
   -ke and *-Vre* are the singular and plural counterparts of the Selaru NP article (ART),
   Where:
   · *-ke*, when it occurs with the demonstrative *desy* 'that', merges to surface as
   desike.
      · *-Vre* surfaces according to the association rules and the 'patch' rule (disyllabic
         vowel final words get *-nare*) for unspecified NPs, and
   · both *-ke* and *-Vre* merge to form *-kre* in specified NPs.

The constituent order given in (107) conforms exactly to Greenberg's (1966) universals of language (number 20), which predicts that the constituent order will be: descriptive adjective, numeral, and demonstrative, for languages where modifiers follow the noun in the NP.

2.9.2   SUMMARY OF POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The possessive construction has two forms: a) standard and b) genitive. The first construction has the clausal form:

(109) **Standard Possession = (NP$_{\text{possessor}}$) Poss'nWord-P/NSuffx NP$_{\text{possessed}}$**

   Where:
   · **NP$_{\text{possessed}}$** follows the structure of the Basic NP in (107).
   · **NP$_{\text{possessor}}$** 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).
   · **Poss'nWord** is:
   · *wasi* or *wai* for general (semantically non-edible) nouns,
   · *hina* or *hena* for semantically edible nouns.
   · **P/NSuffx** comes from Table 2.3 and is
      coreferential with the **NP$_{\text{possessor}}$**.

Genitive Possession has the structure:

(110) **Genitive = (NP$_{\text{possessor}}$) NP$_{\text{Genitive}}$**

   Where:
   · **NP$_{\text{possessor}}$** has the same restrictions as in (109) above.
   · **NP$_{\text{Genitive}}$** is a modified Basic NP with the following form:

(111) **NP$_{\text{Genitive}}$ =** | **N$_{\text{head}}$** | **(empty V) P/NSuffx (ADJ) (*de*+Number) (DEM) (ART)**
                                        | **V$_{\text{erb}}$** |

   Where:
   · **NP$_{\text{Genitive}}$** is a Basic NP that is modified as follows:
   · the head is filled by either a noun or a verb,
   · the **empty V** is an empty vowel slot on the CV skeletal tier,
   · the **P/NSuffx** comes from Table 2.3, but 3s = *-n* (or sometimes Ø for singular
      heads), and is coreferential with **NP$_{\text{poss'r}}$** in (110).

2.9.3   SUMMARY OF THE ATTRIBUTIVE AND UNSPECIFIED NPs

The Attributive NP is a head noun modified by a noun:

(112)   **AttrNP = N$_{head}$ N$_{attr}$ ART**

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

CHAPTER 3

3.   CLAUSE STRUCTURE

3.1   BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE—AN OVERVIEW

In Chapter 1, Selaru was descibed as an SVO language. This generalization will receive further discussion and refinement in this chapter. There are four basic clause types, in Selaru:

(1)   a. Transitive

       b. Intransitive

       c. Attributive

       d. Locative

Veral Prebdicates

Non-verbal Predicates

The four clause types 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 are made up of conjugated verbs and unmarked arguments (creating intransitive (SV), transitive (SVO), or more complex structures). 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 discussed in Chapter 1 are repeated here in Table 3.1 for convenience. The morphological characteristics of these prefixes are outlined in section 1.4.1.

Table 3.1: Person-Number Verb Prefixes

Verb Root begins with		1s	2s	3s	inani-mate	1pi	1px	2p	3p
SET 1	–V	k–	m–	y–	ky–	t–	aramy my–	my–	r–
SET 2	–CC	ku–	mu–	i–	ki–	ta–	aramy mi–	mi–	ra–
SET 3	–C	kCw–	mCw–	Cy–	kCy–	t–	aramy mCy–	mCy–	r–
Underlying Structure									
CV tier		C |	C |		C |	C |	VCVC C |||| |	C |	C |
Segmental tier		kw	mw	y	ky	t	a r a my my	my	r
Shorthand		**kw–**	**mw–**	**y–**	**ky–**	**t–**	**aramy my–**	**my–**	**r–**
Possible Proto source		*(a)ku	*(ka)mu	*i(a)		*(ki)ta	*(ka)mi	*(ki)mi *mi(u)	*(si)Da

Regardless of the valence of the proposition, the structure of a verbal predicate remains consistent, i.e. **person-number prefix** + **verb stem**. There is no morphological difference between verbs heading intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive structures, only the number of clause constituents. The presence of an object requires no change in verb structure, i.e., the person-number of the Undergoer is not marked on the verb in any way.

(2) a.
       S   V   (intransitive)
Ama-ku   *i-ris.*
father-my   3s-bathe
'My father is bathing.'

(2) b.
       S   V   O   (transitive)
Naman-ke   *y-oban* *asw-Vre.*
child-ART   3s-hit   dog-PL
'The child hit the dogs.'

(2) c.
       S   V   O   IO   (ditransitive)
Sawa-na *y-al*   *turi-ke*   *ti*   *naman-desy-kre.*
wife-3sG 3s-give machete-ART to   child-that-PL/ART
'His wife gave the machete to those children.'

Example (2a) is intransitive in that it has a subject argument *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 an overt subject argument, a verb, and an object. Here again, the verb prefix *y-* '3s' agrees with the subject *namanke* 'the child' and not the plural object *asure* 'the dogs' (which is not marked on the predicate in any way). Example (2c) is given to show the structure of a ditransitive clause. The constituent order of this clause type is identical to English, and that neither the presence of the inanimate object *turike* 'the 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.

A full set of examples for the verbal person-number prefixes are given here.

(3)   *Ana* *koban*   *asdwesike*   *kali*   *kkweyera*   *i.*
         ana *kw-oban* *asw* *desike* *kali*   *kw-keyer-a*   *i.*
         later 1s-hit   dog   that(ART) because 1s-mad-Ø   3s
         'Later I'll hit that dog because I'm mad at him.'

(4)   *Toto,* *mbwa* *ti*   *mal*   *masire*   *ma*   *kele* *ksyoyeta*   *bakbakare.*
         toto, *mw-ba* *ti*   *mw-al* *masy-Vre* *ma*   *kele* *ky-soyeta* *bakbak-Vre*
         boy,   2s-go   CONJ   2s-get fish-PL   CONJ then IN-replace dry-PL
         'Boy, you go and get some fish in order to replace the dried ones.'

(5) *Aramy   msyukar   sekye   kali   sekwe   manas   i.*
    aramy   my-sukar   sey-ke   kali   sew-ke   manas   i
    we(excl) 1px-enter   house-ART   because   sun-ART   hot   3s.
    'We entered the house because the sun was hot.' (Note: 'sun' is animate in Selaru)

(6) *Taknam   ma   ktei   nenmo   tbaia   fnuke.*
    t-knam   ma   ktei   nenmo   t-ba-i-a   fnu-ke.
    1pi-eat   until done   then   1pi-go-LOC-Ø   village-ART
    'Let's eat until done and then go to the village.'

(7) *Mibren   mamak!   Kete   myala   i.*
    my-bren   mamak   kete   my-ala   i
    2p-play   nicely   don't   2p-bother 3s
    'You all play nicely! Don't bother him.

(8) *Rabrai   rbai   boare   kali   ramtaut   hahire.*
    r-brai   r-ba-i   bo-Vre   kali   r-mtaut   hahy-Vre
    3p-refuse   3p-go-LOC   garden-PL   because   3p-scared   pig-PL
    'They don't want to go to the gardens because they are afraid of (wild) pigs.

Whether a full object 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, pronoun, or zero anaphora is a function of the pragmatic constraints of the discourse rather than a property of the verb itself (see sections 1.4.2 and 6.4.2).

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 other obliques (locatives, etc.) have any morphological marking (prepositions) to indicate their semantic case-role (see section 3.5).

This lack of case-role markings on its core NPs is not unique to Selaru. Wolff (1980:163) writes, '...every Austronesian language which I have examined, [core argument] NPs in no way occur in constructions which mark role. Role is marked exclusively by the predicate in these languages.'[24]

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 arguments is clear in most cases without any need of further markings. In those cases where the semantic relationships are not clear, a context is needed to connect the roles with their referents.

In discourse, the subject argument is often considered redundant (because the subject-verb agreement carries the needed information) and so is left off (see section 6.4.2.1). When a subject argument is included, the head is usually specific and definite (although non-specific indefinite subjects are possible). The direct object can be either specific or generic.

(9) a. *Kyeyer-a   yaw.*   (no subject NP argument)
        3s-mad-Ø   me
        'He's mad at me'

     b. <u>*Aro-ke*</u>   *ky-ba   de.*   (specific)
        boat-ART   IN-go   already
        'The boat has already gone'

     c. <u>*Asw-V*</u>*re   r-kuty   hahy-ke.*   (generic)
        dog-PL   3p-bite   pig-ART
        'Dogs bit the pig.'

The object position can be filled with either a simple pronoun, as in (9a), or a full NP, as in (9c).

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.

BASIC DIVALENT TRANSITIVE
(10) a. *Iry-ke   y-tabahunw-a   Tulisama   Botan-ke.*
         man-ART   3s-murder-Ø   Tulisama   Botan-ART
         'The man murdered Tulisama Botan.'

FRONTED NP
      b. <u>*Tulisama   Botan-ne*</u>   *iry-ke   y-tabahunw-a   i.*
         Tulisama   Botan-this   man-ART   3s-murder-Ø   him
         'Tulisama Botan was murdered by the man.'
         (lit. 'Tulisama Botan, the man murdered him.')

Translating (10b) as a passive is not altogether accurate, but in some cases, fronting an NP in Selaru is the functional equivalent of the passive voice, as Selaru has no true passive construction.[25]

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[24]I 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.

[25]A 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.

Foley and Van Valin (1984:125) classify any such NP movement as 'preposed topic constructions'. They then divide preposed topic constructions into two major types, 'topicalization' and 'left-dislocation'. These are distinguished as follows: left-dislocation has a pronominal trace element in the main clause referring to the preposed topic, while topicalization leaves no such trace. In another work, Foley and Van Valin (1985:356) 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.

Selaru appears to use such constructions in precisely this way. It is also used to focus attention onto the Undergoer (hence its similarity to the passive construction in other languages).

When a noun phrase is moved to clause initial position, Selaru requires a pronominal trace to be left in the argument's original position (the *i* '3s' pronoun in (10b)). Because this NP movement in Selaru requires a pronominal referent, it is classified as a left-dislocation process.[26]

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 actor-subject must be specified overtly with a noun phrase. Without the actor-subject NP *irkye* 'the man', example (10b) would mean 'Tulisama Botan murdered him'. Even when the actor-subject and the preposed NP arguments are not identical in person and number, it is often the case that the actor-subject will still be overtly specified. Stress and phrasing also help to clarify that the first NP is actually a fronted Undergoer and not the Actor.

Left-dislocation does not always place the object NP sentence initially:

	S			O
(11)	[*sey-ke*	*krala*	*ma-benw-desike*]	[*naman-desi-ke*]
	[house-ART	inside	REL-fill-that(ART)]	[child-that-ART]

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 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.

[26]Selaru 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 topicals (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.

<u>r-hot-a   i</u>   ode   y-susu-a   sal-ke.
3p-carry-Ø   him   and   3s-show-Ø   way-ART

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

In this example the core clause is: *rhota i* 'they carried him'. The arguments however are ordered as SOV (rather than the expected preposed order OSV or the prototypical SVO). There is also a switch in actor-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 argument is Actor and which is Undergoer—the person-number prefix on the verb *rhota* and the 3s-trace *i* 'him', which helps connect the case-role of 'Undergoer' to the object, make this perfectly clear. In other sentences where both the S and the O have the same person-number attribute, such an arrangement of constituents would require a larger context for proper interpretation. Why the S and O NPs can be inverted like this is discussed next in light of other work in Austronesian languages.

3.2   NP ARGUMENTS IN A CLAUSE ARE ADJUNCTIVE

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 core 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 (1980:163-64) 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".

Along this same line, Anceaux (1982:104) 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'." 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.

Verbal predicates, in natural Selaru texts, have a very low frequency of full NP subject-arguments and a near absence of pronominal subjects. All verbal predicates are, however, marked with a person-number subject prefix. This indicates that at least subject-argument noun phrases and pronouns are adjuncts to the verbal predicate.

Direct objects on the other hand are more difficult to pass off as adjunctive (i.e. optional additional information). Verbal predicates have no object-marker on the verb, rather when an object is indicated semantically it is either encoded with a full direct object NP or a corresponding pronoun (matching the referential object in person and number).

If 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 in the discussion of left-dislocation above).

This view allows us to posit a rigid **Actor-Marker** + **Verb Stem** + (**Undergoer-Marker**[27]) order to predicate phrase construction and allow the adjunct NPs to be free to move towards the front of the clause (but never towards the rear) from their prototypical clause positions (SVO). This also allows for the unusual SOV left-dislocation pattern found in example (11) without having to resort to any hand-waving. Wolff generalized that adjuncts preceding predicates are more 'topical' (thematic) than those following them. This is in fact the purpose of left-dislocation in Selaru (the functional equivalent of passive voice).

This concept of arguments being adjunctive is also important in the discussion of Selaru non-verbal predicates.

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[27]The Undergoer marker is suppressed in the presence of an adjunctive object NP and (of course) is not present in verbal intransitive constructions.

3.3 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Selaru can construct four non-verbal clause types, those involving: 1) adjectives, 2) nouns, 3) numbers, and 4) deictics. The first three non-verbal predicated clauses collapse into one type of construction: the attributive clause. Deictics form the locative clause.

3.3.1 ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSE

The attributive clause is a non-verbal clause with an adjectival, nominal, or numeral predicate as its core structure. There is no intervening copular ('be') verb linking the attribute and the referent. The predicate is marked postpositionally with a pronoun that agrees with the number and person of the topic NP (whether present or not). The pronominals are free standing rather than suffixed to the non-verbal predicate. These pronouns are identical to the pronouns used in Undergoer object NPs and in obliques. All adjunctive information (e.g. in the form of a noun phrase) is preposed to the non-verbal clause like a Preposed Topic Construction (see section 3.1.3).

A table listing Selaru pronouns, though first discussed in Table 1.5, is repeated here:

Table 3.2: Pronouns

Person-number	Pronoun
1s	*yaw*
2s	*o*
3s	*i*
inanimate	Ø
1pi	*ity*
1px	*aramy*
2p	*e*
3p	*sir*

3.3.1.1 PREDICATE ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are common in Selaru (numbering well over 100 in everyday speech). While they most often occur in attributive noun phrases (see section 2.5), adjectives can be used as predicates in an attributive clause.

(12) *Hahy-ke   lan   i.*
      pig-ART   big   3s
      'The pig is big.'

(13) a. *Atyat i.*   b. *Atyat   yaw.*
        bad   3s   bad   1s
        'He's bad.'   'I'm bad.'

     c. *Atyat o.*   d. *Atyat   ity.*
        bad   2s   bad   1pi
        'You're bad.'   'We (incl.) are bad.'

e. *Atyat   aramy.*
bad   1px
'We (excl.) are bad.'

f. *Atyat   sir.*
bad   3p
'They are bad.'

(14) a. *Ktem   i.*
stupid 3s
'He's stupid.'

b. *Ktem   yaw.*
stupid 1s
'I'm stupid.'

c. *Ktem   o.*
stupid 2s
'You're stupid.'

d. *Ktem   ity.*
stupid 1pi
'We (incl.) are stupid.'

e. *Ktem   aramy.*
stupid 1px
'We (excl.) are stupid.'

f. *Ktem   sir.*
stupid 3p
'They are stupid.'

(15)   *Naman-V*re ribun   sir.
child-PL   many   3p
'There is a lot of children'

(16)   *Batbatak-ke   lan   Ø.*
chest-ART   big   IN
'The chest is big'

Example (12) is the full attributive construction. It consists of a full NP (*hahkye* 'the pig'), an adjective, and a postpositional pronoun. The examples in (13) and (14) show that a full topic-NP is not a necessary component of the attributive clause. These examples also show the attributive clause in every person-number construction except inanimate. For pragmatic reasons, generally, only the 3s, 3p, and inanimate attributive clauses occur with a descriptive NP (because in other cases the referent is known and present; an NP would normally be redundant). Example (15) shows an attributive clause with a plural topic NP. Note that if a topic NP is present, it must agree in number with the postpositional pronoun. The topic of example (16) is inanimate (*batbatakke* 'the chest') which takes the empty 'Ø' inanimate (IN) pronominal referent. The 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 encloses the adjective within the NP structure; whereas with an attributive clause, the adjective stands outside the NP (e.g. *batbatak lanke*... 'the big chest...' is a descriptive NP; it is not a complete thought, a listener will be expecting the speaker to continue; whereas (16) is complete).

A full NP may occur before the attribute as a topic NP, but an NP <u>cannot</u> occur after the attribute. Also, the pronominal reference <u>cannot</u> be left out of the construction if the topic is animate.

(17) a. *Bob   atyat   i.*
    Bob   bad   3s
    'Bob is bad.'
  b. **atyat Bob*
  c. **Bob atyat*

The attributive clause can be embedded in the topic NP position of another clause.

(18) <u>*Naman-Vre   ribun   sir*</u>   *r-ba-i*   *Kadar.*
    child-PL   many   3p   3p-go-LOC   Kandar
    'Many children went to Kandar.'

3.3.1.2 PREDICATE NOMINALS

Attributive clauses using nominal predicates are less frequent than those using adjectives,

but none the less are found in natural texts.

(19) a. *Tuang   gurw   yaw.*   b. *Tuang   gurw   o.*
    master teacher   1s   master teacher   2s
    'I am a teacher.'[28]   'You are a teacher.'

  c. *Tuang   gurw   i.*   d. *Tuang   gurw   ity.*
    master teacher   3s   master teacher   1pi
    'He is a teacher.'   'We (incl.) are teachers.'

  e. *Tuang   gurw   e.*   f. *Tuang   gurw   sir.*
    master teacher   2p   master teacher   3p
    'You all are teachers.'   'They are teacher.'

(20) *Wai-kw   amury-a   i.*
    brother-1s   young-Ø   3s
    'He is my younger brother.'

(21) *Sawa-kw   o   de.*
    wife-1s   2s   already
    'You're my wife now.'

(22) *Ebu-kw   o   e?*
    master-1s   2s   Q
    'You are my master, huh?' (rhetorical)

(23) *Asw   i   de.*
    dog   3s   already
    'He's [become] a dog now.' (from a folk tale)

(24) *Asw-o-hahy   yaw   de.*
    dog-and-pig   1s   already
    'I've become an animal.' ('animal' literally means 'dog and pig')

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[28]The expression *tuang gurw* is a frozen loan meaning 'master-teacher' made up of two nominals. Neither
nominal may occur by itself.

The nominal attribute is not restricted to a simple noun, but can be complex (see *waikw amury* 'my younger brother' in (20) above). The nominal attribute can even be modified by a an adjective or relative clause:

(25)   *Iry   lan   i.*
         person   big   3s
         'He is a significant/important person.' (lit. 'He is a big-person.')

(26)   *Iry   ma-namet   sir.*
         person   REL-steal   3p
         'They are theives.' (lit. 'They are persons which steal.')

These types of predicate nominals seem to require the use of *iry* 'person' to combine with the adjectival or relative clausal attributes (this may be a lack of data, as *iry* of course only works for 'persons' not animals). But it is the postpositioned pronoun that is undergoer-subject and marks the referent of these attributes.

    Complex predicate nominals must not be bracketed by an NP article.

(27)   **Waikw amur*kye* i.*
        **Iry lan*ke* i.*
        **Iry manamet*are* sir.*

The addition of the singular or plural NP articles in (27), makes each of these examples ungrammatical. The embedded structures are well formed noun phrases, but NPs are not allowed in the predicate position of an attributive clause. A noun phrase often fills the topic position of an attributive clause. For example *iry lan i* 'he is a significant person' is very similar to *irkye lan i* 'the person is big' (lit. 'the person, he is big'), where the NP *irkye* fills the topic slot. But there is clearly a semantic and syntactic difference between these two examples, because *iry lan i* can likewise be clarified with a topic NP: as in *waikw amurkye iry lan i* 'my younger brother, he is a significant person'.

3.3.1.3 PREDICATE NUMERALS

    The predicate slot of an attributive clause can be filled by a numeral. This is similar to but distinct from numbering unspecified NPs (section 2.7.1 @@@Is this true??).

(28)   *Naman-V*re*   ena-at   sir.*
         child-PL   NUM-four   3p
         'There are four children.' (lit. 'The children, they are four.')

(29)   *Tuang gurw   so   ena-telw   sir.*
         master teacher   there   NUM-three   3p
         'There are three teachers.' (lit. 'Those teachers, they are three.')

(30) *Iry-ke   sasam   i   bo.*
      person-ART   one   3p   just
      'The person is all alone.' (lit. 'The person, he is only one.')

As with the other attributive clause types, all that is necessary is the attribute (in this case a numeral) and the topic-pronominal. For pragmatic reasons, a topic NP can be added to the beginning of the clause, e.g. the attributive clause in (29) is actually *enatelw sir* 'they are three'; *tuang gurw so* 'that/those master teacher(s) (unspecified as to number in the NP)' is simply adjunctive information presented in a preposed topic NP construction. Note that the speaker chose not to include an article on this topic NP, and so the only way of determining the number of teachers is from the core clause itself.

3.3.1.4 GENERALIZATIONS FOR ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The predicate of the attributive clause is always stative; an attributive clause in never encodes action of any kind. The attribute of an attributive clause is associated with the topic of the clause through a pronoun in the Undergoer position. Further embellishment on the topic-subject is accomplished through a preposed adjunctive NP. This agrees with the generalization for predicate structure, discussed in section 3.2, that the 'patient' or Undergoer of a clause must be coreferential with the object side of the predicate, and that any adjunctive NP coreferential with the topic must come <u>before</u> the predicate. The clause **lan i hahkye* is ungrammatical, while *hahkye lan i* 'the pig is big' (lit. 'the pig, he is big') is well formed. The first clause violates the principle of an adjunctive NP coreferential with the topic coming before the predicate.

Finally, the predicate phrase should encode all the necessary referential case-role information of the clause. When we look at the simplest attributive clause: *atyat i* 'he is bad', we see this generalization holds. The postposed pronoun, *i* '3s', is the Undergoer marker for the adjective *atyat* 'bad'. Thus the core clause encodes all of the required information: the topic has a semantic case-role of stative-Undergoer-topic; it is animate third-person singular; and it is 'bad'. An additional noun phrase is allowed but not required (unless to disambiguate the referent).

3.3.2 LOCATIVE CLAUSE

The other type of Selaru non-verbal clause is the locative clause, which consists of an optional topic noun phrase (subject to pragmatic constraints) and a predicate locative construction. As with the attributive clause, there is no copula, and the predicate locative and pronoun constitute a complete clause. The locative clause is distinct from the attributive

clause construction in that it is made up of a pronoun (from an abbreviated pronominal set) *preposed* to the predicate rather than postposed. The demonstratives that can function as predicate locatives are found in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Demonstratives

Predicate	Meaning
san	here[29]
ne	this
desy	that there (close by)
so	that there (far away)
ka	where (question word)

The question-word *ka* 'where' is a counterpart to these demonstratives and also fills the predicate slot of a locative clause.

The set of preposed topic pronouns for the locative clause is a subset of the standard pronoun set (see Table 3.2) and is given here in Table 3.4. (Note that the 1s form *yau* and the 1px form *arami* do not end in a glide like their standard pronoun counterparts do; these preposed forms are frozen with full vowel endings and so does not spread these features to the following demonstrative.)

Table 3.4: Preposed Topic Pronouns

Topic Pronouns	Topic Person Number
yau	1s
i	3s (also 2s,2p)
Ø	(inanimate)
arami	1px
sir	3p

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

Because of the variety of person-numbers referred to by the preposed pronoun *i*, it is glossed (for this function only) as 'X' (for lack of a better gloss). When *i* is used for referents other than 3s, the standard pronoun *must also be included* in the locative clause, preceding the *i* person-number pronoun. I have no evidence for the 1pi referent ever occurring in a locative clause. Attempts at eliciting one always proved ungrammatical. It is not clear whether this is because such a construction violates some syntactic restriction or simply because it creates a nonsensical semantic clash.

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[29]This demonstrative cannot be used in conjunction with 2s, 2p or 1pi referents. Why this should be is unclear.

(31) *Yau   so*   (1s).
       1s   there
       'That's me!' (e.g. hearing oneself on a cassette recording)

(32) *Yau   san!*   (1s)
       1s   here
       'I'm here!' (e.g. calling to someone who is looking for you)

(33) *O   i   ne!*   (2s—requires pronoun *o*)
       2s   X   this
       'You are here!'

(34) *Dace,   o   i   ka?*   (2s—requires pronoun *o*)
       David   2s   X   where
       'David, where are you?'

(35) *i   so.*   (3s animate)
       X   over.there
       'He/she/it is over there.'

(36) *Anan-ke   i   san.*   (3s animate, human)
       child-ART   X   here
       'The child is here.' (nearby; in close proximity)

(37) *Anan-ke   i   ne.*   (3s animate, human)
       child-ART   X   this
       'The child is here.' (pointing at him)

(38) *Sawa-kw   ma-muna-ke   ana-n-ke   i   ne.*   (3s animate, human)
       wife-1sG   REL-first-ART   child-3sG-ART   X   this
       'This is my first wife's child.' (lit. 'The wife of mine who came first her child is
       this.')

(39) *Wasi-kw   hahy-ke   i   desy.*   (3s animate, non-human)
        own-1s   pig-ART   X   that
       'That's my pig' or 'My pig is there' (lit. 'My pig, he is there.')

(40) *Arami   san!*   (1px)
       1px   here
       'We're (excl.) here!'

(41) *Ou, <u>e   i   ne</u>   bo,   lema   kw-matakit   e.*   (2p—requires pronoun *e*)
       yes 2p   X   this   just   NEG   1s-see   2p
       'Ah, you all are only here; I did not see you all.'

(42) *Namanare   sir   ne.*   (3p)
       child-PL   3p   this
       'The children are here' (lit. 'The children, they are here.')

(43) *Kader-ke*   Ø   *ne*   (inanimate)
      chair-ART   IN   this
      'This is the chair' (lit. 'The chair, [it] is there.')

Generally, the most common locative clause involves either 3s or 3p animate, or inanimate referents. These are often embellished (as shown above) with adjunctive topic NPs.

The locative clause can take a postposed noun phrase argument denoting the specific location of the subject-topic (to embellish the general location given by the demonstrative). The locative clause can also occur within another clause to supply needed information concerning the subject-topic.

(44) *Dorce   i   so*.   (simple locative clause)
      Dorce   X   over.there
      'Dorce is over there.'

(45) *Dorce   i   so   <u>dapor-ke</u>*.   (with a location NP)
      Dorce   X   over.there   kitchen-ART
      'Dorce is over there [in] the kitchen.'

(46) *Ama   i   so   <u>sey-ke</u>*.   (with a location NP)
      father   X   over.there   house-ART
      'Father is over there [in] the house.'

(47) *Dorce   i   so   <u>i-noha   kotw</u>*.   (with a verbal clause)
      Dorce   X   over.there   3s-cook   food
      'Dorce is over there cooking food.' (lit. 'Dorce is over there; she is cooking food.')

3.4 VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL CLAUSES: A SPLIT-S SYSTEM

Traditionally languages have been classified as either 'nominative-accusative' or 'ergative-absolutive' which are based on the syntactic distinction of 'transitive' vs 'intransitive'. But Selaru fits neither of these classifications. Dixon (1979) has gone on to described another language classification called 'Split-S' which better captures Selaru clause structure. Dixon called it a 'Split-S' because the 'S' (the subject of an intransitive clause) sometimes acts like or is case marked like an 'A' (the subject of a transitive clause) and other times like an 'O' (the object of a transitive clause), i.e. it is an 'S' which can't make up its mind.

Selaru fits this depiction, but it is unfortunate that 'Split-S' languages has been described based on a transitive/intransitive distinction, because for Selaru, these are irrelevant. What is significant in Selaru is a verbal/non-verbal or Actor/Undergoer dichotomy. All verbal clauses have the same subject person-number structure whether transitive or intransitive.

(48) a. *kala*   b. *kbwa*
          kw-ala   kw-ba
          1s-make   1s-go
          'I make'   'I go'

(49) a. *koban   askwe*   b. *ktwabahunwa   i.*
          kw-oban   asw-ke   kw-tabahunw-a   i
          1s-hit   dog-ART   1s-kill/murder-Ø   3s
          'I hit the dog.'   'I killed him.'

Non-verbal attributive clauses all have the same postpositional person-number topic marking structure whether the non-verbal predicate is an adjective, a noun or a numeral.

(50) *Iry   desike   lan   i.*
       person   that(ART)   big   3s
      'That person, he is big.'

(51) *Iry   desike   tuang gurw   i.*
       person   that(ART)   master teacher   3s
      'That person, he is a teacher.'

(52) *Iry   desike   sasam   i   bo.*
       person   that(ART)   one   3s   only
      'That person, he is alone.' (lit. 'That person, he is one only.')

The subject-topic of a non-verbal attributive clause is marked the same as Undergoer of a verbal clause (i.e., the appropriate person-number pronoun is postpositional to the verb). It then follows that the subject of the non-verbal attributive clause is the Undergoer, i.e., the subject-topic of such a clause prototypically has no control over his situation (sometimes called a 'patient of state' in the literature). Whereas the subject of a verbal clause is, as Dixon calls him, Actor, i.e., he is prototypically in control of the event. To try to differenciate this dichotomy using 'transitive' and 'intransitive' misses the more natural verb/non-verbal or Actor/Undergoer dichotomy in Selaru.

The unusual structure of the locative non-verbal clause lies somewhere between the two extremes of the Actor/Undergoer distinction. As noted before, the subject-topic of a locative clause is marked prepositionally to the predicate with a truncated pronominal set (see Table 3.4, section 3.3.2). In its use of a pronominal set rather than the verbal prefix set, the locative clause shows an affinity to the Undergoer of the attributive clause. In marking the subject prepositionally rather than postpositionally, it shows a nod toward the Actor of the verbal clause. This merging of the two types may be iconic in that while a location is basically a 'state' associated with the subject (hence the Undergoer nature of the clause), an animate subject prototypically is by no means bound to that location or 'state' since he is able to

move to another one (hence the Actor nature of the clause). This is generally not the case with the attributive clause, 'he is tall', etc.

How the subject marking for the various clause types relates to the Actor/Undergoer dichotomy can be displayed graphically as follows.
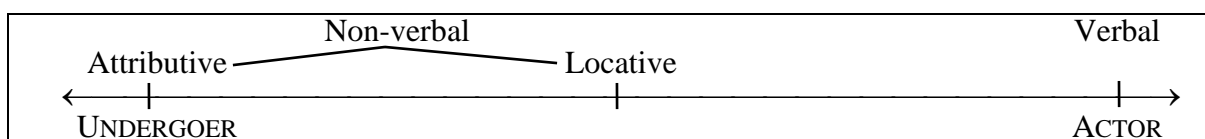
Figure 3.1: Subject Actor/Undergoer Scale

3.5   ADJUNCTS TO THE CLAUSE: PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Prepositional phrases are those which commonly encode the indirect object, locational or directional information of a clause. Selaru prepositional phrases coalesce into two basic types: the locative/benefactive/recipient phrase, and the comparative phrase. As 'prepositional' (rather than 'postpositional') each of these constructions conforms to the pattern expected for languages with a basic SVO constituent order (Hawkins 1979).[30]

3.5.1   THE LOCATIVE/BENEFACTIVE/RECIPIENT PHRASE

The locative/benefactive/recipient phrase consists of a directional preposition and a noun phrase. Selaru directionals are listed in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Directionals

Directional	Meaning
ma	towards speaker
ti	away from speaker (close by)
o	away from speaker (farther away)
ba	away from point of origin
ba-i	move bodily toward something in a horizontal direction
ei	move bodily toward something in any direction
toha	Move away or remove from something
-osy	to pass by or through

These directionals serve multiple functions and so are grouped into two different sets. The directionals *ma* and *ti* from the first set 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 is taken up again in the discussion of sentence level structure in section 5.3.1. The directional *o* functions like *ti* but

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[30]Even though 'SVO' may not be the most accurate label for Selaru ('Actor + Predicate + Undergoer' 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 positioned around the verb in this order (see section 3.2).

means 'far away'. It can also be a coordinator for noun phrases (@@@ oops, this isn't discussed anywhere) and a time marker in discourse (see section 6.4.5).

The second set consists of verb stems used as directionals. These are addressed in section 3.5.1.1.

If the phrase describes a location of some kind (e.g. *sra* 'top', *krala* 'inside', etc.), it often involves a complex NP-NP construction which relates the location to its object (*aroke kralake* 'the inside of the boat'). The head of the locative phrase is the specified location (e.g. *kralake* 'the inside'); the object of the location (e.g. *aroke* 'the boat') is merely adjunctive information and is optionally present.

If the phrase expresses a benefactive or recipient semantic relationship, it generally involves a concrete noun. This noun may range from a simple pronoun to a complex NP. The head of this NP is the head of the phrase.

LOCATION

(53) *kwe   ne   wahar   ti   ktutu-ke.*
      banana   this   ripe   at   top-ART
      'This banana [tree] is ripe at the top.'

(54) *Mus-ke   mw-maty   ti   wen-V-mw-ke   bonyo*
      Civet-ART   2s-die   at   place-GEN-2sG-ART   just
      'Civet, you simply died on the spot.' (lit. 'Civet, you simply died at your place.')

(55) *I-kita   ti   hah-ke   ma   y-sin   nur   desikre.*
      3s-wait   at   below-ART   CONJ 3s-split coconut   that(PL/ART)
      'He waited down below and spit [open] those coconuts.'

(56) *desyo nam   desike   ky-di   ti   sima-Ø-ke   krala-ke...*
      then thing that(ART)   IN-fall into hand-3sG-ART   inside-ART
      'then that thing fell into the palm of his hands...'

(57) *Y-al   kadut-ke   ode   y-luk   sir   ti   krala-ke.*
      3s-get   sack-ART   and   3s-stuff   3p   to   inside-ART
      'He took the sack and stuffed them inside [it].'

(58) a. *Mw-seak-a   mbinan-ke   ti   sra-ke.*   (Close by)
        2s-look-Ø   plate-ART   to   top-ART
        'Look at the plate up there.'

     b. *Mw-seak-a   mbinan-ke   o   sra-ke.*   (Farther away)
        2s-look-Ø   plate-ART   to   top-ART
        'Look at the plate up there.'

Examples (58a and b) show that the directionals *ti* and *o* fill the same slot; the only difference being the distance to the location.

TRANSFER/RECIPIENT

(59) *Lema y-al   Ø   ti   wai-Ø   amury-ke.*
     NEG   3s-give   Ø   to   brother-3sG   young-ART
     'He didn't give [it] to his younger brother.' (object left implied)

(60) *Nya   kisi-ke   ode   ana   y-tunik-a   knani-ke   ti   i.*
     3s.eat   meat-ART   and   later 3s-discard-Ø   husk-ART   to   3s
     'He ate the meat and then discarded the husk to him [another person].'

BENEFACTIVE/GOAL

(61) *Omi   y-liw   buku-ke   ti-a   Dace.*
     Naomi   3s-buy   book-ART   for-Ø   David
     'Naomi bought a book for David.'

(62) *Kw-obak   karya   ti   iry-Vre   ma   r-al   kuban   ma   yaw.*
     1s-look.for   work   for   person-PL   CONJ   3p-give   money   to   1s
     'I am seeking employment, so I can get some money.'
     (lit. 'I seek [to] work for people so that they give money to me.')

(63) *Mus-ke   y-bu   ti   Enw-ke   de   y-bohe...*
     Civet-ART   3s-speak   to   Turtle-ART   and   3s-say...
     'The Civet spoke to the Turtle and said...'

The directional preposition opposite to *ti* is *ma* 'towards the speaker'. This directional always takes *yaw* 'I/me' as its nominal because the speaker must refer to himself as *yaw*.

TRANSFER/RECIPIENT

(64) *mw-al   Ø   ma   yaw.*
     2s-give   Ø   to   1s
     'Give [it] to me.' (object understood)

(65) *r-al   kuban   ma   yaw.*
     3p-give   money   to   1s
     'They paid me.' (lit. 'They gave money to me.')

(66) *Mw-al-a   aw-ke   kisi   so   ma   yaw   de.*
     2s-get-Ø   tree-ART   fruit   there   to   1s   already
     'Hurry, get that tree fruit for me.'

BENEFACTIVE/GOAL

(67) *Mw-ba ti   mw-ena   Pune   ma   yaw.*
     2s-go CONJ   2s-ask   Pune   for   1s
     'Go and ask Pune for me.'

Selaru prepositions cannot be given a single gloss in English. They need to be glossed differently depending on the verb they are with (e.g. in the benefactive phrase, *ti* means 'for'; in the locative phrase, it means 'to', etc.). Whatever the gloss, 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 between a locative, a benefactive, and a recipient phrase is semantics. The classification of the phrase (with etic labels such as 'Benefactive' etc.) is a function of the semantic case-role assigned by the verb to the head of the preposition phrase; it is not a function of the directionals. Syntactically each of these phrase classifications are nearly identical.

3.5.1.1 THE VERB STEM DIRECTIONALS

The second set of directionals comes from the verb stems *-ba* 'go', *-ba-i* 'go towards s.t.', *-ei* 'go towards s.t.',[31] *-toha* 'follow' and *-osy* 'come from somewhere'.

(68) a. *Mw-ba   ti   mw-uris   aduk.*
     2s-go   CONJ 2s-bathe   first
   'You go and bathe first.'

   b. *kw-ba-i   namwata-ke*
     1s-go-LOC   beach-ART
    'I'm going to the beach'

   c. *Korduan   m-ei   tasi-ke*
     Korduan   2s-go.to   sea-ART
    'Korduan you went out to sea'

   d. *Sit-ke   ode Hahy-ke   r-toha   nam   Asw-ke   i-tanuk-are*
     cat-ART   and pig-ART   3p-follow stuff dog-ART   3s-say-PL
    'The cat and the pig did whatever the dog said.'

   e. *Mw-osy   ka?*
     2s-from   where
   'Where are you coming from?'

As directional prepositions, the first four verb forms are not conjugated and become *ba* 'away from point of origin', *bai* the same as *ba* but specifies a locative-goal, i.e. 'move toward s.t.', *ei* 'move toward s.t. (including vertical motion)', and *toha* 'move away from s.t.'. Only the verb *-osy* retains its conjugation, but its meaning shifts to 'pass by or through'. Schachter (1985) calls these "verbal particles." He says these are "a closed class of uninflected words that co-occur with certain verbs" (1985:45).

Verbs of locomotion (i.e. those which describe the means or method of motion, e.g. climb, walk, run, etc.) are apparently unable to specify a locative-goal without the addition of one of these directionals. There are a few other verbs which require a directional preposition.

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[31]The verb stem *-ei* 'go toward something' cannot be reduced to **e*, even though its structure and function is nearly identical to *-bai*. It may be a frozen form of what was once a reducible stem.

The verb *-otuk...ba* 'throw away' in example (70) is such a verb (just like its English counterpart).

There is a distinction then between this set and the *ma*/*ti*/*o* set discussed earlier in both form and function. The directionals *ti*, *o*, and *ma* are used to specify specific locations, recipients or benefactees. They point to the location, object, or person "receiving" the verbing. In contrast, verbal prepositions, in conjunction with the main verb, generally focus on the *process* of getting to their locative-goal, not on the location, object, or person itself. Other than this, the structure of the prepositional phrase is the same in both cases.

AWAY FROM ORIGINAL LOCATION

(69) *lemade y-nem <u>ba</u> soso*
     then   3s-fly   away far
     'then he flew far away'

(70) *kbwa ti k-otuk makinire <u>ba</u>.*
     1s-go   to   1s-throw   trash   away
     'I am going to throw away the trash.'

(71) *Dendye lai-na y-otuk i <u>ba</u>.*
     then   husband-3sG   3s-threw   3s   away
     'Then her husband divorced her.' (lit. 'Then her husband threw her away.')

(72) *bonyo y-nukur <u>ba</u> ti y-ait ena-Ø huruk*
     then   3s-blaze.a.trail   away CONJ   3s-reach   mother-3sG   again
     'then they headed off [through the jungle] until they arrived at her mother again'

(73) *ra-son <u>ba</u> desyo Aratwena i-la*
     3p-look   away   then   Aratwena   3s-run
     'they looked away and then Aratwena ran'

TOWARD A LOCATIVE-GOAL

(74) *Mety-ke kele r-otuk <u>ba-i</u> tasi so.*
     low.tide-ART   like   3p-throw   to-LOC   ocean   over.there
     'Low tide was like someone threw it way out to sea.'
     (lit. 'Low tide was like someone threw [it] to that (far away) sea.')

(75) *t-sai aro-ke ma t-hesy huruk <u>ba-i</u> so*
     1pi-climb   boat-ART   CONJ   1pi-paddle   again   to-LOC   over.there
     'let's climb [into] the boat and paddle over there again'

(76) *Lemade i-ndiry kakakan ode y-lakut <u>ba-i</u> bob-ke kmata-ke.*
     then   3s-stand   slowly   and   3s-walk   to-LOC   cave-ART   entry-ART
     'Then he stood slowly and walked toward the cave entrance.'

(77) *t-naw <u>ba-i</u> ity wai-t hnu-ke.*
     1pi-swim   to-LOC   1pi   own-1piG   village-ART
     'let's swim over to our village'

(78)   *R-hesy   <u>ei   hnu-ke</u>.*
        3p-paddle   to   village-ART
        'They paddled to shore.'

(79)   *Toto,   mw-sai   <u>ei   nur-ke   sra-ke.</u>*
        boy   2s-climb   up   coconut.tree-ART   top-ART
        'Boy, climb up to the top of the coconut tree.'

(80)   *Lema   y-naw   y-he   de   y-temar <u>ei tasi-ke   krala-ke</u>   ma   y-maty.*
        NEG   3s-swim 3s-know   so   3s-sink to   sea-ART   inside-ART   CONJ   3s-die.
        'He didn't know how to swim so he sank into the sea and died.'

(81)   *y-atos   <u>ei   wisal-o   wan   ode   lulw-ke</u>*
        3s-look   to   left-and   right   and   front-ART
        'he looked to the left and right, and to the front'

        <u>FROM A LOCATION</u>
(82)   *Y-orw   <u>toha   aw-ke   ktutu-ke</u>.*
        3s-descend   from   tree-ART   top-ART
        'He descended from the tree top.'

(83)   *y-lakut   ma   soso   i   <u>toha   wena-Ø-ke</u>*
        3s-walk   until   far   3s   from   place-3sG-ART
        'he walked until he was far from his place'

(84)   *Karbaw   ne-ke   i-la   <u>toha   ebu-Ø-ke</u>   kali...*
        Water.buffalo   this-ART   3s-run   from   master-3sG-ART   because
        'This water buffalo ran [away] from his master because...'

(85)   *Y-betik   <u>toha   bob-ke</u>.*
        3s-depart   from   cave-ART
        'He left the cave.' (lit. 'He departed from the cave.')

(86)   *y-aditi   i   <u>toha   wen   desy</u>*
        3s-remove   3s   from   place   that
        'He removed himself from that place.'

(87)   *Y-sambayan   ma   i-ten   kuban   <u>toha   Hulasow-ke</u>.*
        3s-pray   CONJ   3s-ask.for   money   from   God-ART
        'She prayed and asked God for money.'
        (lit. 'She prayed to ask for money from God.')

(88)   *y-kuty   aw   ktahi   molmol-are   <u>toha   ksana-nare</u>*
        3s-bite   tree   leave   green-PL   from   branch-PL
        'He torn green leaves from branches.'

(89)   *Sit   ne   y-buma   k-aka   tasy-ke   <u>toha   tela-Ø-ke</u>.*
        cat   this   3s-want   1s-untie   rope-ART   from   neck-3sG-ART
        'This cat wanted me to untie the rope from his neck.'

(90)   *Tir-ke*   *i-sisi*   *i*   <u>*toha   rakryaktya-n-are*</u>.
       sea.cucumber-ART   3s-peel   3s   from   tenticle-3sG-PL
       'The sea cucumber$_i$ peeled him$_j$ from his$_i$ tenticles.'

(91)   *Lea   tebikan   bonyo   smwela-Ø-ke*   *ky-dohut* <u>*toha   tena-n-ke*</u>.
       almost a.little then   abdomen-3sG-ART IN-break off   body-3sG-ART
       'A little more and his abdomen would have snapped off his body.' (an insect)

       <u>PASS BY/THROUGH</u>
(92)   *sit-ke   y-lakut   <u>y-osy   hah-ke   ma   y-ebu...</u>*
       cat-ART   3s-walk   3s-pass.through   under-ART   CONJ 3s-rub
       'the cat walked past underneath [the table] and rubbed...'

(93)   *y-seak   <u>y-osy-a   holholat-ke   klen-ke</u>   ma...*
       3s-see   3s-pass.through-Ø   door-ART   place-ART   CONJ
       'he looked through the doorway and...'

3.5.2   COMPARATIVE PHRASE

The Selaru comparative phrase normally combines with the attributive clause to form a comparison. The comparative phrase uses either the *ti* 'away from speaker' or *ma* 'towards speaker' directional prepositions. Structurally, the comparative phrase is identical to the locative/benefactive/recipient phrase construction, but its function is unique.

(94)   *Asw-ke   lan   i   <u>ti   sit-ke</u>*.
       dog-ART   big   3s   to   cat-ART
       'The dog is bigger than the cat.' (lit. 'The dog, he is big to the cat.')

(95)   *Wasi-Ø   hahy-ke   kakan   i   <u>ti   wasi-kw-ke</u>*.
       own-3sG   pig-ART   small   3s   to   own-1sG-ART
       'His pig is smaller than mine.' (lit. 'His pig, he is small to mine.')

(96)   *Wasi-kw   hahy-Vre   lan   sir   <u>ti   wasi-Ø   hahy-Vre   mumu</u>*.
       own-1sG   pig-PL   big   3p   to   own-3sG   pig-PL   all
       'My pigs are larger than all of his pigs.' (lit. 'My pigs, they are big to all his pigs.')

(97)   *Aro   mermer   desike   narnarw   <u>ti   aro   molmol-ke</u>*.
       boat   red   that(ART)   long   to   boat   blue-ART
       'That red boat is longer than the blue boat.'
       (lit. 'That red boat, it is long to the blue boat.')

(98)   *Amo   ausw-a   i   <u>ma   yaw</u>*.
       father   old-Ø   3s   to   me
       'Father is older than me.' (lit. 'Father, he is old to me.')

(99)   *Malkyakaw   yaw   <u>ti   o</u>!*
       strong 1s   to   2s
       'I'm stronger than you!' (lit. 'I am strong to you!')

(100) *Kw-salik   yaw   ti   i.*
       1s-separate   1s   to   him
       'I'm different from him' (lit. 'I separate myself to [from] him.')

Many of the above comparisons involve an attributive clause with an adjunct topic NP embellishing the topic-subject. The comparative phrase is clause final. For pragmatic reasons, left-dislocation can be used to raise the head of the comparitive phrase (i.e. the object of the comparison) to 'topic' position.

(101) [*Toto   Dace*]   *ausw-a yaw   ti   i.*
       boy   David   old-Ø   1s   to   3s
       'I'm older than David' (lit. 'Boy David, I am old to him.')

The fronted *Toto Dace* in example (101) 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-semantic 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.

3.6   VALENCE CHANGING PARTICLES

There are two valence increasing devices in Selaru: the verbal suffixes *-i* and *-ak* (and its variants *-uk*, *-ik*, and *-k*). These valence particles are not widely productive (one can never tell whether a verb will take one of these suffixes or not). These valence changing suffixes apparently come from the Proto-Austronesian verb suffixes *-i and *-kan/*-akan, which are a type of 'transitive suffix' (see Starosta, Pawley, and Reid, 1982@@@PL C-74(3)). Selaru also has an *-a* suffix which in some cases appears to be acting like a transitive suffix but is used so extensively it is probably a discourse-level device for narratives (see section 3.6.3).

Selaru does not appear to have any valence decreasing devices.

A great deal of research has been devoted by others to the Proto-Austronesian transitive suffix markers. My treatment here is not an in-depth discussion of the topic; I present the following as merely an overview to provide those more informed on the topic with a glimpse into Selaru's residual characteristics.

3.6.1   THE *-i* LOCATIVE SUFFIX

The *-i* ending is found on the motion verbs *-ba* 'go' and *-ma* 'come'. This suffix functions to increase the valence of these intransitive verbs by enabling them to specify a

locative goal, e.g. *-ba* 'go' becomes *-bai* 'go somewhere' (as seen in section 3.5.1.1). It appears only these two verbs (*-ba* and *-ma*) are able to take the *-i* suffix.

(102) 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   namwata-ke.*
child-PL   3p-go-LOC   beach-ART
'The children went to the beach.'

(103) a. *Lialaw-Vre   r-ma   de.*
young.man-PL   3s-come   already
'The young men have already come.

b. *my-ma   [ma   t-knam.]*
2p-come   [CONJ   1pi-eat]
'You all come so we (all) can eat.'

c. *Toto, mw-ma-i   san!*
boy   2s-come-LOC   here
'Boy, come here!'

Example (102a) is an intransitive construction with a non-specific goal, and has the form: subject + verb + aspect marker; (102b) is made up of two intransitive clauses. Example (102c) has the locative suffix on the verb allowing the inclusion of the specific goal *namwatake* 'the beach'. Without the *-i* ending, sentence (102c) would be ungrammatical.

3.6.2   THE *-Vk* VALENCE INCREASING SUFFIX

The *-ak* suffix in Selaru is underlyingly /-V*k*/. In other words, it follows the association rules (adjacent glides become full vowels, or if no glide, the V surfaces as [a], see section 1.3.2). There is no way of telling whether a verb stem will accept *-Vk*. Only a few verbs appear able to make use of this device. The *-Vk* suffix has a multifaceted function depending on the verb it attaches to.

(104) a. *t-ba   ti   ta-bren*
1pi-go   CONJ   1pi-play
'We are going (out) to play'

b. *ra-bren-Vk   bal-ke*
3p-play-VAL   ball-ART
'They are playing soccer'

The verb stem *-bren* is an intransitive verb meaning 'to play'. Comparing examples (104a and b) one might conclude that the *-Vk* suffix on *-bren* 'play' is merely a transitive marker, but the *-Vk* in (104b) 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 some children. I had asked him what he was holding.

(105)   *naman   kakan-are   ra-bren-Vk*
      child   small-PL   3p-play-VAL
      '[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. Had example (105) not had the *-ak* suffix it would have meant 'the small children are playing' (an intransitive clause).

(106)a.   *Ete   mw-may.*
      NEG   2s-shy
      'Don't be shy' or 'Don't be embarrassed'

    b.   *Mw-may-Vk   sai   de?*
      2s-shy-VAL   what   Q
      'What are you embarrassed of?' or 'What is causing you to be embarrassed?'

    c.   **mw-may sai de*

The verb *-may* 'shy/embarrassed' is normally said as in (106a). But when a question is formed to ask why a person is acting afraid or shy (a structure which requires the question word *sai* 'what') a *-Vk* must be added, as in (106b). Without the suffix *-Vk*, as in (106c), example (106b) would be ungrammatical. This is not a function of an intransitive verb becoming transitive in a 'what' construction. The verb *-may* can take an object:

(107)   *Kw-may   o.*
      1s-shy   2s
      'I am shy of you.' or 'I am embarrassed by you.'

In this case then, the *-Vk* suffix cannot be called a transitive suffix, since *-may* is a transitive verb. The function of *-Vk* in this case appears to be mark Causative.

Other examples include:

(108)a.   *Ku-boly   de.*
      1s-race   already
      'I've raced already.'

    b.   *Ana   ku-boly-Vk   o.*
      later   1s-race-VAL   2s
      'Later I'll beat you.' (beat = win, as in a race)

(109) a. <u>*Mw-taklulw*</u>   *aduk.*
    2s-sit   first
    'Please have a seat.' (lit. 'You sit first.')

    b. *Ete*   <u>*mw-taklulw-Vk*</u>   *nam*   *desy!*
       don't   2s-sit-VAL   thing   that
       'Don't sit on that thing!'

(110) a. <u>*I-dur*</u>   *ti*   *desy*   *ko.*
    3s-squat   at   that   only
    'He just squatted right there.'

    b. <u>*indurak-ke*</u>
       y-n-dur-Vk-ke
       3s-REL-squat-VAL-ART
       'the low stool' (lit. 'the [thing] on which he squats')

Example (110b) is the noun phrase (involving a relative clause) used to describe a low stool women use when washing clothes, etc. The structure of the relative clause indicates the object of the clause is the head of the NP (see section 4.1.2.2). But in this case, there is no object except that which is implied by the -V*k* suffix, e.g., -*dur*-V*k* means 'squat <u>on something</u>'.

    If the verb ends in a vowel, the form of -V*k* is -*k*.

(111) a. <u>*Y-toha*</u>   *sal-ke*   *ma*   *y-ba-i*   *alas-ke*   *ti*   *y-obak...*
    3s-follow path-ART   CONJ   3s-go-LOC jungle-ART   CONJ 3s-look.for...
    'She followed the path and she went to the jungle to look for...'

    b. *Lema* <u>*kw-toha-k*</u>   *iry-desy*   *kali*   *i-kakmet.*
       NEG   1s-follow-VAL person-that because 3s-lie
       'I don't believe/trust that person because he lies.'

    c. *desikeo*   *ana*   <u>*kw-toha-k*</u>   *Hulasow*   *o*   *mw-mesan*   *bo*
       and.then later 1s-follow-VAL God   2s   2s-alone   just
       'and then I will believe/trust [in] you God, just you alone'

    Here the -V*k* suffix (-*k* in this case) causes a semantic shift from -*toha* 'follow' to -*tohak* 'believe/trust'.

3.6.3   The -*a* Suffix

    There is an obtrusive suffix, -*a*, which not only attaches to verbs but also to prepositions and pronouns. It appears to act in some ways like a valence increaser, but its use is far too free to allow it 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.

(112) a. <u>Ku-ris</u>   aduk.
      1s-bathe   first
      'I'll bathe first.'

     b. Ana   <u>ku-ris-a</u>   i
        later   1s-bathe-Ø   him
        'Later I'll give him a bath.' (lit. 'Later I'll bathe him.')

Examples (112a and b) appear to support classifying -a as a transitive marker, except that (112b) could be said without it. Selaru consultants say that sentence (112b) 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.

(113)   *Wamfwet-ke*   <u>*mdedan-a*</u>   *i*   *ma*   *ky-arasy*   <u>*ti-a*</u>   <u>*wasi-Ø-a*</u>
        woman-ART   heavy-Ø   3s   CONJ   IN-approach   to-Ø   own-3s-Ø

        hul-o-sew   *mana*   *i-dur*   *haf.*
        moon-and-day   when   3s-squat   down

        'The woman was pregnant and her time to give birth was drawing near.'
        (lit. 'The woman, she was heavy and it approached to her month and day when she'd squat down.')

The underlined words in (113) 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 -V*k* discussed above. And yet it does carry the meaning 'there is more to come', hence a truncated version of (112b) would be ungrammatical (e.g. *ana ku-ris-a); here the verb ends in an -a without anything following it; this is not acceptable to any Selaru speaker.

Because of its pragmatic-narrative function of carrying the listener along through a story, I have chosen to simply gloss -a as 'Ø' in all cases.

CHAPTER 4

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[32] will be N + RC and never RC + N (1979:629). The overall structure in Selaru is:

(1) $NP_{rc} = N_{head}$ **RC DEM ART**

ACTOR HEADED RC
(2)   *Hahy   desike   nya   <u>kotw   ma-min   mbinan-a   de-ru   desike.</u>*
         pig   that(ART) 3s.eat food   REL-exist plate-Ø   NUM-two   that(ART)
         'That pig ate the food that was in those two plates.'

UNDERGOER HEADED RC
(3)   <u>*Naman   ra-oban   desike*</u>   *y-ser.*
         child   3p-hit   that(ART)   3s-cry
         'That child they hit cried.'

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 pattern.[33] This deviation is satisfying though because an RC fulfills the same function as an adjective in a noun phrase, i.e. it modifies (or restricts) the noun, and in Selaru, the RC is filling the same slot as the

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[32] See footnote 30, on page 81, for qualification of this 'SVO' classification.
[33]Mokilese and Kusailean, Micronesian languages discussed in Sohn 1973, do not follow the general pattern either. These two languages also exhibit other RC characteristics similar to Selaru (such as the *ma-* prefix in subject-headed RCs).

adjective in an attributive NP (an attributive NP = N_head ADJ DEM ART). It is consistent grammatically for the two structures to follow the same pattern.

4.1.2 Relativization Strategy

The strategy used in Selaru for relative clause construction is a combination of two related types: the relative pronoun and the anaphoric strategies, as well as verbal bleaching. Givón (1979:151) defines the relative pronoun strategy as "involving case-marked pronouns which normally get attracted to a position between the head noun and the restricting clause". For example, the English relative pronouns include 'who', 'whom', 'whose', etc. This is similar to the Actor Headed RC in example (2) and is addressed in section 4.1.2.1. Givón (1979:150) 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". This is used only in oblique relativization and is addressed in section 4.1.2.3. The most common @@@true? form of relative clause in Selaru discourse is the Undergoer Headed RC, e.g. example (3), but it uses neither of the above strategies. Instead, the Undergoer RC uses topicalization of the Undergoer NP (with no anaphoric trace) along with verbal bleaching. This is uncommon strategy is discussed in section 4.1.2.2.

4.1.2.1 Actor Relativization Strategy: A Relative Prefix

Rather than a stand-alone relative pronoun as Givón describes (and as found in English), Actor relativization in Selaru uses a relative verbal prefix, *ma-*.[34] This prefix replaces the person-number actor-subject prefix normally affixed to the verb stem. It marks the embedded clause as a relative or 'restrictive' clause. The *ma-* prefix also indicates that the head of the encompassing noun phrase is the Actor of the relativized verb (hence this is called an 'Actor Headed RC'). In so marking the Actor, the relative affix *ma-* is like a relative pronoun.

ACTOR HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES (USING A RELATIVE VERBAL AFFIX)

(4) *<u>Naman ma-sor   so-kre   r-sal   ti   alas-ke.</u>*
     child   REL-hunt over.there-PL/ART 3p-lost in   jungle-ART
     'Those children that were hunting (far) got lost in the jungle.'

(5) *Kw-naik   <u>nam   ma-haw   lwau-kw-ke</u>.*
     1s-pull.out thing REL-prick   foot-1sG-ART
     'I pulled out the thing which was pricking my foot.'

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[34]Kähler (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.

(6)   *Lema kw-he   <u>iry   ma-n-al   Ø-ke</u>.*
         NEG   1s-know   person   REL-BLC-take   IN-ART
         'I don't know who took [it].'

The verb stem of the RC in (6) is *-al*. It is affixed with the relative prefix *ma-* but has the additional prefix *n-* which is a particle added to monosyllabic vowel initial verb stems when they are 'bleached' (not active), as in relative clauses, nominal clauses, etc.[35] The Ø object is implied by the verb; since the object taken is inanimate, it has no pronominal form.

The relative prefix *ma-* also applies to inanimate subjects.

(7)   <u>*Aro ma-min   so-kre*</u>   *ana ky-ba-i   Somlaky.*
         boat REL-exist   there-PL/ART   later IN-go-LOC Saumlaki
         'Those boats which are there will go to Saumlaki later.'

(8)   *Kw-sai <u>kabal   ma-nem-ke</u>*.
         1s-ride ship   REL-fly-ART
         'I rode in the airplane.' (lit. 'I rode in the ship that flies.')

Actor Headed RCs need not have the Actor nominal overtly specified. If the head is indeterminate and non-referential, the nominal head is left off the RC.

(9)   <u>*Ma-kbo-ke*</u>   *ana y-mlar,*   <u>*ma-ndil-ke*</u>   *ana y-besur.*
         REL-lazy-ART   later 3s-hungry   REL-diligent-ART later 3s-full
         'Whoever is lazy will be hungry, whoever is industrious will be full.'

Example (9) is a Selaru proverb that contains two headless RCs. Because each RC is headless, the referent could be anyone, but it is singular. We can determine this by the *-ke* endings on the RCs and by the fully inflected verbs *imlar* and *byesur*, both of which are marked for a third-person singular subject.

The NP article, *-ke* in example (9), is an important indicator that a clause has been relativized. As discussed in Chapter 2, the NP article is like a closing bracket on the noun phrase; whatever comes between the nominal head and the article is inside the noun phrase; whatever is after the article it is outside the noun phrase. In this example each relativized verb ends with a *-ke* indicating they are nested within an encompassing noun phrase (even though the nominal head is absent). This plus the *ma-* relativizer prefix mark these as RCs inside NPs. This kind of construction can never happen when verbs form independent clauses.

The NP article on a RC construction can be any of the Selaru articles including the plural marker *-Vre* (see section 2.4).

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[35]See section 4.1.2.2 for more on 'bleached' verbs.

ACTOR HEADED RC (WITH A PL ARTICLE)
(10) a. *I-hes-a*   *iry*   *ma-maty-Vre*.
       3s-talk-Ø   person   REL-die-PL
       'He talked about people who have died.'

ACTIVE COUNTERPART
   b. *Iry-Vre*   *r-maty*   *de.*
       person-PL   3p-die   already
       'The people died already.'

In example (10a), the relativized verb *-maty* '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. In the active clause counterpart, (10b), the plural article is affixed to the Actor nominal directly and the active clause is outside the noun phrase.

When a relative clause has an object, what the closing article of the encompassing NP is referring to is not as clear.

(11)   *Dace*   *y-kodak*   *ma-tenw*   *tais-Vre*.
       David   3s-photographed   REL-weave   cloth-PL
       'David photographed [those] who were weaving cloth.'
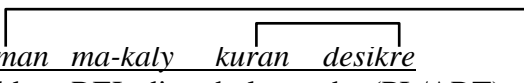
In example (11), the plural ending on the NP$_{rc}$ applies to the object noun *tais* 'cloth' (making it 'pieces of cloth') and not to the indeterminate (implied) RC head. In other words, David could have been photographing any number of people (although normally one person cannot weave more than one piece of cloth at a time). Only context can disambiguates the number of people referred to by the RC.

(12)   *Ma-min*   *o Yabun-Vre*   *r-tanuk*   *sai*   *de?*
       REL-exist   at Ambon-PL   3p-say   what   Q
       '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'. In this case, that the plural marker must refer to the unspecified head (since there is only one city of Ambon). But even if this were ambiguous, like example (11), because this NP is referencing the Actor of the active clause, the *r-* affix on the main verb *-tanuk* 'say' would indicate that the topic nominal is plural.

(13) a. *Naman ma-kaly   kuran desike*   *ra-la*   *de.*
       child   REL-dig   hole   that(ART)   3p-run   already
       'The children who dug that hole ran away already.'

b. *Naman ma-kaly kuran desikre*   *i-la*   *de.*
   child   REL-dig   hole   that(PL/ART)   3s-run   already
   'The child who dug those holes ran away already.'

This pair of examples shows that the number of the NP article applies to the embedded object NP and not to the head of the encompassing NP. Only the verb person-number prefix helps to disambiguate the number of the NP head.

In all cases, if present, an NP article will bracket or close the encompassing NP, but it is ambiguous which constituent this NP article specifies in an Actor Headed RC. The above examples show different uses and functions. If an Actor Headed RC has no embedded object NP, the closing NP article agrees in number with the head of the RC. If an object NP is specified in the RC, the closing article will generally agree with the object, but can, as shown in (12), agree with the actor-subject of the RC (i.e. the head of the encompassing NP). I have no examples in my corpus of double article endings (where the first closes the embedded object NP and the second closes the whole encompassing NP). While this is grammatically reasonable (theoretically), it does not appear to be possible in Selaru (as shown in (13a and b)).

LEFT-DISLOCATION OF AN ACTOR HEADED RC

(14)   *Naman ma-ser desikre*   *kw-oban sir mumu.*
      child   REL-cry   that(PL/ART)   1s-whip   3p   all
      'Those children which are crying, I whipped them all.'

This example demonstrates that the relative clause can act syntactically just like a basic NP. Here an Actor Headed RC, that is referential to the Undergoer of the main clause verb, has been preposed through left-dislocation creating a functional equivalent to the passive construction (see section 3.1.3)

All of the examples given thus far have involved verbal clauses (because non-verbal clauses involve adjectives, nominals, or numerals (see section 3.3) which are incorporated into noun phrase structure using the strategies explained in sections 2.5, 2.6, and 2.7). But the possessive constructions, which are 'quasi-clausal', can be relativized using the special construction *maka* 'who' which serves as a relative pronoun.[36]

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[36]The independent relative pronoun *maka* 'who' may have an underlying structure where *ma-* is the relative clause prefix, and *ka* is either the question word for 'what' or 'where', or the verb root meaning 'work, build, or make'.

GENERAL POSSESSION

(15) *Iry-a   maka   wasi-Ø   buku-ke   y-maty de.*
      person-Ø   who   own-3sG   book-ART   3s-die already
      'The person who owns the book died already.'

GENITIVE POSSESSION

(16) *Kika   iry   maka   iku-t   e?*
      there.exist person   who   tail-3pG   Q
      'There are people who have tails, huh?' (a rhetorical question)

The relative pronoun *maka* is rare and appears to be only used in this type of construction, with *iry* 'person'. This means it is limited to 3s and 3p referents.

4.1.2.2 UNDERGOER RELATIVIZATION STRATEGY: VERBAL BLEACHING

For relativization of Undergoer NPs, Selaru topicalizes the Undergoer nominal to the head position of the encompassing NP, leaving no anaphoric trace. The general pattern is:

(17) **UNDERGOER HEADED RC = N$_{Undergoer}$ + (NP$_{Actor}$) Verb$_{Bleached}$ + DEM + ART**

The closing article, ART, agrees in number with the Undergoer. The Actor NP can be present if needed, and it can be a fully embellished NP with its own NP article.

Unlike the Actor Headed RC, the Undergoer Headed RC uses no relative pronoun or particle, rather the verbal person-number prefix is retained, but the verb itself is 'bleached'. In her description of the English relative clause, Barbara Fox (1987:860) points out that RCs "tend to use a very low-transitivity, semantically bleached verb as the relative verb." Selaru has no substitutional, 'bleached' verb (such as 'have' in English), but it does manifest this same principle by 'bleaching' the RC verb. By this I mean the verb is no longer active or event line material (i.e. no longer moving the story forward); it has be 'side-lined'. It serves merely to relate information, not to actually depict an event or process. This 'bleaching' is seen structurally in that the person-number prefix becomes syllabic and will *not* spread onto a bleached verb (see section 1.3.2 for more on spreading).

INDEPENDENT CLAUSE

(18) a. *Wasi   askwe   nya   maskye.*   PHONEMIC
         wasi-Ø   asw-ke   y-na   masy-ke   MORPHEMIC
         own-3s   dog-ART   3s-eat   fish-ART
         'His dog ate the fish.'

RELATIVE CLAUSE

      b. *kotw   i-na-ke   lema   mtelas*
         food   3s-eat-ART   NEG   delicious
         'The food he ate wasn't good.'

In example (18a), the verb *na* 'eat' is active and the third-person singular prefix *y-* has spread onto it, but in example (18b), the verb is bleached and the 3s prefix *i-* is a full vowel and so cannot spread.

Bleaching is found in several places in Selaru syntax (relativization, nominalization, and preposed subordinate clauses), all of which are non-event line material. This structural evidence for bleaching is only noticeable on verbs with simple (C) onsets or on verbs which are vowel initial (e.g. *y-oban* 'he hit/whipped' bleaches to *i-oban*, where the 3s prefix is a full vowel). I note bleaching in the examples by giving the full vowel surface form of the verbal prefix rather than its underlying form.

UNDERGOER HEADED RC (ANIMATE)

(19) a.*Naman   ra-oban   desike   y-ser.*
      child   3p-whip   that(ART) 3s-cry
      'That child which they whipped cried.'

    b. *Naman   i-oban   desikre   r-ser   mumu.*
       child   3s-whip   that(PL/ART)   3p-cry   all
       'Those children which he whipped all cried.'

ACTIVE CLAUSE COUNTERPART

(20) a.*R-oban   naman   desike.*
      3p-whip   child   that(ART)
      'They whipped that child.'

    b. *Y-oban   naman   desikre   mumu.*
       3s-whip   child   that(PL/ART)   all
       'He whipped all those children.'

Examples (19a and b) contain simple Undergoer Headed RCs with animate heads (examples (20a and b) are their active clause counterparts). In (19a and b) the RC Undergoer nominals have moved to the head position of the encompassing NP, leaving behind their demonstrative and article (only the nominal is raised to the head position). When the Undergoer is moved, no pronominal trace is left in the object position (as found in left-dislocation constructions). The NP article closing the whole construction agrees with the Undergoer and not the relative Actor, as examples show. Finally, the clausal verb is conjugated to agree with the head nominal.

UNDERGOER HEADED RC AS TOPIC OF AN ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSE

(21) a.*Hahy   Nico   i-tabahunw-ke   lan   i.*
      pig   Nico   3s-kill-ART   big   3s
      'The pig Nico killed is big.'

b. _Hahy Nico   i-tabahunw-Vre_ lan sir mumu.
   pig   Nico   3s-kill-PL   big 3s   all
   'The pigs Nico killed are all big.'

UNDERGOER HEADED RC (INANIMATE)
(22) _Kw-tanuk   tun   i-tanuk-ke._
      1s-say   speech   3s-say-ART
      'I said the words he spoke.'

(23) _Nam   mu-tulis   desike   mlay   ta   sal   de?_
      stuff 2s-write   that(ART)   true   or   false Q
      'Is that stuff you wrote true or false?'

UNDERGOER HEADED RC: TYPICAL VS. HEADLESS
(24) a._Naman   tuang gurw   i-ajar-Vre   r-he   tel-ke._
      child   master teacher 3s-teach-PL   3p-know   language-ART
      'The children [the] teacher teaches are wise.'
      (lit. 'The children [the] teacher teaches know the language.')

    b. _Tuang gurw-ke   i-ajar-Vre   r-he   tel   de._
       master teacher-ART   3s-teach-PL   3p-know   language   already
       'Those the teacher teaches are already wise.'
       (lit. 'Those the teacher teaches know [the] language already.')

Examples (24a and b) demonstrate that the Undergoer nominal can be left implied. The final NP article on the RC and the conjugation of the verb in the main clause give the needed person-number information. Example (24b) also shows that the embedded Actor NP of the relativized verb may have its own NP article. In fact this embedded NP may be fully embellished, as in the following:

COMPLEX ACTOR NP IN AN OBJECT HEADED RC
(25) a._Kuran   naman-Vre   ra-kaly   desikre   lan   mumu._
      hole   child-PL   3p-dig   that(PL/ART)   big   all
      'All of those holes which the children dug are big'

    b. _Kuran   naman   de-telw   desike   ra-kaly   ne-ke   lan-a   ksyalik._
       hole   child   NUM-three   that(ART)   3p-dig   this-ART   big-Ø   very
       'That hole those three children dug is really big.'

NO ARTICLE
(26) _oboban   ku-kumak   ne   kw-al   ma   kw-oban   asw-Vre._
      stick   1s-grasp   this 1s-take CONJ 1s-hit   dog-PL
      'This stick which I grasp, I take/use to hit dogs.'

Example (26) verifies the generalization (from section 2.3) that the article is optional when a demonstrative is present. This again gives support to the depiction in section 4.1.1 of the RC as filling the same syntactic slot as a adjective in an encompassing NP.

4.1.2.3 OBLIQUE HEADED RC STRATEGY: ANAPHORIC PRONOUN RETENTION

Selaru can relativize oblique constructions. The following is a locative-headed relative clause.

(27)   *hatw   ra-skyer   ti   Ø-ke*
       stone   3p-bake.*skyerker*   in   IN-ART
       'a *skyerker* baking form'   (lit: 'the rock they cook *skyerker* in')

The object referred to appears to be a recent introduction in their culture, and yet it is now 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 nominal *hatw* 'stone' (through the Ø inanimate pronominal trace). An identical pattern is seen in (28).

(28)   *mban   ra-taklulw   ti   Ø -ke*
       board   3p-sit   at   IN -ART
       'the board on which people sit'   (meaning: 'a bench')

(29)   *I-ten-a   wasi-Ø   iry-a   i-karya   ti   i-ke   ma...*
       3s-ask-Ø   own-3s   person-Ø   3s-work   to   3s-ART   CONJ
       'She asked her person [whom] she worked for whether...'

The oblique nominal in (29) is animate, leaving an overt pronominal trace in the prepositional phrase. This oblique is complicated by a possessive construction, which moves with the nominal (the standard phrase construction would be *ti wasi irkye* 'for her person').

The following example is from the *Mangkawar* folk tale.

(30)   *Kw-ba   ti-a   kw-susu-a   ama-ku-a   Ø   ra-kali   i   ti   Ø-ke*
       1s-go   to-Ø   1s-show-Ø   father-my-Ø   (place)   3p-bury   him   at   IN-ART
       'I am going to point out the place where they buried my father.'

This is an Oblique RC, but it is headless (noted by the Ø glossed as 'place'). The head would be 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 relationship between *amaku* 'my father' and the place referred to by the RC is a genitive construction (see section 2.8.2).

4.1.3   Complex Relative Clause Structures

Selaru relative clause structure becomes most fascinating when one embeds in another. Example (31) comes from the *Mangkawar* story, and is the object-NP of the clause 'I will show you...'.

(31)   *ama-ku   wasi-a   [dolan-a   [iry   ma-tabahunw-a   i-ke]*
       dad-my   own-Ø   [gold-Ø   [man   REL-kill-Ø   3s-ART]

       i-n-al   Ø-ke]
       3s-BLC-take   IN-ART]
       '...my father's gold the man who killed him took'

The brackets mark the beginning and ending of two relative clause NPs (the inner set marks an embedded relative clause NP, the outer set marks the encompassing relative clause NP). The whole structure is a complex possessive NP construction, and its head is *dolan* 'gold'. The lines show the anaphoric relations. The structure of the two relative clause NPs is consistent with the formulation given in section 4.1.1. Each NP has a head, a relative clause, and an article. The embedded RC is an Actor Headed RC, and it fills the slot of a topic NP to specify the Actor of the relativized verb *inal*[37] in the Undergoer Headed RC. The nominal *dolan* 'gold' is the topic of this whole construction, and the fronted Undergoer of the encompassing RC.

As a test of this analysis I checked if the sentence was acceptable without the embedded RC (where *iry-ke* 'the man' replaces the embedded relative clause NP):

(32)   *ama-ku   wasi-a   dolan-a   iry-ke   i-n-al   Ø-ke*
       dad-my   own-Ø   gold-Ø   man-ART   3s-BLC-take   IN-ART
       '...my father's gold which the man took'

This was verified 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.

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[37]The prefix *n-* is a particle added to monosyllabic vowel initial verb stems when they are bleached.

(33) *koly-ne, mi-sosan-a lan-V-my-Vre   bonyo,   my-abuk-a Usi*
    like-this 2p-pack-Ø   stuff-GEN-2pG-PL just   2p-call-Ø   Sister (me)

    ma   kw-ma   ma   kw-bihy   ana   ku-dakin   ma   ku-n-al-Vre
    CONJ   1s-come   CONJ   1s-inspect   later   1s-like   CONJ   1s-BLC-take-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 <u>those [things] which I like become those which I take</u>.'

Both *-dakin* 'like' and *-al* 'take' are relativized verbs. They are coordinated by *ma* which can mean 'until' and indicates the change 'become'. Both of these verbs have as there 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 nominal is plural (note that one plural marker suffices for both RCs).

The only independent verbs in this example are 'you <u>call</u> me so I can <u>come</u> and <u>see</u>'. The rest of the verbs ('pack', 'like', and 'take') are bleached (non-event line). The concept of event line vs. non-event line verbs will be addressed in the next section and again in section 6.3.

CONJOINED RC-RC STRUCTURE
(34) <u>*Iry-a   ma-ba   ti   ma-sor-Vre*   *ra-tayar.*</u>
    person-Ø   REL-go   CONJ   REL-hunt-PL   3p-lost
    'The people who went to hunt are lost.'

CONJOINED RC-RC STRUCTURE
(35) [*Kahas ma-min*   [*kolay ma-min-a   sra desy*]], *enoi   y-luy   ma...*
    cotton   REL-exist basket REL-exist-Ø top   there   mother 3s-spin   CONJ
    'The cotton which is [in] that basket which is up top there, mother spins to...'

These two examples further illustrate how two relative clauses can be embedded within a noun phrase. The first is 'who went to hunt' and is marked by a plural article indicating the head is plural. The second, being similar to (31), is more complex and involves one relative clause embedded within another.

4.1.4   NOUN PHRASE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY

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:

(36)   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 the likelihood of accessibility. Lower constituents are less likely to be accessible, and therefore, if accessible, then all higher constituents (which are more likely) are accessible.

As shown above, Selaru can access Actor, Undergoer and Oblique NPs with three different strategies for relative clause construction and is capable of complex embedded and conjoined relative clause constructions. There is no evidence in our data that Selaru has the ability to relativize a genitive NP (e.g. 'the book which is mine', 'that boat of ours'). Repeated elicitations for these always came back with the possessive NP constructions outlined in Chapter 2 (e.g. *wasikw bukuke* 'my book', *ity wait aroke* 'our boat').[38]

'Object of comparison' NPs in Selaru are encoded as oblique constructions (see section 3.3). Keenan & Comrie (1977:66) write, "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". If this is the case, one would expect the object of comparison to be accessible as well, since locative obliques are accessible to relativization. I have found no evidence of this, but such a possibility cannot be ruled out as yet.

> OBJECT OF COMPARISON NP
> (37) a. *Asw-ke   lan   i   ti   sit-ke*.
>   dog-ART big   3s   to   cat-ART
>   'The dog is bigger than the cat.' (lit. 'The dog, he is big to the cat.')
>
> UNATTESTED POSSIBILITY
>   b. ?*sit   asw-ke   lan   i   ti   i-ke*
>   cat   dog-ART big   3s   to   3s-ART
>   'the cat which the dog is bigger than'

Using this principle and the pattern established for locative obliques, the object of comparison *ti sitke* 'to the cat' in (37a) could conceivably be relativized to the unattested noun phrase in (37b).

4.1.5   A REINTERPRETATION TO KEENAN & COMRIE'S NP ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY

In 1987, Barbara Fox proposed a reinterpretation of Keenan and Comrie's NP accessibility hierarchy. Her main concern was addressed at the meaning of 'subject' and its

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[38]Conceivably ?*aro ity waitke* 'boat of ours' might be acceptable based on other structures in the languae, but this has not been verified.

position in the hierarchy. Fox argues that the primacy of 'subject' is not supported in natural oral communication.

Contrary to her expectations, in the simple conversations comprising her data (English), 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.[39] 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.[40] This hierarchy would look like this:

Fox's NP Accessibility Hierarchy
(38)   S/P > A > IO > Oblique > Genitives > Objects of Comparison

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

The labels A, S and P again bring up the discussion of Selaru and its 'Split-S' or more accurately Actor/Undergoer dichotomy. As explained in section 3.4, Selaru clause structure does not divide well into transitive vs. intransitive, rather it appears better to differentiate clause construction on verbal/non-verbal or Actor/Undergoer division lines. For Selaru, the

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[39]The 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').

[40]'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'.

subject of an intransitive clause (Dixon's 'S') would either be an Actor, if the clause was verbal, or Undergoer, if the clause was non-verbal (e.g. attributive).

How this applies to relative clauses is less critical because only verbal clauses relativize. This is because non-verbal clauses, e.g. predicate adjectives, predicate nominals, etc., do not need a relativization strategy to modify the head of a noun phrase; they do that naturally through the basic NP construction. Because only verbal clauses are the issue, and because Selaru verbal intransitive subjects have the role of Actor and relativize using exactly the same strategy as transitive Actors one could argue that the S and A should be the considered together. But Fox's proposal is that while an S may syntactically look like an A (as in English) it is more related to P and also higher on the scale of accessibility. For this reason S and P will be kept together.

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 4.1.

Table 4.1: Percentage of Relative Clause Types in a Narrative Text

Type of RC	No.	Percent
S/P-RC	5	50%
A-RC	3	30%
OBL-RC	2	20%
Total	10	100%

While the number of clauses in the example text is not sufficient to make any binding generalizations, the S and P type RCs do outnumber the A and OBL type RCs, and the number of occurrences follow the general hierarchy Fox is proposing.

Two interesting observations can be made 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 6.3.1.3.

4.2   NOMINALIZED CLAUSE

The nominalized clause has a structure similar to the relative clause, but is nonetheless unique. A nominalized clause is characterized by a bleaching of the verb, the presence of the demonstrative *ne* 'this'[41] and an optional article. It generally conveys background information, i.e. "setting the stage" for the rest of the clause, and for this reason always occurs near the beginning of a sentence, i.e. before the main, event line clause, as a type of

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[41]No other demonstratives appear to be able to fill this position. I have seen only one example using the demonstrative *desy* 'that', but this appears to be a collapsed structure (see (43)).

preposed clause. In the nominalized clause, the semantic focus is on neither the subject nor the object of the nominalized verb (as it would be in a relative clause), but rather on the verb itself. The nominalized clause is used when the speaker is discussing an event or about to explain a sequence of events that is encapsuled by a single verb (e.g. trips, etc.).

(39)   <u>*ku-ba-ne,*</u>   *kw-ety-a*   *tais*   *ma*   *kw-al*   *ti*   *ena-kw*   *Nanere*
       1s-go-this   1s-carry-Ø   cloth   so   1s-give   to   mother-1sG   Nanere
       'This going of mine, I took cloth to give to Mrs. Nanere'
       (lit. 'I go thus: ...')

The nominalized clause in this example is *ku-ba-ne*. The verb *-ba* 'go' is bleached ('I go' is normally *kbwa*). Although the structure is similar to a relative clause, it is different. Because *-ba* is an intransitive verb, if it were relativized, it would make an Actor Headed RC which takes a *ma-* relative particle prefix (e.g. *ma-ba*, not *ku-ba*). Only preposed clauses (e.g. nominalized clauses) and Undergoer Headed RCs display this type of person-number prefix retention and verbal bleaching.

The presence of *ne* 'this', in *kuba ne* above, indicates that this structure is in a noun phrase, because *ne* brackets the construction *kuba*.[42] The English meaning of such a construction can go two ways: the genitive form 'this going of mine', or the more literal rendering 'I go thus'.

(40)   <u>*Aramy*   *mi-susw*   *ne-ke*</u>,   *y-basar-a*   *kseri*   *timur*   *ode*   *kw-bakol-a...*
       We (ex)   1px-fish   this-ART   3s-head-Ø   side   east   and   1s-head-Ø
       'We fished like this: he headed to the east side and I headed...'

This example is analogous to (39). In both of these examples, the *ne* is the demonstrative for the nominalized clause NP, but it also functions to 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 in English, see Halliday and Hasan 1976:68).

NOMINALIZED CLAUSE WITH OBJECT
(41)   <u>*ku-n-al*   *tel*   *ne-ke*</u>   *kalkal.*
       1s-BLC-get   language   this-ART   hard
       'My learning of this language is hard.'
       (lit. 'This my getting of this language is hare.')

The nominalized clause in (41) is more complex as it contains an object NP. As before, the verb *-al* 'get/take/give' is bleached (the *n-* prefix is inserted when monosyllabic vowel initial roots are bleached). This structure is very similar to that of an Undergoer Headed RC,

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[42]The verb *-ba* never specifies a location, so while *ne* can mean 'here', *-ba ne* can never be interpreted as 'go here'. To subcategorize a location, *-ba* must gain the locative particle *-i* (see section 3.6.1) and become *-ba-i* 'go-to'. The construction *-ba-i ne* means 'go here'.

except, in Undergoer Headed RC, the Undergoer nominal (if specified) must be 'topicalized', i.e. moved to the front of the relative clause construction (e.g., *tel kunal neke* would be the relative clause 'this language which I am learning'). Again, the focus of a relative clause is on one of the relative clause arguments. The focus of a nominalized clause is on the verb itself. In (41), the focus is on the 'getting' or the learning process of acquiring a language; this abstract concept is the referential subject of the predicate *kalkal* 'hard' of the main clause.

Example (41) differs from the two previous examples in that here the demonstrative *ne* carries no cataphoric properties. Instead, it modifies both *tel* 'language' and the nominalized verb *-al* 'get/take/give' (giving 'this getting of this language'). The lack of a cataphoric nature to *ne* here is a function of the attributive clause (the encompassing main clause structure for this nominalized clause). An attributive clause encodes no semantic process. Had this nominalized clause NP been inserted into a verbal clause, the *ne* would have been cataphoric, and the main verbal clause would have elucidated the abstract concept of 'getting a language'.

NOMINALIZED CLAUSE WITH LOCATIVE PHRASE
(42) *Ta-ba ti so ne-ke*   ksyunw ksyalik, kali   sew-ke   manas i.
       1pi-go to there this-ART painful very   because sun-ART hot   3s
       'This trip of ours to there was very unpleasant, because the sun was hot.'
       (lit. 'This we go to there was very painful, because the sun, he was hot.')

The nominalized clause, in this example, is also contained in an attributive clause. Everything discussed thus far applies here as well. The oddity of this one is the *ti so* 'to there' locative phrase. Normally, as discussed before, *-ba* 'go' becomes *-bai* 'go to' when denoting a location (e.g., *Kbwai so.* 'I went there.'). But here, the preposition *ti* 'to/at/in/on' is used instead of the locative suffix *-i*. I have no explanation for this, at this time.

NOMINALIZED CLAUSE WITH LOCATIVE PHRASE
(43) *Ode sawa-na i-mesan ti desike,*   lema kika iry   ma-seak-a
       and wife-3sG 3s-alone at that(ART) NEG exist person REL-see-Ø

       enen   desy.
       woman   that.

       'And his wife was alone there thus: there was no one who could look after that woman.'

Here the nominalized clause contains the bleached verb *imesan* (usually *myesan* 'she was alone') and the locative phrase *ti desike* 'at there'. The intonation on *desike* rises indicating this is a collapsed form of *ti desy neke* 'at there, thus'.

Other examples of nominalized clauses include:

(44) *I-lakut ne-ke y-rekan-o y-bohe, "Ana...*
    3s-walk   this-ART   3s-think-CONJ   3s-say   later
    'While walking she thought to herself, "Later...'
    (lit. 'She walked thus: she thought and said, "Later...')

(45) *Ku-mesan ti ne-ke lema kw-dakin.*
    1s-alone   at   this-ART   NEG   1s-like
    'My being alone here, I don't like.'

(46) *Ku-obak kotw ne-ke lema adoko ku-tot.*
    1s-search   food   this-ART   NEG   quickly   1s-find
    'My search for food thus: I didn't find [any] quickly.'

(47) *Ra-na ne-ke, ra-mukmuk-a sir-a ksyalik.*
    3p-eat   this-ART   3p-enjoy-Ø   they-Ø   very
    'They ate thus, they enjoyed themselves greatly.'

(48) *Ode ana ra-enah ne-ke r-tenw-Vk wen-a-t ma ana*
    and   later   3p-sleep   this-ART   3p-weave-VAL   place-GEN-3pG   CONJ   later

    Sihy ne-ke y-enah o aw-ke ktutu-ke...
    chicken   this-ART   3s-sleep   at   tree-ART   top-ART

    'And later they slept thus: they arranged [interwove] their places and the chicken slept at the top of the tree...'

(49) *Ra-lakut ne-ke r-ait amam ne it mo y-or sawa-Ø...*
    3p-walk   this-ART   3p-arrive   father   this   one   just   3s-with   wife-3sG
    'They walked thus: they came upon just this one man with his wife...'

(50) *Edo, mlin ne-ke eras!*
    Oh   calm   this-ART   good
    'Oh, this calmness is good!'

Generally, a nominalized clause involves a verbal clause, but in (50) the adjective *mlin* 'calm' has been nominalized. The adjective *mlin* normally modifies a noun, e.g. *eskwe mlin* 'the wind is calm' or *esw mlinke* 'the calm wind', but here, *mlin* itself is the head of the NP.

(51) *Kete dai mi-ba ti mi-elaw ne-ke mi-namet-a iry*
    not   earlier   2p-go   CONJ   2p-fetch.wood   this-ART   2p-steal-Ø   person

    dum-a hina-t kotw de?
    other-Ø   own(food)-3p   food   Q

    'It didn't happen did it, that when you went to fetch wood, you stole another person's food?'
    (lit. 'Not earlier you (pl.) fetched wood thus: you stole another person's food, huh?')

In (51) the nominalized clause contains two conjoined bleached verbal clauses.

(52)   *Lai-na*   *dai*   *i-ba*   *ti*   *i-obak*   *mormyorhyan*   *ne-ke*
       husband-3sG   earlier   3s-go   CONJ   3s-search   livelihood   this-ART

       y-karya   *ti*   *iry-Vre,*   *neke,*   *y-karya*   *sai*   *ta*   *sai*   *bony.*
       3s-work   for   person-PL   this-ART   3s-work   what   or   what   just

       'Earlier her husband went to look for work thus: he worked for a person; thus, he just
       worked at this and that.'

This example, like (51), contains a complex nominalized clause construction. It also contains the essence of a second nominalized clause through the free standing *neke* 'thus'. This *neke* is functioning on a discourse level as a linking particle. It essentially encapsules all of the preceding discussion as background information for the following event line clause.

4.3   SUMMARY

This chapter has addressed the various complexities of Selaru embedded clause structure. The relative clause is an externally headed postnominal structure that is able to access Actor, Undergoer, and oblique NPs. (The nominal head can be left implied.) The nominalized clause was also discussed. This is marked by a bracketing demonstrative closing the structure and by a 'bleached' verb (a concept discussed here important for both relative and nominalized clauses which proves useful again in the analysis of Selaru discourse structure).

CHAPTER 5

5. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

5.1 THE SENTENCE

Chapter 3 addresses the Clause and covers the concepts of the Topic NP and the Core Clause (involving either verbal or non-verbal predicates). This chapter addresses the Sentence; by that I mean the embellishments to the Clause which place it in a context. This involves mostly the tense, aspect, and modality system (including time phrases) and conjunctions.

A basic Selaru sentence could be depicted as:

TIME PHRASE/CONJ	TOPIC NP	NEG/TAM	CORE CLAUSE	TAM MARKING

Figure 5.1: The Selaru Sentence

Complex sentences can involve multiple basic sentences.

5.2 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).

The Selaru tense, aspect and modality (TAM) system involves the use of TAM words and phrases in the clause periphery (i.e. pre- or post-clausal positions) and sentence initial position (see Figure 5.1). The Selaru TAM system does not involve any obligatory grammatical affixation nor structural alternation of the verb stem. Simple factual statements require no marking for TAM:

(1) *Omi   i   so   i-noha   kotw.*
     Naomi 3s   there 3s-cook   food
     'Naomi is over there cooking.' (lit. 'Naomi, she is over there; she cooks food.')

(2) *Amo-i   y-ba-i   bo-Vre*
     dad-3s   3s-go-LOC   garden-PL
     'Dad, he went to the gardens.'

For these reason, a discussion of clause construction does not require a discussion of the TAM system (as in Chapter 3). It is impossible, however, to create well-formed, logically-connected texts without any knowledge of this crucial element.[43]

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

5.2.1 OVERVIEW OF CONCEPTS AND TERMINOLOGY

The following is a short overview of the terminology and underlying principles of 'tense', 'aspect', and 'modality' 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

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[43]Many 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

the situation to him or herself. 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 @@@. Modality includes all degrees of a speaker's opinion from realis (strong feelings of truthfulness) to irrealis (no evaluation whatsoever @@@can it extend to disbelief or incredulity?@@@). Terms along 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.

5.2.2 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.

> SENTENCE WITH TWO CONJOINED CLAUSES
(3) a. *Kw-ba ti ku-ris.*
    1s-go   CONJ   1s-bathe
    'I am (now) leaving (in order) to bathe.'

> LEXICAL COMPOSITE EXPRESSION OF TIME
  b. <u>*Dai bolbol ne*</u> *kw-ba ti ku-ris.*
    earlier morning this 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe
    'Earlier this morning I took a bath.'

---

in isolation or in simple exchanges, but they are not marked so as to fit into long narrations or extended exchanges or dialogues.

LEXICAL ITEM EXPRESSING TIME

c. <u>*Ana*</u> *kw-ba ti   ku-ris.*
   later 1s-go CONJ 1s-bathe
   'Later I'll go take a bath.'

Example (3a) is a sentence made up of two conjoined clauses. The sentence initial phrase *dai bolbol ne* 'earlier this morning', in example (3b), is a 'past time' lexical composite construction indicating that the event described occurred prior to the utterance. The time word, or lexical item, *ana* 'later', in (3c), indicates a 'future time' event, i.e., the event has yet to occur. These underlined lexical items or constructions are the only time frame indicators in the sentences. The syntactic configuration of the core clause in each of these examples remains unchanged. Selaru is not marked morphologically for tense.

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 sentence initially. *Dai* usually occurs with more specific embellishments (as in (3b)) to pinpoint the time frame.[44] When they do occur with specific time words, *ana* and *dai* will precede them.

Other examples of reference to specific points in time include:

(4)   a. *Desy-o,   <u>sewah   desike,</u> lai-n-a   y-or-a   iry-ke   it ...*
         then-TM   evening   that   husband-3sG-Ø   3s-with- Ø   person-ART   one
         'Then, that evening her husband and a man ...'

     b. <u>*Ana   bol-bolbol*</u>   *aramy   my-ba.*
         later REDUP-tomorrow   we (excl.) 1px-go
         'Tomorrow morning we will go.'

Example (4a) is from the *Mangkawar* text (see line 5, Appendix A). 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 (the town of Enus no longer exists). Sentence (4b) is simply another example of a lexical composite expression, but in this case, referencing a specific future time.

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

(5)   a. <u>*Liah-ke,*</u>   *k-or   ena-mu-a   aramy   my-ba-i   bo-V*re.
         yesterday-ART   1s-with   mom-2sG-Ø   we (ex.) 1px-go-LOC   garden-PL
         'Yesterday your mother and I went to the gardens.'

---

[44]This 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.

b. <u>Bol-bolbol</u>   *ne*   *Dortje*   *mw-ut-a*   *mbinan-*V*re ...*
REDUP-tomorrow   this   Dortje   2s-clean-Ø   plate-PL
'Tomorrow morning, Dortje you wash the dishes ...'

Table 5.1 lists the more common Selaru lexical time words and phrases.

Table 5.1: Common Selaru Time Words and Phrases

Selaru	Meaning
ana, *andeka*	Later
dai	Earlier
kyalata	in a little while / soon
kyalake	a little while ago
sew neke	today (lit. 'this sun')
sewah	Evening
detke	last evening
bolbol / bolbolbol	tomorrow / early morning
liahke	Yesterday
heitke / heit	day-before-yesterday / day-after-tomorrow
hetyelkwe / hetyelw	three days ago / three days from now
heatke / heat	four days ago / four days from now
hesimke / hesim	five days ago / five days from now
heit-lulswo	days-long-ago
seidake	(in) that day / (in) those days

Table 5.1 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 definiteness) to the time word. Since future time is always irrealis (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.

Other considerations of time and its cohesive effect on Selaru discourse are addressed in section 6.4.5.

5.2.3 ASPECT

While English is mostly tense oriented, Austronesian languages tend to pay more attention to aspect (Payne, in preparation:26). This is true of Selaru, and though 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 just finished 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.'*

5.2.3.1 COMPLETIVE AND INCOMPLETIVE ASPECTS

Completive and incompletive aspects play a key role in 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 core clause initially with *lenla* (or the contracted variants *enla* and *lea*) meaning 'not yet'. The completive aspect is marked clause finally with either *de*[45] 'already' or *ma ktei* (*de*) 'until done' or 'finished'.

	TOPIC NP		TAM	CORE CLAUSE	
(6)	*Naman*	*desike*	*lea*	*i-ris.*	
	child	that(ART)	not.yet	3s-bathe	
	'That child has not bathed yet.'				

(7)	*Keskye*	*enla*	*aramy*	*mi-ka*	*ara-ana-my.*
	but	not.yet	we (excl.)	1px-make	1pxG-child-1pxG
	'But we haven't any children yet.'				
	(lit. 'But we have not yet made our child.')				

(8)	*Lenla*	*aramy*	*my-knam.*
	not.yet	we (excl.)	1px-eat
	'We haven't eaten yet.'		

In examples (7) and (8), the incompletive aspect lexical item comes before the pronoun *aramy* 'we (excl.)' rather than next to the verb, because *aramy* is frozen with its prefix; nothing may come between them.

The completive aspect marker comes clause finally.

(9)	*Lialaw-Vre*	*r-ba*	*de.*
	young.man-PL	3p-go	already
	'The young men have gone already.'		

(10)	ode	heal	ne-kre	kele	*r-ai*	ity	*de.*
	and	catch	this-PL/ART	seems	3p-queasy	us	already
	'and it seems these fish made us queasy already.						

(11)	*desikeo*	*r-seak*	*ma*	*mw-he*	*lulw*	*o*	*lyaw*	*lan*	*de.*
	then	3p-see	CONJ	2s-know	front	and	back	big	already
	'and then they saw that you were already wise.'								
	(lit. '... you knew the front and back a lot already.')								

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[45]A homophone of the question marker *de* but distinct in function and meaning (see section 5.4).

The completive aspect marker *de* indicates the state or event addressed in the clause has already been achieved.

Procedural discourse in Selaru uses the completive aspect phrase *ma ktei* 'until done' to a high degree. It generally occurs in the preposed clause posiiton and creates a tail-head linkage between the preceding sentence and the sentence it occurs with. This is the main cohesive device in such a text (the following is a description of daily chores).

(12)   *Dortje*   *m-or*   *yaw*   *ti*   *t-has*   *nam.*
       Dortje   2s-with   me   go   1pi-wash   stuff

       T-has   *nam*   <u>*ma*   *ktei,*</u>   *desy-o*   *ta-noha*   *kotw*   *ma*   *ta.*
       1pi-wash   stuff   until   done,   that-TM   1pi-cook   food   for   we.eat

       T-knam   <u>*ma*   *ktei,*</u>   *desy-o*   *t-bren.*
       1pi-eat   until   done   then-TM   1pi-play

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

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.

In conversation these aspect markers are used as follows:

(13) a. *Mu-ris*   <u>*da*</u>*?*[46]   QUESTION
         2s-bathe   Q
         'You've bathed already?'

      b. <u>*Lea*</u>   *ku-ris.*   ANSWER   #1
         not.yet   1s-bathe
         'No, I've not bathed yet.'

      c. *Ou,*   *ku-ris*   <u>*ma*   *ktei*   *de.*</u>   ANSWER   #2
         yes   1s-bathe   until   done   already
         'Yes, I've already finished bathing.'

Other than the complication of the *da* in (13a) (see footnote) these examples are straightforward. Notice that in (13b) the free translation includes a 'no' which is not in the Selaru (*lema* means 'no' or negative, see section 5.5.2). The incompletive aspect implies a 'no' answer to the question because the question refers to the accomplishment of the event 'bathe'; the response clearly indicates the event is not completed (in fact the event has not even begun yet). See section 5.2.3.2 for how one refers to situations in progress.

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[46]The 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.

In (13c), *ma ktei* occurs with a *de* marker, whereas in (12) the *de* is left off. This is because a *de* marker is included if the phrase *ma ktei* occurred sentence finally, as in (13c). In (12), the phrase *ma ktei* does not occur sentence finally but closes the preposed clause structure. The preposed clause is concatenated in this example with the continuing event line through the use of *desy-o* 'and then', but *bony-o* 'so then' can also be used.

5.2.3.2 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 can be marked by the aspect word *ankora* 'still' and is often marked with the modal particles *bo* 'just' and *ko* 'obviously' (indicating speaker attitude, see section 5.2.4.3).

(14) a. *Mu-ris   e?*[47]   QUESTION
        1s-bathe   Q
        'Are you bathing?'

   b. *Ou,   ku-ris.*   ANSWER #1
        yes   1s-bathe
        'Yes, I'm bathing.'

   c. *Ou,   ku-ris   <u>ankora</u>.*   ANSWER #2
        yes   1s-bathe   still
        'Yes, I'm still bathing.'

(15) a. *Mw-ala   sai   desy   de?*   QUESTION
        2s-do   what   there   Q
        'What are you doing?'

   b. *Kw-ndiry   bo.*   ANSWER #1
        1s-stand   just
        'I am just standing.'

   c. *Kw-sol   nus   ko.*   ANSWER #2
        1s-sweep   island   obviously
        'Obviously, I'm sweeping the ground.'

The lack of the completive aspect marker in (14a) indicates the question is referring to an ongoing process, i.e., it is in continuative aspect. Content questions use the question marker *de* which looks identical to the completive aspect marker (cf. example (15a) for contrast and see sections 5.2.3.1 and 5.4.1). Example (14b) is not marked with any aspect marker, indicating the situation is still in process. (14c) is like (14b) except that it is overtly marked

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[47]This 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*.

as having a continuative aspect with the word *ankora* 'still'. Even without the overt aspect marker, (14b) is not ambiguous, i.e., it cannot be interpreted as both 'I am bathing' and 'I have bathed' as the later would require at least the *de* completive aspect marker (as in *Kuris de.*). Example (15b) has the modal particle *bo* added to mitigate the sentence, (15c) has the modal particle *ko* expressing speaker attitude, but neither is marked for completed action or for any other aspect, they are continuous situations (state/action).

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.

(16) *Sew   desike,   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 generic, i.e. lacks the article *-ke*, supports this interpretation. The non-specific 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:

(17) <u>*Malmata*</u> *i-tenw*   *tais,*   *desike-o*   *wasi-a*   *asw*   *ne-ke*
      while   3s-weave   cloth   that(ART)-TM   own-Ø   dog   this-ART

      bya   *ti*   *y-enw-a*   *wer*   *ne.*
      3s-go   to   3s-drink-Ø   water   this

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

The aspect/time word *malmata* is very rare in discourse, but in (0) it overtly marks the first clause as continuative. Context also indicates it is continuative; when the dog returns from the hidden spring, the old woman is still weaving.

5.2.3.3 IMMEDIACY ASPECT

The immediacy aspect specifies that an event or state will follow immediately upon the completion of the preceding event or state. Selaru marks this aspect with *enmo* (or its less common variants *nenmo* and *mamo*); each is glossed as 'just then'. There does not appear to be any difference in the meaning or usage between these forms.

(18) *T-enah   aduk   ma   bolbol   ode   <u>nenmo</u>   t-ba.*
      1pi-sleep   first   until tomorrow   and   just.then   1pi-go
      'Let's sleep first until tomorrow, and then we [will] go.'

(19) *Ena-n-a*   *isi-Ø-ke*   *ky-sunw* *keskye* *i-kita*   *ana-n-ke*
      mom-3sG-Ø   body-3sG-ART   IN-hurt   but   3s-wait   child-3sG-ART

      ma   *y-ait*   *i*   *aduk*   *ma*   *ktei-o*   *enmo*   *y-maty.*
      CONJ 3s-reach   her   first   until   done-TM   just.then   3s-die

      'His mother's body was in pain, but she waited for her child until he returned to her
      (lit. 'reached her') first, that done [i.e. once he arrived], just then she died.'

(20) *Y-aso*   *sir*   *ma*   *r-al-a*   *kotw* *ti*   *enen*   *desike*   *y-or*
      3s-request them CONJ 3p-give-Ø   food   CONJ woman   that(ART)   3s-with

      amam *desike*   *ra*   *ma*   *ktei,*   *desike*   *bony-o,*   *enmo*
      man   that(ART)   they.eat   until done   that(ART)   just-TM   just.then

      naman   *desikre*   *ra*   *hena-t*   *kotw*   *ktera-Vre.*
      child   that(PL/ART)   they.eat   own-3pG   food   extra-PL

      'He requested they give the food so that woman and that man [can] eat until done,
      after that, only then [can] those children eat their remaining food.'

The basic pattern in each of these examples is the completion of one event or state with
the next one marked aspectually to occur immediately following the preceding one; there is
no allowance for a time gap between events which are linked by this aspect.

(21) *Wa,*   *enmo*   *aramy*   *my-ba*   *ti*   *my-halodur*   *o*   *o*   *tasi-ke, ...*
      Hey!   just.then   we (excl.)   1px-go   CONJ   1px-sink   you   at   sea-ART
      'Hey, we just now went and sank you in the ocean, ...'

Example (21) is quoted speech, where the speakers are surprised to encounter the person
they thought they had just killed. It is unusual in putting *enmo* sentence initial, as this is not
the usual pattern (as seen in the previous examples). There is immediacy in this example as
well. Whereas the general pattern is that one situation (event/state) follows immediately on
the completion of another, in (21), the immediacy is with the past, i.e. 'immediately before
right now we went and sank you ...'.

The aspect marker *mamo* is rare, but its use appears identical to that of *enmo*.

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

5.2.3.4 ITERATIVE ASPECT

The iterative aspect indicates that an event occurs repeatedly, and it can imply this takes
place on a regular basis—indicating a fact or habit, not merely a single specific real time

event. I have very few examples of this, but Selaru appears to mark iterative aspect morphologically on event verbs by using reduplication.

       SIMPLE
(23) a. *R-oban* *asw*-V*re.*
           3p-hit   dog-PL
           'They hit the dogs.'

       ITERACTIVE
    b. *Ena* *ode* *ama-n-a* *ra-ob-oban* *i* *bo* *kali* *y-hdawan* *lan.*
        mom and dad-3sG-Ø 3p-hit-hit   him just because 3s-spoiled big
        'His mother and father hit him repeatedly because he is very spoiled.' or
        'His mother and father always hit him because he is very spoiled.'

The verb stem for 'hit' is *-oban*. When this is in iterative aspect the verb becomes *-oboban*[48] 'hit repeatedly'.

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.

5.2.4 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.

5.2.4.1 OPTATIVE MODE

Optative mode describes the speaker's wishes or desires. The most common method of indicating an Actor's intentions is through the conjunction/directional particles *ma* and *ti*.

(24)   *Y-ba* *ti*   *i-ris.*
        3s-go CONJ 3s-bathe
        'He went to take a bathe.'

(25)   *Y-ma*   *ma*   *y-knam.*
        3s-come CONJ 3s-eat
        'He came to eat.'

These and many other examples throughout this volume exemplify this method of indicating intentions. A speaker can also make direct reference to a person's desires (positive or negative) with the verb stems *-buma* 'want' and *-brai* 'don't want'.

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[48]This 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, in press) also marks a verb as iterative.

(26) *Majelis-ke r-buma ta-wahuk nur-Vre rahean.rahean.*
      elders-ART 3p-want 1pi-gather coconut-PL ten.by.ten
      'The church elders want us to gather coconuts in tens.'

(27) *Andeka t-seak ohe kbai-ke ky-ba ta kete ky-buma kw-maty.*
      later 1pi-see say disease-ART IN-go or not IN-want 1s-die
      'Later we'll see whether this disease goes away or whether it wants me to die.'[49]

(28) *Naman desike lan-a i dendye ana y-buma y-obak ama-Ø.*
      child that(ART) big-Ø 3s already later 3s-want 3s-look.for father-3sG
      'When that child was already big, then he wanted to look for his father.'

(29) *Kw-brai kw-tabahunw-a i.*
      1s-don't.want 1s-kill-Ø him
      'I don't want to kill him.'

(30) *Y-brai y-obak kotw.*
      3s-don't.want 3s-look.for food
      'He doesn't want to look for food.'

In each example the optative modal verb is concatenated with the following verb, i.e., there is no intervening *ma* or *ti* conjunction. This is a distinctive structure, as verbs are normally separated from each other by a conjunction (see section 5.3.1). But here the optative aspect is carried by the overt verb stems *-buma* and *-brai*; to add a conjunction would be redundant here.

The modal verb and the main verb do not have agree as to Actor, as in (26) and (27), but can, as in (28), (29) and (30). However, it appears that *-brai* requires a conjunctive particle if there is a switch in Actor (this is rare):

(31) *Kw-brai ma ea my-ba.*
      1s-don't.want CONJ you.all 2p-go
      'I don't want you (all) to go.'

The switch in Actor also requires the overt specification of the new Actor through a pronoun (pronominal reference of the Actor is unusual and is addressed in section 6.4.2.1). Apparently, it is expected that the verb *-brai* will concatenate with predicates having the same Actor. When this is not the case, this expectation forces the speaker to mark the switch more overtly. This does not apply to *-buma*, as it does not need any more overt specification of a switch in Actor than what is marked on the following verb.[50]

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[49]The syntactic structure of (27) is not completely clear as yet. The words *ohe* 'say' and *kete* 'not/don't' are not acting in their usual role; however, they do work together to produce the translation given. Line 25 in the *Mangkawar* text also contain a structure like this, where both *ohe* and *kete* are used in this same way.

[50]It is possible *-buma* is a frozen form made up of *-bu* 'say' and the conjunction *ma*, in which case another conjunction would be redundant.

5.2.4.2 ABILITATIVE MODE

Abilitative 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 abilitative modal verb follows it. The abilitative mode is marked with the verb *-he* 'know, understand, able to, can'.

(32) a. *Lema   kw-masu   kw-he.*
     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   y-tanuk-a   y-he   tun-ke.*
      but   3s-say-Ø   3s-know   word-ART
      '...but he could speak.' (lit. 'say the word'). or
      '...but he knew how to say something.'

In example (32a), the abilitative mode is in a negative clause; example (32b) is a positive statement.

(33) *Hahy-ke   lema   y-naw   y-he   de   y-temar   ei   tasi-ke   krala-ke*
      pig-ART   NEG   3s-swim   3s-know   so   3s-sink   to   sea-ART   inside-ART

      ma   y-maty.
      CONJ   3s-die

      'The pig didn't know how to swim, so he sank into the sea and died.'

(34) *Hina-mw   kotw-Vre,   mw-al   ti   botal-ke   krala-ke   ma   lema*
      own-2sG   food-PL   2s-put   in   bottle-ART   inside-ART   CONJ   NEG

      ku-a   kw-he.
      1s.eat-Ø   1s-know

      'Your food you put inside the bottle and I don't know how to eat [that way].'

(35) *Kancil-ke   y-tanuk   ma   y-mesan-a   y-he   bony.*
      rabbit-ART   3s-speak   CONJ   3s-alone-Ø   3s-know   only
      'The rabbit spoke to himself.' (lit. 'The rabbit spoke so that only he alone knew.')

This modal is more commonly found in negative constructions. Example (35) is a positive construction but one could argue here that *mesan* 'alone' is modifying *he* 'know' even though the construction is identical to previous examples.

5.2.4.3 MODAL PARTICLE *BO* 'MERELY'

The *bo* modal particle, mentioned in section 5.2.3.2, is an important particle whose function is not all together clear. For many uses it can be glossed as 'just, simply, merely' as in the following examples taken from the *Mangkawar* text (lines 7 and 12):

(36) a. *Korduan-a, mw-ei   tasi-ke   ti   mu-susw*;
        Korduan-Ø   2s-go   sea-ART   CONJ   2s-fish

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

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

   b. *Lema   ku-n-al   heal   de   ku-tot-a   lkusy-ke   bo.*[51]
      NEG   1s-BLC-get   catch   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* as 'just' or 'simply', i.e. (36a) could be glossed as '... you fished near shore *and nowhere else*'; (36b) as '... I found a clay jar *and nothing else*'. The modal particle *bo* can also indicate the speaker is attempting to mitigate the importance of the clause to which it is attached. In (36b), 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* 'just' and is used by some speakers in place of *bo*.

(37) *Kotw   desike   manu   ebelurun-ke   y-mesan-a   y-na   bony;*
      food   that(ART) bird   heron-ART   3s-alone-Ø   3s-eat   just

      nunu-Ø-ke   maniniw   ma   ky-sukar   botal-ke   k-nunu-ke.
      mouth-3sG-ART   thin   CONJ   IN-enter   bottle-ART IN-mouth-ART

      'That food, only the heron ate; his beak was thin enough to enter the mouth of the bottle.'

Using *bony* in this position is not common.

More often *bony* is used in conjunction with the discourse time marker *-o* (see section 6.4.5) and functions to mark preposed clauses (similar to tail-head constructions, see section 5.2.3.1).

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[51]The precise meaning of *de* in (36b) 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 5.3.2).

(38) *mw-sil-a   mw-hunw-a   i   ma   y-maty.*
      2s-beat-Ø   2s-murder-Ø   him   CONJ   3s-die

      I-maty   bony-o,   mw-hait i   ma ti-a mw-kali i.
      3s-dead   once-TM   2s-drag him   to to-Ø 2s-bury him

      '... you beat and murdered him until he died. Once he was dead, you dragged him
      away to bury him.'

The preposed clause *imaty bonyo* 'once he died' is non-event line; it verifies that the previous event is completed. The time marker *-o* could be glossed 'after that, then' and serves to move the storyline forward. The verb *imaty* in the preposed clause is bleached (it is normally *myaty*, as in the previous line). Bleaching also indicates a verb is non-event line material. Many, but not all preposed clauses are bleached.[52]

(39) *Ode   i-n-ait   lia-n-ke   wai-t   sey-ke   bony-o,*
      and   3s-BLC-reach   friend-3sG-ART   own-3pG   house-ART   once-TM

      y-toky   holholat-ke.
      3s-knock   door-ART

      'And once he reached his friend's (family's) house, he knocked on the door.'

Bonyo can also mark time phrases.

(40) *Bolbol   sewah-ke   bony-o   mw-ba-i   ara-wasi-my   sey-ke.*
      tomorrow   evening-ART   once-TM   2s-go-LOC   1px-own-1pxG   house-ART
      'Tomorrow evening, you come (lit. 'go') to our (excl.) house.'

(41) *Lema   klen-ke   soso bony-o   enmosw   desike   y-ma.*
      NEG   space-ART   far   once-TM   old.woman   that(ART)   3s-come
      'Not long after that, that old woman came.'

The modal *bonyo* often occurs with the completive aspect phrase *ma ktei* 'until done' though they have a different scope@@@ (the following example is from *Mangkawar*, line 14).

(42) *Lemade,   ra-sihw   ma   ktei   bony-o   r-ba   ti-a   ra-tunw   masy ...*
      so.then, 3p-clean   until done   once-TM   3p-go   to-Ø   3p-bake   fish
      'So once they finished cleaning (the fish), they went to bake the fish ...'

There are other places in the *Mangkawar* story that follow this same pattern (see lines 19, 22, 29, and others). In this example *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

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[52]Bleaching preposed clauses is a feature of discourse (making verbal clauses non-event line material) that is not controlled by all speakers. Those noted as good story tellers use this device frequently, while younger speakers or poor story tellers do not.

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.

5.2.5   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.

(43) a. *Ana   lenla   kbwa.*
          later before 1s-go
          'Before then I will go.' or 'I will have gone'

    b. *Ana   ktei-o   enmo   ku-ba.*
          later done-TM   just.then   1s-go
          'After that (then) I will go.'

Examples (43a) and (43b) both mix future time, completive, and incompletive aspect markers, and even the inceptive aspect marker, in the case of (43b). 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 (43a) already have left, or (43b) 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'.

(44) a. *T-enah   aduk   ma   bolbol   ode   nenmo   t-ba.*
          1pi-sleep   first   until tomorrow   and   just.then 1pi-go
          'Let's sleep first until tomorrow, and then we will go.'

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

Example (44a) is a quotation using temporal sequencing, time words, and inceptive aspect (from line 17 of the *Mangkawar* story). (44b) is an example of the same structure, but it uses the synonym *kmuna* (and the synonym *mamo* in place of the more common inceptive aspect marker *nenmo*).

Note that examples (44a) and (44b) 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.

5.3   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.[53] 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.

5.3.1   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 labeling them as difficult as giving them a single gloss.[54] 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 <u>be</u> (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.

(45) a. *Kw-ba*   <u>*ti*</u>   *ku-ris.*
          1s-go   CONJ   1s-bathe
          'I'm going to take a bath.'

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[53]In fact, most unelicited sentences are quite unwieldy.

[54]The 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 C.

    b. *Kw-al oboban-ke <u>ma</u>   kw-oban   asw-V*re.
       1s-get stick-ART CONJ   1s-hit   dog-PL
       'I grabbed a stick so that I could hit the dogs.'[55]

Another side to *ma* and *ti* is their inherent directional quality. In section 3.5.1 (see also section 6.4.1), 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 (45a) cannot be said in conjunction with *ma* but only with *ti*. Also, the use of *ma* in (45b) 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:

(46)   *Mw-<u>ma</u>   ma   t-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
(47) a. <u>*My-ba*</u>   *ti*   *my-obak-a*   *i*   *bony de!*
       2p-go   CONJ   2p-look.for-Ø   him   just   already
       'Just go look for him!'

       FROM MANGKAWAR: LINE 26
    b.   *Ti*   *my-obak-a*   *i*   *bony de!*
      (go)   CONJ   2p-look.for-Ø   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).

(48)   *Asw desike   mw-ba <u>ti</u>-a   m-enw-a   wer   desike   ma ktei no*
       dog that(ART) 2s-go   to-Ø   2s-drink-Ø water that(ART) until done TM

       mu-huk o   ti-a wer   desy   <u>ma</u> mu-ris   ode mu-ndiry   <u>ma</u>   mw-ma.
       2s-dip   you in-Ø water that   to   2s-bathe and 2s-stand   so   2s-come

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

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[55]This 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.

5.3.2). In this role *ma* and *ti* seem to act much like complementizers (see section 5.3.4), 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 (48) 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 3.6.1). 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 (48) is a folk tale, it has an overall completed time frame, and since *ktei* 'finished' marks completed aspect (see section 5.2.3.1), 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 3.5.1) *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 5.3.4).

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.

5.3.2 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 Coordinated Option Questions in section 5.4.2.

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

(49) *Lemade, lia-n-ke   y-tabahunw-a i   ode y-al-a   lkusy ne-ke.*
      so.then, friend-3sG-ART 3s-kill-Ø   him and 3s-take-Ø 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 (48), *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* (line 41):

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

      keskye   y-tanuk-a y-he   tun-ke ...
      but   3s-talk-Ø 3s-able word-ART

      'That Mangkawar, he was small; they carried him; he was (still) red; but he could speak word(s)…'

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.

(51) a. *Ku-brai   kw-bai   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 5.3.1) 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.

5.3.3   CONDITIONAL

Selaru indicates conditional (if-then) structure with the linking particle *mo* 'if/when-then'. Unlike English, Selaru places the *mo* particle between the condition and the consequence.

(52)   *Mw-ba-i   namwata-ke   mo   m-abuk   yaw.*
       2s-go-LOC   beach-ART   if.then   2s-call   1s
       'If/when you go to the beach (then) call me.'

(53)   *Kyalamo   kw-maslyes   mo   kw-hon.*
       usually   1s-sweat   if.then   1s-stink
       'Usually if/when I sweat (then) I stink.'

(54)   *Wasi-kw   antiahw-ke   lan   ma   ku-knam   mo   kw-besur.*
       own-1s   plate-ART   big   CONJ   1s-eat   if.then   1s-full
       'I have a big plate so that if/when I eat (then) I get full.'

Also, in each of these cases, one could argue that the glossing should be 'when' rather than 'if', especially in (54), since it is assumed the speaker will eat again.

The particle *mo* can also mark conditions involving deictics to a previous event.

(55)   *Desike   mo   ta-sihw   ma   t-ba-i   ra-ke...*
       that(ART)   if.then   1pi-clean.fish   CONJ   1pi-go-LOC   land-ART
       'If that (is the case), let's clean (the fish) and go inland...'

In (55) the deictic *desike* refers the to condition found in the previous clause (this example taken from the *Mangkawar* story, line 13). Here the conditional particle does means 'if'.

In the Selaru conditional construction, the preceding clause or phrase is always the condition, and the subsequent clause the consequence (if the condition is true or met).

5.3.4   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
(56) a. *Naman   ne-kre   r-ba-i   namwata-ke.*
     child   this-PL/ART   3s-go-LOC   beach-ART
     'These children went to the beach.'

ATTRIBUTIVE COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS SUBJECT
  b. *Naman-Vre ribun sir   r-ba-i   namwata-ke.*
     child-PL   many   them   3p-go-LOC   beach-ART
     'Many children went to the beach.'
     (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
(57) 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   mw-he   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-3sG-PL   big
     'The men saw (that) his teeth were big.'

In each example, (57a-c), the verb *-seak* subcategorizes a different structure (marked with an underline): in (57a) the object slot is filled with a pronominal; in (57b), a full verbal clause, linked to *-seak* with the conjunctive particle *ma*; in (57c) an attributive clause with no conjunction at all.[56]

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

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[56]*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-Ø @@@ 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.)

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 (57a-c) the verb remains basically the same. Sentences (57b) and (57c) 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 5.2.3), 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 (58a) glosses the question marker with a tag question—the closest correlation in English to this particle.

QUESTION
(58) a. *Ena-mw   i-so   e?*
       mother-your 3s-there   Q
       '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
(59) a. *Mu-ris   ma   ktei   <u>de</u>.*
       2s-bathe   until   done   already
       'You have finished bathing already.'

QUESTION
   b. *Mu-ris   ma   ktei   <u>da</u>?*
      2s-bathe   until   done   already-Q
      'You have finished bathing already?'

Example (59a) 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 (59a) is the same as for any other proposition, while (59b) 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.

(60) a. *Mw-dakin   Ø   <u>ta</u>   lema   de?*
       2s-like   IN   or   NEG   Q
       'Do you like (it) or not?'

b. *Nam   mu-tulis   desike   mlay   <u>ta</u>   sal   de?*
   stuff   2s-write   that(ART)   correct   or   wrong   Q
   'That which you wrote, is it correct or wrong?'

c. *Ki-ka   masy   <u>ta</u>   lema   de?*
   IN-exist   fish   or   NEG   Q
   'Is there any fish or not?'

Sentences (60a-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: (60a) is a transitive verbal clause (from the verb stem *-dakin*[57]) with a **Ø** pronominal reference, (60b) is an attributive clause (the predicate adjectives are *mlay* 'correct' and *sal* 'incorrect' and the subject/topic is an NP$_{rel}$), and (60c) 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.

(61)   *My-buma   my-toha   yaw   <u>ta</u>   my-brai?*
        2p-want   2p-follow   me   or   2p-don't.want
        'Do you want to follow me or don't you (want to)?'

5.4.3   CONTENT QUESTIONS

Selaru content question words cover the same basic concepts as in English wh-words: *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 Ø or empty trace).

(62) a. *Sai   Ø-so   de?*
         what   IN-there   Q
         'What's that (over there)?'

      b. *Ese   i-so   de?*
         who   3s-there   Q
         'Who's that (over there)?'

Both (62a and b) are locative clauses (see section 3.3.2). The only syntactic difference between these examples and their statement counterparts (other than the presence of the wh-

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[57] *-dakin* optionally subcategorizes an object. In this case the clause is intransitive, but in other examples it could be transitive.

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:

(63)   *Mw-tanuk   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.[58] 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.

(64)   *Ese   wasi   sey   desike   de?*
         who   owns   house   that(ART)   Q
         'Who owns that house?'

(64) 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
(65)   *Amo   wasi   sey-ke   desy.*
         father owns   house-ART   that
         'That is father's house.'   or   'Father's house is that.'

In (65) the subject of the clause is *sey* 'house', whereas in (64) the subject is *ese* 'who', i.e. the person who owns the house. Hence, *wasi* 'own' in (65) helps to modify the head noun while in (64) 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
(66) a. *Omi   i-min   o   so.*   VERBAL CL+LOC
         Omi   3s-exist   over   there
         'Naomi lives there.' (implies far away)

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[58]Why 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.

QUESTION

b. *Omi*   *i-min*   *o*   *<u>ka</u>?*   VERBAL CL+LOC
  Omi   3s-exist   over   where
  'Naomi lives where?' (implies far away)

c. *Omi*   *i-<u>ka</u>?*   LOCATIVE CL
  Omi   3s-where
  'Where is Naomi?'

d. *Wasi-mw*   *sey-ke*   *Ø-<u>ka</u>?*   LOCATIVE CL
  own-2s   house-ART   IN-where
  'Where is your house?'

Example (66a) is a simple verbal proposition taking a locative phrase. Example (66b) is the same sentence but with the question word *ka* taking the place of the specified location. Both (66c) and (66d) 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 (66c) the subject is animate third-person singular and is marked with *i-*; in (66d) the subject is inanimate (IN) and so is marked with a Ø (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 *–ka-bei* means 'which'. This stem is prefixed by specific morphemes (usually nouns) to produce various content question words.

Table 5.2: When/Why/How Content Question Words

Morpheme	Meaning	Full Form	Meaning
hey	day	*hekyabei*	when, which day
hul	month	*hulkabei*	which month
koly	situation	*kolkya*	how[59]
"	"	*kolkyabei*	how
"	"	*kolkyabei mane*	why
kyanw	situation	*kyanw mane*	why

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

(67) a. *<u>Hey-kabei-o</u>*   *r-ba*   *ti*   *r-bih*   *bo-Vre*   *de?*
    day-which-TM   3p-go   CONJ   3p-inspect   garden-PL   Q
    'When [which day] are they going to inspect the gardens?'

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[59]*Kolkya* can also mean 'how goes it' and is used as a greeting.

b. <u>*Hul-kabei*</u>   *desike-o*   *besa-V*re *lan* *de?*
   month-which that(ART)-TM wave-PL   big   Q
   '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 6.4.5). 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'.

(68) a. *Mw-ala*   *skyerker*   *ne-ke*   *kolkya?*
    2s-make   cassava.cake this-ART   how
    'How do you make cassava cakes?'

b. *Mw-losu*   *ma*   *yaw* *mu-noha* *sayur-ke*   *ne-ke*   <u>*kolkyabei.*</u>
   2s-show   CONJ   me   2s-cook   vegetable-ART this   how
   'Show me how you cook these vegetables.'

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

Notice in comparing these examples that (68b) 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 (68c) 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 (68a), 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 (68b), 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 (68c), 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).

(69) *Kyanw*   *mane*   [[*lema i-bai*   *bo-*V*re*]   *ne*]   *de?*
      what's.wrong   such.that   NEG 3s-go.to   garden-PL   this   Q
      'Why didn't he go to the gardens?'
      (lit. '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
(70) a. *Toto,*   *mw-anw?*
        boy   2s-what's.wrong
        'Son, what's wrong?'

      ANSWER
   b. *Isi-kw-ke*   *ksun.*
      body-1sG-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.

(71) a. [*Wasi-mw*   *ain-ke*   ]   *enai*   *de?*
        own-2sG   year-ART   how.much   Q
        'How old are you?' (lit. 'Your years are how many?')

   b. [*Utur-ke*   *sasam kesi-ke*]   *enai*   *de?*
        stick-ART   one   price-ART   how.much   Q
        'One stick costs how much?' (lit. 'One stick's price is how much?')

Examples (71a-b) show two uses for this wh-word. (71a) and (71b) are both attributive clauses with complex NPs (marked with brackets).

(72) *Kyoban*   *enai-o*   *t-ba*   *de?*
      IN-hit   how.much-TM   1pi-go   Q
      'When will we be going?' (lit. 'It strikes how many then we go?')

Example (72) 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.[60] 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 (13c). 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 A, 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* '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 (1985b:198) as the "type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences." Standard negation in Selaru is marked with *lema* 'no' or 'don't'.

STANDARD NEGATION
(73) a. <u>*Lema*</u> *ki-ka*   *wer.*
          NEG   IN-exist   water
          'There isn't any water.'

      b. *Det-ke*   <u>*lema*</u> *kw-ba.*
          last.evening-ART   NEG   1s-go
          'Last evening I didn't go.'

Both (73a) and (73b) 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:

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[60]Church 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

(74) 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 incompletive aspect markers *lenla* and *lea* 'not yet'.[61]

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?', (75a) and (75b) would make acceptable answers whereas (75c) implies one's brain is incapable of ever speaking the language.

(75) a. <u>*Lea*</u>   *kw-he   mamak.*
      not.yet   1s-know   well
      'I don't know (it) well yet.'

    b. <u>*Lenla*</u>   *kw-he   ma   lan.*
      not.yet   1s-know until   much
      'I don't know very much yet'

    c. ?<u>*lema*</u>   *kw-he   ma   lan*

Because *lea* and *lenla* are incompletive 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 (73b) above).[62] The following is from a text about hunting a wild boar.

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was marked by the height of the sun in the sky—involving vague terms like 'early morning', 'noon', 'evening', etc.

[61]Selaru does not have the further distinction between verbal negation and nominal negation (stating the inaccuracy of a verb vs. the inaccuracy of a noun) found in other Austronesian languages, e.g. Indonesian.

[62]Notice that (73a) 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.

(76) *Lialaw-V*re   *lea*   *r-arasik*   *i*
      men-PL   not.yet   3p-near   him

      de   *as*w-V*re   *r-uk-a*   *i*   *nini*   *y-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 (76) 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*[63] 'will not'. This is used most frequently in commands (translated as 'don't!' in English but still addressing the will of the agent).

(77) a. *Ete*   *mw-tanuk*   *desy!*
          don't   2s-say   that
          'Don't say that!'

      b. *Kw-oban*   *naman-V*re   *ma*   *sir-a*   *ete*   *r-sukar*   *sey-ke.*
          1s-hit   child-PL   so   they-Ø   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 (77a) is the most common functional use of *ete*. (77b) demonstrates its extended use of thwarting or negating a willful act. *Ete* can either immediately precede the verb and follow the subject (as in (77b)), or it can precede the subject with no change in meaning:

(78) *Kw-oban*   *naman-V*re   *ma*   *ete*   *sir-a*   *r-sukar*   *sey-ke.*
      1s-hit   child-PL   so   won't   they-Ø   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.

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[63]The form *kete* is said to be more emphatic and harsher than *ete*. Other than this, there is no difference.

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.

CHAPTER 6

6. SELARU NARRATIVE

6.1 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). The purpose of this last chapter is to examine the syntactic structures of Selaru in a natural multi-propositional text.

The natural text is 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.

This chapter assumes 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.

6.2 THE TEXT

We will begin the analysis of the *Mangkawar* story by looking at its quality, typology, and overall content (macro-structure).

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6.2.1 TEXT QUALITY AND INTENDED AUDIENCE

The *Mangkawar* historical narrative was told to me by a man well versed in the history of the Selaru people.[64] The people of Namtabung also acknowledge him as a good orator and having a good command of the language.

This story was told to me in the privacy of my own room—only he and I were present. The tape recorder was not a new device to him, nor was he uncomfortable with it. His delivery was with the same intonation and word lengthening characteristics found in Selaru oratory.

The story cannot be said to be spontaneously, as the narrator had known ahead of time I wanted to record a historical narrative. He had requested time to think about it. Because these stories have been told many times before they are not new. But most importantly, the telling of historical narratives requires care and accuracy lest the spirits become angry. The narrator had requested some time in order to review the story and make sure he had the names and facts correct before relating it to me.

The narrator's intended audience is not easy to determine. Although I was the only person present when the story was told, 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 he 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 his intended audience might have been. At several crucial points in the story, he switches the subject person-number verb-prefix from a third-person impersonal account to a very direct second-person account. Later he 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, the narration switches to second-person, i.e., the story teller is talking directly to the characters in the story. Usually the narrator 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 the

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[64]The 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). Because telling of history stories is nearly taboo, it is done in private, and my getting a recording of such a story was quite exciting. But because of these concerns, I asked the narrator if publishing the story would be acceptable. He saw no problem with the story being published; he simply asked that his name be withheld.

narrator'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. The narrator seemed to enjoy relating the story even without my understanding him. And on reviewing the recording, the narrator was generally pleased with its flow and content. (He did make minor alterations in the final draft, given here, to account for 'on-the-fly' errors in selecting lexical items. These in no way changed the content of the story.) I am confident then that this text can serve as a good example of a Selaru folk tale narrative.

6.2.2   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 5.2.2 and 6.4.5 for more discussion on this).

Because this text is historical, it is -Projection (i.e. not about the future). The story begins with the phrase, *Ti-a Enus neke* 'In this [village of] Enus' which marks the story as historical (Enus was the first village on the island of Selaru—it no longer exists). The text is also +Tension (i.e. conflict); it involves a murder, its solution, another attempted murder and its resolution. It also has Climax and a clear Denouement.

6.2.3   TEXT STRUCTURE

The appendices of this paper present the *Mangkawar* story in three formats. Appendix A is the text in an interlinear format. 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").[65] Appendix C is the story in Selaru with English glossing laid out in a Longacre-Levinsohn chart (see Longacre and Levinsohn 1978:111).

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[65]This 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.

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 the antagonist, 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. This 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 6.1: The Major Episodes in *Mangkawar*

Segment	Lines	Summary
Stage	1-4	Introduction of Tulisama and his wife
Episode 1	5-28	Fishing, Murder, Korduan's Denial
Episode 2	29-41	Mangkawar's Birth, Mystery Solved
Episode 3	42-51	What happens to Mangkawar
Finis	52	'The End'

See Appendix B for more on the macrosegmentation of this story.

The following paragraph is a first attempt to reduce the whole story into an all inclusive macro-structure statement.

> The *Mangkawar* story is about how a man who was betrayed and killed by his friend, but is avenged by his son, who though "directed by 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 (discussed in this chapter) that this is not the correct explanation; 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 the deeper explanation of the story came from the narrator himself, 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,[66] 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 the narrator suggests in line 41 of the story, rather 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.[67]

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[66]A year later I recorded another version of this story from another man in the village.

[67]But one can only wonder what kind of wisdom this implies that the West received.

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 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.[68]

6.3   CLINE OF SALIENCE

The concept of ranking verbs (or predicates) on a 'cline of salience' 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 salience; whereas other tenses might never carry the storyline, thereby ranking much lower on the scale.

Although much of the literature concerning the relative salience of verbs addresses languages with tense encoded morphologically on the verb or in the verb phrase,[69] this will not be possible with Selaru. As discussed in section 5.2.2, 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.[70] For this reason, we will look at clause structure as a whole as a means of determining relative salience.

6.3.1   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)

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[68]I have not discussed this interpretation of the story with the Selaru people (as there are taboos associated with such story telling), but stories of this type of possession do occur in other areas of South-east Asia.

[69]A notable exception is Burusphat's dissertation on Thai narrative (1986), which like Selaru has no tense.

[70]For example, the aspect marker *de*, sentence finally, means 'finished' or 'completed action', while *lea* or *lenla*, sentence initially, means 'unfinished' or 'non-completed action'.

lumps all of this information under the label 'supportive' information. This seems quite appropriate.

6.3.1.1 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, noun, or numeral (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.[71] Line 3 from the *Mangkawar* story is a good example of an attributive clause:

(1) *Wamfwet-ke   mdedan-a   i.*
     woman-ART   heavy-Ø   3s
     'The woman was pregnant.'

In the *Mangkawar* story, the first sentence is existential and could be considered the most inactive sentence in the story:

(2) *Ti-a Enus ne-ke,   iry-ke   it-a   ani-na   Tulisama   Botan-ke.*
     in-Ø Enus this-ART   man-ART   one-Ø   name-3sG 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 attributive clause stating the first piece of information (someone's name) in the whole story.

The locative clause (see section 3.3.2) is likewise non-verbal, , but structurally it displays a higher degree of "Actorness" than the attributive clause (see Figure 3.1, section 3.4). For this reason, it will be treated as being higher on the cline of salience (e.g. its relative degree of importance for moving the story or event line along).

6.3.1.2 BLEACHED VERBAL CLAUSES

There are several sections in the *Mangkawar* story where verbal clauses are 'bleached' (using Fox's (1987) term, see sections 4.1.2.2, 4.2, and 5.2.4.3). Bleaching is evidenced by the loss of spreading of verbal prefixes on those verb stems which normally allow for it. Bleaching is a means by which Selaru can demote clauses in a narrative discourse, i.e., it indicates a drop in storyline salience. Verbs which are bleached generally encode background information (these include relativized and nominalized verbs and preposed clause constructions).

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[71]This is probably a universal observation although she does not say so specifically.

Preposed clauses which serve as margins of time, such as the beginning of line 20, can be bleached and act like a English subordinate clause:

(3) *I-maty   bony-o,   mw-hait   i...*
     3s-dead   just-TM   2s-drag   him
     'Once he was dead, you dragged him ...'

Usually 'he died' is *myaty* (where the third-person singular prefix spreads onto the verb stem), but in (3) the verb stem is bleached. The presence of the *-o* enclitic on *bony* 'just' indicates this is a time-phrase (see section 6.4.5). This clause serves as a lead-in into the storyline clause *mw-hait i...* 'you dragged him...'.

(4) *Ode naman   desike   i-atos   almway   desike   bony-o,   almway*
      and   child   that(ART)   3s-see   iguana   that(ART)   just-TM   iguana

     desike   y-ulak   i   ma   y-atos   ei   wen   ra-ris   ti-ke.
     that(ART)   3s-turn.around   her   CONJ   3s-see   to   place   3p-bathe   at-ART

     'And once that child <u>saw</u> the iguana, the iguana <u>turned</u> (herself) and <u>looked</u> toward the place where people bathe.'

This example, from a folk tale, shows the verb stem *-atos* 'see' as a bleached preposed verb and as a main event line verb (the bleached form is three syllables, while its event line form is only two).

(5) *Sew-ke   i-di   bony-o,   y-bu   ti   lia-n-ke   ma   r-ba-i...*
     sun-ART   3s-fall   just-TM   3s-say   to   friend-3sG-ART   CONJ   3p-go-LOC
     'Once the sun set, he said to his friend that they go to...'

The verb *-di* 'fall' is bleached in this example from another folk tale.

(6) *Naman   desike   byohe,   "Ebo,   ku-sa   de,   keskye sawa-ku*
      child   that(ART)   3s-say   sir   1s-marry   already   but   wife-1sG

     almway-a i."   Way-Vre   ra-tomolu-o   ra-mahis i,   ode   naman   desike...
      iguana-Ø   3s   brother-PL   3p-hear-TM   3p-laugh   3s   and   child   that(ART)

     'That child said, "Sir, I've married already, but my wife is an iguana." When his brothers heard [this] they laughed [at] him, and that child...'

In example (6), the verb stem *-tomolu* 'hear' is bleached and marked by the *-o* time marker (the verb *-mahis* 'laugh' is not bleached; it is an exception to association rules and never allows spreading).

Another example of bleaching (i.e. moving an event line verb off the storyline) occurs at the end of the *Mangkawar* story.

(7) *R-salak   i   ei   sra-ke   ma   r-al   i,   desy-ode   r-or*
     3p-lift   him   DIR   on.top-ART   CONJ   3p-take him   that-and   3p-with

     i   ba-i-a   kleti   so,   mane,   i-ba-i-a   kleti   so
     him   go-LOC-Ø   bottom   there   like.this   3s-go-LOC-Ø   bottom   there

     ma   ra-he   tel-ke   ma   ra-bilak i   ti-a   Tnebar   ne.
     CONJ   3p-know   language-ART   CONJ   3p-pass   him   in−Ø   Tanimbar   this

     'They lifted him up on board to take him, after that they with him went far away to
     the west (bottom), like so, he went far away to the west, so that they are smart and
     they surpass him [a person] here in Tanimbar.'

The first three verbs in (7), *rsalak* 'they lift', *ral* 'they take', and *ror..ba* 'they with...go',
are event line or storyline verbs and follow the general association patterns for verb prefixes
(see section 3.1.1). The underlined verbs are bleached. Their active forms are *byai* 'he went',
rhe 'they know', and *rbilak* 'they surpass' respectively. Because they are bleached, these
verbs must relate background information. These verbs, making up the final clauses in the
story, are not storyline (event line) material; they do nothing to move the story forward (the
story is basically finished). These clauses constitute an epilogue to the story, giving a
synopsis of what is believed to have happened after the known events have ended. This type
of bleaching has been observed in other narratives as well.

6.3.1.3 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.

(8) *Lemade,   sey-ke   krala   ma-benw desike,   naman   desike,*
     so.then,   house-ART   inside   REL-fill this(ART) child   this(ART)

     r-hot-a   i,   ode...
     3p-carry-Ø   him   and

     'So then, those who filled the house carried the child, and...'

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. But while
such information may be important, it cannot be considered storyline material; it is
background information.

In section 4.1.5, it was 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.[72] The RC allows a narrator 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 the narrator lose his listeners), so the RC enables him 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-active non-verbal clauses and 'bleached' verbal clauses. The relative clause, because it encodes parenthetic, background information and is embedded in an NP, is the least dynamic clause structure in Selaru. The attributive clause (nominative, adjectival, or numeral) convey non-events, but are free-standing clauses, and so rank above the relative clause. The locative, because of its more "Actor-like" structure is considered more salient that attributive clause. The 'bleached' verbal clauses taking the highest position of any of the non-storyline clause types.

6.3.2   STORYLINE CONSTRUCTIONS

The story or event line of a Selaru narrative is carried by the fully active (unbleached) verbal clauses, whether transitive or intransitive. These verbs are the most dynamic and most salient of verbs in Selaru narrative. Because active intransitive verbs prototypically encode less crucial storyline information (e.g. *Kmwaslyes*. 'I sweated.' vs. *Ktwabahunwa i*. 'I killed him.'), I posit the active verbal transitive clause as the most salient clause type and the active vebal intransitive as coming second.

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[72]The 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.

6.3.3 SUMMARY TO CLINE OF SALIENCE

The Selaru system of salience is based on clause types rather than on verb morphology and can be diagrammed as in Figure 6.1:

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)

Figure 6.1: Cline of Storyline Salience

One comment on the salience 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 southern 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 salience. Such an 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.

(9) *Mangkawar   desike,   mw-lean   ma   lan-ata   o*,...
Mangkawar   this(ART)   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.

6.3.4 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.

The quotation formulas use in all the stories I've gathered are contractions on the fully expanded form in (10).

(10) <u>*Byu   ti   lianke   de   byu   ohe,   "Liakw, ...'*</u>
       y-bu   ti   lia-n-ke   de   y-bu   ohe,   lia-kw
       3s-seak to   friend-3sG-ART and   3s-seak that   friend-1sG
       'He spoke to his friend and said, "My friend, ...'

Often the target of the speech act (the hearer) is not specified, yielding *byu de byu ohe* which in English is best rendered as 'he spoke, saying'. The expression *byu ohe* is often further contracted to simply *byohe* yielding *byu de byohe* (same meaning). This further contracts to *de byohe* 'and he said', and then to *byohe* 'he said'; finally arriving at the simplest form: *byo* 'he said'. The contracted forms *byo* and *byohe* are by far the most common quote formulas in Selaru narrative. The carefully articulated form *byu ohe* (which shows the underlying morphemes) is rare in normal speech.

Question formulas use the same structure, except it is modified by a question word, as in (11), from *Mankawar*, line 23.

(11) <u>*Yena   Korduan   de   byo,   "Mane,   mmwa ...'*</u>
       y-ena   Korduan   de   y-bu-ohe,   mane   mw-ma
       3s-ask   Korduan   and   3s-speak-saying   so   2s-come
       'She asked Korduan and said, "So, you've come, ...'

All quote formulas used in Selaru narratives are summarized in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Quotation Formulas

General 3s Form	Gloss
byo	'he said' (common in *Mankawar*)
byohe	'he said' (the most common form)
byu ohe	'he said, saying' (the articulated form of *byohe*)
de byohe	'and he said'
byu de byohe	'he spoke and said'
byu ti ___ de byohe	'he spoke to ___ and said'
yena ___ de byohe	'he asked ___ and said'

All quotation formulas in the *Mangkawar* text 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.[73]

How quotations fit on the Cline of Salience (section 6.3.3) is not clear. In the literature, there is argument as to the role of quotations is propagating the storyline. Some argue it moves it forward, others argue quotations are often used to give setting and other background information. In either case (as it appears quotations can be used for both purposes) a

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[73]This 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.

quotation brings life to a story. It certainly adds to the dynamics of the storyline. If 'dynamicness' (Wrigglesworth 1984) is the issue, then quotations elevate whatever clause constructions they contain to a much higher level on the salience cline.

6.4   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. Section 6.2.3 discusses 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. It was 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, i.e., it is 'coherent.'

'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 (tail-head constructions). Selaru does not have all of these signals or devices, but it does use several of them.

6.4.1   CLAUSE CONJUNCTIONS

On the sentence level, cohesion is maintained through the use of various conjunctions (see section 5.3). In a Selaru narrative, closely related sequences of verbs (marking simultaneous or linear time) are linked together by either *ma* or *ti* (both carry the meaning '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 3.5.1). 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):

(12) *Desike*   *mo,*   *ta-sihw*   <u>*ma*</u>   *t-ba-i*   *ra-ke*
      that(ART)   if   1pi-clean.fish   CONJ   1pi-go-LOC   land-ART

      <u>*ti*</u>-*a*   *ta-layar*   *masy*   <u>*ma*</u>   *ta.*
      CONJ-Ø   1pi-bake   fish   CONJ   1pi.eat

'If that's the case, let's clean the fish, go inland, bake it, and 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*[74] 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 52 sentences in this text there is a total of 53 occurrences of these particles.[75]

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 5.3.2). In fact, there is only one occurrence of *keskye* in the text; it is found in the closure to the Peak (see line 41, Appendix A).

These conjunctions are vital to the cohesion of any Selaru narrative text.[76] Without them, the sentences would simply fall apart, reducing the text to a jumble of disconnected clauses.

6.4.2   PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

Tracking participants in the *Mangkawar* story yields some interesting strands of cohesion. I will address these first by their syntactic function.

6.4.2.1 TRACKING REFERENCE IN THE REFERENTIAL SUBJECT NP SLOT

The most obvious feature of the referential subject-NP is that it is almost always missing. Active verbs in Selaru are always are conjugated with a person-number prefix that mark 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. An NP is strictly referencial.

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[74]The *-a* suffix is apparently a narrative device used to propel a story along (see section 3.6.3).

[75]Selaru also uses these words for prepositions, but those occurrences are not included in this count.

[76]This statement does not include non-narrative texts. The procedural text uses the form of back-referencing described in section 6.4.3 as its main cohesive device.

The use of a pronominal subject reference in the preverbal NP position is nearly never done (except for <u>*aramy*</u> *my-* 'we exclusive', the verbal prefix that requires a pronoun to differentiate it from the prefix *my-* 'you all'). Using a pronoun to reference the subject is considered redundant by native speakers. There is only one exception to this generalization out of the 52 sentences in the *Mangkawar* text. The pronominal in this one case marks a switch in subject reference between two adjoining clauses:

(13) *lia-n-ke   i-n-al   heal, ode   <u>i-a</u>   i-tot-a   lkusy   ne-ke, ...*
       friend-3sG-ART 3s-BLC-get fish   and   <u>he-Ø</u>   3s-find-Ø   urn   this-ART
       'his friend caught fish, but <u>he</u> found this urn, ...'

If the pronoun *ia* 'he'[77] were not in the second clause, this example would mean 'his friend caught fish and found this urn' (where the NP *lianke* 'his friend' is the referential subject of both clauses). Note 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 reference subject participants, but, like the use of pronouns or any other overt noun phrase serves to raise a new actor to Subject or to otherwise clarify the subject when it is not clear from the context.

Participant reference is of course cohesive in nature. In example (13) above, the genitive reference '3sG' *lianke* 'his friend' and the pronoun *ia* 'he' are co-referential with the NP *amaku* 'my father' found in the preceding clause of the story. Example (13) and the preceding clause (also in line 40) are linked as follows:

(14) *Amaku-a   i-sinaut   ne-ke: lia-n-ke   i-n-al   heal*
       dad-1sG-Ø   3s-hunt   this-ART   friend-3sG-ART 3s-BLC-get fish

       ode   ia   i-tot-a...
       and   he   3s-find-Ø

       'My <u>father</u> hunted like this: <u>his</u> friend had gotten fish, and [but] <u>he</u> found...

This thread-like tracking of participants is necessary for any story to be comprehensible. There are of course many such strands in a narrative; they serve to weave the clauses together structurally (cohesion) and notionally (coherence).

Tracking the subject participant not a function of an NP in the preverbal position, rather it is carried by the subject marking of the predicate (i.e. person number prefixes on verbal clauses and by the prepositional or postpositional pronouns used in non-verbal clauses).

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[77]The *-a* suffix particle appears on all pronouns (except *yaw* 'I' and *aramy* 'we excl.') when they occur in the referential subject NP position.

6.4.2.2 TRACKING REFERENCE IN THE OBJECT NP SLOT

The object referent is not marked morphologically on the verb as the subject is; therefore, as one would expect, pronouns and NPs are extremely common in the Object position (of verbal clauses). Full NPs are fairly common, but not as common as pronominals.

Generally, animate objects are marked with pronouns instead of full NPs (once the participant has been introduced, see next section), unless a simple pronoun would be inadequate to make the referent clear from the context. In contrast, since the pronoun for inanimate head nouns is Ø (see section 1.4.2), 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 left implied, and it usually occurs when the object referent-NP has already been overtly specified earlier in the sentence (this avoids the unnaturalness of having to repeat the same NP twice within the same sentence). This is a type of zero anaphora.

In addition to introducing or clarifying references, animate objects can also be encoded 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 object 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.

6.4.2.3 INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The Selaru method for bringing major participants on stage in a story is consistent through out the narrative. Generally, each participant is introduced in the object position with a somewhat oblique noun and possibly his name. After this introduction, the participant can then ascend to Actor status. This ascent to subject is often delayed slightly by having the new participant share the stage with the preceding actor. Once the new participant 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 in section 6.4.2.1, e.g., he is raised to subject position with a full NP reference, after which the referential subject NP position is empty (until replaced by a new actor).

The use of this introduction strategy can be clearly seen at the beginning of the *Mankawar* story. The following is a translation of the first few lines:

#	Introduction Participant in Context	Structure
1.	In [the town of] Enus,	
	[there was] <u>a man</u> named Tulisama Botan.	(existential clause)
2.	<u>He</u> married *a woman* named Alalyena Endamin.	(subject)
		(new part. in object)
3.	*They* were married for a some time,	(shared subject)
	and then *the woman* was expecting.	(subject switch)
...		
5.	That evening, *<u>her</u>* husband accompanied ***another man***,	(subject switch)
		(new part. in object)
	and ***<u>they</u>*** went fishing.	(shared subject)
6.	<u>*Her*</u> husband, Tulisama Botan, ***Korduan*** invited <u>him</u>.	(subject switch)
...		

Figure 6.2: Introduction of Participant

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.

Tulisama is marked as 'her husband' twice (lines 5 and 6), 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 22, where she confronts Korduan concerning the whereabouts of her husband).

In line 6, Korduan takes over as the most prominent actor (embellished with a proper noun in the referential subject NP 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 Selaru, the positions of referential subject NP and object NP play a key role in clarifying the verbal arguments, this role has a direct bearing on what syntactic structure will fill these slots and where they will occur in the story. This is also effected by the consistent method used to shuffle participants on and off stage in a Selaru story.

6.4.3 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 addressed here is 'overlapping' or 'tail-head linkage', which has the pattern: 'after doing A, he did B; after doing B, he did C ...' This cohesive device is common throughout Austronesian languages. While most common in a Selaru

procedural text (where it is the mainstay of the text), it is still used in a narrative text, 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:

(15) *Y-susu   i   ma   ktei   bony-o,   y-bo...*
      3s-show   him   until   done   then-TM   3s-say
      'Once he finished showing the grave (lit. 'him', i.e. 'his father'), 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.[78]

6.4.4 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 (lines 26-27):

(16) *"Ti myobaka i bony de."*   ' "Go look for him already." '
      Robaka i nini sewaho   'They sought him on and on until evening,
       lema ratota i;   they didn't find him;
       lema ratota i.   they didn't find him.'

Another example of repetition (from lines 29-30) is where the mother gives birth (*mudur*):

(17) *Khiheitai bonyo,   Alalyena Endaminke,*
      'Several days later,   Alalyena Endamin,   you.gave.birth'

      Mudur   ma   mudur hahaka   anamkwe,   ania   Mangkawar.
      'You.gave.birth   until   you delivered   your child   named   Mangkawar'

      Mudur hahaka   anamkwe   ma   raki   i   ti   Mangkawar.
      'You delivered   your child,   then   they.called   him   at   Mangkawar.'

Even without the English glossing, it is easy to make out the large amounts of repetition in these two examples. In (17), the first line is a piece of new information (connected to the previous text material with a time phrase).[79] The second line expands this new information by repeating it with the added detail concerning the child's name. The last line repeats

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[78]Because of this, my attempts at the language are often met with, "You jump too much," or "Your sentences aren't complete."

[79]This 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).

completely again the clause *Mudur hahaka anamkwe* 'you delivered your child' and again repeats the name of the child.

Both of these examples are significant. Not only is there a great deal of repetition, but in (17), the verb prefixes have also been raised in salience to the more prominent status of second-person. Why example (16) is intensified in the *Mangkawar* story is clear enough—it builds tension and focuses on the sad fact that the man is nowhere to be found, and the hearer knows it is because he has just been murdered. Example (17) not only uses repetition as a poetic device for expressing the labor of childbirth (giving birth to a child is not quick or painless and this repetition vividly portrays the process), but also to mark this scene as crucial to the story. This event is the 'inciting incident' for the coming 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.

6.4.5 TIME SEQUENCING AND COHESION

Time sequencing through the use of time words and phrases is the final cohesive device to be discussed. Selaru has no verb tense (see section 5.2.2); time and its progression from one scene or event to the next is marked overtly with phrases like *lemade* '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 6.3: Sentence Initial Time Linkers

Selaru		English	Occurrences	
lemade		and then	14	
desikeo		so then	6	
ode/de		and so	4	
mane		so/like this	3	
desyo		so then	2	
ma		so	1	
jadi	(Malay)	so	1	
ya/oa/a		(pause)	1	(each)

Lemade and *desikeo* (and its variant *desyo*) are the most frequent time linkers, occurring a total of 22 times (out of 52 sentences). *Jadi* is a slip into Malay (in which the narrator is

fluent) and functions the same as *mane* or *ma*. The less frequent linkers (*ode* and *ma*) are significant, because they are usually conjunctions at the interclausal level (by far their most common function). The fact that they can be used, though rarely, as sentence-sentence linkers is not surprising—it is an extension of their normal syntactic function.

Lemade literally means 'not completed' and so carries the story forward. It is used at clear breaks between sentence semantics, and it serves to link them together.

The linkers *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 or phrases (*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 a connected text.[80] The *-o* enclitic functions on a discourse level as a particle of time used to indicate the motion of time into the future.

It is significant to note that time phrases or other linkers never occur sentence initially if an *-o* enclitic occurs sentence finally on the preceding sentence. Apparently, the presence of the *-o* suffices as a linker, and to repeat this linking with *lemade* or some other phrase is redundant.

The *-o* enclitic occurs sentence finally four times all of which occur in main Episode 1. These mark the end of embedded stages and minor episodes. At these places, there are no time phrases marking the beginning of the next episode. The particle *-o* never occurs sentence finally after main Episode 1 (although it is still frequently used on time phrases throughout the story). Outside of quotations in Episode 1, there are no uses of *de*, the aspect marker meaning 'completed action'; 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. This is something worth further investigation.

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 *lemade* 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 a similar function to the English 'Once upon a time'.) Episode 1 begins with *Desyo sewah desike* 'So

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[80]This is a good argument for why linguists need to do text analysis in the first place.

that evening'. Episode 2 begins with *Kiheitai 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. The lack of embedded flashbacks is not a language restriction—Selaru speakers employ embedded flashbacks in everyday speech. But, since the stories related to me were not completely spontaneous (the narrators had thought about them ahead of time), 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 careful (non-spontaneous) 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.[81]

6.5   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). These surface features will be used to determine where Peak is in the *Mangkawar* story.

6.5.1 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 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 (since the characters are believed to be present in spirit): 'Korduan, you went to sea to fish; Tulisama, you just fished near shore.'

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[81]One 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 (as can be done in English).

The second occurrence is the actual murder scene (beginning with line 19): '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 (line 22). What the narrator actually says at this transition is interesting: 'She came to ask <u>you</u> a question; she came to ask <u>Korduan</u> 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 second-person pronominal reference to increased vividness occurs when Alalyena Endamin gives birth to Mangkawar (lines 29-30). This use of second-person ends immediately after the birth of the child.

The final use of a 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 42). The narrator then switches immediately to third-person with the sentence, 'So, they went to afflict <u>him</u>' (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 6.4: Uses of Second-Person Reference

1.	Tulisama found an urn filled with treasure (which 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)

6.5.2 LENGTH OF EPISODES

The length of each episode in this story progresses from a long episode to subsequently shorter ones:

Table 6.5: Episode Length

Section	Lines	Total	Description
Stage:	1-4	4	Introduction/Setting
Episode 1:	5-28	24	Find treasure/murder
Episode 2:	29-41	13	Birth/murderer revealed
Episode 3:	42-51	10	Mangkawar's demise
Finis	52	1	'The end'

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.

6.5.3 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 (13 main line and one preposed bleached verb—the most intense concentration of verbs anywhere in the story); the birth scene has eight verbs—the second most concentrated scene). There is no doubt that both scenes are crucial to the story.

6.5.4 QUOTATIONS AND PEAK

Longacre and Levinsohn point out that "often the peak of a discourse contains dialogue, while previous sections do not" (1978:110).

In the *Mankawar* story, each major episode has examples of quoted speech. Complex repartee (where two participants have a dialogue longer than a simple exchange) occurs at important points in Episodes 1 and 3, while in Episode 2 (where Mangkawar exposes the murder) there is a very large section of what amounts to a series of monologues. Table 6.6 lists the use of quotations in the *Mangkawar* text.

Table 6.6: Use of Quotations

No.	Purpose
EP₁ 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.
EP₂ 4.	Onlookers say Mangkawar looks just like his father.
5.	Mangkawar exposes 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.
EP₃ 6.	Mangkawar (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 gives a clue as to who Mangkawar really is. Number 5 is a set of monologues by Mangkawar revealing the grave, treasure, and his father's murderer. Dialogue number 6 is the culminating 'final suspense' ending with Mangkawar being saved by the ship's crew.

The section of monologues by Mangkawar is unique. In this one episode there are seven recorded quotations. Mangkawar accounts for six of these. The other quote, number 4 in

Table 6.6, 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 6.3.1.3).

The development of Mangkawar's quotations is very logical; he is building his evidence and giving his conclusion (see Appendix B). The pattern is one of a detective 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.

6.5.5 SUMMARY OF PEAK

Taking all of the evidence into account, the second embedded episode in the second main episode appears to be 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 unusual use of a series of monologues rather than the more common dialogue repartee found in the other episodes and in other narrative texts I have recorded. The entire episode is raised in vividness by the use of quotations rather than plain descriptions. It is the only place in the story where a pronominal is used to reference the subject—marking a switch in subject. And this episode 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 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, 'God maybe directed it this way' (line 41).

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.

A text profile can be used to graphically depict the overall structure of the text. Hwang (1987:70-1) 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". This is a fairly subjective depiction but nonetheless a helpful one.

Figure 6.3 is a profile of the *Mangkawar* text. For this display, I have interpreted Hwang's reference to 'tension' to include tension of quotations as well as action. 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, thus missing its unique character.
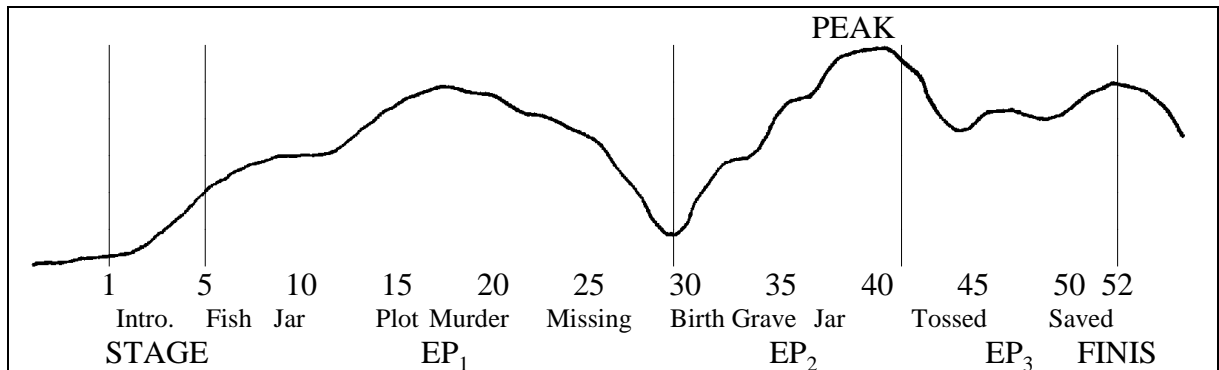
Figure 6.3: Profile of *Mangkawar*

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.

6.6 CONCLUSION

I have but touched on the main topics of text analysis. There are still many areas of the Selaru narrative which need further investigation. These include determining where and when each type of conjunctive and time particle is used, and whether or not certain time phrases always coincide with certain types of divisions in the macrosegmental structure. A more detailed look into preposed or bleached clauses is also needed.

Although I feel fairly confident in this analysis, as it stands and what it covers, it is only reasonable to caution that any of the generalizations and observations drawn from just 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.

APPENDIX A

THE *MANGKAWAR* TEXT IN INTERLINEAR FORMAT

The following is a folk history story of Mangkawar, a baby that spoke. It is presented here in an interlinearized format. Each sentence is given in a three-line bundle, the first being a close approximation to the phonemic transcription, with punctuation. The next two lines are like the examples given in the body of this work: one divides the morphemes and the next glosses them. Finally, a free translation is given in single quotes. Square brackets, [ ], indicate words added in the English for clarity, which are not actually found in the Selaru text. Parethenses, ( ), indicate words in the Selaru that are not needed in the English, but included to indicate some of the literal character of the Selaru text.

Line 1

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-3sG	Tulisama	Botan-ART

'In Enus, [there lived] a man named Tulisama Botan.'

Line 2

Yal	*wamfwetke*	*ania*	*Alalyena*	*Endaminke.*
y-al	*wamfwet-ke*	*ani-Ø-a*	*Alalyena*	*Endamin-ke*
3s-take	woman-ART	name-3sG-Ø	Alalyena	Endamin-ART

'He married a woman named Alalyena Endamin.'

Line 3

Rasa	*ma*	*klenke*	*soso,*	*desikeo,*	*wamfwetke*	*mdedana*	*i.*
r-sa	*ma*	*klen-ke*	*so-so*	*desike-o*	*wamfwet-ke*	*mdedan-a*	*i*
3p-marry	until	space-ART	far-far	then-TM	woman-ART	heavy-Ø	3s

'They had been married for some time, and then the woman was expecting (lit. 'was heavy').'

Line 4

Wamfwetke	*mdedana*	*i*	*ma*	*kyarasy*	*tia*	*wasia*
wamfwet-ke	*mdedan-a*	*i*	*ma*	*ky-arasy*	*ti-a*	*wasi-Ø-a*
woman-ART	heavy-3s	she	until	IN-approach	to-Ø	own-3sG-Ø

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hulosew   *mana*   *idur*   *haf.*
hul-o-sew   *mana*   *y-dur*   *haf*
month-and-day   want   3s-squat   down

'The woman was expecting until it approached her time to give birth.'

Line 5

Desyo	*sewah*	*desike*	*laina*	*yora*	*irkye*	*it*
desy-o	*sewah*	*desy-ke*	*lai-n-a*	*y-or-a*	*iry-ke*	*it*
then-TM	evening	that-ART	husband-3sG-Ø	3s-with-Ø	person-ART	one

ma	*rba*	*tia*	*rasusw.*
ma	*r-ba*	*ti-a*	*r-susw*
CONJ	3p-go	CONJ-Ø	3p-fish

'Then, that evening, her husband and another man went out fishing.'

Line 6

Lain	*neke,*	*Tulisama*	*Botan*	*neke,*	*neke*	*Korduan*	*neke*
lai-n	*ne-ke*	*Tulisama*	*Botan*	*ne-ke*	*ne-ke*	*Korduan*	*ne-ke*
husband-3sG	this-ART	Tulisama	Botan	this-ART	this-ART	Korduan	this-ART

ryubuta	*i*	*ma*	*tia*	*rasusw;*	*ryubut*	*ti*	*rasuswo.*
y-rubut-a	*i*	*ma*	*ti-a*	*r-susw*	*y-rubut*	*ti*	*r-susw-o*
3s-invite-Ø	him	come	CONJ-Ø	3p-fish	3s-invite	CONJ	3p-fish-TM

'(This) Her husband, (this) Tulisama Botan (this), (this) Korduan invited him to go fishing;
     he invited [him] to go fishing.'

Line 7

Korduana,	*mei*	*tasike*	*ti*	*mususw;*	*Tulisama*	*Botan*	*neke,*
Korduan-a	*mw-ei*	*tasi-ke*	*ti*	*mw-susw*	*Tulisama*	*Botan*	*ne-ke*
Korduan-Ø	2s-go	sea-ART	CONJ	2s-fish	Tulisama	Botan	this-ART

mususw	*tia*	*rake*	*bo.*
mw-susw	*ti-a*	*ra-ke*	*bo*
2s-fish	in-Ø	shore-ART	just

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

Line 8

Ya,	*lema*	*kika*	*heal*	*munal;*	*mala*	*mutot*	*a*	*lkuskye.*
ya	*lema*	*kika*	*heal*	*mw-n-al*	*mw-al-a*	*mw-tot*	*a*	*lkusy-ke*
Ø	NEG	there.is	catch	2s-BLC-get	2s-get-Ø	2s-find	Ø	clay.jar-ART

'Uh, you didn't get any fish, you got a clay water jar.'

Line 9

Lkusy	*neke*	*kralanare,*	*dolanke*	*kimina*	*kralake,*
lkusy	*ne-ke*	*krala-Vre*	*dolan-ke*	*kimin-a*	*krala-ke*
clay.jar	this-ART	inside-PL	treasure-ART	exist-Ø	inside-ART

blyawanare,	*lebit*	*o*	*a*	*kmura*	*o*	*wadan*	*o*	*kbuny*
blyawan-Vre	*lebit*	*o*	*a*	*kmura*	*o*	*wadan*	*o*	*kbuny*
gold-PL	pendants	and	Ø	earrings	and	hairpins	and	necklaces

kimina	*kralake.*
kimin-a	*krala-ke*
exist-Ø	inside-ART

'Inside this clay water jar was treasure; there was gold [things], pendants, earrings, hairpins, and neaklaces inside.'

Line 10

Jadi,	*manahmake*	*ma*	*rei*	*rake;*	*rei*	*rake*	*ma*
jadi	*manahma-ke*	*ma*	*r-ei*	*ra-ke*	*r-ei*	*ra-ke*	*ma*
so	high.tide-ART	CONJ	3p-go	shore-ART	3p-go	shore-ART	CONJ

rasihw	*tia*	*elmatanare*	*o.*
r-sifw	*ti-a*	*elmata-Vre*	*o*
3p-clean.fish	at-Ø	beach-PL	TM

'So, the high tide [came] so they went to shore; they went to shore to clean fish at the beach.'

Line 11

Korduan	*neke*	*byo,*	*"Helamure*	*sir*	*ka?"*
Korduan	*ne-ke*	*y-bo*	*hela-mw-Vre*	*sir*	*ka*
Korduan	this-ART	3s-say	catch-2sG-PL	3p	where

'Korduan said, "Where is your catch?"'

Line 12

Tulisama	*Botanke*	*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-BLC-get	catch	but	1s-find-Ø

lkuskye	*bo."*
lkusy-ke	*bo*
clay.jar-ART	just

'Tulisama Botan said, "I didn't get any catch; I just found a clay jar."'

Line 13

Lemade	*Korduana*	*byo,*	*"Desike*	*mo,*	*tasihw*	*ma*
lemade	*Korduan-a*	*y-bo*	*desy-ke*	*mo*	*t-sifw*	*ma*
so.then	Korduan-Ø	3s-say	that-ART	if	1pi-clean.fish	CONJ

tbai	*rake*	*tia*	*talayar*	*masy*	*ma*	*ta."*
t-ba-i	*ra-ke*	*ti-a*	*t-layar*	*masy*	*ma*	*ta*
1pi-go-LOC	land-ART	CONJ-Ø	1pi-bake	fish	CONJ	1pi.eat

'So then Korduan said, "If that's the case, let's clean the fish so we can go inland to bake the fish so we can eat [it]."'

Line 14

Lemade	rasihw	ma	ktei	bonyo,	rba	tia	ratunw	masy
lemade	r-sifw	ma	ktei	bony-o	r-ba	ti-a	r-tunw	masy
so.then	3p-clean.fish	until	done	just-TM	3p-go	CONJ-Ø	3p-bake	fish

ma	ra	ti	wait	lasyerkye.
ma	ra	ti	wai-t	lasyery-ke
CONJ	3p.eat	at	own-3pG	shelter-ART

'So, once they cleaned the fish all done, they went and baked the fish and they ate [it] at their hut.'

Line 15

Raknam	ma	ktei,	Korduana	ryeky	ma	tyabahunwa	Tulisama
r-knam	ma	ktei	Korduan-a	y-reky	ma	y-tabahunw-a	Tulisama
3p-eat	until	done	Korduan-Ø	3s-plan	CONJ	3s-kill-Ø	Tulisama

Botan	ne	byu	ti	i	de	byohe,
Botan	ne	y-bu	ti	i	de	y-bohe
Botan	this	3s-say	CONJ	him	and	3s-say

'After they finished eating, Korduan planned to kill Tulisama Botan so he spoke to him and said,'

Line 16

"Liakw-a,	taknam	ma	tbesur	lanidik	ode	heal	nekre	kele
lia-kw-a	t-knam	ma	t-besur	lanidik	ode	heal	ne-kre	kele
friend-1sG-Ø	1pi-eat	CONJ	1pi-full	too	and	catch	this-PL/ART	seems

rai	ity	de.
r-ai	ity	de
3p-queasy	us	already

'"My friend, we've eaten until we are too full, and it seems these fish has given us indigestion.'

Line 17

Tenah	aduk	ma	bolbol	ode	nenmo	tba."
t-enaf	aduk	ma	bolbol	ode	nenmo	t-ba
1pi-sleep	first	CONJ	tomorrow	and	then	1pi-go

'Let's sleep first and then tomorrow we will go."'

Line 18

Lemade,	Tulisama	Botanke	you	dakun	ma	renaf.
lemade	Tulisama	Botan-ke	y-ou	dakun	ma	r-enaf
so.then	Tulisama	Botan-ART	3s-agree	also	so	3p-sleep

'So, Tulisama Botan agreed as well that they [should] sleep.'

Line 19

Renaf	*bonyo,*	*ratepti*		*bonyo,*
r-enaf	bony-o	r-tebti		bony-o
3p-sleep	just-TM	3p-sleep.soundly		just-TM

Korduana,	*mbwatar*	*ma*	*mala*	*akwe*	*kdusake;*	*mal*	*ma*
Korduan-a	mw-batar	ma	mw-al-a	aw-ke	kdusa-ke	mw-al	ma
Korduan-Ø	2s-awake	CONJ	2s-get-Ø	wood-ART	short-ART	2s-use	CONJ

mobana	*Tulisama*	*Botanke*	*mal*	*ti*	*welnohaha*	*nekre*
mw-oban-a	Tulisama	Botan-ke	mw-al	ti	wel-no-haha-Ø	ne-kre
2s-hit-Ø	Tulisama	Botan-ART	2s-use	on	brow-&-mouth-3sG	this-PL/ART

ma	*kele*	*mswila*	*mhunwa*	*i*	*ma*	*myaty.*
ma	kele	mw-sil-a	mw-hunw-a	i	ma	y-maty
CONJ	seems	2s-beat-Ø	2s-murder-Ø	him	CONJ	3s-die

‘Once they were sleeping; once they were sleeping soundly, Korduan, you woke up and got a short piece of wood; you used [it] to strike Tulisama Botan in his face, so it seems you beat and murdered him until he died.’

Line 20

Imaty	*bonyo,*	*mhwait*	*i*	*ma*	*tia*	*mkwali*	*i;*	*mala*
y-maty	bony-o	mw-hait	i	ma	ti-a	mw-kali	i	mw-al-a
3s-die	just-TM	2s-drag	him	CONJ	CONJ-Ø	2s-bury	him	2s-get-Ø

slyemke	*ma*	*mal*	*ma*	*matosa*	*i.*
slyem-ke	ma	mw-al	ma	mw-atos-a	i
clamshell-ART	to	2s-get	CONJ	2s-mark-Ø	him

‘Once he was dead, you dragged him to bury him; you got a clam shell to mark him [his grave].’

Line 21

Ode,	*bolbolbol*	*ne*	*bonyo,*	*mbwaia*	*hnuke;*	*mei*	*Enus.*
ode	REDUP-bolbol	ne	bony-o	mw-ba-i-a	fnu-ke	mw-ei	Enus
and	morning.early	this	just-TM	2s-go-LOC-Ø	village-ART	2s-go	Enus

‘And so, early this morning, you went back to the village; you went to Enus.’

Line 22

Mbwa	*ti*	*munait*	*mnoha*	*helamw*	*alyamw*	*ma*	*ktei*
mw-ba	ti	mw-n-ait	mw-noha	hela-mw	alya-mw	ma	ktei
2s-go	until	2s-BLC-arrive	2s-cook	catch -2sG	game-2sG	until	done

bonyo,	*a,*	*Tulisama*	*Botanke*	*sawa,*	*Alalyena*	*Endamin*	*neke,*
bony-o	a	Tulisama	Botan-ke	sawa-Ø	Alalyena	Endamin	ne-ke
just-TM	Ø	Tulisama	Botan-ART	wife-3sG	Alalyena	Endamin	this-ART

mya   ma   yena   o;   yena   Korduan.
y-ma   ma   y-ena   o   y-ena   Korduan
3s-come   CONJ   3s-ask   you   3s-ask   Korduan

'You went until you arrived, you cooked your catch, your game until it was finished, uh,
    Tulisama Botan's wife, Alalyena Endamin, came to ask you [a question]; she asked
    Korduan [a question].'

Line 23
Yena   Korduan   de   byo,   "Mane   mmwa   ode   liamkwe   i   ka?"
y-ena   Korduan   de   y-bo   mane   mw-ma   ode   lia-mw-ke   i   ka
3s-ask   Korduan   and   3s-say   so   2s-come and   friend-2sG-ART 3s   where

'She asked Korduan and said, "So you've come, now where's your friend?"'

Line 24
Desikeo   Korduana   byo,   "Detke   aramy   misusw   neke:
desike-o   Korduan-a   y-bo   det-ke   aramy   my-susw   ne-ke
then-TM   Korduan-Ø   3s-say   last.night-ART   we (excl.) 1px-fish   this-ART

byasara   kseri   timur   ode   kbwakola   kseri   harat   ne.
y-basara   kseri   timur   ode   kw-bakola   kseri   harat   ne
3s-head   side   east   and   1s-head   side   west   this

'Then Korduan said, "Last night we went fishing like this: he headed to the east side and I
    headed to the west side.'

Line 25
Ma   lema   khwe   ohe   myuna   yaw   ta   kmuna   i,   de   kete
ma   lema   kw-he   ohe   y-muna   yaw   ta   kw-muna   i   de   kete
so   NEG   1s-know   say   3s-before me   or   1s-before   him   or   not

detke   myuna   yaw   deny,   atau   lea   mya   o.
det-ke   y-muna   yaw   deny   atau   lea   y-ma   o
last.night-ART   3s-before   me   already or   not.yet   3s-come   TM

'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.'

Line 26
Ti   myobaka   i   bony   de."
ti   my-obak-a   i   bony   de
CONJ   2p-seek-Ø   him   just   already

'Just [go] look for him already."'

Line 27
Robaka   i   nini   sewaho,   lema   ratota   i,   lema
r-obak-a   i   nini   sewah-o   lema   r-tot-a   i   lema
3p-seek-Ø   him   kept.on evening-TM   NEG   3p-find-Ø   him   NEG

ratota   i.
r-tot-a   i
3p-find-Ø   him

'They sought him on and on until evening, but they didn't find him; they didn't find him.'

Line 28
Lemade,   renah   eta.
lemade   r-enaf   eta
so.then   3p-sleep   hidden

'So they [each] slept in secret.'

Line 29
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   anamkwe   ania   Mangkawar.
mw-dur   ma   mw-dur   hah-Vk-a   ana-mw-ke   ani-Ø-a   Mangkawar
2s-squat   until   2s-squat   down-VAL-Ø   child-2sG-ART   name-3sG-Ø   Mangkawar

'Several days later, Alalyena Endamin, you squatted [gave birth] until you delivered your child named Mangkawar.'

Line 30
Mudur   hahaka   anamkwe   ma   raki   i   ti   Mangkawar,
mw-dur   hah-Vk-a   ana-mw-ke   ma   r-aki   i   ti   Mangkawar
2s-birth   down-VAL-Ø   child-2sG-ART   then   3p-name   him   DIR   Mangkawar

naman   desikea,   rauta   raris-a   i;   syer.
naman   desy-ke-a   r-ut-a   r-ris-a   i   y-ser
child   that-ART-Ø   3p-wash-Ø   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 31
Lemade,   masuare   rbohe,   "Edo,   naman   neke   matake-o
lemade   ma-su-Vre   r-bohe   edo   naman   ne-ke   mata-Ø-ke-o
so.then   REL-watch-PL   3p-say   oh!   child   this-ART   face-3sG-ART-TM

kola   ama.
kola   ama-Ø
like   father-3sG

'Then, those watching said, "Oh! this child's face looks just like his father.'

Line 32

Welnohaha	*nekre*	*kola*	*ama."*
wel-no-haha-Ø	ne-kre	kola	ama-Ø
brow-&-mouth-3sG	this-PL/ART	like	father-3sG

'His facial features are like his father's.'"

Line 33

Raris	*i*	*ma*	*ktei*	*bonyo,*	*byohe,*	*"Enoa*	*myor*	*yaw*
r-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*	*amakua*	*rakali*	*i*	*ti*	*ke."*
kw-ba	ti-a	kw-susu-a	ama-kw-a	r-kali	i	ti	Ø-ke
1s-go	CONJ-Ø	1s-show-Ø	father-1sG-Ø	3p-bury	him	at	IN-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 34

Lemade,	*sekye*	*krala*	*mabenw*	*desike,*	*naman*	*desike,*
lemade	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*	*sal*	*ne."*
r-hot-a	i	ode	y-susu-a	sal-ke	y-bo	t-osy	sal	ne
3p-carry-Ø	him	and	3s-show-Ø	road-ART	3s-say	1pi-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 35

Rba	*tititia*	*ranaita*	*wenake*	*desike*	*byo,*
r-ba	ti-ti-ti-a	r-nait-a	wen-a-Ø-ke	desy-ke	y-bo
3p-go	CONJ(keep.on)-Ø	3p-arrive-Ø	place-GEN-3sG-ART	that-ART	3s-say

"Amaku	*rakali*	*i*	*ti*	*ke*	*ne.*
ama-kw	r-kali	i	ti	Ø-ke	ne
father-1sG	3p-bury	him	at	IN-ART	this

'The walked and walked until they arrived at his place, then he said, "My father, the [place] they buried him is here.'

Line 36

Rala	*slyem*	*ne,*	*ral*	*ma*	*rkahat*	*eta*	*i."*
r-al-a	slyem	ne	r-al	ma	r-kahat	eta	i
3p-get-Ø	clamshell	this	3p-get	CONJ	3p-cover	hide	him

'They got this clamshell, they got [it] to cover him [his grave].'"

Line 37

Syusu	*i*	*ma*	*ktei*	*bonyo*	*byo,*	*"Ode*	*mmya*	*ma*	*tba*
y-susu	*i*	*ma*	*ktei*	*bony-o*	*y-bo*	*ode*	*my-ma*	*ma*	*t-ba*
3s-show	him	until	done	just-TM	3s-say	and	2p-come	so	1pi-go

tia	*ksusu*	*amaku*	*wasia*	*dolana*	*iry*	*matabahunwa*
ti-a	*kw-susu*	*ama-kw*	*wasi-Ø-a*	*dolan-a*	*iry*	*ma-tabahunw-a*
CONJ-Ø	1s-show	father-1sG	own-3sG-Ø	treasure-Ø	person	REL-kill-Ø

ike	*inal*	*ke."*
i-ke	*y-n-al*	*Ø-ke*
him-ART	3s-BLC-take	IN-ART

'After he finished showing him [the grave], he said, "Come, let's go so I can show you my father's treasure that the man who killed him took."'

Line 38

Lemade,	*rba*	*tititia*	*rsukara*	*Korduan*	*ne*	*wait*
lemade	*r-ba*	*ti-ti-ti-a*	*r-sukar-a*	*Korduan*	*ne*	*wai-t*
so.then	3p-go	CONJ(keep.on)-Ø	3p-enter-Ø	Korduan	this	own-3pG

sekye,	*de*	*byo,*	*"Amaku*	*wasi*	*lkuskye*	*nea*	*sra*
sey-ke	*de*	*y-bo*	*ama-kw*	*wasi-Ø*	*lkusy-ke*	*ne-a*	*sra*
house-ART	and	3s-say	father-1sG	own-3sG	clay.jar-ART	this-Ø	top

ne,	*nde*	*ne,*	*raeti*	*tola*	*ne."*
ne	*nde*	*ne*	*r-eti*	*tola*	*ne*
this	indeed	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 up here, indeed this one, that they've tied up here."'

Line 39

Lemade,	*rsai*	*ti*	*rnauk.*
lemade	*r-sai*	*ti*	*r-nauk*
so.then	3p-climb	CONJ	3p-get.down

'So they climbed up to lower it down.'

Line 40

Byo,	*"Amakua*	*isinaut*	*neke:*	*lianke*	*inal*	*heal*
y-bo	*ama-kw-a*	*y-sinaut*	*ne-ke*	*lia-n-ke*	*y-n-al*	*heal*
3s-say	father-1sG-Ø	3s-hunt	this-ART	friend-3sG-ART	3s-BLC-get	catch

ode	*ia*	*itota*	*lkusy*	*neke,*	*kralake*	*dolan*	*neke*
ode	*i-a*	*y-tot-a*	*lkusy*	*ne-ke*	*krala-ke*	*dolan*	*ne-ke*
and	he-Ø	3s-find-Ø	clay.jar	this-ART	inside-ART	riches	this-ART

kibebenw,	*lemade*	*lianke*	*tyabahunwa*	*i,*	*ode*
ki-be-benw	*lemade*	*lia-n-ke*	*y-tabahunw-a*	*i*	*ode*
IN-REDUP-full	so.then	friend-3sG-ART	3s-kill-Ø	him	and

yala	lkusy	neke	mane."
y-al-a	lkusy	ne-ke	mane
3s-take-Ø	clay.jar	this-ART	like.this

'He said, "My father fished like this: his friend had gotten fish and he found this clay jar with treasure filling the insides, so his friend killed him and took this clay jar, as you can see."'

Line 41

Lemade,	Mangkawar	desike	kakan	i	ma	rhot	i	ma
lemade	Mangkawar	desy-ke	kakan	i	ma	r-hot	i	ma
so.then	Mangkawar	that-ART	small	3s	so	3p-carry	him	CONJ

mermera	i,	keskye	tyanuka	hye	tunke,	hulasokwe	anne
mermer-a	i	keskye	y-tanuk-a	y-he	tun-ke	hulasow-ke	anne
red-Ø	3s	but	3s-say-Ø	3s-know	word-ART	God-ART	maybe

syusu	ma	kolnyeke.
y-susu	ma	koly-ne-ke
3s-show	so	way-this-ART

'So then Mangkawar was small; they carried him; he was red, but he could speak word(s); God, maybe, directed [it] this way.'

Line 42

Mangkawar	desike,	mlwean	ma	lanata	o,	desikeo	rseak
Mangkawar	desy-ke	mw-lean	ma	lan-ata	o	desike-o	r-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 (lit. 'that you already knew the front and back [the ins and outs] in a big way').'

Line 43

Lemade,	rba	tia	rahdawana	i	ma	ror	i	ba
lemade	r-ba	ti-a	r-hdawan-a	i	ma	r-or	i	ba
so.then	3p-go	CONJ-Ø	3p-trouble-Ø	him	so	3p-with	him	away

tia	rtunika	i	o	tasike.
ti-a	r-tunik-a	i	o	tasi-ke
CONJ-Ø	3p-drop-Ø	him	at	sea-ART

'So, they went to afflict him, so they took him away to toss him into the sea.'

Line 44

Ror	i	ba	tia	rtunika	i	ti	sahke,	desikeo
r-or	i	ba	ti-a	r-tunik-a	i	ti	sah-ke	desike-o
3p-with	him	go	CONJ-Ø	3p-drop-Ø	him	in	river-ART	then-TM

trus	*ma.*
trus	*ma*
directly	come

'They took him to drop him in the river; after which (they) returned directly.'

Line 45

A,	*lema*	*nyau*	*yal*	*de,*	*a,*	*byesbesaka*	*i*
a	*lema*	*y-nau*	*y-al*	*de*	*a*	*y-bes-besak-a*	*i*
Ø	NEG	3s-swim	3s-strong	already	Ø	3s-*REDUP*-tossed-Ø	him

ti	*tasike*	*khaha*	*ne;*	*kabal*	*larare*	*kmya*	*ma.*
ti	*tasi-ke*	*khaha*	*ne*	*kabal*	*lar-Vre*	*ky-ma*	*ma*
on	ocean-ART	top	this	ship	sail-PL	IN-come	here

'Uh, he couldn't keep swimming, uh, he was tossed about on the ocean; a sailing ship came by.'

Line 46

Kyaita	*i,*	*desikeo,*	*rmatakita*	*i,*	*lemade*	*rba*	*ti*
ky-ait-a	*i*	*desike-o*	*r-matakit-a*	*i*	*lemade*	*r-ba*	*ti*
IN-reach-Ø	him	then-TM	3p-notice-Ø	him	so.then	3p-go	CONJ

rarasika	*i.*
r-arasy-Vk-a	*i*
3p-approach-VAL-Ø	him

'It reached him, then they saw him, so they went up close to him.'

Line 47

"O	*mlyobaka*	*yaw*	*ma*	*msyalaka*	*yaw!"*
o	*my-lobak-a*	*yaw*	*ma*	*my-salak-a*	*yaw*
oh	2p-pity-Ø	me	CONJ	2p-lift-Ø	me

'"Oh help me; lift me up!"'

Line 48

Lemade,	*rtunika*	*akwe*	*klauke*	*ti*	*i,*	*rbo*	*de,*	*"Mlwosu*
lemade	*r-tunik-a*	*aw-ke*	*klau-ke*	*ti*	*i*	*r-bo*	*de*	*mw-losu*
so.then	3p-drop-Ø	tree-ART	log-ART	CONJ	him	3p-say	already	2s-tell

ohe	*aw*	*neke*	*msusu*	*ohe*	*kusuke*	*kabei*	*ode*	*tutuke*	*ka."*
ohe	*aw*	*ne-ke*	*mw-susu*	*ohe*	*kusu-ke*	*kabei*	*ode*	*tutu-ke*	*ka*
say	tree	this-ART	2s-show	say	base-ART	which	and	tip-ART	where

'So they dropped a (tree) log to him and said, "Tell us about this tree, say which end is the base and which is the tip."'

Line 49

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

'Then he thought and said, "This is the base, that which is sinking here, and this is the tip, this which is rising here."'

Line 50

Lemade	kabala	kebunare	rbohe,	"A,	iry	neke	i	ne
lemade	kabal-a	kebu-Vre	r-bohe	a	iry	ne-ke	i	ne
so.then	ship-GEN	crew-PL	3p-say	Ø	person	this-ART	3s	this

de.	Tala	i."
de	t-al-a	i
already	1pi-take-Ø	him

'So the ship's crew said, "Ah, now this person is something (lit. 'this person is here'). Let's take him."'

Line 51

Rsalak	i	ei	srake	ma	ral	i,	desyode	ror	i
r-salak	i	ei	sra-ke	ma	r-al	i	desy-ode	r-or	i
3p-lift	him	DIR	on.top-ART	CONJ	3p-take	him	that-and	3p-with	him

baia	kleti	so	mane,	iba	tia	kleti	so	ma
ba-i-a	kleti	so	mane	y-ba	ti-a	kleti	so	ma
go-LOC-Ø	bottom	there	like.this	3s-go	CONJ-Ø	bottom	there	CONJ

rahe	telke	ma	rabilak	i	tia	Tnebarne.
r-he	tel-ke	ma	r-bilak	i	ti-a	Tnebar-ne
3p-know	language-ART	CONJ	3p-pass.by	him	in-Ø	Tanimbar-this

'They lifted him up on top to take him, after that, they with him went to the west (lit. 'bottom far away'), like so, he went far away to the west, so they are smart and they surpass him [a person] here in Tanimbar.'

Line 52

A	tkunw	ne	teike	desdye.
a	tkunw	ne	tei-ke	desy-de
Ø	history	this	end-ART	there-already

'Uh, this history ends at that point.' (lit. 'The end of this history is already there.')

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. EP_1. The two labels EVIDENCE and CONCLUSION are also used. 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 some time, and then the woman was expecting.
4. The woman was expecting and it approached her time to give birth.

EP_1: *(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, Korduan invited [him] to go fishing.
    EP_1: *(how it happened)*
       STAGE: *(where they went and what Tulisama Botan found)*
          7. Korduan, you went to sea to fish; Tulisama Botan, you just fished near shore.
          8. You didn't get any fish, you got a clay jar.
          9. Inside this clay jar was treasure; there was gold, pendants, gold earrings, hairpins, and necklaces inside.
       EP_1: *(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 catch?"
         12. Tulisama Botan said, "I didn't get any catch; I just found a clay jar."
         13. So then Korduan said, "If that's the case, let's clean the fish so we can go inland to bake the fish so we can eat."
         14. So, once they cleaned the fish all done, they went and baked the fish and they ate [it] at their hut.
       EP_2: *(Korduan plots Tulisama's murder—suggests sleep)*
         15. After they finished eating, Korduan wanted to kill Tulisama Botan, so he said,
         16. "My friend, we've eaten until we are too full, and it seems this fish has given us indigestion.
         17. Let's sleep first and then tomorrow we will go."
         18. So, Tulisama Botan agreed as well that they sould sleep.
       EP_3: *(the murder)*

19. Once they were sleeping; once they were sleeping soundly, Korduan, you woke up and got a short piece of wood; you used (it) to strike Tulisama Botan in the face, so it seems you beat and murdered him until he died.

20. Once he was dead, you dragged him to bury him; you got a clam shell to mark him [his grave].

EP₂: *(Tulisama Botan is missing)*

    STAGE: *(Korduan returns home)*

21. And so, early this morning, you went back to the village; you went to Enus.

22. You went until you arrived, you cooked your catch, your game until it was finished,

    EP₁: *(Alalyena confronts Korduan)*

        Uh, Tulisama Botan's wife, Alalyena Endamin, came to ask you a question; she asked Korduan a question.

23. She asked Korduan and said, "So you've come, now where's your friend?"

24. Then Korduan said, "Last night we went fishing like this: he headed to the east side and I headed to the west side.

25. 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.

26. Just [go] look for him already."

    EP₂: *(Tulisama Botan cannot be found)*

27. They sought him on and on until evening, but they didn't find him; they didn't find him.

28. So they [each] slept [hidden] in secret.

EP₂: *(the mystery revealed)*

    EP₁: *(Inciting Incident: the birth of a special baby)*

29. Several days later, Alalyena Endamin, you squatted [gave birth] until you delivered your child named Mangkawar.

30. You gave birth to your child, then they called him Mangkawar, that child, they washed and bathed him; he cried.

31. Then, those watching said, "Oh! this child's face looks just like his father.

32. His facial features are like his father's."

    EP₂: *(Mangkawar solves the mystery—PEAK)*

        EVIDENCE₁: *(he shows the grave)*

33. 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."

34. So then, those who filled that house carried the child and he showed them the way saying, "We follow this road."

35. They walked and walked until they arrived at his place, then he said, "My father, the [place] they buried him is here.

36. They got this clamshell, they got [it] to cover him [his grave]."

        EVIDENCE₂: *(he shows the clay jar)*

37. After he finished showing him [the grave], he said, "Come let's go so I can show you my father's treasure that the man who killed him took."

38. So, they continued on until they entered Korduan's house, and he said, "My father owns this clay jar up here, indeed this one, this that they've tied up here."

39. So they climbed up to lower it down.

    CONCLUSION: *(he wraps up the case)*

40. He said, "My father fished like this: his friend had gotten fish and he found this clay jar with treasure filling the inside, so his friend killed him and took this clay jar, as you can see."

    CLOSURE: *(narrative summary)*

41. So then Mangkawar was small, so they carried him; he was red, but he could speak the language; God, maybe, directed [it] this way.

EP₃: *(Denouement: what happens to Mangkawar)*

    EP₁: *(Inciting Incident: he is thrown into the sea)*

42. Mangkawar, you grew until a little bigger, after which they saw that you were already very wise.

43. So, they went to afflict him, so they took him away to toss him into the sea.

44. They took him to drop him in the river; after which (they) returned directly.

EP$_2$: *(he is drowning, and a ship saves him)*

45. Uh, he couldn't keep swimming, uh, he was tossed about on the ocean; a sailing ship came by.
46. It reached him, then they saw him, so they went up close to him.
47. "Oh help me; lift me up."
48. So they dropped a (tree) log to him and said, "Tell us about this tree, say which end is the base and which is the tip."
49. Then he thought and he said, "This is the base; that which is sinking here, and this is the tip, this which is rising here."
50. So the ship's crew said, "Ah, now this person is something. Let's take him."
51. They lifted him up on top to take him, after that, they with him went to the west like so,

CLOSURE: *(moral)*

he went far away to the west, so they are smart and they surpass him [a person] here in Tanimbar.

FINIS:

52. Uh, this history ends at that point.

APPENDIX C

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 number 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

@@@ the line numbers need correcting with Appendix A@@@

# Notes	CONJ	Preposed	S	V	O	Postposed	TAM
1. STAGE L_0 no verb		Tia Enus neke In Enus,	irkye it-a a man	anina named	Tulisama Botanke(1). T. B.		
2.			_____(1) He	Yal married	wamfwetke ania Alalyena Endaminke(2). a woman named A. E.		
3. Attributive Cl	desikeyo and now		_____(1)(2) wamfwetke (2) They she	Rasa mdedan a had been married was expecting.	i (2).	ma klenke sosou, for a while,	
4. Reduplication of 3	ma and	Wamfwetke (2) mdedan-a i (2) The woman was with child	_____(0) it	kyarasy was near		ti-a wasi-a hulosew mana idur haf. to her time to give birth.	
5. EPISODE 1 L_0-L_1 T_0 Summary statement for 1st 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 neke Her husband, T. B.,	Korduan neke(3)ryubut-a _____(3) Korduan	ryubut invited invited	i (1-frnt) him	ma ti-a rasusw, ti rasusw to go fishing to just fish	o. TM.
7. Shift to 2nd 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.
8. RCl 2nd person Neg. irrealis	^{y}a, ah,		_____(1) _____(1) You you	lema kika mala mutot-a didn't get got	*heal munal*, lkuskye (A). any fish, a clay water jar.		
9a. Background		Lkusnyeke (A) kralanare The contents of the water jar,	dolanke bride wealth	kimin a was	(A-frnt) kralake inside (it).		
9b. Background Existential		blyawanare lebit o a kmura o wadan o kbun gold: a gold pendant, gold earrings, hairpins, a neaklace	kimin a there was	(A-frnt) kralake. inside (it).		
10. Shift to 3rd prsn L_1-L_2, T_1	Jadi, So,	manahmake ma rei rake ma the hide tide came so they went to shore to	_____(1)(3) _____(1)(3) they	rei rasihw went to clean	rake, _____ shore fish	ti-a elmatanare o. at the beach. TM	
11. Quote Question Cl (See 25)		"Helamure sir "your fish	Korduanneke(3) Korduan they	byo said, are	ka?" where?"		
12. Quote Irrealis Counter-expectation	de but		Tulisama Botanke (1) _____(1) _____(1) T.B. "I I	byo, "Lema kunal kutot-a said, didn't catch found	heal lkuskye (A) any fish this clay jar	bo." just."	

13. Quote			**Korduan-a** (3)	byo,			
		"Desike mo	_____(1)(3)	tasihw			_____
	ma		_____(1)(3)	tbai	rake		
	tia		_____(1)(3)	talayar	masy		
High Verbage	ma		_____(1)(3)	ta."			
	So then		Korduan	said,			
		"If that's					
		the case,	let's	clean	the fish		
	so		we	can go	inland		
	to			bake	the fish		
	so		we	can eat."			
14. 3rd prsn **L₂-L₃** **T₁-T₂**	Lema de,		_____(1)(3)	rasihw	_____		ma ktei bony-o,
			_____(1)(3)	rba			
	ti-a		_____(1)(3)	ratunw	masy		
	ma		_____(1)(3)	ra		ti wait lasirkye.	
	So,		they	cleaned	the fish		until done-
TM **Repeats all just said**			(they)	went			
	and			baked	the fish		
	so		they	could eat		at their hut.	
15. 3rd prsn			_____(1)(3)	**Raknam**			maktei
			Korduan a	ryeky			
Cognitive **Serial Verbs**	ma		_____(3)	tyabahunw-a	**Tulisama Botan ne** (1)		
			_____(3)	byu ti de byohe,			
			They	ate			until finish,
			Korduan	planned			
	to			kill	Tulisama Botan		
				so he said,			
16. Quote		"Liakw, a	_____(1)(3)	taknam			
	ma		_____(1)(3)	tbesur lanidik			
	ode		heal nekre	kele rai	ity (1)(3)		de.
		"My friend,	we've	eaten			
	until		we	are too full,			
	and		this fish	has given indigestion to us			
	already						
17.			_____(1)(3)	**Tenah**		ma bolbol	aduk
	ode nenmo		_____(1)(3)	tba."			
			Let's	sleep		until tomorrow	first
	and then		we	will go."			
18. 3rd prsn	Lema de,		**Tulisama Botanke** (1)	you			dakun
T₂-T₃	ma		_____(1)(3)	renaf.			
	So then		Tulisama Botan	agreed			also,
	and so		they	slept.			
19. 3rd prsn			_____(1)(3)	**Renah**			bony-o
			_____(1)(3)	ratepti			bony-o.
TM			They	slept			just-
TM				soundly			just-
20. Shift to 2nd prsn **T₄**			**Korduan-a** (3)	mbwatar			
	ma		_____(3)	mal-a	akwe kdusake		
		mal ma	_____(3)	moban-a	**Tulisama Botanke** (1)		
				mal		ti welno hahanekre	
	ma		_____(3)	kele mswila	_____		
PEAK-1			_____(3)	mhunw-a	i (1)		
	ma		_____(1)	myaty.			
			Korduan, you	woke up			
many verbs	and			got	a short piece of wood,		
		with (it)	you	strike	T.B.	in the face	
	in order to			beat (murder)	him		
	until		he	died.			
21. 2nd prsn **L₃-L₄**		Imaty bonyo	_____(3)	mhwait	i (1)		
	ma ti-a		_____(3)	mkwali	i;		
			_____(3)	mal-a	slyemke (B)		
	ma	mal ma	_____(3)	matos-a	i (1).		
Bleached, **subordinate Cl**		Once he was dead,	you	dragged	him		
	in order to			bury	him;		
			you	got	a clam shell		
	to	use (it) to		mark	him (his grave).		

22. 2nd prsn L_4-L_5, T_5	Ode, bonyo,	bolbolbolne	_____(3) _____(3)	mbwai-a mei	hnuke, Enus.	
Paraphrase Generic > Specific	And, just so,	early morning	you	went back to to	the village, Enus.	
23. 2nd prsn			_____(3) _____(3)	Mbwa mnoha	helamw alyamw	ti munait maktei bony-o.
Reiteration TM			You went until you arrived, you	cooked	your game, your catch	until done-
24. Re-introduce (2) 2nd prsn 3rd prsn	oa, ma ah, to		Tulisama Botanke sawa, Alalyena Endaminneke(2) _____(2) _____(2)	mya yena yena	o (3); Korduan (3).	
	Ah, to		T.B.'s wife, Alalyena Endamin, she	came ask asked	you (a question), Korduan (a question).	
25. Quote Question Cl (See 11)	de "Mane ode	liamkwe (1)	_____(2) _____(2) _____(3) i (1)	Yena byo, mmwa	Korduan _____ ka?"	
	"So now	She asked Korduan and your friend	you've	said, come, is	where?"	
26. Quote	Desikeo ode	"Detke aramisusnweke:	Korduana (3) _____(1) _____(3) Korduan	byo, byasar-a kbwakol-a said,	kseri timur kseri haratne.	
	After this "Last night and	our fishing was like this:	he I	headed to headed to	the east side the west side.	
27. Quoted Thoughts Serial Verb **Coordinated alternatives**	Ma ohe ta So, whether or		_____(3) _____(1) _____(3) I he I	lema khwe myuna kmuna can't say came home before me before	yaw (3) i (1). him.	
28. Quoted Thoughts	De atau Or already or	kete detke whether last night	_____(1) _____(1) he he	myuna lea mya beat hasn't yet come.	yaw (3) me	deny, o. TM
29. Quote **Command**	Ti (Go) to		_____(2)(4)	myobak-a look for	i (1) him	bondye." at once."
30. 3rd prsn L_6 T_6 o **Reduplication**	(but)		_____(2)(4) _____(2)(4) _____(2)(4) They	Robak-a lema ratot-a lema ratot-a sought didn't find	i (1) i (1), i. him him,	nini sewah- until evening-TM they didn't find him.
31. 3rd prsn L_7 T_7	Lema de, So		_____(2)(4) they (each)	renah went to sleep		eta. in secret.
32. EPISODE 2 Shift-2nd prsn L_8 T_8	ma until	Khiheita i bony-o, Several days later-TM,	Alalyena Endaminke (2) _____(2) _____(2) A.E., you you you	mudur, mudur mudur haha-ka squatted, squatted delivered	anamkwe (5) ani-a Mangkawar. your child his name was Mangkawar	

33. 2nd prsn Shift-3rd prsn Fronting **Redup. crowded stage, Inciting Incident**		Mudur haha-ka anamkwe ma naman desike a You delivered your child so That child,	_____(4) _____(4) _____(5) they they he	raki rauta raris-a syer. named washed&bathed cried.	i (5) i (5-frnt), him him;	ti Mangkawar Mangkawar.
34. RCl Foreshadowing Quote	Lema de, "Edo, Then, "Oh!	*masuare* (4) namanneke (5) matake o those watching this child's face		rbohe, kola said, looks like	ama. his father.	
35. Quote		Welnohahanekre His facial features		kola are like	ama." his fathers.	
36. Quote RCl **Suprize point in story!!!**	ti-a and to	(4)**Raris i (5)** ma ktei bonyo, "Eno-a 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. RCl Quote	Lema de, ode So then, and	*sekye krala* *mabendwesike*, naman 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 LocCl RCl	desikeo after this	"Amaku *rakali i ti ke* "My father's grave	_____(4)(5) _____(5) _____ They he	Rba 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	Rala rkahat eta got covered (hid)	slyem ne (B) i (1)." this clamshell, him."	
40. Quote RCl-RCl	"Ode ma tia "Now let so	Syusu i ma ktei bonyo After pointing him out,	_____(5) _____(4) _____(4)(5) _____(5) he us I	byo, mmya tba ksusu said, come go can show	amaku wasi-a a dolan-a *iry matabahunwa i ke inalke*." my father's treasures that the man who killed him took."	
41. Quote RCl	Lema de, tititi-a de nde So, until and yeah		_____(4)(5) _____(4)(5) _____(5) "Amaku _____ they they he "My father it	rba rsukar-a byo, wasi _____ continued on entered said, owns is	Korduanne wait sekye, lkuskye ne (A) ne Korduan's house, this clay jar up here this one, that they've tied up here.	a srane *ra-eti tola ne*."
42. Background	Lema de, ti So to		_____(4) _____(4) they	rsai rnauk. climbed up lower (it) down.		

Notes	Conj	NP	Subject	Verb	Object	Extra
43. Quote Background			_____(5)	Byo,		
		"Amaku-a (1) isinaut neke:	lia-nke (3)	inal	heal	
PEAK	ode		ia (1)	itot-a	lkusnyeke (A)kralake dolan neke	kibebenw (A-frnt),
Here he tells	lema de		lia-nke (3)	tyabahunw-a	i (1)	
all	ode		_____(3)	yal-a	lkusnyeke (A)	mane."
			He	said,		
		"My father searched like this:	his friend	got	fish	
	but		he	found	this clay jar filled with treasures	
	So		his friend	killed	him	
	and			took	this clay jar	as you see."
44. Summary for Episode 2	Lema de,	Mangkawar desike (5)	_____	kakan	i (5-frnt)	
	ma		_____(4)	rhoth	i (5-frnt)	
	ma		_____	mermer-a	i (5-frnt),	
	keskye		_____(5-frnt)	tyanuk-a hye	tunke;	ma kolnyeke.
			Hulasokwe			
Unusual	So	this Mangkawar		was small,		
structure			they	carried	him,	
here			he	was (still)	red,	
	but		he	could speak	the language;	
			God	maybe directed	(him)	like this.
45. EPISODE 3			Mangkawar desike (5)	mlwean		
Change	ma			lanata	o	
Scene & Time	desikeo		_____(4)	rseak		
Set stage,	ma		_____(5)	mhwe	lulw o liaw lan	de.
background,	until	Mangkawar you	(you)	grew		
foreshadowing				(were) a little bigger	(you),	
3rd prsn	after that		they	saw		
	that		you	knew	a lot about everything	already.
46. Begin Action	Lema de,		_____(4)	rba		
	ti-a		_____(4)	rahdawan-a	i (5)	
	ma		_____(4)	ror	i (5)	ba
3rd prsn	ti-a		_____(4)	rtunik-a	i (5)	o tasike.
	So,		they	went		
	to			cause trouble	him,	
	so		they	took	him	away
	to			throw	him	into the sea.
47. 3rd prsn			_____(4)	Ror	i (5)	ba
(Continuation	ti-a		_____(4)	rtunik-a	i (5)	ti sahke,
of sent. 46)	desikeo		_____(4)	trus		ma.
			They	took	him	
Repetition	to			drop	him	in the river;
	after that		(they)	returned.		
48. Change Scene	A		_____(5)	lema nyau yal		de,
	a		_____(5)	byesbesaka	i (5)	ti tasike khahane,
New			kabal larare(C)kmya		ma.	
Participants	Ah,		he	couldn't keep swimming		anymore
			he	was tossed about a lot		on the ocean;
			a sailing ship	came		by.
49. 3rd prsn			_____(C)	Kyait-a	i (5),	
(Enhance	desikeo, a		_____(6)	rmatakita	i (5),	
sentence 48)	lema de		_____(6)	rba		
	ti		_____(6)	rarasik-a	i (5).	
Valence incr.	after that		It	reached	him,	
-k suffix			they	saw	him,	
	so		they	approached	him.	
50. Quote w/no Formula!!	"O		_____(6)	mlyobak-a	yaw (5)	
	ma		_____(6)	msyalak-a	yaw (5)."	
DRAMA	"Oh		(you all)	help	me,	
	CONJ			lift up	me."	

51. **Quote with quoted speech**	Lema de,		_____(6)	rtunik-a	akwe klauke	ti i (5)
			_____(6)	rbo		
	"de		_____(5)	mlwosw ohe	anweke	
			_____(5)	msusu ohe		
			kusuke	_____	kabei	
	ode		tutuke	_____	ka."	
	So		they	dropped	a tree trunk	down to him
	(and)			said,		
	"So			tell us about	this wood	
				point out		
			the base	is	which end	
	and		the tip	is	where."	
52. Quote 3rd prsn	Desikeo	ikita de	_____(5)	byohe,		
			"Kusuk		ne	kitermar ne
	ode		tutuke	_____	ne	kibosal ne."
	So then	straight away	he	said,		
			"The base	is	this;	that which is sinking
	and		the tip	is	this,	this which is rising.
53. Quote 3rd prsn	Lema de		kabal-a			
			kebunare (6)	rbohe,		
	"A		irnyeke (5)	i-ne		de.
			_____(6)	Tal-a	i (5)."	
	So		the ship's			
			crew	said,		
	"Ah,		this man	is here		
	already.					
			we	take	him."	
54. CONCLUSION srake 3rd prsn **CLOSURE** (bleached verbs)			_____(6)	Rsalak	i (5)	ei
	ma		_____(6)	ral	i (5),	
	desyo de		_____(6)	ror	i (5)	bai-a kleti so
	mane,		_____(5)	iba		ti-a kleti so
	ma		_____	rahe	telke	
	ma		_____	rabilak	i ti-a Tnebar ne.	
			They	lifted	him	up on top
	so as to			take	him,	
	after that,		they	with	him	went west,
	so		he	went		far away over there
	So,		they	know	the language (are smart)	
	so		they	surpass	him (who lives) here in Tanimbar.	
55. FINIS	A		ktunnwe teike	desy		de.
			This history's			
			ending	is there		done

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