

WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

VOLUME 8 - MALUKU



PATTIMURA UNIVERSITY

and

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

in cooperation with

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

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Wyn D. Laidig, Editor

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.PRAKATA

Dengan mengucapkan syukur kepada Tuhan yang Maha Esa, kami menyambut dengan gembira penerbitan buku *Workpapers In Indonesian Languages and Cultures, Volume 8 - Maluku*. Penerbitan ini menunjukkan adanya suatu kerjasama yang baik antara Universitas Pattimura dengan Summer Institute of Linguistics, Maluku.

Buku ini merupakan wujud nyata peran serta para anggota SIL dalam membantu masyarakat umumnya dan masyarakat pedesaan khususnya.

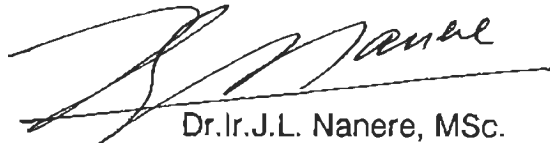
Diharapkan dengan terbitnya buku ini akan dapat membantu masyarakat khususnya di pedesaan, dalam meningkatkan pengetahuan dan prestasi mereka sesuai dengan bidang mereka masing-masing.

Dengan adanya penerbitan ini, kiranya dapat merangsang munculnya penulis-penulis yang lain yang dapat menyumbangkan pengetahuannya yang berguna bagi kita dan generasi-generasi yang akan datang.

Kami ucapkan terima kasih kepada para anggota SIL yang telah berupaya sehingga bisa diterbitkannya buku ini.

Akhir kata kami ucapkan selamat membaca kepada masyarakat yang mau memiliki buku ini. Harapan kami buku hasil kerjasama UNPATTI-SIL ini dapat bermanfaat bagi masyarakat di daerah seribu pulau yang tercinta ini, yaitu Maluku.

Ambon, March 1990
Universitas Pattimura



Dr. Ir. J.L. Nanere, MSc.
Rector

PREFACE

Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures is a joint publication of the Indonesia Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Cenderawasih University in Irian Jaya, Hasanuddin University in Sulawesi, and Pattimura University in Maluku. It is hoped that through this series some of the linguistic and ethnographic results of our cooperative research will become more accessible to colleagues and scholars sharing an interest in these aspects of Indonesia.

This issue, Volume 8 in the series, is the third to result from our work in Maluku with Pattimura University. Included in this volume are Part III of a discussion of Pre-Sangir phonemes by Kenneth Maryott. Also, preliminary phonological descriptions of Alune, by Yushin and Takako Taguchi, and Yamdena, by Toni and Heidi Mettler, are presented. In addition, observations regarding kinship and marriage among the Nuaulu people and among the West Tarangan people are presented by Rosemary Bolton and Susan Nivens, respectively. As usual, the authors welcome any comments or suggestions regarding the findings presented here.

We are deeply indebted to our many friends and co-workers at Pattimura University. Without the smooth working relationship that we enjoy together, the results presented in this issue would not have been possible.

Wyn D. Laidig
Ambon
March 1990

Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures
Volume 8 - Maluku

Wyn D. Laidig, Editor

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A PHONOLOGY OF ALUNE

Yushin Taguchi and Takako Taguchi

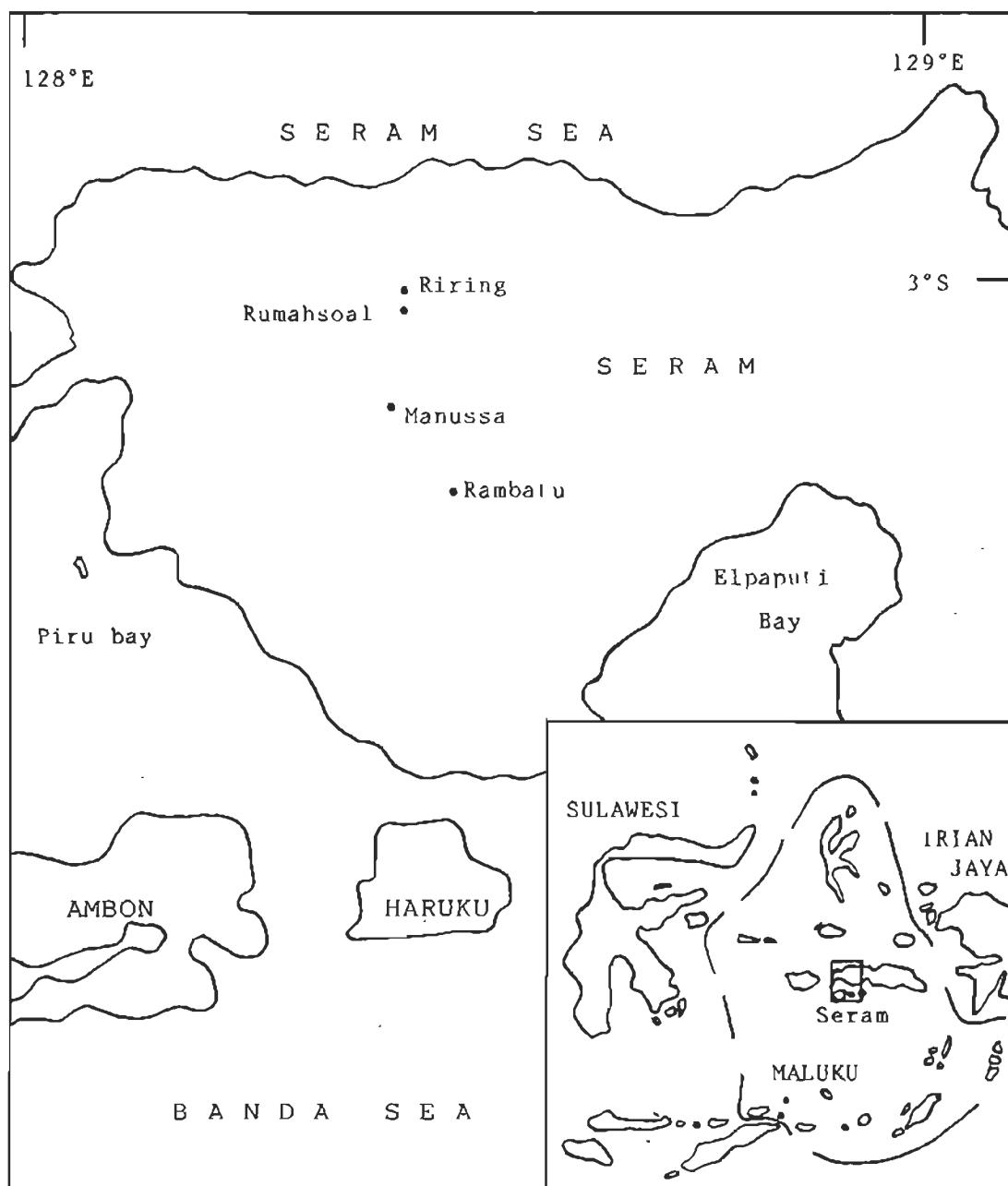
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1. Introduction

This paper is the result of the field study of the Alune language of Maluku Province, Indonesia.¹ The Alune language belongs to the Western Three-River Language Family, which is classified as one of the members of the West Seram Stock under the Central Malayo-Polynesian Superstock (Taguchi 1989). Alune is spoken by about 12,000 people in the western part of Seram Island.

West Seram in East Indonesia.



The analysis in this paper is of the Riring-Rumahsoal dialect of Alune. Some differences between the phonemic system in this dialect and that in other villages are noted. The most recent publications about Alune phonological changes are by Collins (1983, 1984). Niggemeyer's (1951-1952) description of Alune phonology and grammar owed much to Tauern (1918, 1928-1931) and Jensen (1948), as he mentioned in the paper. His phonological analysis is probably of one of the main dialects of Alune, but it is uncertain².

2. Phonological Segments

2.1 The Phonemes

In the Riring-Rumahsoal dialect, Alune has 13 consonant phonemes and 5 vowel phonemes: /p t k b d k^w s h m n l w y i e a u o/³.

The phoneme systems of Alune are shown in the following diagrams:

CONSONANTS

| | | labial | alveolar/palatal | velar/glottal |
|-------------|-----|--------|------------------|----------------|
| STOPS | vl. | p | t | k |
| | vd. | b | d | k ^w |
| FRICATIVES | | | s | h |
| NASALS | | m | n | |
| LATERAL | | | l | |
| SEMI VOWELS | | w | y | |

VOWELS

| | front | central | back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| high | i | | u |
| low | e | a | o |

Stress is analyzed as non-phonemic in Alune (see section 3.1.3 for the detailed discussion).

Description of phonemes

The following are descriptions of the Alune phonemes. All the phonemes listed below are produced with egressive lung air.

/p/ [p] voiceless bilabial stop.

| | | |
|-------------|--------------|----------------------|
| /petu/ | ['petu] | 'day' |
| /lepə/ | ['lepə] | 'to talk' |
| /plada/ | ['plara] | 'Palaka tree' |
| /mpai/ | [m'pai] | 'beside' |
| /kpetu/ | ['kpetu] | 'night' |
| /kaplaleku/ | [kapla'leku] | 'he is disappointed' |

/t/ [t] voiceless alveolar stop.

| | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| /tatike/ | [ta'tike] | 'to wait' |
| /ite/ | ['ite] | 'we (inclusive)' |
| /tla/ | ['tla] | 'in the midst of' |
| /ktili/ | ['ktili] | 'strong' |

/k/ [k] voiceless velar stop.

| | | |
|--------|---------|------------------------|
| /keu/ | ['keu] | 'to go' |
| /liku/ | ['liku] | 'to carry on shoulder' |

| | | |
|-----------|------------|--------|
| /kpetu/ | ['kpetu] | 'dark' |
| /nkopa/ | [ŋ'kopa] | 'fat' |
| /tiktili/ | [ti'ktili] | 'rude' |

/b/ [b] voiced bilabial stop.

| | | |
|---------|----------|-----------|
| /bala/ | ['bala] | 'hand' |
| /obie/ | [o'bie] | 'to put' |
| /blake/ | ['blake] | 'to feel' |
| /kbere/ | ['kbere] | 'hard' |

/d/ [d] voiced alveolar stop occurring after alveolar syllabic nasal.

| | | |
|---------|----------|------------|
| /ndi/ | [ŋ'di] | 'to there' |
| /ndopo/ | [ŋ'dopo] | 'dirty' |

[dʒ] voiced alveopalatal affricate, occurring in fluctuation with the allophone [r] only in demonstrative pronouns and their enclitic forms.

| | | |
|---------|----------------------|---------|
| /meide/ | [mei'dʒe] ~ [mei're] | 'this' |
| /meidu/ | [mei'dʒu] ~ [mei'ru] | 'these' |
| /-de/ | [-'dʒe] ~ [-'re] | 'this' |
| /-du/ | [-'dʒu] ~ [-'ru] | 'these' |

[r] voiced alveolar trill, occurring word initially and intervocally.⁴

| | | |
|----------|-----------|----------|
| /dibu/ | ['ribu] | 'to fly' |
| /madele/ | [ma'rele] | 'sloth' |

/kʷ/ [kʷ] voiceless velar stop with voiced labial non-syllabic vocoid release.

| | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| /kʷele/ | ['kʷele] | 'water' |
| /dekʷa/ | ['rekʷa] | 'to know' |
| /nkʷakʷa/ | [ŋ'kʷakʷa] | 'diligent' |

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.

| | | |
|--------|-----------|---------------|
| /selu/ | { 'selu } | 'to see' |
| /husa/ | { 'husa } | 'dolphin' |
| /swe/ | { swe } | 'to measure' |
| /aswe/ | { 'aswe } | 'you measure' |

/h/ [h] voiceless glottal fricative.

| | | |
|---------|-------------|----------------|
| /hali/ | { 'hali } | 'to look back' |
| /lahu/ | { 'lahu } | 'gong' |
| /hledu/ | { 'hleru } | 'to boil' |
| /mahbe/ | { ma 'hbe } | 'whenever' |

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial syllabic nasal, occurring before bilabial stops.

| | | |
|-----------|---------------|----------|
| /mpai/ | { m 'pai } | 'beside' |
| /tompesi/ | { tom 'pesi } | 'beard' |

[m] voiced bilabial nasal, occurring word initially and intervocalically.

| | | |
|--------|-----------|------------|
| /mina/ | { 'mina } | 'formerly' |
| /luma/ | { 'luma } | 'house' |

/n/ [ŋ] voiced alveolar syllabic nasal, occurring before voiced alveolar stop /d/.

| | | |
|-----------|---------------|--------------|
| /ndinu/ | { ŋ 'dinu } | 'garden' |
| /etendau/ | { etep 'dau } | 'down there' |

[ŋ] voiced velar syllabic nasal, occurring before velar stops.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| /nkopa/ | { ŋ 'kopa } | 'fat' |
| /konkia/ | { koŋ 'kia } | 'water convolvulus' |
| /nk ^w ak ^w a/ | { ŋ 'k ^w ak ^w a } | 'diligent' |
| /eink ^w ak ^w a/ | { eiŋ 'k ^w ak ^w a } | 'he is diligent' |

[n] voiced alveolar nasal.

| | | |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| /nane/ | ['nane] | 'name' |
| /bobanu/ | [bo'banu] | 'tomorrow' |

/l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral.

| | | |
|------------|-------------|----------------------|
| /lene/ | ['lene] | 'to hear' |
| /kulu/ | ['kulu] | 'creep' |
| /kla/ | ['kla] | 'thunder roll' |
| /kaplalei/ | {kapla'lei} | 'he is disappointed' |

/w/ [w] voiced labial nonsyllabic vocoid.

| | | |
|--------|---------|--------------|
| /wei/ | ['wei] | 'underneath' |
| /sawi/ | ['sawi] | 'to rub' |
| /swe/ | ['swe] | 'to measure' |

/y/ [y] voiced palatal nonsyllabic vocoid.

| | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|
| /yelu/ | ['yelu] | 'stuff' |
| /naya/ | ['naya] | 'to flee' |

/i/ [i] voiced high close front unrounded syllabic vocoid.

| | | |
|----------|-----------|------------------|
| /ite/ | ['ite] | 'we (inclusive)' |
| /iblake/ | [i'blake] | 'he feels' |
| /mise/ | ['mise] | 'good' |
| /ai/ | ['ai] | 'tree' |

/e/ [e] voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid.

| | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| /esa/ | ['esa] | 'one' |
| /keu/ | ['keu] | 'to go' |
| /lidele/ | [li'rele] | 'to hang' |

/a/ [a] voiced low open central unrounded vocoid.

| | | |
|------------|-------------|----------------------|
| /asu/ | ['asu] | 'dog' |
| /tlale/ | ['tlale] | 'midst' |
| /ai/ | ['ai] | 'tree' |
| /esa/ | ['esa] | 'one' |
| /kaplalei/ | [kapla'lei] | 'he is disappointed' |

/u/ [u] voiced high close back rounded vocoid.

| | | |
|--------|---------|------------|
| /ume/ | ['ume] | 'sand' |
| /au/ | ['au] | 'I' |
| /suku/ | ['suku] | 'to bathe' |

/o/ [o] voiced mid close back rounded vocoid.

| | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|
| /ono/ | ['ono] | 'to make' |
| /doma/ | ['roma] | 'till' |

Statements of Contrast

The following are the statements of contrast for each position of occurrence of the phonemes.

Bilabial Consonants /p b m w/:

Initially:

| | |
|--------|--------------|
| /pila/ | 'full' |
| /bina/ | 'girl' |
| /mina/ | 'ahead' |
| | |
| /petu/ | 'dark' |
| /betu/ | 'to wake up' |
| /metu/ | 'door' |
| /wei/ | 'underneath' |

| | |
|---------|---------------|
| /palae/ | 'to roast' |
| /balie/ | 'bandage' |
| /malie/ | 'to laugh at' |

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| /pusu/ | 'all' |
| /busa/ | 'to come' |
| /musu/ | 'hot' |

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| /pomine/ | 'later' |
| /boka/ | 'many' |
| /mosa/ | 'not yet' |

Intervocalically:

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| /elekapine/ | 'why' |
| /obite/ | 'cloth' |
| /omine/ | 'murder' |
| /tawinai/ | 'pot' |

| | |
|--------|------------|
| /sape/ | 'cow' |
| /lebe/ | 'slanting' |
| /meme/ | 'uncle' |
| /auwe/ | 'fire' |

| | |
|----------|-----------------|
| /sopa/ | 'to serve sago' |
| /soba/ | 'to water' |
| /dona/ | 'till' |
| /seluwa/ | 'mirror' |

| | |
|----------|---------|
| /maputi/ | 'cloud' |
| /bubui/ | 'top' |
| /lamuti/ | 'root' |

| | |
|----------|------------------|
| /lopone/ | 'ash' |
| /loboke/ | 'to stick in' |
| /tamoli/ | 'parents-in-law' |

As first members of consonant clusters:

| | |
|------------|-----------------|
| /kaplale-/ | 'to disappoint' |
| /ablake/ | 'you feel' |

As second members of consonant clusters:

| | |
|---------|-------------------------|
| /kpetu/ | 'dark' |
| /kbere/ | 'hard' |
| /kmau/ | 'evening (before dark)' |
| /swe/ | 'to measure' |

Alveolar consonants /t d s n l/:

Initially:

| | |
|----------|------------------------------|
| /titike/ | 'to blow' |
| /dibu/ | 'to fly' |
| /sili/ | 'to visit' |
| /ninu/ | 'shade' |
| /liku/ | 'to carry on one's shoulder' |
| | |
| /telu/ | 'three' |
| /dedu/ | 'to carry on head' |
| /selu/ | 'to see' |
| /nenu/ | 'to shake' |
| /letu/ | 'to break' |
| | |
| /tai/ | 'excrement' |
| /dani/ | 'to cry' |
| /sawi/ | 'to rub' |
| /nabu/ | 'to drop' |
| /lamu/ | 'to lick' |
| | |
| /tuni/ | 'old story' |
| /dulu/ | 'to get down' |
| /sulute/ | 'comb' |
| /nudu/ | 'top' |
| /lulu/ | 'to follow' |
| | |
| /tona/ | 'muddy' |
| /doko/ | 'short' |
| /sopa/ | 'to serve sago' |
| /nopa/ | 'to hug' |
| /loa/ | 'to vomit' |

Intervocalically:

| | |
|----------|---------------------|
| /bitie/ | 'to lap' |
| /sidie/ | 'to put it out' |
| /sisie/ | 'theirs' |
| /ninie/ | 'his' |
| /lelie/ | 'to answer' |
| | |
| /kete/ | 'to bite' |
| /kbede/ | 'hard' |
| /mise/ | 'good' |
| /kane/ | 'to eat' |
| /ale/ | 'you (sg.)' |
| | |
| /lita/ | 'evil spirits' |
| /loda/ | 'up to there' |
| /lisa/ | 'war' |
| /ina/ | 'mother' |
| /ila/ | 'how many' |
| | |
| /tutu/ | 'to pound' |
| /nudu/ | 'top' |
| /musu/ | 'hot' |
| /numu/ | 'quick' |
| /ulu/ | 'head' |
| | |
| /totone/ | 'very little' |
| /podole/ | 'yellow' |
| /noso/ | 'lazy' |
| /onoe/ | 'to make something' |
| /toloke/ | 'to spin thread' |

As first members of consonant clusters:

| | |
|-------|-------------------|
| /tla/ | 'in the midst of' |
| /swe/ | 'to measure' |

As second members of consonant clusters:

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| /ktili/ | 'strong' |
| /ndina/ | 'pleased' |
| /ksina/ | 'open' |
| /tneu/ | 'to ask' |

/tlina-/ 'ear'

Velar consonants /k k^w/s :

Initially as in:

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| /kele/ | 'to stand' |
| /kuebe/ | 'my friend' |
| /k ^w ele/ | 'water' |
| | |
| /kuate/ | 'very' |
| /k ^w ate/ | 'taboo sign' |
| /katela/ | 'sweet potato' |

Intervocally:

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| /tatike/ | 'to wait' |
| /aukue/ | 'mine' |
| /ilek ^w e/ | 'leaves for <u>tikar</u> ' |
| | |
| /akale/ | 'thinking' |
| /akuae/ | 'you wash it' |
| /tak ^w ali/ | 'long' |

As second members of consonant clusters:

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| /konkia/ | 'water convolvulus' |
| /sink ^w ao/ | 'they are sleepy' |

Fricatives /s h/⁶:

Initially:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| /sik ^w a/ | 'nine' |
| /hiku/ | 'to pull' |
| | |
| /sena/ | 'to seek animals for hunting' |
| /hena/ | 'village' |
| | |
| /sadi/ | 'machete' |
| /hali/ | 'to look back' |

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| /susu/ | 'breast' |
| /husa/ | 'dolphin' |

| | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|
| /sola/ | 'to clean the jungle to burn out' |
| /hole/ | 'to take a walk' |

Intervocalically:

| | |
|----------|------------|
| /sesele/ | 'corn' |
| /leheke/ | 'to think' |

| | |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| /asola/ | 'you clean the jungle to burn out' |
| /ahole/ | 'you take a walk' |

| | |
|--------|--------------|
| /kosa/ | 'to shatter' |
| /toha/ | 'to mix' |

Semi Vowels /w y/:

Initially:

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| /wauke/ | 'to lift' |
| /yanoma/ | 'don't' |

Intervocalically as in:

| | |
|-----------|---------------|
| /awauke/ | 'you lift it' |
| /ayanoma/ | 'you don't' |

Vowels

Vowels /i e a u o/:

Initially:

| | |
|-------|--------------|
| /ile/ | 'he/she' |
| /ela/ | 'big' |
| /ala/ | 'rice' |
| /ulu/ | 'to pick up' |
| /ole/ | 'bamboo' |

Interconsonantly:

| | |
|----------|-----------------------|
| /akinu/ | 'you drink' |
| /akele/ | 'you stand up' |
| /akale/ | 'thinking' |
| /akulu/ | 'you creep' |
| /lokolu/ | 'to them (non-human)' |

Finally:

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| /-mi/ | 'your, you (pl.)' |
| /me/ | 'in' |
| /-ma/ | 'our, us (exclusive)' |
| /-mu/ | 'your, you (sg.)' |
| /mo/ | 'not' |

2.2 Ambivalent Phones⁷

Ambivalent phones in Alune can be interpreted with the use of the following list of univalent (unambiguous) Alune syllable and word types.

| | | |
|--------|--------|-------------------------|
| V | /o/ | '(tag question word)' |
| CV | /sa/ | 'to climb' |
| CCV | /tla/ | 'a flash of lightening' |
| V.CV | /ono/ | 'to make' |
| CV.V | /toa/ | 'to spit' |
| CV.CV | /kete/ | 'to bite' |
| V.V.CV | /aono/ | 'you (sing.) make' |
| V.CV.V | /atoa/ | 'you (sing.) spit' |
| CV.V.V | /toae/ | 'palm wine' |

In Alune the phones [i] and [u] are ambivalent with respect to their status as consonants or vowels. Where [i] and [u] occur adjacent to a vowel, they could be interpreted either as consonants /y/ and /w/ or as units together with that vowel in a glide or diphthong. However an interpretation that views /y/ and /w/ as syllable codas is improper as no univalent closed syllable is found in Alune. To interpret these phones as parts of vowel glides would be uneconomical as that would require creating six new vowels: ei, ai, oi, eu, au and ou. Therefore, where the phones

occur adjacent to one vowel interconsonantly or finally following a consonant, they are interpreted as vowels /i/ and /u/.

Other phones that are ambivalent with respect to unit or sequence are [kʷ], [h] plus vowel and the syllabic nasals [ɱ] and [ŋ]. The phone [kʷ] has been identified as the unit phoneme /kʷ/ in the former section (2.1). From the viewpoint of its interpretation as unit or sequence, [kʷ] in [ŋ'kʷakʷa] /nkʷakʷa/ 'diligent' must be a single consonant since the univalent patterns only allow for two-consonant clusters because otherwise an impermissible three-consonant cluster will occur. The phone [h] could be identified as a voiceless initiation of the vowel phonemes /i/ ([Ii]), /e/ ([Ee]), etc. However, it is interpreted as the consonant phoneme /h/ on the grounds of univalent patterning (no vowel clusters within syllables) and no other evidence of voiceless vowels is found in the language. The phone [h] in ['hleru] 'to boil' can also be identified as the consonant phoneme /h/ on the grounds of univalent patterning (a consonant cluster can exist on its syllable onset).

The syllabic nasal phones [ɱ] in [ɱ'pai] 'beside' and [ŋ] in [ŋ'dinu] 'garden' can be interpreted as consonants /m/ and /n/ respectively on the basis of univalent patterning: /mpai/ and /ndinu/. The syllabic velar nasal [ŋ] in [ŋ'kʷau] 'sleepy' can be interpreted as an alveolar nasal consonant /n/ as it occurs only before velar consonant /kʷ/: /nkʷau/.

3. Distribution

3.1 Phonological Syllables and Words

3.1.1 Syllable Types

There are three syllable types in Alune: V, CV and CCV. Each of the other syllable types can make up a one syllable phonological word.

| | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------------|
| V | /o/ | '(tag question word)' |
| CV | /po/ | 'but' |
| CCV | /kla/ | 'thunder roll' |

3.1.2 Syllable Types and Phonological Word Types

In Alune the phonological word is defined as a stress group, consisting of a nucleus, the stressed syllable, and an optional margin of one or more unstressed syllable (s). The following are representative of how syllables join together in Alune to form phonological words although the list is by no means exhaustive. Here, 'S denotes a stressed syllable and S denotes an unstressed syllable. A hyphen (-) denotes a morpheme break and the grammatical roots are distinguished from affixes by being underlined in polymorphemic word types.

One-syllable words: 'S

| | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------------|
| V | /o/ | '(tag question word)' |
| CV | /po/ | 'but' |
| CCV | /kla/ | 'thunder roll' |

Two-syllable words:

S'S

| | | |
|-------|-----------------|----------------|
| V.CV | /a- <u>sa</u> / | 'you climb up' |
| CV.CV | /me <u>de</u> / | 'that' |

'SS

| | | |
|--------|------------------|------------|
| V.V | /au/ | 'I' |
| V.CV | /a <u>su</u> / | 'dog' |
| CV.V | /to <u>a</u> / | 'to spit' |
| CV.CV | /suk <u>u</u> / | 'to bathe' |
| CCV.CV | /bla <u>ke</u> / | 'to taste' |

Three-syllable words:

SS'S

| | | |
|---------|-------------------|----------------|
| V.V.CV | /ei- <u>sa</u> / | 'he climbs up' |
| V.CV.CV | /a <u>su</u> -du/ | 'those dogs' |

S'SS

| | | |
|---------|-------------------|----------------------|
| V.V.CV | /a- <u>ono</u> / | 'you are upset' |
| V.CV.V | /a- <u>toa</u> / | 'you spit' |
| CV.V.V | /to <u>a</u> e/ | 'coconut wine' |
| V.CV.CV | /e- <u>kete</u> / | 'it bites' |
| CV.V.CV | /lo <u>a</u> ke/ | 'to go head-hunting' |

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------|--------------|
| CV.CV.V | /tetae/ | 'to kick' |
| CV.CV.CV | /tamata/ | 'person' |
| V.CCV.CV | /a- <u>blake</u> / | 'you taste' |
| CV.CCV.CV | /si- <u>blake</u> / | 'they taste' |

| | | |
|----------|----------|-------------|
| 'SSS | | |
| CCV.V.CV | /plaene/ | 'butterfly' |

Four-syllable words:

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| SSS'S | | |
| CV.CV.CV.CV | /tamata-de/ | 'that person' |

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| SS'SS | | |
| V.V.CV.V | /a-onoe/ | 'you make' |
| CV.V.CV.V | /si-onoe/ | 'they make' |
| V.CV.CV.V | /a-suku-i/ | 'you bathe him' |
| V.CV.CV.CV | /a-suku-si/ | 'you bathe them' |
| CV.CV.CV.CV | /kabalane/ | 'sunshine' |
| V.CCV.CV.CV | /a- <u>blake</u> -le/ | 'you taste it' |
| CV.CCV.CV.V | /kaplale-i/ | 'he is disappointed' |
| CV.CCV.CV.CV | /kaplale-ku/ | 'I am disappointed' |

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| S'SSS | | |
| CV.CV.CV.CV | /kedi-ke-ni/ | 'to touch him' |
| V.CV.V.CV | /alae-ni/ | 'to feed him' |
| CCV.CV.CV.CV | /kmulike-le/ | 'it become numbed' |

Five-syllable words:

| | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------|
| SSSS'S | | |
| CV.CV.CV.CV.CV | /madalane-de/ | 'that deer' |

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------------|
| SS'SSS | | |
| V.CV.CV.CV.CV | /a-kedi-ke-ni/ | 'you touch him' |
| CV.CV.CV.CV.CV | /madele-ke-ni/ | 'he is to be pitied' |
| V.V.CV.V.CV | /a-onoe-le/ | 'you make it' |
| CV.V.CV.V.CV | /si-alae-ni/ | 'they feed him' |

Six-syllable words:

SSS'SSS

V.V.CV.CV.CV.CV /ei-buni-ke-le/ 'he hides it'

3.1.3 Stress

From the lists in section 3.1.2, the following general rules for stress may be inferred: (1) Stress always occurs on the grammatical root unless followed by the demonstrative enclitic /-re/. (2) Stress may occur on any of the last three syllables of the phonological word.

However, stress patterns in Alune may be stated more precisely: stress normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word root. If suffixes are added, stress moves toward the end of the word. For example, ['musu] 'hot' becomes [mu'sute] 'heat' and ['suku] 'to bathe' becomes [su'kui] 'to bathe him'. There are two exceptions: some transitive verbs formed from the causative suffix /-ke/, and words with the demonstrative enclitic /-de/ 'that' and /-du/ 'those': these post-positionals, stress does not shift. For example, the transitive verb [bu'nike] 'to hide', which is derived from ['buni] 'to hide (intransitive)', and [ke'rike] 'to touch', which is derived from ['keri] 'to carry', do not show the stress movement because of the suffix /-ke/. In other words, /-ke/ always blocks stress shift, even when other suffixes occur with the stem: [bu'nike] becomes [bu'nikele] 'to hide it', not *[buni'kele], and [ke'rike] becomes [ke'rikeni] 'to touch him', not *[keri'keni]. Because the demonstrative enclitics /-de/ and /-du/ always retain stress, as in [tamata're] 'that person' and [tamata'ru] 'those persons', the stress placement of the phonological word in which it occurs is always predictable. A remaining problem is the stress placement of [a'sa] 'you climb up', shown in the list of two-syllable words. This may be understandable if the verb root is phonetically interpreted as ['saa], it becomes [a'saa] with the prefix. However, because the lengthened vowels are not contrastive with the normal vowels and the occurrence is sporadic in the speech, this interpretation is uncertain.

It can be concluded that stress is not phonemic in Alune.

3.2 Distributional Classes

The distributional classes of Alune phonemes are consonants (C) and vowels (V), with the consonants subclassifying as C1, C2 and C3. The major class consonants C are /p t k b d k^w s h m n l w y/, which occur in the consonant slot of the CV syllable type. For the syllable type CV, all combinations of consonant and vowel occur, except for the following: /k^wu/ /k^wo/ /wi/ /wu/ /wo/ /yi/ /yu/. The sub-class consonants C1 are /p t k b s h m n/, which occur as the first member of the consonant clusters in the CCV syllable. The sub-class consonants C2 are /p t k b d k^w s m n l w/, which occur as the second member of the consonant clusters in CCV. The sub-class consonant C3 is /y/, which never occurs in CCV. The vowel class consists of /i e a u o/, which can occur in any syllable and in any position in the word.

However, the consonants that have been actually found to co-occur in clusters are shown in the charts below. The first member of the cluster is shown in the vertical dimension of the chart, and the second member in the horizontal dimension.

Initially in the phonological word:

| C2 \ C1 | p | t | k | b | d | k ^w | s | m | n | l | w |
|---------|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| p | | | | | | | | | | pl | |
| t | | | | | | | | | | tl | |
| k | kp | kt | | kb | | | ks | km | kn | kl | |
| b | | | | | | | | | | bl | |
| s | | | | | | | | | | | sw |
| h | | | | hb | | | | hm | hn | hl | |
| m | mp | | | mb | | | | | | | |
| n | | nt | nk | | nd | nk ^w | ns | | | | |

Medially in the phonological word:

| C1 \ C2 | p | t | k | b | d | k ^w | s | m | n | l | w |
|---------|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| p | | | | | | | | | | pl | |
| t | | | | | | | | | | tl | |
| k | | kt | | kb | | | ks | km | kn | kl | |
| b | | | | | | | | | | bl | |
| s | | | | | | | | | | | sw |
| h | | | | hb | | | | hm | hn | hl | |
| m | mp | | | mb | | | | | | | |
| n | | nt | nk | | nd | nk ^w | ns | | | | |

In a same manner, the vowels that have been actually found to co-occur following consonant clusters in CVC syllables in the charts below.

| <u>Onset</u> | | <u>Vowels found as nucleus</u> |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| C1 | C2 | i e a u o |
| p | l | i e a |
| t | l | i e a |
| k | p | e |
| k | t | i u o |
| k | b | i e u |
| k | s | i |
| k | m | u |
| k | n | i e a u o |
| k | l | i e a u |
| b | l | i e a u |
| s | w | e |
| h | b | i e u |
| h | k | e |
| h | l | i e a u o |
| h | m | u |
| h | n | a u o |
| m | p | i e a |
| n | t | i e u o |
| n | k | a u o |
| n | d | i e a u o |
| n | k ^w | a |
| n | s | e |

To sum up, the following are the Syllable Formulas suggested by the data gathered to date.

Syllable Type 1 = +M: C +N: V

Syllable Type 2 = +M: C1 +M: C2 +N: V

key:

C - - - main consonant class

C1 - - - consonant subclass 1

C2 - - - consonant subclass 2

V - - - vowel

M - - - margin

N - - - nucleus

+ - - - obligatory

+ - - - optional

4. Morphophonemic Processes

The morphophonemic processes in Alune involve numerals and affixes.

4.1 Numerals

With certain numerals, the deletion of the final /i/ of /lesini/ is observed. When a consonant-initial numeral follows /lesini/, the /i/ elides and the remaining of the form merges with the numeral. Thus:

(1) /butuesa/ + /lesini/ + /lua/ → /butuesa lesinlua/
 ten adder two twelve

(2) /butuesa/ + /lesini/ + /telu/ → /butuesa lesintelu/
three thirteen

(3) /butuesa/ + /lesini/ + /ne/ → /butuesa lesinne/
six sixteen

If the following numeral is /kʷalu/ 'eight', which begins with a velar consonant, [n] of /lesini/ shifts to /ŋ/ as well.

- (4) /butuesa/ + /lesini/ + /kʷalu/ → /butuesa lesin kʷalu/
· eight · eighteen

With certain other numerals both deletion of root final /i/ and a lengthening process of /n/ are observed. When a vowel-initial numeral follows /lesini/, the /i/ elides, the preceding /n/ is lengthened and then the remainder of the form merges with the numeral. Thus:

- (5) /butulua/ + /lesini/ + /esa/ -> /butulua lesinnesa/
twenty one
- (6) /butulima/ + /lesini/ + /ata/ -> /butulima lesinnata/
fifty four
- (7) /butune/ + /lesini/ + /itu/ -> /butune lesinnitu/
sixty seven

4.2 Affixes

4.2.1 Prefix

An insertion process is observed when the third person singular prefix /i-/ and a verb with the initial vowels /a/ or /o/ are joined.

- (8) /i-/ + /ahlakʷa/ → /iyahlakʷa/
3s:NOM cut grass He cuts grass.
- (9) /i-/ + /ono/ → /iyono/
3s:NOM get angry He gets angry.

4.2.2 Pluralizer /-a/

Suffixiation with the pluralizer /-a/ can involve elision, zero allomorph assignment and insertion processes as follows.

a. The pluralizer /-a/ simply merges with the noun with the root-final /i/ and /u/. Thus:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|----|-------------------------|
| (10) | /soi/ areca nut | + /-a/ pluralizer | -> | /soia/ areca nuts |
| (11) | /kwawi/ seedling | + /-a/ | -> | /kwawia/ seedlings |
| (12) | /petu/ day | + /-a/ | -> | /petua/ days |
| (13) | /kamu/ betel leaf | + /-a/ | -> | /kamua/ betel leaves |

However, an exceptional example has been found for this rule:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------|----|---------------|
| (14) | /ndu/ eel | + /-a/ | -> | /ndu/ eels |
|------|--------------|--------|----|---------------|

The pluralizer /-a/ could be realized by a zero allomorph in this example although it should not be generalized.

- b. The root final /e/ elides when the noun root merges with the pluralizer /-a/. Thus:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------|----|----------------------|
| (15) | /klabane/ shaman | + /-a/ | -> | /klabana/ shamans |
| (16) | /ulate/ mountain | + /-a/ | -> | /ulata/ mountains |

- c. The pluralizer /-a/ is realized by /-ya/ after nouns root-final /a/. Thus:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|--------|----|--|
| (17) | /bina/ woman | + /-a/ | -> | /binaya/ women |
| (18) | /beta/ sibling of different sex | + /-a/ | -> | /betaya/ siblings of different sex |

5. Appendices

5.1 A Tentative Orthography

The following is the list of phonemes and their tentative orthography which should cover the dialect difference. The dialect differences will be dealt with in section 5.2.

The following list represents the Alune orthography.

| Phoneme | Variants | Tentative Orthography |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| /p/ | [p] | p |
| /t/ | [t] | t |
| /k/ | [k] | k |
| /k ^w / | [k ^w] | kw |
| /b/ | [b] | b |
| /d/ | [d], [dʒ], [r] | d/n — r/elsewhere |
| /s/ | [s] | s |
| /h/ | [h] | h |
| /m/ | [m], [ṃ] | m |
| /n/ | [n], [ṇ], [ɳ] | n |
| /l/ | [l] | l |
| /w/ | [w] | w |
| /y/ | [y] | y |
| /i/ | [i] | i |
| /e/ | [e] | e |
| /a/ | [a] | a |
| /u/ | [u] | u |
| /o/ | [o] | o |

The Alune alphabet consists of eighteen symbols: a, b, d, e, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, w, y.

The phoneme /d/ has three variants in the Riring-Rumahsoal dialect as it was discussed in 2.1: [d] after /n/; [dʒ] in the demonstrative pronoun [mei'dʒe] 'this', [mei'dʒu] 'these' or their enclitic forms [-'dʒe] 'this' and [-'dʒu] 'these'; and [r] elsewhere. Thus:

/d/ - - - - -> [d]/n
 [dʒ]/in [mei'dʒe] and [mei'dʒu] and their
 enclitic forms [-'dʒe] and [-'dʒu]
 [r]/elsewhere

For the variants [r] and [dʒ], because they freely fluctuate, and because the occurrence of [dʒ] is in a very limited environment, the letter 'r' can be used without difficulty. However, for the variant [d], because of the peoples awareness of the sound /d/ in neighbouring languages spoken on Seram, as well as in Indonesian, the letter 'd' seems to be a better choice. Preliminary testing indicates acceptance of this choice⁹.

| | | | |
|---------|----|-------|-------------------|
| /ndi/ | -> | ndi | 'there' |
| /ndete/ | -> | ndete | 'up there (far)' |
| /nda/ | -> | nda | 'up there (near)' |
| /ndu/ | -> | ndu | 'eel' |
| /ndopo/ | -> | ndopo | 'dirty' |

5.2 Orthography and Dialectal Variation

An examination of the current data indicates a consistent correspondence between the two major dialects: the Manussa/Rambatu dialect, which we shall call No K-dialect and the Riring-Rumahsoal dialect, which we shall call K-dialect reflecting the phonological shift from [ʔ] to [k] and from [ʔw] to [kʷ] (Collins 1983:46). However, because the K-dialect is the major dialect in terms of the number of villages and the number of speakers (23 villages for K-dialect and 4 villages for No K-dialect) and also in relation to the political history since the Dutch missions at the beginning of this century, the orthography of the K-dialect will most likely adequately represent the No K-dialect. The following examples illustrate some of the sound correspondences between the two major dialects, along with the suggested orthographical form. The Proto-Austronesian (PAN) reconstruction is also shown for purposes of comparison (Wurm and Wilson 1975).

| <u>PAN</u> | <u>K-dialect</u> | <u>No K-dialect</u> | <u>Suggested Writing</u> |
|----------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| *inum | /kinu/ | /ʔinu/ | kinu 'to drink' |
| | /keu/ | /ʔeu/ | keu 'to go' |
| *kan | /kane/ | /ʔane/ | kane 'to eat' |
| *kalo | /klema/ | /ʔlema/ | klema 'to play' |
| *tu(Oq)en | /atetuke/ | /atetuʔe/ | atetuke 'to learn' |
| *(qSO)a(dDr)uq | /boka/ | /boʔa/ | boka 'many' |
| */h/an/D/uy | /suku/ | /suʔu/ | suku 'to bathe' |
| *walu | /kʷalu/ | /ʔwalu/ | kwalu 'eight' |
| *wayeR | /kʷele/ | /ʔwele/ | kwele 'water' |
| *ŋiuR | /nikʷele/ | /niʔwele/ | nikwele 'coconut' |
| *siwa | /sikʷa/ | /siʔwa/ | sikwa 'nine' |

A preliminary dialect intelligibility test between the K- and No K-dialects indicates a high degree of comprehension of oral materials. It seems likely that written materials will based upon the K-dialect will be also be understood and well-received.

5.3 Alune Text

Alena Asu
Recorded from Jonadabe Latue
Riring-Rumahsqaal, January 1988

Alena asu
alena asu
story dog

Petuma luare Akuse Lehite eini asure
petu-m -a lua-re akuse lehite eini asu-re
day -PMKR-Pl two-s:DMENCLT Agus Lehite 3s.POSS dog-s:DMENCLT

bapa kuru Nikolebu eibunue,
bapa kuru Nikolebu ei -bunu-e
mister teacher Nikolebu IPF:3sNOM-kill-ISF:3sACCNH

le ekane manue boka peneka.
le e -kane manue boka peneka
because ISF:3sACCNH-eat chicken many already

Eleki esi kanele peneka.
eleki esi kane-le peneka
and then PRON:3pNOM eat -NIDS:s already

Esi kanele kai kinu tuae kai kane kahbi.
esi kane-le kai kinu tuae kai kane kahbi
PRON:3pNOM eat -NIDS:s and drink palm wine and eat cassava

Sie bokala esi kane polie.
sie bokala esi kane poli -e
3p.NOM many PRON:3pNOM eat together-ISF:3sACCNH

Maka moae asu mere Henci Souhali.
maka moa -e asu mere henci souhali
RELPRON cook-ISF:3sACCNH dog s:DEMPRON Henci Souhally

Esi kanele nda endinu
esi kane-le nda endinu
PRON:3pNOM eat -NIDS:s to up there garden

Alío Seae lumare.
alío seae luma -re
Alío Seae house-s:DMENCLT

Asu mere bei mpai hena ' belukwe.
asu mere bei mpai hena belukwe
dog s:DEMPRON from beside village new

Free Translation:

A Story of a Dog

Two days ago, the teacher Mr. Nikolebu killed Agus Leheti's dog, because it ate many [of the neighbors'] chickens. Then they ate the dog. They ate it, drank palm wine, and ate cassava. Many people ate it together. The one who cooked the dog was Henci Souhally. They ate it up in the garden at Alío Seae's house. The dog was from the new village.

Notes

- ¹ The authors are grateful to their many co-workers who have provided helpful comments regarding their Alune field work. Ken Maryott and Jock Hughes deserve special thanks for their comments on earlier versions of this paper.
 - ² Niggemeyer quoted Jensen's texts with the village reference and the name of the story tellers (informants) in his paper. However, through our own field research and reliable reports, we found that many of the village references were inaccurate. In accordance with Collins (1983, 1984) and our own investigation, the informants' dialect sounds like a mixture of two or more dialects. In any case it is difficult to identify the dialect on which the phonological analysis is based.
 - ³ The uniqueness of Alune /k^w/ in the Austronesian languages of central Maluku has been discussed by many linguists such as Dyen, Tauern, Niggemeyer and Collins (1984). Most of these linguists agree that k^w is an innovative shift from Proto-Austronesian (PAN) *w to [k^w] (Collins 1983:46ff).
- A velar stop /g/, which is not included in the phoneme list, is found only in loan words like /mingu/ 'week', and /guru/ 'teacher', although these words are often pronounced as [miku] and [kuru]. An alveopalatal grooved fricative /dʒ/, which is not included in the list either, is found only in loan words too, i.e. /geredʒa/ 'church'.
- ⁴ In the Manussa/Rambatu dialect spoken in two other villages, [r] shifts to [d] word initially and/or intervocalically:

| PAN | Riring-Rumahsoal | Manussa/Rambatu | |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| *DukDuk | ['rue] | ['due] | 'to sit' |
| *alap | ['rana] | ['dana] | 'to take' |
| *di(nN)i | [mei're]~[mei'dʒe] | [mei'de] | 'here' |
| - | [niasu'ru]~[niasu'dʒu] | [niasu'du] | 'these his dogs' |

As we see from the PAN reconstructions above, the Manussa/Rambatu dialect is the more conservative.

Some environments in which the interdialectal [r]-to-[d] shift does not occur intervocally are illustrated by the following:

| <u>Riring-Rumahsoal</u> | <u>Manussa/Rambatu</u> | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| [mara'lane] | [mara'lane] | 'deer' |
| [mare'lekeni] | [mare'lekeni] | 'he is to be pitied' |
| [nu'rui] | [nu'rui] | 'top' |

- ⁵ As exceptions, the productive suffix /-ke/ and /-k^we/ fluctuate freely in forms such as: /belu-ke/~belu-k^we/ 'youth' and /lau-ke/~lau-k^we/ 'distance'.
- ⁶ As an exception, free variation is found only between the words /'hoko/ and /'soko/ 'and, but'.
- ⁷ Lengthened nasal [m:] and [n:] are observed in the words ['m:uli] 'last child' and ['n:unu] 'quickly'. However, because these are the only occurrences, these two phones are not treated here.
- ⁸ Because an example /k^winai/ 'eyebrow' is found, there is no way to generalize the restriction of the CV syllable type like: except for segments that are phonetically high vocoids (e.g. [k^wi] [k^wu] [k^wo] [ui], [uu], [uo]).
- ⁹ A preliminary test was performed for the tentative orthography suggested in this paper at ten different villages, covering all dialects of Alune. A booklet consisting of three Alune folk tales and seven Alune folk songs was used as a basis for testing material. Specific attention was given to the orthographical forms for the variants of /d/.

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