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THE BURU LANGUAGE
OF EASTERN INDONESIA

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of
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Except where it is otherwise noted in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

Charles E. Grimes
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The people of Buru are fascinated by the beauty of their own language. We have grown to share that same appreciation. Many of them are also fascinated by the beauty of the Living Word.

"A word aptly spoken
is like apples of gold
in settings of silver."
(Proverbs 25:11)
Abstract

Buru is an Austronesian (Central Malayo-Polynesian) language spoken by around 45,000 people on the island of Buru in eastern Indonesia. Typologically, the language can be characterised as S VO (X), prepositional, with modifiers following the head noun in an NP and the genitive occurring before the noun.

Analysis of Buru phonology [Chapter 5] shows the language to have seventeen consonants [C] and five vowels [V]. Canonical syllable types are (C)V(C). Monomorphemic roots are distinguished between lexical roots, which are overwhelmingly composed of two syllables (with a few trisyllables), and grammatical functors, which may be one or two syllables. Content words (such as nouns and verbs) are based on lexical roots and carry stress on the penultimate syllable of the word. Clitics behave as phonological satellites to stress-bearing roots and do not affect stress shift. Productive cliticisation is pervasive in Buru, dropping the final syllable and the word stress from a lexical root as it combines with a following lexical root. This process, along with several other morphophonemic processes involving verbal [Chapter 7] and nominal [Chapter 8] morphology yield a complex variety of derived syllable types. It becomes necessary to distinguish between the phonological word and the grammatical word, as there are many environments in Buru in which there is not a one-to-one correlation between the two [Chapter 6].

The pronominal systems are described [Chapter 9], noting that Buru is developing from a split-S system toward a switch-reference system. Spatial and temporal deictics [Chapter 10] are concerned with definiteness and reference-tracking in discourse and are used in a variety of constructions. In NPs [Chapters 8 & 11], most nominal modifiers, including relative clauses, follow their head noun. Two constructions, the possessive and the genitive, are discussed in detail [Chapter 14]. Given the word order patterns found elsewhere in the language, Buru is typologically unusual in having the genitive and the possessive occurring before the head noun [Chapter 17].

The Buru clause is composed of a Subject and a Predicate. The Predicate may be non-verbal, semi-verbal, or verbal [Chapters 18 & 19]. Verbs are divided into two types: in active verbs the syntactic subject is in the semantic macrorole of Actor; in non-active verbs the syntactic subject is in the semantic macrorole of Undergoer [Chapters 7 & 12]. Active verbs further subdivide into active-transitive and active-intransitive, depending on their unmarked valence of core arguments. Active transitive clauses are prototypically S VO (X) in their order, with non-core arguments being marked as prepositional phrases [Chapter 13].
Abstract

Buru has a rich variety of mechanisms for relating and integrating clauses [Chapter 20] through degrees of a variety of parameters which are more complex than a simple binary opposition of [± dependent], or [± embedded]. There is also a rich variety of mechanisms for putting elements of a clause into greater or lesser pragmatic prominence [Chapters 18, 21, 23]. A variety of different speech acts and styles are also described [Chapter 22].

The grammaticisation of several different subsystems is examined. Tense-aspect-mood proclitics [Chapter 12], post-verbal auxiliaries [Chapter 12], and some prepositions [Chapter 13], are all shown to have developed through verb serialisation.

Introductory chapters describe the purposes and mechanics of the study [Chapter 1], previous studies [Chapter 2], historical issues relevant to language use on the island [Chapter 3], and dialect geography and related sociolinguistic issues [Chapter 4]. Texts and additional supporting material are found in the appendices. The question of the linguistic classification of Buru is examined in the Epilogue, noting that there is very little published on the 150 or so languages of the Central Malay-Polynesian subgroup, to which Buru is purported to belong.
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<td>Active</td>
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<td>PURP</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
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<td>Exasperative</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Query/Question/Interrogative</td>
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<td>Exclamatory</td>
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<td>RED</td>
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<td>Hortative</td>
<td>RLR</td>
<td>Relator</td>
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Abbreviations & Conventions

sibl  Sibling
sp.  Species
sp.p.  Species (plural)
s.o.  Someone
s.t.  Something
S/SUBJ  Subject (2sS)
SIM  Sinillitve
SS  Same Referent
STAT  Static

TAM  Tense-Aspect-Mood
TOP  Topic
TR  Transitive(ger)
U  Undergoer

(v)  Verb(s)
(vi)  Intransitive verb
(vt)  Transitive verb
VOC  Vocative
VOL  Volitional
VP  Verb Phrase
vs.  versus
(w.s.)  woman speaking (kinship)

Pronouns:
1s  first person singular
2s  second person singular
3s  third person singular
3d  third dual
1pl  first person plural (inclusive)
1pe  first person plural (exclusive)
2pl  second person plural
3pl  third person plural

Austronesian studies:
AN  Austronesian
CMP  Central Malay-Polynesian
CEMP  Central-Eastern Malay-Polynesian
EMP  Eastern Malay-Polynesian
OC  Oceanic
PAMS  Proto Ambonese (Stresemann)
PAN  Proto Austronesian
PEMP  Proto Eastern Malay-Polynesian
PMP  Proto Malay-Polynesian
PFI  Proto Philippines
WMP  Western Malay-Polynesian

Loan sources:
AM  Ambonese Maly
Arab.  Arabic
Bug.  Bugis
But.  Butonese (generic)
Du.  Dutch
Eng.  English
Jap.  Japanese
Jav.  Javanese
Kyl.  Kayeli
Mak.  Makassarese
Mly  Malay
Port.  Portuguese
Skt.  Sanskrit
Sula  Sula

Conventions:
+  Reconstructed form
++  Intermediate hypothetical form
*  Ungrammatical/unacceptable
[ ]  1) phonemic form;
     2) loan word;
     3) implicit information
/  1) phonemic form
    2) underlying morphemes
\  Optional Interpretation
$  Omission of element from that position
-  Cross reference
\  Morpheme boundary
-  Reduplication of complex units
.  Juncture in compound (fat,horse)/
-  Varies with
\  Approximates
\  Stressed syllable
>  becomes (diachronic)
<  derives from (diachronic)
-  becomes (synchronic)/ yields
<  derives from (synchronic)

Phonetic symbols used
[?]  glottal stop
[']  stress
[i]  high front open unrounded vowel
[e]  mid front open unrounded vowel
[a]  schwa (mid central unrounded vowel)
[u]  high back open rounded vowel
Chapter One

Introduction to the study

A description of a language is coloured by how the linguist thinks the language works, which itself is a reflection of the linguist's particular training and theoretical biases, general assumptions about language, and exposure to other languages. The range of speech domains mastered, the degree of proficiency, and the reliability and limitations of the particular data corpus upon which the description is based all affect the quality and reliability of the description.

A further challenge facing the linguist is to translate how a language 'actually works' into a description that is both faithful to the language and communicates clearly to other linguists. The organisation of the description presents several challenges for information packaging, not the least of which is to translate the multidimensional nature of language into a linear description on paper. In presenting data, the linguist is forced to make a series of complex choices. The chosen audience and "hot" issues in the discipline influence not only what is addressed, but how the issues are addressed. Should priority be given to structure over function, or to semantics over structure? Should the language be used primarily to make claims about theory or should theory be used to elucidate features of the language? Should the presentation work from the smaller structural units of the language up to the broader units of discourse or vice versa? Should the organisational strategy primarily follow an etic grid (universal/externally oriented), an emic grid (oriented to the features internal to the language), or a marriage of the two?

In this chapter I briefly discuss the choices made and the strategies followed here in describing the Buru language.

1.1 Purpose and framework

The present description of the Buru language has the following primary goals:

1) To identify the salient structural features of form, function and distribution. Pinning linguistic labels on bits and pieces of a language is justifiable only where the structures of the language itself indicate contrastive patterns. For example, Buru has a form tu. Two points arise in labelling this term. First, I call tu a preposition because it behaves
functionally and distributionally as part of a class of words relating non-core nominal arguments to the verb that tend to be labelled cross-linguistically as 'preposition'. Second, there is the question of how many different tu's there are. Rather than positing separate and homophonic prepositions, all with the same form and distribution, (e.g. \( tu_1 \) 'comitative', \( tu_2 \) 'instrumental', \( tu_3 \) 'reason', \( tu_4 \) 'concerning, about'), I recognise only one emic form that has several etic functions.

2) To identify (contrastively and comparatively) the functions performed by the structures of the Buru language. In other words, what is accomplished or communicated when a speaker of Buru chooses to use one structure rather than another similar structure? In that vein, this study addresses the particular strategies the Buru language employs to accomplish various tasks, such as mapping the role structure of the verb and clause; repackaging the role structure of the verb or clause to put different arguments into greater or lesser syntactic and pragmatic prominence; signalling new, reintroduced or given information; tracking participants in discourse; signalling definiteness and anaphoricity; subordinating some information to other information; and so forth.

3) To use reliable data and natural language from a variety of discourse genres.\(^1\) This description provides over 2000 language examples.

4) To provide a sociolinguistic profile of the Buru language and speech community. This study examines the historical, social, cultural and regional forces which have shaped the Buru language, and in doing so aims to elucidate an understanding of the dynamic forces affecting the diversity and ethnolinguistic vitality of the language and its speakers.

Secondary goals include:

5) To address issues of relevance to Austronesian studies that arise from an understanding of Buru.

6) To address issues of typological and theoretical interest that arise from the description.

1.2 Mechanics and presentation of this study

A word is needed about certain conventions used throughout this study to facilitate presentation.

\(^1\)I am not averse to using elicitation techniques to explore paradigms, contrasts in structure and nuances of meaning, but I am averse to building the description of a language solely on such material.
Sections, figures and maps are numbered consecutively without regard to chapter divisions. Cross references are given in square brackets with the addition of the symbol [§]. For example, [see Chapter §11] or [§4.6.2]. Examples and footnotes recycle to number one at the beginning of each chapter.

Vernacular data are boldfaced (e.g. De heka-tuha anafina). Glosses in text and in examples are set off in single quotes (e.g. 'tree'). Italics are used for the free translations of interlinear examples (e.g. 'He eloped with the girl').

A fairly formal strategy is used for interlinear glosses. Thus, an item such as naa is always glossed PROX (for 'proximal'), rather than being given various context-specific glosses such as 'this', 'here', or 'now'. Similarly, the enclitic -n is glossed interlinearly as '3sGEN' for 'third person singular genitive enclitic', rather than variously as 'his', 'hers' or 'its'. The particular English sense of the Buru data is brought out in the free translation of interlinear examples.

A list of abbreviations and conventions is found in the front matter. Following the development of recent conventions (discussed in Simons & Versaw 1988:2:36,37), grammatical functions are abbreviated in upper case, with the exception of pronominal forms which are marked for singular (s) or plural (p) in lower case to facilitate tagging their function or role (e.g. 3sGEN(itive), 3sPOSS(essive), 3sS(ubject), 3sO(bject), 3sA(ctor), 3sU(ndergoer)). For other portmanteau glosses indicating multiple categories, a full stop (.) is used to identify the unitary nature of the gloss (e.g. la 'IRR.CMPLR' [irrealis complementiser]). The full stop is also used in the Buru data to indicate juncture — a compound which has undergone cliticisation (e.g. le.beto 'yesterday' from lea 'sun/day' and beto 'night/24-hour cycle'; fat.hese 'cliff' from fata 'rock' and hese 'to make a wall').

The symbol [φ] is used in some language examples. Where it is found it is intended merely to indicate the expected position in which an omitted element does not occur, rather than making a theoretical claim about a process of deletion or positing the abstract existence of an unmarked trace element.

There are varying degrees of productivity with affixes such as -t. -n. -k. Where these affixes are not indicated by a hyphen they are considered frozen (not productive). Thus, a verb like lea 'precede' may be indicated as leu-k as the second verb in a serial construction, but invariant as leuk as a clause-level auxiliary. The morphology of these auxiliaries is not productive. The apparent 'inconsistency' in notation is deliberate.
1.3 The data

1.3.1 Fieldwork details

The data were collected between October 1983 until April 1991, totalling nineteen months in residence on Buru Island, and an additional three months on the nearby island of Ambon with native speakers of the Masarete dialect. The longest period of continuous residence on Buru was five months.

The data were collected in a total of 41 villages in northern, central, southern and eastern Buru.

Map 1: Location of villages where data were collected

The bulk of the Masarete dialect data were collected during five months in the mountain villages of Fakal, Wae Katin, Wae Loo, and one month in the coastal village of Leksula, with visits to Wae Raman, Unet, Mngeswaen, Wae Eken, Nusa Rua, Tifu, Ewiri, Elfule, Lektama, and Fatmite. Rana dialect data were collected over twelve months in the mountain villages of Wae Haa Olon and Wae Nama Olon, with visits to Kudil Lahin, Erdapa,

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In talking about the collection of data I use the plural ‘we’ referring to both my wife (Barbara Dix Grimes) and myself. It is a tremendous asset to be able to work in partnership, with two researchers separately recording data, sometimes participating in different events in different locations, or jointly conducting an interview with one conversing and the other writing.
Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

Kaktuan, Wae Reman, Wae Grahe, Waru Jawa, Liang, Neat, Wae Lupa, Wamkana, Selwadu, Wae Poti, and Wasketen. *Wae Sama* data were collected during one month in Labuan, with visits to Wae Kahan, Masnana and Wae Neven. *Lisela* dialect data were collected during two trips totalling almost a month to Wae Ha Sa Nangan, Sileva, Wamiana, and Wa Mangit. *Li Garan* taboo register data were collected during two visits to the Rana lake area in the centre of the island and a further visit to a recent migration of Rana speakers in the village of Selwadu on the northwest coast. *Kayeli, Leiligl and Hukumina* language data were collected in Kayeli and Namlea, Jiku Merasa, and Masarete-Kayeli respectively.3

Unless otherwise specified, the examples in this study are from the *Masarete* dialect.

1.3.2 Social cross-section of people who were sources of data

The sources of the data are hundreds of native speakers representing a broad cross-section of Buru society. We worked with a range of age groups from children learning to speak, to adolescents, teenagers, young married couples, parents and grandparents. (The oldest informant was a woman approximately 95 years of age.) In each of these age brackets we worked with both males and females.

The speakers we worked with had a variety of formal educational experiences. A large portion of the language informants were illiterate, never having attended any school. The majority of those who had been to school dropped out after the first or third grade.4 The most educated informant had completed secondary education in Sulawesi.

Most of the Masarete and Lisela speaking informants were bilingual in Ambonese Malay to varying degrees of proficiency. Many of the Rana and Wae Sama dialect informants were monolingual in the Buru language. The figure below summarises the social profile of the individuals we worked with repeatedly. Several individuals also have secondary and tertiary residences in other villages at which they may spend several months every year or two, hence the indication of primary residence.

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3Sula language data used in discussing patterns of language contact [Chapter §3] and the linguistic classification of Buru [Epilogue] are from the Taliabo and Mangole languages, and the Fagudu and Falihu dialects of the Sula language. They were collected by the author on short field trips to the Sula Islands in 1982 and 1983.

4In the mountain villages that have schools it is not uncommon for parents to pull their children out of school after the first grade. Until recently many elementary schools did not go beyond the third grade.
Figure 1: Primary sources of language data

In terms of social status, the native speakers we worked with came from all sections of society. They ranged from geba emngaa-ro ‘title-holders’, some of whom interact with the Indonesian governmental infrastructure, to geba ka gao endohin ‘keepers of oral history’, to anat breuto ‘normal people (lit. ‘little children’). They also included widows, orphans, and individuals representing remnants of kin groups decimated by disease or mass poisoning as well as geb.fah.raha ‘person with a bloodied hand’, a term including those considered within Buru culture to be murderers.

The social contexts in which we were able to observe Buru speech included everyday conversation, village meetings, people reporting on trips or major events, play, marriage negotiations, negotiations over which kin group has rights to certain children, birth (both

5Because of Buru cultural dynamics of knowledge, authority and power, many of our Buru friends have asked not to be identified and have only been willing to record stories on such a promise. The chart provides a social profile of our primary informants including the range of kin groups represented, without revealing their individual identities. Inside Buru names of kin groups are used rather than the outside Malay names of kin groups, allowing only those with an inside knowledge of Buru culture the possibility of recovering the identities here. There are approximately 35-40 kin groups on the island (B.D. Grimes 1990a). The kin groups not yet dealt with reside mostly in the eastern and northern parts of the island.

6Approximate age.

Buru social structure is sketched briefly in Chapter §3 and is described more fully in B.D. Grimes (1990a,b,c).
labour and delivery), litigations over charges of adultery, abandonment of a wife, domestic and non-domestic fighting (both armed and unarmed), land disputes, hunting, travelling, foraging in the jungle, sickness (with varying degrees of severity), death, appealing to the ancestors, swearing of formal oaths, discovering the source of wrong-doings with the ancestors as intermediary, planting and harvesting, house building, traditional music, teasing, flirting, and cursing.

Some native speakers with whom we worked regularly are recognised by others in their society for their eloquence in speaking the Buru language. Others not recognised for their eloquence also volunteered stories which we duly recorded, noting at the same time the social perceptions reported to us.

1.3.3 The data corpus

Texts that were tape-recorded included narratives reporting recent events, historical events, animal fables, folk tales, origin myths, explanations, exhortations, conversations, and ballads. Further notes were taken on formal oaths and supplications to the ancestors, to spirits, and to Oplahtala 'God'.

86 of the recorded texts were transcribed, checked, glossed, entered into the computer for concordance and phonotactic searches (5475 sentences). 42 of those texts were annotated in an interlinear fashion with analysis of morpheme breaks, morpheme gloss, and word class for each word, and a free English translation for each sentence.8 Many of the sentences were further annotated with a general comment on the grammar or culture. These provided a printout of 680 pages of grammatically annotated Buru texts of a variety of genres available to me for further analysis.9

Around 4500 Buru entries were made in a Buru-English lexicon. Many of the entries include etymology, synonyms, semantic subclass, and other lexical relations yielding lengthy entries for many items.

In addition to the above materials, there are an additional 800 pages of field notes (including cultural observations), over two dozen letters (some of which are four and five pages long) from Buru speakers writing in the Buru language, and transcriptions of several

---

8 This was done with the aid of the computer program IT (Simons & Versaw 1988). A significant amount of the recording, transcribing and checking of texts was done by B.D.Grim. All of the grammatical annotation, interlinearising and translation of the data was done by C.E.Grim. 9 A sample of three texts annotated as described above is found in Appendix E.

1.3.4 Language proficiency

For the first few months, when initially learning the language we were limited to jotting down isolated words and phrases, and recording short texts about events with which we were already familiar. Ambonese Malay was sometimes used for clarification in the early stages.

During the last fifteen months of fieldwork the language of elicitation, clarification, discussion and interview was entirely in Buru. Dozens of texts of varying lengths and various genres were recorded, transcribed, glossed and checked. Interviews inquiring about significant cultural concepts and events were recorded by copious on-the-spot note-taking, and sometimes also recorded on tape. Probing certain terms for their semantic ranges and collocational networks with individuals who proved to be adept at it, greatly facilitated proficiency (exemplified in C. Grimes 1987).

Our speaking proficiency in Buru toward the end of our time on the island can be described as follows: vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar were adequate for all domains of daily social interaction; we could discuss abstract concepts in many domains regarding things both within Buru culture and in the outside world (such as the Gulf War); our vocabulary in some specialised domains was inadequate, requiring circumlocutions; some low frequency grammatical constructions were not yet internalised for full manipulation.

---

10 No recordings were made without the agreement of those involved.
Chapter Two
Previous studies of the Buru language

Various references to Buru can be found in literature written over the past several centuries (e.g. Schouten 1676; Rumphius 1697-MS; Valentijn 1724, etc.). However, the majority of the early references are of a travelogue nature containing little detail on any single topic. The sparse linguistic material that can be gleaned from this early literature is limited to isolated phrases and short word lists, which, in hindsight, were often mislabelled and unreliable. Since the latter years of the 19th century various aspects of Buru phonology and grammar have been described by individuals having varying degrees of familiarity with the language. In the following sections first the word lists, and then some of these observations on Buru phonology and grammar are discussed.

2.1 Word lists

One of the earliest word lists published containing data from Buru is by a Dutch military administrator, van Doren (1859). This government report contains an appendix with a comparative word list with data from Kayeli, Masarete, Fogi, Tomahu, Lisela, and "Alfur"1 on the island of Buru, as well as data from the languages spoken on the neighbouring islands of Ambelau, Manipa, Kelang, and Boano. A brief word list from Buru is included in P. van der Crab (1862) along with lists from other languages of central Maluku as part of a larger government report. A medical doctor E.W.A. Ludeking (1868) published a general sketch of different aspects of the flora, fauna, geography and demography of central Maluku which included a list of medical terms, plants, animals, etc. from Buru labelled "Kayeli" for comparison with data from other languages of central Maluku. The naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1869) gives three 117-item lists from Buru labelled Massaratty (i.e. Masarete), Wayapo (Wae Sama?) and Cajeli (Kayeli). The data in Wallace's lists actually come from a mixture of speech communities and cannot be taken at face value, which is understandable considering he spent the bulk of his time on Buru in the Kayeli area, a multiethnic, multilingual community heavily populated by outsiders [see Chapters §3 & §4]. The missionary J.H.W. van der Miesen (1902) wrote a short sketch about the people of Buru and their livelihood, and included a one-page Waisama-Masarete-Dutch word list at the end. In a

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1A term commonly used in the Dutch-era literature on the region to refer to any 'backward' indigenous people of the hinterland.

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four-page article describing the geography, economy, and social organisation of people of the nearby island of Ambelau, van der Miesen (1911) included a comparative Buru-Ambelau word list.

Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, K.F. Holle circulated word lists of around 1000 items to be filled in by government officials, missionaries and teachers throughout the Netherlands Indies in an effort to and archive data from the numerous and diverse languages found in the archipelago. The first edition of the blank list was published in 1894, with subsequent revisions appearing in 1904 and 1931. The resulting data, only recently edited by W.A.L. Stokhof, is published by Pacific Linguistics. Stokhof (1982, 1987) contain Holle lists related to Buru which must be evaluated on a list-by-list and item-by-item basis as they contain numerous errors in labelling, elicitation, transcription and general reliability. I give only a brief critique here, taking into account the linguistic history and linguistic geography of the area discussed in Chapters §3 and §4.2

a) Holle List 16, Ambon: (Stokhof 1982:3ff.) is labelled as "Masarete, Ambon". The list is of the Buru language and is mostly the Masarete dialect. It was filled out by an Ambonese civil servant between 1894-95. The note that a diacesis over a vowel indicates a preceding glottal stop is only occasionally correct.3 Geminate vowels are indicated only sporadically. Consonant clusters are often split (e.g. mahana [sic] for emhana 'male'), probably reflecting a bias toward syllable patterns to which the civil servant was accustomed from elsewhere. The list contains circumlocutions for several items for which a perfectly good Buru lexeme exists.4 In spite of such shortcomings this is one of the better lists.

b) Holle List 55c, Buru: (Stokhof 1982:35ff.) was completed by the year 1896 and is described as "the language spoken by the Alfuru from Kayeli, Licella, Tagalisa and Lillali: Buru". It is extremely unreliable and represents primarily the Lisela dialect of the Buru language, not the Kayeli language. The apostrophe in the list is used inconsistently and only occasionally represents a glottal that might be uttered between words in slow speech. Other diacritics, such as acute and grave accents, are used inconsistently.

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2I am evaluating these lists on the basis of what is spoken now, supplemented by data from Hendrika (1897) and Schutt (various) that were contemporary with the Holle lists. Thus, while it is possible that what is spoken now is significantly different from the speech varieties represented in the lists, the absence of other corroborating evidence makes it unlikely.
3Where it is correct it actually represents a word break (e.g. Maepsea [sic] -> Maepsea 'let's sit'). The word break would only have a glottal in very slow speech.
4This may be motivated by lexical taboos [§4.4] on the part of an informant, or simply by lack of fluency on the part of the person filling out the word list.
c) **Holle List 81, Ambon:** (Stokhof 1982:19ff.) is labelled "Masarete: Ambon". The list represents a variety of the Masarete dialect of the Buru language. It was filled out by a 'missionary-teacher' by the year 1904. Diacritics should be ignored by anyone attempting to process the data. Many of the kin terms are incorrect.\(^5\) While problematic, this list along with list 16 are the most reliable of the Holle lists related to Buru.

d) **Holle List 55b, Hukumina:** (Stokhof 1982:63ff.) is labelled "Hukumina, Buru". The list appeared by 1896. It is unclear from the labelling whether the list is from the region of Hukumina on the northwest tip of Buru where the language was formerly spoken, or from the town of Hukumina in eastern Buru [see Chapters §3 and §4]. The data in the list are a mixture of the Kayeli language, the Lisela dialect of the Buru language, and the Hukumina language. Such a mixture indicates it was probably elicited around the multilingual village of Masarete in the district of Kayeli, or in the no-longer existing village of Hukumina near the village of Kayeli in eastern Buru.

e) **Holle List 55a, Kayeli:** (Stokhof 1982:77ff.) is labelled "Kayeli, Buru". The list appeared by 1856. The data in the list are a mixture of the Kayeli language, the Wae Sama and Lisela dialects of Buru, and Malay. Diacritics should be ignored by anyone attempting to process data from this list.

A Dutch government administrator, H.J. Jansen (1933) published a 100-item word list of Lisela and Li Garan as part of a broader report on northern and eastern Buru. That work remains one of the few published sketches of the Li Garan taboo register [§4.6].

C. Grimes & W. Lesnussa (in press) present an 1100-item glossary of Buru with detailed annotations for comparison with similar data from other Austronesian languages.

### 2.2 Previous notes on Buru grammar, phonology and texts

A government administrator on Buru from 1870-1873, E.J. Jellesma (1875) published a 27-page word list which included six pages of grammatical notes on the language of the "Alfoeren" of Buru Island. His study focused on the speech varieties found in eastern Buru [see Chapter §4], and was used as a source by Jonker (1906) and Stresemann (1927).

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\(^5\) For example, the list gives ope anat [sic] for ope 'grandchild', and anatine emaanen [sic] for tie-emaanen 'daughter-in-law'. The forms given in the word list are ungrammatical for all Buru dialects and seem to reflect a non-native speaker's perceptions of underlying forms and lexical combinations.
After nine years of residence on the south coast of Buru as a missionary with the Uniechtse Zendingsvereniging [UZV], H. Hendriks (1897) published a Masarete-Dutch, Dutch-Masarete glossary supplemented by a sketch of the phonology and grammar. His work remains one of the few grammar sketches of one of the numerous and diverse languages in eastern Indonesia. Some entries, such as emkehal 'magic, sorcery' or paha fatan 'beating the body (related to burial practices)', contain extensive cultural annotations and short Buru texts. Hendriks' study is Eurocentric in its grammatical framework (e.g. forcing reflexive pronouns into phrases that are extremely unnatural for Buru, p. 22) and semantics (e.g. giving Buru constructions for male and female papaya when there is no such emic Buru distinction, p. 8), and often misleading (e.g. handling of vowels, §§5.1.2). Despite these and several other errors (e.g. collocating 3s pronominal proclitics with 1s and 2s free pronouns, p. 20), Hendriks' study is nevertheless impressive. His work is still the most significant publication on the Buru language and was used as a source by Jonker (1906), Brandstetter (1916), Dempwolff (1924-25) and Stresemann (1927) for comparative studies.6

Trap (1904) published a translation of the Gospel of Matthew.7 The translation is highly literal and consistently ungrammatical, but is occasionally useful as a source of archaic and obscure Buru terms. Buru people to whom I have shown a copy react strongly against the slavish insistence on giving the expanded form of a word when the elicitised form is warranted. Their reaction affirms that there is some sort of 'psychological reality' to the patterns of elicitisation described in §5.4.3.

Schut was a UZV missionary on Buru from 1906-1915 who resided primarily in Tifu on the south coast. He published numerous articles on Buru (1908a,b, 1909a,b, 1910a,b, 1915, 1917a,b,c,d, 1918, 1919a,b, 1919-20, 1920, 1921, 1923). Most of the articles deal with social organisation, and cultural beliefs and practices. One of his articles on marriage practices (1918) was the source for Stresemann's (1927) 'Tifu' variety of Buru as well as van Wouden's (1935) discussion of Buru marriage practices in relation to other marriage patterns found in eastern Indonesia. All of Schut's articles contain Buru words and phrases, some with full Buru texts. In 1919a Schut published another Buru text with the primary intent of saying something about the language. In addition to the text and Dutch translation, he gives

6Other than his recording of vocabulary items that are now considered archaic or are no longer known, it is difficult to assess from Hendriks' work how the language has changed in 90 years. He does not give the elicitised surface forms §§5.4.3], only the underlying forms or his perception of them. Thus, for example, where one would expect to find the irrealis mood marker te, Hendriks consistently writes leha, which is a verb meaning 'request, reciprocate'. In considering the grammaticalisation of the modal system one does not know if there was actual evidence during Hendriks' contact with the language to associate te with leha, or if he merely assumed the connection, pressed to do so by his pattern of avoiding the shorter elicitised forms.

7Although I have found copies in a few specialised university libraries overseas, I have been unable to find a single copy of this work on Buru among the people for whom it was intended.
extensive comments on the semantics of individual terms and sporadic notes on the grammar. In the same article he also addressed issues of language use and language contact. Schut's work is generally of very high quality. Occasionally he misunderstands a concept (such as his characterisation of mara as a fragmentation of a noro 'kin group' - followed by van Wouden, rather than as an ego's mother's natal noro (cf. B.D.Grimes 1990a)). But on the whole, Schut should be seen as a missionary-scholar of excellence with broad interests.

Pieters, an UZV missionary resident in the mountain village of Wae Katin, published a collection of riddles (1922) with translations and annotations. Unfortunately, many of the riddles deal with content that are foreign to Buru culture and are most likely translated from Dutch or Ambonese into Buru.8

In 1533-34 the Dutch anthropologist J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong spent several months on Buru, primarily around Lake Rana in the centre of the island. Although he collected extensive field notes, the only thing published from that field work is a short study (1941) comparing Buru and Wetan (southwest Maluku) poetry. The inga fuka ('voice of the island/mountain' - a type of traditional sung ballad) reproduced in the article are good representations of the genre and give a glimpse of one aspect of Buru ritual language. Though not without error, the translations are impressive, considering the short amount of time he spent on the island.

J. Tetelepta et al. (1983) produced a sketch of the Wae Sama dialect of Buru, with Malay-centric notes on the phonology and morphology.

An American missionary who lived in various parts of Buru in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ch. Devin, compiled an unpublished dictionary (1986-MS) with accompanying grammar notes.9 Devin's knowledge of the language is impressive, but his attempts to describe the language are not without pitfalls. Most Buru people familiar with Devin's manuscripts are uncomfortable with his choice of orthography (particularly the choice of q for the phoneme /ŋ/), and x for the glottal archiphone (?)). In his dictionary, bound roots commonly appear as independent head words listed as separate entries from the affixed forms. Dialect differences and loans are not indicated, and geminate vowels and some types of

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8 For example, one riddle asks about "what goes tick-tock and tells time?"
9 Blust cites a 1969 manuscript of Devin's dictionary as the source of his Buru data for some of his "Etymologies". Collins (1983) cites a 1978 version of Devin's manuscript. Devin has kindly given me copies of his 1984 and 1986 versions.
Prepenultimate information are noted only occasionally. Devlin's dictionary has not been used in this study, but the grammar sketch is given occasional comment.

B.D. Grimes has written several papers dealing with Buru language and society. One (1990a) comprehensively describes Buru kinship and social structure and treats both the semantics and pragmatics of Buru kin terms. Another (in press) discusses ethnolinguistic vitality, language maintenance and language shift on Buru and other islands of central Maluku. A third paper (1990c) explores Buru concepts of origins and precedence among kin groups. She also has used Buru data to exemplify calquing patterns in exploring the development and use of Ambonese Malay by showing parallels with languages of central Maluku (1991a,b).

Works on the Buru language by the present author include an exploration of the loss of historical final consonants and a brief sketch of the morphological, syntactic and discourse functions of the final consonant enclitics that subsequently appear on the end of lexical roots (C. Grimes 1991a), and a brief sketch of the phonology and morphology of Buru (C. Grimes, in press). C. Grimes & K. Maryott (in press) includes a linguistic and sociolinguistic description of Li Garan, the taboo register of northwest Buru [summarised in §4.6].

Prior to this study, Buru was already one of the better known of the numerous, but barely described languages of eastern Indonesia.

This present study is broad-ranging, covering issues of typology, phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse, sociolinguistics, history and comparative studies. Several developments of grammatical subsystems are explored, including the ongoing shift in the function of the pronominal system from a split-S system toward a switch-reference system; the collapse of the inflected genitive system to the third singular form; grammaticisation of the pre-verbal tense-aspect-mood system; and the grammaticisation of the post-verbal auxiliary system. Issues of current interest in the discipline, such as complementation, incorporation, and relativisation are also described.

10 These practices have occasionally misled Blust, for example, to cite incorrect Buru data as supporting evidence for lexical reconstructions. For example, Blust (1983-84a:75) lists Buru lawit [sic:antepenultimate syllable not indicated] as supporting a reconstruction for *lawit 'hook'. The correct Buru form is *lawit [c’lawit] 'spear or harpoon with a single large barb', indicating it is from *kalawit 'hook' (cf. Blust 1983-84a:63), rather than *lawit. Elsewhere Blust (1980a:87) notes Buru kawan [sic:geminate vowel sequence not indicated] as a reflex of *kawayan 'spiny bamboo'. The correct Buru form, kawan is the expected form through loss of *y.

11 The total number of Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) languages (to which Buru is purported to belong genetically) is estimated to be 150 (cf. Grimes, Grimes, Ross, Grimes and Tryon, in press). Modern grammars available of CMP languages that I am aware of are on Savu (Walker 1982), Selaru (Coward 1990), and South Nuaulu (Bolton 1990). There is also a recent phonology of Fordisi (Marshall 1991). A handful of recent grammatical sketches are found written between 1880 and the 1940s.
Chapter Three

The geographical and historical setting

This chapter provides the setting for the description which follows in later chapters, by placing the language and its speakers within their geographic, historical, and cultural contexts. The information given here provides the background for understanding such things as lexical borrowing and other kinds of contact-induced language change on the island, differences in ethnolinguistic vitality between the various Buru dialect communities, and how the language reflects the culture and history of its speakers.

3.1 Geographical profile

Buru is a relatively large island (9,800 km²) in the eastern Indonesian province of Maluku. It is mountainous, with the highest peak (Kak.Pala Madot) rising to 2735 metres in the uninhabited northwest part of the island. The highest villages (Fakal and Banu Lalet) sit above 1400 metres in elevation.

Buru is the last in a long chain of islands known as the Sunda-Banda arc stretching from Sumatra through Java and Timor curling back through Seram, and ending at Buru. Buru lies on the outer chain of this arc which is made up of "uplifted marine sediments without active volcanoes" (cf. Bellwood 1985:4,5). The island sits between the tectonic plate of insular and peninsular southeast Asia (known as 'Sunda'), and the tectonic plate associated with Australia and New Guinea (known as 'Sahul'), each plate with its own associated flora and fauna.1 This transitional zone between the two continental shelves is known as 'Wallacea', after the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1869), and encompasses most of the islands between Sulawesi and Irian Jaya. Bellwood (1985:8) observes:

Wallacea has evolved as a zone of enormous crustal instability, and now exists as a number of islands separated by deep ocean basins...the whole formed by rapid processes of uplift and downfaulting. This area has never formed a continuous land bridge between Asia and Australia, and all faunal, floral and human dispersals through it must have involved water crossings....The islands of Wallacea rise from the continuous undersea ridges of the region, and the rate of uplift has been very rapid in places.

1Blust (1982) has noted some possible implications for the subgrouping of Austronesian languages from terms for flora and fauna in languages east and west of the Wallace Line.
Map 2: Buru in the province of Maluku in eastern Indonesia

The geological processes which formed the island have influenced not only the topography of the island, but also the worldview and language of its inhabitants. Buru origin stories describe the formation of *wa.haa-r* paa 'four big/imporant rivers'. The first river to begin flowing was *Wa.Kaboe Murky River* which is called *Wae Apo 'Lime/Chalk River'* in its lower reaches. This was followed by the *Wa.Mala 'Turquoise River',* the *Wa.Tina 'Main/Matrix River'* (also known as *Ham.eta*), and finally the *Wa.Nibe River* which drains the lake at the centre of the island at the north coast. The lake itself is referred to as either *rana 'lake'* (PMP *danaw 'lake'*) or as *Wae.Kolo.* According to Buru traditions, as water from these rivers flowed downstream, the original moyang 'ancestor' of the various

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2 For historical reconstructions I generally follow Blust's notational conventions, but draw reconstructed forms from a wide range of sources (see Bibliography). For typographical convenience, the velar nasal eng is written as a digraph [ŋj] in reconstructions as well as in Buru data.
3 Kolo is a term referring to something that is tucked just out of sight with something blocking the view. In this case it refers to the view from many parts of the island where one can identify the particular ring of mountains in the middle of which the lake sits hidden from sight. The spelling of 'Wae Koholo' found in much of the earlier literature is erroneous.
autochthonous noro 'kin groups' (cf. B.D. Grimes 1990a, c) appeared at the olo-n 'head(waters)' (PAN *qulu), sanga-n 'fork' (PAN *sanga) or neinge-n 'mouth (of river)' (PMP *binanga 'river') of successive streams. The river systems thus reflect the precedence of the origin of each noro by the location of its tea-n ele-n 'place of (original) residence'.

Map 3: The four culturally prominent river systems

The topography and direction of water drainage are reflected in the relative system of spatial deixis which pervades the language [Chapter §10]. The metaphor of mano 'flowing with the current' (PAN *ma-qañid) plays a prominent role in songs, in folklore, and in everyday life. The ridges dividing the watersheds of the major river systems are described anthropomorphically as fuk.Buru kaku-n rohi-n 'the backbone of Buru Island'.

The island shows evidence of rapid geological uplift along the southern coast, with fogo 'shattered uplifted coral and marine limestone' thrusting up out of the sea as these 'cliffs'. The fogo forms the core of a band of jagged mountains reaching above 1600 metres in elevation along the southern coast ranging from 15-45 kilometres inland. Any but the most token of swidden agriculture of tubers in the area of fogo is difficult. Beyond the band of fogo, pala 'rice' (PAN *pajey) and futen 'fox-tail millet' (PAN *beCeng) are grown in addition to tubers. The fogo makes foot travel treacherous not only from cuts on the sharp rocks, but also from libu 'sinkholes'.
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The terrain of the island as a whole and the cliffs on the south coast have been a significant barrier to outside intrusion. Epkitan4 'fighting champions with spiritual powers' guarded the coastline from high vantage points from which they would descend and attack any parties that landed their boats in one of the isolated leku 'inlets' or nama 'bay' (PMP *le(ng)kung 'curved, bent'; *namaw 'sheltered bay'). Stories are told of epkitan who attacked geba lano (raiding parties variously associated with Seram, 'papua' or 'Ternate'). The combination of terrain and the epkitan discouraged any large settlements of outsiders along the south coast. In the late 1800s the Dutch established a way-station at the sheltered inlet of Tifu (tifu means 'lake, or body of standing water') for ships travelling between Ambon and Makassar (in Sulawesi).6

In contrast to the cliffs on the south coast, the north coast of Buru has a flat coastal plain ranging from 5-10 kilometres inland which rise into foothills of fude 'mountains composed of soil'. Favourable anchorages and land available for tilling attracted continuing migrations from the Sula Islands to the north and the Buton area off southeast Sulawesi. The Sultan of Ternate sent his emissary Fakiri to establish himself at Tomahu in northwest Buru where he was 'governor' from 1618 to around 1650. Fakiri was followed by Hisi, a second Ternatan 'governor' of Buru from 1650-1658 (van Fraassen 1987, Vol.2:83,86). With the Ternatan, Sula, and Buton settlers came Islam, but neither the settlers nor their religion have penetrated beyond the coastal plain to this day.7

One other non-mountainous region of significance on the island is the flat swampy lower river valley of the Wae Apo. The area is slowly being converted for wet rice cultivation, first by political prisoners following the attempted coup in Java in 1965 and subsequently by more than 20,000 (predominantly) Javanese transmigrants involved in government programs to alleviate the crowding on Java.

Bellwood (1985:9-11) describes a band of areas along the equator which "tend to have a double wet season because the [Intertropical] front passes over them twice in each year." In south Buru, the weather and various activities revolve around two wet seasons. Heavy rains

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4 An indigenised form of the Malay kapitan 'fighting champion' from the Portuguese capitão 'ship's captain'.
5 The term lano may be associated with the non-AN Ternate term kelano which refers to a political position in societies of north Maluku (Andaya 1990), or it may refer to Seram which is often referred to in central Moluccan languages as kelano.
6 Tifu is the only cove along the southern coast of Buru that provides shelter in both the east and the west monsoons. The land around it, however, is unable to support any significant population, so the administrative and transportation centre was eventually moved to Leksula, where it remains.
7 Some of my informants among the Sula and Buton communities trace back their original migrations to Buru 10-15 generations, which would place their arrival on Buru during the approximate reign of the Ternatan governors.
are associated with ful.timo 'east season' (PAN *bulan 'moon'; *timuR 'east') from around mid-May through mid-September. During particularly heavy ful.timo the flowers of the elodi 'mahoganies of the genus Shorea' fatten the fafu 'pig' (PAN *babuy), tonal 'marsupial of the genus Phalanger', and wadun/minjangan/bijangan 'deer'.

Groups of 2-6 men will rogo mua 'enter the jungle' during such seasons to hunt for 3-5 months following a strict code of behaviour. An impressive system of wildlife management has developed in which men will sihi nete-n 'set a place off limits for hunting' for 2-7 years and then fuka nete-n 'open the place' (PAN *bu(ng)kas 'open, unveil') during the chosen ful.timo and harvest hundreds of marsupial cuscus and dozens of pigs for smoking in their hum.tapa 'hunting lodge for smoking or curing meat' (PAN *Rumaq 'house'; *Capaw 'to smoke meat or fish').

Heavy waves, strong angin 'winds' (PAN *angin) and some rain are associated with the second rainy season in south Buru, ful.fahat 'west season' (PAN *SabaRat) from mid-November through February. The lower Wae Apo river valley and north-east Buru follow the seasonal pattern of north Maluku, which is opposite to that of both south Buru and the provincial capital in Ambon.

Names associated with general territories and dialect names involve geographical terms. For example rete, in Masarete, the region of south-central Buru, is the Lisela dialect term for 'up, upward, high(land)'. Lisela itself means 'the language spoken upstream/up the coast', from seta 'upstream', and it criticised from il-te 'language/sound from throat' (cf. PAN *liqR 'neck'; PCEMP *liqR 'voice'). Rana (PMP *danaw 'lake'), as mentioned above, is the region associated with the big lake in the centre of the island. Wae Sama means 'the river(s) divided off' referring to the south-east part of the island separated off from the four main river systems.

In Buru a distinction is often made between geb.fuka 'mountain/island people' and geb.masi 'coastal/sea people' (PMP *ma-qasin 'salty'). Geb.fuka typically hold to traditional Buru values and ways of life and speak the vernacular Buru language as their primary means of daily communication. Geb.fuka are conscious that they know very little about the sea and recognise that their own expertise is in the jungle and mountains. Geb.fuka are indigenous to Buru, while geb.masi may be either Buru people or immigrants such as geb.Sula from Sula,

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8The latter two are loans and the first comes from taboeing. Each term is associated with localised areas (not dialects).
9It is, perhaps, unusual for such a large and rugged island to be completely dominated by a single language with a variety of dialects, but the picture is far more complex, as is detailed in Chapter §4.
10Buru has two homophones same 'same' and same 'different'. Same 'same' is a loan via Malay, probably from Sanskrit. Same 'different' also shows up in such constructions as ep-same-k 'divide s.t. up into portions and distribute it' and me ep-same-n 'let's divide (i.e. go our separate ways)'.

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geb.Binongko from 'Buton', or geb.fuk.Abon from Ambon, Lease or Seram. Geba Jawa-ro 'Javanese' do not seem to be included in the category of geb.masi but are categorised as geb.man.lau tau-n 'person whose affiliation flows from (far) seaward'. Geba.masi live on the coast, depend more on fish than on protein sources from the jungle, have assimilated many of the greater coastal Malay values, may or may not have shifted to the Malay language, and have taken on an outside religion becoming a geba slave 'Muslim' or geba slave 'Christian'.

Thus, the geography of Buru is significant to the language, and hence to this study, in numerous ways. The linguistic system of spatial and temporal deixis is directly linked to the island's rivers, streams and mountains. Buru concepts of kin group origins and precedence among kin groups are framed in terms of headwaters and successive points along the downstream flow of a river. Geography has also significantly affected patterns of language contact, maintenance and shift, as described in §3.2 and in Chapter §4.

3.2 Historical influences of linguistic significance

The discussion of historical influences presented here is restricted primarily to explaining factors that have affected or continue to affect language variation, language use, and language contact.

3.2.1 Traditional Buru society

The interior of Buru has scattered hum.loli-n 'hamlets (lit. house circle)' consisting of 2-20 huma 'houses' (PAN *Rumaj, and a few larger villages of up to 60 houses. People live primarily in the territory of the noro 'kin group' to which they are affiliated, and with permission may hunt or visit for extended periods of time in other territories to which they have ties, such as those of their mara 'mother's natal noro' or their halan 'mother's mother's natal noro' (see also B.D.Grimes 1990a). Within the territory of their own noro people have access to the spiritual power and protection afforded by their ancestors. Because power is tied to place, beyond their own territories such things are not as readily accessible. Leadership in the noro tended to be collective in the geba emua-t-o 'elders' (cf. PAN *ma-tuqaS 'old'), rather than in a single individual, although an individual recognised as gifted in a

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11 Those Buru people who are proficient at catching fish in the ocean, other than from tidal pools, acknowledge learning their skills from immigrant groups such as the Butonese.
12 Schut (1918) and subsequently van Wouden's (1968 (original 1935)) description of mara as a kin group fragmentation is incorrect.
certain area could be toke 'selected, indicated, appointed' by the elders to exercise those skills for the benefit of the whole.  

Hum.loli-n of any given noro continuously make alliances with hum.loli-n of other noro through marriage while also settling disputes through epta raet 'negotiate through litigation', and traditionally through kalungan 'revenge killing'. The territorial nature of the noro, with power tied to place, and the risk involved in going beyond that territory, fostered a pattern in which marriage alliances tended to be primarily with immediately neighbouring noro which were prototypically also one's mara or halan. The system of marriage alliances on Buru is symmetric, often involving mhuka ep-tukar 'sister exchange'. Furthermore, because a man, as a mem.lahi-n 'mother's brother' has certain obligations to his ana-newe-t 'sister's children', repeated and long-term contact and communication between intermarrying noro was assured.

Patterns of contact with the outside world were also a result of one's noro affiliation and its geographical orientation. Many items required in bridewealth exchange such as brass gongs, machetes, wash basins or cloth, have to be purchased from traders sailing along the coast. This often requires considerable travel. For example, if one belongs to a noro whose territory is in the upper reaches of the Wa Mala river system, one would tend to go to the coast through the territories of other noro with which one has marriage ties. Traditionally it was necessary to get permission to travel through their territory to the mouth of the river (sometimes by due-n 'raft') to wait for a waga 'boat' (PMP *wangkang) of a geb.ka-leli 'trader (lit. person who habitually exchanges)'). Along the south and west coasts contact was made primarily with traders from the Buton area from southeast Sulawesi. Along the east and north coasts contact was established with not only traders from Buton, but also Java, Malay traders, 'Makassar' (cf. van Fraassen 1983:17), 'Ternate', and after the 16th century, occasionally with Europeans, all on the periphery of the spice trade.

Politically and linguistically these patterns of inter-noro contact meant that because of their geographical relationship to one another, certain groups of noro tended to loosely cluster together in repeated alliances through marriage, and have little contact, or contact only through fighting, with noro of other loose clusters. Establishing a marriage on Buru may take several years involving periodic, intense and lengthy negotiations (see B.D.Grimes 1990a).

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13 These include skills in fighting, negotiating, maintaining oral history, group leadership in a specific task, intervening with the spirits or the ancestors, and so forth.
14 Makassar and Ternate are in single quotes because they are used as generic terms for a whole region. Although oral history only talks about Makassar and Ternate, the historical record and place names indicate additional contact from the Bugis and Mandar areas in Sulawesi, and from the non-AN language areas of Tobelo and Galela in north-Halmahera in addition to Ternate.
There was thus repeated and long-term (over several generations) communication with certain noro, and simultaneously a lack of contact with other noro, and a lack of knowledge about noro from other regions of the island. Such isolation was linguistic as well as social.

Thus different regions of interior Buru tended to be linguistically isolated from other areas and the patterns of language contact with the outside world were different for different parts of the island.

3.2.2 The impact of the spice trade on coastal Buru

While Buru is located in the region of what have been called the Spice Islands, Buru was historically on the periphery of the spice trade and its associated power struggles. Cloves (*Eugenia* caryophyllata) are native to Ternate and the islands off the west coast of Halmahera. Nutmeg and mace (*Myristica fragrans*) are native to the Banda Islands 300 km. east-southeast of Buru. Both before and after European contact, two main trade routes developed from peninsular southeast Asia to the source of the spices.\(^{15}\) One route went over the top of Borneo and Sulawesi to Ternate. The second went along Sumatra, Java, Flores, Timor, and cut up to Ambon (cf. Villiers 1981, van Fraasen 1983, 1987). Both of these routes missed Buru. The link between Ternate and Ambon likewise by-passed Buru.

Map 4: The Indonesian archipelago

As Ternate and other areas grew increasingly resistant to European involvement in the spice trade, Islam became a unifying focus for resistance (van Fraasen 1983). By the early 1600s most places that afforded favourable anchorages along the Buru coastline had small

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\(^{15}\)At the height of the early spice trade, one of the main centres was Malaka (known in the earlier literature as 'Malacca', founded in 1401), in the straits between Sumatra and peninsular Malaysia.
settlements of people adhering to Islam, settled mostly by immigrants from other parts of the archipelago, most notably from Buton, Sula and Makassar and not by people indigenous to Buru.

In the 1600s, the Sultan of Ternate, through his 'governors' on Buru had set up the position of four Mat.gugul\(^1\) who were responsible to extract enati- 'tribute (lit. 'that which is set down')' from the populace on behalf of the Sultan. The notion of power, authority and decision-making being concentrated in a single individual rather than in a group of elders was a concept foreign to Buru culture.\(^2\) Thus the geb.tuka or interior population of Buru were left almost untouched by Ternate, while the geb.masu or coastal populations who were mostly not indigenous to Buru became involved on the periphery of Ternate's struggle with European powers over the spice trade.

When the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie\(^3\) [VOC] succeeded in taking over the Portuguese position, they sought to establish a monopoly in the spice trade, engaging in a series of military actions to bring various areas under their control. The demise of the Ternatan power structure through the 'Hoamoal wars' on Seram and the escalation of Dutch power is described by van Fraassen (1983:17):

The war ignited by the 1651 rebellion [against the Dutch] continued until 1656. The rebels received Macassarese support, and the war was in no way restricted to Hoamoal [west Seram]. Arnold de Vlaminch van Oudtshoorn, the Dutch commander-in-chief in this war, was also launching attacks on the VOC's opponents elsewhere, among other places in Buru and east Seram. ... The Ambonese region was formally removed from Ternatan control and the institution of the Ternatan governorship was abolished. Hoamoal, ... was completely depopulated. ... The chiefs of Hoamoal had a place of residence assigned to them in Batu Menah, in the vicinity of the VOC's chief fortress in Ambon. The population of the islands of Boano, Kelang and Ambelau was transferred to the island of Manipa, where the Company had a small fort. All the Muslim chiefs of the coastal areas of Buru were obliged to settle in the neighbourhood of the Company's fort at Kayeli. ... The evacuated areas were systematically destroyed and rendered unfit for reoccupation. Contracts were concluded with the chiefs of Buru and North and East Seram in which the latter conceded themselves to be subordinate to the VOC; promised to entertain no relations with other nations or rulers, to keep out all Macassarese, Malays, and Javanese. [Emphasis mine].

The above event had a significant effect on language use on Buru. The Dutch gathered twelve hostage-puppets around them at the fort at Kayeli on the southern shore of Namlea bay. These are still referred to in Kayeli as the "12 Raja Pattí" or the "12 Latu Pattí" ('12 king-

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\(^{1}\)gugul is a Ternate loan associated with the position of a ruler (Andaya 1990).

\(^{2}\)Similarly, most positions of authority found in an individual on Buru are traceable to Ternate, the Dutch, or the Indonesian political structures. Thus, not only Matgugul, but also Porwisi, Portelo, Rejo, Kawasan, Emrioma, Kepala Kampung, are all outside terms and concepts.

\(^{3}\)The Dutch East India Trading Company.

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leaders'). Each raja or latu set up his own village, his own mosque, wells, etc, for the a community of people from his own area speaking whatever variety of speech was distinct to their area. Six of these mosque-villages were clustered west of the Kayeli river, including Kayeli, Lisela, Tagalisa, and Fogi. Six others were clustered on the east side of the Lumaiti river two kilometres away, including Masarete, Hukumina, Lumaiti, and Palumata. The Dutch fort was in the middle, between the two rivers along with a Kampung Cina (Chinese Village) and a village called Kayeli Kristen (Christian Kayeli). Willer (1858:138) lists additional villages in the area in 1847 as Wae Sama, Marulat, Leleisi and Tomahu. In the early 20th century the Dutch government, the Chinese, and the Christian village moved out of the swamp at Kayeli to a dry area across the bay which became the present-day government centre of Namlea. By the time of a detailed Dutch map in 1915, the two groupings of six villages had consolidated into just two villages -- Masarete and Kayeli.

Thus, from the mid-1600's until early in the 1900s, the focus of Dutch contact on Buru was concentrated around the fort at Kayeli. The community surrounding the fort was a complex microcosm of the 12 Muslim chiefs with their associated speech varieties and social structures (most of whom were not native to Buru) plus mercenaries and government officials from Ambon, Seram, and other parts of the archipelago. While the Kayeli people continued to use the Kayeli language for things associated with their own cultural and political domains, the language of this multi-ethnic multi-lingual community around the fort eventually became Malay. It was from this community around the Dutch fort at Kayeli that most of the published word lists labelled 'Buru' were collected in the past [§2.1]. This serves as a partial explanation for the utter confusion and language mixing found in most of these word lists. However, most of the activity associated with Kayeli had very little impact on the interior population of Buru.

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19The written record uses Tomate and Malay titles for the "chiefs" clustered around the fort at Kayeli. Willer (1858:138) lists a wème for Lumaece; raja for Kayeli, Lisela, Tagalisa and Leleisi; pati for Marulat, Hukumina and Foghi; orang kay for Wae Sama, Palamata and Masarete; and an orang tua for Tomahu.
20At the time of this writing, the village of Kayeli is using the Lisela mosque (the Kayeli mosque being in ruins) and the locations of the former villages of Tagalisa and Foghi are still known. The village of Masarete stands seaward from the site of the former village of Hukumina whose foundations are still to be found hidden underwater in a nearby sago swamp. Remnants of the inhabitants of the extinct villages are still identifiable by their kin group affiliations. And some of the older people still remember bits and pieces of the different speech varieties as either first language or second language speakers. Details of the language picture are presented in Chapter §4.
21Such origins are evident in the names listed in Willer (1858) and Wilken (1875).
22By this period the Malay spoken in the region had already acquired a distinct regional flavour and was significantly different from the classical Malay associated with the Sultanates of Riau and Johore on peninsular Malaysia (cf. B.D.Grimes, 1991a,b). It was this regional variety of Malay, not classical Malay that was the source of lexical borrowings from Malay.
3.2.3 The impact of the Utrecht mission

In the mid-1800s the Dutch *Indische Kerk* set up a church and associated school at Kayeli. Little came of either.

In the late 1880s the *Utrechtse Zendingvereeniging* [UZV] established a foothold along the south coast of Buru at Mepa, and later at Tifu, a few kilometres up the coast. It was at Tifu that the missionaries Hendriks and later Schut spent most of their time that resulted in numerous publications [§2.2]. The UZV worked together with the Dutch government in establishing Tifu as a government centre for the south coast. The Dutch government used forced labour to build a large stone dock at Tifu to accommodate the ships stopping between Ambon and Makassar.24

The Dutch also pressured people in parts of the interior to form organised villages and to move those villages so they would all be easily accessible from a single main trail.25 It was in these same villages that the UZV was able to establish churches and schools by the first decade of the 1900s. This included the villages of Mepa and Tifu along the coast, and Kabut (now Nusa Rua), Wa Eken, Mgeswaen, Fakal, Wae Katin, Ena Biloro (now Unet), Wa Eno (now Wae Raman) and Wae Loo progressing inland. Dutch missionaries resided in Mepa, Tifu, Mgeswaen and Wae Katin, while the other churches were staffed by Ambonese and Galela26 *guru-injil* ‘teacher-evangelists’. It is significant that most of the few Buru people considered to have “succeeded” in the outside world have come from these UZV villages.27 Even today, the proficiency in Malay, degree of education and participation with the outside world continues to be greater in these villages than in other mountain hamlets. In south Buru it is these villages that continue to maintain churches and schools, and are officially recognised, actively participating in the Indonesian governmental system.

The UZV made unsuccessful attempts to establish a foothold at Rana. A large migration occurred around the turn of the century from the lake area to Wa Poti and Wa Nibe (at the mouth of the Wae Nibe river) on the north coast, reportedly to escape the incursion of the missionaries. These communities have continued to maintain the Rana dialect of Buru and

23Utrecht Missionary Society.
24Several groups of people from Masarete kin groups fled to the north coast to avoid the forced labour. 100 years later their descendants still maintain their origin structures but have shifted to the north coast Lisel dialect and to Malaya.
25According to oral history.
26Galela is in north Halmahera (non-AN language), where the UZV also worked.
27Thus former members of the Dutch army [KNIL] currently residing in Holland who have their origins in Buru are from these villages. Most of the few Buru people who have been able to rise through the ranks of the Dutch and Indonesian civil service, education, and business also come from these villages.

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have subsequently become some of the few Christian and few indigenous Buru communities along the north coast, which is heavily populated by Muslim immigrants.

3.2.4 The impact of independence and subsequent development

Since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia after the Second World War, a number of factors have influenced the ethnolinguistic picture on Buru. Until recently, education was primarily at the initiative of the church. In the last 15 years the picture has changed such that now government schools, Islamic schools and church schools are all competing for teachers and other resources (primarily along the coast). The increase in available primary education is highly valued. As in the past, large areas of the interior, but a diminishing proportion of the total population, remain unaffected.

The structure of district government has brought a steady stream of civil servants to concentrated parts of coastal Buru (mostly from Ambon and other parts of Maluku). New requirements for those holding the positions of kepala desa 'village head' and sekretaris desa 'village secretary' to be educated to the level of secondary education fostered growing tensions. Until this requirement, traditional leaders also functioned in the official village leadership positions of the Indonesian government. As the majority of those who are part of the traditional leadership have had minimal or no formal education, the pool of those eligible to stand for official positions at the village level is including more and more outsiders.

Following the attempted coup on Java in 1965 and the upheaval that followed it across the country, Buru was selected as a repository for political prisoners. The swampy lower Wae Apo river valley was selected for the prisoners to convert into paddies suitable for wet rice cultivation. The whole of Buru island and the waters surrounding it were declared off limits for foreigners and foreign ships until recently when the remaining prisoners were declared free and the former camps converted into general transmigration areas for (mostly Javanese) transmigrants brought in to settle and cultivate the area. For much of the 70s and 80s the indigenous population from the Wae Kabo (upper Wae Apo) river system, who had for centuries been oriented downstream for their interaction with the outside world through the raja at Kayeli, began to shift their orientation to the south to the raja of Masarate. There were several migrations of Buru people away from the Wae Kabo area to the south coast. This has resulted in increased social and linguistic interaction between the two areas. The more acculturated indigenous Buru population near the transmigration area is reconciled to coexist with the Javanese and there is beginning to be intermarriage with Buru men taking Javanese wives.
Chapter Four
Sociolinguistic profile of Buru

This chapter provides a broad overview of language use and dialect variation on Buru. It covers: 1) the linguistic picture in the past, 2) immigrant languages with which Buru is in contact, 3) other languages on Buru, 4) lexical taboos, 5) dialects of the Buru language, 6) Li Garan, a special taboo 'language' on Buru, 7) languages of wider communication used on Buru, 8) internal migrations on Buru and their effect on dialect boundaries, 9) population estimates organised around speech varieties, and 10) notes on ethnolinguistic vitality and patterns of language use. A glimpse of the cultural history of Buru as reflected in its lexicon is provided in Appendix C.

4.1 The language picture in the past

Prior to the uprooting by the Dutch of the coastal communities in the mid-1600s (§3.2.2), it appears that there were probably three significant linguistic groupings on Buru. Along the eastern coastal areas was a language or dialect chain with distinct dialects of Leleiali, Kayeli, and Lumaete, with Ilat and Lumara possibly also being distinct speech varieties. This language, which I call Kayeli after the best documented and politically dominant variety, contrasted with the nuclear Buru language by, among other things: PAN *R > Kayeli /l/, Buru /h/; *p > Kayeli /l/, Buru /p/; and retention of some final consonants in Kayeli that were lost in Buru. Collins (1983) classifies Kayeli with the languages of Ambon and west Seram rather than with Buru.2 The dominant kin group in Kayeli, the Wael clan, draws origin connections to the Wael clan found in Liang on the northeast coast of Ambon.

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1I was able to collect Leleiali data on a field trip in 1983. The last speaker of Leleiali died in March 1989. Kayeli dialect data were collected in May 1989 at which time there were only 4 older speakers left who had not used the language actively for more than 3 decades and collectively could not remember many basic items. Hendriksen (1897:1) reports that Kayeli was spoken in Kayeli, Ilat and Lumara.

2I support such a classification pending further study.

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Map 5: Location of Dutch districts prior to 1847

Aior, the west coast was a language or dialect chain spoken in the former districts of Bara, Hukumina, Tomahu, and Palamata. On the basis of the linguistic evidence available to me, Hukumina phonology (both synchronic and diachronic), morphology, stress patterns and intonation contours are strikingly different from Buru, Kayeli, Sula, Ambelau, and the languages indigenous to Ambon. My assumption at this point is that Hukumina represented a colony from the greater Buton area off south-east Sulawesi. The Butonese are reknowned as seafarers and there is on-going and continuous contact between the two areas. The west coast of Buru is currently dominated by geb. Binongko ‘Butonese (from the island of Binungku in the Tukangbesi chain)’. Several long-standing communities on the northwest coast, such as those at the villages of Biloro, Pasir Putih, and Fogi, have been populated almost entirely by Butonese since before collective memory. These are located within the area in which Hukumina was probably spoken.

3I obtained Hukumina data in May 1989 from an 80-year-old woman in the village of Masarete-Kayeli in east Buru. She was the last remnant from the now defunct village of Hukumina in that area. The Hukumina list in Stokhof (1982) is a curious mixture of Hukumina, Kayeli, and the Liscia dialect of Buru indicating it was probably elicited around Kayeli ii. the east, rather than in the Hukumina area in the west. Hendriks (1897:1) lists Hukumina as spoken in “Hukumina, Palamata en Tomahu.”

4The best described languages from the Buton region are Wolio (Anceaux 1952, 1987, Anceaux & Grimes, in press) and Muna (van den Berg 1989). Several languages from the Tukangbesi island chain have never been described at all (van den Berg 1988).
Map 6: Probable language picture on Buru before 1800

Thus, instead of saying there was a Hukumina language which now has one remaining speaker, it is probably more accurate to say that since before the written record the western area of Buru has been colonised by 'Butonese' who continue to maintain regular contact with their homeland. The district of Hukumina (and Bara, Tomahu, Palamata) set up by Ternate and the Dutch for the purposes of governing, no longer exists as a political entity.

The west coast is inhabited almost exclusively by these geb.Binongko. This area provides ideal shelter for the Butonese sailing vessels plying their trade between Java and Irian Jaya. As many as 200 of these boats have been known to cluster in the area and then convoy to Java together. With the recent exception of indigenous inhabitants of central Buru who have migrated from other areas such as Rana, and those few remaining indigenous Buru people from the Fogi area who have shifted to using Malay, the west coast of Buru is devoid of indigenous inhabitants.

The Buru language was spoken on the rest of the island, dominating the former Dutch districts of Lisela, Tagalisa, interior Leliali, interior Kayeli, Wae Sama, Masarete, and Fogi. As explained in §3.2.1, the Buru language was not homogenous, but was used by groups of loosely associated noro 'kin groups' that were linguistically isolated from other clusters of loosely associated noro and had distinct patterns of language contact with the outside.

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4.2 Other immigrant languages

Immigrant groups on Buru are restricted to the coast with the exception of recent Javanese intrusions into the lower Wae Apo river valley. Where there are immigrant groups, they have either displaced, or completely dominate the indigenous Buru population. Furthermore, immigrant groups dominate every section of coastline except the formidable stretch of towering cliffs along the south from Namrole to Wae Turen where Buru people have carved out barely habitable garden plots incapable of supporting a significant population. The one flat area in that stretch is at Nalbissy (3km from Leksula), where there is a large Buton community.

Map 7: Immigrant communities on Buru

The north coast of Buru from Namlea to Bara is predominantly Muslim and is dominated by immigrants from Sula. Many of these have been on Buru ten generations or more. Most villages in this area and have a majority of Sula people who maintain their own language and do not learn the vernacular language of Buru.5

5Buru society can incorporate outsiders (such as the Mual kin group whose ancestors are said to have come from Seram). In such cases there appears to have been a combination of language shift (to Buru) as well as the adoption of Buru social organisation and the formation of a new structure (cf. B.D.Grimes 1990a, c,d). This has not occurred in the case of the Sula immigrants nor other immigrant groups discussed here.
Chapter Four: Sociolinguistic Profile

Interspersed within the Sula villages are minorities who trace their origins to Ternate, Galela (both now in the South Moluccas, non-AN languages), Bugis (used as a generic term for several groups from Sorong, West Irian), Buton, and merchants generally calling themselves "Arab". Where these immigrants do not form a cohesive cluster, they have banded together with the ethnic Buru people (who are also a minority when they live in the predominantly Sula communities) and many of them have learned to speak a variety of the Buru language.

The south coast consists of Buru villages interspersed with several Buton villages. A few villages include people from the island of "Kisar" in the southwestern part of Maluku near Timor. Where these immigrants are minorities within a larger Buru community they have learned the Buru language.

The lower Wae Apo river valley in northeast Buru is an ethno-linguistic checkerboard. There is a large Bugis village at the mouth of the Wae Apo river entering the bay. Interspersed between the various Javanese transmigration units in the area are villages of indigenous Buru inhabitants whose noro traditionally "belong" in the area, plus other indigenous Buru inhabitants who have migrated from the Masarete area since World War II to seek their fortune distilling gelan (kayuputih oil from the leaves of Maleleuca shrubs).

4.3 Kayeli and Ambelau

This section presents a brief orientation to two neighbouring languages with which Buru has had contact resulting in mutual lexical borrowing: Kayeli and Ambelau.

4.3.1 Kayeli (Cajeli, Gaéli)

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Kayeli language was formerly spoken around Namlea Bay in northeast Buru and along the coast as far as the Samalagi river. There were at least three varieties of Kayeli: Leliali, Kayeli, and Lumaete. Except for the four remaining speakers of the Kayeli language, indigenous Buru people in this area have shifted to Malay and the Lisela dialect of Buru. Children from the raja's family of Kayeli continue to marry children from the raja's family of Leliali in cross-cousin marriage as they have for several generations. This, and several other factors indicate that the notion of a Kayeli ethnic group remains intact despite language shift and language death.
4.3.1.1 Kayeli dialect of the Kayeli language

The Kayeli dialect of Kayeli was spoken around the southern region of Namlea bay in the villages of Kayeli and Masarete, and in Namlea and Namete on the north coast of Namlea bay where villages of Kampung Cina and Kayeli Kristen moved after the turn of the century.

In 1989, the four remaining speakers of this dialect lived in the villages of Kayeli and Masarete and were all over 60 years old. Several people over 35 years of age knew isolated words and phrases of Kayeli, but none of them controlled the language in any single speech domain. As the four remaining speakers of the language do not use it among themselves, the language is best characterised as nearly extinct, or functionally extinct.6

Two "Kayeli" word lists are given in the Holle lists (Stokhof 1982) both dated 1896. The data in the list labelled 55c is actually the Lisela dialect of Buru and it is described as "the language spoken by the Alfuru from Kayeli, Licelle, Tagalisa and Liliali", the areas in which Li Enyorot (the Lisela dialect) was spoken. The list labelled 55a is a Kayeli word list. Wallace's (1869) 'Cajeli' word list is indeed the Kayeli language [§2.1].

4.3.1.2 Leliali (Liliali) dialect of the Kayeli language

I was able to elicit a 205-item Leliali word list from an 81 year old speaker on a field trip in 1983. He died two months later. On a return trip in May 1989 I was told that the last speaker, a woman who was actually born in Kayeli, had died in March 1989, two months prior to my visit. The word list collected in 1983 is sufficient to confirm that Leliali was a dialect of the Kayeli language, and not a separate language.

4.3.1.3 Lumaete (Lumaiti, Lumaite, Lumara) dialect of Kayeli

This recently extinct speech variety had speakers clustered around Kayeli in the past and there is still the memory of people who spoke something called 'Lumaiti'. There is a Lumaiti river near Kayeli, but there was also, in 1840, a Regentschap Lumaete in the southeast corner of Buru. Hendriks (1897) identifies the Kayeli 'dialect' of Buru as being spoken in the districts of Kayeli, Ilat, and Lumara, the latter being the name of a river in southeast Buru in the area of the former Regentschap Lumaete (see Map 3).

Although the linguistic classification of Lumaete is difficult in an absence of data, there are a couple of clues which help. One is that this variety of speech was spoken

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6When eliciting data from the four remaining speakers of Kayeli, one could see the unfolding horror and agony as it dawned on them that even basic vocabulary items that none of them could remember were, as they said, "gone forever and irrecover'le."
somewhere in east Buru. Another clue is from the name itself - luma 'house' follows the Kayeli reflex of /l/ for PAN *R, rather than the Buru reflex, which is /h/.

4.3.2 Ambelau

The language of Ambelau is spoken in the villages of Elara, Salasi, Sliwar, Kampung Baru, Ulima, Masawoy and Lumoy on the island of Ambelau, and in the village of Wae Tawa across the straight from Ambelau on the southeast tip of Buru. There are around 5,700 speakers of Ambelau, all of whom adhere to Islam. The rocky terrain and abundance of destructive wild pigs make the tilling of gardens for food crops on Ambelau a very difficult effort. The village of Wae Tawa on the coast of Buru is an Ambelau colony established for the purpose of supplying vegetables and tubers. Cloves and copra are the main cash crops. There is insufficient data at this point to make intelligent statements about dialect variations on Ambelau, although variation is reported by my sources. The language of Ambelau is not inherently intelligible with Buru. Origin myths on Ambelau trace a connection with the island of Nusa Laut in the Ambon-Lease islands.

4.4 Lexical tabooing on Buru

Before distinguishing identifiable dialects on Buru it is important to understand the widespread phenomena of lexical tabooing around the island. On Buru there are many types of taboos. Some Buru speakers are aware that li.koit 'language taboos' motivates language variation. The area in which a particular lexical taboo is required may be extremely localised (e.g. a square kilometre) or very broad (e.g. half the island). On the other hand, there are also lexical taboos that an individual must observe in all locations. It is the cumulative effect of multiple lexical differences in a region that gives a 'dialect' much of its identity on Buru.

Affinal taboos are both behavioural and linguistic, preventing one from uttering the name or words that are similar to the name of parents-in-law, and certain opposite sex siblings-in-law. One may refer to such a person by the appropriate kin term, but not by name (such a phenomenon is actually the norm for all adult relationships, but with affines is further associated with a lowering of the eyes and voice, among other behavioural ways of avoidance). Where personal names continue to be the names of plants, animals, places, or seasons, the taboo extends to avoid mentioning the particular item, even in its normal context. If the terms to be avoided are everyday high-frequency words, one has the option of sili ngaanan 'paying for the rights to say a taboo name'.

7Buru speakers equate luma ake with the Buru hune ake 'itchy house', assuming it refers to an area in which the presence of the skin disease kaskadu was salient in the origin stories of the people of that area.

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There are, however, no taboos associated with the names of dead ancestors. On the contrary, ancestors (even recent ones) are frequently addressed directly by name in various circumstances and locations.

Certain kinds of word taboos on Buru are territorially restricted. In a given locale while hunting, travelling or just living, there will be certain words which may not be uttered. In some places an entire topic is taboo and may not be discussed in any language. In others cases, as long as the particular word is avoided there is no problem, and word substitutes or circumlocutions are listed for the newcomer before entering the net.koit 'taboo area'.

There is usually an associated myth or legend explaining why those lexical items may not be used in that particular area, and an awareness of the penalty that will occur if one breaks the taboo. Failure to observe the taboos may result in a sudden and violent deterioration in the weather resulting in branches blowing down, or roofs blowing off, hurting or killing someone. Crops may be destroyed, or ill-health, miscarriage or still-birth may occur. A temporary failure to dufa 'to get s.t., obtain s.t., succeed, receive blessing' on the hunt, in the fields, or while foraging can also be the result of failure to observe taboos. On the other hand, breaking some taboos can result in more minor annoyances, such as mosquito bites.

Some taboos are not so much associated with a territory as much as an activity. For example, during particularly heavy east monsoons when groups of men will go hunting and foraging in the jungle for 3-5 months there are special behavioural and linguistic taboos that must be strictly adhered to for the success of their hunt and the safety of themselves and their companions.

The main strategy for avoiding word taboos on Buru is to substitute a new item for the one to be avoided, rather than by altering the original form. One type of substitution is by semantic shift. For example, while other dialects of Buru say inanut 'bird' (PAN *manuk 'bird') and pani-n 'wing' (PAN *panij 'wing'), Lisela says pani 'bird'. When talking about species of birds, the genera are different but the differentia are often the same -- man.sanal/pan.sanal 'seagull', man.kumul/pani kumul 'k.o. large dove'.

Similarly, a term may be retained with a shift in meaning while the original meaning is taken by a completely different item. Lisela has nango 'swim' (PAN *nanguy 'swim'). In other dialects of Buru 'swim' is uka while nango is retained meaning 'wade'.

Another common strategy on Buru is to use descriptive phrases or abstractions as a substitute for a lexical item. For example, innewet 'snake (generic)' literally means 'the
living thing'; isaléu 'python' literally means 'a thing that goes ahead'. Lisela senget 'mosquito' (PMP *senget 'sting') is replaced by M̱asarete inhadat 'mosquito' (lit. 'the thing that bites'). The lexicon is full of examples of this sort.

In the Wae Lupa area of Wae Tina, for example, one may not say menjangan 'deer' (a borrowed substitute itself assimilated by all dialects), but one must hunt wadun 'deer' (normally means 'back of neck'). In many of the streams along the slopes facing the southern coast one hunts uran 'crayfish' (PAN *quDaŋ), but in most interior areas of the island one must hunt sehë 'crayfish' (normally means 'to reverse, retreat, back up').

4.5 Buru dialects

As described in §3.2.1, nőro 'kin groups' are associated with particular territories. Men from one nőro have contact with and marry women of nőro from neighbouring territories more frequently than with nőro from distant territories. For example, the village of Fakal in south-central Buru is the seat of nőro Məsbaiteit. Most of the marriages in Fakal are contracted with women of the Mual, Gwaig, and Gebhain nőro from the nearby villages of Wae Katin and Mngeswaen. No marriages in Fakal are contracted with women of the Wae Lua, Wae Temun, Wae Dupa, or Wae Kolo nőro whose territories are non-adjacent. Thus, the territory of any given nőro forms a hub of contact which networks with hubs of contact of adjacent nőro.

This patterns of exogamous marriage gives the impression that there would be a network of language variation spread throughout the island in which distinct dialect boundaries would be very hard to pin down. While every major village and clan area does have distinct features of speech (mostly in choice of lexicon), some broader patterns are definable on linguistic, socio-linguistic, geographic, historical and political grounds. There is a general consensus among the few Buru people who have been exposed to other dialect areas that there are five major dialect groupings: Masarete, Rana, Lisela, Wae Sama, and Fogli.

People speaking the Masarete dialect all live in the watershed of the Wa Mala river system. The Wae Sama dialect sits in the south-east part of Buru separated off from the Wa Kabo (upper Wae Apo) and Wa Tina watersheds. The Fogli dialect (also called liem-teba-n 'the language which is chopped off at the end') lies along the west coast, beyond the Wa Mala rivershed. Lisela (also called liën-y-o-ro-t 'the language which droops at the end') is spoken along the north coast. Rana, primarily associated with the lake, covers the rest of the inhabited parts of the island not taken by other dialects or immigrant groups and has internal variation, the major division of which is north from south going through the lake area.
Map 8: Major dialects of Buru

4.5.1 Lexical differences

The primary differences between the dialects are lexical, with minor phonetic differences noted in Chapter 8.5. Some of the lexical differences are illustrated below, with a more complete listing found in Appendix A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>MASARETE</th>
<th>RANA</th>
<th>LISELA</th>
<th>WAESAMA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sand</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>ena/sea</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>keku/fuku</td>
<td>keku</td>
<td>fude</td>
<td>fukn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island</td>
<td>fuka</td>
<td>fuka</td>
<td>bual</td>
<td>pulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>fatu/mlat</td>
<td>fatu</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>fatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>hangat</td>
<td>lea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>heat</td>
<td>heat</td>
<td>bagut</td>
<td>heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>edemen</td>
<td>edemen/waro</td>
<td>were</td>
<td>edemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>mitet</td>
<td>mitet/madet</td>
<td>medet</td>
<td>medet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>botit</td>
<td>botit/gewat</td>
<td>gewat</td>
<td>botit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>gebheaa</td>
<td>gebheaa/mamort</td>
<td>mori</td>
<td>gebheaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>finheaa</td>
<td>finheaa/gefina</td>
<td>bife/gefina</td>
<td>finheaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marital</td>
<td>tonal</td>
<td>tonal/biferen</td>
<td>bifren</td>
<td>lemet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>inhadat</td>
<td>senget</td>
<td>minsum</td>
<td>senget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>okon</td>
<td>kot 1</td>
<td>susan</td>
<td>okon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>fifin</td>
<td>fifin</td>
<td>muen</td>
<td>fifin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lips</td>
<td>fifin okon</td>
<td>fifin kolin</td>
<td>bifien</td>
<td>fifin okon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2: Examples of lexical differences between dialects

4.5.2 Notes on phonological and morphological differences

Sound correspondences with Proto-Austronesian [PAN] are uniform throughout the dialects of Buru, with two exceptions noted below. Other non-lexical, non-phonological differences are that the Rana and Lisela dialects use a preposed, rather than a postposed genitive marker in the vocative,\(^8\) and the Masarete dialect shows a collapse of the entire genitive system to the third person singular [Chapter §14].

The first exception to uniform sound correspondences throughout the dialects of Buru concerns the back vowels /o/ and /o/. Both /u/ and /o/ derive from PAN *u, reflecting an unconditioned split. [*gloss indicates gloss of proto form.]

(1) PAN/PMP | BURU | GLOSS
--- | --- | ---
*inum | ing | drink
*ma-takut | em-takp | afraid
*uliq | gli | return home, go back
*suqan | suq-an | dribble stick
* qa-Cu | nity | *ghost, spirit of dead/dead person
* tuak | tya-t | *palmwine/tree yielding palmwine

However, when both vowels of a disyllabic root are back vowels and there is a consonant between them (VCV), a process of harmony of vowel height [§5.4.1.3] comes into play such that in the Wae Sama, Masarete, and Rana dialects the vowels are either both /o/ or both /u/, whereas in Lisela both vowels appear as /u/ in all items. [NOTE: Buru (-LIS) means all the other dialects of Buru minus Lisela].

\(^8\)Preposing of the genitive marker in the vocative is attributable to contact with Sula.
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(2) PAN/PMP  BURU (-LIS)  LISELA  GLOSS
*tuRum  toho  tuhu  descend
*qulu  olo-n  ulu-n  head, headwaters
*pulut  polo-n  pulu-n  glue, birdlime
*pusuq  poso-n tua-n  pusu-n fue-n  heart

The second exception to uniform sound correspondences relates to PAN *p.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN</th>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*b'</th>
<th>*R</th>
<th>*l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sula</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>φ/f</td>
<td>φ/h</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buru (-LIS)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liselau</td>
<td>p/h</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayeli</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambelau</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Selected sound correspondences 10

Lisela does not show predictable conditioning patterns as to which items reflect PAN *p as /p/ and which reflect it as /h/. Instead of positing a historical split, those items reflecting /h/ may be easily accounted for as borrowings from Kayeli, because the Lisela items which reflect /h/ are identical to the Kayeli words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>BURU (-LIS)</th>
<th>LISELA</th>
<th>KAYELI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>*pusuq</td>
<td>poso-n</td>
<td>pusu-n</td>
<td>hoson-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b:am</td>
<td>*S-in-rip</td>
<td>em-nip</td>
<td>em-nip</td>
<td>em-nihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stingray</td>
<td>*paRi</td>
<td>pahi</td>
<td>hali</td>
<td>hali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>*penu</td>
<td>pene</td>
<td>heno</td>
<td>heno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lime, chalk</td>
<td>*qapuR</td>
<td>apu</td>
<td>ahul</td>
<td>ahul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>*pajey</td>
<td>pala</td>
<td>hala</td>
<td>hala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Selected items reflecting PAN *p in Buru dialects

As noted earlier in this chapter, the Kayeli language was spoken along the northeastern coastal strip of Buru in an area that is now subsumed within the Lisela area. Lisela is spoken along the northern and eastern coastal strips and has long been in contact with speakers of Kayeli, Sula, Ternate, Buton and other migrants who settled along the north coast of Buru. Thus, the presence of extensive borrowings in the Lisela dialect from contact with Kayeli (as well as Sula, Ternate and Buton) is not surprising.

9These reflect the unconditioned reflex.
1. The labial *p is of interest in the immediate context, the correspondences of the other sounds presented here have been mentioned earlier and will be of relevance in later discussion.
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In short, once contact-induced change is accounted for, the sound correspondences of Lisela match the sound correspondences of the other dialects of Buru, but are distinct from the collective sound correspondences of Kayeli, Sula or Ambelau.

4.5.3 Communication across dialects

One finds on Buru both a greet majority who are completely ignorant of other parts of the island, and a minority who have, through marriage alliances, migrations, pursuit of monetary income, chasing down a runaway wife, or whatever reason, become familiar enough with other parts of the island to be conversant in the names of streams, taboo areas, and know what kin groups "belong" in those areas. Both the ignorant majority and the informed minority vigorously insist that Buru has one language and only one.

At the same time, everyone on Buru is aware of a few commonly known lexical differences. On the one hand, Wae Sama, Masarete, Rana, Lisela, and Fogi can be identified by various people (the informed minority), as speech varieties distinct enough to be identifiable, and yet acknowledging that communication is possible. Some are aware enough to be able to say that Rana, Masarete and Wae Sama are closer to each other than they are to Lisela (a picture supported by all the linguistic evidence). On the other hand, those from the Masarete and Wae Tina area who have actually tried to communicate with speakers of Lisela also admit that they must often switch to Malay for fear of the kinds of miscommunication that are likely to result in a fight.11 Women who have been "purchased" (their term) from other areas report a period of a few days to several weeks to adjust their speech when they arrive in their husband's area.

There are various attitudes associated with different dialects. Speakers of Lisela describe their own speech variety as 'coarse', 'crude', 'mixed (adulterated)', 'not pure', 'not sweet'. They describe the Rana and Masarete dialects as 'pure' and 'pleasant sounding', and people from these other areas would agree with them.

In summary, there are five major dialect groupings of the Buru language. According to lexical and phonological evidence, as well as native speaker perceptions, Lisela is most

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11After studying the Masarete and Rana dialects and gaining a degree of proficiency in them, I found opportunity to return to the Lisela area. I spent two full days in Wae Mangli in northwest Buru talking with a man from the Waerongkian kin group. He is a native speaker of the Lisela speech variety and could trace a direct line of his ancestors who had been in the immediate area through 26 generations. With "dialect bending" where each speaker accommodates as far as possible to the dialect of the addressee, we talked in the vernacular about history, marriage, alliances, bridewealth, travel, food, knowledge, research, and the outside world. We had to stop every once in a while to ask each other what some words meant, but communication at a significant level was both possible and enjoyable. I had a similar experience in Jiku Merada in northeast Buru with a man from the Toraha kin group (a native speaker of Lisela) whose family had been in that area through 14 generations.
divergent from the other dialects of Buru. The divergence, however, is attributable primarily to contact-induced change resulting from its particular social and linguistic history. While structurally (phonology, morphology, syntax), Lisela is almost identical with Masarete and Rana, it is the differences in the lexicon that make it marginal for intelligibility purposes.12

4.6 Li Garan

A special speech phenomenon which is technically neither a dialect of Buru nor a separate language is Li Garan 'the speech variety of Garan'. Garan is an uninhabited section of the jungle in the northwest quadrant of the island. It takes two days of walking to traverse the area, and it is taboo to speak the vernacular language of Buru there. Malay (or any other language) is acceptable, but Buru is not. Li Garan has thus developed entirely around a strategy of taboo. It is only known by those Rana people who have reason to travel to and from the northwest coast. They teach it to their children and different levels of proficiency are recognised. A secondary use of Li Garan is as a secret language in the presence of people from other parts of Buru.

Map 9: Location of Garan

12Thus, when looking strictly at structural features of the language, there is no question that Lisela is a dialect of the Buru language and there is ethnolinguistic cohesion among the major dialect divisions of Buru that separate them off from other ethnolinguistic groupings. If one looks at intelligibility factors, however, one is tempted to view Lisela as a separate language.
On the basis of some texts and around 400 lexical items collected by the author, some generalisation can be made about Li Garan.

Lexical roots are often -sen which are mnemonic of a salient feature of the item to be described, or something only associated in people's minds with the item or activity:

(3) Li Garan em-kise-n 'person, man' [Buru geba 'person, man']; kise normally means 'growing bald' or 'having a high forehead'.

(4) Li Garan em-kise-n brenge-t 'female, woman' [Buru ana-fina 'female, woman']; brenge normally means 'female (cuscus) or eating exclusively with the Phalanger marsupial blafen; brenge itself is an avoidance term built on the root renge 'carry s.t. strapped or tied on the back (as a cuscus carries its young outside the pouch).'

(5) Li Garan olo-n hapu-t 'forehead' [Buru kira-n 'forehead']; olo-n hapu-t literally means 'the tied head (where the headcloth is worn)'

The lexicality rich common language is impoverished in Li Garan so that a general term is taken to cover many options.13

(6) Li Garan em-nae covers Buru kan 'eat, chew', hada 'bite', sanga 'bite (as a dog catches a pig)', mana-k 'chew (as a healer chews herbs for splitting)'; the root nae normally means 'bait' (em- seems to be used actively here, rather than with its normal stative function - [Chapter §7]).

(7) Li Garan sali-k covers Lisola dialect prenge 'hear, listen', ego 'get, take, transfer control'; it is from the common register root sali 'receive'.

Some terms are given meanings on the opposite end of the semantic scale from their normal meaning.

(8) Li Garan em-gosa-t covers Buru em-peî 'sick, hurt, pain', em-loo 'tired, fatigued'; gosa normally means 'good, beautiful, well'.

Parts of wholes are specified with the same genitive construction as in the common language [Chapter §14].

(9) (Buru) faha-n arm-GEN wanga-n digit-GEN 'finger'

(Li Garan) sali-n receive-GEN wanga-n digit-GEN 'finger'

The syntax of Li Garan is the same as that of the Buru language. In looking at the lexicon, one can generalise that content words (such as nouns and verbs) tend to have a very general Li Garan term substituting for both generic and specific terms in the common Buru

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13Dixon (1982:chapters 2,3,6) notes a similar many/specifie-to-few/generic) correlations in the Yidiñ Jalinguy and Dyirbal Jalinguy 'mother-in-law' avoidance speech registers in Australia.
register. *Functors* (such as prepositions, deictics, aspect markers, verbal auxiliaries, pronouns, numerals, discourse marks, (cf Zorc 1978) tend to be the same in the two registers. The over-all effect, however, is quite striking when the lexicon of the two registers is overlayed on the same syntax.

(10) Garan Emkison
    person  nglat  naa  la-d  salik  kita  wahun  emkasem  pi-pia.
    light  PROX  IRR-3s  get  1pi  POSS  speech  well

Buru Geba
    person  bott  naa  la-d  tewa  kita  nani  liet  gos-gosa
    white  PP-ox  IRR-3s  know  1pi  1piPOS  language  we’ll

'This white man wants to learn our language well.'

The vocabulary of Li Garan is adequate for most domains, and there is even vulgar vocabulary. The nature and vocabulary of Li Garan seems to be fairly stable when compared with a general description by Schut (1919a) and a word list from Jansen (1933). The social, morphological, lexical and syntactic patterns of Li Garan are described in greater detail in Grimes and Maryott (in press).

4.7 Languages of wider communication

*Indonesian*, the national language, is the language of government, education, and the media, and is encountered almost exclusively along the coast. *Ambonese Malay* (Collins 1980a, C. Grimes 1985, B.D. Grimes 1991a,b) based on the trade Malay which has been in the region for centuries, is the language of commerce and inter-ethnic communication along the coastal areas of Buru. The Malay of much of north Buru is shifting from North Moluccan Malay (Taylor 1983, Voorhoeve 1983) to Ambonese Malay with more and more children being sent to Ambon for advanced schooling and with more and more teachers and government officials working in the area coming from Ambonese Malay speaking areas. Ambonese Malay, rather than Indonesian is the primary source of lexical borrowings from Malay into Buru.

4.8 Language use and ethnolinguistic vitality

In order to gain a picture of the complexity of Buru ethnolinguistic vitality, it is important to understand together 1) internal migrations on Buru, 2) patterns of language use in multiethnic and multilingual communities, and 3) the size and location of various Buru speech communities in relation to other languages.

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14 For Buru this is predominantly radio, and more recently television. Newspapers from Ambon are quite scarce on Buru.
15 Resulting from the former orientation of north Buru toward Termita.
4.8.1 Internal migrations

Repeated practices of swidden agriculture deplete the soils after a period of years, forcing those working the soil to look for new fields (see Bellwood 1985 for a more detailed discussion). On Buru, the need to shift to new fields is not consciously associated with the depletion of soils and its effect on the tuber crops, so much as on a rise in disease and subsequent in-fighting and death that cause a place to be declared a neten boho 'bad place' and be abandoned in favour of a new location where the spirits and the ancestors can again show favour.

Migrations may also be sparked by external pressures. For example, before the turn of the century large segments of several Masarete kin groups fled to the northwest part of the island to escape the Dutch-imposed forced labour when building the stone dock at Tifu. Part of the Nalbesssy kin group migrated from Rana in the centre of the island around 1880-90 to the north coast to evade Dutch missionaries coming from the south. Most of the Walpangat kin group migrated in 1990 from the lake in the centre to Wae Hotong in the northwest, returning to the place where their origin stories said they first set foot on Buru. Other migrations may be sparked by extreme violence or mass poisoning.

Migrations on Buru are commonplace with people moving further into the mountains, moving to the coast, shifting a few kilometers upstream or downstream, or even moving from the north coast to the south coast and vice versa. A migration may be carried out as an entire village unit, or as a fragmentation or dispersion of a local group. In some cases distant migrations can be traced back 30 or more generations, but with kin group, affiliation, knowledge of ancestry and origins, ancestral river and linguistic identity still known.

Thus, when trying to describe the language situation in any part of the island, it is essential to know what kin groups are present and where they "belong". In a short stretch along the north coast one can find a 100-year-old migration from Rana, a 90-year-old migration from the south coast, a 10-year-old and continuing migration from Rana, a concentration of teachers and government officials who originate from the south coast, and a village of Sula immigrants with several hundred Buru people who belong on the north coast and can trace their history back 26 generations in that place. Only the latter can give the speech variety that represents the area accurately. Because of religious differences and the idea that spiritual power is associated with the territory of one's origins, there is little interaction between those who "belong" and those who have come more recently.
4.8.2 Population estimates

The estimates of the number of people belonging to each ethno-linguistic grouping presented here are based on 1987 government statistics\(^1\) combined with the author's and informants' knowledge of the ethnic composition of coastal villages and field notes on the number of houses in many hamlets in the interior of the island which are not included in government figures. A breakdown according to religion highlights the distinct character of several of the demographic groupings. The numbers in the figure below represent best estimates of the number of members of kin groups belonging to that speech variety, rather than the number of active speakers (except from Hukumina on, whose numbers represent active speakers). The numbers for each speech variety take into account known migrations. For example, the high number of Christians in the Rana dialect is due to the large communities that have migrated closer to the coast and are found in such villages as Wae Potti, Wae Nibe (at the mouth of the river), Slealeale, Neat, and Liang. As this information is still limited, the range of error in the figures could be as much as 10%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech Variety</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>Moslem</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMBELAU</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURU (total)</td>
<td>44,902</td>
<td>17,022</td>
<td>21,695</td>
<td>6,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wae Sama</td>
<td>6,622</td>
<td>4,350</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masarete</td>
<td>9,600</td>
<td>2,550</td>
<td>6,650</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buru (Ambon)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana</td>
<td>14,258</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>9,623</td>
<td>4,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisela</td>
<td>11,922</td>
<td>8,472</td>
<td>3,450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fogi</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUKUMINA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAYELE(^1)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayele</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leleli</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Population estimates for indigenous languages of Buru (1989)

Population estimates for immigrant groups are as follows: over 20,000 Javanese, mainly in the Wae Apo transmigration area, with another Javanese community around the W.W.I.\(^2\) plywood factory at the mouth of the Wae Nibe river; around 12,600 Butonean concentrated mostly along the west and southeast coasts; 12,500 people from the Sula Islands (to the north of Buru) along the north and northeast coasts; an additional 10,000 people from various other parts of Maluku and Sulawesi scattered around the coastal areas of Buru, the largest subgroups of which are Bugis, Ternate, from southern Maluku (Kei, Tanimbar, 1990 census figures are not yet available.

\(^1\)The entire ethnic group is possibly 800 people.

\(^2\)WaeNibe Wood Industry.
Chapter Four: *Multilingual Profile*

Luang, Kisar - mostly Catholic, Ambon-Lease (Muslim & Christian). Seram (Christian), Chinese (mostly Buddhist and Christian), and 'Arab'.

4.8.3 Patterns of language maintenance and shift

Some generalisations can be made regarding language choice on Buru. The communities that adhere to Islam tend to be multi-ethnic, with the indigenous Buru population usually a minority. In these Islamic communities it is Malay, rather than the vernacular language, that is normally the primary means of communication, even in the home, except in the Sula communities. The vernacular is used with varying degrees of proficiency in limited speech domains and in attempts to exclude outsiders during such things as negotiations. Ethnic Buru people in these communities may be characterised as well along in a language shift to Malay, particularly in the north, east and west coastal areas of the island. Use of the vernacular in Christian communities is vigorous, except for those Buru people in the towns of Ambon, Namlea, and some in Leksula and in the multi-ethnic checkerboard of the lower Wae Apo valley. For those who adhere to traditional beliefs, the vernacular is their primary, and sometimes exclusive, means of communication. I estimate there are 45,000 speakers of Buru, of whom around 30,000 use it as their primary language.

4.9 Profile of cultural history

A language is the product of its linguistic, social and cultural history. Appendix C provides such a perspective on the cultural and linguistic history of Buru through a selective exploration of the lexicon.

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19 'Arab' is a generic term used of and by people from west of the Indonesian archipelago, many of whom associate their origins in the area with the arrival of Islam. The term actually includes not only people from the Middle East, but also Indians and Pakistanis.
Chapter Five

Buru phonology and morphophonemics

This chapter provides a description of Buru phonology and morphophonemics as an orientation to the grammatical description that follows in later chapters, recognising that many of the processes described here are inseparably linked with grammatical features.

For discussions of the syllable and resyllabification, I have chosen to appeal to the conventions of a recent grandchild of the generative tradition in the framework of CV phonology (Clements and Keyser 1983). Th.: framework can be used to nicely characterise what is happening in the Buru language. Certain aspects of Buru phonology are best explained by an ordering of rules (e.g. metathesis must occur before glottalisation), and where that is relevant I adopt the idea of ordering rules from the generative tradition. For general notational conventions I prefer Plain English over other common conventions and often describe features of Buru phonology in the language of classical phonology using prose rather than notational formulae which often obscure, rather than elucidate the character of a language. Where notational conventions enhance the picture, however, I use them. Thus, in discussing issues related to syllable structure I use notational conventions from CV phonology (Clements & Keyser 1983). In discussing issues related to stress, I use a metrical grid from metrical phonology (Goldsmith 1990). In illustrating certain aspects of reduplication I use a reduplicative template (Marantz 1982) which adapts conventions from autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1990, Lieber 1987).

5.1 Segmental Phonology

5.1.1 Consonantal segments

Buru has seventeen consonant phonemes, plus one borrowed phoneme. Contrasts between consonants are illustrated by minimal pairs in Appendix D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Apical¹</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>(j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s²</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Buru consonants

The /t/ is dental. Apicals /d s n l/, laminals /e j/ and dorsals /k g h ng/ are fronted slightly before high front vowel /i/ and backed slightly before high back vowel /u/.³ The /r/ is trilled, but may become a flap or tap intervocally.

The /l/ is a voiceless alveopalatal grooved affricate⁴ occurring with very low frequency and derives from the historical clustering of voiceless stop + /s/ and in borrowed words.⁵ In inherited words /l/ occurs only at the onset of the penultimate syllable, which coincides with the only environment in which CC clusters are permitted. The phoneme /j/ occurs only in borrowed words and as an allophone of /y/ resulting from the underlying sequence /eg-yl/ [§5.7].

---

¹Describing these categories in terms of the active articulator, rather than the traditional passive articulator (i.e. point of articulation), allows a much better representation of the significant categories of the Buru sound system (cf. Clynes 1991).

²/l/ could be considered apico-laminal. In combination with voiceless stops, /l/ patterns with the laminals in the formation of /s/, but unlike the laminals it can occur as the medial consonant of a root.

³The fronting and backing is occasionally exaggerated for pragmatic emphasis relating to size, distance and social importance. There, however, it is also part of an iconic global feature of lip spreading (relating to front vowels and smallness) and lip rounding (relating to back vowels and bigness).

⁴In describing individual sounds, it is still convenient to refer to the passive articulator, but in describing categories generalisations are best framed with reference to the active articulator.

⁵In the computerised data corpus there are only 77 words containing /l/. Of those, 66 are identifiable as loans, and 11 as native vocabulary. Of these 11, only eefal ‘war dance (AM-cakalate)’ is not explainable as resulting from a cluster. For example, eia ‘nine’ is historically from **Kasia ‘minus one’ with deletion of the antepenultimate vowel and [ks] > /l/ (cf. also Collins 1981:36 on numerals eight & nine). In the Lisela dialect the item is often pronounced [skala], attesting an intermediate stage. Similarly eesun ‘nod, sleepy’ in the Rana dialect is pronounced [pseusun] in Lisela with eesun ‘breast’ as the root. (Masareto has a different lexical root for ‘nod, sleepy’ - dube.) /l/ is best thought of as a phoneme in genesis.

⁶In the computerised data corpus, all 78 words containing /j/ are identifiable as loans. Outside that corpus there is only one occurrence of /j/ resulting from a morphophonemic process: ejauk /eg-ya-k/.
5.1.2 Vowel segments

Buru has five vowel phonemes.\(^7\) Contrasts between vowels are illustrated in Appendix D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 7: Buru vowels**

Geminate vowel sequences are manifested by phonic length, and are in contrast with single vowels, which are phonetically short.

1. *lee-t* (leata) 'sieve (noun)'; 'rest (one's back), place (one's back to rest)'
2. *tuu-k* (tuuke) 'lift up, appoint' 'give'
3. *baa* (ba) 'only, exclusive (post-verbal auxiliary)'; 'durateive (pre-verbal aspect marker)'
4. *laa* (la) 'sail (a)'; 'irrealis marker'
5. *maa* (ma) 'confirmative tag'; '1p pronominal proclitic'\(^8\)
6. *paa* (pa) 'four'; 'realis marker'\(^9\)

Vowel sequences occur frequently in numerous possible combinations. The following figure illustrates these combinations with examples of each:\(^{10}\)

\(^7\) Hendriks (1897:3) overdifferentiated by elisting ten vowels for Massarete. He did not seem to be aware of the parameters of complementary distribution and geminate vowel sequences described in this chapter. His ears correctly captured phonetic features of tenseness, laxness and length, but he failed to understand their phonemic significance and represented them inconsistently in his writing.

\(^8\) There is also contrast with the homophonous evidential ma 'certainly'.

\(^9\) Other vowels also show contrast between geminate sequences and single vowels, but not in identical environments. E.g. pl 'or', il 'thing'; te 'ablative (pre-verbal aspect marker)'; leet 'sieve'; pa 'and' (Was Kabo subdialect variant of pa); deo 'where'; du '3p (pronominal proclitic)'; puun 'shrub'.

\(^{10}\) Hendriks (1897:3) lists five diphthongs for Buru: aē, aē, eī, eī, and oī. Devin (1986-MS) recognizes that something is happening phonetically with vowel sequences, but struggles to describe it: "a as in 'father,' but held about twice as long when appearing as the only vowel in a monosyllable noun, verb, or adjective. In such cases 'a' behaves as if it were a diphong [sie] containing the vowels 'aa', with the accent on the first 'a'.....With the
### Figure 8: Combinations of vowel sequences

#### 5.1.3 Vowel sequences and syllable peaks

The notion of the syllable is central to an adequate understanding of Buru phonology. However, some earlier models of phonological analysis dispensed with the notion of the syllable. Clements and Keyser (1983:1) criticise this omission:

> Until very recently, generative phonology was premised on the notion that phonological representation consists of linear strings of segments with no hierarchical organisation other than that provided by syntactic phrase structure. In particular, the notion syllable was thought to play no role in phonological organization. However, there has been increasing evidence that the exclusion of the syllable is a serious omission in generative phonology.

The structure of the Buru syllable and related issues are discussed in greater detail in later sections [e.g. §5.3.1.1], but some preliminary issues are addressed here to account for examples in intervening sections. In Buru each vowel forms a syllable peak (syllable nucleus). Thus, sequences of like and unlike vowels cross syllable boundaries. There are no possible exception of "ui" and "uo" diphthongs exist for all the possible combinations that can be formed using the five vowels. In diphthongs, vowels have the same sounds they would ordinarily have in consecutive syllables. The length of the first vowel is determined by the second, exactly as in the manner of two consecutive syllables, and the accent falls upon the first vowel. Indeed, it might even be argued that, in the Buru language, diphthongs do not even really exist as a separate category of sounds, as in other languages. 12The /lo/ is subject to the vowel raising constraints discussed later in this chapter, e.g. loo + -k → leak. 13As a verb, the /lo/ is subject to the vowel raising constraints discussed later in this chapter. 14From the Rana and Lisela dialects. Several loans also have the combin. "-n, such as doo 'pray (Arab.)' and seal 'clan (Ternate)'. Buru seol 'barren', may be a loan. 15This sequence is found only in Dute. loans (with the Buru sense given in gloss) such as bui 'jail', effuit 'flute', and besul 'respon.ibility'. 16The non-occurring sequence */uol/ may be interpreted as uwo, in which case the constraint of vowel harmony with two back vowels separated by a consonant would disallow its occurrence.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li-t</td>
<td>lin-t</td>
<td>plo</td>
<td>sil-k</td>
<td>order s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>lo-t</td>
<td>lea-t</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>lea11</td>
<td>peu-n</td>
<td>gallbladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>kal</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>gao12</td>
<td>kau</td>
<td>wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>bal13</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>suspend s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>tuo-n</td>
<td>tuo-n</td>
<td>tuo-n</td>
<td>tuo-n15</td>
<td>tuo-n</td>
<td>lift up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

C. Grimes
diphthongs in Buru. In the following illustrations [σ] represents a syllable, and [σ*] represents a stressed syllable, which in Buru is on the penultimate syllable of the root. All vowels can be pre-assigned to a syllable pc , whether or not they are part of a vowel sequence.

(7)  
\[ \text{σ} \text{σ} \]  
\[ \text{(C)V.CV(C)} \]  
\[ \text{σ*σ*} \]  
\[ \text{(C)VV(C)} \]

(8)  
\[ \text{σ} \text{σ} \]  
\[ \text{(C)VV(C)} \]  
\[ \text{u a} \] 'rattan'  
\[ \text{l e a} \] 'sun'  
\[ \text{w a e} \] 'water, river'  
\[ \text{t a u-n} \] 'person (classifier)'  
\[ \text{l e o} \] 'precede'  
\[ \text{t u a-t} \] 'tree from which palmwine is made'

As noted above, geminate vowel sequences, like non-geminate vowel sequences, are sequences across syllable boundaries with the first vowel carrying the stress.

(9)  
\[ \text{σ} \text{σ} \]  
\[ \text{(C)VV(C)} \]  
\[ \text{i i} \] 'thing'  
\[ \text{n e e} \] 'six'  
\[ \text{h a a} \] 'get bigger'  
\[ \text{m a a-n} \] 'tongue'  
\[ \text{d o o} \] 'where?'  
\[ \text{p u u-n} \] 'tree'

Further support for the analysis of vowel sequences as nuclei of separate syllables comes from a Buru word game where syllables are reversed. Children learn to play this game, and adults will speak whole sentences with reversed syllables so that outsiders, such as Chinese merchants and school teachers who are only partially proficient in the language cannot understand them.

(10)  
\text{(Normal)}  \text{Wali, bara safe labu-n di moo, tu fili-n tirin.}  
\text{(Reversed)}  \text{Liwa, raba fesa bula-GEN di omo, tu lifi-n ritten.}

\text{mate, don't buy shirt-GEN that not, for buy-GEN very}

'Brother-in-law, you shouldn't buy that shirt as it's too expensive.'

In this word game CVV words become VCV, even when the vowels are the same. Thus, PMP *Raya 'big, important' > haa 'big, important' → (reversed) aka; kaa 'eat' → (reversed) aka; kai 'older,sibling.same.sex' → (reversed) ika, etc. This supports the notion
that there is an emic reality to the analysis of vowel sequences being separate syllables in Buru rather than as long vowels within a single syllable, or unlike sequences being considered diphthongs.

An alternative analysis positing vowel length, diphthongs, and an unnecessary pattern of word final semivowels would not only require defining vowel length and diphthongs for the Buru language, but also would horribly complicate the stress rules [§5.2] and the otherwise straightforward processes of cliticisation [§5.4.3]. A third alternative would be to follow the analysis given for several Oceanic languages (cf. Schütz (1986), Dixon (1988) for Fijian). That would require defining a subsyllabic unit of *mora*. Stress would then be defined on the penultimate mora, with a short vowel being one mora, and ‘long’ vowels and ‘diphthongs’ being two mora each. This solution requires defining mora, long vowels, and diphthongs. While it is adequate to handle the data, it is not economical.

5.2 Stress

Word stress is typically indicated by a contrast in greater force (compared to unstressed syllables), by higher pitch, and by minute lengthening of the vowel. Stress tends to be slightly ballistic (staccato), causing people of ethnic groups from other islands to comment that Buru people always seem angry when speaking to one another. In representing stress-related issues I use a metrical grid (cf. Goldsmith 1990:169ff.).

5.2.1 Stress with the addition of enclitics

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of full lexical roots [§6.1.1.1]. Stress is not affected by the addition of affixes, or by extrametrical enclitics such as the phrase-level pronominal marker I-rollo [§5.4.1.4], or the paragogic /el/ [§5.4.1.7].

(11)

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
\text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} \\
\text{feC} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} \\
\text{f u k a}_1 & \text{f u k a}_1 & \text{f u k a}_2 & \text{f u k a}_3 & \text{f u k a}_4 & \text{f u k a}_5 & \text{f u k a}_6 & \text{f u k a}_7 & \text{f u k a}_8 \\
\text{‘island’} & \text{‘island-PL’} & \text{‘stomach-3sGEN’} & \text{‘CAUS.BE-open-k’} \\
\end{array}
\]

5.2.2 Stress with cliticisation

*Cliticisation* [§5.4.3.1] of lexical roots causes loss of stress from lexical roots that become cliticised to other lexical roots. By this I mean the normally stressed syllable no
longer carries greater force, higher pitch or slight lengthening of the vowel. The following examples illustrate the loss of stress from fuka 'island' when it becomes cliticised.  

(12)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \times \\
  \times \\
(C)\backslash V(C)/V \\
  geba \\
  fuka \\
  Buru \\
\end{array} \]  
[UNCLITICISED]  
'person'  
'island'  
'Buru'  

(13)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \times \\
  \times \times \\
  fuk\_Buru \\
\end{array} \]  
[CLITICISED]  
'Buru Island'  

Cliticisation combining more than two lexical roots does not result in more than two levels of pitch-force combinations.  

(14)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \times \\
  \times \times \\
  geb\_fuk\_Buru \\
\end{array} \]  

'person of Buru Island = Buruse'  

Proclitics and cliticised roots do not carry word stress. They act as phonological satellites to following lexical roots that do carry stress. This phonological clustering in a stress group may cross grammatical boundaries and is an example of the discrepancy between the notion of the phonological word and the notion of the grammatical word discussed in Chapter §6. (I = stress group; R = uncliticised root; C = cliticised root; P = proclitic).  

(15)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \times \\
  \times \times \times \times \times \\
  [Da \ ba \ ga-fiti] \ [na^{2} \ ama]. \\
  \times \times \times \\
  [P \ P \ C \ R] \ [C \ R] \\
  3s \ DUR \ hold\_lower.leg \ 3s\_POSS\_father \\
\end{array} \]  

'He embraced his father's lower legs.'  

Where a grammatical phrase contains more than one stress group [§6.3], phrase stress occurs on the final stressed syllable of the phrase.  

(16)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \times \\
  \times \\
  \times \times \times \times \times \\
  geb\_fuk\_Buru \ tau-n \\
  person\_island\_Buru \ CLASS\_GEN \\
\end{array} \]  

'person of Buru Island = Buruse'  

\[ ^{16} \text{Note that the process of cliticisation does not therefore reclassify a root as a clitic.} \]
5.2.3 Stress with syllabic suffix -i

The syllabic suffix -i only occurs between a verbal stem and the enclitic -k. It indicates a specific locative goal is targeted by the semantics of the verb. Addition of the suffix -i triggers a shift in the stress to the new penultimate syllable.

(17)  
\[ x \]
\[ x \]
\[ hefa-k \]
\[ 'throw out, get rid of s.t.' \]
\[ puta \]
\[ 'defile, destroy' \]
\[ nga a-r \]
\[ 'name, title' \]

(18)  
\[ x \]
\[ x x \]
\[ hefa-t-k \]
\[ 'throw s.t. out to a specific location' \]
\[ puta-i-k \]
\[ 'destroy a specific target' \]

When the suffix -i is added to a stem ending in a sequence of two vowels (VV), it triggers coalescence. This indicates a sequence of three vowels is disallowed, disregarding enclitics.\[17\]

(19)  
\[ /fale+ngaa+i+k/ \rightarrow x xx \]
\[ fal ngaek \]
\[ 'to name s.o. or s.t.' \]

5.3 Phonotactic constraints

For the sake of structural convenience in the following discussion about the shape of syllables and words, disyllabic roots are distinguished from monosyllabic roots. Unless noted otherwise, it is the phonotactics of disyllabic roots that are described here.\[18\]

5.3.1 The shape of syllables and the phonological word

The discussion that follows will be organised around the following notation:

\[ x \]
\[ x \]
\[ x \]
\[ x \]
\[ (S_n) (S_3) \]
\[ S_2 (S_1) \]

\((S_1)\) is the final syllable of the word. \(S_2\) is the stress-bearing penultimate syllable of the word. \((S_3)\) is the antepenultimate syllable of the word. \((S_n)\) are pre-antepenultimate syllables. Separate phonotactic contraints apply to each syllable. Distinct patterns are also found at each

\[17\] Such as the locative -4.

\[18\] Monomorphic trisyllabic roots are rare and will be addressed in the discussion of pre-penultimate syllables. Most other unaffixed words of more than two syllables can be shown to be a) compounds, b) lexicalised polymorphemic stems (e.g. Maserats), or c) loans.
juncture between syllables. However, not all boundaries between syllables are discrete, as we shall see below.

5.3.1.1 The Buru syllable

The syllable in Buru has a vowel as the syllable peak (nucleus) with its associated consonants. As noted earlier, each vowel forms the nucleus of a separate syllable. The shape of a syllable for the Buru language may be generalised as follows:

(C)\(\dagger\)(C)

This yields canonical syllable types of CV, V, VC, and CVC. Closed syllables CVC or VC are limited to environments that are discussed below.

Consonant clusters occur only across syllable boundaries, except when syllabification has been reinterpreted, in which case the cluster is reinterpreted as behaving within a single syllable [§5.4.3].

The following ordered rules associate consonants with syllable peaks, reckoning from the end of the word. They provide a framework for understanding Buru syllabification (how syllables are put together) and resyllabification (how syllables are repackaged under certain conditions).\(^{19}\)

A) Consonants (C) immediately preceding a syllable peak (\(\dagger\)) are associated with that peak.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& \sigma & \dagger & \sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
/c/ & /\dagger/ & /c/ & c \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

B) Any (unassociated) consonants immediately following a syllable peak are then associated with that (preceding) peak.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& \sigma & \dagger & \sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
/c/ & /\dagger/ & /c/ & c \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

C) When followed by another syllable, consonants immediately to the right of the syllable peak are ambisyllabic (cf. Clements & Keyser 1983:36; Durand 1990:217-219). That

---

\(^{19}\)By specifying these rules I am not making any claim about linear sequences of processes occurring in the Buru mind as words are formed, but am merely declaring the rules as a useful descriptive framework for understanding the Buru language.
is, they associate with both peaks. The importance of this will become clear when discussing cliticisation, resyllabification, and consonant clusters [§5.4.3].

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
C & V & C & V & C
\end{array}
\]

Thus we have patterns of association such as the following:

\[(20)\]

A \quad B \quad C
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
(C) & V & (C) \\
(C) & V & (C) \\
i & i & i \\
w & a & e \\
l & a & a \\
t & u & e & n \\
p & e & u & n \\
m & a & a & n \\
h & a & a & t \\
a & a & n \\
i & i & k
\end{array}
\]

\['thing' \\
'water' \\
'sail(n)' \\
'stump' \\
'gall bladder' \\
'tongue' \\
'big' \\
'jaw' \\
'to do s.t. to s.t.'
\]

\[(21)\]

A \quad B \quad C
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
(C) & V & C & V & (C) \\
(C) & V & C & V & (C) \\
k & a & t & u & k \\
w & a & d & u & n \\
o & l & o & n \\
a & t & e & t \\
h & u & m & a \\
t & e & l & o \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
i & p & a
\end{array}
\]

\['send' \\
'neck' \\
'head' \\
'thatch' \\
'house' \\
'three' \\
'underling' \\
'canarium'
\]

Addition of syllabic enclitics produces the following variation on the above pattern:

\[(22)\]

A \quad B \quad C
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
(C) & V & C & V & C \\
(C) & V & C & V & C \\
h & u & m & a & r & o \\
a & t & a & r & o \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma
\end{array}
\]

\['houses' \\
'underlings'
\]
Consonant clusters occur in trisyllabic roots and when prefixes are added to disyllabic roots. The rules of association described above still apply.\(^{20}\)

\[(23)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & *\sigma & \sigma \\
(C)V & C & C \\
\end{array} 
\rightarrow 
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & *\sigma & \sigma \\
(C)V & C & C \\
\end{array} 
\rightarrow 
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & *\sigma & \sigma \\
(C)V & C & C \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{et linga-n 'ear'}\]
\[\text{em-nga s a 'flat'}\]
\[\text{p-e n-le he 'wash clothes'}\]

5.3.1.2 The structure of disyllabic roots

Unmodified disyllabic roots conform to the following pattern.\(^{22}\)

\[(24)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
*\sigma & \sigma \\
(C)V(C)V \\
\end{array}
\]

For example:

\[(25)\]

`CVCV` heta 'recede (e.g. tide')
`VCV` eta 'until'
`CVV` wea 'move s.t. back-and-forth, shake'
`VV` ea 'miniscule'

5.3.1.3 The structure of monosyllabic roots

Monosyllabic roots always conform to the following pattern.\(^{23}\)

\[(C)V\]

Many functors [§6.1.1.2] are monosyllabic in their full forms. There are no unmodified monosyllabic roots that are not functors, but not all functors are monosyllabic. Only one monosyllabic functor of the shape V has been encountered to date -- a '1s pronominal proclitic'. All other monosyllabic roots have the shape CV.

\(^{20}\)The necessity for the first consonant of the cluster to be ambisyllabic will become clear in discussing resyllabification [§5.4.3].

\(^{21}\)The last two syllables here may be replaced by the patterns described above: CVV(C) and CVCV-CV.

\(^{22}\)Unmodified, that is, by affixation, elision or compounding, or lexicalisation.

\(^{23}\)Some functors, such as gam 'to, toward', or mam 'even though', appear to be of the form CVC. However, these are their elicitised forms. In 4341 sentences, the preposition gam occurs 918 times and gama (the full form) occurs only twice -- both occurrences in written text (letters written by Buru people). In the same data corpus the elicitised mam occurs 41 times and the full form mame occurs 26 times -- most of the latter occurring in written text. For these functors the elicitised form (CVC) is the norm in speech.
5.3.1.4 The shape of polymorphic words

Polymorphic words occur as the result of various combinations. Lexical roots combine with affixes, clitics, and other roots in compounding, cliticisation and lexicalisation, discussed and exemplified in relevant sections below.

5.3.2 The shape of the final syllable of canonical roots

The final syllable ($S_f$) is shaped ($C_f$)$V(-C)$. All vowels are possible. All consonants except laminals occur in the $C_f$ slot, except in loan words where laminals may occur in this slot. Consonant clusters do not occur in the $C_f$ slot except in loans.

Stress never occurs on the final ($S_f$) syllable.

5.3.2.1 Final consonants

The final (-C) position may be filled by the following clitics:

(26) -k verbal repackager of the role structure [Chapters §7 & §12]
     -t nominal [Chapters §8 & §11]
     -g genitive enclitic [Chapters §8, §11 & §14]
     -h 3s object enclitic [Chapters §9 & §12]
     -l frozen suffix of low frequency [Chapters §8 & §9]
     -ro plural marker

None of the above markers affect stress.

24In inherited vocabulary /a/ results from a combination of voiceless stop + /a/, while /æ/ results from a coalescence of /æ/ + /æ/ [§5.1.1]. In other words, both result from consonant clusters, and clusters cannot occur in the $C_f$ slot. Historical *y is lost, and so /y/ does not occur in the $C_f$ slot. Initial /y/ results from a reinterpretation of *i (e.g. *i-aku 'Is' > yako 'Is').

25The loss of historical final consonants in Buru is described in C.Grimes (1991a) and in appendices B and C of this study. Occasionally a final consonant may reflect a historical retention. However, in many cases where one would suspect such a retention (e.g. fula-n 'moon, month' < PMP *bulan 'moon'; uha-t 'vein, artery, tendon' < PAN *uRaC 'vein') other forms also occur (e.g. fula-t 'lunar'; uha-n 'leg' vein').

26The /-t/ marks whatever it attaches to as functioning within a nominal constituent of the clause.

27Including the entire genitive system where it is still productive [§14.2].

28The /l/ is restricted to a few lexical items and seems to reflect a retention of a frozen nominal suffix (non-human in some languages, non-animate in others, sometimes instrumental) that is still productive in some of the languages of western Seram (cf. Alucu -le). Its former function is being taken over by /-l/ (e.g. ka-pate-l (arch.) > ka-pate-t 'sitting place'; ka-nahe-l (arch.) > ka-nahe-t 'broom'). On a few names of species and a couple verbs the /l/ is not readily explainable as a morpheme (e.g. tonel 'marestial euscus of the genus Phalanger', kumul 'dove sp.', fekel 'tree sp.', denuel 'remain silent in the face of direct questioning', cefal 'war dance').
5.3.3 The shape of the penultimate syllable of the root

The penultimate syllable $S_2$ has the prototypical shape $(C_2)V$. All vowels can occur. All consonants can occur. Word stress falls on this syllable.

(27) ['hawa] ‘field (for cultivation)'
 ['toto] ‘pound, thrust downward'
 ['labu-n] ‘shirt, dress'

(28) ['ipa] ‘canarium (nut & tree)'
 ['ate-t] ‘thatch'
 ['eta] ‘until'

5.3.4 The shape of pre-penultimate syllables

Pre-penultimate syllables (i.e. antepenultimate $S_3$ and pre-antepenultimate $S_4$) derive from various sources. They come from a) historical trisyllabic roots, b) prefixes (and combinations of prefixes), c) compounding (both frozen and productive [Chapters §6, §11, §12]), and d) loans. Combinations of prefixes, compounding and loans are discussed later in this chapter.

There are constraints on the shape of the antepenultimate syllable, such that it is prototypically VC. Except in cases of compounding, lexicalisation, and loans, the vowel of the antepenultimate syllable is obligatorily /e/. This provides a predictable template for identifying and understanding certain morphophonemic processes described in §5.4. Compounding, lexicalisation and combinations of prefixes can result in a shape of CVC (and occasionally CV) and are discussed in §5.3.4.2 & §5.4.2.7.

5.3.4.1 The prothetic /e/ and trisyllabic roots

Single morpheme trisyllabic roots occur with low frequency. In these roots there has been a historical deletion of the vowel from the antepenultimate syllable of PAN trisyllabic roots and the addition of a prothetic vowel /e/.

(29) PAN/PMP  Buru  Gloss
 *Calinga  etlinga-n  'ear'
 *KuRita  ekhita  'octopus'
 *maRuqanay  emhana  'male'
 *ma-tuqaS  emtua-t  'elder, respected'
 *ma-taktut  emtako  'afraid'
 *ka-wanan  e'wana  'right side'
 *bulawan  eflawa  'gold, majestic'

\[For the conditions under which the penultimate syllable of the root is reinterpreted to have the structure VC, CVC, CCV, or CCVC, see §5.4.3.\]
5.3.4.2 The phonological shape of prefixes

The constraint on the shape of antepenultimate syllable effects the phonological shape of prefixes as well. Prefixes that were historically *CV- take the form /eC-/ with a default prothetic /e/ replacing the historical vowel.

(30) PAN/PMP Buru Buru Function
*(p-) ep-1 causative (active agentive)
*(pa-rik-) ep-1 reciprocal (multiple actors)
*(ka-) ek- passive causative (agentive passive)
*beR- eg- middle passive (agentless passive)
*ma- ef- bodily action (active agentive, out of)
*er- es- verbal (contact of surfaces)
*ni,-in- en- stative (ern-class)
*em- stative (eb-class)
*eb- stative (eb-class)

The example below illustrates how several of these prefixes can modify a single root.

(31) mata 'die, be dead'.
ep-mata 'kill'
ek-mata 'be killed'
en-mata 'death'

Before roots beginning with voiced stops the causative /ep-/ takes the shape CV [pe-].

(32) /ep-bah-ny/ → [pebahin] 'have an argument'
/ep-ded-ku/ → [pedek] 'repeat an action'

The prefixes shaped /eC- contrast with pre-verbal Tense-Aspect-Mood proclitics of the shape CV [§12.5], such as ba 'durative', ka 'habitual', te 'ablative', la 'irrealis', ma 'evidential'. Syllable shape and vowel constraints are two diagnostics that distinguish the two form classes.

(33) Da mata.
3s die
'He died.'

Da ba mata.
3s DUR die
'He is dying.'

(34) Da ga-mata fafu.
3s CAUS-die pig
'He killed a pig.'

Da ba ga-mata fafu.
3s DUR CAUS-die pig
'He is killing a pig (and it's taking time).'
5.4 Morphophonemic processes

Several phonological processes cross syllable, morphe, and word boundaries. They are discussed below, first looking at the ends of words, and then at the beginnings of words and across word boundaries.

5.4.1 Issues affecting the final syllable

Several grammatical phrase-level enclitics attach to roots becoming part of the phonological word and affecting such things as vowel quality, syllable shape, and resyllabification. None of them affect stress.

5.4.1.1 Raising of /ɔ/

Roots of the shape (C)VCV ending in /ɔ/ have the final vowel raise to [u] when /-t/-n/-k/-h/ are added.

(35) kabo
    kabu-t [‘kabut] 'murky, cloudy, obscure'
    'mud'

(36) ego
    enyegu-n [en’yegun] 'get, take, transfer'
    'that which was taken'

(37) defo
    defu-k [‘defuk] 'stay, sit'
    'leave s.t. behind'

(38) ego
    egu-h32 [‘eguh] 'get, take, transfer'
    'get it, take it'

5.4.1.2 Lowering of /u/

High back vowel /u/ tends to be lowered to its open allophone [u] in unstressed closed syllables; otherwise it is the close [u]. This most commonly occurs with the addition of non-syllabic enclitics.

(39) fatu
    fatu-n [‘fatun] 'rock'
    'pit, seed (of mango, etc.)'

---

30 Discrepancies between grammatical and phonological clusters are discussed in Chapter §6.
31 The palatalisation of vowel initial roots is discussed below in §5.4.2.3.
32 The /-h/ is often inaudible. Three things may signal its presence: 1) its pronunciation, 2) vowel raising, or 3) the addition of a paragogic /ɛ/ which forces the pronunciation of the /-h/. Thus, /ego-ɛ: / may have the phonetic variants [eguh, egit, eghhe].
33 Dozens of examples of [u] followed by a suffix or enclitic are found in the lexicon, but most of them are on a bound root that never occurs by itself, rather than a free root, so one can only guess at whether the underlying vowel is a /u/ that has been lowered to [u] (e.g. iku-n [ixtn] 'tail' < PMP *ikuR 'tail'), or an /o/ that has been raised to [u].
These two processes of raising /o/ to [u] and lowering /u/ to [u] cloud the distinction between /o/ and /u/, resulting in surface underspecification of full phonemes in unstressed closed final syllables. One must know the unaffixed root to know the underlying vowel.

5.4.1.3 Vowel harmony with two back vowels

If there is a consonant between two back vowels (C)VCV in the root, there is a constraint of harmony of vowel height such that both vowels are /o/ or both are /u/.

34 The Masarete and Rana dialects reflect both patterns. In the Lisela dialect both vowels are /u/ in the items where both are /o/ in the other dialects. Lisela thus has only one pattern. For example, Masarete wae poto-t 'hot water' = Lisela wae putu-t.
(45) Du pæfa hawa-ro.
3p burn field-PL
'They are burning fields (for cultivation).'

(46) Du kaa sepo-co.
3p eat finish-PL
'They finished eating (all of) them.'

When attached to a stem ending in /-t/, clustering of consonants is blocked and the plural enclitic takes the form [-o].

(47) ana-t 'child'
ana:-o 'children'

(48) geba em-pili-t 'chosen person'
geba em-pili-t-o 'chosen people'

When attached to a verb stem ending in /-k/ the plural enclitic takes the form [-oro].

(49) soo-k 'suspend s.t. (by rope or cord)'
soo-k-oro 'suspend, them'

There is a vowel harmony constraint when the phrase-level plural enclitic /-ro/ attaches to a root ending in /u/; the unstressed vowel lowers to [o] to harmonise with the vowel of the enclitic.  

(50) fafu 'pig'
[fafu:o] 'pigs' < [PMP *babuy]

(51) asu 'dog'
[asoro] 'dogs' < [PMP *asu]

5.4.1.5 The singular object enclitic /-h/

The enclitic /-h/ is a pro-form marking a singular object. It may attach to a verb or post-verbal auxiliary [§12.4].

(52) Da kita-h.
3s see-it
'She saw it.'

(53) Da kaa senu-h.36
3s eat finish-it
'He ate it all up.'

---

35Vowel harmony with the enclitic is superseded by vowel harmony within the root in those few roots that have two high back vowels. E.g. Buru rather than *(Buroro). The vowel of the root does not affect the vowel of the enclitic. Thus there is no *(Buroro).
36As noted in §5.4.1.1, the /-h/ triggers raising of /o/. In this case the root is /sepol/.

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5.4.1.6 Lowering of /i/ and /e/

Front vowels /i e/ tend to be lowered to their respective open allophones [i e] in unstressed syllables; otherwise they are the close [i e]. There is a tendency for /i/ to drift into the phonetic range of [e] in unstressed syllables, clouding the distinction between the front vowels /i e/. In the final syllable these two vowels are always unstressed. (The underlined form below is the most common.)

(54) /mahil/ ['mahil]  ['mahil]  ['mahil]  'come (hortative)' < PMP *maRi 'come'

(55) /sali/ ['sali]  ['sali]  ['sale]  'receive s.t.' < PMP *salin 'transfer'

5.4.1.7 The paragogic /e/

An extrametrical paragogic /e/ which does not influence stress may be added to consonant-final stems at the end of a phrase or utterance to mark a rhythmic break. Thus it may be inserted at a pause, at the end of each item in a listing, or to clarify the presence of an enclitic such as /-h/. The paragogic /e/ is a rhythmic feature of the language. Its presence or absence does not affect an utterance grammatically or in pragmatic connotation. It is normally absent when Buru people write their own language, but frequently present when they speak, particularly when formal eloquence is desired. It is regularly employed in the singing of traditional ballads as a syllabic filler for rhythm.

(56) tifu-n  'middle of s.t.'
     lale-n  'inside of s.t.'
     kala-k  'call s.o.'
     frake-h  'catch s.t.'
     tepu-t  'chicken'

5.4.1.8 Deletion before /r/

Simple NP phrase heads [Chapter §11] have the genitive /-n/ deleted before words beginning with /r/.

(57) beto-n em-sia-n  'one night (or full 24-hour cycle)'
     beto  rua  'two nights'
     beto-n telo  'three nights'

(58) lale-n ssa  'once, one time'
     lale  rua  'twice, two times'
     lale-n telo  'thrice, three times'

The genitive enclitic is not deleted from complex phrase heads before words beginning with /r/.
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(59)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{fafu} & \quad \text{ana-n} \quad \text{rua dii} \\
\text{pig} & \quad \text{offspring-GEN} \quad \text{two DIST} \\
& \quad \text{‘those two piglets’} \\
\end{align*} \]

Liquid /l/ is deleted before /l/.

(60)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{polo} & \quad \text{‘ten’} \\
\text{pe-rua} & \quad \text{‘twenty’} \\
\text{pol.telo} & \quad \text{‘thirty’} \\
\text{pol.paa} & \quad \text{‘forty’} \\
\end{align*} \]

5.4.2 Processes occurring before the penultimate syllable

5.4.2.1 Coalescence of like consonants

Across morpheme boundaries there is a coalescence of like consonants.

(61)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
[\text{polima}] & \quad \text{‘fifty’} \quad < \quad /\text{pol-lima}/ \quad (\text{pol} \quad <\quad \text{‘ten’}) \\
\end{align*} \]

(62)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
[\text{enewet}] & \quad \text{‘life’} \quad < \quad /\text{en-ene-wet}/ \\
\end{align*} \]

5.4.2.2 Assimilation of nasals to point of articulation

With lexicalised and compounded forms, nasals /n/ and /ng/ may optionally assimilate to the homorganic point of articulation before stops.

(63)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ele-en-bage-t} & \quad \text{‘bed’} \quad [\text{elen’baget}] \quad = \quad [\text{elem’baget}] \\
\end{align*} \]

(64)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
/\text{en-puna-t}/ & \quad \text{‘deed, behaviour’} \quad [\text{empunat}]^{37} \\
\end{align*} \]

(65)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{man.koi} & \quad \text{‘small bat’} \quad [\text{man’koi}] \quad = \quad [\text{mang’koi}] \\
\text{man.lumul} & \quad \text{‘large dove’} \quad [\text{man’kumul}] \quad = \quad [\text{mang’kumul}] \\
& \quad \text{(from manu-t ‘bird, flying creature whose wings can be seen in motion)} \\
\end{align*} \]

(66)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{manga} & \quad \text{‘to root (as a pig does’)} \\
\text{manga-t} & \quad \text{‘tuber (sweet potato/yam)’} \\
\text{mang.kau} & \quad \text{‘cassava, manioc’} \\
\text{man.safu-t} & \quad \text{‘white potato’} \quad < \quad \text{safu-k ‘spread, broadcast’} \quad < \quad *\text{sabuD ‘broadcast’} \\
\end{align*} \]

(67)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ana-meng-giwa} & \quad \text{‘eldest child’} \\
\text{ana-men-dedu-n} & \quad \text{‘second child, next child’} \\
\text{ana-men-tifu-n} & \quad \text{‘middle child’} \\
\end{align*} \]

5.4.2.3 Palatalisation with vowel initial roots

Certain processes such as prefixation and some forms of reduplication cause vowel-initial roots to become palatalised. [Palatalisation under reduplication is discussed in §5.6.4].

---

37 That the underlying prefix is en- and not em- will become clear in Chapter §7. The root puna ‘do’ is Active with Subject = Actor, so it cannot be underlying em-.
Prefixes /ep-/ and /en-/ become palatalised when attached to vowel-initial roots. While the resulting forms are phonetically palatalised consonants [CV], the CV structure of the language permits the resulting forms to be interpreted phonemically as full segmental phonemes.

(68) [+front] [+high]  
\[ V C^- + C V C V \] \[ V C V C V-C \]  
\[ p- o s o \] \[ e p y o s o -k \]  
\[ n- o l i \] \[ e n y o l i -t \]

(69) /ep-osoe-k/ 'CAUS-enter-k' \[ e p y o s o k \] 'put s.t. into s.t.'  
/en-oli-k/ 'CAUS-return-k' \[ e p y o l i k \] 'make s.t. return'  
/en-asok-k/ 'CAUS-explain-k' \[ e p y a s a k \] 'explain, make clear'  
/en-oli-t/ 'ABS-return-NOM' \[ e n y o l i t \] 'return (fare)'  
/en-opi-t/ 'ABS-blow-NOM' \[ e n y o p i t \] 'thunderstorm'  
/en-ino-t/ 'ABS-drink-NOM' \[ e n y i n u t \] 'drinking (wa-ar)'  
/en-ego-n/ 'ABS-take-GEN' \[ e n y e g u n \] 'taken (goods)'

5.4.2.4 Metathesis with participial /en-/  
The abstract nominaliser /en-/ collocates with active verb roots [Chapter §7]. When connected to roots starting with /k, the /en-/ triggers metathesis of the adjacent consonants.

(70) /en-foi-t/ 'ABS-bathe-NOM' \[ e f n o i t \] 'basin'  
/en-fasa-t/ 'ABS-cut-NOM' \[ e f n a s a t \] 'decision'

(71) /en-kadu-t/ 'ABS-come-NOM' \[ e s n a d u t \] 'arrival'  
/en-kodo-t/ 'ABS-grind-NOM' \[ e s n o d o t \] '(stone for) grinding'

(72) /en-suban-n/ 'ABS-cross.threshold-GEN' \[ e s n u b a n \] 'threshold'  
/en-seba-n/ 'ABS-worship-NOM' \[ e s n e b a t \] '(house for) worship'

(73) /en-toho-n/ 'ABS-descend-GEN' \[ e s n o h o n \] 'descent (social)'  
/en-tati-n/ 'ABS-put-down-GEN' \[ e s n a t i n \] 'genealogy'

5.4.2.5 Neutralisation of voiceless stops to glottal  
Voiceless stops /p t k/ are neutralised to glottal [ʔ] in certain combinations immediately preceding the first consonant of a penultimate syllable. Notice that phonetically, sequences such as [eŋ]'m]/[epm] and [eŋ]'n]/[etn] are almost indistinguishable.

38Glottalisation is explained in the next section.
39The first consonant, that is, before syllabification has been reinterpreted. Quakenbush (1991) has described a similar neutralisation of the voiceless stops to glottal in Agutayne, a Philippine language.
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Labial /p/ becomes glottal before /b d g m n ng w/.  

(74) /ep-mata/  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ mata] ‘CAUS-die (=kill)’  
/ep-wei-k/  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ weik] ‘CAUS-shout-k’  

Apical /t/ becomes glottal before /p t m n ng/ and optionally becomes glottal before /rl/.  

(75) /etlinga-n/  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ linga] ‘ear’  
$\quad$< PAN *Calinga ‘ear’  
/en-toho-n/  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ nò hon] ‘descent (ancestry) [metathesis]’  

(76) [é tua]  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ tua] ‘eight’  

Dorsal /k/ becomes glottal before /p t m n ng l r w/.  

(77) /sak.mena/  ‘up-dry’  $\rightarrow$ [saʰ mena] ‘in front’  
/kusa/  ‘control [Skt.]’  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ wasa] ‘wealth, influence’  
/en-koča-t/  $\rightarrow$ [eʰ nò dot] ‘grinding, tone) [met.]’  

In some cases the phonetic sequencing has promoted a reinterpretation of the underlying consonant. For example, the word for ‘eight’ derives historically in the reŋ?ön at an intermediate historical stage from the word for ‘two’ with a numeral prefix * *ka-dua in a sense of ‘minus two’. The expected reflex of * *ka-dua in Buru would be [eʰ tua], which is commonly found. Because of the phonetic transition from glottal stop to /rl/, however, the underlying consonant has been reinterpreted as /l/. Thus, as frequently as one hears [eʰ tua] one also hears [ét rua] and [trua]. In slow speech the form is [et rua].  

The neutralisation of contrast in the voiceless stops /p t k/ in this environment occasionally results in surface underspecification of semantic roles that must be sorted out by the linguistic or extralinguistic context.  

(78) [da eʰ mata fafu]  
$\quad$ep-mata  
$\quad$3s CAUS-die pig  
$\quad$’He killed the pig.’  

(79) [da eʰ mata fafu]  
$\quad$ek-mata  
$\quad$3s CAUS.BE-die pig  
$\quad$’He was killed by the pig.’  

---  

40 The use of ‘minus two’ for ‘eight’ and ‘minus one’ for ‘nine’ are common alternate strategies to using cognates *PMP *walu ‘eight’ and *siwa ‘nine’. Cf. many South Sulukwesi languages karuse ‘eight’ and kaseera/kemese ‘nine’ (Grimes & Grimes 1987:128-133); in the languages of the Sula Islands, Mangole gateua ‘eight’, gateasia ‘nine’; Sula Pagudu gatehua ‘eight’, gateasia ‘nine’; Buru cʰ rae, ecia (cf also Collins 1981:36). Kayeli, Ambelu, Boano and Manipa have followed the strategy of retaining PMP cognates for *walu ‘eight’ and *siwa ‘nine’.

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67
5.4.2.6 Deletion of prothetic /e/ following a vowel

The prothetic /e/ in prefixes and historical trisyllabic roots [§5.3.4.1] is deleted following a vowel both across word boundaries and in lexicalised forms.

(80) em-gesa
   *be flat (verbal); plain (nominal)*
   [da ba mngesa-mngesa tu kita] 3s DUR flat-flat with lpi
   'He continues with us always.'

(81) eb-rema-n
   STAT-long-NOM
   'far'
   [da iko breman] 3s go far
   'He went far.'

(82) emtua-t
   'respected (elder, parent)-NOM' < PAN *ma-tuqaS 'old'
   [geba mtua-t] person elder-NOM
   'elder (for negotiating bridewealth), parent'

(83) inewet
   ii-en-newe-t
   thing-ABS-live-NOM
   'snake (generic)'

(84) inhadat
   ii-en-hada-t
   thing-ABS-bite-NOM
   'mosquito (Masarete)'

5.4.2.7 Combinations of prefixes

Before stems that already have a prefix or trisyllabic roots with the prothetic /e/ [§5.3.4.1], the causative /ep-1/ and the reciprocal /ep-2/ takes the shape [pe-] with the consequent absence of the earlier prothetic /e/. This could alternatively be viewed as the non-occurrence of the prothetic /e/ of the first prefix when two prefixes are in combination.

(85) gea
   em-gea
   pe- nga /ep-em-gea/
   'be anxious/worried'
   'be shy/embarrassed'
   'embarrass s.o.'

(86) e2nika
   pe2nika-n /ep-e2nika-n/
   'ask a question'
   'question each other'
5.4.2.8 Vowel reduction of pre-penultimate vowels.

Prepenultimate vowels in polymorphic lexicalised forms may undergo vowel reduction, thus losing the identifying features of their underlying phoneme. \( \_ = \text{schwa} \).

(87) Masarete \([\text{masa\text{'rete}}] \quad [\text{masa\text{'rete}}] \quad [\text{masa\text{'rete}}] \quad [\text{masa\text{'rete}}] \quad \text{rete} \quad \text{up} \text{ (Lisela dialect)}\)

(88) lebeto 'yesterday' \([\text{le'beto}}] \quad [\text{la'beto}}] \quad [\text{la'beto}}] \quad [\text{li'beto}}] \quad [\text{le'a\text{'day}}] \quad \text{beto} \quad \text{night}'

(89) tagrihit 'flying fox' \([\text{ta'grihit}}] \quad [\text{ta'grihit}}] \quad [\text{te'grihit}}] \quad [\text{te'grihit}}] \quad [\text{tau} \quad \text{'being'} \quad \text{eg-rihi-t} \quad \text{hanging by a gripped hand}]

5.4.3 Resyllabification: repackaging the shape of a word

Cliticisation, compounding, lexicalisation, loss of prothetic /e/, loss of paragogic /e/ and the reduction of plural /-ro/ all involve loss of vowel(s). Vowels define syllable peaks. Thus, loss of a vowel requires rearranging syllabification. These are described below.

5.4.3.1 Cliticisation

*Cliticisation* may be defined for the Buru language as the loss of the final vowel of a root (along with any affixes or clitics that may have followed the final vowel) and the loss of word stress from that root.41 Functionally, cliticisation of one root signals tighter semantic cohesion with the root(s) to which it cliticises in the phrase, resulting in a cohesive cognitive unit.

(90) Uncriticised (functionally restrictive, descriptive)42

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times \times \\
\text{f afu ana-n} \\
\end{array}
\]

'offspring of a pig' (pig offspring-GEN)

Criticised (functionally non-restrictive, semantically bleached)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times \\
\text{f af. ana-n} \\
\end{array}
\]

'piglet'

(91) Uncriticised (functionally restrictive, descriptive)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times \\
\text{tuba haa-t} \\
\end{array}
\]

'big drum (of any type of drum)'

Criticised (functionally non-restrictive, semantically bleached)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times \\
\text{tub. haa-t} \\
\end{array}
\]

'big-drum (type of drum bigger than other types)'

---

41 By describing *cliticisation* as a process, I am not claiming that the resulting form is therefore now part of a form class of ellities, but is merely a cliticised root.

42 The functional restrictive/non-restrictive distinction is discussed at length in §23.3.
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(92) **Uncriticised (functionally restrictive, descriptive)**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times \\
\times \times \times \\
an.\ fehu-t \\
\end{array}
\]

'the new child (just arrived in the village)'

**Criticised (functionally non-restrictive, semantically bleached)**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times ~\times \\
an.\ fehu-ro \\
\text{child.new-PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

'the young generation/the new generation'

(93) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\times \\
\times \times \\
\times \times \times \\
\text{geb.fuk.Abun} \\
\text{person.island.Ambon} \\
\end{array}
\]

CLASS-GEN

'the Ambonese'

Cliticisation signals that the cliticised root is structurally (phonologically) integrated as part of a larger unit. This will become significant in later chapters in identifying junctures between topic and subject, in relative clauses, and between clauses. The final/non-final distinction is exemplified below.

(94) \[\text{wae 'water, river'}\]

[root in isolation]

(95) \[\text{Wae di bea. 'That river is loud/big.'} \]

[roots used in a sentence; descriptive]

(96) \[\text{Wa.Haa 'Loudwater (a river name)'}\]

[cliticisation indicating non-restrictive combination]

(97) \[\text{Wa.Ha.Olo-n 'Headwaters of the Loudwater river'}\]

[cliticisation indicating non-restrictive combination]

The examples below illustrate how the CV skeletal structure of words becomes reoriented under cliticisation.

(98) \[(C)V V \rightarrow (C)V\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
wae \rightarrow wa. \\
i i \rightarrow i. \\
k a u \rightarrow k a. \\
d i i \rightarrow d i. \\
\end{array}
\]

'water, river'

'thing'

'wood'

'distal deictic'

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(99) (C)V C V(C) → (C)V C.
    fatu → fat.  'rock'
    fulan → ful. 'month, season'
    iko → ik.  'go'
    tohon → toh. 'trail'

Cliticisation of combinations of monosyllabic functors also occurs, involving loss of a final vowel, leaving only the consonant of one monosyllabic functor.

(100) la da iko → la.d.iko  'for him to eat'
    IRR 3s go

(101) la ma kaa → la.m.kaa  'for us to eat
    IRR 1p eat

(102) cv#cv#cv → CV.CV
    la da ba → la.d.ba  'so that he would (irrealis + 3s + DUR)'
    la ma ba → la.m.ba  'so that we would (irrealis + 1p + DUR)'

5.4.3.2 Reduction of /*-ro/*

Reduction of the plural enclitic /*-ro/* to /*-r/* also involves the loss of a vowel, but unlike cliticisation this reduction does not affect stress. The process thus parallels the loss of paragogic /*el/ in syllable structure. While the plural /*-ro/* functions grammatically at the phrase level, within an NP it must occur before numerals, quantifiers and deictics [Chapter §11] and is cliticised as a non-final element.

(103) aso- x telo
     asu- ro
     dog-PL three
     'three dogs'

(104) aso- x dii
     asu- ro
     dog-PL DIST
     'those dogs'

(105) geba- x pila
     person-PL how many
     'how many people?'

(106) fat.mina- n fah.wanga- x paa
     pig-fat-GEN hand.digit-PL four
     'pig-fat four fingers thick'

5.4.3.3 Compounding & lexicalisation

There are two types of combinations of lexical roots in Buru. Productive compounding is widespread in the language and is identifiable by 1) flexibility of the frame where one of the

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members of the compound may be productively replaced by other forms, and 2) the resulting form is semantically recognisable as the sum of its parts. Compounding always signals tight semantic cohesion and tight grammatical cohesion, often forming a complex phrase head. [Chapter §17].

An unproductive combination of lexical roots, on the other hand, is frozen in form and semantics. The meaning of the resulting form is often related to its parts only by vague cultural associations. I call this *lexicalisation*. Lexicalised forms are often motivated by tabooing.

Both compounding and lexicalisation involve cliticisation, and where appropriate, loss of prothetic /e/. These processes may result in either nominal or verbal forms.

(107) **Productive compounding (verbal)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.linga</td>
<td>'go see = go see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.touk</td>
<td>'go inspect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.tangl</td>
<td>'go cry (a specific cultural event)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.geke</td>
<td>'go call, cuscus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(108) **Productive compounding (nominal)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fat.hese</td>
<td>'rock, wall = cliff'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat.aa</td>
<td>'rock, jaw = monument'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat.kira</td>
<td>'rock, forehead = stone slab'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(109) **Lexicalised forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inhadat</td>
<td>'mosquito'  &lt;- ii en-hada-t  'thing that bites'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isaleu</td>
<td>'python'  &lt;- ii saa leu  'thing that goes before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'naan</td>
<td>'food'  &lt;- ii en-kaa-n  'that which is eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inewet</td>
<td>'snake (generic)'  &lt;- ii en-newe-t  'living thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolafak</td>
<td>'head, carry'  &lt;- tu olo-n fafa-n -k  'by top of head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3.4 Resyllabification

The sections above illustrate various processes that result in the loss of vowels, and therefore the loss of a syllable peak in Buru. For example:

(110) **CV.CV#CV.CV#**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV#CV.CV#</td>
<td>cliticisation</td>
<td>CVC.CV.CV#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eC.CV.CV#</td>
<td>loss of prothetic /e/</td>
<td>CCV.CV#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eC.CV.CV#CV.CV#</td>
<td>loss of /e/ + cliticisation</td>
<td>CVC.CV.CV#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.-ra#</td>
<td>Reduction of /-ra/</td>
<td>CV.CV#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What must be explained as a result of these processes is how consonants appear to shift their syllable membership and how some of the derived syllable types do not otherwise occur in the language. To explain these processes using traditional notions of discrete boundaries between syllables would require complex rules and extensive discussion. However, by defining the rules of association and syllabification for Buru as I have on
page 55, the loss of syllable peaks and the resulting association of the remaining consonant(s) with other peaks is no longer problematic. By defining certain segments as *ambi*syllabic, economy and simplicity are maintained. Following the loss of a syllable peak, whatever lines of association remain determine the resulting syllabification.

(111) No ambisyllabic segments

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
/ & / \\
(\text{C}) \text{V} & \text{V(C)} \rightarrow (\text{C}) \text{V} \\
\hline
\text{w a e} & \text{w a} \cdot \text{ha} \\
\text{i i} & \text{i} \cdot \text{la} \text{i} \\
\text{g a o} & \text{g a} \cdot \text{fili} \\
\text{k a u} & \text{k a} \cdot \text{la} \text{feli} \\
\text{s a a} & \text{s a} \cdot \text{gaa} \\
\end{array}
\]

'(big)water'  
'(preceding)thing'  
'(lower leg)hold'  
'(X)true wood (for X (smoking))'  
'(name)one'

(112) Ambisyllabic segments

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
/ & / \\
(\text{C}) \text{V} & \text{V(C)} \rightarrow (\text{C}) \text{V} \\
\hline
\text{ol o-n} & \text{ol} \cdot \text{na} \\
\text{h u m a} & \text{h u m} \cdot \text{na} \\
\text{p u h h-t} & \text{p u h} \cdot \text{ma-n} \\
\text{p o l o} & \text{p o l} \cdot \text{ma} \\
\end{array}
\]

'(black)head'  
'(smoke)house'  
'(sweet)citrus'  
'(three)ten(s) = 30'

With the loss of paragogic /el/ and the reduction of plural /ro/ there is the following rearrangement of the skeletal tier:

(113) *\sigma & \sigma & \sigma  \\
\hline
/ & / & / \\
(\text{C}) \text{V} & \text{C} \text{V-C} \rightarrow (\text{C}) \text{V} \text{C} \text{V-C} \\
\hline
\text{k a t u k-e} & \text{k a t u} \cdot \text{k} \\
\text{s e p u h-h-e} & \text{s e p u} \cdot \text{h} \\
\text{h u m a-r-o} & \text{h u m a} \cdot \text{r} \\
\text{a t a-r-o} & \text{a t a} \cdot \text{r} \\
\text{f a f o-r-o} & \text{f a f o} \cdot \text{r} \\
\end{array}
\]

'send s.t.'  
'finish it'  
'houses'  
'underlings'  
'pigs'

With loss of prothetic /el/, the following repackaging of the skeletal tier occurs:

(114) *\sigma & \sigma  \\
\hline
/ & / \\
(\text{C}) \text{V} & \text{C} \text{V-C} \text{V} \text{C} \text{V} \text{C} \text{V} \text{C} \text{V} \text{C} \text{V} \text{C} \text{V} \\
\hline
\text{el i nga-n} & \text{el i nga} \cdot \text{na} \\
\text{e m-nge s a} & \text{e m-nge} \cdot \text{s a} \\
\text{e p-a a g a} & \text{e p-a a} \cdot \text{ga} \\
\end{array}
\]

'ear'  
'flat'  
'hunt (with dogs)'

43The last two syllables here may be replaced by the patterns described above: CV(C) and CV-CV.
A combination of both criticisation and loss of prothetic /e/ results in the following:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\sigma & *\sigma & \sigma \\
/\|\ /\|\ /\|\ /\|\ \\
(C) \nu C \nu C \nu C \nu C & \rightarrow & C \nu C \nu C. \\
| | | | | | & | | | \\
e m-\text{nge s a} & m-\text{nge s.} & \text{‘flat’} \\
e b-r a m a & b-r a m. & \text{‘immediately preceding s.t.’} \\
e s-m a k e & s-m a k. & \text{‘swear an oath’} \\
\end{array}
\]

The semivowel /w/ as the final (intervocalic) consonant of a root triggers recursive criticisation as explained below. For example, with em-sawa-n ‘son-in-law’. Normal processes of criticisation and loss of prothetic /e/ should result in *[msaw], but what actually occurs is msa. The semivowel [w] has thus been reanalysed as a vowel /u/ and then recriticised:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{VCVC\nu-} & \text{C} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{CC\nu \rightarrow CC\nu \rightarrow CCV} \\
en\text{sawa-n} & \quad \text{‘son-in-law’} & \quad \text{msaw} \quad \text{msau} \quad \text{msa} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

Msa.Gewsgit ‘son-in-law of the Gewagit (kin group)’ < PMP *qasawa ‘spouse’

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{CV\nu-} & \text{C} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{CV\nu \rightarrow CVu \rightarrow CV} \\
l\text{awe} & \quad \text{‘downstream’}^{45} & \quad \text{lau} \quad \text{la} & \quad \text{‘dative-benefactive’} \\
t\text{awe} & \quad \text{‘companion’} & \quad \text{tau} \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{‘being’ < PAN *Cau} \\
t\text{ewe} & \quad \text{‘know’} & \quad \text{teu} \quad \text{te} & \quad \text{‘ablative’}^{46} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

5.4.3.5 The phonetics of consonant clusters

It is thus only with the loss of a syllable peak that consonant sequences come to be reinterpreted as a cluster within a single syllable. Phonetically, the consonant of any closed antepenultimate syllable is attracted to the consonant of the penultimate syllable, resulting in a combination which sounds as if there were a consonant cluster. In slow speech a hint of a pause may occur following the antepenultimate vowel and the following consonant cluster behaves as a tight sequence of the stressed penultimate syllable. Furthermore, most consonant clusters are best described as having overlapping articulation. That is, they are coloured by the first C going into the sequence followed by simultaneous (double) articulation, and then coloured by the second C going into the vowel. In no cluster may the first C be considered syllabic. The possible combinations of consonants that occur and their overlapping articulation results in interesting oral gymnastics for the foreigner trying to learn to hear and speak the Buru language.

---

\(^{45}\) The last two syllables here may be replaced by the patterns described above: CVV(C) and CVCV-CV.

\(^{46}\) Downstream, far, away from emic source’ < PAN *laSuD ‘sea’.

\(^{46}\) This is probably from PMP *tawu ‘know’, which should have yielded *[lawe]. But tewe is a reflex of PAN *Cau ‘person’ and so tewe was derived through metathesis to disambiguate the two.
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(118) mngesa  'fat'
fngihut  'to clear mucous from the nose'
pil-pitilo  'suddenly'
pkiki  'k.o. traditional dance'
ngboti  'rat (Lisela dialect)'

5.4.4 Glottal insertion

In slow speech a glottal [Ɂ] is inserted between like vowels across word boundaries.

(119) huma atet  [humaʔatet]  'thatch house'
wali lpi  [waliʔlpi]  'brother-in-law lpi'

5.5 Rule ordering

Several of the processes described above must occur before other processes to provide the conditions necessary to explain the resulting forms. Vowel harmony of the root with the plural enclitic /-ro/ must occur before reduction to /-r#/ can occur.

(120) w:u → asoro → asor  'dogs'
fasu → faforo → fafor  'pigs'

Metathesis must occur before voiceless stops can become glottal.

(121) en-toho-n → etnohon → eʔnohon  'descent'
en-kodo-t → eknodot → eʔnodot  'grind(stone)'

Cliticisation or affixation occur before coalescence of like consonants.

(122) polo lima → pol.lima → pol.lima  'fifty (ten.five)'
(123) en- + newe → en-newe-t → enewet  'life'

5.6 The morphophonemics of reduplication

Formally there are several kinds of reduplication in Buru, including phrasal duplication, multiple repetition\(^{47}\) and full reduplication of a stem, to reduplication of the root, reduplication of the first CVC, reduplication of the first CV, and reduplication of the first C.

5.6.1 Reduplication of nouns

Full reduplication of nouns has a distributive function indicating 'each N'.

(124) geba-geba  'each person'
huma-huma  'each house'

\(^{47}\) Up to 14 repetitions recorded.
The first form may undergo cliticisation under reduplication, with no change in meaning. The full form is more common.

(125) **geb.geba**  
**hum.huma**  
'each person'  
'each house'

### 5.6.2 Reduplication of verbs

Full or partial reduplication of active verbs [Chapter §7] indicates an *iterative* (repetitive) aspect when the verb is used as the main verb of a clause. [= indicates a reduplicative juncture between morphologically complex stems.]

(126) **iko-iko**
**ik.iko**  
'went (repeatedly)'

(127) **sahi-k = sahi-k**
**sahi-sohik**
**soh.sohik**  
'wait (repeatedly)'

Reduplication of verbs used to modify main verbs indicates an adverb of *manner*.

(128) **iko roho-roho**
**bisi gos.gosa**  
'go slowly (slow-slow)'

Reduplication of non-active verbs indicates *intensity*.

(129) **haa-haa**
**em-pei = m-pei**  
'really big (big-big)'

'really sick (sick-sick)'

The verbal preposition *eta 'arrive, until' may be reduplicated repetitively as an oratorical device dramatising the duration of the action (usually a verb of motion or posture).

(130) **Da heka et-et-et-et-et-et-eta dena da fena.**

3s run until upstream village  
*He ran on and on until he reached the village.*

### 5.6.3 Phrasal repetition

Phrases, such as phrasal question words, may be repeated. In the case of question words, reduplication makes them *indefinite* [§9.2.8].

(131) **Fi-doo = fi-doo**
**sira iko, du dufa fafu.**
LOC-where=LOC-where 3p go 3p get pig  
'Wherever they went, they got pig.'

---

48This is in contrast to the *durative* ba iko 'continue to go' or the *habitual* ke iko 'habitually goes'.
5.6.4 Reduplication of first consonant

Reduplication of the first consonant of a root followed by an epenthetic /ə/ indicates the semantic relationship of HAVE. This provides a template for this kind of reduplication (cf. Marantz 1982).

The form is referring to a generic non-referential quality. Thus, nominal markers /-n/- that normally signal definiteness cannot co-occur with this pattern of reduplication.

For roots that start with a vowel it is again the first consonant that is reduplicated. But here the epenthetic /ə/ coalesces with the palatalisation of vowel initial roots [§5.4.2.3], resulting in a syllabic /l/.

5.7 Voicing as a grammatical feature

There are numerous pairs of lexical items and two pairs of prefixes in which a phonetic voiced/voiceless contrast carries a grammatical function. The voiceless member of the pair indicates a volitional agent and the voiced member indicates no agent or unimportant agent.
Clusters such as *[eg-d]*, *[eg-t]* and *[eg-k]* do not occur. This suggests that the voiced member of each lexical pair reflects precisely such a historical clustering. Thus, in these pairs, initial [d] has resulted from /eg-t/, and initial [g] has resulted from /eg-k/. This analysis is further strengthened by the behaviour of /eg-y/ → [j] as an intermediate degree of coalescence.

The feature [ + voice] in these pairs can be analysed as the trace of a historical prefix which triggered lenition of voiceless stops.

---

49Time is seen metaphorically in Buru culture as past time being downhill and behind (pamorit), and future time being ahead and uphill (askmens).

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The trace of the prefix before the voiceless stops is now simply the feature [+voice] as a result of lenition. This hypothesis is further strengthened in that only the voiceless member of a pair can be historically reconstructed.50

(149) teta
gela-k
'separate'
's.t. separated (lengthwise, e.g. rubberband snapping)

(150) gela-k
'throw away, refuse'
'be denied permission, be shoved'

(151) toto
goto
'pound, thrust downward'
'sag downward'

(152) kali
gali
'to dig, dig up s.t.'
'be dug up (e.g. by water)'

5.8 Vocatives

There are distinct phonological patterns associated with vocatives, both with terms of address and with calling.

5.8.1 Vocatives of address with /-n/

Kin terms have a vocative form of address with the addition of the genitive /-n/ which contrasts with the terms of reference. Vocatives of address used in this way take slightly higher-than-normal pitch on the stressed syllable and slightly lower than normal pitch on the unstressed syllable.

(153) Reference51 Address52
ama
ina
kai
wai
feta
naha
opo
ama-n
ina-n
kai-n
wai-n
feta-n
naha-n
opo-n
'father'
'mother'
'elder sibling same sex'
'younger sibling same sex'
'sister (man speaking)'
'brother (woman speaking)'
'grandparent, grandchild'

5.8.2 Vocatives of calling with /-6/

A pattern for calling across the village or across the valley (with parallel patterns throughout central Maluku) is marked in Buru by a stressed /6/. It is added to terms of

50This is a good illustration of the importance of understanding the patterns of individual languages for the internal reconstruction of languages in a region.
51One term of reference kake-n 'husband’s sister/brother’s wife' obligatorily has the genitive /-n/.
52See Chapter §14 for a discussion of the collapse of the entire genitive system to the third person singular form in the Masarute dialect. The Rana and Lisela dialect use a pre-posed, rather than a post-posed, first singular form /ng-/ for the vocative (e.g. ng-ama ‘1s-father’, ng-ina ‘1s-mother’, ng-opo ‘1s-grandparent”).

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address or to whole propositions [§22.5]. The vocative /é/ carries both stress and length. The stress supersedes other stress patterns leaving the normal stress-bearing syllable bearing only secondary stress. Length may be drawn out significantly for emphasis.

(1.4) x
      x x
      x x x
amané 'father!

(155) ina-n-é 'mother'
      kali-n-é 'elder sibling same sex'
      wala-n-é 'younger sibling same sex'
      feta-n-é 'sister (man speaking)'
      naha-n-é 'brother (woman speaking)'
      opo-n-é 'grandparent'

(156) Tuba, tuka-é!
      'Get the drums,' (play the drums.)
      [an important visitor is about to arrive in the village]

(157) Ya toho gam pa masi-é!
      1s descend ALL down sea-VOC
      'Hey! I'm going down to the coast!'  

5.9 Loan words

Loans, except recent ones, have been repackaged to conform to Buru phonotactic constraints. Recent loans, from whatever source, are usually borrowed via Ambonese Malay (cf. Collins 1980a, C.Grimes 1985, B.Grimes 1991a,b) and follow their Ambonese Malay forms.53

Medial nasal-consonant clusters (between the ultimate and penultimate syllables) are reduced and Ambonese Malay word-final velar nasals go to /n/.

(158) Ambong Ambonese Malay 'Ambon Island'
     Abon Buru 'Ambon Island'

(159) ganti Ambonese Malay 'change'
     gati Buru 'exchange'

(160) tunggu Malay 'wait'
     tugu Buru 'guard, watch over s.t.'

Antepenultimate syllables shaped CV lose their vowel and are repackaged as VC with the prosodic /é/ [§5.3.4.1]. Voiceless stops become glottal where appropriate.

53Note that final stops are lost in Ambonese Malay paralleling the pattern of the historical loss of final consonants in Buru.
Chapter Five:

| (161) | meirimho | Portuguese | 'beliff' |
|       | marinyo  | Ambonese Malay | 'village crier/constable' |
|       | emrimo54 | Buru | 'village crier/constable' |

| (162) | capitão | Portuguese | 'ship's captain' |
|       | kapitan  | Ambonese Malay | 'war chief/champion' |
|       | pakitan  | Buru | 'war chief/champion' |
|       | epkitan55 | Buru | 'war chief/champion' |

| (163) | vas66 | Sanskrit | 'power, control' |
|       | kuasa   | Malay | 'powerful, influence' |
|       | e'wasa  | Buru | 'influence/control' |
|       | e'wasa-t | Buru | 'wealth (i.e. results from influence)' |

| (164) | kwali    | Ambonese Malay | 'wok (frying pan)' [< Chinese?] |
|       | e'wali   | Buru | 'wok (frying pan)' |

In some older loans, foreign sounds, such as /cf/56 are reanalysed.

| (165) | bicara   | Sanskrit | 'speak' |
|       | bicara   | Malay | 'speak' |
|       | fisara57 | Buru | 'speak at formal occasions' |

| (166) | caii     | Sanskrit | 'look for livelihood' |
|       | mencari  | Malay | 'look for s.t.' |
|       | mancari  | Ambonese Malay | 'hunt (intransitive)' |
|       | mansari  | Buru | 'hunt (intransitive)' |

| (167) | baca     | Mal'ay | 'read' [< Sanskrit?] |
|       | basa     | Mal'ay | 'read' |
|       | bakua    | Buru (ideolectal) | 'read'58 |

5.10 Dialect variation

It was noted in Chapter §4 that most dialect variation in Buru is lexical or from contact-induced change. A few phonetic differences can be noted. In the Wae Sama dialect semivowel /w/ is fricativised [b] between unlike vowels.

| (168) | Wae Sama dialect: |
|       | /nive/ | → ['nibe] | 'coconut' |
|       | /tawa/ | → ['tawa] | 'shine light on water' |

54The change from /my/ > /m/ is unusual, but partially explainable. There is no /m/ in Buru. /my/ is phonemically considered a sequence and thus is disallowed in that position. Shifting to /m/ rather than another nasal is possibly encouraged by consonant harmony.

55Both forms occur. Metathesis of the consonants probably occurred for two reasons. Phonotactically, *[kp] is disallowed, whereas /pk/ is common. Semantically, one of the epkitan's main responsibilities was to kite 'watch' the coastline and attack any boats that landed.

56Remember that Buru /cf/ is very recent and is best considered a phoneme still in genesis.

57/t/ is the normal reflex for PA' i *b as well. In Lisela, bicara has become epasa.

58This is further indication that /cf/ is seen to be complex.
Masarete /c/ maintains the underlying cluster of voiceless stop + /s/ in the Lisela dialect. Rana reflects both patterns ideolectally. It has been noted that the default vowel for morphological processes (prothetic, epenthetic and paragogic vowels) is /a/. In the Lisela dialect this is phonetically higher [i].

5.11 Intonation

Prototypical intonation patterns are summarised here. Where intonation contours are diagnostic for contrastive grammatical patterns, they are discussed in their appropriate section in later chapters. Simple declarative sentences have a falling contour at the end. Pitch contours along the way mirror the stress patterns.

(169) _________[Geb.Wa.Katin]__________ [rua ba kaa tonal hede.]
'The two people from Mat Water are still eating cuscus.'

(170) _________[Sita iko gam pa masti.]
'They went down to the coast.'

(171) _________[Du iko moo.]
'They didn't go.'

Appositional topics [§21.1.1.4] are set off from the clause proper by falling intonation and sometimes the hint of a pause.

(172) _________[Ya nang ama, Baperaja, da prepa fen, ‘...’]
[1s 1sPOSS father king 3s say CMPLR
'My father, the king, he said that, ‘...’]

Specific topics [§21.1.2] and complex topics are set off from the comment by rising intonation and a slight pause.

(173) _________[Gebra saa, da pali katin saa.59]
[person one 3s weave mat one
'A man, he wove a sleeping mat.]

59This is different from a relative construction.
Questions without tags are marked by a rise-fall (high-mid) at the end. The rise occurs on the stressed syllable of the final lexical root of the sentence, but it is higher than a declarative sentence (mid-low) [§22.1].

(174) Da iko halk? [Interrogative]
3s go already
'Did he already go?'

(175) Da iko halk. [Declarative]
3s go already
'He already went.'

5.12 Notes on the practical orthography

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is written with a digraph ng in the practical orthography for ease of transferring reader skills to and from Indonesian. The prothetic /e/ is regularly indicated. Readers quickly learning to delete it where appropriate to imitate speech.

Following the preferences of preliminary testing of readers, coalesced phonemes are written as a sequence of two phonemes to distinguish that phenomenon from the glottal. There is underdifferentiation of the voiceless stops becoming glottal in the orthography (i.e. glottal is not marked). Thus, the first consonant (c₁) of a three syllable word written as eC₁VCV(C) is preglottalised. Readers do not have difficulty distinguishing from the context.

(176) elingan 'ear' [ə³linga-n] < PAN *Calinga 'ear'

(177) mata 'die'
emata 'kill'
emata 'be killed'
[e³mata] from /ep-mata/
[e³mata] from /ek-mata/

(178) newe 'live'
ennewet 'life'
/en-newe-t/

(179) kaa 'eat'
inana 'food'
[f³naan] from /iι-en-kaa-n/[61]

(180) toho 'descend'
 enohon 'descendents'
[e³nohon] from /en-toho-n/

Cliticised elements are written in their shortened forms to indicate the semantic and phonological groupings of non-final elements, but word breaks follow the grammatical word with proclitics written separately [see Chapter §6].

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60 Readers in ten mountain villages participated.
61 This lexicalised form has a) cliticisation, b) loss of prothetic /e/, c) metathesis, and d) /k/ becoming glottal.
(181) Final deictic (uncriticised)
   \[ \text{fi} \quad \text{dii} \]
   LOC DIST
   'from there'

Non-final deictic (criticised)
   \[ \text{fi} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{fena} \]
   LOC DIST village
   'from the village'

(182) Compound
   heka 'flee'
   hektatak 'abandon s.t.' (flee-drop-k)
Chapter Six
Words and word juncture

In this chapter formal distinctions between a phonological word and a grammatical word are examined, and various questions are addressed. Is there a formal distinction between suffixes and enclitics? Between prefixes and proclitics? How should word breaks be indicated — to match the grammatical word, the phonological word, or a compromise of the two? The analytical decisions made here affect notions such as phrase juncture and phrase head defined in later chapters.

6.1 The structural elements of a word

Ignoring cliticised forms, Buru has several structural pieces of words that can be distinguished on grounds of form, function, and distribution. They are: roots, prefixes, the suffix -i, proclitics, and enclitics. Each will be discussed in turn.

6.1.1 Roots

For Buru, it is helpful to distinguish between lexical roots and functors. Lexical roots form the basis of content words such as nouns, verbs, and post-verbal auxiliaries and carry the primary semantic load of a clause or sentence. Functors (cf. Zorc 1978), on the other hand, tend to modify the main lexical roots or relate them to each other. Functors include form classes such as pronominal proclitics, tense-aspect-mood markers, and prepositions.1

6.1.1.1 Lexical roots (free roots and precategorials)

Lexical roots are never monosyllabic in their uncliticised forms. Most are disyllabic and a few are trisyllabic. Lexical roots may be either bound or free. Free lexical roots may stand alone as an utterance or a response. Some free forms occur in a full range of combinations with affixes and enclitics, and it is easy to see the unmarked form from which they derive.

1This does not imply that functors carry no lexical content nor that lexical roots carry no grammatical function.
Words & Word Juncture

(1) wae  'water, river, stream'  [Free form -- nominal]
ewae-t  'wet'  [Adjectival participial /ek-wae-t/]
(X) wae-n  'liquid (of X)'  [Genitive]
newae-k  'be wet, get wet'  [Verbal]
ef-wae  'go excrete (euphemism)'  [Verbal]

In contrast, bound lexical roots are those that have only been encountered in the data corpus in combination with other morphemes. For some of these roots one can infer that they are prototypically nominal or verbal.

(2) ana-²  '(offspring)'  [Bound lexical root -- prototypically nominal]
an-t  'child'
(X) ana-n  'offspring (of X)'
a-fina  'daughter, female, woman'
an-mhana  'son, male, man'
an-meng-giwa  'eldest child'
an.tuni-n  'category of adopted child'
an.repu-n  'category of adopted child (cf. B.D.Grimes 1990a)'
eb-ana-k  'give birth'

For other bound roots, however, it is not clear that one derived usage is more basic than another. Thus, one cannot, except by etic speculation, declare the root to be primarily 'nominal', 'verbal' or whatever. Such roots are called precategorials.³ This term will be used to refer to all bound roots, whether or not it is transparent that they are prototypically 'nominal', 'verbal' or whatever.⁴ For example:

(3) tea-  '(involving a post?)'
tea-k  'to jam s.t. postlike into the ground for use'
tea-n  '1) a (house)post'
        '2) point of reference for origins (place of original post?)'
ep-tea  '1) to live, stay, dwell (figurative from planting housepost?)'
        '2) to sit down (extended sense from 1?)'

(4) bidu-  '(involving a cast-net)'
bidu-k  'to cast a cast-net'
bidu-t  'a cast-net'

In the example above, one could argue either that 1) the nominal form uses /-t/ to derive the instrument that is characteristically used to perform the active verb, or 2) the verbal form uses /-k/ to derive a verb that is characteristically done with the noun. Both are legitimate explanations in the paradigms of the language.

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²This is from the PMP *ana- 'child'. There is also a free form one which means 'termite' from PMP *ana- 'termite'.
³Adelaar (1985:223) defines precategorials for his study of Proto-Malayic as "roots that do not occur in isolation, that is, roots which only occur in derivations and in compounds." For Buru we must expand the definition to include reduplication. E.g. pan-pan- 'wing'; p-e-pan- 'HAVE wing (s.t. of which wing is the most salient feature)', but never *[pan-] by itself.
⁴Precategorials in isolation are indicated by a following hyphen in this study (e.g. ana- 'offspring')
6.1.1.2 Functors

Functors may be either monosyllabic or disyllabic in their uncliticised forms. Most functor words are phonological proclitics. Some functors are polymorphemic (e.g. bamba ‘immediate past’ <- ba-ma-ba).

6.1.2 Distinguishing prefixes and proclitics

Both proclitics and prefixes are similar in that they behave as phonological satellites to the stress patterns of following lexical roots. Neither prefixes nor proclitics can stand on their own as an utterance or response. Prefixes are distinguished from proclitics on the following grounds:

a) Form: Prefixes are all of the shape VC- [§5.3.4.2]. The vowel of a prefix is obligatorily the prosodic /ə/. In contrast, monosyllabic functors that are also proclitics are of the shape CV. There is no constraint on the vowel of proclitics.

b) Function: All prefixes are derivational in nature. Proclitics are inflectional, indicating things such as person and number or tense-aspect-mood.

c) Distribution: Prefixes are inseparable from the roots to which they attach, except in combination with other prefixes. Proclitics, on the other hand, may be separated from the stress-bearing root by other proclitics, by cliticised compounds or by prefixes.

6.1.3 The suffix /-i/

Buru has one suffix which is both phonologically and grammatically a suffix. The suffix -i shifts the stress to the right on CVVC-shaped roots, and triggers cliticisation on CVV-shaped roots [§5.2.3]. It occurs before the enclitic -k, and indicates a specific locative goal is targetted by the semantics of the verb.5

6.1.4 Enclitics

The final consonant morphemes in Buru can all be considered grammatical phrase-level enclitics [see Chapters §11 & §12]. They are, however, inseparably bound to the syllable structure of the roots to which they attach, often affecting vowel quality, and are thus considered part of the phonological word. The plural enclitic /-ro/ further affects vowel harmony with the root [§5.4.1.4].

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5Cliticised forms may result in other shapes such as CVC, as discussed in §5.4.3.
6The suffix -i derives historically from the PAN *i ‘locative suffix’ (cf. Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982).
6.2 Boundaries between words

In the Buru language there are often discrepancies between boundaries of phonological units and grammatical units. For example, grammatical phrase-level enclitics are suffixes on the phonological word. Grammatical clause-level and phrase-level proclitics behave as phonological satellites to stress-bearing lexical roots, both in their stress patterns and in the repackaging of their syllable structure.

Some general observations can be made about words and word breaks in Buru. Many of these observations are consistent with observations made cross-linguistically about determining units called "words" (cf. Dixon 1988, Ch.3).

a) There is a cohesiveness of order within a word that may not be permuted. That is, prefixes must attach preceding the roots they modify, enclitics attach following the lexical root which delineates their scope within the phrase.

b) Neither the prothetic /e/ nor the paragogic /e/ attach to proclitics.

c) Both proclitics and clefticised disyllabic roots adhere to the stress pattern and syllable structure of the following full lexical root or stem.

d) The presence of a prefix or a prothetic /e/ indicates the beginning of a grammatical word.

e) The presence of an enclitic or a paragogic /e/ indicates the end of a grammatical and phonological word.

The main problems left to be dealt with are the status of proclitics and whether to consider clitics as complex words or as sequences of words.

*Lexicalised forms* are those in which the structural pieces have been fused together to symbolise a real world referent whose semantic whole is not necessarily the sum of its parts [§5.4.3.3]. They are considered single grammatical words.

(5) inaan 'food' < ii-en-kaa-n \[thing-ABS-eat-GEN]\n
(6) sakmena 'in front' < saka-mena \[up-dry/hot]\n
(7) gebhaa 'husband' < geba-haa \[person-big]\n
*Compounds* (discussed further in Chapters §11 and §12) are considered to be a single grammatical word composed of lexical roots (and their phonological affixes), at least one of
which is criticised. They are paradigmatically productive and thus less tightly fused than lexicalised roots [§5.4.3.3].

(8) ik.touk 'go inspect' < iko-tou-k [go-inspect/see-k]
(9) hek.tatak 'abandon' < heka-tata-k [run-drop-k]

*Proclitics* are considered separate grammatical words. In addition to the scope of their syntactic function, they occur preceding the units bracketed by such things as prefixes, suffixes, enclitics, and the prothetic and paragogic *le*. There is also a contrast between combinations of proclitics and lexical roots that would add to the cost of redundancy, as illustrated below.

(10) Separate grammatical words

```
fi    di    pupa-n    lale-n
ALL    DIST   face-GEN inside-GEN
'from her face'
```

Lexical root

```
fidi    pupa-n    lale-n
fan    face-GEN inside-GEN
'fan her face'
```

(11) Separate grammatical words

```
fi    na    Buru
ALL    PROX Buru
'here on Buru'
```

Lexical root

```
fina    Buru
female    Buru
'Buru woman'
```

(12) lama    'to spread s.t. over a surface'
la ma    'IRR we'

6.3 The notion of a stress group

A *stress group* is a phonological unit consisting of a stress-bearing lexical root and all the preceding criticised roots, proclitics and following enclitics. Cliticisation and its associated patterns of resyllabification [§5.4.3] may occur within a stress group, but not across stress groups. If the semantic or pragmatic structure changes, then the stress group patterns may change [§5.4.3.1]. Notice that there is a bracketing discrepancy between grammatical units and the phonological stress group in that a stress group may cross junctures
of the layers of a clause [§18.1], while at the same time a grammatical phrase may consist of more than one stress group. In the following example, one NP is composed of several stress groups:

(13) One phrase [NP] - several stress groups:

\[ x \ x \ x \ x \]
\[ x \ x \ x \ x \] (xx) [x x] (xx)

geb.fuk.Buru tau-n telo dii
geba.fuka.Buru tau-n telo dii
person.island.Buru CLASS th.rec DIST
N.N.N N NUM DEIC

'those three Buru men'

The following contain examples of one stress group encompassing several grammatical units.

(14) One stress group - several grammatical units:

\[ x \ x \ x \ x \]
\[ x \ x \ x \ x \] (xx)

Sira la.d.ba.p-kiki naa.
l.a.du.ba.ep-kiki
3p IRR.3p.DUR.CAUS-k.o.dance PROX

'They want to dance now.'

(15) x x x x
[x x] [x x x x]
Ringe la.d.ba.moho.
l.a.du.ba.moho
3s IRR.3s.DUR.fall

'He was having a tendency to fall.'

(16) x x
\[ x \ x \ ] [x xx]
Mahi la.m.kaa.
l.a.ma.kaa
come IRR.1p.eat

'Come, let's eat.'

In this final example, each stress group corresponds with a single syntactic unit:

(17) One stress group = one syntactic unit:

\[ x \ x \ x \ x \]
\[ x \ x \ ] [x x] [x x x x] (xx)

Sira iko gaa.pa.masi baik.
gama.pao.masi
3p go ALL.down.sea already
NP VP PP AUX

'They already went down to the coast.'
6.4 Indicating word breaks in writing

Additional conventions chosen for consistency in writing Buru language data in this study are mentioned here. Prefixes and enclitics are joined with the roots or stems to which they attach phonologically. The suffix /-i/ is written as part of the word to which it attaches. Proclitics are written separate from the following stress-bearing words, in accord with their performance as grammatical words.

In attempting to write their own language, native speakers of Buru are inconsistent in attaching or separating proclitics from the following stress-bearing word. They are often inconsistent within the same sentence. This inconsistency reflects the clash between the phonological and the grammatical notions of word boundaries. [In the examples below the underlined form indicates the convention chosen for this study.]

(18) **Da empei.** / Da mpei. / Dampei.  
'She's sick.'

(19) **Da ba empei.** / Da bampei. / Dabampei.  
'She's still sick.'

The prothetic /e/ is written in this study and in the practical orthography, except in lexicalised forms, compounds, and reduplicated forms, as its loss in pronunciation is predictable following a vowel [§5.4.2.6].

(20) **Du ephuda huma.**  
'They tore down the house.'

Lexicalised forms are written as a single unbroken word without surface indications of their etymologies.

(21) **inewet 'snake (generic)'
<- il-en-newe-t 'thing-ABS-live-t'

Compound forms are written in this study with a full stop [.] at the morpheme juncture to indicate a root has undergone cliticisation [§5.4.3].

(22) **pol.telo**  
'thirty'  
<- **polo-telo**7 'ten-three'

**hum.fatu**  
'cement house'  
<- **huma-fatu** 'house-stone'

Reduplication involving the root is indicated with a hyphen [-], following conventions used for Indonesian.

(23) **ro-roin**  
'a little bit'

---

7Writing out the full form of the roots in a true compound is unacceptable to Buru speakers. Trap (1904) wrote polo-telo for 'thirty (pieces of silver)'. This is unanimously rejected by Buru speakers as incorrect, lending credence to the idea that there is some sort of psychological reality to the contrast between a compound with a cliticised (reduced) root and the combination of the two uncliticised roots as independent words.

C.Grimes

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Reduplication of polymorphic stems is indicated in this study with an equals sign [=] to indicate the hierarchy of clustering.

(24) \( \text{ep-sia} = \text{ep-sia-k} \quad '\text{keep on uniting}' \quad < - \text{ep-sia-k} \quad '\text{CAUS-one-k}' \)

Reduplication of the first consonant is written as an unbroken word in the practical orthography, but with a hyphen in this study.

(25) \( \text{pepapi} / \text{pe-pani} \quad '\text{winged}' \quad < - \text{pani-} \quad '\text{wing}' \)

Criticised nouns used as pre-head classifiers [Chapter §15] in the formation of a complex phrase head are written as separate words in the practical orthography. Buru people writing their own language consistently write classifiers separately, even when criticised. Phonologically they cluster with the following stress-bearing lexical root in a pattern identical to the combination of roots in compounds, however, and so for this study are written as compounds.

(26) \begin{align*}
\text{Practical orthography} & \quad \text{This study} \\
\text{fuka} & \quad \text{fuka} \\
\text{fuk Buru} & \quad \text{fuk.Buru} \\
\text{fuk Abon} & \quad \text{fuk.Abon} \\
\text{fuk Jawa} & \quad \text{fuk.Jawa} \\
\text{manut} & \quad \text{manu-t} \\
\text{man kamul} & \quad \text{man.kamul} \\
\text{man samul} & \quad \text{man.samul} \\
\text{man grihit} & \quad \text{man.grihit} \\
\text{man koi} & \quad \text{man.koi} \\
\end{align*}

'island, mountain'
'Buru Island'
'Ambon Island'
'Java Island'
'bird, flying creature'
'k.o. large pigeon'
'tern or seagull'
'fruit bat'
'k.o. small bat'

Criticisation is a key mechanism employed by the Buru language to signal different types of juncture and syntactic relations. Therefore, pronouns and deictics are written in this study in their criticised or uncriticised forms following their surface manifestation [Chapters §9 & §10].

(28) \begin{align*}
\text{Geba rua di} & \quad \text{iko haik.} \\
\text{person two DIST} & \quad \text{go PRF} \\
'\text{Those two men have already left.}.' \\
\text{Gebra rua di}, \text{ du iko haik.} \\
\text{person two DIST 3p} \quad \text{go PRF} \\
'\text{Those two men, they have already left.}.'
\end{align*}
Chapter Seven
Verbal semantics and verb valence

This chapter looks through several facets of the verbal diamond to gain an integrated understanding of Buru verbs. Several questions are addressed. Are there forms and functions in the Buru language itself which justify claims that there are distinct types of verbs? What mechanisms are used to change the valence of verbs, and do those valence-changing mechanisms contribute to justifying claims about different verbal subtypes?

A goal of this chapter is to explore the interacting parameters of semantics, function, morphology and syntactic distribution to provide a taxonomy of the Buru system of verbal subclassification justified by mechanisms within the language itself. Any justification of such an emic taxonomy of verbal typology in a language requires finding a convergence of patterns in the morphosyntactic structures of the language of form, function and distribution. We are thus looking at a clustering of properties (cf. Schachter 1985:6) to justify verbal subclasses in Buru.

In this chapter, a basic descriptive framework is given for Buru verbs. This is followed by an exploration of a taxonomy of Buru verbs. Then there is a discussion of verb morphology and the functions of valence changing devices. This is followed by a summary of semantically based verbal subclasses that are also justified on morphosyntactic grounds. The framework of Buru verbs described here provides the foundation necessary for understanding such things as nominalisations [Chapter §8] and verbal clauses [Chapter §18].

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1 The metaphor of word valence is adapted from chemistry and physics where different numbers of electrons behave as satellites around a nucleus of protons and neutrons. The number and arrangement of these particles determines the nature of the element. In language the verb is seen as the nucleus of the clause with the verbal arguments behaving as satellites. Different verbs have different capacities for governing arguments. Languages have various mechanisms for changing the valence (increasing, decreasing, or changing the arrangement) of arguments on verbs. As in chemistry and physics, so also in language some of the satellite particles have the capacity to also combine around nuclei of other atoms. (See Lyons 1977: ch. 12; Foley and van Valin 1984:97-208; Talmy 1985:96-102).

2 Gross (1979) with a team of researchers, mapped out the morphological and syntactic patterns of twelve thousand French verbs and concluded that no two verbs had the same network. My expectation is that doing a similar study for Buru would likewise result in unique maps for each verb. What I am talking about here is a convergence of similar morpho-syntactic behaviour in defined contexts which contrasts significantly with other converging patterns of behaviour to define different verbal subtypes.

C. Grimes
A fundamental basis for verbal subclassification rests on contrastive morphological marking and collocational ranges, and that is the cornerstone of the analysis in this chapter. But these different patterns of morphosyntactic networks also show some correlation with other criteria, yielding further insights into the Buru language.

Verbs may be categorised according to functional-semantic notions (e.g. states, processes, activities, etc.). Foley & Van Valin (1984:36ff.) refined a system of verb classification and lexical decomposition built on the work of Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979). They identify four classes of predicates: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. States are considered the most basic verb class, with the other verb classes said to derive from stative predicates through the use of one or more 'operators and connectives'. States, for example, would include English verbs like know, have, and many others and are indicated by the mnemonic BE. Achievements are said to be logically composed of the operator BECOME plus a stative predicate. For example,

\[
grow = \text{[BECOME big]}
\]
\[
ripen = \text{[BECOME ripe]}
\]

Activities are said to be logically composed of the operator DO in which the state or the actor is "under the immediate control of the agent" (Dowty 1979:18, cited in Foley & Van Valin, 1984:39). For example,

\[
walk = [x \text{ DO something so that } x \text{ BE in motion}]
\]

Accomplishments are said to be logically composed of the operator CAUSE in the general pattern of [activity predicate CAUSE achievement predicate]. For example,

\[
kill = [x \text{ DO something}] \text{ CAUSE } [y \text{ BECOME dead (i.e. NOT alive)}]
\]

This classification of verbs provides a useful framework for looking at Buru verbs and will play a part in much of the discussion that follows in this chapter. Morpho-syntactic patterns that correlate with the basic framework outlined above are explored and illustrated.

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3 Care must be taken that the results of using such a framework are not merely a reflection of the researcher's analytic grid, rather than a taxonomy motivated by the language itself.

4 To illustrate the general idea here I am deliberately not pushing rigorously for the 'semantic primitives' to which the verbs are said to decompose. I personally find, however, the tags BE, BECOME, DO, and CAUSE to be useful mnemonics for tracking semantic structure and repackaging.
7.1 General characteristics of the Buru verbal system

Verbs form the nucleus of the head of verbal clauses [Chapter §18]. The semantics of the verb cooperates with verbal morphology to indicate the precise role structure interpretation of the verbal arguments intended by the speaker.

7.1.1 Interpreting the semantic role of subject

The major distinction in the Buru verbal system divides between Active and Non-active verb roots. Active verbs roots are those whose syntactic Subject is in the semantic macrorole of Actor. Non-active verb roots are those whose Subject is in the macrorole of Undergoer. Active verbs can be used in the imperative; non-active verbs cannot. Active verbs take the prefix en- when used attributively within an NP; non-active verbs do not. These and other distinctions between these two major classes and their separate subclasses are explored in detail below, along with mechanisms used to recategorise and repackgage the semantic orientation of the verb.

Subject is a grammatical role defined syntactically in Buru simply as the pre-verbal core argument. Subject in Buru may be semantically either Actor or Undergoer, depending on the semantic role structure of the verb.

Van Valin & Foley (1980) and Foley & van Valin (1984, 1985) find it useful to type languages along a continuum between role-dominated and reference-dominated systems. The clause-internal grammar of reference-dominated languages is primarily concerned with discourse factors. The clause-internal grammar of role-dominated languages is primarily concerned with the semantic role interpretation of the pivot (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984:123ff.).

Buru can be loosely characterised as a role-dominated language with semantic pivots and an incipient switch-reference system. In relation to the examples and discussion that follow in this chapter, I note here what Foley & van Valin (1984:117) say regarding pivots,

The most common type of [semantic pivot] cross-linguistically is one which conflates the actor argument of transitive verbs with the single argument of intransitive verbs, or in Dixon's (1979) terms, a pivot grouping A and S together. Most switch-reference systems monitor exactly this notion of semantic pivot.

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5 Core arguments are defined in Chapter §18.
6 Throughout this work I use the terms Actor and Undergoer in the sense of the macroroles described by Foley & van Valin (1984) with overlapping hierarchies of accessibility. The prototypical Actor is agent; the prototypical Undergoer is patient.
While written as a generalisation, this description also nicely characterises Buru. The Subject of the Buru verb is always the Actor or Undergoer as specified by the semantics of the verb, resulting in a conflated S/A semantic pivot. Thus, the Subject in Buru is underspecified on the surface as to whether it is the subject of an intransitive or transitive verb, and underspecified as to whether it is the semantic Actor or Undergoer. The interpretation of the semantic role of Subject as Actor or Undergoer dominates many of the grammatical mechanisms of the language, thus characterising it as a role-dominated language.

7.1.2 Non-predicative uses of verb roots

Verb roots may also be used in a variety of non-predicative functions. The morphological behaviour of verb roots in these other environments is one of the diagnostics which justify the assignment of a verb root into certain subclasses. Verb roots may be used to derive nouns or noun modifiers (adjectivals) [Chapter §8]; they are the bases from which verbal modifiers have developed [Chapter §12]; and several prepositions can be shown to have developed or be developing from verbs [Chapter §13].

R.M.W. Dixon (1982, 1990) is developing a cross-linguistic typology of adjectivals. He observes that in some languages adjectivals pattern with nouns; in others they pattern with verbs; in others they are distinct; in others they are a hybrid of nominal and verbal properties. In Buru there are no canonical (i.e. underived) adjectives. Attributive modifiers within the NP all derive from verbs. In fact it is precisely the behaviour of verbs when they are used attributively within an NP that provides the primary diagnostic indication of their broad verb class as Active or Non-active. As mentioned above, Active verbs use the prefix en- in this environment; Non-active verbs do not.

(1) **Active verb roots use en- attributively**

\[
\text{Da defe pa huma.} \\
3s \text{ stay down house} \\
'He lives in the house (down there).'
\]

\[
\text{Da puna huma en-defu-t.} \\
3s \text{ do [house ABS-stay-NOM]NP} \\
'He made a residential house.'
\]

(2) **Non-active verb roots do not use en-**

\[
\text{Huma di em-kele.} \\
\text{house DIST STAT-tall} \\
'That house is high.'
\]
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Da puna huma em-kela.
3s do [house STAT-tall]NP
'He made a pile house.' [Lit. a tall house]

Predicates that are traditionally thought of in other languages as 'adjectives', expressing such things as dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value and speed are all Non-active verbs in Buru.

(3) Da ba haa hede.
3s DUR big still
'He is still growing.'

Da puna huma haa-t.
3s make [house big-t]NP
'He is making a big house.'

(4) Kau di beha.
wood DIST heavy
That wood is heavy.

Da wada : kau beha-t.
3s shoulder.carry [wood heavy-t]NP
'He is carrying heavy wood (on his shoulder).

(5) Fetan hoti mohede.
millet white not.yet
'The millet isn't yet ripe.'

Da ego labu-n hoti-t.
3s get [shirt-GEN white-t]NP
'She took the white shirt.'

(6) Geba dii tewa edemen.
person DIST know much
'That person knows many things.'

Geba dii em-tewa tlrln.
person DIST STAT-know very
'That person is very wise/ clever.'

Da kalak geba em-tewa-t.
3s call [person STAT-know-t]NP
'He summoned a knowledgeable/wise/ clever person.'

(7) Sira ba fehu.
3p DUR new
'They are still new/recent.'

Da siu-k geba fehu-t saa.
3s order-k [person new-t . one]NP
'She ordered some young person (to do s.t.).'
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(8) Sira ba gosa hede. [VALUE]
3p DUR good still
'They are still good/well.'

Da safe todo isi-n gosa-t saa.
3s buy [machete content-3sGEN good-NOM one]NP
'He bought a good machete blade.'

(9) Anañña egali-t ba roho lawe. [SPEED]
female pregnant-t DUR slow downstream
'The pregnant woman is moving slowly downstream.'

Da ba hai geba roho-t dil.
3s DUR follow [person slow-NOM DIST]NP
'She is following that slow person.'

Active verbs (Subject = Actor) may be participialised with /en-/ to be used attributively within the NP. As with adjectivals derived from non-active verbs, these modifiers follow the head noun.

(10) foi
oko efnoit /en-foi-t/ 'báthe'

/wash basin'

(11) kodo-k
fatu e'nodot /en-kodo-t/ 'grind'

/grinding stone'

(12) oli
ongkos enyolit /en-oli-t/ 'return'

/return fare'

7.2 Towards a formal taxonomy of Buru verbs

As mentioned above, the major distinction for Buru is between active and non-active verbs. Non-active verbs are those whose syntactic Subject (i.e. the preverbal core argument) is semantically Undergoer. Active verbs are those whose syntactic Subject is semantically Actor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MACROROLE OF SUBJECT</th>
<th>NAME OF BASIC VERB TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>Non-active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9: Major distinctions in the role interpretation of Subject

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7 See §5.4.2 for a description of metathesis and palatalisation.
8 I prefer the terminology of 'non-active/active' to that of 'stative/active' as I reserve the terms 'state' and 'process' for interpretations within the 'non-active' verbs. Givón (1984:149ff.) discusses a similar typology of subjectivation called active/non-active, but says the non-agent subject is marked differently from the agent subject. In Buru there is no direct difference in marking agent subject (Actor) and non-agent subject (Undergoer).
While claiming this basic division, however, it must be recognised that the semantic role structure of unmarked verbs is indicated neither by morphology nor by choice of pronoun sets. How then can I justify a claim that Buru verbs make a distinction between active and non-active types? The solution lies in looking first at distinctions made when there is marking on the verb roots and then looking for correlations between those patterns and the morphosyntactic behaviour of unmarked roots.

In the case of derived (marked) verb forms, there are formal constraints on which affixes and clitics can collocate with given verb roots. In other words, there is a set of mutually exclusive affixes and enclitics that encode major divisions in the semantic role of syntactic subject. These patterns are summarised in the figure below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF BASIC VERB CLASS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CORE ARG.</th>
<th>MACROROLE OF SUBJECT</th>
<th>FORMAL MARKING&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>DOWTY’S VERB CLASSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>-em-, -eb-, -t</td>
<td>States Processes&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active transitive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>-k, -h</td>
<td>Activities (x,y) Accomplishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active intransitive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Actor/Undergoer</td>
<td>-n, ap--n</td>
<td>Activities (x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Framework for Buru verb classes

7.2.1 Non-active verbs

Non-active verbs in Buru have only one core argument. This argument comes before the verb and is the syntactic subject. Semantically the subject of non-active verbs is in the macrorole of Undergoer.

7.2.1.1 Unmarked non-active verbs

Unmarked non-active verbs are ambiguous in that they may have either a stative [BE] interpretation, or a process [RECOME] interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>That is formal marking associated with those subclasses in defined environments.

<sup>10</sup>The type of functional-semantic distinction that I am labelling process is Dowty’s (1979) and Foley & Van Valin’s (1984) ‘achievement’ verb type. The basic type is referred to in the general literature by the terms ‘process’, ‘change-of-state’, ‘inchoative’ or ‘achievement’ verbs. The semantic primitive generally associated with these terms is BECOME, as discussed earlier.

<sup>11</sup>Buru is not unique in such a grouping. Foley & Van Valin (1984:41) observe that Lakhotia has a verb class “which may have either stative or inchoative meanings.”

C.Grimes
(13) Da mata. 'He's dead. / He's dying.'
     Da haa. 'He's big. / He's getting big.'
     Da koni. 'It's ripe. / It's getting ripe.'
     Da mite. 'It's black/dark / It's getting black/dark.'

Unmarked non-active verbs can be given an unambiguous *stative* [BE] interpretation with the use of the perfective post-verbal haik 'already'. The use of haik implies a state resulting from a process.

(14) Da mata haik. 'He's (already) dead.'
     Da haa haik. 'He's (already) big.'
     Da koni haik. 'It's (already) ripe.'
     Da mite haik. 'It's (already) black/dark.'

Underived non-active verbs can be given an unambiguous *process* interpretation with the use of the durative pre-verbal aspect proclitic ba which has a continuous imperfective sense that something is occurring over a span of time and has internal temporal structure (cf. Comrie 1976:24ff.).

(15) Da ba mata. 'He is dying.'
     Da ba haa. 'He is getting big.'
     Da ba koni. 'It is getting ripe.'

Non-active verbs can be morphologically marked with *em-, eb- or -t*, producing three subclasses of non-active verbs which are mutually exclusive of each other. For mnemonic convenience I call these three types *em* verbs, *eb* verbs and *-t* verbs.

### 7.2.1.2 Non-active /em-/ verbs

For all *em-* verbs the syntactic subject is Undergoer.

(16) Da em-pel. 'She is sick.'
     Da em-kele. 'He is tall/high.'
     Da em-roro. 'It is sweet.'
     em-tae 'sharp'
     em-sihi 'drunk'
     em-ribe 'flat, smooth'
     em-nipi 'thin'
     em-luba 'soft'
     em-loo 'weak, tired'
     em-lori 'round'
     em-keda 'mature, old'
     em-gea 'shy, embarrassed'

---

12 In this context I am only referring to *em-ROOT, eb-ROOT and ROOT-t combinations* Nominal em-ROOT-t combinations are discussed in Chapter 58. The listings of verbs in this chapter are meant intended to exemplify the types, not to list them exhaustively.
The em- verbs can be modified with the perfective haik, emphasising an achieved state.

(17) Da em-keda.  'He is old.'
     Da em-keda haik.  'He's already old.'

(18) Da em-loo.  'She's tired.'
     Da em-loo haik.  'She's already tired.'

Use of the durative ba with em- verbs does not change the stative interpretation. It merely emphasizes the durative aspectual sense indicating the state continued over a span of time.

(19) Da ba em-peí.  'She was sick (over a period of time).'</n     Da ba em-tae.  'It has retained its sharpness.'

No em- verbs can be used in the imperative. However, those which are derived from active verb roots can be used in the negative imperative indicating that the state is the result of some process over which the Actor has at least partial control.

(20) Bara em-síih.  'Don't get drunk.'  <- síih 'be put off limits'
     Bara em-loo.  'Don't get tired.'  <- loo 'lop branches off' (+ em- = Figurative)
     Bara em-taá.  'Don't be embarrassed.'  <- taá- 'anxious'

7.2.1.3 Non-active /eb-/ verbs

For eb- verbs the syntactic subject is Undergoer.13

(21) Da eb-rídi.  'He is cold.'
     Da eb-rangi
     eb-remá(n)
     eb-táhi
     eb-ráma
     eb-tola
     'She is near (space, time).'</n     'be far'
     'be rooted (into the ground)'
     'near (time)'
     'near (time)'

While ambiguous between state and process interpretations, the eb- verbs tend toward a process interpretation with no other modification. They may be given an unambiguous state interpretation with the addition of /-n/. The perfective haik merely indicates that the process has begun, rather than that the state has been achieved.

---

13 Although wi- collocates almost exclusively before roots beginning with /l/ and /ll/, em- is also found before these phonemes (e.g. em-rahe-k 'long time', em-tíí 'flat', em-loo 'tired'). So eb- cannot be considered an allophone of em-. There are only two occurrences in the data corpus of /l/ clustering with C other than /l/ or /ll/: ebhaa-s 'male (pig)' and ebhaa-n 'k.o. debilitating state, despair'. It is not clear if either form is morphologically divisible.
(22) Da eb-ridi. 'He's cold./He's getting cold.'
    Da eb-ridi-n. 'He's cold.' (resulting state)
    Da eb-ridi haik. 'He's already getting cold.'
    Da eb-ridi-n haik. 'He's already cold.'

(23) Da eb-rangi. 'She is near./She is getting near.'
    Da eb-rangi-n. 'She is near.' (locative state)
    Da eb-rangi haik. 'She is already getting near.'
    Da eb-rangi-n haik. 'She is already near.'

Use of the durative ba with eb- verbs emphasizes the durative aspectual sense indicating the state continued over a span of time.

(24) Da ba eb-ridi. 'He was (getting) cold (over a period of time).'

7.2.1.4 Non-active /-t/ verbs

Otherwise unmarked verbs used predicatively that have a Non-active (Subject = Undergoer) interpretation are -t verbs. As mentioned earlier, they are ambiguous as having either a state [BE] or a process [BECOME] interpretation.

(25) Da haa. 'He is big/getting bigger.'
    Da boti. 'It is white/ripe.'
    Da poto. 'It is hot.'
      rema 'long / tall'
    gosa 'good / beautiful'
    fehu 'new / young'

When these roots are marked with -t and are used predicatively, they have an unambiguously stative [BE] interpretation.15

(26) Da haa-t. 'He is big.'
    Da boti-t. 'It is white.'
    Da poto-t. 'It is hot.'
      rema-t 'long / tall'
    gosa-t 'good / beautiful'
    fehu-t 'new / young'

The -t verbs, in contrast with em- and eb- verbs, can only be modified with haik (or other post-verbal auxiliaries) if the -t is removed.16

---

14 The semantics of this verb say nothing about the agency of the Subject. The Subject could be either a volitional agent (walking) or a non-volitional Undergoer (being carried). This verb is merely talking about the location of the Subject relative to an understood point of reference.

15 It will be demonstrated in Chapters §8 and §11 that -t is essentially nominal in its functions, marking the root as functioning as (part of) a nominal constituent. In these examples the presence of the -t indicates the clause is semi-verbal [§19.2.1].

16 The reason for this has been hinted at above. The -t is essentially nominal, marking the root it attaches to as functioning as (part of) a nominal constituent. The perfective haik is verbal in its character. Thus for haik to modify it, the form must be verbal, hence without the -t.
7.2.1.5 Non-active verbs used attributively

Non-active verbs may be used attributively within an NP to modify the head noun. Where this occurs a stative [BE] interpretation is required. As mentioned above, the em-marking gives a stative interpretation and so these verbs remain unchanged when used attributively within an NP. The eb- verbs require -n in this environment. The presence of -t disambiguates a stative interpretation when used predicatively, as noted above. The -t is thus required when a -t verb is used as a constituent within an NP.

The following examples illustrate -t verbs in a range of environments illustrating the previous discussion.

(27) Da haa haik.  "He's (already) big."
     "[Da haa-t haik]

The durative ba gives -t verbs an unambiguous process interpretation, but may only be used with -t verbs if they drop the -t.17

(28) Da ba haa.  "He is getting big."
    Da ba koni.  "It is getting ripe."
    "[Da ba haa-t]"
    "[Da ba koni-t]"

(29) Da puna huma em-kele.  "He made a tall (i.e. pile) house."
    huma em-loli  "round house"
    huma haa-t  "big house"
    huma rema-t  "long house"

(30) Da ino wae poto-t.  "She drank hot water."
    wae gosa-t  "good water"
    wae boti-t  "white water (i.e. palmwine)"
    wae eb-ridi-n  "cold water"
    wae em-kana  "powerful water (spiritually)"

The following examples illustrate -t verbs in a range of environments illustrating the previous discussion.

(31) Da haa.  "He's big. / He's getting big."
    Da haa haik.  "He's already big."
    Da haa-t.  "He is big."
    Da ba haa.  "He's getting bigger."
    Da fage fahu haa-t.  "He speared a big pig."

(32) [ha koni.  "It's ripe. / It's getting ripe."
    La koni haik.  "It's already ripe."
    Da koni-t.  "It is yellow/ripe."
    Da ba koni.  "It's getting ripe."
    Da kaa pal.koni-t.  "He's eating yellow rice."

(33) gasi  "boil (intransitive)"
     (wae) gasi-t  "boiled (water)"

17This is for the same reasons that the -t must be dropped for the root to collocate with haik, discussed above.
7.2.2 Active verbs

Active verbs in Buru may have either one or two core arguments.18 One place core-argument active verbs are called active intransitive verbs. Two place core-argument verbs are called active transitive verbs. In both cases the core argument immediately preceding the verb is in the macrorole of Actor.

Just as underived non-active verbs are ambiguous between a state [BE] and process [BECOME] interpretation, so also underived active verbs are ambiguous in that they may have either an activity [DO] interpretation, or an accomplishment [CAUSE (to do/be/be-at/become)] interpretation. In general aspectual terms, the ambiguity is between perfective and imperfective interpretations (cf. Comrie 1976).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>NON-ACTIVE</th>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 11: Aspectual parallels in verbal subtypes

(37) Da iko pa wae. 'He went down to the stream.'19 (focus on either going or arriving)

(38) Da loo eha. 'He drinks palmwine.' (focus on either drinking or having drunk)

(39) Da kaa gehu-t. 'She eats taro.' (focus on either eating or having eaten)

(40) Da paha tuba. 'He is beating (the) drum.' (focus on either hitting or having hit)

---

18In Chapter §9 it is argued that the current system has developed from an earlier split-S system in which all active verbs had two arguments. The difference under that system was whether or not the two arguments were coreferential. Those that were formerly coreferential are now single argument active verbs.

19This statement may be used literally, or may be used euphemistically meaning he went to relieve his bowels (something that is normally done at a stream).
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Two core argument verbs often appear in text with subject only (deletion or non-occurrence of Object). This is for discourse pragmatic reasons. The pragmatic prominence is on the predicate rather than on one of the arguments (i.e. predicate focus) \[§18.2\].

(41) **Predicate focus: Object irrelevant**

Q: Da puna sapan naa?
   3s do what PROX
   'What's he doing now?'

A: Da ba kaa.
   3s DUR eat
   'He is eating.'

(42) Da kaa, petu bara reha ringe.
    3s eat SEQ don't disturb 3s
    'He's eating, so don't bother him.'

(43) **Object relevant → Object present**

Da kaa mangkau.
   3s eat cassava
   'He's eating cassava.'

(44) Da kaa-h.
    3s eat-it
    'He's eating it.'

Thus, the labelling of a verb root as a one or two core argument verb cannot be done on the basis of an isolated example, but must consider the variety of environments in which the root occurs in text.

7.2.2.1 Active transitive verbs

Two core-argument verbs normally mark the syntactic Object (the post-verbal core argument) by juxtaposition, placing the Object NP immediately following the verb complex.

(45) Da taha kau.
    3s fell [tree]o
    'He chopped down a tree.'

Unmarked two core argument verbs include a broad range of semantic domains.

(46) taha  'to fell s.t., cut down s.t. standing vertical'
leba  'carry s.t. with a pole over the shoulder'
kaa  'eat'
kita  'see'
tuke  'give'
egoo  'take, get, transfer control'
laaha  'request, reciprocals'

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When the referent of the Object NP is understood anaphorically or exophorically, the NP may be indexed simply by substituting a pronominal enclitic for the NP. Two core-argument verbs can be divided into two subclasses which I call -k verbs, and -h verbs, according to their choice of enclitic.20 Those verbs that take -h to mark the Object cannot take -k to perform the same function. The -k verbs cannot take -h at all. [See §7.3.1 for the functions of -k].

7.2.2.1.1 Active -h/ verbs

(47) Da kaa bia.  
     Da kaa-h.  
     'She is eating sago (paste).'  
     'She is eating it.'

(48) Da taha kau.  
     Da taha-h.  
     'He is felling a tree.'  
     'He is felling it.'

(49) Da kita Murampaat.  
     Da kita-h.  
     'He saw Murampaat.'  
     'He saw it/him.'

7.2.2.1.2 Active -k/ verbs

(50) Da ali-k fua.  
     Da ali-k.  
     'She is peeling the banana (by hand).'  
     'She is peeling it (by hand).'

(51) Du bafa-k gel. fehu-ro.  
     Du bafa-k.  
     'They're staring at the new people.'  
     'They're staring at it.'

(52) Da yaha-k asu.  
     Da yaha-k.  
     'He shooed away the dog.'  
     'He shooed it away.'

7.2.2.2 Active intransitive verbs

Active intransitive verbs are those whose single core argument is both Actor and Undergoer. The one performing the action is also the one undergoing the action.21 This includes verbs of locomotion, posture and rest.

(53) Da iko.  
     Da oli.  
     Da defo.  
     Da bage.  
     'He went.'  
     'She returned.'  
     'She remained/sat.'  
     'He slept/laid down.'

20 Formally, the -k and the -h are not functioning at the same layer of the verbal ontonskin as they appear to be when talking strictly about pronominal indexing of syntactic Object. The difference can be seen when using the plural object pronominal enclitic -ro [see §5.4.1 for the morphophonemics of -ro]. Plural -ro replaces -h, but follows -k.

21 In the literature on Oceanic languages this verbal subclass is sometimes referred to as 'intransitive' (cf. Pawley 1973:126).
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(54) keha toho langa mali tangi enga dule cefal  

'ascend' 'descend' 'move to a different location' 'laugh' 'cry' 'dog bark' 'dog bark (different quality)' 'do a war dance (AM - cakalele)'

Traces of an earlier system in which this pattern was marked on the surface with an Undergoer enclitic coreferential with the subject can still be found in conventionalised phrases in the Rana and Wae Sama dialects and in traditional songs and ballads [and are discussed in more detail in Chapter §9]. Synchronically this subclass is marked simply by its inability to take a direct object without derivational morphology.

7.2.2.3 Active verbs with /-n/

The /-n/ is normally a nominal marking but appears on certain verbal predicates.

(55) Da sefe-n.  

'He is angry.'

(56) Sira ep-tulu-n.  

'They are gathering together.'

Historically this /-n/ is a retention of an earlier third person Undergoer marker [Chapter §9]. Functionally, however, it has the effect of detransitivising [DETR] a transitive verb and signalling that the Subject is also Undergoer (experiencer, not goal or source).

(57) Da sefe-k nak kai. 

3s angry-k 3sPOSS elder.sibling 

'He’s mad at his older brother.'

Da sefe-n. 

3s angry-DETR 

'He is angry.'

7.2.2.4 Active verbs in the imperative

One clear test that distinguishes active verbs from non-active verbs is that active verbs can be used in the imperative (both positive and negative). Non-active verbs cannot be used in the imperative, with the exception of a few em- verbs that can be used in the negative imperative [§7.2.1.2]. Active verbs, with both activity and accomplishment interpretations, have an Actor that has a degree of control over the action and contain the element DG in their semantic structure. Non-active verbs do not. The following examples illustrate active intransitive and active transitive roots used in positive and negative imperative constructions.

---

22Imperatives are discussed in Chapter §22.

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(58) Active intransitive roots:
- lko bekal
  "Go on now!"
- Bara ihe
  "Don't cry!"
- Kaa bekal
  "You'd better go home now."

(59) Active intransitive roots:
- Tuka xangal
  "Give it to her!"
- Kaa bekal
  "You should eat now."
- Bara taha kau dii
  "Don't fell that tree!"

7.2.2.5 Active verbs used attributively

All active verbs are further distinguished from non-active verbs by their morphological marking when used attributively in an NP. All active verbs take the prefix en- plus the nominal -t when used attributively.23

(60) Active intransitive roots:

ongkos enkol-t "return, five" <- oli "return"
hum a en-defu-t "house of residence" <- defo "stay"
geb a enhe-ta "spiritual man" <- keha "ascend"

(61) Active transitive roots:

li enaa-t "edible thing" <- kaa "eat"
kau enahe-ta "felled tree" <- taha "to fell s.t."
wae nyinu-t "drinking water" <- ino "drink"
tuba ennehe-t "a fehe drum" <- fehe "k.o. drum beat"
oko ensoi-t "bathing basin" <- foi "bathe"

7.3 Verbal morphology: valence-changing devices

To provide the background necessary for further discussion, it is necessary to lay out the various valence-changing devices that Buru uses to repackage the semantic framework of the verb. As a generalisation, the enclitic applicative -k and the suffix -i address the relationship between the verb and post-verbal arguments, whereas verbal prefixes address the relationship between the verb and pre-verbal arguments.

7.3.1 Applicative /-k/

I have labelled this enclitic an applicative because the functions of -k depend on the particular semantics of the verb to which it relates, as well as what arguments are present in the clause. The enclitic /-k/ functions in several interacting systems. The first is a valence

23 See Chapter 5 for a description of the processes of p-lateralisation, metathesis, glottalisation and homorganic point of articulation of the nasal that come into play with the prefix en-. While etically these are clear candidates for a relative construction, I argue in Chapter 50 that they are ecologically attributives, not relatives.
system relating to the argument structure of the verb in which the \(-k\) repackages or reorients the semantic role structure of the verb. The second is an aspectual system deriving accomplishment verbs. Other kinds of roots (e.g. pricategoricals, deictics, post-verbal arguments) may take the applicative \(-k\). The resulting form is always verbal, but whether it is functioning as a verb or as a verb adjunct (adverb of manner, incorporated argument, etc.) depends on the syntax. The uses of \(-k\) in incorporation and compounding are discussed in more detail in Chapter §12. The use of \(-k\) with deictics is discussed in Chapter §10.

7.3.1.1 \(-k/\) on active transitive roots

The \(-k\) on an active transitive main verb often signals that the role interpretation of the post-verbal core argument is different than normal. In the following examples, the \(-k\) indicates a reorientation in the role structure of the verb to take on an argument that is not normally present.

(62) **Expected Object (boat) as theme\(^{24}\) \(-k/\) no \(-k**

\[
\text{Ana rua dii, du sai waga dii.} \\
[\text{offspring two DIST}_\text{Topic} \ [3p]_S \ [paddle]_V \ [\text{boat DIST}_O} \\
\text{"Those two kids, they're paddling that canoe."}
\]

(63) **Object conventionally understood \(-k/\) omitted**

\[
\text{Du sai [ø] aki lawe.} \\
[\text{[3p]}_S \ [paddle]_V \ [\text{across downstream}]_{pp} \\
\text{"They are paddling across toward where the lake drains."}
\]

(64) **Direct Object as beneficiary rather than theme \(-k/\) marked with \(-k**

\[
\text{Geba-ru telo sei-k kami gam pa Leksula.} \\
\text{geba-ro pao} \\
[\text{[person-PL three]}_S \ [paddle-k]_V \ [1p]_O \ [\text{ALL down Leksula}]_{pp} \\
\text{"Three men paddled us down the coast to Leksula."}
\]

More commonly, however, the \(-k\) on active transitive roots behaves aspectually giving them an unambiguous *accomplishment* interpretation [§7.1]. This is true for both \(-k\) verbs and \(-h\) verbs. The difference between the two subclasses, however, is that when the \(-k\) is used on an \(-h\) verb, it must specify its object (it cannot be pronominalised in the singular), whereas on a \(-k\) verb the pronominalised object is indicated by the \(-k\) itself, as exemplified below. Similar to the non-active verbs, active verbs can be given an unambiguous *activity* interpretation with

\(^{24}\) *Theme* is the term used by Foley & Van Valin (1984) to indicate the argument whose location is in question (stationary or in motion). Others use the term *figure*.
the use of the durative ba, and an unambiguous accomplishment interpretation with the perfective haik.

(65) **Da taha kau.**  
3s fell tree  
*He is felling the tree.*  
Identified as -h verb

Ambiguous [Activity] /  
[Accomplishment]

**Da taha-h.**  
3s fell-it  
*He felled/is felling it.*  
Ambiguous [Activity/Accomplishment]

**Da ba taha kau.**  
3s DUR fell tree  
*He is felling the tree.*  
[Activity interpretation]

**Da taha kau haik.**  
3s fell tree PRF  
*He felled the tree.*  
[Accomplishment interpretation]

**Da taha-k kau.**  
3s fell-k tree  
*He felled the tree.*  
[Accomplishment interpretation with -k]

[-k not allowable on -h verb as pro-form]

*(Da taha-k.)*

(66) **Da ego kau.**  
3s get wood  
*He is getting/got wood.*  
Ambiguous [Activity/Accomplishment]

**Da equ-h.**  
3s get-it  
*He is getting/got it.*  
Identified as -h verb

Ambiguous [Activity/Accomplishment]

**Da ba ego kau.**  
3s DUR get wood  
*He is getting wood.*  
[Activity interpretation]

**Da ego kau haik.**  
3s get wood PRF  
*He (already) got wood.*  
[Accomplishment interpretation]

**Da equ-k kau.**  
3s get-k wood  
*He took the wood.*  
[Accomplishment interpretation with -k]25

[-k not allowable on -h verb as pro-form]

*(Da egu-k.)*

---

25There is an implication of deliberation or force on the part of the Actor here that is not present without the -k.
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(67) Da ali warahe.
3s hand.peel peanut 'He is husking peanuts.'

Da ali-k.
3s hand.peel-k 'He is husking it.'

Da ali-k warahe.
3s hand.peel-k peanut 'He is husking peanuts.'

[Activity interpretation]

Identified as -k verb

[Accomplishment interpretation]

7.3.1.2 /-k/ on non-active verb roots

When a -k is attached to non-active verb roots it increases the valence making them active transitive verbs by the addition of an Actor as a core argument. The semantic Undergoer is shifted from Subject to Object position. The resulting form is an accomplishment verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-ACTIVE VERB</th>
<th>ACTIVE VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT - PREDICATE</td>
<td>SUBJECT - PREDICATE - OBJECT/COMPLEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer - verb</td>
<td>Actor - verb-k - Undergoer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12: Shifting role structure with -k on non-active verb roots

For example:

(68) Toho-n mangi.
      [descend-GEN]SU [dry]v 'The trail is getting dry.'

Du mangi-k tonal isi-n.

When a -k attaches to active intransitive verb roots it increases the valence making them active transitive verbs with a separate Undergoer as a core argument in the Object position. The resulting form is an accomplishment verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>ACTIVE TRANSITIVE VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT - PREDICATE</td>
<td>SUBJECT - PREDICATE - OBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor(Undergoer) - verb</td>
<td>Actor - verb-k - Undergoer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13: Shifting role structure with -k on active intransitive verb roots

For example:

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(69) Du langa pa masi. [Active intransitive verb]
    'They moved down to the coast.'

Du langa-k fena gam daek. [Active transitive verb]
    'They moved the village upstream.'

(70) Ringe ba defo fi naa. [Active intransitive verb]
    [3s]s/a/u [DUR stay]v [LOC PROX]pp
    'He stayed here (over a period of time).'

Da defu-k nak kateu-n saka. [Active transitive verb]
    'He left his machete back there.'

(71) Du mali. [Active intransitive verb]
    [3p]s/a/u [laugh]v
    'They’re laughing.'

Du mali-k Ben, tu da paha tuba. [Active transitive verb]
    'They’re laughing at Ben, because he’s beating the drum.'

7.3.1.3 On precatacerials

Attaching the -k to precategoricals [§6.1.1.1] makes an active transitive verb.

(72) Da bisi kateu-n mae-n. [Noun: part of whole]
    [3s]s/a [carve]v [machete-GEN handle-GEN]o/u
    'He is making a machete handle.'

Da mae-k kateu-n. [Active transitive verb]
    [3s]s/a [handle-k]v [machete-GEN]o/u
    'He is making a machete handle.' (Lit. 'handling a machete')

7.3.2 Suffix /-i/

The suffix -i was introduced in §5.2.3. It attaches to active transitive roots and indicates there is a specific locative goal to which the action is directed. The locative goal is expressed as an oblique argument in a prepositional phrase [Chapter §13] as it would without the -i, but the presence of the -i indicates there is deliberation in the action toward the goal. This suffix is not common.

(73) Da hefa-k walu mefu-n pa wedu.
    3s throw.out-k squash rotten-GEN down rubbish.heap
    'She threw the rotten squash out in the rubbish heap.'

(74) Da hefa-i-k walu mefu-n pa wedu.
    3s throw.out-i-k squash rotten-GEN down rubbish.heap
    'She threw the rotten squash out in the rubbish heap.'
(75) Du hefe-i-k sira gam pa masi.  
3p throw.out-i-k 3p ALL down sea  
'They exiled them to the coast.'  

7.3.3 Verbal prefixes

A battery of prefixes are available to change the role interpretation of the pre-verbal core argument. The phonotactics of these prefixes was discussed in §5.3.4.2. Each prefix is discussed separately, following the figure below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
<th>Buru Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pa-</td>
<td>ep-1</td>
<td>causative (active agentive; S=A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*paRi-</td>
<td>ep-2</td>
<td>reciprocal with multiple actors (S=A/U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ka-</td>
<td>ek-</td>
<td>passive causative (agentive passive; S=U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*beR-?</td>
<td>ef-</td>
<td>bodily action (active agentive; S=A/U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma-</td>
<td>em-</td>
<td>stative (non-active; S=U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eb-</td>
<td>stative (non-active; S=U)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14: Verbal prefixes

7.3.3.1 /ep-/ Causative (active agentive)

The causative ep- indicates that the pre-verbal core argument is Actor (agent) volitionally performing an action on a non-coreferential Undergoer. In this function the causative ep- makes non-active verbs active and is a valence increaser. With active intransitive roots the causative ep- works in conjunction with the applicative -k to make active transitive verbs. Ep- becomes [ep-] in the environments specified in §5.4.2.5.

(76) Non-active roots:

Da mata.  
3s dis  
'He died/its dying.'  
[S=U]

Da emata geba.  
ep-mata  
3s CAUS-die person  
'He killed a person.'  
[S=A; O=U]

(77) Da haa.  
3s big  
'It is big/growing.'  
[S=U]

Da ep-haa-k nak huma.  
3s CAUS-big-k 3sPOShouse  
'He enlarged his house.'  
[S=A; O=U]
(78) **Non-active derived em- verbs:**

Da *em-gea*.
3s STAT-anxious

'She is shy/embarrassed.'

[\(S = U\)]

Da *p-em-gea* ana-fina dil.
ep-em-gea
3s CAUS-STAT-anxious child-female DIST

'He embarrassed that woman.'

[\(S = A; O = U\)]

(79) Da *em-tae*.
3s STAT-sharp

'It is sharp.'

[\(S = U\)]

Da *p-em-tae* na* kok todo*.
ep-em-tae
3s CAUS-STAT-sharp 3sPOSS machete

'He is sharpening his machete.'

[\(S = A; O = U\)]

(80) **Active intransitive roots:**

Da *kheha*.
3s ascend

'He climbed (e.g. mountain, tree).'

[\(S = A/U\)]

Da *ep-kheha-ke* warahe.
3s CAUS-ascend-k peanut

'He put up the peanuts.'

[\(S = A; O = U\)]

(81) Da *dil*.
3s return

'She returned.'

[\(S = A/U\)]

Da *pyoli-ke* ewali dil.
ep-oli-ke
3s CAUS-return-k wok [AM] DIST

'She returned the wok.'

[\(S = A; O = U\)]

Causative *ep-* does not attach to active transitive roots. This is handled by the use of applicative *-k to derive an accomplishment interpretation ([§7.3.1]), by lexical alternatives that are inherently causative, and by the use of a periphrastic causative in a core-layer serial clause construction ([§12.2.1.1; §20.3]). The use of the causative prefix *ep-* tends to indicate direct causation, whereas the use of the periphrastic *puna 'do, make' indicates indirect causation (cf. Comrie 1981:164ff.; 1985:332ff.). The contrast is, of course, only clear where both morphological and periphrastic causatives can operate on the same verb root ([§12.2.1.1]).
7.3.3.2 /ep-2/ Reciprocal (multiple actors)

The combination of the reciprocal ep- plus the detransitiviser -n [§7.2.2.3] signals that there is a plurality of subject who are reciprocally performing or experiencing the action toward each other. The resulting whole behaves syntactically as an intransitive.

(82) Sira ep-sulu-k geba em-tua-t-o. [S=A; O=U]
    3p CAUS-gather-k person STAT-elder-NOM-PL
    'They are gathering the elders.'

Sira ep-sulu-n. [S=A/U]
    3p RECIPI-gather-DETR
    'They are gathering (themselves) together.'

(83) Sira ep-sama-k fafu isi-n. [S=A; O=U]
    3p CAUS-divide-k pig content-GEN
    'They divided up the pig meat.'

Sira ep-sama-n. [S=A/U]
    3p RECIPI-divide-DETR
    'They parted ways.'

(84) ep-sodi-n 'have a fist fight with each other' <- sodi ‘punch with fist’
    pe-bahi-n 'have an argument with each other' <- bahi ‘argue’
    ep-lata-n 'war with each other' <- lata ‘cut’
    ep-ketu-n 'make love with each other' <- keto ‘intercourse’

7.3.3.3 /ef- / Bodily action (active agentive)

The label ‘bodily action’ is here only a tag of convenience representing one area of the functions associated with this prefix. The resulting form is a verb in which the subject is Actor and often relates to a bodily function or bodily action. Ef- words often indicate motion going away from a source. If there is no post-verbal argument the subject is both Actor and Undergoer.

(85) Da kere-k.
    3s stand-k
    'She stood.' [S=A/U]

Da ef-kere fi sak fena.
    3s REFL-stand-LOC up village
    'She left the village. (i.e. stood forth)' [S=A/U]

(86) Da ef-qoqal.
    'He scratched (his head),' [S=A/U]

Da ef-qoqal kau.
    'He scratched the tree.' [S=A; O=U]

26 Whereas the causative prefix ep-1 derives from PAN *pa- ‘causative’, the reciprocal prefix ep-2 derives from PMP *paK- ‘reciprocal prefix’.

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(87) wae
Da ef-wae.
‘water’
‘He’s gone to relieve himself.’²⁷
[S = A/U]

(88) ngihu-t
Da ef-ngihu.
‘mucus’
‘He’s blowing his nose.’
[S = A/U]

There is occasionally a causative sense to the prefix ef-. Compare the following synonyms for ‘enter’, in which one uses ef- and the other uses ep-.

(89) Da rego nak huma.
3s enter 3sPOSS house
‘He entered his house.’
[S = A/U]

Da ef-rego-k nak feten sak lufe.
3s CAUS-enter-k 3sPOSS millet up bin
‘He put his millet into his grain bin.’
[S = A; O = U]

(90) Da osqo nak huma.
3s enter 3sPOSS house
‘He entered his house.’
[S = A/U]

Da epvoso-k nak feten sak lufe.
ep-oso-k
3s CAUS-enter-k 3sPOSS millet up bin
‘He put his millet into his grain bin.’
[S = A; O = U]

Other examples of ef-:

(91) ef-rake ‘catch’
     ef-roo ‘snore’
     ef-lali ‘beat, punish’
     ef-lehe ‘pound (sago), hoe’
     ef-lesa-k ‘unroll (sleeping mat)’
     ef-loli-k ‘gather (elders) for a meeting’
     < PMP *dakep ‘sieze’
     < loli-‘(round, circle)’

7.3.3.4 /ek-/ Passive (agentive passive)

The prefix ek- indicates there is a volitional Actor (agent), but that Actor is not the Subject. The Subject is the Undergoer which has been syntactically promoted from the post-verbal core argument to the pre-verbal core argument. With the use of ek- the Actor is normally not expressed, although the volitional participation of an Actor remains implicit. It is fully productive with verbs in which the Undergoer is a fully affected patient and with some verbs of exchange and other verbs in which the locative orientation of the Undergoer is fully affected. It is thus a passive prefix [see §18.2.3.1.1 for discussion of the syntax of passives]. Notice in the examples below the applicative -k indicates an accomplishment sense.

²⁷This is polite and euphemistic. Compare the equivalent Malay buang air ‘lit. throw out water’.

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(92) **Da huda huma.**
3s dismantles house
`She tore apart the house.'
Huma di **ek-huda-k.**
house DIST CAUS.BE-dismantle-k
`The house was torn apart.'

(93) **Da hida labu-n.**
3s tear shirt-GEN
`He tore his shirt.'
Labu-n di **ek-hida-k.**
shirt-GEN DIST CAUS.BE-tear-k
`His shirt was torn.'

(94) **Geba di meta.**
person DIST die
`That man died.'
Da **emata geba dili.**
ep-meta
3s CAUS-die person DIST
`He killed that man.'
Geba di **emata.**
ek-meta
person DIST CAUS.BE-die
`That man was killed.'

(95) **Da fuka subu.**
3s open door
`He opened the door.'
Subu di **ek-fuka-k.**
door DIST CAUS.BE-open-k
`The door was opened.'

(96) **Da duwe iyero la yako.**
3s give thing-PL DAT 1s
`He gave things to me.'
Iyero di **gduwe-r na yako halk.**
thing-PL give-PL PROX 1s PRF
`Those things have been given to me.'

With one verb of exchange **ek-** has become fossilized. The subject with this verb is Actor, rather than Undergoer, but the historical development of the fossilized form is transparent. 28

28 The semantics here are complex: PMP *bili 'buy' > **ek-bili-k 'CA. 3E.BE bought → sell'. 'Buy' in Buru is safe.

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(97) fill-n
    buy-GEN
    'price, bridewealth'

Da ek\-liik          iyero
el. ni \-k          ii-ro
3s CA\=S.BE-buy-k  thing-PL

'He sold goods.'

The ek- attaches to a few free nouns in combination with -k, making the resulting form verbal. The process increases the valence of the root by the presence of an Undergoer. In these cases it simply has an adversative sense and does not necessarily imply the involvement of an Actor.

(98) Da ego wae la.d inu-h.
    la.d.a
    ino

3s get water CMPLR.3s drink-it

'He got some water to drink.'

(99) Rogo mel ku swaek!
    mele  ek-wae-k

enter  lest 2s BE.AFFECTED-water-k

'Come in so you don't get wet!'

7.3.3.5 /eg-/ Middle passive (agentless passive)

The prefix eg- indicates there is not a volitional agent involved and that the Actor is unimportant. As with the prefix ek-, the Subject of verbs with eg- is the Undergoer. Eg- in combination with the verbal semantics often indicates that the non-present Actor is an instrument or that the action was done accidentally. The syntax of clauses using eg- is discussed in §18.2.3.1.1.

(100) Da huda huma.
    3s dismantle house

'She tore apart the house.'

Huma di eg-huda-k.
    house DIST BE-dismantle-k

'The house fell apart (e.g. from the wind, age, people taking pieces over time, etc.).'

(101) Da hida labu-n.
    3s tear shirt-GEN

'He tore his shirt.'

Labu-n di eg-hida-k.
    shirt-GEN DIST BE-tear-k

'His shirt was torn (accidentally).'
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(102) Da fuka subu.
3s open door
'He opened the door.'

Subu di eq-fuka-k.
door DIST BE-open-k
'The door was (standing) open.'

[S = A; O = U]

(103) Da lango gam dae-k.
3s move ALL upstream-k
'He moved upstream.'

Eta em-see-n na eg-langa-n moo,...
COND STAT-flu-GEN PROX BE-move-DET NEG
'If this flu isn't removed from me,...'

[S = U; (-A)]

As described in §5.7, the feature morpheme [+voice] is derived from the prefix eg-
before voiceless stops.

(104) Da tata-k fua dii.
3s drop-k betelnut DIST
'He dropped the betelnut.'

Fua di data-k gam pa raha.
betelnutDIST BE-drop-k ALL down ground
'The betelnut fell to the ground. '

[S = U; (-A)]

(105) Da kesu-k enhero mae-n.
3s break-k spear handle-GEN
'He broke the spear shaft.'

Mae-n di gesu-k haik.
handle-GEN DIST BE-break-k PRF
'That (spear) handle is already broken.'

[S = U; (-A)]

Some additional examples of eg-:

(106) eg-lada
eg-lapa
eg-raga
eg-lina
eg-roho
eg-lidu-k
eg-ruke-k
'be hungry'
'be faint from hunger'
'be groaning in pain'
'be clear, calm'
'leaves fall off trees'
'forget'
'sound (of crashing through jungle?)'

< PMP *lapaR 'hungry'
< PMP *linaw 'calm (sea)'

7.3.3.6 /eb-/ State/Process

As described above [§7.2.1.3], eb- verbs are non-active verbs with either a state or
process interpretation. Some are derived from roots of other subclasses.
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(107) Da rema-t.  'It is long.' 
    Da eb-rema-n  'It is far.'

(108) Da ranqo geba dii.  'He summoned that (nearby) man.' 
    Da eb-ranqo-n.  'He is near.'

Some eb- verb roots do not occur without that prefix.

(109) eb-ridi  'be cold' < PAN *dingding 'cold'

With some verbs of destruction, eb- forms the passive counterpart [+voice] to the causative ep-, indicating the state resulting from the action.

(110) Perusahaan ap-rari-k sepo nate-n dii. [S=A] 
    company CAUS-destroy-k finish place-GEN DIST 
    'The [logging] company totally destroyed that area.'

Nate-n dii, ap-rari-k sepo. [S=U] 
place-GEN DIST CAUS.BE-destroy-k finish 
'That area was totally destroyed.'

7.3.3.7 /em-/ Stative

Many em- verbs [§7.2.1.2] do not occur without the em- prefix. For several, however, the em- detransitivises transitive verbs, allowing the subject to be Undergoer.

(111) Da nel poso-ng leale-ng. [S=A] 
    3s hurt chest-1sGEN inside-1sGEN 
    'He hurtss (my) heart.' [i.e. I am upset with him]

Da em-nel. [S=U] 
3s STAT-hurt 
'He is sick.'

(112) Da sihi nate-n. [S=A] 
    3s off.limit place-GEN 
    'He made the area off-limits.'

Da em-sihi. [S=U] 
3s STAT-off.limit 
'He's drunk.'

7.3.3.8 /es-/ Verbal (contact of surfaces)

Verbs derived with es- are all activity (DO) verbs in which the subject is Actor. It is not yet clear how to characterise the function(s) of this prefix, but prototypically (cf. Lakoff 1987) the semantics involves the contact of surfaces, often with one surface sliding past the other.
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(113) Da nodo gam pao.
Da es-nodo gam pao.
'He walked (e.g. up) downhill.'
'He rode downhill.'

(114) Da moho.
Da es-moho.
'He fell (e.g. from a tree).'
'He fell (scraping along the trunk).'

(115) gege-n
es-gege
'armpit'
'carry under the arm'
< PMP *gelgel 'notch'

(116) gera-n
es-gera
'add, more, increase'
'hold child with legs straddling hip'

(117) pele
es-pele
'intersect with s.t.'
'throw s.t. at s.t.'

The es- prefix is in contrast with ef-.

(118) ef-lolo-k
es-lolo
'roll up (sleeping mat)'
'cradle or cradle child in arms'

The prefix es- often involves bodily functions.

(119) es-tefo
es-tei
es-tuha
'urinate'
'defecate'
'spit'\(^29\)

Some additional examples of es-:

(120) es-rapa
es-koho
es-gela
'slap with open hand'
'scrape out (coconut)'
'fry (with or without oil)'\(^30\)

7.3.4 Contrasts and comparison of verbal prefixes

The functions of verbal prefixes can be further illuminated by comparing them on the same root.

(121) kere-
kere-k
ef-kere
ep-kere
ep-kere-k
'(be erect?)'
'stand'
'leave a place'
'cause s.o. to stand forth'
'erect s.t.'

(122) Da hida wagu-n.
wagu-n en-hida-t
Wagu-n di ek-hida-k.
Wagu-n di en-hida-k.
'She tore the cloth.'
'torn cloth'
'The cloth was torn [+intent].'
'The cloth was torn [-intent].'

\(^{29}\)In the Wae Sama dialect the s has become h and metathesised: theo 'urinate', thel 'defecate'. In the Linsa dialect there has been a further semantic shift that 'urinate'. For 'spit' both etuha and tuha occur.

\(^{30}\)It is unclear whether this form derives from PMP *sangular 'fry without oil' (espect *[angela], or from es- + gela-n 'Melaleuca (rubbing) oil', or from a convergence of the two.

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7.4 Correlations between verbal classes & semantic types

In the following section, I first list examples that are members of a verbal class, then examine its morphosyntactic manifestations, in some cases looking at the underlying logical structure common to verbs in that class, and examining what happens with various diagnostic tests.

7.4.1 Non-active verb classes

7.4.1.1 Verbs of colour

One of the clearest correlations between semantics and morphosyntax is with colour verbs. They are all \(-t\) verbs [§7.2.1.4]

(123) Da miha.
'It is red/becoming red.'

Da safe labu-n miha-t saa.
'He bought a red shirt.'

(124) miha-t 'red, brown'
mite-t 'black, dark'
boti-t 'white'
konii-t 'yellow'
mua-t 'green-blue'
mala-t 'turquoise'
mede-t 'dark, black'
mera-t 'red, brown'

As \(-t\) verbs they conform nicely to what has been characterised earlier. They are non-active, but without the \(-t\) they are ambiguous between a state and process interpretation. They cannot be used in the imperative (either positively or negatively). Used attributively in an NP they must have the \(-t\).

7.4.1.2 Verbs expressing value

Value verbs are non-active \(-t\) verbs [§7.2.1.4].

(125) Da gosa.
'It is good.'

31 Some scholars (e.g. Dixon 1982, 1988, 1991) find it useful to group verbs according to notions of semantic cohesion. In the early stages of the study of a language such groupings are necessarily etc., but as one’s study of a language progresses one can sometimes discover patterns in the morphosyntax that justify some groupings. Individual differences in the meaning of the lexicon are due to differences in manner, instrument, direction of motion, built-in aspect, etc.
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(126) Da safe labu-n gos-a-t saa. [Attributive]
3s buy [shirt-GEN good-NOM one]NP
'He bought a nice shirt.'

(127) gosa
boho
hifu
moko
mili
'good'
'bad, ugly'
'amazing, awesome'
'stingy'
'pure, unadulterated, holy'

< PMP *ma-buRuk 'rotten'

Reduplication turns value verbs into adverbs of manner.

(128) Da ilo gos-gosa.
Da paha tuba boho-boho.
'He walks well.' (said of child)
'He plays drums horribly.' OR
'He play. drums outstandingly well.'

Indirect causatives are created by a periphrastic construction using puna 'do, make' [$12.2.1.1], while direct causation is with the morphological ep- [$7.3.3.1].

(129) Ring pun gosa nak huma.
'He made his house good.'

(130) Da pe-gosa geba em-pei dii.
'He healed that sick person.'

7.4.1.3 Verbs of dimension

All dimension verbs are non-active. There is, however, a variety of morphological types within this subclass. Some dimension verbs are -t verbs. They can be reduplicated to emphasize their property. They can occur with the genitive -n [$14.2], but there is no symmetry in which verbs prefer which enclitic.

(131) Da ego waga haa-t.
3s get [boat big-NOM]NP
'He got the big boat.'

(132) Da ego waga roi-n.
3s get [boat small-GEN]NP
'He got the small boat.'

(133) haa-t/-n
ret-t/-n
rema-t/-n
ture-t/-n
rahe-t/-n
'big, important, loud'< PMP *Raya 'big, large, great'
'small'
'long, tall'
'short (length)'
'short, low to the ground'

Other dimension verbs are morphologically diverse.

(134) eftelo
es-ngapi
'thick'\[32
'narrow' [anomalous use of es-?]

\[32This is from PMP *tebel 'thick' with consonant metathesis and final lo/ that shows up in many CMP languages (cf. C.Grimes 1991b). To posit a prefix ef- is anomalous with other uses of ef.-

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7.4.1.4 Verbs of physical property

Physical property verbs include both em- verbs and -t verbs.

(135) Da em-roro. 'It is sweet.'
(136) Da giwe. 'It is hard.'

(137) /em-/ verbs:
- em-hama 'light(weight), easy' < PCEMP *ma-Rama 'light(weight), easy'
- em-luba 'soft (e.g. steel; easy to work)'
- em-lobo 'soft (e.g. wood; easy to carve)'
- em-tosi 'soft, pliable'
- em-loli 'round'
- em-nipi 'thin' < PMP *nipis 'thin'
- em-ngesia 'flat, at an equal plane in space'
- em-pait 'bitter, mildly poisonous' < PMP *paqit 'bitter'
- em-ribe 'flat, smooth'
- em-roro 'sweet'
- em-tae 'sharp, pointed' < PMP *tazem 'sharp'
- em-teno 'heavy (person)'

(138) /-t/ verbs:
- beha 'heavy (things)' < PMP *ma-beReqat 'heavy'
- bono 'soft (e.g. tubers)'
- giwe 'hard'
- rata 'flat' < PMP *dataR 'flat, plain'
- ea 'fine textured'
- dofo 'straight'
- golo 'thin, skinny (person)'
- poto 'hot'
- milo 'sour, acidic' < PAN *ma-Silu 'acidic'

Some physical property verbs are neither em- nor -t verbs, but are nevertheless consistent with their morphological marking [see §7.2 and §7.3].

(139) eg-leko 'bent, crooked'
    eb-ridi 'cold'

Some -t verb roots are given a metaphorical sense when marked with the em- prefix.

(140) dofo 'straight'
    em-dofa 'just, righteous'
(141) giwe 'hard'
    em-giwe 'durable, resistant'

7.4.1.5 Verbs of speed

Speed verbs are few and heterogeneous in their morphology.

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33I group this under physical property rather than dimension due to its morphological marking.
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(142) ef-rike-n  "fast"
geha(-n)  "take a long time"

(143) roho  "slow"
rabo  "hurry"  [AM loan]

Such verbs may function as the predicate of a clause by themselves. More commonly, however, they follow an active verb to modify it for manner. Some may be further reduplicated to function as an adverb of manner.

(144) Da roho.  'It is slow.'
Da iko roho.  'He is going slow.'
Da iko roho-roho.  'He is going slowly.'

7.4.1.6 Verbs expressing age

Verbs having a semantic element relating to age are also heterogeneous in their morphology.

(145) em-keda  'mature (grain, fruit, people)'
fahu-t  'new, young (person)'
enezi-t  'old, former (village, wife)'
masa-ti-n  'ripe, dry, cooked (wood, fruit)'
lolo-n  'young (green coconut)'
mura-n  'young (fish, vegetables)'
mata-n  'young, raw, unripe'

7.4.2 Active intransitive verb classes

7.4.2.1 Verbs of locomotion

Verbs of locomotion are all active intransitive in their unmarked forms. They are single core argument verbs whose subject is both Actor and Undergoer.

(146) Da iko.  'She left.'

(147) iko  'go'
oli  'return'
eta  'continue toward a goal'
keha  'ascend'
thora  'descend'
lepa  'climb'
logo  'go downward'
sela  'go upstream along edge of water'
mano  'go/flow downstream'
langa  'move to a different location'
heka  'flee'
sabo  'run'
pana  'move rapidly with agility'
sepa  'leap'  < PMP *bajeRu 'new'
< PMP *mask 'ripe'
< PMP *muda 'young'
< PMP *ma(n)taq 'unripe'
< PMP *ikut 'follow'
< PMP *uliq 'return (home)'
< PAN *tuRun 'descend'
< PAN *ma-qañud 'swept away'
< PMP *panaw 'walk, go'

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sogo  'cross river or stream'
riha  'come up out of water'
tita  'go along top of ridge, crest or log'
poda  'to crest the top of a slope'
nodo  'descend steep slope'
sehe  'reverse, retreat'
uka  'swim' [Masarete dialect]
nango  'wade'
laba  'fly'

< PMP nanguy 'swim'

All of these verbs are active intransitive [DO] verbs. They can all take a locative goal as a complement. When they do take a definite goal as a complement they mirror accomplishment verbs (cf. also Foley & Van Valin 1984:383). Being single core-argument active verbs, they are neither -k verbs nor -h verbs. Their shared logical structure can be represented as follows:

[x DO motion (BE-at y/COME-at y)]

As active verbs with the semantic element DO, they can be used as imperatives [§22.2]. Durative ba gives them an unambiguous activity interpretation. Perfective haik or -k gives them an accomplishment interpretation [§7.2.2]. Reduplication makes the action iterative (repeated) over a period of time.

(148) Da iko-iku.  'He kept on going.'

Many of these motion verbs can be made into accomplishment verbs in which the Undergoer is not coreferential with the Actor by a combination of the causative ep- with the applicative -k. In the resulting form the subject is Actor (agent) and the object is Undergoer (theme).

(149) py-oli-k  'return s.t.'
ep-keha-k  'put s.t. up'
ep-toto-k  'put s.t. down'
ep-langa-k  'move s.t.'

Furthermore, verbs of motion can be the first member, but not the second member of a compound action.

(150) lk-tangl  'go-crying (part of marriage process)'
ol-tuha  'return with s.t.'
hek-tata-k  'abandon s.t. or someplace'
pang-tinggao  'leap over s.t.'

7.4.2.2 Verbs of station (posture & rest)

Verbs of station indicate bodily position or orientation.
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(151) eptea 'stay, sit' [Masarete]
baga 'lie down, sleep' [Masarete]
insa 'lie down, sleep' [Rana, Lisela] < PMP *qinep 'lie down'
fango 'get up, wake up' [Rana, Lisela] < PMP *bangun 'get up'

Some verbs only appear in the data corpus with -k as accomplishment verbs, indicating the semantics are concerned aspectually more with the result of an action rather than the action itself.

(152) kere-k 'stand'
dea-k 'stop, rest'
hosa-k 'get up, wake up' [Masarete]

The role structure can be repackaged to include a separate Undergoer by the addition of -k to some verbs of station.

(153) defo 'sit, stay'
defu-k 'leave s.t. behind'

(154) langa 'move'
langa k 'move s.t.'

7.4.2.3 Bodily function verbs

As noted earlier [§7.3.3.3, §7.3.3.8], many bodily function verbs use the ef- or es-prefix.

(155) ef-wae 'defecate (euphemistic)' < wae 'water'
ef-ngiho 'blow one's nose'
eftuha 'spit' < PMP *tabuRa 'spit' [metathesis]
ef-roo 'snore'

(156) es-tofo 'urinate'
es-tei 'defecate'
es-tuha 'spit' [interchangeable with eftuha]

When -k is added to es- stems it indicates the action is done at or on a goal.

(157) Da es-tei-k nak kata. 'He shit his pants.'

The addition of -k to other bodily function verbs indicates the goal of those actions that result from an internal stimulus (e.g. vomit), or the source (reason) for the actions that result from external stimuli (e.g. laugh, cry).

(158) muta 'vomit vi' < PAN *um-utaq 'vomit'
muta-k 'vomit: up; vomit on s.t.'

34The prefix seems to be frozen, giving an extended meaning. Consider tea-n 'house post', tea-k 'plant a post into the ground', ep-tea 'cause a housepost to be planted into the ground' → 'stay, sit'.

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(159) tangi  'cry (vi.)'
      tangi-k  'cry about s.t.' < PMP *tangis 'cry'

(160) mali  'laugh, smile (vi.)'
      mali-k  'laugh at s.t., smile about s.t.' < PCEMP *malip 'laugh'

The morphology of one form reflects the non-agentive nature of the semantics of the prefix with adversative overtones.

(161) eg-lema  '(baby) spit up, drool, dribble'

7.4.3 Active transitive verb classes

7.4.3.1 Carrying verbs

Carrying verbs are active transitive verbs.

(162) Da wada fatu haa-t saa.
      3s shoulder, carry rock big-NOM one
      'He was carrying a big rock on his shoulder.'

(163) wada  'carry bulk on shoulder'
      daba  'carry length on shoulder'
      leba  'carry on shoulder with pole'
      renge  'carry on back using tumpline'
      pinu  'carry at side with strap over shoulder'
      baba  'carry child with carrying cloth'
      tedu  'carry child on back or shoulders'

The above are all -h verbs and are accomplishment verbs sharing the logical structure illustrated below:

[x DO something] CAUSE [y BECOME-at z]

The same logical structure is shared with derived carrying verbs.

(164) wihi-k  'carry by hand at one's side (e.g. bucket)'
      bihi-k  'carry by feet (e.g. chicken)'
      ep-labu-k  'carry one back using shoulder straps'
      ep-lea  'carry cargo'
      t.ol.fafa-k  'carry on top of head'
      es-gera  'carry child with legs straddling hip'
      es-lolo  'carry child in one's arms'
      es-gege  'carry under arm'

As accomplishment verbs with DO and CAUSE, imperatives are permissible. Reduplication is not encountered in the data corpus.
Carrying verbs are already complex in their logical structure and thus do not interact well with valence changing morphology. Carrying verbs overlap with verbs of grasping in their logical structure and morphosyntactic behaviour.

7.4.3.2 Verbs of putting

Putting or placing verbs are similar to carrying verbs in that the Direct Object is Undergoer (theme), but here the locative goal is part of the logical structure. The following -h verb is an activity verb:

\[(165) \text{tahu} \text{'put, place (generic)'} \quad < \text{PAN *taruq 'put, place'}\]

\[(166) \text{Da tahu nak pala saka hum.kolo-n.} \quad 3s \text{put 3sPOSS.rice up house.out.of.sight-GEN} \]
\[\text{'He put his rice up in the grain bin.'} \]

\[\text{Da tahu-h.} \quad 3s \text{put-it} \]
\[\text{'He put it away.'} \]

The following -k verbs are accomplishment verbs.

\[(167) \text{weri-k} \text{'put s.t. away'} \]
\[\text{ngoto-k} \text{'put s.t. up for storage'} \]

Many verbs of locomotion \([7.4.2.1]\) can derive putting verbs by the combination of the causative prefix ep- plus the applicative -k.

\[(168) \text{keha} \quad \text{ep-keha-k} \text{'ascend'} \text{'put s.t. up'} \]
\[(169) \text{toho} \quad \text{ep-toho-k} \text{'descend'} \text{'put s.t. down'} \]
\[(170) \text{langa} \quad \text{ep-langa-k} \text{'move'} \text{'move s.t. somewhere'} \]
\[(171) \text{oli} \quad \text{epoli-k} \text{'return'} \text{'return s.t.'} \]
\[(172) \text{oso} \quad \text{epyoso-k} \text{'enter (with difficulty)'} \text{'put s.t. into s.t.'} \]

7.4.3.3 Verbs of exchange

Verbs of exchange are accomplishment verbs having the role structure of a Subject as Actor (agent) who does something to an Object as Undergoer (theme) to transfer control to a dative goal expressed as an oblique argument.
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(173) Ọa tuke mata-n la yako.  
       [S: [givelv [money-GEN]]DAT 1s]  
 'He gave money to me.'

(174) tuke  
     'give (generic)'  
  duwe  
     'give'  
  eno  
     'get, take (e.g. transfer control)'  
  nuke  
     'present s.t. to s.o.'  
  leli  
     'change/exchange orientation'  
  laha  
     'request, reciprocate'

< PMP *tukeR 'exchange'

The use of -k on these verbs repackages the role structure to raise the dative goal to Direct Object.

(175) Da tuke pala la ringe. 'She gave rice to him.'  
Da tuke-k ringe tu pala. 'She gave him (OBL) rice.'

One verb occurs with only such a role structure.

(176) lai-k  
     'present s.o. with s.t.'  
  Lai-k yako tu proi.  
     'Give me some (of it).'</n
With the semantic element of DO in their logical structure, imperatives are permissible. Durative ba is awkward because the semantics of these verbs focuses on the result (what is accomplished) of these events, rather than on the action itself. Reduplication is not encountered in the data. Verbs of exchange are already complex in their logical structure and do not take additional valence changing morphology.

7.4.3.4 Touching-grasping verbs

'Touching verbs are -h verbs.

(177) Da gao nak tode.  
     3s hold 3sPOSS machete  
     'He is holding his machete.'

Da gau-h.  
     3s hold-it  
     'He is holding it.'

(178) gao  
     'touch, hold (by hand)'  
  pepe  
     'touch with fingers'  
  gepe  
     'hold firmly in hand'  
  dufe  
     'brush against'  
  pese  
     'hold (w/back-and-forth motion)'  
  kisi  
     'stroke with fingertip'

< PMP *kepkep 'hold' [AM loan?]
< PMP *peR(eq)es 'squeeze' [met.]
< PMP *kiskis 'scrape'

These verbs show little morphological or syntactic variance.
7.4.3.5 Cutting verbs

Cutting verbs are active transitive verbs.

(179) Da hete kau tu nak todo.  
3s cut wood with 3sPOSS machete  
'She is cutting wood into length with her machete.'

(180) lata  'cut (generic)'  < PMP *la(n)ak 'beat, hit, knock'  
taha  'fell s.t. vertical'  < PAN *taRaq 'cut'  
hete  'cut around s.t. to cut into lengths'  < PMP *tektek 'chop off'  
tete  'cut up, chop, hack'  < PMP *silak 'split'  
sila  'split s.t. roughly'  < PMP *silak 'split'  
fake  'split with grain for further use'  < PMP *bak 'split off'  
biisi  'carve s.t.'  
dasa  'cut to sharp point'  
bobi  'cut brush around house or trail'  < PMP *basse 'cut'  
sala  'cut into and twist hard to break off'  
fasa  'cut as with scissors or saw'  < PAMS **vol.  < PMP *belaq 'split'  
fola  'cut/divide into pieces'  < PAMS **vol.  < PMP *belaq 'split'  
ludlo  'cut/clean bamboo with motion away from body but parallel to bamboo'  
loho  'clean strip of bamboo with small motions near body'  
looo  'climb a tree and cut it down in sections'  
sawii  'scrape s.t. smooth with blade perpendicular to wood'  
lau  'girdle a tree so as to kill it'  < PMP *kuris 'clean, scrape'  
ohi  'clean rattan for use'  
tera  'cut along wood at 5cm intervals (for cutting wood smaller without splitting)'  
sisi  'peel bark off going around wood with intention of using bark'  
noti  'strip bark off wood lengthwise'  < PCEMP * supi 'peel, pare'  
sobi  'slash once through'  < PMP *m-putus 'cut' (?)  
pono  'slice (tobacco) into shreds'  
sopi  'peel going away from body'  
futo  'cut using back-and-forth motion'  < PMP *m-putus 'cut' (?)  
foisi  'castrate'

The above verbs are all two core-argument active transitive verbs in which the subject is Actor (agent) who does something to an object as Undergoer (patient) whose surface is affected by an instrument. When the object is specified, the verbs can be given either an activity or an accomplishment interpretation. An unambiguous accomplishment interpretation can be given by the addition of -k.

(181) Da hete kau.  
'Da hete-k bia.  
'She is cutting the wood into sections.'  
'She divided up the sago (paste).'

[Activity]  
[Accomplishment]

35 Also groups with verbs of destruction.
Several verbs of cutting only occur in the data corpus with -k and an accomplishment interpretation.

(182) lapa-k 'plane surface w/instrument leaving surface' < PMP *lapaq 'cut up (butcher)'
soho-k 'cut along a line'
pala-k 'cut a notch'
popo-k 'cut off end of s.t.' < PMP *puDpuD 'amputate'
sosi-k 'cut/slice (e.g. hand)'

As activity and accomplishment verbs with DO and CAUSE, imperatives are possible. Reduplication is not encountered in the data corpus. Their logical structure is generically:

\[
\text{[x DO cut y (with z)]} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{[Activity]}
\]

\[
\text{[x DO something to y] CAUSE [y BE-cut (with z)]} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{[Accomplishment]}
\]

Cutting verbs are already complex in their logical structure and do not take additional valence-changing morphology.

7.4.3.6 Verbs of destruction

Verbs of destruction or affect are similar to cutting verbs in that the Undergoer is patient, but there is a semantic element of the whole being affected rather than just the surface, and the result is valued as potentially bad for someone.

(185) faka 'broken, split, shattered'
hida 'tear (cloth, paper)'
huda 'tear apart (house)'

In their unmarked form, the above verbs may be interpreted as either active (with an Actor (agent) doing something to an Undergoer (patient)), or non-active focusing on the state resulting from some action. Further affixation gives a wide range of nuances.

(184) Da huda huma. 'He pulled the house apart.' [S=A]
Huma di huda. 'The house fell apart.' [S=U]
Da ep-huda huma. 'He (deliberately) tore apart the house.' [S=A]
Huma di ek-huda-k. 'The house was torn apart.' [S=U; +agent]
Huma di ep-huda-k. 'The house was torn apart.' [S=U; -agent]

Some verbs of destruction are complex in their morphology and do not occur in the data corpus as unmarked roots.

(185) ep-rari-k 'destroy (place)' [passive with eb-]
ep-rega-k 'destroy, defile' [passive with eb-]
guhu-k 'broken (doesn't work right)' [passive with +voice]
kesu-k 'break (stick)'
7.4.3.7 Verbs encoding events

Some verbs encode miscellaneous events that have a complex internal temporal structure which includes an onset, peak and coda. For example:

(186) cefal
  foi
  p-riho
  'war dance'
  'bathe'
  'wash face'
  < PMP "diRus 'splash"

The argument structure of these verbs is interpreted, not by morphology, but by the order and presence or absence of arguments.

(187) Da foi.
  Da foi ana-t.
  'She's bathing (herself).'
  'She's bathing (her) child.'
  [S=A/U]
  [S=A; O=U]

7.4.4 Verbs involving cognition

Verbs whose semantics involve cognition are distinct from other verbs in marking realis clausal complements with fene [§20.6]. Fene itself derives from a speech-act verb meaning 'say, think'.

(188) Da odo fene ringe mata halk.
  3s think REAL [3s]PRF die PRF
  'He thought that he was already dead.'

(189) Da prepa fene ringe mata halk.
  3s speak REAL [3s]PRF die PRF
  'He said that he was already dead.'

In terms of their semantic pivot, however, verbs involving cognition are a mixed bag. Some are non-active in which subject is Undergoer (experiencer/receptor). Others are active (S=A). And there are a few that may take either interpretation as illustrated below.

(190) Non-active:
  Da dike.
  'She was surprised/starred.'
  [S=U]

(191) Active:
  Da ela nak hawa.
  'She is checking the condition of her garden.'
  [S=A]

(192) Ambiguous:
  Da tewa edemen.
  'He knows/understands many things.'
  'He is able to do many things.'
  [S=U]
  [S=A]

This dual sense of the role of the subject is mapped out in the morphology, with em-reflecting the non-active sense and en-reflecting the active sense.

---

36There are other verbs that are bidirectional in their interpretation as well. Puna 'do, make' can also have the copula sense of 'be, become'. Da puna huma 'He is making a house.' Da puna nang ama 'He is my father.'
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(193) Ringe geba en-tewa.  'He is a wise/knowledgeable man.' [S=U]
Ringe geba enewa-t. /en-tewa-t/  'He is a clever/skilled man.' [S=A]

7.4.4.1 Verbs of perception

Verbs of perception are active transitive verbs taking either an NP or clausal complement. The semantic role of the Actor varies in degree of control from experiencer/receptor to a fully deliberative agent. The use of -k gives the verbs an accomplishment interpretation.

(194) kita     'see' < PAN *kita 'see'
tou-k     'look at, look after s.o.'
linga     'glance, look at'
bafa-k     'stare at'
ela     'see (condition of) s.t.'

One verb of perception is both semantically and morphologically complex.

(195) caa-n     '1) sense, feel, 2) hear, listen'

7.4.4.2 Verbs of cognition

These tend to take sentential complements [§20.5] introduced with the realis fen.

(196) Ya tewa fen rings iko haik. 1s know REAL 3s go PRF
'I know that he has already left.'

(197) tewa     'know, understand, be able to'
odo     'think, imagine'
fasa     'decide' [extended sense of cutting verb]
nanu-k     'think, understand'
tele-k     'understand (meaning, significance, implications)'

Another verb of cognition:

(198) es-ngoi-k     'decide, conclude'

7.4.4.3 Speech-act verbs

Speech-act verbs are many and varied. They tend to take clausal complements [§20.6]. The following activity verbs do not take additional morphology.

(199) fene    'think, say, affirm' < PMP *benet 'true'
 fisara/epsara    'speak formally' < Sanskrit bica ra 'speak'
 storita    'tell a story' < Sanskrit cerita 'tell a story'
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The following speech-act verbs can be given an accomplishment interpretation with the applicative -k.

(200) dohi  '1) systematically inspect, 2) tell a story'
estori  'talk'
ep-repa  'say' [Masarete]
bina  'say' [Lisela]
rangi  'summon, address title'
sade  'answer, respond'
enika  'ask (question)'
laha  'request, reciprocate'
lofa  'hex s.o. (not always verbal)'
wehe  'sing'
sedu  'verbal teasing, flirting'
lomo  'persuade (extended sense)'

(201) Yako la dohi geba rua.  'I'm going to tell about two men.' [Activity]
Yako la dohi-k geba rua.  'I'm going to tell about two men.' [Accomplishment]

(202) Ya prepa ii sa moo.  'I didn't say anything.' [Activity]
Ya prepa-k ii sa moo.  'I didn't say anything.' [Accomplishment]

Some speech-act verbs normally appear as accomplishment verbs.

(203) kaba-k  'declare (name, state, condition)'
kala-k  'call (summon, name)'
siu-k  'order, command'
kanau-k  'give a message'
limu-k  'use indirect speech (riddles, parables)'

These speech-act verbs are already complex in their logical structure and do not take additional valence-changing morphology.

Some speech-act verbs are marked with em- or eb- indicating that the Actor is also Undergoer, responding to some external stimulus.37

(204) em-ngaha  'shout s.t.'
em-hane  'swear an oath by s.t.
ep-leta-k  'proclaim, preach' <- leta 'place'
ep-leha-k  'scold'

Other speech-act verbs are consistent with their morphology as described earlier.

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37 An alternative analysis that is not supportable in other Buru verbal subclasses would be to say the em- in these verbs is a frozen reflection of the Active ma(N)- found in languages to the west (cf. Malay).
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(205)  
ep-toke  'teach, instruct'  <- tke 'indicate'
ep-hai-k 'forbid'  <- hai 'follow'
ep-luma 'curse'
ep-lag,i1-k 'slander, blaspheme'
ep-lawa-k 'argue'  <- PMP *lawan 'oppose'
es-make 'swear an oath'
es-kuda 'promise'

(206)  
hea-n 'shout and behave disruptively'
hulu-n 'shout approval'

Reduplication indicates repeated occurrences over a span of time.

(207)  
Da ba stor-i storl.  
3s DUR RED-talk
'She kept talking on and on.'

Additional speech-act verbs result from compounding.

(208)  
stor.dohi-k 'gossip'  <- dohi 'narrate'
stor.leda-k 'lie'  <- leda-k 'do s.t. thoughtlessly'
stor.haa 'boast'  <- haa 'big'
stor.maga-k 'deceive'  <- maga- '?'
stor.lale-k 'agree'  <- lale- 'inside'

7.4.4.4 Verbs of human propensity

Verbs of human propensity expressing emotions or the quality of interpersonal relations are morphologically diverse. They often involve body part terms and may be expressed as whole propositions. They are often ambiguous as to whether the subject is Actor or Undergoer. There is a subgroup of these verbs which, when they take -k are marked as active transitive accomplishment verbs and when they take -n are marked as stative intransitive verbs.

(209)  
Da safa-n.  
Da safa-k nak kai.
'She is angry.'  
'She is mad at her older sister.'

(210)  
Marked with -n:  
safe-n  'angry'
dou-n  'dear'
here-n  'beloved'
em-dofo-n  'just, righteous'
edaku-n  'awesome, frightening'
ebele-n  'stupid'

(211)  
em- verbs:  
em-gihi  'repulsed, grossed out'
em-nganga  'be amazed, gawk, be impressed'
em-gea  'be embarrassed, shy'
em-tako  'be afraid'

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The source of or reason for the emotions expressed as em- verbs can be expressed as a post-verbal core argument through the use of -k. The subject can be made Actor and the object Undergoer through the use of causative ep-.

(212) Da em-gihi.  
     Da _em-gihi-k isaleu.  
     Da p-em-gihi-k nak roko.  
     'She felt grossed out.'  
     'She was repulsed by the python.'  
     'He grossed out his friend.'

(213) Da _em-gaa.  
     Da _em-gaa-k nak ina-kete.  
     Da p-em-gaa-k nak ina-kete.  
     'He was shy/embarrassed.'  
     'He was embarrassed because of his mother-in-law.'  
     'He embarrassed his mother-in-law.'

(214) Active transitive:  
     must-k  
     'love, affection'

7.4.4.4.1 Excursus: _lale_ in relation to emotion words

One high-frequency word that occurs in syntactically diverse environments deserves its own treatment. _Lale_ derives from PAN *Dalem 'inside.'

(215) Ringe dae _lale_.  
     Ringe dae huma _lale-n_.  
     faha-n _lale-n_  
     'He is inside (the house).'  
     'He is inside the house.'  
     'palm (inside of hand)'  
     [verbal]  
     [genitive]

It can indicate 'a time'.

(216) Da puna _lale-n_ telo.  
     _Lale-n_ sas, ...  
     'He did it three times.'  
     'Once (one time), ...'

Or a length of time (as an extension of the sense of 'contents').

(217) Da mena-t fula-n _lale-n_ haik.  
     'It has been dry for a whole month.'  
     Da iko musu-n _lale-n_.  
     'He was gone for a full year.'

It also indicates 'character, feelings, psyche'.

(218) Geba dii, _lale-n_ boho.  
     Da eru, bu da eru tu _lale-n_ moo.  
     Ringe bara fonri _lale-n_ ledak moo.  
     Da tewa geba _lale-n_.  
     'That is a person of bad character.'  
     'He agreed, but he didn't agree with his psyche.'  
     'He shouldn't thoughtlessly hide his thoughts-and-feelings.'  
     'He knows the man's character/personality.'

Or 'desires, intentions'.

(219) Da tewa sir nun _lale-t_.  
     3s know 3p 3pPOSS inside-NOM  
     'He knows their desires/intentions.'

With explicitly verbal morphology it has the sense of 'believe in, trust, have faith in'.

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(220) Sira  slale-k
      ek-lale-k
3p CAUS.BE-inside-k REAL 3s IRR 3s do-it
'They trust [him] that he will do it.'

The root also combines with other roots to form a wide variety of emotion and interpersonal relation words or phrases.

(221) ep-lal.gosa-k
      lal.pei-k
      lal.poto 'please s.o.'  <- gosa 'good'
      'hate'
      'hothead'
      <- poto 'hot, burn'

(222) lale-n dofo
      lale-n haa-t
      lale-n boho 'just'
      'generous'
      'evil, crazy'
      <- dofo 'straight'
      <- haa- 'big'
      <- boho 'bad'

(223) ep-ro.lale
      sus.lale
      estor.lale-k
      sar.lale-k 'be discouraged, humiliated' <- roi- 'small'
      'be upset'
      'talk toward consensus'
      'agree'
      <- toru 'difficulty'
      <- estori 'talk'
      <- saro 'each other'

(224) fuka
      ep-rahe
      bele-k
      dola-k
      dela-k
      foni
      daka
      lale-n
      lale-n
      lale-n
      lale-n
      lale-n
      lale-n 'confess, admit wrong'
      'humble oneself'
      'be confused'
      'be offended'
      'be exasperated, give up'
      'clam up'
      'grieve'
      <- fuka 'open'
      <- rahe 'low'
      <- bele 'stupid'
      <- dola- 'be pushed away'
      <- dela- 'be separated'
      <- foni 'hide'

7.4.5 Other categories of verbs

7.4.5.1 Weather verbs

Weather (meteorological) verbs are distinct from other categories of verbs in that the subject is non-referential, being neither Actor nor Undergoer, but rather a dummy subject.

(225) Da deka.
      Da moda.
      dimu.
      fila-k.
      gojo. 'It is raining.'  [-t verb]
      'It's blowing.'  [noun & verb]
      'It's fogging.'  [noun & verb]
      'Lightning is striking.'  <- PMP *bilat 'lightning'
      'It's thundering.'  <- PMP *gurgur 'thunder, rumble'

7.4.5.2 Nominal verbs

One verb suka is nominal, being obligatorily the object of possessive. In the syntax of the clause as a whole, however, it functions where other verbs would occur. It is possibly a Malay loan (cf. suka 'like').
(226) Ring nak suka la da iko.
3s 3sPOSS like IRR 3s go
He \textit{wants} to go." (Lit. "His liking is that he go.")

(227) Kam.rua nam suka saro.
1pe.two 1pePOSS like RECIP
'The two of us \textit{liked} each other.' (Lit. "The two of us's liking was for each other.'

(228) Nin suka la nin ana-t oli.
3pPOSS like IRR 3pPOSS child-NOM return
'They \textit{wanted} their daughter to return home.' (Lit. "Their liking was for their child to return.'

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Buru nouns are an open word class functioning prototypically as arguments (or as heads of arguments) to the nucleus of the clause [Chapter §18]. A noun is the minimal constituent of an NP and may be modified for such things as quantity, spatial deixis, dimension, colour, etc. [Chapter §11]. Pronominal forms [Chapter §9] may substitute for nouns. Nominals, which include both canonical nouns and derived nominals, commonly occur as topic, subject, direct object, object of a PP [Chapter §13], and object of possession [Chapter §14]. They may be used as a non-verbal predicate [Chapter §19]. The most unambiguous syntactic frame in Buru in which to identify something as nominal is as the object of possession (e.g. 'his _____, my _____'). Buru nouns may be marked for plural with the enclitic -ro, or marked for the genitive with -n,\(^1\), mapping a part-whole relationship with a referent that may be adjacent or anaphoric in the text, or exophoric.

Buru has canonical nouns, such as fau 'rock' which have no affixation, and are identifiable as nouns by virtue of both their semantics (being like things that are cross-linguistically characterised as 'nouns') and syntactic distribution. Nouns can also be derived from precategorials [§6.1.1.1], such as ana-t 'child', and are identified as nouns by virtue of their morphological marking and their syntactic distribution. Concrete nouns can be derived from verbs indicating the instrument characteristically used to perform the action, such as dihi-t 'comb' from dihi 'to comb hair', identifiable as nouns by virtue of their morphological marking and their syntactic distribution. Abstract nouns can be derived from active verbs, such as enyiku-t 'journey' from iko 'go'.

Canonical nouns as well as the morphological processes used to derive nominals are discussed in this chapter. The morphological processes occurring in relation to Buru nouns are varied, but none justify the division of Buru nouns into morphologically motivated classes characterised, for example, by an alienable/inalienable distinction.\(^2\) Reduplication and

---

\(^1\) In Chapters §9 and §14 I show that the entire genitive system has collapsed to the third singular form -n for all person and number combinations in the Masorie dialect. The distinctions are maintained to varying degrees in the other dialects.

\(^2\) Collins (1983:27ff.) characterises the languages of Central Maluku as having just such a class or gender system. I demonstrate in Chapter §14 that such a distinction is not warranted for Buru (synchronously) as, given the right situation, any noun may be used in either the genitive construction or the possessive construction. I further argue that the class distinction is an inadequate characterisation for the languages in the region as a whole.
compounding of nominals are discussed in Chapter §11. Members of closed classes (such as quantifiers, numerals and deictics) used as heads of NPs by ellipsis are discussed in later chapters.

8.1 Canonical nouns

Canonical nouns are morphologically unmarked. They tend to refer to concrete objects or identifiable substances of the material world and material culture.

(1) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fatu</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *batu 'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ena</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *qenay 'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>'tree, wood'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *kaSiw 'wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>'rattan'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *quay 'rattan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wae</td>
<td>'water, river'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *waSeR 'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rahe</td>
<td>'ground'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *daRau 'soil, land'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fafu</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *babuy 'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koto</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *kuCu 'louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahi</td>
<td>'stingray'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *paRi 'stingray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekbita</td>
<td>'octopus'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *kuRita 'octopus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niwe</td>
<td>'coconut'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *niuR 'coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala</td>
<td>'rice'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *pajey 'rice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huma</td>
<td>'house'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *Rumaq 'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>'rafter'</td>
<td>&lt; PMP *kasaw 'rafter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They may also refer to kin relations [see Appendix C for additional examples].

(5) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>'father, F's brother'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *ama 'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>'mother, M's sister'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *ina 'mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canonical nouns are vowel final due to the deletion of historical final consonants and the absence of enclitics (cf. C. Grimes 1991a). Canonical nouns may take the enclitic -n for the genitive or for the vocative of address [§5.8].

(6) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niwe wau-n</td>
<td>'liquid-of coconut'</td>
<td>&lt;- wae 'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nitu kau-n</td>
<td>'wood-of corpse = casket'</td>
<td>&lt;- kau 'wood'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama-n</td>
<td>'father (address)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina-n</td>
<td>'mother (address)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.2 Nominal morphology

8.2.1 Nominals with /-t/

The /-t/ is a phrasal enclitic [Chapter §11] that brackets what it attaches to as functioning as (part of) a nominal constituent of the clause. It can attach to precategorials [§6.1.1.1] and to non-active verb roots [§7.2.1.4], and to various verb stems [see below].

8.2.1.1 On precategorials

The "nominal /-t/ derives a noun when attached to a precategorial, forming an independent noun which is perceived by the speaker to be an independent cognitive unit. Without further marking (such as with the genitive -n or with deictics), the referent may be generic, indefinite or definite.

(8) ana- → ana-t 'child' < PAN *anak 'child'
ele→ ekt 'place, general territory' < PMP *qatep 'thatch'
ate→ ate-t 'thatch (of any material)' < PMP *qatep 'thatch'
tepu→ tepu-t 'chicken'

Many body parts are precategorials. As parts of a whole they normally appear with the genitive -n [§14.2] but also occur independently with -t when seen as an independent object. The functional contrast between -n and -t is discussed in more detail in Chapter §11.

(9) rohi- → rohi-t/-n 'bone' < PMP *DuRi 'thorn'
uha- → uha-t/-n 'vein, artery' < PAN *uRaC 'vein, artery'
ngisi- → ngisi-t/-n 'tooth' < PMP *ngi(n)si 'tooth'

8.2.1.2 On /em-/ verbs

The -t attached to em- verb stems [§7.2.1.2] derives a noun.

(10) em-pei
     em-pei-t 'be sick'
     'sickness'
(11) em-kele
     em-kele-t 'be high'
     'height'
(12) em-nipi
     em-nipi-t 'to have a dream'
     'a dream'
(13) em-tako
     em-taku-t 'be afraid'
     'fear'
(14) em-lossi
     em-lossi-t 'be soft'
     'softness'

3See Appendix C for additional examples of body parts.
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(15) em-tewa 'be wise'
    em-tewa-t 'wisdom'

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8.2.1.3 On /-t/ verbs

In the last chapter /-t/ verbs [§7.2.1.4] were described as non-active verb roots which occur with the enclitic -t when used attributively within an NP. The presence of the -t identifies the root as behaving nominally within the syntax. It was also noted that the presence of the -t on these roots blocks verbal modifications such as the pre-verbal tense-aspect-mood system and the post-verbal auxiliaries.

(16) Da haa.
    Da ba haa.
    Da haa h-'k.
    Da puns:nama haa-t.
    Da haa-t.
    *[Da ba haa-t.]
    *[Da haa-t haik.]
    'He is big/He is growing big.'
    'He is (still) growing.'
    'He is (already) big.'
    'He is making a big house.'
    'He is big.'
    [state/process verb]
    [process verb]
    [resulting state verb]
    [attributive modifier]
    [attributive predicate (state)]

Thus, the -t on non-active -t verb roots indicates they are being used attributively within an NP or as a semi-verbal attributive /-t/icate [Chapter §19].

8.2.1.4 On active transitive verb roots

When attached to active transitive verb roots whose semantics permit it (e.g. cutting verbs, some carrying verbs, some event verbs), the -t derives a noun signifying the instrument most commonly used to perform the action of the root or the object or concept resulting from the action.

(18) dihi
    dihi-t 'to comb one's hair'
    'a comb'
    [Instrument]

(19) wili-k
    wili-t 'carry s.t. by hand at side (e.g. bucket)'
    'cord for carrying s.t.'
    [Instrument]

(20) pела
    pела-t 'to rub a sting, g nettle leaf on skin'
    'stinging nettle (leaf/plant)'
    [Instrument]

*It is argued in Chapter §19 that sentences of the type Da haas-t 'He is big' are syntactically and morphologically semi-verbal nominal predicates.
(21) sisa
   sisa-t
   'to winnow chaff'
   'winnowing basket'
   [Instrument]

(22) foki
   foki-t
   'wrap, bundle s.t. (with cloth, leaves)'
   'a wrapped bundle'
   [Result]

(23) hese
   hese-t
   'to wall a house'
   'a wall'
   [Result]

8.2.1.5 On active verb stems

The -t nominalises active verb stems (active verbs derived with prefixes) as well, again indicating the instrument associated with performing the action, or the object or concept resulting from the action.

(24) ef-lehe
    flehe-t
    'action of pounding sago or of hoeing'
    'instrument used to pound sago'
    [Instrument]

(25) es-koho
    skoho-t
    'to scoop s.t. out (e.g. coconut meat)'
    'a coconut scraper'
    [Instrument]

(26) ep-helu-k
    ep-helu-t
    'gird s.t. on waist'
    'what is girded on.'
    [Instrument]

(27) leli
    ep-ka-leli
    ep-ka-leli-t
    'change, exchange'
    'to trade commercially (CAUS-HAB-exchange)'
    'commercial trading (noun)'
    [Result]

(28) lata
    ep-lata
    ep-lata-t
    'cut (generic)'
    'to fight a battle.'
    'a war'
    [Result]

(29) toke
    ep-toke
    ep-toke-t
    'to indicate'
    'to teach, instruct'
    'a lesson, instruction'
    [Result]

(30) es-ngol-k
    es-ngol-t
    'make a decision'
    'a decision'
    [Result]

8.2.2 Nominal prefix /en-

The prefix en- was introduced in the last chapter [§7.2.2.5] as a prefix which attaches only to active verb roots. In contrast, en- does not attach to non-active verb roots. This prefix is thus a key diagnostic of the major division in the verbal system between active and non-active verb roots. In combination with -t, words derived with en- may function either as derived nouns or as attributive modifiers within an NP depending on their distribution in syntax. Additionally, the en- tends to be abstract. The use of the -t in these cases is consistent with what has been described above, as deriving either nouns or attributive
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The genitive -n is discussed more extensively in Chapters §11 and §14. When the form with the -n functions as a noun, it indicates a genitive relationship with another referent which may be adjacent, anaphoric, or exophoric in text, in contrast with the -t which indicates an independent entity whose relationship to other referents is irrelevant in the immediate context. The contrast between the two in this context is a function of discourse pragmatics.
(43) Asu hada rohi-t saa. 'The dog is chewing a bone.'
Asu hada rohi-n saa. 'The dog is chewing a (pig) bone.'

On deverbal nouns the genitive -n consistently tags this same type of genitive relationship.

(44) suba
toho-n esnuba-n 'to cross a threshold (arrive, leave)'
'trail threshold (into or out of a village)'
[Active verb]

(45) sade
esnade-n 'answer, respond to a question'
'his response'
[Active verb]

(46) toke
ep-toke 'to indicate'
'ep-toke-t 'to teach, instruct'
'ep-toke-n 'a lesson, instruction'
'its lesson (about it)'
[Active verb]

The -n is occasionally in contrast with -t on attributive modifiers as well. Where this occurs, the -t indicates the attribute is considered more temporary, incidental, or accidental,\(^5\) whereas the -n indicates the attribute is considered part of the permanent or essential nature of the referent, or is an inseparable part of its identity.

(47) boti
opol boti 'white'
'grandfather White-Head (nickname)'
[Non-active verb]
opol boti-t 'grandfather whose head is white'
[Non-restrictive]
opol boti-n 'white-headed grandfather'
[Descriptive attribute]

(48) boho
lale-n boho 'bad'
'evil, bad character'
[Non-active verb]
lale-n boho-t 'bad mood'
[Predicative]
lale-n aboho-n 'crazy'
[Temporary attribute]

(49) dofo
enhero dofo-t 'straight'
'straight spear (no barbs)'
[Non-active verb]
edofo 'be just, righteous'
[Derived non-active verb]
egeba edofo-n 'a just man (characterises his life)'
[Essential attribute]

8.2.4 Plural /-ro/

Nouns may be made plural with the enclitic /-ro/ [see §5.4.1.4 and §5.4.3.2 for the morphophonemic alternations of /-ro/].

(50) fatu 'rock'
fato-ro 'rocks'

(51) was 'water, river'
wa-ro 'rivers'

\(^5\)I am using the terms 'accidental' and 'essential' in their technical Aristotelian sense.
(52) huma huma-ro 'house' 'houses'

Whenever there is a clustering of enclitics, the plural -ro attaches after the other enclitics, such as -t, -n, -k. Precategorials that may stand independently using -t (i.e. are not in a genitive relationship) retain -t before the plural -ro, yielding -t-o.

(53) ana-t ana-t-o 'child' 'children'

(54) tugu geba enugu-t geba enugu-t-o 'to guard a place against intrusion' 'a guard (person who guards)' 'guards'

(55) mata geba mata-t geba mata-t-o 'die' 'dead person' 'dead people'

For items in a genitive relationship, the -n is retained, yielding -n-o.

(56) faha-n faha-n-o 'arm, hand' 'hands'

(57) toho toho-n toho-n-o 'descend' 'path, trail'6 'paths, trails'

The enclitic -ro is also a pro-form, substituting for a plural referent. As such, on verbs that retain applicative -k [§7.3.1], there is insertion of an epenthetic o, yielding -k-or-o.

(58) Du kita geba-ro. Du kita-ro. 'They saw people.' 'They saw them.'

(59) Du soo-k manu-t-o. Du soo-k-or-o. 'They hung up (by rope) the birds.' 'They hung them up.'

---

6All trails on Buru are in a genitive relationship to a person, a spirit, an animal, a village, or a place. Thus, the -n is not merely a simple nominalisation.
Chapter Nine

Personal deixis

Deixis, the referential pointing and tracking of participants, props, space, and time in discourse, is handled by a plethora of forms and functions in Buru. This chapter concentrates on personal deixis — the pointing to participants in discourse primarily through the use of various pronominal systems. The next chapter explores spatial and temporal deictics that are pervasive throughout the Buru language.

9.1 Case marking and notions of subject

It has been mentioned [§7.1.1] that subject is a grammatical role defined syntactically in Buru simply as the pre-verbal core argument, and that it may be semantically either Actor or Undergoer, depending on the semantic role structure of the verb [Chapters §7 and §18]. Some languages give clues about the role structure interpretation of verbal arguments by the types of pronominal systems that collocate with the verbs or by the case marking systems on core arguments. Thus, when a language uses one set of pronouns (or a certain case marking for NPs) to encode both the subject of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb, but a different set (or case) to encode the object of a transitive verb, the language is characterised as nominative-accusative. A different language that encodes both the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs with one set of pronouns (or case marking), but the subject of transitive verbs with a different set of pronouns is characterised as ergative-absolutive. A third pattern may be found in languages in which the semantic Actor is encoded one way on both transitive and intransitive verbs and the semantic Undergoer is encoded a different way on both transitive and intransitive verbs. This pattern is called split-S (Dixon 1979). Buru, as explained below, follows none of these patterns in its pronominal systems. In the figure below, circles represent a contrast between types of case marking in the pronominal systems or full NPs of a language.

---

1 Again, I use the terms Actor and Undergoer in the sense of the macronodes described by Foley & van Valin (1984) with overlapping hierarchies of accessibility. The prototypical Actor is agent; the prototypical Undergoer is patient.

2 S in Dixon's system is the single argument of intransitive verbs. In a split-S system Actor and Undergoer are encoded differently on intransitive verbs — hence the name split-S.
Figure 15: Typologies for subject

9.1.1 NP subjects

Some languages exhibit one typology for NP arguments and another for pronominal arguments (cf. Dixon 1979). In Buru core NP arguments are contiguous to the predicate, marked as subject and object simply by word order, with no morphological case marking.

(1) Fafu kaa asu.
(\textit{'The} pig bit \textit{(the} dog'.)

(2) Petu geba seka fafu.
SEQ [person]A stab [pig]U
\textit{Then somebody speared \textit{(the} pig.'}

(3) Fafu di heka.
[[pig]A DIST]_{NP} flee
\textit{The pig fled.'}

(4) Petu fasu mata.
SEQ [pig]U die
\textit{Then the pig died.'}

Notice that fafu 'pig' is subject (Actor) of an active intransitive verb in example (3), but subject (Undergoer) of a non-active intransitive verb in example (4). Its semantic interpretation as Actor or Undergoer is dependent on the semantic orientation of the verb [Chapter §7].

\footnote{The word-order role interpretation can be overridden by context, however, as discussed in §18.2. Word-order marks NP core arguments as a nominative-accusative system, but such a characterisation is too simplistic for pronominal core arguments.}
9.1.2 Pronominal subjects

Free pronouns may be used equally for the subject and object of transitive verbs, and for the subject of intransitive verbs (marking either Actor or Undergoer). Pronominal proclitics may be used equally for the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs alike. Only free pronouns may be used for object (of transitive verbs, prepositions, etc.). The examples below illustrate pronominal behaviour with active transitive, active intransitive, and non-active verbs.

(5) **FREE PRONOUN SUBJECT**
    \[ \text{Yako pahu ringe.} \]
    \[ [1s] \text{hit [3s]U} \]
    'I hit him.'

    **PROCLITIC SUBJECT**
    \[ / \text{Ya paha ringe.} \]
    \[ [1s] \text{hit [3s]U} \]
    [active transitive]

(6) **RINGE paha YAKO.**
    \[ [3s] \text{hit [1s]U} \]
    'He hit me.'

    **PROCLITIC SUBJECT**
    \[ / \text{Da paha Yako.} \]
    \[ [3s] \text{hit [1s]U} \]
    [active transitive]

(7) **YAKO iko.**
    \[ [1s] \text{A/U go} \]
    'I went.'

    **PROCLITIC SUBJECT**
    \[ / \text{Ya iko.} \]
    \[ [1s] \text{A/U go} \]
    [active intransitive]

(8) **SIRA oll.**
    \[ [3p] \text{A/U return} \]
    'They came back.'

    **PROCLITIC SUBJECT**
    \[ / \text{Du oll.} \]
    \[ [3p] \text{A/U return} \]
    [active intransitive]

(9) **YAKO glada.**
    \[ [1s] \text{U hunger} \]
    'I am hungry.'

    **PROCLITIC SUBJECT**
    \[ / \text{Ya glada.} \]
    \[ [1s] \text{U hunger} \]
    [non-active]

(10) **RINGE mata.**
    \[ [3s] \text{U die} \]
    'He died.'

    **PROCLITIC SUBJECT**
    \[ / \text{Da mata.} \]
    \[ [3s] \text{U die} \]
    [non-active]

Buru uses its different pronoun sets, not to encode information about the case roles of the arguments on the verb,\(^4\) but rather to encode discourse and pragmatic information about continuity (given or presupposed identity) and discontinuity (retrieval of identity not immediate) of a referent -- a kind of incipient switch-reference system that will be explained below. Thus Buru pronoun sets are not concerned with case-marking systems, but rather with pragmatic issues. In the examples above, the first set of each pair would be understood to be introducing a new subject or a different subject from those immediately preceding. The second set of each pair would be understood to be continuing to refer to the same subject that has been the referent or to someone who is obviously understood from the context. Thus, if example (4) above were a text joined with the three examples preceding it, a pronominal

\(^4\)As do nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive and split-S systems.
substitution for *fatu* 'pig' would most naturally be rendered with the pronominal proclitic da indicating '3s same subject [SS] or understood referent', rather than with the noun *fatu* 'pig'.

(11)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fatu kaa asu.} & \quad \text{'(The) pig bit (the) s.2g.'} \\
\text{Petu gebo seka fatu.} & \quad \text{'Then somebody speared (the) pig.'} \\
\text{Fatu di heka.} & \quad \text{'The pig fled.'} \\
\text{Petu da mata.} & \quad \text{'Then it [the pig] died.'} \\
\text{then [3s]SS die} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The third sentence could also be pronominalised with da, which would again refer to the pig.

(12)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fatu kaa asu.} & \quad \text{'(The) pig bit (the) dog.'} \\
\text{Petu gebo seka fatu.} & \quad \text{'Then somebody speared (the) pig.'} \\
\text{\text{\textcolor{red}{DB}_{SS \text{ heka.}}}} & \quad \text{'\textcolor{red}{U} [the pig] fled.'} \\
\text{Petu \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcolor{red}{DB}_{SS}} mata.}} & \quad \text{'\textcolor{red}{Then} it [the pig] died.'} \\
\text{[3s]_{DS} die} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

On the other hand, if example (4) were rendered with the 3s free pronoun rings, it would not refer to the pig, but rather to the dog (or possibly the man), signalling a change of referent [DS = different subject] implying slight discontinuity to retrieve the referent, requiring further specification.

(13)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fatu kaa asu.} & \quad \text{'(The) pig bit (the) dog.'} \\
\text{Petu gebo seka fatu.} & \quad \text{'Then somebody speared (the) pig.'} \\
\text{Fatu di heka.} & \quad \text{'The pig fled.'} \\
\text{\text{\textcolor{red}{Ringe mata.}} & \quad \text{'\textcolor{red}{It} fihz dog (or man) died.'} \\
\text{[3s]_{DS} die} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The switch-reference system can also be seen within a single sentence.

(14)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da odo fene ringe mata haik.} & \quad \text{'He\text{\textcolor{red}{g}} thought that he\text{\textcolor{red}{g}} was already dead.'} \\
3s & \quad \text{think REAL [3s]_{DS} die PRF} \\
\text{\textcolor{red}{He\text{\textcolor{red}{g}}} imagined that he\text{\textcolor{red}{g}} was already dead.'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(15)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Du isfa-k sir.\text{\textcolor{red}{rua pa du bage tewa il sa moo.}} & \quad \text{'They\text{\textcolor{red}{s}} hexed the two of them\text{\textcolor{red}{s}} so that they\text{\textcolor{red}{s}} slept not knowing anything at all.'} \\
3p & \quad \text{hex-k [3p]_{DS,\text{two REAL} [3p]_{SS} sleep know thing one NEG} \\
\text{s} & \quad \text{PRF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

5While grammatical, this rendering with the free pronoun in the particular flow of text suggested here would be unnatural. It would be more natural to use the NP asu 'dog' to reintroduce the earlier participant. Petu implies a connection with what has immediately preceded, and in this sequence of examples it has the sense of 'subsequently, and because of what has happened before (i.e. being stabbed)'. Therefore, it does not collocate well here with a switch of reference.
The transitive object normally encodes a different referent from the subject, thus being restricted to the set of free pronouns which normally encode a shift to a different (reintroduced) referent.

In summary, Buru pronoun sets do not tell us anything about the semantics of the verb, nor about Buru verbal subcategorisation, nor about case marking, but rather they tell us about pragmatic considerations of cross-clause coreference and about topic continuity in discourse.

9.2 Free pronouns and pronominal proclitics

A brief overview of the Buru pronominal systems is presented here, comparing and contrasting their various uses. The basic systems substituting for nominal arguments, such as free pronouns, pronominal proclitics and pronominal enclitics are discussed first. Peripheral systems, such as reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronouns, and interrogative pronouns are presented later in this chapter with discussion and examples relating to their various functions in syntax and discourse. Two other personal deictic systems are the genitive enclitics and the possessive inflected for person and number, presented briefly here for reference only, but discussed in Chapter §14.

|   | FREE PRONOUNS | CLICITISED FREE PRON. | PRONOMINAL PROCLITICS | POSSESSIVE | GENITIVE ENCLITICS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1s</td>
<td>yako</td>
<td>yak, ya⁷, ya</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>nango⁷</td>
<td>-ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>namo</td>
<td>-m(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>rin/rings⁸</td>
<td>rin/ring</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>naks</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
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<td>ka</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>-nam</td>
</tr>
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<td>kit⁹</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>-nan</td>
</tr>
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<td>kim</td>
<td>kim</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>nimi</td>
<td>-nim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sika</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>nimi⁷¹⁰</td>
<td>-nim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>sika</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>-nim</td>
<td>-nim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16: Pronominal systems in Buru¹²

---

6 In the Massarete dialect the genitive system has collapsed to the 3s -n form for all person and number combinations.
7 Variant nea in some ideographs of the Rana dialect.
8 Both forms are heard. Furthermore, 130 respondents on an orthography testing questionnaire are about equally divided on which is the 'correct' form, slightly favouring rings. Rings is the form used in this study.
9 Form not attested in the data corpus.
10 In the Massarete dialect 3pPOSS is nnu.
11 This is the only explicitly dual form encountered, and it is rare. More commonly pronouns are modified with the full number (e.g. air raa 'the two of them', kam raa 'the two of us').
12 Some earlier writers dealing with the Buru language apparently did not figure out the basic pronominal system as presented here. Thus, in Hendriks (1897) and Trap (1904) one frequently finds colloquial clashes such as "Kaa daiko" '2s 3s-go (should be Kae, ku iko)' or "Kim nanauka" '2p 1piPOS-like (should be Kim nim suka)'.

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In the pronominal proclitics, the distinction between 1pe and 1pi has been neutralised to ma, and the distinction between 2s and 2p has been neutralised to ku.

9.2.1 Comparing free pronouns and pronominal proclitics

_Free pronouns_ indicate new or reintroduced information in the discourse, indicating a discontinuity in referent tracking. They appear in topicalisation constructions, as subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs, as subjects of non-verbal clauses, as objects of transitive verbs, and as objects of prepositions. _Pronominal proclitics_ signal given information in the discourse, and indicate continuity in referent tracking. They are used only as syntactic subject (of active transitive, active intransitive, or non-active verbs) and are never used as object.

The free pronouns may be cliticised in the subject position, losing their final vowel and clustering to the stress pattern of the following stressed root [§5.4.3.1]. They may not be cliticised as topic.

Full free pronouns may be used as an isolated response to to questions such as "Who did it?" or "Whose is it?" Cliticisation can only occur on non-final elements, which thus rules out the independent occurrence of the cliticised free pronouns. Pronominal proclitics cannot occur as independent responses, being inherently incapable of bearing the word stress required for a minimal independent utterance [§5.2].

(16)   Sane kaa pala dli?
       who eat rice DIST
       'Who ate that rice?'

_Yaako._
   *[A.]
   'I (did).'

(17)   San nake iiero naa?
       who 3sPOSS thing-PL PROX
       'Who owns this stuff?'

_Sira._
   *[Du.]
   'They (do).'

The use of the free pronouns in such exchanges, but not of pronominal proclitics, is functionally consistent with the characterisation of that set as introducing or reintroducing a new referent (i.e. change of referent) whose identity is discontinuously retrievable.

As illustrated earlier, free pronouns may be used for both subject (Actor or Undergoer) and for object (Undergoer) or object of a preposition. The pronominal proclitics may be used only for subject (Actor or Undergoer).
Chapter Nine: Personal Deixis

(18) *Ringe kala-k yak.<br>Da kala-k yak.<br>*[Ringe kala-k s.]

'He is calling me.'
[S = free; O = free]

(19) Ya tuke pala la ring.<br>Is give rice DAT 3s

'I gave rice to him.'
[S = proc.; IO = free]

*[Ya tuke pala la da.]

*I gave rice to him.'
[S = proc.; IO = proc.]

Free pronouns may occur as the possessor in the possessive construction. Pronominal proclitics may not.

(20) ya nango huma
*[a nango huma.]

'my house'
*[my house]

(21) ring nake huma
*[da nake huma]

'his house'
*[his house]

Free pronouns may be specified for number [Chapter §15]. Pronominal proclitics may not.

(22) Sirpaa ep-haga-k.<br>Kamrua ino haik.<br>*[Du rua iko haik.]

'The four of them are out hunting (with dogs).'
'The two of us already drank.'
*[The two of them already left.]

On occasion, free pronouns may be specified for spatial deixis [Chapter §10]. This occurs only where a personal or spatial contrast were being emphasised in the deixis. Pronominal proclitics may not be specified for spatial deixis.

(23) Yaka naal<br>Moot Siru daet!
*[Da naal]

'Me here (not him)'
'No! Them upstream!'
*[This one here!]

Free pronouns may occur as the clause external topic in a left-dislocation construction.13 Pronominal proclitics may not. When a free pronoun does occur as the clause-external topic, the corresponding pronominal proclitic must occur as the clause-internal pronoun.

(24) Gebu dii, da iko haik.<br>Ringe-naa, da kaa haik.<br>Kaa naa, ku fage epsala-k.<br>*[Da naa, da iko haik.]

'That person, he is already gone.'
[NP topic; proclitic S]

'Him here, he has already eaten.'
[free topic; proc. S]

'You now, you threw wrong.'
[free topic; proc. S]

*[Him here, he already drank.]
[proc. topic; proclitic S]

Cliticised free pronouns may be modified for number, may occur with deictics, and may occur as the possessor in the possessive construction. Functionally, however, a cliticised

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13Left-dislocation is a topicalisation construction in which the topic is promoted to the left (front) of the sentence (external to the clause) and there is a trace pronoun left within the clause itself (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1985:355ff.). Functionally this is a type of backgrounding anti-passive. [Chapter §21].
free pronoun directly followed by a verb is ambiguous within the referent tracking system. It may indicate either a change of referent or a continuation of the same referent. There is thus a functional overlap with the pronominal proclitics.

9.2.2 Developing a switch-reference system from a split-S system

In ritual or archaic contexts in the stylised speech of fables, folktales and sung ballads, and in the more remote parts of the Rana and Wae Sama dialect areas, one occasionally finds traces of another pronominal set. This includes, for example, the use of the 1s pronoun kono used exclusively as a semantic Undergoer.

\[
\text{Mano leli, geba rua-è,} \\
\text{Ya nang elet maa da kakoro.} \\
\text{Bara emata kono,} \\
\text{Tu a oli anga-è.}
\]

'\text{Flow back downstream, you two-è,} \\
\text{For my place is really up in the mountains.} \\
\text{Don’t kill me (kono),} \\
\text{Because I’m going back there right away-è.}

In the above inaka fuka (k.o. sung ballad; lit. ‘voice of the island/mountain’), four pronominal systems are exemplified. The first, ya (cliticised free pronoun from yako), introduces a new referent as subject (in this case subject of the possessive construction [§14.1]), and belong to the set of free pronouns used for topicalising, introducing or reintroducing participants in discourse. The second pronoun above is the 1s possessive nang [§14.1]. The third, kono, maps a semantic Undergoer, which in this case is also the syntactic object. The fourth, a, maps the semantic Actor, which in this and in all cases where it is used is the syntactic subject. The a further tags the referent of oli ‘return’ as being the same as that referred to immediately before (i.e. kono).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>kono(o)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-m(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s (human)</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s (non-human)</td>
<td>-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>[kami]¹⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>[kimi]¹⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17: Reconstruction of a set of Undergoer pronouns

¹⁴Not attested.
¹⁵Not attested.
Chapter Nine:

(25) **Ku fuka kono.**
2sAopen 1sU
'Let me out (of the cage).'

(26) **Ku ef-rogo kono na bui naa.**
2sACAUS-enter1sU PROX jail PROX
'You are putting me here in this jail.'

(27) **Yako la ep-toke emhewa-k kono.**
1sA IRR CAUS-point REFL-k 1sU
tu lie-t BuRu esnua-nu tu embaca-n.
OBL sound-t BuRu create-GEN CONJ read-GEN
'I want to teach myself (by myself) how to write and read the BuRu language.'

(28) **Eta kae sefa-m tu li ha dii, ...**
COND 2sA angry-2sU OBL thing REL DIST
'If you are angry about that matter, ...'

Phonologically the Undergoer set are enclitics. They cannot occur as an independent utterance and even the disyllabic forms cannot form a stress group. They are consistently low in their pitch. The current set of free pronouns used in the same sentences do not follow the same constraints.

(29)  
Bara emata **yako.**
[modern; free pronoun]

Bara emata **kono.**
[archaic; undergoer enclitic]

(30)  
Da pei **kita.**
[modern; free pronoun]

Da pei **kita.**
[archaic; undergoer enclitic]

Further evidence that these two systems are mapping semantic Actor and Undergoer, rather than syntactic subject and object comes from the following example in which both pronouns are the syntactic subject of their respective clauses, but the first is the semantic Undergoer and the second is the semantic Actor [same subject].

---

16From a letter written in 1989 by a man living in the interior village of Wae Katin.

C.Grimes
(31) **Kon m̕a, tu a moho.**  
**IsU die REASON IsA fall**  
'I am dying, because I fell.'

This suggests that the current system has developed from an earlier system that had three sets: a set of *topical* pronouns (currently the free pronouns), a set of *actor* pronouns (currently the pronominal proclitics), and a set of *undergoer* pronouns (with only traces remaining). The implications of this are that the current system of switch-reference developed out of an earlier split-S system (cf. Dixon 1979, Givón 1984) in which the Actor set was used as the preverbal syntactic subject of both active transitive and active intransitive verbs, while the Undergoer set was used as post-verbal syntactic object of active transitive verbs and as (preverbal) syntactic subject of non-active verbs as in the previous example [see Chapter §7 for subcategorisations of the Buru verbal system].

Further support of the above hypothesis is found in a second trace of an Undergoer pronominal set. I have twice encountered the 2s form `-m(o)` by older speakers in the following utterance:

(32) **Ka oli-mo beka?**  
2s return-2sU now  
'Are you going home now?'

**Ka oli beka?**  
[modern]

This utterance illustrates trace of a verbal subclass that is no longer mapped on the surface and is almost never encountered in Buru, but is still found in nearby CMP languages such as South Nuauulu on Seram (R. Bolton 1990) and in Oceanic languages. In the literature on Oceanic languages such verbs are sometimes referred to as *intradirective* verbs (Pawley 1973), in which the one doing the action is also the one undergoing the action. These tend to involve verbs of motion and rest or posture. In the above example the preverbal Actor referent is coreferential with the post-verbal Undergoer referent in the archaic form. In current usage the post-verbal Undergoer referent is deleted and the syntactic subject is both Actor and Undergoer in the active intransitive verbs [§7.2.2.2]. Compare the following:

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17 The split-S system as characterised here is still fully operational in other CMP languages such as Selaru (Tanimbar - D. Coward 1990), Dobel (Aru - J. Hughes, in press-a and persona. communication), and South Huulu (Seram - R. Bolton 1990). In those languages, however, the system is more iconic. The Undergoer set always follows the verb, even on single argument non-active verbs. The Actor set always precedes the verb.
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(33) Ramak vakó bel-goí-k kono gam aki lea-lea sak.mena-ro. [Archaic]
later 1s/topic? confused-k 1sU ALL across sun-sun in front-PL
'\textit{I am going to be confused in the days ahead.}'

Ramak vakó bel-goí-k gam aki lea-lea sak.mena-ro. [modern]
later 1sU confused-k ALL across sun-sun in front-PL
'\textit{I am going to be confused in the days ahead.}'

This system of Undergoer enclitics sheds light on the development of the current Buru verbal subclassification. The verbal system from which the current one has developed also had three main subtypes. In the past, active transitive verbs had Actor pronouns preceding the verb and Undergoer pronouns following the verb. Verbs that are now active intransitive also had Actor pronouns preceding the verb and Undergoer pronouns following the verb in the past, but the two were coreferential. The redundancy was eventually lost and these verbs now have only one set that is semantically both Actor and Undergoer. In the past, non-active verbs took the Undergoer set of pronouns, but it is unclear whether they preceded or followed the verb.\textsuperscript{18}

9.3 Pronominal enclitics

9.3.1 Plural enclitic \textit{-ro/}

The plural enclitic \textit{-ro}\ functions grammatically at the level of the NP, but phonologically at the word level.\textsuperscript{19} It may thus attach to a head noun, to an attributive modifier (other than a numeral or deictic), or substitute for the entire object NP as a pro-form.

(34) Geba\text-superscript{r} paa di iḳ̅o haik. [on head noun]
    person-PL four DIST go PRF
    'Those four people already left.'

(35) Geb.koni\text-superscript{t-o} ka ekfilik \text-superscript{i-yero}. [on attributive modifier]
    geba ii-ro
    person.yellow-NOM-PLHAB sell thing-PL
    'The Chinese (lit. yellow people) \textit{are the ones who} habitually sell things.'

(36) Sica ekfilik\text-superscript{oro} haik. [as object NP]
    3p sell-PL PRF
    'They\textit{'ve already sold them.'

\textsuperscript{18}The only example in my data of the Undergoer set used with a non-active single argument verb has it preceding, but that could be the result of fronting. Other languages in the region have the Undergoer set following non-active verbs.

\textsuperscript{19}See \textsection 5.4.3.2 and \textsection 8.2.4.

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In a genitive construction [§14.2], different senses are obtained depending on whether the plural -ro is attached to the $N_{\text{whole/type}}$ or to the $N_{\text{par}}$ (= $N_{\text{Head}}$). Contrast the following pairs of examples:

(37) wae-r olo-n 'headwaters of (many/various) different rivers'
(38) wae olo-n-o 'headwaters (many) of a river'
(39) kau-r omo-n 'leaves of (many/various) different trees'
(40) kau omo-n-o 'leaves (many) of a tree'

9.3.2 Singular object enclitic /-h/

The singular object enclitic -h is a pronominal enclitic which attaches to active -h verbs [§7.2.2.1.1]. It is not used if a full NP or a free pronoun is present. The -h may attach either directly to the verb or to the last post-verbal auxiliary [§12.4] indicating different scopes of encompassment and signalling slightly different nuances of meaning. Consider the following series of examples:

(41) Da kaa mangkau. 'He ate cassava.'
(42) Da kaa. 'He ate.'
(43) Da kaa-h. 'He ate it.'
(44) Da kaa sepo. 'He finished eating.'
(45) Da kaa-h sepo. 'He finished eating it. (consumption of item)'
(46) Da kaa sepu-h. 'He finished eating it. (completion of action)'
(47) Da kaa moo. 'He didn't eat.'
(48) Da kaa mo-he. 'He didn't eat it.'

9.3.3 Use of sira as a collective plural

The 3p free pronoun sira is often used as a collective plural following a proper noun (person or place) to indicate 'name' plus the family/gang/group associated with them.\(^2\) It is thus used to make explicit a type of synecdoche, i.e. a constituent-whole (collective) relationship. The constituent named is not necessarily the oldest or most important member, but the one which best identifies that collective or gives it the least ambiguous identity in the

\(^2\)This collective function is paralleled in AM by the use of the 3p pronoun deng in similar constructions. Some varieties of colloquial English say 'G. and them' in a similar collective construction.
immediate context. As it is more polite to mention children's names than adult's names, the person named is often the youngest child.

(49) Msa Mual sira oli haik? [as father]
[son-in-law (clan) 3pl return PRF]'Have Msa Mual (and his family) come back yet?'

(50) Msa Mual sira oli haik? [as leader]
'Have Msa Mual (and all those who went with him) come back yet?'

(51) Beny sira oli haik? [child]
'Have Ben (and his family) come back yet?'

9.3.4 Anaphora with the genitive /-n/

Pointing to an anaphoric (or exophoric) referent is frequently accomplished with the 3s genitive enclitic -n. In the following example, an exophoric stream is the genitive referent of the -n. This will be addressed in greater detail in §14.2.

(52) Da toho pao loni-n.
3s descend down bed-GEN
'He went down to the (stream)bed.'

9.4 Reflexive relationships

Buru has three forms that may be used to indicate that the Actor of an active transitive verb is unambiguously coreferential with the Undergoer. This function is typically labelled cross-linguistically as 'reflexive', but the use of these forms is not restricted to indicating coreferentiality of core arguments on a transitive verb. The three forms are:

(53) emsikan
'emphewak
benima(-k)

'by oneself (without others' company)'
'by oneself (without others' assistance)'
'very own (a unique relationship excluding others)'

Distributionally, these forms may modify either nominals or verbs, or may be used as the main verb. Their normal position in the clause is a post-verbal modifier of manner [Chapter §12]. They function adverbially, rather than pronominally, thus diverging from common notions of 'reflexive'.

(54) Da flali fata-n emphewak.
3s beat body-GEN REFL
'He beat himself (unassisted).' [Lit. 'he beat his own body (unassisted)']

\[21\] Like other post-verbal auxiliaries the morphology of these reflexives is frozen and varied (e.g. emsikan has the nominal -n, emphewak has the verbal -k, while benima has neither, but can take the verbal -k).

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(55) Da flaili fata-n emsikan.
3s beat body-GEN REFL
'He beat himself (nobody else involved).'
[Lit. 'he beat his own body (alone)']

(56) Da flaili fata-n benmak.
3s beat body-GEN REFL-k
'He beat himself (and nobody else).'
[Lit. 'he beat his own body (his very own)']

When both Actor and Undergoer are third person pronouns, the reflexives are used to indicate unambiguously that the person doing the action is the same as the person undergoing the action. This indicates that the object pronoun is not switching the referent.

(57) Da lata fata-n.
3s cut body-GEN
'He cut his body.'
[ambiguous referent]
[default → different referent]

(58) Da lata ringe.
3s cut 3s
'He cut him.'
[ambiguous referent]
[default → different referent]

(59) Da lata ringe emhewak.
Da lata ringe emsikan.
'He cut himself.'
[unambiguous]

The adverbal nature of these forms can be seen more clearly when the object is omitted. In the following example, what was cut could have been anything, including the person doing the cutting.

(60) Da lata emhewak.
Da lata emsikan.
'He cut by himself.'
'He cut by himself.'

These forms can modify active intransitive verbs as well.

(61) Da iko emsikan.
3s go REFL
'He went by himself (unaccompanied).'
[as post-verbal auxiliary indicating manner]

(62) Da iko emhewak.
3s go REFL
'He went by himself (unassisted - e.g. a 4-year-old, a sick person),'

These forms can emphasize the uniqueness of the Actor, but to do so requires they be used in a left-dislocation topicalisation [Chapter §21].

(63) Ringe emsikan, da iko.
3s REFL 3s go
'He by himself (unaccompanied), he went.'
[as appositional pronoun - quantifier]

(64) Ringe emhewak, da iko.
3s REFL 3s go
'He by himself (unassisted), he went.'
Emhewak is also used as a main verb.

(65) Ringe emhewak nak huma. [as main verb]
     3s [REFL]y 3sPOSShouse
     'He by-himself his house (i.e. made it unassisted).'

The following examples contrast varieties of usage:

(66) Ring foi. [implied reflexive]
     'He bathed.'

(67) Ring foi nak ana-t. [transitive; not coreferential]
     'He bathed his child.'

(68) Ring foi emhewak. [adverb of manner]
     'He bathed himself (unassisted).'

(69) Da foi ringe emhewak. [quantifier modifying object pronoun]
     'He bathed his own body.'

(70) Ringe emhewak, da foi (emhewak). [quantifier in topic NP]
     'He himself, he bathed (by himself, unassisted).'

The scope of benima is relative to its context, usually talking about kin relations. Benima is reflexive to the subject of the clause, rather than to the word it modifies.

(71) Geba dii, ya nang kai benima.
     person DIST 1s 1sPOSS elder sib. REFL
     'That person is my real/own older brother.'

The scope of benima can be read as encompassing either the hum lolin 'fragmentation of an origin group' or the huma kemat 'nuclear family' (cf. B.D.Grimes 1990a). The speaker is saying the person is not merely a classificatory 'elder sibling same sex' in the broadest usage of the term referring to the whole noro 'origin group'.

Benima may also be used as a post-verbal modifier having the effect of an adverb of manner. As such it may be syntactically interchangeable with either emsikan or emhewak, but with a different sense.

(72) Da huda nak huma benimak.
     3s pull apart 3sPOSShouse REFL
     'He pulled apart his own house.'

(73) Da huda nak huma emsikan.
     3s pull apart 3sPOSShouse REFL
     'He pulled his house apart by himself (with nobody else present or participating).'

(74) Da huda nak huma emhewak.
     3s pull apart 3sPOSShouse REFL
     'He pulled his house apart by himself (unassisted).'

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(75) Da lata fata-n emphewak tu nak todo benima.
3s cut body-GEN REFL with 3sPOSS machete REFL
‘He cut himself with his own machete.’

9.5 Reciprocals

Buru can indicate a reciprocal relationship or action either pronominally or morphologically.

9.5.1 Reciprocal pronouns

The most common reciprocal pronoun is saro. It can be used to indicate a reciprocal (kinship) relationship between nominals, or a reciprocal action or state. When saro is used with active verbs it occurs in the object slot, indicating reciprocal action and a plurality of subject that are simultaneously both Actor and Undergoer (patient/goal/experiencer). With non-active verbs it follows the verb indicating a reciprocal state, orientation or attitude. The reciprocal pronoun thus makes non-active verbs here function as if they were transitive with a post-verbal core argument. Saro can never be used as subject.

(76) Du kaka-wai-t saro.
3p elder-younger-NOMRECIP
‘They are relatives of each other.’ [non-verbal clause]

(77) Du gosa saro, wahan du kaka-wai-t.
3p good RECIP REASON 3p elder-younger-NOM
‘They are good to each other because they are relatives.’

(78) Active transitive verb
Du rasi saro, du wabulat saro, eta geba-ro mata edemen.
3p poison RECIP 3p hex RECIP until person-PL die many
‘They poisoned each other, they black-magic’d each other, until many people died.’

The pronoun saro may also be marked as an oblique argument rather than a core argument. Moving it toward the clause periphery has an iconic sense of diminishing the directness and intensity, or increasing the space or time over which the action is performed.

(79) Sira ep-lawa-n saro.
‘They are arguing (with) each other.’

(80) Sira ep-lawa-n ngel saro.
‘They are arguing toward each other.’

There is an interesting instance where the reciprocal saro is used with kin terms that are not symmetrical.
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(81)  
  feta  
  naha  
  feta sar.naha

'sister (man speaking)'  
'brother (woman speaking)'  
'a term that encompasses all those who are reciprocally related  
classificatory under the categories feta and naha crossing kin group  
affiliation → people related to each other through sisters & brothers  
(cf. B.D. Grimes 1990a)

A different word, talo, is used to indicate reciprocal kin relationships that are  
culturally considered to be symmetric.

(82)  
  dawe

'brother-in-law (wife's brother or sister's husband)'

To be in a tal.dawe relationship with someone, two men must be simultaneously wife's  
brother and sister's husband to each other. In other words, they married each other's sisters,  
and this is what gives the relationship symmetry.

(83)  
  Geba tal.dawe rua dil, ...

'Those two men who are symmetrically brother-in-law to each other, ...'

(84)  
  opo
  tal.opo

'grandparent, grandchild'  
'to be in a symmetrical opo relationship with s.o.'

(85)  
  osi
  tal.osi

'kin of third ascending or descending generation'  
'to be in a symmetrical osi relationship with s.o.'

(86)  
  Ringe tal.osi

3s symmetric. ±3 generations  PRF

'He already has great-grandchildren.'

9.5.2 Verbal ep-n combinations

The reciprocal prefix ep- [§7.3.3.2] combines with the detransitiviser -n [§7.2.2.3] to  
yield a verb that behaves intrasitively, but which indicates a plurality of Actors reciprocally  
directing the action toward each other. The use of the reciprocal pronoun saro is optional.

(87)  
  Du pe-bahi-n.  
  Du pe-bahi-n saro.

'They are having an argument.'  
'They are arguing with each other.'

(88)  
  sodi
  Du ep-sodi-n.

'punch with fist'  
'They are having a fistfight.'

(89)  
  sade
  Du ep-sade-n.

'answer, respond'  
'They are answering each other.'

(90)  
  sama
  Ma ep-sama-n.

'different'  
'Let's go our separate ways.'

(91)  
  sia
  Sira ep-sla-n.

'one'  
'They are getting together / uniting.'

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9.6 Interrogative pronouns

There are several interrogative pronouns.

(92) gam doo 'where to?; how?; in what manner?'
fil/ffe doo 'where at?, where from?' (fo is used in Lisela and north Rana dialects)
ha doo 'where at?; which one?'
pilal 'how many?, how much?'< PAN *pijey 'how many'
pilal saa 'when?'
sane 'who?'
em-kua 'w.why?, for what reason/purpose?'< PMP *kuja 'why?'
sapa-n 'what (identification); for what purpose'< PCMP *sapa 'what?'
teni-k 'what? (discrimination); which (kind)?

Interrogative pronouns occur syntactically in the slot of the argument they are querying. Interrogatives are treated in greater detail in §22.1.

(93) Sane filal ringe? 'Who beat him?'

[Subject: Actor]

(94) Da filal sane? 'Who did he beat?'

[Direct Object: Undergoer]

(95) Da tuke-h la sane? 'Who did he give it to?'

[Oblique: Dative]

(96) San nake-r nna? 'Whose are these?'

[Possessor]

Reduplication or repetition of interrogative pronouns makes them indefinite.

(97) fi doo = fi doo 'wherever (location)'
gam doo = gam doo 'however; wherever (goal)'
pil-pila 'several; however many'
san-sane 'whoever'
sap-sapa-n 'whatever'
teni-teni-k 'whatever; whichever'

In their reduplicated forms indefinite interrogative pronouns are often topicalised.

(98) San-sane, eta da emsihi ebohon, dapsak effali. 'Whenever, if he gets violently drunk, will get beaten.'

(99) Ten-tenik ha diii, da ba filan gosa. 'Whatever that is, its appearance is really good.'

(100) Fi doo = fi doo da lko, do, du yahak ringe. 'Wherever it is that he goes, well, they will evict him.'
Chapter Ten
Spatial and temporal deixis

Buru uses a pervasive and complex system of interacting spatial and temporal deixis. Understanding these deixics is crucial for understanding meaning, as the deixics deal with things such as definiteness, referentiality, topicality, topic continuity, and phrase and clause juncture. This chapter presents a survey of these deixics in all their environments to portray the unity of the system in the language. In doing so, several topics are mentioned which foreshadow and overlap with later chapters.

10.1 Overview of the basic deictic system.

The Buru system of deixics is relative, anchored to the spatial or temporal orientation of the speaker, rather than absolute, anchoring to fixed points in space or time.

Map 10: The Wae Mala river system

1My use of the term *deictic* is restricted to the form class described in this chapter.

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With the relative nature of the system, lawe 'downstream' in the village of Fakal indicates north toward the centre of the island; in Wang Karang Fatap it indicates eastward; and in Wae Loo it points westward, all following the local drainage patterns. The village of Wae Katin sits at the conflux of a stream flowing into a larger river. On the south side of the village, a speaker using lawe with immediate scope (village internal) is indicating eastward (oriented to the nearby stream), but with slightly broader scope (village and associated fields) it indicates northward (oriented to the river) and with even broader scope (inter-village territories) it indicates southwestward (the direction of flow of the main river in that region into which all the other streams and rivers drain).

The deictics are presented here as two subsets: Set 1 general spatial/temporal deictics, and Set 2 specific topographical deictics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET ONE: general spatial/temporal</th>
<th>CLITICISED FORM (non-final)</th>
<th>GLOSS/FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saa</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>indefinite (specific or non-specific)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>definite proximal (near in space or time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dill</td>
<td>dill</td>
<td>definite distal (non-proximal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET TWO: specific topographical</th>
<th>CLITICISED FORM (non-final)</th>
<th>GLOSS/FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aaka</td>
<td>aak / aak¹</td>
<td>up, upward⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pao</td>
<td>pao</td>
<td>down, downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dea</td>
<td>dea</td>
<td>upstream; toward emic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawe</td>
<td>lawe</td>
<td>downstream; away from emic centre; far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>across (stream, valley, ridge)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 18: Buru system of spatial and temporal deictics

²Cliticisation of the deictics sets up several (potential) ambiguities. In some genre, such as enwena 'sung ballads' na 'proximal' is often hard to distinguish from the 3sPOSS na¹, as in na huma 'here in the house' vs. na² huma 'his house'. Similarly, sa 'indefinite' is hard to distinguish from sa² 'up'. Pa 'down' needs to be distinguished from the homophones pa 'conjunction - logical consequence; realis complementiser', and pes 'four'. De 'upstream' needs to be distinguished from the homophonous de '3s pronominal proclitic'. La 'downstream' must be distinguished from la 'irrealis complementiser'.
³Indefinite specific would be as in 'a (certain) person'; indefinite non-specific would be as in 'a person (any person)'.
⁴The northern Rau and Lisela dialects use ra / rat 'up', rather than aaka / aak.
In the examples that follow in this section, these deictics are exemplified as simple modifiers in a deictic NP in the direct object slot. To begin, however, it must be noted that a noun not modified by a deictic is ambiguous as to whether it is generic or indefinite.

(1) Da puna katin.
   3s make mat.
   'She makes mats/she's making a mat.'

Deictics narrow the scope of definiteness and referentiality [§23.3]. The general deictics (set 1) can indicate both time and space. Saa is indefinite and is ambiguous as to whether the referent is non-specific (i.e. 'some mat somewhere'), or specific (i.e. 'a certain mat that I know but do not need to spell out right now'). Indefinite saa contrasts with definite naa 'proximal' and dii 'distal'. Saa is used in presentational clauses [§19.1.4], and tends to be used to give the first introduction of referents that are cataphorically important in a discourse [Chapter §23].

(2) Da puna katin saa.
   < PMP *asa 'one' [metathesis]
   'She's making a mat.'

(3) Lalen saa, da puna katin saa.
   'One time she made a mat.'

(4) Da puna katin naa.
   'She's making this mat. / She's making a mat now.'

(5) Da puna katin dii.
   'She's making that mat. / She made a mat then.'

When general deictics follow a specific deictic they are normally pointing to time. Without explicit marking otherwise (such as irrealis la), dii indicates past time.

(6) Da puna huma dae naa.
   'He's making that (upstream) house now.'

(7) Da puna huma dae dii.
   'He made that (upstream) house then.'

The definite general deictics naa and dii may be intensified or focused with ang 'immediate'.

(8) Da puna huma ang naa.
   'He's making this very house. / He's making the house right now.'

(9) Da puna huma ang dii.
   'He's making that very house. / He was making the house just then.'

Anga is a verb of perception meaning 'look'. As a post-verbal auxiliary [§12.4] anga has the sense 'do s.t. immediately', which is a sense that it retains in modifying deictics.

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The topographical deictics (set 2) are all definite.

(10) **Da puna huma saka.**
    "He's making that house (up there)."
    < PMP *sakay 'go up, climb' 

(11) **Da puna huma pao.**
    "He's making that house (down there)."

As topographical deictics saka and pao are oriented prototypically to the topographical notions of 'up' and 'down' the sides of a valley perpendicular to a stream or river, rather than toward the headwaters. They may also, however, be extended to culturally anchored notions such as 'up the coast, down the coast'.

(12) **Da puna huma dae.**
    "He's making that house (upstream)."

(13) **Da puna huma lawe.**
    "He's making that house (downstream)."
    < PMP *laSud 'sea'

The notions of upstream and downstream are perhaps secondary extensions to the notion of 'toward an emic centre' (dae) and 'away from an emic centre' (lawe), discussed below.⁶ Headwaters (olo-n) and sources (lahi-n) are of extreme cultural significance on Buru (cf. Chapter §3, and B.D. Grimes 1990a,b,c). When one is travelling away from Buru (e.g. to Ambon, to Jakarta), one is going lawe. When one is returning to Buru one is going dae, completely overriding the drainage patterns and local topography of where one is standing when talking about returning to Buru. As a result of this usage lawe has taken on a further extended sense of 'far'.⁷

The notion of being oriented around an emic centre is also seen in other usages that can override the local topography and drainage patterns. Inside a house is referred to with the non-final cliticised deictics as da lale 'inside' or da huma lale-n 'inside the house', in contrast to la kako 'outside (the house)', unless the drainage pattern is specifically relevant. The dative/benefactive preposition la 'to, for' ([§13.2.1.1] has also developed from this concept of 'away from an emic centre' indicating energy directed away from the Actor as the source of the action or effort toward a goal.

Aki indicates s.t. across the other side of an immediate stream, valley, or ridge, or in a direction across the flow of two or more streams flowing parallel to each other.

(14) **Da puna huma aki.**
    "He's making that house (across the stream/over there)."

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⁶See Pike (1954), Pike & Pike (1977), and Headland, Pike and Harris (1990) for a discussion of the term *emic.*

⁷The sense of 'far' is not from PAN *zaq 'far', as that should yield Buru dewe rather than lawe.
10.2 Deictics in various constructions

In this section I illustrate the use of deictics in the variety of constructions in which they are found.

10.2.1 Modifying nouns in a Deictic NP

The preceding examples illustrated the use of the deictics in a simple deictic NP. If there is a deictic in an NP it is always final, and it never clausalised as topic or in postverbal arguments. Definite deictics in this environment not only indicate definiteness, but also indicate that the speaker considers the referent to be anaphorically retrievable or uncontroversially known.

(15) Du flili geba en-heka-t rua dili. 3p beat [person ABS-flee-t two DIST]O 'They beat those two escapees.'

(16) Petu ringle prepa la geba-r lima dili, fen, "..." SEQ 3s say [DAT [people-PL five DIST]NP]PP-REAL 'Then he aid to those five men that, "..."

(17) Geba dili, da iko haik. [person DIST]TopicNP 3s go PRF 'That man, he's already gone.'

10.2.2 Substituting for an NP

Deictics may behave as pro-forms, substituting for an entire NP on post-verbal arguments whose referent is understood (presupposed; anaphorically retrievable). As such, the deictic cannot be modified for things like number or attribute.

(18) Da peka fashi isila-bono dili. 3s throw out [pig content-GEN rotten DIST]O 'He threw out that rotten pig meat.'

Da peka il dili.
'He threw out that thing/stuff.'

Da peka dili.
'He threw that out.'

10.2.3 Deictic as preposition

In contrast with a full (definite) deictic following the noun as a restrictive modifier (presupposed contrastive information) [§10.2.1], the clausalised form of a deictic may occur before the head noun as a non-restrictive modifier, indicating that the information is not considered to be anaphorically retrievable. In the distributional paradigms of the Buru...
language as a whole, a preceding cliticised deictic functions as a locative preposition [Chapter §13]. Functioning as a preposition, a deictic retains its full deictic force of relating the object of the preposition in space or time. The object of the preposition may also be a deictic NP to indicate it is considered anaphorically retrievable.

(19) Da puna huma naa.  
3s do house PROX  
'He made this house.'  

(Object Deictic NP; post-nominal)

(20) Da kadu-k na huma.  
3s come-k PROX house  
'He came here to the house.'  

(as preposition)

(21) Da kadu-k naa huma naa.  
3s come-k PROX house PROX  
'He came here to this house.'  

(preposition & deictic NP)

(22) Da keha sa' fuka.  
3s ascend [up mountain]pp  
'He went up to the mountains.'  

(23) Da defo sa' fuka.  
3s stay [up mountain]pp  
'He lives up in the mountains.'

(24) Saa tola la Lisela, saa tola na Masarate.  
one roll downstream(area) one roll PROX (area)  
'One fruit rolled away to Lisela, (and) one rolled here to Masarate.'  

The directional sense of the deictics used as prepositions may be distinguished with the use of the allative: gam 'to, toward' or non-allative fi 'at, from' complex prepositions [§13.2.2].

(25) Da kadu-k gam na huma.  
3s come-k [ALL PROX house]pp  
'He came toward this house.'  

[complex preposition, pre-nominal deictic]

(26) Da keha gam sak fuka.  
3s ascend [ALL up mountain]pp  
'He went up to the mountains.'

(27) Da defo fi sak fuka.  
3s stay [LOC up mountain]pp  
'He lives up in the mountains.'  

10.2.4 As object of preposition

Just as the deictics may substitute for core argument NPs as a pro-form [§10.2.2], so also deictics may substitute for the object or complement of a preposition, delimiting the scope
of the preposition. The identity of the referent of this use of a deictic is assumed to be anaphorically retrievable or uncontroversially known.

(28) Da kəha ga[m] saka.  
    3s ascend [ALL up]pp  
    'He went up there.'

(29) Da defo fi saka.  
    3s stay [LOC up]pp  
    'He lives up there.'

(30) Da kad-o-k ga[m] naa.  
    3s come-k [ALL PROX]pp  
    'He came this way.'

10.2.5 With verbal /-k/

Deictics often occur uncliticised as the final element of a locative PP with the verbal -k. This co-occurs only with verbs that have motion built into their semantics or (more commonly) are marked with the allative preposition gam. When the -k occurs on a deictic it can be considered a type of morphological incorporation of an oblique locative argument within the clause nucleus. It indicates that the whole predicate (verb plus locative argument) behaves as an accomplishment verb (i.e. the goal was reached rather than just moved toward).

(31) Da keha ga[m] saka-k.  
    3s ascend ALL up-k  
    'He went up there (and arrived).'  

(32) Da toho ga[m] pa masi.  
    3s descend ALL down sea  
    'He went down to the coast.'

Da toho ga[m] paa,  
    'He went down there.'

Da toho ga[m] paa-u-k.  
    'He went down there (and arrived).'</n
10.2.6 As demonstratives with /-ta/  

The general definite deictics naa and dii combine with -ta to form demonstrative tags dita 'that particular one, like that, in that way' and nata 'this particular one, like this, in this way'.

(33) Na[tə], do, ama kete nak wai;  
    PROX.DEM PAUS father in-law 3sPOSS younger sibling  
    'This particular one, well, he was my father-in-law's younger brother.'
(34) Da tewa soal na.ta.  
3s know problem [Mly] PROX.DEM  
'He knows this particular problem.'

(35) Ingat tu ana-fina di.ta, la ku kaweng tu-ha.  
remember [Mly] with child-female DIST.DEM IRR 2s marry [Arab] with-3s  
'Pay attention to that particular girl, so you can marry her.'

As a sentence tag, the demonstratives with -ta imply a summarising of previous information.

(36) A seka fafu leuk, di.ta.  
1s stab pig precede DIST.DEM  
'I speared a pig earlier, like that/in that way/and that's how it was.'

(37) Koe geb.akal na.ta.  
2s person.idea [Arab] PROX.DEM  
'You are a deceitful person, [behaving] in this way.'

10.3 Deictics and juncture

As can be seen from the examples above, whether a deictic is final (uncliticised) or non-final (cliticised) is one mechanism to identify the syntactic scope and thus the particular grammatical construction in which the deictic is functioning. This is true for other constructions as well.

If a pre-verbal NP with a deictic is functioning as subject it will be non-final (cliticised); if it is functioning as Topic [Chapter §21] it is final (uncliticised) usually with rising intonation followed by a slight pause.

(38) Geba di iko haik.  
person DIST go PRF  
[Subject deictic NP - cliticised]  
'That person already left.'

(39) Geba dii, da iko haik.  
person DIST 3s go PRF  
[Topic NP - uncliticised]  
'That person, he already left.'

On rare occasion in text or conversation one finds a hybrid of the two -- a topic NP with an omitted subject. In these cases the deictic of the topic NP is uncliticised and is accompanied by rising intonation and slight pause associated with topics.

(40) Geba dii, [Ø] iko haik.  
person DIST go PRF  
[Topic NP (uncliticised); no subject NP]  
'That person, [he] already left.'
Just as example (38) illustrates the cliticisation of the deictic in the subject NP of a verbal clause, so the deictic of the subject NP in a non-verbal clause is also cliticised [Chapter §19]. Thus, the phonological juncture between a deictic NP subject and a non-verbal predicate is the same as the juncture between a deictic NP subject and a verbal predicate.

(41) *Geba di* guru.  
    person DIST teacher [Skt]  
    'That person is a teacher.'

(42) *Geba di* ol.fatu.  
    person DIST head.rock  
    'That person is stubborn.'

(43) *Geba di* haa-t.  
    person DIST big-NOM  
    'That person is big.'

Cliticised general deictics (set 1: saa, dii, naa) can also similarly link the subject and predicate of non-verbal naming clauses [Chapter §19] whether embedded or independent.

(44) *Geba na* ngaan L.  
    person PROX name-GEN L.  
    'This person is named L.'

(45) *Kam pefa-ro di* wae *sa* ngaan Wae Ephamet Olo-n.  
    lpe burn-PL DIST water one name-GEN River Name Head-GEN  
    'We roasted them at a spring (which is) named Wae Ephamet Olon.'

(46) *Da iko di geba di* ngaan Joni nak huma.  
    3s go DIST person DIST name-GEN Joni 3sPOSS house  
    'He went to a person (who is) named Joni’s house.'
Chapter Eleven

Noun phrases

Noun phrases often contain information that identify, characterise or contrast referents and thereby introduce new information or recover discontinuous information in a discourse [Chapter §23]. The content of non-pronominal NPs is thus primarily concerned with referential-related information of the discourse rather than role-related information of the clause. In Chapters §21 and §23 it is shown that referential-related information introducing extensive new information in discourse is primarily found in topicalised constructions or as oblique or peripheral arguments in the clause, whereas role-related information tends to be indicated pronominally [Chapter §9] or by a generic noun plus a deictic within the clause [Chapter §10]. Thus, in a narrative text, for example, the kinds of constructions discussed in this chapter tend to occur where settings, participants, or props are introduced, reintroduced, or where a salient feature about them is changed.

Modifications to nominal arguments may be phrasal or clausal in nature. The initial discussion in this chapter is of simple nouns followed by a variety of modifiers. Complex variations on those structures are discussed later in the chapter. Relative clause modifications are discussed in detail in Chapter §20. The genitive construction is introduced briefly in this chapter in the context of the noun phrase, but discussed more extensively in Chapter §14. A general discussion of phrase headedness and phrase structure across phrase types is found in Chapter §17.

11.1 NPs with simple phrase heads

In Buru noun phrases, modifiers follow their head noun, as is common in SVO languages.

```
  N_1
  |   |
  | N_{Head} | Modifier |
```

Figure 19: Basic structure of simple NPs
Noun Phrases

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(1) Huma ha-at dola-k haïk. [Head-Size]
    [house big-NOM]NP fall-k PRF
    "The big house has collapsed."

(2) Géba run paha tuba. [Head-Number]
    [person two]NP hit drum
    "Two people are beating drums."

(3) Fafu edemen ebanak. [Head-Quantifier]
    [pig many]NP give.birth
    "Many pigs are giving birth."

(4) Da iko da hawa dji. [Head-Deictic]
    3s go [upstream [field DIST]NP]PP
    'She went to that field.'

Unmodified noun heads are ambiguous as to whether they are generic or specific, referential or non-referential, definite or indefinite [§10.1].

(5) Da hama tonal. 3s seek cuscus
    'He is hunting cuscus.'
    [generic/non-referential]
    'He is looking for a cuscus.'
    [indefinite (specific or non-specific)]
    'He is looking for the cuscus.'
    [definite]

Some NP modifiers, such as attributives, narrow the scope of possible referents by specifying something that is semantically relevant either to the development of the discourse or to identifying a particular referent in contrast with other referents. But in and of themselves, neither attributives nor quantifiers deal with discourse pragmatic functions such as definiteness and referentiality. Those higher level functions are left to other types of modifiers such as the deictics. Head nouns may be modified by a variety of form classes, including other nominals, verbal modifiers (attributives), numbers, quantifiers and deictics.

11.1.1 Descriptive NP

A Descriptive NP is composed of a head noun modified by another noun that defines the scope or type of the referent (of the head noun). This implies that there are similar types or other scopes to contrast with the one specified. Head nouns of Descriptive NPs tend to be fairly generic, leaving a generic-to-specific presentational strategy for information processing. The head noun is underlined in the examples below.

(6) fafu aba  'wild boar (lit. jungle pig)'
    fafu fena  'village pig'
    fafu Bali  'Balinese pig'

(7) geba masi  'coastal person'
    geba fuka  'mountain person'
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Noun Phrases

(8) nora Masbait
    nora Gebba
    nora Gewagit

'Masbait kin group'
'Gebba kin group'
'Gewagit kin group'

(9) kau bana

'fire wood'

(10) huma fena
    huma hawa

'village house'
'garden house'

These same nouns may also be modified by attributives (verbal modifiers [§11.1.3]).

(11) fafu mite-t
    neba em-pai
    kau em-losi
    huma en-defu-t

'black pig'
'sick person'
'soft wood'
'residential house'

Many Descriptive NPs could be expanded with a preposition (e.g. person from the coast, wood for fire), or a proposition (e.g. pig habitually residing in the jungle, wood to be used for burning in a fire). To do so, however, would diminish the syntactic and pragmatic functions of a structurally simple NP that identifies a cohesive type which is in contrast with other unnamed types.

11.1.2 Prominent Feature NP

A Prominent Feature NP is composed of a head noun modified by a consonant-reduplicated root. [See §5.6.4 for the phonology of this type of reduplication.] These modifiers are derived from nouns or precatagorical which indicate the most salient or prominent part of the whole for the purposes at hand. The enclitics -n and -t, which normally indicate these roots are being used nominally rather than attributively, are not used in this construction. The phrase head is underlined in the examples below.

(12) tonal
    tonal
    folo-n
    fa-folo

'fur of cuscus/cuscus fur'
'furred cuscus/cuscus HAVE-fur (fur still on)'

[Genitive]
[Prom. Feature]

(13) enhero
    enhero
    panga-n
    pe-panga

'barb of spear/spear barb'
'barbed spear/spear HAVE-barb'

(14) manu-t
    kapel
    pani-n
    pe-pani

'wing of a bird/bird wing'
'winged ship/ship HAVE-wing = airplane'

(15) ngihu-t
    nge-n
    nge-ngo

'snot'
'snot-nosed (child)/nose HAVE-mucus'

---

1When a cuscus is killed, normally the fur is quickly plucked off or singed off. When this is not done, due to being in a hurry (because of nightfall), or killing a cuscus close to a village, the cuscus is described as tonal fa-folo 'furred cuscus'.

2This contrasts with an enher dofo-t 'straight spea: (no barbs)' used for different purposes. There are at least ten specific types of spear encompassed by the term enher pe-panga.
(16) pala oko-n 'skin of rice/rice husk'
pala ki-oko 'husked (in husk) rice/rice HAVE-skin'

Only the five examples above are found in the data corpus (although kapal pe-pani and enhero pe-panga occur several times each), so expansions of this particular type of NP are rare. Other modifiers such as attributives, number/quantifiers and deictics follow this construction. Descriptive NPs [§11.1.1] are not known to co-occur with Prominent Feature NPs.

11.1.3 Attributive NP

The modifiers of Attributive NPs are derived from verb roots which can otherwise be used as verbal predicates. In an Attributive NP, modifiers are derived from both active and non-active verbs [§7.2] and always follow the head noun.

11.1.3.1 Non-active verbs

Non-active verbs [§7.2.1] are identified by their morphological marking (em-, eb-, -t) when used as attributive modifiers within an NP. /em-/ verbs [§7.2.1.2] remain unchanged in their morphology when used attributively.

(17) Ghe na di em-pe-ro.
    person DIST STAT-hurt
    'That person is sick.'

Da tua-ko geba em-pe-ro.
3s see-k person STAT-hurt
'She looked-in-on the sick person.'

(18) Huma di em-ke-le.
    house DIST STAT-high
    'That house is tall.'

Da puna huma em-ke-le.
3s do house STAT-high
'He made a tall house (i.e. a pile house).'</n-

/t/ verbs [§7.2.1.4] are marked with /-t/ when used as attributive modifiers in an NP.

(19) Ana-mhana di haa.
    child-male DIST big
    'That boy is growing.'

Da kala-ko ana-mhana haa-t.
3s call-k [child-male big-NOM]NP
'He called the older son.' (Lit. 'big son')
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Noun Phrases

(20) Kau di beha. wood DIST heavy
That wood is heavy.
Do wada kau beha-t. [as attributive modifier]
3s shoulder.carry [wood heavy-NOM]NP
'He is carrying heavy wood (on his shoulder).

(21) Feten botji mhede. [as verbal predicate]
millet white not yet
'The millet isn't yet ripe.'
Da ego waqu-n botji-t. [as attributive modifier]
3s get [cloth-GEN white-NOM]NP
'She got the white cloth.'

/eb/- verbs [§7.2.1.3] used attributively take /-n/.

(22) Huma di b-rangi. [as verbal predicate]
house DIST near
'That house is near.'
Da rogo huma b-rangi-n dii. [as attributive modifier]
3s enter [house near DIST]NP
'He entered the near house.'

(23) Wae di b-ridi. [as verbal predicate]
water DIST cold
'That water is cold.'
Da ino wae b-ridi-n. [as attributive modifier]
3s drink [water cold]
'She drank cold water.'

11.1.3.2 Active verbs

Both active transitive and active intransitive verb roots used attributively within an NP are marked with both /en-/ and /-t/. [See §7.2.2].

(24) Da lko lebeto. [active intransitive]
3s go yesterday
'He went yesterday.'
Do ego ongkos enyiku-t. [attributive modifier]
en-iko-t
3s go [fare [My]] ABS-go-NOM]NP
'He took the travel fare.'

(25) Da dapi tonal isi-n. [active transitive]
3s smoke cuscus content-GEN
'He is smoking cuscus meat (for preservation).'

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(26) Da leha tonal en-dapi-t saa. [attributive modifier]
3s request [cucus ABS-smoke-NOM one]NP
'He asked for a smoked cucus.'

11.1.4 Quantifier NP

In a Quantifier NP, numbers or quantifiers follow the head noun and any nominal or attributive modifiers that might be indicated. The scope of the number or quantifier includes the head noun and whatever is between. The number and quantifier systems are explained in more detail in Chapter §15.

(27) Da kala-k geba rua.
3s call-k [person two]NP
'He called two people.'

(28) Da tou-k geba em-pai rua.
3s look-k [person STAT-hurt]AltNP [two]NumNP
'She is looking after two sick people.'

(29) Da kala-k geba edemen.
3s call-k [person many]NP
'He called a lot of people.'

11.1.4.1 Classifier NP

Generic nouns may be used as classifiers, following the head noun and preceding the number or quantifier. These classifiers and their use in a classifier NP are discussed in detail in §15.3.

(30) Sira paa toho gam la masi. [Quantifier NP]
3p four descend ALL downstream sea
'The four of them went down to the coast.'

(31) Sira geba-r paa toho gam la masi. [Classifier NP]
3p person-PL four descend ALL downstream sea
'The four of them went down to the coast.'

11.1.4.2 Adverbial modifications

Quantifiers can be emphasized with tirin 'very', mitigated with rahek 'just', or limited with baa 'only, exclusively'.

(32) geba edemen tirin
geba ro-roin rahek
geba ro-roin baa
'very many people'
'just a few people'
'only a few people'

Baa may also be used to limit numbers.

(33) geba rua baa
'only two people'
These adverbial modifications precede deictics. Attributive modifiers must be repackaged as verbal predicates to use these adverbial modifications, which then function instead as part of the post-verbal auxiliary system [§12.6].

(34) Ringe em-pei tirin. 3s STAT-hurt very
*{Ringe geba em-pei tirin.}  *{She is a very sick person.}

(35) Ringe haa tirin. 3s big very
*{Ringe geba haa-t tirin.}  *{He is a very big person.}

11.1.5 Relative Clause NP

In Buru relative clauses follow their nouns in the same way that other modifiers follow the head noun in an NP. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter §20.

(36) geba ha dili da ikan labeto dili
person [REL DIST 3s go yesterday]Relative clause DIST
're that man who left yesterday'

11.1.6 Deictic NP

The Deictic NP was introduced in Chapter §10. When present, the deictic is the last element in any NP, thus bracketing whatever comes between the head noun and the deictic as functioning phrasally within an NP. The following examples illustrate the deictics co-occurring with other kinds of modifiers.

(37) Du yaha-k geba dili. 3p evict-k [person DIST]NP
'They kicked that person out.'

(38) Du yaha-k geba rua dili. 3p evict-k [person two DIST]NP
'They kicked those two people out.'

(39) Du yaha-k geba haa-t dili. 3p evict-k [person big-NOM DIST]NP
'They kicked out that important person.'

(40) Du yaha-k geba ha dili da bamba kadu-k dili. 3p evict-k [person [REL DIST 3s just come-k]REL clause DIST]NP
'They kicked out that person who had just arrived.'

---

3Comrie (1981) observed from Greenberg’s (1966) work that the order of a relative clause to its head noun is related to the order of modifiers to the head noun in an NP.
(41) Geba enaka enhero pe-panga dii.  [follows prominent feature]  
    person steal [spear HAVE-barb DIST]_{NP}  
    'Someone stole that barbed spear.'

Deictic NPs can occur as the complement (object) of a preposition.

(42) Sira heka gam.di mua dae.  [Object of PP]  
    3p flee [ALL DIST [jungle upstream]]_{NP}_{PP}  
    'They fled to that (part of the) jungle upstream (from here).'</n
As mentioned in §10.3, the deictic in a Deictic NP functioning as Subject is normally elicitised.

(43) Geba dii, da iko halk.  [Deictic NP = Topic]  
    [person DIST]_{NP} 3s go PRF  
    'That person, she has already left.'

(44) Geba di iko halk.  [Deictic NP = Subject]  
    [person DIST]_{NP} go PRF  
    'That person has already left.'

11.1.7 Expanding simple NPs

The relative order and structure of combining NP modifiers is summarised here. First, the Buru language limits the number of attributives that may combine in a single NP to two. The second attributive modifier has both the head noun and the first attributive as its scope.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N_2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N_1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N_{head}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Figure 20: Scope of multiple attributives

The stacking of attributives in this way is not common and is even slightly awkward. Normally if there are any attributives, there is only one. That is the one that indicates the attribute most salient to the discourse for disambiguating the referent in question from others of a similar type. When it is necessary to modify a head noun with more than one attributive, the second is commonly put into a relative clause.
(45) wagun boti-t ha dii dia rema-t
cloth white-t [REL DIST 3s long-NOM]RELclause dii
‘that white cloth which is long’

Another strategy is through the use of compounding [§4.3.3]. The compounded elements indicate a noun plus a semantically bleached non-restrictive modifier, while the independent attributive is used as a restrictive modifier [§23.3]. The ordering of attributives is variable according to pragmatic salience.

(46) wag.boti-t rema-t
[cloth.white-NOM]long-NOM]
‘the long white cloth’

(47) wag.rema-t boti-t
[cloth.long-NOM] white-NOM]
‘the white long cloth’

As the previous examples in this chapter have suggested, the ordering between types of modifiers within an NP is rigid. Each layer encompasses the scope of all preceding layers (to the left). In the following figure, cooccurrence restrictions are indicated by placing mutually exclusive modifiers under a single node.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N5</th>
<th>N4</th>
<th>N3</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>N1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NounHead</td>
<td>(Feature)</td>
<td>(ATTR)^1,2</td>
<td>(Number)</td>
<td>(REL) Deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(NounMod)</td>
<td>(Quantifier (+ ADV))</td>
<td>(Classifier + Num.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. enhero pe-panga rua dii
2. enhero dofo-t edemen naa
3. huma hawa b-rangi-n
dae
4. huma em-kele
5. huma esnebat pito
6. geba rua [har dii du lko lebeto] dii

Figure 21: Cooccurrence patterns of modifiers in an NP
11.2 Complex NPs

Complex NPs have multiple heads performing a single syntactic function in a clause. Each type of complex head may be modified as described above in §11.1. Complex NPs are coordinate, serial, alternative, and appositional.

11.2.1 Coordinate NP

Two nominal heads of equal status may function syntactically as a joint argument coordinated with X tu Y 'X and Y' or X tong tu Y 'both X and Y'.

(48) Kam kaa sehe tu wana-t. [Coordinate NP = Object]
    1pe eat [crayfish CONJ eel-NOM]NP
    'We ate crayfish (yabbies) and eel.'

(49) Kam kaa sehe tong tu wana-t. [Coordinate NP = Object]
    1pe eat [crayfish also CONJ eel-NOM]NP
    'We ate both crayfish (yabbies) and eel.'

One or both of the nominal heads may have modifiers.

(50) Kam dafa fafu kise-n pol.nee tu tonal utu-n telo.
    1pe get [pig CLASS-GEN ten.six CONJ cuscus hundred-GEN three]NP
    'We got sixty pigs and 300 cuscus (hunting during the east monsoon).'

There is no constraint (other than constraints of information processing) on how many referents may be coordinated with tu. Tong tu may coordinate only two referents.

(51) Yako tu Eli tu Paris tu Nus, lebetu, hari Sabtu, kam iko hama tonal.
    'And Eli and Paris and ... tus, yesterday, on Saturday, we went hunting for cuscus.'

11.2.2 Serial NP

A serial NP consists of juxtaposed nouns or NPs given in a listing, functioning collectively as a syntactic argument or as a topic. Each of the non-final members take rising pitch on the final syllable followed by a slight pause. If the item ends in a consonant, a paragogic /el/ is normally added for rhythm. The rising pitch for that item falls on the paragogic /el/. Word stress does not shift, but is indicated by lower pitch rather than higher pitch. The final item in the series takes falling pitch unless it implies there are additional

---

4Tong is elicited from tongi 'also, as well'. These connectors may relate full clauses as well [Chapter §20], which opens the alternative analysis that this coordinate use of tu is clausal with ellipsis (e.g. 'We ate crayfish and (we ate) eel'.) However the use of tu as a comitative/instrumental preposition shows that it can function at various layers and thus does not preclude that it is here simply coordinating NPs.

5Two to six are fairly common in topical constructions.
items not mentioned, in which case it also takes rising pitch. If the final item in the series ends in a consonant no paragogic /æ/ is added.

(52) Kami geba-ro nee:
    1pe     person-PL   six  
    ______/  ______/  ______/  ______/  ___/
    yako, Silase, Arase, Antone, Makuse, Ais.
    Is     Silas   Aras   Anton   Makus   Ais
'There were six of us: me, Silas, Aras, Anton, Mark, and Ais.'

The basic pattern of serialisation described above can operate at several levels, serialising clauses as well as phrases [§20.4].

(53) Waktu kami iko la kam tela-he,
    time 1pe   go IRR 1pe separate-it
    ______/  ______/  ______/  ______/  ___/
    geba-ro fi da Liang,
    person-PL ABL upstream Cave
    ______/  ______/  ______/  ______/  ___/
    du kadu-k, du hapu berange, du hapu ifuti-ne,
    3p come-k 3p tie waistcloth 3p tie headcloth-GEN
    ______/  ______/  ______/  ______/  ___/
    enhero-r pang.paa-t, katue-ro rua,
    spear-PL   barb.four-NOM machete-PL two
    ____/
    pa du iko la du tela bana.
    REAL 3p go IRR 3p separatefire

'When we were going to go put it out [a forest fire], people from Liang, they came, they tied their waistcloths, they tied their headcloths, [they brought] four-pronged spears, two machetes [each], and they went to put out the fire.'

11.2.3 Alternative NP

There are two types of Alternative NPs. Both use the disjunction pi 'or' but contrast in both their phonological clustering and in their over-all behaviour in a sentence. The intonation patterns of Alternative NPs override the prototypical contours described in §5.11. Stressed syllables in a stress group that would normally have higher pitch are indicated by lower pitch instead.

11.2.3.1 Closed disjunction

Closed disjunction presents a known finite set of alternatives. That is, the alternative is between the items mentioned, and no others. There may be two or more alternatives. Each non-final alternative takes rising intonation followed by a slight pause. The disjunction pi
clusters as a low-pitched phonological proclitic to the second and subsequent items. The final alternative takes falling intonation.

(54) Da ego /kawen, pi enhero?
3s get [machete or spear]NP
'Did he take [his] machete or [his] spear?'

The disjunction pi relates clauses in a parallel pattern [§20.2.16].

(55) Da rog.hama fene ringe ba newo hede, pi da mata.
3s enter.search.REAL 3s DUR live CONT or 3s die
'He came in to find out whether she was still alive, or [iff she] was dead.'

(56) Yako la enika ana-fina naa fen da eru-k, pi moo.
1s IRR ask child-female PROX REAL 3s agree-k or NEG
'I'm going to ask this woman whether she accepts [a marriage proposal] or not.'

11.2.3.2 Open disjunction

Open disjunction presents a non-finite set of alternatives implying that there are other alternatives that are either unknown or unnamed. There may be one or more alternatives named, but the implication is that there are other options. Like closed disjunction, each non-final alternative takes rising intonation followed by a slight pause, but here the disjunction pi clusters phonologically after the first and subsequent items, with the rising pitch on the pi followed by a slight pause. The final alternative also takes rising intonation. Thus, a construction ending in a rising pi implies 'or something else'.

(57) Waktu Jepang, eta du masa-k
time Japan COND 3p cook-k

tepu-t pi, sapi pl. kambing pl. fafu pl.
chicken-t or cow[Mly] or goat[Mly] or pig or

du kaa saci moo, kastela moo.
3p eat salt NEG chilli NEG

'When the Japanese were here, when they cooked chicken or, beef or, goat or, pig or (whatever it was they were cooking), they didn't use salt or chilli.'

Contrast the following two examples.
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(58) Sak fuka naa, geba boti-t na kaa up mountain PROX person white-NOM PROX eat

bia pi, manga-t pi mang.kau pi, gehu-t pi,
sago or tuber-NOM or tuber.wood or taro-NOM or

'Up here in the mountains, this white man eats sago or, yams or, cassava or, taro or (whatever kind of food there happens to be).'

(59) Sak fuka naa, geba boti-t na kaa up mountain PROX person white-NOM PROX eat

manga-t, pi mang.kau, pi gehu-t,
tuber-NOM or tuber.wood or taro-NOM

'Up here in the mountains, this white man eats yams, or cassava, or taro.'

(Implication: He doesn’t eat other things of the sort listed.)

11.2.4 Appositional NP

Appositional NPs are formed by the juxtaposition of two NPs. They may occur as any argument in the clause, or as topic. Appositional NPs expand information about the referent that is considered relevant to the text.

(60) nang ama, Baparaja IsPOSS father king[Mly]

'my father, the king'

In Buru there are two scalar extremes of minute difference related to Appositional NPs. When the head noun is followed by a noticeable pause, followed by the apposition which is also followed by a noticeable pause, the apposition is adding parenthetical, back-tracking backgrounded information. When the pause or intonation dip between the head noun and its apposition are minimal or non-existent, it is a simple Appositional NP.

(61) Nang kai, Joni, bamba kadu-k. 'My older brother, Joni, just arrived.'
Nang kai Joni bamba kadu-k. 'My older brother Joni just arrived.'

Either part of an Appositional NP may occur without the other. The intonation of the parts of the appositional NP are the same as if they were by themselves.

(62) Nang kai Joni bamba kadu-k. 'My older brother Joni just arrived.'
Nang kai bamba kadu-k. 'My older brother just arrived.'
Joni bamba kadu-k. 'Joni just arrived.'
11.3 The genitive construction

The genitive construction indicates a part-whole relationship between two nominals: the part being physically or conceptually attached to, associated with, or derived from the whole.\(^6\)

(63) fafu olo-n
     pig    head-GEN
     'pig's head / head of pig'

The genitive construction is different from other Buru NPs because the modifier precedes the head noun, rather than follows it. This order within the genitive construction occurs in many of the AN languages in eastern Indonesia and has been referred to since the last century as the 'reverse genitive' by linguists who noticed the order of the genitive stood in stark contrast to the order of the genitive found in western Indonesia. This so-called 'reverse genitive' has stimulated considerable discussion in the literature [see Epilogue]. The noun marked with the genitive enclitic is the head of the genitive construction. This marking is consistent with the marking of other constructions in the Buru language which allow it to be characterised as a predominantly head-marking language (cf. Nichols 1986). The ordering of the elements, however, is typologically unusual, both when compared with other NP types within the Buru language, and cross-linguistically with other prepositional SVO languages (cf. Greenberg 1966, Comrie 1981). [See §14.2 and §17.2 for additional discussion].

(64) kau nko-n
     tree  skin-GEN
     'tree bark' (alternatively conceptualised as 'skin of tree' or 'tree skin-lts')

(65) enhero mae-n
     spear  handle-GEN
     'spear shaft' ('handle of spear' or 'spear handle-lts')

(66) todo mae-n
     'machete handle'

(67) fafu ana-n
     pig    child-GEN
     'offspring of a pig'

The genitive enclitic /-n/ is anaphoric, pointing to a preceding referent that is adjacent or remote in the text, or exophoric, pointing to a referent that is understood from the extralinguistic context or from shared cultural knowledge.

\(^6\)The genitive construction is discussed at greater length in §14.2. The functions of the Buru genitive construction are far more restricted than the range of functions associated with genitive constructions in many Indo-European languages such as Attic Greek or modern Russian. A genitive (part-whole) relationship in English is indicated with WHOLE's PART, or by PART of WHOLE.
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(68) Da sanga tina-n.
    3s bite female-GFN
    'It (the dog) bit a sr.'
    [Understood (falu 'pig') tina-n]

(69) Da emata ana~n saa.
    ep-mata
    3s CAUS-die child-GFN one
    'He killed a young one.'
    [Understood (tonal 'cuscus') ana-n]

(70) Da ego somo-n.
    3s get piece-GFN
    'He took a piece of it.'
    [meat, wood, etc.]

(71) Karn seka-h pao lopi-n.
    1pe stab-it down bed-GFN
    'We stabbed it down in the (stream)bed.'
    [Understood (wae 'stream') lopi-n]

Each part of the genitive construction may be modified separately, indicating different scopes for the modifiers. Modifications of the whole construction follow the second noun; modifications of the first noun follow that element.

(72) The first element may be a Descriptive NP:
    fahu aba kada-n
    [pig jungle] leg-GFN
    'the wild boar's leg'

(73) The first element may be a Prominent Feature NP:
    enhero pe-panga fofo-n
    [spear HAVE-barb] tip-GFN
    'the tip of a barbed spear'

(74) An attributive may modify either the first element or the whole:
    huma rema-t tea-n
    [house long-NOM] post-GFN
    'the post of the long house'

    huma tea-n rema-t
    [house post-GFN long-NOM]
    'the long house-post'

(75) A number or quantifier may modify either the first element or the whole:
    geba rua faha-n-o
    [person two] hand-GFN-PL?
    'two people's hands'

    geba faha-n rua
    [person hand-GFN] two
    'a person's two hands'

---

7Number agreement occurs with a plural referent.
(76) A relative clause may modify either the first element or the whole:
    kau ha dī du bamba taha sanga-n
    [tree REL DIST 3p IMM.PAST fell] fork-GEN
    'the fork of the tree that they just felled'

    kau sanga-n ha dī da eptea-k leu-k
    [tree fork-GEN] REL DIST 3s sit-k precede-k
    'the tree fork which he had sat in before'

(77) A deictic may modify either the first element or the whole:
    geba di olo-n
    [person DIST] head-GEN
    'that person's head (head of that person)'

    geba olo-n dī
    [person head-GEN] DIST
    'that person's head (that head of a person)'

The genitive construction may be recursive, following the hierarchical nature of part-whole relationships.

(78) kada-n ipa-n
    leg-GEN inside-GEN
    'sole of the foot (of a person/pig)'

(79) faha-n wanga-n men-tiu-n fafe-n
    hand-GEN digit-GEN ??-middle-GEN top-GEN
    'the top of the middle finger (of a person)'

The genitive construction is unlike other complex NPs in several respects. First, the multiple heads of complex NPs may each be modified independently, whereas in the genitive construction it is either the first element, or the whole that is modified, but the head cannot be moved independently of the whole. Secondly, in complex NPs, the order of the elements is relatively free, being primarily dependent on the pragmatic intent of the speaker for ordering the various constituents. In the genitive construction, however, the ordering of the elements is rigid. Thirdly, in complex NPs the multiple heads are semantically independent of each other and syntactically of equal status, often substitutable for one another. In the genitive, the second element (the head) is semantically related to the first element as a part to a whole. The parts are not equal and not substitutable for each other. The second element is semantically dependent on the first for its identity, but the syntactic dependency is the other way around. This issue of headedness and ordering will be addressed more fully in Chapter §17.

11.4 Phrasal nominal enclitics

The scope of phrasal nominal enclitics is summarised briefly in this section. As mentioned above in §11.3, the genitive /-n/ has an anaphoric function, semantically
associating the head with an anaphoric referent. Structurally, the enclitic has the immediate scope of the head to which it attaches.

The multifunctional /-t/ brackets all the elements from the head to the attributives to which it attaches. It comes before numbers, quantifiers, relative clauses, and deictics.

(80) fafu olo-n haa:t rua dil pig head-GEN big-NOM two DIST

'those two big pig’s heads'

The plural marker /-ro/ attaches to the last modifier before numbers, quantifiers, relative clauses, and deictics. In this position it encompasses within its scope all the elements preceding it.

(81) geba koni-t-o paa naa person yellow-NOM-PL four PROX

'these four yellow people (i.e. Chinese)'

There is a syllabic enclitic an which occasionally appears within an NP. Its function is related to discourse prominence or focus and does not carry any lexical content or syntactic function in the clause. The NP to which it attaches is always definite. The an particle puts pragmatic focus on a particular argument without employing reordering mechanisms such as fronting. It has a functional (but not structural) similarity to a cleft sentence or a presentational sentence in English. The an occurs before deictics.

(82) Tawe, yako an naa te keha moo.
friend 1s FOC PROX ABIL ascend NEG

‘Friend, it is me here (not you) who can’t climb (the tree).’ [Said the Turtle to the Lizard.]

(83) Ring lai-k gotot an tu p-roi moo.
3s present-k turtle FOC OBL CAUS-small NEG

‘To the turtle, he didn’t give any.’

(84) Da ikko suba di Murampaaka nak toho-n-e.
3s go threshold DIST monster 3sPOSS descend-GEN-e
goli an saa ba wio.
(bird) FOC one DUR birdcall

‘After he had come out at Murampaak’s trail, there was a goli bird there giving its call.’

(85) Kani an ba bage di kau somo-n fafa-n-e.
1p FOC DUR sleep DIST tree piece-GEN top-GEN-e

'It is we who sleep on top of pieces of wood.'

---

8Unless a number is being used attributively - see §15.1.3
9There are only 20 occurrences of an in my data corpus.
10This enclitic is likely to be a historical trace of the PAN suffix *-ana ‘referential focus’, which Starosta, Pawley & Reid (1982) reconstruct as a nominalising suffix that developed into a focus marker in Philippine languages.
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(86) Geba an saa, ringe tu nak opo emsika-emsikan.
    person FOC one 3s with 3sPOSS grandparent RED-REFL
    'There was a person, he and his grandmother were by themselves.'

(87) Sup-supan da ik.linga-h-e, da dapa-k ikan an emsian.
    early morning 3s go.look-it-e 3s get-k fish FOC one
    'Early in the morning he went to inspect it (the fish trap), there was one fish that he had
gotten.'

(88) Da dena dii, da anga-k geba emtua-t an saa
    3s arrive DIST 3s see-k person respect-NOM FOC one

da ba foto-foto nak tabako-ro.
    3s DUR RED-cut 3sPOSS tobacco-PL

    'When she arrived there, there was an old man that she saw slicing his tobacco.'

11.5 Complex phrase heads

There are several modifications to the head of an NP that give it internal complexity.

11.5.1 Distributive noun through reduplication

Reduplication of nouns has a distributive function indicating 'each N'.

(89) Geba-r lima mansari, jadi em-hali-t lima,
    person-PL five hunt[Skt] so[Mly]STAT-route-NOM five
    geba-geba nake em-hali-t emsikan.
    RED-person 2-POSS STAT-route-t REDFL

    'There are five people hunting, so there are five routes (cut through the jungle for tying
    snares), with each person having his own route.'

(90) Sepo geba-geba nake em-hali-t dii, geba-geba fasa-k us
    finish RED-person 3sPOSS STAT-route-t DIST RED-person cut-k rattan
    la du ohi la geba-geba hapu nake unet emsikan-emsikan.
    IRR 3p clean IRR RED-person tie 3sPOSS snare RED-REFL

    'After the completion of each person's route, each person cuts rattan for them to strip-split-and-
    clean for each of them to tie their own cuscus snares.'

(91) Supa-k = supa-k, geba-geba ik.linga geba-geba
    RED=next.day-k RED-person geba-geba
    nake unet tu sura-n.
    3sPOSS snare CONJ stake-GEN.

    'Each day early in the morning, each person goes and inspects each person's cuscus snares and
    (sharpened bamboo) stake traps.'
Phonologically, in CVC, CV, and first consonant reduplication [§5.6], the reduplicated element occurs first and is the modifying element (RED-root). By analogy, full reduplication of nouns fits the same pattern, with the first part being the reduplicated modifier that carries the distributive function, and the second the head.

\[ \text{NOUN}_{\text{Distributive}} \text{- NOUN}_{\text{Head}} \]

Thus, distributive reduplication gives a complex phrase head an internal structure that has pre-head modification.

11.5.2 Nominal compounds

Compounds and lexicalisation were introduced in §5.4.3.3. Compounding is a productive process identifiable by the flexibility of the frame -- one of the members of the compound may be productively replaced by other roots, and the resulting form is semantically recognisable as the sum of its parts. Compounding is marked by the cliticisation of the non-final root(s) of the compound [§5.4.3.1], which iconically indicates not only tighter phonological cohesion, but also tighter semantic cohesion than when the same elements are uncriticised. In other words, there are degrees of cohesion expressed through cliticisation which reflect cognitive unity of the referent. In §23.3 it is argued that modifiers in compounds are non-restrictive, whereas the same modifiers not compounded are restrictive.

Compounds form a single stress group [§6.3], and are formed as reductions of simple NPs [§11.1].

(92) **Descriptive NPs**
- fafu fena
  - 'pig of (the) village'
- faf.fena
  - 'village-pig'
- fuka Buru
  - 'the island of Buru'
- fuk.Buru
  - 'Buru Island'

(93) **Genitive construction**
- fafu ana-n
  - 'offspring of a pig'
- faf.ana-n
  - 'piglet'
- faha-n wanga-n
  - 'digit of the hand'
- fah.wanga-n
  - 'finger'

(94) **Number NP**
- kada-n emsia-n
  - 'one leg'
- kad.sia
  - 'one-legged'
- rama-n paa
  - 'four eyes'
- ram.paa
  - 'four-eyed'
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(95) **Attributive NPs** (-t verbs may drop the -t)

- fatu mite-t: 'a black rock'
- Fat.mite: 'Blackrock'
- geba haa-t: 'a big person'
- geb.haa: '1) husband, 2) kin group leader'
- kada-n rema-t: 'a long leg'
- kad.rema-t: 'long-legged'

Because of the phonotactic structure, other verbal subclasses made into attributives with syllabic prefixes (e.g. em-, en-, eb-) do not trigger such neat compounding as do -t verbs. Nevertheless, a few such compounds do occur with a slight tightening of the phonological cohesion.

(96) **Attributive NP**

- [geba em-pel]: 'sick person'
- [gebempei]: 'sickperson'

These compounds internally mirror the head-modifier structure of the noun phrases from which they are reduced. Compounds may then form the complex head of other NPs. Complex heads resulting from compounding are underlined in the examples below.

(97) **Compounds as NP head**

- geb.fik.Buru rua: [[multiple Descriptive NP compound] Number NP]
- geba.fuka.Buru rua: 'two Buruese'
- [person.island.Buru] two

(98) **fin.haa-r pito**

- fina.haa-ro pito: [[Attributive NP compound] Number NP]
- [female.big-PL] seven: 'seven wives'

(99) **fah.wanga-r telo**

- fahs.n.wanga-n-ro telo: [[Genitive NP compound] Number NP]
- [hand-GEN.digit-GEN-PL] three: 'three fingers'

Compounds may also form complex modifiers in a Descriptive NP. These are underlined below.

(100) **Compounds as Descriptive NP modifier**

- geba fuk.Buru: [[Descriptive NP compound] Descriptive NP]
- geba fuka.Buru: 'a person of Buru Island'
- person [island.Buru]

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(101) geba kada- u. rema-t
geba kada-n. rema-t
person [leg.long-t]
'a long-legged person'

(102) geba kada-sia
geba kada-n.sia
person [leg.one]
'a one-legged person'

Internally complex NPs consistently follow the constituent structure of their parts.

Figure 22: Structure of an internally complex NP

11.6 Strategies for naming and referring

To understand texts and conversation in Buru it is important to understand the network of different strategies for naming and referring to people, places and things. Many of these strategies use different kinds of NPs. There is a hierarchy of preference for different strategies of referring to people that is discussed below.

11.6.1 People

Personal names are generally not used except in anger, sorcery, social put-downs, education, and in interacting with the Indonesian government. There are usually several alternate ways by which people can be referred to or addressed. The particular strategy chosen by a speaker generally indicates which relational domain he or she is trying to manipulate. There is, however, a hierarchy of social propriety as to which strategies should be employed over others, if they are available.
Figure 23: Hierarchy of strategies for referring to people

People will often use these same strategies and the terms associated with them in place of first or second person pronouns as well as for third person reference.

Appositional NPs can be used to merge two strategies to either better identify a referent, or to manipulate the information for the greatest social advantage.

(103) ya nang ama, Baparaja 'my father, the king'

11.6.1.1 Social position

If the person is a geba em-ngaa 'titiled person' it is proper to use that title. The title is often followed by a kin group name, or a place name to distinguish one from another of similar rank, as a Descriptive NP. Most of these terms are of foreign origin (Ternate, Portuguese, Dutch, Malay).

(104) Titles of top leader in a kin group (encompassing all locations for that kin group)
Matugul
Mate
Porwisi
Portelo
Segel
Lacaleu

'= Wae Mese, Nalbessy kin groups'
'= Wal.Pangat kin group'
'= Mual Kin group'
'= Wae Kolo kin group'
'= Wae Temun kin group'
'= Wae L.w. i kin group (none at present)'

(105) Localised heads
Geb.hae
Soa
Kawasan

'= kin group head (local)' [Lit. 'big man']
'= kin group head (local)'
'= village/territorial head (local)'

[< AM kepala soa]
[< AM < Skt]

(106) Civil Functions
Kampung
Saniri
Emrimo
Epkitan

'= village head'
'= village council'
'= messenger/constable'
'= fighting champion'

[< Indonesian]
[< AM < Arab?]
[< AM < Port]
[< AM < Port]

---

11 Geb.hae is also used in the Masarote dialect for 'husband'.

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(107) Religious Functions

Pendeta
Imam
Penatua
Syamas
Tugamara

'preacher'
'Islamic priest'
'chief elder'
'deacon'
'trustee'

[< Mly < Skt]
[< Arab]
[< Indonesian]
[< Indonesian]
[< AM]

There are also predicative phrases used occasionally to highlight a particular gift or responsibility a person may have, but these are not titles (e.g. geba ka rubu geba 'healer (Lit. 'person who habitually treats people'); geba ka gao endohin 'keeper of oral history'; geba ka gao adat 'keeper of tribal customs').

11.6.1.2 Tekonyms

Tekonyms form a very specialised kind of NP. Tekonyms are used to give a person an identity in relation to his or her first child that survived long enough to attain a social identity. Buru has terms for this.

(108) tahin-tama

tahin-tina

'male tekronym'
'female tekronym'

For example, my oldest son is Ben. I am known all over the mountains as Ben-tama and my wife as Ben-tina. Only a few government officials who handle my official documents know my outside name. The Buru people are far more comfortable referring to me and addressing me by my tahin-tama than by my name (even those that know it).

11.6.1.3 Origins and marriage affiliation

All women become affiliated with the noro 'kin group' of their husband after marriage. Most villages consist of people belonging to only one or two noro. Since the married women in a village come from other noro, they are often identified by a Descriptive NP with the classifier embuka 'maiden' and the name of their natal noro. A woman can be referred to and addressed in this way throughout her life, irrespective of her affiliation through marriage (cf. B.D. Grimes 1990a).

(109) Mhuk Mual
Mhuke Wagit
Mhuka Temun

'Mual woman (married to a Gewagit man)'
'Gewagit woman'
'Wae Temun woman'

12See Cooley (1951) for a description of the functions and dynamics associated with these positions in central Maluku.
13Tama and tina by themselves have the sense of 'forefather/ancestor' and 'ancestress' respectively. Compare PMP *tama 'father'.

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People in general, and men specifically, may be referred to by identifying their noro of affiliation in the genitive construction using tau-n (< PAN *Cau 'person').

(110) Mual tau-n
      Gewagit tau-n
      Wae Temun tau-n

'Mual man [Lit. 'person of the Muals']
'Gewagit man/person'
'Wae Temun man/person'

Since most villages are fairly homogeneous in affiliation, the above strategy works well for referring to visitors from other noro. Within a village it is the married women who originate from a diversity of noro, so men are often distinguished as em-sawa-n 'son-in-law' (< PMP *qasawa 'spouse') of their wife's natal noro in a Descriptive NP. When used by members of the wife's noro, they are emphasising their right to request certain things from their son-in-law or brother-in-law.

(111) Msa Mual
      Msa Gewagit
      Msa Gebhain

'son-in-law of the Muals'
'son-in-law of the Gewagits'
'son-in-law of the Gebhains'

Where such a strategy might refer to several men, it may be followed appositionally by the name of the man's own noro.

(112) Msa Kolo Mual
      Msa Kolo Gewagit

'Mual man married to a Wae Kolo woman'
'Gewagit man married to a Wae Kolo woman'

This strategy is quite commonly used to refer to people in their first five years or so of marriage. For some individuals these names continue to be used even after other naming strategies become available (such as tekonyms or social position).

11.6.1.4 Kin relations

Kin terms (cf. B.D. Grimes 1990a; and Appendix C) are commonly used referentially as the object of a possessive construction [§14.1] indicating the nature of the relationship.

(113) nang ama
      nak ina

'my father'
'his mother'

Since kin terms are classificatory and can refer to many individuals, the reflexive benima 'one's own', or the attributive ebanet 'birth (biological)' may narrow the scope of possible referents.

(114) nang ina benima
      nang ina ebanet

'my own mother'
'my birth mother'

Because of the nature of Buru social structure with symmetric marriage alliances and sister exchange, many people are related in more than one way to another single individual.
In these cases, one may choose the term of most immediate relevance or manipulative convenience to highlight the nature of a relationship and its accompanying privileges or obligations. Thus, a young man might refer to a single individual variously as emdaa 'mother's brother's daughter' when talking about her as a potential marriage partner from a different kin group; as feta 'sister (man speaking)' when focusing on their common grandparents; or as kai 'older sibling' when focusing on the relative age of their related parents.\textsuperscript{14}

11.6.1.5 Personal names

Personal names are commonly used for children after they are several months old until they can be referred to by a different strategy. In Moslem villages people tend to have Arabic-type names (e.g. Latief, Abdul, etc.). In Christian villages people tend to have Biblical or European (Dutch) names (e.g. Ber, Yan, Jon, Yoab, Mat(r)kus, Lon, An laisseas, etc.). Traditionally names of people are/were often associated with a bird or insect considered a good omen at their birth, or with the location or season when they were born.\textsuperscript{15} Thus one finds names such as Canarium Grove, Peanut Harvest, East, etc. Traditional names are often known only by close relatives. Many people living in remote areas received a "Christian" (i.e. Dutch) name when they were baptised while visiting relatives in a churched area. These names are often promptly forgotten, or are used only in contact situations with the outside.\textsuperscript{16}

Avoiding personal names of parents-in-law and children-in-law (and words sounding like those names) is one of the strongest taboos in the Buru ethnolinguistic complex. For some close kin relations, such as parent, child, maternal uncle, or brother-in-law, the tendency to avoid using personal names is mitigated by preceding it with the kin relation. This is, in effect an Appositional NP.

(115) ya nang ana-t Nus 'my son Nus'

11.6.1.6 Kin group affiliation

In villages where a man from a distant kin group has taken up residence as a minority of one, the name of his noro with no modification will often simply substitute as a name.

\textsuperscript{14}See B.D. Grimes (1990a) for a more extensive discussion of the pragmatics of Buru kin terms.

\textsuperscript{15}Out of respect for Buru cultural dynamics here I give only the English translation of a few names. In Buru worldview, publishing a person's traditional name would most likely bring adverse attention on that individual from both the spirits and the ancestors.

\textsuperscript{16}In observing the taking of the 1990 government census in a remote area, I repeatedly observed the effort of families to jointly recollect a long-forgotten name given to them at baptism. This name was always given in preference to their 'real' name.
Noun Phrases

(116) Laciki
Wae III
'kin group from north Buru used as a man’s name in south Buru'

11.6.1.7 Nicknames

Nicknames highlight some feature distinctive to that person that has attained conventionalised reference (usually within the scope of a village). The use of nicknames implies intimacy and familiarity, particularly when used within earshot of the person. They are a put-down when used in a public context about or to an individual that has an alternative naming strategy from higher up the hierarchy of propriety.

A fairly common nickname is Wedu ‘rubbish pile’ indicating the child was placed there for adoption as an infant. Other names are of the sort:17 Lefty, Skinny, Grandpa Whitehead, Baldy, Moustache, Pot-belly, Tall Woman, Filthy Skin.

Some children are nicknamed Tai ‘Shit’ until they are around eight or nine years old. This nickname is motivated by love and affection, being used when a family has lost a series of children to miscarriage and infant death. A new surviving child is given for adoption to another kin group to change its affiliation, trick the ancestors that were causing the trouble, and break the jinx in the hope that the child will live. This seemingly derogatory nickname is to avoid drawing the attention of the spirits and the ancestors to the fact that this child is still alive and that they have been successfully outwitted.

11.6.1.8 Vocatives

All of the above names can be used as terms of address as well as terms of reference. A few kin terms are modified with a genitive clitic for use as terms of address. In the Masarete dialect the genitive system has collapsed to the third singular form -n. Vocatives of address use this form. In the northern Rana and Lisela dialects, however, vocatives of address take a pre-posed genitive inflected for person and number (ng- 1sGEN).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Address [Masarete]</th>
<th>Address [Rana, Lisela]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>ama-n</td>
<td>ng-ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>ina-n</td>
<td>ng-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opo</td>
<td>opo-n</td>
<td>ng-opo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.6.2 Places

Places are commonly named for prominent or unusual physical features associated with that place. Thus, many village names refer to a prominent tree in the area. Compare:

17Out of respect for the individuals who are called by these names I give only the translation.
(118) Kudil Lahi-n  'k.o. palm; village name'
Fakal  'k.o. large shady tree; village name'
Neat  'k.o. tree; village name'
Ewiri  'k.o. tree; village name'
Pela-t Puu-n  'stinging nettle shrub; village name'
Siwa-t Lahi-n  'k.o. tree; village name'

Many villages and places have the same name or derive from the name of the stream or mountain they are situated by. This commonly involves the genitive construction or an Attributive NP.

(119) Wae Kati-n  'Pandanus Water (stream comes out of base of pandanus)'
Wae Haa Olo-n  'Headwaters of Loud Water'
Wae Haa Nanga-n  'Mouth of Loud Water'
Wae Name Olo-n  'Headwaters of Bay Water'
Wae Sas.Fuha-n Olo-n  'Headwaters of Springless Water'
Wae Rema-n  'Long Water'
Wae Rama-n  'Water Source/Eye'
Wae Em-pal-t  'Bitter Water'

(120) Kak.Tua-n  'Tailbone Mountain'
Kak.Hanga  'Sun Mountain'

Some place names are simply descriptive of a prominent local feature.

(121) Kabu-t  'Mud (name of former village)'
En.Boti-t  'White Sand'
Kaba-t Rol-t  'Small Prominence/Peninsula'
Rana  'Lake'
Tifu  'Lake'
Wal.Panga-t  'Branching Valley'
Lian  'Cave/Overhang'

Some place names refer, almost as an oral title, to a legend or story associated with that place. Some stories occurred within the last 20-30 years and some in the remote past.

(122) Geba Rohi-n  'People Bones (place where a murder occurred)'
Li Wae Temun  'The Cave of the Wae Temun (champion)'
Li Fen.Wagi-t  'The Cave of the Gewagit kin group'
Mat.Gugul Kaku-n  'The Mountain of the Matgugul (champion)'
Fude Emhuka  'The Mountain of the Maiden'

When a parent or grandparent has died in a place, not only does their family normally move elsewhere, but they do not utter the name of the place where the death occurred. Similarly if a parent or grandparent is known to be critically ill at another location, the name of that location is not uttered for fear that the utterance itself may have adverse effects on the situation and the utterer then be seen as having a causal link to an impending death. When the place does need to be referred to, circumlocutions are used.
11.6.3 Things

Things, particularly those that can have an adverse effect in either the physical or spiritual realm, or objects sought on the hunt, are often renamed descriptively due to avoidance taboos [see §4.4 for more examples].

(124) senge-t 'mosquito [Rana]'< PMP *senget 'sting'
inuada-t 'mosquito (the thing that bites) [Masarete]'

(125) ikan-n 'fish'< PAN *iSekan 'fish'\textsuperscript{18}
edhama-t 'fish (floating thing) [archaic]'

\textsuperscript{18}This is indistinguishable as to whether it is a loan or a retention.
Chapter Twelve

Verb complex

This chapter discusses the various mechanisms used in the Buru language for modifying verbal predicates. These include modifications for manner, aspect and mood; serialisation and compounding; the incorporation of post-verbal arguments; and a system of post-verbal auxiliaries. It also examines the stages by which the pre-verbal tense-aspect-mood [TAM] proclitics and the clausal post-verbal auxiliaries have become grammaticised. Clausal complements are introduced here, but are discussed in greater detail in Chapter §20. Most time modifications are handled in Buru through lexical means discussed in Chapter §16.

Aspect deals with ways of viewing the internal temporal structure of an action (cf. Comrie 1976). Modality deals with speaker attitudes and opinions about issues relating to necessity, possibility, knowledge, and belief about the truth of the proposition (cf. Palmer 1986). Aspectual and modal functions in Buru are carried by the semantics of the verb in relation to its verbal subclass, by the pre-verbal TAM system, by periphrastic constructions, and by post-verbal auxiliaries. Post-verbal auxiliaries can also modify the predicate for manner. Interclause connectors play a further role in marking modality and are discussed in greater detail in Chapter §20.

The Buru verbal complex may be visualised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRE-HEAD MODIFIERS</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>POST-HEAD MODIFIERS</th>
<th>(NP)</th>
<th>AUXILIARIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Periphrastics)</td>
<td>Simple Head</td>
<td>(Manner)</td>
<td>(NP)</td>
<td>(Auxiliaries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(TAM system)</td>
<td>Serial verbs</td>
<td>(Locative scope)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td>(Redup. Modifier)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compounds</td>
<td>(Argument incorporation)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 24: Basic structure of the Buru verbal complex

12.1 Phrase heads

The head of a verbal predicate [Chapter §18] may be simple or complex.
12.1.1 Simple heads

A simple head of a verbal predicate is a verb with any valence changing devices it might have such as prefixes, the suffix -l/-r, or the applicative l-/k/. These were discussed in Chapter §7 where it was also noted that verbs have internal aspectual structure. Without further marking, non-active verbs are ambiguous as to whether they have a state [BE] or process [BECOME] interpretation. Similarly, active verbs are ambiguous as to whether they have an activity [DO] or accomplishment [CAUSE (BE/BECOME/DO)] interpretation. Some of the mechanisms for disambiguating the internal aspectual structure of the verb were described in Chapter §7; other mechanisms are described in this chapter.

12.1.2 Complex heads

There are a variety of ways the head of a verbal predicate can be made internally complex. These include reduplication of the main verb, verb serialisation, and compounding. Compounding will be discussed at the end of this chapter after other constructions are examined.

12.1.2.1 Reduplication of main verb

Reduplication of non-active verbs [§7.2.1] intensifies their quality. An oratory device to accentuate the quality even further is to lengthen the final vowel of the reduplicated form when that final vowel is utterance final.

(1) Wagu-n di bot-botl
   cloth-GEN DIST RED-white
   'That cloth is extremely white.'

(2) Ringe roho-roho gam-la masi.
    3s RED-slow ALL.downstream sea
    'She [went] very slowly down to the coast.'

(3) Geba di em-kela=em-kela.
    person DIST RED=STAT-tall
    'That man is extremely tall.'

(4) Meja di em-ri=em-ribe.
    table[Port] DIST RED=STAT-flat
    'That table is really smooth.'

Reduplication of active verbs [§7.2.2] gives them an iterative aspect. The length of the cycle of the repetition depends on the context.
(5) Da oli.  
3s return  
'He went back (home).'

Da oli-oli.  
'He kept going back (several times in the course of the morning).'
'He kept going back (periodically over a span of ten years).'

(6) Da iko.  
3s go  
'He went.'

Da iko-iko.  
'He kept going (repeatedly).'

(7) Da wada fato-ro.  
3s shoulder carry rock-PL  
'He carried rocks.'

Da wada-wada fato-ro.  
'He kept carrying rocks (repeatedly).'

(8) Da hada rohi-t.  
3s bite bone-NOM  
'He was gnawing on a bone.'  
[viewed as a single event from the outside]

Da hada-hada rohi-t.  
'He kept gnawing on a bone.'  
[viewed as a repeated action with internal structure]

12.1.2.2 Verb serialisation

It is fairly common to find sequences of two (and occasionally three) verbs in Buru sentences, but one must determine whether one verb modifies another (e.g. for manner) or whether the verbs in a particular sequence share the syntactic status of head. Sequences of juxtaposed verbs of equal status are seen as verb serialisation, with the verbs behaving as a unit in the nuclear layer of a single clause.¹ Serialisation can occur at various layers of the clause in Buru. The layered structure of the verbal clause is outlined in Chapter §18 (i.e. nucleus, core, periphery). Clause juncture and other types of serialisation (e.g. core-layer serialisation) is treated more fully in Chapter §20, but a range of structural and semantic cohesion between clauses is illustrated below.

(9) Da iko tu da linga-h.  
3s go CONJ 3s look-it  
'He went and he looked at it.'

Verb Complex

(10) Da iko pa da linga-h. 3s go REAL 3s look-it 'He went and (result) he looked at it.'

(11) Da iko la da linga-h. 3s go IRR 3s look-it 'He went in order for him to look at it.'

(12) Da iko pa [φ] linga-h. 3s go REAL look-it 'He went and (result) looked at it.'

(13) Da iko la [φ] linga-h. 3s go IRR look-it 'He went to (purpose) look at it.'

(14) Da iko, da linga-h. 3s go 3s look-it 'He went, he looked at it.'

(15) Da iko linga-h. 3s go look-it 'He went and looked at it / He went to look at it.'

(16) Da is.linga-h. 3s go.look-it 'He went-and-looked at it.'

Verb serialisation only involves active verbs [§7.2.2]. All verbs involved in serialisation can occur as independent verbs. The combination of two verbs takes the valence profile of the verb with the highest valence. The following combinations are found.

| 1. Active intransitive + Active intransitive → Active intransitive | (shared subject; (shared locative argument)) |
| 2. Active intransitive + Active transitive → Active transitive | (shared subject + object of the whole) |
| 3. Active transitive + Active intransitive → Active transitive | (subject of first verb; object of the whole) |
| 4. Active transitive + Active transitive → Active transitive | (shared subject & shared object) |

Figure 25: Possible combinations of verb types in serialisation

When serial verbs form a clause with 1) core arguments occurring before (and after) the serial construction, but not between, 2) shared verbal modifiers (pre-verbal TAM markers and post-verbal auxiliaries), and 3) no pause or separating intonation dip between the verbs, they are behaving as the nucleus of a clause with a single predicate head.

The order of presentation of the verbs in serial verb constructions is iconic in Buru in that the action of the first verb sets the context or conditions for the second. Thus when the first verb is a verb of locomotion, it indicates the location or posture of the Actor has to

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2 This third combination is rare in natural text.
change for the performance of the second verb. Interpretation of the second verb is often indeterminate from the immediate clause as to whether it is purpose (irrealis) or result (realis). The modality of the particular relation is interpreted from the larger discourse. With two verbs of the same transitivity, each one can stand alone without significantly altering the whole. The following examples illustrate combinations of different types of verbs in a serial construction.

(17) **Intransitive + intransitive**

Petu ya oli suba di huma.
SEQ 1s return cross threshold DIST house
'Then I returned arriving at home.'

Petu ya oli di huma.
SEQ 1s return DIST house
'Then I returned home.'

Petu ya suba di huma.
SEQ 1s cross threshold DIST house
'Then I arrived at home.'

(18) An.kasian iko epta mua.
child.poverty go stay jungle
'The poor boy went and stayed in the jungle.'

'The poor boy went to stay in the jungle.' [result]

(19) Da oli saki gam pao masi.
3s return return ALL down sea
'She turned back returning down to the coast.'

(20) Sira bage froo.
3p sleep snore
'They slept snoring.'

(21) Sira te keba bage saka huma lale-n moo.
3p ABIL ascend sleep up house inside-GEN NEG
'They can’t go up and sleep inside the [pile] house.'

(22) **Intransitive + transitive**

Ringe oli ep-foki nak lafa-t.
3s return CAUS-wrap3sPOSS trailfood-NOM
'She went home and bundled up her trailfood.'

'She went home to bundle up her trailfood.' [result]

(23) Da iko mansari, da dufa saamoo, da oli hama saa.
3s go hunt 3s get one NEG 1s return look for one
'[When] he goes hunting, if he doesn’t get anything, he comes home looking for something.'

---

3 An intransitive followed by a transitive is the most common type of serial verb combination.
Verb Complex

(24) *Ringe oli taga ana-t-o.*
3s return meet child-NOM-PL
'*He returned and met [his] children.'
'*He returned to meet [his] children.'

(25) *Sira iko kala-k geba geran-o.*
3p go call person more-PL
'*They went and called the rest of the people.'
'*They went to call the rest of the people.'

(26) *Sira ba sohi-k deka-t, la sira iko rohi (fatu).*
3p DUR wait-k rain-NOM IRR 3p go stalk pig
'*They were hoping for rain so they could go stalking (pig).'

(27) *Gebra rua sa iko geke.*
person two one go call cuscus
'*There were two men who went cuscus-calling.'

(28) *Da iko tata-k nak fin.haa.*
3s go drop-k 3sPOSS female.big
'*He deserted his wife.'

(29) *Sira saki eng inaa-t.*
3p return get food-NOM
'*They went back and got stuff to make food with.'
'*They went back to get stuff to make food with.'

(30) *Transitive + intransitive*
Gebra di heke, emrimo iko la kala-k oll.
person DIST flee constable go IRR call-k return
'*If the person flees, the emrimo goes to call [him] back.'

(31) *Transitive + transitive*
Da spele yaha-k asu fi dii.
3s throw evict-k dog LOC DIST
'*He threw [stones] and got the dog out of there.'
'*He threw [stones] to get the dog out of there.'

(32) *Da keha hama tonal dii.*
3s ascend look forcusus DIST
'*He climbed after that cuscus.'

(33) *Du amo hama foki-t sak loteng.*
3p grope look forbundle-NOM up lift [AM]
'*They were grooping for the bundle up in the loft.'

12.2 Pre-head modifiers

Two types of modifications occur before the head of a verbal predicate: periphrastic use of lexical verbs, and pre-verbal tense-aspect-mood (TAM) proclitics.
12.2.1 Periphrastic constructions

The periphrastic constructions highlighted here could structurally be considered a type of serialisation, but they are given separate mention because of their functional differences. Periphrastic constructions perform a primarily grammatical or modal function, whereas verb serialisation described above deals more with the semantics of the sequence or nature of the action.

12.2.1.1 Indirect causative with puna 'make, do'

The verb puna 'make, do' is used to indicate indirect causation, in contrast with the causative prefix /ep-/ [§7.3.3.1] which indicates direct causation. Indirect causation indicates the Actor was responsible for something or brought about a situation that caused the resulting action or state. Direct causation implies more direct control or more immediate connection with the result.\(^4\)

Because making a causative changes the valence by adding a causer (Actor) to a non-active verb (in which subject = Undergoer), the resulting causative has the object (Undergoer) of the periphrastic causative be the subject (Undergoer) of the non-active verb. In compounding the Undergoer is shifted to follow the compound, as the compound takes the valence of the transitive verb puna.

(34) Da **gosa.**
[3s]$_U$ good
'It is good/right/beautiful.'

(35) Da **puna** riinge **gosa.**
[3s]$_A$ do [3s]$_U$
[3s]$_U$ good
'He[AC] did something which[AC] made him$_1$ well.'

(36) Da **pe-gosa** riinge.
[3s]$_A$ CAUS-good[3s]$_U$
'He$_1$ [CAUS] made him$_1$ with spiritual power.'

(37) Da **pun-gosa** riinge.
[3s]$_A$ do good [3s]$_U$
'He$_1$ made him$_1$ well.'

To put an active intransitive verb into an indirect causative naturally, requires that the object (Undergoer) of the causative puna be separated from the subject of the active

\(^4\)This pattern in Bunu matches Comrie's (1981:165) observation that, cross-linguistically "the continuum from analytic via morphological to lexical causative correlates with the continuum from less direct to more direct causation." See also Comrie (1985).
intransitive verb, which is semantically both Actor and Undergoer [§7.2.2.2]. The periphrastic causative puna does not serialise or compound with active intransitive verbs, but functions as the main verb of a matrix clause.

(38) Da ołi.
    3s return
    'He went home.'

(39) Da puna ringe la da ołi.
    3s do 3s IRR 3s return
    'He<sub>1</sub> made him<sub>2</sub> go home.'
    [Lit. 'He<sub>1</sub> did (something to) him<sub>2</sub> so that he<sub>3</sub> went home.']

(40) Da nyoli-k
    ep-oli-k
    3s CAUS-return-k 3s
    'He<sub>1</sub> returned him<sub>2</sub> [implies by force].'

Active transitive verbs have a built-in valence which includes an Actor doing something to an Undergoer. Deriving an accomplishment interpretation (with CAUSE built into the semantics) is done with the applicative /-k/ [§7.3.1]. The morphological causative prefix /ep-/ increases the element of control, force, or volition of the Actor. The periphrastic causative puna does not collocate well with active transitive verbs, unless the active transitive verb is in a subordinate clause.

(41) Da huda huma.
    3s dismantle house
    'He pulled the house apart.'

(42) Da ep-huda huma.
    3s CAUS-dismantle house
    'He tore the house apart.'
    *[Da puna huma huda.]
    *[Da puna huda huma.]

(43) Da puna ringe la da huda nak huma. [separate clauses]
    3s do 3s IRR 3s dismantle 3sPOSShouse
    'He<sub>1</sub> made him<sub>2</sub> tear down his<sub>3</sub> house.'
    [Lit. 'He<sub>1</sub> did (something to) him<sub>2</sub> so that he<sub>3</sub> tore down his<sub>3</sub> house.]

Puna occurs productively as the first element in a verbal compound [§12.5].

12.2.1.2 Debitive iak 'must'

Iak is used periphrastically to indicate that in the judgement of the speaker there is only one possible action or result and that it must be done. It is thus a deontic modal dealing
with a judgement of necessity (cf. Palmer 1986:59-61). It collocates with a few non-active verbs indicating the resulting state is the one considered necessary.

(44) Da mata.
    3s die
    'He is dead/He is dying.'
    [non-active verb]

(45) lak da mata.
    must 3s die
    'He must die.' [Lit. 'It must be that he dies. ']
    [result in subordinate clause]

(46) Ringe lak mata.
    3s must die
    'He must die.'
    [periphrastic]

Lak is more commonly found with active verbs indicating that the action specified by the other verb is the one that is judged necessary.

(47) Da oli.
    3s return
    'He went home.'
    [active intransitive verb]

lak da oli.
    must 3s return
    'He must go home.' [Lit. 'It must be that he goes home. ']
    [action in subordinate clause]

Ringe lak oli.
    3s must return
    'He must go home.'
    [periphrastic]

(48) Da hete kau.
    3s cut wood
    'He cut wood.'
    [active transitive verb]

lak da hete kau.
    must 3s cut wood
    'He must cut wood.' [Lit. 'It must be that he cuts wood. ']
    [action in subordinate clause]

Ringe lak hete kau.
    3s must cut wood
    'He must cut wood.'
    [periphrastic]

Lak occurs rarely in oral text. It is being replaced by musti, a loan from Ambonese Malay. All occurrences of a debitive modal in my primary data corpus of recorded oral texts use the loan.

5It occurs in only 8 sentences in my primary data corpus (in written text), in letters from a few individuals who are unusually aware of native and non-native elements in their language, and in 35 sentences in my supplementary corpus. I have heard it used on rare occasion in conversation.
6The Standard Malay form is mest.
Verb Complex

(49) Da oli.
    3s return
    'He went home.'

[active intransitive verb]

(50) Musti da oli.
    must 3s return
    'He must go home.' [Lit. 'it must be that he goes home. ']

[action in subordinate clause]

(51) Ringe musti oli.
    3s must return
    'He must go home.'

[periphrastic]

The debitives iak and musti are not found in compounds in my data corpus.

12.2.1.3 Prohibitive bara 'don't, shouldn't'

Bara is used periphrastically to indicate that in the judgment of the speaker the action or resulting state of the verb is valued negatively and should not be done. It is thus a deontic modal indicating that although a state may come about or an action be performed, it is the speaker's desire that it not happen or judgement that it should not happen. Thus, in the imperative, bara has the sense of a prohibitive, or negative imperative 'don't'. Otherwise it has the sense of 'should not'. Unlike the imperative, which does not collocate with non-active verbs [§7.2.1], the negative imperative bara can be used with some non-active verbs, indicating that the resulting state is not desired.

(52) Da mata.
    3s die
    'He is dead/He is dying.'

[non-active verb]

Bara da mata.
    don't 3s die
    'He shouldn't die.' [Lit. 'it shouldn't be that he dies. ']

[result in subordinate clause]

Ringe bara mata.
    3s don't die
    'He shouldn't die.'

[periphrastic]

(53) Bara mata!
    don't die
    'Don't die!'

[imperative]

Bara emata kono!
    ep-mata
    don't CAUS-die 1sU
    'Don't kill me!'

[imperative]

(54) Ma bara em-tako moo.
    1p don't STAT-fear NEG
    'We shouldn't be afraid.'

[hortative-emphatic]
Chapter 12: 

(55) Du tuke tu beto, la gebe-ro bara bafa. [in subordinate clause]
3p give with night IRR person-PL don’t stare
'They gave (the things) at night so that people shouldn’t see.'

(56) Nang fin.haa bara mata. [deontic periphrastic]
1sPOSSfemale.big don’t die
'My wife shouldn’t have died.'

Bara may be used independently as an accomplishment verb. It does not compound productively.

(57) Ringe bara-k nak ana-t.
3s don’t-k 3sPOSSchild-NOM
'He prohibited his child.'

'He said 'bara' to his child.'

12.2.1.4 Inceptive peltanek 'begin'

The inceptive (inchoative) peltanek is used periphrastically to indicate the beginning of a process or action. It is metaphorically derived from its parts: pele 'intersect' + tane 'to plant (a pole) forcefully into the ground', giving the visual picture of something happening from the point in time marked by the planting of a post.

(58) Ringe peltanek iko boli fena-fena.
3s begin go perimeter RED-village
'He began to go around to each of the villages.'

(59) Peltanek da keha kou em-kele dii.
begin 3s climb tree STAT-tall DIST
'He began to climb that tall tree.'

12.2.1.5 Permissive barisuk 'permit, allow, let'

The permissive barisuk 'permit, allow, let' is a frozen polymorpheme. Its distribution is more restricted than other periphrastics, requiring a clausal complement. Barisuk is a deontic directive that implies the speaker believes it is in the Actor's power to prevent the action or resulting state, but that he should not do so.

(60) Da mata.
3s die
'He is dead/He is dying.'

[non-active verb]

---

7 Culturally, the planting of a post is equated with origins in Buru society.
8 Most likely from bara 'don't' + iso 'shake, disturb' + -k.
Verb Complex

(61) Barisuk da mata.
let 3s die
'Let him die.'

*[Ringe barisuk mata.]

(62) Barisuk ya oli beka.
let 1s return first
'Let me go home first.'

(63) Barisuk la ku ba sohi-k pa rahe,
let IRR 2s DUR wait-k down ground

tu ya keha la "a tata-k proi la ku kaa.
CONJ 1s ascend IRR 1s drop-k small IRR 2s eat

'It's OK for you to wait down on the ground, because I will climb (the tree) and drop a bit down so you can eat.'

(64) Kari laha la du sili-h,
1pa request IRR 3p pay-it

la barisuk la ringe kaweng tu ana-fina dil.
IRR let IRR 3s marry[Arab] with child-female DIST

'We asked that they pay it to allow him to marry that woman.'

12.2.2 Tense-Aspect-Mood proclitics (TAM)

There is a closed set of proclitics that can occur before the head of the verb complex, modifying the predicate. These proclitics are distinguished from verbal prefixes by their position, shape, and separability [§6.1.2]. As the following figure illustrate, these proclitics can be divided into three types for convenience of presentation: 1) the CV-shaped aspect markers, 2) the CV-shaped epistemic modal markers, and 3) the polyomorphemic portmanteau CVCCV-shaped tense-aspect markers. These are summarised in the figure below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARKER</th>
<th>LABEL</th>
<th>GLOSSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspect markers</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te</td>
<td>Abilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood markers</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portmanteau markers</td>
<td>amba</td>
<td>Immediate Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mamba</td>
<td>Present Occurrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lamba</td>
<td>Immediate Future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 26: Tense-aspect-mood proclitics
The aspect markers and portmanteau markers come between the subject and the main verb, before verbal prefixes. Only one of these may occur in a clause.

The irrealis "ba", on the other hand, occurs before the subject (where the subject is not deleted) in both the purpose construction and as the complementiser of a clausal complement. It thus comes before aspect and portmanteau markers. Where it co-occurs in a sentence with such markers, a subject obligatorily intervenes.

(65)  Ringo |la da ba| iko.
      la da ba
     3s   IRR.3s.DUR   go
   'He wants to be going.'

(66)  Kami |la ma te| iko.
      la ma te
     3s   IRR   Ip ABIL   go
   'We want to be able to go.'

12.2.2.1 Durative ba

The durative ba indicates an action or process occurs continuously or progressively over a span of time. The action or process has internal temporal structure and can be viewed as a kind of imperfective, particularly when set in the past (cf. Comrie 1976).

In §7.2.1 it was noted that non-active verbs are ambiguous as to whether they are interpreted as a state [BE] or as a process [BECOME]. The durative ba disambiguates non-active verbs to have a process interpretation.9

(67)  Da |haa.
      3s   big
   'It is big / It is growing.'

Da ba |haa.
      3s   DUR   big
   'It is/was growing.'

(68)  Da |em pei.
      3s   STAT-hurt
   'She was sick.'
   'She was sick.'

Da ba |em pei.
      3s   DUR   STAT-hurt
   'She was sick.'
   'She has been sick.'

[seen from outside as a complete event]
[seen from inside as spanning a duration of time]

9Comrie (1976:32-40) observes that other languages, such as English and Spanish, have verbs that are ambiguous between static and nonstatic (process), and notes that progressive aspect is incompatible with a stative interpretation.

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With active verbs the durative ba contrasts with the iterative aspect that is marked through reduplication.

(69) Da iko.
    3s go
    'He left. / He was leaving.'

(70) Da ba iko.
    3s DUR go
    'He was going. / He was leaving.'

(71) Da iko-iko.
    3s RED-go
    'He kept going (repeatedly).'

(72) Da hete kau.
    3s cut wood
    'He cut wood (into sections).'

(73) Da ba hete kau.
    3s DUR cut wood
    'He was cutting wood (over a period of time → process).'

(74) Da hete-hete kau.
    3s RED-cut wood
    'He kept cutting wood (repeatedly).'

12.2.2.2 Habitual ka 'normally, usually, often'

The habitual ka indicates that the action described by the verb is characteristic of the subject of the verb and can be glossed in English with words such as 'habitually, normally, usually, often'. Most commonly ka appears in a descriptive relative clause. Ka collocates only with active verbs.

(75) Ringe ka toho la masi.
    3s HAB descend downstream sea
    'He often goes down to the coast.'

(76) geba ka gao en-dohi:n.
    person HAB hold ABS-narrate-GEN
    'a keeper of oral history'

(77) geba ka hama ikan.
    person HAB search fish
    'a fisherman'

---

10This differs slightly from Comrie's (1976:26ff.) characterisation of habitual aspect as being handled by the En. *be* 'used to X'. The English 'used to (continually) X' in Buru is handled by ba X. The sense of 'used to (repeatedly) X' is handled in Buru by ba RED-X. 'used to (periodically in such a way as to be characteristic of the Actor) X' is handled in Buru by ka X.
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(78) geba ka kaa geba.
    person HAB eat person
    'a cannibal'

(79) geba ka fasa perkara.
    person HAB cut litigation[Mly]
    'a judge'

(80) geba ka toto momol.
    person HAB pound iron
    'a blacksmith'

As an aspectual modifier of the main verb, the habitual ka is being replaced by the Ambonese Malay jaga 'habitually, normally, often'.11 Although it is bisyllabic, the loan does not form its own stress group [§6.3], but clusters to the stress pattern of the following verb.

(81) Ringe ka toho la masl. [less common]
    Ringe iaga toho la masl. [more common]
    3s HAB descend downstream sea
    'He often goes down to the coast.'

(82) Geba na iaga bodo-k kami.
    person PROX HAB outwit-k 1pe
    'This man habitually cons us.'

(83) Sira iaga kadu-k mancafi fi di nete-n dii.
    3p HAB come-k hunt[Skt] LOC DIST place-GEN DIST
    'They regularly come to hunt at that location.'

12.2.2.3 Abilitative te 'can, be able to'

The proclitic te indicates it is the speaker's judgement that the Actor is capable of performing the action of the main verb. It thus has an element of DO built into it and collocates only with active verbs.

(84) Kita te kaa-h moo.
    1pi ABIL eat-it NEG
    'We can't eat it.'

(85) Ya katu-k sandal pa ama kete te toho.
    1s send-k sandal REAL father parent-in-law ABIL descend
    'I sent sandals so that (result) [my] father-in-law could come down [from the mountains to the wedding].'

(86) Da te puna hawa gosa moo.
    3s ABIL do field good NEG
    'He doesn't know how to make a good field.'
    'He isn't able to make a good field.'

11 The Standard Malay form is biasa.
(87) 
Beto-beto kami te base moo.
RED-night 1pe ABIL sleep NEG
'Night after night we couldn't sleep.'

The Ambonese Malay ablative bisa occasionally substitutes for te.

(88) 
Nam suka la kam bisa tou-k sir nun was.lale.
1pePOSS like IRR 1pe ABIL see-k 3p 3pPOSS grove
'We wanted to be able to see their (cash crop) grove.'

Both free pronouns and pronominal proclitics may precede the aspect markers listed above. Only free pronouns may precede the mood markers discussed below. Mood markers are distributionally different from the other preverbal proclitics, but are discussed here as necessary background for understanding the portmanteau markers.

12.2.2.4 Irrealis la

Irrealis la indicates that something is unreal, future, desired, contemplated, intended, or hypothetical. It functions pre-verbally in the purpose construction, and following the head of the clause as an irrealis complementiser [see excursus in §12.2.3].

(89) 
Ya iko.
1s go
'I'm going. / I went.'

(90) 
Yako la iku.
1s IRR go
'I'm going to go.'
'I want to go.'

(91) 
Ringe iko la da tou-k fan.lale.
3s go IRR 3s see-k village.inside
'He went to take a look around the village.'
[Lit. 'He went in order for him to see the village.]

(92) 
Ringe iko la [∅] tou-k fan.lale.
3s go IRR see-k village.inside
'He went to take a look around the village.'

(93) 
Ringe iko tou-k fan.lale.
3s go see-k village.inside
'He went and took a look around the village.'

(94) 
Ringe ik.tou-k fan.lale.
3s go see-k village.inside
'He went taking a look around the village.'

[deletion of coreferential subject]

[purpose]

[serial verbs]

[purpose/result ambiguous]

[verbal compound]

[purpose/result ambiguous]
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(95) Ringe la da iko te-k fen.jale.  [purpose construction with serial verbs]¹²
    3s IRR 3s go see-k village.inside
    'He wanted to go take a look around the village.'

Non-active verbs are commonly placed in a complement clause to be marked for irrealis rather than in the main clause.

(96) *[Ringe la haa.]
    3s IRR big

Ringe la da haa.
    3s IRR 3s big
    'He wants to grow.'

(97) Ringe nak suka la da haa.
    3s 3sPOSSlike IRR 3s big
    'He wants to grow.' [Lit. 'His liking is that he grow. ']

12.2.2.5 Evidential ma 'certain'

The evidential ma indicates that the speaker is positively certain of the location of the referent at the time of his or her assertion.¹³ Ma could be glossed as 'present certain (location)'. It occurs structurally introducing locative predicates, rather than active verbs.

(98) Q: Ber fi doo?
    Be: LOC where
    'Where is Ber?'

A₁: Ringe fi lawe Wae Katin.
    3s LOC downstream Water Mat
    'He is there in Wae Katin.'

A₂: Ringe ma lawe Wae Katin.
    3s EVID downstream Water Mat
    'He is there in Wae Katin (and I am certain of it).'

Ma contrasts with the durative ba in locative constructions.

(99) Ringe ma dil.
    3s EVID DIST
    'He is there now (and I am certain of it).'

Ringe ba adit.
    3s DUR DIST
    'He has been there (over a period of time).'

¹² Whether or not this is a complement clause on a null verb will be discussed in chapter §20.
¹³ The evidential ma must be distinguished from the pronominal ma '1p'.


12.2.2.6 Portmanteau markers

The proclitics bamba 'immediate past, just, just now', mamba 'present occurrence, progressively and currently happening', and lamba 'immediate future, about to' are frozen polymorphemes that include durative ba, evidential ma, and irrealis la respectively. Although they are bisyllabic, they do not form an independent stress group but cliticise to the following verb.

\[(100)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Ringe}} \\
\underline{\text{bamba}} \underline{\text{ mata.}} \\
\underline{3s IMM.PAST die} \\
'\text{He just died.}'
\end{array}
\]

\[(101)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Ringe}} \\
\underline{\text{mamba}} \underline{\text{ mata.}} \\
\underline{3s IMM.FUT die} \\
'\text{He is about to die.}'
\end{array}
\]

\[(102)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Lea}} \\
\underline{\text{bamba}} \underline{\text{ sogo.}} \\
\underline{\text{sun IMM.PAST set}} \\
'\text{The sun just set.}'
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Lea}} \\
\underline{\text{mamba}} \underline{\text{ sogo.}} \\
\underline{\text{sun PRES set}} \\
'\text{The sun is now setting.}'
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Lea}} \\
\underline{\text{lamba}} \underline{\text{ sogo.}} \\
\underline{\text{sun IMM.FUT set}} \\
'\text{The sun is about to set.}'
\end{array}
\]

Bamba occurs with relatively greater frequency in my data corpus (13 times) and in conversation, than mamba (3 times) or lamba (2 times).

Lamba 'immediate future', which can collocate with third person referents, must be distinguished from a fairly common cliticization of 1p proclitics in a purpose construction, such as those illustrated below.

\[(103)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Purpose constructions}} \\
\underline{\text{Ringe}} \underline{\text{ la.d.kea.}} \\
\underline{\text{la.dr.kaa}} \\
\underline{3s IRR.3s.eat} \\
'\text{He wants to eat.}'
\end{array}
\]
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(104) Kami la.m.kaa.
         la.ma.kaa
1p pa IRR.1p.eat
'We want to eat.'

(105) Ringe la.d.ba iko.
         la.da.\wta
3s IRR.3s.DUR go
'He wants to be going.'

(106) Kami la.m.ba iko.
         la.ma.ba
1p pa IRR.1p.DUR go
'We want to be going.'

(107) Ma caan la.m.ba mata\^14
         la.ma.ba
1p sense IRR.1p.DUR die
'We felt like we were about to die.'

Real world situations place semantic restrictions on bamba collocating with non-active verbs. It may collocate with verbs that are punctual or completed, but not with verbs that are durational or on-going. Thus, if it collocates with a verb that implies a span of time, bamba signals that state has just been completed.

(108) Nak opo bamba mata.
3sPOSS grandparent IMM.PAST die
'His grandfather just died.'

(109) Ringe bamba em-pe\i (sepo).
3s IMM.PASTSTAT-hurt finish
'He just finished being sick.'

(110) *[Feten di bamba koni.]
millet DIST IMM.PAST-yellow
*['That millet just now ripened.]

12.2.3 Excursus: realis-irrealis distinctions in Buru

This section sketches various mechanisms that work together to indicate realis-irrealis distinctions in Buru. The unmarked mood in Buru sentences is realis 'real; actual, factual'.

(111) Da ikp.
3s go
'He went.' [past - realis]
'He is going.' [present - realis]
*[He is going to go.]* [future - irrealis]

\^14Caan is a verb that means 'sense, feel' that has taken a conventionalised meaning 'hear'. It is the latter meaning that most commonly is found in text.
12.2.3.1 In the TAM system

The unmarked realis mood may be highlighted with evidentiel ma or with the portmanteau markers bamba 'immediate past' and mamba 'present occurrence'. Irrealis is marked with la. These were examined in §12.2.2.

12.2.3.2 In marking clausal complements

Dixon (1987:2) observes that all languages distinguish between realis and irrealis complement clauses. This is certainly true of Buru. Realis-Irrealis is a key parameter in one’s choice of clausal complementizers. Complementation and inter-clause relations are examined in Chapter §20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
<th>la</th>
<th>‘to X, so that X, in order to X’</th>
<th>[Purpose]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mele</td>
<td>‘lest, so that not X, in order to not X’</td>
<td>[Anti-purpose]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>fene</td>
<td>‘that X (collocates with verbs involving cognition)’</td>
<td>[Result of cognition]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>‘that X, and do (accomplish) X’</td>
<td>[Result of action or process]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 27: Realis-irrealis distinctions in inter-clause relators

(122) Ringe oli la da kaa. [irrealis - purpose]
3s return IRR 3s eat
‘He went home to eat.’

(123) Ringe oli pa da kaa. [realis - result of action]
3s return RE/L 3s eat
‘He went home and ate.’

(124) Ringe prepa fene da moho. [realis - result of cognition]
3s say say,3s fall
‘He said that he fell.’

(125) Ringe oli mel da moho. [irrealis - anti-purpose]
3s return lest,3s fall
‘He turned back lest he fall.’

A combination of irrealis la + prohibitive bara is equivalent to mele.

(126) Ringe oli la.d.bara moho. [irrealis - anti-purpose]
3s return IRR,3s,don’t fall
‘He turned back so that he wouldn’t fall.’

---

15Fene also functions as a main verb meaning ‘say’, indicating its use as a complementiser has resulted from a grammaticisation of its use as a serial verb. Schachter (1985:50) has observed that many languages have complementisers deriving from a verb ‘say’. Givón (1984:286) notes that complements of non-factive cognition verbs are “obligatorily irrealis in their modality.” (E.g. ‘Mary thought that Joe caught a whale.’) In Buru, however, such a sentence takes the realis complementiser fene marking the factivity of the matrix verb, rather than the non-factivity of the complement: Mani odda fene Oce frake teput eea. ‘Mary thought (real) that Joe caught a chicken.’
12.2.3.3 Purpose construction

The purpose construction uses the irrealis la as if it were a complementiser on a null verb. There are no parallel constructions with other complementisers. Compare the following examples, the first of which uses la as a complementiser, and the second which uses la in the purpose construction.

(117) Ringe oli la da kaa.  
3s return IRR 3s eat  
'He went home so that he could eat.'

Ringe oli la [ŋ] kaa.  
3s return IRR eat  
'He went home to eat.'

(118) Ringe [ŋ] la da kaa.  
3s [ŋ] IRR 3s eat  
'He [wants] that he, eat.'

3s [ŋ] IRR [ŋ] eat  
'He (wants) to eat.'

There is no main verb in the Buru language that can simply be glossed 'want' which can fill the slot in the above example. The closest thing to a main verb that can be placed there is a Malay loan suka which is distributionally nominal and obligatorily possessed.

(119) Ringe nak suka la da kaa.  
3s (3sPOSS like) IRR 3s eat  
'He [his liking is] that he, eat.'  
'He likes to eat./ He wants to eat.'

Ringe nak suka la kaa.  
3s (3sPOSS like) IRR eat  
'He [his liking is] to eat.'  
'He likes to eat./ He wants to eat.'

12.2.4 Grammaticalisation of the TAM system from main verbs

In some texts, tewa 'know, understand, be able to' alternates freely with abilitative te 'can'.

(120) Geba saa, da tewa puna hawa gosa.  
person one 3s know do field good  
'One man knows how to make a field well.'

(121) Geba sahe-t dii, da te puna hawa gosa moo.  
person other-NOM DIST 3s ABIL do field good NEG  
'The other man doesn't know how to make a field well.'
From this and many similar examples, there is clear evidence for the grammaticalisation of the pre-verbal aspect markers from the cliticised compounding of serial verbs. The cliticised form then became conventionalised.

The *abilliative* te is very free in whether it occurs in its full form or its cliticised form. When it occurs in one form upon initial utterance, it often takes its counterpart form under backtracking or rephrasing, or in discourse patterns of tail-head linkage. It is thus a grammaticisation that is still in progress.

The *durative* ba most likely is grammaticised from the verb baa 'to be at a location over a span of time'.

(122) Ringe baa na moo.
3s be.at(duration) PROX NEG
'She has not been here.'

Ringe ba defo na moo.
3s DUR stay PROX NEG
'She has not been staying here.'

The *evidential* ma most likely is grammaticised from the verb maa 'to be presently at the time of speaking at a location'.

(123) Ringe maa di huma.
3s be.at(present) DIST house
'She is now there at the house.'

Ringe ma dii.
3s EVID DIST
'She is (certainly) there now.'

The source of the *habitual* ka is not known. Of all the pre-verbal proclitics, ka is also farthest along the road to being replaced (i.e. by AM jaga), as noted earlier [§12.2.2.2].

It is also not clear what the *irrealis* lā has developed from. Hendriks (1897) and Trap (1904) occasionally write lāha where I would expect lā. Lāha currently is a verb meaning 'to make a request', and occasionally 'to reciprocate'. In some archaic usages (e.g. ballads) one could possibly gloss lāha as 'desire' rather than 'request', and this could account for the gap of not presently having a main verb meaning 'want, desire'. Due to the lack of synchronic support, however, lāha as a possible source for irrealis lā remains merely speculation at this point.
12.3 Post-head modifiers

Verbs may be modified by other verbs, with the second modifying the first for such things as the direction of the effort or the manner in which the main action is performed. Unlike the case with serial verbs, non-active verbs (e.g. value, speed) may be used to modify main verbs. Additional modifications can be made with derived adverbs and by the incorporation of post-verbal arguments.

Although the distinction between serialisation and verb adjunct can be fuzzy at times (e.g. with two verbs of locomotion), it is often the case that if the modifying verb substituted for the head, the meaning of the whole would be significantly different, or would be ungrammatical. Modifying verbs often have conventionalised senses discussed in greater detail in §12.4.

(124) Da tane beta sura-n.  
3s plant Head connect Mod stake trap-GEN  
'He correctly set the stake traps into the ground.'

Da tane sura-n.  
3s plant stake trap-GEN  
'He set the stake traps into the ground.'

Da beta sura-n.  
3s connect stake trap-GEN  
'He ran into the stake traps [and got wounded].'  

[125] Petu titasit haka saki sufe-n.  
SEQ rat web return door-GEN  
'Then the rat tied the door.'

Petu titasit haka sufe-n.  
SEQ rat web door-GEN  
'Then the rat tied the door.'

'[Petu titasit saki sufe-n.]  
SEQ rat return door-GEN  
'[^T]hen the rat returned the door.'

12.3.1 Locative scope

Verbs of locomotion with built-in direction may be used to delimit the locative scope of an action. Verbs used in this way take /-k/, bracketing them as functioning as part of the clause nucleus.

(126) Da uka selek-k.  
3s swim upstream-k  
'He swam upstream.'
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(127) Da oli manu-k gam la masi.  
3s return flow-k ALL downstream  
'He returned down to the coast.'

(128) Da keha lepa-k gere-n.  
3s ascend climb-k steep-GEN  
'She went climbing up the steep slope.'

(129) Da oli logo-k.  
3s return descend-k  
'She went home by going down the mountain.'

(130) Da like siki-k.  
3s look over shoulder return-k  
'She turned her head and looked back over her shoulder.'

(131) Da iko dolo-k.  
3s go straight-k  
'She went straight.'

(132) Kami saj tala-k ola-t.  
1pe row separate-k lake-NOM  
'We paddled across the middle of the lake.'

12.3.2 Manner

Verbs may modify main verbs by specifying the manner in which an action is done. Such modifications for manner are often polymorphemic. Non-active verbs can modify active verbs.

(133) Da oli gelaia-k.  
3s return empty-handed-k  
'He returned empty-handed.'

(134) Ana-t sa baj polo-k kami.  
child-NOM one follow stick-k 1pe  
'Some child was tagging along with us.'

(135) An.roi-n na kaa gosa.  
child.small-GEN PROX eat good  
'This little baby is eating well.'

(136) Da iko friken.  
3s go fast  
'He went fast.'

(137) Da gaa gesa enhero mae-n.  
3s hold loose spear handle-GEN  
'He was holding the shaft of the spear loosely.'

(138) Ringe gaa hefa geba di kada-n.  
3s hold connect person DIST leg-GEN  
'He grabbed hold of that person's foot [of a corpse inside a sack].'
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(139) Da iko myamhisi-k.
3s go force-k
'He went by force.'

(140) Ku ba safe esbobi-k yako.
2s DUR buy w/col 1s
'You purchased me without collecting what you had purchased.' (said by a woman in a folktale)

(141) Da te bage en-sia-k tu nak geb.haa moo.
3s ABIL sleep RECP-one-k with 3sPOSS person big NEG
'She isn’t permitted to sleep together with her husband.'

Manner modifiers are discussed more extensively in the section on post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4].

12.3.3 Reduplicated modifiers

Adverbs are derived by reduplication of verbs. There is often a conventionalised sense to a reduplicated adverb. The phonology of reduplication is discussed in §5.6.

(142) Petu ring ba dea-k roho-roho-k.
SEQ 3s DUR stop-k RED-slow-k
'Then he slowly came to a stop.'

(143) Tonal beta boho-boho.16
cucus connect RED-bad
'The cucus(es) got trapped in his snares like you wouldn’t believe.'

(144) Da heka raho-rabo.
3s flee RED-hurry [AM]
'He fled hurriedly.'

(145) Taho la ku jaga pil-pili-k nam asu.
descend IRR 2s watch [Mly] RED-choose-k 2sPOSS dog
'Come down so you can guard your dog carefully.'

(146) Da keha ro-roin.
3s ascend RED-small
'He went up a little ways.'

(147) Yako la fisara ro-roin.
1s IRR speak [Skt] RED-small
'I’m going to say a few things.'

(148) Da erei mata-mata.
3s refuse RED-die
'He refused with no possibility for negotiation.'

Reduplicated adverbs can modify a serial construction.

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16Boho-boho [bad-bad] can mean either 'excessively bad, horrible' or 'extremely good, fantastic'.

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Reduplicated adverbs can also modify non-active verbs.

(156) Da haq gos-gosa.
3s big RED-good
'She is growing well.'

(151) Da em-pel boho-boho.
3s STAT-hurt RED-bad
'She is really sick.'

(152) Kami em-tako boho-boho.
1pe STAT-fear RED-bad
'We were frightened out of our minds.'

12.3.4 Incorporation of post-verbal arguments

Verbs can also be modified through the incorporation of post-verbal arguments. It was shown in §7.3.1 how the applicative /-k/ attached to a verb root rearranges the role orientation of the clause, changing the valence of the verb by the manner in which the core arguments relate to the verb, or by giving an activity verb an accomplishment interpretation. Attached to post-verbal arguments (rather than to the verb), the applicative /-k/ has a similar function with different effect. Structurally, it marks the argument as part of the nucleus of the clause [see Chapter §18 for the layered structure of the clause]. Functionally, it marks a kind of backgrounding antipassive which demotes the status of the verbal argument (most commonly the Undergoer) to which it attaches. It thus marks the incorporation of the argument within the predicate. The incorporated argument is generic and cannot be modified for spatial or temporal deixis (which would indicate definiteness). The verb with its incorporated argument behaves intransitively, with the argument behaving like an adverbial modifier.17 The clause nucleus is underlined in the examples below.

(153) Da loa nofi-t.
'He's working the bellows.' [Rana dialect]

Da loa nofi-k.
'He's bellows-working.'
'He's a bellows-worker.'

17 A similar effect of object incorporation has been described for other Austronesian languages such as Tongan (Polynesia), Kusian and other Micronesian languages (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1985:358-347). In Boru, however, the incorporation is not restricted to Undergoers.
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(154) Du iko tu kada-n.  
'They went by foot.'

Du ik.kada-k.  
'They foot-went.' (i.e. They walked.)

(155) Da hai tu bohi-n bika-t.  
'He followed with his bottom sticking out [from a wound].'

Da hai boh.bika-k.  
[3s]s:a [follow bottom.protrude-k]pred  
'He followed-with-his-bottom-sticking-out.'

(156) Da oli moda-n.  
'He returned in the late afternoon.'

Da oli moda-k.  
[3s]s:a/u [return wind-k]pred  
'He returned-late-afternoon.'

(157) Kam kaa lea tifu-n.  
'We ate in the middle of the day.'

Kam kaa lea tifu-k.  
[1pc]s:a [eat sun middle-k]pred  
'We lunched.'

The intransitive nature of these predicates with incorporated arguments is well illustrated in the last example above. An object (what was eaten) could be specified in the first sentence, but not in the second.

The modification of the main verb with a verb of non-specific locative scope discussed earlier in §12.3.1 meets the characterisation of incorporation with /-k/ described here and could be considered incorporation of a locative argument.

12.4 Post-verbal auxiliaries

There are parallels between what occurs at the end of a discourse with the scope of the whole text, and what occurs at the end of a sentence with sentential scope. Texts often conclude with a speaker comment giving some sort of evaluation on the authority, reliability,

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18In Government & Binding Theory, AUX is a technical term that includes not only some of the functions described here, but also the functions performed by many of the pre-verbal modifiers §12.2. I am aware of the difference and restrict my use of the term 'auxiliary' for Buru to these post-verbal modifiers.
extent or value of what has preceded. Thus one often hears texts concluded with such things as:

(158) **Authority**
Yako kita iyer dìi tu nang raman emsikan. Ya dapakor fi di geba dikat sa moo.
'I saw these things with my own eyes, I did not get it from anyone else.'

(159) **Reliability**
Ya caan endohin naa fi di nang ama, P-tama.
'I heard this story from my father, P-Tama.'

(160) **Extent**
Ya nango estori esnegem baa dìta.
'That is the limit of what I have to say.'

(161) Ya nango estori tur-turat gam dìta rohek.
'My very brief comments are just like that.'

(162) **Esnegem baa dìta.**
'That's all.'

(163) **Sepo.**
'Finish.'

In the *sentence*, speaker perspective or evaluation of the proposition expressed in the body of the clause or clause complex also comes at the end, and can be considered to be external to the clause proper [see Chapters §18 & §19]. Parts of the modality system, aspect system, confirmative tags, and other things reflecting the speaker's opinion and attitudes about such things as the truth value (such as negation), or necessity (probability, certainty, possibility) come at the end. Thus we get things like:

(164)  
(Da kitah) haik.
(She saw it) already.
(Da kitah) moo.
(She saw it) NEG. = She didn't see it.
(Da kitah) holik.
(She saw it) momentarily.
(Da kita) angak.
(She saw it) immediately.
(Da kitah) salak.
(She saw it) perhaps.
(Da kitah), maa.
(She saw it), didn't [she]?
(Da kitah), pi moo?
(She saw it), or not?
(Da kitah), pi mohede?
(She saw it), or not-yet?

This evaluative comment by the speaker follows the clause with all its core, oblique, and peripheral arguments, and has the entire proposition in its scope. The comment is non-clausal, not taking its own arguments or modifiers, but functions as an auxiliary to the whole.

(165)  
[Sira hapu lafa-t la yako langina] haik.
'They already tied up trailfood for me earlier.'

(166)  
[Sira hapu lafa-t la yako langina] moo.
'They didn't tie up trailfood for me earlier.'
Chapter 12: Verb Complex


"They might have tied up trailfood for me earlier."

Givón (1984:82) observes cross-linguistically that "adverbs with wider -- sentential -- scope, such as those of time or speaker's comment, tend to have greater distributional freedom, appearing before, after or in some cases inside the sentence." He also notes that there is often an iconic relationship between the semantic scope of the adverb and its position in the sentence. On the occasions that post-verbal auxiliaries occur in the nucleus of the clause, that nucleus is their scope. At the end of the clause, following oblique and peripheral arguments -- the normal position -- their scope is sentential. This is thus not a type of argument incorporation.

(168) Da iko haik gam sak Rana. [Nuclear scope]
3s [go already]Nucleus [ALL up Rana]LocPP

'He's already gone up to Rana.'

(169) Da iko gam sak Rana haik. [Sentential scope]
3s [go]Nucleus [ALL up Rana]LocPPClause [already]AUX

'He's gone up to Rana already.'

In other words, when a post-verbal auxiliary is included within the nucleus of the clause, it functions as a modifier to the verb [§12.3]. More commonly, however, post-verbal auxiliaries appear following a clause, with clausal scope.

(170) Da prepa rahek, "Kam kadu-k tu kuli geba utun telo." 3s say just lpe come-k with laborer[Mly] person hundred-three

'He just said, "we came with 300 laborers."'

(171) Kam pese sara faha tu geba huma tobo-n senp. lpe pump touch hand with person house master-GEN finish

Kawasan Kak.Goni-t taga kami. Ldr Mount.??-NOM approach lpe

'[When] we had finished shaking hands with the head of the household, the Village Head of KakGoni approached us.'

Post-verbal auxiliaries are described and illustrated briefly below. Those presented first occur with more often than those that are presented later. Some auxiliaries occurring infrequently, however, are presented following others with which they have similar or overlapping functions for a slightly topical arrangement. The functions of many post-verbal auxiliaries have diverged from their use as main verbs. The morphology of many post-verbal auxiliaries is frozen and varied.

19This relationship between position and scope is paralleled by the English She went slowly up the hill. vs. She went up the hill slowly.
12.4.1 Perfective haik 'already'

Perfective haik 'already' is conventionalised from the active transitive verb hai 'follow'. It views a process or activity from the outside, after the fact. Thus, with non-active verbs it forces a *stative* [BE] interpretation, focusing on the resulting state or an achieved state.

(172) Da mata haik.  
3s die PRF  
*He (already) died.*

(173) Da haa haik.  
3s big PRF  
*It is (already) big.*

(174) Da em-pel haik.  
3s STAT-hurt PRF  
*She is now sick.*  
*She was already sick (at that time).*

(175) Da eb-riddi haik.  
3s STAT-cold PRF  
*He is cold.*

With active verbs haik views the activity from the outside as an entire event after-the-fact.

(176) Da lako g:rn la masi haik.  
3s go ALL downstream sea PRF  
*She's (already) gone to the coast.*

(177) Da tuke inaa-n la rings haik.  
3s give food-GEN DAT 3s PRF  
*She has (already) given food to him.*

12.4.2 Completive sepo 'finish'

Sepo 'finish' can be used to modify active verbs indicating either the end of an activity or that the Undergoer is completely affected by the action of the verb.

(178) Da kaa sepo.  
3s eat finish  
*He's finished eating.*

(179) Da kaa fafu di sepo.  
3s eat pig DIST finish  
*He ate up the pig.*  
*He finished eating the pig/pork.*

Sepo can co-occur with perfective haik.
Chapter 12: Verb Complex

(180) Da kaa sepo haik.
3s eat finish PRF
'He's already finished eating.'

When the scope is the clause nucleus, it implies the action was performed to completion. When the scope is sentential, it implies that the Undergoer was thoroughly affected.

(181) Da hete sepo kau.
3s cut finish wood
'He finished cutting the wood.' [action completed]

Da hete kau sepo.
3s cut wood finish
'He finished cutting the wood.' [available wood all cut]

12.4.3 Continuative hede 'still'

The continuative hede indicates the state, process, or activity progresses through the point of temporal reference of the discourse.

(182) Da em-pei hede.
3s STAT-hurt CONT
'He is still sick.'

Although there is functional overlap with durative ba, the two can occur together.

(183) Tu dii, da ba em-pei hede.
with DIST 3s DUR STAT-hurt CONT
'At that time, she was still sick.'

12.4.4 Negative moo 'no, not'

Standard negation is handled by moo. It has as its scope the clause that it brackets.

(184) Da kaa moo, tu da iko.
3s eat NEG REASON 3s go
'He didn't eat, because he left.'

Da kaa, tu da iko moo.
3s eat REASON 3s go NEG
'He ate, because he didn't leave.'

Da kaa tu da iko moo.
3s eat CONJ 3s go NEG
'He didn't eat and he didn't go.'
12.4.5 Incompletive *mohede* 'not yet'

The incompletive *mohede* is a frozen polymorpheme from a compounding of negative *mou* + continuative *hede*. With loss of vowel colour in the prepenultimate syllable \([§5.4.2.8]\), it is frequently pronounced \([m\text{ah}e\text{de}]\). It indicates the action of the verb has not yet begun, or that the resulting state has not yet been achieved.

(185) Da kaa *mohede*.
3s eat not yet
'He hasn’t eaten yet.'

(186) Da bridi *mohede*.
3s cold not yet
'She’s not cold yet.'

12.4.6 Non-continuative *tehuk ... moo* 'no longer'

*Tehuk* derives from the verb *tehu* 'chase'. It occurs about equally in the nucleus and clause-final, and, unusually, in both slots. It indicates that the state, process, or action described by the main verb is no longer true.

(187) Da kaa *gehu-t tehuk moo*.
3s eat taro-NOM longer NEG
'She doesn’t eat taro any more.'

(188) Da kaa *tehuk gehu-t moo*.
3s eat longer taro-NOM NEG
'She doesn’t eat taro any more.'

(189) Da kaa *tehuk gehu-t tehuk moo*.
3s eat longer taro-NOM longer NEG
'She doesn’t eat taro any more.'

12.4.7 Repetitive *deduk* 'again'

The verb *deduk* means 'to repeat an action'.

(190) A *pa-dedu-k*.
1s CAUS-repeat-k.
'I repeated my action [of stabbing the wild boar with my spear].'  

As a post-verbal auxiliary it adds a similar sense of 'again, a second time' to active verbs.

(191) A *fage fafu deduk*.
1s throw pig again
'I threw [a spear] at the pig again.'
Chapter 12:  

(192) Ringe kaa deduk, tu da glada.  
3s eat again REASON 3s hungry  
'He ate a second time, because he was hungry.'

12.4.8 saki 'shift orientation'

As a main verb, saki means 'return (in the direction one was coming from)' and overlaps in meaning and usage with oll 'return (to where one belongs)' and deduk 'repeat an action'.

(193) Ringe saki gam la masi.  
3s return ALL downstream sea  
'She returned to the coast.'

As an auxiliary with verbs of locomotion, saki can have either the sense of 'again', implying that the person has been there before, or of 'rather, instead' implying that there is a shift in orientation to be different from what one might have expected.

(194) Da keha gam sak fuka- saki.  
3s ascend ALL up mountain return  
'He went back up to the mountains.'  
'He went up to the mountains instead.'

With other active verbs, saki often has a sense that there has been a shift in orientation or expectation and can be glossed as 'instead, on the other hand'.

(195) Da toho pa Labuan pa da folo niwe.  
3s descend down village REAL 3s split open coconut  
Folo niwe, sepo, da lopo cengke saki,  
split open coconut finish 3s pick clove[Mly] return  
'He went down (the coast) to Labuan and (result) he split copra. After splitting copra, he shifted to picking cloves. 20

12.4.9 Dubitive salak 'maybe, uncertain'

Sala 'a mistake, a wrong, an offence, a sin' (< PMP *salaq 'wrong') is a nominal.

(196) Nak sala sa moo.  
3sPOSS wrong one NEG  
'He wasn't at fault.' [Lit. 'his wrong wasn't any']

---

20The man about whom this sentence was uttered did not return to picking cloves (suggesting he had been picking cloves prior to splitting copra and then returned to picking cloves) - as I initially interpreted the sentence, but rather he changed from splitting copra to picking cloves. I checked this point with those involved.
Verb Complex

(197) Kam odo fen ringe geb.\textit{gala}. Bam eta da fuka
1pe think REAL 3s person.wrong but until 3s open
\textit{lale-n sepo, kam tewa fen ringe sas.\textit{gala}.} 
inside-GEN finish 1pe know REAL 3s without.wrong

'We thought that he was the guilty party. But when he had finished explaining everything, we knew that he was innocent.'

As a post-verbal auxiliary, salak has taken on a conventionalised sense of 'perhaps, maybe', indicating the uncertainty of the speaker as to the truth of his or her assertion. Apparently this use developed as a conventionalised reduction from the primary sense of 'wrong' through an afterthought such as 'or perhaps I'm wrong' to 'maybe'.

(198) Da iko \textit{salak}.
3s go wrong
\textit{'He might have gone.'}

(199) Da tuke-h la ringe \textit{salak}.
3s give-it DAT 3s wrong
\textit{'Maybe he gave it to him.'}

12.4.10 Thorough \textit{suek} 'completely'

Suek is used with transitive verbs to indicate the action has been performed as thoroughly as possible.

(200) Da hapu ronga-n \textit{suek}.
3s tie cage-GEN thorough
\textit{'He tied up the cage thoroughly.'}

(201) Da konci huma \textit{suek}.
3s lock [Mly] house thorough
\textit{'He locked the house up thoroughly.'}

12.4.11 Full completion \textit{selek}

Selek is used with active verbs to indicate the action has been brought to its full conclusion.

(202) Da emata fafu \textit{selek}.
\textit{ep-mata} 3s CAUS-die pig complete
\textit{'He finished killing off the pig.'}

(203) Ringe fag.\textit{selek} fafu.
3s throw.complete pig
\textit{'He finished off the pig.'}
\textit{[he throw the spear that finally killed the pig (implying that other spears were thrown that wounded or missed)]}
12.4.12 Emphatic tirin 'very'

Tirin emphasizes the state or quality of non-active verbs, much like reduplication.

(204) Da haa tirin.
3s big EMPH
'It is very big.'

(205) Wagun di bot-botiri.
cloth DIST white EMPH
'That cloth is very white.'

Wagun di bot-botiri.
cloth DIST RED-white
'That cloth is very white.'

Wagun di bot-botiri.
cloth DIST RED-white EMPH
'That cloth is extremely white.'

(206) Geba di empei tirin.
person DIST STAT-hurt EMPH
'That man is really sick.'

Tirin does not modify active verbs.

12.4.13 Frequent edeman 'often'

The nominal quantifier edeman 'many' [§15.2], derived from the verb derme 'increase in number', can also modify verbs, with the sense of 'frequently, often'.

(207) Da empei edeman.
3s STAT-hurt many
'She is often sick.'

(208) Da keha edeman.
3s ascend often
'He climbs (trees after cuscus) a lot.'

12.4.14 tongi 'also, as well'

Tongi 'also, as well' means that the referent has or does the quality or action being specified in addition to one alluded to previously, or that the referent does the same action as another participant.

(209) Da iko tongi.
3s go also
'He went also (in addition to doing s.t. else).'
'He went also (in addition to s.o. else going).'
Verb Complex

(210) Sira kali warahe tongi.
3p dig peanut also
'They are digging peanuts as well (as doing other things).'
'They are digging peanuts as well (as doing other things).'

The Rana dialect conflates the functions of both tirin and tongi under the auxiliary pee.

12.4.15 Mitigative rahek 'just'

'The noun rahe 'ground' (< PMP *daReq 'soil') is also used as a verb rahe-k 'to be low'. As an auxiliary, rahek has the conventionalised sense of diminishing the importance of or intensity of the verb, or simply mitigating the verb in some respect.

(211) Ringe em-pei rahek.
3s STAT-hurt just
'She is just sick (and it's not so bad or her condition is not important).'

(212) Da toho gam la masi rahek.
3s descend ALL downstream sea just
'She just went down to the coast.'

12.4.16 Restrictive baa 'only, just'

As a verb, baa means 'to be at a location over a span of time'. As an auxiliary, baa restricts the assertion of the proposition to just what is said. It's meaning is close to that of rahek.

(213) Ringe em-pei baa.
3s STAT-hurt only
'She is just sick (and not dead).'

(214) Da toho gam la masi baa.
3s descend ALL downstream sea only
'She just went down to the coast (and not on to Ambon).'

12.4.17 Prior leuk 'previous, before, earlier'

The verb leo 'precede, go in front of (e.g. on a trail) is semantically the converse of hai 'follow'. As an auxiliary, leuk indicates that a state has been achieved or an action performed prior to the time of the utterance.

(215) Ringe em-pei leuk.
3s STAT-hurt precede
'She was sick before.'

21The pre-verbal durative proclitic baa is also grammaticised from this verb.
12.4.18 temak 'first time experience'

As an auxiliary temak means that something is experienced for the first time.

(217) Geba bott-\textit{t} na kita temak tonal.
person white-NOM PROX see first time cucus
'This white man has just seen a cucus for the first time.'

(218) Ana-fina na toho gam la masi temak.
child-female PROX descend ALL downstream sea only
'This woman has just come down to the coast for her first time ever.'

12.4.19 beka 'first, immediately, right away'

Beka is used most commonly with invitations or imperatives to indicate 'do this first before doing anything else'. It only collocates with active verbs.

(219) Ma kaa mangkau beka.
1p eat cassava first
'Let's eat (a meal) now (before we do anything else).' 

(220) Toho fi saka kau luke-n di beka!
descend LOC up tree tip-GEN DIST first
'Come down right now from up in the top of that tree!'

Beka is used predominantly by speakers of the Reni dialect. Speakers of the Masareni dialect use peni. Tagahak is an ideolectal synonym used by some speakers of both dialects.

12.4.20 Immediate anga 'now, right away'

As a main verb anga means 'see'. The semantic force of anga as a post-verbal auxiliary is very close to that of beka, but anga tends to be used with declaratives rather than with imperatives.

(221) Da iko anga.
3s go immediate
'She's going right away.'

(222) Da toho gam la masi anga.
3s descend ALL downstream sea immediate
'She is about to go down to the coast.'

12.4.21 holik 'momentarily'

As a main verb holik means 'to undo s.t., unfasten s.t.'.
Verb Complex

(223) Da holik nak kata.
   3s undo 3sPOSS pants
   'He unfastened his pants.'

As an auxiliary, holik means the action of an active verb is done momentarily or briefly.

(224) Da suba holik.
   3s cross threshold momentarily
   'He's gone out for a bit.'

(225) Ba sohl-k fi naa holik.
   DUR wait-k LOC PROX momentarily
   'Wait here for a moment.'

12.4.22 Temporary heik

The root hei- indicates a momentary surge of energy that itself does not have lasting significance.

(226) em-hei-n 'wave'
   asu em-hei 'vicious dog'
   huma tan.hei-n 'temporary shelter/lean-to' [lit. 'house to plant(post).temporary']

As an auxiliary heik means to do something temporarily or briefly, overlapping with holik.

(227) Da suba heik.
   3s cross threshold temporary
   'He's gone out for a bit (e.g. to relieve himself).'

(228) Eptea heik fi naa.
   sit temporary LOC PROX
   'Sit here for a second.'

12.4.23 ledak 'thoughtlessly'

Ledak means to do something thoughtlessly, without thought toward the consequences, or in vain.

(229) Ringe prepə ii dili ledak.
   3s say thing DIST thoughtless
   'He said that without thinking about the consequences of what he said.'

(230) Bara seja ledak fahu dili.
   don't stab thoughtless pig DIST
   'Don't needlessly kill that pig.'

(231) Ringe bara foni lalə-n ledak.
   3s don't hide inside-GEN thoughtless
   'He shouldn't lightly keep things (wrongs) hidden.'
12.4.24 *penegak* 'ready for use, ready for the taking'

The non-active verb *nega* means that something is in a state that is ready for taking or use. The auxiliary *penegak* indicates that an action is done to make something ready for the taking or ready for use; it is easy to take or use with minimal effort.

(232) *Da puna hum.tapa penegak.*
3s do house.smoke easy
*He made a hunting lodge so that it would be ready for use.*

(233) *Ringe foki lyero penegak.*
li-ro
3s wrap thing-PL easy
*He wrapped up the things so they would be ready to take.*

12.4.25 Relative ordering of post-verbal auxiliaries

With few exceptions (e.g. *sepo haik*), the normal pattern is for only one post-verbal auxiliary occurs in a clause. It is the one which provides the comment most salient to the present discourse. There is some allowance, however, for stacking auxiliaries with clausal scope. Tags, functioning much like a separate proposition, always come last. Negation, indicating the polarity of the whole which may include other modals, follows all other auxiliaries. Many auxiliaries are semantically incompatible and cannot co-occur (such as continuative *hede* 'still' with perfective *haik* 'already'). On the other hand, some auxiliaries complement each other and can co-occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(OTHER AUXILIARIES)</th>
<th>(PERFECTIVES)</th>
<th>(NEGATIVES), (TAGS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sepo</em></td>
<td><em>haik</em></td>
<td><em>moo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>selek</em></td>
<td><em>moheke</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 28: Relative ordering of multiple auxiliaries

(234) *Geba-r iko sepo haik di hawa.*
person-pl go finish PRF DIST field
*Everybody has all gone out to their fields.*

(235) *Ringe kaa gehu-t sepo haik mohede, maa?*
3s eat taro-NOM finish PRF not.yet CONFIRM
*He hasn’t finished eating up all the taro yet, has he?*

(236) *Ringe kaa leuk haik moo.*
3s eat precede PRF NEG
*He had not eaten earlier.*

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22 Depending on semantic compatibility.
12.4.25.1 Object enclitics in relation to the scope of auxiliaries

When auxiliaries come within the nucleus of the clause, the plural pronominal object enclitic /-ro/ attaches to the auxiliaries before perfective haik.

(237) Ringe kaa sepo-r haik.
3s eat finish-PL PRF

'He's eaten them all up.'

The singular object enclitic /-h/ occurs before perfective haik, or attached to negative moo in the form mohe. The plural enclitic does not attach to negative moo.

(238) Ringe kaa sepu-h.
3s eat finish-it

'He finished eating it.'

(239) Ringe kaa mo.he.
3s eat NEG.it

[AUX in nucleus → -h]

'He didn't eat it.'

(240) Ringe kaa-h moo.
3s eat-NEG NEG

[-h → clausal AUX]

'He didn't eat it.'

(241) Ya te puna mo.he.
1s ABIL do NEG.it

'I don't know how to make it.'

'I can't do it.'

12.4.26 Grammaticisation of the post-verbal auxiliaries

From the discussion and examples above, it is clear that the origins of many auxiliaries are still traceable to main verbs. Furthermore, their flexible syntactic position in relation to their functional scope (scope of clause nucleus vs. scope of entire clause) indicates that their position following post-verbal arguments has most likely developed as a grammaticalisation from their position as modifiers within the clause nucleus.

12.5 Tags

There are several tags that can follow any post-verbal auxiliaries which might be present.

12.5.1 Confirmative tag maa 'isn't it?; didn't he?'

The confirmative tag maa is developed from the verb maa 'to be certainly and presently at a specified location'. As a tag, maa asks for confirmation of the assertion, rather than information.
(242) Da iko haik, maa?  
3s go PRF CONFIRM  
'He's already gone, hasn't he.'

(243) Sira toho gam la maa?  
3p descend ALL downstream sea CONFIRM  
'They went down to the coast, didn't they.'

12.5.2 Exasperative pe

The enclitic pe is an expletive particle that is always utterance final, and indicate the speaker's exasperation.

(244) "Moo, pe!
NEG EXASP  
'No!'

(245) "Iko, pe!
go EXASP  
'Go on (and get out of here before I ...)'

12.5.3 Certainty with resek 'really, truly'

The verb resek 'to be true' is often used as a tag with the sense of adding 'really, and what I'm saying is true'. It is also used as a conversational prompt 'yes, what you say is true, go on'.

(246) Da iko, resek.  
3s go true  
'He really went.'

(247) Da emata fatu, resek.  
ep-mata  
3s CAUS-die pig true  
'He really killed the pig.'

12.6 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds result from a variety of the constructions described earlier in this chapter. They yield a head of a verbal predicate which is internally complex. Compounding and lexicalisation were introduced in §5.4.3.3. Compounding is a productive process identifiable by the flexibility of the frame – one of the members of the compound may be productively replaced by other roots, and the resulting form is semantically recogniseable as the sum of its parts. Compounding is marked by the cliticisation of the non-final root(s) of the compound [§5.4.3.1], which iconically indicates not only tighter phonological cohesion, but
also tighter semantic cohesion than the same elements uncliticised. Compounds form a single stress group [§6.3].

In §11.5.2 it was noted that nominal compounds are formed as reductions of various kinds of NPs, both Noun + Noun NPs, and Noun + Modifier NPs. Tighter cohesion within the clause nucleus is likewise signalled through verbal compounding. Such compounding may involve the reduction of serial verbs, manner modifiers, incorporated arguments, reduplicated verbs, periphrastic causative, and verbal prepositions [§13.2.3]. Many compounds containing transitive verbs are conventionalised to the point that conventionalised objects are omitted and the compound behaves intrinsitively. Examples of various types of verbal compounds are given below.

(248) **Compounding of serial verbs** [§12.1.2.2]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.linga</td>
<td>go.look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.tou-k</td>
<td>go.see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.hama</td>
<td>go.search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.kaa</td>
<td>go.eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.kala-k</td>
<td>go.call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.rogo</td>
<td>go.enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.hapo</td>
<td>go.tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.rohi</td>
<td>go.stalk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.geke</td>
<td>go.(cuscus)call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.tane</td>
<td>go.plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spel.yaha-k</td>
<td>throw.get rid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor.dohi-k</td>
<td>talk.narrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fas.tela</td>
<td>cut.separate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(249) **Compounding with locative scope** [§12.3.1]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ol.manu-k</td>
<td>return.flow-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(250) **Compounding with manner modifiers** [§12.3.2]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.roho-k</td>
<td>go.slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hok.tata-k</td>
<td>flee.drop-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor.leda-k</td>
<td>talk.thoughtless-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fag.mata-k</td>
<td>throw.die-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat.sepo</td>
<td>die.finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emat.sepo</td>
<td>CAUS-die.finish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(251) **Compounding with incorporated arguments** [§12.3.4]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.kada-k</td>
<td>go.foot-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.speda-k</td>
<td>go.bicycle-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.supa-k</td>
<td>go.next day-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor.lale-k</td>
<td>talk.insides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag.lea-k</td>
<td>sleep.sun-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(253) **Criticalisation of reduplicated verbs** [§12.1.2.1; §12.3.3]
- mit.mite → black-black
- ik.iko → go.go
- soh.sohl-k → wait-wait-k
  - 'jet black'\(^{23}\)
  - 'go repeatedly'\(^{24}\)
  - 'keep waiting around'

(254) **Compounding with periphrastic causative** [§12.2.1.1]
- pun.gosa → do.good
- pun.dofo → do.straight
- pun.sama-k → do.different-k
- pun.mata-ːk → do.die-k
  - 'make well'
  - 'straighten (physically); make right (relationally)'
  - 'make distinct'
  - 'make s.t. ready, prepare s.t.'

(255) **Compounding with verbal prepositions** [§13.2.3]
- ol.tuha → return.accompany
- hek.tuha → flee.accompany
- rog.ute → enter.DATIVE
  - 'return with s.t. under one's control'
  - 'elope, abscond with'
  - 'burst in attacking s.o.'

\(^{23}\)This can be said of the colour of an object. English *pitch black* indicating extreme darkness is handled by an idiom *red-en tund wela em-rike-t* 'pitch black'.

\(^{24}\)This is sometimes reduced further to kiko.

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Chapter Thirteen

Prepositional (non-core argument) phrases

Non-core arguments in Buru are presented in the syntax of a clause as prepositional phrases, with the exception of some time words [Chapter §16]. The choice of preposition in combination with the semantics of the verb indicates the semantic role of oblique arguments. The structures and functions of these prepositional phrases are the topic of this chapter.

To begin, the general structure of the Buru prepositional phrase is examined briefly. Then a double strategy of presentation is used to explore the forms and functions of Buru prepositions and prepositional phrases. The various functions performed by individual prepositions are surveyed first (e.g. the many functions performed by the preposition tu). The second pass then surveys the various forms that may be used to perform a similar function (e.g. the many forms that can be used to indicate the role of benefactive). In this way an integrated view of the forms and functions of prepositional phrases is presented.

13.1 The structure of prepositional phrases

The basic structure of a Buru prepositional phrase [PP] is a preposition followed by a prepositional complement (prepositional object). The prepositional complement may be a simple or complex NP [Chapter §11], a free pronoun [Chapter §9], or a deictic with or without /-k/ [Chapter §10].

\[
\begin{array}{c}
P_i \\
\hline
\text{Preposition}_{\text{Head}} & \text{Complement}_{\text{Dependent}}
\end{array}
\]

Figure 29: Basic structure of a PP

The question of phrase head in relation to the structure of Preposition + Complement becomes interesting later in this chapter and again in Chapter §17. Nichols (1986:37) explores the notion of headedness in general, noting that,

The head is the word which governs, or is subcategorized for -- or otherwise determines the possibility of occurrence of -- the other word. It determines the category of the phrase.
In Buru, it is the preposition itself which governs and is subcategorised for, and determines the category of the PP. On these criteria the preposition is the head of the PP.

As will be seen from many of the examples below, the meaning of many prepositions is both broad and fluid. It is therefore the combination of the particular preposition with the semantics of the verb in the context of the discourse that gives a prepositional phrase its role interpretation in the clause, rather than just the preposition itself.

The prepositional complement may be a simple NP [§11.1], or a complex NP [§11.5], such as a Coordinate NP or an Alternative NP.

(1) Du iko gam sak Fakal. 3p go [ALL up [Fakal]_{PP}

(2) Du iko gam sak Fakal tu Wae Katin. 3p go [ALL up [Fakal with Wae Katin]_{PP} 'They are going up to Fakal and Wae Katin.'

(3) Du hese tu kau oko-n tu uka srahe-n. 3p wall [with [wood skin-GEN with bamboo split-GEN]_{PP} 'They nailed the house with [both] tree bark and split bamboo.'

(4) Da soho-k kuku tu todo pi kat.ana-n? 3s pare-k nail [with [machete or machete-child-GEN]_{PP} 'Did he trim his fingernails with a machete or a knife?'

13.2 Emic grid (range of etic functions covered by single form)

This section explores the range of functions performed by individual prepositions, grouped according to their structural or distributional type. I distinguish three types of prepositions: simple, complex, and verbal.

13.2.1 Simple prepositions

Simple prepositions are monomorphemic and occur either strictly as prepositions, or else occur in other distributional environments as well, such as as clause connectors or deixics. The simple prepositions are tu, ute, and the special case of the deixics used prenominally in the capacity of a locative preposition.

(5) Da taha kau tu gomi. 3s fell tree [with axe]_{PP} 'He felled the tree with an axe.'

(6) Da tuke-h ute ringe. 3s give-it [DAT 3s]_{PP} 'She gave it to him.'
13.2.1.1 *tu*

*Tu* is the most versatile relator in the Buru language. It relates oblique arguments to the predicate head in a variety of functions summarised below. It relates coordinate parts of complex phrases [§11.2.1]. And it relates clauses, sentences and paragraphs to each other in a variety of functions discussed in Chapter §20.

The range of functions of the prepositional *tu* are illustrated below within a fixed frame. For the convenience of consistency, interlinear glosses are always 'with', while the free translations carry a more dynamic English sense. *Tu* does not locate an argument in space or in motion, although, interestingly, it can be used to locate an argument in time.

(8) **Accompanying person** (comitative)
Da iko *tu* nak ama.
3s go with 3sPOSS father
*He went with his father.*

(9) Da iko *tu* ringe
3s go with 3:
*He went with him.*

(10) **Accompanying possession**
Da iko *tu* enhero.
3s go with spear
*He went with his spear.*

(11) Da iko *tu* fodo.
3s go with basket
*He went with his carrying basket.*

(12) **Instrument/container**
Da iko *tu* kada-n.
3s go with :sg-GEN
*He went by foot.*

(13) Da iko *tu* waga.
3s go with boat
*He went by boat.*

(14) **Manner**
Da iko *tu* friken.
3s go with speed
*He went with speed (i.e. quickly).*

(15) Da iko *tu* em-taku-t.
3s go with STAT-fear-NOM
*He went with fear (i.e. fearfully).*
(16) **Time**
Da iko tu beto.
3s go with night
'He went by night.'

(17) **Concerning, about**
Ka ni dohi-k la kae tu kam nam nate-n.
1pe narrate-k DAT 2s with 1pe 1peFOSS place-GEN
'We are telling you about our territory.'

(18) **Concerning, about**
Leuk fi dl kam fuka en-dohi-n tu Fakale, ...
precede.LOC DIST 1pe open ABS-narrate-GEN with Fakal
'Before we open our narration about (the history of the village of) Fakal, ...'

(20) **Concerning, about**
Du pe-bahi-n tu ngaa-t, pe-bahi-n tu
3p RECIP-argue-DETR with name-NOM RECIP-argue-DETR with
hum.loli-n fen sane haa-t, eta feda-k en-mata.
inside.circle-GEN say who big-NOM until rise-k ABS-die
'They argued over positions, they argued over subclans about who was most important, until it resulted in (all these) deaths.'

(21) **Material used**
Da hese tu uka.
3s wall with bamboo
'He walled it with bamboo.'

(22) **Material used**
Noba-r tu fete-n.
mix-PL with millet-GEN
'They (cuscus meat and pig fat) were mixed with millet.'

(23) **Material used**
Geba emsian-emsian tu saltanut-o utun rua po.lima.
person one-one with cuscus bridge-PL hundred two ten.five
'Each person had 250 cuscus bridges.'

(24) **Material used**
Geba emsian tu uka kase-n rua-rua.
person one with bamboo section-GEN two two
'A person had two sections of bamboo each.'

(25) **Role of figure under dative raising**
Da tuke-k ringe tu pala.
3s give-k 3s with rice
'She gave him rice.'

While the functions of tu as a preposition certainly encompass traditional notions of *comitative* and *instrumental*, they are much broader than that. For a rounded picture of the
functions of tu, additional non-PP functions are illustrated briefly below, relating parts of phrases and clauses.

(26) **Coordination**
Du ego papai omo-n tu fua-n tu luke-n tube-n.
3p get papaya [AM] leaf-GEN with fruit-GEN with tip-GEN tender-GEN
'They got the papaya leaves and fruit and new leaves.'

(27) **Tu** kam hal, tu kam seka-h pao lopi-n.
with 1pe follow with 1pe pierce-it down bed-GEN
'And we followed, and we stabbed it down in the (stream)bed.'

(28) **Reason**
Da iko, tu ringe.
3s go with 3s
'He went, because of him (i.e. what he had done).'

(29) **Ma iko rabo, tu lea pao halk.**
1p go hurry [AM] with sun down PRF
'Let's go quickly, because the sun is already going down.'

13.2.1.2 **ute**

The preposition ute indicates something is done toward an intended goal or for an intended purpose or result. As such it has both derivative 'to' and benefactive 'for' usages. The focus is more on the goal than on the process or route taken to get to the goal.

(30) **Derivative** (toward a goal: person/location)
Ya katu-k surat ute kae.
1s send-k letter[Mly] DAT 2s
'I sent the letter to you.'

(31) **Da saki ute nak geba-ro.**
3s return DAT 3sPOSSperson-PL
'He returned to his people.'

(32) **Wala prepa ute Gofot fene, "..."**
monitorsay DAT turtle say
'The Monitor Lizard said to the Land Turtle that, "..."'

(33) **Bila lea, tonal oli ute nun ele-t-o.**
near sun cuscus return DAT 3pPOSS place-NOM-PL
'Near dawn, the cuscus return to their (own) territories.'

(34) **Towards an intended purpose, use or result**
Kami wada ring nak fatu-ro ute fandasi.
1pe shoulder carry 3s 3sPOSS rock-PL DAT foundation [Du]
'We carried stones for his (house) foundation.'

(35) **Du toho tu bura-t fun dedu-k ute kami.**
3p descend with smack-NOM betelnut again-k DAT 1pe
'They came a second time with betelnut fixings to/for us.'
(36) Da oli tu mahu-n
3s return with medicine-GEN
ute geba em-pel di fena diksa-t dii.
DAT person STAT-hurt DIST village different-NOM DIST

'He returned with the medicine for that sick person in the other village.'

(37) Du sihi-k mehe-t pol.pito haik ute bijangan.
3p off.limits-k tight-NOM ten.seven PRF DAT deer [loan]
'They had already made seventy grassy areas off-limits for (the purpose of) deer (coming to and multiplying in those areas to be culled later in group hunts).'

(38) Kami hapu une-t ute tonal,
lpe tie cucus snare DAT cucus
tu kam puna fea-n ute fafu.
with lpe do noise trap-GEN DAT pig

'We tie snares for cucus, and we make noise-generating traps for pig.'

By itself, ute is always replaceable with the deictic la [below §13.2.1.3.1]. However, it can also co-occur with la in la ute. When the two co-occur it suggests the action was for an indirect or eventual purpose. The purpose suggests this la may be the irrealsis la [§12.2.2.4].

(39) Da duwe-h ute ringe.
3s give-it DAT 3s
'She, gave it to him.'

(40) Da duwe-h la ringe.
3s give-it DAT 3s
'She, gave it to him.'

(41) Da duwe-h la ute ringe.
3s give-it IRR DAT 3s
'She, gave it (indirectly) to him.'

(42) Da puna-h ute ringe.
3s do-it DAT/BEN 3s
'She, did it for/to him.'

(43) Da puna-h la ringe.
3s do-it DAT/BEN 3s
'She, did it for/to him.'

(44) Da puna-h la ute ringe.
3s do-it IRR DAT/BEN 3s
'She, did it (indirectly) for/to him.'

(45) Hartsa dii la ute nun huma lale-n.
bridewealth [AM] DIST IRR DAT 3pPOSS house inside-GEN
'That bridewealth is (indirectly) for (the benefit of) their (own) family.'
People who have been educated through several years of Indonesian schooling and have consequently developed a sense of written language being different from spoken language prefer to use ute in written Buru, rather than la. In spoken language, la is far more prevalent.

### 13.2.1.3 Deictics

The use of deictics functioning as prepositions was introduced in §10.2.3. Additional discussion and examples are presented here. Deictics functioning pre-nominally as prepositions set an argument in space or time. Locative PPs in Buru indicate location or direction (covering functions paralleling the English to, from, at, in, on, under, over, and so forth). In these PPs the cliticised form of the relevant deictic functions as the preposition, followed by the locatable noun. Allative 'to, toward' or non-allative 'at, from' senses can be further distinguished with the addition of complex prepositions gam and fi modifying the deictic [see below §13.2.2]. In the capacity of a simple preposition, however, the interpretation of the deictic as stationary location 'at', allative motion directed toward goal 'to', or motion directed from a source 'from' depends on the semantics of the verb or on the context.

(47) Du keha sak fuka.  
3p ascend up mountain  
'They went (up) into the mountains.'

(48) Du defo sak fuka.  
3p stay up mountain  
'They live (up) in the mountains.'

(49) Du suba sak fuka.  
3p cross threshold up mountain  
'They left the mountains.'  
'They arrived in the mountains.'

(50) Da egu-h di ringe.  
3s transfer control-it DIST 3s  
'He took it to him.'  
'He got it from him.'  
'He got it at his place.'

In §10.2.1 it was shown that deictics follow the noun within a noun phrase to indicate definiteness, to specify spatial or temporal orientation, and function as restrictive modifiers indicating the definite referent is considered to be anaphorically retrievable or uncontroversially known. In §10.2.3 I demonstrated that these same deictics function pre-
nominally as non-restrictive modifiers in the capacity of prepositions, relating non-core arguments to the predicate head. This restrictive (post-nominal) versus non-restrictive (cliticised pre-nominal) distinction is only relevant for non-core arguments. And it is only non-core arguments that take prepositions. Thus, in the distributional paradigms of the Buru language, pre-nominal deictics parallel prepositions.

When deictics are used prepositionally in Buru, they retain their normal lexical orientation in relation to the NP complement of the PP. That is, they continue to specify definiteness and specific spatial or temporal orientation. Thus, in Buru, deictics used as prepositions of locative PPs also modify the head of a noun phrase. In doing so they are an exception to common notions about functors merely relating things at a grammatical level.¹

(51) Da iko di huma.  
 3s go DIST house  
'He went (there) to the house.'

(52) Da iko na huma.  
3s go PROX house  
'He came (here) to the house.'

(53) Da iko sak huma.  
3s go up house  
'He went (up) to the house.'

(54) Da iko pa huma.  
3s go down house  
'He went (down) to the house.'

(55) Da iko da huma.  
3s go upstream house  
'He went (upstream) to the house.'

(56) Da iko la huma.  
3s go downstream house  
'He went (downstream) to the house.'

(57) Da iko ak huma.  
3s go across house  
'He went (over) to the house.'

(58) Saa tola la Lisela, saa tola na Masarete.  
one roll downstream Lisela one roll PROX Masarete  
'One [fruit] rolled (away) to Lisela, and one rolled (here) to Masarete.'

¹A common notion of functors such as prepositions is that they do not carry lexical content delimiting the NP itself, other than to relate the NP grammatically to something else, or to specify the grammatical role of an argument. For example, Peck (1984:104) says, "The essential characteristic of a preposition is that it does not modify the noun of a noun phrase; it does not limit or expand the meaning of the noun phrase; it only relates the noun phrase to its surrounding structure."
13.2.1.3.1 la

The use of the deictic la as a preposition warrants further discussion. It is distinguished from the irrealis modal la on functional and distributional grounds [compare with §12.2.2]. In the chapter on deictics [§10.1] it was observed that synchronically the notion of la(we) as 'downstream' is secondary to the idea of la(we) as 'energy directed away from an emic centre'. Thus, it is not surprising that in addition to la used as a locative preposition, it has also developed dative 'to s.o., toward s.o.' and benefactive 'for s.o., for the benefit of s.o.' uses, indicating energy directed from the Actor toward a goal.

(59) Locative
Oli dena la kam nam waga, kam sai. return arrive downstream lpe lpePOSS boat lpe row
'Upon returning and arriving at our boat, we (began) paddling.'

(60) Ringe defo la Wae Kati-n. 3s stay downstream water mat-GEN
'He lived in Wae Katin.'

(61) Dative
Ya stoi la Jepang, fen, "..." 1s speak DAT Japanese say
'I said to the Japanese (soldier) that, "..."'

(62) Ya tuke matan la ringe. 1s give money DAT 3s
'I gave money to him.'

(63) Ya katu-k surat la kae. 1s send-k letter[Mly] DAT 2s
'I sent the letter to you.'

(64) Nang ama prepa-k la yako, "Ma iko la yak toke 1sPOSS father say-1 DAT 1s go IRR 1s show
wae gaksi-t rasi-n dii la kae." water bubble-NOM poison-GN DIST DAT 2s
'My father said to me, 'Let's go so I can show that poisoned bubbling water to you.'

(65) Benefactive
Da puna-h la yako. 3s do-it BFN 1s
'He did it for me.'

(66) Ya puna kadera naa la nang ina. 1s do chair[Port] PROX BEN 1sPOSS mother
'I'm making this chair for my mother.'
(67) Conflated dative/benefactive
EfNASA la ringe moo.
en-fasa
ABS-cut DAT/BEN 3s NEG
'The decision wasn't in his favour.' (Lit. 'not to offer him')

(68) Tu nak matan dii, dua puluh lima ribu la ana-fina
CONJ 3sPOSS money DIST 25,000 [Mly] DAT/BEN child-female
nak geba em-tua-t, tu p-roi la fena.
3sPOSS person STAT-respect-NOM Conj CAUS-small DAT/BEN village

'And of that money, 25,000 (Rupiah) is for the girl's parents, and some is for the village (leaders).'

The development of some low frequency uses of la is more obscure.

(69) Fena Fakal edemen la Masbait.
village Fakal many DAT/BEN Masbait
In the village of Fakal, most (of the people are affiliated) with the Masbait (kin group).'

In the above example, the preposition la seems to have the sense of 'consists of'. However, the context is talking about kin group affiliation, and about people belonging to the Masbait kin group. Thus, the above example is using la in a dative/benefactive sense.

13.2.2 Dependent prepositions

The dependent prepositions fi 'at, from' and gam '1) to, toward, 2) like' are obligatorily followed by a deictic [Chapter §10]. The complement of these prepositions may be just the full deictic. Or, if the prepositional complement is other than a deictic, these two prepositions subcategorise the cliticised form of the deictic to form a complex preposition. [Note in the examples below that ego is directionless, meaning simply 'transfer control'.]

(70) Da equ-h fi lawe.
3s get-it LOC downstream
'He got it from far away.'

(71) Da equ-h gam lawe.
3s get-it ALL downstream
'He took it far away.'

(72) Da equ-h fula fuk.Abun.
3s get-it LOC downstream island.Ambon
'He got it from Ambon.'
'He got it in Ambon.'

(73) Da equ-h gam la fuk.Abun.
3s get-it ALL downstream island.Ambon
'He took it to Ambon.'
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It is important to note, however, that it is the dependent prepositions fi and gam which are the optional modifiers on the deictics as prepositions, rather than the other way around.

(74) Da egu-n in fuk.Abon. [absence of fi]
3s get-it downstream island.Ambon
'He got it from Ambon.'
'He got it in Ambon.'
'He took it to Ambon.'

13.2.2.1 fi

Fi is a general locative preposition which has extended temporal usages. Its interpretation as 'at', 'to', or 'from' is dependent on the semantics of the verb complex and the proposition as a whole.

(75) Da defo fi lawe.
3s stay LOC seaward
'He lives far away.'

(76) Da lue fi lawe.
3s go LOC seaward
'He went far away.'

(77) Da kadu-k fi lawe.
3s come-k LOC seaward
'He came from far away.'

Fi probably derives from a conflation of the archaic verbs filim) 'be from a source' and fikin(g) 'be at a location'. The cliticised allomorph fil (from filim) occurs before deictics di(l) 'distal' and da(e) 'upstream", always with the sense of 'from a source'. The cliticised allomorph fi' (from fikin(g)) occasionally occurs before the deictic na(a) 'proximal' with the sense 'at'.

(78) filim / fil 'from'
Epkilki lea tau-n dir, filim sup.supa-n eta beto.
dance sun full-GEN DIST source R"D,next day-GEN until night
'(They) danced all day, from early in the morning until night.'

(79) Waha-n kita nasa perkara filim duwe-duwe.
evidence-GEN 1pi 1piPOSS litigation [Mly] source RED-before
'Because our court dispute is from long ago.'

(80) Geba di sale kepeng bako fil.dii Mina bako.
person DIST receive money [AM] PRF source.DIST Mina PRF
'Ver had already received money from, bako.'

(81) fikin(g / fi) 'at'
Petu Mina di prepa ute Emhalat dii, "He, he!
SEQ monkey DIST say DAT crocodile DIST ha na
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Da sanga kau lahi-n, elek yako kada-ng fiking naal"2
3s bite wood base-GEN except 1s leg-1sGEN locate PROX

"Then the Monkey said to the Crocodile, "Ha, ha! He bit a tree, whereas my foot is right here!"

(82) Da wari-k fi' naa.
3s place-k locate PROX
'He put it here.'

Given the functions of fílim 'from' and fiking 'at', the best characterisation is to say that fi with propositions that imply motion toward a goal indicates 'to be at', rather than 'to, toward', the latter function carried by allative gam [§13.2.2.2].

(83) Da jiko fi lawe.
3s go LOC seaward
'He went [to be] far away.'

(84) Da jiko quñ lawe.
3s go ALL seaward
'He went far away.'

This characterisation leaves us with a binary modification disambiguating deictics as prepositions or as locative arguments. Allative gam indicates '(motion) to, toward', while non-allative fi indicates 'at, from'.

The preposition fi must be followed immediately by a full deictic (with or without -k), or by a cliticised deictic followed by a NP or pronoun. It is ungrammatical for fi to be followed directly by a non-deictic locatable noun.

(85) *[Da jiko fi Labuan.]
3s go LOC Labuan
*[He went from Labuan.]

(86) Da jiko fi sak Rana.
3s go LOC up lake
'He went from Rana. / He left Rana.'

(87) Da jiko fi saka.
3s go LOC up
'He went from (up) there. / He left there.'

(88) Da toho fi pa Leksula.
3s descend LOC down Leksula
'She went from (down the coast at) Leksula.'

2This is the only occurrence of fiking in my entire data corpus, and it is in a fable that has foreign elements (there are no monkeys on Buru, except in folklore). Phonotactically, of course, the final ng is anomalous to the language as a whole, unless it is a 1s pronominal marker, or, more likely, a ligature -ng reduced from the modifying deicticanga > ang > ng 'immediate' [cf. §10.1].
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(89) Da tol:ça fi pao.
3s descend LOC down
'She went down from down there.'

(90) Da kadu-k fi di sira.
3s come-k LOC DIST 3p
'He came from them.'

Where the semantics of the verb do not involve motion, the use of fi as a preposition merely indicates location 'at'. If the speaker sees no need to contrast non-allative with allative interpretations, fi (or gam) are not present.

(91) Da eptea fi saka.
3s sit LOC up
'She is sitting/staying up there.'

(92) Da eptea saka.
3s sit up
'She is sitting/staying up there.'

(93) Da eptea fi saka Fakal.
3s sit LOC up Fakal
'She is staying up in Fakal.'

The general complex preposition fi di3 has additional, but related functions. It can indicate a SPECIFIC - fi di - GENERIC relation. This sense can include 1) the composition of something in the general sense of 'from among the things that are covered by the generic term X', 2) the membership of something 'from among a group of things', or 3) the levels in a hierarchy.

(94) Sira pahu-k iiero fi di bia, fi di tepu-t
hii-ro
3p escort thing-PL LOC DIST sago LOC DIST chicken-NOM
lusu-lusum, fi di lisi-ro, hansiak.
RED-dozen [Mly] LOC Dist meat-PL all
'The things that they brought consisted of sago, dozens of chickens, (dried) meat, all (sorts of things).' (95) Fi di uta-n, fi di peta fi di lai-ro,
LOC DIST vegetable-GEN LOC DIST loc LOC DIST meat-PL
fi di sapun-sapun, ri ge ngoto-ik edemen baa
LOC DIST RED-what 3s put-k much only
pa nak ana-t,
down 3sPOSSchild-NOM

3Although they function as a complex unit, I write them separately to distinguish them from the root fi; to fan, strum', and to reinforce the replaceability of the second part (with other delities) [see Chapter §6].
'Whether it consisted of vegetable (dishes), or consisted of rice (dishes), or consisted of meat (dishes), or consisted of whatever kinds (of food), she would put a generous amount down only on her (own) daughter's (plate).'

(96) Petu nak opo pali nak tope saa
SEQ 3sPSS grandparent weave 3sPSS hat [Mly] one
fi di kati-n wala-n.
LOC DIST pandanus-GEN strip-GEN

'And his grandmother wove him a hat from strips of pandanus.'

(97) Da enika ana-fina saa fi di nuval pi WaLusu.
3s ask child-female one LOC DIST (clan) cr (clan)

'He proposed to a girl from among the Muals or the WaLusus.'

(98) Supa-n dii, kaka-wai-t em-pili-t fi di WaLusu, next day-GEN DIST elder-younger-NOMSTAT-choose-NOMLOC DIST (clan)
tu Mual, tu Masbait, du iko pa du hama ana-t rua dii.
with (clan) with (clan) 3p go REAL 3p search child-NOM two DIST

'The next day, chosen relatives from among the WaLusus, and the Muals, and the Masbait, they went and searched for those two young men.'

(99) Ringe geba haa-t fi di sira.
3s person big-NOM LOC DIST 3p

'He was the most important person among them.'

(100) Toho fi di fafu, tonal.
descend LOC DIST pig cuscus

Toho fi di tonal, yoho.
descend LOC DIST cuscus civet cat

'Coming down (the hierarchy of hunting importance) from pig, (we like to hunt) cuscus. Coming down (the hierarchy of importance) from cuscus, (we like to hunt) civet cat.'

Fi di can also indicate 'about, concerning'.

(101) Yako la a dohi ro-roin fi di geba boti-t
1s IRR 1s narrate RED-small LOC DIST person white-NOM
na kadu-k na Rana.
PROX come-k PROX lake

'I want to tell a bit about this white man coming here to Rana.'

(102) Geba na toke fi di pakeang.
person PROX show LOC DIST clothes [AM]
'This (human-like) being (that I am talking about) taught (us) about clothing.'

As is frequently observed in the languages of the world, the function of the locative (here fi) is occasionally extended to include a type of possessive relationship 'belonging to'.
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(103) Geba em-tua-t tu kaka-wai-t fi di ana-t
person STAT-respect-NOM with elder-younger-NOMLOC DIST child-NOM
rua dii, du o! gam pa masi,
two DIST 3p return ALL down sea
du daka lale-n tu nun ana-t rua dii.
3p grieve inside-GEN with 3pPOSS child-NOM two DIST

'The elders and relatives of those two young men, they went back down to the coast, (and) they grieved over their two young men.'

(104) Da puna perjuangan fi di ringe.
3s do struggle [Mly] LOC DIST 3s

'That was the struggle (toward independence) belonging to him.'

The variety of functions creates occasional ambiguities which depend on context for correct interpretation.

(105) Ya caan en-dohi-n fi di ringe.
1s hear ABS-narrate-GEN LOC DIST 3s

'I heard the story from him.'
'I heard the story about him.'

13.2.2.2 gam

The preposition gam(a) indicates an allative 'motion to, toward' a goal. However, it is locative, not dative. When it is used where one would expect a dative, it highlights the motion or direction of the exchange.

(106) Ya tuke-h la ringe.
1s give-it DAT 3s

'I gave it to her.'

(107) Ya tuke-h gam di ringe.
1s give-it ALL DIST 3s

'I gave it to her (in her direction).'

The structural combinations of allative gam 'to, toward' parallel those of non-allative fi 'at, from'. The preposition gam must be followed immediately by a full deictic (with or without -k), or by a cliticised deictic followed by a NP or pronoun. It is ungrammatical for gam to be followed directly by a non-deictic locatable noun.

(108) *[Da iko gam Labuan.]
3s go ALL Labuan

*[He went to Labuan.]

(109) Da iko gam sak Rana.
3s go ALL up lake

'He went (up) Rana.'
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(110) Da iko *gam* saka.
3s go ALL up
'He went [to] (up) there.'

(111) Da toho *gam* pa Leksula.
3s descend ALL down Leksula
'She went down to Leksula.'

(112) Da toho *gam* pao.
3s descend ALL down
'She went down to down there.'

(113) Da kadu-k *gam* di sira.
3s come-k ALL DIST 3p
'He came to them.'

The dependent prepositions fi and *gam* often make explicit distinctions about motion.

(114) Ya iko fi naa *gam* aki mua. A dena aki.
1s go LOC PROX ALL across jungle 1s arrive across
'I left (from) here going through the jungle. I arrived on the other side.'

If a speaker sees no need to contrast non-allative with allative interpretations, *gam* may be dropped altogether.

(115) Da iko *gam* saka.
3s go ALL up
'She went up to there.'

(116) Da iko saka.
3s go up
'She went up there.'

(117) Da iko *gam* sak Fakal.
3s go ALL up Fakal
'She went up to Fakal.'

(118) Da iko sak Fakal.
3s go up Fakal
'She went up to Fakal.'

The general complex prepositions *gam di* and *gam na* have additional functions. They have a *similitative* function 'like that, like this' with the structure X *gam di* Y 'x is like y', with Y being the grounds for comparison.

(119) Sira puna huma *gam di* asrama.
3p do house SIM DIST dormitory [Mly]
'They built a house like a dormitory.'

(120) Ana-t rua nna, *laga-n-o* *gam* na ya nang ana-t-o.
child-NGA two PROX character-GEN-PL SIM PROX 1sPOSS child-NOM-PL
'These two children here, their appearance is like my children.'
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(121) Lie-n gam na geba, bu geba moo, tu kau.
sound-GEN SIM PROX person but person NEG with tree
'It's sound is like a person's, but it is not a person, but a tree.'

(122) Yako lsha gam naa, ama-n.
1s request SIM PROX father-GEN
'My request is like this, father.'

(123) Da puna-h gam dili.
3s do-it SIM DIST
'He did it like that.'
[ambiguous 'like object X' or 'in X manner']

(124) Nak suka gam di moo.
3sPOSS like SIM DIST NEG
'She doesn't like it like that.'

(125) Fene, "Gam dili, do, kita rua kaweng."
say SIM DIST PAUSE 1pi two marry [Arab]
'(She) said, "If that is the case [lit. like that], then the two of us should get married.'

The northern Rana dialect distinguishes non-allative fi 'at, from' from allative fa' 'to, toward' (the latter replacing gam). The Lisela dialect conflates the functions of both fi and gam to fa.

13.2.3 Verbal prepositions

Verbal prepositions are those that are found as both main verbs and are used prepositionally in different distributional environments. These are still very much in the process of being grammaticised into prepositions through core and nuclear layer serialisation [see Chapters §20 and §12.1.2.2].

(126) Da ngei-k nak kata ute ringe.
3s direct-k 3sPOSS pants DAT 3s
'He gave (directed) his pants to him.'

(127) Da tuke nak kata ngei ringe.
3s give 3sPOSS pants DAT 3s
'He gave his pants to him.'

13.2.3.1 ngei

As a main verb ngei can be glossed as 'intending to get s.t., be after s.t., pursuing an intention'. The direct object is the goal.

(128) Yako ha dili, ya ba ngei ka nam kasturi.
1s REL DIST 1s DUR goal 2s 2sPOSS parrot [AM]
'I am the one who was after (your) red parrot.'

4Fa derives historically from the PCEMP verb *ba 'go'.

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The applicative /-k/ turns ngei into a verb of exchange meaning ‘to give ownership or control of something to someone, to transfer s.t. over to s.o.’ The direct object is the figure\(^5\), the control of which is being transferred to someone else.

\(129\) Nak ama mata, da ngei-k nak fin.haa fehu-t 3sPOSS father die 3s goal-k 3sPOSS female.big new-NOM
ute nak ana-mhana.
DAT 3sPOSS child-male

‘When his father was dying, he transferred his younger wife over to his son.’

Whether it is being used as the second verb in nuclear serialisation or as a preposition is indeterminate when it directly follows another verb. Either way it has the sense of energy directed toward a goal. As a dative ‘to, toward’, or benefactive ‘for’, however, it has the sense of being less direct than ute [§13.7 1.2].

\(130\) Ring oli ngei nak ele-t. 3s return DAT 3sPOSS place-NOM
‘He returned toward his (own) territory.’

\(131\) A saki ngei nang roko-ro. 1s return DAT 1sPOSS companion-PL
‘I returned in the direction of my friends.’

\(132\) Kami ep-tofo ngei sira. 1pe CAUS-sorry DAT 3p
‘We took our leave of them.’ (Lit. ‘apologised to them’)

\(133\) Ana-t na haka beto-n nee, tem kim hai ngei-h. child-NOM PROX flee night-GEN six then 2p follow DAT-it
‘This girl had already run off for six days before you all followed after her.’

\(134\) A puna-h ngei sira. 1s do-it DAT/BEN 3p
‘I made it for them.’

Ngei does not occur followed by deictics. It does, however, co-occur with la in la ngei. The combination signals indirect purpose, indicating this la must be the irrealis la.

\(135\) Sira garu akal la ngei geba enaka rua naa. 3p connive deception [Arab] IRR DAT person steal two PROX
‘They cooked up a scheme (to trap) these two thieves.’

\(136\) Prepa la ngei sira fen, ‘...’ say IRR DAT 3p say
‘Say to them that, ‘...’’ (i.e. ‘get the message to them’)\(^5\)

\(^5\) ‘Figure’ is the object whose location is in question i.e. in motion. Foley & Van Valin (1984) use the term ‘theme’.
13.2.3.2 hai

As a main verb hai means 'follow'.

(137) Kami hai toh-Fakal. 1s follow descend-Fakal
'Ve went by (followed) the Fakal trail.'

(138) Yako ba hai em-ngesa=em-ngesa tu nang ama. 1s DUR follow RED=STAT-even with 1sPOSS father
'I was following along together with my father.'

Hai is also used metaphorically in the sense of 'imitate, be like, take after'.

(139) Ring hai nak ama. 3s follow 3sPOSS father
'He followed his father (on the trail),' 'He takes after his father (in his character/mannerisms),'

As a second verb in a serial construction, or as a preposition, hai has the sense of 'according to'.

(140) Petu kam kadu-k hai nak suka. SEQ 1pe come-3k follow 3sPOSS like
'So we came as was (according to) his desire.'

(141) Kori-sana-t fasaharta adat
girl's elders-guy's elders-NOM cut bridewealth [Mly] custom [Arab]
hai efناسa Latu-patti.
    en-fasa follow ABS-cut king-chief [AM]

'The wedding council decides the traditional portion of the bridewealth according to the decision of the Tribal Council.'

(142) Kami dohi hai en-dohi-n fi di geba 1p narrate follow ABS-narrate-GEN LOC DIST person
em-tua-t-o filim bato leuk STAT-respect-NOM-PL SOURCE night precede

'We are telling this story according to the story (handed down to us) from the elders of the days of yore.'

(143) Da puna-h hai Joni nake stori. 3s do-it follow Joni 3sPOSS talk
'He did it according to what Joni had said.'

13.2.3.3 eta

The verb eta means 'to become close to s.t., to near s.t., approach a goal'.
(144) Sira etn fena.
3p near village
'They neared the village.'

The applicative /-kl/ makes it an accomplishment verb [§7.2.2]. When the Undergoer is a person it has the conventionalised sense of 'know s.o., have met s.o.'

(145) Sira etn-k fena.
3p near-k village
'They reached the village.'

(146) Yako etn-k sira mohede, tong tu sira,
1s near-k 3p not yet also with 3p
bu du etn-k yako mohede.
but 3p near-k 1s not yet
'I don't know them yet, and as for them, they don't know me yet either.'

As a second verb in a serial construction, or as a preposition, eta has the sense of 'until (e.g. until reaching a location, until reaching a point in time, until a state is achieved, until an activity is accomplished').

(147) Da puna huma fi di lea keha etn lea tifu-n.
3s do house LOC DIST sun ascend until sun middle-GEN
'He worked on his house from dawn until noon.'

(148) Ma ep-rara kita di bana etn bani-t ba siro.
1p CAUS-bot 1pi DIST fire until sweat-NOM DUR (liquid)run
'We were getting hot from the fire until sweat was running down (us).' 

(149) Kami optea baa di mua etn fula-n telo.
1pe sit only DIST jungle until moon-GEN three
'We stayed there in the jungle for three months.' [i.e. until 3 months were up]

(150) Kami iko-iko etn dena di huma sas.
1pe RED-go until arrive DIST house one
'We kept on going until we arrived at a house.'

The prepositional verb eta 'until' is frequently repeated as an oratory device to indicate continuous duration of an action in the sense of 'do something on-and-on-and-on'. The greater the number of repetitions, the longer the length of time indicated by the speaker.

(151) Sira opkiki et-et-et-et-et-et-et-eta lea tau-n dii.
3p dance RED——— until sun full-GEN DIST
'They danced on-and-on-and-on all day long.'

(152) Sira heka et-et-et-et-et-eta dena di fen-ale.
3p flee RED——— until arrive DIST village.inside
'They ran on-and-on until they reached the village.'
Eta is also used as a conjunction to relate clauses [Chapter §20]. In that capacity it maintains its sense of 'until (e.g. until reaching a location, until reaching a point in time, until a state is achieved, until an activity is accomplished)', adding the sense of 'until a condition is fulfilled'. Thus, as a conjunction it is often glossed as a conditional 'when, if' in addition to 'until'. As such, it marks the clause as irreals.

(153) \textbf{Eta} \, fula \, naa-n, \, du \, ep-toma \, mohede.
until moon-GEN bright-GEN 3p CAUS-set not yet
'Until the moon is bright they don’t yet set their traps.'

(154) \textbf{Eta} \, du \, eru-k, \, petu \, du \, hulu-n.
until 3p accept-k SEQ 3p cheer-DETR
'When they have agreed, then they cheer.'

(155) \textbf{Eta} \, nete-n \, mansari \, di \, haa, ...
until place-GEN hunt [Skt] DIST big
'If the area for hunting is large, ...'

(156) \textbf{Eta} \, yako \, ek-fili-k-or \, la \, kimi, ...
until 1s CAUS.BE-buy-k-PL DAT 2p
'If I were to sell them to you, ...'

(157) \textbf{Eta} \, tonal \, moo, \, midu-n.
until cuscus NEG grub-GEN
'If (he doesn’t get) cuscus, (then he goes after) grubs.

13.2.3.4 \textbf{tuha}

There is a variant of \( \texttt{tu} \) [§13.2.1.1] in the form of \( \texttt{tuha} \) which has the effect of 1) transitivising a verb of locomotion, and 2) raising the degree of affectedness of an oblique argument or the degree of control of the Actor. Used with no explicit complement it implies a pronominal object as if it were /\texttt{tu-h}/ in its underlying form. Its distributional behaviour is best accounted for by considering it to be a verb \texttt{tuha} ‘accompany’ which functions in nuclear layer serialisation constructions [§12.1.2.2].

(158) \textbf{Da} \, \textbf{oli} \, \textbf{tu} \, \textbf{kau} \, \textbf{bana}.
3s return with wood fire
'She returned with firewood.'

(159) \textbf{Da} \, \textbf{oli} \, \textbf{tuha} \, \textbf{kau} \, \textbf{bana}.
3s return accompany wood fire
'She brought back firewood.'

(160) \textbf{Da} \, \textbf{oli} \, \textbf{tuha}.
3s return accompany
'She brought it back.'
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(161) Da pyolik kau bana.
ep-o-li-k
3s CAUS-return-k wood fire
'She returned the firewood (to s.o. or somewhere).'

(162) Da heka tu ana-fina.
3s flee with child-female
[oblique accompanying person]
'He fled with the girl (fleeing with him).'

(163) Da heka tuha ana-fina.
3s flee accompany child-female
'He ran-off with the girl.'
'He eloped with the girl.'
'He kidnapped the girl.'

(164) Da heka tuha.
3s flee accompany
'He ran off with her.'
'He absconded with it.'

(165) Du kaa bia tuha.
3p eat sago accompany
'They ate sago paste with it.'

(166) Da safe fi di yako, da kaweng tuha eta nak
3s buy LOC DIST 1s 3s marry [Arab] accompany until 3sPOSS
ana-mhana telo, da em-pei petu da mata.
child-male three 3s STAT-hurt SEQ 3s die

'He purchased her from me, he was married to her until he had three sons, he got sick then he died.'

Tuha participates in compounding.

(167) Sira hai, du kado-k la du ol tuha ringe.
3p follow 3p come-k IRR, 3p return.accompany 3s
'They followed, they came so that they could take her back.'

Tuha forms its own stress group, but it does not occur as an independent verb. This suggests it is at an intermediate stage of grammaticisation between verb and preposition.

Around the turn of this century various Dutch writers (e.g. Hendriks, Trap, Schut) wrote tuha rather than tu in texts, far more frequently than current usage in the villages in which they lived would warrant. It is unclear whether their use of tuha reflects actual usage at that time, or whether they were writing their concept of the underlying form. As their general practice in the language as a whole was to write underlying rather than surface forms, we are unable to gauge from their work the rapidity of the grammaticisation of tu as a preposition.
Speakers of the Lisela dialect tend to use the verbal *tuba* 'accompany' rather than the prepositional *tu* 'with' much more widely than do speakers of the Masarete dialect.

### 13.3 Etic grid (range of forms performing a common function)

This section surveys prepositions and oblique arguments from the perspective of function rather than form as was done in §13.2. This gives an integrated understanding of various devices that are often either interchangeable or give slightly divergent nuances of meaning. Only basic functions (i.e. those commonly discussed in the general literature) are recapitulated here, as minor usages were already covered above in §13.2. Because of the functional organisation of this section, some non-prepositional constructions not included above appear here for a unified understanding of similar functions.

#### 13.3.1 Locative arguments

There are both PP and non-PP locative arguments

##### 13.3.1.1 Locative PP arguments

Locative PPs indicating motion *from* a source, location *at* a place, or motion *toward* a goal all involve the use of deictics in the capacity of a preposition. With a cliticised deictic by itself ([§13.2.1.3]), the interpretation as 'from' 'at' or 'to' depends on the semantics of the verb and on the context of the proposition as a whole.

(168) *Du keha sak fuka.*
3p ascend up mountain
'They went (up) into the mountains.'

(169) *Du defa sak fuka.*
3p stay up mountain
'They live (up) in the mountains.'

(170) *Du suba sak fuka.*
3p cross threshold up mountain
'They left the mountains.'
'They arrived in the mountains.'

(171) *Da egu-h dih ringe.*
3s transfer control-it DIST 3s
*He1 got it to him.*
*He1 got it from him.*
*He1 got it at his place.*

Allative 'to' and non-allative 'at, from' senses can be distinguished by further modifying the deictics with the dependent prepositions *gam* and *fi* respectively [§13.2.2].
13.3.1.2 Non-PP locative arguments

A deictic in its full form may be used by itself as a pro-form of a locative argument to
the predicate.

(173) Da iko saka.
3s go up
'She went up there.'

(174) Du bage kwe.
3p sleep downstream
'They are sleeping down there.'

13.3.2 Temporal arguments

Something done at a point in time or during a span of time uses the simple preposition
tu [§13.2.1.1].

(175) Da iko tu moda-n.
3s go with wind-GEN
'He went in the late afternoon.'

(175) Tu dili, da puna huma.
with DIST 3s do house
'At that time, he made his house.'

Something done from a point in time or in relation to a different point in time uses the
complex preposition ti dili [§13.2.2.1].

(177) Da puna huma fi dili lea keha.
3s do house LOC DIST sun ascend
'He's been working on his house since the sun rose.'

(178) Leuk fi dili, da puna huma.
precede LOC DIST 3s do house
'Before that, he was making his house.'

(179) Sepo fi dili, da puna huma.
finish LOC DIST 3s do house
'Afier that, he made his house.'

Something done until a point in time uses the verbal preposition eta [§13.2.3.3].

(180) Da puna huma fi di lea keha eta lea tifu-n.
3s do house LOC DIST sun ascend until sun middle-GEN
'He worked on his house from dawn until noon.'
Temporal arguments are discussed in greater detail in Chapter §16.

13.3.3 Comitative

The comitative role of an accompanying person 'with' is marked with the simple preposition tu [§13.2.1.1].

(181) Da toho la masi tu nak daha.
3s descend downstream sea with 3sPOSS brother (woman speaking).
'She went down to the coast with her brother.'

13.3.4 Instrumental

An instrumental role 'with' is marked with tu [§13.2.1.1].

(182) Da taha kau tu gomi.
3s fell tree with axe [Port.]
'He felled the tree with an axe.'

13.3.5 Dative

A dative role indicating the recipient to which a figure is transferred can be indicated by using a variety of prepositions. The prototypical dative is the simple preposition ute [§13.2.1.2].

(183) Da tuke pala ute ringe.
3s give rice DAT 3s
'She gave rice to him.'

The deictic la has developed a dative function [§13.2.1.3.1].

(184) Da tuke pala la ringe.
3s give rice DAT 3s
'She gave rice to him.'

A dative that is less direct than ute uses the verbal preposition ngei [§13.2.3.1].

(185) Da tuke pala ngei ringe.
3s give rice DAT 3s
'She gave rice toward him.'

A dative-like function that focuses more on the route of the exchange than the goal uses the complex preposition gam di [§13.2.2.2].

(186) Da tuke pala gam di ringe.
3s give rice ALL DIST 3s
'She gave rice toward him.'
Repackaging the semantics of verbs of exchange through dative raising is done by moving the recipient in as a core argument, marking the semantic repackaging with applicative /-k/ [§7.3.1], and marking the figure as an oblique argument with the preposition tu [§13.2.1.1].

(187) Da tuke-k irige tu pala.
3s give-k 3s with rice
'She gave him rice.'

13.3.6 Benefactive

The benefactive role of doing something for somebody's benefit to a large part is conflated with the mechanisms used for the dative function [§13.3.5]. The simple preposition ute is used [§13.2.1.2].

(188) Da oli tu mahu-n
3s return COM medicine-GEN
ute geba em-pei di fena dika-t dii.
DAT person STAT-hurt DIST village different-NOM DIST

'He returned with the medicine for that sick person in the other village.'

The cliticised deictic la has developed a benefactive sense [§13.2.1.3.1].

(189) Ya puna kadera naa la nang ina.
1s do chair [Port] PROX BEN 1sPOSS mother
'I'm making this chair for my mother.'

The verbal preposition ngei [§13.2.3.1] can be used benefactively, but implies less direct benefit for the recipient than does ute.

(190) A puna-h ngei sira.
1s do-it DAT 3p
'I made it for them.'

The possessive construction [§14.1] may also be used benefactively. Its use implies that the speaker feels that the recipient is getting something that rightfully ought to belong to the recipient.

(191) Ego nang paawe saa.
get 1sPOSS mango one
'Get a mango for me. / Get me a mango.'

Structurally parallel to dative raising [§13.3.5], the simple preposition tu can be used to indicate the figure role of a dative/benefactive.
(192) Yako tu saa.
1s with one
'(Get) one for me.'

13.3.7 Manner

A predicate can be modified for manner adverbially ([§12.3.2 & §12.4]. It can also be modified with a manner PP argument using the simple preposition tu [§13.2.1.1]. In this structure, the complement of the PP must be nominalised.

(193) Da iko em-taku-k.
3s go STAT-fear-k
'He went fearfully.' [manner modifier in nuclear layer]

(194) Da iko tu em-taku-t.
3s go with STAT-fear-NOM
'He went with fear.' [manner PP argument]

13.3.8 Figure/theme

When a figure, that is, the argument whose location or status is in question or in motion, needs to be coded as an oblique argument, it uses the simple preposition tu [§13.2.1.1].

(195) Da tuke-k ringe tu pala.
3s give-k 3s with rice
'She gave him rice.' (i.e. 'presented him with rice')

(196) Yako tu saa.
1s with one
'(Get) one for me.'

13.3.9 Similitude

A relationship expressing similarity between arguments 'X is like Y' or 'X is similar to Y' uses the complex preposition gam [§13.2.2.2] or the verb hai [§13.2.3.2]. In both cases the grounds for comparison is the second argument. These constructions are used to express similarity between both NPs and whole propositions. The deictic may be used as a full demonstrative pronoun.

(197) Ringe hai nak ama.
3s follow 3sP:SS father
'He followed his father (on the trail).'
'He takes after his father (in his character/mannerisms).'

(198) Ringe gam di nak ama.
3s SIM DIST 3sPOSS father
'He is like his father.'
Prepositional Phrases

(199) Da puna gam naa. geba.
3s do SIM PROX ps.on
'He did it like this, man.'

13.4 Incorporation

Oblique arguments can be incorporated into the nuclear layer of the clause [§12.3.4]. This is accomplished by deleting the preposition and adding /-k/ to the end of the argument. This has the effect of making the incorporated argument behave as an adverb of manner. The incorporated argument may be given tighter cohesion in the clause nucleus through compounding.

(200) Du iko tu kada-n.
3p go with leg-GEN
'They went by foot.'

(201) Du iko kada-k.
3p go leg-k
'They foot-went.'

(202) Du ik,kada-k.
3p go.leg-k
'They walked.'

(203) Da renge tu olo-n.
3s strapcarry with head-GEN
'She (using a tumpline) carried it with her head.'

(204) Sira ren,g,olo-k geba em-pel dii.
3p carry.head-k person STAT-hurt DIST
'They carried that sick person.'
[Using a cloth as a strap around the forehead to carry the person on their back, taking turns.]

What superficially appears to be incorporation of arguments through compounding is best seen as a serial compounding of former verbs.

(205) ol.tuha rog.ute ham.eta
return.accompanied by enter.active search.until
'bring s.t. back'
'bust in pursuit of s.o.'
'earnestly seeking after s.t.'
Chapter Fourteen

The possessive and genitive constructions

This chapter describes two constructions that are functionally related, but structurally quite different. These two constructions I call the possessive construction which has a possessive word inflected for person and number, and the genitive construction which uses genitive enclitics on the head noun of the construction. Although the genitive construction was introduced briefly in §9.3.4 where the anaphoric deltic function of the genitive enclitics was noted, and in §11.3 associating the genitive construction with other types of NPs, it is discussed in detail here. Following the presentation of these two basic constructions mentioned above is a brief survey of some other low frequency constructions encountered in texts which also indicate semantic relationships generally included under the term 'possession'.

Both the possessive construction and the genitive construction are used in Buru to indicate relationships between real world referents as well as conceptual referents. These include:

a) Relationship of individuals to objects: This relationship can be established as a result of objects having been traded, purchased, or given to someone (e.g. clothes, animals, soap, tape recorder); borrowed (e.g. spear); inherited (e.g. gongs, heirloom weapons); obtained through hunting (e.g. meat, fish, live animals); obtained through gardening and planting (e.g. tubers, vegetables, trees planted in the jungle or near a field); obtained through collecting in the jungle (e.g. bird’s eggs, wild food, grubs, firewood, bamboo, vines); produced by making something (e.g. baskets, houses, tools). This last category also includes things produced by animals, such as nests.

b) Relationship of individuals to land: Relationship of an individual to a large area of land is established by kin group affiliation. A relationship to a more specific plot of land can be established for making a field or for hunting by asking permission of the geba neta-n tobe-n 'master of the place'. Animals also have territorial relationships, and are associated with the place they occupy.

\[\text{In the jungle, such 'ownership' can be marked on trees and rooting logs and the left, thus indicating that someone has prior claim to the item and dire consequences will befall whoever takes it.}\]
c) **Relationship of individuals to other individuals**: This includes kinship relations of both alive and dead relatives (e.g. my father, my mother), as well as with the mythical kin group founder. Social relations other than kin relations (e.g. his companion) are included here.\(^2\) Certain kin relations, such as mother/child, are also used to describe relations between animals.

d) **Relationship of parts to the whole**: This includes human and animal body parts (e.g. my head, my liver); parts of objects (e.g. basket's handle, door of a house); parts of plants (e.g. roots, leaves); and parts of events (e.g. beginning, end).

e) **Relationship to emotions and experiences**: This includes emotions such as value or desire (e.g. his liking); experiences (e.g. our hardship, his sickness); and feelings expressed in relation to pale-n 'insides' [§7.4.4.4.1].

f) **Relationship to knowledge and power**: Specific individuals are considered to be in a relationship with specific kinds of knowledge and expertise which give them power to do certain things (e.g. his knowledge, his influence, his cleverness). This idea of a unique relationship between individuals and knowledge means that only certain individuals can tell certain stories or relate certain information (e.g. his story).

**14.1 The possessive construction**

The label given to this construction can be misleading as it indicates only one area of the functions performed by this construction. Nevertheless, it is used as a label of convenience to relate the construction discussed here with what is referred to in the general and regional literature under the rubric of 'possession'. The possessive construction can be used to describe all of the relationships described above, in the introduction to this chapter. The possessive word is the only word in the Buru language obligatorily inflected for person and number. This, along with its unique distribution and range of functions justify claiming the possessive word as a unique form class in the language.

**14.1.1 Basic structure of the construction**

In its full form the possessive construction mirrors the structure of an active transitive clause with a pre-verbal Actor, the possessive word (= verb) and a post-verbal Undergoer.

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\(^2\)The relationship of a roko 'companion' is also used to described taxonomically similar plants and animals. For example, the nifon palm is described as the roko 'companion' of the niwe 'coconut' palm.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT/Actor</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT/Undergoer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>Inflected Possessive Word</td>
<td>Possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yako 1s</td>
<td>nango</td>
<td>huma sae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lsPOSS</td>
<td>house one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I have/own a house.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 30: Basic structure of the possessive construction**

**14.1.2 Inflectional variations**

The following figure illustrates the range of forms found in the possessive construction along with examples of the kinds of things that can be possessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSESSOR</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE WORD</th>
<th>POSSESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>yako</td>
<td>nangu-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>nango ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>kae</td>
<td>namu-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>namo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ringe</td>
<td>nake-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ring</td>
<td>nako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nak/nə²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1po</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>nami-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>nami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>nani-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kit</td>
<td>nanimana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kimi</td>
<td>nimi-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kim</td>
<td>nimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>nini-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>nini⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>nin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 31: Inflection for person and number of the possessive word**

³There is an ideolectal variant nai / neu-k.
⁴The Masaaré dialect form is nuni / nunu-k.

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The first form shown above is the possessive word with the applicative -k [§7.3.1]. The second form is underlined and shows the full unmarked uncliticised form of the possessive word. The third form is the cliticised form. Functional and collocational differences are discussed below.

14.1.3 Functional & distributional behaviour

The possessive word mirrors /-k/ verbs [§7.2.2.1.2] in that the applicative /-k/ is used to indicate a definite pronominal object.

(1) San nake todo naa?
San naka todo naa?
who 3sPOSS machetePROX
‘Whose machete is this?’

(2) San nake-k?
who 3sPOSS-k
‘Whose is it?’

(3) Ya nango todo naa.
Ya nangu todo naa.
1s 1sPOSS machetePROX
‘This is my machete.’

(4) Todo naa, ya nangu-k.
machetePROX 1s 1sPOSS-k
‘This machete, it is mine.’

Like verbs, the possessive word can accept valence changing verbal prefixes, although this seems to be restricted to the third singular form nake.

(5) Petu kami rua hai em-nake-k eta dena na Rana.
SEQ 1pe two follow STAT-3sPOSS-k until arrive PROX lake
‘So the two of us followed as his companion-assistants until arriving here at Rana.’

(6) Geba-ro kadu-k pa du wana em-nake-k eta lea.
person-PL come-k REAL 3p awake STAT-3sPOSS-k until sun
‘People came and they stayed awake at his disposal keeping him company until dawn.’
[Said about a man on his death bed.]

Like objects, people can be in a relationship in which they are at someone else’s disposal, signalled in the examples above with the stative prefix em-. People can also be put at someone’s disposal through the combination of /ep-em-/ as in the following example.

(7) Kawasan p-em-nake-k geba rua ute ringe
Head CAUS-STAT-3sPOSS-k person two DAT 3s
eta dena la masi.
until arrive downstream sea
'The village head put two people at his disposal until they should reach the coast.'

Unlike verbs, however, the possessive word, with or without a preceding cliticised free pronoun, functions as a possessive pronoun within an NP. Also unlike verbs, the Possessor (subject) cannot be a pronominal proclitic [§9.2]. The Possessor can, however, be a cliticised free pronoun. As a possessive pronoun within an NP, the possessive word may have no preceding pronoun, or it may have a cliticised free pronoun (as in the following examples). As noted above, the Possessed (object) can be, for example, a physical object, land, kin relations, concepts, and emotions. The object of the possessive construction is unambiguously nominal in its syntactic distribution.

(8) Da kala-k nang ama.  
3s call-k [1s POSS father]NP  
'He summoned my father.'

(9) Da kala-k va nang ama.  
3s call-k [1s 1s POSS father]NP  
'He summoned my father.'

(10) Nang fafu mata haik.  
[1s POSS pig] die PRF  
'My pig died.'

(11) Va nang fafu mata haik.  
[1s 1s POSS pig] die PRF  
'My pig died.'

(12) Da lata-h tu nang todo.  
3s cut-it [with 1s POSS machete]  
'He cut it with my machete.'

(13) Da lata-h tu va nang todo.  
3s cut-it [with 1s 1s POSS machete]  
'He cut it with my machete.'

(14) Da tuke-h la nang ina.  
3s give-it [DAT 1s POSS mother]  
'He gave it to my mother.'

(15) Da tuke-h la va nang ina.  
3s give-it [DAT 1s 1s POSS mother]  
'He gave it to my mother.'

Used with verbs of exchange, the possessive word can have the force of a dative/benefactive argument.

(16) Ego nang pawe saa.  
get 1s POSS mango one  
'Get me a mango. / Get a mango for me.'

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14.1.4 Summary of possessive construction

As described above, the possessive word differs from other form classes in its inflection and in its distributional possibilities. Morphologically, it can behave much like a verb in its affixing possibilities. When the possessive construction functions predicatively, the possessive word is the nucleus of the clause [§18.1], behaving like a transitive verb with a subject and object. Used predicatively, the possessive word is the head of the construction. When the possessive construction functions as a nominal argument in a clause, the possessive word functions as a possessive pronoun, being a pre-head modifier to the head noun. Thus, whether the possessive word is behaving verbally or nominally, or whether it is functioning as the head of a predicative possessive construction or as the modifier of a possessive NP depends on its distribution.

14.2 The genitive construction

The genitive construction is used to signal an inherent association between two nameable things, most commonly in a part-whole relationship. In the part-whole relationship, the part may be physically or conceptually attached to, associated with, or derived from the whole. The basic structure of a simple genitive NP is as follows:

(17) NOUN<sub>whole</sub> NOUN<sub>part</sub>-GEN<sub>ensilic</sub>
    tafu     olo-n
    pig     head-GEN
    'pig's head / head of pig'

(18) huma     tea-n
    house    post-GEN
    'house post / post of house'

(19) hawa     baba-n
    field    edge-GEN
    'field's edge / edge of field'

(20) niwe    wae-n
    coconut  water-GEN
    'coconut milk / liquid of coconut'

It can also express a unique association between two nominals that are not in a physical part-whole relationship, but are in a conceptual part-whole relationship.

---

5The degree of control of the Agent ranges from full volitional involvement (e.g. own a pair of deliberately purchased pants) to association with no volitional control (e.g. 'my father').
6The genitive relationship is similar to that which is handled in English by 's (as in 'pig's head') or by of (as in 'head of [the] pig').
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(21) ana-fina filli-n
    child-female buy-GEN
    'bride's bridewealth / brideprice of a bride/woman'

(22) sala lahi-n
    wrong root-GEN
    'root cause of a problem / source of a wrong'

(23) huma loli-n
    house round-GEN
    'circle of houses = 1) hamlet, 2) kin group fragmentation'

Genitive enclitics marking person and number combinations in Buru are as follows:

| Number | Enclitic | Possessive Genitive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *-nia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>-nan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>-nam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-nim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 32: The genitive enclitics

The relationship of the Whole can be expressed as a free pronoun [§9.2].

(24) ya(ko) faha-ng
    1s hand-1sGEN
    'my hand'

ka(e) faha-m
    'your (2s) hand'
ring(e) faha-n
    'his (3s) hand'
kita faha-nan
    'our (1pi) hand(s)'
ham(l) faha-nam
    'our (1pe) hand(s)'
kim(l) faha-nim
    'your (2p) hand(s)'
stra faha-nin
    'their (3p) hand(s)'

In the Masarete dialect, the inflectional range of person and number combinations has collapsed to the 3s -n form.7 Speakers of the Masarete dialect are familiar with the inflected forms cited above, but tend not to use them productively and associate them with ritual or archaic usage and with speakers from areas outside Masarete. The Masarete dialect distinguishes for person and number through the inflected possessive word [§14.1], with the enclitic -n simply marking the genitive part-whole relationship.

(25) Masarete dialect
    nang faha-n
    1sPOSS hand-GEN
    'my hand'

---

7 Collins (1980b) has noted a similar collapse of the genitive system to the 3s -nq in Laha on nearby Ambon Island and a partial collapse of the genitive system for other languages in Central Maluku.
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| nam   | faha-n  | 'your (2s) hand' |
| nak   | faha-n  | 'lapis (3s) hand' |
| nan   | faha-n  | 'our (1p) hands' |
| nam   | faha-n  | 'our (1pe) hands' |
| nim   | faha-n  | 'your (2p) hands' |
| nun   | faha-n  | 'their (3p) hands' |

Even in other dialects, the 1pe and 3p forms are rarely encountered in conversation or folklore narrative. In all dialects, the 3p form is commonly tagged by the plural marker -ro.

(26) sira faha-n-o 'their (3p) hands'

3p hand-GEN-PL

14.2.1 Anaphora through the genitive construction

It is quite common for the referent of the whole to be remote in discourse or to be assumed cultural knowledge known from the context of what is being talked about. In the examples below, the anaphoric or exophoric referent is supplied in square brackets [ ].

(27) Da toho pao [wae] lop-in.
3s descend down water bed-GEN

'He (the pig) went down to the [stream] bed.'

(28) Sapa-n di [kae] olo-m di?
what-GEN DIST 2s head-2aGEN DIST

'What's that there on your head?'

(29) Ramak tu harta di subsa,
later with bridewealth DIST cross threshold

sira hama eta [harta] luke-n oli.
3p search until bridewealth tip-GEN return

'So later when the bridewealth goes out, they will be seeking for [bridewealth] dividends to return (e.g. in the form of a child).'

1pe hear 3s ABS-narrate-GEN LOC DIST 3s

'We listened to his story.'

14.2.2 Recursive genitives

It is also quite common to find recursive genitive constructions indicating a hierarchy of parts of wholes. In other words, a recursive genitive indicates a part of a part of something. The whole is often assumed to be understood and is omitted.

(31) Da lata [geba] faha-n wanga-n.
3s cut person hand-GEN digit-GEN

'He cut his finger.'
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(32) Da fatu-k [kau] lahi-g samu-n, 3s pull up-k tree root-GEN runner-GEN
'He pulled up the root runners.'

The recursive genitive maintains inflection for person and number in each of its parts (except in the Masarate dialect).

(33) faha-m warga-m, hand-2sGEN digit-2sGEN 'your finger'

14.2.3 Double possessive/genitive

A double possessive construction is used occasionally to clarify the referent (whole) of a genitive construction. 8

(34) Kam seka-h pao lopi-n, 1ps stab-it down bed-GEN
Nak wae nak lopi-n, [backtrack for clarification
3sPOSSwater 3sPOSSbed-GEN for naive audience ➔ me]

'We stabbed it (the pig) down in the bed. The bed of the stream.'

14.2.4 Adding complexity to the genitive construction

Modifiers of the genitive construction can have different scopes. Modifiers following the genitive construction have the entire construction in their scope, while modifiers that follow the first element (Nounwhole) encompass only that element.

(35) geba olo-n [personwhole [head-GEN]part 'person's head'

(36) geba olo-n dii [person head-GEN] DIST 'that [person's head']

(37) geba dii olo-n [person DIST] head-GEN 'that person's head'

(38) geba olo-n ruu [person [head-GEN]two 'two [people's heads]'

---

8 Ambonese Masy has a parallel repetition of the possessive pung / punya. (E.g. Punya air punya mata. 'The source of the water.')

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(39) geba run olo-n
[person two] head-GEN
'two people's heads'

(40) geba olo-n bati-t
[person head-GEN] white-NOM
'white [person's head]'

(41) geba bati-t olo-n
[person white-NOM] head-GEN
'white person's head'

14.2.5 Used as forms of address for kin terms

In the Masarete dialect the collapsed genitive enclitic -n is added to kin terms of reference when they are used for address [§11.6.1.8].

(42) ama-n father-GEN
ina-n mother-GEN
kaka-n elder sibling-GEN
opo-n grandchild-GEN

'my father!'
'my mother!'
'my elder sibling!'
'my grandchild!'

For the Lisela and northern Rana dialects the genitive for terms of addressed is preposed on vowel-initial terms of reference, probably due to contact-induced influence from Sula.

(43) ng-ama IsGEN-father
ng-ina IsGEN-mother
kaka-ng elder sibling-IsGEN
ng-opo IsGEN-grandchild

'my father!'
'my mother!'
'my elder sibling!'
'my grandchild!'

14.2.6 An orthographic note

In letters written by Buru people and in testing 130 readers from ten Masarete and southern Rana-speaking mountain villages, there was a preference to write plural genitive enclitics separate from the word they attach to phorologically, using a dummy -n to close out precategorials.

(44) Grammatical units
rama-nim eye 2pGEN

(45) Phonological clustering
x
xx
rama

(46) Preferred orthographic representation
rama n-im
'your (2p) eyes'
14.3 A comparative and historical note

The characterisation of the Buru possessive and genitive construction given above differs considerably from what has been said about languages in the region as a whole. For example, Collins (1983:27) characterises two basic categories found in the languages of Central Maluku as follows:

The languages of Central Maluku distinguish two categories of nouns: alienable and inalienable. The inalienable category includes most body parts, kinship terms and 'name' as well as other nouns considered to be intimate, irrevocable possessions. For example, leaf, root, branch, trunk, etc. are also treated as inalienable nouns. Alienable nouns are objects of mere possession, simple property, things whose relation to the possessor is merely transitory. Different languages may differ in some details regarding which nouns are considered alienable and inalienable. Furthermore, the respective categories are not always transparent to the non-native speaker... In most Central Maluku languages, for example, head-hair, fingernails and veins are alienable nouns but body-hair, bones and blood are inalienable.

Writers on Oceanic languages long held a similar view, that there was a noun class system at work indicating 'alienable' and 'inalienable' (and sometimes 'eatable' and 'drinkable') nouns. However, Pawley (1973), Lynch (1973, 1982) and others have effectively shown that actual usage in text indicates that many nouns in Oceanic languages can appear in more than one construction, in effect indicating the inadequacy of notion of a strict noun class or gender system for those languages.9

An inspection of Buru data indicates that roots can be used in more than one context where the semantics allow. In the following example, olo is an independent noun not in a part-whole relationship with the subject. The relationship between the person and his head is handled with the possessive construction.

(47) Da iko tu nak olo.  [possessive - no genitive]
    3s go with 3sPOSShead
    'He went with (comitative) his (social/political) head.'

In the next example, however, the 'head' is in a part-whole relationship with an anaphoric referent (a pig), and hence is marked with the genitive enclitic olo-n.

(48) Da iko tu olo-n.  [genitive - no possessive]
    3s go with head-3sGEN
    'He went with (accompanied possession) its (pig's) head.'

---

9Pawley and Sapsaba (1990) point out that in Fijian it can be argued that some nouns belong to noun classes, while others have a choice of possessive marker according to semantic relationships. This suggests that neither extreme position of noun classes or no noun classes is an adequate accounting of the data.
In the example below, both a possessive relationship and a part-whole genitive relationship are indicated in reference to the head.

(49) Da loko tu na laka loko-n. [possessive & genitive]
3s go with 3sPOSS head-3sGEN

‘He went with (accompanied possession) his (pig’s) head.’

Precategoricals [§6.1.1.1] can occur as independent nouns marked with a genitive enclitic. Precategoricals can also occur as independent nouns when marked with the nominal /-t/ if the genitive relationship identifying the whole is already understood or simply irrelevant to the immediate text. In the example below, not only are /-n/ and the /-t/ attached to the same precategorical root rohi- (< PCEMP *duRi ‘thorn, fishbone’), but the resulting forms (i.e., rohi-n and rohi-t) underlined below were used in a narrative text to refer to the same real world referent (i.e. the pig bone).

(50) Asu di ba hada fadu rohi-n saa, [genitive construction]
dog DIST DUR bite pig bone-GEN one

petu ring spel.yahak fi dii,
SEQ 3s throw.evac-t LOC DIST

pa heka eta bremen,
REAL flee until far

petu da hada saki rohi-t fi saka huma mori-n,
SEQ 3s bite return bone-NOM LOC up house behind-GEN

fi saka kawaan lahi-n.
LOC up bamboo sp. lahi-GEN

‘The dog was gnawing on a pig bone, so then he (the dog’s master) chased him, away from there (by throwing a rock) so that (result) (he) fled far away, and then he resumed gnawing on the bone up behind the house up by the stand of kawaan bamboo.’

Similarly, uha-t and uha-n (< PAN *uRaC ‘vein, tendon’) have the same real world referent in the example below. The background for this exchange was that I returned to the village of Wae Katin after an absence of several months and was told that an acquaintance of mine had died while hunting. He and his companion and their dog had been running in hot pursuit of a deer. His companion yelled back for him to watch out for some sharpened bamboo spike traps (sura-n) hidden in the grass. He did not hear the warning and ran into the sura-n.

(51) NARRATOR: Da beta uha-t, petu da mata.
3s connect vein-NOM SEQ 3s die

‘It (the bamboo spikes) punctured the vein, so he died.’
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GRIMES: 

\[ Uha-t \quad teni-k? \]
\( \text{vein-NOM which-k} \)
'Which vein?'

NARRATOR: Da beta \( kada-n \quad uha-n. \)
\( 3s \text{ connect } h_{\text{a}} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{vein-GEN} \)
'It punctured his leg vein (i.e. femoral artery).'

Some precatégorials (such as lolli- in the examples below) appear in a range of morphological forms and can be possessed by the possessive construction in any of their nominal forms.

(52) Da \( em-loli. \)
\( 3s \text{ STAT-round} \)
'It is round.'

(53) Da \( ef-loli-k \quad kati-n. \)
\( 3s \text{ CAUS-round-k mat-GEN} \)
'He rolled up (the) sleeping mat.'

(54) Da \( sula \quad sala \quad nak \quad lolli-t. \)
\( 3s \text{ create wrong } 3s \text{POSS round-NOM} \)
'He drew his circle incorrectly.'

(55) Da \( sula \quad sala \quad nak \quad lolli-n. \)
\( 3s \text{ create wrong } 3s \text{POSS round-NOM} \)
'He wrote incorrectly about his denomination (e.g. group to which he is affiliated).'

It is of comparative significance then, that in Buru there is considerable flexibility regarding the type of construction in which nominals may occur and that many of them occur in both possessive and genitive constructions, depending on the nature of the perceived semantic relationship to an explicit adjacent, anaphoric, or exophoric referent. All nominals, regardless of whether they are parts of wholes, can be expressed in the possessive construction. It is only when the relationship of a part to its whole is relevant in discourse that the genitive enclitics are used.

It is therefore not the case that there are "two categories of nouns" and thus a noun class system in Buru, but rather that there are two different grammatical constructions indicating different kinds of semantic relationships between nominals.\(^{10}\) It is not surprising that when the relationship between certain nominals is consistently perceived in the same way, those nominals are consistently expressed with the same grammatical construction. This is particularly true in the genitive (part-whole) construction when the referent of the whole is exophoric (such as when asking for body parts in taking a word list), the overwhelming

\(^{10}\) My preliminary inspection of data in other languages of Central Maluku (and other CMP languages as well) shows that nouns in languages throughout this region are similar to Buru nominals in that they can occur in different types of 'possessive' constructions as semantically appropriate.
occurrence of certain nominals in a single construction can -- on the surface -- appear to suggest noun classes. But, when those very same nominals are seen in a different, albeit unusual, type of relationship (such as a severed leg no longer attached to a body), they can occur in different grammatical constructions.

Besides the inappropriateness of considering Buru to have a noun class system, it is equally inappropriate to say Buru has alienable and inalienable possessive constructions. Diachronically, it is possible that the genitive construction was used to characterise only inherent, 'essential'\(^{11}\) relation (such as part-whole), while the possessive construction was used to characterise a temporal, incidental, or 'accidental' relation (such as ownership of property). Synchronically for Buru, however, the terms 'alienable' and 'inalienable' are misleading and thus inappropriate, as nominals can be used in either constructions as appropriate to the discourse.

14.4 Typological issues

There are several additional syntactic and typological issues worthy of note here. Both Greenberg (1966) and Comrie (1981) observe that it is rare in their databases of languages in the world to find prepositional SVO languages in which modifiers follow their nouns but which have the genitive preceding the head noun in the genitive construction. That, however, is precisely the pattern found in Buru.\(^{12}\) The head of the construction is underlined in the examples below.

(56) fafu \(\text{[pig]}\) kada-n \(\text{[foot-3sGEN]}\) \(\text{[head]}\)
    'pig's foot / foot of a pig'

(57) huma \(\text{[house]}\) tea-n \(\text{[post-3sGEN]}\) \(\text{[head]}\)
    'house post / post of a house'

The order in a possessive NP in Buru is similar, with the possessor preceding the head noun.

(58) nang \(\text{[1sPOSS]}\) huma \(\text{[house]}\)
    'my house'

\(^{11}\) I am using the terms 'essential' and 'accidental' here in their technical Aristotelian senses.

\(^{12}\) This is the so-called 'reverse genitive' discussed in the Epilogue and is the normal pattern for most of the 150 CMP languages of eastern Indonesia (C. Grimes 1991b).
Possessive & Genitive Constructions

(59) nak  ina
    [IsPOSS]Possessor   [mother]Head
    'his mother'

Givón (1984:221) observes that the order of the genitive or possessive to its head noun has "the most consistent" correlation with such things as the noun-modifier order within an NP. Buru is clearly an exception to this pattern, since the modifier in the possessive and genitive constructions precede the head noun, whereas the modifiers of other types of NPs follow the head noun [Chapter §11].

The explanation for the order in the Buru possessive NP is most easily dealt with. Earlier in this chapter [§14.1] it was noted that the possessive word may be used predicatively much like a transitive verb. In such a usage it is the head of the clause. When the distribution is shifted to function as a possessive NP, the ordering of the clausal constituents is maintained, with possessor before possessed in both occurrences.

Furthermore, as Buru is a predominantly head-marking language, it is consistent that in the predicative possessive construction, the inflection for person and number is marked on the possessive word as the head. This marking on the possessive word is maintained when the distribution is changed and the possessive word is used as a modifier in a possessive NP.

Although the order of other Buru NPs has the modifier following the head, it is consistent with being a predominantly head-marking language to have the genitive enclitic marked on the second nominal as the head of the construction, rather than to the first nominal as the dependent. The first noun of the genitive construction is a pre-head modifier; its presence is optional, often either referring back to a previous referent in the discourse or merely implied from the external context; the first noun distinguishes the type of whole (i.e. 'pig's head' rather than 'dog's head'; 'digit of a foot' rather than 'digit of a hand'). It was also demonstrated earlier [§14.2.4] that the first nominal of the genitive construction may be modified separately from the whole, and in §14.2.1 it was shown that the first nominal can be absent altogether. It was also shown [§14.2.4] that the second element cannot be modified independent of the entire construction. Thus, when two nominals are juxtaposed in a genitive construction, the second is the head, and the first is the dependent.

An explanation for the anomalous ordering in the genitive construction is not immediately recoverable from the Buru data and must also account for a similar ordering of the genitive construction in other CMP languages [see Epilogue]. A possible explanation may

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13See Chapters §7 and §12 for the complexities of marking in clause-level predicate heads, and §13.2.2 for marking complex prepositional phrase heads. The notion of distinguishing head-marking and dependent-marking languages is set out in Nichols (1986).
be found in the mechanism of fronting for topicalisation (e.g. head of pig > pig, head-of), but the discussion required for such a study takes us beyond the scope warranted for this immediate work. A more likely explanation is to be found from contact between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages, with the AN languages calquing on the order of the genitive construction of languages in the area prior to the arrival of the Austronesians.14

14.5 Alternate constructions relating to possession

Some low frequency occurrences are found of other grammatical constructions which also indicate the type of semantic relationship that falls under the rubric of 'possession'. A free pronoun is occasionally juxtaposed next to a nominal with which it has a unique relationship. There is no apparent semantic difference in the two sentences below. The second is the more common.

(60)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ring</th>
<th>ana-t</th>
<th>oll.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>child-NOM</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[by juxtaposition]

(61)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nak</th>
<th>ana-t</th>
<th>oll.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sPOSSchild-NOM</td>
<td>return</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[possessive construction]

'His child returned.'

A general locative deictic PP [§13.3.1.1] may be used to indicate a unique association.

(61)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kae</th>
<th>nam</th>
<th>ana-t</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>yako.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>2sPOSSchild-NOM</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I am your child.' [Lit. your child is at me]

(62)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ya nang</th>
<th>feta</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>ringe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>1sPOSSsister (man speaking)</td>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'She is my sister.' [Lit. my sister is at her]

(63)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Todo</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>ringe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>macheteDIST</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The machete is at his place.'

'He has the machete.'

The construction giving teknonyms [§11.6.3.2] also maps a type of 'possessive' relationship.

(64)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ben-tama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Ben's father'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ben-tina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Ben's mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

14 While there is abundant evidence of a Genitive-Noun order in non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, data from extant non-Austronesian languages nearer to Buru is sparse. The North Halmaheran languages (West Papuan Phylum) all have Genitive-Noun order (Voorhoeve, in press). Similarly, the non-Austronesian languages of Alor and Pantar (near Timor) have a Genitive-Noun order (Stokhof 1975).
Chapter Fifteen

Numbers, quantifiers and classifiers

Numbers in Buru function much like nouns in general, but there are distributional peculiarities discussed in this chapter that permit us to call them a form class by themselves, or at least a subclass of nouns. The second form class discussed in this chapter is one that can often substitute for numbers, called quantifiers. Thirdly, there is a subset of generic nouns with a limited distribution that is related to the use of numbers used as noun classifiers.

15.1 Numbers

The structures and functions involving numbers in Buru are many and varied.

15.1.1 The basic number system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buru</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Buru</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>em-sia-n</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>PAN *isa</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruc</td>
<td>'two'</td>
<td>PAN *DuSa</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telo2</td>
<td>'three'</td>
<td>PAN *telu</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa</td>
<td>'four'</td>
<td>PAN *Sepat</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima</td>
<td>'five'</td>
<td>PAN *lima</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nee</td>
<td>'six'</td>
<td>PAN *enem</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pito</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
<td>PAN *pitu</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trua3</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cia4</td>
<td>'nine'</td>
<td>&lt; PAN *puluq</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 33: Numbers 1-10

In many AN languages in Sulawesi, Maluku and Nusatenggara two basic strategies are found relating to the numbers eight and nine. The first strategy simply retains reflexes of the

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1Some would call similar words in other languages 'counters', but the distribution in Buru is broader than just in number clauses.
2In many mountain areas, saying telo is considered rude (obscene) and so the circumlocution ruc geran 'two plus' is used to be polite.
3With variants [a'rua] and [e'rua]. Both the synchronic phonological form and the regional comparative evidence indicate an intermediate historical form something like **ke-dua.
4With variants [esi] and [ua'es]. Speakers of the Lisela dialect often pronounce the number as [esi], combining with other comparative evidence to suggest a parent form like *ke-isa > **ke-si.
PAN numerals *walu 'eight' and *siwa 'nine'. The second strategy has something akin to 'minus-two' for 'eight' and 'minus-one' for 'nine'. Buru follows the second strategy.

15.1.1.1 Notes relating to 'one'

Emsian 'one' has a fairly complex lexical network. In normal discourse the indefinite (specific or non-specific) deictic saa 'a, one' (< PAN *sa < 'one') is more common [see Chapter §10 for use of deictics]. Emsian is used to specify, contrast or emphasize the singularity of the referent.

1. Huma emsian ba dii baa.  
   house one DUR DIST only  
   'There is only one house there.'

2. Sii-k ana-t saa la da asu-k wae.  
   order-k child-NOM one IRR 3s fetch-k water  
   'Tell a child to go fetch water (in a container).'

When emsian appears in both the Subject NP and a post-verbal NP, an English gloss would include something like 'each', with a distributive function paralleling the reduplication of nouns [§11.5.1] (see also discussion below under reduplication).

3. Geba emsian kaa tonai kana-t emsian.  
   person one eat cuscus whole-NOM one  
   'Each person ate a whole cuscus (each).'

Emsian also covers a semantic range and lexical usage that correlates to what would be glossed in English as 'same'. It indicates similarity among the multiple referents of a plural subject.

4. Sira rua emsian.  
   3p two one  
   'The two of them are the same/they are both the same.'

5. Kami, geba-r teio naa. do, ama emsian, ina emsian.  
   ipe person-PL three PROX, well, father one mother one  
   'The three of us have the same father and the same mother.'  
   [an important clarification on Buru to distinguish from classificatory relations]

   The root sia found in: the numeral em-sia-n 'one' is used in two other ways. Reduplicated to si-sia it means 'one and only'.

   Is IsPOSS child-male RED-one PROX.DEM  
   'This is my only son.'

---

5 Also noted in Collins (1981).
Modifying a plural referent, sia functions as a quantifier meaning 'a few (of them), some (of many)'.

(7) Gëba-ro sia keha sak fuka haik.
    person-PL one climb up mountain PRF
    'Some of them have already gone up the mountain.'

15.1.2 Numbers as phrase head

One occasionally finds numbers used as a phrase head. This most commonly occurs with reference to time [Chapter §16], particularly in relation to supan 'next day' and beton '24-hour cycle'.

(8) Sira iko supan rua dili.
    3p go next day two DIST
    'They are going two days from now.'

(9) Sira iko [∅] rua dili.
    3p go two DIST
    'They are going two days from now.'

(10) Sira oli beton telo dili.
    3p return night three DIST
    'They are returning three days from now.'

(11) Sira oli [∅] telo dili.
    3p return three DIST
    'They are returning three days from now.'

15.1.3 Numbers as modifiers

Numbers modify nominals and verbals in various ways.

15.1.3.1 Number NPs

The Number NP was introduced in §11.1.4. The number follows the head noun or pronoun it modifies in an NP.

(12) huma-r polo
    house-PL ten
    'ten houses'

(13) fin.haa-r pito
    female.big-PL seven
    'seven wives'

6 Bunu does not have exceptional pronominal forms for duals, trials or paucals, except ao 'third dual'. [see §9.2].
Numbers, Quantifiers & Classifiers

(14) kim run
    2p two
    'the two of you'

(15) sir nee
    3p six
    'the six of them'

15.1.3.2 Numbers as verbal modifiers

Numbers can also be used with /-k/ to modify verbal predicates. This usage structurally parallels the incorporation of other post-verbal arguments [§12.3.4], and should be considered as incorporation in verbal predicates.

(16) Ringe iko lele-n telo.
    3s go inside-GEN three
    'He went three times.'

    Ringe iko lele.telun-k.
    3s go inside.three-k
    'He third-time went.' [i.e. 'went for the third time']

15.1.3.3 Numbers in compounds

Numerals used within a compound noun are suffixed with /-t/ and have vowel raising or lowering [§5.4.1] where appropriate. Such compounding reflects a tight semantic cohesion in which the number is an intrinsic element of the identity of the referent.

(17) menjangan sodi-n nee
    deer [Mly] antler-GEN six
    'a deer whose antlers have six prongs'

    menjangan sod.neet
    deer antler.six-NOM
    'a six-prong antlered deer'

(18) enhero panga-n pan
    spear barb-GEN four
    'spear with four prongs'

    enhero pang.paat
    spear barb.four-NOM
    'a four-pronged spear'

(19) enhero panga-n nee
    spear [barb-GEN six]
    'spear with six prongs'

    enhero pang.neet
    spear [barb.six-NOM]
    'a six-pronged spear'
(20) ewali  tufe-n pito
wok [AM] span-GEN seven
'a wok that is seven hand-spans (in circumference)'

ewali  tuf-pitu-t
wok span-seven-NOM
'a 7-span wok'

(21) ngee-refi.pitu-t
nose-hole.seven-NOM
'a 7 nose-holed bat (type of bat)'

(22) re.po.rua-t
repal polo rua-t
fathom ten two NOM
'a twenty fathom long bolt of white cloth exchanged as part of bridewealth and for certain fines'

15.1.4 Reduplication of numbers

Unlike the reduplication of other nouns, which has a distributive function [§11.5.1] signifying 'each N', reduplication of numerals has 1) a collective function when modifying a Nhead signifying 'all (number) of Nhead', 2) a partitive function when modifying a verbal predicate indicating 'do X (number)-by-(number)' or 'in groups of (number)', or 3) a distributive function with the reduplication of emsian. As mentioned above [§15.1.1.1], the use of the unreduplicated number emsian 'one' can also have a distributive function.

(23) Geba-neba puna huma.
RED-person do house
'Each person makes (his own) house.'

(24) Geba emsian puna huma emsian.
person one do house one
'Each person makes (his own) house.'

(25) Geba emsian-emsian puna huma.
person RED one do house
'Each person makes (his own) house.'

(26) Geba rua-rua toho la masi.
person RED two descend downstream sea
'Both of them went down to the coast.'

(27) Sira toho la masi rua-rua.
3p descend downstream sea RED two
'They went down to the coast two-by-two.'

(28) Fafa-f paa-naa egal haiik.
pig-PL RED four pregnant PRF
'All four pigs are pregnant.'

C. Grimes

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15.1.5 Multiples of ten

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>porua</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poltel</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polpaa</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polima</td>
<td>fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polnee</td>
<td>sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polpito</td>
<td>seventy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poltrua</td>
<td>eighty²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polcia</td>
<td>ninety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>utun (emsian)</td>
<td>(one) hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utu rua</td>
<td>two hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utun telo</td>
<td>three hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓ utun ciia</td>
<td>nine hundred</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raran (emsian)</td>
<td>(one) thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rara rua</td>
<td>two thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raran telo</td>
<td>three thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓ raran polo</td>
<td>ten thousand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 34: Tens, hundreds and thousands

Multiples of ten are obligatorily compounded, with corresponding morphophonemic processes at work [§5.4]. Note that the plural -re is not used in the complex numbers. Polo 'ten', utun 'hundred' or raran 'thousand' are followed by a numeral from one to nine to derive the appropriate multiple. Structurally they parallel Quantifier NPs [§11.1.4].

15.1.6 Other complex numbers

Numbers between multiples of ten are derived by the use of geran 'more, plus' between the multiple of ten and the number between one and nine.

---

²One also hears the variant polotrua, spreading out the clustering of three consonants.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polo geran emsian</th>
<th>Polo gera rua</th>
<th>Polo geran telo</th>
<th>Polo geran paa</th>
<th>Polo geran lima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ten add one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polo geran cia</th>
<th>Polo rua geran emsian</th>
<th>Polo two add one</th>
<th>Polo rua geran</th>
<th>Polo cia geran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utun telo pol.paa geran nee</th>
<th>Raran lima utun lima pol.lima geran lima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hundred three ten.four add six</td>
<td>Thousand five hundred five ten.five add five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>21</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>99</th>
<th>346</th>
<th>5555</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 35: Numbers between multiples of ten

15.1.7 Mathematical functions

The use of addition and subtraction is quite commonplace. Multiplication and division are less common, but occur in negotiations over bridewealth and are used occasionally by children trying to understand the mathematics taught in Indonesian in the schools.

The function of addition is done using geran 'more, add, plus'.

(30) Telo geran rua puna lima. Three add two do five 'Three plus two is five.'

The function of subtraction is done using ego 'get, take'.

(31) Telo ego rua puna emsian. Three take two do one 'Three minus two is one.'

The function of multiplication is done using lalen 'a time (temporal, conceptual)'.

(32) Telo lalen rua puna nee. Three time two do six 'Three times two is six.'

The function of division is done using engan 'a piece, section' or fake 'break apart'.

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(33) Paa ngan rua puna rua.
four piece two do two
‘Four divide! by two is two.’ [Lit. 4 in 2 pieces makes 2]

(34) Paa faka rua puna rua.
four break two do two
‘Four divided by two is two.’ [Lit. 4 break in 2 is 2]

15.1.8 Use of numbers

Buru numbers are used when talking about ‘Buru things’, such as number of people, children, animals, number of trees felled, platefuls of sago eaten, time,\(^8\) distance, etc. The larger numbers show up in contexts such as totalling up the number of kills made on an extended hunt during the east monsoon.

(35) Kaml geba-r paa dufa tonal utun nea
1pl person-PL four get cuscus hundred six

tu fato-r kisa-n pol tua.
with pig-PL CLASS-GEN ten eight

‘The four of us got 600 cuscus and 80 pigs.’

Buru numbers are also used extensively in negotiations over bridewealth, fines, and similar matters. One friend told me he paid utun paa geran polima ‘450’ for his first wife (each ‘thing’ represents only one category—e.g. a dozen plates represents only 1 of the 45\(^\circ\). The first wife bore no children (giving him no return on his investment), so he took a second, younger wife. Du kabak filin raran emsian utun trua ‘They demanded a bridewealth of 1800 (things).’ The second wife was ‘barren’ as well. Most bridewealth payments range between 150-300 ‘things’.

When talking about money, the Malay numbers tend to be used more than the Buru numbers, which is a natural consequence of Buru people functioning in a multilingual setting, but use of the Buru system is heard in that context as well.

Calendar years, being foreign, are talked about using Malay numbers.

15.1.8.1 Some idioms involving numbers

Numbers are also used to form some idioms, usually involving areas of human propensity (cf. Dixon 1982).

\(^8\)For days of the week, Malay numbers are used [see Chapter §16].
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(36) Da peka ana-fina dii, waha-n ana-fina faha-p-rua.
3s discard child-female DIST evidence-GEN child-female hand-RECIP-two
'The got rid of that girl (his wife), because she was a thief (among his relatives).'
[double-handed = subtle thieving]

(37) Ringe geria li-rua.
3s person voice-two
'He is a deceiver/hypocrite.'
[two-voiced = hypocrite; either saying one thing to one person and doing s.t. else, or saying
s.t. to one person and s.t. else to s.o. else]

(38) Sira hai moo, tu poso-p-rua.
3p follow NEG REASON chest. RECIP-two
'They didn’t go along, because of (their) misgivings (about it).'
[double-chested = doubt, misgiving]

15.2 Quantifiers

A closed set of quantifiers may modify nouns or verbs. When modifying nouns, quantifiers and numbers are mutually exclusive. That is, if a numeral is used to quantify a head noun, then a quantifier may not also be used for the same purpose and vice versa. When modifying a verb, quantifiers function adverbially, diminishing or intensifying the state or action. The morphological variation found among the quantifiers suggests their morphology is frozen, rather than productive.

There are five types of quantifiers: 1) those that modify only nouns, 2) those that modify both nouns and verbs, 3) those that modify only verbs, 4) negative quantifiers, and 5) the interrogative pilu 'how much, how many'. The third group is discussed more extensively as post-verbal auxiliaries in §12.4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINALS</th>
<th>Breu-breut</th>
<th>'small, a few'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hansliak³</td>
<td>'all'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skíhi</td>
<td>'all (that are available)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sia</td>
<td>'one, some'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waro</td>
<td>'many' [Lisela]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranno</td>
<td>'group (human)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reren</td>
<td>'group (non-human)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINALS &amp; VERBS</th>
<th>Edemon¹⁰</th>
<th>'many, do X a lot'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ro-roin</td>
<td>'a few, do X a little bit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baa</td>
<td>'only, exclusively'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBS</th>
<th>Tirin</th>
<th>'very X'¹¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sepo</td>
<td>'all X'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
<th>Sa ... moo</th>
<th>'none, nothing'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTERROGATIVE</td>
<td>Pilia</td>
<td>'how much, how many' PMP *pijay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 36: Quantifiers

Quantifiers that modify nominals replace numbers in a number NP. Breu-breut may be used attributively 'small' or as a quantifier 'a few'.

(39) Geba rua toho la masi. [Number NP]
[person two] descend downstream sea
'Two men went down to the coast.'

(40) Geba breu-breut toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
[person RED-small] descend downstream sea
'A few men went down to the coast.'

(41) Geba breu-breut-e toho la masi. [Attributive NP]
[person RED-small-PL] descend downstream sea
'The small kids went down to the coast.'

Hansliak 'all' and sia 'some' may be used as either phrase modifiers or as phrase heads.

(42) Geba hansliak toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
[person all] descend downstream sea
'Everyone went down to the coast.'

(43) [di Hansliak toho la masi. [Quantifier as head]
[ all] descend downstream sea
'Everyone went down to the coast.'

---
³The root is from sia 'one' [see §15.1.1.1].
⁴Root is deme 'to increase (reproduce)'.
¹¹The Lisela and northern Rana dialects use pea.

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(44) Geba-ro *sia* toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
[person-PL one] descend downstream sea
'Some people went down to the coast. '

(45) [phi] *sia* toho la masi. [Quantifier as head]
[ one] descend downstream sea
'Some went down to the coast. '

Skihi 'all' may be used as a nominal quantifier or as an adverbial modifier.

(46) Geba-ro *skihi* ep-sulu-n. [Quantifier NP]
person-PL all RECIP-gather-DETR
'All the people gathered together. '

(47) Geba-ro ep-sulu-n *skihi-skihi*. [adverbial modifier]
person-PL RECIP-gather-DETR RED-all
'Everyone gathered together. '

The Lisela and northern Rana dialects use waro 'much, many' to modify nominals.
Masarete uses the parallel edemen to modify both nominals and verbs.

(48) Geba *waro* toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
person many descend downstream sea
'Many people went down to the coast. '

(49) Geba *rano* toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
person group descend downstream sea
'A group of people went down to the coast. '

(50) Fafu *reren* toho pa wae. [Quantifier NP]
pig herd descend down sea
'A herd of pigs went down to the stream. '

The quantifiers edemen 'many' and ro-oin may modify nominal arguments, may substitute for nominal arguments, or may quantify verbal predicates as a post-verbal auxiliary. Edemen can modify active verbs, while ro-oin may modify either active or non-active verbs.

(51) Geba *edemen* toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
person many descend downstream sea
'Many people went down to the coast. '

(52) *Edemen* toho la masi. [pro-form]
many descend downstream sea
'Many (people) went down to the coast. '

(53) Geba-ro toho la masi *edemen*. [post-verbal auxiliary]
person-PL descend downstream sea many
'People often went down to the coast. '

(54) Geba *ro-oin* toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
person RED-small descend downstream sea
'A few people went down to the coast. '
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(55) Ro-rolin toho la masi. [pro-form]
RED-small descend downstream sea
'A few (people) went down to the coast.'

(56) Geba-ro toho la masi ro-rolin. [post-verbal auxiliary]
person-PL descend downstream sea RED-small
'People occasionally went down to the coast.'

Baa 'only, exclusively' may limit nominals, numbers, quantifiers, or verbal predicates.

(57) Geba-ro baa toho la masi. [Quantifier NP]
person-PL only descend downstream sea
'It was only people who went down to the coast.'
[e.g. no dogs went with them]

(58) Geba rua baa toho la masi. [modifying number]
person two only descend downstream sea
'It was only two people who went down to the coast.'
[e.g. no more than two]

(59) Ro-rolin baa toho la masi. [modifying quantifier]
RED-small only descend downstream sea
'Only a few (people) went down to the coast.'

(60) Geba-ro toho baa. [post-verbal auxiliary]
person-PL descend only
'People went down only (and didn't do anything else).'

Tirin 'very (emphasis)' may modify non-active verbs [§7.2.1] or may emphasize quantifiers.

(61) Geba di haa tirin. [modifying non-active verb]
person DIST big EMPH
'That is a very big man.'

(62) Geba edemen tirin toho la masi. [modifying quantifier]
person many EMPH descend downstream sea
'Very many people went down to the coast.'

(63) Geba ro-rolin tirin toho la masi. [modifying quantifier]
person RED-small EMPH descend downstream sea
'It was only a very few people who went down to the coast.'

Sepo 'finish' can refer to either the verbal predicate or to a post-verbal argument, but grammatically may not modify a nominal argument by itself. This ambiguity is paralleled in other quantifiers (such as edemen 'many, much') that can also be used as post-verbal auxiliaries.

(64) Da kaa bia edemen. [nominal quantifier]
3s eat sago much
'He eats lots of sago.'

'He eats sago a lot.' [verbal modifier]
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(65) Da kaa bia seng.
3s eat sago finish
‘He ate all the sago.’ [nominal quantifier]

(66) Lea tau-n dii, da dufa sa moo, da oli hama saa.
sun full-GEN DIST 3s get one NEG 3s return search one
“All that day, if he gets nothing, he goes home hunting for something.’

(67) Geba kaa ii sa moo.
person eat thing one NEG
‘A person ate nothing.’

(68) Geba sa kaa moo.
person one eat NEG
‘Nobody ate.’

(69) Geba sa kaa ii sa moo.
person one eat thing one NEG
‘Nobody ate anything.’

(70) Geba-ro kaa ii sa moheda.
person-PL eat thing one not yet
‘People haven’t eaten anything yet.’

(71) Geba sa kaa ii sa moheda.
person one eat thing one not yet
‘Nobody has eaten anything yet.’

(72) Geba sa kaa tehu-k moo.
person one eat chase-k NEG
‘Nobody is eating any more.’

(73) Geba sa kaa lii sa tehu-k moo.
person one eat thing one chase-k NEG
‘Nobody is eating anything any more.’

The interrogative pila ‘how much, how many’ may be used to query the quantity of both count nouns and mass nouns. The position of the interrogative is the same as that of the quantifier.

(74) Geba edemen toho la’ masi.
person many descend downstream sea
‘Many people went down to the coast.’
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(75) Geba-r pila toho la masi?
person-PL how many descend downstream sea
‘How many people went down to the coast?’

(76) Da kaa edemen.
3s eat much
‘He eats lots (of food).’
‘He eats lots (of variety).’
‘He often eats.’

(77) Da kaa pila?
3s eat how much
‘How much (rice) did he eat?’
‘How many (tubers) did he eat?’

15.3 Classifiers

When specifying the number of many nouns, classifier nouns are occasionally used in a classifier NP [§11.1.4.1]. The classifier NP is structurally composed of a specific nominal (N_{HEAD}) which is followed by a Quantifier NP [§11.1.2] whose head is a classifier noun (N_{CLASS}) followed by the number or quantifier. There is a hint of a pause and intonational dip between the specific head noun and the classifier, phonologically grouping the classifier with the number, rather than with the head noun. The head noun may be modified attributively. In the examples below, the intonational dip is indicated by a comma [., but is not so indicated in the practical orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N_{2}</th>
<th>N_{1}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N_{HEAD}</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. sira,</td>
<td>geba-ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ikan,</td>
<td>fatu-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pela-t,</td>
<td>lafa-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3p person-PL six
2. fish stone-GEN five
3. stinging nettle-NOM sheet-GEN two

‘the six of them’
‘five fish’
‘two stinging nettle leaves’

Figure 37: Structure of a classifier NP

The classifier NP is structurally much like an appositional construction [§11.2.4], except that here the classifier nouns are a closed set and cannot be proper nouns. The presence of the classifiers in the number NP is optional, reflecting stylistic preferences and perceptions of eloquence.

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(78) Da seka fafu, kisen rua.  [Classifier NP]
     3s stab pig bald two
     'He speared two pigs.'

(79) Da seka fafu rua.  [Quantifier NP]
     3s stab pig two
     'He speared two pigs.'

While there is a semantic basis to the classifiers, one must learn the individual collocations. Many classifiers are based on shape, size or length, but some are based on other semantic associations. Some nouns can collocate with more than one classifier depending on speaker preference and context. Thus, the term 'classifier' is slightly misleading as it does not divide up the world into a fixed taxonomy, but rather reflects a set of conventionalised collocations used as counters in a classifier NP.

There are two types of classifiers: 1) those that quantify numbers of whole units, and 2) those that are used to quantify parts of whole units, or units of quantities. Some classifiers (e.g. fuan 'fruit', fatan 'trunk', and lahin 'root') are used in both ways. Classifiers related to time expressions are discussed in Chapter §16.

15.3.1 Classifiers of wholes

| geba   | 'person' | human-like being; |
| iher   | 'things'  | general classifier; used if other classifiers are unknown or unimportant |
| fatan  | 'trunk'   | bodies of (dead) animals |
| kisen  | 'bald'    | live pigs and chickens |
| isin   | 'contents' | tubers |
| fuan   | 'fruit'   | any bulbous shaped thing |
| somon  | 'part'    | whole clothes |
| lahin  | 'root'    | trees |

Figure 38: Classifiers of wholes

Geba 'person' is used as a classifier when quantifying such things as pronouns and kin terms. The term encompasses all human-like beings in Buru cosmology, including humans, genealogical ancestors, ideological ancestors, good and evil spirits, and disappearing (invisible) people. With plural quantities it takes the plural /-ra/.

(80) Kami ik.rogo mua tu dil, kami, geba-r nee.
     1pe go.enter jungle with DIST 1pe person-PL six
     'When we went into the jungle then [for extended hunting], there were six of us.'

(81) Da kala-k nak geba breu-t-o, geba-r paa.
     3s call-k 3sPOSS person small-NOM-PL person-PL four
     'He summoned four of his underlings.'
(82) Ning nak na-Na-t, geba rua.
3s POSS-brother (woman speaking) person two
'She had two brothers.'

Kisen 'clean, bald' is used as a classifier of live pigs and chickens.

(83) Da frake teput, kisen rua.
3s catch chicken bald two
'He caught (by hand) two chickens.'

Fatan 'trunk' is used to classify whole bodies of (usually dead) humans and animals.

(84) Yako safe tongi teput, fatan rua.
1s buy also chicken trunk two
'I bought two chickens.'

(85) Geba emsian dufa tonal, fatan utun.
person one get cuscus trunk hundred
'Each person got a hundred cuscus.'

(86) Kam kaawana-t, fatan rua.
1pe eat eel-NOM trunk two
'We ate two (whole) eels.'

Isin 'contents' is used to classify such things as tubers.

(87) Da fatu-k mang.kau, isin polo.
3s pull up-k tuber-wood contentsten
'She pulled up ten cassava roots.'

Kodon 'straw?' is used as a classifier for house-like structures.

(88) Huma, kodon pol.paa ma dil.
house structure ten.four be at DIST
'There are forty houses there.'

Fuan 'fruit' is a broad classifier extended to cover any bulbous-shaped item. The term directly encompasses any bulbous plant part growing above the ground, including fruit and bulbous vegetables (both edible and inedible). Many foreign items take fuan as their classifier of whole units.

(89) Da ego pawe, fuan pol.telo.
3s get mango fruit ten.three
'He took thirty mangoes.'

(90) Da dufa mutiara, fuan rua.
3s get pearl [Mly] fruit two
'He found two pearls.'
(91) Sira safe rotl, fuan rua.
  3p buy bread [Skt] fruit two
  'They bought two loaves of bread.'

(92) Sira kaba-k ewall, fuan polo.
  3p declare-k wok [AM] fruit ten
  'They announced (that the bridewealth should include) ten woks.'

Lahin 'root' is used as a classifier of whole trees.

(93) Da seka cengke, lahim pol.plito.
  3s pierce clove [Mly] root ten.seven
  'He planted seventy clove trees.'

(94) Da keha niwe, lahim pol.nee.
  3s ascend coconut root ten.six
  'He climbed sixty coconut trees (in the process of harvesting copra).'

Iher /li.ha-rol/ 'things' is a generic classifier used when a more precise classifier is uncertain or unimportant. It can substitute for all other classifiers, except for geba 'person'.

(95) Sira kaba-k ewall, iher polo.
  3p declare-k wok [AM] things ten
  'They announced (that the bridewealth should include) ten woks.'

(96) Pa kami dufa tonal, iher lima.
  REAL 1pe get cuscus trunk five
  'So we got five cuscus.'

15.3.2 Classifiers of parts and units of measure

| fatan  | 'trunk'       | long, large & round; tree trunks, waves |
| fatun  | 'stone'       | rock-like; collocates with large seeds |
| tian   | 'belly'       | corn                                    |
| fuan   | 'fruit'       | bulbous plant part growing above the ground; includes fruits and bulbous vegetables (both edible and inedible) |
| kasen  | 'section'     | of things that have natural divisions (e.g. bamboo, language) |
| somon  | 'part'        |                                          |
| engan  | 'piece'       | of meat, cloth (implies usability of piece) |
| lafan  | 'sheet'       | thin flat things such as leaves, paper, cloth |
| wangan | 'digit'       | of definable length (e.g. finger, short strip of bamboo) |
| valan  | 'strip'       | salient feature is long length compared to smallines of other dimensions (e.g. hair, long strip of bamboo, strip of pandanus leaf for weaving) |
| walen  | 'pole'        | bamboo                                  |
| turen  | 'short'       | short length of wood, bamboo           |
| kodon  | 'straw?'      | house structures                        |
| kihan  | 'seed'        | seeds (small), rice, sand              |
| folin  | 'stalk'       | bananas                                 |
| dahan  | 'hand'        | bananas                                 |
| pongon | 'cluster'     | betelnut, grapes (foreign)             |

Figure 39: Classifiers of parts
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Classifiers of parts of things and units of measure are based primarily on shape, size and length. Structurally they parallel the classifiers of whole things but have a hint of a pause and intonation dip between the first noun and the classifier. There is a distinction between the scope of the number in these classifier NPs and the scope of the number in a number NP with a genitive construction as its head. In the latter there is no such phonological juncture.

(97) kau, fatan rua
[wood [CLASS two]_NumberNP]_ClassifierNP
'two logs'

(98) kau fata-n rua
[[tree trunk-GEN]_GenNP two]_NumberNP
'two tree-trunks'

Most of the classifiers in this section which refer to a part of a whole may be used either way. The number NP with a genitive construction as head is the more common of the two. The function of the classifiers is best illustrated when keeping the head noun constant.

(99) uka, walen lima
  bamboo pole five
  'five bamboo poles (unsplit from base to tip)'

uka, walan wangan kasen
  Lima
  'five bamboo strips (long slats)'
  'five bamboo sections (unsplit, measured from joints)'
  'five short pieces of bamboo (each less than two joints)'

(100) fuat lahin lima
  banana root five
  'five banana trees'

fuat waan folin dahan wangan
  'five banana shoots'
  'five banana stalks'
  'five hands of banana'
  'five bananas'

(101) fuat pongon rua
  betel cluster two
  'two bunches of betelnuts'

fuat fatun rua
  stone
  'two betelnuts'

(102) kau fatan lima
  wood five
  'five logs'

kau fuan lima
  fruit
  'five poles'

(103) biskutu tian lima
  corn belly five
  'five ears of corn'
Some items may collocate with more than one classifier.

(104) ikan  fatan  rua
fish      trunk  two

ikan  fatan  rua
fish      stone  two

'two fish'

(105) roti  fuan  rua
bread [Skt] fruit  two

roti  fatan  rua
bread      stone  two

'two loaves of bread'

Units of measure are based on a variety of Buru standards as well as borrowed standards. These are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fokit</th>
<th>'bundle'</th>
<th>bags of flour, sugar, cement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tufe</td>
<td>'span'</td>
<td>measure woks, tables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repa</td>
<td>'fathom'</td>
<td>measure length of cloth, thatch, spear handles; depth of water; height of houses [ &lt; PMP *depa 'fathom']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fah.wangon</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
<td>thickness of pig f*, length of tusk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilo₁</td>
<td>'kilogram'</td>
<td>[ &lt;Mly] used in trading on the coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilo₂</td>
<td>'kilometre'</td>
<td>[ &lt;Mly] used very loosely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cupa</td>
<td>'tin can'</td>
<td>[ &lt;AM] approximately 6 oz.; used to measure cloves, rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botol</td>
<td>'bottle'</td>
<td>[ &lt;Mly] approximately 750 ml.; used as measure of kerosene, gin, cooking oil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 40: Units of measure

These behave structurally and distributionally in the same way as classifiers.

(106) gula  fokit  rua
sugar [Mly] bundle  two

'stwo bags of sugar'

semen  fokit  rua
cement  bundle  two

'two sacks of cement'

(107) minyak  botol  telo
fuel [Mly]  bottle [Du] three

'three bottles of kerosene'
Chapter Sixteen
Expressions of time

In addition to the temporal, aspectual and modal functions of the pre-verbal TAM system [§12.2.2], the post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4], and the ever-present deictics [Chapter §10], the Buru language has a rich variety of words, phrases and clauses used to set a proposition in time or to relate the proposition temporally to other propositions. Time arguments that are of relevance only to the immediate clause occur as peripheral arguments [Chapter §18], while time arguments that are relevant to the development of the discourse are expressed preceding the clause as a peripheral topicalisation [Chapter §21]. Some time expressions may be used either nominally or verbally, but most are nominal. This chapter first surveys many of the subsystems used to express time, and then discusses the structures and functions of time expressions in syntax and discourse.

16.1 Survey of temporal subsystems

16.1.1 Common time words representing spans of time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>waktu</th>
<th>Arabic loan via Malay commonly used in three ways:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1) a general word for 'time'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) used in the possessive construction (e.g. nak waktu) for 'its time; fate;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the time appointed for or appropriate to s.t. (e.g. birth, a boil bursting,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>death)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) 'era (usually of external influence)' E.g. waktu Ternate, waktu Jepang,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc. (era of Ternate, era of Japan, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musun</td>
<td>1) season, cycle (traditional sense); e.g. monsoons, agriculture, hunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) year (modern calendar sense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fulan</td>
<td>1) moon &lt; PMP *bulta 'moon' 2) month, monthly cycle (e.g. January, menstrual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) season (which can be longer than a lunar month); e.g. ful falhat 'west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monsoon', ful dekat 'rainy season'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minggu</td>
<td>'7-day week' from Portuguese via Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beton</td>
<td>1) 24-hour cycle (e.g. for counting how many days travel, staying, sickness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) night, nighttime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lea</td>
<td>1) sun &lt; PMP *qalejaw 'sun'; 2) daytime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelen</td>
<td>General word representing a temporal occurrence 'time' (lelen seel 'one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>time, once [upon a time]')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terowehe</td>
<td>Specific point in time, hour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edengan</td>
<td>'Time appointed or appropriate for s.t. to come to fruition (e.g. giving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth, a boil bursting, a harvest, a marriage, a death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 41: Words representing spans of time

1See §14.1.
2See B.D. Grimes (1990a,c) for a fuller discussion of these eras.
Expressions of Time

All the above words can function as nouns in an NP. Musun, fulan and minggu may
further function as temporal classifiers [§15.3]. Beto (without the -n) may also be used
verbally.

(1) Da beto haik.
3s night PRF
'It's already nighttime.'

*[Beto-n haik.]*

Folktales and other narratives often use a formulaic parallelism with lea and beton,
particularly when describing the length of a festive occasion to indicate its significance.

(2) Sira purna rame-n beto-n pito, lea-r pito.
3p do festive-GEN night-GEN seven day-PL seven
'They celebrated for seven days and seven nights.'

Lalen is often used to mean 'cycle', and as a multiplier [§15.1.7]. So one can say
Motor lalen paa, tem ya oli. 'When the boat has cycled four times (i.e. four return trips), I
will return.' Or Greja lalen rua... 'Church two times,...' Omak, emrahek, and gahan are
synonyms all indicating a duration of time that is considered by the speaker to be long,
relative to the context.

(3) Sira iko omak haik.
Sira iko emrahek haik.
Sira iko gahan haik.
3p go long time PRF
'They have been gone for a long time.'

16.1.2 Modifying time words

Word indicating spans of time may be followed by various modifiers.

(4) lea lale-n
day inside-GEN
'all day'

(5) lea tau-n
day full-GEN
'a full day'

(6) lea kema-t
day whole-NOM
'the entire day'

(7) lea tifu-n
day middle-GEN
'mid-day, noon'
Chapter 16: Expressions of Time

(8) lea naa
day PROX
'this day, today'

(9) lea dji
day DIST
'that day'

(10) beto-n sahe-t
night-GEN other-NOM
'the other (i.e. different) night'

(11) minguu sak.mena
week [Port] up.dry
'next week'

Words signalling the accomplishment of an unspecified duration of time may be modified as verbs.

(12) emrahak haik
long time PRF
'it has been a long time'

(13) emrahak sa moo
long time one NEG
'in a little while' (lit. 'there is no long time')

16.1.3 Time phrases within a 24-hour cycle

The following examples illustrate conventionalised divisions or periods within a 24-hour cycle (beto). The Buru cycle begins with the onset of full darkness.

(14) beto
'night' (full darkness from around 7:30pm onward depending on the time of sunset)

(15) torowase koi-t
hour taboo-NOM
'taboo hour' (period of about an hour when full darkness is setting in [around 8-9pm] when evil spirits are at their peak activity)

(16) beto haa-t
night big-NOM
'big night' (from around 9pm to 3am)

(17) beto tifu-n
night middle-GEN
'middle of the night' (anywhere from around 10:30pm to 2am)

(18) ewasu kala-k
bird sp. call-k
'ewasu calls' (anywhere from around 2am to 4am)
Expressions of Time

(19) bliola lea
    near sun
    'near dawn' (anywhere from around 3am until a hint of light in the east)

(20) bram lea
    near sun
    'near dawn' (anywhere from around 3am until a hint of light in the east)

(21) prede-predek
    RED-dark
    'beginning to get light' (light enough to see hair on forearm)

(22) lea keha
    sun ascend
    'sunrise'

(23) sup-supan
    RED-next day-GEN
    'early in the morning' (from light until around 8am)

(24) lea em-kela haik
    sun STAT-tall PRF
    'the sun is already high' (from around 9am to 11 am)

(25) lea tifu-n
    day middle-GEN
    'mid-day, noon' (from around 10:30am to 2pm)

(26) lea wesa
    sun ??
    'mid-afternoon' (around 3pm)

(27) moda-n
    wind-GEN
    'afternoon' (from around 3pm until sundown)

(28) lea sogo
    sun cross into water
    'sundown'

(29) mod-moda-n
    RED-wind-GEN
    'late afternoon' (period immediately preceding and following sundown)

(30) emhawen
    'evening' (period from dusk until dark; around 6:30pm to 8pm, depending on the time of sunset)

Time divisions of a clock are specified with torowaha 'hour'.

The etymology of this form is unclear. Toro- 'sound sleep' < PMP *tudoR 'sleep', and wahe-1 'vine, cord' (often knotted or notched for messages relating to time) < PMP *waRej 'vine', or wahe-2 'chat', are possible sources.

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(31) torowahe emsian
    hour one
    'one o'clock'

(32) torowahe-t telo lea wesa
    hour-PL three sun ??
    'three o'clock in the afternoon'

(33) torowahe-t nee prede-predek
    hour-PL six RED-dark
    'six o'clock in the morning'

There is an idiom often used in reference to the time left to do a task at hand (e.g. travel, work in the fields):

(34) Lea ba rema-t hede.
    sun DUR long-NOM CONT
    'The day is still long.' (i.e. there is still enough time to do what needs to be done)

16.1.4 Time phrases relating other days to the present

Words and phrases combine to relate other days to today.

(35) lea naa
day PROX
    'this day / today'

(36) langina
    'now' (the present span of time which includes now, the scope of which varies according to context, but which is limited to the preceding evening)

(37) langina naa
    now PROX
    'today'

(38) langin.beto
    now.night
    'last night' (the night of this 24-hour cycle)

(39) beto naa
    night PROX
    'this night' (ambiguous as to 'coming night' or 'last night', but usually the former 'tonight')

(40) labeto
    'yesterday' (the cycle preceding the last evening)

(41) labeto rua
    yesterday two
    'day before yesterday'

---

The antepenultimate vowel loses its colour [§5.4.2.8], appearing as [i e a ʌ]. Etymologically this word is a lexicalisation of le(e)-beto 'day-night'.

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(42) supan
    'tomorrow' (does not include coming night)

(43) supan rua
    next day two
    'day after tomorrow'

(44) telo dii
    two DIST
    'two days from now' (= day after tomorrow)

(45) telo dii
    three DIST
    'three days from now'

(46) polo dii
    ten DIST
    'ten days from now'

16.1.5 Days of the week

The current terminology for days of the week reflects a conglomerate of terms from several other languages. The classifier [§15.3] har criticised to the name of each day is from the Malay hari 'day' and is used similarly in Malay as a classifier. Minggu is from Portuguese Domingo 'Sunday (day of the Lord)'. Mandak is from Dutch maandag 'Monday'. Tuesday through Friday use Malay numbers (not Buru numbers), following the Portuguese system of segunda-feira (second market = Tuesday), terça-feira (third market = Wednesday), etc. Saptu is from Arabic via the Portuguese Sabado and/or via Malay Sabu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Har Minggu</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>[Portuguese]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Har Mandak</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>[Dutch]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Dua</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>[Ambonese Malay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Tiga</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>[Ambonese Malay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Ampat</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>[Ambonese Malay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Lima</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>[Ambonese Malay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Saptu</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>[Arabic &gt; Portuguese &gt; Malay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 42: Days of the week

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5The Portuguese system used with Malay words for days of the week is quite widespread in the languages of eastern Indonesia. Here it is shifted, however, as in Portuguese segunda-feira is Monday rather than Tuesday.
16.1.6 Phases of the moon

| ful.fehut   | 'new moon'                        |
| fulan naan | 'bright moon'                     |
| ful.reden   | 'dark moon' (moon hasn’t yet risen when it gets dark) |
| ful.dawan   | 'full moon'                       |
| fulan eghegak | 'quarter moon'                |

Figure 43: Phases of the moon

Phases of the moon are often relevant to hunting or fishing. For example, fulan naan, a full or bright moon is a good time to geke or engati ‘call cuscus at night’, but on the coast it is generally considered a poor time for fishing. Ful.reden ‘dark moon’ is much better for fishing.

16.1.7 Times in a year to which other things can be related

There are several events and periods of time during a year to which other things can be related. ‘Such-and-such occurred before event X’, or ‘after period X’. These phrases serve temporal milestones. Some of the more common ones are listed below.

| ful.timo       | ‘east monsoon’; approximately mid-May to mid-August, but varies year-to-year [< PMP *timuR ‘east’] |
| ful.fahat      | ‘west monsoon’; approximately November to early February  [< PAM *SabaRaqat ‘prevailing monsoon’] |
| Natal          | Christmas (loan via Malay) |
| Paska          | Easter (loan via Malay) |
| musun fehut    | New Year (calendar) |
| tahun baru Cina | Chinese New Year; often toward the end of ful fahat (late January-early February) |
| tujubelas      | ‘17’, Malay word used to represent 17 August, Indonesian Independence day and is often used as a fixed point that coincides approximately with the end of both the hunting season and ful timo. |

Figure 44: Milestones in a yearly cycle

In response to questions such as 'when did X occur?', a reference can be made to one of these periods, such as:

(47) Waktu dli, ful.timo hede.
     time [Arab] DIST moon.east CONT
     'At that time it was still [during] the east monsoon.'
16.1.7.1 Calendar system

Effective manipulation of the calendar months is generally limited to those who have been to school. Two terminology systems are used, the first mirroring that found in much of the AM-speaking region and being more common, while the second appears to be a recent introduction. The first system uses the Ambonese Malay bulang 'moon, month' as the generic noun classifier, while the second uses the Buru fulan 'moon, month, season'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTSIDE SYSTEM 1</th>
<th>OUTSIDE SYSTEM 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bulang satu</td>
<td>fulan Januari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang dua</td>
<td>fulan Februari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang tiga</td>
<td>fulan Maret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang ampa</td>
<td>fulan April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang lima</td>
<td>fulan Mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang anam/anang</td>
<td>fulan Juni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang tuju</td>
<td>fulan Juli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang (di)lapang</td>
<td>fulan Agustus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang sambilang</td>
<td>fulan September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang spulu</td>
<td>fulan Oktober</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang seblas</td>
<td>fulan Nopember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang duolas</td>
<td>fulan Desember</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 45: Two systems for calendar months

If one uses the Buru words equivalent to the first system (e.g. fulan telo 'month 3') it is ambiguous as to whether the speaker is referring to absolute time (i.e. 'March') or to relative time (i.e. three months from now). The latter is the default interpretation.

16.1.7.2 Traditional system of lunar months

There is a traditional system that follows the lunar months and so does not correlate precisely with the calendar months (for example Sam-sama begins around mid-August). The modifiers haa 'big' and roa 'small' subdivide periods. The traditional system of lunar months (or phases of a yearly cycle) is in waning use. Certain phases (e.g. Sam-sama) tend to be more widely known and referred to than others. The system is utilised when setting a time for an event, such as wedding negotiations, bridewealth payment, payment of a debt, meeting other hunting parties, settling disputes over land, pigs and women, etc.

---

6Three different people gave me three different variations of the traditional months presented here. Hendriks (1897:14) gives a fourth version.
### Expressions of Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sam-sama</th>
<th>August</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaprupa</td>
<td>September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman Haa</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman Roi</td>
<td>November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulan Bottit</td>
<td>'white moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ful.Bot.Haa</td>
<td>December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ful.Bot.Roi</td>
<td>January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ful fahat 'west season'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ipit</th>
<th>February</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ip.Haa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ip.Roi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sablefat</td>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawa</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efut</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ef.Haa</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ef.Roi</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ful timo 'east season'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 46: Traditional cycle of lunar months in a year

### 16.1.7.3 Agricultural cycles

There is a general agricultural cycle:

(48) enogi         'cutting (around August)'
pefa             'burning (around September)'
seka             'planting (October-December)'
kalli/anyegut    'digging up/harvesting (March/April)'
fuf.timo          'east monsoon when things grow or lie fallow (February-July)'

There are several specific agricultural cycles which are used to set an event in relative time. The cycle of each of these cycles varies, not only from year to year, but also from region to region on Buru. Thus, one may say, "I did X when the corn was at such-and-such a stage." Not knowing the year or the region, the possibilities could span about a ten week period on the calendar. Knowing the year and the locale, however, narrows the span of time down to around a week. When arriving in a new locale, some of the first information discussed is often the stages of various crops. 'Have you dug your peanuts yet?' 'Have you burned your gardens yet?'. There are recognised cycles for crops such as corn (biskutu), rice (pala < PMP *pajey), foxtail millet (fete-n < PAN *beCeng), and the flowers and sprouts (elodi) of several species of mahogany trees from the genus Shorea that are the primary food for cuscus and wild boar during ful.timo 'east monsoon'. The abundance or scarcity of elodi is the key link as to whether or not groups of men will spend extended time (3-5 months)

---

7I use season here as this better represents the emic classification of months. The actual monsoon season is usually Ful.Botit.
8The height of the east monsoon is Efut.
hunting under a special code of behaviour and avoidances. The meat caught and dried during that period not only provides their families with their main supply of yearly protein, but also provides an economic basis for bartering for items of bridewealth for their young men (marbutu), and influences their personal stature in the community. These, and other factors make elodi-watching an important local past-time and topic of discussion with visitors from other areas. The elodi cycle is exemplified below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. da seh.lolo-t</th>
<th>the flower petals have curled back and dropped off and the pistil drops to the ground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. da es-pusu</td>
<td>the pistil on the ground sprouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. da pan.fenga-n</td>
<td>the sprout begins to open (lit. ‘it has fly wings’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. da pan.dango</td>
<td>the halves of the sprout grow (lit. ‘it has horsefly wings’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. da pan.wae-t</td>
<td>Lit. ‘it has wet wings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. da pan.mera</td>
<td>Lit. ‘it has red wings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. da pan amasa</td>
<td>the halves of the sprout pod shrivel and break off (lit. ‘it has dry wings’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. da goli emnganga</td>
<td>the new leaves begin to open (lit. ‘the goli bird is open-mouthed’ comparing the leaves with the bird’s beak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. da tanga-k kide</td>
<td>the leaves open flat, parallel to the ground (comparing the leaves to a large wooden disk (kide) placed at the top of the posts on which a grain bin is built, to keep out rodents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. da om.lolo-k</td>
<td>New tender leaves are curled up (lit. ‘it has curled leaves’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. da sos obohi</td>
<td>It sends tender white roots into the ground (lit. ‘nurses by its anus’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. da emo.m-lila-k</td>
<td>The leaves become firm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 47: Stages of the mahogany cycle

The pig and cuscus gorge themselves on young seedlings from stages seven through eleven, with the peak at stage ten. Different species sprout at different times, so keeping track of what trees are at what stage where (within about two days walk of each village) is a collective effort. The stages are conventionalised enough that one does not even have to make explicit that one is referring to the elodi cycle.

(49) **Ya tehu fafu dii, tu da tanga-k kide**
1s chase pig DIST with 3s set disk

‘I chased that pig when the leaves were out flat (stage 9).’

[Lit. ‘I chased that pig when it was setting the wooden disk in its place’]

16.1.7.4 Other seasonal or cyclical concepts

Other cycles are referred to for the purpose of placing events in relation to time. Dry spells are often referred to in relation to planting, harvest, and travel for negotiations. The tidal cycles are often referred to by people living within a day’s walk from the coast. Fishing

---

9The massive harvesting of the mahogany trees by timber companies without replanting is rapidly reducing these already scarce sources of protein and rapidly reducing the frequency and extent of this focal activity of Buru culture and food-gathering.
and travelling along the coast are often done at low tide. The extreme ranges of the tides are often discussed in relation to the phases of the moon.

(50)  
mena-t  'dry spell, dry season'  
heta-t  'low tide'  
sege-t  'high tide'  

(51)  
Ya toho la taga heta-t, la iko pa Wamkana.  
Is descend IRR meet lowtide-NOM IRR go down Strongwater  
'I'm going down (to the coast) to wait for low tide to go down (the coast) to Wamkana.'  

(52)  
Ya iko tu heta-t.  
Is go with lowtide-NOM  
'I'm going at low tide.'  

16.2 Asking about time

Asking about time takes a variety of question forms. There is no simple general form for asking about time that is applicable in all contexts.

(53)  
pila saa?  
how many one  
'what time? at what time? when?'  

(54)  
beto-n pila?  
night-GEN how many  
'how many days (did it take to do X)_TAPE?'  

(55)  
beto doo?  
night where  
'which day (did it happen)_TAPE?'  

(56)  
fula-n pila?  
moon-GEN how many  
'how many months (did it take to do X)_TAPE?'  

(57)  
bulang pila?  
month [AM] how many  
'which month (did/will you do X)?TAPE_TAPE'  

(58)  
musu-n pila?  
season-GEN how many  
'how many seasons? how many years'  

(59)  
torowahe-r pila?  
hour-PL how many  
'how many hours (long)? at what time?'  

---

10Remember that months are referred to by number, e.g. bulang tiga 'month three = March'.

C. Grimes
16.3 Relating two clauses with respect to time

The ways in which Buru relates two clauses temporally, such as 'Before he did Y, he did X' and 'He did X, then he did Y', is discussed in Chapter §20 within the larger context of interclause relations.

16.4 Time expressions in discourse

When time is made explicit in Buru discourse it is usually introducing a temporal setting (new information) or indicating a shift in the temporal setting (important information). As such, it is common for a time expression to be fronted [Chapter §21], being topicalised in both the sentence and the episode in which it appears. Some of the more common phrases not already presented are given below.

(60) Lale-n ssa, inside-GEN one
    'one time; once'

(61) Lale-n sa dedu-k, inside-GEN one repeat-k
    'a second time; another time'

(62) Sepo fi dili, finish LOC DIST
    'After that; later on (from that time)'

(63) Leuk fi dili, precede LOC DIST
    'Before that; earlier (from that time)'

(64) Rama-k source-k
    'Later on (from now); soon; in a bit' [can refer to immediate or remote future]

(65) Bal-bala-k RED-??-k
    'Long ago; it used to be that' [can include experience of present generation]

(66) Duwe-duwe RED-yore
    'Long ago; in/from the days of old' [experience prior to that of the present generation]

(67) Tu dili,11 with DIST
    'At that time; then (past)'

11This phrase is often used appositionally, followed immediately by another, more specific time expression. The use of two phrases together in this way is seen as a mark of eloquence and often appears in ritual speech.
Chapter 16:

Expressions of Time

(68) Tu naa, with PROX
     'At this time; now'

(69) Beto leu-k, night precede-k
     'At an earlier time (near or remote)

(70) Beto dii, night DIST
     'At that time; that night'

When the time frame of a discourse is introduced with an appositional construction
[§11.2.4], this is often the first indication that the speaker is attempting to manipulate (to a
greater or lesser degree) ritual language [Chapter §22], such as during negotiations and
litigations, or in the performance of folklore, speeches, prayers, etc. The appositional
construction(s) go from more generic to more specific.

(71) "*: dii, beto dii, ...
     with DIST night DIST
     'At that time, on that day, ...'

(72) Tu naa, langina naa, tornwana naa, ...
     with PROX present PROX hour PROX
     'At this time (broad), at this time (within this day cycle), at this hour, ...'

(73) Tu dii, lea lalae-n saa, ...
     with DIST some inside-GEN one
     'One day during that time period, ...'

When the time frame is incidental to the narrative the time expression can be buried as
a normal post-verbal argument in a clause. For oblique time phrases, the preposition tu
[§13.2.1.1] indicates at a point in time, ti di [§13.2.2.1] indicates from a point in time, and eta
[§13.2.3.3] indicates until a point in time.

(74) Beto dii, da iko.
     night DIST 3s go
     'That day/night, he left.'

(75) Da iko tu beto dii.
     3s go with night DIST
     'He left that day/night.'

(76) Da iko tu beto.
     3s go with night
     'He left by night.'

(77) Fi dii beto dii, da iko.
     LOC DIST night DIST 3s go
     'Beginning from that day, he has been gone.'
Expressions of Time

(78) Da iko fi di beto dii. 3s go LOC DIST night DIST 'He has been gone from that day.'

(79) Da iko eta beto dii. 3s go until night DIST 'He will be gone until that day.'

Most time words behave as nominals and take nominal modifications such as deictics. A few, such as beto can also behave as verbs and be modified with perfective haik 'already' or mohede 'not yet'. Nominal time words can also be incorporated into the verbal predicate with the applicative /-kl/ [§12.3.4]. This is true for some phrases as well.

(80) Supa-n. da iko. next day-GEN 3s go 'Tomorrow, he will go.'

(81) Da iko supa-n. 3s go next day-GEN 'He will go tomorrow.'

(82) Da iko supa-k. 3s go next day-k 'He will go-tomorrow.'

(83) Moda-n. da iko. wind-GEN 3s go 'In the afternoon, he will go.'

(84) Da iko moda-n. 3s go wind-GEN 'He will go in the afternoon.'

(85) Da iko moda-k. 3s go wind-k 'He will afternoon-go.'

(86) Lea tifu-n. kem kaa. sun middle-GEN 1pe eat 'In the middle of the day, we ate.'

(87) Kam kaa tu lea tifu-n. 1pe eat with sun middle-GEN 'We ate in the middle of the day.'

(88) Kam kaa lea tifu-k. 1pe eat sun middle-k 'We lunched.'
Chapter Seventeen

Buru phrase structure

One of the contributions to linguistics from the generative tradition has been the observation that there are systematic generalisations about phrase structure that can be made across diverse phrase types within a language. Gazdar, Klein, Pullum and Sag (1985:17) note,

In syntax, Harris (1946, 1951) proposed that the relation between categories such as V and VP, and N and NP, was a systematic one that could be captured by breaking the monadic parts of speech labels into two components, namely a category type and a phrasal level. This insight was subsequently taken up in the 'X-bar syntax' suggested by Chomsky (1970) and most fully developed in Jackendoff 1977.

Sag and Pclard (1989:140) are more specific,

Among the generalizations that have been sought by the proponents of the latter theories [Government and Binding, and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar] are (1) the systematic relation between phrases and their heads, loosely described by the slogan "phrases are projected from their lexical heads* and (2) the general principles of constituent order that appear to hold across phrases of diverse types in a given language.

That different phrase types within a language each have a head and complement and that there is a regular ordering relationship between those heads and their complements is to Chomsky (1988:69) "an invariant core of language" and a principle of universal grammar.

I find that there are generalisations that can be made about Buru phrase structure that also give insight into exceptions to those generalisations. It is both the generalisations and the exceptions that are the subject of this chapter. An assumption underlying the discussion in this chapter is that cliticisation of a root [§5.4.3.1] is a form of marking, and therefore the forms and associated functions of uncliticised (full) roots are less marked and more basic.

17.1 Head-modifier order in simple phrases

The structure of simple Buru phrases can be captured by the generalisation that in simple phrases, modifiers and complements follow phrase heads. This general structure holds for simple NPs, VPs, and PPs.
Figure 48: The structure of a simple phrase

17.1.1 Noun phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N5</th>
<th>N4</th>
<th>N3</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>N1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NounHead</td>
<td>(Feature)</td>
<td>( ATTR )&lt;sup&gt;&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;/sup&gt;-&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(Number)</td>
<td>(REL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Noun&lt;sub&gt;Mod&lt;/sub&gt;)</td>
<td>(Classifier + Num.)</td>
<td>(Quantifier (+ ADV))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. enhero | pe-panga | rua | dii
2. enhero |         | dofo-t | edemen | nna
3. huma   | hawa    | t'-rangi-n |  |  |
4. huma   |         | em-kele |  |  |
5. huma   |         | esnebat | pito |  |
6. geba   |         |         | rua | [har dli du iko lebeto] | dli

1. 'those two barbed spears'
2. 'these many straight spears'
3. 'the near garden house'
4. 'the tall house upstream' [pile house]
5. 'seven houses of worship'
6. 'those two people who left yesterday'

Figure 49: Structure of expanded simple NPs

The constituent order and structure of simple NPs has already been discussed in detail [§11.1] and is summarised in the figure abc-<sup>e</sup>. The ordering within an NP is rigid. Each layer encompasses the scope of preceding layers (to the left). Cooccurrence restrictions are indicated by the placement of non-cooccurring modifiers under a single node. Complications to this generalised structure within NPs are discussed later in this chapter [§17.2 and §17.3].

17.1.2 Verbal complex

Verbal predicates [Chapter §18] superficially conform to the head-modifier pattern described above.
Figure 50: Structure of a simple verbal predicate

Complications involving pre-verbal modifiers and variations with the post-verbal auxiliaries are discussed later in this chapter (§17.2 and §17.3).

17.1.3 Prepositional phrases

The notion that the head is the constituent that determines the category of phrases (cf. Nichols 1986, Marantz 1989) argues for considering Buru prepositions as the head of prepositional phrases. Such an analysis further allows prepositional phrases to conform to the generalisation made about Buru phrase structure, that modifiers and complements follow their phrase heads (§13.1).

Figure 51: Prepositional phrase structure
Complications to this basic structure with complex prepositions are discussed below [§17.2.4].

17.2 Pre-head modifiers

Each of the phrase types mentioned above [§17.1] can have modifiers occurring before the head of the phrase. Such pre-head modifiers are anomalous to the general pattern of phrase structure introduced in this chapter and warrant comment.

17.2.1 Possessive construction

When the possessive word, with or without its preceding pronoun [§14.1], is used within an NP, it acts as a pre-head modifier.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N_2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N_1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Poss. Word)</td>
<td>N_{Head}</td>
<td>(Modifiers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

1. nak  ama  [3sPOSS father]
2. ya nang todo  rua  [1s 1sPOSS machete two]
3. nun  hawa  ha-t  [3pPOSS field big-NOM]

Figure 52: Possessive word as pre-head modifier in Possessive NP

It is important to remember that the possessive word in its full form and in its affixing possibilities behaves much like a verb [§14.1.3].

(1) Ya nanga todo  naa.  [Possessive Clause]
    1s IsPOSS machete PROX
    'This is my machete.'
    'I own this machete.'

(2) Todo  naa, ya  nangu-k.
    machete PROX  1s  IsPOSS-k
    'This machete, it is mine.'
Chapter 17: Buru Phrase Structure

(3) Kawasan p-em-naka-k geba rua ute ringe
Head CAUS-STAT-3sPOSS-k person two DAT 3s
eta dena la masl.
until arrive downstream sea

'The village head put two people at his disposal until they should reach the coast.'

Thus, the occurrence of the possessive word (as a possessive pronoun) before the possessed noun (as phrase head within an NP) is merely a reflection of the more basic order of the possessive word (as predicative clause nucleus) occurring before the possessed noun (as direct object) in a possessive clause [§19.3.3]. The difference is in the distribution and function of the possessive construction relative to the clause as a whole, rather than in the ordering of constituents within the possessive construction.

(4) Da kala-k nang ama. [Possessive Object NP]
3s call-k [1sPOSS father]NP
'He summoned my father.'

(5) Da kala-k ya nang ama.
3s call-k [1s 1sPOSS father]NP
'He summoned my father.'

(6) Nang fafu mata haik. [Possessive Subject NP]
[1sPOSS pig] die PRF
'My pig died.'

(7) Ya nang fafu mata haik.
[1s 1sPOSS pig] die PRF
'My pig died.'

Although it is possible for both the pronoun and the possessive word to occur in their uncriticised forms within an NP, the overwhelming pattern is for them to be criticised, as in the first two examples below.

(8) Da lata-h tu nang todo. [criticised possessive word]
3s cut-it [with 1sPOSS machete]PP
'He cut it with my machete.'

(9) Da lata-h tu ya nang todo. [criticised pronoun & possessive]
3s cut-it [with 1s 1sPOSS machete]PP
'He cut it with my machete.'

(10) Da lata-h tu yako nango todo. [uncriticised pronoun & possessive]
3s cut-it [with 1s 1sPOSS machete]PP
'He cut it with my machete.'

The criticised forms form a single stress group [§6.3] with the head noun. Thus, the Possessive NP is developing toward a structure in which the first stress group in the
construction marks the phonological phrase head, even though grammatically there are pre-head modifiers.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  x & x & x & x \\
  ya' nang & todo & x & x \\
  [[1s 1sPOSS machete]_{poss} & rua & dii & \\
  two]_{NumberNP} & DIST]_{DeletionNP}
\end{array}
\]

'those two machetes of mine'

17.2.2 Genitive construction

Similarly, the genitive construction §14.2 yields modifiers that occur before the head of the construction.

\[
\text{Figure 53: The genitive as a pre-head modifier in the genitive construction}
\]

As discussed in §14.4, the order of the genitive construction is not readily explainable on synchronic evidence. It was also noted in §14.4 that the order of the genitive construction with the genitive modifier preceding the head is typologically rare for a prepositional SVO language whose modifiers follow the head noun in an NP. It can be seen from the discussion here that the order within the genitive construction is also anomalous to the general pattern of phrase structure within the Buru language.\(^1\)

\(^1\)As mentioned in §14.4., while it is possible for the order within the genitive construction to have developed from topicalisation through fronting, such an explanation is not readily accessible through the synchronic Buru data. The search for an explanation must encompass the many other languages in the region in which the genitive modifier also occurs before the head noun. The likely explanation is the order found in these languages calqued on the order of the genitive construction of non-Austronesian languages that were present before the arrival of the Austronesians.
17.2.3 Pre-verbal TAM system

In §12.2.2, a system of pre-verbal tense-aspect-mood [TAM] proclitics was introduced. These proclitics modify the main verb and occur before it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM proclitic</th>
<th>V₁</th>
<th>V₂</th>
<th>Vₚhead</th>
<th>(Modifiers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iko</td>
<td>hede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>em-pai</td>
<td>sepo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. want to go  [IRR ty]
2. be still sick [DUR STAT-hurt CONT]
3. just now finished eating [IMMpast eat finish]

Figure 54: TAM system as pre-head verbal modifiers

Like the Possessive NP [§17.2.1], the TAM system results in a structure in which the first stress group of the grammatical phrase marks the phonological phrase head, even though grammatically the proclitics function as pre-head modifiers. The cliticisation of the first verb in a serial verb construction has resulted in the function of that verb shifting from being part of the phrase head to being a modifier to the phrase head. The position remains the same as that of the unciliticised full verb. Thus, while TAM proclitics occur as pre-head modifiers in the phrase, the system developed through the cliticisation of the first verb of serial verb constructions.

In §12.2.4 it was argued that the TAM system has developed as a result of the cliticisation of the first verb in a serial verb construction.²

(12) Geba saa, da tewa puna hawa gosa. [serial verb]
  person one 3s know do field good
  'One man knows how to make a field well.'

(13) Geba sahe t du, da te puna hawa gosa moo. [proclitic]
  person other-NOM DIST 3s ABIL do field good NEG
  'The other man doesn’t know how to make a field well.'

The TAM proclitics are included as part of the stress group [§6.3] of the head verb.

²This is consistent with GiVón’s (1984:230) observation that, “Tense-aspect-modal markers arise almost always from main verbs. Their complements then get reanalysed as main verbs, while the erstwhile main verb becomes a tense-aspect-modal affix.” [Emphasis in the original].

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(14)    x
       x  x  x
       te  puna
       ABIL  do
       'can do / able to make'

(15)    x
       x  x  x
       bamba  mata
       IMMpast  die
       'just now died'

This gives us a straightforward explanation of a pattern that otherwise appears to be anomalous with the general phrase structure of the language. This explanation is consistent with the observation by Marantz (1989:99-100) that:

The X-bar character of constituent structure, with the heads of phrases determining the category and features of these phrases, follows from the way that relations among constituents are projected into the syntax. ... The essential disturbing feature of constructions containing clitics is that they do not directly obey any sort of X-bar constraints on syntax.

17.2.4 Complex prepositions

In §13.3.1, it was argued that when deictics are used by themselves as locative prepositions, they are ambiguous as to whether they should be interpreted as motion toward a goal, motion from a source, or presence at a location.

(16) Du keha sak fuka.
     3p ascend up mountain
     'They went (up) into the mountains.'

(17) Du defo sak fuka.
     3p stay up mountain
     'They live (up) in the mountains.'

(18) Du suba sak fuka.
     3p cross threshold up mountain
     'They left the mountains.'
     'They arrived in the mountains.'

(19) Da egu-\h  dj  ringga.
     3s transfer control-it DIST 3p
     'He\h  took it to h.\h .
     'He\h  got it from him.\h
     'He\h  got it at his\h  place.'

Allative 'to' and non-allative 'at, from' senses can be distinguished by modifying the deictics with the dependent prepositions gam and fi respectively [§13.2.2].
The allative gam and the non-allative fi modify the deictic and cannot occur without a following deictic. These morphemes are thus pre-head modifiers forming a complex preposition.

![Figure 55: Dependent prepositions as pre-head modifiers](image)

In §13.2.2 it was argued that allative gam and non-allative fi derive from verbs\(^3\) that are now so restricted in their distribution that they only function in combination with deictics as prepositions. As verbs, their position preceded that of prepositions. In their current function modifying deictics they have retained their former position as verbs preceding locative (deictic) prepositions.

17.3 Phrasal outliers

NPs often use deictics as phrasal outliers to bracket what is included in the NP. Verb complexes use post-verbal auxiliaries as outliers following clause arguments. The status of these two systems is explored in this section to see what generalisations might be made.

---

\(^3\)The verbs are gam ‘motion toward a goal’ and fi ‘motion from a source’ respectively.
17.3.1 Deictics

In §11.1.6 it was noted that deictics follow all other modifiers in an NP, including relative clauses.

(22) Du yaha-k ṣeba ru₃ dili. [follows number]
    3p evict-k [person two DIST]NP
    'They kicked those two people out.'

(23) Du yaha-k ṣeba haa-t dili. [follows verbal attribute]
    3p evict-k [person big-NOM DIST]NP
    'They kicked out that important person.'

(24) Du yaha-k ṣeba ha dili da bamba kadu-k [follows REL clause]
    3p evict-k [person [REL DIST 3s just come-k]REL] NP
    'They kicked out that person who had just arrived.'

Deictics also differ from most other nominal modifiers in that they can behave as a pro-form, substituting for the entire NP.

(25) Du yaha. dili. [follows REL clause]
    3p evict-k DIST
    'They kicked that one out.'

The position of deictics within an NP is fully consistent with the general structure of the Buru phrase. Its position as the final modifier is also consistent with Givón’s (1984:295) observation that modifiers having broader scope and those performing discourse pragmatic functions tend to occur away from, rather than close to the phrase head.

17.3.2 Post-verbal auxiliaries

The occurrence of post-verbal auxiliaries in two different positions raises questions about the composition of the VP. In §12.4 it was noted that post-verbal auxiliaries can occur either preceding or following post-verbal arguments. It was also observed that there is an iconic relationship between the semantic scope of the post-verbal auxiliaries and their position in the clause. When post-verbal auxiliaries occur in the nucleus of the clause preceding post-verbal arguments, they function as modifiers to the head within the VP, and thus have the clause nucleus as their scope. At the end of the clause, however, following oblique and peripheral arguments -- the normal position -- their scope is clausal.5 The primary functions

4Involving "the sequencing or placing of atomic propositions within a wider communicative context" (Givón 1984:31).
5This subtle relationship between position and scope is loosely paralleled by the English She went slowly up the hill. vs. She went up the hill slowly.
of post-verbal auxiliaries tend to be aspectual and modal, often giving the speaker’s comment, attitude or opinion about the proposition of the clause proper [§12.4].

(26) Da iko *haik* gam sak Rana.  [Nuclear scope]
    3s [go PRF]Nucleus [ALL up Rana]LocPP
    'He’s already gone up to Rana.'

(27) Da iko *haik* gam sak Rana.  [Clausal scope]
    'He’s gone up to Rana already.'

The scope of the post-verbal auxiliary is its immediate clause, as can be seen in sentences with conjoined clauses.

(28) Da prepa *rahek*. "Kam kadu-k tu kulun geba utun telo." 3s say just lpe come-k with laborer[Mly] person hundredthree
    'He just said, “we came with three laborers.”'

(29) Kam pese sara faha tu geba huma tobo-n  [repo.
    1pe pump touch hand OB: person house master-GEN finish
    Kawasan Kek.Goni-t taga kami. Leader Mount??-NOM approach 1pe

    'When] we had finished shaking hands with the head of the household, the Village Head of Kek.Goniit approached us.'

The question is, then, when a post-verbal auxiliary occurs following post-verbal arguments as they normally do, is it a disjointed modifier within the VP, or should it be considered a constituent of the clause, or a predicate in its own right?\(^6\)

\[Figure 56: Positions of post-verbal auxiliaries [PVA] in relation to clause constituents\]

Post-verbal auxiliaries in both positions are strictly modifiers and should not be considered a predicative clause (i.e. they cannot take their own subject). Furthermore, post-

\(^6\)Discussion of the Buru verbal clause is found in Chapter §18.

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verbal auxiliaries are lexical, not phrasal and so do not conform internally to the general structure of Buru phrases discussed in this chapter. Serial verbs (which are predicative) may be separated from each other by a core-layer argument or subordinated by an interclause relator [Chapter §21]. Post-verbal auxiliaries can take neither in either position.

(30) Coreferential subject in purpose clause
Da iko la da linga-h.
3s go IRR 3s look-it
'He went in order for him to look at it.'

(31) Equi-deletion of coreferential subject in purpose clause
Da iko la [∅] linga-h.
3s go IRR look-it
'He went to (purpose) look at it.'

(32) Core-layer serialisation
Da iko da linga-h.
3s go 3s look-it
'He went, he looked at it.'

(33) Nuclear layer serialisation
Da iko linga-h.
3s go look-it
'He went and looked at it / He went to look at it.'

(34) Post-verbal auxiliaries as modifiers
Da iko hede.
3s go CONT
'He is still going.'

*[Da iko da hede.]
3s go 3s CONT

*[Da iko la hede.]
3s go IRR CONT

Thus, there is no structural reason to consider clause-final post-verbal auxiliaries as phrasal clause-level constituents of equal status with other clause-level constituents, nor for considering them to be a reduced predicative clause stripped of arguments and modifiers. This brings us back to position as a reflection of functional scope. In this view, post-verbal auxiliaries are simple modifiers to the clause as a whole, and are thus consistent with the general pattern of head-modifier structure and order found in other structures in the language.

![Figure 57: Post-verbal auxiliaries (PVA) as clause modifiers](image-url)
17.4 Compounds as phrase heads

It was observed in §11.5.2 that the internal head-modifier structure of nominal compounds reflects the particular phrase type of which they are a reduction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(35)</th>
<th>Descriptive NPs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fuka Buru</td>
<td>'the island of Buru'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuk.Buru</td>
<td>'Buru Island'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(36)</th>
<th>Attributive NPs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kada-n rema-t</td>
<td>'a long leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kad.rema-t</td>
<td>'long-legged'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(37)</th>
<th>Number NPs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rama-n paa</td>
<td>'four eyes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram.paa</td>
<td>'four-eyed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(38)</th>
<th>Genitive construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fafu ana-n</td>
<td>'offspring of a pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fak.ana-n</td>
<td>'piglet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal compounds also reflect internally the head-modifier structures from which they derive [§12.5].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(39)</th>
<th>Compounding of serial verbs:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.linga</td>
<td>go.look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.tou-k</td>
<td>go.see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.hama</td>
<td>go.search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spal.yaha-k</td>
<td>throw.get rid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor.dohi-k</td>
<td>talk.narrate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(40)</th>
<th>Compounding with manner modifiers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.roho-k</td>
<td>go.slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hek.tata-k</td>
<td>flee.drop-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor.leda-k</td>
<td>talk.thoughtless-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fag.mata-k</td>
<td>throw.die-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(41)</th>
<th>Compounding with incorporated arguments:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik.kada-k</td>
<td>go.foot-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.speda-k</td>
<td>go.bicycle-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik.supa-k</td>
<td>go.next day-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(42)</th>
<th>Compounding with periphrastic causative:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pun.gosa</td>
<td>do.good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pun.dofo</td>
<td>do.straight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(43)</th>
<th>Compounding with verbal prepositions:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ol.tuha</td>
<td>return.accompany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hek.tuha</td>
<td>flee.accompany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rog.ute</td>
<td>enter.DATIVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of these types of compounding yield a single phonological stress group [§6.3]. Thus, at the level of the phrase, the entire compound forms a single stress group that is the phrase head, irrespective of its internal complexity.

Figure 58: Compound as phrase-head of a complex NP

17.5 Summary

1) There is a general pattern of Buru phrase structure that can be made across diverse phrase types in which the phrase head precedes its modifiers or complements.

2) With the exception of the genitive construction, modifiers which do precede the head can all be shown to derive from more basic constructions that conform to the expected pattern. The function of these modifiers has changed, but their distribution (position relative to the head) reflects a more basic function.

3) Modifiers that have the option of being separated from their head by relatively large amounts of material (e.g. deictics and post-verbal auxiliaries) tend to perform discourse pragmatic functions rather than syntactic functions.

4) Pre-head modifiers that are clitics or cliticised roots combine with the grammatical phrase head to form a single phonological stress group. This initial stress group is the head of the phonological phrase.

5) Compounds as a whole, rather than their parts, form the head of a phrase.
Chapter Eighteen

Verbal clauses

The structure of all Buru clauses may be captured by the simple generalisation:

\[ \text{CLAUSE} = \text{Subject} + \text{Predicate} \]

The type of predicate determines the type of clause. The main differences between predicates derive from the internal composition (structural and semantic) of the predicate. Further distinctions in clause types can be based on which structures can be subject. Some clause types have constraints on how the predicate may be modified.

Buru has four basic types of predicates: verbal, copular, semi-verbal, and non-verbal. Their subtypes are summarised in the figure below. Clauses with verbal predicates are discussed in this chapter. Clauses with non-verbal and semi-verbal predicates, and copular clauses are discussed in Chapter §19. Some non-verbal and semi-verbal clause types have verbal or copular counterparts which permit certain types of verbal modifications to the predicate. These additional types of verbal predicates are also discussed in Chapter §19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal predicates</th>
<th>Non-verbal predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active transitive</td>
<td>Equative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active intransitive</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-active</td>
<td>Distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>Presentational (existential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal presentational (existential)</td>
<td>Full attributive (descriptive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[^1\text{I avoid characterising this structure as topic-comment because it is necessary in Buru to distinguish between subject and topic [Chapter §21]. The Prague school of linguistics uses the terms theme and rhyme in a parallel way to my use of subject and predicate (cf. Crystal 1985).}\]
**Verbal Clauses**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-verbal predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Elided attributive (descriptive) | §19.2.1  
| Ambient | §19.2.2  
| Possessive | §19.2.3  
| Naming | §19.2.4  
| Locative | §19.2.5  
| Similitive | §19.2.6  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copular (<em>puna</em>) predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Equative | §19.1.1  
| Quantifier | §19.1.2  
| Attributive | §19.1.1  
| Similitive | §19.2.6  

**Figure 59: Summary of predicate types**

### 18.1 The layered structure of the verbal clause

K.L. Pike (1954, Pike & Pike 1977) developed a notion of the clause consisting of recursive nuclei and margins, similar to other structural units as one moves up the hierarchy of language.² The basic concept has been refined in various forms, with Foley and van Valin (1984:77ff.) characterising the clause as follows:

This view of the clause takes it to be a layered structure, with the outer layers enclosing the inner layers. Each of these layers has its own set of constituents, and ...its own set of operators. The innermost layer of the clause is the NUCLEUS, which contains the predicate. It is the heart of the clause. The nucleus may be complex and consist of more than one predicate .... Surrounding the nucleus is the CORE of the clause, which consists of one or two arguments of the predicate, depending on its valence. ...in a simple active clause [the two arguments] are semantically the actor and undergoer. The arguments occurring in the core of the clause will ...be referred to as 'core arguments'. The outermost layer of the clause is the PERIPHERY, which contains arguments expressing the spatio-temporal setting of the event, ...well as the secondary participants in the event, e.g. beneficiaries. (p.77) .... The main coding feature distinguishing core from peripheral arguments is that core arguments tend to occur in unmarked morphological or syntactic forms and peripheral arguments in marked, often adpositional, codings. (p.79)

Adopting another fairly widespread concept, Foley and Van Valin (1984:93) further distinguish between an *inner periphery* and an *outer periphery*. These two peripheral layers distinguish between arguments which are, in essence, associated with the predicate (i.e.

---

²For exam : i.e., according to Pike the predicate forms the 'nucleus' and the core arguments the 'margins' of a clause base; the clause base then forms the 'nucleus' with inner peripheral arguments as the 'margin' of the clause; and (with differing interpretations of the notion of 'sentence') the clause forms the 'nucleus' and the outer periphery the 'margin' of a sentence. Longacre (1970) uses a similar principle to develop a layered structure that has a nucleus, inner periphery, and outer periphery. Andrews (1985) also discusses the layered structure of the clause, distinguishing 'core' arguments and 'oblique' (i.e. inner peripheral) arguments.
arguments that are part of the logical structure of the verb\(^3\) = inner periphery), and arguments which are only incidental to the predicate (i.e. not part of the logical structure of the verb = outer periphery; or in Aristotelian terms 'accidental' to the verb).\(^4\)

18.1.1 The clause as a reflection of the verbal subtype

Buru verbal clauses have a layered structure which reflects the verbal subtype that forms the head of the clause nucleus. There are three types: active transitive, active intransitive, and non-active.

18.1.1.1 Active transitive clauses

The structure of active transitive clauses is illustrated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>NUCLEUS</th>
<th>Undergoer</th>
<th>OBLIQUE (inner)</th>
<th>PERIPHERY (outer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject NP</td>
<td>Predicate VP</td>
<td>Object (NP)</td>
<td>(PP)</td>
<td>(NP/PP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Geba</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>fago throw</td>
<td>fafu pig</td>
<td>tu enhero with spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fafu</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>kea eat</td>
<td>mangkau cassava</td>
<td>lebeto yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>DIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Yako</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>tuke give</td>
<td>pala dil rice DIST</td>
<td>la ringe DAT 3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pe wae down water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Da</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>fago split off</td>
<td>keu wood</td>
<td>enk Fekal up Fekal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 'That person speared the pig with a spear.'
2. 'That pig ate cassava yesterday.'
3. 'I gave that rice to him down at the river.'
4. 'He was splitting wood up in Fekal.'

Figure 60: The layered structure of active transitive clauses

It was observed earlier [§7.2.2.1] that active transitive verbs prototypically take two core arguments which are immediately adjacent to the clause nucleus. The subject (Actor) NP

\(^3\)See Chapter 2 of Foley & Van Valin (1984) for a general discussion, and Chapter §7 of this present study for Buru-specific issues.

\(^4\)For Buru 1 use the terms *oblique* for Foley and Van Valin’s ‘inner periphery’, and *peripheral* for their ‘outer periphery’.
immediately precedes the nucleus. The object (Undergoer) NP immediately follows the nucleus. Non-core arguments that may be entailed by the semantics of the verbs (e.g. instrument, dative, benefactive) are expressed following the core arguments as PPs [Chapter §13] and are called oblique arguments. Non-core arguments that are incidental to the semantics of the verb (e.g. locative scope, time frame) may be expressed following oblique arguments as NPs or PPs [Chapters §13 and §16] and are called peripheral arguments. Semantically based subclasses of active transitive verbs were discussed in §7.4.3 and §7.4.4.

### 18.1.1.2 Active intransitive clauses

Active intransitive clauses are discussed following the figure below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject NP</th>
<th>Actor/Undergoer</th>
<th>CORE</th>
<th>OBLIQUE</th>
<th>PERIPHERY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inner</td>
<td>outer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Predicate VP</strong></td>
<td><strong>(PP)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(NP/PP)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Gele person DIST go liko tu ka:an
   with kga:GEN
2. Fafu pig DIST disappear-k labeto yesterday
3. Yako 1s ascend keha sak fuka
   up mountain
4. Da 3s descend toho flash kau
   LOC.up kau
   tree

1. 'That person went by foot.'
2. 'That pig disappeared yesterday.'
3. 'I went up into the mountains.'
4. 'He came down from the tree.'

**Figure 61: The layered structure of active intransitive clauses**

In earlier chapters [§7.2.2.2, §9.1, §9.2], it was argued that active intransitive verbs prototypically have one pre-verbal core argument which is subject, and that subject is semantically both Actor and Undergoer. Active intransitive verbs tend to involve locomotion, posture, and bodily function [§7.4.2]. There is no post-verbal core argument. Oblique arguments tend to be primarily locative, but may also include such things as instrument or manner [Chapter §13].
18.1.1.3 Non-active verbal clauses

Non-active verbs [§7.2.1] have a single pre-verbal core argument (subject) which is semantically Undergoer. There is no semantic Actor. Non-active verbs include semantic subclasses that deal with things such as dimension, physical property, colour, etc. [§7.4.1]. They include /em-/ verbs, /eb-/ verbs, and /-t/ verbs. Clauses with non-active verbs do not have oblique arguments.\(^5\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAUSE</th>
<th>CORE</th>
<th>PERIPHERY (outer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>NUCLEUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject NP</td>
<td>Predicate VP</td>
<td>(NP/PP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Gebo</td>
<td>di person</td>
<td>DIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fasu</td>
<td>di pig</td>
<td>DIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Yako</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>b-ridd eb-cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Da</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>koni yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 'That person was sick yesterday.'
2. 'That pig died.'
3. 'I was cold up in Fakel.'
4. 'It is yellow. / It is icy.'

Figure 62: The layered structure of non-active clauses

18.1.2 The layers of verbal clauses

Each layer of a clause is motivated in Buru by structural, functional and distributional criteria which are both clause-internal and cross-clausal. The justification for each layer of the clause is examined in turn, beginning with the nucleus, then core arguments, and then non-core arguments.

---

\(^5\)Whether PPs indicating cause (e.g. 'he was sick from malaria', 'she died from her fall') are oblique or peripheral arguments is indeterminate. These types of arguments topicalise like peripheral arguments [see discussion in §18.1.2.3 and in Chapter §21].

C.\textit{S}rimcs
18.1.2.1 Nucleus of the clause

The nucleus of the verbal clause was the topic of discussion in Chapters §7 and §12. The clause nucleus has its own operators, which include the applicative /-k/ [§7.3.1], the locative suffix /-l/ [§7.3.2], verbal prefixes [§7.3.3], pre-verbal modifiers [§12.2], post-head verbal modifiers [§12.3], and post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4].

The clause nucleus can be distinguished from the core layer of the clause on several criteria. This distinction is seen particularly when contrasting nuclear-layer (verb) serialisation [§12.1.2.2] with core-layer (clause) serialisation. In nuclear-layer serialisation, the core arguments accommodate to the valence and semantic orientation of the combination of the verbs, whereas in core-layer serialisation the arguments follow the valence and semantic orientation of the individual verbs.

(1) Da oll.  
   [3s]_{A/U} return  
   'He returned.'

(2) Da kala-k ringe.  
   [3s]_{A} call-k [3s]_{U}  
   'He summoned him.'

(3) Da kala-k ringe oll.  
   [3s]_{A} call-k [3s]_{U} return  
   [3s]_{A/U}  
   'He called him to come back.'

(4) Da kala-k oll ringe.  
   [3s]_{A} call-k return [3s]_{U}  
   'He called him back.'

In example (4), a two-core-argument verb (kala-k ‘call’) serialises in the clause nucleus with a one-core-argument verb (oll ‘return’). The resulting combination has no argument immediately preceding oll, but one following it in the role of Undergoer, because the valence of the combination of the verbs is that of a two-core-argument clause nucleus. In core-layer serialisation in example (3), the shared argument precedes oll as the subject (Undergoer) of oll. The following examples illustrate a similar pattern with a different combination of a one-place verb followed by a two-place verb.

(5) Da iko.  
   [3s]_{A/U} go  
   'He returned.'

---

Post-verbal auxiliaries are only operators on the clause nucleus when they occur before post-verbal arguments. Their status in relation to the clause when they occur following post-verbal arguments is discussed again in Chapter §20.
18.1.2.2 Core arguments

The core argument(s) are those functioning in the semantic macro-roles of Actor and/or Undergoer. They are immediately adjacent to the clause nucleus (preceding or following depending on the semantics and valence of the verb) as the syntactic subject (and object). They are not marked by the assignment of prepositions.

18.1.2.2.1 Semantic macroroles of Actor and Undergoer

The concept of the general semantic macroroles of Actor and Undergoer has been used in much of the analysis of this study, rather than using specific case roles of agent, patient, etc. The former concept captures general structural patterns found in Buru core arguments, whereas the latter maps distinctions which are too specific for Buru core arguments.

The idea of macroroles of Actor and Undergoer, and the notion of a hierarchy of accessibility to those macroroles is most fully developed in Foley & Van Valin (1984:28-63). They observe (1984:28) that the seminal works of Gruber (1965) and Fillmore (1968) demonstrated that "there is a set of unvarying semantic relations [in the clause] which may have multiple syntactic manifestations." They illustrate this principle by showing that an English transitive verb with two arguments may have an entity that is the doer of the verb and an entity that is effected by the action of the verb, regardless of whether the syntactic mapping is active or passive. They use the terms actor and undergoer, defining them as follows (1984:29):

Provisionally we may characterize the actor as the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate, and the undergoer as the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is

---

7 A similar idea, though less fully developed, is found in Givén (1984:169).
8 Pike & Pike (1977) also use the terms actor and undergoer to describe roles similar to those in Foley & Van Valin (1984). There are differences, however, and I follow the latter, as the notions are more rigorously spelled out in Foley & Van Valin.
Verbal Clauses

Chapter 18:

affected by it in some way, ...actor is not equivalent to syntactic subject, nor is
undergoer equivalent to syntactic direct object.

Earlier in this study the notions of Actor and Undergoer were used particularly with
reference to the pre-verbal core argument (subject). In focusing on nominal arguments it was
shown that the syntactic subject can be semantically either Actor or Undergoer [§9.1]. In
relation to verbal subclasses (active/non-active) it was shown that the semantic role
interpretation of the subject is the main distinguishing factor in the taxonomy of Buru verbs
[§7.2]. It was also shown that the role structure of verbs, particularly for core arguments, can
be manipulated by means of various valence-changing devices [§7.3].

Foley & Van Valin (1984:30ff.) further show that the notions of Actor and Undergoer are semantic macroroles "which subsume particular groups of Fillmorean case roles or
Gruberian thematic relations." Buru data illustrate this point clearly. In the following
examples, the macroroles of Actor and Undergoer cover a variety of Fillmorean-type case
roles in active transitive verbs. The prototypical Actor is agent, and the prototypical
Undergoer is patient.9

(9) Nang ama kaa gehu-t. [Actor: agent]
1sPOSS father eat taro-NOM
'My father is eating taro.'

(10) Kau lawa-n di moho, [Actor: instrument]
tree branch-GEN DIST fall
pa da faka olo-n
REAL 3s break head-GEN
'The tree branch fell, and (result) it broke his head.'

(11) Geb haa di sali bura-t fua dii. [Actor: recipient/goal]
person.big DIST receive snack-NOM betel nut-DIST
'The clan-head received the offering of the betel quid.'

(12) Kaml caan tuba-ro. [Actor: experiencer]
lps hear drum-PL
'We heard drums.'

(13) Nang ama kaa gehu-t. [Undergoer: patient]
1sPOSS father eat taro-NOM
'My father is eating taro.'

(14) Da fage fafu, bu beta-h moo. [Undergoer: goal]
3s throw pig but connect-it NEG
'He threw (his spear at) the pig, but he didn't hit it.'

---

18.1.2 2.2 Syntactic subject

The grammatical role of subject has been defined for Buru as simply the pre-verbal core argument [§9.1]. It is distinguished from the notion of topic on structural, functional, and distributional grounds [Chapter §21]. Semantically, the subject of active transitive verbs is Actor; the subject of active intransitive verbs is both Actor and Undergoer; and the subject of non-active verbs is Undergoer.

There are a variety of issues that make the grammatical role of subject unique. By position it is the only pre-verbal clause argument (non-topicalised). By distribution in the clause it is a core argument, coming immediately before the verbal predicate and not marked with a preposition. There is a set of pronominal proclitics [§9.2.1] which can occur only as a subject NP. When the subject is filled by a Deictic NP [§11.1.6], the deictic is normally cliticised [§10.3]. This is not the case for deictic NPs filling non-subject arguments.

17 Subject NP (cliticised Deictic NP)

\[
\text{Geba } \text{di } \text{fage } \text{famu } \text{tu } \text{enhero } \text{labeto.}
\]

person DIST throw pig with spear yesterday

'That person speared the pig with a spear yesterday.'

18 Object NP (uncliticised Deictic NP)

\[
\text{Geba } \text{sa } \text{fage } \text{famu } \text{di } \text{tu } \text{enhero } \text{labeto.}
\]

person one throw pig DIST with spear yesterday

'Someone speared that pig with a spear yesterday.'

---

10 In Foley & Van Valin’s terminology 'theme' is the argument whose location is at issue. Others (e.g. Talmy 1985:61) use the term 'figure' for this type of argument.
(19) Oblique PP (unelicited Deictic NP)

Geba sa fage fatu tu enhera dil lobeto.
person one throw pig with spear DIST yesterday
'Someone speared a pig with that spear yesterday.'

The subject NP is often omitted when 1) it is in a subordinate clause and is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, 2) in response to simple questions [§22.1], and 3) in tail-head linkage\(^{11}\) patterns in discourse [Chapter §23].

(20) Equi-NP deletion of coreferential subject in subordinate clause

Da iko la \(\emptyset\) ino eha.
3s go IRR 3s drink palmwine
'He went to drink palmwine.'

(21) Deletion of subject in response to simple questions

Q: Da iko haik?
3s go PRF
'Has she left yet?'

A\(_1\): \(\emptyset\) iko haik.
3s go PRF
'[She's] Already gone.'

A\(_2\): Moo. \(\emptyset\) iko mohede.
NEG 3s go not yet
'No. [She] Hasn't gone yet.'

(22) Deletion of subject in tail-head linkage

Petu nak opo pali nak tope saa.
SEQ 3sPOSS grandparent weave 3sPOSS hat [Mly] one

\(\emptyset\) Pali sepu-h, petu da tregu, pa da iko ba ronde.
3s weave finish-it SEQ 3s cover REAL 3s go DUR stroll

\(\emptyset\) iko ba ronda eta da dana di huma \(\ddot{u}\) a.
3s go DUR stroll until 3s arrive DIST house one

'So his grandmother weaved a hat for him. When [she] had finished weaving it, he put it on and he went out for a stroll. [He] went strolling around until he came to a house.'

As the examples above illustrate, in each environment in which the subject NP may be omitted, it is only done so when the referent is seen to be unambiguously understood and coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause.

---

\(^{11}\) This is a type of overlay structure (J. Grimes 1972) and is sometimes also referred to as 'recapitulation'.

350 C. Grimes
18.1.2.2.3 Syntactic object

The syntactic object is the post-verbal core argument of active transitive verbs. It is semantically Undergoer. As a grammatical role, the syntactic object is motivated in Buru by its position (post-verbal), by its distribution within the clause (core argument, not marked by a preposition), and by its distribution across clause types (it occurs only in active transitive clauses). The set of pronominal proclitics [§9.2] can occur only as the subject, and never as object. On the other hand, the syntactic object can be pronominalised onto the verb or verb adjunct with /-h/ '3s' or /-ro/ 'plural' [§9.3]. The /-h/ does not occur as subject. The plural enclitic /-ro/ may mark a subject NP as plural, but may not substitute for it as a pro-form.

(23) Da paka fafu.  3s feed pig
    'He fed the pig.'

    Da paka-h.  [singular object pronoun]
    3s feed-it
    'He fed it.'

    Da paka mohe.  3s feed NEG.it
    'He didn't feed it.'

(24) Da paka fafo-ro.  3s feed pig-PL
    'He fed the pigs.'

    Da paka-ro.  [plural object pronoun]
    3s feed-PL
    'He fed them.'

    Da paka-sepo-ro.  3s feed finish-PL
    'He finished feeding them.'

(25) Geba-ro ba paka nun fafo-ro.  [general NP plural marker]
    person-PL DUR feed 3pPOSS pig-PL
    'People are feeding their pigs.'

A common function of applicative /-k/ [§7.3.1] is to indicate that the post-verbal core argument (the object) is semantically different from its default microrole.

    'Those two kids, they're paddling the canoe (Undergoer: theme).'

    'Three men paddled us down the coast to Leksula (Undergoer: benefactee).'

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Thus, the syntactic object has structural, functional, and distributional criteria that make it a unique grammatical relation.

18.1.2.3 Non-core arguments

*Oblique* arguments are those non-core arguments that are an essential (but not necessarily obligatory) part of the logical structure of the verb. Oblique arguments are marked by prepositions. They are post-verbal, and follow any post-verbal core argument. *Peripheral* arguments are those that are incidental to the logical structure of the verb. They may or may not be marked by the presence of a preposition (e.g. time words). They follow any post-verbal core or oblique arguments that might be present. Peripheral arguments are further distinguished from oblique arguments in that different mechanisms are used for their promotion. For example, fronting of oblique arguments results in a left-dislocation construction with a trace pronoun remaining in the clause proper. Fronting of peripheral arguments never leaves a trace pronoun within the clause.

(28) Prototypical ordering of clause constituents

*Da taha kau tu nak todo labeto.*

3 s fell [tree]₀ [with 3s POSS machete]₀ Oblique [yesterday]Peripheral

'He felled the tree with his machete yesterday.'

(29) Left dislocation (topicisation of oblique argument, trace pronoun remains)

*Nak todo dil, ha taha kau tu ha labeto.*

3s POSS machete DIST 3 s fell [tree]₀ [with it]₀ Oblique [yesterday]Peripheral

'That machete of his, he felled the tree with it yesterday.'

(30) Topicalisation of peripheral argument (no trace pronoun)

*Labeto, da taha kau tu nak todo.*

yesterday 3 s fell [tree]₀ [with 3s POSS machete]₀ Oblique

'Yesterday, he felled the tree with his machete.'

With locative oblique arguments, the residue of a trace pronoun is optional for pragmatic reasons.

(31) Prototypical ordering of clause constituents

*Da toho pa masi labeto.*

3 s descend [down sea]₀ Oblique [yesterday] Peripheral

'He went down to the coast yesterday.'

---

12For example, INSTRUMENT (e.g. a knife) is part of the logical structure of cutting verbs, whereas LOCATION is not. LOCATION may be part of the logical structure of verbs of locomotion, whereas TIME is not. See Chapter 2 of Foley & Van Valin (1984) for a discussion of logical structure of verbs, as well as Chapter §7 of this present study.
(32) Left dislocation topicalisation of oblique argument (trace deictic)

Pa masi dii, da toho pae labeto.
down sea DIST 3s descend [down oblique [yesterday] Peripheral
'Down at the coast, he went down yesterday.'

(33) Left dislocation topicalisation of oblique argument (trace -k)

Pa masi dii, da toho-k labeto.
down sea DIST 3s descend-k [yesterday] Peripheral
'Down at the coast, he went there yesterday.'

(34) Topicalisation of peripheral argument (no trace pronoun)

Labeto, da toho pa masi.
yesterday 3s descend [down sea oblique
'Yesterday, he went down to the coast.'

(35) Locative goal understood → not present

Da toho [∅] labetu.
3s descend [yesterday]Peripheral
'He went down [to the coast] yesterday.'

(36) Trace pronoun of locative argument omitted as redundant

Pa masi dii, da toho [∅] labeto.
down sea DIST 3s descend [yesterday] Peripheral
'Down to the coast, he went yesterday.'

Although the number of occurrences of the focus marker an [§11.4] in my data is few, it appears that oblique arguments may take the focus marker, whereas peripheral arguments may not.

(37) Da safe cincing mas rua la ana-t an rua dii.
3s buy ring [AM] gold [AM] two [DAT child-NOM FOC two DIST oblique
'He bought two gold rings for those two children.'

The distinction between oblique and peripheral arguments is thus relevant in several syntactic environments. Both oblique and peripheral arguments may be incorporated into the predicate [§12.3.4].

18.2 Mechanisms for orchestrating pragmatic prominence

Schachter (1976, 1977), Foley & Van Valin (1984, 1985) and others have demonstrated that languages have mechanisms for dealing with referential-related information (information for identifying the referent or adding information about the referent) and mechanisms for dealing with role-related information (information about what role the
argument is playing in the proposition). Sometimes role and referential information are conflated and sometimes they are separated.

Speakers of languages employ a variety of mechanisms to orchestrate the arguments of a clause into greater and lesser pragmatic prominence. This may be done by enhancing or diminishing the referential information explicitly related to an argument, by rearranging the order and role interpretation of an argument within a clause, by moving the referential information relating to an argument outside the clause, etc.

The metaphor of a theatrical stage is helpful for visualising what is going on in a discourse. The arguments of a clause are much like the actors and props in a play. Props (such as trees, houses, swords, lamps, etc.) which give clues as to the locational and temporal setting, or instruments used, may be placed onstage or taken offstage. They may be put into greater or lesser prominence by being moved forward or backward in their location on the stage, or by drawing direct attention to them (e.g. a sword being drawn, a tree being climbed). Actors likewise can give clues as to whether they are leading actors or supporting actors by the elaborateness and frequency of change of costume, by their position on stage, by the use of spotlights, and by the continuity of their activity through an act. They can remain in the act even when offstage, for example, by being referred to by other actors, or by projecting their voice from offstage.

A Buru speaker similarly orchestrates the degrees of prominence and continuity of props and actors (i.e. clause arguments) through the course of a discourse by a variety of mechanisms discussed below. The mechanisms discussed in this section are motivated by discourse pragmatics rather than by syntactic issues internal to the clause itself.

18.2.1 Referential explicitness

One mechanism the Buru language uses for a type of pragmatic prominence is to manipulate the degree of referential information that is explicit in the clause for a given argument. The referential information can range from very elaborate to very reduced. On the one extreme, the presentation of detailed referential information in a complex or expanded NP [Chapter §11] indicates that referential issues are important to the speaker in the development of the discourse. This extreme is used to present new information necessary for identifying a referent, expanded information necessary for understanding the development of the discourse, or a shift in the setting or participants of the discourse. At the other extreme, minimal referential information through pronominalisation or omission is concerned primarily with role-related issues, indicating that the referential-related information is presupposed.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referentially explicit (new information)</th>
<th>Expanded NP</th>
<th>1. geba Wae Temun rua her dili du rohl geber dili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Referentially explicit (presuppose)</td>
<td>Simple NP</td>
<td>2. geba Wae Temano dili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Generic NP</td>
<td>3. geberu dili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free pronoun</td>
<td>4. sira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pronominal elides</td>
<td>5. du i /ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referentially unmarked</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>6. φ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **those two men of the Wae Temun kin group who ambushed those people**
2. **those Wae Temuns**
3. **those men**
4. **they [free pronoun]**
5. **they [pronominal proclitic / plural enclitic]**
6. **φ**

**Figure 63: Degrees of referential explicitness in an NP**

The figure above merely represents a continuum which could include further gradations. For example, the free pronouns can be made more referentially explicit by modifying them with such things as a number or a deictic.

#### 18.2.2 Omission of arguments

The mechanism that represents the extreme reduction of referential information is the omission of arguments. Such an omission always indicates that the speaker feels both the role and the referential information are fully understood.

#### 18.2.2.1 Omission of subject (focus on continuity)

The omission of subject was mentioned earlier [§18.1.2.2.2]. When a subject is omitted there is always continuity of the same referent from the subject of the preceding clause. Both role and referential information are considered to be given information and are unnecessary to express.

#### 18.2.2.2 Omission of object (predicate focus)

The omission of object (Undergoer) in active transitive clauses is done for a variety of reasons, all resulting in the pragmatic focus being on the action (predicate focus) rather than on the arguments. The object may be omitted specifically to focus on the action, indicating that the object is irrelevant to the immediate discourse. These can occur, for example, in response to questions such as “What is he doing?” The object is not indicated by either an NP or by pronominalisation with /-h/.

(38) Da kep, petu bara reha ringe.
3s eat 3s SEQ don't bother 3s
*‘He's eating, so don't bother him.'*

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The object may be omitted when it is conventionally understood.

(39) Da iko tane.
3s go plant
'He went planting (bamboo spike traps into the ground).'

(40) Da ik. hapu.
3s go. tie
'He went tying (cuscus snares).'

Such forms omitting the object can be seen as a type of antipassive in that the role of the Undergoer is diminished or considered unimportant.

18.2.2.3 Omission of non-core arguments

Non-core arguments are always optional and are present only when they are considered relevant to the discourse.

(41) Da taha fu.au.
3s fell tree
'He felled the tree.'

(42) Da taha kau tu qomi.
3s fell tree with axe [Port]
'He felled the tree with an axe.'

(43) Da taha kau tu senso.
3s fell tree with chainsaw [Eng]
'He felled the tree with a chainsaw.'

18.2.3 Pragmatic prominence

The prominence of clausal arguments can also be manipulated by rearranging their syntactic position either within the clause or by moving the referential information about an argument outside the clause.

18.2.3.1 Clause-internal mechanisms

Rearranging the syntax of arguments within the clause is done in conjunction with morphological devices that repackage the semantic role interpretation of the arguments. Within the clause nucleus, verbal prefixes [§7.3.3] are concerned with the role of the pre-verbal core argument (i.e. subject). Enclitics such as the applicative /-k/ [§7.3.1] and plural /-ro/ are concerned with the role of post-verbal arguments. This represents an iconic relation between the position of the operator and the position of the argument with which it is concerned.
18.2.3.1.1 Passives

Passives\textsuperscript{13} in Buru involve active transitive verbs. Functionally, a passive promotes
the pragmatic salience of the Undergoer (prototypically a patient) and demotes the Actor
(prototypically an agent). Buru uses a variety of structural mechanisms to do this.

18.2.3.1.1.1 Morphological passives

There are a variety of verbal prefixes which are candidates for marking a passive.
These are /ek/- /eg/- /eb/- /em-/. Each will be discussed in turn.

\textbf{Prototypical foregrounding agentive passive with /ek-/:} The prototypical passive, involving the
demotion of a volitional agent from syntactic subject and the promotion of the semantic
Undergoer to syntactic subject, is done with the prefix /ek-/ which implies 'CAUSE.BE'
indicating a resulting state. A volitional agent is always implied, but only occasionally
specified.\textsuperscript{14} This is a type of foregrounding passive in which the Undergoer is syntactically
foregrounded.\textsuperscript{15} In the following examples /-k/ redundantly marks the verbs as
accomplishment verbs [§7.2].

\begin{align*}
(45) \quad \text{Da huda huma.} & \quad \text{3s dismantle house} \\
& \quad \text{'She tore apart the house.'} \\
& \quad [S=A; O=U] \\
& \quad [S=U; (+A)]
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(46) \quad \text{Da hida labu-n.} & \quad \text{3s tear shirt-GEN} \\
& \quad \text{'He tore his shirt.'} \\
& \quad [S=A; O=U] \\
& \quad [S=U; (+A)]
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{13}The framework for my discussion of 'passive' is based on Hopper & Thompson (1980), Keenan (1985a), Foley & Van Valin (1984, 1985), and Givón (1990).
\textsuperscript{14}In 97 instances of passive sentences with /ek-/, only five specified the agent. In the others the agent is
anaphorically predictable from earlier in the text, conventionally predictable from norms in society, or simply
deemed unimportant.
\textsuperscript{15}Givón (1990:575ff.) refers to this type of passive as a 'promotional passive'.

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(47) Da fuka subu. 3s open door 'He opened the door.'

S = U; O = U

Subu di ek-fuka-k. door DIST CAUS.BE-open-k 'The door was opened.'

S = U; (+A)

(48) Geba di mata. person DIST die 'That man died.'

S = U

Da emata geba dii. ep-mata 3s CAUS-die person DIST 'He killed that man.'

S = U; O = U

Geba di emata. ek-mata person DIST CAUS.BE-die 'That man was killed.'

S = U; (+A)

(49) Da duwe ivero la yako. 3s give thing-PL DAT 1s 'He gave things to me.'

S = A; O = U

(50) Ivero di eduwe-ri na yako haikt. thing-PL DIST CAUS.BE-give-PL PROX 1s PRF 'Those things have been given to me.'

S = U; (+A)

When deemed salient to the discourse, the Actor may be specified. When the Actor is seen to be directly responsible for the resulting state, it is specified as a core argument, that is, it is expressed syntactically as Object. When the Actor is seen to be less directly responsible for the resulting state (implication of others involved), it is expressed as an oblique argument.

(51) Subu di ek-fuka-k ringe. door DIST CAUS.BE-open-k 3s 'The door was opened by him.'

S = U; O = A; (agent)

(52) Geba di emata (tu) tod. person DIST CAUS.BE-die (with) machete 'That man was killed (by) machete.'

S = U; O = A; (instrument)/PP(instrument)
When /ek-/ attaches to a few tree nouns in combination with -k, the resulting form is a verbal passive. In these cases the Actor may or may not be volitional, with the /ek-/ simply indicating an adversative passive.16

(53) Da ego was la.d ino-h. [O=U]
    la.da
3s get water IRR.3s drink-it
'He got some water to drink.'

(54) Ro go mel ku ewaak!
    mele ek-wae-k
enter last 2s CAUS.BE-water-k
'Come in so you don't get wet (from s.o. throwing water on you)!'
'Come in so you don't get wet (from the rain)!'

Non-agentive passive with /eg-/ (middle passive): The prefix /eg-/ indicates there is a not a volitional agent involved and furthermore that the Actor is unimportant to the discourse. The Undergoer is promoted to subject and the Actor is deleted altogether as not considered relevant to what is said. /eg-/ often indicates that a non-present Actor is an effector/instrument or that the action was done accidentally or happened over a period of time. /eg-/ also indicates a resulting state BE, but unlike /ek-/ the agentive semantic element CAUSE is not considered salient.

(55) Da hula huma. [S=A; O=U]
3s dismantle house
'She tore apart the house.'

Huma di eg-hula-k. [S=U; (-A)]
house DIST BE-dismantle-k
'The house fell apart (e.g. from the wind, age, people taking pieces over time, etc.).'

(56) Da hida labu-n. [S=A; O=U]
3s tear shirt-GEN
'He tore his shirt.'

Labu-n di eg-hida-k. [S=U; (-A)]
shirt-GEN DIST BE-tear-k
'His shirt was torn (accidentally).'

(57) Da fuka subu. [S=A; O=U]
3s open door
'He opened the door.'

Subu di eg-fuka-k. [S=U; (-A)]
door DIST BE-open-k
'The door was (standing) open.'

16This parallels the Malay adversative circumfix ke--an combining with nominals (e.g. hujan 'rain'; ke-hujan-an 'be rained on'). The forms are probably cognate. In Buru a non-adversative 'wet' is handled by a different lexical item em-too.
Some verbs occur only in the agentless passive.

(58) Ana-fina di egali haik. [S=U; (-A)]
    child-female DIST BE-pregnant PRF
    That girl is pregnant. '

The feature morpheme [+voice] is derived from the prefix /eg-/ before voiceless stops [%5.7].

(59) Da tata-k fua dili. [S=A; O=U]
    3s drop-k betelnut DIST
    'He dropped the betelnut.'

    Fua di data-k gam pa rahe. [S=U; (-A)]
    eg-tata-k
    betelnut DIST; BE-drop-k ALL jowa ground
    The betelnut fell to the ground. '

(60) Da kesi-k enhero mae-n. [S=A; O=U]
    3s break-k spear handle-GEN
    'He broke the spear shaft.'

    Mae-n di gesu-k haik. [S=U; (-A)]
    eg-kesu-k
    handle-GEN DIST BE-break-k PRF
    That (spear) handle is already broken. '

Unlike passives with /ek-/ which syntactically foreground the semantic Undergoer as subject, as well as mark it with the prefix /ek-/ the Undergoer argument with /eg-/ may or may not be syntactically promoted to subject. Since the Actor is omitted altogether this leaves a single core argument which is identified by the prefix /eg-/ as semantic Undergoer. Syntactically this single core argument (Undergoer) may occur either preceding (as syntactic subject) or following the verb (as syntactic object). Most of the backgrounded occurrences with /eg-/ occur in the recapitulation of tail-head linkage in discourse where it has already been shown [%18.1.2.2.2] that there is a preference for deletion of subject.

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17Blust (1989:152) reconstructs PAN *maliqi ‘pregnant’ and cites the Buru form gall [sic] incorrectly concluding that ‘this form almost certainly contains the stative prefix *ma-.’
18In one-third of the occurrences with /eg-/ in my data corpus the single core argument is not promoted to Subject. The rest are foregrounded.
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(61) Sira ba defo da nete-n dii, 3p DUR stay upstream place-GEN DIST
fena di eq-huda-k. [S=U (foregrounded)]
village DIST BE-apart-k
En-huda-k fena dii,
BE-apart-k village DIST [O=U (backgrounded)]
du langa gam lawe-k. 3p move ALL downstream-k

'When they were living up there over a period of time, the village eventually fell apart. When the village had fallen apart, they moved downstream.'

/eb-/ as non-agentive counterpart to /ep-/: For some verbs of destruction, eb- forms the passive counterpart [+voice] to the causative ep-, indicating the state resulting from the action.¹⁹

(62) Perusahaan ep-rari-k sepo nete-n dii. [S=A; O=U]
company [Mly] CAUS-destroy-k finish place-GEN DIST
'The (logging) company totally destroyed that area.'

Nete-n dii eb-rari-k sepo. [S=U; (-A)]
place-GEN DIST CAUS.BE-destroy-k finish
That area has been totally destroyed.'

Stative /em-/: Most em- verbs [§7.2.1.2] occur only with the em- prefix and not in other forms, functioning as non-active verbs in which there is only one core argument which is Undergoer. The em- detransitivises a few active transitive verb roots, however, changing the subject as Actor to subject as Undergoer.

(63) Da pei poso-ng lale-ng. [S=A; O=U]
3s hurt heart-1sGEN inside-1sGEN
'He hurts (my) heart.' [= He is the source of my inner troubles (intent is not relevant).]

Da em-pei. [S=U]
3s STAT-hurt
'He is sick.'

(64) Da sibi nete-n. [S=A; O=U]
3s off-limit place-GEN
'He made the area off-limits (to certain kinds of hunting).'

Da em-sibi. [S=U]
3s STAT-off-limit
'He's drunk.'

¹⁹This suggests it is a portmanteau morpheme in which /eq-/ + ep-/ → /eb-/. There is no evidence that the stative /eb-/ [§7.2.1.3] has a causative element, suggesting there is a convergence of the two forms.

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Although this function of /em-/ is much like that of a passive in promoting the Undergoer and demoting the Actor, in the larger paradigm of the language (Chapter §7) I call it a stative prefix, rather than a passive prefix.

18.2.3.1.1.2 Contextual reinterpretation of roles

The prototypical interpretation of semantic roles can be overridden by the extra-linguistic context. For example, the prototypical interpretation of the following example would be S=A; O=U.

(65) Asu sanga tonal.  
[dog]₀ bite [cuscus]₁  
'The dog bit a cuscus.'

default interpretation

However, this sentence was said by a friend while we were hunting in the jungle, in response to my question, "Why does your dog have a bloody wound on its lower? What happened?"

(66) Asu sanga tonal.  
[dog]₀ bite [cuscus]₀  
'The dog was bitten by a cuscus.'

interpretation from context

There is no intonational contrast between these two utterances and no intonational dip or hint of a pause after asu in example (66) that would suggest asu is topicalised (Chapter §21). There is also no glottal catch before the /s/ of sanga or affrication to /c/ that would hint at the expected agentive passive prefix /ek-/ . Because the semantic role interpretation of example (66) was inescapable from the context I quizzed the speaker about it at the time in both Buru and in Ambonese Malay. Since then I have checked this example with other Buru speakers who, when given the context, find the latter interpretation perfectly acceptable. Since the initial jolt of that occasion I have encountered sufficient examples of similar role reversal marked only by context to establish that it is not an isolated anomaly. These occur more frequently in conversational exchanges than they do in narrative discourse.

(67) Nak ama sgera Ben.  
[3pPOSS father]₀ hip carry [Ben]₀  
'His father is carrying Ben.'

Active

---

20Givón (1990:600ff.) sees, for English, that adjectival s of this sort exhibit patient-focus and the agent is irrelevant, including them under 'stative de-referents' (p. 620).

21Grice (1975), J. Grimes (1975), Brown & Yule (1983), Levinson (1983) and others discuss the importance of context in understanding the meaning of propositions, but they do not specifically discuss context as influencing the semantic role interpretation of core arguments. Li and Thompson (1976:472ff.) discuss context as an important factor in determining the grammatical relations of Lisu (Thailand) verbs.
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Ben agera nak ama.²² [context]
[Ben]U hip carry [3sPOSS father]A
'Ben is being carried by his father.'

The ambiguity of S=A (active) or S=U (non-active) is built into the semantics of some verbs. These variable interpretations must be determined from context.

(68) Da tewa iyero. ii-ro
[3s] know thing-PL
'He understands things.'
'He knows how to do things.'

This ambiguity can be seen in the morphological networks of the root.

(69) Ringe geba em-tewa-t. [Non-active BE]
3s person STAT-know-NOM
'He is a wise person (i.e. understands things).'

(70) Ringe geba enewa-t. [Active DO]
en-tewa-t
3s person ABS-know-NOM
'He is a clever person (i.e. knows how to do things).'

For the verb puna 'make, do' one must decide whether the two core arguments are considered coreferential or not, to interpret the verb as a non-active copula BE [Chapter §19] or as an active transitive verb DO.

(71) Da puna mejia. [non-coreferential → DO]
3s do table [Port]
'He’s making a table.'

(72) Da puna guru. [coreferential → BE]
3s do teacher [Sk1]
'He is a teacher.'

18.2.3.1.1.3 Impersonal construction

The impersonal construction²³ is used to denote the functional silence of the Actor without at the same time syntactically promoting the Undergoer. This is done by using a non-referential subject. In narrative types of discourse this is done primarily with the third person plural pronounal proclitic du they', and occasionally with a non-referential geba-ro 'people'. One can only determine from the earlier discourse or the extra-linguistic context whether these forms are being used referentially or non-referentially.

²²At the time this sentence was uttered, Ben was eight months old and was certainly not carrying me on his hip!
²³Some of the linguistic literature refers to this type of phenomenon as an ‘impersonal passive’.

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(73) Man. wae fehu-t sa kadu-k, du kaba fen 'bebe lau'.
bird. water new-NOM one come-k 3p call REAL duck [Mly] sea [Mly]

'A new water-bird came, and they called it 'bebe lau' [in Malay].'

[referential du]
[non-referential du]

(74) Geba Belanda na nak huma, du langa-k fi pa Tifu.
person Dutch PROX 3sFOSS house 3p move-k LOC down village

'The house of this Dutchman, they moved it from down at Tifu.'

[referential du]
[non-referential du]

(75) Wae suba fi di kati-n lahi-n, water cross threshold LOC DIST pandanus-GEN root-GEN
petu du fal ngaek fena di Wae Katin.
fale ngaai-k SEQ 3p throw.name-LOC-k village DIST Water Pandanus

'Water comes out of the base of a pandanus plant,
so they named the village Pandanus Water.'

[referential du]
[non-referential du]

(76) Geba-ro enanu-k wae dii, wae gosa-t.
person-PL think-k water DIST water good-NOM

'People thought that water was good water.'

[referential gebaro]
[non-referential gebaro]

In negative subordinate clauses which are focused on a non-Actor argument, the impersonal construction is normally used.

(77) Du f-rogo-k harta tu beto la geba-r bara bafa.
3p CAUS-enter-k bridewealth [Mly] with night IRR person-PL don’t see

'They brought the bridewealth at night so people wouldn’t see.'

[referential gebaro]
[non-referential gebaro]

In procedural, hortatory, and expository types of discourse the effect of the impersonal construction is accomplished with the first person plural pronominal proclitic ma 'we'. The use of ma in this way is non-referential in that often neither the speaker nor the addressee(s) may ever have done what is being discussed.

(78) Ma tewa geba-r pefa moo.
1p know person-PL burn NEG

'We didn’t know if the fire had been set by people.'

[referential ma]
[non-referential ma]
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(79) Pa lea tongi, ma te rogo di jingi-t nak kota.
REAL sun also 1p ABIL enter DIST spirit [Arab]-NOM 3sPOSS fort [A:A]

'By day as well, we can go into the spirit's stronghold.'

By day as well, the spirit's stronghold can be entered.'

(80) Nete-n di nak koi-n.
place-GEN DIST 3sPOSS taboo-GEN

ma te kaba-k inhada-t moo, senge-t moo.
1p ABIL call-k mosquito [Masarete]-NOM NEG mosquito [Rann]-NOM NEG

'The taboo associated with that place
is that we can't say 'mosquito' or 'moozie'. '

'The taboo associated with that place
is that 'mosquito' or 'moozie' can't be said.'

18.2.3.1.1.4 Periphrastic passive

Ambonese Malay (Collins 1980a, C. Grimes 1985, B.D. Grimes 1991a,b) is the
language with which Buru currently has the greatest contact. The agentive passive in
Ambonese Malay is formed periphrastically with dapa 'get'.

(81) Ambonese Malay Dong dapa pukol.
3p get hit
'They got beat up.'

The periphrastic passive with dapa has been assimilated into Buru with the addition of
the applicative -k/. This periphrastic passive implies an active volitional agent. It also
implies that, while in the immediate clause the subject is the Undergoer (immediately and
directly effected as patients), the action of the immediate clause is the result or effect of
something the referent(s) have done as Actor(s).

(82) Buru Sira dapa-k eflaii.
3p get-k beat
'They got beat up (as a result of s.t. they did or said).'

(83) Kimi dapa-k estor.leda-k eboho-n.
2p get-k talk.groundless-k bad-GEN
'You (2p) will be slandered.'

(84) Sira em-tako fen sira dapa-k ef-rogen gam di bui.
3p STAT-fear REAL 3p get-k CAUS-enter ALL DIST prison [Du]
'They were afraid they would be put into gaol.'

24 This parallels, in many ways, the English periphrastic 'get' passive noted by Givón (1990:620ff.).
18.2.3.1.2 Antipassives

While the *passive* uses various mechanisms for the promotion of the Undergoer (and demotion of the Actor) of active transitive clauses, the *antipassive* is concerned with various mechanisms used for the demotion of the Undergoer (and is generally not concerned with the Actor) in active transitive clauses. In Buru antipassive constructions result in active transitive verbs functioning as the nucleus of active intransitive clauses.

18.2.3.1.2.1 Antipassive through omission of object

A simple way to demote the Undergoer is to omit the object. It was noted earlier [§12.2.2.2] that the omission of the object in an active transitive clause puts the pragmatic focus on the action of the verb [action focus], rather than on one of the arguments. This is functionally a kind of antipassive. The omitted objects are, in these cases, never outside the realm of conventionalised knowledge. The resulting clause behaves grammatically as an intransitive clause.

(85) Da ba ino [φ].
3s DUR drink
'He's drinking.'

[context 1 → 'palmwine'; context 2 → 'water']

(86) Da penlehe [φ].
3s wash (clothes)
'She is washing clothes.'

18.2.3.1.2.2 Object incorporation

The incorporation of an object within the clause nucleus treats the argument not as a referential clausal argument, but as an adverbial modifier [§12.3.4]. The incorporated argument is generic and non-referential. The predicate with its incorporated argument functions as an intransitive clause. It is thus a kind of backgrounding antipassive (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1985). Arguments are marked as incorporated by placing the verbal applicative /-k/ after them.

(87) Da loa nofi-t.
3s [do]Nucleus [bellows-NOM]O
'He is working the bellows.'

Da loa nofi-k.
3s [do] bellows-[k]Nucleus
'He is bellows-working.'

[incorporated object]
18.2.3.1.2.3 Detransitiviser with -n/

The object (Undergoer) can also be made pragmatically unimportant simply by
detransitivising a transitive verb. The -n/ is used to detransitivise some verbs of human
propensity [§7.2.2.3].

(88) Da sēfe-k nak kal.   [dative object with -k/]
3s angry-k 3sPOSS elder
'He's mad at his older brother.'

Da sēfe-n.   [no object]
3s angry-DET
'He is angry.'

The combination of the reciprocal prefix ep- + -n signals that there is a plurality of
subjects who are reciprocally performing or experiencing the action toward each other. The
resulting whole behaves syntactically as an intransitive clause with no specified object.

(89) Sira ep-sulu-k geba emtu-t-o.   [S=A; O=U]
3p CAUS-gather-k person respect-NOM-PL
'They are gathering the elders.'

Sira ep-sulu-n.   [S=A/U]
3p RECIP-gather-DET
'They are gathering together.'

(90) Sira ep-same-k fəfu isl-n.   [S=A; O=U]
3p CAUS-divide-k pig content-GEN
'They divided up the pig meat.'

Sira ep-same-n.   [S=A/U]
3p RECIP-divide-DET
'They parted ways.'

18.2.3.1.3 Dative raising

Non-core clause constituents can be given higher pragmatic salience. One function of
the applicative -k/ [§7.3.1] is to rearrange the expected semantic role structure of the verb.
In this capacity it is most commonly an oblique dative/benefactive argument that is drawn in
as the post-verbal core argument (syntactic object). This is true for intransitives as well.

(91) Du mali.
3p laugh
'They are laughing.'

Du mali-k Ben.   [dative as object]
3p laugh-k Ben
'They are laughing at Ben.'
With complex active transitive verbs, such as verbs of exchange [§7.4.3.3], oblique dative/benefactive arguments are also promoted to object with /-kl/ while the former object is demoted to an oblique argument.

(92) Du tuke pala la ringe. [dative as oblique]
    3p give rice DAT 3s
    'They gave rice to her.'

Du tuke-k ringe tu pala. [dative as object]
    3p give-k 3s with rice
    'They gave her rice.'

18.2.3.2 Clause-external mechanisms

The pragmatic prominence of clausal arguments can also be manipulated by redistributing them outside the clause. Most commonly their prominence is raised through various mechanisms of fronting, which are treated in more detail in Chapter §21. Briefly, the referential information of core and oblique arguments may be moved external to the clause (fronted) while the role-related information remains within the clause as a pronominal trace in a left-dislocation construction.

(93) Left-dislocation topicalisation of instrument PP

Sira reng.olo-k geba empei tu waqu-n dii. [as a strap around their heads].
    3p strap carry.head-k person STAT-hurt with cloth-GEN DIST
    'They carried the sick person with that cloth (as a strap around their heads).'

Waqu-n dii, sira reng.olo-k geba empei tuha.
    cloth DIST 3p strap carry.head-k person STAT-hurt with.it
    'That cloth there, they carried the sick person with it.'

With peripheral arguments, role related information is incidental or non-existent and the whole argument is topicalised outside the clause with no traces remaining inside the clause.

(94) Peripheral topicalisation of time word

Sira reng.olo-k geba empei dii labeto.
    3p strap carry.head-k person STAT-hurt DIST yesterday
    'They carried that sick person yesterday.'

Labeto, sira reng.olo-k geba empei dii.
    yesterday 3p strap carry.head-k person STAT-hurt DIST
    'Yesterday, they carried that sick person.'
18.2.4 Explicit marking

An argument within a clause can be spotlighted without any syntactic redistribution. This may be done phonologically or with the focus marker an.

18.2.4.1 Pitch and stress

An argument may be highlighted simply by giving it slightly higher pitch and greater force than that given to other arguments [indicated by underlining in the examples below]. This type of phonological emphasis implies a contrast with either a conventionally expected referent or with an anaphoric referent.

(95) Da fage-h tu __ todo.  
3s throw-it with machete  
'He speared it with his machete (rather than with a spear as one would expect).'

(96) Ringe ba kaa gehu-t.  
3s DUR eat taro  
'She has been eating taro (rather than sago paste).'

18.2.4.2 Focus marker an

The focus marker an was introduced in §11.4 as being used by the speaker to tag the core or oblique argument desired to be in pragmatic focus without reordering or deleting any argument.

(97) Da safe cincing mas rua la ana-t an rua dii.  
3s buy ring [AM] gold [AM] two DAT child-NOM FOC two DIST  
'He bought two gold rings for those two children (of his).'

18.3 Comparative constructions

There are minor verbal clause types that diverge from those described in §18.1.1. The notion of the layered structure of the clause still applies. These include several types of comparative constructions. Comparison between the quality or characteristic of two objects is accomplished through a variety of comparative constructions.

18.3.1 Using a non-active verb as syntactically transitive

The main comparative construction is as follows:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SubjectNP</th>
<th>Non-active verb (sa liak)</th>
<th>ObjectNP</th>
<th>Standard of Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ringe</td>
<td>haa (sa liak)</td>
<td>yako</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Geba dl</td>
<td>empe (sa liak)</td>
<td>nang ama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. He is bigger than I.
2. That person is sicker than my father.

Figure 64: Structure of a comparative clause

A full comparative clause uses non-active verbs, which are normally one-argument verbs, as two argument verbs. There is no agency of any degree involved, no semantic element DO, nor is there an Undergoer that is affected in any degree. Thus, a comparative clause is structurally a transitive-like clause with a Subject NP (what is compared) and an Object NP (the standard for comparison), but the semantic notions of the macroroles of Actor and Undergoer are irrelevant. In a comparative clause, the referent of the Subject NP is always asserted to have a greater degree of the quality being compared than the referent of the Object NP. A pronominal Subject NP may be either a free pronoun or a pronominal proclitic [§9.2]. The use of sa liak is optional, but when used, it unambiguously marks the construction as a comparison.

(98) Tepu-t haa sa liak man.keho,
     chicken  big  one COMPAR  bird.mallee fowl
     bu manu-t telu-n di haa sa liak
     but  bird-NOM egg-GEN DIST  big  one COMPAR
     tepu-t telu-n sakik.
     chicken-NOM  egg-GEN  shift

'A chicken is bigger than a mallee fowl (Megapode sp.), but that bird's egg, on the other hand, is bigger than a chicken's egg.'

(99) Geba di em-kele sa liak geba gera-n-a.
     person DIST STAT-tall one COMPAR  person  more-GEN-PL
     'That person is taller than other people.'

(100) Da boti sa liak wagon enosi-t dii.
     3s  white one COMPAR  cloth-GEN old-NOM DIST
     'It is whiter than that old cloth.'

The following examples are clauseally similar to those above, but the explicit comparative sa liak is absent.

(101) Da haa ringe.
     3s  big  3s
     'He is bigger than him,'
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(102) Da em-nei ringe.
3s STAT-hurt 3s
'He is sicker than him.'

18.3.2 With borrowed lebé

The Ambonese Malay comparative construction with lebé 'more than' is often transposed using lebd plus Buru words.

(103) (AM) Mancadu ini lebé barát dari mancadu dolo.
(Buru) Gori naa lebé (da) beha fi di gomi leuk.
a axe PROX more 3s heavy from axe precede
'This axe is heavier than the other axe (we had before).'

18.3.3 Lexical comparative with dafuk 'greater'

Comparison can also be accomplished lexically using the verb dafu-k 'greater' with the specific action or quality implicit from the context.

(104) Da dafuk ringe.
3s greater-k 3s
'He is greater than him.'
'He beat him.'
'He is bigger/better/more skilled/swifter than him.'

Dafu-k may also be used as a verbal modifier.

(105) Da haa dafu-k ringe.
3s big greater-k 3s
'He is bigger than him.'

-----

The Standard Malay form is lebdh.

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Chapter Nineteen

Non-verbal, semi-verbal & copular clauses

Non-verbal, semi-verbal and copular clauses are used to present a new referent, re-identify an earlier referent or expand information about a referent in the development of a discourse. In contrast to verbal clauses, they typically deal with backgrounded collateral information rather than foregrounded event-line information in narrative discourse. In conversation they are often used as responses to questions requesting information. These non-verbal and semi-verbal clause types are all non-active and the semantic element DO is either missing or not relevant.

This chapter discusses these clause types in relation to structural, functional and distributional constraints that distinguish them from other types. At the end of the chapter a summary is given of the way each of these subtypes can collocate with pronominal proclitics, pre-verbal tense-aspect-mood proclitics, and post-verbal auxiliaries.

19.1 Non-verbal clauses

The predicate of a non-verbal clause is an NP [Chapter §11]. A pronominal subject of non-verbal clauses can be a free pronoun, but cannot be a pronominal proclitic [§9.2]. The subject has non-final falling intonation, but no pause, between the subject NP and the predicate NP.

19.1.1 Equative clause

The predicate NP in an equative clause is coreferential with the subject NP. These clauses are most often used to attribute a social position or kinship relation to the subject. [S = subject; P = predicate].

(1) Geba di guru.                       [Non-verbal equative]
   [person DIST]s [teacher]p
   'That person is a teacher.'

---

1 See J. Grimes (1971, 1975) and Hopper and Thompson (1980) for a discussion of similar patterns in a cross-linguistic context.
2 The difference between final and non-final falling intonation is a matter of degree. Typically, final falling intonation falls lower in pitch than does non-final falling intonation.
Non-verbal, Semi-verbal & Copular Clauses

(2) Ringe ya nang ama. [Non-verbal equative]
    [3sLS]s [1s 1sPOSS father]p
    'He is my father.'

(3) Ya nang ama nitu Porwisí Wae Mala Olo-n.
    [1s 1sPOSS father spirit]s [title water shoulder head-C]EN]p
    'My deceased father was the Porwisí of the Headwaters of the Wae Mala River.'

There are both copular and non-verbal types of equative clauses. The copular equative uses puna as a copula to allow certain verbal modifications that are not possible in the non-verbal version, such as modifications with the pre-verbal TAM proclitics [§12.2.2]. Puna is otherwise an active transitive verb 'do, make' in which the subject is Actor and the object is Undergoer. Here, however, the subject and object NPs are coreferential, forcing it to function simply as a BE-copula.3 The semantic notions of Actor and Undergoer are irrelevant here.

(4) Geba di puna guru. [Copular equative]
    [person DIST]s [BE [teacher [Skt]]]o,p
    'That person is a teacher.'

(5) Geba di ba puna guru. [Copular equative]
    person DIST DUR BE teacher [Skt]
    'That person is a teacher (imperfective).'

(6) Geba di la-d.ba puna guru. [Copular equative]
    person DIST IRR-3s.DUR BE teacher [Skt]
    'That person wants to be a teacher (irrealis).'

19.1.2 Quantifier clause

A quantifier clause predicates a quantity to the subject through the use of numbers or quantifiers [Chapter §15]. The second NP is optionally a classifier NP [§15.3].

(7) Sira edemen.4 [quantifier as predicate]
    [3p]s [many]p
    'There are many of them.'

(8) Sira geba edemen. [classifier NP as predicate]
    [3p]s [person many]p
    'There are many of them.'

When the quantity is specified with a number, the preference is for the predicate to be a classifier NP.

---

3It is commonly recognised (e.g. Givón 1984; Dik 1985; Crystal 1985) that copulas are semantically empty (although in some languages they can take grammatical inflection such as tense or aspect). The Buru use of puna as a main verb with lexical content and as a semantically bleached copula illustrates how this can develop.
4The verbal root of the (nominal) quantifier edemen is deme 'to increase'.
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(9) Sira geba-r lima.
     [3p]s [person-PL five]p
     'There are five of them.'

(10) Fofo-r dīl ihr chr paa.
     [pig-PL DIST]s [CLASS four]p
     'There are four pigs.'

Puna may be used optionally as a verbal copula.

(11) Sira puna geba-r lima.
     3p BE person-PL five
     'There are five of them.'

19.1.3 Distributive clause

A distributive clause links two NPs that are not coreferential, through number NPs
§11.1.4) used as both subject NP and predicate NP. This clause attributes the predicate NP
to the subject NP.

(12) Geba emsian, foki-t tabako emsian.
     person one bundle-NOM tobacco one
     'There was a tobacco pouch for each person.'

(13) Fafu emsian, ana-t-o paa.
     pig one child-NOM-PL four
     'Each pig had four offspring.'

(14) G. mā-r paa, huma emsian.
     person-PL four house one
     'There were four people to each house.'

(15) Geba-r nea, tonal utun nea.
     person-PL, six cuscus hundred six
     'Six people got six hundred cuscus.'

19.1.4 Presentational clauses (existential)

Presentational (existential) clauses are used most commonly to present or introduce a
new participant into a discourse. They may also be used simply as an oral title to a narration.
Besides the three types of presentational clauses discussed here, quantifier clauses [§19.1.2]
and naming clauses [§19.2.4] are often used presentationally as well.

19.1.4.1 Non-verbal presentational clause

A non-verbal presentational clause may simply be a single (simple or complex) NP
marked by the use of the deictic saa 'one, indefinite'.

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19.1.4.2 Verbal existential clause

There is an active intransitive verb oto which means 'to wait (in ambush)'.

(18) \[ \text{Sirra} \quad \text{oto} \quad \text{lawe} \quad \text{haik} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{fage} \quad \text{kita}. \]
\[ \text{3p wait downstream PRF IRR 3p throw 1pi} \]
\[ 'They are already waiting (in ambush) downstream to spear us.' \]

Oto can also be used as a non-active predicate simply meaning 'exist'. It is used in this sense to make a verbal existential clause. The non-verbal clause is more common.

(19) \[ \text{Koi-n} \quad \text{haa} \quad \text{oto} \quad \text{tongi}. \]
\[ \text{[taboo-GENbig] exist also} \]
\[ 'There are also big (i.e. greater significance) taboos.' \]

19.1.4.3 Negative existential clauses

Negative existential clauses are expressed with the deictic saa 'one, indefinite' plus a negative. The placement of saa indicates the scope of the negative. When no lexical verb is present, the negative is the predicate. In each of the following three examples the parts that form the negative predicate would normally function only as modifiers to a verbal predicate.

(21) \[ \text{Geba} \quad \text{saa} \quad \text{moo}. \]
\[ \text{[person one] [NEG]p} \]
\[ 'There was nobody (there).' \]

(22) \[ \text{Geba} \quad \text{saa} \quad \text{mohoe}. \]
\[ \text{[person one] [not yet]p} \]
\[ 'There wasn’t anybody there yet.' \]

(23) \[ \text{Geba} \quad \text{saa} \quad \text{tehuk} \quad \text{moc}. \]
\[ \text{[person one] [longer NEG]p} \]
\[ 'There was no longer anybody (there).' \]

Pronominal proclitics may not be used as the subject of negative existential clauses.
A verbal predicate is normally used to indicate negative predicates other than a negative existential predicate.

(24) Geba sa lko moo.  
[person ones]s [go NEG]p  
'Nobody left.'

19.2 Semi-verbal clauses

'Semi-verbal' is a label of convenience. It is a rubric which encompasses a variety of structural types that differ from both the verbal clause types discussed in Chapter §18 and the non-verbal clause types described in the previous section [§19.1]. Semi-verbal predicates include such things as the predicates of elided attributive and ambient clauses which have verbal roots but are marked morphologically as nominals. The negative existential clauses of §19.1.4.3 could also be considered to have a type of semi-verbal predicate. The negatives are normally modifiers of a verbal predicate, but in this case function as the predicate themselves. And unlike verbal predicates, negative existential predicates cannot take pronominal proclitics as subject.

19.2.1 Attributive clauses

An attributive clause uses a non-active /-t/ verb, marked with the nominal /-t/, as the predicate. It attributes an adjectival quality [§19.4.1] to the subject.

(25) Geba di haa-t.  
[person DIST]s [big-NOM]p  
'That person is big.'

'That is a big person.'

It was noted in a previous chapter [§11.1.3.1] that /-t/ verbs always take the /-t/ when used as an attributive modifier within a noun phrase. The /-t/ verbs without the /-t/ are non-active verbs used as verbal predicates [§18.1.1.3].

(26) Kau di beha.  
wood DIST heavy  
That wood is heavy.

Da wada kau beha-t.  
3s shoulder.carry [wood heavy-NOM]p  
'He is carrying heavy wood (on his shoulder).

---

5This type of clause is commonly referred to in the general literature as a 'descriptive clause'. I use the term 'attributive' to link it to the discussion of attributive NPs [§11.1.3] which involve the same verbal roots, and to avoid confusion with descriptive NPs [§11.1.1] which involve nouns.
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(27) Feten boti mohede. [as verbal predicate]
    millet white not yet
    ’The millet isn’t yet ripe.’

Da ego wagun boti-t. [as attributive modifier]
3s get [cloth-GEN white-NOM]NP
’She got the white cloth.’

The full form of the attributive clause uses a generic noun as a dummy head of the predicate NP.

(28) Ringe geba haa-t.
    [3s]p [person big-NOM]
p
    ’He is a big person.’

/-t/ verbs can take verbal modifications (e.g. pre-verbal TAM proclitics) that they cannot take in their nominal form with /-t/.

(29) Geba di ba haa hede. [verbal predicate]
    [person DIST]s [DUR big CONT]p
    ’That person is still growing.’

*[Geba di ba haa-t hede.] [person DIST]s [DUR big-NOM CONT]p
    ’That person is still growing.’

In this respect the attributive predicate is very different from a verbal predicate. There are three types of attributive clauses: full, copular, and elided. The clause in example (25) is best characterised as an elided attributive clause in which the redundant noun head of the predicate NP is omitted.

(30) Geba dii [geba] haa-t.
    [person DIST]s [person big-NOM]p
    ’That person is a big (person).’
    ’That person is big.’
    ’Thaat is a big person.’

There are several noteworthy differences between elided attributive clauses and full attributive clauses. First, the juncture between the subject and predicate behaves differently. If the subject NP of a full attributive clause is a deictic NP [§11.1.6], the deictic is uncliticised and takes rising intonation. But in an elided attributive clause the deictic is cliticised just as it is with a non-active verbal predicate.
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(31) **Full attributive clause \rightarrow\text{ uncliticised deictic}**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Geba } \text{ dii } \text{ geba haa-t.} \\
[\text{person } \text{ DIST}_S][\text{person } \text{ big-NOM}_p]
\end{array}
\]

'That person is a big person.'

'That person is big.'

'That is a big person.'

(32) **Non-active verbal predicate \rightarrow\text{ cliticised deictic}**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Geba } \text{ di } \text{ haa.} \\
[\text{person } \text{ DIST}_S][\text{big}_p]
\end{array}
\]

'That person is big.'

'That is a big person.'

(33) **Elided attributive clause \rightarrow\text{ cliticised deictic}**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Geba } \text{ di } \text{ haa-t.} \\
[\text{person } \text{ DIST}_S][\text{big-NOM}_p]
\end{array}
\]

'That person is big.'

'That is a big person.'

Secondly, a pronominal subject of a full attributive clause must be a free pronoun; it cannot be a pronominal proclitic [§9.2]. However, a pronominal subject of an elided attributive clause can be a pronominal proclitic, just like the subject of a verbal predicate.

(34) **Free pronoun as subject of full attributive clause**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ringe } \text{ geba haa-t.} \\
[3s][\text{person } \text{ big-NOM}_p]
\end{array}
\]

"[Da geba haa-t]

(35) **Pronominal proclitic as subject of non-active verbal clause**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Da } \text{ haa.} \\
3s \text{ big}
\end{array}
\]

'He is big. / He is growing.'

(36) **Pronominal proclitic as subject of elided attributive clause**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Da } \text{ haa-t.} \\
3s \text{ big-NOM}
\end{array}
\]

'He is big. / It is big.'

Full attributive clauses are non-verbal. Their predicate is an attributive NP [§11.1.3] and may use any subclass of verb root in the attributive. Pronominal subjects are restricted to free pronouns.
(37) /em/- verb (non-active) as attributive

Ringe geba em-pei.
[3s]_g [person STAT-hurt]_p
'She is a sick person.'

(38) Active intransitive verb root as attributive

Matan dii ongkos enyolit.
[money DIST]_g [fare [Mly] ABS-return-NOM]_p
'That money is the return fare.'

(39) Active transitive verb root as attributive

Fatu dii fatu enodot
[rock DIST]_g [rock ABS-grind-NOM]_p
'That rock is a grinding stone.'

The full attributive clause may use the dummy copula puna.

(40) Geba di puna geba haa-t.
[person DIST]_g [BE person big-NOM]_p
'That person is a big person.'
'That person is big.'
'That is a big person.'

The elided attributive clause is semi-verbal. This elided clause type is restricted to /-t/ verbs. Unlike verbal predicates, the predicate of the elided attributive clause cannot take verbal modifications. To do so the /-t/ must be removed, converting it into a non-active verbal predicate. But, like verbal predicates, the deictic of a deictic NP as subject is criticised, and a pronominal subject may be a pronominal proclitic. The elided attributive clause may not use puna as a copula.

19.2.2 Ambient clause

Ambient clauses make predications about the weather or the environment. The ambient clause has two types: verbal and semi-verbal, which in many ways parallel elided attributive clauses. There are no arguments in verbal ambient clauses, but the clausal template of Subject-Predicate requires a dummy subject. This is done with a non-referential 3s pronominal proclitic da 'it'.

(41) Da deka-t.
3s rain-NOM
'It is raining.'

6 Structurally there is no way to tell the difference between Ringe em-pei 'He is sick' used as a verbal predicate or as an attributive predicate.
The nominal /-t/ forms nouns from weather verbs [§7.4.5.1].

(42) Da deka.
    3s rain
    'It is raining [verbal].'

(43) Da deka-t.
    3s rain-NOM
    'It is raining [nominal].'

Da fila.
    3s lightning
    'It is lightning [verbal].'

(44) Da fila-t.
    3s lightning-NOM
    'It is lightning [nominal].'

Like verbal predicates, the subject can be (in this case must be) a pronominal proclitic. Like verbal predicates, the root around which the predicate is built is a verbal root. Like non-verbal predicates, however, verbal modifications may only be performed on the predicate if it is in its verbal form. Hence the classification of the ambient clauses with a predicate marked as a nominal as a semi-verbal predicate.

(44) Da gogo-n.
    [3s]s [rumble-GEN]p
    'It is thunder.'

(45) Da b-ridi-n.
    [3s]s [STAT-cold-GEN]p
    'It is cold.'

19.2.3 Possessive clause

The possessive clause [§14.1] structurally mirrors an active transitive clause with a subject NP and an object NP.7 Semantically, however, the active element DO is irrelevant as are the notions of Actor and Undergoer.

7Similarities and differences between the possessive and verbs are discussed at length in §14.1.
Unlike verbal predicates, pronominal subjects in the possessive clause are restricted to a form of the free pronoun and cannot be a pronominal proclitic [§9.2]. In §14.1 it was shown how there are many ways in which the possessive is a unique form class, even though it has many verb-like qualities in its distribution and affixing possibilities. Functioning as a clause nucleus I class it as a semi-verbal predicate.

19.2.4 Naming clause

A naming clause attributes a proper name to the subject. There is superficially an ambiguity of constituency as to whether ngaan 'its name' is part of the subject NP making it like a genitive construction [§14.2] (option 1), or whether it is part of the predicate (option 2). The general deictics (sa 'one', naa 'proximal', dli 'distal') may be used in their elicitised forms. The head noun of the subject NP tends to be generic.

(46) Yako nango huma saa. [1sg]s 1sPOSS [house one]o
'I have/own a house.'

(47) Asu sa ngaan Pikal. [dog one name-GEN]s [Pikal]p [option 1]
 '[There was a dog named Pikal.]

(48) Geba di ngaan J. [person DIST name-GEN J. [option 2]
'That person was named J.'

(49) Wae na ngaan Wae Sas.fuha-n Olo-n. [water PROX name-GEN water without hole-GEN head-GEN
'This stream is called the Headwaters of the River Without a Spring.'

In the following examples it becomes clearer that the structure of the naming clause is that of option 2 above, with ngaan being part of the predicate. The deictic may be omitted and the subject may be either a free pronoun or a pronominal proclitic [§9.2]. This differs from the genitive construction (option 1) in that the first nominal of the genitive construction cannot be a pronominal proclitic.

(50) Ringe ngaan L. [3s]l [name-GEN L.]p
'Her name is L.'

(51) Da ngaan L. [3s]l [name-GEN L.]p
'Her name is L.'
Secondly, TAM proclitics [§12.2.2] such as the durative ba may be used in the normal position between the subject and predicate, again favouring the analysis that ngaa-n is part of the predicate (option 2) above.

(52) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Da} \\
\text{[3s]}_5 \\
\text{ba} \\
\text{[DUR]} \\
\text{ngaa-n} \\
\text{name-GEN} \\
\text{L.} \\
\text{[L]_p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'She is (still) named L.'

Thus, the predicate nucleus is marked as a nominal but behaves verbally. Hence its classification as a semi-verbal predicate.

19.2.5 Locative clauses

Locative clauses attribute a location or direction to the subject without the information of the manner or instrument built into lexical verbs of locomotion [§7.4.2.1] or verbs of station [§7.4.2.2]. There are five variations of locative clauses, all of which involve the use of deictics [Chapter §10]. The simplest type of locative clause uses a simple deictic locative PP [§13.3.1.1] as the predicate.

(53) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Kae} \\
\text{[2s]}_5 \\
\text{na} \\
\text{Wa.Ha.Olo-n} \\
\text{[PROX water.big.head-GEN]} \\
\text{L.} \\
\text{[L]_p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'You are here in (the village of) Wae Haa Olo.'

(54) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Ringe} \\
\text{[3s]}_5 \\
\text{da} \\
\text{hawa} \\
\text{[upstream field]} \\
\text{L.} \\
\text{[L]_p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He is up in his garden.'

(55) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sira} \\
\text{[3p]_5} \\
\text{la} \\
\text{masi} \\
\text{[downstream sea]} \\
\text{L.} \\
\text{[L]_p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'They are down at the coast.'

Information indicating motion toward a goal or from a source may be added to the predicate by the use of the allative and non-allative dependent prepositions gam or fi [§13.2.2].

(56) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sira} \\
\text{[3p]_5} \\
\text{gam} \\
\text{la} \\
\text{masi} \\
\text{[ALL downstream sea]} \\
\text{L.} \\
\text{[L]_p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'They went down to the coast.'

(57) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sira} \\
\text{[3p]_5} \\
\text{fi} \\
\text{la} \\
\text{masi} \\
\text{[LOC downstream sea]} \\
\text{L.} \\
\text{[L]_p} \\
\end{array}
\]

'They came up from the coast.'

The full form of the deictic may form the prepositional complement to the dependent prepositions gam and fi indicating a general locative goal.

---

8It was argued in Chapter §13 that these allative and non-allative modifiers derived historically from verbs.
Non-verbal, Semi-verbal & Copular Clauses

(58) Sira gam lawe.
[3pl]S [ALL downstream]p
'They went that-a-way (downstream).'

(59) Sira fi lawe.
[3pl]S [LOC downstream]p
'They came up from there (downstream).'

The applicative -kd/ [§7.3.1] added to the full deictic indicates a specific but anaphoric locative goal.

(60) Sira gam pau-k.
[3pl]S [ALL down-k]p
'They went down there (to that place I have been talking about).'

(61) Sira gam dae-k.
[3pl]S [ALL upstream-k]p
'They went up there (to that place I have been talking about).'

The fifth variation on the locative clause uses the full form of the deictic as the complement, with certain non-active TAM proclitics [§12.2.2]. This use of these proclitics structurally as something like a copula or a preposition is anomalous with their other usages, unless the proclitics are seen as modifiers to the whole predicate.

(62) Ringe ma lawe.
[3s]S [EVID downstream]p
'He is there (downstream) [and I am certain of it].'

(63) Sira ba dii.
[3pl]S [DUR DIST]p
'They are here.'

(64) li ha naa.
[thing]S [IMM. PROX]p
'lt is right here.'

This latter type of locative clauses can thus take verbal modifiers such as the TAM proclitics. Unlike verbal predicates, pronominal subjects of locative clauses can only use free pronouns and cannot use pronominal proclitics [§9.2], following the pattern of non-verbal predicates. Thus all locative clauses are classed as semi-verbal predicates.

19.2.6 Similitive clauses

Similitive clauses use the dependent preposition gam plus a general deictic dii 'distal' or naa 'proximal' to predicate a similarity between two nominals. This similitive function of gam is different from its allative function. The similitive has the sense of approximate
similarity rather than exact similarity. With a lexical verb as the clause nucleus, it is the action or quality of the verb which is the standard of comparison.

(65) Ringe kaa gam di fafu.  
[3s]s [eat]v [SIM DIST pig]p\_comparison  
'He eats like a pig.'

(66) Ringe baa gam di fafu.  
[3s]s [big]v [SIM DIST pig]p\_comparison  
'He is big like a pig -- He is about the size of a pig.'

With no lexical verb it is indeterminate whether the similarity attributed to the subject is related to behaviour (DO) or characteristic or quality (BE).

(67) Ringe gam na fafu.  
[3s]s [SIM PROX pig]p  
'He is like this pig.' (in behaviour, smell, size, colour, texture, etc.)

(68) Ringe gam di nak ama.  
3s SIM DIST 3sPOSS father  
'He is like his father.' (in behaviour, appearance, size, mannerisms, etc.)

A full deictic can be used as the full complement of the predicate with an anaphoric or cataphoric referent.

(69) Ringe gam naa.  
[3s]s [SIM PROX]p  
'She is like this / She did it in this way.' [As a summary or introductory statement.]

(70) Ringe gam dii.  
[3s]s [SIM DIST]p  
'She is like that / She did it in that way.' [As a summary or introductory statement.]

The demonstrative enclitic -ta may be attached to the deictic.

(71) Ringe gam di.ta.  
[3s]s [SIM DIST.DEM]p  
'She is like that / She did it in that way.' [As a summary statement.]

The verb puna may be used as the clause nucleus, but may be indeterminate as to whether it is used as a lexical verb 'do' or a BE-copula.

(72) Ringe puna gam di fafu.  
[3s]s [do SIM DIST pig]p  
'He behaves like a pig.' [DO]

Ringe puna gam di fafu.  
[3s]s [BE SIM DIST pig]p  
'He is like a pig.' [BE]
Pronominal proclitics [§9.2] may not be used as the subject of the similitive clause without lexical verbs or a copula, thus resulting in their classification as semi-verbal predicates.

19.3 Collocational possibilities for predicate types

Several non-verbal or semi-verbal predicate types have verbal counterparts to accommodate various modifications. The figure below summarises the collocational preferences of the different predicate types with pronominal proclitics, TAM proclitics, and post-verbal auxiliaries. [φ indicates there is no equivalent counterpart; + indicates the collocation is acceptable; - indicates the collocation is not acceptable; PVA = post-verbal auxiliary].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LESS VERBAL PREDICATE TYPES</th>
<th>Pron. proc.</th>
<th>TAM proc.</th>
<th>PVA</th>
<th>MORE VERBAL PREDICATE TYPES</th>
<th>Pron. proc.</th>
<th>TAM proc.</th>
<th>PVA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-verbal equative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Copula'ar equative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-verbal quantifier</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Copula'ar quantifier</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-v. presentational</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Verbal existential</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full attributive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Copula'ar attributive</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elided attributive</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(§)φ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-verbal ambient</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Non-active verbal</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Verbal ambient</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-verbal similitive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Copula'ar similitive</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>φ</td>
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<td>φ</td>
<td>Naming</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>Active transitive</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 65: Collocational possibilities of predicate types with selected structures

From the previous discussion one can see that predicate types that are more prototypically verbal can more readily take pronominal proclitics as subject, while those that are less verbal predicates cannot.

Since non-verbal and semi-verbal predicates tend to be non-active without a semantic DO element built into them, there are certain active verbal modifications that are simply irrelevant in discussing these clauses. For example, the ablative te ‘be able to do s.t.' and the habitual ka ‘customarily, periodically' tense-aspect-mood proclitics [§12.2.2] do not collocate with these predicates, whereas durative ba which can refer to a state or process does. Similarly, post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4] relating to active verbs, such as suuk ‘to do

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9It is possible but awkward to get a post-verbal auxiliary. For example, Da haad haik 'He is already big.' More commonly and more naturally, the i-/i' is simply deleted, giving it the status of a verbal predicate. E.g. Da haad haik 'He is already big.'

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something completely' are not relevant, whereas negative moo 'no, not' or perfective haik 'already' which can relate to states or processes are relevant.

The above figure shows clearly that post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4] operate independently of the predicate type. That post-verbal auxiliaries are modifiers to the clause as a whole will be a significant point of discussion in the next chapter.
Chapter Twenty
Inter-clause relations

20.1 The notion of 'sentence' in Buru

In the previous two chapters the Buru clause was defined as a subject followed by a predicate, and a wide variety of predicate types were described. In those chapters it was also demonstrated that post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4] modify entire clauses, independent of the predicate type. The following figure illustrates the potential structural parts of a sentence. The term clause base is used for convenience to label the simple subject plus predicate. Clause stem is used to label the clause base plus post-verbal auxiliaries, and is the unit that may combine with other clause stems to form internally complex sentences. Since the post-verbal auxiliaries are optional, a minimal clause stem is a clause base. For the discussion in this chapter regarding inter-clause relations, the use of the term clause refers to a clause stem, unless otherwise indicated.

Figure 66: Sentence, clause stem and clause base

A minimal sentence for Buru is a clause base. A sentence may be expanded and made more complex in several ways. Referential information may be extracted from the clause base and fronted in various topicalisation constructions [Chapter §21]. Where topicalisation occurs, it always marks the beginning of a sentence. Clauses may be combined to expand a sentence in various ways, such as through serialisation, complementation, relativisation, or conjunction, indicating a variety of temporal and logical relationships between them.
Determining whether clauses relate to each other within a sentence or across sentences is a considerable challenge. These inter-clause relations are the topic of this chapter.

Tags [§12.5] may follow the final clause of a sentence. Where they occur, tags always indicate the end of a sentence. Other speech act types are discussed in Chapter §22.

20.2 A framework for inter-clause relations

Inter-clause relations have traditionally been couched in terms of binary oppositions such as coordination versus subordination, or parataxis versus hypotaxis.\(^1\) Recently, however, the work of linguists such as Lehmann (1988) and Givón (1990) have demonstrated that clause linkage is better characterised as a scale of several interacting parameters, rather than as a binary opposition of one or two parameters.\(^2\) Such a characterisation of clause linkage provides a far more insightful framework for unravelling the complexities of inter-clause relations in the Buru language than does trying to squeeze the data into discrete binary notions of coordination and subordination of clauses.

20.2.1 Structural parameters of clause linkage

The parameters of clause linkage discussed in this section are described in abstract terms first, before giving extensive examples in later sections. The parameters deemed relevant for Buru are adapted primarily from a general typology of clause linkage developed by Lehmann (1988), and secondarily from Givón (1990), Thompson & Longacre (1985), and Longacre (1985).

20.2.1.1 Integration of conjoined clauses

One parameter for discussing clause linkage in Buru is the degree of integration between two clauses. This ranges from full autonomy, in which two clauses function predicatively as distinct clauses, to full integration in which the blending of the two results in the function of a single clause. Some aspects of integration relate to the parameter of structural integrity discussed below [§20.2.1.3]. A variety of types of integration is

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\(^1\)Foley & Van Valin (1984: ch.6) distinguish a third type they call *cosubordination*, built on combinations of parameters of embeddedness and dependency.

\(^2\)Givón (1990:826), for example, observes that, "Both the sharp distinction [between coordinate and subordinate relationships] and its utility dissipates rapidly when one considers a broader typological sample, and analyzes a wider range of the structural and grammatical facts. In particular, a careful parallel analysis of the structural facts of clause integration and the functional facts of event integration reveals that in many languages, the sharp binary distinction between subordination and coordination is a gross over-simplification of the facts."
illustrated in the figure below. [CMPLR = complementiser; POSS = possessive; PART = participial (deverbal noun); PREP = Preposition].

| Full Autonomy | Sentence. Sentence. Clause Stem, Clause Stem. Clause Stem RLR (realis/irrealis) Clause Base Clause Stem RLR (realis/irrealis) \( \phi \) Predicate | Semantically dependent Purpose/Result Clause Structurally dependent Purpose/Result Clause Core-layer Serialisation Complement Clause
| Full Integration | Subject Verb Object/Subject Predicate Subject Verb CMPLR Clause Stem. Subject Verb POSS PART. POSS PART Verb (Object) Subject Verb PREP POSS PART Nominal argument with clausal modifier Subject Verb Verb (Object) | \( \sim \) Poss. Complement \( \sim \) Relative Clause Nuclear-layer Serial. |

Figure 67: Integration of conjoined clauses

At the level of full clauses there may be no integration other than a non-final intonational contour (marked here with a comma [,]) to signal that two clauses are linked together and not entirely independent.

1. **Parataxis (no relator) - peripheral-layer serialisation; independent and equal clauses**

   Da toho gm la masi, da safe ikan.
   3s descend ALL downstream sea 3s buy fish
   'She went down to the coast, she bought fish.'

2. **Parataxis (with relator) - grammatically and semantically coordinate; equal and conjoined**

   Da toho gm la masi tu da safe ikan.
   3s descend ALL downstream sea with 3s buy fish
   'She went down to the coast and she bought fish.'

3. **Slight semantic integration of full clauses**

   Wae dika-t sa moo, petu geba-ro asu-k wae dii, water other-NOM one NEG SEQ person-PL dip-k water DIST
   petu du ino tu du masa-k inaa-n, tu du du foi.
   SEQ 3p drink with 3p cook-k food-GEN with 3p bathe
   'There was no other water, so people fetched that water, and they drank (it) and they cooked their food (with it), and they bathed (in it).'

---

3In Lehmann’s framework, parataxis is simply the coordination of clauses. This may be either with or without the presence of a relator mapping an explicit semantic relationship between the clauses. Traditionally, parataxis has been limited to the juxtaposition of clauses with no explicit relator.

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Inter-clause Relations

(4) **Grammatically coordinate, semantically subordinate**

Da toho gam la masi pa da safe ikan.
3s descend ALL downstream sea REAL 3s buy fish
'She went down to the coast and (result) she bought fish.'

(5) **Equi-deletion - grammatically and semantically subordinate**

Da toho gam la masi pa [s] safe ikan.
3s descend ALL downstream sea REAL 3s buy fish
'She went down to the coast and (result) bought fish.'

(6) **Sentential complement fills slot of Object NP, differing minimally from independent clause**

Da odo fen ringe iko.
3s think [REAL 3s go]O
'He, thought that he left.'

(7) **Possessive complement fully marked as a nominal with reduction of deistic explicitness**

Da nanbeta nak anyikut.
en-iko-t
3s remember [3sPOSS ABS-go-NOM]O
'He, remembered his going.'

Da nanbeta nak huma.
3s remember [3sPOSS house]O
'He, remembered his house.' [compared with non-participial possessive complement]

(8) **Blended (integrated) with main clause - nuclear-layer serialisation**

Da toho safe ikan gam la masi.
3s descend buy fish ALL downstream sea
'She went [and] bought fish down at the coast.'

(9) **Full structural integration to a single clause through nuclear-layer serialisation (compounded)**

Da rus.fae-k saa fi di emhisi-n.
3s jab.take out-k one LOC DIST nest-GEN
'He repeatedly-jabbed-until-it-came-out a cuscus from its nest.'

(10) **Sharing of actants (arguments) in serialisation**

Da iko, da kalaa-k ringe.
[3s]A/U go
[3s]A call-k [3s]U
'He went, he called him.'

Da iko kalaa-k ringe.
[3s]A go call-k [3s]U
'He went and called him.' [nuclear-layer serialisation]
(11) Sharing of actants in complementation

Ringa kala-k yako pa [ŋ] keha tu foro-n.
3s call-k 1s REAL ascend with sharp stick-GEN
'He called me for [ŋ] to climb (the tree) with a sharpened stick (and I did it).'

20.2.1.2 Explicitness of linking

The nature of the semantic relationship between two (or more) clauses may be marked explicitly with a relator (syndesis), or not marked at all (asyndesis). Regarding *explicitness of linking*, Lehmann (1988:210) stresses that,

The presence or absence of a connective device between two clauses has nothing to do with parataxis vs. hypotaxis, but is exclusively a question of syndesis. In particular, it is not the case that either the concept of hypotaxis or the concept of subordination require the use of a conjunction, as has been claimed variously.

The absence of an explicit relator (asyndesis) indicates one is dealing with juxtaposition (asyndetic parataxis) of clauses, which in Buru yields various types of *serialisation* [§20.3]. Where an explicit relator is present (syndesis), there are a variety of possible combinations in Buru. There are two types of explicit clause linkage in Buru: relators and post-verbal auxiliaries. The combination of these results in a variety of structural types illustrated in the figure below. [RLR = relator; PVA = post-verbal auxiliary].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absence of Relator (asyndesis)</th>
<th>Clause Base, Clause Base.</th>
<th>Clause Serialisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject Verb Verb (Object)</td>
<td>Verb Serialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Relator (syndesis)</td>
<td>Clause Base, RLR Clause Base,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RLR Clause Base, Clause Base,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RLR Clause Base, RLR Clause Base,</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Clause Base PVA, Clause Base,</td>
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<td>Clause Base, Clause Base PVA,</td>
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<td>Clause Base PVA, Clause Base PVA,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause Base PVA, RLR Clause Base,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RLR Clause Base, Clause Base PVA,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 68: Explicitness of linkage

(12) No relator (clause serialisation)

Da iko da hawa, da oli na huma.
3s go upstream field 3s return PROX house
'He went (up) to the field, he returned (here) to the house.'

(13) Linkage through explicit relator

Da iko da hawa, petu da oli na huma.
3s go upstream field SEQ 3s return PROX house
'He went (up) to the field, and then he returned (here) to the house.'
(14) **Linkage through post-verbal auxiliary**

Da iko da **hawa** seko, da oli na huma.
3s go upstream field finish 3s return PROX house
‘After he went (up) to the field, he returned (here) to the house.’

Occasionally (with various types of negation) relators and post-verbal auxiliaries can cooccur on the same clause base.

### 20.2.1.3 Structural integrity of conjoined clauses

Another parameter of clause linkage is the structural integrity of clauses. Parts missing from a clause are to a large degree a result of discourse pragmatics and reference tracking issues [Chapter §23]. Structurally, there are several combinations found in Buru, many of them independent of the parameter of explicitness of linkage described above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full structural integrity</th>
<th>Omission of subject</th>
<th>Omission of main verb</th>
<th>Omission of clause base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentence. Sentence.</td>
<td>Subj coreferential / not coreferential</td>
<td>Tail-head linkage: subjects coreferential</td>
<td>Reduced alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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**Figure 69: Degrees of structural integrity in conjoined clauses**

(15) **Full structural integrity of clauses**

**Du flehe bia lea-lea,** **tu** **du hapu une-t.**
3p pound sago RED-sun with 3p tie cuscus snare-NOM
‘They pounded sago every day, and they tied cuscus snares.’

(16) **Equi-deletion of coreferential subject**

**Du ep-haga, pa [φ]** oli tu fafu haik.
3p CAUS-hunt REAL return with pig PRF
‘They went hunting (with their dogs), and [so] have already returned with a pig.’

(17) **Sharing of predicates through gapping**

**Gam di sira fi lawe ba hama fafu,**
SIM DIST 3p LOC downstream DUR search pig

**gam dli tongi tu kami [φ].**
SIM DIST also with us [predicate]

‘Just as people who live far away hunt pig, so also with us (we hunt pig).’
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(18) Reduction of structural integrity

Ringe ła iko ła da kaa.
3s IRR go IRR 3s eat
'He wants to go to eat.' (irrealis - irrealis)

Ringe iko ła da kaa.
3s go IRR 3s eat
'He went for him to eat.' (realis - irrealis)

Ringe iko ła [ŋ] kaa.
3s go IRR eat
'He went to eat.' (realis - irrealis)

Ringe iko [ŋ] kaa.
3s go eat
'He went and ate/to eat.' (realis - realis/irrealis)

20.2.1.4 Phonological patterns at clause juncture

Without some degree of structural and semantic integration, clause bases [§20.1] can stand alone independently as separate sentences. However, clause bases can also be strung together within a single sentence to indicate their inter-relatedness. I distinguish three degrees of phonological juncture between clauses, which are described relative to each other and indicated by punctuation.

Final juncture has a falling intonation contour over the final stress group [§6.3] of the clause base. The pitch falls lower than it does in other types of clause juncture and is accompanied by an observable pause (varying in length), and occasionally by the taking of a breath. A relator introducing a new sentence following final juncture forms its own stress group with its accompanying intonation contour. Final juncture is marked in the examples by a full stop [.].

person-PL sleep finish SEQ Sp two approach-k
'Everyone was fully asleep. Then the two of them arrived.'

Non-final juncture may have either a rising or a falling intonation contour over the final stress group of the clause base, but with falling intonation the pitch does not fall as low as in final juncture. The pause is more one that is hinted at rather than a complete break, and thus communicates that there is more to come. Sentential complements of speech-act verbs carry their own intonation contours and are preceded by a drop in pitch before the complementiser and non-final juncture following the complementiser. A relatively more pronounced contour and pause is used to indicate direct speech. With other semantic classes of verbs, where there is non-final juncture, the fall in intonation precedes the complementiser and the low pitch is
maintained over the entire relator, even if it is disyllabic. Parenthetical clauses are both preceded and followed by non-final juncture. Non-final juncture is marked in examples by a comma (,).

(20) Geba-ro bage sepo, petu sir.ruu kadu-k.
    person-PL sleep finish SEQ 3p.two approach-k
    'When everyone was fully asleep, the two of them arrived.'

(21) Da prepa fen. "Sira rua kadu-k."
    3s say REAL 3p two arrive-k
    'She said, "The two of them came."'

Da prepa fen sira rua kadu-k.
    3s say REAL 3p two arrive-k
    'She said that the two of them came.'

While clauses that are more fully integrated into a main clause may be identified syntactically, they tend to be absorbed into the phonological patterns of the preceding (main) clause. When clauses are integrated linearly, but not embedded as a constituent of the main clause, there may be a hint of an intonational dip, but not a pause. When clauses are integrated as a constituent of another clause, there is no intonational dip. Parenthetical clauses are preceded and followed by non-final juncture and, while embedded, are not considered integrated into the main clause. Juncture of clauses that are integrated into the structure of another clause is not marked by any punctuation.

(22) Da ego fuat la Jepang kaa-h.
    3s get banana IRR Japan eat-it
    'He got a banana for the Japanese [soldier] to eat.'

20.2.2 Inferential framework

Where there is no explicit relator linking clauses, the nature of the semantic relationship between the clauses is rarely ambiguous, being inferred from other factors.

(23) Petu du oli eta dena di toho-n, du lepa gere-n.
    SEQ 3p return until arrive DIST descend-GEN 3p ascend steep-GEN
    [ A ] [ B ] [ C ]
    'Then they went back until they reached the trail, and then they went up the slope.'

The relationship between clause B and clause C in the sentence above is interpreted as a sequence of a series of actions. The previous clauses are enough to signal that this is a narrative discourse which mitigates against clause C being interpreted, for example, as the logical REASON 'because' of clause B.
While explicit relators narrow the scope of possible semantic interpretations that link the structural units they are relating, several relators have more than one etc. function, being interpreted in slightly different ways if the clauses are seen to be related temporally or logically.

(24) **Narrative relation → sequential**

Du lapa gere-n, petu du poda.
3p ascend steep-GEN SEQ 3p crest
'They went up the slope, and then they crested the top of the ridge.'

(25) **Logical relation → subsequent result**

Du lepa gere-n, petu du hosa.
3p ascend steep-GEN SEQ 3p breathless
'They went up the slope, and so they were out of breath.'

The signals for different interpretations can be subtle.

(26) **Da iko tu ringe.**
3s go with 3s
'He, left with him.', (comitative PP: 1-they went together; 2-i took j; 3-j took i)

(27) **Da iko, tu ringe.**
3s go with 3s
1. 'He, left because of him.', (reason clause, deleted predicate)
2. 'He, left, with him.', (comitative PP afterthought)

These examples illustrate several things. First, clause linkage involves both structural and semantic linkage between clauses themselves and the semantic relationship that might be mapped by an explicit relator. Secondly, clause linkage also involves the *inferential framework* in which the clause is found. Inferential frameworks are composed of an interaction of 1) the preceding discourse, 2) the extra-linguistic context, 3) real-world entailments, and 4) culture-specific expectations. The influence of the extra-linguistic context on semantic interpretation of role structure is discussed in §18.2.3.1.1.2. Real-world entailments include such things as inferring that M was previously at a location in the mountains if one is told that 'M went down to the coast', or inferring that P has been holding a spear if one hears P being told to put down the spear. Culture-specific expectations include such things as knowing in

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4This term is used here to capture a variety of related issues discussed in the general literature. Longacre (1968, 1972) describes 'expectancy chains' in relation to the often semi-conventionalized strings of clauses found in many clause-chaining languages that structurally map the pieces of a semantically complex event. What I am talking about partly parallels the functional force of these chains, but is not restricted to the structural expression of such chains. J. Grimes (1975) uses the term 'inferential chains' to describe a related idea, but I forego using the term 'chain' as implying something that is formally tangible in the structures of the language. Much of the literature on semantics and pragmatics (cf. Grice 1975, Lyons 1981, Leech 1983, Levinson 1983) touches on this area of language under the rubric of 'implicature'. Wierzbicka (1988) occasionally refers to the factor of 'expectation', but has not isolated it as a topic for separate discussion.
Buru that abandoning a house or a village is a logical consequence of someone dying, or knowing that an epikitán 'fighting champion with spiritual powers' can summon his weapons or leap down tall cliffs in ways that are unavailable to the rest of us mere mortals. Inferential frameworks come into play not only where there are no explicit relators, such as in various types of serialisation, but also where there are explicit relators, as the above examples illustrate.

20.2.3 Relators function at various syntactic levels

It is, in many cases, misleading to characterise a relator merely as a discourse particle, a clause-level conjunction, or a preposition. Many relators can function across a range of syntactic levels, linking constructions of varying scopes.

(28) PARAGRAPH₁, Petu PARAGRAPH₂
SEN TENCE₁, Petu SENTENCE₂
CLAUSE₁, petu CLAUSE₂
Subject - Verb petu CLAUSE₂

Linking paragraphs in a discourse
Linking sentences in a paragraph
Linking clauses in a sentence (paratactic)
Subordinating a result clause (hypotactic)

(29) Tu díi, DISCOURSE
SEN TENCE₁, Tu SENTENCE₂
CLAUSE₁, tu CLAUSE₂
[N tu N]subject, Predicate
S - V - (O) - tu NP

'At that time,...' Introduces (cataphorically)
the time setting in a discourse
Linking sentence in a paragraph
Linking clauses in a sentence (paratactic)
Coordinating nouns in an NP [§11.5.1]
Preposition [§13.2.1.3]

Because of this ability to relate units of varying scopes, I opt simply to use the term relators rather than use a traditional but more restricted term such as 'conjunction'.

20.2.4 Historical reduction of clauses

Several subsystems in Buru have been shown to have developed historically from verbs (e.g. TAM proclitics, periphrastic verbs, post-verbal auxiliaries, and (some) prepositions). Since verbs form the nucleus of verbal clauses, this implies these subsystems have developed through the historical reduction of clauses. The resulting subsystems, however, have completely lost their identity as clauses.

(30) Clauses with full structural integrity

Da puna huma, eta huma di mate-k.
3s do house until house DIST die-k
'He built the house until the house was complete.'

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5 See J. Grimes (1975) for a discussion of the notion of 'paragraph' in oral discourse.
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(31) **Clauses reduced through serialisation** (periphrastic)

DA *puna mata-k huma dli.*
3s do die-k house DIST
'He made the house ready/complete.'

(32) Reduction through compounding

DA *pun mata-k huma dli.*
3s do die-k house DIST
'He completed (building) the house.'

(33) **Development of TAM proclitics through elicitisation of 1st verb of serial construction**

DA *tewa puna huma.*
3s know do house
'He knows how to build a house.'

DA *te pu wa huma.*
3s ABIL do house
'He can build a house.'

(34) **Development of post-verbal auxiliaries through floating manner modifiers**

DA *kaa sepo mangkau.*
3s eat finish cassava
'He finished eating the cassava.'

DA *kaa mangkau sepo.*
3s eat cassava finish
'He ate up the cassava.'

(35) **Development of prepositions from locative serial verbs**

DA *egu-h la [a] ngei-k ringe.* [full verb]
3s get-it IRR 3s direction-k 3s
'He fetched it to give it to her.'

DA *safe ngei ringe.* [serial/prepositional]
3s buy direction 3s DAT/BEN
'He bought it for her.'

20.3 Serialisation

Juxtaposition (asyndetic parataxis) is simply core-layer, peripheral-layer or clause stem serialisation. Several different types of inter-clause relations can be indicated depending on the inferential framework [§20.2.2]. In the following examples, lower case letters x and y represent clauses (i.e. clause stems), and upper case letters X and Y represent sentences.
(36) \( x, y. \)

'\( x, y. \)'

'\( x, \) [then] \( y. \)'

'\( x, [so \ then] y. \)'

'[if] \( x, [then] y. \)'

'[when] \( x, [then] y. \)'

'[because] \( x, [then] y. \)'

(37) \( x \ y. \)

'\( x \) [in \ order \ to] \( y. \)'

[purpose]

'\( x \) [and \ so] \( y. \)'

[result]

Clauses linked with no explicit relator and with non-final phonological juncture may involve two or more clauses, all of which I include under the rubric of 'serialisation'. Serialisation can join structures of similar layers of the clause [§18.1]. Thus, there can be serialisation of clause stems (including peripheral serialisation), core-layer serialisation, and nuclear-layer serialisation. Each successive type of serialisation involves greater degrees of integration between clauses, until with nuclear-layer serialisation, the serial verbs no longer represent the integration of two separate clauses, but rather have been fully compressed as the complex nucleus of a single clause. Nuclear-layer serialisation was described in §12.1.2.2.

20.3.1 Serialisation of clause stems

Clause stems [§20.1] may be strung together in a complex sentence, with no overt relators and with non-final (rising) phonological juncture between them. There is referential continuity across the serialised clauses, but not necessarily continuity of subject. The semantic relationship between the clauses is drawn from the inferential framework [§20.2.2].

(38) **Continuity of subject: relations drawn from inferential framework**

\[ \text{Da iko mansari, da dufa saa moo, da oli hama saa.} \]

\[ 3s \text{ go hunt } 3s \text{ get one NEG 3s return look for one} \]

'[When] he goes hunting, [[if] he doesn't get anything, he comes home looking for something.]

(39) **Subject of first clause as object of subordinate clause embedded within second clause**

\[ \text{Geba di haka, enrimo iko la [6] kala-k oli [6].} \]

\[ \text{person DIST flee constable go IRR S call-k return O} \]

'[if] the person flees, the enrimo goes [in order for him] to call [him] back.]

20.3.2 Core-layer serialisation

Core-layer serialisation involves the stringing together of clause nuclei within a sentence with no explicit inter-clause relators between them, with the core arguments of each nucleus following the expected valence profile of the separate nuclei, and with non-final (usually rising) phonological juncture between the clauses. The serialisation may share a fronted topic, oblique or peripheral arguments, or post-verbal auxiliaries.
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(40) Shared topic

Ana-fina dii, da iko, da tou-k hawa.
child-female DIST 3s go 3s inspect-k field
'That woman, she went, she checked out the field.'

(41) Shared oblique/peripheral argument

Ana-fina dii, da iko, da tou-k hawa fi sak fuka.
child-female DIST 3s go 3s inspect-k field LOC up mountain
'That woman, she went, she checked out the field up in the mountains.'

(42) Shared post-verbal auxiliary

Ana-fina dii, da iko, da tou-k hawa moo.
child-female DIST 3s go 3s inspect-k field NEG
'That woman, she didn’t go and check out the field.'

Ana-fina dii, da iko, da tou-k hawa halk.
child-female DIST 3s go 3s inspect-k field PRF
'That woman, she already went and checked out the field.'

With core-layer serialisation, the object of a transitive first verb may serve simultaneously as the subject of second verb (raising). This construction which uses a single argument to blend two clauses is different from the argument structure of separate clauses joined by an overt relator and also different from the pattern found in nuclear-layer serialisation.

(43) Pattern with an explicit relator

Da kala-k ringe pa ringe oll.
3sA call-k 3sU REAL 3sA/U return
'He called him and he returned.'

(44) Pattern with shared core argument in core-layer serialisation

Da kala-k ringe oll.
3sA call-k 3sU 3sA/U return
'He called him for him to return.'

(45) Rearrangement of shared arguments in nuclear-layer serialisation

Da kala-k oll ringe.
3sA call-k return 3sU
'He came and him back.'

The semantic relationship between serialised core layers is drawn from the inferential framework.
20.3.3 Nuclear-layer serialisation

Nuclear-layer serialisation was treated in detail in §12.1.2.2, but some aspects of it are reviewed here. First, core arguments of serial verbs are shared by the combination of the verbs as a unit. While an argument can occur between two verbs in core-layer serialisation, arguments cannot occur between the same two verbs in nuclear-layer serialisation.

(47) **Nuclear-layer serialisation**

Ringe oli ep-foki nak lafa-t.  
3s return CAUS-wrap 3sPOSS trailfood-NOM  
'She went home [and she] bundled up her trailfood.'

Secondly, verbal modifications, such as the TAM proclitics [§12.2.2] are shared by the combination of the verbs as a unit.

(48) Sira tu koba baga saka numa lale-n ina.  
3p ABIL [ascend sleep] up house inside-GEN NEG  
'They can't go up [and] sleep inside the house.'

Thirdly, the valence of the combination of the verbs matches the valence profile of the serial verb with the highest valence.

(49) Da iko tata-k nak fin.haa.  
3s go 3s drop-k 3sPOSS female.big  
'He deserted his wife.'

Fourthly, as in core-layer serialisation, the explicit nature of the relation between the two verbs depends on the inferential framework.

(50) Ringe oli taga ana-t-o.  
3s return meet child-NOM-PL  
'He returned and met [his] children.' [result]  
'He returned to meet [his] children.' [purpose]

Fifthly, there is no phonological non-finite juncture indicated between the verbs. Thus, verb serialisation *functions* as the nucleus of a single verbal predicate, rather than as a combination of two reduced clauses. This represents a complete integration of inter-clause linkage in the framework presented earlier [§20.2].
20.4 A survey of explicit linking devices

In the brief survey of Buru inter-clause relators that follows, the distribution of the relators is represented abstractly. The functions of some relators are illustrated with full examples. In the abstract examples, lower case letters x and y represent clauses (i.e. clause stems), and upper case letters X and Y represent sentences. Time adverbials are often used as reduced adverbial clauses and were surveyed in Chapter §16. Because polarity is relevant to inter-clause relations, some of the abstractions are given in variant forms with the negator moo ‘no, not’. Several high frequency patterns of inter-clause relations are handled simply by the choice of the post-verbal auxiliary [§12.4] selected for the first of two conjoined clauses.

The abstractions are given English equivalents that best represent the range of their functional force. The English glosses are not intended to be hard and fast one-to-one equivalents of the Buru forms, but are intended merely to represent the best range of semantic correspondence between the two languages.

Givón (1990:827ff.), points out that inter-clausal coherence is both anaphoric and cataphoric in function, and sees that an inter-clausal relator “most likely serves as a signal of cataphoric re-orientation” (p.890). Buru relators function both ways.

(51) **Explicit linking devices are both anaphoric and cataphoric**

Du suha bia, petu du kaa.
3p stir sago SEQ 3p eat
'They prepared the glutinous sago paste, and then they ate.'

(The event of the second clause is sequentially related to the event of the first clause (anaphoric), but also cataphoric foreshadowing what follows is related.)

Lehmann (1988:211) observes that “Connective phrases are clearly reduced adverbial clauses [emphasis mine]”. This will be seen in much of the following discussion.

(52) **Connective phrases as reduced adverbial clauses**

Waha-n nam dji, du sehe.
evidence-GEN SIM DIST 3p retreat
‘Because it is like that (all that has been said up to this point), they retreated.’

20.4.1 tu ‘and, with, because, at (time)’

In §13.2.1.1 it was demonstrated that tu has a wide range of prepositional functions, all hinting at simultaneity in various ways.
In §11.2.1 tu was also shown to coordinate simple NPs in a complex NP so that they function jointly as a single syntactic argument. The notion of a coordinate 'and' maintains the thread of simultaneity relative to the scope of the event.

Tu can coordinate any constructions of equal status, not just NPs. Thus it can relate two NPs, two VPs, two clauses, two sentences, and occasionally two paragraphs. The use of tu conjoining clauses or sentences implies a referential continuity.

Tu can introduce a topic [Chapter §21] with the sense of 'And as for (topic), x.'
(62) Tu ana-fina dae naa,
    [with child-female upstream PROX1Topic
     fila-n ba lata, fila-n ba leo.
    lightning-GEN DUR cut lightning-GEN DUR precede

'And as for this girl up there, [she] was gorgeous.'
(Idiom - lit. 'her radiance was striking, her radiance was preceding')

Tu can also introduce a reason clause.

(63) x, tu y
    'x, because of, on account of y'

(64) Rogo tu deka-t.
     enter with rain-NOM
     'Come in, on account of the rain.'

(65) Fena di boho tirin, tu kabu-t edemen.
     village DIST had EMPH with mud-NOM much
     'That village was really miserable, because of all its mud.'

(66) Bara emata kono, tu ya oli anga-6.
     ep-mata
don't CAUS-die 1sU with 1s return IMM-VOC
     'Don't kill me, because I am returning now to my own territory.'

(67) Sira te khea bage saka huma lale-n moo, tu koi-n.
     3p ABIL ascend sleep up house inside-GEN NEG with taboo-GEN
     'They are not permitted to sleep inside the house, because it is taboo.'

Where tu introduces full reason clauses (with both a subject and predicate) as in example (66), waham 'because' [§20.4.14] may substitute for tu 'because'. If either the subject or the predicate is omitted, only tu may be used. When a reason clause is fronted, waham normally introduces it, rather than tu.

20.4.2 petu 'then, so'

Petu signals a shift and indicates non-simultaneity. It can signal a shift (discontinuity) in each of the areas that Givón (1990) identifies as components of event integration, that is, in tracking referents, time, location, or action. Thus it can introduce sequential or consequential predications, events, or episodes in discourse.

Petu implies a temporal or logical connection with the preceding event or proposition, following on from it, but with a shift in one or more of the components mentioned above. It depends on the inferential framework to interpret whether that connection is 'loose' or 'tight', vague or precise. Thus, if the immediate environment is narrative discourse, it implies sequence 'then, and then', whereas in explanatory discourse it signals logical result or
consequence 'then, so, thus'. The distinction between 'temporal' and 'logical' here is quite artificial in that natural texts tend to inter-mix and even blend the two genres.

Petu links clauses, sentences, or paragraphs. Occasionally it introduces a result clause (realis), but implying sequence, in contrast with pa (below), which introduces result clauses without necessarily implying sequence.

(68)  x, petu y. / X. Petu Y.  'x, then y. (sequence)'
       'after x, then y. (sequence/result)'
       'when x, y (context, result)'
       'x, and thus y. (subsequent result)'
       'because of x, then y (logical consequence)'

(69)  Geba-ro bage sepo, petu sir rua kuadu-k.
      person-PL sleep finish SEQ 3p.two approach-k
      'When everyone was fully asleep, the two of them arrived.'

(70)  Wae dika-t sa maa, petu geba-ro asu-k wae dii,
      water other-NOM one NEG SEQ person-PL dip-k water DIST
      petu du ino tu du masa-k inaa-n, tu du foi.
      SEQ 3p drink with 3p cook-k food-GEN with 3p bath
      'There was no other water, so people fetched that water, and then they drank (it) and they cooked their food (with it), and they bathed (in it).'

(71)  Petu kami rasa kami glada, petu kam oli.
      SEQ 1p feel [Skt] 1p hunger SEQ 1p return
      'Then we felt hungry, so we went home.'

Omission of a coreferential subject in the second clause yields a structurally dependent (subordinate) clause.

(72)  x petu [y-predicate]  'subordinate sequence or result clause'

(73)  Da kaa petu [φ] iko.
      3s eat SEQ go
      'He ate and left.'

20.4.3 pa (with variant po) 'and so, result'

Pa marks realis modality. It may introduce a result clause or indicate simultaneity, indicating 'and (consequently, subsequently), and as a result'. In narrative, pa can introduce purpose clauses 'to do y' whose predicates were realised (actually happened). Pa may connect clauses (paratactically or hypotactically), or occasionally connect sentences. Po is a dialectal variant of pa used in some of the Rana and Wae Sama areas.

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(74) X. Pa Y. / x, pa y. / x pa y. 'x and y'
   'x and so y'
   'x with the result that y'
   'x to do y (realised purpose)'

(75) Ringe kala-k yako pa [ø] keha tu foro-n
     3s call-k 1s REAL ascend with sharp stick-GEN

     pa a seka-h pa [ø] data-k gam pa rahe,
     REAL 1s stab-it REAL fall-k ALL down ground

     bu kam dapa-k moo.
     but 1pe get-k NEG

'He called me to climb with a sharpened stick [which I did] and I stabbed it [cuscus] and it fell
to the ground, but we didn't get it.'

20.4.4 fene 'that'

As a main verb fene is a generic speech-act verb 'say'. However, fene most often
functions as a reals complementiser (similar to a that-complement in English), but with
semantically motivated distributional restrictions. That is, it only collocates with verbs that
involve cognition, such as speech-act verbs, verbs of seeing, thinking, feeling, etc. The use
of fene as a complementiser in direct and indirect quote formulae is nearly obligatory.

Fene does not indicate the reals mode of the complement, but rather of the speech-act.
It is thus anaphoric in the scope of its modality.

(76) S VbCOGNITION fen y 'S said/felt/saw/thought THAT y'

(77) Sira em-tako fen sira dapa-k efiali.
     3p STAT-fear REAL 3p get-k beat

'Vey were afraid that they would be beaten.'

(78) Da prepa la yako fene. "Ku enika ama-n dii
     3s say DAT 1s REAL 2s ask father-GEN DIST

     fen ma lko leu-k fi doo?"
     REAL 1p go precede-k LOC where

'He said to me (saying), 'Ask him [respected] (saying) where we should go first.'"

(79) Ringe enika yako fen. "li ha naa, do, teni-k naa?"
     3s ask 1s REAL thing REL PROX PAUS what-k PROX

'He asked me (saying), 'This thing here, what is it?'"
20.4.5 la 'to, in order to'

La was introduced in §12.2.2 as a pre-verbal TAM proclitic. It also relates clauses with varying degrees of integration. It must be distinguished from the homophone la as a deictic or dative/benefactive preposition [§13.2.1.3.1].

The preverbal modal marker la signals ireals modality (future, purpose, desire, hypothetical, uncertain, contemplated, unrealised). The use of la in marking a purpose construction [§12.2.3.3] and as a subordinator of an irealis purpose complement (much like a to-complement in English) can both be seen as reductions from la relating two independent clauses.

(80) S la VP

Preverbal marker of irealis modality, purpose, future, desire, contemplated action (S wants to, intends to, will)

(81) x la y

'x to do y (introduces irealis purpose clause 'for the purpose of y, so that y, in order to y')'

(82) Relates full clauses

Geb.haa paha tuba la geba-ro ep-sulu-n, person.big beat drum IRR person-PL RECIP-gather-DTR

la du toke geba rus la du pahu-k kami IRR 3p indicate person two IRR 3p escort-k lpe

gam di fena B.
ALL DIST village B.

'The head of the kin group beat the drum so that the people would gather, so that they could select two people to escort us to the village of B.'

(83) Purpose clauses with equi-subject deletion

Bapa.raja puna rapat la geba-ro suba taha kaufua-n, father.king [AM] do meet [Mly] IRR person-PL out fell tree fruit-GEN

la [ŋ] ali-k la [ŋ] puna huma negri fehu-t. IRR peel-k IRR do house village [AM] new-NOM

'The king called a meeting so that people would go out [and] fell saplings to peel [the bark of] them] to make houses for a new village.'

(84) Purpose clause as sentential object complement

Petu kami geba em-tua-t-o erei la kam SEQ lpe person STAT-elder-NOM-PL refuse IRR lpe

nam ana-fina kaweng tu ringe. 1pePOSS child-female marry [Arab] with 3s

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*So we the elders refused that our [collective] daughter should marry him.*

(85) **Purpose construction with absence of a main verb**

Sepo fi dii, kami [φ] la kam eptea ba naa.
finish LOC DIST 1pe IRR 1pe stay DUR PROX

'So after that, we wanted to stay here.' [Lit. 'we that we stay']

(86) **Purpose construction with equi-deletion**

finish LOC DIST 1pe IRR stay DUR PROX

'So after that, we wanted to stay here.' [Lit. 'we to stay']

The relators tu, petu, pa, and la can best be illustrated in comparison with one another. Realis pa can contrast with irrealis la, and overlap or contrast with sequential or subsequent petu and with coordinating tu.

(87) Da ikọ, petu da kaa.
3s go SEQ 3s eat

*He went, and [then] ate.*
(discontinuity of action)

Da ikọ, tu da kaa.

*He went, and he [also] ate.*
(coordinate)

*He left, because he had eaten.*
(reason)

Da ikọ pa da kaa.

*He went and [so] ate.*
(accomplished result)

*He went to eat [and did it].*
(realised purpose)

Da ikọ la da kaa.

*He went to eat.*
(intended purpose)

(88) Da eptea, petu da glada.
3s sit SEQ 3s hunger

*He was sitting, then he [became] hungry.*
(subsequent result)

Da eptea, tu da glada.

*He was sitting, and he [also] hungry.*
(coordinate)

*He was sitting, because he was hungry.*
(reason)

Da eptea, pa da glada.

*He was sitting, and he was hungry.*
(coordinate; marked realis)

*[Da eptea la da glada.]*

(semantic clash)

20.4.6 **mele** 'test, so that ... not, in order to not'

In §12.2.3.2 mele was introduced as marking **negative irrealis** modality. Thus it indicates negative polarity on a purpose clause.
Inter-clause Relations

(89)  x, mele y.  'x, lest y.'  
      'x, so that not y.'  
      'x, in order to not y.'

(90)  Petu ya tuke-h ten, "Ama-n-é.  Tabu ii ha naa,  
      SEQ 1s give-it say father-GEN-VOC walking stick thing REL PROX  
      mele ku moho."  
      lest 2s fall

'So I gave it saying, '[Respected] sir. This walking stick here is so you won't fall.'

(91)  Wali, ku jaga nam asu, mel da sanga geba.  
      friend 2s guard [Mly]2sPOSS dog lest 3s bite person  
      'Mate, watch your dog so that he doesn't bite anyone.'

An equivalent of mele is accomplished with the irrealis la plus the prohibitive bara.

(92)  Wali, ku jaga nam asu, la da bara sanga geba.  
      friend 2s guard [Mly]2sPOSS dog IRR 3s don't bite person  
      'Mate, watch your dog so that he doesn't bite anyone.'

20.4.7 bu 'but'

Bu indicates a contrast or discontinuity in either the thematic coherence of the discourse, or a frustrated or violated set of expectations.7

(93)  X. Bu Y. / x, bu y.  'x, but y.'  
      'A did x, but B did y.' (contrast in referents)  
      'A was going to do x, but did y.' (contrast in action)  
      'x, but y instead.' (contrary to expectation)

(94)  Hawa tu inaa-n edemen di fena enosi-t,  
      field with food-GEN many DIST village former-NOM  
      bu du em-tako la du ego.  
      but 3p STAT-fear IRR 3p get

'There were many fields and a lot of food at the old village, but they were afraid to get it.'

(95)  Ringe flali yako, bu yako ba sało rahek.  
      3s punish 1s bu' 1s DUR accept just  
      'He beat me, but I just accepted it.'

(96)  x bu moo, y bu moo, z bu moo.  'Neither x, nor y, nor z.'

7This is consistent with what has been characterised cross-linguistically for this type of conjunction by Givón (1990:851): "Contrastive conjunctions such as 'but' are used in the context of some pre-set expectations concerning the behavior of sets of states, activities, subjects or objects that are expected to behave in a certain way but in fact don't. [Emphasis in the original]."
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(97) Petu huma fatu saa bu moo, nak was.lale saa bu moo.  
SEQ house rock one but NEG 3sPOSS grove one but NEG  
3sPOSS kepeng saa bu moo.  
'So [in spite of what you might expect] there was no cement house, nor was there a cash-producing grove, nor was there any money.'

(98) Topic, bu x.  
'contrary-to-expectation'

(99) Sareat, bu moo.  
hospitable but NEG  
'They weren't even generous/hospitable [in the ways one would expect in that situation].'

(100) Bia bu da maso haik, pala bu [phi] masa haik,  
sago but 3s cook PRF rice but cook PRF  
fate-n bu [phi] masa haik, mangkau bu [phi] masa haik,  
millet-GEN but cook PRF cassava but cook PRF  
'He was surprised to find the sago and the rice and the millet and the cassava all cooked.'

A positive assertion following and contrasting with a preceding negative assertion is most commonly accomplished with tu, rather than bu.

(101) x moo, tu y.  
'Not x, but y.'

Ringe moo, tu yako.  
3s NEG with 1s  
'Not him, but me.'

20.4.8 eta 'until, if, when'

Eta points toward a terminal boundary. The terminus can be a point in time, in space, an event, a state, or a condition. In modality eta is irrealis. Thus, it takes English glosses such as 'until, when, if'. As a main verb, eta-k 'meet s.o., know s.o.' has the accomplishment sense that the terminal boundary has been reached.

(102) x, eta y.  
'x, until y'

(103) bu pe-bahi-n tu ngaa-t, eta feda-k en-mata.  
3p RECIP-argue-DETR with name-NOM until rise-k ABS-die  
'They were arguing over social position, until (resulting event) there arose (this great) death.'

(104) x eta y.  
'x until y'

3p RED-go until arrive DIST house one  
'They kept on going until [phi] arrived at a house.'
Inter-clause Relations

(106) \( \text{fi di x eta y.} \)  
'from x until y'  
'from x to y'

(107) Kami ba kerja fl_ di lea kaha eta torowahe nna. \[\text{DUR work [Skt] LOC DIST sun ascend until hour PROX}\]  
'We have been working from sunrise up until now.'

(108) Eta x, y.  
'If x, [then] y.'  
'When x, [then] y.'  
'As for x, y.'

(109) Eta nete-n mansari di roi-n, geba rua defu-k rahek. \[\text{COND place-GEN hunt [Skt] DIST small-GEN person two stay-k just}\]
'IIf the area for hunting is small, [then] just two people will stay there.'

(110) Eta x moo, y.  
'If not x, [then] y.'  
'When not x, [then] y.'

(111) Eta ringe dufa ii sa moo da ba hama hede. \[\text{COND 3s get thing one NEG 3s DUR seek CONT}\]
'IIf he hasn't gotten anything, [then] he keeps hunting.'

(112) Eta x, y moo.  
'Until x, not y.'  
'If x, [then] not y.'  
'When x, [then] not y.'

(113) Eta efnasa la fas.tela, \[\text{COND ABS-cut IRR cut.separate}\]
ana-t rua di kaweng palek moo. \[\text{child-NOM two DIST marry [Arab] actuate NEG}\]
'IIf the decision is to separate [them], those two children's marriage will not be realised.'

When the complement of eta is a reduced adverbal clause, such as a time word, eta behaves syntactically and distributionally like a preposition \[\S13.2.3.3\].

(114) Da ba iko eta beto. \[\text{3s DUR go [until night]Reduced Clause = PP}\]
'He kept going until nightfall.'

20.4.9 bama 'but if, but when'

Like eta, bama also points toward a terminal boundary, but adds an element of contrast 'but if, but when'. Thus it implies a discontinuity of some element of discourse cohesion.

(115) Bama x, y.  
'But if x, [then] y.'
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(116) Bama sira emata-h moo, sira benihi-k mohede.
ep-mata-h

but if 3p CAUS-die-it NEG 3p happy-k not yet

‘But if they have not yet killed it [the pig they are hunting], then they are not yet satisfied.’

(117) x, bama y.

‘x, but rather y’

‘x, instead y’

(118) Ringe toho sakik bama da dufa modo-t.
3s descend shift instead 3s get lizard-NOM

‘[Then] he will come down [the hierarchy of hunting preference] until he gets a lizard instead.’

Bama most commonly co-occurs with eta 'until, if, when' in the compound bam.eta.

(119) Bam.eta du emata saa mohede, beto rua, beto-n telo,
ep-mata

but until 3p CAUS-die one not yet night two night-GEN three

sira bage mohede.
3p sleep not yet

‘But if they have not yet killed something, then for two or three days they will not have gotten any sleep yet.’

20.4.10 mama 'and if, even if, and when, and even'

Unlike bama, which implies a discontinuity, mama implies irreality continuity 'and if, and even'.

(120) Mama x, y.

‘And if x, [then] y.’

(121) Fene, "Mama gam dii, do, ku ego uka ture-n ang dili.
say and if SIM DIST PAUS 2s get bamboo short-GEN IMM DIST

‘[He] said, "And if that is the case, well, you go fetch that piece of bamboo.”’

(122) Petu Tuan ka.latu fene, "Sane mama ego Murampaat nake
SEQ sir [Mly] HAB.king say who and if get (giant) 3s OSS

kasturi, do, ringe kaweng tu ya nang ana-fina embuka parrot [AM] PAUS 3s marry [Arab] with 1s 1s POSS child-female maiden

naa, tongi sepo lepa-k ringe la da puna Tuan Ka.latu.
PROX also finish ascend 3s IRR 3s COP sir [Mly] HAB.king

‘Then Tuan Kalatu said, "And if someone will fetch Murampaat’s parrot, well, he will marry my young daughter here, and then eventually will be installed as [the new] Tuan Kalatu.”’

Like bama, mama occurs more commonly in combination with eta 'until, if, when' as mam.eta, than it does alone.
(123) **Mam.eta** da beta-h moo, ma puna mege-t.
and if until 3s connect-it NEG 1p do different-NOM
'And if it does not connect with it [a trap], [then] we will make a different one.'

20.4.11 **bam.eta** / **mam.eta** 'but if / and if'

The primary result of combining bama and mama with eta is to highlight contrast vs.
non-contrast or discontinuity vs. continuity.

(124) **Bam.eta** x, y.
'But if x, [then] y.'
'But when x, [then] y.'
'But as for x, y.'

(125) **Mam.eta** x, y.
'And if x, [then] y.'
'And when x, [then] y.'
'And then when x, y.'
'And as for x, y.'

(126) **Eta** du dufa fafu saa,...
until 3p get pig one
'When they got a pig,...'
'If they get a pig,...'

(127) **Mam.eta** du dufa fafu saa,...
and until 3p get pig one
'And if they get a pig,...'

(128) **Bam.eta** du dufa fafu saa,...
but until 3p get pig one
'But if they get a pig,...'

20.4.12 **elek** 'however, unless, except that'

Elek is a low frequency :relator that signals a contrastive discontinuity of thematic
coherence, indicating 'I am adding more information that you might not think would be
the case.' It is commonly glossed as 'however, unless, except'.

(129) **Elek** x, y.
'However, x, y.'
'Unless x, y.'
'Except that x, y.'

(130) **Elek** kaka-wai-t rua naa, nunu-k oto-k tonl;i,
except elder-younger-NOM two PROX 3pi-SS-NOM exist-k also
wahan geba emhane nak ana-t.
REASON person bold 3s-POSS-child-NOM

'However, these two [Wae Temun] kinsmen, [these other two from the Wae Lusu :in group]
had their own [skills & powers] too, because they were sons of a warrior.'
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(131) Elek du tewa haik.
except 3p know PRF
'Except that they already knew about their sons being killed.'
'However, they already knew.'

(132) Petu Mia di prepa ute Emhailat dii, "He, he!
SEQ monkey [loan?] DIST say DAT crocodile DIST ha ha
Da sanga kau lahi-n, elek yaco kada-ng fiki ang naa."
3s bite tree root-GEN except 1s leg-1sGEN LOC IMM PROX
'Then the monkey said to the crocodile, "Ha, ha! He bit a tree root, except that my foot is
right here."'

20.4.13 mambole 'it would be good if'
Mambole derives from a frozen compounding of mama 'and if' [§20.4.10] with a
Malay loan bole 'acceptable, permitted, OK'. Mambole functions by itself as a reduced
adverbial clause.

(133) Mambole, x 'It would be good if x.'
'It would be better if x.'

(134) Mambole, kim rua sibi ringe tu mahu-n hai
good 2p two assist 3s with medicine-GEN follow
flalu-k ringe make em-pel-t.
according 3s 3sPOSS STAT-hurt-NOM
'It would be good if the two of you could help him out with medication [that is] according to
his sickness.'

(135) Mambole, do, tu naa, musu-n fehu-t naa,
good PAUS with PROX season-GEN new-NOM PROX
sira sibi yako tu elwani pi sapa-n raheks;
3p assist 1s with clothes or what-GEN just
ramek fl di sira.
later LOC DIST 3p
'It would be good if, well, now, with the New Year, if they could help me out with clothes or
whatever; that is up to them.'

20.4.14 waham 'because'

As a full lexeme, waham is used in a genitive construction and can be glossed as
'evidence, trace of, indication of'.
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(136) gebo jo waha-n
perch.tusk nipple-GEN
'just 1/2 the cuttings, etc.'

(137) fafu waha-n
pig evidence-GEN
'footprint, pig feces, evidence of rooting'

(138) nak waha-n sa moo
3sPOSS evidence-GEN one NEG
'There was no proof/evidence.'

As a relator, wahan introduces a reason clause 'because'. It is thus often interchangeable with tu [§20.4.1] when it introduces a reason clause.

(139) Da iko, wahan da to sohi-k tehuk moo.
Da iko, tu da to sohi-k tehuk moo.
3s go REASON 3s ABIL wait-k longer NEG
'He left, because he could wait no longer.'

(140) Sira gosa saro wahan du kaka-wai-t.
Sira gosa saro tu du kaka-wai-t.
3p good RECIP REASON 3p elder-younger-NOM
'They were good to each other because they were related to each other.'

Secondary reasons are usually expressed with tu.

(141) Beto dii, sir.rua bage toro-n tirin, wahan em-loo tirin,
night DIST 3p.two sleep quiet-GEN EMPH REASON STAT-weak.EMPH

\[\text{tu lea dii du puna une-t edemen.} \]
REASON sun DIST 3p do snare-NOM many

'That night, the two of them slept really soundly, because they were really tired, because that day they had made many cuscus snares.'

Reason clauses typically follow the result clause, but when they are fronted for pragmatic prominence, wahan is used in preference to tu. This permits clauses fronted with tu to be interpreted as mapping other types of relations, such as coordination [§20.4.1].

(142) Wahan eta da tou-k nak une-t-o ddi,
REASON COND 3s inspect-k 3sPOSS snare-NOM-PL DIST

ringe pada-k rahek tonal roin-roin fol.koni-n.
3s get [Mly]-k just cuscus RED-small fur.yellow-GEN

'Because, when he goes to inspect his cuscus snares, he will only have gotten very small yellow-furred cuscus.'

(143) Waha ddi, geba na iko di huma puji.
REASON DIST person PROX go DIST house worship [Skt]
'Because of that, this person went off to the house for worship/divination.'
20.4.15 pi 'or' 

Pi 'or' was introduced in §11.2.3 as indicating an alternative relationship between nouns. A similar alternative disjunction is indicated when pi relates clauses.

(144) $N_1$ pi $N_2$  
      \( x \) pi \( y \)  
      \( 'N_1 \) or \( N_2' \)  
      \( 'x \) or \( y' \)  

(145) Da rog, hama fene ringe ba newe hede, pi da mata.  
      3s enter.search REAL 3s DUR live CONT or 3s die  
      'He, came in to find out whether she, was still alive, or [iff] she, was dead.'

It was also shown in §11.2.3 that Buru marks a distinction between closed disjunction (a choice between a finite set of alternatives), and open disjunction (indicating there are other alternatives not specified).

(146) Closed disjunction (finite set of alternatives)  

Yako la enika ana-fina naa fen da eru-k, pi moo.  
1s IRR ask child-female PROX REAL 3s agree-k or NEG  
'I'm going to ask this woman whether she accepts or not.'

Like closed disjunction, each non-final alternative in open disjunction takes rising intonation followed by a slight pause, but with open disjunction the relator pi clusters phonologically after the first and subsequent items, with the rising pitch on the pi followed by a slight pause. The final alternative also takes rising intonation. Thus, a construction ending in a rising pi implies 'or something else'.

(147) Open disjunction (non-finite set of alternatives)  

Sira taha kau tu gomi pi,  
3p fell tree with axe [Port] or  

\( / \)  

du taha-h tu senso pi?  
3p fell-it with chainsaw [Eng] or  

'Did they fell the tree with an axe, or did they cut it with a chainsaw, or what?'

The disjunctive relator pi may function as a tag after a single alternative indicating 'or something else of the sort I have just mentioned'.

(148) Da iko pi?  
      3s go or  
      'Has he gone, or what?'

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20.4.16 *gam* (di) 'like'

In §13.2.2.2 it was shown that the allative preposition *gam* 'to, toward' also has a *similitive* function 'like' in combination with the general deictics *dii* 'distal' and *maa* 'proximal'. And in §19.2.6 the structure of the similitive clause was described linking two NPs.

(149) Similitive clause

\[ NP_1 \text{ gam di } NP_2. \]

'NP_1 is like NP_2.'

With the uncriticised (non-final) form of the deictic, *gam dii* 'like that, in that way' functions as an anaphoric *summary* adverbial clause.

(150) *Gam dii, x.*  
\[ x \text{ gam dii.} \]

'In that way, x.'

(151) *Gam dii, do, sira iko palek moo.*  
\[ SIM \text{ DIST PAUS 3p go actual} \text{ NEG} \]

'In that way, well, it didn’t work out for them to go.'

(152) *Nango em-see-n tongi gam dii.*  
\[ 1sPOSS \text{ STAT-sick-GEN also SIM DIST} \]

'My sickness was also like that.'

When this summary similitive phrase introduces two parallel clauses, it has the sense of 'just as x, so also y.'

(153) *Gam di x, gam dii y (tongi).*  

'Just as x, so also y.'

(154) *Gam di sira fi lawe ba hama fafu,*  
\[ SIM \text{ DIST 3p LOC downstream DUR search pig} \]

*gam dii tongi tu kami.*  
\[ SIM \text{ DIST also with us} \]

'Just as people who live far away hunt pig, so also with us (we hunt pig).'

20.4.17 *teme* 'only then'

Teme relates a second clause to the preceding clause, indicating that the state, condition, or situation expressed by the first clause must be fulfilled before the state, condition, or situation of the second clause can come to fruition 'x, only then y.'

(155) *x, teme y.*  

'x, only then y.'

'[if] x, then y.'

'x first, then y.'

'It must be that x, then y.'
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'Only after x, y.'
'x, before y.'

(156) Fula-n telo tem kam oli gam di fena. moon-GEN three then 1p return ALL DIST village
'Only after three months [had gone by] did we return to the village.'

(157) Ana-fina na heka beto-n nee, tem kim hai ngei-h. child-female PROX flee night-GEN six then 2p follow direct-it
'It was only after your daughter had run off six nights that you all followed after her.'
'Your daughter had already run off six nights before you followed after her.'

(158) Eta ya oli, tem a urus. COND 1s return then 1s manage [Mly]
'When I return, only then will I take care of it.'

(159) Emhawen, tem du oli gam di hum.tapa. evening then 3p return ALL DIST house hunt
'It was evening before they returned to the hunting lodge (where they dress and smoke the meat).'

20.4.18 sepo 'finish'

When the post-verbal auxiliary sepo 'finish, complete' [§12.4.2] occurs in a preceding clause, it indicates a subsequent temporal relation with the following clause.

(160) x sepo, y. 'After x, y.'
'Having x-ed, y.'

(161) Petu kam kaa sepo. kami oli gam di fena. SEQ 1p eat finish 1p return ALL DIST village
'Then after we had finished eating we returned to the village.'

(162) Du hulu-n sepo, du ino wae poto-t. 3p cheer-DTR finish 3p drink water hot-NOM
'After they cheered in celebration, they drank tea.'

Sepo commonly occurs in the recapitulation of tail-head linkage patterns in narrative and procedural discourse.

(163) x, y, y sepo, z, z sepo, a. 'x, [then] y. After y, [then] z. Having z-ed, a.'

(164) Kami foto sira di toho-n esnuban. 1p photograph [Du] 3p DIST descend-GEN ABS-cross threshold-GEN
en-suban

[φ] Foto sepo, kami ep-tofo. photograph finish 1p RECIP-apologise

[φ] Ep-tofo sepo, kam iko. RECIP-apologise finish 1p go
"We took their picture where the trail enters the village. After taking the picture, we took our leave. After taking our leave, we went upstream.

Sepo also occurs frequently as a reduced anaphoric adverbial clause. In this way it parallels the tail-head linkage pattern, but without explicitly reproducing the predicate of the previous clause.

(165) Sepo, kami iko gam dae. finish lpe go ALL upstream
'After that, we went upstream.'

(166) Sepo fi dil, fafu di bale deduk. finish LOC DIST pig DIST turn [Mly] repeat
'After that, the pig turned back again.'

20.4.19 leuk 'precede, before'

When the post-verbal auxiliary leuk 'precede, first, before' §12.4.17 occurs in a preceding clause, it indicates a temporal relation of precedence with the following clause.

(167) x leuk, y 'x first, [then] y.'
'Having x-ed first, [then] y.'

(168) Yako keha kau sa leuk, pa a emata saa.
ep-rata
1s ascend tree one precede REAL 1s CAUS-die one
'I climbed a tree first, and (result) I killed one [a cuscus].'  

(169) Du siu-k ya nang kai leuk, la da fuka toho-n.
3p order-k is IsPOSS older precede IRR 3s open descend-GEN
'They first instructed my older brother, so that he would find a way [to make the negotiations turn out satisfactorily].'

Leuk can open a new sentence. In this fronted position it is highly marked, putting the temporal relationship between the two clauses into pragmatic prominence.

(170) Leuk x, y. 'Before x, y.'

(171) Leuk fi di kami fuka en-dohi-n tu Fakal, precede LOC DIST lpe open ABS-narrate-GEN with Fakal
kam la kam wene-k i1 saa.
lpe IRR lpe sing-k thing one

'Before we begin our story about [the history of the village of] Fakal, we are going to sing something.'

Leuk occurs frequently as a reduced anaphoric adverbial clause. It parallels the tail-head linkage pattern, but without explicitly reproducing the predicate of the previous clause.
(172) Leuk fi dil, kam iko foi.
precede LOC DIST lpe go bathe
'Before that, we went and bathed.'

20.4.20 *mohede* 'not yet, before'

The temporal negative post-verbal auxiliary *mohede* 'not yet' [§12.4.5] maps a temporal relationship across clauses in a sentence.

(173) x mohede, y.
     'Before x, y.'
     'Before x, [then] y.'

(174) Kae iko *mohede*, kae enei-k teni-k
     2s not yet 2s transfer-k what-k
la nam ana-t rua naa?
DAT 2sPOSS child-NOM two PROX

'Before you leave, what are you going to give over to these two children of yours?'

(175) Sasi saa *mohede*, tu dii hula-hula-t.
salt one not yet with DIST RED-(plant)-NOM

'Before there was any salt, in those days [we used to use] hula-hula [plant sp.].'

(176) Da mata *mohede*, da stori gam naa, "..."
3s die not yet 3s speak SIM PROX

'Before he died, this is what he said, "..." [Lit. 'he spoke like this']

20.4.21 *fi di* 'from'

The non-allative complex preposition *fi di* 'from' [§13.2.2.1] often relates clauses or sentences, indicating an initial boundary in space or time.

(177) *Fi di* x, y.

'From x, y.'

(178) *Fi di* du keha gam sak fuka, du em-pel boho-boho.
LOC DIST 3p ascend ALL up mountain 3p STAT-hurt RED-bad

'From the time that they went up into the mountains, they have been extremely sick.'

With the deictic in its uncliticised (non-final) form, the complex preposition can function as a reduced adverbial clause. In this capacity it may also combine with other relations.

(179) *Fi di*, du oli tehuk moo.
LOC DIST 3p return longer NEG

'From that time, they didn't come back any more.'

'From that place, they didn't come back any more.'

(180) Sepo *fi di*, du oli tehuk moo.
finish LOC DIST 3p return longer NEG

'After that, they never came back.'
20.4.22 tongi 'and also'

Tongi is a post-verbal auxiliary 'also' [§12.4.14], that can also coordinate clauses.

(182) x tongi y.  
'x and (also) y.'

(183) Du hapu une-t tongi du tane su-ra-n.  
3p tie snares-NOM also 3p plant spike-GEN  
'They tied cuscus snares and they also set spike traps into the ground.'

Tongi often co-occurs with tu 'with, and, because' [§20.4.1] giving the sense of 'both ... and'.

(184) x tong tu y.  
'Both x and y.'

(185) Du hapu une-t tong tu du tane su-ra-n.  
3p tie snares-NOM also with 3p plant spike-GEN  
'They both tied cuscus snares and they set spike traps into the ground.'

20.4.23 patehen / katefen 'in connection with'

Patehen and its dialectal equivalent katefen 'in connection with, because of', tend to be restricted to more formal discourse, such as speeches and negotiations. The few occurrences in my data corpus appear in conventionalised reduced adverbial clauses.

(186) Patehen gam dili, sira esngol-k la du heka.  
connect SIM DIST 3s decide-k IRR 3p flee  
'in connection with those things, they decided that they would run off.'

20.4.24 peltanek 'beginning from'

Peltanek is a low frequency relator that highlights an initial boundary in redundant combination with fi di. It is a visually graphic metaphor derived from pele 'intersect with' and tane 'to plant some stick-like object forcefully into the ground', thus emphasising 'from the point at which...' [§12.2.1.4]. This relator is used primarily for oratorical emphasis.

(187) Peltanek fi di ringe kadu-k na fena naa,  
begin LOC DIST 3s arrive-k PROX village PROX
geba-ro ba em-sihl, geba-ro ba hea-n.  
person-PL DUR STAT-drunk person-PL DUR rowdy-DETR

'Beginning from the time that he arrived here in the village, people have been drunk and they have been rowdy in a disturbing and destructive way.'
20.4.25 *odo* 'rather, except for, other than, instead'

As a main verb, *odo* has the sense of 'think, imagine'.

(188) Sira odo lale-n tu nun ana-t rua dil.
3p think inside-GEN with 3POSS child-NOM two DIST
'They were thinking about those two [classificatory] children of theirs [who had not returned].'

Relating clauses, *odo* has a meaning in the range of 'rather, instead, except for, other than'.

(189) x, odo y.  
'x, except for y.'
'x, but rather y.'

(190) Geba dika-t sa moo, odo ringe rahek.
person different-NOM one NEG rather 3s just
'There was nobody else, except just him. '

(191) Ana-t bu da tewa moo, ina bu da tewa moo,
child-NOM but 3s know NEG mother but 3s know NEG
odo ama rahek, da tewa-h.
rather father just 3s know-it

'Neither the child nor the mother understood, rather just the father, he understood it. '

Moik is an archaic equivalent to *odo* 'rather, except for'.

(192) Geba gera-n-o sa moo, moik ringe emsikan.
person add-GEN-PL one NEG rather 3s alone
'There were no other people, except him alone.'

20.5 Conditionals

From the survey above, it is clear that a variety of forms can be used to perform the function of a conditional.

(193) **Implied conditional from inferential framework**

Fuka lale-m moo, ku dapa-k moo.
open inside-2sGEN NEG 2s get [Mly]-k NEG
'If you don't confess, then you won't get anything [on the hunt].'

(194) **Overtly marked conditionals**

Eta nete-n mansari di roo-n, geba rua defu-k rahek.
COND place-GEN hunt [Skt] DIST small-GEN person two stay-k just
'If the area for hunting is small, then just two people will stay there.'
Inter-clause Relations

(195) Bama sira emata-h moo, sir. benihi-k mohede.
ep-mata-h
but if 3p CAUS-C’s-it NEG 3p happy-k not yet
'But if they have not yet killed it [the pig they are hunting], [then] they are not yet satisfied.'

(196) Bam,eta du emata saa mohede, beto rua, beto-n telo,
ep-mata
but until 3p CAUS-die one not yet night two night-GEN three
sira bage mohede.
3p sleep not yet
'But if they have not yet killed something, then for two or three days they will not have gotten any sleep yet.'

(197) Fene, "Mama gam dii, do, ku ego uke ture-n ang dii." say and if SIM DIST PAUS 2s get bamboo short-GEN IMM DIST
'He] said, "And if that is the case, well, you go fetch that piece of bamboo.'"

(198) Mam,eta da beta-h moo, ma puna mege-t. and if until 3s connect-it NEG 1p do different-NOM
'And if it does not connect with it [a trap], [then] we will make a different one.'

(199) Pseudo-conditional in reduced adverbial clause
Mambole, kim rua sibi ringe tu mahu-n hai good 2p two assist 3s with medicine-GEN follow
fialu-k ringe make em-pel-t. according 3s 3sPOSS STAT-hurt-NOM
'It would be good if the two of you could help him out with medication [that is], according to his sickness.'

Thompson & Longacre (1985), and Givón (1990) identify two major types of conditionals in the world’s languages, 1) irrealis conditionals, and 2) counter-fact conditionals. Buru does not overtly distinguish the two types. As can be seen from the examples above, relators that mark a conditional are concerned with the relationship between clauses, rather than with the internal semantics of the clauses. Thus, interpreting a conditional as irrealis or counter-fact is drawn from the inferential framework, and in some cases from the choice of post-verbal auxiliaries, rather than from patterns of structural marking.

(200) Eta du eru-k, petu du hulu-n.
COND 3p agree-k SEQ 3p cheer-DETR
'If they accept, then they cheer in celebration.' [irrealis conditional]
'If they had accepted, then they would have cheered in celebration.' [counter-fact conditional]
20.6 Complementation

Complement clauses are traditionally described (Noonan 1985, Dixon 1987, Givón 1990) as propositions or clauses functioning as a core argument (i.e. subject or object) of a clause nucleus. There are several types of complementation in Buru which blend into the broader framework of inter-clausal relations described earlier [§20.2].

20.6.1 Complementation through subordinating complementisers

Several of the relators described earlier in this chapter function as complementisers in addition to the other functions. Thus, to divorce complement clauses from the broader framework of inter-clausal relations in Buru would isolate those relators (complementisers) from their broader distribution. For example, irrealis purpose complements (with la) directly parallel non-embedded purpose clauses and purpose constructions that use the same relator. The clauses under consideration are enclosed in square brackets [ ] in the interlinear glosses below.

(202) Non-embedded purpose clause

Sira ep-sulu-n la du toke geba rua.
3p RECIP-gather-DETR [IRR 3p indicate person two]
'They gathered so they could select two people.'

(203) Purpose construction with no main verb

Sira [∅] la du toke geba rua.
3p [IRR 3p indicate person two]
'They wanted to select two people.'

(204) Purpose complement as object of main verb

Sira siu-k la du toke geba rua.
3p order-k [IRR 3p indicate person two]
'They ordered that they select two people.'

Thus, in describing Buru complement clauses here, I am not so much focusing on the internal structure of the clauses, nor on the semantic relation mapped by the relator, but on the distribution of these clauses in functioning as core NP arguments.

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6.1.1 Realis fene

The broader semantic and distributional range of fene was discussed above in §20.4.5. Fene is a realis complementiser that introduces object complements of verbs involving cognition. It does not introduce subject complements. The dative-goal argument of speech-act verbs is optionally inserted between the verb and the complementiser.

(205) Ya kita fen da iko halk.
1s see REAL 3s go PRF 'I saw that he had already left.'

(206) Sira em-tako fen kuwihi ep-ture sira.
3p STAT-fear REAL headhunter CAUS-short 3p 'They were afraid that the headhunter would chop off their heads.'

(207) Da prepa (la yako) fene, "Ku enika (ema-n dii) 3s say DAT 1s REAL 2s ask father-GEN DIST

fen ma iko leu-k fi doo?"
REAL 1p go precede-k LOC where

'He said (to me) that, "Ask (him [respected]) that where we should go first."'

20.6.1.2 Irrealis la

La may be used as an irrealis complementiser in addition to its other functions already described [§20.4.5]. As a complementiser la may collocate with some speech-act verbs to indicate a manipulative (jussive) sense, in contrast with the complementiser fene which maps a descriptive (indicative) sense.

(208) Da prepa fen ringe iko.
3s say REAL 3s go 'He said that he left.'

Da prepa la ringe iko.
3s say IRR 3s go 'He said that he should go.'

(209) Sira erei fen du epteal fi dii.
3p refuse REAL 3p sit LOC DIST 'They refused, saying they would stay there.'

Sira erei la du epteal fi dii.
3p refuse IRR 3p sit LOC DIST 'They refused to stay there.'

(210) Sira siu-k la du toke geba rua.
3p order-k [IRR 3p indicate person two] 'They ordered that they select two people.'
La used as a complementiser with the verb hama 'seek, look for, hunt' makes hama function as a modality verb 'try, attempt'.

(211) Transitive verb

Sira hama manu-t.
3p seek bird-NOM
'They are hunting birds.'

(212) As modality verb with la

Sira hama la du frake tepu-t saa.
3p seek IRR 3p catch chicken-NOM one
'They are trying to catch a chicken.'

With manipulative verbs la is used to introduce a purpose clause, rather than strictly a purpose complement.11

(213) Sira mamhisik ringe la da wada iyero.
Sira mamhisik [Ø] la da wada iyero.
Sira mamhisik ringe la [Ø] wada iyero.
3p force 3s IRR 3s shoulder carry thing-PL
'They forced him to carry the stuff.' [Lit. 'forced him that he carry...']

A purpose clause with la may be used as a subject complement of some non-active verbal predicates.

(214) NP subject

Enhero di gosa.
[sp-IRG DIST] good
'That spear is good.'

(215) Subject purpose complement

La da iko gam pa masi di gosa.
[IRR 3s go ALL down sea DIST] good
'For her to go down to the coast is good.'

20.6.1.3 Irreals eta

When a main verb involving cognition is negated, the conditional eta may optionally be used in place of fene as the complementiser.

(216) Ya tawa moo, fen da iko pi moo.
1s know NEG REAL 3s go or NEG
'I didn’t know whether she left or not.'

11Thus it does not strictly parallel the English 'infinitival complements'.
(217) Ya tewa moo {sta da iko pi moo.
   1s know NEG COND 3s go or NEG
   'I didn't know whether she left or not.'
   'I didn't know if she left or not.'

20.6.1.4 Negative irrealis mele

The negative adverbial mele 'lest' [§20.4.6] can function marginally as a complementiser with some adverbial verbs involving cognition, but there is no way to distinguish whether or not the clause is functioning as an embedded object complement, or merely as a conjoined clause.

(218) Sira em-tako mele kuwihi ep-ture si-a.
   3p STAT-fear lest headhunter CAUS-short 3p
   'They were afraid lest the headhunter chop off their heads.'

20.6.1.5 Omission of subject in complement clauses

Although same subject is optionally omitted in non-complement purpose clauses [§20.4.5] and result clauses [§20.4.3], it is not normally omitted in object complement clauses. Omission of the subject of complement clauses of reported speech indicates the subject is the same as the addressee (i.e. 2s or 2p).

(219) Same subject

   Ya prepa fen a iko.
   1s say REAL 1s go
   'I said that I went.'

(220) Omitted subject implying second person

   Ya prepa fen, "[s] iko."
   1s say REAL go
   'I said that, "You go on."'

20.6.2 Possessive complements

Deverbal (participial) complements, marked as the nominalised object of the possessive, can function as either a subject complement or an object complement.

(221) Deverbal object complement

   Sira nanbeta nak anyikut.
   en-iko-t
   3p remember [3sPOSS ABS-go-NOM]
   'They remembered his going/departure.'
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(222) Siri doli namo en-heka-t.
3p narrate 2sPOSS ABS-flee-NOM
"They are discussing your eloping."

The same construction used as a subject complement is most commonly presented as an event that causes something else.

(223) Deverbai subject complement

Namo en-heka-t puna sira sefe-n.
2sPOSS ABS-flee-NOM do 3p angry-DETR
"Your eloping made them angry."

(224) Nak en-dea-t di puna sira dena tu beto.
3sPOSS ABS-stop-NOM DIST do 3p arrive with night
"His stepping caused them to arrive at night."

20.6.3 Paratactic complements

Paratactic complements are clauses that function in place of a nominal argument with no overt relator, simply by virtue of their distribution. These can be compared with deverbal complements and complements that use subordinating complemetisers. They occur only as object complements.

(225) With complementiser fen

Siri kita fan da iko.
3p see REAL 3s go
"They saw that he left."

(226) Possessive complement

Siri kita nak envikut.
3p see 3sPOSS ABS-ko-NOM
"They saw his going."

(227) Paratactic complement

Siri kita da iko.
3p see 3s go
"They saw he left."

20.7 Relativisation

Relative clauses are clausal modifiers of a head noun embedded within an NP argument of the main clause. Relative clauses add background information to a text, rather than event-line information. The various forms and functions of Buru relative clauses are described first, and then the syntactic positions that can undergo relativisation are explored.
20.7.1 Types of relativisation

Much of the general literature on relativisation (Comrie 1981, Keenan 1985b, Givón
1990) makes a functional distinction between relative clauses which use given or known
information to identify a referent (restrictive relative clauses), and relative clauses which
present new information, or expand the information about a referent that is assumed to be known
(non-restrictive relative clauses).

20.7.1.1 Restrictive relatives → narrow down the referent

Ha is a general relativiser which identifies information assumed to be already known
by the addressee to enable the addressee to identify the correct referent. Because the
information in the relative clause is assumed to be known, the relative clause with ha is
normally bracketed with a definite deictic dìi 'distal' or naa 'proximal'. The head noun of the
argument in the main clause has a coreferential generic noun or pronoun within the relative
clause. The prototypical structure of a relative clause with ha is illustrated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun_{Head}</th>
<th>(Modifiers)</th>
<th>[ha</th>
<th>dìi</th>
<th>Re{Clause}</th>
<th>(dìi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>dìi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(dìi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>naa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(naa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 70: Structure of a relative clause with ha

(228) Yako sale haik surat ha dìi B. tu Y. egu-h dìi.
1s receive PRF [letter [Mly]] REL DIST B. with Y. get-it DIST}_{NP
'I have already received that letter which B. and Y. fetched.'

[Relative clause identifies which, of maa 3 possible letters, is being talked about.]

(229) Petu du pefa hum.tapa dìi ep-sia-k tu kaka-wai-t
SEQ 3p burn house.smoke DIST CAUS-one-k with [elder-younnger-NOM
rua ha dìi du ba emata dìi.

[Relative clause identifies the two brothers that got burned as those that were killed, in contrast
with the two brothers that did the killing.]

(230) Petu da oli pil-pili-k sakik gam di negri ha dìi
SEQ 3s return RED-choose-k shift ALL DIST [village [Mly] REL DIST
ring ba kadu-k bal-bala-k.
3s DUR arrive-k RED-distant-k}_{NP

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'And then he eventually returned to that village which he had come to previously [in the remote past].'

[Identifies this village as the one which had been the setting for an episode earlier in the discourse, in contrast with several villages he had visited since then.]

Interestingly, this relativiser is marked according to the plurality of the referent, as ha 'singular referent' and ha-ro 'plural referent'. This is consistent with the characterisation of the plural -ro as : phrasal enclitic that follows some modifiers and precedes others, but does not necessarily attach to the head noun [§11.4].

(231) Petu raja muda tu geba ha-ro naa du ba
SEQ king [Skt] young [Mly] with [person-φ REL-PL PROX 3p DUR
hai tu ringe naa, du caan uka ture-n saan.
follow with 3s PROX]NP 3p hear bamboo short-GEN one

'Then the prince and these people who were following along with him, they heard a bamboo flute.'

The Malay relativiser yang often replaces the ha dii phrase in coastal areas of Buru.

20.7.1.2 Non-restrictive relatives → expand the information

There are several types of non-restrictive relative clauses in Buru which describe or expand the information about a referent assumed to be already known by the addressee.

20.7.1.2.1 Appositive (juxtaposed) relative clause

The prototypical non-restrictive relative clause mirrors the restrictive relative clause described above, but has no explicit relativiser (i.e. no ha dii phrase). There is no phonological juncture between the head noun and the descriptive relative clause, but there is non-final juncture following the relative clause if more material is to follow in the sentence.

(232) loko-loko eta apa-k di negri, geba na kita uka-ro
RED-go until approach-k DIST village [AM] person PROX see [bamboo-PL
foko-n telo du ba kuse-k tu tea-n
knot-GEN three [3p DUR insert-k with post-GEN
di toho-n esnuban.
dist descend-GEN ABS-cross threshold-GEN

12 The plural form ha obviously derives from a reduction through elisionisation of ha plus the plural -ro, but I have never encountered the form *tharol, only har.
"We] kept going until we were near the village, [and] this man saw three knots of bamboo\textsuperscript{13} which were stuck into the ground on a post at the beginning of the trail."

[Information telling the addressee something more about the bamboo that was seen (adding backgrounded information).]

(233) \text{Rohi \textit{eta} suba di geba boho-n da ba eptea stalk} \textit{until} cross threshold \text{DIST} \text{[person bad-GEN [3s DUR sit}

di koltelo lahi-n. \text{DIST} \text{[tree sp. root-GEN]}\text{Relative}_{\text{NP}}

'He kept stalking [the pig in the rain] until he came to a bad man who lives at the koltelo tree.'

[Introducing a new participant in discourse with no definite or anaphoric markers, but expanding the information to locate the new participant geographically (adding backgrounded information).]

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses may be an artificial one where there is no relativiser. The relative clauses in the two examples below seem to function both to identify a known referent and to specify known information about that referent.

(234) \text{Ep-tofo ngei geba-ro du ba taga-taga kami,} \text{CAUS-apologise direct [person-PL [3p DUR RED-meet 1pe]}\text{Relative}_{\text{NP}}

\text{petu kam oli.} \text{SEQ 1pe return}

'After we took our leave toward the people who had been meeting with us, we then left.'

[Definites referent summarising earlier activity in the discourse.]

(235) \text{Sira toke geba rua la du pahu-k kami gam di 3p \text{indicate person two IRR 3p escort-k 1pe ALL DIST}

ten a Biloro dii da ba eg-huda-k dii.} \text{[village (kin group) DIST [3s DUR BE-torn apart-k]}\text{Relative DIST}_{\text{NP}}

'They selected two men to escort us to the village of Biloro which had been destroyed [no agent].'\textsuperscript{14}

[Identifies this referent as the old one that was destroyed, not the new one that was being built. Thus the relative clause has an anaphoric function identifying a definite referent from earlier in the discourse.]

\textsuperscript{13}Cup-like receptacles made from bamboo.
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20.7.1.2.2 Habitual ka

In §12.2.2.2 it was noted that the habitual TAM proclitic ka 'habitual, customarily, frequently, often' is generally replaced by the Ambonese Malay jaga. However, in relative clauses describing a customary activity that is considered sufficient to identify the referent, ka is used with far greater frequency than jaga.

This use of ka yields a type of headless relative clause (i.e. a predicate whose subject is in the main clause) in which there is no coreferential nominal within the relative clause. This construction tends to occur most frequently in full attributive clauses [§19.2.1] which normally present backgrounded information in discourse anyway. Consistent with the structure of the predicates of attributive clauses, the head noun tends to be generic. Thus, this construction is used to add information about a known referent.

(236) Ya nang ama geba ka gao en-dohi-n.
    [1s 1sPOSS father]S [1person HAB hold ABS-narrate-GEN]RelativelnPp
    'My father [is] a keeper of oral history' [Lit. 'a person who habitually holds stories']

(237) Ringe geba ka hama ikan.
    [3s]S [1person HAB search fish]RelativelnPp
    'He [is] a fisherman' [Lit. 'a person who customarily looks for fish']

20.7.1.2.3 Naming clauses

The naming clause [§19.2.4] attributes a proper noun to the generic head noun of the subject NP of the naming clause. The construction is used to expand information about the head noun. This construction is much further along the scale of 'nouniness' than other relative constructions.

(238) Kami ephaga tu asu sa ngaa-n Pikal.
    [1pe dog hunt with [dog one name-GEN Pikal]]NP = naming clause
    'We went hunting using a dog whose name is Pikal.'

(239) Ma hama ura-n na wae na ngaa-n
    [1p seek prawn-GEN PROX [water PROX name-GEN

Wae Sas.fuha-n Olo-n.
    water without-hole-GEN head-GEN]NP = naming clause

    'Let's hunt for crayfish here in this stream which is called the Headwaters of the River Without a Spring.'

20.7.1.3 The question of participials

Participials are words derived from verbs and used adjectivally, such as those derived with en-, em-, and -t [§11.1.3]. These Buru participials can be glossed in English either as

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simple attributive modifiers, or as headless relative clauses, thus raising the question whether in Buru they are attributives or relatives.

(240) huma haa-t
house big-NOM

' the big house'

' the house which is big' [attributive gloss]

(241) huma em-kele
house STAT-tall

' the tall house (i.e. pile house)'

' the house which is tall' [attributive gloss]

(242) huma em-defu-t
house ABS-stay-NOM

' the residential house'

' the house which is for staying in' [attributive gloss]

[relative clause gloss]

In the schema presented at the beginning of this chapter [§20.1], the participial modifiers in the examples above are fully desententialised and do not function clauses. Furthermore, except for the em- verbs, they are nominalised. Thus, in Buru, these types of words are so fully nominalised, desententialised, compressed and integrated into the NP that it is simply unhelpful and unwarranted to force them into the etic framework of relative clauses. It is much more economical to deal with them simply as attributive modifiers in an NP.

20.7.2 Syntactic positions of relativisation

Any nominal argument in a main clause may be relativised. Thus, in discussing the syntactic positions of relativisation I am not focusing on the position of the argument in the main clause, but rather on the position of the relativised argument within the subordinate relative clause.

With habitual headless relative clauses using ka, the generic noun argument in the main clause simultaneously functions as subject of the relative clause. This is rigid and invariant.

(243) Ringe qaha ka toto momol.

[3s]5 [person]p
[person]

[HAB pound iron] Relative [NP

'He is a blacksmith' [Lit. 'He is a person who customarily pounds iron']

14In discussing the Buru /a/ and a cognate morpheme found in related languages, Collins (1983:32) says, "In relative (adjectival) clauses the head noun is expressed; in nominalisations it is understood ('that which')." Collins thus prefers the more cumbersome analysis of treating th.n as relatives.
With restrictive and appositive relative clauses, the position of the relativised core arguments in the subordinate clause is marked with a pronominal trace. A relativised subject uses an anaphoric pronominal proclitic. The coreferential arguments are underlined in the examples below.

(244) Relativised subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Petu</th>
<th>raja</th>
<th>muda</th>
<th>tu</th>
<th>geba</th>
<th>ha-r</th>
<th>naa</th>
<th>du</th>
<th>ba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

ha’i tu | ringa | naa, | du | caan | uka | tura-n | saa. |
follow | with | 3s | PROX<sub>NP</sub> | 3p | hear | bamboo | short-GEN | one |

'Then the prince and these people who were following along with him, they heard a bamboo flute.'

(245) Relativised passive subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rohi</th>
<th>eta</th>
<th>suba</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>geba</th>
<th>boho-n</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>epte</th>
<th>stalk</th>
<th>until</th>
<th>cross threshold</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>[person]</th>
<th>bad-GEN</th>
<th>[3s</th>
<th>DUR</th>
<th>sit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>(tree sp.)</td>
<td>lahi-n.</td>
<td></td>
<td>root-GEN&lt;sub&gt;Relative&lt;/sub&gt;&lt;sub&gt;NP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He kept stalking the pig in the rain until he came to a bad man who lives at the koltelo tree.'

(246) Relativised object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sira</th>
<th>toke</th>
<th>geba</th>
<th>rua</th>
<th>la</th>
<th>du</th>
<th>pahu-k</th>
<th>kami</th>
<th>gam</th>
<th>di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>indicate</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td>escort-k</td>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>DIST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fena</th>
<th>Biloro</th>
<th>dii</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>eg-huda-k</th>
<th>dii,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[village</td>
<td>(kin group)</td>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>[3s</td>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>BE-torn apart-k]&lt;sub&gt;Relative&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>DIST&lt;sub&gt;NP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'They selected two men to escort us to the village of Biloro which had been destroyed [no agent].' 

Relativised objects use the pronoun /-h/ with /-h/ verbs and /-k/ with /-k/ verbs [§7.2.2.1]. Relativised objects often use an impersonal construction to demote the Actor of the subordinate clause [§18.2.3.1.1.3].

(247) Relativised object with /-h/ verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yako</th>
<th>sale</th>
<th>haik</th>
<th>surat</th>
<th>ha</th>
<th>dii</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>tu</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>egu-h</th>
<th>dii.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>receive</td>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>[letter [Mly]]</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>Y.</td>
<td>get-it</td>
<td>DIST&lt;sub&gt;NP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I have already received that letter which B. and Y. fetched.'
Inter-clause Relations

(248) Relativised object with impersonal construction (and -k verb)

\[\text{lko-iko} \, \text{eta} \, \text{epa-k} \, \text{di} \, \text{negri}, \, \text{geba} \, \text{na} \, \text{kita} \, \text{uka-ro} \]
\[\text{RED-go} \, \text{until} \, \text{approach-k} \, \text{DIST} \, \text{village} \, \text{[AM]} \, \text{person} \, \text{PROX} \, \text{see} \, \text{[bamboo-PL]} \]
\[\text{foko-n} \, \text{telo} \, \text{du} \, \text{ba} \, \text{kuse-k} \, \text{tu} \, \text{tea-n} \]
\[\text{knot-GEN} \, \text{three} \, \text{[3p DUR insert-k with post-GEN]} \]
\[\text{di} \, \text{toho-n} \, \text{esnuban.} \]
\[\text{en-zuha-n[Relative]NP} \]
\[\text{DIST descend-GEN ABS-cross threshold-GEN} \]

' [We] kept going until we were near the village, [and] this man saw three knots of bamboo which were stuck into the ground on a post at the beginning of the trail.'

(249) Relativised object marked with tuha indicating comitative relationship in main clause

\[\text{Ringe} \, \text{tu} \, \text{ana-finga} \, \text{ha} \, \text{naa} \, \text{da} \, \text{ba} \, \text{kaweng} \, \text{tuha} \, \text{naa.} \]
\[\text{REL PROX 3s DUR marry [Arab] with} \, \text{PROX} \]

'He and the woman which he married with.'

With relativisation of object and oblique or peripheral arguments, a trace pronoun in the relative clause is not obligatory.\(^{15}\) The interpretation is then drawn from the inferential framework.

(250) Direct object \(\rightarrow\) no trace pronoun

\[\text{Petu} \, \text{du} \, \text{pefa} \, \text{hum.tapa} \, \text{dii} \, \text{ep-sia-k} \, \text{tu} \, \text{kaka-wai-t} \]
\[\text{SEQ 3p burn house.smoke DIST CAUS-one-k with} \, \text{[elder-younger-NOM]} \]
\[\text{rua} \, \text{ha} \, \text{dii} \, \text{du} \, \text{ba} \, \text{emata} \, \{\phi}\, \text{dii.} \]
\[\text{REL 3p DUR CAUS-die DIST[NP]} \]

' Then they burned down the hunting lodge together with those two brothers, who they had killed [el] .'

(251) Locative goal \(\rightarrow\) no trace pronoun

\[\text{Petu} \, \text{da} \, \text{oli} \, \text{pil-pil-k} \, \text{sakik} \, \text{garm} \, \text{di} \, \text{negri} \, \text{ha} \, \text{dii} \]
\[\text{SEQ 3s return RED-choose-k shift ALL DIST [village [Mly] REL DIST} \]
\[\text{ring} \, \text{ba} \, \text{kadu-k} \, \{\phi}\, \text{bal-bala-k.} \]
\[\text{3s DUR arrive-k RED-distant-k[NP]} \]

'And then he eventually returned to that village which he had come [to there] previously [in the remote past].'

Where the option is available, the preference in Buru is to rearrange the role structure through complementary lexical choice or syntactic devices so that the position relativised is

\(^{15}\text{Keenan (1985:153ff.) calls the absence of a trace in the relative clause a kind of gapping.} \]

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subject. For non-core arguments, if the role is mapped by a preposition in the main clause the argument can be relativised by gapping. The following examples illustrate strategies for relativisation of an indirect object (dative-goal).

(252) Preposition in main clause mapping role is acceptable, with gapping strategy

\[
\text{fi di geba ha dili ya ba dapa-k kepeng dili} \\
\text{LOC DIST person REL DIST 1s DUR get-k money [AM] DIST} \\
\text{from that person that I got the money'}
\]

(253) Lexical reorientation with relativisation of subject

\[
\text{fi di geba ha dili da ba tuke kepeng} \\
\text{LOC DIST person REL DIST 3s DUR give money [AM]} \\
\text{la yako dili} \\
\text{DAT 1s DIST}
\]

\text{from that person who gave money to me'}

(254) A pronominal trace of an oblique argument is grammatical

\[
\star \text{[geba ha dili ya ba dapa-k kepeng fi di ringele]} \\
\text{person REL DIST 1s DUR get-k money LOC DIST 3s} \\
\star \text{[the person which I got money from him']}
\]

For an instrument or comitative argument tuha may be used.

(255) tu katanan ha dili da sopi-k gehu-t tuha
\text{with knife REL DIST 3s peel-k taro-NOM with}
\text{with that knife which he peeled the taro with'}

(256) tu geba ha dili da hai tuha
\text{with person REL DIST 3s follow with}
\text{with the person he was following after'}

20.8 Breaking up the information load with do

Do is unique among Buru words in its functions and distributional structures. Do often occurs between phrases and clauses, yet it is not a relator of the same type as those described in previous sections of this chapter. First of all, phonologically do occurs with low pitch across its single syllable and does not form a stress group. Nor does do cluster with either the preceding or following structures, but has both a preceding and following non-final juncture.

(257) Gam dil. do, sira iko palek moo.
\text{SIM DIST PAUS 3p go actual NEG}
\text{In that way, well, it didn't work out for them to go.'}

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Secondly, *do* carries no lexical or semantic force and does not relate clauses to each other adverbially. Its primary function is pragmatic -- to break up the information load. Thus, it is used as a pause word, and I use PAUS as a label of convenience in interlinear glosses, but it is more complex than simply being a pause word. In breaking up the information load *do* normally occurs where there is a shift in the semantic role orientation of the conjoined units, or where backtracking occurs.

(258) **Shifted orientation away from expected progression from topic**

Petu ringe nna, *do* pakaian bu du lai-k bu moo.
SEQ 3s PROX PAUS clothes [Mty] but 3p present-k but NEG
'And so this girl, well, clothes weren't even given [to her].'

Thirdly, the distribution of *do* is different from all other relators. It does not replace relators, but co-occurs with them. The environments where *do* optionally occurs are listed below:

a) Between a topic [Chapter §21] and the following clause. The more complex the topic, the more likely *do* is to occur. Non-subject topics are more likely to occur with *do* than are subject topics, signalling a break in the continuity of information.

b) Breaking up complex topics [Chapter §21]. For example, *do* would tend to be used in separating a sequence of temporal topics from a series of spatial topics, or from a series of referential topics, and then again to separate the complex topic from the following clause.

c) Between clauses in a sentence. Again, this is in addition to, rather than instead of other relators. However, any explicit *that* must introduce the first clause, or be a post-verbal auxiliary, rather than introduce the second of the two clauses *do* separates.

d) Between preposed or postposed reduced adverbial clauses and the rest of the sentence. *Do* does not separate tags [§12.5] from the preceding clause.

e) Between non-pronominal subjects and the predicates of non-verbal and some semi-verbal clauses [Chapter §19].

f) Before backtracking that expands the information in a clause.

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16 In colloquial English, 'like,' 'well,' 'y'know' and 'man' are often used to break up the information load in ways parallel to the Buru use of *do*. In formal Indonesian, the lexically empty *maka* in some ways parallels the Buru uses of *do*.
Chapter 20: Inter-clause Relations

(259) **Separating a topic from the main clause**

Geba na nak huma, do, du langa-k fi pa Tifu.
person PROX 3sPOSS house PAUS 3p move-k LOC down Tifu
'This person's house, well, they moved it from down at Tifu.'

(260) **Breaking up complex topics**

Tu dii, kam kari ba defo sak fuka, do. [temporal topic]
with DIST 1p DUR stay up mountain PAUS

ya nang rma, Porwisi G., da mata dii, do. [referential topic]
1s 1sPOSS father (rank) G. 3s die DIST PAUS

da fasa perkara boho-boho. [main clause]
3s cut litigation [Mly] RED-bad

'At that time, [when] we were living up in the mountains, well, my father, the Porwisi G., the one who died, well, he used to handle litigations like you wouldn't believe [positive value].'
Chapter Twenty-one:
Fronting and contrastive focus constructions

The notion of pragmatic prominence was introduced in §18.2 in relation to orchestrating the role of arguments within the clause. This chapter discusses other discourse-pragmatic mechanisms used by Buru speakers to promote, highlight or otherwise mark particular referents in relation to other referents or in contrast with what are perceived by the speaker to be contrary beliefs held by the addressee. Such prominence is often achieved by moving the referential information about an argument to the front, external to the clause. This and other functions of fronting are discussed first, followed by a discussion of non-fronting mechanisms for highlighting an argument. At the end of the chapter mechanisms for placing contrastive focus on arguments are examined.

21.1 Fronting

There are various types of fronting, each used to perform different functions in the presentation of information in discourse. The fronting of participants and props in relation to an entire discourse is discussed in Chapter §23. The fronting of arguments in relation to their clause, fronting of clauses in tail-head linkage, and fronting of adverbial clauses is explored in this section. An assumption underlying this discussion is that fronting an argument or a clause marks it as having greater salience in the immediate context than other arguments or clauses.

21.1.1 Fronting of arguments in a sentence

There are two different fronting mechanisms used in relation to clausal arguments: one involves the fronting of core or oblique arguments and leaves a coreferential trace pronoun within the clause (left-dislocation); the other involves the fronting of peripheral arguments and leaves no coreferential trace (peripheral topicalisation).

21.1.1.1 Left-dislocation construction

Schachter (1976, 1977) pointed out that in many languages the notion of 'subject' is a conflation of role-related properties and reference-related properties, but that some languages have mechanisms which distinguish the two types of properties in certain constructions. In
Buru this distinction between the role-related and referential-related properties is relevant when any core or oblique arguments [§18.1] are fronted for pragmatic prominence, not just for subject. A left-dislocation topical construction encodes reference-related information outside (preceding) the clause as the topic, while role-related information is encoded by a coreferential pronoun within the clause.¹ There is non-final phonological juncture [§20.2.1.4] between the left-dislocated topic and the clause. Coreferential topic nouns and trace pronouns are underlined in the examples below.

(1) **Left-dislocation of subject**

Geba ha dìi da lata nak kai dìi,
[person REL DIST 3s cut 3sPOSS elder sibling DIST]Topic:Reference
rì a heka gam di mua,
3s flee ALL DIST jungle

'That man who slashed his older brother, he fled into the jungle.'

(2) **Left-dislocation of direct object**

Nang faka-r dìi, ya pakä-rq langina.
1sPOSS pig-PL DIST 1s feed-PL REC.PAST

'Those pigs of mine, I just fed them.'

(3) **Left-dislocation of indirect object**

Geba dìi, yako tuka kepeng dìi ute ringe.
person DIST 1s give money [AM] DIST DAT 3s

'That man, I gave the money to him.'

(4) **Left-dislocation of a comitative argument**

Ana-fina naa, masmori di heka tuha-h.
child-female PROX young man DIST flee accompany-it

'This girl that we are talking about, the young man ran off with her.'

(5) **Left-dislocation of an instrumental argument**

Gomi enosi-t naa, ya taha kau haa-t tuha-h.
axe [Port] old-NOM PROX 1s fell tree big-NOM accompany-it

'This old axe, I felled the big tree with it.'

(6) **Left-dislocation of an oblique locative argument**

Huma dìi, ya defo fi dæe dìi.
house DIST 1s stay LOC upstream DIST

'That house, I live there (upstream).'

¹See also Foley & Van Valin (1985:355ff.).
Once the referential information is established, usually through a left-dislocation construction for introducing arguments of textual importance, or reintroducing them after significant discontinuity, reference tracking in many texts reduces to pronominal traces, generic noun + deictic, or zero anaphora, indicating a high level of presupposed information.

21.1.1.2 Peripheral topicalisations

Like the fronting of core and oblique arguments, the fronting of peripheral arguments [§18.1.2.3] involves moving the argument outside (preceding) the clause with non-final phonological juncture [§20.2.1.4] between the peripheral topic and the clause. Unlike left-dislocation constructions, however, there is no trace of the argument left within the clause. This lack of a trace is consistent with the notion that peripheral arguments encode roles that are incidental to the semantic role structure of the verb [§18.1.2.3]. The examples below are paired, with the first indicating the argument in its unmarked position and the second showing peripheral topicalisation.

(7) **Peripheral time PP**

Ringe toho gam la masi tu beto.
3s descend ALL downstream sea with night
'He went down to the coast at night.'

Tu beto, ringe toho gam la masi.
with night 3s descend ALL downstream sea
'At night, he went down to the coast.'

(8) **Peripheral time NP**

Sira ba paha tuba boho-boho labeto.
3p DUR beat drum RED-bad yesterday
'They were beating the drums like you wouldn't believe yesterday.'

Labeto, sira ba paha tuba boho-boho.
yesterday 3p DUR beat drum RED-bad
'Yesterday, they were beating the drums like you wouldn't believe.'

(9) **Peripheral locative PP**

Ringe stori la yako pa toko lale-n.
3s speak DAT 1s down store [Mly] inside-GEN
'She spoke to me inside the store (down there).'

Pa toko lale-n, ringe stori la yako.
donw store [Mly] inside-GEN 3s speak DAT 1s
'(Down there) inside the store, she spoke to me.'
21.1.2 Fronting of clauses in tail-head linkage

In tail-head linkage, the second clause of one sentence (the tail) is recapitulated as the first clause of the next sentence (the head). Unlike the fronting of arguments in a sentence, which signals referential shift or discontinuity, the function of tail-head linkage in discourse is to signal thematic continuity through the sequential progression of related events. The referential continuity in tail-head linkage deals with same subject referents, and thus the subject of the head clause is either pronominalised (with a pronominal proclitic) or deleted, indicating the presupposed nature of the referential information.

(10) Kami foto sira di toho-n esnuban.
     en-subu-n

     1pe photograph [Du] 3p DIST descend-GEN ABS-cross threshold-GEN

(φ) Foto sepo, kami ep-tofo.
     photograph finish 1pe RECIP-apologise

(φ) Ep-tofo sepo, kami iko.
     RECIP-apologise finish 1pe go

'We took their picture where the trail enters the village. After taking the picture, we took our leave. After taking our leave, we left.'

Thus, the fronting of clauses in tail-head linkage does not tag those clauses as having greater importance in the discourse, but rather emphasises the continuity and inter-relatedness of the progression of events in an episode in discourse.

A restricted type of tail-head linkage may also indicate higher-level continuity between episodes in a narrative. In this context, however, the head of the following paragraph is a reduced summary adverbial clause. The summary parallels the tail-head linkage pattern, but without explicitly reproducing the predicate of the previous clause.

(11) Sepo fi dji, fafu di bale deduk.
     finish LOC DIST pig DIST turn [Mly] repeat

     'After (all) that, the pig turned back again.'

Reduced summary clauses commonly mark natural paragraph boundaries in Buru narrative discourse, indicating higher-level continuity while simultaneously signaling lower level shift.

21.1.3 Fronting of adverbial clauses

A fronted adverbial clause is a marked construction. It functions to anchor or ground the clause as the point of reference or the point of departure for the text that follows, and is thus primarily cataphoric in orientation.
It was noted in the last chapter [§20.4.14] that reason clauses normally come following a result clause in a sentence. Reason clauses in this unmarked distribution may be marked with either tu or wahan.

(12) Sira gosa saro wahan du kaka-wal-t.  
     Sira gosa saro tu du kaka-wal-t.  
     3p good RECIPI REASON 3p elder-younger-NOM  
     'They were good to each other because they were related to each other.'

When a reason clause is fronted, however, wahan is used in preference to tu and indicate the reason clause is the point of departure for the text that follows (often more than one sentence or paragraph).

(13) Wahan eta da tou-k nak une-t-o dii,  
     REASON COND 3s inspect-k 3sPOSS snare-NOM-PL DIST  
     ringe dapa-k rahek tonal roin-roin fol.koni-n.  
     3s get [Myl]-k just cuscus RED-small fur.yellow-GEN  
     'Because, when he goes to inspect his cuscus snares, he will only have gotten very small yellow-furred cuscus.' [Followed by further elaboration.]

Similarly, conditionals in Buru [§20.5] are almost always fronted adverbial clauses, indicating their function as a cataphoric anchor for the text that follows.

(14) Eta nete-n mansari di roi-n, geba rua defu-k rahek.  
     COND place-GEN hunt [Skt] DIST small-GEN person two stay-k just  
     '[If the area for hunting is small, [then] just two people will stay there.' [Followed by further elaboration.]

(15) Bam.eta du emata saa mohede, beto rua, beto-n telo,  
     ep-mata but.until 3p CAUS-die one not yet night two night-GEN three  
     sira bage mohede.  
     3p sleep not yet  
     'But if they have not yet killed something, then for two or three days they will not have gotten any sleep yet.' [Followed by further elaboration.]

(16) Mam.eta da beta-h moo, ma puna mege-t.  
     and if.until 3s connect-it NEG 1p do different-NOM  
     'And if it does not connect with it [a trap], [then] we will make a different one.' [Followed by further elaboration.]

21.2 Non-fronted focus constructions

Several mechanisms for promoting and demoting pragmatic prominence were discussed in §18.3, most of which involved syntactic repackaging or deletion within the
clause. There are several mechanisms which may be used to mark an argument as pragmatically of immediate importance without, or in addition to, syntactic repackaging such as fronting.

21.2.1 Immediate focus with ha

In addition to the low-frequency use of an [§11.4] to tag an NP as pragmatically focused, there is a much more common construction using the relativiser ha following a relatively generic noun. As in the restrictive relative clause [§20.7.1.1], the relativiser ha is followed here by a general but definite deictic naa 'proximal' or di 'distal'. It is never followed by the indefinite deictic numeral saa 'one'. Thus, this construction signals definite anaphoric reference implying the referent of the head noun is anaphorically retrievable, and is not used to introduce a new referent into the discourse.

Distributionally within an NP, this non-contrastive focus ha nna or ha dì come in the same position as a relative clause [§17.1.1], but, unlike the restrictive relative clause, there is no dependent or embedded relative clause that follows.

(17) Kami rogo fan.lale dì, kami em-tako boho-boho
1pe enter village.inside DIST 1pe STAT-four RED-bad

asu ha nna. wahan nak habar fi di Erdapa.
dog REL PROX REASON 3sPOSS news [Arab]LOC DIST (village)

'[When] we entered that village, we were terribly afraid of this particular dog [that had just been introduced in the previous sentence], because of the news about it from the village of Erdapa.'

'[When] we entered that village, it was this particular dog that we were terribly afraid of...'

(18) Harta ha dì la uta nun huma lale-n.
bridewealth [AM] REL DIST DAT DAT 3sPOSS house inside-GEN

'It is that part of the bridewealth that is for their own household.'

That is [the part of the bridewealth which is for their own household.]

(19) Ama-n. tabu ji ha nna. mele ku moho.
father-GEN walking stick thing REL PROX lest 2s fall

'Father, [I made] this particular walking stick here, so you won't fall.'

2The non-contrastive focus construction here highlights the similarities with unstressed (i.e. non-contrastive) pseudo-cleft and cleft constructions in English (cf. Givón 1990:699ff.; Foley & Van Valin 1985:358ff.). Like the English constructions, the Buru non-contrastive focus has obvious structural parallels with restrictive relative clauses. Functionally, they are very similar. Distributionally, however, the English cleft constructions front the focused argument, whereas the Buru construction simply marks it in its normal distribution. Givón (1990:722) notes that the morpheme used in these type of constructions often traces back to an earlier copula. The Buru ha also has a copular-like function Ringe ha nna. 'He is right here.'
Like the use of the relativiser ha, the plurality of the referent can be marked on the relativiser as har.

(20) Mambole, do, kae katu-k foto- ro ha-r di.ta la yako.
good PAUS 2s send-k foto-PL REL-PL DIST-DEM DAT 1s
'It would be good if you could send those particular fotos to me.' [Lit. 'fotos which are those']

The non-contrastive focus construction can emphasise an extra-clausal topic as well as clausal arguments.

(21) Putu geba-r nee ha dii, sira nanu-k fen, '...'
SEQ person-PL six REL DIST 3p think-k REAL
'Now, as for those six men [that we have been talking about], they thought that, "..."'

The demonstrative enclitic -ta may be combined with the general deictics (i.e. di.ta, na.ta) to indicate a broad scope or a summary.

(22) Manu-tii ha di.ta du kaba emhewak ngaa-n-o.
bird-NOM thing REL DIST-DEM 3p utter REFL name-GEN-PL
'These are the birds that utter their own names.'
'It is these particular birds that utter their own names.'

On the few occasions when a right-dislocation construction is used, the summarising demonstrative -ta is obligatory.

(23) Geba di emata ya nang ama dii, do, P. di.ta.
ep-mata
person DIST CAUS-die 1s 1sPOSfatter DIST PAUS P DIST-DEM
'That man killed my father, well, P. it was.'

21.2.2 Double deictic

The function of emphasising a definite argument without syntactic repackaging can also be accomplished by using a specific deictic followed by a general deictic.

(24) Ringe iko pa wae pao dii.
3s go down water down DIST
'He went down to that water down there.'

(25) Fafu dae naa ba kaa hawa-ro hede.
pig upstream PROX DUR eat field-PL CONT
'That pig up there is still eating up the fields.'
'That is the pig up there that is still eating up the fields.'
21.3 Contrastive Focus constructions

The constructions described above highlight an argument as focal to the discussion or the discourse. Contrastive Focus constructions,\(^3\) on the other hand, assert a contrast or a denial to a set of expectations that have been established from the immediate context and from the inferential framework. \(\text{Buru}\) has a variety of mechanisms to signal such contrast with varying degrees of subtlety or explicitness.

21.3.1 Stress-focus

Givón (1990:705) points out that "contrastive stress-focus devices always involve a strong assumption of hearer’s contrary belief [emphasis in the original]." A weak contrastive assertion is accomplished phonologically by simply giving the asserted element slightly higher pitch and greater force than it would have if it were unmarked. This contrastive stress is marked by underlining in the examples below.

(26) \text{Kim.rua ba sohi-k yako ii naa.} 2p.two DUR wait-k Is LOC PROX [unmarked] \('The two of you wait for me here.'\)

(27) \text{Kim.rua ba sohi-k yako fi naa.} 2p two DUR wait-k Is LOC PROX \('The two of you wait for me here.' (not the two of them)\)

(28) \text{Kim.rua ba sohi-k yako fi naa.} 2p two DUR wait-k Is LOC PROX \('The two of you wait for me here.' (while Johnny goes on ahead) \('The two of you wait for me here.' (rather than all three of us\(\text{/you})))

(29) \text{Kim.rua ba sohi-k yako fi naa.} 2p two DUR wait-k Is LOC PROX \('The two of you wait for me here.' (rather than waiting for \text{her})\)

(30) \text{Kim.rua ba sohi-k yako fi naa.} 2p two DUR wait-k Is LOC PROX \('The two of you wait for me here.' (rather than over there)\)


21.3.2 Contrastive topicalisation

Contrastive topicalisations\(^4\) structurally parallel left-dislocation topicalisations [§21.1.1.1], but with the addition of bu ‘but’ between the topic and the clause of assertion.\(^5\)

\(^3\)See Givón (1990:699ff.).

\(^4\)Parallel functions are generally found in the literature as X-movement (for Yiddish-movement), associated with Yiddish patterns falling under a single intonation contour, such as ‘Him I don’t like.’ and ‘George they hate.’

\(^5\)The relativizer bu was introduced in §20.4.7 as the basic contrastive clause conjunction ‘but’.
Chapter 21: Fronting & Contrastive Focus

A second structural difference with left-dislocation topicalisations is that phonologically there is often no non-final juncture [§20.2.1.4] marking a break between the topic and the clause. Functionally, the contrastive topicalisation with __Bu__ signals a contrast with expectations set up by the immediate context, or by the inferential framework.

(31) Ringe _iko_.
    3s go
    'He left.'

(32) Ringe, da _iko_.
    3s 3s go
    'Him, he left.'

(33) Ringe __bu__ da _iko_.
    3s but 3s go
    'He left anyway.'
    'He even left.'

A whole clause may function as the topic, with the negative forming an assertion that falls under contrastive scope.

(34) Ringe _iko_ moo.
    3s go NEG
    'He didn’t go.'

(35) Ringe _iko_ __bu__ moo.
    3s go but NEG
    'He didn’t even go.'

(36) Ringe __bu__ da _iko_ moo.
    3s but 3s go NEG
    'As for him, he didn’t even go.'

The contrast with expectations can be emphasised in the negative with a double placement of __Bu__.

(37) Ringe __bu__ da _iko_ __bu__ moo.
    3s but 3s go but NEG
    'As for him, he didn’t even go anyway.'

As with left-dislocation constructions, any core or oblique argument may be contrastively topicalised.

(38) Subiect

    _Gaba_ ha _dii da lata_ nak __kai__
    person REL DIST 3s cut 3sPOSS elder.sibling __dii_,

C. Grimes 449
bu da heka gam di mua.
but 3s flee ALL DIST jungle

"That man who slashed his older brother, [in spite of what you would expect] he fled into the jungle."

(39) Direct object

Nang tfo-ro dìi, bu ya paka-ro langina.
1sPOSS pig-PL DIST but 1s feed-PL REC.PAST
"Those pigs of mine, I just fed them [contrary to what you might think]."

(40) Indirect object

Geba dìi, bu yako tuke kepeng dìi ute ringe.
persona DIST but 1s give money [AM] DIST DAT 3s
"That man, I gave the money to him [in spite of what you should expect]."

(41) Comitative argument

Ana-fina nna, bu masmori di heka tuha-h.
child-female PROX but young man DIST flee accompany-it
"This girl [that we are talking about], [contrary to what you might think, she is the one] that young man ran off with."

(42) Instrumental argument

Gomi enosi-t nna, bu ya taha kau haa-t tuha-h.
axe [Pot. old-NOM PROX but 1s fell tree big-NOM accompany-it
"This old axe, I even felled the big tree with it."

(43) Oblique locative argument

Huma dìi, bu ya defo fi dae dìi.
house DIST but 1s stay LOC upstream DIST
"That house, I live there (upstream) [in spite of what you would expect]."

A different kind of contrastive topicalisation is set off with tu, indicating contrast or shift of the present topic from other similar referents known from the immediate context.

(44) Tu gebo ha nna, da em-pel boho-boho.
with person REL PROX 3s STAT-hurt RED-bad
"As for this particular person, he is extremely sick."

(45) Tu ana-fina dae nna,
with child-female upstream PROX
fila-n ba lata, fila-n ba leo.
lightning-GEN DUR cut lightning-GEN DUR precede

"And as for this girl up there [that we are talking about], [she] was gorgeous."
(Idiom - lit. 'her radiance was striking, her radiance was preceding')
Chapter Twenty-two:
Speech-acts & speech styles

This chapter provides a survey of various Buru speech-acts and speech styles that occur across discourse types.¹ In one sense, every speech-act for which the Buru language has its own term² could be considered an emically distinct type. With the exception of a few stylistic or dialectal synonyms, the different speech-act words are distinguished lexically from each other in such areas as manner, purpose, context of use, and expected results. There are, however, some general observations that can be made regarding the structural and functional patterns common to related speech-acts and discourse types.

Buru speakers are keenly aware of the beauty of their own language and appreciate those who manipulate it effectively. In this chapter I examine ten different speech-acts and styles that are representative of a range of language use in daily interaction. Understanding the issues addressed here provides only a glimpse at some of the areas of the language that enthrall the speakers.

22.1 Enika 'asking a question'

There are various forms and functions relating to questions in Buru. Each is considered in turn.

22.1.1 Confirmation-denial questions

While the general literature includes these types of questions under the rubric of 'yes-no questions', I avoid that label here, because the response to these questions in Buru is rarely a simple ehe 'yes' or moo 'no'.

¹The observations here should be considered pretheoretical as I have not tried to force these structural patterns into a binary theoretical framework divided, for example, along a parameter of informative vs. manipulative. Such a framework quickly bogs down. For example, while most questions tend to be primarily manipulative in function (to one degree or another), rhetorical questions, with no difference in form, are to a large degree informative, although the matter is much more complex. Similarly, requests are framed as performative declarations, but their function is intended to be manipulative.
²My current inventory has 64 different speech-act verbs, not all of which have yet been sorted out as to semantic range of meaning and collocational range.
22.1.1.1 The questions

Questions which seek a simple confirmation or denial of an assertion, in the process of seeking such a response, may also give an indication of the response expected by the speaker in the matter (see also Givón 1990:783).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker bias toward affirmative</th>
<th>x, maa?</th>
<th>1. Da iko haik, maa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral bias</td>
<td>x ?</td>
<td>2. Da iko haik?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x, pl NEG?</td>
<td>3. Da iko haik, pl mohade?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker bias toward negative</td>
<td>↓ x NEG?</td>
<td>4. Da iko mohade?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↓ x NEG, maa?</td>
<td>5. Da iko mohade, maa?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 'She's already left, hasn't she?'
2. 'Has she left yet?'
3. 'Has she already left, or not yet?'
4. 'Hasn't she left yet?'
5. 'She hasn't already left, has she?'

Figure 71: Cline of speaker bias in confirmation-denial questions

The simplest form of a confirmation-denial question is syntactically identical to the declarative form, with the question form distinguished only by intonation. In the question form, the pitch of the final stress group [§5.3] is relatively higher than in the corresponding declarative form.

(1) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da iko haik.} \\
3s \text{ go PRF} \\
'She's already gone.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da iko haik?} \\
3s \text{ go PRF} \\
'Has she gone yet?'
\end{align*}
\]

A negative assertion is handled simply through the use of the appropriate negative, moo 'no, not', mohede 'not yet', or tehuk moo 'no longer'. Again, the difference between the declarative and the question form is simply a matter of intonation.

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3Declarative forms, whose primary function is to inform, have been the primary focus of most of the previous chapters.
Chapter 22: Speech-acts & Speech Styles

(2) Da iko mohede.
3s go not yet
'She hasn’t yet gone.'

---

Da iko mohede?
3s go not yet
'Hasn’t she gone yet?'

The expectation of the speaker may be made explicit with the confirmative tag maa ‘isn’t it like that?’ The intonation contour over the question is the same as without the tag, and there is non-final phonological juncture [§20.2.1.4] between the question and the tag. The intonation over the tag mirrors that of a declarative assertion.

(3) Da iko haik, maa?
3s go PRF CONF
'She’s already gone, hasn’t she?'

[3a] bias toward affirmative response

Da iko mohede, maa?
3s go not yet CONF
'She hasn’t gone yet, has she?'

[3b] bias toward negative response

When the speaker is asserting no bias, both the positive and the negative alternatives are given for the addressee’s selection with the use of the disjunction pi ‘or’. The positive is normally given first with rising non-final juncture, followed by the negative, which may have varying degrees of elaboration.

(4) Da iko haik, pi da iko mohede?
3s go PRF or 3s go not yet
'Has she already gone, or hasn’t she left yet?'

[4a] full elaboration of the negative

(5) Da iko haik, pi [Ø] iko mohede?
3s go PRF or go not yet
'Has she already gone, or hasn’t [she] left yet?'

[5a] equi-deletion of subject in negative

Da iko haik, pi mohede?
3s go PRF or not yet
'Has she already gone, or not yet?'

[5b] reduced negative

22.1.1.2 Sade ‘making a response’

The response to a confirmation-denial question is not normally a simple ehe ‘yes’ or moo ‘no’ (and other appropriate negatives). A response is minimally composed of a predicate [Chapter §19]. The subject in a response is presupposed information, identified by the question, and so tends toward being referentially implicit [§18.2.1], being expressed as a pronominal proclitic or omitted altogether, rather than being referentially explicit as an NP.
(7) Q: Rina iko haik?  
(name) go PRF  
'Has Rina already left?'

A₁: Da iko haik.  
3s go PRF  
'She has already gone.' [pronominal proclitic]

A₂: [∅] iko haik.  
go PRF  
'∅ has already gone.' [omission of subject]

Where the bias of the questioner is evident, the response is often two-fold. The first part of the response affirms or denies the bias of the questioner. The second part of the response addresses the truth of the assertion underlying the question.

(8) Q: Rina iko mochede?  
(name) go not yet  
'Has Rina not yet left?'

A₁: Ehe. (Da) iko mochede.  
AFF 3s go not yet  
'Yes. She hasn't left yet.' [affirms bias, affirms negative assertion]

A₂: Moo. (Da) iko haik.  
NEG 3s go PRF  
'No. She has already left.' [denies bias, denies negative assertion]

(9) Q: Rina iko haik?  
(name) go PRF  
'Has Rina already left?'

A₁: Ehe. (Da) iko haik.  
AFF 3s go PRF  
'Yes. She's already left.' [affirms both bias and assertion]

A₂: Moo. (Da) iko mochede.  
NEG 3s go not yet  
'No. Sh.: hasn't left yet.' [denies both bias and assertion]

Confirmations can be expressed with varying degrees of elaboration and politeness, all of which include momentary raising of the eyebrows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More elaborate</th>
<th>↑ ehe [+ eyebrows]</th>
<th>↑</th>
<th>More polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↑ ee [+ eyebrows]</td>
<td>↑</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less elaborate</td>
<td>↓ mm [+ eyebrows]</td>
<td>↑</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↓ φ [+ eyebrows]</td>
<td>↑</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 72: Degrees of elaboration of 'yes'
Sometimes the addressee is unable to confirm or deny the assertion underlying the question and must communicate his or her inability to respond definitively. The inability to confirm or deny the assertion underlying a question is often accompanied by a shrug of one (usually the right) shoulder and the chin moving briefly toward each other. Again, there are varying degrees of elaboration available for the response.

(10) Q: Da lko haik?
    3s go PRF
    'Has she left yet?'

A₁: Ya tewa moo.
    1s know NEG
    'I don't know.'

[elaborated response]

A₂: [?] tewa moo.
    know NEG
    [I don't know.]

[subject presupposed → omitted]

A₃: Tewa!
    know
    '[Who] knows!'

[conventionalised response]

22.1.2 Information questions (WH questions)§

In addition to seeking confirmation or denial of an assertion, the questioner can seek clarification or missing information. Givón (1990:793) describes these latter types of questions cross-linguistically as follows:

WH (or 'constituent') questions are used typically when the speaker and hearer share the knowledge of a proposition -- it is presupposed or backgrounded -- but the speaker does not know one element in the proposition. That missing element may then be considered the focus of the WH question. It can be subject, object, verb, predicate, adverb, indirect object, time, place, manner, reason, etc. In principle, any case-role -- nominal, oblique or adverbial -- specified by the grammar may be placed under interrogative focus. In many, but not all languages, the verb may also be placed under WH focus. [Emphasis in the original].

22.1.2.1 Syntactic distribution of the interrogative pronouns

Unlike English and many other languages that syntactically repackage the interrogative pronouns through fronting [see free translations in examples below], in Buru the position combines with the choice of the interrogative pronoun to indicate which argument and what semantic role is being queried. That is, the queried argument occurs in its normal position.

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§This action, called waas olon 'moving/shaking the head' is also used as an expression of amazement or wonder.

§The term 'WH questions' is an English-centric label used in much of the general linguistic literature, associating these types of questions with the interrogative English pronouns beginning with wh-, e.g. who, what, where, when, why, which.
Oblique and peripheral arguments reflect the semantic relationship mapped by their preposition in combination with the verbal semantics. Interrogative pronouns were introduced in §9.6.

(11) Sane | tuke | kepeng | la | nang | ina. | [human subject]
| who | give | money | [AM] | DAT | IsPOSS | mother
'Who gave money to my mother?'

(12) Sira | fial.mata-k | sane | pa | fena | dili? | [human object]
| 3p | beat-die-k | who | down | village | DIST
'Who did they beat to death down at that village?'

(13) Sira | fial.mata-k | san.nake | fefu | dili? | [possessor]
| 3p | beat-die-k | who.3sPOSS | pig | DIST
'Whose pig did they beat to death?'

(14) Sira | tuke | kepeng | dili | la | sane? | [human dative-goal]
| 3p | give | money | DIST | DAT | who
'Who did they give that money to?'

(15) Sira | iko | tu | sane? | [human comitative]
| 3p | go | with | who
'Who did they go with?'
'Who went with them?'

(16) Da | puna | sapa-n? | [querying the action]
| 3s | do | what-DETR
'What did he do?'

(17) Da | puna | teni-k? | [inanimate object]
| 3s | do | what-k
'What did he make?' (i.e. what kind of thing)

(18) Da | puna-h | tu | teni-k? | [instrument]
| 3s | do-it | with | what-k
'What did he make it with?' (i.e. what kind of thing)

(19) Da | defo | fi | dog? | [location]
| 3s | stay | LOC | where
'Where does he live at?'

(20) Da | kadu-k | fi | dog? | [locative source]
| 3s | come-k | LOC | where
'Where did he come from?'

(21) Da | iko | gam | dog? | [locative goal]
| 3s | go | ALL | where
'Where did he go to?'

(22) Da | puna-h | gam | dog? | [manner]
| 3s | do-it | SIM | where
'How did he make it?'
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(23) *Da puna huma-r *pila?* [quantity]
    3s do * house-PL who many
    'How many houses did he make?'

(24) *Da puna-h *pila__saa?* [general time]
    3s do-it how many one
    'When did he make it?' (unspecified time frame)

(25) *Da puna-h *beto__doo?* [specific time frame]
    3s do-it night where
    'When did he make it?' (frame specified as 24-hour cycles)

(26) *Da puna-h *emkua dii?* [reason]
    3s do-it why DIST
    'Why was it that he did it?'

(27) *Da puna-h *la__emkua?* [reason/purpose]
    3s do-it IRR why
    'For why did he do it?'

(28) *Da puna-h *la__sapa-n?* [purpose]
    3s do-it IRR what-DETR
    'For what purpose did he do it?'

The states and processes expressed by non-active verbs tend to be queried as to manner, with *gam doo* 'how'. States reflected by *l-t/ verbs may be expressed either predicatively or as possessed deverbal nouns.

(29) *Da *haa gam doo?* [extent of dimension]
    3s big ALL/SIM where
    'How big is she?'

    *Haa-n* gam doo? [nominal size]
    big-GEN ALL/SIM where
    'How big is she?' [Lit. 'how is her bigness']

(30) *Da mite gam doo?* [degree of colour]
    3s black ALL/SIM where
    'How black is it?'

    *Mite-n* gam doo? [degree of colour]
    black-GEN ALL/SIM where
    'How black is it?' [Lit. 'how is its blackness / to what extent is its blackness']

States expressed by /em-/ verbs undergo simple nominalisation with *l-t/ [§8.2.1.2], expressed as the object of the possessive.
(31) Da em-pei gam doo? 
3s STAT-hurt ALL/SIM where 
'How sick is she?'

Nak em-pei t gam doo? 
3sPOSS STAT-hurt-NOM ALL/SIM where 
'How sick is she / How is her sickness?'

22.1.2.2 Focused alternative question

When a speaker tries to get confirmation or replacement of the information he or she is uncertain about, a combination of the confirmation-denial question and the interrogative pronouns are used along with contrastive stress-focus [§21.3.1]. Interrogative pronouns are used to open the possibility of other alternatives and to narrow the scope of which element is being queried. The first alternative is marked with rising non-final phonological juncture [§20.2.1.4]. [Elements taking contrastive phonological stress are underlined in the examples below.]

(32) Y-tama geba ha dili da mohoa langina, pi sane? [human subject]
Y-father person REL DIST 3s fall REC.PAST or who
'Was Y's father the one who just fell [from the tree], or who?'

(33) Da mohoa langina, pi sapa-n? [verbal predicate]
3s fall REC.PAST or what-DETR
'Did he fall just now, or what happened?'

(34) Du taha kau tu sensa, pi tu teni-k? [instrument]
3p fell tree with chainsaw [Eng] or with which-k
'Was the tree felled with a chainsaw, or with what?'

(35) Sira kadu-k moo, wahon sira em-pei, pi gam doo? [state]
3p arrive-kNEG REASON 3p STAT-hurt or ALL/SIM where
'They didn't come because they were sick, or how is it?'

22.1.2.3 Open alternative question

When the speaker is less certain of how much of the information they control and is seeking additional information rather than simply confirmation, the disjunction pi is added to the assertion of the question and carries rising final intonation, communicating to the addressee 'or replace or expand on whatever it is I don't have correctly; tell me more'.

(36) Du taha kau tu sensa pi?
3p fell tree with chainsaw [Eng] or
'Did they fell the tree felled with a chainsaw, or what is going on?'

(37) Sira heka gam da mua pi?
3p flood ALL upstream jungle or
'Did they flood into the jungle, or what?'
22.1.2.4 Cleft-focus question

The cleft focus question\(^6\) follows the patterns of non-verbal clauses [§19.2]. The subject is commonly expressed as a deictic NP [§11.1.6] or a restrictive relative clause [§20.7]. The predicate is an interrogative pronoun or uses an interrogative pronoun to modify a generic noun. The subject in these questions also parallels a left-dislocation topicalisation [§21.1.1.1] in structure and function. The subject-topic and predicate are often separated by do [§20.8].

(38) Non-cleft

San dii? who that
'Who is that?'

(39) San nake dii? who 3sPOSS DIST
'Whose is that?'

(40) Sane maho dii? who fall DIST
'Who fell there?'

(41) Cleft-focus with deictic NP subject

Geba dii, do, sane? person DIST PAUS who
'That person there, well, who is it?'

(42) Todo dii, do, san nake-k? macheteDIST PAUS who 3sPOSS-k
'That machete there, well, whose is it?'

(43) Slight integration mirroring an attributive clause

Geba di sane? person DIST who
'That person is who?'

(44) Cleft-focus with restrictive relative clause as subject

Geba ha dii da kadu-k lebeto dii, do, sane? person REL DIST 3s arrive-k yesterday DIST PAUS who
'That man who arrived yesterday, well, who is it?'

\(^6\)Cleft-focus is distinct from cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences (cf. Givón 1990:699ff.).
22.1.3 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions in Buru are almost always embedded in monologue. They are used almost exclusively in the domains of negotiations, litigations, and speech-making, to set up alternatives that are then declared acceptable or unacceptable. Rhetorical questions may be phrased as straight information questions [§22.1.2] or as confirmation-denial questions [§22.1.1], but never as alternative questions [§22.1.2.2, §22.1.2.3] or cleft-focus questions [§22.1.2.4].

Unanswered information questions with a non-answerable (non-referential) interrogative pronoun are used to imply the negative of the assertion, as well as to involve the addressee(s) mentally in what is being said.7

(45) San tewa fen sira iko haik? who know REAL 3p go PRF

'Who knew that they had already gone?' [information question]

'Who knows whether they had already left?' [rhetorical question → nobody knew]

Secondly, information known by the speaker may be phrased as confirmation-denial questions to ensure that the addressee is following the speaker in the run of the discourse. The appropriate response on the part of the addressee is simply a slight raising of the eyebrows confirming both the assertion and communicating 'I am following you through this discourse and I understand what you are saying.' In other words, this is a confirmation-denial question used strictly for rhetorical purposes, rather than to confirm or deny an assertion.

(46) Tu dii, du sili haik fili-n, maa? with DIST 3p pay PRF buy-GEN CONF

'At that point they had already paid the bridewealth, hadn't they.'

Thirdly, a rhetorical question is commonly used in such contexts as village meetings, litigations, or negotiations where matters are being considered that may effect a group of people. Here the speaker sets up a situation and then declares it to be not acceptable or not worthy of further consideration. In these cases the speaker invariably answers his or her own question.

7] Grimes (1975:68) notes that "Insofar as rhetorical questions introduce information that is different from what actually turns out to be the case, they can be considered devices for introducing collateral information."
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(47) Ma toho la fag.mata-k geba saa?
Ip descend IRR throw-die-k person one

Mool Baral Tu ramak...
NEG don't REASON later

'Should we go down and spear someone dead? No, we shouldn't! Because then…'

22.2 Siuk 'telling someone to do something'

Giving an order or telling someone to do something on Buru does not by any means entail that the order will be obeyed. Telling somebody else to do something implies one has the kinship relation or the social rank that even permits the possibility. For children to do what their parents tell them, or for villagers to respond to direction from the village head depends on the interplay of many factors such as: the perceived long-term social and moral integrity of the speaker; the persuasion of the speaker as to the immediacy and necessity of compliance and the consequences of non-compliance; the current account balance of reciprocity and perceived grievances between the parties; the perception of the speaker as someone who tends to accrue social or supernatural powers to himself or as someone with 'bad fate'; the perception of the speaker as a generous and hospitable person who will duly reward compliance with his wishes or as a morally corrupt shyster who will make demands but not reciprocate with rewards; whether the burden of compliance centres on a single individual or is shared by more than one individual; etc.

In other words, the basic egalitarian nature of Buru culture provides an operating principle along the lines of 'I only do what I choose to or feel like doing. Therefore, nobody can make me do what I do not choose to do.' The most common form of non-compliance is to simply ignore the speaker. Occasionally one will go off to the fields or go out hunting until the timeframe relevant to the demand is past. In extreme cases one simply moves to another village.

Inexperienced parents, kin group leaders, school teachers, and pastors who see their position as giving them the platform from which they can make self-seeking demands or simply brow-beat others, find themselves meeting a growing wall of non-compliance, and over time, resistance and resentment. In Buru values, a geba ka siuk ledak geba [person HAB order thoughtless person] 'a person who habitually orders people around without thinking through the relational consequences' or a leader who tends to pepek nak bala-ro 'Idiom: lord it over his underlings (Lit. 'touch his beams')' is seen as a blight on society that eventually damages the all-important gosa saro 'reciprocal goodwill' essential for maintaining the existence of the hamlet or village.

C. Grimes
22.2.1 Positive imperatives

Second person subjects are presumed information in imperatives and thus tend to be omitted. The presence of the second person ku marks the utterance as being less harsh, more polite, and recognises the individualism of addressee and his or her option of non-compliance. In a very subtle way when used judiciously, the more polite form can be socially more powerful than the more blunt form, because non-compliance with the more polite form then leaves one open to shame, whereas non-compliance with a blatant order is a matter of self-respect.

(48) Ku iko la ku ego palal. 2 go IRR 2 get rice [polite imperative]
     ‘Please go get rice.’

(49) [φ] iko la ku ego palal go IRR 2 get rice [reasonable imperative]
     ‘Go get rice, please.’

(50) [φ] iko la [φ] ego palal go IRR get rice [standard imperative]
     ‘Go get rice!’

(51) [φ] iko ego palal go get rice [harsh imperative]
     ‘Go get rice!’

22.2.2 Negative imperatives (prohibitives)

Negative imperatives using bara ‘don’t’ [§12.2.1.3] can be made more or less polite with the presence or absence of kae ‘2s’ (or kimi ‘2p’), and more or less emphatic with the presence or absence of moo ‘negative’. Moo does not interact with bara logically (i.e. it does not negate the negative), but rather stylistically, by strengthening the negative imperative. Ku ‘second person’ in a purpose clause makes the two clauses issues that can be separately complied with.

(52) [Kae] bara iko la [φ] ego palal. 2s don’t go IRR get rice [polite negative imperative]
     ‘You shouldn’t go get rice!’

(53) [φ] bara iko la [φ] ego palal don’t go IRR get rice [standard negative imperative]
     ‘Don’t go get rice!’

(54) (Kae) bara iko, la ku ego palal. 2s don’t go IRR 2 get rice [separate propositions]
     ‘You shouldn’t go, so you can get rice.’
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(55) **Bara iko ego pala moo!**  
    don‘t  go  get  rice  NEG  
    "Do not, by any means, go get rice!"  

Both positive and negative imperatives can be strengthened with the fortis exasperative tag `pe`, indicating this is the last time one will be told before some (usually physical) punishment is meted out. The presence of the polite subject `ku` 'second person' does not collocate with the tag `pe`.

(56) **Iko ego pala, pe!**  
    go  get  rice  EXASP  
    "Go get rice (right now, or else...)!"  

(57) **Bara iko, pe!**  
    don‘t  go  EXASP  
    "Don’t you dare go!"

22.3 **La ha** 'making a request to be reciprocated'

Certain kinds of requests on Buru imply an expectation of reciprocation, carrying with them on-going social obligations. Making a request puts oneself under obligation (muta-n ‘debt’ < PMP *ma-qutang ‘debt’) to the granter of the request, but it can also provide an opportunity for the addressee to reciprocate for a previous debt and thus restore balance to the relationship. An enlahat 'a request' does not have to be reciprocated if the granter does not take the initiative to see that it is reciprocated. The actual burden to see that reciprocation is done is on the person who grants a request to later reciprocate with a request of equal social or material value. Having a request made to a person is simultaneously both a blessing and a curse. It is a blessing in that one is perceived to be blessed with ewasat 'abundance' or ewasa 'influence', to have noren gosat 'good fate', or to be important enough to be able to grant the request. Requests are annoying in that the abundance of the hunt, the crop, or the payment of a bridewealth or of a fine must be spread around to others. Either way, the making and granting of requests in Buru implies an on-going relationship.

Certain kin relations, such as fathers-in-law can make demands of sons-in-law that must be granted, even if it means going into debt to someone else. That is one reason why father-in-laws are best avoided, and ideally, live in another village.

Requests made to people considered outsiders8 do not necessarily carry with them an implication of on-going relationship, nor any obligation to reciprocate. On the contrary, to

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8The notion of 'outsider' here is relative to varying scopes or spheres of the social hierarchy of us-them.
successfully abunawas 'outwit, take advantage of, deceive' someone is greatly admired, and becomes the topic of local entertainment, the exploits often being retold many times. It is those who are skillful at abunawas that are sought out as advocates in litigations and marriage negotiations, and who often become village heads or kin group leaders.

Thus, there is a tension between making requests and getting away with not repaying them and yet not being seen as a person who laha ledak 'makes requests lightly, without thought as to the relational consequences'. And there is a tension between pursuing wealth and yet not being seen as wealthy. Everyone finds it a continual challenge to keep track of who is indebted to them and who they are indebted to. The issue of indebtedness and having the right to make reciprocal requests is a (if not the) driving force of much of Buru social interaction.

Laha-type requests may be for such things as sugar, salt, or tea when one has an unexpected guest, or for a domestic pig in helping a relative to reciprocate for bridewealth. As the Buru people in the mountains have increasing contact with a cash economy, requests are increasingly made of those who can provide them with the commodity of cash.

The lexeme laha has two related senses: 1) to request, and 2) to reciprocate. When making a request, it is phrased as a performative, with the speech-act explicitly part of the request.

(58) A laha gula proi.
Is request sugar [Skt] small
'Could I have a bit of sugar?' [Lit. 'I ask for some sugar. ']

The object of the request may be a clausal complement [§20.6].

(59) Ya laha fen geba rua p-em-nake-k
Is request REAL person two CAUS-STAT-3sPOSS-k
geba keda naa gam lawe.
person mature PROX ALL downstream

[Elder speaking] 'I request that two people be put at his disposal to escort this respected person [a government official] down to the coast.'

The more formal or valuable the request, the more elaborate the preamble. The preamble often makes explicit the nature of the relationship between the requester and the

9Abu Nawas is a character from Arabic folklore. Abu Nawas stories about a character outwitting other people is a common folklore theme in the cultures of eastern Indonesia. In Buru abunawas is used as an active transitive verb 'to deceive s.o.' A similar Buru form, niak 'trick, outwit, tease' is used far less frequently than abunawas, even in remote mountain areas.

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granter, or makes explicit why the addressee ought to be in a position to grant the request. A request may or may not mention anything about reciprocation (paying off the debt).

(60) Yako puna kae nam mem.lahi-n, tu ya ræng
1s COP 2s 2sPOSS mother’s brother.root-GEN with 1s 1sPOSS
ana-newe-t di kae. Kae puna guru haik, petu kae
child-live-NOM DIST 2s 2s COP teacher [Skt] PRF SEQ 2s
puna geb.gaji haik. Petu a laha fen ku ...
COP person.wage [Du] PRF SEQ 1s request REAL 2
Ramak tu warahe enyegut ya wori-k bleke
later with peanut ABS-get-NOM 1s put-k 5-gallon tin [Du]
ki-oko saa la kae.
RED-skin one DAT/BEN 2s

'I am your root uncle, and you are my living child. You are now a teacher [implication: and I had something to do with your success in 'the outside world'], and so you are a salaried person [having a cash income]. Therefore, I request that you ... Then, at the peanut harvest I will set aside a five-gallon tin of peanuts with their husks for you.'

Because some reciprocation is expected, a mere verbal 'thank you' is unnecessary and even audacious, except in extreme situations, such as the saving of a life, in which it is seen as the honourable response.

(61) Da laha baa trima kasi.
3s reciprocate only thank you [Mly]
'He reciprocated with only a "thank you". ' [said with scorn]

The lexeme laha is also used to describe kin relations.

(62) Ya laha ringe fen yoil,
1s reciprocate 3s REAL father’s sister

tu ringe laha yako fen ana-t.
with 3s reciprocate 1s REAL child-NOM

'I call her "paternal aunt" and she calls me "child".'

22.4 The environments of ma 'we'

The default person marking for procedural, hypothetical, general explanatory, and hortatory discourse is with ma 'we (unmarked as to inclusive or exclusive)'. These uses of

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10Citation forms for body parts in taking word lists vary between 3s (e.g. rema-n 'eye-3sGEN') and 1pi (e.g. rama-nan 'eye-1piGEN'). Thus, there is indication that Buru worldview intrinsically involves a concept of community.
ma tend to indicate that the speaker is referring to a general or hypothetical situation, rather than to a specific event at a specific time.

(63) **Procedural**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \quad \text{tufa} & \quad \text{wae} & \quad \text{dii,} & \quad \text{do,} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{lata-k} & \quad \text{tufa} & \quad \text{kau} \\
1p & \text{poison} & \text{water} & \text{DIST} & \text{PAUS} & 1p & \text{cut-k} & \text{poison} & \text{tree} \\
\text{tu} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{kali} & \quad \text{tufa-wahe-t.} & \quad \text{Hama} & \quad \text{sepo} & \quad \text{kau-r} & \quad \text{dii,} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{...} \\
\text{with 1p} & \quad \text{dig} & \text{poison-vine-NOM} & \text{seek} & \text{finish} & \text{tree-PL DIST 1p} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'On those occasions when we poison the streams, well, [first] we cut the poison trees and we dig the poison vines. When finished looking for the trees, we ...'

(64) **Epyasan 'explanation'**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \quad \text{pihi-k} & \quad \text{todo} & \quad \text{gam} & \quad \text{dii,} & \quad \text{la} & \quad \text{da} & \quad \text{puna} & \quad \text{eta-n} \\
1p & \text{hang-k} & \text{mache-SIM} & \text{DIST} & \text{IRR 3s COP sign-GEN} \\
\text{fen} & \quad \text{geba} & \quad \text{sa} & \quad \text{rogo} & \quad \text{enika} & \quad \text{ana-fina} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{haik,} & \quad \text{REAL} & \text{person one enter ask child-female PROX PRF} \\
\text{tu} & \quad \text{geba} & \quad \text{em-tua-t-o} & \quad \text{sira} & \quad \text{eru-k} & \quad \text{haik.} & \quad \text{with person STAT-elder-NOM-PL 3p agree-k PRF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'When we hang up a machete on a peg in that way, it is as a sign that someone has "entered" and "asked" [for] this girl, and [her collective] elders have agreed [to the proposal].'

(65) **General hypothetical situations**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bam.eta} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{ep-keha-k} & \quad \text{uta-n} & \quad \text{filli-n,} & \quad \text{but if 1p CAUS-ascend-k vegetable-GEN buy-GEN} \\
\text{geb.masiro} & \quad \text{safe-r} & \quad \text{moo,} & \quad \text{salak.} & \quad \text{person.see-PL buy-PL NEG DUB} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'But if we were to raise the price of our vegetables, maybe the coastal people wouldn't buy them.'

(66) **Hortatory**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \quad \text{rogo} & \quad \text{la-aj-kaa.} & \quad \text{la-aj-kaa} \\
1p & \quad \text{enter IRR-1p.eat} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Let's go in and eat.'

If the speaker is trying to distance himself from being identified with what is being described, then a non-referential du '3p' is used.
22.5 Calling patterns

When a person wants to communicate with someone who is beyond the range of the volume of normal speech, there are three common patterns used, depending on distance and elaborateness and urgency of the message. These are common between different parties on a trail, between nearby fields, across the valley from each other, or between a person staying in the village communicating to someone on their way down the trail to the coast or up the trail to their field.

When one is just beyond the range of normal communication, the pattern of kalak 'calling' is used. This is marked by a long stressed -é placed between topic and subject, between clauses, and placed sentence and utterance final. The further away the addressee, the longer the vocative -é is drawn out.

(68) Wall-é, ku toho la masi-é, mate-VOC 2 descend downstream sea-VOC
ku safe tāako sua la yako-é!
2 buy tobacco [Eng] one DAT/BEN 1s-VOC

'Hey brother-in-law! [If you're going down to the coast, buy a pouch of tobacco for me; won't you!'

For women and children, when someone is almost out of range of any effective communication, the final syllable of the last stress group of topics and clause stems are falsetto. Consonant-final words have -é added. [Underlined syllables indicate falsetto.]

(69) Leni-él! Ku oll, ku ego nang gomi dill,
(name)-VOC 2 return 2 get 1sPOSS axe [Port] DIST

'Hey Lenny! When you come home, bring my axe, will you?'

Men generally do not go into falsetto. Both patterns described here are covered by the Buru term emngaha 'communicate by shouting'.

The third pattern, ewek 'hoot' is used where the other party is thought to be beyond where lexical communication is possible. One party who expects someone else to be on the trail or in the jungle within hollering distance will ewek both to let the other party know they are there (and so not get ambushed from making noises without identifying oneself) and to
judge the direction and distance of the other party by the response. Although lexical items may form the substance of the call in light-hearted bantering (e.g. eha! 'palmwine!'), the normal call is a non-lexical hoot. The parties near each other they switch to the emngaha pattern described above.

22.6 Li haat 'loud voicing'

Li haat is a loud and public expression of personal grievance toward a specific individual. It may be shouted from inside a house, but often is accompanied by strutting around the village as one loudly proclaims grievances. Wives accusing their husbands of adultery, husbands accusing other men of sleeping with their wife, unpaid debts, unreciprocated loans (e.g. of the use of a spear), or unfulfilled obligations in assisting with bridewealth payment are eventually revealed as the primary grievance.

Li haat is often accompanied by drunkenness (emsihit), occasionally by demon possession (setan [Arab] keha), and occasionally by calling on the spirits of the ancestors to empower (osi nitu deruk) the grieved party against their opponent. The ability of li haat to escalate into violence (tearing apart houses > fistfights > swordfights > spearfights) is great, and it often requires the efforts of the whole community to calm things down.

If the person who is shouting out their grievances plagiik 'curses' the ancestors or plumak 'slanders the sexual organs' of the parents of the person who is the source of their grievances, the next day the village elders will sit in a perkara li haat 'loud voicing litigation' to determine the nature and extent of an esnilit 'fine'.

Voice quality is coarse as well as loud, and the vocative -6 is often used in the contexts described above for the emngaha pattern.

22.7 Plangu 'to speak in pairs'

A stylistic pattern found across several discourse types is called plangu 'speaking in pairs, parallelism'. Plangu may be woven into everyday speech, in which case the speaker is considered both eloquent and skilled. It is the hallmark of proverbs, enwenet 'sung ballads', and the ritual language used in different types of salawatu 'prayers', fisarat 'speeches', and efnasat 'decisions resulting from negotiations'.

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11The hoot normally goes into falsetto and sounds much like the Australian cooee call.

The second part of the parallelism may be either a rephrasing of the first, or a semantic counterpart of the first. The most eloquent parallelisms are two pairs of counterparts, the second of which is a rephrasing of the first.

(70) From a description of a hunt

Sira iko lepa-k iko logo-k iko sele-k iko manu-k.
3p go ascend-k go descend-k go upstream-k go flow-k
'They went up went down went upstream went downstream.'

(71) From a prayer

Tu Opo ba skota-k kita lea tong tu beto,
with lord DUR watch over-k lpi sun also with night
supa-n tong tu emhawe-n.
next day-GEN also with evening-GEN

'[And] God is watching over us both day and night, both morning and evening.'

The parts of a parallelism may be phrased as parts of an associated whole, such as different ingredients associated with chewing betel quid.

(72) From a ballad

Fen ya laha fua-ê, rese-n rese-n-ô.
say 1s request betel-VOC true-GEN true-GEN-VOC
Raja Bau-ê, a lah tabako rese-n rese-n tu,
king [Skt] (name)-VOC 1s request tobacco [Eng] true-GEN true-GEN with
pa sepo ya nango lafa rese-nô.
REAL finish 1s IsPOSS trailfood true-GEN-VOC

'[She] said, "I ask for betelnut-ê, truly, truly-ô. Hey King Bau-ê, I ask for tobacco truly truly
and, it is so that when I have it all I will have my snack for the trail truly-ô."

Extensive use of parallelisms requires the availability of a large number of synonyms and near synonyms. However, when the audience recognises the speaker (performer) is plangu 'speaking in pairs' it is not important to understand the details of the semantics, but rather to appreciate the verbal dexterity of the performer.13 If a set of two pairs of words are not readily available from the speaker's dialect, the key words for the second set may be borrowed from another dialect of Buru, from another language such as Kayeli or Sula, or from Malay. Plangu is thus a mechanism for introducing new forms into the language while associating them with known meanings. In general, the meaning of the alternate forms

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13This leads to what Valeri (1990) has described for the Huulu of north central Seram as "the retreat of the semantics" in certain speech situations.
adapted from other dialects or languages are not known by over 90% of the people in an area.\textsuperscript{14}

(73) \textbf{Adapting parallelism from dialectal synonyms}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Sira & rono & la & bape, & sira & sii \\
3p & enter & IRR & sleep & 3p & enter & IRR & sleep \\
[MASARETE dialect] & [LISELA dialect] &
\end{tabular}

\textit{They went in to sleep, they went in to sleep.}'

(74) \textbf{Adapting parallelism from neighbouring languages}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Ring & ba & dohi & apu & oko-n, \\
3s & DUR & search & lime & skin-GEN \\
ring & ba & hama & shul & usa-n, \\
3s & DUR & seek & lime & [Kayeli] skin-GEN [Kayeli]
\end{tabular}

\textit{She was systematically searching for seashells, she was looking for seashells [for making lime for betel quid].}'

\section*{22.8 Li enlimut 'speaking with an indirect message, speaking metaphorically'}

There is a set of synonyms and near synonyms which all refer to speaking with the purpose of giving a message indirectly or metaphorically. These types of speaking are used for mental and verbal sparring in various contexts, and may or may not be considered aggressive. The terms encompass such things as riddles (an entertaining sparring for public acclaim during bridewealth negotiations),\textsuperscript{15} parables and allegories used by elders to draw moral teaching at the end of litigations, and challenges to strangers (to assess their mental agility and aggressiveness). The terms used to label this type of speech are listed below. [Li is from lie-t 'language, sound from throat.]

(75) \begin{tabular}{lll}
li enlimut & < & limu-n \\
li enhafat & < & hefa-k \\
li enrigun & < & rigu \\
li enlatat & < & lata \\
li Wae Lua & < & Wae Lua
\end{tabular}

\textit{moss'}

\textit{throw away'}

\textit{'}

\textit{cut, strike'}

\textit{kin group perceived to be the most isolated and aggressive on the island'}

The last two types of speaking indirectly are restricted to challenges. A challenge is often expressed in terms of the physical world.

\textsuperscript{14}Some of these items were checked informally in several mountain and coastal villages.

\textsuperscript{15}Pieters (1922) presents a Buru-used version of Malay riddles.
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(76)  Kau  oko-n  boti-t  saka  dii,  yako  te  taha-h
  tree  skin-GEN  white-NOM  up  DIST  1s  ABIL  fell-it
  sele-k  tu  oko-n  ensian  baa.
  complete-k with  inside-GEN one  only

'[Do you see] that tree with white bark up there, I could fell it completely with a single blow.'

[Challenge: Hey, white man, I could kill you easily. How tough are you?]

Skilful responses turn things back on the challenger.

(77)  Ehe.  Kae  taha  kau  saka  dii,
  yes  2s  fell  tree  up  DIST
  bu  da  bodi  saki  pa  faka  olo-m.
  but  3s  fall  return  REAL  shatter  head-2sGEN

'Yes, you could fell that tree up there, but [don't be surprised if] it falls back and crushes your head.'

[Counter-challenge: Yes, it is true that you are a fighter of admirable skill and could probably kill me, but if you want to try it, know it: you will also be killed in the process. Make my day.]

Proverbs are framed similarly with indirect messages.

(78)  Katuen  te'  bisi  mae-n  emhawak  moo.
  machete ABIL carve handle-GEN REFL NEG
  'A machete cannot carve its own handle.'

[Lesson: interpersonal interdependence]

(79)  Ana-fina  sirã  gao  katuen  mae-n.
  child-female 3p hold machete handle-GEN
  'The woman's party holds the machete handle.'

[Lesson: the bride's party holds the bargaining chips in marriage negotiations]

22.9 Conversation

Conversational exchanges in Buru to the extent that they deal with known or presupposed referents, tend toward referentially implicit forms [§18.2.1] such as pronouns [§9.2] and omitted arguments [§18.2.2]. The relative time orientation of conversations is often drawn from the inferential framework [§20.2.2], rather than made explicit. Locative orientation is often handled simply by diectics [§10.1] rather than being more explicit.

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22.9.1 Reported conversation

In reported conversation, quote formulae always occur before the reported speech. While the presence of a complementiser [§20.6] is far more frequent than its absence, both options occur.

(81) Da prepa fen ringe iko haik.  
3s say REAL 3s go PRF  
'She said that he already left.'

(82) Da prepa ringe iko haik.  
3s say 3s go PRF  
'She said he already left.'

When the two main protagonists of a reported conversation are fully established, the quote formula may be reduced to fen 'say' to indicate 'now the other protagonist is speaking', or may have no quote formula at all, carried simply by final juncture and by the inferential framework. The following string of examples are connected sentences that form the opening episode of a single narrative (folktale) discourse. The complete text is found in Appendix E.

(83) A dohi geba roi. an saa tu nak ina.  
1s narrate person small FOC one with 3sPOSS mother  
'I'm going to tell you about a particular child and his mother.'

(84) iko fi di wasi pa du taha fuat.  
go LOC DIST grove REAL 3p fell banana  
'[They] went to the garden and they cut down a banana [tree].'  

(85) taha fuat pa bodi-h, nak ana-t fene.  
fell banana REAL fall over-it 3sPOSS child-NOM say  
"Ng-ini, nau dah.o.o."  
1sVOC-mother 1sPOSS bunch.head  
'After chopping down the banana [tree] so that it fell to the ground, her child said, "Mother, the hand at the top of the stalk is for me."

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16Thus, the practices that have developed around the literary traditions of some Indo-European languages of splitting the quote (e.g. "And then," she said happily, "along came John.") or placing the quote formula following the quote (e.g. "Why didn't you come earlier?" she scolded.) are not allowable in Buru.
(86) "Kae nam dah.olo moo, tu nam ama nake dah.olo."
2s 2sPOSSEqual head NEG with 2sPOSSEqual father 3sPOSSEqual head
"The hand at the top of the stalk isn’t for you, but the hand at the top of the stalk is for your
father."

(87) Fen, "Ng-ina, nang dah.dedu-k."
say 1sVOC-mother 1sPOSSEqual bunch.repeated-k
[He] said, "Mother, [then] the next hand is for me."

(88) Fen, "Moo, bara dah.dedu-k tu nam ama."
say NEG don’t bunch.repeated-k with 2sPOSSEqual father
[She] said, "No, don’t take the second hand because that’s for your father."

(89) Fen, "Do, nang dah.stifu."
say PAUS 1sPOSSEqual bunch.middle
[He] said, "Well, [then] the middle hand is for me."

(90) Fen, "Moo, bara dah.stifu tu nam ama."
say NEG don’t bunch.middle with 2sPOSSEqual father
[She] said, "No, don’t take the middle hand because that’s for your father."

(91) Fen, "Nango rama-n wae-n nang oli."
say 1sPOSSEqual eye-GEN water-GEN 1sPOSSEqual return
[He] said, "[Then] the tear fiction: the little hand at the bottom of the stalk] must be for me."

(92) Fen, "Moo, bara tu nam ama."
say NEG don’t with 2sPOSSEqual father
[She] said, "No, don’t [take that one] because it’s for your father."

(93) Fen, "Ba dii, do, kesu baa wanga-n dii, say DUR DIST PAUS break only digit-GEN DIST
laga-k ture-n an la yako."
move-k short-GEN FOC DAT 1s
[He] said, "If that’s the way it’s going to be, then break off just a single banana and scoot a
bit of it over to me."

(94) Petu nak ina kesu wae jadi ipa, fuat wanga-n
SEQ 3sPOSSEqual mother break water become [Mly] canarium banana digit-GEN
pa nak ture-n, pa ring iko.
REAL 3sPOSSEqual short-GEN REAL 3s go
"So his mother broke off for him a bit of one of the smallest bananas [called] "water becomes a
kanari nut", and he left."

[This episode establishes the reason why a young boy is alone in the deep jungle by himself
encountering the dangers that are described in following episodes.]
22.10 *li koit* 'speech taboos/avoidance'

When words are considered *li koit* 'speech to be avoided', they must be avoided in all discourse types, including otherwise tightly conventionalised discourse such as ballads. Word taboos result in a range of phenomena from simple lexical substitution of one or more words to an entire named speech register (*Li Garan*). The avoidance of certain lexical items is a mechanism for adapting new lexical forms and new loans into the language. Speech taboos were discussed and exemplified in §4.4 and §4.6.
Chapter Twenty-three:
Summary of discourse pragmatic issues

This chapter summarises and amalgamates various discourse pragmatic issues that have been introduced in separate sections in previous chapters. Issues related to conversation, explanatory, hortatory, and procedural discourse were addressed briefly in the previous chapter. Unless otherwise mentioned, the patterns discussed in this chapter describe narrative discourse. Full texts exemplifying the patterns described here are found in Appendix E.

23.1 Typical structure of an endohin

To dohi is to systematically explore something.

(1) Du dohi nete-n pa hama fahu waha-n.  
   3p explore area-GEN REAL seek pig evidence-GEN  
   'They systematically searched the area looking for pig sign.'

(2) Boki Bae ba dohi apu oko-n.  
   (name) (name) DUR explore lime skin-GEN  
   'Boki Bae [epic character from a ballad] was systematically searching [over the reef] for shells [from which to slake lime for betel quid].'  

Dohi is also used as a speech-act verb with the sense of 'to recount s.t., to tell a story, to narrate s.t.', implying a systematic retracing of the story.

(3) Ring ba dohi nun en-heka-t waktu Jepang.  
   3s DUR narrate 3pPOSS ABS-flee-NOM time [Amb] Japan  
   'He is telling about their fleeing when the Japanese were here.'

An en-dohi-n, however, is not simply a nominalisation of dohi. It is not just any story or narration, but rather a Story — one that has attained its own identity; one that is perceived to have historical, ethnic, supernatural, or moral significance. An event of current significance can become an endohin by being retold from village to village and subsequently from year to year.¹

¹For example, a particularly strange ambush and apparent murder occurring in the late 1980s has attained the status of a widely known endohin, partly because of the fighting prowess of those known individuals involved and partly because of the strange disappearance of the body. Similarly, when my wife (who is a Registered Nurse) and I successfully removed an orange-sized tumor growing from the mouth of a woman of social importance who had been suffering acutely for several years, it was announced by several people, Ramak da puna endohin. 'This will become an endohin.'
An endohin is like property. It is uniquely associated with an individual or group of individuals. A person may not tell an endohin that he or she does not have the rights or authority to tell. At best, an endohin may be briefly summarised, often in Malay, if told at all by those who do not have the rights to tell it. Telling an endohin incorrectly, or telling it without having the authority to do so will result in baut paha 'the flailing of a punishment (by the ancestors, fate, or the supernatural world)'. The punishment may be immediate and severe (such as dropping dead on the spot), or reasonably light (such as mild and temporary sickness of oneself or one's family, or the failure of crops or the hunt), or long-term (not showing up until one's children or grandchildren). But the baut 'punishment' will inevitably fall.²

There is a hierarchy of authority/credibility/reliability related to the telling of an endohin, and one's authority for telling it is often made explicit in a verbal preamble or as part of the closure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Personal involvement</th>
<th>Credibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↑</td>
<td>Personal witness</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑</td>
<td>Bestowal of authority³</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑</td>
<td>Second-hand involvement⁴</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>€</td>
<td>Social position⁵</td>
<td>€</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Having heard the story⁶</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 73: Hierarchy of acceptable qualifications for telling an endohin

An endohin typically has a layered structure, each layer with an opening, nucleus, and closure.⁷ Different aspects of the figure below are described in greater detail following the figure.

²Thus, for a linguist or anthropologist to go to Buru and ask people to tell about certain historical events or origin stories about which the informants are not considered to be the 'keepers' is an exercise fraught with ethical and practical complexities.

³Someone who has authority over certain stories, such as a gebo ka geo endohin 'keeper of oral history', when they sense they are in their last days, will designate an heir (in the rights and authority to an endohin) and transfer both the knowledge and the authority by touching some of their own ulen ween 'spittle' to the recipient's tongue. The heir is most often someone who is a classificatory anak 'child', but not necessarily in a direct genealogical line.

⁴People will declare, for example, 'I heard this from my mother, whose teknonym was X-tine; she was there and did such-and-such.'

⁵A person of social rank who fuku endohin 'opens up a Story' with no other qualification to tell that endohin damages his integrity and sets himself or his descendants up for some unknown punishment, thus further damaging his credibility as a leader.

⁶In itself, having heard an endohin (even if many times), is not considered sufficient justification for telling it.

⁷This parallels Pike's (1954) notion of a 'verbal behavioreme' (e.g. a discourse) being a unit of language with defined structure that mirrors smaller units of language in having an onset, nucleus, and coda.
An endohin invariably begins with a *declaration about the performance*.

While the *declaration of one’s authority* to tell an endohin occasionally precedes the actual story, more typically it comes as part of the closure to the performance. It is sufficient by itself to signal closure of the performance.

---

**Figure 74: Layered structure of an endohin**

An endohin invariably begins with a *declaration about the performance*.

(4) **Yako la dohi-k ro-toin fi di geba Blanda-ro**
    1s IRR narrate-k RED-small LOC DIST person Dutch-PL

*eptea na Wae Kati-n.*

sit PROX water pandanus-GtN

'I want to tell you a bit about when the Dutchmen [UZV missionaries] were living here in Wae Katin.'

While the *declaration of one’s authority* to tell an endohin occasionally precedes the actual story, more typically it comes as part of the closure to the performance. It is sufficient by itself to signal closure of the performance.

(5) **En-dohi-n naa yako caa-n fi di ya nang ina,**
    ABS-narrate-GEN PROX 1s hear-DETR LOC DIST 1s 1sPOSS mother

*tahi-n-tina,*  
R-tina.

avoid-GEN-female teknonym  R-female teknonym

'This story I heard from my mother whose female teknonym was R’s mother.'
In discussing mechanisms used to present and develop information in a (narrative) discourse, it is helpful to distinguish types of information in discourse such as events, which form the backbone of a narrative; participants, who tend to have some degree of animacy and have an active role to play throughout some section of the discourse; props, which tend to be non-animate arguments such as instruments or figures; and settings, which locate an activity or an episode in time and space (cf. J. Grimes 1971, 1975).

It is further helpful to distinguish various contextual functions of mechanisms for dealing with different information, such as 1) presenting or introducing a referent into the discourse for the first time, 2) reintroducing a previously established referent after referential discontinuity, 3) marking a referent as having cataphoric significance (cf. Givón 1990:748ff.), or 4) maintaining thematic cohesion in discourse.

Just as arguments may be fronted in relation to a clause [§21.1], so also arguments may be fronted in relation to the discourse as a whole, or to episodes within a discourse. This is done both to establish the temporal and spatial setting of the discourse as well as to identify the participants of major importance in the early part of the discourse or episode.
The most common way of introducing the general topic of a discourse is as the complement of a speech-act verb. This establishes the speaker (and hearers) as participants in a larger discourse in which the narrative is embedded. The discourse topic is framed as an indefinite but referential NP, with a generic noun and the deictic numeral saa.

(11) Yako la a dohi-k neba rua saa.
Is IRR Is narrate-k person two one
'I'm going to tell you about a couple of men.'

(12) Yako la [ŋ] dohi-k nate-n saa ena-k fìa lian.
Is IRR narrate-k place-GEN one approach-k village cave
'I want to tell you about a place near the village of Lian.'

A broad general topic may be framed without the deictic numeral saa.

(13) Yako la fisara ro-roin tu kami la kam
Is IRR speak [Skt] RED-small with Ipe IRR Ipe
kawang na fuk.Buru.
marry [Arab] PROX island.Buru

'I'm going to say a little about vis-n we get married here on Buru Island.'

The performance of the speech event does not have to be mentioned, and the discourse topic may be identified simply as an independent NP at the front of the discourse, functioning much like an oral title. This strategy is common when introducing fables and legends that are considered general knowledge or part of the inventory of well-known stories belonging to the entire community.

(14) Yagrihlt tu tonal.
   flying fox with cuscus
   '[I'm going to tell you the well-known story about] the flying fox and the cuscus.'

Or, between the two extremes, both the speech event and the discourse topic may be expressed as nominal arguments of a non-verbal clause.

(15) En-dohi-n naa, gofot tu wela.
    ABS-narrate-GEN PROX land turtle with monitor lizard
    'This story [is] "The Turtle and the Monitor Lizard".'

23.1.1 Presentational clauses

The presentational (existential) clause was introduced in §19.1.4. At the beginning of a narrative, the thematically important participant of cataphoric significance may be introduced in a presentational clause using the deictic numeral saa 'one'.

C.Grimes 479
(16) Geba saa tu nak opo.
   person one with 3sPOSS grandparent
   'There was a man and his grandmother.'

(17) Geba tal.dawe-t ran saa.
   person RECIP.brother-in-law-NOM two one
   'There were a couple of men who were brothers-in-law to each other.'

23.1.2 Generic-specific listing

It is also common to establish both the setting and the participants of importance by strings of appositional phrases going from generic to specific (from left to right in written text). The basic strategy is to narrow down the time span, the location, or the referent(s) in question. Strings of this sort can be quite complex, particularly so at the beginning of a discourse or at major thematic shifts in the discourse. The more the speech-act is considered to be a social performance, the more elaborate such topicalised strings are likely to be. The prototypical order of these strings of topics is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Temporal Topic]^0,</th>
<th>[Spatial Topic]^0,</th>
<th>[Identificational Topic]^0,</th>
<th>(do),</th>
<th>CLAUSE STEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 75: Relative order of topic strings

A complex temporal topic string can be as in the example below.

(18) Petu, tu dii, lea sia dii, torowahe dii, eta da suba
    [SEQ with DIST sun same DIST hour DIST until 3s cross threshold
     di wae nanga-n, da kita waga saa.
     DIST water mouth-GEN] 3s see boat one

   'And then, at that time, that same day, that same hour, when she arrived at the mouth of the
   river, she saw a boat'.

A complex spatial topic string can be as in the example below.

(19) Fi dii, dae hagi-t lahi-n dii, dae nete-n
    [LOC DIST upstream candlenut-NOM root-GEN DIST upstream place-GEN
     da ba moho dii, kami dapa-k ringe.
     3s DUR fall DIST] 1ps get [AM]-k 3s

   'There, upstream at the candlenut tree, at the place where he had fallen, we found him'.

A complex identificational topic string can be as in the example below. Strings of this sort also occur in conversation where one must identify a known referent before asserting something about that referent.
Chapter 23: Discourse Pragmatics

(20) Geba dii, mhuka Temun dii ha dii da bamba kaweng
(person DIST; maiden (clan) DIST REL DIST 3s IMM.PAST marry [Arab]
fula-n rua dii, do, da eg-ali haik.
moon-GEN two DIST] PAUS 3s BE.pregnant PRF

'That person, the maiden of the WT social group, the one who got married two months ago, well, she's already pregnant.'

These various types of topic strings can be linked together.

(21) Babala-k dii, eta nang osi ba newe, [time]
RED-before-k DIST until 1sPOSS great-grandparent DUR live

fi saka, saka Rana dii,
LOC up up lake DIST

masmori nak geba em-tua-t-o, nak ina tu young man 3sPOSS person STAT-elder-NOM-PL 3sPOSS mother with

nak ama eb-ana-t-o,
3sPOSS father STAT-child-NOM-PL

[identification]
du ep-sulu-k kaka-wai-t-o.
3p CAUS-gather-k elder-younger-NOM-PL

[main clause]

'[In the olden days, when my great-grandparents were living]Temporal setting
[up there, up at Lake Rana]spatial setting
[a young man's parents, his birth mother and father]Identificational Topic
[they would gather the relatives]Clause'

The relative order of the different topic strings can be changed for relative focus.

(22) Yako tu Eli tu Paris tu Nus, Iabeto, har Sabtu,
1s with Eli with Paris with Nus sun.night day [Mly] Saturday [Port]
kam iko gam di Ehu. Kam iko hama tonal.
1pe go ALL DIST (place) 1pe go hunt cuscus

'I and Eli and Paris and Nus, yesterday, on Saturday, we went to Ehu. We went hunting cuscus.'

In the example above, the first sentence establishes the participants (who), the temporal setting (when), and the locational setting (where). The second sentence says what the discourse is about (the context of the activities to be elaborated on → what). The story that follows is about hunting.
23.2 Thematic coherence in discourse

In the sections below I describe typical mechanisms for establishing and developing the setting, the participants, and the event line in a narrative discourse. Givón (1990:827) identifies what he calls "the four main strands of thematic coherence" that are "the components of event integration ... most commonly and most systematically coded by grammar."

a) Referent continuity

b) Temporal continuity

c) Location continuity

d) Action continuity

These are explored in turn, followed by additional issues that relate to Buru discourse pragmatics.

23.2.1 Referent continuity

As mentioned earlier, referents are usefully divided into participants and props. Participants are the performers in a narrative, moving the story-line forward, and are prototypically animate and volitional. Props are used by or relate to the participants, including such things as materials, instruments, containers, and non-participant individuals or groups (e.g. villagers). Animate props tend to be backlogged as oblique arguments. Both types of referents are expressed as NP core arguments or as oblique arguments being NP complements of prepositions.

In §18.2.1 it was shown that there are degrees of referential explicitness in referring to an argument. The more explicit the amount of referential material, the less presupposed the information. That is, more elaborate NPs tend to carry new information, or sufficient information necessary to distinguish one referent from another, particularly in reintroducing a referent after significant discontinuity. Less elaboration implies that the referential information is presupposed, reducing to the minimum information necessary to convey the role-related information of the syntax.

---

9What we might consider normally inanimate objects, such as swords, can be bestowed with animacy and become a participant in a story, such as when an epitetan ‘fighting champion’ becomes disabled but commands his sword to iko emhawek ‘go by itself’, flying through the air, defeating the opponent, and then returning to its scabbard.
Chapter 23:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referentially explicit</th>
<th>Expanded NP</th>
<th>1. gebe Wae Temun rua her dil du rohi gebar dil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(new information)</td>
<td>Simple NP</td>
<td>2. gebe Wae Temono dil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Generic NP</td>
<td>3. gebaro dil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free pronoun</td>
<td>4. ela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(presupposed)</td>
<td>Pronominal elides</td>
<td>5. du / -ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referentially compressed</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>6. φ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. those two men of the Wae Temun kin group who ambushed those people
2. those Wae Temuns
3. those men
4. they [free pronoun]
5. they [pronominal pronoun / plural enclitic]
6. φ

Figure 76: Degrees of referential explicitness in an NP

In general, new participants tend to be introduced with referentially elaborate NPs, tracked through the events of which they are key participants pronominally, and reintroduced after a lapse with a definite deictic *nu* using a generic head noun such as *geba* dil 'that person [i.e. one previously established].

Props tend to be introduced as PPs [Chapter §13]. Important props may be introduced using the deictic *saa* 'one'. After being introduced, important props tend to be tracked as definite deictic NPs with a fairly generic head noun or marked pronominally as presupposed information. They may be foregrounded in a left-dislocation construction when reintroduced after a significant gap in their presence in the text.

Background material necessary to identify a referent or necessary to distinguish it from a similar referent, depending on the scope and information load, tends to be introduced in non-verbal [§19.1] or semi-verbal clauses [§19.2], in relative clauses [§20.7], or as other NP modifiers [§11.1; §11.2].

The identity of a main participant acting in a string of related activities is presupposed and thus is omitted in tail-head linkage patterns [§21.1.2].

As mentioned earlier, important or main characters are commonly introduced and identified as important to the narrative with a presentational (existential) clause using *saa* 'one (indefinite specific)' [§19.1.4]. The presentational clause may be independent or may be embedded as the clausal complement of the declaration of the performance.
In the example above, the main character is introduced presentationally with a generic noun modified by saa -- geba saa 'there was a man'. Referential material about the main character is given as background material with a non-restrictive relative clause [§20.7], of which the head is expressed as a pronominal proclitic implying a presupposed referent da ba eptea tu nak opo 'who [Lit. 'he'] was living with his grandmother'. The grandmother, as a secondary participant of only minor and passing importance is introduced as an oblique argument tu nak opo 'with his grandmother' as part of the background material used to identify and establish the main character.

By not establishing a temporal or locational setting, this story is of the type where "it could have happened any place in any time" within the scope allowed by the internal settings and the props.

In the text begun by the sentence in example (23) above, the participants and main props are introduced and tracked through the first few sentences as mapped in the figure below. The first introduction of a referent is underlined.

---

10 The fact that she is his grandmother rather than his grandfather is deduced from the inferential framework [§20.2.2]. The main character of the story asks his opo to plait him a hat. Such plaiting is typically (but not exclusively) associated with women’s labour.

11 The text is relatively long (156 sentences) about a man who successfully outwits people to his gain and their loss (sometimes resulting in their death) in a variety of locations and situations, but is eventually caught and killed as a result of his own stupidity. In the opening episodes the main character has his grandmother weave him a hat which he uses to trick his friends into thinking has magical powers that can pay for their food at an eatery and pay for their clothes in a store. His friends then buy the hat for an exorbitant price.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SENT.</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>PROPS &amp; SETTING</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(clause)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td><em>geba nea</em></td>
<td>a man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>nak opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>the two of them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>da 'he'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>&quot;Oparu&quot;</td>
<td>grandma</td>
<td>&quot;ku&quot; you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>nak...nak</td>
<td>his...his grandma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>da 'he'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>da 'he'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>da 'he'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>geba ruman maken toban eatery owner</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td><em>he</em></td>
<td>&quot;yako&quot;</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6c</td>
<td>&quot;a&quot;</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>&quot;a&quot; 'l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>&quot;a&quot; 'l'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12By using the context of an eatery and using the Malay term, this implies the setting of the story is in a coastal town which has them (could be anywhere in eastern Indonesia, not necessarily Buru). The setting of other episodes are peculiarly Buru, suggesting portions of this narration are adapted from stories found as part of the general Malay coastal culture of eastern Indonesia.
Figure 77: Introduction and tracking of participants and props in a narrative

The eatery is reintroduced in sentence 11 of the story with an oblique locative PP *fi da rumah makan* 'at the eatery'. The hat is reintroduced in sentence 15 as a simple object noun *tope* 'hat'. The owner of the eatery returns as a participant in sentence 20 in a left-dislocation construction *gba rumah makan tobon, ringe...*[that] the owner of the eatery, he...*'. The main character is given a proper name in sentence 22 as the complement of a locative PP. The grandmother never reenters the picture.

When the main character is reestablished as subject (Actor) [as in sentence 10a] after another participant has functioned as subject [as in sentence 9a], the reestablishment is signalled with the free pronoun *ringe* '3s (change referent to one established previously but which has had a short gap of discontinuity)', and then the continuity of same subject is resumed with the pronominal proclitic *da* '3s (same subject/presupposed referent from the immediately preceding clause or sentence)' [as in 10b].

After an episode in which the main character does not participate as an actor for an interlude of 14 sentences while his six companions are getting themselves in and out of trouble after purchasing the hat and trying to use it, the main character is reintroduced in sentence 64 with a non-restrictive relative clause. At this point in the narrative the six friends have been the actors and the discourse topic, and so are the presupposed referent of the pronominal plural subject of the main clause.

(24) *Petu du hama gaba da ba pembodok sira.*
SEQ 3p sock pers. 3s DUR outwit [Mly] 3p
'So then they went looking for the person who [Lit. he] had made a fool of them.'

Some issues summarising common patterns related to referential continuity are given in the figure below.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{13}\)These patterns are consistent with what has been described cross-linguistically (cf. Givón 1990:913ff.), with modifications to accommodate conventionalised non-referential uses. Minimal or no gap means that the anaphoric antecedent is mentioned in the preceding clause or sentence. Small gap means the antecedent is recoverable in the range of 2-3 clauses back.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REFERENTIAL</th>
<th>NON-REFERENTIAL (conventionalised)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \phi ) - omission of argument (subject/object)</td>
<td>Presupposed; Minimal or no gap in referential continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal proclitic (subject only ([\S 9.2]))</td>
<td>Presupposed; Minimal or no gap in referential continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal enclitics (object only (e.g. -ra, -ko))</td>
<td>Presupposed; Minimal gap in referential continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free pronoun ([\S 9.2])</td>
<td>Presupposed; implied discontinuity; Small gap to recover anaphoric antecedent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun (NP) + aas</td>
<td>New information; Indefinite - specific; Referent with catastrophic importance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun (NP) + definite deictic ([\S 10.2.1])</td>
<td>Presupposed; Varying gaps in recovering anaphoric antecedent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left-dislocation topicalisation ([\S 21.1.1])</td>
<td>Recovering information; Long gap in recovering antecedent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 78: Summary of patterns recovering anaphoric antecedent**

**23.2.2 Temporal continuity**

Narratives can be set in the remote past with bal-balak 'a long time ago, back in the olden days', indicating some kind of historicity. The time of a narrative may also be specified relative to another well-known event or era.

(25) **Bal-balak dīl, waktu Ternate dīl, geba-ro ...**  
RED-remote DIST time [Arab] Ternate DIST person-PL  
'A long time ago during [the reign of the Sultan] of Ternate [when they had jurisdiction over Buru], people ...'

When the setting of a narrative or an episode is narrowed down to a specific time frame, it is often done elaborately in a generic-to-specific set of appositions \([\S 23.1.2]\).
(26) Petu, tu dii, lea sia dii, torowahe dii, eta da suba
[SEQ with DIST sun same DIST hour DIST until 3s cross threshold

di was nanga-n, da kita waga saa.
DIST water mouth-GEN] 3s see boat one

'And then, at that time, that same day, that same hour, when she arrived at the mouth of the
river, she saw a boat'.

In the text referred to in the preceding section, no temporal setting is declared for the
narrative as a whole, leaving it, in a sense, timeless, reflecting the particular genre
(hakayate). The internal temporal structure follows the sequence of the telling. Moving from
one action to the next and one episode to the next is predominantly with petu 'then, so'
[§20.4.2], and in tail-head linkage using sepo 'finish' [§20.4.18]. Reduced or summary
adverbial clauses mapping time relationships between episodes or paragraphs were described
in §21.1.3.

Shifting to a different episode in which there is an unspecified interval of time passing
before resuming the story (from the context of the eatery to the context of a store, but before
the friends have purchased the hat) is handled with a summary time phrase.

(27) Petu lale-n sa dedu-k, da rogo di toko saa.
SEQ inside-GEN one repeat 3s enter DIST store [Mly] one

'And then another time, he [i.e. the main character] went in to a [certain] store.'

Specific concepts and phrases relating to time were described in detail in Chapter §16.

23.2.3 Location continuity

In some narratives, such as that discussed above in §23.2.1, the spatial setting of the
whole story is not specified, implying 'somewhere out there, anywhere', appropriate to its
genre (hakayate). In that particular story the internal settings remain vague 'an eatery → a
store → his house → out to sea → back to land → a village → another village → another village
→ several other villages → the first village'.

In other narratives, such as reporting a hunt, the location is an important part of the
development of the story and so almost every clause or sentence has a locative element in it as
the action follows the topography, usually in relation to definite named reference points. The
following set of examples are from a string of connected sentences in a single discourse.
(28) Yako tu Eli tu Nus tu Paris, labeto hari Sabtu, 
1s with Eli with Nus with Paris yesterday day [Mly] Saturday [Port] 
kam telo helu-k nami katué-n-o 
1pe three gird on-k 1pePOSS machete-GEN-PL 
pa kam iko gam di Ehu. REAL 1pe go ALL DIST (place) 

'I and Eli and Nus and Paris, yesterday, on Saturday the three [sic] of us strapped on our machetes and (result) we went to [the part of the jungle called] Ehu.'

(29) Kam iko hama tonal. 
1pe go seek cuscus 
'We went hunting cuscus.'

(30) Kam dena dæ mua, pa tu ya keha kau saa leuk, 
1pe arrive upstream jungle SEQ 1s ascend tree one precede 
pa a emata saa. 
ep-mata REAL 1s CAUS-die one 

'We arrived upstream there at the jungle, and then I climbed a tree first [before the others did], and I killed one [cuscus].' 

(31) Sepo, kam iko gam dae, Nus keha saa, kau saa, 
finish 1pe go ALL upstream Nus ascend one tree one 
pa da emata saa, tonal saa. 
ep-mata REAL 3s CAUS-die one cuscus one 

'After that, after we continued on upstream, Nus climbed one, a tree that is, and he killed one, a cuscus that is.\(^{14}\)' 

(32) Gam dæ deduk, Bu Eli keha (s) pa da rus.fae-k saa 
ALL upstream repeat elder brother [AM] Eli ascend REAL 3s jab.out-k one 
fi di embie-si pa data-k gam pa rahe, bu kam dapa-k moo 
LOC DIST nest-GEN REAL fall-k ALL down ground but 1pe get-k NEG 

'Going further upstream again, Old. Brother Eli climbed [a tree] and (result) he jabbed one [cuscus] out of its nest so that it fell to the ground, but we didn’t get it.\(^ {15}\)’

\(^{14}\)This text was recorded after only a couple of months of residence on Buru when my own speaking proficiency was at a very elementary stage. The two backtracking expansions represent the speaker’s attempt to accommodate to the hearer’s (i.e. my) deficient grasp of presupposed information. 

\(^{15}\)This discourse has already made explicit that the narrative is about hunting cuscus. Knowing this context, it is quite common for the locative goal of keha ‘ascend’ to be conventionally presupposed (i.e. ‘a tree’), and often not expressed at all.
(33) Gam dae deduk. Nus keha 'rnu saa, pa da rusa  
ALL upstream repeat Nus ascend tree one REAL 3s jab  
ton. botti-t saa fi di emhisi-n.  
cuscus. white-NOM one LOC DIST nest-GEN

'Going further one upstream, Nus climbed a tree, and he jabbed a white-cuscus from its nest.'

Notice in the examples above, the locational settings that are relevant to the development of the story (e.g. moving further upstream) tend to be foregrounded in the sentence, whereas locative elements that are only of immediate relevance to the specific clause (e.g. climbing a tree) tend to be backgrounded (or rather not foregrounded) in the clause as oblique arguments.

23.2.4 Action continuity

Active verbs [§7.2.2] carry the event-line forward and are the structural nuclei around which the participants and props revolve.

Events may be related to each other at varying scopes and through a variety of grammatical devices [detailed in Chapter 5.20]. Tightly integrated events may be expressed as serial verbs or serial clauses. Events within a single episode in a narrative may be related to each other through a variety of inter-clause relators [§20.4], through the use of post-verbal auxiliaries [§12.4], or through recapitulation :a tail-head linkage patterns [§21.1.2].

Different episodes in a narrative may also be linked through relators, or through recapitulation in summary adverbial clauses [§21.1.3].

23.5 Definiteness and referentiality

Nominals may be interpreted as proper, generic, indefinite (specific or non-specific), or definite through an interplay of various forms of marking and the inferential framework [§20.2.2]. An otherwise unmarked nominal is ambiguous in definiteness and referentiality.

(34) Da em-taku-k gebo.  
3s STAT-fear-k person

'He is afraid of people (in general).'  
'[generic; non-referential — likely interpretation]

'He is afraid of (certain) people.'  
'[generic; referential — less likely]

'He is afraid of a (certain) person.'  
'[indefinite; specific (referential) — likely]

'He is afraid of a person (any person).'  
'[indefinite; non-specific — less likely]
By marking a noun as plural, the scope of possible interpretations is narrowed. In the example below, the generic-plural is the more likely interpretation unless the speech context indicates otherwise.

(35)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da em-taku-}k & \quad \text{geba-}ro, \\
3s & \quad \text{STAT-fear-}k \quad \text{person-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is afraid of people (in general).' [generic; non-referential \(\rightarrow\) likely]  
'He is afraid of (certain) people.' [plural; referential]

The use of the indefinite deictic ssa 'one' is ambiguous as to whether the referent is specific or non-specific. It further implies that this is newly asserted information, and that the speaker does not assume the hearer knows the identity of the referent.

(36)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da em-taku-}k & \quad \text{geba ssa,} \\
3s & \quad \text{STAT-fear-}k \quad \text{person one}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is afraid of someone (a certain person).' [indefinite; specific (referential)]  
'He is afraid of someone (any person).' [indefinite; non-specific]

Use of any of the definite deictics \([\S10.1]\) following the head noun, of course, marks the nominal as definite. It also indicates that the speaker assumes the identity of the referent is known to the addressee either from the preceding discourse or known uncontroversially from the context.

(37)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da em-taku-}k & \quad \text{geba dili.} \\
3s & \quad \text{STAT-fear-}k \quad \text{person DIST}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is afraid of that person.' [definite; referential; anaphoric or presupposed]

(38)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da em-taku-}k & \quad \text{geba aki.} \\
3s & \quad \text{STAT-fear-}k \quad \text{person acr-as}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is afraid of that person (over there).' [definite; referential; anaphoric or presupposed]

The use of a deictic preceding a nominal (i.e. functioning as a locative preposition \([\S13.2.1.3]\)) also marks the nominal as definite, but does not imply that the identity of the referent is anaphorically retrievable or otherwise assumed to be known.

(39)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da iko} & \quad \text{di huma.} \\
3s & \quad \text{go DIST house}
\end{align*}
\]

'He went to the house (there).' [definite; not anaphoric]

(40)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da iko} & \quad \text{sak huma.} \\
3s & \quad \text{up house}
\end{align*}
\]

'He went to the house (up there).' [definite; not anaphoric]
To make a locative argument both definite and anaphorically retrievable (presupposed identity) requires both a preceding and a following deictic.\(^{16}\)

(41) **Da iko** sak huma dii.
3s go up house DIST

'He went to that house (up there).'
[definite; anaphorically retrievable]

An incorporated nominal [§12.3.4] is generic and non-referential. It cannot be marked as definite by taking a deictic.

(42) **Da loa** nei-t.
3s do [Lisela] bellows-NOM

'He is working (the) bellows.'
[ambiguous: definite or generic]

(43) **ra loa** nei-t dii.
3s do [Lisela] bellows-NOM DIST

'He is working those bellows.'
[definite; referential; anaphoric]

(44) **Da loa** nei-k.
3s do [Lisela] bellows-k

'He is bellows-working.'
[incorporated; generic; non-referential]

A named nominal is definite and referential.

(45) **Da em-taku-k** Joni.
3s STAT-fear-k (name)

'He is afraid of Joni.'
[definite; referential]

A named nominal can be tagged contrastively as one grounded anaphorically in discourse by the addition of a definite deictic. Such a combination usually implies a significant gap in the anaphoric retrieval.

(46) **Da em-taku-k** Joni dii.
3s STAT-fear-k (name) DIST

'He is afraid of that Joni.'
[definite; referential; anaphoric]

Following a significant gap in the referential continuity, a definite and anaphoric (previously established) referent is more naturally brought back into the text with a left-dislocation construction [§21.1.1.1].

(47) **Joni** dii. do em-taku-k ringe.
(nam-\(\ddot{\text{n}}\) DIST 3s STAT-fear-k 3s

'What Joni [that we are reintroducing from what was said earlier], he [the same subject as in the previous clauses] is afraid of him; [that is, Joni].'

\(^{16}\)Both may be the same, or one may be general and the other specific [§10.1] in either order.
As described in §11.6, many place names are conventionalised descriptive phrases. Proper names of this sort tend to be (at least partially) criticised (§5.4). The tighter phonological integration has the effect of interpreting the whole as a unit that is assumed to be part of the general cultural knowledge. The modifiers are semantically bleached in that their meaning is not being newly asserted, but rather is felt to be presupposed, and even insignificant other than to identify the referent in contrast with others of a similar type. The uncriticised counterpart tends to be asserted (predicated) information, and not presupposed.\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{align*}
(48) & \text{ wa} \text{ haa } & \text{ water big } & \text{ [descriptive; asserted; predicated]} \\
& \text{'the big river'} & \text{'the wide river'} & \text{'the great river'} & \text{'the loud river'} \\
\text{ Wa.Haa} & \text{ water.big } & \text{ 'Loud Water' (name of a stream and a village by that stream)} \\
\text{ wa} \text{ em-kana } & \text{ water STAT-strong } & \text{ [descriptive; asserted; predicated]} \\
& \text{'the forceful river'} \\
\text{ Wa.m-kana} & \text{ water 'TAT-strong } & \text{ [generally known referent; presupposed]} \\
& \text{'Strong Water' (name of a river and a village by that stream)} \\
\end{align*}

A similar dynamic is found with other criticised nominals that are not proper names. The criticised forms indicate something that is conceived of as a unit that is assumed to be part of the general cultural knowledge, and whose individual parts are semantically bleached. The uncriticised forms, on the other hand, are asserted, descriptive information.

\begin{align*}
(50) & \text{ Da emata tonal boti-t saa. } & \text{ ep-mata } & \text{ [descriptive; asserted]} \\
& \text{ 3s CAUS-die cuscus white-NOM one } & \text{ 'He killed a white cuscus.' } \\
\text{ Da emata ton boti-t saa. } & \text{ ep-mata } & \text{ [generally known type; presupposed]} \\
& \text{ 3s CAUS-die cuscus.white-NOM one } & \text{ 'He killed a white-cuscus (a particular species of that name).'} \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{17}Givón (1990:474) observes a similar phenomenon in Spanish marked by a difference in the order of the modifier (e.g. \textit{aires buenos} 'good winds' [descriptive; restrictive]; \textit{Buenos Aires} 'city name' [generally known; non-restrictive]). With proper names of established referents in English, modifiers are similarly perceived differently than when those modifiers are asserted descriptively. Contrast, for example, the use of \textit{new} in \textit{new car} (semantically rich) versus \textit{New York} (semantically bleached).
(51) Da paha tuba haa-t dii. [descriptive; asserted]
    3s hit drum big-NOM DIST
    'He was beating that big drum.'

    Da paha tuba haa-t dii. [generally known type; presupposed]
    3s hit drum big-NOM DIST
    'He was beating that big-drum (a particular class of drum by that name).'

The uncliticised forms indicating asserted descriptive information may take
intensifying adverbial modifications.\textsuperscript{18}

(52) Da emata tonal boti boti saa. [descriptive; asserted]
    ep-mata
    3s CAUS-die cuscus RED-white one
    'He killed a very white cuscus.'

The cliticised forms, on the other hand, may only take intensifying adverbial
modifications if it is predicated as a separate assertion.

(53) Da emata ton boti-t sag. tu. da boti tirin.
    ep-mata
    3s CAUS-die cuscus white-NOM one with 3s white EMPH
    'He killed a white-cuscus (a particular species of that name), and it was extremely white.'

\textsuperscript{18}Givón (1990:474) observes a similar phenomenon in Spanish.
Epilogue
The linguistic classification of Buru

In this chapter I briefly review the claims that there is a broader subgrouping of Austronesian languages in eastern Indonesia to which Buru is said to belong, and present a critical evaluation of studies that have attempted to classify Buru with other languages of Central Maluku.

Claims about the languages of eastern Indonesia

There has been a long-standing debate over how the languages of eastern Indonesia fit into the larger picture of Austronesian [AN] languages. Blust (1978) convincingly grouped the AN languages of south Halmahera with the Oceanic languages to the east. Prior to Blust (1990) and subsequently C. Grimes (1991b) the debate over the place of the rest of the AN languages south and east of Sulawesi has tended to be peripheral to broader issues and based on very little data. The history of the study and classification of the AN languages of eastern Indonesia is detailed in C. Grimes (1991b). A few points are summarised here.

As early as 1885, the naturalist Henry Forbes (1885:392) referred to a then current eastward-looking hypothesis that Buru was "the starting point of the final dispersion of the autochthones of the archipelago, the Mahori (or Polynesian) races, eastward to their Pacific homes."

Prior to Blust (1990), the justification for the grouping of languages we now refer to as Central Malayo-Polynesian [CMP] is based primarily on a tradition of a series of observations and assumptions going back at least as far as Brandes (1884), Jonker (1906, 1911, 1914), Friederici (1913), Esser (1938), etc. (many referring to each other) that the languages of the Lesser Sundas and Maluku are somehow different (from what are now referred to as Western Malayo-Polynesian [WMP] languages and Oceanic [OC] languages), but nobody spelled out how they are different in a way that stands up to scrutiny.
Map 11: Distribution of CMP languages in eastern Indonesia

Jonker (1896, 1906), Esser (1938), and Capell (1943-44) were among the first to suggest that there might be a distinct subgroup of Austronesian languages whose scope included the languages of Timor and surrounding islands including those of central Maluku. Jonker, followed by Esser, did not include the so-called Bima-Sumba languages with the group that included the languages of Timor and central Maluku.

In a survey of the languages of Timor, Capell (1943-44/13:194; 1943-44/15:20) concurred with Friederici (1913) that the Timor and Moluccan languages group with the languages of the eastern Austronesian area, but acknowledged (1943-44/14:311) that others (e.g. Brandstetter and Dempwolff) grouped them with the western languages. Dyen (1965), Haudricourt (1965) and Dahl (1976) appear to include the languages of Maluku (eastern Indonesia) with the AN languages to the west. Blust (1974, 1978, 1990) clearly groups what he calls Central Malayo-Polynesian [CMP] languages with the east under the node he calls Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian [CEMP]. Kern (1889, 1906) suggested the languages of Maluku might be transitional between the east and the west.

A "reverse genitive" was noted by Van Hoëvell (1877) for languages of Ambon-Lease. Buru is also one of those languages having a "reverse genitive" [§14.2].

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Linguistic Classification

(1) Malay
   air  mata
   water  eye
   [western Indonesian languages]

Buru
   rama-n  wae-n
   eye-GEN  water-GEN
   'tear (from an eye)'

(2) Malay
   mata  air
   eye  water
   [western Indonesian languages]

Buru
   wae  rama-n
   water  eye-GEN
   [eastern Indonesian languages]

'spring (of water)'

Brandes (1884) used the word order of the genitive construction to divide Malayo-Polynesian languages into west and east (a line between Sulawesi and Maluku and through Flores is known as the 'Brandes line'). Friederici (1913) supported its relevance for classification. Jonker (1914) rejected Brandes' and Friederici's use of word order as a basis for subgrouping.\(^1\) Cowan (1951-52) and Capell (1943-44) continued to refer to the reversed order of the genitive construction in relation to subgrouping, although the latter mentions it with reservation.

CMP [with that label] as a subgroup within Austronesian is based on Blust (1974, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1990). It is roughly equivalent to Esser's (1938) Ambon-Timor Group but includes also Esser's Bima-Sumba Group and Sula-Bacan Group (minus Bacan). Dyen (1965) also proposed a "Moluccan Linkage" on the basis of his lexicostatistical calculations encompassing approximately the same scope as CMP.

A detailed evaluation of Blust's (1990) arguments for CEMP and CMP is beyond the scope of this present study, but is presented in C. Grimes (1991b). The following summarises my evaluation of Blust's evidence from C. Grimes (1991b): There are a number of new words (lexical innovations) or new uses of words (semantic innovations), and morphological patterns that are characteristic of languages in eastern Indonesia (and AN languages further east). Some of the changes listed by Blust as distinguishing CEMP from WMP also occur in Sulawesi languages (outside the purported CE-MP area), but, there is a clustering of a few innovations that mark off Blust's CEMP languages (i.e. CMP, South Halmahera-West New Guinea, Oceanic) from the languages to the west. However, very few of those innovations attributed to languages in the CMP region are replacement innovations across the set of

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\(^1\) The substance of Jonker's objection is not entirely clear, although there are languages (such as Nage-Keo in central Flores, Greg Forth, personal communication) that have alternate ordering in the genitive construction.

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languages of the putative CMP subgroup. They occur sporadically in some languages of the region without consistently replacing older usages (reconstructed for PMP) in all languages.

A similarly fuzzy picture emerges setting off CMP languages within CEMP. No single innovation is diagnostic for subgrouping. There are non-coinciding, non-replacement innovations spreading over the region encompassing the languages assigned by Blust to CMP that are purported to distinguish those languages from EMP languages.

Buru shares some of the innovations listed by Blust (1990) as characterising CMP languages, but its inclusion within CMP is primarily by virtue of its location.

Subgrouping within CMP

First-order divisions within CMP have not been studied or justified on a uniform basis. There have been regional internal classifications within the area (e.g. Stresemann 1927 for much of central Maluku; Capell 1943-44 for the Timor area; Chlenov 1978, 1980 for the languages of Maluku; Collins 1981 for west central Maluku; Collins 1982 for central and southern Maluku; Collins 1983 for central Maluku; Collins 1986 for east Seram; Hughes 1987 for southeast Maluku; Taber 1990 for southwest Maluku; Blust 1990 for North Bomberai languages and a purported link between those and the languages of Tanimbar). But it remains unclear how language groupings within the CMP area link with each other and how they relate to the purported higher-level CMP subgroup.

The situation is rather similar in regard to the classification of Buru itself. There is a consensus in the literature that Buru ought to belong with the other languages of central Maluku (which may or may not include the languages of Sula). However, the basis for that inclusion has not been satisfactorily demonstrated. Within the literature subgrouping the central Moluccan languages, there is no consensus about how Buru relates to the languages around it, as we shall see in the following section.

Placing Buru with other languages of central Maluku

The German ornithologist-linguist Erwin Stresemann published a grammar and vocabulary of Paulohi (1918), a language of south central Seram now nearly extinct. In that study he also compared data from Buru, Ambon, and other languages of Seram. After working with Jonker and Dempwolff in Germany, Stresemann published a more rigorous comparative study (1927) in which he listed phonological and morphological criteria arguing

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2: For a much more detailed and broader scoped discussion of the classification of the languages of central Maluku, see Collins (1985).
for a distinct subgroup of most of the languages of central Maluku, whose parent language he
called 'Ur-Ambon' [hereafter PAMS for Proto-Ambones-Stresemann] as a distinct subgroup
of PMP, and he also reconstructed a partial lexicon for PAMS. In the process he also made
numerous lexical reconstructions for PMP (see Wurm & Wilson 1975 PANS (for 'Proto
Austronesian Stresemann')). Collins (1983:4) observes that Stresemann's study "is one of the
earliest systematic attempts at subgrouping in the [Austronesian] family."

Stresemann divided Ur-Ambon into Sub-Buru [SB], Sub-Ambon [SA] and Sub-Seran
[SS]. He grouped Sub-Buru with Sub-Ambon, separate from Sub-Seran.

Map 12: Stresemann's (1927) divisions of the languages of central Maluku (map from
Collins 1983:13)

Stresemann (1927:6ff.) lists the innovations he believed distinguish PAMS from
PMP. I comment on their validity in general with special reference to Buru evidence.

1) PMP *i *i *r merge as PAMS *i. While Kayeli data support the putative merger, the
Buru data do not. PMP *i > Buru /i/, PMP *j > Buru /d/, PMP *r > Buru /d/.
This purported merger is also rejected by Blust (1981:27).

---

3 The subgroup represented by Stresemann's 'Ur-Ambon' [roughly 'Proto-Central Maluku'] specifically excludes
the languages of the Sula islands and parts of eastern Seram. Sub-Buru includes Kayeli, Ambelau, Tifu (Masarat
dialect?) and 'Kayeli Alfuren' (Wae Sama dialect?). See Wurm & Wilson (1975) for part of the PAMS lexicon.
4 The regional pronunciation for the island continues to be ['serang]. Final nasals in Portuguese are written
orthographically with /m/ (e.g. Belem [be'lem]) yielding the common spellings of Ceram/Seram. These have
become the official spellings through the centuries.
5 Stresemann follows Dempwolff's notation for UAN. I have converted his symbols to Dyen's notation for ease of
comparison with the recent AN literature.

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2) PMP *d/*D *z/*z [Stressemann’s *d’d], serve as PAMS *d. For Buru it is possibly correct that PMP *d and *D have merged (becoming Buru /l/, although *D periodically surfaces as /l/; e.g. PMP *Datuq > latu ‘king’ (probable loan), *Dalem > lale-n ‘inside’). But the outcome of PMP *z/Z (which Dyen split into separate phonemes) is more problematic. *z/Z (or *z and *Z) yield neither /l/ nor /l/ in Buru which means that the could not have merged with PAMS *d/*D. PMP *z/Z became Buru /d/ word initially and were lost word medially (e.g. *zalan ‘path’ > data ‘lost one’s way’; *zawa ‘daybreak, dawn’ > dawa ‘bright’; *taZem ‘sharp’ > em-tae ‘sharp’; *qaZay ‘jaw’ > aa-n ‘jaw’).

3) PMP *n/*I merge as PAMS *n.7 This merger occurs in Buru.

4) PMP *q is lost in PAMS.8 This is correct for Buru, but as Collins (1983) has demonstrated, it is incorrect for the languages of central Maluku as a whole.

5) PMP verb-final consonants are lost in PAMS. For Buru all PMP final consonants are lost on all verbs with possible sporadic retentions on some nouns (cf. C. Grimes 1991a).

6) PMP noun-final *p and *k merge as PAMS *7. For Buru historical final consonants were lost with only sporadic retentions, as mentioned above. This does not discount Stressemann’s claim, but the area-wide behaviour of final consonants (cf. Jonker 1906, C. Grimes 1991a) indicates the behaviour of word-final consonants in many of these languages is morphological rather than phonological (e.g. *CVCVC-C1V > CVVC-C1).

7) Loss of other PMP noun-final consonants except for *l/*R. There are a few sporadic retentions of final *l in Buru (e.g. *kawil > kawil ‘fish hook’). Kayeli retains both final *l and *R as /l#/1, (e.g. *waSeR > Kayeli wael ‘water’; *gapaR > Kayeli ahul ‘lime’). Buru does not retain final *l or *R (e.g. *waSeR > Buru wae ‘water’; *gapaR > Buru apa ‘lime’), except in loans. Final *t may be sporadically retained on

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6The reconstruction of these proto-phonemes is problematic (see Ross (1991, and in press)) and this is further compounded by inconsistent reconstructions in the literature (e.g. *zalan/*Zalan/*t/Zalan, *tuZuk/*tuzuk/*tuZuk/*tu(n:),). If PMP *z and *Z had indeed merged to a single phoneme at the PAMS level, then the pattern they show is that it became /d/ word initially and was lost word medially (except medial *n/z may have yielded /d/). If they remained separate, then PMP *z became Buru /d/, and *Z was lost.

7Collins (1983:12) incorrectly lists Stressemann’s nasal merger as a merger of PAN *ng and *n. The mistake is probably a typo.

8Collins (1983:12) and Blust (1981:26) incorrectly list a loss of PAN *S. Stressemann (1927:74) was clearly referring to what we now symbolise as *q as he gives forms such as PMP *hatay [*qate] ‘liver’ and *hañud [*qañud] ‘water current’.
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a few items that cannot be shown to have a morphological /-t -n/ paradigm alternation (e.g. PAN *SabaRat > Buru fahat 'west').

8) Merger of PMP nasal-consonant clusters *mp and *mb as PAMS *b.9 While some of the data from Buru may reflect this merger, an equal amount does not (e.g. PMP *umpu > Buru opo 'grandparent, grandchild', but PMP *t-umpu > Buru tobo-n 'master, lord'). The reconstruction of medial nasals is problematic in general and so the issue here is far more complex than a simple merger (cf. Ross (1991, and in press), C. Grimes (1991b)).

9) Merger of PMP *nd *nD *n/ *nZ, *ni *nt *ns to PAMS *D.10 This merger must be rejected out of hand, as Buru shows /t d r s/ for the very items listed by Stresemann to support the merger (1927:39ff.).

10) PMP *ngk *nge merge as PAMS *g.11 Like the suggested merger of *mp with *mb, the issue of nasal-consonant clusters is broader and more complex as noted earlier. The Buru data often do not reflect this merger.

11) PMP diphthongs *aw *aw merge as PAMS *a. For Buru this is correct. Blust (1990) notes a much broader pattern of 'glide truncation' for CMP languages. The very different behaviour of the diphthongs was one of Stresemann's reasons for excluding the Sula languages from his Ur-Ambon subgroup.

12) PMP diphthongs *uy becomes PAMS *u. PMP *uy reflects a split in the Buru data yielding both /u/ and /a/. PMP *u similarly splits to /u/ and /a/12

13) PAMS nouns are of two types, one taking prefixed possessive pronouns and the other, suffixed possessive pronouns. No such distinction exists synchronically in Buru [see Chapter §14]. Diachronically, however, such a distinction may have been made at an earlier stage.

14) PAMS nouns are pluralised with a suffixed plural marker. This occurs in Buru with the plural marker /-to/.

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9 Collins (1983:12) lists Stresemann's merger as yielding *mb. Stresemann lists it as *b.
10 Collins (1983:12) lists Stresemann's merger as yielding *n D. Stresemann gives it as *D (retroflex D).
11 Collins (1983:12) lists Stresemann's merger as yielding *ngk. Stresemann lists it as *g.
12 For example, PMP *babuy > felu 'pig', but PMP *nanguy 'swim' > Buru (Masarote) nango 'wade'. PMP *balu > felu 'person whose spouse has died', but PAN *ma-Silu > mifo 'tart'.
15) **There is verbal conjugation for person with the fusion of frozen subject prefixes with root-initial sounds.** No synchronic evidence attesting this final claim of Stresemann's exists in Buru.

To summarise those innovations which Stresemann claims delineate the languages of central Maluku as a subgroup, and which can be readily accepted as occurring in Buru are: merger of PMP *d with *D (becoming Buru /r/, although there are problematic exceptions); merger of PMP *n with *ŋ (although the existence of *ŋ as a historical phoneme is in question (Ross (1991))); loss of PMP *q; merger of PMP *aw *ay and *a to PAMS *a; and plural marking of nouns by a postposed plural marker (Buru -re).

However, loss of PMP *q is discarded by Collins (1983) because the loss is represented in only some of the languages of central Maluku. Blust (1990) further demonstrates that the truncation of the 'diphthongs' is much more widespread among the languages of eastern Indonesia, and thus should not be considered as diagnostic for subtyping within the languages of that region. We thus have a merger of *d and *D, which is widespread within PMP and within other areas within the CMP region; a merger of *n with *ŋ, a merger that is broader than the languages of central Maluku; and the plural marking of nouns, which also occurs in the languages of southern Maluku (e.g. Selaru -re).

So from Stresemann's otherwise very good work, we have no evidence for a subgroup of central Moluccan languages that withstands scrutiny, and thus no sound basis from his work for including Buru within such a group.

In contrast with Stresemann (1927), Collins (1981, 1982, 1983) argues for the inclusion of Buru within Proto West Central Maluku (PWCM) which includes Buru, the languages of Sula, and Ambelau. He places Kayeli under Proto East Central Maluku (PECM) with the languages of Ambon and Seram.
Figure 79: Collins' (1981, 1983) classification of the languages of central Maluku

What follows here is a critical evaluation of the observations noted in Collins (1981) that have not already been addressed above. Collins notes that phonologically *p, *t, *k, *j all behave in parallel ways root-finally in Buru-Sula-Taliabo.13 I have demonstrated (C. Grimes 1991a) that what is happening at the end of words is morphological, rather than phonological (other than the loss of historical final consonants). Furthermore, the morphemes that show up as -t-n [ f ] in Buru show up as -tl/-te -nl/-ne in Kayeli, Ambelau and some of the languages of Seram, as -c/-lc -n/-ln in the languages of Sula, and in Roti as -k/-n (cf. Jonker 1906, Fox and Grimes (in press)), indicating the morphological pattern is widespread and not exclusive to Buru, Sula and Ambelau.

Collins (1981:36) notes that Buru and Sula both follow the strategy of 'minus-two' and 'minus-one' for the numerals 'eight' and 'nine' (with Taliabo retaining walu) while other languages in the area retain reflexes of PAN *walu 'eight' and *siwa 'nine'. However, both strategies are also found in languages of Sulawesi (cf. Grimes & Grimes 1987) and are rejected here as being attributable to contact and thus not diagnostic for subgrouping.

Collins (1981:34-35) observes that "all members of Buru-Sula-Taliabo [share] the loss of *q in all positions." But elsewhere (Collins 1983) he demonstrates that *q is also lost in the nearby West Hoamoal languages and in Proto-Alune, both in adjacent west Seram. He notes further (1983:133) that the loss of *q in Three Rivers and Proto-Piru Bay has been a "late change" and further admits that "innovations by loss...are not diagnostic".

---

13He says, for example, that in Buru *p, *t, *k, *j > /l̠/ /r̠/. This is incorrect, as demonstrated in C. Grimes (1991a).
In the 1981 article Collins also observes *differences* between Buru and the languages of Sula in phonological developments relevant to subgrouping. *ngk and *ngg (he claims) merged in Buru, but not in Sula. *y was lost in Buru but retained in Sula. He explores the different behaviour of diphthongs between Buru and Sula and concludes (1981:35) the different diphthong behaviour "points against a special connection between Buru and Sula [emphasis mine]", but nevertheless argues for precisely such a connection. I note below some additional differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>BURU</th>
<th>SULA LGS.</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sia</td>
<td>*sia</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>'one' [metathesis] Not exclusive (cf. Timor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*h</td>
<td>*h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>φ, (h-Tal.)</td>
<td>Not exclusive (cf. Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>*f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Not exclusive (cf. Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*φ</td>
<td>*φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>Not exclusive (Seram, etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma-b/*ma-p</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Not exclusive (cf. Timor)</td>
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<td><strong>DIFFERENT</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>*φ</td>
<td>separate</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>h (Soboyo)merge</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y</td>
<td>*y</td>
<td>y, i, y</td>
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<td>Only partial correlation</td>
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<td>*z</td>
<td>d, y</td>
<td>d, y</td>
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<td>elsewhere</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e-Soboyo, e-Talisbo</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e, i, o</td>
<td>e-Soboyo/Talibo</td>
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<td>i, (o)</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>e (Talisbo)</td>
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<td>h, i</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Sutiv</td>
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<td>*ma-</td>
<td>em-</td>
<td>ma-mang-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ep-</td>
<td>ep-</td>
<td>ba-bai-</td>
<td>'coconut'</td>
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<td>*tiliR</td>
<td>*tiliR</td>
<td>nwe</td>
<td>nui</td>
<td>(Talibo &amp; Mangole)</td>
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<td>pre-posed</td>
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<td>2s free pron.</td>
<td></td>
<td>kae</td>
<td>mon()</td>
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</table>

Figure 80: Summary of similarities and differences between Buru and Sula languages

Chlenov (1969) and (1976) are lexicostatistical studies of the languages in the area covered by Stresemann (1927). In other papers, Chlenov (1978, 1980), looks at 'cultural' vocabulary dividing AN languages of Maluku into 1) South Halmahera, 2) Aru, and 3) Southern Maluku (i.e. Central & South, excluding Aru), but the substantive basis for his divisions is elusive. In Chlenov's scheme Buru belongs to the third grouping.

Blust (1981) suggested a close connection between Buru and Soboyo, a language of the nearby Sula Islands to the north, thus calling into question Stresemann's (1927) exclusion of the Sula languages from a subgroup purported to include Buru. Blust (p.25) says "it is
simplest to assume" Buru and Soboyo derived from a "common ancestor" and goes on to suggest that link was within a subgroup that includes most of the languages of central Maluku, rather than external to that group.

In the foregoing section we have assumed that Soboyo and Buruese share a close subgrouping relationship, and that at a slightly higher level of inclusion these languages probably belong to Stresemann's (1927) 'Ambon' group. [Emphasis mine.]

Neither Blust (1981) nor Collins (1981, 1982, 1983) mention the large presence of Sula speakers along the north coast of Buru (my estimates are 12,500 Sula speakers in north Buru) far outnumbering the indigenous Buru population in the area. Some Sula immigrants carefully keep track of their presence on Buru going back ten generations and more. Furthermore, Sula is a major source for lexical borrowing (along with Malay and Kayeli) into the Lisela dialect of the Buru language. Shared lexical isoglosses purported to be exclusive to Buru and Sula are likely due to contact rather than to inherited vocabulary. For example, both language areas show a metathesis of *isi 'one' to sis/hia 'one'. Excluding contact, however, metathesis is common to CMP languages (C. Grimes 1991b). Blust also has considerable discussion of Buru ngihu- 'mucus' as a metathesized reflex of PAN *Singus 'mucus', but rejects the form as not inherited in Buru because of an incorrect sound correspondence (*S > /h/).

A critical examination of Blust (1981) leaves us with the following information relevant to the present discussion: In both Buru and Soboyo *R > h 14 and *b > f 15 (ignoring the behaviour of *b in nasal-consonant clusters and under metathesis). Collins (1981:35) further notes that *R > h distinguishes Proto-West Central Maluku from Proto-East Central Maluku (discussed above). While these claims are true, they are by no means exclusive to Buru and Sula and may also be found in other areas within CMP that show other structural and phonological similarities with Buru (e.g. Timor, Roti, Wetar).

Lexical differences are so extensive that comparison of four Buru dialects with Sula (Fagudu) and Mangole yields a range of only 30-35% true cognate similarity on a modified Swadesh 200-item word list after accounting for loans and sound correspondences. Buru with Kayeli, on the other hand, ranges from 46-49% -- a statistically significant difference suggesting a closer relationship between Buru with Kayeli than Buru with Sula.16 Buru averages 43% cognate with Ambelau.

---

14In Sula (all dialects) and Mangole *R is regularly lost, but in Tallabo (including Soboyo) it is retained as /h/.
15*b > f is not shared by Ambelau a language Collins (1981) assigns to the same subgroup.
16See Simons (1977) for an explanation of what differences are statistically significant in lexicostatistics and what differences are not.

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To summarise, Stresemann grouped Buru with the languages of Ambon and west Seram, but separate from Sula. Collins and Blust, on the other hand, argue for a closer connection between Buru and Sula than between Buru and the languages of Ambon and west Seram. But we are forced, to reject the connection of Buru with Sula, at least on the grounds upon which the connection has been argued.\footnote{The progression of the argumentation shows that an assumption of a connection somehow developed in a proven 'subgroup'. Blust (1981:25) says, 'In the foregoing section we have assumed that Soboyo and Buruese share a close subgrouping relationship, and that at a slightly higher level of inclusion these languages belong to Stresemann's (1927) 'Ambon' group.' [Emphasis mine]. Collins (1981:31), in turn, refers to Blust for the inclusion of Sula with Buru, saying, 'Fortgen's work, apparently unknown to Stresemann, and Devin's recent work have enabled R.A. Blust, this volume, to establish the close connection between Buru and Soboyo and to suggest their joint inclusion in a revised version of "Ur-Ambon". [Emphasis mine]. Collins (1982:78) then appeals to one earlier work, saying, "Blust (1981) has demonstrated the close relationship of Soboyo, a dialect of Tallabu, to Buru in Central Maluku. Collins (1981) further proved that the language of Sanana (Sula and Mangoli) belongs in the same subgroup." [Emphasis mine]. Blust (1990) does not deal with the position of Buru within CMP, other than to assume the correctness of the Buru-Sula connection argued for in the earlier papers cited above.} This leaves us with Buru probably belonging with the other languages of central Maluku (which may or may not include the languages of Sula - a question I prefer to leave open for now). However, the criteria for establishing the languages of central Maluku as a genetic subgroup have not so far been convincingly demonstrated either.\footnote{At this point legitimate phonological, morphological and lexical arguments could be put forward showing similarities between Buru and 1) the languages of Ambon and west Seram, 2) the languages of Sula, 3) the languages of Timor and Roti. But to demonstrate that Buru is genetically closer to one group of languages requires a broader database of descriptions than we have at present as well as deeper comparative and historical work.}

***************

Esnegen baa dita.

'That is the extent of what I have to say on these matters now.'

\footnotetext{506 C.Grimes}
Appendix A:
Contrastive vocabulary among Buru dialects

The vocabulary presented in this appendix highlights lexical differences between Buru dialects. It should be noted, however that Buru dialects share much of their vocabulary. The list below exemplifies differences in a range of form classes, including concrete nouns, abstract nominals, non-active verbs, active verbs, prepositions and deictics.

For the Rana dialect two forms are often cited below. In general, the Rana form mirroring the Masarete form is used by those in the southern part of the Rana-speaking area and by those at the lake who are oriented to the south through marriage alliances or for economic reasons. The Rana form mirroring the Lisela form is used by those in the northern part of the Rana-speaking area and those who have social or economic orientation to the north. Within the Rana region, however, both forms are generally known.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Masarete</th>
<th>Rana</th>
<th>Lisela</th>
<th>Wae Sama</th>
</tr>
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<td>ena (sea)</td>
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<td>ena</td>
<td>ena</td>
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<td>kaku/fuke</td>
<td>fude</td>
<td>fuke</td>
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<td>bana</td>
<td>bana</td>
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507
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<td>prepa</td>
<td>prepa</td>
<td>bina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>caan</td>
<td>caan</td>
<td>prengi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remember</td>
<td>nanbeta</td>
<td>nanbeta</td>
<td>haalk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunger</td>
<td>gliada</td>
<td>gliada</td>
<td>emlapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn/tr</td>
<td>pefa</td>
<td>pefa</td>
<td>eligi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>katanan</td>
<td>katanan</td>
<td>irot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machete</td>
<td>katuen</td>
<td>katuen</td>
<td>todo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>wagun</td>
<td>wagun</td>
<td>ete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>door</td>
<td>subu</td>
<td>subu</td>
<td>sufen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thatch</td>
<td>atat</td>
<td>atat</td>
<td>abat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citrus</td>
<td>puhat</td>
<td>puhat</td>
<td>hoel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>mangkau</td>
<td>[kaoblit]</td>
<td>[kaoblit]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam</td>
<td>mangat</td>
<td>[oblit]</td>
<td>[oblit]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nettle</td>
<td>pelat</td>
<td>pelat</td>
<td>saha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>koko</td>
<td>koko</td>
<td>gawan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposition</td>
<td>gam/fl</td>
<td>gam/fl</td>
<td>fa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>fl sake</td>
<td>fl sake</td>
<td>fa rates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>fl dil</td>
<td>fl dil</td>
<td>fl dil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Grimes
Appendix B:

Historical sound correspondences

This appendix briefly summarizes historical sound correspondences between PMP and Buru. Supporting examples are found in Appendix C. With the exception of a few sporadic retentions of final *n#, *t# and *l#, all final consonants have been lost in inherited vocabulary. In all other cases, a final consonant in Buru is either a productive morpheme (-t, -n, -k), a historically frozen morpheme (-q), or a loan word.

Vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i / y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u [unconditioned split]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs: Historical diphthongs undergo a pattern of glide truncation common to languages in the region (cf. Blust 1990). The behaviour of historical diphthongs for Buru is quite different than for Sula [see §Epilogue].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-iw</td>
<td>i [baliw &gt; in-fali-n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ey</td>
<td>u [kaiw &gt; *kayu &gt; kau]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-aw</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-uy</td>
<td>u [unconditioned split]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semivowels: PMP *y is lost in Buru, and the Buru /y/ arises from a reassigning at the CV-tier of historical *i in initial *#IV environments from a vowel to a consonant (e.g. *i-aku > yako).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*y</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Labials:** With the exception of the behaviour of labials in the environment of nasals (discussed in a separate section below) the prototypical correspondences for labials are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>/split/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence for the behaviour of *b under metathesis is preliminary, but consistent.

(1) *buqaya ubaa 'crocodile'  
    *huab g-uba 'steam, aromatic vapour'

Notice also metathesis of a similar CV structure in the following example, involving a high vowel in a sequence of vowels, and a labial:

(2) *hiup opi 'blow'

**Apicals and laminals:** The behaviour of nasal + stops is discussed in a later section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>/split?/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*D</td>
<td>/l/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*z/Z</td>
<td>/d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*j</td>
<td>/split/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*R</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*r</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dorsal stops:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1See Wolff 1983.
Nasals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMP</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋ₂</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{merger} \]

Nasal + stop clusters: Historical nasal-consonant clusters are problematic on several fronts. They result from several environments, including, among others, 1) the presence of the historical stative prefix *ma-, 2) reduplication of historical monosyllables (*CVN-CVN), 3) historical infixes (*C-VN-VCV). The reconstruction of medial homorganic nasal-consonant clusters at the level of PMP is highly problematic (Bob Blust, personal communication; Malcolm Ross, personal communication). For the languages in eastern Indonesia, all nasal-consonant clusters must be examined language-by-language, and item-by-item, and no patterns have yet been demonstrated that are consistent across languages (cf. C. Grimes 1991b). Thus, for example, for items in which one would tend to posit a historical stative *ma-, some languages reflect its presence, and some its absence. Furthermore, stative items within a single language sometimes reflect its presence and sometimes it absence. Thus, until further work has been done for the region as a whole, one is left with the methodologically less-than-satisfactory solution of positing a nasal at a historically intermediate stage for only those items that reflect different sound correspondences to those described above, language-by-language. These patterns are listed provisionally for Buru below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-Buru</th>
<th>Buru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>**ma-p</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ma-b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***mp-</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***mb-</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***nt-</td>
<td>t?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***nd-</td>
<td>d?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***md-</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***ngd-</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***ngk</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***ns-</td>
<td>g?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***nj</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other words, many Buru consonants reflect two (or more) correspondences. The one pattern is their prototypical unconditioned pattern. The second is posited as a conditioned sound correspondence in the environment of a preceding nasal. The preceding nasal,

\[ \text{2The existence of this word phoneme has been questioned (Ross 1991).} \]
however, is not necessarily reconstructed at the level of PMP, but a nasal or nasal prefix is found in those environments on that same item in some languages elsewhere. However, the patterns within any given language as well as the patterns between languages in the region are, at best, sporadic. Within the parameters described above, there is as yet no principled way of predicting which items will reflect a preceding nasal.
Appendix C:
Profile of Buru cultural history from an etymological perspective

Different aspects of selected Buru cultural history are explored below comparing reconstructed forms and meanings with Buru forms and meanings. The examples below are representative of the lexicon, but not exhaustive, and the comments are cursory, not fully explanatory.

Occasionally there is more than one daughter form presented as legitimate reflexes of a single parent form (e.g. *Cau > tau-n, tawe).

Kinship and social relationships

In eastern Indonesia, marriage alliance systems can operate on different parameters than kinship terminology systems (cf. Needham 1984). B.D. Grimes (1990a) has shown that for Buru, the kinship terminology is asymmetric, whereas the pattern of marriage alliance is symmetric. She also gives a more complete listing of Buru kin terms, their fuller semantics and their pragmatics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Cau</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>tau-n</td>
<td>person (kin group classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma-ruqney</td>
<td>male/man</td>
<td>tawe</td>
<td>companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b-in-ahi</td>
<td>female/woman</td>
<td>emhanna</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-nak</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>fine</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qasewa</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>ana-t</td>
<td>child/offspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t-ins</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>em-sewa-n</td>
<td>spouse of child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tina</td>
<td>ancestress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tina</td>
<td>mother of (in naming construction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tina-n</td>
<td>male, matrix (e.g. trail, river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>female (e.g. pig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tina</td>
<td>mother, mother's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>forefather (ancestor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tama</td>
<td>father of (in naming construction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>father, father's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngaa-n</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngae-t</td>
<td>position, rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>geba em-ngaa</td>
<td>person with a title</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Some of the key studies that have explored aspects of AN cultural history are Blust (1980a,b, 1984, 1987), Dyen (1971), Fox (1988), Pawley & Green (1984).
Figure 1: Terms relating to kinship and social relations

Body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BUGU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Calonga</td>
<td>car</td>
<td>e³linga-n</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ka-wanana</td>
<td>right side</td>
<td>e³wana-n</td>
<td>right side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ka-wiri</td>
<td>left side</td>
<td>whiwi-k</td>
<td>carry by hand at side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kulita</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>whihi-t</td>
<td>strap for handle (i.e. the strap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tian</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>whilin</td>
<td>strap for carrying (i.e. its strap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bulukita</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>koll-n</td>
<td>skin (Rana dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*buluku</td>
<td>lips</td>
<td>tita-n</td>
<td>belly (Lisella dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*buluku</td>
<td>joint</td>
<td>fuka-n</td>
<td>abdomen, guts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bulus</td>
<td>calf, lower leg</td>
<td>fiti-n</td>
<td>i) mouth, 2) edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duRi³</td>
<td>thorn, fish bone</td>
<td>fokin</td>
<td>knot, joint, lump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duki</td>
<td>body dirt</td>
<td>ruli-n</td>
<td>lower leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duki</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>rohi-n/-t</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duki</td>
<td>excrement</td>
<td>reki-n/-t</td>
<td>body/clothes lining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duki</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>awu-n</td>
<td>waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duki</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td>tal</td>
<td>feces, excreta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*soso</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td>soso-n</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Vowel change unexplained, but also reflected in other CMP languages. I have argued (1991b) for the reconstruction of a doublet *mama/*meme at an earlier stage.

3 Blust (1990) reconstructs PCEEmP *zuRi 'bone' wanting to keep it separate from PMP *duRi 'thorn', but the correspondences are incorrect for many languages. This item is discussed in greater detail in C. Grimes (1991b).
Appendix C: Buru Cultural History

| *pusej | navel |
| *pusuq | heart |
| *badan | body |
| *qabaRa | shoulder |
| *daRaq | blood |
| *gulu | head, headwaters |
| *zay | chin |
| *uRaC | vein, artery |
| *negel | tooth |
| *gelgel | notch |
| *liqoR | neck |
| *maya [PCEMP] | tongue |
| *qepelG | gall |
| *buluq | body hair |
| *kiDay | eyebrow |
| *akeR | root |
| *Ruuk | rib |

| puse-n | navel |
| poso-n | lower chest, upper abdomen |
| poso-n fus-n | heart |
| fora-n | strong (muscular) |
| fahe-n | arm, hand |
| rahe-n | blood |
| olo-n/-t | head, headwaters |
| aa-n | jaw, chin |
| uha-n/-t | vein, artery, tendon |
| ngel-i-n | tooth, task |
| gega-n | armpit |
| ee-gege | carry s.t. underarm |
| li-o-t/-n | sound from throat, language |
| maen-n | tongue |
| peu-n | gall bladder |
| folo-n | hair, fur, feather |
| kira-n | forehead |
| aka-n | gums (base of teeth) |
| hoso-n | rib cage |

Figure 2: Terms relating to body parts

Houses and House parts


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Rumeq</td>
<td>house, family dwelling</td>
<td>huma</td>
<td>house (physical), any building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>house (social)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qatep</td>
<td>thatch (usually sago leaf)</td>
<td>at-t</td>
<td>thatch (various materials)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kasew</td>
<td>rafter</td>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>rafter from ridgepole to side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bulqSlung bulqSlung</td>
<td>ridgepole</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*paRa</td>
<td>storage rack above hearth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Malay loan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*banua4</td>
<td>inhabited territory including plant &amp; animal forms</td>
<td>fofo-n</td>
<td>peak, tip, highest point of s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>paha</td>
<td>rack for s.t. ring food or dishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fena</td>
<td>1) village, including all fields, 2) kin group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Buru house terms.

---

4 Many CMP languages reflect *banua, rather than *banua, suggesting there is a need for an alternate form at some level (discussed in C. Grimes 1991b).
# Food and horticulture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apuR</em></td>
<td>lime (for betel quid)</td>
<td>apu</td>
<td>lime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>busq</em></td>
<td>betelnut</td>
<td>busq</td>
<td>betel nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>busq</em></td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>busq</td>
<td>(edible) bulbous things that grow above ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>quten</em></td>
<td>forest</td>
<td>quten</td>
<td>edible leafy &amp; starchy things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>HuiR</em></td>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>HuiR</td>
<td>coconut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hoat</em></td>
<td>fruit species</td>
<td>hoat</td>
<td>langa st fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naka</em></td>
<td>Artocarpus (jackfruit)</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>Artocarpus (various)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kunil</em></td>
<td>turmeric (curcuma)</td>
<td>kunil</td>
<td>turmeric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lesung</em></td>
<td>mortar</td>
<td>lesung</td>
<td>(expect lesu-n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gase</em></td>
<td>paste</td>
<td>gase</td>
<td>perle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pojey/pojey</em></td>
<td>riceplant, paddy</td>
<td>pojey</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beCang</em></td>
<td>foxtail millet</td>
<td>beCang</td>
<td>foxtail millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rampla/rumble</em></td>
<td>sago</td>
<td>rumpla</td>
<td>1) sago, 2) starch paste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuk</em></td>
<td>palmwine</td>
<td>tuk</td>
<td>tree from which palmwine is made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rawa?</em></td>
<td>swamp, low field</td>
<td>Rawa</td>
<td>field for cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tenem</em></td>
<td>to plant</td>
<td>tenem</td>
<td>plant s.t. into ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>esibuD</em></td>
<td>sow, broadcast</td>
<td>esibuD</td>
<td>forcefully (e.g. fence poic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kali</em></td>
<td>dig</td>
<td>kali</td>
<td>broadcast, sow, scatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sual</em></td>
<td>digging stick</td>
<td>sual</td>
<td>be dug (e.g. by water) /eg: kali/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tebuS(t)u</em></td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>tebuS</td>
<td>dibble stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>timun</em></td>
<td>melon</td>
<td>timun</td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mamaq</em></td>
<td>chew</td>
<td>mamaq</td>
<td>cucumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inum</em></td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>inum</td>
<td>chew (as a healer does)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pa-kan</em></td>
<td>feed, give food</td>
<td>pa-kan</td>
<td>for spitting herbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuDen</em></td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>kuDen</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>me-sank</em></td>
<td>ripe</td>
<td>me-sank</td>
<td>feed (animals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mu taq</em></td>
<td>unripe</td>
<td>mu taq</td>
<td>deep dish, bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aspeaq</em></td>
<td>suck</td>
<td>aspeaq</td>
<td>gully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ra-siSilu</em></td>
<td>poisonous</td>
<td>ra-siSilu</td>
<td>depression, gully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>paqit</em></td>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>paqit</td>
<td>ripe, mature (e.g. fruit, wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maqasun</em></td>
<td>salty</td>
<td>maqasun</td>
<td>unripe, raw; green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[asal]</td>
<td>nibble on snack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>while drinking socially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>acidic, sour, tart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1) broth, savoury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) sea, seawater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) shore, coastal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>salt [probable loan-AM]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

5Cf. Malay rawa 'swamp, floodplain'.

---

Figure 4: Food and horticulture terms
Hunting and foraging

Hunting and gathering of food products from the jungle are important activities on Buru in addition to swidden agriculture. At certain times of the year more attention is paid to hunting and gathering, and at other times the attention is on agriculture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*manuk</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>manu-t</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qatoluR</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>telu-n</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*panij</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>panu-n</td>
<td>wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*iku-r</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>iku-r</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*babuy</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>fusu</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*seu</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>seu</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lumt-paing</td>
<td>wild feline</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td>feline (associated with evil spiritual forces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kuCu</td>
<td>head louse</td>
<td>koto</td>
<td>head louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*seangat</td>
<td>sling</td>
<td>seangat</td>
<td>mosquito [Rana/Lisela]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quile</td>
<td>maggot, caterpillar</td>
<td>ule-t</td>
<td>maggot, caterpillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qalipan</td>
<td>centipede</td>
<td>lipan</td>
<td>centipede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lae</td>
<td>meat, flesh, contents</td>
<td>lae-ni-t</td>
<td>meat, contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*milak</td>
<td>fat, oil</td>
<td>mila-ni-t</td>
<td>fat, grease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sula</td>
<td>bamboo trail or pitfall spikes</td>
<td>sula-n</td>
<td>bamboo spike trap (trail or pit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*panaq</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>shoot slingshot (no bows on Buru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*puket</td>
<td>dragnet</td>
<td>puka-k mehe-t</td>
<td>beat grass in wide semicircle to drive game to traps or ambush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*polut</td>
<td>bird line</td>
<td>polo-ti-n</td>
<td>sticky glue for trapping birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Capa</td>
<td>tu smoke meat or fish</td>
<td>hum-tepa</td>
<td>hunting lodge (where meat is smoked before return to village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma-panu</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>bana</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o bubu</td>
<td>dust</td>
<td>lafu-n</td>
<td>dust, flying spark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*zalnu</td>
<td>path, trail</td>
<td>dala</td>
<td>lose one's way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ele</td>
<td>border, interspace</td>
<td>ele-ni-t</td>
<td>place, territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dekpe</td>
<td>slice</td>
<td>ef-rake</td>
<td>catch s.t. moving (with bands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rapan</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>hapu</td>
<td>t's, bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pule</td>
<td>twist</td>
<td>er-pule-ki</td>
<td>twist fiber (into rope)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*batang</td>
<td>trunk (of tree)</td>
<td>fata-n</td>
<td>body, trunk (tree/person/animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kawang</td>
<td>apart, separated</td>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>a cut, wound, slit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*naneq</td>
<td>pus</td>
<td>nana-n</td>
<td>pus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*liqan</td>
<td>cave, hole</td>
<td>lian</td>
<td>cave or overhang big enough to sleep under</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Hunting and foraging terms
Fishing and boating

Most traditional Buru fishing is in streams and rivers, or in tidal pools. Those geb. masi ‘coastal people’ who have learned to fish from the sea in boats acknowledge gaining their knowledge from sea-oriented people such as the geb. Binongko ‘Butonese’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*iSakan</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>iken</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qang</td>
<td>gill</td>
<td>asa-n</td>
<td>gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uDang</td>
<td>shrimp</td>
<td>uran</td>
<td>shrimp, crayfish, lobster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pasii</td>
<td>stingray</td>
<td>pahl</td>
<td>stingray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*peflu</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>peno</td>
<td>sea turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kimaeq</td>
<td>shellfish</td>
<td>kima</td>
<td>shellfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mflita</td>
<td>octopus</td>
<td>ekhipa</td>
<td>octopus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bncaye</td>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>tbea</td>
<td>crocodile [Liela dialect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mbu buqu</td>
<td>bamboo basket trap for fish</td>
<td>fefo</td>
<td>basket trap for fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kawil</td>
<td>fish hook</td>
<td>kawii</td>
<td>fish hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tuba</td>
<td>derris root fish poison</td>
<td>tufa</td>
<td>derris root &amp; other fish poisons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wakang</td>
<td>canoe, boat</td>
<td>wara</td>
<td>boat (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*be-Resay</td>
<td>canoe paddle</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>to paddle (canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lavsR</td>
<td>sail</td>
<td>llaa</td>
<td>sail (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*eesq</td>
<td>anchor</td>
<td>llaa-n</td>
<td>dorsal fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sS8Raman</td>
<td>outrigger</td>
<td>llaq</td>
<td>anchor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qflas</td>
<td>current</td>
<td>[semen]</td>
<td>from AM esamang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma-qflud</td>
<td>sweep away (in water)</td>
<td>shu-t</td>
<td>wave [Rana dialect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pa-qflud</td>
<td>sweep away (in water)</td>
<td>meno</td>
<td>x flows away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*angin</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>panu</td>
<td>x sweeps away y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>angin</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Fishing and boating terms

World and material culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*weS8R/lwSeR</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>wae</td>
<td>water, river, liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*danaw</td>
<td>lake</td>
<td>ran</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*binanga</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>nanga-n</td>
<td>mouth of river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nameaw</td>
<td>cove, sheltered water</td>
<td>nama</td>
<td>bay, harbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kaSiv</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>keu</td>
<td>1) tree 2) wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*puqun</td>
<td>tree (trunk)</td>
<td>puan</td>
<td>tree, shrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*panga</td>
<td>fork (branch)</td>
<td>panga-n</td>
<td>bark, thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*senga</td>
<td>fork (branch)</td>
<td>senga-n</td>
<td>fork (e.g. branch, trail)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have argued in C. Grimes (1991b) that a doublet with *e rather than *i is required at some level of reconstruction to account for the reflexes in the languages of eastern Indonesia.
### Appendix C: Buru Cultural History

| *tuaqD | tree stump, stubble | tua-n | stump, reef |
| *tunas | shoot | tuna-n | new shoot replacing dead tree |
| *quey | rattan | ua | rattan |
| *waRej | vine | wahe-t | 1) vine 2) cord |
| *(m)bulaq | k.o. bamboo | uka bolo | k.o. bamboo |
| *kavayen | spiny bamboo | kawasan | k.o. bamboo |
| *batu | rock | fatu | rock |
| *dasfeq | soil, land | rahe | ground, land, floor |
| *genay | sand | rah-lsi-n | soil |
| *riket | sticky, adhesive | ena | sand |
| *karang-eling | clink | dike | stick to s.t., adhere |
| *bulawen | gold | cinge | ringing sound of metal |
|        |          | flawan | gold, majestic |

#### Figure 7: World & material culture terms

### Activities

Some of the items noted below have been reconstructed for Proto Philippines [PPH].

Their scope should be revised to PMP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*panaw</td>
<td>walk, go</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>move w/great agility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*iku</td>
<td>follow</td>
<td>iko</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uliq</td>
<td>return (home)</td>
<td>oll</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*um-a-RI</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>mabi</td>
<td>come (to/with speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kaCu</td>
<td>send</td>
<td>ketu-k</td>
<td>send s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nanguy</td>
<td>swim</td>
<td>nango</td>
<td>wade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*taqu</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>tewa?</td>
<td>know/understand/be able to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*melip [PCEMP]</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>laugh, smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tangle</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>tangi</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*um-utaq</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>muta</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Silup</td>
<td>blow</td>
<td>opI</td>
<td>blow [entsthesia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*te-buRe</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>ituhs</td>
<td>spit [metathesis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*usu [PAMSJ]</td>
<td>enter (w/difficulty)</td>
<td>oso</td>
<td>enter (s.t. tight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*oso [POCGIR]</td>
<td>enter (w/difficulty)</td>
<td>p-rena</td>
<td>hear [Rana &amp; Lisela dialects]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dengerA</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kita</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>kera-k</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kedeng</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>baga-toro-n</td>
<td>sleep soundly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tdurA/tudur</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>ine</td>
<td>sleep, lie down [Rana &amp; Lisela]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ginep</td>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>em-nipl</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*S-in-bi</td>
<td>dream</td>
<td>fuka</td>
<td>open, undo, uncover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bukan</td>
<td>open, expose, unveil</td>
<td>toni</td>
<td>hide, conceal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*buhi</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>[baba]</td>
<td>carry child in cloth [recent loan]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

7. *tau > tau > taw > tawa (already taken from *Cau > tawa ‘person’), metathesis > tewa.

C. Grimes 519
### Figure 8: Vocabulary related to activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buru Cultural History</th>
<th>Appendix C:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>takaw</em></td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matay</em></td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taRaq</em></td>
<td>hew, plane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tektek</em></td>
<td>chop off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fatek</em></td>
<td>beat, hit, knock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>silaq</em></td>
<td>split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bak [PAND]</em></td>
<td>split off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>basbas [PPH]</em></td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baeq</em></td>
<td>split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>quRie [PPH]</em></td>
<td>clean, scrape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taktak [PPH]</em></td>
<td>drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rebak</em></td>
<td>collapse, demolish, destroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peka</em></td>
<td>separate, disconnect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>telaq</em></td>
<td>split open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m-putus</em></td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lapaq</em></td>
<td>cut up (butcher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sup [PCEMP]#</td>
<td>peel, pare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puDuDu [PPH]</em></td>
<td>amputate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tukeR</em></td>
<td>exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aulin</em></td>
<td>exchange, transfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uliq</em></td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuRun</em></td>
<td>descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teRuq</em></td>
<td>put, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>piliq</em></td>
<td>choose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bili/bili</em></td>
<td>buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bangu</em></td>
<td>rise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>burRio</em></td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>diRus</em></td>
<td>splash, wet, sprinkle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titia</em></td>
<td>drip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tulek</em></td>
<td>push away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiskia</em></td>
<td>scrape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kopkop</em></td>
<td>hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lingas</em></td>
<td>unable to concentrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peR(egal)</em></td>
<td>squeeze, press out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>en-taka/steal</em></td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mata</em></td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toha</em></td>
<td>fell s.t. vertical (e.g. tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tota</em></td>
<td>cut up, chop, hack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tata</em></td>
<td>cut (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sila</em></td>
<td>split s.t. roughly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>faka</em></td>
<td>split off with grain for further use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fana</em></td>
<td>cut as with saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fela</em></td>
<td>cut/divide in pieces [expect fela]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oho</em></td>
<td>clean/scrape (e.g. rattan) for use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tata-k</em></td>
<td>drop s.t., lower s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dete-k</em></td>
<td>s.t. drops /eg-tete-k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hela-k</em></td>
<td>throw out, discard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peka</em></td>
<td>1) throw away, rid oneself of s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td>2) divorce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>telo</em></td>
<td>1) separate 2) divorce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>feto</em></td>
<td>cut back-and-forth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lapa</em></td>
<td>(expect poto or boto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lapa-k</em></td>
<td>plane a surface w/instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toto</em></td>
<td>leaving the surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sope-k</em></td>
<td>peal w/blade away from body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>popo-k</em></td>
<td>cut off end of s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tute</em></td>
<td>give s.t. to s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sali</em></td>
<td>receive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oll</em></td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toho</em></td>
<td>descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toho-n</em></td>
<td>path, trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ele-toha-n</em></td>
<td>ancestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tahu</em></td>
<td>put, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pili</em></td>
<td>choose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>am-pili</em></td>
<td>the one which is chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ak-fili</em></td>
<td>sell s.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fill-n</em></td>
<td>1) price 2) bridewealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fango</em></td>
<td>arise, crest s.t. [Listel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>feta</em></td>
<td>wash, bathe [expect fahi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>priho</em></td>
<td>splash (face in the morning), wash (face)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titi</em></td>
<td>drip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tola</em></td>
<td>push away, roll away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiki</em></td>
<td>scrape, grate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gepo</em></td>
<td>hold tight (in hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lingu</em></td>
<td>glance at, look at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peh-k</em></td>
<td>step on s.t., crush</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Blust reconstructed this for PEMP. I extend it to PCEMP.
### Stative/attributives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-tekuit</em></td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>em-tako</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dingding</em></td>
<td>be cold</td>
<td>eb-vidi</td>
<td>be cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dangdang</em></td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>rara-n-t</td>
<td>heat, fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-buRuk</em></td>
<td>rotten</td>
<td>beho</td>
<td>bad, ugly, evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-tezam/tezim</em></td>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>em-teo</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Reya</em></td>
<td>big, great</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>big, important, loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-bagus</em></td>
<td>beautiful</td>
<td>bagu-t</td>
<td>big, important [Lisela]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-betu</em></td>
<td>come to light, appear</td>
<td>beto-n</td>
<td>1) night, 2) 24-hour cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-baRaqet</em></td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>beha</td>
<td>heavy (of things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maRama(t)?</em></td>
<td>light (weight)</td>
<td>emhema</td>
<td>1) light (weight), 2) easy (for taking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-nipis</em></td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>em-nipi</td>
<td>thin (dimension)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baRAnay</em></td>
<td>brave</td>
<td>em-hana</td>
<td>brave, bold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baqetu</em></td>
<td>new</td>
<td>fahu-t</td>
<td>new, young, recent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>muda</em></td>
<td>young</td>
<td>mure-n</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lapaR</em></td>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>em-lapa</td>
<td>hungry [Rana &amp; Lisela]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngonge</em></td>
<td>open mouthed</td>
<td>em-nganga</td>
<td>gape at a.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Geneliq</em></td>
<td>smarting, stinging pain</td>
<td>em-pol</td>
<td>hurt, sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-lfaq</em></td>
<td>red-brown</td>
<td>miha-t-n</td>
<td>red-brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-qilem</em></td>
<td>black</td>
<td>mite-t-n</td>
<td>black, dark, dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-pulq</em></td>
<td>white</td>
<td>boti-t-n</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuning</em></td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>koni-t-n</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9: Vocabulary relating to stative/attributives

---

9 Reconstructed for Proto Eastern Oceanic as *ma(qR)ama(qR)a 'lightweight'. The Buru evidence suggests it should be reconstructed at least for PCEMP and that the first intervocalic consonant should be *R.
## Worldview and deixis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN/PMP</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>BURU</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lengIC</em></td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>lengit</td>
<td>sky, heavens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bulan</em></td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>fula-n/t</td>
<td>1) moon 2) month 3) season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>galejaw</em></td>
<td>day, daylight</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>1) sun 2) day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>domdem</em></td>
<td>darkness</td>
<td>reo-n</td>
<td>dark(ness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zawa</em></td>
<td>daybreak, dawn</td>
<td>dwe</td>
<td>bright, shining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>stang</em></td>
<td>dazzled, glaring light</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>shine, glare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sina</em></td>
<td>shine</td>
<td>sina</td>
<td>shine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sabafet</em></td>
<td>wind (west)</td>
<td>fahat</td>
<td>west (monsoon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>timafet</em></td>
<td>east</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>east (monsoon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>IsSud</em></td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>feve</td>
<td>1) downstream 2) seaward 3) far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>depa</em></td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>repa</td>
<td>southwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dafa</em></td>
<td>flat, even space</td>
<td>rate</td>
<td>plain, flat area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dalam</em></td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>ike-n</td>
<td>1) inside 2) deep 3) liver 4) feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>babea</em></td>
<td>above</td>
<td>fana-n</td>
<td>above, on top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eakay</em></td>
<td>up</td>
<td>eka</td>
<td>up, upward, above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m-uDeSi</em></td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>mori-n</td>
<td>in back, behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>leking</em></td>
<td>curved, bent</td>
<td>lek</td>
<td>inlet, cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>linea</em></td>
<td>calm, quiet, still</td>
<td>eg-leko</td>
<td>bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bikak</em></td>
<td>lighting</td>
<td>lekun-lekun</td>
<td>twist &amp; turn (e.g. trail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gurgar</em></td>
<td>shake, rumble</td>
<td>eg-lina</td>
<td>calm, clear, plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qupen</em></td>
<td>lure, bait</td>
<td>fife-ti-n</td>
<td>lighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kujja</em></td>
<td>how?</td>
<td>gogo</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apa [PCEMP]</em></td>
<td>what?</td>
<td>upa</td>
<td>offering (for spirits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pija</em></td>
<td>how much/how many?</td>
<td>em-kua</td>
<td>why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>usa</em></td>
<td>one</td>
<td>apa-n</td>
<td>what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lea</em></td>
<td>one</td>
<td>pila</td>
<td>how much/how many?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>DuSa</em></td>
<td>two</td>
<td>ssa</td>
<td>one (deictic) [metathesis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>telu</em></td>
<td>three</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>one (numeral) [metathesis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sepat</em></td>
<td>four</td>
<td>rua</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lima</em></td>
<td>five</td>
<td>telo</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>enem</em></td>
<td>six</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pitu</em></td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puluq</em></td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>nee</td>
<td>six [metathesis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>utung</em></td>
<td>compensation, reward</td>
<td>pito</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-a</em></td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>pola</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kami</em></td>
<td>1p</td>
<td>yako</td>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lita</em></td>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>kaml</td>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aDa</em></td>
<td>3p</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Vocabulary relating to worldview & deixis
Appendix D:
Contrasts of phonemes

Contrasts in identical environments and contrast in analogous environments of the phonemes discussed in Chapter 5 are presented below.

Contrasts between consonants

(1)  p/b  peka  'throw out, discard
       beka  'now, first, soon

       paa  'four'
       baa  'only, exclusively'

       dupa  'name of stream, name of clan'
       duba  'yawn, be sleepy, and'

       lepa  'climb'
       leba  'carry on shoulder with pole'

(2)  p/f  paka  'feed (animals)'
       faka  'split s.t. into parts'.

       pefa  'burn, bake, roast'
       fefa  'have holes'

       lepa-k  'raise s.t. up'
       lefa-k  'cast a spell, hex s.o.'

       pilo  'loincloth'
       filo  'to mouth off'

(3)  p/m  pehi  'stingray'
       mahi  'come (hortative)'

       repa  'fathom'
       rema  'lengthen'

       tapa  'hunting lodge for smoking meat'
       tama  'ancestor, forefather'
### Contrasts of Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme Pair</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Meaning 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
<th>Meaning 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p/w</td>
<td>paha-n</td>
<td>'nest'</td>
<td>wah-a-n</td>
<td>'evidence, reason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sapa-n</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
<td>em-sawa-n</td>
<td>'spouse of child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dape</td>
<td>'easy, familiar, intimate'</td>
<td>dawe</td>
<td>'brother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b/f</td>
<td>bage</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>fage</td>
<td>'throw s.t. at s.t.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duba</td>
<td>'yawn, sleepy'</td>
<td>dufa</td>
<td>'get, obtain, prosper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dobo</td>
<td>'swell'</td>
<td>dofo</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuba</td>
<td>'drum'</td>
<td>tufa</td>
<td>'derris root &amp; other fish poisons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b/m</td>
<td>boti</td>
<td>'be white, whiten'</td>
<td>moti</td>
<td>'fever (with chills)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>'durative aspect'</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>'1p proclitic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aba</td>
<td>'wild (pig)'</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>libu</td>
<td>'sinkhole'</td>
<td>limu</td>
<td>'indirect speech (riddle, parable, etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b/w</td>
<td>bae</td>
<td>'dangerous current'</td>
<td>wae</td>
<td>'water, river, stream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teba</td>
<td>'cut short, shortened'</td>
<td>tewa</td>
<td>'know, understand, be able to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t/d</td>
<td>tua-n</td>
<td>'tail(bone)'</td>
<td>dua-n</td>
<td>'master, lord'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oto</td>
<td>'exist, be'</td>
<td>odo</td>
<td>'think, imagine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katu-k</td>
<td>'send s.t.'</td>
<td>kadu-k</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rete</td>
<td>'up [Lisela dialect]'</td>
<td>rede</td>
<td>'dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D:</td>
<td>Contrasts of Phonemes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) t/s</td>
<td>tuha 'drum'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suba 'croc' threshold'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toto 'pound, thrust downward'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|           | soso 'to nurse (a ba-?'s)'
|           | kata 'pants, trousers' |
|           | kasa 'rafter'         |
|           | heta 'cut into lengths' |
|           | hese 'make a wall'    |
| (10) t/n  | tuke 'give'           |
|           | nuke 'sandbar'        |
|           | eta 'until'           |
|           | ena 'sand'            |
|           | lata 'cut (generic)'  |
|           | lana 'flood'          |
|           | rata 'flat, level'    |
|           | rana 'lake'           |
| (11) t/r  | tepu-t 'chicken'      |
|           | repu 'retrieve'       |
|           | tete 'chop up'        |
|           | rete 'up [Lisela dialect]' |
|           | rere 'group (e.g. of pigs)'
|           | fata-n 'trunk, body'  |
|           | fara-n 'strong'       |
| (12) d/r  | data 's.t. fall to the ground' |
|           | rata 'flat, level'    |
|           | rede-n 'darkness'     |
|           | rere-n 'group'        |
|           | sida 'shine a light'  |
|           | sirò '3p'             |
| (13) d/l  | data 's.t. fall to the ground' |
|           | lata 'cut (generic)'  |
|           | kada-k 'by foot (manuer)' |
|           | kala-k 'call, summon' |
|           | midi 'play'           |
|           | mili 'pure, holy'     |
|           | fodo 'basket for carrying heavy loads' |
|           | folo 'have fur'       |
| (14)   | r/l  | rata  | 'flat, level' |
|        |      | lata  | 'cut (generic)' |
|        |      | saro  | 'reciprocal pronoun' |
|        |      | salo  | 'yield, surrender' |
|        |      | foro-n| 'sharpened stick' |
|        |      | folo-n| 'hair' |
| (15)   | l/h  | laha  | 'request' |
|        |      | naha  | 'brother' |
|        |      | sale  | 'receive' |
|        |      | same  | 'who?' |
|        |      | pala  | 'rice' |
|        |      | panu  | 'jump' |
| (16)   | c/t/s| cia   | 'nine' |
|        |      | tia-n | 'shin' |
|        |      | sia   | 'one, some' |
|        |      | caa-n | 'listen, sense' |
|        |      | saa   | 'one, a (indefinite)' |
| (17)   | k/g  | kau   | 'tree, wood' |
|        |      | gao   | 'hold, grab' |
|        |      | kolo  | 'underneath, out of sight' |
|        |      | golu  | 'thin, skinny' |
|        |      | foko-n| 'joint, knot' |
|        |      | togo  | 'exposed uplifted coral' |
|        |      | roko  | 'friend, companion' |
|        |      | rogo  | 'enter' |
| (18)   | k/h  | kawa  | 'wound, sore' |
|        |      | hawa  | 'field, garden' |
|        |      | paka  | 'feed (animal)' |
|        |      | paha  | 'hit s.t.' |
|        |      | beka  | 'right away' |
|        |      | beha  | 'heavy (things)' |
|        |      | faka  | 'break s.t.' |
|        |      | faha- | 'hand, arm' |
| (19) | k/ŋ | koto | 'louse' |
|      |     | ngotō-k | 'put s.t. away' |
|      |     | paka | 'seed (animal)' |
|      |     | panga-n | 'thorn, barb' |
|      |     | saka | 'up' |
|      |     | sanga | 'fork (of tree, river)' |
|      |     | raki | 'filth, body grime' |
|      |     | rangi | 'call, summon' |
| (20) | k/t | kai | 'elder sibling (same sex)' |
|      |     | tai | 'excrement' |
|      |     | kete | 'parent-in-law' |
|      |     | tete | 'chop up' |
|      |     | kita | 'lipi' |
|      |     | tita | 'walk along top of ridge' |
|      |     | aki | 'across (deicio)' |
|      |     | ati | 'pick s.t. up with tongs' |
|      |     | heka | 'flee' |
|      |     | heta | 'recede (e.g. tide)' |
| (21) | f/s | faka | 'split s.t. into parts' |
|      |     | saka | 'up' |
|      |     | afa-n | '(corn) husk' |
|      |     | asa-n | '(fish) gill' |
|      |     | sefe | 'angry' |
|      |     | sese | 'nibble while drinking socially' |
|      |     | fafa-n | 'top of s.t.' |
|      |     | fasa | 'cut, decide' |
| (22) | f/h | faka | 'split s.t. into parts' |
|      |     | haka | 'tie up, bind like a web' |
|      |     | sefe | 'angry' |
|      |     | sehe | 'retreat' |
|      |     | dufa | 'get, obtain' |
|      |     | duha | 'pant (e.g. angry pig)' |
|      |     | tefu | 'sugarcane' |
|      |     | tehu | 'chase, pursue' |
### Contrasts of Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s/h</td>
<td>sekha</td>
<td>'stab, pierce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heka</td>
<td>'run, flee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>osi</td>
<td>'great-grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ohi</td>
<td>'strip clean (e.g. rattan)'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masi</td>
<td>'salty, ocean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mahi</td>
<td>'come (hortative)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>susa</td>
<td>'difficulty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suha</td>
<td>'make starch paste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h/-</td>
<td>hapu</td>
<td>'tie, bind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apu</td>
<td>'lime, chalk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haa-n</td>
<td>'size, bigness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aa-n</td>
<td>'jaw, chin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hama</td>
<td>'seek, look for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>'ather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>héte</td>
<td>'cut into lengths'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ete</td>
<td>'itch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/n</td>
<td>mahi</td>
<td>'come (hortative)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nahi</td>
<td>'roast s.t. on a spit'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maa-n</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naa-n</td>
<td>'bright'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emhama</td>
<td>'light (weight)'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emhana</td>
<td>'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/ng</td>
<td>naa-n</td>
<td>'brightness'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngaa-n</td>
<td>'name'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fena</td>
<td>'village'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fenga</td>
<td>'fly (insect)'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lana</td>
<td>'flood'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>langa</td>
<td>'move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>'1piPOSS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nangi</td>
<td>'scale a fish'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Contrasts between Vowels

Contrasts of vowel sequences are listed in Chapter 5.
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<th>Appendix D:</th>
<th>Contrasts of Phonemes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(27) i/e</td>
<td>sihi 'make a place off limits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sehe 'retreat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ina 'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ena 'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ati-t 'tongs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ate-t 'thatch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wai 'younger sibling same sex'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wae 'water, river, stream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>midi 'play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mede 'dark (colour)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28) e/a</td>
<td>heka 'run, fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haka 'bind (as webbing)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seka 'pierce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saka 'up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ehe 'yes, affirmative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eh= 'palmwine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lee 'to filter, sieve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lea 'sun, day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sehe 'retreat, reverse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sahe 'sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29) a/o</td>
<td>tati 'lower s.t.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toti 'firm, virile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mati 'die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moti 'fever (with ch.ills)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pola 'explode'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>polo 'to drown s.t./s.o.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>laha 'request, reciprocate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loho 'cut branches off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(30) o/u</td>
<td>toke 'select s.o. or s.t.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuke 'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tou-k 'look, inspect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuu-k 'lift up, appoint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tode 'pour, spill (liquid)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tute 'derris root &amp; other fish poisons'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contrasts of Phonemes

(31) i/u
    ika-     'fish (precategorial root)
    uka     'bamboo (generic)'
    tai-n    'excrement'
    tau-n    'person (classifier)'
    sibi     'help, assist'
    subu     'door'

(32) e/o
    tete     'cut, hack up'
    toto     'pound, thrust downward'
    lea      'sun, day'
    loa      'make, do' [Lisela dialect]
    gea      'anxious'
    goa      'barran'
    sege     'limit'
    sogo     'cross river'
    hede     'still, yet'
    hodo     'child with one dead parent'
Appendix E:
Selected Buru texts

This appendix contains three complete Buru texts, illustrating the structures and functions described in earlier chapters. The first text is a hakayate 'folk tale/legend' illustrating a narrative text. The second is an epysan 'explanation', describing aspects of Buru marriage. The third text is a type of endohin 'narrative' with an animal fable containing conversation.

TEXT 1:  Gaba roi an saa (A notable child)

[Narrator: Ermalina Wamese, Rana dialect speaker recently migrated from Rana to the mountain village of Wae Haa Olon nearer the coast, inhabited by Rana speakers.]

(1) A dohi geba roi an saa tu nak ina.
   1s narrate person small FOC one with 3sPOSS mother
   'I'm going to tell you about a particular child and his mother.'

(2) Iko fi di wasi pa du taha fuat.
   go LOC DIST grove REAL 3p fell banana
   '[They] went to the garden and they cut down a banana [tree].'

(3) Taha fuat pa bodi-h, nak ana-t fene,
    fell banana REAL fall over-it 3sPOSS child-NOM say

   "Ng-ina, nau dah.olo."
   1sVOC-mother 1sPOSS bunch.head
   'After chopping down the banana [tree] so that it fell to the ground, her child said, "Mother, the hand at the top of the stalk is for me."'

(4) "Kae nam dah.olo moo, tu nam ama nake dah.olo."
    2s 2sPOSS bunch.head NEG with 2sPOSS father 3sPOSS bunch.head
    '"The hand at the top of the stalk isn't for you, but the hand at the top of the stalk is for your father."'

(5) Fen, "Ng-ina, nang dah.dedu-k."
    say 1sVOC-mother 1sPOSS bunch.repeat-k
    '[He] said, "Mother, [then] the next hand is for me."'

(6) Fen, "Moo, bara dah.dedu-k tu nam ama."
    say NEG don't bunch.repeat-k with 2sPOSS father
    '[She] said, "No, don't take the second hand because that's for your father."'
Selected Bunu Texts

(7) Fen, "Do, nang dah.stifu."
say PAUS 1sPOSS bunch.middle
[He] said, "Well, [then] the middle hand is for me."

(8) Fen, "Moo, bara dah.stifu tu nam ama."
say NEG don’t bunch.middle with 2sPOSS father
[She] said, "No, don’t take the middle hand because that’s for your father."

(9) Fen, "Nango rama-n wae-n nang oll."
say 1sPOSS eye-GEN water-GEN 1sPOSS return
[He] said, "[Then] the tear [idiom: the little hand at the bottom of the stalk] must be for me."

(10) Fen, "Moo, bara tu nam ama."
say NEG don’t with 2sPOSS father
[She] said, "No, don’t take that one because it’s for your father."

(11) Fen, "Ba dii, do, kesu baa wanga-n dii,
say DUR DIST PAUS break only digit-GEN DIST
langa-k ture-n an la yako.
move-k short-GEN FOC DAT 1s

[He] said, "If that’s the way it’s going to be, then break off just a single banana and scoot a bit of it over to me."

(12) Petu nak ina kesu wae jadi ipa, fuaat wanga-n
SEQ 3sPOSS mother break water become [Mly] canarium banana digit-GEN
pa nak ture-n, pa ring iko.
REAL 3sPOSS short-GEN REAL 3s go

'So his mother broke off for him a bit of one of the smallest bananas [called] "water becomes a kanari nut", and he left.'

(13) Da iko suba di Murampaat nak toho-n, goli an
3s go cross threshold DIST (giant) 3sPOSS descend-GEN (bird) FOC
saa ba wio.
one DUR goli call

'He went and came to Murampaat’s trail, and there was a certain goli-bird making its call there.'

(14) Fen, "Wio, wio, iko toho-n filim di.ta, bara toho-n
say wio wio go descend-GEN from DIST.DEM don’t descend-GEN
filim di.ta, Murampaat nak toho-n."
from DIST.DEM (giant) 3sPOSS descend-GEN

'It was making its call, "Wio, wio, take the trail from there, [but] don’t take the trail from over there [because] that is Murampaat’s trail."
Appendix E:

(15) Ring waku nak todo luke-n fi dii pa ring 3s pick up 3sPOSS machete-tip-GEN LOC DIST REAL 3s
spel.yaha-k goli dii.
throw.eject-k (bird) DIST

'He picked up his machete by the tip there and he threw it at the bird, shooing it away.'

(16) Pa ring hai Murampaat nak toho-n.
REAL 3s follow (giant) 3sPOSS descend-GEN

'And he followed Murampaat's trail.'

(17) Pa ring dobo Murampaat.
REAL 3s meet (giant)

'And he met up with Murampaat.'

(18) Petu Murampaat ego ringe pa da fale-k nak hum.kolo-n.
SEQ (giant) take 3s REAL 3s cast-k 3sPOSS house.under-GEN

'Then Murampaat took him and threw him into his grain bin.'

(19) Petu Murampaat fale-k ringe di nak hum.kolo-n sepo,
SEQ (giant) cast-k 3s DIST 3sPOSS house.under-GEN finish
ringe na ef-ngiru saka hum.kolo-n ale-n.
3s PROX out-bawl up house.under-GEN inside-GEN

'And after Murampaat had thrown him into his grain bin, this [boy] started bawling his head off up inside the grain bin.'

(20) Da kaa.
3s eat

'He ate [some of the grain],' or
'lt [the crying] was effective.'

(21) Titas.boti suba dii, fene, "Kae em-kua naa?"
mouse.white cross threshold DIST say 2s STAT-why PROX

'The White Mouse showed up and said, 'What's the matter with you?'"

(22) Fene, "Murampaat la-d.kaa yako tu da haka sue yako."
say (giant) IRR-3s.eat 1s REASON 3s web thorough 1s

'[The boy] said, 'Murampaat is going to eat me, because he has locked me up [and I can't get out].'"

(23) Petu Titas.boti fene, "Ku waku pala-ng di p-rol
SEQ mouse.white say 2s pick up rice-1sGEN DIST CAUS-small
la ya kaa peni.
IRR 1s eat first

'So the White Mouse said, 'You pick up a bit of rice for me so I can eat first.'"
Selected Buru Texts

(24) Sepo, tem yako ep-suba kae fi na finish only then 1s CAUS-cross threshold 2s LOC PROX
hum.kolo-n naa la ka iko."
house.under-GEN PROX IRR 2s go

'Only afterward will I then get you out of the grain bin so you can go.'

(25) Ring waku pala fi dii, pa-d.lai-k pa Titas.boti kaa 3s pick up rice LOC DIST REAL-3s.give-k REAL mouse.white eat
sepo, pa. Titas.boti kaa sepo, da ef-tela sufe-n\fi dii, finish REAL mouse.white eat finish 3s CAUS-separate door-GEN LOC DIST
pa ring suba pa-d.i.ko. REAL 3s cross threshold REAL-3s.go

'He\boy picked up the rice from there and he gave it and the White Mouse ate it up, and when the White Mouse had finished eating, he\mouse disconnected the door there, and so he\boy got out
and he\boy left.'

(26) Pa titasit haka saki sufe-n. REAL mouse web again door-GEN
Then the mouse retied the door.'

(27) Pa ring iko eta. REAL 3s go until
'And he\boy went on until [he gets somewhere else].' (28) Murampaat oli suba dii, da kala-k, "Opo, opo. (giant) return cross threshold DIST 3s call-k grandchild grandchild 'Murampaat came back there, he called, "Grandson, grandson.'
(29) Ku toho baka tu a oli haik." 2s descend first REASON 1s return PRF 'You can come down now, because I have come home.'

(30) Em-toroooo. STAT-silent 'Silence.'

(31) Geba sa tehuk saka na moo. person one longer up PROX NEG 'There was no longer anybody up there.'

(32) Kala-k lale-n telo, geba sa mo-he. call-k inside-GEN three person one NEG.it 'After calling out three times, [he realised] there was nobody there.'

(33) Pa da sarasa sufe-n fi dii, pa-d.keh\ha saka, bu REAL 3s undo door-GEN LOC DIST REAL-3s.ascend up but
(34) Da ep-ari sepoo nak iyer dii miti-miti, pa tita sit iko, iir-ro
3s CAUS-destroy finish 3sPOSS-thing-PL DIST RED-fine REAL mouse go
pa sepoo.
REAL finish

'Hey mammoth, completely destroyed everything there into smithereens, and the mouse escaped, and that's all.'

TEXT 2: Kawang na Buru (Marriage here on Buru)

[Narrator: Wesley M. Lesnussa from the coastal village of Leksula. Speaker of the Masarete dialect. There is a degree of code mixing in this text for two primary reasons. First, the narrator is an coastal person talking about abstract concepts and can manipulate both Buru and Malay. Secondly, he is accommodating to his audience (myself & my wife), who at the time this was told were not yet fully proficient in the language. Thus, for example, he first uses efnasa 'decision (Buru)', but later uses keputusan 'decision (Malay)', because he wasn't sure if we could follow the abstract Buru, but assumed we would understand the Malay. The syntax is good Buru.]

(1) Yako la fisara ro-roi-n mengenai kami geb.Buru
1s IRR speak [Skt] RED-small-GEN about [Mly] 1pe person.Buru

la kam kaweng.
IRR 1pe marry [Arab]

'I am going to speak a little bit about when we Buru people get married.'

(2) Pertama-tama dii. masmori dii. musti da em-tae
RED-first [Mly] DIST young man DIST must [AM] 3s STAT-sharp

la da mancari.
IRR 3s hunt [Skt]

'First of all, an unmarried man must be able to hunt.'

(3) Geb.m-tua-t-o prepa fene musti da tewa hapu nak
person.STAT-elder-NOM-PL say REAL must [AM] 3s know tie 3sPOSS
(4) Dii, masmori la du hama nun fin.haa, musti du tewa
DIST young man IRR 3p seek 3pPOSS female.big must [AM] 3p know
hapu nun salolo gos-gosa, tem du hama nun fin.haa.
tie 3pPOSS belt RED-good only then 3p seek 3pPOSS female.big

'That is, for unmarried men to go looking for wives they must know how to tie their pants strings well before they look for their wives.'

(5) Eta du dapak nun fin.haa haik, musti du fage em-loo
until 3p get [Mly]-k 3pPOSS female.big PRF must 3p direct STAT-tired
luke-n dit, nak kupa-n luke-n dit,
tip-GEN DIST 3pPOSS treasure-GEN [Mly] tip-GEN DIST
la geb.m-tua-t bafa.
IRR person.STAT-elder-NOM see

'Until they have gotten their wives, they should direct the results of their efforts, the dividends of their valuables, so that the elders can see.'

(6) Geba na geb.m-tua-t eb-an-na emhewa la du bafa.
person PROX person.STAT-elder-NOM BE-child-NOM REFL IRR 3p see
'This person's own birth parents should see [them].'

(7) Wahan dit, ringe du tule la ring hama nak fin.haa.
REASON DIST 3s 3p give IRR 3s seek 3sPOSS female.big
'Because of that [his ability to show that he can produce results], he is allowed to seek his wife.'

(8) Bamba da hama nak fin.haa, musti hai nak suka, bara mel
IMM.PAST3s seek 3sPOSS female.big must follow 3sPOSS liking don't lost
waha-n mori-n dit, nun kema-t senang moo.
evidence-GEN back-GEN DIST 3pPOSS whole-NOM happy [Mly] NEG

'And when he is after a wife, [the elders] must go according to his wishes, so that it won't be the case that later on their family isn't happy.'

(9) Bamba da rogo ngei ana-fina saa, da enika ana-fina saa,
IMM.PAST3s enter DAT child-female one 3s ask child-female one
musti da peneiwa la nak geb.m-tua-t.
ep-en-tewa-i
must 3s CAUS-ABS-know-LOC DAT 3sPOSS person.STAT-elder-NOM

And when he has entered [her parents house] after a girl, [and] he has asked [i.e. formally proposed for] a girl, he must make sure that his parents/elders know about it.'
Appendix E:

Selected Buru Texts

(10) Nak geb.m-tua-t-o, nak ina tu nak ama 3sPOSS person,STAT-elder-NOM-PL 3sPOSS mother with 3sPOSS father
li.kase-n gosa, pi puna surat, la du kasi-tau la voice.section-GEN good or do letter [Mly] DAT 3p give-know [Mly] DAT
ana-fina nak geb.m-tua-t.
child-female 3sPOSS person,STAT-elder-NOM

'His parents, his birth mother and father, they let the relatives know [about the proposal/engagement], and then they do [either] a "good-words" or they make a letter, in order to let the girl's parents know [that this is formal and has the support of the kin group elders].'

(11) Petu du fasa nek wa'ktu, petu du rogo.
SEQ 3p cut 3sPOSS time [Arab] SEQ 3p enter
'Then they decide upon a time, and then they "enter" ['enter' symbolises a whole complex ritual event].'

(12) Waktu du rogo dii, bamba ana-fina eru-k du fuka subu.
time [Arab] 3p enter DIST IMM.PAST child-female agree-k 3p open door
'At that time when they "enter", only if the girl agrees do they open the door.'

(13) Nak ina eb-ana-t erei, nak toho-n ma dii.
3sPOSS mother BE-child-NOM refuse 3sPOSS descend-GEN EVID DIST
'If her birth mother refuses [to accept the marriage], there is still a way.'

(14) Nak toho-n ma dii, tu kori-sana-t
3sPOSS descend-GEN EVID DIST with girl's elders-guy's elders-NOM PROX 3p
ambl allh hansiak perkawinan naa.

'There is still a way, because the marriage negotiators [selected elders from both parties], they can make overriding decisions over the whole marriage [process].'

(15) Penhabisan fi di kori-sana-t dii, du fasa, du rogo.
outcome [Mly] LOC DIST negotiators DIST 3p cut 3p enter
'The outcome from the group of marriage negotiators is that they decide [in favour of the marriage], and they "enter".

(16) Du rogo dii, du stori ii dika-t sa moo, tu sira 3p enter DIST 3p talk thing other-NOM one NEG with 3p
enika fen, "Kae kadu-k naa la maksud sapa-n?"
ask REAL 2s come-k PROX IRR intent [Arab] what-GEN

'When they enter, they don't say anything else, but they ask, "Your coming here is for what purpose?"'
(17) Petu ana-mhana nak geb.m-tua-t sade, "Kam nam seq child-male 3-poss person STAT-elder-NOM respond 1pe 1pe POSS
masmori nnaa, da suka kim nim ana-fina, jadi young man PROX 3s liking 2p 2p POSS child-female so [Mly]
kam kadu-k hai nak suka, wahan la du kaweng." 1pe come-k follow 3poss liking REASON IRR 3p marry [Arab]

'So the boy's elders respond, "Our young man here, he likes your daughter, so we came according to his wishes because they want to get married."

ina eb-ana-t tu ama eb-ana-t tu nak kai-wal-t. mother BE-child-NOM with father BE-child-NOM with 3poss elder-younger-NOM

'So, [whether] they decide that they should marry, that is between the birth mother and the birth father and the relatives.'

(19) Eta du eru, petu du hulu-n tu beto dii. COND 3p agree SEQ 3p cheer DETR with night DIST
'If they agree, then they cheer [in celebration] that very night.'

(20) Du hulu-n sepo, du ino wae poto-t. 3p cheer DETR finish 3p drink water hot-NOM
'When they are finished cheering, [then] they drink tea.'

(21) Du ino wae poto-t sepo, du estorale-k, du stori 3p drink water bot-NOM finish 3p talk inside-k 3p talk
with 3poss marry [Arab] REAL how many one 3p marry [Arab]

'When they have finished drinking tea, they talk toward an agreement, talking about their marriage, about when they should marry.'

(22) Raine du kaweng dii. kori-sana-t fasa IMM PAST 3p marry [Arab] DIST girl's elders-guy's elder-NOM cut

'During the marriage [negotiation] process, the marriage negotiators decide on the traditional bridewealth according to the decision of the Council of Kings.'

'The names [of the items] of that traditional bridewealth, they consider it together.'

1The weight of the evidence points to the Latupati not being a traditional council, but rather a council established by Ternate or by the Dutch. The narrator has a vested interest in this particular statement as it was his father who chaired the meeting in which the decision referred to here was established.
Appendix E:

(24) Bamba en-laha-t lebê-lebê fi di nun suka.
IMM.PASTABS-request-NOM RED-more [AM] LOC DIST 3pPOSS liking

'What is asked for is usually more than they want [so give].'

(25) Pemerintah di fena dii, da tou-k bam du laha harta
government [Mly] DIST village DIST 3s see-k whether 3p request
wealth [Mly]
tirin sa liak keputusan Latu-pati,
very one COMPAR decision [Mly] king-leader [AM] 3p take
tindakan.
action [Mly]

'The [head of the] village government, if he sees that the amount off the bridewealth being asked is far in excess of the decision of the Council, then they will take unilateral action.'

(26) Musti hai tu tundaskan Latu-pati.
must [AM] follow with guidelines [AM]? 2 king-leader [AM]
'Peoples] must follow the guidelines of the Council.'

(27) Jadi keputusan Latu-pati dili, la harta ngei
ana-fina dili, pertama,
child-female DIST first [Mly] pig ABS-pay.inside
fatu en-sili.lale.

'So that decision of the Council is that the bridewealth for a bride should be, first, a fatu
esnilale [pig to compensate for feelings].'

(28) Sepo dili, oko sienoit naa, kain gandung tu
finish DIST skin ABS-bathe-NOM PROX cloth [Mly] carry [AM] with
nake kepeng mata-n dili, dua puluh lima ribu la ana-fina
3sPOSS money [AM] money-GEN DIST 25,000 [Mly] DAT child-female
nak geb.m-tua-t tu p-roi la negri.
3sPOSS person.STAT-elder-NOM with CAUS small DAT village [AM]

'After that, a bathing basin, a carrying cloth, and 25,000 [rupiahs] for the girl's parent with a
bit for the village [government].'  

(29) La negri towa, la negri sembayang Opo la du
salawatu huma kema-t.
pray house whole-NOM

'[That is] so the village [government] recognises [the marriage], so the village prays to God, so
they pray for the [new] household.'

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2This word does not appear in Indonesian dictionaries, although the morphology is clearly Malay. Thus, the assumption that it is from Ambonese Malay.
3This statement is more a reflection of the speaker's idealised reconstruction of reality than it is a representation of actual practice.

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(30) Sepo dii, tuke nake pir.gore-t.
finish DIST give 3sPOSS plate [Mly]. depression-NOM
’After that, the bowl is given.’

(31) Pir.gore-t dii, lusin.
plate [Mly]. depression-NOM DIST dozen [Du]
’These bowls, there are a dozen of them.’

(32) Tu nake ina, kat.ana-n kasi-hagi-t emsian.
with 3sPOSS mother machete.child-GEN give [Mly]. candlenut-NOM one
’For her mother, one “knife for giving candlenut.”’

(33) Tu nak ama, katu.kasi-hagi-t emsian.
with 3sPOSS father machete.give [Mly]. candlenut-NOM one
’For her father, one “machete for giving candlenut.”’

(34) Sepo dii, iyer dii, waktu edenga-n dii, ana-fina
finish DIST thing-PL DIST time [Arab] appointed time-GEN DIST child-female
la suba har.kaweng dii, iyer dii tongi
IRR cross threshold day [Mly]. marry [Arab] DIST thing-PL DIST also
du tuke tongi lei dii.
3p give also day DIST

’After that, those things, at the time that has been set for it, when the girl crosses the threshold on that wedding day, these things also are exchanged that day.’

(35) Ada yang du tuke tu beto la geba-r bara bafa
exist [Mly] REL [Mly] 3p give with night IRR person-PL don’t observe
fene kam tuke harta halk.
REAL 1p give wealth [Mly] PRF

’There are those who give [the bridewealth] at night so that people won’t see that we have already given the bridewealth.’

(36) Jadi sepo dii, petu du fasa dii, fen du kaweng
so [Mly] finish DIST SEQ 3p cut DIST REAL 3p marry [Arab]
tanggal pila, petu rua-rua fi di geb.m-tua-t
date [Mly] how many? SEQ RED-two LOC DIST person. STAT-elder-NOM
ana-fina, geb.m-tua-t ana-mlana, sir eptea, du berunding
child-female person. STAT-elder-NOM child-male 3p sit 3p discuss
child [Mly]
mene-mene, petu du kas.kaweng na ana-fina tu
RED-together SEQ 3p give [Mly]. marry [Arab] PROX child-female with
Appendix E:

senang-senang tu gosa-n = gosa-n.
RED-happy [Mly] with RED-good-GEN

'So after that, then they make decisions, about what date the wedding will be, and so both of them from the elders of the girl and the elders of the boy, they sit down and they talk things over together, and then they give the girl to be married happily and with goodwill.'

(37) Kaweng sepo dii, petu du ep-suba.
marry [Arab] finish DIST SEQ 3p CAUS-cross threshold
'After the "wedding", then comes the "leaving".'

(38) Banyak kali! du kaweng sepo tem du ep-suba
many times [Mly] 3p marry [Arab] finish only then 3p CAUS-cross threshold
ana-fina.
child-female

'Many times it is only after the "wedding" that they send out the girl.'

(39) Ep-suba nun ana-fina dii, ana-fina nake
CAUS-cross threshold 3POSS child-female DIST child-female 3sPOSS
geb.m-tua-t tongi em-gea moo.
person.STAT-elder-NOM also STAT-anxious NEG

'In sending out that daughter of theirs, the girl's parents are not [so be] shy/embarrassed either.'

(40) Ring ego nake ana-fina nake inaan hansiak, nake
3s get 3sPOSSchild-female 3sPOSSthing:ABS-eat-GEN all 3sPOSS
iier huma lale-n hansiak, nake lai-ro, nak kau bana, hansiak.
ii-ro thing-PL house inside-GEN all 3sPOSSgive-PL3sPOSSwood fire all

'He takes all of his daughter's food, and all of her household items, her gifts, and all her firewood.'

(41) Jadi nak naha-t-o edaba hansiak gam
so [Mly] 3sPOSSbrother (woman speaking)-NOM-PL shoulder carry all ALL
di nake geb.haa nak huma.
DIST 3sPOSSperson.big 3sPOSShouse

'So then her [classificatory] brothers carry all [of her things] to her husband's house.'

(42) Dena na geb.haa nak huma, da te tati-k moo,
arrive PROX person.big 3sPOSShouse 3s ABIL put down-k NEG
nake naha-t te tati-k moo.
3sPOSSbrother (w.s.)-NOM ABIL put down-k NEG

'Arriving at her husband's house, he cannot set the stuff down, her brother cannot set the things down.'
Musti nak geb.haa nak wai-ro pi nak feta-ro
must [Mly] 3sPOSS person.big 3sPOSS younger-PL or 3sPOSS 3ter (man speaking)-PL
musti tati-k fi di ana-fina nake naha-t pi nake
must [Mly] put down-k LOC DIST child-female 3sPOSS brother (w.s.) or 3sPOSS
wai-r nun mala-n la du sili,
younger-PL 3sPOSS shoulder-GEN IRR 3p pay
'It must be her husband's younger brothers or his sisters that must take it down from the shoulders of the bride's brothers and younger sisters by paying [for it].'

Du sili tem du tati-k.
3p pay only then 3p put down
'They must pay before they can put it down.'

Kalo du sili moo, du tati-k moo.
COND 3p pay NEG 3p put down-k NEG
'If they don't pay, they can't put it down.'

Wahan dii, esnegen di.ta rahek tentu kakeiliruan
en-sege-n
REASON DIST ABS-limit-GEN DIST DEM just certain [Mly] confusion [Mly]
saa salak mengenai adat,
tong naa ramak
one perhaps about [Mly] custom [Arab] also PROX later
ma ba tou-k hede.
1p DUR see-k CONT
'Therefore, that's enough for now. There will of course be some confusion perhaps about [these] customs, but there is still time for us to see/understand [these things].'

Yako glidu-k mengenai ana-fina dii langina.
1s forget about [Mly] child-female DIST present
'I forgot to tell you something about the girl just now.'

Sebenarnya waktu da suba fi di nak huma la
actually [Mly] time [Arab] 3s cross threshold LOC DIST 3sPOSS house 3RR
iko gam di
ALL DIST go
an-a-mhama nak huma, da dena di
child-male 3sPOSS house 3s arrive
nak geb.haa
3sPOSS person.big
nak subu dii la-d.ogo gam di
3sPOSS door DIST IRR 3s enter ALL DIST
nak geb.haa
3sPOSS person.big
nak huma.
3sPOSS house
'Actually, when she leaves her house to go to her husband's house, she arrives at her husband's door to enter into her husband's house.'
Appendix E:

(49) Nak geb.haa nak feta saa, musti da stife
3sPOSS person.big 3sPOSS sister (man speaking) one must [AM] 3s sprinkle
nak fin.haa kada-n fafa-n peni, tem da rogo.
3sPOSS female.big leg/foot-GEN top-GEN first only then 3s enter

'One of her husband's sisters must sprinkle water on top of he wife's feet first, before she enters [the house].'

(50) Di.ta, do, da puna hum.loli-n dii, nak geb.haa
DIST DEM PAUS 3s do house.circle-GEN DIST 3sPOSS person.big
nak hum.loli-n.
3sPOSS house.circle-GEN

'In that way, well, she becomes a member of the kin group section of her husband's kin group section.'

(51) Nake ana-mhana nake feta dii, da temu nak fin.haa
3sPOSS child-male 3sPOSS sister (m.s.) DIST 3s wash 3sPOSS female.big
napa-n fafa-n, tu temu tu wae.
foot-GEN top-GEN with wash with water

'That man's sister, she washes the top of the wife's foot by washing with water.'

(52) Wae di ngoto-k di pir.dolo-t.
water DIST put-k DIST plate [Ml-][a.l]-NOM
'The water is placed in an antique dish.'

(53) Pir.dolo-k sa moo, musti te ngoto-k tu pir.dolo-t.
plate.straight-k one NEG must [AM] ABIL put-k with plate.former-NOM
'There is no [modern] plate [that can be used for this], [the water] must be put in an antique dish.'

TEXT 3: Gofot tu Wela (The Turtle & the Monitor Lizard)

[Narrator: Edi Solissa from the mountain village of Kudil Lahin. Speaker of the Rana dialect.
Artist: Nus Hukumala (age 15) from the mountain village of Wae Katin.]

(1) En-dohi-n naa, gofo-t tu wela.
ABS-narrate-GEN PROX turtle-NOM with monitor lizard
'This story is about the turtle and the monitor lizard.'

(2) Gofo-t, a'ika pa da hoi nake fiat waa-n.
turtle-NOM 3s go REAL 3s dig up 3sPOSS banana [Rana] shoot-GEN
'The turtle, he went and dug up his young banana shoot.'

(3) Da oli pa 3a dobo wela.
3s return REAL 3s meet lizard
'He returned (home) and he met the monitor lizard.'
(4) Wela prepate gofo-t fene, lizard say DAT turtle-NOM REAL

"Tawe, kae ego ii dii la teni?" friend 2s get thing DIST IRR what

"The lizard said to the turtle, "Friend, what are you taking that thing for?"

(5) "A ego ii naa la a seka-k, 1s get thing PROX IRR 1s plant-k

tu ii naa enaa-n gosa." en-kaa-n

with thing PROX ABS-eat-GEN good

"I'm taking this to plant it, because this thing here is good for eating."

(6) Fen, "E, gam dii, do, ku lai-k yako tu p-roi, REAL PAUS SIM DIST PAUS 2s give-k 1s with CAUS-small

la kita rua seka." IRR 1pi two plant

'Said, "Uh, If that's the case, then, give me some so the two of us can plant it."

(7) Gofo-t prepate, "Gam dii, do, kaenamu-k luke-n." turtle-NOM say SIM DIST PAUS 2s 2sPOSS-k tip-GEN

'The turtle said, "Well if that's how you want it, you take the young leaves at the top."

(8) Fen, "Moo! Yako tu lahi-n." say NEG 1s with root-GEN

'[The lizard] said, "No! The base is for me."

(9) Gofo-t fen, "Moo! Ya geba en-hoi-t pa yako tu turtle-NOM say NEG 1s person ABS-dig up-NOM REAL 1s with

laihi-n, kae tu luke-n." root-GEN 2s with tip-GEN

'The turtle said, "No! I am a ground scraper so the base is for me, the tip is for you."

(10) Gofo-t, da ep-ture ii dii pa da lai-k wela tu luke-n. turtle-NOM.3s CAUS-short thing DIST REAL 3s give-k lizard with tip-GEN

'The turtle, he cut the thing short and gave the tip to the lizard."

(11) Wela seka-k nake luke-n dii, da newe moo, tu da mata. lizard plant-k 3sPOSS-tip-GEN DIST 3s live NEG with 3s die

'The lizard planted that tip of his; it didn’t live, but it died."

(12) Gofo-t seka-k nake-k lahi-n dii, da newe. turtle-NOM plant-k 3sPOSS-root-GEN DIST 3s live

'The turtle planted the base of his; it lived."

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Appendix E:

(13) **Ne**we pa da haaeta fiat dli, da buha gone saka
live REAL 3s big until banana DIST 3s bunch ripe up
luke-n pa gofo-t naa, ring te keha la-d.kaa moo.
tip-GEN REAL turtle-NOM PROX 3s ABIL ascend IRR-3s.cat NEG

'**It lived and it grew until that banana [tree] it had a ripe bunch up at the top and this turtle, he couldn’t climb up to eat it.**'

(14) Wela suba dli, fene, "Tawe, keenam fiat naa,
lizard cross threshold DIST say friend 2s 2sPOSS banana PROX
gone saka naa, do, kae kaa moo."
ripe up PROX PAUS 2s eat NEG

'The lizard showed up there saying, "Friend, this banana of yours, it's ripe up there, man, [but] you can't eat it."'

(15) "**Tawe, yako an naa te keha moo.**
friend 1s FOC PROX ABIL ascend NEG
'Friend, I in particular am not able to climb."

(16) Fen, "E, gam dli, do, barisukla ku ba sohi-k pa rahe
say PAUS SIM DIST PAUS permit IRR 2s DUR wait-k down ground

tu ya keha la a tata-k p-roi la ku kaa,
with 1s ascend IRR 1s lower-k CAUS-small IRR 2s eat

yako tu p-roi."
1s with CAUS-small

'[The lizard] said, "Uh, if that's how it is, then just wait there on the ground and I will climb up and let some down for you to eat a bit and a bit for me."'

(17) Wela keha fi saka, ring kaa sepo ba-baa,
lizard ascend LOC up 3s eat finish RED-only
ring te laj-k gofo-t tu p-roi moo.
3s ABIL give-k turtle-NOM with CAUS-small NEG

'So then' the monitor lizard climbed up [the banana tree], he just ate it all up, and he wouldn’t give the turtle any of it.'

(18) Ring mele ba saka nak roko nak fiat foli-n' dli,
3s last DUR up 3sPOSS companion 3sPOSS banana bunch-GEN DIST

eta do kaa sepo fiat di hansl-hansiak-o.
until 3s eat finish banana DIST RED-all-PL

'He remained up in his companion’s bunch of bananas until he had finished eating every single one of the bananas.'

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(19) Ring lai-k gofo-t an tu p-roi moo.
3s give-k turtle-NOM FOC with CAUS-small NEG
'And the turtle wasn't given any by him.'

(20) Petu gofo-t fene, "Ku lai-k yako tu nang fuat
SEQ turtle-NOM say 2s give-k 1s with 1sPOSS banana [Masate]
p-roi moo, bu ramak tu ya hapu une-t."
CAUS-small NEG but later with 1s tie cusus snare-NOM
'So then the turtle said, "You didn't give me any of my bananas, but [you'd better watch out]
because later I will set a cusus snare [for you]."'

(21) Fene, "Kae hapu une-t bu ya beta-h moo!"
say 2s tie snare-NOM but 1s connect-it NEG
'[The lizard] said, "You can tie a cusus snare, but I won't be snared!"'

(22) Fen, "li dili, ya tane sura-n."
say thing DIST 1s plant spike trap-GEN
'[The turtle] said, "If that's so, [then] I'll set spike traps."

(23) Fen, "Mol! Kae tane sura-n bu ya beta-h moo!"
say NEG 2s plant spike-GEN but 1s connect-it NEG
'[The lizard] said, "Now! You can set spike traps, but I won't run into them!"

(24) Fen, "li dili, ya hosu pehul."
say thing DIST 1s set bird snare
'[The turtle] said, "If that is so, [then] I'll set up a bird snare."

(25) Fen, "Mool Pehul bu ya beta-h moo!"
say NEG bird snare but 1s connect-it NEG
'[The lizard] said, "I won't even be caught by a bird snare!"
(26) Gofo-t naa, da tane flat di en-hela-n, da hapu une-t, turtle-NOM PROX 3s plant banana DIST ABS-trunk-GEN 3s tie snare-NOM
da tane sura-n pa rebe.
3s plant spike-GEN down ground

'Now this turtle, he planted the trunk of the tree, he tie cus cus snares, he planted spike traps
down in the ground.'

(27) Petu da oli.
SEQ 3s return
'Then he went home.'

(28) Da oli eta beto rua sepo, da saki suba dii.
3s return until night two finish 3s return cross threshold DIST

po wela toho ti saka,
REAL [Rana] lizard descend LOC up

pa da beta une-t di haik.
REAL 3s connect cus cus snare-NOM DIST PRF

'He went home and after two days he came back, arriving at that place, and the monitor lizard
had come down from up there, and he had gotten trapped in the cus cus snare.'

(29) Da beta une-t dii, pa gofo-t na holi-k.
3s connect snare-NOM DIST REAL turtle-NOM PROX undo-k

'He had gotten trapped in the cus cus snare, and so the turtle unfastened him.'

(30) Holi-k wela, petu ringe reka wela dii.
undo-k lizard SEQ 3s flail lizard DIST

'Af ter undoing the lizard, he then began to beat him.'

(31) Da ego kau ture-n dii, pa da reka wela dii, fene,
3s get wood short-GEN DIST REAL 3s flail lizard DIST say

"A reka sapa-n naa? A reka meme rohi,
1s flail what-GEN PROX 1s flail mother's brother bone

meme rohi, tin-tang-kuku!"
mother's brother bone (onomotopoeia)

'He took that short piece of wood, and he beat that lizard, saying, "What is this I am beating?
I am beating Uncle's bones, Un cles' bones, tin-tang-kuku!'''

(32) Petu sepo.
SEQ finish
'And that's all.'
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