

Reduced pronouns and arguments in Sou Amana Teru, Ambon*

Simon Musgrave
Linguistics Program
Monash University

This paper examines the use of reduced pronouns in the language Sou Amana Teru, spoken at the eastern end of Ambon Island. The language has two series of reduced pronouns; one series of proclitics and another series of enclitics. The two series are almost identical, and are both formally derived from free pronouns. The reduced pronouns can appear in various functions, including as the arguments of verbs, as the complements of prepositions and as markers of inalienable possession. My discussion will focus on the use of reduced pronouns in argument positions, especially their use as the sole argument of an intransitive verb or as the more agentive argument of a transitive verb.¹ The evidence which I present shows that reduced pronouns used in this function have properties which are characteristic of a cross-referencing system. Such systems are usually considered to be a part of the morphological component of grammar, but evidence from Sou Amana Teru suggests that the use of reduced pronouns in S and A function largely follows principles of the syntactic component of the language. I suggest that this situation is best understood as part of a process of change from a diachronic state of the language which has true morphological cross-referencing towards a state which is organised more analytically.

The discussion also covers the use of reduced pronouns to mark patient-like arguments. This occurs with transitive verbs (in O function), where reduced pronouns are one possible realisation of the argument but do not have a cross-referencing function, and with two classes of intransitive verbs, where the reduced pronoun references the S argument which also appears elsewhere in the clause. This latter case provides evidence that the language has split S properties in at least a small part of its grammar.

The examples used in this paper represent three types of data, and codes are given following the free translation of each example to indicate the source of each example. Many examples are taken from spontaneous narrative or conversation, and such examples have the code SD (= spontaneous discourse). Other examples come from translations of a standard elicitation narrative, used to obtain basic data on a number of languages in several locations. Such examples have the code GS (= Garden Story) and the examples cited here come from two different speakers. Finally, some examples were elicited as isolated sentences, and these examples have the code E.

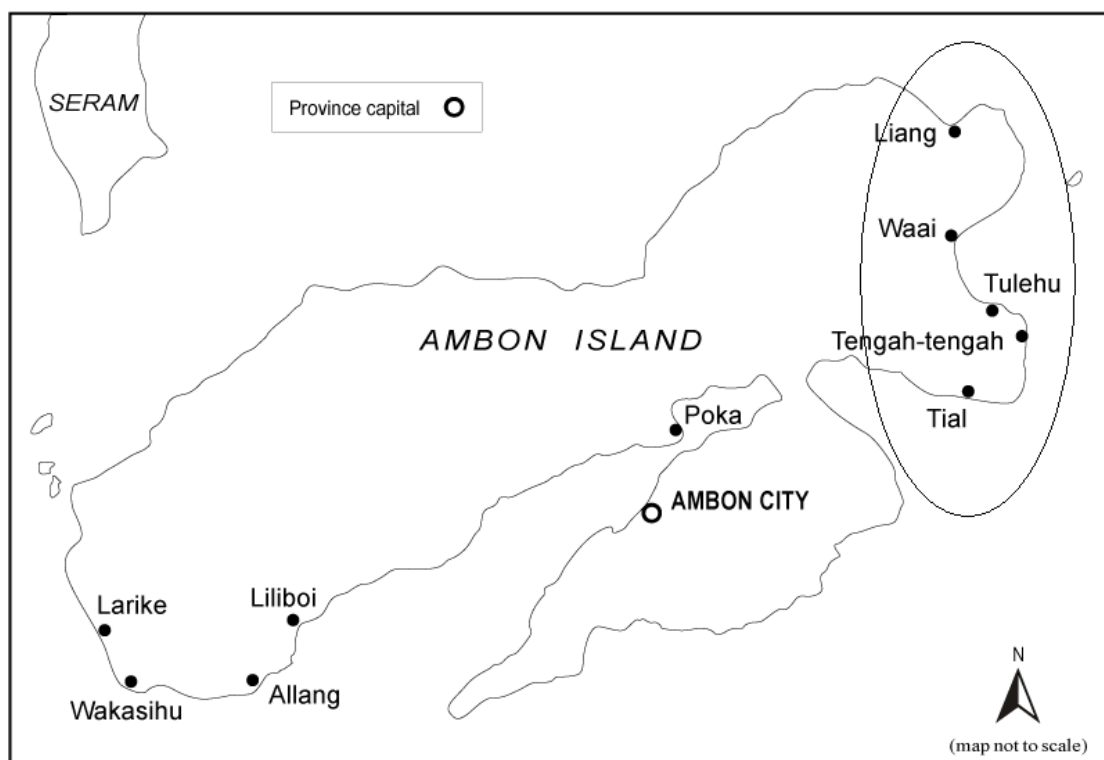
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¹ In what follows, I use the abbreviations S, A and O (after Dixon, 1972) to mean respectively: the single argument of an intransitive verb, the more agent-like argument of a transitive verb, and the more patient-like argument of a transitive verb.

The following section of the paper gives brief background information on the language. Section 2 presents data on the pronoun forms and on the distribution of the different form classes, while section 3 concentrates on the use of reduced pronouns in argument positions. Section 4 examines the question of what properties of the system for marking S and A arguments can be considered morphological, and which can be treated as syntactic properties. A summary of my conclusions is presented in section 5.

1. Background

Sou Amana Teru is a Central Malayo-Polynesian language spoken at the eastern end of Ambon Island (see Map 1). The name means ‘language of the three villages’, and the primary speech community is located in the villages of Tulehu, Tengah-tengah and Tial. A dialect of Sou Amana Teru is spoken in the village of Liang to the north of Tulehu, and closely related varieties are spoken in villages on the north coast of Ambon Island (see Musgrave, 2006 for discussion). The language was also formerly spoken in the village of Waai, immediately to the north of Tulehu, but only a few elderly rememberers remain in that location. In all villages, the indigenous language is used in conjunction with Ambonese Malay (Minde, 1997), with standard Indonesian also present via education and the media. There are currently approximately 10,000 active speakers of the language, but the majority of these are over 30 years of age. In younger age groups, linguistic vitality drops rapidly (see Musgrave and Ewing, 2006 for preliminary results of the testing of linguistic vitality in Tulehu), but another 6,000 people can be counted as having some knowledge of the language.



MAP 1 — AMBON ISLAND SHOWING AREA IN WHICH SOU AMANA TERU IS SPOKEN

2. Pronouns in Sou Amana Teru

Sou Amana Teru has three sets of pronouns, one set of free pronouns which are phonologically independent forms, and two sets of reduced pronouns which are phonologically dependent on another word. Of the reduced pronouns, one set are proclitics, that is they appear preposed to the host word, and the other set are enclitics which appear postposed to the host. Table 1 lists these forms.

		Free pronouns	Reduced pronouns	
			Proclitics	Enclitics
1SG		<i>yau</i>	<i>au=</i>	<i>=u</i>
2SG		<i>yare</i>	<i>ar=</i>	<i>=(a)r, =m(u)</i>
3SG	HUM	<i>ire (eng)</i>	<i>e=</i>	<i>=i</i>
	NHUM			<i>=re</i>
1PL	INCL	<i>ike</i>	<i>ka=</i>	<i>=ka</i>
	EXCL	<i>yami</i>	<i>m=</i>	<i>=m(i)</i>
2PL		<i>yimi</i>	<i>mu=</i>	<i>=m(u)</i>
3PL		<i>sire/isi</i>	<i>si=</i>	<i>=si</i>

Table 1 – Pronoun forms in Sou Amana Teru

When a vowel-initial enclitic attaches to a vowel-final host, a glottal stop is predictably inserted in most cases. The two enclitic forms given for 2nd person singular are functionally differentiated and will be discussed below.

The different series of pronouns are used in different functions, and these functions are discussed in the following sections.

2.1 Free Pronouns

Free pronouns can be used in at least the following functions: as the S or A argument of a clause, as the O argument of a clause, as the complement of a preposition, and as a possessor. Examples (1) – (7) illustrate these possibilities, and exemplify the free forms for all person and number combinations, including both of the third person plural forms.²

(1) 1st person singular in O function

Nina e=pa'anusi yau: “*Oi apai=si*”
 mother 3SG=order 1SG go call=3PL
 ‘Mother told me: “Go and call them.” (GS)

(2) 2nd person singular in complement of preposition function

Bisa yau puna wa'a yare
 be.able 1SG do LOC 2SG
 ‘I can do it for you.’ (E)

² See Appendix for abbreviations used in glossing. ‘ indicates a glottal stop. Malay words used as loans, and not phonologically integrated into the language of the example, appear in regular (non-italic) font in examples.

- (3) 3rd person singular in A function
Ire weuta e=pamana
 3SG not.want 3SG=eat
 ‘S/he doesn't want to eat.’ (SD)
- (4) 1st person plural inclusive in A function
Ian ahia=ma taha boleh **ike** lata'a=re
 fish rotten=that NEG permitted 1PL.INCL sell=3NH
 ‘It is not allowed that we sell rotten fish.’ (E)
- (5) 1st person plural exclusive in S function
Yami lai wa'a ruma=ma atatoru ea
 1PL.EXCL come LOC house=that evening already
 ‘When we got home, it was evening already.’ (GS)
- (6) 2nd person plural in possessor function
Yau rarehu=si: **Imi** ha'al'usai na wa'a pe'e?
 1SG ask=3PL 2PL clothing AUX LOC where
 ‘I asked them: "Where are your clothes?"’ (GS)
- (7) 3rd person plural in A function (*sire*)
Sire taha=si supu ian-e
 3PL NEG=3PL catch fish-LM
 ‘They didn't catch any fish.’ (E)
- (8) 3rd person plural in A function (*isi*)
Uma isi paha-nalar-ma aman Tui-rehu-i
 then 3PL CAUS-name-EMPH village tui.bird-below-3SG.INAL
 ‘Then they called the village "Tuirehui".’ (SD)

The free pronoun form shown bracketed in Table 1 is a third person singular pronoun form used only for possession. The use of this form is illustrated in example (9).

- (9) **Au** sau='u e=tana **eng** ana-e
 1SG in.law=1SG.INAL 3SG=take 3SG.POSS child-LM
 ‘My sister-in-law took her baby’ (GS)

This form is an innovation, based on the proclitic form (Musgrave, 2005).

2.2 Proclitics

Proclitics appear in S and A function where there is no other non-nominal element preceding the verb, as seen in examples (10) - (12).

- (10) **Ar=oi** tula ar-ang nina
 2SG=go with 2SG-LNK mother
 ‘You go with your mother.’ (GS)

- (11) Setelah *ela-e* *ka=hala=r* *wa'a rehit-e*
 after sago.pulp-LM 1PL.INCL=carry=3NH LOC sago.trough-LM
 'After it is pulp, we carry it to the trough.' (SD)
- (12) *E=hose:* "Mai *palamana.*"
 3SG=say let's tour
 'He said: "Let's take a trip.'" (SD)

Where a full NP occurs as S or A argument, a 3rd person proclitic still appears adjacent to the verb.

- (13) *Isi ana ko'in-e i=na'e*
 3Pl child small-LM 3SG=sleep
 'Their baby was sleeping.' (GS)
- (14) *Tahina-n laha matua-na=re si=jaga duren=re*
 old.woman-PL with old.man-PL=this 3PL=guard durian=this
 'These old people were guarding the durian.' (SD)

In several languages of Central Maluku, proclitic pronouns mark inalienable possession (Florey, 2005). I have argued elsewhere (Musgrave, 2005) that this structure has almost vanished from Sou Amana Teru, but occasional examples can be found in the usage of older speakers. Example (15) was produced by an elderly speaker in the Dutch diaspora, who has had limited contact with the main speech community for a period of 50 years.

- (15) *Au a'a='u malona-e tula i=mahina-e isi*
 1SG older.sibling=1SG male-LM with 3sg=female-LM 3PL
wa'-ene marinu-e
 LOC-DIST garden-LM
 'My big brother and his wife were there at the garden.' (GS)

2.3 Enclitics

Enclitics appear in five functions: as S or A where a non-nominal element precedes the verb, as O in transitive clauses, as the complement of prepositions, as markers of inalienable possession, and with quantifiers and numerals.

2.3.1 Enclitics as S or A

Three non-nominal elements host enclitics preceding the verb. Two of these are *taha*, the primary negator in Sou Amana Teru, and *hare* which marks continuing action, exemplified in (16) - (18).

- (16) *Tah=u iming ane ambelan-e*
 Neg=1Sg wish eat mango-LM
 'I don't like to eat mango.' (E)

(17) *Tah=i pa-manahu tapi e=ane*
 NEG=3SG CAUS-fall but 3SG=eat
 ‘He didn’t send [them] down but he ate.’ (SD)

(18) *Hare=si turi’e*
 CONT=3PI write
 ‘They are writing.’ (E)

The third preverbal element which hosts reduced pronouns, *na*, is more problematic. The most common occurrence of this element is in clauses with non-verbal predicates expressing location, as seen in example (6) (repeated here) and example (19).

(6) *Yau rarehu=si: ‘Imi hala’usai na wa’a pe’e?’*
 1SG ask=3PL 2PL clothing AUX LOC where
 ‘I asked them: “Where are your clothes?”’ (GS)

(19) *Foto=ma=pi nana-e sala mama Ceha na*
 photo=that=EMPH exist-LM still PN AUX
wa’=ena-ke
 LOC=MED=EMPH
 ‘That photo still exists, mama Ceha, it’s over there.’ (SD)

Such examples suggest that an analysis of *na* as a verb meaning ‘be there’ would be possible. There are two arguments against this approach, however. Firstly, *na* can host an enclitic when it occurs in locational clauses, and this pronoun definitely refers to the S of the clause.

(20) *Nina e=larehu: “Are-ng ana-e kako’ini na=i*
 mother 3SG=ask 2SG-LNK child-LM small AUX=3SG
wa’a pe’e?”
 LOC where
 ‘Mother asked: “Where is your baby?”’ (GS)

As will be discussed in more detail below, enclitics attach to lexical verbs in two cases. In one case, an enclitic can attach to a transitive verb representing the O argument. It is clear that example (20) is not of this type. In the other case, certain types of intransitive verbs can appear with an enclitic. In such cases, a full NP S argument, as in example (20), is accompanied by a proclitic, as in examples (13) and (14). Example (20) is not of this type either. The second argument against analysing *na* as a verb is that it can co-occur with an unambiguous verb, as in example (21).

(21) *Na=isi lai mena ea*
 AUX=3PL come first already
 ‘They came first.’ (GS)

In such examples, the behaviour of *na* is parallel to that of *taha* and *hare*, seen in examples (16) - (18). On the basis of these considerations, I analyse *na* as belonging to the same lexical class as the other two elements which occur preverbally. However,

it is not clear what semantic contribution *na* makes to clauses in which it occurs, and I therefore gloss it as ‘AUX’ where it appears.

The negator *taha* can also appear in negative existential clauses, and in such contexts it can host an enclitic in the same way that *na* does in example (20). Florey (this volume, see especially example (20) and associated discussion) analyses *taha* as a predicate in such contexts, glossing it as Neg.Exist. The arguments presented above as to the status of *na* may also apply to *taha*, but current data possibly is insufficient to resolve the question.

For all the examples discussed in this section, it is intuitively clear that the clitic referencing the S or A argument appears immediately before the verb (if there is one). Given that 3rd person clitics are never hosted by a preceding noun phrase (see examples (13) and (14)), I suggest that the best statement of the position of the clitic is that it attaches to the first element in the predicate constituent of the clause, whatever syntactic category might be assigned to that constituent, and that it must precede the verb if there is one. This statement assumes that auxiliaries and the negator are the first element of a predicate if they occur. Therefore, when an auxiliary or negator is first in the predicate, the clitic follows it and is hosted by it, whether or not a verb follows. On the other hand, when there is no auxiliary or negator, the clitic precedes the verb and is hosted by it.

A 2nd person singular S or A argument which is realised as an enclitic takes the form *-r(e)* (example (22)).

- (22) *Taha=r supu ian-e?*
 NEG=2SG catch fish-LM
 ‘Didn't you catch any fish?’ (E)

The other 2nd person singular form, *-m(u)*, is used to mark inalienable possession and is shown in example (40) below.

2.3.2 Enclitics as O

An O argument in Sou Amana Teru can be realised as an enclitic to the verb. For human third person O arguments, there is a distinction between a singular clitic form (example (23)) and a plural form (example (24)):

- (23) *Jadi ru'a e=supu=i*
 then monkey 3SG=catch=3SG
 ‘Then Monkey caught him.’ (SD)

- (24) *Yau rarehu=si: “Imi hala'usai na wa'a pe'e?”*
 1SG ask=3PL 2PL clothes AUX LOC where
 ‘I asked them: “Where are your clothes?”’ (GS)

For a non-human O argument, a single reduced pronoun, *=re/=r/=ar* (afterwards referred to as *=re*), serves for both singular and plural (examples (25) and (26)).

(25) *Ka=tala=r usi-e ike ha'a=re*
 1PL.INCL=fell=3NH all-PFV 1PL.INCL split=3NH
 'Having felled it, we split it.' (SD)

(26) *Jadi rua=isi pa-tanane'e=re*
 then two=3PL CAUS-plant=3NH
 'Then the two of them planted them.' (SD)

The clause which precedes example (26) describes how the two protagonists have split a banana tree between them, one taking the trunk and one taking the leaves, and it is clear in context that both parts of the tree are being planted, that is, that =*re* has plural reference.

Another use of the clitic =*re* occurs where the valence of the verb requires a second argument but its referential content is not important. In this use, the clitic has no specific reference.

(27) *Taha=u tea=re*
 NEG=1SG know=3NH
 'I don't know.' (E)

(28) *Uma e=ambil kesimpulan-e i=oi lohi=re menulusuri*
 then 3SG=take conclusion-LM 3SG=go seek=3NH explore

waer-ma lo'o rete eng sumber
 water-that toward DIR 3SG.POSS source
 'After reaching a conclusion, he went looking, exploring the river towards its source.' (SD)

In one example, the clitic is used in this way with a verb which is a Malay loan:

(29) *Yami tunjukkan=ar wa'a dunia bahwa yami aman*
 1Pl.Ex indicate=3NH Loc world that 1PL.EXCL village

Tuirehui-e taha=mi iming ena ia kacau uru ekai'i
 Tulehu-LM NEG=1PL.EXCL wish for good trouble head single
 'We show the world that our village of Tulehu does not wish for trouble for anyone.' (SD)

This example suggests a high level of integration of at least some Malay loans into the grammatical system of Sou Amana Teru.

2.3.3 Prepositional complements

The complements of prepositions allow the same range of possibilities as O arguments of verbs for the use of reduced pronouns. Both human (example (30)) and non-human entities (example (31)) can be coded using a reduced pronoun.

(30) *Yau lope'e ian hahua-i wa'a=i*
 1SG give fish piece-3SG.INAL LOC=3SG
 'I gave him a piece of fish.' (GS)

(31) *Yau lope ian hahua-ri wa'a=r*
 1SG give fish piece-one LOC=3NH
 'I gave it a piece of fish.' (GS)

Example (30) and example (31) are translations of the same prompt given by different speakers. The entity to whom the fish is being given is a dog in each case. In example (30), the speaker treats the domestic animal as quasi-human, while in example (31), the dog is seen as non-human. The fact that example (31) is possible establishes that the relevant semantic distinction is human versus non-human, rather than animate versus inanimate.

2.3.4 Enclitics with intransitive verbs

There are three classes of intransitive verbs in Sou Amana Teru, two of which can occur with an enclitic in the position which would represent an O argument with a transitive verb. The third class is not discussed here, and contains all intransitive verbs which are not included in the first two classes.

2.3.4.1 UNDERGOER-ORIENTED INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The first class consists of undergoer-oriented verbs, denoting states which affect the S argument. Such verbs, for conservative speakers at least, obligatorily occur with an enclitic which repeats the S argument.

(32) *Yami maruhu'=amu*
 1PL.INCL hungry=1PL.INCL
 'We are hungry.' (GS)

(33) *Ar=amuri'=amu*
 2SG=tired=2SG
 'You are tired.' (GS)

Several of the verbs which fall into this class in Sou Amana Teru allow a second oblique argument to occur in the clause, coded as a PP (for an extensive discussion of such verbs in western Austronesian languages, see Musgrave, 2002, Ch.4). The repetition of the S argument can still occur where an undergoer oriented verb takes an oblique second argument.

(34) *Yau kere'=u ena asu*
 1SG afraid=1SG for dog
 'I am afraid of dogs.' (E)

Examples such as (34) suggest that the enclitic which occurs with undergoer-oriented intransitive verbs does not represent a semantic argument distinct from the experiencer. The preverbal S argument of an undergoer-oriented intransitive verb

cannot be omitted; in this respect, Sou Amana Teru differs from Allang, another Central Maluku language from Ambon Island (see Ewing, this volume).

2.3.4.2 INTRADIRECTIVE INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The second class of intransitive verbs consists of verbs which denote an action which is initiated by a conscious agent and which affects that same agent. Such verbs are classed as intradirective verbs by Pawley (1973), and defined as ones whose “subject or actor is both the one who causes and who experiences the action’. As Pawley notes, most such verbs involve either movement or posture, Although these verbs are normally used with a single argument, there are examples in which they occur with an enclitic which doubles the S argument.

- (35) *Sori bombonu e=kecewa e=oi=i*
 then turtle 3SG=disappointed 3SG=go=3SG
 ‘Then turtle was sad and he took himself off.’ (SD)

- (36) *Ike reu=ka*
 1PL.INCL go.home=1PL.INCL
 ‘We want to go home!’ (GS)

This possibility seems to be used to emphasise the commitment of the S argument to the action. Bolton (1990:100) gives similar examples for Nuaulu, a Central Moluccan language from south-central Seram island.

All the examples of this construction in my database have a human S argument (or an animal treated as a human), except for one:

- (37) *Karena mei-si taha lai=re uma isi apa’=ar*
 because tongue-3PL.INAL NEG come=3NH then 3PL call=3NH

Tulehu

PN

‘Because their tongues couldn’t come, they called it Tulehu.’ (SD)

This example is an explanation of why the name by which the village is usually called, *Tulehu*, differs from the traditional name in Sou Amana Teru, which is *Tuirehui*. The accepted account of this change in the village is that the Dutch colonialists were unable to pronounce /r/ and therefore changed the name. Although the non-human pronoun form is used in example (37), it could be argued that the S argument in this instance is a human body part, and that the construction is therefore being used with a human referent via a semantic extension. Such arguments suggest that this construction may indeed be constrained semantically to human entities in S function, even if a formal distinction between humans and non-humans is still evident.

2.3.5 Inalienable possession

In Sou Amana Teru, enclitic pronouns attached to nouns code inalienable possession. The semantic category of inalienability includes some kin terms (example (38)) and part/whole relations (example (39)), including parts of the body (example (40)).

Example (40) also shows the 2nd person singular form used to mark inalienable possession. This is the only case where the inalienable possession marker has a different form from the enclitic pronoun form used in other functions (that form can be seen in example (22)), and it suggests that the use of reduced pronouns for this function may be of greater antiquity than the use of reduced pronouns for argument marking. The form *-mu* is a reflex of the form reconstructed for the Proto-Austronesian 2nd person singular genitive pronoun (Blust, 1977), while both of the forms used to mark arguments, *ar-* and *-(a)r*, are reduced forms of the relevant free pronoun. That form, *yare*, has cognates throughout central Maluku, but is certainly more recent than the *-mu* form.

(38) *Yau oi laha au ama='u laha au ina='u*
 1SG go with 1SG father=1SG.INAL with 1SG mother=1SG.INAL
 'I went with my father and my mother.' (GS)

(39) *Yau a'a malona-e i=tane kaki-e wa'a marinu*
 1SG older.sibling male-LM 3SG=plant tuber-LM LOC garden

usu='i
 edge=3SG.INAL
 'My big brother planted sweet potato at the edge of the garden.' (GS)

(40) *Yare mata=m ma'e'u*
 2SG eye=2SG.INAL itchy
 'Your eyes are itchy' (E)

Examples (9), (15) and (30) also include inalienable possession structures, and Musgrave, 2005 has extensive discussion of this possibility.

2.3.6 Numbers and quantifiers

Enclitics also attach to quantifiers and numbers to indicate the group from which the selection is made (examples (41) and (42)).

(41) *Ami haiti=m ami tiau nela ea*
 1PL.EXCL all=1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL stomach big already
 'We were all full.' (GS)

(42) *Nina e=larehu yau: "Rua=isi na=isi wa'a pe'e?"*
 mother 3SG=ask 1SG two=3PL AUX=3PL LOC where
 'Mother asked me: "Those two, where are they?"' (GS)

In these examples, it is clear that the enclitic forms a unit with the quantifying element. However, in other cases, the enclitic which attaches to the quantifier could also be interpreted as being the S/A argument clitic (example (43)).

- (43) *Uma rua=isi laka kula hutai='ene*
 then two=3PL take banana plant=MED
 'Then the two of them took the banana plant' (SD)

2.4 Summary

Table 2 summarises the distribution of the different pronoun forms in the various constructions which have been discussed.

	S/A	O	P-Comp	Poss(INAL)	Poss(AL)	Quant
Free pronoun	√	√	√		√	
Proclitic	√				?	
Enclitic	√	√	√	√		√

Table 2 – Distribution of pronoun forms in Sou Amana Teru

This table gives information only about the possibilities for formal realisation of the different functions; the actual constructions are more finely differentiated, particularly with regard to the hosts to which clitic pronouns attach. The next section of the paper clarifies these different possibilities, focussing first on the realisation of arguments in O function, and then on the more complex issue of the distribution of pronoun forms in S and A functions.

3. Pronouns and argument positions

It can be seen from Table 2 that there is more than one way of realising an argument as a pronoun. And it has also been shown in previous examples that at least some reduced pronouns can appear in the presence of other nominals which also realise the same argument. In this section, I will set out the restrictions on the multiple exponence of arguments, before attempting to place the system in a typological perspective. The analysis of O arguments is more straightforward, and I therefore begin with them

3.1 O arguments

There are two possible realisations of an O argument in Sou Amana Teru. Firstly, a full NP can occur, as in example (9), and this possibility includes the use of a free pronoun, as in example (44).

- (44) *Yami a'a-ng mahina-e eng ana e=ainala*
 1PL.EXCL older.sibling-LNK female-LM 3SG.POSS child 3SG=wait

yami wa'a ruma-e
 1PL.EX LOC house-LM
 'Our big sister's child waited for us at the house.' (GS)

Secondly, a reduced pronoun can be used, as seen in examples (23) - (29).

Crucially, however, these two possibilities are in complementary distribution. It is not possible for a single clause to contain both a free NP in O function and an enclitic referencing that NP. That is, there is no clause corresponding to example (9) in which a reduced pronoun also occurs.

(45) *Au sau'u etana(*=i) eng anae.*

This evidence shows that enclitics attached to transitive verbs in Sou Amana Teru are not a cross-referencing phenomenon. The reduced pronoun is the sole exponent of the O argument in these cases, and it retains its status as a true pronoun.

However, Sou Amana Teru does have structures where two exponents of an O argument do seem to occur in the same clause. In such cases, a full noun phrase which seems to be in O function appears at the left edge of a clause, with a pragmatically marked effect, and an enclitic also occurs attached to the verb.

(46) *Isi pakaian isi taru=r wa'a pe'e*
 3PL clothes 3PL place=3NH LOC where
 'Their clothes, where had they put them?' (SD)

(47) *Uma selendang-ma Lambi Ulan e=tana=re e=pahunia=re*
 then shawl-that PN 3SG=take=3NH 3SG=hide=3NH

e=pa-nusu=ar wa'a ute wake-i
 3SG=CAUS-enter=3NH LOC bamboo joint-3SG.INAL
 'Then, that shawl, Lambi Ulan took it, he hid it, he put it into the piece of bamboo.' (SD)

As was seen in examples (27) - (29) above, the non-human clitic can satisfy the valence requirements of a transitive verb even where the second argument has no significant reference. This fact, together with the co-occurrence restriction just described, suggests that the clitic in examples (46) and (47) should be interpreted as the true syntactic argument of the verb, with the left-dislocated noun phrase being outside the clausal nucleus. Schematically, the structure suggested for these examples is:

(48) [sNP_i [Cl NP V=Pro_i]]

This analysis is supported by the fact that the clitic is used in similar fashion in cases where it co-refers with an NP which is unambiguously outside the immediate clause, for example when the O of a purpose clause is co-referent with the O of the matrix clause.

(49) *Uma ute wake-ma e=tana=re [ena e=pa'-ia=re]*
 then bamboo joint=DIST 3SG=take=3NH for 3SG=CAUS-good=3NH
 'Then that bamboo joint, she took it to fix it.' (SD)

In example (49), the full noun phrase O of the matrix clause has been left-dislocated, but it is clear that both the clitic in the matrix clause and that in the purpose clause refer to the same entity, the piece of bamboo. These arguments show that the possibility of an enclitic co-referring with a left-dislocated NP does not contradict the analysis that reduced pronouns attached to transitive verbs fill the O argument position.³

Sou Amana Teru has no obvious voice system, that is, there are no dedicated morphological markers which signal changes in the diathesis of verbs. This is a property which is expected according to Himmelmann's (2005) account of the typology of non-Oceanic Austronesian languages. Sou Amana Teru belongs to the type which Himmelmann terms 'preposed possessor languages', as can be seen in examples such as (6), (9), (40) and (44) among others, and the lack of a voice system is one of the characteristics of this type. However, the left-dislocation structure just described can be used in a way which is functionally very similar to the use of passive in other languages. A salient O argument can be moved to the clause initial position with a co-referent clitic on the verb, and a non-specific pronoun occurring in A function.

- (50) Jadi *lapia-re si heta=re*
 then sago-this 3PL cut=3.NH
 'So this sago, they cut it.' (SD)

Example (50) is the second clause of a procedural text. No human actors were introduced in the first clause, and the third person plural pronoun in the example therefore does not have anaphoric reference. Its reading is non-specific or generic, and the example could be translated appropriately with a passive clause in English: 'The sago is cut'. Such structures most commonly have a non-human O argument. It is possible to have an enclitic representing a human O, but it is very uncommon for such pronouns to be anteceded by a left-dislocated NP. Where a noun phrase is followed by a proclitic and then a verb, the default option is to interpret the proclitic as co-referential with the noun phrase, that is, it is interpreted as an example of the repetition of A previously discussed. The structure represented schematically in example (51) is preferentially interpreted as indicated in (52), not as an instance of a quasi-passive clause.

- (51) NP_O Pro_A Verb=Pro_O

- (52) Jadi *ru'a e=supu=i*
 then monkey 3SG=catch=3SG
 'Then Monkey_i, he_i caught him_j.' (SD)
 NOT: 'Then Monkey_j, he_i caught him_j.'

Speakers will accept left-dislocation of human O arguments in elicited examples, particularly when there is a difference in number between the A and O arguments to disambiguate as in example (53), and I have recorded a single spontaneous example of this type, example (54).

³ The intonation of utterances with a left-dislocated NP is inconclusive with regard to this analysis. In many cases, there is an intonation break after the initial NP, but a break does not occur in every case.

(53) *Hasan si nau=i*
 PN 3PL see=3SG.H
 ‘Hasan they saw.’ (E)

(54) *Ana haing-api si=halata=i*
 child that-EMPH 3PL=strike=3SG
 ‘That child was struck.’ (SD)
 (LIT: That child, they struck him.)

But even examples with both A and O being singular are acceptable, as in example (55).

(55) *Hasan e=nau=i*
 PN 3SG=see=3SG.H
 ‘Hasan_i, he_j saw.’ (E)

Languages can tolerate ambiguity in the reference of verbal arguments (see Ewing, 2005 for discussion), but the absence of examples such as (53) and (55) in natural discourse suggests that Sou Amana Teru speakers prefer to avoid ambiguity in this case.

3.2 S and A arguments

All three types of pronoun can realise an S or A argument in Sou Amana Teru. One possible realisation of S, discussed in section 2.3.4, is as an enclitic attached to the verb. But this possibility is restricted to two small classes of intransitive verbs, and I will not discuss it further here. Instead, I concentrate on preverbal realisations of S and A arguments, and the restrictions on the appearance of the different pronoun types.

Three factors determine the distribution of pronouns in preverbal positions and there are relations of logical dependency between these factors. The first factor is whether the S/A argument is human or non-human. Dependent on this factor are the questions of whether or not one of the preverbal elements *taha*, *hare* and *na* occurs in the clause and whether the S/A argument is third person and can be represented by a non-pronominal NP.

In the case that the S/A argument is non-human, no pronoun occurs preverbally, because no pronoun exists in Sou Amana Teru which can refer to a non-human entity in that function. It will be recalled that the enclitic *=re* refers to non-human entities, and the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun *eng* can also have a non-human antecedent, as seen in example (56) (and also in example (60)).

(56) Tapi *eng* *nalar=ma*, *eng* *nalar ha'er?*
 but 3SG.POSS name=that 3SG.POSS name what
 ‘But what was its name?’ (SD)

This example is taken from a narrative about how the village of Tulehu was named, and in this clause the first inhabitants, having just arrived at the site of the village, are asking what the name of the place might be. But a third-person, non-human entity occurring as an S/A argument can never be represented by a preverbal pronoun. In such cases, the noun phrase denoting the entity stands alone. This is the case when the noun phrase occurs immediately before the verb, example (57).

- (57) *Manu ane kula-e*
 bird eat banana-LM
 ‘The bird is eating bananas’ (SD)

It is also the case when the clause is negated (example (58)) or when some other element intervenes between the S/A argument and the verb (example (59)), a situation where repetition with a pronoun would be expected with a human entity.

- (58) *Lampu taha kina*
 lamp NEG bright
 ‘The lamp has gone out.’ (E)

- (59) *Duren ain=ma tiap taun=ma pahua*
 durian tree=that each year=that bear.fruit
 ‘That durian tree bore fruit every year.’ (SD)

It is possible to omit the noun phrase where it is recoverable from the context, as in example (60), but this strategy is very rare in my data. In the procedural text from which example (60) is taken, which describes the harvesting and processing of sago, the sago is almost always kept in O function where it can be referred to with a pronoun. Example (60) is the only exception to this pattern.

- (60) *Lapia=re-na eng isinar=ma-ne masehu aiy-i*
 sago=this-EMPH 3SG.POSS contents=that-EMPH drop.down 3-3SG.H

lo'o-ne rehit lare-i
 to-EMPH sago.trough inside-3SG.INAL

Masehu usie ike pareta waer-e
 drop.down all 1PL.INCL make.dry water-LM
 ‘The contents of the sago drop down into the trough. After (it) drops down, we dry the water out.’ (SD)

It should be noted that some other languages of Central Maluku do have third person singular non-human pronoun, distinct from the pronoun which refers to third person humans. Examples (61) and (62) from Alune show this contrast (data from Florey, 2001).

- (61) *Ela' inai-je i=ombe....*
 elder CLF-DET 3SG.H-say
 ‘My parent, s/he said.....’

- (62) *Apa-le e=betu bei au*
 pig-LM 3SG.NH-get.up ABL 1SG
 ‘The pig got up from me.’

When the S/A argument is a human entity, then a pronoun is possible. Which type of pronoun can appear then depends on the presence or absence of a preverbal element. If such an element is present, an enclitic must attach to it, as seen in the examples in section 2.3.1. If there is no preverbal element, then a proclitic is possible. Such a pronoun is obligatory in the case of a third person S/A argument realised as a non-pronominal NP (examples in section 2.2), but it cannot appear when a free pronoun occurs before the verb, unless a preverbal element intervenes.

- (63) *Isi pahai wa’-ene*
 3PL play LOC-DIST
 ‘They played there.’ (GS)

- (64) *Yau taha=u pahai-’e*
 1SG NEG=1SG play-LM
 ‘I didn’t play.’ (GS)

Thus example (63) is possible with a pronoun adjacent to the verb, and example (64) is possible with a free pronoun and a reduced pronoun separated by *taha*. But example (65) is not possible where two pronouns are adjacent.

- (65) **Yau u=pahai’e.*

Two generalisations can be made about the patterns just described. Firstly, unless the S/A argument is non-human, a pronoun must immediately precede the verb. Secondly, two exponents of the S/A argument are permitted, but if they are both pronouns, they must be separated by one of the preverbal elements. At first sight, it appears that there is a single position available for a pronoun immediately before the verb which can be filled by a free pronoun, or by a proclitic attached to the verb when no non-nominal element precedes the verb, or by an enclitic attached to a non-nominal preverbal element. I will argue below that this appearance is incorrect, and that preverbal free pronouns are in a different position from proclitics.

4. S/A pronouns – morphology or syntax?

The various possibilities for the realisation of S/A arguments described above constitute a system which has some of the properties of a cross-referencing system. Such systems are defined by Andrews (1985:75) as having “various grammatical properties of an NP ... registered on an element bearing some specific syntactic relation to the NP”. In *Sou Amana Teru*, material appears attached to the verb (or at least adjacent to it) which registers the person and number properties of the S/A argument. That such elements are closely related to pronouns, or actually are pronouns, is consistent with the view of such systems developed by Givón (1976 and elsewhere). In addition to referencing a free NP which is an exponent of the S/A argument, these clitics can fill the argument position themselves. This again is a common property of cross-reference systems. Therefore one analysis might be that

Sou Amana Teru has a system of S/A agreement or cross-referencing. Such a system would be a morphological system, but different aspects of the system in Sou Amana Teru suggest an interpretation which is either more morphological or more syntactic. The possibility of free pronouns appearing as sole exponent of the S/A argument supports a morphological view of the system, while the instability in the positioning of the clitics, and the absence of cross-referencing for non-human S/A arguments suggest a more syntactic view.

As seen previously, a free pronoun can occur immediately preverbally, and in this case it must be the sole exponent of the S/A argument. This distribution might be taken to suggest that the position occupied by clitics is available to any pronoun, other things being equal. But, if that was the case, it would be predicted that free pronouns could occur between a preverbal element and the verb, and this pattern is not attested. Therefore, I suggest that a free pronoun as sole exponent of the S/A argument must be in the same position as a full NP argument such as those in examples (13) and (14) (human S/A with reduced pronouns following) or in example (57) (non-human S/A without a following reduced pronoun), and that the immediately preverbal slot is restricted to clitics. This implies a more morphological view of the cross-referencing phenomenon: the material which can appear in the position in question is restricted according to form class, rather than a syntactic class.

On the other hand, the positioning of the clitics seems to be determined syntactically. As seen in several examples above, a reduced pronoun representing the S/A argument can appear either as a proclitic attached to the verb or as an enclitic attached to one of the three preverbal particles (and possibly as an enclitic attached to a quantifying expression). Intuitively, the correct generalisation is that the two possibilities are really the same: there is a single position in which a reduced pronoun can occur (immediately before the verb) and whether it attaches to the left or to the right depends on the surrounding environment. But such an account fits better with an analysis in which the syntactic position of the pronoun and its phonological position are independent factors. In a fully grammaticized morphological system, we would expect that the cross-referencing elements would all appear in the same morphological slot. Therefore, this evidence suggests that viewing the clitics as independent syntactic elements is preferable.

The second case in which the S/A argument is not represented by a clitic is that where the S/A argument is non-human. The paradigm of forms in Table 1 showed that Sou Amana Teru has no pronominal forms specific for 3rd person non-human reference except for the enclitic *-re* which cannot be used in S/A function. One approach to this gap in the paradigm would be to posit the existence of a non-human pronoun which is formally realised as zero. Such an account would remove the paradigmatic gap, and the requirement to have a pronoun immediately preceding the verb would then be without exception. Analyses which include clitics with no overt realisation have been proposed for languages from another part of Maluku, the island of Aru (Hughes, 2000, Nivens, 1998). For example, Hughes proposes that the Dobel language has a zero clitic for 3rd person inanimate O arguments. However, it is clear from many preceding examples that a preverbal clitic alone is sufficient to fill the S/A argument slot in Sou Amana Teru. Therefore such an account would predict that the zero pronoun could also be an argument in its own right, and that clauses with no overt

S/A argument should be acceptable. But as noted in the discussion of example (60), this is not in fact the case. Although other morphological analyses are possible which do not posit a zero form in the pronoun paradigm, the argument just presented tends to weaken the case for a morphological treatment of the preverbal clitics.

The arguments above suggest that the S/A pronoun system of Sou Amana Teru has morphological aspects and syntactic aspects. Collins (1983:24-27) shows that the languages of Central Maluku had a verbal conjugation system at some point in their development which involved variation in the initial consonant of verb forms. Sou Amana Teru shows little trace of such a system today, although closely related varieties spoken at Hitu and Mamala on the north coast of Ambon Island have retained some conjugated forms as free variants. This can be seen in example (66), from Hitu, where the S argument of the two clauses is identical, but different verb forms appear.

- (66) *Ite kolo wa'ale kula ite tolo ahasame*
 1PL.E sit LOC-PROX and 1PL.E sit rest
 'We sat down here and we rested.' (GS)

The system described in this paper is formally close to the one which Collins gives for the 'neutral conjugation', where some material which varies precedes the verb stem, but the verb stem itself does not vary.

- (67) Conjugated forms of *nanu* 'swim'
 from Asilulu (north coast, Ambon Island)
 (Collins, 1983:26)
- | | |
|----------|----------------|
| 1SG | <i>unanu</i> |
| 2SG | <i>ananu</i> |
| 3SG | <i>inanu</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>mananu</i> |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>nanu</i> |
| 2PI | <i>(i)nanu</i> |
| 3PI | <i>sinanu</i> |

The pattern presented by Collins is more clearly morphological, especially in that different paradigms occur depending on the phonological properties of the base form. A similar system almost certainly was part of Sou Amana Teru at an earlier period, and traces of verb conjugation, appearing as free variation, can still be observed in the closely related variety spoken at Hitu (Musgrave 2006). In comparison, the current system in Sou Amana Teru appears more analytic. One set of forms of the cross-referencing pronouns has been generalised across all verbs, and the pronouns are well short of being fully grammaticalized as bound morphemes.

It seems likely that the language will move towards an even more analytic structure in the near future. Morphological simplification is already evident in the language use of younger speakers, with both suffixal markers of inalienable possession and S clitics on undergoer-oriented verbs tending to disappear (see Musgrave, 2005 for discussion). The use of S/A cross-referencing is also less common for such speakers. The following examples use data taken from the program of linguistic vitality testing

carried out in Tulehu village. For each pair of examples, the first example is the target translation of a Malay prompt provided by a fluent male speaker aged over 60, while the second example is the translation of the same Malay prompt given by a female speaker aged between 20 and 30.

- (68) a. *Yau ai='u masere*
 1SG leg=1SG.INAL sick
 'My leg hurts.' (E)
- (68) b. *Au kaki masere-'e*
 1SG leg(Malay) sick-LM
 'My leg hurts.' (E)
- (69) a. *Yami taha=mi maruhu='amu*
 1PL.EXCL NEG=1PL.EXCL hungry=1PL.EXCL
 'We are not hungry.' (E)
- (69) b. *Ki taha maruhu-'e*
 1PL(.INCL) NEG hungry-LM
 'We are not hungry.' (E)

Example (68) shows the loss of the enclitic marking of inalienable possession, at least partly due to the use of a Malay loan word for the possessed body part. Example (69) shows the loss of the preverbal clitic referencing the S argument and the loss of the enclitic on the verb referencing an affected undergoer S. This example also shows the collapse of the inclusive/exclusive distinction for 1st person plural. In both examples, the unexpected use of the lexical marker suffix *-e* is a characteristic strategy of younger people establishing their identity as speakers of the language.

As for the system described here, that still used by conservative speakers, it can best be characterised as a syntactic system albeit one which has a morphological look to it. Representing the structure as a flat one, Sou Amana Teru has a position for NPs at the left edge of the clause, followed by auxiliaries and negators, which are followed in turn by a position for a cross-referencing pronoun. The first two positions need not be filled, while the clitic position must be filled except where there is no suitable pronoun form (non-human S/A argument) or where filling it would result in two adjacent pronouns.⁴

The preceding discussion has made it clear that S and A are treated as a single category in Sou Amana Teru as opposed to O. The only exception to this documented here is that some S arguments have O-like characteristics. But this does not invalidate the generalisation: the O-like properties (being represented by an enclitic on the verb) are in addition to the S-like properties for such arguments, and it is very common to find some aspects of the grammar of a language which display split S properties without that fact calling into question the basic alignment pattern of the language (Verhaar, 1990). The argument marking system of Sou Amana Teru therefore aligns S and A together against O in a nominative-accusative pattern. Despite this, I have avoided the use of the term 'subject' to refer to the S/A argument in Sou Amana Teru,

⁴ I assume a general requirement that there be some overt realisation of the S/A argument.

because it is not yet clear to me whether anything is to be gained by assuming the existence of grammatical relations in this language. The most important evidence which might be taken as support for analysing Sou Amana Teru without grammatical relations is the almost complete lack of constructions which use pivots (see Ross, 2004 for related discussion of Oceanic languages). The preverbal pronoun representing S or A is retained in most contexts where it might be expected to be omitted, such as with dependent verbs (examples (70) and (71), see also example (3)) and in purpose clauses (example (49) repeated here).

(70) *Isi asik isi pahoi=si*
 3PL busy 3PL wash=3PL
 ‘They were busy washing themselves.’ (SD)

(71) *Aman-de pertama-ma tahina-na matua-na si=turu*
 village=this first=that old.woman-PL old.man-PL 3PL=descend

si=lohi tampa a'-upa-t
 3PL=seek place NR-sit-NR
 ‘The ancestors from the first village went down to look for a place to live.’
 (SD)

(49) *Uma ute wake=ma e=tana=re ena e=pa'-ia=re*
 then bamboo joint=that 3SG=take=3NH for 3SG=CAUS-good=3NH
 ‘Then that bamboo joint, she took it to fix it.’ (SD)

The only exception to this generalisation is that the verb of a complement clause following the verb *oi* ‘go’ cannot have its own S or A pronoun:

(72) *Yau oi sahe roti-'e*
 1Sg go buy bread-LM
 ‘I went to buy bread.’ (E)

This exception could be accounted for in various ways without invoking the notion of same-subject deletion. For example, it is semantically almost impossible for the S or A argument of a second verb following ‘go’ to not be co-referential with the goer. Or, alternatively, examples such as (72) might be analysed as serial verb constructions.

It is not yet clear whether Sou Amana Teru has true relative clauses, but in the closest corresponding construction there is also no omission of arguments. Example (73) is the type of structure given as translation of prompts which contain relative clauses, and it is possible that such structures should be analysed as simple juxtaposition of clauses.

(73) *Yau nau mansia-e si=upa wa'a rete Waai*
 1SG see person-LM 3PL=sit LOC direction PN
 ‘I saw the people who live at Waai.’ (E)

However, in some cases, speakers insert the Malay relative clause marker *yang* into sentences, but argument omission still does not occur in the relative clause; omission of the argument is obligatory in the corresponding Malay structure (example (73')).

(74) *Mansia yang isi ane ian-e si=upa wa'a rete Waai*
 person REL 3PL eat fish-LM 3PL=sit LOC direction PN
 'The people who eat fish live at Waai.'(E)

(73') *Orang-orang yang makan ikan tinggal di Waai*
 person-RDP REL eat fish live LOC Waai
 'The people who eat fish live at Waai.'

The evidence presented here does not amount to a conclusive demonstration that Sou Amana Teru lacks the grammatical relations subject and object, but it does suggest that there little is to be gained by assuming their existence in Sou Amana Teru.

5. Conclusion

This paper has presented data on the use of various types of pronouns in Sou Amana Teru. The major part of the analysis has been concerned with the use of clitic pronouns in argument positions. I have argued that enclitic pronouns are one possible realisation of O arguments, but that such pronouns do not cross-reference O arguments. In contrast, clitic pronouns do serve a cross-referencing function for S and A arguments. This system is not clearly morphological, with some of its properties being more amenable to a syntactic analysis. I suggest that the system described here should be seen as one point in a process of change which is moving from a morphological system of argument marking to a more analytic system, and that this is part of a more general decline in the use of morphology in the language.

Appendix – Abbreviations used in glossing examples

1,2,3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	LM	lexical marker
ABL	ablative	LNK	linker
ACT	actor	LOC	locative
APPL	applicative	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NH	non-human
CLF	classifier	NR	nominalizer
CMP	complementizer	OBL	oblique
CONT	continuous	PFV	perfective
DET	determiner	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	PN	proper name
DIR	directional	POSS	possessive
DIST	distal	PRED	predicate marker
EMPH	emphatic	PROX	proximal
EXCL	exclusive	RDP	reduplication
H	human	REL	relative clause marker
INCL	inclusive	SG	singular
INAL	inalienable		

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