

PHONEMES, VERB CLASSES AND PERSONAL ENDINGS IN MAUMERE

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Maumere, a member of the Ambon-Timor group of languages, is a language of Central Flores. This language has two unique phonemes: 1) Murred vowels, which do not seem to be preceded by a consonant in the same syllable; and 2) the laryngealized consonants /^sl/, /^sr/, and /^sw/. There are six verb classes in Maumere. In four out of six of these verb classes the form of the subject pronoun influences the form of the verb. Personal endings which reflect the form of the subject pronoun have syntactic functions with certain verbs and verbal particles. Kloangrotat and Hewokloang are Maumere subdialects which use personal endings more than other Maumere subdialects.

INTRODUCTION

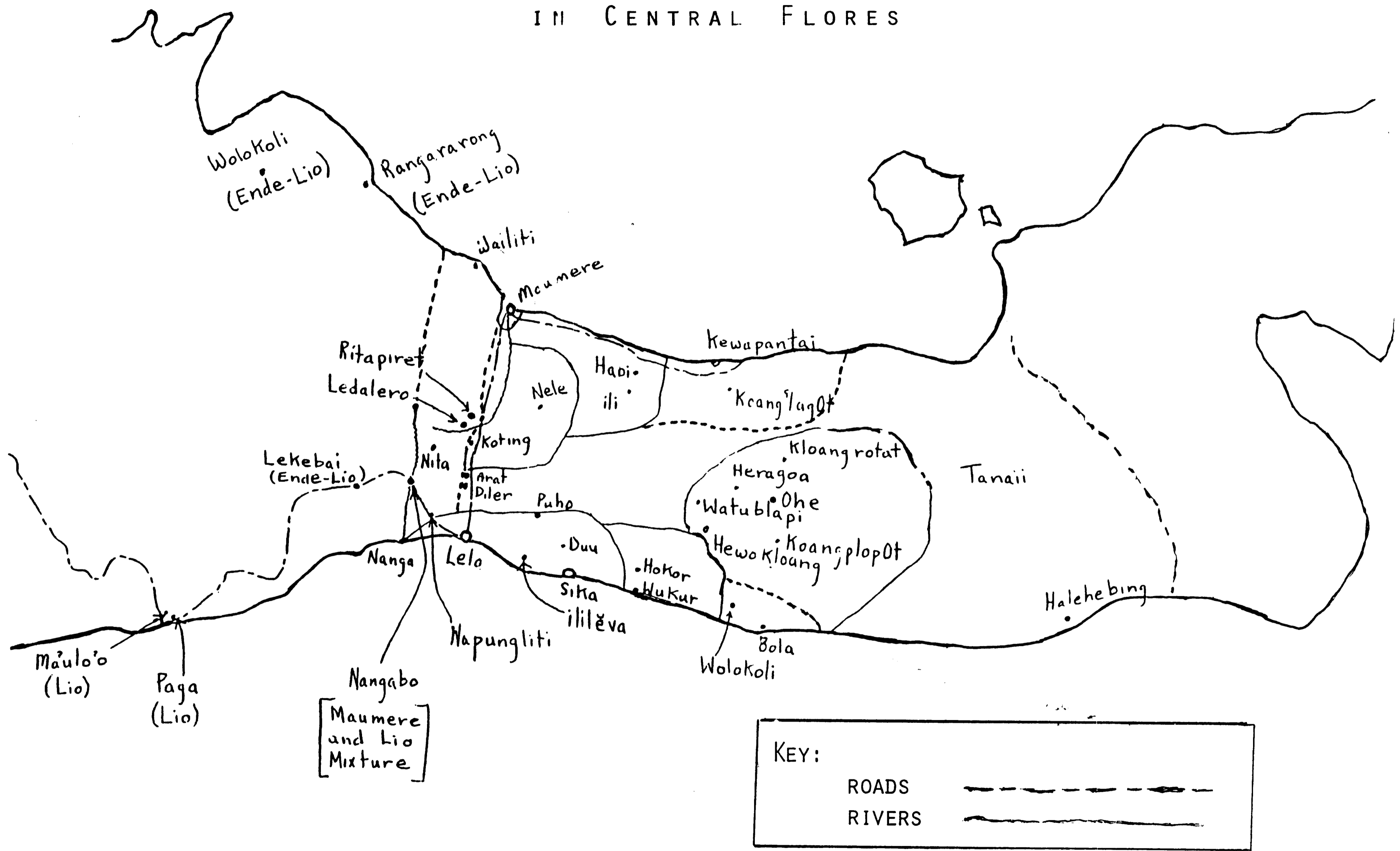
Maumere is a language of Central Flores in the Indonesian archipelago which belongs to the Ambon-Timor group of languages. In this paper we will deal with the phonemes, verb classes and personal endings in Maumere (sometimes called Sika). There are approximately 154,000 speakers of this language living in the Maumere region of Flores. Other languages which are spoken in the same regency are: Lio, Palu'e, Buton and Muhan. We will be dealing strictly with Maumere, however.

MAUMERE DIALECTS

Although the Maumere area is relatively small, different dialects and subdialects seem to be spoken there. It is not clear at present how many dialects and subdialects there actually are in the Maumere language. According to my informants many of the dialects or subdialects differ in stress and intonation. In each of the sections of this paper--phonemes, verb classes, and personal endings--we find that there are some differences among the different dialects. Where possible I have tried to indicate some of these differences, although this article is not meant to be an extensive or intensive study of dialectical differences. The major dialectical differences which appear in this paper have to do with the use of personal endings on certain verbs and other grammatical elements, which are discussed in section three of this paper.

On page 40 there is a sketch map of the Maumere area, which indicates the areas in the Maumere speaking region that are perceived as being linguistically different from each other. The variations on Maumere that are spoken in some of these regions may actually just be subdialects rather than dialects. The map has not been drawn to scale. Most of the Maumere people who live in this regency live in the districts of Lela, Nita, Maumere, and Kewapantai. Transportation between Maumere City and Lela appears to be relatively good. The regions of Maumere other than Sika and Lela are apparently hilly and this fact of geography has apparently contributed to linguistic differentiation in the area. The Hewokloang area is supposed to be more "original" or "authentic" than some of the other

SKETCH MAP OF MAUMERE DIALECT AREAS IN CENTRAL FLORES



Maumere districts, at least in terms of the language spoken there.

Some Maumere people make a distinction between what they call the "Sika" dialect and the "Krowe" dialect. In addition to differences in lexicon, these two dialects--if they can be properly called that--differ in that Sika has a final /-ng/ ending on many words where Krowe has a final /-n/ ending. According to Munandjar in his article "Bahasa-Bahasa di Nusa Tenggara Timur Dalam Peta" (Biro Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat, Universitas Nusa Cendana, Kupang, Timur, 1974) the Sikka language (which is here called the Maumere language) consists of five dialects: 1) Kojamota, 2) Nitta, Keting, 3) Lela, Sikka, 4) Iwang Gette, and 5) Wolokoli. According to my informants distinctions in speech can be heard among the following areas: 1) Nita, 2) Nele, Koting, 3) Habi, Ili, 4) Puh, Du.u, Sika, Lela, 5) Hokor, Wukur, 6) Wolokoli, Bola, 7) Hewokloang, Ohe, Kloangrotat (Iwan Gete), and 8) Koang-slagot, Kewapantai. Most of the names given here are the names of villages. The Tanaai and Halehebing area is one in which another language, Muhan, is spoken.

The whole question of what the Maumere dialects and subdialects are and what the distinctions between them are is a very interesting one, which is worthy of further research. At some time in the past Hewokloang was part of a cultural center for the Maumere people, and my informants have said that the dialect spoken there is somehow more asli or "original" than Sika or Nita. It seems to be through an accident of history that the Portuguese came in contact with the Sika people before they came in contact with some of the other groups, and consequently a grammar has been written on Sika by a Westerner, a German priest, whereas the dialects farther to the east do not seem to have been adequately studied thus far. These more easterly dialects may have a great deal of valuable linguistic information in them as we will see later on in this paper.

PART ONE: MAUMERE PHONEMES

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
	I		U
MID	e		o
	E		Ω
LOW		ə	
		a	

CHART I
Maumere Vowels

The vowel phonemes occur in both un-murmured and murmured forms. The distinction between murmured and un-murmured vowels is phonemic, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

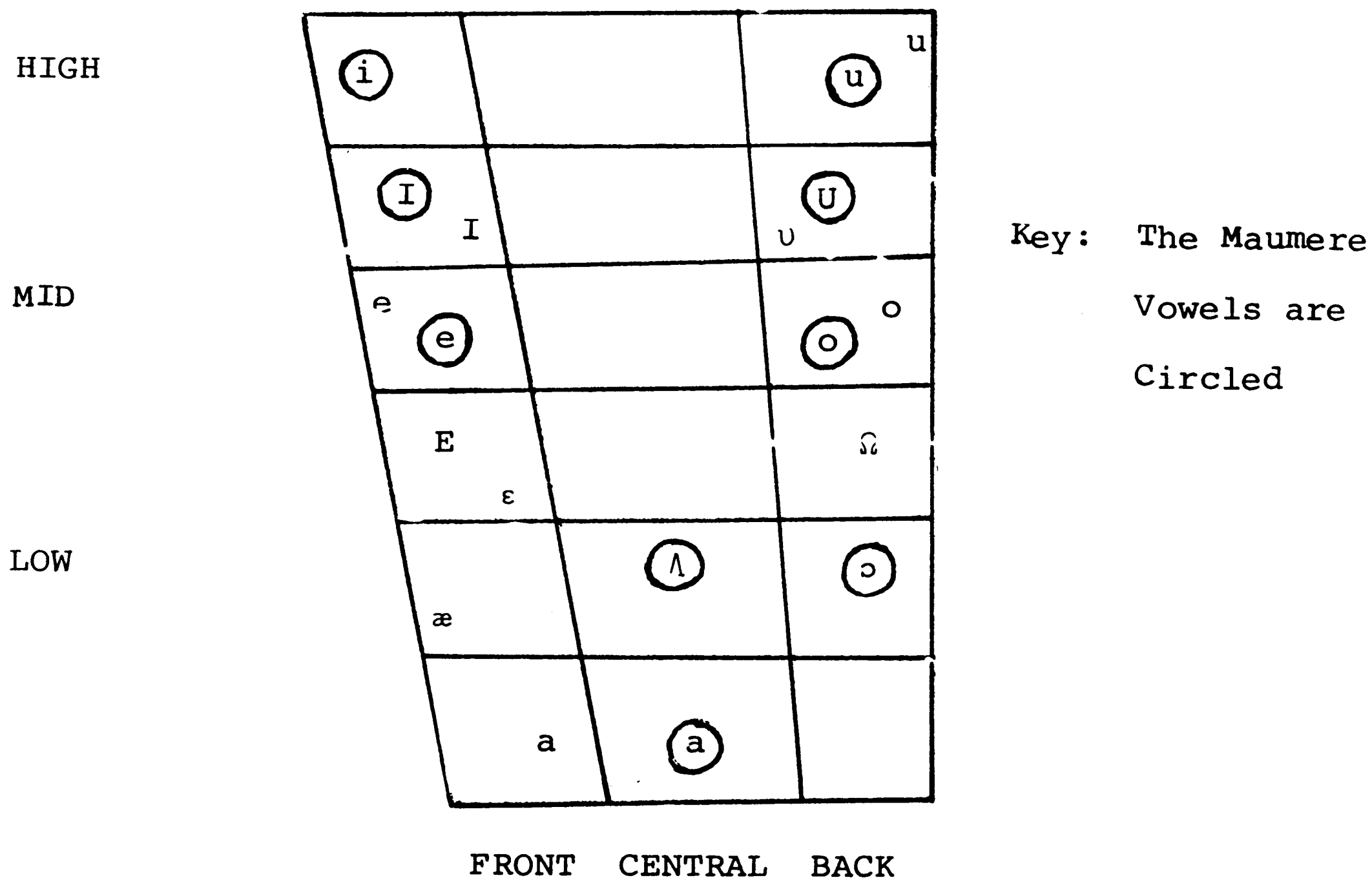
UN-MURMURED VOWELS

1. /i/ (i ~ I) high front vowel
2. /e/ (e ~ E) mid front vowel
3. /u/ (u ~ U) high back vowel
4. /o/ (o ~ O) mid back vowel
5. /ə/ central low-mid vowel
6. /a/ central low vowel

MURMURED VOWELS

1. /i/ (ị ~ Ị) high front vowel
2. /e/ (ẹ ~ Ẹ) mid front vowel
3. /u/ (ụ ~ Ụ) high back vowel
4. /o/ (ọ ~ Ọ) mid back vowel
5. /ə/ central low-mid vowel
6. /a/ central low vowel

CHART II The Vowels of Maumere Compared with Those of American English



(Taken from Bronstein, Arthur J., The Pronunciation of American English. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960.)

Note: [ʌ] is represented by /ě/ in this text.
 [Ω] is represented by /O/ in this text.

COMPARISON OF MAUMERE VOWELS WITH THOSE OF ENGLISH

Please notice that both allophones of the high and mid vowels /i/,

/e/, /o/ and /u/ in Maumere are intermediary between the vowels /i/ and /I/, /e/ and /ε/, /u/ and /υ/, and /o/ and /ɔ/ in English. That is to say that Maumere /i/ is lower than English /i/ and Maumere /I/ is slightly higher than English /I/. Maumere /e/ is lower than English /e/ and Maumere /E/ is slightly higher than English /ε/. Maumere /u/ is lower than English /u/ and Maumere /U/ is slightly higher than English /υ/. Maumere /o/ is lower than English /o/ and Maumere /Ω/ is slightly higher than English /ɔ/. The Maumere vowels /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ do not seem to be tense, whereas their English counterparts are. The following English vowels do not occur in Maumere and are a source of difficulty for Maumere speakers in learning English: [ε], [æ], and [ɜ̄]. These and the phonemic contrast which occurs between murmured and unmurmured vowels in Maumere are the basic differences between vowels in English and Maumere.

ALLOPHONES AND THE ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH THEY OCCUR

Although it is not the purpose of this paper to go into great detail about differences among the different Maumere dialects, it seems necessary at this point to mention that there are differences among the Maumere dialects in stress and intonation. There are also other phonological differences among the dialects. At present I have worked with what appear to be separate dialects: Nita; Sika; Hewokloang and Kloangrotat; and Ohe. Several phonological differences among these dialect areas appear in this article. The first that we will come across is that although the front vowels /i/ and /e/ seem to be lowered when they occur in front of consonants in the Nita, Koting and Hewokloang dialects, this does not seem to be the case when they occur before final /-ng/ in the Sika dialect.

THE UNMURMURED VOWELS

1. /i/ [i ~ I]

1a. /i/ ---> [I] / ____C Condition: C ≠ /-ng/

The high front vowel /i/ tends to be lowered before a consonant.

Examples:

blawIr	'far, distant'	odIk	'brain'
dunIn	'to bow'	orIn	'house'
ihIn	'meat'	murIt	'life'
kawIt	'to marry'	ra.Intan	'to know'
	silIk	'to look askance'	
	wi.In	'self' (reflexive form)	

1b. POSSIBLE EXCEPTION TO 1a.:

/i/ ---> [i] / (C) ____C₁

Condition: C₁ = nasal velar consonant /-ng/

Examples:

dadaing	'always'	iling	'mountain'
hiring	'to resemble'	hEring	'cook'
loning	'because'	wa.ing	'foot' (Sika dialect)
oring	'house' (Sika dialect)	wi.ing	'self', reflexive (Sika dialect)

1c. /i/ ---> [i] elsewhere

Examples:

ami	'we' exclusive	nimu	'she, he'
ba.i murIn	'later'	wa.i haha	'sometimes'
ita	'we' inclusive	pira	'how much, how many'
kikIr	'finger'	widing	'goat'
miu	'you' plural or respectful form		

2. /e/ [e ~ E]

2a. /e/ ---> [E] / ____C

condition: C ≠ nasal velar consonant /-ng/

Examples:

10rEn	'to go down from a high place'	otEk	'brain'
ko.Et	'not straight'	duEn	'spend the night'
lělEn	'share'	kOrEk	'use a knife to make a hole'
bile-ingEn	'someone who is always quiet'	nugEr	'humid'
mOrEt	'life'	pakEt	'to wear (clothes)'
bolEt	'to wind, to curve'	plEndEr	'to study'

2b. /e/ ---> [e] in open syllables

Examples:

lelEn	'season'	rehIt	'not able to do verb'
běte	'to tie up'	u <u>h</u> e	'door'
le.e	'not to want to do something'		

gide 'to pull with the hand' du.e 'to sleep'
 la.e 'still' or 'not yet'
 depending on position
 in the sentence

2c.

/e/ ---> [e] / ____C

Condition: C = nasal velar consonant
 /-ng/

Examples:

la.eng 'still' (Sika dialect)
 leleng 'season' (Sika dialect)
 ata mateng 'a dead person' (Sika dialect)
ubeng 'bottom (part of the human anatomy)'
 (Sika dialect)

2d. Apparent Exceptions to 2b.

/e/ ---> [E] / # / C₁ ____C₂^vC

Condition: C₂ = /l/, /r/, /t/

Most of the examples in which /e/ seems to occur as /E/ in open initial syllables seem to be those in which C₁ is the bilabial nasal consonant /m/. It is possible, although not yet proven, that this may be a case in which dialect differences are coming to the surface.

Examples:

mEtEk 'to think' (Bola)
 mEleng 'tired' (Ohe)
 mEtEn 'jealous'
 mEteng 'to hope, to think'
 mEtEn-mErEt 'to hope' (Nita, Koting)
 mEran 'reddish' (Nita, Koting)
 mErak 'red'
 mitang-mErang 'reddish', 'too red' (Sika)
 gEreng bęgo 'suddenly' (Nita, Koting, Ohe)

Most of the examples in which this phenomenon seems to occur are from dialects other than the Sika dialect. This is an area of Maumere phonology which could well be a subject of further research.

3. /u/ [u ~ U]

3a. /u/ ---> [U] / C ____C

Examples:

hU:k	'to think about'	du.Ur	'dry'
pUn du.ang	'the owner' (Hewokloang dialect)		
pUng du.ang	'the owner' (Sika dialect)		
pU:t	'niece, nephew'	wěrUn	'new'
klibUr	'to be mistaken'	gu.Ur lěke	'to mock' (g ~ φ)*
mOrUn	'hungry'	tutUr	'to speak'
rugUn	'thin'	ngawUng	'thing'
blu.gUng	'industrious'		

* Verb Class 3 (see Section Two)

Please note that unlike /i/ and /e/, /u/ seems to be lowered in all closed syllables even when the final consonant in the syllable is /-ng/.

3b. /u/ ---> [u] elsewhere

Examples:

dunIn	'to bow'	ru.ang	'in two's' (Sika dialect)
murIt	'life'	ulu	'first'
umIn	'moustache'	plupi	'to blow' (Hewokloang)
nimu	'she, he'	dětung	'flat'
ěmu	'to hide some-thing in one's mouth, to hold in the mouth'	nukak	'orphan'
		ganu	'like, as if'
		sibu-ribUt	'noisy'
		glěpu	'medicine from a shaman'
mu?u	'banana'		

4. /o/ [o ~ O] Let the symbol [Ω] used by Bloch and Trager be represented by [O].

4a. /o/ ---> [O] / ___C In closed syllables.

Examples:

tEgOr	'strong'
te.Ong	'depending on' (Ohe)
bo.Ok	'to cut'
pOrOn	'machete' (Hewokloang)
remOng	'to massage' (Hewokloang)
glo.On	'adjacent, close to' (Hewokloang)
ro.On	'adjacent'
walOng	'to go home'

4b. /o/ ---> [O] / # C₁ ___C₂V

Condition: C₁ = /bilabial or resonant/
or
C₂ = /l/ or /r/ or nasal

Examples:

mOro	'angry'
ʃlOre	'to descend from a high place' (Nita, Koting)
lOrEn	'to descend from a high place'
bO.Ir	'neck'
kOrEk	'to use a knife to make a hole'
hOlo	'to light a fire' (Hewokloang)
mOrun	'hungry'
ʃlOhor	'to descend from a high place' (Ohe)
jOng hOrOn	'airplane'
gOlo	'very'
OlOr	'to burn' (Hewokloang)

Note: Please notice the resemblance of OlOr to hOlo. The latter means 'to light a fire' (H-K) and the former means 'to burn' (H-K).

5. /ə/ or /ʌ/, a low schwa, will be written /ě/ due to the vagaries of the typewriter.

Examples in the first syllable:

rěma pira	'when?'	ěmit	'to pick something up with two fingers'
měwan	'able to' (2nd pers. sg.)	ěna	'six'
lěron	'late morning'	ěpang	'good' (Sika)
gěte	'large'	ěpan	'good' (Nita, Koting, etc.)
ěmu	'to put or hide something in one's mouth'	ěla	'to fall'
měgu	'love, pity'	rěna	'to hear'
		lěga	'to demolish'

This vowel seems to occur only in the first syllable. According to Arndt it occurs in the next to last syllable. Therefore, in this case Arndt and I seem to be in agreement. As will be noted in the next section /ě/ does not seem to occur as a murmured vowel.

6. /a/ central low vowel.

Examples in the first syllable:

ha	'one'	dading	'always'
tali	'fruit'	ra.Intan	'to know'
blawI:r	'to fear' (Kloangrotat)	bano	'to go'
ba.imurIn	'later' (Hewokloang)		

Examples in the second syllable:

bi.an pehan	'another person'
ru.a	'two'
měwan	'be able to' (2nd pers.)
tota	'to look for'

MURMURED VOWELS IN MAUMERE

In his grammar of Sika, Grammatik der Sika-Sprache, Father Arndt indicates the presence of murmured vowels by preceding them with the letter c,

which seems to represent [ɣ]. However, he did not recognize their independent phonemic status. Below we can compare Arndt's transcription with that which is used in this paper, in which the murmured vowels are underlined.

Arndt' Transcription	Transcription Used Here	
micu	mi <u>u</u>	'you plural'
ruca	ru. <u>a</u>	'two'
tica	tia <u>̣</u>	'that'
céi	e. <u>i</u>	'this'

(Op. Cit., p. 5-7)

What are murmured vowels? These vowels are produced with a vibrating voice in which the vocal cords are slightly relaxed. The voice is almost, but not quite, creaky. These vowels are in phonemic contrast with the non-murmured vowels.

MURMURED AND NON-MURMURED VOWELS IN PHONEMIC CONTRAST

Below we shall give examples of murmured and non-murmured vowels in minimal pairs to demonstrate that they are phonemically distinct.

1. /i/ vs. /i/. Contrasting the non-murmured vowel /i/ with the murmured vowel /i/.

na.In	'already'	gá.i	'to want'
na. <u>In</u>	'breath'	gá. <u>i</u>	'rattan' (Kloangrotat)
dó.i	'to dig out' (Kloangrotat)		
	'to strike/exit by force' (Sika)		
dó. <u>i</u>	'little' (Kloangrotat)		
	wá.ing	'foot-his/hers' (Sika)	
	wá. <u>ing</u>	'his wife' (Sika)	

2. /e/ vs. /e/. Contrasting the non-murmured vs. the murmured vowel.

éra	'turtle'	pa.e	'a sea animal'
<u>é</u> ra	'female genitalia' (Kloangrotat)	pa. <u>e</u>	'where' (question word)
to.e	'behind'		
to. <u>e</u>	'to hold' (t ^h d verb type)		

3. /ə/ vs. /e/. Contrasting schwa with the mid-front vowel.

ěna	'six'	ělang	'to fall down'
<u>e</u> na	'now'	<u>e</u> lang	'a person's name'

4. /ə/ vs. /e/. Contrasting schwa with the mid-front vowel.

Although the vowels contrasted above do not involve a contrast in murmuring vs. non-murmuring, the data given below seems necessary for deter-

mining the status of /ə/, which we have stated above does not occur in the murmured form.

lěma	'to grow'	těna	'to make'
lema	'to climb'		(t ~ d verb type)
lěrong	'day' (Sika)	tena	'ship'
lerong	'to make a baby go to sleep'	kěla	'to boil (water)'
		kela	'to write'

5. /ə/ does not occur in the murmured form.

Up to this point we have not seen any examples in which the schwa is murmured. Following are examples which might seem to contain a murmured schwa. It will be argued that because of the "breathy" quality of the /h/ which precedes the schwa, the schwa might appear to be murmured but this is really not the case. We will see that this is also not likely, because of the environments in which murmured vowels occur.

Words in which /ə/ might seem to be murmured:

hětir	'to bounce' (Hewokloang)	hěrong	'to speak'
hěrang	'sour' (Koting)	hěna	'to fry'

It can be seen from the evidence given in the next section that murmured vowels in Maumere do not immediately follow a consonant as in CV.CV or CV.CVC. Therefore, the apparent "murmuring" of the schwa is due to the fricative quality of the /h/ that precedes it.

6. /a/ vs. /a/. Contrasting the non-murmured vowel /a/ with the murmured vowel /a/.

mo.á	'old man' (Nita)	a.u	'you' sg.
mó.a	'to yawn'	<u>a</u> .u	'I'
áta	'to read' ($\emptyset \sim g$ verb type)	ábo	'to fill in a hole'
<u>á</u> ta	'person'	<u>á</u> bo	($\emptyset \sim g$ verb type) 'to set sail'

Although in the first minimal pair mo.á 'old man' : mó.a 'to yawn' above it appears that stress could be mutually exclusive with the murmuring of vowels, we can see from the pair áta 'to read' : áta 'person' that this is not the case. Although stress is usually on the first syllable in Maumere, it can apparently occasionally fall on other syllables.

7. /u/ vs. /u/. Contrasting the non-murmured with the murmured vowel.

úhu	'to pinch' ($\emptyset \sim g$ verb type)	pa.u	'to carry'
<u>ú</u> hu	'to nurse'	pa. <u>u</u>	'mango'
utang	'sarong'	ta.u	'to fetch'
<u>u</u> tang	'a vegetable'	ta. <u>u</u>	'to fight'

8. /o/ vs. /o/. Contrasting the non-murmured with the murmured vowel.

ódo	'to crawl' ($\emptyset \sim g$ verb type)	ho.Or	'to carry on the head'
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<u>o</u> do	'to order, com- mand'	ho. <u>o</u> r	'to climb'
do.o	'to cough' (t ~ d verb type)	oti	'presently'
do. <u>o</u>	'to weaken'	<u>o</u> ti	'a kind of crocodile'
		ole	'to follow'
		<u>o</u> le	'lance'

ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH MURMURED VOWELS OCCUR

In the preceding section we have demonstrated that murmured and non-murmured vowels are phonemically distinct. In this section we will take a look at the types of words in which murmured vowels occur. The basic word structure for Maumere seems to be of the following type: 1) CV.CVC, and 2) CV.CV. Murmured vowels can occur in the following environments in Maumere: (The murmured vowel is underlined.)

1. Word Structure V.V

In the case where a murmured vowel follows a non-murmured vowel the transition may be heard as a glide, if the vowel + vowel combination corresponds to an English diphthong. The vowels are perceived by the Maumere speaker as belonging to two separate syllables. Some examples of this type are:

a.i 'wood' / aⁱ / a.u 'you' / a^u /

Vowel + vowel combinations need not correspond to English diphthongs. For example,

o.a 'I eat'

In this example no glide is heard between the two vowels.

2. Word Structure V.V

This type seems to be relatively rare. In fact I can only think of one example off-hand:

a.u 'I'

3. Word Structure V.V

Where this type occurs, a glottal stop is often heard between the two non-murmured vowels. However, as far as I know the glottal stop is not phonemic.

For example: wú.a tá?a 'betel leaf and areca nut'.

4. Word Structure CV.V

Usually the second vowel is murmured, if any vowel is murmured in the word. Murmured vowels do not seem to occur immediately after a consonant.

Examples:

ru.a 'two' a.i ba.o 'banyan tree'

go. <u>a</u>	'eat' (2nd person singular)	na. <u>i</u> ha	'all at once' (Sika)
lo. <u>a</u>	'negative imperative' (Koting, Kloang Rotat)	tu. <u>a</u>	'Enau palm tree, palm wine'
		ba. <u>u</u>	'to be afraid' (Sika)

5. Word Structure CCV.V

Usually the second vowel would be murmured if any. For example:

bla.u 'to be afraid'

6. Word Structure V.CV

Usually the first vowel is murmured if any. For example:

<u>e</u> .lo	'to heat up'	<u>a</u> .pa	'what?' (question word)
<u>e</u> .le	'no, not' (Nita, Koting)	<u>i</u> .wa	'other, different'
<u>a</u> .ma	'father'	<u>o</u> .mi	'almost'
<u>a</u> .ra	'cooked rice'	<u>u</u> .he	'door'

7. Word Structure CV.VC

ʳro. <u>u</u> ng	'leaf' (Sika)	ho. <u>o</u> r	'to climb'
wa. <u>i</u>	'water'		

8. Word Structure V.VC

i.ung 'to see'

9. Word Structure V.VC

e.Ong 'no, not' (Sika)

10. Word Structure V.CVC

<u>u</u> .kung	'law'	<u>a</u> .man	'my child' (said to one's own child. Lit. 'his father')
<u>u</u> .tung	'to come together' (Sika)	<u>i</u> .ling	'mountain'
<u>u</u> .beng	'bottom'		

STRESS

Word stress usually seems to fall on the first syllable and as far as I know is not phonemic.

VOWEL LENGTH

In words of one syllable with the form CVC, the vowel tends to be long. In this environment the vowel is usually lowered. Similar vowels in English are usually short.

Examples:

lU:ng	'a tear (from the eyes)' (Sika)	pU:ng	'possession' (Sika)
ma:ng	'tongue,' term of address for a man	ka:ng	'a blackbird'
kO:ng	'twins'	pa:ng	'cottage'
kE:k	'noises made by a pig'	tE:ng	'to strike'
mO:t	'to peek in a window'	mU:t	'warm'
sI:r	'to love' (Nita)	hU:n Wa.a	'first time' (Hewokloang)
		bI:n	'possibly' (Nita)
		dO:r	'to answer' (Nita)

CONSONANTS IN WORD INITIAL, MEDIAL AND FINAL POSITION

Not all consonants can occur in final word position. Those which can are: /t/, /k/, /s/, /n/, /ng/ and /r/. When /k/ and /t/ occur in final word position, they tend to be released. The other consonants listed can occur in word initial and medial position, except for /ʃl/, /ʃw/, and /ʃr/ which occur only in word initial position.

LARYNGEALIZED CONSONANTS

One of the unique features of the Maumere language is the existence of the laryngealized consonants /ʃl/, /ʃw/, and /ʃr/ which are made by lowering the larynx. These sounds have a "swallowed" quality. They often occur as the initial consonant with some verbs which are marked for person when the first person singular form is used. They are in phonemic contrast.

LARYNGEALIZED AND NON-LARYNGEALIZED CONSONANTS IN CONTRAST

1. /l/ vs. /ʃl/

Below example of /l/ and /ʃl/ in a minimal pair which is evidence of the phonemic function of laryngealization:

lo.a	'do not' (negative imperative)	ʃlo.a	(a verbal particle)
		ʃlo.a	'to lift something out of a frying pan' (Kloang Rotat)
le.e	'not to want to' (all persons other than first sg.)	ʃle.e	'I do not want to'
lěləng	'season' (Sika)	ʃlələng	'to divide' (Sika)

2. /w/- vs. /ʃw/

wOtEr	'to buy' (all persons except first sg.)	ʃwOtEr	'I buy'
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MAUMERE CONSONANT CHART

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveo-palatal	alveolar	palatal	velar	laryngeal	glottal
stops voiceless voiced	p b				t d		k g		
affricates voiceless voiced				ʃ					
grooved fricatives voiceless voiced	w +				s				
slit fricatives voiceless									h
RESONANTS nasal voiced	m				n		ŋ		
lateral voiceless voiced					l			ʃl	
median voiceless voiced								ʃw	
trill voiceless voiced					r̄			ʃr	

/j̄/ is represented by /j/ in this paper.

/ŋ/ is represented by /ng/ in this paper.

/w/ tends to be a fricative sound sounding somewhat like English /v/.

3. /r/ vs. /ʁ/

The following is a sub-minimal pair.

rou	'hot' (Sika)	aiʁroung	'leaf' (Sika)
tɛ̃bong rou	'the body is in a fever'		

According to Arndt /l/, /m/, /n/, /r/ and /w/ are all laryngealized in certain contexts. (Arndt transcribes these as lh, mh, nh, rh and wh. Op. Cit., p. 4.) I have not found this to be the case for the nasals Al—though one of my Sika informants said that the particle ne.ing could take the form ʁne.ing in the first person singular, at present I do not have enough information to support the existence of /ʁn/ or /ʁm/ as Maumere phonemes.

PART TWO: VERB CLASSES IN MAUMERE

There are several verb classes in Maumere: 1) Verbs which do not change for person, 2) Verbs in which there is an alternation between voiced and voiceless initial stops, depending on whether the subject of the verb is first, second or third person, singular or plural. The alternation takes place between /t/ and /d/, /p/ and /b/, but not between /k/ and /g/ as might be expected. A chart indicating which stop consonant occurs verb initially with which person can be seen below:

	Singular forms			Plural Forms			
Person:	1	2	3	1 incl.	1 excl.	2	3
	t-	d-	d-	t-	d-	d-	t-
	p-	b-	b-	p-	b-	b-	p-

3) A third verb class is that in which alternation takes place between an initial non-murmured vowel and /g/. For example, odo 'to order, to command' begins with a murmured vowel and does not change for person, whereas odo 'to creep, to crawl' (base form godo) begins with a non-murmured vowel and does change for person. A chart indicating the type of changes that occur for this verb class is below. (Please note that \emptyset - is used for words which begin with non-murmured vowels.)

	Singular Forms			Plural Forms			
Person:	1	2	3	1 incl.	1 excl.	2	3
	\emptyset -	g-	g-	\emptyset -	g-	g-	\emptyset -

It seems possible that this verb class may be closely related to that in 2) above, although the alternation is not between initial /k-/ and /g-/ as would be expected, but between / \emptyset -/ and /g-/.

4) Another verb class is that in which there is an alternation between laryngealized and non-laryngealized lateral or median resonants in initial position, as illustrated below:

	Singular Forms			Plural Forms			
Person:	1	2	3	1 incl.	1 excl.	2	3
	ʁl-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-
	ʁr-	r-	r-	r-	r-	r-	r-
	ʁw-	b-	b-	w-	b-	b-	w-

5) Another verb class consists of verbs which change for person. The initial consonant of the verb reflects the subject pronoun more closely than in the other verb classes mentioned above. This seems to be a case in which a marker for the subject pronoun is put directly on the verb. For example:

	Singular Forms			Plural Forms			
Person:	1	2	3	1 incl.	1 excl.	2	3
	∅-	m-	n-	t-	m-	m-	r- [~] l-

The initial consonants above seem to reflect the pronouns indicated below:

	Singular Forms			Plural Forms			
Person:	1	2	3	1 incl.	1 excl.	2	3
(Maumere)	a.a	au	nimu	i ^o ta	a ^o ni	m ^o iu	r ^o imu
(Indonesian)	aku	kamu	dia	kita	kami	kamu	mereka sekalian

The consonants which are attached to the front of the verbs in this class seem to have been taken from the pronouns. The /m-/ which is attached to verbs the subject of which is au have a source in kamu or -mu which is traceable in many other Indonesian languages. The absence of a consonant at the beginning of verbs the subject of which is a.u may be an irregularity associated with the first person which is peculiar to Maumere. (Another such "irregularity" can be seen in 4) above.)

6) The sixth verb class consists of irregular verbs, which also change for person.

EXAMPLES OF VERB CLASSES

1) Verb Class 1: Verbs Which Do Not Change for Person.

This seems to be the verb class with the most members, i.e. most verbs in Maumere do not seem to change for person. There are verbs in this class beginning with /V/, /V/, and apparently with all of the consonants. There are examples of words which begin with /^sl/, /l/, /^sw/, /w/ which do not change for person. Verbs which begin with consonant clusters such as /bl-/ and /kl-/, and with nasals and fricatives tend not to change form for person. Some examples are as follows:

VOWELS

<u>ali</u>	'to put a rope on a bow' (Hewokloang)
<u>alIn</u>	'to have strong desire' (Hewokloang)
<u>ilu</u>	'to trap with a rope' (H-K)
<u>ileng</u>	'to see' (H-K)
<u>ojo</u>	'to heat up' (H-K)
<u>ola</u>	'to make a hole in' (H-K)
<u>orOt</u>	'to follow' (H-K)
<u>ane klageng</u>	'to bother, to disturb' (H-K)

STOPS

pu.Ur	'to cut' (H-K, Sika)
potat	'to disappear'
běgo	'to be startled'
bile	'to be quiet'

tutur	'to inform'
tabe	'to show respect'
děwa	'to want to eat' (H-K)
kobOr	'to carry on the back' (H-K)
kela	'to write'
go.o	'to be burned'

Please note (H-K) refers to the Hewokloang dialect.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

kIe.o-kIe.Ok	'to turn around' (H-K, not Sika)
plEndEr	'to study'
klibur	'to be surprised'
klo.u	'to feel an aversion to'
pla	'to ask'
pl <u>a</u> .a	'to collide' (Nita)
plari	'to run'
blau	'to fear'

FRICATIVES

soka	'to dance' (Nita)
sěsu	'to hide'
jaji	'to promise' (H-K)
jEreng	'to compare, compared with'
limo	'to receive' (H-K)
hulIr	'to forget'
hidi	'to stub one's foot'

NASALS

mama	'to chew' (H-K)
nekut	'to crush with mortar and pestle' (Nita)
na.i	'to place'
mo. <u>a</u>	'to yawn' (Nita)

NON-NASAL RESONANTS

li.Ot	'to overflow' (H-K, not Sika)
ʃlěbe	'to play'
ʃlo.Ir	'to be sick, uneasy'
ʃwe.ung	'not to feel' (Sika)
ʃratu	'to knock over' (H-K, not Sika)
ʃrěming	'to smile' (Sika)

The dialect source for some of the examples above has been given, although this does not mean the word does not occur in other dialects unless specifically indicated. It is possible that some verbs may be laryngealized in Sika and Nita differently than in Hewokloang. This is a point that could be a subject of further study.

2) Verb Class 2: /t-~d-/ and /p-~b-/

The base forms of the verbs in this class is represented by the voiced stop. Some examples are as follows:

du.e	'to sleep'	bana	'to shoot an arrow'
děri	'to sit'	buhe	'to tell a lie'
bano	'to go, to walk'	bo.Ok	'to cut'
dani	'to cry'	depo	'to follow'

3) Verb Class 3: /∅-~g-/

The base forms of the verbs in this class is represented by /g-/. For example:

gěta	'to harvest rice'	gita	'to see'
goba	'to hide'	godo	'to crawl'
gata	'to read'	gěra	'to stand up'
gide	'to pull'	gi.i	'to bite'

4) Verb Class 4: /^sl-~l-/ and /^sr-~r-/

The base forms for this class are /l-/ and /r-/, since the laryngealized form occurs only with the first person subject. For example:

le.e	'to refuse'	lěbe	'to cover'
ro.o	'to almost be ...' (verb)		
lega	'to fetch some- thing from within' (H-K)	rěpEt	'to creak'

4) Verb Class 4: /^sw-~b-~w-/

The base form for verbs of this class begins with /b-/. Actually this class or subclass seems to be a combination of classes 2) and 4), since both devoicing and laryngealization of the base form occur. Some examples are as follows:

běri	'to give'	ba.i	'to pound with a stick' (Nita)
bOtEr	'to buy'	bera	'to hit a horse'
biha	'to tear'		

5) Verb Class 5: /∅-~m-~n-~t-~m-~r- or l-/

This class consists of verbs which change for person. The initial consonant tends to reflect the subject pronoun. (In another section we will deal with consonant endings on verbal elements which also reflect the subject.) The base form for this class begins with /m-/. This choice is based on the frequency of occurrence of the form and on native speaker intuition. If asked the form of a verb in isolation, a native speaker will usually give the form which begins with /m-/. Sometimes the initial consonant for the third person plural form of the verb may be /r-/ or /l-/, depending on whether there is an /r/ or an /l/ in the body of the verb and depending on the dialect. Some examples follow:

minu	'to drink'	mulu	'to go before someone else'
mana	'to make bags from certain leaves'	mope	'to burn'
mora	'with' (verbal particle)	moru	'to weave' or 'to throw down'
měti	'to carry'	mala	'to take, fetch'

These verbs vary with different subject pronouns as follows:

'to drink'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u inu	1 incl. ita tinu
2.	<u>au</u> minu	1 excl. ami minu
3.	n <u>imu</u> ninu	2. mi <u>u</u> minu
		3. ri <u>mu</u> rinu
'to make bags from leaves'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u ana	1 incl. ita tana
2.	<u>au</u> mana	1 excl. ami mana
3.	n <u>imu</u> nana	2. mi <u>u</u> mana
		3. ri <u>mu</u> rana
'with'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u (verb) ora	1 incl. ita tora
2.	<u>au</u> (verb) mora	1 excl. ami mora
3.	n <u>imu</u> (verb) nora	2. mi <u>u</u> mora
		3. ri <u>mu</u> lora
'to carry'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u ěti	1 incl. ita těti
2.	<u>au</u> měti	1 excl. ami měti
3.	n <u>imu</u> něti	2. mi <u>u</u> měti
		3. ri <u>mu</u> rěti
'to go before'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u ulu	1 incl. ita tulu
2.	<u>au</u> mulu	1 excl. ami mulu
3.	n <u>imu</u> nulu	2. mi <u>u</u> mulu
		3. ri <u>mu</u> lulu
		(Hewokloang, Nita)
'to burn'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u ope	1 incl. ita tope
2.	<u>au</u> mope	1 excl. ami mope
3.	n <u>imu</u> nope	2. mi <u>u</u> mope
		3. ri <u>mu</u> rope
		(Hewokloang)
'to weave'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u oru	1 incl. ita toru
2.	<u>au</u> moru	1 excl. ami moru
3.	n <u>imu</u> noru	2. mi <u>u</u> moru
		3. ri <u>mu</u> loru
'to take'	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
1.	<u>a</u> .u ala	1 incl. ita tala
2.	<u>au</u> mala	1 excl. ami mala
3.	n <u>imu</u> nala	2. mi <u>u</u> mala
		3. ri <u>mu</u> lala
		(Sika, Bola, Hewokloang)
	or	3. ri <u>mu</u> rala
		(Ohe)

We have seen from the examples above that the third person plural form for verbs in this class does not always begin with /r-/. The morphophonemic changes for this verb class can be characterized as follows: 1) If the base does not have a liquid (/r-/ or /l-/), the personal prefix is /r-/. 2) If the base contains an /r-/, the personal prefix tends to be /l-/ in most dialects. 3) If the base contains an /l-/, the personal prefix tends to be /l-/ in most dialects. We select /r-/ as the base form, because it most closely reflects the initial consonant of the third person plural pronoun rimu.

6) Verb Class 6: Irregular Verb

One of the most common verbs in Maumere is irregular. It is the verb 'to eat'.

'to eat'	Singular Forms		Plural Forms		
1.	<u>a</u> .u	o.a	1 incl.	ita	e.a
2.	<u>au</u>	go.a	1 excl.	ami	ge.a
3.	n <u>imu</u>	ga	2.	miu	ge.a
			3.	rimu	a

As with the irregular verbs in English, this form seems more resistant than others to change.

PART THREE: PERSONAL ENDINGS ON VERBS IN MAUMERE

Thus far in this paper we have discussed the phonemes and the verb classes in Maumere. In Verb Class 5) we have seen that the initial consonant of certain verbs reflects the pronoun subject that occurs with it. In this section we will take a look at the personal endings which occur on verbs and some verbal elements in Maumere. The occurrence of these endings differs from dialect to dialect.

DIRECTIONAL PARTICLES

Directional particles follow or occur somewhere after many verbs of motion. (If they do not occur directly after the verb, they usually occur after a place word in the same phrase.) The personal endings do not always occur on directional particles. In simple statements of direction the personal ending does not occur on the directional particle in the Nita, Koting and Sika dialects. (I do not have data on this for the Ohe and Hewokloang dialects.)
For example:

SIKA, NITA AND KOTING

<u>a</u> .u	awi	lau	a
I	walk	to	dirac. pt.

'I walk there.'

nimu	gawi	lau	na
she/he	walk	to	dirac. pt.

'She walks there.'

In the examples above the personal affix occurs initially on the directional particle, but not finally.

Below are similar examples with the verb 'to go' (bano):

SIKA, NITA AND KOTING

a.u	pano	a
I	go	diréc. pt.

'I go.'

au	bano	ma
you sg.	go	diréc. pt.

'You go.'

nimu	bano	na
she/he	go	diréc.pt.

'She goes.'

ita	pano	ta
we incl.	go	diréc. pt.

'We (inclusive) go.'

ami	bano	ma
we excl.	go	diréc. pt

'We (exclusive) go.'

miu	bano	ma
you pl.	go	diréc. pt.

'You go.'

rimu	pano	ra
they	go	diréc. pt.

'They go.'

The examples above occur with simple statements of direction. If the sentence is more complex, the particle may take the following forms in Sika, Nita and Koting.

NITA, KOTING

a.u	pano	an
I	go	diréc. pt.

'I go.'

au	bano	man
you sg.	go	diréc. pt.

'You go.'

nimu	bano	nan
he	go	diréc. pt.

'He goes.'

ita	pano	tat
we incl.	go	diréc. pt.

'We go.'

SIKA

a.u	pano	ang.
I	go	diréc. pt.

'I go.'

au	bano	mang.
you sg.	go	diréc. pt.

'You go.'

nimu	bano	nang
he	go	diréc. pt.

'He goes.'

ita	pano	tat
we incl.	go	diréc. pt.

'We go.'

NITA, KOTING

ami bano man
we excl. go direc. pt.

'We go.'

miu bano man
you pl. go direc. pt.

'You go.'

rimu pano ran
they go direc. pt.

'They go.'

SIKA

ami bano mang
we excl. go direc. pt.

'We go.'

miu bano mang
you pl. go direc. pt.

'You go.'

rimu pano rang
they go direc. pt.

'They go.'

The data become more interesting when we consider the behavior of the personal endings in the Nita, Koting, Sika, Ohe and Hewokloang dialects, as can be seen in the forms the question "Where are you (or other pronoun) going?" takes in these dialects.

NITA, KOTING

a.u epae a ?
I where direc. pt.

'Where am I going?'

au epae ma ?
you where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

nimu epae na ?
he/she where direc. pt.

'Where is he going?'

ita epae tat ?
we incl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

ami epae ma ?
we excl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

miu epae ma ?
you pl. where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

rimu epae ra ?
they where direc. pt.

'Where are they going?'

SIKA

a.u epae a ?
I where direc. pt.

'Where am I going?'

au epae ma ?
you where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

nimu epae na ?
she/he where direc. pt.

'Where is she going?'

ita epae ta ?
we incl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

ami epae ma ?
we excl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

miu epae ma ?
you pl. where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

rimu epae ra ?
they where direct. pt.

'Where are they going?'

The only difference between Nita, Koting and Sika in the examples above is found in the first person plural inclusive ita 'we incl.'.

OHE

a.u epai a ?
 I where direc. pt.

'Where am I going?'

au epai ma ?
 you where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

nimu epai na ?
 she/he where direc. pt.

'Where is she/he going?'

ita epai tat ?
 we incl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

ami epai mam ?
 we excl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

miu epai ma ?
 you pl. where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

rimu epai ra ?
 they where direc. pt.

'Where are they going?'

HEWOKLOANG

a.u epai a ?
 I where direc. pt.

'Where am I going?'

au epai mam ?
 you where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

nimu epai nan ?
 she/he where direc. pt.

'Where is she/he going?'

ita epai tat ?
 we incl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

ami epai mam ?
 we excl. where direc. pt.

'Where are we going?'

miu epai mam ?
 you pl. where direc. pt.

'Where are you going?'

rimu epai rar ?
 they where direc. pt.

'Where are they going?'

We can see from the data above that personal endings seem to appear more often in Ohe and Hewokloang than they do in Nita Koting and Sika. Ohe and Hewokloang are both further east than Nita, Koting and Sika. In addition Hewokloang, which seems to be in a more isolated area than the other dialects, is considered to be "more authentic" or "original" than Nita, Koting, Sika and Ohe. There are important cultural centers in the Hewokloang area which support the statement that this dialect may still have in it elements of the Maumere language which have somehow been "lost" in other dialects. Sika, Nita and Koting have been subject to more outside influence than has the Hewokloang area.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PERSONAL ENDINGS

The personal endings on verbal elements in Maumere are of interest, because they may represent a feature which is characteristic of and peculiar to the Ambon-Timor and Sumba-Bima groups of languages. Special endings also occur in Rotinese, the language of the island of Roti which is near Timor, and in other languages of this group. It would be interesting to know whether these endings function similarly in all the Ambon-Timor group of languages. Final /-k/ in Rotinese seems to function as a phrase marker.

Riung, a language of Western Flores, which seems to be related to Manggarai and which perhaps belongs to the Sumba-Bima group of languages, also has personal endings on many types of verbal elements, aspect words

and adjectives. These personal endings may also function as phrase markers. Therefore, it seems that personal endings should be a subject of further research.

PERSONAL ENDINGS ON REFLEXIVES AND VERBS

Personal endings also occur on reflexive pronouns and on some verbs in Maumere. Below are examples of the verb 'to be able' in several dialects.

Person	KLOANGROTAT AND HEWOKLOANG			
Singular	NITA-KOTING	SIKA	OHE	
Forms				
1	a.u ěwan	ěwang	ěwan	ěwan
2	au měwan	měwang	měwan	měwan
3	nīmu něwan	něwang	něwan	něwan

Plural

Forms	NITA-KOTING	SIKA	OHE	KLOANGROTAT AND HEWOKLOANG
1 incl	ita těwat	těwat	těwat	těwat
1 excl.	ami měwan	měwang	měwan	měwan ~ měwan
2	miu měwan	měwang	měwan	měwan ~ měwan
3	rimu rewan	rěwang	rěwan	rěwar ~ rěwan

The Hewokloang dialect again seems to reflect greater variation in the personal endings than the other dialects. In addition the variations which come out in this dialect and not in the others seem to reflect the personal pronouns more closely than do the personal endings in Nita, Koting, Sika and Ohe. For example, the personal endings seem to take the form /-n/ in Nita, Koting and Ohe for most pronouns, and /-ng/ in Sika. 'I am able to' in Nita, Koting, and Ohe is ěwan. In Sika it is ěwang. In Hewokloang it is also ěwan. The dialects seem to be fairly similar for the singular pronouns. However, when we get to the plural pronouns, Hewokloang seems to differ from the other dialects. 'We exclusive are able to' in Nita, Koting and Ohe is měwan. In Sika it is měwan, since the velar nasal /-ng/ regularly appears in final position in Sika whereas the alveolar nasal /-n/ occurs in Nita-Koting and Ohe. In Hewokloang 'we exclusive are able to' can take the forms of both měwan and měwam. The final consonant /-m/ on měwam reflects the pronoun 'we exclusive' ami more closely than does /-n/. The third person plural form of the verb 'to be able to' can take the forms rěwan and rěwar in Hewokloang. The ending /-r/ does not occur in the other dialects and is obviously much closer to the pronoun 'they' rimu than is the ending /-n/. If we look back to the personal consonants which occur on the verbs in VERB CLASS 5) on pages 57-59, we will see that /m-/ is used for the first person plural exclusive and /r-/ is used for the third person plural. The personal endings in Hewokloang and Kloangrotat are closer to these forms than are most of those in Nita, Koting, Sika and Ohe.

The same phenomenon can be seen in the personal endings on the reflexive pronoun 'oneself' in various dialects. In the examples given below some of the data is taken from the sub-dialect of the village of Ohe which is in the central part of Flores. Below are examples of the verb 'to hide oneself' těsu ~ sěsu. The reflexive pronoun wi occurs with the verb. (The initial consonant of the verb varies from dialect to dialect.)

Person Singular Forms	NITA, KOTING	SIKA	OHE	HEWOKLOANG
1 <u>a</u> .u	těsu ʹwiin	sěsu ʹwiing	těsu/sěsu ʹwiin	sěsu ʹwiin
2 <u>au</u>	těsu wiin	sěsu wiing	těsu/sěsu wiin	sěsu wiim
3 nimu	těsu wiin	sěsu wiing	těsu/sěsu wiin	sěsu wiin
Plural Forms				
1 incl. ita	těsu wiit	sěsu wiit	těsu/sesu wiit	sěsu wiit
1 excl. ami	těsu wiin	sěsu wiing	těsu/sesu wiin	sěsu wiim
2 <u>miu</u>	těsu wiin	sěsu wiing	těsu/sesu wiin	sěsu wiim
3 <u>rimu</u>	těsu wiin	sěsu wiing	těsu/sesu wiin	sěsu wiir

As in the case of 'to be able to' měwan above, the personal endings on the reflexive pronoun in Hewokloang more closely reflect the personal pronouns, than do the endings in the other dialects, or in the other village subdialects.

SYNTACTIC ASPECTS OF PERSONAL ENDINGS

Unlike the western Maumere dialects which seem to use personal endings in only limited ways, the eastern dialects or at least some of the subdialects spoken in particular villages in the eastern part of the Maumere area use personal endings more extensively. The examples in this section have been taken primarily from Kloangrotat. The information and conclusions in this section should be taken as being tentative, since more research is needed in this area.

Personal endings seem to be used in Kloangrotat in the following ways: 1) They can be used in addition to the directional particle to form the hortative. 2) They add emphasis and familiarity or coarseness to commands. 3) They add emphasis to statements with the particle ge and to questions with the particle ko. 4) The personal ending seems to be used to refer to an entire situation or to a state of being in some sentences, whereas the absence of the personal ending places the emphasis on the action of the verb.

OCCURRENCE OF THE PERSONAL ENDINGS

It should be noted that the personal endings cannot occur with all verbs. Although they occur with more verbs and in more contexts in Kloangrotat than in other village dialects, they cannot occur with all verbs in Kloangrotat. In general personal endings seem to occur with verbs of motion, although they can sometimes occur with the verbs 'to eat' gea and

the verb 'to be able' měwam. The fact that the verb 'to eat' is an old form in Maumere which is highly irregular supports my hypothesis that what we have here is really an old process in the language, which has been retained in Kloangrotat more than in the other village dialects or subdialects.

Personal endings can occur with the following verbs:

bano	'to go'	miu	banom	'you pl. go'
mai	'to come'	miu	maim	'you pl. come'
plari	'to run'	rimu	plarir	'they run'
tepo	'to follow'	ita	tepOt	'we incl. follow'

We have seen on page 63 that the personal endings can occur with the verb 'to be able'. In addition the personal ending can occur in the second person form for the imperative.

měwan	'to be able to'	rimu	rěwar	'they are able to'
gea	'to eat'	geam	sai!	'eat!'

FORMATION OF THE HORTATIVE

In the following sentences the directional particle can be used to form the hortative:

1. ita pano tat
we incl. go direc. pt. + pers. ending

'Let's go!'

2. ita plari tat
we incl. run direc. pt. + pers. ending

'Let's run!' or 'Let's escape!'

Without the directional particle the verb plus the personal ending becomes a mere statement.

3. ita panOt
we incl. go

'We go.'

4. ita plarIt
we incl. run

'We run.'

The hortative can also be formed by using the verb 'to come' mai plus the pronoun and main verb of the sentence, as can be seen below.

5. mai ita panOt.
come we incl. go

'Let's go!'

6. mai ita plarIt.
come we incl. run

'Let's run away!' or 'Let's escape!'

The verb mai 'to come' and the directional particle plus the personal

ending seem to be the most critical elements in forming the hortative in these sentences.

The personal ending can be used to add emphasis to a hortative sentence.

7. tepo poi sai
follow just command pt.

'Let's just follow.'

8. tepOt poi sai
follow-we just command pt.

'Let's just follow.'

Sentence 8) has the reading "Let's surrender ourselves completely to a situation and just follow," whereas 7) is more neutral in tone.

EMPHASIS IN COMMANDS

The addition of the personal ending to verb in commands in the Kloangrotat subdialect gives the command a more familiar or coarser interpretation than it would have otherwise. For example:

9. e mai, sai
hey come imperative pt.

'Come here!'

10. e maim, sai
hey come-pt., imperative pt.

'Come here!'

Sentence 9) would be used in speaking to a guest. It is polite in tone and seems to be a sincere urging from one heart to another. Sentence 10) would be said to a close friend and is somewhat coarse. The speaker almost seems to be trying to force the friend to come to him. A similar example can be seen below:

11. ge.a sai
eat imperative pt.

'Eat!'

12. ge.am sai
eat imperative pt.

'Eat already!'

Sentence 11) is polite in tone, whereas 12) is a forceful order which would be said to children.

PERSONAL ENDINGS AND THE PARTICLES GE AND KO

Maumere has a number of different kinds of particles. Ge is a particle which is frequently used to indicate surprise. Ko is a question particle in Maumere. In the Kloangrotat subdialect it seems that the personal endings must be used with verbs in some sentences in which ge or ko are

used. Some examples of this phenomenon follow:

13. rimu mair ba.a ge
they come-ending already surprise pt.

'They have come already. Don't you know?'

In the sentence above ge is used to indicate that the listener should know that 'they' have come. It also emphasizes that they have really come already. In Kloangrotat the particle ge sometimes seems to call for the use of the personal ending on the verb which also serves to emphasize the sentence.

The personal ending is also used on verbs in some sentences when the question particle is used.

14. miu plarim , ko ?
you pl. run-ending ques. pt.

'Did you run away?' or 'Did you escape?'

Apparently the sentence would be awkward without the personal ending, since ko is used.

- 15a. ita mait ba.a, ge la.e u.a?
we incl. come-ending already pt. not yet work

'We have come already, why haven't you started to work yet?'

- 15b. *ita mai ba.a, ge la.e u.a ?
we incl. come already, pt. not yet work

*'We have come already, why haven't you started to work yet?'

The sentence in which the verb does not have the personal ending and in which the particle ge is used is ungrammatical, whereas 15a) in which both are used is grammatical. As has been said above, the data for this section is as yet incomplete and any conclusions made here should be regarded as tentative.

PERSONAL ENDINGS AND FOCUS

In certain sentences in the Kloangrotat subdialect if the personal ending is used on the main verb of sentence, the focus of the sentence seems to fall on the general situation, whereas if the personal ending is not used on the main verb of a sentence, the focus of the sentence seems to be on the action of the verb. For example,

- 16a. rimu panor ra ba.a
they go-ending direc. pt. already

'They have gone already.'

- 16b. rimu pano ra ba.a
they go direc. pt. already

'They have gone already.'

In sentence 16a) the focus of the sentence is on the general situation, i.e. on their having left. In 16b) the focus of the sentence is on the idea of a noun in motion. We interpret this to mean that the focus is

on the action. The word sedang which means 'to be in the process of' is also used to translate sentences such as 16a). Similar examples follow:

17a. jarang plarir. rimu plarir.
horse run. they run.

'The horses run. They run.'

17b. jarang plari. rimu plari.
horse run-ending. they run-ending.

'The horses run. They run.'

In sentence 17b) the focus seems to be on horses in motion, whereas in 17a) the focus is on the idea of process or on the whole situation. The personal ending seems to shift the focus of the sentence to the situation. If there is no personal ending on the verb, the focus seems to be on the action. This is an area for further research.

On page 63 we have seen that many of the personal endings can occur on forms of the verb 'to be able' měwan or měwam which have plural subjects in the Hewokloang and Kloangrotat subdialects. Both singular and plural forms of the verb can take the generalized ending /-n/. Below are some examples in which the uses of the personal endings are differentiated from those of /-n/:

18a. rimu rěwar u.a apa poi.
they able to-ending work what just

'They are able to do any work at all.'

18b. rimu rěwan u.a apa poi.
they able work what just

'They are able to do any work at all.'

In 18a) the focus of the sentence is on the general situation, i.e. on the work that must be done and on the people who should do it. In sentence 18b) the focus of the sentence is on the ability of the people discussed to do the work.

19a. miu měwam pu.an ba.a
you pl. able to-ending start already

'You can start already.'

19b. miu měwan pu.an ba.a
you pl. able to start already

'You can start already.'

The interpretation of 19a) is similar to that of 18a), and the interpretation of 19b) is similar to that of 18b).

20a. ita těwat pu.an ba.a
we incl. able to-ending start already

'We are able to start already.'

20b. ita těwan pu.an ba.a
we incl. able to start already

'We are able to start already.'

The interpretation of 20a) is similar to that of 18a) and the interpretation of 20b) is similar to that of 18b).

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have dealt with three areas of the Maumere language: 1) vowel and consonant phonemes, 2) the verb classes, and 3) the occurrence of personal endings on verbs, directional particles and reflexive pronouns. In the first section we have found that Maumere has two unique phonological features: 1) murmured vowels which are distinctive from non-murmured vowels, and 2) the laryngealized consonants /^sl/, /^sr/ and /^sw/, which are used in contrast with the non-laryngealized /l/, /r/ and /w/.

In the second section of this paper we discussed the verb classes in Maumere. There are six verb classes. In most of the verb classes--in fact in four out of six of them--the form of the subject influences the form of the verb. We find an alternation between voiced and voiceless labial and alveolar stops in one class; between /g/ and / ϕ / in another class; between laryngealized and non-laryngealized lateral or median resonants in another; and between / ϕ -/, /m-/, /n-/, /t-/, and /r-/ or /l-/ in another depending on the form of the subject pronoun. Even the irregular verb ge.a 'eat' changes for person.

In the third section of this paper we discussed the personal endings which occur on verbs, on other verbal elements, and on reflexive pronouns. We have seen in Section two of this article that the initial consonant of the verbs mentioned in Verb Class 5) seem to closely reflect the subject pronoun. These same consonants may occur as endings on certain verbs and other words in Maumere. The Kloangrotat subdialect seems to have these endings on more verbs and verbal elements, and in more contexts than do most of the other subdialects of Maumere. Since the Kloangrotat subdialect and the Hewokloang subdialects are apparently very similar, many of the facts given for Kloangrotat are probably also true for Hewokloang. The area in which these subdialects are spoken is noted for its hilliness and relative isolation from the outside. According to my Maumere informants, this area is more "original" or "authentic" than other dialect areas. It is therefore possible that the Maumere language as a whole may have at one time used personal endings more extensively than it does now. (This is speculation on my part.) At any rate, the syntactic functions of personal endings--which on cursory analysis seem to be 1) assisting in forming the hortative with directional particles, 2) adding emphasis to commands, 3) adding emphasis to sentences using the particles ge and ko, and 4) focusing attention on general situations and states of being--are certainly intriguing candidates for further study. It is possible that the use of special endings such as these may be a characteristic of the Ambon-Timor and/or the Sumba-Bima group of languages which distinguishes these groups from other Austronesian language groups.