

A SYNOPSIS OF LARIKE PHONOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Wyn D. Laidig and Carol J. Laidig
The Summer Institute of Linguistics

A brief synopsis of Larike phonology and syntax is presented. Larike remains as one of six indigenous languages still spoken on the island of Ambon in Maluku, Indonesia, all of which are members of the Central Malayo Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian. As with many Moluccan languages, Larike has remained a largely-undocumented language, with only a few relatively short word lists available prior to the current study. It is hoped that this paper, while offering only a glimpse into the structure of Larike, will provide a foundational description that will at least suffice as a starting point for future investigations.

1. INTRODUCTION

Larike, spoken on the western shore of Ambon's northern peninsula, is one of six extant languages indigenous to the island. There are approximately 8000 speakers, located primarily in the villages of Larike and Wakasihu. The smaller villages of Lai and Tapi, under the jurisdiction of Larike and Wakasihu, respectively, are also active in their use of Larike. A few Larike speakers still exist among the residents of Allang, however the language is no longer in daily use there, and is only known by the older generation. Map 3 indicates village locations and approximate language boundaries for Larike as well as the other indigenous languages still spoken on Ambon.

Larike has two dialects. The dialect described in this paper is that spoken in the villages of Larike and Lai, and is therefore referred to as the Larike dialect. The Wakasihu-Allang dialect, spoken in Wakasihu, Tapi, and (historically) Allang, exhibits minor differences, principally in intonational patterns, in a few lexical substitutions, and in one historical sound change described by Collins (1980:15).

Until recently, the only data available on the Larike language were three relatively short nineteenth century wordlists (Van der Crab 1862, Ludeking 1868, Wallace 1869). Of these, the material by Wallace is questionable, since he did not list his source and was mistaken in his opinion that the languages of Asilulu and Larike were the same. Although Chlenov and Sirk (1973) and Chlenov (1976) included Larike in their proposals for genetic classification, it was not until Collins' field work in Central Maluku that new and accurate wordlists from Larike and related languages were obtained. Based upon these data, Collins (1980, 1982, 1983) classifies Larike as a member of the East Central Maluku Subgroup of the Central Maluku Group. More specifically, he proposes that Larike is a member of the West Piru Bay Branch, a subgroup of Piru Bay, which in turn is a subgroup of Nunusaku.

Other recent wordlists have also been collected (Travis 1989), primarily for the purpose of lexicostatistical comparisons with the other languages indigenous to the island of Ambon. The authors' study of Larike¹ has resulted in description of Larike pronouns (Laidig and Laidig 1990), a study of phonology and stress (C. Laidig 1992), and a discussion of Larike possessive constructions (W. Laidig 1993). In addition, a series of four booklets were published, intended to be of primary benefit to the Larike people, but which may also serve a broader linguistic purpose. These include a Larike conversation book, a brief grammar overview with several interlinearized texts, a collection of typical Larike folktales, and a short Larike dictionary (Laidig and Laidig 1991a-d). Since it is unlikely in the foreseeable future that the authors' field work in Larike will continue, it is hoped that this paper will serve the purpose of documenting the basics of Larike grammar and syntax, and that it will also serve as a useful foundation for future investigations of Larike and related languages.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

The Larike consonant inventory consists of a total of thirteen phonemes. Of these, however, it should be noted that five phonemes are considered to be recent borrowings. But even though these borrowed phonemes (designated by parentheses) have a limited distribution and occur with low frequency, they must be considered an integral part of the Larike sound system at present.

Table 1. Consonant Inventory

	<u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
Voiceless Stops	p	t	(c)	k	ʔ
Voiced Stops	(b)	d	(j)	(g)	
Fricatives		s			h
Nasals	m	n		(ŋ)	
Lateral		l			
Flap		r			
Semivowels	w		y		

Historically, it is true that many instances of the glottal can be seen to reflect non-glottal consonants in Proto-Austronesian.² Synchronically, however, the principle of leaving unspecified that which is predictable in phonetic detail, leads us to derive many of these glottals by rule. With that in mind, it is important to note that the phonetic glottal [ʔ] must be analyzed not only as a manifestation of the underlying phoneme /ʔ/ (which is not predictable by phonological rule), but also as the result of the following rule which inserts a surface glottal before a word-initial vowel or between identical vowels.³

$$\text{Rule 1. } \emptyset \rightarrow /ʔ/ / \# ____ V$$

$$V_i ____ V_i$$

The following examples illustrate Rule 1.

(1)	ina	[ʔina]	‘woman’
	ana	[ʔana]	‘child’
	ute	[ʔute]	‘penis’
	waa	[waʔa]	‘root’
	kii	[kiʔi]	‘to bite’
	ee	[ʔeʔe]	‘affirmative’

2.2 Vowels

Larike has five underlying vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ as well as three additional vowels [ɪ, ɛ, ə] which appear in surface forms. The following table displays the traditional vowel chart.

Table 2. Underlying Vowel Inventory

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

All five underlying vowels have the advanced-tongue-root feature, denoted as [+ATR]. The surface vowels [ɪ, ɛ, ə] differ from [i, e, a], respectively, only in that the former display the feature [-ATR] instead of [+ATR].

[ɪ], an allophone of /i/, is found only in closed syllables, which are relatively rare in Larike. The distribution of [ɪ] can be characterized by the following rule, where \$ represents the syllable boundary:

Rule 2. /i/ → [ɪ] / ____ C\$

The following examples illustrate the application of Rule 2. Abbreviations used in the glosses are found in Appendix A.

(2)	parinta	[pa'ɾɪnta]	'government'
	senin	[sɛ'nɪn]	'Monday'
	tahalil	[taha'lɪl]	'funeral service'
	imir-ure	[ʔimɪr'ʔure]	'2p:P-banana'

[ɛ], an allophone of /e/, occurs when directly preceding a syllable containing a front vowel. This is summarized by Rule 3.

Rule 3. /e/ → [ɛ] / _____ C {i, e}

This rule is demonstrated in the following words:

(3)	paledi	[pa'lɛdi]	'to sell'
	sele	[sɛle]	'throat'
	heke-ta	[hɛkɛta]	'CLASS:bundle-NOM'
	pese-ne	[pɛsɛne]	'to hold-2s:O'
	mete-te	[mɛtɛte]	'black-ADJ'

[ə], an allophone of /a/, occurs in unstressed position directly following a front vowel. This can be summarized by Rule 4.

Rule 4. /a/ → [ə] / {i, e} ____
[-stress]

Examples showing the application of Rule 4 are presented below:

(4)	pakiniaku	[paki'niəku]	'to ask'
	diamata	[diə'mata]	'sun'
	tudia	[tudiə]	'machete'
	itia	[ʔitiə]	'lightning'
	marea	[ma'reə]	'cousin'

2.3 Syllable Structure

In Larike, there are four basic syllable types: V, CV, VC, and CVC. These four syllable types do not have equal distribution. In monomorphemic roots, the most common syllable type is CV, with V also occurring quite frequently. The remaining two syllable types, VC and CVC, are quite limited in their distribution, occurring only in multimorphemic words or in borrowings.

2.4 Consonant Sequences

Consonant clusters within a syllable occur only in borrowed words. Consonant clusters do, however, occur across morpheme boundaries, but with low frequency. This is a direct result of the fact that V and CV are by far the dominant syllable types. The most common sources of consonant clusters in nonborrowed words are the possessive marker /-r/ and the stative marker /-n/. Examples are shown below.

(5)	imir-duma	[ʔimɪr'duma]	'2p:P-house'
	matir-haho	[matɪr'haho]	'3p:P-pig'
	ma-n-tola-ta	[man'tolata]	'3s-ST-pretty'
	i-n-susu	[ʔɪn'susu]	'3sn-ST-sweet'

Another instance in which consonant sequences occur across morpheme boundaries is in Larike words which have undergone contraction. Although it is not predictable which words may undergo contraction, it is always the unstressed vowel which is elided as in the following words:

(6)	hunduma	[hun'duma]	'to fight each other'
		from hunu-duma	'fight-RECIP'
	mastidu	[mas'tidu]	'three people'
		from masi-tidu	'CLASS:people-three'
	lohansa	[lo'hansa]	'little'
		from lohana-sa	'little-SG'

2.5 Vowel Sequences

In Larike, vowel sequences are very common, occurring with greatest frequency in word-medial or word-final position. Even though there are several ambiguous vowel sequences realized as diphthongs in the surface representation, all VV sequences are best analyzed in the underlying representation as two separate segments, with each vowel considered to be a separate underlying syllable (that is, a separate nuclear vowel). No vowel sequences are treated as diphthongs in the underlying representation, even though they are pronounced as such on the surface.

There are several reasons for analyzing the ambiguous VV sequences as segments and not diphthongs. First, all combinations of vowels except geminate vowels can occur in a VV sequence; either in roots or in multimorphemic words.⁴ Except for the fact that geminate vowels do not occur, there seem to be no restrictions on which vowels may occur in sequence, as seen in the following examples.

(7)	iV	au-panedi-e	[ʔau'ʔanɛdie]	'1s-weed-COM'
		dupia	[du'piə]	'sago paste'
		ati-u	[ʔatiu]	'four-PL'
		a-puhoi-o	[ʔapu'hoio]	'2s-bathe-IMM'
	eV	nei	[nei]	'here'
		marea	[ma'reə]	'cousin'
		keu	[keu]	'to go'
		au-pese-o	[ʔau'ʔɛseo]	'1s-work-IMM'
	aV	lai	[lai]	'here'
		rupae	[ru'pae]	'woman'
		tau	[tau]	'not yet'
		ao	[ʔao]	'fire'
	uV	tidu-i	[tidui]	'three-PL'
		tue	[tue]	'to live'
		hua	[hua]	'fruit'
		unduo	[ʔun'duo]	'eel'
	oV	puhoi	[pu'hoi]	'to bathe'
		imi-loko-e	[ʔimi'lokoe]	'2p-sit-COM'
		soa	[soa]	'to whistle'
		lou	[lou]	'far'

Another reason for viewing vowel sequences as two segments and not diphthongs is that this interpretation maximizes the generality of the stress rule, which states that primary stress is on the underlying penultimate syllable of the root. Therefore, if the ambiguous VV sequences in words such as **pa'nau** 'to cook' and **pu'hoi** 'bathe' are analyzed as two vowel segments, the stress falls as predicted on the underlying penultimate syllable (see Section 2.6). If, however, such sequences are treated as monosyllabic diphthongs, each instance would be an unmotivated exception to the otherwise general stress rule.

Although several of the VV sequences could be viewed as vowel plus a semi vowel on the surface, this treatment is not general enough to accommodate the other VV sequences. If the only ambiguous sequences were Vi and Vu, then there would be some motivation to view /i, u/ as /y, w/, but there are other vowel sequences, such as /ae/ and /ao/, which pattern in the same way as Vi and Vu. When the sequences /ae/, /ao/, Vi or Vu are spoken, they are spoken with the timing of one syllable. It would not be expedient to postulate Vi as Vy and Vu as Vw when /ae/ and /ao/ also exist and are spoken with the same syllable timing as the Vi and Vu combinations. Since a VV sequence can be represented by any vowels except geminate vowels, it would seem likely that the sequences Vi, Vu, /ae/, and /ao/ should be treated in an analogous manner. The following examples show this similarity.

(8)	papei	[pa'pei]	'to wait'
	panau	[pa'nau]	'to cook'
	rupae	[ru'pae]	'woman'
	papao	[pa'pao]	'sago paste'

Another reason to view the surface diphthongs, Vi and Vu, as VV sequences rather than glides is that they often occur in word-final position. If /i, u/ were considered to be the semivowels /y, w/ in these cases, the result would be a consonant in word-final position. However, with the exception of borrowed words, word-final consonants do not occur Larike.

2.6 Word Structure and Stress

The word structure which is most frequent is CVCV, followed by CVV and VCV. The VC and CVC syllable patterns have limited frequency and distribution, in that, except for borrowings, they never occur in word-final position.

To assign word stress in Larike, it is necessary to have access to the underlying root. The general stress rule is that stress is always associated with the underlying penultimate syllable of the root; stress does not shift with affixation. It should be emphasized that the underlying penultimate syllable is not always the same as the surface penultimate syllable. For example, there are several roots that contain a final VV sequence, such as [pa'tae] 'to leave' where the VV sequence is pronounced as a surface diphthong. Therefore, [pa'tae] is realized on the surface as a two-syllable word, apparently receiving stress on the ultimate syllable. In its underlying form, however, it is a three-syllable word (it has three nuclear vowels), with primary word stress associated with the underlying penultimate syllable.

Stress could be considered contrastive in a technical sense, since there are several sets of minimal pairs which are distinguished only by differing stressed syllables. However, upon closer inspection (that is, upon recognition of the morphological composition of the word), stress can be seen to follow the general stress rule as stated above.

(9)	ana-na	[ʔanana]	'CLASS:fish-P'
	anana	[ʔa'nana]	'body'
	ana-u	[ʔanau]	'child-PL'
	anau	[ʔa'nau]	'to cook'
	pa-kadi-ku	[pa'kadiku]	'CA-to dry-TR'
	paka-diku	[paka'diku]	'CONT-to lean'

A detailed treatment of stress placement, along with a discussion of apparent exceptions to the general rule of stress placement is found in C. Laidig (1992).

2.7 Epenthetic Vowels

There are two classes of words in Larike which appear with an epenthetic vowel. One appears with an epenthetic /-e/ and the other with an epenthetic /-u/. In both cases, the epenthetic vowel is suffixed directly to the root.

The first class of words, all nouns, ends with a final syllable **du** or **nu**. Historically, it is clear that these nouns had a word-final consonant.⁵ Since this structure does not fit the typical Larike word pattern, an epenthetic /-u/ is added. Since the epenthetic /-u/ is not, however, part of the underlying root, it does not affect penultimate syllable stress on the root (i.e., /-u/ is extrametrical, following Goldsmith 1990:194). The following examples are illustrative:

(10)	iʔan-u	[ʔiʔanu]	‘fish’
	hudan-u	[ʔhudanu]	‘rain’
	kapad-u	[ʔkapadu]	‘boat’
	apid-u	[ʔapidu]	‘saliva’
	asad-u	[ʔasadu]	‘market’

The other class of words is found with a final epenthetic /-e/, and appears to consist of recent loan words with word-final consonants. Again, since Larike does not have word-final consonants, the epenthetic /-e/ is used to assimilate these borrowings to the typical vowel-final Larike structure. This vowel, like the epenthetic /-u/, does not affect stress placement, as shown in the following examples.

(11)	ator-e	[ʔatore]	‘to arrange’
	batal-e	[ʔbatale]	‘to break the fast’
	bian-e	[ʔbiane]	‘midwife’
	kuat-e	[ʔkuate]	‘strong’

2.8 Contractions and Compounds

Contracted forms in Larike are fairly common, generally occurring at the juncture of the two morphemes. While there is no way to predict which words will undergo contraction, virtually all contracted forms have met one requirement: *contraction occurs when a vowel-final syllable precedes a stressed vowel-initial syllable*. Contractions in Larike can be treated as consisting of a series of ordered steps: first juxtaposition of the morphemes, followed by geminate vowel reduction or vowel assimilation (if applicable), then resyllabification, and finally stress placement. Stress placement occurs such that primary stress falls on the surface syllable containing the underlying penultimate syllable of the right-most root in the contraction. A detailed discussion of resyllabification and stress placement in Larike compounds and contractions is found in C. Laidig (1992). Several examples are shown below.

(12)	'weidu	+	'udo	→	wei'dudo
	river		head		‘river source’
	'sena	+	'ana	→	se'nana
	INT:P		child		‘whose child?’
	'kisa	+	'aʔu	→	ki'saʔu
	alone		1s		‘by myself’
	'aka	+	'ami	→	a'kami
	for		1pe		‘for us’
	'dima	+	'uru	→	di'mauru
	hand		length		‘forearm’

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Verbs

3.1.1 Pronominal Affixes

Verbs agree in number and person with the subject. Transitive verbs mark the subject using the Set I subject prefixes of Table 3, and in stative contexts (see Section 3.1.3) also mark the object using the Set II object suffixes of Table 4.

Intransitive verbs may be divided into two classes, referred to as unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs (Perlmutter 1978, Rosen 1984). Most intransitive verbs are unergative verbs (see Section 3.1.4), usually describing volitional action, and require the Set I prefixes in Table 3. Some intransitive verbs are unaccusative verbs (see Section 3.1.5), usually describing involuntary action, and require the subject to be marked by the Set II suffixes shown in Table 4 (called object suffixes since they also mark the object of transitive verbs).

Table 3. Subject / Unergative Prefixes (Set I)

	<u>Sing</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Trial</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 excl	au-	aruai-	aridu-	ami-
1 incl		ituai-	itidu-	ite-
2	ai-	iruai-	iridu-	imi-
3 hum	mei-	matuai-	matidu-	mati-
3 nhum	i-			iri-

Table 4. Object / Unaccusative Suffixes (Set II)

	<u>Sing</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Trial</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 excl	-aʔu	-arua	-aridu	-ami
1 incl		-itua	-itidu	-ite
2	-ne	-irua	-iridu	-imi
3 hum	-ma	-matua	-matidu	-mati
3 nhum	-a			-ri

The realis forms of the subject prefixes are given in Table 3, as evidenced by the final *i-* (marking realis) of the dual forms as well as the 2s form in Table 3. If either the irrealis marker *na-* or the negative marker *ta-* is prefixed to the verb root, these forms occur in place of the realis marker *i-*. In addition, the 3s form *mei-* becomes *ma-* when used in conjunction with the irrealis or negative markers. Apparently for sandhi reasons, the realis marker *i-* is not realized when the subject prefixes already end in /i/, as is the case for the trial and plural subject prefixes.

3.1.2 Root Alternations

Although Stresemann (1927:119-125) reports that six different conjugation patterns for verbs are observable in languages of Central Maluku, Larike shows only two of these. Thus, Larike has two complementary forms of root alternations that occur with both transitive and unergative verbs.⁶ The first alternation is with verb roots having an initial /k/ or /p/. In these verbs, that initial consonant is replaced by glottal stop /ʔ/ in all except the 2s, 3s, and 3sn forms. A few of these verbs are shown in the following list.

(13)	<u>Root</u>	<u>Alternation</u>	
	kariʔi	ʔariʔi	‘see’
	kele	ʔele	‘stand’
	kiʔi	ʔiʔi	‘bite’
	kolo	ʔolo	‘cry’
	padi	ʔadi	‘pull’
	peʔu	ʔeʔu	‘put’
	pisaku	ʔisaku	‘tore’
	posoku	ʔosoku	‘massage’
	puna	ʔuna	‘do’

The second alternation is with verb roots having an initial /t/ or /s/. These verbs have that initial consonant replaced with /r/, but only in the 2s, 3s, and 3sn forms. Some examples are shown in the list below.

(14)	<u>Root</u>	<u>Alternation</u>	
	sadi	radi	‘ask’
	sedi	redi	‘buy’
	siha	riha	‘tell’
	sosa	rosa	‘wash’
	sudi	rudi	‘wear’
	tana	rana	‘take’
	tehe	rehe	‘break’
	tito	rito	‘throw’
	toti	roti	‘descend’
	tuhe	ruhe	‘cut’

3.1.3 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs are marked for the subject using the Set I subject/unergative prefixes of Table 3 and, in some contexts, for the object using the Set II object/unaccusative suffixes of Table 4. Subject marking in the declarative mood is obligatory. Object suffixes are used only when an independent object noun phrase does not directly follow the verb, such as when the object constituent is promoted by fronting (topicalization or passivation), or when its referent is understood from the context and not explicitly stated.

The 3sn object suffix -a is realized as -ya following front and central vowels (i, e, and a), and -wa following back and central vowels (u and o). The examples below show conjugated forms with the 2s subject prefix ai- and the 3sn object suffix -a:

(15)	<u>Root</u>	<u>2s-Root-3s</u>	
	coba	ai-coba-ya	‘you tried it’
	tuhe	ai-tuhe-ya	‘you broke it open’
	katu	ai-katu-wa	‘you had someone watch it’
	tuno	ai-tuno-wa	‘you baked it’
	sambong	ai-rambong-a	‘you added it’

3.1.4 Unergative Verbs

Unergative verbs are intransitive forms that mark subject agreement with the subject/unergative prefixes (Set I) shown in Table 3. These verbs generally describe actions showing volition or control by the subject, or indicate qualities or attributes of the subject. The following are sample unergative verb roots, conjugated as 2s (ai-) forms:

(16)	<u>Root</u>	<u>2s form</u>	
	du?i	ai-du?i	‘you are crawling’
	hiru	ai-hiru	‘you are throwing out’
	kele	ai-kele	‘you are standing’
	lawa	ai-lawa	‘you are running’
	musu	ai-musu	‘you are washing’
	nanu	ai-nanu	‘you are swimming’
	pese	ai-pese	‘you are working’
	sa?a	ai-ra?a	‘you are climbing’
	tuhe	ai-ruhe	‘you are cutting’
	wela	ai-wela	‘you are going home’
	?ata	ai-?ata	‘you are tall’
	?ida	ai-?ida	‘you are big’

3.1.5 Unaccusative Verbs

Unaccusative verbs are intransitive forms that mark subject agreement with the object/unaccusative suffixes (Set II) shown Table 4. Sometimes referred to as the middle voice, these verbs treat the subject as also being in some sense the patient or object. Unaccusative verbs generally describe actions that are involuntary, or out of direct control of the subject. Several examples of unaccusative verbs are listed below, conjugated as 2s (-ne) forms:

(17)	<u>Root</u>	<u>2s form</u>	
	duarene	duarene-ne	‘you are hungry’
	piku	piku-ne	‘you are burned’
	hanahu	hanahu-ne	‘you fell’
	lopo	lopo-ne	‘you are wet’
	pehe	pehe-ne	‘you are tired’
	panatiku	panatiku-ne	‘you are sweating’

3.1.6 Other Affixes

There are three mutually exclusive prefixes which occur immediately following the subject prefix. These are the negative morpheme **ta-** ‘NEG’, the irrealis morpheme **na-** ‘IR’, and the realis morpheme **i-** ‘RL’. The realis morpheme, which for phonological reasons is only manifested in the 2s, 3s, and all dual forms, is shown as an integral part of the subject prefix in Table 3, but is separated for clarity in Example 18 below. Another irregularity is that the irrealis morpheme **na-** never occurs with the 2s form of the verb (that is, **na-** has a \emptyset allomorph used for 2s forms). An example using each of three affixes is shown below.

(18) **Arua-i-lena.**
 1de:S-RL-walk
We (two) are walking.

(19) **Arua-na-lena.**
 1de:S-IR-walk
We (two) will walk.

(20) **Arua-ta-lena.**
 1de:S-NEG-walk
We (two) will not walk.

Other common verb prefixes include the causative morpheme **pa-** ‘CA’ and the stative marker **n-** ‘ST’, which occur immediately preceding the verb root. Verb suffixes include the transitive morpheme **-ku** ‘TR’ (occurring immediately following the verb root), and the completive marker **-e** ‘COM’ (occurring after all other verb suffixes).⁷ One example of each of these affixes is shown below.

(21) **Mati-pa-huni la au-ta-?ari?i-mati.**
 3p:S-CA-hide so 1s:S-NEG-see-3p:O
They hid so I couldn't see them.

(22) **Au-n-uku.**
 1s:S-ST-fat
I am fat.

(23) **Mei-pa-huni-ku mana-pise.**
 3s:S- CA- hide- TR 3s:P- money
He hid his money.

(24) **Mei-kanu-a-e.**
 3s:S-eat-3sn:O-COM
He ate it.

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Free Pronouns

The free pronouns are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Free Pronouns

	<u>Sing</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Trial</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 excl	a?u	arua	aridu	ami
1 incl		itua	itidu	ite
2	ane	irua	iridu	imi
3	mane	matua	matidu	mati

The third person pronouns above are only for human referents. There are no free pronouns for nonhuman referents, their pro-forms occurring as verbal affixes. The 2p pronoun **imi** is also used as the second person singular reference in situations where respect or formality are shown.

3.2.2 Plural forms

Most nouns are pluralized using the plural suffix **-i/-u**. In an apparently dissimilating pattern, nouns ending in /u/ or /o/ take the **-i** form of the plural suffix, while nouns ending in /i/ or /e/ take the **-u** form of the suffix. Nouns ending in /a/ are unpredictable, with some requiring **-i**, others requiring **-u**, and still others allowing either form. This form of pluralization is used on numerals as well as nouns. Examples of the **-i/-u** plural suffix are shown in the following list.

(25)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
	musia	musia-i	‘person’
	dima	dima-i	‘hand’
	hu?u	hu?u-i	‘hill’
	henedu	henedu-i	‘flood’
	kiso	kiso-i	‘beetle’
	duma	duma-u	‘house’
	ana	ana-u	‘child’
	ladi	ladi-u	‘fly’
	ude	ude-u	‘caterpillar’

A few nouns end in the singular suffix *-sa*, in which case the corresponding plural suffix becomes *-si*. For example *ma-sa* ‘person-SG’ has as its plural counterpart *ma-si* ‘person-PL’.

Two special cases of pluralizing nouns are mentioned in the following sections: 1) Derived nouns with the nominalizer suffix *-ta*, which are pluralized by replacing *-ta* with the corresponding plural form *-tu*. 2) Possessive forms with the singular suffix *-na*, which are pluralized by replacing *-na* with the corresponding plural possessive suffix *-ri*.

3.2.3 Nominalization

Some derived nouns consist of verb roots with the nominalization suffix *-ta* ‘NOM’.⁸ For example:

(26)	<u>Verb</u>		<u>Noun</u>	
	ida	‘big’	ida-ta	‘largeness, size’
	padime	‘to play’	padime-ta	‘toy, game’
	kakoi	‘small’	kakoi-ta	‘smallness’
	adoti	‘to fight’	adoti-ta	‘duel, fight’

Often the nominalization suffix is accompanied by a reduplicated prefix *Ca-*, where C is the reduplicated initial consonant of the verb root. Examples are:

(27)	<u>Verb</u>		<u>Noun</u>	
	tunu	‘to bake’	ta-tunu-ta	‘something baked’
	rene	‘sick’	ra-rene-ta	‘sickness’
	?ese	‘to work’	?a-?ese-ta	‘work, task’
	toti	‘descend’	ta-toti-ta	‘stairs’
	loko	‘sit’	la-loko-ta	‘resting place’

Other nominalized forms use the agentive prefix *maka-* together with an action-verb root and the nominalization suffix *-ta*. These derived nouns have the meaning ‘one who does...’, as shown in the following examples:

(28)	<u>Verb</u>		<u>Noun</u>	
	?ese	‘to work’	maka-?ese-ta	‘worker’
	sa?o	‘to pound’	maka-sa?o-ta	‘one who pounds (sago)’
	lami	‘to strain’	maka-lami-ta	‘one who strains (sago)’

All derived nouns ending with the nominalization suffix *-ta* are pluralized by replacing the morpheme *-ta* with the corresponding plural form *-tu* ‘NOM:PL’.

3.2.4 Possessives

The table below summarizes Larike possessive prefixes.

Table 6. Possessive Prefixes

	<u>Sing</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Trial</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 excl	aku-	aruar-	aridur-	amir-
1 incl		ituar-	itidur-	iter-
2	amu-	iruar-	iridur-	imir-
3 hum	mana-	matuar-	matidur-	matir-
3 nhum	ina-, ir-			irir-

A simple possessive noun phrase consists of the appropriate possessive prefix (indicating the possessor) and the possessed noun to which it is attached, as is illustrated by the set of examples below.

(29)	1s	aku-dima	‘my hand’
	2s	amu-rupae	‘your wife’
	3s	mana-usedu	‘his navel’
	3sn	ir-kamananu	‘its food’
	1de	aruar-haka	‘our canoe’
	1di	ituar-manua	‘our chicken’
	2d	iruar-i?anu	‘your fish’
	3d	matuar-ana	‘their child’
	1te	aridur-lawa	‘our garden’
	1ti	itidur-a?era	‘our sack lunch’
	2t	iridur-ina	‘your mother’
	3t	matidur-ba	‘their father’
	1pe	amir-haho	‘our pig’
	1pi	iter-niwedu	‘our coconut’
	2p	imir-pala	‘your nutmeg’
	3p	matir-dupia	‘their sago’
	3pn	irir-duma	‘their house’

Another type of possession⁹ is marked on some nouns by the singular suffix **-na** or the corresponding plural suffix **-ri**. These suffixes, the same as those found on classifiers (see Section 3.3.1), mark a noun as being possessed, or more accurately, in a genitive relationship with something else. In some cases these genitive suffixes are an inseparable part of the noun. In addition to the classifiers listed in Section 3.3.1 (which can also function as nouns in their own right), a number of these forms may be cited as follows (for simplicity only the singular **-na** forms are shown):

(30)	disi-na	‘leftover (of something)’
	ha?a-na	‘side, half (of something)’
	hae-na	‘wickedness (of someone)’
	haha-na	‘peak, top part (of something)’
	hidi-na	‘value, price (of something)’
	hina-na	‘mark, scar (of something)’
	iya-na	‘kindness (of someone)’
	kaku-na	‘stem (of something)’
	lalaha-na	‘friend (of someone)’
	muto-na	‘ripe fruit (of a coconut)’

sana-na	‘branch (of something)’
tia-na	‘width (of something)’
tupu?u-na	‘knot, kink (in something)’
usa-na	‘skin, bark, covering (of something)’
wa?a-na	‘root (of something)’
wadi-na	‘unripe fruit (of a coconut)’
waka-na	‘base, bottom part (of something)’

It should be noted that nouns marked with the genitive suffix **-na** (or **-ri**) additionally take the possessive prefixes of Table 6. A detailed discussion of Larike possessive constructions is found in W. Laidig (1993).

3.3 Quantifiers

3.3.1 Classifiers

The genitive suffixes **-na** and **-ri** are most often found in what has developed into a moderately large system of nominal classifiers. In these words it is usually the part-whole relationship which is marked by the presence of the genitive suffix. A partial list of these classifiers, shown in their singular form, along with the category of nouns which they classify, is presented in Example 31.

(31)	ana-na	CLASS; ‘for fish, crab, or ocean creature’
	ei-na	CLASS; ‘for tree’
	hata-na	CLASS; ‘for trunk, log’
	hatu-na	CLASS; ‘for shell, digit, pill, pellet’
	hera-na	CLASS; ‘for plank, board’
	hua-na	CLASS; ‘for fruit, building, egg, general item’
	hudu-na	CLASS; ‘for hair, stalk, grass, feather’
	huke-na	CLASS; ‘for pot, plate’
	huta-na	CLASS; ‘for small tree, shoot, stalk’
	hutu-na	CLASS; ‘for group, pack, shoal, herd’
	ina-na	CLASS; ‘for animal, reptile, insect (not fish)’
	isi-na	CLASS; ‘for boil, carbuncle, flesh, insides’
	loho-na	CLASS; ‘for piece, part, cut of meat’
	lou-na	CLASS; ‘for leaf’
	mata-na	CLASS; ‘for coin, hole, round or circular object’
	ne?a-na	CLASS; ‘for bar, block, slice, wedge’
	nete-na	CLASS; ‘for slice, equally divided portion’
	niri-na	CLASS; ‘for sheet, flat section’
	nunu-na	CLASS; ‘for scale of fish’
	oi-na	CLASS; ‘for nut, seed, smooth round thing’
	sina-na	CLASS; ‘for stripe, ray, long thin strip’
	sowo-na	CLASS; ‘for blossom, bloom of edible fruit’
	tida-na	CLASS; ‘for blossom, bloom of non-edible fruit’
	tido-na	CLASS; ‘for egg’
	unu-na	CLASS; ‘for bud’
	uru-na	CLASS; ‘for length, lengthwise cut of wood’

The forms above are suffixed with **-na** indicating both singular and genitive. Corresponding plural forms replace **-na** by the plural genitive marker **-r/-ri**: for plurals of unspecified number **-ri** is used; for plural forms which are followed by a specific number **-r** is used. This is shown in the following example of **alawa** ‘shell’ and its classifier **hatu**.

(32)	alawa hatu-na	‘a shell’
	alawa hatu-r dua	‘two shells’
	alawa hatu-r tidu	‘three shells’
	alawa hatu-ri	‘shells’

The root **hatu** functions here as a classifier, and is obligatorily used whenever number is specified. Also, as is typical of most classifiers, **hatu** is used for a variety of nouns, such as shells, pills, pebbles, pellets, balls, etc., all representing small round or cylindrically shaped objects.

3.3.2 Numerals

The following table lists Larike numerals. There is no differentiation between cardinal and ordinal numerals.

(33)	1	sane	28	hutu duai da wadu
	2	dua	29	hutu duai da siwa
	3	tidu	30	hutidu
	4	ati	40	hutu ati
	5	dima	50	hutu dima
	6	neni	60	hutu nene
	7	itu	70	hutu itu
	8	wadu	80	hutu wadu
	9	siwa	90	hutu neni
	10	husa	100	utuna
	11	huseidana	200	utur dua
	12	husei dua	300	utur tidu
	13	husei da tidu	400	utur ati
	14	husei da ati	500	utur dima
	15	husei dima	600	utur nene
	16	husei da neni	700	utur itu
	17	husei daitu	800	utur wadu
	18	husei da wadu	900	utur siwa
	19	husei da siwa	1000	usata
	20	hutu dua	2000	usatu dua
	21	hutu dua idana	3000	usatu tidu
	22	hutu duai dua	4000	usatu ati
	23	hutu duai da tidu	5000	usatu dima
	24	hutu duai dati	6000	usatu nene
	25	hutu duai dima	7000	usatu itu
	26	hutu duai da neni	8000	usatu wadu
	27	hutu duai daitu	9000	usatu siwa

3.4 Directionals and Determiners

The six directions are specified by the following Larike forms:

(34)	lete	‘upward’
	hehe, wehe	‘downward’
	lo	‘oceanward’
	lae	‘landward’
	di	‘downcoast’
	hale	‘upcoast’

These direction words are used to specify location or direction following motion verbs such as **keu** ‘go’ and **kela** ‘come’ and following the directional prepositions **au** ‘to’ and **la** ‘from’. Direction words are also used to form locational determiners, as described below.

There are two general determiners: **ni** ‘this’ and **hima** ‘that’, which occur in the final position of the noun phrase. They may also function as an entire noun phrase, with the meaning ‘this one’ or ‘that one’. The determiners often occur in their shortened unstressed forms of **-i** and **-ma**, respectively, in which case they act as clitics, occurring phrase-finally in complex noun phrases or in simple pronominal noun phrases.

In addition to the determiners **hi** and **hima**, there are six determiners which also specify the direction of the referent's location. These determiners are formed with **hi** and one of the six directional words, as shown below:

(35)	hi-lete	‘that up there’
	hi-hehe	‘that down there’
	hi-lo	‘that over there (oceanward)’
	hi-lae	‘that over there (landward)’
	hi-di	‘that over there (downcoast)’
	hi-hale	‘that over there (upcoast)’

3.5 Prepositions

Several of the most common prepositions are shown below, along with their primary meaning:

(36)	aka	‘to (a person)’
	alei	‘here, at this location’
	ama	‘there, at that location’
	au	‘to (a location)’
	auhuse	‘there (remote)’
	hidi	‘from (a person)’
	la	‘from (a location)’
	laku	‘with’
	la?aku	‘with, against’
	ri?a	‘for’
	rong	‘around’
	se	‘in’

When a pronoun is used as the object of the preposition, the object suffixes of Table 4 are used.

4. VERB PHRASE

Adverbs follow the verb. Likewise, modifiers of adverbs follow the adverb. For example, the modifying word **lohanasa** ‘a little’ follows the adverb **ke?i** ‘fast’, which in turn modifies the verb **lawa** ‘run’, as seen in the following:

(37)	A-lawa	ke?i	lohanasa!
	2s:S-run	fast	little
	<i>Run a little faster!</i>		

Serial verbs are quite common in Larike. While the first verb in the sequence requires a subject-agreement marker (see Section 3.1), the second verb is only optionally marked, as shown in the following example.

(38)	Au-?eu	au-?anu.
	1s:S-go	1s:S-eat
	<i>I'm going to eat.</i>	
	Au-?eu	anu.
	1s:S-go	eat
	<i>I'm going to eat.</i>	

Modals do not take subject prefixes, but may be preceded by subject nouns or free pronouns, as illustrated in the two variant sentences below.

(39) **·Musti** **mei-riwa**.
 must 3s:S-know
He has to know.

(40) **Mane** **musti** **mei-riwa**.
 3s must 3s:S-know
He has to know.

The word order for a complex verb phrase consisting of a modal with a verb sequence, adverb, and adverbial modifier is shown in the following example.

(41) VP = modal + verb + verb + adverb + modifier
Musti **mei-keu** **puhoi** **muhida** **lohanasa**.
 must 3s:S-go bathe slow little
He has to go bathe a little slowly.

5. NOUN PHRASE

Nouns phrases may consist simply of a noun, pronoun, quantifier, or determiner. More complex noun phrases require a fixed word order, as shown in the following example.

(42) NP = noun + adjective + quantifier + determiner
hato **mete-te** **hatur-dua** **hi**
 rock black-ADJ CLASS-two this
these two black rocks

Numerical quantification of nouns must include noun classifiers, discussed in Section 3.3.1. The classifier may occur with or without the explicit head noun, and may also be followed by a determiner even if the head noun is absent.

Adjectives, such as **mete-te** ‘black’ in Example 42, usually end with the adjective marker **-te**, suffixed to verb-like roots. It is common, however, for nouns to function also as adjectives, modifying the head noun by directly following it, as do other adjectives.

6. BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The basic structure of Larike clauses is best classified as Topic-Comment (TC). In these clauses the topic phrase (subject noun phrase) is stated first, with the comment phrase following.

Topic-Comment clauses in Larike do not need explicit verbs. Both the topic and the comment may be a noun phrase. Such clauses generally describe attributes or qualities (stative clauses), location (locative clauses), or they equate one noun with another (equative clauses). This can be seen in the following examples, where the comment noun phrase (**panosta**, **hilo**, and **rupae**) directly follows the topic noun phrase (**ane**, **nusa** and **Jena**).

(43) **Ane** **panosta**. **Stative clause**
 2s dirt
You are dirt.

(44) **Nusa** **hilo**. **Locative Clause**
 island there
The island is out there.

- (45) **Jena rupae. Equative Clause**
 Jena woman
Jena is a woman.

In topic-comment sentences which include explicit verbs, the verb phrase (as well as the object) is part of the comment. The basic word order in sentences with explicit verbs is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). This SVO order is shown in the following example:

- (46) **Ali mei-kanu manua.**
 Ali 3s:S-eat chicken
Ali is eating chicken.

It should be mentioned that a sentence may consist of only a verb or verb phrase. In other words, if the comment contains a verb, an independent topic noun phrase is not required for a grammatical sentence. This can be seen by comparing the following sentence with that of the previous example.

- (47) **Mei-kanu.**
 3s:S-eat
He is eating.

7. INTERROGATIVES

7.1 Yes/No Questions

There are four grammatical types of yes/no questions. The most common employs the yes/no question marker *-o*, which occurs clause finally. This marker is also used in declarative sentences as an ‘immediacy marker’, indicating that the action is to be done *before* something else is done. The second type of yes/no question uses the phrase **pi tahi** ‘or not?’ clause finally. Similarly, the third type is characterized by the construction **pe?a pi tau** ‘finished or not yet?’ which also occurs clause finally. The answer to this latter question is not ‘yes’ or ‘no’, but rather ‘finished’ or ‘not yet’. A final type of yes/no question is best described as a tag question, and marked by the clause-final marker *-in*. This type of question is different from the others in that the speaker's intent is to solicit agreement, rather than to obtain information. In other words, the expected answer to this question is always ‘yes’. One example of each of these question types is shown below.

- (48) **Imi-na-?eu puhoi-o?**
 2p:S-IR-go bathe-QM
Are you going to bathe?
- (49) **Musia-i Amerika mati-suka turenu pi tahi?**
 person-PL America 3p:S-like durian or not
Do Americans like durian or not?
- (50) **Ai-kanu pe?a pi tau?**
 2s:S-eat finish or not yet
Have you already eaten or not?
- (51) **Udata ma i-?ata rene-in?**
 mountain DET 3sn:S-tall very-TQM
That mountain is huge, isn't it?

7.2 Content Questions

The most common question words are shown in the following list.

(52)	kudapa	‘why’
	apa	‘where (thing)’
	lapa	‘from where’
	sapa	‘where (person)’
	seme	‘what’
	se	‘who’
	sesi	‘who (plural)’
	napa	‘how, in what way’
	ida	‘how many, how much’

Except for **kudapa** ‘why’, which occurs clause initially, question words normally occur in the same position that the answer would occur in a corresponding declarative sentence, as shown in the sentences pairs below.

- (53) **Kudapa amu-ana mei-kolo?**
 why 2s:P-child 3p:S-cry
Why is your child crying?
- Aku-ana mei-kolo sabe mei-n-ta?u.**
 1s:P-child 3p:S-cry because 3p:S-ST-afraid
My child is crying because she is afraid?
- (54) **Husein laku Kalsum mati sapa?**
 Husein and Kalsum 3p:S where
Where are Husein and Kalsum?
- Husein laku Kalsum mati au lo.**
 Husein and Kalsum 3p:S to oceanward
Husein and Kalsum are by the ocean.
- (55) **Ai-keu au lete apa?**
 3p:S-go to upward where
Where (up there) are you going?
- Au-?eu au lete udata.**
 1p:S-go to upward mountain
I'm going up to the mountain.
- (56) **Ai-puna seme?**
 2s:S-do what
What are you making?
- Au-?una aku-haka.**
 1s:S-do 1s:P-boat
I'm making my boat.
- (57) **Putu-ida baru mati-la?i?**
 day-how many before 3p:S-arrive
How many days before they arrive?
- Putu-dima baru mati-la?i.**
 day-five before 3p:S-arrive
Five days before they arrive.

Interestingly, there is no single word which can be translated ‘when’. Instead the interrogative morpheme **ida** ‘how much, how many’ is used in combination with a quantity of time. Thus, to ask the question ‘when’ would require the use of words such as the following:

- (58) **putu-ida** ‘how many days’
oras-ida ‘how many hours’
hudanu-ida ‘how many months’
nadiu-ida ‘how many years’

8. A SHORT TEXT

The narrative text below was transcribed and edited from a cassette recording of a native speaker. Since the grammatical structure in this text is relatively simple, it provides a good illustration of basic Larike syntax. The first line is written according to the standard orthography,¹⁰ while the second line is morphologically parsed. The third and fourth lines provide morphological glosses and a free translation, respectively.

1. **Waktu mise Amina mana kole renea putidu.**
waktu mise Amina mana-kole rene-a putu-tidu
time mentioned Amina 3s:P-back sick-3sn:O day-three
Some time ago, Amina's back hurt for three days.
2. **Ami eu hiha biange adipitotu tidu.**
ami-keu hiha biange adipito-tu tidu
1pe:S-go call midwife night-NOM:PL three
We went and called the midwife on the third night.
3. **Ami matawana adipitotu tidu.**
ami-matawana adipito-tu tidu
1pe:S-sleepless night-NOM:PL three
We didn't sleep the third night.
4. **Tarus ami eu tana dokter pi mantri lete Alanu.**
tarus ami-keu tana dokter pi mantri lete Allang
directly 1pe:S-go take doctor or medic above Allang
We went to get a doctor or medic from Allang.
5. **Meila'i hola meibarenti manit hutidu.**
mei-laʔi hola mei-barenti manit hutidu
3s:S-arrive here 3s:S-stop minute thirty
When he arrived here he rested for thirty minutes.
6. **Pe'a hima meipasinido.**
peʔa hima mei-pasinido
finished that 3s:S-change clothes
After that he changed clothes.
7. **Pe'a meirupuma laku eta.**
peʔa mei-rupu-ma laku eta
finished 3s:S-stab-3s:O with needle
Then he gave her a shot.

8. **Narohi hima si'u, laku meileyana.**
 narohi hima si?u laku mei-leyana
 day that also then 3s:S-birth
That very day she gave birth.
- 9 **Laku ana mejaji pe'a laku salamate,**
 laku ana mei-jaji pe?a laku salamate
 and child 3s:S-born finished with health
- baru biange meilo'i ana meigunting mana tahale.**
 baru biange mei-lo?i ana mei-gunting mana-tahale
 before midwife 3s:S-lift child 3s:S-cut 3s:P-placenta
As soon as the child was safely delivered, the midwife lifted the child and cut the placenta [from the umbilical cord].
10. **Tarus meiruh'o'a laku okole.**
 tarus mei-suh'o-a laku okole
 directly 3s:S-close-3sn:O with coconut shell
Then she covered it with a coconut shell.
11. **Baru biange niko mise meihueku mantahale**
 baru biange niko mise mei-hueku mana-tahale
 before midwife earlier mentioned 3s:S-bury:TR 3s:P-placenta
- niko mise.**
 niko mise
 earlier mentioned
Then the midwife buried the placenta.
12. **Meihueka hise duma si'u hilale.**
 mei-hueku-a hise duma si?u hilale
 3s:S-bury:TR-3sn:O exist house side inside
She buried it in the house near the outside wall.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of abbreviations used to gloss examples in this paper:

1de	1st person dual exclusive
1di	1st person dual inclusive
1te	1st person trial exclusive
1ti	1st person trial inclusive
1pe	1st person plural exclusive
1pi	1st person plural inclusive
2s	2nd person singular informal
2d	2nd person dual
2t	2nd person trial
2p	2nd person plural (and 2nd person singular formal)
3s	3rd person singular human
3sn	3rd person singular nonhuman
3d	3rd person dual human
3t	3rd person trial human
3p	3rd person plural human
3pn	3rd person plural nonhuman
CA	causative
CLASS	classifier
COM	completive marker
CONT	continual state or action
DUP	reduplication
excl	exclusive
hum	human
IMM	immediacy marker
incl	inclusive
IR	irrealis marker
RECIP	reciprocal
RL	realis marker
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominalization marker
nhum	nonhuman
O	object marker
P	possessive marker
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PL	plural marker
S	subject marker
SG	singular marker
sing	singular
ST	stative marker
TR	transitive marker

NOTES

1. This work has resulted from a cooperative program between the Government of Indonesia and The Summer Institute of Linguistics. Field work in Larike was carried out under the auspices of the Center for Maluku Studies and Development of Pattimura University. Data for this paper have been collected over a four year period from 1988 to 1991 in the village of Larike. The authors are grateful to their many neighbors and friends who contributed to their understanding of the language and culture, and in particular to their primary language consultants, Ahmad Hukul and Hasan Latuapo. Special thanks are also due to Ken Gregerson for his helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and to Dr. Ir. J. L. Nanere, MSc. for his support and encouragement. The authors are grateful to Jan Perry for her help with manuscript preparation.
2. This can be seen by a comparison of the Larike words in example (1) with the following proto forms: PAN *binaj 'woman', PAN *'anak 'child', PAN *bu[t]uh 'penis', PAN *vaka[l] 'root', PAN *ki(CT)ki(Ct) 'to bite', and proto-Philippine *heqe 'affirmative'.
3. In words which contain identical vowels separated by glottal, there is no way of knowing whether that glottal is present in the underlying representation, or whether it is the result of the glottal insertion rule. For economy's sake, it will be assumed that such glottals are the result of the insertion rule, and that there is no need to recognize them in the underlying representation.
4. Except for sequences of identical vowels, most combinations of vowel sequences are present in roots. Those non-identical combinations of vowels which are not found in roots (namely eo, oe, ui, iu, ie and io) do occur in multimorphemic words.
5. Historically, words such as **iʔan-u**, **lalan-u**, and **weid-u** originated from PAN *ikan, *jalan, and *wer, respectively.
6. Historically, there were obligatory subject-agreement prefixes on verbs, which, through a series of historical sound changes, were reduced to a single consonant and then fused to the verb root, resulting in the root alternations observed today. These historical sound changes are common to a number of languages in Central Maluku, and are discussed in Collins (1983).
7. The transitive marker **-ku** becomes **-ke** for transitive reflexives. In addition, the transitive marker **-ku** followed by the 3sn object suffix **-a** results in the fused form **-ka**.
8. There are some words in which the suffix **-ta** seems to be in free variation with the suffix **-te**. Although further evidence is needed, the available data indicate that **-te** forms adjectives rather than nouns.
9. The term 'possessive' is used here in a general sense. Stated concisely, "possessives refer... to possessed nouns, that is, nouns denoting someone or something associated with the possessor through various genitive relationships including, but not limited to, ownership, authorship, kinship, and part-whole relationships" (Wilson 1982:3).
10. The practical orthography for Larike closely follows the standard Indonesian orthography, with the exception that the glottal /ʔ/ is represented by a single quotation mark in Larike. Word-initial glottals, however, are never written. Word stress is also not marked. To reduce word lengths, the dual, trial, and plural forms (excluding the third person plural nonhuman form) of both subject and object affixes (see Tables 3 and 4) are written as separate words. In addition, all possessive prefixes (see Table 6) are written as separate words. Classifiers are also written separately from the numeral which they precede.

REFERENCES

- Chlenov, M. A.
1976 *Nasalenie Molukkskikh Ostrovov*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Chlenov, M. A. and U. Sirk
1973 "Merger of Labial Phonemes in Ambonese Languages." *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis, Oriental Studies II* (2):58-97.
- Collins, James T.
1980 "Laha: a Language of the Central Moluccas." *Indonesia Circle* 23:3-19.
1982 "Linguistic Research in Maluku: a Report of Recent Field Work." *Oceanic Linguistics* 21:73-146.
1983 "The Historical Relationships of the Languages of Central Maluku, Indonesia." *Pacific Linguistics* D-47. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Crab, P. van der
1862 *De Moluksche Eilanden: Reis van Z. E. den Gouverneur-General C. F. Pahud*. Batavia: Lange.
- Goldsmith, John A.
1990 *Autosegmental and Metrical Phonology*. Cambridge: Basil-Blackwell.
- Laidig, Carol J.
1992 "Segments, Syllables, and Stress in Larike." In *Phonological Studies in Four Languages of Maluku*, ed. by Donald A. Burquest and Wyn D. Laidig. pp. 67-126. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Texas at Arlington, and Pattimura University.
- Laidig, Wyn D.
1993 "Insights from Larike Possessive Constructions." *Oceanic Linguistics* 32:311-351.
- Laidig, Wyn D. and Carol J. Laidig
1990 "Larike Pronouns: Duals and Trials in a Central Moluccan Language." *Oceanic Linguistics* 29:87-109.
1991a *Lalepata Sou Rikedu* [Percakapan Bahasa Larike] (Larike Conversations). Ambon: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University.
1991b *Tarus Sou Rikedu* [Tata Bahasa Larike] (Larike Grammar). Ambon: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University.
1991c *Carita Sou Rikedu* [Cerita Bahasa Larike] (Larike Folktales). Ambon: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University.
1991d *Kamus Sou Rikedu* [Kamus Bahasa Larike] (Larike Dictionary). Ambon: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University.
- Ludeking, E. W. A.
1868 *Schets van de Residentie Amboina*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Perlmutter, David M.
1978 "Impersonal Passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis." In *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*. pp. 157-189. Berkeley: University of California.

- Rosen, Carol G.
 1984 "The Interface Between Semantic Roles and Initial Grammatical Relations". In *Studies in Relational Grammar 2*, ed. by D. M. Perlmutter and C. G. Rosen. pp. 38-77. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stresemann, Erwin
 1927 *Die Lauterscheinungen in den Ambonischen Sprachen.* Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, Beiheft X.
- Travis, Edgar W.
 1989 "A Lexicostatistic Survey of the Languages Indigenous to Ambon Island." In *Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures Vol. 6*, ed. by Wyn Laidig. pp. 65-101. Ambon: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University.
- Wallace, Alfred R.
 1869 *The Malay Archipelago: the Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise.* London: Macmillan.
- Wilson, William H.
 1982 "Proto-Polynesian Possessive Marking." *Pacific Linguistics* B-85. Canberra: Australian National University.