Map 6.   Luang language area showing the three major dialects: Leti, Luang, and Wetan.

ON BEING PARTIALLY PREGNANT: TRANSITIVITY IN LUANG

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Luang, a virtually undescribed language, in the southwestern part of the Maluku province of Eastern Indonesia has a unique pattern of pronominal verb prefixation. This paper illustrates how this unique pattern is based on transitivity. Although transitivity is often thought of as being indicated by the presence or absence of a direct object, in Luang, transitivity is much more complex. However, we gain new insights into how transitivity functions in Luang when we follow Hopper and Thompson's (1980) list of ten parameters for determining the cardinal transitivity of a clause. This understanding of transitivity also gives some initial insights into Luang culture and world view. Finally this paper includes the first published interlinear Luang text which serves to further illustrate how transitivity works on the discourse level.

1. INTRODUCTION

Luang, a language spoken by approximately 25,000 people in southwestern Maluku (see Map 6), has long remained in relative obscurity. Prior to the current work,[1] linguists have consistently looked only at part of the linguistic puzzle. Previous linguistic research on the Luang language is quite limited and has all been focused on the Leti and Wetan dialects.[2] In 1895 L.Ch.A. Moorrees collected a 1400-word list from the Leti dialect which is a part of *The Holle Lists* (Stokhof 1980). Other work includes Jonker's (1932) grammar sketch of the Leti dialect, "Lettineesche Taalstudien", and Mills and Grima's (1980) "Historical developments in Lettinese" which is based on Jonker's data. De Josselin de Jonge (1987) did some linguistic study on the Wetan dialect in 1933 which has since been published as "Wetan Fieldnotes." More recently A.V. Engelenhoven (1987, 1991) has done some research in the Leti dialect. Several language atlases of the area include the Luang language (also referred to as Leti, Letri Lgona, and Literi Lagona) in their classification (Esser 1938, Salzner 1960, Wurm and Hattori 1981).[3]

The Luang language is classified under the Austronesian Phylum within the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgrouping (following Blust 1977, 1978, 1981). Luang is most closely related to the Roma (Steven 1991), Kisar (Christensen and Christensen 1992) and East Damar languages; being approximately 55% lexically similar (Taber 1993). However, besides Taber's (1993) brief description, no real linguistic work has ever been published on the Luang dialect itself.

Therefore, this article is aimed at providing an initial, although admittedly small, glimpse into the heretofore undocumented part of this linguistic puzzle; the Luang dialect. In this article, we will see how the Luang dialect has two verb classes whose distinction is one of transitivity. This transitivity is not, however, solely based on the presence or absence of a direct object, but rather on other more complex parameters which are described below.

Paul Hopper and Sandra Thompson (1980) did an extensive study in the 1970s establishing a set of parameters used to distinguish the extent of transitivity. Their theory maintains that rather than the existing nontransitive versus transitive distinction, transitivity is actually a continuum extending from low transitivity to high transitivity. Their chart reproduced here offers ten parameters which can be used to determine the cardinal transitivity of a clause.[4]

COMPONENT	High Transitivity	Low Transitivity
A. PARTICIPANTS	two or more participants (A and O)	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	nonaction
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	nonpunctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	nonvolitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION of O	O highly individuated	O nonindividuated

In the following paragraphs we shall see how some of these parameters determine in Luang which verbs make up the class considered to be low in transitivity and which make up the class considered to be highly transitive. Hopper and Thompson (1980) have written:

> But these 10 parameters, besides having accumulative grammatical value, also seemed to have a unified discourse function. To a greater or lesser extent they contributed to the construction of "foreground"-the chief, event-centered, sequential actions of a discourse.

To further illustrate this hypothesis, an interlinearized text is included in the appendix. This text reveals -that as a general rule those verb roots occurring with highly transitive/active prefixes (referred to below as Set 2 pronominal markers) make up the 'foreground' or chief, event-centered sequential actions of a discourse. While those occurring with the less transitive/active prefixes (referred to below as Set 1 pronominal markers) tend to occur most often in the clauses that make up the background and setting of the discourse.

In addition we shall also see how Hopper and Thompson's (1980) parameters of kinesus (action), punctuality (durativity), volitionality and affectedness of the actor or object reveal some initial insights into Luang culture and world view.

2. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

In Luang there are two classes of verbs or verb senses. These are morphologically subcategorized by their occurrence with the following pronominal markers.[5]

Set 1				Set 2			
1s	u	1pe	ma	1s	u	1pe	m
2s	mu	1pi	ta	2s	m(u)	1pi	t
3s	na	2p	mi	3s	n	2p	m(i)
		3p	ra			3p	r

Verb roots which occur with Set 1 prefixes are less transitive, and verb roots which occur with Set 2 prefixes are more highly transitive in the Hopper and Thompson (1980) sense. Nevertheless, statives and other intransitives as well as transitives, occur with both sets of prefixes. However, when comparing the verb roots, the roots which occur with the prefixes of the second set are more highly transitive in relation to either kinesus (action), punctuality, volitionality or the affectedness of the actor or object.

3. VERB ROOTS

3.1. Transitive verbs

There are transitive verb roots which occur with Set 1 prefixes and transitive verb roots which occur with Set 2 prefixes. However only 22 percent of the verbs occurring with Set 1 prefixes are considered to be transitive, that is having a direct object, while 78 percent of the verb roots occurring with Set 2 prefixes are transitive.[6] The few transitives which occur with Set 1 prefixes tend to be less transitive, in the Hopper Thompson sense, that is nonactive, nonvolitional and durative. Note in the following examples that the transitive verb roots that occur with Set 1 prefixes tend to be activities done on a routine basis. From an emic Luang perspective these could possibly be perceived as, and therefore considered, nonvolitional. In these cases a conscious choice is not made to act or not to act, rather it is expected behavior. Another plausible explanation for them being considered as low in transitivity is that they are durative, or nonpunctual activities.

Set 1 (Low Active/Trans)		Set 2 (Highly Active/Trans)	
na-tona	'he soaks (it)'[7]	n-poka	'he spears'
na-woka	'she gathers (wood)'	n-wenna	'he kills'
na-dairi	'he gathers (seaweed)'	n-keni	'she puts'
na-kiri	'she holds (a child)'	n-ihi	'he bites'
na-gari	'he dries (seaweed in the sun)'	n-riki	'she rips'

3.2. Intransitive verbs

Both sets of prefixes also occur with a good number of intransitive verbs, that is those verbs having no direct object. The intransitives which occur with Set 1 (na-) prefixes are nonpunctual and nonvolitional. In the examples below note again the occurrence of the active verbs, 'chew (beetlenut)', 'weave', and 'play' in the generally nonactive Set 1 (na-), but which are daily routine activities in Luang culture. Note from the examples of Set 2 (n-) verbs that the affect on the actor is more apparent. These intransitives are used to move participant on and off the stage and are verbs which make up the 'foreground' or the event-centered sequential actions of the discourse.

Set 1 (Low Active/Trans)		Set 2 (Highly Active/Trans)	
na-nauru	'she chews (beetlenut)'	n-della	'she comes from (there)'
na-teni	'she weaves'	n-hargota	'he goes out'
na-he'i[8]	'he plays'	n-lola	'she goes by'
na-la'a	'he walks'	n-ernu	'he goes down'
na-nina	'she sleeps'	n-ra'a	'he goes ashore'
na-kowa	'he lies face down'	n-mai	'she comes'

3.3. Stative verbs

In the following examples it can be seen that the stative verbs which occur with the two sets of prefixes differ in relation to the affectedness of the actor or object. Therefore the actor or object of verbs occurring with Set 1 prefixes are less affected while those occurring with Set 2 prefixes are more affected.[9]

Set 1 (Low Active/Trans)		Set 2 (Highly Active/Trans)	
na-mau	'he is tired'	n-maha	'he is exhausted (panting)'
na-apuapnu	'she is partially pregnant' (stomach is small)	n-malanu	'she is very pregnant' (stomach is large)
na-molmolu	'he is quiet (silent)'	n-molu-n-ma'a	'he is embarrassed'[10]

4. SKEWING

Besides the differences in cultural perceptions of activities, there is some skewing that makes the distinction between low active/transitive verbs and highly active/transitive verbs unclear at times. The reasons for this skewing are: 1) skewing as a result of grammatical derivations, and 2) phonological skewing which can involve a) consonant clusters, and b) the reduction of causative *l*.

4.1   Skewing as a result of grammatical derivations

If a verb root which normally occurs with Set 1 prefixes (less transitive) takes the intensifying prefix **wa-** and thereby results in an aspectual change in meaning, it then occurs with the Set 2 prefixes (highly transitive). In the first example below one might question how "searching and searching" is more highly transitive since it is certainly not punctual which is generally an indication of transitivity. However, what is in focus here is not time, but the intensity and relentlessness of the search.[11]

Set 1	Set 2
na-haka	**n-wa-haka**
3s-search	3s-INT-search
'he searches'	'he searches and searches'
ra-hyali	**r-wa-hyali**
3p-brother	3p-INT-brother
'they have a brother'	'they are brothers'

4.2.   Phonological skewing

4.2.1.   Consonant cluster verb initial

When a verb is derived from a noun, or in the case of loan words, or if there are added prefixes (e.g., aspectual markers), the verb root or stem will often begin with a consonant cluster. In these cases the vowel 'a' is inserted before the verb root in order to prevent the cluster of three consonants. So even though these are often highly transitive they appear to take Set 1 prefixes because of this phonological constraint.

Set 1	* Set 2	Set 1	* Set 2
na-krui[12]	not **nkrui**	**na-sterika**	not **nsterika**
3s-spit		3s-iron	(loan word)
'she spits'		'she irons'	
na-kwieta	not **nkwieta**	**na-srala**	not **nsrala**
3s-shoot		3s-throw	
'he shoots'		'he throws'	

4.2.2   Deletion of *l* from causatives

Some causatives in Luang are formed by inserting the verb root *ala* 'give'. According to Luang's phonological rules, the final 'a' of *ala* 'give' is reduced producing words such as those listed below.

n-al-ernu	**n-al-tieri**
3s-CAUS-down	3s-CAUS-voice
'he drops'	'she talks'

At any given time language is in a state of change. Today, many of these causatives are no longer functional, but remain in a frozen form. With these causatives, the *l* is deleted. The only indication that there was once an *l* or that it is causative at all can only be recognized because of the inherent meaning of the words. For example, in a list of 17 words each having a slightly different semantic domain for the word 'to hit', all of the words except one take the highly transitive prefix. Hit is inherently a very transitive verb. What is this one exception? Upon scrutiny of the word, it can be seen that the root *liwra* actually means 'bamboo'. The meaning of the affixed form *na-liwra* is 'he hits with bamboo' or literally 'he gives bamboo'. The result of the above mentioned processes are the occurrence of words whose surface forms appear to be roots occurring with Set 1 (*na-*, low transitive) prefixes, but which were actually compounds *n+al-*, the Set 2 marker plus the causative (see also Section 5.2).

n-al-lira	→	n-a-lira
3s-CAUS -voice		3s-CAUS-voice
'she talks'		'she talks'

n-al-mata	→	n-a-mata
3s-CAUS-eye		3s-CAUS-eye
'he wakes up'		'he wakes up'

5. MINIMAL PAIR CONTRASTS

Up until this point the reader might have several questions regarding the analysis presented here. Perhaps there are other theories or ways of interpreting this same data? However, the following minimal pairs should support the present analysis as providing the most plausible understanding of the intricacies involving the two Luang verb classes.[13]

5.1. Active versus nonactive

The examples below are minimal pairs whose distinction is one of kinesus or action.

Set 1 (Non-Active)		Set 2 (Active)	
na-wenna	'he is angry'	n-wenna	'he kills'
na-uhu	'she has breasts'	n-uhu	'he nurses (from mother)'
na-mori	'he lives'	n-mori	'she gives birth'

5.2. Deletion of causative *l*

The examples below illustrates the difference between the causative *n-al-* whose surface forms appear like verbs occurring with Set 1 prefixes and highly transitive active verbs which occur with Set 2 prefixes. Note the difference in meaning between the root *-uhu* which occurs in the example below as well as the one above (Section 5.1).[14]

Causative		Active/Transitive	
n-a-uhu /n-al-uhu/	'she [mother] nurses' [lit. she gives milk to baby]	n-uhu	'he [baby] nurses'
n-a-werta /n-al-werta/	'he considers' [lit. he gives weight to]	n-werta	'he weighs [it]'
n-a-turu /n-al-turu/	'she lets down' [milk let down when nursing]	n-turu	'[rain] comes down'
n-a-atu /n-al-atu/	'he advises' [lit. he gives knowledge]	n-atu	'he knows'
n-a-tuniernu /n-al-tuniernu/	'she drops it down' [lit. she causes it to fall down]	n-tuniernu	'she falls down'

5.3 Durative versus punctiliar

The following examples differentiate sense distinctions which are differentiated by the two different prefix sets. The verb senses that are durative are marked by Set 1 (low transitive) prefixes and those senses that are punctiliar are marked with Set 2 (highly transitive) prefixes. In Luang, 'walking' is considered a process, but 'he goes' is considered a punctiliar event. When leaving a house, one always says, "I go." But if one is walking around the village, one says, "I am just walking." In the same way 'returning' is a process, while a boat flipping over is a very punctiliar event. Too punctiliar for me.

Set 1 (Durative)		Set 2 (Punctiliar)	
na-la'a	'he walks'	n-la'a	'he goes'
na-wali	'he returns'	n-walidoini	'it turns over (flips)'

6. CONCLUSION

From all the examples given above we have been able to show two distinct classes of verbs in Luang. Those verbs which are seen as being low in transitivity or less active occur with one set of pronominal verb prefixes, while those verbs which are seen as highly transitive or active occur with a second set of pronominal verb prefixes. The definition of a transitive or active verb here is not one based solely on the occurrence or absence of a direct object, but rather in relation to kinesus, punctuality, volitionality or the affectedness of the actor or object.

We have noted some skewing where verbs expected to take Set 2 actually take Set 1 as a result of both grammatical and phonological changes. Grammatical changes consist of those occurring as a result of aspectual derivations. Phonological changes consist of those occurring as a result of the prohibited clustering of three consonants, as well as causatives whose surface forms are easily confused with verbs taking Set 1 (low transitive / less active) prefixes.

We have also noted how the transitivity of a verb gives some initial insights into the way Luang people view their world. A further example of this is the way in which Luang people refer to sexual relations. They have two words for this act; one is considered less transitive and one is more highly transitive. *Na-nina-na-dera* 'he sleeps (with her)' is probably a more euphemistic or polite way to refer to the sexual act, and therefore is less transitive. However, *n-dudu-n-niei* occurs with the more transitive prefix, and rightly so, as it literally conveys the meaning, 'he rolls back and forth (with her).' Throughout this paper we have noted verbs such as 'playing' (na-hei) and 'weaving' (na-teni), which might appear from our perspective to be active, yet when looking through the lens of Luang eyes we see these same events as daily routines, and therefore nonactive. And unlike our way of thinking, Luang perception pays close attention to the affectedness of the actor or object or intensity of the state. So that being embarrassed (n-mola-n-ma'a) or being in the last stages of pregnancy (n-malanu) are considered highly active or transitive states, while from our Western world view we smile at the possibility of just being partially pregnant (na-apapnu).

Last of all, we have included an interlinearized text in the appendix. The reader is encourage to see for himself how the highly transitive verbs make up the backbone of the event-centered actions of the text.

APPENDIX: INTERLINEARIZED TEXT

The following is a true story told to us by one of our Luang friends. In order to exemplify what we discussed above, we have put in bold in the English gloss and in the free English translation all the highly transitive verbs which make up the backbone of the story.[15]

Line 01

Anni	ida,	patke'a	nanni	Oktovina	nora	kakni	manke'a
ani-ni	ida	puata-ke`a	nan-ni	Oktovina	n-ora	kak-ni	muan-ke`a
year-POSS	one	female-HUM	name-POSS	Oktovina	3s-with[16]	older-POSS	male-HUM

a'nani	patke'a	lawna	woru,	ri'ida	nanni	Mina,	ri'ida
a`na-ni	puata-ke`a	lawna	wo`a-ru	riy-ida	nan-ni	Mina	riy-ida
child-POSS	female-HUM	big	NUM-two	person-one	name-POSS	Mina	person-one

nanni	Jakomina,	manke'a	ida	wali	nanni	Gotlifa.
nan-ni	Jakomina	muan-ke`a	ida	wali	nan-ni	Gotlifa
name-POSS	Jakomina	male-HUM	one	also	name-POSS	Gotlifa

*One year (there was) a woman named Oktovina who was **with** her older brother's two grownup children (nieces), one named Mina, and one named Jakomina, and also a boy named Gotlifa.*

Line 02

Gotlifde,	Oktovina	a'nani	gari.
Gotlifa-de	Oktovina	a'na-ni	gari
Gotlifa-ART	Oktovina	child-POSS	younger

Gotlifa (was) Oktovina's younger sibling's child.

Line 03

Pa	la'a	rerunla	rwahaka	krita	la	Lailiawna,	Tamta	onni.
pa	la`a	r-ernu-la	r-wa-haka	krita	la	Lailiawna	Tamta	on-ni
so	go	3p-**down**-LOC	3p-INT-**search**	octopus	LOC	Lailiawna	Tamta	side-POSS

*So they (four) went **diving**, **searching** for octopus at Lailiawna (the large sandbar) beside Tamta (island).*

Line 04

Rla'wa	la'a	Lailiawna	dewede	inni	Oktovina	nora
r-la`a-wa	la`a	Lailiawna	dewede	ina-ni	Oktovina	n-ora
3p-**go**-TAM	go	Lailiawna	then	mother-POSS	Oktovina	3s-**with**

patke'a	rora	rerunla.
puata-ke`a	rora	r-ernu-la
female-HUM	two	3p-**down**-LOC

*They (four) **went** to Lailiawna then Mrs. Oktovina along **with** the two girls **got off**.*

Line 05

Rerunla	Lailiawna	pa	irwotelu	rwahaka	krita.
r-ernu-la	Lailiawna	pa	ir-wo'a-telu	r-wa-haka	krita
3p-**down**-LOC	Lailiawna	to	3p-NUM-three	3p-INT-**search**	octopus

*They (four) **got off** at Lailiawna so that the three of them could **search** for octopus.*

Line 06

Ira	rhopna	Gotlifa	nte'ena	loi	pa	nalaullia	Tamta.
ira	r-hopna	Gotlifa	n-te'ena	loi	pa	n-ala-ulu-la	Tamta
3pPRO	3p-**order**	Gotlifa	3s-**pole**	outrigger canoe	CONJ	3s-CAUS-**before**-LOC	Tamta

*They **told** Gotlifa to **pole** (the) outrigger canoe and **(go) on ahead** to Tamta.*

Line 07

Irwotelu	tepartarlia	krita	wnyahakni	dewede	meti
ira-wo'a-telu	tepra-taru-la	krita	ny-wa-haka-ni	dewede	meti
3p-NUM-three	sink-TAM-LOC	octopus	NOM-INT-search-POSS	then	tide

mana	nhapra.
mana	n-hapra
also	3s-**rise**

*The three of them were totally immersed in the process of searching for octopus when the tide (began) to **rise**.*

Line 08

Lerdede	irwotelu	rlernana	krita	lawanni	dewede
lera-de-de	ira-wo'a-telu	r-ler-nana	krita	lawna-ni	dewede
sun-DEM-INT	3p-NUM-three	3p-**get**-TAM	octopus	big-POSS	then

irwotelu	rahlera	krita	la	keranni.
ira-wo'a-telu	ra-hlera	krita	la	kerna-ni
3p-NUM-three	3p-throw	octopus	LOC	dry-poss

*At that time those three **caught** a large amount of octopus then they threw the octopus on the land (sandbar).*

Line 09

Tepartarlia	yala'a	dewede	wauwau	nmaide
tepra-taru-la	ya-la'a	dewede	wau-wau	n-mai-de
sink-TAM-LOC	NOM-walk	then	current-RED	3s-**come**-INT

merannidi	nokru	Upahrui.
merna-ni-di	n-okru	Upahrui
swift-POSS-INT	3s-**head toward**	Upahrui

*(They were) in the process of walking when a very strong current **came heading toward** Upahrui (island).*

Line 10

Irwotelu	ta'eni	rtahannana	wauwau	dewede	irhoplia
ira-wo'a-telu	ta-eni	r-tahana-nana	wau-wau	dewede	i-r-hopi-la
3p-NUM-three	NEG-able	3p-**stand**-TAM	current-RED	then	DIS-3p-**throw**-LOC

la	krita	mak	ra'enniana	hanona.
la	krita	maka	ra-eni-nana	hanona
LOC	octopus	which	3p-catch-TAM	all

*The three of them were not able to **withstand** the current so they **threw** away all the octopus they had caught.*

Line 11

Irwotelu	rnanlia	Upahrui	mera	lerdede	inni	Oktovina
ira-wo'a-telu	r-nani-la	Upahrui	mera	lera-de-de	ina-ni	Oktovina
3p-NUM-three	3p-swim-LOC	Upahrui	but	sun-DEM-INT	mother-POSS	Oktovina

nora	Mina	ta'eni	rnanniana.
n-ora	Mina	ta-eni	r-nani-nana
3s-with	Mina	NEG-able	3p-swim-TAM

The three of them **swam** *to Upahrui but at that time Mrs. Oktovina along* **with** *Mina were not able to* **swim.**

Line 12

Dewede	inni	Oktovina	nora	Mina	rteprerunla	tah'i	mera	Jakomina
dewede	ina-ni	Oktovina	n-ora	Mina	r-tepra-ernu-la	tah'i	mera	Jakomina
then	mother-POSS	Oktovina	3s-with	Mina	3p-sink-down-LOC	sea	but	Jakomina

narurlia	nniani	pa	llernana	Upahrui	la	keranni.
na-ruri-la	n-nani	pa	n-ler-nana	Upahrui	la	kerna-ni
3s-strong-LOC	3s-swim	for	3s-get-TAM	Upahrui	LOC	dry-POSS

Then Mrs. Oktovina and Mina **went under (drowned)** *but Jakomina was strong enough to* **swim** *(and)* **reach** *the shore of Upahrui.*

Line 13

Noka	na'ala	aranni	samomuou	dewede	nha'atla
noka	na-ala	aran-ni	ha-mou-mou	dewede	n-ha'ata-la
then	3s-take	breath-POSS	3s-good-RED	then	3s-climb-LOC

tutu	wawannu	mera	donna	namkekanana	ra.
tutu	wawna-ni	mera	donna	na-m-keka-nana	ra
point	on top-POSS	but	NEG	3s-STV-see-TAM	3pPRO

Then she (Jakomina) caught her breath and then **climbed** *to the top (of Upahrui) but she wasn't able to see them.*

Line 14

Ir'rora	rteprernu	olekwa	dewede	Jakomina	nkakurwa,
ira-rora	r-tepra-ernu	oleka-wa	dewede	Jakomina	n-kakru-wa
3p-two	3p-sink-down	already-INT	then	Jakomina	3s-cry-INT

nhaunu,	yoma	inni	Oktovina	nora	Mina	rmati	olekwa.
n-haunu	yoma	ina-ni	Oktovina	n-ora	Mina	r-mati	oleka-wa
3s-wail	because	mother-POSS	Oktovina	3s-with	Mina	3p-die	already-INT

The two of them had already **drowned** *then Jakomina* **cried** *and* **wailed** *because Mrs. Oktovina along* **with** *Mina had already* **died.**

Line 15

Lerdede	puou,	loi,	idmana	edonna	rlereti,
lera-de-de	puou	loi	ida-mana	edonna	r-ler-eti
sun-DEM-INT	sailboat	outrigger	one-also	NEG	3p-pass by-TAM

noma	lera	mana	nheriawa.
noma	lera	mana	n-heri-a-wa
then	sun	also	3s-set-OBJ-INT

At that time not one sailboat or outrigger canoe **passed by**, *then the sun* **set.**

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Line 16

Lerdede	Gotlifa	maka	kte'ennana	loi	pa	nalaullia,
lera-de-de	Gotlifa	maka	k-te'ena-nana	loi	pa	n-ala-ulu-la
sun-DEM-INT	Gotlifa	who	REL-pole-TAM	outrigger	CONJ	3s-CAUS-before-LOC

naplingeti	inni	nora	Mina	rmatia	olekwa.
na-plinu-eti	ina-ni	n-ora	Mina	r-mati-a	oleka-wa
3s-don't know-TAM	mother-POSS	3s-with	Mina	3p-die-OBJ	already-INT

*At that time Gotlifa, who (had) poled (the) outrigger canoe and **went on ahead** (to Tamta), didn't know that Mrs. (Oktovina) along **with** Mina had already **died**.*

Line 17

Lera	ntuini	dewede	muanke'a	ida	nanni	Timotius	lla'a	Tamta.
lera	n-tuini	dewede	muan-ke'a	ida	nan-ni	Timotius	n-la'a	Tamta
sun	3s-**fall**	then	male-HUM	one	name-POSS	Timotius	3s-**go**	Tamta

*At sun **down** a man named Timotius **went** to Tamta (island).*

Line 18

Tepartarlia	nte'ena	dewede	inni	Oktovina	moratnu
tepra-taru-la	n-te'ena	dewede	ina-ni	Oktovina	morta-ni
sink-TAM-LOC	3s-**pole**	then	mother-POSS	Oktovina	hair-POSS

nma	naknyuinla	te'ena.
n-mai	na-k-ny-uini-la	te'ena
3s-**come**	3s-INV-NOM-wind around-LOC	pole

*While he was in the process of **poling** (to Tamta) Mrs. Oktovina's hair **came** (and) got wound around the pole.*

Line 19

Yei	Timotius	nheduma,	namkeka	rimatidi	pa
yei	Timotius	n-hedu-ma	na-m-keka	riy-mati-di	pa
uncle	Timotius	3s-**surprise**-INT	3s-STV-see	person-die-ART	CONJ

naknyaunanade	inni	Oktovina.
na-k-ny-auna-nana-de	ina-ni	Oktovina
3s-INV-NOM-fear-TAM-that	mother-POSS	Oktovina

*Uncle Timotius (was) **surprised** to see the dead body and he feared that (it was) Mrs. Oktovina.*

Line 20

Dewede	nkawi	la	loi	mak	la'a	Tamta	pa	rmarala
dewede	n-kawi	la	loi	maka	la'a	Tamta	pa	r-mai-r-ala
then	3s-**signal**	LOC	outrigger	who	go	Tamta	for	3p-**come**-3p-take

inni	Oktovina	pa	rodia	la'a	leta.
ina-ni	Oktovina	pa	r-odi-a	la'a	leta
mother-POSS	Oktovina	and	3p-**carry**-OBJ	go	village

*Then he **signaled** (waved with hand) to the (other) outrigger canoe(s) who (were) going to Tamta to **come** and take Mrs. Oktovina in order to **carry** her (body) to the village.*

Line 21

Rla'wa	leta	de,	makdella	leta	rheduma.
r-la'a-wa	leta	de	maka-dena-la	leta	r-hedu-ma
3p-go-TAM	village	ART	who-stay-LOC	village	3p-surprise-INT

*They **went** to the village, those who stayed in the village (were) **surprised**.*

Line 22

Inni	narni	rpolu,	rkakru	pa	rmarala,	rodi
ina-ni	nara-ni	r-polu	r-kakru	pa	r-mai-r-ala	r-odi
mother-POSS	relative-POSS	3p-call	3p-cry	for	3p-come-3p-take	3p-carry

inni	Oktovina	la	roma	nayanni.
ina-ni	Oktovina	la	roma	nayan-ni
mother-POSS	Oktovina	to	house	underneath-POSS

*They **called** the relatives, they **cried** for them to **come** (and) **take** Mrs. Oktovina into the house.*

Line 23

Paprai	nhopna	limarora	rla'a	rwahaka	kekenkua
papa-rai	n-hopna	limarora	r-la'a	r-wa-haka	oke'a-oke'a-ku'a
father-king	3s-order	people	3p-go	3p-INT-search	little-RED-small

rwotelu,	yanpa	rmati	olekwa.
r-wo'a-telu	yana -pa	r-mati	oleka-wa
3p-NUM-three	NEG-CONJ	3p-die	already-INT

*The (village) chief **ordered** the people to **go search** for the three children, hopefully they haven't **died** yet.*

Line 24

Rwahakneka	pa	mak	la'a	Tamta,	Upahrui,	Hawna.
r-wa-haka-neka	pa	maka	la'a	Tamta	Upahrui	Hawna
3p-INT-search-TAM	for	who	go	Tamta	Upahrui	Hawna

*They **searched** and **searched** for (them), some went to Tamta, Upahrui, and Hawna.*

Line 25

Mak	la'a	Upahrui	wakriani	keranni	Jakomina	namkeknana
maka	la'a	Upahrui	wakriani	kerna-ni	Jakomina	na-m-keka-nana
who	go	Upahrui	near	dry-POSS	Jakomina	3s-STV-see-TAM

dewede	npolu	pa	rmarala.
dewede	n-polu	pa	r-mai-r-ala
then	3s-call	for	3p-come-3p-take

*Those who went to Upahrui (were already) getting close to shore (when) Jakomina was able to see (them), then she **called** for them to **come get** (her).*

Line 26

Rmaralade	nkakrunande,	noka	iratiana	Gotlifa	nora
r-mai-r-ala-de	n-kakru-nande	noka	i-ra-tiana	Gotlifa	n-ora
3p-come-3p-take-DEM	3s-cry-TAM	then	DIS-3p-ask	Gotlifa	3s-with

Mina	erlameni?
Mina	era-la-meni
Mina	are-LOC-where

*When they **came** and **got** her she **cried** profusely, then they asked her, "where are Gotlifa along **with** Mina?"*

Line 27

Noka	Jakomina	nakotniwra	Gotlifa	etla	Tamta,	Mina	nora
noka	Jakomina	na-kota-n-iwra	Gotlifa	et-la	Tamta	Mina	n-ora
then	Jakomina	3s-say-3s-want	Gotlifa	is-LOC	Tamta	Mina	3s-with

inni	Oktovina	ta'eni	rnani	pa	irrora	rmati	olekwa.
ina-ni	Oktovina	ta-eni	r-nani	pa	ira-rora	r-mati	oleka-wa
mother-POSS	Oktovina	NEG-able	3p-swim	CONJ	3p-two	3p-die	already-INT

Then Jakomina said, "Gotlifa is at Tamta, Mina along with Mrs. Oktovina were not able to swim and they died."

Line 28

Noka	mak-larala	Jakomina	rakotniwra	inni	Oktovina
noka	maka-la-r-ala	Jakomina	ra-kota-n-iwra	ina-ni	Oktovina
then	who-go-3p-take	Jakomina	3p-say-3s-want	mother-POSS	Oktovina

llernana	olekwa.
n-ler-nana	oleka-wa
3s-get-TAM	already-INT

Then those who came (and) got Jakomina said (to her), "Mrs. Oktovina has already been found."

Line 29

Noka	irodia	Jakomina	pa	rmaila'a	leta.
noka	i-r-odi-a	Jakomina	pa	r-mai-la'a	leta
then	DIS-3p-carry-OBJ	Jakomina	CONJ	3p-come-LOC	village

Then they carried Jakomina and came to the village.

Line 30

Rmai	la	leta	dewede	iralernu	Jakomina	noka
r-mai	la	leta	dewede	i-r-ala-ernu	Jakomina	noka
3p-come	LOC	village	then	DIS-3p-CAUS-down	Jakomina	then

rawali	owa'ana	pa	la	rwahaka	Mina.
ra-wali	owa'ana	pa	la	r-wa-haka	Mina
3p-return	again	for	LOC	3p-INT-search	Mina

They came to the village (and) then dropped Jakomina off, then they returned again to search for Mina.

Line 31

Irte'ena	pa	rokru	Tamta.
i-r-te'ena	pa	r-okru	Tamta
DIS-3p-pole	CONJ	3p-head	Tamta

They poled and headed for Tamta.

Line 32

Limarora	makla'a	Tamta	rodia	oleka	Gotlifa	me	limarora
limarora	maka-la'a	Tamta	r-odi-a	oleka	Gotlifa	me	limarora
people	who-go	Tamta	3p-carry-OBJ	already	Gotlifa	CONJ	people

makla'a	Hawna,	Kpuri.
maka-la'a	Hawna	Kpuri
who-go	Hawna	Kpuri

The people who went to Tamta brought along Gotlifa and the people who went to Hawna and Kpuri.

Line 33

Tepartarlia	wnyahaka	mera	ira	edonna	rlernanetia.
tepra-taru-la	ny-wa-haka	mera	ira	edonna	r-ler-nana-eti-a
sink-TAM-LOC	N0M-INT-search	but	3pPRO	NEG	3p-get-TAM-TAM-OBJ

(They were) in the process of searching, but they didn't find anything at all.

Line 34

Noka	irawalpia	rmaiwia	leta.
noka	i-ra-wali-pa	r-mai-wa	leta
then	DIS-3p-return-for	3p-come-INT	village

Then they returned (and) came back to the village.

Line 35

Repardoin	yawyawra	ma'ta,	rhakretia		limarora	makwarini
repra-doini	yawra-yawra	ma'ta	r-hakra-eti-a		limarora	maka-warini
tomorrow-TAM	early-RED	still	3p-divide-TAM-OBJ		people	who-stay behind

pa	rtamin	mati	(inni	Oktovina),	makla'a	rwahaka	Mina.
pa	r-tamni	mati	ina-ni	Oktovina	maka-la'a	r-wa-haka	Mina
for	3p-bury	die	mother-POSS	Oktovina	who-go	3p-INT-search	Mina

Very early the next morning they divided the people, those who would stay and bury the dead (Mrs. Oktovina), (and) those who would go and search for Mina.

Line 36

Irwahaknekpa	nhormai	lera	owa'ana.
i-r-wa-haka-neka-pa	n-horu-mai	lera	owa'ana
DIS-3p-INT-search-TAM-for	3s-end-come	sun	again

They searched and searched until another day had come and gone.

Line 37

Dewede	makdella	Tamta	irmai	eniwawannu	noka	ramkekde
dewede	maka-dena-la	Tamta	i-r-mai	eni-wawna-ni	noka	ra-m-keka-de
then	who-stay-LOC	Tamta	DIS-3p-come	sand-on top-POSS	then	3p-STV-see-DEM

(Mina)	nanyewa	la	eniwawannu.
Mina	na-nyewa	la	eni-wawna-ni
Mina	3s-rolling	LOC	sand-on top-POSS

Then the ones who stayed at Tamta came to the beach and saw (Mina) rolling around on the beach.

Line 38

Noka	irala	pa	rkenia	la	loi	rodia	rmaila
noka	i-r-ala	pa	r-keni-a	la	loi	r-odi-a	r-mai-la
then	DIS-3p-take	for	3p-put-OBJ	LOC	outrigger	3p-carry-OBJ	3p-come-LOC

leta	Lgona.
leta	Lgona
village	Luang

Then they took it and put it (Mina's body) in a outrigger canoe (and) brought it to the village (on Luang).

Line 39

Rmaila	leta	irayapi	lumni	pleta-pleta	pa	irla'a
r-mai-la	leta	i-ra-yapi	luma-ni	pleta-pleta	pa	i-r-la'a
3p-come-LOC	village	DIS-3p-make	casket-POSS	fast-RED	for	DIS-3p-go

rtamni	yoma	nahuwu	olekwa.
r-tamni	yoma	na-huwu	oleka-wa
3p-bury	because	3s-stink	already-INT

*They **came** to the village and quickly made a casket and **went** and **buried** (the body) because it already stank.*

Line 40

Hare	matmiatni	lerdede	inni	narni	rsusdoinla.
hare	mati-mati-ni	lera-de-de	ina-ni	nara-ni	r-susa-doini-la
they	die-RED-POSS	sun-DEM-INT	mother-POSS	relative-POSS	3p-distress-TAM-LOC

*At that time the relatives were very **distressed** by the tragedy.*

Line 41

Yahoamde	Gotlifa	nora	Jakomina	rkakru	lelera	melmela.
yahoama-de	Gotlifa	n-ora	Jakomina	r-kakru	lera-lera	mela-mela
because-DEM	Gotlifa	3s-with	Jakomina	3p-cry	sun-RED	night-RED

*Because of this (tragedy), Gotlifa and Jakomina **cried** day and night.*

NOTES

1. From 1987 to 1991 we had the privilege of conducting research on the Luang language under the cooperative agreement between Pattimura University in Ambon and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. During this period we were able to conduct our research first-hand on the island of Luang and we are indebted to our many Luang friends who patiently taught us their language and how to laugh at ourselves. We also wish to express our appreciation to our many colleagues who have provided numerous useful comments, as well as to Jan Perry for her assistance in manuscript preparation.

2. Based on a preliminary lexicostatistic analysis and other sociolinguistic information, Taber (1993) has posited that the Luang language consists of three main dialects: Wetan in the east, Leti in the west, and Luang being centrally located. However, because there appear to be several phonological and grammatical differences between Luang and Leti, and because the level of inherent intelligibility between the two remains questionable, the twelfth edition of the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1992) has justifiably listed Luang and Leti as separate languages.

3. The Luang people themselves refer to their language as '**Lteri Lgona**', the language of Luang.

4. 'A' in the list signifies 'actor' while 'O' signifies 'object'.

5. The parentheses indicate underlying rather than surface forms.

6. This analysis has been derived from a significant corpus of data including many texts, a beginning lexicon of over 3000 entries, and the authors' extensive field notes.

7. In Luang, gender is not distinguished in pronominals. Here they are distinguished in the English gloss only for variety's sake.

8. The apostrophe represents the phonemic glottal stop in Luang orthography.

9. There are not many examples of this form of intensification because statives are usually intensified through reduplication.

10. It is interesting to note that the root of both 'quiet' and 'embarrassed' is the same. This shows that these words are directly related, but from the Luang cultural perspective being embarrassed is a much more intense state than that of being quiet.

11. The intensifying morpheme **wa-** is used to denote both iterativity and reciprocality as seen in these two examples. Interestingly, this morpheme also functions as an enclitic (-**wa**) indicating intensity on a discourse level, such as heightened vividness at the discourse peak (see Lines 14-16 in the appended text).

12. The word *na-krui* also means 'she heals'. In Luang culture the way to heal someone is to chew up beetlenut and tobacco and spit it on wounds or sore parts of the body. This is perceived to have great healing power and therefore is highly transitive in nature.

13. In the analysis of the two verb classes we did a thorough study of the phonological environment in which the differing sets occurred. The only phonological factor that we found in this study was that Set 1 non-transitive prefixes occurred with verbs roots which had complex onsets (consonant clusters) and Set 2 highly transitive prefixes never did. This lack of phonological evidence as well as the comparison of minimal pairs, led us to our present conclusions.

14. Again, parentheses denote underlying rather than surface forms.

15. The abbreviations listed here represents notations used to identify affixes or particles in the text:

3s	Third person-singular
3p	Third person-plural
ART	Article
CAUS	Causative
CONJ	Conjuction
DIS	Discourse particle (focus on actor)
DEM	Demonstrative
HUM	Human
INT	Intensifier
INV	Involuntary (non-volitional)
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominalizer
NUM	Number
OBJ	Object
POSS	Possessive
PRO	Pronoun
RED	Reduplication
REL	Stative
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Modality

16. The reader may argue that the verb *nora* 'with' should not be considered transitive. In English it's not even a verb! However, in Luang there are two verbs which function as 'with' or 'and'. The one which is less transitive, *na-itra*, generally occurs when linking objects. The more highly transitive one, *nora*, links people in relationship to each other. Again this sheds light on Luang's value system which emphasizes relationships between people, rather than between objects.

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