

Nominals of Fatamanue, Seram Maluku : A Subgrouping Argument in Central Malayo-Polynesian

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Nominals of Fatamanue, Seram Maluku: A Subgrouping Argument in Central Malayo-Polynesian

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ファタマヌエ語（マルク・セラム島）の名詞類
——中部マライ・ポリネシア諸語における特徴——

崎 山 理

The present work provides a concise description of the form and formation of nominals in Fatamanue, one of the Central Malayo-Polynesian languages of Seram, Maluku Province, Eastern Indonesia. This sketch consists of three major parts. The first, “Phonology,” points out that Fatamanue has two phonemic stress patterns. The second part deals with “Alienable/inalienable possession.” The third is devoted to the study of “Pluralization of nouns,” which can be classified into six groups. These features, which are unusual among Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, can be explained by the influence of the substratum (Papuan) language.

ファタマヌエ語はインドネシア・マルク州のセラム島の二村（親村・ハルル、分村・ヤラハタン）で約一千人によって話される少数民族語である。その系統はオーストロネシア語族中部マライ・ポリネシア諸語に属するとされるが、その根拠は語彙統計学に基づくもので、音韻的文法的な検討を経たものではない。本論文では、音韻面でこれまで気付かれなかった弁別的アクセント体系をもつことを指摘したうえ、名詞に譲渡可能・不可能を区別するオセアニア諸語（とくにメラネシア語派）の特徴をもつこと、しかし、譲渡可能に対する範疇詞の発達が見られないのは、東側で接するオーストロネシア語族南ハルマヘラ・西ニューギニア諸語（例えば、ヤベン島のセルイ語）と異なること、またファタ

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キーワード : 強弱アクセント, 譲渡可能・不可能, アルネ語, オーストロネシア語族,
複数化

マヌエ語には名詞（形容詞）に単数・複数の区別が六類あることを明らかにしたのち（この現象はメラネシア語派のなかでもかなり特異である）、複合語の形成法にも論及した。現在、セラム島にはパプア諸語は存在しないが、ファタマヌエ語に見られる譲渡可能・不可能、複数表現は、先住したパプア諸語の基層的影響によるものであることを裏づける。

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Introduction

Previous Fatamanue materials

Phonology

Non-Austronesian substratum

Form and formation of nominals

Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

The Fatamanue language (also called Atamanu) is a vernacular found at Desa Haruru (locally pronounced [fululu]), near Kota Masohi, and at Desa Yalahatan, Kecamatan Amahai, Propinsi Maluku, Indonesia, and is spoken by about 500 persons at Haruru and 700 at Yalahatan. According to *Atlas Bahasa Tanah Maluku* (Language Maps in Maluku) published in 1995, Atamanu is spoken by 1000 persons. One more Atamanu dialect area existed at Desa Awaiya, as found in Wallace's wordlist, but it is said to be now extinct (Collins 1983: 38).

Desa Yalahatan was established by settlers from Desa Haruru about two hundred years ago and was put under the control of Desa Tamilow. The name Yalahatan is said to come from the Arabic *Alahatala* (= *Allāh ta'ālā*) 'God Most High,' and traditional customs including *baileu* 'custom-house of Seram' are still practiced there, no longer in Desa Haruru. At present, there is a slight dialect variation between the two villages.

This study is primarily concerned with the Haruru dialect. Fatamanue is classified into one of the languages of Three Rivers, a subgroup of Nunusaku, East Central Maluku, Central Maluku, Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) of the Austronesian language family (Collins 1983: 37), which is located between Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) and northeast South Halmahera West New Guinea (SHWNG) languages of the same family.

Fatamanue is genealogically close to the Alune language under the Amalumte group of the Three Rivers languages, though the two languages are not mutually understandable as the examples below show. Alune is cited from

(Yonadab Latue *et al.* 1991):

Fatamanue: Hahu e-sol we./Hahu re-mere sol we. 'That pig run already.'

Alune: Apale mere e-naya peneke. (e-: -human: 3rd sg.)

Fatamanue: Uli papa-i i waru-u. 'Uli's father hit me.'

Alune: Uli ama-i i-teta-ku. (i-: +human: 3rd sg.)

Fatamanue: Aiya i-ana lowe-si. 'That king told to them.'

Alune: Kamale mere i-beteke lolo-si.

PREVIOUS FATAMANUE MATERIALS

Little has been published on the Fatamanue language. A short vocabulary was collected by Wallace under the name of the Awaiya language (No. 37), which is explained to be recently settled there having moved from the inaccessible interior (1869: 271). The Awaiya vocabulary in his list reveals some problems: apart from including items improperly, such as *wuri* 'banana' (probably confused with a neighbor Nuauluan *uri* 'banana'), *wana* 'child' (mistaken for *u-ana* 'my child'), *aleani* 'door' (*aria-ni* means 'its key!'), and *lahuwy* 'flower' (unknown, should be *kupane* 'a flower'), the phoneme /r/ is often mistaken for /l/ such as *lalah* 'blood,' *lila* 'bone,' *laini* 'leaf,' *lili* 'post,' *ulane* 'rain,' *lalani* 'road,' *luua* 'two,' etc., which should be *rara*, *ruri*, *rau-ne*, *ri-ri*, *ura-ne*, *rara-ne*, *rua*, respectively, in both dialects, although having the correct notation like *ilahe* 'large' (should be *ela-e*), *waele* 'water,' *teluli* 'egg,' and so on.

Holle's list also contains the Atamano dialect from the Lima languages (*sic*) for No. 225, which was collected in 1939 (1981: 53–67). However, entries such as *lopone* 'ashes' (Holle 483) or *manuwe* 'bird' (844) are a singular form (should be given as *lopon-* or *manu-* for a noun stem), although correct forms such as *luti-* 'skin' (121), *ape-* 'saliva' (125), etc., are included. Verbal and adjectival stems are almost given their correct forms such as *ninu-* 'drink' (130), *tiwa-* 'know' (1195), *tota-* 'bring' (1291), *naru-* 'high' (1087), or *felu-* 'new' (1153). Collins also refers to some Atamano vocabulary in his comparative study (1983: 43, 44, 58). But, Holle and Collins did not touch on the phonological and grammatical details as I am going to argue in this paper.

PHONOLOGY

Fatamanue has five vowels with short versus long /i,e,a,o,u/ and sixteen consonants /p,t,k,b,d,g,f,s,h,m,n,ng,r,l,w,y/. Word stress is phonemic. Fatamanue allows only open syllables except endings with nasals -m, -n, and

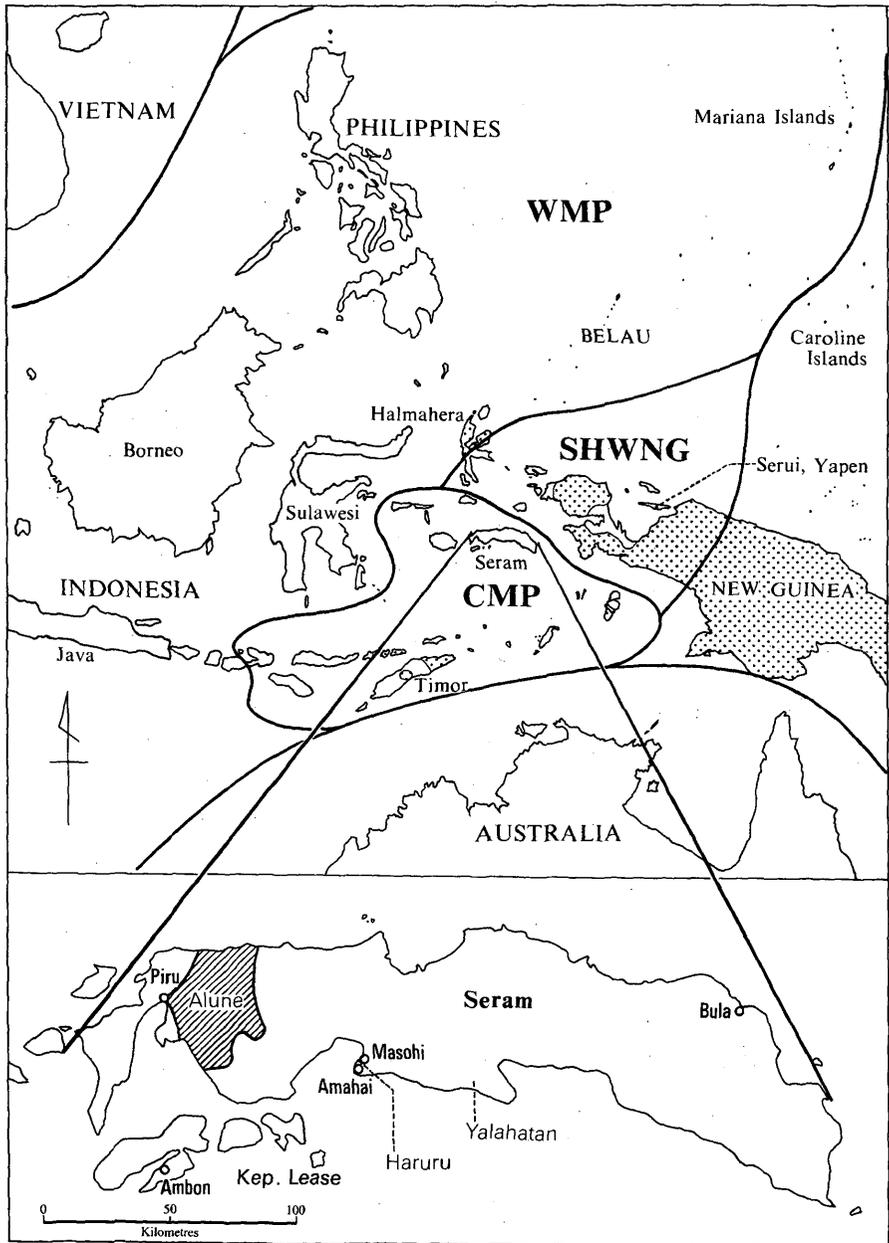


Figure 1. Geographic distribution of languages in Maluku, Indonesia
(▨: Papan languages)

-ng.

In some cases the Haruru *f* is pronounced *h* in Yalahatan, such as H.*fala*-: Y.*hala*- 'hand,' H.*fatu*-: Y.*hatu*- 'stone,' H.*fau*-: Y.*hau*- 'smell,' H.*fuei*-: Y.*huae*- 'fruit,' H.*fula*-: Y.*hula*- 'moon,' H.*fulu*-: Y.*hulu*- 'feather,' H.*fusu*-: Y.*husu*- 'bow,' H.*fifi*-: Y.*hihi*- 'tooth,' H.*felu*-: Y.*heru*- 'new,' H.*lopo*-: Y.*laho*- 'ashes,' etc. and the irregular correspondence between H.*rai*-: Y.*lai*- 'leaf' is unexplained.

Fatamanue has two stress patterns as seen in some languages of Maluku. The majority of words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. Some stress falls on the final. But, the stress remains in its original position, even when plural or other suffixes are added. This stress pattern is similar to the Big Nambas's of Vanuatu (Fox 1979). Compare the two Fatamanue pairs below:

ai 'tree': aí 'foot' (cf. u-ái 'my tree': aí-u 'my foot')

ana 'to shoot an arrow': aná 'child'

(cf. si ána 'they shoot an arrow': si aná 'their child')

ata 'four': atá 'stir up' (cf. ata-ne 'chopsticks')

ina 'mother': iná 'to sting' (cf. ina-a 'mothers')

isa 'one': isá 'to throw'

mata 'to die': matá 'an eye'

nia 'snake': niá 'to seek'

uru 'hard, severe': urú 'rice'

utu 'louse': utú 'happiness'

An unpredictable stress pattern is seen in some Austronesian languages besides Big Nambas, such as the Philippine and Formosan languages of Western Malayo-Polynesian. But while it is difficult to find the regularity of stress correspondences among these languages, it is correct to assume that languages that have phonemic stress might developed it secondarily some time after they split off from most of their other relatives (Lynch 1998: 82).

NON-AUSTRONESIAN SUBSTRATUM

Capell suggested eleven main points in which Papuan languages may be contrasted with Austronesian languages, treating as the former as if it were grouped under a particular typology (Capell 1969: 65–67). Wurm also mentioned that noun class systems are often manifested by a two-gender system in Trans-New Guinea Phylum, or a multiple class system in Nor-Pondo Subphylum and in Leonhard Schultze Subphylum (Wurm 1982: 58). As far as Fatamanue is concerned, Capell's type 3 (i.e., number and case may be marked in nouns) and type 4 (i.e., gender and/or class is liable to be present) are in-

volved. The Fatamanue free pronouns are as follows:

		Sing.	Plur.
1st	incl.	yau	ite
	excl.		yami
2nd		yale	imi
3rd		ire (+human)	sire/si
		re (-human)	
		i (indefinite)	

The form of the third-person singular is distinguished between human beings, non-human beings such as animals, plants, and things, and non-defined (or impersonal) subjects. *I* functions as a predicate marker when the subject is a singular noun, and *si* for the plural subject. It is typically Melanesian.

Interestingly enough, Fatamanue has a gender-like classification for color categories: *mite-* 'black' and *mara-* 'red' belong to 'man' colors, and *puti-* 'white,' *lala-* 'blue,' *malaria-* 'spotted,' *poro-* 'yellow' to 'woman' colors. These categories are not linguistic, but are reflected especially in the folk classification of fish.

As in most Oceanic languages, Fatamanue also shows a distinction between inalienable and alienable possession. Inalienable possession involves suffixation of pronominal forms to nouns referring to kinship excluding descendents, or parts of the body excluding *head-hair*; alienable possession involves other types of nouns in which the pronominal forms are prefixed to nouns. This categorical division does not coincide with Collins' statement: in most Central Maluku languages, *head-hair*, fingernails and veins are alienable nouns, but body-hair, bones and blood are inalienable (Collins 1983: 27).

FORM AND FORMATION OF NOMINALS

In this paper I discuss the form and formation of nominals of Fatamanue focusing the next five sections.

1. Alienable/inalienable possession

Fatamanue has the following possessive constructions:

Inalienable *fala* 'hand' by a possessive suffix.

		Sing.	Plur.
1st	incl.	yau fala-u	ite fala-ma
	excl.		yami/yam fala-ma
2nd		yale fala-m	imi/mi/im fala-mi
3rd		ire fala-i (+human)	sire fala-si
		re fala-i (-human)	
		i fala-i (indefinite)	

Alienable *ana* 'child'; *luma* 'house' by a possessive prefix.

		Sing.	Plur.
1st	incl.	yau u-ana; u-luma	ite amana (<ama-ana); ama-luma
	excl.		yami/yam mi-ana; mi-luma
2nd		yale mu-ana; mu-luma	imi/mi/im mu-ana; mu-luma
3rd		ire ni-ana; ni-luma	sire si-ana; si-luma
		re ni-ana; ni-luma	
		i ni-ana; ni-luma	

In both cases the free pronoun is used pleonastically before the combination as seen in the above. This double possessive form is found also in the Austronesian languages of the Maluku and New Guinea regions, i.e., Buli, Waropen, Serui, etc. of SHWNG languages and Motu of the Papuan Tip subgroup of the Western Oceanic group, and others. This double possessive spreads from the Papuan languages of Timor (i.e., Bunak), Indonesia, until the languages of New Guinea. As a whole, this double use is a result of the combination of Austronesian and Papuan elements, as Capell pointed out (Capell 1944-45: 32).

Fatamanue has no special categorical classifiers, as are found generally in the languages of Island Melanesia including SHWNG, and this is a fundamental characteristic in which CMP languages differ from SHWNG ones.

Next are examples from Serui, a language of SHWNG spoken on Yapen Island located in Cenderawasih (=Geenvink) Bay of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Inalienable possession for some body parts is marked with obligatory possessive suffixes, and the pronominal forms are prefixed to nouns, except for the singular. Contrast the following (data collected at Jayapura in 1982):

		Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plur.
1st	incl.	-hu	tu--mi	to--mi	ta--mi
	excl.		au--mi	anto--mi	ame--mi
2nd		-mu	mu--mi	munto--mi	me--mi

3rd -ne u--mi ito--mi e--mi

Nouns which belong to the set of alienably possessed nouns are expressed by using the categorical classifier *ne* (etymologically the same as a third-person suffix), which is suffixed for the plural.

		Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plur.
1st	incl.	ne-hu	tu-ne	to-ne	ta-ne
	excl.		au-ne	anto-ne	ame-ne
2nd		ne-mu	mu-ne	munto-ne	me-ne
3rd		ne-	u-ne	ito-ne	e-ne

Thus: *ure-hu* 'my eye,' *nehu munu* 'my house,' *nehu indai* 'my father,' and *fi ne-hu* 'that which I possess,' etc.

In Serui there is a three-way distinction between singular, dual, and plural numbers belonging to the commonest pattern of Oceanic languages, which start from the SHWNG languages including Biak, Tarpia, Tobati, etc., of Irian Jaya, Indonesia.¹⁾

2. Pluralization for nouns

Nouns in Austronesian languages are invariable in form. However, there are exceptions in some languages in Polynesia and Melanesia. For example, most Anejom nouns are capable of showing a distinction between singular and non-singular by deleting the singular marker (Lynch 1982: 103).

Most Fatamanue nouns show a distinction between singular and plural. There are six groups for number-making systems. In the following list stems having stress on the final are indicated only for the singular. The Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and other Proto-forms are referred to (Wurm and Wilson 1975). Note that **R* represents a fricative [ʁ], **h* is equivalent to **q*, and *' to **h*.

(Abbreviation used in the list: PMP=Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, POC=Proto-Oceanic, PAMS=Proto-Ambonese, PMLS=Proto-Malaitan, PPN=Proto-Polynesian, and Mal.=Malay)

	Sing.	Plur.	PAN
1) -zero/-a group:			
wood	ai-	ai-a	*kayu/*'ai (PMLS)
tail	alu-	alu-	
child	aná-	ana-	*anak/*'ana' (PAMS)
eel	apaté-	apate-	

dog	asú-	asu-	*asu
cassowary	asuari-	asuari-	(Mal. kasuwari)
adze	ate-	ate-	
pig	fafu-	fafu-	*babuy/*vavu(y) (PAMS)
rice grain	fala-	fala-	(Mal. beras)
hand	falá-	fala-	*palaj 'palm'
trunk	fatái-	fatai-	*batang
stone	fatú-	fatu-	*batu/*vatu (PAMS)
mouth	fifi-	fifi-	*bibir 'lips'/*vivi (PAMS)
milkfish	folo-	folo-	
betelnut	fuá-	fua-	*buhaq 'fruit'/*vua (PAMS)
fruit	fuéi-	fuei-	
hair	fula(wái)-	fula(wai)-	*bulu/*vulu (PAMS)
foam	fusi-	fusi-	*buja/*buda (PAMS)
boat	haká-	haka-	*bangkaq/*waka (PAMS)
stingray	harí-	hari-	*paRi/*pari (PAMS)
horn	hikurí-	hikuri-	
seed	hini-	hini-	*beniq
wing	ihurini ²⁾	ihurini	
mother	ina-	ina-	*ina
meat	isi-	isi-	*bizigo/*vidigo (POC)
butterfly	kailói-	kailoi-	
trousers	katá-	kata-	*kata (PAMS)
clothes	lafi-	lafi-	*lambar 'fabric'
plate	lai-	lai-	
sago palm	lapiá-	lapia-	*rumbiya/*lebia (PAMS)
mudskipper	lasiako-	lasiako-	
finger	lati-	lati-	*zari
root	lamuti-	lamuti-	*Ramut/*ramut (PAMS)
house	luma-	luma-	*Rumaq/*ruma (PAMS)
skin	luti-	luti-	*kulit
wife	(ma) fina ³⁾	(ma) fina-	*binay/*mavina(y) (PAMS)
rat	malafa-	malafa-	*lavaw/*malavaw (PAMS)
egg	(man)telulí-	(man)teluli-	*teluR/*telur (PAMS)
husband	manuwei-	manuwei-/manuway-	
knife	masaari-	masaari-	
herring	mate-	mate-	
fat	miná-	mina-	*minyak/*mina (PAMS)
teeth	nise-	nise-	*ngisi (PAMS)
snake	nia-	nia-	*nwaá (PMLS)
island	nusa-	nusa-	*nusa
gall	olu-	olu-	*peju/*pelu (PAMS)

star	ona-	ona-	
sago cake	paú-	pau-	
fog, smoke	poui-	poui-	*kabut/*kopu (POC)
blood	rará-	rara-	*DaRaQ/*dara (PAMS)
liver	(ri) atá-	(ri) ata-	*qatay
post	riri-	riri-	*DiRi/diri (PAMS)
needlefish	seru-	seru-	
cat	siá-	sia-	*siga (PAMS)
breadfruit	sune-	sune-	
nipple	susú-	susu-	*susu
jackfruit	tafelá-	tafela-	
feces	(ta) tai-	(ta) tai-	*tahi/*tai (PAMS)
egg	teluli-	teluli-	*teluR/*telur (PAMS)
belly	tiá-	tia-	*tiyan/*tia (PAMS)
lake	tifú-	tifu-	
spear	tua-	tua-	*tumbak/*tuba' (PAMS)
musk deer	tuitúí-	tuitui-/tui-	
tree	uéi-	uei-	
orange	umusi-	umusi-	
goat	une-	une-	
fire	usa-	usa-	
heart	usu-	usu-	*pusuq/*pusu (PAMS)
louse	utu-	utu-	*kutu
sago beater	wetí-	weti-	
2) -zero/-ma group:			
foot	ái-	ai-ma	*kaki/*ae (PMLS)
loin	awá-	awa-	*awa (PAMS)
father	ama-	ama-	*ama
neck	enu-	enu-	*enu (PAMS)
feather	fulú-	fulu-	*bulu/*vulu (PAMS)
intestines	futuá-	futua-	*bituka/*vatuka (PAMS)
shoulder	mamalá-	mamala-	*abaRa
eye	matá-	mata-	*mata (PMP)
voice	na-	na-	
bone	rurí-	ruri-	*DuRi/*duri (PAMS)
nail	tarí-	tarii-	*tadigi (PAMS)
ear	tirina ⁻⁴⁾	tirina-	*telinga/*taringa (? PAMS)
knee	tufalu-	tufalu-	*tuhud/*tulu (PAMS)
head	ulu-	ulu-	*ulu
face	wara-	wara-	*paras
3) -e/-a group:			
flesh	amu-e	amu-a	

arrow	arú-	aru-	
lump	la-	la-	
mosquito	manisí-	manisi-	
bird, chick	manu-	manu-	*manuk/*manu' (PAMS)
salt	tasí-	tasi-	*tasik 'salt water'
flame	uerí-	ueri-	
4) -le/-la group:			
saliva	ape-le	ape-la	*ibeR
earthworm	fiá-	fia-	
bow	fusú-	fusu-	*busuR/*vusur (PAMS)
mat	ilo-	ilo-	
forest	ipé-	ipe-	
flyingfish	kewú-	kewu-	
iron	mamó-	mamo-	*momol (PAMS)
cuscus	maré-	mare-	
prawn	mitá-	mita-	
night, black	mite-	mite-	*maite (PAMS)
coconut	niyé-	niye-	*nyiuR/*niwer (PAMS)
custom-house	osá-	osa-	
wind	uoi-	uoi-	
seed-breadfruit	ulu-	ulu-	*kulur
river, water	waé-	wae-	*wayeR/*wayer (PAMS)
5) -ne/-na group:			
fish	ia-ne	ia-na	*ikan
smell	fau-	fau-	*bahu
gold	fulawá-	fulawa-	*bulaw/*vulawan (PAMS)
flower	kupá-	kupa-	*kembang 'bloom'
sand	lasá-	lasa-	
ashes, dust	lopó-	lopo-	*Dabuh/*ndapu (POC)
cloud	meré- ⁵⁾	mere-	
name	nalá-	nala-	*ngajan/*ngala (PAMS)
body	patá-	pata-	*badan
insect fly	pepé-	pepe-	
road	rará-	rara-	*dalan
leaf	rau-	rau-	*Dahun/*dau (PAMS)
mount	saré-	sare-	*sakay/*saka(y) (PAMS)
earth, land	tomó-	tomo-	*tempet 'place'
herb	tupu (wá)-	tupu (wa)-	*tubuq 'grow, medical herb'
rain	ura-	ura- 'long rain'	*quzan/*udan (PAMS)
banana	uta-	uta-	*punti/*pudi (PAMS)
6) -te/-ta group:			
box	bué-	bue-	*peti

mangrove	laha-	laha-	
mojarra	mirá-	mira-	
ant	osó-	oso-	
hornbill	sopo-	sopo-	
vein	ula-	ula-	*uRat/*urat (PAMS)
cord, band	walé-	wale-	*waret (PAMS)

The next has no plural forms:

rainbow	(ta) fará-	---	*fula (PMLS)
south	fala-te	---	*baRat 'west'/*varat (PAMS)
moon	fulá-	---	*bulan/*vulan (PAMS)
left side	kale-	---	*ku-bali (PAMS)
sky	lanté-	---	*langit
sun	liamatái- ⁶⁾	---	
tongue	mei-	---	*maya (POC)/*mea (PMLS)
nose	nua-	---	*nora (PMLS)
sea	olou (-fafa)- ⁷⁾	---	*lahud/*lau (PAMS)
thousand	rihu-	---	*ribu/*iivu (PAMS)
east	timu-le	---	*timuR/*timur (PAMS)
happiness	utú-	---	(Mal. untung)
right side	wana-ne	---	*wanan/*ku-wana (PAMS)

The word for 'person' is made a distinction between *alesei* and *tumata*, the former being used only for a single person, but the latter derived from POC **tam(w)ata* being used for more than one person.

Generally, the single expresses the plural by simply adding the suffix *-a* as in Group 1. On the other hand, most human and body part names take *-ma* for the plural as in Group 2, which will relate to the pronominal plural suffix. It is evident that most items in Group 5 are derived from an original form with the final consonants *-n*, *-ng*, or otherwise at least from the word accompanied by the possessive suffix PAN **-nya*/POC **-na* 'its,' as in *lopo-ne* 'dust' derived from POC **ndapu-na* 'its dust'. We can point out that proto-forms which end with **-k*, **-t*, **-l*/**-R*/**-r* have a tendency to become Group 3, Group 6, and Group 4, respectively. These residual forms must prove in which final phonemes the proto-forms have been involved. There is a similar case in the Samoan (a Polynesian language) morphology, in which the so-called passive suffix *-ia* is preceded by a consonant like *-fia*, *-g[ŋ]ia*, *-lia*, *-mia*, *-sia*, *-tia*, or *'ia*. In most cases, this consonant is explained as "thematic," i.e., a consonant which belonged originally to the stem or simple word (Churchward 1951: 71, 122).

3. Compounding

In addition, nouns in Fatamanue may be formed by compounding.

1) Noun + noun:

uoi timu-le	(wind-east)	'an east wind'
fala wana-ne	(hand-right)	'the right hand'
fala-m wana-ne		'your right hand'
fuei uru	(fruit-rice)	'a grain of rice'
rau uei	(leaf-tree)	'the leaf of tree'
riri luma	(post-house)	'a pillar of a house'

There is little to be said regarding the morphology, as the above examples show. The modifier normally follows the modificand, but when the order of the words is inverted, the singular modificand as a final element usually takes the possessive suffix *-i*.

lia-mata-i	(day?-eye)	'the sun'
fafu mina-i	(pork-fat)	'lard'
fafu mina-mina		'much lard'
wae-le fatai (< fatai-i)	(water-trunk)	'a river'
wae-la fatai		'tributary streams'
niye-le fatai	(coconut-trunk)	'a coconut trunk'
niye-le fatai-a		'coconut trunks'
umusi fuei (< fuei-i)	(orange-fruit)	'an orange'
umusi-a fuei-a		'oranges'

2) Noun + adjective:

umusi fuei masi	(orange-fruit-sweet)	'sweet orange'
umusi fuei-a masi		'sweet oranges'
yau u-umusi fuei		'my orange'
yau u-umusi-a fuei-a		'my oranges'
yau u-umusi fuei masi		'my sweet orange'
wae otu	(water-hot)	'hot water'
wae o-otu-ne	(water-very hot)	'boiling water'
ate ete	(adze-sharp)	'a sharp adze'
ate ete-ete		'a very sharp adze'
ate-a ete-ete		'sharp adzes'
oso-ta mite-na	(ant-black)	'black ants'
fula-ne apou-apou	(moon-very round)	'a full moon'

3) Noun + verb:

wae sona	(water-flow)	'a stream'
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wae ninu	(water-drink)	'drinking water'
liamatai saa	(sun-come out)	'a sunrise'
tomo muturu	(place-sleep)	'a bed'

4. Pluralization for adjectives

Adjectives also behave like nouns basically as seen in the above examples. They take the same suffixes for pluralization as in nouns, and occur in the last element of a compound.

	Sing.	Plur.	PAN
1) -zero/-a group:			
new	felu-	felu-a	*baRu/*veru (PAMS)
thick	fetélú-	fetelu-/fetelu-ta	
thin	mimintang-	mimintang-	
rotten	pulu-	pulu-	*buRuk/*buru (PAMS)
2) -zero/-ma group:			

There seems to be no example for this group, since the application of the suffix *-ma* is, I believe, restricted in inalienable nouns.

3) -e/-a group:			
hard, big	ela-e	ela-a	
low, short	lolo-e ⁸⁾	lolo-	
little, small	oli-e	oli-	*doi (PAMS)
high, tall	naru-e	naru-	*nadu (PAMS)
shallow	rolo-e	rolo-	
4) -le/-la group:			
heavy	aipi-le	aipi-la	
green, blue	lalá-	lala-	
yellow	poró-	poro-	*felo (PPN)
white	puti-	puti-	*putiq/*buti (PAMS)
5) -ne/-na group:			
dry	mamala-ne	mamala-na	
black, night	mité-	mite-	*qitem/*maite (PAMS)
old	tawái-	tawai-	*tuwa/*matua (PAMS)
true	tui-	tui-	*tuqu
6) -te/-ta group:			
red	maraná-te ⁹⁾	marana-ta	*ma-iRaq/*maira (PAMS)

However, in comparison with nouns, there are fairly irregular, un-

balanced, or non-plural forms such as:

long (time)	apú	---	
far	(a)ráu-e	---	*zahuq/*dau (PAMS)
near	amasu	amasu-ta	
all	efu-e	---	
long (distance)	etéi	---	
many	feá	fea-na	
bad	kakápa	---	*kavaya (PAMS)
sour	maalím	---	*maling (POC)/*makalinu (PAMS)
soft, tender	male	---	*malu (PAMS)
sweet	masi	---	*mamis/*manis
hot	otú	---	
slippery	parisina	---	
cold	peta	---	
hard, severe	uru	---	*keras

Some undergo complete reduplication:

round	apou-le	apou-apou
sharp	ete	ete-ete

5. Demonstrative adjectives

Finally, there is a closed class of demonstratives. The list below is complete¹⁰⁾:

	Sing.		Plur.
near	(+human)	ire	sire
	(-human)	re-ire	
far	(+human)	i-mere	si-mere
	(-human)	re-mere	

Examples:

- 1) Yau liye ano-lia i-mere mei Fululu.
 I look pl:child-small +human:that at Haruru
 'I looked those children at Haruru.'
- 2) Asu re-ire i ete fala-u.
 dog -human:this linker bite sg:hand-my

‘This dog bite my hand.’

- 3) Tumata si-mere riata-si ira.
 poeple + human:those liver-their sick

‘Those people have a liver disease.’

- 4) Wau-te re-mere yau ana-(e)-i.
 deer – human:that I shoot-(directive marker)-sg.object

‘I shot that deer. = That deer was shot by me.’

CONCLUSION

Although the present state of knowledge of most languages in Seram, even restricted to the languages of Three Rivers (i.e., Proto-Northwest Seram level), is still much too incomplete for reconstructing proto-forms, Fatamanue words shown without proto-forms in this paper can be compared as surrounding language data accumulate in the future.

Yalahatan is no more than one of the CMP languages spoken in Seram, and the main evidence supporting the existence of CMP is hitherto based on the assumption of I. Dyen’s lexicostatistical analysis or the phonological innovations from PAN (Dyen 1965). The status of the CMP subgroup of Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian is said to be uncertain (Lynch 1998: 47). Moreover, one important problem remaining to be solved is said to be the boundary between the CMP and SHWNG subgroups (Tryon 1995: 34). Especially, the question may be raised, apart from a close approximation to Ambonese languages (PAMS), as to why Yalahatan and Malaitans (PMLS) have some of the more striking lexical similarities, as seen for items ‘tree,’ ‘snake,’ ‘foot,’ ‘rainbow,’ ‘tongue,’ ‘nose,’ and so on.

In this paper I argued that Yalahatan itself shows Melanesian phonological and grammatical features, presumably caused by a non-Austro-nesian substratum, and also argued the genealogical reason for it being situated in the middle of WMP and SHWNG.

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NOTES

- 1) In this sense, Buli, Sawai, etc., of the south Halmahera languages are exceptional to the SHWNG languages, because a three-way distinction is not found.
- 2) *ihurini* is normally pronounced [ihurin].
- 3) *mafina* is used both for referring and for calling.
- 4) *tarina* is an irregular form for **telinga*.
- 5) *merene* is normally pronounced [mereni].
- 6) *lia-* is unexplained. 'day' is called *petu*.
- 7) The present folk-etymology analyzes *olou-fafa* into 'at (= *olou*) the sea (= *fafa*)'!
- 8) *lolo-e/lolo-a* are normally pronounced [loloke/loloka].
- 9) *maranate* is normally pronounced [marnate].
- 10) Adverbs of location related to demonstratives are as follows: 'here' *me-ire*; 'there' *re-ma* (-*re*); 'there (near hearer)' *me-rée*.

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