LARIKE PRONOUNS:
DUALS AND TRIALS IN A
CENTRAL MOLUCCAN LANGUAGE

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Data are presented describing the pronominal system of Larike, an Austronesian language in Central Maluku. In addition to differentiating along the lines of human vs. nonhuman, formal vs. informal, and exclusive vs. inclusive, Larike distinguishes number with a full set of duals and trials, a feature until now not reported in the sparsely studied languages of Central Maluku. These differentiations are observed as common conversational elements, and are manifested not only as free pronouns, but as pronominal affixes marking verbs, and as possessive prefixes. A discussion regarding the diachronic origins of Larike pronouns is also presented.

1. INTRODUCTION. Larike is a language spoken by 8,000–10,000 people on the western tip of Ambon Island in Central Maluku, Indonesia. The majority of speakers live in two villages of nearly equal population, Wakasihu and Larike, separated by a distance of approximately two kilometers.[1] In addition most of the inhabitants of the small villages of Lai and Tapi, associated (socially, politically, and linguistically) with Larike and Wakasihu, respectively, are still active in their use of Larike. Also, some native speakers can still be found in the village of Allang, although it is largely the older generation in that village who are still capable of using the language.[2] See Figure 1 for a map of the area.

As a Central Moluccan language, Larike is a member of the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian languages (Blust 1980).[3] Further subgrouping is provided by Collins (1983), in an overview of the historical relationships of the languages of Central Maluku. Figure 2 traces the subgrouping of Larike from Proto-Central Maluku, according to Collins (1983).

FIGURE 1: LARIKE AND SURROUNDING AREA
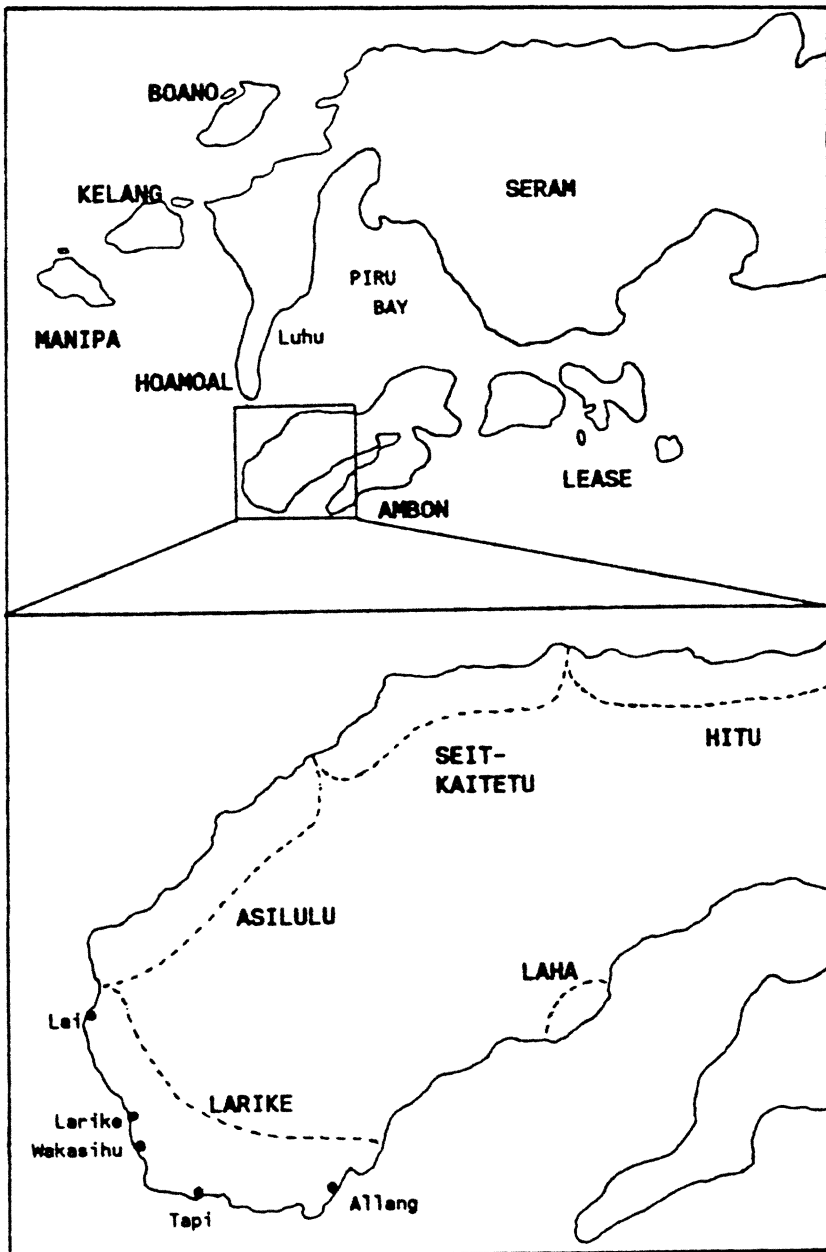
There are two dialects of Larike; however the differences are minor. Aside from a few lexical differences, and slightly different intonational patterns, there is apparently only one regular sound change distinguishing the dialect spoken in the village of Larike from that spoken in the villages of Wakasihu and Allang.[4] Although the small dialectal differences are of no consequence for the purposes of this paper, it should be noted that the data presented here primarily reflect the language situation in the village of Larike.

Prior linguistic research concerned with Moluccan languages is quite limited, and in the case of Larike, is almost nonexistent. Although Larike has never been a major topic in any linguistic publication, several wordlists have been documented in general surveys of the area. Van der Crab (1862) lists Larike among 14 other Moluccan languages, providing wordlists with over 400 entries. Ludeking (1868) gives a 20-language comparative wordlist with several hundred entries. Included among these 20 are both Larike and Allang. Wallace (1869) also provides brief comparative wordlists (approximately 100 entries), in which Larike is included.[5] More recently, Chlenov and Sirk (1973) and Chlenov (1976) mention Larike in their proposals regarding the classification of Moluccan languages. Other recent works involving Larike include

FIGURE 2: LARIKE SUBGROUPING
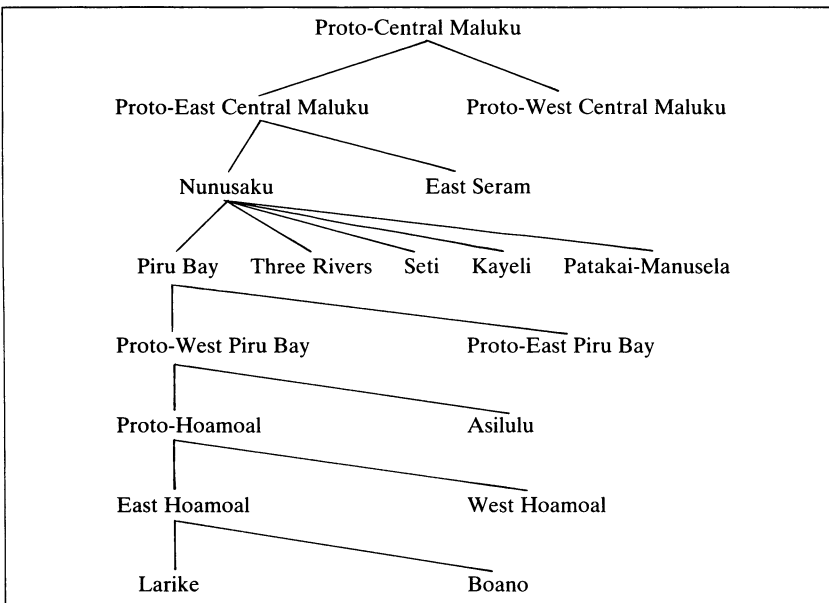
that of Collins (1980, 1982, 1983), who made several visits to Larike pri-
marily in an effort to define more precisely the genetic classification of
Moluccan languages; and that of Travis (1989), who gathered current
wordlists for lexicostatistic comparison. Apart from being mentioned in
these few sources, Larike has remained virtually an undocumented
language.[6]

   The following discussion of Larike pronouns is primarily a synchronic
description. A number of example sentences are provided, most of them
taken from recorded texts. These examples are provided not only to
clarify usage and meaning of the pronouns, but also as a way of indirect-
ly supplying initial documentation regarding features of Larike syntax.
In addition to a synchronic description of free pronouns, pronominal
affixes marking verbs, and possessive pronouns, a brief discussion is de-
voted to diachronic considerations.

2. FREE PRONOUNS. Larike pronominals differentiate according to
exclusive vs. inclusive, formal vs. informal, and human vs. nonhuman,
as well as according to number. Four levels of number are distinguished:
singular, dual, trial, and plural. Table 1 summarizes the various forms of
Larike free pronouns.[7]

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TABLE 1. FREE PRONOUNS

	SING	DUAL	TRIAL	PLURAL
1 EXC	aʔu	arua	aridu	ami
INC		itua	itidu	ite
2	ane	irua	iridu	imi
3 HUM	mane	matua	matidu	mati

</div>

   The following examples illustrate the use of free pronouns:[8]

   Ismail laku Jafar, irua apa?
   Ismail and Jafar 2d   where

   'Ismail and Jafar, where are you?'

   Arua au-lete.
   lde   at-above

   'We (two) are up above.'

   Mane ana   kisale.
   3s   child alone

   'He is an only-child.'

Ane tayate.   Ane panoste.
2s   evil.thing 2s   dirt

'You are an evil thing. You are dirt.'

Nusa hima tahi   musiai, kisa-kisa   matidu mate?eke.
island that not.exist people alone-alone 3t   only

'The island didn't have many people, only the three of them.'

Further example sentences are presented in Section 3, allowing first a brief discussion of pronominal affixes marking verbs. The intent is to avoid some confusion, since it is somewhat difficult to illustrate the use of free pronouns without also using verbs and their pronominal affixes.

For simplicity, word stress is unwritten here. However it should be noted that the predominant pattern is penultimate stress on the root. In other words, stress does not shift with the addition of affixes. In the case of the pronouns described here, stress always falls on the penultimate syllable.[9]

Free pronouns do not exist for 3rd person nonhuman referents. In such cases the referent must either be explicitly stated or be referred to by way of the appropriate noun classifier. The 3rd person human pronouns may also be used to refer to nonhuman referents when human qualities (such as thinking or speaking) are being attributed to the referent. This is most often observed in folk stories. The label HUM in Table 1 is used to indicate that the 3rd person pronouns are reserved for human referents. Even though all of the free pronouns shown in Table 1 are generally limited in use to human referents (this applies to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person free pronouns), the 3rd person HUM is useful as a reminder that other Larike pronoun sets (pronominal affixes as well as possessive suffixes) do distinguish between human and non-human 3rd person referents. This is discussed further in later sections.

The formal vs. informal distinction is made only in the 2nd person singular, and is not indicated in Table 1. The informal term *ane* is used when addressing children or with friends near the same age (or younger) than the speaker. In addressing a person older than the speaker, and in other cases where a more formal register is warranted, the 2nd person plural form *imi* also functions as the 2nd person singular formal pronoun. This same pattern occurs for subject and object prefixes, as well as for possessive prefixes, discussed in the following sections.

The dual and trial forms are the result of elision, using the numbers *dua* 'two' and *tidu* 'three' in combination with the plural pronouns. Although this is discussed further in Section 5, Table 2 illustrates the various combinations.

TABLE 2. DUAL AND TRIAL PRONOUNS

	DUAL			TRIAL		
1 EXC	ami	dua	→ arua	ami	tidu	→ aridu
INC	ite	dua	→ itua	ite	tidu	→ itidu
2	imi	dua	→ irua	imi	tidu	→ iridu
3 HUM	mati	dua	→ matua	mati	tidu	→ matidu

It is clear that more than just elision has taken place. The forms containing /r/ are an artifact of sound changes involving prenasalized /t/ and /d/. It is important to note that these forms cannot be viewed simply as contractions, since the substitution of non-elided forms results in grammatically unacceptable sentences. Full forms do exist, however, but the appropriate classifier must be used in addition to the pronoun and the number. This is seen by comparing the following set of sentences:

> Duma hima aridu naʔa.
> house that 1te   own.it

> 'We three own that house.'

> **Duma hima ami tidu   naʔa.
>   house that 1e   three own.it

> 'We three own that house.'

> Duma hima ami masi   - tidu   naʔa.
> house that 1e   CLASS- three own.it

> 'We three own that house.'

This pattern is typical of the other dual and trial forms as well. Although the elided form is apparently derived from the plural pronoun and the number, a simple replacement cannot be made, as is evidenced by the unacceptability of the second sentence.[10] The correct full form, as shown in the final sentence of the set, must include the appropriate classifier, in this case *masi-* denoting human beings.

Since some Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages, such as Manam (Lichtenberk 1983) and Ambai (Silzer 1983), make use of paucal or limited plural forms, it should be stated explicitly that Larike trials are true trial forms. In other words, they represent the quantity three, and are not used to refer to the more vague notion of several, as is a paucal or limited plural. To specifically indicate numbers greater than three in Larike, the full form including the appropriate classifier must be used (following the structure *ami masi-tidu* '1pe class-three' as shown in the previous example).

The Larike plural forms may also be used when referring to quantities of two or three. Thus, in spite of the fact that duals and trials are used to specifically denote twos and threes, plural forms can still be used with the meaning of two or more. In these situations, the choice of whether to use plural versus dual or trial forms depends upon the speaker's desire to specify or focus upon the number of the referent nouns. Although the plural forms are probably most frequently used (even when referring to twos and threes), duals and trials are also quite common, and are often heard in routine conversations as well as in more formal language contexts.

3. PRONOMINAL AFFIXES. Pronominal affixes, similar in form to the free pronouns described in the previous section, are used to mark verbs for both number and person. Larike verbs agree in number and person with the subject as well as with the direct object. This is accomplished with two sets of pronominal affixes: subject prefixes (Set 1 markers) and object suffixes (Set 2 markers). Although these pronominal affixes generally co-occur with the noun phrases to which they refer, a complete sentence may consist of only a verb with the appropriate pronominal affix(es).

The terms "subject prefixes" and "object suffixes" need further explanation, especially in light of the verb classes observed in Larike. Although a full description of verb agreement is not necessary for the purposes of this paper, some brief comments are required in order at least to understand the use of the pronominal affixes.

Transitive verbs mark both subject and object using the Set 1 markers as well as the Set 2 markers. In Larike, like many other languages with SVO word order, transitive verbs are typically marked by a prefix for the subject and by a suffix for the object. It should be noted, however, that transitive verbs do not require that both the subject and the object be specified. Thus, where semantically and pragmatically appropriate, either the subject prefixes or the object suffixes may be dropped.[11]

Intransitive verbs in Larike may be divided into two classes, referred to here as unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs.[12] Unergative verbs generally describe actions showing volition or control by the subject, or indicate qualities or attributes. A subject associated with an unergative verb typically acts either as an agent, or as the possessor of some attribute. Unergative verbs show agreement with the subject by using Set 1 markers. It should be noted that these Set 1 markers are the same prefixes used to mark the subject on transitive verbs.

The unergative verb class includes most intransitive verbs, only a few of which are shown below:

duʔi	'to crawl'
kele	'to stand'
lawa	'to run'
nanu	'to swim'
pese	'to work'
saʔa	'to climb'
wela	'to go home'
ʔata	'to be tall'
ʔida	'to be big'

The other class of intransitive verbs, called unaccusative verbs, usual-ly describe involuntary action or imply causation or action of some type which is out of the subject's direct control. Similar verbs found in other languages have sometimes been referred to as middle verbs, since the subject is in some ways (and usually with semantic justification) syntacti-cally treated as an object. In Larike, unaccusative verbs require agree-ment with the subject via Set 2 markers, referred to here as object suffixes, since this same set of suffixes is used to mark objects on transi-tive verbs. Thus, the subject associated with an unaccusative verb is treated syntactically as a patient or object of the action in two ways: First, these subjects are marked by suffixes instead of prefixes. And second, the suffixes used match those used for objects (not subjects) of transitive clauses.

Unaccusative verbs are more limited in number than the unergative verbs, although their usage is quite common. Several examples of un-accusative verbs are listed below:

duarene	'to be hungry'
piku	'to be burned (accidentally)'
hanahu	'to fall'
kapide	'to itch'
lopo	'to get wet (accidentally)'
pehe	'to be tired'
panatiku	'to sweat'
reʔeku	'to oversleep'

The two sets of pronominal markers are shown in tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 3. SUBJECT PREFIXES (SET 1 MARKERS)

		SING	DUAL	TRIAL	PLURAL
1	EXC	au-	aruai-	aridu-	ami-
	INC		ituai-	itidu-	ite-
2		ai-	iruai-	iridu-	imi-
3	HUM	mei-	matuai-	matidu-	mati-
	NHUM	i-			iri-

TABLE 4. OBJECT SUFFIXES (SET 2 MARKERS)

	SING	DUAL	TRIAL	PLURAL
1 EXC	-aʔu	-arua	-aridu	-ami
INC		-itua	-itidu	-ite
2	-ne	-irua	-iridu	-imi
3 HUM	-ma	-matua	-matidu	-mati
NHUM	-a			-ri

The most obvious change from the free pronoun forms is the inclusion of the 3rd person nonhuman affixes, labeled as NHUM in the preceding tables. Dual and trial forms do not occur for nonhuman referents, a fact that is not surprising given the complete absence of free pronouns for nonhuman referents. The 3rd person plural nonhuman affixes are generally used when referring to a large number. It is not uncommon for the singular nonhuman form to be used as a limited plural.

The singular forms generally show more irregularity between sets, especially 3rd person and 2nd person formal. This also holds true in the case of possessive pronouns, discussed in the next section. Note that the glottal stop is dropped in the 1st person singular subject prefix.

The 3rd person singular nonhuman object suffix -a has allomorphs -ya following front and central vowels (i, e, and a) and -wa following back vowels (u and o). Although most Larike verbs end with a vowel, there are examples where this is not the case. In such instances (after verbs ending with a consonant) the object suffix -a is used. The examples below show conjugated forms with the 2nd person singular informal subject prefix and the 3rd person singular nonhuman object suffix.

ai-coba-ya	'You tried it.'
ai-ruhe-ya	'You broke it open.'
ai-katu-wa	'You sent for it.'
ai-runo-wa	'You baked it.'
ai-rambong-a	'You added it.'

It is also interesting that many of the subject prefixes end in /i/. Although it is tempting to analyze this /i/ as a separate morpheme, evidence at this point is too limited to reach a definite conclusion.[13]

Having discussed the free pronouns as well as the two sets of pronominal verb markers, a number of example sentences are now presented. In these examples it is apparent that free pronouns are not required to replace full noun phrase arguments, since that information is already conveyed by way of affixes marking the verb. When free pronouns are used in addition to the affixes, it is done so for pragmatic reasons, generally to increase attention to or prominence of the referent.

Ami - laʔi   alei hina   laku duarene-ami.
1pe:S- arrive here village then hungry -1pe: O

'When we arrived here in the village we were hungry.'

Eʔena, aruai -ʔela   hehe.
yes   1de:S-come.from below.

'Yes, we came from down there.'

Kalu au -ʔanu, irua musti   iruai-ʔanu siʔu.
if   1s:S-eat   2d   certainly 2d:S-eat   also

'If I eat, certainly you both will eat too.'

Matidui-tue au-huse nusa.
3t:S   -live at-there island

'Those three live on the island over there.'

Udanu peʔa laku aruai -sulou.
rain   finish then 1de:S-descend

'When the rain stopped, we both descended.'

Karena i   -lou rene pehe-matua, laku matuai-loko.
because 3sn: S-far very tired-3d:O   then 3d:S   -sit

'Because it was very far the three were tired, so they sat down.'

Ite siʔu ite   -hala weidu.
1pi also 1pi: S-bring water

'We also brought water.'

   The examples above show that pronominal affixes, including dual and
trial forms, are affixed to verbs regardless of the presence of explicitly
stated referent nouns or free pronouns. In addition, pronominal affixes,
including dual and trial forms, may be affixed to verb stems
prefixed with other morphemes, such as *ta-* 'negative marker' and *na-*
'irrealis marker'. For example:

AʔU nadisa   au -na -ʔeu.
1s   tomorrow 1s: S-IRR-go

'Tomorrow I will go.'

Memang iri -hise tapi imi -ta   -ʔariʔi-ri.
truly   3pn-exist but 2p:S-NEG-see -3pn:O

'They really do exist, but you didn't see them.'

Kalu iridu-ta   -ʔeu, au -na   -wela.
if   2t:S -NEG-go   1s:S-IRR-go.home

'If you three don't want to go, I'm going to go home.'

Au -na   -ʔeu leka Salem riʔa arua -na   -ʔuna adunu.
1s:S-IRR-go   with Salem for   1de:S-IRR-make fence

'Salem and I will go together to make a fence.'

Au -na   -ʔeu siʔu la   itidu-na -ʔuna-ya.
1s:S-IRR-go   also then 1ti   -IRR-make 3sn:O

'I'd like to go too, then the three of us can make it.'

4. POSSESSIVE PREFIXES. A similar set of pronominal forms is also
found in Larike possessive constructions. Dual, trial, and plural forms
all end with -r-, marking the referent as the possessor. As observed in
the previous pronominal sets, singular forms are irregular. Table 5 be-
low summarizes these possessive prefixes.

TABLE 5. POSSESSIVE PREFIXES

		SING	DUAL	TRIAL	PLURAL
1	EXC	aku-	aruar-	aridur-	amir-
	INC		ituar-	itidur-	iter-
2		amu-	iruar-	iridur-	imir-
3	HUM	mana-	matuar-	matidur-	matir-
	NHUM	ir-			irir-

Consider the following examples illustrating the use of these posses-
sive pronouns.

Aku-lawa   hi   i   -ʔida rene.
1s:P-garden this 3sn:S-big   very

'My garden is really big.'

Imir-dikata iri   -ʔida laku iri   -heʔe.
2p:P-wood 3p:S-big   and 3p:S-many

'You have many large trees.'

Mana-rupae   senang riʔa matuar-dagang   mas i   -laku.
3s:P -woman happy for 3d:P   -merchandise gold 3s:S-sold.

'His wife was happy that their gold merchandise sold.'

Au -ʔakahide   peʔa, aku -rupae   mei -puna aku aʔera.
1s:S -eat.breakfast finish 1s:P-woman 3s:S-make 1s:P-sacklunch

'After I ate breakfast, my wife made my sack lunch.'

Mei -laʔi   se   mana-ina   mana-duma pas   oras wadu.[14]
3s:S-arrive at 3s:P   -mother 3s:P -house exactly hour eight

'He arrived at his mother's house right at eight o'clock.'

Ai -rala   iter -lawa   peʔa -o?
2s:S-chop.down 1pi:S-garden finish -QM

'Did you finish clearing our garden?'

The possessive prefixes may also be used after nouns, either proper or common, as well as after free pronouns. This mechanism allows further specification of the possessor.[15]

Ali amu-aso i   -kanu aku manua.
Ali 2s:P-dog 3sn:S-ate   1s:P-chicken

'Your dog ate my chicken [speaking to Ali].'

Husein laku Kalsum matuar-ana   masa.
Husein and Kalsum 3d:P   -child CLASS

'Husein and Kalsum have one child.'

Hima lawa-lawa irir   -duma.[16]
that   spider   3pn:P-house

'Those are spider webs.'

Mati matir-basudara heʔe -tu.
3p   3p:P -relative   many-NOM

'They have a lot of relatives.'

Ane amu -hutua i   -piku.
2s   2s:P -heart 3sn:S-hot

'You were angry.' [lit.: 'Your heart was hot.']

5. DIACHRONIC   CONSIDERATIONS.   The   Proto-Austronesian (PAN) origins of first person singular and plural forms of the free pronouns are quite easily seen in Table 6.

TABLE 6. 1ST PERSON PRONOUNS

	PAN	LARIKE
1s	*aku	aʔu
1PE	*kami	ami
1PI	*kita	ite

Both the loss of initial *k and *k > ʔ intervocalically are readily observed and noted by Collins (1983).

The dual and trial pronominal forms clearly originate from the numbers PAN *DuSa 'two' and PAN *telu 'three' in combination with the plural pronouns (see Table 2). This pattern can be seen to extend even further in the 3rd person human forms. Note that all of the 3rd person human free pronouns begin with *ma-*, indicating 3rd person. While the origins of *ma-* are discussed in more detail below, attention here is focussed upon the endings of the 3rd person human free pronouns. These endings correspond closely with the Larike numbers one through four. Table 7 shows the correspondence between these numbers and the associated 3rd person human pronouns.

TABLE 7. CORRESPONDENCE OF PRONOUNS WITH NUMBERS

NUMBER:			PRONOUN:	
PAN	LARIKE	GLOSS	LARIKE	GLOSS
*esa	sane	*'one'*	mane	'3rd sing'
*DuSa	dua	*'two'*	matua	'3rd dual'
*telu	tidu	*'three'*	matidu	'3rd trial'
*e(m)pat	ati	*'four'*	mati	'3rd plural'

Regarding the plural pronoun *mati*, it is apparent that this form developed from a fusion of *ma-*, indicating 3rd person, and *ati*, the number 'four'. Just as the dual and trial forms are fused with derivatives of the numbers 'two' and 'three', the plural form has its origin with the number 'four'. This pattern is similar to that observed in a number of Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages with dual and trial forms. In such languages it is not uncommon for the plural form to originate from a quadruple (Capell 1976, Silzer 1983, Lynch 1986).

Attempting to extend the above pattern to the 3rd person singular pronoun, by arguing for a relationship between the 3rd person singular pronoun *mane* and the number *sane* 'one', is somewhat more questionable.

The origin of *-ne* must first be considered. One possibility is that it is historically a demonstrative affix, such as the *-ne* reported in several

other West Piru Bay languages. This demonstrative appears as -*ne* and -*le* in Table 8, which shows Larike pronouns adjacent to those reported by Collins (1983) from other West Piru Bay languages.

TABLE 8. FREE PRONOUNS (WEST PIRU BAY)

	LARIKE	ASILULU	BOANO	LUHU	MANIPA
1s	aʔu	aʔu	aune	aʔune	aʔune
2s	ane	ale	o	alene	anene
3s	mane	ali	iale	ilene	ine
1PE	ami	ami	ami ene	amine	amine
1PI	ite	ite	ite	itene	cene
2P	imi	imi	imi	imine	imine
3P	mati	sini	si	silene	reli

Other than the 3rd singular form *mane*, the only other Larike pro-noun ending in -*ne* is the 2nd person singular pronoun *ane*. The Larike form *ane* probably results from PAN **kaw* '2nd singular' plus the histor-ical demonstrative. *Ane* in Larike is cognate with *ale* in Asilulu and Luhu, and with *ane* in Manipa, all of which contain fossilized forms of the demonstrative -*ne*. In both Luhu and Manipa, the demonstrative is also suffixed to the pronoun *ane* (or its cognate *ale*) to form *ane-ne* (or *ale-ne*). In Asilulu, where *le* is still productive as the demonstrative 'this', forms such as *ale le* are used to emphatically indicate the 2nd person singular.[17] In Larike, however, -*ne* is no longer productive, and is found only as a fossilized form in words such as *ane*.

Assuming that the source of -*ne* in *ane* is the historical demonstrative, it would also seem likely that the -*ne* in *mane* '3rd person singular' and in *sane* 'one' has its origin in this historical demonstrative as well, espe-cially since the affix *sa-* (or -*sa*) is found elsewhere in Larike with the meaning of 'one'.

In considering *mane* '3rd person singular', the origin of the first part, *ma-*, still needs to be examined. Although all of the 3rd person free pronouns in Larike begin with *ma-*, a similar form does not appear in the corresponding pronouns of related languages (see Table 8). One possibility is that the Larike 3rd person marker *ma-* (or even the entire 3rd person singular form *mane*) originates from PAN **maRuqanay* 'male, man'. In Proto-Oceanic, Grace (1969) reconstructs this form as **ŋmane*. The Boano, Luhu, and Manipa terms for 'male, man' are *meneʔe*, *mandae*, and *mannai*, respectively. In spite of the plausibility of this type of semantic shift and the phonological similarities between *mane* and terms for 'male' above, there is no solid evidence upon which to claim a real connection. To the contrary, regular historical sound changes strongly indicate that Larike *undana* 'male' (and not *mane* '3rd

singular') is the descendant of PAN *maRuqanay, as correctly identified by Collins (1983:84).

One other possibility for the origin of the Larike 3rd person singular pronoun *mane* is that *mane* originates from a *demonstrative* rather than from a term meaning 'male' as discussed above. One reason for this is that in Larike *ma* is also used productively as a demonstrative meaning 'that' or 'that there', indicating location but with no specific direction implied. Furthermore, a form quite similar to *mane* is found in the Asilulu demonstrative *mani* 'that'.[18] Normal vowel lowering in Larike (Collins 1983:84) would account for the differences between Asilulu *mani* and Larike *mane*. This suggests that Larike *mane* (or at least the 3rd person marker *ma-*) may have developed from a demonstrative form common to Asilulu *mani*. Although this argument does shed some light on the development on *mane*, the question of its origin with respect to PAN is still open.

The origins of the 2nd person plural pronoun *imi* are unknown. These Larike forms are clearly cognate with those of neighboring languages. Stresemann (1927) reconstructs *kimi in what he calls Proto-Ambonese. But just how this Proto-Ambonese form relates to the 2nd person PAN pronoun *kamu is unclear.

In light of the above discussion, attention can be turned to the pro-nominal affixes marking verbs. The origins of most forms are clearly the same as for the corresponding free pronoun, although the singular forms are sometimes shortened. The 3rd person human subject marker *mei-* is likely to come from *ma-* plus *i-*, since *i-* is a commonly occurring affix for the subject markers.[19] Several of the older Larike speakers actually use *mai-* instead of *mei-*, indicating that this may be the result of recent sound change.

The pronominal affixes are distinguished from the free pronouns in that they also have forms for 3rd person nonhuman referents. The singular affixes *i-* and *-a* could possibly originate from the 3rd singular PAN pronoun *iya. The pattern of using the first syllable of this recon-struction as the subject prefix and the last as an object suffix is also observed for the current 2nd person singular Larike form *ane* (*ane* → *a-* '2s:S' and *-ne* '2s:O'). Since it is likely that a demonstrative term de-veloped into the Larike 3rd person human pronouns (recall the discus-sion of Larike *mane* and Asilulu *mani*), it would seem plausible for PAN *iya '3rd singular' to be semantically limited in a complementary man-ner, such that its usage is restricted to nonhuman referents only.

This line of reasoning would also suggest that the 3rd person nonhu-man plural affixes (*iri-*, *-ri*) might also originate from the 3rd person plural PAN pronoun *siDa. In other words, it would not be surprising if both singular and plural 3rd person pronouns underwent similar seman-

tic limitations, given that the same motivation was present. Collins (1983:28) states that in Nunusaku languages (see Figure 2) PAN *siDa is reflected in forms with *si* and *ri*, the latter resulting from a prenasalized form of *siDa. A look at the data in Table 8 shows evidence of these forms (*sini, si, sile-ne, reli*). It seems likely that the Larike nonhuman plural affixes *iri-* and *-ri* also have their origins in PAN *siDa.

Capell (1976) further substantiates this in his discussion of person marking. He uses the 3rd person singular and plural person-marking affixes as a diagnostic for language subgrouping, and states that the languages of North and Central Maluku group with the New Guinea area languages in their use of *i-* from PAN *iya and *si-* (with reflexes of *ri-*) from PAN *siDa. Larike follows this pattern, with the exception that its affixes have become semantically limited to refer only to nonhuman referents.

Turning consideration to the possessive pronominals shown in Table 5, it is evident that discussion need only focus on the origins of the singular forms and on *-r-*, which occurs uniformly on all the nonsingular and nonhuman forms. It is suggested here that Larike possessive pronouns are contracted forms deriving from original free pronouns and enclitic genitive pronouns. Consider Table 9, comparing the singular forms of the PAN enclitic genitive pronouns (Dyen 1974) with the Larike singular possessive prefixes.

TABLE 9. SINGULAR POSSESSIVES

	PAN	LARIKE
1s	*-kuʔ ~ *-okuʔ	aku-
2s	*-Xuʔ, -muʔ	amu-
3s	*-ñaʔ	mana-

The Larike singular possessive prefixes seem to be combinations of the first syllable of the corresponding free pronoun (*aʔu, ane*, and *mane*) together with the appropriate genitive enclitic.

In a similar manner, the *-r-* probably results from the 3rd person plural PAN enclitic genitive pronoun. Although there is considerable uncertainty about its form, Dyen (1974) suggests the following for the 3rd person plural genitive enclitic:

PAN *-Daʔ, *-nDaʔ, *-Dyeʔ/-Dyaʔ, *-Di

This could account for the Larike *-r-*, since Collins (1983) convincingly traces prenasalized PAN *D to /r/ for descendants of Proto-West Piru Bay. However, an alternative explanation is possible, since similar historical sound changes to those which produced Larike /r/ from prenasal-

ized PAN*D also produced Larike /r/ from prenasalized PAN *t. Thus, Larike -r- could also be explained from the 1st person plural inclusive possessive pronoun PAN *nta (Collins 1983:67). Although it would seem that the 3rd person forms would perhaps be the most likely to develop into generic markers, in the absence of other evidence, no decisive statement to this effect can be made.

In considering this question, however, it is instructive also to look briefly at the genitive forms used in what many have referred to as inalienably possessed nouns.[20] In Larike there is a class of nouns which, along with most classifiers, typically exist only as possessed forms, identified by the genitive endings -na or -ri. These possessive markers are suffixed to the possessed noun, and mark not only the genitive but also indicate whether the possessed noun is singular or plural. In addition, if a specific number (greater than one) of the noun is referred to, only -r is used, followed by the number. For example:

lalaha-na	'friend'
lalaha-r-dua	'two friends'
lalaha-r-tidu	'three friends'
lalaha-r-ati	'four friends'
.	
.	
.	
lalaha-ri	'friends'

For inalienably possessed nouns, the possessive noun phrase structure[21] in Larike is:

± possessor prefix + possessed noun + possessive marker

When the possessor is not explicitly stated (as in the preceding set of examples), the noun phrase simply indicates that the noun is possessed by someone or something, although the possessor remains unspecified (i.e., 'a friend' or 'a friend of someone'). However when the possessor of an inalienably possessed noun is explicitly stated (using the possessive prefixes shown in Table 5), the possessed noun becomes marked for possession twice: once via the obligatory possessive marker (-na or -ri), and once via the possessive pronoun prefix specifying the possessor. For example:

aku-lalaha-na	'my friend'
mana-lalaha-r-dima	'his five friends'
matir-lalaha-na	'their friend'
matir-lalaha-ri	'their friends'

Unlike some of the other Central Moluccan languages (for example Asilulu, in Collins 1983: 28), no information regarding the possessor is conveyed by the possessive suffixes. Following the argument by Grimes (1988), it seems clear that Central Moluccan languages derive the singular genitive marker (-*na* in Larike) from the PAN 3rd person singular possessive enclitic *ña?. Since Larike -*na* occurs as the marker on inalienably possessed nouns as well as on the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun *mana*-, it seems plausible that the possessive plural marker -*r*/-*ri* on inalienably possessed nouns is of the same origin as the -*r*- found in all the nonsingular and nonhuman possessive prefixes. The most likely candidate is the PAN 3rd person plural genitive enclitic pronoun *-nDa? discussed above.

6. SUMMARY. This paper presents data from the authors' fieldwork in the Central Malayo-Polynesian language of Larike. A description of free pronouns, pronominal subject and object affixes, and possessive prefixes demonstrates the existence of a complete set of dual and trial forms.

While such forms are not uncommon in Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages, there has been little evidence for their existence in Central Malayo-Polynesian languages. At this point, however, it is not clear whether the lack of evidence is due to an actual absence of the forms in question, or whether it is simply a result of insufficient data. Capell notes the following in this regard (1976: 15):

> The presence of dual and a few relics of trial [in New Guinea area Austronesian languages] is of interest. These—at least the dual— are normal in eastern Oceanic, but do not appear very widely in Western Austronesian. In fact they seem to have originated in the western area . . . and it is most unfortunate that information from the Moluccan regions is so scarce even now.

The development of dual and trial forms in Austronesian is still unclear. In addition the evidence is still lacking regarding the subgrouping of Moluccan languages with the languages of Western Indonesia or with those of Oceania. While the description of Larike pronouns presented here cannot, in itself, provide the answers to these questions, it does provide a bit of extremely relevant information. It is hoped that, as Moluccan languages are further studied and documented, such bits of relevant information will be assembled to provide a clearer picture of Austronesian linguistics.

NOTES

1. The data presented here have been collected during the authors' fieldwork in the village of Larike. This research project was begun in June 1988 as a part of a cooperative agreement between Pattimura University and The Summer Institute of Linguistics.
2. The majority of Allang's population now speak Ambonese Malay, the *lingua franca* of Central Maluku. It should also be noted that there has been a recent (circa 1950) small migration from Allang to Allang Asaude in Seram. However current language use there is also reported to strongly favor Ambonese Malay.
3. Dahl (1976) classifies the Austronesian languages of Maluku in what he calls the Western Austronesian subgroup. Dyen (1978) takes a similar approach, although he uses the broader term, Hesperonesian, to also include the Formosan languages. Both of these classifications place the Moluccan languages in a primary subgroup distinct from the Oceanic (or Eastern Austronesian) languages. This is in contrast to Blust (1978, 1980), who prefers to group the Austronesian languages in Maluku together with the Oceanic languages, using the term Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. The lack of certainty regarding language classification is likely to remain, pending investigations of other Moluccan languages.
4. Whereas Wakasihu and Allang retain *l as /l/ in all environments, Larike changes it to /d/ in the environment of a high vowel.
5. Wallace failed to make any distinction between Larike and Wakasihu and the neighboring language of Asilulu. Unfortunately he did not specify the source of his wordlist.
6. Larike is used here as the name of the language group primarily because it is Larike, not Wakasihu or Allang, that has been politically central. This has been true at least since the Portuguese arrival in the early sixteenth century, when a fortress was established in Larike.
7. The orthography used follows that of standard Indonesian as closely as possible. Where necessary, such as with the glottal stop /ʔ/, IPA symbols are used.
8. The following abbreviations are used in glossing example sentences:

1s	1st person singular
1di	1st person dual inclusive
1de	1st person dual exclusive
1ti	1st person trial inclusive
1te	1st person trial exclusive
1pi	1st person plural inclusive
1pe	1st person plural exclusive
2s	2nd person singular informal
2d	2nd person dual
2t	2nd person trial
2p	2nd person plural
	(or 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
CLASS	classifier
IRR	irrealis marker
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominalization marker
O	object marker
P	possessive
QM	question marker
S	subject marker

9. This is in contrast to Collins' statement (1983:82):

    An important phonological rule distinguishes all Hoamoal languages
    from Asilulu. Stress in Hoamoal languages is always penultimate; if a
    suffix or particle is added to a word, stress shifts accordingly. In Asilulu
    this is not the case. Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the root
    word; additions of suffixes do not affect the stress.

    Larike stress patterns are similar to those of Asilulu, not the other Hoamoal
    languages.

10. A double star (**) is used to indicate grammatical unacceptability. This
    avoids confusion with a single star (*) used to indicate proto forms.

11. Subject prefixes are typically dropped to demote the subject, removing it
    from a position of prominence. This typically occurs in Larike constructions
    that are more or less equivalent in function to passives found in other
    languages.

    Object suffixes of transitive clauses are often not used when the object
    noun phrase is explicitly stated. In addition, there are times when neither
    the object noun phrase nor the object suffix are used in association with a
    verb that is typically transitive. It would seem that the choice is governed by
    the degree to which the object noun phrase is in some way stressed or focus-
    sed upon. The object noun phrase would have most prominence if it is expli-
    citly stated and it also co-occurs with the pronominal object suffix. Subse-
    quent lower levels of prominence may be indicated by the use of the object
    noun phrase only (no suffix), the use of the object suffix only (no explicit
    object noun phrase), and finally, neither the object noun phrase nor the
    object suffix.

12. The terms "unaccusative" and "unergative" are commonly used by adher-
    ents of relational grammar (Rosen 1984). Others may prefer to consider
    such a system in terms of split-ergativity (Comrie 1981:104–116).

13. The presence of the final /i/ in the prefix forms ending in /ai/ is still unclear.
    There is some evidence that this /i/ should be interpreted as a realis marker
    -i-, since it does not occur with the irrealis marker -na-, or with the negative
    marker -ta-, both of which occur in the same position as /i/. It may also be
    that /i/ is indeed a part of the pronominal prefix (as suggested by Table 3),
    with phonological or morphophonemic rules accounting for its absence in
    forms followed by -na- and -ta-.

14. Depending upon the phonological environment, the 3rd person singular
    possessive pronoun *mana* has an alternate in the shape *man-*. Thus *man-
    duma* 'his house' and *manina* 'his mother' are also acceptable, if not pre-
    ferred.

15. The examples illustrating possessive prefixes immediately following nouns
   or possessive pronouns should not be interpreted as examples indicating
   "sentence topic" constructions. Admittedly, the "sentence topic" construc-
   tion is a common syntactic device found in many languages, including
   Larike. In Larike, however, this construction is evident from patterns of
   intonation, stress, and rhythm. Thus, one may straightforwardly distinguish
   between sentences like:
   > *Ane, amu-hutua i-piku.*
   > 'As for you, your heart was hot.'

   > *Ane amu-hutua i-piku.*
   > 'Your heart was hot.'

   The initial pronoun in the first sentence is set off in a "sentence topic" con-
   struction, while that in the second indicates the possessor within a single
   noun phrase, similar to the other examples illustrating possessive prefixes
   (see text).
16. Taken out of context (and especially without hearing intonation and rhythm
   patterns), this sentence can be ambiguous. In its original context (an actual
   conversation) it is clear that *hima* 'that, those' forms the initial noun phrase
   of an equative clause. This corresponds to the gloss 'Those are spider webs.'
   Other possible glosses, such as 'Those spiders have webs,' would require
   entirely different intonation and rhythm patterns, reflecting altogether differ-
   ent syntactic structures.
17. The authors are extremely grateful to Dr. James Collins for his many help-
   ful comments on an earlier version of this paper. His insights, along with the
   Asilulu linguistic data he shared, are greatly appreciated. In particular, his
   suggestions regarding the fossilized demonstratives *-ne* and *-le* in relation to
   the origins of *ane*, and his ideas concerning the origin of *mane* as a demon-
   strative related to Asilulu *mani* were especially enlightening.
18. See Note 17.
19. See Note 13. It is also interesting that the 3rd singular prefix *mei-* takes the
   form *ma-*, when followed by the irrealis marker *-na-* or the negative marker
   -ta-.
20. Because of its familiarity, the term "inalienable possessed nouns" is used
   here, though recent work by Grimes (1988) indicates that at least in some
   Central Moluccan languages these nouns may better be described as "bound
   nouns", similar to current thinking regarding related structures in Oceanic
   languages (Pawley 1973, Lynch 1982). Preliminary data from Larike suggest
   that the notion of bound nouns (as opposed to inalienably possessed nouns)
   may provide a more accurate description.
21. The possessive noun phrase structure presented here is simplified in two
   ways. First it refers only to inalienably possessed nouns. Thus, the posses-
   sive marker is considered to be obligatory instead of optional. And second,
   it refers to cases where the possessor is identified solely by means of posses-
   sive prefixes (listed in Table 5). As illustrated in several examples of Section
   4, the possessor may be additionally specified by explicitly stating the pos-
   sessor noun (or the free pronoun). In such cases, the explicitly stated pos-
   sessor noun (or pronoun) must precede the possessed noun. The possessor
   prefix and the possessive marker (in the case of inalienably possessed
   nouns) and affixed to the possessed noun in the same manner described in
   the text.

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