Telling stories in eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste: patterns of narrative discourse in Austronesian languages

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Language & Culture Unit, Kupang (UBB);
SIL International (SIL);
Language Research background

1st hand; in-depth
2nd hand; workshops, theses, papers, dictionaries
Surveys; 1st hand data
The Data

- **Primary**: oral texts recorded & transcribed by me, or people working with me
  - Recent years: video → **SayMore**
- **Secondary**: oral texts recorded & transcribed and given to me by participants in workshops on discourse analysis.
- **Concordance searches** in **Toolbox [Fiesta]**
- **Supplementary**: written texts in some languages that show the same patterns as oral texts
The Speakers

- Not all **narrators** are eloquent according to the standards of their own language community.
- Some L1 speakers consistently employ most of the discourse features described here.
- A few speakers rarely use these features. Their texts are hard to follow—*for everyone*.
- Narratives embedded in expository texts often use good discourse structure. (mixed genre is common)
- Surprisingly, some **writers** consistently employ most of the discourse features in recorded oral texts.
- Some highly educated, have beautiful local discourse
# Charting the Data—metadata

## Ayatama

*Why Ayatama belongs to two clans*

(*Buru language* [**mhs**] - Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Central Maluku, Buru*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Ayatama: Why Ayatama belongs to 2 clans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filename</td>
<td>mhs Explan-Ayatama-CHART winter.doc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Buru (mhs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialect</td>
<td>Rana / Wae Sama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Wae Nama Olon, interior South Buru, Maluku, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrator</td>
<td>Wim Nurlatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date recorded</td>
<td>pre-1991 (check tapes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>Explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>Explaining the background and obligations of why Ayatama has 2 clan affiliations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recorded by</td>
<td>Charles E. Grimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcribed by</td>
<td>Barbara Dix Grimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interlinear by (this version)</td>
<td>Charles E. Grimes (original in IT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free English by</td>
<td>Charles E. Grimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formatted by</td>
<td>Charles E. Grimes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Buru Island** – 10,000 km² of mountains
Political regions extant in 1847 – smaller divisions had disappeared by the time of this story

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**Wim – the narrator, just having speared a pig**

**Ayatama – the subject of this story, making a new spear shaft**

**Mokin lahin – the plant that does not die, even in drought**

**A posse armed with spears ready to go into the jungle to capture someone who had speared a companion.**

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**Colour coding:**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charting the Plot Structure—Buru</th>
<th>mhs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 06b | bu | ríŋe ba mamhisi pa da ba iko eciko, 3s DUR force REAL 3s DUR go little he forced himself to keep moving around a little, |
|     | but |  |
| 06c | etá lalen saa | ríŋe kaduk eptea fí di yako nanu huma. 3s come sit LOC DIST 1s 1sP house he came and sat/stayed at my house. |
|     | until time one | until one time |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NARRATIVE Event: Complication = EXPOSITORY Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07a Bu etá suba fí di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but if cross LOC DIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangal 2 fulan Juli musun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>date 2 month July year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sia same (1989) make belo, 9 PROX-IMM 3sP night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But when it crossed the threshold of the 2nd day of the month of July of this same year (1989) that night,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai-wai-t-o tu anat-o tu eSib-ySib-NOM-PL with child-PL with majelis-o kaduk pa du wana elder (Arab)-PL come REAL 3p wake em-nake-k eta lea. BE-3sP-APP until day the extended family and offspring and the church elders came and they stayed awake companioning him until daylight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NARRATIVE Event: Increase Tension = HORTATORY Basis (9a-b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09a Tu díi yako kaduk díi, with DIST 1s come DIST petu SEQ At that time when I came, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time phrase + Connector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Charting the Participants—Amarasi [aaz]

#### Pattern: Setting; Opening (home)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Initial devices</th>
<th>Amarasi clauses;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Neno ia, day:U prx Today,</td>
<td>aam Nahor Bani' mmoet. F:M Pname Pname 3-die:M Mr. Nahor Bani died.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Pattern: (Prior) Event (inciting incident)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Initial devices</th>
<th>Amarasi clauses;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02a</td>
<td>Oras in mmoet te, time:U 3s 3-die:U te</td>
<td>When he died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02b</td>
<td>in oon moen jes 3sP child:M male:M one kaann ee, na' Fanu, name:M-3G 3sU mion Pname one of his sons named Fanu.</td>
<td>enbehin noin popu. 3-dig:M 3-immed:M hole:U he had (already) dug the grave beforehand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Pattern: Talk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Initial devices</th>
<th>Amarasi clauses;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>(Re') uobam too mfaun rel talk and populace many re' kuan ii naann ii nak rel village prx inside:M-3G prx-te 3-say am, ehh, popu mmanun.) and uhh hole:U long/deep:U (What is said by many people—who are in this village— they would say, uhh, the grave is deep (and long).)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Pattern: Action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Initial devices</th>
<th>Amarasi clauses;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>04a</td>
<td>In ka nahein je ruum aah fa te 3s Neg1 3-dig:M 3sU empty just Neg2 te He did not just dig it empty (= plain dirt walls) (te),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04b</td>
<td>nahein naair je te, 3-dig:U 3-PRF:M 3sU te (when) he finished digging (te),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04c</td>
<td>nnaaam 0. 3 plaster:M ØU he (even) plastered (it) (with concrete).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Nnaaam je reko-reko. 3-plaster:M 3sU DUP-good He plastered it nicely. [Oratory length indicates significant effort expended.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clusters of languages

- **UBB** (Language & Culture Unit): Kupang, west Timor, Indonesia;
  - ± 30/60 languages; both Austronesian & Papuan (VSO, SVO, SOV)

- **EMBLI** (Multilingual Education), MoE, Dili, Timor-Leste
  - ± 4/7/20+ languages; both Austronesian & Papuan; govt. schools

- **EGRA results** (TL, 2010; Indonesia, 2014)
Discourse-informed Front Translation in LWC

Results in uniformly better quality, more natural to the way local languages work, much faster
## Distractions to reading for meaning

### Things that add noise

- spelling not reflecting sounds & structures
- inconsistent spelling
- poor word breaks
- awkward sentence structure
- use of passives & abstract nouns is foreign
- story does not start the local way
- story does not end the local way
- quote formula are not the local way
- can't tell who is important
- can't track participants through the story
- can't track time through the story
- can't track location through the story
- can't track events/themes through the story
- paragraphing does not show story structure
- background-foreground information wrong
- repetition not used the local way
- tail-head linkage not used the local way
- vocatives not used the local way
## Common structure of a narrative

### Performance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening</th>
<th>Nucleus</th>
<th>Closing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Declaration of performance)</td>
<td>Actual story</td>
<td>(Declaration of authority)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Declaration of authority)</td>
<td>(see below)</td>
<td>(Declaration of closure)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Actual Story

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening (Background)</th>
<th>Nucleus (Storyline)</th>
<th>Closure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Establish setting</td>
<td>Episodes (n)</td>
<td>(Post-resolution summary of resulting life status)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Temporal setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Moral teaching)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Locational setting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Main participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Situational context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Historical context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cultural context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yako la dohi [TOPIC]</td>
<td>I'm going to tell you about [TOPIC]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endohin naa, asu tu menjangan.</td>
<td>This story [is about] the dog and the deer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yako la dohik ro-roin fi di geba Belandaro eptea na Wae Katin. Endohin naa, yako caan fi di ya nang ina, tahintina, Rikatina.</td>
<td>I'm going to tell you a bit about the Dutch people living here in Wae Katin. This story, I heard from my mother, whose teknonym is Rika's mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagrihit tu tonal.</td>
<td>Fruit bat and cuscus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>Geb tal-dawet rua sira. Geba rua naa, do, geb faha nakenan. Sir rua, lea-lea, do, nunu empunat ii meget sa moo, tu enaka rahe-raheke. Enakak trus-trus-trus-truse.</td>
<td>There were 2 bro-in-law. These two men, were thieves. The two of them every day, their deeds were nothing other than just stealing. They kept stealing on and on and on and on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreground (event-line, story-line)</td>
<td>Lalen saa, du kaduk di negri saa, petu sambetak, e, anat sa mata. Anat naa, ...</td>
<td>One time, they came to a village, then right at that moment a child died. This child…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Usi An text has 45 sentences of background before the story begins at 46. *(of 76 total)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Yako la a dohi geba rua saa. Anat rua na ngaan, saa ngaan Anakoneng, saa ngaan Nona Buru. Sira rua du skola.</th>
<th>I'm going to tell about two people. These 2 children were named, one named Anakoneng, one named Buru Girl. The two of them schooled.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anakoneng tu Nona Buru naa, du ba skola naa, sir rua ba keha mngesa-mngesa. Kalas satu men-mene. Kalas dua men-mene, eta du ba tamat men-mene.</td>
<td>This Anakoneng and Buru Girl, as they went to school, they went up through the grades together. 1\textsuperscript{st} grade together. 2\textsuperscript{nd} grade together, until they graduated together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreground (event-line, story-line)</td>
<td>Petu lalen saa, du ba tulis di meja. Du eptea pa du tulis di nun meja, petu Anakoneng nake pena da moho pa rahe...</td>
<td>Then one time they were writing at the table. They were sitting and writing at their table, and Anakoneng's pen fell on the ground...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cohesion & discontinuity in narrative discourse

a) Participants (and props)
b) Time
c) Location
d) Events / Activities / Themes

Paragraphs should be put where these are introduced, changed, or resumed after a gap.

J. Grimes (1971, 1975); Givón (1990:427); Dooley & Levinsohn (2001); Levinsohn (2015a)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discontinuities</th>
<th>Kupang [mkn] text (Sarce – June Jacob)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event 2: Shift in Time = new paragraph</td>
<td>.... <strong>Sonde lama ju</strong>, waktu ana-ana parampuan dong ada barmaen boneka di Meri pung teras ruma, ju <strong>Sarce pung mama</strong> datang bacari sang Sarce. Ais dia tanya sang itu ana-ana dong bilang, “Sarce ada di situ, ko?”</td>
<td>.... <strong>A little later</strong>, while the girls were playing dolls on the porch of Meri's house, <strong>Sarce's mother</strong> came looking for Sarce. And she asked the children, “Is Sarce there?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of speaker (Participant) = new paragraph</td>
<td>Ju itu <strong>ana-ana dong</strong> manyao bilang, “Sarce sonde ada di sini, tanta. Mangkali dia ada di Mia pung ruma. Te tadi botong lia dia ada maen sikidoka di sana.”</td>
<td><strong>The children</strong> answered, “Sarce isn't here, auntie. Perhaps she is at Mia's house. Cuz (elaboration) earlier we saw her playing hopscotch there.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 3: Shift of Participant; Change of Location = new paragraph</td>
<td>Ais <strong>Sarce pung mama</strong> jalan pi <strong>Mia pung ruma</strong>. Sampe di sana, dia lia ana-ana parampuan dong ada barmaen sikidoka. Ju dia tanya sang dong bilang, “Sarce ada di situ, ko?”</td>
<td>So <strong>Sarce's mother</strong> went to <strong>Mia's house</strong>. Arriving there she saw the girls playing hopscotch. And she asked them, “Is Sarce there?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Change of speaker (Partic.) = new ¶ | Ju itu **ana-ana dong** manyao bilang, “Sarce sonde ada di sini, tanta. ...” | **The children** answered, “Sarce isn't here, auntie. Perhaps she is
Presentational clauses: introducing major participants

(1) English: (Long ago, in a land far far away) There was a girl named YY.

- cross-linguistically
- single (main or major) participant or prop
  with on-going relevance
- some form of the numeral ‘one’
- with a generic category
Presentational clauses:

(2) Kupang [mkn]: Ada satu nona, dia puŋ nama YY.
Exist one girl 3s POSS name YY
There was a girl, her name was YY.

(3) Tetun Dili [tdt]: (Iha) labarik ida, naran YY.
Exist child one name YY
There was a child named YY. [iha = LOC Prep]

(4) Galolen [gal]: Mia atabauk nehe, naran YY.
Exist child one name-3G YY
There was a child named YY. [mia = LOC Prep]

(5) Kemak [kem]: Dia mugun sea, galan YY.
Exist child one name-3G YY
There was a child named YY. [dia = LOC Prep]
Presentational clauses: (2)

(6) Amarasi [aaz]: \((\text{Anmui?})\) riʔaan feot \(\text{goes}\), kaann ee YY.
Existent child female one name-3G DIST YY
There was a girl, her name was YY. [\text{anmui?} = \text{have}]

(7) Buru [mhs]: Anafina \(\text{sa} \ \etaaan\), YY.
Female one name-G YY
[There was] a girl named YY.

(8) Dhao [nfa]: \((\text{Aßu})\) ana ßəni \(\text{əci}\), ñara na YY.
Existent child female one name 3SP YY
There was a girl, her name was YY. [\text{aßu} = \text{get}]

(9) Tii [txq]: Hambu ana feʔok \(\text{esa}\), nade YY.
Existent child female one name YY
There was a girl, named YY. [\text{hambu} = \text{get}]
Presentational clauses: (3)

- **Known referents** don't use this pattern.
  - **generic + ‘one’**

(10) Buru [mhs]: *Yako la fisara ro-roin waktu yako tu*

> 1s IRR speak DUP-small when 1s with 
> Usi An kawin.

> eZ Anne marry 

*I am going to tell [you] a little bit about when Older Sister Anne and I got married.*

[We had known them quite well for 6 years at this point. It would be silly to say, “I'm going to tell you about a woman named Anne.”]
Presentational clauses: (4)

- **Multiple referents** use other numbers.
  - May or may not also use ‘one’

11) Buru [mhs]: Geba tal-dawet rua sira.
   person RECIP-bro-in-law two PL
   [There were] two brothers-in-law
   [who had married each other's sisters].

12) Buru [mhs]: Kaka-wait pito saa.
    eSib-ySib-NMLZ seven one
    [There was] a [family of] seven brothers.

13) Buru [mhs]: Yako la dohi ana mhodo rua saa.
    1s IRR narrate child orphan1 two one
    I am going to tell [you] about a pair of orphans
    [one parent dead for each].
Some variety emerges in patterns of languages of eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

a. In some languages, 3s free pronouns are used to track main participants, rarely minor participants.
b. Usually only main and major participants are named.
c. Repeated use of names to track participants is considered heavy style, or very awkward.
d. Since names should be used only at first introduction in many languages, the repeated use of names to track participants in translated or adapted material can imply that there are several people with that same name in the story. This is quite confusing to adults and children alike.
Tracking participants

(14) School English (not natural):
Johnny went to town.
Johnny went to school.
Johnny went to eat lunch.
Johnny went to the shops.
Johnny went to see his auntie.
Johnny went home.

(15) Improved English (more natural; much better as Front Trans.):
Johnny went to town.
Arriving there, he went to school.
Then he went to eat lunch.
Then he went to the shops.
Then he went to see his auntie.
Then he went home.
Tracking time

(16) Long ago, in a land far far away, there was a girl named YY. [establish timeframe]

(17) Once upon a time, / One time, there was a girl named YY. [vague time; unreal]

(18) There was a girl named YY. One day she.... [signals shift from Background to Foreground]

- Journeys often use shifts in time ("The next day...") to mark new episodes in the narrative.
- Or journeys may use shifts in location ("When we arrived at X... / When we left Y...")
Repetition is common

(19) Buru [mhs]: from a folktale (repetition is underlined):
... Gofot naa, da tane fiat di enhelan, da hapu unet, da tane suran pa rahe. Petu da oli. Da oli eta beto rua sepo, da saki suba dii, po wela toho fi saka, pa da beta unet di haik. Da beta unet dii, pa gofot na holik. Holik wela, petu rine reka wela dii. Da ego kau turen dii, pa da reka wela dii, fene...
Tail-head linkage (repetition)

(20) Ambon [abs]:

... Lalu doŋ pigi. ¶
Lalu doŋ samua baranŋkat pi ka asrama di T.
Doŋ lewat BM bawa. ¶
Doŋ lewat BM bawa,
tarus waktu doŋ su ada di T, ada kajadian di P,
di luar kota. Itu kajadian akanŋ carita bagini: ...

(tail-head linkage underlined):

... So they went. ¶
So they all left going to the dormitory at T. They went by way of lower Red Rock. ¶
They went by way of lower Red Rock, and then while they were at T, there was an incident at P, outside the city. The story of that incident goes like this: ...

• This story has 19 occurrences of tail-head linkage in 99 sentences, and also other kinds of repetition.

• Don't edit the repetition out of the free translation!
Point-of-departure
*reduced adverbial clause; reduced T-H*

(21) Tetun Dili [tdt]:  Early version
... Busa nee moos haksoit sae tuir ba baki leten.
The cat also jumped up on the bench.
Tiu nee haksoit tuun hosi baki leten...
The old man jumped down from the bench.

(22) Tetun Dili [tdt]:  Revised version
... Depois busa nee moos haksoit sae tuir ba baki leten.
Then the cat also jumped up on the bench.
Haree nunee, tiu haksoit tuun hosi baki leten...
Seeing that, the old man jumped down from the bench.

- **Stylistic variation** in different languages;
- Like that / Hearing that / When Nani heard that...
**Repetition is a common feature of narrative discourse**

**Buru [mhs] corpus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th># texts</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Tail-Head</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Et-eta</th>
<th>Pairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trickster</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1088</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folktales</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>2894 (57)</strong></td>
<td><strong>279</strong></td>
<td><strong>342</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>94</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

751 (15/text // 1/3.85 sentences)
Mary said, “I'm going to the market. Would you like to come too?”

“I'm going to the market,” Mary said. “Would you like to come too?”

“I'm going to the market. Would you like to come too?” asked Mary.
Quote formula (structure)

- Subject + Verb + Complementizer, “Quote content”
  *She said saying, “I went to the market.”*

- Subject + Verb, “Quote content”
  *She said, “I went to the market.”*

- Complementizer, “Quote content”
  *Saying, “I went to the market.”*
  [Signals change of speaker.]

- “Quote content” *(only)*
  “I went to the market.”
  [Called “drama” in the discourse literature]
Quote formula *(position)*

(24) Kupang [mkn]  
Tanel kasi tau bilan, “Beta mau iko bantu oraŋ susa di Semau.”  
*Nathaniel told [us] saying,* “I want to go along and help the people in difficulty on Semau.”

(25) Tetun Dili [tdt]:  
Entaun katuas dehan, “Hau nee, liurai nia atan.”  
*So then the old [respected] man said,* “I am the king's servant.”

(26) Amarasi [aaz]:  
Rarit in nak, “Karu hi mtoup au haan totis feʔe na te, au ?toit he hi...”  
*Then he said,* “If you accept my earlier request, [then] I ask that you....”

(27) Dhao [nfa]:  
Həia nəŋu peka na, “Jaʔa keʔa boe nəŋu ətu mia!”  
*Then she said,* “I don't know where he is!”

(28) Buru [mks]  
Tu da enika fen, “Kae puna tenik la ute yako naa!?”  
*And he asked saying,* “What have you done to me now!?”

Most Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste *always* have quote formula at the front in recorded natural text.

For Buru there are *no exceptions* in 99 texts of varying length.
Schachter (1985:50) “A good many languages have a complementizer that is rather transparently derived from the verb meaning ‘say’.”

- **speech act verbs, cognition, perception**
- **Buru text corpus**
  - 100% at the front (437 quotes in 40 texts)
  - 60% Subj Verb QF (CMLZR) (260/437)
  - 32% Complementizer (fen) only (136/437)
  - 8% Drama (36/437)
Quote formula (Buru)

1 Endohin naa, Gofot tu Wela.


4 Wela prepa ute Gofot **fene**, “Tawe, kae ego ii dii la teni?”

5 “A ego ii naa la a sekak, tu ii naa enaan gosa.”  

[DRAMA]

6 **Fen**, “E, gam dii, do, ku laik yako tu proi, la kita rua seka.”  

[CS]

7 Gofot prepa, “Gam dii, do, kae namuk luken.”

8 **Fen**, “Moo! Yako tu lahin.”  

[CHANGE SPEAKER]

10 Gofot **fen**, “Moo! Ya geb enhoit pa yako tu lahin, kae tu luken.”

12 Gofot, da epture ii dii pa da laik Wela tu luken.  

13 Wela sekak nake luken dii, da newe moo, tu da mata.

...
Same Buru story ...

Petu Gofot **fene**, “Ku laik yako tu nang fuat proi moo, bu ramak tu ya hapu unet.”

Fene, “Kae hapu unet bu ya beta moo!” **[CHANGE SPEAKER]**

Fen, “Ii dii, ya tane suran.”

Fen, “Moo! 26 Kae tane suran bu ya beta moo!”

Fen, “Ii dii, ya hoso pehul.”

Fen, “Moo! 29 Pehul bu ya beta moo!”

Gofot naa, da tane fiat dii enhelan, da hapu unet, da tane suran pa rahe. 31 Petu da oli.
Quote formula (where?)

(29) Tetun Dili [tdt]: Early version (artificial, ungrammatical; VS)  
“Iha ona, apaa,” dehan Apeu.  
“Yes, I have it, father,” said Pete.

(30) Tetun Dili [tdt]: Revised version (following natural discourse; SV)  
Apeu hataan, “Iha ona, apaa,”  
Pete responded, “Yes, I have it, father.”
Direct vs. Indirect speech

(31) [indirect; +complementizer] She said that she was going to the market.
[indirect; - complementizer] She said she was going to the market.
[direct; - complementizer] She said, “I am going to the market.”
[direct; + complementizer] She spoke saying, “I am going to the market.”

(32) [same she? different she?] She said she was going to the market.
[direct? indirect?] She said, “She was going to the market.”

Many Austronesian languages in eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste rarely use indirect speech in natural text, or limit it to backgrounded information.

**Problem**: many Early Grade Readers in the region use indirect speech following the Indo-European pattern.
Converting Indirect to Direct

(33) [indirect] He told them to go ahead of him into the forest.
    [direct]   He told them, “You all go ahead of me into the forest.”

(34) [indirect] Hearing that suggestion, the king accepted it.
    [direct]   Hearing that suggestion, the king said, “Good. Let's do that.”

(35) [indirect] The king was informed that many crops had been destroyed.
    [direct]   They told the king, “The flooding destroyed many crops.”

(36) [indirect] The corrupt official bragged about how rich he was.
    [direct]   The corrupt official bragged saying, “I have so much wealth and land and possessions!”

(37) [indirect] They asked him not to send them away.
    [direct]   They begged him, “Please don't send us away from here!”
Framing Questions

Different languages use **different question words** for the same social / pragmatic function.

(38) English:  **What** is your name?

Spanish  ¿**Como** se llama?  [how are you called?]

Indonesian  Nama-mu **siapa**?  [your-name is **who**?]

Kupang  Lu puŋ nama, **sapa**? [you have name, **who**?]

- variety for ‘when’, ‘why’, ‘how’, asking name
Question words *(position)*

(39) English:  
What is your name?  
What are you doing?  
What did they eat?  
Who got hit?  
What did they get hit with?  
Where did they go?  
When did they go?  
Who are you going to see?  
Why are you going?  
How much did it cost?

Fronted Q-words in the ENUS region should be treated with suspicion.
(40) Buru [mhs]  
Kae 𝓃aam **sane**?  
Kae puna **sapan**?  
Sira kaa **tenik**?  
Sira flali **sane**? / **Sane** flali geba dii?  
Du flali sira tu **sapan**?  
Sira gam **doo**?  
**Pila saa** sira iko? /  
    Sira iko filim **beto doo**?  
Kae la ku liṅa **sane**?  
Kae la ku iko **la emkua**? /  
Kae la ku iko **la (ñe) sapan**? /  
Filin **pila**?
Logical relations (clause order)

Result-REASON

(41) You should come inside, **because** it is raining.

Since it is raining, you should come inside.

It is raining, so (result) you should come inside.
Logical relations (clause order)

**Result-REASON**

(42) Kupang [mkn]  
Maso, *tagal ujan*.  
*Come in, because it's raining.*

(43) Tetun [tet]  
Foo etu oan ida ba haʔu lai, *tan haʔu ksalaen mate ona*.  
*Give me some rice now, because I'm starving.*

(44) Tetun Dili [tdt]  
Hau halo buat sira nee hotu, *tanba o tuir ona hau nia hakarak*.  
*I am doing all these things, because you have done what I wanted.*

(45) Galolen [gal]  
Nii hali laʔa ni uman, *doʔi namtaʔuk*.  
*He returned to his house, because he was afraid.*
Fronted for pragmatic reasons

(46) Kupang [mkn]  
Tagal su galáp, andia ko lu musti lia...  
Because it will already be dark, that is why you must watch carefully....

(47) Amarasi [aaz]  
Au umaeb ok, natuin au ao afa' kau.  
I'm embarrassed, because I'm naked.

(48) Amarasi [aaz]  
Natuin ho mri'u mrair kau u'ko bare ia, au of u'roo ko, tua.  
Because you evicted me from this place, I will be far from you, sir.

(49) Buru [mhs]  
Yako ba newe, wahan tu kae.  
I am alive, because of you.

(50) Buru [mhs]  
Wahan gam dii, sira sefeno.  
Because of that, they were angry..
## VO vs. OV languages


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN (VO)</th>
<th>Result-Reason</th>
<th>He did well in school, <em>because</em> he studied hard.</th>
<th>both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papuan (OV)</td>
<td><strong>Reason-Result</strong></td>
<td>Because he studied hard, he did well in school.</td>
<td>both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN/Pap</td>
<td>Means-Purpose</td>
<td>He worked hard, <em>in order to</em> support his family.</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN/Pap</td>
<td><strong>Condition-Consequence</strong></td>
<td>If we go, we can get dinner.</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary (Similarities)

- Background before Foreground
- Presentational clauses with ‘one’
- Paragraphing at discontinuities/shifts
- Quote formula at front
- Complementizer from ‘say’ for verbs of speech, cognition, perception
- Tail-Head and other repetition is common
- Names tend to not be repeated often
- Direct speech is preferred;
- Question words in position of argument
Where is the variety?

- Connectors: the semantics of grammar
  - Interclause connectors *(needs separate paper)*
- Reduced adverbial clauses “Hearing that,“
- Clause order in logical relations (?)
- The use of “drama” at peak (no quote formula)
- How much Tail-Head/Rep gets edited out in written text
- The way pronouns are used in discourse
  - Na'ko *au*, nai' Charles *kau*, tua.
A message that is not understood is useless

Texts that are well structured in their discourse according to local patterns are easier to follow and process.

Not all speakers employ the discourse patterns used by good story-tellers

Many high-level patterns are shared across the ENUS region.
Discourse Closings *(formulaic)*

(51) Amarasi [aaz]: On re? naan, tua.  
Like that, sir/maam.

(52) Kupang [mkn]: Bagitu sa.  
That's it.

(53) Tetun Dili [tdt]: Mak nee deit.  
It's just like that.

(54) Dela [row]: Baʔu a naa ena.  
That's all.

(55) Buru [mhs] (Ya naŋ endohin) esnegen baa dita.  
That is the extent (of my story).
Translating articles ‘a, the’

(16) School English (not natural):
   Title: A dog and a cat
   p.1: A dog saw a cat.
   p.2: A dog chased a cat.
   p.3: A cat ran away from a dog.
   p.4: A cat looked down at a dog.
   p.5: A cat mocked a dog.

Early draft translation 1
   One dog and one cat
   One dog saw one cat.
   One dog chased one cat.
   One cat ran away from one dog.
   One cat looked down at one dog.
   One cat mocked one dog.

Problem:
‘one cat’ and ‘one dog’ imply introducing new characters on every page!
Translating articles ‘a, the’

(17) Improved English (more natural):
Title: A dog and a cat
p.1: There was a dog and a cat.
p.2: The dog saw the cat.
p.3: The dog chased the cat.
p.4: The cat ran away from the dog.
p.5: The cat looked down at the dog.
p.6: The cat mocked the dog.

Revised Translation 2
One dog and one cat
There was one dog and one cat.
That dog saw that cat.
That dog chased that cat.
That cat ran away from that dog.
That cat looked down at that dog.
That cat mocked that dog.
(20) Amarasi [aaz]: Early version
Title: Peʔu prepares to go to school
p.1-11: His father asks, “Do you have notebook, lunch, drinking water, hat, etc.? ”
p.12: Rarit, Peʔu ro he nfain neu in umi, natuin in nnikaʔ nain in taas.
  Then Pete had to go back to his house, because he had forgotten his (school) bag.

Problem: p.1-11, 44 people said they were at the house. He had to ‘leave’ before he could ‘go back’
Title: Peʔu prepares to go to school

His father asks, “Do you have notebook, lunch, drinking water, hat, etc.?"

Peʔu replies, “Yes, I do.”

Then he left for school. But on the way, he turned back to his house, because he had forgotten his (school) bag.