2.1 Directionals

A set of six directionals is used to mark movement from a source (location) to a goal (destination). The six directionals have both full lexical forms (with some dialectal variants) and clitic forms, as set out in Table 1 below. The full lexical forms are the most frequently used, and clitic forms are restricted to use with the allative preposition (§2.4 below). Included in the last column of Table 1 are innovative forms used by younger fluent speakers or semi-speakers of Alune. The central dialect full form of each directional is used as the citation form throughout this paper.

Table 1: Alune directionals

Full form: central dialect	Full form: north dialect	Clitic form	Innovative forms
mlau	*ndau*	*-lau*	*mau, nau*
nda	*nda*	*-ra*	*da, ra*
mlete	*ndete*	*-lete*	*mnete, nete, nde*
mpe	*mpe*	*-pe*	*pe*
ndi	*ndi*	*-ri*	*di, ri*
mpai	*mpai*	*-pai*	*pai*

Syntactically, the full lexical form of the directionals may function as prepositions, as in example (1) below, or as nominals, as in (2) below.[2]

(1) *Au 'eu* ***mpai*** *mlinu.*
1sg go **DIR** garden
'I'm going to the garden.'
(MA: LStest6)[3]

down

(2) *(E)le('i) imi leu bei* ***mpe-re*** *imi pusu-mi sui*
then 2pl return.home from **DIR-DET** 2pl all-2pl chase
asu-re pi-be batu ale dua-mu-o?
dog-DET or-COMP only 2sg alone-2sg-Q
'Then when you all were coming home from down there did all of you follow the dogs or only you?'
(YM: Cl.11–12)[4]

---

[2] Abbreviations used in this paper are:
AI – alienable possession, ALL – Allative, ASP – aspect, CAUS – causative, CL. – clause, COMP – complementiser, DEI – deictic, DET – determiner, DIR – directional, DM – discourse particle, Exc – exclusive pronoun, Gen – genitive, H – human, Inal – inalienable possession, LOC – locative, NEG – negative, NH – non-human, pl – plural, Q – question, REDUP – reduplication, sg – singular, Tr – valency-increasing suffix

[3] A limited number of sentence examples have been drawn from test data. These are coded as follows: speaker's initials followed by the initials of the village and the relevant number of the test item.

[4] Sentence examples are coded as follows: speaker's initials followed by the relevant clause number/s within the text.

The principal domain of usage of the six directionals is for spatial reference within a zone of local space. This is the zone in which ego dwells—the realm of everyday interactions and experiences. The village is the prototypical dwelling location of Alune people and the zone of local space typically includes the home, the village residential site, the wider village territory (including primary and secondary forest and cultivated land), and villages roughly within a day's travel with which the villagers have regular contact (for trade, educational, or ritual purposes). Figure 1 illustrates the zone of local space for the villagers of Lohiasapalewa. This zone, which has a radius of approximately 30 kilometres, typically remains largely within Alune territory, *albeit* including that occupied by other Alune villages. It includes some non-Alune territory near the coast and the town of Taniwel, the regional administrative centre which contains government and military offices, the marketplace, a junior high school, and the boat harbour.

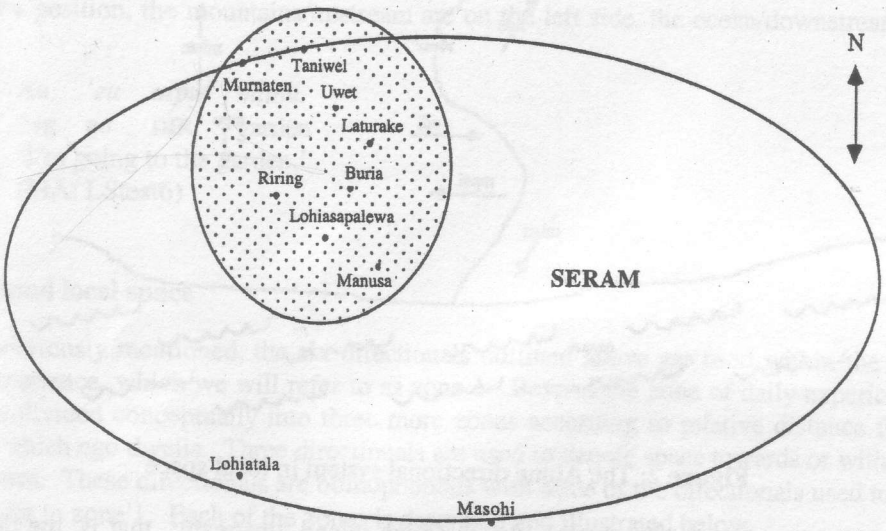


Figure 1: The zone of local space for the village of Lohiasapalewa

In contemporary society, Alune people are more mobile and may live away from the village for short periods for educational or employment purposes. Because it is egocentric, the system of spatial reference for local space moves with ego: a villager dwelling in Taniwel while attending secondary school would determine local spatial reference by taking into account features of the local environment.

Within local space, the six directionals are mapped onto three planes: seawards/inland (*mlau/nda*), upwards/downwards (*mlete/mpe*), and opposing directions on the transverse axis (*ndi/mpai*). These planes are mapped in Figure 2, below.

Mlau. The directional, *mlau*, denotes the direction towards the sea, downstream. In the context of the physical geography of Seram, movement seawards also involves movement downwards from the mountains. However, the salient feature of this plane is the direction seawards versus inland, rather than elevation.

(3) *Au 'wali-a lua (e)si-bei* ***mlau*** *Bulie.*
1sg same.sex.sibling-PL two 3plH-from **DIR** Buria
'My two brothers came from Buria.'
(GT: Cl.48)

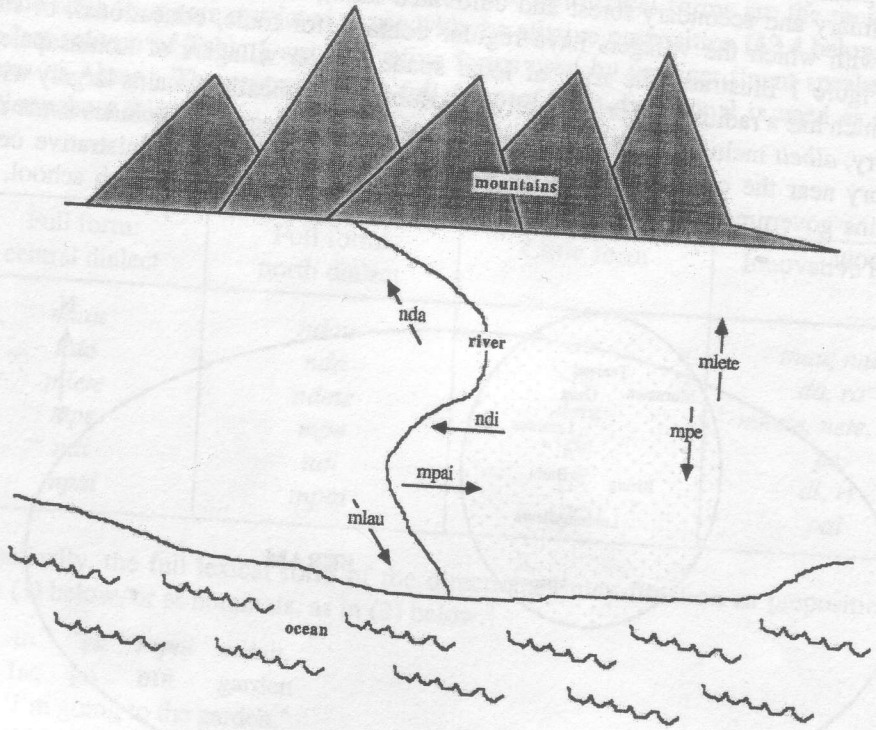


Figure 2: The Alune directional system in local space

Nda. The directional, *nda*, denotes the direction inland, upstream: that is, the opposing direction to *mlau*.

(4) *Ami leu lo-ra* ***nda*** *lusune.*
1plExc return.home to-DIR **DIR** orchard
'We returned over there, to the orchard.'
(MM: Cl.17)

Mlete. The directional, *mlete*, is used to denote upwards elevation.

(5) *Lisona (e)i-sa* ***mlete*** *luma.*
Lisona 3sgH-climb **DIR** house
'Lisona climbed up to the house.'
(NK: Cl.134)

Mpe. The directional, *mpe*, denotes downward elevation, the opposing direction to *mlete*.

(6) *Ami 'eu a-beli cengkeh* ***mpe*** *Tani'we.*
1plExc go CAUS-sell clove **DIR** Taniwel
'We went to sell clove down in Taniwel.'
(YM: Cl.11)

Ndi. The directional, *ndi*, denotes direction on the transverse plane, parallel to the shoreline and the mountain range: relative to the speaker's position, the mountains/upstream are on the right side, and the ocean/downstream are on the left.

(7) *Au leu le 'wetele dani pene,*
1sg return.home because child cry already

(e)le('i) au leu bei ***ndi*** *lo-mei.*
then 1sg return.home from **DIR** to-LOC
'I went home because the children were crying, then I came home here from over there.'
(SML: Cl.8)

Mpai. The directional, *mpai*, denotes direction on the transverse plane, parallel to the shoreline and the mountain range, in the opposite direction to *ndi*: that is, relative to the speaker's position, the mountains/upstream are on the left side, the ocean/downstream on the right.

(8) *Au 'eu* ***mpai*** *mlinu.*
1sg go **DIR** garden
'I'm going to the garden.'
(MA: LStest6)

2.2 Beyond local space

As previously mentioned, the six directionals outlined above are used within the zone of daily experience, which we will refer to as zone 1. Beyond the zone of daily experience, the world is divided conceptually into three more zones according to relative distance from the zone in which ego dwells. Three directionals are used to denote space towards or within these three zones. These directionals are homophonous with three of the directionals used to denote local space in zone 1. Each of the zones is described and illustrated below.

2.2.1 Zone 2: within Seram beyond zone 1

The directional, *ndi*, is used for spatial reference to places within Seram which are beyond zone 1: that is, beyond the daily experience of the speaker. Figure 3 illustrates zones 1 (local space) and 2 (Seram) for the villagers in the south coastal village of Lohiatala.

From Lohiatala, Taniwel is distantly located across the mountain range of central Seram and is thus beyond the realm of daily experience denoted by zone 1. Speakers in Lohiatala refer to Taniwel using the directional *ndi* to denote that it is conceptually within zone 2.

(9) *Au 'eu* ***ndi*** *Tani'wele abeli-e tema.*
1sg go **DIR** Taniwel sell-Tr banana
'I went to Taniwel to sell bananas.'
(SM: LTtest89)

This usage contrasts with example (6) above, in which the choice of the directional *mpe* by a Lohiasapalewa speaker in reference to Taniwel indicates that, for villagers in Lohiasapalewa, Taniwel is within the zone of local space.

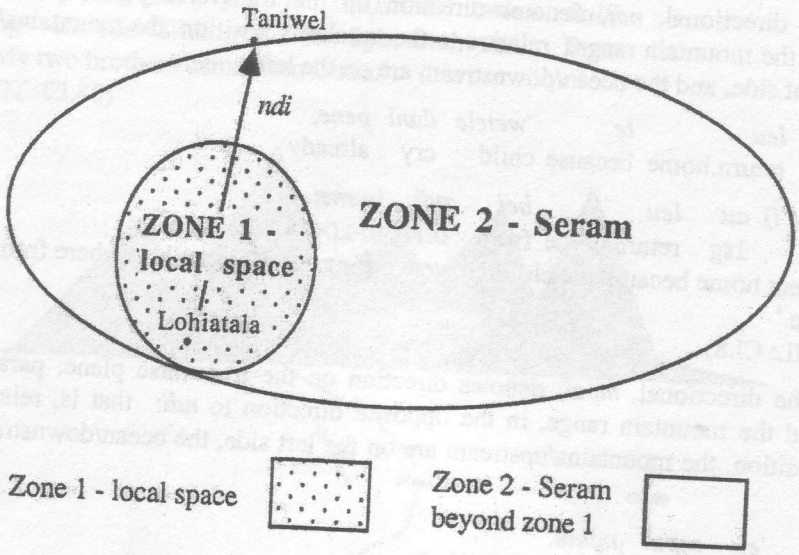


Figure 3: Zone 2: Seram beyond zone 1

2.2.2 Zone 3: Central Maluku beyond Seram

The directional, *mpai*, is used for spatial reference to locations which are beyond Seram yet within Maluku. This zone includes the regional capital of Ambon city, located on Ambon island to the south of Seram. Although distant to Alune villages, Ambon is known to the villagers either through personal experience or, more commonly, through the narratives and songs of the people who have travelled to Ambon (teachers, the village headman, and so forth). Some young people now travel to Ambon for upper-secondary education. Speakers from all Alune villages, regardless of their village location on Seram, refer to Ambon with the directional, *mpai*.

(10) *Ami leu bei* ***mpai*** *Ambon lo-mei.*
1plExc return.home from **DIR** Ambon to-LOC
'We came home here from Ambon.'
(ES: Cl.6)

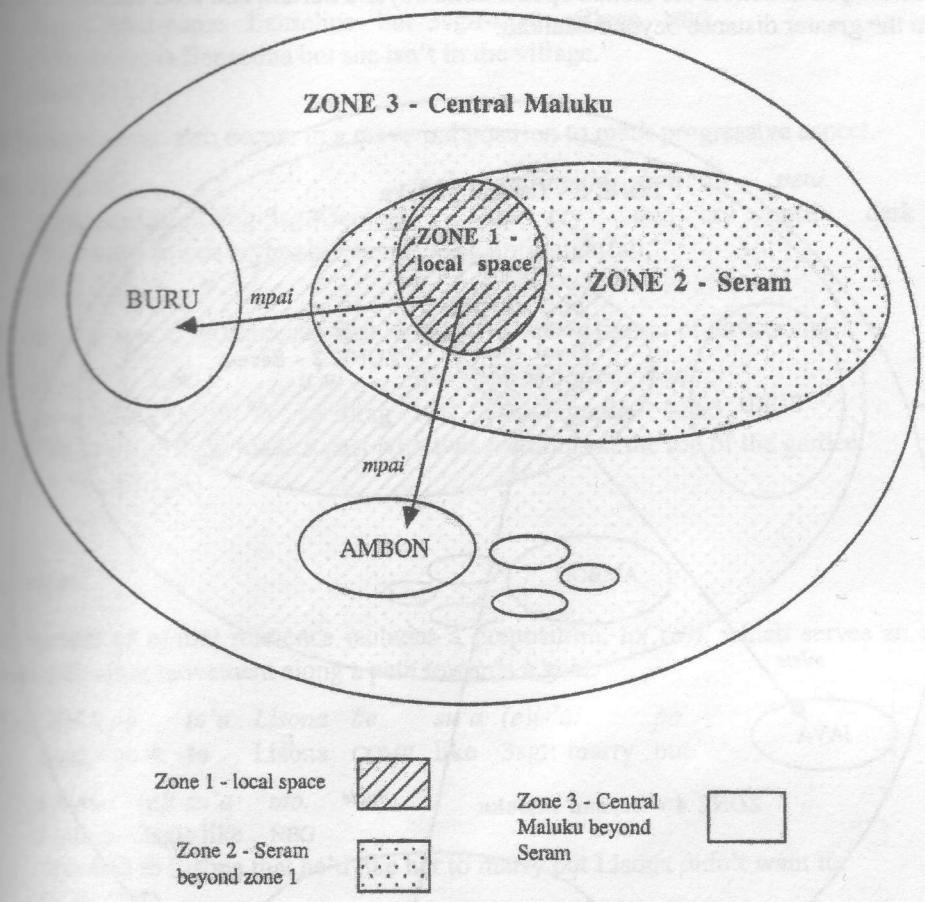


Figure 4: Zone 3: Central Maluku beyond Seram

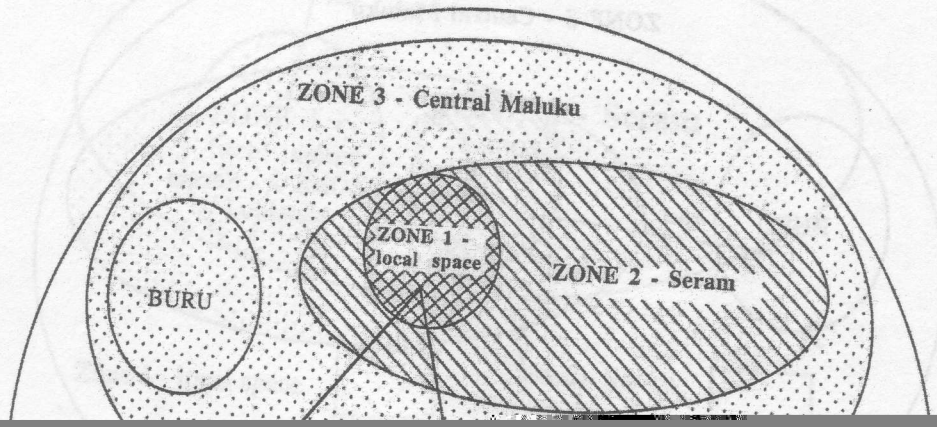
2.2.3 *Zone 4: the world beyond Maluku*

The directional, *mlete*, is used for spatial reference to locations beyond Maluku. For example, it is used by all Alune people, regardless of their village location on Seram, to refer to Java or to Australia.

(11) *(E)i-'eu mpai* ***lo-lete*** *Jakarta (e)i-leu musa.*
3sgH-go DIR **to-DIR** Jakarta 3sgH-return.home not.yet
'She went to Jakarta and hasn't come home yet.'
(ES: Cl.14)

In such a locally defined world, there are very few examples of reference to zone 4 in the database. Example (11) above is interesting because the speaker uses two consecutive directionals to denote Jakarta: *mpai lo-lete*. Two explanations are possible: she may be referring to movement of the actor first to Ambon (in zone 3), which would require *mpai*, and then onwards to Jakarta (in zone 4), which requires *mlete*. Alternatively, the speaker may

have chosen *mpai* to denote the distant spatial zone beyond Seram, and then corrected to *mlete* to denote the greater distance beyond Maluku.



then corrected to *mlete*

(12) *((E)n)i-nane* *Benselina* *po* *(e)i-**mei*** *hena* *mo.*
3sgHGenAI-name Benselina but 3sgH-**LOC** village NEG
'Her name is Benselina but she isn't in the village.'

down

(17) *(E)le('i) au bala-'u 'ila bei ai telai-je (e)le('i)*
then 1sg hand-1sgGenInal free from tree middle-DET then
au tetu ***lo-pe.***
1sg fall **to-DIR**
'Then my hand slipped from the tree and I fell downwards.'
(YM: Cl.27)

(18) *Apale e-betu bei au (e)le('i) e-sisa bei au* ***lo-pai.***
pig 3sgNH-get.up from 1sg then 3sgNH-move from 1sg **to-DIR**
'The pig got up from me then it moved over there away from me.'
(YM: Cl.37–38)

The allative, *lo-*, may be cliticised to the locative *mei* to focus on the path of movement from a given source towards the location of the speaker: *lo-mei* 'to here'.[5]

(19) *Ami leu bei mpai Ambon* ***lo-mei.***
1plExc return.home from DIR Ambon **to-LOC**
'We came home here from Ambon.'
(ES: Cl.6)

2.5 Ablative

The system of spatial reference includes a preposition, *bei*, which serves an ablative function indicating movement from a source.

(20) *(E)i-mei selu au 'weini mei sidi* ***bei*** *batu-re.*
3sgH-ASP see fire smoke LOC outside **from** stone-DET
'He saw smoke coming out from the stone.'
(ATK: Cl. 159)

The preposition, *bei*, may be affixed to an enclitic pronoun. It does not occur with the clitic forms of the directionals.

(21) *(E)i-leu* ***bei-(n)i*** *mei hena.*
3sgH-return.home **from**-3sgH LOC village
'He returned home from where she was (lit. from her) to the village.'
(NK: Cl.24)

(e)le('i)
-DET then

2.6 Deictic *ete*

A further feature of the system of spatial reference is the deictic marker, *ete*, indicating 'over there in that direction', which can occur with each of the directionals.

em of spatial reference
pace in which everyday
beyond the bounds of
nd zone 4 is the world
used to denote spatial
al reference in each of
nei, an allative, *lo'o*, an

Zone 4

describe the 8 constructions and their relative frequency. In §4 we will then look at functional motivations for the proliferation of constructions.

The principal features which differentiate the eight constructions are:

- whether the spatial referent is a directional or the locative;
- whether or not a noun phrase co-occurs with the spatial referent to contextualise the location, the source, or ultimate goal of the movement;
- whether the allative preposition *lo-* 'towards' co-occurs with a spatial referent—the locative or the clitic form of a directional;
- whether a spatial referent is used to denote movement or location.

3.1 Spatial reference denoted with directionals

Each of the four constructions using a directional to denote spatial reference is described in

(30) *apale* *'ane* *bei-ni* *'wali-ni* *tone* ***mpe***
pig eat from-3sgH same.sex.sibling-3sgHGenInal small **DIR**
'ue-re, *(e)le('i)* ***(e)i-mpe-re*** *(e)i-ombe...*
1sg.own-DET then **3sgH-DIR-DET** 3sgH-say
'The pig ate that owned by the younger brother down there, then he down there said...'

movement or location. The primary function of *lo-* is to focus on the path of movement rather than the ultimate goal of the movement. Therefore, as described in §2.4 above, according to prescriptive usage this construction should not co-occur with a noun phrase. However, analysis of the textual data found 25 examples of the co-occurrence of the allative together with a directional and a noun phrase, 22 of which denote movement towards a goal or movement from a source and 3 of which specify a location.

a) **Movement**. The 22 examples of constructions in which *lo-* is used with the cliticised form of a directional and with a noun phrase to denote movement represent 11 per cent of the total use of directionals.

(34) *(E)si-siba soli' **lo-ra** 'ota Liline.*
3plH-advance persist **to-DIR** city Riring
'They kept on advancing over to Riring.'
(MM: Cl.18)

b) **Location**. The 3 examples of constructions in which a directional is cliticised with *lo-* and used together with a noun phrase to denote location represent only 1 per cent of the total use of directionals. Note that the noun phrase may precede or follow the directional.

(35) *Latlakeari (e)si-asu-ru sali bei mlete Boluta, **lo-pe** Kputi lalei.*
Laturake 3plGenAI-dog-PL bark from DIR Boluta **to-DIR** Kputi inside
'The people from Laturake, their dogs were barking up at Boluta, over inland of Kputi.'
(YM: Cl.17–18)

(36) *Au bua 'ena ai tlai-je **lo-lau** (e)le('i) apale e-bua*
1sg leap in tree middle-DET **to-DIR** then pig 3sgNH-leap
*tutu-muli au **lo-lau**.*
collide-rear 1sg **to-DIR**
'I leapt up into the middle of the seawards tree then the pig leapt and pounded at me (who was) seawards.'
(YM: Cl.26)

3.1.4 Lo- *directional without NP*

The fourth construction using a directional is one in which the clitic form of one of the 6 directionals may be cliticised to the allative *lo-* and used either to denote movement towards a goal or away from a source, or used to denote location where the directional is the only overt

(37) *Au* ***lo-pai*** *'eu dana manane.*
1sg **to-DIR** go fetch food
'I go down there to fetch food.'
(YL: Cl.3)

b) **Location**. The 14 examples of constructions in which a directional cliticised with *lo-* is used to mark location, represent 7 per cent of the total use of directionals.

(38) *(E)le('i) au kulu lo apale* ***lo-lete.***
then 1sg crawl to pig **to-DIR**
'Then I crawled over to where the pig was up there.'
(YM: Cl.24)

3.1.5 Summary

The above sections have described 4 constructions in which spatial reference is marked with a directional. Two of these constructions contain a noun phrase which may precede or follow the directional. Two of the constructions contain the allative preposition *lo-* cliticised to the clitic form of a directional. Table 2 b)

which differentiate it functionally according to whether the construction is used to movement or location.

Locative with NP

ctional cliticised with *lo-*
f directionals.

(50)

[seven intervening clauses]

(55) WM: *Ho'o pi 'ena pina'e meije pine imi bei* ***mlau*** *mo-yo?*
therefore or when early.morning this before 2pl from **DIR** NEG-Q
'So probably it was early this morning when you all (came) from seawards, wasn't it?'

(56) MK: *Pina' beleti ami bei* ***mlau*** *mlinu.*
early.morning morning 1plExc from **DIR** garden
'It was early this morning when we (came) from the seawards garden.'
(MK: Cl.21–31)

The directional used in the question in example (55) above functions as a nominal following the ablative preposition. The source location of the movement is not specified, however the speaker does focus on the source direction of the movement through the context provided 8 clauses earlier by a directional together with a noun phrase. The location was again specified by the respondent in example (56).

The use of a definite article {*-re*, *-je*} suffixed to a directional indicates that the speaker considers the source of movement to be contextualised. The following excerpt from a

the context had been specified in the previous clause or was further specified by a noun phrase in the following clause.

(60) *(E)i-**mlete** mlinu, **mlete** bata.*
3sgH-**DIR** garden **DIR** weed
'She was up in the garden, up there weeding.'
(ES: Cl.65–66)

In example (60) above, the speaker first denoted the specific location with a noun phrase, which then enabled her to omit the noun phrase in the following clause and focus on the direction of the second participant in the narrative relative to the speaker. In example (61) below, the speaker omitted a noun phrase in the first clause and then corrected to provide the necessary context in the following clause.

with a noun phrase and 78 per cent of the 73 locative constructions co-occur with a noun phrase. This finding is summarised in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Summary of the use of NPs in constructions without an allative

	with NP	without NP	Total
DIR	95	25	120
LOC	57	16	73
TOTAL	152	41	193

The analysis has revealed that both syntactic and discourse-functional factors motivate the presence of a noun phrase. The primary function of allative constructions is to focus either on the path of movement or the purpose for the movement. A noun phrase is only added in order [illegible] where the source location or the goal location of the movement has not

4.2.1 Allative plus directional (Lo-DIR) marking location

In §2.4 above it was noted that the preposition, *lo-*, may be cliticised to the locative, *m* (*lo*-LOC), or to one of the directionals (*lo*-DIR). In each case, the primary function of the constructions is to denote a path of movement. However, analysis of the discourse dat indicates that 15 per cent of allative constructions mark location. Functionally, thes constructions are used primarily in situations in which a contrast is drawn between th location of the speaker and the location of another key participant in the narrative. The use o an allative construction (rather than the locative) to mark location of a participant other tha the speaker indicates the path of movement which the speaker would need to take to reach tha location. In example (38), repeated below, the narrator was focusing on the location of th pig, which was upward (*lo-lete*) from him.

(38) *(E)le('i) au kulu lo apale* ***lo-lete.***
then 1sg crawl to pig **to-DIR**
'Then I crawled over to where the pig was up there.'
(YM: Cl.24)

Similarly, in example (35), repeated below, dogs were barking at a location downward (*lo-pe*) and inland (*lalei*) from the narrator.

(35) *Latlakeari (e)si-asu-ru Sali bei mlete Boluta,* ***lo-pe*** *Kputi lalei.*
Laturake 3plHGenAI-dog-PL bark from DIR Boluta **to-DIR** Kputi inside
'The people from Laturake, their dogs were barking up at Boluta, over inland of Kputi.'
(YM: Cl.17–18)

4.2.2 Directionals marking location

As noted in Table 6 above, 42.2 per cent of all (non-allative) constructions signifying location do so with a directional. Analysis of these cases reveals that there are two functions for these constructions. The first function is the use of directionals to specify more accurately a location.

(64) *Au pala kwabi* ***mlau*** *ninu.*
1sg bake cassava **DIR** garden
'I baked cassava in the seaward garden.'
(ES2: Cl.4)

In example (64) above, the function of the directional, *mlau*, is to specify clearly the location of the speaker's garden. This is a similar spatial reference to an English sentence such as 'I bought some new plants for the garden on the west side of our house'.

The second function of a construction employing a directional to mark a location is its role in contrasting the location of participants in a narrative and thus, in some cases, disambiguating the participants. This function is best illustrated by example (30), repeated below. This example, drawn from *Tuni tepete* 'Folktale about water rose apples', tells of the adventures of two young boys who ran away from home. At one point in the narrative the older brother climbed a tree to pick some water rose apples and dropped them down to his younger brother who waited beneath the tree. A pig came along and ate the younger brother's

In example (30) the speaker contrasts the location of two brothers in the narrative and in the second clause disambiguates the younger brother as 'the downward brother'.

[illegible]	*'ane*	*bei-ni*	*'wali-ni*	*tone* **mpe**
[illegible]	eat	from-3sgH	same.sex.sibling-3sgHGenInal	small **DIR**
'ae-re,	*(e)le('i)*	*(e)i-**mpe-re***	*(e)i-ombe...*	
big.pig-DET	then	3sgH-**DIR-DET**	3sgH-say	

'The pig ate that owned by the younger brother down there, then he down there said...'
(ATK: Cl.45–46)

The frequency of marking location with directionals emphasises the important disambiguating or clarifying role of spatial reference.

4.2.3 Summary

In this section we have asserted that it is predictable that the function of the locative is to denote location and we have turned our attention to the more interesting issue concerning the signifying of location with an allative (*lo*-DIR) or a directional (DIR). The analysis indicates that an allative cliticised to a directional functions to mark location when a contrast is drawn between the location of the speaker and that of another key participant in the narrative. The allative then indicates the path of movement which the speaker would need to take to reach that location. Directionals fill two functions in signifying location: first, a directional specifies more clearly a key location in a narrative, and second, a directional serves to contrast or disambiguate the relative locations of two participants in a narrative.

4.3 Movement

The database of 350 spatial referents yielded 196 examples in which the spatial referent signified movement. Movement is marked syntactically in four ways: with a directional, with the allative plus a directional or the locative, or with the locative. Table 7 below summarises the relative frequency of use for the four constructions.

Table 7: Relative frequency of spatial reference constructions signifying movement

Construction	#	%
locative (LOC)	7	3.6
directional (DIR)	55	28.0
allative (*lo*-LOC)	62	31.6
allative (*lo*-DIR)	72	36.8
TOTAL	196	100.0

The marking of movement with the allative (*lo*-DIR) or with a directional (DIR) is considered uncontroversial and is not further analysed here. However, the total frequency of usage of the locative (LOC or *lo*-LOC) in denoting movement (35.2 per cent of all spatial

reference denoting movement) requires explanation. This section addresses the following question: What motivates the signifying of movement with the locative?

4.3.1 Allative plus locative (Lo-LOC) marking movement

The constructions which consist of the allative cliticised to the locative, *mei* (*lo*-LOC), function to denote movement towards the narrator's location—either his or her location at the time of narrating the story, or a specific location at a particular point in the action of the narrative. The clauses in examples (65)–(67) below are drawn from a conversation between two men who were discussing an incident in which one of them, YM, had been injured during a pig hunt. The conversation took place in YM's house in the village. However, clauses (65) and (66) show that the speaker's use of *lo-mei* 'to here' does not indicate movement towards his location at the time of narrating the story but rather movement towards a specific location at a particular point in the action of the narrative.

(65) *Ami leu lulu Kputi lalei bei mlau* ***lo-mei,***
1plExc return.home follow Kputi inside from DIR **to-LOC**
'We were returning following along inland of Kputi from seaward to here,'

(66) ***lo-mei*** *'ena lo-lete Bolu 'weli-(n)i,*
to-LOC towards to-DIR Boluta river-3sgHGenInal
'to here up to the river Boluta,'

(67) *ami lene lo-ri teba yo.*
1plExc hear to-DIR other.side DM
'when we heard (something) on the other side.'
(YM: Cl.14–16)

4.3.2 Locative marking movement

The most controversial body of data concerns the small number of constructions from the discourse database in which the locative, *mei*, is used without an allative to denote movement. In order to expand the database for analysis of the functions of this construction, test data is also included. Testing of Alune language proficiency was undertaken with 105 adult respondents in the three research sites. This was done to provide standardised data which would allow comparisons to be drawn between different locations of syntactic changes which are occurring as part of the process of language shift from Alune to Malay.[7] The adult test consisted of 100 test sentences which were designed to elicit a number of Alune morph-syntactic structures. Test sentences were constructed in Ambonese Malay and respondents were asked to translate the sentences into Alune. Of the sentences 23 contained a spatial reference,[8] yielding a total of 2520 sentences for analysis. In the test data the use of the locative to mark movement is more striking, with an average frequency of 17 per cent of spatial referents used to mark movement. We draw on both test data and discourse data in proposing two explanations for this usage.

[7] A more complete discussion of the test methodology and results is provided in Florey (1997).

[8] The test sentences with a spatial reference are provided in Appendix 1.

Using evidence from the discourse data, we first hypothesise that the function of *mei* is to denote movement in contexts in which the path of movement between two locations is unknown. A folktale in the database (Lisona) involves a young girl who was taken to the mountains by her uncle and held captive in a tree house. Her mother was at home in the village, and her brother travelled several times between the mountains and the village attempting to free her. The brother also travelled to the city to purchase items needed to free her, and the entire family later moved to the city. In this folktale all locations are fictional, unnamed, and unspecified, and the path of movement between any two locations is therefore also unknown. The narrator uses *mei* to mark movement where the source location and the goal location are unknown.

(68) *E-i-leu* *bei-(n)i* ***mei*** *hena.*
3sgH-return.home from-3sgH **LOC** village
'He left her and went home to the village.'
(NK: Cl.24)

(69) *E-i-keu* ***mei*** *kota (e)le('i) (e)i-sabe obit nurui.*
3sgH-go **LOC** city then 3sgH-buy cloth length
'He went to the city and he bought a length of cloth.'
(NK: Cl.82)

(70) *Lua-si* *leu,* *leu* ***mei*** *hena.*
two-3plH return.home return.home **LOC** village
'The two of them returned home, returned home to the village.'
(NK: Cl.130–131)

In order to investigate this hypothesis further, we analysed the use of locatives to mark movement towards a specified goal in the test sentences which respondents were asked to translate. Seven of the test sentences named a specific village as the goal, 5 of the test sentences named a geographical landmark in local space (river, mountains, forest, treetop), and 5 of the test sentences designated the garden as the goal. As indicated in Table 8 below, the results for each village show a clear contrast in usage of spatial referent between the garden and all other locations as the ultimate destination.

Table 8: Spatial referent indicating movement analysed by spatial type of ultimate destination

		DIR	LOC
		%	%
a) Lohiasapalewa			
	garden	26	63
	all other locations	74	37
b) Murnaten			
	garden	20	64
	all other locations	80	36
c) Lohiatala			
	garden	26	100
	all other locations	74	0

There is only one directional which is appropriate for each location in the test sentences other than those specifying the garden as the ultimate location. The river is downward, *mpe*,

while the mountains, forest, and treetop are upward, *mlete*. There is one appropri directional for Ambon and each of the villages named in the test questions. In contr gardens are located in all directions from the village settlement site, thus rendering all directionals possible responses to the five test items which named the garden as the ultim destination. The respondents were not guided regarding the location of the garden in the sentence. Each respondent could choose to interpret the question as meaning the direction his or her own garden in the village territory, or the direction of a fictional or an unspecif garden. The choice of *mei* by the majority of test respondents in Lohiasapalewa Murnaten, and categorically by respondents in Lohiatala may lend support to the hypothe that *mei* functions to mark movement to a site where the location of that site is not known the speaker. However, a second explanation is also feasible.

Written records and the history transmitted through oral traditions, indicate that, in the e prior to more constant contact with colonial and postcolonial authorities, the Alune peop dwelled in extended family groups in small hamlets in the mountainous rainforest interior west Seram. Villagers combined hunting and the harvesting of noncultivated forest produc with the extraction of sago starch and the cultivation of rice, roots, tubers, and vegetable crop in swidden fields. The village of Lohiasapalewa occupies the most extensive tract of lan within the Alune region. The hamlets, each consisting of perhaps two or three dwelling were therefore dispersed over a distance of several kilometres from each other. Contact wit members of other hamlets was irregular, occurring while hunting or moving to distant sag stands in the forest, or on occasions of ritual importance such as the celebration of a marriag or the payment of bridewealth. Knowledge of the daily lives of people in other hamlets was therefore, limited. For example, members of one hamlet may not have known in which part o the forest another family was making a new garden, or in which direction a group of men had gone hunting boar. In this context, an elaborate directional system was an important means o conveying such information.

In the contemporary era, each Alune village is established in a nucleated settlement site within its territory. Land close to the village residential area is becoming scarce and gardens may be located up to 5 or 6 kilometres through the rainforest from the village. Most villagers, particularly those with children attending primary school, return to their home each evening. Some villagers may remain in the gardens for several days at a time, dwelling in simple shelters. All villagers, however, return to the village by Saturday afternoon in order to participate in religious services on Saturday evening and throughout Sunday. In this context, communication between villagers is much more frequent. In the evenings and in the relaxed atmosphere which characterises Sundays in the village, people visit their neighbours and chat about daily activities and village events. Everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, knows where people are working—in which part of the forest men are processing sago, where the gardens are located, which spring is flowing and being used as a laundry site, who is harvesting cacao or clove in which orchard, and so forth. Greater ease and frequency of communication and the resulting increase in shared knowledge in the community provides an equally plausible explanation for the use of locatives to mark movement.

Finally, we propose that superstrate influence from Ambonese Malay on Alune may explain the usage of *mei* to mark movement in Alune. In contrast with both Standard Malay and with Alune, Ambonese Malay does not have a prepositional contrast between locative and allative. The locative, *di*, is used in both functions. This convention appears to parallel some of the uses of *mei* in Alune.

di *pasar.*
ALL market
'I'm going to the market.'

tinggal *di* *kabong* *tadi* *malang.*
stay LOC garden previous night
'We stayed in the garden last night.'

Summary

In this section we have asserted that it is predictable that the function of a directional is to denote movement and we have turned our attention to the more interesting issue concerning the signifying of movement with the locative (*lo*-LOC or LOC). The analysis indicates that an allative directed to a locative functions to denote movement towards the narrator's location—either his or her location at the time of narrating the story, or the narrator's specific location at a particular point in the action of the narrative.

The issue of the signifying of movement with the locative without an allative has been addressed using both discourse data and the results of language testing. We proposed two functional explanations for this usage. First, we asserted that the function of these constructions is to denote movement in contexts in which the path of movement between two locations is unknown. Data from test sentences with spatial references appears to support this assertion, particularly concerning the location of gardens, which varies widely throughout village territory. Second, we suggested that the use of locative to mark movement towards certain locations may have arisen through social change in the village. Villagers now dwell in one nucleated settlement site, rather than in small extended family hamlets throughout the village territory. The resulting greater ease and frequency of communication has led to an increase in shared knowledge in the community. Thus, it is less necessary for villagers to use a directional to specify clearly the direction of movement towards sites which they regularly visit, such as gardens, as the locations of such sites are known to all villagers. Finally, we proposed that the use of the locative to mark movement may reflect superstrate influence from Ambonese Malay.

5 Conclusion

This paper has examined spatial reference among the Alune of central Seram, eastern Indonesia. Certain key issues have emerged from the analysis. Conceptually, the Alune system of spatial reference divides the world into 4 spatial zones which increase in distance from the daily experience of the speaker. Six directionals are used to denote spatial reference in zone 1, while only 1 directional is used to denote spatial reference in each of zones 2–4. The system of spatial reference also includes a locative, allative, ablative, and a deictic.

Spatial reference in Alune discourse is denoted through the use of 8 syntactic constructions. Discourse-functional factors were sought to explain the range of syntactic constructions. Four features differentiate the 8 constructions: whether the spatial referent is a directional or the locative; whether or not a noun phrase co-occurs with the spatial referent; whether the allative preposition co-occurs with a spatial referent; whether a spatial referent is used to denote movement or location.

Noun phrases co-occur with a spatial referent to provide context which is not clear in the narrative by contextualising or clarifying a specific location. A noun phrase is also used to denote a location in situations in which the speaker intends to focus on the location rather than path of movement from or to the location.

Our analysis of the function of an allative (*lo*-DIR) or a directional (DIR) to mark location showed that the former is used to mark location when a contrast is drawn between the location of the speaker and that of another key participant in the narrative. The latter construction fills two functions in signifying location: first, a directional specifies more clearly a key location in a narrative, and second, a directional serves to contrast or disambiguate the relative locations of two participants in a narrative.

Finally, we analysed the function of the locative (*lo*-LOC or LOC) in signifying movement rather than location. The analysis indicates that an allative cliticised to a locative functions to denote movement towards the narrator's location—either his or her location at the time of narrating the story, or the narrator's specific location at a particular point in the action of the narrative. We proposed two functional explanations for the use of the locative without an allative to denote movement. First, we asserted that the function of these constructions is to denote movement in contexts in which the path of movement between two locations is unknown. Second, we suggested that the use of locative to mark movement towards certain locations may have arisen through greater ease; and frequency of

	Pagi-pagi katong turung dari hutang	'Early in the morning we came down from the forest.'
	Beta kasi naik dia di ujung pohong	'I raised him to the top of the tree.'
	Beta pigi di gunung dan lihat babi	'I went to the mountains and saw a pig.'
	Beta su lama tinggal di sini	'I've lived here a long time.'
	Dong seng ada di ruma	'They're not at the house.'
	Dia pulang dari Buria	'S/he came home from Buria.'
	Dia pulang dari kampung lama	'S/he came home from the old village.'
	Dia pulang dari Taniwel	'S/he came home from Taniwel.'
	Beta biking bakal untuk bawa di kabong	'I made a picnic to take to the garden.'
	Ada ikang banyak di sana	'There's a lot of fish there.'
	Dong balong pi di kabong	'They haven't gone to the garden yet.'
	Dong pi di Manusa	'They went to Manusa.'
	Dong pi di Kairatu	'They went to Kairatu.'
	Dong pi di kali Pana	'They went to the river Pana.'
	Beta pi di Taniwel untuk jual pisang	'I went to Taniwel to sell bananas.'
	Beta pi di Waihatu untuk jual pisang	'I went to Waihatu to sell bananas.'
	Beta pi di pasar untuk jual pisang	'I went to the market to sell bananas.'
	Kasi turung barang di sini	'Put the things down here.'
	Dong pi di Riring	'They went to Riring.'
	Dong pi di Kamal	'They went to Kamal.'
	Dong pi di kampung lama	'They went to the old village.'
	Beta pi di kabong untuk tanam kasbi	'I went to the garden to plant cassava.'
	Dong su pinda di sana	'They've already moved there.'

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