

NUAULU NARRATIVE DISCOURSE AS SEEN IN FOLK TALES

0. Introduction

This paper presents a preliminary analysis of Nuaulu narrative discourse as exemplified in narrative folk tales. Nuaulu is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Seram in Maluku, Indonesia.

The analysis used is based on that proposed by Longacre and Levinsohn (1978) and Longacre (1983). Four Nuaulu folk tales¹ were charted and analyzed for various discourse level features. The features discussed in this paper include plot and profile, relative salience, and participant reference. Included in the discussion about profile is an analysis of how peak is marked, the use of particles at peak, and some comments on paragraph structure. Relative salience looks at the various types of predicates found in Nuaulu folk tales and the role they play in marking main line versus various types of supportive material. Participant reference includes an examination of the various means of marking and tracking participants that are employed.

1. Structure of Nuaulu Folk Tales

A discourse has both a surface and a deep structure. Deep structure includes plot which is also called the notional structure of a discourse. Surface structure is the profile of a discourse and is marked grammatically on the surface.

1.1. Notional Structure

The notional structure of a Nuaulu discourse consists of the following features (Longacre 1983:21): 1) Exposition, setting out the situation upon which the story is built; 2) Inciting Moment, where something unexpected happens; 3) Developing Conflict, builds upon the unexpected event and develops it further, usually involving conflict between the participants; 4)

¹ These folk tales were dictated by Komisi Soumori, the village head of the village of Rouhua. I then transcribed them and edited them with the help of Son Matoke, also from Rouhua. I am most grateful to them for their help in supplying not only this help with the Nuaulu language but also for their help on many other occasions.

Climax, the conflict comes to a head or the problem builds close to a resolution; and 5) Denouement, something happens to resolve the conflict or problem. The final two notional structure features were not found in "The Turtle and the Monkey" but were found in the other three folk tales. These features are: 6) Final Suspense, which involves the conclusion of working out a conflict or problem so that the "good guy" wins; and 7) Conclusion, which brings the story to a happy end for the central character.

Table 1. "The Two Poor Children"

| Plot | Profile | Sentence | Summary |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| | Aperture | 1-2a | "Rosie asked for a folk tale." |
| | Title | 2b | "Folk tale of the poor children." |
| Exposition | Stage | 3-12 | The kids parent's die. |
| Inciting Moment | Ep ₁ Pre-peak | 13-27 | Kids are mistreated by the villagers when they cannot find the rattan. |
| Developing Conflict | Ep ₂₋₄ Pre-peak | 28-44 | The kids eat jambu, meet the old woman, and lie to her to return so can return to their village. |
| Climax | Ep ₅ Peak | 45-59 | The kids talk to their parents about the rattan. |
| Denouement | Ep ₆ Peak' | 60-67 | The kids and villagers find the rattan. |
| Final Suspense | Ep ₇₋₈ Post-peak | 68-84 | The kids return to the old woman then the boy gets married. |
| Conclusion | Closure | 85-87a | The old lady dies and kids return to the village. |
| | Finis | 87b-88 | "Finished only this." |

Table 2. "The Turtle and the Monkey"

| Plot | Profile | Sentence | Summary |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| | Title | 1 | "Folk tale of the turtle and the monkey." |
| Exposition | Stage | 2-10 | Turtle and monkey plant bananas. |
| Inciting Moment | Ep ₁ Pre-peak | 11-22 | Monkey eats turtle's bananas. |
| Developing Conflict | Ep ₂₋₆ Pre-peak | 23-86 | Turtle gets revenge with snake, hornets, and chili. Monkey dies. |

| | | | |
|------------|--------------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| Climax | Ep7 Peak | 87-97 | Confrontation with monkey's brother. |
| Denouement | Ep8 Peak' | 98-112 | Monkey's brother dies. |
| | Finis | 113 | "Finished only this." |

1.2. Surface Structure

The surface structure profile includes several features that are not considered a part of the plot and thus, do not appear in the plot column in tables 1-4. These are the aperture, title, and finis. The aperture only appears in "The Two Poor Children" and "Saribanun" and one other folk tales in a collection of twelve folk tales. This is probably due to the fact that the folk tales with the aperture were the first two folk tales I recorded. Previous texts I recorded, which were not folk tales, always began with the same standard aperture seen in tables 1 and 3. The other nine folk tales I have gathered have just the standard title which seems to be more typical of folk tales. The finis is generally the same on all texts.

The most common means of marking an episode is by a change in location. In Nuauulu folk tales, the participants do a lot of moving about from one place to another. A change in location is usually marked by ending an episode by saying that a particular character went, ran, or came either inland, seaward, or some other direction. The next episode begins with a repetition of this motion verb and directional. This is also a cohesive device indicating a sequence of events.

Table 3. "Saribanun"

| Plot | Profile | Sentence | Summary |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| | Aperture | 1a | "Rosie asked for a folk tale." |
| | Title | 1b | "Folk tale of King Pensawan and Saribanun." |
| Exposition | Stage | 2-8 | Saribanun is sent on a journey and given instructions. |
| Inciting Moment | Ep1 Pre-peak | 9-17 | Saribanun picks up a coconut shell that turns into an evil spirit named Itatue. |

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|----------|--|
| Developing Conflict | Ep ₂₋₇ Pre-peak | 18-92 | Saribanun greets fishermen and people picking up shellfish. They arrive back in the village where Itatue is greeted and makes the sick people sicker. Saribanun is taken inland and creates a house, etc. and is found by the villagers. |
| Climax | Ep ₈ Peak | 93-99 | King Pensawan argues with first wife about who's really his wife, her or Itatue. |
| Denouement | Ep ₉ Peak' | 100-111 | King Pensawan kills Itatue. |
| Final Suspense | Ep ₁₀ Post-peak | 112-115 | Saribanun is brought down to the village where he heals the sick. |
| Conclusion | Closure | 116-118a | The village has a party and Saribanun is made king. |
| | Finis | 118b | "Finished only this." |

Table 4. "The Poor Child Named Waene Tununau"

| Plot | Profile | Sentence | Summary |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| | Title | 1-3 | "Folk tale about the poor child named Waene Tununau." |
| Exposition | Stage | 4-13 | The poor child goes to the sea to try to buy some food. |
| Inciting Moment | Ep ₁₋₃ Pre-peak | 14-43 | The child fails in an attempt to buy sago but then finds some women who sell him some rice. They follow him home. He refuses to go with them and live by the sea. |
| Developing Conflict | Ep ₄ Pre-peak | 44-61 | The people from their village go and start dragging him back. On the way he turns into a crocodile and escapes. |
| Climax | Ep ₅ Peak | 62-68 | Battle between the crocodiles and the villagers. |
| Denouement | Ep ₆ Peak' | 69-72 | Crocodiles attack the villagers at night and kill most of them. |
| Final Suspense | Ep ₇ Post-peak | 73-77 | Villagers surrender. |
| Conclusion | Closure | 78-80a | Everyone shakes hands and has a party. |
| | Finis | 80b | "Finished." |

- (1) Ep₁: **Peku su ria re-ruma-i.** Ep₂: **Re-ruma-i**
 turtle toward inland 3sn-run-3s 3sn-run-3s
ria re-uhuni-ki poe sahaunue.
 inland 3sn-hide-3s below coconut shell

'The turtle ran inland. It ran inland and hid under a coconut shell.'

If the focus is on the passage of time rather than a change in location when a new episode begins, it is marked temporally. This may be done by means of an adverbial phrase, ie. seven days later or that night. It may also be done by reduplicating the root of a verb such as **rue** 'live' without marking it for person to indicate a continuous aspect.

- (2) **Oyo rue rue ro momo, ia hanaie rei i-noo ia pina**
 then live live up grandma he male this 3s-see she female
hehuke isa nau nuae.
 single a seaward sea

'Then they lived for a while with their grandmother and the boy saw a single girl by the sea.'

A new episode may also be marked by **rei-so** 'this-therefore'. This conjunction does not always mark a new episode. It can also be used sentence initially or medially to mark a result paragraph or reason-result sentence.

A change in characters on stage may also mark a change in episode. In the story "The Two Poor Children" the change from peak to peak' is marked by the children all of a sudden talking to the villagers instead of their parents. The stage of the story of "The Turtle and the Monkey" ends with the rhetorical question "How can the turtle climb up the banana tree and cut down the bananas?" Then the first episode begins with him meeting the monkey.

1.2.1. Peak

The surface structure feature peak is marked in all four folk tales. In all but the story "The Poor Child Named Waene Tununau", the most prominent peak feature is a high percentage of reported speech as opposed to narrative. In the peak episode, reported speech is often not introduced by a quotation formula whereas at other places in a story it usually is. This reported

speech also involves rhetorical underlining. As a conflict or problem is discussed, participants often repeat their argument in order to make a point. In the story "The Two Poor Children", the children are asking their dead parents where they hid the village's rattan in the peak episode. They ask twice before their parents answer and then don't hear the answer. They then ask again and this time do hear the reply. This means that the kids ask their question three times and the parents reply twice.

An interesting feature of Nuaulu folk tales is that dialogue is sometimes sung. In the story of "The Two Poor Children", the kids dialogue with their parents during the peak episode is sung. However, in "Saribanun," it is Saribanun's greetings to the fishermen he passes that is sung. This dialogue doesn't even seem to be important for the story line serving only to fill in time while he is on his journey. Saribanun also sings to the chickens he creates, another seemingly unimportant dialogue. The other two folk tales do not contain any singing.

Peak is further marked by an increase in the use of the prominence markers **o** and **mo**. For example, in the folk tale "The Two Poor Children", the particle **mo** occurs four times in the peak episode but at most, only once in any other episode. The particle **o** occurs nine times in the peak episode and four times in peak'. Seven of the nine occurrences of **o** in the peak episode are in the vocative where the children call their parents, five of them being in conjunction with the particle **e**. More research is needed to determine whether these are to give prominence here or if they are just a part of the vocative formula. In other episodes of "The Two Poor Children," **o** occurs only twice in episode eight, and at most, only once in any other episode. It is possible that the use of **o** and **mo** does not always give prominence to the clause or phrase with which it appears, i.e. when used in the vocative. The particle **o** is usually in the clause initial position, thus giving prominence to the whole clause. It may also follow a directional possibly as a transition when the directional is not followed by a noun phrase. The particle **mo** can occur almost anywhere in the clause and seems to give prominence to the phrase it follows. Further research is needed in this area but is beyond the scope of this paper.

Zero anaphora is more common at peak in some folk tales while in others, the subject may be more overtly marked than usual with either a noun phrase or a free pronoun rather than a clitic alone or zero anaphora. In example 3 taken from the peak of "Saribanun" several peak features can be seen, one being a subject that is more marked than usual. A free pronoun is generally not used with a possessive. The use of the particles **o** and **mo** is also seen as well as the absence of a quotation formula in the return utterance and subsequent initiating utterance. Rhetorical underlining can also be seen in the first utterance as the argument is repeated.

(3) IU: **Ata**, "**O**, **ano** **saha-m** **au** **tewa**, **saha-m** **au** **tewa**."
 say FOC you spouse-2s I no spouse-2s I no

RU: "**Tewa**, **au** **saha-ku** **ano**."
 no I spouse-1s you

IU: "**Ano** **mo** **saha-m** **Itatue**."
 you FOC spouse-2s Itatue

'She said, "As for you, your wife isn't me, your wife isn't me." "That's not true, as for me, my wife is you." "As for you, your wife is Itatue."

The peak in "The Poor Boy Named Waene Tununau" is marked by a crowded stage rather than a high proportion of reported speech. The crowded stage is the only way peak is marked in this folk tale. The particle **mo** occurs only once in this peak episode and the particle **o** does not occur at all. In this peak episode, not only is the whole village on stage, but the boy, who at this point has turned into a crocodile is accompanied by about 999 other crocodiles. There is a minimum of dialogue in this peak. Dialogue accounts for only 28% of the words in the episode. The other three folk tales have an average of 69% of their words as reported speech in their peak episodes. None of these other three folk tales have a crowded stage at peak as they involve a discussion or argument between only two participants or two groups of participants as in the story of "The Two Poor Children" who along with their parents, generally act together as one participant. All involve varying degrees of conflict between participants, the folk tale about Waene Tununau involving physical rather than verbal conflict.

1.2.2. Paragraph Structure

Time allowed for only a brief analysis of paragraph structure. The comments here are based only on the folk tale of "The Two Poor Children." A constituent display of this story can be found in Appendix B. Longacre (1968:53) has observed "that there is a finite number of paragraph types in any language with recursive embedding of paragraph within paragraph (of the same or different type)." It is on the paragraph types found in "The Two Poor Children" that I shall base this description of Nuaulu paragraph types.

Burusphat (1986) has noted that Thai paragraphs can be classified into five different major classifications of paragraph types which may be binary or n-ary. All five of these major types occur in "The Two Poor Children" though some of the specific paragraph types she mentions did not occur in this one folk tale. The paragraph types found in "The Two Poor Children" according to these major classifications are listed below:

1) Conjoining Structures:

binary - Antithetical, Repetition, Contrast, Coordinate

2) Temporal Relation Structures:

n-ary - Sequence

3) Logical Relation Structures:

binary - Reason, Result

4) Elaborative Devices:

binary - Amplification, Identification

5) Reportative Devices:

binary - Comment, Quote

n-ary - Simple Dialogue, Compound Dialogue

An antithetical paragraph consists of an obligatory thesis and antithesis. Only one example of this paragraph type was found. The antithesis was marked by the conjunction **ne** `but' occurring sentence initially.

A repetition paragraph consists of an obligatory original utterance and repeated utterance. In the one example of this paragraph type, the repeated utterance contained the verb of the original utterance with its direct object as an enclitic rather than a noun phrase as in the original utterance.

A contrast paragraph has an obligatory thesis and contrast sentence, the thesis contrasting with the contrast sentence that follows it. This is similar to a coordinate paragraph which consists of two obligatory theses. No coordinate paragraphs of more than two constituents were observed in this story though it is quite likely that further investigation will prove that the coordinate paragraph is n-ary. This is the case with a coordinate phrases and sentences.

A sequence paragraph consists of two or more sequential theses. Each successive constituent is usually marked with **oyo** 'then' or by repetition of the verb of the first thesis, often in an uninflected form.

Reason and result paragraphs are both binary and both encode logical relations. The reason paragraph consists of an obligatory thesis and reason while a result paragraph consists of an obligatory thesis and result. The reason and result sentences were not marked in any of these paragraphs though I know further research would show that the reason constituent can be marked by **tau** 'because' and a result constituent can be marked by **so** 'therefore.'

An amplification paragraph consists of an obligatory thesis and amplification. The amplification repeats the predicate of the thesis and adds some additional information.

An identification paragraph consists of an obligatory thesis and identification. There is only one identification paragraph in "The Two Poor Children." It occurs in sentences 1 and 2 and serves to introduce the central participants.

A comment paragraph consists of an obligatory thesis and comment. In the one example of this type of paragraph in the stage of "The Two Poor Children" the comment refers to the children who are the participants of the thesis.

A quote paragraph consists of an obligatory quote formula of which there are a number of variations and an obligatory quote. It is used to link the main line and reported speech.

Dialogue differs from a quote paragraph in that in a quote paragraph, there is only one speaker. In dialogue there is more than one speaker. Dialogue can be simple or compound. In simple dialogue there is only an obligatory initiating and resolving utterance. A compound dialogue consists of an optional introduction and an obligatory lead in and two or more exchanges. These exchanges consist of quote or simple dialogue paragraphs. One of their functions is to highlight the peak episode.

No examples are given of each paragraph type in the brief descriptions given above as examples can be found in the constituent display in Appendix B.

2. Relative Importance of Information

In most languages tense and aspect are used to distinguish between the main line of a story versus supportive material. Nuaulu does not mark tense by means of verbal inflection and the use of aspect is minimal. Another feature of Nuaulu is the relatively prolific number of non-verbal predicates. It is these non-verbal predicates that mark material that is off the main line while verbal predicates are generally main line material.

There are four types of verb in Nuaulu. Transitive and intransitive verbs can take a pronominal proclitic that marks the person and number of the subject of the verb. Transitive verbs can also take a pronominal enclitic marking the person and number of the direct object when the direct object is not stated by means of a noun phrase. Stative verbs are those verbs whose subject is the experiencer (animate subject) or patient (inanimate subject) of the action of the verb. These verbs take an obligatory enclitic which marks person and number in addition to the pronominal subject proclitic. Intradirective verbs (Pawley 1973) are those verbs whose subject is both actor and experiencer. They include motion verbs and verbs of posture. These verbs also take both a proclitic and an enclitic but the enclitic may be omitted when the verb has a stated adjunct indicating the goal.

Transitive verbs mark the most important storyline material followed by intradirective verbs. Intransitive and stative verbs mark secondary story line information. All of these verbs

can be demoted to off the main line status by the cohesive devices of omitting the direct object of a transitive verb or the pronominal enclitic of a stative or intradirective verb. This is often done when a verb is repeated indicating continuous action.

- (4) **Oyo su poe i-sai. Ua-so sai sai rotu**
 then toward below 3s-paddle two-3p paddle paddle until
o-supu sio m-apapari-a.
 3p-find they REL-fish-PL

'Then she paddled below. The two of them paddled and paddled until they met some people who were fishing.'

Verbal as well as non-verbal predicates can also be promoted by means of the particles **o** and **mo** which were mentioned in section 1.2.1. as also marking peak where they occur more than normal in the peak episode.

Setting is off the event line and is marked by the use of existentials, possessives, descriptive nouns, and directionals in the predicate position. The stage of the story of "The Two Poor Children" consists almost entirely of these non-verbal predicates though the stages of the other three folk tales contain primarily or exclusively verbal predicates. They also occur throughout a story giving information about setting that is off the main line.

Existentials give information about the location of participants or props by use of the non-verbal existential marker. Existentials are non-verbal as they are not marked for person or number.

- (5) **Itatue wani-n na kaka-u a-so-n nau**
 Itatue younger-sibling-3s and older-sibling-PL EXIS-PL-PROX seaward
nuae.
 sea

'Itatue's brothers and sisters were down by the sea.'

Possessives can be either the possessive marker alone in the case of alienably possessed nouns or the noun with its possessive suffix in the case of inalienably possessed nouns.

- (6) **Ana-i hanaie isa.**
child-3s male a

'He had one boy.'

- (7) **Ne musum nima.**
his year five

'He was five years old.'

Descriptive nouns in the predicate position attribute some attribute to the noun in the subject position.

- (8) **Roe uae iake.**
up front good

'Everything is fine up ahead.'

- (9) **Ina-i na ama-i, o-rei-mo, sio aia-u.**
mother-3s and father-3s ?-this-FOC they king-PL

'His mother and father were kings.'

Directionals can be used as a predicate without a verb of motion which may or may not be implied.

- (10) **Oyo on nau ria oyo pusi-so sota hana m-aise-ne.**
then from seaward inland then all-3p shake hand NOM-play-NOM

'Then they went inland from the sea and all shook hands and had a party.'

Irrealis is even further removed from the event line. There are several irrealis markers which are considered slightly more salient than negation. Even further removed are evaluative comments made by the narrator. These can be either rhetorical questions or author intrusion. Rhetorical questions seem quite common as they occur in three of the four folk tales, in two of them in the stage and in "The Two Poor Children in the first episode. Furthest removed from the main line are the cohesive devices of repetitive back reference, temporal adverbial clauses, and directional clauses. Repetitive back reference is used to indicate the performance of a sequence of events and is distinct from the repetition of an uninflected verb root indicating a repetitive aspect. The use of repetitive back reference and directional clauses as a cohesive device can be

seen in example 11 taken from "The Poor Boy." Cohesive directional clauses may use an uninflected verb such as **hoka** 'come' in example 11 or they may use a preposition such as **on** 'from'. In the case of repetitive back reference, the verb is optionally inflected for person and number. Example 12 shows the use of a temporal adverbial clause. These clauses optionally include a verb. Example 12 also has a cohesive directional clause.

- (11) **Oyo i-eu poe i-sohu-i. Hoka poe i-sohu-i oyo**
 then 3s-go below 3s-bathe-3s come below 3s-bathe-3s then
i-neni-ki tau puhaa. I-neni-ki tau puhaa
 3s-become-3s with crocodile 3s-become-3s with crocodile
su nau. I-suu pusu waene nau.
 toward seaward 3s-submerge follow river seaward

'Then he went below and bathed. After he got below he bathed then he turned into a crocodile. After he turned into a crocodile he went seaward. He submerged and followed the river seaward.'

- (12) **Oyo hanu omnanoe oyo ruka on poe re-eu.**
 then get-up morning then monkey from below 3sn-go

'Then the next day the monkey went.'

Table 5. Saliency Scheme

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Band 1 Primary Storyline | Transitive Verbs Intradirective Verbs |
| Band 2 Secondary Storyline | Intransitive Verbs Stative Verbs |
| Band 3 Setting | Existentials Possessives Descriptive Nouns Directionals |
| Band 4 Irrealis | Irrealis Markers Negatives |
| Band 5 Evaluation | Rhetorical Questions Author Intrusion |
| Band 6 Cohesion | Repetitive Back Reference Temporal Adverbial Clauses Directional Clauses Some Uninflected Verbs |

3. Participant Reference

Nuauulu folk tales are told in the third person with first and second person occurring only in reported speech. Participants can be referred to by the use of noun phrases (including proper names and kinship terms), free pronouns, pronominal clitics, possessive markers, or zero anaphora.

Longacre (1989:142-143) proposes the following scheme for ranking participants.

- Â. major participants (the slate of participants for the whole story):
1. central (protagonist)

- 2. other(s)
 - a. antagonist
 - b. helpers/bystanders
- β. minor participants (participants whose role is restricted only to particular episodes in the story)
 - ã. props
 - 1. human
 - 2. animate
 - 3. inanimate
 - 4. natural forces

Each folk tale begins with a statement of the title. This title states the name of the central participant. In the folk tale "Saribanun" the king of the village, Pensawan, and the evil spirit Saribanun picks up, Itatue, are both mentioned by name in the title along with Saribanun. The central participant named in the title is always on stage at the beginning of the story, having been introduced in the title. In the four folk tales, the central protagonist was on stage throughout the story except for "Saribanun." In this folk tale, Saribanun is the protagonist and is off stage in several episodes including the peak. The resolution of the conflict at peak does bring about a favorable result for Saribanun though and he is the participant whose position has been advanced by the end of the story. In each of the folk tales, the central character undergoes some kind of adversity near the beginning of the story but by the end is in a better position than he was at the beginning. This is true of Saribanun, thus he is identified as the central participant. He is also on stage more than any other participant. King Pensawan is in the peak episode and the other episodes in which Saribanun is off stage but there are a number of episodes where the king is off stage. The central participant may be a group as in the case of "The Two Poor Children" where both children are the main participants and usually act together as one throughout the story. The central participant may be a human being or an animal and may start off as a human being and turn into an animal as may other participants. Participants may also start off being an animal and turn into a human being at some point in the story. Each folk tale also has an antagonist whose defeat by the end of the story makes possible the reversal in the situation of the major participant. "The Turtle and the Monkey" has only the turtle and monkey as participants along with several

animate and inanimate props. The other three folk tales include minor participants and both human and non-human props.

There are several ways of referring to a participant in Nuaulu as mentioned in section 2. The first reference to either a participant or prop is made by using a noun phrase. Props are always introduced in the direct object slot and participants usually are though they may be introduced in the subject slot, particularly in the case of minor participants. In "The Two Poor Children" the people of the village who are major participants being the antagonists, are introduced in the subject slot. After a participant is introduced with a noun phrase he is usually thereafter referred to by use of a pronominal proclitic or zero anaphora when the referent is clear from context.

- (13) **O-supu ia pina onate isa noi nisi. I-noo-so.**
 3p-find she female old a at garden she-see-3p

'They met an old woman in the garden. She saw them.'

Props are usually introduced in the direct object slot by use of a noun phrase with the indefinite article **isa**. A second reference to the prop uses the demonstrative pronoun **rei** 'this' in place of the indefinite article.

- (14) **O-ruma-so roe o-supu popote isa. Oyo ua-so rue**
 3p-run-3p up 3p-find jambu a then two-3p live
ai popote rei.
 tree jambu this

'They ran up and found a jambu tree. Then the two of them lived in this jambu tree.'

Restaging is also done by the use of **rei** 'this' or by left-dislocation. The two sentences in example 15 are taken from sentences 3 and 10 in "The Two Poor Children." In between these two sentences background information is given about the children.

- (15) **Ana-i** **ua,** **o** **ina-i** **na** **ama-i** **o-mata-so.** **Oyo**
 child-3s two FOC mother-3s and father-3s 3s-die-3s Then
ina-i **na** **ama-i,** **sio** **o-eu** **o-kan-so** **noi** **kupuro.**
 mother-3s and father-3s they 3s-go 3s-dig-3s there grave

'There were two children whose mother and father died... Then their mother and father, they [some people] went and buried them in the graveyard.'

Table 6 shows the number of times each verb type occurred with a noun phrase or free pronoun as a subject with and without a pronominal clitic and the number of unmarked subjects in the folk tale of "The Two Poor Children". FS = Free Subject, either a noun phrase or a pronoun and PC = Proclitic.

Table 6. Subject Marking in "The Two Poor Children"

| | +FS, +PC | +FS, -PC | -FS, +PC | -FS, -PC |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Transitive and Intransitive | 9 | 4 | 36 | 36 |
| Stative | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Intradirective | 5 | 10 | 3 | 15 |

The main reason some verbs have an unmarked subject is due to repetition of a verb. Some verbs such as **eu** 'go' are repeated as many as four times to give them a durative aspect. As mentioned in section 1.2., some verbs are repeated as a cohesive device indicating a change in location. The subject may be unmarked when a verb recounts a series of events. The subject is also sometimes unmarked when the subject is obvious from the immediate context of the verb. The main occurrence of this is in the verb **aunutu** 'put' when the children are asking their dead parents where they put the rattan in the peak episode. The subject is also unmarked in the imperative. Subject is usually unmarked when **ata** 'say' is used to introduce a direct quote. In the fifteen occurrences of this verb, thirteen are unmarked. This is the most common way of introducing reported speech but not the only way.

There is also a pronominal enclitic. This enclitic has several functions depending on the type of verb on which it appears. In the folk tale "The Two Poor Children" it was used as a

direct object on transitive verbs thirteen times, four times in place of a direct object that had been left-dislocated, three times where the verb was repeated and information such as an indirect object was added on the repeated utterance, and six times where the identity of the direct object was obvious from context. It is used to mark a stative verb and therefore was never omitted with this type of verb. With intradirective verbs the enclitic is optional when the goal of the verb is stated. On eleven verbs with a goal the enclitic is used, and on seven verbs with a stated goal it is omitted. It is also omitted on two imperative intradirective verbs that have a stated goal. When the enclitic was omitted on verbs with no goal, it was on verbs that were repeated due to the repetitive aspect of the verb or to add additional information.

4. Conclusion

A presentation of some of the major features of Nuaulu narrative discourse has been made here. Surface and notional structure have been presented with regard to how they are evidenced in four folk tales. These folk tales were also analyzed with regard to relative salience and participant reference. The major findings have been presented here.

A brief description of paragraph types found in one of these folk tales was given. This is an area in which further research is still needed as there was only one example of a number of these paragraph types in the text used and there are sure to be other paragraph types that need yet to be identified that did not occur in this one folk tale.

Another area that needs work is that of reported speech. Nuaulu folk tales contain a lot of reported speech. It is even one of the more important means of marking the peak episode of a discourse. There is much variation in quote formulas that needs looking into. This has been beyond the scope of the present study aside from a few brief comments and remains an area that requires further study.