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A grammar of Makalero : a Papuan language of East Timor

Huber, J.

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A grammar of Makalero

A Papuan language of East Timor

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Promotor: Prof. dr. M. P. G. M. Mous

Co-promotor: Dr. A. T. P. G. van Engelenhoven

Overige Leden: Prof. dr. N. P. Himmelmann (Universitat zu Koln)
Dr. M. A. F. Klammer
Prof. dr. Th. C. Schadeberg

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List of glosses

1s	first person singular
1DEM	speaker-related demonstrative
1DEM.V	speaker-related derived deictic verb
2s	second person singular
2DEM	addressee-related demonstrative
2DEM.V	addressee-related derived deictic verb
3s	third person singular
1pe	first person plural exclusive
1pi	first person plural inclusive
2p	second person plural
3p	third person plural
ADVR	adversative
ASS.PL	associative plural
ATTR	attributive
BD	bound form
CLS	clause
CLS.NEG	clausal negation
CMPL	complementiser
COND	conditional
CSQ	consequential
CTF.COND	counterfactual conditional
CTR	contrastive
CTR.PRES	counter-presupposition
DEF	definite
DEM.DIST	distal demonstrative
DEM.DIST.V	distal derived deictic verb
DEM.HIGH	higher elevation demonstrative
DEM.HIGH.V	higher elevation derived deictic verb
DEM.LOW	lower elevation demonstrative
DEM.LOW.V	lower elevation derived deictic verb
EXHORT	exhortative
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
HUM	human
IMM	immediate action
IMP	imperative
IND	indirect information
INT	intentional
INTERJ	interjection
IPF	imperfective
LNK1	linker 1
LNK2	linker 2
NAG	agent noun

NEG	negation
NEG.EX	negative existential
NONHUM	non-human
NML	nominaliser
NSIT	new situation
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PT / PAST	past
PURP	purposive
QM	question marker
QUOT	quotative
RDL	reduplicant
REC	reciprocal
REC.PT	recent past
RED	reduced
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative marker
REM.PT	remote past
SG	singular
SPEC	specifier
UND	undergoer
V1DEM	speaker-related deictic verb
V2DEM	addressee-related deictic verb
VDEM.DIST	distal deictic verb
VDEM.HIGH	higher elevation deictic verb
VDEM.LOW	lower elevation deictic verb
VOC	vocative

The glosses of items of unknown function repeat the phonological forms of the morphemes in question in capital letters.

List of abbreviations

ADV	adverbial
ARG	argument
ARG.CONSTR	argument structure construction
ASP	aspect
BI	Indonesian
Bnq	Bunak
CLS	clause
clit	clitic
COMPL	complement
conj	conjunction
det	determiner
Fat	Fataluku
fn	footnote
IRP	Indonesian rupiah
LDP	left-detached position
Mkl	Makalero
Mks	Makasae
n	noun
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
part	particle
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
poss.pron	possessive pronoun
PRED	predicate
pref	prefix
pron	pronoun
RDP	right-detached position
REC	recipient
SUBJ	subject
suff	suffix
SVC	serial verb construction
THL	tail-head linkage
Ttm	Tetum
v	verb
va	avalent verb
vd	divalent verb
VP	verb phrase
	break with non-final intonation
	break with final intonation
//	lexical parallel

§ 1.1 (p. 2) gives an outline of the history of the young country of East Timor. It includes some details on the Iliomar subdistrict, although relatively little is known of its earlier history. § 1.2 (p. 5) and § 1.3 (p. 7) present background information on the geographical setting of the Makalero area and on its speakers and their culture. § 1.4 (p. 9) discusses the language and the language situation. The genetic classification of Makalero is outlined in § 1.5 (p. 12), followed by a sketch of the language's structure in § 1.6 (p. 16). § 1.7 (p. 27) gives an overview over previous work. § 1.8 (p. 28) details the corpus underlying the present analysis and the methodology used. § 1.9 (p. 32), finally, discusses the orthography used for Makalero.

1.1 A short history of East Timor and Iliomar

The island of Timor is often cited as being on the possible migration route for man into Australia and Melanesia (Glover 1986: 4). Earliest evidence of settlement may be as old as 40,000 years. It is today inhabited by speakers of both Austronesian and Papuan languages, which suggests multiple migrations. Whether the ancestors of today's Austronesian speakers or Papuan speakers arrived on the island first appears to have been a matter of some debate: "a superficial glance at a map might suggest that these Papuan enclaves (within an area dominated by Austronesian languages, JH) are simply remnants of an earlier and larger distribution overrun by Austronesian speakers, but recent research on the Papuan languages as a whole may make such a view rather simplistic" (Bellwood 2007: 124). Wurm (1983) suggests the Papuan languages of Timor derive from the third and main Papuan language migration, which essentially amounts to the spread of his massive Trans-New Guinea family and was more or less contemporary with the arrival of Austronesian speakers in the area. Wurm posits this event at around 3,000 BC, while according to Bellwood (2007: 123), Austronesian settlers reached Timor only by about 2,000 BC. Ross (2005), on the other hand, seems to contend that Papuan speakers arrived in Timor earlier than Austronesian speakers. A possible migration route for Papuan speakers from New Guinea, starting somewhere near the Bomberai peninsula and passing through the Kei and Tanimbar Islands onwards to Timor, is depicted in Hull (2004: 64).

Chinese and Japanese sources mention the island as early as the 14th century, mainly as a source of Sandalwood (Fox 2007: 6). However, little is known of the island's history before the arrival of the first European explorers and traders by the early 1500s. The first European visitors report that the island is fragmented into small kingdoms ruled by liurais (kings). The three major kingdoms were, according to a 16th century source, Wehale, which dominated the center of the island, Sonba'i in the west, and Likusaen (today: Liquiça) in the east.

From about 1550, European colonialism was the major force shaping the island's history. The earliest European activity in the area was by Portuguese traders and missionaries. Initially, there were no permanent administration, military presence or trade posts. However, these were established later, to counter the growing influence of the Dutch in the area. In 1586, large parts of the island of Timor were declared

the Province of Portuguese Timor. The following centuries were characterised by Dutch-Portuguese rivalry on the island, as well as several rebellions of the Timorese against the foreign colonisers. The colonial rivalry between the two European powers persisted until 1859, when the two parties agreed on a division of the island in the Treaty of Lisbon. However, territorial disputes continued, and the boundaries as in existence today were not established until 1916.

Until the late 1880s, there was little permanent Portuguese presence outside Dili (Chamberlain 2008: 12). Rather, the coloniser ruled through the local chiefs and kings, leaving traditional structures intact. The Timorese, however, were far from subdued, and the Portuguese military had to deal with numerous rebellions. It was only towards the end of the 19th century that a country-wide network of military posts was established. In response to the Timorese rebellion of 1911/1912 in Manufahi, the Portuguese tried to further reduce the power of the traditional rulers and established an administrative system where the land was divided into a larger number of smaller administrative units, or *sucos* (villages).

During World War II, East Timor saw Australian and Japanese military activity. During this time, many Timorese fled the country, and it was in such refugee camps in Australia that Capell (1944, 1972) conducted his survey of Timorese languages (see § 1.7, p. 27). After the capitulation of Japan in 1945, Portugal resumed control over Timor and retained it until the Carnation Revolution in 1974, when the fascist dictatorship in Portugal was abolished. Following this event, the then ruling party Fretilin (Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente) declared the independence of East Timor in 1975. Shortly thereafter, however, internal strife that was probably supported by the Indonesian secret service broke out. The country seemed on the verge of civil war. Presenting this as a threat to stability in the region, Indonesia launched an armed invasion of Timor. Fearing communist tendencies in Fretilin, the international community was largely silent. Thus East Timor became the 27th province of Indonesia. What followed was a period of Indonesian repression, countered by guerilla warfare from Falintil (Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste), the military wing of Fretilin. East Timor was only brought back to the international stage in 1991, when Indonesian military killed at least 250 Timorese as well as a number of foreign nationals during a peaceful protest in the capital Dili. This event, known as the Santa Cruz massacre, was recorded by a British cameraman. Under the ensuing international pressure, Indonesia finally offered East Timor the choice between a wide-reaching autonomy within Indonesia or independence. This referendum took place on August 30, 1999 and resulted in 78.5% of votes for independence from Indonesia. Directly after this, Indonesian military and pro-integration East Timorese militia carried out a campaign of violence and terrorism in retaliation: “In one month, this massive military operation murdered some 2,000 people, raped hundreds of women and girls, displaced three-quarters of the population, and demolished 75 percent of the country’s infrastructure” (Chomsky 2003: 72). A multinational force was finally allowed into East Timor to stabilise the area. After an interim UN administration, East Timor became formally independent on May 20, 2002. The brief period of independence has been characterised by episodes of major unrest in 2002 and 2006, as well as a nearly fatal attack on the then-president José Ramos-Horta in 2008. To this day, East

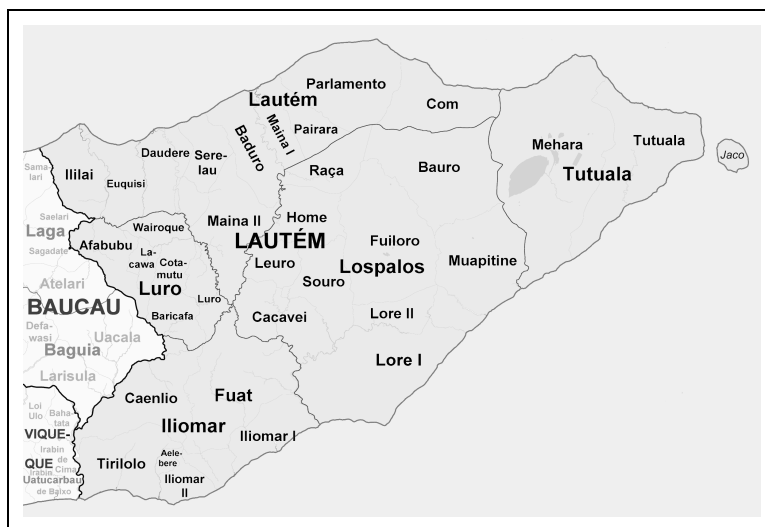
Timor is among the poorest nations in Asia and is heavily dependent on foreign credits and NGOs.

There is little secure information on the history of the Iliomar subdistrict. Chamberlain (2008: 14) suggests the villages of Iliomar I and Iliomar II in their present-day location were established in about 1894, when two leaders, Nokameta (whose equestrian statue, though damaged in the 1999 unrest, stands in Iliomar today) and Rapimeta moved the Makalero people some kilometers up the coast in a northeasterly direction. In 1904, a military post was established in Iliomar, and a Portuguese fort, now ruined, was built presumably at more or less the same time. Of the other six villages making up the Iliomar subdistrict (see § 1.2 p. 5), Ailebere was established in 1917 and Tirilolo much later, in 1973 (Chamberlain 2008: 21, 45).¹ During the Indonesian invasion, which started in 1975, the population of Iliomar didn't experience the war until 1977 (Chamberlain 2008: 64). Late in that year, the Fretilin leadership ordered the evacuation of the people to Mt. Matebian. Moving in a non-direct way to avoid Indonesian troupes, the population of Iliomar arrived there in 1978. By this time, several 10,000 other villagers from the surrounding districts were already in hiding there. Lack of provisions and attacks by the Indonesian armed forces led to heavy casualties among the civilian population. When the Fretilin resistance crumbled in 1978, the civilians were ordered back to their villages, which were by then under Indonesian control. Upon their return from Matebian, all Iliomar villagers were concentrated in the area of Iliomar town. Their movement was restricted to within 500 metres of the new village limits. These measures were intended to isolate the villagers from Falintil elements in the jungle. Thus restricted, the villagers were unable to cultivate their traditional fields; the result was a severe shortage of food, and particularly in 1981 and 1982, malnourishment and the resulting mortality was very high. From 1979 on, Iliomar received emergency feeding from the International Committee of the Red Cross. In 1983, the Indonesian armed forces and Fretilin negotiated a ceasefire. It was only then that proper crops could be planted and the supply situation improved somewhat. In the period from 1983 to 1989, there was no organised resistance in the Iliomar area, and the Indonesian administration was consolidated. Nevertheless, the remaining guerillas in the forests continued harassing the local Indonesian forces, and there were numerous skirmishes between Falintil fighters and Indonesian military as well as their local military auxiliaries. The 1990s, finally, were a period of relative security. After the referendum in 1999, however, as the Indonesian forces prepared to withdraw to Lospalos, they burned public buildings, including the administration building, the health post and the junior high school in Iliomar, and shot and killed numerous domestic animals, leaving Iliomar devastated. Since then, reconstruction has been going slowly, with the subdistrict Health Center and electricity reestablished in Iliomar town in 2002 (Chamberlain 2008: 7). However, the power supply is intermittent due to fuel shortages and repairs to the generators. § 1.2 (p. 5) gives more information on the infrastructure found today in the subdistrict.

¹ Note, however, that the village chief of Ailebere gives the year 1767 as the founding date for the village.

1.2 Geography and infrastructure

Makalero is spoken in the Iliomar subdistrict of Lautém district, which is depicted in Map 3.



Map 3: Lautém district²

The subdistrict covers an area of approximately 300 km² (Chamberlain 2008, Annex C, 2). It is bordered in the east and Northeast by the Lospalos subdistrict, in the north by Luro, in the northwest by Baguia, in the east by Uatucarbau, and in the South by the Timor sea. It is home to a population of 6,726 (according to the 2004 East Timor population census retrievable at <http://dne.mof.gov.tl/census/index.htm>). Iliomar subdistrict is heavily wooded and mountainous: elevations range from sea level to almost 900 m on Mount Naunili. The main connection by road is from Lospalos. The road is 46 kilometers long and in fairly bad condition. Traffic is frequently interrupted due to mudslides. The road continues westwards to Uatucarbau. It is in driveable but very bad condition, although recently new bridges crossing the rivers to the east of Iliomar have been completed. There is a regular truck and sometimes bus service from Iliomar to Lospalos. Furthermore, the UN staff occasionally use a centrally-located football field, next to the primary school in Iliomar town, as a landing site. There is a catholic church with a resident priest in Iliomar, as well as several chapels in the surrounding villages. A number of primary schools operate across the subdistrict, and there is one secondary school in Iliomar town. Electricity is provided by two diesel-generators, which are switched on daily from 7 pm to 12 pm. A local health centre provides basic medical care. In 2009, there was mobile reception on Mount Naunili, the highest point of the subdistrict, some 5 km out of Iliomar town on the road to Lospalos. Iliomar town is furthermore

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proud owner of a library, established by the Timor Lorosa'e Nippon Cultural Project (TNCC) in 2004. It provides a variety of books and school materials for all ages, predominantly in Tetum, English and Japanese.

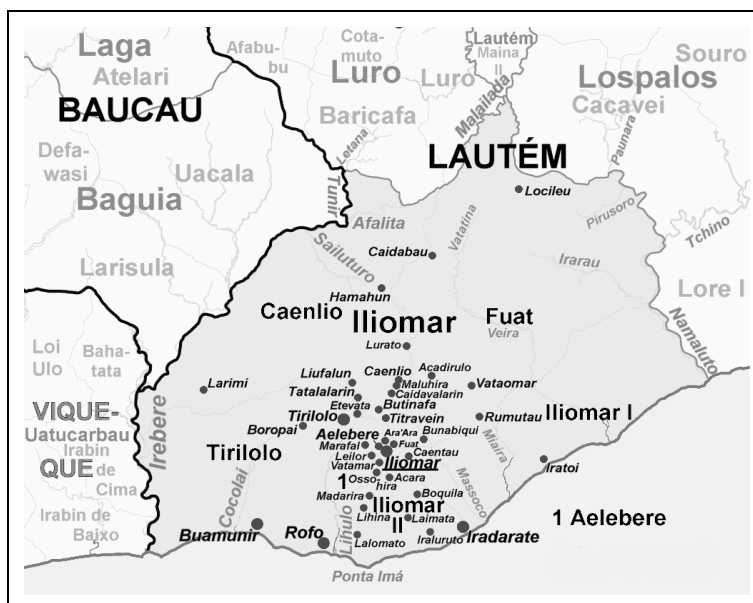
Politically, the Iliomar subdistrict is divided into six villages (sucos) which are, in turn, divided into a total of 25 subvillages. This organisation is shown in Table 1.1³.

village	subvillages
Iliomar I	Iliomar Ara-ara Kaentau Ossuhira Uatamatar
Iliomar II	Akara Lihina Madarira Bokila Kaidabu
Ailebere	Leilor Marafal Hitali Lalumato
Fuat	Rumutau Akadirilo Uataomar
Kainliu	Titirauen Maluhira Liufalin Kaidalauarin Larimi
Tirilolo	Tirilolo Tatalalarin Eteuata

Table 1.1: Villages and subvillages in Iliomar

Map 4 shows the approximate location of these subvillages. Note that the spelling of the toponyms is not entirely standardised.

³ The spelling of the place names is adjusted to follow that used in this thesis (see § 1.9, p. 32).

Map 4: Iliomar subdistrict⁴

1.3 Culture and social life

Traditionally, the Makalero society is organised into 36 clans.⁵ Every clan has its own origin story, which is considered taboo to outsiders; a wrong telling of the story is believed to result in early death or the like. Though officially replaced by a modern democratic administrative system during the Portuguese colonial rule and the Indonesian occupation, the traditional elite and clan structures are still highly important. Local kings are vital to the resolving of social issues and disputes, as are traditional ceremonies. Functions and positions associated with the modern administrative structure often go to members of the traditional ruling elites. Consider

⁴ © J.-P. Fischer. Reproduced with the permission of the author.

⁵ 42 according to Chamberlain (2008: Annex C, 5). He lists their names as Busarulu, Iliomar, Dirimuni, Komil, Luruira, Pukakesi, Ta'amatu, Mumun, Uardai, Loorasa, Ma'aleuet, Liusoru, Uruhu'a, Tafarira, Nonira, Naunira (note: these are likely variant spellings of the same name), Uaritiir, Buabere, Abubul, Hulalain, Lafidebar, Inameli, Luanira, Betunomar, Fehira, Derekun, Maluhira, Ailebere, Deni, Kaparesin, Muarai, Lutupere, Kiltau, Upuira, Upulira (it is possible that one among the last two is a misspelling and the two refer to the same clan), Uaitelu, Manir, Perut, Paidur, Nutupupul, Luruboitafa and Mauberu. The spelling has been adjusted to follow that used in this thesis (see § 1.9, p. 32). The present corpus does not contain a complete set of clan names. However, it confirms eight of the above-mentioned names, namely Dirimuni, Komil, Loorasa, Liusoru, Tafarira, Naunira, Inameli and Maluhira, and additionally gives the names Dolomara, Loopupul, Muenira, Pusaulu, Punakosi and Darapu'u. It is at present unclear how these relate to the names given by Chamberlain. With the exception of Iliomar (a nominal compound consisting of *ili* 'stone' and *omar* 'stilt house'), none of the clan names, from either source, is transparent. Note the occurrence of the voiced bilabial stop in several of the names listed by Chamberlain; this suggests clan names follow the same phonological subsystem as place names (see § 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111).

the following episode from Chamberlain (2008: 57), relating the reason for a disagreement between a Falintil group and the Fretilin Iliomar Zone in 1976: “An important element in the dispute was Hornay’s (the leader of the Falintil group, JH) antipathy towards the Iliomar Fretilin Secretary, Tomás Pinto. Hornay reportedly believed that the position should be held by a respected *liurai* (traditional leader). According to Lere Anan Timor (the Fretilin Vice Secretary of the Iliomar Zone at the time, JH): “They didn’t want Tomás Pinto to be the Zona Secretary, because they wanted a ‘blue-blood’ (i.e. a member of a powerful clan, JH). He (Francisco Hornay) wanted me to be the Zona Secretary, because I was a ‘blue-blood’”.

The society is patriarchally organised. Locals consider marriage ceremonies the central pillar of the cultural framework. In the course of this, the clan of the groom pays a substantial bride price to the clan of the bride. An important social division in this context is into wife-giver (*omaraha*) and wife-taker (*tuumata*) clans. Another important part of socio-cultural life are funerals and the ceremonies associated with them. These areas of cultural life still await anthropological investigation.

The residents of the Iliomar subdistrict are mainly subsistence farmers. The main crops cultivated are rice, maize and vegetables. Furthermore, there are fairly extensive coconut plantations. Other crops cultivated are candlenut (*aleurites moluccana*), areca nut and lontar palms (*borassus sundaicus*). Livestock includes water buffalo, cattle, pigs, goats, chickens and horses. Despite the subdistrict’s long coast line, little fishing is undertaken due to rough seas.

The large majority of residents are Roman Catholic (96.5% of the population nationwide, according to <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35878.htm>). Nevertheless, traditional animist beliefs remain strong and coexist with the Catholic practices.

Some degree of formal schooling is very common. Many young people continue education in other cities of East Timor, either temporarily or permanently. However, the exact proportions are unknown.

There are sizeable Makalero communities in the district capital Lospalos, where they are centred in the subvillages of Natura and Sawarica, and in Dili, particularly in the Becora area.

1.4 Language and language situation

Makalero, sometimes also given as Maklere⁶, is the main language of the subdistrict of Iliomar. It borders the language area of Naueti in the west, Makasae in the north and northwest, and Fataluku in the east. Both the Fataluku and the Makasae languages are clearly related to Makalero; Naueti, on the other hand, is not. The linguistic boundary with Naueti appears clear-cut, marked by the major Irabere river which also forms the western boundary of the Iliomar subdistrict. The boundaries to the other languages are less easy to define and appear to be more gradual. The inhabitants of the Luro subdistrict, which borders Iliomar on the north, appear to think of their idiom, referred to as Sa'ani, as distinct from either Makasae and Makalero. The speech of this subdistrict has seen no linguistic investigation yet; a first impression by the present author confirms that the mutual intelligibility with Makalero is high. Sa'ani may thus perhaps be seen as a transitional variant between Makasae and Makalero.

The present investigation was carried out in a relatively restricted radius centred on Iliomar town. As such, no notable dialectal differences were recorded. However, in a number of instances consultants characterised the use of specific lexemes as typical for the speech of one or another village. This suggests the presence of regional linguistic variation. It is the author's impression, however, that these are subtle and mainly lexical.

At the time of writing, Makalero is relatively vital. It is spoken by an estimated 6,500 speakers⁷ and is a major identification factor for the people of Iliomar. The language is used in both everyday life as well as in ritual contexts. It is being learnt as a first language by all children of Makalero parents in the district. Overall, the population of the Iliomar subdistrict is fairly homogeneous, with very few residents from other parts of the island.

Despite the relative isolation of the Makalero language area, there is a high level of multilingualism. A large part of the population has some command of Tetum and /

⁶ The origin of the name Makalero is unclear, and the speakers appear not to be able to explain it satisfactorily. The first element, *maka*, is also found in the name of its nearest linguistic relative, Makasae. One speaker explained to me that *maka* translates as 'firm', and *lero* is supposedly taken from the name of a founding ancestor named Ililero Laualero, who was a headstrong and independent leader and kept separate from the others. The combination, according to the said speaker, signifies a people that is headstrong and independent. Chamberlain (2008: 2) quotes another speaker who renders Makalero as 'the people who never tire'. Almeida (1994: 584) notes that Makalero, or "Macalére", is a "etnonimo formado por *Máka*, cansado + *Lére*, a denominação do povo daqui. Os Makalére desconhecem a sua terra de origem e com quem são aparentados antropológicamente, afirmando os velhos que alguns deles se chamam a si próprios *Anu Léfu Lére*, ou seja: *Anu* gente + *Léfu* + *Lére*, abelha" (an ethnonym formed from *maka* 'tired' and *lere*, the designation of the local people. The Makalero do not know their origin and with whom they are related anthropologically; the elders claim that some of them refer to themselves as *anu lefu lere*, which is made up from *anu* 'people' + *lefu* + *lere* 'bee'; translation mine). Two of these accounts seem to agree on the translation of *maka* as 'tired'. Indeed, it is attested in this meaning in the corpus. It is likely of Austronesian origin (i.e. borrowed from Tetum *maka* 'to limp, be tired'). Almeida's suggestion of *anu lefu lere* 'bee people' is unsubstantiated by the present corpus, which records *uani* for 'bee'.

⁷ According to the East Timor population census of 2004 (<http://dne.mof.gov.tl/census/index.htm>) 5,981 individuals aged 6 and above have Makalero as their mother tongue. 5,559 of these live in the Lautém district and 292 in Dili; the rest is scattered across the other districts of East Timor. The estimate of a total number of 6,500 speakers adds a rather generous 500 more speakers located abroad.

or Indonesian. Practical knowledge of Portuguese is relatively restricted at the time of writing. However, this language is the official language of instruction. Despite this fact, Tetum or Indonesian were more commonly used during my first visit in 2007. Since then, teachers have received intensive training in Portuguese and were mostly using that language in the classroom by the time of my second visit in 2009. It is unclear to what degree the pupils are able to follow classes in this language. Tetum, with a large proportion of Portuguese-based vocabulary, is used in matters pertaining to politics and national issues. It is also the language used in church. Although Indonesian has lost ground since 1999, it is still present as the language of entertainment in that most television programmes followed by the local population are Indonesian. Furthermore, it is very common for young people to leave the area temporarily or permanently in order to pursue education or job opportunities. A language with relatively few speakers in a heavily multilingual nation where mobility is on the increase, Makalero must thus be considered endangered in the longer term.

Although it is recognised as a national language in the constitution of East Timor, many previous sources on the languages of the nation do not recognise Makalero as a language in its own right, but as a dialect of the larger Makasae (see e.g. Lewis 2009). On the other hand, Hull (2004: 26/31) discusses it as a separate language that is “transitional between Makasai and Fataluku. (...) Of all the non-Austronesian languages of Timor, Makasai and Makalero are clearly the most closely related, although mutual intelligibility is minimal. Lexical (as well as morphological) disagreements between the two vernaculars are nevertheless frequent enough to justify their classification as separate languages.” The present study confirms a very high degree of lexical correspondence between Makasae and Makalero. The comparative word list in Table 1.2 gives an impression of the degree of similarity between the two languages. Contrary to Hull’s assessment of minimal mutual intelligibility, it appears direct communication between the two groups is possible to a considerable degree. In fact, Makalero speakers characterise their language as a dialect of Makasae. It is noticeable, however, that the similarity between the two idioms is centred on content vocabulary, where regular sound correspondences can be established. For instance, voiced plosives in Makasae correspond to voiceless ones in Makalero, which seems to have lost this distinction. This constitutes the main difference between the phonological systems of the two languages. Furthermore, Makasae seems to have lost a final /t/ in several cases where it is still present in Makalero. Also noticeable are differences in vowel qualities in diphthongs or where a glottal phoneme is involved. Items with more grammatical function, on the other hand, are in many cases wildly different. Examples are provided by the last two items in Table 1.2, namely the modal verb ‘be able’ and the clause-internal negator.

English	Makalero	Makasae
day / sun	<i>uatu</i>	<i>watu</i>
night	<i>kamu</i>	<i>gamu</i>
river	<i>ueir</i>	<i>wair</i>
earth, ground	<i>mu'a</i>	<i>ma'a</i>
house	<i>omar / lopu</i>	<i>oma</i>
meat	<i>seur</i>	<i>seu</i>
bone	<i>afa</i>	<i>sapa</i>
name	<i>nei</i>	<i>nai</i>
child	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>
older sibling	<i>nana</i>	<i>kaka</i>
younger sibling	<i>noko</i>	<i>noko</i>
grandparent/ grandchild	<i>dada</i>	<i>dada</i>
one	<i>u / un</i>	<i>u</i>
two	<i>loloi / lolei</i>	<i>lola'e</i>
three	<i>lolitu</i>	<i>lolitu</i>
six	<i>douh</i>	<i>daho</i>
good	<i>rau</i>	<i>rau</i>
wet	<i>hifal</i>	<i>ipal</i>
long	<i>asan</i>	<i>asan</i>
sharp	<i>mera'</i>	<i>mera'</i>
heavy	<i>ti'ir</i>	<i>ti'ir</i>
say	<i>lolo</i>	<i>lolo</i>
hear	<i>uali'</i>	<i>wali'</i>
sleep	<i>ti'a</i>	<i>ta'e</i>
search	<i>haka</i>	<i>haga</i>
beat	<i>pase</i>	<i>base</i>
be able	<i>me'e</i>	<i>be'u</i>
NEG	<i>nomo</i>	<i>to, noto, tonai, notonai, noko</i>

Table 1.2: Lexical comparison between Makalero and Makasae

As always, the distinction between languages and dialects is not an easy one to draw. While there is a high degree of lexical similarity between Makasae and Makalero, there is a range of grammatical differences. An instance is the particle / clitic *ini*, which is found in both languages. In Makasae, its main function is that of a subject marker (Huber 2008a: 75f). In Makalero, however, it is the most frequently used clitic clause linker, which signals a close semantic relationship between the clauses it links (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247 and § 8.1.1, p. 457). It is, however, also used as a marker of contrastiveness with NPs and appears to be developing into a subject marker. Furthermore, while Makasae is largely isolating, Makalero retains some inflectional morphology. Also, it appears the distinction between objects and complements within the verb phrase, arguably the most complex part of Makalero grammar (§ 5.2, p. 319), is not paralleled in Makasae (although further research is

needed on this issue). Grammatically, Makalero is more conservative than Makasae, retaining many features that appear to have been lost in Makasae. In many parts of the world, such a situation warrants the use of the term language, rather than dialect.

1.5 Classification

Makalero is a non-Austronesian / Papuan language.⁸ It is very closely related to the neighbouring language Makasae (see Table 1.2 in § 1.4, p. 9), as well as, somewhat more distantly, to Fataluku, spoken to the east of it, and Oirata on Kisar. The relations between these languages is detailed in Figure 1.1. The terms ‘Eastern Timor’ and ‘Timor tip’ follow Donohue (2007).

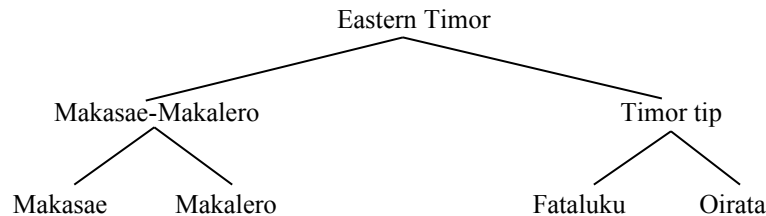


Figure 1.1: The Eastern Timor languages

The exact position of Bunak, spoken in the centre of the island (Schapper 2009), in a family tree representing all four of the Papuan languages of Timor is not quite clear. With respect to higher-level classification, the non-Austronesian languages of Timor have had a chequered history. The non-Austronesian nature of Bunak and Makasae was first recognised by Capell (1943a, 1943b, 1944), who regarded them as Papuan on account of their structure. Cowan (1965: 361) supported this view and suggested a relation of the non-Austronesian languages of Timor to those of the Bird’s Head in Indonesian New Guinea. Capell (1975) finally argued for the grouping of all non-Austronesian languages of Timor and the neighbouring islands of Alor and Pantar with the languages of the Bird’s Head and the Bomberai peninsula; these in turn are argued to be a member of the extensive Trans-New Guinea phylum in Voorhoeve (1975). This classification has since largely been upheld (see e.g. Wurm 1982, 1983 and Ross 2005).⁹

The Trans-New Guinea family, which covers a large part of the New Guinea mainland as well as some nearby islands, may contain more than 500 languages. Several researchers, among them Pawley (2005: 73), emphasise that the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages are highly aberrant among Trans-New Guinea languages. Despite that family’s enormous size and the fact that its members exhibit a wide range of structural variation, it follows from such remarks that it is nevertheless possible to identify a typical Papuan, or Trans-New Guinea, language type. A summary of

⁸ The two terms are used interchangeably in the present thesis.

⁹ Note, however, that it is contested in Donohue and Schapper (forthcoming); the final word on the classification on the Timor-Alor-Pantar group has thus not yet been spoken.

general phonological, morphological and syntactic features that are characteristic for this language type is given in Foley (1998: 506f.). Tables 1.3 through 1.5 summarise these features. The right column in each table gives their Makalero values, showing how it relates to this general Papuan language type.

feature	Papuan	Makalero
vowel system	diverse; (/i e a o u/ widespread)	/i e a o u/
stops: places of articulation	3-4: labial, dental-alveolar, velar, (palatal)	5: labial, alveo-dental, post-alveolar, velar, glottal
stops: voicing distinction	diverse patterns (absence of voicing common)	absent
fricatives	restricted (0-1 members)	/f s/ ([h])
liquids	[r] and [l] not phonemic	/r/ and /l/ phonemic
syllables	complex consonant clusters common	CV favoured; some consonant clusters
stress	diverse rules (phonemic stress common)	predictable
tone	common	absent

Table 1.3: Makalero and Papuan languages compared: phonology

Two of the patterns found in Makalero phonology, namely the five-vowel system and the absence of voicing in stops, are also widespread in Papuan languages. Other than these, Makalero is quite distinct from the typical Papuan language with respect to its phonological characteristics.

feature	Papuan	Makalero
morphological structure	weakly or highly agglutinative	close to isolating
inflectional morphology	strongly developed	very weakly developed
derivational morphology	varied; frequent use of SVCs	little (complement-verb complexes)
nouns	normally uninflected for number and gender	uninflected (may be plural-marked)
NPs	typically inflected for case	uninflected
verbs	varied (the presence of at least an agreement affix for the subject is common)	mostly uninflected
TAM	varied; often suffixal; SVCs common	preverbal particle; separate predications
lexical categories	sharp division into nouns and verbs common	categorial indeterminacy; some derivational processes

Table 1.4: Makalero and Papuan languages compared: morphology

In the domain of morphology, Makalero resembles the Papuan language type with respect to nominal inflection, which is largely non-existent (except for the fact that there is in Makalero optional plural marking). Another possible analogy is TAM marking, for which serial verb constructions are widespread in Papuan languages; although the present thesis does not use the term *SVC*, the adverbial verbs used to express the majority of the TAM categories in the form of distinct predications may qualify as such. In all other respects, Makalero deviates from the Papuan language type.

feature	Papuan	Makalero
phrase	right-headed	right-headed
	→ SOV (OSV)	SOV
	→ postpositions	no adpositions
	→ N DET	N DET
	→ MOD N (N MOD possible)	N MOD
	→ clause chaining, no conjunctions	clause linking with clitic conjunctions; complement-verb complexes

Table 1.5: Makalero and Papuan languages compared: syntax

In the domain of syntax, Makalero shows the largest degree of agreement with the Papuan language type, conforming to it with respect to general phrase headedness, word order, as well as the place of the determiner and the modifier with a noun.

Makalero agrees with Foley's 22 characteristic Papuan features¹⁰ as reproduced in Tables 1.3. through 1.5, in only 8 instances, most of which are found in syntax. Apart from the vocabulary, syntax thus provides the strongest argument for its classification as Papuan.¹¹

Foley (1998: 506f.) contrasts this Papuan language type with an 'Austronesian language type'. The characteristics he lists for this language type may perhaps adequately represent the Austronesian languages in the New Guinea area but cannot be said to be characteristic of the Austronesian family as a whole and are thus not reproduced here. Notably, however, Makalero agrees with Foley's Austronesian language type to more or less the same degree (i.e. number of features) as it does with the Papuan language type. With respect to other features, it does not group clearly with either of the two contrasting language types. Over very similar results, Schapper (2009: 31) concludes that Papuan Bunak displays "a particular 'insular eastern Indonesian' linguistic type which cross-cuts the distinction between Papuan and Austronesian." This conclusion clearly also holds for Makalero.

Interestingly, Klamer, Reesink and Staden (2008) propose an East Nusantara linguistic area, in which Austronesian and Papuan languages coexist and share a number of features which are partly of Papuan, partly of Austronesian origin. It must be noted, however, that this linguistic area is based on only five relatively broad features, of which only two are clearly manifested in Makalero (i.e. possessor-possessum order in adnominal possession and the presence of an inclusive /

¹⁰ The total of 22 counts the syntactic features in Table 1.5 each separately, despite the fact that most of them are concomitants of SOV.

¹¹Note, however, that word order is not a sound basis for language classification, since languages may change their basic word order (see Heine 2008: 34f. for some contact-induced examples of this process).

exclusive distinction in the personal pronoun paradigm). Note also that Donohue (2004)¹² denies the validity of an area with linguistically definable borders in Central and Eastern Indonesia. Instead, he claims the region is part of a typological continuum between Northern, Western and Eastern Austronesian languages.

1.6 A grammatical sketch of Makalero

The following sections give an overview of Makalero grammar. They largely follow the overall organisation of the thesis (§ 1.10, p. 35). § 1.6.1 (p. 16) remarks briefly on the make-up of the vocabulary, while § 1.6.2 (p. 19) discusses the phonology. § 1.6.3 (p. 21) sketches the lexical categories found in Makalero. § 1.6.4 (p. 22) and § 1.6.5 (p. 23), respectively, treat the noun phrase and the verb phrase. § 1.6.6 (p. 24) gives a short examination of the clause. § 1.6.7 (p. 24) and § 1.6.8 (p. 25) discuss units larger than the clause, namely the sentence, the utterance and the text. Finally, § 1.6.9 (p. 26) gives some remarks on discourse structure.

1.6.1 The vocabulary

The bulk of the Makalero vocabulary is non-Austronesian; indeed, together with the languages SOV profile (§ 1.5, p. 12), this is the main reason for its classification as a Papuan language. However, it is also very rich in loanwords, most of which come from Austronesian sources. Several sources note that (Proto-)Austronesian loans permeate even the basic vocabulary of many Papuan languages (see e.g. Wurm 1982: 85, Foley 1986: 211). Foley (ibid.) lists 13 lexical items commonly found in Papuan languages which can be traced back to Austronesian sources. Table 1.6 shows those items from the list that appear to derive from the same Austronesian roots¹³ in Makalero.

¹² Referring to Klamer (2002), which gives an earlier version of the hypothesis.

¹³ Most of the reconstructed forms Foley (1986: 211) lists appear to be Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, rather than Proto-Austronesian, as he indicates. In some cases, his spelling is adapted in the Table according to the forms in the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database retrievable at <http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/>.

Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstruction	Makalero
* <i>kulit</i> ‘skin’	<i>ulit</i> ‘skin (human or animal)’, <i>uli</i> ‘bark, leather’
* <i>t-ina</i> ‘mother’	<i>ina</i> ‘mother (as a term of address only)’
* <i>wahir</i> ‘water’	<i>ueir</i> ‘river’

Table 1.6: Common Austronesian loans in Papuan languages and their reflexes in Makalero¹⁴

Tables 1.7 and 1.8 exemplify other Austronesian loanwords in Makalero which are presumably of considerable antiquity. The lexemes in Table 1.7 must be considered part of the core vocabulary. Also, related forms are found not only in Makalero, but also in (some of) the surrounding non-Austronesian languages. This suggests they were borrowed in the common ancestor language. The lexemes in Table 1.8 participate in such morphological processes as the distinction between free and bound or reduced verb forms in Makalero (§ 3.2.2.2.2, p. 131). These processes are not productive in the present-day language and are not used in new verbs. The fact that the morphemes in question participate in this morphological alternation thus points to their full integration into Makalero and suggests a long-term presence in the language, too.

Makalero	cognates in other Papuan languages of Timor	cognates in Austronesian languages
<i>kuda</i> ‘horse’	Bnq <i>kuda</i> , Fat <i>kuca</i> , Mks <i>kuda</i> ‘horse’	BI <i>kuda</i> , Ttm <i>kuda</i> ‘horse’
<i>pipi</i> ‘goat’	Bnq <i>pip</i> , Fat <i>pipi</i> , Mks <i>pipi</i> ‘goat’	Ttm <i>bibi</i> ‘goat’
<i>lopu</i> ‘house’	Fat <i>le</i> ‘house’	BI <i>lepau</i> ‘food stall’ (PAN * <i>lepaw</i> ?)
<i>omar</i> ¹⁵ ‘stilt house’	Mks <i>oma</i> ‘house’	BI <i>rumah</i> , Ttm <i>uma</i> ‘house’
<i>selu</i> ‘other’	Mks <i>seluk</i> ‘other’	Ttm <i>seluk</i> ‘other’

Table 1.7: Austronesian core vocabulary in Makalero

¹⁴ Another item listed as a common Austronesian root in Papuan languages in Foley (1986: 211) is **t’ut’u* ‘breast’, which appears to be reflected in Makalero *dudu* ‘breast’. However, according to the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database, this lexeme reconstructs as **susu*, rather than **t’ut’u*, for both Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Borrowing of this Austronesian root into the ancestor of Makalero would thus involve a more uncommon change from */s/ to /d/. Note, however, that the Database lists several Austronesian languages (mostly from the Philippines) as having a form *dudu* or *duduq* for ‘breast’.

¹⁵ The origin of the final /r/ is not quite clear. It may possibly be identical to the nominal formative -r discussed in § 3.1.2.1.1 (p. 102).

Makalero	cognates in Austronesian languages
<i>hein</i> ~ <i>-sein</i> 'wait'	Ttm <i>hein</i> 'wait'
<i>resin</i> ~ <i>resi-</i> 'remain'	Ttm <i>resin</i> 'exceed, be left over'
<i>taru</i> ~ <i>-daru</i> 'put, place'	BI <i>taruh</i> 'put, place'
<i>teri</i> ~ <i>-deri</i> 'cut'	Ttm <i>teri</i> 'cut with scissors or shears'

Table 1.8: Austronesian loan words in Makalero that participate in morphological processes

A semantically delineable group of presumably old Austronesian loans are numerals. Table 1.9 shows a selection of Makalero numerals of Austronesian origin. For more details, see § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171).

Makalero		Proto-Austronesian
<i>fat</i>	4	* <i>Sepat</i>
<i>lima</i>	5	* <i>lima</i>
<i>fitu</i>	7	* <i>pitu</i>
<i>siwa</i>	9	* <i>siwa</i>
<i>rihun</i>	1,000	* <i>libu</i>

Table 1.9: Austronesian numerals in Makalero

Makalero also abounds in newer Austronesian loans, which can be traced to specific languages. Tables 1.10 and 1.11 give a selection of loanwords from two of the region's lingua francas, Tetum and Indonesian, respectively. The words given in the tables occur very frequently and are as such distinguished from nonce-borrowings from these languages. Note that the Tetum loans come from a wide range of semantic domains and lexical categories. Those from Indonesian are somewhat more restricted and often pertain to formal schooling, a domain which was firmly associated with Indonesian for more than 20 years during the Indonesian occupation.

Makalero	Tetum source
<i>beik, peik</i> 'stupid'	<i>beik</i> 'stupid'
<i>funu</i> 'war'	<i>funu</i> 'war'
<i>kole</i> 'tired'	<i>kole</i> 'tired'
<i>kulat</i> 'mushroom'	<i>kulat</i> 'mushroom'
<i>liurai</i> 'king'	<i>liurai</i> 'king'
<i>matenek</i> 'clever'	<i>matenek</i> 'clever, intelligent'
<i>matebian</i> 'soul'	<i>matebian</i> 'soul'
<i>susuuk</i> 'mosquito'	<i>susuk</i> 'mosquito'
<i>tamba</i> 'because'	<i>tan ba</i> 'because'
<i>ukun</i> 'rule'	<i>ukun</i> 'rule'

Table 1.10: Loanwords from Tetum

Makalero	Indonesian source
<i>kasihan</i> ‘poor’	<i>kasihan</i> ‘mercy, pity, poor’
<i>karna</i> ‘because’	<i>karena</i> ‘because’
<i>lansun</i> ‘straight away, directly’	<i>langsung</i> ‘direct, straight, immediately’
<i>tamat</i> ‘graduate’	<i>tamat</i> ‘finish, complete, end’

Table 1.11: Loanwords from Indonesian

As in all Timorese languages, there is in Makalero a multitude of lexical items from Portuguese origin. It is unclear whether these were borrowed directly from Portuguese, or through the medium of Tetum.¹⁶ Portuguese loans are generally cultural and include many administrative terms.

Makalero	Portuguese source
<i>deue</i> ‘debt, borrow’ ¹⁷	<i>dever</i> ‘owe’
<i>findesemana</i> ‘weekend’	<i>fim-de-semana</i> ‘weekend’
<i>governu</i> ‘government’	<i>governo</i> ‘government’
<i>istuda</i> ‘study’	<i>estudar</i> ‘study’
<i>kalsa, kaalsa</i> ‘trousers’	<i>calças</i> ‘trousers’
<i>komesa</i> ‘start’	<i>começar</i> ‘begin, start’
<i>leh</i> ‘read’	<i>ler</i> ‘read’
<i>loja</i> ‘shop’	<i>loja</i> ‘shop’
<i>nosa siniora</i> ‘our lady’	<i>nossa senhora</i> ‘our lady’
<i>orde</i> ‘announcement, notification’	<i>ordem</i> ‘order, directive’
<i>paun</i> ‘bread’	<i>pão</i> ‘bread’
<i>povu</i> ‘people’	<i>povo</i> ‘people, populace’
<i>reja</i> ‘pray’	<i>rezar</i> ‘pray’

Table 1.12: Loanwords from Portuguese

1.6.2 Phonology

Makalero phonology is fairly straightforward. There are 11 native consonant phonemes, which are shown in Table 1.13. There is no phonemic contrast in voicing. Although the presence of the phoneme /d/ seems to be an exception to this rule, Table 1.13 shows that it is distinguished from /t/ not only in voicing, but also in the place of articulation. The glottal phoneme, represented as /ʔ/, has a stop

¹⁶ Hull (2004: 27) claims Fataluku and Makalero generally borrowed directly from Portuguese, while Portuguese-based lexemes in Makasae and Bunak were transmitted through Tetum and other local languages. However, he does not provide evidence to substantiate this claim.

¹⁷ Note that Portuguese verbs are not generally borrowed in the infinitive form, but rather in the third person singular present tense. An exception is *fiar* ‘trust, honour’, which ultimately derives from Portuguese *fiar* ‘trust, entrust’. It is found in an identical form in Tetum as ‘believe’.

allophone [ʔ] and a fricative allophone [h]. Both are frequently pronounced so faintly that they are practically inaudible.

	labial	alveo- dental	post- alveolar	velar	glottal
Plosive	p	t	d	k	ʔ
Diverted airstream	m	n	l		
Continuant	f	s	r		

Table 1.13: Consonant phonemes

In the domain of vowels, Makalero exhibits a classical five-vowel system as depicted in Table 1.14.

i (i:)	u (u:)
e (e:)	o (o:)
a (a:)	

Table 1.14: Vowel phonemes

The mid-vowels have open-mid and close-mid allophones. Vowels are lengthened in a variety of contexts, which are largely predictable: Firstly, a sequence of two identical vowels interrupted by the glottal phoneme may alternatively be pronounced as a long vowel. Secondly, simple vowel nuclei of monosyllabic morphemes are lengthened for the morphemes to conform to the bimoraicity requirement, and thirdly, vowel lengthening is a consequence of the resyllabification processes associated with echo vowels. There are also some morphemes with unpredictable long vowels; § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) argues that these can most commonly be assumed to be compounds, in which one of the constituent parts is monosyllabic. The glides [w] and [j] are analysed as allophones of the high vowels when they are used either as a syllable onset, as part of a complex nucleus, or in coda position.

The most common syllable structure is CV, although CVC may be found. Consonant clusters are disfavoured and epenthetic vowels are frequently inserted to avoid them. At the end of a phonological phrase, an echo vowel is commonly added to a consonant-final morpheme. § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83) shows how in that case, the nucleus of the erstwhile final syllable is lengthened.

The minimal lexical morpheme is bimoraic; the coda does not contribute to syllable weight. For this reason, a monosyllabic lexical morpheme must have either a long vowel nucleus or a diphthong nucleus. Furthermore, there is a restriction on the

number of heavy syllables; a simple morpheme can contain one such syllable at most.

Stress on word-level is generally on the second-to-last mora of a morpheme. Stress assignment in the utterance is roughly trochaic; however, more research is needed on this.

1.6.3 Lexical categories

All content words in Makalero are analysed as either nouns or verbs. Basically any lexeme can be used for referencing and for predicating, hence the classification of morphemes into these two classes is not straightforward. Nevertheless, I argue for the reality of a noun/verb distinction in Makalero based on the fact that there are some – largely unproductive – category-changing derivational processes, as well as a number of lexemes which receive widely differing, unrelated meanings if used either as prototypical verbs or nouns. § 3.1.1 (p. 100) and § 3.2.1 (p. 125) suggest a semantic feature as a general identification criterion for nouns and verbs: prototypical nouns, if used predicatively, are generally translated as “is an x”. Prototypical verbs in referring function, on the other hand, may denote “the act of x-ing”, “the product of x-ing” or “an instrument or object associated with x-ing”.

Makalero is largely isolating. The most productive morphological process is reduplication. In some cases, it appears to derive nouns from verbs. Otherwise, with both nouns and activity verbs, reduplication has a distributivity reading, denoting a variety of referents. With stative verbs, it is generally read as denoting a high degree of the property expressed by the verb. Other than that, an unproductive formative *-r-* can be identified, which appears to be broadly nominalising in function. The suffix *-ini* is another way of deriving nouns from verbs. Also, there is an agent noun suffix *-door*, borrowed ultimately from Portuguese. Some more morphological variation is found in the domain of verbs. There is an unproductive verbaliser in the form of the glottal phoneme as well as some inflectional morphology. A subclass of semantically intransitive verbs inflect for subject number. A more sizeable group of verbs exhibits bound forms used in a complement-verb complex.

In the domain of nouns, there is evidence for the distinction of nouns with the feature [+HUM] as opposed to those with the feature [-HUM]. The former can be marked with a plural suffix, while the latter are not commonly found with this suffix. Among [+HUM] nouns, there is a subgroup of kinship terms, which take a special plural marker distinct from the one found with other human nouns. Another way of classifying nouns is whether or not they take nominal classifiers. There is furthermore a group of nouns which is obligatorily used in a possessive construction; these include kinship terms and nouns that can be characterised as parts of a whole. Despite the absence of special marking, these nouns can be classified as inalienably possessed.

In the verbal domain, there is a major distinction between stative verbs and activity verbs. Most notably, the VP-internal adverb *hau* ‘all’ is read as a marker of completion with activity verbs, but denotes high degree with stative verbs. With respect to syntactic valency, the majority of verbs is divalent. While the first of the

two arguments associated with these verbs is a subject, the second can take the form of either an object or a complement. The two instantiations of the second argument differ in position. Nominal undergoers are commonly associated with the object position, while locations and goals are usually found in the complement position. Pronominal undergoers can stand in either position. A small minority of verbs is analysed as being aivalent, i.e. have a valency of zero and do not take any argument. These generally express temporal or modal concepts such as *soohe* 'yesterday', *tone* 'perhaps', or *atanana* 'first'. Other verbal subgroups are constituted by negative verbs, interrogative verbs, numerals, deictic verbs, quantifiers, verbs of physical and emotional states and verbs with complement clause extensions. Furthermore, there is a sizeable group of verbs which are marked with the third person undergoer prefix *k-* in the circumstances discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). It is argued that these verb forms are undergoing a reanalysis into free and bound verb forms.

Closed lexical categories include free personal pronouns and their adnominal forms, i.e. possessive pronouns; reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, the former also with an adnominal form; two interrogative pronouns, *mu'a-* 'who (BD)' and *sa'a-* 'what (BD)', as well as their adnominal forms; and an indefinite pronoun, *riparipa* 'any'. A class of determiners is made up of a series of demonstratives as well as *ho'o* 'some'. They stand in the rightmost slot within the NP.

There is also a variety of bound morphemes. Apart from the derivational morphemes mentioned above, these include plural suffixes, a honorific suffix, an agent noun suffix, a nominaliser suffix, an enclitic relative marker and a proclitic attributive marker. All of the latter are associated with the noun phrase. Within the verb phrase, there is the above-mentioned third-person object prefix *k-* which is found with a subgroup of verbs, the aspect marker *hai* and the negative marker *nomo*. Finally, there is a variety of phrase-level clitics. The majority of these are clause linkers, cliticised to the first clause in a sequence, that specify the semantic relation of that clause to the one that follows it.

1.6.4 The noun phrase

The noun phrase in Makalero is relatively straightforward. The head noun is preceded by a possessive phrase, while all other dependents (i.e. modifiers and determiners) follow it. Most variation is found in the domain of the modifier, which may be nominal, verbal, or fully clausal. As well as unmarked modifiers, there are modifiers introduced by the clitic attributive marker *ki=*. These are generally contrasting the referent in question with other possible referents with respect to the quality they express (§ 4.3.4, p. 284). There are, furthermore, genuine relative sentences¹⁸ in Makalero. The marking of these is centred on the subject of the relative clause, be it the head of the modifier or within the modifier. In the latter case, the head noun may be marked additionally. This results in a combination of

¹⁸ They are called relative sentences rather than relative clauses because they may be multiclausal.

head-marking and dependent-marking patterns. The head of a relative sentence may be either left-dislocated or in situ.

1.6.5 The verb phrase

Most of the complexity of Makalero grammar is found in the domain of the verb phrase, which is strictly head-final. The main characteristic feature of the verb phrase is that there are two distinct positions for the verb phrase-internal argument (see § 5.2, p. 319). The first of these positions, termed object position, is the leftmost element of the VP. It is followed by the aspect and negation markers as well as verb-phrase-internal adverbials. The second position, labelled complement position, immediately precedes the verb and in fact forms a morphosyntactic unit with it. This unit may be overtly marked by the use of a reduced form of the complement or a bound form of the verb, or both. The two argument positions are mutually exclusive. Either of them fills the verb's single non-subject argument position. While the object position holds only undergoer NPs, the complement position can contain either nominal or verbal constituents. The nominal constituents express either undergoers or locations and goals. Verbal complements, which are fully-fledged VPs except for the fact that the verb may be in a dependent form, generally convey locative or manner information. This construction type is also used in forming causatives, comparatives, modal modifications, directionality, and the like (§ 5.2.2.5, p. 339). There is some degree of flexibility between the object position and the complement position for nominal arguments. This holds particularly for pronominal undergoers, the position of which varies considerably. In many instances, it is a lexical property of a given verb whether a nominal argument is realised as an object or as a complement.

Any ditransitive verb, even those which are semantically intransitive and thus not associated with an undergoer participant, is compatible with a verbal complement expressing location or manner. If such adverbial information is expressed in the complement position, the undergoer (if one is associated with the verb in question) can no longer stand in the same predication, but must be expressed in a separate predication with the help of the light verb *mei* 'take'. The complement thus fills the verb's argument position. The fact that even semantically intransitive verbs are compatible with a complement shows that any verb is syntactically divalent.

Verbal modifiers include an aspect marker *hai*, expressing the beginning of a new situation, a negator *nomo* as well as a variety of VP-internal adverbials. § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159) analyses these as a subclass of full verbs which can alternatively be used as modifiers within the VP.

1.6.6 The clause

The unmarked word order in the clause is SOV. The subject argument generally has little repercussion on the rest of the clause. With a number of verbs which inflect for subject number, the number of the subject (whether overtly marked or not) determines the form of the verb. Apart from this, the use of the reflexive pronoun *ni* marks coreferentiality with the subject. Furthermore, the NP clitic =*ini*, analysed in § 9.2.3.1 (p. 501) as a contrastive marker, appears to be developing into a subject marker, which is used whenever a speaker considers word order alone not to be enough to clarify the subject referent. This may be the case in sentences with non-canonical word order, or if the subject argument is considerably lower on the topic-worthiness hierarchy than the second argument.

As mentioned in § 5.2 (p. 319), the non-subject argument can syntactically be realised in two ways, namely either as an object or as a complement. Either of these is a possible filler of the verb's syntactic argument position. Any additional arguments need to be expressed in a separate clause. Such multi-clause units are termed 'sentences' and discussed in § 7 (p. 401).

Operators (as defined by Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 40) that work on clause-level in Makalero are aspect, negation and status.

1.6.7 The sentence

The unit 'sentence' applies to expressions that pertain to one event semantically, but may consist of one or more clauses syntactically. Many sentences are biclausal due to the mismatch between the rigid structure of the Makalero clause, which allows for the expression of two syntactic arguments with a verb at most, and the semantic participant frames of verbs, which may contain more than two participants. This leads to a situation where all semantically ditransitive states of affairs are necessarily expressed in two clauses, with the light verb *mei* 'take' providing an empty argument slot for the supernumerary argument. Another important group of biclausal sentences involve verbal complements. These express circumstantial information of manner or location and are syntactically treated like verbal arguments in that they fill a verb's non-subject argument position. In fact, objects and complements are variant expressions of the same syntactic function. A given clause can contain only one or the other, but not both at the same time. Consequently, if a clause is constructed with a verbal complement, an undergoer in the verb's semantic participant frame must be expressed in a separate clause. Again, the light verb *mei* 'take' is used for this purpose. The last group of multi-clause sentences involve avalent adverbial predicates, which are clausal by themselves, but cannot form utterances on their own. Such adverbial predicates express time, aspectual notions, as well as epistemic modality. Deontic modality as expressed by a variety of modal verbs also generally takes the form of a sentence, as do verbs of saying with their complement clause extensions and a conative construction with *fera* 'try'. The

connection between the clauses in a sentence may be unmarked, or marked overtly with a clause-linking clitic (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250).

The main formal characteristic of the sentence is the presence of a left-detached position (LDP), to the left of the first clause. It can hold either left-dislocated arguments, non-argument topics or adverbial clauses. The position is particularly conspicuous in sentences involving adverbial predicates, which may intervene between a verb and its semantic participant. An example is given in (1). In this sentence, the adverbial clause *mu'a hai kamu* (ground NSIT night) 'it is already night' intervenes between the verb *ma'u* 'come' and its subject argument, *kiloo* (3s). Consequently, this clause is discontinuous. The square brackets in this sentence visualise its structure. A sentence such as (1) shows clearly that the LDP functions above the clause level.

- (1) $[Kiloo]_{SUBJ \text{ in LDP}} [mu'a \text{ hai } kamu]_{CLS=te'e} [ma'u]_{VP}$.
_{3s} ground NSIT night=after come
 'He came after night(fall).' (elic634)

Evidence for an equivalent right-detached position is slim (§ 7.6.2, p. 434).

Sentence types are declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, exclamations and optatives. These are in many instances not marked as such by an overt morpheme, but by intonation patterns.

1.6.8 The utterance

The utterance is defined as beginning after a silence or a final (falling) intonation contour and ending on the next final intonation contour. As such, it may include very short units, consisting only of a word or an exclamation, and relatively long stretches of speech, consisting of long chains of clauses. The clauses making up these chains are linked through clause linking clitics which attach to the right end of the first clause in a sequence. The two most common linkers, =*ini* and =*isi*, are very broad in meaning, expressing only a very close-knit connection between the clauses in the case of =*ini*, and a more loose connection in the case of =*isi*. The two linkers are commonly associated with topic continuity and topic change, respectively. Other linkers express adversativity, concessivity, condition, completion, alternatives, consequence, purposiveness or reported speech. The latter two are analysed as subordinating linkers, on the basis of their possible positioning either on the first clause in the sequence, or on the subject of the second clause. All others are found only cliticised on the first clause. These linkers show no evidence of a syntactic hierarchy between the two clauses they link. They can be combined with subordinating clause linkers; as such, § 8.3.6 (p. 488) argues that they are indeterminate as to a possible hierarchical relation between the two clauses they link. § 8.3 (p. 481) argues that several constructions in Makalero can be termed subordinating; the clearest of these are relative sentences. Like the subordinating clause linkers, these exhibit a marking pattern where the relative clitic is found on either the head or the subject argument of the relative sentence. On the basis of this

parallel, the purposive and reported speech linkers are analysed as subordinating. A rather different, yet also clearly subordinated structure are VP complements. These are full predications and are able to stand with the same modifiers as an independent clause. However, the verb stands in a dependent (possibly less verbal) form. A third type of clearly subordinated structure are clausal arguments and adverbial clauses in the left-detached position of a sentence. A somewhat tricky case is presented by verbs of saying and modal verbs and their complement clause extensions. § 3.6.2 (p. 3.6.2) argues that constructions where the complementiser attaches to the verb of saying, introducing its complement clause extension, originate from a construction where the complement functions as an argument of the verb of saying. The complementiser looks in those cases like a determiner or definite marker, showing that the clause functions as a nominal constituent within that clause. As such, complement clause extensions may qualify as a type of subordinating construction.

1.6.9 Discourse structure

Since Makalero has no case marking and no verbal agreement, and allows for the left-dislocation of participants, the correct interpretation of grammatical roles is potentially problematic. However, there are several devices aiding the hearer in this respect. An important indicator helping reference tracking across the text are the clause linkers *=ini* and *=isi*. As noted in § 8.1.1 (p. 457), the former is commonly associated with topic (or subject) continuity, while the use of the latter normally coincides with a topic change. Another grammatical item that contributes to reference tracking is the reflexive pronoun *ni*, which, both as an NP on its own as well as in adnominal use, denotes coreference with the subject participant. As such, any NP containing this pronoun is necessarily a non-subject. Furthermore, the contrastive marker *=ini* appears to be developing into a subject marker that is used to clarify subject reference in sentences with non-canonical word order or cases where the subject argument is much lower on the topic-worthiness hierarchy than the second argument. Also, the NP clitic *=haka*, which serves to mark the contradiction to a presupposition, occurs on subject arguments only. As such, it has a secondary subject-marking function.

The majority of sentences in Makalero follows the unmarked SOV word order. However, either argument may be placed in the left-detached position. These left-dislocated arguments may be both topics and foci. Most foci in the LDP are relatively long and may be taken up in situ by a pronoun. As such, § 9.2.1.2 (p. 498) concludes that the issue in those cases is the length of the constituent in question rather than its focality. Consequently, the main function of the LDP is to hold topics. § 9.2.2 (p. 500) discusses an explicit focus construction in which a clause with an empty position is followed by the same or a very similar clause with that position filled. This focus construction quite nicely implements the common definition of focus as the part of a proposition by which the assertion differs from the presupposition.

Makalero disposes of a number of clitic or adverbial markers which have to do with information structure. The most important of these is the contrastive clitic *=ini*. This

is found on both topical and focal participants. It is likely an extension of the clause linker =*ini* and appears to separate the contrastive argument from the rest of the clause. As such, these constructions display a high degree of similarity to cleft constructions. The clitic =*haka* marks the contradiction of a presupposition. *Na'a-muni*, which is predicative in status, equivalent to avalent adverbial predicates, appears to mark the beginning of a new scene or event. The clitic =*oo* 'too' is a frequently used concessive linker. However, it also occurs in a variety of cases, often in pairs, where this translation does not make sense. As such, it appears to have some information structuring use, which requires further research.

On a higher level of text organisation, it is noticeable that narratives are normally introduced by a sentence stating the content of the text. These sentences are very frequently associated with a particular word order. Texts are normally concluded by a closing sentence, which states that the speaker is finished.

A conspicuous feature of Makalero narratives is the use of tail-head linkage. A feature characteristic of ritual speech, lexical parallelism, has in some expressions also found its way into everyday speech.

1.7 Previous work

As a consequence of its debatable linguistic status as a dialect of Makasae, Makalero has previously received little attention from linguists. No mention of it is made in the founding works on the languages of the island (e.g. Capell 1943a, 1943b, 1944). The probably earliest Makalero data come from the notes of prof. António de Almeida, head of the Portuguese Missão Antropológica de Timor from 1953. These data consist of handwritten word lists and elicited sentences as well as a tape recording of an elicitation session which partly coincides with the written materials and includes an elicited dialogue between a doctor and a patient. It is not clear when exactly the data were collected – Almeida visited Timor several times in the period between 1953 and 1975. Neither is there a record of where they were collected. A number of lexical items used seem to be closer to Makasae than to the Makalero spoken around Iliomar as described in the present thesis, suggesting perhaps that the data were collected to the north of the Makalero-speaking area.¹⁹ The materials are kept at the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT) in Lisbon and are partly published in Almeida (1994). 2004 saw the publication of Hull's comprehensive "The Papuan Languages of East Timor", which gives a wealth of information. However, the Makalero data sources on which this article is based are clearly scarce and include several factual errors and inconsistencies.

The Japanese-founded Timor Loro Sa'e Nippon Culture Center (TNCC), founder of the Iliomar library (see § 1.2, p. 5), brought forth several works in and about Makalero by native speakers. Among them are a monolingual Makalero dictionary by Tomas Mariano Pinto, a Makalero language course with translations in Tetum and English by the same author, and a treatise of Iliomar customs and traditions by

¹⁹ An example is the word 'body', which de Almeida records as *ambere*. In the Makalero corpus underlying the present thesis, only *afur* is used. The corresponding Makasae is *amu* or *amu bere*.

Gaspar Seixas (the latter, as well as a Tetum translation, can be accessed online at http://www.geocities.jp/hkbtls/hakerek/Hakerek13/iliomar_makalero.htm).

Lastly, Chamberlain's 2008 monograph 'The struggle in Iliomar' gives invaluable non-linguistic (mostly historical) information.

1.8 Methodology and corpus

The current grammatical analysis of Makalero is mostly based on a corpus collected during two field trips to East Timor in 2007 and in 2009, respectively. The first of these trips was five months long, while the second was only three months. The time in East Timor was partly spent in Iliomar, the centre of the Makalero-speaking area, and Lospalos, the main town of Lautém district. The latter has a sizeable Makalero population and offers better infrastructure. Concretely, the Médicos do Mondo team based in Lospalos kindly let me take advantage of their generator. The work was divided according to the opportunities offered by these two settings. While in Iliomar, I spent my time making recordings, eliciting, taking notes and socialising; in Lospalos, I put the materials collected in Iliomar into order, transcribed and translated my recordings. This division of work allowed me to periodically organise and update my analysis and form theories, which I then tested on subsequent trips to Iliomar.

In the Makalero-speaking area, I operated in a relatively restricted circle. I stayed with Sr. Carolino Assunção and his family, who live next to the primary school in Iliomar town. With the school nearby, there were always numerous people around to talk to. Sr. Carolino and his wife Joana also introduced me to their friends and family, who are mostly based in the villages of Ailebere, Osuhira and Tirilolo (see Map 4). I visited these villages repeatedly and collected a large range of data.

The corpus of recorded texts is made up of personal memoirs, folk tales, procedural texts, and some clan and ancestor legends and a small amount of chat. Also recorded are several retellings of Mayer's (1969-1975) frog stories. In total, it adds up to over 9 hours.

In transcribing, preference was given to recorded texts that were fluently delivered and seemed coherent. More than 8 hours worth of recordings are transcribed and form the basis for the present thesis. Less fluent texts were left for a later date and a number of them, equalling approximately 1 hour of recorded speech, is as yet untranscribed. Table 1.15 gives a list of transcribed and translated recordings.

Text no.	Title	Speaker	Age	Origin	Sex	Length (mins)
16	My father	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	1:34
17	The evacuation to Mount Matebian	Olinda Pinto	54	Iliomar II	F	1:59
20	How to get to Tirilolo	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	0:33

21	The customs of Iliomar	Mateus Seixas Miranda	49	Osuhiro	M	14:16
23	My ancestor's life	Eugenio Xavier	65	Tirilolo	M	6:55
24	The story of the Loorasa clan	Francisco Rosa	65	Osuhiro	M	2:26
25	Traditional healing	Theodoro Araújo	55	Tirilolo	M	0:30
26	Life during the hunger season	Alfredo de Jesus	68	Tirilolo	M	1:25
30	My life and religion	Maria da Gloria	80	Tirilolo	F	2:08
31	My childhood as an orphan	Alfredo de Jesus	68	Tirilolo	M	1:46
32	My childhood as an orphan II	Alfredo de Jesus	68	Tirilolo	M	0:31
33	My father's life	Salvador da Silva	48	Tirilolo	M	6:21
35	The history of Ailebere	Eurico Jerónimo	32	Ailebere	M	3:28
38	Frog story 1	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	16:25
44	A restless night	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	1:47
50	How to cook mung bean porridge	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	1:07
51	The tale of Laapo and the king	Igildo Ximenes	28	Iliomar I	M	2:44
52	The tale of a naughty child	Igildo Ximenes	28	Iliomar I	M	2:19
54	How I mistakenly used up my uncle's massage oil	Maria da Silva	33	Tirilolo	F	1:14
55	Frog story 1	Mafalda Rosa	24	Osuhiro	F	12:02
55a	Wedding customs in Iliomar	Alexandre Serba Rosa	30	Osuhiro	M	10:04
56	My ancestor's life	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	2:33
57	How to make coconut oil	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	3:11
58	How I suffered a miscariage	Marmelinda Esteves	21	Iliomar I	F	1:19
59	How I got together with my husband	Marmelinda Esteves	21	Iliomar I	F	1:40
61	How we caught a huge sea turtle	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	2:12
62	How to make yarn	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	5:15
63	How I nearly died as a baby	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	1:49
64	The tale of Lerenene and the snake	Marcos da Costa	~40	?	M	4:43

65	How I worked with the international polling staff in 1999	José Serba dos Santos	27	Ailebere	M	10:04
66	My life	Carlito João Akara	32	Akara	M	10:02
67	How my husband was very ill	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	6:59
69	The tale of Nonomata	Mirandolina dos Reis	20	Iliomar I	F	13:34
70	The story of the Komil clan	Mateus da Costa	55	Ailebere	M	3:19
71	My life	Mateus da Costa	55	Ailebere	M	0:30
72	My youth	Mateus da Costa	55	Ailebere	M	4:33
73	How I earned money to go to school	Joana da Silva	28	Tirilolo	F	5:03
74	A divorce	Eligio Pereira	28	Iliomar I	M	18:14
75	My life	Carlos da Costa	41	Tirilolo	M	1:33
76	The village of Hiitali	Carlos da Costa	41	Tirilolo	M	1:12
78	The principle foods in Iliomar	Sabina Pereira	21	Iliomar II	F	2:13
81	A disagreement in the family	Jovita Jerónimo	20	Ailebere	F	1:53
82	My life	Vicente Reis	30	Marafal	M	8:55
83	My life	Filomena Seixas	32	Iliomar I	F	1:20
84	The Indonesian occupation	Marta Seixas	~60	Ailebere	F	3:35
85	Independence	Olimpia Jerónimo	50	Marafal	F	2:27
86	Education in Timor	Olimpia Jerónimo	50	Marafal	F	2:56
89	The tale of the king of Iliomar and the snake	Olimpia Jerónimo	50	Marafal	F	6:37
98	The importance of the Makalero language	Martinho Van da Costa Belo	23	Ailebere	M	10:16
99	A dangerous monkey / my ancestor	José da Costa Jerónimo	13	Marafal	M	5:41
101	My life	Agusto Barreto	33	Iliomar II	M	59:58
102	Frog stories 1 & 2	Agusto Pinto	23	Osuhira	M	20:08
103	An episode from my life	Agusto Barreto	33	Iliomar II	M	2:42
105	A message to the author's father	Agusto Barreto	33	Iliomar II	M	10:12

106	A message to the author's father 2	Agusto Barreto	33	Iliomar II	M	3:12
107	A message to the author's supervisor	Agusto Barreto	33	Iliomar II	M	3:57
111	Traditional beliefs and magic	Crispin da Costa	40	Ara-ara	M	1:56
113	A car accident	Crispin da Costa	40	Ara-ara	M	5:40
114	A tale about a mother	Carolino Assunção	42	Tutuala	M	3:53
115	Frog story 3	Agusto Pinto	23	Osuhiro	M	16:49
118	The tale of Laapo and the children's garden	Adão Pinto	18?	?	M	5:43
120	A ghost story	Agusto Pinto	23	Osuhiro	M	24:20
122	The story of the Liusoru clan	Crispin da Costa	40	Ara-ara	M	4:27
123	My grandfather's life	Crispin da Costa	40	Ara-ara	M	7:36
124	My life	Joni da Costa	18	Iliomar	M	11:44
125	My life	Martinho Van da Costa Belo	23	Ailebere	M	4:23
126	My life	Mafalda Rosa	26	Osuhiro	F	30:46

Table 1.15: Transcribed recordings

Examples from recorded texts are referenced in the grammar part by the number of the recording and the number of the sentence in my transcription. An example is 20-2, which refers to the second sentence of recording 20.

Elicitation sessions were not recorded. Indonesian was used as the meta-language in these cases. The reference 'elic', along with the number of a given sentence in my notes, marks elicited sentences, sentences I constructed myself to elicit grammaticality judgements from native speakers, as well as sentences I overheard in discourse. A number of sentences were elicited with pictograms based on Skopeteas et al. (2006). These are designed to locate markers of information structure and are marked as 'fisquest'.

In 2008, courtesy of the Fataluku Language Project (<http://fataluku.com/>) and Sr. Vítor Rosado Marques of the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT), I travelled to Lisbon to evaluate the records on Timorese languages kept in the IICT. During this trip, I was thus able to view the earliest Makalero data collected some 40 to 60 years ago (see § 1.7, p. 27). These data are quite different in some respects from those gathered by myself in Timor. It is not clear to what extent these differences are due to local variants of the language and to what extent language change is involved. As a consequence, wherever such examples are used in the following, they are marked as such with the reference 'almeida'. I combined this trip to Lisbon with a short stay in Porto, where I had made contact with Olávio Cabral, who was at the time a student at Porto university and originates from Tirilolo in the

Iliomar subdistrict (see Map 4). Olávio helped me immensely in transcribing recordings and answering numerous questions I had prepared. During the last two years of the project, Olávio was very often available online, so that I could ask him more questions to test hypotheses through email and chat. Sentences collected during my visit to Porto are marked as ‘pelic’. Also, Olávio did another run of the information structure pictograms (marked as ‘isquest’). Sentences gained through email or from an occasional online chat are referenced to as ‘chat’.

1.9 Orthography

While Almeida's data are in Portuguese orthography, all other earlier sources listed in § 1.7 (p. 27) use a phonemic orthography. In fact, Makalero's phonological system is fairly straightforward and involves little articulatory variation. As a consequence, the orthography used in the present thesis manages without the use of non-ASCII symbols. All of the earlier works, however, are more or less inconsistent and idiosyncratic in their treatment of vowel length, echo vowels and the glottal stop. The orthography used in the present thesis is based on the analysis of these phenomena as brought forward in § 2 (p. 37) and aims to give every morpheme a consistent standardised graphic representation. It is solely based on my own understanding and has not been discussed with members of the Makalero community. As such, it is not meant to be a proposal for a formal Makalero orthography.

The five members of the Makalero vowel inventory are adequately represented by <a e i o u>. § 2.2.3 (p. 62) identifies long vowels as a marginal phenomenon in Makalero. The large majority of long vowels are predictable. One such reason is the bimoraicity requirement for lexical morphemes; monosyllabic lexical morphemes must have a complex nucleus consisting of either a diphthong or a long vowel. Secondly, vowel length occurs in the context of the resyllabification associated with echo vowels. This process is discussed at length in § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83). Finally, long vowels are a possible realisation of a sequence of two identical vowels interrupted by the glottal morpheme. In such predictable contexts, vowel length is not represented in the orthography. (2) illustrates the two former processes (for the long vowel realisation of the glottal morpheme, see below). Note also that the regular process of echo vowel addition is not represented in writing.

(2)	<i>ni</i>	‘mother’	[ni:]
	<i>fat</i>	‘four’	[fa:t]
	<i>la'it</i>	‘old’	[laʔit], [laʔi:ti]
	<i>masan</i>	‘scared’	[masan], [ma'sa:na]

However, some lexemes include long vowels which cannot be predicted by the above rules. In these cases, vowel length is indicated by a double vowel grapheme, as shown in (3).

(3)	<i>puulata</i> <i>teersu</i>	‘head’ ‘rosary’	[.pu:'lata] [te:rsu]
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Vowel length is not represented in the transcription used in the majority of the sources discussed in § 1.7 (p. 27). An exception are the Timor Loro Sa'e Nippon Culture Center vernacular publications, which – inconsistently – appear to use the apostrophe <'> following a vowel graph for the purpose.

The glides are in the present thesis analysed as allophones of the respective high vowels; as such, <i> and <u>, respectively, are used to represent [j] and [w]. Examples (4) through (8) illustrate the correct reading of the high vowel graphemes as either vowels or glides in different contexts. In syllable-initial position, /i/ and /u/ are normally onglides. Two such examples are illustrated in (4). See § 2.2.2 (p. 60), however, for the fluctuation of the onglides between onset and syllabic status. Note that the onset position can hold one element at most. In the examples in (5), this position is occupied by a consonant, and as a consequence the following high vowel cannot be read as an onglide. The succession of the two vowels in these morphemes is thus disyllabic, as shown in the phonetic transcription in square brackets. Offglides form a complex nucleus together with the preceding vowel. As such, high vowel graphemes are read as glides in all contexts where they follow another vowel, whether or not they are followed by a consonant, as in (6) and (7), respectively. Finally, (8) shows that morpheme-internally between vowels, high vowels are assigned as onsets to the second syllable.

(4)	<i>uaro'</i> <i>iar</i>	‘wash’ ‘cry’	[ˈwaroh] [jar]
(5)	<i>nua</i> <i>tia</i>	‘eat’ ‘sleep’	[ˈnu.ˈa] [ˈti.ˈa]
(6)	<i>faut</i> <i>heil</i>	‘enter’ ‘pull’	[fawt] [hejl]
(7)	<i>leu</i> <i>rei</i>	‘call’ ‘outwards’	[lew] [rej]
(8)	<i>ouar</i> <i>saia</i>	‘master’ ‘skirt’	[ˈo.war] [ˈsa.ja]

Previous publications generally use <w> and <i> for these sounds.

The major difficulty in the domain of consonants is the graphic representation of the glottal phoneme. This phoneme is alternatively realised as [h], [ʔ], or as vowel length if it occurs between two identical vowels. The distribution of these allophones can be predicted for some instances; in others, there appears to be free variation. In some morphemes, only one or the other realisation is used, apparently as a lexical property. § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51) argues that preglottalisation of phrase-initial vowels is not phonemic. Neither does morpheme-initial [h] contrast with its absence.

However, the occurrence of the fricative allophone morpheme-initially does not seem regularly predictable as that of the preglottalisation. As such, a morpheme-initial glottal fricative is taken to be a lexical property and is represented by the grapheme <h>, as in the examples in (9). Free variation between all possible realisations of the glottal phoneme is found in the case of the glottal verbaliser (see § 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). The addition of an echo vowel to such a verb results in a sequence of two identical vowels interrupted by a glottal phoneme, which explains the long-vowel realisation. This variation is not reflected in the orthography; the grapheme <'> is used to represent this verbal ending, as shown in (10). In all other cases, either <h> or <'> are used depending on the unpredictable realisation of the glottal phoneme in a given morpheme. Note, however, that word-internal [h] is relatively rare in simple (non-compounded) morphemes. In fact, of the examples given in (11), *rihun* ‘thousand’ is an Austronesian loan, while *elehaa* ‘old man’ is likely a compound. In cases where a glottal phoneme occurs between two identical vowels word-internally, generally all three possible realisations are found, as shown in (12).

(9)	<i>hofar</i> <i>hifa'</i>	‘new’ ‘catch’	[‘hɔ̃far], [‘ɔ̃far] [‘hifaʔ]
(10)	<i>lafu'</i> <i>mutu'</i> <i>fani'</i>	‘live’ ‘be inside’ ‘be like’	[‘lafuʔ], [‘lafuh], [la'fu:] (from <i>lafu</i> ‘life’) [‘mutuʔ], [‘mutuh], [mu'tu:] (from <i>mutu</i> ‘inside’) [‘faniʔ], [‘fanih], [fa'ni:]
(11)	<i>mu'a</i> <i>to'i</i> <i>rihun</i> <i>elehaa</i>	‘ground’ ‘dig’ ‘thousand’ ‘old man’	[‘muʔa] [‘toʔi] [‘rihun] [.ɛlɛ'ha:]
(12)	<i>da'al</i> <i>na'an</i> <i>ne'et</i>	‘break’ (NEG.EX) ‘think’	[‘daʔal], [da:l], [‘dahal] [‘naʔan], [na:n], [‘nahan] [‘nɛʔɛt], [nɛ:t]

All earlier transcriptions are more or less inconsistent in their representation of this phoneme, reflecting its phonetically difficult status (§ 2.1.2.1, p. 51). A morpheme-initial glottal phoneme is either unrepresented or indicated by <h> in all sources. In all other contexts, the graphemes <h> or <'> are used, next to cases where the glottal phoneme is unrepresented. In the domain of the loan consonants, <c> and <j> are used to represent the affricate phonemes, following Indonesian orthography. <z> represents the voiced alveo-dental fricative, <v> the bilabial continuant, and <ng> the velar nasal.

As discussed in § 2.6 (p. 87), stress is largely predictable. As such, it is not represented in writing. Aberrant stress as found in some loan words is marked with an accent, as e.g. in *portugés* ‘Portuguese’.

1.10 Organisation of the grammar

The present descriptive grammar is organised into eight chapters. The first of these, § 2 (p. 37), discusses the phonology. Lexical categories and the morphology associated with them are defined in § 3 (p. 97). § 4 (p. 273) and § 5 (p. 317) elaborate on the noun phrase and the verb phrase, respectively. The remaining chapters discuss the clause and units larger than the clause; § 6 (p. 383) is on the clause and its constituent parts, § 7 (p. 401) on sentences and § 8 (p. 453) on utterances. Finally, § 9 (p. 491) treats some issues on the discourse level.

2. Phonology

The 16 native Makalero consonant phones group into 11 phonemes; furthermore, there are nine loan consonants from different sources. The 20 vowel sounds are analysed as varying realisations of five phonemes. § 2.1 (p. 37) and § 2.2 (p. 55), respectively, discuss the Makalero consonant and vowel phones and how they are grouped into phonemes on the basis of minimal pair tests. § 2.3 (p. 68) treats syllable structure and § 2.4 (p. 74) restrictions on the combination of the phonemes within syllables and words. § 2.5 (p. 75) examines the phonological properties of morphemes. Stress, both in isolated morphemes and in the utterance, is briefly treated in § 2.6 (p. 87).

2.1 Consonants

Makalero makes use of 17 native consonant phones, in addition to nine loan consonants. The latter occur only in loanwords, the bulk of which comes from Tetum, Malay/Indonesian and Portuguese. The total of 24 consonant phones can be represented in a table with six places of articulation and seven manners of articulation. Loan consonants are given in brackets.

	labial	alveo- dental	post- alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p (b)	t	d		k (g)	ʔ
affricate		(ts) (dz)		(tʃ) (dʒ)		
nasal	m	n			(ŋ)	
fricative	f β v	s (z)				h
lateral			l			
tap / trill			r r			
approximant	w			j		

Table 2.1: Consonant phones

Most of these elements are fairly constant in their realisation, and there is little articulatory variation to be found. An exception is presented by the fricatives [β] and [v], which are analysed as variant realisations of the labiovelar glide. § 2.2.2 (p. 60) argues that the glides are in turn allophones of the high vowels. Consequently, the fricatives in question are not further discussed here. Note, however, that [v] is also in use as a loan consonant (see § 2.1.2.2, p. 53). Furthermore, both glottal phonemes are in normal speech very faint or not present at all; also, they do not appear to be distinctive (see § 2.1.2.1, p. 51 for a discussion).

2.1.1 Minimal pairs

The present section presents a list of (near) minimal pairs to determine phonemic contrasts between the native consonants. Loan consonants are treated separately in § 2.1.2.2 (p. 53). Wherever possible, the native consonants are contrasted both within a morpheme and at its boundaries (see § 2.4, p. 74 for a more detailed discussion of phonotactics). Also, an attempt has been made to find word pairs exhibiting the consonant phonemes in question in the vicinity of different vowels, so as to show their contrastiveness in all possible contexts. As far as possible, I have tried to limit myself to native Makalero vocabulary; however, the language is rich in borrowings (see § 1.6.1, p. 16), some of which seem to be very old and have been completely integrated in the phonological system. I accepted minimal pairs involving such borrowings as valid for the demonstration of the distinctiveness of a sound, if no other word could readily be found. Furthermore, the list is limited to lexical morphemes, to the exclusion of function words, for which different rules apply in some respects (see § 2.2.3.2, p. 64).

The sounds that are contrasted in the following list are principally those that differ from each other by only one articulatory feature. In the case of place of articulation, however, only pairings of sounds immediately adjacent to one another in Table 2.1 are tested. On the other hand, all manners of articulation are tested. Also, the list includes a few other pairings which seem to be prone to non-distinctiveness.

/p/ ~ /t/	initial position:		
	[^h powk]		[^h tow]
	<i>pouk</i> ‘shave’		<i>tou</i> ‘coconut shell’
	medial position:		
	[^h apa]		[^h ata] ²⁰
	<i>apa</i> ‘psoriasis’		<i>ata</i> ‘fire’
	[^h upa]		[^h uta]
	<i>upa</i> ‘father’		<i>uta</i> ‘nut, bean’
/p/ ~ /m/	initial position:		
	[^h panih]		[^h mani]
	<i>panih</i> ‘be like’		<i>mani</i> ‘nape of the neck’
	[^h pəkɔ]		[^h məkɔ]
	<i>poko</i> ‘crouch’		<i>moko</i> ‘Fataluku speaker’
	medial position:		
	[^h apa]		[^h ama]
	<i>apa</i> ‘psoriasis’		<i>ama</i> ‘garden’

²⁰ See § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51) for the preglottalisation of vowels.

	[^h upa] <i>upa</i> ‘father’	[^h uma] <i>huma</i> ‘be angry’
/p/ ~ /f/	initial position: [pɔʔɔɾ] <i>po’or</i> ‘cook’	[fɔʔɔɾ] <i>fo’ol</i> ‘kill’
	[,puri'puri] <i>puripuri</i> ‘lie’	[,fuli'fuliʔ] <i>fuli-fuli</i> ‘be all together’
	medial position: [^h apa] <i>apa</i> ‘psoriasis’	[^h afa] <i>hafa</i> ‘bone’
	[^h tepar] <i>tepar</i> ‘be silent’	[^h sefar] <i>sefar</i> ‘dog’
/p/ ~ [w] ²¹	initial position: [pɛɾɛ] <i>pere</i> ‘big’	[^h wɛɾɛ] <i>were</i> (2DEM)
	[pi:li] <i>pil</i> ‘wound’	[^h wirik] <i>wirik</i> ‘saddening’
	medial position: [^h kapar] <i>kapar</i> ‘scratch’	[^h kawar] <i>kawar</i> ‘be cold’
/p/ ~ [h] ²²	initial position: [pura] <i>pura</i> ‘sell’	[^h hula] <i>hula</i> ‘end point’
	medial position: [pipi] <i>pipi</i> ‘goat’	[^h hihi] <i>hihi</i> ‘call (a horse)’
	[^h ripu] <i>ripu</i> ‘pair (of earrings)’	[^h rihun] <i>rihun</i> ‘thousand’

²¹ Approximants are analysed as allophones of the high vowels. See § 2.2.2 (p. 60) for a more detailed discussion.

²² See § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51) for the status of [h] as an allophone of a glottal phoneme /ʔ/.

/t/ ~ /d/

initial position:

[ʔtane]

tane ‘waken’

[ʔdane]

dane ‘lift’

[ʔtow]

tou ‘coconut shell’

[ʔdowh]

douh ‘six’

medial position:

[ʔkuta]

kuta ‘kill him/her’

[ʔkuda]

kuda ‘horse’

/t/ ~ /n/

initial position:

[ʔti:]

tih ‘pour (a drink)’

[ʔni:]

ni ‘mother’

[ʔtøke]

toke ‘tokay lizard’

[ʔnøkø]

noko ‘younger sibling’

medial position:

[ʔtiʔta:ra]

titar ‘run (PL)’

[ʔtina]

tina ‘cook’

final position:

[ʔfawt]

faut ‘enter’

[ʔpawŋ]

paun ‘many’

/t/ ~ /s/

initial position

[ʔti:l]

til ‘noon’

[ʔsi:l]

sil ‘bind’

[ʔtøke]

toke ‘tokay lizard’

[ʔsøkə]

soka ‘cover’

medial position:

[ʔʔata]

ata ‘fire’

[ʔʔasa]

asa ‘bird’

[ʔʔutu]

-utu ‘cover (BD)’

[ʔʔusu]

usu ‘textile warp size’

/t/ ~ /l/

initial position:

[ʔtewh]

teuh ‘buy’

[ʔlew]

leu ‘call’

	[¹ tutur] <i>tutur</i> ‘support’	[¹ lutur] <i>lutur</i> ‘fence’
	medial position: [¹ aʔɛ] <i>ate</i> ‘tree, plant’	[¹ alɛ] <i>ale</i> ‘rice plant’
	[¹ atu] <i>atu</i> ‘faeces’	[¹ alu] <i>alu</i> ‘headstrap on basket’
	final position: [¹ aʔat] <i>aʔat</i> ‘rest’	[¹ haʔal] <i>haʔal</i> ‘fry’
	[¹ fɔ:t] <i>fɔ:t</i> ‘break open’ (of a cotton bud)	[¹ fɔʔɔl] <i>fɔʔol</i> ‘kill’
/t/ ~ /r/	initial position: [taw] <i>tau-</i> ‘where (RED)’	[raw] <i>rau</i> ‘good’
	[¹ tiʔa] <i>tia</i> ‘sleep (SG)’	[¹ riʔaʔ] <i>ria</i> ‘run (SG)’
	medial position: [¹ etu] <i>etu</i> ‘birthmark’	[¹ heru] <i>heru</i> ‘weave’
/t/ ~ [j]	initial position: [¹ tara] <i>tara</i> ‘forbid (?)’	[¹ ʔar] <i>iar</i> ‘cry’
/t/ ~ [h]	initial position: [¹ tɔɾɛ] <i>tore</i> ‘swollen (?)’	[¹ horu] <i>horu</i> ‘horn’
	[¹ tule] <i>tule</i> ‘not want’	[¹ hulu] <i>hulu</i> ‘spoon out’
	medial position: [¹ wata] <i>uata</i> ‘coconut’	[,iraʔwaha] <i>ira uaha</i> ‘flood’

	final position:		
	['dowt]	['dowh]	
	<i>dout</i> 'break up'	<i>douh</i> 'six'	
/d/ ~ /k/	initial position:		
	['dafa]	['kafa]	
	<i>dafa</i> 'stab'	<i>k-afa-</i> 'away from him/her (RED)'	
	['du ^w e]	['ku ^w e]	
	<i>due</i> 'light'	<i>k-ue-</i> 'around him/her'	
	medial position:		
	['dada]	['taka]	
	<i>dada</i> 'grandparent, grandchild'	<i>taka</i> 'cover'	
	['dudu]	['duku]	
	<i>dudu</i> 'breast'	<i>duku</i> 'bow'	
/d/ ~ /n/	initial position:		
	['dane]	['nana]	
	<i>dane</i> 'lift'	<i>nana</i> 'snake'	
	['du ^w e]	['nu ^w a]	
	<i>due</i> 'light'	<i>nua</i> 'eat'	
	medial position:		
	['dada]	['dana]	
	<i>dada</i> 'grandparent, grandchild'	<i>dana</i> 'garden'	
/d/ ~ /s/	initial position:		
	['daka]	['saka]	
	<i>-daka</i> 'close (BD)'	<i>-saka</i> 'search (BD)'	
	['diki]	['sikir]	
	<i>diki</i> 'yarn'	<i>sikir</i> 'women's dance'	
	medial position:		
	['pada]	['dasa]	
	<i>pada</i> 'friend'	<i>dasa</i> 'throw'	

/d/ ~ /l/	initial position:	
	[<i>'daʔal</i>]	[<i>'laʔa</i>]
	<i>da'al</i> 'break'	<i>la'a</i> 'move'
	[<i>'du^we</i>]	[<i>'lu^we</i>]
	<i>due</i> 'light'	<i>lue</i> 'lime'
	medial position:	
[<i>'dudu</i>]	[<i>'hulu</i>]	
<i>dudu</i> 'breast'	<i>hulu</i> 'spoon out'	
/d/ ~ /r/	initial position	
	[<i>dowh</i>]	[<i>row</i>]
	<i>douh</i> 'six'	<i>rou</i> 'sleep (PL)'
	[<i>'dudu</i>]	[<i>'ruru</i>]
	<i>dudu</i> 'breast'	<i>ruru</i> 'ten'
	medial position	
[<i>'pada</i>]	[<i>'fara</i>]	
<i>pada</i> 'friend'	<i>fara</i> 'ship'	
/d/ ~ [h]	initial position:	
	[<i>'daka</i>]	[<i>'haka</i>]
<i>-daka</i> 'cover (BD)'	<i>haka</i> 'search'	
/k/ ~ [ʔ]	medial position:	
	[<i>'raku</i>]	[<i>'raʔu</i>]
	<i>raku</i> 'friend'	<i>ra'u</i> 'plate'
	[<i>'mekε</i>]	[<i>'mεʔε</i>]
<i>meke-</i> 'break up (bound)'	<i>me'e</i> 'be able'	
/k/ ~ [h]	initial position:	
	[<i>kejɭ</i>]	[<i>hejɭ</i>]
	<i>keil</i> 'lift with a stick'	<i>heil</i> 'pull'
	[<i>ko'horu</i>]	[<i>ho'ʔoru</i>]
	<i>kohoru</i> 'with him'	<i>ho'oru</i> 'shoulder'
	medial position:	
[<i>'haka</i>]	[<i>'naha</i>]	
<i>haka</i> 'search'	<i>na'a</i> 'work'	

	final position:	
	[powk]	[dowh]
	<i>pouk</i> ‘shave’	<i>douh</i> ‘six’
/k/ ~ Ø	initial position:	
	[‘kamu]	[^ʔ amu]
	<i>kamu</i> ‘night’	<i>amu</i> ‘person’
	[‘kini]	[^ʔ ini]
	<i>kini</i> ‘make’	<i>ini</i> (1pe)
[ʔ] ~ /p/	medial position:	
	[‘laʔa]	[‘lapa]
	<i>la’a</i> ‘move’	<i>lapa</i> ‘kind of beetle’
	[‘leʔu]	[‘lepuh]
	<i>le’u</i> ‘roll, wrap’	<i>lepuh</i> ‘be hungry’
[ʔ] ~ /t/	medial position:	
	[‘muʔu]	[‘mutu]
	<i>mu’u</i> ‘banana’	<i>mutu-</i> ‘inside (RED)’
	final position:	
	[na:ʔ]	[na:t]
	<i>na’</i> ‘basket’	<i>nat</i> ‘stand (SG)’
[ʔ] ~ /d/	medial position:	
	[‘daʔal]	[‘dada]
	<i>da’al</i> ‘break’	<i>dada</i> ‘grandparent, grandchild’
	[‘loʔε]	[‘lodε]
	<i>lo’e</i> ‘peel’	<i>lode</i> ‘bag, basket’
[ʔ] ~ [h]	--	
	(see § 2.1.2.1, p. 51)	
[ʔ] ~ [w]	medial position:	
	[‘laʔa]	[‘lawan]
	<i>la’a</i> ‘move’	<i>lawan</i> ‘precious metal’

[ʔ] ~ Ø	medial position:	
	[¹ raʔu]	[raw]
	<i>ra'u</i> 'plate'	<i>rau</i> 'good'
	[¹ luʔe]	[¹ lu ^w e]
	<i>lu'e</i> 'cut'	<i>lue</i> 'lime'
	final position:	
	[¹ mutuʔ]	[¹ mutu]
	<i>mutu</i> 'inside'	<i>mutu</i> 'inside (RED)'
	[¹ ʔata]	[¹ ʔataʔ]
	<i>ata</i> 'fire'	<i>ata</i> 'angry'
/m/ ~ /n/	initial position:	
	[¹ mana]	[¹ nana]
	<i>mana</i> 'hole'	<i>nana</i> 'snake'
	[¹ mej]	[¹ nej]
	<i>mei</i> 'take'	<i>nei</i> 'name'
	medial position:	
[¹ dameŋ]	[¹ daneŋ]	
<i>dame</i> 'good'	<i>dane</i> 'lift'	
[¹ namu]	[¹ nanu]	
<i>namu</i> 'body hair'	<i>nanu</i> 'great-great-grandparent'	
/m/ ~ /f/	initial position:	
	[¹ mana]	[¹ fana]
	<i>mana</i> 'hole'	<i>fana</i> 'teach'
	[¹ mejh]	[¹ fejʔ]
	<i>meih</i> 'two (HUM)'	<i>fei</i> 'sew'
	medial position:	
[¹ ʔama]	[¹ hafa]	
<i>ama</i> 'garden'	<i>hafa</i> 'bone'	
[¹ ʔimir]	[¹ ʔifil]	
<i>imir</i> 'red'	<i>ifil</i> 'tongue'	
/m/ ~ [w]	initial position:	
	[¹ mara]	[¹ wari]
	<i>mara</i> 'go'	<i>uari</i> 'still'

	[¹ meli] <i>meli</i> ‘pick’	[² weri] <i>ueri</i> ‘bottom’
	medial position: [² amar] <i>amar</i> ‘old’	[¹ kawar] <i>kauar</i> ‘cold’
/f/ ~ /s/	initial position: [¹ faka] <i>faka</i> ‘watering place’	[¹ saka] <i>-saka</i> ‘search (BD)’
	[fɔ:t] <i>fot</i> ‘break open’ (of a cotton bud)	[sɔ:t] <i>so’ot</i> ‘want’
	medial position: [¹ hafa] <i>hafa</i> ‘bone’	[² asa] <i>asa</i> ‘bird’
/f/ ~ [w]	initial position: [¹ fala] <i>fala</i> ‘cat’	[² wala] <i>uala</i> ‘be born’
	[fejɭ] <i>feil</i> ‘lick’	[² wejɾ] <i>ueir</i> ‘river’
/f/ ~ [h]	initial position: [¹ fala] <i>fala</i> ‘cat’	[¹ hala] <i>hala</i> ‘war’
	medial position: [² ifi] <i>ifi</i> ‘star’	[¹ hihi] <i>hihi</i> ‘call (a horse)’
/s/ ~ /l/	initial position: [¹ saman] <i>saman</i> ‘hard’	[,lama'lama] <i>lama-lama</i> ‘in small pieces’
	[¹ seta] <i>seta</i> ‘blind’	[¹ letɔ] <i>leto-</i> ‘through’
	medial position: [² asa] <i>asa</i> ‘bird’	[¹ hala] <i>hala</i> ‘war’

	[ˈresi] <i>resi-</i> ‘remain (RED)’	[ˈteli] <i>teli</i> ‘maize’
/s/ ~ /r/	initial position: [ˈsapu] <i>sapu</i> ‘pomelo’	[ˌrapuˈrapu] <i>rapu-rapu</i> ‘quick’
	[ˈsiʔa] <i>sia</i> ‘rub’	[ˈriʔaʔ] <i>ria</i> ‘run’
	medial position: [ˈʔasa] <i>asa</i> ‘bird’	[ˈʔaran] <i>aran</i> ‘dry’
	[ˈpusi] <i>pusi</i> ‘pan, container’	[ˌpuriˈpuri] <i>puripuri</i> ‘lie’
	final position: [kuːs] <i>kus</i> ‘blow’	[huˈhuːr] <i>huhur</i> ‘separate’
/s/ ~ [j]	initial position: [ˈsareŋ] <i>saren</i> ‘filter’	[jar] <i>iar</i> ‘cry’
/s/ ~ [h]	initial position: [ˈsaʔɛ] <i>sa’e</i> ‘hair’	[ˈhaʔɛ] <i>ha’e</i> ‘ladder’
	[siːl] <i>sil</i> ‘bind’	[hiːl] <i>hil</i> ‘pit (someone against)’
/s/ ~ [w]	initial position: [ˈsala] <i>sala</i> ‘mistake’	[ˈwala] <i>uala</i> ‘be born’
[h] ~ Ø	final position: [ˈlafuh] <i>lafuh</i> ‘live’	[ˈlafu] <i>lafu</i> ‘life’

/l/ ~ /r/	initial position:	
	[^h liu]	[^h riu]
	<i>liu</i> ‘standing (water)’	<i>riu</i> ‘shake’
	[^h lɔkɔ]	[^h rɔkɔ'rɔkɔ]
	<i>loko</i> ‘lie’	<i>rokoroko</i> ‘rustle’
	medial position:	
	[^h fala]	[^h fara]
	<i>fala</i> ‘cat’	<i>fara</i> ‘ship’
	[^h ili]	[^h hiri]
	<i>ili</i> ‘stone’	<i>hiri</i> ‘wall’
	final position:	
	[hu:l]	[hu'hu:r]
	<i>hul</i> ‘be able’	<i>huhur</i> ‘separate’
/l/ ~ [j]	initial position:	
	[la:r]	[jar]
	<i>lar</i> ‘time’	<i>iar</i> ‘cry’
[r] ~ [r]	--	
/r/ ~ [j]	initial position:	
	[^h raku]	[jar]
	<i>raku</i> ‘friend’	<i>iar</i> ‘cry’

2.1.2 Consonant phonemes

The bulk of the consonant phones tested are distinctive and thus phonemic. There are only two exceptions, which were not found to contrast in any context. On the one hand, there is the pairing of the tap [ɾ] and the trill [r]. No clear conditioning factors to predict their distribution were found; consequently, they are treated as free variants of one phoneme /r/. A second non-contrastive pairing is that of the glottal consonants [h] and [ʔ]. This case is discussed in more detail in § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51).

While the approximants are clearly phonemic in opposition to the other consonants, § 2.2.2 (p. 60) argues that they are allophones of the corresponding high vowels. For this reason, they are not discussed further here.

A conspicuous characteristic of this consonant inventory is the occurrence of /d/ as the only native voiced plosive. The other voiced plosives in Table 2.1, [b] and [g], have been classified as loan consonants (see § 2.1.2.2, p. 53). Features used once in a phonological system tend to be used again; this optimises what Clements

(2003: 287) terms the economy of the system. Voicing is not a prominent feature in the Makalero consonant system as given in Table 2.1; apart from /d/, only the liquids /l/ and /r/, the nasals and the approximants (for which see § 2.2.2, p. 60) are voiced. In none of these, however, is voicing a distinctive feature: rather, it is the default value. The presence of /d/ in Makalero seems to contradict Burquest's (1998: 48) generalisation that if a language has a voiced alveolar plosive²³, it will also have the bilabial one, which appears to be the most unmarked voiced plosive. Whereas neighbouring and closely related Makasae has both a voiced and a voiceless series of stop phonemes (Huber 2008a: 4), Fataluku has only the unvoiced series (Hull 2005: 6). Neither of them has an incomplete series. The system exhibited by Makalero thus seems to be in between these two extremes, and might possibly reflect an incomplete shift^{24, 25}. It appears an incomplete series of voiced stops is relatively common in the consonant inventories of the languages of Eastern Indonesia; for instance, the Papuan language Abui (Kratochvil 2007: 25), spoken on the nearby island of Alor, has voiced bilabial and alveodental stops, but a corresponding voiced velar stop has only been introduced recently via loan words. Austronesian Leti, spoken on Leti island is reported to have the four stop phonemes /p/, /t/, /d/, and /k/ (Engelenhoven 2004: 49f), which are the same as those found in Makalero. In several of the languages spoken on the islands east of Timor²⁶ voicing is not a distinctive feature.

Given that /d/ in Makalero is realised in the postalveolar, rather than in alveolar, position, voicing is not the sole feature distinguishing it from alveodental /t/. Hence an analysis similar to that given in Engelenhoven (2004: 49f.) for Leti lends itself for Makalero: with place of articulation taken as the main feature distinguishing /d/ and /t/, voicing as a distinctive feature can be discarded from the consonant system, and /d/ can be grouped together with the other stops in one plosive series with five members, starting from bilabial /p/, going on to alveodental /t/, postalveolar /d/, velar /k/ and ending at glottal /ʔ/. Table 2.2 below shows the native Makalero consonant phonemes, taking into account this rearrangement.

²³ /d/ in Makalero is postalveolar rather than alveolar. On these grounds, the applicability of Burquest's generalisation might be questioned.

²⁴ This leaves the question as to the direction of such a shift. The fact that place and clan names make use of the voiced bilabial plosive (§ 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111) suggests an incomplete loss of a voiced plosive series.

²⁵ Engelenhoven (2010: 162) points out that the Northwest dialect of Fataluku uses a "retroflex occlusive [d]", which corresponds to the palatal occlusive [c] in the other Fataluku dialects.

²⁶ e.g. Meher on Kisar (e.g. Christensen and Christensen 1992: 41), Moe on the Leti islands (e.g. Engelenhoven 1995: 253) and Wetan on the Babar islands (e.g. Josselin de Jong 1987: 154).

	labial	alveo- dental	post- alveolar	velar	glottal
plosive	p	t	d	k	ʔ
nasal	m	n			
fricative	f	s			
lateral			l		
tap			r		

Table 2.2: Consonant phonemes

The traditionally organised phoneme chart as shown in Table 2.2 exhibits many gaps; in fact, there are 14 empty as opposed to only 11 filled positions. The Makalero consonant system thus appears to be highly uneconomic in that many features are used only in one phoneme and do not reappear anywhere else in the phoneme inventory, making it rather unsatisfactory. However, the system can be made more economic if one accepts a few adjustments to the arrangement given in Table 2.2. First, the liquid /l/ can be taken to function as the (post-)alveolar counterpart of the nasals, their common characteristic being an obstruction of the oral track and the resulting divergence of the air stream through the nasal cavity in case of the nasals, and through the sides of the tongue in the case of the liquid /l/. This fills the gap in the postalveolar position in the erstwhile nasal row, and at the same time makes a separate lateral row unnecessary. Second, fricatives, which in the literature have often been negatively defined as lacking contact between the articulators, can be taken to have a turbulence of the air stream as their positive defining feature. As such, /r/ can be seen as the (post-)alveolar counterpart of the labial and alveodental fricatives. The term ‘continuant’ covers both fricatives and /r/. Again, this fills a gap in the fricative row, while at the same time eliminating the tap row. These modifications yield the phoneme system consisting of 11 elements given in Table 2.3.

	labial	alveo- dental	post- alveolar	velar	glottal
plosive	p	t	d	k	ʔ
diverted airstream	m	n	l		
continuant	f	s	r		

Table 2.3: Consonant phonemes (rearranged)

The resulting system is appealing in its simplicity, and much more compact and economic in terms of Clements's analysis than the one given in Table 2.2 above.²⁷

2.1.2.1 The glottal phoneme /ʔ/

There are no minimal pairs demonstrating a phonemic contrast between [ʔ] and [h] (see § 2.1.1, p. 38). In fact, the two regularly alternate in the derivation of verbs from nouns or particles, such as in *lafu* 'life' vs. *lafu* 'live', realised either as [la'fu:ʔu] or [la'fu:hu] (see § 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). [h] and [ʔ] are thus treated as allophones of one glottal phoneme /ʔ/. Their respective distributions, however, are not very clear. The choice of one realisation over the other seems, to some degree, to be an idiosyncratic feature. Consider the two realisations of the sentence 'I am very hot' given by two different speakers in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) [ʔanihawne'ne:hɛ]

Ani hau nene'.

1s all hot

'I am very hot.'

(2) [ʔaniawne'ne:ʔɛ]

Ani hau nene'.

1s all hot

'I am very hot.'

Some distributional tendencies can, however, be defined. Phrase-initial vowels are commonly preglottalised. However, this glottal stop generally disappears if the same lexeme occurs within a phrase following a closed syllable. While morpheme-initial [h] does not contrast with its absence, these fricatives are not regularly predictable, as phrase-initial glottal stops are.²⁸ An initial [h] is thus taken to be a lexical property of a given morpheme; it is the realisation of the glottal phoneme in morpheme-initial position. In morpheme-internal position, some lexemes are clearly paired with a specific realisation. For instance, *na'u* 'just' is never found as [nahu], but only with a glottal stop as [naʔu]. In other cases, either realisation is possible, as e.g. in *na'a* 'work', which can be pronounced as either [naha] or [naʔa]. Overall, word-internal [h] is very rare in simple (non-compounded) lexemes. In fact, most of the lexemes where it does occur appear to be either borrowings or compounds. Cases in point are *rihun* 'thousand', which is an Austronesian loan (see § 3.2.3.8, p. 171), and *elehaa* 'old man', which is likely a compound. Morpheme-finally, again, [ʔ] is favoured, although some lexemes are more commonly associated with [h]. The most common verbalising morpheme takes the form of the glottal phoneme (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). In these instances, there appears to be free variation between the [h] and the

²⁷ Engelenhoven (2004) proposes a very similar analysis for Leti phonology.

²⁸ Furthermore, in a number of verbs, initial [h] alternates with [s] in certain contexts (see § 3.2.2.2.2, p. 135). No such morphosyntactic process is attested for an initial glottal stop.

[ʔ] allophones. *Nene* ‘hot’ as in (1) and (2) illustrates this. The following schemas summarise these distributional tendencies.²⁹

/ʔ/ → [h]/	#_	(e.g. <i>heti</i> ‘ask’, <i>hi’a</i> ‘street’)
/ʔ/ → [ʔ] (rarely [h])/	V_V	(e.g. <i>ra’u</i> ‘plate’, <i>la’a</i> ‘move’, but also <i>na’a</i> ‘work’)
	V_#	(e.g. <i>isi</i> ‘at’, <i>fasa</i> ‘dirt’, but also <i>douh</i> ‘six’)

In the orthography used in the present thesis, <h> is used to represent the morpheme-initial variant of the glottal phoneme. In those contexts where there is free variation between the two realisations, <’> is used. In those cases where a given morpheme is specifically associated with one or the other realisation in medial and final position, <h> and <’> are used (see § 1.9, p. 32 for more details).

The glottal stop is often so faint so as to be barely audible. Such words as *li’an* [liʔan] ‘fall’ and *na’u* [naʔu] ‘really’ are often heard as [li’an] and [naw], respectively. In the case where the two vowels surrounding a glottal stop are identical, a long vowel results; hence a word such as in *lo’on* [loʔon] ‘sky’ is actually more frequently realised as [lo:n]. The same holds for the velar fricative allophone: [h] has been found to contrast with its absence only in final position (as a realisation of the glottal verbaliser). The distinct articulation of the glottal phoneme seems to be a characteristic of careful speech, and in more casual pronunciation, the minimal pairs contrasting /ʔ/ with any other sound actually demonstrate the opposition of that sound with Ø. Despite its articulatory weakness, both in cases where the glottal phoneme is lexical (such as *li’an* ‘fall’ and *lo’on* ‘sky’) as well as in instances where it has a purely grammatical function (such as in *lafu* [la’fu:ʔu] ‘live’), speakers have a very clear idea of whether the glottal stop is actually there or not, even though it might be inaudible and thus not actually surface.

Engelenhoven (p. c.) reports a very similar situation in Fataluku, where the glottal stop is basically present only in emphatic speech; there are dialects of that language in which it is totally absent. Also, it has completely disappeared in Austronesian Makuva (Engelenhoven 2010: 163), even though according to the author it must have existed at an earlier stage. The glottal stop is also difficult to hear in Makasae, and according to Hajek and Tilman (2001: 178), it is found to alternate with [h], exactly as in Makalero. It appears that the glottal stop is otherwise quite robust in the area; which makes its weakness in the languages of the eastern tip of Timor remarkable.

²⁹ A possible alternative analysis to account for this messy distribution of [ʔ] and [h] would be to posit two distinct glottal phonemes, namely a glottal stop /ʔ/ and a glottal fricative /h/. The latter would alternatively be realised as either [h] or [ʔ]. Such an analysis would be able to capture the difference between such lexemes as *na’u* ‘just’, which occur only with the glottal stop, and *na’a* ‘work’, which can be realised with either a glottal stop or a glottal fricative. However, unless clear distributional criteria for its [h] and its [ʔ] variant are given, it cannot satisfactorily account for those words where internal or final [h] does not appear to alternate with [ʔ]. Furthermore, it would obscure the fact that the distribution of the glottal sounds as illustrated in the schema above is statistically clearly dominant; also, it would involve the positing of two phonemes which cannot be demonstrated to contrast in any context.

2.1.2.2 The loan consonants

Table 2.1 marks the following sounds as loan consonants: the voiced stops [b] and [g]; the alveodental and palatal affricates [ts] and [dz], and [tʃ] and [dʒ], respectively; the velar nasal [ŋ]; and the voiced fricatives [v] and [z]. They were disregarded in all the above considerations.

The voiced plosives /b/ and /g/ occur in loanwords from Tetum, Indonesian and Portuguese, as shown in (3), (4) and (5), respectively.

(3)	[ˈbejk] [baˈdajŋ] [ˈtamba]	<i>beik</i> <i>badaen</i> <i>tamba</i>	‘stupid’ ‘expert’ ‘because’
(4)	[ˈbaŋku] [ˈgambɑr] [gɛˈgɛr]	<i>bangku</i> <i>gambar</i> <i>geger</i>	‘bench, stool’ ‘picture’ ‘crazy’
(5)	[ʔarˈbiru] [buˈtawn] [guˈvernũ]	<i>arbiru</i> <i>butaun</i> <i>governu</i>	‘any’ ‘button’ ‘government’

The voiced plosives seem to be most stable in Portuguese words, whereas Malay/Indonesian words in particular can often be heard with voiceless plosives replacing the voiced ones, hence, for instance, [ˈpaŋku] ‘bench’ or [ˈkambɑr] ‘picture’.³⁰ For those speakers who retain the voiced plosives, voice appears to be a relevant feature.

Note that the status of /b/ is somewhat ambivalent. Whereas it is true that where lexical items are concerned, it occurs only in loanwords,³¹ it is found quite regularly in place names, such as *Ailebere*, *Bunabiki* and *Boropai*, all of which are villages surrounding Iliomar, as well as clan names, such as *Betunomar* or *Lafidebar*.³² Thus it appears that place and clan names conform to a specific phonological subsystem, and /b/ has a degree of functionality in Makalero inherited vocabulary, albeit a very limited one.³³ A preliminary survey of place and clan names in Makalero suggests that /b/ is the only element that is added to that system. Apart from this, it seems to

³⁰ In fact, some speakers replace all voiced plosives by their unvoiced counterparts when speaking Indonesian.

³¹ Pinto (2007), a native speaker, lists /b/ as a phoneme in his analysis of Makalero, giving such examples as *bibi* ‘goat’, *bada* ‘friend’, and *bai* ‘pig’; in my own data, the same items occur consistently as [ˈpipi], [ˈpada] and [ˈpaj], respectively. Note, however, that the cognates of these items in Makasae have a voiced plosive. In his comprehensive 2004 article, Hull also gives many Makalero lexemes containing the grapheme . However, on p. 69, listing Makalero phonemes, he presents a system basically identical to the one shown in Table 2.2. There is no explanation as to whether he considers to be an allophone of /p/, and if so, by which factors it is conditioned.

³² The only exception to this is a word *uebere*, which was translated as ‘live there’ and occurs only once in the entire corpus. *Uebere* is presumably segmentable into *ue-*, the bound form of the addressee-related deictic verb (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180), and an element *bere*, which might mean something like ‘live’ (although usually *lafu* is used for that). It is unclear where this word comes from.

³³ It is possible that place and clan names retain older features, or are adopted from previous populations.

be identical to the one used for the rest of the lexicon (see § 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111). The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ occur only in Malay/Indonesian loans. (6) and (7) give examples.

(6)	[.dʒeri'kɛ:n] [dʒawa]	<i>jerigen</i> <i>Jawa</i>	‘jerrycan’ ³⁴ ‘Java’
(7)	[tʃɛk] [tʃɛ'rita]	<i>cek</i> <i>cerita</i>	‘check’ ‘story’

They are realised as [tʃ] and [dʒ], respectively, only in rather careful speech, or where the morphemes containing them are readily perceived to be loans. In more casual pronunciation, they tend to be fronted to alveodental affricates (e.g. [.dzɛri'kɛ:n] ‘jerrycan’)) and may additionally be simplified into alveodental fricatives (e.g. [.zɛri'kɛ:n]). [ts] and [dz] are thus allophones of /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, respectively, as are some occurrences of [s] and [z].

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is confined to Malay/Indonesian loanwords such as *langsung* ‘directly, straight away’. Its occurrence is also a characteristic of careful speech, and in most circumstances it is develarised so as to become a dental nasal [n]. Thus, [lɑŋsʊŋ] is frequently realised as [lɑnsʊn].

The voiced fricative /v/ occurs only in Portuguese loanwords, such as *governu* ‘government’ or *sirvisu* ‘work’. Many speakers realise /v/ as [b], thus [gɔ'bɛrnʊ] and [sir'bisʊ], respectively.

The voiced alveodental fricative, /z/ is a generally a characteristic of Portuguese loanwords, where it either corresponds to the same sound in Portuguese (e.g. [kaza'mɛntu] ‘marriage’ from Port. *casamento*) or replaces an original voiced palatal fricative /ʒ/. Makalero speakers find the latter hard to produce; thus, for instance, [ig'reza] ‘church’ from Port. *igreja* [ig're:ʒa], or [mɛn'sazɛn] ‘message’ from Port. *mensagem* [mɛ'sa:ʒɛn].³⁵ As noted above, however, /z/ is also a possible realisation of the affricate /dʒ/ in Indonesian loanwords.

The phonological system as shown in Table 2.3 must thus be understood as an idealised original system. The actual status of the loan consonants may vary from one speaker to the next. Table 2.4, which integrates the loan consonants, represents a maximum consonant system, where all loan consonants are treated as phonemic.

³⁴ This item is originally from English. Since direct English influence in Makalero is minimal, it is reasonable to assume it has been borrowed via Indonesian.

³⁵ The phoneme replacements described above are also characteristic for Makalero speakers speaking either Indonesian or Portuguese.

	labial	alveo-dental	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p b	t	d		k g	ʔ
affricate				tʃ dʒ		
diverted airstream	m	n	ɺ		ŋ	
continuant	f v	s z	r			

Table 2.4: Consonant phonemes including loan phonemes

2.2 Vowels

Table 2.5 shows the vowel sounds found in Makalero.

close	i, iː, ɨ, ɨː	u, uː, ʉ, ʉː
close-mid	e, eː, ɛ, ɛː	o, oː, ɔ, ɔː
open-mid	ɛ, ɛː, ɛ̃, ɛ̃ː	ɔ, ɔː, ɔ̃, ɔ̃ː
open	a, aː, ʌ, ʌː	

Table 2.5: Vowel phones

All vowels exist in four variants, both long and short, and creaky or not. The front close-mid vowel [e] and the open [ɛ] are not contrastive in any context; they are thus allophones of the phoneme /e/. The close-mid allophone is generally used in the vicinity of high vowels, whereas in all other cases, [ɛ] is used. The same holds for the long and the creaky versions of these vowels, respectively. This principle also underlies the distribution of the mid back vowels [o] and [ɔ], as well as their long and their creaky counterparts. The realisation of the mid vowels in a given word is not fixed and may vary according to the larger context. Compare, for instance, the word *ue* ‘sister-in-law’ in sentences (8) and (9), which come from the same text, as well as the two realisations of the third person singular pronoun *kiloo* in (10) and (11), also from one text.

- (8) ['waini'ki:wɛ'ra:wɛ'ʔɛ'nɔ:maj'nis]
Uai=ni ki-ue=raa ue' nomo ma'en=isi...
 CLS=LNK1 3:POSS-sister.in.law=PL V2DEM NEG know=LNK2
 'And her sisters-in-law there didn't know, and then ...' (74-036)
- (9) [ni'vemej'hinejhudi'laran]
 ... *ni-ue meih=ini hai Hudilaran.*
 REFL-sister.in.law two.HUM=LNK1 NSIT H.
 '... she and her sister-in-law went to Hudilaran together.' (74-043)
- (10) [,pipiru'saki'lɔ-'nɔmɔɛ'na:ni]
 ... *pipi.rusa kiloo nomo ena=ni...*
 deer 3s NEG see=LNK1
 '... the deer, he doesn't see (it) ...' (38-083)
- (11) [ʔateta:'lakwa'mi:tiki'lo:ma'ʔuni'ʔuwa:'re'kata'etela'ʔani]
 ... *ate-tala k-ua-mit kiloo ma'u=ni uar=ee*
 tree-branch 3:UND-on.top:RED-sit.SG 3s come=LNK1 rock=DEF
k-ata-ete-la'a=ni...
 3:UND-contact:RED-upwards-move=LNK1
 '... (the owl) sits on top of a branch, (and) he climbs up the stone...'
 (38-078)

In (8), it appears the long open vowel of the plural suffix *-raa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236) causes *ue* 'sister-in-law' to be realised with an open mid vowel [ɛ]. In (9), on the other hand, both the preceding and the following immediate context contain high vowels, hence the same word is realised with a closed mid vowel [e]. In the context of the third person pronoun *kiloo* in (10), mid and low vowels are predominant, resulting in the realisation of the mid vowel as [ɔ]. In (11), where the same morpheme is realised with a closed mid vowel [o], it is immediately preceded by a series of high vowels. Note, however, that the following context contains low vowels. It is not quite clear when, in a mixed phonetic environment containing both high and low vowels, the high ones take precedence over low ones and vice versa to determine the realisation of the mid vowels. It is also possible that idiolectal variation is a relevant factor, with some speakers favouring one realisation over the other.³⁶

All vowels may be partly or entirely creaked in the vicinity of the glottal stop. Figure 2.1 shows clearly how the pulses of the vowel /a/ preceding [ʔ] become irregular halfway through its realisation, indicating the onset of glottal constriction.

³⁶ Apparently a very similar situation is found in Leti (Engelenhoven 2004: 59). It is described there as "a phonotactic tendency without phonemic value".

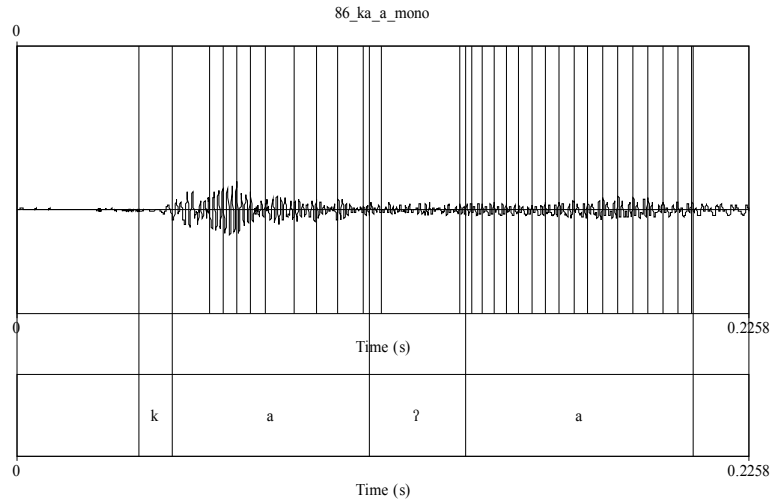


Figure 2.1: *Ka'a* ‘put on’, pulses

Long vowels are in most cases taken to be allophones of the respective short vowels. Their distribution is discussed in detail in § 2.2.3 (p. 62). Note that phrase-initial vowels are commonly preglottalised. This glottal stop is not distinctive and disappears when the same word is used within a phrase following a closed syllable. Also, it does not appear to cause a creaky phonation in adjacent vowels. As such, it is taken to be non-phonemic (§ 2.1.2.1, p. 51).

2.2.1 Minimal pairs

The following minimal pairs demonstrate the phonemic status of the remaining elements given in Table 2.5. All vowel sounds are tested against each other, with the exception of the mid vowels, which have already been shown to be allophones. Again, an effort is made to demonstrate the distinctiveness of these phonemes in all possible contexts, thus contrastive pairs with the vowels in question in initial, medial and final positions are provided wherever possible. Phrase-initial vowels are generally preglottalised, though this glottal stop is not distinctive and thus non-phonemic. Hence in all pairs demonstrating vowels in initial position, these initial vowels are in the transcription preceded by a glottal stop. On the phonetic level, thus, there are no vowel-initial words.

/i/ ~ /e/	initial position:	
	[^ʔ ina]	[^ʔ ena]
	ina ‘eye’	ena ‘see’

	final position:	
	[^h loʔi]	[^h loʔε]
	<i>lo'i</i> 'small basket'	<i>lo'e</i> 'peel (the bark off a tree)'
/i/ ~ /a/	initial position:	
	[^h iʔi]	[^h afi]
	<i>ifi</i> 'star'	<i>afi</i> 'fish'
	[^h isu]	[^h asu]
	<i>isu</i> 'fruit'	<i>asu</i> 'for'
	final position:	
	[^h fani]	[^h fana]
	<i>fani-</i> 'like (RED)'	<i>fana</i> 'teach'
	[^h ari]	[^h ara]
	<i>ari</i> 'liver'	<i>ara-</i> 'buffalo (BD)'
/i/ ~ /u/	initial position:	
	[^h ira]	[^h ura]
	<i>ira</i> 'water'	<i>ura</i> 'worm'
	final position:	
	[^h teri]	[^h teru]
	<i>teri</i> 'cut'	<i>teru</i> 'shelter'
	[^h fani]	[^h fanu]
	<i>fani-</i> 'like (RED)'	<i>fanu</i> 'face'
/i/ ~ /o/	medial position:	
	[^h kitu]	[^h kotɔ]
	<i>kitu</i> 'prong (with a fork)'	<i>koto</i> 'maybe'
	final position:	
	[^h poki]	[^h pokɔ]
	<i>poki</i> 'spindle whorl'	<i>poko</i> 'crouch'
/e/ ~ /a/	initial position:	
	[^h etu]	[^h atu]
	<i>etu</i> 'birthmark'	<i>atu</i> 'faeces'

	medial position:	
	[¹ fenu]	[¹ fanu]
	<i>fenu</i> ‘turtle’	<i>fanu</i> ‘face’
	final position:	
	[¹ dane]	[¹ dana]
	<i>dane</i> ‘lift’	<i>dana</i> ‘garden’
	[¹ haʔε]	[¹ haʔa]
	<i>ha’e</i> ‘ladder’	<i>ha’a</i> ‘mouth’
/e/ ~ /u/	initial position:	
	[¹ etu]	[¹ utu]
	<i>etu</i> ‘birthmark’	<i>-utu</i> ‘cover (BD)’
	final position:	
	[¹ ate]	[¹ atu]
	<i>ate</i> ‘tree’	<i>atu</i> ‘faeces’
	[¹ εte]	[¹ etu]
	<i>ete</i> ‘upwards’	<i>etu</i> ‘birthmark’
/e/ ~ /o/	medial position:	
	[¹ tewh]	[¹ tow]
	<i>teuh</i> ‘buy’	<i>tou</i> ‘coconut shell’
	[¹ heru]	[¹ horu]
	<i>heru</i> ‘loom’	<i>horu</i> ‘horn’
/a/ ~ /u/	final position:	
	[¹ ata]	[¹ atu]
	<i>ata</i> ‘fire’	<i>atu</i> ‘faeces’
	[¹ ura]	[¹ uru]
	<i>ura</i> ‘worm’	<i>uru</i> ‘moon’
/a/ ~ /o/	initial position:	
	[¹ amu]	[¹ omu]
	<i>amu</i> ‘person’	<i>omu</i> ‘ball (wool)’

2.2.2 The glides

There are two approximants, [w] and [j], in Makalero. Whereas the phonetic value of [j] is fairly constant, [w] is an idealised representation; the actual realisation of this sound varies a great deal. Other than as a labiovelar approximant [w], it sometimes appears as a voiced bilabial fricative [β], and in other instances, it tends to be dentalised so as to resemble a voiced labiodental fricative [v]. The latter at least seems to be confined to syllables following dental nasals and is thus conditioned by the phonetic surroundings. (12) gives an example of this. The reflexive pronoun *ni-* preceding the glide in question has a very short, faint vowel and the following glide appears to be assimilated to the dental quality of [n].

(12) [mɔ'tɔrhɛma'ninni'vemej'hinejhudi'laran]

Motor heman=ini ni-ue meih=ini hai Hudilaran.
 motorbike take=LNK1 REFL-sister.in.law two.HUM=LNK1 NSIT H.
 'Having taken a motorbike, she went together with her sister-in-law to
 Hudilaran.' (74-043)

It is less easy to explain the conditions that trigger realisation of a glide as a bilabial fricative. Idiolectal variation is very likely an important parameter; thus the speaker of (13) is fairly consistent in pronouncing the glide as [β], whereas the speaker of (14) mostly has actual approximants. Compare especially the addressee-related demonstrative *uere* in the two sentences.

(13) ['mara'βɛra'βɛɛ¹ukunana'pɔ]

... *mara uera uere ukun=ana=po...*
 go 3p 2DEM rule=INT=ADVR
 '... after they had ruled...' (55-05)

(14) ['mara'wɛɛ.ni:²wɛ:'ra'ɔ'kɔ:rlɔ'ɔjn=ɔ'na:na]

... *mara uere ni-ue-raa=oo ko-horu lolo-ini=oo na'an.*
 go 2DEM REFL-sister.in.law-PL=too 3:UND-with say-NML=too NEG.EX
 '... she didn't speak a word to her sisters-in-law...' (74-033)

A more thorough investigation of the exact conditions under which the fricative realisation appears is beyond the scope of the present phonology sketch. Phonologically, the approximants are analysed as variants of the high vowels which appear under the following conditions:

/u/ → [w] /	#_V	(e.g. <i>uar</i> ['war], but also [' ² u ² ar] 'rock')
	V_V	(e.g. <i>deue</i> ['dewe] 'buy on credit')
	V_(C)#	(e.g. <i>faut</i> [fawt] 'enter', <i>rau</i> [raw] 'good')

$/i/ \rightarrow [j]/$	$\#_V$	(e.g. <i>iar</i> [ʔjar], but also [ʔiʔar] ‘cry’)
	V_V	(e.g. <i>saia</i> [ʔsaja] ‘skirt’)
	$V_ (C)\#$	(e.g. <i>hein</i> [hejn] ‘wait’, <i>dai</i> [daj] ‘pass’)

The structural level, the status of the onglides is ambivalent. Lexical items involving one of these sounds shift from being realised as disyllabics, where the initial high vowel functions as the nucleus of a syllable of its own, to a monosyllabic realisation, where the high vowel is merely an onglide. Thus *uar* ‘stone, rock’ can be found as [ʔuʔar] and as [ʔwar], and *iar* ‘cry’ is realised as both [ʔjar] and [ʔiʔar]. Contexts in which some kind of emphasis is put on such a word appear to favour the two-syllable realisation; nevertheless, this realisation also occurs in perfectly unstressed contexts, such as the one given in (15).

(15) [ki'lɔ:ma'ʔuna'iniʔuʔa'rekata'etɛla'ʔani]

Kiloo ma'u=ni ai'=ini uar=ee k-ata-ete-la'a=ni...

3s come=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 rock=DEF 3:UND-contact:RED-upwards-move=LNK1
 ‘He comes here and climbs up the stone...’ (38-078)

This floating between a syllabic and a non-syllabic realisation is captured nicely by the term semi-vowel and supports the assumption that the glides are essentially vocalic, rather than consonant phonemes in their own right. Another case in point is the fact that onglides may be preglottalised (see e.g. (14) above), especially in phrase-initial position. They share this characteristic with phrase-initial vowels.³⁷ The status of the onglides within the syllable is similarly ambivalent; see § 2.3.1 (p. 70) for a discussion.

More evidence for the generally vowel-like characteristics of the glides comes from instances where they function as offglides. Makalero makes extensive use of echo vowels, which serve to avoid the occurrence of closed syllables at the end of a phonological phrase (see § 2.5.4, p. 80 for a more detailed discussion). For the present purpose, it suffices to say that in this process, the last vowel is repeated – by which means an additional syllable is added to the morpheme in question – and the former consonantal coda functions as an onset for that syllable. A word ending in a glide like *rau* [raw] ‘good’ never surfaces with an echo vowel as *[rawa]. From this it can be concluded that the off-glide does not function as a consonant, since in that case we would expect to find *[rawa] whenever the morpheme concludes a phonological phrase. Yet in all such instances, it is [raw]. Additional clues come from the choice of the echo vowel in morphemes consisting of closed syllables with diphthong nuclei. In general, the echo vowel always takes up the nucleus of the preceding syllable, such as in *mit* [mi:t] – [mi:ti] ‘sit.SG’ or *rial* [riʔal] – [riʔa:la] ‘many (HUM)’. If the nucleus of the morpheme’s last syllable is a diphthong, such as in *hein* [hejn] ‘wait’, the vowel that is taken up as the echo vowel is the diphthong’s second element, or the offglide, hence [hei:ni] ‘wait’. Note also that in [hei:ni], the former offglide [j] has become fully syllabic.

³⁷ The fricativised labiodental version [v] of the back glide appears not to be subject to preglottalisation in phrase-initial position. This is probably a consequence of the stronger consonantal qualities of this realisation.

In other respects, however, the glides show consonantal characteristics. Evidence to this effect comes from reduplication involving morphemes with a diphthong nucleus. Although full reduplication is possible, the offglide part of the diphthong is most often not reduplicated. As the juxtaposed examples in (16) show, this is parallel to the treatment of coda consonants in closed syllables, which are not reduplicated either (see § 3.1.2.2, p. 106 and § 3.2.2.3, p. 138 for more details on the process of reduplication).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (16) | [daw]
<i>dau</i> ‘must’ | [da'daw]
<i>dadau</i> ‘must’ |
| | [^ʔ aran]
<i>aran</i> ‘dry’ | [, ^ʔ ara ^ʔ aran]
<i>ara-aran</i> ‘really dry’ |

The glides in Makalero thus exhibit mixed vocalic and consonantal qualities and can be said to be literally semi-vowels (their status in the syllable, discussed in § 2.3.1, p. 70, further confirms this); however, their vocalic characteristics appear to be more pronounced. Thus [w] and [j] are in the present thesis analysed as allophones of the vowels /u/ and /i/, respectively.

2.2.3 Vowel length

A conspicuous characteristic of spoken Makalero is the lengthening of vowels. Figure 2.2 shows the contrast between a short high front vowel, [i], in the third person possessive marker *ki-* (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225), and the long version of the same vowel in *ni* ‘mother’. The whole phrase *ki-ni* translates as ‘his/her mother’. Note that [i:] is roughly twice the length of [i].

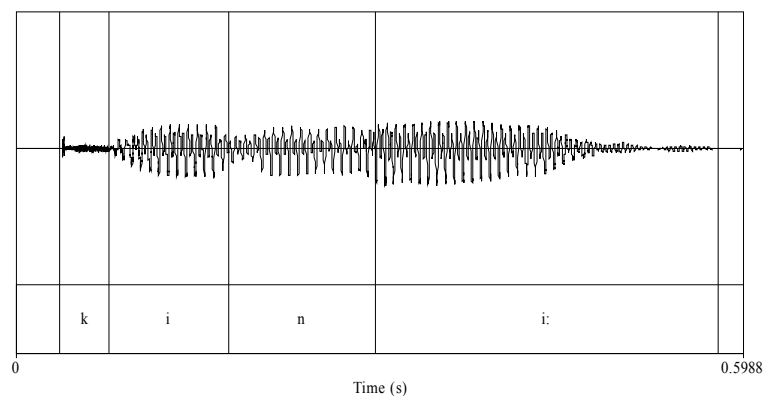


Figure 2.2: *Ki-ni* ‘his mother’

Long vowels occur not only in native words, but also in Portuguese and Indonesian loanwords, a few of which are given in (17).

(17)	[ˈpaːldi]	<i>paaldi</i>	‘bucket’ (from Portuguese <i>balde</i> ‘bucket’)
	[ˈpaːŋku]	<i>paanku</i>	‘bench, stool’ (from Indonesian <i>bangku</i> ‘bench’) ³⁸
	[ˈsaːˈpatu]	<i>saapatu</i>	‘shoe’ (from Portuguese <i>sapato</i> ‘shoe’) ³⁹
	[ˈviːˈtima]	<i>viitima</i>	‘victim’ (from Portuguese <i>vítima</i> ‘victim’)
	[ˈtaːnda]	<i>taanda</i>	‘sign’ (from Indonesian <i>tanda</i> ‘sign’)

Notably, in only one of these, *viitima* ‘victim’, does the long vowel have a base in the donor language. In this case, the long vowel in Makalero is undoubtedly influenced by the irregular stress pattern of *vítima* (with the word accent on the first syllable) in Portuguese. The other examples given in (17) all have short vowels in the original (see § 2.2.3.4, p. 65 for a possible explanation of these long vowels). A few minimal pairs can be found where vowel length apparently distinguishes meaning.

(18)	[i] ~ [iː]	[dili] <i>Dili</i> ‘Dili’	[ˈdiːli] <i>dil</i> ‘be startled’
		[ni] <i>ni</i> (REFL)	[niː] <i>ni</i> ‘mother’
	[a] ~ [aː]	[ˈnaːna] <i>na’an</i> (NEG.EX)	[ˈnana] <i>nana</i> ‘elder sibling’
	[u] ~ [uː]	[ˈhulu] <i>hulu</i> ‘spoon’	[ˈhuːlu] <i>hul</i> ‘be able’

/e/ and /o/ also appear in long and short variants, as shown in (19) and (20), though no minimal pairs have been found in the data.

(19)	[ˌsɔtɛˈmɛː] [ˈkɛːlɛ]	<i>sotemee</i> <i>kel</i>	‘self, alone’ ‘close, near’
(20)	[kiˈloː] [ˌlɔːsˈpalɔs]	<i>kiloo</i> <i>Loospalos</i>	(3s) ‘Lospalos’

³⁸ [ˈpaːŋku] alternates with [ˈbaːŋku], see § 2.1.2.2 (p. 53).

³⁹ It is not clear whether the Portuguese loans have been borrowed directly from Portuguese or via one of the other languages of the region (possible sources apart from Portuguese for *saapatu* are Tetum *sapátu*, Indonesian *sepátu* and, less likely, Fataluku *sapáta* or *sápata*).

Vowel lengthening is largely predictable. The following paragraphs describe the circumstances under which vowels are predictably lengthened, which are able to account for all of the apparent minimal pairs in (18). Nevertheless, there is a small number of cases that cannot be accounted for by these productive rules. As such, long vowels are treated as phonemes of marginal status in § 2.2.4 (p. 66).

2.2.3.1 Sequences of two identical vowels

In several instances, what is realised as a long vowel corresponds in fact to a sequence of two identical short vowels interrupted in careful pronunciation by an allophone of the glottal phoneme /ʔ/.⁴⁰ (21) shows two examples.

(21)	[lɔ:n] / [ʔlɔʔɔn]	<i>lo'on</i>	'sky'
	[ti:] / [ʔtiʔi]	<i>ti'</i>	'pour (a drink)'

Hence some long vowels are actually made up of a sequence of two identical short vowels. This is also the case with the negative existential *na'an*, the most common realisation of which has been given in § 2.2.3 (p. 62) as forming a minimal pair with *nana* 'elder sibling'. This process is regularly found with verbs derived from nouns by means of the glottal verbaliser (see § 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). For instance, the variant forms [la'fu:hu] ~ [la'fu:ʔu] of *lafu* 'live', derived from *lafu* ['lafu] 'life', are often realised in running speech as [la'fu:].

2.2.3.2 Monosyllabic morphemes

Lexical monosyllabics must always have a long vowel nucleus (see also § 2.5.1, p. 76). Examples are given in (22), with open syllables, and (23), with closed ones.

(22)	[ʔu:]	<i>u</i>	'one'
	[ni:]	<i>ni</i>	'mother'
(23)	[du:r]	<i>dur</i>	'wake up'
	[fu:n]	<i>fun</i>	'tree, trunk'

Correspondingly, there is a complementary rule against short monophthongs in the nucleus of a monosyllabic lexical item.⁴¹ Exempted from this rule are loanwords, such as the examples from Indonesian in (24).

⁴⁰ See § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51).

⁴¹ Note that this licenses monosyllabic morphemes with diphthong nuclei, such as those given in (i).

(i)	[dɔwh]	<i>douh</i>	'six'
	[rɔw]	<i>rau</i>	'good'

Clearly, diphthongs behave like long vowels in this respect (see § 2.5.1, p. 76).

- | | | | |
|------|--------|------------|-----------|
| (24) | [tʃɛk] | <i>cek</i> | ‘check’ |
| | [dʒɔk] | <i>jok</i> | ‘plug in’ |

Different rules apply for monosyllabic grammatical items, which can have either a short or a long vowel nucleus, though short vowels predominate. (25) shows grammatical items with long vowels, while (26) gives examples of grammatical items with short syllable nuclei.

- | | | | |
|------|------|-------------|--------|
| (25) | [i:] | <i>ii</i> | (2p) |
| | [ɔ:] | = <i>oo</i> | ‘too’ |
| (26) | [ni] | <i>ni</i> | (REFL) |
| | [ta] | <i>ta</i> | (REC) |

Compare the minimal pair made up of the grammatical item *ni* [ni] REFL and the lexical item *ni* ['ni:] ‘mother’ given in § 2.2.3 (p. 62) above.

2.2.3.3 Vowel lengthening at the end of the phonological phrase

Finally, vowel lengthening is associated with the end of a phonological phrase and as such predictably occurs before a break in the flow of speech. It goes hand in hand in this context with the occurrence of echo vowels. This process is at work in the cases of *dil* ['di:li] ‘be startled’ and *hul* ['hu:lu] ‘be able’ in the short list of minimal pairs in § 2.2.3 (p. 62). These pairings too, are thus of limited validity. For a more detailed account of the interplay between echo vowels and vowel lengthening see § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83).

2.2.3.4 Other instances of vowel length

While the principles discussed in § 2.2.3.1 (p. 64) through § 2.2.3.3 (p. 65) account for the vast majority of long vowels, they leave a number of unexplained cases, such as those listed in (27).

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (27) | [ˈpu:lata] | <i>puulata</i> | ‘head’ |
| | [kiˈlo:] | <i>kiloo</i> | (3s) |
| | [pa:rˈdufu] | <i>paardufu</i> | ‘widow’ |
| | [a:rˈiːa] | <i>aaria</i> | ‘orphan’ |
| | [ˈleteˈrɔ:] | <i>leteroo</i> | ‘coarse bag’ |

It is possible that these words are old compounds that are no longer transparent, where the syllable with the long nucleus would originally have constituted a morpheme of its own. If this is the case, the long vowels can be explained as the effect of the rule requiring monosyllabic lexical morphemes to have a long vowel

nucleus (see § 2.2.3.2, p. 64). This analysis seems especially probable in the case of the third person singular pronoun *kiloo*, as suggested by the fact that its cognate in Makasae is *gi* (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). However, it is unclear what exactly the *-loo* component would be. Also, *paardufu* ‘widow’ is a good candidate for an old compound because of the /rd/ consonant cluster. Simple lexemes in Makalero do not normally exhibit consonant clusters (see § 2.5.2, p. 78). This suggests a segmentation into *par* [pa:r] and *dufu* ['dufu]. There is no evidence, however, of any of these segments occurring on their own and what they might possibly mean. I assume that a similar process accounts for the long vowels in the Portuguese and Indonesian borrowings given in § 2.2.3 (p. 62). The majority of these exhibit a consonant cluster. An example is *taanda* ['ta:nda] ‘sign’, from Indonesian *tanda* ‘sign’. To account for the cluster, lexemes like this are presumably treated like compounds involving a monosyllabic morpheme, which is required to have a long vowel nucleus. In the case of *saapatu* [,sa:'patu] ‘shoe’, which does not involve a consonant cluster, the relevant factor must be the length of the morpheme; typical Makalero morphemes are disyllabic (see § 2.5.1, p. 76). Again, presumably this over-long morpheme is analysed as a compound to account for its length.

2.2.4 Vowel phonemes

Creaky phonation in vowels is not phonemic, but phonologically conditioned through the vicinity of a glottal stop (§ 2.2, p. 55). Vowel length is in most instances predictable based on the principles discussed in § 2.2.3.1 (p. 64) through § 2.2.3.3 (p. 65), which can explain the minimal pairs listed in § 2.2.3 (p. 62). However, there is a small number of items where long vowels cannot be predicted. Although § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) speculates that these morphemes are compounds consisting of at least one monosyllabic lexical morpheme, this process does not seem to be transparent in present-day Makalero and must thus be considered lexical. Consequently, although no actually valid minimal pair has been found, contrastive vowel length cannot be dispensed with entirely. Hence in the phoneme chart below, long vowels are given in brackets to indicate their marginal phonemic status. In addition, it has been argued that the glides be considered as allophones of the high vowels; their distribution is outlined in § 2.2.2 (p. 60) above. The resulting system of vowel phonemes is given in Table 2.6.

i (i:)	u (u:)
e (e:)	o (o:)
a (a:)	

Table 2.6: Vowel phonemes

Five-vowel systems are widely distributed in the Austronesian languages of the area; the development of mid vowels is in fact one of the innovations proposed by Blust

(1993: 247) for Proto-Central Eastern Malayo Polynesian (although according to him, PCEMP retained the Proto-Austronesian central vowel). Hull (2004: 67), too, claims that the phoneme inventories of Timor's non-Austronesian languages "scarcely differ from those of their Timoric neighbours".

2.2.5 Diphthongs

A diphthong is commonly defined as a vowel followed by a glide. Makalero exhibits virtually all possible combinations of vowels with its two glides, as the list of diphthongs found in the corpus demonstrates.

(28)	[aw]	e.g. [raw]	<i>rau</i>	'good'
	[ew]	e.g. [tewh]	<i>teuh</i>	'buy'
	[ow]	e.g. [tow]	<i>tou</i>	'coconut shell'
	[aj]	e.g. ['daj]	<i>dai</i>	'walk'
	[ej]	e.g. [,kamu'nej]	<i>kamunei</i>	'tomorrow'
	[uj]	e.g. [,puj'daj]	<i>Puidai</i>	(a personal name)
	[oj]	e.g. [lo'loj]	<i>loloji</i>	'two'

Only the combination of the high front vowel and the bilabial glide, [iw], has not been encountered in the corpus. Also, [uj], though listed above, has been found in a few personal names only. It thus seems that combinations of the two high vowels are restricted. In other words, it appears that only rising vowel sequences make up fully functional diphthongs, as schematically displayed in Figure 2.3.

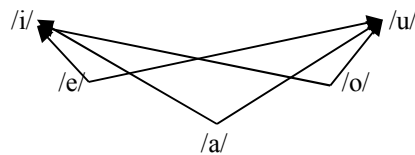


Figure 2.3: Diphthongs

In a few instances (all to be found in the field of spatial deixis, § 3.2.3.9, p. 180), the diphthong /aj/ is realised as a mid front vowel [ɛ]; for instance, ai- [ai], the reduced form of the near-speaker deictic verb, is more usually pronounced as [ɛ]. Similarly, the diphthong /aw/ is in unstressed syllables sometimes realised as [ɔ]; hence, for instance, the quantifier *hau* 'all' (§ 3.2.3.14, p. 215, § 5.3.3.2, p. 369) is sometimes pronounced as [hɔ], and the modal verb *daudau* 'must' is realised in some cases as [dɔ'daw] (§ 3.2.3.10.2.2, p. 196).

Diphthongs have the ability to make up the nucleus of a monosyllabic lexical item, a position otherwise reserved for long vowels (see § 2.2.3.2, p. 64, as well as § 2.5.1, p. 76).

2.3 Syllable structure

Syllables in Makalero consist of a nucleus, an onset and a coda, where the nucleus is the only obligatory element. But for this constraint, all combinations of the three elements are possible: N, ON, NC and ONC. In practice, however, the N and the NC syllable type is restricted; phonetically, a morpheme-initial vowel is usually preglottalised, i.e. the syllable's empty onset position is filled by a non-phonemic glottal stop.

All simple vowels can function as syllable nuclei, along with all the diphthongs listed in § 2.2.5 (p. 67). A short vowel makes up a simple nucleus, while long vowels and diphthongs constitute complex nuclei; only the latter are valid as nuclei of monosyllabic lexical morphemes (§ 2.5.1, p. 76). For the distribution of the consonant phonemes as either onsets or codas, see § 2.4 (p. 74).

As discussed in § 2.2.2 (p. 60), the glides exhibit mixed vocalic and consonantal properties. Similarly, their status within the syllable is somewhat problematic, since they exhibit characteristics typical of onsets and codas on the one hand, but seem to function as parts of complex nuclei in other respects (to be discussed in more detail in ch. Segmental features below). Onglides are analysed as syllable onsets. Evidence supporting this analysis comes from the fact that there are no syllables of the type CGV (where G represents a glide) such as, for example, *[nwa]. The high vowel (speaking in phonological terms) can in such an environment not be realised as a glide, but makes up a syllable of its own: ON.N. If the onglide were part of a complex nucleus, a syllable like *[nwa] should be perfectly acceptable.⁴² Furthermore, the analysis of onglides as parts of complex nuclei would result in a set of onset-less syllables, which, as observed above, are in practice restricted. Since the syllable is a purely phonetic concept, the fact that onglides function like consonants in the syllable does not conflict with the pronounced vocalic qualities of the glides and their analysis as allophones of the high vowel phonemes (§ 2.2.2, p. 60). As discussed in § 2.2.3.3 (p. 65), however, offglides in diphthongs are analysed as being part of a complex nucleus: a diphthong leaves the coda position of the syllable open for a following consonant. Furthermore, monosyllables with diphthong nuclei are acceptable lexical morphemes. Thus onglides and offglides, though phonetic equivalents, are not analysed in the same way in syllable structure; the former make up onsets, whereas the latter are part of a complex syllable nucleus.

In summary, Makalero thus has both open and closed syllables. At most one consonantal element (which includes onglides) can precede the nucleus in onset position. Similarly, one consonant at most can function as coda. The syllable types found in Makalero are summarised in Table 2.7.

⁴² Positional verbs such as *(k)-ua* 'be on top' or *(k)-ue* 'be around', if used with the third person argument-marking prefix *k-*, may in fast speech come quite close to a monosyllabic pronunciation as [kwa?] and [kwe], respectively. In careful speech, however, they are clearly disyllabic.

Open syllable		Closed syllable	
Simple nucleus	Complex nucleus	Simple nucleus	Complex nucleus
V [ˈamu] <i>a.mu</i> ‘person’	V: [ˈi:] <i>ii</i> (2p)	VC [ˈteul] <i>te.ul</i> ‘chase’	V:C [ˈo:t] <i>ot</i> ‘cough’
CV [ˈnana] <i>na.na</i> ‘elder sibling’	CV: [ni:] <i>ni</i> ‘mother’	CVC [ˈi.fil] <i>i.fil</i> ‘tongue’	CV:C [du:r] <i>dur</i> ‘wake up’
GV [ˈde.we] <i>de.ue</i> ‘buy on credit’	GV: [ˈwa.ra] <i>uar</i> ‘stone’	GVC [ˈlawan] <i>la.uan</i> ‘precious metal’	
	VG [ˈajˈha:] <i>ai.haa</i> ‘door’		VGC [ˈajn] <i>ain</i> REP
	CVG [lew] <i>leu</i> ‘call’		CVGC [hejn] <i>hein</i> ‘wait’
	GVG [ˈwej] <i>uei</i> ‘blood’		GVGC [wejr] <i>ueir</i> ‘river’

Table 2.7: Syllable types

Closed syllables mirror open syllables of all types, with the sole difference of adding a coda consonant. The empty position in the right hand side column is that of the closed syllable mirroring the GV: syllable, of the form GV:C. This syllable type is not attested in the corpus, although there is no obvious reason why it should be absent (see, however, § 2.3.1, p. 70).

In general, closed syllables are relatively rare. Echo vowels are generally added to isolated words ending in a closed syllable. This leads to a resyllabification which results in a sequence of open syllables (§ 2.5.4, p. 80). In borrowings with consonant clusters, epenthetic vowels are often introduced, as in the examples in (29).

- (29) [sirˈvisu] / [ˌsiriˈvisu]
sirvisu ‘work’ from Port. *serviço* ‘service’
- [isˈkola] / [ˌisiˈkola]
iskola ‘school’ from Port. *escola* ‘school’

Resyllabification to open syllables, if necessary involving the insertion of epenthetic vowels, is also pervasive in running speech (see § 2.5.2, p. 78).

2.3.1 Segmental features

On the phonological level, the nucleus is the only obligatory element in a syllable. There are syllables consisting of a bare nucleus (N), syllables with an onset but no coda (ON) and with a coda but no onset (NC), and finally, syllables in which both the onset and the coda position are filled (ONC). Table 2.8 summarises this and shows how it relates to the phonotactic structure of the syllable as shown in § 2.3 (p. 68).

Segmental setup	N	NC	ON	ONC
Phonotactic structure	V	VC	CV	CVC
	V:	V:C	CV:	CV:C
	VG	VGC	CVG	CVGC
			GV	GVC
			GV:	GVGC
		GVG		

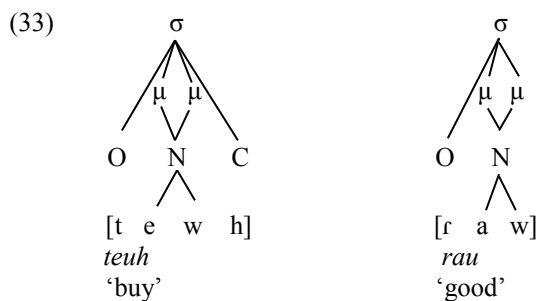
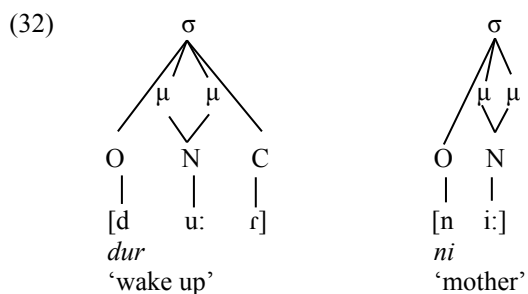
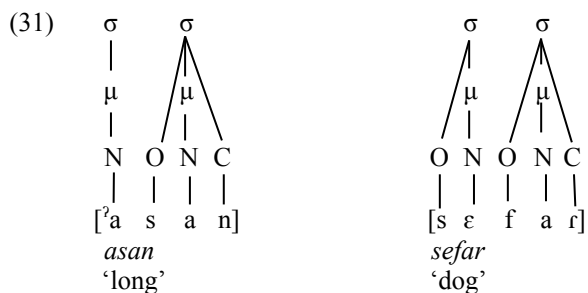
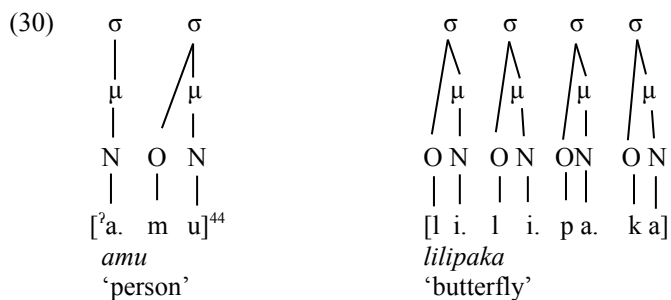
Table 2.8: Segmental features

In practice, however, the onset position is generally filled either by a non-phonemic glottal stop or, through resyllabification, by the final consonant of a preceding morpheme, following the maximal onset principle as defined by Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 126-7), which states that “given an intervocalic consonant or consonant cluster, assign it to the beginning of the second syllable (...)”.

Long vowels and diphthongs are equivalent in that both of them, to the exclusion of short vowels, can fill the nucleus position of a monosyllabic lexical item (see § 2.5.1, p. 76 below). Hence *hat* [ha:t] ‘dry’ and *faut* [fawt] ‘enter’, and *ni* [ni:] ‘mother’ and *rau* [raw] ‘good’ are well-formed lexical items, but not *[hat] or *[ni].⁴³ The syllable weight unit mora as discussed for instance in Hyman (2003) is used to make the difference between these two types of nuclei – simple (consisting of a short vowel) versus complex (consisting of a V + G combination or a long vowel) – explicit. The fact that *[hat] is not a well-formed lexical morpheme shows that the syllable weight is determined by the nature of the nucleus only. If the coda contributed to syllable weight, *[hat] would qualify as a heavy syllable and should be well-formed. Makalero is therefore what Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 134) call a nucleus-weight language (as opposed to a rhyme-weighted language). In other words, a complex nucleus is assumed to weigh two morae, but a simple nucleus only one, while the coda does not contribute to syllable weight at all. (30) and (31) show examples of monomoraic syllables, of which those in (30) are open, while (31) also

⁴³ However, the latter is an existing grammatical item, namely the reflexive pronoun (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227).

contains closed ones. (32) and (33), on the other hand, exemplify bimoraic syllables, with long vowel nuclei in (32) and diphthong nuclei in (33). Both light and heavy syllables can be either open or closed.



⁴⁴ For the present argument, stress is irrelevant and is not indicated.

Not only does the coda consonant not contribute to syllable weight, it is also missing from the reduplicant in full reduplication, as shown in (34).⁴⁵ The example of *aran* ‘dry’ shows that this does not only happen in cases where the coda consonant of the reduplicant would encounter the onset consonant of the root, thus avoiding a consonant cluster. Instead, the coda does not appear in the reduplicant even if the root itself is vowel-initial.

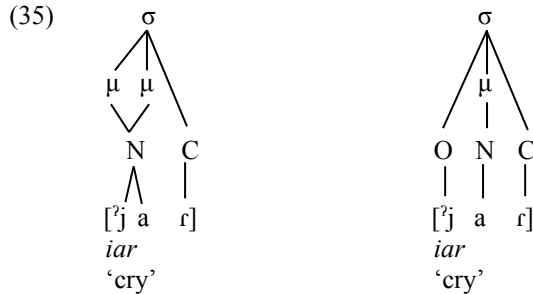
- | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (34) | <i>felun</i>
‘nice’ | <i>felu-felun</i>
‘very nice’ |
| | <i>aran</i>
‘dry’ | <i>ara-aran</i>
‘completely dry’ |

Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 148) identify a category of extrasyllabic consonants in Dutch based on the fact that they appear only word-finally, but are resyllabified if followed by another syllable such as a plural or case ending. Closed syllables are restricted to the morpheme-final position in Makalero (see also § 2.5.2, p. 78). Furthermore, resyllabification of such final consonants according to the maximal onset principle is a pervasive phenomenon in running speech. In several ways, thus, Makalero coda consonants show signs of being extrasyllabic. The evidence from such reduplications as in (34) may be interpreted similarly.

As mentioned in § 2.2.2 (p. 60), the status of the onglides in the syllable is somewhat problematic. Evidence from different angles is ambiguous and appears to suggest different prosodic structures. Based on the fact that onglides cannot be combined with an onset consonant (i.e. *[nwa], but only [nu.a] or [wa]), § 2.3 (p. 68) argued that the onglide must be analysed as the syllable onset. Contradictory evidence comes from the presence of a few monosyllabic morphemes of the form GVC with short vowel nuclei. Examples include *iar* [ʔjar] ‘cry’ and *uar* [ʔwar] ‘stone, rock’.⁴⁶ According to the minimal word constraint phrased in § 2.2.3.2 (p. 64) and § 2.5 (p. 75), such forms should be disallowed; the lexemes in question should be realised as [ja:r] and [wa:r] instead. This problem would resolve itself if GV combinations were seen as constituting another type of complex nucleus alongside long vowels and diphthongs. The corresponding analysis of [ʔjar] ‘cry’ is shown in the first example in (35). The presence of preglottalisation with such morphemes, which may be interpreted as providing an onset-less syllable with an onset, appears to support this analysis. It contrasts with the other possible analysis of onglides as onsets as proposed in § 2.3 (p. 68), which results in a monomoraic syllable structure as given in the second example of (35).

⁴⁵ See § 3.1.2.2 (p. 106) and § 3.2.2.3 (p. 138) for more details on reduplication.

⁴⁶ Recall that these morphemes can alternatively be realised as disyllabics, thus [ʔiʔar] and [ʔuʔar], respectively (§ 2.2.2, p. 60).



The first analysis, with the onglide as part of a complex nucleus, could also explain the absence of a GV:C syllable type as noted in Table 2.7; as § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83) argues, there are no super-heavy, or trimoraic, nuclei in Makalero, as confirmed by the behaviour of monosyllabic morphemes in the echo vowel process. On the other hand, under this analysis, such monosyllabic lexemes as *ueir* [wejr] ‘river’, which contain both an onglide and a diphthong, would end up as trimoraic, unless the onglide is understood to be in the onset position. Furthermore, in the context where a morpheme ending in a closed syllable is followed by one starting in an onglide, as in the example in (36), an echo vowel is generally added to the consonant-final morpheme, a strategy used to avoid consonant clusters. If the glide were analysed as part of a complex nucleus, the clitic =*uai* ‘or’ would have to be understood as having an empty onset position, and resyllabification of the preceding morpheme’s coda consonant into the onset of this syllable would be expected, but does not occur.

- (36) [,me'ta:nawaj²amu,puti'rɔ:]
- ... *metan*=*uai* *amu* *putir*=*oo*...
- black=or person white=too
- ‘... (whether he was) black or a white person...’ (16-06)

Either analysis, with the onglide as an onset or as part of a complex nucleus, can explain only part of the evidence. Overall, the arguments favouring their analysis as syllable onsets are taken to be more significant, and it is this structure that is adopted in the present thesis.⁴⁷

The unclear syllabic status of onglides reflect their phonemic status, which fluctuates between more vowel-like and more consonant-like realisations and may be nicely captured by the term semi-vowel.

⁴⁷ It is noticeable that all monosyllabic GVC morphemes have /r/ as the coda; an alternative explanation is thus that the tap may absorb some of the vowel length.

2.4 Phonotactics

Any vowel and diphthong can be a syllable nucleus. An onset can consist of one consonant at most, and the same applies for codas. When it comes to the distribution of consonantal elements into these slots, the gaps which show up in the list of minimal pairs given in § 2.1.1 (p. 38) suggest that there are some restrictions, i.e., that not all consonants are licensed to occur freely in both onset and coda position. Indeed, even though Makalero allows for closed syllables, these are not the preferred type, as is evidenced by the fact that it was impossible in many instances to find minimal pairs contrasting two consonant sounds in morpheme-final position. Correspondingly, there appear to be several restrictions for consonants to fill the coda position, whereas the onset position is relatively free. Table 2.9 aims to show the distribution of the consonant phonemes both in onset and in coda positions. As for the onset position, a distinction is made between syllables occurring at the beginning of a morpheme and those within a morpheme; thus the consonants in question are shown occurring both word-initially and word-medially, wherever possible. Examples showing coda consonants are *per se* restricted to word-final syllables. Note that again, loan words, and hence loan consonants, are left out of this consideration.⁴⁸

	Onset		Coda
	Morpheme-initial position	Morpheme-medial position	Morpheme-final position
bilabial stop /p/	<i>pai</i> ‘pig’	<i>apa</i> ‘psoriasis’	--
alveodental stop /t/	<i>teuh</i> ‘buy’	<i>mata</i> ‘child’	<i>mit</i> ‘sit (SG)’
postalveolar stop /d/	<i>da'al</i> ‘break’	<i>hoden</i> ‘great-grandfather’	--
velar stop /k/	<i>koi</i> ‘hide’	<i>dikar</i> ‘short’	<i>leuk</i> ‘drill (a hole into)’
glottal stop /ʔ/	<i>ha'a</i> ‘mouth’	<i>ka'el</i> ‘bite’	<i>hifa</i> ‘catch’
bilabial nasal /m/	<i>mara</i> ‘go’	<i>namu</i> ‘body hair’	--
alveodental nasal /n/	<i>nami</i> ‘male’	<i>mini</i> ‘nose’	<i>lo'on</i> ‘sky’
labio-dental fricative /f/	<i>fasa</i> ‘dirt’	<i>afu</i> ‘carry’	--

⁴⁸ In the following, IPA transcription is no longer employed whenever the exact phonetic realisation is of no immediate relevance to the argument. For a discussion of the orthography used see § 1.9 (p. 32).

alveodental fricative /s/	<i>sa'e</i> 'hair'	<i>asa</i> 'bird'	<i>mus</i> 'suck'
lateral glide /l/	<i>lepu</i> 'be hungry'	<i>kalin</i> 'pour out'	<i>ka'el</i> 'bite'
postalveolar tap /ɾ/	<i>rau</i> 'good'	<i>ira</i> 'water'	<i>omar</i> 'stilt house'

Table 2.9: Distribution of consonant phonemes

As predicted, not all consonants can occur in coda position: among the stops, only /t/, /k/ and /ʔ/ do so; of the phonemes involving a diversion of the air stream, only /n/ and /l/ and of the continuants /s/ and /r/. This means that in total seven consonant phonemes out of eleven are found in word-final position. Tables 2.10 and 2.11 summarise these findings: 2.10 shows the phonemes that are allowed in onset position. In contrast, 2.11 illustrates the consonants allowed in the coda position.

p	t	d	k	ʔ
m	n	l		
f	s	r		

Table 2.10: Consonant phonemes in onset position

	t		k	ʔ
	n	l		
	s	r		

Table 2.11: Consonant phonemes in coda position

Of the four elements that do not appear in coda position, three are labial – in other words, labial consonants in Makalero are prohibited from appearing in morpheme-final position.

2.5 The morpheme

A lexical morpheme in Makalero must meet the following formal requirements:

- 1.) the minimum lexical morpheme must be bimoraic
- 2.) closed syllables are restricted to the morpheme-final position
- 3.) only one heavy syllable is allowed per morpheme

The following paragraphs discuss these requirements in detail.

2.5.1 Bimoraicity

The minimum lexical morpheme must be at least bimoraic. The vast majority of morphemes are disyllabic, consisting of two light syllables. Each of these syllables weighs one mora; the total weight of the morpheme is, consequently, two morae. Some examples of such morphemes are given in (37).

- (37) *hu.ri* 'release'
ua.li 'ear'
da.kar 'step'
ru.kit 'curly (hair)'

The form of the prototypical Makalero morpheme is CVCV(C). The CVCV pattern is a pervasive feature in the languages of Eastern Indonesia (see Klamer 2002: 5). As such, the presence of words of the form CVCVC seems remarkable; § 2.5.4 (p. 80) on echo vowels, however, shows that in practice, closed syllables are relatively rare and generally avoided.

The bimoraicity requirement also applies for monosyllabic lexical items; it has been stated above (§ 2.2.3.2, p. 64) that such morphemes must be made up of a heavy syllable with a complex nucleus. A morpheme with a diphthong nucleus conforms to the bimoraicity requirement since its nucleus is complex and consists of two elements, the vowel and the glide. Each of these components is assigned its own mora. § 2.2.3 (p. 62) argues that long vowels are in most instances allophones of short vowels rather than phonemes in their own right, on the ground of their predictable occurrence. Hence it can be assumed that such morphemes as [du:r] 'wake up' and [ni:] 'mother' are actually, on the phonemic level, /dur/ and /ni/. On the phonetic level, in contrast, their nuclei are lengthened in order for them to meet the bimoraicity requirement, as illustrated below.

- (38) $\mu \quad \mu$ \rightarrow $\begin{array}{c} \mu \quad \mu \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ [d \quad u: \quad r] \end{array}$
 /d u r/ 'wake up' 'ibid.'
- $\mu \quad \mu$ \rightarrow $\begin{array}{c} \mu \quad \mu \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ [n \quad i:] \end{array}$
 /n i/ 'mother' 'ibid.'

The bimoraicity requirement is strictly on the morpheme level and is not affected if the morphemes in question are part of a larger phonological phrase. Thus, even with suffixes and clitics, such lexical items as *dur* 'wake up' and *ni* 'mother' retain the long vowel nucleus.

Apart from mono- and disyllabic items, there is also a number of trisyllabic lexical morphemes, as exemplified in (39).

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (39) | <i>puu.la.ta</i> | ‘head’ |
| | <i>ha.na.’e</i> | ‘formerly’ |
| | <i>lo.li.tu</i> | ‘three’ |
| | <i>nu.a.ra.i</i> | ‘carry on one’s back’ |

(40) shows that a few quadrisyllabic items can be found as well, though in limited amounts.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------|
| (40) | <i>ra.ra.ni.ni</i> | ‘decoration’ |
| | <i>a.ta.na.na</i> | ‘first’ |
| | <i>i.sa.ra.mi</i> | ‘brother’ |

It is likely that the majority of tri- and quadrisyllabic words are in some way segmentable, being either derivations or compounds. However, in many cases, no underived form – in the case of a derivation – or none of the constituting parts on its own – in the case of a compound – have so far been recorded. Quite frequently, one part of the word may be interpretable, but not (at least not with any certainty) the other, as exemplified in (41).

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------|---|-------------|
| (41) | <i>raranini</i> | <i>ra-rau (?)</i> | + | <i>nini</i> |
| | ‘decoration’ | ‘RDL-good’ | | ‘do:BD’ |
| | <i>kamunei</i> | <i>kamu</i> | + | <i>nei</i> |
| | ‘tomorrow, noon’ | ‘night’ | | ? |

For others, such as *isarami* ‘brother’ and *atanana* ‘first’ in (40) above, I have no indication whatsoever of a separate meaning assignable to any part of the word.

As discussed in § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65), several trisyllabic morphemes contain a long vowel – one example is *puulata* ‘head’ in (39) – suggesting that they might be old compounds with one monosyllabic component. The nucleus of the latter would be lengthened in order for it to conform to the bimoraicity requirement.

Items longer than two syllables *per se* meet the bimoraicity requirement.

Grammatical morphemes differ from lexical ones in form: Only lexical, not grammatical monosyllabic items are required to conform to the bimoraicity constraint. The majority of grammatical items are either monosyllabic, such as *ni* (REFL), *hai* (NSIT) or =*oo* ‘too’, or disyllabic, e.g. *ani* (1s), =*ini* (LNK1), *ere* (IDEM). The former can be both monomoraic, such as *ni* (REFL), and bimoraic, such as *hai* (NSIT). Thus the bimoraicity requirement is a sufficient, but not necessary, condition for identification of a given morpheme as lexical. In other words, a lexical morpheme must be bimoraic, but a bimoraic monosyllabic item is not necessarily a lexical morpheme.

In the domain of lexical morphemes, there seem to be no special correlations between form and word class. There are nouns, verbs and other word classes among monosyllabic morphemes; the same holds for disyllabics as well as trisyllabics and quadrisyllabics (if we choose to accept them as a class in their own right; see the examples given in (38) through (40) above).

2.5.2 Morpheme-final closed syllables

Closed syllables are restricted to the morpheme-final position. Correspondingly, syllables that are followed by one or more additional syllables (that is, morpheme-initial or morpheme-medial syllables) must be open. The consequence of this is that there are no consonant clusters in Makalero morphemes.

The occurrence of a consonant cluster within a lexeme indicates that said lexeme is either a borrowing, as the Portuguese and Indonesian loans in (42) and (43), respectively, or alternatively a compound, as the words in (44) demonstrate. Even though there is no indication of what morphemes the latter might be compounded from, the idea of them being compounds is further supported by the occurrence of unpredictable long vowels in all of them.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| (42) | <i>sir.vi.su</i>
'work' | <i>serviço</i>
'service' |
| | <i>ob.ri.ga.du</i>
'thank you' | <i>obrigado</i>
'thank you' |
| | <i>teer.su</i>
'rosary' | <i>terço</i>
'rosary' |
| (43) | <i>taan.da</i>
'sign' | <i>tanda</i>
'sign' |
| | <i>paan.ku</i>
'bench, stool' | <i>bangku</i>
'bench' |
| | <i>lan.sun</i>
'straight away' | <i>langsung</i>
'direct, straight, immediately' |
| (44) | <i>paar.du.fu</i>
<i>poor.naal</i>
<i>Toor.ma.ta</i> | 'widow'
'flour sack'
(a toponym) ⁴⁹ |

There is a strong tendency to convert closed syllables into open ones by the use of echo vowels (see § 2.5.4, p. 80 for more detail). Klamer (2002: 368) lists this phenomenon as a pervasive feature in the languages that make up her East Nusantara linguistic area. Indeed many of these languages do not allow for closed syllables at all. While morphemes ending in closed syllables readily occur in Makalero, the domain of syllabification is not the morpheme, but the phonological phrase. This means that whenever possible, a morpheme's final consonant will be reassigned into the onset position of the following syllable, as shown below for the combination of *mit* 'sit (SG)' with the clitic clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247).

⁴⁹ Place names appear to follow a phonological system of their own (§ 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111). This system may include different phonotactic constraints.

morpheme level	<i>mi:t=ini</i>
	sit.SG=LNK1
phonetic realisation	[,m i: 't i n i]
syllable level	O N. O N. O N.
	[m i: t i n i]

As a result, closed syllables are not uncommon on the morpheme level, but they actually occur very infrequently in discourse.

(45) and (46) exemplify slightly longer bits of natural speech; the corresponding syllabifications show the pervasiveness of the favoured CV syllabification pattern.

(45) [kwe.ke.i.'lini: | ha.'jɛ.na]

K-ue-keil=ini *hai ena.*
 3:UND-around-peek=LNK1 NSIT see
 'Peeking around it, he sees (him).'

(38-007)

(46) [ki.'wa.re.'ʔi.ni.'sa: | 'haj.'du:.'ri.ni.'ʔe.ni.'di.la.'kwe.ke.'i:.'li]

... *ki-ouar=ee=ini* *sa'a (...)* *hai dur=ini* *e'* *ni-dila*
 3:POSS-master=DEF=CTR what NSIT wake.up=LNK1 V1DEM REFL-frog

*k-ue-keil.*⁵⁰
 3:UND-around-peek
 '... his master (...) wakes up and peeks at the frog.'

(38-006)

2.5.3 Heavy syllables

Only one heavy syllable is allowed per morpheme. In the absence of other clear criteria to divide the flow of speech into smaller units (e.g. stress, see § 2.6, p. 87), this characteristic can serve the purpose. In other words, there must be a morpheme boundary somewhere in between two heavy syllables. However, the occurrence of a heavy syllable is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for morphemehood; thus not every morpheme has to have a heavy syllable (see e.g. those in (35) above), but if it has one, then it will have only one. Apparent counterexamples are *aihaa* [ajha:] 'door', the first syllable of which has a heavy diphthong nucleus, and the second a heavy long vowel nucleus, as well as *poornaal* 'flower sack', with two long vowels. A look at other Timorese languages shows that most of these have compounds to express the concept of 'door': e.g. Fataluku *le o'o*, in which *le* is 'house' and *o'o* is 'mouth', thus 'mouth of the house'; and Tetum *odamatan*, which is segmentable into *odan* 'ladder' and *matan* 'eye'. Hence *aihaa* is likely to be a compound as well; in fact, [ha:] must be *ha'a* [haʔa] 'mouth', equivalent to *o'o* in Fataluku; however, it is

⁵⁰ Note the occurrence of the echo vowel at the end of the phrase, as opposed to what may be seen in the same word in (45).

not quite clear what the [aj] element might be. The make-up of *poornaal* is entirely opaque.

The position of the heavy syllable within a morpheme seems to be free; there are items in which the first syllables are heavy, such as those demonstrated in (47), items with a heavy second syllable, such as in (48) – this often equals the last syllable, since the most frequent type of morpheme is, as mentioned above, disyllabic – and other syllables, as exemplified for a few instances in (49).

(47)	[hi:'tafu]	<i>hiitafu</i>	'machete'
	[pa:r'dufu]	<i>paardufu</i>	'widow'
	[ha:lɛ]	<i>haale</i>	'other'
(48)	[lo'loj]	<i>loloi</i>	'two'
	[ʔi'raw]	<i>irau</i>	'not allowed'
	[su'su:k]	<i>susuuk</i>	'mosquito'
(49)	[,napi'ro:nu]	<i>napiroonu</i>	'tablecloth'
	[,letɛ'ro:]	<i>leteroo</i>	'coarse bag'
	[,sɔtɛ'me:]	<i>sotemee</i>	'alone'

This applies for both inherited as well as borrowed items (in (48) for instance, *susuuk* 'mosquito' is from Tetum). Even though all patterns occur, the greater part of the words with heavy syllables seem to have them morpheme-initially. There seem to be very few morphemes which have the heavy syllable medially, such as *napiroonu* 'tablecloth'.⁵¹

2.5.4 Echo vowels

(44) and (45) above show the pervasiveness of the CVCV pattern in running speech. Even though there are closed syllables in Makalero, they are decidedly disfavoured.⁵² Clear evidence for this comes from the echo vowel process: if morphemes ending in closed syllables occur at the end of a phonological phrase, an echo vowel will be added to them, which echoes the nucleus of the preceding syllable. In other words, a closed syllable concluding an intonational unit is converted into an open syllable by means of an echo vowel. The addition of an echo vowel provides an additional syllable with an empty onset. The morpheme's final consonant can thus be reassigned from the coda position of the previous syllable into the onset of that new syllable, following the maximal onset principle. This strategy shows that the phonological word in Makalero needs to be vocalic, which is in line with the general characteristics of the languages of the area (see Klamer 2002: 6). The forms with the echo vowel also occur when a word is cited in isolation. When

⁵¹ This statement does not apply to vowel lengthening in connection with the echo vowel process, as discussed in § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83) below.

⁵² Hull (2004: 67) confirms that Makalero is generally vocalic, but claims that "there is a greater tendency towards apocope" than in Fataluku and Makasae, which "are strongly vocalic in structure".

asked about the closed-syllable variant, i.e. the word without the echo vowel (such as in (50)), speakers judge this form to be better and more correct than the form with the echo vowel, as in (51); this shows that they recognise (50) as the base form of the morpheme.

(50) [ʔjar] *iar* ‘cry’

(51) [ʔja:ra] *iar* ‘cry’

Note how the vowel of *iar* ‘cry’ is lengthened in (50). Such vowel lengthening in conjunction with an echo vowel signals the imminent end of a phonological phrase. § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83) discusses in detail how vowel lengthening and echo vowels are interconnected.

The following selection of bits of natural speech exemplifies both lengthened vowels as opposed to short vowels, and words with echo vowels as opposed to their closed-syllable variants at the end of the phrase. Observe the two variants of *mutu* ‘sit (SG)’ in (52) and (53), *pa’uk* ‘bad’ in (54) and *meih* ‘two (HUM)’ in (55).

(52) [ki'di:læʔ'ini | ,puti'le:'mutu'ʔinihaj'rejmi'sa:si]

Ki-dila e'=ini putil=ee-mutu'=ini hai rei-misa=si...
 3:POSS-frog VIDEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF-inside=LNK1 NSIT outwards-go.up=LNK2
 ‘His frog is here inside the bottle and is getting out...’ (38-005)

(53) [ki,i'akilafi'aniputi'le:haimu'tuʔu]

... *ki-ia ki=lafi=hi'a=ni putil=ee hai mutu'...*
 3:POSS-foot ATTR=side=only=CTR bottle=DEF NSIT inside
 ‘... his other leg is (still) inside the bottle...’ (38-008)

(54) [ʔa'siu'pare'ʔiniki'la·fuerehanupəpa'ʔuku | hanupəpa'ʔuktau'refa'ni:]

Asi-upa ere=ini ki-lafu ere hanu pa-pa'uk, hanu
 1s:POSS-father IDEM=CTR 3:POSS-life IDEM very RDL-bad very

pa-pa'uk taure-fani'.
 RDL-bad which:RED-like
 ‘My father’s life was very bad; but very bad in what way?’ (33-01)

(55) [ʔasi'dada'rarme'i:hi || 'mej=pəʔu: | mejh'ere'ki:si'ʔere]

Asi-dada-raa ere meih, meih=po u meih ere
 1s:POSS-grandparent-PL IDEM two.HUM two.HUM=ADVR one two.HUM IDEM

k-isi' ere...
 3:UND-belong IDEM
 ‘I have (only) two grandfathers, and one among them...’ (33-03)

Both the occurrence of echo vowels as well as vowel lengthening are connected to the end of a phonological phrase, such that a closed syllable concluding an intonational unit is eliminated through attachment of an echo vowel⁵³, which results in an additional, open syllable, as well as the lengthening of the immediately preceding vowel.

(56) shows that the echo vowel process applies to the end of the phonological phrase, not to the end of the clause; here, an echo vowel occurs on the object *sefar* ‘dog’ because the flow of speech was interrupted.

- (56) [mi'nina, piri'sistuwaite'ʔɛfiki'lɔ'kise'fa:ra | ʔisi'wa:ta]
- ... *minina* *Pirisistu uai=te'e=fe kiloo ki-sefar...* *isi-uat.*
 miss P. CLS=after=FE 3s 3:POSS-dog at:RED-call
 ‘... then miss Pirisistu called his dog.’ (89-19)

Occasionally, an echo vowel is found within a phonological phrase. Its function in such a context seems to be to break up a consonant sequence that would be difficult to pronounce. An example is given in (57), where the clause linker =*po* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251) is cliticised to *masan* ‘scared’. This case is distinct from an epenthetic vowel such as illustrated in § 2.3 (p. 68) in that the nucleus of the root’s last syllable is lengthened. Epenthetic vowels do not entail vowel lengthening.

⁵³ This rule applies in the vast majority of cases, although in a few instances the echo vowel is at best very faint or not present at all; examples are given in (ii) and (iii).

- (ii) [mɔ'tɔr hema'nin ni've məj'hin ɛj hudi'laran]
- Motor heman=ini ni-ue meih=ini hai Hudilaran.*
 motorbike take-LNK1 REFL-sister.in.law two.HUM=LNK1 NSIT H.
 ‘Having taken a motorbike, (she) went together with her sister-in-law to Hudilaran.’ (74-043)
- (iii) [ʔinia=n, nami'ra ʔiniamu, fa:t]
- Ini=hi'a=ni namiraa ini amu fat*
 lpi=alone=CTR man lpe person four
 ‘... we were only four boys.’ (72-01)

The last word of (ii) is a place name and could thus be said to be not representative. In (iii), however, the absence of an echo vowel from *fat* ‘four’ is unexpected. (iv), given below for comparison, shows the echo vowel in an almost identical context (but uttered by a different speaker).

- (iv) [ʔini, nami'ra:mu'fa:ta]
- ... *ini namiraa amu fat...*
 lpi man person four
 ‘... we were four boys.’ (33-17)

Examples such as these suggest that there does seem to be a certain amount of validity to Hull (2004)’s statement as quoted in fn 52. I would like to emphasise, however, that these are sporadic occurrences which are very rare.

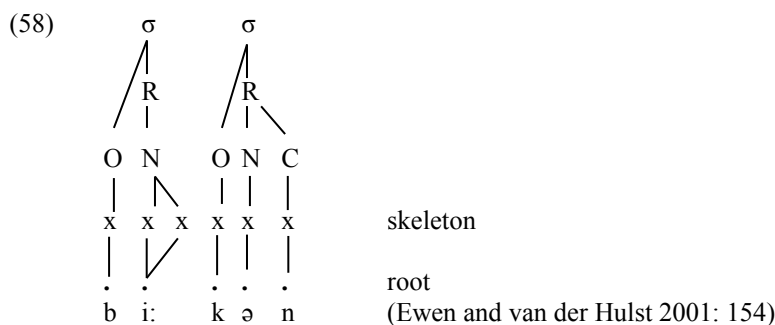
(57) [ma'rani'mata'kawhajma'sa:na'po]

... *mara=ni mata ka'u hai masan=po...*
 go=LNK1 child small NSIT scared=ADVR
 '... then the child was scared, so then...'

(89-12)

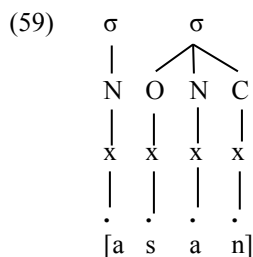
2.5.4.1 Vowel lengthening and echo vowels

The addition of an echo vowel to a root generally results in the vowel preceding the echo vowel being lengthened. This lengthening seems to compensate for the loss of the coda consonant. Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 154) suggest the use of a skeleton or skeletal tier for the treatment of length, and indeed this concept proves insightful for the issue of vowel lengthening in conjunction with echo vowels in Makalero. The skeletal tier associates the root nodes of segments to the terminal nodes of the syllable structure. This is exemplified for the word 'beacon' in (58).

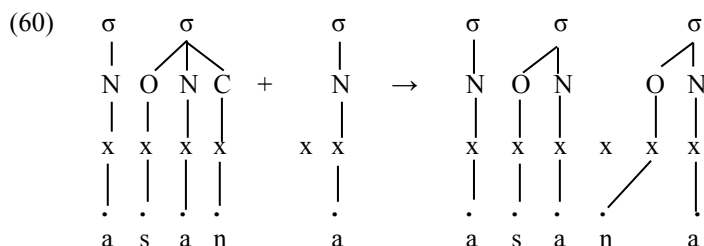


In this account, skeletal positions are basically timing units in the syllable. Thus the skeletal tier counts the elements in a syllable, assigning two positions to long elements, be they vowels and consonants.

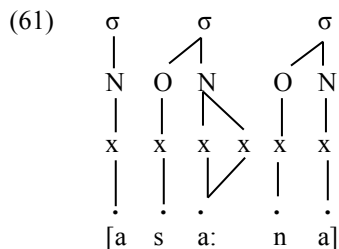
Makalero morphemes in their basic form appear to define a skeletal template, which must be followed even if the syllable structure changes. The example of *asan* 'long' may serve to illustrate this. The base form of the morpheme and the skeletal template are (in a slightly simplified form from that used in Ewen and van der Hulst (2001)) shown in (59).



The addition of an echo vowel to this structure results in a new onsetless syllable consisting only of a nucleus. It is associated with two positions on the skeletal tier, the first of which is empty such as shown in (60). This empty onset position is crucial, since it is the *raison d'être* of the echo vowel process to eliminate a morpheme-final consonant and to convert it into the onset of a new syllable. Now, following the maximal onset principle as laid out above, the preceding consonant moves into the empty onset position.

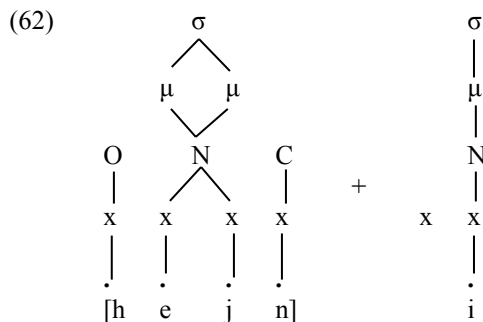


This process leaves an orphaned skeletal position, the one that before the resyllabification was connected to the coda consonant. This position cannot simply be deleted, since the morpheme's skeletal template must be preserved. It must be linked to some segment; by default, this is the preceding vowel, which as a consequence is lengthened.

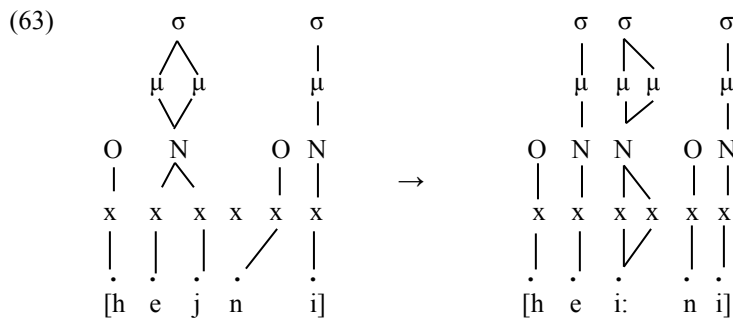


Vowel lengthening in connection to the addition of an echo vowel is thus an instance of compensatory lengthening.

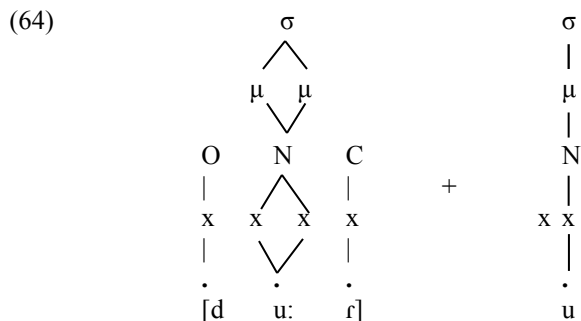
The skeletal tier is also able to account for the behaviour of such items as *hein* 'wait' under application of the echo vowel. Notably, morphemes like this change from being monosyllabic to being trisyllabic when an echo vowel is added, thus [hejn] ends up as [he'i:ni]. This example has been cited in § 2.2.2 (p. 60) to support the idea that off-glides are actually vowels, not consonants. With the aid of the skeletal tier, the explanation of the process which results in the trisyllabic [he'i:ni] is quite trivial. The diphthong nucleus, being complex, occupies two skeletal positions, as shown in (62); thus the root [hejn] is associated with four skeletal positions. To this, the echo vowel syllable with its two positions is added.



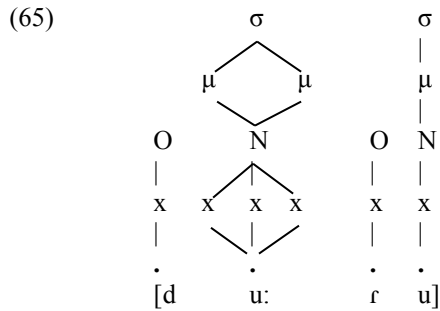
In the following, a process exactly analogous to the one described for *asan* in (60) and (61) applies: the coda consonant of *hein* is reassigned to the empty onset position of the echo vowel syllable. The remaining unbound skeletal position that belongs to the root morpheme is then linked to the nearest element, namely the second (glide) element of the diphthong nucleus. Being bound to two skeletal positions, this element is lengthened. As such, it can no longer be realised as an off-glide, but becomes a fully syllabic long vowel.



The same applies to monosyllabic lexical morphemes consisting of a closed syllable with a long vowel nucleus. A morpheme such as *dur* [du:r] 'wake up' occupies four positions on the skeletal tier, just like *hein* 'wait' in (62).



In the next step, the tap /r/ is reassigned to the new syllable as an onset. As a consequence of this, three skeletal positions are now bound to the already long vowel of the root [d u:r], as seen in (65).



In spite of this, there is no further lengthening of the vowel; from this follows that there is no such thing as a super-long vowel in Makalero. A long vowel cannot become even longer, however many positions on the skeletal tier may be linked to it. In summary, it appears that a layer independent from moraic structure is needed to deal with such instances of compensatory lengthening.

As mentioned in fn 53, there are instances of words concluding a phonological phrase which fail to exhibit an echo vowel. Observe also example (54) in § 2.5.4 (p. 80) above, which shows a phrase-final item occurring with an echo vowel, but without the associated vowel lengthening. This suggests that for some speakers in rapid speech, one of these phenomena is sufficient for the marking of the end of a phonological phrase. In the vast majority of cases, though, both echo vowel and accompanying vowel lengthening occur.

2.5.5 Vowel reduction

Conflicting with the preference for open syllables, there is a tendency for unstressed vowels to be reduced so as to virtually disappear. An instance is (66), where the unstressed demonstrative *ere* is actually realised only as a [r] attached to the preceding noun. In full, the phrase would be *dada-raa ere* [ˈdadaːra:ɛɛ] ‘these grandparents’.

(66) [ʔasiˈdadaːra:rmeˈi:hi]

Asi-dada-raa ere meih...
 1s:POSS-grandparent-PL 1DEM two.HUM
 ‘I have (only) two grandfathers ...’

(33-29f)

The tendency to drop unstressed vowels in fast speech can give rise to consonant clusters, as seen in (66). The reduction of unstressed vowels is not possible without limits, but appears to be largely restricted to grammatical, rather than lexical, items.

Instances are the most frequent grammatical items, such as the demonstrative *ere* (as in (66)) and the clause linkers *=ini* and *=isi* (see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247 and § 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250, respectively).

2.6 Stress

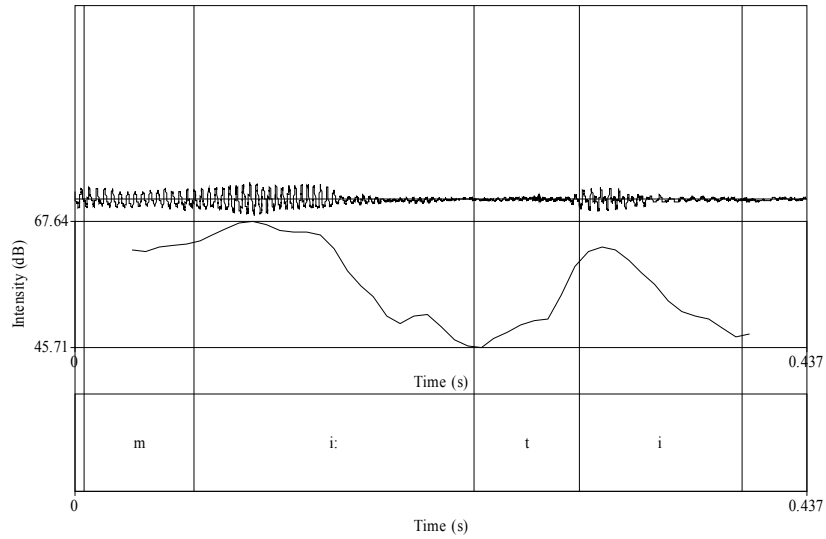
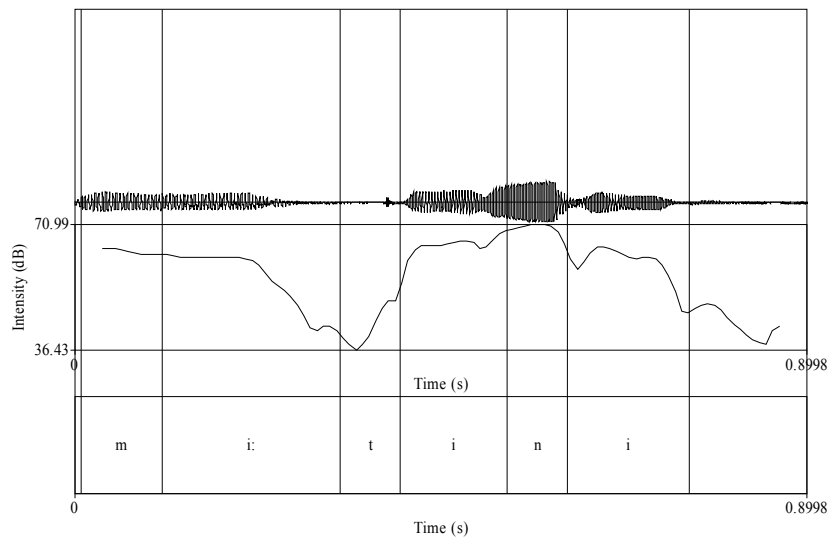
The assignment of stress in Makalero is not straightforward. Whereas a few remarks about words in isolation can readily be made, stress in a phrase is much more difficult to describe. The following gives a concise account of the stress patterns of isolated words in § 2.6.1 (p. 87), whereas § 2.6.2 (p. 93), aimed at the utterance, at best presents an overview of the problems encountered and gives a short outlook about directions for future analysis.

2.6.1 Stress in isolated words

Literature on the subject (e.g. Fox 2000: 122, Ewen and van der Hulst 2001: 197) lists three features through which stress is commonly realised, namely duration, amplitude, and pitch. In Makalero, stress is independent from vowel lengthening. Note that the main stress, which is on the long syllable in (67), shifts to the short penultimate in (68).

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| (67) | [ˈmi:ti] | <i>mit</i> | ‘sit (SG)’ |
| (68) | [,mi:'tini] | <i>mit=ini</i> | ‘sit (SG) and...’ |

Stress is mainly realised through amplitude, as the intensity curves of (66) and (67) in Figures 2.4 and 2.5 demonstrate, rather than through length.

Figure 2.4: *Mit* 'sit (SG)', intensityFigure 2.5: *Mit=ini* 'sit (SG) and then', intensity

On the other hand, the pitch peak of an intonational unit does not necessarily coincide with the syllable marked as stressed through intensity. Compare Figure 2.6, in which both vowels seem to be pronounced at the same pitch, whereas in Figure

2.7, the pitch peak, weak though it is, apparently coincides with the syllable bearing main stress. It thus seems that pitch is not the decisive feature in determining the stressed syllable in Makalero.

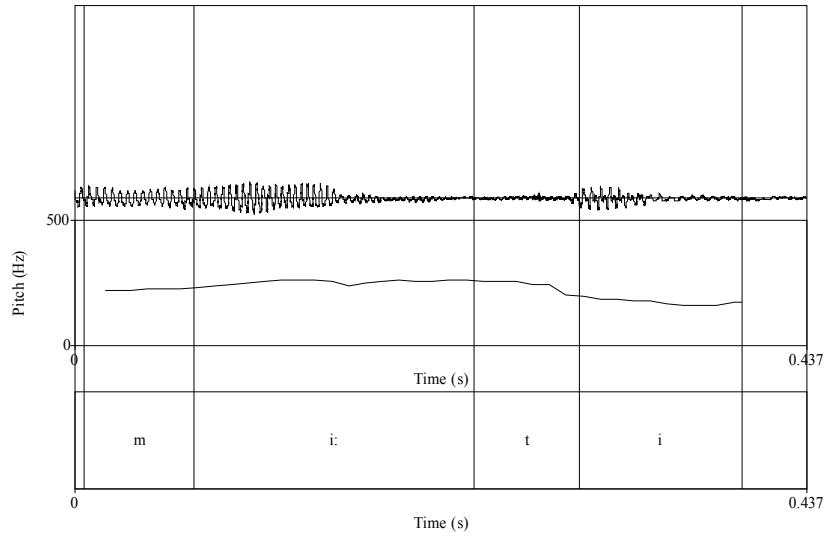


Figure 2.6: *Mit* 'sit (SG)', pitch

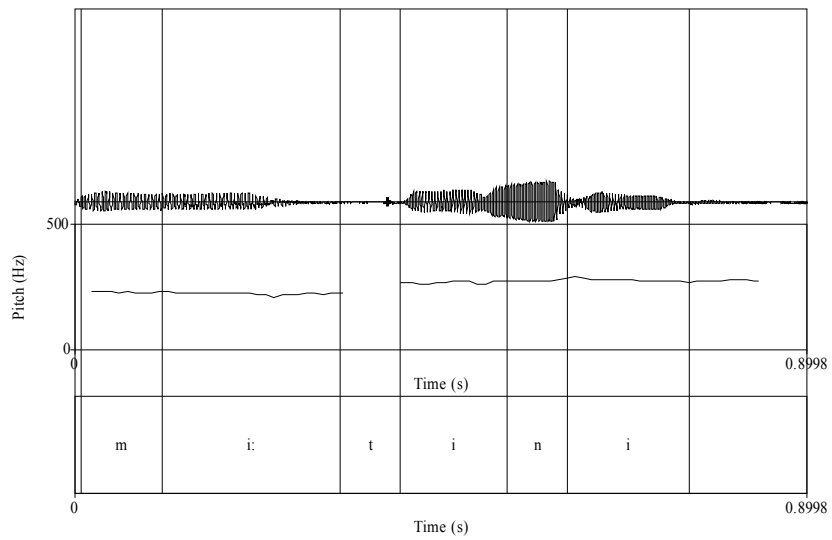


Figure 2.7: *Mit=ini* 'sit (SG) and then', pitch

For words uttered in isolation and short phrases, the penultimate stress pattern is pervasive; it holds for bi-, tri- and the occasional quadrisyllabic lexical item, as shown in (69), (70) and (71), respectively.

(69)	[ˈfala] [ˈmuni] [ˈʔira]	<i>fala</i> <i>muni</i> <i>ira</i>	‘cat’ ‘return’ ‘water’
(70)	[kəˈhɔru] [lɔˈlitu] [sirˈvisu]	<i>ko-horu</i> <i>lolitu</i> <i>sirvisu</i>	‘with him’ ‘three’ ‘work’
(71)	[ˌʔisaˈrami] [ˌʔusuˈpadu] [ˌraraˈnini]	<i>isarami</i> <i>usupadu</i> <i>raranini</i>	‘brother’ ‘candle’ ‘decoration’

Penultimate stress also applies to disyllabic grammatical items.

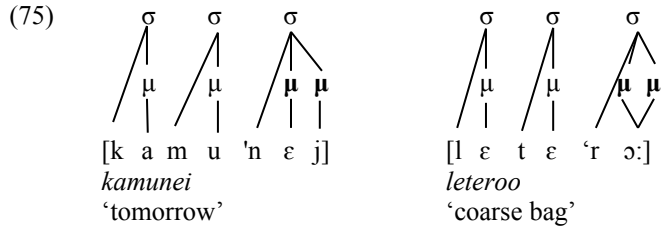
(72)	[ˈʔani] [ˈnaʔa] [ˈfata]	<i>ani</i> = <i>naʔa</i> = <i>fata</i>	(1s) (INT) (COND)
------	-------------------------------	----------------------------------------------	-------------------------

Note that lexical items in which more than one syllable precedes the stress-bearing one (as in the quadrisyllables in (71) above) have a secondary stress on the first syllable (thus [ˌisaˈrami] ‘elder brother’, [ˌusuˈpadu] ‘candle’ and [ˌraraˈnini] ‘decoration’). This yields a trochaic rhythm. In other words, a foot (assuming that it consists in principle of two syllables) can be said to be left-headed.

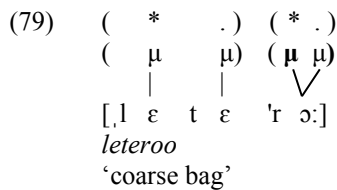
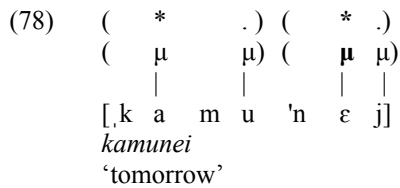
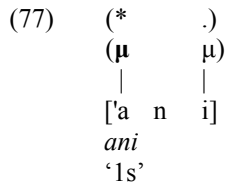
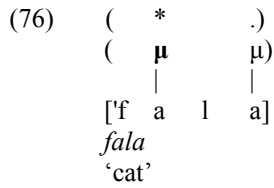
A notable set of exceptions to this trochaic pattern is presented by words or short phrases ending in heavy syllables. (73) gives some examples with diphthongs, while those in (74) have long vowels.

(73)	[ˌkamuˈnei] [ˌdadaˈwai]	<i>kamunei</i> <i>dada-uai</i>	‘noon’ ‘grandfather (HON)’
(74)	[ˌletɛˈrɔː] [ˌsɔtɛˈmɛː]	<i>leteroo</i> <i>sotemee</i>	‘coarse bag’ ‘self, alone’

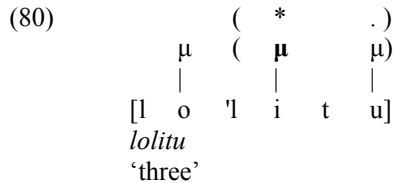
The defining feature of heavy syllables is that they consist of two morae, as shown in (75) for *kamunei* ‘tomorrow’ and *leteroo* ‘coarse bag’, respectively.



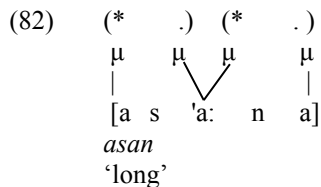
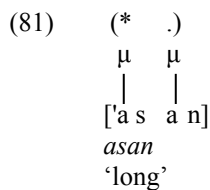
Clearly, Makalero makes use of the moraic trochee as defined by Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 227): “[i]n systems employing the moraic trochee, a foot may be formed either by a heavy syllable on its own or by two light syllables.” This system thus bases the notion of foot on moraic rather than syllabic structure, such that a foot must consist of two morae rather than two syllables. The word stress thus lies on the last foot rather than on the penultimate syllable. This definition accounts both for such cases as demonstrated in (69) through (72) (see the schematic representations in ((76) and (77) below, for a lexical and a grammatical item, respectively), as well as for such lexemes as those in (73) and (74), as shown in the schematic representations in (78) and (79). Feet are bracketed in the representations.



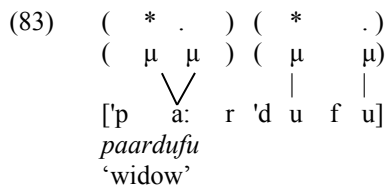
A word consisting of an odd number of morae, such as *lolitu* ‘three’ in (80), shows that foot structure is assigned from right to left; hence if a word has an uneven number of morae, the first, unaccented mora is not assigned to any foot, that is, is stranded.



This implies that word stress shifts according to whether an echo vowel is present or not; thus *asan* [ʔasan] ‘long’ is stressed on the first syllable, as shown in (81), but [a'sa:na], with an echo vowel, is stressed on the second, as in (82). In either case, the stress is on the last foot. Note how in (82), the long vowel is divided into two feet.



Items such as *puulata* [pu:'lata] ‘head’, in which the first two syllables seem to be equally stressed, are now explicable in the following way: the penultimate, being the head of the rightmost foot, bears word stress, whereas the immediately preceding syllable, by virtue of its being heavy, forms its own foot and therefore receives its own stress, as shown in (83). Consequently, the first two syllables receive a similar amount of stress. As a matter of fact, Figure 2.8 shows that the intensity peak on the first syllable is even higher than that of the second.



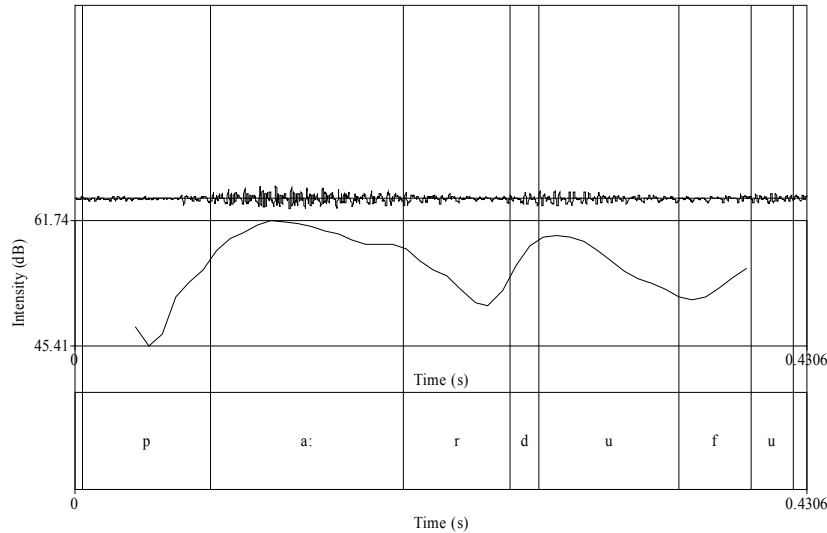


Figure 2.8: *Paardufu* ‘widow’, intensity

The same holds for *mit=ini* [mi:ˈtini] (sit.SG=LNK1) given as Figure 2.4 above, which has a secondary accent on the first, long, syllable. There are a few more such instances, e.g. *puulata* [pu:ˈlata] ‘head’ and *sookorokoro* [sɔ:ˈkɔɔˈkɔɔ] ‘snore’. Interestingly, there are also a variety of loan words which follow this pattern, e.g. *viitima* [vi:ˈtima] ‘victim’ and *saapatu* [sa:ˈpatu] ‘shoe’. As pointed out in § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) with reference to both native and borrowed words, the aberrant stress pattern suggests that they are understood to be made up of several morphemes. This is obviously the case with [mi:ˈtini] (*mit* ‘sit (SG)’ and the clause linking clitic *=ini*). In the case of *paardufu* ‘widow’, the consonant cluster further supports the idea of the word being a compound. For a loanword such as *saapatu* [sa:ˈpatu] ‘shoe’, this would involve reanalysis of some kind, whereas in the case of *viitima* [vi:ˈtima] ‘victim’, the long vowel in the nucleus of the first syllable seems to reflect the fact that in the donor language Portuguese, this word is stressed on the first syllable. I am not aware of minimal pairs with stress as the only distinctive feature.

2.6.2 Stress in the utterance

Beyond the single morpheme, the domain of stress assignment is the phonological word, not the morpheme, as the comparison of *mit* ‘sit (SG)’ with the short phrase *mit=ini* ‘sit and then’ in Figures 2.4 and 2.5 of § 2.6.1 (p. 87) clearly demonstrates. The latter is a combination of two morphemes, namely *mit* ‘sit (SG)’ and the clause linker *=ini*. A word can thus have different syllables stressed in different contexts. There appear to be also other factors involved in stress assignment in the utterance,

as the selection of sentences from (84) through (88) illustrates. All of the sentences are taken from the same text, and they all display the word *sefar* ‘dog’ in different contexts and realisations. (84) is the first mention of the dog in that text; it is a regular disyllabic morpheme with the accent on the second-to-last mora.

- (84) (x .) . (x.) . (x.) (x .) . (x .) (x .)
 μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ
 √ | || | √ || | | | | | |
 [‘pa:ŋku.ʔkuawɛmi:ʔt ininiʔsefarʔena]
 ... *paangku k-ua-ue-mit=ini* *ni-sefar ena.*
 stool 3:UND-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 REFL-dog see
 ‘... (he) is sitting on a stool and looking at his dog.’ (38-001)

(85) and (86) both show the clitic definite marker clitic =*ee* attached to *sefar*, but contrast in that the stress falls on the first syllable, or the prepenultimate, of the complex word form in (85), whereas in (86) the main stress is on the clitic =*e*; thus in (85), the clitic =*ee* does not affect the word stress, similar to the echo vowel, but receives the main stress in (86).

- (85) . (x .) . . (x.) (x .) . (x .)
 μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ
 | | | | | | | | √ √ |
 [kiʔsefar=ɛʔhajʔmawʔfu:ʔwe:ʔɛ...]
 ... *ki-sefar=ee hai maʔu fu-ueʔ...*
 3:POSS-dog=DEF NSIT come close:RED-V2DEM
 ‘... his dog comes close to him...’ (38-010)

- (86) . . (x .) (x .) . (x .) . (x .) (x .) (x .) (x .) (x .) (x .)
 μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ
 || || √ || || | √ || || || || || || √
 [wajnsɛfaʔr=ɛʔhajʔtepakipu:ʔlatajʔakawʔlaʔa.potiʔl e:
 (x .) (x .)
 μ μ μ μ
 | | | |
 mutuʔʔisi]
Uai=ni sefar=ee hai tepa ki-puulata hai haka-hau laʔa
 CLS=LNK1 dog=DEF NSIT constant 3:POSS-head NSIT all-all move
putil=ee-mutuʔ=isi...
 bottle=DEF-inside=LNK2
 ‘So the dog’s head is still totally inside the bottle, and...’ (38-018)

Sentence (87) shows the two stress patterns side by side in the same utterance.

(87) . (x .) . .(x .)(x.) (x .)(x .) . . (x.) (x .) . . (x .)
 μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 [ni'sɛfaɾɛ haj,a'fu:ni,sɛfa'ɾɛ: haj 'mejn,ata kɔ'kɔ:rɔ.]
 ... ni-*sefar*=ee hai afu=ni sefar=ee hai mei=ni ata'-kokor.
 REFL-dog=DEF NSIT carry=LNK1 dog=DEF NSIT take=LNK1 angry-hold
 'He carries his dog and holds him angrily (?).' (38-032)

Sentences (85) through (87) show how the clitic =ee is in some contexts extrametrical, while in others it carries a main stress. The circumstances under which one or the other option is realised are at present unclear (see also § 3.5.1.1, p. 243 on the clitic =ee).

Finally, in (88), *sefar* 'dog' is a separate item in a list; as such, it exhibits an echo vowel, and the preceding vowel is lengthened and carries the main stress.

(88) . (x .) . (x .)(x .) . (x .) (x .) (x .)(x .)
 μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ μ
 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
 [se'fa:ra ,amu'lafu a'taʔu 'ira 'mutu'laʔa]
 ... *sefar amulafu ata'u ira-mutu-la'a...*
 dog human all water-inside:RED-move
 '... the dog and the human, all fall into the water.' (38-097)

In summary, it has been shown with the example of *sefar* 'dog' that accent moves up and down the phrase, according to the context. It is thus not lexically fixed in the unmarked case. Overall, the transcripts from (84) through (88) reveal a roughly trochaic stress pattern, although it is now and then interrupted by unstressed (extrametrical) syllables, which include grammatical items such as the TAM particles *hai*, the third person singular possessive pronoun *ki-*, or the definite marker =ee (in some contexts). However, the present sketch cannot nearly account for all stresses in Makalero.⁵⁴ Due mainly to limitations in time, this is beyond the scope of the present work.

⁵⁴ To my knowledge, little previous research has been done on stress assignment in Timorese languages. Stoel (2006), in an unpublished paper, discusses stress assignment in the neighbouring language Fataluku. In that language, too, accents can move to different syllables of the word. Stoel goes on to draw a distinction between lexical stresses ('tones' in his terminology) and boundary tones. The former are associated with a word and are given in the lexicon, whereas the latter are associated with the end of a prosodic domain and are inserted by the phonology. Finally Stoel defines a complex set of rules under which lexical tones move to another syllable or are deleted, and boundary tones are either assigned or not. He also mentions vowel lengthening under certain conditions. It thus seems that the discussion of stress in Fataluku concentrates on similar problems as shown above to occur in Makalero. It remains to be seen whether Stoel's analysis can be adapted to account for stress in Makalero.

3. Lexical categories

According to most basic textbooks, a distinction between at least two lexical categories, namely nouns and verbs, is a universal trait in languages (e.g. Payne 1997: 32). That is, they posit a basic distinction between the expression of objects and actions, or reference and predication. There is, however, no consensus over this seemingly basic fact: specific theories may define other sets of basic word classes. For instance, Croft (2001: 63) argues for three universal basic word classes, namely nouns, verbs and adjectives, with the chief functions of denoting objects, actions and properties, respectively. Yet another approach argues that word class distinctions must be considered a matter of degree (see e.g. Sasse 1993).

Evidence challenging traditional word class theory has, among others, been adduced from Austronesian languages. Specifically, many individual Austronesian languages have been analysed as lacking a noun/verb distinction. This may be illustrated by such examples as (1) and (2) from Tongan (Broschart 1997: 134, examples (15) and (16)).

- (1) *na'e lele e kau fefiné*
PAST run SPEC PL:HUM woman.DEF
'The women were running.'
- (2) *na'e fefine kotoa e kau lelé*
PAST woman all SPEC PL:HUM run.DEF
'The ones running were all female.'

These sentences show how the word form *fefine* 'woman' can appear as both an argument and a predicate, without any overt derivation. The same holds for *lele* 'run', which can be used both as a predicate as well as as an argument. These word forms appear to be unspecified for lexical category, and it is only their function within a given clause (i.e. whether they are used in the nominal slot, on the right edge of the clause in the above examples, or in the verbal slot clause-initially) that determines their translational equivalents as either arguments or predicates. In fact, Broschart (1997: 128) arrives at the conclusion that Tongan is a language which completely lacks a noun/verb distinction. Such characteristics are not restricted to Tongan, but are fairly widespread in Austronesian languages. These languages are approximations of Gil's (2000: 194, 202) language type with only one single but open syntactic category. In this language type, "all words and phrases exhibit the same syntactic behaviour". A good overview of the issue is given in Himmelmann (2005).

Makalero, even though no member of the Austronesian family genetically, is spoken in a larger area dominated by Austronesian languages, and it is similar to these languages in several respects. Among those is the fact that the translational equivalents of verbs and nouns can quite freely be used in both argument and predicate positions, respectively. This characteristic is not commonly associated with Papuan languages (see § 1.5, p. 12).

In the Makalero lexicon, there is formal evidence for the distinction between function words and content words; to wit, there is a bimoraicity requirement for the latter (see § 2.5, p. 75). This means that a content word has to be either disyllabic or, if it is monosyllabic, its vowel nucleus has to be long or a diphthong. There is no such requirement for monosyllabic function words. As such the two lexemes in (3), *ni* ‘mother’ and *ni* (REFL) are clearly distinguished.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (3) | <i>ni</i> [ni:]
‘mother’ | <i>ni</i> [ni]
(REFL) |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|

Within the class of content words, however, the evidence for a distinction between nouns and verbs is weak. Though a lexeme may prototypically be used as an argument, it can easily function as a predicate given the right context. Similarly, lexemes prototypically used in predicate function can be used as arguments. (4) and (5) exemplify this flexibility with a prototypical verb, the stative *isit* ‘be ill’. In (4), it is used as the clause’s main predicate. In (5), on the other hand, the same lexeme clearly stands in a nominal slot, preceded by the third person possessive marker *ki-* (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225) and the definite marker *=ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243).⁵⁵ In this it is the head of the subject argument to the following predicate, *k-ua-misa* ‘rise over (it)’. (6) and (7) illustrate the same with a prototypical noun, *meestri* ‘teacher’. In (6), it is part of the subject argument, while in (7), it functions as a predicate.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| (4) | <i>... asi-atupusi hai nomo isit.</i>
1s:POSS-belly NSIT NEG ill
‘... my belly did not hurt anymore.’ | (101-137) |
| (5) | <i>Ki-isit=ee hai k-ua-misa...</i>
3:POSS-ill=DEF NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-go.up
‘His illness got worse...’ (lit. went up on top) | (67-29) |
| (6) | <i>... un=ini aire’ meestri Karo ere ni-asu mei...</i>
one=CTR now teacher K. 1DEM REFL-for take
‘... one (of them) teacher Caro now took for himself (to be his wife)...’ | (105-025) |
| (7) | <i>Tufuraa umere’ nomohaka murid=po meestri.</i>
woman DIST.DEM.V CLS.NEG student=ADVR teacher
‘That girl over there is not a student, but a teacher.’ | (elic1593) |

Nevertheless, I assume there is a basic distinction between referring and predicating. Even though this distinction is not as rigidly grammaticalised in Makalero as in other languages, there are some indications that suggest it is a relevant factor. For instance, there are some homophonous pairs of lexemes which carry radically different meanings depending on their category. Examples are given in (8) and (9).

⁵⁵ Possessive modifiers with verbs in referring function are usually the agents of the verbal actions in question; possessors referring to non-agentive participants are found in the corpus only with locative verbs.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|
| (8) | <i>mini</i> (v) | ‘follow’ |
| | <i>mini</i> (n) | ‘nose’ |
| (9) | <i>lu’a</i> (v) | ‘not get’ |
| | <i>lu’a</i> (n) | ‘monkey’ |

Furthermore, there are some class-changing derivational morphological processes associated with nouns and verbs, respectively. A particularly clear example is the deictic paradigm (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180 and § 3.3.2.1, p. 232), which includes nominal and verbal forms. However, most of these processes are of limited productivity, and there is a large number of content words which are never used with any derivation. A working definition of the main lexical categories based on other than morphological criteria, which can capture these, is thus needed in order to make generalisations over lexemes belonging to these classes possible.

Haspelmath (2001: 16543) points out that, despite the above-mentioned problems, it is generally possible to categorise word forms into nouns and verbs in individual languages. As an example, he gives the word *fōma’i* ‘doctor’ in Samoan (ibid.), which can be translated both as ‘doctor’ and ‘being a doctor’. This contrasts with *alu*, which translates as ‘go’ and the ‘fact of going’, rather than ‘person who goes’ (ibid.). The former would be categorised as a noun, while the latter is a verb. Such semantic correspondences can be used in the determination of word classes, alongside morphological processes, if present, as well as syntactic characteristics.

In the following, I will use a combination of such semantic features as used by Haspelmath (2001) as well as specific morphological alternations and derivations for the purpose of distinguishing lexical categories in Makalero. Content words are classified as belonging to one of the open lexical classes of nouns or verbs. § 3.1 (p. 99) discusses nouns, giving a tentative definition and distinguishing a number of subgroups based on phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria. § 3.2 (p. 125) proceeds analogously with verbs. Most function words are particles or affixes that are associated with either the noun phrase or the verb phrase, or clitics attached on phrase-level. These closed-category items contrast with the open categories noun and verb in that they do not participate in the functional flexibility exhibited by those classes. § 3.3 (p. 217) treats closed categories associated with the noun phrase, while those discussed in § 3.4 (p. 241) are associated with the verb phrase. § 3.5 (p. 243) introduces a variety of phrase-level clitic. Finally, § 3.6 (p. 264) elaborates on some unclear cases.

3.1 Nouns

Prototypical nouns have often been described as expressing time-stable concepts (Givon 1984: 51). However, as Payne (1997: 33) notes, a concept such as ‘fist’ is not likely to persist over a considerable period of time. This oft-quoted semantic definition is thus fraught with problems, and criteria independent from semantics are needed to determine the membership of a given lexeme to the nominal class. Syntactically, nouns prototypically function as arguments. Frequently mentioned

morphological characteristics of nouns are case marking, gender marking and number marking.

3.1.1 Nouns in Makalero: a tentative definition

Almost any content word (see § 3.1.2, p. 101 for some exceptions), even those that would prototypically be translated as verbs, can basically be used as the head of an NP (as defined by the presence of a determiner, see § 3.3.2, p. 232). This makes classification into lexical categories difficult. Morphological characteristics that define nouns, as mentioned in § 3 (p. 97) are of little help since Makalero is largely isolating. Neither are there formal features to unequivocally identify a given lexeme as a noun.

A number of lexemes are never used as predicates in the corpus, but occur only in argument function. These are good candidates for nominal status. A selection of such lexemes is given in (10).

- | | | |
|------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>ama</i> | ‘garden’ |
| | <i>hia</i> | ‘street’ |
| | <i>tuumata</i> | ‘family of the groom, wife-takers’ |
| | <i>na’a</i> | ‘work’ |

There is also some scattered nominalising derivational morphology (see § 3.1.2.1, p. 101), resulting in a relatively small class of nouns that are morphologically marked as such.⁵⁶ The bulk of morphemes, however, are underived and cannot be identified as belonging to either one or another class on morphological or structural grounds. Hence a general working definition which captures both derived and underived nouns is needed. There are no formal features which can be used to classify a given lexeme as a noun. Nominal derivational morphology is limited and no use for the definition of underived nouns. Syntactic evidence, too, is of no help – rather, this is the origin of the problem (see § 3, p. 97). Therefore, I resort to semantic criteria for a preliminary working definition, as suggested by Haspelmath (2001: 16543) and discussed in § 3 (p. 97) above, by which a lexeme *x* can be identified as a noun by a semantic correlation as given in Table 3.1.⁵⁷

meaning if used as an argument	meaning if used as a predicate
<i>x</i>	be an <i>x</i>

Table 3.1: Semantic correlation between argument use and predicate use of a noun

⁵⁶ Derivation of verbs from nouns is discussed in § 3.2.2 (p. 127) under verbal morphology.

⁵⁷ This definition relies on translational equivalents of Makalero lexemes in English and is thus itself not unproblematic. However, as laid out, the language-internal evidence provides no good criteria to capture the class of nouns as a whole.

A noun *x* is translated as predicating the property of being an *x* if used in the verbal slot. Verbs exhibit a different semantic correlation between their predicative use and the argument use (see § 3.2.1, p. 125). As such, I maintain that content words can reliably be grouped into nouns and verbs on a semantic basis.⁵⁸

(11) and (12) give contextual examples of the semantic correlation shown in Table 3.1. In (11), the noun *dada* ‘grandparent’, in the phrase *fi-dada* ‘our (incl.) grandfather’, functions as the subject argument of the clause, while (12) shows the same phrase used to predicate the property of being the entity expressed by the noun phrase in question.⁵⁹

- (11) ... *fi-dada* *fi-upa* *fi-nanu* *fi-hoden* *hana'e*
 1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 1pi-great.great.grandparent 1p-great.grandparent REM.PT

fi-asu lolo...

1pi-for say

‘... our grandfathers and our fathers, our great-great-grandfathers and our great-grandfathers told us long ago...’ (55-28)

- (12) ... *era ma'akini* *fi-dada-raa=po* *ere=haka* *ate popok.*
 3p wrongly.think 1pi-grandparent-PL=ADVR IDEM=CTR.PRES tree rotten
 ‘... this is not a crocodile, they thought it was a crocodile, but this is a rotten tree trunk.’ (38-101)

3.1.2 Nominal morphology

Despite the relative flexibility of word classes in Makalero, some remains of derivative morphology associated with nouns can be identified. Most of these are limited in their productivity. § 3.1.2.1 (p. 101) discusses a few derivational processes. Reduplication, due to the fact that it does not involve any morpheme other than the noun stem itself, is treated separately in § 3.1.2.2 (p. 106). Non-derivational grammatical morphemes associated with the noun phrase are discussed in § 3.3 (p. 217).

3.1.2.1 Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology forms new lexemes from other lexemes, often involving a change of lexical category. § 3.1.2.1.1 (p. 102) deals with an unproductive nominal formative *-r-*. § 3.1.2.1.2 (p. 104) goes on to describe a more productive nominalising process, namely the suffix *-ini*, and § 3.1.2.1.3 (p. 105) describes various strategies to form agent nouns. The morphemes to which these derivational processes apply cannot normally be used as referring expressions without derivation

⁵⁸ Under this definition, it would seem that such lexemes as *feesta* ‘party’ and *iskola* ‘school’ are actually prototypical verbs (see § 3.2.1, p. 125).

⁵⁹ Note that *fi-dada* ‘our grandfather’ is used as a taboo term to refer to the crocodile.

The meaning of the *-r-* formative is very broadly nominalising. It can give derive agent nouns, as in (15), as well as concrete objects or abstract concepts associated with a given verb, as in (16). Note that the interpretation of the derived form *umur* given in (16) varies between the latter two; it can be read either as denoting a dead body, i.e. an object associated with the action expressed by the verb or the abstract concept of death.

The *-r-* formative may be related to *-raa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236), the plural suffix associated with kinship terms (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116), as well as the associative plural morpheme *-ara* (see § 3.3.3.2, p. 236 again).⁶¹ Also, it is likely that the *-r-* formative is a constituent part of the lexemes *namiraa* ‘man’, *tufuraa* ‘woman’ and *fanaraa* ‘young (unmarried) woman’ which can be segmented into *nami + raa*, *tufur + raa* and *fanar + raa*, respectively. In all cases, the element *-raa* is formally identical with the above-mentioned plural suffix, but none of these lexemes have plural meaning. The derivation is clearly of a different nature here. The noun *nami*, the base form of *namiraa* ‘man’, has two distinct uses. On the one hand, it means ‘husband’, as shown in (17); on the other hand, it is used to designate the male of a species. As such, it often occurs as an NP modifier, as in (18). For humans, *namiraa* is used in the same position, as in (19).

- (17) *Ki-nami ki-nei Virisimu=uai na'an?*
 3:POSS-husband 3:POSS-name V.=or NEG.EX
 ‘Her husband’s name is Virisimo, isn’t it?’ (chat025)

- (18) ... *mata-niki misa=ni ni-sefar nami un=ini ude'=isi*
 child-PL go.up=LNK1 REFL-dog male one=CTR VDEM.HIGH=LNK2
heil=ini ma'u.
 pull=LNK1 come
 ‘... the children went up and pulled their (male) dog that was there (back) here.’ (118-29)

- (19) ... *asi-nana namiraa uere hau la'a Loospalos-isi-isikola.*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling man 2DEM all move L.-at:RED-school
 ‘... my elder brother went to school to Lospalos.’ (101-197)

Tufur, the base of *tufuraa* ‘woman’, appears to mean ‘younger sister’, and *fanar*, the base of *fanaraa* ‘young woman’, parallels *nami* in that it denotes the female of a species. Note that, as opposed to *nami*, both *tufur* and *fanar* have an *-r* in the stem, which is lost if the *-raa*-suffix is applied, as there are no geminates in Makalero.

In summary, the formative *-r-* is broadly associated with nominal status, though its interpretation varies. Within the suffix *-raa* it is more specifically restricted to human referents, both as a plural suffix that applies to kinship terms and as a suffix *-raa* found in *namiraa* ‘man’, *tufuraa* ‘woman’ and *fanaraa* ‘young woman’.

⁶¹ In the case of *uera*, a pronominal form used for third person reference, *-r(a)* seems to combine both the nominalising and the pluralising function. It is clearly cognate to the demonstrative *uere*, which is a nominal derivation of the addressee-related deictic stem *ue* (§ 3.3.2.1, p. 232), and at the same time, it is clearly plural in meaning. An equivalent, probably later, formation is *ueralaa*, i.e. the demonstrative with the plural marker *-laa* (see § 3.3.3.2, p. 236).

3.1.2.1.2 The nominaliser *-ini*

A suffix *-ini* derives nouns from verbs in some cases. The most frequently used instantiation is the case of *tina-ini* ‘(cooked) rice’ from the verb *tina* ‘cook’. (20) gives some more examples. Of special interest is the last example, *ueninini* ‘behaviour’. It is derived from *ue-nini*, which is itself a complex form (a complement-verb complex, see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326), and the derivational suffix is added to this internally complex form as a whole. Note that the initial vowel of the suffix is dropped if it is identical to the final vowel of the stem it is suffixed to.

(20)	<i>lolo-ini</i> ‘words, conversation’	<i>lolo</i> ‘say, speak’
	<i>teuh-ini</i> ‘gift’	<i>teuh</i> ‘buy’
	<i>ue-nini-ni</i> ‘behaviour, attitude’	<i>ue-nini</i> ‘do thus’(V2DEM:RED-do:BD)

The general semantic effect of the suffix can be paraphrased as denoting the result or product, and sometimes the undergoer, of the verbal action.

(21), volunteered by an informant, suggests that there is a possibility for multiple derivations with *-ini*. Thus, *kutu-ini* ‘clothes’ is derived from the verb (*k*)-*utu* ‘wear / cover / block’ (with a third person argument-marking prefix), and *kutu-ini-ni* is in its turn derived from that and appears to be a more abstract notion.

(21)	<i>kutu-ini</i> ‘clothes’	<i>kutu-ini-ni</i> ‘style (of clothing)’
------	------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

No such multiple derivations with *-ini-* occur in the corpus of free speech, hence it is not clear whether the correlation of the simply derived form with more concrete objects and that of the doubly derived form with more abstract objects is regular.

The issue of *-ini* is complicated by the fact that the form [ini] has several, quite distinct functions, likely homophonous rather than polysemous. Thus it has to be born in mind that *-ini*-nominalisations of verbs are in many cases formally homophonous to combinations of verbs with the clitic clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). (22) and (23) illustrate this with *teuh-ini*,⁶² which is a nominalised form in (22), but a verb with a sequential marker in (23). Note that the two differ clearly as to their function within the clause.

⁶² The clitic =*ini* (see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247) is cliticised to clauses. Its initial vowel is usually omitted in fluent speech after another vowel (though it may appear in slower diction). As such, a vowel-final verb with the clause linker =*ini* is generally distinct from an *-ini*-nominalisation. The latter suffix retains its initial vowel except after a stem ending in the same vowel. Using *lolo* ‘say’ as an example, the nominalisation is *lolo-ini* ‘conversation’ as given in (20) above; the most commonly used form of the verb *lolo* with the clause linker, on the other hand, would be *lolo=ni*.

- (22) *Mata ka'u=ua ani k-asu teuh-ini na'u mei kini ere*
 child small=REL 1s 3:UND-for buy-NML just take give.to.3 1DEM
ki-isa se hare'
 3:POSS-condition very clean
 'The child for whom I bought a present was very happy.' (elic526)
- (23) *Uai=ni=ni ni-asu mei=ni modo-hasa teuh=ini pura mei=ni*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 REFL-for take=LNK1 vegetable-leaf buy=LNK1 sell take=LNK1
tempe kini=ni pura...
 tempe do=LNK1 sell
 'So we took (the money) for ourselves and bought vegetables, which we then sold, and took (the money) and made tempe with it, which we then sold...'
 (124-29)

Also, *-ini* is one of the bound forms of the verb *kini* 'do', which is used with verbal complements in both causativising and object-demoting function (see § 5.2.2.5.1, p. 340 for details).⁶³

3.1.2.1.3 Agent nouns

The most productive way to derive an agent noun is the suffix *-door*, borrowed from the common Portuguese suffix *-dor* with the same function. (24) gives a few examples. Note how *-door* is attached to Portuguese loans (such as *deue* 'borrow', from *dever* 'owe'), as well as to Makalero roots (as *fana* 'teach'). The suffix can also be added to a verb phrase with an object, as in *ropa-pura-door* 'clothes salesman'.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (24) | <i>deue-door</i>
'borrower, somebody with
a lot of debts' | <i>deue</i>
'borrow' |
| | <i>fana-door</i>
'teacher' | <i>fana</i>
'teach' |
| | <i>ropa-pura-door</i>
'clothes salesman' | <i>ropa pura</i>
'sell clothes' |

Apart from this borrowed derivative suffix (see § 3.3.3.4, p. 238 for some remarks on its status), there are several language-internal means to convey the same meaning. However, it does not appear as if any of these is productive. Consider the examples in (25) through (27). The first example in (25), *akor* 'thief' from *(k)-ako* 'steal', has been mentioned above in the discussion of the nominal *-r*-formative

⁶³ A historical relationship between this and the nominalising suffix *-ini* cannot be excluded, given both the formal as well as the semantic similarity between the two.

(§ 3.1.2.1.1, p. 102). A variant form is *akorteul*, with an otherwise unattested additional *teul* element.⁶⁴ The two items in (26) may both be translated as ‘farmer’; the first of these, *ama-ouar*, is a nominal compound (§ 4.1.1, p. 276) which literally translates as ‘garden master’. *Ama pau-paun*, on the other hand, is derived from the phrase *ama paun* ‘to weed / work in a garden’ by reduplication of the verb *paun* ‘pull out’. It thus conforms to § 3.1.2.2 (p. 106), which records several cases of nominalisation through reduplication. Finally, *fananini ki-amulafu* for ‘teacher’ in (27) was produced by speakers consciously trying to avoid the much more common Portuguese loan *meestri* ‘teacher’. *Fana-nini* is a complement-verb complex of the form ‘teach-do’, and is connected to *amulafu* ‘(living) person’ in a possessive construction, which could be rendered in English as ‘person of teaching’.

(25)	<i>akor</i>	‘thief’
	<i>akorteul</i>	‘thief’
(26)	<i>ama-ouar</i>	‘farmer’
	<i>ama pau-paun</i>	‘farmer’
(27)	<i>fananini ki-amulafu</i>	‘teacher’

In short, there appears to be no pervasive “native” strategy for the formation of agentive nouns, and the most common way to produce one is through the use of the Portuguese loan suffix *-door*.

3.1.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is one of the few truly productive morphological processes in Makalero. In several cases, nouns are derived from other nouns or verbs by means of reduplication. In all instances, the stem is fully reduplicated. Note, however, that the final consonant of a morpheme ending in a closed syllable is omitted in the reduplicant. An example is *sera-seran* ‘things, stuff’, which is a reduplication of *seran* ‘stuff’. § 2.3.1 (p. 70) proposes that coda consonants are extrasyllabic in order to account for this behaviour.

The verb-to-noun derivations in (28) and (29) are thematically grouped. The verbs in (28) denote actions associated with specific instruments. In these cases, the derived noun refers to that instrument. The examples in (29), on the other hand, denote an abstract notion derived from a verb (with the exception of *nua-nua* ‘food’, a concrete noun).

⁶⁴ There is a verb *teul* ‘chase’. I fail, however, to see how these two elements could be related.

(28)	<i>kitu</i> 'skewer, prong'	<i>kitu-kitu</i> 'fork'
	<i>hulu</i> 'spoon out'	<i>hulu-hulu</i> 'spoon' ⁶⁵
	<i>tufa</i> 'sweep'	<i>tufa-tufa</i> 'broom'
	<i>sia</i> 'rub, brush'	<i>sia-sia</i> 'eraser'
(29)	<i>seti</i> 'pass, miss'	<i>seti-seti</i> 'error, mistake, sin'
	<i>kini</i> 'do, make'	<i>kini-kini</i> 'behaviour, tradition'
	<i>lafu</i> 'live, be alive'	<i>lafu-lafu</i> 'life, aspiration'
	<i>fani</i> 'be like'	<i>fani-fani</i> 'resemblance, likeness'
	<i>nua</i> 'eat'	<i>nua-nua</i> 'food'

There are also cases in which a noun is derived through reduplication from another noun. Again, these are ordered into two groups in (30) and (31) below. The reduplicated nouns in (30) are very similar in meaning to the respective simplexes, but seem to have an additional notion of plurality, distributivity, or variety of referents. The examples in (31), on the other hand, have no clear semantic commonality; the first one, *isa-isa* 'age' may be related to the derivation of abstract notions from verbs as in the examples in (29). *Isu-isu* 'freckles' is concrete and reminiscent of the distributive or variety reading of reduplication as in (30). Finally, *kamu-(k)amu* 'early morning' from *kamu* 'night' does not seem to relate to any of the earlier semantic groups.

(30)	<i>seran</i> 'stuff'	<i>sera-seran</i> 'things, stuff'
	<i>sa'a</i> 'thing'	<i>sa'a-sa'a</i> 'things, stuff'
	<i>saka</i> 'branch'	<i>saka-saka</i> 'branches'

⁶⁵ The simplex *hulu* also occurs in nominal function, with the same meaning.

(31)	<i>isa</i> 'emotional state'	<i>isa-isa</i> 'age'
	<i>isu</i> 'seed'	<i>isu-isu</i> 'freckles'
	<i>kamu</i> 'night'	<i>kamu-(k)amu</i> 'early morning'

(32) illustrates a variety of reduplicated nouns where either I am unaware of a simplex form, or there seems to be no semantic connection to the simplex. Examples of the latter case are *iaia* 'glass, mirror', which is unlikely to be related to *ia* 'foot, leg', and *toutou* 'owl', which cannot be meaningfully linked either to *tou* 'coconut shell' or *tou* 'cross'. On the other hand, no simple forms *uti* and *rifu* are attested in the corpus.

(32)	<i>iaia</i>	'glass, mirror'
	<i>utiuti</i>	'image, picture'
	<i>rifurifu</i>	'gathering'
	<i>toutou</i>	'owl'

3.1.3 Types of nouns

Within the open category of nouns, a variety of subgroups can be distinguished, on phonological, morphological, as well as syntactic / constructional grounds. The following sections discuss proper names in § 3.1.3.1 (p. 108), including personal names (with a short synopsis on naming and reference) in § 3.1.3.1.1 (p. 109), place and clan names in § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111), and the names of months in § 3.1.3.1.3 (p. 112); these are defined as distinct groups mainly on phonetic grounds. These sections are followed by § 3.1.3.2 (p. 115) on nouns with the feature [+HUM] and § 3.1.3.3 (p. 119) on [-HUM] nouns as well as § 3.1.3.4 (p. 120), which introduces a small group of nouns with reduced forms. These can be distinguished from other nouns on morphological and syntactic grounds. § 3.1.3.5 (p. 120) and § 3.1.3.6 (p. 122) give a grouping of nouns into semantic classes based on the numeral classifiers with which they are associated, as well as a short evaluation on the distinction between count and mass nouns. § 3.1.3.7 (p. 123), finally, is an outlook on (in)alienability.

3.1.3.1 Proper names

Proper names generally include personal names and place names. Both of these categories constitute distinctive subsystems in Makalero mainly on phonological grounds, as discussed in § 3.1.3.1.1 (p. 109) and § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111), respectively. Note that § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111) treats clan names as well as place names. The names of

months can be grouped into a separate class based on similar reasons. The issue is presented in more detail in § 3.1.3.1.3 (p. 112).

3.1.3.1.1 *Personal names*

Makalero speakers, as well as most of the Timorese population, mostly use Portuguese given names and surnames. A few samples are the following:

- (33) *Joana da Silva* (female)
Agusto Pinto (male)
Igildo Ximenes (male)
Maria da Gloria (female)
Marcos da Costa (male)

As such, personal names clearly constitute their own subsystem within Makalero, distinguished not least by its distinct phonology, which is an adapted form of Portuguese phonology. A notable characteristic of this subsystem is the presence of the voiced labiodental and alveodental fricatives as well as the voiced plosives, which are otherwise absent from Makalero (§ 2, p. 37). The Portuguese voiced palatoalveolar fricative [ʒ] is rendered in Makalero as the voiced alveodental fricative [z], and its voiceless counterpart [ʃ] as [s]. These sounds are represented in Portuguese orthography as <j> (as in *Joana*, pronounced as [zu'ana]) and <x> (as in *Ximenes*, pronounced as [si'menes]), respectively. Furthermore, the Portuguese nasalised vowels are replaced by the corresponding oral vowels followed by [n], such as in *Adão* [a'dãũ] (Adam), which becomes [a'dawn]. A feature that is maintained from the Portuguese original is the pronunciation of final <o> as [u]. Personal names commonly contain consonant clusters, otherwise disfavoured (§ 2.5.2, p. 78). Also, the preference for disyllabic morphemes does not apply (§ 2.5.1, p. 76).

Apart from these phonological features, there are few characteristics distinguishing proper names from common nouns. Syntactically, they can be modified by relative clauses (§ 4.3.5, p. 295) and determiners (§ 4.4, p. 314) just as common nouns. However, there is no example of a person name as the possessed in a possessive construction (§ 4.2, p. 277).

For the purpose of addressing a person, long given names are generally abbreviated to two syllables. These two syllables are most commonly the final ones, although there are also instances where the first two syllables are used. The two strategies are exemplified in (34) and (35), respectively. Note that with the cases in (34), the original stress on the penultimate is maintained. In (35), however, it is shifted to the erstwhile initial syllable, which corresponds to the penultimate of the clipped form, to conform to the general trochaic stress pattern (§ 2.6.1, p. 87).

- (34) *Mafalda* [ma'falda] → *Falda* ['falda]
Latino [la'tinu] → *Tino* ['tinu]

- (35) *Olávio* [ɔ'laviu] → *Ola* [ˈɔla]
Agusto [a'gustu] → *Agus* ['agus]⁶⁶

The preference for disyllabic vocative forms is very strong. If a name or its short form has too little phonetic substance, an additional syllable is created through the addition of an initial /a/. Examples of this are given in (37). Note that in either case, the initial /a/ receives a distinct stress, and in the case of *A-jua* even the primary stress. While the pronunciation of *Juana* is trisyllabic in slow speech, the /u/ of the first syllable is very short in fast speech so as to come close to an approximant (see fn 42). The short form of the name, which clips the last syllable, may thus be pronounced much like a monosyllable. As a result, an initial /a/ must be attached for this vocative form to be considered acceptable.

- (36) *Noi* [noj] → *A-noi* [,a'noj]
Juana [zu'ana] / ['zwana] → *A-jua* ['azwa]

The initial /a/ can be found with disyllabic terms of address as well, as shown in (37). The *a*-prefix occurs only in addressing and could thus be described as a vocative marker (§ 3.3.4, p. 239).

- (37) *Leni* ['leni] → *A-leni* [,a'leni]

It is considered polite to both refer to and address older people and persons of respect using titles or kinship terms such as *nana* 'elder sibling', *dada* 'grandparent', or *meestri* 'teacher'. The honorific suffix *-uai* (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116 and § 3.3.3.3, p. 238) is often used on kinship terms. Also, parents are usually both referred to and addressed using teknonyms, as in (38). For mother and father, endearing terms such as *mama* and *papa* are generally used, rather than the common words *ni* 'mother' and *upa* 'father'.

- (38) *Atino ki-mama!* 'Atino's mother!'
Atino ki-papa! 'Atino's father!'

Side by side with the official, Portuguese, names, people also have traditional Timorese names. Some people, though very few in number, choose to go by their Timorese name, rather than their Portuguese name. Examples are the following:

- (39) *Iliuatu* (male)
Alou (female)
Uarudoli (female)

Very few people nowadays use their Timorese name, hence they are more frequently found in stories about the ancestors (and there, for some reason, more frequently for

⁶⁶ In the case of *Agusto*, the short form *Agus* may be influenced by the common Indonesian given name *Agus*.

women). My information on such names is too limited as to allow for conclusions on their phonology, meaning etc.

There have been very few occurrences of what seems to be an associative plural marker *-ara*, which occurs with personal names only.⁶⁷ An example is given in (40). The compatibility with this suffix is a distinguishing characteristic of personal names on the morphological level, as well.

- (40) *Uai=ni Leni-ara na'a.muni Augusto mi-naser...*
 CLS=LNK1 L.-ASS.PL in.turn A. along:RED-stand.PL
 'So Leni and them stood behind (in a line with) Augusto...' (120-094)

3.1.3.1.2 Place and clan names

Place and clan names are mainly distinguished from common nouns by a phonological feature, namely the presence of the voiced bilabial plosive [b], which does not occur in the remainder of the language (see § 2.1, p. 37). (41) and (42) exemplify some toponyms in the Iliomar area and clan names, respectively (the latter are taken from Chamberlain 2008).⁶⁸

- (41) *Ailebere*⁶⁹
*Bunabiki*⁷⁰
Boropai
- (42) *Abubul*
Luruboitafa
Busarulu

Place names are known to often retain older features, hence the presence of the voiced bilabial plosive might be an archaism.⁷¹ It is interesting to note that there is a variety of toponyms, such as those shown in (43), are perfectly transparent, while all those containing a voiced bilabial plosive are opaque. In other words, all the transparent place names correspond to Makalero phonology, but none of those conforming to the special place-name phonological subsystem is transparent.

⁶⁷ It appears the more general plural marker *-laa* (see § 3.3.3.2, p. 236) can stand with personal names too, and yields an associative plural reading much like *-ara*.

⁶⁸ Note that several of the clan names listed in Chamberlain 2008 and reproduced in § 1.3 (p. 7), such as Iliomar and Ailebere, are also names of places.

⁶⁹ Ailebere is spelled Aelebere in Map 4 (§ 1.2, p. 5).

⁷⁰ This village is officially spelled Bunabiqui, using Portuguese orthography (see Map 4, § 1.2, p. 5)

⁷¹ The form of these place names conforms perfectly to the phonological system of Makasae with its two series of stops, voiced and voiceless (Huber 2008a). It is unlikely that the names of these settlements in the Makalero heartland are borrowed from Makasae. This may suggest that Makalero originally had a series of voiced stops that was lost at some stage of language evolution.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| (43) | <i>Lopuarapau</i> | <i>lopu</i> ‘house’ + <i>arapau</i> ‘buffalo’ |
| | <i>Lopuhofar</i> | <i>lopu</i> ‘house’ + <i>hofar</i> ‘new’ |
| | <i>Omarsa’e</i> | <i>omar</i> ‘stilt house’ + <i>sa’e</i> ‘hair, leader’ |
| | <i>Iralutur</i> | <i>ira</i> ‘water’ + <i>lutur</i> ‘fence’ |
| | <i>Iliomar</i> | <i>ili</i> ‘stone’ + <i>omar</i> ‘stilt house’ |

While a place name like *Lopuarapau* looks very much like a compound (‘buffalo house’), it does not conform to the structure of nominal compounds in Makalero (see § 4.1.1, p. 276), in which the modifying noun precedes the head of the structure. As such, ‘buffalo house’ would be *arapau-lopu* (or *ara-lopu*), not *lopu-arapau*. It seems, therefore, that place names in Makalero differ from the rest of the language’s vocabulary not only in phonology, but also in other aspects, such as their syntactic make-up.

A special semantic feature of place names is that, if used as clausal predicates, the notion of location is generally understood to be inherent to them. Used predicatively, thus, a place name expresses the location of a participant at the place denoted by the toponym. This is clearly demonstrated by such sentences as (44), where the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) on the preceding verb *la’a* ‘move’ shows that the place name must make up a clause on its own, and (45), where the toponym is modified by the aspect marker *hai* (§ 5.3.1.1, p. 361).

- (44) ... *hai mu’a-isa=ni la’a=ni Uanri Opanur.*
 NSIT ground-go.down=LNK1 move=LNK1 U. O.
 ‘... (we) came down and got to Uanri Opanur.’ (70-07)

- (45) *Motor heman=ini ni-ue meih=ini hai Hudilaran.*
 motorbike take=LNK1 REFL-sister.in.law two.HUM-LNK1 NSIT H.
 ‘(She) took a motorbike and went to Hudilaran together with her sister-in-law.’ (74-043)

Note, however, that in some cases, place names in predicate use can also predicate a property rather than the location of a participant. (46) gives such an example.

- (46) ... *ki-nei muni muda muni la’a=ni Ailebere.*
 3:POSS-name return change return move=LNK1 A.
 ‘... (the village’s) name was changed again into Ailebere.’ (35-14)

3.1.3.1.3 Months

Makalero speakers normally use the Indonesian or Portuguese names for months. When necessary, however, they are able to provide names for the twelve months of the year in Makalero. These terms were never used in spontaneous speech that I witnessed, but were volunteered by informants. The twelve months are listed in Table 3.2 below. Speakers equate these months with the twelve months of the Gregorian calendar. The Makalero terms given in the left column were given to me

personally by a group of speakers. The forms in square brackets following them are those given by Pinto (2007: 10).⁷² The right column gives explanations for these names, as offered by the above-mentioned group of speakers.

Makalero	English equivalent	meaning
<i>uilal-bailiur</i> [<i>Ilal bailiur</i>]	January	<i>uilal</i> = crescent moon (?) <i>bai</i> = pig <i>liur</i> = gather (?) → when pigs gang together (and destroy gardens)
<i>faian-kalantor</i> [<i>Faehian Kalantor</i>]	February	<i>faian</i> = k.o. tall coarse grass (?) <i>kalan</i> = plant seeds (?) <i>tor</i> = swollen (?) → when the seeds of a specific kind of grass are ripe
<i>mater-raadina</i> [<i>Mater Radina</i>]	March	<i>mater</i> = k.o. wood (red wood) (?) <i>raadina</i> = worm excrements → when there are a lot of worm excrements on the ground
<i>utu-let</i> [<i>Utule'te / Kutule'te</i>]	April	<i>utu</i> = ? <i>let</i> = ? translated as 'fruit season'
<i>sakar</i> [<i>Sakar</i>]	May	<i>sakar</i> = k.o. grass with inedible grains (?) → when the sakar grain is ripe
<i>uata-hasa</i> [<i>Wata asa</i>]	June	<i>uata</i> = coconut <i>hasa</i> = leaf → when coconut leaves wither and fall off the tree

⁷² Note that Pinto gives *mater-raadina* as April and *utu-let* as March, respectively, thus the other way round than in my own information. Apart from this, the two sources coincide except in the spelling.

<i>matu-isar</i> [<i>Matu Isar</i>]	July	<i>matu</i> = sweet yam <i>isa-r</i> = go.up-NML (?) → when the sweet yams come up
<i>lue-uru</i> [<i>Lue uru</i>]	August	<i>lue</i> = ash <i>uru</i> = moon → when plants wither and look grey
<i>eu-laun</i> [<i>Eu Laun</i>]	September	<i>eu</i> = oily substance in a coconut (?) <i>laun</i> = ? → when the skin of coconuts starts getting shiny
<i>bare mata</i> [<i>Paremata</i>]	October	<i>bare</i> = dry season (?) <i>mata</i> = child → beginning of dry season
<i>bare bere</i> [<i>pare pere</i>]	November	<i>bare</i> = dry season (?) <i>bere</i> = big (SG) → height of dry season
<i>ata-uru</i> [<i>Ata uru Malu</i>]	December	<i>ata</i> = fire <i>uru</i> = moon → when there are many forest fires

Table 3.2: Makalero months

Note that several months (in the forms as given to me) make use of the voiced plosive [b]. Though it is replaced in most instances by its voiceless counterpart [p] in Pinto (2007), the voiced plosive is also present in his version of *uilal bailiur* ‘January’. This suggests that the names of the months follow a similar phonetic system as the place and clan names discussed in § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111).

Another interesting feature of these terms is that the majority of them are made up of words which are not attested elsewhere in my database, and are also not listed in Pinto’s 2004 dictionary. Only *sakar* ‘May’, *uata-hasa* ‘June’, *lue-uru* ‘August’ and *ata-uru* ‘December’ are wholly transparent, which is reminiscent of the situation with place names (§ 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111). While speakers are able to explain the terms making up the other months, it appears these lexemes are not part of the core vocabulary. Those words starting in the voiced plosive [b], such as *bai* ‘pig’ and *bere* ‘big’, are identical to their Makasae cognates. In my Makalero data, on the

other hand, they use the voiceless bilabial plosive. As such, again, it seems these forms are either archaisms or possibly come from Makasae rather than Makalero.

3.1.3.2 [+HUM] nouns

Nouns with the feature [+HUM] designate human referents. In Makalero, they distinguish themselves from [-HUM] nouns in that only the former occur with the plural markers, *-laa* and *-raa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236), which are used on the head of an NP.^{73, 74} (47) gives an example of a plural-marked human noun, and (48) shows the contrast to an unmarked [-HUM] noun with plural reference.

- (47) ... *uere=ni liurai ki-sa-laa hai neok.*
 2DEM=CTR king 3:POSS-wife-PL NSIT lie
 ‘...he lied to the king’s wives.’ (51-07)

- (48) ... *ki-isa hai na’u hare’ dila ena=si...*
 3:POSS-condition NSIT just clean frog see=LNK2
 ‘... he is very happy seeing the frogs...’ (38-122)

Note, however, that plural marking is not obligatory with [+HUM] nouns and appears to be pragmatically based.

Furthermore, it is mainly [+HUM] nouns that can be replaced by third person pronouns (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221), but not [-HUM] nouns. There is some (weak) evidence that the third person pronoun *kiloo* can be used for non-human referents, provided they are central participants and anthropomorphised (see also § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221).

Human nouns are also shown to be a class by themselves according to the evidence from numeral classifiers (see § 3.1.3.5, p. 120), as well as from the fact that special [+HUM] forms of the numerals for ‘two’ and ‘three’ are applied to them (see § 3.2.3.8, p. 171).

⁷³ This applies to nominalised verbs with human referents as well; see for instance (v).

- (v) *Uai=te’e ki=helar-laa ni-mata teni mei la’a=ni ira uere*
 CLS=after ATTR=big.PL-PL REFL-child again take move=LNK1 water 2DEM

teni teuh...
 again buy
 ‘Then the leaders bought water again with their child...’ (89-08)

⁷⁴ When specifically asked for it, speakers will also mark [-HUM], and even inanimate, nouns with the plural marker *-laa*. This is not found, however, in spontaneous speech, only in elicited sentences. As such, I take it to be a very marginal phenomenon, possibly through the influence of contact languages such as Portuguese, which habitually marks plural on all nouns.

3.1.3.2.1 Kinship terms

Within the class of human nouns, kinship terms can be distinguished by the form of the plural marker associated with them: while human nouns generally take the marker *-laa*, as in (47), kinship terms are pluralised with *-raa*.⁷⁵ (49) and (50) give examples.

- (49) ... *uai=ni=si* *uai=te'=isi* *amuni ki-upa-raa*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 CLS=after=LNK2 person 3:POSS-father-PL
- asi-paimatu=raa* *fani' asa hil...*
 1s:POSS-uncle=PL be.like chicken pit
- ‘... then his uncles (my in-laws) went for a cock-fight...’ (67-27)
- (50) *Ani he'ul=afta ho'o mei ni-nana=raa meih=ee kini*
 1s full=COND some take REFL-elder.sibling.PL two.HUM=DEF give.to.3
- ni-noko=raa meih=ee kini.*
 REFL-younger.sibling=PL two.HUM=DEF give.to.3
- ‘If I was full, I gave some to my two elder siblings and to my two younger siblings.’ (101-026)

Even a presumably recent loan such as *tiu* ‘uncle’ (from Portuguese *tio* with the same meaning) takes *-raa* as a plural ending. This is clear proof for the idea that the nouns pluralised with *-raa* constitute a semantically coherent subgroup.⁷⁶ However, it appears that the use of the *-raa*-plural is also subject to some phonetic restrictions: *isarami* ‘brother’, though clearly a kinship term, takes *-laa* as a plural marker, suggesting that *-raa* is incompatible with stems containing /r/. In fact, none of the other kinship terms found in the corpus, which are listed in (51), contain this phoneme.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| (51) | <i>ni / ina</i> ⁷⁷ | ‘mother’ |
| | <i>upa</i> | ‘father’ |
| | <i>dada</i> | ‘grandparent / grandchild’ |
| | <i>hoden</i> | ‘great-grandparent / great-grandchild’ |
| | <i>nanu</i> | ‘great-great-grandparent / great-great-grandchild’ |
| | <i>nana</i> | ‘elder sibling’ |
| | <i>noko</i> | ‘younger sibling’ |

⁷⁵ This plural marker also occurs in some of the variant forms for third person plural reference (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221).

⁷⁶ In a few cases, namely with *nana* ‘elder sibling’ and *mali* ‘brother-in-law’, I have transcribed the plural ending as [da:] rather than [ra:]. In the case of *nana* ‘elder sibling’, this often coincided with a reduction of the noun, resulting in a form [‘na.nda]. When questioned about it, however, speakers rejected such a form and produced regular [‘nana.ra:]. A tap [r] and a postalveolar [d] are phonetically very similar, thus the [d] realisation might actually be a variant of [r].

⁷⁷ The latter appears to be more endearing; *ni* is not generally used as a term of address. Also, *ni* does not occur with the honorific suffix *-uai* (see § 3.3.3.3, p. 238).

<i>tufur</i>	‘sister, cousin’
<i>isarami</i>	‘brother, cousin’
<i>tuumata</i>	‘niece, nephew’
<i>upa ki=ka’u / upa ki=pere</i>	‘uncle (father’s younger / elder brother)’
<i>ina ki=ka’u / ina ki=pere</i>	‘aunt (mother’s younger / elder sister)’
<i>tia</i>	‘aunt’
<i>tiu</i>	‘uncle’
<i>pai</i>	‘parent’s younger sibling (?)’
<i>paakin</i>	‘parent-in-law’
<i>paimatu</i>	‘parent’s sibling’
<i>mali</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law’
<i>ue</i>	‘sister-in-law’
<i>faini</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law (?)’
<i>paardufu</i>	‘widow’ ⁷⁸

The fact that *paardufu* ‘widow’ is pluralised with *-raa* shows that it is understood as a kinship term. Note that it appears to present an exception to the phonetic restriction on the use of the *-raa*-suffix as stated above, which suggests it is not compatible with roots containing an /r/. This is further confirmation of the idea brought forward in § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) on phonological grounds that *paardufu* ‘widow’ is in fact a compound.

There are two nouns which can appear with either *-laa* and *-raa*, namely *pada* ‘friend, colleague’⁷⁹ and *fanda* ‘young woman’⁸⁰; thus these nouns can be classified as either kinship terms or other [+HUM] nouns, depending possibly on the context and/or the speaker. (52) shows *pada* ‘friend’ with the *-laa*-plural, while in (53), it takes the *-raa*-plural.

- (52) ... *asi-pada-laa hai teni ani nomo fiar.*
 1s:POSS-friend-PL NSIT again 1s NEG trust
 ‘Then my debts grew again, and my friends didn’t trust me anymore.’
 (101-486)

- (53) *Ni-pada-raa ko-horu=ni na’u murimuri=hi’a.*
 REFL-friend-PL 3:UND-with=LNK1 just play=only
 ‘(I) played with my friends only.’ (126-026)

⁷⁸ A detailed discussion of the kinship system in Makalero cannot be provided here. The labels given to these terms in English must remain as approximate as given in (51), since I was not able to work out the exact relations in the limited field work periods. In fact, for many terms, I was given conflicting information from different people. This might be indicative for the ongoing loss of the system, an impression strengthened by the presence of such loans as *tiu* ‘uncle’ and *tia* ‘aunt’ from Portuguese. Hopefully, future research can provide more detailed information on the kinship system.

⁷⁹ Roughly a familiar person of equal status, thus is often used for cousins etc.

⁸⁰ This is most likely related to *fanaraa* ‘young (unmarried) woman’, see § 3.1.2.1.1 (p. 102). The form *fanda* appears to have come about by the same process as described in fn 76, which gives rise to such variant forms as [‘nana’ra:] and [‘na’nda] for ‘elder siblings’.

Among kinship terms, *mata* ‘child’ is special in that it has a distinct plural marker, *-niki*⁸¹, which occurs nowhere else. However, *mata* is not restricted to occurring with this plural marker only; rather, a whole range of marking patterns, listed in (54), has been found, constituting another peculiarity of this noun. In fact, the use of a simple *-r*, rather than *-raa*, is also restricted to *mata*. Apart from this, note that double marking of the plural is common with this noun. The only option that does not occur is *mata-laa*, using only the plural for human nouns other than kinship terms. Note, however, that *-laa* is found on *mata* ‘child’ in conjunction with the *-r*-plural, yielding *matarlaa*.

(54)	<i>mata-niki</i>	‘children’
	<i>mata-niki-niki</i>	“
	<i>mata-raa</i>	“
	<i>mata-niki-raa</i>	“
	<i>mata-niki-laa</i>	“
	<i>mata-r</i>	“
	<i>mata-r-laa</i>	“

There is, furthermore, a honorific suffix *-uai* (§ 3.3.3.3, p. 238), which is found in kinship terms only.⁸² (55) and (56) show examples of its use.

- (55) ... *ani upa-uai k-ue-kol...*
 1s father-HON 3:UND-around-hug
 ‘... I hug you (father)...’ (105-061)
- (56) ... *amuni upa-uai-raa=ni ni-mata meih=ini la’a=ni...*
 person father-HON-PL=CTR REFL-child two.HUM=LNK1 move=LNK1
 ‘... (some) old men went together with their children...’ (61-05)

(56) shows that in a sequence of the two suffixes, *-uai* and *-raa*, the honorific suffix precedes the plural marker (see § 3.3.3.5, p. 238 for the ordering of suffixes in an NP). Again, *pada* ‘friend’ (as well as its lexical parallel *raku* ‘friend’) are also found with this suffix, despite not being kinship terms in the strict sense of the word.

Kinship terms are an important group of nouns prototypically treated as inalienably possessed in languages that make this distinction (Rijkhoff 2002: 197). While Makalero does not mark it overtly, there is nevertheless some evidence that (in)alienability is a relevant concept to Makalero speakers (see § 3.1.3.7, p. 123).

⁸¹ Its Makasae cognate is *-kini*, with the same syllables in reversed order. This might suggest that the form is a compound of two elements, *ki* and *ni*. Another possible cognate is *kina*, the prenominal plural marker for the noun *moko* ‘child’ in Fataluku. However, it is difficult to account for its prenominal position as compared to the postnominal position of its putative Makalero and Makasae cognates.

⁸² In Makasae, the possible cognate *-kai* appears to be used with personal names, too. There is no such example in my Makalero database, although it was not specifically tested.

3.1.3.3 [-HUM] nouns

[-HUM] nouns are largely negatively defined; for instance, they are not commonly marked for plural using the *-laa* suffix (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236). While such cases can be found in elicited sentences, as shown in example (57), they do not occur in any of the recordings of spontaneous speech.

- (57) *Pai-laa ere omar-ia-ufe-dia.*
 pig-PL 1DEM house-under:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-sleep:BD
 ‘The pigs sleep there under the house.’ (elic1015a)

Although plurality is most commonly left unmarked with [-HUM] nouns, it is possible to make it explicit. For this purpose, *la'ane'* (§ 3.2.3.12.7, p. 210) is used, as exemplified in (58) and (59).

- (58) ... *uere'=konai=ni ani esperensia ere la'ane' konta...*
 2DEM.V=CSQ=LNK1 1s experience 1DEM various tell
 ‘... that is why I tell these experiences...’ (65-35)

- (59) ... *mensazen uere la'ane' ena=si...*
 message 2DEM various see=LNK2
 ‘... (she) saw those messages and then...’ (74-086)

According to Hull (2004: 77), the plural suffix *-laa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236) is a reduced form of *la'ane'*, though he does not explain the meaning and use of this longer morpheme. The two are clearly different synchronically: *-laa* is a nominal suffix, attaching to NP heads, whereas *la'ane'*, translated in this thesis as ‘various’, stands outside of the noun phrase and is analysed as verbal. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that *la'ane'* grammaticalised to *-laa* in the context of [+HUM] nouns, where overt marking of plurality is more common, but stayed lexical with [-HUM] nouns.

Note that *la'ane'* is in some cases also used with [+HUM] nouns, as (60) shows. Nevertheless, the bulk of its occurrences is with [-HUM] nouns.

- (60) ... *isikola-isi' ere=oo haka-hau asi-famila la'ane'.*
 school-at 1DEM=too all-all 1s:POSS-family various
 ‘... at school too, all are related to me.’ (105-016)

To replace a [-HUM] noun, generally not a personal pronoun, but a demonstrative such as *uere* is used, if necessary. An exception is discussed in § 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 221).

3.1.3.4 Reduced nouns

There is a very small group of nouns which appear in a reduced form in specific contexts. At the present stage, only the two nouns given in (61) are known to be members of this group with certainty.

(61)	<i>arapau</i>	<i>ara-</i>	‘buffalo’
	<i>omar</i>	<i>oma-</i>	‘stilt house’

A further possible member is *nunu* ‘lips’, which may have a reduced form *nu-*. The reduced forms are rather different in their make-up; while *arapau* ‘buffalo’ loses a whole syllable in its reduced form *ara-*, *omar* ‘stilt house’ loses only the final consonant /r/, yielding *oma-*. *Nunu* ‘lips’, too, loses a syllable – in this case, it leaves the simplex *nu-*, of which *nunu* appears to be a reduplication. The form *ara-* ‘buffalo’ is only found in nominal compounds (§ 4.1.1, p. 276), while *oma-* ‘house’ is used only in the complement position to a verb of movement (see § 4.3.3, p. 283 and § 5.2.2, p. 320). The form *nu-* ‘lips’ is found in one case only, namely the nominal compound *nu-namu* (lips:RED-body.hair) ‘moustache’. In all cases, the nouns in question form a unit with the element following them from which they are dependent. In the case of a nominal compound, the reduced forms *ara-* and *nu-* are used to modify a subsequent noun, while in the case of a complement-verb complex, *oma-* fills a following movement verb’s valency as its complement.

3.1.3.5 Numeral classifiers

Makalero makes relatively restricted use of numeral classifiers, which allows for a categorisation of nouns according to whether they are used with a classifier, and if so, with which classifier they occur with. Table 3.3 gives a list of Makalero classifiers. Only the first five of these classifiers, namely *amu* for humans, *afur* for middle-sized round objects, *hasa* for flat objects, *isu* for small round objects, and *lafit* for items of clothing, are actually in frequent use. These classifiers cover only a part of the nominal inventory of Makalero. It is conspicuous that apart from the human classifier, there appear to be no classifiers to go with larger objects, such as houses, trees, cars, buffaloes, pigs, etc.⁸³

⁸³ This may reflect a classification of nouns according to degrees of individuation. Hypothetically, for Makalero speakers, nouns designating large objects such as the above-mentioned houses, trees, cars, and buffaloes are *per se* individuated enough and need no classifier, while smaller objects such as eggs, sheets of paper or teeth are seen to be more “mass-like” and need to be specifically individuated by a classifier. [+HUM] nouns appear to defy this hypothesis in that they regularly occur with a classifier; however, § 3.1.3.2 (p. 115) shows that they have a special status in several respects. It does not appear absurd that individuation is perceived as appropriate (though not necessary) for humans.

classifier	literal meaning	shape, size	examples
<i>amu</i>	‘person’	(humans)	<i>infermeira</i> ‘nurse’ <i>namiraa</i> ‘man’ personal pronouns
<i>afur</i>	‘body’	round, middle-sized	<i>kaila</i> ‘papaya’ <i>dosi</i> ‘cookie’
<i>hasa</i>	‘leaf’	flat	<i>foto</i> ‘photo’ <i>sa’e</i> ‘hair’
<i>isu</i>	‘seed’	round, small	<i>ua</i> ‘egg’ <i>dila</i> ‘frog’ <i>mata</i> ‘child’ <i>uasi</i> ‘tooth’
<i>lafi</i>	‘side’	flat (clothing)	<i>kalsa</i> ‘trousers’ <i>faru</i> ‘shirt’
<i>ina</i>	‘eye’	?	found only with <i>poka</i> ‘small basket’
<i>ifi</i>	‘star’ ⁸⁴	(small animals, such as insects?)	--
<i>no</i>	‘layer’ ⁸⁵	?	found only with <i>meti</i> ‘sea’
<i>tala</i>	?	?	found only with <i>kapat</i> ‘necklace (in the dowry)’
<i>ripu</i>	?	?	<i>poka</i> ‘small basket’ <i>lauan</i> ‘earrings (in the dowry)’

Table 3.3: Classifiers

The use of the classifiers is rather restricted and is associated most strongly with actual counting, such as in (62). The classifier and the numeral stand in the modifier position of the noun phrase (§ 4.3, p. 279), with the numeral following the classifier. Note that classifiers are nominal, while numerals are analysed as a subtype of verbs (§ 3.2.3.8, p. 171); the relative ordering of classifiers and numerals in Makalero thus conforms to the general verb-final word order.

⁸⁴ According to elicited word lists.

⁸⁵ This translation was given by a native speaker. It occurs only in what seems to be a fixed expression, *meti no fitu* ‘seven seas’, used to denote a very large distance.

- (62) ... *dila isu tetepa', isu u, isu loloi, isu lolitu, isu fat*
 frog seed how.many seed one seed two seed three seed four
- isu lima, isu douh, isu fitu, isu afo, isu siua, isu ruru,*
 seed five seed six seed seven seed eight seed nine seed ten
- isu resin u...*
 seed remain one
 '... how many frogs are there, (there are) one, two, three, four, five, six,
 seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven...'
 (38-133)

Classifiers may or may not occur when a quantity is specified, as shown in (63) and (64). The principles underlying their use require further investigation. A preliminary survey suggests that classifiers are more likely to be used if the noun referring to the object under consideration and the numeral phrase are not expressed as one NP. An example is given in (65), where the phrase *ki-foto* 'his photograph' is left-dislocated, but taken up in the following clause, where the NP referencing it is headed by the classifier *hasa*. The classifier thus functions like a resumptive element.

- (63) ... *dila loloi=ni ue-diar.*
 frog two=CTR V2DEM:RED-sit:PL
 '... it is two frogs that are sitting there.'
 (55a-059)
- (64) ... *kiloo ni-asu dila isu u hai afu...*
 3s REFL-for frog seed one NSIT carry
 '... he takes one frog for himself...'
 (55a-065)
- (65) ... *uai=ni ki-foto mei=ni fuli' ere [...] ani ni-asu*
 CLS=LNK1 3:POSS-photo take=LNK1 put.together IDEM 1s REFL-for
- hasa u hai mei.*
 leaf one NSIT take
 '... so (you two) are together in a photo, I took one for myself.'
 (106-03)

3.1.3.6 Count nouns and mass nouns

As discussed in § 3.1.3.5 (p. 120), one subgroup of what would semantically classify as count nouns is optionally used with numeral classifiers. There appear to be no classifiers for the second subgroup of count nouns. The nouns of this second subgroup commonly denote large animals and objects, while those of the first subgroup, which tend to be compatible with classifiers, denote smaller animals and objects. Human nouns, which have been shown to be used with a special human classifier *amu* 'person', do not conform to this rough semantic classification. The translational equivalents of English mass nouns are individuated through the use of a unit of measurement, such as *putil* 'bottle', *kopu* 'cup, glass', *lit(u)ru* 'liter' or *metur* 'meter'; examples are given in (66) and (67). The noun expressing the unit of

measurement is followed by the numeral; both stand in the NP's modifier position (§ 4.3, p. 279).

- (66) *Ani-asu ira kopu u manini!*
 1s-for water glass one give.to.1s
 'Give me a glass of water!' (elic249)

- (67) ... *hena metur loloi teuh=isi kiloo hai mei ma'u.*
 cloth metre two buy=LNK2 3s NSIT take come
 '... (I) bought two metres of cloth, and then he brought it here.'
 (73-31)

The comparison with such examples as (62) and (64) in § 3.1.3.5 (p. 120) above shows that there is no grammatical difference between the construction of count nouns with classifiers and that of mass nouns with units of measurement. There is thus little evidence for a separate class of mass nouns; they behave very much like those nouns that are compatible with classifiers. Together, they contrast with the nouns denoting larger animals and objects for which there are no classifiers.

Rijkhoff (2002: 50) defines four language-specific types of nouns on the basis of their behaviour in combination with numerals. One of these is the singular object noun, which stands in a direct construction with a numeral. This type of noun is found in many European languages. It appears that Makalero nouns denoting larger objects, for which there are no classifiers, might be counted among such singular object nouns. Another of Rijkhoff's (2002: 50) noun types is the sort noun, with which the numeral combines with a sort classifier. Though the use of classifiers is not obligatory in Makalero, nouns denoting smaller objects, and possibly mass nouns, seem to conform to the definition of sort nouns.

The distinction in Makalero between two classes of nouns, one which can be individuated directly, and one which needs a classifier-like element for the purpose, is similar to the distinction between count nouns and mass nouns found in many European languages. The classification of nouns into either of these two classes follows clearly different principles.

3.1.3.7 (In-)alienability

Many languages in insular Southeast Asia and Polynesia distinguish alienable and inalienable possession, generally through the form of the possessive marker as either a free or a bound form. The most common semantic classes of nouns to be inalienably possessed are body parts and kinship terms (Rijkhoff 2002: 197).

No overt distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is present in Makalero. Prototypically inalienably possessed nouns such as kinship terms and body parts take the same possessive markers as all other nouns (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). According to Hull (2004: 82) this distinction was present in the parent tongue, but was lost in all Papuan languages of Timor "as part of the process of assimilation to

the Timoric *Sprachbund*'.⁸⁶ However, Makalero speakers consistently translated terms for body parts and kinship terms with a possessive marker in elicitation sessions when asked for translations of isolated words. That is, in the examples in (68), the Makalero equivalents for 'body hair' and 'aunt' were given in the forms *ki-namu* and *ki-paimatu*, respectively, both marked with the third person possessive marker *ki-*.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------|
| (68) | <i>ki-namu</i> | ‘body hair’ |
| | <i>ki-paimatu</i> | ‘aunt’ |

Note that not only human and animal body parts, but also parts of fruit and plants, such as the skin or peel, and constituent parts of constructions, such as roofs (of houses) or brakes (of cars) were consistently given in the possessed form. All of these can be described as being parts of a whole and may alternatively be expressed as a nominal compound with the noun expressing the whole (see § 4.1.1, p. 276). Another set of nouns regularly occurring in the possessed form are the days of the week (§ 3.2.3.8, p. 171).

This strongly suggest that, though the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns is not overtly marked in Makalero, it is nevertheless relevant in the language. According to Engelenhoven (2004: 116; p.c.) and Klamer (2010: 192-193), the very same phenomenon of signalling inalienability through permanent possessive prefixation is also found in Leti, Fataluku and Teiwa. Even though there may be no specific marking, the distinction is thus generally valid in the languages of the area.

3.1.3.7.1 *Body part nouns expressing location*

Among inalienable nouns, a very restricted group of body part terms distinguish themselves in that their use has been extended to expressing a location in relation to a ground object. The nouns in question are given in (69).

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| (69) | <i>fanu</i> | ‘face’ | → | ‘in front’ |
| | <i>lepa</i> | ‘middle (of the body)’ | → | ‘in the middle,
midways’ |
| | <i>lafi</i> | ‘side’ | → | ‘side, beside’ |
| | <i>sofu</i> | ‘backside’ | → | ‘behind’ |

This is a very well-known process of grammaticalisation (see e.g. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991). Locations involving these body parts are expressed in possessive constructions (§ 4.2, p. 277), as exemplified in (70), or in the form of nominal compounds (§ 4.1.1, p. 276), as in (71).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ An exception is Bunak, which in fact distinguishes several classes of inalienable possession (Schapper 2009: 321f.)

⁸⁷ *Lepa* ‘middle’ is also used as a complement in a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). The same construction is found with *lafi* ‘side’, though in the latter case the use of *lafi* as a verbal complement is analysed as the reduced form of the corresponding locative verb *lafi* ‘be beside’ (see § 3.2.2.2.1, p. 132). It is possible that *lepa* ‘middle’ has a corresponding locative verb *lepa* ‘be in the middle’, too, in

- (70) ... *kareta ma'u=ni iskola ere ki-fanu k-utu-e-para.*
 car come=LNK1 school IDEM 3:POSS-face 3:UND-cover-V1DEM:RED-stop
 '... the car stopped here in front of the school.' (101-364)
- (71) ... *pai-lofo lopu-sofu-isi-ufe'...*
 pig-enclosure house-backside-at:RED-VDEM.LOW
 '... the pigpen was there below behind the house...' (120-112)

Another body part term which has undergone an extension of its use into the locative domain is *ia* 'foot'; a verb (*k-ia*) is used both as a full verb or in complement position to mean 'under'. It differs from the body part nouns in (69) in that it is verbal and takes a *k*-prefix for third person undergoers (see § 3.2.3.4, p. 163). It groups in this respect with such locative verbs as (*k-ua*) 'on top', (*k-ue*) 'around' and (*k-ou*) 'towards', none of which can be linked to body part terms.

3.2 Verbs

Verbs are commonly defined as the least time-stable concepts (e.g. Givon 1984: 51). While this semantic definition captures such prototypical verbal concepts as 'run' and 'break', it fails to account for more time-stable verbal concepts such as 'like' and 'know', etc. Clearly other, more conclusive criteria are needed to define the class 'verb'. Syntactically, verbs prototypically function as predicates in languages. Structurally, they are often marked for agreement with one or more arguments. Also, tense, aspect and mood are frequently encoded on verbs.

3.2.1 Verbs in Makalero: a tentative definition

§ 3 (p. 97) highlights the difficulties in word class categorisation in Makalero and other languages of the same area. Specifically, basically any content word, including those that would prototypically be translated as nouns, can be used as a predicate, and conversely, even those content words that are typically used predicatively can be used as arguments. Such concepts as tense, aspect and mood are generally expressed periphrastically, and any lexeme functioning as a clausal predicate can be thus modified. Hence none of the typical defining characteristics of verbs, either syntactic or structural as mentioned in § 3.2 (p. 125) above, are of much use in the case of Makalero.

Nevertheless, there are a variety of stems which can be said to qualify as verbal. On the one hand, these are lexemes which occur only ever as predicates in the corpus. A few examples are given in (72). There is no occurrence of these items in argument function in the whole corpus; as such, it seems safe to assume that they are verbal in nature.

which case the construction of *lepa* as a complement can be explained along the same lines as that of *lafi* 'side'. However, such a putative locative verb is not attested in the corpus.

(72)	<i>misa</i>	‘go up’
	<i>pase</i>	‘beat’
	<i>dur</i>	‘wake up’
	<i>fatar</i>	‘force, oblige’

Furthermore, there is also a range of morphological processes which are exclusively found on verbal lexemes. Verbs can be derived from nouns by means of a verbaliser in the form of the glottal phoneme. Also, there are verbs with distinct forms for either singular or plural subjects, verbs which take a third person argument-marking prefix, as well as verbs with special dependent forms used in complement-verb complexes (§ 5.2.2, p. 320). Such verbal morphology is discussed in detail in § 3.2.2 (p. 127).

The verbal properties listed above define only specific verbal subclasses, but not the class of verbs as a whole. Since there is no good criterion in either the morphological or the syntactic domain that could subsume all verbs as opposed to other lexical categories, the present study adopts a working definition on a semantic basis as discussed in § 3 (p. 97). This strategy is suggested by Haspelmath (2001: 16543) and has been applied for nouns in § 3.1.1 (p. 100). It is based on the fact that the meaning of a verbal stem used in argument function can be regularly derived from the same stem’s meaning in predicative function, along the lines given in Table 3.4. A given morpheme found in both predicate and argument position can thus be classified as either a noun or a verb, depending on the kind of correspondence between the translational equivalents of these two uses.

Meaning if used as a predicate	Meaning if used as an argument
x	(the act of) x-ing, x-ness
x	the product / result of x-ing
x	the instrument involved in x-ing

Table 3.4: Semantic correlation between predicate use and argument use of a verb

An argument use of a verb *x* yields either the abstract act of *x*-ing, or the product resulting from *x*-ing or instrument involved in *x*-ing. The following sentences give examples of these correlations. In (73), the stative verb *ti’ir* ‘heavy’ is used as a predicate. In (74), on the other hand, it functions as the subject argument and translates as ‘heaviness’ or, more idiomatically, ‘weight’.

- (73) *Uai=ni=ni=po sirvisu na'u ti'ir.*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1=ADVR work just heavy
 'But the work was heavy.' (101-429)
- (74) *Asi-lode ki-ti'ir ere kilu ruru.*
 1s:POSS-bag 3:POSS-heavy IDEM kilo ten
 'My bag's weight is 10 kilos.' (elic 470)

(75) through (78), on the other hand, show the argument use of verbs yielding a product/result reading or an instrument reading. In the case of *rata* 'tell', the verb's argument use results in a product reading, i.e. 'story', as in (76). (75) shows a predicative use for comparison. In (78), on the other hand, the verb *kus* 'shoot with a blowpipe' is used as the head of an NP meaning 'blowpipe'. (77) illustrates the predicate use of the item.

- (75) *Iliomar ere ki-lolo-ini uatu.ueru.uatu.ueru mei=ni ta rata*
 I. IDEM 3:POSS-say-NML daily take=LNK1 REC tell
ere...
 IDEM
 'The language of Iliomar that we (use to) tell each other (things) daily...' (21-006)
- (76) ... *ki-rata=ni hai hau uere*.
 3:POSS-tell=CTR NSIT all 2DEM.V
 '... the story is this.' (125-43)
- (77) *Asi-upa mara=ni kus mei ani kus=ana...*
 1s:POSS-father go=LNK1 blow take 1s blow=INT
 'My father took his blowtube and was going to shoot me...' (101-079)
- (78) ... *ki-ueri mei solo kus mei=ni ki-ha'a to'e...*
 3:POSS-buttocks take impale blow take=LNK1 3:POSS-mouth be.inside
 '... (they) impaled (him) with his buttocks, then put the blowtube in his mouth...' (118-42)

Notice that under this definition, such Portuguese loans as *sirvisu* 'work' or *feesta* 'party' must be classified as verbs, since they conform to the regular semantic correspondence as shown in Table 3.4; in predicate use, they are read as activities, but as a product or result of that activity if used as an argument.

3.2.2 Verbal morphology

The morphological processes associated with verbs are a good independent diagnostic for the verbal status of a given lexeme, next to the meaning correlation shown in Table 3.4. The verbal morphology can be grouped into derivational

morphology, discussed in § 3.2.2.1 (p. 128), and inflectional morphology as laid out in § 3.2.2.2 (p. 129). Finally, reduplication, which does not involve a separate morpheme but manipulates the verb stem, is treated separately in § 3.2.2.3 (p. 138). The latter is not a diagnostic for verbal status, since it is found with nouns also (§ 3.1.2.2, p. 106).

Apart from reduplication, the morphological processes discussed in the following sections are limited in their application in that they are found on more or less small verbal subgroups only; they cannot be used productively on any verb in Makalero. Conforming to the language's isolating profile, most of the verbal lexemes are invariable in form.

3.2.2.1 Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology forms new lexemes from other lexemes, often involving a change of lexical category. § 3.2.2.1.1 (p. 128) discusses the glottal verbaliser. The morpheme *-ini*, a form of the verb *kini* 'do, make' is used productively express a causative notion as well as object demotion; however, this construction is not analysed as a derivational process, but is an instance of a complement-verb complex. Structures of this sort are discussed in § 5.2.2.5.1 (p. 340).

3.2.2.1.1 The glottal verbaliser

In some cases, verbs are derived from vowel-final nouns by means of a verbaliser in the form of the glottal phoneme. In most contexts, the glottal stop is followed by an echo vowel, resulting in an apparent -'V morpheme. As discussed in § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51), this verbalising morpheme can be realised as either a glottal fricative [h] or as a glottal stop [ʔ], and in other instances is reflected in the lengthening of the stem-final vowel. Since it has proved impossible to determine conditions under which the verbaliser is realised either as [ʔ], [h] or vowel length, the three realisations are treated as free variants. A few examples of this derivational process are given in (79).

(79)	<i>uali</i> 'ear'	<i>uali'</i> 'hear'
	<i>huri</i> 'brush (n)'	<i>huri'</i> 'brush (v)'
	<i>atu</i> 'faeces'	<i>atu'</i> 'defecate'
	<i>teru</i> 'shelter, umbrella'	<i>teru'</i> 'shelter (v)'

(80) gives an aberrant example of uncertain status, in which the base is not a noun, but a particle. It involves the verb *hai* 'to be finished', which looks like a verbal derivation of the aspect marker *hai* (§ 3.4.3, p. 242). The derivation of a full verb from an aspect marker would be highly unusual typologically; the reverse, on the other hand, is widely attested crosslinguistically. Note, however, that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile the meanings of the two items; *hai* generally marks the beginning of a new situation (hence the gloss NSIT), while the semantics of *hai* seem to be quite the contrary. As such, the formal similarity between the two items does not constitute conclusive evidence for the presence of such an unusual derivation, and *hai* 'finished' and *hai* (NSIT) may in fact be unrelated.

(80)	<i>hai</i> (NSIT)	<i>hai</i> 'be finished, over'
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There is a variety of verbs showing the glottal phoneme + echo vowel ending that do not seem to be derived, their putative nominal roots being unattested. (81) exemplifies a few such verbs. Note that in the case of *rata*' and *tutu*', word forms without the glottal are attested, but unrelated.

(81)	<i>rata</i> ' 'arrive'	<i>rata</i> 'tell (a story)'
	<i>tutu</i> ' 'pierce'	<i>tutu</i> 'like'
	<i>peri</i> ' 'be hot'	* <i>peri</i> (unattested)

It is important to note that, while a glottal phoneme + echo vowel ending is a good indicator of verbality, it is not a necessary condition. (82) shows that there are nouns that take the same form.

(82)	<i>diri</i> '	'k.o. Tree'
	<i>fasa</i> '	'dirt'
	<i>hana</i> '	'iron rod'
	<i>hiri</i> '	'bat'

3.2.2.2 Inflectional morphology

Most Makalero verbs are invariable. While a few processes which could be termed inflectional are present in the language, their use is limited and restricted to a small group of verbs. The presence of such variation in a given stem is a definitive indicator for its verbal status. Such processes include the subject number agreement found on a very small group of verbs, discussed in § 3.2.2.2.1 (p. 130), and the presence of special bound forms, as discussed in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 131).

3.2.2.2.1 Subject number agreement

A very limited group of verbs exhibit subject agreement for singular versus plural subjects. A list of these verbs, showing the singular and the plural forms, is given in Table 3.5. It is hard to find a common denominator that identifies these verbs as a group, other than the fact that none of them involves an undergoer in its semantic participant frame. At the formal level, all of the plural forms end in *-ar* or *-er*, with the exception of *rou* ‘lie, sleep (PL)’, which is a bit special in other respects, too (see fn 88). These inflectional forms are suppletive, showing no direct morphological relation of the plural form to the singular form. Similar groups of verbs are found in Makasae (Huber 2008a: 46) as well as Fataluku (Engelenhoven 2009: 78f.).

	singular form	plural form
sit	<i>mit</i>	<i>diar</i>
stand	<i>nat</i>	<i>naser</i>
sleep / lie	<i>tia</i>	<i>rou</i> ⁸⁸
run	<i>ria</i> ’	<i>titar</i>
big	<i>pere</i>	<i>helar</i>

Table 3.5: Verbs with subject number agreement

The use of this type of inflection is found with human subjects as well as with animates and inanimates, as shown in the examples below with the example of *nat* ~ *naser* ‘stand’.

- (83) *Fanaraa mata ere kadera k-ua-nat.*
 young.woman child 1DEM chair 3:UND-on.top:RED-stand:SG
 ‘This girl is standing on top of a chair.’ (isquest22)

⁸⁸ In all instances found so far, *tia* stands with singular subjects only, and *rou* with plural subjects only. However, it seems that *rou* can be used with a filled complement position only (§ 3.2.3.1.2.1, p. 145). Thus, (vi) was judged ungrammatical, whereas (vii) and (viii) are fine. *tia*, on the other hand, can be found both with and without a complement.

- (vi) * *Ini rou.*
 Ipe sleep.PL:BD
 intended: ‘We (are) sleep(ing).’ (elic611c)
- (vii) *Ini fuli-rou.*
 Ipe together:RED-sleep.PL:BD
 ‘We sleep (together).’ (elic611b)
- (viii) ... *amu lima=ni e-rou.*
 person five-LNK1 VIDEM:RED-sleep.PL:BD
 ‘... the five (of us) slept here.’ (44-01)

- (84) ... *sefar=ee hai ate-fun=ee k-ata-nat.*
 dog=DEF NSIT tree-trunk=DEF 3:UND-contact:RED-stand:SG
 ‘... the dog is standing next to the tree.’ (38-050)
- (85) ... *ate=ini ue-nat.*
 tree=CTR V2DEM:RED-stand:SG
 ‘... a tree is standing there.’ (38-043)
- (86) *Amulafu-laa meih=ini ta-ata-naser.*
 person-PL two.HUM=LNK1 REC-contact:RED-stand:PL
 ‘The two people stand next to each other.’ (pelic159)
- (87) *Arapau haka-hau uata-ia-naser.*
 buffalo all-all coconut-under:RED-stand:PL
 ‘All the buffaloes stand under the coconut tree.’ (elic885)
- (88) *Uata=ee lopu=ee k-ue-naser.*
 coconut=DEF house=DEF 3:UND-around-stand:PL
 ‘The coconut trees stand around the house.’ (pelic146)

3.2.2.2.2 Bound verb forms

A sizeable group of verbs exhibit special bound forms if they are part of a complement-verb complex (see § 5.2.2, p. 320). These forms can be classified into two types, namely reduced forms that appear as complements of another verb⁸⁹ on the one hand, and on the other hand forms with a morphophonologically altered onset that are used only if their complement position is filled. For simplicity, the former are henceforth called reduced verbs and the latter altered-onset verbs. The verbal subgroups constituting these two types do not overlap, i.e. a given verb has either a reduced complement form or an altered-onset form for use as the main verb in a complement-verb complex; no verb which has a special form for both positions has been found in the corpus. Any lexeme exhibiting either of these morphological changes is clearly verbal. Again, however, this is a subgroup of verbs; many verbs appear in complement-verb complexes in the same form as when they stand alone.

⁸⁹ Their distribution is reminiscent of that of reduced nouns, which have a shortened form that appears only if it is dependent on a nominal or verbal head (§ 3.1.3.4, p. 120), and interrogative pronouns, whose base form only appears in these contexts as well (see § 3.3.1.4, p. 228). However, in the latter case, the bound form is clearly the base form, while the subject form is a grammaticalised combination of the base form and the subject marker *=ini* (see § 6.2.1, p. 389). They thus differ in this respect from the complement forms of verbs and nouns, which are reductions of the independent verb forms.

3.2.2.2.1 Verbs with reduced forms

The reduced form of a verb for use in the dependent VP in a complement-verb complex is formed by dropping the final consonant of the independent verb. As such, the presence of this form is limited to a subgroup of consonant-final verbs. A large part of these end in a glottal phoneme. The list of glottal-final verbs known to have reduced forms in Table 3.6 is intended to be exhaustive.

	free form	reduced form
be in physical contact	<i>(k)-ata</i> ⁹⁰	<i>(k)-ata-</i>
be like	<i>fani'</i>	<i>fani-</i>
be together	<i>fuli'</i>	<i>fuli-</i>
be near	<i>fu'</i>	<i>fu-</i>
be up in	<i>ika'</i>	<i>ika-</i>
be at	<i>isi'</i>	<i>isi-</i>
be during, all (along)	<i>kafu'</i>	<i>kafu-</i>
be under	<i>(k)-ia'</i>	<i>(k)-ia-</i>
be beside	<i>lafi'</i>	<i>lafi-</i>
be in the middle	<i>leetana'</i>	<i>leetana-</i>
be outside	<i>le'</i>	<i>le-</i>
be near	<i>male'</i>	<i>male-</i>
be alongside	<i>mi'</i>	<i>mi-</i>
be inside	<i>mutu'</i>	<i>mutu-</i>
be higher up	<i>nama'</i>	<i>nama-</i>
be in the middle (?)	<i>nese'</i>	<i>nese-</i>
go up	<i>po'</i>	<i>po-</i>
be many	<i>ropa'</i>	<i>ropa-</i>
be together	<i>ro'u'</i>	<i>ro'u-</i>
be separate	<i>se'</i>	<i>se-</i>
be where	<i>tau'</i>	<i>tau-</i>
be which	<i>taure'</i>	<i>taure-</i>
go perpendicular	<i>tefu'</i>	<i>tefu-</i>
mix, accompany	<i>to'</i>	<i>to-</i>
be on top	<i>(k)-ua'</i>	<i>(k)-ua-</i>

Table 3.6: Glottal-final verbs with reduced forms

(89) shows such reduced forms in context.

- (89) *isi'* *iskola isi-mit*
 'be at' school-at:RED-sit.SG
 'sit at school'

⁹⁰ The bracketed *k*-prefix indicates that the verb in question belongs to the class of argument-marking verbs (§ 3.2.3.4, p. 163).

<i>nama</i> ' 'be higher up'	<i>nama-la'a</i> higher:RED-go 'go upwards'
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Although a large proportion of glottal-final verbs lose the glottal element if used as a verbal complement, not all of them do. Examples of verbs which retain the glottal element are given in (90), along with instances of their use as verbal complements.

(90) <i>tutu</i> ' 'grind'	<i>tutu'-ini</i> grind-do:BD 'do (some) grinding'
<i>hare</i> ' 'clean'	<i>hare'-kena</i> clean-see:BD 'see clearly'

It is possible that verbal semantics play a role in determining verbs which lose the final glottal element: the verbs in Table 3.6 express mostly locational notions, though some items with different semantics, such as *fani* 'be alike' are also found. More non-locational notions are found among the reduced verbs involving the loss of other consonants than the glottal one given in Table 3.7 below.

§ 3.2.2.1.1 (p. 128) discusses the use of the glottal phoneme as a derivational morpheme forming verbs from nouns. In fact, some of the verbs given in Table 3.6 are derived from nouns; examples are given in (91) (see also § 3.1.3.7.1, p. 124). The coda consonant of these free verb forms, which is dropped in the dependent verb forms, coincides with the denominal verbaliser in terms of morphological structure; as a consequence, the reduced bound forms are in those cases homophonous with the nominal morphemes from which the verbs are derived.

(91) <i>mutu</i> ' 'be inside'	<i>mutu-</i> 'be inside (RED)'	<i>mutu</i> 'inside (n)'
<i>(k)-ia</i> ' 'be under'	<i>(k)-ia-</i> 'be under (RED)'	<i>ia</i> 'foot'
<i>lafi</i> ' 'be next to'	<i>lafi-</i> 'be next to (RED)'	<i>lafi</i> 'side'

This appears to suggest a reduction in verbal qualities of verbal complements, which use such reduced forms. However, § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) shows that they can take the same modifiers and markers that a full, independent VP occurs with. There is thus little evidence of a reduction in verbal properties of these forms. Furthermore, the comparison with the forms in Table 3.7 shows that the relevant characteristic of the reduced forms is the loss of the final consonant. The fact that with the verbs listed in Table 3.6 this final consonant coincides with the verbaliser appears to be accidental. There are also verbs which lose a coda consonant other than the glottal element in the reduced form. Table 3.7 gives a list of these verbs, which is intended to be

exhaustive as well. Two examples of complement-verb complexes involving such verbs can be seen in (92).

- (92) *losan*
'empty, naked'
- losa-daru*
empty:RED-put:BD
'bury naked'
- sofit*
'be behind'
- sofi-isa*
behind:RED-go.down
'go down after (someone)'

	free form	reduced form
short	<i>dikar</i>	<i>dika-</i>
cut short	<i>hampil</i>	<i>hapi-</i>
be able	<i>hul</i>	<i>hu-</i>
be straight, true	<i>lolor</i>	<i>lolo-</i>
be empty, naked	<i>losan</i>	<i>losa-</i>
be long (temporal)	<i>mu'it</i>	<i>mu'i-</i>
remain	<i>resin</i>	<i>resi-</i>
be behind	<i>sofit</i>	<i>sofi-</i>
be young	<i>su'ul</i>	<i>su'u-</i>
follow	<i>turut</i>	<i>turu-</i>
be rotten	<i>popok</i>	<i>popo-</i>
be white	<i>putir</i>	<i>puti-</i>
be big	<i>rian</i>	<i>ria-</i>
be quick, fast	<i>raun</i>	<i>rau-</i>
cut (?)	<i>ter</i>	<i>te-</i>

Table 3.7: Verbs with reduced forms

Note that *turut* 'follow' is an Austronesian loan (cf. BI *turut* 'join, follow'). It is remarkable that it is part of this limited morphological subgroup of verbs in Makalero. § 1.6.1 (p. 16) argues that this is a sign of long-term presence of this particular loan in the language.

The membership of the last four verbs in Table 3.7 in the group of reduced verbs is somewhat doubtful. While they do occur in forms that drop the stem-final consonant, it is not clear if this follows the same principles as the others.

Again, only a subgroup of consonant-final verbs have such reduced forms in complement position. (93) gives a few examples of verbs which retain the coda consonant if used as dependent verbs in a complement-verb complex.

(93)	<i>teul</i> 'chase'	<i>teul-suma</i> chase-angry:BD 'be angry and chase away'
	<i>dur</i> 'wake up'	<i>dur-ini</i> wake.up-do:BD 'waken (sb.)'

Whether a verb loses its coda consonant or not is not predictable and hence a lexical property of the verbs listed in Tables 3.6 and 3.7.

3.2.2.2.2 Altered onset verbs

A number of verbs have bound forms used when their complement position is filled. These bound forms exhibit a change in the onset and fall into three groups, namely those where an initial glottal element [h] changes into /s/, as represented in Table 3.8, those where an initial /t/ changes into /d/, as represented in Table 3.9, and those with other changes, as shown in Table 3.10.

	free form	bound form
be finished	<i>hai</i> ⁹¹	<i>-sai</i> '
search	<i>haka</i>	<i>-saka</i>
be dry	<i>hat</i>	<i>-sat</i>
fry	<i>ha'al</i>	<i>-sa'al</i>
pull	<i>heil</i>	<i>-seil</i>
wait	<i>hein</i> ⁹²	<i>-sein</i>
ask	<i>heti</i>	<i>-seti</i>
be difficult	<i>heke</i>	<i>-seke</i>
big (PL)	<i>helar</i>	<i>-selar</i>
take	<i>heman</i>	<i>-seman</i>
jump	<i>he'el</i>	<i>-se'el</i>
cut	<i>he'i</i>	<i>-se'i</i>
catch	<i>hifa'</i>	<i>-sifa'</i>
know	<i>hofe</i>	<i>-sofe</i>
protect	<i>hor</i>	<i>-sor</i>
plant	<i>houn</i>	<i>-soun</i>
angry	<i>huma</i>	<i>-suma</i>
shoot	<i>huri</i>	<i>-suri</i>

Table 3.8: [h]-initial verbs⁹³

⁹¹ See § 5.2.2.6.2 (p. 348) for a short discussion of this particular verb.

⁹² *Hein* 'wait' is likely an Austronesian loan (cf. Ttm *hein* 'wait', see § 1.6.1, p. 16).

⁹³ It is not quite clear whether there might be an additional member *hole* ~ *sole* 'take out with a spoon' to this class. They could also be two separate lexemes, one meaning 'to take out, throw away', the other 'to spoon (out)'. There are not enough occurrences to make sure.

	free form	bound form
throw away	<i>tafal</i>	<i>-dafal</i>
close	<i>taka</i>	<i>-daka</i>
name	<i>tamu</i>	<i>-damu</i>
put, place	<i>taru</i> ⁹⁴	<i>-daru</i>
lean towards	<i>tekih</i>	<i>-dekih</i>
buy	<i>teuh</i>	<i>-deuh</i>
cut	<i>teri</i>	<i>-deri</i>
shelter	<i>teru'</i>	<i>-deru'</i>
sleep	<i>tia</i>	<i>-dia</i>
cook	<i>tina</i>	<i>-dina</i>
kick	<i>ti'al</i>	<i>-di'al</i>
pour (a drink)	<i>ti'</i>	<i>-di'</i>
dig	<i>to'i</i>	<i>-do'i</i>
sweep	<i>tufa</i>	<i>-dufa</i>
punch	<i>tuku</i>	<i>-duku</i>
bring, transport	<i>tula</i>	<i>-dula</i>
not want	<i>tule</i>	<i>-dule</i>
pound, thump	<i>tupi</i>	<i>-dupi</i>
bake (in bamboo)	<i>tu'il</i>	<i>-du'il</i>

Table 3.9: /t/-initial verbs⁹⁵

	free form	bound form
die	<i>umu</i>	<i>-numu, -umu</i>
fall (rain)	<i>uta</i>	<i>-nuta</i>
laugh	<i>hi'e</i>	<i>-ni'e</i>
see	<i>ena</i>	<i>-kena, -ena</i> ⁹⁶
do, make	<i>kini</i>	<i>-nini, -ini</i>

Table 3.10: Other verbs with distinct free and bound forms⁹⁷

Again, the lists in Tables 3.8 through 3.10 are intended to be exhaustive. The verbs exhibiting initial consonant variation involving /t/ ~ /d/ are subgroups of verbs starting in those consonants. (94) illustrates a few invariable verbs with initial /t/, along with instances of their use with a filled complement position.

⁹⁴ *Taru* 'put, place' is another candidate for an Austronesian loan (cf. PAN **taRuq* 'put, put down').

⁹⁵ Another member of this group might be the verb *dur* 'wake up'. However, there is only one instance of the /t/-form *tur*, which should be the free form. Also, the /d/-form does not occur in the same contexts as the bound forms of the other verbs do. As such, either this variant is part of a different phenomenon altogether, or it must be a performance error. At present, I am inclined to the latter view.

⁹⁶ *Ena* ~ *kena* 'see' appears to be a borderline case between a verb with a bound / free form opposition and an argument-marking verb. The same holds for *kini* ~ *ini* 'do'. See § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356) for a discussion.

(94)	<i>tasan</i> 'suffer'	<i>ere fani-tasan</i> IDEM like-suffer 'suffer like this'
	<i>to'e</i> 'put in'	<i>ira mutu-to'e</i> water inside:RED-put.in 'put into the water'

The same is likely to be the case for the verbs alternating an initial glottal element [h] with /s/. However, none of these verbs has been found with a filled complement position, thus no examples analogous to those in (94) can be provided.

Again, whether or not a given verb has a special bound form is an unpredictable lexical property of said verb.

The change from [s] to [h] is a fairly common one and suggests that of the verbs in Table 3.8, the bound forms, with initial /s/, reflect the original form of the lexemes in question. The group of verbs listed in Table 3.9 exhibit a variation between initial /t/ and initial /d/. It appears devoicing is a more common process than the addition of voicing. Again, this suggests the bound forms reflect the original forms of these morphemes.⁹⁸ The verbs listed in Table 3.10 are not formed according to one system, as those in Table 3.8 and Table 3.9 are. *Hi'e* 'laugh' and *kini* 'do' exhibit initial consonant changes as is the case in the other verbs, except that these two changes, from /h/ to /n/ and from /k/ to /n/, respectively, are not paralleled elsewhere in the grammar. *Ena* 'see', *uta* 'fall' and *umu* 'die' add an initial element, namely /k/ and /n/, respectively. It is not clear at present whether the prevalence of the segment /n/ is in any way significant. *kini* 'do' and *umu* 'die', finally, are also special in having two bound forms each. In the case of *kini* 'do', the form *-ini* generally has grammatical function (either as a causativising device or for object demotion, § 5.2.2.5.1.1, p. 340 and § 5.2.2.5.1.2, p. 341), while the form *-nini* is the bound form of the verb in its literal sense, 'do, make'. The distribution of the bound forms *-umu* and *-numu*, on the other hand, is so far unclear. Note that a variation between initial /k/ and Ø is the distinctive feature of argument-marking verbs (§ 3.2.3.4, p. 163). In fact, it is possible that *kini* 'do' and *ena* 'see' started out as verbs of that category. However, they were at one point reanalysed as expressing a distinction between bound and free verb forms. § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356) suggests that the whole class of argument-marking verbs is currently undergoing a similar process of reanalysis.

⁹⁷ One speaker treated *kail* 'catch with a hook' in the same way, using a bound form *-nail* in some instances. This bound form was not used by other speakers in the same context, and the one speaker in whose speech it occurs corrected himself in some instances, replacing *-nail* with *kail*.

⁹⁸ The same is true for Fataluku, where some lexemes exhibit a variation between initial [t] in the free form and initial [tɛ] in the bound form. According to Engelenhoven (p.c.), the bound form with the initial affricate represents the original form of the morpheme.

3.2.2.3 Reduplication

Verbal reduplication is fairly frequent in Makalero. Full reduplication of the stem, as illustrated in (95), is most common.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (95) | <i>rau</i>
'good' | <i>rau-rau</i>
'very good' |
| | <i>la'a</i>
'move' | <i>la'a-la'a</i>
'move about' |
| | <i>tafi</i>
'true' | <i>tafi-tafi</i>
'absolutely true' |

The final consonant of morphemes ending in closed syllables is not copied in the reduplicant. As discussed in § 2.3.1 (p. 70), this suggests that such coda consonants are extrasyllabic. (96) gives a few examples of this process.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (96) | <i>ti'ir</i>
'heavy' | <i>ti'i-ti'ir</i>
'very heavy' |
| | <i>felun</i>
'nice' | <i>felu-felun</i>
'very nice' |
| | <i>iar</i>
'cry' | <i>ia-iar</i>
'keep crying' |

Partial reduplication of the first syllable, as shown in (97), is used rarely.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (97) | <i>toton</i>
'watch' | <i>to-toton</i>
'keep watching' |
| | <i>-se'el</i>
'jump (bound)' | <i>-se-se'el</i>
'jump repeatedly (bound)' |

Although there are few relevant examples, it appears the reduplicant can be two syllables long at most. In the case of trisyllabic morphemes, the supernumerary syllable does not participate in the reduplication. The most common pattern in such a case is for the last two syllables to be reduplicated, with the first syllable preceding them, as in *sirvisu-visu*, shown in (98). However, a form *sirvi-sirvisu* has also been found in one case.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| (98) | <i>sirvisu</i>
'work' | <i>sirvisu-visu / sirvi-sirvisu</i>
'keep working' |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|

Note that this reduplicative pattern is also sometimes found in cases involving full reduplication of a disyllabic stem which is made trisyllabic through an echo vowel,

- (105) ... *ini=ua aire' se-se'=ini...*
1pe=REL now RDL-divide=CTR
 '... we who now live each separately...' (71-4)
- (106) ... *ni-ni ni-upa-raa k-asu usupadu u na'a-na'a due.*
REFL-mother REFL-father-PL 3=UND-for candle one RDL-alone light
 '... (he) lit a candle each for his mothers and his fathers.' (124-53)

Some verbs occur only as reduplications, the simplexes being either unattested or of unrelated meaning. Examples are given in (107). Since these are not reduplications of a known simplex with a regularly derived meaning, they are represented in writing as one word.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (107) <i>murimuri</i>
'play' | <i>*muri</i>
(unattested) |
| <i>nainai</i>
'slow' | <i>*nai</i>
(unattested) |
| <i>nikiniki</i>
'drizzle' | <i>-niki</i>
(attested only as a plural marker found
with the noun <i>mata</i> 'child', see
§ 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116) |
| <i>nokonoko</i>
'mad' | <i>noko</i>
'younger sibling' |

Reduplication may also derive nouns from verbs; § 3.1.2.2 (p. 106) illustrates a few such cases.

3.2.3 Types of verbs

The open category of verbs can be classified into a variety of groups, based on morphological and syntactic grounds. The morphologically-based verb classes are those discussed in § 3.2.2 (p. 127), and the following sections deal with classes mainly based on syntactic grounds, such that they are reflected in one way or another in grammar. A classification of subgroups on purely semantic grounds is avoided as far as possible. Classifications that encompass all verbs are those of valency, discussed in § 3.2.3.1 (p. 141), and event typology in § 3.2.3.2 (p. 150). The sections following these define subclasses of verbs, namely adverbial verbs in § 3.2.3.3 (p. 159), verbs with the third-person object marking prefix in § 3.2.3.4 (p. 163), weather and times of day verbs with fixed subjects in § 3.2.3.5 (p. 164), interrogative verbs in § 3.2.3.6 (p. 167), negative verbs in § 3.2.3.7 (p. 169), numerals in § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171), deictic verbs in § 3.2.3.9 (p. 180), verbs with complement clause extensions in § 3.2.3.10 (p. 186), verbs of physical or emotional states in § 3.2.3.11 (p. 197), and verbs with grammatical rather than lexical meaning

in § 3.2.3.12 (p. 202). § 3.2.3.13 (p. 210) and § 3.2.3.14 (p. 215) remark on movement verbs and quantifying verbs, respectively, even though these do not behave as a consistent group. Being defined on semantic grounds, these last sections present exceptions to the principle of syntactically relevant classes.

3.2.3.1 Valency

Valency classifies verbs according to the number of arguments associated with them. Semantic valency concerns the number of participants logically involved in a given action, while syntactic valency examines the syntactic positions associated with a given verb. The two types of valency do not necessarily overlap. In Makalero, they are in fact quite distinct. Syntactic valency is very rigid and has a number of effects on the expression of participants logically involved in an action. It is this concept that is explored here. The term ‘transitivity’ is used to refer to semantic valency. A transitive verb includes an undergoer in its participant frame, while an intransitive one does not.

There are in Makalero only two classes of verbs based on valency, namely avalent verbs, with no associated argument positions at all, and divalent verbs, which are associated with two argument positions. § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) elaborates on the notion of avalent verbs, while § 3.2.3.1.2 (p. 143) treats divalent verbs and gives a short discussion of valency in Makalero. The valency-based verb classes are not formally distinguished, but are recognisable as such only by the make-up of the clause they are used in.

3.2.3.1.1 Avalent verbs

Avalent verbs, as defined e.g. in Tesnière (1980: 162) have no argument at all. That is, they generally form one-word clauses. Such verbs in Makalero express adverbial, most often temporal, notions, as the selection in (108) shows.

(108)	<i>atanana</i>	‘first’
	<i>hana’e</i>	‘a long time ago’
	<i>aire’</i>	‘now’
	<i>kamunei</i>	‘tomorrow’
	<i>mu’it</i>	‘for a long time’
	<i>raine’</i>	‘last night’
	<i>tone’</i>	‘maybe’

The number of adverbial verbs occurring in practice is quite limited. Nevertheless, this class of verbs is potentially open, since there appear to be some moderately productive derivations forming such verbs. An example is given in (109), where numerals (see § 3.2.3.8, p. 171) combine with an element *-(h)e’* to express the

concept of ‘in x days’. The *-(h)e*’ element may be related to the complementiser discussed in § 3.6.2 (p. 265).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (109) | <i>eihe</i>
‘in two days’ | <i>(lol)ei</i>
‘two’ |
| | <i>ituhe</i>
‘in three days’ | <i>(lol)itu</i>
‘three’ |
| | <i>fate</i>
‘in four days’ | <i>fat</i>
‘four’ |

There are very clear indications that these adverbial expressions are clausal; to wit, they can appear with several VP modifiers (§ 5.3, p. 361). For instance, *mu’it* ‘long ago’ in (110) is marked for aspect with *hai* (§ 5.3.1.1, p. 361). *atanana* ‘first’ in (111), on the other hand, is modified by the VP-internal adverb *hau* ‘all’ (§ 5.3.3.2, p. 369).

- (110) *Kasi ere hai mu’it=isi ue’=ini airulaa uari tepa ue’.*
 K. IDEM NSIT long.ago=LNK2 V2DEM=LNK1 until.now still constant V2DEM
 ‘Kasi (a TV series) has been aired for a long time and still is.’ (elic1572)
- (111) ... *tufuraa namiraa meih=ini fuli-lafu’ hana’e hau*
 woman man two.HUM=LNK1 together:RED-live REM.PT all
atanana kupe...
 first hand.over
 ‘... (when) a woman and a man want to live together, (she) had to be handed over (to the groom’s family) first of all.’ (21-014)

It appears that such adverbial expressions are incompatible with the internal negator *nomo* (§ 5.3.2, p. 366). (112) shows that *aite* ‘recently’ must be negated with the clausal negator *nomohaka* (§ 3.6.1, p. 264, § 6.6.3, p. 398).

- (112) *Iliomar ki-adat nomohaka aite’ kini.*
 I. 3:POSS-custom CLS.NEG REC.PT do
 ‘The customs of Iliomar were made not (just) recently.’ (elic755)

Adverbial expressions can also be overtly linked to the following clause by means of a clause linker (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250). One instance can be seen in (110), where *=isi*, one of the most general linkers, is attached to *mu’it* ‘long ago’. Further illustration is provided in (113), with the linker *=ini* on the aivalent verb *raine* ‘last night’ and in (114), where a linker cluster consisting of *=te’e* and *=isi* is cliticised to *soohe* ‘yesterday’.

- (113) ... *ei-nana Agapitu Barretu raine’=ni hai umu.*
 2s-elder.sibling A. B. last.night=LNK1 NSIT die
 ‘... your brother Agapito Barreto died last night.’ (101-356)

- (114) *Ani nomohaka soohe'*=ete=si *Timor-isi-ma'u.*
 1s CLS.NEG yesterday=after=LNK2 T.-at:RED-come
 'I came to Timor not only yesterday.' (elic756)

Note that *raine'* 'last night' and *soohe'* 'yesterday' in (113) and (114), respectively, are preceded by the subject argument of the following clause, which is analysed as standing in the left-detached position of the sentence (§ 7.6.1, p. 427). This NP is not connected to the adverbial in any way and its position preceding the adverbial is not evidence against the classification of the latter as avalent.

Aspect marking and adverbial modification, as shown in (110) and (111), are characteristics of predicates, while external negation and the use of clause linkers, as demonstrated in (112) through (114), are processes applying to clauses. Thus it is obvious that such adverbial expressions are clausal units. There is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that they are nominal. Hence adverbial expressions as listed in (108) are treated here as a subclass of verbs which are distinct from other verbs by being avalent.

According to their semantics, which express adverbial notions, avalent adverbial predicates are not used as utterances of their own, but only in multi-clausal units (§ 7, p. 401).

3.2.3.1.2 Divalent verbs

Divalent verbs are associated with two syntactic positions. The first of the two positions associated with a divalent verb is reserved for the subject. The second position can hold either an object or a complement. The object is generally a nominal undergoer (see § 5.2.1, p. 319), as in (115). Complements form a morphosyntactic unit with the verb and can be nominal, in which case they are semantically undergoers or locative elements, or verbal (§ 5.2.2, p. 320). Verbal complements generally give either local or adverbial information, as in (116) and (117), respectively.

- (115) [*Kiloo*]_{SUBJ} [*ani*]_{OBJ} *pase...*
 3s 1s beat
 'He beat me...' (elic060)

- (116) *Ini fenu nese-la'a=ni hai mei=ni*
 1pe turtle aim.at:RED-move=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1

[ira-ha'a pere uere-mutu]_{COMPL}-seil.
 water-mouth big.SG 2DEM-inside:RED-pull:BD
 'We found a turtle and pulled it into that big lake.' (chat056)

- (117) *Ani mei=ni [rau-rau]_{COMPL}-kena.*
 1s take=LNK1 RDL-good-see:BD
 'I see it very well.' (elic1288)

(115) above in comparison to (118) shows that the verb *pase* ‘beat’ can take either an object, as in (115), or a complement, as in (118). However, it cannot express both of these within one clause: (118) shows how the undergoer participant has to be placed in a separate clause with the light verb *mei* ‘take’ (§ 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203) if the main verb stands with a verbal complement.

- (118) *Ki-upa kiloora mei=ni [rau]_{COMPL}-pase.*
 3:POSS-father 3p take=LNK1 good-beat
 ‘His father beat them up thoroughly.’ (elic984a)

Objects and complements are thus mutually exclusive. § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) argues that both of them function as verbal arguments. With the complement *rau* ‘good’ in (118) filling the verb's single argument position, the semantic undergoer has to be expressed in a separate clause with a semantically largely empty verb *mei* ‘take’. § 7.1 (p. 402) discusses in detail how this rigid syntactic structure affects the expression of the semantic participants.

The pairs with the semantically intransitive verbs *tia* ‘sleep’ and *iri* ‘urinate’ in (119) and (120) as well as (121) and (122) show that the occurrence of complement VPs is not limited to transitive verbs, as illustrated in the sentences in (116) through (118) above.

- (119) *Mata ka'u ere uari tia.*
 child small IDEM still sleep
 ‘The child is sleeping / still asleep.’ (elic213)

- (120) *Kiloo hai [ani lafi]_{COMPL}-dia.*
 3s NSIT 1s beside:RED-sleep:BD
 ‘He already lies next to me.’ (elic1060)

- (121) ... *mata ka'u hau iri'=ini...*
 child small all urinate=LNK1
 ‘... the child had urinated, and then...’ (102-061)

- (122) ... *iraku [ni-upa tafan]_{COMPL}-iri'...*
 3s REFL-father over?-urinate
 ‘... he urinated over his father...’ (52-12)

(123) and (124) demonstrate that this also holds for time of day and weather expressions with fixed subjects (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164), such as *til* ‘noon’, which is obligatorily expressed with the subject *uatu* ‘day’.

- (123) *Uatu hai til.*
 Day NSIT noon
 ‘It is already noon.’ (elic221)

- (124) *Uatu hai [Timor-isi]_{COMPL}-til.*
 day NSIT T.-at:RED-noon
 ‘It is already noon in Timor.’ (chat084a)

With semantically transitive verbs, verbal complements have been shown to be mutually exclusive with objects. This suggests that they both function as arguments to a given verb and stand in the same functional position opened by the verb. The fact that semantically intransitive verbs as *tia* ‘sleep’ and *iri* ‘urinate’, which are not associated with an undergoer, can stand with verbal complements, as in (120) and (122) respectively, shows that these verbs are associated with a second syntactic argument position next to that of the subject, just like the transitive verbs in (115) through (118) above are. Syntactically, thus, there is no difference between semantically transitive and intransitive verbs; both types are associated with two syntactic argument positions. The difference between the two lies merely in the nature of the second argument compatible with a given verb: in the case of such verbs as *pase* ‘beat’ and *heil* ‘pull’, the functional argument position can be filled by either an object or a complement, while verbs such as *tia* ‘sleep’ and *iri* ‘urinate’ are not compatible with objects. The only possible filler for the argument position in question with these verbs is a complement.

To sum up, with the exception of the relatively small class of aivalent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), any verb is syntactically divalent and takes a subject argument and a non-subject argument, which can be either in the form of an object or a complement. The semantic participant frame associated with a given verb determines which syntactic kind of arguments it is compatible with. Semantically transitive verbs have an undergoer in their participant frame. On the syntactic level, these are most commonly associated with object arguments, but may also take complements. Semantically intransitive verbs, on the other hand, are not associated with an undergoer. Syntactically, they may take a complement, but never an object argument.

3.2.3.1.2.1 Verbs with obligatory locative complements

With most verbs, the locative information expressed by a complement is optional. There is, however, a class of verbs with which it is obligatory. A good example is the verb *rou* ‘sleep (PL)’, which requires a locative complement as in (125). Without such a complement, the sentence is ungrammatical, as shown in (126).

(125) *Ini tone’ [Loospalos-isi]_{COMPL}-rou.*
 1pe probably L.-at:RED-sleep.PL:BD
 ‘We will sleep in Lospalos.’ (elic1284)

(126) **Ini rou.*
 1pe sleep.PL:BD
 intended: ‘We sleep.’ (elic611c)

Verbs with obligatory expression of a locative complement include positional verbs, such as *mit* ‘sit (SG)’, *nat* ‘stand (SG)’ or *tia* ‘lie, sleep’, and verbs expressing a movement, such as *li’an* ‘fall’, *isa* ‘descend’ and *dai* ‘walk by’. Note, however, that this does not include all movement verbs; for instance, the most common one, *la’a*

‘move’, can be used without a complement, as in (127) (see § 3.2.3.13, p. 210 for a discussion of basic movement verbs and the constructions they are found in). The exact extent of this group of verbs thus remains to be determined.

- (127) ... *ki-ari ere hau mei la'a=ni nua.*
 3:POSS-liver IDEM all take move=LNK1 eat
 ‘... (he) took his liver and went to eat it.’ (23-010)

Another type of verb the argument of which may be found in the complement position are the argument-marking verbs (see § 3.2.3.4, p. 163). For a more detailed discussion of this special construction type refer to § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349).

While most locative adverbial information is expressed in the form of a verbal complement, as in (125), the same function can be fulfilled by a nominal element. The most common nominal locative complement is *mu'a* ‘ground’, which is the standard expression of the goal with such verbs as *li'an* ‘fall’ and *isa* ‘descend’. (128) and (129) give an example with *li'an* ‘fall’. The intended reading for the elicited sentence in (128) was ‘I already fell’, with the new situation marker *hai* (§ 3.4.3, p. 242). However, speakers did not accept this as a possible reading for *ani ai-li'an*, since it would leave the verb without a complement, and gave only ‘I fell here’ as a possible translation, where *ai-* is interpreted as the reduced form of the deictic verb *ai* ‘be here’ (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180) rather than as the aspect marker *hai*. Only in (129), where *mu'a* ‘ground’ is used to express the goal, is *hai* interpreted as the aspect marker.

- (128) *Ani ai-li'an.*
 1s VIDEM:RED-fall
 ‘I fell here.’ (elic915)
 intended: ‘I already fell.’

- (129) *Ani hai mu'a-li'an.*
 1s NSIT ground-fall
 ‘I already fell down.’ (elic915a)

The most common verbs with nominal complements expressing locations or goals are *isi* ‘at’ and *mutu* ‘inside’. § 5.2.2.1 (p. 321) discusses nominal locative complements and the verbs that commonly take such arguments in more detail.

3.2.3.1.2.2 Verbs with undergoers in verbal complements

A small group of verbs express their undergoer participants not in the form of an object argument, but within a verbal complement. The list in Table 3.11 is intended to be exhaustive.

worship (animist)	<i>dadi</i>
reply to	<i>der</i>
disrespect	<i>kore'</i>
smell, kiss	<i>muni'</i>
play with	<i>murimuri</i>
think of / about	<i>ne'et</i>
forget	<i>nilu</i>
be startled by	<i>nu'at</i>
look at	<i>puna</i>
shine on	<i>peri'</i>
show to	<i>suma</i>
shake	<i>tata'</i>
phone, call	<i>telefón, telefone</i>

Table 3.11: Verbs with locative undergoers

In most cases, the undergoers to these verbs stand within a verbal complement with *isi-*, the reduced form of the general locative verb *isi'*. Examples, with the complex verbal complements bracketed, are given in (130) and (131).

- (130) ... *ani langsung [elehaa ki-lolo-*ini-isi*]_{COMPL-der...}*
1s direct old.man 3:POSS-say-NML-at:RED-reply
 '... I directly replied to the old man's words...' (120-057)

- (131) *Ina-uai [ni-mata hai isi]_{COMPL-muni'}*
mother-HON REFL-child NSIT at:RED-kiss
 'The mother kisses her child.' (elic1016)

Ne'et 'think' and *puna* 'look at' also occur with complements headed by verbs other than *isi-*, as the examples in (132) and (133) with *ne'et* 'think' show. In the first case, the complement verb is *nese-* 'aim at (RED)' while in the second, it is the verb (*k*)-*ata-* 'be in physical contact (RED)'.

- (132) ... *fi (...) [ta hai nomo nese]_{COMPL-ne'et}*
Ipi REC NSIT NEG aim.at:RED-think
 '... we (...) don't think about one another any more.' (55-27)

- (133) *Nomohaka ani [ei nomo k-ata]_{COMPL-ne'et}*
CLS.NEG 1s 2s NEG 3:UND-contact:RED-think
 'It's not the case that I don't believe you.' (elic536)

Syntactically speaking, the undergoer is in these cases an argument of the dependent verb, not of the main verb (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326).

The overt expression of the undergoer is not necessary if it is recoverable from context. In those instances where it is left unexpressed, the locative verb of the complement is still present, showing on the one hand that these verbs obligatorily

stand with a filled complement position, and on the other hand that the complement-verb complex is lexicalised to some degree. An example is given in (134).

- (134) *Kiloo derepentī lolo-ini=si uai=ni=si ani isi-nu'at.*
 3s suddenly say-do:BD=LNK2 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s at:RED-startle
 'He spoke (so) suddenly so that I was startled (at it).' (elic1077)

Further evidence for a quite far-reaching degree of lexicalisation comes from the fact that such verbs are nominalised along with the complement verb, as in (135), where *isi-ne'et* 'think' is used as a whole in argument function.

- (135) ... *asi-isi-ne'et ka'u-ka'u hai kua-kuar.*
 1s:POSS-at:RED-think RDL-little NSIT RDL-cold
 '... my mind was a bit calmer.' (126-094)

3.2.3.1.2.3 Verbs with nominal undergoer complements

Some verbs with an obligatory nominal undergoer in the complement position are lexicalised. Table 3.12 lists the expressions in question identified so far. In all instances, the nominal arguments must be understood as non-referential. Other than in these lexicalised expressions, these verbs take their undergoers as objects (§ 5.2.1, p. 319) rather than as complements.

English	lexicalised complement-verb complex	literal meaning
have a child / children	<i>mata-ena</i>	child-see
work	<i>na'a-meī</i>	work-take
be married (men)	<i>sa-ena</i>	wife-see
be married (men)	<i>mu'a-ena</i>	land-see
be married (women)	<i>nami-ena</i>	husband-see

Table 3.12: Lexicalised expressions with nominal undergoer complements

As shown in § 5.2.2.3 (p. 336), such expressions are treated like a uniform entity when combined with other complements.

3.2.3.1.3 Other valencies

There is no class of trivalent verbs in Makalero. States of affairs with more than two participants must be expressed in two clauses, as shown in (136) with *fana* 'teach' (see also § 7.1, p. 402). (137) uses three clauses to express the idea of showing something to somebody. For ease of reading, the clauses have been bracketed.

- (136) *Uere hana'e [hai mei]_{CLS} [ini fana]_{CLS}=te'e ini=oo tepa ma'en...*
 2DEM REM.PT NSIT take lpe teach=after lpe=too constant know
 'After (they) thought as that, we too keep remembering it...' (123-20)
- (137) *Ama-ouar ue-tefu-la'a=si [kiloraa nana pere*
 garden-master V2DEM:RED-perpendicular:RED-move=LNK1 3p snake big.SG
mei=ni]_{CLS} [k-asu]_{CLS} [isi-suma]_{CLS}.
 take=LNK1 3:UND-for at:RED-show
 'A farmer goes by, and they show him the snake.' (elic366)

This is in accordance with Foley's (2000: 377) observation that most languages of the New Guinea area lack ditransitive (trivalent in the terminology employed in the present thesis) constructions.

Also, there is no class of monovalent verbs. § 3.2.3.1.2 (p. 143) shows that semantically intransitive verbs can freely take a verbal complement. As such, they are syntactically divalent. None of the adverbial verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141), on the other hand, has been found with any argument, be it in the form of an NP or a VP. In fact, it is hard to think of contexts where this would make sense. This leads to the conclusion that there are no monovalent verbs. All verbs in Makalero are syntactically either avalent or divalent.

3.2.3.1.4 Valency changes

There are no constructions which involve a real change of valency in Makalero. The only possible exceptions are the verb pairs *amu* 'ripe, smelly' and *(k)-amu* 'smell', as well as *umu* 'die' and *(k)-umu-* 'kill'; the latter case is discussed in somewhat more detail in § 5.2.2.6.3.3 (p. 355). There are a variety of constructions which allow the expression of an additional participant or the dropping of a participant. However, in none of these constructions does any verb actually change its valency. The use of distinct verbs expressing related transitive and intransitive states of affairs is briefly treated in § 3.2.3.1.4.1 (p. 149). The most important strategies involve complement-verb complexes with *-ini* 'do' and are discussed as special cases of complement-verb combinations in § 5.2.2.5.1.1 (p. 340) and § 5.2.2.5.1.2 (p. 341).

3.2.3.1.4.1 Distinct verbs expressing transitive / intransitive pairs

In Makalero, morphologically unrelated, distinct verbs may express related concepts with different semantic participant frames. Such pairings are expressed in some languages by means of verbal derivation. (138) gives a few pairs, one of which is illustrated with contextual examples in (139) and (140).

- (138) *dur* 'wake up' *tane* 'waken (sb.)'
tia 'sleep (SG)' *lu'* 'put (a child) to bed'
nua 'eat' *fan* 'feed'
- (139) *Uai=ni=ni uai=te'e=si ani muni dur.*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 1s return wake.up
 'After that I woke up again.' (101-070)
- (140) ... *ka'=te'e filem ue'=afta ani tane...*
 small=after movie V2DEM=COND 1s waken
 '... in a while when the movie is on, wake me up...' (120-012)

The complement-verb complex formed by the intransitive verb with *-ini* 'do (BD)' (§ 5.2.2.5.1.1, p. 340) expresses the same notion as the transitive verb in the pairs in (138). (141) shows an example.

- (141) *dur-ini* *tane*
 wake.up-do:BD 'waken'
 'waken'

3.2.3.2 Event types

Event typology concerns itself with the intrinsic temporal characteristics of a given situation; these properties are internal to the verbal semantics. There is a myriad of competing terms in use in the field. In the present work, I use the terms event type and aktionsart more or less interchangeably.

Event types interact with aspect in such a way that verbs of different event types may behave differently with respect to overt aspect marking, depending on their inherent semantic properties. Aspect markers are phase selectors that "pick out" or "select" matching phases (...) provided by aktionsart (cf. Sasse 2002: 223).

Sasse's (2002: 207) Table 2, reproduced with slight modifications as Table 3.13 below, gives three basic semantic types of verbs and summarises their prototypical constellation with aspect marking as follows: stative verbs include no boundaries in their semantics. As such, they are not prototypically compatible with perfective marking, which focuses on a situation's boundaries. Instead, stative verbs are most often marked as imperfective. The opposite of stative verbs are telic and punctual verbs, which are inherently bounded. These are not typically compatible with imperfective marking, which focuses on a situation without reference to its boundaries. Consequently, telic and punctual verbs are normally marked as perfective. Midway between these two extremes are activities, which have both duration and inherent boundaries. As such, they can be presented as either bounded

or unbounded, depending on the situation and the speaker's intention. As a consequence, activities offer a choice between perfective or imperfective marking.

aktionsart	aspect	cover term
stative	imperfective	non-bounded
activities	perfective vs. imperfective	arbitrarily bounded
telic / punctual	perfective	bounded

Table 3.13: Markedness relationship between aspect and aktionsart

The following paragraphs examine these three basic event types and their reality in Makalero. It becomes abundantly clear that Makalero draws a basic distinction between states (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151) and activities (§ 3.2.3.2.2, p. 153), which interact in different ways with a variety of aspectual expressions. The adverbials and aspectual expressions used in the definition of these types are discussed in more detail in § 5.3 (p. 361). The evidence for a separate class of punctual verbs is negligible (§ 3.2.3.2.3, p. 155). Overall, however, the combination of aktionsart and aspect is relatively flexible; this idea is elaborated on in § 3.2.3.2.4 (p. 156).

3.2.3.2.1 States

Stative verbs express qualities or states. No reference to any temporal boundaries is generally made. A few examples of stative verbs in Makalero are given in (142).

(142)	<i>pere</i>	'big (SG)'
	<i>rial</i>	'many (HUM)'
	<i>ume'</i>	(VDEM.DIST)
	<i>mutu'</i>	'be inside'
	<i>na'an</i>	(NEG.EX)

Lexemes such as *pere* 'big (SG)', *metan* 'black' and *asan* 'long', which correspond to adjectives in English, can function as clausal predicates by themselves and are compatible with all verbal modifiers. As such, there is no reason to see them as anything else than a particular subgroup of verbs. Other semantic groups of verbs that fall into the class of statives are verbs of position and location, like *mutu'* 'be inside' or the distal deictic verb *ume'* (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180), or predicates expressing mental states and emotion and the like, such as *mutu heke* 'be angry' or *so'ot* 'want, like'.

The combination of stative verbs with the periphery adverb *hau* 'all, totally' results in a reading different from that of the same marker with activity verbs. With non-statives, *hau* refers to a situation's final boundary, marking it as having been

transgressed (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369). In other words, it resembles a completive marker. With stative verbs, on the other hand, it denotes a high degree of the quality or state expressed by the verb, and can also be read as a superlative.⁹⁹ (143) through (145) exemplify the use and reading of *hau* with a variety of stative verbs.

- (143) *Nu'ak=ua kiloo=ua isi' ere hau ka'u.*
 village=REL 3s=REL at IDEM all small
 'The village he comes from is very small.' (elic459)
- (144) *Timor ki-renu ere hai hau rial.*
 T. 3:POSS-populace IDEM NSIT all many.HUM
 'The population of Timor is already very big.' (chat075)
- (145) *Kiloo=ni ini leetana'=ini hau ma'en.*
 3s=CTR 1pe in.the.middle=LNK1 all know
 'It's him who is the cleverest among us.' (elic338)

The attributive marker *ki=* (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240) is typically (though not exclusively) found with stative verbs. An example is given in (146); for more details, see § 4.3.4 (p. 284).

- (146) *Namiraa ki=forit ere me'e uar pere ere mei=ni*
 man ATTR=strong IDEM able stone big IDEM take=LNK1
nama-dane.
 upwards:RED=lift
 'This strong man can lift the big stone.' (pelic271c)

Furthermore, stative verbs are not compatible with indications of progressivity. The adverb *uari* 'still', which marks progressivity with activities (see § 5.3.3.1, p. 368), is read as 'still' with statives, i.e. expressing a longer-than-expected duration. As an instance, in (147), with the stative verb *ma'en* 'know', *uari* can only be read as 'still'; an alternative reading as progressive was rejected.

- (147) *Abiliu aire' uari fransés ma'en.*
 A. now still French know
 'Abilio still knows French.' (elic1273a)
 (* Abilio is knowing French.)

⁹⁹ *Hau* is also read as a superlative with predicatively used nouns. In terms of aktionsart, thus, these predicates are stative. This is consistent with their semantics as denoting a property (§ 3.1.1, p. 100) rather than an action. In the example in (ix), *noko* 'younger sibling' functions as a predicate within the modifier position of the NP (§ 4, p. 273), headed in this case by the same lexeme in argument use.

- (ix) ... *asi-noko hau noko umu...*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling all younger.sibling die
 '... my youngest sibling died...' (125-09)

A last characteristic of stative verbs as opposed to activity verbs is the fact that the verbs *leto-* ‘through’ and *seti-* ‘pass’ are read as comparatives. The construction in question is a complement-verb complex with the stative verb as the main verb and either *leto-* ‘through’ or *seti-* ‘pass’ as the complement verb (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). (148) and (149) show two such constructions.

- (148) *Kuda ere ni-raku na’u leto-asan.*
 horse IDEM REFL-friend just through-long
 ‘This horse is the biggest of them all.’ (almeida009)
 (lit. This horse is bigger than its fellow horses)
- (149) ... *ei tufuraa (...)* *nosa.siniora seti-felun nese-la’a...*
 2s woman Holy.Virgin pass-pretty aim.at:RED-go
 ‘... you found a woman who is prettier than the Holy Virgin...’
 (74-138)

In verbal complexes with activity verbs, on the other hand, *leto-* ‘through’ and *seti-* ‘pass’ are read literally as indications of movement (see § 3.2.3.2.2, p. 153).

3.2.3.2.2 Activities

Under activity verbs, I subsume all verbs which fail to classify as statives under the criteria discussed in § 3.2.3.2.1 (p. 151).¹⁰⁰ Activities are generally defined as dynamic states of affairs. Reference can be made either to the state or to its boundaries. Consequently, activities are compatible with both perfective and imperfective marking (see Table 3.13 above). (150) illustrates a few instances of typical activity verbs.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|------------------|
| (150) | <i>due</i> | ‘light (a fire)’ |
| | <i>ma’u</i> | ‘come’ |
| | <i>tina</i> | ‘cook’ |
| | <i>le’</i> | ‘read’ |
| | <i>koko’</i> | ‘croak’ |

The main differences as opposed to stative verbs involve the adverb *hau* ‘all, totally’ and verbal complements with *leto-* ‘through’ and *seti-* ‘pass’, as well as the use of the agent noun suffix *-door* (§ 3.3.3.4, p. 238).

The VP-internal adverbial *hau* ‘all, totally’, which is read as high or excessive degree with statives (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151), denotes completion of the action if used with an activity. Compare the examples in (151) and (152) with (143) through (145) above.

¹⁰⁰ The evidence for the existence of a distinct class of punctuals is dubious, see § 3.2.3.2.3 (p. 155).

- (151) *Ani uatu loloi ki-mutu'=ini livru hau le'.*
 1s day two 3:POSS-inside=LNK1 book all read
 'I read the book through within two days.' (elic1271)
- (152) *Asi-ni hau umu ani hai ere mi-la'a-la'a...*
 1s:POSS-mother all die 1s NSIT IDEM along:RED-RDL-move
 'After my mother had died, I just went around there...' (101-017)

§ 5.3.3.2 (p. 369) and § 5.3.3.1 (p. 376) give more details on the various functions of *hau*, including its aspect-marking use.

In a complement-verb complex with activity verbs, *letu-* 'through' and *seti-* 'pass' are not read as comparatives, as is the case with stative verbs (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p.151), but retain their literal sense as movement verbs, as in the examples in (153) and (154). Compare these sentences to those with statives in (148) and (149) above.

- (153) ... *dila pere langsung (...)* *apadan letu-se'el=ini...*
 frog big.SG directly window through-jump:BD=LNK1
 '... the big frog jumped directly through the window...' (115-097)
- (154) *Kuda umere' ueir=ee hai seti-lor.*
 horse DEM.DIST.V river=DEF NSIT pass-fly
 'The horse swam across the river.' (elic1724)

Alternatively, *seti-* 'pass' can be understood figuratively as 'miss', or 'do wrong', as in (155) and (156). This reading, too, is not found with statives. Neither does it seem to be possible with *letu-* 'through', though in all other respects, the two verbs appear to be interchangeable.

- (155) ... *kuandu amulafu rata uere seti-lolo ki-konsekuensi uere nomo*
 when person tell 2DEM pass-say 3:POSS-consequence 2DEM NEG
mu'i-lafu'.
 long:RED-live
 '... if someone tells the story in the wrong way, the consequence of it is that (he) will not live long.' (35-07)
- (156) ... *ni-asu ki-tali uere seti-sifa'...*
 REFL-for 3:POSS-rope 2DEM pass-catch:BD
 '... he missed the rope (i.e. didn't catch it when it was thrown to him)...' (122-09)

Comparatives of activities are preferentially formed with the dependent form of the verb *resin* 'remain', *resi-*.

- (157) *Ei kiloo resi-la'a.*
 2s 3s remain:RED-go
 'You walk more than him.' (chat095)

- (158) *Kiloo ani resi-dia.*
 3s 1s remain:RED-sleep:BD
 ‘He sleeps more than me.’ (chat094)

This type of comparative was sometimes accepted and sometimes rejected with statives. I interpret this evidence in such a way that comparatives with *resi-* are not usual with stative verbs, although not plain wrong; as such, this type of comparative formation can be said to be a characteristic of activities.

Lastly, the Portuguese-based suffix *-door*, which is the only productive morpheme to derive agent nouns, is found only on activity verbs. (159) gives some representative examples.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (159) | <i>fana-door</i>
‘teacher’ | <i>fana</i>
‘teach’ |
| | <i>tapaku-due-door</i>
‘smoker’ | <i>tapaku due</i>
‘light up tobacco’ |
| | <i>tu’a-ke’-door</i>
‘drinker’ | <i>tua’ ke’</i>
‘drink palm wine’ |

3.2.3.2.3 Punctual events

Punctual events are commonly defined as having “no internal temporal structure because they occur in an instant in time” (Payne 1997: 241). Their existence as a separate verb class in Makalero is disputable. Punctual verbs should be incompatible with progressivity. As is to be expected, this does in fact not occur in spontaneous speech; however, in elicitation, a prototypically punctual verb such as *da’al* ‘break, explode’ was readily accepted with the adverb *uari* ‘still’ in a progressive reading, as exemplified in (160).

- (160) *Kopu uari da’al.*
 glass still break
 ‘The cup is (still) breaking.’ (chat086)

On the other hand, marking the verb *hai’* ‘end’ with *uari* ‘still’ was received with a lot of doubt; thus a sentence such as (161) is decidedly unfavoured by native speakers.

- (161) *Ki-iskola uari hai’.*
 3:POSS-school still finished
 ‘His schooling is ending.’ (chat088)

This, however, is not necessarily due to *hai’* being punctual (which would make it the only punctual verb defined so far), but, perhaps more likely, is a consequence of the sentence’s rather unintuitive semantics.

Since punctual verbs occur at one point in time, they are not in general expected to be compatible with such aspectual verbs as ‘start’ or ‘stop’ and ‘finish’. In Makalero, however, no objection was raised to such an elicited sentence as (162).

- (162) *Kopu hai komesa da'al.*
 glass NSIT start break
 ‘The glass starts breaking.’ (chat099a)

Thus, while the evidence from spontaneous speech may be read as supporting a distinct class of punctuals, elicited sentences contest this view. The fact that all instances from spontaneous speech seem to support the distinction suggests that it is based on pragmatics rather than an actual grammatical property of these verbs. I take it, thus, that punctual verbs do not play a significant role in grammar, as statives and actives do. As such, they can be disregarded from further consideration, and verbs such as *da'al* ‘break’, *fatit* ‘explode’ and *hai* ‘end’ are grouped with activity verbs.

3.2.3.2.4 Underspecification of event types

§ 3.2.3.2.1 (p. 151) and § 3.2.3.2.2 (p. 153) show that two major event types, namely states and activities, are supported by grammatical evidence in Makalero. However, even though such prototypical aktionsart readings can be determined, it is important to note that the verbal semantics are quite flexible, and a verb of a given event type can be readily used like the other type in the appropriate context. Consider the example of *pere* ‘big (SG)’, an unbounded state. Its unmarked interpretation is as ongoing, with no reference to any boundaries. (163), where it appears without any marking at all, gives a typical example of its use.

- (163) *Lopu uere pere.*
 house 2DEM big.SG
 ‘That house is big.’ (elic713)

However, if the new situation marker *hai* is used with such a stative, unbounded verb, an initial boundary is added to the state, as in (164).

- (164) ... *asi-mata hai pere...*
 1s:POSS-child NSIT big.SG
 ‘... my child is already big...’ (74-136)

The new situation marker *hai* focuses on a boundary and the ensuing state (see § 3.4.3, p. 242 and § 5.3.1.1, p. 361). As demonstrated in (164), its use is enough to create a boundary, even though it is not present in the actual verbal semantics. With stative verbs, whose semantics encode only a state, this is the initial boundary. No phasal verb or other complex construction is needed for the purpose.

The reverse, namely the addition of a final boundary to a state is commonly achieved through the use of *hai* + negation. That is, what is actually predicated is the

initial boundary of the absence of the state in question. Compare unbounded *mutu* 'be inside' in (165) with (166), where *hai nomo mutu* 'expresses the end of that state.

- (165) ... *uari tepa ni-ha'auein-mutu*...
 still constant REFL-place-inside
 '... he is still in his bed...' (38-011)

- (166) ... *dila hai nomo putil=ee-mutu*.
 frog NSIT NEG bottle=DEF-inside
 '...the frog is no longer in the bottle...' (38-024)

The linguistic context can also have considerable influence on the reading of a verb, even without an overt aspect marker. Consider (167), where the stative verb *mutu* has no marking whatsoever.

- (167) *Ni-surat mei=ni lode-mutu*.
 REFL-book take=LNK1 bag-inside
 '(He) put his book into the bag.' (elic584)
 (lit. (he) took his book and it was inside the bag.)

Despite the absence of aspect marking, the context of the sentence in (167) makes it quite clear that *mutu* must be understood to have a very prominent left boundary.

The situation is similar in the domain of telicity: verbs can be interpreted as telic or atelic, depending on the context. Consider (168), which figures a complement-verb complex *k-umu-lasi* 'cut (them) to death'. The complement verb, (*k*)-*umu*, expresses the result, death, and the whole phrase is understood to be telic. Yet (169) shows that this is not necessarily the case in all contexts, since the speaker obviously feels the need to specify the result separately by having the *k-umu-lasi* complex followed by a separate clause *umu* 'die'.

- (168) *Kiloo ni-mata-r haka-hau k-umu-lasi*.
 3s REFL-child-PL all-all 3:UND-kill-cut
 'He cut all his children to death.' (pelic426a)

- (169) *Ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi hau k-umu-lasi=ni umu*.
 REFL-wife 1DEM all 3:UND-kill-cut all 3:UND-kill-cut=LNK1 die
 'He cut his wife to death (until) she was dead.' (23-002)

There are several ways to force a telic reading if necessary; one of these is a complement-verb complex with the verb *lolo-* 'straight', such as in (170).

- (170) ... *mata ka'u e' (...) hai k-ua-lolo-la'a*.
 child small VIDEM NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-move
 '... the child has already gone right on top (of the tree trunk).' (38-119)

The most common variant, however, is again the use of aspect marking, in this case the combination of the new situation marker *hai* and the adverbial verb *hau* ‘all, totally’, as exemplified in (171); a more detailed account is given in § 5.3.3.2.1 (p. 369).

- (171) *Kilooraa pipi=ee hai hau mei=ni ama-mutu-seil-la'a.*
 3p goat=DEF NSIT all take=LNK1 garden-inside:RED-pull:BD-move
 ‘They already finished pulling the goat into the garden.’ (pelic280)

If used in a construction normally associated with state verbs, activity verbs also easily assume state or property readings. An example is the *ki*=-attributive construction (§ 4.3.4, p. 284), which most commonly serves to attribute properties expressed by stative verbs to a noun. (172) shows a typical example.

- (172) ... *ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa'uk!*
 2s=CTR woman ATTR=bad
 ‘... it is you who is a bad woman!’ (74-100)

In (173) and (174), however, the activity verbs *ke* ‘drink’ and *kauen* ‘marry’, respectively, are used in the same construction. Notice, however, that in both cases they do not refer to a specific action, but are to be understood as general, stative, properties, not as activities.

- (173) *Ani ira ki=ke' ere heti=ee rau=uai na'an?*
 1s water ATTR=drink IDEM ask=DEF good=or NEG.EX
 ‘May I ask for drinking water?’ (elic1742)

- (174) *Asi-nana=ua hai ki=kauen ere oko nomo mata-ena.*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling=REL NSIT ATTR=marry IDEM yet NEG child-see
 ‘My elder sister who is already married does not have children yet.’
 (elic1418)

Another construction normally reserved for stative verbs is the comparative with *leto*- ‘through’ or *seti*- ‘pass’ (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151, § 5.2.2.5.4, p. 344). (175) and (176), however, show activity verbs in such contexts. Again, the clause must probably be understood to refer to a property rather than to a specific action.

- (175) *Ani ei leto-sirvisu.*
 1s 2s through-work
 ‘I work more than you.’ (chat093)

- (176) *Ei ani seti-nua.*
 2s 1s pass-eat
 ‘You eat more than me.’ (elic1294)

It has been shown that in the appropriate context, both initial and final boundaries can be added to stative verbs, while activity verbs can also be used to predicate unbounded properties. With these examples, I would like to propose that the verbal

semantics in Makalero are rather open with respect to boundedness and can be freely modified either by context or by the use of aspect markers and adverbs. As such, Makalero is in good company with other languages of Southeast Asia; Jenny's (2001) study on the aspect system of Thai may serve as a good example. In this article, he comes to the conclusion that "some kind of aktionsart is present in Thai, but it is very underspecified." (ibid.: 111). He summarises that "most of the aspectual burden is carried by the context and by verbal compounds/auxiliaries. (...) Restrictions in the cooccurrence of aspect markers with verbal expressions are in most cases purely pragmatic ones and can be removed if an adequate (if sometimes unnatural) context is created. (...) [A]spect markers do more than just select a given phase or boundary of the verb structure. Like phasal auxiliaries they can add phases and/or boundaries to the verbal expression..." (ibid.: 137). I understand the situation to be very much comparable in Makalero.

3.2.3.3 Adverbials

The term "adverbial" subsumes two kinds of verbal subgroups. This major division is between those verbs which can function as verb-phrase internal adverbials (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159) and those which form separate clauses on their own (§ 3.2.3.3.2, p. 162). The latter group coincides with the valent verbs treated in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) and thus receive only a brief mention here. The adverbials discussed in these sections generally express temporal and modal notions.¹⁰¹ They have in common that they are not able to make up utterances of their own, but are used only with other clauses within multi-clause sentences.

3.2.3.3.1 *Verb-phrase internal adverbials*

A variety of adverbials stand within a verb phrase, in one of two adverbial positions (§ 5.3.3, p. 367). In terms of Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997) analysis of the clause, which has been adopted in the present work, they are analysed as the clause periphery (§ 6.5, p. 393). Table 3.14 lists the items found in this function. In the typical examples in (177) and (178), the aspect marker *hai*, which is the leftmost verbal modifier (see § 5.3.1.1, p. 361), precedes the adverbials *na'u* 'just' and *tepa* 'constantly', respectively. This demonstrates that the adverbials in question stand within the VP.

¹⁰¹ Manner and location are either expressed in separate clauses or as verbal complements within VPs (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). The latter option does not exist for the temporal and modal adverbials discussed here.

very	<i>hanu</i>
all, totally	<i>hau</i>
return	<i>muni</i>
just	<i>na'u</i>
yet	<i>oko</i>
entirely	<i>felu</i>
entirely (?)	<i>haka</i>
?	<i>kopu</i>
all	<i>ata'u</i>
very	<i>se</i>
true	<i>tafi</i>
again	<i>teni</i>
constantly	<i>tepa</i>
still	<i>uari</i>

Table 3.14: Verb-phrase-internal adverbials

- (177) *Asi-isa hai na'u hare'...*
 1s:POSS-state NSIT just clean
 'I was very happy...' (101-243)
- (178) *E'=ini hai tepa hu'at...*
 VIDEM=LNK1 NSIT constant sad
 '(She) is here constantly sad...' (69-077)

None of these adverbials are compatible with a clause linker such as =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) in this position. This evidences that they are not clausal, but part of the VP. Also, they do not form a complement-verb complex with the following verb. (179) demonstrates this through the fact that the verb *tia* 'sleep' uses its free form with the initial /t/, rather than its bound form with the initial /d/ (see § 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135), if combined with one of these adverbials.

- (179) *Kiloo hai tafi tia.*
 3s NSIT true sleep.SG
 'He is really already asleep.' (chat066a)

There are strong indications that the adverbials listed in Table 3.14 are actually verbal in nature. In fact, those given in Table 3.15 have clear full verb uses, where they are the only predicates in a clause.

all, totally	<i>hau</i>
return	<i>muni</i>
true	<i>tafi</i>
again	<i>teni</i>
constant	<i>tepa</i>

Table 3.15: VP-internal adverbials with full verb uses¹⁰²

(180) and (181) exemplify such full-verb uses. In (180), *tafi* ‘true’ functions as a one-word answer to a yes-no question, which shows that it is predicative on its own. On the other hand, in (181), *teni* ‘again’ is the predicate in a full clause, with its own subject *ei* (2s).

- (180) *Tafi=ni kiloo ei-horu fuli-dai?* - *Tafi.*
 true=LNK1 3s 2s-with together-pass true
 ‘Did he really go with you? – Yes.’ (elic1128-1128a)

- (181) *Ei ka’u=te’e teni ani ei mei=ni rau-ka’el...*
 2s little=after again 1s 2s take=LNK1 good-bite
 ‘(If) you do (that) again, I will bite you thoroughly...’ (115-049)

Though they stand most often within a VP, as in the examples in (177) through (179), these verbs can be used as separate adverbial clauses in multi-clause sentences, too. In such cases, they are most often linked to the following clause by means of a clause linker, as in (182) and (183), where the linker =*ini* is used. Note that in this construction, the adverbial clause can either precede, as in (182), or follow, as in (183), the main verb’s subject.¹⁰³ (180) above gives equivalent evidence. Adverbial verbs with clause linkers cannot, however, appear in the VP-internal adverbial position.

- (182) *Tafi=ni kiloo hai ma’u.*
 true=LNK1 3s NSIT come
 ‘He really already came.’ (elic1108)

- (183) *Kiloo tafi=ni hai tia.*
 3S true=LNK1 NSIT sleep
 ‘He is really already asleep.’ (chat066)

Note that *tafi* ‘true’ stands in (182) and (183) with no argument at all. In terms of valency, it is thus an aivalent verb (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). It differs in this respect from all other adverbial verbs which have been found in full verb use. For instance, *teni* ‘again’ is illustrated in (181), where it stands with a subject argument.

¹⁰² Somewhat more doubtful cases, not listed in Table 3.15, are *uari* ‘still’ and *se* ‘very’ (if it is the adverbial counterpart of the full verb *se* ‘separate’).

¹⁰³ In a structure as (183), where the adverbial intervenes between a verb and its subject argument, the subject stands in the left-detached position of the sentence. See § 7.6.1 (p. 427) for more information.

Tepa ‘constant’ is special among the verbs listed in Table 3.15 in that it appears as *tepa*, with the glottal verbaliser, if used as a full verb.

In some cases, speakers accept sentences where an adverbial predicate is constructed as another verb’s complement rather than as a periphery adverbial. An example is given in (184) where *na’u* ‘just’ forms a morphosyntactic unit with the verb *tia* ‘sleep (SG)’. Note, however, that these cases are rare, and constructions with these items in the adverb position, such as (185), are very much preferred (see also (179) above).

- (184) *Raine’ kiloo hai na’u-dia.*
 last.night 3s NSIT just-sleep:BD
 ‘Last night he just slept.’ (elic1390)

- (185) *Kiloo na’u tia.*
 3s just sleep
 ‘He just sleeps.’ (chat076a)

In conclusion, the adverbials listed in Table 3.14 have been shown to be verbal, being able to function as full predicates on the one hand, or as verbal complements within a VP on the other. Their ability to stand in the adverbial position within the VP distinguishes them from all other verbs.

3.2.3.3.2 Clausal adverbials

The adverbial expressions discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) are fully clausal by themselves. Since the predicate is the only obligatory element in a clause (see § 6, p. 383), they must be predicative. Verbs are the unmarked choice for the predicate function. There is no evidence, such as an argument use, suggesting such adverbials are of any other category. By a process of elimination, then, clausal adverbials are analysed as verbal. They differ from other verbs mainly with respect to valency, in that they are not associated with any arguments at all. Furthermore, even though they are fully clausal, they are not found forming utterances on their own, but are used only in multi-clause sentences. For instance, the answer to the information question in (186) repeats the whole question; an answer consisting of only the focal part, *kaminei* ‘tomorrow’, is considered unacceptable. Similarly, in (187), the avalent adverbial predicate *tone* ‘perhaps’ does not constitute an acceptable answer to the question; it must be combined with another predicate, in this case *fani* ‘like (this)’.

- (186) ... *papa hai lolo “ei tetepane’ la’a=na’a?” uai=ni ani hai*
 Indonesian NSIT say 2s when move=INT CLS=LNK1 1s NSIT

lolo “ani kaminei la’a=na’a.”
 say 1s tomorrow move=INT
 ‘... the Indonesian said, “when do you want to go?”, so I said, “I want to go tomorrow.”’ (101-447)

- (187) *Ei tafi=ni teni paandera heil=ee la'a=ua? - Tone' uere fani'.*
 2s true=LNK1 again flag pull=DEF move=QM perhaps 2DEM be.like
 'Are you really leaving next Sunday? - Maybe.' (elic299)

This class of avalent clausal adverbials most likely includes such Portuguese loans as *agora* 'now' and *portantu* 'however'.

3.2.3.4 Verbs with the third person argument prefix *k-*

A variety of vowel-initial verbs mark third person non-subject arguments with a prefix *k-*. As argued in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350), this prefix is a contracted version of an old form of the third person pronoun (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221), which must originally have stood in the verb's complement position. All other pronominal non-subject arguments appear in the free form (§ 5.2.2.6.3.1, p. 350) and commonly stand in the complement position, as well. Non-referential nominal undergoers are also usually constructed as complements. Referential nominal undergoers are normally constructed as objects and are cross-referenced on the verb with the *k-*prefix. Since the use of the *k-*prefix is crucially based on the construction of the undergoer as either a complement or an object within the VP, these verbs are listed here as a syntactically defined subgroup of verbs, rather than with those based on morphological features (§ 3.2.2, p. 127). The exact patterns of non-subject argument marking are discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). For the present purpose it suffices to say that the vowel-initial verb forms without the *k-*prefix are found only in very limited contexts.

The verbs in question are given in Table 3.16. Since they are rarely used without an argument prefix, they are represented throughout the present thesis with a bracketed *k-*prefix. Note that, although this group of verbs is relatively small in terms of number, several of its members are high frequency items, such as *(k)-asu* 'for' and *(k)-ua* 'on top'.

all over	<i>(k)-ali-</i>
away from	<i>(k)-afa-</i>
sideways	<i>(k)-afi'</i>
carry	<i>(k)-afu</i>
steal	<i>(k)-amu'</i>
smell	<i>(k)-ako</i>
for	<i>(k)-asu</i>
in physical contact	<i>(k)-ata'</i>
downwards (?)	<i>(k)-ati-</i>
onto	<i>(k)-a'a-</i>
firm	<i>(k)-e-</i>
see	<i>(k)-ena</i> ¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ The cases of *(k)-ena* 'see' and *(k)-ini* 'do' are somewhat aberrant and are discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356).

hit (a target)	(<i>k</i>)-ene
?	(<i>k</i>)-eri
apart	(<i>k</i>)-eta-
do	(<i>k</i>)-ini
bake	(<i>k</i>)-isa
originate from, belong to	(<i>k</i>)-isi ¹⁰⁵
with	(<i>ko</i>)-horu
fetch (water)	(<i>k</i>)-otu
towards	(<i>k</i>)-ou-
on top	(<i>k</i>)-ua'
bigger	(<i>k</i>)-uan
around	(<i>k</i>)-ue-
kill	(<i>k</i>)-umu-
partly hidden	(<i>k</i>)-uri-
kill	(<i>k</i>)-uta
hidden from view	(<i>k</i>)-uta-
cover, block from view, wear	(<i>k</i>)-utu
mind, look after	(<i>k</i>)-utu'

Table 3.16: Verbs with the third person undergoer prefix *k*-

The verbs with object proclitics are generally vowel-initial. The only exception is (*ko*)-*horu* 'with'. The *k*-prefix is in this case expanded to *ko*- to avoid a consonant cluster. However, not all vowel-initial verbs have been found to occur with the *k*-prefix; (188) exemplifies a few such cases. Whether or not it is compatible with the argument-marking prefix appears to be a lexical property of a given verb.¹⁰⁶

(188)	<i>amat</i>	'bring'
	<i>ika'</i>	'be up in'
	<i>ufal</i>	'keep (an animal)'

3.2.3.5 Weather and time of day expressions with fixed subjects

A number of verbs expressing times of day or seasons stand with a fixed subject, which, depending on the verb, is either *mu'a* 'ground' or *uatu* 'day'. There is no possible context where these verbs could stand with any other subject.

Table 3.17 lists the predicates which obligatorily take the subject *mu'a* 'ground', while the items given in Table 3.18 are used with *watu* 'day' as a subject. The verbs in Table 3.19, finally, have been found with either noun as its subject.

¹⁰⁵ (*k*)-*isi* 'belong' is discussed in detail in § 3.2.3.12.5 (p. 207).

¹⁰⁶ One verb, *fani* 'be like, resemble', is found in the form *pani* whenever the object is the reciprocal pronoun *ta* (§ 3.3.1.3, p. 228). In a way, thus, this looks like a kind of object inflection. However, the form *pani* appears only with *ta*, never with any other personal pronouns, suggesting that the process involved differs from the object marking as found with the verbs in Table 3.16. *Fani* ~ *pani* is the only verb known to date to exhibit this pattern and must for the time being be considered an exceptional case.

dusk	<i>are'</i>
(late) afternoon	<i>lak</i>
night	<i>kamu</i>
early morning, dawn	<i>maledeer</i>
dry season	<i>pare</i>
thunder	<i>ruru</i>

Table 3.17: Adverbial verbs with *mu'a* 'ground'

hot part of the day (?)	<i>nene'</i>
night, evening	<i>rai</i>

Table 3.18: Adverbial verbs with *uatu* 'day'

light part of the day	<i>osa</i>
noon	<i>til</i>

Table 3.19: Adverbial verbs found with both *mu'a* 'ground' and *uatu* 'day'

There are three more state verbs, *kauar* 'cold', *metan* 'black' and *hare* 'clean', which can be used figuratively to refer to the weather or a time of day in an equivalent construction. *Kauar* retains its basic meaning of 'cold' if used with *mu'a* 'ground'. *Metan* 'black' and *hare* 'clean' both refer in this construction to the very early morning before dawn. A similar case may be *sofit* 'come after, behind', which is used in combination with *uatu* 'day' as *uatu sofit* 'in the future'.

There is clear evidence that such expressions as listed in Tables 3.17 through 3.19 are predicative. (189) and (1890) show that they can be linked to the following clause by means of a clause linker, i.e. =*te'e* 'after' (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252) in (189) and =*isi* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) in (190). These clause linkers are compatible only with clausal units; hence clearly, *mu'a lak* 'in the afternoon' in (189) and *mu'a oko nomo kamu* 'it was not night yet' in (190) are clausal.

- (189) ... *mu'a lak=ete muni ma'u lopu tama-tama.*
 ground afternoon=after return come house RDL-enter
 '... I used to go early in the morning and came back home only when it was
 already afternoon.' (126-135)

- (190) *Kiloo mu'a oko nomo kamu=si muni ma'u.*
 3s ground yet NEG night=LNK2 return come
 'He came back before nightfall.' (elic632)

Furthermore, these expressions can be independently marked for aspect or polarity. The placement of such modifiers makes the internal structure of these clausal units clear. In (191), the aspect marker *hai* intervenes between *uatu* 'day' and *til* 'noon'. This shows clearly that *uatu* functions as the subject of the clause, while *til* is its

predicate (see § 6.2, p. 387, § 6.4, p. 392). The same pattern emerges from the placement of *oko nomo* ‘not yet’ in (190) above, which shows that *mu’a* ‘ground’ is the clause’s subject and *kamu* ‘night’ its predicate.

- (191) *Uatu hai til ei tau-la’a=na’a?*
 day NSIT noon 2s where:RED-move=INT
 ‘It’s already noon, (so) where are you going?’ (elic1669)

The evidence presented in (189) through (191) clearly shows that the time of day expressions listed in Tables 3.17 through 3.19 are predicates. Even though they can be used in argument position, such as *kamu* ‘night’ in (192), predicative uses are far more frequent.

- (192) ... *uai=ni uatu loloi kamu loloi hau hai’=ete...*
 CLS=LNK1 day two night two NSIT finished=after
 ‘... so after two days and two nights were over...’ (126-072)

Most frequently, these clausal expressions of time and weather are used within multi-clause sentences to set the time frame for another action, much like the avalent adverbial verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 197). A typical example is given in (193).

- (193) ... *uatu til papa=ee na’a.muni deskansa.*
 day noon Indonesian=DEF in.turn rest
 ‘... in the afternoon, the Indonesian rested.’ (101-434)

However, they can also be used as utterances all by themselves, as shown by the example in (194).

- (194) *Uatu hai til.*
 day NSIT noon
 ‘It is already noon.’ (elic221)

Sentences as (195) demonstrate that time of day predicates can take a verbal complement, which shows that they are divalent. While such constructions are not found in recordings of spontaneous speech, they can be elicited.

- (195) *Uatu hai Timor-isi-til.*
 day NSIT T.-at:RED-noon
 ‘It is already noon in Timor.’ (chat084a)

As such, the predicates discussed in this section are, syntactically speaking, identical to the large class of divalent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.2, p. 143). Their distinguishing characteristic is the fact that they are restricted in their choice of subject.

3.2.3.6 Interrogative verbs

Table 3.20 lists verbal interrogatives in Makalero.

where	<i>tau'</i>
which	<i>taure'</i>
how many	<i>tauropa'</i>
when	<i>tetepane'</i>
how many	<i>teteropa'</i>

Table 3.20: Interrogative verbs

The prevalence of initial /t/ is very noticeable in Table 3.20. However, whether this is a fossilised general interrogative-forming device remains a matter of conjecture.

The first element *tau-* in *taure'* 'which' is identical to the reduced form of *tau'* 'where'. The same element is also found in *tauropa'* 'how many'. The first element of *teteropa'* 'how many', *tete-*, is found also in *tetepane'* 'when'; its meaning, however, is unclear. *Teteropa'* and *tauropa'*, which both translate as 'how many', share the second element *ropa'*, which is a quantifier meaning 'many' (§ 3.2.3.14, p. 215). It is not clear whereby these two interrogative verbs differ from one another. The verbs given in Table 3.20 may also be used in combination with other verbs, in what is most probably a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326) to form more complex interrogatives. The most common ones are given in (196).

- (196) *taure-isi'* 'where' (lit. which at)
taure-fani' 'how' (lit. which like)

As the verbal subgroups discussed in the previous sections, interrogative verbs can stand both with clause linkers and with verbal modifiers such as aspect marking. (197) and (198) illustrate these properties, showing the interrogatives to function as predicates.

- (197) *Hai tau'?* *Hai ma'u=ni tau'?*
 NSIT where NSIT come=LNK1 where
 'Where is (he)? (He) came where?' (99-04)

- (198) *Ei tetepane'=ini ma'u?*
 2S when=LNK1 come
 'When did you come?' (elic1486)

Note also that all interrogatives listed in Table 3.20 end in /ʔ/, a very common verbal ending (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). More evidence to support the idea of interrogatives being verbal comes from the fact that *tau'* 'where' and *taure'* 'which' have reduced forms, lacking the final glottal phoneme, for use in complement-verb complexes. This has been taken in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 131) as a clear indicator of verbal status. While *tau'* 'where' and *tetepane'* 'when' normally function as clausal predicates as in (197) and (198), *teteropa'* 'how many', *tauropa'* 'how many' and *taure'* 'which'

occur most frequently in the modifier position of an NP (§ 4.3, p. 279). Typical examples, with the NPs that contain the interrogatives in question in square brackets, are given in (199) and (200).

- (199) *Ei e' ere [uatu teteropa']_{NP} kafu e'?*
 2s V1DEM 1DEM day how.many during V1DEM
 'How many days are you here for?' (elic1754)

- (200) *Robertu [omar taure']_{NP} k-ia'?*
 R. stilt.house which 3:UND-under
 'Which house does Roberto live in?' (elic1502)

It is very common for verbs to stand in this slot as part of an NP. An example is given in (201); in this instance, the stative verb *pere* 'big (SG)' is used as a modifier to the nominal head *uar* 'stone'.

- (201) ... [[*uar*]_{HEAD} [*pere*]_{MOD} [*uere*]_{DET}]_{NP}
 rock big.SG 2DEM
k-ua-lolo-mit=ini...
 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-sit.SG=LNK1
 '... (he) is sitting right on top of that big rock and then...' (38-083)

The two 'how many' interrogatives, *teteropa'* and *tauropa'*, are treated like numerals in that they receive ordinal reading in conjunction with the attributive marker *ki=* (see § 3.2.3.8, p. 171, and § 4.3.4, p. 284), as exemplified in (202). § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171) argues that numerals are verbal; sentences like (202) thus show that the interrogatives asking for quantities belong in the same category.

- (202) *Aire' mu'a-isa ere ki=tauropa'?*
 now ground-go.down 1DEM ATTR=how.many
 'The one who was just born now is what number (child)?' (elic1500)

Interrogative verbs appear to be incompatible with the negator *nomo*. Apart from *tetepane'* 'when', which is avalent, they are all divalent verbs.

Sentences containing an interrogative verb are obviously interrogative in the unmarked case; this is apparent in all example sentences given so far this section. In being inherently interrogative, these verbs differ semantically from all other verb classes, which are not predetermined as to illocutionary force.

An alternative reading found for interrogative verbs is that of an indefinite expression in an assertion. Very frequently, an interrogative verb with such a reading is accompanied by the clitic =*oo* 'too' (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 248 and § 8.1.3.2, p. 466), as in (203), or reduplicated, as in (204). The two strategies can also be combined. (205) shows, however, that neither clitic nor reduplication are a necessary part of an indefinite construction; the use of an interrogative verb by itself in an assertive sentence is read in the same way.

- (203) ... *ei=ni hau la'a tau'=oo ei ni'isi ni-mata ni-uei tepa*
 2s=CTR all move where=too 2s simultaneous REFL-child REFL-blood constant

isi-ne'et.

at:RED-think

'... wherever you go, you always remember your child and your blood.'

(74-128)

- (204) *Kiloo la'a tau-tau' ni-savi haka uai=ni=po tepa nomo*
 3s move RDL-where REFL-key search CLS=LNK1=ADVR constant NEG

nese-la'a.

aim.at:RED-move

'He looked for his key everywhere, but couldn't find it.' (elic1050)

- (205) ... *negara taure'=ini tone' ma'u=ni Timor ere mei=ni*
 nation which=CTR perhaps come=LNK1 T. 1DEM take=LNK1

lafu'-ini...

live-do:BD

'... whichever nation comes and rescues Timor...'

(85-14)

Note that *tetepane* 'when' is also in use as a conjunction (§ 3.6.5.4, p. 271). This untypical use is most likely due to outside influence, probably from Portuguese, where *quando* functions as both a temporal interrogative and conjunction.

Two important interrogatives, *mu'a-* 'who (BD)' and *sa'a-* 'what (BD)', are pronominal. They are discussed in § 3.3.1.4 (p. 228).

3.2.3.7 Negative verbs

Makalero possesses a group of verbs which are inherently negative in meaning. The negative verbs found in Makalero are listed in Table 3.21, which also gives the corresponding positive verbs, where possible.

The juxtaposition of the negative verbs with their positive counterparts shows, first and foremost, that several negative verbs lack a good positive counterpart. For both *lesa* 'not have' and *na'an* 'not exist', for example, the deictic verb *ue* 'be there' has been given as a counterpart in brackets. This verb primarily predicates location (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180), but it is by extension also used to predicate existence. The positive counterpart to *lu'a* 'not get' is a complement-verb complex rather than a single verb; *ti'a-mei* translates literally as 'towards-take'. There is no verb specifically expressing the notion of permission; *rau* 'good' is used for this purpose (see § 3.2.3.10, p. 186, for details on the construction). Finally, there is no verbal expression for something like 'already' to complement *oko-na* 'not yet'. The aspect marker *hai* (§ 3.4.3, p. 242) is generally used to convey this notion.

negative verbs		positive verbs	
not know, ignore	<i>isipo'</i>	know	<i>ma'en</i>
not allowed	<i>irau</i>	(good	<i>rau)</i>
not have	<i>lesa</i>	(be there	<i>ue')</i>
not get	<i>lu'a</i>	(get, receive	<i>ti'a-mei)</i>
not exist	<i>na'an</i>	(be there	<i>ue')</i>
cannot	<i>nopa'e</i>	be able	<i>me'e / hul</i>
not yet	<i>oko-na</i> ¹⁰⁷	--	--
not want	<i>tule</i>	want	<i>so'ot</i>

Table 3.21: Negative verbs and their positive counterparts

Note that those negative verbs which have a positive counterpart can be replaced in discourse by the negation of that positive counterpart with *nomo*. The pairs in (206) and (207), and (208) and (209) for *nopa'e* 'cannot' and *tule* 'not want', respectively, illustrate this. There appears to be no notable difference in meaning between these two variant ways of expression.

- (206) *Ani nopa'e kerek-ini...*
 1s cannot write-do:BD
 'I cannot write...' (101-180)
- (207) *Dada-uai nomo me'e le'.*
 grandparent-HON NEG able read
 'The old man cannot read.' (elic038)
- (208) ... *ani haka-hau tule.*
 1s all-all not.want
 '... I don't want any of that.' (101-239)
- (209) ... *ani haka nomo so'ot.*
 1s all NEG want
 '... I don't want any (of that).' (122-12)

Among these positive / negative pairings, *tule* 'not want' is much more frequent than the combination of *so'ot* 'want' with the negation. *Nomo ma'en* 'not know', on the other hand, is more common than the corresponding negative verb *isipo'*. *Nopa'e* 'cannot' and *me'e / hul* 'be able', finally, are used in approximately the same proportions.

The negative verbs and their positive counterparts, where present, are morphologically totally unrelated.

¹⁰⁷ *Oko* 'yet' is a verb-phrase-internal adverbial (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). It is most frequently combined with the internal negation *nomo* as *oko nomo*, which translates as 'not yet'. *Na* appears to be a negative verb which is never found except in combination with *oko*; the whole is thus regarded as a lexicalised unit and is, as such, hyphenated.

Unlike other verbs, negative verbs are not compatible with the internal negator *nomo* (§ 3.4.4, p. 242). However, the clause they appear in can as a whole be negated with the clausal negator *nomohaka* (§ 3.6.1, p. 264), as (210) shows.

- (210) *Ani nomohaka tule la'a=po asi-ina=ni sopen.*
 1s CLS.NEG not.want move=ADVR 1s:POSS-eye=CTR sleepy
 'It is not the case that I don't want to go, but I am sleepy.' (pelic432)

The negative existential *na'an* 'not allowed' is clearly intransitive, i.e. is not associated with an undergoer. *Lesa* 'not have', *lu'a* 'not get' and *tule* 'not want', on the other hand, are clearly transitive and include an undergoer participant in their semantic participant frame. The cases of *nopa'e* 'cannot' and *oko-na* 'not yet' and *irau* 'not allowed' are somewhat unclear with respect to transitivity. Used as full verbs, they do not cooccur with non-subject arguments, indicating that they are intransitive. On the other hand, constructions where they are used as complement verbs suggest that they may take an argument expressing an undergoer; the evidence in question is provided in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193). Finally, *isipo* 'not know' is in all cases used as a clause on its own, without any participants expressed. An example is (211). It is therefore impossible to determine its transitivity.

- (211) ... *elehaa ei asar=ee taure-fani'?* - *Isipo'...*
 old.man 2s send=DEF which:RED-be.like not.know
 '... what was the old man who sent you like? - (I) don't know...'
 (120-115, 120-116)

Oko-na 'not yet', *nopa'e* 'cannot' *irau* 'not allowed' and *tule* 'not want' are further distinguished from the other transitive negative verbs in that they can take subordinated complement clause extensions (see § 3.2.3.10.2, p. 193, for details on that construction type).

3.2.3.8 Numerals

The Makalero numeral system in its present-day form is decimal, though Hull (2004: 87) suggests it was originally quinary. The basic numerals from one to ten are given in Table 3.22.

1	<i>u / un</i>
2	<i>loloji / lolei</i>
3	<i>lolitu</i>
4	<i>fat</i>
5	<i>lima</i>
6	<i>douh</i>
7	<i>fitu</i>
8	<i>afo</i>
9	<i>siua</i>
10	<i>ruru / ru</i>

Table 3.22: Basic numerals from one to ten

The form *un* of the numeral one is used when a vowel-initial clitic attaches to it, and is favoured at the end of a phonological phrase. However, the exact distribution of the two variant forms is not quite clear. The alternative form of *loloji* ‘two’, *lolei*, occurs only very rarely. I am at this point unable to say what conditions these variants (see also fn 109). The reduplicated form of *ru*, *ruru*, is used only in ‘ten’. In all higher numbers based on this numeral, the simplex *ru* is used.

Table 3.23 shows the formation of two-digit numerals, while Table 3.24 exemplifies numbers in the hundreds and in the thousands.

11	<i>ru resin-u</i>	21	<i>ru loloi resin-u</i>
12	<i>ru resi-loloji</i>	22	<i>ru loloi resi-loloji</i>
13	<i>ru resi-lolitu</i>	23	<i>ru loloi resi-lolitu</i>
14	<i>ru resi-fat</i>	24	<i>ru loloi resi-fat</i>
15	<i>ru resi-lima</i>	25	<i>ru loloi resi-lima</i>
16	<i>ru resi-douh</i>	26	<i>ru loloi resi-douh</i>
17	<i>ru resi-fitu</i>	27	<i>ru loloi resi-fitu</i>
18	<i>ru resi-afo</i>	28	<i>ru loloi resi-afo</i>
19	<i>ru resi-siua</i>	29	<i>ru loloi resi-siua</i>
20	<i>ru loloi</i>	30	<i>ru lolitu</i>

Table 3.23: Formation of two-digit numerals

100	<i>rasa u</i>	1,000	<i>rihun u</i>
200	<i>rasa loloi</i>	2,000	<i>rihun loloi</i>
300	<i>rasa lolitu</i>	3,000	<i>rihun lolitu</i>
400	<i>rasa fat</i>	4,000	<i>rihun fat</i>
...

Table 3.24: Formation of hundreds and thousands

The numerals from ten upwards are formed transparently, with *rihun* indicating thousands, *rasa* indicating hundreds and *ru* indicating tens. Units of one are

indicated by *resi(n)* + numeral. *Resin* is a verb meaning ‘remain’ (§ 3.2.2.2.1, p. 132), borrowed from Tetum *resin* ‘exceed’. In fact, numerals involving units of one are formed in a parallel way in Tetum, using the same item (see Hull and Eccles 2004: 56). This suggests that the formation of these numerals is copied into Makalero from Tetum. The fact that the reduced form *resi-* is used in most numerals suggests that they form a verbal complex (see § 3.2.3.2.2, p. 153, for the formally identical structure which expresses a comparative with activity verbs). Note, however, that the free form *resin* is for some reason used with *u* ‘one’. It is unclear why this should be the case; the fact that *resi-*, rather than *resin*, is used with the other vowel-initial numeral *afo* ‘eight’, suggests that it cannot be for phonological reasons.

(212) exemplifies some high numerals, combining thousands, hundreds, tens and ones. All of these refer to dates; the use of Makalero numerals to express high numbers is rare (see below).

(212)	<i>rihun u rasa siua ru afo resi-fat</i> thousand one hundred nine ten eight remain:RED-four	1,984
	<i>rihun u rasa douh ru fitu resi-douh</i> thousand one hundred six ten seven remain:RED-six	1,676
	<i>rihun loloi resi-loloi</i> thousand two remain:RED-two	2,002

For tens, there are alternative forms which use *ate*, rather than *ru*. (213) shows examples found in the corpus.

(213)	<i>ate u</i>	10
	<i>ate fat</i>	40
	<i>ate lima</i>	50

The element *ate* is homophonous with *ate* ‘wood, tree’; it is possible that it refers to some old measurement or unit of counting involving sticks of wood.

When referring to prices, the elements *kontu* and *iskudu*, both loans from Portuguese, are also used. *Kontu* is derived from Portuguese *conto*, an obsolete term for the sum of 1,000 escudos; the term is today used in Makalero to refer to a unit of 1 dollar. In (214), *kontu fitu* ‘seven kontu’ is followed by *rasa lima* ‘500’, which shows that *kontu* is used as a unit of thousands, equivalent to *rihun* ‘thousand’. The latter, however, is not used in the corpus for sums of money.

(214)	<i>Asi-nana</i>	<i>ki-osan</i>	<i>uere’</i>	<i>isi’=ee</i>	<i>kontu</i>	<i>fitu</i>
	1s:POSS-elder.sibling	3:POSS-money	2DEM.V	at=DEF	kontu	seven

rasa lima...
hundred five

‘At that time, my elder brother had seven *kontu* and 500 (7.50\$)...’

(101-338)

Iskudu, on the other hand, is derived from the name of the former Portuguese currency escudo, and was equated by speakers to a sum of 10 Indonesian rupiah, roughly the equivalent of 0.1 US cent. An example is given in (215). With independence, the Indonesian rupiah was replaced by the US dollar, and such little sums are barely in use. As such, the term *iskudu* is now becoming obsolete, and is used in the corpus only in stories about the Indonesian past.

- (215) *Uatu un=ee iskudu ru loloi.*
 day one=DEF iskudu ten two
 ‘In a day (I got) twenty *iskudu* (200 rupiah).’ (101-390)

Indications of prices and values thus make use of two special numeral terms. (214) above shows that the regular numeral *rasa* ‘hundred’ is used for an intermediate unit, equalling 10 cents. This special numeral subsystem thus seems to be organised in the way represented in Table 3.25.

	value in IRP	value in USD
<i>iskudu</i>	10	0.001
?	100	0.01
<i>rasa</i>	1,000	0.1
<i>kontu</i>	10,000	1

Table 3.25: Monetary units

These units are remnants of the Portuguese colonial times. Though *kontu* is still in use, it is used interchangeably with *dolar* ‘dollar’. Smaller sums are nowadays more normally given using *sen* or *sentimus*. The former is the English-based, the latter the Portuguese-based form of the unit cent. *Sen* is generally used with Indonesian numerals,¹⁰⁸ *sentimus* with their Portuguese equivalents. The term *dolar* can be used with numerals from either language, though with Portuguese numerals greater than one, it generally receives Portuguese plural marking, resulting in *dolares*. A special term is *kuarter* ‘quarter’, which denotes a sum of 25 cents.

The numerals *loloi* ‘two’ and *lolitu* ‘three’ are used for counting non-human referents only. For humans, the forms *meih* ‘two (HUM)’ and *itu* ‘three (HUM)’ are used. Examples are given in (216) and (217).

- (216) ... *ini amu fitu=po meih hai tou-umu...*
 Ipe person seven=ADVR two.HUM NSIT totally-die
 ‘... we were seven (siblings), but two died...’ (101-015)

- (217) ... *liurai Iliomar ki-mata-r amu itu uere=ni ukun.*
 king I. 3:POSS-child-PL person three.HUM 2DEM=CTR rule
 ‘... it was the king of Iliomar’s three children who ruled.’ (55-04)

¹⁰⁸ The Indonesian rupiah is subdivided into 100 sen, although this denomination is no longer in use nowadays due to inflation.

The [+HUM] forms can be used with non-humans if they are the main participants in a story. A good example is (218), a section from the frog story, in which several of the main characters are animals.

- (218) ... *dila k-ali-puna sefar=oo k-ali-puna. Uai=ni=si*
 frog 3:UND-all.over-look dog=too 3:UND-all.over-look CLS=LNK1=LNK2
uere-laa meih e' ata'u dada-k-ali-puna.
 2DEM-PL two.HUM VIDEM all together-3:UND-all.over-look
 '... the frog looks around and the dog looks around too. So the two of them
 are here and look around together.' (38-059, 38-060)

The form *itu* is also found with non-human reference in some compounded adverbial expressions such as *hi'anitu* 'three times' in (219) and *ituhe'e* 'in three days' in (220). In both cases, *itu* is paralleled by a reduced form of *lolei* 'two', *ei*.¹⁰⁹ These reduced forms correspond to the long forms of the numerals minus the common element *lol-*. *Fate'e* in (221) shows that from four upwards, the regular form of such numerals is used.

- (219) *hi'anei* 'twice'
hi'anitu 'three times'
- (220) *eihe'e* 'in two days'
ituhe'e 'in three days'
- (221) *fate'e* 'in four days'

Thus, while the [+HUM] form of the numeral 'three', *itu*, corresponds to the reduced form of the numeral *lolitu*, these forms are distinct in the case of *loloji / lolei* 'two': the reduced form is *ei* and the [+HUM] form *meih*. It is possible, though not certain, that the one is in some way related to the other.

The higher numerals are rarely used in Makalero and are generally replaced by their Indonesian or Portuguese counterparts. It appears that Portuguese numbers are favoured when referring to prices, though Indonesian may also be used in these cases. Indonesian numerals, on the other hand, are used often when referring to hours or years. In those cases, they are used within whole phrases in Indonesian, together with the unit of measurement. An example is given in (222); the date in Indonesian is bracketed.

- (222) *Aire' [tahun sembilan.puluh]=te'e ani pinda=ni Tirilolo-isi-la'a.*
 now year 90=after 1s move=LNK1 T.-at:RED-move
 'Now in 1990 only I moved to Tirilolo.' (75-03)

¹⁰⁹ There is no equivalent form *oi* derived from *loloji*. This could suggest that *loloji* and *lolei* are functional variants, with *lolei* applying, apparently, to abstract entities, while *loloji* applies to concrete entities.

Numerals are here analysed as stative verbs. They frequently function as a clause's main predicate, as shown in (223) for *rasa u ate lima* '150' and (224) for the special human form *meih* 'two'.

- (223) *Uai=ni=si uatu ere ra'u=ee ho'onese la'a rasa u ate.lima*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 day 1DEM plate=DEF IPF move hundred one fifty
rasa loloi rasa lolitu...
 hundred two hundred three
 'So in a day the plates were usually 150, 200 (or) 300...' (101-254)

- (224) *Ani la'a=ni pulisi ko-horu pulisi=ee meih.*
 1s move=LNK1 police 3:UND-with police=DEF two.HUM
 'I went to stay with the policemen; the policemen were two.' (101-402)

Numerals are also often used in the modifier position of a noun phrase (§ 4.3, p. 279), as in (225) and (226). The two NPs are bracketeted. Note that in the latter sentence, that whole NP, consisting of a head and a modifier, is used as a predicate.

- (225) *Aftiane' [kareta loloi]_{NP} riapata-isi-dai.*
 PT car two street-at:RED-pass
 'Two cars passed on the street before.' (elic1765)
- (226) ... *uatu.uere.uatu.uere ani-asu=ni [sirvisu lolitu]_{NP}.*
 daily 1s-for=LNK1 work three
 '... every day, there were three tasks for me.' (101-405)

Numerals are frequently used with the attributive marker *ki=* (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240). Most typically, stative verbs are found in this construction. This suggests that numerals belong to that category as well. (227) shows the attributive construction with *ki=* with a typical stative verb, *pere* 'big', while in (228), the numeral *loloi* 'two' is used in the same position.

- (227) *Uai=te'e=fe nana ki=pere uere rei-li'an.*
 CLS=after=FE snake ATTR=big.SG 2DEM outwards-fall
 'After that, the big snake fell out.' (89-22)
- (228) *Mata ka'u ki=loloi umere' asi-nana ki-mata.*
 child small ATTR=two DEM.DIST.V 1s:POSS-elder.sibling 3:POSS-child
 'These two children are my elder sister's children.' (elic1696)

As discussed in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), the use of the attributive marker *ki=* adds some emphasis to the attribute; this construction is used to contrast a given NP with another possible referent. Numerals constructed as *ki=*-attributes, however, are most often (though not in every case, see (228) above) read as ordinal. (229) and (230) give two examples. Numerals differ in this respect from other stative verbs.

- (229) ... *asi-mata ki=loloi ki-nei Fernandu Alves Donikais.*
 1s:POSS-child ATTR=two 3:POSS-name F. A. D.
 ‘... my second child’s name is Fernando Alves Donikais.’ (105-040)
- (230) ... *uru ere uru ki=siua...*
 month IDEM month ATTR=nine
 ‘... the month was the ninth month...’ (101-352)

The crucial difference between the two possible readings of *ki=* + numeral, either as a cardinal numeral modifier with contrastive function or as an ordinal numeral, is that a cardinal reading such as in (231) can be paraphrased using a bare numeral, as in (232). The same is not possible, however, for ordinal numbers, where the attributive marker is necessary. A bare numeral can never be read as ordinal.

- (231) *[[Asi.kareta ki=loloi ki=hofar ere]_{NP} ki.kor]_{NP} putir.*
 1s:POSS-car ATTR=two ATTR=new IDEM 3:POSS-colour white
 ‘My two new cars are white.’ (elic321)
- (232) *Aftane’ [kareta loloi]_{NP} riapata-isi-dai.*
 PT car two main.road-at:RED-pass
 ‘Two cars passed on the street.’ (elic1765)

An exception to the regular formation of ordinal numbers is ‘first’, which does not use the numeral *u(n)* ‘one’ – the phrase **ki=u(n)* is ungrammatical – but rather uses the adverbial verb *atanana* ‘first’ or the verb *tu* ‘first, ahead of’, as *ki=atanana* or *ki=tu*. I take this parallel between the verbal elements *atanana* ‘first’ and *tu* ‘first, ahead’ and the numerals higher than one in ordinal constructions as further supporting the analysis of numerals as a type of verb.

An ordinal phrase with *ki=* can include a classifier next to the numeral; an example of such a structure is given in (233).

- (233) ... *asi-noko [ki=amu douh]_{MOD} ere mu’a-isa.*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling ATTR=person six IDEM ground-go.down
 ‘... my sixth younger sibling was born.’ (126-014)

Note that in the *ki=-* attribute in (229) above, the [-HUM] form of the numeral, *loloi* ‘two’, rather than the [+HUM] form *meih*, is used, even though the referent is clearly human. In fact, the [+HUM] forms of the numerals two and three, *meih* and *itu*, respectively, are never found by themselves in *ki=-* attributes. They can be used in this construction only together with the human classifier *amu*, as the equivalent example in (234), which comes from the same text as (229), shows.

- (234) *Asi-mata ki=amu itu ki-nei Dontris...*
 1s:POSS-child ATTR=person three.HUM 3:POSS-name D.
 ‘My third child’s name is Dontris...’ (105-050)

The interrogative verbs *teteropa* and *tauropa*, both meaning ‘how many’ (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167), group with numerals in that they are read as ordinals with the attributive marker *ki=*. An example is given in (235).

- (235) *Aire’ mu’a-isa ere ki=teteropa’?*
 now ground-go.down IDEM ATTR=how.many
 ‘The one who was born just now is what number (child)?’ (elic1500)

The numerals are also part of the names of the days of the week. For Monday, the Portuguese loan *sigunda (feira)* is used, while *pandera heil* ‘pull (up) the flag’ was used to refer to Sunday. With the exception of these two, the days between Monday and Sunday are numbered regularly. The fact that Tuesday is *ki-uwatu loloi* ‘day two’ shows that Monday is perceived to be the first day of the week, despite the fact that the Portuguese loan *sigunda (feira)* literally means the same thing, coming from a system where Sunday is taken to be the start of the week. Note that for the numbered week days, two constructions are in use: in the more common one, the numeral follows the noun *uwatu* ‘day’ as its modifier; the whole phrase is obligatorily possessed, as indicated by the possessive pronoun *ki-* (see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225, and § 3.1.3.7, p. 123): Being a part of a whole, week days qualify as inalienably possessed in Makalero. Less frequently, the numeral can be attributed to the noun *uwatu* ‘day’ with the attributive marker *ki=*, making it ordinal. Hence, while *ki-uwatu loloi* could literally be translated as ‘day two’, *uwatu ki=loloi* would correspond to ‘the second day’. A combination of the two strategies, with both the ordinal numeral construction and a possessed day, has not been found in the corpus. Table 3.26 summarises the names of the days of the week, showing where variant constructions are found.

	obligatorily possessed construction	ordinal construction	other
Monday			<i>sigunda (feira)</i>
Tuesday	<i>ki-uwatu loloi</i>	<i>uwatu ki=loloi</i>	
Wednesday	<i>ki-uwatu lolitu</i>		
Thursday	<i>ki-uwatu fat</i>		
Friday	<i>ki-uwatu lima</i>		
Saturday	<i>ki-uwatu douh</i>		
Sunday			<i>paandera heil / pasar</i> ¹¹⁰

Table 3.26: Days of the week

According to Hull (2004: 87), all of the Makalero numerals except *u(n)* ‘one’, *loloi* ‘two’ and *ru(ru)* ‘ten’ are of Austronesian origin. Table 3.27 gives the reconstructed

¹¹⁰ Pinto (2007) uses *pasar* for Sunday. In my own data, *pasar* is used for ‘week’ and for ‘market’ only.

forms of the Proto-Austronesian numerals from one to ten (e.g. Blust 2009: 268), followed, for ease of comparison, by their Makalero counterpart.

	Proto-Austronesian	Makalero
1	* <i>esa / isa</i>	<i>u(n)</i>
2	* <i>duSa</i>	<i>loloi / lolei</i>
3	* <i>telu</i>	<i>lolitu</i>
4	* <i>Sepat</i>	<i>fat</i>
5	* <i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>
6	* <i>enem</i>	<i>douh</i>
7	* <i>pitu</i>	<i>fitu</i>
8	* <i>walu</i>	<i>afo</i>
9	* <i>siva</i>	<i>siua</i>
10	* <i>(sa-)puluq</i>	<i>(ru)ru</i>

Table 3.27: Proto-Austronesian numerals and their Makalero equivalents

The Makalero numerals for four, five, seven, and nine directly relate to the reconstructed Proto-Austronesian (PAN) forms, whereas the numerals for one and two are clearly distinct. The numeral *lolitu* ‘three’ is in fact superficially similar to the PAN form **telu*. However, it would involve metathesis, which is not found elsewhere in the borrowed numerals and is rare in the language overall (see § 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252, § 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253, § 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254, § 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262 and § 3.5.3.2.2, p. 263 for instances of metathesis in Makalero). Note, furthermore, that *loloi* ‘two’ and *lolitu* ‘three’ appear to share a common initial element *lol*, which may suggest that they are part of one, probably obsolete, system and hence come from the same source. If the *lol*-element is left out of consideration, the remainder *-itu* (which is in fact the [+HUM] as well as the reduced form, see above) is obviously connected to Fataluku *utue* ‘three’, which Hull (2004: 87) classifies as non-Austronesian. Thus, assuming that the *lol*-element in *lolitu* ‘three’ is in fact some kind of detachable prefix (for which there is strong evidence), the remaining element *itu* does no longer bear an overwhelming similarity to the reconstructed PAN **telu*. The fact that both ‘two’ and ‘three’ have special forms for human referents also supports the idea that the two numerals belong to one system and as such probably come from the same source. It is thus likely that *lolitu*, too, is non-Austronesian. *Douh* ‘six’ has a cognate *doha* in Makasae, but does not seem to compare to the other languages, Austronesian or non-Austronesian, of Timor. It is furthermore hard to derive *afo* ‘eight’ from PAN **walu*. Note that Hull (2004: 87) reconstructs the “Old Timorese” (Austronesian) numeral for ‘eight’ as **kapaw*, from which Makalero *afo*, Makasae *apo* and *afo*, and Fataluku *ikafa* can easily be derived. However, he gives no information as to how he arrives at this reconstruction and how it relates to PAN **walu*. Many of the Austronesian languages of the island display a clear reflex of **walu*, though some have forms that could possibly derive from **kapaw*. *(Ru)ru* ‘ten’, finally, could conceivably be related to Proto-AN **puluq* – in fact, there are several Austronesian languages which changed /l/ to /r/ in

that lexeme. However, the change from **(sa-)puluq* to *ru* would involve significant reduction of the morpheme. More evidence is thus needed to ultimately determine the source of *(ru)ru* ‘ten’.

The resulting picture reveals no clear pattern. In my analysis, the numerals for one, two, three, six, and, possibly, eight and ten are non-Austronesian, while the remaining numerals, four, five, seven, and nine are clearly Austronesian borrowings. This holds also for *rihun* ‘thousand’, which goes back to PAN **libu*, and perhaps for *rasa* ‘hundred’, which could be connected to PAN **Ratus*.

3.2.3.9 Deictic verbs

Makalero uses a deictic system with five distinctions which are based on vicinity and distance to the speech-act participants, on both the horizontal and the vertical axes. However, not all of these distinctions are encoded in all deictics. All five deictics have regularly corresponding nominal and verbal forms. The five deictic verbs in Makalero are given in Table 3.28. Note that all of them end in the glottal phoneme (most often, in this case, realised as a glottal stop). These forms relate directly to the nominal forms or demonstratives, which are formed with the *-r-*formative (§ 3.1.2.1.1, p. 102). The demonstratives are discussed in § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232).

<i>ai' / e'</i>	‘be here’ near speaker same elevation
<i>uai' / ue'</i>	‘be here’ near hearer same elevation
<i>umai' / ume'</i>	‘be there’ removed from both speaker and hearer (near third person) same elevation
<i>udai' / ude'</i>	‘be there above’ higher elevation
<i>ufai' / ufe'</i>	‘be there below’ lower elevation

Table 3.28: Deictic verbs

The /e/ forms appear to be reductions of the more carefully pronounced forms with the /ai/ diphthongs (see § 2.2.5, p. 67). The /e/ forms are more frequent in normal speech. All of these verbs have reduced bound forms (§ 3.2.2.2.2.1, p. 132), which

are derived from the full forms as listed in Table 3.28 through loss of the final consonant, the glottal phoneme /ʔ/.

The first two deictic verbs, *e'* and *ue'*, are mainly related to the speech act participants, with *e'* used for the speaker and *ue'* for the addressee. The other deictic verbs are not specifically related to any person, though *ume'*, which literally refers to a location distant from both the speaker and the addressee, may per extension be used as a third person-related deictic.

According to Hull (2004: 84), Makasae and Makalero are the most conservative of the non-Austronesian languages of Timor with regard to deixis, distinguishing seven degrees in their demonstrative systems. While there are indeed seven degrees in Makasae (see e.g. Brotherson 2004, Huber 2008a), Makalero uses only five distinctions. This is due to the fact that the demonstratives in Makalero encode information only about either the horizontal or the vertical axis, but the language does not possess demonstratives which convey information about both these axes at the same time. In this, Makalero differs from Makasae, which has separate terms for 'above, no horizontal distance' (*do'o*) and 'below, no horizontal distance' (*ho'o*) on the one hand, and 'above, horizontally distant' (*de'i*) and 'below', horizontally distant' (*he'i*) on the other hand (Brotherson 2003: 36). Makalero conflates these two sets of terms, distinguishing only between higher and lower elevation, whether or not horizontal distance is involved (*ude'* and *ufe'*, respectively). As a consequence, its deictic inventory is short of two oppositions with respect to the Makasae deictics.¹¹¹ Thus, while the deictive system of Makalero is more conservative than those of Fataluku and Bunak with three and two distinctions in the spatial deictic system, respectively (see Hull 2005: 25 and Schapper 2009: 241), it is less detailed than Makasae.

It is very common in Makalero discourse to predicate a referent's location, either in a separate predication with the free form of the deictic verb, or with the bound form in the guise of a complement-verb complex (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326). (236) through (240) give some contextual examples of the use of these verbs, both as main verbs and as dependent verbs.

(236) ... *kiloo ani hai leu "A-jua!" Uai=ni=si ani hai dur "ani*
 3s 1s NSIT call VOC-J. CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s NSIT wake.up 1s

e' ere!"
 VIDEM IDEM

'... she called me: A-jua! So I woke up (and said): I'm here!'

(44-03, 44-04)

¹¹¹ Note that all demonstratives except for the first person related *ere* start with /u/ (see § 2.2.2, p. 60, for the idea that the glide [w] is an allophone of [u]). It is possible that this represents a fossilised morpheme encoding distance from the speaker (which would mean that *udere* and *ufere*, said above to encode distance on the vertical axis only, do originally contain information about horizontal distance from the speaker).

- (237) ... *amuni ki-mata ere ni-lop*
 person 3:POSS-child 1DEM REFL-house
k-ia-e-mit=ini e'=ini...
 3:UND-under:RED-V1DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1
 '... this child sits here in his house, he is here and...' (38-001)
- (238) *Ani aire' isa=ni ue-rata' aire' ulangan matematika...*
 1s now go.down=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-arrive now test maths
 'I went down now and arriving there, there were the maths exams...' (101-277)
- (239) ... *uai=te'e fi la'a=ni iskola-omar*
 CLS=after 1pi move=LNK1 school-stilt.house
ki-lop-isi-ude'=afta...
 3:POSS-house-at:RED-VDEM.HIGH=COND
 '... after that, we go and once there is the school building up there...' (20-3)
- (240) ... *muni ma'u=ni ki-nana-isi-ude-ma'u.*
 return come=LNK1 3:POSS-elder.sibling-at:RED-VDEM.HIGH:RED-come
 '... (I) came back up to his brother.' (101-287)

The addressee-related deictic verb *ue'* is the most widely used demonstrative verb. It functions as a general deictic to refer to remote locations where a person-bound reference frame is not applicable. (238) above, which refers to events taking place in Dili, may be an example of this. Furthermore, *ue'* also predicates existence, as in (241) and (242) (see also § 3.2.3.7, p. 169) which gives *ue'* as the positive counterpart of the negative existential *na'an*).

- (241) *Huma' ni'isi uari ue'.*
 soul simultaneous still V2DEM
 'Ghosts really exist.' (elic445)
- (242) *Omaraha tuumata nomo ta-isi-la'a muni ta-isi-la'a=oo*
 wife.givers wife.takers NEG REC-at:RED-move return REC-at:RED-move=too
ue'.
 V2DEM
 'It also happens that families who did not visit each other start visiting each other again.' (21-057)

A very similar construction, with the sole difference of the subject being modified by a possessor, reads as predicating possession (see also § 3.2.3.12.5, p. 207, for another way to predicate possession).

- (243) *Ei-amin ue'?*
 2s-louse V2DEM
 'Do you have lice?' (elic955)
- (244) *I ho'o ki-nua ue'...*
 and some 3:POSS-eat V2DEM
 'And some had food...' (17-10)

Ume' (VDEM.DIST) as well as *ufe'* (VDEM.LOW) and *ude'* (VDEM.HIGH) are often modified with *hau la'a(=ni)* (all go=LNK1) to refer to a higher degree of spatial remoteness than that expressed by the bare deictic verbs. An example is given in (245).

- (245) *Pusira ume'. Tirilolo hau la'a=ni ume'.*
 P. VDEM.DIST T. all move=LNK1 VDEM.DIST
 'Pusira is over there. Tirilolo is way over there.' (elic1785)

On a large scale, *ude'* (VDEM.HIGH) is used for locations to the east, and *ufe'* (VDEM.LOW) for west, as exemplified by (246) and (247). In the case of Dili in (246), the use of the deictic verb referring to a location at a lower elevation than the point of reference corresponds to the relative elevations of Dili and Iliomar in real life. This is not the case in (247), however, where Lospalos is referred to as being located higher than Iliomar. In real life, Iliomar is situated higher than Lospalos. The world thus appears to be conceptualised as a sloping plane in an east-west direction, with east higher than west.

- (246) *Asi-upa ki-lopua Dili-isi-ufe'.*
 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS-house D.-at:RED-VDEM.LOW
 'My father has a house in Dili.' (elic261)
- (247) *Loospalos hau la'a=ni ude'.*
 L. all move=LNK1 VDEM.HIGH
 'Lospalos is over there to the east.' (elic1785)

3.2.3.9.1 Derived deictic verbs

Next to the deictic verbs given in Table 3.28, there is a second series of deictic verbs that are derived from the deictic determiners (demonstratives, see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232). The derivation is by means of the glottal verbaliser, as seen in Table 3.29.

	demonstrative	derived deictic verb
near speaker same elevation	<i>ere</i>	<i>ere'</i>
near hearer same elevation	<i>uere</i>	<i>uere'</i>
removed from both speaker and hearer (near third person) same elevation	<i>umere</i>	<i>umere'</i>
higher elevation	<i>udere</i>	<i>udere'</i>
lower elevation	<i>ufere</i>	<i>ufere'</i>

Table 3.29: Derived deictic verbs

These prototypical use of these verbs is where the predicate is not a property, but an entity in the form of a spatial deictic expression. In other words, two entities are equated in such sentences, as in the well-known example “Dr. Jeckyll is Mr. Hide”. Examples are given in (248) and (249).

(248) *Dotor ini leu ere=ni ere'*.
 doctor 1pe call IDEM=CTR IDEM.V
 ‘The doctor that called us is this one.’ (elic578)

(249) *Lapis ere=ni ani-isi' ei-isi'=ini umere' kiloo*
 pencil IDEM=CTR 1s-belong 2s-belong=CTR DEM.DIST.V 3s
k-isi'=ini hau la'a umere'.
 3:UND-belong=CTR all move DEM.DIST.V
 ‘This pencil is mine; yours is the one there and his is the one way over there.’ (elic1419)

The most frequent use of the derived deictic verbs, however, is not that of a main predicate in a clause. Rather, they are used in argument position, as in the examples in (250) and (251). In most of those cases, they appear to recapitulate an object mentioned in an earlier clause, often one which is very long. Note that not the whole set of derived deictic verbs is used in this function, but only *ere'* and *uere'*, the speaker-related one and the addressee-related one, respectively (see also § 3.3.2.1, p. 232). The others are restricted to actual spatial use. The objects that are taken up with the derived locative verbs are bracketed in the examples; subscripts reference the NPs in question and the resumptives.

- (250) *Ere [lilin imaji]_i uai=ni=si ei ere'_i k-afu=ni mei*
 1DEM candle picture CLS=LNK1=LNK2 2s 1DEM.V 3:UND-carry=LNK1 take

la'a=ni [rate=ua ani=ua ei-asu isi-suma ere]_j ei mei la'a
 move=LNK1 grave=REL 1s=REL 2s-for at:RED-show 1DEM 2s take move

uere'_j ta'a-ini.

2DEM.V count-give

'These are candles and (religious) pictures, you take these and go to the graves that I show you, you take them and put them at each of them (graves).'

(120-075)

- (251) *Meestri sa'a kerek uatu ki=atanana ma'u ere=si [meestri*
 teacher thing write day ATTR=first come 1DEM=LNK2 teacher

ue-kerek-ini=ni taure-fani'_j ani uere'_i me'e
 V2DEM:RED-write-do:BD=LNK1 which:RED-be.like 1s 2DEM.V able

mi-kerek.

along:RED-write

'What the teacher wrote down, (even) on the first day, I was able to copy that.'

(101-200)

It appears that in all such cases, the derived deictic verbs are replaceable by the simple demonstrative. An example is given in (252); the fact that the speaker uses two demonstratives, *ere* and *uere*, on top of one another shows that the second is not part of the preceding NP, but recapitulates the whole of the very long NP it follows. No glottal verbaliser is detectable in this case, allowing for the conclusion that the item used is a demonstrative pronoun. Its use corresponds neatly to the cases with derived deictic verbs in (250) and (251) above. Again, the object that is recapitulated is bracketed.

- (252) ... *[tinaini ki-ula papa-laa militar Indonesia-laa hau dasa*
 cooked.rice 3:POSS-tail Indonesian-PL military I-PL all throw.away

ere]_i uere_i ue' uere hau sorit u...
 1DEM 2DEM V2DEM 2DEM all luck one

'... the rice left-overs that the Indonesian soldiers threw away, (if I) had that, that was a great luck...'

(101-111)

In some cases, the derived deictic verbs stand right after an NP, in which case they look like they are part of the NP, as in (253). However, they function in just the same way as in the examples in (250) and (251), namely to recapitulate the NP. In other words, the derived deictic verb is an argument on its own; the object NP it recapitulates stands in a different position, namely the left-detached position of the sentence (see § 7.6.1, p. 427).

- (253) ... *iraku so'ot=ini (...)* [*lolo-ini Makalero*]_i *uere'*_i *uali'*=*ana*
 3s want=LNK1 say-NML M. 2DEM.V hear=INT

felun=uai pa'uk=uai...
 nice=or bad=or

'... she wants to come (...) and hear the Makalero language, whether it is good or bad...'
 (98-48)

A very frequent phrase in narratives is *uere'-isi'=ee* 'in that (situation)'. An example is given in (254). This is a subordinated clause in the left-detached position functioning as an adverbial (§ 7.6.1.1, p. 430). In this phrase, *uere'* refers to a time or situation as set by a preceding clause.

- (254) ... *ani muni ma'u tone' asi-nana tone' ani pase.*
 1s return come perhaps 1s:POSS-elder.sibling perhaps 1s beat

Uai=ni=si ani uere'-isi'=ee ria'=ini la'a ala'-mutu-la'a.
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s 2DEM.V-at=CMPL run=LNK1 move forest-inside:RED-move
 '... if I come back, perhaps my brother will beat me. So at that time, I ran away and went into the forest.'
 (101-048, 101-049)

La'ane' 'various', which is used to mark plurals mainly with [-HUM] nouns, appears to work in the very same way as the derived deictic verbs. See § 3.2.3.12.7 (p. 210) for details.

3.2.3.10 Verbs with complement clause extensions

A number of verbs in Makalero are commonly found with postverbal clausal extensions. These extensions may consist of single clauses, but also multi-clause units (i.e. sentences, see § 7, p. 401). All of these verbs are found in a construction where the clausal extension follows the main verb in a coordinated construction. These clausal extensions, called complement clause extensions in the following, are not to be confused with the complements which are an instantiation of the non-subject argument in the clause, as opposed to objects (§ 5.2, p. 319). Their syntactic status is not straightforward. Some constructions suggest that they are not arguments of the verb (§ 3.2.3.10.1.2, p. 189). On the other hand, some verbs allow for an alternative construction which involves a nominalised clause equivalent to the complement clause extension in the preverbal object position. In this case, it clearly is an argument of the verb. § 8.3.5 (p. 485) gives some more discussion on the syntactic status of complement clause extensions. On the basis of the variant constructions that are possible with them, the verbs in question are classified into distinct groups. The major division is between verbs of saying and modal verbs; the former are discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187), the latter in § 3.2.3.10.2 (p. 193).

3.2.3.10.1 Verbs of saying

Not all verbs included in this section are in fact verbs of saying; however, this semantic heading covers a significant portion of them. Verbs of saying fall in three separate groups. The first of these, discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), consists of verbs which have the possibility of introducing the complement clause extension with the complementiser =*ee* ~ =*e'* ~ =*ere*. Neither of the verb classes treated in § 3.2.3.10.1.2 (p. 189) and § 3.2.3.10.1.3 (p. 191) are found with the complementiser. Those discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.2 (p. 189) generally use a clause linker, while those in § 3.2.3.10.1.3 (p. 191) are found in paratactic linkage only. All of these verbs allow for the expression of an NP equivalent to the complement clause extension in object position. This suggests that there is some syntactic interdependence between the verb of saying and a following complement clause extension. The issue is discussed in more detail in § 8.3.5 (p. 485).

The clearest representatives of verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions are those given in Table 3.30. All of these can be constructed either with preverbal nominal argument or with a postverbal complement clause extension.

3.2.3.10.1.1 Verbs with complementiser constructions

The clearest representatives of verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions are those given in Table 3.30. All of these can be constructed either with preverbal nominal argument or with a post-verbal complement clause extension.

say, mean ¹¹²	<i>ain</i>
see	<i>ena</i>
ask	<i>heti</i>
think	<i>ne'et</i>
say	<i>lolo</i>
know	<i>ma'en</i>
want	<i>so'ot</i>
hear	<i>uali'</i>

Table 3.30: Verbs of saying with the complementiser =*ee*

(255) and (256) exemplify the verbs *uali'* ‘hear’ and *so'ot* ‘want’ with nominal arguments, which stand in square brackets.

- (255) *Uere'-isi'=ee ki-uwatu douh=ini ani [informasaun] uali'*.
 2DEM.V-at=DEF 3:POSS-day six=LNK1 1s information hear
 ‘At that time, on Saturday I heard the information.’ (101-357)

¹¹²*Ain* has in some contexts grammaticalised into a quotative marker (see § 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205).

- (256) ... *fɪ=ua* (...) *mu'a ki-ouar* [*ni-lolo-ini*] *nomo so'ot...*
 1pi=REL ground 3:POSS-master REFL-say-NML NEG want
 '... we who are (...) the owners of the land do not like our language...'
 (98-15)

Such preverbal arguments can also be made up of nominalised clauses. An example is given in (257), where the clausal argument *nomo hul* 'not able' is nominalised, as visible through the presence of the definite marker =*ee* (see § 3.5.1.1, p. 243) at its right end.¹¹³ The agent of this nominalised clause is expressed as a reflexive possessive *ni-* (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 221), showing that it is coreferent with the subject of the preceding clause. Again, the argument is bracketed.

- (257) ... *ei hai* *nomo hul=afta* [*ni-nomo hul=ee*] *lolo*.
 2s NSIT NEG able=COND REFL-NEG able=DEF say
 '... if you cannot afford it, say so.'
 (74-076)

Complement clause extensions, on the other hand, follow these verbs. Very frequently, the complementiser =*ee* ~ =*e'* ~ =*ere* cliticises to the verb of saying in such constructions, indicating that the verb it is cliticised to is followed by a complement clause extension. (258) through (260) illustrate the use of the complementiser in its three variant forms. Note that (258) and (259) use the same verbs as (255) and (256) above.

- (258) *Ani uali'=e'=kini* [*ei=kini hai kauen*].
 1s hear=CMPL=IND 2s=IND NSIT marry
 'I hear that you are already married.'
 (elic816a)
- (259) ... *ani so'ot=ee* [*ki-nua heti*].
 1s want=CMPL 3:POSS-eat ask
 '... I want to ask for food.'
 (101-128)
- (260) *Kiloo ini heti=ere* [*ini so'ot=uai tule*].
 3s 1pe ask=CMPL 1pe want=or not.want
 'He asks us whether we agree or not.'
 (elic480)

At the present stage, I am unaware of the factors conditioning the use of either one or another form of the complementiser. All three of them exhibit a relation to a deictic element: =*ee* is homophonous to the definite marker =*ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243) and =*ere* to the near-speaker demonstrative *ere* (§ 3.3.2.1, p. 232). The third variant of the complementiser, =*e'*, is homophonous to the deictic verb *e'* (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180). See § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for more particulars on this element.

The use of the complementiser is not obligatory with postverbal complement clause extensions. (261) and (262) illustrate two examples where *lolo* 'say' is followed by a stretch of direct speech. (261) uses the complementiser =*ee*, while in (262), the complement clause extension follows *lolo* directly.

¹¹³ However, see also § 3.6.2 (p. 265), which speculates that =*ee* is in this case more properly analysed as the complementiser.

- (261) ... *asi-nana-raa lolo=ee [“hai la’a=ni asi-tiu-raa*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL say=CMPL NSIT move=LNK1 1s:POSS-uncle-PL

ki-lopu-isi-rou”].

3:POSS-house-at:RED-sleep.PL:BD

‘... my brothers said (he) had gone to sleep at my uncles’ house.’

(126-033)

- (262) ... *elehaa uere ani-asu lolo [“asi-ia isit=isi urau ria”].*
 old.man 2DEM 1s-for say 1s:POSS-foot ill=LNK2 not.allowed run

‘... the old man said to me: my leg hurts, don’t run.’

(101-097)

Alternatively, the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) can be used instead of the complementiser. (263) and (264), both with *so’ot* ‘want’ illustrate contrastive examples with =*ini* and =*e*, respectively.

- (263) ... *papa koto isit=oo uai=ni ani se so’ot=ini [uali’].*
 father maybe ill=too CLS=LNK1 1s very want=LNK1 hear

‘... even if you are perhaps ill, I would very much like to hear that.’

(106-13)

- (264) *Ani so’ot=e’ [nua-ini=na’a].*
 1s want=CMPL eat-do:BD=INT

‘I want to eat.’

(elic1321a)

§ 8.2.1 (p. 478) argues that there is no evidence for a syntactic hierarchy between two clauses linked with =*ini*. As such, the complement clause with this linker in (258) shows no sign of being in any way syntactically dependent from *so’ot* ‘want’. On the other hand, § 8.3.5.1 (p. 487) suggests that the complementiser =*ee* signals subordination. Note, however, that the latter concept is not straightforward in Makalero; it is elaborated on in § 3.6.2 (p. 265). The fact that a participant of the same semantic role can either be expressed as a preverbal argument or as a postverbal complement clause extension with such verbs (see e.g. (255) and (258)) evidences the existence of a semantic and syntactic relation of some kind between a verb of saying and a following complement clause extension.

3.2.3.10.1.2 Verbs with clause linkers

Like the verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), those listed in Table 3.31 can be found with both preverbal nominal arguments and with postverbal complement clause extensions. Notably, however, they are not found with any form of the complementiser.

fear	<i>aka'</i>
teach	<i>fana</i>
force, oblige	<i>fatar</i>
dare	<i>fuin</i>
order	<i>huma</i>
answer	<i>der</i>
call	<i>leu</i>
dare	<i>mot</i>
lie	<i>neok</i>
dream	<i>ofarana</i>
order	<i>pada</i>

Table 3.31: Verbs of saying with clause linkers introducing complement clause extensions

With these verbs, the complement clause extension simply follows the verb, either without any overt linking device, or with the clause linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) cliticised to the verb in lieu of a complementising element. The two options are illustrated in (265) and (266), with *fatar* ‘oblige’ and *leu* ‘call’, respectively.

- (265) *Ani isit malaria uai=ni=oo ani fatar=ini [la'a=ni ata haka].*
 1s ill malaria CLS=LNK1=too 1s force=LNK1 move=LNK1 fire search
 ‘Even when I had malaria, they forced me to go and find firewood.’
 (103-08)

- (266) *Radiu e'=ini hai ude-leu [Agapitu Barretu hai*
 radio V1DEM=LNK1 NSIT VDEM.HIGH:RED-call A. B. NSIT
umu] ain.
 die QUOT
 ‘The radio called up saying that Agapito Barreto had died.’ (101-354)

It has been shown above (see (261) and (262)) that both options also exist as alternatives with those verbs that have been found with the complementiser *=ee* (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187).

Note that the verb *fatar* ‘force’ in (265) has both a preverbal non-subject argument (presumably an object) as well as a complement clause extension following the verb, while *leu* ‘call’ in (266) has a preverbal complement as well as a complement clause extension. In fact, most of the verbs in Table 3.31 are found in such constructions, where the complement clause extension follows a complete clause with two arguments. This seems to contradict the strictly divalent nature of most verbs in Makalero, which allows for only one argument other than the subject (see § 3.2.3.1.2, p. 143, and § 6, p. 383). Complement clause extensions are thus not syntactic arguments of these verbs: If they functioned as arguments, they would be expected to fill the verb’s argument position. As a consequence of this, the non-subject argument and the verbal complement in such sentences as (265) and (266) would have to be expressed in separate clauses with another verb. The fact that this

is not the case suggests a historical scenario in which such clausal complements originated as arguments to another verb (§ 3.6.2, p. 265); a likely reflex of such a construction is the quotative marker *ain* (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205). (267) shows such a sentence and gives the analysis.

(267) ... *papa ani-asu lolo ani-asu planu ume' ere fani'=kini*
 Indonesian 1s-for say 1s-for plan VDEM.DIST 1DEM be.like=IND

[ani ei hai hau likut]_{OBJ} [ain]_{V...}
 1s 2s NSIT all chase QUOT

'... the Indonesian told me that he had a plan for me like this: "I will chase you away"...' (101-297)

With *der* 'answer', *neok* 'lie', *ofarana* 'dream', *leu* 'call', *aka* 'scared' and, probably, *fana* 'teach' coreference of any participant of the complement clause extension with the non-subject argument is not necessary. The subject of the complement clause extensions to *fatar* 'force', *pada* 'order' and *huma* 'order', on the other hand, is generally coreferent with the main verb's non-subject argument. An example is (265) above with *fatar* 'force'. This coreferent participant is not generally repeated in the complement clause extension, such that it usually takes the form of a VP rather than a complete clause including a subject argument. In the case of the remaining verbs, *mot* 'dare' and *fuin* 'dare', the subject of the complement clause is generally coreferent with the subject of the main verb. Again, the coreferent participant is not repeated, resulting in the complement clause taking the form of a VP.

3.2.3.10.1.3 Verbs with paratactic linkage

The verbs given in Table 3.32 appear to take their complement either in nominal form, in the object position preceding the verb, or in clausal form following the verb. Unlike the verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146), however, no instances where both a preverbal nominal argument and a postverbal complement clause extension are present have been found with these verbs. Also, complement clause extensions following these verbs are generally expressed without any overt linker, be that the complementiser (§ 3.6.2, p. 265) or a clause linker such as *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249).

start	<i>komesa</i>
tell	<i>konta</i>
not want	<i>tule</i>

Table 3.32: Verbs of saying with paratactic linkage

The pairs in (268) through (271) illustrate the variant constructions with either nominal preverbal arguments or postverbal complement clause extensions. These

variant expressions are parallel to the two constructions found with the verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) above, the only difference being the absence of the complementiser in the construction with the postverbal complement clause extension.

- (268) ... *ani [istoria uere] konta.*
 1s story 2DEM tell
 ‘... I will tell this story.’ (118-01)
- (269) ... *asi-noko ani-asu konta=kini (...)* [*Swiss=ee=kini hai*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling 1s-for tell=IND S.=DEF=IND NSIT
aira rasa fitu resin ni ukun].
 year hundred seven remain REFL rule
 ‘... my sister tells me that Switzerland has been independent for more than
 700 years.’ (105-009)
- (270) *Mata ka’u ere [ni uaro’ ere] tule.*
 child small IDEM REFL wash IDEM not.want
 ‘This child doesn’t want to wash.’ (elic1591)
- (271) *Asi-pada tule [istuda].*
 1s:POSS-friend not.want study
 ‘My friend does not want to study..’ (elic810)

In a few elicited sentences such as (272) and (273), preverbal arguments to the verb *tule* ‘not want’ have been found with what looks like the complementiser =*e*’.

- (272) *Kiloo [seur nua=e’] tule.*
 3s meat eat=CMPL not.want
 ‘He does not want to eat meat.’ (elic211)
- (273) *Nomohaka ani [lopu teuh=e’] tule...*
 CLS.NEG 1s house buy=CMPL not.want
 ‘It is not the case that I don’t want to buy a house...’ (elic535)

These constructions are parallel to those where a nominalised clause is constructed as an object to verbs of saying (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187). As such, they shed light on the possible origin of the complementiser as a nominaliser or a marker of subordination; see § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for more discussion.

There appear to be no restrictions on coreference of any of the participants expressed in the complement clause extension with those of the main clause.

3.2.3.10.2 Modal verbs

Modal verbs are similar to verbs of saying in that they, too, are constructed with postverbal complement clause extensions. Again, the semantic label ‘modal verb’ used in this section captures the majority of verbs in this section, although it includes a number of verbs with other semantics. Within modal verbs, two major groups have to be distinguished based on their behaviour. The first, discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193), allows for two variant expressions, one with a postverbal complement clause extension, and another involving a complement-verb complex. The verbs listed in § 3.2.3.10.2.2 (p. 196), on the other hand, are only found with postverbal complement clause extensions.

3.2.3.10.2.1 Modal verbs with complement-verb complex constructions

The complement clause extensions to the verbs listed in Table 3.33 may stand postverbally, parallel to the constructions with verbs of saying discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187). An alternative construction involves a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2, p. 320).

try	<i>fera</i>
be able	<i>hul</i>
not allowed	<i>irau</i>
be able	<i>me'e</i> ¹¹⁴
cannot	<i>nopa'e</i>

Table 3.33: Modal verbs with complement-verb complexes

(274) and (276) show constructions with postverbal complement clause extensions with the verbs *hul* ‘be able’ and *fera* ‘try’ (see also § 5.2.2.5.5, p. 344, and § 5.2.2.5.3, p. 343), respectively. The complement clause extensions following these verbs are bracketed. (275) and (277), on the other hand, show the alternative complement-verb complex constructions with the same verbs. In this case, it is the

¹¹⁴ Whereas *hul* seems to have a strong component of physical ability and strength (see e.g. (x)), *me'e* is used for acquired abilities rather, such as illustrated in (xi).

(x) *Ei-mata ei tinaini ra'u loloi=ee ani haka=ee uari hul.*
 2s-child 2s cooked.rice plate two=DEF 1s search=DEF still able
 ‘(For) your child and you, two plates of rice, I am still able to find.’ (74-067)

(xi) *Ani me'e ira-lor.*
 1s able water-fly
 ‘I can swim.’ (elic191)

Nopa'e ‘cannot’ can be used as a negated counterpart to either of these verbs (see § 3.2.3.7, p. 169). Also, both can be independently negated with *nomo*.

modal verb which is bracketed and embedded in the clause that corresponds to the complement clause extension in a multi-clause construction.

- (274) *Ani ua=nata nomo hul=ini [ma'u e-sirvisu]...*
 1s CLS=CTF.COND NEG able=LNK1 come VIDEM:RED-work
 'Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...' (125-50)
- (275) ... *heil heil heil=ini tepa nomo [hu]-seil.*
 pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD
 '... (he) pulls and pulls, but he still cannot pull (it out).' (102-100)
- (276) *Kiloo taure-fani'=ini fera [ani neok] ani tone' ma'en.*
 3s which:RED-be.like=LNK1 try 1s lie 1s perhaps know
 'In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.'
 (elic1053)
- (277) *Mei=ni taure-fani' kini=oo kiloo osan [fera]-nese-la'a nomo*
 take=LNK1 which:RED-be.like do=too 3s money try-aim.at:RED-move NEG
rau.
 good
 'In whichever way he tries to get money, it does not work.' (elic1051)

In (274), the complement clause extension to *hul* 'be able' is linked to the main clause with the help of the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). In the case of the biclausal construction with *fera* 'try' in (276), no clause linker is used. In fact, it is more common for the clausal complement to follow the modal verb without any making, and of the four verbs in Table 3.33, only *hul* 'be able' and *irau* 'not allowed' are sometimes used with the linker.

The use of the reduced form *hu-*, rather than the free form *hul* 'be able' in (275) shows clearly that the construction in this sentence is a complement-verb complex construction. The other verbs in this group do not have reduced forms. In their case, only differences in constituent order show that two different construction types are used. In the case of a multi-clause construction with a postverbal complement clause extension, these modal verbs are followed by full clauses, while in a complement-verb complex construction, they stand in between a verb and its semantic undergoer, such as *osan* 'money' and *nese-la'a* 'find' in (277). By analogy to the construction in (275), that in (27) can be analysed to involve a complement-verb complex. The fact that the undergoer *osan* 'money' in (277) stands within the same clause as the complement-verb complex *fera-nese-la'a* 'try to find' as a direct object to *fera* suggests that the latter is a transitive verb (§ 3.2.3.1, p. 141). The same holds for the other modal verbs (see also § 3.2.3.7, p. 169).

Within this group of modal verbs, the case of *irau* 'not allowed' is somewhat uncertain. There are only very few examples that appear to indicate that *irau* 'not allowed' can be used as a complement argument dependent from another verb; one of them is (278), which involves the verb *nilu* 'forget'. This verb is listed in § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146) as a verb which obligatorily has its complement position filled. *Irau* is the only element that could possibly be analysed to stand in this position in

(278). This construction parallels that found in the cases of *hul* ‘be able’ and *fera* ‘try’ in (275) and (277) above and is thus a plausible explanation for (278).

- (278) ... *ni-lolo-ini ere irau-nilu=na'a...*
 REFL-say-NML 2DEM not.allowed-forget=INT
 ‘... (we) are not allowed to forget our language...’ (98-34)

The construction of the object argument in the same clause as *irau-nilu* ‘not allowed to forget’ indicates that *irau*, too, is a transitive verb, conflicting to some degree with the evidence from sentences where *irau* is the main predicate (see § 3.2.3.7, p. 169).¹¹⁵

A construction found in only one case, with *fera* ‘try’, shows the modal verb to be used twice: In the first instance, it is used as a main verb with a following complement clause extension, as bracketed in (279). It appears again as a verbal complement within that complement clause.

- (279) *Ani fera [ei-sirvisu omar-isi' k-asu ere fera-ena].*
 1s try 2s-work stilt.house-at 3:UND-for 1DEM try-see
 ‘I will try to look at your homework.’ (elic484)

Hul ‘be able’ is the only modal verb to be found with nominalised object arguments instead of postnominal complement clause extensions. An example of this can be seen in (280).

- (280) *Ei-mata ei tinaini ra'u loloi=ee ani haka=ee uari hul.*
 2s-child 2s cooked.rice plate two=DEF 1s search=DEF still be.able
 ‘(For) your child and you, two plates of rice, I am still able to find.’
 (74-067)

None of the other modal verbs in this group are used in such a construction. With this verb, any of the two predicates involved can thus be constructed as being dependent from the other. In the complement-verb complex construction, the modal

¹¹⁵ *Irau* is the most commonly used form of this verb and is found in all contexts. Apart from this, however, there are two variant forms, *urau* and *uerau*. The use of *urau* appears phonologically conditioned; it is favoured after the high and mid front vowels /i/ and /e/, as shown in (xii), though it is sometimes also used in other contexts. *Uerau* occurs only twice in the corpus; one of these cases is given in (xiii). The circumstances conditioning its use are unclear.

- (xii) ... *kiloo k-asu lolo=ee urau ani-asu osan manini urau*
 3s 3:UND-forsay=CMPL not.allowed 1s-for money give.to.1s not.allowed
ani-asu sa'ani-sa'ani ani haka-hau tule.
 1s-for RDL-what.SUBJ 1s all-all not.want
 ‘... (the healer) said to him: don’t give me money, don’t give me things, I don’t want all of that.’ (101-239)
- (xiii) ... *sefar k-asu lolo=ni=ua ki-sefar uerau roko-roko=na'a ere.*
 dog 3:UND-for say=LNK1=REL 3:POSS-dog not.allowed rustle=INT 1DEM
 ‘... (he) tells his dog not to make any noise.’ (38-113)

verb is dependent from the main verb. The relations are reversed in such clauses as (280). See § 8.3 (p. 481) for some discussion.

All of the modal verbs listed in Table 3.33 involve coreference of the subjects of the two clauses. The subject of the complement clause extension is not usually expressed in a multi-clausal construction.

3.2.3.10.2.2 Modal verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions

The modal verbs given in Table 3.34 are not found in verbal complexes, but only with postverbal complement clause extensions.

must	<i>dadau</i>
must	<i>tenki</i>
wrongly think	<i>ma'akini</i>
not yet	<i>oko-na</i>

Table 3.34: Modal verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions

With none of these verbs a clause linker is used between the modal verb and the complement clause extension. The linkage is always unmarked. (281) and (282) give examples.

- (281) *Uai=ni=si ini tenki [uere mini].*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1pe must 2DEM follow
 ‘So we must follow him.’ (111-10)

- (282) ... *ei-dada=ni ei asar=isi ei dadau [mei la'a ue'].*
 2s-grandparent=CTR 2s send=LNK2 2s must take move V2DEM
 ‘... your grandfather sent you, so you have to take (them) there.’ (120-156)

Tenki ‘must’ is ultimately a Portuguese borrowing (*tem que* ‘he / she / it has to’). It may have entered Makalero through Tetum *tenke*, with the same meaning. *Dadau* ‘must’ is a reduplication of *dau*. The simplex occurs only once in the corpus; the relevant example is given in (283). It appears to have just the same meaning as the reduplicated form. The latter is most usually realised as *dadau*, as in (282), although the forms *daudau*, with full reduplication, and *dodau*, with a contraction of the diphthong (§ 2.2.5, p. 67), are also found.

- (283) *Atanana fi dau ni-Makalero lolo...*
 first 1pi must REFL-M. say
 ‘First we must speak our Makalero language...’ (98-58)

With all of the modal verbs given in Table 3.34, the subject of the complement clause extension is generally coreferent with that of the main clause. As a

consequence, the subject argument of the complement clause extension is usually left unexpressed. *Tenki* ‘must’, however, is somewhat exceptional in this respect in that it can be used without a subject as an impersonal construction. In this case, the clausal complement has its own subject, as in (284).

- (284) ... *tenki Iliomar=ee ki-adat=ee ue'=konai=ni ini ta fiar...*
must I=DEF 3:POSS-customs=DEF V2DEM=CSQ=LNK1 1pe REC trust
 ‘... the traditions of Iliomar must endure, so that we honour each other...’ (72-11)

3.2.3.11 Verbs of physical and emotional states

Most physical and emotional states are not expressed by a simple verb, but rather by a collocation involving a noun, generally expressing the seat or locus of emotion, and a verb which expresses the state proper. This is very common in languages of the area (see Klamer 2001). Syntactically, these collocations can be expressed in two distinct ways, namely as clauses on the one hand, with the noun as the subject and the verb as the predicate, or as complex phrasal predicates, with a free choice of subject.

The nouns used most frequently in such expressions are *isa* ‘condition, state’, *mutu* ‘inside’, *amu* ‘person’ and, perhaps, *fanu* ‘face’. The physical and emotional states are discussed in the following paragraphs according to the noun involved.

3.2.3.11.1 Physical and emotion predicates with isa ‘state’

Isa ‘(physical) state’ is the most widely used noun in expressions of emotions and physical states. It occurs in the collocations given in Table 3.35.

English	collocation with <i>isa</i>	actual verb meaning
lazy	<i>isa dikar</i>	<i>dikar</i> ‘short’
happy	<i>isa fani</i>	<i>fani</i> ‘nice, sweet’
happy	<i>isa felun</i>	<i>felun</i> ‘pretty, nice’
happy	<i>isa hare’</i>	<i>hare’</i> ‘clean’
happy, enthusiastic, diligent	<i>isa ha’e</i>	<i>ha’e</i> ‘light’
happy	<i>isa rau</i>	<i>rau</i> ‘good’
young	<i>isa su’ul</i>	<i>su’ul</i> ‘young’
like	<i>isa tutu</i>	<i>tutu</i> ‘like’

Table 3.35: Physical states and emotions with *isa* ‘state’

The exact literal meaning of *isa*, translated here as ‘(physical) state’, is not quite easy to pinpoint. As shown in Table 3.35, most of the verbs that combine with it are not special emotion predicates, but regular state verbs that take on a metaphoric emotive meaning when used together with *isa*. The exceptions to this are *tutu* ‘like’ and *su’ul* ‘young’, which appear to have no other meaning (and use) than the one given.

Two distinct constructions are found with these verbs. On the one hand, *isa* ‘state’ can be constructed as the subject, with the state verb as its predicate. In this case, the experiencer is expressed as a possessor to the subject. Examples of this construction are given in (285) and (286).

(285) *[Asi-isa]*_{SUBJ} *hai* *[hare’]*_{PRED}.
 1s:POSS-state NSIT clean
 ‘I am (already) happy.’ (elic862)

(286) ... *[isi-ni* *isi-upa* *ere=hi’a=ni* *ki-isa]*_{SUBJ} *ini* *[tutu]*_{PRED}.
 1pe:POSS-mother 1pe:POSS-father IDEM=only=CTR 3:POSS-state 1pe like
 ‘... only our parents liked us.’ (83-05)

On the other hand, the collocation of *isa* + verb can be used as a phrasal predicate, in which case the experiencer functions as the clause’s subject. (287) and (288) exemplify this construction.

(287) *[Ani]*_{SUBJ} *hai* *[isa hare’]*_{PRED}.
 1s NSIT state clean
 ‘I am (already) happy.’ (elic862)

(288) *Uai=ni=ni=po* *[ani]*_{SUBJ} *tepa* *[isa ha’e]*_{PRED} *tepa* *la’a sirvisu...*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1=ADVR 1s constant state light constant move work
 ‘But I was always diligent and always went to work...’ (125-34)

The two construction types differ in the placement of the VP modifiers, which stand between *isa* and the verb in the clausal construction, as shown for the aspect marker *hai* in (285), but precede both *isa* and the verb in the phrasal predicate construction, as in (287). Where *isa* is the clause subject, it is always constructed as possessed, as seen in both (285) and (286), but takes no modifier whatsoever in the phrasal predicate construction illustrated in (287) and (288). Such variant constructions are also recorded in Klamer (2001) for other languages of the area.

Isa rau ‘happy’, *isa hare’* ‘happy’, *isa felun* ‘happy’ and *isa dikar* ‘lazy’ have been found to be used in both construction types. *Isa ha’e* ‘diligent, enthusiastic’ and *isa su’ul* ‘young’ occur only in the form of phrasal predicates in the corpus. *Isa tutu* ‘like’ and *isa fani* ‘happy’, however, are only found in the clausal construction, where *isa* functions as the subject.

3.2.3.11.2 Emotion predicates with *mutu* ‘inside’

Table 3.36 gives the expressions of emotion found with *mutu* ‘inside’.

English	collocation with <i>mutu</i>	actual verb meaning
goodhearted	<i>mutu hare</i> ’	<i>hare</i> ’ ‘clean’
angry	<i>mutu heke</i>	<i>heke</i> ‘hard, difficult’
angry, sad	<i>mutu isit</i>	<i>isit</i> ‘ill’
badhearted	<i>mutu ra’i</i>	<i>ra’i</i> ‘dirty’
want	<i>mutu so’ot</i>	<i>so’ot</i> ‘want’

Table 3.36: Emotion predicates with *mutu* ‘inside’

The expressions listed in Table 3.36 again make use of stative verbs in figurative uses, as is the case with those in Table 3.35 above. Only the first two expressions, *mutu heke* ‘angry’ and *mutu isit* ‘angry, sad’ are well attested as standing expressions. All others occur rarely and, being fairly transparent, may be spontaneous coinages. The last of the collocations given in the table, *mutu so’ot* ‘want’, is found only in the de Almeida’s data, which were collected from the 1950s to the 1970s (see § 1.7, p. 27). The relevant example (in adapted orthography) is given in (289).

- (289) *Ei-mutu so’ot nua-ini?*
 2s-inside want eat-do:BD
 ‘Do you have an appetite?’ (almeida032)
 (lit. ‘do you want to eat?’)

In my own data, *so’ot* ‘want’ is always used on its own like a regular state verb. It is possible that this construction existed at the time de Almeida’s data were collected, but fell out of use in the meantime.

As illustrated in § 3.2.3.11.1 (p. 197) for the expressions with *isa* ‘state’, those with *mutu* ‘inside’ can be constructed either as clauses in which *mutu* ‘inside’ takes the role of subject, or as phrasal predicates. The two variants are illustrated in (290) and (291); note that the two examples are taken from the same text.

- (290) ... [*ki-mutu*]_{SUBJ} *hai na’u [heke]*_{PRED}.
 3:POSS-inside NSIT just difficult
 ‘... he was angry.’ (115-011)
- (291) ... [*ki-pada dila u uere*]_{SUBJ=haka} *hai [mutu heke]*_{PRED}.
 3:POSS-friend frog one 2DEM=CTR.PRES NSIT inside difficult
 ‘... his friend the one frog was angry.’ (115-008)

Only *mutu heke* ‘angry’ has been found in both constructions; all other emotion expressions with *mutu* ‘inside’ occur only as phrasal predicates in my corpus.

The emotions expressed by the verbs in Table 3.36 are understood to be directed at a person or thing, i.e. are associated with an undergoer. However, the stative verbs involved in these constructions are intransitive, and thus are not compatible with the expression of an object argument (§ 5.2.2.4, p. 337). As a consequence, the undergoer must be expressed in a clause of its own. In the case of *mutu heke* ‘angry’, it is generally the object of the verb *ena* ‘see’. An example of this construction is given in (292).

- (292) ... *ini ta-horu rau-rau nomo ta-ena mutu heke.*
 1pe REC-with RDL-good NEG REC-see inside difficult
 ‘... we were at peace with each other, and were not angry with each other.’ (101-341)

The other emotion predicates use *(k)-asu* ‘for’ for this purpose. (293) and (294) show examples.

- (293) ... *amulafu ini-asu mutu hare’=ini ue-dai=ee rau.*
 person 1pe-for inside clean=LNK1 V2DEM:BD.pass=DEF good
 ‘... (if) a person who is well disposed towards us passes there, it is okay.’ (113-29)

- (294) *Irau amuni k-asu mutu isit...*
 not.allowed person 3:UND-for inside ill
 ‘Don’t be angry at people...’ (124-37)

3.2.3.11.3 Physical and emotion predicates with *amu* ‘person’ and *fanu* ‘face’

Two expressions each have been found with *amu* ‘person’ and *fanu* ‘face’. Tables 3.37 and 3.38 list them, respectively.

English	collocation with <i>amu</i>	actual verb meaning
ashamed	<i>amu aka’</i>	<i>aka’</i> ‘afraid, scared’
healthy	<i>amu ka’ar</i>	<i>ka’ar</i> ‘cold, calm’ (?)

Table 3.37: Physical states and emotions with *amu* ‘person’

English	collocation with <i>fanu</i>	actual verb meaning
angry	<i>fanu ata’</i>	<i>ata’</i> ‘angry’ (?)
dizzy, drunk	<i>fanu lain</i>	<i>lain</i> ‘dizzy’ (?)

Table 3.38: Physical states and emotions with *fanu* ‘face’

Note that the tables contain one expression of emotion or feeling, and one expression of physical state each. *Amu aka* ‘ashamed’ is again found in the two variant constructions, either as a clause with a subject and a predicate, or as a phrasal predicate, as illustrated in (285) and (286) and (287) and (288) above. *Amu ka’ar* ‘healthy’ and *fanu ata* appear to be used as phrasal predicates, while *fanu lain* ‘dizzy’ is always used as a clause, with the experiencer as the possessor of the subject *fanu* ‘face’.

3.2.3.11.4 Other emotion expressions and N + V collocations

Although it is very common for languages of the area to express emotions and related predicates in collocations of body part and state verb, not all emotion predicates found in Makalero take the form of such noun + verb collocations. Table 3.39 lists a few verbs which are constructed regularly with the experiencer as the subject, as illustrated in (295) and (296).

sad, disappointed	<i>hu’at</i>
scared	<i>masan</i>
upset	<i>noronoro</i>
sad	<i>susar</i>
sad	<i>terus</i>

Table 3.39: Simple verbs expressing emotion

(295) ... *irau uere’ k-asu=ni hu’at...*
not.allowed 2DEM.V 3:UND-for=LNK1 sad
 ‘... don’t be sad about that...’ (124-33)

(296) ... *kiloo toutou=ee masan=ini hai mu’a-li’an.*
3s owl=DEF frightened=LNK1 NSIT ground-fall
 ‘... he is afraid of the owl and falls to the ground.’ (55a-028)

It is notable that several of the lexemes in Table 3.39 are non-native vocabulary: both *susar* ‘sad’ and *terus* ‘sad’ are Austronesian loans (cf. *susar* ‘difficult’ and *terus* ‘suffer’ in Tetum). However, no outside sources have been determined for the other items.

A variety of physical states are expressed with a body part subject; (297) through (299) give some examples with *ina-mana seta* ‘blind’ (lit. eye-hole blind?), *ina sopen* ‘sleepy’ (lit. eyes sleepy), and *masu aran* ‘thirsty’ (lit. throat dry), respectively. Of these, only *ina-mana seta* ‘blind’ appears to have the option of being expressed as a phrasal predicate, as in (297).

(297) ... *ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa’uk ei=ni ina-mana seta.*
2s=CTR woman ATTR=bad 2s=CTR eye-hole blind
 ‘... it is you who are a bad woman, you who is blind!’ (74-102)

- (298) ... *isi-ina hai sopen.*
 1pe:POSS-eye NSIT sleepy
 ‘... we are already sleepy.’ (120-011)
- (299) *Asi-masu hai aran.*
 1s:POSS-throat NSIT dry
 ‘I am thirsty.’ (elic056a)

In the case of *ina pipit* ‘be alert’, a state of mind is expressed through metaphorical extension of a normal state verb (*pipit* ‘fast’) in combination with a body part term (*ina* ‘eye’). This is reminiscent of emotional and physical state expressions as discussed in § 3.2.3.11.1 (p. 197) and § 3.2.3.11.2 (p. 199).

There are also physical state predicates which consist of only a simple verb. An instance is *lepuh* ‘hungry’, with which the experiencer is constructed as the subject, as in (300). It thus contrasts with *masu aran* ‘thirsty’ as illustrated in (299) above.

- (300) ... *ani teni lepuh...*
 1s again hungry
 ‘... I was hungry again...’ (101-021)

Noun + verb collocations may also express concepts completely unrelated to physical and emotional states. The expressions in question exhibit the syntactic ambivalence, being constructed either as full clauses or as phrasal predicates. Concretely, these are the expressions *ira misa* ‘expensive’ (lit. price go.up) and *ira dikar* ‘cheap’ (lit. price short). Note also the metaphorical extension of the two verbs *misa* ‘go up’ and *dikar* ‘short’ if collocated with *ira* ‘price’. (301) shows the clausal construction, while (302) illustrates the use of the collocation as a complex predicate.

- (301) [*Uere ki-ira*]_{SUBJ} *hau* [*misa*]_{PRED}!
 2DEM 3:POSS-price all go.up
 ‘That is very expensive!’ (elic1120)
- (302) [*Uere*]_{SUBJ} *se* [*ira misa*]_{PRED}.
 2DEM very price go.up
 ‘That is very expensive!’ (elic1343)

3.2.3.12 Verbs with grammatical function

A variety of verbs in Makalero has grammatical rather than lexical meaning. First and foremost in terms of frequency and importance among these is *mei* (as a lexical verb, ‘take’), discussed in § 3.2.3.12.1 (p. 203), followed by *uai* (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204), *ain* (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205), *hau* (§ 3.2.3.12.4, p. 207), (*k*)-*isi*’ (§ 3.2.3.12.5, p. 207), *ma’akini* (§ 3.2.3.12.6, p. 209) and *la’ane*’ (§ 3.2.3.12.7, p. 210).

3.2.3.12.1 Mei ‘take’

If used as a lexical verb, *mei* translates as ‘take’, as illustrated in (303).

- (303) ... *lapizeira uere nomohaka ani=ni mei...*
 pen 2DEM CLS.NEG 1s=CTR take
 ‘... that pen, it wasn’t me who took it...’ (101-178)

Mei ‘take’ is also the most frequent grammatical verb in Makalero. It is used as a light verb in basically all cases where an undergoer participant cannot be expressed in the same clause as the verb to whose semantic participant frame it belongs. As discussed in § 3.2.3.1 (p. 141), Makalero verbs are syntactically divalent at most, but their semantic participant frame may contain more arguments. In such cases of a mismatch between semantic transitivity and syntactic valency, it is the function of *mei* ‘take’ to provide an empty argument position in which the main verb’s¹¹⁶ supernumerary argument can be placed. It has no or very little lexical content. Contexts in which this light *mei* is used involve, among others, complement-verb complexes expressing adverbial notions of location or manner, as in (304), or semantically ditransitive states of affairs, as in (305). See § 7.1 (p. 402) for a more detailed discussion.

- (304) [*Sa’a-kini=na’a=oo*]_{ARG} *ani oko nomo [mei]_V=ni [rei]_{ARG}-[lolo]_V.*
 what:BD-do=INT=too 1s yet NEG take=LNK1 outwards-say
 ‘What (you) will do I am not revealing yet.’ (120-050)

- (305) [*Uere*]_{ARG} *hana’e hai [mei]_V [ini]_{ARG} [fana]_V=te’e ini=oo tepa*
 2DEM REM.PT NSIT take 1pe teach=after 1pe=too constant
ma’en...
 know
 ‘(They) taught us that in the past, and we too keep remembering it...’
 (123-20)

Note that in such instances, *mei* can be used either with or without the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). There appears to be no difference in reading between the two constructions.

Another frequent kind of construction is one where *mei* adds not only an additional argument, but also a motion component to a stative verb (see § 7.1.2, p. 412). A typical example is given in (306).

- (306) Ø *putil=ee mei=ni ue-daru=te’e dila mei=ni isi’.*
 bottle=DEF take=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-put:BD=after frog take=LNK1 at
 ‘(He) placed a bottle there and put a frog inside.’ (38-002)

The action of putting the frog into the bottle expressed in (306) involves three participants, i.e. an actor, a theme and a location. *Dila mei* ‘take a frog’ expresses

¹¹⁶ i.e. the verb which carries the main semantic load.

the fact that the actor (\emptyset in (306)) manipulates a theme. The following clause with the verb *isi* 'be at' expresses the location. The argument to this verb, 'the bottle', was mentioned earlier in the discourse and is not repeated. This second clause in the construction may be understood as expressing the result of the previous clause. The theme, which functioned as the object argument in the *mei*-clause, must be understood as the subject argument of the *isi* 'be at' clause. This construction is somewhat special in that it involves an unmarked change of subject; in general, Makalero discourse is characterised through default subject (i.e., in most cases, topic) continuity. A change of subject normally requires some sort of marking (§ 9.1, p. 491).

Mei 'take' retains more semantic content in (306) than in such sentences as (304) and (305). In fact, the use of *mei* is vital to add the motion component in such a construction. This is quite different from (304) and (305), where the only function of the verb is to provide a syntactic argument position.

Mei 'take' is also used to introduce instruments, i.e. circumstantial participants, which are not part of a verb's participant frame. (307) and (308) show a near-minimal pair of examples. Note that in (307), as a direct argument (complement) to *tina* 'cook', *sa'a-* 'what (BD)' refers to the undergoer, while in (308), as an argument to *mei* 'take', it is read as an instrument.

(307) *Nana-uai aire' sa'a-tina=na'a?*
 elder.sibling-HON now what:BD-cook=INT
 'What will you cook?' (elic132)

(308) *Nana-uai aire' sa'a-me i tina-ini?*
 elder.sibling-HON now what:BD-take cook-do:BD
 'With what are you cooking?' (elic133)

In this case, too, *mei* 'take' retains a substantial amount of lexical meaning.

3.2.3.12.2 The clausal pro-form *uai*

Uai appears to be a reduced form of *uai'* (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180), the near-speaker deictic verb. This verb has a reduced form, with loss of the glottal stop, used as a verbal complement in a complement-verb complex. While this is homophonous with the grammatical verb *uai*, the latter's use is quite different. As a grammatical verb, *uai* mainly functions as a clausal pro-form that is used as a docking station for clause linkers. These elements, discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250) and § 3.5.3.1.2 (p. 257), are clitics at clause level which attach to the right end of the first clause in a sequence and signal the presence of a following clause and its semantic relation to the first. Being a clitic, a clause linker cannot stand on its own at the beginning of an utterance, but needs an element it can attach to. Whenever for some reason a clause linker is not directly cliticised to a clause, *uai* is used as a docking station for this clitic. There is generally a more or less distinct break in the flow of speech before a *uai* + linker complex. Text samples are given in (309), where the linker =*isi*

(§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) is linked to *uai*, and (310), where it stands with the linker =*konai* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.6, p. 254).

- (309) ... *ki-tufur-laa amuni ki-nana-raa ue' uai=si ini uere*
 3:POSS-sister-PL person 3:POSS-elder.sibling-PL V2DEM CLS=LNK2 1pe 2DEM

ko-horu...

3:UND-with

'... his sisters and his elder siblings lived there, so we stayed with them...'
 (67-39)

- (310) ... *fi-lolo-ini so'ot=ini ni-asu mei=na'a uai=konai iraku-laa ma'u.*
 1pi-say-NML want=LNK1 REFL-for take=INT CLS=CSQ 3s-PL come
 '... (they) want to take our language, that is why they come.' (98-14)

Rarely, *uai* is also used on its own, without a clause linker. An example is given in (311).

- (311) ... *ka'u=te'e filem ue'=afta ani tane=ni uai fi*
 little=after movie V2DEM=COND 1s waken=LNK1 CLS 1pi

ro'u-nonton=elo.

together-watch=EXHORT

'... in a while when the movie is on, wake me up so we can watch it together.'
 (120-019)

The fact that *uai* can be used on its own suggests it is not a purely grammatical marker, but has some semantic content of its own. I believe this to basically be anaphoric, referring back to the situation as established by the clause preceding it. In other words, the basic meaning of *uai* could be paraphrased as "the situation being as described". In sum, thus, *uai* is comparable to other pro-forms such as pronouns, which refer to a previously named participant. However, while pronouns replace nominal constituent on the phrase level, *uai* is a pro-form on clause level.

3.2.3.12.3 The quotative ain

Ain has been listed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) among verbs with clausal complements; it is translated in Table 3.30 as 'say' or 'mean'. As a verb of saying, it belongs to the group which occurs with the complementiser, as the example in (312) shows. In (313), it is used side by side with *lolo* 'say'; the two verbs, whose semantics are very similar, might be used as lexical parallels (§ 9.3.2, p. 510).

- (312) *Agustu Lopupul ain=ee Agustu asi-nei Lopupul=ee mu'a*
 A. L. mean=CMPL A. 1s:POSS-name L.=DEF ground
ki-nei...
 3:POSS-name
 'Agusto Lopupul means to say, Agusto is my name and Lopupul is the
 area's name...' (105-023)
- (313) *Asi-suku ki-nei lolo=ni Ailebere ain=ee lolo=ee*
 1s:POSS-suco 3:POSS-name say=LNK1 A. mean=CMPL say=CMPL
se-sotemee pere...
 separate:RED-alone big.SG
 'My suco's name is Ailebere, which means that it grew big on its own...'
 (35-05)

The most frequent use of *ain*, however, is not as a full verb introducing a clausal complement as illustrated in (312) and (313), but following a stretch of direct speech as a quotative marker. (314) and (315) give two examples.

- (314) ... *papa ani-asu lolo ani-asu planu ume' ere fani'=kini*
 Indonesian 1s-for say 1s-for plan VDEM.DIST IDEM like=IND
"ani ei hai hau likut" ain...
 1s 2s NSIT all chase QUOT
 '... the Indonesian told me that he had a plan for me like this: "I will chase
 you away"...' (101-297)
- (315) *Ani (...) kiloo hai k-asu lolo "hena ani tone' nomo rau-rau*
 1s 3s NSIT 3:UND-for say cloth 1s perhaps NEG RDL-good
hau kini=po ani-asu rau-rau ni-pakaian ni-ropa lafi lolitu=ee
 all do=ADVR 1s-for RDL-good REFL-clothes REFL-clothes side three=DEF
uere manini=p-ani k-utu=ni rau-rau isikola-isi-la'a=te'e"
 2DEM give.to.1s=PURP-1s 3:UND-wear=LNK1 RDL-good school-at:RED-move=after
ain=isi hai mei ma'u.
 QUOT=LNK2 NSIT take come
 'I said to her: "Maybe I won't finish the cloth quickly, but give me the three
 uniforms quickly so that I can wear them to go to school", so she brought
 them.' (73-33)

There are a few cases where the direct speech preceding the quotative marker *ain* appears to be nominalised. In (316) and (317), this is indicated by the use of the demonstrative *ere* after the sentences preceding *ain*.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Another possible analysis is for =*ere* as a form of the complementiser (see § 3.6.2, p. 265).

- (316) ... “*mata tule=si hai rau=po ani ufe’=ini sefar mata*
 child not.want=LNK2 NSIT good=ADVR 1s VDEM.LOW=LNK1 dog child
u afu=ni hai mei ma’u=ni ue’’ ere ain.
 one carry=LNK1 NSIT take come=LNK1 V2DEM IDEM QUOT
 ‘...(he said:) the child refused, so okay, I was there below and took a young
 dog with me, it is there.’ (69-032)
- (317) *Hai umu=ni ere’=ini ani=ni hai taru ere ain*
 NSIT die=LNK1 IDEM.V=LNK1 1s=CTR NSIT put IDEM QUOT
uai=konai=ni mana uere mei=ni k-utu-do’i=ni...
 CLS=CSQ=LNK1 hole 2DEM take=LNK1 3:UND-cover-dig:BD=LNK1
 ‘... the one who died is this, and I bury him’, so they dug the hole barring
 (our way)...’ (123-23, 123-24)

Such examples are equivalent to those with nominalised clauses in object position presented for the verbs of saying in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) above, e.g. (257). Note, however, that in most cases, there is no evidence of nominalisation of the quoted speech with *ain*. In such clauses as (314) and (315) above, it looks like a grammaticalised marker following a full clause.

3.2.3.12.4 The quantifier hau

Hau is a lexical verb meaning ‘all’ or ‘totally’. It is rarely used as the main predicate of a single-clause sentence, but very frequently in multi-clause units in which it functions as a quantifier. A typical example is given in (318).

- (318) *Kilooraa haka-hau k-ou-titar.*
 3p all-all 3:UND-towards-run.PL
 ‘They all ran towards it.’ (elic1319)

As a quantifier, it is discussed in more detail in § 3.2.3.14 (p. 215).

Hau ‘all’ is also one of the verbs that can stand in the verb-phrase internal adverb position (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). In this position, it is read either as a quantifier or as expressing an aspectual notion, being read as a completive marker with activities and as high degree with state verbs (§ 3.2.3.2, p. 150). Its uses are discussed at length in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369) and § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376).

3.2.3.12.5 (k)-isi’ ‘belong’

(*k*)-*isi*’ is an argument-marking verb (§ 3.2.3.4, p. 163) with a very general meaning, which broadly establishes a relation between the subject and the object. This relation can be one of possession (see also § 3.2.3.9, p. 180, on *ue*’), of origin or of

‘aboutness’. In a way, thus, *(k)-isi*’ resembles a copula. The three main uses are illustrated in (319) through (321), respectively.

- (319) *Lapis ere=ni ani-isi’ ei-isi’=ini umere’ kiloo*
 pencil 1DEM=CTR 1s-belong 2s-belong=CTR DEM.DIST.V 3s
k-isi’=ini hau la’a umere’.
 3:UND-belong=CTR all move DEM.DIST.V
 ‘This pencil is mine, yours is there and his is way over there.’
 (elic1419)
- (320) *Asi-mali Kelekai k-isi’...*
 1s:POSS-cousin K. 3:UND-belong
 ‘My cousin is from Quelequai...’
 (101-446)
- (321) *Asi-istoria ere (...) sa nami k-isi’...*
 1s:POSS-story 1DEM wife husband 3:UND-belong
 ‘My story is about a wife and a husband...’
 (74-001)

The third person object form *(k)-isi*’ is most usually pronounced as [‘kisi], with no indication of the verbal ending such as a velar fricative or stop, or vowel lengthening. This may indicate some degree of grammaticalisation.

(k)-isi’ is likely related to the general locative verb *isi*’ ‘be at’. Note, however, that the meaning of *(k)-isi*’ is broader than that of a pure locative. Synchronically, the two verbs are clearly distinct in that the locative *isi*’ is not an object marking verb and as such does not occur with the third person object marking prefix *k-*. For instance, in (322) the negator *nomo* intervenes between the verb and its argument, the reciprocal pronoun *ta*. An argument-marking verb would have to appear with the default argument marker *k-* in this context (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). The fact that *isi-* does not appear with such a marker shows clearly that it is not an argument-marking verb. The juxtaposition with *(k)-isi*’ in (323) demonstrates the semantic contrast between these two related verbs.

- (322) *... fi ta hai nomo isi-la’a...*
 Ipi REC NSIT NEG at:RED-move
 ‘... we don’t visit each other anymore...’
 (55-27)
- (323) *Ini desa Tirilolo k-isi’=po ini Iliomar kota-isi’.*
 Ipe village T. 3:UND-belong=ADVR Ipe I. city-at
 ‘We originate from Tirilolo village, but we live in Iliomar city.’
 (chat018)

3.2.3.12.6 Ma'akini 'wrongly think'

Ma'akini functions like a full verb translatable as 'think / assume wrongly'. It takes a complement clause extension, though the linkage between them is unmarked (see § 3.2.3.10.1.3, p. 191). (324) and (325) give examples, with the syntactic structure marked through brackets. Even though *ma'akini* is never found in combination with such VP modifiers as aspect marking or negation, it is the only possible predicative element in the first clause of (324). It often follows a full clause, without any linking, as in (325).

(324) ... [*ki-ni ki-upa ma'akini*]_{CL} [*kiloo=ni mei=ni*
 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father wrongly.think 3s=CTR take=LNK1
lafu '=ini]_{SENT}...
 life-do:BD
 '... her parents thought that it was him who had saved her (but it wasn't)...'
 (89-32)

(325) [*Ani isi-ne'et*]_{CL} [*ma'akini*]_{CL} [*papa uere=kini tafi=ni ani hai*
 1s at:RED-think wrongly.think Indonesian 2DEM=IND true=LNK1 1s NSIT
hau likut]_{SENT}.
 all chase
 'I thought the Indonesian really chased me away (but it was only a trick).'
 (101-300)

The element *kini* is undoubtedly related to the subordinating clause linker =*kini* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.2, p. 258) which marks reported information as such. In fact, *ma'akini* is optionally combined with =*kini*, cliticised to the complement clause's subject argument, as seen in (319). Table 3.40 summarises these patterns.

clause 1 (verb of saying)	clause 2 (complement clause extension)
[(SUBJ) <i>ma'akini</i>]	[(SUBJ) VP]
[(SUBJ) <i>ma'akini</i>]	[SUBJ= <i>kini</i> VP]

Table 3.40: Distribution of *ma'akini* and =*kini*

Whereas =*kini* does not make an assertion about the truth content of the reported information, *ma'akini* marks it as wrong. The origin of the element *ma'a* is unclear. However, the fact that *ma'akini* is a free-standing element, and in fact a full predicate, suggests that *ma'a* is a verbal element making up its own clause.

3.2.3.12.7 La'ane' 'various'

La'ane' is used to mark plural reference. It is most commonly used with [-HUM] nouns, but is also found with [+HUM] nouns in some cases. (326) and (327), where *la'ane'* follows the rightmost element of an NP (§ 4, p. 273), show that it stands outside of the NP.

- (326) *Uai=ni=si ani [uere]_{NP} la'ane' nese-ne'et...*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s 2DEM various aim.at:RED-think
 'So I thought about these (things)...' (101-445)

- (327) ... *aire' [larin falun=ee]_{NP} la'ane' ta'a-la'a.*
 now mountain sacred=DEF various count-move
 '... now (I) went to each of the sacred mountains.' (101-315)

La'ane' is not found with any VP modifiers. Also, even though (326) and (327) show it to stand outside the NP, it is not obviously predicative. The classification of *la'ane'* as verbal is strongly based on the parallel between this form and the derived deictic verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.9.1 (p. 183). On the one hand, *la'ane'* and the derived deictic verbs look formally similar, sharing the *e'* ending. On the other hand, even though the derived deictic verbs can be full predicates in utterances of their own, they are most often used to recapitulate an NP within an utterance. An example of such a use of *uere'* is given in (328). Despite its verbal status, it looks like it belongs to the object argument. The analogy to such sentences as (326) and (327) with *la'ane'* is obvious.

- (328) ... *papa uere hai nomo [asrama u bujangan]_{NP} uere'-isi'.*
 Indonesian 2DEM NSIT NEG hostel one bachelor 2DEM.V-at
 '... the Indonesian was not staying at that bachelor hostel anymore.' (101-289)

Hull (2004: 77) claims that the plural suffix *-laa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236) is a shortened version of *la'ane'*. However, the suffix stands within the NP on its head, while *la'ane'* is outside of the phrase. Synchronically at least, the two are thus clearly distinct.

3.2.3.13 Movement verbs

There is no good formal evidence for movement verbs as a separate class of verbs. Though they form a semantic group, they behave in rather dissimilar ways. Nevertheless, a few remarks on them are necessary.

The basic movement verbs of Makalero are given in Table 3.41.

pass (through)	<i>dai</i>
go down	<i>isa</i>
move	<i>la'a</i>
go	<i>mara</i>
come	<i>ma'u</i>
go up	<i>misa</i>

Table 3.41: Basic movement verbs

Following Talmy's (2000: 49f) terminology, all of these verbs express Motion and Path, but not the Co-events of Manner or Cause. These components are expressed in separate verbs. Other movement verbs, such as *leto-* 'through', do not occur in the corpus as full predicates on their own, but only as verbal complements dependent on other verbs expressing some movement; as such, they are not recognised as basic movement verbs. The same holds for semantically restricted movement verbs, such as *sa'ul* 'descend', which is used only in the context of birds coming down from trees, or *po'o* 'climb up', which is found only twice in the corpus, though the exact conditions in which it can be used are unclear.

All of these verbs are frequently used to provide directional information about another action, as in the example in (329). According to Lichtenberk (1991), this is also a very common use of movement verbs in many Oceanic languages. Such constructions are analysed in § 5.2.2.5.6 (p. 345) as complement-verb complexes.

- (329) ... *pipi.rusa=ee (...)* *hai* *toil=ee* *k-ou-ria'-isa*.
 deer=DEF NSIT gorge=DEF 3:UND-towards-run-go.down
 '... the deer (...) runs down towards the gorge.' (38-089)

Furthermore, together with a number of verbs expressing position and location such as *(k)-ua* 'be on top', *nat* 'stand (SG)' and *mutu* 'be inside', the basic movement verbs are found in a biclausal construction which expresses the positioning of an object by an agent. This construction is somewhat special in that it does not conform to the principle of default subject or topic continuity and is discussed in more detail in § 7.1.2 (p. 412).

Mara 'go' and *ma'u* 'come' are complementary in that the former implies movement away from the deictic centre, while the latter denotes a movement towards the deictic centre. They are often collocated as lexical parallels (§ 9.3.2, p. 510) in a phrase *mara ma'u* meaning 'back and forth', or 'here and there'. An example is given in (330).

- (330) ... *dua.ribu.tujuh ki-mutu'* *ani na'u tepa* *mara ma'u*.
 2007 3:POSS-inside 1s just constant go come
 '... in the year 2007, I kept commuting (between Dili and Lospalos).' (126-204)

Mara ‘go’ is not generally used with an overtly expressed goal. In a typical use, *mara* refers to a goal that has been previously established, whether in the form of an actual toponym or otherwise, as the bit of text in (3231) shows.

- (331) ... *iraku ani hai ti'a-kasar=ini misa ko-horu=na'a (...)*
 3s 1s NSIT towards-call=LNK1 go.up 3:UND-with=INT
uai=ni=ni ani mara ko-horu=na'a...
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 1s go 3:UND-with=INT
 ‘... he called me to come up and stay with him (...) so I went there to stay with him...’ (101-189, 101-190)

In a few cases, such as the one given in (332), where it follows a preceding clause with the linker =*ini*, *mara* ‘go’ appears to mark a continuing action, or ongoing multiple events.

- (332) ... *ki-joven=ee rial=ini uatu.uere.uatu.uere ta*
 3:POSS-young=DEF many.HUM=LNK1 daily REC
helur=ini mara.
 change=LNK1 go
 ‘... there were many youths, and there was a constant coming and going every day.’ (101-253)
 (lit. they kept exchanging each other)

According to Lichtenberk (1991: 491), such a path of grammaticalisation is widespread in Oceanic languages. Another frequent use of *mara* ‘go’ is to indicate an area of dispersion around a deictic centre. Again, the verb follows the clause that it modifies. An example is given in (333).

- (333) ... *ate-hasa=ni ira-mutu-ue-lafu'-mara.*
 tree-leaf=CTR water-inside:RED-V2DEM:RED-live-go
 ‘... there were leaves living in the water around there.’ (55a-047)

Ma'u ‘come’, on the other hand, is quite frequently used with an overt goal location. This can either be expressed in a dependent VP, as in (334), or in a separate clause, as in (335). In this latter construction, the clause expressing the goal must be read as the result of the clause expressing the movement. This is parallel to the construction with *mei* discussed in § 7.1.2 (p. 412).

- (334) *Juliette hana'e hai Koimbra-isi-ma'u=uai na'an?*
 J. REM.PT NSIT K.-at:RED-come=or NEG.EX
 ‘Juliette has been to Coimbra once, hasn't she?’ (chat036)

- (335) *U mu'a selu-selu=ini ma'u=ni Iliomar-isi'=ini ni-asu tufuraa*
 one ground RDL-other=CTR come=LNK1 I.-at=LNK1 REFL-for woman
mei=oo tenki ni-pura kini.
 take=too must REFL-dowry give.to.3
 'If somebody from somewhere else comes to stay in Iliomar and takes
 himself a wife too, he has to pay a dowry.' (72-27)

La'a, glossed here as 'move', is either used as the most general verb of movement, or more specifically to mean 'walk (on foot)'. It is neutral as to the directedness of the motion, though it mostly seems to refer to movement away from the deictic centre. It is sometimes used in the same contexts as *mara* 'go'. However, since it stands freely with indications of goal or path, it is less restricted in its use than *mara* 'go', which does not seem compatible with overt expression of a goal in the same clause. As such, *la'a* 'move' is much more frequent in the corpus than *mara* 'go'. Typical examples of its use are given in (336) and (337).

- (336) *Ai'=ini fi Tirilolo-isi-la'a=na'a=fata ai'=ini fi la'a la'a*
 V1DEM=LNK1 1pi T.-at:RED-move=INT=COND V1DEM=LNK1 1pi move move
la'a=ni SMP-isi-mu'a-isa=ni...
 move=LNK1 secondary.school-at:RED-ground-go.down=LNK1
 'If we want to go from here to Tirilolo, starting here we walk walk walk
 and go down by the secondary school...' (20-01)
- (337) *Amuni hi'a ere-isi'=ini ume-la'a e-la'a ere*
 person street 1DEM-at=LNK1 VDEM.DIST:RED-move V1DEM:RED-move 1DEM
holi-puna isi-leu.
 face.away-look at:RED-call
 'When somebody walked around on the street, he would call out to him
 without facing him.' (23-026)

In one construction, *oma-la'a* 'go home', *la'a* 'move' has been found to take the goal as a direct argument, rather than in the form of a dependent VP in a complement-verb complex (see also § 3.1.3.4, p. 120). Examples of this construction are rare and possibly connected to ritual speech – (338) comes from a text on traditional sung dialogues. In everyday speech, it is more common to use the equivalent complement-verb complex *omar-isi-la'a* 'go home'.

- (338) ... *noko nana=ni (...) nomo fuli-dai nomo*
 younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR NEG together:RED-pass NEG
fuli-rei-la'a oma-la'a ta moru.
 together:RED-outwards-move house:RED-move REC moru
 '... siblings who don't walk together, don't go out together and don't visit
 each other sing moru to each other.' (21-048)

La'a 'move' is the most general of the movement verbs. In a complement-verb complex such as *ika-la'a* 'go up', it can replace the more specific verb *misa* 'go up'. This latter, together with its counterpart *isa* 'go down', specifies the Path component as being on a vertical axis. Both of them take a nominal argument in the complement position (see § 5.2.2.1, p. 321), as illustrated in (339) and (340). While *mu'a* 'ground' in (340) is clearly a goal, *uata* 'coconut (tree)' in (339) could be understood as either a goal or a path. In analogy with *isa* 'go down' and *la'a* 'move', I will assume that the direct argument to *misa* 'go up' is a goal. Note that *mu'a* 'ground' is the default object of *isa* 'go down'; this collocation is very frequent.

(339) ... *ho'o uata-misa...*
 some coconut-go.up
 '... someone climbed a coconut tree...' (101-055)

(340) *Ini meih mu'a-isa...*
 1pe two.HUM ground-go.down
 'The two of us got down (out of the car)...' (113-07)

The last movement verb listed in Table 3.41, *dai* 'pass', does not make reference to either the starting or ending point of a movement, but only to the traversed path. It groups with *ma'u* 'come' in that this path is usually expressed in the form of a verbal complement. (341) and (342) may serve as illustrations.

(341) *Ini muni ma'u=ni ma'u=ni hau ama-isi-dai.*
 1pe return come=LNK1 come=LNK1 all garden-at:RED-pass
 'We came back having walked through the garden.' (67-12)

(342) ... *kiloo ma'u=ni ni-ni ni-upa ki-rate-isi-dai...*
 3s come=LNK1 REFL-mother REFL-father 3:POSS-grave-at:RED-pass
 '... he came passing by his parent's grave...' (67-17)

As such, *dai* 'pass' can be combined with all of the other movement verbs, which specify the goal and directedness of the motion. (343) and (344) exemplify such complement-verb complexes.

(343) ... *ini ma'u=ni Senira Honira hai dai-ma'u.*
 ... 1pe come=LNK1 S. H. NSIT pass-come
 '... we came passing through Senira Honira.' (24-09)

(344) ... *hi'a taure-isi-dai-misa...*
 way which:RED-at:RED-pass-go.up
 '... which way to get up (the tree)...' (114-09)

Mara 'go', *ma'u* 'come' and *la'a* 'move' have in common that they are on their way towards grammaticalisation as markers of sequentiality. Either on their own or cliticised with the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249), they are used to propel the action in narratives forward. Examples are given in (345), (346), and (347), respectively.

- (345) ... *ala'-mutu'=ee uere=hi'a nua-nua. Uai=ni=ni mara=ni ah*
 forest-inside=DEF 2DEM=only RDL-eat CLS=LNK1=LNK1 go=LNK1 mango
uere na'u so'o.
 2DEM just finished
 '... (when I was) in the forest, I only ate that. Then there were no more
 mangoes.' (101-051, 101-052)
- (346) ... *lima mei uai=ni ma'u=ni tina=ni...*
 five take CLS=LNK1 come=LNK1 cook=LNK1
 '... (we) took five (leaves), and then we cooked them...'
 (101-118, 101-119)
- (347) ... *ki-ari ere hau mei la'a=ni nua.*
 3:POSS-liver IDEM all take move=LNK1 eat
 '... (he) took (out) its liver and then ate it.' (23-010)

The difference between the three verbs in this construction is not quite clear and requires further investigation. Notably, however, *mara* 'go' is by far the most commonly used verb in this context. In fact, its use as a marker of sequentiality is far more frequent than its use as a lexical verb.

All verbs of motion can, it appears, be used in a construction where the goal in the form of a toponym makes up a clause all of its own; this construction is discussed in § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111).

In summary, *mara* 'go', *ma'u* 'come' and *la'a* 'move' group together in that they are grammaticalising as sequence markers in narratives. *La'a* 'move', *isa* 'go down' and *misa* 'go up' (can) take their goals as nominal arguments, generally in the complement position. The remaining motion verbs express their goals or directions in the form of verbal complements. Note, however, that *la'a* is found with a nominal goal argument only in one phrase, *oma-la'a* 'go home', and is otherwise used with a verbal complement.

3.2.3.14 Quantifiers

The majority of quantifiers in Makalero are verbal. The only exception is *ho'o* 'some', which has quantifying semantics, but is analysed as a determiner (§ 3.3.2, p. 232). Like motion verbs, quantifiers in Makalero do not behave as uniform group; some of them are found both as full verbs and as modifiers in the VP and can be classified as floating quantifiers, while others occur only as full verbs. The following verbal quantifiers have been identified in the corpus.

all	many	some, several	few, little
<i>ata'u</i>	<i>paun</i>	<i>teteropa' (u)</i>	<i>ka'u</i>
<i>haka</i>	<i>ropa'</i>	<i>tauropa'</i>	
<i>hau</i>	<i>rial (+HUM)</i>		
<i>fanu'</i>	<i>roual (-HUM)</i>		
<i>felu</i>			
<i>kafu'</i> ¹¹⁸			

Table 3.42: Quantifying verbs

Table 3.42 shows that for most items, a variety of lexemes are available to express the same meaning.

Among the quantifiers which denote the whole of a group, the most important one is *hau*. It is a floating quantifier that can stand both within the VP, if modifying the verb or the VP-internal argument, or as a predication of its own if modifying the subject. § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376) discusses these constructions in more detail. Note also that *hau* appears to be developing into a marker of completive aspect, as shown in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369).

Haka 'all' is most often found together with *hau* in a complement verb complex of the form *haka-hau*. There are a few cases, however, where *haka* occurs on its own as a quantifier. Other items which stand in the same position as *haka* are *kafu-*, *felu* and *kopa*. Like *haka*, *felu* and *kafu-*¹¹⁹ occur as quantifiers on their own, without *hau*. The same is not the case, however, for *kopa*, which is only found in the phrase *kopa-hau*. Consequently, it is not listed in Table 3.42 as an independent quantifier. The constructions in question are discussed in more detail § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376).

Ata'u appears to mean something like 'all together, all at once'. It is much less frequent than *hau*, but can also be used within or without the VP as a floating quantifier. It is discussed in more detail in § 5.3.3.3.2 (p. 380).

Fanu' 'all', finally, is very rare, being found in only one instance in the corpus. This sentence does not make its category clear; however, the /ʔ/-ending strongly suggests it is verbal in category (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128).

Among the quantifiers denoting the majority of a group, *rial* and *roual* 'many' are counterparts, the first of which is used with human referents, while the second is reserved for non-human referents. Both are used as full predicates only.

The quantifiers *paun* and *ropa'* 'many' are associated with non-human subjects and are rarely used in affirmative clauses. However, *ropa'* appears in the interrogatives *tauropa'* and *teteropa'* (both 'how many'), where it is the only way to ask for a quantity and is used with all kinds of subjects (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167).

There are no dedicated verbal quantifiers for the concept of 'some'. *Teteropa'* and *tauropa'*, which are found in this function, are actually interrogatives (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167). *Teteropa'* is, as a quantifier, sometimes combined with the numeral *u* 'one'.

¹¹⁸ There may also be an item *tana'u*; it is not quite clear, however, if this really is a quantifier and also if it really is unanalysable.

¹¹⁹ *Kafu-* is the reduced form of the quantifier *kafu'* 'all', which, used on its own as a full verb, is restricted to subjects referring to periods of time.

Ka'u ‘few, small’, finally, can be both a quantifier as well as an indicator of size. In both senses, it can be used either as a nominal modifier, as in (348), or as a separate predicate, as in (349) and is thus ambiguous. Note that in (349), where *ka'u* forms a clause on its own, it is understood as modifying the verb. It is not found as a VP-internal adverbial.

- (348) *Ani [ate-isu ka'u ere]_{NP} mei ma'u.*
 1s tree-seed small IDEM take come
 ‘I bring these few fruits.’ / ‘I bring this little fruit.’ (pelic010)
- (349) ... *ani oko ue'=ini nonton [ka'u-ka'u]_{PRED=si} [nonton]_{PRED...}*
 1s still V2DEM=LNK1 watch RDL-little=LNK2 watch
 ‘... I was still there watching, watching a little...’ (120-069)

3.3 Grammatical morphemes within the NP

Closed categories within the noun phrase include pronouns, discussed in § 3.3.1 (p. 217), determiners, treated in § 3.3.2 (p. 232), a variety of affixes (§ 3.3.3, p. 235, and § 3.3.4, p. 239) as well as some clitics (§ 3.3.5, p. 239).

3.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns function as “shifting referring expressions within the context of ongoing speech” (Foley 1986: 66). In other words, they “exhibit a one-to-many relationship” (Foley 1986: 65) with respect to their referents. They contrast in this respect with the situation as found in nouns, which bear a “one-to-one constant relationship” (ibid.) to their referents. Pronouns have in common with nouns that they are referring expressions. Also, they commonly head NPs, though they can also modify nouns and verbs. It appears that pronominal NP heads are not compatible with all of the dependents to a nominal head associated with the noun phrase (see § 3.3.1.1, p. 218).

Pronouns found in Makalero include personal pronouns, as discussed in § 3.3.1.1 (p. 218), as well as reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227, and § 3.3.1.3, p. 228), interrogative pronouns (§ 3.3.1.4, p. 228) and an indefinite pronoun (§ 3.3.1.5, p. 231).

3.3.1.1 Personal pronouns

Table 3.43 shows the personal pronoun system of Makalero.

	singular	plural
1 st person exclusive	<i>ani</i>	<i>ini</i>
1 st person inclusive		<i>fi</i>
2 nd person	<i>ei</i>	<i>ii</i>
3 rd person	<i>kiloo, iraku</i>	<i>kilooraa, irakulaa, uera(laa)</i>

Table 3.43: Personal pronouns

The pronouns in Table 3.43 are free forms used as NP heads. There are special possessive forms for use as possessive modifiers in the NP (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). Unlike Fataluku and Bunak (see e.g. Hull 2004: 80f), Makalero does not make a distinction between subject and object pronouns. The third person pronouns are, in this and other respects, somewhat exceptional (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). Makalero pronouns are invariable and are used in both subject and object function, as shown in (350) and (351), where the correct interpretation of grammatical relations relies solely on the word order.

(350) *Ani ei pase.*
 1s 2s beat
 ‘I beat you.’ (elic013)

(351) *Ei ani pase.*
 2s 1s beat
 ‘You beat me.’ (elic014)

The first person singular pronoun *ani* and its plural counterpart *ini* (the first person plural exclusive), as well as the second person singular pronoun *ei* and its plural counterpart *i* seem morphologically related, with the plural forms associated with vowel-fronting and vowel-raising. Such a relation between singular and plural (or non-singular) forms is, in fact, a characteristic feature of the pronominal systems of the Trans-New Guinea family, according to Wurm (1982: 78).¹²⁰

In the first person plural, Makalero distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive forms. Since Trans-New Guinea languages commonly lack such a distinction (Wurm 1982: 60), its presence has been speculated to be due to Austronesian influence (Klamer et al. 2008: 95). The first person plural exclusive is related through vowel raising to the first person pronoun throughout the Timor-Alor-Pantar group, e.g. in Fataluku (Campagnolo 1975: 136), Bunak (Schapper 2009: 91), Teiwa (Klamer 2010: 77) and Abui (Kratochvil 2007: 77). Also, all of these languages evidence a form related to *fi* (*afiru* in Fataluku and *pi* in both Teiwa and Abui¹²¹) for

¹²⁰ It also holds for the other Papuan languages of Timor (e.g. Hull 2004: 80f).

¹²¹ Bunak *i* may also be related to this form.

the first person plural inclusive, suggesting that this form is of considerable antiquity. *Fi* in Makalero is not only used for first person inclusive reference, but also as a generic pronoun, as shown in (352).

- (352) *Fi irau loko.*
 1pi not.allowed lie
 ‘One should not lie.’ (elic1407a)

The third person pronouns *kiloo* and *iraku* in the singular and *kilooraa* and *irakulaa* in the plural follow a very different number-marking strategy than the first and second person pronouns: the plural forms are transparently derived from the singular through the suffixes *-raa* and *-laa*, respectively, both of which are common nominal plural markers (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236). The *-laa*-suffix can also be added to the third person plural form *uera*. The third person pronouns differ from the other pronouns in several other respects; they are discussed in more depth in § 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 227). Pronouns have in common with nouns that they are both referring expressions and commonly head NPs. The sentences below show two structurally identical NPs, both consisting of a head followed by a determiner, which differ only in that the NP in (353) is headed by a pronoun and that in (354) by a noun.

- (353) ... [*ani ere*] *ei-mata*...
 1s IDEM 2s-child
 ‘... I am your child...’ (23-039)
- (354) ... [*dila ere*] *langsung dos-mutu-se’el.*
 Frog IDEM direct box-inside:RED-jump:BD
 ‘... the frog jumped directly into the box.’ (115-004)

The above sentences show that personal pronouns such as *ani* (1s) in (353) are compatible with the demonstrative *ere*. No other demonstrative has been found with personal pronouns,¹²² suggesting that *ere* is in such cases not used as a pointing device, but has another, pragmatically-based function. Huber (2008a: 85) speculates the use of the cognate demonstrative with personal pronouns in Makasae is connected to the pronouns in question functioning as undergoers. The combination of pronouns with *ere* in Makalero also shows a high correlation with non-agentivity, (353) being a representative example. However, there are also cases where a personal pronoun modified by a demonstrative looks rather more agentive, as in (355).

- (355) *Ani ere la’a polis*...
 1s IDEM move police
 ‘I became a policeman...’ (82-023)

¹²² The exception is the third person plural pronoun *uera*, which has been found both with *ere* and with *uere*. Its cooccurrence with the addressee-related demonstrative *uere* can be explained as reflecting its origin from the same deictic base; see § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232).

Personal pronouns can be modified with relative sentences (see § 4.3.5, p. 295). However, they are not found with any other adjuncts in the NP (i.e. possessors and modifiers other than relative sentences). Within VPs, personal pronouns are more likely to be constructed as complements than other types of NPs, though they may also be constructed as objects (§ 5.2, p. 319).

3.3.1.1.1 *Forms of address*

The second person pronouns, both singular and plural, are actually very rarely used. Both *ei* and *i* are appropriate only if talking to younger people and subordinates, but also among people of equal status if they are familiar with each other. The second person pronouns can neither be used to address people of higher status nor people of equal status if the speaker does not have a close relationship to them. Kinship terms such as *nana* ‘elder sibling’ or *dada* ‘grandparent’, generally with the honorific suffix *-uai* (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116), are employed in such circumstances, as in the example in (356).

(356) *Ani sa'a u mei=ni dada-uai k-asu-lolo=na'a=po*
 1s thing one take=LNK1 grandparent-HON 3:UND-for-say=INT=ADVR

dada-uai so'ot=ini mini=ni=uai na'an?
 grandparent-HON want=LNK1 follow=LNK1=or NEG.EX
 ‘I will tell you something, grandfather, but do you want to do it or not?’
 (120-142)

There are some indications that this politeness strategy might be losing hold with the younger generation. An example is (357), produced by a 23-year old man, who is in this text fragment relating how he addressed his mother at a particular occasion; though he uses *ina-uai* ‘mother’ with the honorific suffix as a term of address, he continues with the second person singular pronoun *ei*.

(357) *Ina-uai ani tone' ei hau-suri la'a ni-asu sirvisu u haka=na'a.*
 mother-HON 1s probably 2s all-release move REFL-for work one search=INT
 ‘Mother, I will leave you and look for a job for myself.’ (125-29)

The use of kinship terms generally implies some degree of intimacy with the addressee. A more formal politeness strategy, resorted to when this is not the case, is the use of the first person plural inclusive pronoun *fi* as polite form of address. The same use is found in other languages in the vicinity, e.g. Makasae (Huber 2008a: 17) and Bunak (Schapper 2009: 224), but also in unrelated languages of the area, as in Tetum (Hull and Eccles 2001: 25).¹²³ Hull (2004: 81) reports the use of polite forms

¹²³ Foley (1986: 72f) marks as “an intriguing feature of many Papuan languages (...) the often transparent morphological association between first and second persons, most commonly between the first person nonsingular and second singular”, and cites the example of Suki, a language spoken in the Fly River area, in which the pronouns for the second person singular and that for first plural are formally identical. He goes on to note that a system like this appears to be found only in languages which have no

of address calqued on Tetum *Ita-Boot* (great us) in Bunak and Makasae; however, Huber (2008a) does not make mention of such a form in Makasae, and neither does it occur in Schapper's (2009: 225) corpus for Bunak or the Makalero corpus that the present thesis is based on.

3.3.1.1.2 *The third person pronouns*

Third person pronouns are rather different from first and second person pronouns, as Foley (1986: 66) points out: unlike the first and second person pronouns, they do not refer to speech act participants, but to participants in the context. As such, they are 'true' pronouns, standing for nouns established in the context. Although they share the property of shifting reference with first and second person pronouns, third person pronouns are in fact much closer in function to nouns than first and second person pronouns are. Foley (ibid.) notes that they often participate in grammatical and semantic distinctions with the class of nouns, while the first and second person pronouns often do not.

The Makalero third person pronouns differ significantly from the first and second person pronouns in several respects, and it will be argued that they are likely nominal in nature. The very first thing noticeable from a casual observation of Table 3.43 is that there are variant forms to express third person reference, as opposed to the first and second persons: *kiloo* and *iraku* in the singular, and *kilooraa*, *irakulaa*, and *uera(laa)* in the plural. Hull (2004: 79) also mentions a third person singular form *la'i* next to *kiloo*; however, no such form is attested in my corpus.¹²⁴

Furthermore, *kiloo* and *iraku* are the only pronominal forms to form the plural transparently by means of the addition of the nominal plural markers *-raa* and *-laa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236). The morpheme *-laa* is also optionally found in *uera(laa)*. The choice of plural morpheme appears to be based on phonological grounds; as § 3.1.3.2.1 (p. 116) observes, *-raa* is incompatible with stems containing an /r/, in which case *-laa* must be used.

The most common third person pronoun *kiloo* exhibits a marked stress pattern, with the main stress on the last syllable. The unmarked case is for a morpheme to be stressed on the penultimate (§ 2.6.1, p. 87). Also, the fact that *kiloo* has an unpredictable long vowel (as represented in the orthography by the double vowel graph) in the last syllable is remarkable. Long vowel nuclei are regularly found in monosyllabic content words, and § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) argues that unaccountable long vowels are a sign of compounding. A scenario involving some sort of compounding

inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural, and speculates that this has to do with the presence of the addressee in a significant portion of first person plural pronoun uses, namely those corresponding to inclusive 'we' in languages that have the distinction. Finally, he suggests that generally, "the morphological derivation will proceed from the first person as the base form" (Foley 1986: 74).

The use of *fi* as a polite form of address in Makalero (as well as in other Timorese languages) is likely based on a very similar mechanism, suggesting an areal feature. Interestingly, Makalero does make an inclusive/exclusive distinction, which shows that a mechanism related to that described by Foley is more widespread than he apparently thought. As Foley's speculation predicts, it is the first person plural inclusive that is used in Makalero, and not the exclusive form. Also, it seems to confirm the idea that it is an extension of the first person plural use rather than originating from the second person singular.

¹²⁴ In Fataluku, though, *la'i* is attested as a form of address for men of higher status (Valentim 2002).

is indeed very likely for *kiloo*. This is corroborated by the fact that argument-marking verbs, which take pronominal undergoers as complements, use the regular pronouns *ani* and *ei* in the case of a first and a second person undergoer, respectively, but a *k*-prefix for third person undergoers. § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) argues that this prefix is a reduced form of *ki*, which would have been the original form of the third person pronoun. This scenario is further supported by the fact that closely-related Makasae uses a form *gi* for the third person, both as a free pronoun and as a possessive pronoun (see e.g. Huber 2008a). The presence of a cognate for *ki* in Makasae, along with the absence for a cognate for *kiloo*, suggest that *ki* is the original third person pronoun in Makalero, and *kiloo* a later formation. The origin of the second syllable *loo* is unclear.¹²⁵

The form *iraku* is very likely connected to the noun *raku* ‘friend / relative’¹²⁶, with the initial *i* possibly a second person plural possessive (actually *ii*-). The whole would thus clearly be nominal in origin, meaning ‘your (pl) friend’.

Uera, on the other hand, is obviously related to the addressee-related demonstrative *uere*. As laid out in § 3.3.3.2 (p. 236) and § 3.1.3.2.1 (p. 116), *-raa* is a pluraliser for kinship terms, and *-r-* itself is likely an unproductive, but fairly frequent nominaliser. Thus it appears that *uera* is a fossilised plural form of the demonstrative *uere*. Though not listed in Table 3.43 as a personal pronoun, *uere* is in fact frequently used as an NP of its own as a stand-in for a noun phrase. The fact that the *-laa* plural suffix is sometimes added to *uera* shows that the form is no longer transparent and fully grammaticalised. Apart from *ueralaa*, a form *uerlaa*, with vowel elision, is also found. It is in fact actually more frequent than the long form *ueralaa*. Also, a regular formation consisting of the demonstrative *uere* and the plural marker *-laa*, *uerelaa*, is used. (358) and (359) show examples of *uere* and *uera*, with singular and plural reference, respectively. Note particularly that in (359), *uera* is, redundantly, used with the demonstrative *uere*, a further indication for the intransparency and grammaticalisation of the form.

¹²⁵ It is notable, also, that the third person singular pronouns in the non-Austronesian languages of Timor are widely different (with the exception of Makalero-Makasae, as demonstrated above). Fataluku has clearly recognizable cognates to Makalero in the first and second persons: *ana* corresponds to Makalero *ani* (1s), *a* corresponds to *ei* (2s), *afa* corresponds to *fi* (1pi), *ina* to *ini* (1pe), and *ia* to *ii* (2p) (the forms given for Fataluku here are subject non-emphatic forms, taken from Hull 2004: 80). However, the third person pronouns in Fataluku are *tava* and *tavar*, for singular and plural, respectively, which are clearly unrelated to *ki* / *gi* in Makalero-Makasae. Bunak (Schapper 2009: 213), on the other hand, has dual and plural pronouns for the third person based on a form *hala*, but no singular third person pronoun. The non-uniformity of third person pronouns in the non-Austronesian languages of Timor suggest that there was no common third person pronoun in the ancestor language, and all of the forms cited are language-specific innovations. Note, however, that Ross (2005) does reconstruct a third person pronoun for Proto-Trans New Guinea.

¹²⁶ This lexeme might relate to the political term *firaku* (possibly from Makasae *fi raku* ‘we friends / relatives’). The term stems from Portuguese colonial times and is used to refer to natives of the eastern districts of East Timor. It contrasts with *kaladi*, which denotes the western fraction. The distinction is widely recognised in East Timor and “provides a potent source of factional or community rivalry around by all manner of grievances can be added and expressed.” (McWilliam 2006). The terms were also used in the unrest of 2006 and 2007.

- (358) ... *ei=oo hai rau [uere ko-horu] ani=oo ni-papa ko-horu.*
 2s=too NSIT good 2DEM 3:UND-with 1s=too REFL-Indonesian 3:UND-with
 ‘... it’s okay if you stay with him, and I stay with my Indonesian.’
 (101-159)

- (359) *Amu itu uere ki-nei liurai Fereira, liurai Zuaun, liurai*
 person three.HUM 2DEM 3:POSS-name king F. king J. king

Pedru, mara [uera uere] ukun=ana=po...
 P. go 3p 2DEM rule=INT=ADVR
 ‘These three people’s names were king Fereira, king Joao and king Pedro;
 and after they had ruled...’
 (55-05)

The use of the third person pronouns is restricted to human referents. For instance, in the frog stories, *kiloo* invariably refers to the boy only. (360) shows a fragment of this story which involves change of subject or topic, from *ki-sefar=ee* ‘his dog’ in the first part to the boy in the second part. Only the pronoun *kiloo* is used to refer to the boy. Since he is the only human protagonist in the story, its reference is clear.

- (360) *Ki-sefar=ee hai la’a fu-ue-nat kiloo*
 3:POSS-dog=DEF NSIT move near:RED-V2DEM:RED-stand.SG 3s

ue-poko=ni...
 V2DEM:RED-crouch-LNK1
 ‘His dog goes to stand there near (him), and he crouches there and then...’
 (38-012)

The pronoun does sometimes occur in contexts where it refers to non-human referents, but all of those cases are followed by an NP to clarify the reference of the pronoun. An example, from the same text as (360), is shown in (361).

- (361) ... *kiloo na’a.muni sefar=ee na’a muni hai la’a=ni*
 3s in.turn dog=DEF in.turn NSIT move=LNK1

potil=ee-mutu’...
 bottle=DEF-inside
 ‘It is not the frog that is in the bottle, but him, the dog is inside the bottle...’
 (38-029)

It is not clear whether such cases are structures in their own right or should better be seen as performance errors. Interestingly, *iraku* is in one case used with reference to a pot of porridge on the fire, i.e. an inanimate entity, with no further clarification. The sentence is given in (362).

- (362) *Uai=ni iraku=taa k-ua-ue-daru=ni ka'u-ka'u*
 CLS=LNK1 3s=PURP 3:UND-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-put:BD=LNK1 RDL-small
mu'it=ete=si fi mei=ni rei-daru.
 long=after=LNK2 1pi take=LNK1 outwards-put:BD
 'So let it be there on (the fire), and after a little while we take it out.'
 (50-10)

Demonstratives can also be used for third person referents, and are indeed the only way of replacing a [-HUM] noun. See § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232) for a short discussion on the demonstrative system.

As argued above, the original form of the most basic third person pronoun in Makalero is probably *ki*, a cognate of which, *gi*, is in use in Makasae. This form was most likely used both as a free pronoun and as a possessive marker. When the probably compounded form *kiloo* was introduced as a free pronoun, *ki* became a bound form, used adnominally to indicate possession (see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225),¹²⁷ as the example in (363) shows. Apart from that, *ki-* also marks the possessive relation in cases where the possessor is expressed as a full NP (see § 4.2, p. 277). In (364), this possessor NP is bracketed.

- (363) *Po ki-mata ue'=uai na'an?*
 ADVR 3:POSS-child V2DEM=or NEG.EX
 'But she has children, doesn't she?' (chat027)
 (lit. her children are there)
- (364) [*Asi-mata-r amu fat ere*] *ki-nei ki-apalidu=ni uere'.*
 1s:POSS-child-PL person four 1DEM 3:POSS-name 3:POSS-name=CTR 2DEM.V
 'My four children's names are these.' (105-056)

The free third person pronoun *kiloo* can stand in the same position as the nominal possessor in (356) if special emphasis is required. The resulting structure is shown in (365).¹²⁸

- (365) *Ani kiloo ki-nei hai isi-nilu.*
 1s 3s 3:POSS-name NSIT at:RED-forget
 'I forgot his name.' (elic1071)

¹²⁷ In a reduced form, it is also in use as a marker for third person undergoers with a specific class of verbs (§ 3.2.3.4, p. 163).

¹²⁸ Note that an equivalent structure exists with other pronouns as well. (xiv) shows a sentence in which *ani* precedes the possessive *asi-*, just like *kiloo* precedes its possessive form *ki-* in (365).

- (xiv) *Ani asi-lafu hanu pa'u-pa'uk.*
 1s 1s:POSS-life very RDL-bad
 'My life is very bad.' (66-32)

The fact that the first person possessive marker *asi-* is used proves that this is something in the way of a topic construction ("as for me, my life...") rather than an indication of nominal status of *ani*. If *ani* was in fact treated like a noun, the possessive marker *ki-*, rather than *asi-*, would be expected.

Iraku is only found as a possessor with *ki-*, like a noun or NP, as shown in (366). Cases like (367), where the demonstrative *uere* replaces some unspecified inanimate entity, allow to infer that the same possessive construction with *ki-* is also used with *uera*.

- (366) *Tau-la'a na'akini iraku ki-moral tepa felun...*
 where:RED-move important? 3s 3:POSS-moral constant nice
 'Wherever she goes, the important thing is that her moral is always good...'
 (107-20)

- (367) *Uere ki-ira hau misa!*
 2DEM 3:POSS-price all go.up
 'That is very expensive!'
 (elic1120)

In summary, the items used in the function of third person pronouns exhibit more or less clear noun-like qualities distinguishing them from the pronouns denoting the speech act participants. As such, even though they are presented together with pronouns, following the traditional arrangement, they could possibly be classified as nouns.

3.3.1.1.3 Possessive pronouns

A possessor NP headed by a common noun is adjoined to the left of the head noun with the possessive marker *ki-*, as in (368), where it is bracketed.

- (368) [*Asi-upa*] *ki-nei Pedru, katekista.*
 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS-name P. catechist
 'My father's name is Pedro, (he is a) chatechist.'
 (chat021)

Pronominal possessors are directly adjoined to the head noun, either in a special bound adnominal form or in a bound form that is identical to that of the free pronoun. The bound adnominal forms of the personal pronouns differ from those of the other pronouns (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227, through § 3.3.1.5, p. 231) in that they are found modifying nominal heads only, but are not found with verbs.¹²⁹

The possessive pronouns, together with the corresponding free pronouns, are given in Table 3.44.

¹²⁹ Again, the third person form *ki-* is an exception in this respect; § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) suggests that it is the origin of the third person object prefix *k-*.

	free pronoun	possessive pronoun
1 st person singular	<i>ani</i>	<i>asi-</i>
2 nd person singular	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei-</i>
3 rd person singular	<i>kiloo, iraku</i>	<i>ki-</i>
1 st person plural exclusive	<i>ini</i>	<i>isi-</i>
1 st person plural inclusive	<i>fī</i>	<i>fī-</i>
2 nd person plural	<i>ii</i>	<i>ii-</i>
3 rd person plural	<i>kilooraa, irakulaa, uera(laa)</i>	<i>ki-</i>

Table 3.44: Personal pronouns and possessive forms

Only the second person pronouns, as well as the first person plural inclusive, use a form identical to the free pronoun to express possession. The first person singular and the first person plural exclusive pronouns as well as the pronouns of the third persons have special forms. There is no number distinction in the possessive form of the third person (see also § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). Also, whereas there are various free third person pronouns, there is only one possessive form, clearly related to the pronoun *kiloo*.

The possessive pronouns never take a main stress and are bound to an NP head. As such, they are treated as non-free form. This status distinction is most clear in those cases where the free pronouns and the possessive forms are formally identical, such as in the second person. For illustration, (369) illustrates *ei* (2s) as a subject argument, whereas in (370), the same form functions as a possessor in the noun phrase *ei-sefar ki=metan ere* ‘your black dog’. In (369), *ei* is an argument of its own and has distinctive stress, whereas in (370), it is unstressed and clearly dependent on the noun following it. The difference is quite clear and does not leave room for misunderstanding of the function of *ei* in a particular sentence.

(369) *Ei hiitafu ere mei=ni sa'a-kini?*
2s machete 1DEM take=LNK1 what:BD-do
‘What do you use this machete for?’ (elic1755)

(370) *Ei-sefar ki=metan ere aire' ani ka'el.*
2s-dog ATTR=black 1DEM now 1s bite
‘Your black dog has just bitten me.’ (elic1452)

Possessors are bound to the presence of an NP head. They cannot appear with headless noun phrases (see § 4.1, p. 273). For this reason, the possessive pronouns are linked to the head noun with a hyphen, like prefixes, rather than as clitics, which are understood as functioning on phrase-level.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Additionally, the use of the hyphen to join possessive pronouns to the head noun allows for the distinction between the third person possessive *ki-* and the attributive marker *ki=*, which is treated as a clitic (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240, § 4.3.4, p. 284), and facilitates the reading of NPs where the two cooccur. An example is given in (xv).

The possessive forms are used with both subject NPs and object or complement NPs, but in the latter case only where the possessor is not coreferent with the subject NP. In those cases where the possessor of an object NP is coreferent with the subject, the reflexive possessive *ni-* is used (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 227). For the predication of possession, the verbs (*k*)-*isi* ‘belong’ or *ue* (V2DEM) are used (see § 3.2.3.12.5, p. 207, and § 3.2.3.9, p. 180).

3.3.1.2 The reflexive *ni*

The reflexive *ni* shares with personal pronouns as discussed above the property of shifting reference. Unlike those, however, *ni* cannot be used as a subject, but is restricted to non-subject argument function, since it refers back to the participant denoted by the subject NP. In other words, its interpretation is dependent on the subject participant that precedes it. (371) gives an example.

- (371) *Ani ueir-isi-la'a=ni ni uaro'.*
 1s river-at:RED-move=LNK1 REFL bathe
 ‘I went to the river to wash (myself).’ (elic006)

Like the personal pronouns (§ 3.3.1.1, p. 218), *ni* is very commonly constructed as a verbal complement within the VP, but can also stand in the object position (§ 5.2, p. 319).

The reflexive *ni* can also function as the possessor of a noun phrase. Like the possessive pronouns, it is in those cases unstressed and analysed as a dependent form, as indicated by the use of the hyphen in (372).

- (372) ... *ani hai muni ni-lopu-isi-ma'u.*
 1s NSIT return REFL-house-at-come
 ‘... I came back home.’ (101-187)

The possessive-marking *ni-* is used where the possessor is coreferent with the clause’s subject, as in (372); this means that it occurs only with non-subject NPs. It cannot be used as a possessor within a subject NP because of its meaning “coreferent with subject”, a restriction it shares with its free pronoun counterpart. This implies that the possessive forms of the personal pronouns described in § 3.3.1.1.3 (p. 225) above stand either with subject NPs or, with non-subjects, in those cases where the subject and the possessor of this second argument are not coreferent.

The reflexive pronoun can be used with reference to subjects which are outside of the clause. (373) and (374) show three consecutive clauses from a retelling of the frog story, labelled CLS1, CLS2 and CLS3. The subject of CLS3 is unexpressed, but is the same as that of CLS1. CLS2 has a different subject. The undergoer of CLS3 is

- (xv) *Asi-tufur ki=pere ki-nami ere...*
 1s:POSS-sister ATTR=big 3:POSS-husband IDEM
 ‘My big sister’s husband...’ (101-465)

marked with the possessive reflexive *ni-*, which in this case refers to the subject expressed overtly in CLS1.

- (373) *Mara=ni [sefar=ee (...) ni-tana hai feil]*_{CLS1}.
 go=LNK1 dog=DEF REFL-hand NSIT lick
 ‘Then the dog (...) licks his paw.’ (102-107)

- (374) *[Ki-tana hai pil]*_{CLS2}=*isi [ni-tana hau isi-feil]*_{CLS3}.
 3:POSS-hand NSIT wounded=LNK2 REFL-hand all at:RED-lick
 ‘His paw is hurt, so he tries to lick it.’ (102-108)

3.3.1.3 The reciprocal *ta*

The reciprocal pronoun *ta* parallels the reflexive *ni* (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227) in most ways. Since its interpretation is also dependent on the subject participant, it, too, cannot be used in subject function, but only in the role of a non-subject argument. An example is given in (375).

- (375) *Uerlaa ta ena nomo rau.*
 3p REC see NEG good
 ‘They don’t like each other.’ (elic049)

Like the other pronouns, *ta* is commonly constructed as a complement within the VP, rather than as an object. *Ta* differs from all other pronouns in that it has not been found adnominally as a possessor.¹³¹

3.3.1.4 Interrogative pronouns

Makalero has only two true interrogative pronouns, namely *mu’a-* ‘who (BD)’ and *sa’a-* ‘what (BD)’. All other interrogatives are verbal (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167). The behaviour of the pronominal interrogatives is reminiscent of the reflexive pronoun as discussed in § 3.3.1.2 (p. 227) in that their simple forms as given here are used only in non-subject function. If they are to function as subjects, a special form must be used.

3.3.1.4.1 *Mu’a-* ‘who’

Mu’a- ‘who’ has much the same properties as the reflexive *ni*. As a question word, obviously, it does not refer to a particular entity. The form *mu’a-* is only used attributively, both to verbs and nouns. In other words, it is used either as a

¹³¹ However, I did not specifically test it; it is hence unclear whether this is an accidental gap in the data, or in fact an exceptional property of *ta*.

complement within a VP, as in (376), or as a possessor within an NP, as in (377). Again, the hyphen is used to indicate this dependency relation.

- (376) *Aftane' ei mu'a-horu lolo-ini?*
 PT 2s who:BD-with say-do:BD
 'Who were you talking to before?' (elic1490)

- (377) *Ere mua-mata?*
 IDEM who:BD-child
 'Whose child is this?'¹³² (elic1115)

There is a derived form, *mu'ani*, used mainly for the subject function. In this, *mu'a*-differs from the reflexive and the reciprocal pronouns, which cannot occur in subject function at all. The form *mu'ani*, illustrated in (378), is most likely segmentable into *mu'a*- and the clause-linker-turned-contrastive marker =*ini* (see § 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248, § 9.2.3.1, p. 501). The combination is lexicalised in present-day Makalero, as clearly shown in (379), where *mu'ani* as a whole is marked with the contrastive marker =*ini*.

- (378) ... *mu'ani asi-mina.kuda hau mei sa'a-kini... ?*
 who.SUBJ 1s:POSS-kuda.oil all take what:BD-do
 '... who took my kuda oil to do what...?' (54-08)

- (379) *Mu'ani=ni ma'u? – Ani=hi'a=ni ma'u.*
 who.SUBJ=CTR come 1s=only=CTR come
 'Who (is it that) came? – Only me.' (elic1670)

The combination of *mu'a* and =*ini* can be broken up through the use of the reduplicated plural *-laa-laa* or *-la-laa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236), as shown in (380).

- (380) *Mu'a-la-laa=ni ma'u=oo rau.*
 who-RDL-PL=CTR come=too good
 'Everyone who comes is welcome.' (elic1044)

The exact analysis of the forms *mu'a* and *mu'ani* is debatable, as there is conflicting evidence in one crucial construction. Either form has been found in the object position within a VP. In (381), *mu'ani* is used, while in (382), it is *mu'a*. The former construction suggests that *mu'a* is a dependent form that can occur only if used in a morphosyntactic unit with either a verbal or a nominal head; in the latter, however, *mu'a* is analysed as an oblique form, and *mu'ani* as a subject form.¹³³ Most examples

¹³² A construction using the possessive marker *ki-*, as in (xvi), was accepted, but not spontaneously produced.

- (xvi) *Ere mua ki-mata?*
 IDEM who:BD 3:POSS-child
 'Whose child is this?' (elic1115a)

¹³³ The latter analysis would also be supported by such examples as (xvi) in fn 132.

supporting the latter view come from only one speaker, who has been living abroad for a number of years. The evidence pointing to the analysis of *mu'a* as a bound form is supported by data coming from a variety of speakers and thus seems more conclusive. For this reason, *mu'a* is in the present work treated like a bound form.

(381) *Ei mu'ani ko-horu?*
 2s who 3:UND-with
 'Who are you with?' (elic178)

(382) *Kiloo mua hai k-uta?*
 3s who NSIT 3:UND-kill
 'Who did he kill?' (pelic213)

In a very few instances, a form *umani*, used in both subject and object function, was given. All of its occurrences are from elicited sentences. Informants explained it as a regional variant, and in fact it is identical to the Fataluku interrogative pronoun 'who'.¹³⁴

3.3.1.4.2 Sa'a- 'what'

The use of *sa'a-* 'what' yields a picture very similar to that of *mu'a-* 'who', though it is a bit more complicated through the fact that it is also in use as a noun meaning 'thing'.¹³⁵ Just like *mu'a-*, *sa'a-* 'what' has been found as a verbal complement, as shown in (383) with (*k*)-*asu* 'for'.

(383) ... *ei aire' iskola sa'a-asu iskola?*
 2s now school what:BD-for school
 '... you go to school now, what do you go to school for?' (54-15)

Sa'a- can also be used as an attribute to a noun, as in (384). This structure is very similar to the possessive function of *mu'a-* 'who' exemplified in (377) above. However, the reading of this structure with *sa'a-* is not generally possessive, but rather modifying in the sense of 'what, what kind of'. This difference may be semantically based, since (inanimate) objects do not normally possess things. From a semantic point of view, *sa'a-* looks in this construction like a prototypical modifier. However, the fact that the construction is exactly parallel to that of *mu'a-* allows for an identical analysis of *sa'a-* as a pronoun.

(384) *Iou sa'a-tufuraa ere'...*
 INTERJ what:BD-woman IDEM.V
 'Oh, what kind of woman is this...' (74-109)

¹³⁴ Pinto (2007) uses *uma* / *umaini* in lieu of the *mu'a* / *mu'ani* used in my corpus.

¹³⁵ *Sa'a*, alone or in the combination *sa'a-damu* 'what is it called', is also very commonly used as a marker of hesitation, as when a speaker is looking for words.

As with *mu'a-* 'who', a form augmented with the contrastive marker =*ini*, *sa'ani*, is used for the subject function, as shown in (385). Again, the fact that a contrastive marker can be added to *sa'ani*, as in (386), shows that it is largely lexicalised.

- (385) *Sa'ani uere'?*
 what.SUBJ 2DEM.V
 'What is (that) there?' (elic664)

- (386) *Sa'ani=ni ei-nini ei aka'?*
 what=CTR 2s-do:BD 2s scared
 'What frightened you?' (elic1374)

Again, there is conflicting evidence as to the use of *sa'a-* and *sa'ani* in object position (see § 3.3.1.4.1, p. 228). In analogy with the analysis for *mu'a- ~ mu'ani*, *sa'a-* is here treated as a bound form for use in a morphosyntactic complex with either a verbal or a nominal head, while *sa'ani* is the corresponding free form.

3.3.1.5 The indefinite pronoun *riparipa*

Only one indefinite pronoun has so far been identified in Makalero,¹³⁶ namely the reduplicated form *riparipa* 'any'. It is most often found adverbally, as in (387). There is no clear grammatical evidence that shows it is constructed as a complement; however, the analogy with the pronouns discussed in the previous paragraphs allows for this conclusion.

- (387) ...*fi harus ni-lolo-ini-isi-ne'et=ete lolo urau riparipa-lolo...*
 Ipi must REFL-say-NML-at:RED-think=after say not.allowed any-say
 '... we must think about what we want to say before we speak, and (we) must not speak randomly...' (98-20)

A good indication of *riparipa*'s pronominal status comes from the fact that it can also function adnominally, as in (388), just like the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns as well as the interrogatives (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 227, through § 3.3.1.4, p. 228).

- (388) ... *asi-noko riparipa-amulafu=ni ko-horu rau.*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling any-person=CTR 3:UND-with good
 '... my younger sister gets along well with anybody.' (105-006)

¹³⁶ Apart from this, there are no special indefinite forms; regular NPs are used in that function. For instance, 'someone' is translated as *amu u* (person one) or *amulafu ho'o* (living.person some) and something as *sa'a u* (thing one) or *sa'a ho'o* (thing some). In negated clauses, these phrases fulfill the function of negative indefinites.

3.3.2 Determiners

The most commonly used determiners are the demonstratives, described in § 3.3.2.1 below. There is only one other determiner, *ho'o* 'some', which is discussed in § 3.3.2.2 (p. 233). Both demonstratives and *ho'o* can constitute NPs of their own (§ 4.1, p. 273). The same is not the case for the definite marker =*ee*, which is similar in function, but different in status from the determiners. As a consequence, it is discussed in § 3.5.1.1 (p. 243) with NP-level clitics.

3.3.2.1 Demonstratives

Makalero demonstratives encode five distinctions with respect to spatial deixis, as discussed in § 3.2.3.9 (p. 180) for the corresponding verbal forms. Both the nominal demonstratives and the related verbal forms are listed in Table 3.45.

demonstrative	meaning	deictic verb
<i>ere</i>	proximal to first person same elevation	<i>e'</i>
<i>uere</i>	proximal to second person same elevation	<i>ue'</i>
<i>umere</i>	distant from first and second person same elevation	<i>ume'</i>
<i>udere</i>	higher elevation	<i>ude'</i>
<i>ufere</i>	lower elevation	<i>ufe'</i>

Table 3.45: Demonstratives

The demonstratives as given in the left column of Table 3.45 directly relate to the set of deictic verbs, shown in the right column. The verbal forms are derived from the common root with the glottal verbaliser (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128) and the demonstratives through the use of the nominaliser *-r-* (see § 3.1.2.1.1, p. 102).

Demonstratives can be used both as determiners of an NP (see § 4, p. 273 for their position) as well as make up full NPs of their own. They are in these latter cases similar in function to third person pronouns (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). *Ere* and particularly *uere*, the near-speaker and near-addressee demonstratives, are frequently used in discourse to mark anaphoric reference. As an example, consider the text fragment given in (389) through (391), an excerpt from the frog story. Observe, particularly, the successive uses of the noun *dila* 'frog'. It is first introduced, without any determiner, in (389). The second mention, in (390), still has no determiner, but

the third occurrence of *dila* ‘frog’ is determined with the demonstrative *uere* in (391). Similarly, *sefar* ‘dog’ is first introduced without a determiner, taken up in (390) with the definite marker =*ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243), and finally, in (391), with the demonstrative *uere*.¹³⁷

(389) ... *kiloo dila ufal sefar ufal*.
 3s frog feed dog feed
 ‘... he owns (lit. feeds) a frog and a dog.’ (102-002)

(390) *Dila mei=ni putil-mutu-suri=si sefar=ee so’ot=ini*
 frog take=LNK1 bottle-inside:RED-release:BD=LNK1 dog=DEF want=LNK1

ko-horu=ni murimuri=na’a.

3:UND-with=LNK1 play=INT

‘(He) takes the frog and puts him into a bottle, and the dog wants to play with it.’ (102-003)

(391) *Murimuri=na’a=si kiloo ki-isa se hare’ ue’=ini sefar*
 play=INT=LNK2 3s 3:POSS-condition very clean V2DEM=LNK1 dog

uere dila uere toton.

2DEM frog 2DEM watch

‘(The dog) wants to play with it, and he (the child) is very happy there, he watches the dog and the frog.’ (102-004)

Ere and *uere* are also used in non-embedded nominalisation constructions (§ 7.7.4, p. 450).

3.3.2.2 *Ho’o* ‘some’

Ho’o is equivalent to English ‘some’, both in the sense of ‘several’, as shown in (392) with a plural referent, and in the sense of ‘any’, as with the singular referent in (393). In rapid speech, it is frequently heard as [ho:] or [o:].¹³⁸

(392) *Asi-noko asi-nana ho’o=ni ude-rou...*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling 1s:POSS-elder.sibling some=CTR VDEM.HIGH:RED-sleep .PL
 ‘Some of my relatives stay up there...’ (70-07)

¹³⁷ The area of reference and definiteness is a complicated one and could not be resolved satisfactorily within the scope of the present project. See § 3.5.1.1 (p. 243) for more information. Further research is required for a more detailed account of this area of Makalero grammar.

¹³⁸ As such, it sounds very much like the clitic =*oo* ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245). However, the two items differ clearly in status, with =*oo* a clitic attached phrasal level, and *ho’o* a determiner in the determiner slot within the NP.

- (393) ... *k-asu ha'auēin ho'o mei kini...*
 3:UND-for place some take give.to.3
 '... give him a place...'
 (69-055)

Ho'o 'some' does not cooccur with other determiners such as the demonstratives discussed in § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232) above, which suggests that they stand in the same slot and are, hence, members of one category. A given NP can thus have one determiner at most.

Ho'o is particularly frequent with generic nouns such as *amuni* 'person', *amulafu* 'living person' and *sa'a* 'thing'; the combination amounts to an indefinite pronoun (see also fn 136). Examples are given in (394) and (395).

- (394) ... *Maria ki-isi-ne'et ma'akini amulafu ho'o=ni (...) aihaa*
 M. 3:POSS-at:RED-think wrongly.think person some=CTR door

hai loke=ini...
 NSIT open=LNK1
 '... Maria thought that somebody had opened the door...'
 (44-03)

- (395) ... *fi-asu sa'a ho'o tina=ni...*
 1pi-for thing some cook=LNK1
 '... cook something for us, and then...'
 (23-005)

As in the case of demonstratives, *ho'o* 'some', too, can constitute an NP of its own. This usage is quite equivalent to that of *ho'o* with a generic noun, i.e. is read as an indefinite pronoun. Notably, *ho'o* can, in these cases, stand for both human and non-human (inanimate) referents, as shown in (396) and (397), respectively.

- (396) *Ho'o nomo mi-ma'en uai=ni=si ani-asu si'ak ani pase.*
 some NEG along:RED-know CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s-for angry 1s beat
 'Some didn't understand, so they were angry with me and beat me.'
 (101-033)

- (397) *Ani he'ul=afta ho'o mei ni-nana-raa meih=ee kini...*
 1s full=COND some take REFL-elder.sibling-PL two.HUM=DEF give.to.3
 'If I was full, I gave some to my two older siblings...'
 (101-026)

In combination with the negator *nomo*, *ho'o* is generally read as equivalent to the negative polarity item 'any' (shown in (398)), or, in the case of a generic NP such as exemplified in (396) and (397), a negative indefinite, as in (399).

- (398) *Uai=ni=po Iliomar k-isi' ho'o nomo hofe=ua?*
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR I. 3:UND-belong some NEG know=QM
 'But didn't you know anybody from Iliomar?'
 (chat023a)

- (399) *Amulafu ho'o nomo ma'u.*
 person some NEG come
 'No one came.'
 (elic1029a)

- (402) *teuh-ini* 'gift'
buy-NML
- uatu-teru-ini* 'parasol'
sun-shelter-NML

The most frequent, and indeed lexicalised, derivations with *-ini* are those found in (403).

- (403) *nua-ini* 'food'
eat-NML
- tina-ini* 'cooked rice'
cook-NML

The *-ini* derivation generally denotes the product of an action, as is the case with *teuh-ini* 'gift' and *tina-ini* 'cooked rice', an instrument, as with *uatu-teru-ini* 'parasol', or, as in *nua-ini* 'food', the undergoer of the action. In other words, it refers to an object that is in a general way involved in the action as expressed by the verb. Note that the same readings are also commonly associated with underived verbal morphemes in argument use (§ 3.2.1, p. 125). This may explain the rare occurrence of the suffix.

-ini is homophonous with the bound form of the verb *kini* 'do', which is used to modify the number of participants expressed with a given verb in a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2.5.1, p. 340). It is in fact possible that the two morphemes are related. However, there is evidence that justifies the treatment of nominalising *-ini* as a separate morpheme; for instance, in (404), the verbal complex *heru-ini* 'weaving' is nominalised with the suffix *-ini*; i.e. the nominalising *-ini* is used on top of the verbal *-ini* 'do'. This shows that they function as distinct morphological processes.

- (404) *Heru-ini-ini uere mei kareta helur=inini iskola-isi-la'a...*
weave-do:BD-NML 2DEM take car change=LNK1 school-at:RED-move
'(I) took the earnings of the weaving to pay for transportation to go to school...'
(126-145)

3.3.3.2 The plural suffixes

Plural marking is not obligatory in Makalero. In cases where explicit marking is considered necessary, the suffixes *-laa* and *-raa* attach to the head of the NP (see § 4.1, p. 273), as exemplified in (405) and (406).

- (405) *isi-sa'e-laa=ua Timorleste mutu-diar=ee*
1pe:POSS-hair-PL=REL T. inside:RED-sit.PL=DEF
'our leaders who sit in Timor Leste'
(65-22)

- (406) *asi-upa-raa ki=rial=ee*
 1s:POSS-father-PL ATTR=many.HUM=DEF
 ‘my many uncles’ (101-013)

The only case where the plural suffixes are found on a morpheme other than a noun is with the demonstrative-based form of the third person plural pronoun, *uera*¹³⁹ ~ *uerlaa* ~ *ueralaa* (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221).

-raa is restricted to kinship terms, though it cannot be used on morphemes containing an /r/. In such cases, *-laa* is substituted (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116, for an example). The noun *mata* ‘child’ is not compatible with *-raa*, but only with what appears to be a short version of this suffix, *-r* (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116, for the various plural marking patterns found with *mata*). This short version is also found in one case with *tala* ‘branch’ (see text 1 in Appendix 1).

-laa is found with all other [+HUM] nouns. This includes personal names, with which it is interpreted as an associative plural. An example is given in (407). Very infrequently, a special associative plural suffix *-ara* has been found, as shown in (408). It is possible that this latter is related to the *-raa* plural marker.

- (407) *Sabina-laa hai tu’.*
 S.-PL NSIT first
 ‘Sabina and them went ahead.’ (elic1702b)

- (408) ... *Leni-ara na’a.muni Agustu mi-naser...*
 L.=ASS.PL in.turn A. along:RED-stand.PL
 ‘... Leni and them stood alongside Augusto...’ (120-094)

The plural marker *-laa* occurs in a reduplicated form either as *-la-laa*, or with full reduplication as *-laa-laa*. In this use, it is translatable as “all sorts of”, as in (409), or denotes the entirety of a given group, as in (410). It thus has an exhaustivity component.

- (409) ... *riku-laa-laa=ni ue’=oo ani haka nomo so’ot.*
 fortune-RDL-PL=CTR V2DEM=too 1s all NEG want
 ‘... even though (you may) have all kinds of riches, I don’t want any of those.’ (122-12)

- (410) ... *mina.kuda-laa-laa mei=ni ni-sa’e-isi’.*
 kuda.oil-RDL-PL take=LNK1 REFL-hair-at
 ‘... (you) put all of the kuda oil on your hair.’ (54-16)

La’ane ‘various’ has a similar function of marking plurality, but stands outside of the NP. It is analysed as verbal and is briefly discussed in § 3.2.3.12.7 (p. 210).

¹³⁹ There is no discernible vowel length in this case. See § 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 221), which suggests the form is lexicalised.

3.3.3.3 The honorific suffix *-uai*

-uai is a honorific suffix that is found on a subset of kinship terms which is given in (411).

(411)	<i>dada</i>	‘grandparent’
	<i>ina</i>	‘mother’
	<i>nana</i>	‘elder sibling’
	<i>noko</i>	‘younger sibling’
	<i>upa</i>	‘father’

Note that in the case of ‘mother’, *-uai* combines with *ina* only, rather than the more common term *ni*. *Ina* is not otherwise found for ‘mother’; it appears to be an Austronesian loan (i.e. Tetum: *inan* ‘mother’). *-uai* is found on *noko* ‘younger sibling’ only in one text, where the speaker is addressing people younger than himself in general, rather than a particular individual. Otherwise, it is noticeable that *-uai* is found only on kinship terms referring to individuals older, and hence of higher status, than the speaker. *-uai* occurs on these terms both when they are used as terms of address as well as in reference.

3.3.3.4 The agent noun suffix *-door*

The suffix *-door* is the most productive way of forming agent nouns from activity verbs. *-door* is borrowed from the Portuguese suffix *-dor* (possibly through Tetum) with the same meaning. Its Makalero adaptation has a long vowel nucleus, suggesting it might possibly be understood as a content word of its own, and made to conform to the bimoraicity requirement for such lexemes (§ 2.5.1, p. 76); note that Williams and Hajek (2009) suggest a similar analysis for the same item in the local lingua franca Tetum. The suffix is fully integrated in the language and can be used on any activity verb. Examples of the use of *-door* are given in § 3.1.2.1.3 (p. 105).

3.3.3.5 Combinations of suffixes

The four nominal suffixes discussed in § 3.3.3.1 (p. 235) through § 3.3.3.4 (p. 238) can theoretically be combined in six ways, as listed in (412).

(412)	<i>-ini + -door</i>
	<i>-ini + -laa / -raa</i>
	<i>-ini + -uai</i>
	<i>-door + -laa / -raa</i>
	<i>-door + -uai</i>
	<i>-laa / -raa + uai</i>

Only the last of these combinations, that of the honorific *-uai* and the plural marker *-raa*, has actually been found in the corpus. As shown in (413), the honorific precedes the plural suffix in such a case.

- (413) ... *upa-uai-raa la'a=ni mana hai to'i.*
 father-HON-PL move=LNK1 hole NSIT dig
 '... the fathers went to dig a hole.' (63-06)

Both the nominaliser *-ini* and the agent noun suffix *-door* derive nouns from verbs; their combination in one word is thus logically impossible. The same holds for the *-ini*-nominaliser and the plural suffixes; nominalisations with *-ini* always refer to objects, while the plural suffixes generally occur with [+HUM] nouns only. Also, combinations of the nominaliser *-ini* and the honorific suffix *-uai* are logically excluded, since the honorific is found on kinship terms only. A combination of the agent noun suffix *-door* with a plural marker is conceivable, but not found in the corpus. Presumably, in such a case, *-door* would be followed by the plural suffix. The combination of *-door* and the honorific, finally, is also logically excluded due to the latter's distribution, which is restricted to kinship terms.

3.3.4 Prefixes

Conforming its basic SOV profile, prefixes are relatively uncommon in Makalero. Apart from the possessive pronouns (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225), there is only one other putative case of a prefix in the nominal domain, namely the vocative *a-* found on forms of address. Its occurrence is very much restricted: it is used only when calling out to a person to draw their attention, and only on terms of address that start in a consonant phoneme. It is used both with given names (see § 3.1.3.1.1, p. 109, for examples) as well as, rarely, with kinship terms. An example is given in (414).

- (414) *A-dada!* 'Grandfather!'
 VOC-grandparent

3.3.5 Clitics

Clitics are defined as phonetically, syntactically and semantically dependent morphemes which attach not at morpheme level, as affixes do, but at a syntactic unit of phrase or clause level. Clitics associated with the noun phrase are the relative marker *=ua* and the attributive marker *ki=*, discussed in § 3.3.5.1 (p. 240) and § 3.3.5.2 (p. 240), respectively.

3.3.5.1 The relative marker =ua

The relative sentence marker =ua is most often found on the head of an NP, as in (415). However, (416) shows it on a larger constituent, made up of a nominal head and a modifier. For this reason, it is analysed as an enclitic.

- (415) *Namiraa=ua faru imir k-utu ere uere asi-upa.*
 man=REL shirt red 3:UND-wear 1DEM 2DEM 1s:POSS-father
 ‘That man in the red shirt is my father.’ (elic1430a)

- (416) *[Kareta [ki=moso]_{MOD}=[ua umere’]_{MOD}]_{NP} ani-isi’.*
 car ATTR=green =REL DEM.DIST.V 1s-belong
 ‘That green car over there is mine.’ (elic466)

Relative sentences with =ua are discussed in detail in § 4.3.5 (p. 295).¹⁴⁰

The clitic =ua can also be found on clauses. Its function in those cases is much like that of a clause linker; it has a subordinating function in common with its relative-marking use. More discussion on this use of =uai is given in § 3.5.3.1.2.4 (p. 259).

3.3.5.2 The attributive marker ki=

Ki= is a proclitic attributive marker. It stands with attributes denoting permanent properties; as a consequence, there is a high correlation of ki= with stative verbs (see § 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151). The proclitic conveys a notion of contrastivity. In other words, the referent of the NP with the ki= attribute contrasts through that attribute from other possible referents. An example is given in (417).

- (417) *Kiloo sefar ki=pere loloi fan ki=ka’u lolitu.*
 3s dog ATTR=big.SG two feed ATTR=small three
 ‘He has 2 big dogs and 3 small ones.’ (elic1455)

¹⁴⁰ While the marking of relative sentences is the main function of =ua, there remains a group of cases where =ua appears to have a different function. For instance, (xvii) could possibly be analysed as a relative clause syntactically, but it cannot be meaningfully interpreted as such. In (xviii), on the other hand, the noun marked by =ua simply lacks anything that could be termed a modifier; in fact, it is directly followed by the predicate.

- (xvii) *Ere fi=ua la’a=ni tufuraa-laa ki-sirvisu=ua la’a=ni hael hular,*
 1DEM 1pi=REL move=LNK1 woman-PL 3:POSS-work=REL move=LNK1 cotton spin

uere mei=ni ere-isi-lolo.
 2DEM take=LNK1 1DEM-at:RED-say
 ‘In this, we are going to talk about women’s work, how to make yarn.’ (62-01)

- (xviii) *Asi-ni la’a=ni ueir li’an ira=ua li’an.*
 1s:POSS-mother move=LNK1 river fall water=REL fall
 ‘My mother went and fell into the river (and drowned).’ (101-012)

Attributes with *ki=* are discussed in more detail in § 4.3.4 (p. 284).

Note that *ki=* is homophonous with the third person possessive *ki-* (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). The two may be related, the common denominator being their connection with NP modifiers. The structures they appear in in present-day Makalero are clearly distinct; compare (417) above with (418), with the possessive *ki-*.

- (418) *Asi-lode ki-ti'ir ere kilu ruru.*
 1s:POSS-bag 3:POSS-heavy 1DEM kilo ten
 'My bag's weight is 10 kilos.' (elic470)

In (418), *ki-* is bound to the NP head, *ti'ir* 'heavy'. In (417), however, the head of the structure is to the left of the *ki=* attribute. The brackets in (419) and (420) serve to illustrate the divergent analyses of the noun phrases *sefar ki=pere loloi* 'two big dogs' and *asi-lode ki-ti'ir* 'my bag's weight', respectively.

- (419) *[[sefar]_{HEAD} [ki=pere]_{MOD} [loloi]_{MOD}]_{NP}* 'two big dogs'
 (420) *[[asi-lode ki]_{POSS}-[ti'ir]_{HEAD}]_{NP}* 'my bag's weight'

On this basis, the attributive marker *ki=* and the possessive pronoun *ki-* are treated as two distinct phonemes.

3.4 Grammatical morphemes within the VP

There are fewer grammatical morphemes associated with the VP than with the NP. § 3.4.1 (p. 241) discusses the argument-marking *k-* prefix, § 3.4.2 (p. 242) the negative prefix *ni-*, § 3.4.3 (p. 242) the aspect marker *hai* and, finally, § 3.4.4 (p. 242) the negation *nomo*.

3.4.1 The third person non-subject argument prefix *k-*

The *k-* prefix is found on a specific class of verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.4 (p. 163). It marks or cross-references a third person non-subject argument. As argued in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350), it is part of a paradigm consisting of all personal pronouns and is likely a reduced form of *ki-*, the present-day third person possessive pronoun (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). Note that it is a characteristic property of all pronouns other than personal pronouns (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227, through § 3.3.1.5, p. 231) that they can be used adnominally, in which case they are read as possessive, and adverbally, in which case they are read as non-subject arguments. The interrogative pronouns (§ 3.3.1.4, p. 228) even have a distinct form for these two functions. The *k-* prefix demonstrates that a form derived from the third person pronoun can also function adverbally; notably, it appears to be a reduced form of the adnominal possessive

pronoun. The pattern exhibited by the third person pronoun thus corresponds to that found with the interrogative pronouns.¹⁴¹

§ 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349) discusses the argument-marking patterns found with *k*-prefixed verbs. On the basis of some irregularities in these patterns, it speculates that the *k*-prefixed verb form may be in a process of reanalysis as a free verb form (as opposed to bound verb forms which appear when the VP's complement position is filled, § 5.2.2.6.3.4, p. 356).

3.4.2 The negative prefix *ni-*

Ni- is a rare verbal prefix that negates the meaning of the verb it is used with. (421) and (422) show examples of its use.

- (421) ... *ira turu-sa-sat=ini* (...) *hai na'u ni-ropa'*...
 water continue:RED-RDL-dry:BD=LNK1 NSIT just NEG-many
 '... the water dries up continuously (...) (and when) there is just a little left...'
 (50-09)

- (422) ... *ki=pere isu loloi, ki=ni-ria-rian=ee e' un, loloi*...
 ATTR=big.SG seed two ATTR=NEG-RDL-big=DEF VIDEM one two
 '... (there are) two big ones, and small ones there are one, two...'
 (38-128)

3.4.3 The new situation marker *hai*

The aspect marker *hai* follows the object slot of the VP. To the left of it are slots for adverbials, the negator, the complement, and, finally, the predicate (§ 5, p. 317). It does not appear to be phonetically dependent on either a preceding or a following constituent and is hence analysed as a free particle. *Hai* marks the beginning of a new situation; its precise semantics and use are detailed in § 5.3.1.1 (p. 361).

3.4.4 The negator *nomo*

The negator *nomo* stands within the VP between two adverbial slots (§ 5, p. 317). It is not phonetically dependent on either a preceding or a following item; as such it is treated as a free particle. It expresses internal negation, as opposed to external

¹⁴¹ Note, however, that undergoers of the first and second persons are in the same context expressed with the independent pronoun forms, rather than with the possessive form. The parallel between personal pronouns and other pronouns thus does not go all the way. In fact, this highlights once more the difference in status between the pronouns referring to the speech act participants on the one hand, and the third person pronoun on the other.

negation, where *nomohaka* (§ 3.6.1, p. 264, and § 6.6.3, p. 398) is used. § 5.3.2 (p. 366) gives more details on its use.

3.5 *Phrase-level clitics*

A variety of enclitic markers are used on different phrase-levels; some are associated with NPs, while others apply to the clause. Some, finally, are found on both levels. There is no good evidence for a separate class of VP clitics. In the following, § 3.5.1 (p. 243) introduces clitics which apply to NPs; § 3.5.2 (p. 245) lists those which are found on both noun phrases and on full clauses; § 3.5.3 (p. 250), finally, discusses clitics which are used only on clause level.

3.5.1 NP clitics

Two clitics, the definite marker *=ee* and the counter-presupposition marker *=haka*, are used on NP level exclusively. They are discussed in § 3.5.1.1 (p. 243) and § 3.5.1.2 (p. 244), respectively.

3.5.1.1 The definite marker *=ee*

The clitic *=ee* attaches to the right boundary of an NP, as seen in the representative examples in (423) and (424). In both of these cases, it follows an NP complete with a head and a modifier each.

- (423) ... [*larin falun*]_{NP}*=ee la'ane' ta'a-la'a.*
mountain sacred=DEF various count-move
 '... (I) went to each of the sacred mountains.' (101-315)

- (424) ... [*amuni ki=rial*]_{NP}*=ee so'ot=ini dame...*
person ATTR=many.HUM=DEF want=LNK1 peace
 '... many people want to make peace...' (81-12)

=ee does not cooccur with demonstratives, which indicates that it has to do with definiteness. However, it is not analysed as a determiner, since members of that class can constitute NPs of their own, and *=ee*, being a clitic, cannot.

At present, the exact function of *=ee* is unclear. The principles of its use, especially as opposed to the use of a demonstratives or no determiner at all, are not understood yet and require extensive further research. It appears the use of *=ee* is to some degree dependent on the text genres; for example, it is used very frequently in the frog stories, but relatively rarely otherwise. Furthermore, the majority of occurrences are with simple nominal heads; examples with modified NPs, such as those in (423) and (424), are more rare. There is no connection between the syntactic

function of the NP in question and the use of *=ee*. The fact that it is not found in any case with nouns exhibiting marked stress patterns (such as *doutor* [dou'tor] 'doctor') or nouns that are otherwise prosodically marked (such as *elehaa* [ɛlɛ'ha:] 'old man', with an unpredictable long vowel in the last syllable) suggest that its use might also be subject to prosodic rules.

=ee is found quite frequently after adverbial clauses, as seen in (425).

- (425) ... *roual k-ako=ee papa ki-isa isipera hare'*.
many.NONHUM 3:UND-steal=DEF Indonesian 3:POSS-state totally? clean
 '... (if I) stole a lot, the Indonesian was very happy.' (101-296)

These adverbial clauses appear to be nominalised and set the scene for action described in the following clause. However, note that *=ee* is also one of the forms of the complementiser; see § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for details on this item and its possible relation to the definite marker *=ee*.

3.5.1.2 The counter-presupposition marker *=haka*

(426), where *=haka* stands on a determiner, shows that the clitic applies to the right boundary of an NP.

- (426) ... *mata ka'u ere=haka fenu=ee heman...*
child small IDEM=CTR.PRES turtle=DEF lift
 '... the child lifts the turtle up...' (102-143)

When cliticised to vowel-final elements, the clitic is sometimes reduced to *=ka*, as in (427). This example also nicely exemplifies the basic function of *=haka*, which is generally found in instances where some presupposition or expectation is contradicted. More details on its use are given in § 9.2.3.2 (p. 503).

- (427) ... *ma'akini fi-dada-raa=po ere=ka ate popok.*
wrongly-think 1pi-grandparent-PL=ADVR IDEM=CTR.PRES tree rotten
 '... (he) thought they were crocodiles, but they turn out to be rotten tree trunks.' (38-101)

3.5.2 Clitics compatible with NPs and clauses

Four clitics, =*oo* ‘too’, =*uai* ‘or’, =*hi’a* ‘only’ and the contrastive marker / clause linker =*ini* are found on both NPs and clauses. Another occasional member of fluctuating status is the Portuguese-based =*o(u)* ‘or’. Their respective uses are briefly illustrated in § 3.5.2.1 (p. 245) through § 3.5.2.4 (p. 247), respectively.

3.5.2.1 =*oo* ‘too’

The clitic =*oo* can be translated as ‘also’, or ‘too’. (428) exemplifies its use on an NP.

- (428) *Nama-se’el=ini uai=ni=taa fenu=ee ka’el=ana dila*
 upwards:RED-jump:BD=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=PURP turtle=DEF bite=INT frog
ere=oo hai to-nama-se’el.
 IDEM=too NSIT accompany:RED-upwards:RED-jump:BD
 ‘(The dog) jumps up to bite the turtle, and the frog too jumps up.’
 (102-162)

=*oo* quite often receives focal reading. An example is given in (429), where it might be translated as ‘even’.

- (429) ... *ei-isarami la’a=na’a ani=oo nomo k-asu lolo...*
 2s-brother move=INT 1s=too NEG 3:UND-for say
 ‘... your brother was going to go and you didn’t even tell me (didn’t tell even me)...’
 (74-038)

It is this focal reading that is generally found if =*oo* is attached to the right boundary of a clause. This type of clause linkage is read as concessive, as shown in (430).

- (430) *Ani=ni isit=oo ani fatar=ini la’a=ni ata haka.*
 1s=CTR ill=too 1s force=LNK1 move=LNK1 fire search
 ‘Even though I was ill, (they) forced me to go and look for firewood.’
 (103-09)

§ 8.1.3 (p. 465) gives a more detailed discussion of concessive clauses and other constructions that involve the clitic =*oo*.

Clause-level =*oo* can be attached to *uai=ni*, the clausal pro-form *uai* (see § 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204) with the shortened form of the linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), if for some reason it is not directly cliticised to the immediately preceding clause.¹⁴² The resulting form is *uai=ni=oo* (usually pronounced as [‘waj’no:]), as illustrated in (431).

¹⁴² Note that the majority of linkers cliticise directly to *uai*, without the linker =*ini*, which is likely present here for phonetic reasons.

- (431) ... *asi-nana na'u tepa ani fana uai=ni=oo ani na'u*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling just constant 1s teach CLS=LNK1=too 1s just

dekor=hi'a.

memorise=only

'... even though my older brother kept teaching me, I just memorised (things).'

(126-023)

The fact that =*oo* cannot stand on its own, but needs this clause-level “docking station”, shows clearly that it is a clitic.

3.5.2.2 =*uai* ‘or’

=*uai* is cliticised to the first of two or more noun phrases or clauses in a sequence, presenting them as alternatives. (432) shows it on NP level, while in (433), it is used on clause level.

- (432) ... *tone' uatu lolitu=uai uatu loloi k-utu-sai'=ini...*
 perhaps day three=or day two 3:UND-cover-finished:BD=LNK1
 ‘... maybe three or two days passed...’ (63-05)

- (433) ... *uar ho'o koto to'=uai ki-fasu=hi'a=ni*
 stone some maybe accompany=or 3:POSS-skin=only=CTR

to-dasa=fata fi hau mei.

accompany:RED-fall=COND 1pi all take

'... if there are some stones mixed in or empty skins have fallen in, we take those (out).'

(50-02)

=*uai* differs from all the other clause linkers through the fact that it is never found cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai* (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204); this may be due to the fact that the two are basically homophonous, although there is no concrete evidence to support this idea.

A very frequent use of =*uai* is in the tag question =*uai na'an* (=or NEG.EX). An example is given in (434). See § 7.7.2 (p. 438) for more information on interrogative sentences.

- (434) ... *ei to-so'ot=uai na'an?*
 2s accompany:RED-want=or NEG.EX
 ‘... do you want to (do it) or not?’ (120-044)

=*uai* is used by some speakers at the end of an utterance, which may be either declarative, interrogative or imperative. § 7.7.1 (p. 435), § 7.7.2.1 (p. 438) and § 7.7.3.3.1 (p. 449) discusses these uses, respectively.

3.5.2.3 =*o(u)* ‘or’

=*o(u)* ‘or’ is a Portuguese-based conjunction found in the coordination of clauses and of NPs. It is identical in meaning to the native Makalero clitic =*uai* (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) and is relatively rare. Its realisation fluctuates between that of a free element and a clitic, with some speakers preferring one and others the other realisation. (435) shows a use of =*o(u)* as a clitic, while in (436), it is a free element. In this latter use, *o(u)* ‘or’ probably groups with the other Portuguese-based conjunctions, which are likely verbal, as discussed in § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269).

- (435) ... *fi diki-ate poki ata-lue mei=ni lode-isi'=ou na'an=afta*
 lpi yarn-wood whorl fire-ash take=LNK1 bag-at=or NEG.EX=COND

mei=ni tokuru-isi'...
 take=LNK1 coconut.shell-at

‘... we take the stick for rolling up the yarn, the spinning whorl and ash and put (the ash) into a bag, or if not (into a bag), then we put it into a coconut shell...’ (62-16)

- (436) ... *meih=ini fuli-na'a-mei fuli-sirvisu o fuli-la'un...*
 two.HUM=LNK1 together:RED-work-take together:RED-work or together:RED-chat
 ‘... the two of them work together or chat together...’ (21-033)

3.5.2.4 =*hi'a* ‘only’

=*hi'a* ‘only’ is most commonly cliticised to NPs, as illustrated in (437), but can also be used on clauses, as shown in (438).

- (437) *Uai=ni=ni ani kalsa un ere=hi'a k-utu=ni...*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 1s trousers one IDEM=only 3:UND-wear=LNK1
 ‘Thus I wore only this one pair of trousers...’ (103-14)

- (438) ... *mata ka'u=ee (...) na'a.muni fanu-utu-puna=hi'a uai=ni nomo*
 child small=DEF in.turn face-cover-look=only CLS=LNK1 NEG

teni sofui-isi-puna.
 again back-at:RED-look

‘... the child is looking to the front only, so he is not looking back any more.’ (115-049)

3.5.2.5 The linker =*ini*

=*ini* is the single most common phrase-level clitic. It is found both on NPs and on clauses, though it is functionally quite different, depending on the phrase level it is used on. § 3.5.2.5.1 (p. 248) briefly describes =*ini* on NP-level, while § 3.5.2.5.2 (p. 249) treats the clitic on clause level. In either case, if cliticised to a vowel-final

element, =*ini* commonly loses its first vowel, being realised as =*ni* (see e.g. (439) below). In rapid speech, the final vowel may be elided as well, as a result of which the clitic may be realised only as [n].

3.5.2.5.1 =*ini* on NP-level

The principle function of the clitic =*ini* on an NP is the marking of that NP's referent as contrasting with another possible referent. A typical example is given in (439).

- (439) ... *amuni ki=rial=ee so'ot=ini dame=na'a=po ini=ni*
 person ATTR=many.HUM=DEF want=LNK1 peace=INT=ADVR 1pe=CTR

nomo so'ot...
 NEG want

'... many people want to make peace, but we don't want that...' (81-12)

A more detailed description of =*ini*'s use as a contrastive marker follows in § 9.2.3.1 (p. 501).

From a contrastive marker which can be found on NPs in both subject and object function, =*ini* appears to be evolving into a subject marker. Concretely, it is found as a subject marker in three types of context; the first involves long NPs which may be considered hard to process. In such a case, =*ini* marks the end of the subject NP and indicates that the verb phrase follows. (440) gives such an example. In the second instance, =*ini* is used when the order of subject and object is reversed, as in (441). In such a sentence, =*ini* is vital for a correct understanding of grammatical roles. Finally, =*ini* marks untypical subjects (i.e. subjects that are low on the topic-worthiness hierarchy) such as the indefinite NP in (442). See § 6.2.1 (p. 389) for more details.

- (440) [*Mata-niki tafi-tafi hau rial*]=*ini nomo manan.*
 child-PL RDL-true all many.HUM=CTR NEG win
 'Very many children indeed didn't pass (a test).' (elic1573)

- (441) *Mata ka'u ere ki-upa=ni mei=ni dur-ini.*
 child small 1DEM 3:POSS-father=CTR take=LNK1 wake.up-do:BD
 'This child, his father woke him.' (elic172)

- (442) *Amulafu nomo rial=ini kiloo so'ot.*
 person NEG many.HUM=CTR 3s want
 'Not many people like him.' (elic1569a)

It is very likely that the use of =*ini* on NP level is an extension of its clause-level use. See § 9.2.3.1 (p. 501) for a sketch of a possible path of grammaticalisation.

3.5.2.5.2 =ini on clauses

=ini is the most common clause linker, attaching to the right boundary of the first clause in a sequence. Its meaning is very general and only shows the two clauses to be tightly knit together, though the exact nature of the relationship is unspecified. This is reflected by the largely meaningless gloss LNK1, where LNK stands for ‘linker’. The numeral 1 contrasts =ini with =isi (LNK2), which is its counterpart in many ways and is discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1.1 (p. 250). (443) and (444) give typical examples.

- (443) ... *hama ki-tala pere uere k-ua-mit=ini hai*
 ficus.b 3:POSS-branch big.SG 2DEM 3:UND-on.top:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 NSIT

mu'a-li'an.

ground-fall

‘... (he) sits on a big branch of the ficus benjamina, and then falls down.’

(38-066)

- (444) *Kiloo (...) kadeira heil=ini la'a=ni aihaa ta-nat=ini...*
 3s chair pull=LNK1 move=LNK1 door near-stand.SG=LNK1
 ‘She pulled a chair and went to stand it close to the door, and then she went...’
 (44-13)

Note that, although =ini generally loses its initial vowel if attached to a vowel-final element, it sometimes retains it, even if cliticised to a vowel-final element, as in (445). This does not appear to be connected to rapid versus careful speech, since (445) is from a bit of very rapid speech; neither is it an idiosyncrasy of particular speakers, since the speaker of (445) also uses many elided forms. In-depth study of the distribution of the full form and the elided form of =ini must be left for further research.

- (445) ... *pipi roual pure=ini ma'u.*
 goat many.NONHUM acquire=LNK1 come
 ‘... (he) had acquired (so) many goats.’
 (51-17)

Like the other clause linkers, =ini can be attached to the clausal pro-form *uai* (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204), yielding the form *uai=ni*. This form is used so frequently that it appears to be lexicalised to some degree, and is in fact often used with an additional =ini on top of it, resulting in the form *uai=ni=ni*.

More details on the use and meaning of =ini as a clause linker is provided in § 8.1.1 (p. 457).

3.5.3 Clause-level clitics

The clitics discussed in the following sections are found only on clause level. They fall into two classes, namely those that link two clauses, specifying the kind of semantic relation those two clauses have with respect to one another, and, on the other hand, non-linking clitics, which modify the clause they attach to without linking it to another clause, much like *=hi'a* ‘only’ (§ 3.5.2.4, p. 247). Clause linkers are discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250), while non-linking clitics are treated in § 3.5.3.2 (p. 261).

3.5.3.1 Clause linkers

Makalero has a rich array of enclitics whose function it is to link two clauses, making explicit the semantic relationship between those two clauses. Three of them, *=oo* ‘too’, *=uai* ‘or’ and *=ini*, a linker of very general meaning, are also in use as NP-level clitics and have been briefly discussed in § 3.5.2.1 (p. 245), § 3.5.2.2 (p. 246) and § 3.5.2.5 (p. 247), respectively. The linkers described in the following paragraphs are encountered only on clause level. A characteristic common to most clause linkers (except where the opposite is mentioned) is that they are very frequently found cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai* (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204). § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250) discusses coordinating clause linkers – the clauses linked by these clitics show no evidence of a hierarchical difference in status – and § 3.5.3.1.2 (p. 257) introduces subordinating linkers. The syntactic evidence for the different nature of these two types of linkage is discussed in § 8.3 (p. 481).

3.5.3.1.1 Coordinating clause linkers

There is no evidence of the two clauses linked by the clitics discussed in the following sections being different in status, hence they are taken to be coordinating. Such coordinating clause linkers constitute the majority of clause linkers. This class includes not only the linkers discussed in the following sections, but also the clause-level uses of *=oo* ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245), *=uai* ‘or’ (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) and the general linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247).

3.5.3.1.1.1 The general linker *=isi*

The clitic clause linker *=isi*, which is homophonous with the bound form of the locative verb *isi* ‘be at’¹⁴³, resembles the linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247) in many ways. *=isi*, too, is very frequent in use. The first vowel is also commonly elided following a vowel-final morpheme (see (446) below), and in fast speech the last one as well. The meaning of *=isi* complements that of *=ini*, though the relation between

¹⁴³ Although it is not clear whether there is a historical relationship between the two.

two clauses linked with *=isi* is of a looser knit than that expressed by *=ini*. This looser knit may reflect distance in time, different actors, or a thematic break of some other sort. (446) gives a typical example.

- (446) ... *ki-sefar e'=ini potil=ee hai mutu-puna=si*
 3:POSS-dog VIDEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF NSIT inside:RED-look=LNK2
- ki-ouar ere ue-mit=ini ni-se' hai*
 3:POSS-master 1DEM V2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 REFL-chin NSIT
- ti'a-dekih=ni hai ne-puna.*
 towards- lean=LNK1 NSIT aim.at?-look
 '... his dog is here and looks into the bottle, and his master sits there and
 puts his chin into his hand and looks (at it).' (38-003)

If not cliticised directly to the preceding clause, *=isi* can be found on the clausal pro-form *uai*, in a rather rare form *uai=si*, or on the combination of *uai* and *=ini*, *uai=ni*. The form *uai=ni=si* is much more frequent than simple *uai=si*. § 8.1.1 (p. 457) gives more detailed information of the use of *=isi*.

3.5.3.1.1.2 The adversative linker *=po*

=po is one of the most frequent clause linkers, second only to the linking devices *=ini* and *=isi*. It differs from the latter two, however, in terms of its phonetic substance: there is no reduced form of *=po*, which, in fact, carries its own stress. *=po* is either directly cliticised to the first clause in a sequence, or to the clausal pro-form *uai*. In the latter case, it stands more commonly on a combination of *uai* with the linker *=ini*, either in the form *uai=ni=po* (usually pronounced as [ʼwajnʼpɔ]) or *uai=ni=ni=po*, where *=ini* occurs twice, than on simple *uai*. In most cases, *=po* conforms to the English adversative conjunction 'but', as shown in a typical example such as (447).

- (447) ... *u doutor ani ki-nei nomo ma'en=po perauat=ee*
 one doctor 1s 3:POSS-name NEG know=ADVR nurse=DEF
- ki-nei Nioman.*
 3:POSS-name N.
 '... the one who was a doctor, (I) don't know his name, but the (male)
 nurse's name was Nioman.' (101-125)

However, *=po* is also found in a number of cases where it cannot be meaningfully translated as 'but' into English, showing that its semantics are somewhat broader. (448) may serve as an example of such a case.

- (448) *Aite' ma'u=po kiloo rau-la'a ni uaro'.*
 REC.PT come=ADVR 3s good-move REFL shower
 'Upon arriving, she immediately went to have a shower.' (elic497)

§ 8.1.2 (p. 461) gives a more detailed discussion of the use of *=po*.

=po is regularly cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai*. However, in a sizeable number of cases, it is found utterance-initially, without the pro-form. This shows that its status as a clitic is not quite fixed, and that it occurs also in a non-clitic form. It is unclear, at this point, whether this is evidence of an ongoing change of the item, from a clitic to a free form or vice versa. The former direction might well be possible under the influence of Tetum, Indonesian, or Portuguese, all of which have free-form conjunctions.

3.5.3.1.1.3 *=te'e* 'after'

The clause linker *=te'e* conveys the idea that the action of the clause it attaches to is completed before that of the following clause takes place, or is a prerequisite for the second action to take place. (449) and (450) give examples, showing also that *=te'e* is used only after vowel-final constituents, while its metathesised counterpart *=ete* follows consonant-final ones.

- (449) *Asi-pada-laa hai uru loloi fani' iskola=te'e ani isa=ni*
 1s:POSS-friend-PL NSIT moon two be.like school=after 1s go.down=LNK1

SMA kelas satu.
 high.school class one

'My friends went to school for two month already, only then did I come down and (went to) grade one of high school.' (126-081)

- (450) *Uai=ni=ni depois hai tina=ni dafut=ete Laapo*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 afterwards NSIT cook=LNK1 boiled=after L.

k-ua-dai-ma'u...

3:UND-on.top:RED-pass-come

'And then they cooked it and after it was done, Laapo passed up there...'
 (118-33)

=te'e is also frequently cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai*, yielding *uai=te'e*. Its use is discussed in more detail in § 8.1.4 (p. 467).

There is evidence that *=te'e* might be derived from a locational element. The probably clearest example is given in (451). Note how in this case, the phrase *fi-te'e mu'a-dai isa* 'fall down in front of us' appears to be parallel to *lidu-sofi=ee-isi-mua-isa*, 'fall down behind the cotton gin'. *Sofi* 'back', the contrast to *te'e* in this clause, is nominal, as apparent from its use with the definite marker *=ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243). Based on the largely parallel structure of the two phrases as quoted above, it can be assumed that *te'e*, too is nominal in nature, meaning something like 'front'. The first person plural inclusive pronoun *fi* is used as a possessor to this noun. The use of spatial terminology for the expression of temporal relations is very common (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994), supporting such a path of grammaticalisation for the completive linker *=te'e*.

- (451) ... *ki-isu* *ere* (...) *fi-te'e* *mu'a-dai-isa* (...) *ki-hael*
 3:POSS-seed IDEM 1pi-front? ground-pass-go.down 3:POSS-cotton
- na'uk=ee muni la'a=ni lidu-sofi=ee-isi-mu'a-isa.*
 cotton=DEF return move=LNK1 cotton.gin-back=DEF-at:RED-ground-go.down
 '... the seeds fall down in front of us, and the cotton comes out at the back
 of the cotton gin.' (62-09a)

=te'e is often used as a de facto imperative marker, in which case it stands at the end of an utterance. § 7.7.3.2.2 (p. 448) gives more details on this construction.

3.5.3.1.1.4 The conditional linker *=fata*

=fata is a clause linker expressing condition. Whilst in the majority of cases, these are factual conditions, such as in (452), *=fata* can also be used with counterfactual ones, as in (453).¹⁴⁴ It is furthermore used in contexts that are more conveniently read in a temporal sense, rather than being strictly conditional. An example of such a use is given in (454).

- (452) ... *ei leu-leu=fata ka'u=te'e seur=ee nomo fani.*
 2s RDL-call=COND small=after meat=DEF NEG nice
 '... if you keep screaming, the meat won't be good.' (118-40)

- (453) *Ani koto.halee osan satu juta nese-la'a=fata ani tone'*
 1s maybe money one million aim.at:RED-move=COND 1s perhaps
mondo kafu k-ali-la'a.
 world all 3:UND-all.over-go
 'If I got one million (dollars), I would travel around the world.'
 (elic828)

- (454) *Ani he'ul=afta ho'o mei ni-nana-raa meih=ee kini...*
 1s full=COND some take REFL-elder.sibling-PL take=DEF give.to.3
 'When I was full, I used to give some to my two elder siblings...'
 (101-026)

The form *=fata* cliticises only to vowel-final elements. For use after consonant-final elements, there is a metathesised form *=afta*. However, this form, with an undesired consonant cluster, is relatively rare, and more frequently, a vowel is additionally inserted to break up the consonant cluster, yielding [*'afata*].

=fata is also found cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai*. Like *=po* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251), *=fata* is in some instances found utterance-initially, without the pro-form. This shows that the item is also used as a non-clitic, free form. It is not clear whether this is evidence for the change of the item from a clitic form into a free one or vice versa. See § 8.1.5 (p. 470) for more information on conditional clauses.

¹⁴⁴ In these contexts, the uses of *=fata* and *=nata* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254) appear to overlap.

3.5.3.1.1.5 The counterfactual conditional linker =*nata*

=*nata* is a rare clitic clause linker expressing condition. Its exact meaning, in particular as opposed to that of the more common conditional linker =*fata* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253), is not entirely clear. However, it seems that all instances of =*nata* can be construed as expressing counterfactual conditions, whereas =*fata* is more frequently used for real conditions. See § 8.1.5 (p. 470) for more information on conditional clauses. (455) gives an example of the use of =*nata*.

- (455) *Satu dua mei=ni Makalero mi-lolo=nata klasi un loloi...*
 one two take=LNK1 M. along:RED-say=CTF.COND grade one two
 ‘One and two (in Indonesian), if it were to be said in Makalero, grade one
 and grade two...’ (66-17)

=*nata* also has a metathesised form =*anta*, which is often realised as [ˈanata] to avoid the consonant cluster, following closed syllables.

=*nata* can be cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai*, resulting in the forms *uai=nata*, *ua=nta* (with vowel elision and loss of the offglide in *uai*), and, cliticised to *uai=ni*, *uai=n(i)=anta*.

3.5.3.1.1.6 The consequential linker =*konai*

Hull (2004: 78) appears to analyse =*konai* as a topic marker which stands optionally “after adverbial interrogatives” such as “*sa’afani*” ‘how, why’. In my own analysis, =*konai* is a clause linker of much the same status as =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), =*isi* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250), =*po* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251) etc. It is a clitic attached to the first clause in a sequence and conveys the notion of the clause following it being a consequence of that first clause. Thus, the examples in (456) and (457) would literally translate as ‘I was wrong, and as a consequence of this she is dead’, and ‘you cannot go to school anymore, and as a consequence of this you want to go to the convent?’, respectively.

- (456) *Ani=ni sala=konai hai umu.*
 1s=CTR wrong=CSQ NSIT die
 ‘It was me who was wrong, and because of that (my mother) is dead.’
 (114-24)
- (457) *... ei-iskola nomo rau=konai=ni ei uere’-isi-la’a=na’a=ua?*
 2s-school NEG good=CSQ=LNK1 2s 2DEM.V-at:RED-move=INT=QM
 ‘... you can’t go to school anymore, and because of that you want to go to
 that (a convent)?’ (126-113)

(457) also shows that, just as frequently as not, =*konai* is followed by the general linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), which serves to consolidate the idea of the equal status of the two clitics.

Like the other clause linkers, =*konai* is also frequently found with the pro-form *uai*, yielding *uaikonai*. See § 8.1.6 (p. 471) for a more detailed discussion of the use of the linker.

3.5.3.1.1.7 The clitic =*fe*

The element =*fe* never occurs on its own, but only in combination with the temporal linker =*te'e* 'after' (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). The meaning of this combination appears to be the same as that of =*te'e* on its own; the contribution of =*fe* is unclear. Examples of its use are given in (458) and (459).

- (458) ... *ni-mata mei la'a ira teuh=ete=fe ira rei-misa.*
 REFL-child take move water buy=after=FE water outwards-go.up
 '... after (he) bought water using his child as payment, the water came out.'
 (89-05)

- (459) *Uere ki-dada uere hana'e hai umu=te'e=fe ki-ni*
 2DEM 3:POSS-grandparent 2DEM REM.PT NSIT die=after=FE 3:POSS-mother
ere muni lafu'.
 1DEM return live
 'After his grandmother had died, his mother came back to life.'
 (23-018)

Native speakers suggested that the use of =*fe* is both age-related as well as regional – in fact, most of the speakers in whose natural speech it occurs originate from the village of Tirilolo, about 2 km to the northwest of Iliomar, and all of them are above 50 years of age. Also, it seems, its use is considered genteel by speakers from other areas.

3.5.3.1.1.8 =*mais* 'but'

=*mais* 'but' is a Portuguese-based conjunction. Like the Makalero clause linkers, it is realised as a clause-level clitic; (460) exemplifies its use. Also, =*mais* is found cliticised to *uai=ni*, the clausal pro-form with the clitic =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), as seen in (461).

- (460) ... *fi-nami muni ko-horu namora=mais sala uere=taa*
 1pi-husband return 3:UND-with affair=but mistake 2DEM=PURP
hai rau.
 NSIT good
 '... (I) had an affair with your husband, but let that mistake be forgiven.'
 (74-117)

- (461) *Uai=konai=ni muni mei=ni la'a=ni ume-mei.*
 CLS=CSQ=LNK1 return take=LNK1 move=LNK1 VDEM.DIST:RED-take
- uai=ni=mais na'u tepa suku Ailebere k-isi'.*
 CLS=LNK1=but just constant suco A. 3:UND-belong
 'So (they) brought (one) over there. But (he) still belonged to the suco of
 Ailebere.' (76-04, 76-05)

=*mais* differs from the majority of Portuguese-based conjunctions in use in Makalero, which are free elements. These might be treated as verbal and are briefly discussed in § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269).

3.5.3.1.1.9 Summary

The clause linkers described in § 3.5.2.1 (p. 245) through § 3.5.3.1.1.8 (p. 255) show somewhat different characteristics on a variety of levels. Table 3.46 summarises the coordinating clause-linking clitics.¹⁴⁵ Their characteristics are evaluated in the following.

=ini	=isi	=po	=fata	=nata	=te'e	=oo	=uai	=kona	=mais
								i	
LNK1	LNK2	ADVR	COND	CTF. COND	after	too	or	CSQ	ADVR

Table 3.46: Coordinating clause linkers

Table 3.46 does not include the Portuguese-based adversative =*o(u)* (§ 3.5.2.3, p. 247). This is due to the fact that its status fluctuates between that of a clitic and a free element. In those cases where it is realised as a clitic, it is quite equivalent to the Makalero clitic =*uai* 'or'.

The two linkers =*ini* and =*isi* differ clearly from all the others with respect to their phonetic substance. Recall that both commonly lose the initial vowel if cliticised to a vowel-final element; also, in rapid speech, they may lose the final vowel and be heard only as [n] and [s], respectively. None of the other linkers occur in a reduced form. Quite generally, they have more phonetic substance; this is most obvious with the disyllabic ones, and among the monosyllabic ones, =*uai* 'or' and the concessive =*oo* have bimoraic nuclei; =*po* (ADVR), on the other hand, carries its own stress.

The phonetic substance is matched by semantic content. =*ini* and =*isi* have very general meaning, expressing roughly close knitting versus loose knitting. On the other hand, a more or less concrete meaning component can be given for each of the other clitics. This is reflected through the largely meaningless glosses LNK1 and LNK2 for =*ini* and =*isi*, respectively, as opposed to the more concrete glosses for the other linkers.

¹⁴⁵ Since the meaning and function of =*fe* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.7, p. 255) are unclear, it remains out of consideration in the following discussion.

Recall that a putative nominal origin has been suggested for *=te'e* 'after' in § 3.5.3.1.1.3 (p. 252). Based on this evidence, it may be speculated that *=ini* and *=isi* are older, original clause linkers, while the others may be later developments.

A clear subgroup among clause linkers in morphophonological terms are the metathesising ones. This subgroup includes *=te'e* 'after', *=fata* (COND) and *=nata* (CTF.COND), which have metathesised forms *=ete*, *=afta* and *=anta*, occurring after consonant-final elements. Metathesis is also found with the non-linking clitics *=na'a* (INT) and *=fa'a* (IMM), resulting in *=ana* and *=afa*, respectively (see § 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262, and § 3.5.3.2.2, p. 263, respectively), but is otherwise absent from the language.

The adversative *=po* and the conditional *=fata* are the only linkers to occur in free forms as well, such that they can stand on their own sentence-initially, and are not dependent on the presence of a free form such as *uai* as a docking station. The two items are among the clause linkers with rather more phonetic substance and semantic content, and among these, they are probably the most frequent ones. It is not clear whether this is evidence of an ongoing change from a clitic element to a free one or vice versa.

More information on syntactic properties of clause linkers is given in § 8.3 (p. 481).

3.5.3.1.2 Subordinating clause linkers

In contrast to the coordinating clause linkers discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250), a few clitics on clause level are analysed as subordinating. An important fact underlying this analysis is that they affect the structure of the second clause in the sequence, while the other clause linkers do not. Concretely, they can stand not only after the first clause in the sequence, but can be placed, alternatively or additionally, on the subject of the second clause, which is thus analysed as subordinated to the first clause. This distribution is shared by the relative marker *=ua*, discussed as a clitic within the NP in § 3.3.5.1 (p. 250). Note also that this marker appears to be used much like a clause linker in a variety of cases (§ 3.5.3.1.2.4, p. 259), suggesting that it might have started out as a more general subordination marker. The issue of subordination is elaborated on in § 8.3 (p. 481). The following sections discuss the subordinating clause linkers *=taa* (PURP), *=kini* (IND), *=p-* and *=ua*, which both appear to express purposiveness much like *=taa*.

3.5.3.1.2.1 The purposive *=taa*

*=taa*¹⁴⁶ links two clauses that are in a purposive relation to each other. The clitic can stand either at the end of the first clause or on the subject NP of the second clause, or in both of these positions. Two of these options are illustrated in (462) and (463), respectively.

¹⁴⁶ In rapid speech, the vowel might be rather short.

- (462) *Ei-pada ma'u=fata k-asu lolo=taa ira=hi'a ke'=ana ere=ni.*
 2s-friend come=COND 3:UND-for say=PURP water=only drink=INT 1DEM=CTR
 'If your friend comes, tell her she should drink water only!' (chat009)
- (463) *Ini Timor=ee isi-so'ot=ee aman=ini isi-mata-r=taa*
 1pe T=DEF 1pe:POSS-want=DEF safe=LNK1 1pe:POSS-child-PL=PURP
- livre=ni matenek haka.*
 free=LNK1 clever search
 'We Timorese want it to be safe so that our children are free to go and find
 knowledge.' (85-15)

Also, =*taa* can be cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai*, yielding a form *uai=taa*, or, more frequently, *uai=ni=taa* (['wajn'ta:]). It has this in common with the coordinating clause linkers. Purposive clauses are treated in more detail in § 8.1.8 (p. 474).

3.5.3.1.2.2 The indirect information marker =*kini*

=*kini* marks the clause that follows it, or the clause on whose subject it stands, as indirect information. It is used when reproducing what someone else said, but also when recounting events that one cannot personally remember (e.g. what happened during the speaker's infancy), or when retelling the events in a dream. While in the former instances, it can be said to reflect the speaker's lack of commitment to the assertion, it marks the events recounted as unreal in the latter.

Like the purposive =*taa* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257), =*kini* is found in two positions: first, following an introductory clause (generally with a verb of saying, thinking or of hearing, see § 3.2.3.10.1, p. 187), and secondly, following the subject of the clausal complement extension expressing the indirect information. Also, it can be used in both of these positions at the same time. (464) and (465) illustrate its use.

- (464) ... *ani neok=ini ani=kini la'a=ni ufe'=ini kooperasi*
 1s lie=LNK1 1s=IND move=LNK1 VDEM.LOW=LNK1 cooperation
- hein=ana.*
 wait=INT
 '... (they) lied to me, (saying) I would go down to wait for a cooperation (to
 be opened).' (103-05)
- (465) *Ani uali'=ee=kini ei=kini hai kauen.*
 1s hear=CMPL=IND 2s=IND NSIT marry
 'I heard you had gotten married.' (elic816a)

=*kini* is not found with the clausal pro-form *uai*. However, due to its distribution pattern paralleling that of the purposive =*taa*, it is nevertheless analysed as a clause linker. More information on this type of subordination is given in § 8.3.1 (p. 481).

=*kini* is also found in *ma'akini* 'wrongly think', which specifically marks indirect information as wrong. § 3.2.3.12.6 (p. 209) explains the use of this item.

3.5.3.1.2.3 The purposive =*p*-

=*p*- is a purposive linker, very much similar in meaning to =*taa* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257). =*p*- differs from all the other linkers in not being syllabic, consisting only of a plosive consonant phoneme. As such, it only occurs in combination with a personal pronoun following it, which functions as the subject of the second clause. The pronouns found in combination with =*p*- are the vowel-initial ones only, namely in the singular the first and second persons, *ani* and *ei*, respectively, and in the plural the first person exclusive *ini*.¹⁴⁷ (466) gives an example of its use.

- (466) ... *fana-nini ho'o ue' ani-asu asar=ini ma'u uai=p-ani uali'*
 teach-do:BD some V2DEM 1s-for send=LNK1 come CLS=PURP-1s hear
 '... (if) you have some teaching, send it to me here so that I can hear
 it.' (107-27)

As (466) illustrates, =*p*- is also found on the clausal pro-form *uai*. This shows quite clearly that it groups with clause linkers. It parallels the subordinating linker =*taa* in meaning and has an impact on the structure of the second clause in the sequence through effectively linking together the two clauses by leaning both on the last element of the first one and the first element of the second one. As such, it qualifies as a subordinating clause linker. § 8.1.8 (p. 474) elaborates on its use and status.

3.5.3.1.2.4 The purposive =*ua*

The central function of =*ua* is that of a relative marker (§ 3.3.5.1, p. 240); the exact patterns of marking are discussed in § 4.3.5 (p. 295). The clitic is furthermore found on clauses. In all such instances, it follows a verb plus the clitic clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). In several cases, =*ua* marks a purposive relation to the following clause, as (467) and (468) illustrate.

- (467) ... *sefar k-asu lolo=ni=ua ki-sefar irau*
 dog 3:UND-for say=LNK1=PURP 3:POSS-dog not.allowed

rokoroko=na'a ere.
 rustle=INT 1DEM
 '... (he) tells his dog so that the dog doesn't make any noise.' (38-113)

¹⁴⁷ The second person plural pronoun *ii* is theoretically included in this group; however, it is itself used extremely rarely and there is no occurrence of (*uai*)=*p-ii* in the corpus.

- (468) ... *tufuraa u=ua ki-ni ki-upa k-asu livre mei=ni*
 woman one=REL 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father 3:UND-for freedom take=LNK1
kini=ni=ua la'a=ni ni-asu ma'en haka uere...
 give.to.3=LNK1=PURP move=LNK1 REFL-for know search 2DEM
 '... a girl whose parents give her the freedom so that she goes and looks for
 knowledge...' (105-028)

=*ua* is in some cases also found on a cluster of clause linkers, viz. *uai=ni=ni* and *uai=konai=ni*. This justifies its categorisation as a clause linker. The whole of such a linker cluster also appears to express a purposive-like notion. (469) and (470) may serve as illustration.

- (469) ... *sa'a-fani-kini uai=ni=ni=ua asi-mali uere*
 what:BD-be.like:BD-do CLS=LNK1=LNK1=PURP 1s:POSS-cousin 2DEM
mei=ni rei-pada=na'a=ee uere-isi-ne'et.
 take=LNK1 outwards-order=INT=DEF 2DEM-at:RED-think
 '... how to do (it) so that he could order my cousin to get out.'
 (101-418)

- (470) *Iskola=ni muni ma'u matenek=ini kini=si uai=konai=ni=ua*
 school=LNK1 return come clever=CTR give.to.3=LNK2 CLS=CSQ=LNK1=PURP
ma'u=ni e'=ini ni-sa ni-mata hau k-uta...
 come=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 REFL-wife REFL-child all 3:UND-kill
 '(He) went to school and was given knowledge, so that he came back here
 and killed his wife and his child...' (56-04)

The common property of this purposive-like use of the clitic =*ua* and its more frequent relative-marking use is that of the subordination of a clausal unit to a head; in the case of relative sentences as discussed in § 4.3.5 (p. 295), this head is a noun, while in the case of such purposive clauses as (467) through (470), it is a clause. It appears that in these cases, =*ua* overlaps in usage with =*taa*, the more generally used purposive marker (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257), which is shown in context in (471).

- (471) *Lue ka'u-ka'u mei mutu-lir=taa (...) uai=taa*
 lime RDL-little take inside:RED-put.in.a.little=PURP CLS=PURP
irau fi-tana=taa pa'uk=ana k-asu.
 not.allowed 1pi-hand=PURP bad=INT 3:UND-for
 '(We) put in a bit of lime so that it doesn't come up, so that it doesn't hurt
 our hands.' (57-17)

The purposive-like sentences constitute but a subgroup of the cases where =*ua* is found on clauses. There is a second group of cases where there appears to be no purposive connotation. Rather, the clause marked by =*ua* and the one following it look like simple sequential clauses. An example is given in (472). Note also that the

immediately following clause is structurally very much the same, but does not make use of =*ua*. As such, the contribution of the clitic is rather unclear.

(472) ... *aire'* *isi-ni* *isi-upa* *uai=konai=ni pue uata*
 now 1pe:POSS-mother 1pe:POSS-father CLS=CSQ=LNK1 areca coconut

mei=ni=ua ume-soun *ere lofo dana mei*
 take=LNK1=UA VDEM.DIST:RED-plant:BD IDEM garden garden take

ume-paun=ee.

VDEM.DIST:RED-pull.out=DEF

'... now our parents plant areca and coconut there and make a garden there.'
 (56-08)

It is not quite clear if such sentences have to be understood as subordinated, too.

Note that many of the cases found in the recordings (among others (469) and (472) above) seem to be nominalised, as can be seen from the determiner at the end of these clauses. A structure similar to subordination through nominalisation is also found frequently with adverbial clauses (see § 7.6.1.1, p. 430), but appears to be playing a role with complement clause extensions too (§ 3.6.2, p. 265).

While the marking of relative sentences is synchronically clearly the main function of =*ua*, such cases as discussed in the present section suggest it may originally have been a more general marker of subordination. See § 8.3 (p. 481) for a more thorough discussion of subordination in Makalero.

3.5.3.2 Non-linking clause-level clitics

Four clitics, =*na'a* (INT), =*fa'a* (IMM), =*ua* (QM) and =*elo* (EXHORT) are used to modify the meaning of clauses without linking them to other clauses in a multi-clause unit. =*na'a* and =*fa'a* are phasal markers, picking out a specific phase of the action as denoted by the verb. =*ua* and =*elo*, on the other hand, mark clauses as interrogative and requests, respectively. Through modifying single clauses, rather than linking two clauses, the non-linking clitics differ drastically from the clause linkers as described in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250).¹⁴⁸ The non-linking clitics are always cliticised directly to the clauses they modify, never to the clausal pro-form *uai*, as is the case with most clause linkers. In the following, the intention marker =*na'a* is discussed in § 3.5.3.2.1 (p. 262), the immediate action marker =*fa'a* in § 3.5.3.2.2 (p. 263), the question marker =*ua* in § 3.5.3.2.3 (p. 263) and the polite imperative marker =*elo* in § 3.5.3.2.4 (p. 263).

¹⁴⁸ Note that =*hi'a* 'only' (§ 3.5.2.4, p. 247), if used on clause level, is also non-linking. Furthermore, =*uai* 'or' (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) and =*te'e* 'after' (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), though typically clause linkers, occur in non-linking uses in some contexts (§ 7.7.1, p. 435, § 7.7.2.1, p. 438, § 7.7.3.3.1, p. 449, § 7.7.3.2.2, p. 448).

3.5.3.2.1 The intention marker =na'a

=na'a expresses unrealised actions, that is, either intentions or futures, as illustrated in (473) and (474). Like =te'e (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), =fata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253) and =nata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254), =na'a is used only after vowel-final elements. The metathesised form =ana is cliticised to consonant-final phrases.

- (473) ... *ani aire' ma'u=ni aeroportu-isi' (...)* *uai=ni=si ani*
 1s now come=LNK1 airport-at CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s

Portugal-isi-la'a=na'a.

P.-at:RED-move=INT

'... I am now at the airport, and I intend to go to Portugal.' (74-017)

- (474) *Ini haka-hau umu=na'a.*

1pe all-all die=INT

'We will all die.'

(pelic298)

More information on the clitic's use is found in § 7.2.1.1.1 (p. 415). There is some evidence to the effect that =na'a may originally be a full verb. The strongest case is given in (475); the negator *nomo* is always part of a verb phrase (see § 5, p. 317), standing to the left of the full verb, and the adversative clitic linker =po attaches to full clauses – the only possible analysis is thus for *ana* to be a full verb in this case, since there is no other element which could carry this function. Note also that it does not metathesise in this sentence, even though it follows the vowel-final negator. This suggests that *ana* is in this case not a clitic.

- (475) *Hai nomo ana=po kiloo ini hai tepa leu.*

NSIT NEG arrive?=ADVR 3s 1pe NSIT constant call

'He didn't come, so we kept calling him.'

(67-20)

The translation of (475) shows that *ana* is a verb of movement like 'come' or 'arrive'.

An prefixal or proclitic form *na'a-* is also found in what looks like a reflexive in (476), and, reduplicated as a free morpheme, as a distributive marker in (477). It is not clear whether these two items are related to the intention marker.

- (476) *Aire' na'a-lasi na'a-dafa nomohaka amuni ki=selu=ni fi-uta.*

now alone?-cut alone?-pound:BD CLS.NEG person ATTR=other=CTR 1pi-kill

'Now we cut and beat ourselves, there is nobody else who kills us.'

(23-042)

- (477) ... *ni-ni ni-upa-raa k-asu usupadu u na'a-na'a due.*

REFL-mother REFL-father=PL 3:UND-for candle one RDL-alone? light

'... light a candle each for one's mother and one's father.'

(124-53)

See § 9.2.3.3 (p. 505) for the pragmatic marker *na'a-muni*, which also contains an element *na'a*.

3.5.3.2.2 The immediate action marker =fa'a

=*fa'a* denotes a very near future, or that a situation is about to happen. Like =*na'a* (§ 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262), =*te'e* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), =*fata* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253) and =*nata* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254), it too has a metathesised form =*afa* which stands after consonant-final phrases. =*fa'a* is quite rare; examples of its use are illustrated in (478) and (479).

(478) *Irau la'a, ae uta=fa'a.*
 not.allowed move rain fall=IMM
 'Don't go; it will be raining in a moment.' (elic050)

(479) ... *hai mu'a-li'an=ini hai la'a ira-mutu-li'an=afa.*
 NSIT ground-fall=LNK1 NSIT move water-inside:RED-fall=IMM
 '... (the child) falls down and is about to fall into the water...' ¹⁴⁹
 (38-092)

3.5.3.2.3 The question marker =ua

The clitic =*ua* optionally marks polar interrogatives. (480) shows an example; more details are given in § 7.7.2.1 (p. 438).

(480) *Ei hana'e Iliomar-isi-la'a=ee ei Makalero lolo=ua?*
 2s REM.PT I.-at:RED-move=DEF 2s M. say=QM
 'When you were in Iliomar, did you speak Makalero?' (chat001)

3.5.3.2.4 The polite imperative =elo

=*elo* cliticises optionally to imperatives. Its function is not to mark the illocutionary force, but to soften a direct imperative. An imperative with =*elo* is considered very polite, and speakers characterised it as a request rather than an order. It appears to be more common in the speech of younger speakers.

(481) *Ni mei=ni rau-ena=elo!*
 REFL take=LNK1 good-see=EXHORT
 'Take care of yourself!' (chat013)

¹⁴⁹ The picture in the frog story actually shows the boy in the process of tumbling down from the cliff.

3.6 Other morphemes

A variety of morphemes cannot be easily assigned to any of the lexical categories discussed so far. § 3.6.1 (p. 264) through § 3.6.5 (p. 269) remark on these and present possible classifications.

3.6.1 The clausal negator *nomohaka*

Nomohaka is the clausal negator. It precedes either the whole of the VP or of a clause, as shown in (482) and (483).

- (482) ... *umu uere nomohaka na'u hau-suri=po umu uere mara=ni*
 die 2DEM CLS.NEG just all-release=ADVR die 2DEM go=LNK1
ki-hai' ki-heker kini
 3:POSS-finish 3:POSS-burial do
 '... the death is not just left alone, this death, (we) make an end and a ceremony.'
 (21-038)
- (483) ... *nomohaka ani k-asu mutu isit...*
 CLS.NEG 1s 3:UND-for inside ill
 '... it is not the case that I am angry with him...'
 (82-036)

Nomohaka is made up of the normal VP negator *nomo* (see § 3.4.4, p. 242) and an element *haka*, which may be identical or related to the counter-presupposition marker =*haka* (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244).¹⁵⁰ The combination *nomohaka* is grammaticalised. The internal negator *nomo* negates verbs, which suggests that *haka* could be a verbal element, and the whole *nomohaka* in fact clausal. *Nomohaka* precedes the clause it modifies. Alternatively, the modified clause's subject can be placed in the left-detached position of the sentence, preceding the clausal negator (§ 7.6.1, p. 427). These variant positions are illustrated in (482) and (483) above and juxtaposed again, on a pair of otherwise identical sentences, in (484) and (485). *Nomohaka* shares these positional variants, either to the left or to the right of the modified clause's subject, with clausal adverbials (see, again, § 7.6.1, p. 427).

- (484) *Ki-ni ki-upa nomohaka hai hau umu.*
 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father CLS.NEG NSIT all die
 'His parents are not both dead.'
 (elic754)
- (485) *Nomohaka ki-ni ki-upa hai hau umu.*
 CLS.NEG 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father NSIT all die
 'His parents are not both dead.'
 (elic754a)

¹⁵⁰ In fact, the use of a clausal negator implies the contradiction of a presupposition in most cases. Note, however, that =*haka* is otherwise found only on NPs. See below for a possible alternative analysis.

3.6.2 The complementiser =ee

As discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), a group of verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions introduce those complement clause extensions by means of a complementiser. This complementiser is related to a deictic element (see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232, for the speaker-related demonstrative and deictic verb) and takes the forms =ee, =e', or =ere. Typical examples, illustrating each of the variant forms, are given in (486) through (488). In each case, the complementiser attaches to the main verb and introduces the bracketed complement clause.

- (486) *Ani uali'=e'=kini [ei=kini hai kauen].*
 1s hear=CMPL=IND 2s=IND NSIT marry
 'I hear that you are already married.' (elic816a)

- (487) ... *asi-nana-raa lolo=ee [hai la'a=ni asi-tiu-raa*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL say=CMPL NSIT move=LNK1 1s:POSS-uncle-PL
ki-lopu-isi-rou].
 3:POSS-house-at:RED-sleep.PL:BD
 '... my brother said he had gone to sleep at my uncles' house.' (126-033)

- (488) *Kiloo ini heti=ere [ini so'ot=uai tule].*
 3s 1pe ask=CMPL 1pe want=or not.want
 'He asks us whether we agree or not.' (elic480)

The forms =ee and =ere seem to be nominal in origin, conforming to the deictic definite marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243) and the speaker-related demonstrative ere, respectively. If used with constituents other than NPs, these elements commonly signal that the constituents in question are used as arguments. (489) shows such an example; the bracketed constituent followed by the demonstrative ere is a full sentence, consisting of two clauses, which as a whole functions as the subject argument to the predicate ue-rau 'so good'.

- (489) [*Sirvisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka*] *ere nomo ue-rau.*
 work take=LNK1 city-at:RED-search:BD IDEM NEG V2DEM:RED-good
 'Looking for work in the city is not that easy.' (elic472)

Structurally, (488) and (489) look very similar, suggesting that in (488), too, the constituent followed by ere is used in argument function. It is cross-linguistically common for complement clauses to be nominalised; however, the constructions with the nominally based complementisers as in (487) and (488) would be quite the reverse. It is hard to conceive of the clause with the verb of saying as an argument of the complement clause. Furthermore, note that verbs of saying can be constructed with the direct speech as an argument, which stands in the usual preverbal object position (see § 5, p. 317). (490) shows the definite marker =ee on a clause in argument position.

- (490) ... *ei hai nomo hul=afta [ni-nomo hul]=ee lolo.*
 2s NSIT NEG able=COND REFL-NEG able=DEF say
 ‘... if you cannot afford it, say that you cannot afford it.’ (74-076)

In this construction, it is very clear that the direct speech is headed by the verb of saying, being an argument of it. An analysis of the clause with the verb of saying as an argument in such sentences as (487) and (488) would be quite the opposite and thus rather unlikely. Also, such an analysis would not be easy to reconcile with the evidence from the third variant form of the complementiser, =*e*’. Other than =*ee* and =*ere*, =*e*’ appears to be verbal in origin, being homophonous to the speaker-related deictic verb *e*’ (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180). It thus cannot be understood as signalling nominalisation of the preceding constituent. Nevertheless, as seen in (486) through (488), =*e*’ functions in the same way as =*ee* and =*ere* and the three forms of the complementiser appear to be interchangeable.

The verb *tule* ‘not want’ gives evidence as to the possible origin of this complementiser. What corresponds to the complement clause to *tule* ‘not want’ is usually constructed as an argument, as in (491), where it is followed by the definite marker =*ee* to signal its syntactic function. Similar clauses using the demonstrative *ere* can also be found.

- (491) *Mata ka’u ere [ni uaro’]=ee tule.*
 child small IDEM REFL wash=DEF not.want
 ‘This child does not want to wash.’ (elic1591a)

In a few cases, however, =*e*’, instead of the definite marker =*ee*, is used with such a complement clause.

- (492) *Kiloo [seur nua]=e’ tule.*
 3s meat eat=CMPL not.want
 ‘He does not want to eat meat.’ (elic211)

It thus seems that these clauses in object position can be marked with all the forms of the complementiser. This shows that there are two construction types in which the complementiser is found. Their schematic representations in (493) and (494) show that they are radically different.

- (493) V=*ee* [complement clause extension]

- (494) [clausal argument]=*ee* V

Structures like (493), with a preverbal complement clause (which may be analysed as nominalised or not), conform to the typological profile typically associated with SOV languages. In Makalero, too, the VP is consistently head-final, such that postverbal complement clause extensions as in (486) through (488) are somewhat unexpected.

Complement clauses of the structure as in (494) look like prototypical argument uses of clausal constituents, provided they use either the demonstrative *ere* or the definite

marker =*ee*. I will assume that these represent the original complement clause construction. As discussed above, however, it is not quite easy to reconcile =*e*', which seems to be verbal in origin, with this picture. Note, however, the similarity with the derived deictic verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.9.1 (p. 183). *Ere*' and the other members of this paradigm are predominantly used to recapitulate longish undergoers. In these occurrences, the verbs in question look like determiners. However, there is clear evidence showing that they are verbal. It is telling that the form =*e*' found with some clausal arguments is identical to the verbal ending of such derived demonstrative verbs; it is plausible to assume that the element =*e*' is used in such cases in a function very much like that of the derived deictic verbs as described in § 3.2.3.9.1 (p. 183).

Postverbal complement clause extensions and the use of the complementiser on the matrix clause are typologically unexpected. However, sentences such as (495) and (496) provide some insight in the origin of this construction type. In both of them, the end of the complement clause extension is marked by the quotative marker *ain* (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205).

- (495) *Radiu e'=ini hai ude-leu [Agapitu Barretu hai*
 radio V1DEM=LNK1 NSIT VDEM.HIGH:RED-call A. B. NSIT

umu] ain.

die QUOT

'The radio here called up there saying that Agapito Barreto had died.'

(101-354)

- (496) ... *asi-dosen lolo=ee [(...) ei judul hai hatama=si ei tepa*
 1s:POSS-lecturer say=CMPL 2s thesis NSIT enter=LNK2 2s constant

isa ha'e=ni ma'u=ni ni'isi tepa konsultasi] ain.

state light=LNK1 come=LNK1 simultaneous constant consult QUOT

'... my lecturer said: "you (can) hand in your thesis already, but you (must) keep working hard and come for consultations."' (126-203)

As shown in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), *ain* still functions as a full verb, meaning 'say' or 'mean'. It is thus plausible to assume that in such sentences as (495) and (496), the complement clause extension is actually the argument of the verb *ain* 'say'. Such a structure conforms to the typological profile of Makalero. Subsequently, *ain* in this position became grammaticalised as a quotative marker and became optional, leaving a sentence type in which a complement clause follows the verb of saying.

While this scenario accounts for the postverbal position of complement clauses, it leaves the position of the complementiser on the verb of saying unexplained. As suggested above, this element originally stood on clausal arguments to verbs of saying. It is possible that the construction where the complementiser stands on the verb of saying to introduce the complement clause extension is due to outside influence; complement clause constructions in which a verb of saying is followed by a complementising element and a postverbal complement clause are found in all of the major contact languages (Indonesian, Tetum as well as Portuguese).

- (500) *Oi uere isipera nomo rau...*
 INTERJ 2DEM ISIPERA NEG good
 ‘Oi, this is very bad...’ (120-171)
- (501) ... *ki-isit isipera hai k-ua-misa...*
 3:POSS-ill ISIPERA NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-go.up
 ‘... his illness got worse and worse...’ (67-30)

3.6.5 Free conjunctions

Makalero does not originally have free conjunctions, but uses the clitic clause linkers discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250) to express the semantic relations between clauses. Through outside influence (i.e. borrowing), however, some free-conjunction-like elements have come into the language. § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269) discusses Portuguese-based conjunctions, § 3.6.5.2 (p. 270) Tetum-based conjunctions, § 3.6.5.3 (p. 271) Indonesian-based conjunctions and § 3.6.5.4 (p. 271) rare cases of apparently native free conjunctions. § 3.6.5.5 (p. 272) gives a brief outlook on their possible lexical categorisation.

3.6.5.1 Portuguese conjunctions

A variety of conjunctions of Portuguese origin, listed in Table 3.47, are in more or less frequent use in discourse.

English	Makalero	Portuguese source
after	<i>depois</i>	<i>depois</i> ‘afterwards’
during	<i>durante</i>	<i>durante</i> ‘during’
thus	<i>entaun</i>	<i>então</i> ‘then, thus, so’
and	<i>i</i> ¹⁵¹	<i>e</i> ‘and’
because	<i>komu</i>	<i>como</i> ‘since, because’
when	<i>kuandu</i>	<i>quando</i> ‘when’
or	<i>o(u)</i>	<i>ou</i> ‘or’
so that	<i>para</i>	<i>para</i> ‘towards, so that’
because	<i>purke</i>	<i>porque</i> ‘because’
if	<i>see</i>	<i>se</i> ‘if’

Table 3.47: Portuguese loan conjunctions

Other conjunctions, found only sporadically in the speech of a few more lusified individuals, include *portantu* ‘however’ and *tempu* ‘when’.

¹⁵¹ *i* ‘and’ is not only used to coordinate clause-level units, but also constituents within the NP (§ 4.5, p. 314).

These Portuguese-based conjunctions differ drastically from their Makalero linker counterparts in that they are free forms in clause-initial position, rather than clitics attached to the end of a clause. Two examples are given in (502) and in (503).

- (502) ... *amulafu ere k-asu lolo ni-ina k-eta-kofu entaun*
 person 1DEM 3:UND-for say REF-eye 3:UND-firm-close thus
tufuraa ere ni-ina kofu...
 woman 1DEM REFL-eye close
 ‘... (the snake) told the person to close her eyes firmly, so the girl closed her eyes...’
 (64-06)
- (503) ... *ibu=ee dur uere kafe ke’ see kafe uari nomo*
 Indonesian.woman=DEF wake.up 2DEM coffee drink if coffee still NEG
rau ibu=ee dur=ee fi mei rau-pase.
 good Indonesian.woman=DEF wake.up=DEF 1pi take good-beat
 ‘... after the Indonesian woman woke up, she used to drink coffee, (but) if the coffee was not ready yet when she got up, she beat us up.’
 (101-262)

Another Portuguese conjunction, *mais* ‘but’, is used in Makalero not as a free element, but as an enclitic on the first of the clauses it connects (§ 3.5.3.1.1.8, p. 255). As such, *mais* is totally integrated into the Makalero structure and hence not listed in Table 3.47. Similarly, *ou* ‘or’ is sometimes, though not in all cases, realised as a clitic (§ 3.5.2.3, p. 247).

3.6.5.2 Tetum conjunctions

Only two conjunctions originating from Tetum have been found, namely *uainhira* ‘when’ and *tamba* ‘because’. Both of these are in very restricted use, found in the speech of only one speaker each. (504) gives an example of *uainhira* ‘when’, while (505) shows the use of *tamba* ‘because’. Neither of the two is used as a clitic.¹⁵²

- (504) *Uainhira Portugal ma’u=ni invade (...) tenki suku ere ki-nei*
 when P. come=LNK1 invade must suco 1DEM 3:POSS-name
pada se-se’=ana...
 friend RDL-separate=INT
 ‘When Portugal invaded (...), (they) wanted to give the sucos different names...’
 (35-11)

¹⁵² Note, however, that *uainhira* would probably appear to Makalero speakers to be segmentable into the clausal proform *uai* (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204), the linker *=ni* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247) and an element *hira*. Clause linkers are regularly found attached to *uai(=ni)*; however, there is no instance of a back-formation *=hira*.

- (505) *I liurai ma'u=ni [...] hai isi-nu'at tamba kiloo e-ma'u...*
 and king come=LNK1 NSIT at:BD-astonished because 3s 1VDEM:BD-come
 'And the king came and was astonished because he had come here...'
 (51-07)

3.6.5.3 Indonesian conjunctions

Only one conjunction from Indonesian is in regular use, namely *kar(e)na* 'because'. Like in colloquial Indonesian, it is in Makalero generally pronounced as [ˈkarna]. While (506) shows that it can be used as a conjunction on its own, it is in fact often used in combination with other, native means of indicating causality, such as the verb (*k*)-*asu* 'for' (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349) and the linker =*konai* (CSQ; see § 3.5.3.1.1.6, p. 254) in (507).

- (506) ... *ei-asu hai problema ain karna ei nomo ki-oras ere mini...*
 2s-for NSIT problem QUOT because 2s NEG 3:POSS-time 1DEM follow
 '... (he said) there will be a problem for you because you didn't follow (his instructions about) the time...'
 (120-172)

- (507) ... *isarami tufur=oo ta ena mutu heke karna lolo-ini uere'*
 brother sister=too REC see inside difficult because say-NML 2DEM.V

lolo-ini pa'u-pa'uk=hi'a k-asu=konai=ni fi ta ena mutu heke.
 say-NML RDL-bad=only 3:UND-for=CSQ=LNK1 lpi REC see inside difficult
 '... brothers and sisters too are angry with each other because those words were very bad words, because of that we are angry with each other.'
 (98-32)

3.6.5.4 Other conjunctions

The interrogative *tetepane'* 'when' (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167), a native Makalero item, is used as a temporal conjunction, as in (508).

- (508) ... *uatu sofit tetepane' fi u teni ma'u=ni teni ta ena*
 day behind when lpi one again come=LNK1 again REC look

uai=te'e=si fi teni k-ua-lolo.
 CLS=after=LNK2 lpi again 3:UND-on.top:RED-say
 '... in the future, when we meet, we will talk more.'
 (101-488)

This use is synonymous to that of the Portuguese loan *kuandu* (§ 3.6.5.1, p. 269) and the Tetum loan *uainhira* (§ 3.6.5.2, p. 270). Note that both of these items also function as question verbs in the donor languages. This suggests that the conjunctive use of *tetepane'* is a calque on one of these languages. It is most unlike the

typological profile of Makalero, which uses clitic clause linkers like those discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250).

Furthermore, there is a clause-initial item *teta*, the origin of which is unclear. It is found in the speech of one speaker only, of which (509) gives an example, and appears to be used like a conjunction. It translates as ‘no matter whether...’. Note, however, that it always cooccurs with the concessive linker =*oo*. As such, it is not quite clear what the actual meaning and contribution of *teta* is.

- (509) *Teta fuin nomo fuin=oo ei=ni dadau ei=ni mei=ni la'a*
 although? dare NEG dare=too 2s=CTR must 2s=CTR take=LNK1 move

ue' ain.
 V2DEM QUOT

‘(He said) whether you dare or not, it is you who has to go, you must take it there.’ (120-068)

3.6.5.5 Summary

The items most similar in Makalero to the borrowed conjunctions discussed in § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269) through § 3.6.5.3 (p. 271) are such phrases as *mara=ni* (go=LNK1) or *la'a=ni* (move=LNK1), both of which frequently occur in texts to propel the action forward and translate roughly as ‘and then’ (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210). Like adverbial expressions, these elements are actually clausal. (510) shows a typical use of *mara=ni*.

- (510) ... *ani la'a=ni ala'-mutu'=ee uere=hi'a nua-nua. Uai=ni=ni*
 1s move=LNK1 forest-inside=DEF 2DEM=only RDL-eat CLS=LNK1=LNK1

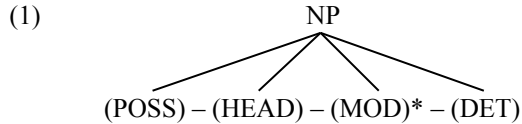
mara=ni ah uere na'u so'o.
 go=LNK1 mango 2DEM just end

‘... when I was in the forest I only ate these. Then there were no more mangoes.’ (101-051, 101-052)

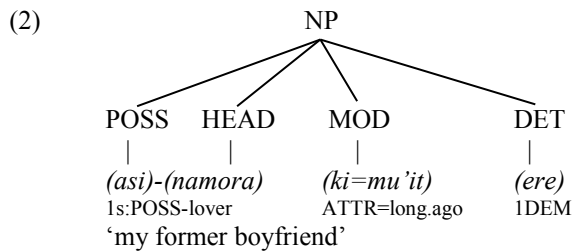
Another verb that is used as a conjunction is the interrogative *tetepane'* (§ 3.6.5.4, p. 271). Although there is no context which unequivocally shows the loan conjunctions to be treated like verbs, such analogue cases suggest they may be understood as such. However, at present, their categorial status is conjectural.

4. The noun phrase

The structure of the noun phrase in Makalero is represented schematically in (1).



The head is preceded by the possessor, while the other dependents, i.e. modifiers and determiners, follow it. The possessor and the determiner slots can hold one element each. The modifier position, on the other hand, can contain several modifiers. (2) gives an example of an NP with all positions filled.



In the following sections, the constituent parts of the noun phrase are discussed in turn, starting with the head in § 4.1 (p. 273), followed by the possessor phrase in § 4.2 (p. 277), modifiers in § 4.3 (p. 279) and determiners in § 4.4 (p. 314).

4.1 The head

The head of the NP is prototypically a noun, a nominal compound, or a personal pronoun. § 3.1 (p. 99) and § 3.3.1.1 (p. 218) give information concerning the classes of nouns and pronouns in general. Nominal compounds are discussed in § 4.1.1 (p. 276). (2) above exemplifies an NP with a nominal head.

A head is defined as such by the fact that it is the locus of such nominal suffixes as the plural markers *-laa* and *-raa* (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236), shown in (3) and (4) as well as the honorific suffix *-uai* (§ 3.3.3.3, p. 238).

(3) $[[ni]_{\text{POSS}}-[nana]_{\text{HEAD}}-raa [meih]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}}=ee$
 REFL-elder.sibling-PL two.HUM=DEF
 'my two older siblings' (101-026)

(4) $[[namiraa]_{\text{HEAD}}-laa [ere]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}}$
 man-PL 1DEM
 'these men' (elic630)

Furthermore, the presence of a head is a prerequisite for the expression of a possessor phrase (§ 4.2, p. 277). However, as shown by the schematic representation of the NP in (1), where it is bracketed, the head is not an obligatory part of the NP. (5) and (6) exemplify headless NPs consisting only of modifiers and determiners.

- (5) ... *harus* *[[ki=pere]_{MOD} [ho'o]_{DET}]_{NP}* *to-la'a...*
 must ATTR=big.SG some accompany:RED-move
 '... some grown-up must go along...' (120-126)
- (6) *[[Ei=ua hana'e lolo]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}* *ani hai mei ma'u.*
 2s=REL REM.PT say IDEM 1s NSIT take come
 'I brought (the thing) you once talked about.' (elic999)

The NPs in (7) and (8) consist only of determiners, namely the demonstrative *uere* (see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232) and *ho'o* 'some' (see § 3.3.2.2, p. 233), respectively.

- (7) ... *ani pada=ni misa=ni [[uere]_{DET}]_{NP}* *ko-horu...*
 1s order=LNK1 go.up=LNK1 2DEM 3:UND-with
 '... (he) invited me to come up and stay with him...' (101-416)
- (8) *[[Ho'o]_{DET}]_{NP}* *nomo mi-ma'en...*
 some NEG along:RED-know
 'Some didn't understand...' (101-033)

The overall order as shown in (1) must be maintained in all circumstances. Hence, such NPs as (7) and (8) cannot under any circumstances appear with a modifier. Not only nouns, but also verbs can function as NP heads. This property of Makalero is a major reason for the difficulty to classify lexemes into such lexical categories as nouns and verbs, as discussed in § 3 (p. 97). (9) shows an example of a prototypical verb heading an NP: the function of the complement-verb complex *isi-ne'et* 'think (of)' as a noun phrase head is unmistakable through the fact that it is preceded by the first person possessive pronoun *asi-* (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225); a possessive is necessarily the first element of an NP. For comparison, (10) shows *isi-ne'et* 'think (of)' in its prototypical verbal function.

- (9) ... *[[asi]_{POSS}-[isi-ne'et]_{HEAD}]_{NP}* *ni'isi ti'ir.*
 1s:POSS-at:RED-think simultaneous heavy
 '... my mind (thoughts) were still heavy.' (124-45)
- (10) ... *ani hai isi-ne'et ani hai rau rei-misa=na'a.*
 1s NSIT at:RED-think 1s NSIT good outwards-go.up=INT
 '... I thought it would be good for me to get out.' (101-440)

The pair of sentences in (11) and (12) give equivalent examples with the stative verb *rau* 'good': In (11), it is the head of a complex NP with a preposed possessor. The whole of this NP is an argument of the following verb *asu* 'for', and is cross-referenced on it with the *k*-prefix (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). On the other hand, in (12), *rau* is the main predicate in its prototypical verbal function.

- (11) *[[Fi-afur ki]_{POSS}-[rau]_{HEAD}]_{NP} k-asu fi ira lor.*
 1pi-body 3:POSS-good 3:UND-for 1pi water fly
 ‘Swimming is very good for the health.’ (elic469)
 (lit: For the good of our body, we swim.)

- (12) ... *asi-nilai muni rau.*
 1s:POSS-mark return good
 ‘... my marks were good again.’ (126-086)

Full VPs (§ 5, p. 317), clauses (§ 6, p. 383) and multi-clausal units (§ 7, p. 401) can also be used as NP heads. In all of the examples below, the complex NP heads are in square brackets for ease of reading. A relatively straightforward case is shown in (13), where a full VP with the verb *-horu* ‘with’ and the third person object prefix *k(o)-* functions as the NP head. (14) gives a similar case, where the verb phrase which heads the NP includes the aspectual adverbial *hau* ‘all’. Finally, in (15), a multi-clausal unit consisting of two clauses (the first headed by the light verb *mei* ‘take’, the second by the complement-verb complex *isi-saka* ‘search in’), takes the function of the NP head.

- (13) ... *[[papa uere ki]_{POSS}-[ko-horu]_{HEAD}]_{NP} ue’.*
 Indonesian 2DEM 3:POSS-3:UND-with V2DEM
 ‘... the Indonesian had a servant.’ (101-416)
 (lit. the Indonesian’s ‘with-him’ was there)

- (14) *[[Rata ki]_{POSS}-[hau hai’]_{HEAD}]_{NP}=ini ere’.*
 story 3:POSS-all finished=CTR 1DEM.V
 ‘This is the end of the story.’ (elic1144)

- (15) *[[Serbisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka]_{HEAD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} nomo ue-rau.*
 work take=LNK1 city-at:RED-search:BD 1DEM NEG V2DEM:RED-good
 ‘Finding work in the city is not that easy.’ (elic472)

In summary, a variety of constituents can fill the head position of an NP, starting from simple nouns in the prototypical case, to verbs, VPs and even full sentences. Especially with internally complex noun phrase heads of a different lexical category, such as the VP in (14) and the sentence in (15), some formal marking of the function of those constituents as noun phrase heads is necessary. That is, the position and function of a given constituent within the NP must be marked through the presence of an item that is clearly associated with a noun phrase, generally a possessor phrase or a determiner. In (13) and (14), these are the preceding possessor phrases (but also the contrastive marker =*ini* in (14), which separates the constituent it follows from the rest of the clause, see § 9.2.3.1, p. 501), while in (15), it is the demonstrative *ere*, which follows the clausal head.

4.1.1 Nominal compounds

Makalero nominal compounds consist of two simple nouns which form one nominal head together. The head of the compound follows the determining noun; hence a Makalero nominal compound looks much like an English one. An example is ‘flower pot’, where ‘pot’ is the head and ‘flower’ provides more information, in the present case its purpose or use, concerning that head noun. Nominal compounds in Makalero are clearly distinct from an NP with a nominal head and a noun in the following modifier slot (see § 4.3.1, p. 280), in which the order of the head noun and the determining noun is inverted. Both structures, however, are formally a sequence of two nouns directly following one another.

Nominal compounds in Makalero fall into two semantic types; in the first of these, the two nouns are in a part-whole relationship, whereas in the second, the determining noun specifies a purpose, material, or some other association of the head noun with the preceding determining noun.

A few examples of the first type of Makalero compounds, showing a part-whole relationship between the two constituent nouns, are given in (16). All of these compounds could be paraphrased as possessive constructions, such as *pai ki-seur* or *mu’u ki-fasu*, corresponding to ‘pig’s meat’ and ‘banana’s peel’, respectively.¹⁵³

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (16) | <i>pai-seur</i> ‘pork’
<i>mu’u-fasu</i> ‘banana peel’
<i>lopu-aihaa</i> ‘(main) door’
<i>meti-ualir</i> ‘beach’ | <i>pai</i> ‘pig’ + <i>seur</i> ‘meat’
<i>mu’u</i> ‘banana’ + <i>fasu</i> ‘skin, peel’
<i>lopu</i> ‘house’ + <i>aihaa</i> ‘door’
<i>meti</i> ‘sea’ + <i>ualir</i> ‘edge’ |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

A noticeable subgroup of such compounds are body parts, of which a few examples are given in (17).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (17) | <i>tana-raka</i> ‘finger’
<i>ia-raka</i> ‘toe’
<i>ia-lefen</i> ‘sole’
<i>ina-fasu</i> ‘eyelid’ | <i>tana</i> ‘hand / arm’ + <i>raka</i> ‘finger / toe’
<i>ia</i> ‘foot / leg’ + <i>raka</i> ‘finger / toe’
<i>ia</i> ‘foot / leg’ + <i>lefen</i> ‘palm’
<i>ina</i> ‘eye’ + <i>fasu</i> ‘skin’ |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The second type of compounds, where the determining noun specifies purpose, material or the like of the head noun, is illustrated in (18). In *uatu-teru* ‘parasol’, the first noun specifies the type of the shelter, namely one from the sun and similarly, in *ira-tu’il* ‘water bucket’, the purpose of the container is to hold water. Finally, *ira* ‘water’ in *ira-fereh* ‘grass growing in water’ specifies a locative association of *fereh* ‘k.o. grass’ with *ira* ‘water’.

¹⁵³ In fact, both a possessive construction and a nominal compound may be used to refer to the same entity in one text. It is not quite clear which circumstances determine which construction is favoured over the other. There are cases of possessive constructions which are later taken up in the form of nominal compounds, but also compounds which are taken up as possessive constructions.

- (18) *uatu-teru* ‘parasol’ *uatu* ‘sun’ + *teru* ‘shelter’
ira-tu’il ‘water bucket’ *ira* ‘water’ + *tu’il* ‘bamboo container’
ira-fereh ‘grass growing in water’ *ira* ‘water’ + *fereh* ‘type of grass’

A special case is presented by *arapau* ‘buffalo’ and *numu* ‘lips’, which appear to have special reduced forms, *ara-* and *nu-*, respectively, for use as the determining nouns in nominal compounds (§ 3.1.3.4, p. 120). (19) shows several instances of *ara-*. *Nu-*, on the other hand, has been found in one compound only, as given in (20).

- (19) *ara-horu* ‘buffalo horns’ *ara(pau)* ‘buffalo’ + *horu* ‘horn’
ara-luan ‘buffalo stable’ *ara(pau)* ‘buffalo’ + *luan* ‘stable’
ara-seur ‘buffalo meat’ *ara(pau)* ‘buffalo’ + *seur* ‘meat’
- (20) *nu-namu* ‘moustache’ *nu(nu)* ‘lips’ + *namu* ‘body hair’

No instance of a compound made up of more than two nouns has been found.

All of the compounds demonstrated so far are endocentric, i.e. the head of the compound conveys the basic meaning, with the determining noun restricting that meaning to a more specific one. Such compounds contrast with exocentric compounds, in which there is no clear head, but rather the meanings of the two nouns combine to form a new meaning. Such compounds are much rarer in Makalero than endocentric ones. In fact, the only examples that I am aware of at this point are those given in (21).

- (21) *omaraha-tuumata* *omaraha* + *tuumata*
‘traditions, customs’ ‘wife-givers’ + ‘wife-takers’
- Uru-uatu* *uru* + *uatu*
‘God’ ‘moon’ + ‘sun’

In lexical parallelism, the use of combinations of nouns with related meanings to convey a superordinate meaning is very common; examples are *ni upa* (mother father) ‘parents’ or *kuda arapau* (horse buffalo) ‘livestock’. However, these are not treated as nominal compounds, but form separate NPs; a somewhat more detailed discussion is given in § 9.3.2 (p. 510).

4.2 *The possessive phrase*

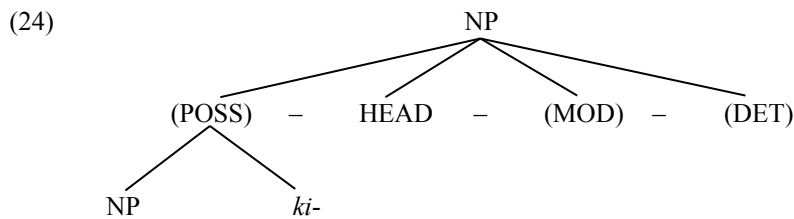
The schematic representation of the NP in (1) above shows that the possessive phrase is the only dependent within the noun phrase to precede the head. Though this appears to be at odds with the otherwise head-initial structure of the NP, it does conform to one of the features identified as Papuan in Klamer et al.’s (2008: 95) East Nusantara linguistic area, namely “possessor-possessum order in adnominal possession”.

In the most straightforward case, the possessor is expressed by means of a possessive pronoun. (22) and (23) give examples of such possessive constructions. For a more detailed discussion of possessive pronouns, see § 3.3.1.1.3 (p. 225).

- (22) $[[[Isi]_{\text{POSS}}-[isa]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}}=oo \text{ ni'isi se hare'}$.
 1pe:POSS-condition=too simultaneous very clean
 ‘We are also very happy.’ (chat007a)

- (23) ... $[[[fi]_{\text{POSS}}-[ouar]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ ani-afa-la'a}$.
 1pi:POSS-master 1s-away.from-move
 ‘... our master left me.’ (115-048)

Nominal possessors are adjoined to the superordinate NP head with the third person possessive pronoun *ki-*, which in this case can be said to be a more general possessive marker, much like *nia* in Tetum (e.g. Hull and Eccles 2001: 18). Schematically, this can be represented as in (24).



Examples are shown in (25), with the nominal possessor *tufuraa* ‘woman’, and in (26), with *amuni* ‘person’.

- (25) $[[[Tufuraa ki]_{\text{POSS}}-na'a \text{ ere}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ tina-ini mu'a mei hare'-ini...}$
 woman 3:POSS-work 1DEM cook-do:BD ground take clean-do:BD
 ‘The women’s work is cooking, cleaning (the floor)...’ (elic835)

- (26) $[[[Amuni ki]_{\text{POSS}}-mu'u]_{\text{NP}}=ni \text{ ama-misa...}$
 person 3:POSS-banana=CTR garden-inside
 ‘People’s bananas were in the garden...’ (23-011)

While in both (25) and (26), the possessors are simple nouns, (27) and (28) show that the possessor can in fact be a full NP of its own and can, as such, contain modifiers and determiners, just like the superordinate NP. An example of a possessor NP with a determiner is given in (27). (28) shows a more complex possessor NP, with two modifiers and a determiner.

- (27) ... $[[[[[elehaa]_{\text{HEAD}} [uere]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ ki}]_{\text{POSS}}-[nei]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ Ilisee...}$
 old.man 2DEM 3:POSS-name I.
 ‘... that old man’s name was Ilisee...’ (101-093)

- (28) $[[[[[Asi]_{POSS-car}]]_{HEAD} [ki=loloi]_{MOD} [ki=hofar]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}$
 1s:POSS-car ATTR=two ATTR=new 1DEM

 $ki]_{POSS-colour} [kor]_{HEAD}]_{NP}$ *putir*.
 3:POSS-colour white
 ‘My two new cars are white.’ (elic321)
 (lit. The colour of my two new cars is white.)

A possessor NP can also contain its own possessor NP, and so forth, making the expression of possession recursive. While it is frequent to find pronominal possessors within a possessor NP, as in the examples in (29) and (30) (as well as (28) above), the use of a full possessor NP within another possessor NP is very rare. (31) and (32) show two of the very few points in case. In all examples, the possessive phrases in question are bracketed.

- (29) $[[[[[Asi]_{POSS-mother=DEF} [ni]_{HEAD}]_{NP}=ee ki]_{POSS-mother} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}=ni uari lafu$.
 1s:POSS-mother=DEF 3:POSS-mother 1DEM=CTR still live
 ‘My mother’s mother is still alive.’ (elic515)
- (30) $[[[[[Asi]_{POSS-father} [upa]_{HEAD}]_{NP} ki]_{POSS-name} [nei]_{HEAD}]_{NP} Pedru...$
 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS-name P.
 ‘My father’s name is Pedro...’ (chat021)
- (31) ... $[[[[[[[liurai]_{HEAD}]_{NP} ki]_{POSS-horse} [uere]_{DET}]_{NP} ki]_{POSS-faeces} [atu]_{HEAD}]_{NP}$
 king 3:POSS-horse 2DEM 3:POSS-faeces

loka.
 wrap
 ‘... (he) wrapped the faeces of the king’s horse.’ (51-04)
- (32) $Kiloo [[[[[[iskola]_{HEAD}]_{NP} ki]_{POSS-house} [lopu]_{HEAD}]_{NP}$
 3s school 3:POSS-house

 $ki]_{POSS-face-at=LNK1} [fanu]_{HEAD}]_{NP}=isi’=ini hau nat$.
 3:POSS-face-at=LNK1 all stand:SG
 ‘He stood in front of the school building.’ (elic1190)

4.3 The modifiers

The post-nominal modifier slot is where the NP exhibits most complexity: it can hold modifiers of a wide variety of shapes. These modifiers can be either simple nouns or full NPs, simple verbs or full VPs, or clausal. Also, note that an NP can contain one or more modifiers. There are two kinds of modifiers which take an overt marker of attribution, namely those with the attributive *ki=*, as well as relative sentences with *=ua*. The following sections discuss nominal modifiers in § 4.3.1 (p. 280), verbal modifiers in § 4.3.2 (p. 281), clausal modifiers in § 4.3.3 (p. 283),

de-clausal modifiers with the attributive marker *ki=* in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), and, finally, relative sentences in § 4.3.5 (p. 295).

4.3.1 Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers are rather limited semantically, specifying generally either sex or age¹⁵⁴, as in (33), or origin / location, as in (34), of the noun phrase head. The resulting structure takes the form of two juxtaposed nouns. As such, this structure looks very much like a nominal compound (see § 4.1.1, p. 276), with the only difference that a nominal modifier construction is head-initial (i.e. the head noun precedes the modifying noun), whereas nominal compounds are typically head-final (i.e. the head follows the modifying noun). Observe the nominal modifier constructions in (33) and (34) as well as, for comparison, the nominal compound in (35); the bracketing shows how the two constructions contrast.

- (33) *[[Asa]_{HEAD} [paru]_{MOD} [un]_{MOD}]_{NP=ee} ani uari tepa afu.*
 bird female one=DEF 1s still constant carry
 ‘The one (female) chicken I was still carrying around with me.’
 (101-045)

- (34) *... muni ma’u [[mu’a]_{HEAD} [Iliomar]_{MOD}]_{NP} k-ua-e’...*
 return come ground Iliomar 3:UND-on.top:RED-VIDEM
 ‘... (we) came back to the land of Iliomar up here...’ (124-21)

- (35) *... dila sefar ere=haka na’a.muni*
 frog dog 1DEM=CTR.PRES in.turn
 [[ira]_{MOD}-[ualir]_{HEAD}]_{NP}-isi-ume-mit.
 water-edge-at:RED-VDEM.DIST:RED-sit:SG
 ‘... the frog and the dog are sitting at the edge of the lake over there.’
 (102-111)

Even though a noun with a nominal modifier and a nominal compound construction look superficially the same, there is clear evidence that they differ in structure. For instance, nominal modifiers can be expanded into relative clauses with the relative marker *=ua* (see § 4.3.5, p. 295). The sentence in (36) shows such an example; note how it directly relates to the locative specification in (34).

- (36) *Uai=konai=ni ni hau mot=ini ma’u=ini [[mu’a]_{HEAD}=[ua*
 CLS=CSQ=LNK1 REFL all dare=LNK1 come=LNK1 ground=REL
Timor]_{MOD}]_{NP} ta-rata’.
 T. near-arrive
 ‘That’s why (she) dared coming to the land of Timor...’ (98-09)

¹⁵⁴ The most common nominal modifier specifying age is *mata* ‘child’, to designate the young of a species.

The fact that a locative specification such as in (34) can be expanded into a relative clause as in (36) shows that it is a modifier to the preceding head noun, and structurally clearly different from the compound in (35), which cannot possibly be paraphrased in a similar way.¹⁵⁵

The sentence in (37), finally, demonstrates that not only simple nouns, but also full NPs can stand in the modifier slot. In this sentence, *mata ka'u namiraa* 'small boy child', consists of a noun with two modifiers, one of which is a stative verb (see § 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151) while the other is nominal. The brackets in (37) show the structure of this fairly complex NP.

- (37) ... $[[[ki]_{\text{POSS-}}[pada]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{HEAD}} [[mata]_{\text{HEAD}} [ka'u]_{\text{MOD}} [namiraa]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}}$
 3:POSS-friend child small man
- ma'u=ni...*
 come=LNK1
 '... her friend, a small boy, comes...' (fisquest22)

A specific construction which is often used to introduce a new referent into discourse involves the head noun *amuni* 'person' with an NP modifier, as shown in (38) and (39).

- (38) $[[Amuni]_{\text{HEAD}} [ina-uai]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} ki]_{\text{POSS-}}[mata-r]_{\text{HEAD}} [ere]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} hai$
 person mother-HON 3:POSS-child-PL 1DEM NSIT
- haka-hau ki-iskola hai hai*.
 all-all 3:POSS-school NSIT finished
 'All of this woman's children have already finished school.' (elic272)
- (39) ... $[[amuni]_{\text{HEAD}} [isi-meestri-laa]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} nilai taure' rau uere=hi'a$
 person 1pe:POSS-teacher-PL mark which good 2DEM=only
- huma=ni la'a=ni IPA-isi*.
 order=LNK1 move=LNK1 science-at
 '... our teachers told only those who had good marks to go to the natural science class.' (126-096)

4.3.2 Verbal modifiers

The modifier position of a noun phrase can also contain a verb. Most often, this will be a stative verb describing the head, such as *pere* 'big (SG)' and *putir* 'white' in (40) and (41), respectively. These types of verbal modifiers are the translational equivalent of adnominal adjectives in English. The NPs in question are bracketed in the examples.

¹⁵⁵ Nominal compounds, on the other hand, can be broken up into possessive constructions, i.e. in the case of *ira-ualir* 'water edge', which can be paraphrased as *ira ki-ualir* 'edge of the water'. See § 4.1.1 (p. 276).

- (40) ... *[[uar]_{HEAD} [pere]_{MOD} [uere]_{DET}]_{NP}*
 stone big.SG 2DEM
k-ua-lolo-mit=ini...
 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-sit.SG=LNK1
 ‘... (he) is sitting right on top of that big rock and then...’ (38-083)
- (41) *Amuni ete-fu-la’a=ni motor-ika’ kareta-ika’ [[lopu]_{HEAD}*
 person upwards-near:RED-move=LNK1 motorbike-up.in car-up.in house
[putir]_{MOD}]_{NP} k-ia’...
 white 3:UND-under
 ‘People around (us) are riding motorbikes and cars, and live in good (lit. white) houses...’ (124-33)

As with nominal modifiers (§ 4.3.1, p. 280), verbal modifiers may be expanded into relative clauses (§ 4.3.5, p. 295), but also into de-clausal modifiers with the attributive marker *ki=* (§ 4.3.4, p. 284). In (42), *pere* ‘big (SG)’, which is shown used as a simple verbal modifier in (40), is used in a relative clause, and in (43), *imir* ‘red’ is attributed to the head *dai-hael* ‘cotton’ with the attributive marker *ki=*. This contrasts with (41), where a colour term is used as a simple modifier. These variant constructions are evidence for the fact that the verb stands in the modifier slot in such cases as (40) and (41).

- (42) *[[larin]_{HEAD}=[ua pere]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}*
 mountain=REL big.SG 1DEM
 ‘this mountain which is big’ (pelic019)
- (43) *[[Dai-hael]_{HEAD} [ki=imir]_{MOD}]_{NP} hai mei...*
 DAI-cotton ATTR=red NSIT take
 ‘Take the red yarn...’ (73-32)

In quantification with numerals (§ 3.2.3.8, p. 171), the numeral functions as a verbal modifier to the head noun, as (44) shows.

- (44) ... *uai=ni [...] [[dila]_{HEAD} [loloji]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} na’a.muni ta ena*
 CLS=LNK1 frog two 1DEM in.turn REC look
tepa nomo rau...
 constant NEG good
 ‘... so the two frogs still don’t like one another...’ (115-051)

It is worth mentioning that in the case of numeral modifiers, the expansion into a *ki=*-attribute yields a distinct meaning, namely that of ordinality (see § 4.3.4, p. 284).

As with nominal modifiers, not only simple verbs, but also more complex verbal constituents can be found in the modifier position. In (45), this is a VP complete with a transitive verb, *asar* ‘send’, and a non-subject argument *ei* (2s). Note how the

definite marker =*ee* follows this complex modifier, marking the right edge of the NP.

- (45) ... *uai=ni* [[*elehaa*]_{HEAD} [*ei asar*]_{MOD}]_{NP}=*ee taure-fani*?
 CLS=LNK1 old.man 2s send=DEF which:RED-be.like
 ‘... so what was the old man who sent you like?’ (120-115)

4.3.3 Clausal modifiers

The modifier to an NP can also be fully clausal or even larger. An example is given in (46), in which the modifier *ki-kor roual* ‘its colours are many’ is a full clause with a subject argument and a verb. The relation of this clause to the head noun *faru* ‘shirt’ is marked as being possessive through the use of the third person possessive marker *ki-*.

- (46) *Kiloo so’ot=ee* [[*faru*]_{HEAD} [*ki-kor roual*]_{MOD}]_{NP} *k-utu*.
 3s want=CMPL shirt 3:POSS-colour many.NONHUM 3:UND-wear
 ‘He likes to wear colourful shirts.’ (elic569)

The modifiers in (47) and (48) are multi-clause units. In (47), the modifier consists of an adverbial predicate, *aftane*’ (PT) (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), and *ani lolo* ‘I said’. The head noun *pai* ‘pig’ is the undergoer (theme) participant of that second clause. In a free-standing clause, it would stand in the immediately preverbal position, which is marked by \emptyset in (47). In (48), on the other hand, the head noun *jogadoor* ‘player’ functions as the subject argument in both clauses which are needed to express the ablative notion of ‘come from outside’; the complement-verb complex *le-isi*’ ‘be outside’ expresses the origin and the movement verb *ma’u* ‘come’ (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210) the direction. Both predicates are analysed as fully clausal.

- (47) [[*Pai*]_{HEAD} [*aftane*’ *ani* \emptyset *lolo*]_{MOD} [*ere*]_{DET}]_{NP} *Alfredu k-isi*’.
 pig PT 1s say 1DEM A. 3:UND-belong
 ‘The pig that I mentioned before is Alfredo’s.’ (elic1445).
- (48) [[*Joga-door*]_{HEAD} [*le-isi*’ *ma’u*]_{MOD} [*ere*]_{DET}]_{NP} *hau ma’en*.
 play-NAG outside:RED-at come 1DEM all know
 ‘The foreign players play better.’ (elic1266)
 (lit. the players who were outside and came know better.)

Clausal modifiers look very much like relative sentences to the head noun (compare § 4.3.5, p. 295) without any overt marking.

With clausal modifiers, the head is in a few instances found *in situ*, rather than being left-dislocated as in (47). An example is (49). Semantically, the noun *mata* ‘child’ clearly functions as the head, although the whole construction actually looks like a nominalised sentence.

- (49) *[Ani osan mei=ni [mata]_{HEAD} ka'u umere' kini]_{NP} ere*
 1s money take=LNK1 child small DEM.DIST.V give.to.3 1DEM
se so'ot.
 very want
 'The child I gave money to was very happy.' (elic1424)

Problematically, it is not possible to fit a structure like (49) into the NP schema as given in (1) (§ 4, p. 273), where the head noun precedes all dependents except for the possessor. Very similar constructions, with *in-situ* heads, are found with =*ua*-marked relative clauses, as discussed in § 4.3.5.2, p. 303).

4.3.4 Modifiers with the attributive marker *ki=*

The attributive marker *ki=* is homophonous, and likely related to, the third person possessive pronoun (see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). The common denominator of the constructions they are used in is the attribution of an element, either a possessive phrase or a modifier, to an NP head.

(50) and (51) show examples of sentences in which the post-nominal modifier slot is filled by a *ki=* + verb modifier phrase.

- (50) *Renu Timor ni-asu [[presidente]_{HEAD} [ki=hofar]_{MOD}]_{NP} haka.*
 populace T. REFL-for president ATTR=new search
 'The Timorese people are electing a new president.' (elic1450)
- (51) *Uai=te'e=fe [[nana]_{HEAD} [ki=pere]_{MOD} [uere]_{DET}]_{NP} rei-li'an.*
 CLS=after=FE snake ATTR=big.SG 2DEM outwards-fall
 'Only then did the big snake fall out.' (89-22)

(51) shows that a demonstrative follows the *ki=* + V phrase. Determiners, standing in the right-most position of the noun phrase, mark its right boundary, which proves that *ki=* + V stands in the post-nominal modifier slot. Indeed, where the positions of the determiner and the *ki=* + V complex are inverted, as in (52), the reading of the phrase is fundamentally different. *Ki=* + V could not possibly be interpreted as making part of the noun phrase; rather, it would have to be the predicate of a complete clause.

- (52) *[[Nana]_{HEAD} [uere]_{DET}]_{NP} ki=pere.*
 snake 2DEM ATTR=big.SG
 'That snake is a big one.'

Modifiers with *ki=*, as in (50) and (51) above, contrast with those that are directly adjoined to the noun without an attributive marker as described in § 4.3.1 (p. 280) to § 4.3.3 (p. 283) above. An example, which is in fact a near minimal pair to *nana ki=pere uere* 'the big snake' in (51), is given in (53).

- (53) ... *kilooraa* [[*nana*]_{HEAD} [*pere*]_{MOD}]_{NP} *mei=ni* *k-asu* *isi-suma*.
 3p snake big.SG take=LNK1 3:UND-for at:RED-show
 ‘... they show him the big snake.’ (elic366)

The meaning of the noun phrases in (51) and (53) is very similar, both being translated as ‘the big snake’. The difference between *nana ki=pere uere* in (51) and *nana pere* in (53), respectively, appears to be the fact that there is a contrastive notion¹⁵⁶ attached to the modifier with *ki=* in (51), but not to that without it. The snake in (51) contrasts with a multitude of other snakes that have played a role in earlier parts of the story; (56) repeats (51) and adds the context of the two immediately preceding clauses in (54) and (55). (54) and (55) mention snakes without specifying their size. The fact that (56) introduces a new participant as *nana ki=pere* shows that the feature by which this newly introduced snake distinguishes itself from all the others, and hence contrasts with them, is its large size, and that, consequently, the other snakes were rather smaller.

- (54) ... *sefar ere* *misa=ni* *nana hai* *ka’el* *liurai=oo* *k-uta* *tepa*.
 dog 1DEM go.up=LNK1 snake NSIT bite king=too 3:UND-kill constant
 ‘... the dog came up and started biting the snakes, and the king too kept killing them.’ (89-20)
- (55) *Tepa* *ma’u=si* *kuda uere* *teni* *isi-hihi=si* *misa=ni* *kuda=oo*
 constant come=LNK2 horse 2DEM again at:RED-call=LNK2 ascend=LNK1 horse=too
nana=ee *ti’al* *sefar=oo* *lasi*.
 snake=DEF kick dog=too cut
 ‘(The snakes) kept coming, then (she) called the horse, and it came up and the horse as well kicked the snakes, and the dog too cut them.’ (89-21)
- (56) *Uai=te’e=fe* [[*nana*]_{HEAD} [*ki=pere*]_{MOD} [*uere*]_{DET}]_{NP} *rei-li’an*.
 CLS=after=FE snake ATTR=big.SG 2DEM outwards-fall
 ‘Only then did the big snake fall out.’ (89-22)

Another example in which the contrastive function of the *ki=-* attribute may be seen fairly clearly is the text fragment in (57) through (59). The water mentioned in (58) is different from, and thus contrasts with, that referred to in (57). In (59), however, the contrast is no longer relevant, having been introduced in (58); hence the speaker does not repeat the attributive marker *ki=*, but uses *selu* ‘other’ directly as an adnominal modifier.

¹⁵⁶ The contrastive notion involved does not correct a presupposition, but chooses one of a set of available options over the others.

- (57) *Hau pane=ni ki-ira hau kalin=ini ki=pa'uk=ini ira*
 all wash=LNK1 3:POSS-water all throw.out=LNK1 ATTR=bad=CTR water
k-ua'=ini hai la'a la'a fi hau dasa la'a.
 3:UND-on.top=LNK1 NSIT move move 1pi all throw.down move
 'Having washed them, (we) pour out all the water, and the bad ones which
 were floating on the water, we throw these away.' (50-05)
- (58) *Hau dasa la'a=ni uai=te'e=si fi [[ira]_{HEAD} [ki=selu]_{MOD}]_{NP}*
 all throw.down move=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 1pi water ATTR=other
teni na'u muni mei isi'.
 again just return take at
 'Having thrown them away, we take new water and put it into it (the pan).' (50-06)
- (59) *Ira selu muni mei=si ere roual ira nomohaka*
 water other return take=LNK2 IDEM many.NONHUM water CLS.NEG
ka'u-ka'u=hi'a mei=ni...
 RDL-small=only take=LNK1
 'Taking other water, it should be a lot, (don't) take very little water...' (50-07)

As a matter of fact, the lexeme *selu* 'other' by definition contrasts one entity with another. This explains why, in the overwhelming majority of cases, *selu* co-occurs with *ki=*, as in (58). The only case where *selu* is regularly found without this attributive marker is in the phrase *mu'a selu* (ground other), which is lexicalised as 'abroad'. Since there is no contrast involved, the *ki=*-construction is not used in those instances.

Properties attributed to nouns using the attributive marker *ki=* are typically stative verbs (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151), as in all of the examples given so far. However, activity verbs (§ 3.2.3.2.2, p. 153) have been found in this position, though this is the case quite rarely. An example is (60). However, though *ke'* 'drink' is prototypically an activity verb, it is nevertheless used to ascribe a (stative) property to the head noun, namely 'water that is fit for drinking'.

- (60) *Ani [[ira]_{HEAD} [ki=ke']_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} heti=ee rau=uai na'an?*
 1s water ATTR=drink IDEM ask=DEF good=or NEG.EX
 'Could I have some drinking water?' (elic1742)

Neither is the construction with *ki=* restricted to verbal attributes. Nouns have been found in this construction as well, as shown in (61) with *lafī* 'side' and (62) with *uli* 'leather'. Both these nominal modifiers attribute a time-stable property to the head noun. Note that (61) contrasts a possessive *ki-* with the attributive *ki=*.

- (61) *[[Ki]_{POSS}-[ina]_{HEAD} [ki=lafī]_{MOD}]_{NP} hai pa'uk.*
 3:POSS-eye ATTR=side NSIT bad
 'He is blind in one eye.' (elic1565)

- (62) *[[Lode]_{HEAD} [ki=uli]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} asi-nana=ni mei=ni*
 bag ATTR=leather IDEM 1s:POSS-elder.sibling=CTR take=LNK1
manini.
 give.to.1s
 ‘This leather bag was given to me by my older brother.’ (elic322)

Finally, (63) shows what appears to be a full VP with a transitive verb and a pronominal undergoer, the reciprocal *ta*.

- (63) *[[Ueralaa]_{HEAD} [ki=ta heti]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} ta hofe hai*
 3p ATTR=REC ask IDEM REC know NSIT
aira un.
 year one
 ‘The affianced couple (lit. they who have asked each other) have known each other for a year.’ (elic1174)

(63) is the only example found to date in which *ki=* is used with a semantically transitive verb. All the other relevant sentences use intransitives only.

In summary, *ki=* introduces noun phrase modifiers of a variety of fashions; verbs, VPs, and nouns have all been found in this function. Nevertheless, there are several restrictions on such attributes. The ungrammatical phrases in (64) and (66) demonstrate that neither adverbials nor aspect marking are allowed with verbs in this position. The corresponding examples in (65) and (67), without adverbial and aspect marking respectively, are perfectly acceptable.

- (64) * *[[larin]_{HEAD} [ki=tafi pere]_{MOD} [uere]_{DET}]_{NP}*
 mountain ATTR=true big.SG 2DEM
 intended: ‘that truly big mountain’ (pelic022)
- (65) *[[larin]_{HEAD} [ki=pere]_{MOD} [uere]_{DET}]*
 mountain ATTR=big.SG 2DEM
 ‘that big mountain’
- (66) * *[[mata]_{HEAD} [ki=hai pere]_{MOD}]_{NP}*
 child ATTR=NSIT big.SG
 intended: ‘the child which is already big’ (pelic270)
- (67) *[[mata]_{HEAD} [ki=pere]_{MOD}]_{NP}*
 child ATTR=big.SG
 ‘the big child’

Aspect marking and adverbial modification are inherently verbal features. The fact that they cannot be combined with attributes with *ki=* shows that the construction has reduced verbal (clausal) properties.¹⁵⁷ However, it is not the case that all verbal

¹⁵⁷ This may reflect the relation and possible origin of the attributive marker with the third person possessive pronoun *ki-*, which stands with NP heads only.

modifiers are disallowed in such constructions; notably, the negator *nomo* can be found in a *ki*-modifier, as (68) shows.

- (68) *[[Kini-kini]_{HEAD} [ki=nomo rau]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} hau mei na'a ere*
 RDL-do ATTR=NEG good IDEM all take work IDEM
se heke.
 very difficult
 'Working on this bad habit is very hard.' (elic583)

Many languages express what corresponds to relative clauses by means of a deverbalised form, such as a participle (e.g. relative participles in Dravidian languages, Krishnamurti 2003: 333). The reduced verballity of a *ki*-modifier, as demonstrated through the fact that they are incompatible with aspect marking and adverbs, can be seen along those lines. Makalero speakers tend to translate such attributes into Indonesian with relative sentences using *yang* (notice, too, that the intended meaning of (66) as well as the literal translation of (63) take that form in English). Like other modifiers, *ki*-modifiers can form noun phrases of their own, without a head noun (see § 4.1, p. 273). The sentence in (69) gives two relevant examples. Such structures are reminiscent of headless relative clauses.

- (69) *Amuni ki-mu'u=ni ama-misa uere' la'a [[ki=nomo*
 person 3:POSS-banana=CTR garden-inside 2DEM.V move ATTR=NEG
amu']_{MOD=HEAD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} mei=ni mara k-ata' ni-asu
 contain IDEM take=LNK1 go 3:UND-contact REFL-for
[[ki=amu']_{MOD=HEAD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} lasi=ni mei.
 ATTR=contain IDEM cut=LNK1 take
 'Somebody's bananas were in the garden, (he) would go and put empty ones there and cut down the full ones for himself.' (23-011)

On the other hand, a *ki*-attribute can also be used as the predicate in a clause (see § 5.1, p. 318), in accordance with the fact that basically any lexeme or phrase can function as a predicate if placed in the appropriate slot within a clause. With such verbalised *ki*-attributes, of course, verbal marking (e.g. adverbs, aspect) is possible, as it is with predicates with prototypical verbal heads. The crucial difference to *ki*-attributes in NPs is that these verbal markers stand outside the *ki*-phrase, rather than within it. (70) shows *ki=nomo rau* 'a bad one' as a predicate accompanied by the adverbial *hau* 'all', while in (71), *ki=popo* 'a rotten one' heads the predicate and is marked as a new situation by the aspect marker *hai*.

- (70) *Ei-ue-nini-nini uere [hau [[ki=nomo rau]_{MOD=HEAD}]_{NP}]_{VP}.*
 2s-V2DEM:RED-RDL-do:BD 2DEM all ATTR=NEG good
 'Your attitude is a very bad one.' (pelic255)

- (71) *Mu'u=ua teuh ere [hai [[ki=popo]_{MOD=HEAD}]_{NP}]_{VP}.*
 banana-REL buy IDEM NSIT ATTR=rotten
 'The bananas he bought are already rotten.'
 (lit. are already rotten ones) (elic317)

A VP headed by a *ki=-*phrase can, complete with its aspect marking and / or its adverbs, again be placed in the modifier slot of a noun phrase (see § 4.3.2, p. 281, for verbal modifiers), with or without a nominal head, as shown in (72) and (73), respectively.

- (72) *[[Asi]_{POSS}-[nana]_{HEAD}=[ua hai ki=kauen]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} oko nomo*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling=REL NSIT ATTR=marry IDEM yet NEG

mata-ena.
 child-see
 'My sister who is already married doesn't have children yet.' (elic1418)

- (73) *[[Hau ki=la'it]_{MOD}]_{NP}=ini kiloraa ki-leetana' uere'=ini*
 all ATTR=old=CTR 3p 3:POSS-in.the.middle DEM.DIST.V=CTR

lolo-ini.
 say-do:BD
 'The oldest one among them spoke.' (elic1575)

The use of a predicating *ki=-*phrase as a verbal modifier to a noun phrase circumvents the restriction against aspectual distinctions or adverbial expressions within a *ki=-*attribute, as shown in (64) and (66) above. Any verbal modifiers accompanying a predicating *ki=-*phrase are taken along into the modifier slot of the noun phrase with it; hence this complicated construction allows the expression of both a contrastive notion and aspectual distinctions and / or adverbials within the same modifier.

Finally, a somewhat special case is that of a numeral in a *ki=-*attribute in which the numeral is generally read as ordinal, as (74) shows. Apart from the special reading, the general properties of the *ki=-*phrase are the same as described above; thus, (75) shows a case where the numeral functions as head of an NP on its own, similar to such headless-relative-clause-like constructions as shown in (69).

- (74) *[[Ki]_{POSS}-[mata]_{HEAD} [ki=lolitu]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} aite' umu.*
 3:POSS-child ATTR=three IDEM REC.PT die
 'His third child has just died.' (elic1694)
- (75) *[[Ki=douh]_{MOD=HEAD}]_{NP}=ini umu amu lima=ni e'.*
 ATTR=six=CTR die person five=CTR VIDEM
 'The sixth died, and there remained five.' (30-06)

The modifier construction with *ki=* with numerals is ambiguous in that the ordinal interpretation is not the only one, although it appears to be favoured. (76) is another example of an ordinal number, whereas in (77), the very same modifier *ki=loloi*

(ATTR=two) is read as a cardinal, apparently in a contrastive sense. The crucial difference between those two readings of *ki=* with a numeral is that a cardinal reading such as in (77) can be paraphrased using a bare numeral, as in (78). The same is not possible, however, for ordinal numbers, which can never stand without the attributive marker.

- (76) ... [[[asi]_{POSS-child} [mata]_{HEAD} [ki=loloi]_{ATTR=two} NP] *ki*_{POSS-name} [nei]_{HEAD} NP]
Fernandu Alves Donikais.
 F. A. D.
 ‘... my second child’s name is Fernando Alves Donikais.’ (105-040)
- (77) [[[Asi]_{POSS-car} [kareta]_{HEAD} [ki=loloi]_{ATTR=two} MOD] [ki=hofar]_{ATTR=new} MOD] [ere]_{IDEM} NP
*ki*_{POSS-colour} [kor]_{HEAD} NP *putir.*
 3:POSS-colour white
 ‘My two new cars are white.’ (elic321)
- (78) *Aftane’* [[kareta]_{HEAD} [loloi]_{MOD} NP] *riapata-isi-dai.*
 PT car two main.road-at:RED-pass
 ‘Two cars passed on the street.’ (elic1765)

4.3.4.1 Attributive *ki=* vs. possessive *ki-*

The attributive marker *ki=* is consistently glossed as ATTR to distinguish it from the third person possessive marker. The similarities between such a possessive construction and the attributive construction are obvious at first glance; (79) juxtaposes the two.

- (79) *liurai ki-lopu* ‘the king’s house’
 king 3:POSS-house
- nana ki=pere* ‘the big snake’
 snake ATTR=big

In fact, in the appropriate context, it would be perfectly possible to interpret *nana ki=pere* as a possessive construction, translatable as ‘the snake’s largeness’, in which case it would have to be spelled as *nana ki-pere*. Consider (80) and (81), which show just such a pair of examples; the subject participant in (80) is made up of a possessor, *namiraa ere* ‘this man’, and a possessum, *forit* ‘strength’. This latter is prototypically a stative verb meaning ‘strong’, but it is used as the head of a noun phrase in (80), which shows that it functions as an argument in this sentence. In (81), on the other hand, *ki=forit* functions as a modifier to the head *namiraa*.

- (80) *[Namiraa ere ki=forit]_{NP} hai rei-misa.*
 man 1DEM 3:POSS-strong NSIT outwards-go.up
 ‘This man’s strength is extraordinary.’ (elic1776a)
- (81) *[Namiraa ki=forit ere]_{NP} me’e uar pere ere mei=ni*
 man ATTR=strong 1DEM able stone big.SG 1DEM take=LNK1
nama-dane.
 upwards:RED-lift
 ‘This strong man can lift up a big stone.’ (pelic271c)

The distinct meanings of these superficially identical constructions must be associated with different structures: the possessum *forit* ‘strong’ should be the head of the noun phrase in (80), with *namiraa ere ki-* as a dependent expressing the possessor (see § 4.2, p. 277), whereas in (81), *namiraa* functions as the head of the phrase, and *ki=forit* and *ere* as its modifier and determiner, respectively. These distinct analyses are represented in the bracketing of the NPs in (82) and (83).

- (82) *[[[namiraa]_{HEAD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} ki]_{POSS}-[[forit]_{HEAD}]_{NP}*
 ‘This man’s strength’
- (83) *[[[namiraa]_{HEAD} [ki=forit]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}*
 ‘this strong man’

Whether or not the two constructions derive from one source, they are synchronically quite distinct. The most salient difference is illustrated by the sentences in (80) and (81): in a possessive construction, the possessor is a full NP, which can take its own modifiers and determiners (e.g. the demonstrative *ere* in (80)). An even more complex example is (84), in which the head noun of the possessor phrase is modified with a *ki=-* attribute as well as the enclitic definiteness marker *=ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243).

- (84) *[[[[Presiden]_{HEAD} [ki=hofar]_{MOD}]_{NP}=ee ki-]_{POSS}[[sirvisu]_{HEAD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}*
 President ATTR=new=DEF 3:POSS-work 1DEM
ti’ir.
 heavy
 ‘The new president’s job will be hard.’ (elic1245)

The same, however, is not possible for the head noun of a *ki=-* attribute. No determiner could possibly stand directly after the head noun, since the determiner marks the right boundary of the noun phrase. Such a construction would necessitate an interpretation of the *ki=-* phrase as distinct from the noun phrase in question, either as a separate noun phrase on its own or a predicate, as appropriate in the context (see (52) above).

Note also that noun phrases with a *ki=-* attribute and noun phrases with a bare verb in the modifier slot are used in a parallel way in clauses of identical structure, as in

(85). This strongly suggests that the two noun phrases are parallel in construction, in the sense that in both cases, the head noun is *nana* ‘snake’.

- (85) $[[Nana]_{HEAD} [pere]_{MOD}]_{NP}$ *ki-pik* *nomo na'u forit*,
 snake big.SG 3:POSS-poison NEG just strong
- $[[nana]_{HEAD} [ki=ka'u]_{MOD}]_{NP}$ *ki-pik* *se forit*.
 snake ATTR=small 3:POSS-poison very strong
 ‘This big snake’s poison is not strong, but the small one’s is very strong.’
 (elic1441)

This example further supports the idea that the possessive *ki-* and the attributive *ki=* are to be analysed in fundamentally different ways, and that a noun phrase with a *ki=*-attribute corresponds in structure to one with a simple verb modifier. The text fragment in (57) through (59) above gives the same kind of evidence. The basic parallel between verbal modifiers with *ki=* and those without it is possibly even clearer in sentence (86), in which the postnominal modifier slot is filled by two items. These are a verb, *pere* ‘big (SG)’, and a numeral, *lolo* ‘two’. *Pere* ‘big (SG)’ contrasts with *ka'u* ‘small’ in the following clause and is thus constructed in the form of a contrastive modifier with the *ki=*-attributive marker. *Lolo* ‘two’ however, does not use the attributive marker. The sentence in (87) serves to illustrate that *ki=* can occur twice in the same noun phrase, with each of two attributes individually. Based on this evidence, it can be assumed that *ki=* in (86) does not function as an attributive marker to both *pere* ‘big (SG)’ and *lolo* ‘two’, but only to the first of these elements.¹⁵⁸

- (86) $Kiloo$ $[[sefar]_{HEAD} [ki=pere]_{MOD} [lolo]_{MOD}]_{NP}$ *fan*, $[[ki=ka'u]_{MOD}$
 3s dog ATTR=big.SG two feed ATTR=small
 $[lolu]_{MOD}]_{NP}$.
 three
 ‘He has (lit. feeds) 2 big dogs and 3 small ones.’ (elic1455)
- (87) $[[[[Asi]_{POSS-} [kareta]_{HEAD} [ki=lolo]_{MOD} [ki=hofar]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP}$
 1s:POSS-car ATTR=two ATTR=new 1DEM
 $ki]_{POSS-} [kor]_{HEAD}]_{NP}$ *putir*.
 3:POSS-colour white
 ‘My two new cars are white.’ (elic321)

¹⁵⁸ Whenever both an attribute with *ki=* and one without it are coordinated within an NP, it appears that the *ki=*-attribute stands first, followed by the unmarked attribute. The only exception I am aware of is given in (xix).

- (xix) $[[Mata]_{HEAD} [ka'u]_{MOD} [ki=lolo]_{MOD} [umere']_{MOD}]_{NP}$ *asi-nana* *ki-mata*.
 child small ATTR=two DEM.DIST.V 1s:POSS-elder.sibling 3:POSS-child
 ‘These two children are my nephews.’ (elic1696)

However, *mata ka'u* ‘child’ is lexicalised to some degree, as apparent through the fact that it does not necessarily refer to a truly small child, but is in certain contexts even used to refer to a girl of marriageable age. As such, the rule *ki=*-modifier before bare verb modifier’ basically holds.

All of this indicates that *ki*-attributes must be analysed in a way similar to bare modifiers (see § 4.3.1, p. 280, through § 4.3.3, p. 283), rather than in a way similar to a possessive construction (see § 4.2, p. 277).

Engelenhoven's (2009) description of derivational processes in Fataluku is very insightful with respect to this structure in Makalero; pages 352-357 of that work are devoted to the description of the suffix *-(n)ana*, which the author analyses as an adjectiviser. It appears that adjectives derived by this suffix are frequently used in a construction with the third person possessive marker *i*,¹⁵⁹ as in (88) (Engelenhoven's example (7b)).

- (88) *mu'a i co-nana*
 earth 3s far-ANA
 'a far-off land' (Hull 2005: 34, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 355)

Engelenhoven goes on to note that phrases with *i* and *-(n)ana* can function both as nominal heads, as shown in (89), and as predicates, as in (90) (Engelenhoven's (8a) and (8b), respectively).

- (89) *[I h=iti-jet-ana] ia umani=t taratori me.*
 3s LNK=deep-fall-ANA DEM who=SEQ tractor take
 'The issue (lit. what falls down) was who is to use the tractor.'
 (Fataluku Community, nd, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 356)

- (90) *Kaka i sorot ara en-en [i kapar-ana].*
 elder.sibling 3s book base RDL-DEM 3s bad-ANA
 'This dictionary of yours is no good'
 (Fataluku Community, nd, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 356)

It appears as if the Fataluku *i* + *-(n)ana* construction is functionally very much the same as the *ki* + modifier construction in Makalero. (91) and (92) repeat a part of (69) and (the whole of) (71) above, respectively, to illustrate the exact parallel to the Fataluku constructions in (89) and (90).

- (91) ... *ni-asu [ki=amu' ere]_{NP} lasi=ni mei.*
 REFL-for ATTR=contain IDEM cut=LNK1 take
 '... (he would) cut down the full ones for himself.' (23-011)

- (92) *Mu'u=ua teuh ere hai [ki=popo]_{NP=PRED}.*
 banana-REL buy IDEM NSIT ATTR=rotten
 'The bananas he bought are already rotten.' (elic317)

A further parallel is the fact that Campagnolo (1973, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 355) consistently translates such phrases as relative clauses. As mentioned in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), Makalero speakers tend to translate *ki*-modifiers into Indonesian with relative clauses, too.

¹⁵⁹ Although the author does not specify exactly when this is the case, and when the adjective would directly follow the noun.

The only one difference between these structures in the two languages is a very obvious one, viz. the absence of an overt adjectivising morpheme in Makalero. This is consistent with its more isolating nature, as compared to Fataluku, which “still displays agglutinative morphology” (Engelenhoven 2009: 340). Whether or not an overt morpheme was at one point present in Makalero cannot be answered at present.

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal ones in Fataluku through the substitution of the verbal suffix *-(n)e* by the nominalising suffix *-(n)u*, where appropriate, and the preposed third person possessive *i*. However, Engelenhoven (2009: 344-345) notes that there is a subset of numerals to which neither the verbal nor the nominal suffix can be applied, and that for these, “the possessive marker is the only formal indication for the ordinal counterparts of the cardinal numerals”. Thus, in these cases, the situation would be identical to that in Makalero, where ordinal numerals correspond to cardinal numerals with the attributive marker *ki=* in front of them. In the absence of either a adjectivising or a nominalising suffix, by which the ordinal numerals differ from cardinal ones in Fataluku, contrastive cardinal and ordinal numeral modifiers look the same in Makalero, as shown by the noun phrases in (76) and (77), repeated below as (93) and (94), respectively. However, as mentioned above, the use of *ki=* with cardinal numerals is basically optional, used to convey contrastiveness; as such, (95) is a viable paraphrase for the attributive reading of (94), but not for the ordinal reading as in (93).

(93) $[[[[asi]_{\text{POSS-child}}-[mata]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}} [ki=loloi]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} ki]_{\text{POSS-name}}-[nei]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}}$
 1s:POSS-child ATTR=two 3:POSS-name
 ‘my second child’s name’ (105-040)

(94) $[[[[[Asi]_{\text{POSS-car}}-[kareta]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}} [ki=loloi]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} [ki=hofar]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} [ere]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}}$
 1s:POSS-car ATTR=two ATTR=new 1DEM
 ‘my two new cars’ (elic321)

(95) $[[kareta]_{\text{HEAD}} [loloi]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}}$
 car two
 ‘two cars’ (elic1765)

Fataluku thus has two distinct constructions, one for the expression of verbal modifiers to nominal heads, and the other for ordinal numerals. Both of these use the third person possessive *i*, along with distinct derivational morphemes. Makalero uses a form identical to the third person possessive pronoun to express the very same notions; however, it lacks the derivative suffixes used in Fataluku and as such conflates what are two distinct constructions in that language.

4.3.5 Relative sentences with the relative marker =ua

The clitic =ua (§ 3.3.5.1, p. 243) is, similarly to *ki=* (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240, § 4.3.4, p. 284), used to add a modifier to a nominal head. The modifiers in question are clausal, as examples (96) and (97) illustrate. The brackets illustrate the structure of the noun phrase as a whole.

- (96) ... *sefar ere fenu=ee meih=ini (...)* [*dila*]=ua *hai na'u*
 dog IDEM turtle=DET two.HUM=CTR frog=REL NSIT just
mutu heke]MOD *uere*]NP *hai na'u to-toton.*
 inside difficult 2DEM NSIT just RDL-watch
 'The dog and the turtle are both there (...) and watch the angry frog.'
 (115-018)

- (97) ... *lolo-ini ki=rau mei (...)* [*noko-raa*]=[ua *aite' lafu'*]MOD
 say-NML ATTR=good take younger.sibling-PL=REL REC.PT live
ere]NP *ki-e-isi-lolo.*
 IDEM 3:POSS-chest-at:RED-say
 '... advise our younger siblings who were just born well.' (98-24)
 (lit. speak good words to the hearts of our siblings...)

The modifier in (96) takes the form of a complete VP; the head noun functions as its subject participant. It is modified with both the aspect marker *hai* (§ 3.4.3, p. 242) and the VP-internal adverbial *na'u* 'just' (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). As such, modifiers with =ua clearly contrast with those with *ki=*, which, as shown in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), are not compatible with such verbal modifiers. In (97), the modifier is actually a multi-clause unit, since such adverbials as the recent past *aite'* are fully predicative by themselves (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). In fact, all sentence-level units as defined in § 7 (p. 401) can constitute relative modifiers. For this reason, the term 'relative clause' is avoided, and 'relative sentence' is used instead.

Note that in both of these cases, the NP with the clausal modifier is concluded by a demonstrative, *uere* and *ere* in (96) and (97), respectively. Being the rightmost element of an NP (see the schematic representation of the NP in (1) in § 4, p. 273 above), a determiner signals the right boundary of the noun phrase. As such, in the above cases, the position of the determiners with respect to the clausal =ua-modifiers shows clearly that the modifier is part of the NP and helps the hearer to process such fairly complex NPs.

In the majority of cases, the clitic =ua is attached directly to the head of the NP; however, there are a few examples, such as (98), which show that it can also stand following another modifier, in this case one with the attributive marker *ki=*.

- (98) [*Kareta* [*ki=moso*]MOD=[ua *umere'*]MOD]NP *ani-isi'*.
 car ATTR=green =REL DEM.DIST.V 1s-belong
 'That green car over there is mine.'
 (elic466)

=*ua* thus attaches to whatever preceding element, whether that be the head itself or, as in the case of (98), the rightmost element of a preceding modifier.¹⁶⁰

The examples in (96) through (98) show that clausal modifiers introduced by =*ua* correspond to relative clauses in English. The marking strategies for such relative sentences are fairly complex, as shown by the summary in Table 4.1. Note that the head nouns can be either left-dislocated or *in situ* within the relative sentence. The marking patterns are centred on both the relative clause head as well as its subject, resulting in double marking in cases where the two do not coincide. Also, it results in a mixture of head-marking and dependent-marking strategies.

	head = subject: = <i>ua</i> appears on	head = non-subject argument: = <i>ua</i> appears on	head = possessor: = <i>ua</i> appears on
left-dislocated head	- the head - the head and first element (of a multi- clause modifier) - the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) (?)	- the subject (?) - the head and on the subject - the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) and the subject	- the head - the head and the subject - the subject
<i>in-situ</i> head	- the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) and the head	- the subject	n/a
no head	n/a	- the subject - the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) and the subject	n/a

Table 4.1: Marking of relative sentences with =*ua*

¹⁶⁰ There is also a very small number of cases where =*ua* does not stand within the NP, but instead appears to be attached to the right boundary of it, as in (xx) below, where it is cliticised to the demonstrative *ere*. As said above, demonstratives can be said to mark the end of a noun phrase, and only a few noun phrase-external clitics such as =*ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243), =*ini* (see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247), =*hi'a* (§ 3.5.2.4, p. 247), =*oo* (see § 3.5.2.1, p. 245) and =*haka* (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244) are found in this position, cliticised to the NP as a whole. As such, the position of the first =*ua* in (xx) is hard to account for. However, note that the NP is repeated right after this, with the =*ua* modifier in the regular postnominal modifier slot; hence it is likely that the noun phrase *dila ere=ua* is a mistake that was subsequently corrected (although there is no noticeable break in the flow of speech).

(xx) ... [[*dila*]_{HEAD} [*ere*]_{DET=[ua]}_{MOD?}]_{NP} [[*dila*]_{HEAD=[ua se mutu heke]}_{MOD} [*ere*]_{DET}]_{NP}
 frog 1DEM=REL frog=REL very inside difficult 1DEM
ni-noko ki-ia k-eta-ka'el.
 REFL-younger.sibling 3:POSS-leg 3:UND-separate-bite
 '... this frog, the very angry frog bites the younger one's leg.' (115-021)

§ 4.3.5.1 (p. 297) discusses relative sentences with left-dislocated heads. The section is divided into paragraphs according to the grammatical role of the head within the modifier as either subject (§ 4.3.5.1.1, p. 297), non-subject argument (§ 4.3.5.1.2, p. 299) or possessor (§ 4.3.5.1.3, p. 301). § 4.3.5.2 (p. 303) proceeds to describe relative sentences with their heads *in situ*, again according to the function of the head as subject (§ 4.3.5.2.1, p. 303) or non-subject argument (§ 4.3.5.2.2, p. 305) of the subordinated clause. There do not appear to be relative clauses on possessors in this construction type. § 4.3.5.3 (p. 306) gives an overview of relative sentences with unexpressed subjects, and § 4.3.5.4 (p. 307) discusses headless relative sentences. § 4.3.5.5 (p. 308) gives a short summary of the marking patterns, and § 4.3.5.6 (p. 309) discusses some general properties of relative clauses apart from marking with =*ua*. § 4.3.5.7 (p. 311) comments on the behaviour of the NP containing the clausal modifier within the superordinate clause. § 4.3.5.8 (p. 313), finally, gives an outlook on relative sentences with non-nominal heads.

4.3.5.1 Relative sentences with left-dislocated heads

Relative sentences with left-dislocated heads are by far the most common type of such constructions. In other words, the head is followed by a modifier with =*ua*, conforming to the schematic representation of the noun phrase in (1). The proposed head can function as either the subject or the non-subject argument of this clausal modifier, or it can be a possessor of the relative sentence's subject. Depending on this factor, the exact construction of the modifier varies and is described separately in the following sections.

4.3.5.1.1 Relative sentences on subjects

Examples (96) and (97) above show relative sentences with semantically intransitive verbs in which, naturally, the head is the subordinate clause's subject. In both of these cases, =*ua* is attached to the head noun. Furthermore, the clausal modifier is followed by a determiner which shows the extent of the noun phrase. (99) and (100) give similar examples with transitive verbs; the modifier consists in these cases of a VP with a non-subject argument and a verb.

- (99) [Tufuraa=[ua ei so'ot]_{MOD} ere]_{NP} hai muni la'a=ni Dili-isi'.
 woman=REL 2s want 1DEM NSIT return move=LNK1 D.-at
 'The woman who likes you has moved to Dili.' (elic402)

- (100) ... [asi-nana=*ua* (..) *aftane' tu perauat i doutor*
 1:POSS-elder.sibling=REL PT ahead nurse and doctor
*ko-horu*_{MOD} *ere*_{NP} *hai lolo...*
 3:UND-with IDEM NSIT say
 '... my brother who was earlier staying with a nurse and a doctor said...'
 (101-159)

As seen in (100), modifiers with =*ua* can also be multi-clause units or sentences, as discussed in § 7 (p. 401). The most common type involves an adverbial verb (§ 3.2.3.3.2, p. 162). In such a case, the adverbial first element of this multi-clause unit may additionally be cliticised with the relative marker. An instance is shown in (101) with *aire* 'now'. In this case, thus, the relative marker =*ua* occurs twice.¹⁶¹

- (101) ... [*fi*=*ua aire'*=*ua mu'a ki-amulafu*]_{MOD} [*lolo-ini ki-ouar*]_{MOD}
 1pi=REL now=REL ground 3:POSS-person say-NML 3:POSS-master
*ere*_{NP}=*ni* (..) *ni-lolo-ini nomo fiar...*
 IDEM=CTR REFL-say-NML NEG trust
 '... we, who are the natives of the land and the owners of the language, do not appreciate our language...'
 (98-17)

However, as (100) as well as (102) show, the marking of such an adverbial predicate with =*ua* is not compulsory.¹⁶² There appears to be little, if any, semantic difference between the two constructions; whether the marking is pragmatically based could not be resolved in the limited scope (and time) of the current thesis and requires further research.

- (102) *Fuli-dai=po [ini=*ua aire' se-se'*]_{MOD}*_{NP}=*ini ni-lafu=po*
 together:RED-pass-ADVR 1pe=REL now RDL-separate=CTR REFL-life=ADVR
lolo-ini...
 say-do:BD
 '(We) go together, but we who live separately now talk about our lives...'
 (71-4)

It also appears to be possible to drop the =*ua* on the head and only mark the adverbial predicate in the first position of the multi-clause modifier. In these cases, the =*ua* on the adverbial is the only formal marker of the relative sentence. Examples are given in (103) and (104), where the heads, *te*li 'maize' and *dila mata* 'little frog', respectively, are unmarked.

¹⁶¹ Adverbials such as *aire* 'now' can in fact be used as relative sentence heads, as discussed in § 4.3.5.8 (p. 313). A similar reading, with *aire* 'now' as a relative sentence head (possibly embedded within another relative sentence), however, makes no sense in (101).

¹⁶² Note also that in the case of (102), there is no demonstrative ending the noun phrase, but only the contrastive marker =*ini* cliticised to its rightmost element.

- (103) *Raunata* [[*ministru*]_{HEAD} [*aire*'=*ua* *parlamentu-isi-ufe-diar*
possibly minister now=REL parliament-at:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-sit:PL
e']_{MOD}]_{NP} *Iliomar=ee=haka ki-nei umani...*
VIDEM I.=DEF=CTR.PRES 3:POSS-name make.popular?
'Perhaps the ministers who sit in parliament, the name of Iliomar is made
known to them...' (98-45)
- (104) ... *ni-asu ki-tali uere-seti-sifa' ki-nua uere [teli*
REFL-for 3:POSS-string 2DEM-pass-catch:BD 3:POSS-eat 2DEM maize
[aire'=*ua mu'a-isa*]_{MOD} *uere*]_{NP}, *isa uere na'a.muni mata (...)*
now=REL ground-descend 2DEM descend 2DEM in.turn child
k-ua-li'an.
3:UND-on.top:RED-fall
'... (he) missed the rope, and the food, the maize that was going down, fell
on top of the child (...).' (122-09)

It is not entirely clear how widely acceptable this strategy is. Neither (103) nor (104) are unproblematic sentences, both being somewhat awkward and bumpy; in fact, they look a bit like anacoluthons, in which the speaker started an utterance but changed its structure mid-sentence. There are at this point no clear, unproblematic sentences using the strategy of only marking the modifier's adverbial first element. In summary, in relative sentences on the subject, =*ua* is generally cliticised to the head, and in some cases also to the adverbial first element of a multi-clause modifier. It is unclear whether an alternative strategy, in which the clitic appears on the adverbial first element within the modifier only, but not on its head, is widely acceptable.

4.3.5.1.2 Relative sentences on non-subjects

There are two ways of realising a non-subject argument in a clause, namely either as an object or as a complement (see § 5.2, p. 319). In the case of the head noun functioning as a non-subject of the relative modifier, the most complete marking strategy is one where both the head of the relative sentence as well as its subject within the modifier are marked with =*ua*. (105) and (106) give relevant examples; in (105), the head *heru* 'cloth', which functions as the object of the modifier clause, as well as its subject *ei* (2s) have =*ua* cliticised to them. The same holds for (106), where both the head *rate* 'grave', the relative sentence's complement, and *ani* (1s), the relative sentence subject, are marked with =*ua*.

- (105) *Ani sedang [heru]=[ua ei=ua so'ot]*_{MOD} *ere*]_{NP} *heru.*
1s PROG cloth=REL 2s=REL want IDEM weave
'I'm weaving the cloth that you asked for.' (elic1277)

- (106) ... [rate=*ua ani=ua ei-asu isi-suma*]_{MOD} *ere*]_{NP} *ei mei la'a uere*
grave=REL 1s=REL 2s-for at:RED-show 1DEM 2s take move 2DEM.V
ta'a-ini.
count-give
'... the graves that I showed you, you take these to them respectively.'
(120-075)

The marking of both the modifier's head and its subject (where those do not coincide) combines both head-marking and dependent-marking strategies.

There are several instances where the first =*ua*, that cliticised to the head, is dropped, leaving only the one attached to the relative sentence's subject. Examples of this strategy are given in (107) and (108). In the first of these, the coordinated head nouns *farda* 'uniform' and *ropa* 'clothes' are unmarked, whereas the modifier's subject *ei* (2s) has the clitic =*ua*. Similarly, the relative sentence's head *nana uere ki-ifil=ee* 'the snake's tongue' in (108) is unmarked, but =*ua* is cliticised to the subject *liurai* 'king' within the relative sentence.

- (107) ... [*ei-faarda ei-ropa ere* [*ei=ua k-utu-k-utu=ni*
2s-uniform 2s-clothes 1DEM 2s=REL RDL-3:UND-wear=LNK1
iskola-isi-la'a]_{MOD}]_{NP}=*ee ei mei mu'aini*....
school-at:RED-move=DEF 2s take give.to.who
'... your uniform and your clothes that you (used to) wear to go to school,
who did you give them to?'
(73-27)
- (108) ... *iraku ude'=ini ni-asu* [*nana uere ki-ifil=ee*
3s VDEM.DIST=LNK1 REFL-for snake 2DEM 3:POSS-tongue=DEF
[*liurai=ua teri=eta uere*]_{MOD}]_{NP}] *hai teuh*....
king=REL cut=ETA 2DEM.V NSIT buy
'... he bought himself the snake's tongue that the king had cut off...'
(89-28)

Note, however, that in (107), the head of the relative sentence takes a determiner, the demonstrative *ere*, which precedes the =*ua*-modifier. Similarly, in (108), the noun phrase clitic =*ee* stands on the head noun. Both of these elements normally occur at the end of the NP, the demonstrative as its rightmost element, and the clitic attached to its right edge. In (107), the definite marker =*ee* actually occurs in the predicted position at the right edge of the relative sentence, which coincides with the end of the NP, in addition to the demonstrative which immediately follows the head. Another example with this marker in the predicted position as an enclitic on the right-most element of an NP containing a relative sentence is (109).

- (109) *Ani tina-ini mei=ni* [*mata-niki-niki=ua lepuh*]_{MOD}]_{NP}=*ee kini*.
1s cook-NML take=LNK1 child-RDL-PL=REL hungry=DEF give.to.3
'I gave rice to the hungry children.'
(elic406)

It is possible that the relative sentences in (107) and (108) are afterthoughts, added to a complete NP only after it has already been uttered (even though there is no actual break detectable in the flow of speech). There being a rather small number of relevant examples, it is not quite clear how acceptable relative sentences with the marker only on the relative sentence's subject are, or whether a different analysis would be needed to explain such structures.

With multi-clause modifiers, there is an alternative marking pattern where =*ua* is cliticised to the relative sentence's leftmost element, generally a time adverbial, as well as to its subject. Equivalent constructions are found with relative modifiers on subjects, as discussed in § 4.3.5.1.1 (p. 297). An example is given in (110), with *aire'* 'now' as the relative clause's adverbial first element.

- (110) ... *uerla hai hau tia=te'e [filem [aire'=ua ini=ua nonton=ana]_{MOD}*
 3p NSIT all sleep=after movie now=REL 1pe=REL watch=INT

 ere]_{NP} hai hau hai'...
 IDEM NSIT all finished
 '... they were all already sleeping, the movie that we were going to watch
 earlier was already finished...' (120-080)

However, =*ua* is not cliticised in every case an adverbial predicate is the first element of a multi-clausal relative sentence, as shown in (111), where, quite regularly, the modifier's head and its subject, but not the relative sentence's adverbial first element, take the marker.

- (111) ... [*ira=[ua aire' fi=ua mei=ni rama']_{MOD} ere]_{NP} hau hat...*
 water=REL now 1pi=REL take=LNK1 press IDEM all dry
 '... (if) the water that we just used for pressing is all dry...' (57-15)

In summary, so far, it can be said that minimally the relative sentence's subject is marked with =*ua*; additionally, also, either the modifiers's head or its first element, in the case of a multi-clause construction with an adverbial predicate, can take the clitic. However, a combination of the latter two marking patterns appears to be disallowed; there are no combinations of three =*ua* clitics in one NP.

4.3.5.1.3 *Relative sentences on possessors*

It is possible for a relative sentence's head to play the role of possessor to the subject NP within the modifier. Again, the most complete marking is one where both the head of the relative sentence as well as its subject are marked, as in (112).

- (112) *Ei tone' [ate-isu=[ua ki-nei=ua apel]_{MOD} ere]_{NP} oko nomo ho'o*
 2s perhaps tree-seed=REL 3:POSS-name=REL apple 1DEM yet NEG some
isi-nua.
 at:RED-eat
 'You've probably never eaten the fruit called apple yet.' (elic1664)

Alternatively, it appears to be possible to drop either occurrence of =ua. In (113), only the NP head is marked, but not the modifier's subject, whereas in (114), the head is unmarked, but the subject is.

- (113) *[Tufuraa u=[ua ki-ni ki-upa k-asu livre mei=ni*
 woman one=REL 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father 3:UND-for freedom take=LNK1
kini=ni la'a=ni namiraa ko-horu ue'=ini
 give.to.3=LNK1 move=LNK1 man 3:UND-with V2DEM=LNK1
lolo-ini=ni]_{MOD}]_{NP}...
 say-do:BD=LNK1
 'A girl whose parents give her the freedom to go and sit and talk with a man...'
 (105-028)
- (114) *Ini la'a=ni meti-isi' la'a=ni [mu'a [ki-nei=ua Hilapuna]_{MOD}*
 1pe move=LNK1 sea-at move=LNK1 ground 3:POSS-name=REL H.
uere]_{NP}-isi'.
 2DEM-at
 'We went to the sea and to a place that is called Hilapuna.' (67-07)

(113), particularly, is special – in all other kinds of relative sentences discussed so far, the marking of the relative sentence's subject with =ua was central. In (113), however, it is unmarked. I assume this freedom to be possible because of the fact that the head does not function as an argument within the relative sentence. Its function is specified through the presence of the possessive marker *ki-*.

The only pattern found with pronominal possessors is one where =ua is cliticised to that possessor, as in (115) with *ini* (1pe), while leaving the relative sentence's subject unmarked. It is thus parallel to the structure in (113). Due to the scarcity of relevant examples, it is not clear whether all of the same marking patterns as described for nominal possessors are available.

- (115) *[[Ini]=[ua isi-famila nomo governu-isi' nomo kabupaten-isi']_{MOD}]_{NP}*
 1pe=REL 1pe:POSS-family NEG government-at NEG regency-at
 (...) *na'u tepa ni-raku-laa ki-ia-lefen=ee k-ia'.*
 just constant REFL-friend-PL 3:POSS-foot-sole=DEF 3:UND-under
 'We whose relatives are not in the government or in the regency (...) keep being inferior to our fellow citizens.'
 (86-21)

4.3.5.2 Relative sentences with heads *in situ*

A strategy rather different from that described so far, in which the clausal modifier with =*ua* follows the head noun, is one where the head stands *in situ* within the modifier. In these cases as well, relativisation is possible on both subjects and non-subjects. Similar constructions are found with clausal modifiers without overt relative marking (see § 4.3.3, p. 283); both present a problem with regard to the schematic representation of the NP as given in § 4 (p. 273), in that they do not conform to the largely head-initial NP structure, where modifiers and determiners neatly follow the head. Rather, the head stands within the modifier itself. The following paragraphs describe the structural make-up of such constructions with subjects *in situ* in § 4.3.5.2.1 (p. 303) and with non-subjects *in situ* in § 4.3.5.2.2 (p. 305). The rationale behind the choice of relative sentences with left-dislocated heads as opposed to relative sentences with their heads *in situ* is at this point unclear, and further research is needed. Overall, relative sentences on left-dislocated heads are much more frequent than those on *in-situ* heads. Relative sentences with their heads *in situ* are relatively hard to process, particularly where the non-subject argument must be understood as the head (see § 4.3.5.2.2, p. 305). A further factor contributing to their limited use is, probably, that heads *in situ* cannot take further modifiers. A left-dislocated head, on the other hand, can take more than one modifier (see e.g. (97) above); this type of construction is hence more flexible.

4.3.5.2.1 Relative sentences on subjects *in situ*

The subject is the first argument in a clause (§ 6.1, p. 386). As such, a relative sentence on an *in-situ* subject is distinguishable from one on a left-dislocated subject only in cases of multi-clausal relative sentences, where an adverbial predicate precedes the subject slot of the following embedded clause. In the absence of such an adverbial, the subject is the left-most element in either construction type, and they are indistinguishable. The two structures are schematically represented in Table 4.2 (see below for examples). Note how a relative sentence on a left-dislocated head and one on an *in-situ* head, in the middle column, differ only in the bracketing, unless an adverbial predicate is present in a multi-clause relative sentence.

	single clause construction	multi-clause construction with an adverbial predicate
left-dislocated head	S _{HEAD} [(O) V] _{MOD}	S _{HEAD} [ADV (O) V] _{MOD}
<i>in-situ</i> head	[S _{HEAD} (O) V] ¹⁶³	[ADV S _{HEAD} (O) V]

Table 4.2: Relative sentences on subjects with left-dislocated heads and *in-situ* heads

¹⁶³ No label is attached to this structure because of the impossibility to fit it into the NP schema in (1).

As shown to be the case in the above sections (§ 4.3.5.1.1, p. 297, and § 4.3.5.1.2, p. 299), it is an option to have not only the subject of the relative sentence, but also its left-most element, the adverbial predicate, marked by the =*ua*-marker. Precisely this is the case too with *in-situ* subjects preceded by adverbials: the clitic =*ua* can be attached to both the adverbial as well as the subject. In cases like (116) and (117), thus, the first =*ua* on the adverbial predicate shows it to stand within the relative modifier. The subject, which is the head of the construction, follows this adverbial and is marked by another =*ua*.

- (116) ... *sefar ere=haka to aire' ni-asu uani uere=hi'a*
 dog 1DEM=CTR.PRES accompany now REFL-for bee 2DEM=only
k-ata-rou-kini, [aire'=ua [uani]_{HEAD}=ua ate-ika' uere']_{NP}=hi'a
 3:UND-contact-around?-do now=REL bee=REL tree-up.in 2DEM.V=only
k-ata-rou-kini.
 3:UND-contact-around?-do
 '... the dog too is now making the bees angry, making the bees that are now
 there on the tree angry.' (102-037)
- (117) ... *uai=ni=ni [aire'=ua [amulafu]_{HEAD}=ua papa uere*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 now=REL person=REL Indonesian 2DEM
ko-horu=ni jerikeen hofe ere isa=ni uere']_{NP} hai mei
 3:UND-with=LNK1 jerrycan recognise 1DEM go.down=LNK1 2DEM.V NSIT take
rau-dial.
 good-kick:BD
 '... so the person who was together with the Indonesian now and
 recognised his jerrycan came down and kicked him.' (101-305)

For comparison, (118) below repeats (101) from § 4.3.5.1.1 (p. 297), which shows a preposed head and an adverbial marked by =*ua* as the first element of the multi-clause relative sentence. The two constructions differ only through the inverted order of the head and the adverbial, as shown schematically in Table 4.2.

- (118) ... *[fi]=[ua aire'=ua mu'a ki-amulafu]_{MOD} [lolo-ini ki-ouar]_{MOD}*
 lpi=REL now=REL ground 3:POSS-person say-NML 3:POSS-master
ere]_{NP}=ni (...) ni-lolo-ini nomo fiar...
 1DEM=CTR REFL-say-NML NEG trust
 '... we, who are the natives of the land and the owners of the language, do
 not appreciate our language...' (98-17)

4.3.5.2.2 *Relative sentences on non-subjects in situ*

The non-subjects that are found as *in-situ* heads of relative sentences are all objects, rather than complements (§ 5.2, p. 319). No clear instances of multi-clause relative sentences on *in-situ* objects have been found. These constructions are much more clearly distinguishable from their counterparts with left-dislocated heads than those on subjects, where the distinction is dependent on the presence of an adverbial in a multi-clause construction. With relative sentences on *in-situ* objects, the head of the relative sentence stands in the unmarked object position within its clause, preceded by its subject and followed by its verb. This structure, as well as the contrasting structure with a left-dislocated head, are schematically represented in Table 4.3.

left-dislocated head	$O_{\text{HEAD}} [S V]_{\text{MOD}}$
<i>in-situ</i> head	$[S O_{\text{HEAD}} V]$

Table 4.3: Relative sentences on left-dislocated objects and *in-situ* objects

As (119) shows, =*ua* is in a relative sentence on an *in-situ* object cliticised to the subject, as in the other types of relative clauses.

- (119) $[Ei=ua [buku]_{\text{HEAD}} manin\ ere]_{\text{NP}} se\ felun.$
 2s=REL book give.to.me IDEM very nice
 ‘The book you gave me is very good.’ (elic1421)

It appears to be a bit problematic that such constructions as (119) look identical to relative sentences on subjects. An example of the latter is given in (120), in which the subject, cliticised with =*ua*, functions as the modifier’s head.¹⁶⁴ Both the constructions as in (119) and as in (120) are of the form S=*ua* O V.

- (120) $[Tufuraa=ua [ei\ so'ot]_{\text{MOD}} ere]_{\text{NP}} hai\ muni\ la'a=ni\ Dili-isi'.$
 woman=REL 2s want IDEM NSIT return move=LNK1 D.-at
 ‘The woman who likes you has moved to Dili.’ (elic402)

While relative sentences with *in-situ* subjects, as recognisable by a =*ua*-marked adverbial preceding the similarly marked subject, are fairly frequent, single-clause relative sentences such as (119), with *in-situ* objects as heads, are very rare. This seems to confirm the impression that they are in fact rather hard to process, and prone to being confused with relative sentences on subjects.

¹⁶⁴ In fact, (119), if read as being structurally the same as (120), would result in the following meaning: ‘you, who gave me a book, are very nice.’ Though this has not been tested with native speakers, I assume such a reading to be theoretically possible.

4.3.5.3 Relative sentences with unexpressed subjects

Some speakers like to leave third person pronominal subjects unexpressed, both in main clauses as well as in clausal modifiers. Obviously, in cases where such a subject is unexpressed, the most common relative sentence marking strategy of cliticising =ua to the relative sentence subject is not available. (121) and (122) show such sentences, where, in the absence of an overt subject NP, only the object, which is the head of the modifier clause, takes the =ua marker.

- (121) *[Mu'u=ua [teuh]_{MOD} ere]_{NP} hai ki=popo.*
 banana=REL buy IDEM NSIT ATTR=rotten
 'The bananas (he) bought are already rotten.' (elic317)
- (122) *[Osan=ua [soohe' ani-asu manin]_{MOD} ere]_{NP} hai hau hai'.*
 money=REL yesterday 1s-for give.to.me IDEM NSIT all finished
 'The money that (he) gave me yesterday is already finished.' (elic096)

Such sentences structurally look like as the relative sentences in (96) and (97) above, which relativise on the subject argument of a semantically intransitive verb; (97) is repeated here as (123).

- (123) ... *lolo-ini ki=rau mei (...)* *[noko-raa=[ua aite' lafu']_{MOD}*
 say-NML ATTR=good take younger.sibling-PL=REL REC.PT live
ere]_{NP} ki-e-isi-lolo.
 IDEM 3:POSS-chest-at:RED-say
 '... advise our younger siblings who were just born well.' (lit. speak good words to the hearts of our siblings...)' (98-24)

Compare also the relative sentences in (99) and (100), where the head is a transitive verb's subject. Relative sentences such as in (121) differ from constructions such as in (123) through the fact that their verb is compatible with an undergoer participant, and from such clauses as (99) and (100), in which both the subject and the object arguments are overt, through the absence of an object NP.

The constructions in (121) and (122) contradict the general rule that =ua-marking is centred on the subject, i.e. that a single =ua is attached to the subject of the relative sentence. As such, their interpretation appears potentially problematic. I assume it is mainly the semantics which make the interpretation clear; denoting inanimate objects, these relative clause heads are unlikely to carry out actions such as buying in (121) or giving in (122), but make good undergoers.

4.3.5.4 Headless relative sentences

In cases where the object of the relative sentence functions as its head and is an indefinite expression (such as ‘somebody’ or ‘something’), that head is often left unexpressed. These structures amount to headless relative sentences. They are also equivalent to structures as described in § 4.1 (p. 273), where, in the absence of an overt nominal head, modifiers and determiners can constitute NPs of their own. There are no instances of relativisation on unexpressed subjects in the corpus. Examples are given in (124) and (125), in both of which an unspecified ‘thing’ is to be interpreted as the head. Apart from the absence of a head, these relative sentences function quite regularly, with =ua cliticised to their subjects.

- (124) *[[Ei=ua hana'e lolo]_{MOD} ere]_{NP} ani hai mei ma'u.*
 2s=REL once say IDEM 1s NSIT take come
 ‘I brought (the thing) you once talked about.’ (elic999)

- (125) ... *[[meestri=ua kerek-ini=ni taure-fani']_{MOD}]_{NP} ani uere' me'e*
 teacher=REL write-do:BD=LNK1 which:RED-be.like 1s 2DEM.V able
mi-kerek.
 along:RED-write
 ‘... (what) the teacher wrote, I could follow that.’ (101-200)

(126) shows an equivalent sentence with an overtly expressed indefinite subject. Note that the above two examples directly correspond to (126), with the exception of the missing head.¹⁶⁵

- (126) *[Sa'ani=ini [iraku=ua hai so'ot]_{MOD} ere]_{NP} iraku dadau tepa*
 what.SUBJ=CTR 3s=REL NSIT want IDEM 3s must constant
nese-la'a.
 aim.at:RED-move
 ‘Whatever he wishes for, he always gets it.’ (pelic419)

With headless relative sentences as well, there appears to be the option of not only marking the relative sentence’s subject, but also the leftmost adverbial predicate of a multi-clause modifier, as in the case of the adverbial *soohe* ‘yesterday’ in (127).

- (127) *[[Soohe'=ua fi=ua mei=ni ue-mot]_{MOD=HEAD} ere]_{NP}*
 yesterday=REL 1pi=REL take=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-place.on IDEM
 ‘that which we put there yesterday’ (elic1004)

(128) below shows a noun phrase which combines two special cases: neither its head nor its subject are overtly expressed. In that case, the only possible place for the

¹⁶⁵ I assume that, in both (124) and (125), the head of the relative sentence could be made explicit through the use of an indefinite expression such as *sa'ani*, just as in (126).

marker =*ua* is the time adverbial *aire'* 'now' in the beginning of the relative sentence.¹⁶⁶

- (128) ... [*aire'*=*ua* *mei*=*ni* *mata* *k-asu* *lolo* *uere* *hai* *lolo*]_{MOD} *ere*]_{NP}
 now=REL take=LNK1 child 3:UND-for say 2DEM NSIT say 1DEM
- rata*=*ua* *aire'* *lolo* *ere* *amuni* *Maluhira* *ki-rata*...
 story=REL now say 1DEM person M. 3:POSS-story
 '... what is now being told to the children, the story which is told is the story
 of the Maluhira clan...' (23-043)

(129) shows an even more complex case, featuring a relative sentence consisting of a whole string of predications (starting with *aire'*=*ua*) embedded within another relative sentence, headed by *ei* (2s). As in (128), the head of the relative sentence starting with *aire'*=*ua* is unexpressed (see § 4.3.5.6, p. 309, for a more detailed discussion of relative clauses consisting of several predications).

- (129) ... *hei* *ei* *ma'u*=*te'e*, [*ei*=*ua* *ini* [[*aire'*=*ua* *ani*=*ua* *aftane'*
 INTERJ 2s come=after 2s=REL 1pe now=REL 1s=REL PT
- ue'*=*ini* *mei*=*ni* *ue'*=*ini* *rau-nini*]_{MOD} *uere*]_{NP} *hena*
 V2DEM=LNK1 take=LNK1 V2DEM=LNK1 good-make:BD 2DEM cloth
- metan-isi'*]_{MOD}=*ee*]_{DET}]_{NP} *k-afu* *ma'u*=*ini*...
 black-at=DEF 3:UND=carry come=LNK1
 '... hey you, come here, you who put that which I prepared before into a
 black cloth, bring it here...' (120-051)

4.3.5.5 Summary

The most significant regularity in the relative sentence patterns as described in the above paragraphs is the marking of the subject with =*ua*, whether it be the head of the structure or not. This is common to all constellations, with the exception of some relative sentences on possessors (see e.g. (113) in § 4.3.5.1.3, p. 301) and such relative sentences in which the subject is left unexpressed (see § 4.3.5.3, p. 306). In cases where the subject of the relative sentence and its head do not coincide, the head is usually additionally marked. Also, in a multi-clause modifier with an adverbial predicate, that predicate is optionally marked with =*ua*.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ It is unclear what would happen if no time adverbial introduced such a relative clause. Most probably, some alternative way of expression would have to be chosen.

¹⁶⁷ Though the preceding discussion of the marking of relative sentences with =*ua* covers the overwhelming majority of the clitic's uses, there remains a group of cases which cannot be accounted for. Example (xxi), for instance, violates the maxim that a single =*ua* marks the relative sentence's subject. In this case, the head is the relative sentence's object; note that it is taken up within the relative clause through the third person argument prefix on the verb (*ko-*)*horu* 'with'. However, this object prefix could equally well be read as applying to *asi-pada-laa* 'my friends', in which case it would be read as the construction's object rather than its subject (see § 4.3.5.1.2, p. 299). I assume it must be the context within the story from which this sentence is taken which clarifies the reading intended.

The marking patterns for relative sentences with *in-situ* heads are basically the same for both subjects and non-subjects as heads. The only difference in these cases, allowing a distinction between relative sentences on subjects *in situ* and relative sentences on non-subjects *in situ*, is whether or not a non-subject NP is present.

4.3.5.6 The general properties of relative sentences

Relative sentences with =*ua* are indeed fully clausal, as numerous examples containing both aspect marking and VP-internal adverbs (e.g. (95) and (124)) clearly show. Attributes with *ki*=, discussed in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), disallow such marking; hence it has been concluded that such attributes have reduced clausal properties.

Also, relative sentences can consist of more than one clause, as illustrated in (130), in which the first verb, *ume*' (VDEM.DIST), expresses the location of the attributed action, the second, *murimuri* 'play' expresses the actual action, and the third, *umere*' (DEM.DIST.V), takes up the locative verb again (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180, for these two kinds of deictic verbs). The second predication is linked to the first with the help of the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249), whereas the final two are juxtaposed with no marker. Other examples with relative sentences consisting of several predications have figured in various of the preceding sections, e.g. (115), (125), or (129). Most of these involve an adverbial predicate (§ 3.2.3.3.2, p. 162).

- (130) [*Mata-niki*=[*ua ume*'=*ini bola-isi-murimuri umere*']_{MOD}]_{NP}
 child-PL=REL VDEM.DIST=LNK1 ball-at:RED-play DEM.DIST.V

isi-mata-r.

1pe:POSS-child-PL

'The children who play with a ball over there are our children.'

(elic612)

Relative sentences can be embedded within other relative clauses, as (131) shows (see (129) above for another example). In this sentence, I believe the complex noun phrase *sefi aldeia aire*'=*ua hai ki*=*le-isi*' 'village chiefs who are now out of office' as a whole functions as a predicate in the relative clause headed by *ini* (1pe).

- (xxi) ... [*papa-laa*]_{HEAD}=[*ua aire*' *asi-pada-laa ko-horu*]_{MOD} *ere*]_{NP}=*oo*
 Indonesian-PL=REL now 1s:POSS-friend-PL 3:UND-with 1DEM=too

uatu.uere.uatu.uere ma'u=*ni*...

daily come=LNK1

'... the Indonesians that my friends stayed with too came every day and then...'

(101-214)

There is at present no good explanation for such cases.

- (131) ... *aire'* [*ini*=*[ua [sefi aldeia [aire'*=*ua hai ki*=*le-isi']*]_{MOD/NP}]_{MOD/NP}
 now 1_{pe}=REL chief village now=REL NSIT ATTR=outside:RED-at
- (...) *istadu hai nomo uere' mi-seti.*
 state NSIT NEG 2DEM.V along:RED-ask:BD
 '... now we who are village chiefs who are no longer in office (lit. who are outside), the state does not take care of us.' (65-25)

The bracketed noun phrase in (132) shows an apparent series of two coordinated relative sentences modifying one head, *ha'auain* 'place'. As evident from this sentence, the head noun does not necessarily play a role in all of the clauses that make up a multi-clause relative sentence. In the first of the relative sentences in (132), *fi=ua bis-ika'*=*ini ma'u=ni isi'*=*ini hau nat=ini* 'we are on the bus and come and are (at that place) and stand there', the head *ha'auain* 'place' is an argument only to the predication with *isi'*=*ini* 'be there and then', but plays no role in any of the other three predications. The same holds for the second relative clause, where *ha'auain* 'place' is not a direct argument to the predication *mu'a-isa* 'get down'.

- (132) *Ani [ha'auain*=*[ua ho'onese fi=ua bis-ika'*=*ini ma'u=ni isi'*=*ini*
 1_s place=REL IPF 1_{pi}=REL bus-up.in=LNK1 come=LNK1 at=LNK1
- hau nat=ini]*]_{MOD} [*fi=ua mu'a-isa]*]_{MOD} *ere]*]_{NP}-*isi'*=*ini hein.*
 all stand:SG=LNK1 1_{pi}=REL ground-descend 1DEM-at=LNK1 wait
 'I'm waiting in the spot where we, being on the bus and standing there, used to get out.' (elic1564)

Relative sentences with =*ua* can be both very complex structures, as in (132), or very simple ones, as in (133), in which the relative sentence consists only of a simple verb, which is furthermore not associated with an undergoer participant.

- (133) [*Kiloo*=*[ua ma'u]*]_{MOD} *ere]*]_{NP} *ni-sa nomo ko-horu=ni ma'u.*
 3_s=REL come 1DEM REFL-wife NEG 3:UND-with=LNK1 come
 'He came without his wife.' (elic328)
 (lit. He who came did not come with his wife)

Not all clausal modifiers to nouns are expressed in the form of relative sentences with =*ua*. (134), for instance, features two NPs with clausal modifiers, yet only one of them, *kuda=ua Timor-isi' ere* 'the horses in Timor', is constructed with =*ua*. Apart from this, it corresponds structurally and appears to contrast with *kuda Portugal-isi'=ee* 'the horses in Portugal', with an unmarked VP modifier in the modifier slot (for other examples of unmarked clausal modifiers, see § 4.3.3, p. 283).

- (134) *[Kuda=^{=ua} Timor-isi']_{MOD} ere]_{NP} [kuda*
 horse=REL T.-at IDEM horse
- [Portugal-isi']_{MOD}]_{NP}=ee-seti-ka'u.*
 P.-at=DEF-pass-small
- 'The horses in Timor are smaller than the horses in Portugal.'
- (pelic056)

At this stage, the principles underlying the choice of either a relative sentence with =*ua* or an unmarked modifier are not quite clear. It is reasonable to assume that more complex subordinated structures are preferably marked with =*ua* to facilitate processing (alternatively, separate clauses with clause linkers (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250) might be used to express the same). However, examples with very simple relative sentences such as (133), coming from both elicitation and free speech, show that this is not necessarily the case.

Clausal modifiers with =*ua* not only contrast with clausal modifiers without the marker, but also with modifiers with the attributive marker *ki*= (see § 4.3.4, p. 284). In fact, that section claims that *ki*=-attributes often correspond to relative clauses. The =*ua*-construction and the *ki*=-construction differ fundamentally, however, with respect to their clausehood. *Ki*=-attributes, though generally in the form of stative verbs, have reduced verbal / clausal properties, as shown through the fact that they are not compatible with aspect marking or adverbs. The same is not the case for modifiers with =*ua*, which are, without doubt, fully clausal, and can even constitute units larger than the clause. Whereas *ki*=-attributes generally carry a contrastive notion and the nominal head is always the subject of the attributed verb, =*ua*-modifiers do not seem to be associated with contrastiveness. Also, any argument of the modifying clause can head the relative sentence, relative sentences with =*ua* are thus much more flexible syntactically than *ki*=-attributes.

4.3.5.7 The relative sentence head in the matrix clause

The relative sentence's head can function either as the subject or as non-subject argument (i.e. object or complement) in the matrix clause. (135), showing the appropriate bracketing, is a sentence in which the head functions as the subject. The constituent order in this sentence as a whole conforms to the basic SOV word order.

- (135) *[Surat=^{=ua} ei=^{=ua} haka ere]_{SUBJ} [aramari]_{COMPL}-[mutu']_V.*
 book=REL 2s=REL search IDEM cupboard-inside
- 'The book that you are looking for is inside the wardrobe.' (elic444)

In the case where the relative sentence's head is a non-subject argument of the matrix clause, there are two options: in the first of these, the non-subject argument stands *in situ*, that is, preceding the verb and following the subject argument. (136) gives such an example, again with the main constituents bracketed.

- (136) *[Ini]*_{SUBJ} *aire'* *[uata=ua ki-fun-ika '=ini mu'a-li'an ere]*_{OBJ}
 1pe now coconut=REL 3:POSS-tree-up.in=LNK1 ground-fall 1DEM
*[nua]*_V.
 eat
 'We are eating the coconuts that fell off the tree.' (elic1426)

The second option is one where the object is left-dislocated, standing in the left-detached position of the sentence (see § 7.6.1, p. 427), preceding the subject. (137) shows such an example. Note that in this case, a resumptive pronoun, *kilooraa* (3p), takes up the left-dislocated object in the matrix clause.

- (137) *[Uerla=ua nonton ere]*_{OBJ} *[polisi]*_{SUBJ} *[kilooraa]*_{OBJ} *[pada]*_V=*si uai=taa*
 3p=REL watch 1DEM police 3p order=LNK2 CLS=PURP
hai rau la'a=na'a.
 NSIT good move=INT
 'The onlookers (lit. they who were watching) were ordered by the police to leave.' (elic464)

However, the left-dislocated object is not in all cases repeated in the matrix clause; two examples, with the empty object position marked by \emptyset , are given in (138) and (139).

- (138) ... *[ei-faarda ei-ropa ere ei=ua k-utu-k-utu=ni]*
 2s-uniform 2s-clothes 1DEM 2s=REL RDL-3:UND-wear=LNK1
*iskola-isi-la'a=ee]*_{OBJ} *[ei]*_{SUBJ} \emptyset _{OBJ} *[mei]*_V *mu'aini*....
 school-at:RED-move=DEF 2s take give.to.who
 '... to whom did you give your uniform and the clothes you used to wear to go to school?' (73-27)
- (139) *[Lolo-ini=ua pada loloi ere]*_{OBJ}=*ni [ani]*_{SUBJ} \emptyset _{OBJ} *nomo [ma'en]*_V.
 say-NML=REL friend two 1DEM=CTR 1s NEG know
 'I don't know the difference between these two words.' (elic1233)
 (lit. I don't know these two different words).

It appears that an important factor determining whether or not a left-dislocated object NP is recapitulated *in situ* through a resumptive pronoun is the agent-worthiness hierarchy, which states that personal pronouns and nouns denoting human referents are prototypical actors (e.g. Payne 1997: 150). That is, a personal pronoun is normally understood to be the agent, even if the unmarked order of subject and object is inverted. Note that in both (138) and (139), the agent is a personal pronoun; hence it is not absolutely necessary for the preposed object to reappear in the guise of a pronoun *in situ* to ensure the correct interpretation of syntactic roles in the sentence in question. In (137), on the other hand, the left-dislocated object argument is a pronominal form (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221), and thus a

prototypical agent. To ensure the correct reading of the sentence, it is thus necessary to take up the left-dislocated constituent as a resumptive pronoun *in situ*.

In (140), both participants are full NPs. However, an animate, human entity such as denoted by *amuni namiraa* ‘male person’ is a far more likely agent-subject than *tali* ‘rope’, and the sentence is correctly interpreted despite the main arguments’ inverted order.¹⁶⁸

- (140) *[Tali=ua ue’ ere]*_{OBJ} *[amuni namiraa]*_{SUBJ}=*ni* *[hau-suri]*_{PRED}.
 rope=REL V2DEM 1DEM person man=CTR all-release
 ‘The rope was untied by that man.’ (elic153)

4.3.5.8 Relative sentences on non-nominal heads

The occurrence of =*ua* on adverbial predicates within multi-clause relative sentences is discussed above (§ 4.3.5.1, p. 297, and § 4.3.5.2, p. 303); its use in these constructions appears to mark the beginning of the relative clause. The adverbial predicate does not function as an argument within the relative clause. An example is given in (141), repeated from (110) above.

- (141) ... *uerla hai hau tia=te’e [filem [aire’=ua ini=ua nonton=ana]*_{MOD}
 3p NSIT all sleep=after movie now=REL lpe=REL watch=INT

*ere]*_{NP} *hai hau hai’...*
 1DEM NSIT all finished
 ‘... they were all already sleeping, the movie that we were going to watch earlier was already finished...’ (120-080)

It appears, however, that adverbial predicates can in some instances head relative clauses. An example is given in (142), with two coordinated relative clauses, one starting with *fi* (1pi) and the other with *ei* (2s), both of which are headed by *afiane’* (PT).

- (142) *Afiane’=ua [fi=ua e’=ini nonton ere-isi’]*_{MOD}=*ee kesi ere=ni*
 PT=REL 1pi=REL V1DEM=LNK1 watch 1DEM-at=DEF lock 1DEM=CTR

*[ei=ua mara=ni tia uere-isi’]*_{MOD}=*ini kesi ere=ni*.
 2s=REL go=LNK1 sleep 2DEM-at=CTR lock 1DEM=CTR
 (When did you lock the door?) ‘Before, when we were watching (a movie) (the door) was locked, when you went to sleep it was locked.’ (120-110)

Note that =*ua* has a secondary use as a subordinating clause linker. As discussed in § 3.5.3.1.2.4 (p. 259), the common denominator of these two functions is that of subordination of a clause to a head; while in the case of a relative sentence, this head

¹⁶⁸ In the case of (140), the contrastive marker =*ini* contributes to the correct interpretation. Being a clause linker in origin, =*ini* even in its contrastive-marking use signals the beginning of a new predication following it. It is very common for subject-topics to be separated from a predication by this means, but less so for objects. § 6.2.1 (p. 389) argues that =*ini* is in the process of developing into a subject marker.

is a noun, it is a whole clause for the use of =*ua* as a clause linker. Consequently, § 3.3.5.1 (p. 240) suggests that =*ua* started out as having a more general, subordinating function. The constructions in which the clitic is found translate differently into English, depending on the syntactic level it is used on. Such cases as (142) are mentioned here because the way they are most appropriately translated into English is similar to the clitic's use on nouns; however, in Makalero, this type of clause does not seem to be distinguished from such clauses as those discussed in § 3.5.3.1.2.4 (p. 259), where =*ua* is analysed as a clause linker. That section also mentions a few uses of =*ua* that cannot at present be accounted for.

4.4 The determiners

The rightmost position in the noun phrase is that of a determiner. It can be filled by either a demonstrative (see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232) or *ho'o* 'some' (see § 3.3.2.2, p. 233). Due to their position, determiners are a good indicator for the end of a noun phrase. It is for this reason that very long, complex noun phrases preferably have their determiner slot filled (see e.g. (100), (106), as well as many other examples in § 4.3.5, p. 295). It appears the determiner slot can hold one determiner at most; no combinations have been found.

4.5 Coordination of noun phrases

Coordination of noun phrases is most often unmarked; the NPs in question are simply juxtaposed, as shown in (143).

- (143) *Ani* [*kafe*]_{NP} [*dudu-ira*]_{NP} *mei=ni ta soro.*
 1s coffee breast-water take=LNK1 REC mix
 'I mix coffee and milk together.' (elic768)

The coordinator *i* 'and', borrowed from Portuguese (see § 3.6.5.1, p. 269), is also used fairly frequently, as exemplified in (144). As opposed to typical Makalero linkers, which are enclitics on clause level (see § 3.5.3.1, p. 250), *i* is a free-standing element. Its use is strongly idiosyncratic, occurring frequently in the speech of lusified speakers, but it is practically absent from the language of more conservative speakers. Note that it is also used in the coordination of VPs and clauses (§ 5.4, p. 380, and § 8.2, p. 477).

- (144) *Uai=konai=ni [problema ki=lama-lama]_{NP} i [koonflitu*
 CLS=CSQ=LNK1 problem ATTR=RDL-small and conflict

ki=lama-lama]_{NP} nomo na'u ue'.
 ATTR=RDL-small NEG just V2DEM

'So that there are no more petty problems and petty conflicts.'

(65-33)

Not only full NPs, but also modifiers can be coordinated by either juxtaposition or the coordinator *i*, as shown in (145) and (146), respectively. Note that in (146), the bracketed NP is used as a predicate.

- (145) *[[Kareta]_{HEAD} [ki=pere]_{MOD} [metan]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} ki-ira tafi hau*
 car ATTR=big.SG black IDEM 3:POSS-price true all

misa.
 go.up

'This big black car is very expensive.'

(elic1584)

- (146) *Kiloo so'ot=ini kauen=ana ere dadau [[namiraa]_{HEAD} [matenek]_{MOD}*
 3s want=LNK1 marry=INT IDEM must man clever

i [asan]_{MOD}]_{NP}.
 and long

'If she wants to get married, it has to be a clever and tall man.'

(elic320)

NP heads can also be coordinated. However, it is difficult to find unambiguous examples. One of these is given in (147); the two personal names *Zuaun* and *Pedru* appear to be modified together by the [+HUM] numeral *meih* 'two'; the demonstrative *ere* marks the right edge of the NP in question. No instance of coordination of NP heads with the coordinator *i* has been found.

- (147) *[[Zuaun]_{HEAD} [Pedru]_{HEAD} [meih]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]_{NP} ho'onese ta tuku.*
 Z. P. two.HUM IDEM IPF REC punch
 'João and Pedro are fighting.'

(elic1679)

NPs are presented as alternatives with the clitic =*uai* (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) or the Portuguese-based coordinator *o(u)* (§ 3.5.2.3, p. 247), which is either realised as a clitic or as a free-standing element. Both of these have been found on the NP level only.

4.6 Repetition of noun phrases

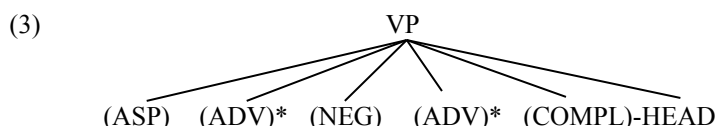
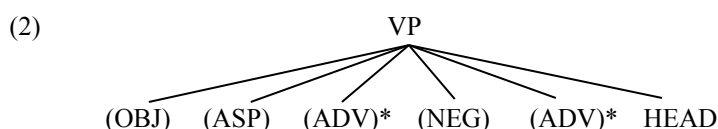
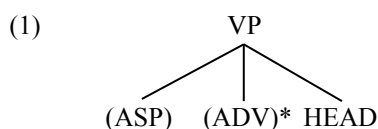
In very restricted contexts, full noun phrases are repeated. (148) gives two of the most frequent examples.

- (148) $[uatu\ ueere]_{NP}$ - $[uatu\ ueere]_{NP}$ ‘every day, daily’
 day 2DEM-day 2DEM
- $[kamu\ ueere]_{NP}$ - $[kamu\ ueere]_{NP}$ ‘every night’
 night 2DEM-night 2DEM

All of the relevant examples involve indications of time in the form of an NP head and a determiner. The repetition of such a phrase indicates a regular occurrence.

5. The verb phrase

The verb phrase consists of a predicate and other constituents syntactically related to it. It excludes the subject, about which it provides information. The term predicate is used to refer only to the predicating element, or the head of the VP, following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 26). (1) shows the structure of a verb phrase as found with aivalent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), while (2) and (3) schematically represent the two distinct forms that a verb phrase headed by a divalent verb (§ 3.2.3.1.2, p. 143) can take.



In all cases, the verb phrase is strictly head-final, with all modifiers preceding it. The only obligatory part of the VP is its head, the predicate. An aivalent verb is compatible only with aspect marking and adverbial modifiers, but does not take any arguments. The modifiers of a verb phrase headed by divalent verbs, on the other hand, include aspect marking, verb-phrase-internal adverbials and negation. There are two positions for adverbials, one preceding and the other following the negation, allowing for the expression of scope differences. Each of these adverbial positions can hold one or more adverbial verbs of the group discussed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159). The only difference between the two variant schemes for VPs headed by divalent verbs in (2) and (3) is the position of the non-subject argument, which is VP-initial in (2), standing to the left of all modifiers, but immediately preverbal in (3), where it is preceded by all these modifiers. An immediately preverbal non-subject argument as in (2) forms a morphosyntactic unit with the following predicate, as indicated in the scheme by the use of the hyphen. In order to distinguish these two argument positions, the VP-initial position as depicted in (2) is called object position, while the immediately preverbal position as depicted in (3) is termed complement position. Both of these positions can hold several coordinated arguments. The schematic representations in (2) and (3) show that the two positions are mutually exclusive; a

VP with an object argument does not additionally provide a complement position and vice versa. The issue of the two distinct argument positions within the VP is discussed in detail in § 5.2 (p. 319).

(4) and (5) illustrate concrete instantiations of a VP with an object and a VP with a complement, respectively, where the majority of available positions are filled.

- (4) ... *ei* [[ani]_{OBJ} [hai]_{ASP} [nomo]_{NEG} [mini]_{HEAD}]_{VP}.
2s 1s NSIT NEG follow
 ‘... you don’t follow me anymore.’ (115-076)

- (5) ... *sefar=ee* [[hai]_{ASP} [na’u]_{ADV} [ira-mutu]_{COMPL}-[ufe’]_{HEAD}]_{VP}=ini *kaikai*’.
dog=DEF NSIT just water-inside:RED-VDEM.LOW=LNK1 whine
 ‘... the dog is down there in the water and is whining.’ (102-118)

The following paragraphs treat the constituent parts of the VP one by one, following the schemes in (2) and (3). Starting with the obligatory head, the predicate, in § 5.1 (p. 318), § 5.2 (p. 319) goes on to discuss the non-subject argument and its position and status as either an object or a complement. Finally, § 5.3.1 (p. 361) through § 5.3.3 (p. 367) elaborate on aspect marking, negation and adverbials.

5.1 The head

The only obligatory element of the VP is the predicate, which is thus analysed as its head. The VP differs in this respect from the NP, in which the head is not obligatory (§ 4.1, p. 273). The prototypical predicate is a verb (see § 3.2, p. 125, for information on that lexical category). However, basically any content word can function as a predicate. § 3.1.1 (p. 100) points out the basic meaning correspondence between lexemes classified as nouns if used in argument function as opposed to their use in predicate function. There is one construction, found with verbs of movement and their goals, which suggests even place names can take this function. The construction in question is discussed in § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111). This functional flexibility is one of the main reasons for the difficulty to determine lexical categories in Makalero.

Prototypical verbal predicates are illustrated in (4) and (5) above. (6) exemplifies a simple noun in predicate function. (7), for comparison, shows the same noun in argument function. (8) shows a full NP, consisting of a head noun, a modifier and a determiner, in predicate function. (9) shows an equivalent NP in argument function for comparison.

- (6) ... *tentara-laa=ni e’=ini* [[meestri]_{HEAD=N}]_{VP}...
military-PL=CTR V1DEM=LNK1 teacher
 ‘... soldiers (who) were here were teachers...’ (101-153)

- (7) ... [[[[meestri]_{HEAD} u=ua ki-nei Martinu uere]_{NP}]_{ARG}=ni tu-ma’u.
teacher one=REFL 3:POSS-name M. 2DEM=CTR ahead-come
 ‘... the one teacher whose name was Martinho came first.’ (101-171)

- (8) ... *ani isi-ne'et ma'akini [[tufuraa ki=pa'uk ho'o]*_{HEAD=NP/VP}.
 1s at:RED-think wrongly.think woman ATTR=bad some
 '... I thought (you were) some bad woman.' (74-116)
- (9) ... *[[[tufuraa]*_{HEAD} *ki=ka'u u]*_{NP/ARG} *aire' hai teni mu'a-isa*.
 woman ATTR=small one now NSIT again ground-go.down
 '... another small girl was just born.' (124-09d)

As (6) and (8) show, predicatively used nouns and NPs predicate the property of being the entity denoted by these nouns and NPs. Toponyms in predicate use, on the other hand, inherently convey the notion of the subject participant being located at the place in question (§ 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111).

5.2 The non-subject argument

The two verb phrase schemes in (2) and (3) show that there are two alternative positions for the non-subject argument. One of these variant argument positions, termed the object position, is on the left edge of the VP, preceding all verbal modifiers. The second one, referred to as the complement position, directly precedes the predicate, standing to the right of all verbal modifiers, and forms a morphosyntactic unit with the predicate. An important criterion for determining whether a given argument is realised as an object or a complement is thus its position relative to the verbal modifiers.¹⁶⁹ The two positions are mutually exclusive; if one is filled, the other position is not available in a given verb phrase. Although there is some degree of flexibility between the two positions, they are quite clearly associated with specific types of arguments. § 5.2.1 (p. 319) discusses object arguments, while § 5.2.2 (p. 320) elaborates on complement arguments.

5.2.1 The object argument

The object position is the leftmost position in a VP, as illustrated in the VP scheme in (2), repeated here as (10). All VP modifiers follow the object position.

- (10)
-
- ```

graph TD
 VP[VP] --- OBJ["(OBJ)"]
 VP --- ASP["(ASP)"]
 VP --- ADV1["(ADV)*"]
 VP --- NEG["(NEG)"]
 VP --- ADV2["(ADV)*"]
 VP --- HEAD["HEAD"]

```

In syntactic terms, the object position can hold NPs of all kinds. Semantically, these can be defined as undergoers. Consequently, the object position is associated with

<sup>169</sup> Where no modifier is present, it may be difficult to determine the position of the non-subject argument within the VP. Throughout the present thesis, arguments are treated like objects in cases where there is no conclusive grammatical evidence as to their realisation as either objects or complements.

semantically transitive verbs, which are defined as including an undergoer in their semantic participant frame (§ 3.2.3.1, p. 141). (11) and (12) give a few typical examples. The undergoers in these examples are very clearly identified as objects through the fact that they precede the negator *nomo*. Note that the object arguments in (11) are headed by nouns, whereas that in (12) is a pronoun.

- (11) ... *ani-asu* *[[kalsa u]*<sub>OBJ</sub> *[nomo]*<sub>NEG</sub> *[teuh]*<sub>HEAD/VP</sub> *[[faru]*<sub>OBJ</sub> *[nomo]*<sub>NEG</sub>  
 1s-for trousers one NEG buy shirt NEG  
*[teuh]*<sub>HEAD/VP</sub> *[[saapatu]*<sub>OBJ</sub> *[nomo]*<sub>NEG</sub> *[teuh]*<sub>HEAD/VP</sub>.  
 buy shoe NEG buy  
 ‘... (he) didn’t buy me one pair of trousers, didn’t buy me shirts and didn’t buy me shoes.’ (101-266)
- (12) ... *asi-nana-raa* *asi-upa-raa* (...) *[[ani]*<sub>OBJ</sub> *[nomo]*<sub>NEG</sub>  
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL 1s:POSS-father-PL 1s NEG  
*[pase]*<sub>HEAD/VP</sub>...  
 beat  
 ‘... my cousins and my uncles (...) didn’t beat me...’ (101-103)

The object position can hold several coordinated NPs (see § 4.5, p. 314, for the coordination of NPs and examples).

## 5.2.2 The complement argument

The complement position is directly to the left of the predicate and to the right of all verbal modifiers, as shown in the schematic representation in (13), repeated from (3) above.

- (13)
- 
- ```

graph TD
  VP[VP] --- ASP["(ASP)"]
  VP --- ADV1["(ADV)*"]
  VP --- NEG["(NEG)"]
  VP --- ADV2["(ADV)*"]
  VP --- COMPL["(COMPL)-HEAD"]
  
```

As opposed to the object position, the complement position can hold both nominal and verbal elements. It is a phrasal position; thus both NPs and VPs are found here. Semantically, noun phrases in the complement position very frequently express goals or locations, but can also be undergoers. In the latter case, they are preferably (but not exclusively) non-referential, or headed by pronouns. Verb phrases in the complement position express location, direction or manner.

The verb and the constituent in the complement position display a special sort of linkage, as seen by the fact that verbs with bound forms (§ 3.2.2.2.2, p. 314) use the bound forms with altered onsets if, and only if, their complement position is filled. Such a morphosyntactic process is unique in Makalero grammar. This linkage

is represented in the present work by a hyphen between the last element of the complement constituent and the predicate head.

§ 5.2.2.1 (p. 321) discusses nominal elements in the complement slot, while § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) details verbal complements. Other than objects, which are found with transitive verbs only, complements occur with both transitives and intransitives. The only type of verb that has not been found with a complement are avalent adverbial verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). This allows for conclusions on the concept of valency in Makalero; a discussion of this issue is given in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337).

5.2.2.1 Nominal complements

The majority of nominals found in the complement position express locations or goals. This important group is discussed in § 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321), followed by § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324), which treats pronominal and non-referential undergoers. § 5.2.2.1.3 (p. 325), finally, gives a brief remark on other nominal complements found in the corpus.

5.2.2.1.1 Locations and goals

The largest group of nominals found in complement position are those expressing goals or locations. This includes both common nouns, such as *lopu* ‘house’ or *mu’a* ‘ground’ in (14) and (15), and toponyms, such as *Dili* in (16). The position of verbal modifiers relative to these arguments, which they precede, makes clear that the arguments in question stand in the complement slot. For comparison, refer to (11) and (12) in § 5.2.1 (p. 319) above with object arguments, which are followed by the verbal modifiers. Whilst most nominal complements are made up of simple nouns, as in (14) and (16), note that they can also be full NPs, as shown by the complement in (14), where *lopu* ‘house’ is accompanied by the reflexive possessive pronoun *ni-* (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227).

- (14) *Ma'u=ni* *[[uari]*_{ADV} *[na'u]*_{ADV} *[ni-lopu]*_{COMPL-}*[isi']*_{HEAD}*]VP...*
 come=LNK1 still just REFL-house-at
 ‘Then (he) is still just in his house...’ (38-021)
- (15) ... *mata ka'u* *[[hai]*_{ASP} *[mu'a]*_{COMPL-}*[isa]*_{HEAD}*]VP*
 child small NSIT ground-go.down
 ‘... the child is getting down to the ground...’ (55a-007)
- (16) *Kiloo* *[[hai]*_{ASP} *[Dili]*_{COMPL-}*[isi']*_{HEAD}*]VP.*
 3s NSIT D.-at
 ‘He is already in Dili.’ (chat105)

Such locative and goal NP complements are associated with verbs denoting position and movement. (17) lists a few common representatives of this group.

(17)	<i>mutu'</i>	'be inside'
	<i>isi'</i>	'be at'
	<i>la'a</i>	'move'
	<i>isa</i>	'go down'
	<i>misa</i>	'go up'
	<i>he'el</i>	'jump (to)'
	<i>li'an</i>	'fall'

He'el 'jump' is one of the verbs exhibiting the initial /h/ ~ /s/-variation between a free and a bound form (§ 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135) and as such provides clear illustration of the morphosyntactic link between the complement and the predicate. When used with a goal noun such as *mu'a* 'ground' in (18), *he'el* 'jump' is used in the bound /s/-form. If, however, no goal is expressed, the verb stands in the /h/-form, as in (19) (though it has a somewhat different interpretation in this case).

- (18) ... [*mu'a*]_{COMPL-se'el...}
 ground-jump:BD
 '... (he) jumped to the ground...' (115-047)
- (19) *Tufuraa ere kanta ni'isi he'el.*
 woman IDEM sing simultaneous jump
 'This woman is singing and dancing.' (elic431)

The bound forms of the verbs which participate in this morphosyntactic process are used only if they appear in a VP with a filled complement position, but in no other context. This suggests a particularly close relationship between the predicate and the complement. The exact nature of the linkage between the complement and the predicate is, however, somewhat problematic. Since most locative and goal expressions are simple nouns, incorporation comes to mind; however, (14) above clearly shows a larger constituent, including both a head noun and a possessive pronoun, in this position. With the linkage taking place not at word-level, but at phrase-level, the idea of incorporation is difficult to maintain. It is also difficult to represent in the examples; the hyphen used for this purpose shows only the linkage between the last element of the complement and the predicate, but is not able to capture its scope over the whole of the complement phrase.

Of the verbs given in (17) above, *la'a* 'move' is not generally used with a nominal complement, but is more usually constructed with a VP complement (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210). Only in one case, given in (20), is it found with a nominal complement. Though no verbal modifier is present in this case to unequivocally identify this argument as standing in the complement position, it is noticeable that the noun expressing the goal in (20) is a reduced form of *omar* 'stilt house'. Only very few nouns have reduced forms (§ 3.1.3.4, p. 120); the use of such a reduced form indicates that the noun in question forms a morphosyntactic unit with the following item. In the present case, this is the movement verb *la'a* 'move'. Thus, this example confirms the idea of a special link between complement nominals and the verb.

- (20) ... *noko nana=ni ta-eta-lolo=ni nomo fuli-dai*
 younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR REC-separate-say=LNK1 NEG together:RED-pass
nomo fuli-rei-la'a [oma]COMPL-la'a...
 NEG together:RED-outwards-move stilt.house:RED-move
 '... siblings don't talk to each other, don't walk together, go out together
 and (don't) go to (each other's) house...' (21-048)

While the overwhelming majority of locative and goal NPs are used in the complement position rather than as objects, it appears some slight degree of flexibility between these two positions is possible. There are a few cases where locations and goals are found in the object position, as witnessed by (21) and (23), two examples from spontaneous speech. In both of these, a modifier (the aspect marker *hai* in (21), and in (23) the adverbial verb *na'u* 'just') follows the locative NP, showing it to stand in the object position. (22) and (24) demonstrate the constructions that would be expected in these cases, with the arguments in the complement position.

- (21) ... *ki-ia ki=lafi=hi'a=ni [[potil=ee]OBJ [hai]ASP [mutu']HEAD]VP...*
 3:POSS-foot ATTR=side=only=CTR bottle=DEF NSIT inside
 '... only his one leg is inside the bottle...' (38-008)
- (22) ... *ki-ia ki=lafi=hi'a=ni [[hai]ASP [potil=ee]COMPL-[mutu']HEAD]VP...*
 'only his one leg is inside the bottle...'
- (23) ... *nomo rau=fata uere=ni [[isi-tana]OBJ [na'u]ADV]*
 NEG good=COND 2DEM=CTR 1pe:POSS-hand just
[mutu']HEAD]VP=ini ka'u=hi'a ...
 inside=LNK1 small=only
 '... if it is not good, then there is only little in our hands...' (26-05)
- (24) ... *nomo rau=fata uere=ni [[na'u]ADV [isi-tana]COMPL-[mutu']HEAD]VP=ini*
ka'u=hi'a...
 '... if it is not good, then there is only little in our hands...'

To date, I am aware of a tiny minority of three such examples, two of which are those shown in (21) and (23). These three examples were produced by two individuals both originating in the village of Tirilolo, thus it is possible that this variation may be regional. The speakers in question are in their thirties and in their sixties, respectively. Since there is no clear relation to the age of the speaker, I do not believe that these examples can be read as suggesting an ongoing change in the structure of the VP, such as the possible loss of the complement position.

Variation between the object and the complement positions is much more widespread with pronominal undergoers, with argument-marking verbs, and within VP complements. For a discussion of these constructions, see § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324), § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349), and § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326), respectively.

5.2.2.1.2 Pronominal and non-referential undergoers

Another type of NP commonly found in the complement position are pronouns, as defined in § 3.3.1 (p. 217). This is the case particularly with the so-called argument-marking verbs, which are discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349), but holds also for other verbs. (25) and (26) show examples of pronouns in this position.

- (25) ... *meih ere [[nomo]_{NEG} [ta]_{COMPL-[mini]_{HEAD}]_{VP...}}*
two.HUM IDEM NEG REC-follow
 ‘... the two of them didn't agree with one another...’ (126-192)
 (lit. the two of them didn't follow one another)

- (26) *Kiloo [[hai]_{ASP} [ni]_{COMPL-[uaro']_{HEAD}]_{VP.}}*
3s NSIT REFL-wash
 ‘He is washing (himself).’ (elic1129)

As in the case of location and goal NPs (§ 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321), there is some flexibility for pronominal undergoers to stand either in the complement or in the object position. This is illustrated in (27) and (28); note that (27) gives the counterpart to (26) (though the latter, with the pronominal undergoer in the complement position, was clearly favoured by speakers). (28) shows the reciprocal pronoun *ta* in object position; as such, it complements (25) above, where the same element is used as a complement.

- (27) *Kiloo [[ni]_{OBJ} [hai]_{ASP} [uaro']_{HEAD}]_{VP.}*
3s REFL NSIT wash
 ‘He is showering.’ (elic1129b)

- (28) ... *ki=heke ho'o ue'=ini ini meih=ini (...)* *[[ta]_{OBJ}*
ATTR=difficult some V2DEM=LNK1 lpe two.HUM=LNK1 REC
*[hai]_{ASP} [ajuda]_{HEAD}]_{VP=na'a.}
NSIT help=INT
 ‘... (if) there is a problem, we two will tell each other and help each other.’
 (106-17)*

The positional variation between the object position and the complement position is much more frequent with pronominal undergoers than with nominal ones expressing locations and goals; the latter are found in the object position in only a tiny minority of clearly aberrant cases (§ 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321). With pronominal undergoers, on the other hand, it would seem that in fact the object position is more common, though the complement position is a viable option in most cases. The variation is particularly conspicuous in the case of argument-marking verbs (§ 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). The second large group of semantic undergoers that can be found in the complement position is constituted by non-referential nouns. Frequently, these are collocations with a fixed meaning as listed in § 3.2.3.1.2.3 (p. 148). A good example is *sa-ena* as exemplified in (29); literally, this means ‘see (the / a) wife’, but as a collocation, its

meaning is ‘to be married’ (in the case of a man). A collocation of similar type is *na’a-mei* ‘work’ (literally ‘take work’).

- (29) ... *papa uere hai [sa]_{COMPL-ena=na’a}...*
 Indonesian 2DEM NSIT wife-see=INT
 ‘... the Indonesian was going to get married...’ (101-291)

Again, it is particularly frequent to find non-referential nouns as complements of argument-marking verbs, which generally take a prefix *k-* if their complement position is empty. A good example is (30), where an unspecific slope is in the complement position of (*k*)-*ia-* ‘under’ (which is itself in the complement position of the deictic verb *ufe*’). In (31), for comparison, it is a specific slope that is made reference to; it is constructed as an object argument to the same verb (for a discussion of argument-marking verbs refer to § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349).

- (30) ... *ni-sa meih=ini [pa’an]_{COMPL-ia-ufe}=isi manan.*
 REFL-wife two.HUM=LNK1 slope-under:RED-VDEM.LOW=LNK2 win
 ‘... (he) and his wife were there downhill and won.’ (118-27)

- (31) ... *[pa’an=ee]_{OBJ} k-ia’=ee ira=ni ue’.*
 slope=DEF 3:UND-under=DEF water=CTR V2DEM
 ‘... down the slope, there is a (body of) water.’ (38-091)

Similarly, indefinite expressions can be found in the complement position, as illustrated with *sa’a u* ‘something’ in (32). (33), where the same NP stands in the object position, shows that some positional flexibility is possible in this case as well.¹⁷⁰

- (32) *Kiloo hai nomo [sa’a u]_{COMPL-mei}.*
 3s NSIT NEG thing one-take
 ‘He isn’t working anymore.’ (elic1254)
- (33) *Kiloo ani pase ani [sa’a u]_{OBJ} nomo kini.*
 3s 1s beat 1s thing one NEG do
 ‘He beat me even though I didn’t do anything.’ (elic060)

5.2.2.1.3 Other nominal complements

I am to date aware of only one case of a nominal complement which expresses neither location or goal nor can fall under the pronominal or non-referential undergoer category. Rather, it expresses manner. This special complement-verb combination involves the noun *ate* ‘tree’ and the verb *nat* ‘stand (SG)’. As a whole, this means ‘stand upright’; an example is given in (34). Whilst manner is an unusual

¹⁷⁰ Note, however, that in the case of (32), lexicalisation of *sa’a-mei* (lit. take a thing) as ‘to work’, parallel to *na’a-mei* ‘work’ (see above), might be involved.

meaning to be associated with a nominal complement, it is one of the core meanings of verbal complements (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326).

- (34) *Ani na'u [ate]_{COMPL-nat}.*
 1s just tree-stand:SG
 'I'll just stand (upright).' (elic074)

5.2.2.2 VP complements

Complements also very commonly take the form of VPs. These subordinated verb phrases generally express locative or manner adverbial notions. (35) and (37) illustrate locative verbal complements. *Isi-*, as found in (35), is the reduced complement form of the general locative verb *isi* 'be at'. This verb takes a locative NP complement itself (see § 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321); in the case of (35), this is the toponym *Dili*. Similarly, in (37), *(k)-ua-* is the reduced form of the argument-marking verb *(k)-ua* 'be on top'. Again, this verb takes a non-subject argument of its own; in the case of (37), the pronominal *ani* (1s) is constructed as a complement. For illustration, (36) and (38) show the two as full verbs in an independent predication.

- (35) ... *ani* (...) *hai [Dili-isi]_{COMPL-la'a}.*
 1s NSIT D.-be.at:RED-go
 '... I (...) went to Dili.' (101-245)
- (36) *Kiloo hai Dili-isi'.*
 3s NSIT Dili-at
 'He is already in Dili.' (chat105)
- (37) ... *mu'a mei [ani-ua]_{COMPL-dasa=na'a}...*
 ground take 1s-on.top:RED-fall=INT
 '... (they) were going to throw soil on me...' (63-08)
- (38) ... *ki-saapeu mei=ni ki-puulata k-ua'.*
 3:POSS-hat take=LNK1 3:POSS-head 3:UND-on.top
 '... (they) put his hat on his head.' (118-42)

(39) and (41), on the other hand, show common verbal complements which add manner information to the clause's main verb. For comparison, (40) and (42) show the same verbs, *hare* 'clean' and *rau* 'good', respectively, as independent main verbs.

- (39) *Tone' nomo na'u mei=ni [hare']_{COMPL-kena}...*
 perhaps NEG just take=LNK1 clean-see:BD
 'Maybe (he) didn't see it so clearly...' (82-032)

- (40) ... *ki-isa hai na'u se hare'*.
 3:POSS-state NSIT just very clean
 '... he was very happy.' (115-020)
- (41) ... *ibu=ee dur=ee fi mei [rau]COMPL-pase.*
 Indonesian.woman=DEF wake.up=DEF 1pi take good-beat
 '... the Indonesian lady beat us thoroughly when she woke up.' (101-262)
- (42) ... *papa uere uatu.uere.uatu.uere ani-horu=ni se rau.*
 Indonesian 2DEM daily 1s-with=LNK1 very good
 '... every day, the Indonesian was very good to me.' (101-223)

Verbs which distinguish free and bound forms as listed in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) stand in their bound forms if their complement position is filled. This form does not occur in any other contexts. Complement verbs may exhibit morphosyntactic changes as well; all of these changes are instances of reduction, where the verb loses its final consonant. As § 3.2.2.2.1 (p. 132) shows, this is in many cases a glottal phoneme, though other consonants may be lost as well. § 3.2.2.1.1 (p. 128) analyses the glottal ending as a fairly common verbaliser or marker of verbality. As such, the loss of the final glottal phoneme in complement position could be seen as a reduction in verbality of the verb in question. In the case of verbs derived from nouns with the glottal verbaliser, the reduced form is in fact formally identical to the nominal form (§ 3.2.2.2.1, p. 132). Despite of this, in most other respects, VP complements behave like fully functional VPs and show little evidence of being less verbal or less finite than independent VPs (see below).

In a complex consisting of a verbal complement and a verb, all combinations of morphological types are possible: (43) illustrates such a complex where the bound form *-suma* of the main verb *huma* 'angry' appears, while the complement verb *rau* 'good' is invariable and has the same form if used as a complement as it has as a main verb (see (42) for comparison).

- (43) ... *kiloo=ni hai mei [rau]COMPL-suma=na'a...*
 3s=CTR NSIT take good-angry:BD=INT
 '... he wanted to be very angry at (them)...' (67-32)

In (44), the main verb *mit* 'sit (SG)' is invariable, appearing in the same form whether its complement position is filled or not. However, the complement verb (*k*)-*ata*- 'contact (RED)' is in a reduced form; its free form, (*k*)-*ata*', ends in the glottal phoneme.

- (44) ... *ma'u asi-laipun [k-ata]COMPL-mit...*
 come 1s:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG
 '... come and sit on my back...' (89-15)

Both the main verb as well as the complement verb in (45) stand in the bound and reduced forms reserved for complement constructions, respectively. The free form of *-se'el* 'jump' is *he'el*, while the free form of *mutu-* 'inside (RED)' is *mutu'*.

- (45) ... *matenek e' tau-dai-ma'u=oo na'u ma'u [mutu]_{COMPL-se'el}.*
 clever VIDEM where:RED-pass-come=too just come inside:RED-jump:BD
 '... the wisdom was (suddenly) here, and wherever it came from, it just
 jumped inside (him).' (33-08)

In (46), finally, neither verb has a bound or reduced form; both *rau* 'good' and *pase* 'beat' are invariable and appear in the same form, whether they stand in a complement construction or not.

- (46) ... *ni-mata mei [rau]_{COMPL-pase}...*
 REFL-child take good-beat
 '... (he) beat his child up thoroughly...' (52-12)

In sum, the morphosyntactic linkage between the two constituent parts of the complement-verb complex is marked on the final, superordinate member of the unit in (43). In (44), on the other hand, it is marked on the first verb of the complex. Both members of (45) are marked for the linkage, while in (46), neither is. In all cases, the presence of a complement has wide-reaching repercussions on the expression of verbal participants and clause structure, by which a complement-verb complex can be recognised even if it is not overtly marked on any of its verbal constituent parts. This issue is discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337).

The complement VP in such a complement-verb complex may be associated with its own object or complement, depending on the semantic nature of its verbal head. Verbs that are associated with either an object or a complement as free verbs retain this property in complement use. (47) gives an example of a complement VP with a semantically intransitive verb, *nama-* 'be/move upwards (RED)'. For comparison, in (48), where it is the main verb, *nama'* 'be upwards' stands with only one argument, the subject. The complement in (47) thus is of the same form as the VP in (48). The complement in (49), on the other hand, is internally complex, consisting of the verb *mutu-* 'be inside (RED)' and its argument, *asi-puulata* 'my head', as shown by the bracketing. This argument is with high probability a complement, since it expresses a location (see § 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321). Without any verbal modifiers within the complement VP, however, it is sometimes difficult to say whether a given argument is constructed as an object or as a complement. (50) shows the free verb *mutu'* 'be inside', which is most commonly constructed with both a subject argument and a nominal complement, for comparison. Again, the structure of the VP complement in (49) is identical to that of the VP in (50).

- (47) ... *mata namiraa uere kadeira hai mei [nama]_{COMPL-seman=ana}.*
 child man 2DEM chair NSIT take upwards:RED-lift:BD=INT
 '... the boy wants to lift the chair.' (fisquest39)

- (48) *Uai=ni=ni lopu ere [nama']_{VP}...*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 house 1DEM upwards
 'So the house was a bit elevated...' (101-032)
- (49) ... *kiloo fatil=ee langsung mei=ni [[asi-puulata]_{COMPL}-mutu]_{COMPL}-dane.*
 3s gun=DEF directly take=LNK1 1s:POSS-head-inside:RED-put
 '... he put the gun to my head straight away.' (120-097)
- (50) ... *toutou pere=ni lokata [[mana]_{COMPL}-mutu']_{VP}.*
 owl big.SG=CTR LOKATA hole-inside
 '... a big owl is inside the hole.' (102-044)

In all cases, the subject referent of both the main verb and the complement verb are necessarily understood to be the same.

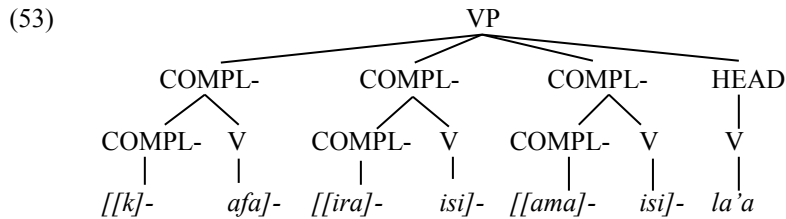
It is also possible to coordinate two complement VPs to one verbal head. This is illustrated in (51), where the complement VPs *ama isi-* 'in the garden (RED)' and *ira isi-* 'in the paddy (RED)' are coordinated. Both times, the verb *isi* 'be at' stands in the reduced form, even though in the case of the first of the two complement VPs, it does not directly adjoin to the verb it is dependent on. This fact suggests that both complement VPs are of equal status, standing jointly in the main verb's complement position.

- (51) *[[Ira-isi]_{COMPL}-[ama-isi]_{COMPL}-la'a uatu rai muni ma'u...*
 paddy-at:RED-garden-at:RED-move day night return come
 '(He) went to the paddy and to the garden and came back at night...' (23-004)

(52) exemplifies a coordination of not two, but three verbal complements. As this sentence shows, a verb with multiple verbal complements can make up a fairly long and complex structure.

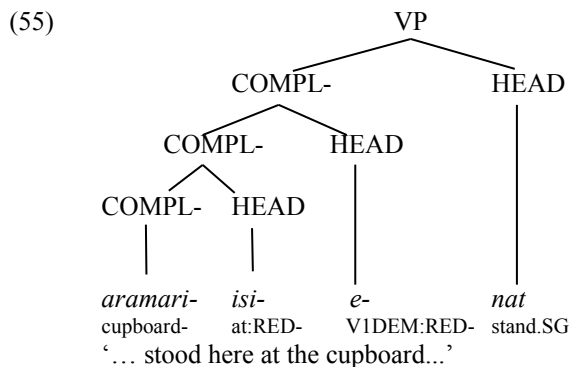
- (52) ... *[k-afa]_{COMPL}-[ira-isi]_{COMPL}-[ama-isi]_{COMPL}-la'a.*
 3:UND-away.from-paddy-at:RED-garden-at:RED-move
 '... (he) went away from her to the paddy and to the garden.' (23-003)

Note that each of the coordinated complements in (52) actually has its own internal complement (for argument-marking verbs such as *(k)-afa-* 'away from' see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349); thus in fact the structure of the whole is more complex than represented through the bracketing in (52). The scheme in (53) attempts to show its full internal structure.



There is no reason why complement verbs should only have nominal complements, to the exclusion of verbal complements. A good candidate for a verbal complement within another verbal complement is given in (54), where *nat* ‘stand (SG)’ has a deictic verb complement *e-* (VIDEM:RED), which in turn appears to stand with a verbal complement with the general locative verb *isi-*. Used independently as a main verb, the deictic verb *e-* occurs with a verbal complement very frequently indeed; (56) shows a typical example. In analogy to this, the *isi-*-complement in (54) is analysed as a complement dependent on the reduced complement verb *e-*, rather than as being coordinated with that complement and directly dependent from the main verb *nat* ‘stand (SG)’. (55) shows this fairly complicated structure schematically. Note, however, that apart from the analogy with (56), there is no immediate grammatical reason to prefer the hierarchical analysis to one where *aramari-isi-* ‘in the cupboard (RED)’ and *e-* (VIDEM:RED) are coordinated VPs in the complement position of *nat* ‘stand (SG)’.

- (54) ... *kiloo ma'u=ni [[aramari-isi]_{COMPL-e}]_{COMPL-nat}=ini...*
 3s come=LNK1 cupboard-at:RED-VIDEM:RED-stand.SG=LNK1
 ‘... she came and stood here at the cupboard and then...’ (44-12)



- (56) ... *dila=ee na'a.muni hai tu ma'u=ni [ueir-ualir-isi]_{COMPL-e}'...*
 frog=DEF in.turn NSIT first come=LNK1 river-edge-at:RED-VIDEM
 ‘... the frog, on the other hand, goes ahead and is here at the river’s edge...’
 (102-089)

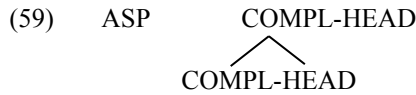
The VP complement can not only take its own argument, but also its own modifiers, such as aspect marking, negation and adverbs. Consider the examples in (57) and

(58); note, in particular, the position of the aspect marker *hai*, which in (57) precedes the whole of the complement-verb complex, while in (58), it stands within it.

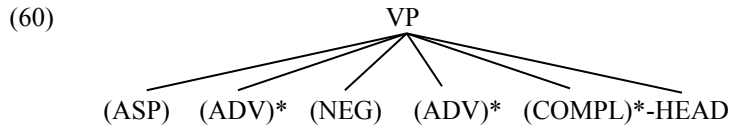
(57) ... *dila=ee hai [ira-mutu]_{COMPL-li'an}*...
 frog=DEF NSIT water-inside:RED-fall
 ‘... the frog has fallen into the water...’ (115-061)

(58) ... *sefar ere [dos=ee hai mutu]_{COMPL-puna}*...
 dog IDEM box=DEF NSIT inside:RED-look
 ‘... the dog is looking into the box...’ (115-005)

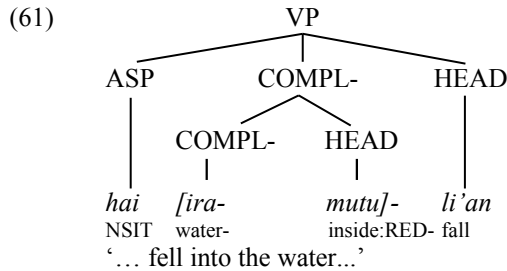
In (57), the position of the aspect marker is, schematically speaking, the following:



Compare this with the VP template as given in (3) above, repeated here as (60).

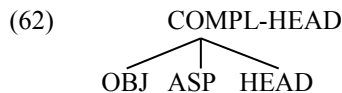


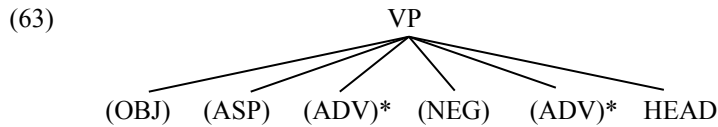
The verb phrase in (57) is thus schematically represented as in (61).



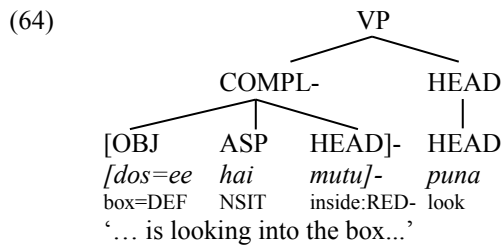
Hence, the aspect marker stands in its predicted position to the left of the complement.

The position of the aspect marker in (58), a sentence from the same text, on the other hand, can only be accounted for if we assume it stands within the complement VP, as in (62). Thus, the complement is itself a full VP, as in (63), which is repeated from (2) above.

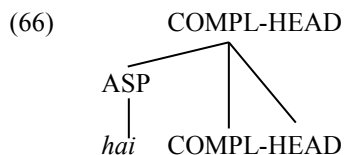
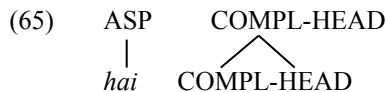




The complement-verb complex from (58) is thus analysed in full as in (64).



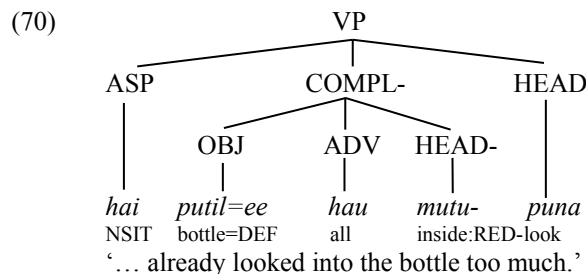
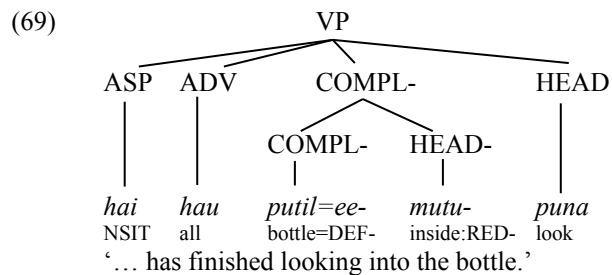
This implies that the NP within the verbal complement in (58), *dos=ee* 'the box', stands in the object position rather than in the complement position. This is in contradiction to § 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321), which states that the locative argument to a positional verb such as *mutu* 'be inside' is normally constructed as a complement, not as an object. Recall, however, that there is a small number of aberrant cases where the arguments to such verbs are found in the object position. While this is highly unusual in independent verb phrases, this variant construction is fairly common where the same verbs function as complements to another verb, and appears to be, in fact, on a par with cases where the locational NP stands in the complement position in terms of frequency. There is thus a rather important constructional difference between main predications and this type of subordinate predication (see § 8.3, p. 481). Note, however, that the distinction between a structure where the modifier stands within the complement VP and that where it is part of the matrix clause can be made overt only in cases where the argument to the complement verb stands in the object position and thus precedes that modifier. If it is constructed as a complement NP within the complement VP, sentences with the aspect marker in the matrix clause and those where it stands in the complement VP are indistinguishable, as demonstrated by the schemas in (65) and (66).



The analysis of the variant positioning of modifiers either within the complement VP or outside of it, as part of the superordinate VP, is supported by a clear case of scope difference of the adverbial *hau* ‘all’ (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369) according to its position in such sentences as (67) and (68). Formally a VP-internal adverbial, *hau* functions in many contexts like an aspect marker, denoting completion with activity verbs, but marking high degree with stative verbs (§ 3.2.3.2, p. 150). In (67), *hau* is read as completive, hence it can be concluded that it modifies an activity predicate. In (68), on the other hand, where it stands in a position that must be within the complement VP, it is read as marking high degree, as is the case when it modifies a stative verb. The main verb common to both sentences, *puna* ‘look’, is clearly an activity, as is the whole of the complex *mutu-puna* ‘look inside’. The predicate of the complement, *mutu-* ‘be inside (RED)’ on its own, however, is a stative positional verb. Thus, in (68), where *hau* is a marker of high degree, it clearly has scope over *mutu-* ‘be inside (RED)’ only. This matches the positional evidence, which makes it part of the complement VP (compare (62) above for the analysis of an equivalent example). In (67), *hau* has scope over the whole of the complement-verb complex, which denotes an activity. Consequently, it is read as marking the completion of the action. Compare (69) and (70) for schematic representations of the structures of (67) and (68), respectively.

- (67) *Kiloo hai hau [putil=ee-mutu]_{COMPL}-puna.*
 3s NSIT all bottle=DEF-inside:RED-look
 ‘He has finished looking into the bottle.’ (elic1325a)

- (68) *Kiloo hai [putil=ee hau mutu]_{COMPL}-puna.*
 3s NSIT bottle=DEF all inside:RED-look
 ‘He already looked into the bottle too much.’ (elic1325)



This having been said, it must be pointed out that in most cases, the placement of modifiers within or without the complement VP does not appear to be associated with the expected scope readings. Rather, they seem to be mere positional variants, which, according to speaker judgements, mean the same thing. The pair of sentences in (71) and (72) gives such an example. Note that a translation as the asterisked one given in (72), which attempts to capture the expected complement-internal scope of the negation, was specifically refused.

(71) *Kiloo nomo [igreja-mutu]_{COMPL}-mit.*
 3s NEG church-inside:RED-sit.SG
 ‘He is not sitting in the church.’ (elic1326)

(72) *Kiloo [igreja nomo mutu]_{COMPL}-mit.*
 3s church NEG inside:RED-sit.SG
 ‘He is not sitting in the church.’ (elic1326a)
 (*He is sitting, (but) not in the church)

This may, perhaps, be compared to Neg-raising in English (see e.g. Croft 2001: 213), where a negation which semantically belongs to a subordinated clause is raised to the main clause. The process involved here, however, appears to be the reverse, i.e. lowering of VP modifiers into a subordinate structure rather than raising.

A VP complement is rarely obligatory¹⁷¹ or the only way of expression. In fact, VP-complement-verb complexes can quite freely be broken up into two separate clauses. The pairs in (73) and (74) as well as (75) and (76) illustrate this. (73) shows a complement-verb complex with the verb *(ko-)horu* ‘with’; note that the main verb, *hifa* ‘catch’, appears in the bound form *-sifa*. This clearly signals that its complement position is filled. In (74), on the other hand, *tia* ‘sleep’, which stands in the same context as *hifa* ‘catch’ in (73), appears in the free form, rather than in the bound form *-dia*. Hence, in this instance, the *(ko-)horu*-predication is a separate clause, independent from the following verb. Similarly, in (75), *ume-sein* ‘wait over there’ is a complex as shown by the use of the reduced form of the distal deictic verb *ume* and the bound form of the verb *hein* ‘wait’. In (76), on the other hand, the deictic verb forms a separate clause on a par with the *hein*-clause, as illustrated by the fact that both verbs stand in their free forms and the appearance of the clause linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) between them. The semantic difference associated with these variant constructions is subtle at best. It appears that the biclausal constructions, as in (74) and (76), can be read as two separate, sequential actions, whereas complement-verb complexes as in (73) and (75) refer to one event. In most instances, the two constructions are used in equivalent ways.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Except with the verbal subgroups discussed in § 3.2.3.1.2.1 (p. 145) and § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146).

¹⁷² Where there is no conclusive evidence that two VPs form a complement-verb complex, such as in cases where neither of the verbs involved have a bound form, these VPs are treated as two separate, independent clauses.

- (73) *Asi-upa uere-isi'=ee la'a=ni [[haka-hau ni-pada-laa*
 1s:POSS-father 2DEM-at=DEF move=LNK1 all-all REFL-friend-PL
*ko-horu]*_{COMPL-sifa'}*]*_{VP...}
 3:UND-with-catch:BD
 'At that time, (they) caught my father with all his friends...' (66-06)
- (74) ... *kiloo* (...) [*liurai ki-sa-laa amu itu ere haka-hau*
 3s king 3:POSS-wife-PL person three.HUM IDEM all-all
*ko-horu]*_{VP} [*tia]*_{VP}.
 3:UND-with sleep
 '... he (...) slept with all of the king's three wives.' (51-10)
- (75) *Ani mei [[ume]*_{COMPL-sein}*]*_{VP!}
 1s take VDEM.DIST:RED-wait:BD
 'Wait for me over there!' (elic776a)
- (76) ... *ki-sa tepa [ude']*_{VP=ini} [*hein]*_{VP...}
 3:POSS-wife constant VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 wait
 '... his wife was still up there and waited...' (74-013)

In other words, the whole of a verbal complement can also be constructed as an independent clause of its own.¹⁷³ The possibility to move a unit to different positions within a sentence or utterance is one of the most basic constituency tests, which the VP complement thus clearly passes.

Similar evidence comes from reduplication, the only truly productive morphological process to apply to verbs in Makalero (§ 3.2.2.3, p. 138). It appears a complement verb can be reduplicated independently from the main verb, as illustrated in (77). The complement verb *dika-* 'short (RED)', expressing manner in the first example in (77), is a stative verb and receives the expected high degree reading when reduplicated. (*k*)-*umu-* 'kill' in the second example specifies a result; its reduplication indicates that this result holds for multiple participants. (78) shows that the reverse is equally possible. The semantic result of the reduplication of the main verb, continuity, appears to have scope over the whole of the complement-verb complex.

- (77) *dika-dika-umu* 'cut very short' (of a story)
 RDL-short-die (35-20)
- k.umu-k-umu-lasi* 'cut to death' (multiple referents)
 RDL-3.OBJ-kill-cut (33-15)

¹⁷³ Note that this is not generally the case for complements expressing manner information such as in (xxii), repeated from (41) above.

- (xxii) ... *ibu=ee dur=ee fi mei [rau]*_{COMPL-pase}.
 Indonesian.woman=DEF wake.up=CMPL 1pi take good-beat
 '... the Indonesian lady beat us hard when she woke up.' (101-262)

- (78) *ufai-dia-dia* 'keep sleeping down there'
 VDEM.LOW:RED-RDL-sleep:BD (69-055)
- isi-ne-ne'et* 'keep thinking about'
 at:RED-RDL-think (74-015)

Reduplication of both constituent parts of the complement-verb complex is also possible and seems to have much the same effect as the reduplication of the main verb only, as illustrated in (78). An example is given in (79). The reduplication of this complement-verb complex appears to refer to repetition of the action as necessary with multiple undergoers. Note that the constituent parts of the complex are reduplicated individually, rather than the complex as a whole (see § 4.6, p. 316, and § 7.2.3, p. 419, for the repetition of phrases).

- (79) *mi-mi-li'a-li'an* 'turn over' (multiple referents)
 RDL-along:RED-RDL-throw (61-09)

5.2.2.3 The relationship between verbal and nominal complements

VP complements and nominal complements are equal in status. This is shown by such an example as (80), where two complement-verb complexes, both with the main verb *la'a* 'move', are coordinated; the first one, *rei-la'a* 'go out' has a verbal complement *rei* 'move outwards', while the second one, *oma-la'a* 'go home', has a nominal complement *oma-* 'house'. The two VPs express comparable, but opposite, notions in what are clearly syntactically parallel phrases.

- (80) ... *noko* *nana=ni* *ta-eta-lolo=ni* *nomo*
 younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR REC-separate-say=LNK1 NEG
- fuli-dai* *nomo [fuli]_{COMPL}-[rei]_{COMPL}-la'a [oma]_{COMPL}-la'a...*
 together:RED-pass NEG together-RED-outwards-move house:RED-move
 '... siblings don't talk to each other, don't walk together, don't go out together and (don't) go to (each other's) house...' (21-048)

The coordination of complements to one main verb as discussed in § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) for VP complements is not limited to complements of the same type; it is also possible to coordinate verbal complements and nominal complements to one verb. An example of this is the sentence given in (81), where the movement verb *isa* 'go down' has two coordinated complements. The first of those, *SMP-isi-* 'at the secondary school'¹⁷⁴ is verbal, while the second, *mu'a* 'ground', is an instance of a nominal complement expressing the goal of the movement. (82) shows the same

¹⁷⁴ SMP is short for *sekolah menengah pertama*, or junior high school in the Indonesian educational system.

kind of evidence, although in that case, the combination of the nominal undergoer complement *na'a* 'work' and *mei* 'take' is largely lexicalised (§ 3.2.3.1.2.3, p. 148).

- (81) ... *fi la'a la'a la'a=ni [SMP-isi]_{COMPL}-[mu'a]_{COMPL}-isa=ni...*
 lpi move move move=LNK1 junior.high.school-at:RED-ground-go.down=LNK1
 '... we keep going and then go downwards at the junior high school...'
 (20-1)

- (82) ... *fi [fuli]_{COMPL}-[na'a]_{COMPL}-mei fuli-sirvisu...*
 lpi together:RED-work-take together:RED-work
 '... we work together and labour together...'
 (55-29)

It is thus clear that verbal complements and nominal complements are treated as units of the same syntactic status. Note, however, that combinations of semantically distinct types of complements as in (82), where a manner complement and an undergoer complement are coordinated, are extremely restricted. In fact, all such examples appear to involve a partly lexicalised collocation such as *na'a-mei* 'to work' (see § 3.2.3.1.2.3, p. 148). This may indicate that undergoer complements and location and manner complements were originally distinct entities, which coalesced syntactically to a large degree.

5.2.2.4 Objects and complements as verbal arguments

§ 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321) and § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324) demonstrate that there is, with nominal arguments, some variation as to whether they are constructed as objects or as complements. With pronominal arguments, there is a particularly high degree of constructional flexibility. Another context where prototypical complements are often realised as objects is within a larger verbal complement (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326). This indicates that the object position and the complement position are basically variant positions for the VP-internal verbal argument and as such instantiations of the same syntactic function.

§ 5.2 (p. 319) claims that the complement position and the object position are mutually exclusive. No instance of a VP where both positions are filled occur in the corpus. On the contrary, a constructed sentence like (83), in which both an object and a complement appear, was rejected. For comparison, (84) and (85) show that equivalent sentences expressing only one or the other constituent are grammatical.

- (83) * *Ki-upa [ni-mata]_{OBJ} [rau]_{COMPL}-pase.*
 3:POSS-father REFL-child good-beat
 intended: 'His father beat him thoroughly.'

- (84) *Kiloo aite' [ni-mata]_{OBJ} pase.*
 3s REC.PT REFL-child beat
 'He just beat his child.'
 (elic1114)

- (85) ... *ni-mata mei [rau]_{COMPL-pase}*.
 REFL-child take good-beat
 ‘... (he) beat up his child thoroughly.’ (52-12)

It is thus grammatical for a VP to contain either an object or a complement. Despite their distinct positions within the VP and the different degrees of fusion they undergo with the verb, either of these fill the non-subject argument position associated with the verb. All contexts which involve either more than one participant next to the agent, or both an undergoer and such adverbial information as normally expressed by verbal complements, must be constructed as multi-clause units, or sentences (§ 7, p. 401).

Interestingly, a large part of verbal complements express adverbial notions of location or manner. Being in most cases non-obligatory specifications to an action (but see § 3.2.3.1.2.1, p. 145, for cases where they are obligatory), they would most commonly be classified as adjuncts rather than as arguments. It is a rather unusual trait for adjuncts to exhibit a degree of fusion with the verb not encountered with prototypical arguments (i.e. objects), as is the case in Makalero. Consequently, the reality of a distinction between arguments and adjuncts is dubitable.

Objects arguments are only found with a specific class of verbs the semantic participant frame of which includes an undergoer (i.e. transitive verbs). For illustration, (86) shows a prototypical undergoer object.

- (86) ... *na’u tepa [afi-seur]_{OBJ} nua*.
 just constant fish-meat eat
 ‘... (we) kept eating fish.’ (101-258)

Similarly, not every verb is compatible with a nominal complement (see, for instance, § 3.2.3.13, p. 210, on movement verbs). Whether or not it can appear with a nominal complement appears to be a lexical property of a given verb. (87) shows a typical example of a movement verb which expresses the goal as a nominal complement.

- (87) *Ini meih [mu’a]_{COMPL-isa...}*
 1_{pe} two.HUM ground-go.down
 ‘We got down to the ground...’ (113-07)

Verbal complements, on the other hand, can appear with any type of verb, including both those that are compatible with object arguments (i.e. semantically transitive verbs) and those that are not. The example in (88) shows two stative verbs, *kel* ‘hard’ and *maka* ‘firm’, both of which do not have an inherent locative component. Nevertheless, both stand with a deictic verbal complement *ue-*, the reduced form of the addressee-related deictic verb *ue*’ (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180). *Til* ‘noon’ in (89), on the other hand, is one of a group of time of day and weather verbs with fixed subjects (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164). The example shows that, even though these verbs occur only in a very restricted sort of structure, they can nevertheless take VP complements.

- (88) ... *ki-fani-fani'* *lolo=ee* [*ue*]_{COMPL-*kel*} [*ue*]_{COMPL-*maka'*}.
 3:POSS-RDL-be.like say=CMPL V2DEM:RED-hard V2DEM:RED-firm.
 '... saying a similar thing is 'to be strong there' or 'to be hard there'.'
 (21-007)

- (89) *Uatu hai* [*Timor-isi*]_{COMPL-*til*}.
 day NSIT T.-at:RED-noon
 'It is already noon in Timor.'
 (chat084a)

Any Makalero verb, whether semantically transitive or intransitive, thus has the same valency in terms of syntactic structure. However, verbs differ in the kinds of argument that are compatible with them. Any verb can take a complement in the form of a dependent VP giving circumstantial information. The appearance of an undergoer object is restricted to those VPs headed by verbs which are associated with a semantic participant frame including an undergoer. Transitivity is thus defined as a semantic property of a given verb, but has no relevance on the syntactic level. The only difference between VPs headed by semantically transitive verbs as opposed to those headed by intransitives (see § 3.2.3.1, p. 141) is that in the former case, there are two candidates for the function of the non-subject argument, namely the undergoer and such circumstantial information as usually expressed in VP complements, whereas with intransitives, a VP complement expressing circumstantial information is the only possible filler of the syntactic argument position. A detailed discussion of this principle and its repercussions on sentence structure is given in § 7.1 (p. 402).

The only exception to this is the limited group of aivalent verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141), which have a syntactic valency of zero.

5.2.2.5 Complement constructions

The VP-complement-verb construction is widely used in Makalero to convey a variety of distinct notions. For instance, it is found in the construction of causatives (§ 5.2.2.5.1.1, p. 340) and in an object-demoting construction (§ 5.2.2.5.1.2, p. 341). Also, it is used to express a conative notion (§ 5.2.2.5.2, p. 342, and § 5.2.2.5.3, p. 343), comparison (§ 5.2.2.5.4, p. 344), and is found in modal expressions (§ 5.2.2.5.5, p. 344). Sentences expressing the directedness of a motion with a movement verb (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210) following another verb are analysed as making use of the same syntactic structure (§ 5.2.2.5.6, p. 345). § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171) speculates that the same construction type may be used in the formation of numerals with *resi* 'remain' as well. Also, there are verbs that obligatorily express their undergoer participants in a verbal complement, as discussed in § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146).

5.2.2.5.1 *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ with verbal complements

The use of a given verb as a complement to *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ can function to either add or remove a participant to or from the sentence. Which of these quite opposite effects is associated with a given *-ini*-construction is dependent on the semantic transitivity of the verb in the complement position. Syntactically, however, there is no change in valency for any of the two verbs involved in such a construction. Causatives with *-ini* are discussed in § 5.2.2.5.1.1 (p. 340), while object-less sentences with *-ini* are treated in § 5.2.2.5.1.2 (p. 341).

5.2.2.5.1.1 Causative constructions with *-ini* ‘do (BD)’

The use of a semantically intransitive verb, i.e. a verb which is incompatible with an undergoer participant, as a complement to *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ is read as causative. Examples are given in (90) and (92) with *da’al* ‘break’ and *metan* ‘black’, respectively. For comparison, (91) and (93) show the same verbs used as main predicates within a clause.

- (90) *Mata ka’u=ni kopu ere mei=ni [da’al]_{COMPL}-ini.*
 child small=CTR glass 1DEM take=LNK1 break-do:BD
 ‘The child broke the glass.’ (elic149)
- (91) *Kopu ere hai da’al, ira hai mu’a-isa.*
 glass 1DEM NSIT burst water NSIT ground-go.down
 ‘This glass broke and the water spilled.’ (elic147)
- (92) *... fi tone’ mara=ni hai mei=ni [metan]_{COMPL}-ini.*
 1pi perhaps go=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1 black-do:BD
 ‘... maybe we dye it black.’ (62-22)
- (93) *Kiloo ki-kuda pere i metan.*
 3s 3:POSS-horse big and black
 ‘He has a big black horse.’ (elic318)

Note that in such causative sentences as (90) and (92), the undergoer participant stands in a separate clause with the light verb *mei* ‘take’.¹⁷⁵ This is due to the fact that the non-subject argument position of *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ is occupied by the verbal complement. The verb in this complement is intransitive. It is thus incompatible with the expression of a object argument, and there is no syntactic position available in that subordinated VP for the undergoer of the event expressed by the whole complex, necessitating its expression in a separate clause. This process is discussed in more detail in § 7.1 (p. 402). Thus, the complement verb remains intransitive. The notion of transitivity is added by the main verb *-ini* ‘do (BD)’. While the effect of

¹⁷⁵ This light verb appears even in such a case as (92), where the actual undergoer is unexpressed.

this construction is causativising, there is no actual change in valency involved for either of the two verbs.

It appears any semantically intransitive verbs can be causativised in a complement-verb complex with *-ini* ‘do (BD)’. (94) and (95) show how such transparently formed causative complement-verb complex constructions are equivalent to distinct transitive verbs expressing the same notion, if existent (see § 3.2.3.1.4.1, p. 149).

- (94) *Mata ka'u ere ki-upa=ni mei=ni [dur]_{COMPL-ini}.*
 child small 1DEM 3:POSS-father=CTR take=LNK1 wake-do:BD
 ‘This child was woken up by his father.’ (elic172)

- (95) ... *ka'u=te'=ete ani mara ei tane.*
 small=after=after 1s go 2s waken
 ‘... in a while I will go and wake you.’ (120-014)

5.2.2.5.1.2 Object-less sentences with *-ini* ‘do (BD)’

The effect of the use of a transitive verbal complement to *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ is quite the opposite from the causativising one found with intransitive verbal complements to the same verb. In such a case, the undergoer is, in a manner of speaking, removed from the event. The resulting whole does not refer to an event with a specific undergoer, but only to the action itself in a general way. Sentence (96), which comes from a text describing the traditional division of labour between Makalero men and women, illustrates this very nicely. Neither of the complement-verb complexes used in this sentence refers to a specific event; rather they denote the activities as such.

- (96) *Tufuraa k-asu=ni uere=ni omar-ika' lopu-ika' [isa]_{COMPL-ini}*
 woman 3:UND-for=CTR 2.DEM=CTR stilt.house-up.in house-up.in bake-do:BD

[tina]_{COMPL-ini} [heru]_{COMPL-ini} diki hular [tutu']_{COMPL-ini} [tafa]_{COMPL-ini}.
 cook-do:BD weave-do:BD yarn spin grind-do:BD pound-do:BD
 ‘(Work) for the women is to stay at home, do the baking, do the cooking,
 weave, spin, grind and pound.’ (21-035)

The sentences in (97) through (100) illustrate the contrast between the reference to a specific event and that to an activity in general using a complement construction with *-ini*: in (97) and (99), *nua* ‘eat’ and *tina* ‘cook’ are used as main verbs, respectively. Note that in either case, they stand with undergoer objects. In (98) and (100), where the same verbs are used as complements to *-ini* ‘do (BD)’, on the other hand, the activity itself is referred to; an undergoer is neither expressed nor implied.

- (97) ... *fi-asu [sa'a ho'o]_{OBJ} tina fi nua.*
 lpi-for thing some cook lpi eat
 ‘... cook something for us (so that) we eat!’ (23-045)

- (98) *Ani ni-nami k-asu [tina]_{COMPL-ini}.*
 1s REFL-husband 3:UND-for cook-do:BD
 ‘I’m cooking for my husband.’ (elic163)
- (99) ... *uai=ni=si na’u tepa [afi-seur]_{OBJ nua}.*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 just constant fish-meat eat
 ‘... there is fish in Dili, so we kept eating fish.’ (101-258)
- (100) *Ani ni-pada ki-lopu-isi’=ini hau [nua]_{COMPL-ini}.*
 1s REFL-friend 3:POSS-house-at=LNK1 all eat-do:BD
 ‘I’ve eaten at my friend’s house.’ (chat053)

In (101), a complement-verb complex with a transitive verb, *tina* ‘cook’, and *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ is combined with an overtly expressed undergoer in the object position of the complement verb. Interestingly, this sentence was judged to be ungrammatical. (97) exemplifies the use of *tina* ‘cook’ as a main predicate, where it stands with an object argument, showing that it is compatible with an undergoer object. § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) shows that complement verbs can have their own non-subject arguments, parallel to their main verb use. (101), analysed as in (102), should thus be perfectly acceptable. The fact that it is not must be a pragmatic, rather than syntactic, property of this particular construction.

- (101) * *Kiloo seur=ua aire’ teuh=ee tina-ini.*
 3s meat=REL now buy=DEF cook-do:BD
 intended: ‘She cooks the meat that she just bought.’ (pelic429b)
- (102) *[[seur=ua aire’ teuh=ee tina]_{COMPL-ini}]_{VP}*
 meat=REL now buy=DEF cook-do:BD

The *-ini*-construction with transitive verbs could be paraphrased as ‘do (some) x-ing’. Again, the semantic contribution of *-ini* ‘do (BD)’ is evident.

5.2.2.5.2 Conatives with locative isi-complements

In a relatively rare construction type, an undergoer to a transitive verb is moved from the more usual object slot into a complement verb phrase with the general locative verb *isi*.¹⁷⁶ This construction has been found to convey a conative notion. (104) and (106) show two such sentences. For comparison, (103) and (105) show the same verbs with their undergoers construed as object arguments, demonstrating that these lack the conative meaning component.

- (103) *Sefar [asi-tana]_{OBJ} feil.*
 dog 1s:POSS-hand lick
 ‘The dog licked my hand.’ (elic1671a)

¹⁷⁶ The resulting constructions are reminiscent of those found with verbs whose semantic undergoers are obligatorily expressed in complement VPs (§ 3.2.3.1.2.2, p. 146).

- (104) *Sefar* *[[asi-tana]_{COMPL-isi}]_{COMPL-feil}*.
 dog 1s:POSS-hand-at:RED-lick
 ‘The dog tried to lick my hand.’ (elic1671)
- (105) *Asi-nami* *[taapaku]_{OBJ} hai nomo due*.
 1s:POSS-husband cigarette NSIT NEG light.up
 ‘My husband does no longer smoke.’ (elic494)
- (106) *Ani ho’o hai [[taapaku]_{COMPL-isi}]_{COMPL-due=po} ani nomo so’ot*.
 1s sometime NSIT cigarette-at:RED-light=ADVR 1s NEG want
 ‘I tried smoking once, but I didn’t like it.’ (elic920)

This conative construction corresponds neatly to Goldberg’s (1995: 4) conative argument structure construction, which she paraphrases as “X directs action at Y”.

5.2.2.5.3 Conatives with *fera* ‘try’

Another type of conative uses a specific conative verb, *fera* ‘try’. § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193) introduces it as one of the group of verbs which take complement clause extensions. In fact, there are two variant constructions for *fera*: one involves two coordinated clauses, where *fera* is the predicate of the first one and seems to introduce the second one. There is no syntactic evidence of any dependency relation between the two clauses. The term ‘complement clause extension’ is used for the second of these clauses based on the similarity between this construction and a similar one which uses a complementiser-like element (see § 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187, and § 3.6.2, p. 265). The status of subordinating constructions in Makalero, of which (107), with a complement clause extension, is a possible member, are discussed in § 8.3 (p. 481). In the second type of construction, *fera* is constructed as the complement verb of the main verb, which corresponds to the verb of the complement clause extension in the other construction. The undergoer of that action appears within the *fera*-complement, which shows that *fera* functions like a transitive verb (i.e. is compatible with the expression of an undergoer object). (107) and (108) illustrate these two constructions.

- (107) *[Kiloo taure-fani’]_{CLS=ini} [fera]_{CLS} [ani neok]_{CLS} ani tone’ ma’en*.
 3s which:RED-be.like=LNK1 try 1s lie 1s perhaps know
 ‘In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly¹⁷⁷ find out.’ (elic1053)
- (108) *Mei=ni taure-fani’ kini=oo kiloo [[[osan*
 take=LNK1 which:RED-like do=too 3s money

fera]_{COMPL-nese}]_{COMPL-la’a}]_{VP} nomo rau.
 try-aim.at:RED-move NEG good
 ‘In whichever way he tries to get money, it does not work.’ (elic1051)

¹⁷⁷ See § 7.2.4 (p. 425) for the various modal uses of the adverbial predicate *tone*’.

The two conative constructions, that with *fera* ‘try’ and that where the undergoer participant is constructed within a locative VP complement with *isi-* ‘at (RED)’, as discussed in § 5.2.2.5.2 (p. 342), can apparently be combined. (109) shows such an example; note, however, that this is very rare.

- (109) ... *ei kini [ho'o fera]_{COMPL-isi}_{COMPL-nua}.*
 2s IMP? some try-at:RED-eat
 ‘... try to eat some!’ (118-34)

5.2.2.5.4 Comparatives

As discussed in § 3.2.3.2 (p. 150), there are three main ways of forming comparatives, all of which involve complement constructions. Those used most commonly with stative verbs make use of the complement verbs *leto-* ‘through’ and *seti-* ‘pass’. (110) and (111), repeated from (148) and (149) in § 3.2.3.2.1 (p. 151), illustrate such sentences.

- (110) *Kuda ere [ni-raku na'u leto]_{COMPL-asan}.*
 horse IDEM REFL-friend just through-long
 ‘This horse is the biggest of them all.’ (almeida009)
- (111) ... *ei tufuraa (...) [nosa.siniora seti]_{COMPL-felun nese-la'a}...*
 2s woman Holy.Virgin pass-pretty aim.at:RED-move
 ‘... you found a woman who is prettier than our lady...’ (74-138)

The construction most commonly found with activity verbs uses the complement verb *resin* ‘remain’. (112) is repeated from § 3.2.3.2.2 (p. 153).

- (112) *Ei [kiloo resi]_{COMPL-la'a}.*
 2s 3s remain:RED-go
 ‘You walk more than him.’ (chat095)

Note that in all of these comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is constructed as an argument within the complement VP.

The association of these two types of comparative constructions with the two main event types in Makalero is not absolute; nevertheless, it appears to capture the majority of cases.

5.2.2.5.5 Modality

The modal verbs in Makalero are discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2 (p. 193). Only a subgroup of them (those treated in § 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193) can be used in complement-verb complex constructions. A variant construction, in which the modal verb is in a separate clause that is followed by a complement clause extension is the same as

found in the case of the conative verb *fera* ‘try’ (see § 5.2.2.5.3, p. 343). The two constructions are illustrated with *hul* ‘be able’ in (113) and (114), which are repeated from § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193).¹⁷⁸ Among the modal verbs listed in that paragraph, this verb shows most clearly that the construction as given in (114) is a complement-verb complex through the fact that it has a reduced complement form which loses the coda consonant of the free form. With the other modal verbs, which do not have such forms, the two constructions types differ merely through the position of the undergoer.

- (113) *Ani ua=nata [nomo hul]_{CLS=ini} [ma'u]_{CLS} [ai-sirvisu]_{CLS}.*
 1s CLS=CTF.COND NEG able=LNK1 come V IDEM:RED-work
 ‘Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...’ (125-50)

- (114) ... *heil heil heil=ini [[tepa nomo [hu]_{COMPL-seil}]_{VP}]_{CLS}.*
 pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD
 ‘... (he) pulls and pulls, but he still cannot pull (it out).’ (102-100)

The biclausal construction as shown in (113), with or without a clause linker, is common to all modal verbs, including those given in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193) and those in § 3.2.3.10.2.2 (p. 196).

5.2.2.5.6 Directionality

In a fairly frequent construction, the directedness of an action expressing the manipulation of an object is indicated by a movement verb (see § 3.2.3.13, p. 210) following the verb expressing that action. (115) and (116) show two examples.

- (115) *Ani foto asa tauropa'u asar-mara.*
 1s photo CLASS some send-go
 ‘I’m sending a few pictures off (to where you are).’ (chat082)

- (116) ... *aviaun pala.merah (...) seran lori-ma'u...*
 plane red.cross stuff carry-come
 ‘... a red cross plane came and brought things...’ (101-091)

In the present thesis, such expressions are treated as complement-verb constructions, the structure of which is as represented in (117) and (118). There is, however, no clear syntactic evidence to either support or refute this analysis, since none of the movement verbs exhibits a special bound form used only in complement-verb complexes; neither has any verb that has a reduced complement form been found in this context.

- (117) ... *[foto hasa tauropa'u asar]_{COMPL-mara}*
 ‘... send a few pictures off...’

¹⁷⁸ Note that this particular modal verb also offers the possibility of expressing the proposition it modifies in the form of a nominalised clause in object position (see § 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193).

- (118) ... [seran lori]_{COMPL}-ma'u
 '... brought things...'

All such constructions pertain to one action only; the main semantic load is carried by the verb of the complement, while the syntactic main verb only adds a notion of directedness. The same notion of directedness can be expressed in what is clearly a biclausal unit, as shown in (119) through the use of the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) between the two verbs. Note that the context is identical to that given in (115). This does not contradict the analysis as given in (117) and (118), since § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) above shows that most complement-verb complexes can regularly be broken up into two separate clauses.

- (119) ... fana-nini ho'o ue' [[ani-asu]_{COMPL}-asar]_{VP}=ini [ma'u]_{VP}
 teach-do:BD some V2DEM 1s-for-send=LNK1 come

uai=p-ani uali'.
 CLS=PURP-1s hear

'... (if you) have some teaching, send it here to me so that I (can) hear it.'
 (107-27)

A construction such as that given in (120), where the movement verb precedes another verb, is understood to be different from those given in (115) and (116) above. Here, neither verb can be understood as modifying the other. Rather, they seem to express two distinct actions in a sequence. This understanding is supported by the fact that *tia* 'sleep' in (120) stands in the free form, showing clearly that *mara* 'go' does not function as its argument.

- (120) ... hai rau mara tia=na'a...
 NSIT good go sleep=INT
 '... it's okay, go to sleep...' (120-014)

In summary, in the construction discussed in the present paragraph, the movement verb is the syntactic main verb and the complement is constructed as dependent from it. Semantically, however, the situation is quite opposite, with the main meaning component expressed by the VP complement. This situation is comparable to that of causatives with *-ini* (§ 5.2.2.5.1.1, p. 340), in which *-ini* 'do' is constructed syntactically as the main verb, while semantically, the bulk of the meaning is conveyed by the complement verb.

5.2.2.6 Some problematic cases

The following sections discuss a few difficult cases which do not behave according to the pattern described above. Many may be due to the moderate degree of flexibility between the realisation of a given argument as either an object or a complement. § 5.2.2.6.1 (p. 347) presents some cases where the free forms of verbs that distinguish free and bound forms are used, despite the fact that their

complement position appears to be filled. § 5.2.2.6.2 (p. 348) gives a brief discussion of the verb *hai* ‘be finished’. Finally, argument-marking verbs, which appear to be partially reanalysed as exhibiting a free vs. bound form contrast, constitute a particularly important case. These constructions are discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349).

5.2.2.6.1 Complements with free verb forms

A few cases have been found where verbs which have distinct bound and free forms appear in the free form, even though clearly their complement position is filled. Normally, in such a constellation, the bound form of the verb is used (§ 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135, § 5.2.2, p. 320). In the case of (121), the reciprocal pronoun *ta*, clearly identified as a complement by its position relative to the aspect marker *hai* and the adverbial *tepa* ‘constant’ (see § 5, p. 317) is followed by the free form *huri* ‘shoot’. In this context, the bound form of that verb, *-suri* ‘shoot’, would be expected. (122) exemplifies this form in a typical complement-verb construction with a dependent VP with *(k)-umu-* ‘kill’. Similarly, the position of the NP *ni-dila* ‘his frog’ in (123) relative to the adverbials *uari* ‘still’ and *na’u* ‘just’ shows it to stand in the complement position of *haka* ‘search’. Again, however, the free form of this verb, rather than its bound form *-saka*, is used. (124) shows a typical use of this bound form with a complement. In both (121) and (123), the bound verb forms were refused. Variants with the complement NPs in the object position, on the left edge of the verb phrase and preceding the above-mentioned VP modifiers, however, were accepted.

- (121) ... *amuni Dili-isi’=ee hai tepa [ta]_{COMPL-huri}...*
 person D.-at=DEF NSIT constant REC-shoot
 ‘... people in Dili were constantly shooting at each other...’ (126-061)
- (122) ... *ki-mata tufur huri hau [k-umu]_{COMPL-suri}...*
 3:POSS-child woman shoot all 3:UND-kill-shoot:BD
 ‘... (they) shot his daughter, shot her dead...’ (23-014)
- (123) ... *kiloo=haka uari na’u [ni-dila]_{COMPL-haka}.*
 3s=CTR.PRES still just REFL-frog-search
 ‘... he is still looking for his frog.’ (38-081)
- (124) ... *ani ni-asu ma’u=ni sirvisu mei [e]_{COMPL-saka}.*
 1s REFL-for come=LNK1 work take VIDEM:RED-seach:BD
 ‘... I came to look for work here.’ (125-40)

Two similar cases were tacitly presented in § 3.2.3.1.2.3 (p. 148), with *sa-ena* ‘be married’ and *mata-ena* ‘have children’. The bound form of the verb *ena* ‘see’ is taken to be *-kena* (see § 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135). Note, however, that *ena* is also listed as an argument-marking verb in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). These verbs appear to be reanalysed in certain contexts as expressing a distinction between bound and free

verb forms. This leads to a situation where such verbs appear to follow a free / bound form pattern in some cases, but an argument-marking pattern in other contexts. While the variant forms of *ena* ‘see’ are used like the free and bound form of the verbs listed in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) in most cases, it is possible that the largely lexicalised phrase *sa-ena* ‘be married’ behaves according to the argument-marking pattern.

There is at present no good explanation for cases such as those discussed here, where an argument in complement position is not associated with a bound verb form. There is only a small number of them, hence they are considered aberrant. It is possible that these constructions may be influenced by the behaviour of argument-marking verbs in similar contexts (see § 5.2.2.6.3.4, p. 356). Notice also that in all of the illustrated cases, the complements in question are nominal and refer to undergoer participants. § 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321) and § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324) mention how there is a certain amount of flexibility between the object position and the complement position for nominal undergoers. Examples as given in (121) and (123) support the impression that the distinction between objects and complements is somewhat blurred with this type of argument. § 5.2.2.3 (p. 336) suggests complements expressing undergoers and those expressing location and manner are originally distinct structures that have coalesced; the fact that free verb forms are found with undergoer complements only further supports this.

5.2.2.6.2 Hai’ ‘be finished’

Bound verb forms with altered onsets as listed in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) occur only when the complement position of the verbs in question is filled. In the case of *hai*’ ‘be finished’, the bound form *-sai*’ is found not only in complement-verb complexes, but also in environments that are not so easily reconcilable with this structure. (125) shows the bound form *-sai*’ used in a verbal complex. This is as expected; the use of *hai*’ ~ *-sai*’ ‘end’ in these contexts conforms to the use of the free and the bound forms of the other verbs given in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135).

- (125) ... *ira ama [ta-mi]_{COMPL-sai}*’...
 paddy garden REC-along:RED-finished:BD
 ‘... the paddies are demarcated (along one another)...’ (55-29)

In most cases, however, the use of the form *-sai*’ appears to be dependent on the semantic nature of the verb’s subject. Concretely, whenever it denotes a span of time, *-sai*’ appears. Examples are given in (126) and (127). With all other semantic types of subjects, *hai*’ is used, as the comparison with (128) shows.

- (126) *Aira u [hau]_{COMPL-sai}*’ *ani ufe*’=*ini* *ani muni na*’*u*
 year one all-finished:BD 1s VDEM.LOW=LNK1 1s return just
 pasa=ni ma’*u=ni Loospala*.
 pass=LNK1 come=LNK1 L.
 ‘After one year, I moved from down there back to Lospalos.’ (103-18)

- (127) ... *pasar loloi [hau]_{COMPL-sai}' hai na'an.*
 week two all-finished:BD NSIT NEG.EX
 '... after two weeks, there was no more (water left.)' (89-07)
- (128) *Latino ki-iskola hai hau hai'=isi hai Timor-isi-la'a=na'a.*
 L. 3:POSS-school NSIT all end=LNK2 NSIT T.at:RED-move=INT
 'Latino's education is already finished, he is planning to go back to
 Timor.' (chat032)

It is noticeable that in all cases where *-sai'* is used with time spans, it is combined with the adverbial verb *hau* 'all, totally' (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369). It would thus seem that *hau* is in the complement position of *hai'* 'be finished' in those cases, which would explain the use of the bound form; this is how (126) and (127) are analysed above. In fact, § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159) mentions that adverbial verbs are sometimes constructed as complements. Notice, however, that (128) is exactly parallel in that it, too, is preceded by *hau* 'all', yet the form of the verb that is used is the free form *hai'*, not *-sai'*. This means that in cases like (128), where the subject does not denote a time span, *hau* would have to be analysed as an adverbial, whereas in such cases like (126) and (127), the same item would function as a verbal complement. Apart from the semantics of the subject NP, the contexts of (126), (127) and (128) are very much similar and it is difficult to see a reason for this syntactic differentiation other than the semantic content of the subject.

5.2.2.6.3 Argument-marking verbs

Tables 5.1 through 5.3 repeat the subgroup of vowel-initial verbs that take the third-person argument-marking prefix *k-* as listed in § 3.2.3.4 (p. 163), dividing them into three groups. The first of these, in Table 5.1, shows the verbs which occur on their own as full verbs only; the second, in Table 5.2, lists those verbs which are found both as full verbs and as verbal complements to other verbs; and finally, the third, in Table 5.3, lists those verbs which are found in the corpus as dependent verbs in verbal complements only.

see	(<i>k</i>)- <i>ena</i>
smell	(<i>k</i>)- <i>amu'</i>
hit (a target)	(<i>k</i>)- <i>ene</i>
do, make	(<i>k</i>)- <i>ini</i>
bake	(<i>k</i>)- <i>isa</i>
belong to, originate from	(<i>k</i>)- <i>isi'</i>
fetch (water)	(<i>k</i>)- <i>otu</i>
bigger than	(<i>k</i>)- <i>uan</i>
kill	(<i>k</i>)- <i>uta</i>

Table 5.1: Argument-marking verbs used as free verbs only

sideways	(k)-afi'
carry	(k)-afu
for	(k)-asu
be in physical contact	(k)-ata'
with, accompanying	(ko-)horu
be on top	(k)-ua'
cover, block from view	(k)-utu'

Table 5.2: Argument-marking verbs used both as free verbs and as verbal complements

away from	(k)-afa-
all over	(k)-ali-
downwards	(k)-ati-
onto	(k)-a'a-
firm	(k)-e-
?	(k)-eri-
apart	(k)-eta-
towards	(k)-ou-
around	(k)-ue-
kill	(k)-umu-
partly hidden	(k)-uri-
hidden from view	(k)-uta-

Table 5.3: Argument-marking verbs found in complement VPs only

Despite the different distributions of the three groups of *k*-prefixing verbs, the principles of the use of the prefix are the same. The vowel-initial form is used when the verb's complement position is filled by a first and second person pronominal argument or a non-referential nominal argument, as discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) and § 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353). In all other cases, the *k*-prefix is used. The following analysis corresponds largely to that given in Huber (2008b).

5.2.2.6.3.1 Pronominal arguments

In general, pronominal undergoers stand in the complement position directly to the left of the verbs given in Tables 5.1 through 5.3, as shown in the examples in (129), with the first person singular pronoun *ani*, and (130), with the second person singular pronoun *ei*. The verb appears in those cases without the *k*-prefix.

- (129) *Ei=ni ani mei pa'uk-ini=si [ani]_{COMPL-uta=si...}*
 2s=CTR 1s take bad-do:BD=LNK2 1s-kill=LNK2
 'It was you who destroyed me and killed me...' (23-008)

- (130) ... [ei]_{COMPL-asu} namiraa=ni hai na'an...
 2s-for man-CTR NSIT NEG.EX
 '... there is no man left for you...'
 (74-016)

Not only personal pronouns, but also other pronouns, i.e. the reflexive *ni*, the reciprocal *ta* and the interrogatives *mu'a-* 'who (BD)' and *sa'a-* 'what (BD)' (§ 3.3.1, p. 217), are treated in the same way, as (131) and (132) show.

- (131) *Afiane' ei [mu'a]_{COMPL-horu} lolo-ini?*
 PT 2s who:BD-with say-do:BD
 'Who did you talk to before?'
 (elic1490)

- (132) *Mata ka'u ere so'ot=ini [ni]_{COMPL-asu} ki-nua heti.*
 child small 1DEM want=LNK1 REFL-for 3:POSS-eat ask
 'This child wants to ask for food (for himself.)'
 (101-127)

Note that pronouns are frequently constructed as complements also with other verbs, which are not compatible with the *k*-prefix (§ 5.2.2.1.2, p. 324).

Third person undergoers are marked on argument-marking verbs with a *k*-prefix. This prefix is analysed as standing in the verb's complement position, parallel to the construction with pronominal undergoers shown in (129) through (132). (133) shows such an example.

- (133) *Hai nomo rau-rau hau [k]_{COMPL-uta}=si...*
 NSIT NEG RDL-good all 3:UND-kill=LNK1
 '(He) didn't manage to kill them (all), so then...'
 (89-19)

It is not possible to use the third person pronoun *kiloo* in a construction like that shown in (129) and (130), where the pronoun stands directly in front of the vowel-initial form of the verb. Rather, *kiloo* always cooccurs with the *k*-prefix, as in (134). It shares this property with referential nominal undergoers (§ 5.2.2.6.3.2, p. 353). This fact has, among others, been taken as indicative of nominal qualities and possibly nominal origin of the third person pronoun in Makalero (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221).

- (134) ... *ani=ni (...) kiloo k-asu lolo uata ira mei.*
 1sg=CTR 3s 3:UND-for say coconut water take
 '... I told him to get young coconuts.'
 (67-13)

The construction of argument-marking verbs with pronominal non-subject arguments can be summarised as follows:

- (135) PRON → PRON-V
 3.PRON → (3.PRON) *k*-V

The *k*-prefix for third person undergoers can be directly related to the 3rd-person possessive pronoun *ki-*. For illustration, Table 5.4 gives the Makalero personal

pronouns, with the possessive forms, where distinct from the free pronoun forms, in brackets (see § 3.3.1.1, p. 218, and § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). In all other cases, the same form functions as both independent and possessive pronoun.

	singular	plural
1 st person exclusive	<i>ani (asi)</i>	<i>ini (isi)</i>
1 st person inclusive	--	<i>fi</i>
2 nd person	<i>ei</i>	<i>ii</i>
3 rd person	<i>kiloo (ki)</i>	<i>kiloora (ki)</i>

Table 5.4: Personal and possessive pronouns

§ 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 221) proposes that *ki-*, whose function is now restricted to that of a third person possessive marker, was originally an all-purpose third person marker, while the present-day independent pronoun *kiloo* is a compound that developed at a later stage. This is supported by the evidence from closely related Makasae, which has *gi* for both functions. The original third person marker *ki* was retained in certain contexts, namely as a possessive marker as well as with the argument-marking verbs given in Tables 5.1 through 5.3, which take pronominal arguments in the complement position. With frequent use, the *ki-* complement appears to have grammaticalised into a prefix *k-*. Thus, originally, the third person argument-marked forms would have been constructed in a way directly analogous to the other pronouns as demonstrated in (129) through (132) above, with the third person pronoun *ki* in the complement position of the verb. This paradigm, showing the putative development of the third person argument form, is summarised in (136). Note that there is no number distinction in the third person, which uses *ki-* or *k-* for both singular and plural reference.

- (136)
- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>ani-uta</i> | ‘kill me’ |
| <i>ei-uta</i> | ‘kill you’ |
| <i>ki-uta</i> → <i>k-uta</i> | ‘kill him / her / it / them’ |
| <i>ini-uta</i> | ‘kill us (excl.)’ |
| <i>fi-uta</i> | ‘kill us (incl.)’ |
| <i>ii-uta</i> | ‘kill you (pl)’ |

In a variant construction, pronominal arguments can stand in the object position on the left edge of the VP. In such a case, the argument-marking verb does not stand in its vowel-initial form, but is prefixed with *k-*. Examples with *(k)-asu* ‘for’ are given in (137) and (138).

- (137) *Kiloo [ani]_{OBJ} tepa k-asu lolo=ni ki-sirvisu mei=na’a.*
 3_S 1_S constant 3:UND-for say=LNK1 3:POSS-work take=INT
 ‘He always makes me do his work.’ (elic413)

- (138) ... *uai=ni teni mei=ni [ini]_{OBJ} nomo k-asu lolo.*
 CLS=LNK1 again take=LNK1 1_{pe} NEG 3:UND-for say
 ‘... but (they) didn’t let us know.’ (81-08)

(139) and (140) juxtapose the two variant constructions, with a pronominal argument in the complement position in (139), but in the object position in (140). I have not been able to work out a difference in reading between the two variants; if one is present at all, it is very subtle.

(139) *Ani hai [fi]_{COMPL}-horu la'a.*
 1s NSIT 1pi-with move
 'I went with you (pol.)' (elic991)

(140) *Ani [fi]_{OBJ} hai ko-horu la'a.*
 1s 1pi NSIT 3-with move
 'I went with you (pol.)' (elic991a)

In examples (137) through (140), the *k*-prefix does clearly not mark third person arguments. The preceding pronominal objects directly contradict the third person meaning of the prefix. This bespeaks an advanced degree of grammaticalisation of the prefix; in fact, I claim the *k*-prefixed form of these verbs is being partly reanalysed as a free verb form, in an opposition between a free and a bound verb form as exhibited by the verbs in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135), rather than as an argument-marked form. § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356) elaborates on this idea.

5.2.2.6.3.2 Nominal arguments

Within the domain of nominal arguments, a distinction has to be made between referential and non-referential nouns or NPs. Non-referential nouns can be placed in the complement position, just like pronominal arguments, in which case the verb again appears without the *k*-prefix. Examples are given in (141) and (142).

(141) ... *nana pere=ni muni k-afu=ni [mu'a]_{COMPL}-ia-la'a.*
 snake big.SG=LNK1 return 3:UND-carry=LNK1 ground-under:RED-move
 '... having become a large snake, he carried her under the earth.' (64-05)

(142) ... *ma'u=ni Topolope-isi' [lopu]_{COMPL}-ini [omar]_{COMPL}-ini.*
 come=LNK1 T.-at house-do stilt.house-do
 '... (our grandfather) came to Topolope and settled there.' (70-02)
 (lit. made house)

Referential nominal arguments, like the free form of the third person pronoun, *kiloo*, always cooccur with the *k*-prefix on the verb. Examples are given in (143) and (144).

(143) ... *mara=ni la'a [infirmeira-laa] k-asu lolo...*
 go-LNK1 move nurse-PL 3:UND-for say
 '... then (I) went to tell the nurses...' (58-03)

- (144) ... *kiloo* (...) *la'a* [*kulsaun*] *k-ua-ude'*...
 3s move mattress 3:UND-on.top:RED-VDEM.HIGH
 '... he (...) goes up on the mattress...' (102-009)

Such referential nominal arguments to argument-marking verbs vary in position between the VP-initial object position, preceding all VP modifiers and the complement position, which directly precedes the verb (see § 5, p. 317). The former solution, which appears to be more frequent, is illustrated in (145), where the object NP *papa=ee* 'the Indonesian' precedes the aspect marker *hai*. In (146), on the other hand, the NP *meestri-laa amu lima* 'the five teachers' follows the aspect marker, which shows it to be standing directly in front of the verb in the complement position. Note that the two positions can only be distinguished when verbal modifiers are present; in (143) and (144) above, where none are present, it is impossible to determine whether the nominal arguments are constructed as either objects or complements.

- (145) ... *ani hai ma'u* [*papa=ee*]_{OBJ} *hai k-asu lolo*...
 1s NSIT come Indonesian=DEF NSIT 3:UND-for say
 '... I came and said to the Indonesian...' (101-441)

- (146) ... *ani hai* [*meestri-laa amu lima-ko*]_{COMPL}-*horu*.
 1s NSIT teacher-PL person five-3:UND-with
 '... I went to stay with the five teachers.' (101-160)

For non-referential nouns, too, there is the option of placing them in the object position rather than the complement position. In this case, the verb must also be prefixed with *k-*. These two options are very much like those discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) above for pronominal arguments.

As an actual third person argument marker, the *k-*prefix fills the verb's complement position, in analogy to the other personal pronouns; this is summarised in (136) above. Sentences like (145), where a nominal argument stands in the object position and is cross-referenced on the verb with the prefix, would consequently have to be analysed as making use of both the object position and the complement position. This is in direct contradiction to § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337), which claims the complement position and the object position are mutually exclusive, and only one of them can appear in a given VP. The only way to explain this pattern is by assuming a partial reanalysis of the *k-*prefixed forms not as argument-marking, but as free verb forms, as opposed to bound verb forms which stand with a filled complement position. This conforms to the evidence provided by sentences with pronominal objects, rather than complements, where the *k-*prefix appears to lose its third person reference. The reanalysis idea is elaborated on in § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356).

5.2.2.6.3.3 Special cases

While most of the verbs listed in Tables 5.1 through 5.3 follow the principles as outlined in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) and § 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353) above, *(k)-umu-* ‘kill’ and *(k)-afu-* ‘carry’ deviate to a certain degree.

The free verb *umu* ‘die’ is intransitive, as seen in (147). The obviously related object-marked form *(k)-umu-* ‘kill’ has only been found used as a complement. As opposed to the intransitive *umu*, *(k)-umu-* is associated with an undergoer participant. This is illustrated by (148), where it takes its own object NP. Semantically, thus, *(k)-umu-* ‘kill’ corresponds to the free verb *(k)-uta* ‘kill’, rather than to *umu* ‘die’.

- (147) *Ki-ni ki-upa hai hau umu...*
 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father NSIT all die
 ‘(Both) his parents were already dead...’ (64-02)

- (148) ... [*ni-sa ere hau k-umu*]_{COMPL-lasi=ni} [*k-afa*]_{COMPL-la’a...}
 REFL-wife IDEM all 3:UND-kill-cut=LNK1 3:UND-away.from-move
 ‘... (he) cut his wife to death and then left her...’ (23-044)

Used as a verbal complement, *(k)-umu-* ‘kill’ follows the same pattern as discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) and § 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353) above, with pronominal and non-referential arguments normally in the complement position and the vowel-initial form *-umu-*. This transitive version of the verb *umu* ‘die’ is limited to occurring in verbal complements; as a main verb, it is always intransitive. Together with the pair of intransitive *amu* ‘ripe, smelly’ and transitive *(k)-amu* ‘smell’, *umu* ‘die’ might thus represent the only case of a verb with labile transitivity in Makalero.

Although the two forms of *(k)-afu* ‘carry’, with and without an initial *k-*, suggest membership in the group of argument-marking verbs, the actual pattern of their use is confused. The vowel-initial form *afu* occurs most frequently as a simple, free verb. It is found quite regularly with pronominal undergoer complements, but its range of use is broader than that of the vowel-initial form of a typical argument-marking verb. For instance, in (149), the position of the undergoer *ni-sefar* ‘his dog’ relative to the aspect marker *hai* clearly shows that it stands in the object position; with a regular argument-marking verb, one would expect to find the *k-*-prefixed form in such a context, where the complement position is empty (see § 5.2.2.6.3.2, p. 353).

- (149) ... *ni-sefar hai afu...*
 REFL-dog NSIT carry
 ‘... (he) holds his dog in his arms...’ (38-033)

All occurrences of the *k-*-prefixed form *k-afu*, on the other hand, make reference to third person undergoers and are hence regular. The *k-*-prefixed forms occur most often in complement-verb complexes, as exemplified by (150), but can in some cases be found as the main and only verb in a clause, as in (151).

- (150) ... *pipi.rusa=ee [hai k-afu]_{COMPL-seman...}*
 deer=DEF NSIT 3:UND-carry-take:BD
 ‘... the deer carried (the child) along...’ (102-056)
- (151) *Paru ere ani [k]_{COMPL-afu=ni...}*
 female 1DEM 1s 3:UND-carry=LNK1
 ‘The female one I carried (around), and...’ (101-043)

In sum, while all cases of the *k*-prefixed form can be explained as marking third person undergoer reference, the range of occurrences of the vowel-initial form *afu* is much broader than expected in the case of a typical argument-marking verb.

A special construction altogether, in several respects, is the verb ‘to give’, the use of which is outlined in § 7.1.1 (p. 406).

5.2.2.6.3.4 Reanalysis of *k*-prefixed forms as bound forms

§ 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) points out how pronominal arguments, which are prototypically realised as complements of argument-marking verbs, can also be placed in the object position of these verbs. (152) and (153), repeated from (139) and (140) above, show these two options.

- (152) *Ani hai [fi]_{COMPL-horu la'a.}*
 1s NSIT lpi-with move
 ‘I went with you (pol.).’ (elic991)
- (153) *Ani [fi]_{OBJ hai ko-horu la'a.}*
 1s lpi NSIT K-with move
 ‘I went with you (pol.).’ (elic991a)

If the pronominal argument stands in the object position, as in (153), the *k*-prefix appears on the verb. In § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350), this prefix has been analysed as marking a third person argument. Such marking on the verb in (153), where a first person plural inclusive argument is overtly expressed, is contradictory and rather unintuitive.

Similarly, nominal arguments can be placed either in the complement position or in the object position. In either case, the *k*-prefix stands on the verb. (154), repeated from (145), gives an example of a sentence where a nominal undergoer is constructed as an object argument.

- (154) ... *ani hai ma'u [papa=ee]_{OBJ hai k-asu lolo...}*
 1s NSIT come Indonesian=DEF NSIT 3:UND-for say
 ‘... I came and said to the Indonesian...’ (101-441)

Whereas this type of construction can be analysed as cross-referencing an argument on the verb, it is nevertheless problematic in that it appears to be making use of both the object position as well as the complement position in the verb phrase. Recall that

the *k*-prefix is analysed as a grammaticalised form of the third person pronoun, which stands in the verb's complement position. § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337), however, makes quite clear that these two argument positions within the VP are mutually exclusive. If one is filled, the other is not available in the same VP.

Such examples suggest an ongoing reanalysis of argument-marking verbs along the lines of an opposition between bound and free forms, as found with the verbs discussed in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135). The vowel-initial form appears to be used as a bound form in contexts where the verb's complement position is filled, whereas the *k*-prefixed form, now apparently understood as unsegmentable, would be the free form. In cases like (153) and (154), where the complement position is empty, the *k*-form appears. (155) and (156) show this reanalysis on the example of two sentences repeated from (132) and (138) above. Analysed as a third person argument marker, the *k*-prefix on *asu* 'for' in (156) contradicts the overtly expressed first person plural exclusive argument in the object position. If it is seen as an unanalysable free form occurring in all instances where the complement position is empty, on the other hand, the use of *kasu* in this sentence is easily explained.

- (155) *Mata ka'u ere so'ot=ini [ni]_{COMPL-asu} ki-nua heti.*
 child small 1DEM want=LNK1 REFL-for:BD 3:POSS-eat ask
 'This child wants to ask for food (for himself.)' (101-127)

- (156) ... *uai=ni teni mei=ni [ini]_{OBJ} nomo kasu lolo.*
 CLS=LNK1 again take=LNK1 1pe NEG for say
 '... but (they) didn't let us know.' (81-08)

Not only can such a reanalysis explain the unintuitive use of the *k*-prefix in such sentences as (156); the sentence also no longer presents a problem concerning the simultaneous use of the object position and the complement position.

This proposed reanalysis is, however, by no means complete. Most importantly, if the vowel-initial form of the verb were really fully reanalysed as the bound form, this form would also be expected to be used in cases where these verbs occur with verbal complements; yet with the majority of verbs, it does not appear. (157) and (158) show sentences with verbal complements in which the main verb stands with a *k*-initial, thus putatively free, form. (159) and (160), for comparison, show the same verbs with nominal complements, illustrating that in this context the vowel-initial form behaves like the bound form.

- (157) *Ei so'ot=ini ani mei=ni la'a=ni [hi'a-isi]_{COMPL-k-uta}.*
 2s want=LNK1 1s take=LNK1 move=LNK1 street-at:RED-K-kill
 'You want to kill me on the road.' (elic988)

- (158) *Kiloo mata ka'u mei [rau]_{COMPL-k-afu}.*
 3s child small take good-K-carry
 'She carried her child safely (lit. well).' (elic1477)

- (159) ... *nomohaka amuni ki=selu=ni [fi]_{COMPL-uta}*.
 CLS.NEG person ATTR=other=CTR lpi-kill:BD
 ‘... noone else is killing us.’ (23-042)

- (160) ... *ki-nua-nua lori [mata]_{COMPL-afu} uai=ni*
 3:POSS-RDL-eat carry child-carry CLS=LNK1

larin-ika-la’a...

mountain-up.in:RED-move

- ‘... carrying food and carrying children, (we) went up the mountain...’
 (84-03)

Whereas in (158), the *k*-prefix could be analysed as cross-referencing the third person undergoer, this is not very well possible in (157), where the undergoer is a first person.

This pattern differs from the one found with verbs with an actual opposition between free form and bound forms (see § 3.2.2.2.2, p. 135, and § 5.2.2, p. 320). In these cases, the bound form is found with all kinds of complements, both verbal, as in (161), and nominal, as in (162). The free form is found in all cases where the complement position is empty, as in (163).

- (161) ... *dila pere langsung (...) [apadan leto]_{COMPL-se’el...}*
 frog big.SG direct window through-jump:BD
 ‘... the big frog jumped through the window straight away...’ (115-097)

- (162) *Kiloo [mu’a]_{COMPL-se’el}*.
 3s ground-jump:BD
 ‘He jumped down to the ground.’ (pelic371)

- (163) *Tufuraa ere kanta ni’isi he’el*.
 woman 1DEM sing simultaneous jump
 ‘This woman is singing and dancing (at the same time).’ (elic431)

The reanalysis of argument-marking verbs appears to have progressed further, and in different directions, with some verbs. For instance, the *k*-prefixed form of *ena* ‘see’, tentatively grouped with argument-marking verbs in Table 5.1, occurs only with verbal complements, as in (164). There is no indication of this form referring to a third person argument. The vowel-initial form occurs in all other contexts; a typical example is illustrated in (165). In this case, thus, the *k*-prefixed form appears to be used like a bound form, while the vowel-initial form behaves like a free form.

- (164) *Tone’ nomo na’u mei=ni [hare’]_{COMPL-kena...}*
 perhaps NEG just take=LNK1 clean-see:BD
 ‘Maybe (he) didn’t see it clearly...’ (82-032)

- (165) *Iraku aire’ [ni-mata]_{OBJ} na’u ena*.
 3s now REFL-child just see
 ‘She is now just taking care of her child.’ (elic1112)

Note, however, that the vowel-initial form is also used in some instances with verbal complements, as in (166).

- (166) *Ni mei=ni [rau]_{COMPL-ena=elo!}*
 REFL take=LNK1 good-see=EXHORT
 ‘Take good care of yourself!’ (chat013)

This situation is quite the reverse of that found with the majority of argument-marking verbs, where it is generally the *k*-prefixed form which appears to be reinterpreted as the free form.

Kini ‘do’ follows the more regular pattern, namely generalisation of the *k*-prefixed form as the free form, and the vowel-initial form as the bound one, as illustrated in (167) and (168).

- (167) ... *ani [sa’a u]_{OBJ} nomo kini.*
 1s thing one NEG do
 ‘I didn’t do anything.’ (elic060)

- (168) *Uere’=ini aire’=ua sina Fernandu hai mei [lopu]_{COMPL-ini} ere.*
 2DEM.V=LNK1 now=REL Chinese F. NSIT take house-do:BD 1DEM
 ‘It is that (place) where the Chinese man Fernando made (his) house.’
 (101-143)

Again, however, the picture is not entirely consistent, and the *k*-prefixed form can sporadically be found with a complement argument; an example is given in (169), where the use of the bound form of the interrogative pronoun *sa’a-* shows that it is constructed as a complement.

- (169) *Juliette [sa’a]_{COMPL-kini?}*
 J. what:BD-do
 ‘What are you doing?’ (chat016)

Despite such inconsistencies, the reanalysis in terms of a free / bound opposition with *ena* ‘see’ and *kini* ‘do’ is much more complete and systematic than it appears to be with the other verbs in Tables 5.1 through 5.3.

§ 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353) shows how argument NPs to argument-marking verbs can appear either in the object position or in the complement position; (170) and (171), repeated from (145) and (146) above, illustrate these variants. While the use of *kasu* ‘for’, reanalysed as a free form, is as predicted in (170), where its complement position is empty, it is unexpected in (171), where the argument NP stands in the verb’s complement position. In this case, normally, a bound verb form would be used – under the reanalysis proposed here for argument-marking verbs, this would be the form *horu* ‘with’.

- (170) ... *ani hai ma’u [papa=ee]_{OBJ} hai kasu lolo...*
 1s NSIT come Indonesian=DEF NSIT for say
 ‘... I came and said to the Indonesian...’ (101-441)

- (171) ... *ani hai [meestri-laa amu lima]_{COMPL-kohoru}*.
 1s NSIT teacher-PL person five-with
 ‘... I went to stay with the five teachers.’ (101-160)

§ 5.2.2.6.1 (p. 347) gives similar cases of syntactic complements combined with free verb forms as an aberrant structure. These structures are analogous to that of (171). While they are rare with other verbs, they are fairly frequent with argument-marking verbs. In fact, it is difficult to establish whether it is more common for the argument to stand in the object position, as in (170), or in the complement position, as in (171). It is thus likely that the corresponding construction with other verbs is directly influenced by the parallel way of expression found with argument-marking verbs.

The vowel-initial form of argument-marking verbs is used not only where these verbs’ complement positions are occupied, but also in – very restricted – contexts where no reference to an argument, either referential or non-referential, is implied, as in the reduplication of (*k*)-*ako* ‘steal’ in (172) or the *-ini*-derivation of (*k*)-*isa* ‘bake’ (see § 5.2.2.5.1.2, p. 341) in (173). These sentences thus follow the argument-marking pattern. In a free / bound form paradigm, a free form (thus with initial /*k*/) would be expected in these contexts, since the complement positions of these verbs are empty.

- (172) *Ako-ako=ee nomo rau.*
 RDL-steal=DEF NEG good
 ‘Stealing is bad.’ (chat110)

- (173) *Tufuraa k-asu=ni uere=ni omar-ika’ lopu-ika’ isa-ini*
 woman 3:UND-for=CTR 2DEM=CTR stilt.house-up.in house-up.in bake-do:BD

tina-ini...
 cook-do:BD

‘(Work) for the women is to stay at home, do the baking, do the cooking...’
 (21-035)

In summary, thus, the use of the third person argument-marking *k*-prefix on verbs where the argument is constructed as standing in the object position rather than in the complement position can be accounted for by a reanalysis of the *k*-prefixed form as a free verb form, which appears when the complement position is empty. Analogously, the vowel-initial form would be understood as the bound form. In fact, in the cases of *ena* ‘see’ and *kini* ‘do’, this opposition appears to be largely grammaticalised. The behaviour of argument-marking verbs with verbal complements is, however, in most cases inconsistent with this picture and is not captured very well by either analysis. It is telling that the grammaticalisation patterns found with *ena* ‘see’ and *kini* ‘do’, are direct opposites: in the case of *ena*, the vowel-initial form is used like a free form and the *k*-prefixed form is the bound one; on the other hand, in the case of *kini*, the *k*-prefixed form is the free one and the vowel-initial one is bound.

It appears that this group of verbs is in a transitory stage of grammaticalisation. This is reflected in the rather confusing situation where they behave like they follow the

free / bound form opposition outlined in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) in a number of contexts, while in other ways they are used like argument-marking verbs.

5.3 *The verbal modifiers*

The verb phrase templates in (2) and (3) (§ 5, p. 317) list only three types of VP modifiers, namely aspect, negation and adverbials. § 5.3.1 (p. 361) through § 5.3.3 (p. 367) discuss these in turn.

5.3.1 Aspect marking

Makalero has only one aspect marker, *hai*, which is discussed in § 5.3.1.1 (p. 361). § 5.3.1.2 (p. 365) gives an outlook on some other, periphrastic ways of expressing aspectual notions.

5.3.1.1 The aspect marker *hai*

Hai is used in a variety of ways, quite consistent with the uses of its Makasae equivalent (*hai*). This latter has been described in most detail in Brotherson's (2003: 33) short grammar overview of the language as being "used to indicate an action begun (inchoative) or an action which must have occurred although has not been witnessed, and is also frequently used in the narration of a series of events which have been witnessed". Carr (2004: 29, fn 24), in her analysis of Makasae riddles, glosses *ai* as CONT and adds that "although the marker *ai* CONT typically denotes continuing aspect, in some cases it also has the sense of inceptive, signalling the beginning of a continuing action". Hull (2004: 92) analyses *hai* in both Makasae and Makalero as inceptive. These fairly confusing quotes illustrate the obvious difficulty of attaching an appropriate label to the Makasae marker, which appears to be used in very much the same way as its Makalero cognate. By way of a summary, the major uses of *hai* in Makalero are those of an inchoative and to mark events in series. The remainder of this section shows the different uses of *hai* with examples, and in the end proposes a way to unify these seemingly diverse senses under one common heading.

Hai is often read as marking the beginning of an action (inchoative); this is clearly visible in (174) and (175), where it is used with activity verbs. With these verbs, which have an inherent starting and ending point, *hai* thus seems to focus on the starting point.

(174) *Kiloo hai sirvisu.*
 3s NSIT work
 'He starts to work.'

(elic233)

- (175) *Kiloo hai kanta.*
 3s NSIT sing
 ‘He started to sing.’ (elic234)

The marker has a similar effect when combined with stative verbs; in those cases, it refers to the state as having come into being, or, in other words, to a new situation as having come about, as (176) and (177) show.

- (176) *Ani hai lepuh.*
 1s NSIT hungry
 ‘I am (already) hungry.’ (elic055)

- (177) *Uai=ni=ni mata ka’u hai pere...*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 child small NSIT big.SG
 ‘So the child is already big...’ (74-136)

Sentences such as these show that *hai* adds an initial boundary to the meaning of stative verbs; the actual verbal semantics include only a situation, with no reference to any boundaries (see § 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151). This is the case also with nominal predicates, which predicate a time-stable property, such as the common noun *amulafu* ‘(living) person’ in (178), or, in the case of toponyms, the location of a participant, as in (179).

- (178) ... *nana uere (...) hai teni muni amulafu...*
 snake 2DEM NSIT again return person
 ‘... the snake (...) became a human again...’ (64-07)

- (179) ... *bis-ika’=ini hai Dili.*
 bus-up.in=LNK1 NSIT D.
 ‘... (he) got on the bus and went to Dili.’ (101-233)

In many cases, *hai* is translated as ‘already’; on the other hand, there are many sentences, such as (180), where this translation does not seem appropriate. Rather, the notion expressed is similar to that of an English present perfect: the act of the buying was carried out in the past, but has present relevance in that the gift is now here and ready to be fetched by the addressee.

- (180) *Asa ei-asu (...) seran natal k-asu hai teuh=ini ma’u=ni e’...*
 A. 2s-for stuff Christmas 3:UND-for NSIT buy=LNK1 come=LNK1 V1DEM
 ‘Asa bought you a Christmas present and brought it here...’ (74-088a)

Similar examples with a resultative reading are (181) and (182), in which *hai* conveys the idea of an action being relevant at reference time in having led to the situation in question. More clearly, in (181), the subject thought somebody had entered the house and, as a consequence, was inside the house at reference time. In (182), the action of taking a seat results in a state of being seated. This latter is best translated as a progressive into English.

- (181) ... *ki-isi-ne'et=e' amulafu ho'o=ni hai ma'u=ni*
 3:POSS-think-COMPL person some=CTR NSIT come=LNK1

lopu-mutu-ma'u=si...

house-inside:RED-come=LNK2

'... she thought that somebody had come and had entered the house (and was now in the house...)' (44-14)

- (182) *Fi hai ue-diar.*
 1pi NSIT V2DEM:RED-sit.PL
 'We are (already) sitting there.'

(elic072)

The above examples, which include inchoative readings of *hai* as well as a progressive and a resultative one, can be summed up as selecting the initial (left) boundary of a situation, along with the resulting state.

Apparently rather contrary to this, *hai* in many cases also has simple completive meaning, where it is not obvious that there should be any relevance to the present. In this completive function, *hai* is the marker that occurs in the narration of a series of events (if a marker is used at all), as illustrated by (183).

- (183) ... *kiloo hai dur=ini hai ue-poko=ni dila hai*
 3s NSIT wake.up=LNK1 NSIT V2DEM:RED-crouch=LNK1 frog NSIT

haka-puna.

search-see

'... he (the boy) wakes up and crouches there and looks out for the frog.' (38-010)

In rare instances, *hai* can be said to have some sort of imminent reading, as in (184).

- (184) *Aftane' isi-so'ot hai mini-ni uai=te'e ei muni mei pa'uk-ini.*
 PT 1pe:POSS-want NSIT follow-LNK1 CLS=after 2s return take bad-do:BD
 'He was going to agree with us, then you spoilt it.' (elic627)

Hai can thus mark the left boundary of an action and the ensuing state, which results in an inchoative interpretation on the one hand, but also focus on the whole of a situation, such as in the narration of a series of events, and mark that as completed. Puzzling though this broad range of possible meanings might seem, it appears that such a constellation is not unique in the wider area. In fact, the different uses of *hai* coincide to a remarkable degree to Jenny's (2001: 125) summary of the functions ascribed to the Thai marker *læu3*:

1. full verb ‘finished’
2. TAM marker
 - a. completive
 - b. inchoative
 - c. imminent
 - d. new situation
3. conjunctive verb (sequential marker)

Not only do the aspectual functions of *hai* largely coincide with those of the Thai marker, it is also remarkably similar to the full verb *hai* ‘be finished’, which is exemplified in (185).

(185) *Hau lale=ni mara=ni hau hai’ (... fi tone’ mara=ni*
 all wind.up=LNK1 go=LNK1 all finished lpi perhaps go=LNK1

hai mei=ni metan-ini.
 NSIT take=LNK1 black-do:BD

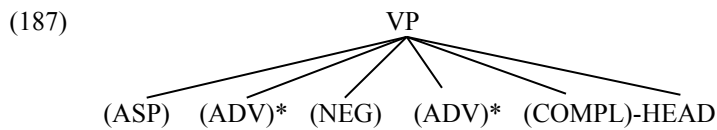
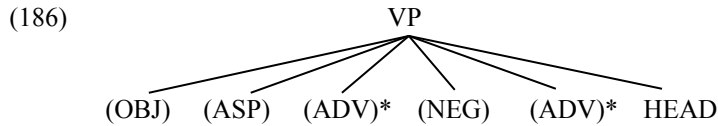
‘We coil it up, and when that is finished, we could then dye it black.’
 (62-22)

However, the nature of the relation between the aspect marker *hai* and the verb *hai* ‘be finished’ is not very clear. The glottal stop is a relatively frequent verbalising morpheme, used to derive verbs from nouns (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128); however, it seems highly unusual for a full verb to be derived from a grammatical aspect marker.

To cover all these seemingly conflicting uses, Jenny proposes the term NEWSIT, or new situation. He defines this as a new gram type which “indicates that any boundary has been passed and focuses on the ensuing state (...) The context is the main factor determining which limit is the one that has been passed” (Jenny 2001: 131). He argues that the use of the Thai NEWSIT marker as a sequential marker (or conjunctive verb) can be explained as “‘final boundary has been passed’, i.e. ‘a new situation/event can follow’” (ibid). In the same volume, Ebert postulates a similar gram type for the Kiranti languages of Nepal, as a more accurate description of forms that were earlier analysed as perfects. She argues that “(t)he perfect is a postterminal form. It is therefore not applicable to statives, nor to atelic verbs in general. It is totally excluded for events taking place at reference time. These restrictions do not hold for the NEWSIT forms, which can apply to any situation following a limit, whether inherent or temporal, whether initial or final” (Ebert 2001: 155). She then goes on to state that “(i)t seems natural that a NEWSIT meaning develops from verbs like ‘finish’ or ‘attain’” (ibid: 156).

The situation described by these two researchers for their respective languages coincides to a large degree with the state of affairs as found in Makalero; I will hence adopt their analysis for the aspect marker *hai*, which is in the present work glossed as NSIT (new situation) and understood to focus on a boundary and an ensuing state. The boundary in question can be either the initial or the final one, depending on the context. Consequently, *hai* can give rise to both inchoative and completive readings.

Syntactically, *hai* is the leftmost of the verbal modifiers, preceded only by the object position. The VP templates in (186) and (187), repeated from (2) and (3), show its exact position.



As the first verbal modifier, *hai* has all following modifiers within its scope (see § 6.6 (p. 393) for more discussion of the scope interactions among the VP modifiers).

5.3.1.2 Other aspectual notions

Hai is the only real aspect marker in Makalero. Its wide variety of uses cut across the traditional perfective / imperfective opposition. A perfective notion can be said to be implied in the use of the VP-internal adverbial *hau* ‘all, total’, although that is better described as completive. This item and its equally wide variety of uses are discussed in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369). Continuative or progressive may be expressed with the adverbial *uari* ‘still’, discussed in § 5.3.3.1 (p. 368), with the movement verb *mara* ‘go’ in a multi-clause sentence (§ 7.2.2.3, p. 419) or through repetition of the verb, as in (188).

- (188) ... *fi la'a la'a la'a=ni SMP-isi-mu'a-isa=ni...*
 lpi move move move=LNK1 junior.high.school-at:RED-ground-go.down=LNK1
 ‘... we keep going and go downwards at the junior high school...’
 (20-1)

Iterativity can be expressed by the use of reduplication (§ 3.2.2.3, p. 138). Another possibility is an adverbial clause such as *hai lar teteroa* ‘several times’. The clausal adverbial verb *ho'onese* appears to cover the semantic domains usually associated with imperfective aspect, including the mentioned continuative and iterative aspectual notions. To specifically express habituality, the Indonesian loan *biasa(nya)* ‘habitually’ is frequently used. The elements used to convey these latter notions are equivalent to adverbial verbs and fully predicative. The sentences they are used in are hence multiclausal units and are consequently discussed in detail in § 7.2.2 (p. 417).

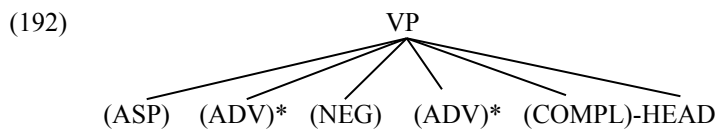
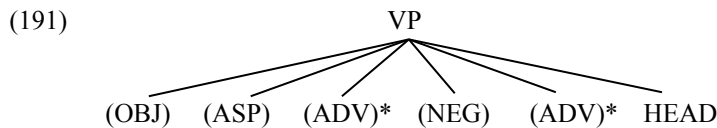
5.3.2 Negation

The negator *nomo* is the only VP-internal negator. It contrasts with the compounded *nomohaka*, which negates whole clauses. The latter is discussed in more detail in § 3.6.1 (p. 264) and § 6.6.3 (p. 398). Both are illustrated in (189) and (190), respectively.

- (189) ... *mana uere-mutu-puna e'=ini dila nomo ena.*
 hole 2DEM-inside:RED-look V1DEM=LNK1 frog NEG see
 ‘... (he) looks inside that hole, (but), being here, he doesn’t see the frog.’
 (38-065)

- (190) *Ma'u=ni mana-mutu'-ee na'a.muni nomohaka dila=ni mutu'=ini*
 come=LNK1 hole-inside=DEF in.turn CLS.NEG frog=CTR inside=LNK1
rei-misa=po (...) *toutou=ini mutu'=ini rei-misa*
 outwards-go.up=ADVR owl=CTR inside=LNK1 outwards-go.up
 ‘Then inside of the whole, there is not a frog that comes out of it, but an owl comes out of it.’
 (38-067a)

The position of *nomo* within the VP is illustrated by the VP templates in (191) and (192), repeated from (2) and (3). Both immediately to its left and immediately to its right are the positions for the VP-internal adverbials.



The position of the adverbial with respect to the negator reflects the intended scope. See § 6.6 (p. 393) for more detail on the scope readings associated with the VP modifiers.

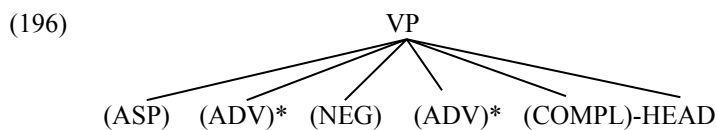
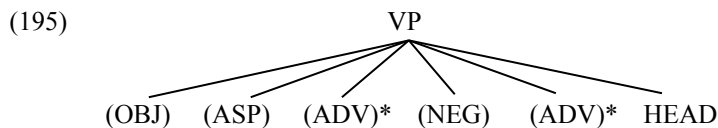
Nomo is used very frequently with the adverbial *oko* ‘still’; the resulting combination *oko nomo* translates as ‘not yet’, as shown in (193) and (194).

- (193) *Sa'a-kini=na'a=oo ani oko nomo mei=ni rei-lolo.*
 what:BD-do=INT=too 1s still NEG take=LNK1 outwards-say
 ‘What (you have to) do, I’m not telling (you) yet.’ (120-050)

- (194) ... *asi-iskola hai' uai=ni=ni aire' airulaa oko nomo sa'a*
 1s:POSS-school end CLS=LNK1=LNK1 now until.now still NEG thing
u nese-la'a.
 one aim.at:RED-move
 '... I finished my schooling, but until now I have not found any (job) yet.'
 (124-30)

5.3.3 VP-internal adverbials

The verbs which can appear as VP-internal adverbials are listed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159). Adverbials are found within the VP either to the left or to the right of the negation *nomo*, as shown in (195) and (196), repeated from (2) and (3).



Whereas they are mostly found together on one side of the negation, § 6.6.2 (p. 396) shows that it is possible for some adverbials to stand to the left and others to the right of the negator at the same time. This suggests that there are indeed two separate slots for adverbials in the verb phrase. (197) shows a case in point.

- (197) *Timor ki-renu hai na'u tafi nomo se roual.*
 T. 3:POSS-populace NSIT just true NEG very many.NONHUM
 'The population of Timor is already truly not very large.' (elic1398b)

Either of these adverbial slots can hold several adverbial verbs.

As argued in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159), the items that can be used as VP-internal adverbials are a subclass of verbs and can be used predicatively on their own. An example is given in (199), where *tafi* 'true' is sentence-initial and linked to the following clause with the clause linker =*ini*. (198) shows *tafi*'s more common use as a VP-internal adverbial.

- (198) *Kiloo aite' [ni-mata tafi pase]_{VP}.*
 3s REC.PT REFL-child true beat
 'He truly just beat his child.'
 (elic1114d)

- (199) *Tafi=ni kiloo aite' ni-mata pase.*
 true=LNK1 3s REFL.PT REFL-child beat
 'It is true that he just beat his child.'
 (elic1114c)

The analysis of the adverbial verbs in such sentences as (198) as VP-internal, rather than separate predications as in (199), is supported by examples like (200) and (201), which are identical in meaning, except for the presence versus absence of *tafi* 'true'. If *tafi* were a separate predication, the sentence in (200) would be biclausal. The reflexive pronoun *ni* would presumably have to be an argument of *tafi*, rather than of (*k*)-*utu* 'wear'. Furthermore, the aspect marker *hai* would only modify *tafi*, and *hau* the second verb (*k*)-*utu* (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369, for *hau*). Consequently, I would expect these two sentences to have radically different meanings.

- (200) *Kiloo ni hai tafi hau k-utu.*
 3s REFL NSIT true all 3:UND-wear
 'He has really already finished dressing.'
 (pelic279b)

- (201) *Kiloo ni hai hau k-utu.*
 3s REFL NSIT IPF 3:UND-wear
 'He has already finished dressing.'
 (pelic278a)

All items used as VP-internal adverbials are all simple morphemes without internal complexity, with the important exception of quantifier combinations such as *haka-hau*, *felu-hau* and the like (see § 5.3.3.3.1, p. 376, for details). In the following, some particularly important adverbial verbs and their uses are discussed individually.

5.3.3.1 *Uari* 'still'

The verb-phrase internal adverbial *uari* literally translates as 'still', as in (202).

- (202) ... *asi-mali uari lafu'...*
 1s:POSS-cousin still live
 '... my cousin was still alive...'
 (101-485)

This adverbial is sometimes used in a less-than-literal meaning to mark an action as progressive. This reading is particularly prominent in the case of the putative class of punctual verbs (§ 3.2.3.2.3, p. 155). (203) repeats (160) from that section.

- (203) *Kopu uari da'al.*
 glass still break
 'The cup is breaking.'
 (chat086)

The progressivity reading is also found with activities, although in that case it is essentially indistinguishable from the literal reading. It was, however, rejected with stative verbs, where only the literal 'still' interpretation is possible (see § 3.2.3.2.1,

p. 151). A similar reading does not occur with *oko*, an adverb with very much the same meaning as *uari* ‘still’. Adverbials of this meaning are good candidates for grammaticalisation into markers of progressivity. In present-day language use, *uari* is alternatively read in its literal meaning or as marking progressivity. There appear to be no specific circumstances under which either one or the other reading is predictable. This suggests that *uari* is only just at the beginning of a possible grammaticalisation process as an aspect marker.

5.3.3.2 *Hau* ‘all’

The verb *hau* ‘all’ is very frequent and has a wide variety of functions. Most basically, it is a quantifying verb meaning ‘all’, or ‘totally’ (§ 3.2.3.14, p. 215). Its two most important uses are as an adverbial within the VP or as a full verb, heading a predication of its own. Also, in some cases, it forms a verbal complex with the following verb. The use of *hau* as a VP-internal adverbial and as a verbal complement are described in § 5.3.3.2.1 (p. 369) and § 5.3.3.2.2 (p. 374), respectively. Its full verb use, finally, is discussed in § 5.3.3.3 (p. 376) on floating quantifiers.

5.3.3.2.1 *Hau* as an adverbial within the VP

Hau ‘all’ is one of the few verbs which can function as a verb-phrase-internal adverbial (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). In this position, it is understood to quantify the undergoer of a transitive verb, as in (204).

- (204) ... *ei=ni* (...) *teli ere hau mei tefu-dasa*...
 2s=CTR maize IDEM all take perpendicular-throw
 ‘... it was you who (...) broke all the maize plants...’ (52-12)

In instances where the undergoer is not compatible with a plurality reading, *hau* is understood as referring to the entirety of the undergoer. (205) exemplifies this with a mass noun, *ira* ‘water’.

- (205) ... *ki-ira hau kalin*...
 3:POSS-water all pour
 ‘... (we) pour out all of the water...’ (50-05)

As a quantifier, *hau* is most commonly accompanied by such items as *haka*, *kafu* and *felu*, all of which probably mean something like ‘all, completely’ too. These constructions are detailed in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376). As a VP-internal adverbial on its own, *hau* is more commonly interpreted as a marker of completion of an action rather than as an actual quantifier to the undergoer of the action. As a completive marker, it modifies the verb rather than its non-subject argument. It interacts with the verbal meaning in a way very similar to an aspect marker. In fact, the distinction

between activity verbs and stative verbs relies mostly on the very different readings *hau* has with either type of verb: with stative verbs, *hau* is read as denoting a high degree of the quality described by the verb, whereas with activities, it denotes the attainment of the right boundary of the action and thus marks it as completed. Though amply illustrated in § 3.2.3.2 (p. 150), the sentences below provide some more examples. (206) and (207) show the high degree reading with the stative verbs *roual* ‘much’ and *pere* ‘big (SG)’, while (208) and (209) exemplify the completion reading with the activities *mu’a-isa* ‘be born’ and *taru* ‘put, place’, respectively.

- (206) *Sirvisu hau roual=isi uai=konai kiloo nomo ma’u.*
 work all many.NONHUM=LNK2 CLS=CSQ 3s NEG come
 ‘He has a lot of work, so he couldn’t come.’ (elic1515)
- (207) *Uru-uatu ere tafi hau pere...*
 moon-sun IDEM true all big.SG
 ‘The lord is really very powerful (large)...’ (33-33)
- (208) ... *ki-mata hau mu’a-isa.*
 3:POSS-child all ground-go.down
 ‘... her child has already been born.’ (elic145)
- (209) ... *asi-upa hau taru=ni na’u tepa Matebian-isi’...*
 1s:POSS-father all place=LNK1 just constant M.-at
 ‘... after my father was buried, (we) were at Mount Matebian all the time...’
 (101-008)

An action carried out to the point where the entirety of the undergoer is affected, as in (205), basically equals a completed action; the motivation of this extension of the meaning of *hau* with activity verbs thus requires no further explanation. Statives, however, have no inherent boundaries and as such cannot be said to be ‘finished’ or ‘completed’ in any sense. Hence with this type of verbs, *hau* takes on a high or excessive degree reading, and could possibly be paraphrased as ‘all over’, or ‘totally’. The reading of *hau* is thus intimately connected to the temporal boundaries inherent in the semantics of the verb it modifies. This property of being sensitive to the presence or absence of boundaries to a situation is characteristic of aspect markers; it thus appears that *hau* is in the process of grammaticalising into an actual aspect marker. Note also that it is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs; (206) and (207) exemplify the latter. In its original use as a quantifier of a verb’s undergoer, VP-internal *hau* is obviously restricted to transitive verbs, which have quantifiable arguments. The fact that it has been extended to intransitive verbs is further evidence of its grammaticalisation.

In its function as a completive marker, *hau* is most frequently used in sentences such as (209), which can be translated into English with ‘after x...’. It is also found very commonly in procedural texts explaining a series of steps, as in the fragment in (210), which is part of a text describing the process of making yarn. In this context, *hau* can be read both literally as a quantifier or as a grammatical marker of completion.

- (210) *Mara=ni hael hau hular, hau hular=ini mara=ni hai' fi*
 go=LNK1 cotton all spin all spin=LNK1 go=LNK1 finished lpi
mara=ni ena=ni hael-na'uk=ee hau hular=ini hai hau na'an=afta
 go=LNK1 look=LNK1 cotton-cotton=DEF all spin=LNK1 NSIT all NEG.EX=COND
fi ena, ena=ni fi hau omu.
 lpi look look=LNK1 lpi all ball
 'Then, after spinning the cotton, when the spinning is done, then we look if
 the cotton (that was in the spinning basket) has been completely processed,
 and if there is none left, we look and then we ball it all.' (62-18)

Apart from declarative sentences, *hau* also very commonly occurs in imperatives (see § 7.7.3, p. 444). There does not appear to be a special emphasis on the completeness of the action, i.e. something like 'throw the water out completely', or 'throw out all of the water' in the case of (211).

- (211) *Ira hau kalin!*
 water all take.out
 'Throw the water away!' (elic148)
- (212) *Asi-ropa hau pane!*
 1s:POSS-clothes all wash
 'Wash my clothes!' (pelic388)

This use of *hau* in imperatives seems to relate to the use of the aspect marker *ona* in similar contexts in Tetum, as exemplified in (213). Note, however, that the Tetum marker *ona* corresponds to Makalero *hai* (§ 5.3.1.1, p. 361) rather than *hau*, in the sense that Eccles (1998: 50) characterises it as marking 'inchoative aspect'.

- (213) *Ó sa'e kuda ne'e, ó bá ona!*
 2s mount horse this 2s go INCH
 'Mount the horse and be on your way!' (Eccles 1998: 45)

The meaning of *hau* partly overlaps with that of the aspect marker *hai* (§ 5.3.1.1, p. 361); this latter is analysed as focusing on either the initial or the final boundary of a situation and the ensuing state. Where it picks the final boundary, it expresses a notion very similar indeed to that expressed by *hau* as a completive marker. Only *hai*, however, can pick out an initial boundary. In this constellation, the two markers can be said to be complementary in meaning. A good illustration of this is, perhaps, (214), where these complementary meanings are juxtaposed.

- (214) ... *hau ke' ira hai na'an.*
 all drink water NSIT NEG.EX
 '... (they) had drunk (it) up, and then there was no more water.' (89-06)

The two markers can easily be combined; this combination in principle amounts to a combination of their respective meanings. This is most easily illustrated with stative

verbs, where the reading of *hau* is clearly distinct from that of *hai*. In such a case, the high degree meaning of *hau* is applied to the verb first. The whole phrase of *hau* + *V* that is then supplied with an initial boundary through the use of the new situation marker *hai*. In other words, *hai* as the leftmost of all verbal modifiers has scope over the *hau*-modified verb. (215) gives an example; for comparison, (216) shows an equivalent sentence which lacks the new situation marker.

(215) *Ki-mata hai hau pere.*
 3s-child NSIT all big.SG
 ‘Her child is already very big.’ (elic803)

(216) *Karna pipi.rusa hau pere...*
 because deer all big.SG
 ‘Because the deer is very big...’ (102-057)

The effect of the combination of the two markers is less clear with activity verbs such as *omu* ‘ball (yarn)’ in (217). Here, the reading of *hau omu* is ‘ball the yarn (till it’s all used up)’, thus denoting the transgression of the final boundary. In the narration of a series of actions, *hai* focuses on the final boundary as well. The additional meaning component *hai* adds in this situation is that it presents this final boundary as the beginning of a new state. Thus, the *hai hau* marking denotes the beginning of the state where the right boundary of the situation is achieved, or, to put it more simply, the beginning of the state of all the yarn being balled up. This opens the stage, so to speak, for the next action.

(217) ... *mara=ni hai haka-hau hai'=ini hai hau omu, omu=fata*
 go=LNK1 NSIT all-all finished=LNK1 NSIT all ball ball=COND
fî mara=ni lale.
 1pi go=LNK1 wind.up
 ‘... then, when we have finished all, and have balled (all the yarn), then we coil it up (around the length of the forearm).’ (62-21)

As such, the combination of the aspect marker *hai* and *hau* used as a VP-internal adverbial with activity verbs, as opposed to the use of either of the two markers separately, only adds a subtle meaning component, but does not change the semantics of the sentence very much. As a consequence, the combination of these two markers with activity verbs is not very frequent in the corpus. With stative verbs, however, where the use of either of the markers on its own as opposed to the use of the two of them combined has a clearly distinct interpretation, their combination is fairly frequent.

While *hau* functions very much like an aspect marker, it is formally still clearly distinct from the aspect marker *hai*. This is, firstly, visible from the comparison of their positions in the verb phrase: *hai* is the only real aspect marker in Makalero and is fixedly the first of the preverbal modifiers, directly following the object argument (if present). As one member of a larger group of VP-internal adverbials, *hau* can be preceded and followed by other adverbial verbs. An example, where *hau* is the

middle one of a sequence of three adverbials, *tafi* ‘true’, *hau* ‘all’ and *se* ‘very’, is given in (218).

- (218) *Ha'auēin umere' tafi hau se pere...*
 place DEM.DIST.V true all very big.SG
 ‘That bed is really very big...’ (elic1689)

As pointed out in § 6.6.2 (p. 396), adverbials can be placed either preceding or following the negator, according to the intended scope. As illustration, consider (219) and (220). In the former, *hau* precedes *nomo tutu* ‘not like’; as a consequence, its high degree reading has scope over both the negation and the verb *tutu* ‘like’, resulting in the translation ‘dislike most’. In (220), on the other hand, the negation has scope over the whole of *hau le* ‘finish reading’.

- (219) ... *ani=ua asi-isa=ee hau nomo tutu uere' uatu til*
 1s=REL 1s:POSS-condition=DEF all NEG like 2DEM.V day noon

papa=ee na'a.muni deskansa.
 Indonesian=DEF in.turn rest
 ‘[The thing] I didn’t like most was that at noon, the Indonesian rested.’
 (101-434)

- (220) *Ani so'ot=ini livru hau le'=ana=po asi-pada ma'u=si nomo*
 1s want=LNK1 book all read=INT=ADVR 1s:POSS-friend come=LNK2 NEG

hau le'.
 PFV read
 ‘I wanted to read (through) this book, but my friend came over so I didn’t read it through.’
 (elic1303)

Whereas *hau* can very easily be negated, as shown above, this is not the case for *hai*, as pointed out in § 6.6.1 (p. 394).

Another instantiation of the disparity between *hai* and *hau* is that the former adds an initial boundary to verbs that do not include one in their semantics. Conversely, if *hau* is used with a stative verb, it is not the case that a final boundary is added to the verb in question. (221) and (222) show how *hau* and *hai* contrast with the stative verb *ma'en* ‘know’; in (221), as shown above, *hau* denotes a high degree of the property expressed by the verb, whereas in (222), the new situation marker *hai* provides *ma'en* ‘know’ with a left boundary, which is not originally part of the verbal meaning.

- (221) *Kiloo=ni ini leetana'=ini hau ma'en.*
 3s=CTR 1pe in.the.middle=LNK1 all know
 ‘It’s him who is the cleverest among us.’ (elic338)

- (222) *Ei asi-noko hai ma'en=uai na'an?*
 2s 1s:POSS-younger.sibling NSIT know=or NEG.EX
 'Have you met my younger brother?' (elic377)
 (lit. do you already know my younger brother)

The attainment of the final boundary of a state is not expressed through the use of *hau*, but with *hai* and the negated state. In other words, what is actually expressed is the beginning of the absence of that state. (223) gives an example.

- (223) ... *papa uere=ni ani ena hai nomo rau.*
 Indonesian 2DEM=CTR 1s see NSIT NEG good
 '... the Indonesian didn't like me any more.' (101-308)

The adverbial *hau* is much more frequently repeated in tail-head linkage (§ 9.3.1, p. 507) than the aspect marker *hai*. An instance is illustrated in (224): the last verb of the first utterance, *rial* 'many (HUM)', is modified by both the aspect marker *hai* and the adverbial verb *hau*. Yet in the tail-head linkage that introduces the second utterance, only *hau* is repeated with the verb.

- (224) ... *renu ere hai hau rial. Hau rial=ana=po...*
 populace IDEM NSIT all many.HUM all many.HUM=INT=ADVR
 '... the population had already grown very large. Having grown very large...'
 (55-05, 55-06)

5.3.3.2.2 *Hau as a verbal complement*

In some instances, *hau* is found in the complement position of another verb, as clearly visible if said verb is one of the subgroup of verbs which distinguish bound from free forms (§ 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 131). (225) shows a case where *hau* is analysed as the complement of *huri* 'release', which appears in its bound form *-suri*.

- (225) ... *asi-upa ini hau-suri i ini-afa-numu.*
 1s:POSS-father 1pe all-release:BD and 1pe-away.from-die:BD
 '... my father left us all behind and died, leaving us.' (125-10)

It is not entirely clear how *hau* as a verbal complement as in (225) differs from its aspect-marking use as an adverbial in the VP. Notably, however, the verb *huri* in its sense as 'release' is in the vast majority of cases the head of a verbal complex with *hau*. This fact is suggestive of a certain degree of lexicalisation. Observe also that in (225), the undergoer *ini* (1pe) stands in the same predication as the *hau-suri* complex. Yet *hau* 'all' surly is an intransitive verb, being incompatible with an undergoer; see the examples showing *hau* as a full verb in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376), none of which gives any indication that it might be transitive. As such, *ini* must be the undergoer to *huri* 'release' and should not be allowed in the same clause as the verbal complex (see § 7.1, p. 402). Thus, a construction as (225) is in all likelihood lexicalised.

Also very commonly, *hau* forms a complex with *hai* 'be finished'. An example is shown in (226).

- (226) *La'a Dili-isi' uru u hau-sai' ani la'a=ni ministru*
 move D.-at moon one all-end:BD 1s move=LNK1 ministry
interior ki-kantor-isi'...
 interior 3:POSS-office-at
 '(I) went to Dili, and after one month was over I went to the office of the
 ministry of internal affairs...' (125-32)

As elaborated in § 5.2.2.6.2 (p. 348), this is always the case with subjects denoting time spans, but not other entities. The exact motivation behind this is unclear.

The distinction between *hau* used as a VP-internal adverbial and a verbal complement is overt only in the minority of cases where the main verb has a bound form. All in all, the use of *hau* as a complement appears to be rare, and I would like to claim that this is a rather marginal phenomenon. The only example of *hau* in a complement complex for which there is no clear evidence of lexicalisation is *hau-sole* 'spoon all out' in (227), with a contrastive example, showing the free form of the verb, *hole*, in (228). Note, however, that in (227) *hai hau-sole* appears to paraphrase *hai na'an* 'does not exist anymore', *hai losan* 'already empty' and *hai susar* 'already sad', all of which are marked with the aspect marker *hai* only. The fact that these VPs are not constructed in a parallel way with *hau* could also be read as evidence for the lexicalisation of *hau-sole*.

- (227) ... *aire' mu'a=ee (...)* *hai na'an hai losan hai hau-sole*
 now ground=DEF NSIT NEG.EX NSIT empty NSIT all-spoon.out:BD
hai susar...
 NSIT sad
 '... now there is nothing in the land, it is empty, exploited, and sad.'
 (21-040)

- (228) ... *fi-asu tina-ini ra'u u hole=ni mei=ni fi-ia-daru...*
 1pi=for cook-NML plate one spoon.out=LNK1 take=LNK1 1pi-under:RED-place:BD
 '... (they) spoon out a plateful of rice for us and put it in front of us...'
 (124-09h)

Other VP-internal adverbials have also been found as complements in some instances, as noted in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159). However, no specific meaning distinct from their construction as adverbials within the VP appears to be associated with such structures.

5.3.3.3 Floating quantifiers

§ 3.2.3.14 (p. 215) identifies *hau* ‘all’ and *ata’u* ‘all’ as floating quantifiers, which can be constructed as either predications of their own within multi-clause sentences or as adverbials within a VP. When they stand in the adverb slot within a VP, they are read as quantifying the VP-internal argument. As separate predications within a sentence, however, the quantifiers in question are understood to predicate a property of the subject of that sentence. The different constructions are thus clearly associated with distinct readings. The two floating quantifiers are discussed in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376) and § 5.3.3.3.2 (p. 380), respectively.

5.3.3.3.1 Hau ‘all’

The most commonly used floating quantifier is *hau* ‘all’. Standing on its own, it is most commonly interpreted as marker of completion. § 5.3.3.2.1 (p. 369) discusses how *hau* ‘all’ was in this position extended from a VP-internal quantifier to an aspect marker. As an actual quantifier, it is generally combined with *haka*, *kafu-*, *felu* or *kopa* into complement-verb complexes of the form *haka-hau*, *kafu-hau*, *felu-hau* or *kopa-hau*. (229) and (230) illustrate some of these quantifier complexes.

(229) ... *ini namiraa=hi’a=po haka-hau sa-ena.*
 1pi man=only=ADVR all-all wife-see
 ‘... we were only boys, but we are all married.’ (72-05)

(230) ... *hai felu-hau mei=ni ni-sa’e-isi’...*
 NSIT all-all take=LNK1 REFL-hair-at
 ‘... (I) put all of it on my hair...’ (54-13)

Haka, *felu* and *kafu-* can be found on their own, without *hau*, suggesting that they are quantifiers of the same status as *hau*. Examples are given in (231) and (232).

(231) ... *asi-tufur Lilia asi-tufur Leni uere’=isi haka ue’...*
 1s:POSS-sister L. 1s:POSS-sister L. 2DEM.V=LNK2 all V2DEM
 ‘... my sister Lilia, my sister Leni, at that time were all there...’
 (120-005)

(232) ... *ki-atu ere felu hai koi.*
 3:POSS-faeces IDEM all NSIT hide
 ‘... (they) hid all his faeces.’ (118-32)

Notably, *kafu-* is the reduced form of the independent quantifier *kafu’*, which is used only with subjects expressing periods of time. The fact that the combination *kafu-hau* uses its reduced form shows that the complex quantifiers take the forms of complement-verb complexes as discussed in § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326).

The most frequent quantifier complex is *haka-hau*. All others are relatively rare. The semantic differences between these complexes are very subtle. *Haka-hau* seems to be unmarked, and is usable as a quantifier in all contexts. *Felu-hau* appears to refer to the entirety of a mass or a group of things or people perceived as an entity, as in (233). *Kafu-hau*, on the other hand, seems to have a connotation of “all at once”, as shown in (234). *Kopa-hau*, finally, is the rarest quantifier complex. Some informants suggested it is a regional variant used by speakers from the north of the Makalero-speaking area and in Luro. An example is given in (235).¹⁷⁹

- (233) *Amulafu-laa ere hai felu-hau ma'u.*
 person-PL IDEM NSIT all-all come
 ‘Everybody is already here.’ (elic904)

- (234) *Kiloo ate-hasa ere kafu-hau mosal.*
 3s tree-leaf IDEM all:RED-all swallow
 ‘He took all the tablets at once.’ (elic1208)

- (235) ... *nua nomo nua=oo kopa-hau k-ua-ma'en*
 eat NEG eat=too all?-all 3:UND-on.top:RED-know
k-ua-sofe.
 3:UND-on.top:RED-know:BD
 ‘... whether or not (they) eat, (they) observe it all.’
 (55-24)

Note that these quantifier complexes are the only items found in one of the adverbial slots of the VP to be internally complex; all others are simple morphemes (see § 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159).

The two variant positions for the *hau*-collocations, either as predicates of their own or within a VP as adverbials, are illustrated in (236) and (237), respectively. In (236), *haka-hau* is shown to be outside of the following verb phrase by the fact that it is followed by the aspect marker *hai*, the leftmost of the verbal modifiers (see § 5, p. 317). This shows clearly that the verb phrase headed by *ma'u* ‘come’ starts only after *haka-hau*. In all such instances, the quantifier modifies the subject participant. In (237), on the other hand, *haka-hau* quantifies the object participant. The aspect marker *hai* is in such instances never found following the quantifier, but only preceding it, which is taken as evidence for the fact that the quantifier stands within the VP.

- (236) ... *uerlaa ala'-mutu' uere nat [haka-hau]_{VP} [hai ma'u]_{VP}.*
 3p forest-inside 2DEM stand:SG all-all NSIT come
 ‘... they who were in the forest have all come (back) already.’
 (101-100)

¹⁷⁹ Note, however, that the speaker of (235) comes from the village of Osuhira, somewhat to the west of Iliomar, rather than from the north of the language area. The text from which (235) is taken focuses on wedding customs and uses a lot of lexical parallelism apparently taken over from the genres of ritual speech associated with those ceremonies. It is possible that the case of *kopa-hau* is similar, and that it is an expression associated with a particular genre rather than a regional variant.

- (237) *Kiloo-raa [ate-isu=ee hai [haka-hau]_{ADV} mei]_{VP}.*
 3s-PL tree-seed=DEF NSIT all-all take
 ‘They took all the fruit.’ (elic1400)

Though semantically, the quantifier provides information about an argument of the sentence, it is in neither of these cases analysed as a modifier of the argument NP. Sentences such as (237) as well as (238) below show that *haka-hau* follows the NP clitic =*ee* (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243). Hence an analysis of the quantifier as a modifier within the NP it quantifies is ruled out.

- (238) *Sera-seran=ee haka-hau hai ue’.*
 RDL-things=DEF all-all NSIT V2DEM
 ‘The things are all there already.’ (pelic434)

A quantifier phrase as in (238), which has been shown to stand outside both the NP preceding it and the VP following it, can take its own *hai* aspect marker, as in (239). This shows that it is a predicate in its own right. In fact, in (239), what follows the quantifier phrase is a full clause with its own subject.

- (239) *Ki-mata-r ere [hai haka-hau]_{VP} [ki-mata [ue’]_{VP}]_{CLS}.*
 3:POSS-child-PL IDEM NSIT all-all 3:POSS-child V2DEM
 ‘All of his children have children of their own.’ (elic1764)

There are, however, no instances of the two predications in a sentence like (239) being linked by a clause linker such as =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). Also, there is no clear case of *hau* ‘all’ occurring as the only verb in an utterance.

The use of *hau* as a verb-phrase internal adverbial and that of *hau* as a separate predication are not always easy to distinguish. In very many cases, sentences with *hau* are constructionally ambiguous, and both an analysis of *hau* as a separate predication and as an adverbial within the VP headed by the final verb would theoretically be possible. This fact can explain the semantic ambiguity of such sentences as (240), in which *felu-hau* can be understood either as modifying the subject or the verb.

- (240) *Ii hai felu-hau nua?*
 2p NSIT all-all eat
 ‘Have you all eaten already?’ or ‘Have you eaten up everything already?’
 (elic1087)

In the first case, translated as ‘have you all eaten already?’, *hau* heads a predication of its own; the pronominal subject is common to both predications making up the sentence, and both VPs make an assertion about this subject. On the other hand, the second reading of the above sentence, ‘have you eaten up everything already?’ requires *felu-hau* to function as an adverbial to the verb. Only in such a construction can it be understood to modify the (unexpressed) undergoer. (241) and (242) give the proper bracketing of the two alternative syntactic analyses.

(241) *Ii [hai felu-hau]_{VP} [nua]_{VP}?*
 ‘Have you all eaten already?’

(242) *Ii [hai [felu-hau]_{ADV} nua]_{VP}?*
 ‘Have you eaten up already?’

These alternative analyses for the quantifier *hau* also account for such sentences as (243) and (244) below. The sentence in (243) was on one occasion rejected by native speakers as ungrammatical; they claimed *hai hau* implied plurality of the subject and gave (244) as the correct way of expression, with both subject and verb marked for plural. On another occasion, however, (243) was accepted by other speakers.

(243) *Ki-mata hai hau pere.*
 3:POSS-child NSIT all big.SG
 ‘Her child is already very big.’ (elic803)

(244) *Ki-mata-r hai hau helar.*
 3:POSS-child-PL NSIT all big.PL
 ‘Her children are all grown up.’ (chat074b)

Again, the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the different possible constructions of *hau*. Obviously, when the speakers rejected (243), they had in mind an analysis such as given in (245), with *hau* as a full verb. In its literal meaning of ‘all’, it is not compatible with a singular subject and verb, and the sentence was rejected. The structure of (244), which is shown in (246) is identical to that of (245), but has the correct agreement.

(245) *Ki-mata [hai hau]_{VP} [pere]_{VP}.*
 *‘Her child is all grown up.’ (chat074)

(246) *Ki-mata-r [hai hau]_{VP} [helar]_{VP}.*
 ‘Her children have all grown up.’ (chat074b)

Other speakers, however, when confronted with (243), spontaneously analysed *hau* as a VP-internal adverbial, thus as modifying the verb meaning. In this interpretation, *hau* is read as high degree of the quality denoted by the verb, and does not imply plurality. As such, the sentence was accepted. (247) gives the correct analysis.

(247) *Ki-mata [hai [hau]_{ADV} pere]_{VP}.*
 ‘Her child is already very big.’ (elic803)

5.3.3.3.2 Ata'u 'all'

Though the evidence is rather slim, it appears that the quantifier *ata'u* 'all' functions in a way comparable to that illustrated for *hau* in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376). (248) shows it as what looks to be an independent VP, as demonstrated by the fact that the following verb phrase begins with the aspect marker *hai*. In (249), on the other hand, *ata'u* appears to be within the VP, as suggested by the fact that it follows the coordinated object NPs *ia* 'foot' and *tana* 'hand'.

- (248) ... *ini familia=ua Loospalos-isi'=ee ini [ata'u]_{VP} [hai ma'u]_{VP}.*
 lpe family=REL L.-at=DEF lpe all NSIT come
 '... we, the family who lived in Lospalos, we all came (to Iliomar).'
- (101-361)

- (249) *Uai mata ka'u ere ni-lepa' hai mei isa=ni [ia tana]*
 CLS child small IDEM REFL-middle NSIT take go.down=LNK1 foot hand

ata'u mei]_{VP}=ni [nama-dane]_{VP}...
 all take=LNK1 upwards:RED-lift
 'So the child goes down with his middle (first), lifting all his arms and legs upwards...'

(38-095)

Just like in the case of *hau*, *ata'u* quantifies the subject where it is a separate predication, but the object where it stands within the VP.

5.4 Coordination of verb phrases

The most common means to coordinate VPs is with clause linkers, taking advantage of the fact that a predicate is the only obligatory element of a clause. The use of these linkers is detailed in § 8.1 (p. 455).

Other than that, unmarked juxtaposition of VPs is often found. Note, however, that this seems to imply a very close semantic connection between the two VPs in question, such as when they pertain to one situation or event, as in (250) (see also § 8.1, p. 455). The juxtaposed VPs in (251), on the other hand, list a variety of congenial sentences.

- (250) ... *amulafu ho'o=ini ki-tana defu'=uai ni lasi ere [ma'u]_{VP}*
 person some=CTR 3:POSS-hand break=or REFL cut IDEM come

[ani-asu]_{VP} [lolo]_{VP}.
 1s-for say
 '... (if) somebody broke his arm or cut himself, he would come and tell me.'

(25-1)

- (251) *Tufuraa k-asu=ni uere=ni [omar-ika']_{VP} [lopu-ika']_{VP} [isa-ini]_{VP}*
 woman 3:UND-for=CTR 2DEM=CTR stilt.house-up.in house-up.in bake-do:BD
[tina-ini]_{VP} [heru-ini]_{VP} [diki hular]_{VP} [tutu'-ini]_{VP} [tafa-ini]_{VP}.
 cook-do:BD weave-do:BD yarn spin grind-do:BD pound-do:BD
 '(Work) for the women is to stay at home, do the baking, do the cooking,
 weave, spin, grind and pound.' (21-035)

Very frequently, such coordination involves lexical parallels (§ 9.3.2, p. 510); in (251), for instance, *omar* 'stilt house' and *lopu* 'house' function as lexical parallels. Lexical parallels are always constructed in coordinated structures, mostly either on VP-level or on clause level.

Units below the VP level can also be coordinated. (252) shows the coordination of two complement-verb complexes. Presumably, in this case, the negation *nomo* has scope over both *fuli-rei-la'a* 'go out together' and *oma-la'a* 'go home'.

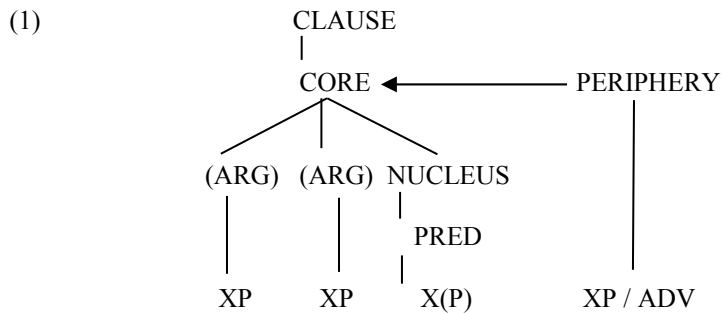
- (252) ... *noko nana=ni ta-eta-lolo=ni nomo fuli-dai*
 younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR REC-separate-say=LNK1 NEG together:RED-pass
nomo [fuli-rei-la'a] [oma-la'a]...
 NEG together:RED-outwards-move house:RED-move
 '... siblings don't talk to each other, don't walk together, go out together
 and (don't) go to (each other's) house...' (21-048)

It is furthermore possible to coordinate VPs with the Portuguese conjunction *i* 'and'. However, the use of this element is heavily idiosyncratic; while it is used fairly frequently in the speech of some speakers, it is entirely absent in texts from other speakers. An example from a text which makes heavy use of the coordinator is given in (253). Notably, the speaker in question insisted on preparing the text in writing in advance, reading it out. In a text that was spontaneously produced by the same speaker, *i* does not occur at all. This suggests that the use of the conjunction *i* is connected to formal education-like settings.

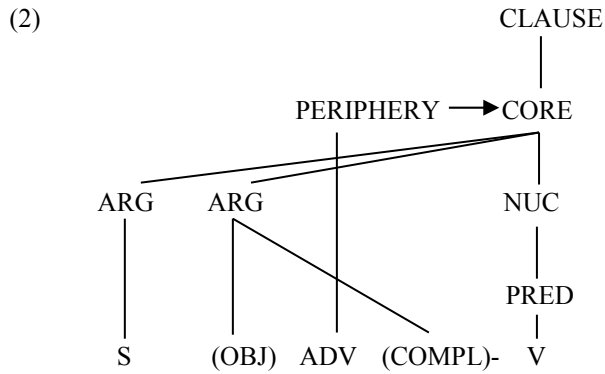
- (253) ... *asi-ni ni-asu sotemee la'a=ni ama-paun i osan*
 1s:POSS-mother REFL-for alone move=LNK1 garden-pull.out and money
haka...
 search
 '... my mother used to go alone to work in the garden and find money...' (125-12)

6. The clause

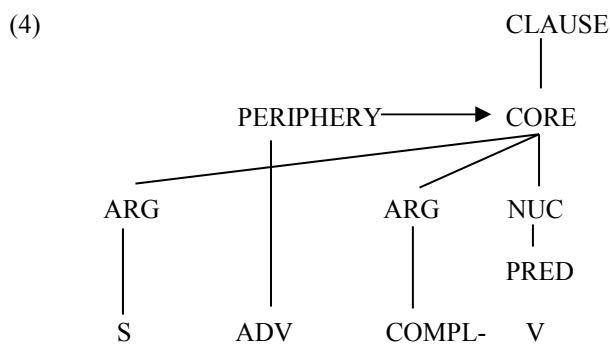
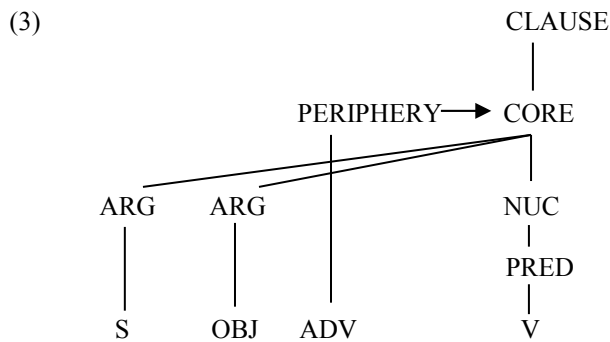
Following Payne (1997: 25f.), a clause is defined here as the linguistic expression, or formal morphosyntactic instantiation, of a proposition, a conceptual notion normally involving one or two entities and a relation, activity, or property concerning them. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 25f.) introduce a distinction within the clause between a core and a periphery part. The former contains the predicate and its argument(s), i.e. is equivalent to the clause in Payne's minimal definition as quoted above, while the latter includes those elements which are not arguments of the predicate. Within the core, the predicating element is further distinguished as being the nucleus. Graphically, the structure of the clause (following Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 31) is represented as in (1).



Representing the Makalero clause in a similar scheme is somewhat problematic. This is mainly due to the fact that the Makalero VP provides two mutually exclusive positions for the non-subject argument, one to the left of all verbal modifiers, which makes it the leftmost element in the VP, and the other directly in front of the verb, following its modifiers. If one of these positions is filled, the other is no longer available. The first of these argument positions is associated with undergoers of all kinds, while the second may hold such diverse things as pronominal and non-referential nominal undergoers, nouns and NPs expressing goals and locations, or VPs. § 5 (p. 317) adopts the term 'object' for the first, and the term 'complement' for the second type of argument. The best candidates in Makalero for an analysis as the clause periphery are the verb-phrase-internal adverbials. (2) shows an attempt at a schematic representation of the clause in Makalero following Van Valin and LaPolla's specifications.



Whereas the schema in (2) includes both VP-internal argument positions, it fails to show the relationship between them – i.e. that they are mutually exclusive and can essentially be seen as variant expressions of the same abstract notion (§ 5.2.2.4, p. 337). Consequently, it is more insightful to use two separate clause structures, representing either type of VP-internal argument, rather than to combine them into one scheme.



This clause structure represents the maximum clause¹⁸⁰ and is very rigid, imposing strict syntactic constraints on the expression of participants. Consequently, somewhat more complex states of affairs, such as those involving a predicative adverbial expression or those with more than two participants, must be expressed in two clauses, while they constitute, both semantically as well as phonologically, a single event or utterance. Such sentences are discussed in § 7.1 (p. 402). The biclausal expression of a ditransitive state of affairs qualifies as one argument structure construction in Goldberg's (1995) terminology.

In natural speech, a minority of clauses fill all the positions provided by the clause templates in (3) and (4). In fact, the nucleus of the clause, or its predicate, is the only obligatory element. Both verbal arguments as well as any kinds of periphery elements are readily omissible, given an appropriate context. As such, a single verb can make up a complete clause. Examples are shown in (5) and (6), which show the negative existential *na'an* and the modal verb *so'ot* 'want, like', respectively, used as minimal answers to polar questions. Both are full verbs, which can take a subject argument and aspect marking, as shown for *na'an* in (7), and a subject argument, an aspect marker, and a complement argument, as shown for *so'ot* in (8).

- (5) *Ei la'a rau-kole=uai na'an? – Na'an.*
 2s move good-tired=or NEG.EX NEG.EX
 '(If) you walk, do you tire quickly or not? – No.' (almeida034, almeida035)
- (6) ... *ei so'ot=ini ueri leuk? – So'ot.*
 2s want=LNKI bottom drill want
 '... do you want (your) bottom to be drilled?' – (Yes, I) want (that).'
 (118-38, 118-39)
- (7) *Ki-tinaini hai na'an.*
 3:POSS-cooked.rice NSIT NEG.EX
 'There is no rice left.' (chat059a)
- (8) ... *iraku-laa hai ta-so'ot...*
 3s-PL NSIT REC-want
 '... they wanted (to marry) each other...'
 (69-024)

One-word answers to polar questions, as in (5) and (6), are not the only context in which clauses made up of single verbs are found. On the contrary, participants that are retrievable from the context are readily left unexpressed. (9) and (10) show sentences with unexpressed subject arguments, the positions of which are marked by Ø. In (9), which comes from a spoken text, the speaker assumes the hearer to be able to infer the intended subject referent, since it has been the topic in previous sentences. (10), on the other hand, comes from a context-less elicited clause. In this example, apparently the speaker deemed a third person pronominal object to be at

¹⁸⁰ As found with divalent verbs; the class of avalent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), on the other hand, is not compatible with any arguments. In a clause centred on an avalent verb, the core is made up of only the predicate.

the same time highly unfocal as well as easily accessible, and hence left it unexpressed.

- (9) *Dili-isi'=ini hala=ni Ø_{SUBJ} titar=ini...*
 D.-at=LNK1 war=LNK1 run.PL=LNK1
 'In Dili, there was war, and (we) fled...' (81-03)

- (10) *Ø_{SUBJ} nama-mit=ini ni-ia koi-koi.*
 upwards:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 REFL-foot RDL-shake
 '(He) sat on a chair swinging his legs.' (elic533)

Not only subjects, but also objects and complements can be omitted. Both *misa* 'go up' and *mei* 'take', in the second and third clauses of (11), contain neither a subject nor a non-subject argument. Their empty positions are marked in (11) with Ø. In the case of *misa* 'go up', the non-subject argument is a prototypical complement (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210), while with *mei* 'take', it is a prototypical object. The referents of both of these are retrievable from the earlier narrative.

- (11) *Ki-ouar jerikeen ma'en=isi Ø_{SUBJ} Ø_{COMPL}-misa=ni Ø_{SUBJ} Ø_{OBJ}*
 3:POSS-master jerrycan know=LNK2 go.up=LNK1
hai muni mei...
 NSIT return take
 'Its owner recognised the jerrycan and went up and took (it) back...' (101-304)

Quite apart from these cases, where participants are left unexpressed, a variety of temporal verbs such as *aire* 'now', and *soohe* 'yesterday', which are commonly used to indicate adverbial information in the form of a separate clause, have a syntactic valency of zero. As such, they are not compatible with the expression of any argument and always form clause cores of their own (see § 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141).

Since either verbal argument can be left unexpressed, the interpretation of the grammatical role of an overt NP is not trivial. The problem, as well as some disambiguating strategies, are discussed in § 9.1 (p. 491).

In the remainder of this section, basic constituent order is explained in § 6.1 (p. 386), followed by a description of the constituent parts of the clause. Starting in § 6.2 (p. 387), subject arguments are discussed; § 6.3 (p. 391) briefly treats the non-subject argument, § 6.4 (p. 392) the predicate, and § 6.5 (p. 393) the clause periphery. § 6.6 (p. 393) discusses operators functioning at clause level or below. § 6.7 (p. 399), finally, gives a short summary.

6.1 Basic constituent order

The basic constituent order in a clause in Makalero is SOV. This overall order holds for both kinds of verb-phrase-internal arguments. Thus, O has to be understood here as a cover term for both object and complement arguments as introduced in § 5.2

(p. 319). For illustration, (12) shows a clause with a semantically intransitive verb with SV order, and (13) one with a transitive verb, with SOV order.

- (12) *[Uru-uatu ere]_{SUBJ} [tafi hau pere]_{PRED...}*
 moon-sun 1DEM true all big.SG
 ‘The lord is truly great...’ (33-33)

- (13) ... *[asi-pada Timor]_{SUBJ} [ani]_{OBJ} [pase]_{PRED...}*
 1s:POSS-friend T. 1s beat
 ‘... my fellow Timorese beat me...’ (101-037)

With very limited morphology to clarify a given NP’s function in the sentence and its relation to the verb, word order is the main device to indicate the grammatical role of an NP. While such word order changes as dislocation of a constituent into the left-detached position are possible (see § 9.2.1, p. 495), they are in fact rarely used, overall.

6.2 The subject argument

The subject, if overtly expressed, is an NP, which can be headed either by a noun or pronoun, as illustrated in (14), or a constituent of other nature, i.e. either a verb, a VP, a whole clause, or an even larger unit. (15) gives an example of a multi-clause subject.

- (14) ... *[asi-pada]_{SUBJ} ani fiar.*
 1s:POSS-friend 1s trust
 ‘... my friends trusted me.’ (101-485)

- (15) *[Sirvisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka ere]_{SUBJ} nomo ue-rau.*
 work take=LNK1 city-at:RED-search:BD 1DEM NEG 2DEM:RED-good
 ‘Looking for work in the city is not that easy.’ (elic472)

Semantically, the subject generally expresses the most agent-like participant involved in the state-of-affairs in question (but see § 7.1, p. 402). The subject has only restricted repercussions on the other parts of the clause. On the one hand, it triggers number agreement with a small group of verbs which have different forms for singular subjects and plural subjects (see § 3.2.2.2.1, p. 130). (16) and (17) give examples with the verb ‘sit’, *mit* in the singular in (16), and *diar* in the plural in (17). Note that in (17), the subject *ministru* ‘minister’ is not plural-marked itself; it is the verb form which makes the plurality meaning explicit.

- (16) *Mu’a-li’an-isa=ni ani ue-mit.*
 ground-fall-go.down=LNK1 1s V2DEM:RED-sit:SG
 ‘Having fallen down to the ground, I sat there.’ (120-185)

- (17) ... *ministru aire'=ua parlamentu-isi-ufe-diar e'...*
 minister now=REL parliament-at:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-sit.PL VDEM
 '... the ministers who sit in parliament down there are here...'
 (98-45)

On the other hand, the reflexive marker *ni*, whether used adverbally as a participant as in (18) or adnominally as a possessor as in (19), marks its referent as coreferent with the subject (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227). Note that in (18), *ni* is translated as referring to the first person, but to the third person in (19), thus showing clearly that its reference is determined by that of the subject.

- (18) *Ani ni teru'.*
 1s REFL shelter
 'I cover myself with an umbrella.'
 (elic941)
- (19) *Ina-uai ni-mata lu'.*
 mother-HON REFL-child put.to.sleep
 'The mother put her child to sleep.'
 (elic832)

In (20), *ni* is used to refer back to an unexpressed subject that has last been used several clauses earlier. The immediately preceding clauses have different subjects, yet it is assumed that the subject referent in question, to which *ni* makes reference, can be identified. This is probably the case because this subject, the child in the frog story, is a human and as such highly topic-worthy and recoverable. The subject of the immediately preceding clause, *ki-sefar* 'his dog', is nearly identical to the non-subject argument of the following clause, *ni-sefar* 'his dog'. However, the use of the reflexive possessive *ni-* with the latter makes clear that this NP must be a non-subject, whereas the third person possessive *ki-* is often (though not exclusively, see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225) associated with subjects.

- (20) *Hai nomo ue'=ini ki-sefar ere=oo isi-nu'at=ini*
 NSIT NEG V2DEM=LNK1 3:POSS-dog 1DEM=too at:RED-astonished=LNK1

ni-sefar ko-horu=ni hai haka-hau isi-nu'at=ini...
 REFL-dog 3:UND-with=LNK1 NSIT all-all at:RED-astonished=LNK1
 '(The frog) is no longer there, and the dog is astonished too, and (he) and his dog are both astonished...'
 (102-013)

Subject NPs are very commonly moved into the topic position in the left-detached position in the sentence. This is an operation on sentence level, rather than clause level; consequently, it is discussed in detail in § 7.6.1 (p. 427). For the present purpose, two examples must suffice: In (21), the subject argument of the complement-verb complex *ili=ee k-ua-nat* 'stand on top of the rock' precedes the adverbial predicate *aire'* 'now'. This latter is an alevant adverbial predicate (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141) and completely clausal on its own. Even more clearly, in (22) a full clause, complete with subject, aspect marker and clause linker, intervenes between the verb *ma'u* 'come' and its subject argument *kiloo*, which stands in the LDP.

- (21) *[Mata ka'u ere]_{LDP} [aire']_{CLS} [ili=ee k-ua-nat]_{VP=ini...}*
 child small 1DEM now rock=DEF 3:UND-on.top:RED-stand:SG=LNK1
 'The child is now standing on top of the rock...' (102-056)
- (22) *[Kiloo]_{LDP} [mu'a hai kamu]_{CLS=te'e} [ma'u]_{VP.}*
 3s ground NSIT night=after come
 'He came after night(fall).' (elic634)

6.2.1 =ini as a subject marker

Subjects are in some cases specifically marked as such with the help of the clitic contrastive marker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248), which appears to be in the process of developing into a subject marker. This is the case, on the one hand, with unlikely agents, or participants which are low on the topic-worthiness hierarchy. This includes non-human referents and inanimates, but also, for example, indefinite expressions such as 'someone' or 'something'. Examples are given in (23) and (24). Note that =ini commonly loses the initial vowel if cliticised to a vowel-final element.

- (23) *Sefar metan umere'=ini kiloo ka'el.*
 dog black DEM.DIST.V=CTR 3s bite
 'That black dog there bit him.' (elic1566)
- (24) *Amulafu nomo rial=ini kiloo so'ot.*
 person NEG many.HUM=CTR 3s want
 'Not many people like him.' (elic1569a)

In both of these sentences, a prototypical human agent in the guise of the third person singular pronoun *kiloo* is being acted upon by a less topic-worthy entity; in (23), this is a dog, and in (24), an unspecified group of actors, expressed by the NP *amulafu nomo rial* 'not many people'. The use of the canonical SOV word order is apparently not perceived to be sufficient to clarify the grammatical roles in these particular sentences, and the subject is additionally marked with =ini. Examples as (25) below, where a third person nominal agent acts upon a first person singular patient, show that not only non-human referents and indefinite expressions are understood to be unlikely agents, but, given the right context, also a human agent such as *asi-upa* 'my father'. Obviously, the first person singular pronoun, which expresses the undergoer in (25), is an even better agent than an NP with a human referent for Makalero speakers; consequently, the latter has to be marked to show that it acts on the first person pronoun rather than vice versa.

- (25) ... *asi-upa=ni ani mei ira teuh...*
 1s:POSS-father=CTR 1s take water buy
 '... my father used me to buy water with...' (89-14)

Lastly, the subject marker =*ini* is vital for the correct interpretation of sentences which deviate from the usual SOV constituent order, as in (30). § 9.2.1 (p. 495) gives a more detailed discussion of non-canonical word orders.

- (30) *[Mata ka'u ere]_{OBJ} [sefar]_{SUBJ=ini} [ka'el]_{PRED} uai=konai iar.*
 child small IDEM dog=CTR bite CLS=CSQ cry
 'This child was bitten by a dog, that's why he is crying.' (elic1512)

6.3 The non-subject argument

The term 'non-subject argument' is used as a cover term subsuming both objects and complements; see § 5.2 (p. 319) for a detailed discussion of these two types of verbal arguments. A typical non-subject argument is an NP headed by either a noun or pronoun, or alternatively by a verb phrase or full clause. Examples of either structure are given in (31), where *ni-mata* 'her child' is a prototypical undergoer, and (32), where the argument to *k-asu* 'for' is a whole clause, respectively.

- (31) *Ina-uai [ni-mata]_{ARG} uaro'.*
 mother -HON REFL-child wash
 'The mother is washing her child. (elic056)

- (32) *Ini ni'isi forit=ini na'a-mei uai=konai=ni [isi-nasaun*
 1pe simultaneous strong=LNK1 work-take CLS=CSQ=LNK1 1pe:POSS-nation
fanu-utu-la'a=na'a]_{ARG} k-asu.
 face-cover-move=INT 3:UND-for
 'We work hard for the development (lit. the going-forward) of our nation.'
 (elic1258)

NPs can be constructed both as objects and as complements (§ 5.2.1, p. 319, and § 5.2.2.1, p. 321).

Another possible type of non-subject argument is a dependent VP. Such VPs can only be constructed as complements. § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) argues that syntactically, such VP arguments in complement-verb complexes are treated in the same way as nominal arguments in that either fill the predicate's syntactic non-subject argument position. An example of this is given in (33), where *rau* 'good' fills the complement position of the transitive verb *pase* 'beat', causing the semantic undergoer of the beating action, *ani* (1s), to be expressed in a separate clause with *mei* 'take'.

- (33) ... *papa uere ani tafi mei=ni [rau]_{COMP-pase}.*
 Indonesian 2DEM 1s true take=LNK1 good-beat
 '... the Indonesian beat me thoroughly.' (101-270)

This shows that the nature of the syntactic second argument to the verb is unspecified, and it need not be a participant of the action expressed by the predicate in question. Rather, it can also be a dependent VP giving circumstantial information

of various kinds (in (33), this is manner). Thus, what would correspond to arguments and adjuncts in English are not distinct in status in Makalero, but are treated equally as non-subject arguments. These arguments can be mapped onto the clause template in a variety of ways (see § 7.1, p. 402, for a more detailed discussion).

A nominal non-subject argument is preferably lower on the topic-worthiness hierarchy than the subject. If the reverse is the case, and there are no contextual clues to help the hearer interpret the clause correctly, the subject is generally marked as such with the subject marker =*ini* (see § 6.2.1, p. 389 above). However, there is no way to specifically mark an object as such.

Just like subjects, objects can be left-dislocated into the left-detached position in the sentence for pragmatic purposes. For a more in-depth discussion, see § 9.2.1 (p. 495) on non-canonical word orders.

6.4 The predicate

In Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997: 26) usage, the term 'predicate' includes only the predicating element, i.e. either a verb, an adjective (in languages that distinguish them), or a nominal. Adjectives being absent as a separate word class in the language (see § 3, p. 97), Makalero predicates can be either verbal or nominal. (34) exemplifies a prototypical transitive verbal predicate, *nua* 'eat', while (35) shows a nominal predicate. Note that *lopu pere* 'big house' is a full noun phrase consisting of a head and a modifier, rather than a simple noun.

- (34) ... *fi-asu sa'a ho'o tina fi [nua]*_{PRED.}
 lpi-for thing some cook lpi eat
 '... cook something for us (so that) we (can) eat!' (23-045)

- (35) *Uere=ini [lopu pere]*_{PRED.}
 2DEM=CTR house big
 'It is that one which is a big house.' (elic715)

Verbal and nominal predicates have in common that they assign a property to the associated subject argument. Another option is for the predicate to be not a property, but an entity (e.g. Mikkelsen 2005). Makalero has a special type of predicate for those cases, where the entity involved is expressed as a deictic. In such an event, a verbalised form of the corresponding demonstrative, derived from the latter by the common stop verbaliser (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128), is used. Two examples of this derivation are given in (36).

- (36) *ere* (1DEM) *ere'* (1DEM.V)
umere (DEM.DIST) *umere'e* (DEM.DIST.V)

Typical instances of the use of such verbalised demonstratives are given in (37) and (38). These sentences are equational ones, where both the subject and the predicate are entities, as opposed to the more normal case of 'predicational' sentences, where

the predicate is a property (see § 3.2.3.9.1, p. 183, for more details on the use of these derived deictic verbs).

- (37) *Asi-mata-r amu fat ere ki-nei ki-apalidu-ni uere*’.
 1s:POSS-child-PL person four 1DEM 3:POSS-name 3:POSS-name 2DEM.V
 ‘The names of my four children are these.’ (105-056)

- (38) ... *fî-ama=ni udere*’.
 1ipi-garden=CTR DEM.HIGH.V
 ‘... our garden is the one up there.’ (118-19)

6.5 The periphery

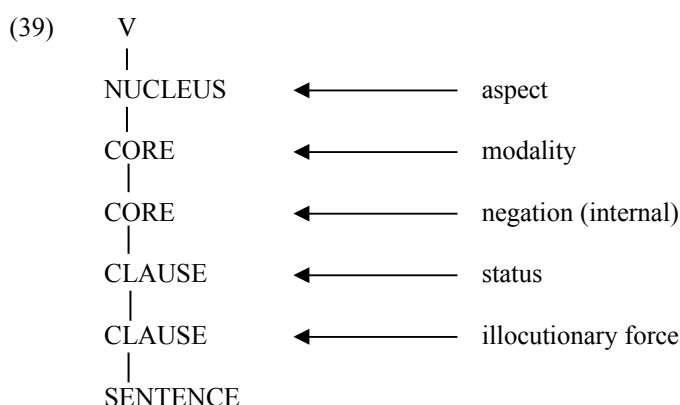
The clause periphery is defined in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 26) as comprising non-arguments within the clause, i.e. generally adverbials. In Makalero, this description applies to the VP-internal adverbials. There are two separate positions for such adverbials within the VP, one preceding and the other following the negator *nomo* (see § 5, p. 317). They are placed in either of these positions according to the intended scope of the negation. Hence, in terms of position, the periphery adverbials are in the middle of the clause. The elements used as adverbials in these positions are discussed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159), which argues that there are strong indications that these lexemes are verbal in nature. In fact, some of them have clear full verb uses. Thus, their use as VP-internal adverbs in the clause periphery is only a part of their function. These adverbials hence form a distinct subgroup within the class of verbs due to their ability to appear in the clause periphery.

Clause periphery adverbials are only a subset of verbs giving adverbial information. However, the other adverbial predicates are not part of the VP, but are analysed as making up their own clauses, combining with other clauses into sentences. The peripheral adverbial verbs as listed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159) clearly differ from the latter in position. Note, however, that in full verb use, the clause periphery verbs can be used in the same manner as the adverbial full predicates, which are discussed in more detail in § 3.2.3.3.2 (p. 162).

6.6 The operators

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 40) define a class of operators to account for elements representing “grammatical categories which are qualitatively different from predicates and their arguments (...) they modify the clause and its parts.” Aspect, negation, directionals, modality, status (including such things as epistemic modality, external negation and realis and irrealis), tense, evidentials, and illocutionary force make up their class of operators. Not all of these categories are relevant for Makalero; the representation in (39), adapted from Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47), shows only those that are more or less grammaticalised in the language

as well as the level of clause structure they universally apply to, according to the authors.

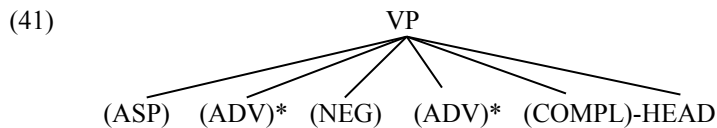
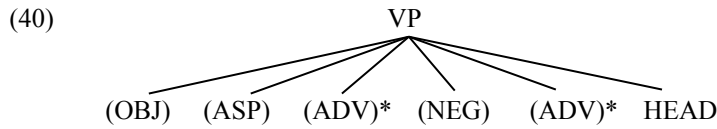


According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 46), the “basic principle of scope assignment governing operators is clausal > core > nuclear, where ‘>’ means ‘has scope over’.”

Among Van Valin and LaPolla’s operators listed above but not shown in (39) are directionals, tense and evidentiality. These are not grammaticalised categories in Makalero and are consequently not discussed here (some remarks on directionality can be found in § 5.2.2.5.6 (p. 345); on the anchoring of a state of affairs in time in § 7.2.1 (p. 414); and on the expression of indirect information in § 8.1.9 (p. 476). Of the operators that are listed in (39), only aspect, negation and status are relevant at clause level or lower in Makalero; they are treated in § 6.6.1 (p. 394), § 6.6.2 (p. 396), and § 6.6.3 (p. 398), respectively. As their discussion in the following sections makes apparent, Makalero operators do not conform to Van Valin and LaPolla’s proposed hierarchy as reproduced partially in (39) and the associated scope readings. Furthermore, modality and illocutionary force operate on levels other than the clause in Makalero. Illocutionary force works on the sentence level and is discussed there (§ 7.7, p. 435), while the expression of modality may take either the form of a complement VP or of a separate predication or clause and is thus hard to place in a schema as (39). It is treated in detail in § 7.2.4 (p. 420) and § 7.3 (p. 421; see also § 3.2.3.10.2, p. 193).

6.6.1 Aspect

There is in Makalero only one aspect marker, *hai*. This marker denotes the beginning of a new situation (see § 5.3.1.1, p. 361, for details). Its position is fixed following the object position, but preceding all other verbal modifiers, including negation, the periphery adverbials, and the VP complement. (40) and (41) give schematic representations of this ordering.



Hai has scope over all modifiers to the right of it, including negation. According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 46), the aspect operator is nuclear and should therefore be under the scope of the core operator negation (see (39) above). However, the very opposite is the case in Makalero: as (42) shows, *hai* marks the beginning of the negated situation (i.e. the beginning of the absence of stomach pain).

- (42) ... *asi-atupusi hai nomo isit.*
 1s:POSS-belly NSIT NEG ill
 '... my belly did not hurt anymore.' (101-137)

It is not possible to negate a new situation with *hai* using the internal negator *nomo*. For this purpose, the clause negator *nomohaka* (see § 6.6.3, p. 398) must be used. Makalero speakers will, however, make sense of the clause given in (43) as in (44), by interpreting *hai* not as an aspect marker, but as the reduced form of the speaker-related deictic verb in a complement-verb complex. In this process, the initial /h/ of the aspect marker, which is often very faint indeed, is dropped completely.

- (43) * *Ani nomo hai li'an.*
 1s NEG NSIT fall
 Intended: 'I have not fallen.' (elic916b)

- (44) *Ani nomo ai-li'an.*
 1s NEG VIDEM:RED-fall
 'I didn't fall here.'

Hai also has scope over verb-phrase internal adverbials, which are equalled in § 6.5 (p. 393) above to the clause periphery. An example is shown in (45). If a speaker wishes to specifically exclude the adverb from the scope of *hai*, he must use it as a separate clause, as (46) shows.

- (45) *Kiloo hai tafi tia.*
 3s NSIT true sleep
 'He already really sleeps.' (chat066a)

- (46) *Kiloo tafi=ni hai tia.*
 3s true=LNK1 NSIT sleep
 ‘It is true that he already sleeps.’ (chat066)

The VP complement in a complement-verb complex can take its own aspect marking. Examples are given in (47), where *hai* is outside the verbal complex and modifies the VP as a whole, and in (48), where it stands within the VP complement and has scope only over the dependent verb. The extent of the VPs in question is signalled by square brackets. Note, however, that there appears to be no marked difference in reading between the two constructions.

- (47) *Kiloo [hai putil=ee-mutu-puna]_{VP}.*
 3s NSIT bottle=DEF-inside:RED-look
 ‘He is already looking inside the bottle.’ (elic1006)

- (48) *Kiloo [putil=ee hai mutu]_{VP}-puna.*
 3s bottle=DEF NSIT inside:RED-look
 ‘He is already looking inside the bottle.’ (elic1006a)

Summing up, *hai* as the leftmost verbal modifier has scope not only over the negator, directly contradicting Van Valin and LaPolla’s (1997: 46) prediction, but also over the periphery adverbs.

Another item that functions very much like an aspect marker is *hau* ‘all’, which differs in many respects from the aspect marker *hai*; for instance, it may or may not be placed under the scope of the negation. § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369) argues that it is a VP-internal adverbial that is grammaticalising into an aspect marker. Hence it is part of the periphery rather than an operator and is not further discussed here.

6.6.2 Negation

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47), internal negation is a core operator, and as such has scope over the aspect operator, which works on the nucleus level. In Makalero, however, the situation is quite the opposite. The only real aspect marker, *hai*, is outside of the negation’s scope. On the contrary, it is the negator *nomo* which is within the scope of the new situation marker, as (49) shows; in this clause, *hai* marks the beginning of the negated state. The corresponding positive sentence is given in (50) for comparison.

- (49) *Mu’a-isa-e-puna=po ki-sefar hai nomo e’.*
 ground-go.down-VIDEM:RED-look=ADVR 3:POSS-dog NSIT NEG VIDEM
 ‘(He) looks down to the ground, but his dog is not here anymore.’ (38-085)

- (50) *Ki-sefar hai e’.*
 3:POSS-dog NSIT VIDEM
 ‘His dog is (already) here.’

With the unmarked negator *nomo* invariably within the scope of the new situation marker *hai*, the only way to negate a new situation with *hai* is by using the clausal negation *nomohaka*, as shown in (51).

- (51) *Timor ki-renu nomohaka hai rial.*
 T. 3:POSS-populace CLS.NEG NSIT many.HUM
 ‘The population of Timor is not already large. / It is not the case that the population of Timor is already large.’ (elic405)

However, there is one instance where, contrary to this rule, *hai nomo* is used in just such a context, disregarding the actually rather marked scope reading of this combination; (52) gives the sentence in question. Note that *hai nomo ma’u* is translated as ‘he did not come’, rather than as the predicted ‘he did already not come.’

- (52) ... *ini ue’=ini hein hein hein=ini hai nomo ma’u.*
 lpe V2DEM=LNK1 wait wait wait=LNK1 NSIT NEG come
 ‘... we were there and kept waiting (for him), but he did not come.’ (67-18)

The negator *nomo* can be placed before or after VP-internal adverbials and thus has variable scope either including or excluding the periphery verbs. Examples are shown in (53) and (54).

- (53) *Kiloo nomo tepa sirvisu.*
 3s NEG constant work
 ‘He does not work often.’ (elic1395a)

- (54) *Kiloo tepa nomo sirvisu.*
 3s constant NEG work
 ‘He keeps not working.’ (elic1395b)

While it is most common for all the VP-internal adverbials in a VP that contain several of them to stand on one side of the negator, (55) and (56) show that other permutations are also possible.

- (55) *Timor ki-renu hai na’u nomo tafî se roual.*
 T. 3:POSS-populace NSIT just NEG true very many.NONHUM
 ‘The population of Timor is already not truly very large.’ (elic1398a)

- (56) *Timor ki-renu hai na’u tafî nomo se roual.*
 T. 3:POSS-populace NSIT just true NEG very many.NONHUM
 ‘The population of Timor is already truly not very large.’ (elic1398b)

6.6.3 Status

Status, according to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41), includes epistemic modality, external negation and categories like realis and irrealis. Epistemic modality is first and foremost expressed in Makalero by the adverbial predicate *tone* ‘maybe, possibly, perhaps’. As a predicate of its own, it is not discussed here, but in § 7.2.4 (p. 420). Realis and irrealis seem to be of no consequence in Makalero grammar. As such, the only representative of status in Makalero is external negation. This concept is expressed by *nomohaka*. It is possible that the element *-haka* is connected to *=haka*, a clitic marker expressing the contradiction of a presupposition (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244). Indeed, clausal negation (translatable as ‘it is not the case that...’) appears to involve the contradiction of an expectation or presupposition in all cases. The categorial status of this negator is discussed in § 3.6.1 (p. 264).

Nomohaka is found both clause-initially, as in (57), or following the subject argument, as in (58). It thus behaves much like the aivalent adverbial predicates (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). As argued in § 7.6.1 (p. 427) for similar constructions with that type of predicates, the subject of (58) can be analysed as standing in the left-detached position.

- (57) *Nomohaka ki-ni ki-upa hai hau umu.*
 CLS.NEG 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father NSIT all die
 ‘His parents are not both dead.’ (elic754a)

- (58) *Kiloo nomohaka ni-sa na’u tepa pase.*
 3s CLS.NEG REFL-wife just constant beat
 ‘It is not the case that he constantly beats his wife.’ (elic1368d)

Nomohaka has scope over the clause that immediately follows it. (59) and (60) may serve to demonstrate this: in both cases, *nomohaka* only negates the temporal expressions, *soohe* ‘yesterday’ and *aite* ‘recently’, respectively. In (59), *soohe* clearly constitutes a clause of its own, being linked to the following one with the linkers *=te’e* and *=isi* (see § 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252 and § 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250); as such, it is not surprising that *nomohaka* is not read as having scope over the clause which follows this linker. In (60), on the other hand, the temporal predicate *aite* ‘recently’ is directly adjoined to the following clause; nevertheless, the scope of *nomohaka* does not extend beyond this one-word clause.

- (59) *Ani nomohaka [soohe’]_{CLS=ete=si} Timor-isi-ma’u.*
 1s CLS.NEG yesterday=after=LNK2 T.-at:BD-come
 ‘I came to Timor not only yesterday.’ (elic756)

- (60) *Iliomar ki-adat nomohaka [aite’]_{CLS} kini.*
 I 3:POSS-custom CLS.NEG REC.PT do
 ‘The customs of Iliomar were created not just recently.’ (elic755)

Nomohaka thus clearly operates on the level of the clause, as indeed predicted by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47). Syntactically, however, it does not appear to be part of the clause it modifies, but stands outside of it, like an adverbial verb, which would make such examples as (57) and (58) multiclausal units. However, *nomohaka* differs from such adverbial predicates in that its scope extends only over a single clause that immediately follows it, for which reason it is treated as an operator on clause level. Aivalent adverbial verbs, on the other hand, can modify multi-clause units and are accordingly discussed in § 7.2, p. 413, on sentence level.

The discussion of *hai* in § 6.6.1 (p. 394) makes mention of the fact that the new situation aspect marker has scope over the internal negator *nomo*, as in (61), while the reverse, as in (62) (repeated from (43) above), is ungrammatical.

(61) *Ani hai nomo mu'a-li'an.*
 1s NSIT NEG ground-fall
 'I am not falling down anymore.'

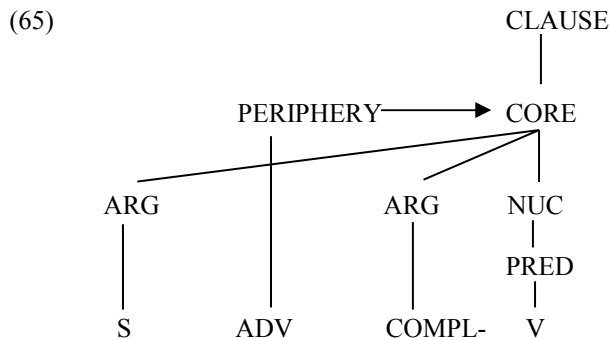
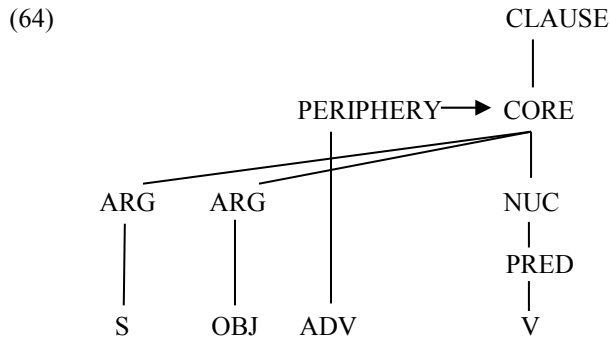
(62) * *Ani nomo hai li'an.*
 1s NEG NSIT fall
 Intended: 'I have not fallen.' (elic916b)

The only way to express a meaning as the intended one in (62) is to use the clausal negator *nomohaka*. An example is given in (63).

(63) *Ani nomohaka hai mu'a-li'an.*
 1s CLS.NEG NSIT ground-fall
 'It is not the case that I fell down.' (elic1405a)

6.7 Summary

Expressing Makalero clause structure in the terms proposed by Van Valin and LaPolla's Role and Reference Grammar is problematic in several respects. One major difficulty is the fact that the VP-internal argument can be realised in two distinct ways, namely either as an object or as a complement (§ 5.2, p. 319). These two realisations are clearly distinct in their positions relative to both the clause periphery and the aspect and negation operators. As a result, two separate schemes (repeated in (64) and (65) from (3) and (4), respectively) are needed to represent the Makalero clause.



Furthermore, the description of operators as proposed in Role and Reference Grammar has encountered a number of problems. A large part of these operators do not work on clause level in Makalero, but on a higher level of organisation, the sentence; consequently, they have been excluded from the present section, which deals with phenomena on the clause level only. First and foremost among such higher-level phenomena is modality, which can be expressed either as a separate clause or as a complement (§ 7.3, p. 421), but also the epistemic modality part of the status operator, which is always expressed as a separate clause. Another one, illocutionary force, also operates on sentence level (§ 7.7, p. 435). This left only aspect, (internal) negation, and the external negation part of the status operator to be treated in the present chapter. In Van Valin and LaPolla's analysis, these would be a nuclear operator, a core operator, and a clause operator, respectively. My analysis of the level of operation of these operators agrees with Van Valin and LaPolla's only in the case of the clausal negator *nomohaka*, while the ordering of aspect and negation is inverted.

7. The sentence

A consequence of the very rigid structure of the clause in Makalero (see § 6, p. 383) is that a great many states of affairs, among them all including more than two participants, cannot be expressed but in a multi-clause structure. Nevertheless, such structures describe one event. These, I would like to maintain, form a unit of different status than the clause chains making up utterances as discussed in § 8 (p. 453), and a term to designate such units that are intermediate between simple clauses and utterances is needed. A frequently-used term for units larger than clauses, but generally smaller than utterances, is ‘sentence’. However, a good, universally valid definition of this concept is hard to come by in the literature (see e.g. Matthews 1981, Crystal 1991). For instance, in Van Valin and LaPolla’s massive 1997 work, it is very loosely defined as a “larger syntactic unit [than the clause, JH], which may contain multiple clauses in complex sentences” (ibid: 29). Since I make no use of the term ‘sentence’ otherwise, I adopt it in this study for a unit intermediate between clause and utterance as described above. A sentence may consist of either a single clause, or of more than one (mostly two) clauses which pertain to the same extralinguistic event. As such, a sentence differs from an utterance, which, if made up of more than one clause, describes separate events, but can also consist of non-clausal units, such as phrases or interjections (see also Payne 1997: 378). For a more detailed discussion of the utterance, see § 8 (p. 453).

The term ‘sentence’ is in the present study mainly intended to capture the following kinds of multi-clause structures: The first type involves structures which display a mismatch between the semantic participant structure of a predicate and the rigid frame provided by the syntactic clause template in Makalero. States of affairs which involve more participants than there are syntactic slots in a clause cannot possibly be expressed in single clauses. § 7.1 (p. 402) discusses such constructions. The second type involves adverbial predicates, which, though fully clausal, are never found on their own, but only in conjunction with other clauses. Generally, these clauses express information pertaining to anchoring in time, aspectual properties of the action, as well as mood (§ 7.2, p. 413). Similar notions may be expressed by such adverbial clauses as briefly discussed in § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430).

Furthermore, the expression of (deontic) modality (§ 7.3, p. 421) generally involves sentence units, in much the same way as constructions involving verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions (§ 7.4, p. 425). Lastly, the conative with *fera* ‘try’ parallels the latter two types in many ways (§ 7.5, p. 427).

All of these sentence types can be found constituting relative sentences within a noun phrase (§ 4.3.5, p. 295). This shows that the sentence as defined here is indeed a syntactically relevant unit. The sentence unit is also used to account for the left-dislocation of participants for the purpose of topicalisation or focalisation, which is elaborated on in § 9.2.1 (p. 495). Formal evidence for the sentence’s validity as a unit of analysis, such as the left-detached position involved in such constructions, is discussed in § 7.6 (p. 427).

7.1 Semantics / syntax mismatch

The most important reason to express an event in the form of a multi-clausal sentence is a mismatch between the semantic participant structure of the predicate involved and the rigid syntactic frame dictated by the clause structure. Such cases include, on the one hand, all states-of-affairs with more than two participants. (1) gives such an instance: the verb *fana* ‘teach’ logically involves an agent, a recipient or undergoer, and a theme. The clause structure as discussed in § 6 (p. 383), however, allows for the expression of two participants at most. The first argument position is reserved for the agent-subject. In the case of (1), this is the pronoun *ini* (1pe).¹⁸¹ The non-subject argument position of the verb *fana* ‘teach’ in (1) is occupied by the recipient *ni-mata ere* ‘our children’.¹⁸² There is no possibility to additionally fit the theme *uere* (DEM.DIST) into the clause headed by *fana* ‘teach’; both its argument positions are accounted for. Consequently, a separate clause is needed in order for the theme to be expressed. For this purpose, the verb *mei* ‘take’ is used. Its sole function in such clauses as (1) is to provide an open argument position in which to express the supernumerary participant to the main verb *fana* ‘teach’. *Mei* could thus be called a light verb (see also § 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203). The two clauses share the same subject.

- (1) ... *ini tone’ uere mei=ni ni’isi ni-mata ere fana.*
 1pe perhaps 2DEM take=LNK1 simultaneous REFL-child 1DEM teach
 ‘... we will perhaps teach that to our children.’ (106-11)

The two clauses in (1) are conjoined using the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). (2), however, shows that this is optional. In fact, sentence units are among the few contexts where unmarked clause linking can be found.

- (2) ... *k-asu ha’auēin ho’o mei kini...*
 3:UND-for place some take give.to.3
 ‘... give him some place...’ (69-055)

The most prototypical ditransitive verb, ‘give’, presents a somewhat special case in that it is expressed in fused forms, which incorporate the recipient. § 7.1.1 (p. 406) discusses the constructions found with it.

A second large group of sentence units which are due to a mismatch between semantic and syntactic structures involve those where transitive verbs, which are associated with an undergoer participant, are constructed with a verbal complement expressing locative or manner information. As § 3.2.3.1.2 (p. 143) shows, basically any verb can be combined with a complement expressing such circumstantial information. Also, § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) argues that such complements are treated like verbal arguments in that they are possible fillers of the clause’s non-subject argument position. This fact is illustrated by a sentence like (3), in which a transitive verb’s undergoer must be expressed with the light verb *mei* ‘take’ if that verb is

¹⁸¹ Since it is common to both clauses in (1), the subject is expressed only once, sentence-initially.

¹⁸² But see below for the mapping of semantic participants on syntactic positions.

combined with a VP complement. If that complement is removed, or its content expressed as a separate clause rather than in the form of a complement, as in (4), the undergoer can again be constructed as an argument of the transitive verb.

- (3) *Kiloo teli mei lopu-isi-sa'al.*
 3s maize take house-at:RED-fry:BD
 'She is frying maize in the house.' (elic775a)

- (4) *Kiloo lopu-isi'=ini teli ha'al.*
 3s house-at=LNK1 maize fry
 'She is frying maize in the house.'¹⁸³ (elic775)

The mechanism is the same as that discussed for ditransitive verbs above: In cases where all of the argument positions available in a clause are occupied, all further arguments must be expressed in separate clauses with other verbs which can provide an argument position for them. Like (1) and (2), (3) uses the light verb *mei* 'take' for this purpose. Clauses like (5), which contain both an undergoer object and an adverbial verbal complement, are ungrammatical.

- (5) * *Kiloo teli lopu-isi-sa'al.*
 3s maize house-at:RED-fry:BD
 Intended: 'She is frying maize in the house.'

This proves that an object expressing an undergoer and a complement expressing circumstantial information are mutually exclusive. A given clause can express only one or the other, but not both at the same time.

Constructions like (3), where the presence of a verbal complement forces the undergoer of a transitive verb to be expressed in a separate clause, show that verbal complements function syntactically like arguments in that they fill the non-subject argument position associated with a given verb. It thus looks as though there is no distinction between arguments and adjuncts in Makalero (see § 5.2.2.4, p. 337).

Another type of sentence, which makes use of the same light verb as (1) through (3), involves a peripheral instrument role. An example is given in (6).

- (6) *Asi-upa mara=ni kus mei ani kus=ana...*
 1s:POSS-father go=LNK1 blow take 1s blow=INT
 'My father then was going to shoot me with his blowpipe...' (101-079)

In summary, thus, objects and complements as discussed in § 5.2 (p. 319) are instantiations of the same syntactic function. Either an object or a complement can fill a verb's syntactic non-subject position. Since no more than one non-subject argument can be expressed in a clause, complements and objects are mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, the semantic participant frame of a verb may include more than two participants; there is thus a mismatch between a verb's semantic participant frame and the syntactic possibilities provided by the clause. If a speaker wishes to overtly mention more than one argument (which includes verbal complements), he

¹⁸³ The use of the clause linker =*ini* in (4) is again optional. Also, it could optionally appear in (3).

has to express one of them in a separate clause, most frequently using the light verb *mei* ‘take’ whose main function it is to provide an open object position for the supernumerary argument to appear in (see § 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203).¹⁸⁴

This semantics / syntax mismatch is the most basic principle underlying the organisation of Makalero discourse into clauses and sentences. In construction-grammar terms (see e.g. Schulze-Berndt 2000: 27), it is described as a mismatch between semantic participants as profiled by the lexical verb, and argument slots as provided in the syntax of the construction. The lexically profiled participant roles appear to include a locative or manner specification for all verbs. It has been shown in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) that basically every verb is compatible with a verbal complement expressing location, goal or manner. Additionally, the lexically profiled participant roles may include one or two non-agent participants, in the case of semantically transitive or ditransitive verbs. These participant frames clash with the very limited syntactic frame provided by the Makalero clause. Goldberg’s (1995: 53f.) heading “mismatch of number of roles” appears to aptly capture this situation. According to her, “all profiled participant roles must be accounted for by the construction”, while “it is not necessary that each argument role of the construction correspond to a participant of the verb.” That is, in Goldberg’s view, an argument structure construction must be able to accommodate all of the verb’s semantically profiled participants. Note that this is not the case for the Makalero clause, which does not offer enough syntactic slots for all of a given verb’s participants. It is thus the multi-clausal units bracketed in the example in (7) as wholes which count as constructions in Goldberg’s terminology.

- (7) ... *tuumata dadau [pai mei k-ou-seman]*_{ARG.CONSTR} [*arapau mei*
 wife.takers must pig take 3:UND-towards-take:BD buffalo take

*k-ou-seil]*_{ARG.CONSTR...}
 3:UND-towards-pull:BD
 ‘... the wife-taker clan has to bring pigs and buffalos...’ (55-21)

It appears the mapping of the semantics onto the syntactic structure is relatively free. This is exemplified, for instance, by such sentence pairs as (3) and (4) above. As discussed in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337), a verb’s syntactic non-subject position is filled either by a complement VP, as in (3), or by an object NP, as in (4). Either of these can be constructed in the same verb as the main verb, while the other has to stand in a separate clause.

(8) and (9) give two examples with the ditransitive verb *heti* ‘ask’, which logically involves three participants, namely the agent, the addressee and the theme. The subject is always mapped onto the first, VP-external, argument. In (8), the object slot is filled by the theme, while in (9), in a syntactically identical structure, it is the goal (addressee).

¹⁸⁴ It has been noted that Papuan languages prefer having only one modifier with a given lexical head. This leads to systematic distribution of nominals over series of clauses and of modifiers over serialised phrases; De Vries (2005: 367) notes that “[t]he distribution tendency is not a set of grammatical constraints but a discourse preference” (ibid.). In Makalero, however, this type of distribution is a rigid rule.

- (8) *Ani* *[[sa'a u]*_{OBJ=THEME} *heti]*_{VP} *uai=ni* *ere=ni* *ani-asu* *dadau*
 1s thing one ask CLS=LNK1 IDEM=CTR 1s-for must
manini.
 give.to.1s
 '(When) I asked for something, (they) had to give it to me.' (101-474)
- (9) *Ani* (...) *[[ni-ni]*_{OBJ=GOAL} *heti]*_{VP} *ina-uai* *ani* *aire'* *SMA*¹⁸⁵ *hai*
 1s REFL-mother ask mother-HON 1s now high.school NSIT
hau mei...
 all take
 'I asked my mother: Mother, I have now graduated from high school...'
 (125-20)

Note that in the above sentences, either one or the other non-subject participant of a ditransitive verb is expressed, but not both at the same time. In such a case, the non-subject participant can be mapped onto the object position, irrespective of its semantic role. If, on the other hand, all three participants in a ditransitive state of affairs are to be expressed, the one highest on the animacy hierarchy is generally realised as the non-subject argument of the main verb, while the other stands in a clause with *mei* 'take'. (10) gives a typical example.

- (10) *Meestri uere matematika mei=ni ani fana.*
 teacher 2DEM mathematics take=LNK1 1s teach
 'That teacher teaches me maths.' (chat 112)

A reversal of this order is taken to be significant. That is, (11) cannot be understood to be a variant expression of (10). Instead, the animated participant, if expressed in a separate clause with *mei* 'take', is in this case understood to function as a peripheral participant.

- (11) *Meestri uere ani mei=ni matematika fana.*
 teacher 2DEM 1s take=LNK1 mathematics teach
 'That teacher uses me to teach maths.' (chat 112a)
 * 'That teacher teaches me maths.'

Usually, the subject slot does not participate in this semantic-to-syntax-mapping flexibility. There are, however, rare instances where a participant that would otherwise have to be expressed in a separate clause can stand in an unoccupied subject position. The pair in (12) and (13) exemplifies such a case. In the more normal construction in (12), the verbal complement *nama-* 'upwards (RED)' fills the verb's syntactic argument position; as a consequence, the theme participant is expressed as an object in a separate clause with *mei* 'take' (see § 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203). In (13), the theme participant of the same complement-verb complex is expressed as the clause subject. This is visible from the fact that the light verb *mei* is absent from

¹⁸⁵ In the Indonesian education system, SMA (sekolah menengah atas) is equivalent to senior high school.

this sentence, and also from the use of the third person possessive *ki-*, rather than the reflexive *ni-* (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 227).

- (12) *Saapatu ki=lafi=ee hai mei nama-dane...*
 shoe ATTR=side=DEF NSIT take upwards:RED-lift
 ‘(He) lifts one shoe up...’ (38-016)

- (13) ... *ki-tana na’u tepa nama-dane ki-ia na’u tepa*
 3:POSS-hand just constant upwards:RED-lift 3:POSS-foot just constant

nama-dane.

upwards:RED-lift

‘... his hands are constantly lifted and his feet are constantly lifted.’

(55a-045)

Impressionistically speaking, such structures are very rare indeed. It is in fact, not certain whether they would be generally accepted.

An interesting, rather complex case of the effects of the one-argument condition is provided by the verb ‘to give’, discussed in § 7.1.1 (p. 406).

Note that all of the sentences discussed in the present section share the same subject. This is a logical consequence of the fact that they pertain to one event. A special case of sentence, which shares the semantic property of describing one event, but involves a change in the subject participant, is discussed in § 7.1.2 (p. 412).

7.1.1 The case of ‘give’

Makalero has no single verb ‘to give’, but instead a paradigm of seven items, which vary according to the person of the recipient argument. The paradigm is as shown in Table 7.1. These forms relate directly to the personal pronouns, as given in Table 7.2 along with the corresponding forms of the verb ‘give’ and the appropriate segmentation of these forms.

All except the third person and the first person plural inclusive forms consist of the actual personal pronoun preceded by an element *m-* and followed by an element *-ini*. The initial *m-* is absent in both the third person form as well as the first person plural inclusive form. Additionally, the third person form does not employ the full personal pronoun form, but only the form *ki*, as is the case with argument-marking verbs (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). Another point concerns the long vowel in the first person plural inclusive form, which is pronounced as [‘fi:ni]. This long vowel might be explained as the result of the convergence of the pronoun’s vowel with the initial vowel of the *-ini* element. Note, however, that all the other pronouns end in the vowel /i/ too, and none of the corresponding verb forms exhibit long vowels.

It is also worth pointing out that the third person form does not distinguish singular from plural, whereas all the other persons do. Again, this parallels the pattern of argument-marking verbs (§ 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). Pinto (2007: 5, 6) additionally lists a form *weraini* (*ueraini* in the orthography used in the present thesis), which consists

of the demonstrative-based *uera* for third person plural reference (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221) and the element *-ini*. This form is not supported by my own data.

1 st person singular recipient (‘give to me’)	<i>manini</i>
2 nd person singular recipient (‘give to you’)	<i>meini</i>
3 rd person recipient (‘give to him/her/it/them’)	<i>kini</i>
1 st person plural exclusive recipient (‘give to us (excl.)’)	<i>minini</i>
1 st person plural inclusive recipient (‘give to us (incl.)’)	<i>fīini</i>
2 nd person plural recipient (‘give to you (PL)’)	<i>miini</i>

Table 7.1: ‘give’

	personal pronoun	‘give’
1s	<i>ani</i>	<i>m-ani-ini</i>
2s	<i>ei</i>	<i>m-ei-ini</i>
3s / p	<i>kiloo / kiloora</i>	<i>Ø-ki-ini</i>
1pe	<i>ini</i>	<i>m-ini-ini</i>
1pi	<i>fī</i>	<i>Ø-fī-ini</i>
2p	<i>ii</i>	<i>m-ii-ini</i>

Table 7.2: Pronominal recipients in ‘give’

By the evidence presented so far, it can be concluded that the actual meaning ‘give’ is carried by the element *-ini*; since the formative *m-* is absent in several of the forms of the paradigm, it is not likely to carry part of the meaning. This is further supported by the existence of such forms as *mu’aini* ‘give to whom’, in which another pronominal recipient, *mu’a-* ‘who (BD)’, is combined with the root *-ini* ‘give’. (14) gives an example. Also, there are some scattered occurrences of forms with personal pronouns lacking the initial *m-*; an example is *ei-ini* ‘give to you’, shown in (15). The form *meini* is a much more common way of expression. In the following, the *m-*forms as listed in Table 7.1 are treated as fully lexicalised and are not segmented in the glosses. Such formations as *ei-ini* ‘give to you’ in (15), however, are understood to be productive formations consisting of the root *-ini* ‘give’ and a personal pronoun; consequently, they are hyphenated.

- (14) ... *ei-ropa ere ei=ua k-utu-k-utu iskola-isi-la'a=ee ei mei*
 2s-clothes 1DEM 2s=REL RDL-3:UND-wear school-at:RED-move=DEF 2s take
mu'aini ain.
 give.to.who QUOT
 '... (I asked:) your clothes that you used to wear to school, who did you
 give them to?' (73-27)
- (15) *Ani kiloo asar ere uere' mei mara=ni ei-ini=na'a.*
 1s 3s send 1DEM 2DEM.V take go=LNK1 2s-give-INT
 'I ordered him to take that to you.' (elic1686)

Sentence (16), with a verb form similar to that in (15), gives a good indication as to the origin of the initial *m-*. The syntactic valency of *-ini* 'give' is in this example filled by the recipient argument *ani* (1s). Conforming to the one-argument limitation of the Makalero verb phrase, the theme participant stands in a separate clause with the verb *mei* 'take' (§ 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203).

- (16) ... *lilin fitu hena metan fitu uai=ni mei=ni ani-ini...*
 candle seven cloth black seven CLS=LNK1 take=LNK1 1s-give
 '... (he) gave me seven candles and seven pieces of black cloth...'
 (120-118)

In (16), this separate VP is followed by the clause linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249), marking it as a separate clause. However, the linker is not obligatory. I would thus like to propose that the *m-*initial forms given in Table 7.1 are contractions of what were initially two clauses of the form *mei* + pronoun + *-ini*, supporting the analysis of Goldberg's (1995: 53f.) argument structure construction as a multiclausal unit as discussed in § 7.1 (p. 402). Notably, this contraction is found only in cases where the recipient pronouns are vowel-initial; for this reason, the *m-* element is absent with the third person form *kini* and the first person plural inclusive form *fiini*. In some cases, these contracted forms can be broken up into their constituent parts, as shown in (16). Another example is provided in (15) above, where an additional clause, *mara=ni* 'go there and then', intervenes between the clause expressing the theme argument and that expressing the verb of giving and the recipient.

There are a variety of ways in which the three participants logically involved in an act of giving can be expressed. As shown above, the verb is most often used in a form with an incorporated recipient. The theme participant can be added directly as an object to that verb, as in (17) and (18).

- (17) ... *asi-osan hai muni manini...*
 1s:POSS-money NSIT return give.to.1s
 '... (he) gave my money back to me...' (126-121)
- (18) *Sefar u meini.*
 dog one give.to.2s
 'Give a dog to you' (Pinto 2007: 6; spelling adapted)

Another option is for the theme to be placed within a separate clause with the light verb *mei* ‘take’. Examples of this type are given in (19) and (20). The use of the light verb shows clearly that the contraction of *mei* + recipient + *ini*, resulting in *manini* ‘give to me’ and *minini* ‘give to us’ in (19) and (20), respectively, is completely lexicalised and unanalysable to the speakers who produced the constructions in question.

- (19) ... *upa-uai ki-fana-nini ho'o ue'=ini ho'o mei manini.*
 father-HON 3:POSS-teach-do some V2DEM=LNK1 some take give.to.1s
 ‘... if you have some teachings, father, give some to me.’ (105-058)

- (20) ... *papa na'u tepa apoiu mei=ni minini.*
 dad just constant support take=LNK1 give.to.1pe
 ‘... keep giving us (your) support, father.’ (106-16)

The variants as given in (17) and (18), in which the theme participants stand in the same predication as the verb of giving, are quite rare. Pinto’s (2007: 6) data seem to suggest that this monoclausal construction is particularly frequent with second person singular recipients. It is conspicuous that the verb of giving for a second person singular recipient is *meini*, which is homophonous with *mei=ni*, i.e. the verb ‘take’ with the clitic clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249).¹⁸⁶ Constructing the theme in a separate predication with *mei* thus may, in combination with a verb of giving with a second person singular recipient, lead to a sequence of two homophonous verbs; this could be the reason why this construction is generally avoided in Pinto’s data. Note, however, that in my own data the second person singular recipient form *meini* is found together with the light verb *mei*, as in the example in (21). However, in no case is the clause linker =*ini* used on that verb, such that the situation where two homophonous verb phrases follow one another does not arise.

- (21) *Ani osan mei meini.*
 1s money take give.to.2s
 ‘I give you money.’ (elic720)

Another very frequent construction involves the additional expression of the recipient in a separate clause with the verb (*k*)-*asu* ‘for’. Concretely, the recipient with (*k*)-*asu* ‘for’ is given first, followed by the theme argument either as a direct object to the verb of giving or in a separate clause with *mei* ‘take’ (i.e. the same variants as given in (17) through (20) above). In the last case, thus, the act of giving is expressed in a tricausal unit. A few examples are given in (22) through (25).

- (22) *Papa uere'-isi'=ee ani-asu osan tepa manini...*
 Indonesian 2DEM.V-at=DEF 1s-for money constant give.to.1s
 ‘At that time, the Indonesian kept giving me money...’ (101-206)

¹⁸⁶ As a result, such clauses as (18) are potentially ambiguous in that the verb could be interpreted either as ‘to take’ with the clitic clause linker (hence one would expect a continuation), or as the second person singular recipient form of ‘give’.

- (23) *Mu'ani=ni ei-asu faru=ee meini?*
 who.SUBJ-CTR 2s-for shirt=DEF give.to.2s
 'Who gave this shirt to you?' (elic131)
- (24) ... *asi-noko Julieta ki-upa uere'=ini ani k-asu*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling J. 3:POSS-father 2DEM.V=CTR 1s 3:UND-for
obrigadu roual mei=ni kini...
 thanks many.NONHUM take=LNK1 give.to.3
 '... my sister Julieta's father, I give him many thanks...' (105-001)
- (25) ... *amuni isi-sefti e' ni'isi ini-asu ijin=ee nomo*
 person 1pe:POSS-boss V1DEM simultaneous 1pe-for permission=DEF NEG
mei minini...
 take give.to.1pe
 '... our boss was there and didn't give us the permission...' (126-210)

Though the object of the verb (*k*)-*asu* 'for' is in most cases identical with the recipient incorporated in the verb of giving, this is not necessarily the case. (26) shows a sentence where the ultimate recipient is not identical with the recipient as expressed by the verb of giving. Thus the construction with (*k*)-*asu* allows for the expression of one more oblique participant.

- (26) ... *surat=kini hai mei ue'=isi ani-asu manini asi-ni*
 letter=IND NSIT take V2DEM=LNK2 1s-for give.to.1s 1s:POSS-mother
asi-upa k-asu manini.
 1s:POSS-father 3:UND-for give.to.1s
 '... (he said he) put letters here, so give (the one) for me to me, and give (the one) for my parents to me...' (74-049)

Table 7.3 summarises these constructions schematically. To denote the non-fused form of the verb of giving *-ini*, give (in lower-case letters) is used. GIVE, on the other hand, represents the forms of the verb 'give' with incorporated recipients as listed in Table 7.1 above. Note that the GIVE forms derive from a complex construction of the form take REC (i.e. recipient) give; the same construction is found with the non-fused form as shown on top of the right column. The make-up of the fused form is spelled out in the table in brackets. In this representation, it can be seen clearly that the monoclausal THEME GIVE construction is essentially the same as that with the non-fused verb form. In those constructions where the theme is expressed in a separate clause, the auxiliary verb 'take' is actually doubly expressed, which shows that the fused form is not transparent to speakers. In those constructions, finally, where the recipient stands in a separate clause, the recipient is doubly expressed as well.

	Theme in the same clause	Theme in a separate clause with <i>mei</i> 'take'
Non-fused verb of giving	n/a	THEME take REC give
Fused verb of giving; recipient not separately expressed	THEME GIVE (THEME [take REC give])	THEME take GIVE (THEME take [take REC give])
Fused verb of giving; recipient in a separate clause with <i>(k)-asu</i> 'for'	REC for THEME GIVE (REC for THEME [take REC give])	REC for THEME take GIVE (REC for THEME take [take REC give])

Table 7.3: 'give' constructions

The variant constructions found with the verbs of giving as represented schematically in Table 7.3 demonstrate different stages in the process of grammaticalisation of these verbs. Such sentences as (15) and (16) above show regular segmentable structures, where the verb of giving is not fused into a complex form incorporating the recipient argument and the auxiliary verb *mei* to introduce the theme. Sentences which use the fused forms, on the other hand, fall into two large groups, i.e. those where the theme argument stands in the same predication as the fused verb of giving, and those where it stands in a separate clause with *mei* 'take'. In those cases where the theme argument is constructed as an argument to the verb of giving, as for example in (17) and (18) above, the complex verb of giving is still to some degree perceived as analysable. In other words, speakers who produce such constructions apparently see the *m*-formative as originating from the verb *mei* 'take', to which the theme participant is the object. Thus, though a fused form such as *manini* 'give to me' is one word on phonological grounds, it still behaves like a biclausal unit. On the other hand, those cases where the theme argument stands with the verb *mei* 'take', as e.g. (19) and (20), show that the *m*-formative is no longer understood to be identical to the verb *mei*, which immediately precedes it. The fact that the theme object is not placed in the same clause as the verb of giving demonstrates that the verb is nevertheless understood to have its complement position occupied by the recipient participant, such that there is no free position for the theme participant in the syntax of that clause. However, the fused form is no longer understood to be a contracted biclausal unit, but has become monoclausal. Cases as (22) through (25) finally, appear to show that the recipient participant incorporated in the fused verb of giving loses its status as the syntactic equivalent to the recipient participant, such that some speakers feel the need to express that again in a separate clause. The Makalero verb thus shows a variety of stages of grammaticalisation, from a fully analytic biclausal structure to a monoclausal verb.

7.1.2 Sentences without subject continuity

The multi-clause constructions subsumed under this heading have a causativising effect, even though there is no change of valency for any of the verbs involved. An example of such a construction is demonstrated by the pair in (27) and (28). (27) shows a typical use of the general locative verb *isi*'. This verb's argument frame includes two participants, namely an unagentive subject (in analogy to the sentence in (28), it is analysed as a theme here), as well as a location, which is normally realised as a nominal complement. In (28), on the other hand, an agent is added to this argument frame; the whole construction is read as a causative, i.e. 'put / place x in y'. Literally, this construction can be understood as a sequential one, translated as 'you take my shirt and (it) is inside what'. The argument frame of the locative verb *isi*' is the same as in (27); that is, the theme argument of the preceding clause, where it is the syntactic object, must be understood as its subject. A parallel pair of cases exemplifies the construction with the verb *mutu*' 'inside' in (29) and (30).

- (27) *Euriku ki-noko un=ini Koimbra-isi'*...
 E. 3:POSS-younger sibling one=CTR K.-at
 'One of Eurico's younger siblings is in Coimbra...' (chat031)
- (28) *Ei asi-faru mei sa'a-isi'?*
 2s 1s:POSS-shirt take what:BD-at
 'What did you put my shirt into?' (elic1501)
- (29) ... *ki-puulata uari na'u putil=ee-mutu'*.
 3:POSS-head still just bottle=DEF-inside
 '... his head is still inside the bottle.' (38-022)
- (30) *Ni-surat mei=ni lode-mutu'*.
 REFL-book take=LNK1 bag-inside
 '(He) put his book into the bag.' (elic584)

§ 7.1 (p. 402) argues that sentence units involving a mismatch between semantic and syntactic arguments normally involve subject continuity. The fact that this is not the case in (28) and (30) thus makes this type of causative construction special. While it appears to be relatively frequent, it is restricted to verbs expressing movement, as those in (31), or position, as those in (32).

- (31)
- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| <i>isa</i> | 'go down' |
| <i>la'a</i> | 'move' |
| <i>li'an</i> | 'fall' |
| <i>mara</i> | 'go' |
| <i>ma'u</i> | 'come' |
| <i>misa</i> | 'go up' |

(32)	<i>isi'</i>	'at'
	<i>mutu'</i>	'inside'
	<i>nat</i>	'stand (SG)'
	<i>tau'</i>	'where'
	<i>to'e</i>	'inside'
	<i>ue'</i>	(V2DEM)
	<i>ume'</i>	(VDEM.DIST)

Causative constructions with other verbs normally involve verbal complexes with *-ini* 'do', as discussed in § 5.2.2.5.1.1 (p. 340).

7.2 Sentences with adverbial clauses

The present study does not recognise a distinct lexical category of adverbs. Instead, § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) argues for the analysis of such lexemes as *aire'* 'now', *tone'* 'maybe, perhaps' and *atanana* 'in the beginning, first' as full verbs. These adverbial predicates are distinct from all other verbs in having a syntactic valency of zero. They are thus incompatible with any type of argument and most often stand as one-word clauses, as *aire'* 'now' in (33) and *kamunei* 'tomorrow, the next day' in (34). Also, they are not usually found forming utterances of their own, but are always combined with other clauses, indicated by the bracketing in the below examples, into multi-clause sentences. However, the fact that they can be linked to the following clause with a clause linker and may take their own modifiers, as discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141), justifies their analysis as separate predicates.

- (33) ... *uai=ni=po* [*aire'*]_{CLS} [*ani so'ot*]_{CLS=ee} [*fi meih=ini*
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR now 1s want=CMPL 1pi two.HUM=CTR
ma'u]_{CLS=ini} [*pas dame*]_{CLS...}
 come=LNK1 peace peace
 '... but now I want us two to make peace...' (74-117)
- (34) [*Kamunei*]_{CLS} [*kiloo mara*]_{CLS=ni} [*mei*]_{CLS=ni} [*ni-mata k-asu-lolo*]_{CLS...}
 tomorrow 3s go=LNK1 take=LNK1 REFL-child 3:UND-for-say
 'The next day he went and told it to his child...' (52-09)

These predicates are positioned in front of the clause or clauses that they provide background information to. Adverbials expressed by such verbs express a variety of notions, among them the anchoring of a state of affairs in time (§ 7.2.1, p. 414), several aspectual notions (§ 7.2.2, p. 417), as well as epistemic modality (§ 7.2.4, p. 420). Note that these fall under Van Valin and LaPolla's operator categories (§ 6.6, p. 393). See also § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430) for adverbial sentences in the left-detached position.

7.2.1 Adverbial clauses expressing time

Makalero has no grammaticalised means to express tense categories. An action or state is anchored in time through the use of adverbial predicates. These may be general temporal expressions which divide time into past, present and future (§ 7.2.1.1, p. 414), or more specific ones, which make reference to a specific point in time (§ 7.2.1.2, p. 416).

7.2.1.1 General time adverbials

The most important adverbial predicates expressing time are listed in (35).

(35)	<i>hana'e</i>	remote past
	<i>aftane'</i>	past
	<i>aite'</i>	recent past
	<i>aire'</i>	present
	<i>tone'</i>	future ¹⁸⁷

These adverbial verbs belong to the class of avalent verbs as defined in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141). Although they are clausal, they are not normally found constituting utterances of their own, but make part of a larger sentence. (36) and (37) illustrate typical constructions.

(36)	... <i>hana'e hau atanana asi-suku Ailebere ki-nei oko nomo</i>
	REM.PT all first 1s:POSS-suco A. 3:POSS-name yet NEG

mei=ni Ailebere tamu...

take=LNK1 A. name

'... a long time ago, at first, my suco Ailebere was not called Ailebere yet...'

(35-09)

(37)	... <i>komu Timor aite' ni ukun uere' ki-mutu' ere ki-heke</i>
	because T. REC.PT REFL rule 2DEM.V 3:POSS-inside 1DEM 3:POSS-difficult

uari se roual-ual.

still very RDL-many.NONHUM

'... since Timor became independent only recently, there are still very many problems in it.'

(65-14)

¹⁸⁷ See § 7.2.1.1.1 (p. 415).

7.2.1.1.1 Future

Future time reference can be expressed in a variety of ways. One of these involves the adverbial predicate *tone'* as listed in (35) above. This item is actually a marker of deontic modality (discussed in more detail in § 7.3, p. 421). In a small number of cases, however, it appears to express not the speaker's commitment to the truth content of the sentence, but rather marks future time reference. (38) and (39) illustrate two such cases.

- (38) *Ani hai ma'en kiloo tone' nomo teni muni ma'u.*
 1s NSIT know 3s perhaps NEG again return come
 'I know that he will not come back.' (elic1587)

- (39) *Ani tone' ei nomo isi-nilu.*
 1s perhaps 2s NEG at:RED-forget
 'I will not forget you.' (elic1068)

Tone' shares future time reference with the phrasal clitic =*na'a* (see § 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262). This clitic's main function is to mark an action as an intention, as in (40).

- (40) ... *ani aire' ma'u-ni aeroportu-isi' (...)* *uai=ni=si ani*
 1s now come-LNK1 airport-at:RED CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s

Portugal-isi-la'a=na'a.
 Portugal -at:RED-move=INT
 '... I am now at the airport, and I intend to go to Portugal.' (74-017)

However, frequently, the intention component is less dominant, in which case =*na'a* simply refers to an action that has not yet happened at the time of reference. Generally, the action in question is set in a relatively near future, as (41) illustrates. In fact, 'be about to' is often an appropriate translation.

- (41) ... *fi lafu'=ana=uai umu=na'a=uai fi oko nomo ma'en.*
 1pi live=INT=or die=INT=or 1pi yet NEG know
 '... whether we are going to live or die we don't know yet...' (17-12a)

The grammaticalisation process of =*na'a* seems to be progressing in a direction in which the requirement for the future to be relatively near is being lost; in (42), =*na'a* refers to an unspecified, and possibly rather remote, point in time.

- (42) *Ini haka-hau umu=na'a.*
 1pe all-all die=INT
 'We will all die.' (pelic298)

=*na'a* is not restricted to sentences with present or future reference, but can equally well occur in sentences with past time reference, which results in a future-in-the-past reading. In such a context, =*na'a* very frequently, though not always, has the

connotation that the action was intended, but did in the end not come to pass, as exemplified in (43) and (44).

- (43) ... *ma'akini k-ua-iskola=na'a uai=ni=si la'a*
 wrongly.think 3:UND-on.top:RED-school=INT CLS=LNK1=LNK2 move
e'=ini muni na'an...
 VIDEM=LNK1 return NEG.EX
 '... (I) thought (I) would continue schooling, but (then we) went and it didn't happen.' (59-03)
- (44) *I depois Lerenene uere rei-misa=na'a ere heke...*
 and then L. 2DEM take.out-go.up=INT 1DEM difficult
 'Then Lerenene wanted to go out, but it was difficult...' (64-14)

Also, the modal verb *so'ot* 'want' has been found to denote a future time, as shown in example (45). Such cases are rare; it does not seem as if this way of expression is anywhere near grammaticalisation.

- (45) *Ei ate-hasa ere nomo ke' ere ei so'ot=ini umu.*
 2s tree-leaf 1DEM NEG drink 1DEM 2s want=LNK1 die
 'If you don't drink this medicine, you will die.' (elic245)

7.2.1.2 Adverbials denoting a specific point in time

Apart from the general time adverbials discussed in § 7.2.1.1 (p. 414), there are also avalent adverbial predicates which express specific points in time. A small selection of these is given in (46).

- (46) *raine'* 'last night'
ituhe' 'in three days'
soohe' 'yesterday'
kamunei 'tomorrow, the next day'

Their use is the same as that of adverbial predicates expressing general notions of time; they cannot constitute utterances of their own, but generally form one-word clauses within a larger sentence. They are usually unmarked, but may take modifiers and clause linkers. (47) and (48) give typical examples.

- (47) ... *kamunei upa-uai mara=ni heman.*
 tomorrow father=HON go=LNK1 take
 '... tomorrow you take it away with you, father.' (52-10)
- (48) ... *ei-nana Agapitu Baretu raine'=ini hai umu.*
 2s-elder.sibling A. B. last.night=LNK1 NSIT die
 '... your brother Agapito Barreto died last night.' (101-356)

7.2.2 Adverbial clauses expressing aspect

The only grammaticalised aspect marker *hai* and its use are discussed in § 5.3.1.1 (p. 361). Apart from this item, the verb-phrase internal adverbials *uari* ‘still’ and *hau* ‘all, totally’ are relatively commonly used to express aspectual notions, as described in § 5.3.3.1 (p. 368) and § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369), respectively. Yet other aspectual notions are expressed with clausal adverbial predicates, grouped in the following sections according to their semantics. These share with the time adverbials discussed in the above sections the inability to make up utterances of their own, even though they are fully clausal, as well as the position to the left of the clauses whose semantics they modify.

7.2.2.1 Imperfective

The most important adverbial expressing an aspectual notion is *ho'onese* or *ho'onese'*, which is made up of the determiner *ho'o* ‘some’ (§ 3.3.2.2, p. 233) and the verb *nese'* ‘aim at, hit’. Its internal structure is unclear; it may be a full clause with a subject and a verb, or a complement-verb complex, or something else entirely. Whatever its internal make-up, the whole behaves like the avalent adverbial verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) and is as such treated as a unit. Semantically, *ho'onese* covers the domain of an imperfective marker: it can mark an action as ongoing at the time of reference, or as happening repeatedly or habitually. (49) through (51) give such examples.

- (49) *Ei ho'onese' sa'a-kini?*
 2s IPF what:BD-do
 ‘What are you doing (right now)?’ (elic130)
- (50) *Asi-ni ho'onese ue-mit=ini iar...*
 1s:POSS-mother IPF 2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 cry
 ‘My mother would often sit there and cry...’ (125-13)
- (51) *... ho'onese uatu fat uatu lima la'a=ni Dili-isi' na'a.muni ma'u...*
 IPF day four day five move=LNK1 D.-at in.turn come
 ‘... (I) used to go to Dili for four or five days and then come back...’
 (126-205)

7.2.2.2 Habituality

Houdai, or *houdainisi*, is used to express habituality. An example of its use is given in (52). The item's length suggests internal complexity; however, its exact internal make-up is unclear.¹⁸⁸

- (52) *Amulafu umu ere e' ere houdainisi=ee¹⁸⁹ dele.*
 person die IDEM VIDEM IDEM HAB=CMPL lament
 'If somebody dies, we usually sing laments here.' (21-041)

A very similar notion is expressed by *raaropa'*. This item includes an element *-ropa'*, which must be identical to the quantifier *ropa'* 'many' discussed in § 3.2.3.14 (p. 215). The meaning of the element *raa-*, on the other hand, is not clear. No comparable formative is found elsewhere in the language. *Raaropa'* can be translated either as 'regularly' or as 'often', as exemplified in (53). Again, note the occurrence of a clitic=*ee* on the adverbial. This element is analysed as identical to the complementiser discussed in § 3.6.2 (p. 265; see also § 7.6.1.1, p. 430).

- (53) ... *ere asi-ama ani raaropa'=ee tepa ma'u ama paun*
 IDEM 1s:POSS-garden 1s HAB=DEF constant come garden pull.out
e'.
 VIDEM
 '... this is my garden, I came here regularly to weed.' (118-22)

Another element covering the habitual meaning is *ho'onese*. As discussed in § 7.2.2.1 (p. 417), this item is broader in its applicability, covering largely the semantic domain generally labelled imperfective. A further frequently used marker of habituality is the Indonesian loan *biasa(nya)*, as illustrated in (54), where, as a matter of fact, it cooccurs with *ho'onese*.

- (54) ... *ini lopu u k-ia'=ini biasanya ini filem toton=ini ini*
 1pe house one 3:UND-under=LNK1 usually 1pe movie watch=LNK1 1pe
biasa ini ho'onese ta tane-tane.
 usually 1pe IPF REC RDL-waken
 '... we who were staying in one house usually watched movies and we usually woke each other up (in time for the movies).' (120-004)

¹⁸⁸ The *houdai* part might be the verb *dai* 'pass' (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210) with the complement verb (*k*)-*ou-* 'towards', though the semantic motivation of the use of such a complex as a marker of habituality is not immediately obvious. If this analysis is correct, the element *isi* in the variant form *houdainisi* may be the clause linker =*isi* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250), confirming the clausal nature of this adverbial expression. Note, however, that this leaves the *n*-element in *houdainisi* unexplained.

¹⁸⁹ See § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430) for the element =*ee* on *houdainisi*.

7.2.2.3 Continuative

In a few cases, the movement verb *mara* ‘go’ appears to be used like a continuative marker. Even though this construction does not make use of an adverbial predicate as those discussed in § 7.2.1 (p. 414) through § 7.2.2.2 (p. 418), it results in a similar multi-clause construction pertaining to one state of affairs and thus qualifies as a sentence unit. However, whereas the aspectual adverbial predicates precede the clauses they modify, the continuative *mara* ‘go’ follows it, as in (55).

- (55) ... *ki-joven=ee rial=ini uatu.uere.uatu.uere ta helur=ini*
 3:POSS-young=DEF many.HUM=LNK1 daily REC change=LNK1
- mara.*
 go
 ‘... there were many youths, and there was a constant coming and going every day.’ (101-253)
 (lit. they kept exchanging each other)

This construction is rare, and it is unclear whether *mara* ‘go’ can in fact be considered to be grammaticalised in a continuative function.

7.2.3 Other adverbial clauses

Any clause may be used in the same way as the adverbial predicates discussed in the previous paragraphs to provide circumstantial information modifying another clause. The whole forms a sentence unit. (56) and (57) show two such cases; in (56) a clause involving a time-of-day predicate with a fixed subject (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164) provides the temporal anchoring of the following clause. In (57), it is *kamunei tuku ru resi-loloi* ‘tomorrow at 12 o’clock’, a free combination of elements. Both of these indications of time are fully clausal and can make up utterances of their own.

- (56) ... *mu’a kamu na’u tepa filem tifi-mutu’...*
 ground night just constant movie TV-inside=LNK1
 ‘... at night, there were always movies on TV...’ (120-003)
- (57) ... *kamunei tuku ru resi-loloi fi meih la’a...*
 tomorrow punch ten remain:RED-two lpi two.HUM move
 ‘... the two of us go tomorrow at 12 o’clock...’ (120-127)

Such non-lexicalised adverbial clauses may be placed in the left-detached position (§ 7.6.1.1, p. 430), in which case they are marked with the complementiser (§ 3.6.2, p. 265). Alternatively, they may be constructed as separate clauses in either paratactic linkage or with clause-linking clitics (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250). An example, with unmarked linkage, is given in (58).

- (58) *Ei so'ot=ini heru-ini ei dadau dai-hael teuh.*
 2s want=LNK1 weave-do:BD 2s must DAI-cotton buy
 'If you want to weave, you have to buy yarn first.'
 (elic1446)

Such adverbial clauses as shown in (56) can be repeated, as whole units, to indicate regular intervals of time. (59) gives such an example. Similar repetition of phrases is found with NPs (§ 4.6, p. 316).

- (59) ... *mu'a.kamu.mu'a.kamu ani huma=ni ani la'a=ni ako-ini.*
 every.night 1s order=LNK1 1s move=LNK1 steal-do:BD
 '... every night (he) ordered me to go stealing.'
 (101-291)

7.2.4 Epistemic modality

The semantic domain of epistemic modality is largely carried by only one adverbial predicate, *tone'*, which is glossed in the present work as 'perhaps'. It covers a wide range of meanings, ranging from highly uncertain predications to near certainty. (60) and (61) illustrate the opposite ends of this scale.

- (60) *Aira ki=selu=fata tone' jaringan Iliomar-isi'=ee hai ue'.*
 year ATTR=other=COND perhaps network I.-at=DEF NSIT V2DEM
 'Next year there will perhaps already be net coverage in Iliomar.'
 (elic814)

- (61) *Kiloo taure-fani'=ini fera ani neok ani tone' ma'en.*
 3s which:RED-like=LNK1 try 1s deceive 1s perhaps know
 'In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.'
 (elic1053)

§ 7.2.1.1.1 (p. 415) points out that *tone'* 'perhaps' can also be used with future reference. This must be an extension of its modal use. (62) shows that *tone'* is also used to render an optative clause.

- (62) *Kiloo tone' ma'u.*
 3s perhaps come
 'Hopefully he will come'
 (elic1741a)

Tone' partly extends into the domain of deontic modality; it frequently occurs in the sense of 'should', generally in questions either to the self or to another person; (63) gives such an instance. Similarly, *tone'* also occurs in advice or instructions to another person, as in (64).

- (63) ... *ani tone' mei=ni sa'a-fani' kini=ni ani tone' ujian ani*
 1s perhaps take=LNK1 what:BD-be.like do=LNK1 1s perhaps exam 1s

tone' mini.
 perhaps follow

'... how should I do it so I can take the test?' (73-49)

- (64) *Ei kauar=ee tone' ate-hasa ere ke'.*
 2s cold=DEF perhaps tree-leaf 1DEM drink
 'If you have a cold, take this medicine.' (elic820a)

A higher degree of uncertainty is expressed by *kato* or *koto*. This adverbial is sometimes found with an element *halee* as *koto halee*, though the meaning and contribution of the latter is unknown. Most generally, this expression, which functions like an adverbial predicate, presents a situation as hypothetical, as shown in (65). As (66) demonstrates, however, it is also frequently used to mark uncertainty. Its modal meaning is much more restricted than that of *tone'*.

- (65) *Ei koto.halee Portugal-isi'=ere ei Portugal ki-lolo-ini lolo?*
 2s maybe P.-at=CMPL 2s P. 3:POSS-say-NML say
 'If you were in Portugal, would you speak Portuguese?' (elic830)

- (66) *Ki-mata hai isu u=si koto ume'=ini*
 3:POSS-child NSIT seed one=LNK2 maybe VDEM.DIST=LNK1

ni-mata-isi-ne'et=ini muni ma'u=uai.
 REFL-child-at:RED-think=LNK1 return come=UAI
 'He already has a child, so maybe being over there he will think of his child and come back.' (74-127)

7.3 Deontic modality

The modal verbs given in Table 7.4 deal with the speaker's commitment as to the expressed proposition's believability, obligatoriness, desirability, or reality.

group I	<i>dadau</i>	must
	<i>tenki</i>	must
group II	<i>so'ot</i>	want
	<i>tule</i>	not want
group III	<i>me'e</i>	be able
	<i>nopa'e</i>	cannot
	<i>irau</i>	not allowed
group IV	<i>hul</i>	be able

Table 7.4: Modal verbs

All of these modal verbs can be used in a construction where they are followed by a syntactically independent clause or sentence expressing the proposition whose content they modify. Due to its resemblance to a complement clause, this is called the complement clause extension in the discussion in § 3.2.3.10 (p. 186). With these modal verbs, the clauses involved always share the same subject, which is expressed in the modal verb clause. (67) through (69) give a few examples.

- (67) *Ani ua=nata nomo hul=ini ma'u ai-sirvisu...*
 1s CLS=CTF.COND NEG able=LNK1 come VIDEM:RED-work
 ‘Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...’ (125-40)

- (68) *Ei hai rau sotemee se-dai irau ini teni kohoru=ni*
 2s NSIT good self alone-pass not.allowed 1pe again with=LNK1
fuli-dai.
 together:RED-pass
 ‘You had better go by yourself, don’t walk with us any more.’ (115-038)

- (69) *Asi-ni se me'e ki-nua-nua haka.*
 1s:POSS-mother very able 3:POSS-RDL-eat search
 ‘My mother could find food very well.’ (101-055)

Note, however, that in the case of *tule* ‘not want’, such a multi-clause construction is found in the speech of one individual only, who has been living in Portugal for several years and is thus separated from the larger speech community. It is not clear how widely acceptable this structure is.

There is some variety as to the nature of the linkage between the modal clause and the clause or clauses expressing the proposition modified by it. On the one hand, the clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) may be used for this purpose, as in (67). (68) and (69) show sentences where no linker is used between the clauses. Whether or not a linker can be used appears to be a lexical property of individual modal verbs; Table 7.5 gives an overview over the patterns found.

Paratactic linkage	<i>tule</i>	not want
	<i>me'e</i>	be able
	<i>nopa'e</i>	cannot
	<i>dadau</i>	must
	<i>tenki</i>	must
Paratactic linkage / linkage with = <i>ini</i>	<i>hul</i>	be able
	<i>so'ot</i>	want
	<i>irau</i>	not allowed

Table 7.5: Modal verbs: types of linkage

The modal verbs are classified in four groups in Table 7.4, depending on what kind of variant constructions, if any, are possible. Note that these subgroups appear to be

semantically based; group I involves verbs expressing necessity, group II verbs expressing volition or lack thereof, and group III consists of a variety of verbs associated with possibility, both internal (as with ‘can’ and ‘cannot’), and externally imposed (as with ‘not allowed’). Group IV, finally, consists of only one verb; the question of the internal semantic consistency of the group is thus moot.

The modal verbs of group I are only found in such multi-clause sentences as exemplified in (67) through (69). Those in group II, on the other hand, allow for the expression of the modified proposition in the form of an object argument. In this case, the modal verb clearly heads the structure. (70) and (71) give examples.

- (70) *Ani [papa-horu]_{OBJ} hai tule...*
 1s Indonesian-with NSIT not.want
 ‘I didn’t want to stay with Indonesians (as a servant) any more...’
 (101-209)

- (71) *Ani [semalae]_{OBJ} hau so’ot=po [mu’u]_{OBJ} nomo so’ot.*
 1s pineapple all want=ADVR banana NEG want
 ‘I like pineapples better than bananas.’ (elic1440)
 (lit. I like pineapples very much, but I don’t like bananas.)

So’ot ‘want’ and *tule* ‘not want’ are also found with the complementiser, although the ordering of elements in the two constructions differs significantly. See § 3.6.2 (p. 265) and § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) for more discussion.

The variant construction found with modal verbs of group III is quite the opposite, in terms of the syntactic hierarchy of constituents, of that of the verbs in group II. To wit, these verbs allow for a construction where they stand in the complement position of the modified proposition’s verb. In this construction, thus, the modal verb is a syntactic dependent of the content verb. (72) and (73) exemplify this construction type.

- (72) ... *ani [uere’ me’e]_{COMPL-mi-kerek}.*
 1s 2DEM.V able-along:RED-write
 ‘... I could write that along.’ (101-200)

- (73) *Fi [ueir e’ ere nopa’e]_{COMPL-seti-la’a}.*
 1pi river V1DEM 1DEM cannot-pass-move
 ‘We cannot cross the river here.’ (elic1657)

Note that in these cases, it is only the position of the undergoer relative to that of the modal verb which distinguishes the two constructions. (74) and (75) show the same verbs in multi-clause sentences with unmarked linkage. In these, the undergoer arguments follow the modal verb, whereas in (72) and (73) they precede them. The fact that in these constructions, the undergoers stand in the same predication as the complement-verb complex, rather than in a separate clause with the light verb *mei* ‘take’ (§ 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203), suggests that the modal verbs are understood to be semantically transitive and compatible with an object argument.

- (74) *Asi-ni se me'e ki-nua-nua haka.*
 1s:POSS-mother very able 3:POSS-RDL-eat search
 'My mother could find food very well.' (101-055)
- (75) *Namiraa nomo forit ere nopa'e ate mei nama-dane...*
 man NEG strong IDEM cannot wood take upwards:RED-lift
 'This man who is not strong cannot lift the wood...' (elic1777)

The single modal verb of group IV, finally, combines the properties of group II and group III. Not only can *hul* appear in a multi-clause construction as demonstrated in (67) above, it can also either head the modal construction, as in (76), where the modified proposition is expressed as its object argument, as well as be a dependent, as in (77), where it is the complement in a complement-verb complex, as evident through the use of its reduced form and the bound form of the content verb.

- (76) ... *ani [ira u dane]_{OBJ} oko nomo hul...*
 1s paddy one lift yet NEG able
 '... I was not yet able to maintain a paddy...' (31-05)
- (77) ... *heil heil heil=ini tepa [nomo hu]_{COMPL}-seil.*
 pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD
 '... (he) keeps pulling, but does not manage to pull (him out).' (102-100)

The two constructions, although they are syntactically quite opposite, do not seem to involve any semantic differences.

7.3.1 Other modal notions

Note that there is no reference in Table 7.4 to modal verbs specifically expressing necessity or permission. The semantic field of necessity is covered in Makalero by *dadau* 'must' and *tenki* 'must'. While *dadau* is always constructed as discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2.2 (p. 196), *tenki* can be found with no subject of its own in an impersonal construction, as in (78). In this case, it translates as 'it is necessary'.

- (78) ... *ma'u=ni tenki Iliomar=ee ki-adat=ee ue'...*
 come=LNK1 must I.=DEF 3:POSS-customs=DEF V2DEM
 '... then it is necessary that the traditions of Iliomar exist (be upheld)...' (72-11)

There is also Portuguese loan *prezisa* 'need to', which, however, is only found with nominal arguments in the object position, as in (79), not with clausal structures. As such, it appears to be a regular transitive verb that is not associated with a structural unit above clause level and is omitted from the present discussion.

- (79) ... *amuni nasaun ki=selu-isi'=ini ma'u koto fi-lolo-ini persiza...*
 person nation ATTR=other-at=LNK1 come maybe 1pi-say-NML need
 '... a person from another country comes and needs our language...'
 (98-37)

The notion of permission is most often expressed with the verb *rau* 'good', in two distinct constructions which parallel the variants exhibited by the modal verbs of group III. On the one hand, the proposition which is modally modified by *rau* can be constructed as that verb's argument – note that this is the subject, rather than the object argument, due to the fact that *rau* 'good' is semantically intransitive. An example of this construction type is given in (80). On the other hand, the two clauses or sentences involved can be constructed as two independent clauses in a sequence. In this case, it is possible to use the clause linker *=ini* between them, as in (81).

- (80) [*Ani rau-rau ei ira-tu'il mei=ee*]_{SUBJ} *rau=uai na'an?*
 1s RDL-good 2s water-bamboo.container take=DEF good=or NEG.EX
 'Can I borrow your water container for a moment?' (elic325)
- (81) *Rau=ni ani feesta-isi-la'a=uai na'an?*
 good=LNK1 1s party-at:RED-move=or NEG.EX
 'May I go to the party?' (elic124)

The opposite meaning, prohibition, is expressed by *irau* 'not allowed'. It looks like the initial vowel of this verb is a prefix that makes *rau* 'good' negative; however, since no such element is found elsewhere in the language to confirm this idea, it must remain speculative.

Another option for the expression of a permissive-like notion is the use of a purposive linker (either *=taa* or *=p-*; see § 8.1.8, p. 474). Note that in (82), the clitic *=taa* stands with a single clause only and can hence not be said to function as a linker between two clauses.

- (82) *Uai=ni iraku=taa k-ua-ue-daru=ni...*
 CLS=LNK1 3s=PURP 3:UND-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-place:BD=LNK1
 'So let it stand on (the fire), and then...' (50-10)

7.4 Verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions

Verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions are found in multi-clause sentences very much like those shown for modal verbs in § 7.3 (p. 421). In these sentences, the complement clause extension follows the verb of saying, as exemplified in (83) through (85).

- (83) *Uai=ni asi-nana ki=pere lolo=ni "ei iskola nomo*
 CLS=LNK1 1s:POSS-elder.sibling ATTR=big.SG say=LNK1 2s school NEG
rau=konai=ni ei uere'-isi-la'a=na'a=ua?"
 good=CSQ=LNK1 2s 2DEM.V-at:RED-move=INT=QM
 'So my older brother said, "you can't go to school, and as a consequence of
 that you want to join this?"' (126-113)
- (84) *Papa aftane' ani pada=ni ama-isi-la'a.*
 father PT 1s order=LNK1 garden-at:RED-move
 'Father ordered me to go to the garden.' (elic1524a)
- (85) *Ina-uai ei-isi-leu ma'u=te'e=na'a.*
 mother-HON 2s-at:RED-call come=after=INT
 'Mother called to you to come over.' (elic1057)

Again, both paratactic linkage, as in (85), as well as the use of the linker =*ni*, as in (83) and (84), are possible. Table 7.6 summarises the patterns found with individual verbs in the corpus.

Paratactic linkage	<i>komesa</i>	start
	<i>konta</i>	tell
	<i>ma'akini</i>	wrongly think
	<i>oko-na</i>	not yet
Paratactic linkage / linkage with = <i>ni</i>	<i>lolo</i>	say
	<i>aka'</i>	afraid
	<i>huma</i>	order
	<i>isi-der</i>	answer
	<i>leu</i>	call
	<i>fana</i>	teach
	<i>ofarana</i>	dream
Linkage with = <i>ni</i>	<i>fatar</i>	force, oblige
	<i>fuin</i>	dare
	<i>mot</i>	dare
	<i>neok</i>	lie
	<i>pada</i>	order

Table 7.6: Verbs of saying: types of linkage

Several of these verbs also allow for the expression of the quoted speech as an object argument. For more information, see § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187).

7.5 The conative with *fera* ‘try’

As discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193), the conative construction with *fera* ‘try’ may take the form of a multi-clause sentence, much like those found with modal verbs and verbs of saying. An example is given in (86). In such a construction, *fera* is not found in combination with a clause linker, but only in paratactic linkage. See § 5.2.2.5.3 (p. 343) for more discussion on this conative construction.

- (86) *Kiloo taure-fani* '=ini [fera]_{CLS} [ani neok]_{CLS} ani tone' ma'en.
 3s which:RED-be.like=LNK1 try 1s lie 1s perhaps know
 ‘In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.’
 (elic1053)

7.6 The formal characteristics of the sentence

§ 7 (p. 401) gives the rationale for the unit ‘sentence’ as a unit intermediate between a clause and an utterance in semantic terms: a sentence consists of one or more clauses pertaining to one extralinguistic state of affairs or event. The types of multi-clause structures that this definition is meant to capture are illustrated in § 7.1 (p. 402) through § 7.5 (p. 427). On a formal level, these units are defined by the presence of a so-called left-detached position as discussed in § 7.6.1 (p. 427); this position can either hold dislocated arguments or non-argument topics, or adverbial information. § 7.6.2 (p. 434) briefly reviews the evidence for the presence of a right-detached position.

7.6.1 The left-detached position

Formally, sentences can be defined through the presence of what Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 36) call the left-detached position, or LDP, which is “outside of the clause but within the sentence”. This position can account for such discontinuous sentences as (87) and (88), in both of which a clause expressing adverbial information intervenes between the subject and the object of another clause, as represented by the bracketing. This happens with both pronominal as well as nominal subjects, as shown in (87) and (88), respectively. The adverbial clause in (87) is one with its own dummy subject, *mu'a* ‘ground’. Clearly, *kiloo* plays no role in this clause, but belongs to the following clause, the predicate of which stands after the linker =*isi*. The same holds for (88), where the adverbial predicate *aire* ‘now’ is avalent (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141) and constitutes a one-word clause.

- (87) *Kiloo [mu'a oko nomo kamu]=isi muni-ma'u.*
 3s ground yet NEG night=LNK2 return-come
 ‘He came home before night(fall).’
 (elic632)

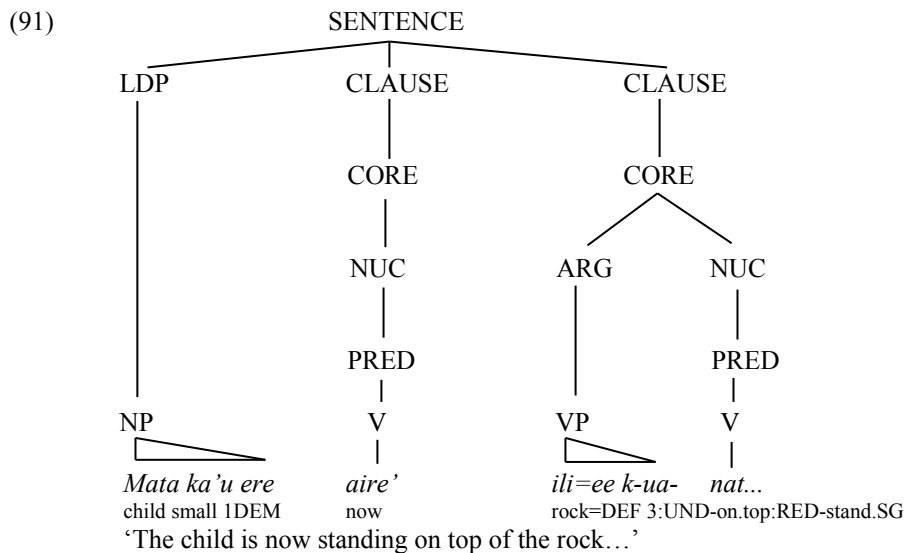
- (88) *Mata ka'u ere [aire'] ili=ee k-ua-nat=ini...*
 child small 1DEM now rock=DEF 3:UND-on.top:RED-stand:SG-LNK1
 'The child is now standing on top of the rock and then...' (102-056)

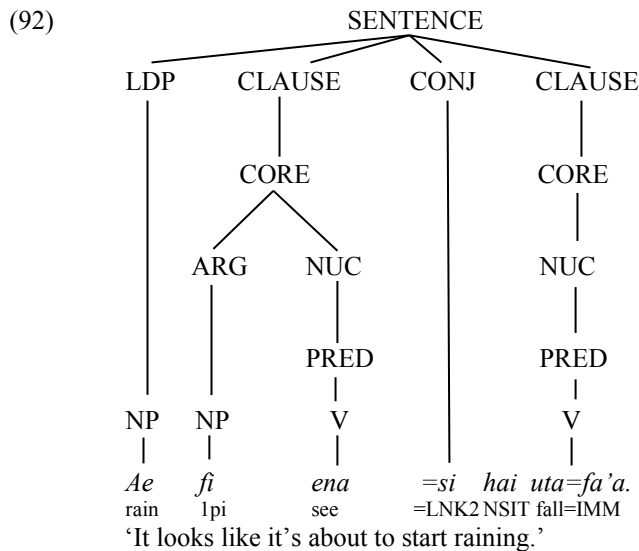
Not only such temporal adverbial expressions as discussed in § 7.2 (p. 413) appear in this type of construction, but in fact any type of adverbial clause. Examples with non-temporal adverbial clauses are given in (89) and (90). Again, the adverbial clause intervenes between the subject and the predicate of the clause it modifies, making it discontinuous. Note that the two clauses can either be linked paratactically, as in (88) above, or with a clause linker, as in (89) and (90).

- (89) *Ae [fi ena]=si hai uta=fa'a.*
 rain 1pi see=LNK2 NSIT fall=IMM
 'It looks like it's about to start raining.' (elic243)

- (90) *... ani [komu fi importante]=si uere lolo.*
 1s since 1pi important=LNK2 2DEM say
 '... I say this because it (we?) is important.' (101-314)

This process transcends clause boundaries and hence clearly functions above clause level. Van Valin and LaPolla's LDP seems appropriate to deal with this phenomenon. In their representation, the sentences in (88) and (89) would look as follows.





Not only subjects, but also object arguments can stand in the LDP. Examples are given in (93) and (94). Again, the NPs in questions are separated from the clauses with the verbs in whose participant frame they are by adverbial clauses marked with square brackets.

- (93) *Faru ere [uatu pere]=te'e ani k-utu.*
 shirt 1DEM day big.SG=after 1s 3:UND-wear
 'This shirt, I wear only on holidays.' (elic642)

- (94) *Ki-resin ere [ani ma'u]=ini mei=ni ni-noko-raa kini...*
 3:POSS-rest 1DEM 1s come=LNK1 take=LNK1 REFL-younger.sibling-PL give.to.3
 'The rest I gave to my siblings when I came...' (101-112)

Placing an NP in the LDP can apparently have both a topicalising as well as a focalising effect, although topicalisation is much more common (see § 9.2.1, p. 495). The LDP is, of course, also available in one-clause sentences, of which two examples are given in (95) and (96). The constituents in the LDP are bracketed.

- (95) *[Asa-paru un=ee]_{LDP} ani uari tepa afu.*
 bird-female one=DEF 1s still constant carry
 'The female one I still carried around with me...' (101-045)

- (96) *[Tufuraa ere]_{LDP} ki-nami tepa pase.*
 woman 1DEM 3:POSS-husband constant beat
 'This woman is often beaten by her husband.' (elic1290)

The left-dislocation of an argument into the LDP leaves a gap in its original position in the clause. In some instances (to be further investigated), the dislocated

participant is taken up in its position inside the clause by a resumptive element. Again, this is possible with both subject arguments, as in (97), as well as object arguments, as in (98). Whereas in (97), the personal pronoun is repeated as such, the lengthy noun phrase in (98) is replaced by the derived deictic verb *uere*’, whose main function is that of recapitulating long arguments (see § 3.2.3.9.1, p. 186).

- (97) ... *ani uatu.uere.uatu.uere ani ni-mali ajuda...*
 1s daily 1s REFL-cousin help
 ‘... every day I helped my cousin...’ (101-472)
- (98) *Asi-tufur ki=pere ki-nami ere ani uere’ ko-horu.*
 1s:POSS-sister ATTR=big 3:POSS-husband IDEM 1s V2DEM 3:UND-with
 ‘My big sister’s husband, I stayed with him.’ (101-465)

Not only NPs that are syntactic arguments and semantic participants of the main clause predicate can be found in the LDP, but also NPs which are neither. In (99), the negative existential *na’an* is intransitive, thus not associated with an undergoer; its subject is the coordinated NP *ki-nua ki-ke* ‘food and drink’. The first person exclusive pronoun *ini* thus has no grammatical role in the clause, but can be said to set the frame of validity for the following clause. Similarly, in (100), the deictic verb *ue*’ is intransitive, its subject argument being *afa=hi’a* ‘only bones’. The NP *asi-afur=ee* ‘my body’ has no grammatical role in this clause, but sets the frame for the following clause, determining its range of applicability. In both cases, the non-argument NP in the left-detached position is bracketed.

- (99) [*Ini*]_{LDP} *ki-nua ki-ke’ tepa na’an.*
 1pe 3:POSS-eat 3:POSS-drink constant NEG.EX
 ‘We had no food or drink.’ (101-104)
- (100) *Uai=ni=ni=po [asi-afur=ee]_{LDP} afa=hi’a=ni ue’*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1=ADVR 1s:POSS-body=DEF bone=only=CTR V2DEM
ulit=hi’a=ni ue’...
 skin=only=CTR V2DEM
 ‘But my body was only skin and bones...’ (101-034)

Such non-arguments in the LDP are clear instances of topics. The LDP can thus hold both argument topics as well as non-argument topics.

7.6.1.1 Adverbial sentences in the LDP

A special type of constituent analysed as standing in the LDP are adverbial clauses. They are similar to non-argument topics as discussed in § 7.6.1 (p. 427) in that they are not arguments of the following clause or clauses, but provide circumstantial information about them. In fact, it could be said that these, too, set the frame for the following clause. Such adverbial sentences are followed by a form of the

complementiser (§ 3.6.2, p. 265), thus either =*ere*, =*ee*, or =*e*', as illustrated in (101) through (103). Note that the adverbial in the LDP in (101) is itself a complex sentence involving an adverbial predicate, *hana 'e* (REM.PT).

- (101) [*Ani hana 'e ka 'u-ka 'u=ere*]_{LDP} *asi-ni asi-upa*
 1s REM.PT RDL-small=CMPL 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father
ani-afa-umu...
 1s-away.from-die
 'When I was very small, a long time back, my parents died, leaving me
 (alone)...' (124-01)
- (102) ... [*ani ena=ee*]_{LDP} *asi-isi-ne'et hau asan ani upa lesa...*
 1s see=CMPL 1s:POSS-at:BD-think all long 1s father not.have
 '... when I see (this), I am sad (because) I don't have a father...' (16-08)
- (103) *Uai=ni=si [asi-upa umu=e']_{LDP} *ani nomo na'u hu'at.*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s:POSS-father die=CMPL 1s NEG just sad
 'So when my father died, I was not suffering so much.' (101-007)*

The other main use of the complementiser is with verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187). (104) exemplifies this with a clausal object, as bracketed. The proposition expressed by this object is embedded within a superordinate clause and is hence analysed as subordinated (see § 8.3, p. 481).

- (104) *Kiloo [seur nua=e']_{OBJ} *tule...*
 3s meat eat=CMPL not.want
 'He does not want to eat meat...' (elic211)*

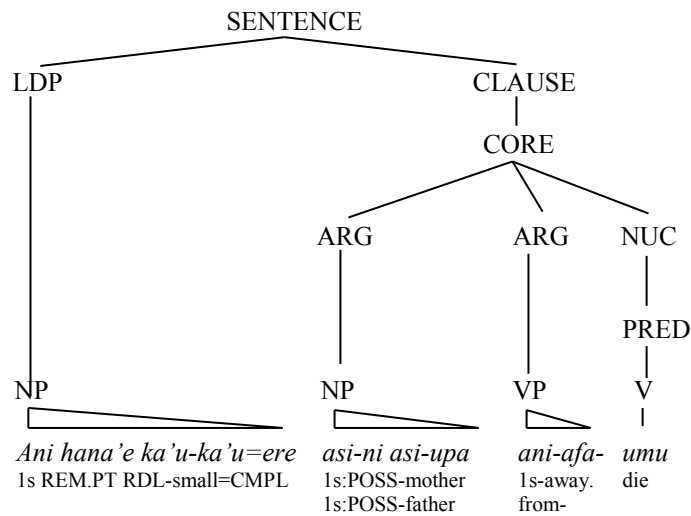
In analogy, the adverbial sentences in (101) through (103) are also analysed as subordinate to the main clauses, which follow them. In this, adverbial sentences marked with the complementiser differ from those treated in § 7.1 (p. 402) through § 7.5 (p. 427), which are syntactically free clauses found in coordination with another clause to form a sentence unit. Syntactic evidence supporting the distinct analyses of these two types of adverbial constructions comes from the fact that adverbial clauses with the complementiser in the LDP appear not to be compatible with a left-dislocated clause argument. In the case of a sentence involving a coordinated adverbial clause, as that in (105) (repeated from (89) above), however, an argument from the content clause can readily be left-dislocated into the LDP.

- (105) [*Ae*]_{LDP} [*fi ena*]=*si hai uta=fa'a.*
 rain 1pi see=LNK2 NSIT fall=IMM
 'It looks like it's about to start raining.' (elic243)

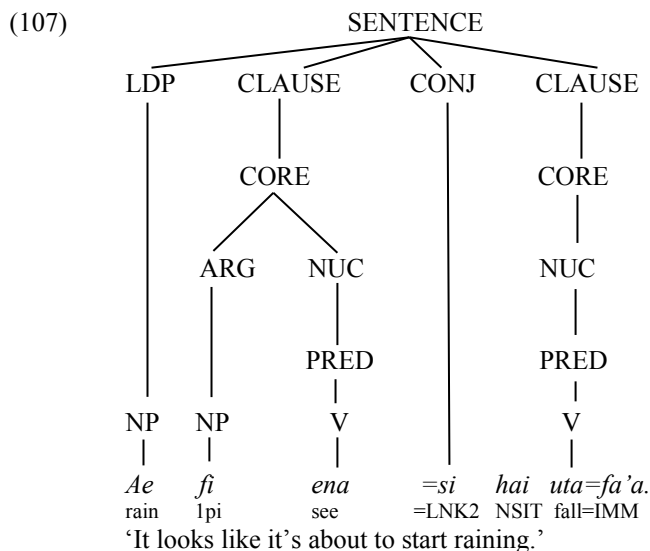
The fact that left-dislocation of arguments and adverbial clauses with the complementiser are not compatible with one another shows that these adverbial

sentences occupy the left-detached position. There are thus two quite distinct ways to construct adverbial clauses; on the one hand, they can be subordinated to a main clause in the LDP. On the other hand, they can be constructed as coordinated to what semantically corresponds to the main clause. This latter construction leaves the LDP free for the left-dislocation of arguments from the main clause. For illustration, the syntactic make-up of the sentence in (101), with a subordinated adverbial expression in the LDP, is shown in (106) below. As a comparison, (107), repeated from (92), gives the structure of (105), where an adverbial clause is coordinated to the main clause.

(106)



‘When I was very small, a long time back, my parents died, leaving me (alone)...’



A very frequently used narrative device, *(u)ere-isi’=ee* or *(u)ere-isi’=ere*, is an instantiation of an adverbial clause with the complementiser in the LDP. It literally translates as ‘being in this (situation)’. A typical example of its use is given in (108).

- (108) *Ma’u=ni [ere-isi’=ee]_{LDP} ki-ouar e’=ini*
 come=LNK1 IDEM-at=CMPL 3:POSS-master V1DEM=LNK1
ni-ha’auin-isi’=ini tia...
 REFL-place-at=LNK1 sleep
 ‘Here, the master is in his bed and sleeps...’ (38-004)

Adverbial clauses made up of avalent adverbial predicates (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141) are normally constructed as coordinated. However, they can also be placed in the LDP. As (109) shows, in this case they stand with the complementiser.

- (109) ... *hana’e hau atanana asi-suku Ailebere ki-nei*
 REM.PT all first 1s:POSS-suco A. 3:POSS-name
oko nomo mei=ni Ailebere tamu [hana’e=ere]_{LDP} Leorai.
 yet NEG take=LNK1 A. name REM.PT=CMPL L.
 ‘... first of all, long ago, my suco Ailebere was not yet called Ailebere; a long time ago, it used to be called Leorai.’ (35-09)

7.6.2 The right-detached position

Parallel to the LDP at the left of the sentence, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 37) recognise an RDP, a right-detached position, at the right of the sentence. Evidence for the existence of such a position in the Makalero sentence is weak, with a very limited number of relevant examples. Such cases include questions with right-dislocated interrogative pronouns (§ 3.3.1.4, p. 228), such as (110), as well as assertions as in (111).

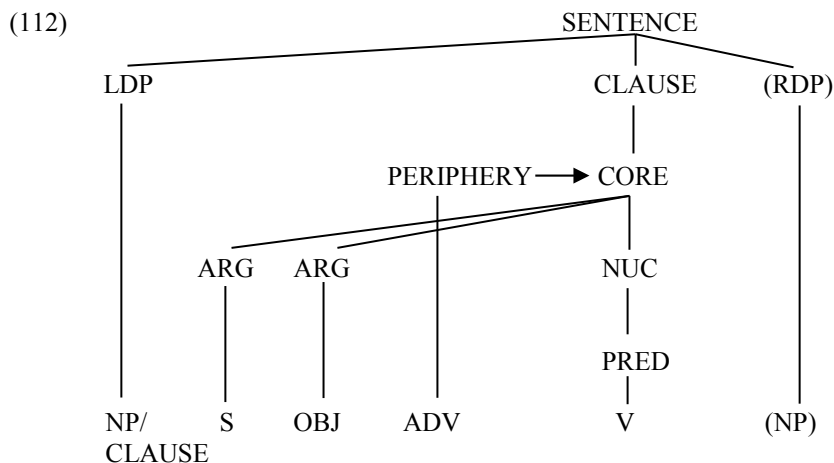
- (110) *Ei ena mutu heke mu'ani? - Ina-uai.*
 2s see inside difficult who.SUBJ mother-HON
 'Who is angry with you? – Mother.' (elic626)

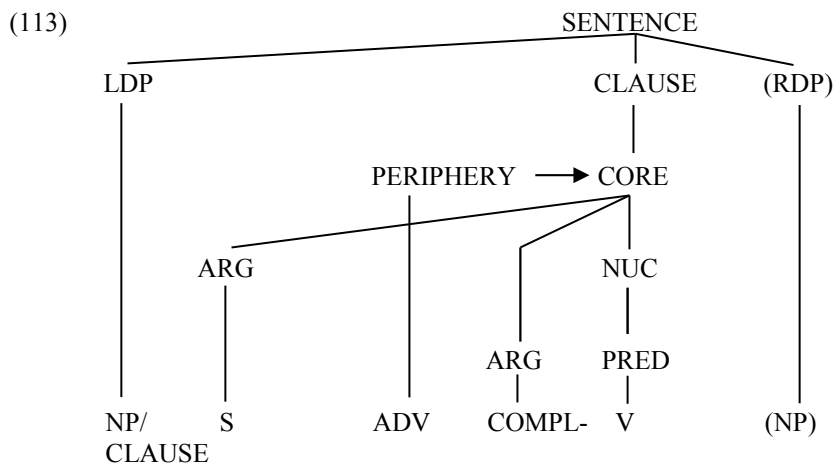
- (111) ... *aramari manini uai=ni=ni ale manini kalsa faru...*
 wardrobe give.to.1s CLS=LNK1=LNK1 rice give.to.1s trousers shirt
 '... (he) gave me a wardrobe, and gave me rice, and trousers and a shirt...' (101-221)

With the very limited evidence, it is unclear whether the RDP should be seen as a structural position in its own right.

7.6.3 Summary

Summarising the results gained from § 6 (p. 383) and § 7 (p. 401) so far, the unit 'sentence' in Makalero may be represented as in (112) and (113). In order to keep these schemas simple, both (112) and (113) show monoclausal sentences. It is an important property of the sentence, however, that it can be made up of two or more clauses, which may or may not be linked by a conjunction.





7.7 Sentence types

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41, 47) define illocutionary force as an operator on clause level. In Makalero, illocutionary force operates on sentence level rather than on clause level. As such, it was not discussed with clause-level operators in § 6.6 (p. 393), but only at this point, with sentence-level units. Crystal (1991: 314) gives declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative as sentence types. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41) do not include exclamative, but add optative instead as a type of illocutionary force. In the following, declaratives are discussed in § 7.7.1 (p. 435), interrogatives in § 7.7.2 (p. 438), imperatives in § 7.7.3 (p. 444), and exclamations in § 7.7.4 (p. 450). Optatives do not seem to play much of a role in Makalero grammar; nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, a brief discussion is given in § 7.7.5 (p. 452).

7.7.1 Declaratives

Declarative sentences at the end of an utterance are characterised by falling intonation. A typical example is illustrated in Figure 7.1. It shows the last two words of the sentence in (114), *liurai Iliomar* ‘the king of Iliomar’. The pitch contour of this constituent is roughly level with a distinct fall on the last syllable.

- (114) *Dili atanana lafu'=ee ta amuni mu'a ouar ere liurai Iliomar.*
 D. first live=CMPL TA person ground master IDEM king I.
 ‘When Dili first came to be, the owner of the land was the king of Iliomar.’
 (89-01)

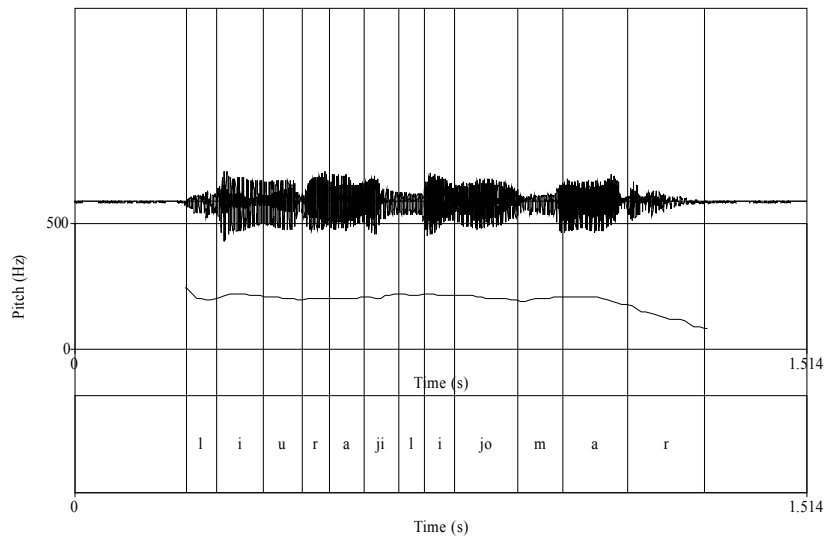


Figure 7.1: *Liurai Iliomar* ‘the king of Iliomar’, pitch

Declaratives in the middle of an utterance have a level or slightly rising intonation. An example is given in Figure 7.2, which represents the bracketed bit from (115).

- (115) ... *sefar uere ki-mani poo-pase=ni [ki-ueri hau lesu=ni]*
 dog 2DEM 3:POSS-neck hard?-beat=LNK1 3:POSS-bottom all open=LNK1

mei=ni ki-atumatar hau mei le-isi’.
 take=LNK13:POSS-intestines all take outside:BD-at

‘... (they) hit the dog hard on the neck and opened its bottom and took out the intestines.’ (118-31)

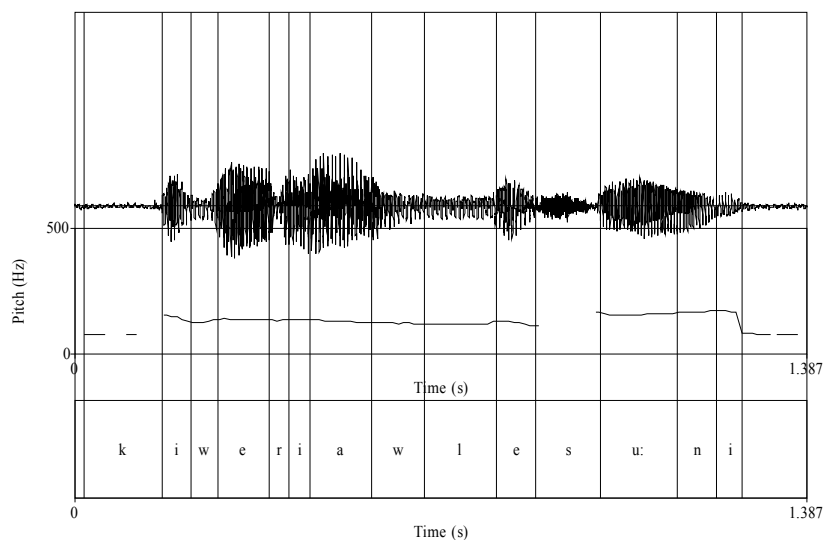


Figure 7.2: *Ki-ueri hau lesu=ni* ‘opened its bottom’, pitch

Declaratives are not usually marked as such by an overt morpheme. However, some speakers use the clitic =*uai* ‘or’ at the end of a declarative. This morpheme is more commonly a question marker and its use in declaratives is an idiosyncrasy of individual speakers. (116) gives an example, including the sentence ending in =*uai* as well as the following sentence. Note that the particle is not repeated in tail-head linkage (§ 9.3.1, p. 507). The pitch contour of the bracketed part in (116), shown in Figure 7.3, demonstrates that such declaratives end in a distinctive rising intonation, similar to questions marked by the same morpheme (see § 7.7.2.1, p. 438).

- (116) ... [*liurai Iliomar hai isa=uai*]. *Liurai Iliomar hai isa=ni*
king I. NSIT go.down=UAI king I. NSIT go.down=LNK1

nama-nat=ini hai lolo “*Hei Pirisistu!*”

upwards:RED-stand.SG=LNK1 NSIT say INTERJ P.

‘... the king of Iliomar came down. After the king of Iliomar had come down, he stood up there and said “Hey Pirisistu!”’ (89-12)

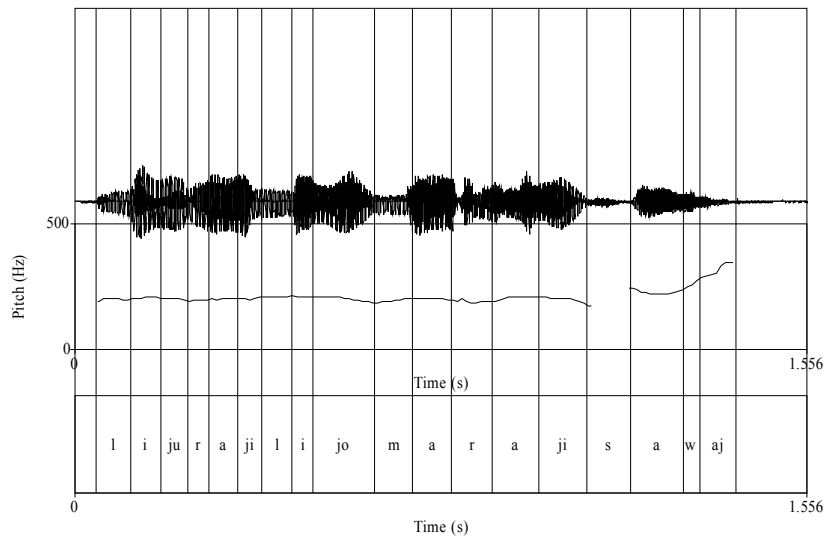


Figure 7.3: *Liurai Iliomar hai isa=uai* ‘the king of Iliomar came down’, pitch

7.7.2 Interrogatives

There are two kinds of interrogatives, namely polar questions (yes/no-questions) and interrogative word questions (wh-questions). In the following, § 7.7.2.1 (p. 438) gives a short discussion of polar questions, followed by § 7.7.2.2 (p. 443) on interrogative word questions.

7.7.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions do not involve a question word. They consist of a full sentence and expect an answer in terms of yes and no. Polar questions in Makalero need not be marked morphologically as such. In such cases, it is only the rising-falling intonation contour that marks them as interrogatives. An example is given in (117), with the corresponding pitch contour shown in Figure 7.4. Note that the overall pitch contour gently rises, reaching a peak on the final syllable; following this pitch peak, there is a distinctive drop on that same syllable.

- (117) ... *ei so'ot=ini ueri leuk?*
 2s want=LNK1 bottom drill
 ‘... do you want to have (your) bottom drilled?’ (118-38)

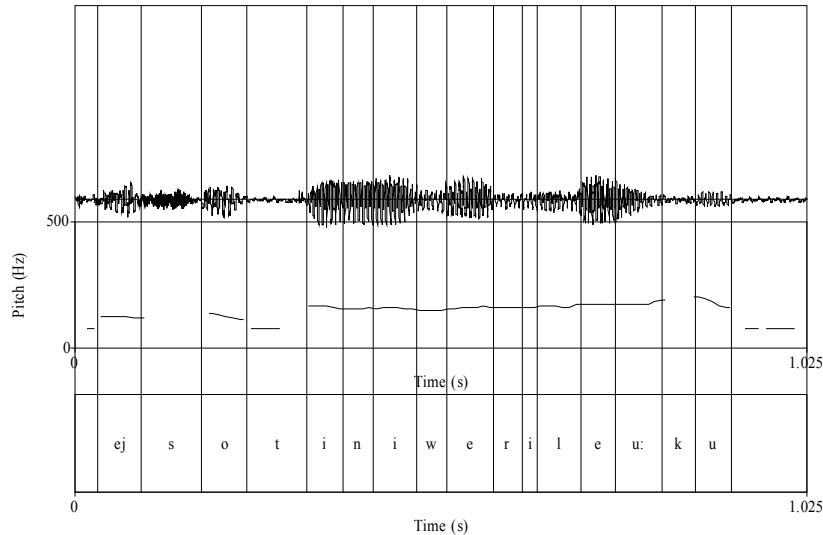


Figure 7.4: *Ei so'ot=ini ueri leuk* 'do you want to have (your) bottom drilled?', pitch

Na'an, the negative existential, and *oko-na* 'not yet' are frequently used as one-word answers to yes/no-questions. There is, however, no good positive one-word answer. The Portuguese loan *sim* 'yes' is found in that function very occasionally. Also, speakers accepted the verb *tafi* 'true' as a one-word answer upon questioning, though such a structure was not produced in natural speech. In general, the most common reply to a polar question is the repetition of a part of or the whole sentence. Two examples are shown in (118) and (119).

- (118) *Ei tafi isit? – Ani tafi isit.*
 2s true ill 1s true ill
 'Are you really ill? - Yes.' (elic871)

- (119) *Kiloo hai nami-ena? – Tone' hai nami-ena.*
 3s NSIT husband-see perhaps NSIT husband-see
 'Is she married already? – Maybe.' (elic1152-1152a)

In the case of verbs with complement clause extensions, such as *so'ot* 'want' in (117) above, it is these superordinate verbs that are repeated as one-word answers to two polar questions. That is, a positive answer to a question as (117) is *so'ot* '(I) want'.

Polar questions can be overtly marked as such by the markers =*ua* and =*uai* (*na'an*), both of which are cliticised to the right end of the question. Note that =*ua* is homophonous with the relative marker (§ 3.3.5.1, p. 240). While a historical relationship between the two is unproven, it is a fact that relative makers very commonly derive from interrogative words cross-linguistically. (120) and (121) give

examples of the use of =ua as a question marker (see § 7.7.1, p. 435, above for the use of the same particle with declaratives).

- (120) *Ei hana'e Iliomar isi-la'a=ee ei Makalero lolo=ua?*
 2s REM.PT I. at:RED-move=CMPL 2s M. say=QM
 'When you were in Iliomar, did you speak Makalero?' (chat001)

- (121) *Umere nomo mei ka'a=ua?*
 DEM.DIST NEG take put.on=QM
 '(She is) not recording that (yet), is she?' (86-01)

The pitch contour of (121) in Figure 7.5 displays some similarity to that of the unmarked question in Figure 7.4: There is a pitch peak on the penultimate syllable followed by a distinct fall. This corresponds to the peak on the ultimate in the unmarked question in Figure 7.4. This pitch peak is followed by another, smaller peak, on the question marker =ua. In other words, the intonation of a =ua-marked question appears to be the same as that of an unmarked question, with the addition of a smaller intonation peak for the question marker, following the main peak on the verb.

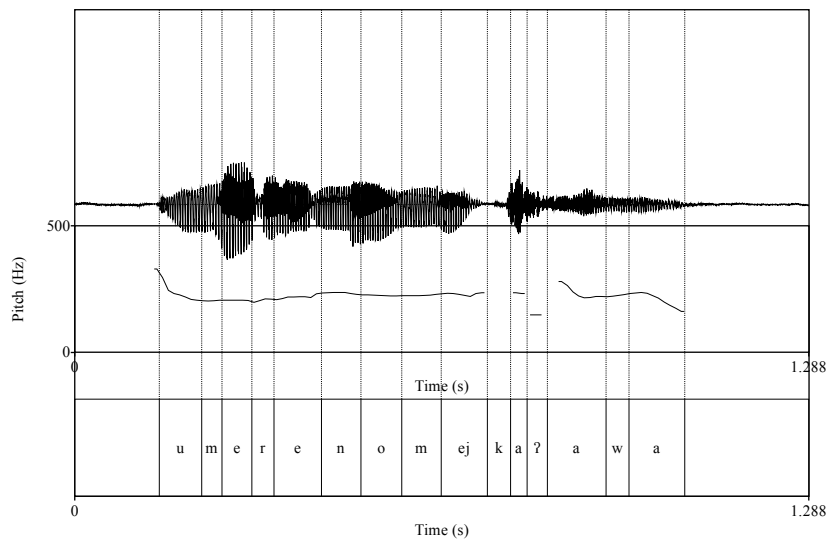


Figure 7.5: *Umere nomo ka'a=ua* 'not recording that, is she?', pitch

=uai na'an is a tag question, translated literally as 'or not?'. An example is given in (122).

- (122) ... *ani ei asar=ana=po ei to-so'ot=uai na'an?*
 1s 2s send=INT=but 2s accompany:RED-want=or NEG.EX
 '... I want to send you (somewhere)', do you want to do that or not?'
 (120-044)

The intonation of a question with the =*uai na'an* question tag is similar to that of a question with the =*ua* marker or an interrogative word. Figure 7.6 shows that the overall pitch rises slightly, culminating on =*uai* 'or', before falling on the negative existential *na'an*.

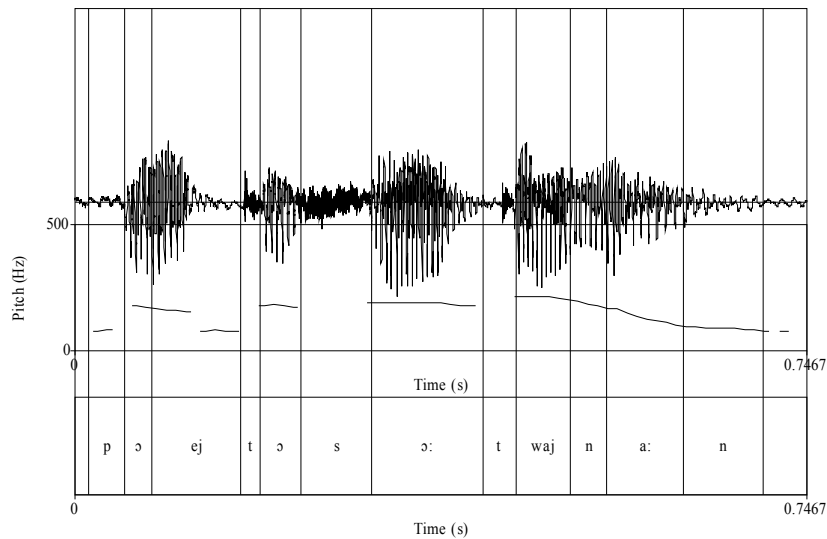


Figure 7.6: =*po ei to-so'ot=uai na'an* 'do you want to do that or not?', pitch

The final *na'an* is also frequently dropped, resulting in the clitic =*uai* 'or' being used as a de-facto question marker similar to =*ua*. An example of this use is given in (123).

- (123) ... *teli=ee to hai ki-uasir-isi'=uai?*
 maize=DEF TO NSIT 3:POSS-harvest-at=or
 '... is the maize ready to harvest?'
 (118-18)

The pitch curve of this sentence in Figure 7.7 shows that the intonation of a =*uai*-question resembles that of the question with the =*uai na'an* tag in Figure 7.6, with the exception that it is cut short, so to speak, right after the pitch peak reached on the clitic =*uai*. While there is a slight lowering of the curve on the last syllable, it lacks the distinctive fall found on unmarked questions and those with the marker =*ua*. This confirms that the question marker =*uai* is a shortened form of the =*uai na'an* question tag rather than an interrogative marker in its own right.

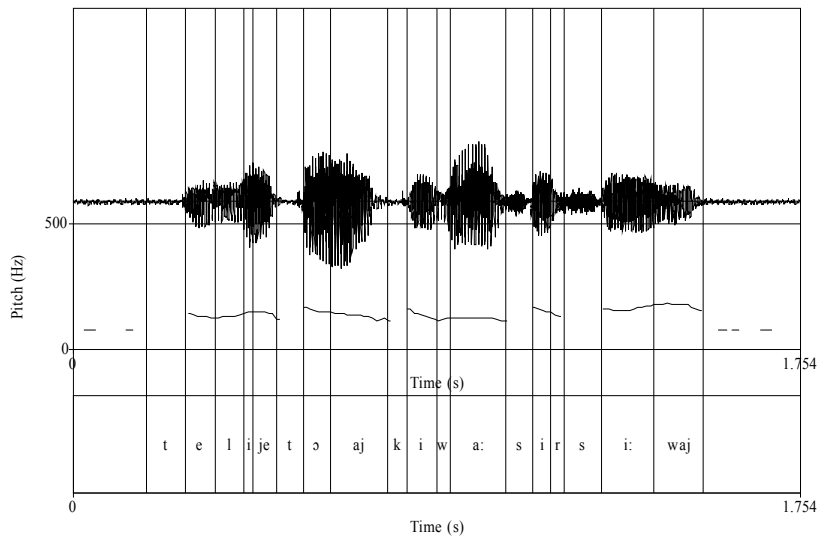


Figure 7.7: *Teli=ee to hai ki=uasir-isi'=uai* 'is the maize ready to harvest?', pitch

The use of a phrase meaning 'or not', as well as simple 'or', as a question tag is fairly common in Timorese languages, being also found e.g. in Tetum and in Fataluku. The examples in (124) and (125) are from Tetum.

- (124) *Mestra bolu André ka lae?*
 teacher.FEM call A. or no
 'Did the schoolmistress call André (or not)?' (Hull and Eccles 2001: 90)

- (125) *Sira fa'an jornál portugés ka?*
 3p sell newspaper Portuguese or
 'Do they sell Portuguese newspapers (or)?' (ibid.)

Hull and Eccles (2001: 90) consider *ka* to be a loan from the Malay question marker *-kah* of the same use. However, the Makalero data, which show the same semantic pattern but without the homophony, do not support this hypothesis, but rather suggest a reading along the lines of a shortened form of the *ka lae* 'or not' question tag, as suggested above for =uai and =uai na'an.

7.7.2.2 Interrogative word questions

As discussed in § 3.2.3.6 (p. 167) and § 3.3.1.4 (p. 228), question words in Makalero fall into two separate lexical classes. *Sa'a-* ‘what (BD)’ and *mu'a-* ‘who (BD)’ have been categorised as pronouns, while all other question words are verbal.

(126) shows a monoclausal question with the pronominal interrogative *sa'a-* ‘what (BD)’, while (127) exemplifies a question with the interrogative *taure-* ‘which (BD)’ functioning as the complement to *fani* ‘be like’. The whole of this complement-verb complex translates as ‘how’. Notwithstanding the different syntactic status of the interrogatives used, the corresponding pitch contours show that the intonation is largely the same, i.e. gently falling. Notice, however, the very slight peak on the (pen)ultimate in both cases.

- (126) ... *ah mata-niki ii sa'a-seur nua?*
 INTERJ child-PL 2p what:BD-meat eat
 ‘... ah, children, what kind of meat are you eating?’ (118-33)

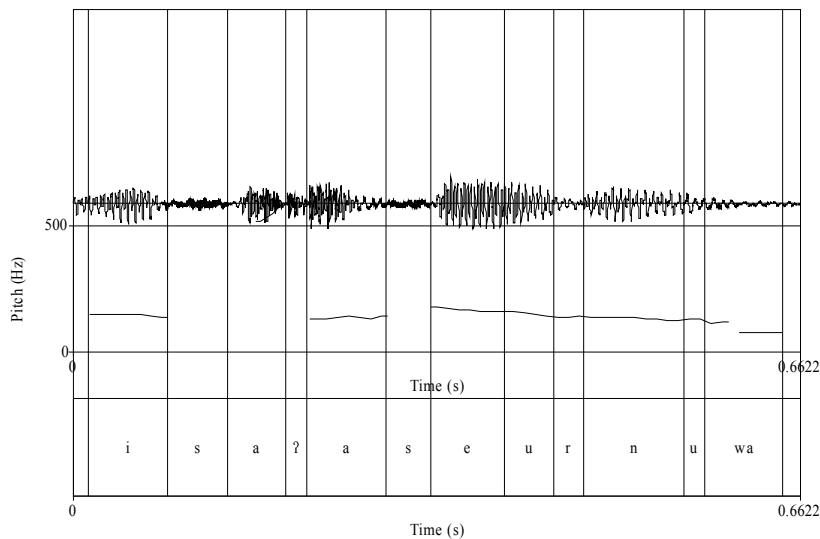


Figure 7.8: *Ii sa'a-seur nua* ‘what kind of meat are you eating?’, pitch

- (127) ... *teli=ee taure-fani'?*
 maize=DEF which:RED-like
 ‘... how is the maize (doing)?’ (118-14)

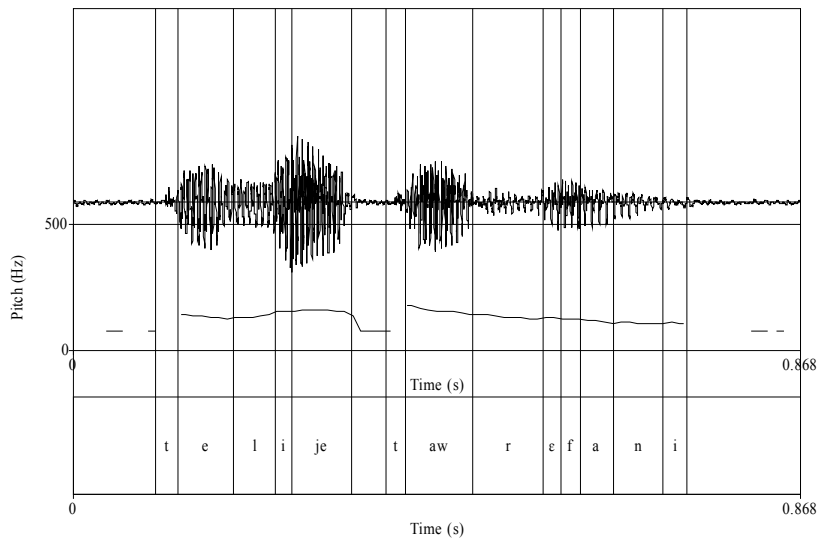


Figure 7.9: *Teli=ee taure-fani* 'how is the maize (doing)?', pitch

Questions with interrogative words and polar questions (§ 7.7.2.1, p. 438) are thus clearly distinct structures in all respects, including such aspects as presence of question markers, syntactic structure, and intonation.

7.7.3 Imperatives

There are a variety of forms an imperative sentence can take in Makalero. It can be either unmarked, as discussed in § 7.7.3.1 (p. 444), make use of a special construction to mark the imperative illocutionary force, shown in § 7.7.3.2 (p. 447), or, finally, use an imperative particle, as described in § 7.7.3.3 (p. 449).

7.7.3.1 Unmarked imperatives

Unmarked imperatives have the same syntactic structure as declaratives. While it is very common for the subject (addressee) to be unexpressed, as in (128), it can be overtly expressed in the sentence, resulting in a normal declarative sentence structure used with imperative force. This is illustrated in (129). Figures 7.10 and 7.11 show their respective pitch contours.

- (128) ... *ho'o mei ni-mata hau kini!*
 some take REFL-child all give.to.3
 '... give some to your child!'

(101-073)

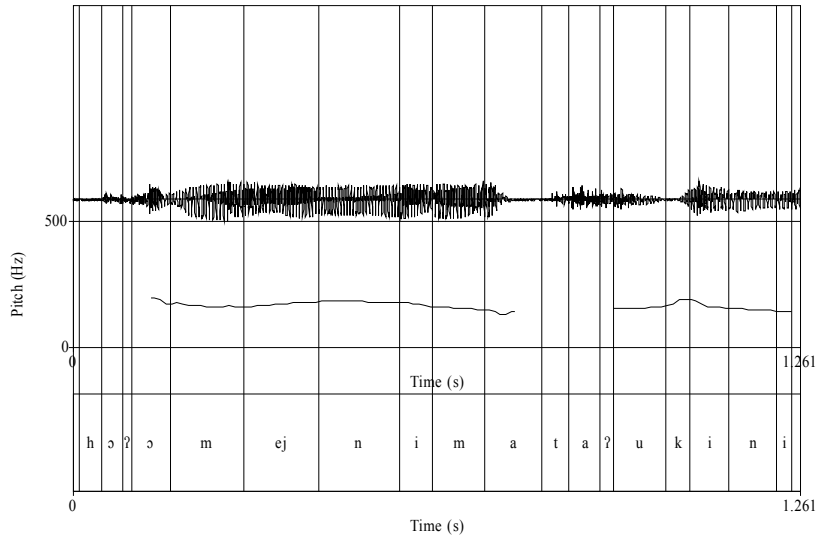


Figure 7.10: *Ho'o mei ni-mata hau kini* 'give some to your child!', pitch

- (129) *Agus [ei Dili-isi-la'a asi-noko ko-horu]!*
 A. 2s D.-at:RED-move 1s:POSS-younger.sibling 3:UND-with
 'Agus, you go to Dili to stay with my brother!' (101-241)

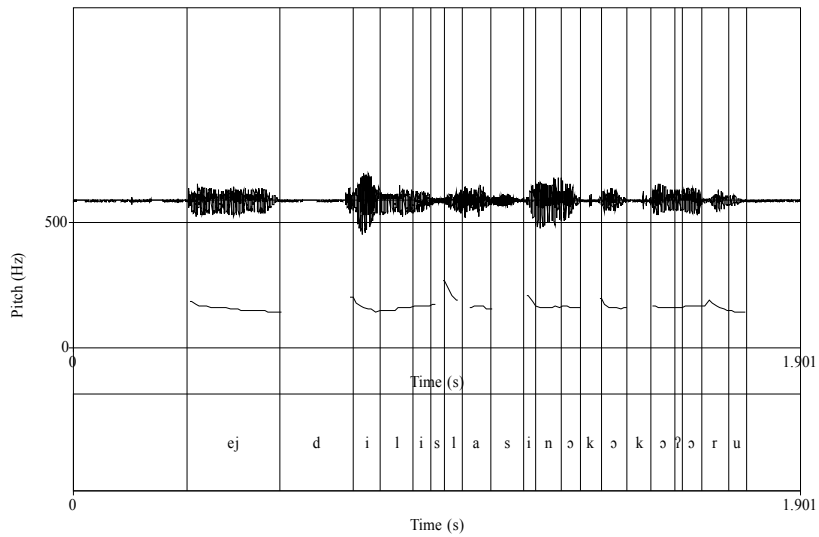


Figure 7.11: *Ei Dili-isi-la'a asi-noko ko-horu* 'you go to Dili to stay with my brother!', pitch

Figures 7.10 and 7.11 show that the intonation of the two sentences in (128) and (129) is roughly the same, whether or not a subject is expressed.¹⁹⁰ Both exhibit a relatively level intonation contour with a little peak on the (pen)ultimate. That is, though syntactically identical to declaratives, unmarked imperatives differ from declaratives in intonation. Recall that declaratives at the end of an utterance have a clear falling intonation, whereas in the middle of an utterance, they exhibit a level or slightly rising intonation (see § 7.7.1, p. 435).

Very frequently, the VP-internal adverbial *hau* ‘all’ is used in imperatives. This verb seems to be evolving into an aspect marker denoting the completion of an action (§ 5.3.3.2, p. 369). An example of its use in an imperative sentence is (128) above. Prohibitives are formed with the modal verb *irau* ‘not allowed to’ (§ 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193). Like other imperative sentences, they can stand with or without an overtly expressed addressee, as shown in (130) and (131), respectively.

(130) *Irau ka'el=ete!*
 not.allowed bite=after
 ‘Don’t bite (it just yet)!’ (102-095)

(131) *Ei urau rei-la'a.*
 2s not.allowed outwards-move
 ‘You don’t go out! / You are not allowed to go out.’ (elic1154a)

The pitch contour of (130) shows a roughly level intonation with a peak on the penultimate and a fall at the end, which looks roughly similar to the intonation given in Figure 7.10 for (positive) imperatives.

¹⁹⁰ The speaker of (129) was suffering from a throat condition, which made his voice very hoarse and resulted in the jagged pitch contour of Figure 7.11. Nevertheless, an overall relatively level intonation pattern comparable to that of (128) is recognisable in the Figure.

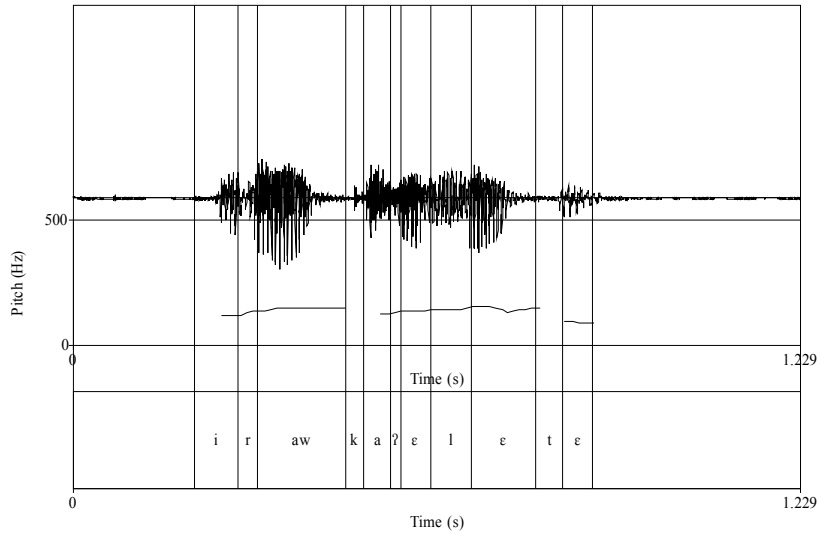


Figure 7.12: *Irau ka'el=ete* 'don't bite!', pitch

7.7.3.2 Imperative constructions

A variety of special constructions to signal imperative force are in use. Among them are the use of *hai rau* (NSIT good), described in § 7.7.3.2.1 (p. 447), the clause linker =*te'e*, detailed in § 7.7.3.2.2 (p. 448), the particle *kini*, as discussed in § 7.7.3.2.3 (p. 448), and, finally, the use of the movement verb *ma'u* 'come' in first-person imperatives, as laid out in § 7.7.3.2.4 (p. 449).

Few such imperatives occur in the recordings, thus the following sections do not provide intonation curves. Nevertheless, from the limited evidence, it appears none of these constructions has a very distinctive intonation pattern which sets it apart from the imperatives as discussed in § 7.7.3.1 (p. 444).

7.7.3.2.1 *Hai rau* 'it is good'

Hai rau literally translates as 'it is good / okay'. It is sometimes found preceding the actual imperative VP. Note that where it cooccurs with an overtly expressed addressee, it follows that addressee. Its function appears to be the softening of a direct order. Examples are given in (132) and (133).

- (132) ... *hai rau mara tia=na'a ka'u=te'=ete ani mara ei tane.*
 NSIT good go sleep=INT little=after=after 1s go 2s waken
 '... (please) go ahead and sleep, in a while I will come and wake you.'
 (120-014)

- (133) ... *hai rau la'a!*
 NSIT good move
 '... go!' (120-071)

7.7.3.2.2 =te'e 'after'

=te'e is actually a clause linker expressing completion of the action of the first clause before the onset of the action of the following clause (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). With imperatives, it attaches to a simple sentence (with no follow-up, as would be expected of a clause linker). However, it can be read as implying a following action, along the lines of 'do x first, before you...'. The effect of the use of =te'e is similar to that of *hai rau*, in that it softens the order and makes it more polite.

- (134) *Muni lolo=te'e!*
 return say=after
 '(Please) repeat!' (elic1033b)
- (135) *Titu ma'u=te'e!*
 T. come=after
 'Tito, come along!' (101-421)

7.7.3.2.3 The imperative marker kini

In a few cases, an element *kini* is found with imperatives. Notably, all of the sentences in question involve an overt second person singular addressee. *Kini*, the exact nature of which is hard to determine due to the scarcity of examples, is homophonous with the indirect information marker =*kini* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.2, p. 258) as well as with the verb *kini* 'do'. It always follows the second person singular pronoun *ei*, as shown in (136) and (137).

- (136) ... *ei kini ma'u=ni mei=na'a...*
 2s IMP? come=LNK1 take=INT
 '... you come and fetch it...' (74-089)
- (137) ... *fi ka'u=te'e hau nua=te'e ei kini asi-ueri to-leuk.*
 1pi little=after all eat=after 2s IMP? 1s:POSS-bottom accompany:RED-drill
 '... after we finish eating in a while, you drill my bottom too.'
 (118-035)

7.7.3.2.4 *Ma'u 'come' in first person plural cohortatives*

First person plural cohortatives, equivalent to English 'let's', are generally formed with the movement verb *ma'u* 'come'. Two examples are given below.

- (138) *Ma'u fi duka!*
 come 1pi play.cards
 'Let's play cards!' (elic285)

- (139) *Ma'u fi Makalero lolo!*
 come 1pi M. say
 'Let's speak Makalero!' (Pinto 2007, title)

Such structures are only found in elicited sentences (as (138)), or in the unnatural setting of a written grammar sketch, as (139). Hence it is quite possible that this structure is actually a calque on one of the contact languages used. In the latter case, this would be an identical structure in Tetum (with *mai* 'come', see Hull and Eccles 2001: 129), and for the former *mari* in the contact language Indonesian (see Sneddon 1996: 332).

7.7.3.3 Imperative particles

Two clausal clitics, =*uai* and =*elo*, have been found to mark imperatives. They are discussed in § 7.7.3.3.1 (p. 449) and § 7.7.3.3.2 (p. 450), respectively. Again, these constructions appear very rarely in the recorded corpus, for which reason I dispense with intonation curves.

7.7.3.3.1 =uai on imperatives

=*uai* on imperatives appears to be the same element that marks questions (§ 7.7.2.1, p. 438) and is used by some speakers on declaratives as well (see § 7.7.1, p. 435). It is thus a very multifunctional device. If cliticised to the right end of an imperative, it serves to make the imperative more polite; in fact, one speaker characterised (140) as closer to a request than an order.

- (140) *Hau kuku=uai!*
 all silent=UAI
 'Please be quiet!' (pelic387a)

- (141) *Ue-mit=uai!*
 V2DEM:RED-sit:SG=UAI
 'Have a seat!' (pelic385)

7.7.3.3.2 Imperatives with =elo

=elo, too, is found cliticised to the right end of an imperative sentence. Again, it considerably softens the order. One speaker suggested its use was more typical with the younger generations. Note that after the verb *pane* ‘wash’ in (142), the final vowel of which is identical to the initial vowel of the clitic, =elo loses its initial vowel. It is not quite clear if the same happens when =elo is cliticised to elements ending in vowels other than /e/.

- (142) *Asi-ropa hau pane=lo!*
 1s:POSS-clothes all wash=EXHORT
 ‘(Please) wash my clothes!’ (pelic388b)

- (143) ... *ka’u=te’e filem ue’=afta ani tane=ni uai fi nonton=elo.*
 little=after movie V2DEM=COND 1s waken=LNK1 CLS 1pi watch=EXHORT
 ‘... in a while when the movie is on, wake me so that we can watch!’
 (120-019)

It appears that =elo can be combined with =te’e to form an imperative, as in (144). No other marking combinations have been found so far.

- (144) *Umere’ mei=ni ma’u=te’e=lo!*
 DEM.DIST.V take=LNK1 come=after=EXHORT
 ‘Bring that here, okay?’ (elic1021)

7.7.4 Exclamations

Exclamations can be either unmarked or expressed in the form of non-embedded nominalisations. Two instances of unmarked exclamations are given in (145) and (146). Note that (146) is introduced by an interjection, which is in fact a very frequent feature of exclamatives.

- (145) ... *ei ere ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa’uk!*
 2s IDEM 2s=CTR woman ATTR=bad
 ‘... you, it is you who is a bad woman!’ (74-100)

- (146) *Hei amu aka’ lesa.*
 INTERJ person afraid not.have
 ‘Hey, you have no morals (shame)!’ (74-107)

The pitch curves show very level intonations with a peak at the end, very similar, in fact, to unmarked questions (§ 7.7.2.1, p. 438). Note, however, the even higher peak on the interjection in Figure 7.14, which can be said to mark the following sentence as an exclamation.

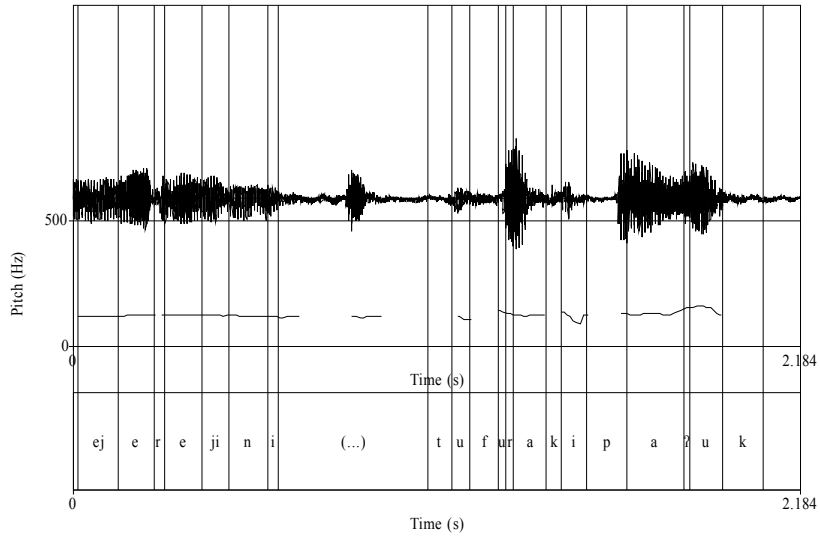


Figure 7.13: *Ei ere ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa'uk* 'you, it is you who is a bad woman!', pitch

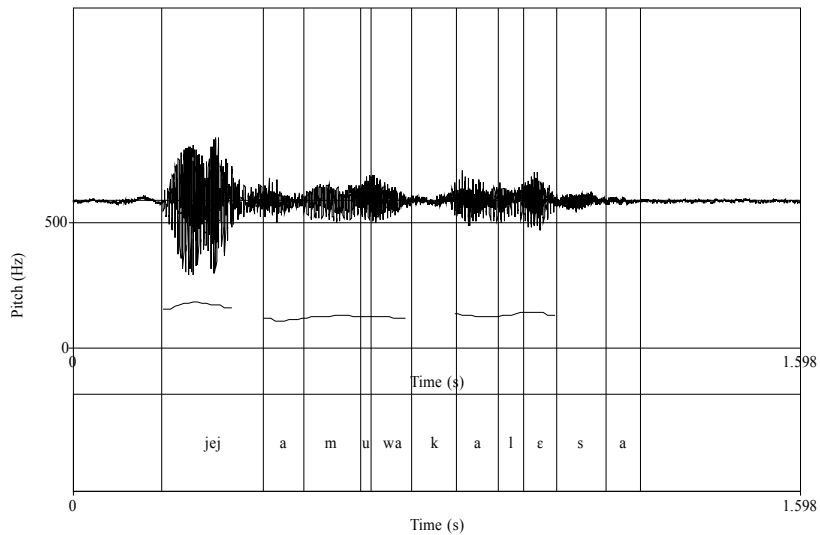


Figure 7.14: *Hei amu aka' lesa* 'hey, you have no morals!', pitch

An exclamative can be nominalised as a whole, either with a bare demonstrative (mostly the near-speaker demonstrative *ere*, though the near-hearer demonstrative *uere* has also been found; see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232), or with a demonstrative and the

clitic contrastive marker =*ini* (§ 9.2.3.1, p. 501). In this latter case, only the near-speaker demonstrative *ere* has been found, not the near-hearer demonstrative *uere*. (147) and (148) exemplify the two variants.

- (147) ... *ho'o mi-seti-seti=oo na'an ere!*
some along:RED-RDL-ask:BD=too NEG.EX IDEM
 '... (you) didn't even ask around a bit!' (74-111)
 (lit. there wasn't even any asking around)

- (148) *Eh aftane' fi nua se fani ere=ni!*
INTERJ PT lpi eat very nice IDEM=CTR
 'Eh, what we ate before was very good!' (118-37)

The term non-embedded, or stand-alone, nominalisation is used for comparable phenomena in Himalayan languages, where, it seems, the phenomenon has been reported first. In Makalero, the function of stand-alone nominalisations seems to be both mirative and contrastive focus (as “a particular instantiation of a variable as one that competes with other possible instantiations”, Bickel 1999: 279). The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive; e.g. (148) could be read as either mirative or contrastive focus. Note that the contrastive marker =*ini* in fact overtly marks contrastivity. Schapper and San Roque (2009) report on the same phenomenon in several languages of the area.

7.7.5 Optatives

There is no distinct optative sentence type in Makalero. In elicitation, optatives have been translated in a variety of ways, which are exemplified in (149) through (151) below. (149) uses the purposive clause linker =*taa* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257); in (150), it is the very general modal verb *tone* ‘maybe, perhaps, probably’ which conveys the optative component (see also § 7.2.1.1.1, p. 415, and § 7.2.4, p. 420); and finally, (151) again uses the purposive clause linker =*taa*, but also, somewhat mysteriously, the (nominal?) clitic =*oo* ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245). No sentence that could be termed optative has been found in the corpus of recorded speech.

- (149) *Uai=taa ma'u.*
CLS=PURP come
 ‘Hopefully he will come.’ (elic1741)
- (150) *Kiloo tone' ma'u.*
3s perhaps come
 ‘Hopefully he will come.’ (elic1741a)
- (151) *Uai=taa ma'u=oo.*
CLS=PURP come=too
 ‘Hopefully he will come.’ (elic1741b)

8. The utterance

An utterance is an actual instance of language in use. It is often made up of one or more clausal units, but not necessarily so (see Payne 1997: 378, fn 1: “propositions are not always expressed in the form of clauses, but also frequently in shorter linguistic forms, such as phrases, interjections, or incomplete structures”). An utterance is commonly defined as a “stretch of speech preceded and followed by silence or a change of speaker” (Crystal 1991: 367). A potentially problematic aspect of this definition (ibid.) is that the term thus comprises a wide variety of speech units, ranging from one-word answers to complete sermons. A more serviceable definition is given in Staden (2000: 207): an utterance is a “language product, bounded by a final intonation contour”¹⁹¹. Though some utterances under this definition are still rather lengthy, it generally yields much more manageable chunks of speech and is thus appropriated in the present work. The final intonation contour of a declarative, shown in Figure 8.1 (repeated from Figure 7.1 above), is distinctly falling and in clear contrast with the rising intonation of a declarative in the middle of an utterance. For comparison, the bracketed clause in (2) and the corresponding pitch contour in Figure 8.2 give an example of the latter (for intonation contours of other sentence types, see § 7.7, p. 435).

- (1) *Dili atanana lafu'=ee ta amuni mu'a ouar ere liurai Iliomar.*
D. first live=CMPL TA person ground master IDEM king I.
'When Dili first came to be, the owner of the land was the king of Iliomar.'
(89-01)
- (2) ... *sefar uere ki-mani poo-pase=ni [ki-ueri hau lesu=ni]*
dog 2DEM 3:POSS-neck hard?-beat=LNK1 3:POSS-bottom all open=LNK1
mei=ni ki-atumatar hau mei le-isi'.
take=LNK1 3:POSS-intestines all take outside:BD-at
'... (they) hit the dog hard on the neck and opened its bottom and took out
the intestines.'
(118-31)

¹⁹¹ This definition does not make mention of the initial boundary of an utterance, which is here defined as following either another utterance with a final intonation contour or a silence.

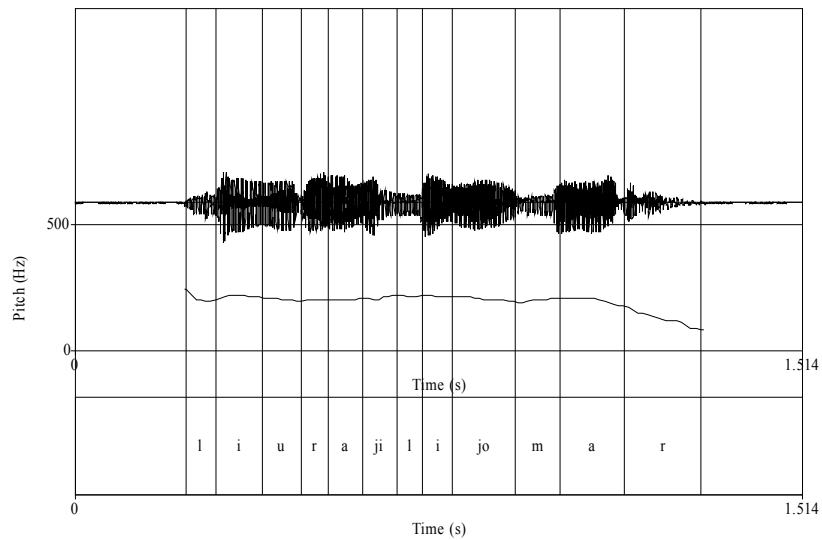


Figure 8.1: *Liurai Iliomar* 'the king of Iliomar', pitch

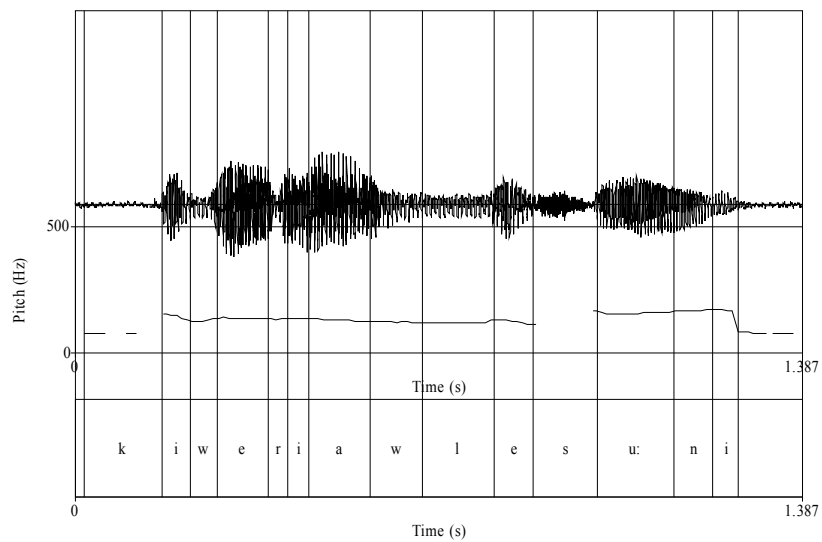


Figure 8.2: *Ki-ueri hau lesu=ni* 'opened its bottom', pitch

Whereas some utterances in Makalero discourse are still rather lengthy under this definition, it nevertheless parcels most spoken texts into manageable bits of the type given in (3) and (4).

- (3) *Hau dasa-la'a=ni uai=te'e=si fi ira ki=selu teni*
 all throw.out-move=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 lpi water ATTR=other again
na'a.muni mei isi'.
 in.turn take at
 'After we've poured it out, we put different water into it.' (50-06)
- (4) *Entaun Ailebere k-isi'=ere hana'e hau atanana asi-suku*
 thus A. 3:UND-belong=CMPL REM.PT all first 1s:POSS-suco
Ailebere ki-nei oko nomo mei=ni Ailebere tamu hana'e=ere
 A. 3:POSS-name yet NEG take=LNK1 A. name REM.PT=CMPL
Leorai.
 L.
 'Thus about Ailebere, in the very beginning, the name of my suco Ailebere was not called Ailebere yet, but before that (it was called) Leorai.' (35-09)

8.1 Clause linking

An utterance is in most cases made up of several clauses, and in some cases in fact quite a large number of them. An array of clitic clause linkers (§ 3.5.2, p. 245, and § 3.5.3.1, p. 250) is used to indicate the relations between the clauses making up an utterance. These types of linkage are discussed in detail in § 8.1.1 (p. 457) through § 8.1.9 (p. 476). The majority of clauses within an utterance are linked to one another with these linkers. Unmarked linkage of clauses within an utterance may occur, however, at sentence level (§ 7, p. 401). Two very prominent types of multi-clause sentences often constructed without linkers are those involving avalent adverbial verbs (§ 7.2, p. 413) as well as those involving a mismatch between semantic participants and syntactic structure (§ 7.1, p. 402). The former is exemplified in (5); note how the clause *kiloo mara* 'he went' is directly joined to the adverbial predicate *kamunei* 'tomorrow, the next day'. An example of the latter type is (6), where the undergoer to the verbal complex *afunasi-kini* 'make pregnant', *faanda* 'young woman', stands in a separate clause with *mei*. Note that in either type of case, a clause linker (most commonly =*ini*, see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247) can optionally occur. The two constructions, with or without a linker, are used without any apparent difference.

- (5) *Kamunei kiloo mara...*
 tomorrow 3s go
 'The next day he went there... ' (52-09)
- (6) *... papa uere (...) fanaraa u mei afunasi-kini.*
 Indonesian 2DEM young.woman one take pregnant-do
 '... the Indonesian made a young girl pregnant... ' (101-226)

Other instances of unmarked clause linkage involve the coordination of verb phrases (§ 5.4, p. 380), as where a list of similar or congenial actions is given. An example is (7), where the verb *meli* is repeated with varying objects. The actions expressed like this are variants of one type of action repeatedly carried out by the speaker, i.e. searching for food in (7).

- (7) ... *ani la'a=ni fasa' meli-meli tinaini ki-ula meli mu'u*
 1s move=LNK1 rubbish RDL-pick cooked.rice 3:POSS-tail pick banana
seta ki-fasu meli...
 ripe 3:POSS-peel pick
 '... I went and looked through the rubbish, for the dried-in rice thrown out
 of a pan, the peels of ripe bananas...' (101-044)

A similar type of unmarked clause linking involves lexical parallelism, a stylistic device which is discussed in somewhat more detail in § 9.3.2 (p. 510). Briefly put, it involves the expression of the same idea in two more or less synonymous words or phrases. In (8), these are two complement-verb complexes, *lopu-ini* 'make a house' and *hat-ini* 'make a shelter'. The two halves of a lexical pair are generally adjoined with no marking.

- (8) ... *ni-asu osan haka uai=ni=taa ni-asu mei=ni lopu-ini*
 REFL-for money search CLS=LNK1=PURP REFL-for take=LNK1 house-do:BD
hat-ini=ni k-ia'=ana=po (...) ni'isi nomo rau...
 shelter-do:BD=LNK1 3:UND-under=INT=ADVR simultaneous NEG good
 '... (we) were looking for money for ourselves so we could build ourselves
 a house and a shelter to live in, (...) but it did not work either...' (124-42)

Other semantic relations between two clauses that may be unmarked are (close) temporal sequences, as shown in (9) with (*k*)-*isa* 'bake' and *nua* 'eat', and coordinated adverbial clauses as in (10) and (11) (see also the discussion in § 7.2.3, p. 419).

- (9) ... *nami=ee k-isa nua.*
 male=DEF 3:UND-bake eat
 '... (I) baked the male one and ate it.' (101-041)
- (10) ... *ani muni ma'u tone' asi-nana tone' ani pase.*
 1s return come perhaps 1s:POSS-elder.sibling maybe 1s beat
 '... (when/if) I come back, maybe my brother will beat me.' (101-048)

- (11) ... *ho'o uata misa ani k-ia-dai=ni ki-uata*
 some coconut go.up 1s 3:UND-under:RED-pass=LNK1 3:POSS-coconut
k-afu-ria'
 3:UND-carry-run
 '... (when/if) somebody climbed a coconut tree, I passed underneath it and
 ran away with the coconuts.' (101-055)

Note, however, that all of the cases of unmarked linkage between two clauses exemplified above may be said to pertain to one situation or event, and as such would conform to the semantic definition of a sentence (§ 7, p. 401). In all other cases, paratactic clause linkage is much rarer.

It is much more common to overtly mark the relationship between clauses within an utterance with the help of a clause linker, a clitic particle that attaches on clause level to the first clause in a sequence of two. Clauses linked by clause linkers can make up fairly long utterances. These clause combinations are discussed in detail in § 8.1.1 (p. 457) through § 8.1.9 (p. 476), based on their semantics. § 8.2 (p. 477), finally, gives a note on the linking of clauses with free conjunctions (§ 3.6.5, p. 269). The individual clause linkers are also briefly discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250), where they are grouped into two classes. The first of these, comprising the majority of clause linkers, may be called coordinating. There is no evidence, with these linking devices, of a hierarchic relation between the clauses. The second, much smaller, class of clause linkers, does involve a hierarchical structure. The concepts of coordination and subordination are treated in more detail in § 8.3 (p. 481).

8.1.1 =ini and =isi: close and loose knitting

As mentioned in § 3.5.2.5 (p. 247) and § 3.5.3.1.1.1 (p. 250), =ini and =isi are the two most frequent clause linkers in Makalero. Both are highly general in meaning. The type of linkage marked by =ini can be paraphrased as establishing a very close, but semantically underspecified, connection between the two clauses linked together. This covers, for instance, both notions of simultaneity as well as sequentiality, as shown in (12) and (13), respectively.

- (12) *Ni-sefar ni-dila ko-horu=ni la'a...*
 REFL-dog REFL-frog 3:UND-with=LNK move
 '(He) goes together with his dog and his frog...' (102-144)
- (13) ... *hama ki-tala pere uere k-ua-mit=ini hai*
 ficus.b 3:POSS-branch big.SG 2DEM 3:UND-on.top:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 NSIT
mu'a-li'an.
 ground-fall
 '... (he) sits on a big branch of the ficus benjamina, and then falls down.'
 (38-066)

(14) and (15) are two alternative expressions of more or less the same state of affairs. Because of the limitations of the Makalero clause, which allows for the expression of only two arguments (see § 6, p. 383, and § 7.1, p. 402), either the location, as in (14), or the patient, as in (15), have to be expressed in a separate predication. Whereas in (14), this is done with the general locative verb *isi*, (15) uses the light verb *mei* ‘take’. Note how in both cases, *=ini* is used to link the two predications together. Whereas (14) can plausibly be read as sequential (‘first I am in Lospalos, and then I meet my friend’), the same is not possible for (15). The first clause, translated literally as ‘I take my friend’, cannot possibly be read as a separate action, but only makes sense with the following clause. The juxtaposition of these two sentences shows that time- iconicity (and thus sequentiality) is not part of the semantics of *=ini*. Also, since *=ini* can be used on either part of the sentence, it shows that there is no asymmetry between the two clauses involved.

(14) *Ani Loospalos-isi'=ini ni-pada hai rata'.*
 1s L.-at=LNK1 REFL-friend NSIT meet
 ‘I met my friend in Lospalos.’ (chat051)

(15) *Ani ni-pada hai mei=ni Loospalos-isi-rata'.*
 1s REFL-friend NSIT take=LNK L.-at:BD-meet
 ‘I met my friend in Lospalos.’ (chat051a)

In a given context, *=ini* can also be read as causal (see (17) below) or contrary to expectation (see e.g. (42) in § 8.1.2, p. 461). With this broad range of interpretations, it appears that *=ini* is more or less equivalent to the coordinate conjunction ‘and’ in English.

=ini is also very frequently cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai* (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204). This process yields the form *uai=ni*, as in (16). This form is so common that speakers seem to perceive it as unanalysable, as evidenced by the fact that an additional *=ini* is often cliticised to it, yielding *uai=ni=ni*. (17) may serve as an example. Further evidence for the fusion of *uai=ni* comes from the fact that it is also often used with the linker *=isi* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) as *uai=ni=si*, whereas *=ini* and *=isi* do not otherwise combine. Both can be translated as ‘and then’, or ‘and so’.

(16) ... *kail=ee na'a.muni la'a fenu pere u kene uai=ni*
 hook=DEF in.turn move turtle big.SG one hit CLS=LNK1
hai la'a fenu pere ki-ha'a-mana-to'e.
 NSIT move turtle big.SG 3.POSS-mouth-hole-inside
 ‘... the hook hit a big turtle, and was inside the big turtle’s mouth.’
 (102-090)

(17) ... *feesta=si uai=ni=ni arapau lasi tina-ini.*
 party=LNK2 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 buffalo cut cook-do:BD
 ‘... there was a party, and so they butchered a buffalo and cooked (the meat).’
 (101-031)

A concomitant of the close semantic relationship between two clauses expressed by =*ini* is the fact that the majority of clauses linked by this clitic share the same actor. In fact, this is the case in sentences (12) through (16) given above, and conceivably also in (17), though the actor intended is not expressed in either clause. Nevertheless, =*ini* is not *per se* a same subject marker, but can be found linking two clauses with different subjects too, as for example in (18).

- (18) *Hai dur=ini ki-sefar=ee hai ma'u fu-ue'...*
 NSIT wake.up=LNK1 3:POSS-dog=DEF NSIT come near:RED-V2DEM
 '(He) woke up, and his dog came close (to him)...' (38-010)

A particular type of construction that regularly involves subject discontinuity is the sentence type discussed in § 7.1.2 (p. 412), which essentially causativises positional or movement verbs.

The second general clause linker, =*isi*, is associated with clauses with different subjects, as opposed to the predominance of same subject clauses which are linked by =*ini*. (19) gives two typical examples of the use of =*isi*. In both cases, the use of the linker coincides with a change of subject. Notice the contrast with the three uses of =*ini* in the same text section, which link clauses with the same subject.

- (19) *Dila mei isi'=isi ki-sefar e'=ini potil=ee hai*
 frog take at=LNK2 3:POSS-dog V1DEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF NSIT

mutu-puna=si ki-ouar ere ue-mit=ini ni-se'
 inside:RED-look=LNK2 3:POSS-master 1DEM V2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 REFL-chin

hai ti'a-dekih=ni hai ne-puna.
 NSIT towards- lean=LNK1 NSIT aim.at?-look
 '(He) put the frog into (the bottle), and his dog is here and looks into the
 bottle, and his master sits there and puts his chin into his hand and looks (at
 it).' (38-003)

In fact, the different-subject connotation of =*isi* is so strong that, even where the subjects of the two clauses in question are unexpressed, the use of =*isi* is clear enough an indicator to ensure a correct understanding of the sentence. An example is given in (20), where the answer to the question 'why is this child crying?' basically consists of two verbs only, namely *pase* 'beat' and *iar* 'cry'. The linker =*isi* between these two predicates indicates that these actions are not carried out by the same agents, while *uai=konai* (see § 8.1.6, p. 471) shows that the second is to be understood as a consequence of the first. The overall interpretation is thus as shown in (20).

- (20) *Mata ka'u ere sa'a-fani-iar? – Pase=si uai=konai iar.*
 child small IDEM what:BD-be.like:RED-cry beat=LNK2 CLS=CSQ cry
 'Why is this child crying? – (Somebody) beat him, that's why he cries.'
 (elic142)

Through its strong association with subject changes, =*isi* is an important device aiding reference tracking in texts (see § 9.1, p. 491).

However, the marking of a subject change is an associated, rather than the main function of =*isi*. This is shown by the occurrence of such sentences as (21), where =*isi* is used as a linker between clauses with the same agent.

- (21) *Amu lima=ni e'=isi hai haka-hau hamar hai haka-hau*
 person five=CTR V1DEM=LNK2 NSIT all-all married.FEM NSIT all-all
sa-ena...
 wife-see
 'Five (children) are here (i.e. alive), and they are all already married...'
 (30-07)

While the subjects of the constituent clauses of (21) are the same, they specify two quite distinct and unrelated states of affairs. As such, I would like to argue that the main function of =*isi* is the linking of clauses expressing actions which are perceived to be loosely related to one another. (22) demonstrates the difference between =*ini* and =*isi*: note that the first and the second verbs, *ue'* (V2DEM) and *ena* 'see', are linked by =*ini*, showing that they are perceived to be closely connected. In fact, they pertain to one event, as *ue'* can be seen to give locative information for the action of seeing. *Horu* 'bark', however, is linked to *ena* 'see' by =*isi*, showing that the two are distinct actions, one following the other.

- (22) *Sefar ere=haka ue'=ini ena=si horu.*
 dog 1DEM=CTR.PRES V2DEM=LNK1 see=LNK2 bark
 'The dog is there and sees (them), and (starts to) bark.'
 (102-032)

A rather large proportion of uses of =*isi* is found in the following three contexts: firstly, the linker occurs very often in conjunction with =*te'e*, the completive linker (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), thus clearly expressing a sequence of separate events. A good example is (23).

- (23) ... *aran=ete=si tafa. Tafa=ni uai=te'e=si mei=ni hael*
 dry=after=LNK2 pile.up pile.up=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 take=LNK1 cotton
mei=ni ko-horu=ni tafa.
 take=LNK1 3:UND-with=LNK1 pile.up
 '... (when the tree bark) is dry, (we) pile it up. After that, (we) take the yarn and pile it up with it.'
 (62-26, 62-27)

Secondly, =*isi* often connects two clauses in a causal relationship. In this case, it can optionally be combined with the consequential linker =*konai* (see § 3.5.3.1.1.6, p. 254). (24) and (25) show such instances, the former with =*konai*, the latter without it.

- (24) ... *kasian mundo ki-raranini na'an=isi=konai ini la'a=ni*
 poor world 3:POSS-decoration? NEG.EX=LNK2=CSQ 1pe move=LNK2
omaraha ko-horu.
 wife.givers 3:UND-with
 '... (we are) poor and there is no beauty to the world, so we go to stay with
 our in-laws.' (33-29)
- (25) *Mara=ni sefar=ee ki-tana hai isit=isi ni-tana hai feil.*
 go=LNK1 dog=DEF 3:UND-hand NSIT ill=LNK2 REFL-hand NSIT lick
 'Then the dog's paw hurts, so he licks it.' (102-107)

Thirdly and lastly, =isi is frequently found with clauses giving adverbial (circumstantial) information. Note that in (26), this adverbial clause is actually embedded within the constituent parts of the main clause, between its subject *kiloo* (3s) and the VP *muni ma'u* 'come back', showing that they form a sentence. While such adverbial clauses may be said to pertain to the same event as the clause they modify, they generally conform to the different subject connotation of =isi – in (26), the subject of the adverbial clause is *mu'a* 'ground' (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164), while the third person pronoun *kiloo* is the agent of the modified clause.

- (26) *Kiloo mu'a oko nomo kamu=isi muni ma'u.*
 3s ground still NEG night=LNK2 return come
 'He came home before nightfall.' (elic632)

Whereas most cases of clauses linked with =isi are time-iconic, there is a small number of instances which suggest that the reverse order is possible. This possibility is also found with the consequence marker =konai (§ 8.1.6, p. 471). (27) is an example, with (28) showing the more frequent time-iconic way of expression. It is not quite clear how to account for a case such as (27).

- (27) *Ani hai tafi hau lepuh, aftane' kamuamu nomo nua-ini=si.*
 1s NSIT true all hungry PT early.morning NEG eat-do:BD=LNK2
 'I am very hungry because I didn't eat earlier in the morning.' (elic1545)
- (28) *Ani aftane' kamuamu nomo nua-ini=si hai tafi hau lepuh.*
 1s PT early.morning NEG eat-do=LNK2 NSIT true all hungry
 'I didn't eat earlier in the morning, so I am very hungry.'

8.1.2 Adversative clause linkage

An adversative relationship between two clauses, in which the second clause is in some way contrary to the expectation based on the state of affairs expressed in the first clause, is most often expressed with =po, which is one of the most frequent clause linkers. (29) gives a typical example.

- (29) ... *u doutor ani ki-nei nomo ma'en=po perauat=ee*
 one doctor 1s 3:POSS-name NEG know=ADVR nurse=DEF
ki-nei Nioman.
 3:POSS-name N.
 '... the one who was a doctor, I don't know his name, but the nurse's name
 was Nioman.' (101-125)

Another linker with adversative meaning is the Portuguese loan =*mais*, as exemplified in (30). Note that it is the only Portuguese-based conjunction to be used as a clitic.¹⁹²

- (30) *Ki-tufur oko nomo ma'en=mais ude'=ini ma'u.*
 3:POSS-sister yet NEG know=ADVR VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 come
 'His sister did not know yet, but came from up there.' (74-026)

While the meaning of =*mais* is unambiguous, it must be noted that the semantics of =*po* are broader than those of the English adversative conjunction 'but' are, as shown clearly in a variety of sentences where 'but' is inappropriate as a translation. The lengthy extract from a retelling of the frog story given in (31) through (36) may serve as an example.

- (31) *Uai=ni=ni ma'u=ni toil=ee k-ua'=ana=po pipi.rusa*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 come=LNK1 cliff=DEF 3:UND-on.top:RED=INT=ADVR deer
kiloo hai mei ue-mu'a-li'an-isa ki-sefar=oo hai toil=ee
 3s NSIT take V2DEM:RED-ground-fall-go.down 3:POSS-dog=too NSIT cliff=DEF
k-ia-mu'a-li'an-isa.
 3:UND-under:RED-ground-fall-go.down
 'Upon arriving on top of the cliff, the deer throws him down there, and his
 dog too falls down the cliff.' (55a-042)
- (32) *Uai=ni=po toil uere k-ia'=ee ira=ni toil uere*
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR cliff 2DEM 3:UND-under=CMPL water=CTR cliff 2DEM
k-ia-u-fe-liu.
 3:UND-under:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-stagnant
 'At the bottom of the cliff, there is a lake.' (55a-043)

¹⁹² *O(u)* 'or' is alternatively realised as a free element or as a clitic like =*mais* 'but'.

- (33) *Ki=ru resi-fitu, pipi.rusa na'u tepa larin*
 ATTR=ten rest:RED-seven deer just constant mountain
k-ua-ude-nat=ini mata ka'u sefar=ee
 3:UND-on.top:RED-VDEM.HIGH:RED-stand.SG=LNK1 child small dog=DEF
mi-puna.
 along:RED-look.at
 'The seventeenth (picture), the deer is still standing on top of the cliff and watches the child and the dog.'
 (55a-044)
- (34) *Isa=ni uai=ni=po mata ka'u=ee la'a=ni ira*
 go.down=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=ADVR child small=DEF move=LNK1 water
mutu-ufe-mu'a-li'an=ee ki-tana na'u tepa
 inside:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-ground-fall=CMPL 3:POSS-hand just constant
nama-dane ki-ia na'u tepa nama-dane.
 upwards:RED-lift 3:POSS-foot just constant upwards:RED-lift
 'Falling down to the bottom, the child's hands and feet go up.'
 (55a-045)
- (35) *Sefar=ee isa=ni mata ka'u k-ua-li'an ki-tana*
 dog=DEF go.down=LNK1 child small 3:UND-on.top:RED-fall 3:POSS-hand
ki-ula ki-ia na'u tepa nama-dane.
 3:POSS-tail 3:POSS-foot just constant upwards:RED-lift
 'The dog falls on top of the child, and his legs and his tail go up.'
 (55a-046)
- (36) *Uai=ni=po ate patan=ee ira liu=ee lafi-ue'=ini(...)*
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR tree trunk=DEF water stagnant=DEF beside:RED-V2DEM=LNK1
ate-hasa=ni ira-mutu-ue-lafu'-mara.
 tree-leaf=CTR water-inside:RED-V2DEM:RED-live-go
 'And there is a tree trunk in the side of the lake, (...) and there are leaves living inside the water.'
 (55a-047)

It is noticeable that in the sequence of sentences in (31) through (36), sentences introduced by *uai=ni=po* alternate with sentences starting without that conjunctive element. Two of the *uai=ni=po* sentences, (32) and (36), give background information, without an apparent notion of contrariness to expectation. The third of the *uai=ni=po* sentences, (34), gives very much the same kind of information as (35), but whereas (34) is introduced by *uai=ni=po*, (35) is not. This might suggest that the use of this element is not connected to the nature of the information given in these clauses and the relationship between them, but to the structuring of the narrative.

In some cases, *=po* appears to be sequential in usage, expressing the notion of the second action occurring immediately after the end of the first action, again without a notion of contrariness to expectation. An example is given in (37). Note that this

sentence was elicited without context, thus the use of *=po* cannot very well be linked to narrative structure, as has been suggested for its use in (31) through (36). On the other hand, it looks very similar to *=po* as in (31) above.

- (37) *Aite' ma'u=po kiloo rau-la'a ni uaro'.*
 RCT.PT come=ADVR 3s good-move REFL shower
 'Upon arriving, she quickly went to have a shower.' (elic497)

Example (38) serves to represent a group of sentences in which *=po* links two apparently simultaneous actions.

- (38) *Asi-hu'at ue'=ini misa=po asi-isa hai na'u dikar*
 1s:POSS-sad V2DEM=LNK1 go.up=ADVR 1s:POSS-condition NSIT just short

uai=ni=si ani ni senti nomo rau...
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s REFL feel NEG good
 'My sadness increased, and I was also annoyed, so I didn't feel good...'
 (101-387)

In a variety of examples relating direct speech, *=po* is used to introduce a new piece of direct speech, or a change of speaker. An example is given in (39). Note, however, that the second change of speaker in (39), following the question *rau ere* 'is that good', is not marked by *=po*.

- (39) *Eh ini=haka ni-asu ni-ni ki-ueri leuk=ini tina*
 INTERJ 1pe=CTR.PRES REFL-for REFL-mother 3:POSS-bottom drill=LNK1 cook

nua=po oi rau ere? – rau tai...
 eat=ADVR INTERJ good IDEM good clearly?
 'Eh, we drilled open our mother's bottom and cooked (it) and we are eating (it); (so Laapo said) oi, is that good? (they replied) sure it is good...'
 (118-34)

The examples given in (31) to (39) cannot clearly be linked to *=po*'s most frequent usage marking an adversative relation between two clauses it links, but represent distinct subclasses of its use. (40) and (41), on the other hand, show two of the examples which are, at present, totally unclear. In (40), *=po* links two clauses in a causal relationship, while in (41), it stands at the end of an exclamation, as the last element of an utterance.

- (40) *Ina pipit=po akor tone' fatil heman.*
 eye fast=ADVR thief perhaps gun take
 'Be careful, that criminal may be armed.' (elic688)
- (41) *Ei se matenek=po!*
 2s very clever=ADVR
 'You're very clever!' (chat005)

On the other hand, there are also examples where a clause contradicts an expectation based on a previous clause, such that an adversative linker might be expected, but *=po* is not used. One such sentence is given in (42); notice that the very general linking element *uai=ni* is used, rather than *uai=ni=po*.

- (42) ... *ma'akini ki-dila=ee uere'-mutu' uai=ni sura=ni*
 wrongly.think 3:POSS-frog=DEF 2DEM.V-inside CLS=LNK1 mouse=CTR

mutu'=ini...

inside=LNK1

'... (he) thinks his frog might be in there, but it is a mouse that is inside...'

(102-035)

In sum, *=po* is a frequently used linker of broad semantics and seems to intersect into the domains of several other clause linkers, such as *=ini* and *=isi* for the sequential uses. Makalero speakers appear to equate it with *tetapi*, the Indonesian equivalent of 'but'. More research into its elusive semantics is clearly required. For the present work, a broad description of its various uses must suffice. For lack of a better term, the gloss ADVR is used here, even where such a translation is clearly not appropriate.

A very frequent combination, which is in fact partly lexicalised, involves the intention marker *=na'a* (§ 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262) and *=po*. This combination is discussed in more detail in § 8.2.1.1.2 (p. 479).

8.1.3 Concessive clause linkage

The clitic *=oo* 'too', if used on clause level, links two clauses in a concessive relation. (43) and (44) give typical examples.

- (43) *Ani=ni isit=oo ani fatar=ini la'a=ni ata haka.*
 1s=CTR ill=too 1s force=LNK1 move=LNK1 fire search
 'Even if I was ill, they forced me to go and gather firewood.' (103-09)

- (44) ... *ani aire' mesin.ketik=ua kontu ru lolitu-litu k-isi'=ee*
 1s now typewriter=REL 10,000IRP ten RDL-thirty 3:UND-belong=DEF

heti=oo ani-asu teuh.

ask=too 1s-for buy

'... and even though I asked for a typewriter that cost about 300,000 rupiah, (they) bought that for me.'

(101-476)

Apart from its most general concessive use, *=oo* can be found with clauses in a variety of specific constructions. The clausal host to *=oo* is in these cases of a clearly delimitable kind, and its semantics are rather distinct from that of the general use of the clitic as laid out above and restricted to the construction in question.

§ 8.1.3.1 (p. 466) through § 8.1.3.3 (p. 467) give short descriptions of such constructions as evidenced in the corpus.

8.1.3.1 ‘no matter whether... or not...’

A special construction, found several times in the corpus, is one where =*oo* is cliticised to a sequence of two clauses, the first of which is positive and immediately followed by the same VP in the negative. This construction is to be translated as “no matter whether x is the case or not, ...”. (45) and (46) are cases in point.

- (45) *Uai=te'=ete dil nomo dil=oo ei ere=ni dadau mei=ni la'a.*
 CLS=after=after startled NEG startled=too 2s IDEM=CTR must take=LNK1 move
 ‘Whether you are scared or not, it is you who has to go with it.’
 (120-059)
- (46) ... *ki-isa=taa fi tutu fi nomo tutu=oo nomo sa'a u.*
 3:POSS-condition=PURP 1pi like 1pi NEG like=too NEG thing one
 ‘... so that no matter whether they like us or not, it’s no problem’
 (124-47)

8.1.3.2 Interrogatives with =*oo* ‘too’

Sentences where =*oo* is cliticised to an interrogative word question (§ 7.7.2.2, p. 443) make up another group with distinct semantics. In such cases, the question word is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun, i.e. whoever, wherever, however, etc.; (47) and (48) may serve to illustrate.

- (47) *Ani tau-la'a=oo ani na'u tepa pada ki=rau nese-la'a.*
 1s where:RED-move=too 1s just constant friend ATTR=good aim.at:RED-move
 ‘Wherever I go, I always find good friends.’ (elic1048)
- (48) *Uai=na'a=po fi Timor ere ei=ni hau la'a tau'=oo ei ni'isi*
 CLS=INT=ADVR 1pi T. IDEM 2s=CTR all move where=too 2s simultaneous
ni-mata ni-uei tepa isi-ne'et.
 REFL-child REFL-blood constant at:RED-think
 ‘But in the case of us Timorese, wherever you go, you’ll always remember your own flesh and blood.’ (74-128)

In other instances, interrogative clauses with =*oo* are indirect questions, and, more specifically, questions to which the speaker does not know the answer. The following clause generally contains the verb *ma'en* ‘know’ and is negated, expressing the speaker’s ignorance on the subject. The indirect question can be understood as a left-dislocated object to that clause’s verb of knowing. Examples are given in (49) and (50).

- (49) ... *uere tenki ani ajuda=na'a tau'=ini ma'u=oo ani nomo ma'en.*
 2DEM must 1s help=INT where=LNK1 come=too 1s NEG know
 '... there help must come to me, (although) wherever it comes from I don't know.'
 (113-28)

- (50) ... *sa'ani=ni isi'=oo ani nomo ma'en.*
 what.SUBJ=CTR at=too 1s NEG know
 '...whatever is in it I don't know.'
 (120-052)

While the left-dislocated object in most of these constructions is a question, as in (49) and (50), this is not necessarily the case, as (51), with what looks like an affirmative, demonstrates. Note that =oo is used twice here; the first occurrence marks the clausal object to *ma'en* 'know', whereas the second, cliticised on NP level to the first person plural exclusive pronoun *ini*, corresponds to English 'too' (see § 3.5.2.1, p. 245).

- (51) *Hai haka-hau iar iar=ini mara=ni la'a=oo ini=oo nomo ma'en.*
 NSIT all-all cry cry=LNK1 go=LNK1 move=too 1pe=too NEG know
 '(They) all cried, and then (they said) that he left, we too didn't know it.'
 (74-052)

8.1.3.3 =oo with the negative existential *na'an*

A construction where a clause with =oo cliticised to it is followed by the negative existential *na'an* expresses the idea of something not being the case at all, or not a bit, as (52) and (53) show.

- (52) *Ani Juliette ki-mu'a ka'u ma'en=oo na'an ere=ni.*
 1s J. 3:POSS-language small know=too NEG.EX 1DEM=CTR
 'I don't even know a bit of your language.'
 (chat045)

- (53) ... *ni-ue-raa ho'o ko-horu lolo-ini=oo na'an.*
 REFL-sister.in.law-PL some 3:UND-with say-do:BD=too NEG.EX
 '... (she) didn't speak a word with her sisters-in-law.'
 (74-033)

8.1.4 Completive clause linkage

The clitic clause linker =*te'e* conveys the idea that the action of the clause it is cliticised to is completed before the following clause happens (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). Examples are given in (54) and (55). In fact, the completion of the action expressed by the first clause is often understood to be a prerequisite without which the action expressed by the second clause cannot occur. (55) shows such a case.

- (54) *Uai=ni=ni depois hai tina=ni dafut=ete Laapo*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 afterwards NSIT cook=LNK1 boiled=after L.
k-ua-dai-ma'u...
 3:UND-on.top:RED-pass-come
 'And then they cooked it and after it was done, Laapo came passing up there...'
 (118-33)
- (55) ... *ei dadau ni-pada hau haka=ni hau nese-la'a=te'e*
 2s must REFL-friend all search=LNK1 all aim.at:RED-move=after
ani mini.
 1s follow
 '... you must look for your friend and find him, only then (can you) follow me.'
 (115-077)

=*te'e* occurs very often on clauses denoting an indication of time, as in (56).

- (56) *Mu'a hai kamu=te'e fi lopu-isi-la'a.*
 ground NSIT night=after 1pi house-at:RED-move
 'We went home after nightfall.'
 (elic1126a)

In many instances, such as (54) and (56), =*te'e*-clauses are translated as adverbial clauses. In Makalero, however, there is no evidence of a syntactic asymmetry between the two clauses involved.

Like most other clause linkers, =*te'e* is also frequently cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai*, yielding *uai=te'e*, as in (57).

- (57) ... *k-ia-dai mei=ni uai=ni=ni ani la'a=ni*
 3:UND-under:RED-pass take=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 1s move=LNK1
uai=te'e=si nua.
 CLS=after=LNK2 eat
 '... passing underneath, I took (the mangoes) and went away and then after that I ate them.'
 (101-057)

In fact, it appears this combination is largely lexicalised as 'afterwards'. A clear indication of this is shown in (58), where the linker (in its metathesised vowel-initial form, see § 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252) is used on top of *uai=te'e*, suggesting that this conjunctive element is not segmentable to the speaker in question.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ The loss of the final vowel of the clitic in (58) suggests it is an echo vowel. As elaborated in § 1.9 (p. 32), echo vowels are not represented in writing. However, =*te'e* loses its final vowel only in circumstances where it appears to be undergoing grammaticalisation and a non-grammaticalised version of it is additionally used. In other clitic combinations, such as that of =*te'e* and the general linker =*isi* (see below), it is the latter which loses its initial vowel, as it normally does if cliticised to vowel-final items. This suggests the final vowel of =*te'e* is part of the morpheme rather than an echo vowel. Its loss in such circumstances as in (58) can be interpreted as grammaticalisation-related reduction.

- (58) *Uai=te'=ete dil nomo dil=oo ei ere=ni dadau mei=ni la'a.*
 CLS=after=after startled NEG startled=too 2s IDEM=CTR must take=LNK1 move
 'Whether you are scared or not, it is you who has to go with it.'
 (120-059)

Similarly, =te'e appears to be on the brink of lexicalisation with *ka'u* 'little' as *ka'u=te'e* 'in a little while', as in (59). (60) is equivalent to (58), in that the vowel-initial form of the clitic, =ete, is used on top of *ka'u=te'e*, demonstrating the lexicalisation of the combination.

- (59) ... *ka'u=te'e filem ue'=afta ani tane uai=konai=ni fi*
 small=after movie V2DEM=COND 1s waken CLS=CSQ=LNK1 1pi
ro'u-nonton.
 together-watch
 '... in a while, when the movie is on, wake me, so that we can watch it together.'
 (120-012)

- (60) ... *ka'u=te'=ete ani mara ei tane.*
 small=after=after 1s go 2s waken
 '... in a while I will go and wake you.'
 (120-014)

§ 7.2.1.1 (p. 414) introduces the form *aite'* as an adverbial predicate denoting a recent past. This element is usually pronounced as [aj'te?e], but in analogy with the other adverbials in this group, the final vowel has been analysed as an echo vowel and is not represented in writing. *Aite'* is strikingly similar in form to *uai=te'e* as discussed above. In analogy to *uai*, the *ai* element is likely based on the speaker-related counterpart to the deictic verb *uai*, *ai*, though equally grammaticalised (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180); the *te'* element would then be a short version of the linker =te'e (see fn 193). Whereas *uai=te'e*, with the addressee-related deictic base, refers to a point in the past, the near-speaker deictic base in *ai=te'e* points to a time near the here and now. The use of *aite'* is exemplified in (61).

- (61) ... *Iliomar=ee ki-adat=ee nomohaka aite' kini=po hana'e*
 Iliomar=DEF 3:POSS-custom=DEF CLS.NEG REC.PT do=ADVR REM.PT
portu hana'e fi-dada fi-upa uere' k-afu lafu'=ini...
 Portuguese REM.PT 1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 2DEM.V 3:UND-carry live=LNK1
 'The traditions of Iliomar were made not just recently, but they existed already during Portuguese times, and our parents and our grandparents were here and lived with them...'
 (72-23)

=te'e is often combined with the linkers =isi (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) and =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). An example with =isi can be seen in (57) above.

=te'e is also often used with imperatives (§ 7.7.3.2.2, p. 448), as well as in assertions as when a speaker is excusing himself, such as (62). In both cases, =te'e stands at the end of an utterance and is understood to make it more polite.

- (62) *Ani la'a=ni ni-uasi hau sia=te'e.*
 1s move=LNK1 REFL-tooth all brush=after
 'I'll just brush my teeth (so excuse me for a moment).' (elic353)

As discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1.7 (p. 255), the putative linker =*fe* is sometimes used on top of =*te'e*. The semantic contribution of this element is unclear.

8.1.5 Conditional clause linkage

There are two clause linkers expressing condition, namely =*fata* and =*nata* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253, and § 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254, respectively). The distinction between the two linkers is not entirely clear. =*fata* is by far the more frequent one. In the majority of cases, it expresses real conditions, such as in (63). However, =*fata* can also be used with counterfactual ones, as in (64). It is furthermore used in contexts that are more conveniently read in a temporal sense, rather than strictly conditional (see e.g. (65)).

- (63) ... *ei leu-leu=fata ka'u=te'e seur=ee nomo fani.*
 2s RDL-call=COND small=after meat=DEF NEG nice
 '... if you scream, the meat won't be good.' (118-40)

- (64) *Ani koto.halee osan satu.juta nese-la'a=fata ani tone' mondo*
 1s maybe money one.million aim.at:RED-move=COND 1s perhaps world
kafu k-ali-la'a.
 entire 3:UND-all.over-move
 'If I got one million (dollars), I would travel around the world.'
 (elic828)

- (65) ... *ka'u=te'e filem ue'=afta ani tane=ni uai fi nonton=elo.*
 small=after movie V2DEM=COND 1s waken=LNK1 CLS 1pi watch=EXHORT
 '... in a while when the movie is on, wake me so we can watch it
 (together).' (120-019)

=*nata*, on the other hand, is quite rare. It seems that all instances of =*nata* can be construed as expressing counterfactual conditions, whereas =*fata* is more frequently used for real conditions. (66) gives an example of the use of =*nata*. Indeed, many of its occurrences are in the context of giving a translation of something previously said into another language.

- (66) *Satu dua mei=ni Makalero mi-lolo=nata klasi un loloi...*
 one two take=LNK1 M. along:RED-say=CTF.COND grade one two
 '(In Indonesian) one and two, if it were to be said in Makalero, (it would be) grade one and grade two...'
 (66-17)

As discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1.5 (p. 254), =*nata* is often found cliticised to the clausal pro-form *uai* or *uai=ni*, with the general linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). These combinations are in fairly frequent use, as opposed to simple =*nata*. In fact, they appear to be lexicalised to a certain degree and could probably best be translated as ‘as if’, like in (67), or as ‘like, such as’, as in (68), where it introduces a list of possible referents.

- (67) ... *teli=ee* (...) *ua=nata*¹⁹⁴ *hai tor.helar*.
 maize=DEF CLS=CTF.COND NSIT ripe
 ‘... the maize (looked) as if it was already ripe...’ (118-17)

- (68) *Uere’=ini uai=n=anta Muenira Naunira Tafarira Pusaulu*
 2DEM.V=CTR CLS=LNK1=CTF.COND M. N. T. P.

Punakosi Dirimuni Loorasa Maluhira Darapu’u Inameli i
 P. D. L. M. D. I. and

roual=ini uari ue’

many.NONHUM=CTR still V2DEM

‘(The clans) that are here are such as Muenira, Naunira, Tafarira, Pusaulu, Punakosi, Dirimuni, Loorasa, Maluhira, Darapu’u, Inameli, and many others.’ (21-004)

8.1.6 Consequential clause linkage

In a clause linkage with =*konai*, the action of the second clause is presented as a consequence of the action of the first clause. As Hull (2004: 78), who analyses =*konai* as a topic marker, rightly observes, it occurs very frequently with *sa’a-fani* ‘how, why’; an example is given in (69). This interrogative is, however, not adverbial in status, as Hull claims, but verbal (see § 3.2.3.6, p. 167), being made up of the interrogative pronoun *sa’a-* ‘what’ in its bound form (§ 3.3.1.4.2, p. 230) and the verb *fani* ‘be like’; the full phrase, thus, is a separate predicate and translates as ‘it is like what’. As such, =*konai* functions as a clause linker.

- (69) *Ei sa’a-fani’=konai ani neok?*
 2s what:BD-like=CSQ 1s deceive
 ‘Why are you lying to me?’ (elic962b)

Strictly speaking, =*konai* is not necessary in such questions as (70), since the interrogative phrase *sa’a-fani* ‘how, why’ inherently asks for a reason of an action. In fact, it is not obligatory in this context, as (70) shows.

¹⁹⁴ Note the use of *ua*, rather than *uai*, for the clausal proform. This is not found with other clause linkers, and is also rather restricted with =*nata*. It appears to be indicative of the degree of lexicalisation of the form.

- (70) ... *sa'a-fani' ani nomo isi-la'a?*
 what:BD-be.like 1s NEG at:RED-move
 '... why do (you) not come to visit me?' (21-059)

In affirmative clauses too, =*konai* is sometimes used even if there is another element in the clause expressing the idea of one action causing the other. Examples are given in (71) and (72); in the former, the verb (*k*)-*asu* 'for' expresses causation, while in the latter, the Indonesian loan *gara-gara* 'because (negative affectedness)' is used.

- (71) ... *so'ot=ini fi-lolo-ini=ua Makalero ain ere so'ot=ini uere'*
 want=LNK1 1pi-say-NML=REL M. mean 1DEM want=LNK2 2DEM.V

rekam, aprende=na'a k-asu=konai=ni iraku ma'u=ini...
 record learn=INT 3:UND-for=CSQ=LNK1 3s come=LNK1
 '... she wants to learn and record our Makalero language, that's why she came...'
 (98-61)
- (72) *Garagara ei=konai=ni aire' (...) fi-ouar ani-afa-la'a...*
 because 2s=CSQ=LNK1 now 1pi-master 1s-away.from-move
 'It is because of you that our master now leaves me...' (115-048)

Note that =*konai* can be combined with other clause linkers. The combination with =*ini*, yielding =*konai=ni*, is most frequent. Both simple =*konai* as well as the combination =*konai=ni* are often used together with the general linker =*isi* as in (73).

- (73) ... *kasian mundo ki-raranini na'an=isi=konai ini la'a=ni*
 poor world 3:POSS-decoration NEG.EX=LNK2=CSQ 1pe move=LNK1

omaraha ko-horu.
 wife.givers 3:UND-with
 '... (we) are poor, and there is no beauty to the world, so we went to stay with our in-laws.'
 (33-29)

The combination of =*konai* with other clause linkers is very frequent, particularly if it stands on the clausal pro-form *uai*. This can result in rather complex conjunctive elements with multiple linking elements, as in the example in (74), which uses the form *uai=ni=si=konai=ni*. The elements =*ini* and =*isi* that are used next to =*konai* in this complex are very unspecific in meaning, as discussed in § 3.5.2.5 (p. 247) and § 3.5.3.1.1.1 (p. 250). The whole complex is more or less equivalent in meaning to simple =*konai*, thus taking on the meaning of the most specific of its constituent parts.

- (74) ... *hala=ni kini funu=ni kini uai=ni=si=konai=ni ini*
 war=CTR do war=CTR do CLS=LNK1=LNK2=CSQ=LNK1 1pe
titar=ini la'a=ni Kupang-isi'...
 run.PL=LNK1 move=LNK1 K.-at
 '... it was the war that made (us flee), so we fled to Kupang...'
 (124-18, 124-19)

There are a few instances where =*konai*, either on its own or in combination with another linker, occurs at the end of an utterance. An example is given in (75).

- (75) *Asi-ina=ni hai sopen=isi uai=konai.*
 1s:POSS-eye=CTR NSIT sleepy=LNK2 CLS=CSQ
 'Because I was already sleepy.'
 (elic1147a)

This sentence gives the reason that caused another action; this action, however, is not expressed. In fact, (75) is the answer to the question in (76). As such, (75) could be seen as an elliptical sentence, where a clause expressing the consequence as given in the question is left unexpressed after *uai=konai*. A complete version of the answer, with expression of the consequence clause, would presumably look like (77).

- (76) *Ei sa'a-fani'=konai=ni ei hai muni ma'u?*
 2s what:BD-be.like=CSQ=LNK1 2s NSIT return come
 'Why did you come back already?'
 (elic1147)
- (77) *Asi-ina=ni hai sopen=isi uai=konai ani hai muni ma'u.*
 1s:POSS-eye=CTR NSIT sleepy=LNK2 CLS=CSQ 1s NSIT return come
 'I was already sleepy, that is why I came back already.'

Another – though very small – set of rather curious instances is where the normal time-iconic order of reason and consequence, as found in all previous examples, does not seem to be maintained. An example is given in (78).

- (78) ... *amuni ki=rial=ee tone' uari ma'u (...) fi-lolo-ini*
 person ATTR=many.HUM=DEF perhaps still come 1pi-say-NML
Makalero haka=konai iraku-laa (...) so'ot=ini lolo-ini taure' uari
 M. search=CSQ 3s-PL want=LNK1 say-NML which still
oko.na ma'en iraku-laa so'ot=ini uere' aprende=na'a...
 not.yet know 3s-PL want=LNK1 2DEM.V learn=INT
 '... many people will perhaps come to look for our Makalero language,
 because they (...) want to learn a language that they do not know yet...'
 (98-53)

Even though the translation into English using 'because' in (78) appears to be in line with translations for =*konai* as given so far, this sentence does not tie in with the meaning proposed here for =*konai*, which links a first clause, expressing a cause,

and a second clause, expressing a consequence of the first clause. In (78), however, the fact that people might come and look for the Makalero language is not the cause of them wanting to learn a new language. Rather, the reverse order would be logical, namely that people's desire to learn a new language causes them to come and look for Makalero. To date, only three such 'reversed' examples have been found. As such, this phenomenon can be considered marginal for the time being, though future research might shed more light on it.

8.1.7 Alternative clause linkage

The clause linker =*uai* 'or' presents two clauses as alternatives, as in the example in (79). The Portuguese loan *ou* may be used as a clitic linker as well. (80), exemplifying such a use, is repeated from § 3.5.2.3 (p. 247). All further relevant information on such alternative clauses can be found in that section.

- (79) ... *ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi=ni k-afa-la'a*
 REFL-wife IDEM NSIT 3:UND-kill-cut=LNK1 3:UND-away.from-move

ama-isi-la'a=uai tau-la'a.
 garden-at:RED-move=or where:RED-move
 '... (he) cut his wife to death and then left her to go to the garden or to go wherever.'
 (23-044)

- (80) ... *fi diki-ate poki ata-lue mei=ni lode-isi'=ou na'an=afta*
 lpi yarn-wood whorl fire-ash take=LNK1 bag-at=or NEG.EX=COND

mei=ni tokuru-isi'...
 take=LNK1 coconut.shell-at
 '... we take the stick for rolling up the yarn, the whorl and ash and put them into a bag, or if not (into a bag), then we put them into a coconut shell...'
 (62-16)

8.1.8 Purposive clauses

The most important purposive marker is the clitic =*taa*. It can occur in two positions: either at the end of the first clause, or on the subject NP of the second clause. As (81) shows, it can also be used in both of these positions at the same time. Similarly, =*taa* can be found both on the clausal pro-form *uai* as well as on the subject of the follow-up clause, as shown in (82).

- (81) *O mata ka'u ere tone' lafu'=isi muni afu=ni muni la'a*
 INTERJ child small IDEM perhaps live=LNK2 return carry=LNK1 return move
- ki-ni k-ata-suri=taa ki-ni=taa rau-rau*
 3:POSS-mother 3:UND-contact:RED-release:BD=PURP 3:POSS-mother=PURP RDL-good
- dudu mei kini=ni...*
 breast take give.to.3=LNK1
 'Oh, this child is probably alive, bring her to her mother, so she feeds her quickly...'
 (63-13)
- (82) *Uai-nini uai=taa Timor ki-lafu=ee=taa rau felun.*
 V2DEM:RED-do:BD CLS=PURP T. 3:POSS-life=DEF=PURP good nice
 'I will do this so that Timorese life will become better.'
 (107-24)

All of the possible positions of =*taa* and their various combinations result in a wide variety of marking patterns for purposive clauses. The patterns found in the corpus are summarised in Table 8.1.

clause 1		clause 2
[CLS]= <i>taa</i>		[CLS]
[CLS]		[SUBJ= <i>taa</i> VP]
[CLS]= <i>taa</i>		[SUBJ= <i>taa</i> VP]
[CLS]	<i>uai=taa</i>	[CLS]
[CLS]		[SUBJ <i>uai=taa</i> VP]
[CLS]	<i>uai=taa</i>	[SUBJ= <i>taa</i> VP]
[CLS]= <i>taa</i>	<i>uai=taa</i>	[CLS]
[CLS]		[SUBJ= <i>taa uai=taa</i> VP]

Table 8.1: Marking patterns of purposive clauses with =*taa*

Since =*taa* can be marked within the clause expressing the purpose, this clause can be used without an antecedent clause. Such sentences are read as a kind of permissive, as in (83), or as optative (see also § 7.7.5, p. 452), as in (84).

- (83) *Uai=ni iraku=taa k-ua-ue-daru=ni ka'u-ka'u*
 CLS=LNK1 3s=PURP 3:UND-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-place:BD=LNK1 RDL-little
- mu'it=ete=si fi mei=ni rei-daru.*
 long.ago=after=LNK1 1pi take=LNK1 outwards-place:BD
 'So let it stand on (the fire), and after a while, we take it out.'
 (50-10)

- (84) *Uai=taa ma'u.*
 CLS=PURP come
 'Hopefully (he) will come.'
 (elic1741)

A less common way of expressing a purposive relation between two clauses is with the element =*p-* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.3, p. 259). This element is a clause linker in the literal sense of the word; it is cliticised to the right boundary of the first clause in the sequence, and at the same time combines with the second clause's subject. An instance, where =*p-* is used on the clausal pro-form *uai*, is given in (85).

- (85) ... *ani hai teni ni-asu amulafu haka uai=p-ani la'a=ni*
 1s NSIT again REFL-for person search CLS=PURP-1s move=LNK1
ko-horu...
 3:UND-with
 '... I looked for somebody again so that I could stay with him...'
 (125-16)

The =*p-* element can also be used on *uai* without making reference to an antecedent clause, in which case it is read as permissive; (86) gives an example.

- (86) *Afa uai=p-ani misa=ni ho'o ena=te'e ani-asu loke=p-ani*
 COND CLS=PURP-1s go.up=LNK1 some see=after 1s-for open=PURP-1s
misa=ni ho'o ena.
 go.up=LNK1 some see
 'In that case, let me go up and see, open a way for me so I can go up and see.'
 (89-36)

The last linker to express a purposive relation between two clauses is =*ua*, as in (87). Note that it is homophonous to the relative marker =*ua*.

- (87) *Ni-dila haka=si uai=konai ni-sefar k-asu lolo=ni=ua*
 REFL-frog search=LNK2 CLS=CSQ REFL-dog 3:UND-for say=LNK1=PURP
ki-sefar irau rokoroko=na'a ere.
 3:POSS-dog not.allowed rustle=INT IDEM
 'He is looking for his frog, so he tells his dog so that the dog doesn't make any noise.'
 (38-113)

8.1.9 Reported speech

Reported speech can be marked as such by the use of the indirect information marker =*kini* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.2, p. 258), which can be found in two positions: first, following an introductory clause (generally with a verb of saying, thinking or hearing), and second, following the subject of the clause expressing the reported speech. The two strategies can be combined, resulting in double marking. Unlike the

other clause linkers, *=kini* is not used with the clausal pro-form *uai*. Table 8.2 summarises the distribution patterns of *=kini*.

clause 1	clause 2
[CLS]= <i>kini</i>	[CLS]
[CLS]	[SUBJ= <i>kini</i> VP]
[CLS]= <i>kini</i>	[SUBJ= <i>kini</i> VP]

Table 8.2: Marking patterns of reported speech with *=kini*

Like *=taa* (§ 8.1.8, p. 474), *=kini* needs no antecedens clause if it is cliticised to the reported speech clause's subject. (88) and (89) give two such examples.

- (88) *Ah... ei=kini sirvisu=na'a.*
 INTERJ 2s=IND work=INT
 'Ah, (you said) you wanted to work.' (101-442)
- (89) *Asi-ulit ere=kini hai muni pada se'...*
 1s:POSS-skin IDEM=IND NSIT return friend separate
 '(They said) my skin changed again...' (64-10)

The element *=kini* is also found in the grammatical verb *ma'akini* (§ 3.2.3.12.6, p. 209).

8.2 Coordination of clauses with free conjunctions

Other than these clause linkers, a number of borrowed free conjunctions, from Portuguese, Tetum and Indonesian, are in use in Makalero. These are discussed in § 3.6.5 (p. 269). They differ drastically from Makalero clause linkers in being free elements. (90) shows a string of clauses coordinated with the Portuguese-based conjunction *i* 'and'. Note, however, that such extensive use of this conjunction is rare; it is far more common to use the Makalero clause linkers discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250) for the purpose.

- (90) ... *asi-nana umu i asi-noko hau noko umu*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling die and 1s:POSS-younger.sibling all younger.sibling die
- i ini=hi'a=ni meih=ini lafu'...*
 and 1pe=only=CTR two.HUM=LNK1 live
 '... my elder brother died and my youngest sibling died, and only the two of us survived...' (125-09)

There is also one free conjunction, *tetepane* 'when', which is derived language-internally from an interrogative verb (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167) with the same English

translation. For an example of its use, see § 3.6.5.4 (p. 271). This development being the only one of this kind attested in Makalero, § 3.6.5.4 (p. 271) suggests it might be a loan translation.

8.2.1 Summary

The large majority of clause linkage types discussed in the previous sections show no syntactic evidence of a hierarchical relation between the clauses involved. The clause linkers used in these constructions basically combine two independent clauses, without affecting them otherwise. § 8.3.6 (p. 488) argues that the same sentences, including the linkers, may alternatively be used in subordinating constructions. Hence the linkage between two clauses as expressed by this one group of clause linkers is really indeterminate as to the syntactic relation between them. In general, a time-iconic ordering of the clauses in question is preferred, although some linkers, such as *=isi* (LNK2, § 8.1.1, p. 457) and *=konai* (CSQ, § 8.1.6, p. 471), exhibit a very moderate degree of positional freedom.

The linkers *=taa* (PURP, § 8.1.8, p. 474) and *=kini* (IND, § 8.1.9, p. 476) differ from the majority of clause linkers in that they can not only be placed between the two clauses they link, but, alternatively or additionally, also within the second clause of the structure. As such, in these cases, the second clause is structurally affected by the linkage and can be analysed as subordinated (see § 8.3, p. 481, for more discussion). For this reason, the two linkers in question are treated in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250) apart from all the others. That section also includes the purposive elements *=p-* and *=ua*. There is, however, no syntactic evidence for the latter two as subordinating and their grouping with the aforementioned subordinating linkers is based on their similar semantics.

Several of the clause linkers can be combined. § 8.2.1.1 (p. 478) briefly discusses the most common combinations.

8.2.1.1 Combinations

A variety of combinations of clause linkers are found to occur in texts, most of which involve *=ini* and *=isi*. This is consistent with their very general semantics; since they do not contradict the meaning of any of the other linkers, they are easily combined with them. Some such combinations are mentioned in the above sections. The only combinations involving other linkers besides these are that of *=konai=ni* (CSQ=LNK1) + *=po* (ADVR), and that of *=te'e* 'after' + *=fe*. Since the last element is only ever found in combination with *=te'e*, and its function is unknown, no further consideration will be given to this combination. Linkers that never occur in combination with any other linkers are the conditional *=fata*, the concessive *=oo* and the coordinator *=uai* 'or'.

§ 8.2.1.1.1 (p. 479) briefly discusses the linker combination of *=po* and *=konai(=ni)*. § 8.2.1.1.2 (p. 479) treats the combination of *=na'a* and *=po*. Note that

=*na'a* is not a clause linker, but a non-linking clause-level clitic (§ 3.5.3.2, p. 261). Its combination with =*po* is very frequent and exhibits signs of lexicalisation, thus meriting some remarks in a separate section.

8.2.1.1.1 Adversative =*po* and consequential =*konai*(=*ni*)

The combination of the clause linkers =*po* (ADVR) and =*konai*(=*ni*) (CSQ=LNK1) is found in both orders, as (91) and (92) show. Note, however, that in both those instances =*po* does not seem to translate as an adversative, but must be used in one of its functions that are hitherto not understood (see § 8.1.2, p. 461).

- (91) ... *sa'ani=fata ei tu-lolo=konai=ni=po tafi (...) see dada-uai*
 what.SUBJ=COND 2s first-say=CSQ=LNK1=ADVR true if grandparent-HON
ani-isi-ne'et ei dadau mini=ni...
 1s-at:RED-think 2s must follow=LNK1
 '... 'you say first what it is', so (I said) 'if you really love me, grandfather,
 you must follow'...' (120-144)

- (92) ... *ason=po=konai=ni ei-asu namiraa hai na'an=ini ei la'a=ni*
 witch=ADVR=CSQ=LNK1 2s-for man NSIT NEG.EX=LNK1 2s move=LNK1
amuni ki-nami k-utu-la'a-la'a.
 person 3:POSS-husband 3:UND-cover-RDL-move
 '... (you're) a witch, because of this there is no man for you and you go and
 steal other people's husbands!' (74-110)

No evidence has been found to the effect that the position of the linkers is in a fixed order.

8.2.1.1.2 Intentional =*na'a* and adversative =*po*

The adversative linker =*po* is found very frequently with the non-linking clause clitic =*na'a*, which expresses intention (§ 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262). Originally, I believe, the semantics of =*na'a=po* are a transparent combination of the individual meanings of the two markers; thus *x=na'a=po...* would mean something like 'was going to x, but then...'. This precise reading can be seen in a variety of cases, such as (93) and (94). In the first of these examples, a separate predication, of the same content, follows *hai mei rau-suma=na'a=po* 'wanted to confront them'. This shows that *hai mei rau-suma=na'a* expresses only the intention, and the following predication is needed to make clear that it did actually become reality. Note that =*po* is used in a non-adversative meaning (§ 8.1.2, p. 461). In (94), the predication following *ini-horu dame=na'a=po* 'wanted to make peace with us' shows that this intention was not realised.

- (93) *Indonesia-laa ma'u ue'=isi ma'u-ni kiloo hai mei*
 Indonesian-PL come V2DEM=LNK2 come-LNK1 3s NSIT take
rau-suma=na'a=po hai mei rau-suma.
 good-angry:BD=INT=ADVR NSIT take good-angry:BD
 'The Indonesians were here, and he wanted to confront them, and he did
 confront them.' (67-32)
- (94) *Uai=ni=ni aire' muni ma'u=ni ini-horu dame=na'a=po ini=ni*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 now return come=LNK1 1pe-with peace=INT=ADVR 1pe=CTR
na'u tepa tule...
 just constant not.want
 'And now they come and want to make peace with us, but we don't want
 (that)...' (81-16)

In many examples, however, the *=na'a=po* combination seems to be lexicalised to some degree as a simple sequential marker, such that there is no implication of the action expressed in the first clause being unrealised. Consequently, it is in the following no longer represented as segmentable. (95) gives a clear example showing that *=na'a=po* cannot meaningfully be split up into its parts as in (93) and (94) above. It is unlikely that *umu* 'die' was an unfulfilled intention, and indeed the following clauses show that its completion is implied. The same holds for (96), which is from a procedural text describing the production of coconut oil as a sequence of actions. In the later course of the text, reference is made to the coconut halves, thus making clear that the action as described in (96) was fully carried out. This latter example shows that, despite the lexicalisation of the complex, the *=na'a* component still metathesises if cliticised to a consonant-final lexeme.

- (95) *Asi-dada umu=na'apo mei=ni Haakesar ira*
 1s:POSS-grandparent die=afterwards take=LNK1 H. paddy
keta-misa ufe-daru.
 paddy-go.up VDEM.LOW-position:BD
 'My grandfather died and (they) took him up to the ricefield in Haakesar
 and buried him there.' (70-03)
- (96) *Hau karo'=anapo fi hai mei na'a-isi'=ini...*
 all split=afterwards 1pi NSIT take basket-at=LNK1
 'Having split (the coconuts), we put them into a basket and then...' (57-05)

Like the other clause linkers, this complex can be attached to the clausal pro-form *uai*, as shown in (97). Since the same is not possible with simple *=na'a* (see § 3.5.3.2, p. 261), this is further proof of its lexicalisation.

- (97) *I mara=ni uai=n=anapo ki-upa hai so'ot...*
 and go=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=afterwards 3:POSS-father NSIT want
 'So after that, his father agreed...' (52-11)

8.3 Subordination

There are three construction types that can confidently be classified as subordinating in Makalero. The first of these groups includes relative sentences as well as purposive sentences with =*taa* and reported speech with =*kini*. These cases, as well as the syntactic motivation for their classification as subordinating, are discussed in § 8.3.1 (p. 481). A second group involves VP complements and is briefly treated in § 8.3.2 (p. 483). A third group of subordinated constructions involves clausal arguments as well as adverbial sentences in the LDP, as detailed in § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430).

Verbs of saying as well as modal verbs and their complement clause extensions present a challenge to this typology of clauses; the reasons for this are detailed in § 8.3.5 (p. 485).

8.3.1 Relative sentences, purposives and reported speech

Relative sentences are discussed in detail in § 4.3.5 (p. 295). For the present purpose it must suffice to say that the relativiser =*ua* cliticises to the relative clause head, if it is the clause's subject. If not, and the subject stands within the relative clause, =*ua* attaches to this subject, and the head may optionally be marked by the same element. (98) and (99) give examples of this.

- (98) ... [*asi-nana*=*[ua* (...) *aftane'* *tu* *perauat* *i* *doutor*
 1:POSS-elder.sibling=REL PT ahead nurse and doctor

ko-horu]_{MOD} *ere*]_{NP} *hai* *lolo*...
 3:UND-with IDEM NSIT say

'... my brother who was earlier staying with a nurse and a doctor said...'
 (101-159)

- (99) ... [*rate*=*[ua* *ani*=*ua* *ei-asu* *isi-suma*]_{MOD} *ere*]_{NP} *ei* *mei* *la'a* *uere'*
 grave=REL 1s=REL 2s-for at:RED-show IDEM 2s take move 2DEM.V

ta'a-ini.
 count-give.

'... the graves that I told you, you take this to them respectively.'

(120-075)

Relative sentences are fully-fledged sentences embedded within a noun phrase. As such, they represent the clearest case of subordination in Makalero.

The marking pattern of relative sentences, with the possible loci of the marker being the construction's head and the embedded sentence's subject, is reminiscent of those of the purposive =*taa* and the reported speech marker =*kini*, discussed in § 8.1.8 (p. 474) and § 8.1.9 (p. 476), respectively. These markers can be cliticised to the

first of two clauses in a sequence, and to the subject of the second clause. The first clause can thus be interpreted as the structure's head, while the purpose clause and the clause expressing the indirect speech, respectively, are its dependants. This is in line with the semantics of these constructions. As such, the structures in question are exactly parallel to those shown above for relative sentences. For a direct comparison, (100) and (101) repeat examples from § 8.1.8 (p. 474) and § 3.5.3.1.2.2 (p. 258), respectively.

- (100) *O mata ka'u ere tone' lafu'=isi muni afu=ni muni la'a*
 INTERJ child small IDEM perhaps live=LNK2 return carry=LNK1 return move
ki-ni k-ata-suri=taa ki-ni=taa rau-rau
 3:POSS-mother 3:UND-contact:RED-release:BD=PURP 3:POSS-mother=PURP RDL-good
dudu mei kini=ni...
 breast take give.to.3=LNK1
 'Oh, this child is probably alive, take her and bring her to her mother, so
 she feeds her quickly...' (63-13)
- (101) *Ani uali'=ee=kini ei=kini hai kauen.*
 1s hear=CMPL=IND 2s=IND NSIT marry
 'I heard you had gotten married.' (elic816a)

Note that the position on the subordinate sentence's subject makes the clitic the second element of that sentence. This position is well-known in Indo-European studies as the Wackernagel position (Wackernagel 1953, 1979).

Interestingly, an element homophonous to the relative marker =*ua* is in use as a clause linker expressing a purposive relation (§ 3.5.3.1.2.4, p. 259). However, there are no instances of its use as a purposive marker that show it to be subordinating in this context, too.

While the parallels between the relative sentences on the one hand and purposive and reported speech constructions on the other are evident, it must be pointed out that there is also an important difference between them: with relative sentences, the position of the marker =*ua* on either the head or the subject of the subordinated clause is grammatically relevant, serving to distinguish relative sentences on subjects from relative sentences on objects. In the case of the clause linkers =*taa* and =*kini*, however, the two positions do not seem to entail different readings; rather, they appear to be simple alternatives.

Notwithstanding this difference, the syntactic parallelism between the three constructions is significant. Relative sentences are very obviously embedded in a superordinate clause and thus conform to one major traditional criterion for subordination (see e.g. Cristofaro 2003: 16). On the basis of their syntactic analogy, purposives with =*taa* and reported speech with =*kini* can confidently be classified as subordinating structures.

8.3.2 VP complements

The second type of clearly subordinated constructions involves VP complements; these structures are discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326). (102) and (103) may serve as illustration.

- (102) ... *ani [Lilia hai k-ata]_{COMPL-dia}*
 1s L. NSIT 3:UND-contact:RED-sleep:BD
 ‘... I fell asleep leaning against Lilia.’ (120-016)

- (103) ... *sefar ere [dos=ee hai mutu]_{COMPL-puna}*...
 dog 1DEM box=DEF NSIT inside:RED.-look
 ‘... the dog is looking into the box...’ (115-005)

An important characteristic of such complements is that their predicates are in a dependent, or perhaps less finite, form; these VPs can thus not constitute clauses on their own. Furthermore, they cannot contain a subject of their own, but are dependent for the interpretation of their subject referent on the main clause. Also, they satisfy the criterion of embedding, standing as arguments within another VP. On several levels, thus, complement VPs qualify as subordinated clauses. They are headed by the superordinate clause’s predicate.

In many cases, a state of affairs expressed in a VP-complement-verb complex can equally well be expressed in the form of two separate and independent predications within a sentence, as illustrated by the pair in (104) and (105). In (104), *(ko-)horu* ‘with’ and its argument are constructed as a complement to *hifa* ‘catch’, as seen by the fact that that verb appears in its bound form. In (105), on the other hand, *(ko-)horu* is constructed as a separate clause and the following verb, *tia* ‘sleep (SG)’, stands in its free form.

- (104) *Asi-upa uere-isi’=ee la’a=ni [[haka-hau ni-pada-laa*
 1s:POSS-father 2DEM-at=CMPL move=LNK1 all-all REFL-friend-PL
ko-horu]_{COMPL-sifa}’]_{VP}...
 3:UND-with-catch:BD
 ‘At that time, (they) caught my father with all his friends...’ (66-06)

- (105) ... *kiloo (...) [liurai ki-sa-laa amu itu ere haka-hau*
 3s king 3:POSS-wife-PL person three.HUM 1DEM all-all
ko-horu]_{VP} [tia]_{VP}.
 3:UND-with sleep
 ‘... he (...) slept with all the king’s wives.’ (51-10)

8.3.3 Clausal arguments and adverbial clauses in the LDP

As discussed in § 4.1 (p. 273), constituents of various kinds, including full clauses and sentences, can function as NP heads, and thus as arguments in a clause. (106) shows a multi-clause sentence standing in the subject argument slot, while in (107), a clause functions as the object.

- (106) [*Sirvisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka ere*]_{SUBJ} *nomo ue-rau*.
 work take=LNK1 city-at:RED-search:BD 1DEM NEG V2DEM:RED-good
 ‘Finding work in the city is not that easy.’ (elic472)

- (107) ... *ei hai nomo hul=afta [ni-nomo hul=ee]*_{OBJ} *lolo*.
 2s NSIT NEG able=COND REFL-NEG able=DEF say
 ‘... if you cannot afford it, say so.’ (74-076)

Being arguments in a clause, these constituents are embedded and thus subordinated to it.

Full clauses can also stand in the LDP to supply adverbial information to the main clause or sentence. The adverbial clauses in question are cliticised with a form of the complementiser, whose function in these cases seems to be a more general subordinating one, marking the clausal unit it is attached to as a constituent within a sentence (see § 7.6.1.1, p. 430). Two examples are given in (108) and (109). Such adverbial clauses are equivalent to topic NPs, which are also commonly found in the left-detached position of the sentence. Such topics in the LDP may either be arguments of the following clause or not.

- (108) [*Hai ma'u=ere*]_{LDP} *tana lolo mei=ni simu...*
 NSIT come=CMPL hand two take=LNK1 receive
 ‘... if (they) come, (we) receive them with open arms...’ (33-32)

- (109) ... [*ani ena=ee*]_{LDP} *asi-isi-ne'et hau asan ani upa lesa...*
 1s see=CMPL 1s:POSS-at:BD-think all long 1s father not.have
 ‘... seeing (this), I am sad (because) I don't have a father...’ (16-08)

There is some evidence to the effect that argument clauses or sentences such as those in (106) and (107) are subordinated with the complementiser too.¹⁹⁵ In any case, both clausal arguments and clausal topics function as constituents embedded within a larger, superordinate clause or sentence.

¹⁹⁵ In which case the demonstrative in (106) should be transcribed as a clitic and, together with the definite marker in (107), be glossed as a form of the complementiser more correctly. See § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for more details.

8.3.4 Summary

The three subordinate construction types as discussed in the previous paragraphs, and particularly those treated in § 8.3.1 (p. 481) and § 8.3.2 (p. 483), have little in common. While relative, purposive and reported speech constructions rely on clitic markers, the relationship between a VP complement and its head is expressed through morphophonological means. Also, the two construction types differ with respect to the ordering of elements: In the case of relative, purposive and reported speech constructions, the head precedes the subordinate clause, while the VP complements are followed by their head. Argument and adverbial clauses group with relative, purposive and reported speech constructions in that they make use of a clitic marker, but with verbal complements in being head-final.

8.3.5 Complement clause extensions to verbs of saying and modal verbs

A problematic case for the classification of clause linkage types into either coordinating or subordinating ones is presented by verbs of saying and modal verbs (§ 3.2.3.10, p. 186) and their, for lack of a better term, complement clause extensions. A common characteristic of all these constructions is that they can be expressed in the form of a coordinative clause linkage either without a marker, or using *=ini*, as shown in (110) and (111), respectively.

- (110) ... *ei-dada=ni ei asar=isi ei dadau [mei la'a ue']*.
 2s-grandparent=CTR 2s send=LNK2 2s must take move V2DEM
 '... your grandfather sent you, so you have to take (them) there.'
 (120-156)

- (111) *Ani isit malaria uai=ni=oo ani fatar=ini [la'a=ni ata haka]*.
 1s ill malaria CLS=LNK1=too 1s force=LNK1 move=LNK1 fire search
 'Even when I had malaria, they forced me to go and find firewood.'
 (103-08)

Syntactically, constructions such as those in (110) and (111) show little signs of being in a hierarchical relationship. § 3.2.3.10.1.2 (p. 189) shows that such verbs as *fana* 'teach', *fuin* 'dare', *pada* 'order' and *der* 'reply' allow for the expression of a preverbal undergoer object alongside a postverbal complement clause extension. This shows that the complement clause extension does not function as an argument to the verb in question; if it did, such constructions would violate the maximal clause template, which allows for the expression of two arguments at most in a clause (§ 6, p. 383). § 3.6.2 (p. 265) speculates that such postverbal complement clause extensions originate as regular arguments to a separate verb, reflected in today's quotative marker *ain* (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205). The clausal complement would then

have been the object argument to that verb of saying in the regular preverbal non-subject argument position.

There is, however, one use of such constructions which does seem to indicate some hierarchical relation between the two clauses involved. It involves polar questions and the answers to them. As (112) shows, a reply to a polar question generally repeats the VP of the question. The reply to a polar question involving a modal verb and its complement clause extension in a coordinated construction, however, repeats only the modal verb, as shown in (113).

- (112) *Kiloo hai nami-ena? – Tone' hai nami-ena.*
 3s NSIT husband-see perhaps NSIT husband-see
 'Is she married already? – Maybe.' (elic1152, elic1152a)

- (113) ... *ei so'ot=ini ueri leuk? – So'ot.*
 2s want=LNK1 bottom drill want
 '... do you want (your) bottom to be drilled? – I do.' (118-38, 118-39)

For some of the verbs with complement clause extensions discussed in § 3.2.3.10 (p. 186), this coordinating construction is the only way of expressing a clausal complement.

Others, however, allow for a variety of alternative constructions which clearly involve syntactic dependency between the two parts. On the one hand, the clausal complements to some verbs can be expressed in the form of a preverbal argument, as shown in (114) and (115).

- (114) ... *ei hai nomo hul=afta [ni-nomo hul=ee]_{OBJ} lolo.*
 2s NSIT NEG able=COND REFL-NEG able=DEF say
 '... if you cannot afford it, say that you cannot afford it.' (74-076)

- (115) *Ani [fi-isi-ne'et taure-fani' ere]_{OBJ} ma'en.*
 1s Ipi-at:RED-think which:RED-be.like IDEM know
 'I know what your feelings are like.' (elic479)

In these cases, clearly, the verbs of saying head the structure. What corresponds to the complement clause extension is constructed as an object argument.

Some modal verb constructions, on the other hand, involve a complement-verb complex, where the modal verb is subordinated to the proposition it modifies. Examples are shown in (116) and (117).

- (116) *Mei=ni taure=fani' kini=oo kiloo [osan fera]_{COMPL}-nese-la'a*
 take=LNK1 which:RED-be.like do=too 3s money try-aim.at:RED-move
nomo rau.
 NEG good
 'In whichever way he tries to get money, it does not work.' (elic1051)

- (117) ... *ani [uere' me'e]*_{COMPL-mi-kerek}.
 1s 2DEM.V able-along:RED-write
 '... I could write that along.' (101-200)

In both of these construction types, one of the constituent parts is dependent from the other. However, the dominance relation between the parts involved are quite opposite. On the one hand, a group made up predominantly of verbs of saying (see § 3.2.3.10.1, p. 187) can construct the quoted speech which corresponds to the complement clause extension in the coordinated construction as a non-subject argument. Another group, consisting mainly of modal verbs (§ 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193), can be constructed as subordinated to the verb of the proposition corresponding to the complement clause extension. The two groups do not overlap (but see below for an exception). The clausal complements to all of these verbs can alternatively be expressed in a coordinated construction, as exemplified in (110) and (111) above. A notable exception is the modal verb *hul* 'be able', which allows for all three of the constructions in question. (118) exemplifies a sentence where the modal verb and its complement clause extension are coordinated; in (119), *hul* is the main verb in a clause with a nominalised clause as an argument; in (120), finally, the modal verb is subordinated to the clausal complement's main verb. Thus, the same meaning can be expressed in three ways, involving very different types of syntactic dependency.

- (118) *Ani ua=nata nomo hul=ini [ma'u ai-sirvisu]...*
 1s CLS=CTF.COND NEG able=LNK1 come V1DEM:RED-work
 'Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...' (125-50)

- (119) ... *ani [ira u dane] oko nomo hul...*
 1s paddy one lift yet NEG able
 '... I was not yet able to work a paddy...' (31-05)

- (120) ... *heil heil heil=ini tepa nomo hu-[seil]*.
 pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD
 '... (he) pulls and pulls, but he still cannot pull (it out).' (102-100)

There appears to be no difference in interpretation associated with the different constructions. With some verbs, furthermore, the complement clause extension can be constructed with the complementiser. There is some evidence for such constructions being subordinated, as discussed in § 8.3.5.1 (p. 487).

8.3.5.1 Complement clause extensions with the complementiser

Some verbs, generally verbs of saying, are cliticised with the complementiser =*ee*, =*ere*, or =*e'* when followed by a complement clause extension (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187). (121) and (122) give examples.

- (121) ... *asi-nana-raa lolo=ee [hai la'a=ni asi-tiu-raa*
 1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL say=CMPL NSIT move=LNK1 1s:POSS-uncle-PL
ki-lopu-isi-rou].
 3:POSS-house-at:RED-sleep.PL:BD
 '... my brothers said that (he) had gone to sleep at my uncles' house.'
 (126-033)
- (122) *Kiloo ini heti=ere [ini so'ot=uai tule]*.
 3s 1pe ask=CMPL 1pe want=or not.want
 'He asks us whether we agree or not.'
 (elic480)

The use of the complementiser is not obligatory; both paratactic clause linkage as well as coordination with =*ini* are possible alternatives.

§ 8.3.3 (p. 484) argues that adverbial clauses in the LDP, which make use of the complementiser, are clearly subordinated to the main clause or sentence. Furthermore, with the verb *tule* 'not want', the complementiser is found on a clausal argument in the object position, as shown in (123) and (124). As such, the clausal complement is embedded in the *tule*-predication. Note, in fact, that the complementiser, in its =*ee* form, could also be interpreted as the homophonous definite marker (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243).

- (123) *Nomohaka ani [lopu teuh=e'] tule...*
 CLS.NEG 1s house buy=CMPL not.want
 'It is not the case that I don't want to buy a house...'
 (elic535)
- (124) *Mata ka'u ere [ni uaro'=ee] tule.*
 child small 1DEM REFL wash=CMPL not.want
 'This child does not want to wash.'
 (elic1591a)

In both the construction type illustrated in (121) and (122) as well as in that exemplified by (123) and (124), the complementiser is attached to the first element in the construction. In (121) and (122), this is the verb of saying, while in (123) and (124), it is the clausal non-subject argument. Whereas constructions such as (123) and (124), being head-final, fit the typological profile of Makalero, those shown in (121) and (122) are untypical. § 3.6.2 (p. 265) suggests that, while using native material, the order of elements in such sentences may be calqued on Austronesian languages like Tetum and Indonesian.

8.3.6 Coordinating and subordinating clause linkage

The clause linkage types discussed in § 8.1.1 (p. 457) through § 8.1.7 (p. 474) exhibit no signs of syntactic dependence. Interestingly, however, combinations of such coordinating linkers with linkers classified as subordinating in § 8.3.1 (p. 481) can be found. An example is shown in (125), where the coordinating linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247) is used on *neok* 'lie' to introduce that verb's complement clause

extension. Additionally, however, the subject of the complement clause extension is cliticised with the indirect information marker =*kini*, which is classified in § 3.5.3.1.2 (p. 257) as a subordinating linker. For comparison, (126) shows a clause linkage with the same verb with =*ini* only, which exhibits no sign of syntactic subordination.

- (125) ... *ani neok=ini ani=kini la'a=ni ufe'=ini kooperasi*
 1s lie=LNK1 1s=IND move=LNK1 VDEM.LOW=LNK1 cooperation
hein=ana.
 wait=INT
 ‘... (they) lied to me, (saying) I would go down to wait for a cooperation (to be opened).’ (103-05)
- (126) *Liurai uere ki-sa-laa neok=ini liurai-isi-leu.*
 king 2DEM 3:POSS-wife-PL lie=LNK1 king-at:RED-call
 ‘(He) lied to the king’s wives (saying) that the king had called them.’ (51-08)

Similarly, subordinating linkers can be added to sentences involving a paratactic coordinative linkage between a verb of saying and its complement clause extension. (127) and (128), both with the verb *lolo* ‘say’, illustrate this. In (127), the indirect information marker =*kini* is cliticised directly to the verb of saying. In (128), it is the purposive linker =*taa*. Again, a comparative example exemplifying a paratactic linkage, which exhibits no sign of syntactic subordination, is shown in (129).

- (127) ... *liurai aire' lolo=kini haka-hau ini-horu tia=na'a.*
 king now say=IND all-all 1pi-with sleep=INT
 ‘... the king had now told (him) to sleep with all of us.’ (51-12)
- (128) *Ei-pada ma'u=fata k-asu lolo=taa ira=hi'a ke'=ana ere=ni.*
 2s-friend come=COND 3:UND-for say=PURP water=only drink=INT 1DEM=CTR
 ‘When your friend comes, tell her she should drink water only!’ (chat009)
- (129) ... *asi-mali Konsal uere hai lolo so'ot.*
 1s-cousin K. 2DEM NST say want
 ‘... my cousin Conçal said that he wanted (that).’ (101-130)

Such constructions seem to indicate that the clause linkers that have been termed coordinating do not imply any hierarchy between the clauses they link. However, they are not positively marked as coordinating, but are also compatible with clearly subordinating constructions.

9. Discourse structure

The term ‘text’ is used in the present thesis to refer to a self-contained stretch of speech larger than the utterance. The present corpus of recordings mostly consists of monologues in the form of narratives or procedural texts (see § 1.8, p. 28), hence the following discussion covers only a limited set of text types and registers. A large part of the texts in the corpus can be stylistically defined through the presence of an opening sentence and / or a closing sentence. In an opening sentence, such as (1), the speaker announces the topic of his narrative (often using a non-canonical word order, see § 9.2.1, p. 495), while he marks its end with a closing sentence such as (2).

- (1) *Ere nomohaka sa'a ki=selu konta=po ere la'a=ni=ua mina*
 IDEM CLS.NEG thing ATTR=other tell=ADVR IDEM move=LNK1=REL oil
tina k-isi'=ee lolo.
 cook 3:UND-belong=DET say
 ‘This is not telling anything else but how to go and make oil.’ (57-01)

- (2) *Hai uere'.*
 NSIT 2DEM.V
 ‘It is that already.’ (81-19)

The following gives a brief treatment of some issues on the text level, namely the determination of grammatical roles (§ 9.1, p. 491), information structure (§ 9.2, p. 495), and a few stylistic devices (§ 9.3, p. 506).

9.1 The determination of grammatical roles

In discourse, the expression of both subject and object participants is in principle optional (see § 6, p. 383). Either may be omitted if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer the intended referent from the linguistic or the extra-linguistic context. It follows that in a sequence of an NP and a transitive verb, it is not necessarily clear which function the NP has within the clause: since both the subject and the non-subject arguments are preverbal, an NP preceding a transitive verb could theoretically be either its subject, with an unexpressed object as in (3), or an object or complement argument with its verb (or, in other words, a full VP) as in (4). In either case, \emptyset marks the locus of the omitted constituent.

- (3) *Ani nopa'e kerek-ini uai=ni [ani]_{SUBJ} \emptyset _{OBJ} mei=ni sa'a-kini?*
 1s cannot write-do:BD CLS=LNK1 1s take=LNK1 what:BD-do
 ‘I cannot write, so what would I do with (it)?’ (101-180)

- (4) ... *uatu.uere.uatu.uere* [...] \emptyset _{SUBJ} *na'u tepa* [*ki=rau-rau=hi'a*]_{OBJ}
 daily just constant ATTR=RDL-good=only
nua.
 eat
 '... every day (...), (we) ate good things only.' (101-134)

The following attempts to show some of the principles underlying reference tracking as well as some strategies which help with the correct interpretation of grammatical roles. Note, however, that these are strong tendencies rather than absolute rules.

In a sequence of clauses in running text, the default organising principle is subject or topic continuity; the subject referent is most commonly the same over a chain of clauses and is left unexpressed. A change of subject, being a departure from this rule, requires explicit mention. As such, an NP preceding a transitive verb is generally interpreted as the verb's object. This principle is illustrated in the sequence in (5), where a constant subject referent is left unexpressed after the initial clause. The following clauses are invariably of the form OV; the position of the unexpressed subject is marked by \emptyset in those clauses.

- (5) ... *liurai ni-asu ki-ifil* *hai teri=uai.* \emptyset _{SUBJ} [*ki-ifil-fanu*]_{OBJ}=*ee*
 king REFL-for 3:POSS-tongue NSIT cut=UAI 3:POSS-tongue-face=DEF
hai teri=ni \emptyset _{SUBJ} [*Pirisistu ki-vistidu ere ki-ualir*]_{OBJ} *fisa'ak=ini*
 NSIT cut=LNK1 P. 3:POSS-dress 1DEM 3:POSS-edge tear=LNK1
 \emptyset _{OBJ} *hai mei* \emptyset _{SUBJ} *isi-loka=ni* \emptyset _{SUBJ} *hai mei=ni* \emptyset _{SUBJ}
 NSIT take at:RED-wrap=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1
 [*faru-lode*]_{OBJ}=*mutu'*=*ini* \emptyset _{SUBJ} *hai la'a=uai.*
 shirt-bag-inside=LNK1 NSIT move=UAI
 '... the king cut its tongue off for himself. Having cut off the tip of its tongue, (he) tore off the edge of Pirisistu's dress, wrapped it in it, put it in his shirt pocket and left.' (89-23, 89-24)

In cases of a deviation from the general principle of topic continuity, there are several strategies to ensure the correct interpretation of grammatical roles. Obviously, a new subject participant cannot generally be omitted and implied, but needs to be overtly expressed. Relevant examples are given in (6) and (7). In (6), the subject of the first two clauses is *mata ka'u* 'the child'; in the first of these, it is overtly expressed, but omitted in the second. Its position is marked by \emptyset . The following clauses have a different subject, namely *ki-sefar* 'his dog'. This new subject is expressed as an overt NP in the first of these clauses, but omitted in the following ones. In (7), the pronominal subject *kiloo* that is common to the first three clauses is overtly expressed only in the first of these. It is replaced as a subject and topic by *dila ki=pere ki-mutu* 'the big frog's inside' in the last clause. Note that in the context of both (6) and (7), the referents of the new subjects are not entirely new participants, but have been established earlier on in the discourse. In (7), this is actually visible; *dila pere* 'the big frog' functions as a circumstantial participant in

the first clause, i.e. as a possessor within the complement VP. In the last clause, where it is part of the subject NP, it is repeated as a whole.

- (6) ... [mata ka'u]_{SUBJ} ate popok=ee hai k-ua-lolo-la'a Ø
 child small tree rotten=DEF NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-move
 hai k-ua-poko=ni [ki-sefar]_{SUBJ}=ini hai k-asu Ø
 NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-crouch=LNK1 3:POSS-dog=CTR NSIT 3:UND-for
 tu=ni Ø hai la'a Ø ate popok k-ua-lolo-nat.
 first=LNK1 NSIT move tree rotten 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-stand.SG
 '... the child goes straight up onto the rotten tree trunk and crouches up
 there and his dog precedes him and stands right on top of the rotten tree
 trunk.' (38-114, 38-115)

- (7) ... [kiloo]_{SUBJ} mara=ni Ø dila pere ki-laipun k-ua'=ini
 3s go=LNK1 frog big.SG 3:POSS-back 3:UND-on.top=LNK1
 Ø nama-se-se'el=ini [dila ki=pere ki-mutu]_{SUBJ}
 upwards:RED-RDL-jump:BD=LNK1 frog ATTR=big.SG 3:POSS-inside
 ki=heke=hi'a.
 ATTR=difficult=only
 '... he then sits on the big frog's back and jumps up and down, and the big
 frog is very angry.' (115-107)

Among the concrete grammatical devices facilitating the correct interpretation of the grammatical roles in a sentence, the clause linkers =ini and =isi, which express close knitting as opposed to loose knitting between two clauses, are very important. § 8.1.1 (p. 457) points out that the linker =ini often coincides with clauses with same subject reference, whereas clauses linked with =isi frequently have different subjects. Note the use of =ini to link the same-subject clauses in (5) above. (8), on the other hand, gives an example of =isi with different subjects. In the first clause of that example, the first person singular pronoun ani functions as a complement within a verbal complement. In the following clause, it is the only participant mentioned with the verb ma'en 'know'. The fact that this second clause is linked to the first by the linker =isi shows that it is likely to have a different subject than the preceding clause, in which asi-upa 'my father' functioned as the subject and ani was the non-subject argument. As such, the most likely interpretation of the ma'en-clause is that where ani is the new subject participant.

- (8) ... asi-upa ani-afa-numu=si ani nomo ma'en.
 1s:POSS-father 1s-away.from-die:BD=LNK2 1s NEG know
 '... my father died leaving me, so I didn't know (him).' (31-15)

Intransitive movement or positional verbs are often used to consolidate the status of a new subject as such. Intransitive verbs include no undergoer in their semantic participant frame; hence an NP followed by an intransitive verb can only be interpreted as its subject. Following the general principle of subject continuity, this

NP will be interpreted as the following clause's subject, too, unless there is some specific marking to contradict this expectation. In (9), the movement verb *ma'u* 'come' follows the new subject *amulafu* 'person', while in (10), the same function is carried out by the addressee-related deictic verb *ue'*. In both sentences, the location of the action is actually clear and was in fact not rendered in their translations as provided by native speakers, which suggests that the main function of these verbs is not the specification of the location of an action.

- (9) ... *kuandu suku ere lafu'=ere sotemee ni ukun amulafu nomo*
 when suco IDEM live=CMPL self REFL rule person NEG
ma'u ukun.
 come rule
 '... when this suco was founded, it ruled itself, no-one (else) ruled it.'
 (35-01, 35-02)

- (10) ... *dila=ni k-ou-dai-ma'u=ni ki-fanu hau kapar. Ki-fanu*
 frog=CTR 3:UND-towards-pass-come=LNK1 3:POSS-face all scratch 3:POSS-face
hau kapar=isi mata ka'u namiraa na'a.muni ue'=ini ni-fanu
 all scratch=LNK2 child small man in.turn V2DEM=LNK1 REFL-face
hai afu-dane.
 NSIT carry-lift
 '... the frog comes towards him and scratches his face. After (it) scratched
 his face, the boy raises his face.'
 (38-054, 38-055)

Another important grammatical device clarifying the grammatical status of an NP is the reflexive pronoun *ni-* (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227). This element indicates coreference of a participant with a preceding subject participant. By definition, consequently, an NP containing *ni* cannot be a subject, but must be a non-subject participant. In (11), *ki-tana* 'his paw' is the subject of the first clause; the use of adnominal *ni-* with the same noun in the second clause shows clearly that it is used as an object in that clause, implying a subject change.

- (11) *Mara=ni sefar=ee ki-tana hai isit=isi ni-tana hai feil.*
 go=LNK1 dog=DEF 3:POSS-hand NSIT ill=LNK2 REFL-hand NSIT lick
 'Then the dog's paw hurts and he licks his paw.'
 (102-107)

Subjects can be specifically marked as such either with *=ini*, a contrastive marker which appears to be evolving into a subject marker (§ 9.2.3.1, p. 501, § 6.2.1, p. 389). Another marker, *=(h)aka*, which marks the contradiction of a presupposition (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244) is only found with subjects. This marker is relatively rare and hence not very important in reference tracking. Nevertheless, any NP marked by *=(h)aka* is necessarily a subject. See also § 9.3.1 (p. 507) for tail-head linkage, which, too, contributes to reference tracking.

9.2 *Information structure*

The terminology used in the present short discussion of information structure follows Lambrecht (1996) in most respects. In that work, information structure is defined as “that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts” (ibid: 5). A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition “if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (Lambrecht 1996: 131). Focus, on the other hand, is defined as “[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1996: 213). In discourse, the correlation between subject and topic is generally very strong. In a typical clause, the predicate asserts new information about this topic; it is thus the focus. This neatly describes the unmarked case, in which the subject is the topic and the object part of the focus, in Makalero. However, other constellations of topic and focus structure and the grammatical expression of a sentence are possible. These are discussed below in so far as they find grammatical expression in discourse. § 9.2.1 (p. 495) gives some observations on non-canonical word orders, § 9.2.2 (p. 500) treats a specific focus construction, and § 9.2.3 (p. 500) discusses some particles related to the structuring of information.

9.2.1 *Non-canonical word orders*

Non-canonical word orders are overall relatively rare; the overwhelming majority of clauses found in natural discourse conform to the unmarked SOV word order.

In sentences with non-canonical word orders, a constituent is generally left-dislocated. The syntactic position involved in left-dislocation is the LDP, discussed in detail in § 7.6.1 (p. 427). Note that this position is on sentence-level, rather than clause-level; as such, left-dislocated constituents can be separated from the clause they belong to by an intervening adverbial or other clause.

9.2.1.1 *Topics in the LDP*

Constituents in the LDP are most usually topics. That a subject-topic is in the LDP rather than in its normal clause-initial position is visible only in multi-clause sentences, where an adverbial or other clause intervenes between the dislocated constituent and the rest of its clause. An example is given in (12), where *aire* ‘now’ separates the subject-topic *ani* (1s) from its predicate.

- (12) *[Ani]_{TOP} aire' isa=ni ue-rata'...*
 1s now go.down=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-arrive
 'I now went down and got there...'
 (101-277)

It does not seem, however, that the placement of the subject in this topic position has a specific force; in the present context, the first person narrator was the subject-topic already in the preceding sentences. Rather, with such short adverbial predicates as *aire'* 'now', the LPD and the normal clause-initial subject position amount to equivalent alternatives of expression.

In some cases, the topical subject in the LDP is repeated in the following sentence; (13) shows such an example. In all of these cases, the adverbial clause is relatively long. As such, repetition of the topic re-establishes it in the hearer's memory and helps him with the processing of the sentence.

- (13) ... *[ani]_{TOP} uatu.uere.uatu.uere ani ni-mali ajuda=ni...*
 1s daily 1s REFL-cousin help=LNK1
 '... every day I helped my cousin...'
 (101-472)

With non-subject arguments, however, the positioning in the LDP is meaningful. In the unmarked case, the subject corresponds to the topic, while the non-subject argument is part of the focus. In a clause like (14), however, it is the non-subject argument (in this case an object) which is the topic under discussion. Its position in the LPD marks it as such.

- (14) *Uai=ni=ni [lapizeira uere]_{TOP} nomohaka ani=ni mei...*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 ballpoint.pen 2DEM CLS.NEG 1s=CTR take
 'The pen, not I took it...'
 (101-178)

Note that not only direct non-subject arguments can be left-dislocated into the LDP, but also the arguments of complement VPs (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). In (15), for instance, *asi-upa Swiss isi'* 'my father in Switzerland' is an argument of the *nese-* 'aim at (RED)', the verbal complement to *ne'et* 'think'.

- (15) ... *uai=ni=si [asi-papa Swiss-isi']_{TOP} ani na'u tepa*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s:POSS-father S.-at 1s just constant
nese-ne'et...
 aim.at:RED-think
 '... so my father in Switzerland, I keep thinking about you...'
 (106-12)

The fact that the clause's object is topicalised does not mean, however, that the subject automatically becomes the focus. Rather, a sentence like (14) contains multiple topics; the first person narrator is the topic of the whole of the narration, while *lapizeira* 'ballpoint pen' is the topic under discussion in this specific part of the narration. Lambrecht (1996: 146ff.) allows for sentences with multiple topics, claiming that what they assert is the relation between these multiple topics. This claim seems to apply to such Makalero sentences as (14). The topic-status of the object is atypical, hence it is made explicit by its position in the LDP. The subject,

on the other hand, is in its normal position, clause-initially, as well as in its normal function, i.e. as a topic.

Lambrech (1996: 176) introduces a number of topic promotion strategies, which are “pragmatically motivated structural devices whose basic function is to PROMOTE referents on the Topic Acceptability Scale from non-active (i.e. brand-new, unused, or accessible (sic)) to active state in the discourse and hence from lexical to unaccented pronominal coding in the sentence (...) [The] grammatical function [of such topic promotion strategies, JH] is to match the requirements of syntactic structure and information structure in cases where the two do not naturally coincide.” Typical examples of topic promotion strategies in Makalero are often seen in text-initial sentences as in (16), where the existence of the topic of the discourse, the village of Ailebere, is predicated in the very first clause to make it discourse-active. In the following sentence, it stands as a topic in the LDP.

- (16) *Ere asi-suku, [suku Ailebere]_{TOP} kuandu uainhira lafu' aira*
 IDEM 1s:POSS-suco suco A. when when live year
rihun u rasa douh ru fitu resi-douh=ini lafu'...
 thousand one hundred six ten seven rest-six=LNK1 live
 ‘This is my suco, when the suco of Ailebere was founded in 1676...’
 (35-01)

In other cases, the brand-new topic may be directly placed in the LDP, without an activating clause. An example of this is (17).

- (17) *Asi-noko Julieta ki-upa uere'=ini ani k-asu*
 1s:POSS-younger.sibling J. 3:POSS-father 2DEM.V=CTR 1s 3:UND-for
obrigadu roual mei=ni kini...
 thanks many.NONHUM take=LNK1 give.to.3
 ‘My sister Julieta’s father, I thank him much...’
 (105-001)

Whether or not they include an activating clause, text-initial clauses, which introduce a brand-new referent as a topic to the discourse, are pragmatically very marked and conspicuously often involve non-canonical word order in Makalero.

A special, quite frequent subtype of topics in the left-detached position are non-argument topics, which play no grammatical role in the sentence that follows them, but can be said to set a frame for the validity of said sentence. An example is given in (18).

- (18) *Ini ki-nua ki-ke' tepa na'an.*
 1pe 3:POSS-eat 3:POSS-drink constant NEG.EX
 ‘We had no food or drink.’
 (101-104)

9.2.1.2 Foci in the LDP

In (19) and (20), the LDP appears to hold constituents which are part of the focus (i.e. that part of the proposition by which the assertion differs from the presupposition, see Lambrecht 1996: 213), rather than topics. Note that in both cases, the left-dislocated constituent is quite long and complicated. Also, in both sentences, it is taken up again in the clause it is left-dislocated from in the form of the resumptives *uere* or *uere'* (§ 3.3.2.1, p. 232, and § 3.2.3.9.1, p. 183).

- (19) ... [*fitem tifi-mutu' ki=felu-felun*]_{FOC} *ini uere' nonton=ana...*
 movie TV-inside ATTR=RDL-nice 1pe 2DEM.V watch=INT
 '... nice movies that were on TV, we always watched these...'
 (120-003, 120-004)

- (20) *Uai=ni=si tafi=ni la'a=ni [asi-pada u kolega u*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 true=LNK1 move=LNK1 1s:POSS-friend one colleague one
*ki-nei Karlitu uere=oo asi-mali]*_{FOC} *ani uere hai k-asu lolo...*
 3:POSS-name K. 2DEM=too 1s:POSS-cousin 1s 2DEM NSIT 3:UND-for say
 'So then my friend called Carlito, my cousin, I told him...'
 (101-454)

The overwhelming majority of focal constituents in the left-detached position are long and complex and taken up again with a resumptive pronoun in their position in the VP; as such, I believe their length is a more important reason for their left-dislocation than any pragmatic motivation. Further evidence for this view comes from such sentences as (21) and (22), where it appears the speaker started a regular SOV clause, but chose to repeat the subject and a resumptive object pronoun when the object NP turned out to be too long for easy processing. In (21), *uere'* is used as a resumptive, while in (22), it is the object prefix *k-* on the verb (*(k)-ako* 'steal'. The resulting structures can be represented as SO-SOV.

- (21) [*Ani*]_{SUBJ} [*ni-senti=ni=ua asi-lafu ka'u hai rau ere*]_{OBJ} [*ani*]_{SUBJ}
 1s REFL-feel-NML=REL 1s:POSS-life small NSIT good 1DEM 1s
*[uere']*_{OBJ} *mei=ni isi-kerek.*
 2DEM.V take=LNK1 at:RED-write
 'My feeling that my life started getting a bit better, I wrote this in (the letters.)'
 (101-205)

- (22) *[Ani]*_{1s}_{SUBJ} *ho'onese* *[sa'a=ni asi-pada-laa=ua ki-lopu male'=ini*
 1s IPF thing=CTR 1s:POSS-friend-PL=REL 3:POSS-house near=LNK1
ue'=ini ua=nata asa teli uai=ni ue-dai-mara
 V2DEM=LNK1 CLS=CTF.COND chicken maize CLS=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-pass-go
*ere]*_{1DEM} *[ani]*_{1s}_{SUBJ} *la'a=ni* *[k]*_{3:UND-steal}_{COMPL}-*ako*.
 'Things that were close to people's houses, like chickens or maize around
 there, I went and stole those.' (101-018)

There are, however, a few instances of focal NPs in the LDP which are not particularly long at all. A bit of discourse where this is the case is shown in (23) (though it is unclear whether, and, if yes, how much, the marker =*oo* contributes; see § 9.2.3.4, p. 506, below for some more information on this somewhat enigmatic clitic).

- (23) ... *uai=ni=po ani sa'a-kini=na'a dada?* – *Sa'a-kini=na'a=oo*
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR 1s what:BD-do=INT grandparent what:BD-do=INT=too
ani oko nomo mei=ni rei-lolo.
 1s yet NEG take=LNK1 outwards-say
 '... but what will I do, grandfather? – What you have to do, I'm not telling yet.' (120-049, 120-059)

It would thus appear that foci are also acceptable in the LDP. However, it must be stressed that this is infrequent; the main function of the LDP is to hold topicalised constituents.

§ 7.6.2 (p. 434) tentatively introduced an RDP, though evidence for it is slim. Right-dislocated constituents are restricted to two contexts: question words and afterthoughts, as illustrated by (24) and (25), respectively. Even in those contexts, however, they are rare. Note that in (25), the afterthought gives more information to the topic in the LDP; this sentence thus combines a filled LDP as well as a filled (putative) RDP.

- (24) *Ei ena mutu heke [mu'ani]_{RDP?} – Ina-uai.*
 2s see inside difficult who.SUBJ mother-HON
 'Who is angry with you? – Mother.' (elic626)
- (25) ... *[asi-mali]_{LDP} ani uere hai k-asu lolo [Karlitu Oliveira]_{RDP}.*
 1s:POSS-cousin 1s 2DEM NSIT 3:UND-for say K. O.
 '... my cousin, I told him, Carlito Oliveira.' (101-454)

Since *mu'ani* 'who (SUBJ)' can be used predicatively, (24) could also be analysed as a normal SV sentence, where the subject is a headless relative clause *ei ena mutu heke* '(the person who) is angry with you'. Right-dislocation is thus a very marginal phenomenon rather than a pervasive pattern and will not be discussed any further.

9.2.2 The insertion focus construction

The default focus is on the non-subject argument or the whole of the VP, with no special construction or marking. There is, however, one specific construction to mark foci. In this construction, a sentence with an empty position is directly followed by the same (or a very similar) sentence where the previously omitted constituent is inserted as the focus. The resulting structure somewhat resembles a question word interrogative (§ 7.7.2.2, p. 443), which includes a variable to be filled in the answer. Two examples are given in (26) and (27), with the empty position in the first sentence marked by \emptyset .

- (26) ... \emptyset *la'a=ni ko-horu=ni fuli-lafu'=ana ani=ni ko-horu*
 move=LNK1 3:UND-with=LNK1 together:RED-live=INT 1s=CTR 3:UND-with

la'a=na'a.

move=INT

'... the one who will go and live with him is me.' (69-056)

- (27) *Uere ki-mini \emptyset uar pere-fu-ue' kuda un*
 2DEM 3:POSS-follow rock big.SG-near:RED-V2DEM horse one

fu-ue-nat.

near:RED-V2DEM:RED-stand.SG

'Following that, what is standing near the rock is a horse.' (fisquest35)

As a matter of fact, this construction quite precisely implements the definition of focus as given by Lambrecht (1996: 213) as "[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition": it gives an open proposition with an empty position, which is then filled. Note that in both of the illustrated cases, these foci are subjects, which are preferentially interpreted as topics. It is possible that this marked mapping of pragmatic relations on grammatical relations causes the focus to be expressed in this specific construction. However, it is overall quite rare.

9.2.3 Markers of information structure

There is a variety of markers of different categorial status which function in ways that help structuring the information given in a text. The following sections give short discussions on the clitic contrastive marker =*ini* (§ 9.2.3.1, p. 501), the counter-presupposition clitic =*haka* (§ 9.2.3.2, p. 503), the adverbial expression *na'a.muni* (§ 9.2.3.3, p. 505) and finally the somewhat enigmatic clitic =*oo* (§ 9.2.3.4, p. 506). Another marker of contrastiveness, the attributive *ki=*, stands within the NP and is discussed in § 4.3.4 (p. 284).

9.2.3.1 The contrastive marker =*ini*

The NP-level clitic =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248) functions as a marker of contrastiveness. Its principle function in such contexts is the marking of the referent of its NP host as contrasting with another possible referent. Typical examples are given in (28) and (29).

- (28) ... *amuni ki=rial=ee so'ot=ini dame=na'a=po ini=ni*
 person ATTR=many.HUM=DEF want=LNK1 peace=INT=ADVR 1pe=CTR
nomo so'ot...
 NEG want
 '... many people want to make peace, but we don't want that...'
 (81-12)

- (29) *Uere=ini ani masan.*
 2DEM=CTR 1s fear
 'That's what I was afraid of.'
 (elic671)

In (28), *ini=ni* (the first person plural exclusive pronoun with the contrastive marker cliticised to it) contrasts with an explicitly mentioned set of other people (*amuni ki=rial=ee* 'many people'), whereas in (29), the contrast is not expressed, but only implied. Also, (28) and (29) show that the contrastive marker can both lose its initial vowel if cliticised to a vowel-final element or retain it; it shares this characteristic with the clause linker =*ini* (see § 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249).

A context where the contrastive =*ini* appears particularly frequently is in interrogative word questions and their answers, as exemplified in (30). Note that *mu'ani* 'who' and *sa'ani* 'what', the subject forms of the interrogatives *mu'a-* 'who (BD)' and *sa'a-* 'what (BD)', respectively, are actually grammaticalised combinations of the stem and the contrastive marker =*ini*, as shown by the fact that both *mu'ani* 'who' and *sa'ani* 'what' can be marked as contrastive with another =*ini*, yielding *mu'ani=ini* and *sa'ani=ni*, respectively (see § 3.3.1.4, p. 228).

- (30) *Ei-sa'ani isit? – Asi-puulata=ni isit.*
 2s-what.SUBJ ill 1s:POSS-head=CTR ill
 'What hurts? – My head hurts.'
 (lit. Your what is ill) (almeida016, almeida017)

The marking of *asi-puulata* 'my head' with =*ini* in (30) can be perceived as contrasting with all other body parts which constitute possible answers to the question.

While (31) below (as (28) above) marks only one element of the overtly expressed contrasting pair of referents, (32) shows that it is also an option to mark both members of the pair.

- (31) *Pedru ki-mata=ni hai ue'=ini amu fitu=po nomohaka*
 P. 3:POSS-child=CTR NSIT V2DEM=LNK1 person seven=ADVR CLS.NEG

Agustu ki-mata.

A. 3:POSS-child

'It is Pedro who has seven children, not Augusto.' (elic1602)
 (lit. Pedro's children are there and are seven, not Augusto's children)

- (32) ... *kiloo=ni tu ani=ni sofit=ini...*
 3s=CTR first 1s=CTR behind=LNK1
 '... she went first and I went afterwards...' (44-12)

NPs marked by =*ini* can be both contrastive topics as well as contrastive foci. The constituents marked with =*ini* in (28) and (32) are clear topics; (28) comes from a text describing the difficult relations among the speaker's clan members; thus, the different groups within the clan, expressed in (28) as *amuni ki=rial=ee* 'many people' and *ini* 'we (excl.)', respectively, are clearly topical. Also, the text from which (32) is taken describes a night-time adventure by the speaker and her sister, who, being the protagonists of the narrative, are topical. The NPs marked by =*ini* in (29) and (30), on the other hand, are preferably interpreted as foci in that they fill an empty position in the proposition. In the question in (30), this empty position is overt in the form of the question word *sa'a-* 'what (BD)'. This shows that =*ini* is a marker of contrastiveness rather than a marker of either contrastive topics or foci.

The contrastive marker is identical in form to the most general clause linker =*ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), and in fact most likely an extension of it. This fact makes the contrastive construction with =*ini* obviously comparable to a cleft construction: as a linker, =*ini* stands between two clauses, marking the boundary between them. As a contrastive marker, too, =*ini* separates the nominal constituent it is cliticised to from the rest of the clause. Recall that NPs can freely be used as predicates (§ 5.1, p. 318); in such a case, a noun phrase x is generally interpreted as 'it is (an) x'. The noun phrase separated from the rest of the clause by the contrastive =*ini* can thus be seen as a full clause consisting only of a nominal predicate. The presence of the VP-internal adverbial *na'u* 'just' in front of the NP *ripa-ripa-ate* 'any tree' in (33) supports this analysis.

- (33) *Asa nama-la'a=ni uari mei=ni ate-ata-nini*
 bird upwards:RED-move=LNK1 nest take=LNK1 tree-contact:RED-do:BD
uai=ni=po nomohaka na'u riparipa-ate=ni k-ata-nini.
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR CLS.NEG just any-tree=CTR 3:UND-contact:RED-do:BD
 'This bird nests in particular trees only.' (elic185)

Thus, illustrated on (32) above, the first contrastive subject, *kiloo* (3s), translates as 'it is her' if seen as the nominal predicate in a minimal clause of its own. This is followed by the predicate *tu* 'go first'; the clause combination of *kiloo=ni tu* would thus translate as 'it was her (and she) went first'. Similarly, *ani* (1s) in the second sentence as a nominal predicate translates as 'it is me'. It is followed by the predicate *sofit* 'go behind', and the two combine as something like 'it is me (and I)

went behind'. Note how these literal translations resemble English cleft constructions.

It has been elaborated in § 6.2.1 (p. 389) that *=ini* appears to be evolving into a subject marker. As such, it is found frequently in sentences with non-canonical word order. Particularly in cases where the object is left-dislocated and the grammatical roles are not clarified by other criteria (such as world knowledge or the topic-worthiness hierarchy, see § 6.2.1, p. 389), it is important to mark the subject participant as such, since both an SOV sentence as well as a sentence with OSV order look superficially identical, namely NP – NP – V. In such cases, it is the marker *=ini* which ensures the correct interpretation of the sentence. Examples where the object precedes a subject marked as such by *=ini* are given in (34) and (35).

- (34) *[Mata ka'u ere]OBJ [ki-upa=ni]SUBJ mei=ni dur-ini.*
 child small 1DEM 3:POSS-father=CTR take=LNK1 wake.up-do:BD
 'This child, his father woke him.' (elic172)

- (35) *[Lode ki=uli ere]OBJ [asi-nana=ni]SUBJ mei=ni manini.*
 bag ATTR=leather DEM.1 1s:POSS-elder.sibling=CTR take=LNK1 give.to.1s
 'This leather bag, my sister gave it to me.' (elic322)

It is possible to find multiple occurrences of *=ini*, in different functions, within one sentence. An instance is (36), where the first NP, *ki=isu siua* 'the ninth', is marked by contrastive *=ini* (the contrast is with eight other frogs featured in the preceding sentence); the second instance of *=ini*, on the third person pronoun *kiloo*, marks it as the subject. This results in a sequence of two NPs which are both marked with *=ini*.

- (36) *Ki=isu siua=ni kiloo=ni hai mei ni-tana-mutu'=ini...*
 ATTR=seed nine=CTR 3s=CTR NSIT take REFL-hand-inside=LNK1
 'The ninth one, he put into his hand...' (55a-067)

=ini thus shows an interesting development from a coordinating clause linker to a contrastive marker, and from there is in the process of further evolving into a subject marker.

9.2.3.2 The counter-presupposition marker *=haka*

The clitic *=haka*, commonly shortened to *=ka*, is cliticised to the subject NP in a clause and marks the fact that the clause it is found in contradicts in some way a presupposition or an expectation. Particularly clear examples of its use are given in (37), where the speaker contradicts an assertion made in the preceding clause, and in (38), where he corrects a wrong assumption.

- (37) ... *asi-upa nana ani-horu nomo rau. Asi-upa=haka*
 1s:POSS-father elder.sibling 1s-with NEG good 1s:POSS-father=CTR.PRES
ani-horu rau=po asi-upa ki-sa ere ani-horu nomo rau...
 1s-with good=ADVR 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS-wife IDEM 1s-with NEG good
 ‘... my uncle didn’t treat me well. Actually my uncle did treat me well, but
 his wife didn’t treat me well...’ (101-398, 101-399)
- (38) ... *ere=haka nomohaka fi-dada-raa=po (...) ere=haka*
 IDEM=CTR.PRES CLS.NEG 1pi-grandparent-PL=ADVR IDEM=CTR.PRES
ate popok.
 tree rotten
 ‘... these are not crocodiles (...) but they turn out to be rotten tree trunks.’
 (38-101)

=*haka* is found in a variety of contexts. For instance, it is used frequently where a participant behaves in some unexpected, uncharacteristic way. This type of marking is found very frequently in the frog story, where many of the main characters are anthropomorphised animals which behave in very human-like ways. An example of this is shown in (39), where a turtle is described as standing upright and even speaking.

- (39) *Uai=ni mara=ni mu’i-mu’it fenu ere=haka ete-nat=uai,*
 CLS=LNK1 go=LNK1 RDL-long.ago turtle IDEM=CTR.PRES upwards-stand.SG=UAI
ete-nat=ini mata ka’u hai k-asu lolo...
 upwards-stand.SG=LNK1 child small NSIT 3:UND-for say
 ‘Then after a while the turtle stands up and says to the child...’
 (115-058)

=*haka* is also often used to convey a contrast between two participants, such as in (40).

- (40) *Ini=haka la’a=ni ume-rata’ iraku-laa=haka hai*
 1pe=CTR.PRES move=LNK1 VDEM.DIST:RED-arrive 3s-PL=CTR.PRES NSIT
la’a=uai.
 move=UAI
 ‘We arrived and they left.’ (pelic431)

=*haka* is restricted to occurring on subjects. Hence, an associated function of the clitic is the marking of the subject constituent as such.

The clausal negation *nomohaka* is most probably made up of the normal predicate negator *nomo* and the counter-presupposition marker =*haka*. In fact, most cases where a clause is negated imply the contradiction of a presupposition (§ 6.6.3, p. 398). This would be the only case where =*haka* does not stand on a subject NP.

9.2.3.3 *Na'a-muni* marking a new event

Na'a-muni is syntactically an adverbial predicate analogous to those discussed in § 3.2.3.3.2 (p. 162). Its make-up is not entirely clear; *muni* is a verb meaning 'return', which is used both as a full predicate and as a VP-internal adverbial. The element *na'a*, on the other hand, is unclear. It could possibly mean something like 'each to himself'. The combination *na'a-muni* could perhaps be translated as 'however' or 'in turn'. Its occurrence often coincides with the introduction of a new event or a new topic, generally contrasting it with a previously mentioned topic. The sentences in (41) illustrate the transition from the description of one picture to the next in a retelling of the frog story. The beginning of the description of the new picture is marked by *na'a-muni*, a very obvious instance of it signalling the beginning of a new scene. In (42), on the other hand, a new participant, *papa uere ki-ko-horu* 'the Indonesian's servant' is introduced in the focal part in the first sentence; in the following sentence, marked by *na'a-muni*, that participant starts functioning as a topic.

- (41) *Uai=ni=ni mata ka'u ere la'a=ni ate popok=ee se*
 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 child small 1DEM move=LNK1 tree rotten=DEF very
pere=si hai k-ua-lolo-mit=ini ki-isa
 big.SG=LNK2 NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 3:POSS-condition
hai na'u hare' dila ena=si ki-sefar=ini hai tu. Ma'u=ni
 NSIT just clean frog see=LNK2 3:POSS-dog=CTR NSIT first come=LNK1
ere'-isi-e' ere na'a.muni ate popok aftane' na'a.muni
 1DEM.V-at:RED-V1DEM 1DEM in.turn tree rotten PT in.turn
aftane' ere.
 PT 1DEM
 'The child goes to sit up on that very big rotten tree trunk, and he is very happy to see the frogs, and his dog precedes him. Then in this one, in turn, there is the rotten tree trunk from before.' (38-122, 38-123)
- (42) ... *ani misa=ni [...] ko-horu=na'a papa uere ki-ko-horu*
 1s go.down=LNK1 3:UND-with=INT Indonesian 2DEM 3:POSS-3:UND-with
ue'. Papa uere ko-horu=ee na'a.muni asi-mali
 V2DEM Indonesian 2DEM 3:UND-with=DEF in.turn 1s:POSS-cousin
ki-nei Titu uere'=ini ko-horu...
 3:POSS-name T. 2DEM.V=CTR 3:UND-with
 '... I went down to stay with him, but the Indonesian (already) had a servant. The Indonesian's servant was my cousin called Tito, he stayed with him...' (101-416, 101-417)

9.2.3.4 New events with =oo

A clitic =oo is in some cases found in a function quite similar to that of *na'a-muni* described in § 9.2.3.3 (p. 505). The element is probably the same as =oo 'too' (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245), though in the sentences presently under discussion, it does not generally surface as such in translations given by native speakers. Its function appears to be the marking of a new scene or event involving a new topic. It is generally found cliticised to subject NPs, but can stand on object NPs, too. An example of =oo marking a new scene is given in (43), where the new topic participant *dila* 'frog', following a stretch of quoted speech by another participant, is marked with =oo. Often, the use of =oo implies a contrast with another topic, in which case it can be found either on the second one of the two topic participants or on both of them. The latter case is illustrated in (44).

- (43) *Ate-tafu ere=ni ei-asu ain uai=ni=si dila ere=oo komesa*
 tree-half IDEM=CTR 2s-for QUOT CLS=LNK1=LNK2 frog IDEM=too start

hai holi-mit...

NSIT face.away-sit.SG

'This piece of wood is for you, so the frog starts sitting with his back towards (him)...' (115-040)

- (44) ... *fi meih la'a=ni e' ei=oo la'a=ni*
 Ipi two.HUM move=LNK1 VIDEM 2s=too move=LNK1

roun-mutu-ume-poko ua'=ete ituruu ani=oo [...] mei=ni
 grass-inside:RED-VDEM.DIST:RED-crouch UA'=after after? 1s=too take=LNK1

la'a=ni rate fitu=ee ta'a.

move=LNK1 grave seven=DEF count

'... we two go, and when we are (at the place) you go and hide in the grass and then I (...) take (it) to the seven graves respectively.' (120-127)

More research into this contrastive function of =oo, as opposed to its 'too'-meaning on the one hand and the functionally similar adverbial predicate *na'a-muni* on the other hand, is required, but is beyond the scope of the present work.

9.3 Style

Narrative and procedural texts in Makalero, which make up the bulk of text types in the corpus, are characterised by the frequent use of variety of special stylistic devices; among others, these are the use of introductory sentences specifying the topic of the following narration as well as a closing sentence, by which the speaker overtly marks the end of the narration. An example of the former is given in (45), while (46) illustrates a typical closing formula (see also § 9, p. 491).

- (45) *Ere nomohaka sa'a ki=selu konta=po ere la'a ini=ua mina*
 IDEM CLS.NEG thing ATTR=other tell=ADVR IDEM move 1pe=REFL oil

tina k-isi'=ee lolo.

cook 3:UND-belong=DEF say

'This is not telling anything else but how to go and make oil.' (57-01)

- (46) *I asi-lolo-ini hai hau uere' obrigadu roual-ual*
 and 1s:POSS-say-NML NSIT all 2DEM.V thanks RDL-many.NONHUM

mei=ni fi mei=ni taini.

take=LNK1 1pi take=LNK1 give.to.one-another

'And these are all of my words, (I) thank all of us very much.' (65-36)

Apart from that, the two most salient features in Makalero narratives are tail-head linkage and lexical parallelism. The following paragraphs, § 9.3.1 (p. 507) to § 9.3.2 (p. 510), give preliminary accounts of these phenomena.

9.3.1 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage (THL) is a way to connect utterances in which the last clause of an utterance is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next utterance. It is very widespread all over the New Guinea area, occurring in both Austronesian and Papuan languages. Its function, according to De Vries (2005: 378), is the establishment of "thematic continuity and referential coherence". The phenomenon is used in different text genres in different languages; in Makalero, it is found in both narrative and procedural texts, but not, it seems, in dialogues. An example of THL in Makalero is given in (47).

- (47) ... *ki-fasu=hi'a=ni to-dasa=fata fi hau mei. Hau*
 3:POSS-skin=only=CTR accompany:RED-fall=COND 1pi all take all

mei=ni uai=te'e mei=ni pusi-isi'.

take=LNK1 CLS=after take=LNK1 pan-at

'... if there are empty skins (of beans) inside, we take them out. Having taken them out, we then put (the beans) into a pan.' (50-02, 50-03)

The corresponding pitch curve shows that the final clause of the first sentence, *fi hau mei* 'we take (them)', has final, falling intonation (see § 7.7.1, p. 435), whereas its repetition at the beginning of the next chain has a rising intonation, signalling that the sentence goes on.

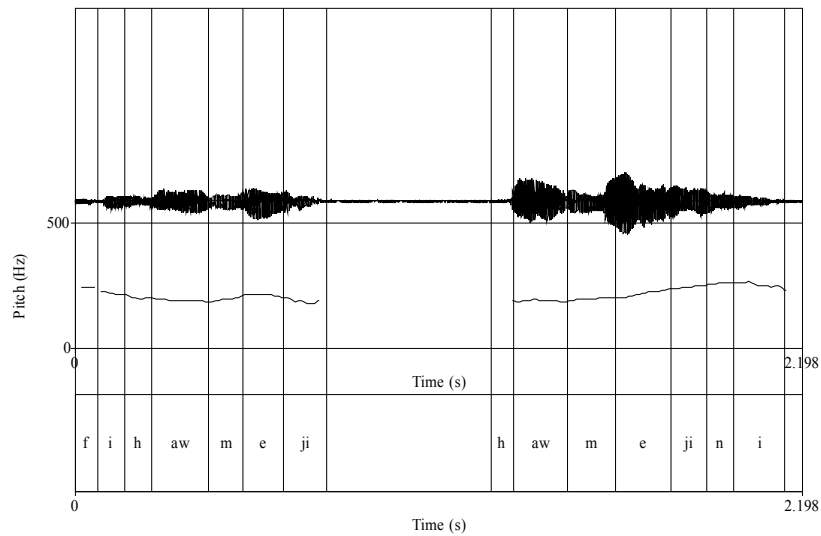


Figure 9.1: *Fi hau mei. Hau mei=ni* ‘we take them out. Having taken them out...’, pitch

Constituents of several kinds can stand in the repeated bit in THL in Makalero. First of all, it is important to note that not only clauses, but whole sentences can be repeated, as (48) illustrates, where it is a biclausal sentence unit.

- (48) *Potil=ee mei=ni ue-daru=te'e dila mei=ni isi'. Dila*
 bottle=DEF take=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-put:BD=after frog take=LNK1 at frog
mei=ni isi'=isi ki-sefar e'=ini potil=ee hai
 take=LNK1 at=LNK2 3:POSS-dog V1DEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF NSIT
mutu-puna=si...
 inside:RED-look=LNK2
 ‘(He) puts a bottle there and puts a frog inside. Having put a frog inside, his dog is here and looks into the bottle...’ (38-002, 38-003)

The most common option, however, is to repeat only the final VP as it appears in the preceding clause (i.e. with or without an overtly expressed object, aspect marking, negation or adverbial predicates). (49) gives an example of such a case.

- (49) ... *sefar=ee* [...] *uani=ee hai hour. Uani=ee hai hour ki-ouar*
 dog=DEF bee=DEF NSIT bark bee=DEF NSIT bark 3:POSS-master
na'a.muni ni-sefar=ee ki-sofi-isi-ume-nat=ini...
 in.turn REFL-dog=DEF 3:POSS-back-at:RED-VDEM.DIST:RED-stand.SG=LNK1
 '... the dog starts barking at the bees. (He starts) barking at the bees, his
 master, on the other hand, is standing there behind his dog...'
 (38-041, 38-042)

It is, however, not obligatory to repeat the object NP, and cases where all of the VP except for the object NP are repeated are found, as in (50).

- (50) ... *ki-ouar e'=ini* [...] *hai dur=ini e'=ini dila*
 3:POSS-master V1DEM=LNK1 NSIT wake.up=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 frog
k-ue-keil. K-ue-keil=ini hai ena.
 3:UND-around-peep 3:UND-around-peep=LNK1 NSIT see
 '... his master wakes up there and peeps at the frog. Peeping at the frog, he
 sees.'
 (38-006, 38-007)

While it is very common to use a clause linker on the repeated part of the THL pair, as in (47) and (48), this is not necessary, and cases without any linker, such as (49) can be found. Among the linkers used in THL are *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), *=isi* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) and *=po* (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251).

In most instances, the repeated part of the clause is a faithful copy of the preceding one. However, this is not necessarily the case, and it is possible for the speaker to slightly adjust the repeated clause from what he previously said. An example is given in (51), where the speaker uses the repetition of the clause to specify a location in a multi-clause sentence.

- (51) *Ini meih=ini ta hofe pas ini ufe'=ini hala=ni*
 1pe two.HUM=LNK1 REC know precisely 1pe VDEM.LOW=LNK1 war=LNK1
titar=ini ma'u. Dili-isi'=ini hala=ni titar=ini ma'u=ni e'
 run.PL=LNK1 come D.-at=LNK1 war=LNK1 run.PL=LNK1 come=LNK1 V1DEM
ere=ni ini meih=ini ta hofe.
 1DEM=CTR 1pe two.HUM=LNK1 REC know
 'The two of us met each other just at the time we were down there, it was
 war and we fled here. Having been in Dili, there was war and we fled here,
 and when we were here, we met each other.'
 (81-02, 81-03)

9.3.2 Lexical parallelism

Lexical parallelism is a phenomenon “widely attested in the oral poetry and elevated speech of a variety of peoples in the world” (Fox 1988: 1). It involves “a pair of parallel words, one in each section of the text” (Aronoff and Rees-Miller 2003: 463) and is commonly supported by syntactic parallelism. Generally, the lexical pairs are made up of synonyms or words with related meanings and form an ordered, conventional set. According to Fox (1988: 1), the phenomenon is particularly prominent in Eastern Indonesia. East Timor and Makalero present no exception to this. However, lexical parallelism is very much connected to high and / or ritual registers of speech, and most of the Makalero corpus that forms the basis of the present study consists of everyday speech. Nevertheless, some instances of lexical parallels have found their way into everyday speech; other texts, such as clan histories or accounts of wedding customs, draw heavily on ritualised speech. As such, the present corpus does allow some insight on lexical parallelism in Makalero. Lexical parallels in Makalero involve both nouns and verbs; also, full parallel VPs are found. Parallel pairs of these categories are exemplified in (52), (53) and (54), respectively, where // is used to indicate the parallel.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (52) | <i>omar // lopu</i>
stilt.house // house | ‘house’ |
| | <i>hala // funu</i>
war // war | ‘war’ |
| (53) | <i>na’an // lesa</i>
NEG.EX // NEG.have | ‘poor’ |
| | <i>lasi // teri</i>
cut, chop with a machete // cut with a knife | ‘cut’ |
| (54) | <i>ira pure // ama paun</i>
work in the paddy // weed the garden | ‘work in the field, plantation’ |
| | <i>hi’a loke // setur hasa</i>
open a road // demolish a fence | ‘clear a way’ |

Furthermore, characters and toponyms in ritual stories commonly have parallel names (see e.g. Engelenhoven 1997). The personal name exemplified in (55) is the person from whose name the language name Makalero is said to derive, while the place name comes from an account of the migration route of the Lorasana clan. The meaning of the majority of the elements found in those names is unclear. Note, however, that in every case, there appears to be a recurring element, i.e. *lero* in *Ililero // Laualero* and *ira* in *Pusira // Panaira*.

- (55) *Ililero // Laualero* (personal name)
ili ‘stone, rock’
- Pusira // Panaira* (place name)
ira ‘water’

Whereas the ordering of most parallel pairs seems fixed, some are found in both orders. An example is (56). (57) and (58) show two sentences where the words making up this pair occur in reversed order.

- (56) *hi’an // hat* ‘home, shelter’
 shelter // dry.place
- (57) *Tone’ nainai la’a-la’a hat // hi’an tone’ uari nese-la’a...*
 perhaps slow RDL-move dry.place // shelter perhaps still aim.at:RED-move
 ‘Maybe in due time (we) will find a home...’ (124-44)
- (58) *... ini ni-asu hi’an-ini // hat-ini...*
 1pe REFL-for shelter-do:BD // dry.place-do:BD
 ‘... we build ourselves a home...’ (26-06)

Pinto, in his 2004 monolingual Makalero dictionary, provides numerous parallel pairs.

There are two basic semantic types of lexical parallels. The most frequent one in Makalero by far is that of synonyms or words with related meanings. The meaning of the combination is the same or similar as that of its constituent parts. Examples can be seen in (52), (53) and (54) above. Note that for the purpose, both native and borrowed words are used, as in *hala // funu* in (52), where *hala* is the native Makalero term for ‘war’, while *funu* is a borrowing from Tetum with the same meaning.

The other semantic type of lexical parallels is that where two words with different, sometimes opposite, meanings are combined to denote a superordinate concept combined out of the meanings of the constituent parts of the pair, as in (59).

- (59) *ni // upa* ‘parents’
 mother // father
- kuda // arapau* ‘livestock’
 horse // buffalo
- teuh // elin* ‘bride-price’
 buy // price

Syntactically, the lexical pairs or the phrases containing them are generally juxtaposed without any kind of linker. (60) through (62) illustrate this with a nominal, a verbal and a phrasal pair, respectively. Note that on first glance, (61) seems to contradict the above statement, since the first verb of the pair, *li’an* ‘fall’ is cliticised with the clause linker =*te’e* ‘after’ (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). However, the

second verb, *suri* ‘release’, stands with the same linker, showing that =*te*’*e* does not serve as a linker between the two parallel verbs, but is part of the parallel syntactic structure in which the verbal pair is found, and links the complete parallel structure to the following clause.

- (60) *Atanana mata-niki amu itu ki-ni // ki-upa ue’...*
 first child-PL person three.HUM 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father V2DEM
 ‘At first, the three children had parents...’ (118-02)

- (61) ... *uai=te’e k-asu kuda arapau lauan uere’ mei=ni*
 CLS=after 3:UND-for horse buffalo precious.metal 2DEM.V take=LNK1

tufuraa ere ki-ha’auein li’an=ete // ki-ha’auein suri=te’e=si...
 woman IDEM 3:POSS-place throw=after 3:POSS-place release=after=LNK2
 ‘... then (they) give (them) livestock and gold and such things to replace the girl...’ (55-17)

- (62) *U teni lafu-lafu’=ua ira pure // ama paun*
 one again RDL-live=REL paddy cultivate garden pull.out

ki-k-ata-la’a fi-dada fi-upa fi-nanu
 3:POSS-3:UND-contact:RED-move 1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 1pi-great.great.grandparent

fi-hoden hana’e fi-asu lolo...
 1pi-great.grandparent REM.PT 1pi-for say
 ‘There is one more thing about living and growing things that our fathers and our ancestors told us...’ (55-28)

Appendix 1: Text samples

The texts in this section give one example each of the most common text types in the corpus that this thesis is based on. These are a folk tale (text 1), a procedural text (text 2), an exposition on the local traditions (text 3) and a life story or personal memoirs (text 4).

The following graphic conventions are used in the transcripts: Full stops <.> indicate the end of an utterance as marked by a final intonation contour (see § 7.7.1, p. 435). <|> denotes a break in the flow of speech, usually at the end of a sentence, with non-final intonation contour (ibid.). <...> is used to mark non-structural breaks in the flow of speech, as where the speaker stumbles, is looking for words, or is interrupted. “Filled pauses” are given in square brackets.

Text 1: The tale of the king of Iliomar and the snake

A folk tale

Speaker: Olimpia Jerónimo
Age: approximately 50
Origin: Ailebere (Marafal subvillage)
Date of recording: May 3, 2007

This folk story is one of two in which *liurai Iliomar* ‘the king of Iliomar’ is the protagonist. It ends somewhat abruptly, and, untypically, without a closing sentence. A second speaker, Adelina Ferreira (of the same origin and approximately the same age as the main speaker), was sitting by and interjected some remarks here and there. These are represented in round brackets.

Dili... Dili atanana lafu’=ete | amuni mu’a-ouar ere [a...] liurai Iliomar.
D. D. first live=after person ground-master 1DEM king I.
‘After Dili was first founded, the owner of the land was the king of Iliomar.’

Liurai Iliomar=ini la’a=ni Dili-isi’=ini e’=ini la’a kiloora=haka
king I.=LNK1 move=LNK1 D.-at=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 move 3p=CTR.PRES

meih.

two.HUM

‘It was the king of Iliomar, and he went to Dili, he was here and went, and there were two of them.’

Ni-noko meih uai=ni=ni... ta-pati=ni u Lakuloo... u
 REFL-younger.sibling two.HUM CLS=LNK1=LNK1 REC-divide=LNK1 one L. one

Loore hai dai | un=ini ai'=ini lolo-la'a=ni la'a=ni Laiuai
 L. NSIT pass one=CTR V1DEM=LNK1 straight:RED-move=LNK1 move=LNK1 L.

Laga | uai=te'e fuli-la'a=ni Dili.
 L. CLS=after together:RED-move=LNK1 D.

‘He went with his younger brother, and so... they split up and one went through Laculo... no, through Lore, and the other went directly from here to Laivai and Laga, and after that they went together to Dili.’

Dili-isi'=ini amuni... Dili e' ira na'an.
 D.-at=LNK1 person D. V1DEM water NEG.EX
 ‘In Dili, the people... there was no water in Dili.’

Ira... ira na'an.
 water water NEG.EX
 ‘There was no water.’

Ira na'an=ini kilooraa ira nomo ke'-ke'=isi | ira ere... pasar loloi
 water NEG.EX=LNK1 3p water NEG RDL-drink=LNK2 water 1DEM week two

ki-mutu'=ete=fe | uai=te'e ira Dili-isi-la'a.
 3:POSS-inside=after=FE CLS=after water D.-at:RED-move
 ‘There was no water, and they kept not drinking water, and the water... after two weeks only did water come to Dili.’

Dili-isi-la'a=po | ueralaa Dili-isi'=ini aire' ki-helar-laa
 D.-at:RED-move=ADV 3p D.-at=LNK1 now 3:POSS-big.PL-PL

ki=ufe'=eta | uere ni-mata mei la'a ira teuh.
 ATTR=VDEM.LOW=ETA 2DEM REFL-child take move water buy
 ‘It came to Dili, but they who were in Dili, the leaders who were down there, they took their children and used them to buy water.’

Ni-mata mei la'a ira teuh=ete=fe ira rei-misa.
 REFL-child take move water buy=after=FE water outwards-go.up
 ‘They took their children to buy water with them, and only then did water come out.’

Uai=ni ira ere... kilooraa amulafu afur u ere | ni-asu
 CLS=LNK1 water 1DEM 3p person body one 1DEM REFL-for

k-otu=ni ma'u=ni mei=ni tu'il | toron
 3:UND-fetch.water=LNK1 come=LNK1 take=LNK1 put.in.bamboo k.o.bamboo.container

uere' la'ane'-isi-kalin ue'=ini uai=te'e ke'.
 2DEM.V various-at:RED-pour.out V2DEM=LNK1 CLS=after drink
 'Then the water... they drew it one by one, and came and poured it into various kinds of bamboo containers, and only then could they drink.'

La'a hau ke' ira hai na'an.
 move all drink water NSIT NEG.EX
 'Then, when they had drunk, there was no more water.'

(Pasar u loloi hau-sai' hai na'an.)
 week one two all-finished:BD NSIT NEG.EX
 'One, two weeks were over and there was no more (water).'

Hai na'an=ini mara=ni | uai=te'e ki-helar-laa ni-mata teni mei
 NIST NEG.EX=LNK1 go=LNK1 CLS=after 3:POSS-big.PL-PL REFL-child again take

la'a ira uere teni teuh | mei la'a=ni ili.heke=ua
 move water 2DEM again buy take move=LNK1 cave=REL

mutu-ude' ere mutu-suri=si ira uai=te'e rei-misa.
 inside:RED-VDEM.HIGH 1DEM inside:RED-release:BD=LNK1 water CLS=after outwards-go.up
 'There was no more (water), and then afterwards the leaders took (one of) their children again and bought water again, they took the children and put them in a cave up there, and after that water came out.'

Uai-uai-nini mara=ni amuni ki=pere uai=nata guvernu
 RDL-V2DEM:RED-do:BD go=LNK1 person ATTR=big.SG CLS=CTF.COND government

ki=pere | uai=te'e uere ki-mata=ni ran=ini ki-nei Pirisistu.
 ATTR=big.SG CLS=after 2DEM 3:POSS-child=CTR ready-LNK1 3:POSS-name P.
 'They kept doing it like this, and then there was one important person, like a big government official, and then it was that person's child's turn, and her name was Pirisistu.'

Uere ran=ini mei la'a ili-mutu-ude-suri=ni |
 2DEM ready=LNK1 take move rock-inside:RED-VDEM.HIGH:RED-release:BD=LNK1

mata ka'u ere ue-mit=ini hein.
 child small 1DEM V2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 wait

‘It was her turn, and they took her and let her into the cave up there, and the child sat there and waited.’

Hein hau ran | k-asu seur | tinaini | ale tafa=ni
 wait all ready 3:UND-for meat cooked.rice uncooked.rice pound=LNK1

ale era mei=ni lalun=ini la'a ili-mutu-ude' pai
 uncooked.rice 3p take=LNK1 provision=LNK1 move rock-inside:RED-VDEM.HIGH pig

ha'al=ini na'u salakadu | uai mei la'a ili-mutu-ude'.
 fry=LNK1 just k.o.dish CLS take move rock-inside:RED-VDEM.HIGH

‘She waited and was all ready, and they had given her meat, and both cooked and uncooked rice as provisions to go into the cave up there, and they had fried pork and made *salakadu*, and had put that into the cave up there.’

Mata ka'u uere... fanaraa=ee tepa ue-mit | mara=ni tuku
 child small 2DEM young.woman=DEF constant V2DEM:RED-sit.SG go=LNK1 punch

lolo... isi-ria' | nana hai rei-misa=si [a...]ira hai ma'u=uai.
 two at:RED-arrive snake NSIT outwards-go.up=LNK2 water NSIT come=UAI

‘The child... the young girl kept sitting there, and then when it was two o'clock, snakes started coming out, and water started coming out.’

Ira hai ma'u=ni nana uere ki-tala-r ere roual | uere
 water NSIT come=LNK1 snake 2DEM 3:POSS-branch-PL 1DEM many.NONHUM 2DEM

hai ma'u=ni [a...] mata ka'u u hai masan.
 NSIT come=LNK1 child small one NSIT scared

‘Water started to come, and that snake, it forked into many branches, that started coming out, and the child was scared.’

Mata ka'u ere | hai masan [e'...] mara=ni mata ka'u hai masan=po |
 child small 1DEM NSIT scared go=LNK1 child small NSIT scared=ADVR

liurai Iliomar hai isa=uai.
 king I. NSIT go.down=UAI

‘The child was scared, she was scared, but then the king of Iliomar came down.’

Liurai Iliomar hai isa=ni nama-e-nat=ini hai lolo
king I. NSIT go.down=LNK1 upwards:RED-V1DEM:RED-stand.SG=LNK1 NSIT say

“*hai Pirisistu!*”

INTERJ P.

‘The king of Iliomar came down and stood up there and said: “Hey Pirisistu!”’

Sa’a-fani’ ei ma’u ai-mit?” ain.
what:BD-like 2s come V1DEM:RED-sit.SG QUOT
‘Why did you come to sit here?’”

“*Ai, ani asi-upa=ni ani mei ira teuh=ini | Dili-isi’ ira*
INTERJ 1s 1s:POSS-father=CTR 1s take water buy=LNK1 D.-at water

na’an=isi uere k-asu=ni ani mei ira teuh.”
NEG.EX=LNK1 2DEM 3:UND-for=LNK1 1s take water buy

““Ai, my father bought water using me, there is no water in Dili, that is why he took me to pay for water.””

“(*Hai rau=po ma’u) ma’u asi-laipun k-ata-mit” ain=isi...*
NSIT good=ADVR come come 1s:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG QUOT=LNK2

Pirisistu hai mara=ni [sa’a...] liurai Iliomar ki-laipun k-ata-mit.
P. NSIT go=LNK1 thing king I. 3:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG
““Okay then, come and sit on my back” he said, and Pirisistu went to sit on the king of Iliomar’s back.’”

Liurai lolo “ka’u=te’e ani nana ere lasi=ni | mara=ni=ua ani
king say small=after 1s snake 1DEM cut=LNK1 go=LNK1=UA 1s

hai nomo hul=ana fani’=ere | ei asi-laipun k-ata-mit=ini
NSIT NEG able=INT like=CMPL 2s 1s:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG=LNK1

asi-sefar-isi-uat | asi-kuda... isi-hihi | uai=taa ma’u.
1s:POSS-dog-at:RED-call 1s:POSS-horse at:RED-call CLS=PURP come

‘The king said “in a while, I’ll cut the snakes, and when I don’t have the strength anymore, you sit on my back and call out to my dog, and call out to my horse so they come.”’

Mara=ni kiloo... hai la'a liurai ki-laipun k-ata-mit nana uere
 come=LNK2 3s NSIT move king 3:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG snake 2DEM

hai ma'u=si lasi liurai Iliomar nana uere lasi lasi lasi=ni nana uere
 NSIT come=LNK2 cut king I. snake 2DEM cut cut cut=LNK1 snake 2DEM

hai na'u k-ue-dasa lafi-dasa-la'a=po | hai nomo rau-rau hau
 NSIT just 3:UND-around-fall beside:RED-fall-move=LNK1 NSIT NEG RDL-good all

k-uta=si uai=te'e | minina Pirisistu uai=te'e=fe | kiloo ki-sefar...
 3:UND-kill=LNK2 CLS=after miss P. CLS=after=FE 3s 3:POSS-dog

isi-uat.

at:RED-call

'Then she went to sit on the king's back, and the snakes came and he cut them down, the king of Iliomar kept cutting the snakes down, and snakes were scattered everywhere, but he didn't manage to kill them all, so then Miss Pirisistu called his dog.'

Sefar=ee-isi-uat=ini sefar ere misa nana=ee ka'el liurai=oo k-uta
 dog=DEF-at:RED-call=LNK1 dog 1DEM go.up snake=DEF bite king=too 3:UND-kill

tepa'.

constant

'She called his dog and the dog came up and bit the snakes, and the king also kept killing them.'

Tepa ma'u=si kuda uere teni isi-hihi=si misa=ni kuda=oo
 constant come=LNK2 horse 2DEM again at:RED-call=LNK2 go.up=LNK1 horse=too

nana=ee ti'al | sefar=oo lasi | uai=te'e=fe aire' nana ki=pere uere
 snake=DEF kick dog=too cut CLS=after=FE now snake ATTR=big.SG 2DEM

rei-li'an.

outwards-fall

'(The snakes) kept coming, so she called the horse and it came up, and the horse kicked the snakes, and the dog too cut them, and now finally the big snake fell out.'

Rei-li'an=isi uai=te'e nana=oo ti'al | sefar=oo ka'el | liurai=oo
 outwards-fall=LNK2 CLS=after snake=too kick dog=too bite king=too

lasi=ni nana ere=haka hai umu=si | liurai ni-asu ki-ifil hai
 cut=LNK1 snake 1DEM=CTR.PRES NSIT die=LNK2 king REFL-for 3:POSS-tongue NSIT

teri=uai.
 cut=UAI

‘It fell out, and then the snake¹⁹⁶ too kicked, and the dog too bit, and the king too cut, until the snake died, and then the king cut off its tongue for himself.’

Ki-ifil-fanu=ee hai teri=ni | Pirisistu ki-vistidu ere ki-ualir
 3:POSS-tongue-face=DEF NSIT cut=LNK1 P. 3:POSS-dress 1DEM 3:POSS-edge

fisa'ak=ini hai mei isi-loka=ni | hai mei ni-faru-lode-mutu'=ini
 tear=LNK1 NSIT take at:RED-wrap=LNK1 NSIT take REFL-shirt-pocket-inside=LNK1

hai la'a=uai.
 NSIT move=UAI

‘He cut off the tip of its tongue and tore off the edge of Pirisistu’s dress, wrapped it in it, put it into his shirt pocket and then left.’

Hai la'a | mataroosaire'... guvernü ki-mataroos ere=haka
 NSIT move servant now government 3:POSS-servant 1DEM=CTR.PRES

e'=ini | ira uere hai tepa isa=ni Dili-mutu'=ee
 V1DEM=LNK1 water 2DEM NSIT constant go.down=LNK1 D.-inside=CMPL

k-otu=ni hai mei hai kali-kalin=oo hai nomo para=uai.
 3:UND-fetch.water=LNK1 NSIT take NSIT RDL-throw.away=too NSIT NEG stop=UAI

‘He left, and now a servant of the government was here, the water kept flowing down, and in Dili they kept drawing it and pouring it out, but there was no end to it.’

Hai nomo para=si mataroos=haka hai na'u mi-ma'u=uai | ira
 NSIT NEG stop=LNK2 servant=CTR.PRES NSIT just along:RED-come=UAI water

ki-hi'a hai mi-ma'u.
 3:POSS-street NSIT along:RED-come

‘There was no end to it, so the servant came following the water’s course.’

¹⁹⁶ The use of *nana* ‘snake’ is a mistake here; it should say *kuda* ‘horse’.

Mi-ma'u=ee *misa=po... Pirisistu hai*
 along:RED-come=CMPL go.up=ADVR P. NSIT

le-isi-ude-mit=isi *hai lolo* | *“hai*
 outside:RED-at:RED-VDEM.HIGH:RED-sit.SG=LNK2 NSIT say NSIT

taure-fani'=ini... *ei hai tepa ai-mit?"* *ain=ini* *“isipo' ani*
 which:RED-be.like=LNK1 2s NSIT constant V1DEM:RED-sit.SG QUOT=LNK1 not.know 1s

nomo ma'en" *ain=isi* *nat iraku ude'=ini* *ni-asu nana uere* |
 NEG know QUOT=LNK2 stand.SG 3s VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 REFL-for snake 2DEM

ki-ijil=ee *liurai=ua teri=eta uere'* *hai teni mi-deri=ni*
 3:POSS-tongue=DEF king=REL cut=ETA 2DEM.V NSIT again along:RED-cut:BD=LNK1

ki-tafu *hai mei.*
 3:POSS-half NSIT take

‘He came following it and came up, and Pirisistu was sitting up there outside, and he said to her “how come you keep sitting here?”, and she said “I don’t know”, so standing there he cut himself a bit off of the snake’s tongue that the king had cut and took half of it.’

Ki-tafu *hai mei* | *Pirisistu ko-horu hai...* *vila-isi-la'a=uai.*
 3:POSS-half NSIT take P. 3:UND-with NSIT city-at:RED-move=UAI
 ‘He took half of it and went to the city with Pirisistu.’

Isa=ni *la'a=ni* *hai mei=ni* *governu nesen=isi aire' ki-nei*
 go.down=LNK1 move=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1 government show=LNK2 now 3:POSS-name

Dili-mutu'=ini=ua uai-ropa' *ere hai haka-hau fuli-la'a=ni* |
 D.-inside=LNK1=UA V2DEM:RED-many 1DEM NSIT all-all together:RED-move=LNK1

aire' sinora ere k-asu ere mei vistidu osan | *sa'a-sa'a* |
 now lady 1DEM 3:UND-for 1DEM take dress money RDL-thing

ue' ere hai haka-hau horu=ni hei... *mataroos mei=ni*
 V2DEM 1DEM NSIT all-all gather?=LNK1 INTERJ servant take=LNK1

kauen=ana=uai.
 marry=INT=UAI

‘He went down and showed (the snake’s tongue) to the government, and all those many people there who had a name in Dili got together, and now they took clothes and money and everything that was there and gathered it all (for the bride price) for the lady, and the servant was going to marry her.’¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ This utterance is somewhat unclear.

Kauen=ana=si hai la'a igreja.
 marry=INT=LNK2 NSIT move church
 'He was going to marry her, and they went to church.'

Hai la'a igreja-isi'=ini kauen=ana.
 NSIT move church-at=LNK1 marry=INT
 'They went and were at church and they were going to be married.'

(Uai=ni=po mata ka'u kiloo tule).
 CLS=LNK1=ADVR child small 3s not.want
 'But the child didn't want him.'

Tule=po amuni hai... ki-ni ki-upa ma'akini kiloo=ni
 not.want=ADVR person NSIT 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father wrongly.think 3s=CTR

mei=ni lafu'-ini=si | hai la'a=ni ude'=ini kauen=ana
 take=LNK1 live-do:BD=LNK2 NSIT move=LNK1 VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 marry=INT

altar-isi'=ini kauen=ana.
 altar-at=LNK1 marry=INT
 'She didn't want him, but her parents thought it was him who had saved her, so they went up there to be married, they were at the altar and were going to be married.'

Liurai Iliomar=haka tau'=ini... ma'en=isi hai isa=uai.
 king I.=CTR.PRES where=LNK1 know=LNK2 NSIT go.down=UAI
 'The king of Iliomar knew where it was and went down.'

Hai isa=ni le-isi-uai' hetu "taure-fani?" uai=te'e "igreja
 NSIT go.down=LNK1 outside:RED-at:RED-V2DEM ask which:RED-be.like CLS=after church

ere taure-fani?"=ni amuni [a...] "governu ki-mata=ua la'a=ni
 IDEM which:RED-be.like=LNK1 person government 3:POSS-child=REL move=LNK1

mei ira teuh ere=ni amuni mataroos=ini ni-asu muni la'a=ni
 take water buy IDEM=CTR person servant=CTR REFL-for return move=LNK1

nese-la'a | lafu'-ini=si | hai kauen=ana."
 aim.at:RED-move=LNK1 live-do:BD=LNK2 NSIT marry=INT
 'He came down and was outside there and asked "what is it like?", and "what is going on in the church?", and people (said) "the governor's child who they used to buy water with, the servant went and found her and saved her, so they will be married.'

“Afa uai=p-ani misa=ni ho’o ena=te’e ani-asu loke=p-ani misani
 COND CLS=PURP-1s go.up=LNK1 some see=after 1s-for open=PURP-1s go.up

ho’o ena.”

some see

“‘If (that is so), let me go up and see some (of it) first, open up (a way) for me so I can go up and see some.’”

Misa=ni | [a...] ena=na’a | ude’=ini e-puna=ni
 go.up=LNK1 see=INT VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 V1DEM.RED-look=LNK1

hai tu-ena=si nat “oi asi-nami=ni hai ufere”
 NSIT first-see=LNK2 stand INTERJ 1s:POSS-husband=CTR NSIT DEM.LOW.V

ain=ini | ni-nami hai k-ou-ria’ | mataroos=haka
 QUOT=LNK1 REFL-husband NSIT 3:UND-towards-run servant=CTR.PRES

hai na’an | mataroos=haka hai lu’a.
 NSIT NEG.EX servant=CTR.PRES NSIT not.get

‘He went up and was going to see, but she was up there and looked here and she saw him first, and she stood (and said) “Oh, my husband is that one down there”, and she ran towards her husband, and the servant didn’t get her.’

Hai lu’a=si | la’a=ni | meih=ini hai la’a pulis-isi’=ini |
 NSIT not.get=LNK2 move=LNK1 two.HUM=LNK1 NSIT move police-at=LNK1

problema lolo=po | kiloo=haka ifil-fanu hai mei=ni... fanu-isi’ “ani=ni
 problem say=ADVR 3s=CTR.PRES tongue-face NSIT take=LNK1 face-at 1s=CTR

la’a=ni nana paun=ee k-uta=konai=ni | ira=ua
 move=LNK1 snake many=DEF 3:UND-kill=CSQ=LNK1 water=REL

Dili-isi-rei-misa=ni hai kafu’ira ere ani=ni nana=ee k-uta.
 D.-at:RED-outwards-go.up=LNK1 NSIT full water 1DEM 1s=CTR snake 3:UND-kill

‘He didn’t get her, so the two of them went to the police to discuss the problem, and he produced the snake tongue (and said) “It was me who went and killed the many snakes, and for this reason the water that came up to Dili is plentiful, it was me who killed the snakes.’

Uai=konai=ni Dili hai lafu’.

CLS=CSQ=LNK1 D. NSIT live

‘Because of this Dili is alive.’

Uere’=ini nana... nana=ee ki-ifil=ini ere’.”

2DEM=CTR snake snake=DEF 3:POSS-tongue=CTR 1DEM.V

‘The snake’s tongue is this.’”

Ain=ini | *liurai=haka hai lolo “nana-ifil=ini taure?” ain.*
 QUOT=LNK1 king=CTR.PRES NSIT say snake-tongue=CTR which QUOT
 ‘He said that, and the king replied “which is the snake’s tongue?’

Nana-ifil uere hai mei rei-misa liurai=haka=ni taure-fani’
 snake-tongue 2DEM NIST take outwards-go.up king=CTR.PRES=CTR which:RED-be.like

faru-lode-mutu-dane=ni=po “ere na’a.muni sa’a-k-isi?” ain.
 shirt-pocket-inside:RED-lift=LNK1=ADVR IDEM in.turn what:BD-3:UND-belong QUOT
 ‘He took out the snake’s tongue, and the king likewise took the snake’s tongue out
 of his shirt pocket (and said) “this is from what then?”’

Mara=po hai muni liurai ki-nana-ifil ere=ni ki-fanu | kiloo
 go=ADVR NSIT return king 3:POSS-snake-tongue IDEM=CTR 3:POSS-face 3s

ki-nana-ifil ere=haka ki-lepa... hai teri uere=uai.
 3:POSS-snake-tongue IDEM=CTR.PRES 3:POSS-middle NSIT cut 2DEM=UAI
 ‘Then (it turned out that) the king’s snake tongue was the tip of the tongue, and the
 other’s tongue was cut from the middle.’

Text 2: How to cook mung bean porridge

A procedural text

Speaker: Joana da Silva
 Age: 28
 Origin: Tirilolo
 Date of recording: February 10, 2007

The present short procedural text is a cooking recipe. Notable features of this genre are the use of the first person inclusive pronoun *fi* as a generic pronoun (§ 3.3.1.1, p. 218), and the frequent occurrence of the adverbial-turned-completive marker *hau* ‘all’ (§ 5.3.3.2, p. 369).

Kerieri fi utamata po'or=ere | [e...] utamata ere fi hau kiut.
 first 1pi mung.beans cook=CMPL mung.beans IDEM 1pi all clean
 ‘First, if we want to make mung beans, we clean the mung beans.’

Hau kiut=ini ena=ni | ki=pa'uk=ini to'=uai uai uar ho'o koto
 all clean=LNK1 see=LNK1 ATTR=bad=CTR accompany=or UAI rock some maybe

ki-fasu ho'o=ni to-dasa=fata fi hau mei.
 3:POSS-skin some=CTR accompany:RED-fall=COND 1pi NSIT take
 ‘Having cleaned them, we look, and if there are bad ones mixed in, or maybe some stones or some empty skins have fallen in, we take them out.’

Hau mei=ni | uai=te'e mei=ni pusi-isi'.
 all take=LNK1 CLS=after take=LNK1 pan-at
 ‘Having taken them out, we put them in a pan.’

Hau mei pusi-isi'=ini fi hai... hau pane.
 all take pan-at=LNK1 1pi NSIT all wash
 ‘Having put them in a pan, we wash them.’

Hau pane=ni | ki-ira hau kalin | ki=pa'uk=ua ki... ira
 all wash=LNK1 3:POSS-water all pour.out ATTR=bad=REL 3:POSS- water

k-ua'=ini hai la'a-la'a ere fi uere hau dasa-la'a.
 3:UND-on.top=LNK1 NSIT RDL-move IDEM 1pi 2DEM all throw.out-move
 ‘Having washed them, we throw out the water, and the bad ones which were floating about on the surface, we throw those away.’

Hau dasa-la'a=ni | *uai=te'e=si... fi ira ki=selu teni na'a.muni*
 all throw.out-move=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 1pi water ATTR=other again in.turn

mei isi'.

take at

‘Having thrown them away, after that we take different water and put it in (the pan) again.’

Ira selu muni mei isi' ere | *roual.*

water other return take at IDEM many.NONHUM

‘The different water that we put inside should be a lot.’

Ira... nomohaka ka'u-ka'u=hi'a mei isi'=po | *roual mei isi'=ini*
 water CLS.NEG RDL-small=only take at=ADVR many.NONHUM take at=LNK1

ka'u=te'e ira isi-sat.

small=after water at:RED-dry:BD

‘The water... don't put in only very little, but put in a lot, and after a short while the water dries up inside.’

Ira mara=ni isi-sat=ini fi ena=po | *hai dafut* | *hai*
 water go=LNK1 at:RED-dry:BD=LNK1 1pi see=ADVR NSIT cooked NSIT

dafut=po ni'isi ira uari roual=fata | *fi ni'isi uari hein.*
 cooked=ADVR simultaneous water still many.NONHUM=COND 1pi simultaneous still wait

‘Then when the water dries up inside, we look if (the beans) are already done, and if they are done but there is still a lot of water, then we still wait.’

Hein=ini | *ira hai sa'a-fa... ira... turu-sa-sat=ini*

wait=LNK1 water NSIT what:BD-FA water follow:RED-RDL-dry:BD=LNK1

isa=ni hai ka'u-ka'u | *hai na'u ni-ropa' uai=n=afta*

go.down=LNK1 NSIT RDL-little NSIT just NEG-many CLS=LNK1=COND

uai=te'e=si fi... [e...] kasi lema' ka'u-ka'u mei isi' | *kasi ka'u-ka'u*
 CLS=after=LNK2 1pi salt sweet RDL-little take at salt RDL-small

mei=ni isi' | *uai=te'e dudu-ira mei=ni isi'.*

take=LNK1 at CLS=after breast-water take=LNK1 at

‘We wait, the water dries up continuously and goes down, and when there is very little left, in that case we put in a little bit of sugar and a little bit of salt, and then we put in milk.’

Uai=ni iraku=taa k-ua-ue-daru=ni ka'u-ka'u
 CLS=LNK1 3s=PURP 3:UND-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-position:BD=LNK1 RDL-small

mu'it=ete=si uai=te'e fi mei rei-daru.
 long.time=after=LNK2 CLS=after 1pi take outwards-position:BD
 'And we let it stand there (on the fire), and after a little while we take it out.'

Hai hau uere'.
 NSIT all 2DEM.V
 'This is it.'

Text 3: The history and traditions of Iliomar

An account of the local customs

Speaker: Alexandre Serba Rosa

Age: 30

Origin: Pusira (Osuhira)

Date of recording: March 10, 2007

Makalero speakers are very eager for the customs of Iliomar to be transmitted and recorded. The central pillar of these customs is the marriage procedure, including the bride wealth, and a number of texts focus exclusively on these. The present text also includes a short account of the early history and development of Iliomar in the first part, and a résumé on the respective obligations of the wife-giver and the wife-taker clans in an event of death at the end.

Iliomar ki-lafu-lafu' ere | hana'e | aira ki=tu tu-pere tu-selar
 I. 3:POSS-RDL-live IDEM REM.PT year ATTR=first first-big.SG first-big.PL:BD

ere lolo=e' | suku u=hi'a.
 IDEM say=CMPL suco one=only

‘The history of Iliomar, a long time ago, in the first years, the ancestors said there was only one suco¹⁹⁸.’

Mara=ni uere ki-mini=na'apo | tu-selar=ee mi-puna |
 go=LNK1 2DEM 3:POSS-follow=afterwards first-big.PL:BD=DEF along:RED-look

renufuku Iliomar ere hau rial | hai hau pere | depois mara uere
 population I. IDEM all many.HUM NSIT all big.SG afterwards go 2DEM

ki-mini | renu ere hai rial=anapo uera ere | amulafu
 3:POSS-follow population IDEM NSIT many.HUM=afterwards 3p IDEM person

ni-renu ere hai pati | pati=ni mei=ni meih=ini | suku lima
 REFL-population IDEM NSIT divide divide=LNK1 take=LNK1 two.HUM=CTR suco five

kini.

do

‘After that, the ancestors looked over (it and saw that) the population of Iliomar was very numerous and very big, and after the population had become numerous, they divided their subjects; they divided them and the two of them formed five sucos out of them.’

¹⁹⁸An administrative unit of East Timor.

Suku lima kini | liurai Iliomar ki-mata-r | amu itu uere=ni |
 suco five do king I. 3:POSS-child-PL person three.HUM 2DEM=CTR

ukun.

rule

‘They made five sucos, and it was the king of Iliomar’s three children who ruled (them).’

Amu itu uere ki-nei | liurai Fereira | liurai Juaun | liurai...
 person three.HUM 2DEM 3:POSS-name king F. king J. king

Pedru.

P.

‘These three people’s names were king Fereira, king João, and king Pedro.’

Mara uera uere ukun=anapo | mi-puna renu ere hai hau
 go 3p 2DEM rule=afterwards along:RED-look population 1DEM NSIT all

rial.

many.HUM

‘Then, after they had ruled, they looked over (it and saw that) the population was already very numerous.’

Hau rial=anapo uere ki-mini | kilooraa fuli-diar=ini |
 all many.HUM=afterwards 1DEM 3:POSS-follow 3p together:RED-sit.PL=LNK1

uai=te’e=si | suku ere u teni lolo=ni | uai=ni=konai kilooraa
 CLS=after=LNK2 suco 1DEM one again say=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=CSQ 3p

fuli’=ini | suku douh.

together=LNK1 suco six

‘It was very numerous, so then they sat down together and talked about one more suco, so as a consequence they would be six sucos all together.’

Uere ki-mini | ma’u=ni ere’ ta-rata’-la’a | suku douh uere hai
 2DEM 3:POSS-follow come=LNK1 1DEM.V near-arrive-move suco six 2DEM NSIT

tepa k-ua-kesi=ni | na’u tepa’.

constant 3:UND-on.top:RED-lock=LNK1 just continuous

‘After that up to the present, these six villages persist.’

Uere'=ini fuli'=ini lolo=ni | uai=ni=konai Iliomar ere ki-nei |
 2DEM.V=LNK1 together=LNK1 say=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=CSQ I. 1DEM 3:POSS-name

tamu=ni Iliomar... =ua... sede Loospalos ere ki-renu.
 name=LNK1 I. =REL jurisdiction L. 1DEM 3:POSS-population
 ‘Then they got together and talked, and as a consequence they gave Iliomar its name, the population of Iliomar, which is in the sphere of influence of Lospalos.’

Uere' meke'=ini ere ta-ma'u | mara=ni | fi ni ukun.
 2DEM.V break.up=LNK1 1DEM near-come go=LNK1 1pi REFL rule
 ‘Starting from that time until now, we are independent.’

Ni ukun=ee ta-rata'-la'a | fi... hai ma'u=ni ni ukun=ee-mutu-rata' |
 REFL rule=DEF near-arrive-move 1pi NSIT come=LNK1 REFL rule=DEF-inside:RED-arrive

rouala-uala=ni hai e' | mara=ni fi hai ma'u=ni |
 RDL-many.NONHUM=LNK1 NSIT 1VIDEM go=LNK1 1pi NSIT come=LNK1

iskola=oo loke | saude k-isi' | fi hai mutu-lafu' | po lafu
 school=too open health 3:UND-belong 1pi NSIT inside:RED-live ADVR life

ki=muit ki=tu ere fi ni'isi na'u tepa nese-ne'et
 ATTR=long.ago ATTR=first 1DEM 1pi simultaneous just constant aim.at:RED-think

na'u tepa ha'e-ne'et | uere'=ini taure' | uere'=ini fi
 just constant light(?)-think 2DEM.V=LNK1 which 2DEM.V=LNK1 1pi

ta halin ta lepa | ta nese-ne'et | uai=konai fi fuli'=ini
 REC come.together REC middle(?) REC aim.at:RED-think CLS=CSQ 1pi together=LNK1

sirvisu na'a-me'i ere | rau fanu-utu-la'a.
 work work-take 1DEM good face-block-move

‘We are independent until now, and (when) we became independent, there were many things already here, and then we opened schools and health institutions and we live in it¹⁹⁹, but we keep remembering and thinking about life in the old days and what it was like; it was (such that) we were united and cared for one another so that we worked together and went forward and progressed.’

¹⁹⁹ This appears to refer to the independence, making the expression *mutu-lafu'* ‘live in it’ parallel to the earlier *ni ukun=ee-mutu-rata'* ‘(we) arrived at independence’.

[A...] *istoria... uere ki-mi... rata=ua ere' ki-mini ere | lafu'=ua*
 story 2DEM 3:POSS-... story=REL 1DEM.V 3:POSS-follow 1DEM live=REL

Iliomar k-isi' ere | ani lolo=na'a | ani tone' mei=ni
 I. 3:UND-belong 1DEM 1s say=INT 1s perhaps take=LNK1

rau-rau-mi-ne'et=ete | uai=te'e=si ani tone' lolo.
 RDL-good-along:RED-think=after CLS=after=LNK2 1s perhaps say

‘The continuation of this story about the history of Iliomar, I would like to tell (it), but I will think it through thoroughly first, and only then will I tell it.’

Iliomar lafu'=ere | tufuraa namiraa | fanaraa mata namiraa | ta
 I. live=DEF woman man young.woman child man REC

heti=na'a ta mei=na'a | ki-ni ki-upa fuli-diar=ini
 ask=INT REC take=INT 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father together:RED-sit.PL=LNK1

ta-asu lolo | ki-uru ki-uated kae ki-pasar kae | uai=te'e=si uera
 REC-for say 3:POSS-moon 3:POSS-day set 3:POSS-week set CLS=after=LNK2 3p

ere dadau meih=ini ta mei.
 1DEM must two.HUM=LNK1 REC take

‘The traditions of Iliomar, if a woman and a man, a girl and a boy want to get married, their parents sit down together and talk to each other to set the month and the day and the week, and only then can the two of them get married.’

Uere-laa tufuraa u namiraa u ta mei=na'a=ere | tufuraa namiraa
 2DEM-PL woman one man one REC take=INT=COMPL woman man

ki-ni ki-upa dadau fuli-diar=ini | lolo-ini parlaki
 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father must together:RED-sit.PL=LNK1 say-do:BD dowry

ni-teuh ni-elin mei=ni ta-asu lolo | uai=te'e=si meih uere
 REFL-buy REFL-price take=LNK1 REC-for say CLS=after=LNK2 two.HUM 2DEM

mei=ni | tata-hau-suri=ni | meih ere fuli-lafu'.
 take=LNK1 unite-all-release=LNK1 two.HUM 1DEM together:RED-live

‘If they, a woman and a man, want to get married, both their parents have to sit down together and talk, to discuss the dowry with each other, after that the two of them are released (by their families) to be united and the two of them live together.’

Meih=ua fuli-lafu' ere=ni taure' | uere'=ini=ua lafu'=ua...
 two.HUM=REL together:RED-live 1DEM=CTR which 2DEM.V=CTR=REL live=REL

lafu-lafu'=ua fuli'=ini omar u lopu u k-ia'=ini=ua
 RDL-live=REL together=LNK1 stilt.house one house one 3:UND-under=LNK1=REL

turu-lafu'=ana ere turu-la'a=na'a ere k-isi'.
 continue:RED-live=INT 1DEM continue:RED-move=INT 1DEM 3:UND-belong
 'What is the couple's living together like? It is about living together under one roof and continue life (have children).'

Po fi-ni fi-upa na'u tepa nese-ne'et lolo=ee | fi-ni
 ADVR 1pi-mother 1pi-father just constant aim.at:RED-think say=CMPL 1pi-mother

fi-upa ere hana'e kole | maka | uere'=isi-uai' k-asu kuda
 1pi-father 1DEM REM.PT tired tired 2DEM.V=at:RED-V2DEM 3:UND-for horse

arapau lauan | uere' mei=ni | tufuraa ere ki-ha'auain li'an=ete
 buffalo money 2DEM.V take=LNK1 woman 1DEM 3:POSS-place fall=after

ki-ha'auain-suri=te'e=si uai=te'e | namiraa | ki-ni ki-upa
 3:POSS-place-release:BD=after=LNK2 CLS=after man 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father

uere uai=te'e ma'u=ni ni-asu | fanaraa ere ko-horu
 2DEM CLS=after come=LNK2 REFL-for young.woman 1DEM 3:UND-with

ni-omar-isi-la'a.

REFL-stilt.house-at:RED-move

'Our parents kept thinking (about us), and they said they used to be tired and exhausted (caring for us), so in this situation, (we) take horses, buffaloes and money to replace the girl, and after that, the man's parents come and take the young girl with them to go to their house.'

Fanaraa hau ko-horu ni-omar-isi-la'a=na'apo | uatu fitu
 young.woman all 3:UND-with REFL-stilt.house-at:RED-move=afterwards day seven

kamu fitu hau-sai' | ki-ni ki-upa | kola utur rapi
 night seven all-finished:BD 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father tais men's.tais women's.sarong

paata | pai | uere' mei=ni | ki-omar-isi-la'a
 men's.sarong pig 2DEM.V take=LNK1 3:POSS-stilt.house-at:RED-move

ki-hi'a-afi-la'a | uere'=ini=ua lolo=ni | parlaki.
 3:POSS-street-sideways:RED-move 2DEM.V=CTR=REL say=LNK1 pride.price

'After they go to their house with the girl, and then seven days and seven nights have passed, (then) her parents take women's and men's tais²⁰⁰ and pigs and go to her house; this is called barlake.'

²⁰⁰ Traditional woven cloth.

Uere' teni ki-mini | uatu fitu kamu fitu | ki-hi'a
 2DEM.V again 3:POSS-follow day seven night seven 3:POSS-street

hau-afi-la'a=na'apo | uai=te'e=si | k-asu | ki-nua-nua | teli
 all-sideways:RED-move=afterwards CLS=after=LNK2 3:UND-for 3:POSS-RDL-eat maize

ale muuta'u same mu'u | uere la'ane' mei=ni | tufur mata ere
 rice taro sweet.potato banana 2DEM various take=LNK1 sister child 1DEM

ta'aua'=isi uai=te'e k-asu | hutir mei=ni kini.
 ?=LNK2 CLS=after 3:UND-for knife take=LNK1 give.to.3

'Following that, after seven days and seven nights they go to her house, and afterwards they bring food for her, (such as) maize, rice, taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, they bring this to the girl and then they²⁰¹ give them the hutir (knife).'

Hutir ere | aire' hai muni nomohaka hutir=po | hai muni | osan
 knife 1DEM now NSIT return CLS.NEG knife=ADVR NSIT return money

mei=ni | ki-ha'auin-isi'.
 take=LNK1 3:POSS-place-at

'The hutir is now no longer a knife, but money, which is used in its place.'

Teni muni | fi=ua lafu'=ini=ua la'a=ni umu-ata-la'a ere | Iliomar
 again return 1pi=REL live=LNK1=REL move=LNK1 die-contact:RED-move 1DEM I.

ere | ki-lafu' ere | ta helu-helur | uai=ni=si | omaraha=ni
 1DEM 3:POSS-live 1DEM REC RDL-change CLS=LNK1=LNK2 bride.givers=CTR

umu tuumata dadau | pai mei k-ou-seman arapau mei
 die bride.takers must pig take 3:UND-towards-bring:BD buffalo take

k-ou-seil pipi mei k-ou-seil.
 3:UND-towards-pull:BD goat take 3:UND-towards-pull:BD

'And then again, when we lived up to the point where we reach death, the traditions of Iliomar (are such that we have to) replace (things) to each other, so when someone of the wife's family dies, the husband's family has to bring pigs, buffaloes and goats there.'

Omaraha=ni... tuumata=ni umu omaraha k-asu kola | ki-nua-nua
 wife.givers=CTR wife.takers=CTR die wife.givers 3:UND-for tais 3:POSS-RDL-eat

ua'=ini ni-mata | ki-omar ki-lopu-isi-la'a.
 ?=LNK2 REFL-child 3:POSS-stilt.house 3:POSS-house-at:RED-move

'The wife's family... if someone from the husband's family dies, the wife's family has to bring tais and food to their child's house.'

²⁰¹ This seems to refer to the wife-taker clan (the family of the groom).

La'a uere'-isi-uai'=ere | *ki-mata tufuru* | *ki-paakin* |
 move 2DEM.V-at:RED-V2DEM=COMPL 3:POSS-child sister 3:POSS-parent-in-law

ni-paaki-raa ni-mali-raa uere | *pada=si ki-lopu* | *ki-riaria*
 REFL-parent.in-law-PL REFL-sibling.in-law-PL 2DEM order=LNK2 3:POSS-house 3:POSS-tent

tara-lafi ere k-ia-uai-diar | *uere'-isi-uai'* |
 roof-side 1DEM 3:UND-under:RED-V2DEM:RED-sit.PL 2DEM.V-at:RED-V2DEM

noko nana | *omar e' uere du e' uere k-isi'*
 younger.sibling older.sibling stilt.house V1DEM 2DEM roof V1DEM 2DEM 3:UND-belong

ere | *na'a.muni* | *ni-omaraha ti'a-puna.*
 1DEM in.turn REFL-wife.givers towards-look

‘When they have arrived there, their daughter’s parents-in-law ask their family-in-law to sit in the house or the tent, and then the brothers and sisters who originate from that house in turn observe the wife-giver family.’

Nua nomo nua=oo | *ki-paakin ki-mali ere=ni*
 eat NEG eat=too 3:POSS-parent.in-law 3:POSS-sibling.in-law 1DEM=CTR

uai'=ni ena.
 V2DEM=LNK1 see

‘Whether they eat or not, their in-laws are there and see it.’

Po | *tufur mata=ua'a nuak total ere k-isi'* | *ere* | *nami*
 ADVR sister child=REL village entire 1DEM 3:UND-belong 1DEM male

noko nami nana haka-hau ina mei isi-puna | *uali mei*
 younger.sibling male elder.sibling all-all eye take at:RED-look ear take

isi-liar | *uai=ni=konai nua nomo nua kopa-hau k-ua-ma'en*
 at:RED-perceive CLS=LNK1=CSQ eat NEG eat all-all 3:UND-on.top:RED-know

k-ua-sofe.

3:UND-on.top:RED-know:BD

‘So the girl and the entire clan, the male siblings all observe them so that they know if they eat or not.’

Po tufur mata ere nomo k-ua... nua-ini ira ke' nomo nua
 ADVR sister child IDEM NEG 3:UND-on.top:RED eat-do:BD water drink NEG eat

nomo ke'=afta | muni la'a | ni-omar ni-lopu-isi'=ere | fi=ua'a
 NEG drink=COND return move REFL-stilt.house REFL-house-at=COMPL 1pi=REL

ki-upa ki-isarami ere | fi muni mei=ni rau-suma.
 3:POSS-father 3:POSS-brother IDEM 1pi return take=LNK1 good-angry:BD
 '(But the girl doesn't...) eating and drinking water, if they don't eat and drink, they will be angry with us, who are their parents and their siblings, when they go back to their houses.'

Uere'-isi-uai' | ta mei rau-suma=na'apo | lolo-ini roual
 2DEM.V-at:RED-V2DEM REC take good-angry:BD=afterwards say-NML many.NONHUM

k-ua-rei-misa | ho'onese la'a=ni | ta-horu nomo rau.
 3:UND-on.top:RED-outwards-go.up IPF move=LNK1 REC-with NEG good
 'In this situation, (we) are angry with one another, and many words come up and sometimes (we can end up) hating each other.'

Ni-noko ni-nana ko-horu nomo rau | ni-omaraha
 REFL-younger.sibling REFL-elder.sibling 3:UND-with NEG good REFL-wife.givers

ni-tuumata ko-horu nomo rau | mara=ni hi'a=ee-isi-dout=anapo |
 REFL-wife.takers 3:UND-with NEG good go=LNK1 street=DEF-at:RED-break.up=afterwards

fi ta hai nomo isi-la'a | ta hai nomo nese-ne'et.
 1pi REC NSIT NEG at:RED-move REC NSIT NEG aim.at:RED-think
 '(We end up) hating our brothers and sisters, or our wife-giver families and wife-taker families, and the way (between us) might be broken so that we don't visit one another any more and are not thinking about one another any more.'

U teni lafu-lafu'=ua ira pure ama paun ki-k-ata-la'a |
 one again RDL-live=REL paddy cultivate garden tear.out 3:POSS-3:UND-contact:RED-move

fi-dada fi-upa | fi-nanu fi-hoden | hana'e fi-asu
 1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 1pi-great.great.grandparent 1pi-great.grandparent REM.PT 1pi-for

lolo fi fana ere fani-lolo.
 say 1pi teach IDEM like:RED-say
 'There is one more thing about agricultural customs that our grandfathers and fathers and our ancestors used to tell us and teach us, saying like this.'

Ira ere mei=ni fuli-pure | *ama ere mei=ni*
 paddy 1DEM take=LNK1 together:RED-cultivate garden 1DEM take=LNK1

fuli-paun | *uai=ni=konai* | *ira ama ta-mi-sai'* | *lofo*
 together:RED-tear.out CLS=LNK1=CSQ paddy garden near-along:RED-finished:BD enclosure

dana ta-mi-sai' | *uai=te'e=si fi fuli-na'a-mei* |
 garden near-along:RED-finished:BD CLS=after=LNK2 1pi together:RED-work-take

fuli-sirvisu | *uere'=ini na'u tepa ta ha'e-ne'et ta nese-ne'et* |
 together:RED-work 2DEM.V=CTR just constant REC light(?)-think REC aim.at:RED-think

ki-amulafu.

3:POSS-person

‘(We) cultivate the paddy together and work in the garden together, so we demarcate the paddies and the gardens and the enclosure and then we work together and labour together; in this way, (we are) people who keep thinking about each other and remember each other.’

Text 4: My life

A life story

Speaker: Filomena Seixas
 Age: 32
 Origin: Iliomar I
 Date of recording: May 1, 2007

Personal memoirs are the most common text genre in the Makalero corpus that this thesis is based on. Pervasive themes in such texts are the Indonesian occupation and the guerilla war as well as poverty; the present example is a rather short and basic account and features only the last of these topics. Note that the speaker was about to end her narration with a closing sentence (*ele uere* 'it is only this') when she changed her mind and added another couple of sentences.

Ani pertama lafu' | ani hau kasian | asi-ni asi-upa kasian.
 1s first live 1s all poor 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father poor
 '(When) I first lived, I was very poor, and my parents were poor.'

[M...] *ani mara=ni pere | asi-ni asi-upa ani mei*
 1s go=LNK1 big.SG 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father 1s take

iskola-isi-suri | ani... ki-k-utu ki-kasi=oo na'an.
 school-at:RED-release:BD 1s 3:POSS-3:UND-wear 3:POSS-take.off=too NEG.EX
 'When I grew up, my parents sent me to school, (but) I... there weren't even clothes (for me).'

Ani iskola=ni la'a=ni | SD²⁰² tamat | ani la'a SMP²⁰³ |
 1s school=LNK1 move=LNK1 elementary.school graduate 1s move junior.high.school

[e...] *k-ua-iskola=na'a na'an.*
 3:UND-on.top:RED-school=INT NEG.EX

'I went to school and then I graduated from primary school and then I went (on) to junior high school, and then I wanted to continue schooling, but didn't.'

Osan=oo na'an.
 money some NEG.EX
 '(We had) no money either.'

²⁰² SD is short for *sekolah dasar*, the elementary school in the Indonesian education system.

²⁰³ SMP is short for *sekolah menengah pertama*, the junior high school in the Indonesian education system.

Uai=te'e isi-nuak-mutu'=ee ki-isa haka-hau ini nomo tutu |
 CLS=after 1pe:POSS-clan-inside=CMPL 3:POSS-condition all-all 1pe NEG like

tafi-tafi isi-ni isi-upa ere=hi'a=ni ki-isa ini tutu.
 RDL-true 1pe:POSS-mother 1pe:POSS-father 2DEM=only=CTR 3:POSS-condition 1pe like
 'And then in our clan, no-one liked us, really it was only our parents who liked us.'

Amuni ki-sa'a-sa'a ho'o=ni molu=oo ini=ni nomo mei=oo | mei.
 person 3:POSS-RDL-thing some=CTR lose=too 1pe=CTR NEG take=too take
 'If someone lost something, even though it wasn't us who had taken it, (they said we) had taken it.'

[E...] ele uere'.
 only(?) 2DEM.V
 'It is only this.'

U teni | ani la'a=ni iskola | SMP hau tamat ani nomo
 one again 1s move=LNK1 school junior.high.school all graduate 1s NEG

k-ua-iskola.
 3:UND-on.top:RED-school
 'One more thing, I went to school and graduated from junior high school, but I didn't continue schooling.'

Osan=ini na'an asi-ni asi-upa ki... hul nomo ue'
 money=CTR NEG.EX 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS- able NEG V2DEM

uai=ni=si ani nomo tutur=ini ani nomo k-ua-iskola.
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s NEG push=LNK1 1s NEG 3:UND-on.top:RED-school
 '(We) didn't have money, my parents couldn't afford it so they didn't support me and I didn't continue schooling.'

Uai=konai=ni ani SMP=hi'a tamat | ani aire' rei-misa=ni |
 CLS=CSQ=LNK1 1s junior.high.school=only graduate 1s now outwards-go.up=LNK1

la'a=ni | hamar.
 move=LNK1 married
 'For this reason, I finished junior high school only, and then I got out and got married.'

Amuni ni-asu ma'u=ni ani mei=si ani la'a=ni amuni ki-omar-isi' |
 person REFL-for come=LNK1 1s take=LNK2 1s move=LNK1 person 3:POSS-stilt.house-at

amuni ki-omar-isi'=oo ki-isa ani nomo tutu.
 person 3:POSS-stilt.house-at=too 3:POSS-condition 1s NEG like

'Someone came to marry me and I went to live at that person's house, but at his house too, they didn't like me.'

Uai=ni=si ini ni-asu [e...] usaha=ni | alaka'.
 CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1pe REFL-for open.a.business=LNK1 far

'So then we opened a business for ourselves and live far away.'

Sudah.

already

'That's it.'

Appendix 2: Makalero-English word list

A - a

- a'a** *vd.* put on. *See:* **(k)-a'a**.
- aalaka** *n.* k.o. bamboo. Used to make walls for houses.
- aalasa** *n.* k.o. tree. Used to make an alcoholic beverage from.
- aaria** *n.* orphan.
- aarmadila** *n.* separating wall. **Aarmadila un=ini hai k-utu-nat=isi uai=konai=ni ini nomo mara ma'u.** There is a separating wall blocking (the way), so that we don't visit any more. *From:* Portugese armadilha 'trap'?
- a'at** *vd.* rest.
- abó** *n.* grandfather. *From:* Portuguese avô 'grandfather'.
- Abubul** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- adan** *n.* heart. Inalienable.
- adat** *n.* custom, ceremony. **Orangtua=ni ni-asu adat urus...** The parents got the ceremonies organised for themselves... *From:* Indonesian adat 'customs, tradition'.
- ado** *n.* produce.
- ae** *n.* rain. *See:* **uta; lor**.
- aeroportu** *n.* airport. *From:* Portuguese aeroporto 'airport'.
- =afa** *clit.* IMM (immediate action). *See:* **=fa'a**.
- afa-** *vd.* away from, leave. *See:* **(k)-afa-**.
- afi** *n.* fish.
- afi nama-se-se'el** flying fish. *Lit:* 'fish that repeatedly jumps upwards'. *See:* **nama'; he'el**.
- afi'** *vd.* sideways, to the side. *Reduced form:* **-afi-**. *See:* **(k)-afi'**.
- afinál** *va.* finally. *From:* Portuguese afinal 'finally'.
- afo** *vd.* eight.
- =afta** *clit.* *Variant:* **=afata**. COND (conditional). *See:* **=fata**.
- aftane'** *va.* *Variant:* **afatane'**. PAST. A general past, neither recent nor remote. **Ei aftane' ani ara-luan-mutu-li'an.** You threw me into a buffalo pen before.
- afu** *vd.* carry (a child), with. *See:* **(k)-afu**.
- afunasi** *vd.* pregnant. **Papa uere amuni Loospala ki-mata u mei afunasi-kini.** The Indonesian got a girl from Lospalos pregnant.
- afur** *n.* body. Afur is also used as a classifier for relatively big, roughly round things (e.g. cakes, papaya fruits). **Iskudu ru loloi dosi afur afo.** Twenty escudos equalled 8 cookies.
- agora** *va.* now. *From:* Portuguese agora 'now'.
- ah** *n.* mango.
- ahana'e** *va.* the day before yesterday, two days ago. *See:* **hana'e**.

- ai'** *vd.* *Variant:* **e'**. VIDEM. Speaker-related deictic verb. *Reduced form:* **ai-**, **e-**. **Doutor uere hai Dili-isi-la'a ani e'**. The doctor went to Dili and I was (stayed) here.
- aihaa** *n.* door. Aihaa is likely a compound. The second syllable, -haa, is probably identical to ha'a 'mouth'; see e.g. Fataluku le o'o 'door' (lit. house mouth).
- Ailebere** *n.* a toponym. situated in the Iliomar subdistrict. According to Chamberlain (2008), Ailebere is also the name of a clan. *See:* **Leorai**.
- ailemi** *vd.* sour.
- ain** *vd.* say, mean, QUOT (quotative). Possibly the lexical parallel to lolo 'say'. As a full verb, it is compatible with a complement clause extension and the complementiser =ee. **Ii ain=ere uar**. 'Ili' means stone. **Radiu e'=ini hai ude-leu Agapitu Barretu hai umu ain**. The radio here called up there saying that Agapito Barreto had died.
- Ainaro** *n.* a toponym. Capital of the Ainaro district.
- aira** *n.* year.
- aire'** *va.* now, just before. **Irau aire' rei-misa**. Don't go out now.
- airula** *va?* until now. Also found combined with ate 'until' as ate airula. *See:* **ate**. **Kasi ere hai mu'it=isi ue'=ini airula uari tepa ue'**. Kasi (an Indonesian soap opera) has been (on TV) long ago and still is until now.
- aite'** *va.* REC.PT (recent past). **Kiloo aite' ni-mata pase**. He just beat his child.
- ajar** *n.* event, incident. Source unclear.
- ajuda** *vd.* *Variant:* **azuda**. help. *From:* Portuguese *ajudar*, Tetum *ajuda* 'help'.
- aka'** *vd.* afraid, scared. ... **ki-aka'=taa irau ue'**. ... so that he doesn't have to be afraid. *Pairs:* **masan**. **amu aka'** ashamed. Can be constructed both as a phrasal predicate and as a clause. *See:* **amu**.
- akan** *vd.* yawn.
- Akara** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- akir** *n.* end. *From:* Indonesian *akhir* 'end, finish'.
- ako** *vd.* steal. *See:* **(k)-ako**.
- akontese** *vd.* happen. *From:* Portuguese *acontecer* 'happen'.
- akor** *n.* *Variant:* **akor-teul**. thief. The meaning of the element *teul* is unclear. *See:* **(k)-ako; teul**.
- al** *n.* twins.
- ala'** *n.* *Variant:* **alah**. forest.
- ala-** *vd?* far away. **ala-la'a** go far away **ala-se'el** jump far away. Also used with *tia* 'sleep' as *aladia* 'sleep soundly'. *ala-* is possibly a reduced form of *alaka'*. *See:* **alaka'**.
- alaka'** *vd.* far away. *Reduced form:* **alaka-**. **Ate u mei=ni nana hau mei=ni alaka-likut**. (He) took a stick and chased the snake far away with it. *Ala-* may be a second reduced form of *alaka'*. *See:* **ala-**.
- alapau** *n.* mind (?). **Naikini ni popa mata-fuli'=ini isi-ne'et un alapau un...** What's important is that the parents are together with the children and of one thought and in one mind...

- aldeia** *n.* village. An administrative unit below the suco level. *See:* **suku**.
From: Portuguese aldeia 'village'.
- ale** *n.* uncooked rice, hulled rice.
ale tafa hull rice, thresh rice. *See:* **tafa**.
- alfersi** *n.* office, function, duty, position. Source unclear.
- ali-** *vd.* all over. *See:* **(k)-ali-**.
- alin** *vd.* carry (a bag).
- altar** *n.* altar. *From:* Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum altar 'altar'.
- alu** *n.* head strap. Strap of a basket (na') worn around the forehead. Inalienable. *See:* **na'**.
- ama** *n.* garden, field. **ama paun** work in, cultivate a garden *Pairs:* **ira**.
See: **paun**.
ama pau-paun farmer.
ama-ouar farmer. *Lit:* 'garden-master'. *See:* **ouar**.
- ama** *n.* mum. Ama is found only once, and is replaced right afterwards by ina-uai. *See:* **apa; ni; ina**.
- amaan** *n.* gate.
- amah** *n.* breadfruit, artocarpus altilis.
- amar** *vd.* old. Used with [-HUM] nouns.
- amat** *vd.* carry thrown over the shoulder. **Kiloo tuaila u amat**. He had a towel thrown over the shoulder.
- amin** *n.* louse.
- amu** *n.* person. Generally used as a classifier for [+HUM] nouns or with some emotion predicates. *See:* **aka'; ka'ar**.
amulafu person, human. *Lit:* 'living person; moving living person'. **amulafu riu-riu** living person *See:* **lafu'; riu**.
- amu'** *vd.* *Variant:* **amuh**. ripe, smelly. Found with maize and bananas. Note the parallel to **(k)-amu'**, which suggests 'smell' is a rare case of a verb with labile transitivity. *See:* **(k)-amu'; seta; titil**. **Amuni ki-teli amu' ani la'a=ni teli uere k-ako**. (If people's maize was ripe, I went and stole that maize).
- amu'** *vd.* smell. *See:* **(k)-amu'**.
- amuni** *n.* person, human being.
- amu-resin** *n.* birthmark (?). *Lit:* 'amu 'person' + resin 'left over?'.
See: **etu**.
- =ana** *clit.* INT (intentional). *See:* **=na'a**.
- =anapo** *clit.* afterwards. *See:* **=na'apo**.
- ani** *pron.* 1s.
- animál** *n.* animal. *From:* Portuguese animal 'animal'.
- =anta** *clit.* *Variant:* **=anata**. CTF.COND (counterfactual conditional). *See:* **=nata**.
- antigu** *vd?* long ago. **Hana'e mu'a antigu=ere hala ue'**. In former times, there was war. *From:* Portuguese antigo 'old, antique, former'.
- apa** *n.* psoriasis.
- apa** *n.* dad. Found only once; it was immediately afterwards replaced by upa-uai. *See:* **ama; upa**.
- apadan** *n.* window.
- aplika** *vd.* apply, promote. *From:* Portuguese aplicar 'use, apply'.
- ara** *n.* gravel.
ara ki-isu pebble. *See:* **isu**.
- ara** *suff.* ASS.PL (associative plural). Used on personal names. Rare. **Leni-ara na'a-muni Agustu-mi-naser**. Leni and them on the other hand stood in a row behind Augusto.

- arami** *vd.* phone. Source / original meaning unclear.
- aran** *vd.* dry. **Ate-uli uatu=ni aran=ete=si tafa.** (We) dry the bark in the sun, and when it is dry, then (we) pound it.
masu aran thirsty. *Lit:* 'throat dry'. Masu is constructed as the subject of aran.
- arapau** *n.* buffalo. *Reduced form: ara-*.
- ara-luan** buffalo pen. *See: luan.*
- ara-seur** beef. *See: seur.*
- ara-horu** crescent-shaped ornament worn on the forehead. *Lit:* 'buffalo horns'. *See: horu.*
- Arapaulopu** *n.* a toponym. *Lit:* 'buffalo-house'.
- araraka** *vd.* be noisy.
- arbiru** *vd.* any, random. ...
amulafu nomo muni arbiru=taa helur. ... so that no random person replaces (him). *From:* Portuguese arbitario 'arbitrary'?
- are'** *vd.* *Variant: areh.* dusk. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as a subject. **Mu'a hai are'.** Night is falling. *See: mu'a.*
- ari** *n.* liver. Inalienable.
- ari'** *n.* root. Inalienable.
- armari** *n.* *Variant: aramari.* closet. *From:* Portuguese armario 'closet'.
- asa** *n.* bird, chicken.
asa nama-la'a bird. *Lit:* 'bird that goes upwards'. As opposed to asa 'chicken'?
- asa-namu** feather. *Lit:* 'bird-body hair'. *See: namu.*
- asa-liah** wing. *See: liah.*
- asa-masu** k.o. flute. *Lit:* 'bird-song'. Made from ulu' bamboo. *See: masu; ulu'.*
- asaltu** *n.* attack, assault. *From:* Portuguese assalto 'assault'.
- asan** *vd.* long, tall.
- asar** *vd.* send. **Ei-dada=ni ei-asar=isi ei dadau mei la'a ue'.** It was your grandfather who sent you, so you have to take (them) there.
- asi** *n.* shrimp.
- asi-** *poss.pron.* 1s:POSS-. **asi**
- asina** *vd.* sign. *From:* Portuguese assinar 'sign'.
- asir** *vd.* restrain, keep back. **Asi-pai-raa na'u tepa ani asir...** My relatives kept holding me back...
- ason** *n.* witch, sorceress.
- asu** *n.* flea.
- asu** *vd.* for. *See: (k)-asu.*
- ata** *n.* fire.
ata-tana flame. *Lit:* 'fire-hand'. *See: tana.*
- ata-ho'o** flame. Could ho'o possibly be cognate with the determiner ho'o? *See: ho'o.*
- ata-teur** smoke. *See: teur.*
- ata-li'a** fireplace, cooking zone. The meaning of li'a is unclear.
- ata-uru** December. *Lit:* 'fire-month'. According to speakers, there are many forest fires in December. *See: uru.*
- ata** *n.* firewood.
- ata'** *vd.* angry. Generally used as a phrasal predicate with fanu 'face'. *See: fanu.*
- ata'** *vd.* be in physical contact, stick to. *Reduced form: -ata-. See: (k)-ata'.*
- atal** *vd.* hatch.
- atan** *n.* herder. *From:* Tetum atan 'slave, servant'.
- atanana** *va.* first. **Uai=te'e klas ki=atanana uere tama.** After that (I) entered first grade.

- ata'u** *vd.* all. A floating quantifier; can be used within the VP or without it.
- ate** *n.* tree, wood.
- ate-fufu** flower.
- ate-fun** tree trunk, tree. *See: fun.*
- ate-furu** dead tree, stick. The meaning of the element furu is unclear.
- ate-hasa** leaf, foliage, medicine. *See: hasa.*
- ate-isu** fruit. *See: isu.*
- ate-lepen** board, plank. *See: lefen.*
- ate-patan** tree trunk that has been felled, uprooted. *See: patan.*
- ate-poka** chest, coffer. *See: poka.*
- ate-tafu** piece of wood. Can refer to a piece of wood of the size of a splinter as well as to a board. *See: tafu.*
- ate-tene'** levelling board. The meaning of tene' is unclear.
- ate-ual** statue. The meaning of ual is unclear.
- ate** *conj.* until. *From:* Portuguese até 'until'.
- ate a data** until now. *See: airula.*
- ate** *n?* a unit of ten. Possibly related to ate 'wood'. *See: ate.*
- ate u** ten. *See: u.*
- ate loloi** twenty. *See: loloi.*
- ate fat** forty. *See: fat.*
- ate-matu** *n.* cassava. *Lit:* 'tree-tuber'. *See: matu.*
- aten** *n.* thigh. Inalienable.
- Atenuur** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs: Komil.*
- ate-raka liti** *n.* k.o. lizard. ate 'tree', raka 'finger', liti unclear.
- ati-** *vd.* downwards. *See: (k)-ati-.*
- atih** *n.* front beam of a loom, at the end where the weaver sits. The backstrap is attached to the atih.
- atu** *n.* faeces. The initial vowel is occasionally lengthened (holds also for all compounds with atu).
- atu-matar** intestines. *Lit:* 'faeces-children'. *See: mata; -r.*
- atu-pusi** belly, stomach. *Lit:* 'faeces-container'. *See: pusi.*
- uali-atu** earwax. *See: uali.*
- atu'** *vd.* *Variant: atuh.* defecate. **Liurai ki-kuda atu' kiloo ki-kuda uere ki-atu loka.** (When) the king's horse defecated, he wrapped up the horse's faeces.
- atuhana'e** *va.* three days ago. *See: hana'e.*
- augmenta** *vd.* augment, add. **Asi-ma'en augmenta.** Increase my knowledge. *From:* Portuguese aumentar 'raise, add'.
- aviaun** *n.* airplane. *From:* Portuguese aviao 'airplane'.

B - b

- Ba'agia** *n.* *Variant: Ba'akia; Pa'akia.* a toponym. Capital of the Baguia subdistrict of the Baucau district.
- badaen** *n.* *Variant: padaen; padain.* expert. *From:* Tetum badain 'clever, expert'.
- tana-badaen** healer, witch-doctor.
- bahasa indonesia** *n.* Indonesian language. *From:* Indonesian:

- bahasa Indonesia 'Indonesian language'.
- bainaka** *n.* guest. *See:* **konvidadu**.
From: Tetum bainaka 'guest, visitor'.
- Bairupite** *n.* a toponym. An urban district of Dili.
- balija** *n.* *Variant:* **baliza**. boundary.
From: Portuguese baliza 'gateway, buoy'.
- bandu** *n.* *Variant:* **tara-bandu**. taboo. The meaning of the element tara is unclear. **Tara-bandu tradisaun u ue'**. There is a taboo and a tradition.
- bare bere** *n.* November. Bare was translated into Indonesian as kemarau 'dry season', although this lexeme is not found anywhere else in the corpus. Bere presumably corresponds to pere 'big'. Note that the names of months conform to a special phonological subsystem distinguishing itself from the normal one through the presence of the voiced plosive [b]. *See:* **bare mata; pere**. [*Note:* bare = kemarau?]
- bare mata** *n.* October. Bare was translated into Indonesian as kemarau, although this lexeme is not found anywhere else in the corpus. Mata refers to the young of a species and contrasts in this context with bere in bare bere, thus bare mata is 'small bare' and bare bere is 'big bare'. Note that the names of months conform to a special phonological subsystem distinguishing itself from the normal one through the presence of the voiced plosive [b]. *See:* **bare bere; mata**.
- baril** *n.* *Variant:* **paril**. barrel. *From:* Portuguese barril 'barrel'.
- barlake** *n.* *Variant:* **parlake**. dowry. Corresponds to the parallel expression ki-teuh ki-elin 'dowry, bride price'. *See:* **teuh; elin**. *From:* Tetum barlake 'marriage'.
- batismu** *n.* baptism. *From:* Portuguese baptismo 'baptism'.
- beik** *vd.* *Variant:* **peik**. stupid. *From:* Tetum beik 'stupid'.
- bero** *n.* k.o. small boat. *From:* Tetum bero 'small boat, canoe'.
- besi** *n.* iron. Used only in the context of weightlifting. *See:* **mumu'**. **besi hema-heman** weightlift
From: Indonesian besi 'iron'.
- Betunomar** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- biasa** *va?* *Variant:* **biasanya**. usually, normally. *From:* Indonesian biasa(nya) 'usually'.
- bis** *n.* bus. *From:* Indonesian bis 'bus'.
- bola** *n.* *Variant:* **pola**. ball. *From:* Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum bola 'ball'.
- Buabere** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- buku** *n.* *Variant:* **puku**. book. *See:* **livru; surat**. *From:* Indonesian buku 'book'.
- Busarulu** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- butaun** *n.* button. *From:* Portuguese botão 'botton'.

C - c

- cek** *vd.* check. *From:* Indonesian cek 'check' (ultimately English check).
- cerita** *n. rata.* story. *From:* Indonesian cerita 'story'.

D - d

- da'a** *vd.* talk about (?).
- da'al** *vd.* *Variant:* **dahal.** break, smash. **Kopu=ee da'al.** The cup broke.
- dada** *vd.* all together. **Uera-laa meih e' ata'u dada-k-ali-puna.** The two of them are here and look around them together.
- dada** *n.* grandparent, grandchild. Dada la'it, with the addition of la'it 'old' and dada su'ul, with the addition of su'ul 'young', may be used to disambiguate the reciprocal meaning of dada. **Fidada** 'our grandfather' is a taboo term for 'crocodile'. *See:* **la'it; su'ul. dada-uai namiraa** grandfather. *See:* **namiraa; -uai. dada-uai tufuraa** grandmother. *See:* **tufuraa; -uai.**
- dadau** *vd.* *Variant:* **daudau; dodau; dau.** must. Used with a complement clause extension without any overt marking. Dadau does not seem to be compatible with any verbal modifiers, but may be negated with the clausal negator **nomohaka.** *See:* **nomohaka; tenki. Ei dadau ni-pada hau haka...** You have to look for your friend...
- dadi** *vd.* worship. Refers to non-Christian (animist) practices. The undergoer is constructed in a verbal complement with **isi-**. *See:* **isi'. Hana'e mu'u-patan mei=ni isi-dadi...** A long time ago, (they) took a the stem of a banana plant and worshiped it...
- dadil** *vd.* play a k.o. metal drum. *See:* **tipal.**
- dadorok** *n.* bed. Segmentation / source unclear.
- dafa** *vd.* pound (BD), prick (BD), prod (BD). *See:* **tafa.**
- dafal** *vd.* throw down (BD). *See:* **tafal.**
- dafan** *n.* heel. Inalienable. *See:* **ia.**
- dafut** *vd.* cooked. **Ka'u=te'e ira isi-sat=ini fi ena=po hai dafut.** In a while when the water has dried up, we look and it is already cooked / done.
- dai** *n.* net.
- dai** *vd.* pass (through).
- dai** *n.* king. The Tetum loan **liurai** is used much more frequently. *See:* **liurai. Amuni dai=ni ma'u=ni renu ukun=ana.** (He was) a king, so he came to rule the people.
- dai-ate** *n.* sugar apple, sugar apple tree, *annona squamosa.* *Lit:* 'king-tree / net-tree (?)'.

- dai-hael** *n.* yarn. *Lit:* 'net-cotton (?)'. *See:* **hael**.
- daka** *vd.* close (BD). *See:* **taka**.
- dakar** *vd.* step, walk. **Namiraa-laa meih=ini k-asu tu-dakar**. The two men walk in front of them.
- dame** *vd.* be peaceful, make peace. **Ani so'ot=ee fi meih=ini ma'u=ni pas dame...** I want the two of us to make peace... *Pairs:* **pas**. *From:* Tetum dame 'peace'.
- damu** *vd.* name (BD), call (BD). *See:* **tamu**.
- dana** *n.* garden. *Pairs:* **lofo**.
- dane** *vd.* move, manipulate, lift. **atak dane** rob attack **ira dane ama dane** cultivate maintain a garden **afu-dane** touch **ki-ke' ki-nua k-ou-dane** bring (earn) drink and food **ta seti-dane** exchange *See:* **atak; ira; ama; (k-)afu; ta; seti-**.
- danik** *vd.* strong, vigorous. *Pairs:* **forit**.
- dansa** *vd.* dance. *From:* Portuguese **dançar** 'dance', Tetum, Indonesian **dansa** 'dance'.
- dapur** *n.* kitchen. *From:* **dapur** 'kitchen'.
- dara** *n.* town. Any urban centre, as opposed to the countryside.
- dara'** *n.* gum tree, eucalyptus.
- daran** *n.* twig.
- Darapu'u** *n.* a clan name.
- Dare** *n.* a toponym. An urban district of Dili.
- daru** *vd.* put (BD), position (BD). *See:* **taru**.
- darunako** *vd.* dark blue. Segmentation unclear.
- dasa** *vd.* fall. **Nua-ini ki-ula u dasa=ni uere meli nua**. (When) a rice leftovers fell down, I scavenged those and ate them. *Pairs:* **kori**.
- dauk** *vd.* resent, hate. The undergoer is constructed with (k)-asu 'for'. **Irau amuni k-asu dauk**. Don't resent people.
- de** *vd.* create. **Asi ouar ani hai de**. My lord (God) created me.
- dede** *vd.* implant, embed. **Uraakdapun mei=ni ma'u=ni mu'u-patan dede...** (They) took palm fibres and embedded them in the stem of the banana tree...
- defu'** *vd.* break. **Ki-tana defu'**. His arm is broken. Used only for bones or limbs.
- dei** *vd.* turn over earth, plough. Using a stick or rod. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as an object. **Mu'a laki mu'a dei uai=ni=ni fuli'=ini lara**. (When they) plough, they sing lara songs together. *Pairs:* **laki**. *See:* **mu'a**.
- dekih** *vd.* lean on (BD), base on (BD). *See:* **tekih**.
- dekor** *vd.* memorise. *From:* Portuguese **decorar** 'memorise'.
- dele** *vd.* perform a dele burial song. Preceded by a lailai song. *See:* **lailai**.
- Deni** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- depois** *conj.* afterwards. *From:* Portuguese **depois** 'afterwards'.
- der** *vd.* answer. Obligatorily takes a verbal complement with **isi-**, which may express the undergoer or theme. **der** may take a following complement clause extension linked to it by a clause linker such as **=ini**. *See:* **isi'**; **=ini**. **Ani elehaa ki-lolo-ini-isi-der: uai=ni=po ani uari mata ka'u...** I replied to the old man's words: but I am still small...

- dere** *vd.* knock. **aihaa dere** knock at the door
- Derekun** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- derepenti** *va?* suddenly. **Sa'a-fani'=konai=ni fi aire' derepenti hai muni Dili-isi-la'a=na'a?** Why are we now suddenly going back to Dili? *From:* Portuguese *de repente* 'suddenly'.
- deri** *vd.* cut (BD), cut across (BD), kill (BD). *See:* **teri**.
- deru'** *vd.* shelter (BD). *See:* **teru'**.
- desa** *n.* village. *From:* Indonesian *desa* 'village'.
- deskansa** *vd.* rest. *From:* Portuguese *descansar* 'rest, relax'.
- deskulpa** *va?* sorry.
- deue** *vd.* borrow, owe. **Ani ni-ada u ki-osan deue...** I borrowed a friend's money... *From:* Portuguese *dever* 'must, owe'.
- deuh** *vd.* buy (BD). *See:* **teuh**.
- di'** *vd.* *Variant:* **dih**. pour (a drink) (BD). *See:* **ti'**.
- dia** *vd.* sleep (SG) (BD). *See:* **tia**.
- di'al** *vd.* kick (BD). *See:* **ti'al**.
- diar** *vd.* sit (PL). **ministru aire'=ua parlamentu-isi-ufe-diar** ministers who sit down there in parliament now *See:* **mit**.
- dikar** *vd.* short. *Reduced form:* **dika-**.
isa dikar lazy, bored. *Isa dikar* can either be constructed as a phrasal predicate or as a full clause, in which case *isa* functions as the subject and *dikar* as the predicate. *See:* **isa**.
ira dikar cheap. *Ira dikar* can be constructed either as a full clause, with *ira* as the subject and *dikar* as the predicate, or as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **ira**.
- diki** *n.* yarn. **diki ular** spin yarn *See:* **ular**.
diki-ate stick around which the newly spun yarn is wound. *See:* **ate**.
- dil** *vd.* be startled. **Kiloo ena=si hai na'u dil mari'**. She saw him and was startled and screamed.
- dila** *n.* frog.
- Dili** *n.* a toponym. The capital of East Timor, situated in the district of the same name.
- dina** *vd.* cook (BD). *See:* **tina**.
- diri'** *n.* k.o. tree.
- Dirimuni** *n.* a clan name.
- Dirnu** *n.* a toponym.
- do'** *vd.* shake (a tree) to make fruit fall down.
- do'i** *vd.* dig (BD), make a hole (BD). *See:* **to'i**.
- doil** *vd.* hang. **Ani ate=ee k-ata-doil.** I hung from the tree. **Ini ni-pada nomo k-ata-doil.** We are not dependent from our friends / equals.
- doku** *vd.* spill, throw out. **Ira hai hau doku.** The water spilled.
- Dolomara** *n.* a clan name. *Pairs:* **Liusoru**.
- domin** *vd.* love. *From:* Tetum *domin* 'love'.
- dominan** *vd.* dominate, rule over. *From:* Portuguese *dominante* 'dominante, ruling'.
- door** *suff.* NAG (agent noun suffix). The fact that the suffix is realised with a long vowel nucleus suggests it may be treated as a lexical morpheme of its own. *From:* Portuguese *-dor* (agent noun suffix).
- dosi** *n.* dessert, cookie, cake. *From:* Portuguese *doce* 'dessert'.

- dotór** *n.* Variant: **doutór**. doctor. *From:* Portuguese doutor, Tetum doutór 'doctor'.
- douh** *vd.* Variant: **dou'**. six.
- dout** *vd.* break (up).
- du** *n.* roof. *Pairs:* **omar**.
- du'al** *vd.* drop, let go. **Kiloo ni-ate hau du'al**. He dropped his (fishing) rod.
- dudu** *vd.* Breastfeed. 'breast' if used as an argument.
dudu-isu nipple. *See:* **isu**.
dudu-ira milk. *See:* **ira**.
- due** *vd.* ignite, smoke.
tapaku due smoke. *Lit:* 'ignite tobacco'. *See:* **tapaku**.
- dufa** *vd.* sweep (BD). *See:* **tufa**.
- duh** *vd.* sting, bite. **Fenu ere=haka sefar=ee ki-tana tou-duh**. The turtle bites the dog's paw.
- du'il** *vd.* bake in bamboo (BD). *See:* **tu'il**.
- duir** *vd.* explode. *See:* **fatit**.
- duka** *vd.* play cards.
- dukul** *vd.* fall down with a thud or a hard impact.
- duke** ? (rather) than. **Hau ki=rau ki=lolor lolo duke ki=lolo lolo**. It is better to speak the truth rather than to lie. *From:* Portuguese do que 'than' (with comparatives).
- dukul** *vd.* tickle (?). **Kiloo ani-eri-dukul**. He tickled me suddenly.
- duku** *vd.* punch (BD). *See:* **tuku**.
- dukul** *vd.* bow. **Kiloo ni-nana taru=na'a nomo rau=si k-ua-dukul...** She was going to bury her brother, but couldn't, and she was bowing over (his body)...
- dula** *vd.* be dizzy, lose consciousness, pass out. **Ini lepu'=hi'a=ni ini dula**. We were hungry all the time and passed out.
- dula** *vd.* bring (BD), transport (BD). *See:* **tula**.
- dule** *vd.* not want (BD). *See:* **tule**.
- dupi** *vd.* pound (BD), thump (BD), hit (BD). *See:* **tupi**.
- dur** *vd.* waken. **Ani hai muni dur**. I woke up again.
- durupasa** *n.* interpreter. *From:* Indonesian juru bahasa 'interpreter'.

E - e

- e** *n.* chest. **Ani noko-raa=ua aite' lafu' ere ki-e-isi-lolo**. I advise my younger siblings who were just born. Inalienable.
- e'** *vd.* VIDEM. *Reduced form:* **e-**. *See:* **ai'**.
- e-** *vd.* firm. *See:* **(k)-e-**.
- =ee** *clit.* DEF (definiteness marker). Its exact function, as opposed to the demonstratives ere and uere as well as unmarked nouns, requires further research. *See:* **ere; uere**.
- =ee** *clit.* CMPL (complementiser). The complementiser introduces the complement clause extension with number of verbs of saying, and is also used to mark adverbial clauses. *See:* **-e'**.
- e'e** *suff.* in X days. **ei-he'e** the day after, tomorrow in two days **itu-he'e** in three days **fat-e'e** in four days. The element **-(h)'**

- may be related to the complementiser, which is also used to mark adverbial clauses. *Ei'* is also found as 'the day after tomorrow' without the suffix *-he'e*. Note that *ei-* is the reduced form of the numeral *loloi*. *itu-* is the reduced as well as the [+HUM] form of the numeral *lolitu*. *See: =ee; loloi; lolitu; itu; fat.*
- eetete** *vd.* cry (out).
- ei** *pron.* 2s.
- ei** *vd.* two (reduced form). *See: loloi.*
- ei'** *va.* the day after tomorrow. Also found with the suffix *-e'e* as *ei-he'e*, with the same meaning. Note that *ei* is the reduced form of the numeral *loloi* 'two'; see also *itu-he'e* 'in three days', which uses the reduced form of the numeral *lolitu* 'three'. *See: -e'e; loloi; lolitu.*
- ei-** *poss.pron.* 2s:POSS-.
- ekonomi** *n.* economy. *From:* Portuguese *economia*, Indonesian, Tetum *ekonomi* 'economy'.
- ele** *va?* only. Rare; found only with *uere* (2DEM) and *uere'* (V2DEM).
- elehaa** *n.* Variant: **ele'aa**. old man.
- eleitu** *vd.* elected, chosen. *From:* Portuguese *eleito* 'elected'.
- eleraka** *vd.* become ripe. Used for maize. Segmentation unclear. *See: teli.*
- elin** *n.* price, goods. *Pairs: teuh.*
ki-teuh ki-elin bride price. *See: barlake.*
- elo** *n.* wave.
- =elo** *clit.* EXHORT (exhortative). *=elo* is a request rather than a direct imperative, and is used when coaxing someone into doing something. **Ni mei=ni rau-ena=elo!** Take care of yourself!
- ember** *n.* bucket. *See: paaldi.*
From: Indonesian: *ember* 'bucket'.
- ena** *vd.* see. *Bound form: -kena.* Likely originally an argument-marking verb (k)-ena; in contemporary language use, however, the k-prefixed form is used like a bound form. It is used to introduce the undergoer with *mutu heke* 'angry' and other emotion predicates. *See: heke.*
- sa-ena** be married, have a wife. with male subjects. *See: sa.*
- mu'a-ena** be married, have a wife. with male subjects. *See: mu'a.*
- nami-ena** be married, have a husband. with female subjects. *See: nami.*
- ene-** *vd?* around, about? **ene-la'a** go around **ene-likut** chase around
- entaun** *conj.* so, thus. *From:* Portuguese *então* 'so, at that time'.
- entre** *conj.* with. *From:* Portuguese *entre* 'between, among, with'.
- entrega** *vd.* entrust. *From:* Portuguese *entregar* 'hand over, deliver'.
- era'** *vd.* Variant: **erah**. finished.
- erau** *vd.* not allowed. *See: irau.*
- ere** *det.* IDEM. A demonstrative referring to locations close to the speaker. *See: ai'; e'ere.*
- ere'** *vd.* IDEM.V. Derived from the speaker-related demonstrative *ere*. *See: ere. Doutór ini leu ere=ni ere'e.* The doctor we called is this one.
- eri-** *vd.* sudden (?). *See: (k)-eri-*.

- Eropa** *n.* Europe.
- eropa** *n.* Variant: **eeropa**. sword, machete.
- esar** *vd.* throw down forcefully. **mu'a k-eta-esar** throw to the ground forcefully
- estraga** *vd.* dishonour. *From:* Portuguese *estragar* 'destroy, spoil'.
- =eta** *clit.* ETA. Meaning unknown.
- eta-** *vd.* break apart, impact forcefully. *See:* **(k)-eta-**.
- =ete** *clit.* after. *See:* **=te'e**.
- ete-** *vd.* upwards. **Mata-niki haka hau ete-naser**. All the children got up. **ete-la'a** go up, climb
- etu** *n.* birthmark. *See:* **amu-resin**.
- eu-laun** *n.* September. Speakers translated eu as 'an oily substance found on a coconut shell'; the meaning of laun is unclear. The name of the month was explained as the time when the coconut shell gets shiny and secretes oil.

F - f

- =fa'a** *clit.* IMM (immediate action). *Metathesised form:* **=afa**. **Ani nua-ini=fa'a ani ni-tana pane**. (When) I'm about to eat, I wash my hands.
- faarda** *n.* uniform. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum *farda* 'uniform'.
- faet** *vd.* waste.
- fah** *n.* arm. *Lit:* 'arm on the far side and on the near side of the body'. **fah ume-te'e e-te'e** left and right arm
- faian-kalantor** *n.* February. Faian was translated as sedge grass, kalan as 'planting certain kinds of seeds'. Neither lexeme occurs independently in the corpus.
- fain** *n.* brother-in-law, sister-in-law. The spouse of one's spouse's opposite-sex sibling (?).
- faka** *n.* drinking place for livestock.
- fala** *n.* cat.
- Falintil** *n.* Falintil. An acronym of Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (National liberation of East Timor armed forces), the military wing of Fretilin. *See:* **Fretilin**.
- falta** *vd.* lack. *From:* Portuguese *faltar* 'lack'.
- falun** *vd.* sacred, taboo.
- famila** *n.* family, relatives. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum *família* 'family'.
- fan** *vd.* feed.
- fana** *vd.* teach, convey (a message). **fana-nini** school subject. *See:* **kini**. **fana-nini-door** teacher, trainer. The Portuguese loan *meestri* 'teacher' is normally used. *See:* **-door**; **meestri**.
- fanar** *n.* female. For animals other than birds, where *paru* 'female' is used. *See:* **paru**; **fanaraa**.
- fanaraa** *n.* young, unmarried woman. Often heard as *fanda* or *faanda*. A similar phenomenon is found with *nana* 'elder sibling' and *mali* 'brother/sister-in-law' if pluralised. *See:* **nana**; **mali**.
- fani** *vd.* tasty, nice, sweet. *See:* **lema'**.

- fani'** *vd.* *Variant:* **fanih**; **pani'**; **panih**. be like, alike, resemble. *Reduced form:* **fani-**, **pani-**. The p-initial forms are found only with the reciprocal pronoun *ta*. **Mata-niki meih ere ta-pani-asan.** Those two children are of the same height.
- fanu** *n.* face, front. *Fanu* is used as a subject with some physical state and emotion verbs. **fanu-utu-la'a fanu k-utu-la'a** go forward advance progress *See:* **la'a**; **(k-)utu-**.
- fanu ata'** angry. Found only as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **ata'**.
- fanu lain** lose consciousness. *Fanu* is normally constructed as the subject to *lain*. *See:* **lain**.
- fanu-fanu** appearance, looks.
- fanu'** *vd?* *Variant:* **fanuh**. all, total. *See:* **felu**.
- fara** *n.* ship.
fara lo-lor airplane. *Lit:* 'ship that flies around'. *See:* **lor**.
- fari** *vd.* abuse, swear at.
- faru** *n.* clothes, shirt.
- fasa'** *n.* dirt, filth.
fasa'=ee mini-mutu-paran mucus. The meaning of *paran* is unclear.
- fasih** *n.* step-parent.
upa fasih step-father. *See:* **upa**.
- fasin** *vd.* sneeze.
- fasu** *n.* skin of a fruit, peel, shell. Inalienable. **ina-fasu** eyelashes
mu'u-fasu banana peel
uata-fasu coconut shell *See:* **ina**; **tou**.
- fat** *vd.* four.
=fata *clit.* COND (conditional). *Metathesised form:* **=afta**, **=afata**. **Ira uari rouala=fata fi ni'isi uari hein.** If there is still a lot of water, we still wait. Generally expresses real, as opposed to counterfactual, conditions. *See:* **=nata**.
- fatar** *vd.* force, compel. *See:* **obriga**.
- fatil** *n.* *Variant:* **faatil**. gun, weapon.
fatil-isu bullet. *See:* **isu**.
lo'on-fatil lightning. *See:* **lo'on**.
- fatit** *vd.* explode. *See:* **duir**.
- fatu** *vd.* swell.
- Fatumaka** *n.* a toponym. A region situated in the Baucau district.
- faut** *vd.* descend into. Found only in the context of descending into a valley or ravine.
- favór** *n.* *Variant:* **favoor**. favour. *From:* Portuguese *favor*, Tetum *favór* 'favour'.
- =fe** *clit.* FE. This clause-level clitic is found only with **=te'e**. Its contribution is unclear. *See:* **=te'e**. **Uere ki-dada uere hana'e hai umu=te'e=fe ki-ni ere muni lafu'**. After his grandparent had died a long time ago, his mother came back to life.
- feesta** *n.* *Variant:* **peesta**. party. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum *festa* 'party', Indonesian *pesta* 'party'.
- Fehira** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- fei'** *vd.* sew. *See:* **suku**.
- feil** *vd.* lick.
- fel** *n.* spear. *See:* **oro'**.
- felu** *vd?* all, all at once, entire. Frequently in a complement-verb complex with *hau* 'all'. *See:* **hau**.
- felun** *vd.* nice, pretty.
- fenu** *n.* turtle.
- fera** *vd.* try. Can be used with a following complement clause extension or as a verbal complement to a superordinate verb.

- ferch** *n.* high grass. *See:* **munu**.
- feri** *vd.* take a holiday, go for a holiday. *From:* Portuguese férias 'holiday, vacation'.
- feriadu** *n.* holiday. *From:* Portuguese feriado 'holiday'.
- fi** *pron.* 1pi. Also used as a polite form of address.
- fi-** *poss.pron.* 1pi:POSS-.
- fiar** *vd.* honour, trust, polite. *From:* Portuguese fiar 'rely on'.
- fifir** *n.* cliff.
- fiini** *vd.* give to us (inclusive). *See:* **manini**; **meini**; **kini**; **minini**; **miini**.
- filem** *n.* film.
- fin-semana** *n.* weekend. *From:* Portuguese fim-de-semana, Tetum findesemana 'weekend'.
- fisa'ak** *vd.* tear. Segmentation unclear.
- fitu** *vd.* seven.
- fo'ol** *vd.* kill. Apparently without external injury, thus by poisoning etc.
- foorsa** *n.* military strength, army, army member. *From:* Portuguese força 'strength'.
- forit** *vd.* strong. *Pairs:* **danik**.
- formasi** *n.* hospital. Source unclear.
- fot** *vd.* dry and cracking open. For cotton buds: dried out and cracked open to reveal the cotton.
- fotografía** *n.* *Variant:* **foto**. photo. *See:* **kamera**.
- fransés** *n.* French. *From:* Portuguese francês 'French'.
- Fretilin** *n.* Fretilin. Since the end of the colonial period the major political party; Falintil is an acronym for Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary front for an independent East Timor). *See:* **Falintil**.
- fu** *n.* flower. Inalienable. Only the reduplicated form fufu is found in a nominal compound with ate 'tree'. *See:* **ate-fufu**.
- fu'** *vd.* near. *Reduced form:* **fu-**.
- Fuat** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- fuin** *vd.* dare.
- fuk** *vd.* fart.
- fukal** *vd.* smooth, slippery.
- fuker** *vd.* turn (round), rotate.
- fula** *n.* k.o. bird.
- fuli'** *vd.* together. *Reduced form:* **fuli-**. *See:* **ro'uh**.
- fuluk** *vd.* firm, fixed.
- fulun** *vd.* spit.
- fun** *n.* tree, trunk, stem. Inalienable. *See:* **ate**.
- fundu** *vd.* *Variant:* **fuundu**. found, establish. *From:* Portuguese fundar 'found, establish'.
- funu** *n.* war. *See:* **hala**. *From:* Tetum funu 'war'.
- futuru** *n.* future. *From:* Portuguese futuro 'future'.

G - g

- gambar** *n.* *Variant:* **kambar**. picture. *From:* Indonesian gambar 'picture, drawing'.
- garántia** *vd.* give security. *From:* Portuguese garantia 'guarantee, security'.

- geger** *vd.* run riot, naughty, mad.
From: Indonesian *geger* 'be in tumult, commotion'.
- governu** *n.* *Variant:* **gobernu**; **kovernu**. government. *From:* Portuguese *governo* 'government'.
- guru** *n.* *Variant:* **kuru**; teacher. Meestri 'teacher' is more common. *See:* **meestri**. *From:* Indonesian *guru* 'teacher'.

 H - h

- ha'a** *n.* mouth.
ha'a-mana oral cavity. *Lit:* 'mouth-hole'. *See:* **mana**.
ha'a-huma' voice. *Lit:* 'mouth-spirit'. *See:* **huma'**; **masu**.
ira-ha'a lake. *Lit:* 'water-mouth'. *See:* **ira**.
amuni ki-ha'a-mutu-lolo quarrel with someone.
- ha'afu** *vd.* complete, whole, intact. Used only as a full verb.
- Haakesar** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Topolope**.
- ha'al** *vd.* fry. *Bound form:* **-sa'al**.
- haale** *vd.* other. *Selu* is much more frequent. *See:* **selu**.
- Haarira** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Topuira**.
- ha'aucin** *n.* place. Segmentation unclear.
- hadia** *n.* present. *From:* Indonesian *hadiah* 'reward, gift'.
- ha'e** *n.* ladder.
- ha'e** *vd.* light. ... **sirvisu ha'e**. ... the work was light.
isa ha'e enthusiastic, diligent, happy. Only found as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **isa**.
ha'e-ne'et remember, think of. *Pairs:* **nese-ne'et**. *See:* **ne'et**.
- hael** *n.* cotton, cotton boll.
- hafa** *n.* bone.
- hafal** *vd.* memorise, know by heart. *From:* Indonesian *hafal* 'know by heart'.
- hafil** *vd.* old. with [-HUM] subjects. *See:* **la'it**.
- hai** *part.* NSIT (new situation). The only real aspect marker in Makalero.
- hai'** *vd.* end. *Bound form:* **-sai'**.
- ha'i** *n.* k.o. tree, *thespesia populnea*.
- haka** *vd.* search, look for. *Bound form:* **-saka**.
- haka** *vd?* all. Most often combined with the quantifier *hau* in a complement-verb complex. *See:* **hau**. **Mata-niki haka hau ete naser**. The children all stood up.
- =haka** *clit.* CTR.PRES (counter-presupposition). Marks the contradiction of a presupposition. ... **asi-upa nana ani-horu nomo rau**. **Asi-upa=haka ani-horu rau=po asi-upa ki-sa ere ani-horu nomo rau**. My uncle didn't treat me well. My uncle did treat me well, but my uncle's wife didn't treat me well.
- hakaas** *vd.* starve, be malnourished.
- haka-mana** *n.* cave. The meaning of the element *haka* is unclear. *See:* **mana**.

- hakur** *vd?* unintentional (?).
- hal** *vd.* be unlucky, have an accident.
- hala** *n.* war. *See:* **funu**.
- halafi** *n.* enemy.
- halee** *va?* *Variant:* **hale**. maybe. Usually combined with koto. *See:* **koto**. **Ei koto halee mei=ni rei-lolo** Maybe you will give it away.
- halin** *vd.* come together, unite (?).
- hama** *n.* ficus benjamina.
- hamar** *vd.* be married, take a husband. For female subjects. *See:* **ena**; **kauen**.
- hana'** *n.* pillar supporting a stilt house. The hele disks sit on top of the hana' pillars. *See:* **hele**.
- hana'e** *va.* REM.PT (remote past).
ahana'e two days ago.
atuhana'e three days ago. *Atu* appears to be segmentable into an element a-, also found in *ahana'e*, and *tu* 'first, ahead'. *See:* **tu**.
- hanu** *va.* very. Used verb-phrase-internally as an adverbial. *vd.* fell, cut down.
- hapil** *vd.* cut short (i.e. grass, trees). *Reduced form:* **hapi-**.
- hara'** *n.* part of the floor of a stilt house.
- hare'** *vd.* clean.
isa hare' happy. Can be constructed as both a full clause, with *isa* as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **isa**.
mutu hare' goodhearted. *See:* **mutu**.
mu'a hare' early morning, before dawn. *See:* **mu'a**.
- haris-fatiin** *n.* bathroom. *From:* Tetum *hariis-fatin* 'bathroom'.
- hasa** *vd.* demolish, dismantle.
- hasa** *n.* leaf. Inalienable. Also in use as a classifier for flat things (paper, photographs etc.).
afal-hasa rotten leaves. The meaning of *afal* is unclear.
ate-hasa leaf, foliage, medicine. *See:* **ate**.
ate-hasa ki-ira liquid medicine. *See:* **ira**.
ate-hasa pik, ate-hasa ki=pik poison. *See:* **pik**.
hasa kauaili storage area right under the top of the roof in a stilt house. Above the *ou-pu'u* area. *See:* **ou-pu'u**.
- hat** *vd.* dry. *Bound form:* **-sat**. **Meti=ee afi hai ta-sat**. The sea has gone dry near / around the fish. **Ini ni-asu (...)** **hat-ini ini k-ia-ue-diar**. We make (...) a shelter for ourselves to sit under. *Pairs:* **hi'an**.
- hatama** *vd.* put in, hand in. *From:* Tetum *hatama* 'put in, hand in'.
- hau** *vd.* all. A floating quantifier; can be used within and without the VP. *Hau* is developing into a completive marker with activity verbs. With stative verbs, it is read as marking high degree. When used in its quantifying sense, *hau* is most often combined with such quantifiers as *haka*, *felu*, *kafu*, and *kopa* in a complement-verb complex. *See:* **haka**; **felu**; **kafu**; **kopa**. **Ini haka hau misa**. All of us went up. **Asi-ni hau umu...** After my mother died... **Asi isa tafi hau hare'**. I am really very happy.
- he'el** *vd.* jump, hop, dance. *Bound form:* **-se'el**.
- he'i** *vd.* cut with a small knife. *Bound form:* **-se'i**.
- heil** *vd.* pull. *Bound form:* **-seil**.

- hein** *vd.* wait. *Bound form:* **-sein**.
From: Tetum hein 'wait'.
- heke** *vd.* difficult. *Bound form:* **-seke**.
heke-la'a angry. *Lit:* 'difficult-move'.
- mutu heke** angry. Can be constructed as a clause, with **mutu** as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. The undergoer is introduced in a separate clause with **ena** 'see'. *See:* **ena**; **mutu**.
Asi-mama ani ena mutu heke. My mother was angry with me.
- ili-heke** cave. *Lit:* 'rock-difficult?'. *See:* **ili**.
- heker** *n.* burial ceremony. **Umu=ere mara=ni ki-hai' ki-heker kini**. When someone dies, (we) make an end and a burial ceremony for him. *Pairs:* **hai'**.
- helar** *vd.* big (PL). *Bound form:* **-selar**. *See:* **pere**.
- hele** *n.* wooden disk inserted on top of a stilt to prevent vermin from entering a stilt house.
- helur** *vd.* change, pay. *From:* Tetum selu 'pay'?
- heman** *vd.* bring, carry. *Bound form:* **-seman**. Also 'to ride a motorbike, drive a car'. **Tumata dadau pai mei k-ou-seman**. The wife-takers have to bring pigs. **Kiloo motor heman**. She rides a motorbike.
- hena** *n.* cloth.
- hero** *n.* packet of steamed rice wrapped in a banana leaf.
- heru** *vd.* weave. 'loom' if used as an argument.
- herukai** *n.* heddle loop. A part of the loom.
- hese** *vd.* wrap (?).
- hesi'** *vd.* discuss (?).
- heti** *vd.* ask, pray. *Bound form:* **-seti**.
Heard once as **hiti** rather than **heti**. *Pairs:* **uei**.
- heti-ni** question.
- heu-** *vd.* not far away. Frequently combined with (k)-afa- 'away from'. *See:* **(k)-afa-**. **Iskola ere asi-lopu nomo hau k-afa-heu-nat**. The school stands not so far away from my house.
- he'ul** *vd.* full, have eaten one's fill. Sometimes heard as **hi'ul**.
- hi'a** *n.* street, road, way. *See:* **rianpata**.
- ki-hi'a-afi-la'a** bring dowry gifts. *Lit:* 'go sideways (along) the road'. A part of the wedding ceremony; a week after the bride moves into her husband's house, her parents (relatives) come bringing hand-woven cloths, food and pigs; for these, the groom's family pays an amount of money called **hutir**.
- =hi'a** *clit.* only. Used on both NPs and on clauses. **Iraku molu ki-sa ki-mata=hi'a=ni ue'**. He disappeared and only his wife and his child were left there.
- hian** *vd.* shelter.
- hi'an** *n.* time. **hi'an u** once some time ago **hi'an ei** twice **hi'an itu** three times **hi'an fat** four times. Occurs with the reduced forms of the numerals two and three. *See:* **loloji**; **lolitu**; **itu**; **-e'e**.
- hiaoleh** *vd.* vomit. Segmentation unclear.
- hi'e** *vd.* laugh. *Bound form:* **-ni'e**.
- hifa'** *vd.* catch. *Bound form:* **-sifa'**.
Kiloo pipi-rusa ki-horu=ee k-e-sifa'. He holds on firmly to the deer's antlers.
- hifal** *vd.* wet.

- hihi** *vd.* call (a horse). **Ei asi-kuda isi=hihi uai=taa ma'u.** You call to my horse so that it comes.
- Hi'ilarin** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- Hi'ima** *n.* a toponym. Located in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Manifuru.**
- hiitafu** *n.* machete.
- hil** *vd.* let compete, pit someone (against). Found only in the context of cockfighting. **asa hil** let a cock compete in a cockfight
- Hilapuna** *n.* a toponym. A beach located in the Tutuala subdistrict of Lautém district.
- hir** *n.* wall.
hir-tutu pillar in the corner of the living quarters in a stilt house.
hir-tekih cross piece stabilising the walls of a stilt house.
- hiri'** *n.* bat.
- hisu** *n.* k.o. tree.
- hisu'** *n.* one of two wooden sticks at each side of the loom backstrap that spreads the backstrap.
- hiul** *vd.* praise.
- hi'un** *n.* thorn.
- ho** *conj.* with. *From:* Tetum ho 'with'.
- hoden** *n.* great-grandfather, great-grandchild. *Pairs:* **nanu.**
- hofar** *vd.* new.
- hofe** *vd.* know. *Bound form:* **-sofe.**
- hokir** *vd.* cover, wrap.
- hole** *vd.* throw down. *Bound form:* **-sole.**
mu'a-sole throw to the ground, be born [-HUM]. *See:* **mu'a.**
- holi-** *vd.* face away.
- ho'o** *det.* some. Ho'o can also be used in a temporal sense as 'ever, before'. In such a context, it must probably be analysed as a nominal predicate giving adverbial information. **Amulafu ho'o nomo ma'u.** No-one came. **Ei ho'o hai ma'u=ni e'?** Have you been here before?
- ho'o** *vd.* finished, over, exhausted. *Bound form:* **-so'o.** **Ah uere na'u ho'o.** The mangos were finished (i.e. their season was over).
- ho'onese** *va.* IPF (imperfective). Segmentation unclear.
- Hoonira** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Seenira.**
- ho'oru** *n.* shoulder. It is unclear how ho'oru relates to uarifa 'shoulder'. *See:* **uarifa.**
- hopun** *vd.* make a sound. 'issue, problem' if used as an argument.
- hor** *vd.* protect. *Bound form:* **-sor.** **Ei dadau ni mei rau-sor.** You have to look after yourself.
- horu** *n.* horn.
- horu** *vd.* with, accompanied by. *See:* **(ko)-horu.**
- houdai** *va.* habitually. Segmentation unclear.
- houn** *vd.* plant. *Bound form:* **-soun.** **Isi-upa uata mei=ni ume-soun.** Our father planted a coconut palm there. With animate objects, houn translates as 'give a shot, vaccinate'. **Ani asa houn.** I vaccinate chickens.
- hour** *vd.* bark.
- hu'at** *vd.* sad.
- Hudilaran** *n.* a toponym. Located in the Dili district (?).
- huhur** *vd.* separate cotton fibres from the seeds.
- hul** *vd.* be able. *Reduced form:* **hu-**. Associated with physical ability or strength. *See:* **me'e.**
- Hulalain** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

- hular** *vd.* spin. **Hael aire' fi hular=ee diki-ate hai penu=fata fi hau omu.** The cotton which we spun now, if the stick we wound it around is full, then we ball it up.
- hulu** *n.* spoon.
- huma** *vd.* sing. **Ini fuli'=ini masu huma.** We sing a song together. *See: kanta; rusu'.*
- huma** *vd.* order, be angry with. *Bound form: -suma. Aihaa taka=ni ani huma=si le-isi-ume'.* (He) closed the door and ordered me to be (wait) outside. **Ki-upa ki-isarami ere fi muni mei=ni rau-suma.** Her relatives are very angry with us again.
- (k)utu-suma** forbid.
- huma'** *n.* soul, ghost, spirit.
- ha'a-huma'** voice. *Lit: 'mouth-spirit'. See: ha'a; masu.*
- hur** *vd.* plant. **ale hur** plant rice. Associated with ale 'rice'.
- huri** *n.* brush. *See: huri'.*
- huri** *vd.* release, shoot. *Bound form: -suri. ki-ha'aucin li'an ki-ha'aucin suri* substitute replace *Pairs: li'an.*
- huri'** *vd.* brush, comb. *See: huri.*
- hut** *vd.* crawl, go on all fours.
- hut** *n.* clothes. *Pairs: kutu. See: ropa.*
- hutir** *n.* knife, bride price. A bride price paid to the bride's family by the groom's family when they come to the groom's house bringing cloths, food and pigs. It appears the hutir originally contained one or more knives and was named after them; today it is replaced by money. *See: hi'a.*

I - i

- i** *conj.* and. *From: Portuguese e, Tetum i 'and'.*
- ia** *n.* leg, foot. *See: (k-)ia'.*
- ia-dafan** heel. *See: dafan.*
- ia-fari-fari** sandal. Normally, *sinelus* is used for 'sandal'. The meaning of the element *fari* is not quite clear. *See: fari; sinelus.*
- ia-ilu** toe nail, claw. *See: ilu.*
- ia-itu'** knee. *See: itu'.*
- ia-lefen** sole. *See: lepen.*
- ia-masu** hollow of the knee. *See: masu.*
- ia-raka** toe. *See: raka.*
- ia-torok** lower leg, calf.
- ia'** *vd.* under. *Reduced form: -ia-. See: (k)-ia'.*
- iaia** *n.* glass, mirror. Looks like a reduplicated form of an unrecorded simplex. A connection with *ia* 'leg, foot' seems improbable.
- iar** *vd.* cry.
- ibu** *n.* Indonesian woman. In Indonesian, *ibu* is a polite term of address for married women. *From: Indonesian ibu 'mother'.*
- ifi** *n.* star. Also used as a classifier for small animals (insects).
- ifi-susuuk** firefly. *Lit: 'star-mosquito'. See: susuuk.*
- ifil** *n.* tongue. Inalienable.
- igreja** *n.* church. *From: Portuguese, Tetum igreja 'church'.*
- ii** *pron.* 2p.

- ii-** *poss.pron.* 2p:POSS-.
- ika'** *vd.* be up in. *Reduced form:* **ika-**.
Hai haka hau lo'on-ika-la'a...
They all went up into the sky...
Ani ma'u=ere Fransisku ki-kareta-ika'. Coming here, I rode in Fransisco's car.
- ile'** *vd.* itchy.
- ili** *n.* rock, stone. Larger than **uar**; also part of the toponym Iliomar. *See:* **uar**; **Iliomar**.
ili-heke *cave.* *Lit:* 'rock-difficult?'
- Ilibitau** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- Iliomar** *n.* a toponym. *Lit:* 'rock-stilt house'. Name of the subdistrict of Lautém district where Makalero is spoken; also the subdistrict capital. According to Chamberlain (2008), Iliomar is also a clan name. *Pairs:* **Larisula**.
- ilu** *n.* umbilical cord, womb (?) Inalienable. It is unclear how this relates to **ilu** 'nail, claw'.
ilu-mana *navel, belly button.* *Lit:* 'umbilical cord-hole'.
- ilu** *n.* nail, claw. Inalienable. It is unclear how this relates to **ilu** 'umbilical cord'. *See:* **ia**; **tana**.
- ilupana** *n.* armpit. Segmentation unclear.
- imimi'** *vd.* *Variant:* **imimih**. small. **Ani uari mata imimi'**. I am still small. found only with **mata** 'child'. *See:* **mata**; **ka'u**.
- imir** *vd.* red.
- importante** *vd.* important. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum *importante* 'important'.
- imposa** *vd.* light blue (?). The origin of this lexeme is unknown. On another occasion, it was translated as pink, or light red. The presence of the mp consonant cluster suggests it is either a borrowing or a compound. However, neither a possible source of borrowing nor any of the constituent parts of a putative compound are clear.
- impresta** *vd.* borrow. *From:* Portuguese *emprestar* 'lend', Tetum *impresta* 'borrow, lend'.
- ina** *n.* mother. Used as a term of address or to express endearment. Only **ina**, not **ni** 'mother', is found with the honorific suffix **-uai**. *See:* **ni**; **-uai**. **ina-uai ki=ka'u** aunt (mother's younger sister) **ina-uai ki=pere** aunt (mother's older sister)
- ina** *n.* eye. Inalienable.
ina-fasu *eyelashes (?)*. *Lit:* 'eye-skin'. *See:* **fasu**.
ina-ira *tear.* *Lit:* 'eye-water'. *See:* **ira**.
ina-isu *eyeball.* *See:* **isu**.
ina-mana *eye socket.* *Lit:* 'eye-hole'. *See:* **mana**; **seta**.
ina pi-pit *careful.* *Lit:* 'eye RDL-fast'. *See:* **pit**.
ina-pisi *forehead.* The meaning of **pisi** is unclear.
ina-taran *eyebrow.* The meaning of **taran** is unclear.
ina-ta'al *glasses.* The meaning of **ta'al** is unclear. Usually **ókulu** is used for 'glasses'. *See:* **ókulu**.
- Inameli** *n.* a clan name.
- independensia** *n.* independence. Often, the phrase **ni ukun** 'rule oneself' is used. *See:* **ni**; **ukun**. *From:* Portuguese *independência* 'independence', Tetum *independensia* 'independence'.
- Indonesia** *n.* Indonesia, Indonesian.

- informasaun** *n.* information. *From:* Portuguese *informação*, Tetum *informasaun*, Indonesian *informasi* 'information'.
- ini** *pron.* 1^{pe}.
- =ini** *clit.* *Variant:* =ni; =n. CTR (contrastive). It was me who broke that glass. Used on NPs to mark contrastiveness; the NPs in question can be either topics or foci. The NP clitic =ini is an extension of the clause level clitic =ini. *See:* =ini. **Ani=ni kopu ere mei=ni da'al-*ini*.**
- =ini** *clit.* *Variant:* =ni; =n. LNK1 (linker1). =ini is used on clause level and is one of the most general clause linkers. As opposed to =isi, it expresses close knitting, or a clause temporal or other relationship between the two clauses linked by it. It is most generally associated with subject continuity. *See:* =isi. **Ini la'a=ni ude'=ini lepuh=hi'a=ni...** We went and were up there and were only hungry and...
- ini** *suff.* NML (nominaliser). **lolo-*ini*** word conversation **heti-*ni*** question *See:* **lolo**; **heti**.
- ini** *vd.* give. -ini is mainly used in fused forms with a recipient pronoun. The paradigm is as follows: *1s:* **manini**. *2s:* **meini**. *3s:* **kini**. *1^{pl}:* **fiini**. *1^{pl}:* **minini**. *2^{pl}:* **miini**. *3^{pl}:* **kini**.
- ini** *vd.* do (BD). *See:* **kini**.
- intentsaan** *n.* intention (?). *From:* Portuguese *intenção* 'intention' (?).
- inuk** *n.* sand.
- invade** *vd.* invade. *From:* Portuguese *invadir*, Tetum *invade* 'invade'.
- ipitilu** *n.* lesser yam, *dioscorea esculenta*. Segmentation unclear.
- ira** *n.* water.
- ira-ha'a** lake. *Lit:* 'water-mouth'. *See:* **ha'a**.
- ira-lor** swim. *Lit:* 'water-fly'. *See:* **lor**.
- ira-tu'il** bamboo container for water. *See:* **tu'il**.
- ira-uah** flood, inundation. The meaning of the element *uaha* is unclear.
- ira** *n.* price.
- ira misa** expensive. That is very expensive. Can be used both as a clause, with *ira* as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **misa**. **Uere ki-ira hau misa.** That is very expensive. **Uere se ira misa.**
- ira dikar** cheap. Can be used both as a clause and as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **dikar**.
- ira** *n.* paddy field, rice field. **ira pure** grow rice work in the rice field *Pairs:* **ama**; *Pairs:* **ama paun**. *See:* **pure**.
- iraku** *pron.* 3s. Perhaps analysable as 'your friend'. It is considered more refined than *kiloo* by most speakers. *See:* **ii**; **raku**; **kiloo**.
- iralolo** *vd.* straight. Used for hair. Segmentation unclear. *See:* **sa'e**.
- Iralatur** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- ira-mumus** *n.* dragonfly. The meaning of the element *umus* is unclear. *See:* **ira**.
- Irasu'ul** *n.* a toponym.
- irau** *vd.* *Variant:* **erau**; **urau**; **uerau**. not allowed. Can be constructed either as a full verb with a following complement clause

- extension, or as a verbal complement to a main verb.
- irih** *vd.* urinate.
- isa** *n.* condition, (physical) state. Used as the locus of emotion with several expressions of emotions and physical states.
- isa dikar** lazy. *Lit.* 'state short'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **dikar**.
- isa fani** happy. *Lit.* 'state nice'. Only found as a full clause, with isa as the subject. *See:* **fani**.
- isa felun** happy. *Lit.* 'state pretty'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **felun**.
- isa hare'** happy. *Lit.* 'state clean'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **hare'**.
- isa ha'e** happy, enthusiastic, diligent. Only found as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **ha'e**.
- isa rau** happy. *Lit.* 'state good'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **rau**.
- isa su'ul** young. Only found as a phrasal predicate. *See:* **su'ul**.
- isa tutu** like. Only found as a full clause, with isa as the subject. *See:* **tutu**.
- isa-isa** age.
- isa** *vd.* go down, descend.
- mu'a-isa** go down to the ground, be born. As a euphemism for 'be born', mu'a-isa is considered more appropriate for [+HUM] subjects. *See:* **uala**.
- isa** *vd.* bake. *See:* **(k)-isa**.
- isarami** *n.* brother, (male) cousin. Both younger and older than the speaker. Inalienable. *Pairs:*
- tufur. isarami ki=pere** elder cousin
- isi'** *vd.* Variant: **isih**. be at, be in. *Reduced form:* **isi-**. The most general locative verb.
- =isi** *clit.* Variant: **=si;** **=s**. LNK2. Together with clause-level =ini, =isi is the most general clause linker. It expresses a more loose connection between the two clauses linked by it, which may involve temporal distance, change of subject etc. *See:* =ini. **Ei-dada=ni ei asar=isi ei dadau la'a**. It was your grandfather who sent you, so you will have to go.
- isi-** *poss.pron.* 1pe:POSS.
- isi'** *vd.* Variant: **-isih**. belong to, be about. *See:* **(k)-isi'**.
- isinei** ? apparently. Segmentation unclear. Often combined with fani'. *See:* **fani'**. ... **uar pere u isinei lari ho'o=ni we-nat**. ... a big stone, like a mountain, stands there.
- isipera** *va?* totally. **Uere isipera nomo rau...** That is absolutely not good... **Ki-isit isipera hai k-ua-misa...** His illness grew continually worse...
- isiperan** *vd.* try, challenge. **Kiloo ani isiperan**. He tried / challenged me. The element -peran could possibly be a variant form of fera 'try', similar to the p-initial form found in certain contexts with fani'. Its relation to isipera is unclear. *See:* **fera; fani'; isipera**.
- isipo'** *vd.* not know.
- isit** *vd.* be ill, be sick.
- mutu isit** angry, sad, hate. Can be constructed both as a clause,

- with *mutu* as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. The undergoer is constructed in a separate clause with (k)-*asu*. *See: mutu; (k-)asu. Kiloo ani-asu mutu isit.* He hates me.
- iskola** *vd.* go to school. Used as an argument, it translates as 'school'. *From: Portuguese escola, Tetum eskola 'school'. Ani la'a=ni iskola SMP hau tamat ani nomo k-ua-iskola.* I graduated from junior high school and then I did not continue going to school.
- iskudu** *n.* escudo. Timorese currency during the colonial period from 1959, when it replaced the Pataca, till 1976. *See: Pataaka.*
- isoru** *vd.* administer intravenously. Source unclear.
- ispada** *n.* spades. In a suit of cards. *From: Portuguese espadas 'spades (in a suit of cards)'. istoria* *n.* story. *From: Portuguese história, Tetum istória 'story'.*
- istraga** *vd.* destroy. *From: Portuguese estragar, Tetum istraga 'destroy, break'.*
- istuda** *vd.* study. *From: Portuguese estudar, Tetum estuda 'study'.*
- isu** *n.* seed, stone. Also used as a classifier for small round things (e.g. eggs, teeth, frogs).
- ina-isu** eyeball.
- isu-isu** freckles.
- itu** *vd.* three [+HUM]. **mata-niki amu itu** three children *See: lolitu.*
- itu'** *n.* knee. Inalienable. *See: ia.*
- itun** *n.* crown of the head.
- ituruu** *va?* then, afterwards. Always follows the linker =te'e. *See: =te'e. Ani la'a=ni ni-tiu ko-horu ufe'=ini uai=te'e ituruu ani ni senti ka'u-ka'u rau.* I went to stay with my uncle down there, only after that did I start feeling a bit better.
- iu'** *vd. Variant: iuh.* extremely hot, boiling hot. *See: nene'; peri'.*

 J - j

- Jaua** *n.* Java, Javanese. Also used generically as 'Indonesians'. **Amuni Indonesia Jaua k-uta.** The Indonesians killed him.
- jerikeen** *n. Variant: zerekeen; serikeen.* jerrycan. *From: English jerrycan, Indonesian jerigen, Tetum jerikán 'jerrycan'.*
- jogadór** *n. Variant: sokadór.* player. *From: Portuguese jogador, Tetum jogadór 'player'.*
- jok** *vd. Variant: zok.* plug in, recharge. *From: Indonesian cok, mengecok 'charge'.*

K - k

- k-** *pref. Variant: ko-*. 3:UND (third person undergoer argument). Used on a subgroup of mostly vowel-initial verbs, listed in the present dictionary with a bracketed (k)-. The variant ko- is only found with (ko-)horu 'with'. *See: (ko-)horu.*
- (k)-a'a** *vd.* put on. Most often used as a verbal complement, in which case it may express a literal locative notion or a figurative benefactive one. It is furthermore found in such expressions as (k)-a'a-numu 'nearly dead' and (k)-a'a-sopen 'very sleepy', the semantics of which seem difficult to connect to the literal meaning of (k)-a'a. **Ani hi'un hai ka'a-siu.** I stepped on a thorn. **Ki-nami ni-mata-r k-a'a-saka.** Her husband looked (for food, a living) for his children.
- (k)-a'a-numu** nearly dead.
- (k)-a'a-sopen** very sleepy.
- kaalma** *vd.* calm. *From:* Portuguese calma 'calm, composure'.
- kaanselamentu** *n.* curfew. *From:* Portuguese cancelamento 'annulment, cancellation'.
- ka'ar** *vd.* cold. Ka'ar is rather ambivalent; in the expression amu ka'ar 'healthy', it has a positive connotation, while it may also be used as 'feel cold', and thus be interpreted as 'be ill'. It is possible that ka'ar and kauar are variants of one item. *See: kauar.*
- amu ka'ar** healthy. Found only as a phrasal predicate.
- ka'ar-uru** cold season.
- ka'ar oruoru** malaria. This expression was produced in an attempt to avoid the Portuguese (?) loan malária, which is normally used.
- kadeia** *n.* prison. *See: komarga.* *From:* Portuguese cadeia 'chain, prison'.
- kadera** *n.* chair. *From:* Portuguese cadeira, Tetum cadeira 'chair'.
- kadernu** *n.* exercise book, notebook. *From:* Portuguese caderno 'notebook'.
- kae** *vd.* set (a date).
- ka'el** *vd.* bite.
- kael-** *vd.* often (?). **Kiloo ni-upa mei=ni kael-neok...** He often lied to his father...
- kafé** *vd.* brown.
- kafé** *n.* coffee. *From:* Portuguese café, Tetum kafé 'coffee'.
- (k)-afa-** *vd.* away from, leave. **Kiloo ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi=ni k-afa-la'a ama-isi-la'a...** He killed his wife and then went away leaving her, went to the garden...
- kafar** *vd.* pull out, tear out. **Ki-uasi-ni mana=si uai=konai hau kafar.** (He) had a cavity in his tooth, so it was torn out.
- (k)-afi'** *vd.* sideways, to the side. *Reduced form: (k)-afi-. Kuda*

- ate k-afi-ume-nat.** A horse is standing beside the tree.
- kafu'** *vd.* all, all at once, full. *Reduced form: kafu-*. The reduced form *kafu-* is found frequently with the quantifier *hau*. The full verb is found only with subjects referring to periods of time, and can thus in most instances be translated as 'during'. *See: hau. ...uatu ru siua kafu' kursus inggris mini...* follow an English course for 90 days.
- (k)-afu** *vd.* carry (a child), with. **Asi-ni-raa ani na'u afu.** My aunts were carrying me.
- kai'** *vd.* yelp.
- kail** *vd.* catch with a hook. 'hook' if used as an argument. One speaker used a bound form *-nail*, though he usually corrected himself afterwards. *From: Indonesian, Tetum kail 'fish hook'.*
- kaila** *n.* papaya. **kaila-fun** papaya tree
- kailelei** *n.* k.o. tree. Produces a fibrous substance used as stuffing for cushions etc.
- Kainliu** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- (k)-ako** *vd.* steal. **Ani la'a=ni teli uere kako=ni nua.** I went to steal that maize and ate it. *See: akor.*
- kalah** *vd.* yellow, orange.
- kalen** *n.* (corrugated) metal sheet, (corrugated) metal roof. *From: Indonesian kaleng, Tetum kaleen 'tin'.*
- (k)-ali-** *vd.* all over. **Kiloo seran haka-hau k-ali-dafa.** He throws down his things all over the place. **Pai=ee ni-ali-nat=ini hai muni amulafu.** The pig turned into a person.
- (k)-ali-nini** stir.
- kalin** *vd.* pour out, spill.
- kalsa** *n.* trousers. *From: Portuguese calças, Tetum kalsa 'trousers'.*
- kama** *n.* bed. *From: Portuguese cama, Tetum kama 'bed'.*
- kamata** *vd.* lay around untidily.
- kambar** *n.* picture. *See: gambar.*
- kamera** *vd.* take pictures. 'photograph' if used as an argument. *See: fotográfia.*
- kampu aviasaun** *n.* airport. *See: aeroportu.* *From: Portuguese campo 'field', aviação 'aviation'.*
- kamu** *vd.* be night. Obligatorily takes *mu'a* 'ground' as the subject. *See: mu'a; kamur.*
- kamu-kamu** *Variant: kamu-amu.* be early morning. Is never constructed with an overt subject such as *mu'a* 'ground' and thus appears to be a valent. The loss of the initial *k-* in *kamu-amu* is unclear, but is reminiscent of that found with *keri-eri*. *See: keru.*
- (k)-amu'** *vd.* *Variant: (k)-amuhata.* smell. The element *-hata* in *kamuhata* is unclear. The parallel with *amu'* 'ripe, smelly' suggests 'smell' is a rare case of a verb with labile transitivity. *See: amu'. Iraku ani seti-mu'a-isa=ni uaite'e ani kamuhata...* He went down passing me and then he smelled me...
- kamunei** *va.* **ma'a buti.** noon, tomorrow.
- kamur** *n.* *Variant: kamu.* night. *Lit: 'big night'.* **kamu pere** middle of the night midnight *See: kamu; pere.*
- kan** *vd.* light.

- kan** ? isn't it?, as you well know. *From:* Indonesian kan 'isn't it, as you well know'.
- kaneka** *n.* small pot, small can. *From:* Portuguese caneca 'small pot, canikin'.
- kaneta** *n.* (ball) pen. *From:* Portuguese caneta, Tetum kaneta '(ball) pen'.
- kankun** *n.* water spinach, ipomoea aquatica. *From:* Tetum kankun, Indonesian kangkung 'water spinach'.
- kanta** *vd.* *Variant:* **kaanta**. *sing.* *See:* **huma; rusu'**. *From:* Portuguese cantar, Tetum kanta 'sing'.
- kantina** *n.* shop. *From:* Portuguese cantina 'canteen'.
- kapar** *vd.* scratch.
- Kaparesin** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- kapat** *n.* traditional Timorese necklace made of orange beads. Part of the bride wealth.
- kapela** *n.* chapel. *From:* Portuguese capela 'chapel'.
- kapidal** *vd.* big. *From:* Portuguese capital 'considerable, important'.
- kareta** *n.* **kareta**. car. *From:* Tetum kareta 'bus'.
- karoh** *vd.* split, cleave.
- karol** *n.* large sack. Often made of polypropylene.
- karteira** *n.* wallet. *From:* Portuguese carteira 'wallet', Tetum karteira 'handbag'.
- kasar** *vd.* call, invite.
- kasi** *n.* salt.
kasi lema' sugar. *Lit:* 'sweet salt'. *See:* **lema'**.
kasi-ira sea water, salt water. *See:* **ira**.
- kasi** *vd.* take off (clothes). 'clothes' if used as an argument. *Pairs:* **kutu**.
- kasian** *vd.* poor, suffering. *Pairs:* **tasán (?)**. *From:* Indonesian kasihan 'pity, poor', Tetum kasian 'unfortunate'.
- kastigu** *vd.* *Variant:* **kaastigu**. punish, arrest. *From:* Portuguese castigo 'punishment', Tetum kastigu 'punish'.
- kasu** *vd.* bad, ugly (?).
kasu-kini harm.
- (k)-asu** *vd.* for. **Ani papa=ee hai k-asu lolo...** I said to the Indonesian...
- (k)-ata'** *vd.* be in physical contact, stick to. *Reduced form:* **(k)-ata-**. **Ropa=ee mei=ni ni-ata'...** (She) took the clothes and put them on herself...
kata-ne'et believe. *See:* **ne'et**.
- katal** *vd.* cut into small pieces, chop into small pieces.
- katar** *vd.* rude.
- katekista** *n.* catechist. *From:* Portuguese catequista 'catechist'.
- kateri** *n.* scissors. *From:* Tetum kateri 'scissors'.
- (k)-ati-** *vd.* downwards (?). **Kiloo masan=ini hai muni k-ati-puna**. He is scared and looks downwards again.
- katoliku** *n?* *Variant:* **katolika**. catholic religion.
- ka'u** *vd.* small.
ka'u=te'e in a while. *See:* **=te'e**.
ka'u pitipiti very small, tiny. Pitipiti ('small') does not occur in the corpus on its own, but only in combination with ka'u.
- kauaili** *n.* k.o. small gecko.
hasa kauaili storage space right under the top of the roof in a stilt house. *See:* **hasa**.

- kauar** *vd.* cold. 'wind' if used as an argument. *See:* **ka'ar**. **Kauar=ete uai=te'e fi mei=ni putil-isi'**. Once it is cold, we put it into a bottle. **Ae=taa isi-nuta kauar=taa isi-rutu...** May rain fall there and wind blow...
- kaue'** *n.* loop by which the backstrap is attached to the lower loom bar. *See:* **atih**.
- kauen** *vd.* get married. *From:* Indonesian kawin 'be married', Tetum kaben 'get married'.
- kaul** *vd.* howl.
- kaur** *vd.* grate, rasp, scratch.
- kazamentu** *n.* wedding, marriage. *From:* Portuguese casamento 'marriage'.
- ke** *conj.* CMPL (complementiser), REL (relativiser). Rarely used. **Ini nomo ni ma'en ke ini tasan.** We weren't aware that we were suffering. **Komunidade ke maioria hau muda.** The majority of the community had changed. *From:* Portuguese que (COMPL, REL).
- ke'** *vd.* *Variant:* **keh**. drink.
- (k)-e-** *vd.* firm. Found most frequently in the combination (k)-e-sifa' 'hold on to'. *See:* **hifa'**. **Mata ka'u pipi-rusa ki-horu=ee k-e-sifa'**. The child is firmly holding on to the deer's antlers.
- keil** *vd.* manipulate with a stick.
- keil** *vd.* look, peek. Used most often in a complement-verb complex with (k)-ue-. *See:* **(k)-ue-**. **Kamunei misa=ni k-ue-keil...** The next day (they) went up there and looked around...
- kel** *vd.* hard, firm, tight, close, strong. **Ili ain=ere uar=ua kel...** 'Ili' means a rock that is hard...
- Kiloo hi'e=ini hanu ke-kel...** He laughed hard...
- Kelipiti** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Soupiti**.
- ken** *vd.* lie down (?).
- kena** *vd.* see (BD). *See:* **ena**.
- kene** *vd.* hit, strike. It is possible that the initial k- is actually an argument marker, and that the verb is more correctly represented as (k)-ene. **Hena uatu kene.** The cloth was exposed to the sun. *From:* Indonesian kena 'strike, hit' (?).
- kepit** *vd.* nip, pinch.
- kerek** *vd.* write. According to some speakers, it translates as 'colour' if used as an argument.
- kerekere** *vd.* bark.
- keri** *va.* *Variant:* **keri-eri**. at first. The loss of the initial k- in the **keri-eri** variant is reminiscent of **kamu-amu** 'early morning'. *See:* **kamu**.
- (k)-eri-** *vd.* sudden (?). **Sa'ani=ni ue'=ini ei ho'o k-eri-ka'el=oo irau nat dil.** (If) something that is there suddenly bites you, don't be afraid.
- kesar** *vd.* show, check with someone.
- kesi** *vd.* lock.
- ket** *vd.* love, hold dear.
- (k)-eta-** *vd.* break apart, impact forcefully. **Ani odamata k-eta-pase...** I broke the window pane... **Ki-upa ni-inapisi k-eta-pasal...** Her father smacked his forehead...
- keuh** *vd.* rasp.
- ki-** *poss.pron.* 3:POSS. Used in some cases like a definiteness marker. **Ani-asu ki-nua ki-ke' na'an.** There was no food and drink for me.

- ki'a** *vd?* often. Ki'a is always negated in the corpus. **Dosi=ee amuni nomo ki'a teuh...** Those cakes, people didn't buy them often.
- (k)-ia'** *vd.* under. *Reduced form:* **(k)-ia-**. **Ini lopu u k-ia'=ini biasanya ini filem toton.** We who lived in (under) one house used to watch movies. *See:* **ia.**
- kiloo** *pron.* 3s. *See:* **iraku.**
- kilooraa** *pron.* 3p. Consists of the third person singular pronoun kiloo and the plural suffix -raa. *See:* **kiloo; -raa.**
- Kiltau** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- kilu** *n.* kilo. *From:* Portuguese quilo 'kilo'.
- kilu** *vd.* pinch.
- kini** *vd.* do. *Bound form:* **-ini, -nini.** Kini likely started out as an argument-marking verb (k)-ini, but the k-prefixed form is now used like a free form. The vowel-initial form -ini is mostly used in grammatical function (e.g. as a causativiser), while -nini is more lexical. **Asa nama la'a ni-uari mei=ni ate-ata-nini...** The bird makes its nest in a tree...
- kini-kini** behaviour, traditions.
- ue-nini-ni** behaviour, attitude, demeanour.
- =kini** *clit.* IND (indirect information). A subordinating clause linker that can be cliticised to the first clause in the sequence or to the subject of the second clause. =kini marks the information expressed by the second clause as not coming from the direct experience of the speaker (hearsay etc). **Kiloo ani neok=ini ani=kini la'a=ni ufe'=ini kooperasi hein=ana.** He lied to me, saying I was going to go down there and wait for a cooperation. *See:* **ma'akini.**
- kios** *n.* kiosk, booth. *From:* Indonesian kios 'kiosk'.
- (k)-isa** *vd.* bake. **Ani kulat=ee k-isa=ni nua.** I baked the mushrooms and ate them.
- (k)-isi'** *vd.* *Variant:* **(k)-isih.** belong to, be about. **Ini mina tina kisi'=ee lolo.** We talk about cooking oil.
- kitu** *vd.* skewer, prong.
kitu-kitu fork, prong.
- kiut** *vd.* clean. With beans, rice or grain, to pick out dirt or spoilt ones.
- kofu** *vd.* close (eyes). **Tufuraa ere ni-ina kofu...** The girl closed her eyes...
- (ko)-horu** *vd.* with, accompanied by. **Papa uere ki-noko uere=ni ani-horu hai Dili.** It was the Indonesian's younger brother who went to Dili with me.
- koi** *vd.* hide.
- koikoi'** *vd.* dance, move legs.
- koir** *vd.* mix.
- koko'** *vd.* croak. Of a frog.
- kokor** *vd.* hold, carry.
- kol** *vd.* hug, embrace.
- kola** *n.* tais sarong.
kola-rapi women's sarong. *See:* **rapi.**
- kola-utur** men's sarong. *See:* **utur.**
- kole** *vd.* tired. *Pairs:* **maka.** *From:* Tetum kole 'tired'.
- kolega** *vd.* be friends, be colleagues. 'colleague' if used as an argument.

- komarga** *n.* prison. *From:* Tetum komarka 'prison', Portuguese comarca 'administrative district'?
- komesa** *vd.* start. Constructed with a complement clause extension linked to it paratactically (unmarked). *From:* Portuguese começar 'start', Tetum komesa.
- komik** *vd.* funny, humoristic. *From:* Indonesian komik 'comic, humorist'.
- Komil** *n.* a toponym, a clan name. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Atenuur**.
- kompromi** *n.* compromise, agreement. *From:* Indonesian kompromi 'compromise'.
- komu** *conj.* since, as. *From:* Portuguese como 'since, as'.
- komunidade** *n.* community, municipality. *From:* Portuguese comunidade 'community'.
- kon** *vd.* narrow. 'narrow way, passage' if used as an argument. **Paidubudubur k-ua'=ini ma'u=ni kon-isi-ude'=ini Arapaulopu-isi-ta-pati.** *From:* Paidubudubur up there, (we) came through a narrow passage up there and parted in Arapaulopu.
- =konai** *clit.* CSQ (consequential). =konai marks the action of the second clause in a sequence as a consequence of the first one. **Ei-isikola nomo rau=konai=ni ei uere'-isi-la'a=na'a=ua?** You are not doing well at school, that's why you want to go into that?
- kondisaun** *n.* condition, circumstance. *From:* Portuguese condição 'condition'.
- konsekuensa** *n.* consequence. *From:* Portuguese consequência 'consequence'.
- konsiderasaun** *n.* *Variant:* **koonsiderasaun.** consideration. *From:* Portuguese consideração 'consideration, deliberation'.
- konta** *vd.* *Variant:* **koonta.** tell. *From:* Portuguese contar 'tell (a story)', Tetum konta 'tell, relate'.
- konta-kutu** *n.* *Variant:* **koonta-kutu.** resistance, cooperation with the guerilla in the forest, establishing contact between them and the local population. The make-up of this expression is unclear. **Asi-ni konta-kutu k-ou-la'a.** My mother worked together with the guerillas in the forest.
- kontra** *vd.* oppose. *From:* Portuguese contrariar 'oppose' (?).
- kontu** *n.* *Variant:* **koontu.** unit of 1,000. Found only with indications of price. The term is used today as an equivalent for the sum of 1 US dollar. *From:* Portuguese conto '1,000 escudos' (obsolete).
- konvida** *vd.* *Variant:* **koonvida.** invite. *From:* Portuguese convidar, Tetum konvida 'invite'.
- konvidadu** guest. *See:* **bainaka.** *From:* Portuguese convidado 'guest'.
- koomata** *n.* baby. The element koo could possibly be a contraction of ka'u 'small'; mata is 'child'. *See:* **ka'u; mata.**
- koondotór** *n.* driver. *See:* **sufer.** *From:* Portuguese condutor, Tetum kondutór 'driver'.
- kopa** *vd.* dead. Used for animals only (?). *See:* **umu.**

- kopa** *vd?* all. Found only in a complement-verb complex with hau. *See: hau.*
- kopon** *n.* *Variant: kopoon.* room.
- kopás** *n.* hearts. In a suit of cards. *From: Portuguese copas 'hearts' (in a suit of cards)'.*
- kopu** *n.* glass, cup. *From: Portuguese copo 'glass, beaker', Tetum kopu 'cup'.*
- kor** *n.* colour. *From: Portuguese cor, Tetum kór 'colour'.*
- kor** *vd?* wide open (eyes).
- Koraamil** *n.* Koramil. An Indonesian acronym for komando rayon militer (military subdistrict unit).
- koran** *n.* newspaper. *From: Indonesian koran 'newspaper'.*
- kore'** *vd.* dishonour, disrespect. The undergoer is expressed in a verbal complement with isi-. *See: isi'. Fi pura lesa tufuraa namiraa na'u ta-isi-kore'.* If we don't give a dowry, (it means) women and men do not respect one another. ... **amuni ki-paadufu-isi-kore'** dishonour widows (i.e. get them pregnant)
- korenti** *n.* necklace. Source unclear.
- kori** *vd?* lease (?). **mu'a ki=kori ki=dasa** leased land *Pairs: dasa.*
- kota** *n.* town, city. *From: Indonesian kota 'town, city'.*
- koto** *va?* maybe, suppose. Used often together with halee 'maybe'. *See: halee. Koto halee Maromak=ini ani te-dai...* Maybe the Lord walked next to me...
- (k)-otu** *vd.* fetch (water). **Ini dadau ira mei paril un loloi ueere'-isi-k-otu.** We had to pour the water into one or two barrels.
- (k)-ou-** *vd.* towards. **ki-ke' ki-nua k-ou-dane** bring (earn) food and drink **Ani aire' aite' ni-asu k-ou-na-nat=ini sirvisu haka..** I am still just learning (standing around near it) to find work...
- koumeme'** *vd.* greedy. Segmentation unclear. It is possible that kou is (k)-ou-, but there is no indication as to the meaning of meme'. *See: (k)-ou-.*
- kovernu** *n.* government. *See: governu.*
- kozineiru** *n.* cook. *See: mainatu. From: Portuguese cozinheiro 'cook'.*
- krisma** *vd.* *Variant: kirisma.* get one's confirmation. *From: Portuguese crisma 'confirmation'.*
- (k)-ua'** *vd.* on top. *Reduced form: (k)-ua-. ... ki-sapeu mei=ni ki-puulata k-ua'.* (They) put his hat on top of his head. **Hala u hai tepa muni k-ua-ma'u-ma'u...** A war is gradually coming up again...
- (k)-uan** *vd.* bigger than. **Kiloo ki-lopu ere asi-lopu k-uan.** His house is bigger than my house.
- kuandu** *conj.* when. *From: Portuguese quando, Tetum kuandu 'when'.*
- kuaze** *va?* almost. *From: Portuguese quase 'almost'.*
- kuda** *n.* horse. *From: Indonesian, Tetum kuda 'horse'.*
- (k)-ue-** *vd.* around. **Lilipaka ere ki-puulata hai k-ue-lor-la'a.** The butterfly flew around his head.
- kuit** *n.* octopus.

- kuitadu** *vd.* poor, pity. *From:* Portuguese cuidado 'care, concern'.
- kuku** *vd.* be silent. *See:* **tepa-tepar**.
- kukus** *vd.* steam. *From:* Indonesian kukus 'steam, vapour'.
- kular** *n.* clan. *Pairs:* **nuak**.
- kulat** *n.* mushroom. **kulat (ki=)pik** poisonous mushroom *See:* **pik**.
- kulia** *n.* study at university. 'university' if used as an argument. *From:* Indonesian kuliah 'university'.
- kulsaun** *n.* mattress. *From:* Portuguese colchão 'mattress'.
- (k)-umu-** *vd.* kill. Found only as a verbal complement to other verbs. (k)-umu is transitive and compatible with an undergoer argument, while umu is intransitive and found as a main verb only. The two could be interpreted as variants of one verb umu with labile transitivity. *See:* **umu**. **Kiloo ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi**. He cut his wife to death.
- kupe** *vd.* hand over. Refers to the part of the wedding ceremony where the bride is officially handed over to the groom. It is always constructed with tufuraa as its object. *See:* **tufuraa**.
- (k)-uri-** *vd.* behind, but visible.
(k)-uri- thus contrasts with **(k)-utu**, which means 'behind, covered or hidden by it'. *See:* **(k)-utu**.
- ni-uri-ni-** openly, on purpose. *See:* **ni-**.
- kuru** *n.* teacher. *See:* **guru**.
- kurun** *n.* combs. Dry, without honey in them (?).
- kuruus** *n.* Variant: **kurus**. cross. *From:* Portuguese cruz 'cross'.
- kus** *n.* shoot with a blowpipe.
- kusa-** *vd.* near, next to. possibly **(k)-usa-**. [*Note:* occurs in a text and was translated as given; however, all attempts to elicit more examples of its use failed.]
- kustumi** *n.* customs, traditions. *From:* Portuguese costume 'custom'.
- kut** *vd.* blow, play a flute.
- (k)-uta** *vd.* kill. **Ei=ni ani mei pa'uk-ini=si ani-uta**. It was you who destroyed me and killed me.
- (k)-uta-** *vd.* behind, hidden from view. **Namiraa ate-uta-nat**. A man is standing behind a tree.
- (k)-utu** *vd.* block from view, hinder. **Ni-tana mei=ni ni-ha'a k-utu-dane**. (He) puts his hand over his mouth. **uatu loloi k-utu-sai'** after two days **(k)-utu-nini** hinder.
(k)-utu-suma be angry at, forbid.
- (k)-utu** *n.* wear, put on (clothes). **namiraa=ua faru imir k-utu ere** the man who wears the read shirt *See:* **(k)-utu**
- kutu(-ini)** clothes, clothing.
ki-kutu ki-kasu meini kini... give them clothes... *Pairs:* **kasi**.
- (k)-utu'** *vd.* look after, guard.
Kiloo uari ufe'=ini ama-utu'... He was still down there minding the garden...
- kuulpa** *n.* duty, task, obligation. *From:* Portuguese culpa 'fault, blame'.

L - I

- la'a** *vd.* move, walk on foot. La'a is the most general movement verb and does not specify the directedness of the movement. With the clause linker =ini, la'a is in the process of grammaticalising into a marker of sequentiality. The same development is found with mara 'go' and with ma'u 'come'. *See: =ini; mara; ma'u.*
- laa** *suff.* PL. Used preferentially on [+HUM] nouns, though examples where the suffix is used on [-HUM] nouns can be elicited. Can be reduplicated, in which case it is read as 'all sorts of'. Not used on kinship terms. *See: -raa.*
- la'akafu** *va.* in the future.
- la'ane'** *vd?* various. Used to mark plurality with [-HUM] referents.
- laantera** *n.* torch. *From:* Portuguese lanterna 'lantern, torch'.
- Laapo** *n.* name of the Makalero trickster figure.
- la'ar** *n.* time. **La'ar muni-muni ni-mata-isi-muni'**. (She) kissed her child repeatedly.
- lafaek** *n.* crocodile. The crocodile is taboo; note the taboo expression fi-dada 'our grandparent'. *See: dada.* *From:* Tetum lafaek 'crocodile'.
- lafi** *n.* side. Inalienable. **Ani hai ata-lafi-isi-ume-mit.** I am sitting next to the fire. **Ki-ina ki=lafi hai pa'uk.** He is blind in one eye.
- lafi'** *vd.* beside. *Reduced form: lafi-*. Note that the reduced form lafi- is formally identical to the noun lafi 'side'. *See: lafi. Uata-fun isi-lopu-lafi'*. A coconut palm is next to our house. **lopu k-ue-la'a lafi-la'a uere** the houses around (it)
- Lafidebar** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- lafu** *n.* life.
lafu-lafu traditions, customs.
amulafu (living) person.
- lafu'** *vd.* *Variant: lafuh.* live. *Pairs: riu-riu.*
lafu-lafu' life, ideals, aspirations, traditions, customs, history. *See: lafu.*
- Laga** *n.* *Variant: Laka.* a toponym. A city and subdistrict within the Baucau district.
- Lahane** *n.* a toponym. An urban district of the capital Dili.
- la'i** *vd.* open (mouth).
- laidaa** *n.* aged woman. Possibly related to la'it 'old'. *See: la'it.*
- laik** *n.* basket holding unspun fibres. In handspinning, the cotton fibre to be spun is held in a small basket with an opening at the bottom through which the fibres to be spun are drawn out.
- laik** *vd.* sow, plant.
ki-piti laik plant flowers on the grave. Traditionally performed one week after the burial. *See: piti.*
- lailai** *vd.* perform a lailai burial song. Followed by dele songs. *See: dele.*
- lailaik** *n.* small machete.
- lain** *vd.* dizzy, unconscious. Used with fanu 'face' as a subject. *See: fanu.*

- laipun** *n.* back (of the body).
- la'it** *vd.* old. With animate referents.
Pairs: **nete**.
- Laiuai** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- lak** *vd.* afternoon. Constructed with *mu'a* 'ground' as a subject. *See:* **mu'a**.
- laki** *vd.* turn over earth, plough. Using a stick or rod. *Pairs:* **dei**.
- laku** *vd.* be in effect, sell well. *From:* Indonesian laku 'in effect, sell well'.
- lakulaku** *vd.* half ripe (coconuts).
- Lakuloo** *n.* a toponym. In the corpus, Lakuloo appears to be used to refer to the Fataluku-speaking area. This is at odds with the location of the Laclo (or Laculo) subdistrict in the Manatuto district.
- lala'** *vd.* boil (water).
- lalaka** *n.* spider.
- lale** *vd.* wind (yarn) around the length of one's forearm.
- lalehan** *n.* sky, heaven. *From:* Tetum lalehan 'sky'.
- Laleno** *n.* a toponym. A mountain in the Lautém district.
- lalun** *n.* provisions, supplies.
- lamalama** *vd.* small, be in small pieces.
- lana** *vd.* go out (?).
(k)-afa-lana hide in the forest like a guerilla. *Lit:* 'go out and away'.
- langsung** *va?* *Variant:* **lansun**. directly. *From:* Indonesian langsung 'direct, straight, immediately'.
- lapa** *n.* cockroach.
- lapan** *vd.* burn.
- lapilapi** *vd.* repeat (?).
- lapizeira** *n.* ballpoint pen. *From:* Portuguese lapiseira 'mechanical pencil'.
- lapis** *n.* pencil. The stress shift is notable. *From:* Portuguese lapis 'pencil'.
- Lapulai** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- lara** *vd.* perform a lara song. A kind of work song that might be sung during work in the field.
- Lari** *n.* Makasae-speaking area. *See:* **Lero**.
- lari** *vd.* aslant, crooked.
- Larikua** *n.* a toponym.
- larin** *n.* mountain, island, slope, side.
Ini larin=ee-ika-la'a. We went up the mountain. **omar-larin** slope of the house roof **Ki-lopu hai nomo asi-lopu ki-larin k-ata-nat.** His house is no longer beside my house.
- Larisula** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Bagaia subdistrict of the Baucau district. *Pairs:* **Iliomar** (?).
- larupik** *n.* millipede. The element *pik* is presumably the same as *pik* 'bitter'. *See:* **pik**.
- lasi** *vd.* cut. Using a sword or a big knife.
- latu** *n.* k.o. succulent plant.
- lauan** *n.* precious metal, money, k.o. earrings. Refers to a type of earrings that makes part of the traditional bride price. In this sense, lauan is normally used with the classifier *ripu*. *See:* **ripu**.
- lauan kalah** gold. *See:* **kalah**.
- lauan putir** silver. *See:* **putir**.
- lauan-lepen** large gold disk worn on the chest. *See:* **lefen**.
- Lauateri** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Bagaia subdistrict of Baucau district.
- laun** *vd.* talk, converse.

- le'** *vd.* Variant: **leh.** read. *From:* Portuguese ler, Tetum lee 'read'.
- ledo** *vd.* set up the loom.
- leetana'** *vd.* in the middle, among. *Reduced form:* **leetana-**. **Dili Loospalos k-ou-la'a vila Manatutu=ni leetana'**. Going from Dili to Lospalos, the city of Manatuto is situated in the middle.
- lefen** *n.* Variant: **lepen.** disk, sole, palm. Inalienable. The nature of the [f]/[p] variation is unclear; it could perhaps be regional.
- ia-lefen** sole. *See:* **ia.**
- tana-lefen** palm. *See:* **tana.**
- lauan-lefen** large gold disk worn on the chest. *See:* **lauan.**
- Leiloor** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- leka** *vd.* bald.
- leki** *n.* flat bamboo panel. Produced by opening up a length of bamboo and flattening it. Used for walls or as surfaces for beds, seats etc.
- Lekur** *n.* a toponym.
- lele'** *vd.* outside. *Reduced form:* **le-**. The vowel of the reduced form is lengthened.
- leleer** *vd.* tremble. **Asi-adan tepa leleer.** My heart was trembling (I was very worried).
- lelen** *vd.* calm down.
- lema'** *vd.* Variant: **lemah.** sweet. *See:* **fani.**
- kasi lema'** sugar. *See:* **kasi.**
- lensol** *n.* Variant: **leensol.** bed sheet, blanket. *From:* Portuguese lençol 'bed sheet'.
- Leorai** *n.* a toponym. According to the village chief of Ailebere, Leorai is the old name of Ailebere. *See:* **Ailebere.**
- lepa** *n.* Variant: **lepa' (?)**. middle of the body.
- lepuh** *vd.* hungry.
- lepuh-uru** hunger season. The months of the year before the main harvest is ready.
- Lero** *n.* Makalero-speaking area. *See:* **Lari.**
- leru'** *vd.* lie down flat.
- lesa** *vd.* not exist. **Fi pada lesa.** We don't have friends. May be used figuratively as 'be poor'. *Pairs:* **na'an.**
- lesu** *vd.* open up.
- let** *vd.* summon to a ceremony. Found only with hi'a 'way, road' functioning as its object. *See:* **hi'a. ... ki-ni ki-upa ma'u=ni hi'a let...** ... his parents came to summon (me) to a ceremony...
- lete** *vd?* between.
- leteroo** *n.* large sack.
- leto-** *vd.* through. ... **apadan leto-se'el.** ... jump through the window. **tufuraa nosa.siniora seti-felun** a girl prettier than the Holy Virgin Found only as a dependent verb in complement-verb complexes. Expresses comparative with stative verbs.
- leu** *vd.* call.
- masu leu** sing. *See:* **masu.**
- le'u** *vd.* encircle. *From:* Tetum le'u 'encircle, roll up, fence in'.
- leuk** *vd.* drill a hole into (?), perforate.
- le'uk** *vd.* stir uncooked rice in a flat basket in order to pick out dirt and stones.
- le'ur** *vd.* black. Le'ur is used in the corpus to refer to someone's skin turning black in an unnatural way. It is unclear how le'ur relates to the much more

- frequent metan 'black'. *See: metan.*
- liah** *n.* wing. Inalienable.
- asa-liah** wing (of a bird). *See: asa.*
- li'an** *vd.* fall. The noun expressing the goal of the movement can be expressed either directly in the verb's complement position, or within a verbal complement. **Asi-ni la'a=ni ueir-li'an.** My mother went and fell into the river. **Ani ueir-mutu-li'an.** I fell into the river.
- ki-ha'aucin li'an** replace, substitute.
- ki-nei li'an** pay a tax. *See: nei.*
- liar** *vd.* perceive. *Pairs: puna.*
- lidu** *vd.* separate cotton fibres from the seeds using a cotton gin.
- lih** *n.* slave, servant.
- liistrik** *n.* electricity. *From: Indonesian listrik 'electricity'.*
- liitru** *n.* litre. **jerikeen=ua liitru lima** a jerrycan that (holds) five litres *From: Portuguese litro 'litre'.*
- likadora** *n.* encirclement (?). Used only in conjunction with *militár*, as *likadora militar*, to mean encirclement (?). *See: militár.* *From: Portuguese ligadura 'band, bandage, ligation'.*
- likut** *vd.* chase (away).
- lili** *vd.* grab.
- lilin** *n.* candle. *From: Indonesian lilin 'candle', Tetum lilin 'wax'.*
- lilipaka** *n.* butterfly.
- lima** *vd.* five.
- lina** *n.* line. **Dila ki=roual=ini hai na'u lina-diar...** The many frogs sit lined up... *From: Portuguese linha 'line'.*
- liri** *vd.* add a small amount.
- liu** *vd.* stagnant (water). *Pairs: mu'a.*
- (ira) liu** lake. **Kiloo hai ira liu-mutu-la'a.** He went into the lake. *See: ha'a.*
- liur** *vd.* add water.
- liurai** *n.* king, local leader. *See: dai.* *From: Tetum liurai 'king'.*
- Liusoru** *n.* a clan name. *Pairs: Dolomara.*
- livre** *vd.* free. *From: Portuguese, Tetum livre 'free'.*
- livru** *n.* book. *Variant: libru; liburu.* *From: Portuguese livro, Tetum livru, libru 'book'.* *See: surat; buku.*
- lode** *n.* bag.
- lo'e** *vd.* excoriate, take (skin / bark) off. ... **la'a=ni k-asu ate-uli lo'e.** ... (we) go to gather bark for it.
- lofo** *n.* enclosure. Mainly an enclosure to keep pigs in, but may also be used to denote a patch of garden. *Pairs: dana.*
- lo'i** *n.* k.o. basket. A type of round basket, woven with little pimples on the underside that function as feet; generally include a lid. Alike to *poka*, although larger in size. *See: poka.*
- loka** *vd.* pack, wrap up.
- lokata** *va?* all (?), most (?). The meaning and use of *lokata* are unclear.
- loke** *vd.* open. *From: Tetum loke 'open'.*
- loko** *vd.* lie. As opposed to *neok*, *loko* does not take an undergoer. *See: neok; puripuri; pa'uk; fasa'.* **loko pa'uk** *lier Lit: 'lie bad'.* **loko fasa'** *lier Lit: 'lie dirt'.* Both phrases were given to render the agent noun.
- lola** *vd?* tall. *Asan* 'long' is normally used. *See: asan.*

- lolitu** *vd.* three [-HUM]. *Reduced form: itu. itu-he'e* in three days *See: itu.*
- lolo** *vd.* say, speak. The complement clause extension to lolo may be introduced either with a clause linker or with the complementiser =ee. *See: =ee.*
- k-ia-lolo** flatter, persuade. *See: (k-)ia'.*
- lolo-ini** word, words. *See: -ini.*
- masu lolo** sing. *See: masu.*
- loloi** *vd.* *Variant: lolei.* two [-HUM]. *Reduced form: ei. ei-he'e* in two days *See: meih.*
- lolon** *n.* corn cob.
- lolor** *vd.* straight, right, right up to, true. *Reduced form: lolo-. Mata ka'u ate popok=ee hai k-ua-lolo-la'a.* The child goes straight up on that rotten tree trunk. **Kiloo hai lolo-ue-nat.** He stands upright.
- lolu** *n.* eagle.
- lolu'** *vd.* praise.
- lo'o** *n.* readiness (?). Only found in the phrase *ni-lo'o kini* 'getting ready to'. **Sefar=ee na'a-muni hai ni-lo'o kini hai ufe-se'el=afa.** The dog in turn is getting ready to jump down there.
- lo'on** *n.* sky.
lo'on-fatil lightening. *Lit: 'sky-gun'.* *See: fatil.*
- Loopupul** *n.* a clan name.
- Loorasa** *n.* a clan name.
- Loore** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Lospalos subdistrict of the Lautém district.
- lopolopor** *vd.* continue, non-stop.
- lopu** *n.* house. Lopu refers to a house that stands on the ground, rather than on stilts. *See: omar.*
- lopu falun** church. The Portuguese loan *igreja* is commonly used. *See: falun; igreja.*
- Lopuleetana** *n.* a toponym. *Lit: 'presumably lopu 'house' + leetana 'in the middle'.* Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- Lopuofar** *n.* a toponym. *Lit: 'presumably lopu 'house' + hofar 'new'.* Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- lor** *vd.* fly.
- ira-lor** swim. *Lit: 'water-fly; sea-fly'.* *See: ira; meti.*
- lor** *vd.* heavy. Used to describe heavy rainfall only. **ae lor** heavy rain *See: peran.*
- lori** *vd.* carry. **Fi mata mei lafi-k-afu seran mei lafi-lori.** We carried our children on one side and our possessions on the other. *See: (k-)afu.* *From: Tetum lori 'carry'.*
- lori** *vd.* flow.
- Loromonu** *n.* western part of East Timor. *From: Tetum loromonu 'west'.*
- los** *n.* beater. In a backstrap loom, a piece of wood that is used to push the weft yarn into place.
- losan** *vd.* empty, naked. *Reduced form: losa-. Putil=ee hai losan.* The bottle was already empty. **Fi-nana tufuraa un=ini na'u losan=ini ni uaro'.** A sister of ours was showering, naked.
- losir** *n.* side of the body.
- Lospalos** *n.* *Variant: Loospalos; Loospala.* a toponym. Capital of the Lautém district. Its official name is Lospalos, though Fataluku speakers use the form Loospala.
- lou** *n.* cuscus, phalanger orientalis.
- lu'** *vd.* put (a child) to bed.

- lu'a** *n.* monkey.
lu'a *vd.* not get.
luan *n.* stable, pen. **ara-luan** buffalo pen *See: arapau.*
Luanira *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
luar *n.* abroad, overseas. *From:* Indonesian luar 'outside, beyond'.
Luarai Amaha *n.* a toponym.
lue *n.* ash, lime that is chewed with betelnut.
lue-lue grey.
lue-teur dust. *See: teur.*
lue-uru August. According to speakers, this refers to plants withering and looking grey. *See: uru.*
lu'e *vd.* cut. Using a knife.
lu'ihisu *vd.* purple. Segmentation unclear.
- lukidara** *vd.* crawl, creep. Segmentation unclear.
luma *vd.* tame.
lumek *vd.* healthy, good.
lumur *vd.* sign up, register.
Luruboitafa *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
Luruira *n.* a clan name.
lutu *vd.* very old, ancient. **Lu'a lutu pere uere=ni hai ma'u ue'**. This great old monkey appeared there.
Lutupere *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
lutur *n.* stone wall delimiting gardens or fields. *Pairs: setur.*
lu'un *n.* heddle stick. Part of the backstrap loom.

M - m

- Ma'adarira** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
ma'akini *vd.* wrongly think. *See: =kini.*
Ma'aleuet *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
madar *vd.* teach (?). Only found with the reflexive pronoun ni in ni madar 'study'.
ma'en *vd.* know, clever. **Ani ki-nei nomo ma'en**. I don't know his name. **Abilio fransés ki-loloini ma'en**. [*Note: Abilio knows (speaks) French.*]
maibé *conj.* but. *From:* Tetum maibé 'but'.
mainatu *n?* cook? Occurs only once in the corpus in conjunction with kozineiru and may be used as a lexical parallel to it. Its segmentation and / or origin are unclear. *See: kozineiru.*
maiória *n.* majority. *From:* Portuguese maioria 'majority'.
=mais *clit.* but. **Ki-tufur oko nomo ma'en=mais ude'=ini ma'u**. His sister didn't know yet but came from up there. *From:* Portuguese mas, Tetum mais 'but'.
maka *vd.* tired. *Pairs: kole.* *From:* Tetum maka 'limp, be tired'.
maka' *vd.* firm, stick to. *From:* Tetum maka'as 'strong' (?).

- Makalero** *n.* Makalero. According to one speaker, the element *maka* conforms to *maka* 'firm' and the element *lero* is taken from the name of the founding ancestor Ililero Laualero. The whole is meant to signify a people that is headstrong and independent. *See: maka'; Lero.*
- makulesu** *vd.* hiccup. Segmentation unclear.
- malai** *n.* foreigner. **Ani na'u tepa malai ko-horu fuli-sirvisu.** I kept working together with the foreigners. *From: Tetum malae 'foreign'.*
- malar** *vd.* broad. ... **ei-isi-ne'et=ta malar...** ... so that your mind is broad (steady)...
- male'** *vd.* near. *Reduced form: male-. Isi-lopu ere iskola-omar male'.* Our house was near the school building.
- maledeer** *vd.* early (in the morning). Constructed with *mu'a* 'ground' as a subject.
- mali** *n.* brother-in-law, sister-in-law. As a kinship terms, *mali* takes the plural marker *-raa*; however, the plural form was sometimes heard as *malidaa* rather than *maliraa*; this phenomenon also occurred with *nana* 'elder sibling' and *fanaraa* 'young woman'. *See: -raa; nana; fanaraa.*
- mali omara** brother/sister-in-law from the wife-giver side. *See: omara.*
- mali tuumata** brother/sister-in-law from the wife-taker side.
- malisaan** *n.* predestination. Segmentation or source unclear.
- malária** *n.* malaria. Speakers used *ka'ar oruru* (lit. cold shake) in an attempt to avoid the Portugese loan *malária*. *See: ka'ar.* *From: Portuguese malária 'malaria'.*
- malu** *n.* betelnut. **malu nua** chew betel *See: nua.*
- malu-hasa** betel leaves. *See: hasa.*
- malu-poka** small basket to store betel leaves. *See: poka.*
- Maluhira** *n.* a clan name.
- mama** *n.* mum. *See: ni; ina.*
- mana** *n.* hole. **Motór hai mana-mutu-faut.** The motorbike went into a (pot)hole.
- ha'a-mana** oral cavity. *See: ha'a.*
- kui-kui-mana** window. Was produced in an attempt to avoid the common Portuguese loan *janela*. The meaning of the element *kui-kui* is unclear.
- manan** *vd.* win, succeed, pass (a test), graduate from. *From: Tetum manan 'win'.*
- Manatutu** *n.* a toponym. Capital of the Manatuto district.
- mandatu** *n.* mandate. *From: Portuguese mandato 'mandate'.*
- mani** *n.* nape (of the neck). **mani-patan** neck-stem Referring to the long neck of a deer. *See: patan.*
- Manifuru** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs: Hi'ima.*
- manimani** *vd.* stick out (tongue). **Kiloo dila mata k-asu ni-ifil manimani.** He sticks out his tongue at the small frog.
- manini** *vd.* give to me. *See: -ini.*
- Manir** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- mar** *n.* k.o. bamboo.
- mara** *vd.* go. Expresses a movement away from the deictic centre, with the goal generally known

but not expressed. With the clause linker =ini, mara is in the process of grammaticalising into a marker of sequentiality. The same development is found with la'a 'move' and with ma'u 'come'.
See: =ini; la'a; ma'u.

mari' *vd.* scream.

Maromak *n.* God. *See: uru.* *From:* Tetum Maromak 'God'.

masa *n.* plastic (?).

masa-ra'u plastic plate. *See: ra'u.*

masan *vd.* scared. **Kiloo**

toutou=ee masan. He is scared of the owl. *Pairs: aka'.*

masu *n.* throat, voice, song. In its sense as a body part term, masu is inalienable. *See: aran; ia; tana.*

masu huma *sing.* *See: huma.*

masu leu *sing.* *See: leu.*

masu lolo *sing.* *See: lolo.*

masu-isu stanza. *See: isu.*

masu-pata chorus, refrain. *See: pata.*

masukoro *n.* neck, front of the neck. The meaning of the element -koro is unclear. *See: masu.*

masukoro ki-pu'i adam's apple. *See: pu'i.*

masupatur *n.* something, whatsit. Segmentation unclear.

Masupatur ira mutu ufe'... There is something (some kind of animal) in the water...

mata *n.* child, the young of a species. Inalienable. Has a special plural marker -niki. Mata ka'u 'small child' appears to be lexicalising such that it does not necessarily refer to a small child, and is in fact used once for a girl of marriageable age. *See: -niki; ka'u.*

mata irani daughter-in-law. The meaning of the element irani is unclear.

mata namiraa boy, son. *See: namiraa.*

mata tufuraa girl, daughter. *See: tufuraa; tufur.*

mata' *vd.* salty. *See: me'ese.*

mataroos *n.* servant, employee. The long vowel of the last syllable suggests roos is interpreted as a separate morpheme. *See: mata.* *From:* Tetum matros 'shop assistant, employee'.

Matebian *n.* *Variant: Matebia.* a toponym. Mount Matebian is the third highest mountain in East Timor with a height of 2,316m. It was one of the centres of the Falintil resistance against the Indonesian army.

matebian *n.* soul, dead person. *From:* Tetum matebian 'soul of a dead person'.

matenek *vd.* clever, smart. *From:* Tetum matenek 'clever'.

mater-raadina *n.* March. Mater was translated as 'k.o. tree (redwood?)' and raadina as 'pile of worm excrements'. Neither word is attested on its own in the corpus.

matu *n.* sweet yam, ipomoea batatas (?). *See: same.*

matu-isar *n.* July. Refers to the time when the sweet yams come up. *See: matu; isa; -r.*

ma'u *vd.* come. Refers to a movement towards the deictic centre. With the clause linker =ini, ma'u is in the process of grammaticalising into a marker of sequentiality. The same development is found with la'a 'move' and with mara 'go'. *See: =ini; la'a; mara.*

- maubere** *n.* Timorese man. Originally a denomination for the Mambai people, the term was adopted by the resistance movement to refer to the population of East Timor as a whole. *See:* **puipere**.
- Mauberu** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- me'e** *vd.* able, can. Associated with acquired abilities. Can be constructed either with a complement clause extension or as a verbal complement to a superordinate verb. *See:* **hul**.
- meedai** *n.* wheat (?).
- me'en** *vd.* exert oneself. **Ani=ni na'u tepa k-utu-nat k-utu-me'en uai=konai=ni lopu=oo e'...** I kept standing up and making an effort, such that the houses are (still) here...
- me'ese** *vd.* salty. *See:* **mata'**.
- meestri** *n.* teacher. *From:* Portuguese *mestre* 'teacher, master', Tetum *mestre* 'teacher'.
- mei** *vd.* take. Mei is very frequent as a light verb in constructions involving a mismatch between semantic and syntactic argument structure.
- ta mei** get married. *Lit:* 'take each other'. *See:* **ta**.
- meih** *vd.* two [+HUM]. *See:* **lolei**.
- meini** *vd.* give to you (sg). *See:* **-ini**.
- meiudia** *va?* midday, noon. *From:* Portuguese *meio-dia* 'midday'.
- meja** *n.* *Variant:* **meza**. table. *From:* Portuguese *mesa*, Indonesian *meja*, Tetum *meza* 'table'.
- meke'** *vd.* *Variant:* **mekeh**. break up, divide. *Reduced form:* **meke-**.
- meli** *vd.* scavenge.
- mensajen** *n.* *Variant:* **mensazen**. message. *From:* Portuguese *mensagem* 'message'.
- mera'** *vd.* sharp.
- merkadu** *n.* market. *From:* Portuguese *mercado*, Tetum *merkadu* 'market'.
- metan** *vd.* black. *See:* **le'ur**. *From:* Tetum *metan* 'black'.
- meti** *n.* sea.
- meti nami** sea to the south of Timor, south. *Lit:* 'male sea'. *See:* **nami**.
- meti tufur** sea to the north of Timor, north. *Lit:* 'female sea'. *See:* **tufur**.
- meti-afi-la'a** go abroad. *See:* **(k-)afi-; la'a**.
- meti lafi'** be abroad. *See:* **lafi'; luar**.
- metur** *n.* meter, tape measure. *From:* Portuguese *metro* 'meter'.
- mi'** *vd.* along, following the length of. *Reduced form:* **mi-**. **Meestri ue-kerek-ini=ni taure-fani' ani uere' me'e mi-kerek**. Whatever the teacher wrote there, I could write along. **Fenu=ee hai k-ua-dula=na'a=po kilooraa hai mi-mi-li'a-lia'n**. Having caught up with the turtle, they turned it over (on its back).
- miini** *vd.* give to you (pl). *See:* **-ini**.
- militár** *n.* military, soldiers. *From:* Portuguese *militar* 'military'.
- mina** *n.* oil. *From:* Tetum *mina*, Indonesian *minyak* 'oil'.
- mina-sarani** chrism. *See:* **sarani**.
- mini** *n.* **murikai**. nose. ... **kiloo ki-mini hai afa-kapar**. ... scratched his nose.
- mini-mana** nostril. *See:* **mana**.
- mini ki-namu** nasal hair. *See:* **namu**.

- mini ufur** have a cold. Mini ufur is generally constructed as a clause, with mini as the subject and ufur as the predicate. *See: ufur.*
- mini** *vd.* follow. **Laapo uere ni'isi na'u tepa mini.** Laapo kept following that one. **Uere' ki-mini...** Following that / after that...
- miniistru** *n.* minister. *From:* Portuguese ministro 'minister'.
- minina** *n.* miss, young lady. *From:* Portuguese menina 'girl, young woman'.
- minini** *vd.* give to us (excl). *See: -ini.*
- misa** *vd.* go up, climb. **Aira lolitu hau-sai' muni rei-misa.** After three years, (she) came up and out (from under the earth). **Ki-isit=ee hai k-ua-misa.** His sickness got worse.
- ira misa** expensive. Ira misa can either be constructed as a full clause, where ira functions as the subject and misa as the predicate, or as a phrasal predicate. *See: ira.*
- mit** *vd.* sit (SG). Obligatory used with a complement expressing location. *Pl: diar.*
- mobail** *n.* mobile phone. 'call from a mobile phone' if used as a predicate. *From:* English mobile 'mobile phone'.
- modo** *n.* vegetable. *From:* Tetum modo 'vegetable'.
- moko** *n.* Fataluku speaker. *From:* Fataluku moko 'child'.
- molu** *vd.* disappear, be lost.
- momoh** *vd.* sweat.
- moru** *vd.* sing a moru song to someone. Moru songs are a means of addressing and solving social issues such as family disagreements. Moru singing may take place at funerals, when the clan is gathered and develop out of dele or lailai singing. *See: dele; lailai. Nukuh-nukuh fuli-la'a ta moru.* The clans gather to sing moru songs to each other.
- mosa'** *n.* witch-doctor, healer.
- mosal** *vd.* swallow.
- moso** *vd.* *Variant: mosor.* blue, green. The use of the two forms is unclear. The form without the final -r is much more frequent.
- mot** *vd.* be located, lie (on). **Savi=ee meja=ua ue' mot.** The key is on the table there. **Lapiseira ere mei=ni meja-ua-ue-mot.** Put the pen on the table. *See: taru.*
- ni mot** dare. **Iraku-laa ni hau mot=ini fi nasaun ere-isi-ma'u.** They dared coming to our country.
- rau-mot** correct, improve.
- motór** *n.* motorbike.
- mu'a** *n.* ground, country. **mu'a Timor mutu'** in Timor **mu'a maledeer** early in the morning Used as the subject of many weather and time of day verbs. *Pairs: liu. See: are'; hare'; lak; kamu; maledeer; osa; pare; ruru.*
- mu'a-ena** be married (men). *See: ena; sa; nami.*
- mu'a-isa** go down (to the ground), be born. *See: isa; uala.*
- mu'a** *n.* language. **Ni-asu isi-mu'a mei lolo...** Take our language for herself and speak it...
- mu'aini** *vd.* give to who. *See: -ini.*
- mu'ani** *pron.* who. *Bound form: mu'a.* The bound form of the interrogative pronoun is used attributively to both verbs and

nouns (i.e. as an undergoer or as a possessor). Very rarely, a form *umani* is used, which was characterised as a regional variant and in fact conforms to the Fataluku pronoun for 'who'.
See: umani.

Muarai *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

muda *vd.* change. *From:* Portuguese *mudar* 'change'.

Muenira *n.* a clan name.

mu'it *va.* a long time from now, long ago. *Reduced form: mu'i-*.

mu'i-mu'it not long after.

mumu' *n.* iron.

Mumun *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

muni *vd.* return. Can function as a verb-phrase internal adverbial.

muni' *vd.* *Variant: munih.* smell, kiss. The undergoer is always constructed in a verbal complement with *isi-*. *See: isi'*. **Ani ni-nana-isi-muni'**. I kissed my elder brother.

munu *n.* k.o. short grass. *See: fereh.*

murimuri *vd.* play. The undergoer is expressed in a verbal complement with *isi-*. *See: isi'*. **Murimuri ere=ni!** Just kidding!
Mata-niki bola-isi-murimuri. The children are playing with a ball.

mus *vd.* suck.

musil *vd.* climb up.

musumusuk *n.* candy. *See: ropesadu.*

mutu *n.* inside. Used frequently as the subject or within a phrasal predicate to express emotional states. *See: hare'*; **heke**; **isit**; **ra'i**. **Asi-mutu hai heke.** I am angry. **Dila ere hai mutu heke.** The frog is angry.

mutu' *vd.* be inside. *Reduced form: mutu-*.

mu'u *n.* banana.

mu'ul *n.* ant.

muundu *n.* world. *From:* Portuguese *mundo*, Tetum *mundu(-raiklaran)* 'world'.

muusila *n.* bag.

muuta'u *n.* taro.

N - n

na *vd.* NEG.EX (negative existential). Used only in conjunction with *oko*; otherwise *na'an* is used. *See: oko*. **Kiloo tone' kulia hai hai'=uai oko na?** Has he finished his studies yet or not?

na' *n.* k.o. basket. Carried with a headstrap.

na'a *n.* work.

na'a-mei work.

na'a *vd?* alone (?). **na'a-dafa** stab oneself **na'a-lasi** cut oneself

na'a-na'a one by one, each. ... **ni-ni ni-upa-raa k-asu usupadu u na'a-na'a due.** ... he lit a candle each for his mothers and his fathers.

=na'a *clit.* INT (intentional). *Metathesised form: =ana*. **Ni-sa meih=ini isa=ni ama ena=na'a.** (He and) his wife went down there intending to look after their

- garden. Marks an intention or a future.
- na'a-muni** *va?* in turn, on the other hand. Used in the introduction of a new event, generally contrasting its topic with a previously mentioned topic.
- na'an** *vd.* Variant: **nahan**. NEG.EX (negative existential).
- =na'apo** *clit.* afterwards.
Metathesised form: **=anapo**. ...
hau nua=na'apo mata-niki hai lolo... ... after (they) had eaten, the children said... A combination of the clause-level clitics =na'a and =po which originally combined their intentional and adversative meanings, but is grammaticalising into a marker of sequence. *See:* **=na'a**; **=po**.
- naik** *vd.* go up. Used in the context of passing from one grade to the next. *See:* **pasa**. *From:* Indonesian **naik** 'climb'.
- naikini** *va?* be the main issue, as long as . **Fi hala-mutu'=isi naikini lafu'=afta rau**. We are in a war, so the main thing is that we survive / as long as we survive, it's ok.
- na'ilou** *n.* queen, lady.
- nainai-** *vd.* slow.
- nak** *vd.* roll, turn, rotate.
- nala** *n.* cheek.
- nama'** *vd.* upwards, higher up.
Reduced form: **nama-**.
- nami** *n.* male, man, husband. **asa nami** rooster *See:* **asa**.
- nami-ena** be married (for women).
See: **ena**; **mu'a**; **sa**.
- namiraa** *n.* man.
- namora** *va.* have an affair, go out (with someone). 'boyfriend / girlfriend' if used as an argument.
- namu** *n.* body hair. Inalienable.
nu-namu moustache. *See:* **nunu**.
- nana** *n.* large snake. *See:* **ofo**.
- nana** *n.* elder sibling. As a kinship term, nana is marked for plurality with the suffix -raa. Nana-raa is often heard as nanadaa or nandaa, although speakers rejected this form in elicitation. A similar phenomenon is found with fanaraa and mali. *See:* **-raa**; **fanaraa**; **mali**.
- nanu** *n.* great-great-grandparent, great-great-grandchild. *Pairs:* **hoden**.
- napiroonu** *n.* tablecloth. Source or segmentation unclear.
- nasaun** *n.* country, nation. *From:* Portuguese **nação**, Tetum **nasaun** 'nation'.
- naser** *vd.* stand (PL). *See:* **nat**.
- nat** *vd.* stand (SG). Constructed with an obligatory complement specifying location. *Pl:* **naser**. **Ate=ini ue-nat**. A tree stands there. **ei=ni asi-nei k-ia-nat...** it was you who was named after me...
=nata *clit.* CTF.COND (counterfactual conditional). *Metathesised form:* **=anta**, **=anata**. Associated with counterfactual conditions rather than real ones. Often read as 'for example' or 'such as'. **Uere=ini uai=n=anta Muenira, Naunira...** These (the clans of Iliomar) are for example Muenira, Naunira...
- Natal** *n.* Christmas. *From:* Portuguese, Indonesian **Natal** 'Christmas'.
- na'u** *va?* just. Very common as a verb-phrase internal adverbial.
- nauk** *n.* cotton fibres.

- Nauniil** *n.* a toponym. A mountain in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- Naunira** *n.* a clan name.
- Na'utetu** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Baucau district (?). *Pairs:* **Porupai**.
- ne-** *vd.* at (?). Only found with *puna* 'watch'. Possibly a shortened form of *nese-* 'aim at'?
- ne-puna** *watch, look after.* *See:* **puna; nese'**.
- ne'et** *vd.* think, remember. The undergoer or theme is always constructed in a verbal complement, either with *isi-*, *nese-*, *(k)-ata-*, *mi-* etc. The combination with *isi-* is most unmarked and partly lexicalised, as seen by the fact that it is nominalised as a unit. May be constructed with a complement clause extension with the complementiser =*ee*. *See:* **isi'**; **nese'**; **(k)-ata'**; **mi'**. **Asi-isi-ne'et ka'u-ka'u hai kua-kuar.** My mind was a bit calmer. **Ani tone mei=ni rau-rau mi-ne'et=ete uai=te'e=si ani tone lolo.** I will think it through thoroughly and then I will tell more.
- neh** *vd.* breathe.
- nei** *n.* name. Inalienable.
ki-nei li'an pay a tax. **Isi-upa-raa ere patak ru lolitu mei=ni ni-nei li'an...** Our fathers took thirty pataks to pay their taxes... *See:* **li'an**.
- nem** *n.* mark (as in school). Origin unclear. *See:* **nilai**.
- nene'** *vd.* *Variant:* **neneh**. hot.
- neok** *vd.* lie, deceive. May take both an undergoer (addressee) as well as a complement clause extension. The latter is generally introduced with the clause linker =*ini*. *See:* =**ini**; **loko**; **puripuri**. **Kiloo ani neok=ini ani=kini la'a=ni kooperasi hein=ana.** He lied to me, (saying) I was going to go and wait for a cooperation (to be opened).
- ner** *n.* honeycomb (?).
- nese'** *vd.* be in the middle, aim at, hit. *Reduced form:* **nese-**. **Tentara kiloo hai nese-suri.** The soldiers shot at him and hit him. **Ani ni-papa na'u tepa nese-ne'et.** I keep thinking about / remembering my father.
- nese-la'a** *find.* *See:* **la'a**.
- nese-puna** *see, find.* *See:* **puna**.
- nesen** *vd.* show.
- nete** *vd.* old [+HUM]. *Pairs:* **la'it**.
- ni** *pron.* REFL (reflexive). Indicates coreference with subject.
- ni** *n.* mother. Inalienable. Not used as a term of address. *See:* **ina**.
- ni-** *poss.pron.* REFL:POSS- (reflexive possessive). Indicates coreference with subject.
- ni-** *pref.* NEG (negative). Found with *rian* 'big', *ropa* 'many', *pada* 'of one kind', *sa'ul* 'come down' and *(k)-uri-* 'hidden' to denote the opposite, i.e. 'small', 'little', 'not just like that', 'grown up' and 'openly, on purpose'. *See:* **rian**; **ropa'**; **(k)-uri-**; **pada**.
- ni'e** *vd.* laugh (BD). *See:* **hi'e**.
- nih** *n.* gums.
- niirit** *vd.* startled.
- ni'isi** *va?* simultaneous.
- niki** *suff.* PL (plural). Used only with *mata* 'child'. May be reduplicated and used in conjunction with the *-laa* plural. *See:* **mata**.

- nikiniki** *vd.* drizzle. **Ae nikiniki.** It is drizzling.
- nilai** *n.* mark. As in school. *See:* **nem.** *From:* Indonesian nilai 'price, worth, mark'.
- nilu** *vd.* forget. Obligatorily takes a verbal complement. The undergoer or theme is always constructed in a verbal complement with *isi-*. *See:* **isi'**. **Ani tone' ei nomo isi-nilu.** I will not forget you.
- nini** *vd.* do (BD). *See:* **kini.**
- ninu** *n.* k.o. tree, noni, morinda citrifolia.
- nirik** *vd.* small, tiny.
- no** *n.* layer, limit, past. Used as a classifier for *meti* 'sea'. *Pairs:* **rapin.** **Kiloo meti no fitu k-afi'=ini ma'u...** He came from beyond seven seas... **Rata no-isi' rapin-isi'** Stories about the old days
- no-uatu** season.
- no** *n.* pocket, side pocket. **lode-no** side pocket of a bag Inalienable. *See:* **lode.**
- no** *conj.* and. Used very rarely. *From:* Tetum *no* 'and'.
- noko** *n.* younger sibling.
- nokonoko** *vd.* mad, crazy.
- nokor** *vd.* ripe (?). Used for maize; possibly the lexical parallel of *pala'*. *See:* **pala'**.
- nomo** *part.* NEG (negation). **Nomo sa'a u.** It's okay. It's nothing. No problem.
- nomo ho'o** never. **Ini nomo ho'o ta-isi-la'a.** We never go to visit one another.
- nomohaka** *va?* CLS.NEG (clausal negation). **Nomohaka ani lopu teuh=e' tule uai=po asi-osan nomo isi-ria'**. It's not the case that I don't want to buy a house, but I don't have enough money.
- nomor** *n.* *Variant:* **númeru.** number. *From:* Indonesian nomor 'number', Portuguese número 'number'.
- nonton** *vd.* *Variant:* **noonton.** watch. *From:* Indonesian *menonton* 'watch'.
- nopa'e** *vd.* cannot. Can be constructed either with a following complement clause extension, or as a verbal complement within a superordinate clause. **Kiloo nopa'e le'.** He cannot read. **Fi ueir e' ere nopa'e teri.** We cannot cross the river here.
- noronoro** *vd.* angry, upset.
- nosa siniora** *n.* Blessed Virgin. *From:* Portuguese Nossa Senhora 'Blessed Virgin'.
- nour** *vd.* call in (a loan) from.
- nua** *vd.* eat.
- nua-ini** food. *See:* **-ini.**
- nua-nua** food.
- nuak** *n.* village, clan. *See:* **nukuh.**
- nuarai** *vd.* carry on one's back.
- nu'at** *vd.* be startled. Obligatorily constructed with a verbal complement with *isi-*, which may contain the theme or cause of the astonishment. *See:* **isi'**. **Doutor uere uere'-isi-nu'at...** The doctor was startled by it...
- nukuh** *n.* clan. *See:* **nuak.**
- numu** *vd.* enormous, huge. *Pairs:* **rian.**
- numu** *vd.* die (BD). *See:* **umu.**
- nun** *n.* cloud.
- nun-teur** fog.
- nunu** *n.* lip. *Reduced form:* **nu-**.
- nunu-hasa** cheek (?). *See:* **hasa.**
- nu-namu** moustache. *See:* **namu.**
- nunuur** *n.* *Variant:* **nuunuur.** k.o. flute with four holes.

-nuta *vd.* fall (rain). *See:* **uta**.

Nutupupul *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

O - o

o *conj / clit.* *Variant:* **ou**; **=o**; **=ou**. or. *From:* Portuguese *ou* 'or'. [Note: Port]

objektivu *n.* aim, goal, objective.

obriga *vd.* force, oblige. *See:* **fatar**. *From:* Portuguese *obrigar* 'force, oblige'.

obrigadu *n.* thanks. **Ani k-asu obrigadu roual mei=ni kini**. I give him many thanks. *From:* Portuguese *obrigado* 'thank you'.

odaha *n.* brangle.

odamata *n.* door. *See:* **aihaa**. *From:* Tetum *odamatan* 'door'.

odi *vd.* *Variant:* **ode**. hate, resent. The undergoer can be constructed either with (k)-*asu* 'for' or with *ena* 'see'. *From:* Portuguese *odiar*, Tetum *odi* 'hate'. **Asi-pada-laa ani-asu ode**. My friends resented me. **Fi-pada fi ena odi**. Our friends hate us.

ofarana *vd.* dream.

ofo *n.* k.o. snake. *See:* **nana**.

oko *va.* yet. Used as a verb-phrase internal adverbial. Particularly frequent with the negator *nomo* in the sense of 'not yet'. Note that a special negative existential, *na*, is used with *oko* only. *See:* **na. Asi-iskola oko nomo hai**'. My schooling is not finished yet.

ókulu *n.* glasses. *From:* Portuguese *óculos*, Tetum *ókulu* 'glasses'.

omar *n.* stilt house. *Reduced form:* **oma-**. *Pairs:* **lopu**; **du**.

omaraha *n.* wife-givers, family of the bride. *Pairs:* **tuumata**.

omaraha-tuumata traditions, customs.

Omarsa'e *n.* a toponym. *Lit:* 'omar 'stilt house' + *sa'e* 'hair, leader' (?). Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).

omu *vd.* ball up (yarn).

=oo *clit.* too. Used on both NP level and on clause level. On clause level, it is generally read as concessive. If attached to interrogative clauses or sentences, it is interpreted as an indefinite expression (e.g. wherever, everywhere, whatever, everything etc.). **Asa hil=oo ue' sikir=oo ue' daansa=oo ue'**. There were cockfights and also *sikir* dancing and also dancing. **Ani malária=oo ani fatar=ini la'a ata haka**. Even when I had malaria, (they) forced me to go and find firewood.

oololo *vd.* howl.

opa *va?* be (precisely) the same. **Ki-ni ki-pura=ee opa mei ma'u**. (They) brought the same dowry as her mother (had had).

Opanuur *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Uanri**; **Tunir**.

- opera** *vd.* operate. *From:* Portuguese operar 'operate'.
- oras** *n.* hour. **Papa oras loloi tia...** The Indonesian slept for two hours... *From:* Portuguese hora 'hour', Tetum oras 'hour, time'.
- orasaun** *n.* prayer. **Ani na'u tepa sinu pase, orasaun kini.** I keep sounding the bell and praying. *From:* Portuguese oração 'prayer'.
- orde** *n.* *Variant:* **oorde.** official information. Given orally; the population gathers and the information is read out or proclaimed. **Iliomar satu-isi-la'a orde uali'...** (They) went to Iliomar I to hear the official information... *From:* Portuguese ordem 'order, directive'.
- ore** *vd.* foam.
- oro'** *n.* spear. *See:* **fel.**
- oruoru** *vd.* shiver, tremble.
- osa** *vd.* be light, noon. Can be constructed with either mu'a 'ground' or uatu 'day' as a subject. *See:* **mu'a;** **uatu.** **Kiloo mu'a kamu mu'a osa ue'=ini ki-surat ue-dai-mara ena-ena...** At night and during the day, he kept looking at their papers...
- osakada** *n.* grasshopper. Segmentation unclear.
- osamale** *n?* future. Probably made up of osa 'light part of the day' and male' 'near', thus denoting a near future. *See:* **osa;** **male'.**
- osan** *n.* money. *From:* Tetum osan 'money'.
- osar** *n.* traditional pharmacy (?).
- oso** *n.* casuarina tree.
- Osu** *n.* a toponym. Capital of the Ossu subdistrict in the Viqueque district.
- Osuhira** *n.* a toponym. An alternative name for Pusira. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict. *See:* **Pusira.**
- ot** *vd.* cough.
- otu** *vd.* fetch (water), carry. *See:* **(k)-otu.**
- ou-** *vd.* towards. *See:* **(k)-ou-**.
- ouar** *n.* **dada.** master. Inalienable. **ama-ouar** farmer. *Lit:* 'garden-master'. *See:* **ama.**
- ou-pu'u** *n.* storage area above the living quarters in a stilt house. *See:* **pu'u.**
- ouru** *n.* diamond. In a deck of cards. Portuguese ouros 'diamonds (in a deck of cards)'.

P - p

- =p-** *clit.* PURP- (purposive). Is cliticised to the preceding clause or the clausal pro-form uai and additionally combined with a vowel-initial personal pronoun. **Fana-nini ho'o ue' ani-asu asar=ini ma'u uai=p-ani ualih.** (If you) have some teaching, send it to me so that I can hear it.
- paadiu** *vd.* idle, useless.
- paakin** *n.* parent-in-law, son-in-law. If pluralised, the final -n is lost, and the plural suffix -raa attached to the remaining root paaki, yielding paaki-raa.

- paaldi** *n.* Variant: **paalde**. bucket. *See:* **ember**. *From:* Portuguese balde 'bucket'.
- pa'amutu'** *n.* k.o. disease. Segmentation unclear. mutu' could be 'inside'. *See:* **mutu'**.
- pa'an** *n.* gorge, ravine. *See:* **toil**.
- pa'anate** *n.* design for weaving patterns on paper. Segmentation unclear.
- paandera** *n.* flag. *From:* Portuguese bandeira, Indonesian bendera 'flag'.
- paandera heil** Sunday. *Lit:* 'pull (up the) flag'. *See:* **heil**.
- paanku** *n.* Variant: **banku**. bench, stool. *From:* Indonesian: bangku 'bench', Portuguese banco 'seat', Tetum banku 'bench'.
- paardufu** *n.* widow. Inalienable. Counts as a kinship term and is thus pluralised with the suffix -raa. *See:* **-raa**.
- paarenda** *n.* verandah. *From:* Portuguese varanda, Indonesian beranda 'verandah'.
- paata** *n.* men's tais sarong. Worn at weddings.
- pada** *n.* friend, individual of same social status. Possibly better translated as 'one of the same kind' (see pada se', ni-pada). *Pairs:* **raku**.
- pada se'** different, unique. **Tenki suku ere ki-nei pada se-se'**. The names of the villages had to be different.
- ni-pada** not one of this kind, not just like that. **Ei=ni ani mei pa'uk-ini=si uai=konai=ni ani tia uai ani ni-pada tia**. It was you who hurt me so that I was sleeping (lying), I wasn't sleeping just like that. *See:* **ni-**.
- pada** *vd.* order, tell (to do something). Can take both a complement clause extension (usually introduced with a clitic clause linker) and an undergoer object.
- padaen** *n.* expert. *See:* **badaen**.
- pai** *n.* pig.
- pai** *n.* parent's younger sibling (?).
- paimatu** aunt, uncle. The element -matu is unclear. The term appears to be used interchangeably with the Portuguese loan tia 'aunt'. A song mentions an apparently parallel term hi'amatu, which, however, occurs nowhere else in the corpus and was not explained. *See:* **tia**; **tiu**.
- Paidubudubur** *n.* a toponym.
- Paidur** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- Paifaka** *n.* a toponym. A river located in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- paimina** *vd.* become oil-like. Mina translates as 'oil'; the meaning of the element pai- is unclear. *See:* **mina**.
- pak** *n.* cargo area of a truck, cargo bed. *From:* Indonesian bak 'box, tub'.
- pakufila** *vd.* overturn. Segmentation unclear.
- pala'** *vd.* half ripe.
- nokor pala'** half ripe. Used for maize. The meaning of the element nokor is not quite clear.
- palamera** *n.* Red Cross. *From:* Indonesian Palang Merah 'Red Cross'.
- palek** *vd.* stick to. **Ani surat-hasa mei=ni ate-ata-palek**. I glued a picture (paper) on the wood.

- Panaira** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Pusira**.
- pane** *vd.* wash. For hands, clothes etc, but not the whole body, for which uaro' is used. *See:* **uaro'**. **Asi-ropa hau pane!** Wash my clothes!
- paneme** *vd?* right, It is unclear how paneme relates to tanen 'right side'. *See:* **tanen**.
- pani'** *vd.* *Variant:* **panih**. be like, resemble. *See:* **fani'**.
- papa** *n.* father, daddy. **ini=ua aire'=ua dada u popa u k-isi'=ini...** we who are descended from one grandfather and one father... *Pairs:* **dada**. *See:* **upa**.
- papa** *n.* Indonesian man. Occasionally, the short form pa' may be used (mainly as a term of address). *From:* Indonesian bapak, pak 'father; respectful term of address for elder men'.
- para** *vd.* stop. **Ani iskola la'a=ni lepa-para**. I broke off schooling halfway through. *From:* Portuguese parar, Tetum para 'stop'.
- para** *conj.* so that. **Isi-sa'e-laa uere la'ane' mei=ni rau-rau resolve para ei-ni ei-upa ki-aka'=taa irau ue'**. Our leaders have to solve these things well so that our parents don't need to be afraid. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum para 'for, so that'.
- pare** *vd.* dry season, hot. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as the subject. *See:* **mu'a**.
- paril** *n.* barrel. *See:* **baril**.
- parlake** *n.* dowry. *See:* **barlake**.
- parlamentu** *n.* parliament. *From:* Portuguese parlamento 'parliament'.
- paru** *n.* dregs. ... **ki-mina ni'isi mei=ni se-di' ki-mina-paru=ee ni'isi mei=ni se'**. ... pour the oil separately and separate the dregs (from it).
- paruh** *n.* female bird, hen. **asa paruh** hen *See:* **asa**.
- pas** *va?* precisely. *From:* Indonesian pas 'fit, exact'.
- pas** *n.* be peaceful, make peace. **Ani so'ot=ee fi meih=ini ma'u=ni pas dame..** I want the two of us to make peace... *Pairs:* **dame**. *From:* Portuguese paz, Tetum pás 'peace'.
- pasa** *vd.* pass (by). Used in the context of passing from one grade to the next. *See:* **naik**. *From:* Portuguese passar 'pass (by)'.
- pasak** *n.* k.o. tree, eurycoma longifolia (?).
- pasal** *vd.* slap, smack. **Ki-sa ni-inapisi k-eta-pasal**. His wife slapped her forehead. **Aira rihun u rasa siua ru afo resi-fat hai la'a ru afo resi-lima-mutu-pasal=afa**. It was the year 1984 and 1985 was coming up.
- pasaporte** *n.* passport. *From:* Portuguese passaporte 'passport'.
- pasar** *n.* market, week. **Oko nomo pasar u...** Before a week was over... *From:* Indonesian pasar 'market'.
- pase** *vd.* hit, beat. **Mu'ani ei pase?** Who beat you? **Ani uatu rai kamunei na'u tepa sinu pase...** At night and at noon, I keep striking the bell...
- pasia** *n.* washbasin. *From:* Portuguese bacia 'basin, bowl'.

- pasiensia** *n.* patience. *From:* Portuguese paciência 'patience'.
- pasik** *vd.* throw down (?).
- pasta** *n.* *Variant:* **paasta**. bag. *From:* Portuguese pasta 'briefcase, folder, file'.
- pasun** *n.* sheath.
- pata** *n.* essence, main part.
masu-pata chorus, refrain. *See:* **masu**.
- pataaka** *n.* pataca. Timorese currency during the colonial period from 1894 to 1959, after which it was replaced by the escudo. *See:* **iskudu**.
- patan** *n.* fallen tree, log. **ate-patan** fallen tree Inalienable. *See:* **ate**.
- pati** *vd.* divide from, separate. **Ini ta pati**. We part (from one another).
- pa'uk** *vd.* bad, ugly. **Ani isi-ne'et ma'akini tufuraa ki=pa'uk ho'o**. I thought (you were) some bad woman. The use of pa'uk is characterised as somewhat unrefined, and nomo rau 'not good' and nomo felun 'not nice' are considered more polite. *See:* **rau; felun**.
- pa'uk-ini** destroy. **Ei=ni ai mei pa'uk-ini=si ani-uta...** It was you who destroyed and killed me... *See:* **-ini**.
- paun** *vd.* many [-HUM].
- paun** *vd.* tear out.
ama paun work in (the) garden. *Pairs:* **pure**. *See:* **ama**.
- paus** *n.* clubs. In a deck of cards. *From:* Portuguese paus 'clubs (in a deck of cards)'.
- peesta** *n.* party. *See:* **feesta**.
- peik** *vd.* stupid. *See:* **beik**.
- peitasa** *n.* k.o. ilex (?). Is distributed in churches on Palm Sunday. Peitasa is presumably segmentable into an element peit and hasa 'leaf'. *See:* **hasa**.
- pel** *vd.* lean on. **Ani hir-ata-pel**. I lean against the wall.
- pel** *vd.* wash (floor) with a mop. *From:* Indonesian kain pel 'mop'.
- penu** *vd.* full. Not generally used for the feeling of being full, where heul is used (though penu has been found in this context, too). **Diki-ate hai penu=fata fi hau omu**. If the yarn stick is full, we ball (the yarn) up. *From:* Indonesian penuh 'full'.
- pepes** *n.* shed rod. In a backstrap loom, the piece of wood that is used to separate the upper and the lower warp yarns.
- peran** *vd.* heavy (rain). *See:* **lor**.
- perdaun** *n.* *Variant:* **peerdaun**. pardon, forgiveness. *From:* Portuguese perdão 'pardon, forgiveness'.
- pere** *vd.* big (SG). *Pl:* **helar**.
tu-pere first-born, ancestor, leader. **Tu-selar ere mi-puna renufuku Iliomar ere hai hau rial**. The ancestors saw that the population of Iliomar had increased. *Pl:* **tu-selar**.
- peri'** *vd.* hot. Obligatorily constructed with isi' as a verbal complement. Can also be used in the sense of 'spicy'.
- periksa** *vd.* check, inspect. *See:* **cek**. *From:* Indonesian periksa 'investigate, inspect'.
- persiza** *vd.* need, necessary. *From:* Portuguese precisar 'need'.
- pertama** *vd?* *Variant:* **peertama**. first. *See:* **tu**. *From:* Indonesian pertama 'first'.

- Perunas** *n.* a toponym. An urban district of East Timor's capital Dili.
- Perut** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- pesan** *n.* message. *From:* Indonesian pesan 'message'.
- petel** *vd.* hard, firm, harsh. **Asi lolo-ini koto hau petel...** My words are maybe very harsh... *Pairs:* **saman (?)**.
- petun** *n.* k.o. bamboo.
- piak** *vd.* winnow rice in a flat basket. Throwing it up sightly. *See:* **sosok**.
- pik** *vd.* bitter, poisonous.
ate-hasa (ki=)pik poison. *See:* **ate; hasa**.
- pili** *vd.* wounded.
- pilipilis** *vd.* tiny. Always found in combination with ka'u 'small'. *See:* **ka'u. Sefar=ee ka'u pilipilis...** The dog is tiny...
- pipi** *n.* goat. *From:* Tetum bibi 'goat'.
pipi-ueri young mango. *Lit:* 'goat anus'. *See:* **ueri**.
- pipi-rusa** *n.* deer. *From:* Tetum bibi rusa 'deer'.
- piris** *n.* saucer, small plate. *From:* Portuguese pires 'saucer'.
- pit** *vd.* fast, hurry.
ina pi-pit careful.
- piti** *n.* mat.
ki-piti laik plant flowers on the grave. Traditionally performed one week after the burial. *See:* **laik**.
- planu** *n.* plan. *From:* Portuguese plano 'plan'.
- po'** *vd.* go up, climb. *Reduced form:* **po-**. Found only with ki-mani as an object. The reduced form is furthermore found as a verbal complement only with pase 'beat'. *See:* **pase. ... sefar=ee mara=ni mata ka'u ki-mani po'...** The dog climbs on the child's neck (shoulder)... **... sefar uere ki-mani po-pase...** ... (they) hit the dog on the neck (killing it)...
- =po** *clit.* ADVR (adversative), but. =po, despite its vowel being short, has its own stress.
Nomohaka asi-noko ki-upa=hi'a=po ni'isi asi-upa. (You are) not just my sister's father, but also my father.
- podo** *vd.* stingy, miserly.
- podupodu** *vd.* cut up.
- poi** *vd.* k.o. dance. The dancers, both men and women, put their arms over each other's shoulders and sing.
- pok** *vd.* resurrect, rise from the dead.
Fi-hoden fi-nanu ki-rate uere teni pok teni tane... Our ancestors rise from their graves... *Pairs:* **tane**.
- pok** *n.* pebble. **meti-pok** beach pebble
- poka** *n.* k.o. basket. A small basket with a lid and little pimples at the bottom to serve as feet. Used to hold tobacco etc. Similar to lo'i, but smaller. *See:* **lo'i**.
- Pokapoka** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Ualaleki**.
- poki** *n.* spindle whorl.
- poko** *vd.* squat, crouch. **Ki-sefar=ee uar=ee k-ia-ufe-poko.** His dog is crouching at the foot of the rock.
- pola** *n.* ball. *See:* **bola**.
- polo** *vd.* hide.
- polís** *n.* *Variant:* **polisi**. police, policeman. *From:* Indonesian polisi, Portuguese polícia, Tetum polisia 'police'.

- po'or** *vd.* cook, boil.
- poornaal** *n.* flour sack. *From:* Tetum bornál 'soft bag'.
- popok** *vd.* *Variant:* **popo**. rotten, putrid. The form popo looks like a reduced form of popok; however, its distribution is different from regular reduced forms, which occur as verbal complements only. **Mata ka'u ate popok=ee hai k-ua-lolo-la'a**. The child goes on top of that rotten tree. **Ate-isu ere hai haka-hau popo**. These fruits are all rotten.
- popusaun** *n.* village, commune. *From:* Portuguese povoação 'small town'.
- por** *vd.* tie up. 'snare' if used as an argument. **Ki-noko-raa kiloo mei=ni ue-por...** His younger siblings tied him up there... **Asi-nana por heil=ini asa paruh u nami un=ini kene**. My brother set up a snare and a hen and a cock were caught in it.
- pora** *vd.* roll, wind. ... **Lerenene uere pora=ni kafu=ni mu'a-ia-la'a**. (She) rolled herself around Lerenene and carried him under the earth.
- porgante** *n.* purgative. *From:* Portuguese purgante 'purgative'.
- portantu** *va?* *Variant:* **tantu**. thus, hence, therefore. Found in the speech of very few lusified individuals only.
- portu** *va.* *Variant:* **poortu**. during the Portuguese colonial era.
- Portugal** *n.* Portugal.
- portugés** *n.* Portuguese.
- Porupai** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Baucau district (?). *Pairs:* Na'utetu.
- potil** *n.* *Variant:* **putil**. bottle. *From:* Indonesian botol, Tetum botil 'bottle'.
- potok** *vd.* thud, impact.
- pouk** *vd.* shave.
- poul** *vd.* blunt.
- po'ur** *vd.* fat. 'fat, grease' if used as an argument.
- povu** *n.* people, population. *From:* Portuguese povo 'people'.
- prima** *n.* (female) cousin. *From:* Portuguese prima '(female) cousin'.
- primeiru** *vd.* first. *From:* Portuguese primeiro 'first'.
- problema** *n.* *Variant:* **problema**. problem. *From:* Portuguese problema 'problem'.
- prontu** *vd.* ready, done. *From:* Portuguese pronto 'finished, ready'.
- pu'al** *vd.* come loose.
- pue** *n.* areca.
- pu'i** *n.* joint.
masukoro ki-pu'i adam's apple.
- puipere** *n.* Timorese woman. *See:* maubere.
- Pukakesi** *n.* a clan name.
- puku** *n.* book. *See:* buku.
- puna** *vd.* look at. **Kilooraa dos=ee-mutu-puna**. They look into the box.
ne-puna look at. Ne- is only found in ne-puna 'look at'. *Pairs:* liar. *See:* ne-.
mi-puna look through, look at (from a distance).
- Punakosi** *n.* a clan name.
- pupul** *n.* centre. Inalienable.
- pupur** *n.* hill.
- pura** *vd.* sell, trade. 'bride price' (inalienable) if used as an argument. **Ani hai la'a=ni dosi pura-pura**. I went to sell cookies.

- ki-pura kini** pay the bride price (for). **La'a=ni asan-isi' sa-ena tenki ki-pura kini.** (Even) if one goes and gets married far away, one has to pay the bride price.
- pure** *vd.* cultivate, produce, acquire. Most often used with *ira* 'paddy' as an object. *Pairs:* **paun.** *See:* **ira. Iraku ni-asu ki-pipi pure=ini la'a...** He took his goats for himself and went... **Amuni ira pure ma'en...** People who know how to cultivate a rice field...
- puripuri** *vd.* lie. **Ii haka hau puripuri!** You are all lying! *See:* **loko; neok.**
- purke** *conj.* because. **Ini-asu sinaal u ue' purke udere' isi-mu'a...** There was a sign (omen) for us, because that up there is our land... *From:* Portuguese porque 'because'.
- purur** *n.* chicken louse.
- Pusaulu** *n.* a clan name.
- pusi** *n.* pan, container. **Fi ira ka'u-ka'u mei=ni pusi-isi'.** We put a bit of water in the pan.
- atu-pusi** belly. *Lit:* 'faeces-container'. **Asi-atu-pusi hai isit.** My belly hurts. *See:* **atu.**
- Pusira** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict. Also referred to as Osuhira. *Pairs:* **Panaira.** *See:* **Osuhira.**
- Putinafa** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- putir** *vd.* *Variant:* **puti.** white. Putir may also be translated as 'surrender'. The use of the short form *puti* is unclear. It is found in the collocations *sa'e puti* 'white hair, old man, leader' and *dai puti* 'foreigner, white person'. *See:* **sa'e; dai.**
- pu'u** *n.* top of the roof of a stilt house. Inalienable.
- pu'u lolo-nat** main supporting pillar for the roof inside a stilt house.
- ou-pu'u** storage area in a stilt house above the living quarters. The element *ou-* is possibly related to (k)-*ou-*. *See:* **(k)-ou-**.
- puulata** *n.* head. **Ki-sapeu mei=ni ki-puulata k-ua'.** (They) put his hat on his head. Segmentation unclear.
- puulata-taka** hat. *Lit:* 'head-close'. Produced by speakers who were trying to avoid the Portuguese loan *sapeu*. *See:* **taka; sapeu.**

R - r

- r** *suff.* PL (plural). Very limited in use; found commonly only with the noun *mata* 'child', and once with *tala* 'branch'. *See:* **mata; tala.**
- r** *suff.* NML (nominaliser). An unproductive nominal formative found in some nominal derivations. *See:* **akor; umu; kamur; ere; uere.**
- raa** *suff.* PL (plural). Restricted to kinship terms. Incompatible with kinship terms which contain the phoneme /r/, which take the plural marker *-laa* instead. *See:* **-laa.**

- raaropa** *va.* *Variant:* **raapa**. often, usually. The element -ropa is cognate to the quantifier ropa' 'many'; the origin of the element raa- is unclear. **Ani raaropa=ee ni-nami k-asu tina-ini...** I often cook for my husband...
- rai** *vd.* night, evening. Constructed with uatu 'day' as its subject. *See:* **uatu**. **Uatu rai uere' nua=ni tia**. At night, we ate that and slept.
- raine'** last night.
- ra'i** *vd.* dirty, rotten.
- mutu ra'i** badhearted. *See:* **mutu**.
- raka** *n.* digit. Inalienable. *See:* **ia; tana**.
- rakan** *vd.* fumigate, smoke.
- rakitán** *n.* home-made weapon. *From:* Indonesian rakitan 'assembly'.
- raku** *n.* friend, individual of same social status. *Pairs:* **pada**.
- rama'** *vd.* *Variant:* **ramah**. press, squeeze, massage. ... **ho'o teni mei=ni ni rama'=ana...** ... (he) took some and was going to massage himself...
- ran** *vd.* ready, prepared. **Tufuraa ki-sera-seran ki-ni ki-upa mei=ni ran-ini...** The girl's things, her parents prepare them...
- ra-ran-ini** decoration.
- rapa** *n.* (wild) animal (?).
- rapi** *n.* women's tais sarong. *See:* **kola**.
- rapi afil** baby sling. The meaning of the element afil is unclear. **Mana hai to'i=ni ani hai mei=ni rapi afil mutu'=ini la'a=ni ani taru=na'a...** Having dug a hole, (they) wrapped me in a cloth and were going to bury me...
- rapin** *n.* past (?). **rata no-isi' rapin-isi'** tales about the old days *Pairs:* **no**.
- rapurapu** *vd.* quick, hurried. **Rapurapu-ini ka'u=te'e nomo rau.** (If you) do it hurriedly, it will be bad. *See:* **rau**.
- rasa** *vd.* hundred.
- rasuh** *vd.* pregnant (?). *See:* **afunasi**.
- rata** *vd.* tell a story. 'story' if used as an argument. **Iliomar ere ki-lolo-ini uatu ere uatu ere mei=ni ta rata ere...** The language of Iliomar that is used everyday to tell each other stories...
- rata'** *vd.* arrive. **Muni ma'u=ni Iliomar-isi-rata'**. Coming back, (I) arrived in Iliomar.
- ere()' ta rata'** until now.
- rate** *n.* grave.
- rau** *vd.* good. **Kilooraa ta ena nomo rau.** They hate each other.
- raunata** possibly. Segmentation unclear; likely rau + an element nat or nata, which could be either nat 'stand' or =nata (CTF.COND). *See:* **nat; =nata**.
- ra'u** *n.* plate.
- raun** *vd.* *Variant:* **rau**. quick, fast. The form rau looks like a reduced form of raun; however, it is not limited to occurring in the complement position of another verb, as expected. **Kiloo surat ere pase=ere tafi tana raun.** He typed the letter very quickly. **Hena ani tone' nomo rau-rau hau kini...** The cloth, I may not (be able) to finish it quickly...
- rebeka** *n.* guitar. Origin unclear.
- refu'** *vd.* spread, widely distributed.

- rei-** *vd.* outwards. **Ani oko nomo mei=ni rei-lolo.** I am not disclosing (it) yet.
- reja** *vd.* pray. *From:* Portuguese rezar 'pray'.
- rekam** *vd.* record. **Iraku ere rekam mei la'a.** She records this and takes it away. *From:* Indonesian 'record'.
- rekasi** *vd.* bomb. Origin unclear.
- relasaun** *n.* relation, relatives. *From:* Portuguese relação 'relation'.
- remet** *vd.* pull, exert.
ni remet exert oneself.
- renu** *n.* population, subject. *From:* Portuguese reino 'kingdom'.
renufuku population. The meaning of the element -fuku is unclear.
- resin** *vd.* remain, be left over. *Reduced form:* **resi-**. *From:* Tetum resin 'more, rest'.
- resiresi** *vd.* play. *See:* **murimuri**.
- respeita** *vd.* *Variant:* **reespeita**. respect. *From:* Portuguese respeitar 'respect'.
- ria'** *vd.* run (SG). *Pl:* **titar. Ho'o uata misa ani k-ia-dai=ni ki-uata k-afu-ria'**. If someone climbed up a coconut tree (and threw down coconuts) and I passed underneath, I ran away with the coconuts.
isi-ria' run up to, enough. **Asi-osan nomo isi-ria'**. I don't have enough money (to buy a house).
- ri'a** *vd.* store, save. **Foto uere ani mei rau-ri'a.** This photo, I will store safely.
- rial** *vd.* many [+HUM]. **Renufuku Iliomar ere hai hau rial.** The population of Iliomar was already very large.
- rian** *vd.* big, many (?). *Reduced form:* **ria-**. *Pairs:* **numu**. *See:* **riapatan**.
- ria-la'a** become big, increase. *Pairs:* **ropa-la'a. Ini aire'e rau-rau amu ka'ar=ini uai=konai=ni hai ria-la'a hai ropa-la'a.** We are healthy now so that we have grown big and increased.
- riapatan** *n.* main road. *See:* **hi'a**.
- riaria** *n.* tent (?). *Pairs:* **tara**.
- riau** *vd.* moderate.
- rifa'** *n.* k.o. tree (?).
- rifirifi** *vd.* boil over. ... **uai=taa irau nama-rifirifi uai=taa irau fi-tana=taa pa'uk=ana.** ... so that it doesn't boil over and hurt our hands.
- rifurifu** *n.* gathering, get-together.
- rihun** *vd.* thousand. *From:* Tetum rihun 'thousand'.
- rika** *vd.* slim.
- riku** *vd.* rich. *From:* Portuguese rico 'rich'.
- ripa-** *vd?* again, return (?). Appears to be equivalent in meaning to muni 'return'. *See:* **muni. Sorit=ini ei hai ripa-ma'u.** Fortunately you came back.
- riparipa** *pron.* any.
- ripu** *n.* pair (?). Used as a classifier for lauan 'k.o. earrings'.
- risikoo** *n.* risk. *From:* Indonesian resiko 'risk'.
- riu** *vd.* move, wiggle, rock. **Fenu=ee uari lafu' uari riu-riu.** The turtle is still alive (and moving). **amulafu riu-riu** a (living) person *Pairs:* **lafu'** (pairs with the reduplicated form riu-riu).
- rokoroko** *vd.* make noise, rustle. **Sura u rokoroko.** A mouse rustled (somewhere).

- ropa** *n.* clothes. *From:* Portuguese roupa, Tetum ropa 'clothes'.
- ropa'** *vd.* many. *Reduced form:* **ropa-**(?).
- ropa-la'a** become many, increase.
- Ini aire' rau-rau amu ka'ar=ini uai=konai=ni hai ria-la'a hai ropa-la'a.** We are healthy now so that we have grown big and have increased. *Pairs:* **ria-la'a.**
- ropesadu** *n.* candy. *See:* **musumusuk.** *From:* Portuguese rebusado, Tetum rebusadu 'sweets, lollies'.
- rou** *vd.* sleep (PL): *Sg:* **tia.** Obligatorily used with a verbal complement. **Amu lima=ni e-rou.** Five people slept here.
- ro'u'** *vd.* *Variant:* **ro'uh.** together. *Reduced form:* **ro'u-**. **Fi ro'u-amulafu.** We are all (fellow) humans. **Povu Ailebere uere' k-ue-ro'u-la'a...** The people of Ailebere went together towards it... *See:* **fuli'**; **dada.**
- ro'u-kini** make angry (?).
- roual** *vd.* many [-HUM].
- roun** *n.* k.o. grass.
- rukut** *vd.* curly (hair).
- ruru** *vd.* thunder. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as a subject. **Mu'a hai ruru.** It is thundering
- ruru** *vd.* ten. As a tendency, ruru is used on its own, while the simplex ru occurs mainly in combinations with other numerals to express multiples of ten. **Asi-valor=ee ruru.** My mark was (a) ten. **ru loloi** twenty **ru lolitu** thirty **rihun u rasa siua ru afo resi-fat** 1,984
- rusu'** *vd.* sing. *See:* **huma**; **kanta.**
- rusuk** *n.* ring.
- rusun** *vd.* tall. It is unclear how rusun relates to asan 'long', which is used much more commonly to refer to a person's height. *See:* **asan.** **Uera-laa meih ere ta rusu-rusun.** The two of them are of the same height.
- rut** *vd.* blow (wind). **Kauar=ee piti=ee mei=ni nama-rut.** The wind blew up the mat.

S - s

- sa** *n.* **tupurae.** wife. Rarely also used to mean 'husband'. *See:* **nami.**
- sa-ena** be married (men). *See:* **ena**; **mu'a**; **nami.**
- sa'a** *n.* thing.
- sa'al** *vd.* fry (BD). *See:* **ha'al.**
- sa'ani** *pron.* what. *Bound form:* **sa'a-**. The bound form of the interrogative pronoun is used attributively to both verbs and
- nouns (i.e. as an undergoer or as a possessor).
- sa'a-fani'** how, why. *See:* **fani'.**
- saapatu** *n.* *Variant:* **sapatu.** shoe. *From:* Portuguese sapato, Indonesian sepatu, Tetum sapatu 'shoe'.
- saban** *n.* *Variant:* **sapan**; **sabun**; **sapaun.** soap. *From:* Portuguese sabao, Indonesian sabun 'soap'.
- sa'e** *n.* hair, leader. May in some instances be translated as head

- (see below). This reading relates to the Makasae cognate dae 'head' and also to the Makalero phrase sa'e puti 'leader, respected old man'. *See: putir.*
Ei-noko=ni=haka hai hau mei=ni ni-sa'e-isi'. Your younger sister took all of (the oil) and put it on her hair.
Umur-sa'e
umur-ueri-isi-diar... (They) sit at the dead person's head (hair) and at his feet (bottom)...
- sa'e-hasa** hair (sg). *See: hasa.*
sa'e-koru lord, sir, respected person. **Amuni ki-hela-helar sa'e-koru ho'o ti'a-mei...** (They) receive some big or respected person...
- ua-sa'e** pillow. presumably a form of (k)-ua' and sa'e 'hair, head'.
- sa'e** *vd.* wear on the head. **Fanaraa-laa meih uere sapeu sa'e.** The two girls are wearing hats.
- sai** *vd.* take (pictures). It is unclear if this is related to sai 'go out' or not. Alternatively, mei 'take' may be used. *See: mei.* **Ani kamera=ua mei=ni=ua foto sai-sai uere heti...** I asked for a camera that (you) take pictures with...
- sai** *vd.* exit. **Ini Lospalos isi'=ini sai ma'u.** We were in Lospalos and left there and came (here). *From: Tetum sai 'go out'.*
- sai'** *vd.* end (BD). *See: hai'.*
- saia** *n.* skirt. *From: Portuguese saia 'skirt'.*
- saka** *n.* branch. Inalienable. **Nomohaka ate ki-saka-saka=ni ue'=po pipi-rusa=ni ue'.** Not branches are there, but a deer.
- saka** *vd.* search (BD). *See: haka.*
- sakar** *n.* May. The word sakar apparently denotes a type of grass with inedible grains, though it was never used in this meaning in the corpus. The use of sakar for 'May' refers to the time when the sakar grains are ripe.
- sala** *vd.* commit an error, make a mistake. *From: Indonesian salah 'fault, mistake, wrong', Tetum sala 'error, sin'.*
- salakadu** *n.* k.o. meat dish.
- saleenda** *n.* cloth worn over the shoulder. *See: selenda.*
- salva** *vd.* save. *From: Portuguese salvar 'save'.*
- saman** *vd.* hard. *Pairs: petel (?).*
- same** *n.* sweet potato, potato. *See: matu.*
- sapeu** *n.* Variant: **saapeu.** hat. *From: Portuguese chapéu, Tetum xapeu 'hat'.*
- sapu** *n.* pomelo, citrus maxima.
tana-ilu-sapu k. o. citrus fruit with thin skin that can be peeled off with one's fingernails. *See: ilu.*
- sapu** *vd.* hunt.
- sapun** *vd.* break to pieces. **Kiloo ni-pusi ni-ra'u=ni hau sapun-pase...** He smashed all his pans and plates to pieces...
- sarani** *vd.* be baptised. *From: Tetum sarani 'Christian, baptise'.*
upa sarani godfather. *See: upa.*
- saren** *n.* filter. *From: Indonesian saring 'filter'.*
saren-ini *vd.* filter.
- sat** *vd.* dry (BD). *See: hat.*
- sauarika** *n.* scorpion. *From: Fataluku savarika 'scorpion' (?).*
- saude** *n.* Variant: **saudi.** health. *From: Portuguese saúde 'health'.*
- sa'uk** *vd.* hop, jump.

- sa'ul** *vd.* down, on the ground. **Asa oko-na mu'a-sa'ul.** The chickens haven't come down to the ground yet.
- ni-sa'ul** big, grown up. *See:* **ni-**.
- save** *n.* *Variant:* **savi.** key. *From:* Portuguese chave, Tetum xave 'key'.
- SD** *n.* primary school. SD is short for sekolah dasar 'base school'. It is followed in the Indonesian education system by SMP and SMA. *See:* **SMP; SMA.** *From:* Indonesian SD 'primary school'.
- se** *va?* very. Found only as a verbphrase internal adverbial. **Ki-isa se hare'**. He is very happy.
- se'** *vd.* *Variant:* **seh.** alone, by oneself, separately. *Reduced form:* **se-**. **Ani sotemee se-dina.** I cook separately (for myself). **Ini aire' se-se'.** We live each separately now.
- se'** *n.* chin.
- sede** *n.* jurisdiction, sphere. *From:* Portuguese sede 'seat'.
- sedik** *vd.* wear. Only found in the phrase utur sedik 'wear a tais'. *See:* **utur.**
- see** *conj.* if. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum se 'if'.
- se'el** *vd.* jump (BD). *See:* **he'el.**
- Seenda** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- Seenira** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Hoonira.**
- Seerasa** *n.* a toponym.
- sefar** *n.* dog.
sefar kal click one's tongue. The meaning of kal is unclear.
- sefi** *n.* boss, chief, superior. *From:* Portuguese chefe 'boss, superior'.
- sefi suku** village head, village chief.
- sefi aldeia** village head, village chief.
- segredu** *n.* *Variant:* **segeredu.** secret. *From:* Portuguese segredo 'secret'.
- se'i** *vd.* cut with a small knife (BD). *See:* **he'i.**
- seil** *vd.* pull (BD). *See:* **heil.**
- sein** *vd.* wait (BD). *See:* **hein.**
- seka-** *vd.* astride, astraddle. **Kiloo hama ki-tala uere k-ua-seka-mit.** He sits astride on the branch of the ficus benjamina.
- seke** *vd.* difficult (BD). *See:* **heke.**
- seku** *vd.* pound. *See:* **tafa.**
- selar** *vd.* big (PL) (BD). *See:* **helar.**
- sela'u** *n.* jaw.
- selau-** *vd.* go somewhere quickly (?). **Ei huma' Hi'ima Manifuru selau-la'a!** (May) your soul be off to Hi'ima Manifuru!
- selenda** *n.* *Variant:* **saleenda.** cloth worn over the shoulder. *From:* Indonesian selendang 'cloth or stole worn over the head or the shoulder'.
- selu** *vd.* other. Most often used as a nominal modifier with the attributive marker ki=. *See:* **haale. Fi ira ki=selu teni na'a-muni mei isi'.** We put different water in it. *From:* Tetum seluk 'other'.
- seman** *vd.* bring. *See:* **heman.**
- seminarista** *n.* student at a seminary school. *From:* Portuguese seminarista 'seminarist'.
- sen** *n.* *Variant:* **sen malai.** pineapple. The addition of malai 'foreigner' to sen marks the pineapple as an introduced species and suggests that sen originally had a meaning other than pineapple.

- senseta** *vd.* *Variant:* **seenseta**. yellow. Origin unknown. It is unclear how *senseta* relates to the more frequent *kalah*.
- seti** *vd.* *Variant:* **seenti**. feel. **Ani ni senti ka'u-ka'u rau**. I felt a bit better. *From:* Portuguese *sentir*, Tetum *sente* 'feel'.
- sentimu** *n.* centimeter.
- sepoostu** *n.* *Variant:* **seepoostu**. subdistrict head. Source unclear.
- sepududu** *n.* watermelon. Segmentation unclear. *Dudu* could be 'breast'?
- seran** *n.* things, goods.
- Seriafa** *n.* a toponym.
- serikeen** *n.* jerrycan. *See:* **jerikeen**.
- seru** *vd.* miss narrowly.
- sesar** *vd.* throw away, dump.
- seta** *vd.* ripe. Found with bananas, mangoes and papayas. *See:* **amu'**; **titil**.
- seta'** *vd.* blind. *Ina-mana* 'eye socket' is used as *seta's* subject. However, this expression is characterised as rather rude; *ina pa'uk* 'eye bad' is more polite. *See:* **ina**; **pa'uk**. **ina-mana seta** blind
- seti** *vd.* pass, miss. **Fi la'a=ni Paifaka ueir seti-la'a...** We cross the Paifaka river... **Amulafu rata uere seti-lolo ki-konsekuensia uere nomo mu'i-lafu'**. If someone tells this story wrongly, as a consequence he will not live long. [*Note:* pass = not hit, miss/ Is used to form comparatives with state verbs. As an argument, *seti* is read as 'mistake, sin'. **Kiloo ani seti-forit**. He is stronger than me.
- seti-seti** error, sin.
- seti-nini** err, commit a sin.
- seti** *vd.* ask (BD). *See:* **heti**.
- setur** *n.* fence made from wood or bamboo. *Pairs:* **lutur**.
- seur** *n.* meat.
- sia** *vd.* rub, brush. **Ani ni-uasi hau sia**. I brushed my teeth.
- sia-sia** eraser.
- si'ak** *vd.* fierce, vicious, angry.
- sidadi** *n.* big city. *From:* Portuguese *cidade*, Tetum *sidade* 'city'.
- sidar** *vd.* elongated, drawn out.
- sifa'** *vd.* catch (BD). *See:* **hifa'**.
- sigaar** *n.* *Variant:* **sikaar**. cigarette.
- sigunda** *n.* *Variant:* **siguunda**. Monday. *From:* Portuguese *segunda-feira*, Tetum *segunda* 'Monday'.
- sigunda lina** *n.* second degree. *From:* Portuguese *segunda* 'second', *linha* 'line'.
- sikir** *vd.* perform a *sikir* dance. A dance for women only.
- sil** *vd.* bind, tie. **sa'e mei fuli-sil** tie (one's) hair
- simkar** *n.* SIM card.
- simu** *vd.* receive. **Amulafu nomo ania-tia-simu**. No-one received (employed) me.
- sin** *va?* *Variant:* **sim**. yes. *From:* Tetum *sin*, Portuguese *sim* 'yes'.
- sina** *n.* k.o. mantis (?).
- sina** *n.* China, Chinese.
- sinelus** *n.* flip-flop, slipper. *From:* Portuguese *chinelos* 'slipper'.
- sinora** *n.* lady. *From:* Portuguese *senhora* 'mrs., lady'.
- sinu** *n.* bell. *From:* Portuguese *sino*, Tetum *sinu* 'bell'.
- sirvisu** *vd.* *Variant:* **sirivisu**; **sirbisu**; **siribisu**. work. *From:* Portuguese *serviço* 'employment, office, service, work', Tetum *serbisu* 'work'.

- sirvidoor** *n.* *Variant:* **sirbidoor**.
worker, farmer.
- sisu'** *vd.* point at.
- situasaun** *n.* situation,
circumstance. *From:* Portuguese
situação 'situation'.
- siu** *vd.* step. **Ani hi'un hai
k-a'a-siu.** I stepped on a thorn.
- siua** *vd.* **siwa**. nine.
- SMA** *n.* senior high school. SMA
stands for sekolah menengah
atas 'high middle school'. It is
preceded in the Indonesian
education system by SD and
SMP. *See:* **SD**; **SMP**. *From:*
Indonesian SMA 'senior high
school'.
- SMP** *n.* junior high school. SMP
stands for sekolah menengah
pertama 'first middle school'.
SMP is preceded in the
Indonesian education system by
SD and followed by SMA. *See:*
SD; **SMA**. *From:* Indonesian
SMP 'junior high school'.
- so** *vd.* insult.
- soen** *vd.* throw down carelessly.
- sofe** *vd.* know (BD). *See:* **hofe**.
- sofit** *vd.* be behind, follow, be late.
Reduced form: **sofi-**. **Ki-sa
ki=sofi-mit ere mata lesa.** His
second wife doesn't have
children.
- sofu** *n.* back, backside, loom
backstrap. Sometimes heard as
sofi. *See:* **sofit**.
- soh** *va.* yesterday. Soh is most
frequently used with the
complementiser =e' as soh=e'. It
can also be combined with raine'
'last night'.
sooraine' last night. *See:* **rai**.
- Soibada** *n.* a toponym. Located in
the Manatuto district.
- soka** *vd.* disguise. **Ki-mata ni-fanu
soka.** His child disguised his
face.
- soko-** *vd.* pound (?). Found only as a
verbal complement to tafa
'pound'. *See:* **tafa**. **Teli
soko-dafa po'or to'=ini
uai=te'e=si fi nua.** We pound,
cook and mix the maize and then
we eat it.
- sole** *vd.* throw down. *See:* **hole**.
- solo** *vd.* implant, embed, impale.
**Ate-furu ue'=isi ki-ueri mei
solo.** There was a stick there,
and (they) impaled his bottom
(on it).
- solteru** *n.* *Variant:* **soolteru**.
single, bachelor. *From:*
Portuguese solteiro 'single'.
- sookorokoro** *vd.* snore.
- so'ot** *vd.* want. Can be constructed
either with an object or with a
complement clause extension.
The latter may be introduced
either with the complementiser,
the clause linker =ini or be
adjoined to the so'ot-clause
without any marking. **Ani se
so'ot=ini uali'**. I would very
much like to hear (it). **Ani
so'ot=ee ki-nua heti.** I want to
ask for food.
- sopen** *vd.* sleepy. Constructed with ina
'eye' as a subject; the experiencer
is the possessor of that subject.
Isi-ina hai sopen. We started
getting sleepy.
- sopun** *vd.* care. **Kiloo ani isi-sopun.** He
cares about me.
- sor** *vd.* protect (BD). *See:* **hor**.
- sorit** *vd.* shave.
- soro** *vd.* mix. **Ani kafé dudu-ira
mei=ni ta soro.** I mix coffee and
milk with one another.

- sorti** *vd?* *Variant:* **soorti**; **soorit**. lucky. *From:* Portuguese sorte 'luck'.
- soru** *vd.* assemble, gather.
- sorut** *vd.* surprised, wonder.
- soso** *n.* stem, trunk, bole. Found only in mu'u-soso 'banana stem'. *See:* **mu'u**.
- sosok** *vd.* winnow rice in a flat basket. Throw the rice up high (as opposed to piak 'winnow', where it is thrown up slightly). *See:* **piak**.
- sotemee** *vd.* alone, self.
- soul** *n.* snail.
- soun** *vd.* plant (BD). *See:* **houn**.
- Soupiti** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Kelipiti**.
- su** *n.* k.o. fish (?).
su-amulafu dolphin (?). *Lit:* 'fish-person'. *See:* **amu**.
- sua** *n.* k.o. tree.
- Suai** *n.* a toponym. Capital of the Cova Lima district.
- suale'u** *n.* k.o. snake.
- suan** *n.* domestic animal.
- suapi** *n.* Timor monitor, *varanus timorensis* (?).
- suar** *vd.* suspect, gossip about. **Iraku-laa ki-isa fi tepa nomo tutu fi mei ume-suar e-suar.** They don't like us and keep saying all kinds of weird things about us.
- sufér** *n.* driver. *See:* **koondotór**. *From:* Portuguese chofer, Tetum xofér, Indonesian supir 'driver'.
- suka** *n.* cigarette.
- sukat** *vd.* add.
- suku** *n.* suco. An administrative unit of east Timor below the subdistrict and above the village (aldeia) level. A city or town usually consists of several sucos. *See:* **aldeia**. *From:* Portuguese suco 'suco', Tetum suku 'suco, village'.
- suku** *vd.* sew. *See:* **fei'**. *From:* Tetum suku 'sew'.
- suma** *vd.* show. The undergoer is obligatorily constructed in a verbal complement, generally with isi-. *See:* **isi'**. **Mosa'=ee k-asu ate-hasa hai isi-suma.** The healer showed him a medication.
- suma** *vd.* order (BD), be angry with (BD). *See:* **huma**.
- sura** *n.* mouse, rat.
- surat** *n.* book, letter, paper. *See:* **buku**; **livru**. *From:* Indonesian surat 'letter'.
- suri** *vd.* release (BD), shoot (BD). *See:* **huri**.
- suruk** *vd.* fall off. **Kareta ki-pak uere=ni na'u mu'a-suruk.** The car's cargo bed fell off to the ground.
- susar** *vd.* sad, difficult, poor. **Aire'e=ua lafu hai susar...** Now that life is difficult... *From:* Tetum susar 'difficult, trouble'.
- susuuk** *n.* mosquito. *From:* Tetum susuk 'mosquito'.
- su'ul** *vd.* young. *Reduced form:* **su'u-**. Often constructed with isa 'condition' as a subject. **Kiloo uari isa su'ul=ini umu.** He died young. **Tenki mata namiraa su'u-numu.** It must be a young boy who dies.

T - t

- ta** *pron.* REC (reciprocal). **Ini ho'onese ta tane-tane.** We used to wake each other up.
- ta mei** get married. *Lit:* 'take each other'. *See:* **mei**.
- ta-** *vd.* near, next to. **Kiloo kadeira heil=ini la'a=ni aihaa ta-nat...** She pulled the chair close to the door...
- ta'a** *vd.* chop (with an axe). 'axe' if used as an argument.
- ta'a** *vd.* count. **Ani lepuh uru=ee ki-ta'a nomo ma'en...** I didn't know how to count (the days) of the hunger season... 'respectively' if used as a verbal complement. **Mara-ni haka-hau ta'a-puna-puna...** He went to check (them) one by one...
- =taa** *clit.* PURP (purposive). **Asi-kuda-isi-hihi uai=taa ma'u.** Call my horse so that it comes.
- Ta'amatu** *n.* a toponym. A river in the Iliomar subdistrict. According to Chamberlain (2008) also a clan name.
- taanda** *n.* sign. **Kiloo ni-sefar k-asu taanda kini.** He signals to his dog. *From:* Indonesian tanda 'sign, signal'.
- tafa** *vd.* pound, prick, prod. *Bound form:* **-dafa. na'a-dafa** stab oneself *See:* **seku; soka; na'a**.
- tafal** *vd.* throw down. *Bound form:* **-dafal. Ki-upa tafi' ere mei mu'a tafal.** His father threw the sago palm to the ground.
- tafan-** *vd.* over, onto. **Iraku ni-upa tafan-irih.** He urinated over his father.
- Tafarira** *n.* a clan name.
- tafi** *va.* true. **Ani tafi hau tasan.** I was really suffering a lot.
- tafi'** *n.* sago palm.
- tafu** *n.* half, piece. **ate-tafu** piece of wood **sigaar-tafu** cigarette butt Inalienable. *See:* **ate; sigaar**.
- tais** *n.* tais, traditional woven cloth. *From:* Tetum tais 'tais'.
- tak** *n.* connection.
- taka** *vd.* close, switch off. *Bound form:* **-daka. Papa aihaa taka.** The Indonesian closed the door. **Kiloo tifi hau taka.** He switched off the TV. *From:* Tetum taka 'close'.
- tala** *n.* piece (?). Used as a classifier with **kapat** 'necklace'. *See:* **kapat**.
- tala** *n.* branch. Apart from **mata** 'child', **tala** is the only noun found to be pluralised with **-r**, rather than with the more common plural suffixes **-laa** and **-raa**. *See:* **mata; -r; -laa; -raa**.
- tali** *n.* string, rope. *From:* Tetum tali 'rope', Indonesian tali 'string, rope'.
- tama** *vd.* go in. **Ani lopu tama.** I go in the house. *From:* Tetum tama 'enter'.
- tamat** *vd.* graduate. **SD hau tamat ani la'a=ni Dili-isi-iskola=na'a.** Having finished primary school, I went to Dili to go to school. *From:* Indonesian **tamat** 'completed, ended'.
- tamba** *conj.* because. *From:* Tetum **tan-ba** 'because'.
- tamedai** *vd.* be the second child. **Asi-nana ki=tamedai hai**

- sa-ena.** My second oldest brother is already married.
- tamu** *vd.* name, call. *Bound form:* **-damu.** **Hau atanana asi-suku Ailebere ki-nei oko nomo mei=ni Ailebere tamu.** At first, my village Ailebere was not called Ailebere yet.
- tana** *n.* hand, arm. Inalienable. *See:* **fah.**
- ata-tana** flame. *See:* **ata.**
- tana-ilu** fingernail. *See:* **ilu.**
- tana-lefen** palm. *See:* **lefen.**
- tana-masu** inside of the elbow. *See:* **masu.**
- tana-pu'i** wrist, elbow. Any joint in the arm. *See:* **pu'i.**
- tana-raka** finger. *See:* **raka.**
- tana-tala** additional finger (birth defect). *See:* **tala.**
- tana-ti'u** elbow. The meaning of the element ti'u is unclear. Also recorded as tana-hi'u.
- tana-torok** lower arm. *See:* **torok.**
- tana** *vd.* burn down.
- tana'u** *vd?* all (?).
- tane** *vd.* waken. **Ini ho'onese ta tane-tane.** We used to wake each other up. *Pair:* **pok.**
- tanen** *n.* right side. It is unclear how tanen relates to paneme 'right'. *See:* **paneme; ueli.** **U=ua asi-tanen k-ua-mit e' ki-nei Pedru.** The one who sits at my right side is called Pedro.
- tantu** *va?* thus, hence, therefore. *See:* **portantu.**
- tapa** *vd.* pass through. **Ani aihaa uere tapa-la'a...** I passed through the (locked) door...
- tapaku** *n.* *Variant:* **taapaku.** tobacco. *From:* Portuguese tabaco, Tetum tabaku 'tobacco'.
- tapaku due** smoke. *See:* **due.**
- tara** *n.* roof. Inalienable. *Pairs:* **riaria (?).**
- tara-bandu** *n.* taboo. *See:* **bandu.**
- taran** *n.* beehive (?).
- tarana** *n.* k.o. bird.
- tarin** *vd.* curse.
- taru** *vd.* put, position. *Bound form:* **-daru.** With a [+HUM] object, it is translated as 'bury'. ... **ni-nana taru=na'a nomo rau.** (She) wanted to bury her brother, but couldn't. *From:* PAN *taRuq 'put, put down'.
- taru** *n.* rattan. **taru-mata** rattan stick (?).
- tasán** *vd.* suffer, poor. **Asi-upa ani-afa-umu ani tafi tasan.** (When) my father died (leaving me behind), I was really poor.
- tasu** *n.* frying pan, wok.
- tata'** *vd.* shake. **Saapatu haka hau isi-tata'.** (He) shakes all the shoes. The undergoer is obligatorily constructed in a verbal complement with isi'. *See:* **isi'.**
- tata-** *vd.* unite, be all together. **Pai uere tone' tata-la'a=ni fitu afo.** Those pigs were about seven or eight all together. **aire' ere tata-la'a** until now
- tata-mara** repair. **Kiloo na'u muni mei tata-mara.** He just repaired (it) again.
- tata-rau** repair.
- tata-puru-puru** quarrel (?). **Tufuraa ma'u ei-famila ena na'u tepa tata-puru-puru na'u tepa ta ena mutu heke...** The woman comes and quarrels with your family and is angry with them... Speakers could not interpret the element puru-puru if asked for it on its own, without tata-.

- tau'** *vd.* where. *Reduced form:* **tau-**. In declarative clauses, tau' is read as an indefinite expression. In such contexts, it is often combined with the clitic =oo 'too'. *See:* =oo. **Ei tau'=ini ere teuh?** Where did you buy this? **Ki-da'al ere tau-tau'=oo ue'**. The shards are scattered everywhere.
- taure'** *vd.* which. *Reduced form:* **taure-**. **Meja taure' k-ua'?** On which table (is it)? Taure'e may also be used as 'which place'. **Ani tone' taure' k-ou-la'a?** Where should I go?
- taure-isi'** where.
- taure-fani'** how, why. Like all other interrogative verbs, taure' may be used in an assertion, in which case it is read as an indefinite expression (whichever, in every way). **Teli-ee hai taure-fani'?** How is the maize?
- tauropa'** *vd.* *Variant:* **tauropah.** how much, how many, some, a few. Tauropa' can be segmented into tau- 'where' and ropa' 'many'. In assertions, it functions as a quantifier 'some'. *See:* **tau'**; **ropa'**; **teteropa'**. **Ei-osan tauropa'=ini ue?** How much money do you have? **Ani uta-uta isu tauropa' heti.** I would like a few mung beans.
- te-** *vd.* approach. **Ani-te-mit.** Sit next to me.
- te-dai** look after, help, defend. *Lit:* 'walk near'. **Kato halee Maromak=ini ani-te-dai...** Maybe the Lord protected me...
- te'e** *n.* side. Possibly the lexical source of the clause linker =te'e. *See:* =te'e. **Umur-sa'e**
- umur-ueri-isi-diar**
- umur-lepa-isi-diar**
- ume-te'e-diar e-te'e-diar** (We) sit at the dead person's head and at his feet and at his middle, sitting at the far side and at the near side of the body **Toke k-afi-te'e-ume'**. The tokay lizard is on that side over there.
- =te'e** *clit.* after. *Metathesised form:* =ete. A clause linker expressing the completion of the first action before the onset of the second action. **Ani uere hau mei=ni ina-uai k-asu lolo=te'e uai=te'e ani Dili-isi-la'a.** I said this to (my) mother, and after that I went to Dili.
- teeluku** *vd.* hold on, uphold. Segmentation unclear.
- teempu** *n.* time, opportunity. **Teempu ere-isi'=ere pala merah Iliomar=ee fan.** At that time, the Red Cross was feeding Iliomar. *From:* Portuguese tempo, Tetum tempu 'time'.
- teempu** *conj.* when. Rare. **Teempu meestri tama mata-niki haka-hau ete-naser.** When the teacher came in, all the children stood up. *From:* Portuguese tempo, Tetum tempu 'time'.
- teenda** *n.* tent. *From:* Portuguese tenda 'tent'.
- teermu** *n.* thermos bottle. *From:* Portuguese termos 'thermos bottle'.
- teersu** *n.* rosary. *From:* Portuguese terço 'rosary'.
- tefu'** *vd.* break, go perpendicular. *Reduced form:* **tefu-**. **Ani ki-tala k-ua-siu ani-afu tefu'...** I stepped on the branch and it broke, carrying me...

- tefu-li'an** fall over.
tefu-la'a pass by.
- teih** *n.* pale, fencing post.
- tekih** *vd.* lean on, base on. *Bound form: -dekih.*
- (k)afi-dekih** push over.
- ta-dekih** suspect. **Meestri uere ki-lapizeira=ni molu=si kiloo meini ani ta-dekih.**
- hir-tekih** cross piece stabilising the walls of a stilt house.
- tekoro** *n.* back beam of loom.
- telefone** *vd.* *Variant: telefón.* Call. The undergoer (addressee) is mostly expressed in a verbal complement with *isi'*. *See: isi'.* **Ki-nami teni isi-telefone.** Her husband called (her) again.
- teli** *n.* maize.
- teni** *vd.* (do) again. **Ei ka'u=te'e teni ani ei mei=ni rau-ka'el.** If you do that again in a while, I will bite you hard.
- tenki** *vd.* must. Used with a complement clause extension without any overt marking. Tenki does not seem to be compatible with any verbal modifiers. *See: dadau.* *From: Portuguese tem que 'has to', Tetum tenke 'must'.*
- tepa'** *vd?* *Variant: tepa.* keep on, constantly. *Tepa'*, with the glottal stop, occurs as a full verb only. The form *tepa*, without the glottal stop, is mainly used as a verb-phrase internal adverbial. **Liurai=oo k-uta tepa'.** The king too kept killing them. **Isi-mata-raa tepa nomo iskola.** Our children keep not going to school.
- tepar** *vd.* be quiet. **Mata ka'u ni-sefar k-asu lolo=ni tepa-tepar.** The child tells his dog to be quiet.
- ter** *vd.* release, let go. **Mata ka'u ate ter ma'u.** The child lets go of the stick and comes.
- teri** *vd.* cut, cut across, kill. *Bound form: -deri.* **Ani hiitafu ere mei=ni ata teri=na'a.** I use this machete to cut firewood. *Pairs: lasi.* *From: Tetum teri 'cut, snip'.*
- teru** *n.* shelter, umbrella. *See: teru'.*
- teru'** *vd.* shelter. *Bound form: -deru'.* **Ani ni teru'.** I cover myself with an umbrella.
- terus** *vd.* sad, suffer. **Indonesia ni heil uai=ni=po tepa terus tasan.** Indonesian retreated, but (we) are still sad and suffer. *From: Tetum terus 'suffer'.*
- teta** *conj?* whether (or not), no matter if. **Teta fuin nomo fuin=oo ei=ni dadau ei=ni mei=ni la'uae.** Whether you dare or do not, it is you who has to go and take (them) there.
- tetepane'** *vd.* when. The interrogative verb *tetepane'* may also be used as a conjunction 'when'. **Ei tetepane'=ini ma'u?** When did you come? **Uatu sofit tetepane' fi u teni ma'u=ni teni ta ena uai=te'e=si fi teni k-ua-lolo.** In the future, when we meet again, we will talk more.
- teteropa'** *vd.* how many, some. Consists of an element *tete-*, as found in *tetepane'*, and the quantifier *ropa'*. *Teteropa'* is also used as a quantifier 'some'. *See: tetepane'; ropa'.* **Ei-aira teteropa'?** How old are you? **Kiloo afur teteropa nua.** He ate a few fruits.
- teteropa' u** some.
- tetu** *vd.* weigh, scale. **Kiloo ni tetu.** He weighs himself.

- tetu'** *vd.* plant. *See:* **houn**.
- tetu-** *vd.* in a row, regularly spaced, balanced out. **Lopu-laa ere haka-hau ta-tetu-naser**. The houses stand in a neat row. *See:* **tetu**.
- tetu-lolo** agree. *See:* **lolo**.
- teuh** *vd.* buy. *Bound form:* **-deuh**. **Pasar-ou-la'a=ni seur teuh=ini nua**. (We) went to the market and bought meat and ate it. *Pairs:* **elin**.
- ki-teuh ki-elin** bride price. *See:* **barlake**.
- teuh-ini** gift. *See:* **-ini**.
- teul** *vd.* take apart, wreck.
- teul-suma** be very angry. **Fi mutu heke=ni ta mei teul-suma...** We are angry and mad at each other...
- teur** *n.* smoke, dust.
- ata-teur** smoke. *See:* **ata**.
- lue-teur** dust.
- nun-teur** fog. *See:* **nun**.
- ti'** *vd.* *Variant:* **tih**. pour (a drink). *Bound form:* **-di'**, **-dih**. **Kiloo ani-asu ira mei=ni dapur-isi-di'**. She pours me water in the kitchen.
- tia** *vd.* sleep (SG), lie down (SG). *Bound form:* **-dia**. **Ani la'a=ni tia=te'e ka'u=te'e filem ue'=afta ani tane**. I am going to sleep; in a while, when the movie starts, wake me up. *Pl:* **rou**.
- tia** *n.* aunt. *See:* **pai**; **tiu**. *From:* Portuguese *tia*, Tetum *tian* 'aunt'.
- ti'a-** *vd.* towards, meeting. **Uere=ni mosa' ti'a-la'a**. He went to a healer. **Amulafu u nomo ani ti'a-simu**. No-one received me.
- ti'a-dane** receive. *See:* **dane**.
- ti'a-mei** receive. *See:* **mei**.
- ti'a-puna** expect, look out for. *See:* **puna**.
- ti'a-ma'u** come towards, pick up. *See:* **ma'u**.
- ti'al** *vd.* kick. *Bound form:* **-di'al**. **Lolu pere ere ki-itun-mutu-di'al=ini umu**. The big eagle kicked him in the crown of the head and he died.
- tifi** *n.* TV. *From:* English TV.
- ti'ir** *vd.* heavy. **Fenu uere ti'ir**. That turtle is heavy. **Sirvisu hau ti'ir**. The work was hard.
- til** *vd.* noon. Constructed with either *mu'a* 'ground' or *uatu* 'day' as a subject. *See:* **mu'a**; **uatu**.
- Timor** *n.* toponym.
- tina** *vd.* cook. *Bound form:* **-dina**. **Fi-asu sa'a ho'o tina=ni uai fi nua!** Cook something for us so that we (can) eat!
- tina-ini** cooked rice. **Kiloo ni-raku-laa tina-ini-ini**. He made rice for his friends. *See:* **-ini**.
- tipal** *vd.* play a k.o. wooden drum which is held under the arm. *See:* **dadil**.
- Tirilolo** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- titar** *vd.* run (PL). *See:* **ria'**.
- titidukal** *vd.* naughty. Segmentation unclear. *See:* **ualipasak**.
- titil** *vd.* ripe, dry. Found with coconuts and pineapple leaves. *See:* **amu'**; **seta**.
- tiu** *n.* uncle. *See:* **pai**; **tia**. *From:* Portuguese *tio*, Tetum *tiun* 'uncle'.
- to'** *vd.* mix, mingle, accompany. *Reduced form:* **to-**. **Amuni ue' nua-ini ani la'a to-mit**. If people were there eating, I would go and sit with them. **Uar**

- ho'o kato to'=uai**
ki-fasu=hi'a=ni to-dasa=fata fi
hau mei. If there are stones mixed in or empty skins have fallen inside, we take these out.
- ta-to'o** put together. *See:* **ta-**
- to'e** *vd.* be stuck inside. **Kilooraa Laapo mei=ni ate-poka to'e=ni meti mutu'.** They locked Laapo in a chest and threw him into the sea.
- tofa'** *n.* k.o. small bamboo.
- to'i** *vd.* dig, make a hole. *Bound form:* **-do'i. Ninu=ee haka=ni ki-ari' to'i.** Having found a noni tree, we dig out its roots. **Asa-masu ere ulu' to'i=ni mana fat kini.** For a flute, we make four holes into an ulu' bamboo.
- toil** *n.* ravine, gorge. *See:* **pa'an.**
- toil** *vd.* put one's arm over someone's shoulder. 'k.o. dance' if used as an argument.
- toka** *vd.* play (an instrument). **Mata ka'u aftane' ai'=ini rebeka toka.** A child was here before playing the guitar. *From:* Portuguese *tocar*, Tetum *toka* 'play an instrument'.
- toke** *n.* tokay gecko, gekko gecko.
- tokehanae kini** *vd.* be angry. Segmentation unclear.
- tone'** *va.* *Variant:* **toneh.** maybe, perhaps, FUT (future).
- to'o** *vd.* castrate, barren. **arapau to'o** castrate a buffalo
- Toormata** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?).
- Topolope** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Haakesar.**
- Topuira** *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:* **Haarira.**
- tor** *vd.* swollen, bulging. **Nauk ere hai tor=ini hai fi mei=ni piti-mutu'...** When the cotton fibres are bulging, we wrap them in a mat...
- tor helar** almost ripe. *Lit:* 'swollen big (PL)'. Used for maize. *See:* **helar.**
- tor** *n.* candlenut, aleurites moluccana (?).
- torok** *n.* lower part. Inalienable.
- ia-torok** lower leg. *See:* **ia.**
- tana-torok** lower arm. *See:* **tana.**
- toron** *n.* bamboo water container.
- tota** *vd.* fight. **Ei=ni dadau sooraine' ma'u ani-horu tota...** It was you who had to come and fight with me last night...
- total** *vd?* entire, complete. *From:* Portuguese *total* 'total', Indonesian *total* 'total, complete'.
- toton** *vd.* watch, look at. **Kiloo ni-dila toton.** He is watching his frog. **Ini fuli'=ini tifi toton.** We watch TV together.
- tou-** *vd?* totally, at all. **Asi osan tou-na'an.** I have no money at all. **Mata ka'u ere tou-num=uai uari lafu'?** Is this child (totally) dead or still alive?
- tou-la'a** cross over. **Ini lor=ini ueir tou-la'a.** We swam across the river. Tou-la'a is also used as a euphemism for 'to die'. **Namiraa meih=ini ni-ni ni-upa ko-horu=ni hai mundu=ee tou-la'a.** Two boys left this world together with their parents.
- toukur** *n.* *Variant:* **tou.** shell, half of a coconut shell. The meaning of the element *kur* is unclear. **Fenu ere ni-tou k-ia-poko.** The turtle is hiding under its shell.

- toumuta** *n.* *Variant:* **tou**. wasp. The meaning of the element -muta is unclear.
- toutou** *n.* owl.
- tradisaun** *n.* tradition. *From:* Portuguese tradição 'tradition'.
- tu** *vd.* first, ahead. **Kiloo=ni tu-ma'u**. He came first (ahead of the others). **uatu lolitu ki-tu=ere** three days ago
- tu'a** *n.* palm wine, alcoholic beverage. **Tenki ta-asu tu'a ti'**. (They) have to pour each other palm wine.
- tuaila** *n.* *Variant:* **tuahila**. towel. *From:* Portuguese toalha 'towel'.
- tu'ar** *vd.* exchange for. **Sigaar-tafu ho'o meli ani ma'u=ni mei=ni ki-nua-nau tu'ar**. When I found some cigarette butts, I came and exchanged them for food. *From:* Indonesian tukar 'exchange'.
- tufa** *vd.* sweep. *Bound form:* **-dufa**.
tufa-tufa broom.
- tufur** *n.* sister, (female) cousin. Both younger and older than the speaker. Inalienable. Sometimes it is used in the sense of 'girl, woman', much like tufuraa, which is more common in this sense. *Pairs:* **isarami**. *See:* **tufuraa**.
- tufuraa** *n.* woman. **Ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa'uk!** It is you who is a bad woman! Sometimes tufur appears to be used in the same sense. *See:* **tufur**. **papa ki-mata tufur** The Indonesian's daughter
- tu'il** *vd.* bake in bamboo. *Bound form:* **-du'il**. **Kiloo lou haka tu'il**. He looked for a cuscus to bake it in bamboo.
- ira-tu'il** water bucket. Used in an effort to avoid the Portuguese loan paaldi. *See:* **paaldi**.
- tu'iparu** *n.* bamboo used for baking or cooking meat in. Tu'i- could be a reduced form of tu'il. *See:* **tu'il**.
- tuku** *vd.* punch. *Bound form:* **-duku**. **Ani kiloo ki-atu-pusi tuku**. I punched him in the stomach. Tuku is used most frequently in indications of time as the equivalent of 'o'clock'. **Mu'a kamu tuku ru resi-loloi=te'e ani la'a-ni rate isi'**. At 12 o'clock at night I went to the grave. *From:* Tetum tuku 'knock, fight'.
- tula** *vd.* bring, transport. *Bound form:* **-dula**. **Palamera na'u tepa ale, dudu-ira, teli, mina, uerla ere tula=ni mei muni Iliomar=ee fan**. The Red Cross brought rice, milk, maize, oil, they brought this and fed Iliomar.
- (k)-ua-dula** catch up with, get to. **Kilooraa meih=ini fenu=ee k-ua-dula**. The two of them caught up with the turtle. *See:* **(k)-ua'**.
- taua-dula** meet. The meaning of the element taua- is unclear. ta- could possibly be related to the reciprocal pronoun ta. **La'a ueir-isi=ini ni uaro'=isi taua dula...** (We) went to the river to wash, and (we) met there...
- tule** *vd.* not want. *Bound form:* **-dule**. May be constructed either with an object or with a complement clause extension. In the latter case, the two clauses are linked paratactically. **Kiloo seur nua=e' tule**. He doesn't want to eat meat. **Ani tule ei-horu fuli-dai=ni la'a**. I don't want to go with you.

- tulun** *vd.* help. ... **Uru-uatu=taa ini tulun.** ... so that the Lord helps us. *From:* Tetum tulun 'help'.
- tumu** *n.* bride price. **Tufuraa ki-ni ki-upa ni-asu tumu hetu.** The parents of the girl ask for the tumu for themselves.
- Tunir** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Opanuur.**
- tupi** *vd.* pound, thump, hit. *Bound form:* **-dupi. Ani ate-tafu-isi-lasal mei=ni ei tupi ei pase.** I take a piece of wood and hit you with it.
- turut** *vd.* continue. *Reduced form:* **turu-. Hein=ini ira turu-sa-sat=ini isa=ni hai hanu ka'u-ka'u...** (We) wait and the water dries out continuously and goes down till there is very little (left)...
- туру-диидин** continue gradually. The verb diidiin is not attested elsewhere.
- tutu** *vd.* like. Constructed with isa 'condition' as its subject. *See:* **isa. Isi-ni isi-upa ere=hi'a=ni ki-isa ini tutu.** Only our parents liked us.
- tutu'** *vd.* grind, pound. **Kiloo ni-sa k-asu lolo=si k-asu teli tutu'.** He told his wife to grind maize for him.
- Tutuala** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Lautém district.
- tutur** *vd.* push, support. **Foorsa pere fi tutur muni mu'a isa.** A big military force was pushing us, so we came back down.
- tuumata** *n.* nephew, niece. From the male side. Inalienable.
- tuumata** *n.* wife-takers, family of the groom. *Pairs:* **omaraha. omaraha-tuumata** customs, traditions.

 U - u

- u** *vd.* *Variant:* **un.** one. The distribution of the u-form and the un-form is not quite clear. Un is favoured when a vowel-initial clitic attaches to the numeral, as well as at the end of a phonological phrase. U / un is the only numeral which cannot be used with the attributive marker ki= as an ordinal; instead, ki=atanana or ki-tu are used. *See:* **atanana; tu. Uru u uru loloi ere fani' hai rau.** After one or two months or so, it was okay.
- ua** *n.* egg. *See:* **ua'.**
- ua'** *vd.* *Variant:* **uah.** lay eggs. **Fenu ere mu'a kaur=ini uai=te'e mutu'=ini ua'.** The turtle scratched (a hole) in the ground and then laid eggs inside it. *See:* **ua.**
- =ua** *clit.* QM (question marker). Optionally marks polar interrogatives. **Ei-iskola nomo rau=konai=ni ei uere'-isi-la'a=na'a=ua?** You're not doing well at school, that's why you want to go into that?

- =ua** *clit.* REL (relativiser). Rarely heard as =ua'a. Relative sentence marking is centred on the relative sentence's subject, whether it be the head of the construction or not. Note the formal identity to the question marker =ua. *See:* =ua. **Ani jerikeen=ua liitru lima ere ani nomo hu-seman.** I wasn't able to lift up a jerrycan which (held) 5 litres.
- ua'** *vd.* on top. *Reduced form:* -ua-. *See:* (k-)ua'.
- uaarasár** *n.* sacred place (?). **Ini ni-uaarasár=ini k-ata-du'il...** We baked (it) at our sacred place... Segmentation unclear.
- uaarifa** *n.* shoulder. **Ki-sefar=ee hai misa ki-uaarifa k-ua-ude-mit.** The dog goes up and sits on his shoulder.
- ua'atafu** *va.* straight away. Segmentation unclear. **Kiloo ua'atafu lopu-mutu-ria'**. She ran straight into the house.
- uai** *vd.* CLS (clausal pro-form). Uai is mainly used as a "docking station" for clause-linking clitics. The most frequent combinations are with =ini and =isi. Likely a grammaticalised form of the deictic verb uai'. *See:* =ini; =isi; uai'.
- uai'** *vd.* *Variant:* ue'. V2DEM. *Reduced form:* uai-, ue-. Deictic verb used to refer to locations close to the addressee. It is also used as a general existential. *See:* uere; uere'. **Asi-dada to-ue'**. My grandfather was there as well. **Lopu k-ue-la'a lafi-la'a uere haka-hau listrik ue'**. The houses around it all had electricity. **Kaminei-kaminei na'u tepa uai-uai-nini...** Every day he kept doing so...
- ue-nini-ni** behaviour, attitude, demeanour. **Ki-ue-nini-ni ere nomo rau.** This behaviour of his is bad.
- =uai** *clit.* or. Used on both NP and clause level. ... **uatu lolitu=uai uatu loloi k-utu-sai'...** ... three days or two days passed...
- =uai na'an** or not? **Ani tone' osan ho'o nese-la'a=uai na'an?** Will I find some money or not? A very common question tag. The negative existential na'an may be dropped, leaving =uai as a de facto question marker very similar to =ua. Some speakers also use it on assertions.
- uai** *suff.* HON (honorific). Used on kinship terms referring mostly to people older than the speaker. **Ani uere hau mei=ni ina-uai k-as lolo...** I said this to my mother...
- uainhira** *conj.* when. *From:* Tetum bainhira 'when'.
- Uairapuni** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Lautém district (?).
- Uaitelu** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- uaku** *n.* border, boundary, limitation. Inalienable (?).
- uala** *vd.* give birth. **Ani aire' ei-isarami k-asu mata isu u hai uala.** Now I bore your brother one child.
- Ualaleki** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* Pokapoka.
- uale** *vd.* important, be worth, be worthy. *See:* vale.
- uali** *n.* ear. *See:* uali'.

- uali-hasa** auricle. *Lit:* 'ear-leaf'.
See: **hasa**.
- uali-atu** earwax. *See:* **atu**.
- uali-mana** temple. Though **uali-mana** was translated in elicitation as temple, its literal meaning ('ear-hole') suggests it might more appropriately translated as 'auditory canal'.
uali' *vd.* *Variant:* **ualih**. hear.
Ki-uatu douh=ini ani informasaun uali'. It was on a Saturday that I heard the information. *See:* **uali**.
- ualipasak** *vd.* naughty. Segmentation unclear. *See:* **titidukal**. **Amulafu ere ualipasak**. This person was naughty.
- ualir** *n.* edge, side. **Sefar ere ira-ualir-isi-ume-mit**. The dog is sitting at the edge of the lake.
- uan** *vd.* bigger than. *See:* **(k)-uan**.
- uani** *n.* bee.
uani-ira honey. *See:* **ira**.
- Uanri** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs:* **Opanuur**.
- uapoku** *n.* seat of emotions, heart. 'heart' in the anatomical sense is **adan**. *See:* **adan**. **Ani uere na'u tepa mei=ni uapoku-isi' ani tepa nese-ne'et**. I put this in my heart and will remember it.
- uar** *n.* stone, rock. A middle-sized stone or rock; **ili** 'rock' is larger and **ara** 'gravel' is smaller. *See:* **ili; ara**.
- uaras** *n.* news, report. **Ani uaras uere nomo na'u fiar**. I don't believe this report.
- uaras** *vd.* aslant, crooked.
- Uardai** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- uari** *n.* nest.
- uari** *va?* still. *See* **kafé uari nomo rau ibu=ee fi mei rau-pase**. If the coffee wasn't ready yet, the Indonesian woman beat us thoroughly. Found only as a verb-phrase internal adverbial.
- uarit** *vd.* fell (a tree), cut down.
- Uaritir** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- uaro'** *vd.* *Variant:* **uaroh**. wash, bathe. **Fi-nana tufuraa un=ini haris fatin mutu'=ini ni uaro'**. A sister of ours was in the bathroom washing. **Ina-uai ni-mata uaro'**. The mother washes her child.
- uasi** *n.* tooth. Inalienable. **Kiloo nana ki-uasi isu u k-a'a-siu...** He stepped on one of the snake's teeth...
- uasir** *vd.* harvest. **Fi ni-teli muni uasir**. Let us harvest our maize again.
- uasur** *n.* rose apple, eugenia javanica.
- uat** *vd.* call (a dog). **Ei asi-laipun k-ata-mit=ini asi-sefar-isi-uat**. You sit on my back and call to my dog.
- uata** *n.* coconut.
uata-hasa coconut leaves, June. Used for thatching. Speakers explained that June was the time when the leaves of coconut palms withered and fell off.
- Uatapail** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict.
- uatu** *n.* sun, day. **Uatu** is used as a subject for a number of weather / time of day verbs. *See:* **nene'; rai; osa; til**. **Kiloo uatu fitu kamu fitu formasi-mutu'**. He was in the hospital for seven

- nights and seven days. *Pairs:*
uru.
uatu ere today.
uatu uere uatu uere every day.
uatu loloi Tuesday. *See:* **loloi.**
uatu lolitu Wednesday. *See:* **lolitu.**
uatu fat Thursday. *See:* **fat.**
uatu lima Friday. *See:* **lima.**
uatu douh Saturday. *See:* **sigunda;**
paandera.
uatu misar east. *Lit:* 'sun' + 'go up'.
 -r is an unproductive
 nominalising element.
uatu mutu-li'an west. *Lit:* uatu
 'sun' + mutu-li'an 'fall into'.
uatu *vd.* dry in the sun. **Hai**
rouala=fata fi uatu. When there
 are many (twigs), we dry them
 in the sun.
Uatulai *n.* a toponym.
udai' *vd.* *Variant:* **ude'.**
 VDEM.HIGH. *Reduced form:*
udai-, ude-. Deictic verb
 referring to locations on a higher
 elevation than the deictic centre.
See: **udere; udere'.**
ude' *vd.* VDEM.HIGH. *Reduced*
form: **ude-.** *See:* **udai'.**
udere *det.* DEM.HIGH. Demonstrative
 referring to objects on a higher
 elevation than a point of
 reference. *See:* **ude'; udere'.**
udere' *vd.* DEM.HIGH.V.
 Derived from the **udere**, the
 demonstrative referring to
 objects of higher elevation. *See:*
udere.
ue *n.* sister-in-law. Inalienable.
ue' *vd.* V2DEM. *Reduced form:* **ue-.**
See: **uai'.**
-ue- *vd.* around. *See:* **(k)-ue-.**
uei *n.* blood.
uei *vd* (?). ask. **Amulafu=ua krimi**
ho'o kini uai=ni=ni uere'
mi-seti mi-uei. A person who
 had committed some crime, (he)
 would find them out and
 interrogate them. *Pairs:* **heti (?).**
ueinatu' *vd.* leave behind.
 Segmentation unclear. The fact
 that the undergoer ho'o 'some' is
 constructed with the light verb
 mei suggests that **ueinatu'** is a
 complement-verb complex,
 perhaps with **ue-.** *See:* **uai'.**
Tone' ei-seran ere rouala=fata
ei ho'o mei=ni ueinatu' e'e. If
 you have too much stuff, you
 will have to leave some behind
 here.
ueir *n.* river.
ueli *n.* left side. **Sia-sia buku**
ki-ueli-isi'. The eraser is to the
 left of the book. *See:* **tanen.**
uera *pron.* 3p. An unproductive
 derivation of the demonstrative
 uere. May additionally be plural-
 marked with **-laa.** *See:* **uere;**
-laa.
uerau *vd.* not allowed. *See:* **irau.**
uere *det.* 2DEM. Demonstrative used
 to refer to objects located near
 the addressee. Being the most
 general demonstrative, it is also
 used to mark definiteness in
 discourse. *See:* **uai'; uere'.**
uere' *vd.* 2DEM.V. Deictic verb
 derived from the demonstrative
 uere used to refer to locations
 near the addressee. *See:* **uai';**
uere.
ueri *n.* bottom, buttocks.
ueri-mana anus. *See:* **mana.**
pipi-ueri young mango. *Lit:* 'goat
 buttock'. *See:* **pipi.**
ueri *n.* spiderweb (?). **ueri-isi**
kamu-kamu prey caught in a
 spiderweb. Segmentation unclear.

- uerimiri** *n.* k.o. snake. Possibly segmentable into ueri-imir 'red buttocks'?
- uesai** *n.* style (?).
- ufa** *vd.* talk (?). **Fi urau riparipa-lolo riparipa-ufa...** We should not talk carelessly...
- ufa** *n.* sugarcane.
- ufai'** *vd.* Variant: **ufe'**. VDEM.LOW. *Reduced form:* **ufai-**, **ufe-**. Deictic verb used to refer to objects at a lower elevation than the point of reference.
- ufal** *vd.* feed, keep (an animal). **Kiloo dila ufal sefar ufal.** He keeps a frog and a dog. *See:* **fan.**
- ufe'** *vd.* VDEM.LOW. *Reduced form:* **ufe-**. *See:* **ufai'**.
- ufere** *det.* DEM.LOW. Demonstrative used for objects at a lower elevation than the deictic centre. *See:* **ufai'**; **ufere'**.
- ufere'** *vd.* DEM.LOW.V. Deictic verb referring to a location lower than the point of reference. Derived from the demonstrative ufere. *See:* **ufere**; **ufai'**.
- uful** *n.* fly.
- ufun metan** *n.* k.o. fly. A big, black fly; its vicinity is read as a sign that a near one has died.
- ufur** *vd.* close. **Ha'a ufur.** Close (your) mouth.
mini ufur have a cold. *See:* **mini.**
- uilal-bailiur** *n.* January. Uilal was translated as 'crescent moon' and liur as 'assemble'; bai was said to conform to pai 'pig'. The whole was explained as the time of the year when pigs gang up and destroy things. None of the lexemes in question occur in the form given elsewhere in the corpus.
- uirik** *vd.* sadden (?).
- ujian** *n.* test, exam. **Ani ujian mini.** I take the test. *From:* Indonesian ujian 'examination, test'.
- ukun** *vd.* lead, rule. If used as an argument, ukun normally translates as 'rule', but may be used as 'attitude, demeanour'. **Papa-laa=ni fi ukun.** The Indonesians ruled us. **Namiraa ere ki-ukun ere se rau.** This man's demeanour is very good.
- ula** *n.* tail, tip, endpoint. **Sefar ere ni-ula mei=ni liu=ee-mutu-dane.** The dog puts his tail into the lake. **Kantina hi'a-ula-nat.** A shop stands at the end of the street.
- ulahana** *n.* back of the head. Segmentation unclear; ula could be 'tail'. *See:* **ula.**
- uli** *n.* leather, bark. **ate-uli** bark Inalienable. *See:* **ulit.** *From:* Indonesian, Tetum kulit 'skin'.
- ulit** *n.* skin (of people or animals). **Asi-afur=ee hafa=hi'a=ni ue' ulit=hi'a=ni ue'.** My body consisted of only bones and skin. *See:* **uli.** *From:* Indonesian, Tetum kulit 'skin'.
- ulu** *vd.* choose, pick out. **Povu ere=ni uere' ulu.** The people elected that one.
- ulu'** *n.* k.o. bamboo. Small, young bamboo, used to make asa-masu flutes. *See:* **asa.**
- ulut** *vd.* boil.
- uma** *vd.* mention, name. **Were-isi'=ee ni'isi akor ki-nei uma-uma...** At that time, thieves' names were being mentioned...
- umai'** *vd.* Variant: **ume'**. VDEM.DIST. *Reduced form:* **umai-**, **ume-**. Distal demonstrative used to refer to locations close to neither of the

- speech-act participants. *See: umere; umere'*. **Ei-asu surat hai ume'**. There is a letter there for you.
- umani** *pron.* who. *Bound form: uma-* (?). Very rare. Likely a regional variant of mu'ani 'who'. *See: mu'ani*.
- ume'** *vd.* VDEM.DIST. *Reduced form: ume-*. *See: umai'*.
- umere** *det.* DEM.DIST. Distal demonstrative used to refer to objects close to neither of the speech-act participants. *See: umai'; umere'*.
- umere'** *vd.* DEM.DIST.V. Deictic verb derived from the demonstrative umere used to refer to objects that are close to neither of the speech-act participants. *See: umai'; umere*.
- umu** *vd.* die. *Bound form: -umu, -numu*. **Ei-nana raine'=ini hai umu**. Your brother died last night. *See: (k-)umu-*.
- umur** corpse, dead body, death, burial ceremony.
- umu-** *vd.* kill. *See: (k-)umu-*.
- upa** *n.* father. Inalienable.
- upa fasih** stepfather. *See: fasih*.
- upa sarani** grandfather. *See: sarani*.
- Upuira** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008). Though given as two separate clan names, it seems more likely that one of the names is a misspelling of the other.
- ura** *n.* worm.
- uraakdapun** *n.* palm fibers. Used as thatch for roofs. Segmentation unclear.
- ura'e** *va.* in the future. **Ura'e fi tone' uari mi-lolo-lolo...** In the future maybe we keep talking about it...
- urat** *n.* blood vessel, vein.
- urau** *vd.* not allowed. *See: irau*.
- uri-** *vd.* behind, but visible. *See: (k)-uri-*.
- uru** *n.* moon, month. *Pairs: uatu*. **Uru-uatu** God. *Lit: 'moon-sun'*. *See: Maromak*.
- Uruhu'a** *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
- urus** *vd.* sort out, take care of. **Asi-papa Dili-isi-la'a=ni ni-surat urus**. My father went to Dili to get his papers sorted out. *From: Indonesian menguruskan 'manage, take care of'*.
- urut** *vd.* fight, quarrel.
- usaha** *vd.* open a business. **Ini ni-asu usaha**. We opened ourselves a business. *From: Indonesian usaha 'effort, exertion; business'*.
- usu** *n.* textile warp size.
- usupadu** *n.* candle.
- ususu** *vd.* *Variant: usuusu; usu'usu*. *pant.* **Sefar ere=haka dila ki loloi=ni uali' e'=ini hai ususu...** The dog hears the two frogs and pants...
- uta** *vd.* fall (rain). *Bound form: -nuta*. **Ae uta=si arapau=ni ma'u=ni hir=ee-mi-nat**. It was raining, and so a buffalo came and stood along the wall (for shelter).
- uta** *n.* bean, pea, peanut. **Ini Iliomar ere isi' nua-ini=ni uere'=ini ere': teli, mu'u, ate-matu, uta, amah**. In Iliomar, (our) foods that we have are these: maize, bananas, cassava, beans, breadfruit.

- uta-hasa** *Variant: uta-hasa den.* k.o. vegetable. The meaning of the element den is unclear.
- uta-mata** mung beans. *Lit:* 'bean child'.
- uta** *vd.* kill. *See:* **(k)-uta**.
- uta-** *vd.* behind, hidden from view. *See:* **(k)-uta-**.
- utiuti** *n.* image, picture, screen.
- utu** *vd.* block from view, hinder. *See:* **(k)-utu**.
- utu** *vd.* wear, put on (clothes). *See:* **(k)-utu**.
- utu'** *vd.* look after, guard. *See:* **(k)-utu'**.
- utu-let** *n.* April. Translated by speakers as 'fruit season'. However, neither of the constituent parts is separately with a similar meaning in the corpus.
- utur** *n.* men's tais. **utur sedik** wear a tais *See:* **kola; sedik**.

 V - v

- vale** *vd.* *Variant: uale.* important, be worth, be worthy. **Amulafu ere nomo vale.** This person is not worthy. *From:* Portuguese valer 'be worth'.
- valór** *n.* value, mark. *From:* Portuguese valor 'worth, value'.
- Venilale** *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Baucau district.
- viitima** *n.* victim. *From:* Portuguese vítima 'victim'.
- Vikeke** *n.* a toponym. Capital of the Viqueque district.
- vila** *n.* town, city. *From:* Portuguese vila 'small town'.
- vistidu** *n.* dress. *From:* Portuguese vestido 'dress, gown'.

 Z - z

- zerekeen** *n.* jerrycan. *See:* **zok** *vd.* plug in, recharge. *See:* **jok.**
- jerikeen.**

Appendix 3: English-Makalero word list

A - a

able	<i>vd.</i> me'e ; <i>vd.</i> hul , <i>reduced form:</i> hu- .	aged woman	<i>n.</i> laidaa .
about	<i>vd.</i> (k)-isi' .	agree	<i>vd.</i> tetu-lolo , <i>see:</i> tetu row (in a); lolo say.
abroad	<i>n.</i> luar .	agreement	<i>n.</i> kompromi .
abroad	<i>vd.</i> meti lafi' , <i>see:</i> meti sea ; lafi' beside.	ahead	<i>vd.</i> tu .
abuse	<i>vd.</i> fari .	aim	<i>n.</i> objektivu .
accompanied by	<i>vd.</i> (ko)-horu .	aim at	<i>vd.</i> nese' , <i>reduced form:</i> nese- .
accompany	<i>vd.</i> to' , <i>reduced form:</i> to- .	airplane	<i>n.</i> fara lo-lor , <i>see:</i> fara ship; lor fly. <i>n.</i> aviaun .
acquire	<i>vd.</i> pure .	airport	<i>n.</i> aeroportu ; <i>n.</i> kampu aviasaun .
adam's apple	<i>n.</i> masukoro ki-pu'i , <i>see:</i> masukoro neck; pu'i joint.	alcoholic beverage	<i>n.</i> tu'a .
add	<i>vd.</i> aumenta ; <i>vd.</i> sukat .	aleurites moluccana (?)	<i>n.</i> tor .
add a small amount	<i>vd.</i> liri .	alike	<i>vd.</i> fani' , pani' , <i>reduced</i> <i>form:</i> fani- , pani- ;
add water	<i>vd.</i> liur .	all	<i>vd.</i> ata'u ; <i>vd?</i> fanu' ; <i>vd?</i> haka ; <i>vd.</i> hau ; <i>vd?</i> kopa ; <i>va?</i> lokata (?); <i>vd?</i> tana'u (?).
additional finger	<i>n.</i> tana-tala , <i>see:</i> tana hand; tala branch.	all (at once)	<i>vd?</i> felu ; <i>vd.</i> kafu' , <i>reduced form:</i> kafu- .
administer intravenously	<i>vd.</i> isoru .	all over	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ali- .
ADVR (adversative)	<i>clit.</i> = po .	all together	<i>vd.</i> dada ; <i>vd.</i> tata- .
afraid	<i>vd.</i> aka' .	almost	<i>va?</i> kuaze .
after	<i>clit.</i> = te'e , <i>metathesised</i> <i>form:</i> = ete .	almost ripe	<i>vd.</i> tor helar , <i>see:</i> tor swollen; helar big.
afternoon	<i>vd.</i> lak .	alone	<i>vd.</i> se' , <i>reduced form:</i> se- ; <i>vd.</i> sotemee ;
afterwards	<i>clit.</i> = na'apo , <i>metathesised form:</i> = anapo .		
afterwards	<i>conj.</i> depois ; <i>va?</i> ituruu .		
again	<i>vd?</i> ripa- ; <i>vd.</i> teni .		
age	<i>n.</i> isa-isa , <i>see:</i> isa condition .		

	<i>vd?</i> na'a (?).	approach	<i>vd.</i> te- .
along	<i>vd.</i> mi' .	April	<i>n.</i> utu-let .
altar	<i>n.</i> altar .	areca	<i>n.</i> pue .
among	<i>vd.</i> leetana' , <i>reduced form: leetana-</i> .	arm	<i>n.</i> fah ; <i>n.</i> tana .
ancestor	<i>vd.</i> tu-pere , <i>see: pere</i> big (SG) <i>vd.</i> tu-selar , <i>see: helar</i> big (PL).	armpit	<i>n.</i> ilupana .
ancient	<i>vd.</i> lutu .	army (member)	<i>n.</i> foorsa .
and	<i>conj.</i> i ; <i>conj.</i> no .	around	<i>vd?</i> ene- (?); <i>vd.</i> (k)-ue- .
angry	<i>vd.</i> heke-la'a , <i>see: heke</i> difficult; la'a move; <i>vd; clause.</i> mutu heke , <i>see: mutu</i> inside; heke difficult; <i>vd; clause.</i> mutu isit , <i>see: mutu</i> inside; isit be ill; <i>vd.</i> ata' ; <i>vd.</i> noronoro ; <i>vd.</i> si'ak . <i>vd.</i> tokehanae kini .	arrest	<i>vd.</i> kastigu .
		arrive	<i>vd.</i> rata' .
		artocarpus altilis	<i>n.</i> amah .
		as	<i>conj.</i> komu .
		as long as...	<i>va?</i> naikini .
		as you well know	? kan .
		ash	<i>n.</i> lue .
		ashamed	<i>vd; clause.</i> amu aka' , <i>see: amu</i> person; aka' afraid.
		ask	<i>vd.</i> heti , <i>bound form: -seti</i> ; <i>vd?</i> uei .
		aslant	<i>vd.</i> lari ; <i>vd.</i> uaras .
angry at, with	<i>vd.</i> huma , <i>bound form: -suma</i> . <i>vd.</i> (k)-utu-suma , <i>see: (k)-utu</i> block from view; huma angry with;	aspirations	<i>n.</i> lafu-lafu' , <i>see: lafu'</i> live.
(very) angry at	<i>vd.</i> teul-suma , <i>see: teul</i> chase.	assault	<i>n.</i> asaltu .
animal	<i>n.</i> animál .	assemble	<i>vd.</i> soru .
(domestic) animal	<i>n.</i> suan .	ASS.PL (associative plural)	<i>suff.</i> -ara .
(wild) animal (?)	<i>n.</i> rapa .	astride	<i>vd.</i> seka- .
annona squamosa	<i>n.</i> dai-ate .	at	<i>vd.</i> isi' , <i>reduced form: isi-</i> ; <i>vd.</i> ne- (?).
answer	<i>vd.</i> der .	at all	<i>vd?</i> tou- .
ant	<i>n.</i> mu'ul .	attack	<i>n.</i> asaltu .
anus	<i>n.</i> ueri-mana , <i>see: ueri</i> buttocks; mana hole.	attitude	<i>n.</i> ue-nini-ni , <i>see: ue'</i> there; kini do.
any	<i>pron.</i> riparipa ; <i>vd.</i> arbiru .	augment	<i>vd.</i> aumenta .
apparently	? isinei .	August	<i>n.</i> lue-uru , <i>see: lue</i> ash; uru moon.
appearance	<i>n.</i> fanu-fanu , <i>see: fanu</i> face.	aunt	<i>n.</i> paimatu , <i>see: pai</i> parent's younger sibling; <i>n.</i> tia .
apply	<i>vd.</i> aplika .	auricle	<i>n.</i> uali-hasa , <i>see: uali</i> ear; hasa leaf.

away from *vd. (k)-afa-*.

B - b

baby	<i>n. koomata.</i>	bark (of a tree)	<i>n. uli;</i>
baby sling	<i>n. rapi afil, see: rapi</i> women's tais sarong.	bark (dog)	<i>vd. hour;</i> <i>vd. kerekere.</i>
bachelor	<i>n. solteru.</i>	barrel	<i>n. baril, paril.</i>
back(side)	<i>n. sofū.</i>	barren	<i>vd. to'o.</i>
back beam of loom	<i>n. tekoro.</i>	base on	<i>vd. tekih, bound form:</i> -dekih.
back (of the body)	<i>n. laipun.</i>	(k.o.) basket	<i>n. lo'i;</i> <i>n. na';</i> <i>n. poka.</i>
back of the head	<i>n. ulahana.</i>	basket holding unspun fibres	<i>n. laik.</i>
bad	<i>vd. kasu;</i> <i>vd. pa'uk.</i>	basket to store betel leaves	<i>m. malu-</i> poka, see: malu betelnut; poka basket.
badhearted	<i>vd. mutu ra'i, see: mutu</i> inside; <i>ra'i</i> dirty.	bat	<i>n. hiri'.</i>
bag	<i>n. lode;</i> <i>n. muusila;</i> <i>n. pasta.</i>	bathe	<i>vd. uaro'.</i>
bake	<i>vd. (k)-isa.</i>	bathroom	<i>n. haris-fatiin.</i>
bake in bamboo	<i>vd. tu'il, bound form:</i> -du'il.	be colleagues	<i>vd. kolega.</i>
balanced out	<i>vd. tetu-.</i>	behind	<i>vd. sofit, reduced form:</i> sofi-.
bald	<i>vd. leka.</i>	bean	<i>n. uta.</i>
ball	<i>n. bola, pola.</i>	beat	<i>vd. pase.</i>
ball up (yarn)	<i>vd. omu.</i>	beater	<i>n. los.</i>
ballpoint pen	<i>n. kaneta;</i> <i>n. lapizeira.</i>	because	<i>conj. purke;</i> <i>conj. tamba.</i>
(k.o.) bamboo	<i>n. aalaka;</i> <i>n. mar;</i> <i>n. petun;</i> <i>n. tofa';</i> <i>n. ulu'.</i>	become big	<i>vd. ria-la'a, see: rian</i> big.
bamboo container for water	<i>n. ira-tu'il,</i> <i>see: ira</i> water; <i>tu'il</i> bake in bamboo.	become many	<i>vd. ropa-la'a, see: ropa'</i> many; <i>la'a</i> move.
bamboo used for baking or cooking meat in	<i>n. tu'iparu.</i>	become oily	<i>vd. paimina.</i>
bamboo water container	<i>n. toron.</i>	become ripe	<i>vd. eleraka.</i>
banana	<i>n. mu'u.</i>	bed	<i>n. dadorok;</i> <i>n. kama.</i>
baptised	<i>vd. sarani.</i>	bed sheet	<i>n. lensol, leensol.</i>
baptism	<i>n. batismu.</i>	bee	<i>n. uani.</i>
		beef	<i>n. ara-seur, see: arapau</i> buffalo; <i>seur</i> meat.
		beehive	<i>n. taran (?).</i>

before dawn	<i>clause.</i> mu'a hare' , <i>see:</i> mu'a ground; hare' clean.	bitter	<i>vd.</i> pik .
behaviour	<i>n.</i> kini-kini , <i>see:</i> kini do; <i>n.</i> ue-nini-ni , <i>see:</i> uai' there; kini do.	black	<i>vd.</i> le'ur ; <i>vd.</i> metan .
behind	<i>vd.</i> (k)-uta- .	blanket	<i>n.</i> lensol , leensol .
behind, but visible	<i>vd.</i> (k)-uri- .	Blessed Virgin	<i>n.</i> nosa siniora .
believe	<i>vd.</i> kata-ne'et , <i>see:</i> (k)-ata' physical contact; ne'et think.	blind	<i>vd.</i> seta' .
bell	<i>n.</i> sinu .	block from view	<i>vd.</i> (k)-utu .
belly	<i>n.</i> atu-pusi , <i>see:</i> atu faeces; pusi pan.	blood	<i>n.</i> uei .
belly button	<i>n.</i> ilu-mana , <i>see:</i> ilu umbilical cord; mana hole.	blood vessel	<i>n.</i> urat .
belong to	<i>vd.</i> (k)-isi' .	blow	<i>vd.</i> kut .
bench	<i>n.</i> paanku .	blow (wind)	<i>vd.</i> rut .
beside	<i>vd.</i> lafi' , <i>reduced form:</i> lafi- .	blue	<i>vd.</i> moso , mosor .
betel leaves	<i>n.</i> malu-hasa , <i>see:</i> malu betelnut; hasa leaf.	blunt	<i>vd.</i> poul .
betelnut	<i>n.</i> malu .	board	<i>n.</i> ate-lepen , <i>see:</i> ate tree; lepen disk.
between	<i>vd?</i> lete .	(k.o.) boat	<i>n.</i> bero .
big	<i>vd.</i> ni-sa'ul , <i>see:</i> sa'ul down; <i>vd.</i> kapidal ; <i>vd.</i> pere (SG), helar (PL); <i>bound form:</i> -selar ; <i>vd.</i> rian , <i>reduced form:</i> ria- .	body	<i>n.</i> afur .
big city	<i>n.</i> sidadi .	body hair	<i>n.</i> namu .
bigger than	<i>vd.</i> (k)-uan .	boil	<i>vd.</i> po'or ; <i>vd.</i> ulut .
bind	<i>vd.</i> sil .	boil over	<i>vd.</i> rifirifi .
bird	<i>n.</i> asa . <i>n.</i> asa nama-la'a , <i>see:</i> asa bird; nama' upwards; la'a move.	boil (water)	<i>vd.</i> lala' .
(k.o.) bird	<i>n.</i> fula ; <i>n.</i> tarana .	boiling hot	<i>vd.</i> iu' .
birthmark	<i>n.</i> etu ; <i>n.</i> amu-resin (?).	bole	<i>n.</i> soso .
bite	<i>vd.</i> duh ; <i>vd.</i> ka'el .	bomb	<i>vd.</i> rekasi .
		bone	<i>n.</i> hafa .
		book	<i>n.</i> buku , puku ; <i>n.</i> livru ; <i>n.</i> surat .
		booth	<i>n.</i> kios .
		border	<i>n.</i> uaku .
		bored	<i>vd;</i> <i>clause.</i> isa dikar , <i>see:</i> isa condition; dikar short.
		(be) born	<i>vd.</i> mu'a-isa , <i>see:</i> mu'a ground; isa go down.
		(be) born [-HUM]	<i>vd.</i> mu'a-sole , <i>see:</i> mu'a ground; hole throw down.
		borrow	<i>vd.</i> deue ; <i>vd.</i> impresta .
		boss	<i>n.</i> sefi .
		bottle	<i>n.</i> potil , putil .
		bottom	<i>n.</i> ueri .
		boundary	<i>n.</i> balija , baliza ;

bow	<i>n.</i> uaku . <i>vd.</i> dukul .	brother/sister-in-law from the male side <i>n.</i> mali omaraha , <i>see:</i>
boy	<i>n.</i> mata namiraa , <i>see:</i> mata child; namiraa man.	mali brother-in-law; omaraha wife-givers.
branch	<i>n.</i> saka ; <i>n.</i> tala .	brother/sister-in-law from the female side <i>n.</i> mali tuumata , <i>see:</i> mali brother-in-law; tuumata wife-takers.
brangle	<i>n.</i> odaha .	
breadfruit	<i>n.</i> amah .	brown <i>vd.</i> kafé .
break	<i>vd.</i> da'al ; <i>vd.</i> tefu' , <i>reduced form:</i> tefu- .	brush <i>n.</i> huri ; brush <i>vd.</i> huri' ; <i>vd.</i> sia .
break apart	<i>vd.</i> (k)-eta- .	bucket <i>n.</i> ember ; <i>n.</i> paaldi, paalde .
break to pieces	<i>vd.</i> sapun .	buffalo <i>n.</i> arapau ; <i>reduced form:</i> ara- .
break (up)	<i>vd.</i> dout ; <i>vd.</i> meke' , <i>reduced form:</i> meke- .	buffalo pen <i>n.</i> ara-luan , <i>see:</i> arapau buffalo; luan pen.
breast	<i>n.</i> dudu	bulging <i>vd.</i> tor .
breastfeed	<i>vd.</i> dudu .	bullet <i>n.</i> fatil-isu , <i>see:</i> fatil gun; isu seed.
breathe	<i>vd.</i> neh .	burial ceremony <i>n.</i> umur , <i>see:</i> umu die; <i>n.</i> heker .
bride price	<i>n.</i> ki-teuh ki-elin , <i>see:</i> teuh buy; elin price. <i>n.</i> hutir ; <i>n.</i> tumu .	burn <i>vd.</i> lapan .
bring	<i>vd.</i> heman ; <i>bound form:</i> -seman ; <i>vd.</i> tula ; <i>bound form:</i> -dula .	burn down <i>vd.</i> tana .
bring dowry gifts	<i>vd.</i> ki-hi'a-afi-la'a , <i>see:</i> hi'a street; (k)-afi' sideways; la'a move.	bus <i>n.</i> bis .
broad	<i>vd.</i> malar .	but <i>clit.</i> = mais ; <i>clit.</i> = po ; <i>conj.</i> maibé .
broom	<i>n.</i> tufa-tufa , <i>see:</i> tufa sweep.	butterfly <i>n.</i> lilipaka .
brother	<i>n.</i> isarami .	buttocks <i>n.</i> ueri .
brother-in-law	<i>n.</i> fain ; <i>n.</i> mali .	button <i>n.</i> butaun .
		buy <i>vd.</i> teuh ; <i>bound form:</i> -deuh .

C - c

cake	<i>n.</i> dosi .	call <i>vd.</i> kasar ;
calf	<i>n.</i> ia-torok , <i>see:</i> ia leg; torok lower part.	<i>vd.</i> leu ;

	<i>vd.</i> tamu ; <i>bound form:</i>		<i>n.</i> haka-mana , <i>see:</i>
	-damu ;		mana hole.
	<i>vd.</i> telefone .	centimeter	<i>n.</i> sentimu .
call (a dog)	<i>vd.</i> uat .	centre	<i>n.</i> pupul .
call (a horse)	<i>vd.</i> hihi .	ceremony	<i>n.</i> adat .
call in (a loan) from	<i>vd.</i> nour .	chair	<i>n.</i> kadera .
calm	<i>vd.</i> kaalma .	challenge	<i>vd.</i> isiperan .
calm down	<i>vd.</i> lelen .	change	<i>vd.</i> helur ;
(small) can	<i>n.</i> kaneka .		<i>vd.</i> muda .
can	<i>vd.</i> me'e .	chapel	<i>n.</i> kapela .
candle	<i>n.</i> lilin ;	chase (away)	<i>vd.</i> likut .
	<i>n.</i> usupadu .	cheap	<i>vd.</i> <i>clause.</i> ira dikar ,
candlenut	<i>n.</i> tor .		<i>see:</i> ira price; dikar
candy	<i>n.</i> musumusuk ;		short.
	<i>n.</i> ropesadu .	check	<i>vd.</i> cek ;
cannot	<i>vd.</i> nopa'e .		<i>vd.</i> periksa .
car	<i>n.</i> kareta .	check with someone	<i>vd.</i> kesar .
care	<i>vd.</i> sopun .	cheek	<i>n.</i> nala .
careful	<i>vd.</i> <i>clause.</i> ina pi-pit ,		<i>n.</i> nunu-hasa (?), <i>see:</i>
	<i>see:</i> ina eye; pit fast.		nunu lip; hasa leaf.
cargo area of a truck	<i>n.</i> pak .	chest (coffer)	<i>n.</i> ate-poka , <i>see:</i> ate tree;
carry	<i>vd.</i> heman , <i>bound form:</i>		poka basket.
	-seman ;	chest (bosom)	<i>n.</i> e .
	<i>vd.</i> kokor ;	chicken	<i>n.</i> asa .
	<i>vd.</i> lori ;	chicken louse	<i>n.</i> purur .
	<i>vd.</i> (k)-otu .	chief	<i>n.</i> sefi .
carry (a bag)	<i>vd.</i> alin .	child	<i>n.</i> mata .
carry (a child)	<i>vd.</i> (k)-afu .	chin	<i>n.</i> se' .
carry on one's back	<i>vd.</i> nuarai .	China, Chinese	<i>n.</i> sina .
carry thrown over the shoulder	<i>vd.</i>	choose	<i>vd.</i> ulu .
	amat .	chop into small pieces	<i>vd.</i> katal .
cassava	<i>n.</i> ate-matu .	chop (with an axe)	<i>vd.</i> ta'a .
castrate	<i>vd.</i> to'o .	chorus	<i>n.</i> masu-pata , <i>see:</i> masu
casuarina tree	<i>n.</i> oso .		song; pata essence.
cat	<i>n.</i> fala .	chosen	<i>vd.</i> eleitu .
catch	<i>vd.</i> hifa' ; <i>bound form:</i>	chrism	<i>n.</i> mina-sarani , <i>see:</i>
	-sifa' .		mina oil; sarani
catch up with	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ua-dula , <i>see:</i>		baptised.
	(k)-ua' on top; tula	Christmas	<i>n.</i> Natal .
	bring.	church	<i>n.</i> lopu falun , <i>see:</i> lopu
catch with a hook	<i>vd.</i> kail .		house; falun sacred;
catechist	<i>n.</i> katekista .		<i>n.</i> igreja .
catholic religion	<i>n?</i> katoliku .	cigarette	<i>n.</i> sigaar , sikaar .
cave	<i>n.</i> ili-heke , <i>see:</i> ili rock;		<i>n.</i> suka .
	heke difficult;	circumstance	<i>n.</i> kondisaun ;

	<i>n.</i> situasaun.	coffer	<i>n.</i> ate-poka , <i>see:</i> ate tree; poka basket.
citrus maxima	<i>n.</i> sapu.	cold	<i>vd.</i> kauar ; <i>vd.</i> ka'ar.
(k. o.) citrus fruit	<i>n.</i> tana-ilu-sapu , <i>see:</i> tana hand; ilu claw; sapu pomelo.	cold season	<i>n.</i> ka'ar-uru , <i>see:</i> ka'ar cold; uru moon.
city	<i>n.</i> kota ; <i>n.</i> vila.	colour	<i>n.</i> kor.
clan	<i>n.</i> kular ; <i>n.</i> nuak ; <i>n.</i> nukuh.	comb	<i>vd.</i> huri'.
claw	<i>n.</i> ilu.	combs (honey)	<i>n.</i> kurun.
(be) clean	<i>vd.</i> hare'.	come	<i>vd.</i> ma'u.
clean (purify)	<i>vd.</i> kiut.	come loose	<i>vd.</i> pu'al.
cleave	<i>vd.</i> karoh.	come together	<i>vd.</i> halin.
clever	<i>vd.</i> matenek ; <i>vd.</i> ma'en.	come towards	<i>vd.</i> ti'a-ma'u , <i>see:</i> ti'a- towards; ma'u come.
click one's tongue	<i>vd?</i> sefar kal , <i>see:</i> sefar dog.	commit a sin	<i>vd.</i> seti-nini , <i>see:</i> seti pass; kini do.
cliff	<i>n.</i> fifir.	commit an error	<i>vd.</i> sala.
climb	<i>vd.</i> misa ; <i>vd.</i> po' , <i>reduced form:</i> po- ; <i>vd.</i> musil.	commune	<i>n.</i> popusaun.
close	<i>vd.</i> kel ; <i>vd.</i> taka , <i>bound form:</i> -daka. <i>vd.</i> ufur.	community	<i>n.</i> komunidade.
close (eyes)	<i>vd.</i> kofu.	CMPL (complementiser)	<i>clit.</i> = ee ; <i>conj.</i> ke.
closet	<i>n.</i> armari.	compel	<i>vd.</i> fatar.
cloth	<i>n.</i> hena.	complete	<i>vd.</i> ha'afu ; <i>vd?</i> total.
cloth worn over the shoulder	<i>n.</i> saleenda, selenda.	compromise	<i>n.</i> kompromi.
clothes	<i>n.</i> kutu(-ini) , <i>see:</i> (k)-utu wear; <i>n.</i> faru ; <i>n.</i> hut ; <i>n.</i> ropa.	COND (conditional)	<i>clit.</i> = fata , <i>metathesised form:</i> = afta ;
cloud	<i>n.</i> nun.	condition	<i>n.</i> isa ; <i>n.</i> kondisaun.
CLS (clausal pro-form)	<i>vd.</i> uai.	(get one's) confirmation	<i>vd.</i> krisma , kirisma.
CLS.NEG (clausal negation)	<i>va?</i> nomohaka.	connection	<i>n.</i> tak.
clubs (cards)	<i>n.</i> paus.	consequence	<i>n.</i> konsekuensa.
cockroach	<i>n.</i> lapa.	consideration	<i>n.</i> konsiderasaun.
coconut	<i>n.</i> uata.	constantly	<i>vd?</i> tepa' , tepa.
coffee	<i>n.</i> kafé.	container	<i>n.</i> pusi.
		continue	<i>vd.</i> lopolopor ; <i>vd.</i> turut , <i>reduced form:</i> turu-
		continue gradually	<i>vd.</i> turu-diidiin , <i>see:</i> turut continue.
		converse	<i>vd.</i> laun.
		convey (a message)	<i>vd.</i> fana.
		cook	<i>n.</i> kozineiru.

	<i>n</i> mainatu (?).	crouch	<i>vd.</i> poko .
cook	<i>vd.</i> po'or ; <i>vd.</i> tina , <i>bound form</i> : -dina .	crown of the head	<i>n.</i> itun .
cooked	<i>vd.</i> dafut .	cry	<i>vd.</i> iar .
cookie	<i>n.</i> dosi .	cry (out)	<i>vd.</i> eetete .
cooking zone	<i>n.</i> ata-li'a , <i>see</i> : ata fire .	CSQ (consequential)	<i>clit.</i> = konai .
establish contact with the guerilla in the forest	<i>n?</i> konta-kutu .	CTF.COND (counterfactual conditional)	<i>clit.</i> = nata , <i>metathesised form</i> : = anta .
corn cob	<i>n.</i> lolon .	CTR (contrastive)	<i>clit.</i> = ini .
corpse	<i>n.</i> umur , <i>see</i> : umu die .	CTR.PRES (counter-presupposition)	<i>clit.</i> = haka .
correct	<i>vd.</i> rau-mot , <i>see</i> : rau good ; mot located.	cultivate	<i>vd.</i> pure .
(corrugated) metal roof	<i>n.</i> kalen .	cup	<i>n.</i> kopu .
cotton (boll)	<i>n.</i> hael .	curfew	<i>n.</i> kaanselamentu .
cotton fibres	<i>n.</i> nauk .	curly (hair)	<i>vd.</i> rukut .
cough	<i>vd.</i> ot .	curse	<i>vd.</i> tarin .
count	<i>vd.</i> ta'a .	cuscus	<i>n.</i> lou .
country	<i>n.</i> mu'a ; <i>n.</i> nasaun .	custom, customs	<i>n.</i> adat . <i>n.</i> lafu-lafu , <i>see</i> : lafu life ; <i>n.</i> lafu-lafu' , <i>see</i> : lafu' live ; <i>n.</i> omaraha-tuumata , <i>see</i> : omaraha wife-givers; tuumata wife-takers; <i>n.</i> kustumi .
(male) cousin	<i>n.</i> isarami .	cut	<i>vd.</i> lasi ; <i>vd.</i> lu'e ; <i>vd.</i> teri , <i>bound form</i> : -deri .
cover	<i>vd.</i> hokir .	cut down (tree)	<i>vd.</i> uarit .
crawl	<i>vd.</i> hut ; <i>vd.</i> lukidara .	cut into small pieces	<i>vd.</i> katal .
crazy	<i>vd.</i> nokonoko .	cut short	<i>vd.</i> hapi , <i>reduced form</i> : hapi- .
create	<i>vd.</i> de .	cut up	<i>vd.</i> podupodu .
creep	<i>vd.</i> lukidara .	cut with a small knife	<i>vd.</i> he'i , <i>bound form</i> : -se'i .
crescent-shaped ornament worn on the forehead	<i>n.</i> ara-horu , <i>see</i> : arapau buffalo; horu horn.		
croak	<i>vd.</i> koko' .		
crocodile	<i>n.</i> lafaek .		
crooked	<i>vd.</i> lari ; <i>vd.</i> uaras .		
cross	<i>n.</i> kuruus , kurus .		
cross over	<i>vd.</i> tou-la'a , <i>see</i> : tou- .		
cross piece stabilising the walls of a stilt house	<i>n.</i> hir-tekih , <i>see</i> : hir wall; tekih lean on.		

D - d

dad	<i>n.</i> apa .	dessert	<i>n.</i> dosi .
	<i>n.</i> papa .	destroy	<i>vd.</i> pa'uk-ini , <i>see:</i> pa'uk
dance	<i>vd.</i> dansa ;		bad;
	<i>vd.</i> he'el , <i>bound form:</i>		<i>vd.</i> istraga .
	-se'el ;	diamond (cards)	<i>n.</i> ouru .
	<i>vd.</i> koikoi' .	die	<i>vd.</i> umu ; <i>bound form:</i>
(k.o.) dance	<i>vd.</i> poi .		-umu, -numu.
dare	<i>vd.</i> ni mot , <i>see:</i> mot be	different	<i>clause?</i> pada se' , <i>see:</i>
	located;		pada friend; se' alone.
	<i>vd.</i> fuin .	difficult	<i>vd.</i> heke , <i>bound form:</i>
dark blue	<i>vd.</i> darunako .		-seke ;
daughter	<i>n.</i> mata tufuraa , <i>see:</i>		<i>vd.</i> susar .
	mata child; tufuraa	dig	<i>vd.</i> to'i , <i>bound form:</i>
	woman.		-do'i .
daughter-in-law	<i>n.</i> mata irani , <i>see:</i>	digit	<i>n.</i> raka .
	mata child.	diligent	<i>vd.</i> isa ha'e , <i>see:</i> isa
day	<i>n.</i> uatu .		condition; ha'e light.
(the) day after tomorrow	<i>va.</i> ei' .	dioscorea esculenta	<i>n.</i> ipitilu .
(the) day before yesterday	<i>va.</i> ahana'e .	directly	<i>va?</i> langsung .
dead	<i>vd.</i> kopa .	dirt	<i>n.</i> fasa' .
dead body	<i>n.</i> umur , <i>see:</i> umu die.	dirty	<i>vd.</i> ra'i .
dead person	<i>n.</i> matebian .	disappear	<i>vd.</i> molu .
dead tree	<i>n.</i> ate-furu , <i>see:</i> ate tree.	discuss	<i>vd.</i> hesi' (?).
death	<i>n.</i> umur , <i>see:</i> umu die.	(k.o.) disease	<i>n.</i> pa'amutu' .
deceive	<i>vd.</i> neok .	disguise	<i>vd.</i> soka .
December	<i>n.</i> ata-uru , <i>see:</i> ata fire;	dishonour	<i>vd.</i> estraga ;
	uru moon.		<i>vd.</i> kore' .
decoration	<i>n.</i> ra-ran-ini , <i>see:</i> ran	disk	<i>n.</i> lefen , lepen .
	ready .	dismantle	<i>vd.</i> hasa .
deer	<i>n.</i> pipi-rusa .	disrespect	<i>vd.</i> kore' .
DEF (definiteness marker)	<i>clit.</i> = ee .	divide	<i>vd.</i> meke' , <i>reduced form:</i>
defecate	<i>vd.</i> atu' .		meke- .
defend	<i>vd.</i> te-dai , <i>see:</i> te-	divide from	<i>vd.</i> pati .
	approach; dai pass	dizzy	<i>vd.</i> lain ;
	(through).		<i>vd.</i> dula .
demeanour	<i>n.</i> ue-nini-ni , <i>see:</i> uai'	do	<i>vd.</i> kini ; <i>bound form:</i>
	(be) there; kini do.		-ini , -nini .
demolish	<i>vd.</i> hasa .	doctor	<i>n.</i> dotór .
descend	<i>vd.</i> isa .	dog	<i>n.</i> sefar .
descend into	<i>vd.</i> faut .	dolphin	<i>n.</i> su-amulafu (?), <i>see:</i>
design for weaving patterns on paper	<i>n.</i> pa'anate .		su k.o. fish (?); amulafu
			person.

dominate	<i>vd.</i> dominan.		<i>n.</i> sufér.
done	<i>vd.</i> prontu.	drizzle	<i>vd.</i> nikiniki.
door	<i>n.</i> aihaa; odamata.	drop	<i>vd.</i> du'al.
down	<i>vd.</i> sa'ul.	dry	<i>vd.</i> aran; hat , <i>bound form:</i> -sat; titil.
(be) down there)	<i>vd.</i> ufai', ufe' , <i>reduced form:</i> ufai-, ufe-.	dry and cracking open	<i>vd.</i> fot.
downwards	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ati-.	dry in the sun	<i>vd.</i> uatu.
dowry	<i>n.</i> barlake, parlake.	dry season	<i>vd.</i> pare.
dragonfly	<i>n.</i> ira-mumus.	dump	<i>vd.</i> sesar.
drawn out	<i>vd.</i> sidar.	during the Portuguese colonial era	<i>va.</i> portu, poortu.
dream	<i>vd.</i> ofarana.	dusk	<i>vd.</i> are'.
dregs	<i>n.</i> paru.	dust	<i>n.</i> lue-teur , <i>see:</i> lue ash; teur smoke. <i>n.</i> teur.
dress	<i>n.</i> vistidu.	duty	<i>n.</i> alfersi; kuulpa.
drill a hole into	<i>vd.</i> leuk (?) .		
drink	<i>vd.</i> ke'.		
drinking place for livestock	<i>n.</i> faka.		
driver	<i>n.</i> koondotór;		

E - e

each	<i>vd.</i> na'a-na'a , <i>see:</i> na'a alone (?) .	eight	<i>vd.</i> afo.
eagle	<i>n.</i> lolu.	elbow	<i>n.</i> tana-pu'i , <i>see:</i> tana arm; pu'i joint;
ear	<i>n.</i> uali.		<i>n.</i> tana-ti'u , <i>see:</i> tana arm.
early (in the morning)	<i>vd.</i> maledeer; <i>clause.</i> mu'a hare' , <i>see:</i> mu'a ground; hare' clean; <i>va?</i> kamu-kamu, kamu- amu , <i>see:</i> kamu night.	elder sibling	<i>n.</i> nana.
(k.o.) earrings	<i>n.</i> lauan.	elected	<i>vd.</i> eleitu.
earwax	<i>n.</i> uali-atu , <i>see:</i> uali ear; atu faeces;	electricity	<i>n.</i> liistrik.
east	<i>n.</i> uatu misar , <i>see:</i> uatu sun; misa go up.	elongated	<i>vd.</i> sidar.
eat	<i>vd.</i> nua.	embed	<i>vd.</i> dede; solo.
economy	<i>n.</i> ekonomi.	embrace	<i>vd.</i> kol.
edge	<i>n.</i> ualir.	employee	<i>n.</i> mataroos.
(in) effect	<i>vd.</i> laku.	empty	<i>vd.</i> losan , <i>reduced form:</i> losa-.
egg	<i>n.</i> ua.	encircle	<i>vd.</i> le'u.
		encirclement	<i>n.</i> likadora (?) .
		enclosure	<i>n.</i> lofo.
		end	<i>n.</i> akir;

	<i>vd. hai'</i> ; <i>bound form:</i> <i>-sai'</i> .	exam	<i>n. ujian.</i>
endpoint	<i>n. ula.</i>	exchange for	<i>vd. tu'ar.</i>
enemy	<i>n. halafi.</i>	excoriate	<i>vd. lo'e.</i>
enormous	<i>vd. numu.</i>	exercise book	<i>n. kadernu.</i>
enough	<i>vd? isi-ria'</i> , <i>see: isi'</i> at; <i>ria'</i> run.	exert	<i>vd. remet.</i>
enthusiastic	<i>vd. isa ha'e</i> , <i>see: isa</i> <i>condition; ha'e</i> light.	exert oneself	<i>vd. ni remet</i> , <i>see: remet</i> <i>excert;</i> <i>vd. me'en.</i>
entire	<i>vd? felu;</i> <i>vd? total.</i>	exhausted	<i>vd. ho'o</i> , <i>bound form:</i> <i>-so'o.</i>
entrust	<i>vd. entrega.</i>	EXHORT (exhortative) <i>clit. =elo.</i>	
eraser	<i>n. sia-sia</i> , <i>see: sia</i> rub.	exit	<i>vd. sai.</i>
err	<i>n. seti-nini</i> , <i>see: seti</i> <i>pass; kini</i> do.	expect	<i>vd. ti'a-puna</i> , <i>see: ti'a-</i> <i>towards; puna</i> look at.
error	<i>n. seti-seti</i> , <i>see: seti</i> pass.	expensive	<i>vd. clause. ira misa</i> , <i>see:</i> <i>ira</i> price; <i>misa</i> go up.
escudo	<i>n. iskudu.</i>	expert	<i>n. badaen, padaen.</i>
essence	<i>n. pata.</i>	explode	<i>vd. duir;</i> <i>vd. fatit.</i>
establish	<i>vd. fundu, fuundu.</i>	extremely hot	<i>vd. iu'.</i>
eucalyptus	<i>n. dara'.</i>	eye	<i>n. ina.</i>
eugenia javanica	<i>n. uasur.</i>	eye socket	<i>n. ina-mana</i> , <i>see: mana</i> <i>hole.</i>
Europe	<i>n. Eropa.</i>	eyeball	<i>n. ina-isu</i> , <i>see: isu</i> seed;
eurycoma longifolia	<i>n. pasak</i> (?).	eyebrow	<i>n. ina-taran.</i>
evening	<i>vd. rai.</i>	eyelashes	<i>n. ina-fasu</i> (?), <i>see: fasu</i> <i>skin of a fruit.</i>
event	<i>n. ajar.</i>		
every day	<i>clause? uatu uere uatu</i> <i>uere</i> , <i>see: uatu</i> day; <i>uere</i> <i>that.</i>		

F - f

face	<i>n. fanu.</i>	fall (rain)	<i>vd. uta</i> , <i>bound form:</i> <i>-nuta;</i>
face away	<i>vd. holi-</i>	fallen tree	<i>n. patan.</i>
faeces	<i>n. atu.</i>	family	<i>n. familia.</i>
fall	<i>vd. dasa;</i> <i>vd. li'an.</i>	family of the bride	<i>n. omaraha.</i>
fall down with a thud or a hard impact	<i>vd. dukal.</i>	family of the groom	<i>n. tuumata.</i>
fall off	<i>vd. suruk.</i>	far away	<i>vd? ala-;</i> <i>vd. alaka'</i> , <i>reduced form:</i> <i>alaka-</i>
fall over	<i>vd. tefu-li'an</i> , <i>see: tefu'</i> <i>break; li'an</i> fall.		

farmer	<i>n.</i> ama pau-paun , <i>see:</i> ama garden; paun tear out.		<i>vd.</i> nese-puna , <i>see:</i> nese' (in the) middle; puna look at.
	<i>n.</i> ama-ouar , <i>see:</i> ama garden; ouar master.	finger	<i>n.</i> tana-raka , <i>see:</i> tana hand; raka digit.
	<i>n.</i> sirvidoor , sirbidoor .	fingernail	<i>n.</i> tana-ilu , <i>see:</i> tana hand; ilu claw.
fart	<i>vd.</i> fuk .	finished	<i>vd.</i> era' ; <i>vd.</i> ho'o , <i>bound form:</i> -so'o .
fast	<i>vd.</i> pit ; <i>vd.</i> raun .	fire	<i>n.</i> ata .
fat	<i>vd.</i> po'ur .	firefly	<i>n.</i> ifi-susuuk , <i>see:</i> ifi star; susuuk mosquito.
Fataluku speaker	<i>n.</i> moko .	fireplace	<i>n.</i> ata-li'a , <i>see:</i> ata fire.
father	<i>n.</i> papa ; <i>n.</i> upa .	firewood	<i>n.</i> ata .
favour	<i>n.</i> favór .	firm	<i>vd.</i> fuluk ; <i>vd.</i> (k)-e- ; <i>vd.</i> kel ; <i>vd.</i> maka' ; <i>vd.</i> petel .
feather	<i>n.</i> asa-namu , <i>see:</i> asa bird; namu body hair.	first	<i>va.</i> atanana ; <i>va.</i> keri ; <i>vd?</i> pertama ; <i>vd.</i> primeiru ; <i>vd.</i> tu .
February	<i>n.</i> faian-kalantor .	first-born	<i>vd.</i> tu-pere (SG), tu-selar (PL), <i>see:</i> pere big (SG); helar big (PL).
feed	<i>vd.</i> fan ; <i>vd.</i> ufal .	fish	<i>n.</i> afi .
feel	<i>vd.</i> senti .	(k.o.) fish (?)	<i>n.</i> su .
fell (a tree)	<i>vd.</i> uarit .	five	<i>vd.</i> lima .
female	<i>n.</i> fanar .	fixed	<i>vd.</i> fuluk .
female bird	<i>n.</i> paruh .	flag	<i>n.</i> paandera .
(female) cousin	<i>n.</i> prima ; <i>n.</i> tufur .	flame	<i>n.</i> ata-tana , <i>see:</i> ata fire; tana hand; <i>n.</i> ata-ho'o , <i>see:</i> ata fire; ho'o some (?).
fence made from wood or bamboo	<i>n.</i> setur .	flat bamboo panel	<i>n.</i> leki .
fencing post	<i>n.</i> teih .	flatter	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ia-lolo , <i>see:</i> (k)-ia' under; lolo say.
fetch (water)	<i>vd.</i> (k)-otu .	flea	<i>n.</i> asu .
few, a few	<i>vd.</i> tauropa' .	flip-flop	<i>n.</i> sinelus .
figus benjamina	<i>n.</i> hama .	flood	<i>n?</i> ira-uah , <i>see:</i> ira water.
field	<i>n.</i> ama .	flour sack	<i>n.</i> poornaal .
fierce	<i>vd.</i> si'ak .		
fight	<i>vd.</i> tota ; <i>vd.</i> urut .		
film	<i>n.</i> filem .		
filter	<i>n.</i> saren ; <i>vd.</i> saren-ini , <i>see:</i> kini do .		
filth	<i>n.</i> fasa' .		
finally	<i>va.</i> afinál .		
find	<i>vd.</i> nese-la'a , <i>see:</i> nese' (in the) middle; la'a move;		

flow	<i>vd.</i> lori .	forgiveness	<i>n.</i> perdaun .
flower	<i>n.</i> ate-fufu , <i>see:</i> ate tree; <i>n.</i> fu .	fork	<i>n.</i> kitu-kitu , <i>see:</i> kitu skewer.
(k.o.) flute	<i>n.</i> asa-masu , <i>see:</i> asa bird; masu voice.	forty	<i>n?</i> ate fat , <i>see:</i> ate (a unit of) ten.
(k.o.) flute with four holes	<i>n.</i> nunuur .	found	<i>vd.</i> fundu, fuundu .
fly	<i>n.</i> uful ; <i>vd.</i> lor .	four	<i>vd.</i> fat .
(k.o.) fly	<i>n.</i> ufun metan .	freckles	<i>n.</i> isu-isu , <i>see:</i> isu seed.
flying fish	<i>n.</i> afi nama-se-se'el , <i>see:</i> afi fish; nama' upwards; he'el jump.	free	<i>vd.</i> livre .
foam	<i>vd.</i> ore .	French	<i>n.</i> fransés .
fog	<i>n.</i> nun-teur , <i>see:</i> nun cloud; teur smoke.	Friday	<i>n.</i> uatu lima , <i>see:</i> uatu day; lima five.
foliage	<i>n.</i> ate-hasa , <i>see:</i> ate tree; hasa leaf.	friend	<i>n.</i> pada ; <i>n.</i> raku .
follow	<i>vd.</i> mini ; <i>vd.</i> sofit , <i>reduced form:</i> sofi- .	frog	<i>n.</i> dila .
following the length of	<i>vd.</i> mi' , <i>reduced form:</i> mi- .	front	<i>n.</i> fanu .
food	<i>n.</i> nua-ini ; <i>n.</i> nua-nua , <i>see:</i> nua eat.	front beam of a loom	<i>n.</i> atih .
foot	<i>n.</i> ia .	front of the neck	<i>n.</i> masukoro .
for	<i>vd.</i> (k)-asu .	fruit	<i>n.</i> ate-isu , <i>see:</i> ate tree; isu seed.
forbid	<i>vd.</i> (k)utu-suma , <i>see:</i> (k)-utu block from view; huma order.	fry	<i>vd.</i> ha'al , <i>bound form:</i> -sa'al .
force	<i>vd.</i> fatar ; <i>vd.</i> obriga .	frying pan	<i>n.</i> tasu .
forehead	<i>n.</i> ina-pisi , <i>see:</i> ina eye.	full	<i>vd.</i> he'ul ; <i>vd.</i> kafu' , <i>reduced form:</i> kafu- ; <i>vd.</i> penu .
foreigner	<i>n.</i> malai .	fumigate	<i>vd.</i> rakan .
forest	<i>n.</i> ala', alah .	function	<i>n.</i> alfersi .
forget	<i>vd.</i> nilu .	funny	<i>vd.</i> komik .
		FUT (future)	<i>va.</i> tone' .
		future	<i>n.</i> futuru ; <i>n?</i> osamale .
		(in the) future	<i>va.</i> la'akafu ; <i>va.</i> ura'e .

G - g

garden	<i>n.</i> ama ; <i>n.</i> dana .	gathering	<i>n.</i> rifurifu .
gate	<i>n.</i> amaan .	(k.o.) gecko	<i>n.</i> kauaili .
gather	<i>vd.</i> soru .	gekko gecko	<i>n.</i> toke .

get married	<i>vp.</i> ta mei , <i>see:</i> ta REC ; mei take; <i>vd.</i> kauen .	goat	<i>n.</i> pipi .
get to	<i>vd.</i> (k-)ua-dula , <i>see:</i> (k)-ua' on top; tula bring.	God	<i>n.</i> Maromak ; <i>n.</i> Uru-uatu .
get-together	<i>n.</i> rifurifu .	godfather	<i>n.</i> upa sarani , <i>see:</i> upa father; sarani baptised.
ghost	<i>n.</i> huma' .	gold	<i>n.</i> lauan kalah , <i>see:</i> lauan precious metal; kalah yellow.
gift	<i>n.</i> teuh-ini , <i>see:</i> teuh buy.	good	<i>vd.</i> lumek ; <i>vd.</i> rau .
girl	<i>n.</i> mata tufuraa , <i>see:</i> mata child; tufuraa woman.	goodhearted	<i>vd.</i> mutu hare' , <i>see:</i> mutu inside; hare' clean.
give	<i>vd.</i> -ini .	goods	<i>n.</i> elin ; <i>n.</i> seran .
give to me	<i>vd.</i> manini .	gorge	<i>n.</i> pa'an ; <i>n.</i> toil .
give to us (excl.)	<i>vd.</i> minini .	gossip about	<i>vd.</i> suar .
give to us (incl.)	<i>vd.</i> fiini .	government	<i>n.</i> governu , kovernu .
give to who	<i>vd.</i> mu'aini .	grab	<i>vd.</i> lili .
give to you (pl)	<i>vd.</i> miini .	graduate	<i>vd.</i> tamat . <i>vd.</i> manan .
give to you (sg)	<i>vd.</i> meini .	grandchild	<i>n.</i> dada .
give birth	<i>vd.</i> uala .	grandfather	<i>n.</i> abó .
give security	<i>vd.</i> garántia .	grandparent	<i>n.</i> dada .
glass	<i>n.</i> iaia ; <i>n.</i> kopu .	(k.o.) grass	<i>n.</i> roun ; <i>n.</i> munu .
glasses	<i>n.</i> ina-ta'al , <i>see:</i> ina eye; <i>n.</i> ókulu .	grasshopper	<i>n.</i> osakada .
go	<i>vd.</i> mara .	grate	<i>vd.</i> kaur .
go abroad	<i>vp.</i> meti-afi-la'a , <i>see:</i> meti sea; (k)-afi' sideways; la'a move.	grave	<i>n.</i> rate .
go down	<i>vd.</i> isa .	gravel	<i>n.</i> ara .
go for a holiday	<i>vd.</i> feri .	great-grandchild, great-grandfather	<i>n.</i> hoden .
go in	<i>vd.</i> tama .	great-great-grandchild, great-great- grandparent	<i>n.</i> nanu .
go on all fours	<i>vd.</i> hut .	greedy	<i>vd.</i> koumeme' .
go out	<i>vd.</i> lana (?) .	green	<i>vd.</i> moso , mosor .
go out (with someone)	<i>va.</i> namora .	grey	<i>vd.</i> lue-lue , <i>see:</i> lue ash.
go perpendicular	<i>vd.</i> tefu' , <i>reduced</i> <i>form:</i> tefu- .	grind	<i>vd.</i> tutu' .
go somewhere quickly	<i>vd.</i> selau- (??).	ground	<i>n.</i> mu'a .
go to school	<i>vd.</i> iskola , isikola .	(on the) ground	<i>vd.</i> sa'ul .
go up	<i>vd.</i> misa ; <i>vd.</i> naik ; <i>vd.</i> po' , <i>reduced form:</i> po- .	grown up	<i>vd.</i> ni-sa'ul , <i>see:</i> ni- NEG ; sa'ul down.
goal	<i>n.</i> objektivu .	guard	<i>vd.</i> (k)-utu' .
		guest	<i>vd.</i> konvidadu , <i>see:</i> konvida invite;

	<i>n.</i> bainaka.	gums	<i>n.</i> nihi.
guitar	<i>n.</i> rebeka.	gun	<i>n.</i> fatil.
gum tree	<i>n.</i> dara'.		

H - h

habitually	<i>va.</i> houdai, houdainisi.	hat	<i>n.</i> puulata-taka, see: puulata head; taka close;
hair	<i>n.</i> sa'e.		<i>n.</i> sapeu, saapeu.
hair (sg)	<i>n.</i> sa'e-hasa, see: hasa leaf.	hatch	<i>vd.</i> atal.
half	<i>n.</i> tafu.	hate	<i>vd, clause.</i> mutu isit, see: mutu inside; isit ill;
half of a coconut shell	<i>n.</i> toukur, tou.		<i>vd.</i> dauk;
half ripe	<i>vd?</i> nokor pala'; <i>vd.</i> pala'.		<i>vd.</i> odi, ode.
half ripe (coconuts)	<i>vd.</i> lakulaku.	have a cold	<i>clause.</i> mini ufur, see: mini nose; ufur close.
hand	<i>n.</i> tana.	have a husband	<i>vp.</i> nami-ena, see: nami husband; ena see.
hand in	<i>vd.</i> hatama.	have a wife	<i>vp.</i> sa-ena, see: sa wife; ena see;
hand over (bride)	<i>vd.</i> kupe.		<i>vp.</i> mu'a-ena, see: mu'a ground; ena see.
hang	<i>vd.</i> doil.	have an accident	<i>vd.</i> hal.
happen	<i>vd.</i> akontese.	have an affair	<i>va.</i> namora.
happy	<i>vd, clause.</i> isa hare', see: isa condition; hare' clean;	have eaten one's fill	<i>vd.</i> he'ul.
	<i>vd, clause.</i> isa ha'e, see: isa condition; ha'e light;	he	<i>pron.</i> iraku;
	<i>vd, clause.</i> isa fani, see: isa condition; fani nice, sweet;		<i>pron.</i> kiloo.
	<i>vd, clause.</i> isa felun, see: isa condition; felun nice, pretty;	head	<i>n.</i> puulata.
	<i>vd, clause.</i> isa rau, see: isa condition; rau good.	head strap	<i>n.</i> alu.
hard	<i>vd.</i> kel;	healer	<i>n.</i> tana-badaen, see: tana hand; badaen expert;
	<i>vd.</i> petel;		<i>n.</i> mosa'.
	<i>vd.</i> saman.	health	<i>n.</i> saude.
harm	<i>vd.</i> kasu-kini, see: kasu bad; kini do.	healthy	<i>vd.</i> amu ka'ar, see: amu person; ka'ar cold;
harsh	<i>vd.</i> petel.		<i>vd.</i> lumek.
harvest	<i>vd.</i> uasir.	hear	<i>vd.</i> uali'.
		heart	<i>n.</i> adan;
		heart (seat of emotions)	<i>n.</i> uapoku.
		hearts (cards)	<i>n.</i> kopás.

heaven	<i>n.</i> lalehan.	hole	<i>n.</i> mana.
heavy	<i>vd.</i> ti'ir.	holiday	<i>n.</i> feriadu.
heavy (rain)	<i>vd.</i> lor; peran.	hollow of the knee	<i>n.</i> ia-masu , <i>see:</i> ia leg; masu throat.
heddle loop	<i>n.</i> herukai.	HON (honorific)	<i>suff.</i> -uai.
heddle stick	<i>n.</i> lu'un.	honey	<i>n.</i> uani-ira , <i>see:</i> uani bee; ira water.
heel	<i>n.</i> ia-dafan , <i>see:</i> ia foot; dafan.	honeycomb	<i>n.</i> ner (?).
help	<i>vd.</i> te-dai , <i>see:</i> te- approach; dai pass (through); <i>vd.</i> ajuda; tulun.	honour	<i>vd.</i> fiar.
hen	<i>n.</i> paruh.	hop	<i>vd.</i> he'el , <i>bound form:</i> -se'el; <i>vd.</i> sa'uk.
hence	<i>va?</i> portantu , tantu.	horn	<i>n.</i> horu.
her	<i>poss.pron.</i> ki-	horse	<i>n.</i> kuda.
herder	<i>n.</i> atan.	hospital	<i>n.</i> formasi.
(be) here	<i>vd.</i> ai' , e' , <i>reduced form:</i> ai- , e- .	hot	<i>vd.</i> nene' ; <i>vd.</i> pare; <i>vd.</i> peri' .
hiccup	<i>vd.</i> makulesu.	hour	<i>n.</i> oras.
hidden from view	<i>vd.</i> (k)-uta- .	house	<i>n.</i> lopu.
hide	<i>vd.</i> koi; <i>vd.</i> polo.	how	<i>vp.</i> sa'a-fani' , <i>see:</i> sa'ani what; fani' be like; <i>vd.</i> taure-fani' , <i>see:</i> taure' which; fani' be like.
hide in the forest like a guerilla	<i>vd.</i> (k)-afa-lana , <i>see:</i> (k)- afa- away from; lana go out.	how many, how much	<i>vd.</i> tauropa' ; <i>vd.</i> teteropa' .
high grass	<i>n.</i> fereh.	howl	<i>vd.</i> kaul; <i>vd.</i> oololo.
higher up	<i>vd.</i> nama' , <i>reduced form:</i> nama- .	hug	<i>vd.</i> kol.
hill	<i>n.</i> pupur.	huge	<i>vd.</i> numu.
hinder	<i>vd.</i> (k)-utu.	human being	<i>n.</i> amulafu , <i>see:</i> amu person; lafu life. <i>n.</i> amuni.
his	<i>poss.pron.</i> ki-	humoristic	<i>vd.</i> komik.
history	<i>n.</i> lafu-lafu' , <i>see:</i> lafu' life.	hundred	<i>vd.</i> rasa.
hit	<i>vd.</i> kene; <i>vd.</i> nese' , <i>reduced form:</i> nese- ; <i>vd.</i> pase; <i>vd.</i> tupi , <i>bound form:</i> -dupi.	hunger season	<i>n.</i> lepuh-uru , <i>see:</i> lepuh hungry; uru moon.
hold	<i>vd.</i> kokor.	hungry	<i>vd.</i> lepuh.
hold dear	<i>vd.</i> ket.	hunt	<i>vd.</i> sapu.
hold on	<i>vd.</i> teeluku.	hurried	<i>vd.</i> rapurapu.
		hurry	<i>vd.</i> pit.
		husband	<i>n.</i> nami.

I - i

I	<i>pron.</i> ani .	Indonesia, Indonesian	<i>n.</i> Indonesia .
ideals	<i>n.</i> lafu-lafu' , <i>see:</i> lafu' live.	Indonesian language	<i>n.</i> bahasa indonesia .
idle	<i>vd.</i> paadiu .	Indonesian man	<i>n.</i> papa .
if	<i>conj.</i> <i>see.</i>	Indonesian woman	<i>n.</i> ibu .
ignite	<i>vd.</i> due .	information	<i>n.</i> informasaun .
(k.o.) ilex (?)	<i>n.</i> peitasa .	inside	<i>n.</i> mutu . <i>vd.</i> mutu' , <i>reduced form:</i> mutu- .
ill	<i>vd.</i> isit .	inside of the elbow	<i>n.</i> tana-masu , <i>see:</i> tana arm; masu throat.
image	<i>n.</i> utiuti .	inspect	<i>vd.</i> periksa .
IMM (immediate action)	<i>clit.</i> = fa'a ; <i>metathesised form:</i> = afa .	insult	<i>vd.</i> so .
impact	<i>vd.</i> potok .	INT (intentional)	<i>clit.</i> = na'a , <i>metathesised form:</i> = ana .
impact forcefully	<i>vd.</i> (k)-eta- .	intact	<i>vd.</i> ha'afu .
impale	<i>vd.</i> solo .	intention	<i>n.</i> intentasaun (?).
implant	<i>vd.</i> dede ; <i>vd.</i> solo .	interpreter	<i>n.</i> durupasa .
important	<i>vd.</i> importante ; <i>vd.</i> vale, uale .	intestines	<i>n.</i> atu-matar , <i>see:</i> atu faeces; mata child.
improve	<i>vd.</i> rau-mot , <i>see:</i> mot be located.	inundation	<i>n.</i> ira-uah , <i>see:</i> ira water.
in	<i>vd.</i> isi' , <i>reduced form:</i> isi- .	invade	<i>vd.</i> invade .
in turn	<i>va?</i> na'a-muni .	invite	<i>vd.</i> kasar ; <i>vd.</i> konvida .
in X days	<i>suff.</i> -e'e .	IPF (imperfective)	<i>va.</i> ho'onese .
incident	<i>n.</i> ajar .	ipomoea aquatica	<i>n.</i> kankun .
increase	<i>vd?</i> ria-la'a , <i>see:</i> rian big; la'a move; <i>vd?</i> ropa-la'a , <i>see:</i> ropa' many; la'a move.	ipomoea batatas	<i>n.</i> matu (?).
IND (indirect information)	<i>clit.</i> = kini .	iron	<i>n.</i> besi ; <i>n.</i> mumu' .
independence	<i>n.</i> independensia .	island	<i>n.</i> larin .
individual of same social status	<i>n.</i> pada ; <i>n.</i> raku .	isn't it?	? kan .
		itchy	<i>vd.</i> ile' .
		its	<i>poss.pron.</i> ki-

J - j

January	<i>n.</i> uilal-bailiur.	July	<i>n.</i> matu-isar , <i>see:</i> matu sweet yam; isa go up.
Java, Javanese	<i>n.</i> Jaua.	jump	<i>vd.</i> he'el , <i>bound form:</i> -se'el ; <i>vd.</i> sa'uk.
jaw	<i>n.</i> sela'u.	June	<i>n.</i> uata-hasa , <i>see:</i> uata coconut; hasa leaf.
jerrycan	<i>n.</i> jerikeen, serikeen, zerekeen.	junior high school	<i>n.</i> SMP.
(k. o.) jewellery (a large gold disk worn on the chest)	<i>n.</i> lauan- lefen, lauan-lepen , <i>see:</i> lauan precious metal; lefen disc.	jurisdiction	<i>n.</i> sede.
joint	<i>n.</i> pu'i.	just	<i>va?</i> na'u.
		just before	<i>va.</i> aire'.

K - k

keep (an animal)	<i>vd.</i> ufal.		<i>n.</i> liurai.
keep back	<i>vd.</i> asir.	kiosk	<i>n.</i> kios.
keep on	<i>vd?</i> tepa', tepa.	kiss	<i>vd.</i> muni'.
key	<i>n.</i> save, savi.	kitchen	<i>n.</i> dapur.
kick	<i>vd.</i> ti'al , <i>bound form:</i> -di'al.	knee	<i>n.</i> ia-itu' , <i>see:</i> ia leg; <i>n.</i> itu'.
kill	<i>vd.</i> fo'ol ; <i>vd.</i> teri , <i>bound form:</i> -deri ; <i>vd.</i> (k)-umu- ; <i>vd.</i> (k)-uta.	knife	<i>n.</i> hutir.
kilo	<i>n.</i> kilu.	knock	<i>vd.</i> dere.
king	<i>n.</i> dai ;	know	<i>vd.</i> hofs , <i>bound form:</i> -sofe ; <i>vd.</i> ma'en.
		know by heart	<i>vd.</i> hafal.

L - l

lack	<i>vd.</i> falta, faalata.	lake	<i>n.</i> ira-ha'a , <i>see:</i> ira water; ha'a mouth;
ladder	<i>n.</i> ha'e.		<i>n.</i> (ira) liu , <i>see:</i> liu stagnant.
lady	<i>n.</i> na'ilou ; <i>n.</i> sinora.	language	<i>n.</i> mu'a.

last night	<i>va. raine'</i> , <i>see: rai</i> night; <i>va. sooraine'</i> , <i>see: soh</i> yesterday.		<i>vd. tia</i> (SG), <i>bound form:</i> -dia ; rou (PL).
(be) late	<i>vd. sofit</i> , <i>reduced form:</i> sofi- .	lie (on)	<i>vd. mot</i> .
laugh	<i>vd. hi'e</i> , <i>bound form:</i> -ni'e .	life	<i>n. lafu</i> ; <i>n. lafu-lafu'</i> , <i>see: lafu'</i> live .
lay around untidily	<i>vd. kamata</i> .	lift	<i>vd. dane</i> .
lay eggs	<i>vd. ua'</i> .	light (not heavy)	<i>vd. ha'e</i> ;
layer	<i>n. no</i> .	light, shine	<i>vd. kan</i> .
lazy	<i>vd. clause. isa dikar</i> , <i>see: isa</i> condition; dikar short.	light (day)	<i>vd. osa</i> .
lead	<i>vd. ukun</i> .	light blue	<i>vd. imposa</i> (?).
leader	<i>n. liurai</i> . <i>vd. tu-pere</i> , <i>see: tu</i> first; pere big (SG); <i>n. sa'e</i> .	lightening	<i>n. lo'on-fatil</i> , <i>see: lo'on</i> sky; fatil gun.
leaf	<i>n. ate-hasa</i> , <i>see: ate</i> tree; hasa leaf. <i>n. hasa</i> .	like	<i>clause. isa tutu</i> , <i>see: isa</i> condition; tutu like.
lean on	<i>vd. pel</i> ; <i>vd. tekih</i> , <i>bound form:</i> -dekih .	like, alike	<i>vd. fani'</i> , pani' , <i>reduced</i> <i>form: fani-</i> , pani- .
lease	<i>vd? kori</i> (?).	lime (for betel)	<i>n. lue</i> .
leather	<i>n. uli</i> .	limit	<i>n. no</i> .
leave	<i>vd. (k)-afa-</i> .	limitation	<i>n. uaku</i> .
leave behind	<i>vd. ueinatu'</i> .	line	<i>n. lina</i> .
(be) left over	<i>vd. resin</i> , <i>reduced form:</i> resi- .	lip	<i>n. nunu</i> , <i>reduced form:</i> nu- .
left side	<i>n. ueli</i> .	liquid medicine	<i>n. ate-hasa ki-ira</i> , <i>see:</i> ate tree; hasa leaf; ira water.
leg	<i>n. ia</i> .	litre	<i>n. liitru</i> .
lesser yam	<i>n. ipitilu</i> .	live	<i>vd. lafu'</i> .
let compete	<i>vd. hil</i> .	liver	<i>n. ari</i> .
let go	<i>vd. du'al</i> ; <i>vd. ter</i> .	(living) person	<i>n. amulafu</i> , <i>see: amu</i> person; lafu life.
letter	<i>n. surat</i> .	(k.o.) lizard	<i>n. ate-raka liti</i> , <i>see: ate</i> tree; raka digit.
levelling board	<i>n. ate-tene'</i> , <i>see: ate</i> tree.	LNK1 (linker1)	<i>clit. =ini</i> .
lick	<i>vd. feil</i> .	LNK2 (linker 2)	<i>clit. =isi</i> .
lie	<i>vd. loko</i> ; <i>vd. neok</i> ; <i>vd. puripuri</i> .	(be) located	<i>vd. mot</i> .
lie down (flat)	<i>vd. ken</i> (?). <i>vd. leru'</i> .	lock	<i>vd. kesi</i> .
		log	<i>n. patan</i> .
		long	<i>vd. asan</i> .
		long ago	<i>va. mu'it</i> ; <i>vd? antigu</i> .
		look	<i>vd. keil</i> .
		look after	<i>vd. ne-puna</i> , <i>see: ne-</i> at (?); puna look at;

	<i>vd.</i> te-dai , <i>see:</i> te- approach; dai pass (through); <i>vd.</i> (k)-utu' .	loop by which the backstrap is attached to the lower loom bar <i>n.</i> kaue' .
look at	<i>vd.</i> ne-puna , <i>see:</i> ne- at (?); puna look at ; <i>vd.</i> puna ; <i>vd.</i> toton .	lord <i>n.</i> sa'e-koru , <i>see:</i> sa'e hair.
look at (from a distance)	<i>vd.</i> mi-puna , <i>see:</i> mi' along; puna look at.	lose consciousness <i>clause.</i> fanu lain , <i>see:</i> fanu face; lain dizzy; <i>vd.</i> dula .
look for	<i>vd.</i> haka , <i>bound form:</i> -saka .	lost <i>vd.</i> molu .
look out for	<i>vd.</i> ti'a-puna , <i>see:</i> ti'a- towards; puna look at.	louse <i>n.</i> amin .
look through	<i>vd.</i> mi-puna , <i>see:</i> mi' along; puna look at.	love <i>vd.</i> domin ; <i>vd.</i> ket .
looks	<i>n.</i> fanu-fanu , <i>see:</i> fanu .	lower arm <i>n.</i> tana-torok , <i>see:</i> tana arm; torok lower part.
loom backstrap	<i>n.</i> sofu .	lower leg <i>n.</i> ia-torok , <i>see:</i> ia leg; torok lower part.
		lower part <i>n.</i> torok .
		lucky <i>vd?</i> sorti , soorti , soorit .

M - m

machete	<i>n.</i> eropa , eeropa ; <i>n.</i> hiitafu .	make a hole <i>vd.</i> to'i , <i>bound form:</i> -do'i .
(small) machete	<i>n.</i> lailaik .	make a mistake <i>vd.</i> sala .
mad	<i>vd.</i> geger ; <i>vd.</i> nokonoko .	make a sound <i>vd.</i> hopun .
(be the) main issue	<i>va?</i> naikini .	make angry (?) <i>vd.</i> ro'u-kini , <i>see:</i> ro'u' together (?); kini do.
main part	<i>n.</i> pata .	make noise <i>vd.</i> rokoroko .
main road	<i>n.</i> riapatan .	make peace <i>n.</i> pas ; <i>vd.</i> dame .
main supporting pillar for the roof in a stilt house	<i>n.</i> pu'u lolonat , <i>see:</i> pu'u top of the roof; lolor straight; nat stand (SG).	malaria <i>n.</i> ka'ar oruoru , <i>see:</i> ka'ar cold; oruoru shiver; <i>n.</i> malária .
maize	<i>n.</i> тели .	male <i>n.</i> nami .
majority	<i>n.</i> maiória .	malnourished <i>vd.</i> hakaas .
Makalero	<i>n.</i> Makalero .	man <i>n.</i> nami ; <i>n.</i> namiraa .
Makalero-speaking area	<i>n.</i> Lero .	mandate <i>n.</i> mandatu .
Makasae-speaking area	<i>n.</i> Lari .	

mango	<i>n.</i> ah.	men's sarong	<i>n.</i> kola-utur , <i>see:</i> kola
manipulate	<i>vd.</i> dane.	tais sarong; utur men's	tais.
manipulate with a stick	<i>vd.</i> keil.		<i>n.</i> paata.
(k.o.) mantis	<i>n.</i> sina (?).	men's tais	<i>n.</i> utur.
many	<i>vd.</i> ropa' , <i>reduced form:</i>	mention	<i>vd.</i> uma.
	ropa- (?).	message	<i>n.</i> mensajen;
many	<i>vd.</i> rian (?), <i>reduced</i>		<i>n.</i> pesan.
	<i>form:</i> ria- .	meter	<i>n.</i> metur.
many [+HUM]	<i>vd.</i> rial.	midday	<i>va?</i> meiudia.
many [-HUM]	<i>vd.</i> paun;	middle of the body	<i>n.</i> lepa.
	<i>vd.</i> roual.	(in the) middle	<i>vd.</i> nese' , <i>reduced</i>
March	<i>n.</i> mater-raadina.		<i>form:</i> nese- .
mark	<i>n.</i> nem;		<i>vd.</i> leetana' , <i>reduced</i>
	<i>n.</i> nilai;		<i>form:</i> leetana- .
	<i>n.</i> valór.	military	<i>n.</i> militár.
market	<i>n.</i> merkadu;	military strength	<i>n.</i> foorsa.
	<i>n.</i> pasar.	milk	<i>n.</i> dudu-ira , <i>see:</i> dudu
marriage	<i>n.</i> kazamentu.	breast; ira water.	
married (men)	<i>vp.</i> mu'a-ena , <i>see:</i>	millipede	<i>n.</i> larupik.
	mu'a ground; ena <i>see;</i>	mind	<i>n.</i> alapau (?).
	<i>vp.</i> sa-ena , <i>see:</i> sa wife;	mingle	<i>vd.</i> to' , <i>reduced form:</i>
	ena <i>see;</i>		to- .
married (women)	<i>vp.</i> nami-ena , <i>see:</i>	minister	<i>n.</i> miniistru.
	nami husband; ena <i>see;</i>	mirror	<i>n.</i> iaia.
	<i>vd.</i> hamar.	miserly	<i>vd.</i> podo.
massage	<i>vd.</i> rama' .	miss (young lady)	<i>n.</i> minina.
master	<i>n.</i> ouar.	miss (not hit)	<i>vd.</i> seti.
mat	<i>n.</i> piti.	miss narrowly	<i>vd.</i> seru.
mattress	<i>n.</i> kulsaun.	mix	<i>vd.</i> koir;
May	<i>n.</i> sakar.		<i>vd.</i> soro;
maybe	<i>va?</i> halee;		<i>vd.</i> to' , <i>reduced form:</i>
	<i>va?</i> koto;		to- .
	<i>va.</i> tone' .	mobile phone	<i>n.</i> mobail.
mean	<i>vd.</i> ain.	moderate	<i>vd.</i> riau.
meat	<i>n.</i> seur.	Monday	<i>n.</i> sigunda.
(k.o.) meat dish	<i>n.</i> salakadu.	money	<i>n.</i> lauan;
medicine	<i>n.</i> ate-hasa , <i>see:</i> ate tree;		<i>n.</i> osan.
	hasa leaf.	monkey	<i>n.</i> lu'a.
meet	<i>vd.</i> taua-dula , <i>see:</i> tula	month	<i>n.</i> uru.
	bring;	moon	<i>n.</i> uru.
	<i>vd.</i> ti'a- .	morinda citrifolia	<i>n.</i> ninu.
memorise	<i>vd.</i> dekor;	mosquito	<i>n.</i> susuuk.
	<i>vd.</i> hafal.	most	<i>va?</i> lokata (?).
		mother	<i>n.</i> ina;

	<i>n.</i> ni.	mucus	<i>n?</i> fasa'=ee mini-mutu-paran , <i>see:</i> fasa' dirt; mini nose; mutu' inside.
motorbike	<i>n.</i> motór.		
mountain	<i>n.</i> larin.		
mouse	<i>n.</i> sura.	mum	<i>n.</i> ama ;
moustache	<i>n.</i> nu-namu , <i>see:</i> nunu lip; namu body hair.		<i>n.</i> mama.
mouth	<i>n.</i> ha'a.	mung beans	<i>n.</i> uta-mata , <i>see:</i> uta bean; mata child.
move	<i>vd.</i> dane ;	municipality	<i>n.</i> komunidade.
	<i>vd.</i> la'a ;	mushroom	<i>n.</i> kulat.
	<i>vd.</i> riu.	must	<i>vd.</i> dadau, daudau, dodau, dau ;
move legs	<i>vd.</i> koikoi' .		<i>vd.</i> tenki.
		my	<i>poss.pron.</i> asi- .

N - n

NAG (agent noun suffix) <i>suffix</i> -door.	necklace made of orange beads <i>n.</i> kapat.
nail <i>n.</i> ilu.	need <i>vd.</i> persiza.
naked <i>vd.</i> losan , <i>reduced form:</i> losa- .	NEG (negation) <i>pref.</i> ni- ;
name <i>n.</i> nei.	<i>part.</i> nomo.
name (call) <i>vd.</i> tamu , <i>bound form:</i> -damu <i>vd.</i> uma.	NEG.EX (negative existential) <i>vd.</i> na ;
nape (of the neck) <i>n.</i> mani.	<i>vd.</i> na'an.
narrow <i>vd.</i> kon.	nephew <i>n.</i> tuumata.
nation <i>n.</i> nasaun.	nest <i>n.</i> uari.
naughty <i>vd.</i> geger ;	net <i>n.</i> dai.
<i>vd.</i> titidukal ;	never ? nomo ho'o , <i>see:</i> nomo
<i>vd.</i> ualipasak.	NEG.
navel <i>n.</i> ilu-mana , <i>see:</i> ilu umbilical cord; mana hole.	new <i>vd.</i> hofar.
near <i>vd.</i> fu' , <i>reduced form:</i> fu- ;	news <i>n.</i> uaras.
<i>vd.</i> kusa- ;	newspaper <i>n.</i> koran.
<i>vd.</i> male' , <i>reduced form:</i> male- ;	next to <i>vd.</i> kusa- ;
<i>vd.</i> ta- .	<i>vd.</i> ta- .
necessary <i>vd.</i> persiza.	nice <i>vd.</i> fani ;
neck <i>n.</i> masukoro.	<i>vd.</i> felun.
necklace <i>n.</i> koventi.	niece <i>n.</i> tuumata.
	night <i>n.</i> kamur, kamu.
	night, be night <i>vd.</i> kamu ;
	<i>vd.</i> rai.
	nine <i>vd.</i> siua.
	nip <i>vd.</i> kepit.

nipple	<i>n.</i> dudu-isu , <i>see:</i> dudu breast; isu seed.	not allowed	<i>vd.</i> irau , erau , uerau , urau .
NML (nominaliser)	<i>suff.</i> -ini ; <i>suff.</i> -r .	not exist	<i>vd.</i> lesa .
no matter if	<i>conj?</i> teta .	not far away	<i>vd.</i> heu- .
noisy	<i>vd.</i> araraka .	not get	<i>vd.</i> lu'a .
noni	<i>n.</i> ninu .	not just like that	<i>vd?</i> ni-pada , <i>see:</i> ni- NEG ; pada friend.
non-stop	<i>vd.</i> lopolopor .	not know	<i>vd.</i> isipo' .
noon	<i>va.</i> kamunci ; <i>va?</i> meiudia ; <i>vd.</i> osa ; <i>vd.</i> til .	not long after	<i>vd.</i> mu'i-mu'it , <i>see:</i> mu'it long ago.
normally	<i>va?</i> biasa .	not one of this kind	<i>vd?</i> ni-pada , <i>see:</i> ni- NEG ; pada friend.
north	<i>n.</i> meti tufur , <i>see:</i> meti sea; tufur sister.	not want	<i>vd.</i> tule , <i>bound form:</i> -dule .
nose	<i>n.</i> mini .	notebook	<i>n.</i> kadernu .
nostril	<i>n.</i> mini-mana , <i>see:</i> mini nose; mana hole.	November	<i>n.</i> bare bere .
nasal hair	<i>n.</i> mini ki-namu , <i>see:</i> mini nose; namu body hair.	now	<i>va.</i> agora ; <i>va.</i> aire' .
		NSIT (new situation)	<i>part.</i> hai .
		number	<i>n.</i> nomor , númeru .

O - o

objective	<i>n.</i> objektivu .	on top	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ua' , <i>reduced</i> <i>form:</i> (k)-ua- .
obligation	<i>n.</i> kuulpa .	one	<i>vd.</i> u , un .
oblige	<i>vd.</i> obriga .	one by one	<i>vd?</i> na'a-na'a , <i>see:</i> na'a .
October	<i>n.</i> bare mata .	only	<i>clit.</i> =hi'a ; <i>va?</i> ele .
octopus	<i>n.</i> kuit .	onto	<i>vd.</i> tafan- .
office	<i>n.</i> alfersi .	open	<i>vd.</i> loke ; <i>vd.</i> lesu .
official information	<i>n.</i> orde .	open a business	<i>vd.</i> usaha .
often	<i>va.</i> raaropa ; <i>vd?</i> ki'a ; <i>vd.</i> kael- (?).	open (mouth)	<i>vd.</i> la'i .
oil	<i>n.</i> mina .	openly	<i>vd.</i> ni-uri- , <i>see:</i> (k)-uri- behind but visible.
old [-HUM]	<i>vd.</i> amar ; <i>vd.</i> hafil .	operate	<i>vd.</i> opera .
old [+HUM]	<i>vd.</i> la'it ; <i>vd.</i> nete .	opportunity	<i>n.</i> teempu .
old man	<i>n.</i> elehaa .	oppose	<i>vd.</i> kontra .
on purpose	<i>vd.</i> ni-uri- , <i>see:</i> (k)-uri- behind but visible.	or	<i>clit.</i> =uai ; <i>conj / clit.</i> o , ou .
on the other hand	<i>va?</i> na'a-muni .		

or not?	<i>clause.</i> = uai na'an , <i>see:</i> = uai or; na'an NEG.EX.	outside	<i>vd.</i> lele' , <i>reduced form:</i> le- .
oral cavity	<i>n.</i> ha'a-mana , <i>see:</i> ha'a mouth; mana hole.	outwards	<i>vd.</i> rei- .
orange	<i>vd.</i> kalah .	over (finished)	<i>vd.</i> ho'o , <i>bound form:</i> -so'o .
order	<i>vd.</i> huma , <i>bound form:</i> -suma . <i>vd.</i> pada .	over (onto)	<i>vd.</i> tafan- .
orphan	<i>n.</i> aaria .	(be) over there	<i>vd.</i> umai' , ume' , <i>reduced form:</i> umai- , ume- .
other	<i>vd.</i> haale ; <i>vd.</i> selu .	overseas	<i>n.</i> luar .
our (excl.)	<i>poss.pron.</i> isi- .	overturn	<i>vd.</i> pakufila .
our (incl.)	<i>poss.pron.</i> fi- .	owe	<i>vd.</i> deue .
		owl	<i>n.</i> toutou .

P - p

pack	<i>vd.</i> loka .		<i>vd.</i> pasa .
packet of steamed rice wrapped in a banana leaf	<i>n.</i> hero .	pass out	<i>vd.</i> dula .
paddy field	<i>n.</i> ira .	pass (through)	<i>vd.</i> dai ; tda .
pair	<i>n.</i> ripu (?).	passport	<i>n.</i> pasaporte .
pale (post)	<i>n.</i> teih .	PAST	<i>va.</i> aftane' .
palm	<i>n.</i> tana-lefen , <i>see:</i> tana hand; lefen disk. <i>n.</i> lefen .	past	<i>n.</i> no , rapin (?).
palm fibers	<i>n.</i> uraakdapun .	Pataca	<i>n.</i> pataaka .
palm wine	<i>n.</i> tu'a .	patience	<i>n.</i> pasiensia .
pan	<i>n.</i> pusi .	pay	<i>vd.</i> helur .
pant (hackle)	<i>vd.</i> ususu .	pay a tax	<i>vp.</i> ki-nei li'an , <i>see:</i> nei name; li'an fall.
papaya	<i>n.</i> kaila .	pay the bride price (for)	<i>vp.</i> ki-pura kini , <i>see:</i> pura trade; kini do.
paper	<i>n.</i> surat .	pea	<i>n.</i> uta .
pardon	<i>n.</i> perdaun .	peaceful	<i>n.</i> pas ; <i>vd.</i> dame .
parent in law	<i>n.</i> paakin .	peanut	<i>n.</i> uta .
parent's younger sibling	<i>n.</i> pai (?).	pebble	<i>n.</i> ara ki-isu , <i>see:</i> ara gravel; isu seed. <i>n.</i> pok .
parliament	<i>n.</i> parlamentu .	peek	<i>vd.</i> keil .
part of the floor of a stilt house	<i>n.</i> hara' .	peel	<i>n.</i> fasu .
party	<i>n.</i> feesta , peesta .	pen (enclosure)	<i>n.</i> luan .
pass	<i>vd.</i> seti .		
pass (a test)	<i>vd.</i> manan .		
pass by	<i>vd.</i> tefu-la'a , <i>see:</i> tefu' break; la'a move;		

pen	<i>n.</i> kaneta .		<i>suff.</i> -niki ;
pencil	<i>n.</i> lapís .		<i>suff.</i> -r ;
people	<i>n.</i> povu .		<i>suff.</i> -raa .
perceive	<i>vd.</i> liar .	place	<i>n.</i> ha'aucin .
perforate	<i>vd.</i> leuk .	plan	<i>n.</i> planu .
perform a dele burial song	<i>vd.</i> dele .	plank	<i>n.</i> ate-lepen , <i>see:</i> ate tree; lefen disk.
perform a lailai burial song	<i>vd.</i> lailai .	plant	<i>vd.</i> houn , <i>bound form:</i> -soun ;
perform a lara song	<i>vd.</i> lara .		<i>vd.</i> hur ;
perform a sikir dance	<i>vd.</i> sikir .		<i>vd.</i> laik ;
perhaps	<i>va.</i> tone' .		<i>vd.</i> tetu' .
person	<i>n.</i> amulafu , <i>see:</i> amu person; lafu life; <i>n.</i> amu ;	plant flowers on the grave	<i>vp.</i> ki-piti laik , <i>see:</i> piti mat (?); laik sow.
	<i>n.</i> amuni .	plastic	<i>n.</i> masa (?).
persuade	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ia-lolo , <i>see:</i> (k)-ia' under; lolo say.	plastic plate	<i>n.</i> masa-ra'u , <i>see:</i> masa plastic (?); ra'u plate.
phalanger orientalis	<i>n.</i> lou .	plate	<i>n.</i> ra'u .
phone	<i>vd.</i> arami .	(small) plate	<i>n.</i> piris .
photo	<i>n.</i> fotografía .	play	<i>vd.</i> murimuri ;
(be in) physical contact	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ata' , <i>reduced form:</i> (k)-ata- .		<i>vd.</i> resiresi .
physical state	<i>n.</i> isa .	play a flute	<i>vd.</i> kut .
pick out	<i>vd.</i> ulu .	play a k.o. metal drum	<i>vd.</i> dadil .
pick up (fetch)	<i>vd.</i> ti'a-ma'u , <i>see:</i> ti'a- towards; ma'u come.	play a k.o. wooden drum	<i>vd.</i> tipal .
picture	<i>n.</i> gambar , kambar ;	play (an instrument)	<i>vd.</i> toka .
	<i>n.</i> utiuti .	play cards	<i>vd.</i> duka .
piece	<i>n.</i> tafu ;	player	<i>n.</i> jogadór .
	<i>n.</i> tala .	plough	<i>vd.</i> dei ;
piece of wood	<i>n.</i> ate-tafu , <i>see:</i> ate tree; tafu half.		<i>vd.</i> laki .
pig	<i>n.</i> pai .	plug in	<i>vd.</i> jok , zok .
pillar in the corner of the living quarters in a stilt house	<i>n.</i> hir- tutu , <i>see:</i> hir wall.	pocket (of a bag)	<i>n.</i> no .
pillar supporting a stilt house	<i>n.</i> hana' .	point at	<i>vd.</i> sisu' .
pillow	<i>n.</i> ua-sa'e , <i>see:</i> (k)-ua' on top; sa'e hair.	poison	<i>n.</i> ate-hasa pik , ate-hasa ki=pik , <i>see:</i> ate tree; hasa leaf; pik bitter; pik .
pinch	<i>vd.</i> kepit ;	poisonous	<i>vd.</i> pik .
	<i>vd.</i> kilu .	police(man)	<i>n.</i> polís .
pineapple	<i>n.</i> sen .	polite	<i>vd.</i> fiar .
pit someone (against)	<i>vd.</i> hil .	pomelo	<i>n.</i> sapu .
pity	<i>vd.</i> kuitadu .	poor	<i>vd.</i> kasian ;
PL (plural)	<i>suff.</i> -laa ;		<i>vd.</i> kuitadu ;
			<i>vd.</i> susar ;
			<i>vd.</i> tasan .

population	<i>n.</i> povu ; <i>n.</i> renu ; <i>n.</i> renufuku .	primary school	<i>n.</i> SD .
Portugal	<i>n.</i> Portugál .	prison	<i>n.</i> kadeia ; <i>n.</i> komarga .
Portnuguese	<i>n.</i> portugés .	problem	<i>n.</i> problema .
position (function)	<i>n.</i> alfersi ;	prod	<i>vd.</i> tafa , <i>bound form</i> : -dafa .
position (put)	<i>vd.</i> taru , <i>bound form</i> : -daru .	produce (agricultural)	<i>n.</i> ado .
possibly	<i>va?</i> raunata , <i>see</i> : rau .	produce	<i>vd.</i> pure .
(small) pot	<i>n.</i> kaneka .	promote	<i>vd.</i> aplika .
potato	<i>n.</i> same .	prong (fork)	<i>n.</i> kitu-kitu , <i>see</i> : kitu .
pound (mash)	<i>vd.</i> seku ; <i>vd.</i> tafa , <i>bound form</i> : -dafa ; <i>vd.</i> tupi , <i>bound form</i> : -dupi ; <i>vd.</i> tutu' ; <i>vd.</i> soko- (?).	prong	<i>vd.</i> kitu .
pour (a drink)	<i>vd.</i> ti' , <i>bound form</i> : -di' .	protect	<i>vd.</i> hor , <i>bound form</i> : -sor .
pour out	<i>vd.</i> kalin .	provisions	<i>n.</i> lalun .
praise	<i>vd.</i> hiul ; <i>vd.</i> lolu' .	psoriasis	<i>n.</i> apa .
pray	<i>vd.</i> heti , <i>bound form</i> : -seti ; <i>vd.</i> reja .	pull	<i>vd.</i> heil , <i>bound form</i> : -seil ; <i>vd.</i> remet .
prayer	<i>n.</i> orasaun .	pull out	<i>vd.</i> kafar .
precious metal	<i>n.</i> lauan .	punch	<i>vd.</i> tuku , <i>bound form</i> : -duku .
precisely	<i>va?</i> pas .	punish	<i>vd.</i> kastigu .
predestination	<i>n.</i> malisaan .	purgative	<i>n.</i> porgante .
pregnant	<i>vd.</i> afunasi ; <i>vd.</i> rasuh (?).	PURP (purposive)	<i>clit.</i> = taa ; <i>clit.</i> = p- .
prepared	<i>vd.</i> ran .	purple	<i>vd.</i> lu'ihisu .
present	<i>n.</i> hadia .	push	<i>vd.</i> tutur .
press	<i>vd.</i> rama' .	push over	<i>vd.</i> (k)-afi-dekih , <i>see</i> : (k)afi' sideways; tekih lean on.
pretty	<i>vd.</i> felun .	put	<i>vd.</i> taru , <i>bound form</i> : -daru .
price	<i>n.</i> elin ; <i>n.</i> ira .	put (a child) to bed	<i>vd.</i> lu' .
prick	<i>vd.</i> tafa , <i>bound form</i> : -dafa .	put in	<i>vd.</i> hatama .
		put on	<i>vd.</i> (k)-a'a .
		put on (clothes)	<i>vd.</i> (k)-utu .
		put one's arm over someone's shoulder	<i>vd.</i> toil .
		putrid	<i>vd.</i> popok, popo .

Q - q

QM (question marker) <i>clit.</i> =ua.	queen	<i>n.</i> na'ilou.
quarrel <i>vd.</i> urut ;	question	<i>n.</i> heti-ni , <i>see:</i> heti ask.
<i>vd.</i> tata-puru-puru (?),	quiet	<i>vd.</i> tepar.
<i>see:</i> tata-unite.	quick	<i>vd.</i> rapurapu ;
quarrel with so. <i>vp.</i> amuni ki-ha'a-		<i>vd.</i> raun.
mutu-lolo , <i>see:</i> amuni	QUOT (quotative) <i>vd.</i> ain.	
person; ha'a mouth;		
mutu' inside; lolo say.		

R - r

rain	<i>n.</i> ae.	register	<i>vd.</i> lumur.
random	<i>vd.</i> arbiru.	regularly spaced	<i>vd.</i> tetu-
rasp	<i>vd.</i> kaur ;	REL (relativiser) <i>conj.</i> ke ;	
	<i>vd.</i> keuh.	<i>clit.</i> =ua.	
rat	<i>n.</i> sura.	relation	<i>n.</i> relasaun.
(rather) than	? duke.	relatives	<i>n.</i> famila ;
rattan	<i>n.</i> taru.		<i>n.</i> relasaun.
ravine	<i>n.</i> pa'an ;	release	<i>vd.</i> huri , <i>bound form:</i>
	<i>n.</i> toil.		-suri.
read	<i>vd.</i> le'.		<i>vd.</i> ter.
readiness	<i>n.</i> lo'o (?).	remain	<i>vd.</i> resin , <i>reduced form:</i>
ready	<i>vd.</i> prontu ;		resi-
	<i>vd.</i> ran.	remember	<i>vd.</i> ha'e-ne'et , <i>see:</i> ha'e
REC (reciprocal) <i>pron.</i> ta.			light; ne'et think;
receive	<i>vd.</i> ti'a-dane , <i>see:</i> ti'a-		<i>vd.</i> ne'et.
	towards; dane move;	REM.PT (remote past) <i>va.</i> hana'e.	
	<i>vd.</i> ti'a-mei , <i>see:</i> ti'a-	repair	<i>vd.</i> tata-mara , <i>see:</i> tata-
	towards; mei take;		unite ; mara go;
	<i>vd.</i> simu.		<i>vd.</i> tata-rau , <i>see:</i> tata-
recharge	<i>vd.</i> jok, zok.		unite ; rau good.
record	<i>vd.</i> rekam.	repeat	<i>vd.</i> lapilapi (?).
REC.PT (recent past) <i>va.</i> aite' .		replace	<i>vp.</i> ki-ha'aucin li'an ,
red	<i>vd.</i> imir.		<i>see:</i> ha'aucin place; li'an
Red Cross	<i>n.</i> palamera.		fall.
REFL (reflexive) <i>pron.</i> ni.		report	<i>n.</i> uaras.
REFL.POSS- (reflexive possessive)		resemble	<i>vd.</i> fani' , pani' , <i>reduced</i>
	<i>poss.pron.</i> ni-		<i>form:</i> fani- , pani-
refrain	<i>n.</i> masu-pata , <i>see:</i> masu	resent	<i>vd.</i> dauk ;
	song; pata essence.		<i>vd.</i> odi, ode.

resistance	<i>n.</i> konta-kutu.	road	<i>n.</i> hi'a.
respect	<i>vd.</i> respeita.	rock (stone)	<i>n.</i> ili; <i>n.</i> uar.
respected person	<i>n.</i> sa'e-koru , <i>see:</i> sa'e hair.	rock (sway)	<i>vd.</i> riu.
rest	<i>vd.</i> a'at; <i>vd.</i> deskansa.	roll	<i>vd.</i> nak; <i>vd.</i> pora.
restrain	<i>vd.</i> asir.	roof	<i>n.</i> du; <i>n.</i> tara.
resurrect	<i>vd.</i> pok.	room	<i>n.</i> kopon.
return	<i>vd.</i> muni; <i>vd?</i> ripa- (?).	root	<i>n.</i> ari'.
rice (cooked)	<i>n.</i> tina-ini , <i>see:</i> tina cook.	rope	<i>n.</i> tali.
rice (uncooked, hulled)	<i>n.</i> ale.	rosary	<i>n.</i> teersu.
rice field	<i>n.</i> ira.	rose apple	<i>n.</i> uasur.
rich	<i>vd.</i> riku.	rotate	<i>vd.</i> fuker; <i>vd.</i> nak.
right	<i>vd.</i> lolor , <i>reduced form:</i> lolo- ; <i>vd?</i> paneme.	rotten	<i>vd.</i> popok, popo; <i>vd.</i> ra'i.
right side	<i>n.</i> tanen.	rotten leaves	<i>n.</i> afal-hasa , <i>see:</i> hasa leaf.
right up to	<i>vd.</i> lolor ; <i>reduced form:</i> lolo- .	(in a) row	<i>vd.</i> tetu- .
ring	<i>n.</i> rusuk.	rub	<i>vd.</i> sia.
ripe	<i>vd.</i> amu'; <i>vd.</i> seta; <i>vd.</i> titil; <i>vd.</i> nokor (?).	rude	<i>vd.</i> katar.
rise from the dead	<i>vd.</i> pok.	rule	<i>vd.</i> ukun.
risk	<i>n.</i> risikoo.	rule over	<i>vd.</i> dominan.
river	<i>n.</i> ueir.	run	<i>vd.</i> ria' (SG), titar (PL).
		run riot	<i>vd.</i> geger.
		run up to	<i>vd.</i> isi-ria' , <i>see:</i> isi' at; ria' run.
		rustle	<i>vd.</i> rokoroko.

S - s

sack	<i>n.</i> karol; <i>n.</i> leteroo.	sago palm	<i>n.</i> tafi'.
sacred	<i>vd.</i> falun.	salt	<i>n.</i> kasi.
sacred place (?)	<i>n.</i> uaarasár.	salt water	<i>n.</i> kasi-ira , <i>see:</i> kasi salt; ira water.
sad	<i>vd.</i> <i>clause.</i> mutu isit , <i>see:</i> mutu inside; isit ill; <i>vd.</i> hu'at; <i>vd.</i> susar; <i>vd.</i> terus.	salty	<i>vd.</i> mata'; <i>vd.</i> me'ese.
sadden	<i>vd.</i> uirik (?).	same, precisely the same	<i>va?</i> opa.
		sand	<i>n.</i> inuk.
		sandal	<i>n.</i> ia-fari-fari , <i>see:</i> ia foot.

Saturday	<i>np.</i> uatu douh , <i>see:</i> uatu day; douh six.	send	<i>vd.</i> asar .
saucer	<i>n.</i> piris .	senior high school	<i>n.</i> SMA .
save	<i>vd.</i> ri'a ; <i>vd.</i> salva .	separate	<i>vd.</i> pati .
say	<i>vd.</i> ain ; <i>vd.</i> lolo .	separate cotton fibres from the seeds	<i>vd.</i> huhur .
scale	<i>vd.</i> tetu .	separate cotton fibres from the seeds using a cotton gin	<i>vd.</i> lidu .
scared	<i>vd.</i> aka' ; <i>vd.</i> masan .	separately	<i>vd.</i> se' , <i>reduced form:</i> se- .
scavenge	<i>vd.</i> meli .	separating wall	<i>n.</i> aarmadila .
school subject	<i>n.</i> fana-nini , <i>see:</i> fana teach.	September	<i>n.</i> eu-laun .
scissors	<i>n.</i> kateri .	servant	<i>n.</i> lih ; <i>n.</i> mataroos .
scorpion	<i>n.</i> sauarika .	set (a date)	<i>vd.</i> kae .
scratch	<i>vd.</i> kapar ; <i>vd.</i> kaur .	set up the loom	<i>vd.</i> ledo .
scream	<i>vd.</i> mari' .	seven	<i>vd.</i> fitu .
screen	<i>n.</i> utiuti .	sew	<i>vd.</i> fei' ; <i>vd.</i> suku .
sea	<i>n.</i> meti .	shake	<i>vd.</i> tata' .
sea to the north of Timor	<i>n.</i> meti tufur , <i>see:</i> meti sea; tufur sister.	shake (a tree) to make fruit fall down	<i>vd.</i> do' .
sea to the south of Timor	<i>n.</i> meti nami , <i>see:</i> meti sea; nami male.	sharp	<i>vd.</i> mera' .
sea water	<i>n.</i> kasi-ira , <i>see:</i> kasi salt; ira water.	shave	<i>vd.</i> pouk ; <i>vd.</i> sorit .
search	<i>vd.</i> haka , <i>bound form:</i> -saka .	she	<i>pron.</i> iraku ; <i>pron.</i> kiloo .
season	<i>n.</i> no-uatu , <i>see:</i> no limit; uatu day.	sheath	<i>n.</i> pasun .
seat of emotions	<i>n.</i> uapoku .	shed rod	<i>n.</i> pepes .
(be the) second child	<i>vd.</i> tamedai .	shell	<i>n.</i> fasu ; <i>n.</i> toukur, tou .
second degree	<i>n.</i> sigunda lina .	shelter (protection)	<i>n.</i> teru ;
secret	<i>n.</i> segredu .	shelter (protect)	<i>vd.</i> hian ; <i>vd.</i> teru' , <i>bound form:</i> -deru' .
see	<i>vd.</i> nese-puna , <i>see:</i> nese' (in the) middle; puna look at; <i>vd.</i> ena , <i>bound form:</i> -kena .	ship	<i>n.</i> fara .
seed	<i>n.</i> isu .	shirt	<i>n.</i> faru .
self	<i>vd.</i> sotemee .	shiver	<i>vd.</i> oruoru .
sell	<i>vd.</i> pura .	shoe	<i>n.</i> saapatu .
sell well	<i>vd.</i> laku .	shoot	<i>vd.</i> huri , <i>bound form:</i> -suri .
		shoot with a blowpipe	<i>n.</i> kus .
		shop	<i>n.</i> kantina .
		short	<i>vd.</i> dikar , <i>reduced form:</i> dika- .

shoulder	<i>n.</i> ho'oru ; <i>n.</i> uaarifa .	situation	<i>n.</i> situasaun .
show	<i>vd.</i> kesar ; <i>vd.</i> nesen ; <i>vd.</i> suma .	six	<i>vd.</i> douh .
shrimp	<i>n.</i> asi .	skewer	<i>vd.</i> kitu .
sick	<i>vd.</i> isit .	skin of a fruit	<i>n.</i> fasu .
side	<i>n.</i> lafii ; <i>n.</i> larin ; <i>n.</i> te'e ; <i>n.</i> ualir .	skin (of people or animals)	<i>n.</i> ulit .
side of the body	<i>n.</i> losir .	skirt	<i>n.</i> saia .
side pocket (of a bag)	<i>n.</i> no .	sky	<i>n.</i> lalehan ; <i>n.</i> lo'on .
sideways	<i>vd.</i> (k)-afi' , <i>reduced form: (k)-afi-</i> .	slap	<i>vd.</i> pasal .
sign (indication)	<i>n.</i> taanda .	slave	<i>n.</i> lih .
sign (undersign)	<i>vd.</i> asina .	sleep	<i>vd.</i> tia (SG), <i>bound form: -dia, rou</i> (PL).
sign up	<i>vd.</i> lumur .	sleepy	<i>vd.</i> sopen .
silent	<i>vd.</i> kuku .	slim	<i>vd.</i> rika .
silver	<i>n.</i> lauan putir , <i>see: lauan</i> precious metal; putir white.	slipper	<i>n.</i> sinelus .
SIM card	<i>n.</i> simkar .	slippery	<i>vd.</i> fukal .
simultaneous	<i>va?</i> ni'isi .	slope	<i>n.</i> larin .
sin	<i>n.</i> seti-seti , <i>see: seti</i> pass.	slope	<i>vd.</i> nainai- .
since	<i>conj.</i> komu .	slow	<i>vd.</i> pasal .
sing	<i>vp.</i> masu leu , <i>see: masu</i> song; leu call; <i>vp.</i> masu lolo , <i>see: masu</i> song; lolo say; <i>vp.</i> masu huma , <i>see: masu</i> song; huma sing; <i>vd.</i> huma ; <i>vd.</i> kanta ; <i>vd.</i> rusu' .	smack	<i>vd.</i> imimi' ; <i>vd.</i> ka'u ; <i>vd.</i> lamalama ; <i>vd.</i> nirik .
sing a moru song to someone	<i>vd.</i> moru .	small	<i>vd.</i> lamalama .
single	<i>n.</i> solteru .	(in) small pieces	<i>vd.</i> lamalama .
sir	<i>n.</i> sa'e-koru , <i>see: sa'e</i> hair.	smart	<i>vd.</i> matenek .
sister	<i>n.</i> tufur .	smash	<i>vd.</i> da'al .
sister-in-law	<i>n.</i> fain ; <i>n.</i> mali ; <i>n.</i> ue .	smell	<i>vd.</i> (k)-amu' ; <i>vd.</i> muni' .
sit	<i>vd.</i> mit (SG), diar (PL).	smelly	<i>vd.</i> amu' .
		smoke (fume)	<i>n.</i> ata-teur , <i>see: ata</i> fire; teur smoke.
		smoke	<i>vp.</i> tapaku due , <i>see: tapaku</i> tobacco; due ignite; <i>vd.</i> due .
		smoke (fumigate)	<i>vd.</i> rakan .
		smooth	<i>vd.</i> fukal .
		snail	<i>n.</i> soul .
		snake	<i>n.</i> nana .
		(k.o.) snake	<i>n.</i> ofu ; <i>n.</i> suale'u ; <i>n.</i> uerimiri .
		sneeze	<i>vd.</i> fasin .
		snore	<i>vd.</i> sookorokoro .
		so	<i>conj.</i> entaun .

so that	<i>conj.</i> para.	stable	<i>n.</i> luan.
soap	<i>n.</i> saban, sapan, sabun, sapaun.	stagnant (water)	<i>vd.</i> liu.
soldiers	<i>n.</i> militár.	stand	<i>vd.</i> nat (SG), naser (PL).
sole	<i>n.</i> ia-lefen , <i>see:</i> ia foot; lefen disk; <i>n.</i> lefen.	stanza	<i>n.</i> masu-isu , <i>see:</i> masu song; isu seed.
some	<i>det.</i> ho'o ; <i>vd?</i> teteropa' (u) , <i>see:</i> teteropa' how many; u one; <i>vd.</i> tauropa'.	star	<i>n.</i> ifi.
something	<i>n.</i> masupatur.	start	<i>vd.</i> komesa.
son	<i>n.</i> mata namiraa , <i>see:</i> mata child; namiraa man.	startled	<i>vd.</i> dil ; <i>vd.</i> niirit ; <i>vd.</i> nu'at.
son-in-law	<i>n.</i> paakin.	starve	<i>vd.</i> hakaas.
song	<i>n.</i> masu.	statue	<i>n.</i> ate-uai , <i>see:</i> ate tree.
sorceress	<i>n.</i> ason.	steal	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ako.
sorry	<i>va?</i> deskulpa.	steam	<i>vd.</i> kukus.
sort out	<i>vd.</i> urus.	stem	<i>n.</i> fun ; <i>n.</i> soso.
soul	<i>n.</i> huma' ; <i>n.</i> matebian.	step	<i>vd.</i> dakar ; <i>vd.</i> siu.
sour	<i>vd.</i> ailemi.	stepfather	<i>n.</i> upa fasih , <i>see:</i> upa father; fasih step-parent.
south	<i>n.</i> meti nami , <i>see:</i> meti sea; nami male.	step-parent	<i>n.</i> fasih.
sow	<i>vd.</i> laik.	stick	<i>n.</i> ate-furu , <i>see:</i> ate tree.
spades	<i>n.</i> ispada.	stick around	which the newly spun yarn is wound <i>n.</i> diki-ate , <i>see:</i> diki yarn; ate tree.
speak	<i>vd.</i> lolo.	stick out (tongue)	<i>vd.</i> manimani.
spear	<i>n.</i> fel ; <i>n.</i> oro' .	stick to	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ata' , <i>reduced form:</i> (k)-ata- ; <i>vd.</i> maka' ; <i>vd.</i> palek.
sphere	<i>n.</i> sede.	stick that spreads the loom backstrap	<i>n.</i> hisu' .
spider	<i>n.</i> lalaka.	still	<i>va?</i> uari.
spiderweb	<i>n.</i> ueri (?).	stilt house	<i>n.</i> omar , <i>reduced form:</i> oma- .
spill	<i>vd.</i> doku ; <i>vd.</i> kalin.	sting	<i>vd.</i> duh.
spin	<i>vd.</i> hular.	stingy	<i>vd.</i> podo.
spindle whorl	<i>n.</i> poki.	stir	<i>vd.</i> (k)-jali-nini , <i>see:</i> (k)-ali- all over; kini do.
spirit	<i>n.</i> huma' .	stir uncooked rice in a flat basket in order to pick out dirt and stones	<i>vd.</i> le'uk.
spit	<i>vd.</i> fulun.	stomach	<i>n.</i> atu-pusi , <i>see:</i> atu faeces; pusi pan.
split	<i>vd.</i> karoh.	stone	<i>n.</i> ili ;
spoon	<i>n.</i> hulu.		
spread	<i>vd.</i> refu' .		
squat	<i>vd.</i> poko.		
squeeze	<i>vd.</i> rama' .		

	<i>n.</i> isu ;	(k.o.) succulent plant <i>n.</i> latu .
	<i>n.</i> uar .	suck <i>vd.</i> mus .
stone wall delimiting gardens or fields	<i>n.</i> lutur .	suco <i>n.</i> suku .
stool	<i>n.</i> paanku .	sudden <i>vd.</i> (k)-eri- (?).
stop	<i>vd.</i> para .	suddenly <i>va?</i> derepentu .
storage area in a stilt house above the living quarters	<i>n.</i> ou-pu'u , <i>see:</i> (k)-ou- towards; pu'u top of the roof.	suffer <i>vd.</i> tasani ; <i>vd.</i> terus .
storage area right under the top of the roof in a stilt house	<i>n.</i> hasa kauaili , <i>see:</i> hasa leaf; kauaili k.o. gecko.	suffering <i>vd.</i> kasian .
store	<i>vd.</i> ri'a .	sugar <i>np.</i> kasi lema' , <i>see:</i> kasi salt; lema' sweet.
story	<i>n.</i> cerita ; <i>n.</i> istoria .	sugar apple (tree) <i>n.</i> dai-ate .
straight (hair)	<i>vd.</i> iralolo .	sugarcane <i>n.</i> ufa .
straight	<i>vd.</i> lolor , <i>reduced form:</i> lolo- .	summon to a ceremony <i>vd.</i> let .
straight away	<i>va.</i> ua'atafu .	sun <i>n.</i> uatu .
street	<i>n.</i> hi'a .	Sunday <i>vp.</i> paandera heil , <i>see:</i> paandera flag; heil pull.
strike	<i>vd.</i> kene .	superior <i>n.</i> sefi .
string	<i>n.</i> tali .	supplies <i>n.</i> lalun .
strong	<i>vd.</i> danik ; <i>vd.</i> forit ; <i>vd.</i> kel .	support <i>vd.</i> tutur .
stuck inside	<i>vd.</i> to'e .	suppose <i>va?</i> koto .
student at a seminary school	<i>n.</i> seminarista .	surprised <i>vd.</i> sorut .
study	<i>vd.</i> istuda .	suspect <i>vd.</i> ta-dekih , <i>see:</i> ta- near; tekih lean on; <i>vd.</i> suar .
study at university	<i>n.</i> kulia .	swallow <i>vd.</i> mosal .
stupid	<i>vd.</i> beik, peik .	swear at <i>vd.</i> fari .
style	<i>n.</i> uesai (?).	sweat <i>vd.</i> momoh .
subdistrict head	<i>n.</i> sepoostu .	sweep <i>vd.</i> tufa , <i>bound form:</i> -dufa .
subject	<i>n.</i> renu .	sweet <i>vd.</i> fani ; <i>vd.</i> lema' .
substitute	<i>vp.</i> ki-ha'aucin li'an , <i>see:</i> ha'aucin place; li'an fall.	sweet potato <i>n.</i> same .
succeed	<i>vd.</i> manan .	sweet yam <i>n.</i> matu .
		swell <i>vd.</i> fatu .
		swim <i>vp.</i> ira-lor , <i>see:</i> ira water; lor fly.
		switch off <i>vd.</i> taka , <i>bound form:</i> -daka .
		swollen <i>vd.</i> tor .
		sword <i>n.</i> eropa, eeropa .

T - t

table	<i>n.</i> meja, meza.	<i>vd.</i> rata.
tablecloth	<i>n.</i> napiroonu.	tell (to do something) <i>vd.</i> pada.
taboo	<i>n.</i> bandu, tara-bandu. <i>vd.</i> falun.	temple <i>n.</i> uali-mana (?) , <i>see:</i> uali ear; mana hole.
tail	<i>n.</i> ula.	(a unit of) ten <i>n?</i> ate.
tais	<i>n.</i> tais.	ten <i>np.</i> ate u , <i>see:</i> ate (a unit of) ten; u one;
tais sarong	<i>n.</i> kola.	<i>vd.</i> ruru.
take	<i>vd.</i> mei.	tent <i>n.</i> teenda; <i>n.</i> riaria (?) .
take a holiday	<i>vd.</i> feri.	test <i>n.</i> ujian.
take a husband	<i>vd.</i> hamar.	textile warp size <i>n.</i> usu.
take apart	<i>vd.</i> teul.	thanks <i>n.</i> obrigadu.
take care of	<i>vd.</i> urus.	that (addressee-related demonstrative) <i>det.</i> uere.
take off (clothes)	<i>vd.</i> kasi.	(be) that <i>vd.</i> uere'.
take (pictures)	<i>vd.</i> kamera; <i>vd.</i> sai.	that (distal demonstrative) <i>det.</i> umere.
take (skin / bark) off	<i>vd.</i> lo'e.	(be) that one <i>vd.</i> umere'.
talk	<i>vd.</i> laun; <i>vd.</i> ufa (?) .	that down there <i>det.</i> ufere.
talk about	<i>vd.</i> da'a (?) .	(be) that down there <i>vd.</i> ufere'.
tall	<i>vd.</i> asan; <i>vd?</i> lola; <i>vd.</i> rusun.	that up there <i>det.</i> udere.
tame	<i>vd.</i> luma.	(be) that up there <i>vd.</i> udere'.
tape measure	<i>n.</i> metur.	their <i>poss.pron.</i> ki-
taro	<i>n.</i> muuta'u.	then <i>va?</i> ituruu.
task	<i>n.</i> kuulpa.	(be) there <i>vd.</i> uai', ue' , <i>reduced</i> <i>form:</i> uai-, ue.
tasty	<i>vd.</i> fani.	therefore <i>va?</i> portantu, tantu.
teach	<i>vd.</i> fana.	thermos bottle <i>n.</i> teermu.
teach (?)	<i>vd.</i> madar.	thespesia populnea <i>n.</i> ha'i.
teacher	<i>n.</i> fana-nini-door , <i>see:</i> fana teach; kini do; -door NAG. <i>n.</i> guru, kuru; <i>n.</i> meestri.	they <i>pron.</i> kilooraa; <i>pron.</i> uera.
tear	<i>n.</i> ina-ira , <i>see:</i> ina eye; ira water.	thief <i>n.</i> akor.
rear (rip)	<i>vd.</i> fisa'ak.	thigh <i>n.</i> aten.
tear out	<i>vd.</i> kafar; <i>vd.</i> paun.	thing <i>n.</i> sa'a.
tell	<i>vd.</i> konta;	things (stuff) <i>n.</i> seran.
		think <i>vd.</i> ne'et.
		think of <i>vd.</i> ha'e-ne'et , <i>see:</i> ha'e.
		thirsty <i>clause.</i> masu aran , <i>see:</i> masu throat; aran dry.
		this <i>det.</i> ere.

(be) this	<i>vd.</i> ere' .		<i>vd.</i> maka.
thorn	<i>n.</i> hi'un.	to the side	<i>vd.</i> (k)-afi' , <i>reduced form:</i> (k)-afi- .
thousand	<i>vd.</i> rihun.		
(a unit of) thousand	<i>n.</i> kontu.	tobacco	<i>n.</i> tapaku, taapaku.
three days ago	<i>va?</i> atuhana'e , <i>see:</i> hana'e REM.PT.	today	<i>clause?</i> uatu ere , <i>see:</i> uatu day; ere this.
three	<i>vd.</i> itu [+HUM], lolitu [-HUM], <i>reduced form:</i> itu.	toe	<i>n.</i> ia-raka , <i>see:</i> ia foot; raka digit.
throat	<i>n.</i> masu.	toe nail	<i>n.</i> ia-ilu , <i>see:</i> ia foot; ilu claw.
through	<i>vd.</i> leto- .	together	<i>vd.</i> fuli' , <i>reduced form:</i> fuli- ;
throw away	<i>vd.</i> sesar.		<i>vd.</i> ro'u' , <i>reduced form:</i> ro'u- .
throw down	<i>vd.</i> hole , <i>bound form:</i> -sole ;	tokay gecko	<i>n.</i> toke.
	<i>vd.</i> pasik (?).	tomorrow	<i>va.</i> kamunci.
	<i>vd.</i> tafal , <i>bound form:</i> -dafal.	tongue	<i>n.</i> ifil.
throw down carelessly	<i>vd.</i> soen.	too	<i>clit.</i> = oo.
throw down forcefully	<i>vd.</i> esar.	tooth	<i>n.</i> uasi.
throw out	<i>vd.</i> doku.	top of the roof of a stilt house	<i>n.</i> pu'u.
thud	<i>vd.</i> potok.	torch	<i>n.</i> laantera.
thump	<i>vd.</i> tupi , <i>bound form:</i> -dupi.	total	<i>vd?</i> fanu' .
thunder	<i>vd.</i> ruru.	totally	<i>va?</i> isipera ;
Thursday	<i>np.</i> uatu fat , <i>see:</i> uatu day; fat four.	towards	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ou- ;
thus	<i>conj.</i> entaun ;		<i>vd.</i> ti'a- .
	<i>va?</i> portantu, tantu.	towel	<i>n.</i> tuaila.
tickle	<i>vd.</i> dukel (?).	town	<i>n.</i> dara ;
tie	<i>vd.</i> sil.		<i>n.</i> kota ;
tie up	<i>vd.</i> por.		<i>n.</i> vila.
tight	<i>vd.</i> kel.	trade	<i>vd.</i> pura.
time	<i>n.</i> hi'an ;	tradition	<i>n.</i> tradisaun.
	<i>n.</i> la'ar ;	traditional pharmacy	<i>n.</i> osar (?).
	<i>n.</i> teempu.	traditions	<i>n.</i> kini-kini , <i>see:</i> kini do;
Timor monitor	<i>n.</i> suapi (?).		<i>n.</i> kustumi
Timorese man	<i>n.</i> maubere.		<i>n.</i> lafu-lafu , <i>see:</i> lafu life;
Timorese woman	<i>n.</i> puipere.		<i>n.</i> lafu-lafu' , <i>see:</i> lafu' live;
Timorese woven cloth	<i>n.</i> tais.		<i>n.</i> omaraha-tuumata , <i>see:</i> omaraha wife-givers; tuumata wife-takers.
tiny	<i>vd?</i> ka'u pitipiti , <i>see:</i> ka'u small;		
	<i>vd.</i> nirik ;		
	<i>vd.</i> pilipilis.		
tip	<i>n.</i> ula.	trainer	<i>n.</i> fana-nini-door , <i>see:</i> fana teach; kini do.
tired	<i>vd.</i> kole ;		

transport	<i>vd.</i> tula , <i>bound form:</i> -dula .		<i>vd.</i> lolor , <i>reduced form:</i> lolo- .
tree	<i>n.</i> ate-fun , <i>see:</i> ate tree; fun stem; <i>n.</i> ate ; <i>n.</i> fun .	trunk	<i>n.</i> fun ; <i>n.</i> soso .
(k.o.) tree	<i>n.</i> aalasa ; <i>n.</i> diri' ; <i>n.</i> ha'i ; <i>n.</i> hisu ; <i>n.</i> kailelei ; <i>n.</i> ninu ; <i>n.</i> pasak ; <i>n.</i> rifa' (?); <i>n.</i> sua .	trust	<i>vd.</i> fiar .
		try	<i>vd.</i> fera ; <i>vd.</i> isiperan .
		Tuesday	<i>np.</i> uatu loloi , <i>see:</i> uatu day; loloi two.
		turn	<i>vd.</i> nak .
		turn over earth	<i>vd.</i> dei ; <i>vd.</i> laki .
		turn (round)	<i>vd.</i> fuker .
		turtle	<i>n.</i> fenu .
		TV	<i>n.</i> tifi .
tree trunk	<i>n.</i> ate-fun , <i>see:</i> ate tree; fun stem.	twenty	<i>np?</i> ate loloi , <i>see:</i> ate (a unit of) ten; loloi two.
tree trunk that has been felled, uprooted	<i>n.</i> ate-patan , <i>see:</i> ate tree; patan fallen tree.	twig	<i>n.</i> daran .
tremble	<i>vd.</i> leleer ; <i>vd.</i> oruoru .	twins	<i>n.</i> al .
trousers	<i>n.</i> kalsa , kaalsa .	two days ago	<i>va.</i> ahana'e , <i>see:</i> hana'e REM.PT.
true	<i>va.</i> tafi ;	two	<i>vd.</i> meih [+HUM]; loloi , lolei [-HUM], <i>reduced form:</i> ei .

 U - u

ugly	<i>vd.</i> pa'uk ; <i>vd.</i> kasu (?).	unite	<i>vd.</i> tata- ; <i>vd.</i> halin (?) .
umbilical cord	<i>n.</i> ilu .	unlucky	<i>vd.</i> hal .
umbrella	<i>n.</i> teru .	until	<i>conj.</i> ate .
uncle	<i>n.</i> paimatu , <i>see:</i> pai parent's younger sibling; <i>n.</i> tiu .	until now	<i>clause?</i> ate a data , <i>see:</i> ate ; <i>clause</i> ere(') ta rata' , <i>see:</i> ere this; ta REC;
unconscious	<i>vd.</i> lain .		rata' meet; <i>va?</i> airula .
under	<i>vd.</i> (k)-ia' , <i>reduced form:</i> (k)-ia .	up in	<i>vd.</i> ika' , <i>reduced form:</i> ika- .
uniform	<i>n.</i> faarda .	(be) up there	<i>vd.</i> udai' , ude' , <i>reduced form:</i> udai- , ude- .
unintentional	<i>vd?</i> hakur (?).		
unique	<i>clause?</i> pada se' , <i>see:</i> pada friend; se' alone.		

uphold	<i>vd. teeluku.</i>	urinate	<i>vd. irih.</i>
upset	<i>vd. noronoro.</i>	useless	<i>vd. paadiu.</i>
upwards	<i>vd. ete-;</i> <i>vd. nama', reduced form:</i> nama- .	usually	<i>va? biasa;</i> <i>va. raaropa.</i>

V - v

value	<i>n. valór.</i>	vicious	<i>vd. si'ak.</i>
varanus timorensis	<i>n. suapi (?) .</i>	victim	<i>n. viitima.</i>
various	<i>vd? la'ane'.</i>	vigorous	<i>vd. danik.</i>
vegetable	<i>n. modo.</i>	village	<i>n. aldeia;</i> <i>n. desa;</i> <i>n. nuak;</i> <i>n. popusaun.</i>
(k.o.) vegetable	<i>n. uta-hasa, see: uta</i> bean; <i>hasa</i> leaf.	village chief	<i>np. sefi suku, see: sefi</i> chief; <i>suku</i> suco; <i>np. sefi aldeia, see: sefi</i> chief; <i>aldeia</i> village.
vein	<i>n. urat.</i>	voice	<i>n. ha'a-huma', see: ha'a</i> mouth; <i>huma'</i> soul; <i>n. masu.</i>
verandah	<i>n. paarenda.</i>	vomit	<i>vd. hiaoleh.</i>
very	<i>va. hanu;</i> <i>va? se.</i>		
very old	<i>vd. lutu.</i>		
very sleepy	<i>vd. (k)-a'a-sopen, see:</i> (k)-a'a put on; sopen sleepy.		
very small	<i>vp? ka'u pitipiti, see:</i> ka'u small.		

W - w

wait	<i>vd. hein, bound form:</i> -sein.	wash	<i>vd. pane;</i> <i>vd. uaro'.</i>
waken	<i>vd. dur;</i> <i>vd. tane.</i>	wash (floor) with a mop	<i>vd. pel.</i>
walk	<i>vd. dakar;</i> <i>vd. la'a.</i>	washbasin	<i>n. pasia.</i>
wall	<i>n. hir.</i>	wasp	<i>n. toumuta, tou.</i>
wallet	<i>n. karteira.</i>	waste	<i>vd. faet.</i>
want	<i>vd. so'ot.</i>	watch	<i>vd. ne-puna, see: ne-</i> at; puna look at; <i>vd. nonton;</i> <i>vd. toton.</i>
war	<i>n. funu;</i> <i>n. hala.</i>	water	<i>n. ira.</i>

water bucket	<i>n.</i> ira-tu'il , <i>see:</i> ira water; tu'il bake in bamboo.	who	<i>pron.</i> mu'ani , <i>bound</i> <i>form:</i> mu'a- ; <i>pron.</i> umani .
water spinach	<i>n.</i> kankun .	whole	<i>vd.</i> ha'afu .
watermelon	<i>n.</i> sepududu .	why	<i>vp.</i> sa'a-fani' , <i>see:</i> sa'ani what; fani' (be) like; <i>vd.</i> taure-fani' , <i>see:</i> taure' which; fani' (be) like .
wave	<i>n.</i> elo .	wide open (eyes)	<i>vd?</i> kor .
way	<i>n.</i> hi'a .	widely distributed	<i>vd.</i> refu' .
we (excl.)	<i>pron.</i> ini .	widow	<i>n.</i> paardufu .
we (incl.)	<i>pron.</i> fi .	wife	<i>n.</i> sa .
weapon	<i>n.</i> fatil .	wife-givers	<i>n.</i> omaraha .
(home-made) weapon	<i>n.</i> rakitán .	wife-takers	<i>n.</i> tuumata .
wear	<i>n.</i> (k)-utu ; <i>vd.</i> sedik .	wiggle	<i>vd.</i> riu .
wear on the head	<i>vd.</i> sa'e .	win	<i>vd.</i> manan .
weave	<i>vd.</i> heru .	wind	<i>vd.</i> pora .
wedding	<i>n.</i> kazamentu .	wind (yarn) around the length of one's forearm	<i>vd.</i> lale .
Wednesday	<i>np.</i> uatu lolitu , <i>see:</i> uatu day; lolitu three.	window	<i>n.</i> kui-kui-mana , <i>see:</i> mana hole ; <i>n.</i> apadan .
week	<i>n.</i> pasar .	wing	<i>n.</i> asa-liah , <i>see:</i> asa bird; liah wing; <i>n.</i> liah .
weekend	<i>n.</i> fin-semana .	winnow rice in a flat basket	<i>vd.</i> piak ; <i>vd.</i> sosok .
weigh	<i>vd.</i> tetu .	witch	<i>n.</i> ason .
west	<i>clause?</i> uatu mutu-li'an , <i>see:</i> uatu sun ; mutu' inside; li'an fall.	witch-doctor	<i>n.</i> mosa' ; <i>n.</i> tana-badaen , <i>see:</i> tana hand ; badaen expert.
western part of East Timor	<i>n.</i> Loromonu .	with	<i>conj.</i> entre ; <i>conj.</i> ho ; <i>vd.</i> (k)-afu ; <i>vd.</i> (ko)-horu .
wet	<i>vd.</i> hifal .	wok	<i>n.</i> tasu .
what	<i>pron.</i> sa'ani , <i>bound</i> <i>form:</i> sa'a- .	woman	<i>n.</i> tufuraa .
whatsit	<i>n.</i> masupatur .	womb	<i>n.</i> ilu (?) .
wheat	<i>n.</i> meedai (?) .	women's sarong	<i>n.</i> kola-rapi , <i>see:</i> kola tais sarong ; rapi women's tais .
when	<i>conj.</i> kuandu ; <i>conj.</i> teempu ; <i>conj?</i> tetepane' ; <i>conj.</i> uainhira .	women's tais sarong	<i>n.</i> rapi .
where	<i>vd.</i> taure-isi' , <i>see:</i> taure' which; isi' at; <i>vd.</i> tau' , <i>reduced form:</i> tau- .	wonder	<i>vd.</i> sorut .
whether (or not)	<i>conj?</i> teta .		
which	<i>vd.</i> taure' , <i>reduced form:</i> taure- .		
(in a) while	<i>clause.</i> ka'u=te'e , <i>see:</i> ka'u little; =te'e after.		
white	<i>vd.</i> putir , puti .		

wood	<i>n.</i> ate.	world	<i>n.</i> muundu.
wooden disk on top of a stilt to prevent vermin from entering a house	<i>n.</i> hele.	worm	<i>n.</i> ura.
word(s)	<i>n.</i> lolo-ini , <i>see:</i> lolo say.	worship	<i>vd.</i> dadi.
work	<i>vp.</i> na'a-mei , <i>see:</i> na'a work; mei take.	worthy, be worth	<i>vd.</i> vale, uale.
work (task)	<i>n.</i> na'a ; <i>vd.</i> sirvisu, sirbisu, sirivisu, siribisu.	wounded	<i>vd.</i> pili.
work in (the) garden	<i>vp.</i> ama paun , <i>see:</i> ama garden; paun tear out.	wrap	<i>vd.</i> hokir ; <i>vd.</i> hese (?) ; <i>vd.</i> loka.
worker	<i>n.</i> sirvidoor.	wreck	<i>vd.</i> teul.
		wrist	<i>n.</i> tana-pu'i , <i>see:</i> tana hand; pu'i joint.
		write	<i>vd.</i> kerek.
		wrongly think	<i>vd.</i> ma'akini.

Y - y

yarn	<i>n.</i> dai-hael ; <i>n.</i> diki.	young	<i>vd.</i> su'ul , <i>reduced form:</i> su'u- ;
yawn	<i>vd.</i> akan.		<i>clause.</i> isa su'ul , <i>see:</i> isa condition, su'ul young.
year	<i>n.</i> aira.	young of a species	<i>n.</i> mata.
yellow	<i>vd.</i> kalah ; <i>vd.</i> senseta.	young lady	<i>n.</i> minina.
yelp	<i>vd.</i> kai'.	young mango	<i>n.</i> pipi-ueri , <i>see:</i> pipi goat; ueri bottom.
yes	<i>va?</i> sin.	young, unmarried woman	<i>n.</i> fanaraa.
yesterday	<i>va.</i> soh.	younger sibling	<i>n.</i> noko.
yet	<i>va.</i> oko.	your (PL)	<i>poss.pron.</i> ii- .
you (PL)	<i>pron.</i> ii.	your (SG)	<i>poss.pron.</i> ei- .
you (SG)	<i>pron.</i> ei.		

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Grammatica van het Makalero

(for a summary in English, see § 1.6, p. 16).

Dit proefschrift is een beschrijvende grammatica van het Makalero, een taal die wordt gesproken in Oost-Timor door ongeveer 6.500 mensen. Samen met drie andere talen van de 16 talen van Oost-Timor, wordt het Makalero geassocieerd als een lid van de Trans-Nieuw-Guinea familie van de Papoea talen. De grammaticale beschrijving in dit proefschrift bestrijkt de fonologie, lexicale categorieën en hun eigenschappen, nominale en werkwoordelijke frasen, clauses, zinnen en uitingen, naast ook enkele zaken op het niveau van het discours.

Na een korte introductie van de taal, haar sprekers en hun omgeving in § 1, behandelt § 2 het klanksysteem en de fonologie. De consonantinventaris is relatief onomwonden, bestaande uit de inheemse medeklinkers /p, t, d, k, ʔ, m, n, l, f, s, r/. Het glottale foneem /ʔ/ heeft een stop allofoon [ʔ] en een fricatieve allofoon /h/. Beiden worden vaak zo licht uitgesproken dat ze nauwelijks hoorbaar zijn. Daarnaast zijn er negen geleende medeklinkers [b, g, ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ, ŋ, v, z], waarvan de fonemische status idiosyncratisch varieert. Het Makalero maakt gebruik van vijf klinkers /a, e, i, o, u/. Al deze klinkers hebben korte en lange varianten. De lange variant komt voor in een aantal contexten die grotendeels voorspelbaar zijn: ten eerste, een opeenvolging van twee identieke klinkers, die onderbroken worden door een glottisslag, kan lang worden uitgesproken; ten tweede, eenvoudige klinkernuclei van monosyllabische lexicale morfemen moeten lang zijn; ten derde, klinkerverlenging is een gevolg van het resyllabificatieproces bij echoklinkers. Er zijn ook een aantal morfemen met onvoorspelbare lange klinkers; dit laat zien dat ze een fonemische status hebben, hoewel van marginaal belang. De glijklanken [w] en [j] worden geanalyseerd als allofonen van de hoge klinkers wanneer ze gebruikt worden als de onset van een lettergreep, of als een onderdeel van een complexe nucleus, of in coda positie.

De lettergreepstructuur die men het meest aantreft is CV, hoewel CVC ook wordt aangetroffen. Medeklinkerclusters worden vermeden waarvoor men vaak epenthetische klinkers invoegt. Aan het einde van een fonologische frase wordt aan een morfeem met een slotmedeklinker gewoonlijk een echoklinker toegevoegd. Het minimale lexicale morfeem is bimoraal. Om deze reden moet een monosyllabisch lexicaal morfeem hetzij een lange klinkernucleus, of een nucleus bestaande uit een diftong hebben. De coda voegt niets toe aan het gewicht van de lettergreep. Stress op woordniveau valt in het algemeen op de één-na-laatste mora van een morfeem. De toewijzing van stress in een uiting is ongeveer trochaisch, maar dit moet verder onderzocht worden.

Het vraagstuk van lexicale categorieën, dat behandeld is in § 3, is niet voor de hand liggend, omdat eigenlijk ieder lexicaal morfeem in het Makalero gebruikt kan worden om te verwijzen en om een predicat te vormen. Desalniettemin, laten de

aanwezigheid van enkele categorieveranderende processen en het aantal lexemen met erg verschillende, niet-verwante betekenissen naar hun gebruik als werkwoorden, of als naamwoorden zien, dat er een onderscheid is tussen naamwoorden en werkwoorden. Om generalisaties over deze twee klassen mogelijk te maken, wordt gebruik gemaakt van een semantisch kenmerk; prototypische naamwoorden worden over het algemeen vertaald als “is een x” als ze predicatief worden gebruikt. Prototypische werkwoorden in hun verwijzende functie, daarentegen, drukken “de handeling van het x-en”, “het product van het x-en”, of “een instrument of object van het x-en” uit.

Er wordt een onderscheid gemaakt tussen zelfstandige naamwoorden met de eigenschap [+HUM] tegenover zelfstandige naamwoorden met de eigenschap [-HUM]. De eerstgenoemde kunnen gemarkeerd worden door een meervoudssuffix, terwijl de laatstgenoemden gewoonlijk niet voorkomen met dit suffix. Onder de [+HUM] zelfstandige naamwoorden is er een subgroep van verwantschapstermen. Een andere manier om zelfstandige naamwoorden te classificeren is door te kijken of ze kunnen voorkomen met nominale classificeerders. Er is ook nog een groep zelfstandige naamwoorden die verplicht als bezit gemarkeerd moeten worden; onder deze groep vallen verwantschapstermen en delen van een geheel. Ondanks de afwezigheid van een speciale constructie, kunnen deze zelfstandige naamwoorden geassocieerd worden als onvervreemdbaar.

In het werkwoordelijke domein is er een belangrijk onderscheid tussen werkwoorden die een toestand aangeven en werkwoorden die een activiteit aangeven. Meest in het oog springend is het VP-interne bijwoord *hau* ‘alle, allemaal’; bij activiteitswerkwoorden verkrijgt men een voltooide lezing, terwijl men bij toestandswerkwoorden een lezing van hoge graad krijgt. Het merendeel van werkwoorden is divalent. De eerste van de twee argumenten die bij zulke werkwoorden horen is het subject. De tweede kan de vorm aannemen van een object of van een complement. Dit zijn twee gevallen van het tweede argument die een andere positie innemen. Een kleine minderheid van werkwoorden, die temporele en modale concepten uitdrukken, wordt geanalyseerd als avalent, m.a.w. ze nemen geen argument. Andere werkwoordelijke subgroepen bestaan uit ontkennende werkwoorden, interrogatieve werkwoorden, telwoorden, deictische werkwoorden, kwantoren, werkwoorden van fysieke en emotionele toestanden en werkwoorden met complement-clause extensies. Daarbij komt nog een aanzienlijke groep van werkwoorden, die onder bepaalde omstandigheden gemarkeerd worden door het derde persoon non-subject prefix *k-*. Er wordt beargumenteerd dat deze werkwoordsvormen worden geanalyseerd als vrije en gebonden vormen. Deze gebonden vormen worden allen gebruikt als hun complementpositie gevuld is.

Gesloten lexicale categorieën zijn persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, reflexieve en reciprooke voornaamwoorden, het vraagvoornaamwoord *mu’a-* ‘wie (gebonden)’ en *sa’a-* ‘wat (gebonden)’, en een onbepaald voornaamwoord, *riparipa* ‘enkel, (ieder)’. Al deze vormen kunnen bijnaamwoordelijk en bijwerkwoordelijk worden gebruikt.

De klasse van determinatoren bestaat uit een aantal series van vijf demonstratieven als ook *ho’o* ‘sommige’. Gebonden morfemen die tot de NP behoren zijn meervoudssuffixen, een honorifiek suffix, een *nomen agentis* suffix, een nominaliseerder-suffix, een enclitische relatiefmarkering en een proclitisch

attributieve markeerder. Binnen de VP is er ook het bovengenoemde derde persoon objectprefix *k-*, een negatief prefix *ni-*, de aspectmarkeerder *hai* en de markeerder van negatie *nomo*. Ten slotte zijn er nog een aantal clitica op phraseniveau, waarvan de meerderheid clauses verbindt. Ze worden verbonden aan de eerste clause in een opeenvolging en specificeren de semantische relatie met de clause die erop volgt.

§ 4 bespreekt de naamwoordgroep in het Makalero. Het hoofdnaamwoord wordt vooraf gegaan door een bezittelijke groep, terwijl al de andere afhankelijke elementen (m.a.w. modificeerders en determinatoren) het hoofdnaamwoord volgen. De meeste variatie valt te vinden in het domein van de modificeerder, die naamwoordelijk kunnen zijn, werkwoordelijk, of geheel clausaal. Naast de ongemarkeerde modificeerders, zijn er ook modificeerders die worden geïntroduceerd door de clitische attributieve markeerder *ki-*. Over het algemeen contrasteren deze de referent in kwestie met andere mogelijke referenten wat betreft de kwaliteit die ze beschrijven. Verder zijn er echte relatieve zinnen in het Makalero. De markering hiervan is geconcentreerd rond het onderwerp van de relatieve zin, hetzij als hoofd van de modificeerder of niet. In het laatste geval kan daarnaast het hoofdnaamwoord gemarkeerd worden.

Het meest complexe deel van de grammatica van het Makalero is te vinden in de werkwoordgroep, die wordt besproken in § 5. De VP is strict hoofd-finaal, en het hoofdkenmerk van deze VP is de aanwezigheid van twee afzonderlijke posities voor het VP-interne argument. De eerste positie is voor het object en is het meest linkse element van de VP. Het wordt gevolgd door markeerders van ontkenning en aspect, naast ook VP-interne bijwoorden. De tweede positie, complementpositie genaamd, staat direct voor het werkwoord en vormt er een morfosyntactische eenheid mee. Deze eenheid kan expliciet gemarkeerd worden door het gebruik van een gereduceerde vorm van het complement, of door een gebonden vorm van het werkwoord, of allebei. De twee argumentposities sluiten elkaar uit. Eenieder vult de enige non-subject argumentpositie. Terwijl de objectpositie alleen *undergoer NPs* bevat, kan de complementpositie alleen naamwoordelijke of werkwoordelijke constituenten bevatten. Nominale complementen drukken hetzij *undergoers*, locaties, of doelen uit. Werkwoordelijke complementen die volledige VPs zijn, afgezien van het feit dat het werkwoord in een afhankelijke vorm kan voorkomen, drukken over het algemeen locatie of hoedanigheid uit. Werkwoordelijke complementen worden ook gebruikt om causatieven te vormen, comparatieven, modale modificatie, richting, en dergelijke. Er is een bepaalde graad van flexibiliteit tussen de objectpositie en de complementpositie voor naamwoordelijke complementen, in het bijzonder in het geval van voornaamwoordelijke *undergoers*. In veel gevallen is het een lexicale eigenschap van een gegeven werkwoord die bepaalt of een naamwoordelijk argument gerealiseerd wordt als een object of als een complement.

Elk divalent werkwoord, zelfs diegene die semantisch gezien intransitief zijn en dus niet gecombineerd kunnen worden met een *undergoer*, is wel compatibel met een werkwoordelijk complement dat locatie of hoedanigheid uitdrukt. Als zulke bijwoordelijke informatie uitgedrukt wordt in een complementpositie, dan kan de *undergoer* van een semantisch gezien transitief werkwoord niet in dezelfde

predicatie staan, maar moet worden uitgedrukt in een andere predicatie door middel van het 'lichte' werkwoord *mei* 'nemen'.

Onder de werkwoordelijke modificeerders vallen de aspectmarkeerder *hai*, die het begin van een nieuwe situatie aangeeft, de ontkenningmarkeerder *nomo*, naast ook een verscheidenheid aan VP-interne bijwoorden, die geanalyseerd worden als een subgroep van volledige werkwoorden.

De ongemarkeerde woordvolgorde in de clause, die het onderwerp is van § 6, is SOV. De structuur van de clause in Makalero is rigide en laat alleen twee argumenten toe. Elke andere deelnemer, bijvoorbeeld in het geval van ditransitieve constructies, moet in een andere clause worden uitgedrukt. De hieruit volgende eenheden, 'zinnen' genaamd, beschrijven semantisch gezien een enkele gebeurtenis, maar kunnen bestaan uit één of meerdere clauses zoals besproken wordt in § 7.

Een belangrijke groep van biclausale zinnen, afgezien van diegene die ditransitieve standen van zaken uitdrukken, bevatten werkwoordelijke complementen die hoedanigheid of locatie aangeven, zoals hierboven al is gezegd. Andere meervoudige clauses bevatten avalente bijwoordelijke predicaten, die zelf clausaal zijn, maar niet op zichzelf staand een taaluiting kunnen vormen. Zulke bijwoordelijke predicaten drukken tijd uit, aspectuele noties en epistemische modaliteit. Deontische modaliteit, zoals uitgedrukt door een verscheidenheid aan modale werkwoorden, neemt over het algemeen ook de vorm van een zin aan, zoals werkwoorden van zeggen dat doen met hun complementclause extensies en de conatieve constructie met *fera* 'proberen'. De verbinding tussen de clauses in een zin kan ongemarkeerd zijn, of expliciet gemarkeerd door middel van een verbindend cliticum.

De belangrijkste formele karakteristiek van de zin is de aanwezigheid van een losgekoppelde linker positie (*left-detached position*; LDP), aan de linkerkant van de zin. Het kan naar-links-verplaatste argumenten, niet-argumentele topics, of bijwoordelijke clauses bevatten.

Zinnen kunnen bevestigend zijn, vraagzinnen, imperatieven, uitroepen en optatieven. De zinstypen worden in veel gevallen slechts onderscheiden door intonatie.

Verder introduceert § 8 de uiting, die gedefinieerd wordt als beginnend na een stilte of na een finale (vallende) intonatiecontour, en eindigend op de volgende finale intonatiecontour. Op deze manier kan de uiting erg korte eenheden bevatten, bestaande uit alleen een woord of een uitroep, naast ook relatief lange stukken, die uit lange kettingen van clauses bestaan. De clauses in de kettingen worden verbonden door clitica die zich hechten aan de rechterkant van de eerste clause in een opeenvolging. De twee meest voorkomende voegwoorden, *=ini* en *=isi*, hebben een erg brede betekenis, en drukken eigenlijk alleen de nauwe verbinding uit tussen clauses in het geval van *=ini*, en een losse verbinding in het geval van *=isi*. Andere voegwoorden drukken adversativiteit, concessiviteit, voorwaarde, voltooiing, alternativiteit, consequentie, doel, of indirecte rede uit. De laatste twee worden geanalyseerd als onderschikkende voegwoorden op basis van hun mogelijke plaatsing hetzij in de eerste clause, of aan het subject van de tweede clause. Al de andere voegwoorden worden alleen gecliticiseerd aan de eerste clause. Deze

voegwoorden laten dus geen hiërarchie tussen de twee clauses zien die worden verbonden. Ze kunnen gecombineerd worden met onderschikkende voegwoorden. Andere onderschikkende constructies zijn relatieve zinnen, die dezelfde structuur laten zien, parallel aan zinnen met onderschikkende voegwoorden. Een heel andere, maar ook onderschikkende structuur, bestaat uit VP complementen. Dit zijn volledige predicaties met dezelfde modificeerders als een onafhankelijke clause. Echter, het werkwoord kan een afhankelijke vorm hebben. Een derde type onderschikkende structuur zijn clausale argumenten en bijwoordelijke clauses in de naar-links-verplaatste positie van de zin. Een wat moeilijk geval vormen de werkwoorden van zeggen en modale werkwoorden met hun complementclause extensies. Dit type constructie lijkt voort te komen uit een andere constructie waarin de complementclause functioneert als een argument van het werkwoord van zeggen. In deze hoedanigheid kunnen complementclause extensies gekwalificeerd worden als een type van onderschikkende constructie.

§ 8 bespreekt een aantal vraagstukken op het niveau van de discourse. Omdat het Makalero geen naamvalsmarkering heeft en ook geen werkwoordelijke congruentie, en omdat deelnemers naar links verplaatst kunnen worden, is de juiste interpretatie van grammaticale rollen mogelijk problematisch. Gelukkig heeft de spreker een aantal hulpmiddelen ter beschikking. Een belangrijk instrument om referenten in een tekst te kunnen identificeren zijn de clausevoegwoorden *=ini* en *=isi*. De eerste geeft gewoonlijk de continuïteit van het topic (of subject) aan, terwijl de tweede normaal gesproken een verandering van topic aangeeft. Een ander grammaticaal element dat bijdraagt aan het volgen van referenten is het wederkerende voornaamwoord *ni*, dat coreferentie met de subjectdeelnemer aanduidt. Elke NP met dit element is dus noodzakelijkerwijze een non-subject. De contrastieve markeerder *=ini* lijkt zich te ontwikkelen in een subjectmarkeerder die gebruikt wordt voor subjectreferentie in zinnen met een niet-canonieke woordvolgorde, of gevallen waarbij het subjectargument veel lager op de topicaliteitschaal staat dan het tweede argument.

Naar-links-verplaatste constituenten kunnen topics en foci zijn. De meeste foci in de LPD zijn relatief lang en kunnen ter plaatse vervangen worden door een voornaamwoord. In die gevallen lijkt het de lengte van het desbetreffende constituent te zijn die van belang is, en niet de focaliteit. Hieruit volgt dat het bevatten van topics de hoofdfunctie van de LDP is. Er is een expliciete focus constructie waarin een clause met een lege positie gevolgd wordt door dezelfde of een erg vergelijkbare clause waarin die positie gevuld is. Verder heeft het Makalero een aantal clitische of bijwoordelijke markeerders die met informatiestructuur van doen hebben. De meest belangrijke van deze is het contrastieve cliticum *=ini*, dat wordt gevonden bij topicale en focale deelnemers. Het is waarschijnlijk een uitbreiding van het clausevoegwoord *=ini* en haalt het contrastieve argument uit de rest van de clauses. Deze constructies lijken dus in hoge mate op cleft-constructies. Het cliticum *=haka* markeert de contradictie van een vooronderstelling. *Na'a-muni* lijkt het begin van een nieuwe scène of gebeurtenis aan te geven. Het cliticum *=oo* 'ook', dat vaak gebruikt wordt als een concessief voegwoord, komt ook in een verscheidenheid aan gevallen voor, vaak in paren, waarbij deze vertaling ongepast

is. Het lijkt dat het in deze gevallen gebruikt wordt om informatie te structureren, maar dit moet verder onderzocht worden.

Op een hoger niveau van de organisatie van teksten valt er op te merken dat vertellingen normaal gesproken geïntroduceerd worden door een zin die de inhoud van de tekst aangeeft. Deze zinnen gaan vaak gepaard met een bijzondere woordvolgorde. Teksten eindigen gewoonlijk met een afsluitende zin, die aangeeft dat de spreker klaar is.

Een in het oog springende eigenschap van vertellingen in het Makalero is het gebruik van *head-tail* verbindingen. Een karakteristieke eigenschap van ritueel taalgebruik, lexicaal parallelisme, is in sommige gevallen het dagelijks taalgebruik binnengedrongen.

De bijlagen bevatten een aantal geglosseerde en vertaalde teksten, alsmede ook een woordenlijst.

Sumáriu-tetun

Gramátika lia-Makalero nian

Teze ida-ne'e deskreve gramátika lia-Makalero nian, dalen ida iha Timor-Leste hodi makdalen 6,500. Entre nasaun nia dalen 16 hotu, lia-Makalero hamutuk ho dalen seluk tolu klasifika nu'udár membru lia-lubun papua trans Giné-Foun nian. Teze ne'e nia deskrisaun gramatikál kona-ba dalen nia fonolojia, kategoria leksikál sira nomós sira-nia karakteristiká, sintagma nominál no verbál sira, orasaun sira, fraze sira, tatemik, nomós elementu ida-idak ba nivél diskursu nian.

§ 1 hato'o introdusaun badak ba dalen neé, ninia makdalen sira no sira-nia ambiente.

§ 2 diskuta lia-Makalero nia sistema sôn nian no fonolojia. Inventáriu konsoante nian fasil de'it hodi fonema indijena sira /p, t, d, k, ʔ, m, n, l, f, s, r/. Fonema tatolan /ʔ/ iha alófone oklusivu [ʔ] no alófone frikativu [h]. Rua-ne'e temi mamar duni purke la bele rona di'adi'ak. Pois iha konsoante-empresta sia [g, ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ, ŋ, v] no [z] hodi status fonémiku ne'ebe nakfila tuir idiosinkrátiku. Lia-Makalero nia vogál sira lima: /a, e, i, o, u/. Sira hotu iha variante badak no naruk. Variante naruk sira mosu iha kontestu hirak ne'ebe bele si'ik de'it: ida-uluk, vogal hanesan rua ne'ebe tuir maski oklusivu tatolan hees bele temi nu'udár vogál naruk; darua, iha morfema leksikál sira ne'ebe hodi sílabe ida de'it, núkleu vokál simples sira tenki naruk, datolu, prosesu resilabifikasaun nian ba vogál-nuduk hanaruk vogál sira. Morfema ida-idak hodi vogál naruk sira ne'ebe la bele si'ik; ida-ne'e fô-haree katak sira iha status fonémiku, maski la imortante duni. Makbesik [w] no [j] analiza tiha ona nu'udár alófone vogál aas sira nian bainhira uza nu'udár sílabe nia hahú, nu'udár núkleu kompleksu nia balun nomós nu'udár sílabe nia rohan.

Sílabe nia estrutura toman de'it mak KV, maski KVK iha mós. Lia-Makalero lalika lubun-konsoante purke dala barak hatama vogál epentétiku atubele prevente. Baibain vogál-nuduk tau ba morfema nia konsoante final iha liafuan-lubun fonológiku nia rohan. Morfema leksikál ki'ik tebetebes presiza mora rua. Tanba ne'e morfema leksikál hodi sílabe ida de'it presiza vogál naruk ka ditongu nu'udár núkleu. Koda la afeta sílabe nia todan. Jeralmente asentu tau ba morfema nia mora darua husi rohan. Asentu maizumenus hametin ba trokeu, maski peskiza tán presiza ona.

§ 3 fô-hatene kona-ba kategoria leksikál sira ne'ebé la klaru purke morfema leksikál barak bele uza ba referénsia nomós ba predikasaun. Todavía prosesu derivasionál sira ne'ebe hatadak kategoria balu no leksema sira ne'ebé hodi arti oin-seluk tebes duni konforme sira-nia uza nu'udár verbu ka substantivu hatudu nafatin ba realdade distinsaun substantivu-verbu nian. Atubele halo jeneralizasaun ba klase rua ne'e, ha'u uza karakteristiká semantika ida: substantivu prototípiku ne'ebé uza nu'udár predikadu tradús nu'udár "mak x". Dekontráriu, verbu ne'ebé hodi funsaun referensial nia arti "x nia asaun", "x nia produtu", "instrumentu ka objetu x nian".

Substantivu sira habalu ba substantivu ne'ebe hodi karakteristiká [+HUM] no substantivu ne'ebé hopdi karakteristiká [-HUM]. [+HUM] marka an hodi sufiksu

plural, maibé [-HUM] normalmente lakohi sufiksu ne'e. Lubun espesiál substantivu [+HUM] nian mak terminolojia parentesku nian tanba hodi sufiksu plural espesiál ne'ebé oin-seluk duni ho substantivu [+HUM] seluk sira nian. Substativu bele hatada mós hodi hateke se uza klasifikadór nominál ka lae. Pois iha lubun substantivu nian ne'ebe tenke marka ninia posesuidór; ida-ne'e mak termu parentesku nian nomós 'hotu-hotu nia balun'. Maski konstrusaun espesiál laiha, substativu sira-ne'e bele klasifika nu'udár inalienavel.

Hateke ba verbu, iha diferensa boot entre verbu estadu nian no verbu hahalok nian. Importante liu katak adverbu *hau* 'hotu' ne'ebé iha sintagma verbál (SV) laran, marka katak hahalok verbál hotu tiha ona, maibé hatudu ba grau aas kondisaun nian. Maioridade verbu sira nian mak divalente. Argumentu dahuluk ne'ebé liga an ba verbu nune'e mak sujeitu. Argumentu darua bele forma nu'udár objetu ka komplementu ne'ebé iha posisiaun diferente. Verbu nia minoridade ki'ikoan ne'ebé esprime konseitu temporál no modál analiza nu'udár avalente, nia arti mak laiha argumentu. Verbu nia lubun seluk mak verbu negative, verbu interrogativu, numerál, verbu deitiku, kuantifikadór, verbu kondisaun físika no emosionál nomós verbu hodi estensaun orasaun nian. Depois iha verbu nia lubun boot ne'ebé marka ho prefiksu *k-* argumentu la-sijeitu nian. Ita fô-haree katak forma verbu ne'e nian tama ona reanalize ba forma independente no forma dependente ne'ebé uza de'it bainhira sira-nia posisaun komplementu nian hatama tiha ona.

Kategoria leksikál sira ne'ebé naktaka mak pronomen pesoál independente, pronomen reflexivu, pronomen resíproku, pronomen interrogativu sira *mu'a* 'sé (forma presa)' no *sa'a* 'sá' (forma presa), nomós pronomen indefinitivu *riparipa* 'kualkér'. Sira ne'e hotu bele uza adnominál no adverbiál. Klase determinadór nian kontein demonstrativu lima nomós *ho'o* 'hirak'. Sufiksu plural, sufiksu honorífiku, sufiksu substantivu hahalok nian, sufiksu nominalisadór, marka relativa enklítika nomós marka atributiva proklítika mak morfema presu ne'ebé liga ba sintagma nominál. Sintagma verbál iha mak pesoa datolu objetu nia prefiksu *k-* naktemi iha leten, prefiksu negativu *ni-*, marka aspetuál *hai* nomós marka negativa *nomo*. Afinál iha mós variedade klítiku sira ba nivel sintagma nian. Sira-ne'e nia maioridade mak konjusaun sintagma nian ne'ebé enklítika an ba orasaun dahuluk iha série no hatudu ba orasaun tuir nia relasaun semántika.

§ 4 fô-hatene kona-ba sintagma nominal iha lia-Makalero. Sintagma posesivu hahulok inan substantiva, maski dependente seluk sira (arti modifikadór sira no determinadór sira) tuir de'it. Modifikadór sira ne'ebé hodi marka atributiva klítika *ki=* iha modifikadór ne'ebé la marka nia sorin. Ne'ebé naktemi dahuluk fô kontraste ba referente atubele haketek ba referente posivel seluk konforme kualidade ne'ebé sira hatudu. Pois iha período relative auténtiku iha lia-Makalero. Mimia marka konsentra an ba orasaun relativa nia sujeitu, biar modifikadór ka lae. Bainhira la'ós modifikadór núkleu nominal bele marka tatutan.

§ 5 fô-hatene barakliu kona-ba kompleksidade gramátika-Makalero iha sintagma verbal (SV). SV nia núkleu iha kotuk. Argumentu iha SV laran nia posisaun distinta rua mak ninia karakteristik boot. Ida-uluk ne'e, posisaun objetu nian, mak elementu iha SV nia sorin karuk loos. Marka sira aspetu no negasaun nian nomós adverbui iha SV laran mak tuir. Posisaun darua, hodi naran pisisaun komplementu nian, tau iha verbu nia oin no hamutuk halo an nu'udár unidade morfosintáktika. Unidade ne'e

lori forma haki'ik komplementu nian, ka forma presu verbu nian, ka rua hotu. Posisaun rua argumentu ne'e nian ekslui malu. Kualkér ida tama verbu nia posisaun mesak argument nian ne'ebé la'ós sujeitu. Maski posisaun objetu hetan de'it sintagma nominál (SN) ne'ebé refere ba pesoa kona ('undergoer'), posisaun komplementu nian bele hetan konstituente nominál ka verbál. Komplementu nominál refere ba 'undergoer', fatin ka mira. Komplementu verbál ne'ebé SV kompletu moos, maski ninia verbu bele iha forma dependente karik, katak enjerál hatudu ba informasaun kona-ba fatin no maneira. Komplementu verbál sira uza mós atu halo kausativu, komparativu, modifikasaun modál sira, direcionalidade no seluseluk tán. Posisaun objetu nian no posisaun komplementu nian bele difere uitoan, liuliu hodi kazu 'undergoer' pronomínál sira. Barakliu ida-ne'e trasu leksikál verbu nian mak determine se argumentu nominál sai objetu ka komplementu.

Verbu divalente ida-idak bele hamutuk ho komplementu verbál ne'be refere ba fatin ka maneira, biar verbu sira ne'e iha semántika intransitive purke la bele hamutuk ho partisipante 'undergoer'. Bainhiara posisaun komplementu nian kontein informasaun adverbial nune'e, verbu transitivu nia partisipante 'undergoer' la bele hela predikadu hamutuk, maibé tenke tama predikasaun seluk liuhosi verbu 'kmaan' *mei* 'hetan'.

Modifikadór verbal inklui marka aspetuál *hai*, ne'ebé hatudu hahú situasaun foun nian, negadór *nomo*, nomós variedade adverbial sira nian iha SV laran ne'ebé analiza nu'udár subklase verbu tomak nian.

§ 6 diskuta liafuan nia tuir-ukun neutru mak SOV. Lia-makalero nia estrutura orasaun nian rijida ho simu de'it to'o argumentu rua. Partisipante tán tenke fô-hatene iha orasaun seluk. Unidade sira, ne'ebé lori naran 'períodu', hatudu de'it ba akontesimentu ida, maibé bele kontein orasaun ida ka liu. § 7 diskuta ne'e.

Iha leten fô-hatene tiha ona katak período ne'ebe iha orasaun rua, maibé la hatudu ba akontesimu ditransitivu mak komplementu verbal ne'ebé hatudu ba maneira ka fatin. Períodu seluk ne'ebé iha orasaun barak mak predikadu adverbial avalente sira, ne'ebé orasaun mesak, maibé la bele forma elukasaun rasik-an. Predikadu adverbial nune'e hatudu tempu, nosaun aspetuál sira, nomós modalidade epistémika. Modalidade deóntika hodi forma verbu modal seluseluk mós hodi forma frase, nu'udár verbu sira hateten nian hodi sira-nia estensaun orasaun nian nomós konstrusaun konativa hodi *fera* 'koko'. Konesaan entre orasaun sira lalika marka, ka hodi marka ho klítiku ne'ebé konjuga orasaun.

Karakterístika formál boot frase nian mak 'posisaun ketak iha karuk' (PKK, LDP) ne'ebé hela frase nia rohan karuk. Ida-ne'e bele hetan argumentu ne'ebé foti ba karuk, tópiku ne'ebé la'ós argumentu ka orasaun adverbial.

Frase sira bele sai deklarativa, interrogativa, imperativa, esklamasaun nomós optativa.

§ 8 fô-hatene kona-ba elukasaun, ne'ebé hahú tuirfali silénsia ka entonasaun final (monu) nia kontoru ho ramata iha kontoru final oinmai. Nune'e ida-ne'e bele iha unidade badak tebes barak, ne'ebé iha liafuan ida ka esklamasaun ida de'it, maibé bele iha diskursu nia trexu naruk-naruk ne'ebé hodi korrente naruk orasaun nian. Orasaun sira ne'e liga an liuhosi klítiku konjunsan nian ne'ebé tau orasaun dahuluk iha série nia rohan kuana. Konjunsan rua ne'ebé komún duni, *=ini* no *=isi*, iha arti luan tebes duni. *=ini* hatudu ba orasaun sira nia konesaan besik liu, maibé *=isi* hatudu ba konesaan namkore liu. Konjunsan seluk sira hatudu ba adversatividade,

konsesividade, kondisaun, kompleksaun, alternativu sira, konsekénsia, uzu, ka diskursu ne'ebé fó. Rua ikusmai analiza nu'udár konjusaun subordinativa, purke bele tau ba orasaun dahuluk ka ba sujeitu orasaun darua nian. Konjusaun seluk sira tau de'it nu'udár klítiku ba orasaun dahuluk. Konjusaun sira ne'e la fó-haree orasaun ne'ebé liga nia ierárkia sintáktika; nune'e sira-nia relasaun ierárkika posivel hela indeterminada.

Konstrusaun subordinativa seluk mak frase relativa, ne'ebé iha padraun marka nian ne'ebé hanesan ho frase sira nian ne'ebé iha konjusaun subordinativa sira. Komplementu SV nian mak estrutura subordinativu ne'ebé klaru maibé seluk duni. Ida-ne'e predikasaun kompleta ho modifikadór hanesan nu'udár orasaun independente nian. Maibé verbu bele uza forma dependente. Tipu datolu estrutura subordinatu nian mak argumentu orasaun no orasaun adverbial iha posisaun ketak iha karuk frase nian. Kazu problemátiku uitoan mak verbu hateten nian no verbu modál nomós sira-nia estensaun orasaun komplementária nian, purke komplementadór liga ho verbu hateten nian enkuantu estensaun orasaun komplementária nian tuir verbu hateten nian. Tipu konstrusaun ne'e nia origen hosi konstrusaun ida ne'ebé orasaun komplementária funsiona nu'udár argumentu verbu hateten nian. Nune'e estensaun orasaun komplementária bele haree nu'udár tipu konstrusaun subordinativa nian.

§ 9 fó-haree kestaun ida-idak iha nivel diskursu nian. Interpretasaun loos papél gramatikál sira nian susar liu tanba lia-Makalero laiha konjugasaun verbál ka marka kazu gramatikál nian no simu de'it partisipante tau ba karuk. Mais, iha instrumentu ida-idak ne'ebé tolun makronak iha ne'e. Indikadór importante atubele buka referénsia atravesde testu mak konjusaun orasaun nian =*ini* no =*isi*. Naktemi dahuluk enjerál kombina ho continuidade tópiku (ka sujeitu) nian, maski naktemi ikus kombina ho troka tópiku nian. Pronomen reflexivu *ni* mak buat gramatikál ida ne'ebé ajuda ho buka referénsia. Ida-ne'e hatudu koreferénsia partisipante sujeitu nian. Nune'e, SN hotu ne'ebé iha pronomen ne'e la bele sujeitu de'it. Marka kontrastiva =*ini* dezentolve ona ba marka sujeitu nian ne'ebé uza ba klarifikasaun referénsia sujeitu nian iha períodu sira laho liafuan-ukun kanónika ka bainhira argumentu sujeitu nian kraik liu argumentu darua iha ierárkia topikál.

Konstituente ne'ebé tau ba karuk bele sai tópiku ka foku. Foku barakliu iha LDP (PKK) bele naruk de'it no bele refere hodi pronomen. Nune'e konstituente ne'e nia naruk mak sai kestaun karik maibé la'ós ninia foku. Ne'e arti katak hodi tópiku mak funsaun prinsipál PKK nian. Iha konstrusaun esplísita foku nian ne'ebé iha orasaun ho posisaun ida mamuk ne'ebé orasaun hanesan ka besik hanesan ho posisaun nakonu tuir bá. Lia-Makalero pois iha marka klítika ka adverbial ida-idak ne'ebé iha relasaun ho estrutura informaun nian. Klítiku kontrastivu =*ini* mak importante liu no bele hetan ho partisipante topikál sira nomós partisipante fokál sira. Ida-ne'e estensaun konjusaun orasaun =*ini* karik no haketak agrumentu kontrastivu hosi balun seluk orasaun nian. Nune'e konstrusaun sira-ne'e fó-haree semellansa boot ho konstrusaun 'haketak' (cleft construction). Klítiku =*haka* marka kontradisaun ka presupostu. *Na'a-muni* fó-hatene akontesimentu ka sena nia hahú foun. Klítiku =*oo* 'mós' uza nu'udár konjusaun konsesiva nomós mosu iha kazu barabarak –barakliu hodi pár – ne'ebé la bele tradús di'adi'ak. Nune'e bele propoin katak iha uzu estrutura informaun nian karik ne'e bé presiza peskiza tán.

Iha organisasaun testuál nia nivel aas liu ita bele haree katak barakliu narativa sira hahú hodi períodu ne'ebé fó-hatene kontiudu testu nian. Períodu sira-ne'e barabarak iha liafuan-ukun particular. Testu hotu normalmente ho períodu maktaka ne'ebé fó-hatene katak matetek ramata tiha ona.

Narativa-Makalero nia karakterístika espesiál mak uzu 'ligasaun ulun-ikun' (head-tail linkage). Karakterístika espesiál diskursu rituál nian, paralelismu leksikál, mosu tiha ona iha espresaun loroloron ida-idak.

Apêndise sira kontein ezemplu testu nian ida-idak ho glosa no tradusaun nomós lista liafuan nian.

Curriculum vitae

Juliette Huber was born in Olten (Switzerland) on the 8th of August 1978. After attending the Alte Kantonsschule in Aarau, she took up her studies of general linguistics at the university of Zurich in 1998. She graduated from this institution in 2005, having written a grammar sketch of the Timorese language Makasae as a Master's thesis. In 2006, she obtained a PhD position at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). This dissertation is the result of her doctoral research.

