



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Dhao: An endangered Austronesian language in Eastern Indonesia

Balukh, J.I.

Citation

Balukh, J. I. (2020, September 17). *A grammar of Dhao: An endangered Austronesian language in Eastern Indonesia*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/136759>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/136759>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/136759> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Balukh, J.I.

Title: A Grammar of Dhao : an endangered Austronesian language in Eastern Indonesia

Issue Date: 2020-09-17

A Grammar of Dhao:
An Endangered Austronesian Language
in Eastern Indonesia

Published by
LOT
Kloveniersburgwal 48
1012 CX Amsterdam
The Netherlands

phone: +31 20 525 2461

e-mail: lot@uva.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: A Dhao man, Yustinus Bolla, is doing metal smithing and his wife, Sufince Aplugi, is weaving and a part of a woven man blanket by *mama* Ata Fiah on Ndao Island, Eastern Indonesia. Design by Yandres Yollah.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-355-4
NUR: 616

Copyright © 2020 Jermy Imanuel Balukh. All rights reserved.

**A Grammar of Dhao:
An Endangered Austronesian Language
in Eastern Indonesia**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op 17 September 2020
klokke 10.00 uur

door

Jermy Imanuel Balukh

Geboren te Kupang, Indonesië
in 1977

Promotor:	Prof. dr. Maarten Mous
Copromotor:	Dr. Aone van Engelenhoven
Promotiecommissie:	Prof. dr. Marian Klamer
	Dr. Tom Hoogervorst (KITLV, Leiden)
	Prof. dr. Lourens de Vries (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
	Dr. Peter Slomanson (Tampere University)

Ma'are aad'o ètu Dhao tengaa soka ètu Dhao

Table of Contents

	<i>page</i>
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables and Figures	xv
List of Abbreviations	xvii
Maps	xix
Acknowledgements	xxv
1. General Introduction.....	1
1.1. The Island of Ndao and its people.....	1
1.1.1. Geography and population	1
1.1.2. History and culture	2
1.1.3. Economy, Transportation, and Education	4
1.2. The Language.....	5
1.2.1. Genetic affiliation.....	5
1.2.2. Language Variation	7
1.2.3. Registers.....	7
1.2.4. Typological Overview	9
1.3. Sociolinguistic Situation	11
1.3.1. Language contact.....	11
1.3.2. Context of use and language choice	15
1.3.3. Language vitality.....	16
1.4. Previous Works.....	20
1.5. Aims and Theoretical Framework.....	21
1.6. Methodology and Corpus	22
1.6.1. Fieldwork	22
1.6.2. Data	24
1.7. Organization of the Grammar	24
2. Phonology	27
2.1. Introduction	27
2.2. Segments.....	28
2.2.1. Segment Inventory.....	28
2.2.2. Description of Consonants.....	28
2.2.2.1. General Description.....	28

2.2.2.2. Minimal Pairs	30
2.2.2.3. Distribution of Consonants.....	33
2.2.2.4. Phonetic Evidence of Consonants	35
2.2.2.5. Pre-glottalized Voiced Stop Consonants	40
2.2.2.6. Loan Consonants	41
2.2.3. Description of Vowels	43
2.2.3.1. General Description.....	43
2.2.3.2. Vowel Allophones	43
2.2.3.3. Minimal Pairs	44
2.2.3.4. Initial Glottal: Phonemic Evidence.....	45
2.2.3.5. Long Vowels	49
2.2.3.6. Vowel Sequences.....	51
2.2.3.7. Mid-Central Vowel (Schwa)	52
2.2.3.8. Vowel Harmony	53
2.3. Syllables	55
2.3.1 Syllable Structure	55
2.3.2. Diphthongization	62
2.3.3. Stress Assignment.....	62
2.4. Reduced Forms	64
2.5. Loan Words	67
2.6. Orthography.....	69
3. Word Classes.....	71
3.1. Introduction	71
3.2. Nominal Categories	71
3.2.1. Nouns.....	71
3.2.1.1. Formal Properties	72
3.2.1.2. Subclasses of Nouns	75
3.2.1.2.1. Proper Nouns	75
3.2.1.2.2. Common nouns.....	78
3.2.1.2.3. Location and Direction Nouns	82
3.2.1.2.4. Time nouns	84
3.2.2. Pronouns	86
3.2.2.1. Personal Pronouns	86
3.2.2.1.1. Full and Reduced Forms	87
3.2.2.1.2. Clitics and Affixes	89

3.2.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns.....	90
3.2.2.2.1. Pronominal Functions.....	90
3.2.2.2.2. Adnominal Functions	92
3.2.2.2.3. Reduced Forms and Discourse Functions.....	95
3.2.2.3. Relative Pronouns.....	96
3.2.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns.....	97
3.2.3. Numerals and Classifiers	97
3.3. Verbal Categories	107
3.3.1. Verbs.....	107
3.3.1.1. Formal Properties	107
3.3.1.2. Subclasses of Verbs and Valency	109
3.3.1.2.1. Action and Production Verbs.....	109
3.3.1.2.2. Process and State Verbs.....	111
3.3.1.2.3. Cognition Verbs.....	112
3.3.1.2.4. Utterance Verbs	113
3.3.1.2.5. Motion Verbs.....	113
3.3.1.2.6. Position Verbs.....	115
3.3.1.2.7. Trajectory Verbs	115
3.3.1.2.8. Directional Verbs.....	116
3.3.1.2.9. Existential Verbs.....	116
3.3.1.2.9. Aspectual Verb	117
3.3.2. Adverbs.....	118
3.3.2.1. Verbal Adverbs.....	119
3.3.2.2. Clausal Adverbs.....	121
3.3.2.3. Exclusive Adverbs.....	123
3.4. Adjectives.....	125
3.4.1. Attributive Function	126
3.4.2. Adjectives and the prefix pa-.....	127
3.5. Interrogative Words.....	128
3.5.1. Interrogative pronouns.....	129
3.5.2. Interrogative Numeral.....	130
3.5.3. Interrogative Classifier	131
3.5.4. Interrogative Demonstrative	131
3.5.5. Other Interrogatives	132
3.5.5.1. <i>Tasameramia/tasamia</i> ‘how’	132

3.5.5.2. <i>Ngaa tao</i> ‘why’	133
3.5.5.3. <i>do</i> ‘yes-no interrogative’	133
3.6. Function Words	134
3.6.1. Basic Prepositions.....	134
3.6.1.1. Locative and Target	134
3.6.1.2. Source, Goal, and Path.....	136
3.6.1.3. Temporal Preposition.....	137
3.6.2. Other Prepositions	138
3.6.2.1. Accompaniment Preposition.....	138
3.6.2.2. Comparative/Similative Preposition	138
3.6.3. Conjunctions.....	139
3.6.3.1. Coordinating conjunctions	139
3.6.3.2. Subordinating conjunctions	139
3.6.4. Particles, Tags, and Interjections	141
3.6.4.1. Particles	141
3.6.4.2. Tags	142
3.6.4.3. Interjections	142
4. Morphosyntax: Inflection and Derivation	143
4.1. Introduction	143
4.2. Actor Indexing.....	143
4.3. Prefix <i>pa-</i>	146
4.3.1. Meanings of the prefix <i>pa-</i>	148
4.3.1.1. Causative	148
4.3.1.2. Intensity	158
4.3.1.3. Reciprocal.....	158
4.3.1.4. Resultative	159
4.3.1.5. Simultaneity.....	161
4.3.1.6. Habitual	161
4.3.1.7. Durative	162
4.3.1.8. Factitive	162
4.3.1.9. Other Meanings	162
4.3.2. Prefix <i>pa-</i> and inflected verbs	164
4.3.3. Prefix <i>pa-</i> and Reduplication	165
4.3.4. Prefix <i>pa-</i> and Compound forms.....	167
4.3.5. Lexicalization of <i>pa-</i>	168
4.4. Reduplication.....	169

4.4.1. Types of Reduplication.....	170
4.4.1.1. (C)a~ Reduplication	170
4.4.1.2. Full Reduplication	171
4.4.1.3. Lexical Reduplication.....	173
4.4.1.4. Rhyming Reduplication.....	174
4.4.2. Semantics of (C)a- Reduplication.....	174
4.4.2.1. Instruments	174
4.4.2.2. Abstract Nominalizing reduplication.....	175
4.4.2.3. Locational reduplication	176
4.4.2.4. Intensive reduplication	176
4.4.2.5. Manner Reduplication	177
4.4.2.6. Other types of reduplication	177
4.4.3. (C)a~ reduplication and inflected verbs.....	178
4.5. Compounding	179
4.5.1. Compound Nouns	180
4.5.2. Compound Verbs	184
4.6. Vowel changes: final /a/ and /e/.....	185
4.6.1. Semantic-Induced Vowel Change	186
4.6.2. Valence Increase.....	189
5. Simple Clauses	193
5.1. Introduction	193
5.2. Predicates.....	194
5.2.1. Verbal Predicates.....	194
5.2.2. Nominal Predicates.....	200
5.2.3. Possessive Predicates.....	201
5.2.4. Numeral Predicates.....	202
5.2.5. Locative Predicates.....	203
5.3. Arguments and Peripheries.....	205
5.3.1. Subject	205
5.3.2. Object	207
5.3.3. Oblique	208
5.3.4. Adjunct	209

5.4. Valency and Transitivity.....	211
5.4.1. Intransitive constructions.....	213
5.4.2. Transitive constructions.....	217
5.4.3. Ditransitive constructions	220
5.4.4. Zero Transitive	222
5.5. Pragmatic Variation	224
5.5.1. Expression of Topic.....	224
5.5.2. Focus Expression.....	225
6. Clause Combining and Serial Verb Constructions	227
6.1. Introduction	227
6.2. Coordination	227
6.2.1. Linked Coordination.....	227
6.2.1.1. Conjunctive coordination.....	228
6.2.1.2. Disjunctive coordination.....	229
6.2.1.3. Alternative coordination	230
6.2.2. Juxtaposition.....	230
6.3. Subordination	231
6.3.1. Relative Clauses	231
6.3.1.1. Relativization of arguments.....	232
6.3.1.2. Relativization of non-arguments	235
6.3.1.3. Headless relative clauses	236
6.3.1.4. Relativization with the particle <i>ho</i>	237
6.3.2. Complement Clauses	239
6.3.2.1. <i>na</i> -complements	239
6.3.2.2. Paratactic complements	242
6.3.2.3. Clause union complements.....	243
6.3.3. Adverbial Clauses.....	243
6.3.3.1. Time clauses	244
6.3.3.2. Locative clauses.....	246
6.3.3.3. Manner clauses	247
6.3.3.4. Purpose clauses.....	248
6.3.3.5. Reason clauses.....	249
6.3.3.6. Conditional clause	251
6.3.3.7. Sequential clauses.....	253
6.3.3.8. Concessive clauses	255

6.4. Serial Verb Constructions	256
6.4.1. Morphosyntax of SVCs	257
6.4.2. Semantics of SVCs	260
6.4.3. Types of SVCs.....	262
6.4.3.1. Directional serialization.....	262
6.4.3.2. Benefactive serialization.....	267
6.4.3.3. Experiential serialization	268
6.4.3.4. Causative serialization	269
6.4.3.5. Manner serialization	269
6.4.3.6. Simultaneous serialization.....	269
6.4.3.7. Completive serialization	270
6.4.3.8. Instrumental serialization.....	270
6.4.3.9. Synonymous serialization	271
6.4.3.10. Purposive serialization.....	271
References	273
Appendices	
1. Texts	283
1.1. <i>Rika dènge Jote</i> (The story of Ndaonese first settler)	283
1.2. <i>Dhèu madhe</i> (an event when a dead body was brought to Ndao)	293
1.3. <i>Beg 'a Kabho</i> (traditional wedding ceremony)	301
1.4. Pear Story (a video stimuli)	319
2. Wordlists	327
2.1 Dhao – English Wordlist	327
2.2 English –Dhao Wordlist	357
Fieldwork Photographs	383
Summary in English	385
Samenvatting in het Nederlands	391
Curriculum Vitae	397

List of Tables and Figures

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Population of Ndao-Nuse subdistrict.....	2
Table 1.2: Similarities between Hawu and Dhao.....	6
Table 1.3: Semantic Variation	7
Table 1.4: Loans from Rote	12
Table 1.5: Loans from Kupang Malay/Indonesian	13
Table 1.6: Language Choice.....	15
Table 1.7: Traditional terms indicating months in a year	18
Table 1.8: Difference between ages.....	19
Table 2.1: Dhao Consonants.....	28
Table 2.2: Dhao Vowels	28
Table 2.3: Distribution of stops	34
Table 2.4: Distribution of palatals	34
Table 2.5: Distribution of implosives	35
Table 2.6: Distribution of affricates.....	36
Table 2.7: Distribution of fricatives and nasals	36
Table 2.8: Distribution of liquids.....	37
Table 2.9: Vowel Allophones	44
Table 2.10: Contrast between Short and Long Vowels	50
Table 2.11: Vowel Sequences.....	52
Table 2.12: Deletion of codas in all position	67
Table 2.13: Loans with coda.....	68
Table 2.14: Vowel Epenthesis	68
Table 2.15: Vowel Lengthened.....	69
Table 2.16: Consonant Adaptation	69
Table 3.1: Dhao Personal Pronoun Paradigms	87
Table 3.2: Demonstratives in Dhao	90
Table 3.3: Demonstratives modifying personal pronouns	93
Table 3.4: Free integers of Dhao	98
Table 3.5: Multiple decimal system.....	98
Table 3.6: Higher Numbers	99
Table 3.7: Ordinal Numbers	100
Table 3.8: Adverbial cardinals	100
Table 3.9: Singular Classifiers	101
Table 3.10: General Classifiers	103
Table 3.11: Specific Classifiers	103

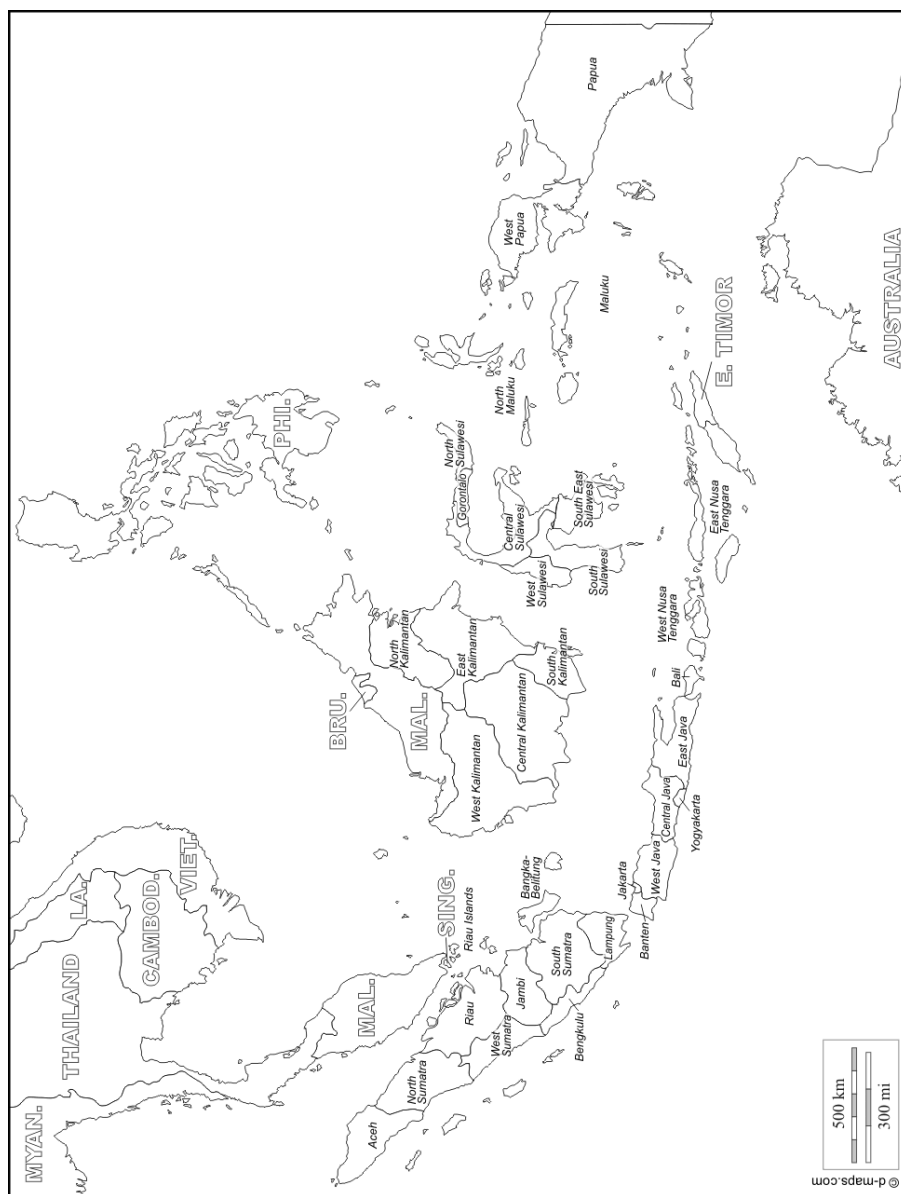
Table 3.12: Unique Classifiers	104
Table 3.13: Verbal Classifiers	105
Table 3.14: Partition classifier	105
Table 3.15: Mensural classifiers	106
Table 3.16: Dhao Interrogative Words	129
Table 3.17: Functions of Interrogative Words	129
Table 3.18: Basic Prepositions	134
Table 3.19: Coordinating Conjunctions	139
Table 3.20: Subordinating Conjunctions	140
Table 3.21: Particles in Dhao	141
Table 3.22: Particle <i>do</i>	141
Table 3.23: Tags in Dhao	142
Table 3.24: Interjections in Dhao	142
Table 4.1: Irregular Verbal inflection	144
Table 4.2: Regular Verbal inflection with prefix	144
Table 4.3: Verbal Inflection with suffix	145
Table 4.4: Bases and Meanings of <i>pa-</i>	147
Table 4.5: The scale between prototypical verb and adjective	155
Table 4.6: Prefix <i>pa-</i> and inflected verbs	165
Table 4.7: Reduplication, prefix <i>pa-</i> and /p/ initial roots	167
Table 6.1: Reason Markers	250
Table 6.2: Conditional Markers	252
Table 6.3: Sequential Markers	253
Figure 1.1: Sumba-Hawu Branching	5
Figure 5.1: Default Clause Structure	194
Figure 5.2: Valency and Transitivity Mapping	212
Figure 5.3: Layers of Syntactic Relation	213

List of Abbreviations

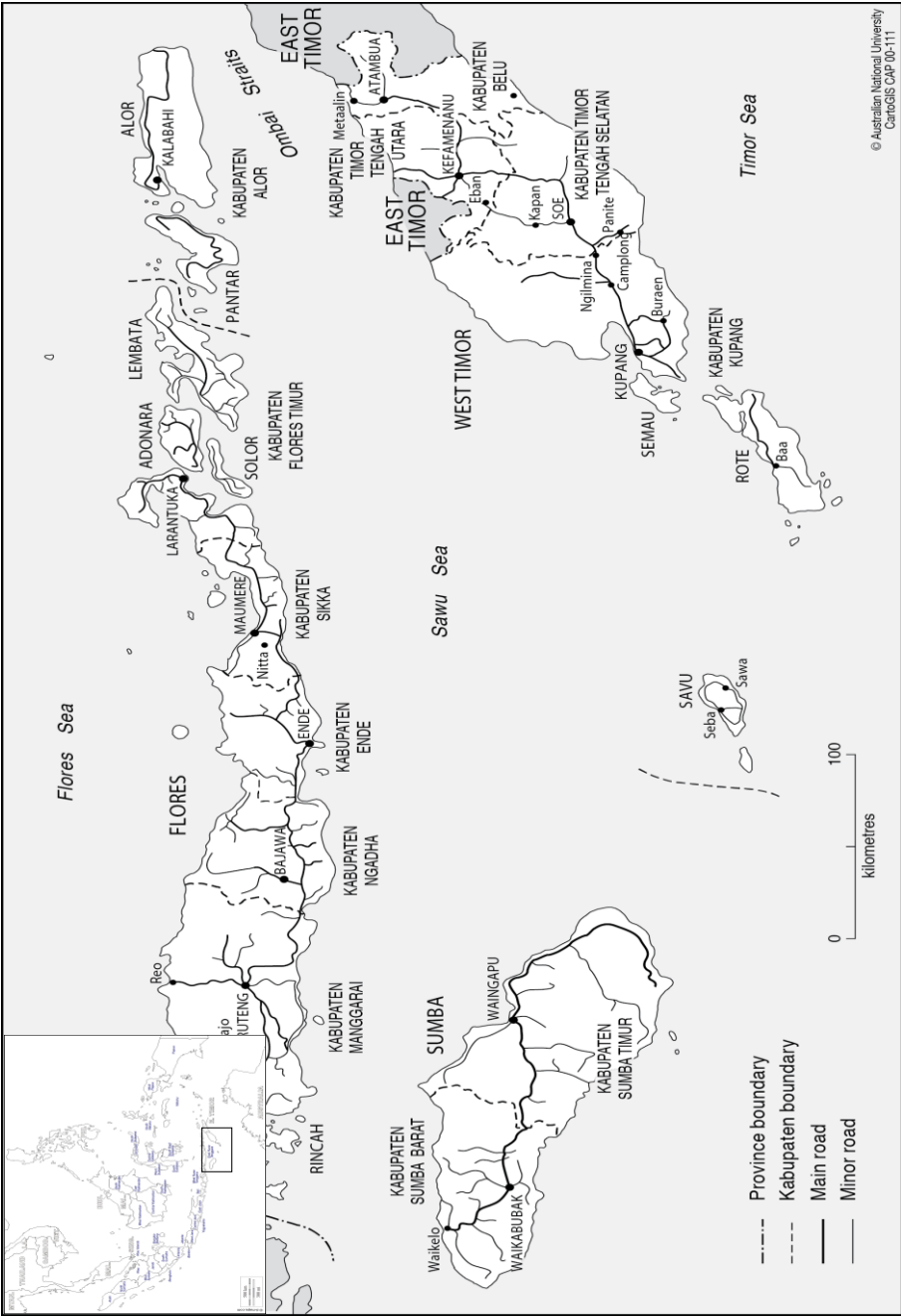
1	first person	IRR	irrealis
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	Mal	Malay
		N	noun
A	agent-like argument of transitive verb	NEG	negation, negative
ADJ	adjective	NOM	nominative/ nominalizer/nominalization
ADNOM	Adnominal	NUM	numeral/number
ADV	adverb(ial)	OBJ	object
ADVR	adversative	OBL	oblique
ART	article	P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ASSOC	associative	PART	particle
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural
C	consonant	POSS	possessive
CAS	causal	PRED	predicative
CAUS	causative	PREF	perfect
CL	clitics	PREP	preposition
CNJ	conjunction	PRO	pronoun/pronominal
COM	commutative	PROH	prohibitive
COMP	complementizer	PROX	proximal/proximate
COND	conditional	PRS	present
CONS	concessive conditional	PST	past
CONT	contrastive	PURP	purposive
DEF	definite	Q	question particle/marker
DEM	demonstrative	QW	question word
DET	determiner	QNT	quantifier
DIST	distal	RECP	reciprocal
DUP	reduplication	REFL	reflexive
DUR	durative	REL	relative
ex	exclusive	REM	remote
EXCL	exclamation	RES	result/resultative
FAC	factitive	S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
FOC	focus	SBJ	subject
HAB	habitual	SEQ	sequential
in	inclusive	SG	singular
IND	Indonesian	TOP	topic
INS	instrumental	TR	transitive
INTR	intransitive	V	vowel
INTS	intensifier/intensity		
IPFV	imperfective		

Maps

Map 1:
Indonesia with the names of provinces



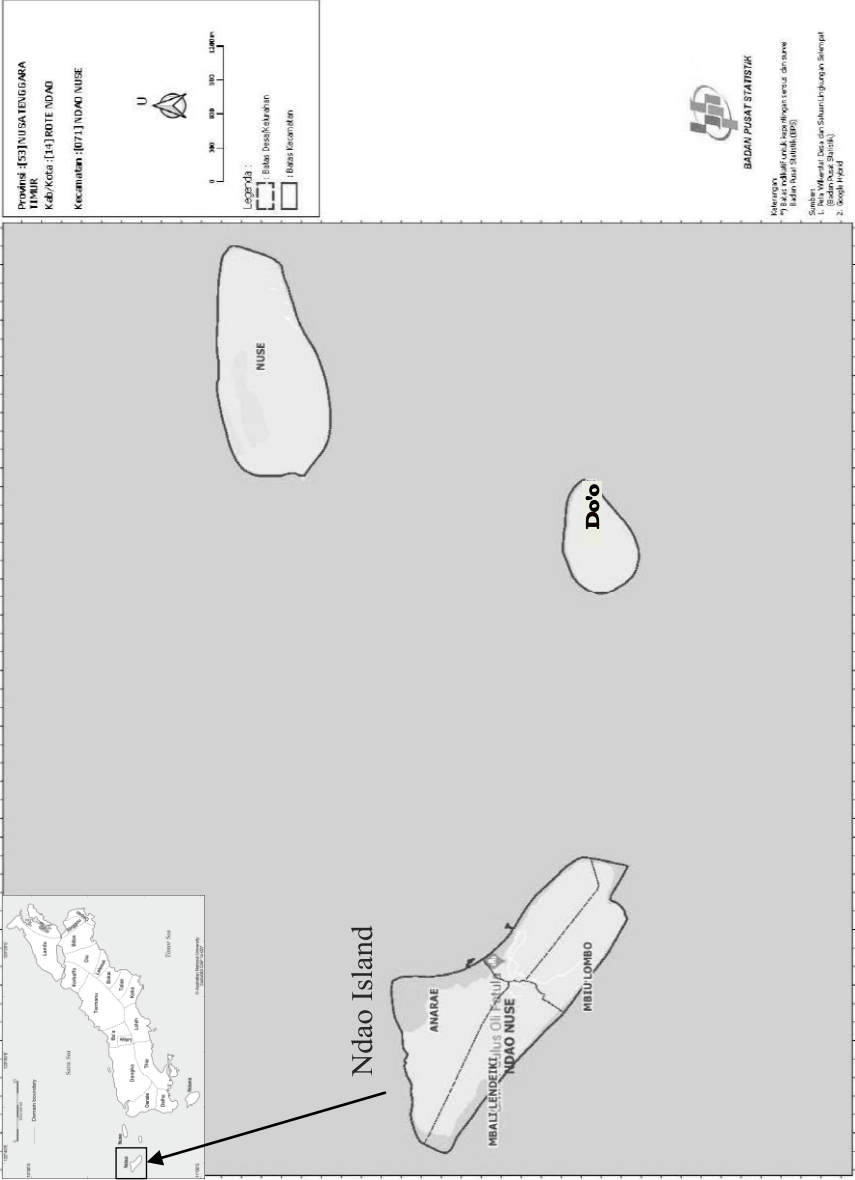
Map 2:
East Nusa Tenggara Province with the name of regencies



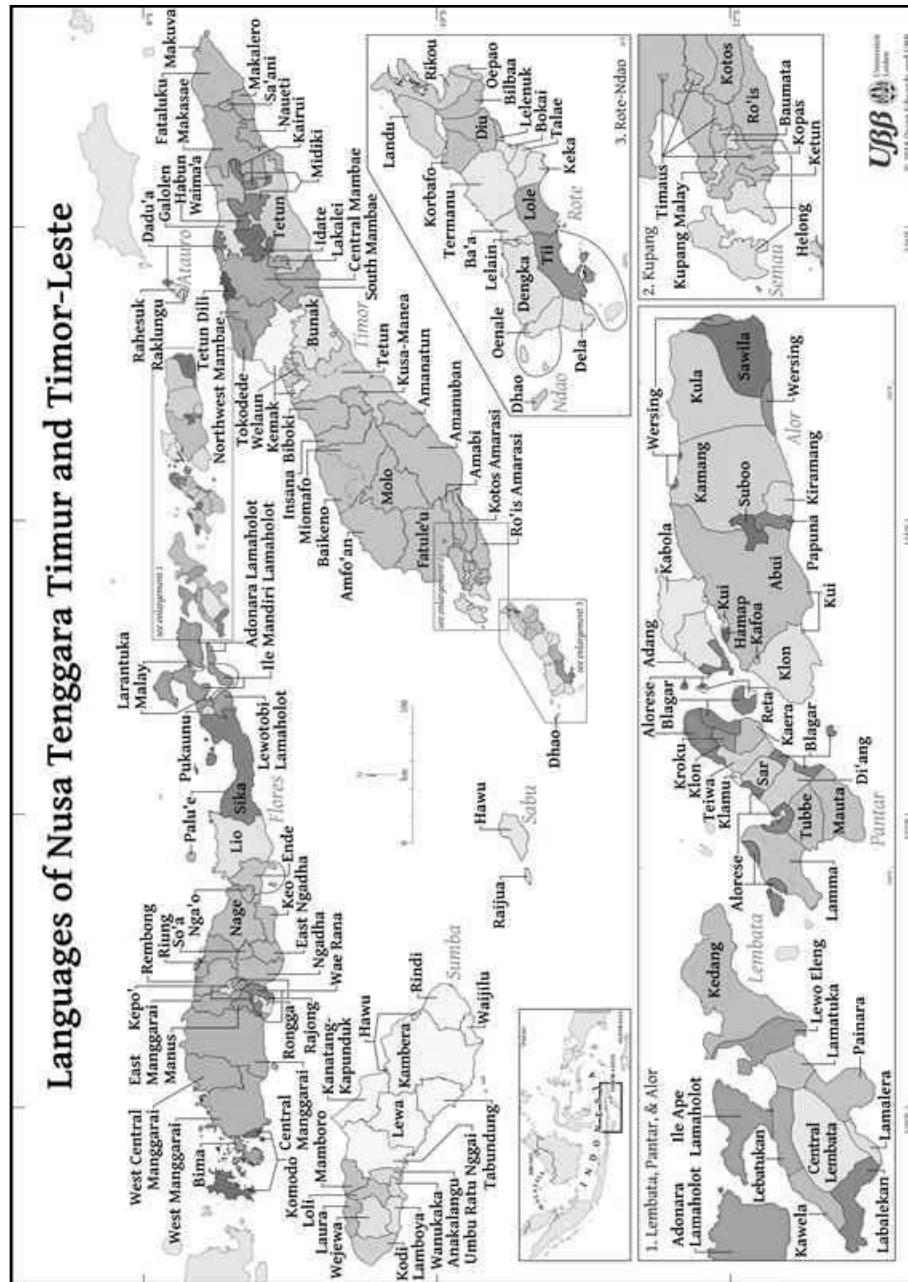
Map 3:
Rote with the name of domains



Map 4:
Ndao Nuse Subdistrict



Language Maps



Acknowledgements

This book could not have been finished without the help, support, and encouragement of many people. I realize that the space available in this book could never be enough to mention all of the parties and people, coming from a diverse range of backgrounds, who have helped me most during my research and writing process. Therefore, I apologize in advance to those whose names are not explicitly mentioned here. Though many people helped me during my ‘academic journey’, this book still is far from perfect. Any mistakes made are my own responsibility.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the Indonesian DIKTI-Leiden Scholarship Program, for having provided me with a PhD grant (2012-2016) to study at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), The Netherlands. My acknowledgement also goes to Leiden University Fund (LUF) for providing the financial subsidy needed for my first PhD fieldwork in 2013 (Ref: 3310/24-1-13\N, vW).

My deepest gratitude goes to the Ndao people who made my research possible in the first place; my host family *Bapak* Yan Fiah, his wife *Mama* Ata Fiah, and their two daughters Fenda and Getri, who welcomed me into their house and into their family. They kindly hosted me during my visits to Ndao. Not only did they host me, they also shared many inspiring stories with me, which made me love the language and culture of Ndao. They made Ndao feel like home.

My thanks also go out to Yandres Yollah and Wilton Tolla, my two language annotators who always were willing to help me with the transcriptions and translations of my Dhao recordings. My ‘language teacher’ *Bapak* Lazarus Lusi deserves special thanks as well. His intensive assistance working on the data during my fieldwork really improved my knowledge of the Dhao language and culture. Not only did he kindly answer my elicitation questions during the fieldwork research, he also answered my telephone calls from The Netherlands afterwards. I also want to thank the Dhao native speakers who shared their knowledge of the local genius of Dhao by telling stories, sharing their experiences, skills, or simply by having small talk regarding the Dhao language and culture. I can mention only a few of them here: *Bapak* Petrus Duli (*Baki Tua Tana*)[†], *Bapak* Lazarus Aplugi[†], *Bapak* Ferdinan Kotten[†], *Bapak* Bernadus Sereh[†], *Bapak* Paulus Ledoh, *Bapak* Frans Bella, *Bapak* Yafet Kotten, *Bapak* Yusuf Lusi, *Bapak* Stanis Pon, *Bapak* Hertus Eba, *Bapak* Okris Bulla, *Bapak* Hen Kotten, *Bapak* Marten Sing, *Bapak* Siluanus Aplugi, *Bapak* Fransius Ledoh, *Bapak* Rafael Mbe’a and *Mama* Cendana Yollah.

I also owe my deepest gratitude to Maarten Mous and Aone van Engelenhoven, for their constant support and encouragement during my research and the writing process of this book. They helped me at various moments during the process through their guidance, advice, and support, which truly improved the quality of the draft.

I also would like to thank a number of scholars who contributed to my research and my academic life in one way or another. I want to thank Wayan Arka, Antoinette Schapper, Marian Klamer, Joseph Errington, Nikolaus Himmelmann, Martin Kohlberger, Hein Steinhauer, Susi Moeimam, Betty Litamahuputty, Tom Hoogervorst, Antonia Soriente, Angela Kluge, Edegar da Conceição, and Suryadi. Another word of thanks goes out to my colleagues who discussed various aspects related to my research. I would like to mention a couple of them here: Nazarudin, Ernanda, Arum Permatasari, Nurenzia, Hanna Fricke, George Saad, Amanda Delgado, Benjamin Daigle, David de Winne, and Alex Veloso Benages. I want to thank the members of LUCL PhD Discussion Group of Descriptive Linguistics, the Indonesian Languages Group and Indonesian DIKTI PhD Discussion Group for sharing knowledge and experiences, as well as feedback on some of my earlier topics. My Indonesian colleagues at Leiden University also deserve special thanks: Wijayanto, Hari Nugroho, Mega Atria, Fahrizal Afendi, Julinta Hutagalung, Arfiansyah Afror, Koko Sudarmoko, Syahril Siddik, Julia, and Maria. I also thank Asako Shiohara, Yanti, June Jacob, Peter Cole, and Gabriella Hermon for their cooperation in collaborative works, their encouragement, and sharing their knowledge and experiences over the past few years, all of which kept me academically afloat.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to some kind people in the Netherlands too: Arlien Wijkhijs and her husband Hizki Lalujan, as well as her family in Dinteloord. I appreciate their help, prayers, and the many things they did for me and my wife during our stay in the Netherlands. My special thanks also goes out to the International Church of Leiden (ICL), especially the church leaders, Andy and Helen, for the encouragement, prayers, and the fellowship they shared with us over the past couple of years.

I also am indebted to my colleagues at STIBA *Cakrawala Nusantara Kupang* for their understanding, especially at the times I was not around and focused more on my own work. I want to thank Gregorius Sudaryono, Fabianus Jemali, Siprianus Nambut, Fransiskus Sukardin, and Emy Nitbani for their constant encouragement and support of my writings.

Last but not least, I want to express my special and heartfelt thanks to my beloved parents, brothers, and sister, for their unconditional support during my PhD candidature. I want to extend my gratitude especially to my beloved wife, Marleni Ndoen, who kindheartedly left her office job and joined me in the Netherlands during the last two years of my stay in Leiden. I was constantly stimulated by their steadfast support, love, patience, and prayers to finish writing this book.

Above all, praise and honor be to the Almighty God in Jesus Christ for His guidance and blessings during all these years.

1

General Introduction

This chapter presents general information regarding the Dhao language and its speakers. Information about the geography of Ndao Island and information about its people, including their history and culture, is presented in §1.1. It is followed by an overview of the language and its typology in §1.2. The sociolinguistic situation, which briefly delves into language contact and language vitality, is given in §1.3. Previous works regarding the Dhao language and culture are presented in §1.4. Furthermore, the aims and theoretical framework as well as the methodology and corpus used in the present study are described in §1.5 and §1.6 respectively. Finally, this chapter closes with the organization of this book in §1.7.

1.1. The island of Ndao and its people

1.1.1. Geography and population

Ndao Island is a tiny island westwards of Rote Island in the East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. Ndao Island is one of seven islands in the Lesser Sunda area, which is called the “outer arc” (Fox, 1968: 1). Together with a smaller island in the northeast, which is called Nuse, and another unpopulated island at its footstep, called Do’o, these islands form a subdistrict administration or *kecamatan*. This particular subdistrict is called *kecamatan* Ndao-Nuse, of which Ndao is the main island. The subdistrict is one of the 10 subdistricts of the Rote-Ndao Regency. The Rote-Ndao Regency has been autonomous since March 11, 2002¹, with the city of Ba’a as its capital city, while *kecamatan* Ndao-Nuse has been granted autonomy since December 14, 2011.

¹ From 1958 until 2001, Rote-Ndao was part of the Kupang Regency.

Ndao Island is 5.8 kilometers long and 2.5 kilometers wide at low tide. Based on the Ndao-Nuse subdistrict statistical data of 2016, the population of Ndao Island counts 3,473 people. The population of the Ndao-Nuse subdistrict across four years is presented in Table 1.1 below. With an area of 11,54 km², the population density of the Ndao-Nuse subdistrict is 300 people per km². This is one of the reasons the migration rate to neighboring islands, especially to Rote and Timor, is high. Roughly 200 people from Ndao live in a coastal area that is called Namo Ndao in Ba'a, Rote. The name *Namo Ndao* itself is Rotenese, meaning 'Ndao beach'. It is believed that more than 500 Ndaonese spread across the whole of Rote Island.

Table 1.1: Population of the Ndao-Nuse subdistrict

Village names	Area	Population			
		2016	2015	2014	2013
Ndao Nuse	4,42 km ²	1,465	1,407	1,353	1,327
Mbali Lendeiki	2,41 km ²	664	811	612	699
Mbiu Lombo	2,17 km ²	844	637	779	511
Anarae	2,54 km ²	500	481	462	717
Nuse	4,65 km ²	490	471	452	734
TOTAL	14,19 km ²	3,963	3,807	3,658	3,988

Source: BPS (2015, 2016, 2017)

Almost all of the Ndaonese people living on Rote Island still are administratively listed as inhabitants of Ndao. Only few of them, of whom most are women, became Rotenese due to intermarriage. About 25% of the Ndaonese people can be found on Timor Island, including the provincial capital city of Kupang. In Kupang, there are more than 100 households, or 400 people. Unlike on Rote Island and on the rest of Timor, there is no specific community of Ndaonese people in Kupang. In the Mollo Utara subdistrict of Timor Ndaonese people settled in Tunua village, which also includes Hu'e, where there are about 80 households, or about 300 people. Ormeling (1952) reported that Ndaonese people already settled in a village called Netpala in Mollo on Timor Island a long time ago, and that they even have their own village chief. Ndaonese people also live in Kefa and Belu in the eastern part of West Timor. Only very few people live on other islands such as Alor, Flores, Sumba, and Sawu.

1.1.2. History and culture

The best-known name of the island as well as the language is "Ndao". However, it has been confirmed that the name given has been mispronounced and uses the spelling of the dominant neighboring language, Rote (Grimes, 2010: 253). The

consonant cluster or pre-nasal /nd/ never occurs in any syllable position in the language (see §2.3). Speakers always pronounce the name without nasal, and with slightly retroflex and affricated pronunciation of the sound [d]. Therefore, Grimes (2010) simply represented the sound phonemically as /q/ and orthographically as *dh*. The name is thus pronounced as *Dhao*. In previous works, the name of the island has acquired several variants: *Dauw* (Lynden, 1851), *Dao* (Jonker, 1903), *Ndau* (Ormeling, 1952), and *Dhau* (Grimes, 2009). Since the name *Ndao* has been registered in official administrations, I will use *Ndao* to refer to the island and the community, and will use *Dhao* to refer to the language.

Based on legend, the people of Ndao believe that the first settlers of Ndao Island are three persons: Rika, Jote, and Pesa Kèli. Pesa Kèli was the one who had come from the island of Sawu and brought the Indigo plant *dhau* (*indigofera tinctoria*), from which is the origin of the name of the island. According to a Sawunese variant of the legend, the ancestors of Ndao descended from a Sawunese man named Jua Dida (the son of Dida Miha), who originally inhabited the island of Raijua and moved to Ndao Island later on (Kana, 1983). Regardless of the historical relation between the two legends, the cultural relationship between Sawu and Ndao is apparently imminent (Fox, 1987).

The island of Ndao also is figuratively called *rai kahore* (*rai* ‘land’ and *kahore* ‘round’), which literally means ‘round land’. Besides the name *Dhao*, people identify themselves as *dhèu kahore* and the language as *lii kahore*. Especially young people identify themselves as *ana kahore*. The word *kahore* refers to the shared understanding of the small round shape island. Lynden (1851), Jonker (1903), and Fox (1968) asserted that the people of Ndao are believed to come from Sumba. Other sources claimed that the people of Ndao are descendants of Sawunese. There also was an assumption that the Ndaonese are mixed Rotenese-Sawunese, although some still assume that they are Rotenese. Fox (1968) argues that the importance of Ndaonese in the study of the anthropology of Rote is inevitably due to the journey of Ndaonese men throughout Rote as gold- and silversmiths and their hiring in rice or maize farming. While sociologically Sawu maintains a system of nonlocalized matrilineal moieties and some small localized patrilineages, Ndao applies only a patrilineal system (Fox, 1968).

Until today, no historical record has been found regarding the emigration of Ndaonese people from Sawu. The European archival records, supported by Rotenese historical tradition, point to a distinct Ndaonese population before the beginning of the 18th century. In the 1720-s, Ndao was treated as one of the semi-autonomous political domains of Rote (Fox, 2014). Ndao was recognized by the Dutch East Indian Company as an autonomous domain with its own lord (*dhèu aae*) and secondary lord (*fetor*) in 1756. The Dutch defined this domain as a self-ruling ‘state’ of the island of Rote (Fox, 1987). All descent groups are divided between the moiety

of the lord, *Loasana*, and of the *fetor Aplugi*. Traditionally, Rote has assimilated the surplus population of Ndao (Fox, 1972).

Furthermore, Fox maintains that, although the people of Ndao claimed to have a language and culture similar to Sawu, they have been influenced by the culture of their neighboring island Rote for a long time. Kinship terminology is a good case in point. Traditional practices in Ndao also are unique. The gold unit to calculate the dowry was called *èèma*. One *èèma* equaled eight grams. In their traditional marriage system, the dowry is five *èèma*. Nowadays, instead of gold Indonesian rupiahs are used. Regarding culture, Ndao has adopted Rotenese culture since the past two generations. Ikat weaving designs and the traditionally plaited hat are good examples.

1.1.3. Economy, Transportation, and Education

On Ndao, the land is bare and the soil is poor. Consequently, it lacks agricultural resources on which people can rely. The land can only support a very limited amount of house garden agriculture (Fox, 1977a). For example, the statistics record of *Kecamatan* Ndao-Nuse of the year 2015 reports that the maize harvest in 2012 reached 127.6 ton, but declined to only 73.8 ton in 2013 and increased again to 200.20 ton in 2014. Meanwhile, the harvest of peanuts increased from 13 ton in 2012 to 248.4 ton in 2013. Like on Rote and Sawu, some Ndaonese also utilize lontar-palms as a source of living, although it is not that productive. Compared to the production of the whole regency, the subdistrict produced only 4.21 or 0.44 ton palm sugar in 2013. Coconut palms also have become one of their economic sources. Based on the Rote-Ndao statistical record of 2014, *kecamatan* Ndao-Nuse had a coconut production of 26.91 ton, the least in the whole regency. Besides that, almost all of the people also work as fishermen. Unlike Rote and Sawu, Ndao has no rice fields; therefore, they supply rice from Rote.

The most important skill for Ndaonese men used to be gold- and silversmithing. For women the most important skill used to be traditional ikat weaving. Thousands of jewels and ikats are produced each year, and are sent for trading purposes to neighboring islands. The men tend to leave the island during the dry season to sell jewelry and other products of handwork smithing and the ikat weaving products made by the women. Unlike ikat weaving, only very few men living on Ndao still are doing such smithing work nowadays. Many of them moved to Rote or Timor. Most of the Ndaonese men shifted to fishing and local business activities. Women still are productive in ikat weaving up until these days. They also leave their home to sell their products, to seek orders for new weavings, or to collect debts from their customers. To promote ikat weaving products, a Ndaonese person established an art shop, named *CV. Ina Ndao*, in Kupang, the provincial capital city for exhibition and trading.

Most domesticated livestock in Ndao are cows, goats, and chickens. In 2014, *kecamatan* Ndao-Nuse had 348 cows, 827 goats, and 714 domestic chickens. Nevertheless, that number is considered the lowest in the whole regency. Compared to other subdistricts in the regency, Ndao is the most productive in fishery, especially in the catching of squid. While other districts produced up to 3 tons of squid in 2014, Ndao produced up to 9 tons. In addition to that, the production of seaweed also is quite high: 2,170 tons in 2014.

Ndao does not have any public land transportation. Only two or three people have pick-up cars that can be rented for a variety of purposes. Some people also have motorbikes that can be offered for rent. To reach neighboring islands, people use small wooden motor boats that may transport people to Rote and Kupang twice a week. Ndao has two sea harbors: one built more than ten years ago for passenger ships, and one for ferry boats, the latter which has been operating since mid-2015. Passenger ships visit Ndao at least once a month, whereas travel by ferry boats depends on demand. During severe weather conditions, oftentimes between December and March, or June and August, sea transportation ceases. The distance from Ndao to Nemberala, the west coast of Rote, is 16.2 kilometers, which can be reached by motor boat within an hour. From Namo Ndao in Ba'a, the distance is 41.3 kilometers, which can be reached within 3 hours by motor boat.

Ndao has three elementary schools, one junior high school, and one senior high school. Ndao children tend to leave the island to proceed to high school after they finish elementary schooling. Only a few of them stay on Ndao. Many of them move on to continue their study at university level, either on Rote or in Kupang. However, they often stay on Rote or in Kupang to get permanent jobs. Very few of them return to Ndao. They often become school teachers or civil servants at the subdistrict office.

1.2. The Language

1.2.1. Genetic affiliation

The Dhao language (ISO 639-3: nfa) is genetically classified into the Sumba-Hawu subgroup, within Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) of the Austronesian language family, and as such resembles the languages of Sumba and Sawu (Donohue and Grimes, 2008); (Blust, 2008); (Blust, 2013). Both Donohue & Grimes and Blust conclude that Dhao and Hawu uncontroversially are a genetical unit with the languages of Sumba. There is substantial evidence for an exclusive Sumba-Hawu subgroup, and limited evidence for the larger subgroup that includes languages of western and central Flores (Blust, 2008). Blust (2008:89) also provided lexicostatistic evidence that Sumba-Hawu has more cognates (35%) than Bima-Sumba (28%). The lower level Sumba-Hawu branching is presented in Figure 1.1,

and the similarities of words between Hawu and Dhao are demonstrated in Table 1.2 below.

Figure 1.1. Sumba-Hawu Branching

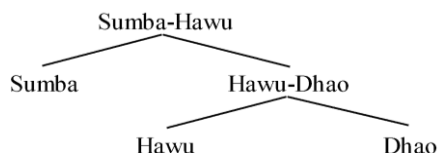


Table 1.2: Similarities between Hawu and Dhao
(Grimes, 2010)

Hawu	Dhao	Gloss
/afa/	/afa/	‘teach’
/afu/	/afu/	‘wood, tree’
/ama/	/ama/	‘father’
/are/	/are/	‘paddy’
/aru/	/aru/	‘eight’
/dara/	/dara/	‘inside’
/bəhi/	/bəsi/	‘iron’
/due/	/dua/	‘two’
/jii/	/jiʔi/	‘1PL.ex’

The internal subgrouping at the higher level, that is, between Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP), Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) and West Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) is problematic. The genetic classification within the CMP subgroup is considered problematic because of incomplete innovations within its languages, though language contact in that area has been evident for decades (Blust, 2008; Klamer, 2002:365). Donohue and Grimes (2008) argue that some languages of Sulawesi rather share features with languages in the CMP area than with languages in the WMP area. Such complexity makes the status of CMP and CEMP vague. By doing “bottom-up” subgroupings, Donohue and Grimes propose two separate classifications for WMP and three for CMP, leaving Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP) as a different subgroup (Donohue and Grimes, 2008). CEMP is not considered the mother node for CMP and EMP in the standard Malayo-Polynesian tree (Donohue and Grimes, 2008). Later on, Blust (2009) provides some other alternatives while supporting the evidence for the “standard theory” of Malayo-Polynesian branching. While Donohue and Grimes found little support for CEMP, Blust claims to have considerable evidence. The academic dispute regarding

the genetic classification of the languages in Eastern Indonesia gives evidence that that area lodges a “complex” and “enormous and structurally diverse language family” (Blust, 2009).

1.2.2. Language Variation

Dhao has no dialect variation. However, the people living in the villages of Mbiu, Lombo, and Mbali have different semantic variations of certain words. For example, the people of Ndao in generally understand that the phrase *kataki i'a* means ‘to shoot fish with an arrow’, but in the three villages mentioned above people use *cèla i'a* instead, which literally means ‘to dive for fish’. The difference does not affect the grammar of the language. Some other differences are shown in the Table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3: Semantic Variation

Dhao in general	Mbiu, Lombo, Mbali
<i>pa'iu</i> ‘chicken spur (especially with knife) <i>pahua</i> ‘chicken spur (not with knife)	<i>pahua</i> ‘chicken spur’ (all context)
<i>huki</i> ‘grub up’ (things) <i>edo</i> ‘grub up’ (coconut)	<i>edo</i> ‘grub up’ (all context)
<i>mad'ulu</i> ‘fishing (day time) <i>soro</i> ‘fishing (at night)	<i>maleba</i> ‘fishing (all time)
<i>kataki</i> ‘arrow, shoot with arrow’ <i>kasiro</i> ‘gun, shoot’	<i>kasiro</i> ‘gun, shoot, shoot with arrow’
<i>cèla</i> ‘dive’	<i>cèla</i> ‘dive, shoot fish with arrow’

Those small differences may cause misunderstandings between speakers of Dhao outside and inside these three villages. The latter basically understand all standard expressions of Dhao without distinguishing the specific semantic notions of those words. There is no prosodic difference between the two variations.

1.2.3. Registers

Lii Dhao is used as the everyday language on Ndao. Aside from *Lii Dhao*, Dhao also has two other registers: a secret language (*Lii Pacele*), and a ritual language (*Lii Hini*). The secret language is only used by adults to prevent younger people or outsiders with a basic knowledge of Dhao from understanding their conversations. Nevertheless, Dhao people claim that, nowadays, children at the ages of 17 and 18 have acquired *lii pacele* and are able to use it in daily conversation with adults. The most typical feature of the *Lii Pacele* is its symbolic or figurative use of terminology for material culture, animal species, plant names, and other words of which the literal meanings are unknown. For example, they might say *èu dènge sabha dhau*

ana tabebe si which literally means ‘you are going with the big and small palm leaf containers’ to refer to someone who brings all of his or her children or grandchildren walking to an event (party or ceremony). In such an expression, the kids are compared to palm leaf containers. It is because on Ndao, people use palm leaf containers to store palm sap and to bring it home. These palm leaf containers have different sizes and types depending on their functions. Dhao men tend to bring many different palm leaf containers when they go for palm tapping. In this case, the literal meaning (palm leaf containers) contrasts with the contextual meaning (children). However, such a comparison is understood by Dhao native speakers because of a mutual understanding of the culture of palm tapping. Another example comes from fishing equipments, *kalera-kanaca*. *Kalera* is a kind of basket to put in fish and *kanaca* is a small fishing trap. These two terms are combined as an expression to mean ‘husband and wife, or a couple’. When people are going for fishing, they normally bring a *kanaca* and a *kalera*. They catch fish using the *kanaca* and then they put the fish into the *kalera*. These two equipments are inseparable in doing fishing. For the people of Ndao, a husband and a wife are an inseparable couple.

Lii hini is a ritual language that is used only in customary ceremonies or events. Since traditional ceremonies are no longer in practice nowadays, many expressions of the ritual language are already forgotten. A traditional dance called *pado’a*² has been revived, although only few old people are capable of leading the dance while chanting in the ritual language. The people of Ndao admit that the ritual language is very much influenced by Rote (cf. Fox, 1987: 197). The salient feature of ritual languages in the area is the parallel usage of words, called lexical parallelism (Fox, 2014). Following are some examples of lexical parallelism that people mostly use when praying. As seen in the examples, the parallel words (marked in the text by //) are *koa* ‘pride’ and *kio* ‘praise’ (1), *sasala* ‘wrongness’ and *sasigo* ‘turning back’ (2), and *babhelu* ‘wickedness’ and *katuba* ‘evil’ (3). The pairs in (1) and (2) are claimed to be loans from the Rotenese language.

- (1) *ji’i koa // kio kolo ngara Ama Lamatua*
 1PL.ex pride // praise top name father Lord
 ‘We praise the name of the Lord’ [CY_Pray.006]
- (2) *saku eele sa-sala // sa-sigo ji’i*
 sweep away DUP-wrong // DUP-turn 1PL.ex
 ‘Forgive our sins’ [elicited]

² The other two traditional dances of Ndao are called *roge* and *ledho*.

- (3) *ère ele ji'i ngèti dara ba-bhelu // katuba*
 pull lose 1PL.ex from inside DUP-wicked // evil
 'Release us from evil' [elicited]

1.2.4. Typological Overview

The typological overview described in this section highlights the phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of Dhao as described throughout this thesis. Furthermore, the grammatical characteristics of Dhao are put into the perspective of the areal typology of languages in Eastern Indonesia, as described in Klamer (2002; 2010).

Dhao has 23 native consonant segments in its inventory: /p, b, ɓ, t̪, d, ɗ, ɕ, ʝ, ʃ, k, g, ɠ, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ɲ, ɳ, r, l/ and three loan consonants: /w, f, j/. Like other languages within the same subfamily, Dhao has implosive and affricate sounds, as shown in the inventory in (§2.2.1). Unlike other languages in the same area, which mostly have two or three implosive stops, such as Kambera in Sumba (Klamer, 1998:10) and Rongga in Flores (Arka, 2016), Dhao (including Hawu) has four implosive stops: bilabial /ɓ/, alveolar /ɗ/, palatal /ʃ/, and velar /ɠ/ (see also Blust, 2013:88; Grimes, 2010; Walker, 1982). Dhao also has one bilabial affricate /ɓʃ/ and one alveolar affricate /ɗʔ/, which is pronounced a bit retroflex. Dhao has a six-vowel system, which includes /i, e, ə, a, ɔ, u/. Since the schwa /ə/ lacks syllable weight, the following consonant will be lengthened (see §2.3). Geminates are not common in Eastern Indonesia (Klamer, 2002:368). Whenever a schwa occurs in a syllable-final position, a high vowel, either /i/ or /u/ will follow, making it diphthongized (see §2.3.2). The syllable template of Dhao is CV, and the stress falls consistently on the penultimate position. Dhao is one of the languages in Lesser Sunda that permits only open final syllables, the same as Hawu and languages of Sumba, and different from Rote, the latter which allows consonants *-k* and *-s* (Blust, 2013). Therefore, for loanwords with final consonants, Dhao deploys an adaptation strategy to create open syllables by dropping the consonant. An epenthetic vowel in inter-consonantal position prevents CC clusters (§2.5).

Dhao has only one derivational affix; that is the prefix *pa-*. It is used to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives, as well as change the valence of verbs. Semantically, the prefix *pa-* expresses causative, reciprocal, intensity, and other meanings (see §4.3). As such, the prefix *pa-* may not only increase, but also decrease and even maintain the valence of verbs. Dhao has inflectional affixes that co-index with the clausal subjects indicated by either personal pronouns or full NPs (see §4.2). These co-index affixes are confined to nine verbs; eight verbs require prefixes, whereas one requires suffixes: the verb *la-* 'go'. As such, the coreferent NPs in these constructions are optional, and the affixes feature verbal arguments.

This is a typical feature in Eastern Indonesia, which is termed “pronominal argument” by Klammer (2002). These affixes in Dhao have been regarded as a grammaticalization from Rotenese personal pronouns (Jonker, 1903). There is no strict morpho-syntactic difference between word categories such as nouns and verbs, and between verbs and adjectives. While (C)*a*- reduplication features nominal categories, it may also be used for verbs (see §3.2.1.1). The prefix *pa*- is productively used for verbs, but it can also be used to mark adverbs (see §3.3.2). As such, the prefix *pa*- is determinant in the scale of verbs and adjectives occurring in predicate positions (see §4.3.1.1). There is no morphological marking on alienable/inalienable nouns. Possession can only be expressed syntactically in an NP construction (§3.2.1.1) or a predicative construction (§5.2.3). Another important morphological characteristic of Dhao is the /a-e/ vowel change that marks object agreement, verb valence change, and other semantic/pragmatic-specific features. Although this feature is not productive in Dhao, it still is retained in the structure of the language. Except for Hawu, which has a similar feature as productive object agreement (Grimes, 2010; Walker, 1982), no other languages listed in Klammer (2002) have a similar feature. The morphological features of Dhao discussed throughout this thesis have shown that Dhao combines isolation and concatenation, that is, some morphemes stand independently as individual words, and some morphemes (prefix *pa*- and co-index affixes) are attached to their hosts but still are segmentable. However, the (C)*a*- reduplication signals a feature that falls between concatenation and non-linear process (Velupillai, 2012) in which the fusion may form a base for the prefix *pa*-, too (see §4.3.3).

Dhao is an SV(O) language. Like other languages in Eastern Indonesia, Dhao has serial verb constructions (SVC). In the noun phrase construction, the modifier follows the head noun. This rule also applies to modification by relative clause marked with *dhu* REL (see §6.3.3). Dhao has demonstrative pronouns that distinguish number: singular and plural, and distinguish distance: proximal, distal, and remote (see §3.2.2.2). The predicate slot can be filled with both verbal and non-verbal categories without any linking marker. This feature is typologically common for languages in the Austronesian family. Like other languages in Eastern Indonesia, Dhao does not have passive constructions. The negation in Dhao is not specifically highlighted in this thesis; however, throughout this thesis, it can be seen that negation is post-verbal or clause-final, similar to Hawu. This is different from other languages in Eastern Indonesia that have pre-verbal negation, such as Rote, Tetun, Bima, and Sumba. Generally, post-verbal or clause-final negation is found in Papuan languages (Klammer, 2002:375), although some Austronesian languages in the Moluccas have postverbal-negation, such as Buru, Alune, and Taba.

1.3. Sociolinguistic Situation

1.3.1. Language contact

Ndao is contemporarily characterized by multilingualism, where people can speak more than two languages. They may speak at least Dhao, Kupang Malay, Indonesian, and Rote. Consequently, lexical and grammatical calquing is to be expected. In a Dhao corpus consisting of 82 natural texts and 2,911 lexical items, approximately 24% of the words are borrowed from Kupang Malay/Indonesian. These borrowings are mostly nouns and verbs. Regarding the frequency of appearance, function words and nouns are more frequent in texts than verbs and other categories. Certain low frequent loan words, nevertheless, have a high influence on Dhao constructions. Once loan words are deleted or moved, the whole construction will be judged as ill-formed, even when corresponding native words are used to replace them.

The people of Ndao have intense contact with the people on neighboring islands due to economic and educational reasons besides the social and political reasons as explained previously. Such intense contact also results in linguistic contact between languages. While Dhao is genetically similar to Hawu, it has no direct contact with Hawu because of geographical location and official administration. Due to the proximity with Rote, Dhao always has had contact with Rote in terms of administration, economy, social, education, and language. As mentioned previously, Dhao has limited educational resources; therefore, children tend to leave their home village when going to high school or university. For economic reasons, many people also tend to live on the main islands of Rote or Timor for certain periods of time, sometimes returning to Ndao only for a temporary stay.

The language of wider communication used by people of Ndao is Kupang Malay, which has become the lingua franca of the regency, after which follows Rote. The people of Ndao tend to acquire Kupang Malay since birth, as parents speak Kupang Malay with their children. As result, they are able to speak Kupang Malay natively. Many people can also speak Uab Meto since they have been living on Timor Island for a long time as well. Only a few of them can speak any of the languages of Flores. People are able to speak Rote more than they are able to converse in Hawu, despite the genetic relationship between Dhao and Hawu. Only about 5%, or 60 people, are considered as less bilingual. These people in particular have less interaction with people from outside Ndao Island, and are less able to speak Kupang Malay even though they understand it quite well. In general, these people only finished elementary school or *folk school*. They all are in their 70-s. Although children still speak their native language, they easily shift to other languages of wider communication, such as Kupang Malay. In addition, most people speak Indonesian in formal situations, such as during religious services wedding

ceremonies, local meetings, in classes, etc., even though in certain cases they also still speak Dhao during customary meetings or *adat*.

Some of the people of Ndao admit that their language is similar to Hawu in some cases, and similar to Rote in some other cases. However, many words are claimed to be very similar to Rote instead of Hawu. From a sociocultural perspective, people of Ndao also admit that their culture is similar to both Hawu and Rote. For example, the *pado'a* dance is a Hawu-like tradition, while their marriage ceremony is like the marriage ceremony of Rote. Fox (1977b) asserts that, since many centuries ago, the people of Ndao have developed their tradition in close proximity to Rote. Fox claims that Ndao can be considered to be the sharing point between Rote and Sawu in terms of language and culture. Although the population of Ndao itself is believed to be descendant of Sawu, its language and culture have been increasingly influenced by Rote (Fox, 1987: 196). Jonker (1903) noted several words that are believed to be borrowings from Rote, as shown in Table 1.4 below. Those words include all semantic domains of the lexicon: kin terms, subordinator, manner adverb, verbs, and animals. As mentioned previously, Dhao also has intense contact with Kupang Malay as the *lingua franca*, and standard Indonesian, which is the national language of Indonesia as well as the language of education.

Table 1.5 below illustrates loan words from Kupang Malay/Indonesian. §2.5 describes that the loan words are adapted to the Dhao phonological system, especially the syllabic system.

Table 1.4: Loans from Rote

Dhao	Rote	Gloss
<i>baka</i>	<i>baka</i>	'each'
<i>baki</i>	<i>ba'i</i>	'grandfather'
<i>bèi</i>	<i>bei</i>	'grandmother'
<i>dano</i>	<i>dano</i>	'lake'
<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	'so'
<i>ho</i> (Jonker: <i>fo</i>)	<i>fo</i>	'so that'
<i>lai-lai</i>	<i>lai-lai</i>	'quickly'
<i>manubhui</i>	<i>manupui</i>	'bird'
<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	PART
<i>goa-dano</i>	<i>nggua-dano</i>	'turtle'
<i>sasadhu</i>	<i>sasandu</i>	k.o.music instrument
<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	'but'
<i>teto</i>	<i>te'o</i>	'auntie'
<i>to'o</i>	<i>to'o</i>	'uncle'

Table 1.5: Loans from Kupang Malay/Indonesian

Dhao	Kupang/ Indonesian	Gloss
<i>saraka</i>	<i>serahkan</i>	‘to hand over’
<i>sakola</i>	<i>sakola/sekolah</i>	‘school’
<i>pulu</i>	<i>pulau</i>	‘island’
<i>poko</i>	<i>pokok</i>	‘capital’
<i>pidha</i>	<i>pindah</i>	‘to move’
<i>miri</i>	<i>miring</i>	‘slant’
<i>kalua</i>	<i>keluar</i>	‘to exit’
<i>gareta</i>	<i>kereta</i>	‘cart, wagon’
<i>kapatei</i>	<i>kaptén</i>	‘captain’
<i>papa</i>	<i>papa/bapak</i>	‘father’
<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	‘mother’
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	‘tag’

Dhao does not only borrow lexicons but also morphosyntactic constructions from Kupang Malay/Indonesia and Rote. An example from Kupang Malay is the verb *pake* ‘to use, to wear’ presented in (4) through (7) below. The word *pake* ‘to use, to wear’ itself has phonological correspondence with the Indonesian word *pakai*. Like Kupang Malay/Indonesian, the verb *pake* is used in Dhao as a predicate or to introduce instruments. Dhao has the native words *pasaluu* and *silu* which mean ‘to wear’, and *nèu* ‘to dress up’, which carry corresponding meaning to *pake*, but are less frequently used nowadays. The current corpus shows, for example, that the verb *pake* has 95 occurrences, whereas *nèu* only has four occurrences. Examples (4) and (5) show that the two words *pake* and *pasaluu* can occur in the same syntactic function -- the predicate. The verb *pake*, like in Kupang Malay, can be used to introduce instruments, such as in (6)³. It should be noted that Dhao originally does not have any verbal forms to express instruments (see §6.4.3.8). In this regard, instruments are construed as locational entities in Dhao. As such, prepositional constructions are applied. Take example (7), where the preposition *ma* ‘toward’ is used, followed by the location noun *dara* ‘inside’. This complex prepositional construction expresses the use of the instrument *sabha* ‘palm.container’ to drink palm wine. In such a construction, the verb *nèu* ‘to wear’ is impossible. Different prepositions are employed according to the event (more examples are presented in §6.4.3.8). Since construction borrowing is covert, Dhao speakers are no longer aware of this phenomenon as a borrowing.

³ Dhao has no native word with generic meaning corresponding to *pake*; therefore, no word has been found to replace *pake* in this case. The only way of expressing this construction without *pake* is by applying the *na*-complement (see §ch.6).

- (4) *ja'a pake kodho*
 1SG to.use shirt
 'I wear a shirt' [Verb_Elicited.00333]
- (5) *ana ne'e pasaluu mèdha èèna*
 child PROX.SG to.wear goods DIST.SG
 'The child wears that thing (shirt)'
- (6) *èdhi lolo pake kaba lolo èci do kaba lolo dua*
 1PL to.roll to.use shell to.roll one or shell to.roll two
 'We roll using one or two rolling shell' [SF_Tao_Hengu.039]
- (7) *t-inu dhua ma dara sabha*
 1PL.in-to.drink palmwine toward inside palm.container
 'We could drink palm juice using the palm container' [Eta_Dhua.058]

Another borrowing from Malay/Indonesian is illustrated by two adverbs; *biasanya* 'usually' and *kusus* 'special' from Indonesian *khusus* in (8). While *biasanya* 'usually' can be deleted easily without violating the construction as in (8)b, *kusus* 'special' cannot, as in (8)c. The native Dhao construction should be as in (8)d. This suggests that Malay loanwords play a significant role in the Dhao construction.

- (8) a. *biasanya mèdha èèna pake kusus dhèu bhèni*
 usually goods DIST.SG to.use special person woman
 'Generally, that thing is only used by women' [EL_Dhari.132]
- b. *mèdha èèna pake kusus dhèu bhèni*
 goods DIST.SG to.use special person woman
 'That thing is only used by women'
- c. **mèdha èèna pake dhèu bhèni*
 goods DIST.SG to.use person woman
- d. *mèdha èèna dhoka dhèu bhèni*
 goods DIST.SG only person woman
- di dhu pasaluu*
 just REL to.wear
 'That thing only women can wear it'

1.3.2. Context of use and language choice

The languages the people of Ndao mostly speak in their everyday lives include Dhao itself, Kupang Malay, and Indonesian. In addition to those three languages, most people are also able to speak Rote and Uab Meto because they have had intense contact with Rote and Timor for a long time, due to economic and socio-political reasons. Table 1.6 below shows the language choice options.

The people of Ndao are highly mobile. They abandon the island for long stretches of time and live on the neighboring islands to work. Some of them become civil servants and school teachers on Rote or in Kupang. Some of them continue their traditional metal- or silversmithing and weaving on Rote and Timor. They return to their home island only on holidays, such as Christmas or Easter. Other people moved to Rote or Kupang merely because they wanted to pursue higher education, and found found jobs there later on. Women from Ndao especially moved to other places because of marriage or due to being dependent on their husbands, who would move away.

Table 1.6: Language Choice

Language	Domain
Dhao	1) Everyday language in Ndao 2) Language used in <i>adat</i> ceremonies 3) Rarely used in formal situations, such as in church and official meetings
Kupang Malay	1) Everyday language 2) Informal meetings 3) Used as <i>lingua franca</i> for wider communication with people from other places.
Indonesian	1) Official language at school, church, and official meetings. 2) used in formal speech and marriage ceremonies
Rote	1) used in chanting, such as <i>pado'a</i> . 2) <i>adat</i> meetings with Rotenese
Other languages: Uab Meto, Sumba, Hawu, etc	Used when they meet people from the region

Standard Indonesian is used in formal situations, such as in church, in government offices, at schools, and at other formal meetings. Meanwhile, Kupang Malay is used in everyday life. People still use Dhao in contexts such as *adat*

meetings, household services, and announcements. Both Kupang Malay and standard Indonesian have encroached on the use of Dhao (Grimes, 1999: 2). The sentence constructions in Dhao are affected by the grammar of Kupang Malay as already shown above, instead of maintaining the native Dhao grammar. Consequently, sentences may have Dhao words, while the grammar or semantics of those words may be derived from Kupang Malay or Indonesian (Balukh, 2013).

1.3.3. Language vitality

The language contact situation depicted in §1.3.1 above indicates that other languages, like Kupang Malay, Indonesian, and Rote, have begun to invade a variety of domains in which Dhao used to be the main language. The community's cultural knowledge stored in lexicon and grammar has been in serious decline. Although Dhao still is used at home, the language shift is obvious, as asserted in Grimes (2009) below:

“Walking around the villages, one hears people of all ages using Dhao fairly vigorously in most walks of life - with the key word being “most”. There are speech domains in which Malay (both Standard Indonesian and Kupang Malay) is encroaching on the use of Dhao. And modern life brings new domains that are often primarily associated with the outside world, and hence with outside languages”.

Children still learn Dhao since early childhood, but the interference of Kupang Malay has been undeniable for many years, as parents tend to speak Kupang Malay at home. From parents' perspective, Kupang Malay is considered to be a good basis for understanding Standard Indonesian and preparing children for pursuing higher education. Many Dhao children acquire Dhao not because of language use in the home domain, but because of external social interaction, especially amongst their peers. In many cases, however, children and young people are blamed for mistakes they make when speaking Dhao. This is a paradox in the language acquisition of Dhao. The viability of language is determined by its usage in the home domain (Crystal, 2000). The interaction between parents and their children concerning language use in home domain is very important. The reverse situation indicates a “symptom” of language endangerment (Himmelmann, 2010).

With 5,000 speakers, Blust (2013) places Dhao as one of the ten smallest Austronesian languages of the Lesser Sundas. Grimes (2010) stated that Dhao has around 7000 speakers. If this is true, then more than 60% of the speakers have abandoned the island nowadays as only 3000 or so people still live on the island (see Table 1.1). In addition to that, Ndaonese people who live on Rote and on Timor mostly speak the dominant language, the *lingua franca* Kupang Malay, instead of Dhao, indicating that about 40% of the people of Ndao can be considered as active native speakers. Although the number of speakers is not used as the only parameter in determining the vitality of a language, the ratio between the number members of

an ethnic group and the number of speakers amongst said ethnic group is regarded as a significant indicator. Members of an ethnic group would be influenced by the non-speaker community where they currently live. The more a language is not spoken, the more attrition in a variety of linguistic aspects would be evident.

As has been indicated in §1.3.2 above, language choice is determined by the domains of usage. It shows that Dhao still has no significant role in domains other than daily conversation. Although orthography has been developed in 1996 by the SIL Bible translation team at *Unit Bahasa dan Budaya* (UBB) Kupang (Grimes, 2009), not many people are able to read and write in their native language. At this stage, more materials are needed to trigger the people to familiarize themselves with reading and writing in Dhao. The passive response from both the local government to include Dhao in the educational curriculum of schools, and the passive response from local churches to use biblical materials published by UBB GMIT Kupang also shows that Dhao still has no significant role in formal situations. At the elementary school level, up to 2008, school children were not allowed to speak Dhao within school premises. Up until today, no teacher uses Dhao as the language of instruction. During my second fieldwork trip in 2014, I asked elementary school teachers to use Dhao in classes, and one teacher, *Paulus Lodoh*, was willing to take on this challenge. It resulted in many code-mixing constructions.

The decline of the Dhao language can be seen, for example, by the loss of cultural-specific words or terms. Some elders may still remember them, but those words or terms are no longer in use amongst younger generations. The traditional ceremonies to which these terms refer have been abandoned for many years. Some examples of terms related to traditional ceremonies are the terms of the months of a year. As Dhao has no lexical words to express the name of months, terms of traditional ceremonies and the cycle of nature are still in use. For example, *Kalela Holomanu* originally is an annual traditional ceremony. This ceremony was held as a thanksgiving for harvest or other blessings received during the previous year, and for asking for blessings in the year yet to come as well. Therefore, the traditional Dhao system counts the calendar from *nyale kole*, which corresponds to April in the modern calendar. The list of the months is presented in Table 1.7 below with an explanation of the metaphors. The unidentified glosses are marked with question marks (?).

Table 1.7: Traditional terms indicating months in a year

Term	Gloss	Description	Meaning
<i>Nyale Kole</i>	k.o.sea worm + post-harvest	The period after harvest. <i>Nyale</i> still comes, but people do not take it.	April
<i>Holo Manu</i>	advice + chicken	Post-harvest thanksgiving ceremony	May
<i>Bhui Nidhu</i>	watering + God	Family gathering and giving thanks to God	June
<i>Marose</i>	?	Period of famine	July
<i>Isi Nèta</i>	result + tasteless	Period of famine	August
<i>Hadhu lai</i>	stone + ?	Beginning of tapping lontar	September, Summer
<i>Hadhu aae</i>	stone + big	Peak season of tapping lontar	October
<i>Matena</i>	quit	No singing birds	November
<i>Nyale Sèpu</i>	k.o.sea worm + gild	Beginning of the rainy season and storms. <i>Nyale</i> comes to lay eggs. Beginning of planting.	December
<i>Ari Nyale</i>	younger sibling + k.o.sea worm	<i>Nyales</i> come to fetch their kids	January
<i>Nyale Edha</i>	k.o.sea worm + Rote	<i>Nyale</i> appears only in Rote	February
<i>Nyale Dhao</i>	k.o.sea worm + Ndao	No more storms. <i>Nyale</i> comes to lay eggs again and can be taken by people.	March

Many other terms or words related to traditional practices, such as ikat weaving, silversmithing, fishing (nautical), and religious terms also are seriously endangered. For instance, a typical Ndaonese weaving design called *ana langi* is a design symbolizing small fish that used to be found in the shallow part of the sea near the beach line. Nowadays, *ana langi* is hardly found on ikat weaving products. Therefore, younger generations no longer know what it means. Another example: the traditional marriage proposal, called *bari*, has been abandoned since a long time already, therefore, this word is no longer in use unless the tradition is mentioned in storytelling. Traditional religious terms, *Horo parahi*, *Manadhu lai lodha* and *Muri manadhu* also are no longer in use. The terms *Lamatua* ‘God’ (similar to Rotenese, *Lamatuak*) and *Roh* ‘spirit’ (borrowed from Indonesian) are more popular nowadays. People below 35 years of age hardly remember traditional religious terms (Grimes, 2009).

(9) Endangered terms or words

<i>ana langi</i>	k.o. motif that features small fish
<i>bari</i>	asking the man before marriage proposal
<i>Horo parahi</i>	‘God the creator’
<i>Manadhu lai lodha</i>	‘Holy spirit’
<i>Muri manadhu</i>	‘Savior’
<i>pasiri a’ana</i>	‘quiz, riddle’
<i>ringi</i>	‘thanksgiving feast’
<i>udhu-rasa</i>	‘tribe’

The difference between older and younger generations also is evident in through their different ways of spelling the same words. For example, take the word ‘exit’. Older people spell *bhodho*, whereas younger people spell *podho*. The word for ‘scorpion’ shows simplification; whereas older people use *karaka rai*, younger people use *kakarai*.

Table 1.8: Difference between ages

Old people	Young People	Gloss
<i>bhodho</i>	<i>podho</i>	‘to exit’
<i>hèla lai</i>	<i>rèu lai, suu lai</i>	‘tail’
<i>karaka rai</i>	<i>kakarai</i>	‘scorpion’
<i>kikidui</i>	<i>kukudui</i>	‘ants’
<i>malaa-maloha</i>	<i>malaa-malohu</i>	‘senile’
<i>ngèti</i>	<i>nèti</i>	‘from’
<i>rèu dhilu</i>	<i>ana dhilu</i>	‘ears’
<i>sangae</i>	<i>sènge</i>	‘that big’
<i>kalaha’a ai</i>	<i>kadhu ai</i>	‘charcoal’
<i>lamakera, baruku</i>	<i>baruu</i>	‘pants’

Names that refer to geographical locations either on Ndao Island itself or at neighboring places have followed Standard Indonesian orthography for years. However, native names still are brought into play by the people of Ndao in their everyday communication. For example, Rote Island is called *Edha*⁴ and Nuse Island is *Nèsu*. For the adaptation of loan words, see the description in §2.5.

⁴ This name is historically taken from Rotenese language *Enda* which is the reduced form of *Laihenda* that means ‘human or people’

1.4. Previous Works

Dhao received little attention in terms of linguistic and anthropological work. The first work on Dhao was published by Jonker (1903) in a five-page paper. He marked some words as loans from Rote and words that are considered to have Hawu origins in a short Dhao text. Jonker's paper also identified that the Dhao co-index affixes are grammaticalized from Rote personal pronouns. Jonker was the first to claim that Dhao is a dialect of Hawu.

A brief introduction to Ndao Island and its socio-economic situation was presented in Fox (1972). A comparative anthropological study on kinship terms of Sawu, Ndao, and Rote was presented in Fox (1987). He came to the conclusion that Ndao is linguistically and culturally between Sawu and Rote. While Dhao still maintains some Sawu-like kinship terms, Rotenese terms are also used.

Walker (1982) published a sketch called "Grammar of Sawu", in which he presented a sketch of Dhao grammar in comparison to Hawu. The sketch was based on two months of research in Kupang. He recruited two young people, one who was a school teacher and another who was a silver craftsman. Based on 30 minutes of eight narrated texts, as well as elicited materials, he presented a comparative description of Dhao and Hawu in terms of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic features. He argued that Dhao and Hawu are unique in that they are the only languages in Eastern Indonesia to have four implosive stops. Dhao has alveolar fricative /s/ and palatal plosive /c/, but Hawu does not have them. In contrast, Hawu does have bilabial approximant /w/, but Dhao does not. In terms of syntax, Walker identified Dhao as subject initial, which is different from Sawu, which has a verb initial pattern. By using a modified Swadesh 200-word list, Walker found that Dhao and Sawu have a cognacy of 75%. Because of the differing grammatical features of Dhao as compared to Hawu, Walker concluded that Dhao is a separate language despite a large common ground in both lexicon and phonology. Such a conclusion is also supported by Grimes (2010). An important claim by Grimes is that though both languages have a similar lexicon and phonology, their different semantics may influence inherent intelligibility between Dhao and Hawu.

Furthermore, Grimes (2009) reports the progress of documentation and the efforts of constructing a written form of Dhao from its original oral form. Grimes pointed out that, although all age groups still continue to use Dhao, it is clear that Dhao is on the decline.. The same paper also reports the work done on Bible translations in Kupang in the early 2000s. Some books from the Bible and the New Testament have been produced alongside several books, pictures, and CDs. As byproduct of the translation project, Grimes (2012) published a short reference grammar of Dhao in Indonesian. The grammar sketch helps the people of Ndao to learn how to write read in their language. In brief, he grammar sketch includes personal pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, negations, adverbs, nominal

categories, and sentence structure. A short wordlist of Dhao is included in the sketch as well.

With a small grant from Endangered Language Fund (ELF) in 2008⁵, I produced more or less eight hours of recordings of folktales and procedural texts in Dhao⁶, which are mostly transcribed in ELAN⁷ and interlinearized in Toolbox⁸ program. Based on this “small” documentation, I argued that Dhao is to be considered an endangered language and therefore needs further documentation and description (Balukh, 2011).

1.5. Aims and Theoretical Framework

As mentioned previously, some literature presented a grammatical overview of Dhao. The grammar of Dhao, however, has not yet been comprehensively discussed at the time this thesis was written. Therefore, this grammar is the first attempt at providing a comprehensive description of grammatical properties of Dhao, which mainly includes its sound system (phonology) and its morphosyntactic characteristics. In terms of phonology, Dhao is unique in that it is one of the very few languages of Eastern Indonesia to have four implosive stop phonemes (see chapter II for details; cf. (Walker, 1982) and (Grimes, 2010)). Another significant phonological feature is shown by the vowel change /a/ > /e/ of certain verbs. There is no exact grammatical rule that can be formulated for this change. In fact, it is considered a remnant of Hawu’s object agreement (Walker, 1982). In this grammar, this genetic-historical factor is also briefly taken into account whenever it is deemed appropriate to do so. In the case of morphology, the prefix *pa-* apparently does not only characterize causative and reciprocal meaning, but also intensity and other specific meanings. The lack of morphosyntactic marking makes the distinction of word classes vague. More complex phenomena appear in serial verb constructions (SVC) and in valence versus transitivity. These grammatical characteristics have not yet been described comprehensively in previous works of literature. Therefore, this grammar attempts to disclose these unique characteristics of Dhao grammar.

The complexity of Dhao grammar is motivated by the fact that Dhao has been undergoing changes in different manners. Firstly, the majority of its native lexicon is retained still, whereas its phonology and grammar changed over the course of time and followed its neighboring languages due to intense contact. The decrease of implosive quality is an important case in point for its phonological change. Amongst other things, the co-index affixes, instrumental constructions, and

⁵ <http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/>

⁶ <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0142>

⁷ <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>

⁸ <http://www-01.sil.org/computing/toolbox/downloads.htm>

coordinations showcase where its syntactic system has changed due to language contact. This grammar may contribute to the debate on the subgrouping of Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) within Austronesian in Eastern Indonesia, as discussed by Donohue and Grimes (2008) and Blust (2008).

Since Ndao Island is geographically isolated and its language is less known amongst speakers of other, languages that are spoken more widely in the same area, language endangerment is inevitable. As mentioned previously, only about 40% of the Ndaonese people still actively speak Dhao. The problem of language transmission in addition to the imbalance of language education makes Dhao all the more of a threatened language. Therefore, this grammar, along with a collection of texts and a word list, may function as response to the deep concern for the language documentation and revitalization of Dhao.

The main aim of writing this grammar is to explain the nature of Dhao the way it is, without employing any formal framework and mathematical procedures (Dixon, 2010a). In this description, graphs, symbols, and notations are used as representation of the analysis in order to explain how the language functions, rather than an application of a specific type of theoretical rules. Basically, the description of Dhao grammar in this thesis follows the ideas of Haspelmath's (2010) in regards to his *framework-free* approach. An identical spirit also is adopted for the description of Dhao phonology (Mielke, 2008). Applying the insights of a descriptive approach, as has been exemplified by Bower (2008), Chelliah (2011), and Thieberger (2012), I tried to be as neutral as possible with regards to theoretical orientation. Labels or terminologies employed in this grammar are considered as generally known and understood by those who are working on the study of language, or are otherwise introduced at the beginning of the given analysis, or are referred to a particular source. This grammar benefited from the insights and discussions on the descriptive approach found in Aikhenvald (2015), Dixon (2010a; 2010b; 2012), Payne (1997), Shopen (2007), and Velupillai (2012). However, this grammar also adopts insights from construction grammar (Goldberg, 1995, 2003; Croft, 2001). The latter approach was chosen in order to deal with the mismatch between syntax and semantics in the analysis of Dhao clause construction.

1.6. Methodology and Corpus

1.6.1. Fieldwork

This research deals with Dhao as is mainly spoken on Ndao Island. Although the research started in Mid-2012, I have had contact with Ndao Island since mid-2004. My first visit to Ndao Island was in August 2004 to build contacts with local people, and to obtain some preliminary linguistic information concerning the sociolinguistic situations. I also met some people of Ndao and collected some sociolinguistic information in Kupang. Such preliminary information was used to write seminar

papers, which were later published in linguistic journals in Indonesia (Balukh, 2011). The collection of natural language data was conducted in 2008-2009, when I won the small grant of the Bill Bright Awards funded by the Endangered Language Fund (ELF). This project produced about eight hours of recordings, which are mostly transcribed in ELAN software and annotated in Toolbox software. The documented recordings and the annotations are archived in ELAR, London, since 2012⁹.

In mid-2013, I visited Ndao Island for two months in order to conduct my PhD research back in August and September, 2013. After collecting some recordings, I brought two native speakers of Dhao to Kupang, and we spent a few weeks on transcriptions and some elicitation, although some recordings were transcribed in the field, too. More transcriptions were done in Kupang due to electricity-related matters on Ndao Island at the time of being. Relying on a generator set for computer laptops did help, but the noise from the machine delimited our work in some cases, especially when having conversations during transcription or elicitation. After two months of fieldwork, I started analyzing the phonology of Dhao. My second visit for my PhD fieldwork was from March to July in 2014. During this visit, I recorded more naturalistic data and did more transcriptions. In addition, I collected data using questionnaires made available by the Max Planck Institute¹⁰. Like the previous field trip, I collected data on Ndao Island. During that time I transcribed some recordings with the help of native speaker field assistants. In the last month of the five-month field trip, three Dhao native speakers worked intensively on more transcriptions and annotations back in Kupang. Furthermore, some preliminary analyses of word categories and phrase structure was done during my stay in the field as well. Some recordings were also done with some native speakers in Kupang. Those speakers temporarily lived in the capital to sell their weaving and smithing products on Timor Island.

During my visit to Ndao Island, I lived with an elementary school teacher, Yan Fiah and his family: his wife Ata Fiah and his two daughters, Fenda and Getri. I did not speak Dhao when I first visited Ndao Island in 2004, although I am originally a Rotenese, and thus a neighbor of Ndao. After elicitation sessions, especially after focusing on common everyday words, I started learning some Dhao. I did not have much contact with Dhao after my first visit in 2004. When I started collecting folktales and procedural texts in 2008 and 2009, I began to become more familiar with the language due to intense contact with native speakers as well as through intense transcription and text writing. By that time, many Ndao people began talking to me in Dhao without checking whether I could speak Dhao or not.

⁹ <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI135417>

¹⁰ <http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/>

During my stay on Ndao Island, I also attended local meetings, such as church services and village head meetings, as well as traditional ceremonies, such as marriage proposals, wedding ceremonies, funerals, and fundraising. Whenever allowed by the local people or those who were responsible for those ceremonies, I recorded speeches, talks, and conversations that took place during those meetings. These recordings were either audio or video recordings. Some videos have been made available to the community or to the families who held those meetings. All the audio recordings were done using digital audio recorders. I used two brands of audio recorders; a Zoom H2n and a Roland R-05. The videos were recorded using a Sony Camcorder.

1.6.2. Data

The data I used for the analyses in this grammar are based on a corpus obtained through various means. The recordings and texts used as the source material of this grammar are mostly naturalistic data, namely narrative stories, conversations, and speeches. In total, this research made use of more than 18 hours worth of recordings. Some additional data were collected through the use of questionnaires, whether in written form or oral. The latter data were obtained by either elicitation or recordings. As I mentioned previously, the recorded naturalistic data were transcribed and annotated; therefore, the original sources of examples presented in this thesis are indicated by a special notation between square brackets [...]. No written sources were used, except for some written data from questionnaires. However, some written sources, such as sentence examples used in the previous works of Walker and Grimes, were also discussed and rechecked with native speakers as references. In addition, some books of the Bible, including the New Testament published by UBB, were also used as a reference for the Dhao writing system Dhao. The sample texts used in this thesis can be found in the attached appendix. The examples in this thesis are extracted from 82 texts in total, including elicited texts and field notes. The lexicon database includes 1,951 headwords, 272 phrases and compounds. Furthermore, the lexicon also includes 688 borrowings from Kupang Malay and Indonesian which were found throughout the recordings, as well as 33 purposive recorded items. Other untranscribed recordings were used as a reference for the cross-checking of the analysis.

1.7. Organization of the Grammar

This grammar has six chapters plus appendices. **Chapter 1** gives an overview of the location where the language is mainly spoken, the population, and the socio-economic situation (§1.1). The information about the Dhao language (§1.2) and its sociolinguistic situation (§1.3) is also presented in this chapter. Previous linguistic or anthropological works were also given in (§1.4). This chapter ends with two main

research issue: s the aims (§1.5) and the methodology of the research (§1.6). **Chapter 2** discusses the sound system of Dhao, touching on its segment inventory (§2.2), syllable structure (§2.3.1) and on stress assignment (§2.3.3). Loan words are also discussed in terms of the syllabic template of Dhao (§2.5). Some sounds and their spelling are highlighted in the orthography section (§2.6). **Chapter 3** is concerned with word classes. The formal properties of word classes and the classification of nominal and verbal categories are presented in (§3.2 and §3.3). The evidence for an adjective class in Dhao is presented in (§3.4). The classification of interrogative words is discussed in (§3.5). Other words that are classified as function words are described in (§3.6). **Chapter 4** concerns the morphological properties found in Dhao, which includes affixes, reduplication, and compounds. The affixes that are co-indexed with NP subjects are discussed in (§4.2) followed by the discussion of the only derivation prefix *pa-* in (§4.3). The meanings of *pa-* and other constructions types with *pa-* are also presented. The types and the meanings of reduplication are presented in (§4.4) and the compounding system can be found in (§4.5). Finally, the vowel change /a/ > /e/ and its constraints are highlighted in (§4.6). **Chapter 5** deals with the syntactic structure of simple clauses. The predicates of different types are discussed first in (§5.2) followed by the discussion on the syntactic functions of NPs - arguments and peripheries - in (§5.3). The notion of valency and transitivity including the mapping of the two in semantic and syntactic domains is presented in (§5.4). Finally, this chapter presents a discussion on the pragmatic variation of constructions: topic and focus. The grammar closes with the description of clause combining and serial verb constructions (SVC) in **Chapter 6**. This chapter mainly concerns the types of coordination and subordination of clauses (§6.2 and §6.3). The discussion of the SVCs touches on the morphosyntactic characteristics of the SVCs and their semantics in (§6.4). The grammar is supplemented with some glossed natural texts and a wordlist.

2

Phonology

2.1. Introduction

Dhao has 23 native consonant phonemes, three loan consonants, and a basic six-vowel system. The consonants include nine plosives, four implosives, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, and two liquids. The three loan consonants include one fricative and two approximants. Dhao vowels include two front, two central, and two back vowels. The four implosive sounds make Dhao one of the unique languages of the area since only Dhao and its neighbor, Hawu, have such an amount of implosives. Other languages on the island of Sumba only have two. In contrast, no language on the island of Rote and Timor has implosive sound (see Grimes, 2010). Dhao has an open-syllabic system. The maximum syllable is CV. Codas are not allowed in syllables at all. Stress always falls on the penultimate syllable. Secondary stress occurs only on trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words.

This chapter deals with the phonological description of Dhao. It begins with the description of segments, in §2.2, which includes the segment inventory, the description of phonemes, minimal pairs, the distribution of phonemes, phonetic evidence of specific consonants, pre-glottalized voiced stop consonants, long vowels, vowel sequences, the mid-central vowel, and vowel harmony. The phonemic symbols presented in the phonetic charts, both the consonants and the vowels, follow the International Phonetic Association (IPA) system. The discussion will be followed by the description of syllables in §2.3, which includes syllable structure, diphthongization, and stress assignment. Reduced forms are discussed in §2.4, and loan words in §2.5. Finally, the explanation of orthographic convention used in this thesis is presented in §2.6.

2.2. Segments

2.2.1. Segment Inventory

The inventory of the 23 native consonant segments of Dhao is presented in Table 2.1 below. The segments indicated within brackets are considered loans.

Table 2.1: Dhao Consonants

	Bilabial		Labio-dental	Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b		t	d	c	j	k	g	ʔ
Implosive		ɓ			ɗ		f		ɡ	
Affricate		ɸβ			ɕʑ					
Fricative			(f)	s						h
Nasal		m			n		ɲ		ŋ	
Trill					r					
Lateral					l					
Approximants	(w)						(j)			

Dhao vowels are presented phonemically in Table 2.2 below. Dhao applies a six-vowel system (cf. Grimes, 2010). Mid and low vowels all are open vowels.

Table 2.2: Dhao Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	ɛ	ə	ɔ
low		a	

2.2.2. Description of Consonants

2.2.2.1. General Description

Dhao has five bilabial consonants. Articulation of these consonants involves the lips, by which the obstruction of the oral tract is affected: /p, b, ɓ, ɸβ, m/. There are eight alveolars, where the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge: /t, d, ɗ, ɕʑ, s, n, r, l/. Furthermore, Dhao has four palatals, where articulation involves the blade of the tongue briefly pressing against the alveolar ridge: /c, ʑ, ɲ, j/. Four consonants are velars, where the back of the tongue is raised against the soft palate: /k, g, ɡ, ŋ/. There are two glottals, of which sounds are made in the larynx: /ʔ, h/. The three consonants that are analyzed here as loans are the bilabial approximant /w/, the

labiodental /f/, and the palatal approximant /j/ (cf. Grimes, 2010). These three loan consonants are discussed separately in §2.2.2.6.

The bilabial sounds involve four segments when it comes to manner of articulation. The sound realized as [p] is a voiceless bilabial stop. When it is followed by high vowel [u], a small burst is produced that makes it into an aspirated [p^h]. However, this realization is a speaker specific feature. [b] is a bilabial voiced stop. No other realization of this sound has been identified. The two other bilabial segments are the implosive [ɓ] and the affricate [ɓɓ]. Although the two sounds are less frequent in use, they are listed as separate segments due to the contrast between them and the plain [b]. This is exemplified by minimal pairs (see §2.2.2.2). The implosive [ɓ] in word-initial position is not attested in the corpus, and only very few words indicate its occurrence in medial position. This might indicate a historical linguistic phenomenon where speakers no longer productively produce this sound as of recently. In elicitation tests, active native speakers mostly disagree with the pronunciation of the implosive [ɓ] (see §2.2.2.4 to see evidence). Another bilabial segment is the nasal [m], which is always voiced.

Alveolar sound comprises six segments: the voiceless [t], the voiced [d], the implosive [ɗ], the retroflex-affricate [ɖʑ], the nasal [n], the trill [r], and the lateral [l]. [t] has no aspiration during its production, unless followed by mid-central vowel [ə]. This occurs when the schwa is stressed because of air pressure during the occlusion. The voiced sounds [d], [ɗ], and [ɖʑ] are contrastive in that they have minimal pairs (see §2.2.2.2). Like the bilabial implosive [ɓ], the alveolar implosive [ɗ] also is constrained in use indicating a historical linguistic phenomenon. In rapid speech, the retroflex [ɖʑ] is less obvious in that there is no curling while pressure and friction are evident. This indicates that retroflexion in Dhao is understood as the touching of the post-alveolar region¹ with the underside of the tongue (Hamann & Fuchs, 2010).

The sound realized as [s] is the voiceless alveolar fricative. The other alveolar segments are the voiced nasal [n], the voiced trill [r], and the voiced lateral [l]. The voiceless palatal stop [c], the voiced [ɟ], and the implosive [ɟ] are contrastive; therefore, they are distinguished in the segmental inventory (see §2.2.2.2). Another palatal sound is realized as the nasal [ɲ]. The velar sound has three contrastive segments; the voiceless [k], the voiced [g], and the implosive [ɠ]. The velar nasal is realized as [ŋ]. Dhao has two glottal sounds: an unvoiced stop realized as [ʔ] and a fricative realized as [h]. The glottal stop [ʔ] is listed as a separate segment, as it is contrastive with non-glottal sounds, particularly in word medial position. It also occurs in initial position before vowels. As such, it is analyzed as a phoneme rather than a phonetic realization (see §2.2.3.4 below).

¹ The retroflex sound corresponds to the proto- segment of Central Malayo-Polynesian languages *d (Hamann & Fuchs, 2010).

2.2.2.2. Minimal Pairs

In this section, all possible minimal pairs of Dhao consonants are presented in order to demonstrate phonemic contrasts. Whenever no exact minimal pairs are found, near minimal pairs are presented.

(1) Consonant Minimal Pairs

/p/ ~ /b/ initial position

/paba:/	‘to cheer’
/bab̥pa/	‘gong’

/p/ ~ /b/ medial position

/kapua/	‘tree’s foot’
/kabua/	‘price’

/b/ ~ /b̥/ initial position

/baka/	‘Ba’a (place name)’
/b̥baka/	‘dull’

/b/ ~ /b̥/ medial position

/babaa/	‘block’
/bab̥pa/	‘gong’

/b̥/ ~ /b/ medial position

/bab̥pa/	‘gong’
/baba/	‘short’

/t/ ~ /d/ initial position

/təlu/	‘three’
/dəlu/	‘womb’

/t/ ~ /d/ medial position

/kəti/	‘1SG.bring’
/kədi/	‘to get up’

/d/ ~ /d̥z/ initial position

/daɛ/	‘land’
/d̥zɛ/	‘yet’

/d/ ~ /d͡z/ medial position

/tada/ ‘level’
/tad͡za/ ‘sign’

/d/ ~ /d͡z/ initial position

/d͡ɛu/ ‘to bop on head’
/d͡zəu/ ‘person’

/c/ ~ /j/ initial position and medial position

/cəci/ ‘to make dense’
/jəji/ ‘to touch’

/c/ ~ /f/ initial position and medial position

/caci/ ‘to chop to make smooth’
/fafi/ ‘to become’

/j/ ~ /ɣ/ initial position

/jara/ ‘manner, way’
/ɣara/ ‘horse’

/j/ ~ /ɣ/ medial position

/ʔaʃa/ ‘to learn’
/kaʃa/ ‘rich’

/g/ ~ /g͡/ initial position

/gagɛ/ ‘ankle’
/g͡agɛ/ ‘to touch’

/g/ ~ /g͡/ medial position

/haga/ ‘foot’
/haɖɛ/ ‘to separate’

/k/ ~ /q/ initial position

/kai/ ‘to prohibit’
/gai/ ‘to touch lightly’

/k/ ~ /q/ medial position

/haka/ ‘to hit’
/haga/ ‘foot’

/g/ ~ /ŋ/ medial position

/haŋɛ/	‘to separate’
/haŋu/	‘egret’

/ŋ/ ~ /k/ ~ /g/ initial position

/ŋaɛ/	‘many’
/kai/	‘to prohibit’
/gai/	‘to touch lightly’

/ŋ/ ~ /k/ medial position

/kabeŋɛ/	‘humid’
/beke/	‘to stay up’

/ŋ/ ~ /h/ initial position

/ŋəŋi/	‘overlap’
/həŋi/	‘areca nut’

/ŋ/ ~ /Ø/ medial position

/luŋu/	‘to hide’
/luu/	‘high tide’

/s/ ~ /h/ initial position

/səle/	‘to plant’
/həle/	‘to spread out’
/seli/	‘exceed’
/həli/	‘to buy’

/s/ ~ /h/ medial position

/masə/	‘to enter’
/mahə/	‘shadow’

/m/ ~ /n/ ~ /ŋ/ initial position

/mara/	‘low tide’
/nara/	‘to get’
/ŋara/	‘name’

/p/ ~ /n/ initial position

/pama/	‘raffia’
/name/	‘to pull out’

<i>/p/ ~ /ɲ/ initial position</i>		
	/ɲiu/	‘coconut’
	/ɲiʔu/	‘body’
<i>/p/ ~ /ɲ/ medial position</i>		
	/məɲi/	‘fatty’
	/məɲi/	‘blessing’
<i>/l/ ~ /r/ initial position</i>		
	/lara/	‘a fly’
	/rara/	‘a bit yellow’
<i>/l/ ~ /r/ medial position</i>		
	/mɛla/	‘cramps’
	/mɛra/	‘flat’
<i>/s/ ~ /ɲ/ initial position</i>		
	/sale/	‘wrong’
	/ɲale/	‘k.o. sea worm’
<i>/s/ ~ /ɲ/ medial position</i>		
	/pasɔrɔ/	‘aslant’
	/paɲɔrɔ/	‘lips’

2.2.2.3. Distribution of Consonants

Dhao is an open syllabic language in which syllables never have codas (see §2.3.1 for details). Therefore, complete distribution in Dhao means that a given phoneme is confined to initial and medial positions. The distribution of consonants is presented following their manner of articulation. Table 2.3 demonstrates the distribution of stops. As is shown, all stop consonants have a complete distribution. However, they differ with regards to their accompanying vowels. Unlike stops that can be followed by any vowel in any position, the velar stops /k/ and /g/ in medial position cannot be followed by the schwa /ə/.

Table 2.3: Distribution of stops

	Initial position	Medial position
/p/	/pacəli/ ‘to press’	/ləpa/ ‘to return’
	/pəni/ ‘female belt’	/rəpa/ ‘fathom’
	/pəku/ ‘fish net’	/kapua/ ‘trunk’
/b/	/babia/ ‘burden’	/babia/ ‘burden’
	/baɖʒa/ ‘animal’	/baboa/ ‘edge’
	/bəcu/ ‘be satisfied’	/cabu/ ‘soap’
/t/	/taba/ ‘to add’	/batə/ ‘to chase’
	/tada/ ‘level’	/təlu/ ‘three’
	/tatai/ ‘to filter’	/titu/ ‘to stand’
/d/	/daɖa/ ‘trade’	/aadə/ ‘be absent’
	/dame/ ‘peace’	/tudi/ ‘knife’
	/dəbβə/ ‘big (wood)’	/hudi/ ‘not care’
/k/	/kaba/ ‘shell’	/ləka/ ‘to believe’
	/kəʃi/ ‘to stab’	/makæ/ ‘be ashamed’
	/koha/ ‘boat’	/taki/ ‘to tighten’
/g/	/gala:/ ‘glass’	/haga/ ‘foot’
	/gəa/ ‘stupid’	/ʔiga/ ‘to count’
	/gərə/ ‘to quit’	/təgu/ ‘pile up’
/ʔ/	/ʔada/ ‘custom’	/ʔiʔa/ ‘fish’
	/ʔæ/ ‘many’	/ʔaʔa/ ‘1SG’
	/ʔahu/ ‘dust’	/ʃuʔu/ ‘grass’

The voiceless palatal /c/ and the voiced one /j/ have complete distribution, as shown in Table 2.4 below. While /c/ cannot be followed by schwa in medial position, /j/ cannot be followed by the vowel /u/ in initial position. Other positions can involve any vowels.

Table 2.4: Distribution of palatals

	Initial position	Medial position
/c/	/cəci/ ‘to fill forcefully’	/kabβəca/ ‘muddy’
	/cəbe/ ‘to spread’	/kabicu/ ‘corner’
	/cəŋe/ ‘to open’	/pəci/ ‘to throw’
/j/	/jaʔa/ ‘1SG’	/jeji/ ‘to hit on ground’
	/jara/ ‘horse’	/kaliyi/ ‘to peel’
	/jəru/ ‘to carry’	/kaʔa/ ‘rich’

The distribution of implosive phonemes is presented in Table 2.5 below. As is shown, only the implosive /ɓ/ has an incomplete distribution. It only occurs in word-medial position. There is one bilabial implosive-initial word listed in the previous work of Grimes (2012:49), which is orthographically written as *b'era-b'era* ‘along with’. It is, however, not attested as an implosive in the current corpus. In fact, the voiced bilabial [ɓ] which is produced for the word [ˈb̥ər:a-ˈb̥ər:a] has a small burst of sound outwards rather than inwards. In medial position, /ɓ/ can be followed by any vowel except /e/ and /ə/. Its occurrence in word-medial position is attested only in careful speech. The same happens to the sound production of alveolar implosive /ɗ/ as well. The implosive /ɗ/ cannot be followed by the vowel /i/ in a word-initial position or the schwa /ə/ when in medial position. Both /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ are rare in word-initial positions.

In an initial position, /ɗ/ can only be followed by vowels /a/, /ə/, and /u/, whereas in medial position, it can only be followed by vowels /a/, /e/ and /i/. For the palatal implosive /ɟ/, the word-initial position does not allow the vowels /e/ and /i/ to follow. The velar implosive /g/ has a restricted distribution. In initial position, it is only confined to preceding the vowels /a, e, u/, while only the vowels /a, e, i/ can follow in medial position.

Table 2.5: Distribution of implosives

Initial position			Medial position	
/ɓ/			/baɓa/ /kahiɓi/ /luɓu/	‘short’ ‘goat’ ‘mud’
/ɗ/	/ɗɔrɔ/ /ɗara/ /ɗəlu/	‘thunder’ ‘inside’ ‘belly’	/gagɛɗɔ/ /kəɗu/ /lɔɗɔ/	‘to shake’ ‘to hold’ ‘sun’
/ɟ/	/ɟaru/ /ɟana/	‘to squeeze’ ‘right’	/daɟa/ /haɟɛ/	‘to trade’ ‘to separate’
/ʃ/	/ʃaga/ /ʃala/ /ʃəʃɛ/	‘to guard’ ‘net’ ‘to step on’	/ʔaʃa/ /b̥βəʃi/ /kapaʃu/	‘to learn’ ‘to sleep’ ‘octopus’

While the bilabial affricate /b̥β/ has a complete distribution, it cannot be followed by /i/ when it occurs in a word-medial position. Unlike /b̥β/, the retroflex-affricate /d̥ʒ/ can take any following vowel. The realization of these two phonemes is given in Table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6: Distribution of affricates

	Initial position		Medial position	
/bβ/	/bβaka/	‘dull’	/ʔabβu/	‘to get’
	/bβare/	‘stick’	/babβa/	‘gong’
	/bβəfi/	‘to sleep’	/bəbβe/	‘to fall’
/dʒ/	/dʒae/	‘not yet’	/badʒa/	‘animal’
	/dʒasi/	‘sea’	/bədʒi/	‘to jump’
	/dʒəu/	‘people’	/bβədʒə/	‘to appear’

The distribution of the fricatives and nasals is presented in Table 2.7 below. All have a complete distribution. The distribution of the voiced palatal nasal /ɲ/ has restriction on its accompanying vowels. The initial position is only confined to vowels /i/ and /a/, whereas the medial position can be followed by any vowel except /e/ and /ə/. The occurrence of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ also is not frequent in the corpus. Only two words have been identified for each position. Furthermore, the velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot be followed by the vowel /o/ when it occurs word-initially.

Table 2.7: Distribution of fricatives and nasals

	Initial position		Medial position	
/s/	/saba/	‘to work’	/base/	‘to wash’
	/sabβa/	‘palm container’	/busa/	‘dog’
	/seʔe/	PROX.PL	/ʔəsʊ/	‘navel’
/h/	/hadhu/	‘rock’	/jihɔna/	‘moringa’
	/həba/	‘mouth’	/kahadhu/	‘brain’
	/heka/	‘old age’	/kahəi/	‘again’
/m/	/madʒa/	‘eye’	/dʒimu/	‘east’
	/mahu/	‘drunk’	/ʔəmu/	‘house’
	/manu/	‘chicken’	/fami/	‘jungle’
/n/	/naɲi/	‘to swim’	/pana/	‘to cook’
	/nəɲu/	‘3SG’	/panutu/	‘snout’
	/nidʒu/	‘devil’	/tunu/	‘to bake’
/ɲ/	/ɲiu/	‘coconut’	/məɲi/	‘oil’
	/ɲama/	‘raffia’	/əɲu/	‘tortoise’
/ŋ/	/ŋaʔa/	‘1PL.ex.eat’	/bβəɲu/	‘ridgepole’
	/ŋadɔ/	‘to visit’	/dəɲe/	‘with’
	/ŋutu/	‘teeth’	/cəɲe/	‘to open’

The liquids, both trill /r/ and /l/, also have complete distribution and have no restriction in taking vowels. Examples of their distribution are presented in Table 2.8 below.

Table 2.8: Distribution of liquids

Initial position			Medial position	
/l/	/ladzɛ/	‘to see’	/təlu/	‘three’
	/ləcu/	‘to release’	/magəɛ/	‘to chase’
	/ləkɔ/	‘to bother’	/sale/	‘wrong’
/r/	/rabβi/	‘woman’s sarong’	/dara/	‘inside’
	/rəŋu/	‘3PL’	/taraa/	‘to cry out’
	/riŋi/	‘thanksgiving’	/suri/	‘to write’

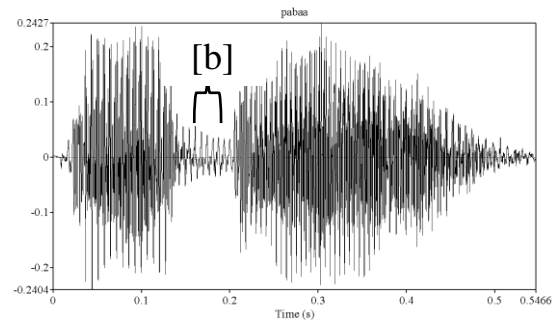
The data presented above have shown that consonants in Dhao never occur word-finally. I therefore analyze any word in my database that does have a final consonant to be a loan (see §2.5). All consonant segments have a complete distribution except the bilabial implosive [ɓ]. The complete distribution and the minimal pairs of the glottal stop (§2.2.2.2) suggest that the glottal stop is contrastive with all other consonants in initial position, and therefore is analyzed as phonemic in this particular position. Additional evidence from morpho-phonology will be discussed in §2.2.3.4. The realizations of consonants not only depend on their environments but they also are speaker-specific. Voiceless consonants are phonetically lengthened when preceded by mid-central vowel [ə], for example [ŋ] in [‘rəŋ:u] ‘3PL’. Voiced consonants that are within such an environment are slightly pre-glottalized (see §2.2.2.5). Such a maneuver occurs naturally since voiced consonant sounds cannot be maintained for a long time.

2.2.2.4. Phonetic Evidence of Consonants

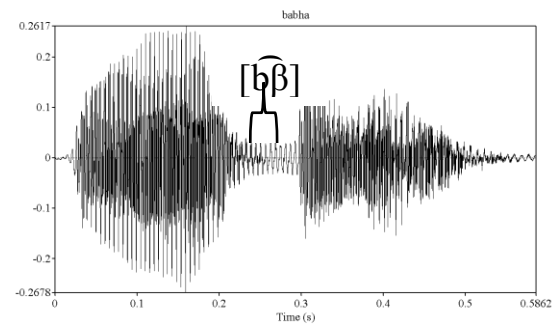
The consonants to be discussed here involve implosives, affricates, and the retroflex. The phonetic realization of consonants near a schwa also is demonstrated. The phonetic contrast between the plain [b], bilabial affricate [bβ], and bilabial implosive [ɓ] is evidenced by the waveforms in (2) below. The waveform of the plain bilabial [b] in (2)a shows a periodic wave before the following vowel is released. The waveform of the affricate [bβ] in (2)b shows a consistent wave of vibrations until the next vowel is released. Meanwhile, the image of the implosive [ɓ] in (2)c indicates that the release of the sound begins with a little closure before the vibration increases. It signals that there is an inward airflow when the sound is released.

(2) Plain [b] vs. affricate [bβ] vs. implosive [ɓ]

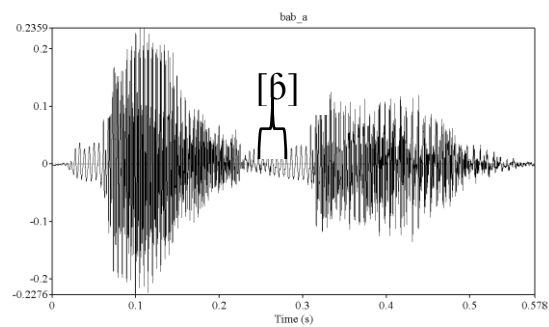
a. Plain [b]: [pa'ba:] 'to cheer'



b. Affricate [bβ]: ['babβa] 'gong'



c. Implosive [ɓ]: ['baɓa] 'short'

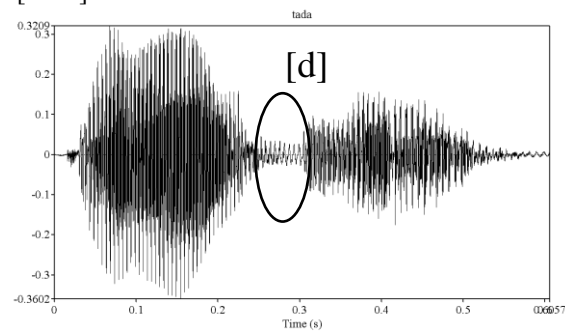


The phonetic contrast between plain [d], retroflex-affricate [ɖʐ], and implosive [ɗ] is demonstrated by the waveform images in (3) below. The waveform in (3)a shows a plain [d] where there is a typical voice bar followed by a strong burst. Following the burst, the articulators move from the stop articulation to the target of the following

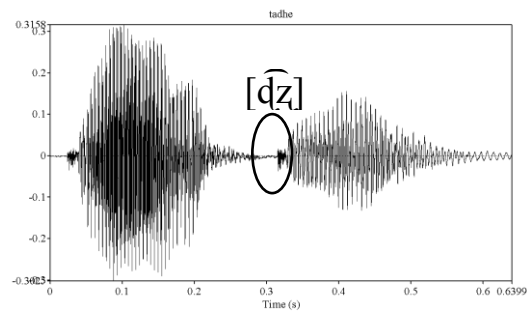
vowel. The waveform image (3)b of [d̪ʌ] shows that there is an aspiration, similar to a fricative, before the following vowel is released. It shares the features of occlusion and burst of a stop and the feature of a hissing sound typically associated with a fricative. The waveform image (3)c of [d] shows an inward airflow preceding the release of the vowel.

(3) Plain [d] vs. retroflex-affricate [d̪ʌ] vs. implosive [ɗ]

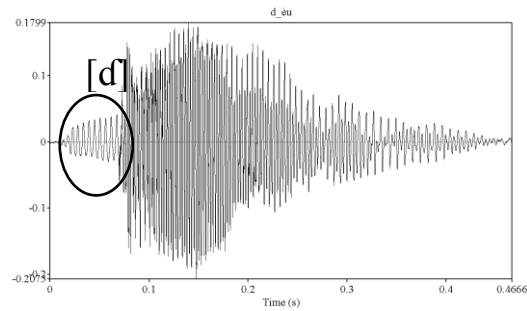
a. ['tada] 'level'



b. ['tad̪ʌ] 'to recognize'



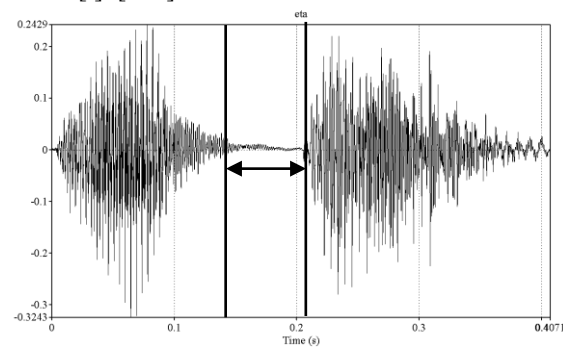
c. [d̪u] 'to grope'



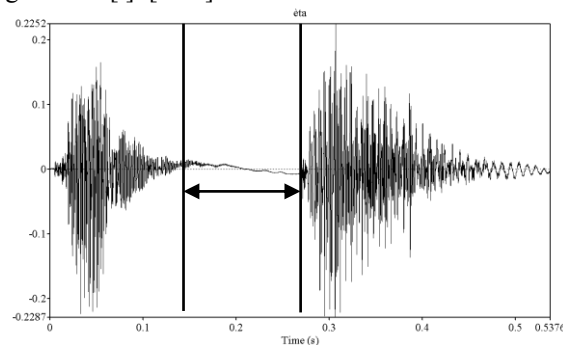
The phonetic difference between the plain consonants and the lengthened consonants after a schwa is illustrated by the waveform images in (4) below. The waveform image of the plain [t] in (4)a shows that there is a flat line signaling a silence between vowels, as is indicated by the double arrows. The duration of the silence is 0.063 seconds. Meanwhile, the waveform image of the lengthened [t] in (4)b shows a longer silence, of 0.133 seconds. Thus, the lengthened [t] takes 0.07 seconds longer to close the vocal tract than the plain [t], before the following vowel is released.

(4) Plain [t] vs. geminate [t]

a. Plain [t]: ['eta]



b. geminate [t]: ['ət:a]



2.2.2.5. Pre-glottalized Voiced Stop Consonants

Dhao's voiced consonants /b/, /d/, /g/ are pre-glottalized when they occur word-medially. In some other languages in Eastern Indonesia, like Rongga (Arka, 2016: 25-28), preglottalized consonants are analyzed as implosives. In Dhao, implosives have different characteristics (see §2.2.2.1).

Pre-glottalization signals a different feature from implosives in Dhao. Since pre-glottalization has no contrast, it cannot be phonemic. In addition to that, Dhao does not have consonant clusters, because of which it is impossible to analyze [ʔC] combinations as a sequence of phonemes. This kind of pre-glottalization appears to be a consequence of an extreme laryngealization. It may also indicate a sociolinguistic phenomenon. Many speakers claim that it is mostly produced by younger speakers or by people who are new to the language. The following examples show that not only the voiced implosive consonants in (5) are pre-glottalized, but that also non-implosives in (6), such as [ʔb] for [ka'hiʔbi] ‘goat’ and [ʔd] for [a'ʔdɔ] ‘be absent’, are pre-glottalized. Pre-glottalization even occurs in loanwords from Indonesian, as shown in [ʔd] in [sa'peʔda] ‘bicycle’. More examples are given in (7), where their non-implosive counterparts are not pre-glottalized.

- (5) Pre-glottalized implosive
- | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------------|
| [ʔbaʔʔa] | /baʔa/ | ‘short’ |
| [baʔbaʔʔa] | /babaʔa/ | ‘shallow water’ |
| [ʔluʔʔu] | /luʔu/ | ‘mud’ |
| [ʔgʔaʔgʔe] | /gʔaʔgʔe/ | ‘to touch’ |
| [ʔhaʔgʔe] | /haʔgʔe/ | ‘to separate’ |
- (6) Pre-glottalized plain voiced consonants
- | | | |
|------------|----------|-------------|
| [sa'peʔda] | /sapɛda/ | ‘bicycle’ |
| [a'ʔdɔ] | /aadɔ/ | ‘be absent’ |
| [ʔkəʔdu] | /kədu/ | ‘1SG.hold’ |
| [ka'hiʔbi] | /kahibi/ | ‘goat’ |
| [ʔsəʔgi] | /səgi/ | ‘to split’ |
- (7) Non-pre-glottalized voiced consonants
- | | | |
|------------|----------|--------------|
| [ʔpəg:ɛ] | /pəgɛ/ | ‘to cross’ |
| [ʔtəg:u] | /təgu/ | ‘to pile up’ |
| [ka'dəg:ɔ] | /kadəgɔ/ | ‘to shake’ |

2.2.2.6. Loan Consonants

The loan consonants in Dhao are presented in this separate section, not so much because they are different from Dhao consonants, but rather because they only appear in loan words (see §2.5 for details) and never occur in native Dhao words. Three consonant segments in Dhao are identified as loans: the voiceless labiodental fricative [f], the bilabial approximant [w], and the palatal approximant [j]. The fricative [f] occurs only in loan words from, either local Malay, Standard

Indonesian, or Rote, and in person or family names. In addition to that, it is realized only word-initially as shown in example (8) below.

- (8) [f] in initial position
- | | |
|-----------|--|
| /fam/ | ‘family name’ (<Kupang Malay
<Dutch: <i>familie</i>) |
| /farlaak/ | ‘plastic mat’ (<Kupang Malay
<Dutch: <i>voorlaken</i>) |
| /fia/ | (family name) |
| /fina/ | (female name) |

The approximant /w/ is used in interjections and exclamations in addition to a small number of loan words. Only three words with initial /w/ are found in the corpus, as demonstrated in (9). This approximant /w/ is included in the consonant category because it occurs in consonant position, that is: as an onset in syllables. However, front-back vowel sequences can also include the realization of this sound as a glide. The only content word found in the corpus with an initial /w/ is /waja/ ‘steel’, a loan from Malay /baja/ ‘steel’. Another alternate form to express the meaning of ‘iron’ is /haja/, which cannot stand independently without the form /basi/ ‘iron’ preceding it. The others are interjections, such as *weh* ‘hi’ and *wa* ‘ooh’.

- (9) /w/ in initial position
- | | | |
|--------|-------------|--------------------|
| /wa/ | ‘ooh, gosh’ | (IND <i>wah</i>) |
| /waja/ | ‘iron’ | (IND <i>baja</i>) |
| /weh/ | ‘hey’ | |

The palatal approximant /j/ is obviously phonemic, but it also is a phonetic interlude between vowels. For example, the word [ˌkalaɪˈjəu] in /kalaijəu/ in (10) below shows that there are vowel sequences with /i/ and /ə/, which trigger the realization of the palatal approximant. The absence of the glide would, of course, result in a complex vowel combination **kalaièu*, which is impossible for Dhao. In this regard, the glide /j/ is used to avoid hiatus.

- (10) /j/ in medial and initial position
- | | |
|------------|------------------|
| /kalaijəu/ | ‘bamboo’ |
| /kajaɖu/ | ‘cotton’ |
| /ja/ | ‘yes’ (IND /ja/) |

2.2.3. Description of Vowels

2.2.3.1. General Description

As already presented in §2.2.1 above, Dhao has six vowel phonemes: /i, u, ɛ, ə, ɔ, a/. The description of vowels in this thesis is divided into three subsections based on their respective positions (height); high, mid, and low. All vowels have complete distribution regarding their position in a word, except for the central mid vowel /ə/, which can never occur word-finally. The realization of vowels varies depending on the vowel that occurs in the following syllable (see §2.2.3.8). In terms of length, all vowels have the possibility to occur as long vowels (see §2.2.3.5). In addition to that, vowels can also be combined as a sequence (see §2.2.3.6). All vowels in word-initial positions are realized with a glottal stop, except for long vowels (see §2.2.3.4). It will be attested in §2.2.3.4 that the glottal stop is phonemic in this respect, rather than phonetic.

There are two high vowels: one is the front unrounded /i/ and the other one is the back rounded vowel /u/. The vowel /i/ is always realized with palatal glide [j] when followed by the vowels /e/ and /a/, whereas /u/ is always realized with the bilabial glide [w] when followed by other vowels. Dhao has three mid-vowels: front unrounded /ɛ/, central /ə/, and back rounded /o/. There is only one low vowel /a/, which is realized as open and unrounded.

2.2.3.2. Vowel Allophones

All vowels have allophones, except for the low vowel /a/. The changes of vowel sounds are influenced by the sounds in either the same or in the following syllable. The changes are based on height and roundness (see §2.2.3.8). Table 2.9 below shows the occurrences of allophones. The high front vowel /i/ has two allophones: [i] and [ɪ]. [ɪ] occurs only after mid front /ɛ/, whereas [i] occurs elsewhere. The mid front vowel /ɛ/ also has two allophones: [e] and [ɛ]. [e] can never occur word-finally, whereas [ɛ] occurs elsewhere. [e] only occurs word-initially and medially when the following syllable has an /a, i/ or /u/. The most alternating sound is the mid central vowel or schwa /ə/. It has five allophones: [ə, ɜ, ɐ, ɘ, ɵ]. If the vowel in the following syllable contains a high vowel, it is realized as [ə]. If the following syllable has a mid vowel, it is realized as [ɜ]. However, if the following syllable has a low vowel, it is realized as [ɐ]. When it is followed contiguously by the high rounded vowel /u/, it is realized as the rounded [ɵ], but if the adjacent vowel is the high unrounded /i/, it will be realized as [ɘ]. The allophony of the vowel /o/ also follows the rule of changing to the mid front vowel /ɛ/. While the allophone [ɔ] occurs elsewhere, the [o] never occurs word-finally. The occurrence of [o] is predictable, that is: when the following vowel, whether in adjacent position or in the following syllable, is /a, i, u/, [o] occurs. Furthermore, the high back vowel /u/ has

two allophones: [u] and [ʊ]. [ʊ] occurs only when the preceding vowel is the mid front vowel [e], /u/ occurs elsewhere.

Table 2.9: Vowel Allophones

Vowels	Allophones	Phonetic	Phonemic	Glosses
/i/	[i]	['rai]	/rai/	'land'
	[ɪ]	['meɪ]	/meɪ/	'table'
/ɛ/	[e]	['heka]	/hɛka/	'afterwards'
		['leru]	/lɛru/	'to care for'
	[ɛ]	['mɔnɛ]	/mɔnɛ/	'male'
		['tulɛ]	/tulɛ/	'to push'
		['cu ^w ɛ]	/cuɛ/	'one'
		['ʔɛd͡ʒɛ]	/ʔɛd͡ʒɛ/	'to submerge'
/ə/	[ə]	['ʔət:u]	/ʔətʉ/	'LOC'
		['dɜŋ:ɛ]	/dɔŋɛ/	'with'
		['hɐb:a]	/hɔba/	'mouth'
		['kahəi]	/kahəi/	'again'
		['d͡ʒəu]	/d͡ʒəu/	'people'
/a/	[a]	['dara]	/dara/	'inside'
		['laŋa]	/laŋa/	'stair'
/ɔ/	[o]	['hoi]	/hoi/	'weeping'
		['bβori]	/bβori/	'to spill'
		[pa'ro ^w a]	/paɾɔa/	'to call'
		['bo ^w a]	/boɔa/	'k.o. tree'
	[ɔ]	[,kɔkɔ'tɔ:]	/kɔkɔtɔ:/	'to crow'
		[ba'bɔɾɔ]	/babɔɾɔ/	'outside'
		[ka'sirɔ]	/kasirɔ/	'gun'
/u/	[u]	['hu ^w a]	/hua/	'fruit'
	[ʊ]	['neu-'neu]	/neu-neu/	'not sure'

2.2.3.3. Minimal Pairs

This section presents all possible minimal pairs of vowels. Whenever minimal pairs are not possible, near minimal pairs are provided. Positions in which minimal pairs can be contrasted are indicated as well. In initial positions, /ɛ/~i/, /ə/~i/ and /ɛ/~a/ cannot be contrasted. In medial position /ɛ/~i/, /ɔ/~a/, /ɛ/~a/, and /ɔ/~u/ cannot be contrasted. Only the pairs /ɛ/~a/ and /ɔ/~a/ cannot be distinguished in final

position. All other oppositions can be made elsewhere. Note that /ə/ never occurs word-finally (see §2.3.1).

(11) Minimal Pairs of Vowels

/ɛ/ ~ /ə/ initial position

/ʔɛta/ ‘to drift ashore’

/ʔəta/ ‘to tap lontar’

/ɛ/ ~ /ə/ medial position

/kalela/ ‘ko.ceremony’

/kaləla/ ‘k.o.flower’

/ɛ/ ~ /i/ final position

/ləŋɛ/ ‘to pass’

/ləŋi/ ‘oil’

/ləmɛ/ ‘all around’

/ləmi/ ‘five’

/ɔ/ ~ /a/ initial position

/ʔɔka/ ‘garden’

/ʔaka/ ‘unreasonable talk’

/ɛ/ ~ /a/ final position

/nɛʔɛ/ PROX.SG

/nɛʔa/ ‘3SG.to know’

/ɔ/ ~ /u/ initial position

/ʔɔru/ ‘to collect’

/ʔuru/ ‘in former times’

/ɔ/ ~ /u/ final position

/d͡ʒɔtɔ/ ‘to pound’

/dɔtu/ ‘near’

2.2.3.4. Initial Glottal: Phonemic Evidence

A glottal stop occurs before all vowel-initial words, except long vowels. The consistency of its occurrence gives a strong indication that glottal stop obligatorily marks word-initial vowels. Nevertheless, the analysis should account for whether the

glottal stop is phonemic or phonetic. It can be treated as phonemic due to the fact that the glottal stop is listed in the consonant inventory as a separate segment. The Dhao syllabification system has an obligatory onset. Examples of the glottal stop preceding vowel-initial words are given in (12) below.

(12) Pre-glottalized Vowels

/ʔada/	‘custom’
/ʔaɛ/	‘big’
/ʔahu/	‘dust’
/ʔəʃi/	‘rain’
/ʔəɔ/	‘to herd’
/ʔina/	‘mother’
/ʔinu/	‘to wear on neck’
/ʔoru/	‘to collect’
/ʔoka/	‘garden’
/ʔudu/	‘to pile’
/ʔunu/	‘own’
/ʔəu/	‘2SG’

In contrast to initial glottal stop plus non-long vowel sequences, initial long vowels never have a glottal stop. The contrasts are shown in the examples of minimal pairs in (13) below. The long vowels are indicated by two consecutive vowels in the orthography.

(13) Initial glottal and vowel contrasts

/aaɛ/	‘big’
/ʔaɛ/	‘to breath’
/əəna/	‘that’
/ʔəna/	‘six’
/ɛɛle/	‘let it be’
/ʔɛle/	‘to lose’
/iia-iiia/	‘as usual’
/ʔia/	‘stop’

/iiki/	‘small’
/ʔisi/	‘volume’
/uusʊ/	‘to draw (water)’
/ʔusu/	‘person’s name’

The initial glottal stop is retained even when a word takes prefixes. As seen in (14) below, when attaching the prefix *pa-*, the glottal stop appears intervocalically. As such, it does not differ from glottal stops in medial position, such as /kabeʔe/ ‘humid’, /haʔu/ ‘egret’, /paʔie/ ‘repair fishing net’, and /luʔu/ ‘to hide’.

- (14) Initial glottal stop with prefix *pa-*
- | | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| /pa-ʔaḏʔu/ | ‘to make X hard’ |
| /pa-ʔəi/ | ‘to make liquid, melt’ |
| /pa-ʔəkɛ/ | ‘to surround’ |
| /pa-ʔəki/ | ‘to tie each other’ |
| /pa-ʔəɾɛ/ | ‘to pull each other’ |
| /pa-ʔəso/ | ‘to move each other’ |
| /pa-ʔətɛ/ | ‘to cut each other’ |
| /pa-ʔigɛ/ | ‘counting’ |
| /pa-ʔiu/ | ‘to bind each other’ |
| /pa-ʔoru/ | ‘to collect together’ |
| /pa-ʔəta/ | ‘palm usually tapped’ |
| /pa-ʔuri/ | ‘to look after together’ |
| /pa-ʔalɛ/ | ‘to mention regularly’ |
| /pa-ʔaɛ/ | ‘to multiply’ |

The glottal stop is also maintained in reduplication (see §4.4.1.1 for details of (C)*a*-reduplication). As such, the glottal stop occurs not only in front the root but also in front of the derived words. This suggests that the distribution of the glottal stop is the same as any other consonant in initial and medial position. Note that Dhao does not allow consonant codas at all.

- (15) Initial glottal stop with partial reduplication
- | | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| /ʔa-ʔaḏʔu/ | ‘hard side’ |
| /ʔa-ʔabɔ/ | ‘pounder’ |
| /ʔa-ʔəkɛ/ | ‘instrument to surround’ |
| /ʔa-ʔəpi/ | ‘to squash’ |
| /ʔa-ʔədɔ/ | ‘to grub up’ |
| /ʔa-ʔbβu/ | ‘thought, idea’ |

/ʔa-ʔafa/	‘lesson’
/ʔa-ʔəra/	‘strength’
/ʔa-ʔɛɔ/	‘way of shepherd’
/ʔa-ʔɛd͡ʒɛ/	‘place to soak’
/ʔa-ʔɔrɔ/	‘to look for attentively’

The morpho-phonological processes of prefixation confirm that the initial glottal stop is phonemic, not phonetic. There are four reasons for this claim: (1) the glottal stop has the same distribution as other consonant phonemes, as it can occur intervocally, (2) it can occur in vowel-initial words, like the other consonant phonemes do, (3) it is retained in the process of prefixation, whereas otherwise a glide interlude would appear to avoid hiatus, and (4) initial glottal stops are copied in reduplication. Consequently, the glottal stop is maintained, implying that it is a part of the root.

Long vowel initial words have no glottal stop at all, even when they are prefixed or reduplicated. Reduplication of the word /aapa/ ‘bad side’ shows that the reduplicant is realized as short vowel [a] while the root vowel remains long. Only few examples of long vowel-initial words are found in the corpus, which all are prefixed or reduplicated. Most of the long vowel-initial words constitute a closed word class.

- (16) Long vowel with prefix *pa-* and reduplication
- | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| [pa-ˈa:ɛ] | /pa-aaɛ/ | ‘to make s,t bigger’ |
| [a-aˈ:pa] | /a-aapa/ | ‘bad side’ |

Phonologically there is no segmental before a long vowel. This is evidenced by the absence of any consonant sound in front of long vowels. Long vowels mostly occur in monosyllabic words. Only very few words contain long vowels in medial position.

Long vowels are preceded by a glide or a glottal fricative /h/ in particular cases. The glottal fricative preceding the long vowel [a:] in [a:do] ‘be absent’ might come from a genuine phoneme. However, it can also signal the existence of an onset. In medial position, like in [bayheʔda] ‘lazy’, the glide is already there but is not treated as onset. It takes /h/ as the onset of the syllable. Interesting data comes from [a:ʔi] ‘all’ which, does not take fricative /h/ as the onset, but the approximant palatal /j/ even though the word begins with the vowel /a/. This might be triggered by the fact that such a word can be fully reduplicated into [ʲa:ʔiʲa:ʔi] *aa’i-aa’i*.

- (17) Initial vowels with fricative and glide realization
- | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| /aadɔ/ | ['haʔdɔ] | 'be absent' |
| /bajɛɛda/ | [baj 'heʔda] | 'lazy' |
| /aaʔi/ | ['jaʔi] | 'all' |

Grimes (2010) argued that the voiced glottal sound marked /ɤ/ is articulated by some speakers as a pharyngeal constriction to a vowel onset, and by other speakers as a lack of a glottal stop onset (contrasting with a glottal stop onset) to a vowel-initial word in a phrase. The description above, in fact, gives strong evidence that initial glottal stop is phonemic, not phonetic.

2.2.3.5. Long Vowels

All vowels have long vowel counterparts. However, they differ when it comes to distribution. Only the long vowel [i:] occurs in all positions of a word, whereas the others never occur in word medial position. The long schwa [ə:] only occurs in word initial position. Examples are provided in (18) below.

- (18) Distribution of Long Vowels

Initial position: all vowels

['a:ɛ]	/aaɛ/	'big'
[ɛ':lɛ]	/ɛɛlɛ/	'be away'
[ə':n:a]	/əəna/	DIST.SG
[i':ki]	/iiki/	'small'
[ɔ':dɛ]	/ɔɔdɛ/	'very'
[u':su]	/uusu/	'to draw (water)'

Medial position: only [i] and [e]

[pa'ʔi:ɛ]	/paiiɛ/	'be careful'
[hu ^w a'i:ʔa]	/huaiia/	'honorable'
[bay'e:da]	/bay ɛɛda/	'lazy'

Final position, except [ə]

['li:]	/lii/	'voice'
['ŋɛ:]	/ŋɛɛ/	'to think'
['ŋa:]	/ŋaa/	'what'
[oka'hɔ:]	/ɔkahɔɔ/	'road'
[ka'nu:]	/kanuu/	'squid'

The contrasts between short and long vowels are presented in Table 2.10 below. Each long vowel is contrasted to a short vowel.

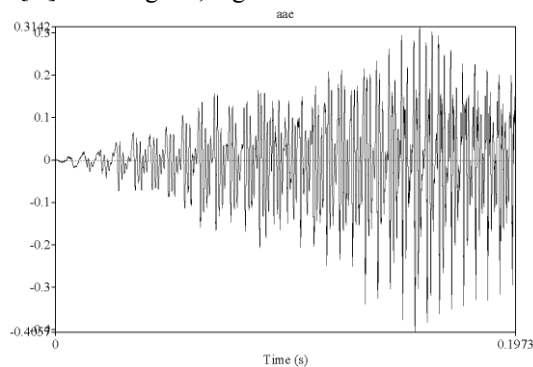
Table 2.10: Contrast between Short and Long Vowels

[a:] ~ [a]	['a:ɛ]	/aaɛ/	‘big’
	['ʔaɛ]	/ʔaɛ/	‘to breath’
	['ŋa:]	/ŋaa/	‘what’
	['ŋaʔa]	/ŋaʔa/	‘3SG.eat’
	['ra:]	/raa/	‘blood’
	['raʔa]	/raʔa/	‘3PL.eat’
[ə:] ~ [ə]	[ə':n:a]	/əəna/	DIST.SG
	['ʔən:a]	/ʔəna/	‘six’
[ɛ:] ~ [ɛ]	['ɛ:lɛ]	/ɛɛlɛ/	‘let it be’
	['ʔɛlɛ]	/ʔɛlɛ/	‘lose’
[i:] ~ [i]	['i:ʔa'i:ʔa]	/iia-ia/	‘as usual’
	['ʔiʔa]	/ʔia/	‘stop’
	['i:ki]	/i:ki/	‘small’
	['ʔisi]	/ʔisi/	‘content’
	[pa'i:ɛ]	/paiiɛ/	‘be careful’
	[pa'hia]	/pahia/	‘to sell’
[u:] ~ [u]	['su:]	/suu/	‘tip’
	['suʔu]	/suʔu/	‘k.o.tree’
[ɔ:] ~ [ɔ]	[ka'ḃḃɔ:]	/kabḃḃɔ/	‘k.o.tree’
	[ka'ḃḃɔʔɔ]	/kabḃḃɔʔɔ/	‘falling sound’

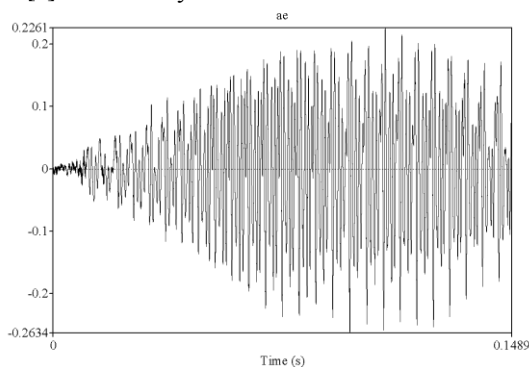
The contrast between long and short vowels clearly evidences that they have distinct phonological properties. On one hand, long vowels can be analyzed as a single unit of one syllable. Due to this, they count as having two moras, resulting in heavy syllabic words. On the other hand, long vowels can be analyzed as a sequence of two identical short vowels, which means that each vowel heads its own syllable. Observe the waveform between the word ['a:ɛ] and ['ʔaɛ] below. The image in (19)a represents the waveform of [a:] in *aae* ‘great, big’, which has a duration of 0.1973 seconds, whereas the image of [a] in *ae* ‘many’ has a duration of 0.1489 seconds. Referring to stress assignment on words containing long vowels (§2.3.3), where the

main stress is on penultimate syllable, long vowels are analyzed here as two identical vowels each of which belongs to a different syllable.

- (19) a. [a:] in *aae* ‘great, big’



- b. [a] in *ae* ‘many’



2.2.3.6. Vowel Sequences

All possible vowel combinations are shown in Table 2.11 below. With a couple of restrictions, all vowels would be able to form sequences. As shown, the schwa [ə] can only be followed by the high vowels [i] and [u], which create diphthongs in turn (see §2.3.2). The impossibility of [ə] following a vowel explains why it would never occur in word-final position. Back vowel sequences are constrained. For example, the combination of [ə] and [u] is impossible. The glide [w] is always inserted when words involve vowels [ə] and [u]. Meanwhile, the glide [j] occurs when a combination involves the front high vowel [i] unless the preceding vowel is [ɛ]. Other combinations do not result in glide insertion. Examples of vowel sequences are given in (20) below.

Table 2.11: Vowel Sequences

	i	ε	ə	a	ɔ	u
i		+	-	+	+	+
ε	+		-	+	+	+
ə	+	-		-	-	+
a	+	+	-		+	+
ɔ	+	+	-	+		-
u	+	+	-	+	-	

(20) Vowel Sequences

/ua/	['bu ^w a]	/bua/	'boil over'
/ue/	['cu ^w ε]	/cuε/	'a, one'
/ui/	[da'q̣zu ^w i]	/daq̣zui/	'k.o. yoke'
/iu/	['ki ^w u]	/kiu/	'to scratch'
/au/	['ka ^w u]	/kau/	'rice'
/oa/	['go ^w a]	/goa/	'stupid'
/oi/	['ho ^w i]	/hoi/	'weeping'
/ie/	[ka'bβi ^w ε]	/kabβiε/	'pressed with s.t. heavy'
/ia/	['bi ^w a]	/bia/	'heavy'
/ai/	['da ^w i]	/dai/	'enough'
/ei/	['mei]	/mei/	'table'
/ea/	[ma'nea]	/manea/	'eagle'
/eu/	['neʊ-'neʊ]	/neʊ-neʊ/	'not sure'
/eo/	['ceɔ]	/ceɔ/	'nine'
/ae/	['haε]	/haε/	'flow'
/ao/	['gaɔ]	/gaɔ/	'to take'
/oe/	['bɔε]	/bɔε/	'no, not'
/əi/	['bəi]	/bəi/	'grandma'
/əu/	[ka'bβəu]	/kabβəu/	'k.o. beam'

2.2.3.7. Mid-Central Vowel (Schwa)

The schwa in Dhao has two characteristics; (1) it is sensitive to vowel harmony (see §2.2.3.8 below), and (2) it is extremely short. In Dhao syllable structure, the schwa lacks length in a nucleus position. Consequently, it never occurs word-finally, as has been demonstrated in the minimal pairs in §2.2.3.3 above. Since it is short in length,

it attracts the lengthening of its following consonants (Grimes, 2010:259). The syllable structure will be presented in §2.3.1. When a schwa occurs in a final syllable, it requires high vowels to follow it. In this regard, the schwa and the following high vowel create a single unit in the syllable, a diphthong (see §2.3.2 below). The schwa cannot be followed by a glottal stop, a glottal fricative, or a bilabial implosive. Observe the distribution of consonants presented in §2.2.2.3 above.

2.2.3.8. Vowel Harmony

This section is concerned with vowel harmony that occurs within a word. This analysis will show how and what type of harmony may occur for vowels in Dhao. As has been presented previously, Dhao has six vowels, [i, ɛ, ə, a, ɔ, u]. Each vowel is a syllable nucleus, with stress falling on the penultimate vowel in VV sequences, regardless whether the two vowels are the same or different (see 2.3.3). Dhao does not have coda and does also not allow consonant clusters. Therefore, consonant clusters in loanwords are broken up by an intervening vowel or are deleted in final position (see §2.5). As has been explained in §2.2.3.6, the high vowels [u] and [i] can only be preceded by the schwa [ə], but not vice versa. Vowels in Dhao can take on features of the neighboring vowel in terms of vowel combination or a feature of the vowel in the following syllable.

The realization of schwa [ə] is illustrated in (21) below. The feature of [ə] remains unchanged when the vowels in the following syllable are low, like [ə] in [ˈdəb:ɔ] ‘wooden stick’. When the following vowel is high and rounded [u], it is realized as a high and rounded [ø], such as in [ˈdʒøu] ‘person’, and when the following vowel is high but unrounded [i], it is realized as unrounded [ə], like in [ˈbəi] ‘grandmother’. The data shows that [ə] is harmonized not only in height but also in roundness.

(21)	Vowel Harmony	
	[ˈbəi]	‘grandmother’
	[ˈdəb:ɔ]	‘wooden stick’
	[ˈdʒøu]	‘person’
	[ˈhəb:a]	‘door’
	[kaˈjəu]	‘far’
	[paˈrəi]	‘to wake up’
	[ˈʔøu]	‘2SG’

A different phenomenon is shown through the data in (22) below. Vowel harmony is from left to right, never the other way around. High vowels are always

lowered when the preceding vowel is low. Therefore, when the preceding vowel is [e], the vowel [i] is realized as [ɪ], and [u] is lowered to [ʊ]. When the preceding vowel is [a], the vowel [o] is lowered as [ɔ]².

(22)	Vowel Harmony	
	[ʔɛɔ]	‘to herd’
	[ʔnɛɔ]	‘to want’
	[ʔbɔɛ]	‘not’
	[ʔtaɔ]	‘to make’
	[ʔcu ^w ɛ]	‘a, one’
	[ʔmeɪ]	‘table’
	[ʔneʊ-ʔneʊ]	‘not sure’
	[ʔtɛŋɛ]	‘to look for’

As shown, harmony is triggered by vowel height. Preceding low vowels lower subsequent the high vowels. Apart from that, the harmonized feature is taken from the preceding vowel, by which t harmony is considered progressive.

When the vowel combination does not influence backness, frontness, or height, no alternation occurs. Therefore, the combination of [o] and [i] does not affect any change of the vowel features respectively, due to both vowels being high vowels. Meanwhile, a combination of other vowels seems to follow the specification of backness and frontness. Knowing that the low vowel [a] is open, it can combine without constraint with other vowels.

(23)	Vowel Combination	
	[ʔhoi]	‘weeping’
	[ʔhu ^w a]	‘fruit’
	[paʔro ^w a]	‘to call’
	[ʔra ^y i]	‘land’
	[ʔhi ^y a]	‘to give’
	[maʔdea]	‘dizzy’

Vowels in Dhao also undergo long distance harmony: the realization of a vowel sound assimilates with the vowel of the next syllable. Examples are given in (24) below. The mid-central vowel [ə] in /səmi/ is realized as [ə] [ʔsəm:i] when the next syllable has a high vowel [i], but it is realized as [ə] when the following syllable has

² However, such a rule would be violated by the fact that, when the preceding vowel is [u], the following vowel is not raised, as is shown by the word [cu^wɛ] ‘a’. One explanation is that the harmony is blocked by the glide interlude as suggested by Rose (2011).

an [ɔ], like in ['dəb:ɔ] 'wooden stick'. This alternation is in line with the vowel combination as discussed in §2.2.3.6 above. In this regard, the harmony does occur due to vowel height rather than roundness. It can be seen in the example [ta'tək:u] 'k.o. belt for weaving' which has the round vowel [u].

(24)	Long distance harmony	
	['səm:i]	/səmi/ 'as, like'
	[ta'tək:u]	/tatəku/ k.o belt for weaving
	['həb:a]	/həba/ 'door'
	['tət:ɛ]	/tətɛ/ 'cut'
	['dəb:ɔ]	/dəbɔ/ 'wooden stick'
	['tədɛ]	/tədɛ/ 'stone fence'
	[ka'kehɔ]	/kakehɔ/ 'to stir'
	['mənɛ]	/mənɛ/ 'male'
	[la'lobβu]	/lalɔbβu/ 'to spread'
	['dɛd̪z̪a]	/dɛd̪z̪a/ 'above'
	['tulɛ]	/tulɛ/ 'to push'

2.3. Syllables

2.3.1. Syllable Structure

The maximum syllable in Dhao is CV. There are no codas. There always is a possibility for syllables to have an onset. The onset can have one consonant at most. Intervocalic consonants are syllabified as the onset of the following syllable. ?V sequences in word-initial position clearly show that onsets are obligatory in morpheme-initial position in Dhao syllable structure. The onset can be any consonant, including the glottal stop.

The description gives a clear evidence that (1) Dhao is an open syllabic language, (2) onsets are obligatory, whereas codas are not, and (3) the syllable is of the CV type. Furthermore, investigations were done on the maximum syllable of lexical words in Dhao. In this case, lexical words are the bases for morphological processes. Most lexical words in Dhao are disyllabic and trisyllabic. Only a few content words are monosyllabic. Although some quadrisyllabic words are found in Dhao, those words are historically derived from compound forms. In disyllabic words, the initial syllable always bears the main stress (S for stress) rather than stress being put on the final syllable.

Before discussing the syllable structure of Dhao, some examples of possible syllables are presented below. The monosyllabic morphemes are presented in (25) below, where the syllable merely contains a CV. Many monosyllabic morphemes

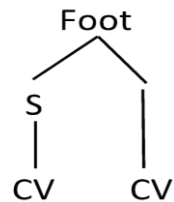
are function words, such as /hɔ/ ‘so that’ and /ma/ ‘toward’, yet there are a number of content words, such as /ha/ ‘lung’.

(25) Monosyllabic words

/ca/	‘a, one’
/dɔ/	‘or’
/d͡zu/	REL
/ha/	‘lung’
/hɔ/	‘so that’
/ʃɔ/	‘rather’
/ka/	PART
/ma/	‘toward’
/na/	PART
/re/	‘through’
/si/	tag
/te/	‘because, as, but’

A disyllabic word template is given in (26) and examples are in (27) below. Disyllabic words generate one trochaic foot, wherein main stress falls on the initial syllable. The stressed syllable is bolded.

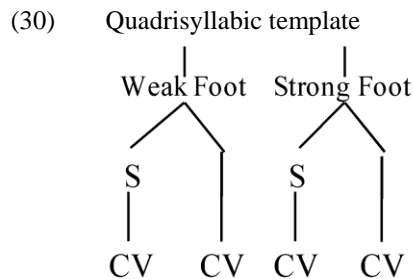
(26) Disyllabic template



(27) Disyllabic words

/b a .6a/	‘short’
/b a .ki/	‘grandfather’
/c a .bu/	‘soap’
/d a .ga/	‘trade’
/d a .ra/	‘inside’
/g a .mɛ/	‘to hit’
/h a .ha/	‘below’

Quadrissyllabic words generate two trochaic feet. However, when four syllables come together, main stress falls on the penultimate syllable (see 2.3.3). The stress on the initial syllable becomes secondary in this given context. In this thesis, I qualify the first foot as weak and the second foot as strong. The penultimate syllables that have main stress are bolded.



- (31) Quadrissyllabic words
- | | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| /hɔ.lɔ. nɔ .ri/ | ‘word of God’ |
| /ka.ba. ra .i/ | ‘public’ |
| /ka.ba.lɔ.si/ | ‘snail’ |
| /pa.ta. bu .li/ | ‘to release’ |
| /pa.ka.sɛ.ti/ | ‘to force’ |
| /da.ra. ma .ga/ | ‘quay’ |
| /ca.pa. ɟi .li/ | ‘be amused’ |

In this thesis, those quadrissyllabic words are analyzed as words that were compounds originally, because their semantic properties are related to other disyllabic words. For instance, the word *kabarai* /ka.ba.**ra**.i/ ‘public’ is derived from two forms: *kaba* ‘shell’ and *rai* ‘land/region’. The word *holonori* /hɔ.lɔ.**nɔ**.ri/ ‘word of God’ is derived from *holo* ‘advice’ and *nori*. The form *nori* can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, as a loan from Rotenese that means ‘lesson’, and secondly, it may have developed from the Dhao word *muri* ‘to live’ which has undergone a phonological change through assimilation.

Syllabification of vowel sequences, diphthongs, and long vowels in Dhao pose some complications. A vowel sequence may come with or without glides. For those with no glides, such as [æ] in [ˈdæ] ‘shore’ and [aɔ] in [kaˈbaɔ] ‘water buffalo’, the syllabification is simple. That is, the second vowel is syllabified into the following syllable. This is proven by the fact that the stress assignment is on the preceding CV, indicating the penultimate position. Examples are given in (32) below.

(32) Syllabification of vowel sequence without glides

CV.V	/da.ɛ/	‘shore’
	/lo.ɛ/	‘cave’
	/hɛ.ɔ/	‘aglow’
CV.CV.V	/ka.dɛ.a/	‘yarn roller’
	/ba.da.ɛ/	‘north’
	/ka.q̣ɛ.ɛ/	‘to hang’
	/pa.q̣a.ɛ/	‘to speak’
	/ka.ba.ɔ/	‘water buffalo’
CV.V.CV	/ma.ɛ.na/	‘to hope’

The existence of glides in vowel sequences can result in two different forms of analysis. First, glides appear as onsets, and second, glides appear as codas. In (34) below, these two different forms of analysis are termed Pronunciation I and Pronunciation II respectively. For example, in [‘bi.^ja] ‘heavy’ the glide [j] appears as an onset, while in [naw] ‘clump’ the glide [w] appears as a coda. However, as presented previously, Dhao has an open syllabic system, which implies that a coda would be impossible. The only way of analyzing the syllabification of the latter is to treat the glide [w] as an onset and the vowel [u] as the nucleus, resulting in [‘na.^wu]. As a result, the analysis in Pronunciation II in (34) applies, and not Pronunciation I.

(33) Syllabification of vowel sequence with glides

CV.CV	[bi. ^j a]	<i>bia</i>	‘heavy’
	[bo. ^w a]	<i>boa</i>	‘k.o.tree’
	[cu. ^w ɛ]	<i>cue</i>	‘one’
CV.CV.CV	[pa.lo. ^w a]	<i>paloa</i>	‘liken’
	[ka.b̥pi. ^j ɛ]	<i>kabhie</i>	‘to press’
	[ka.bu. ^w i]	<i>kabui</i>	‘pea’
CV.CV.V.V	[ko. ^w a.aɔ]	<i>koaaɔ</i>	‘be arrogant’
CV.CV.CV.V	[hu. ^w a.la.a]	<i>hualaa</i>	‘gold’

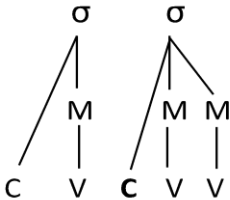
(34) Syllabification of vowel sequence with glides

Pronunciation I	Pronunciation II	Meaning
[naw]	[na. ^w u]	‘clump, group’
[q̣ziw]	[q̣zi. ^w u]	‘to leave’
[pa.ɲaw]	[pa.ɲa. ^w u]	‘be mine’
[pa.q̣zaw]	[pa.q̣za. ^w u]	‘to divide’
[pa.kaj]	[pa.ka. ^j i]	‘to hook’

[ka.lay.ɲe.la]	[ka.la. ^h i.ɲe.la]	‘k.o.plant’
[la.ʔi.a:.ɛ]	[la. ʔi. ^h a:.ɛ]	‘guy’
[ka.ba.raɪ]	[ka.ba.ra. ^h i]	‘island’
[daɪ]	[da. ^h i]	‘enough’

When the schwa /ə/ appears in the penultimate syllable of lexical words, it is always followed by high vowel [i] or [u], which fills the nucleus position. As such, they are mapped into one syllable unit, as demonstrated by the syllable tree in (35) below. The syllabification applies for the examples in (36).

(35) Syllable template with diphthong



(36) Diphthongs

<i>Monosyllabic</i>	[bɔi]	/bɔi/	‘grandmother’
	[dɔi]	/dɔi/	‘to like’
	[hɔi]	/hɔi/	‘also’
	[kɔi]	/kɔi/	‘to dig’
	[nɔi]	/nɔi/	REM.SG
	[sɔi]	/sɔi/	REM.PL
	[rəu]	/rəu/	‘leaf’
	[ʔəu]	/ʔəu/	‘2SG’
<i>Disyllabic</i>	[ta.nɔi]	/tanɔi/	‘intestine’
	[ka.rɔi]	/karɔi/	‘to question’
	[ka.ɲəu]	/kaɲəu/	‘far’
	[ka.həu]	/kahəu/	‘injury’
	[ma.rɔi]	/marɔi/	‘wake up’
	[pa.rɔi]	/parɔi/	‘to wake s.o.up’

Syllabification in Dhao correlates with length and stress, where stress always falls on the penultimate syllable. Long vowels are confined to trochaic feet that also maintain stress on the penultimate position. Long vowels in Dhao are considered to be two identical vowels. Each vowel is mapped onto a different syllable. For

example, ['ʔu:] 'to kiss' is syllabified as ['ʔu.u], where the first [u] is syllabified into the first syllable with [ʔ] as its onset. Meanwhile, the other [u] is syllabified into the following syllable. The examples of syllabification of long vowels are given in (37) below. The stressed syllables are in bold.

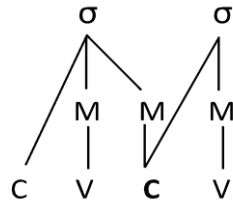
(37)	Syllabification of long vowels (VV)		
	[a.a]	/aa/	'and'
	[ʔ <u>u</u> .u]	/ʔuu/	'to kiss'
	[<u>ŋa</u> .a]	/ŋaa/	'what'
	[<u>ra</u> .a]	/raa/	'blood'
	[a. <u>a</u> .dɔ]	/aadɔ/	'be absent'
	[ma.ta. <u>ri</u> .i]	/matarii/	'nurse'
	[ma.ta. <u>rɔ</u> .ɔ]	/matarɔɔ/	'boat crew'
	[pa.i. <u>i</u> .a]	/paiaa/	'make peace'
	[pa.i. <u>i</u> .ɛ]	/paiee/	'be careful'

Any consonant following schwa [ə] must be lengthened. Consequently, an example, such as ['kəp:ɛ] 'to catch', may be possibly analyzed in three ways, as shown in (38) below.

(38)	Syllabification of lengthened consonants	
(a)	['kə p:ɛ]	
(b)	['kəp pɛ]	
(c)	['kə p: ɛ]	

In order to account for the syllabification of words containing lengthened consonants, the distribution of a possible nucleus should be explicated first. In §2.2.3.7 above, it has been explicated that a schwa would only occur in initial and medial position and never in final position. In this respect, the syllable in (38)a is impossible. The syllabification as in (38)b implies that the lengthening counts as two segments, one in each syllable. If so, it would create a coda in the first syllable, which would be impossible because Dhao does not have codas at all. In this thesis, the phenomenon of consonant lengthening is analyzed as a strategy to fulfill syllable weight. In this regard, the syllabification is analyzed based on morae, rather than CV structure. The lengthened consonants after the schwa [ə] must be analyzed as ambisyllabic unit that has two moras (Duanmu, 2008:57); it belongs to two syllables at the same time. Therefore, the analysis in (38)c is the best possible structure of this type of syllable. This is explicated in the syllable tree in (39) below. Examples are given in (40).

- (39) Syllable template with lengthened consonants



- (40) Lengthened consonants

['ʔə̌t̪:a]	/ə̌t̪a/	'to tap'
['ʔə̌r̪:ɛ]	/ə̌r̪ɛ/	'to pull'
['ʔə̌t̪:u]	/ə̌t̪u/	LOC
['nə̌ŋ:u]	/nə̌ŋu/	'3SG'
['gə̌t̪:u]	/gə̌t̪u/	'to pick'

2.3.2. Diphthongization

The following examples show diphthongs in the final syllable. Because the schwa cannot stand independently as a nucleus in a final position, it requires high vowels /i/ and /u/ to follow. Therefore such a unit of sound is regarded as a diphthong. This kind of diphthong never occurs in word medial position. An exception is the word ['həi̯a] 'then, afterwards'.

- (41) Diphthongs

[bəi]	/bəi/	'grandmother'
[dəi]	/dəi/	'to like'
[səi]	/səi/	REM.PL
[həi]	/həi/	'also'
[kəi]	/kəi/	'to dig'
[nəi]	/nəi/	REM.SG
[ʔəu]	/ʔəu/	'2SG'
[rəu]	/rəu/	'leaf'

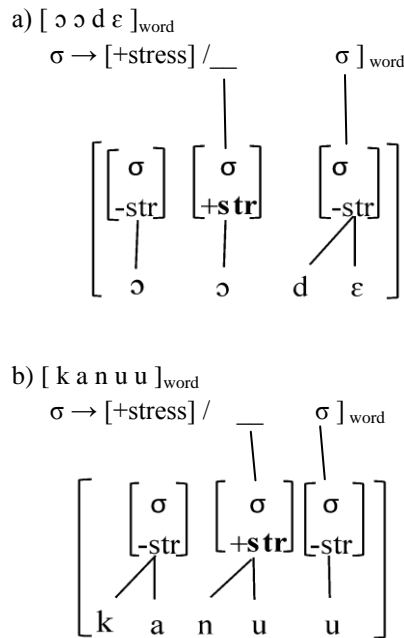
2.3.3. Stress Assignment

Dhao has fixed stress, which is on penultimate syllables. Stress placement does not distinguish meaning, therefore, it is not necessary to mark stress in the orthography. As mentioned previously, stress is predictable on the penultimate syllable (see Walker, 1982; Grimes, 2010). In section (§2.3.1), it has been demonstrated that words with more than two syllables distinguish a primary and a secondary stressed

syllable. In this section, the discussion focuses on stress on both word as well as phrase level.

One way to account for stress assignment is to adopt a representation in which the feature [stress] is attached to syllables rather than to vowels. The stress on the penultimate syllable can be seen in trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic words. This interpretation leads the analysis that long vowels are actually two identical vowels, each of which belongs to a different syllable. Take the example [ˈɔːʔdɛ] ‘very’ that applies an initial long vowel. It follows the stress rule as seen in (42)a below. The final long vowel, such as [kaˈnuː] ‘squid’ is visualized as in (42)b.

(42) Stress Assignment



The analysis above confirms that Dhao has fixed stress. Stress is not contrastive. Disyllabic roots have stress on the first syllable which is retained when roots take prefixes or are partially reduplicated in a morphosyntactic process. The examples of roots taking the prefix *pa-* are shown in (43) below. As is shown, the main stress is retained on the initial syllable of bisyllabic roots, as in the word [ˈʔaɖʒu] ‘hard’ > [pa-ˈʔaɖʒu] ‘cause X hard’. For trisyllabic roots, the main stress falls on the penultimate syllable and is retained when prefixed with *pa-*, as in the word [maˈmuri] ‘alive’ > [pa-maˈmuri] ‘make X alive’. In such a context, the antepenultimate syllable gets secondary stress. More examples with the fixed stress are evidenced by partial reduplication as shown in (44) below.

(43) Stress assignment and prefixation

['ʔad̪zu]	‘hard’	>	[pa-ʔad̪zu]	‘cause X hard’
['guri]	‘to collapse’	>	[pa-ʔguri]	‘to make X collapse’
['jər:a]	‘to suffer’	>	[pa-jər:a]	‘cause X suffer’
['kakɔ]	‘to walk’	>	[pa-ʔkakɔ]	‘to run X’
[maʔnahu]	‘to fall’	>	[,pa-maʔnahu]	‘to cause X fall’
[maʔmuri]	‘alive’	>	[,pa-maʔmuri]	‘make X alive’

(44) Stress assignment and reduplication

['ʔabβu]	‘to get’	[ʔa-ʔabβu]	‘thought, idea’
['ʔaʃa]	‘to learn, teach’	[ʔa-ʔaʃa]	‘lesson’
['ʔər:a]	‘be strong’	[ʔa-ʔər:a]	‘strength’
['ʔɛɔ]	‘to herd’	[ʔa-ʔɛɔ]	‘way of shepherd’
['jər:a]	‘difficult’	[ja-jər:a]	‘difficulty, affliction, in labor’
['lahɔ]	‘be destroyed’	[la-ʔlahɔ]	‘powder’
['mahɔ]	‘be cold’	[ma-ʔmahɔ]	‘shade’
['pəd:a]	‘be sick’	[pa-ʔpəd:a]	‘sickness’
['d̪zɔka]	‘only’	[d̪zɔ-ʔd̪zɔka]	‘only’
['ɲa:]	‘what’	[ɲa-ʔɲa:]	‘anything’

2.4. Reduced Forms

The reduced forms frequently are found in demonstratives, prepositions, numerals, and personal pronouns. The schwa always gets avoided in this reduction, as it lacks syllable weight (see §2.2.3.7). As demonstrated in (45), a penultimate schwa is removed from bisyllabic forms, which then result in monosyllabic forms. This reduction may simply result in CV syllables, such as /əci/ > /ci/ ‘one’ and /ətu/ > /tu/ ‘LOC’. Alternatively, it may create new monosyllables by removing the penultimate schwa and the subsequent onset, such as /nəɲu/ > /nu/ ‘3SG’ and /səra/ > /sa/ ‘DIST.PL’. For monosyllabic forms with schwa, the schwa is simply removed, like in /nəi/ > /ni/ ‘REM.SG’ and /səi/ > /si/ ‘REM.PL’. The reduction of /əd̪zi/ > /ti/ ‘1PL.in’ is constrained perhaps due to a building block where the form *ti* has been used as its corresponding clitic. The schwa in /əu/ ‘2SG’ is simply reduced to /u/.³

³ It is unproductive, although some speakers admit its existence.

(45) Reduction of forms with schwa

/ʔəci/	>	/ci/	‘one’
/ʔəḍḍi/	>	/ti/	‘1PL.in’
		(/ḍḍi/)	
/ə:na/	>	/na/	DIST.SG
/ʔətu/	>	/tu/	LOC
/ʔəu/	>	(/ʔu/)	‘2SG’
/nəi/	>	/ni/	REM.SG
/nəŋu/	>	/nu/	‘3SG’
/ŋəti/	>	/ti/	‘from’
/rəŋu/	>	/ru/	‘3PL’
/səi/	>	/si/	REM.PL
/səra/	>	/sa/	DIST.PL

The examples in (46) below demonstrate that the reduction of bisyllabic forms without schwa is always based on a CV syllable. This may be the final syllable, such as /ʔasa/ > /sa/ ‘to’ or initial syllable, such as /miu/ > /mi/ ‘2PL’.

(46) Reduction of forms with no schwa

/ʔasa/	>	/sa/	‘to’
/jaʔa/	>	/ja/	‘1SG’
/jiʔi/	>	/ji/	‘1PL.ex’
/miu/	>	/mi/	‘2PL’
/nɛʔɛ/	>	/nɛ/	PROX.SG
/sɛʔɛ/	>	/sɛ/	PROX.PL

The examples in (47) show reduction of words consisting of three and four syllables. Three syllables are reduced to two syllables, such as /karara/ > /rara/ ‘yellow’⁴, whereas four syllables are reduced to three syllables, such as /tasamia/ > /samia/ ‘how’. Other words, like /kanana/ ‘betel’ and /lɔḍɔ/ ‘sun’ can only be reduced on phrase level. No rule has been found to account for the reduction in this regard.

(47) Reduction of other forms

/karara/	>	/rara/	‘yellow’
/lamusi/	>	/musi/	‘seed’
/tasamia/	>	/samia/	‘how’
/kapepe kanana/	>	/kapepe nana/	‘betel-nut container’
round-like betel			

⁴ The reduced form *rara* denotes ‘a bit yellow’, so there is a meaning shift here.

/lɔɔɔ pana/	>	/lɔ pana/	‘sunny (hot)’
sun hot			

As has been explained in §2.3.1, syllable units always are trochaic, consisting of one stressed syllable (primary stress) and another unstressed syllable (secondary stress). This template is used for the reduction of words. The examples in (48) are frequently reduced forms of phrases or compounds. For instance, the phrase *doe ne'e* ‘today’ is pronounced with two trochees [ˈdɔɛːnɛʔɛ]. The initial foot reduces the vowel [ɛ] and the second foot reduces the glottal and then lengthens the vowel [ɛ]. This reduction results in one single trochee [dɔːnɛ:], preceded by an unstressed syllable. Meanwhile the phrase [ˌdɛɔːənːa] ‘just now’ is reduced to one single trochee [ˈdɔːna] followed by an unstressed syllable. The same also applies to the four syllable word [ˌboʷaˈraka] ‘box for clothes’ where the vowel [a] is reduced [boːraka]. The phrase *sangae èèna* [səŋæəːnːa] ‘that is all’ and *kacui aai* [ˈkacuʷiˈyaʷi] have heavy vowels in inter-phrasal position. Such a heavy vowel is reduced and retains only one vowel to satisfy the nuclei and form a trochee.

(48) Metrical feet

[ˌdɔɛːnɛʔɛ] <i>doe ne'e</i>	>	[dɔːnɛ:] <i>do ne</i>	‘today’
[ˌdɛɔːənːa] <i>deo èèna</i>	>	[ˈdɔːna] <i>doo na</i>	‘just now’
[ˌsəmːiˈənːa] <i>sèmi èèna</i>	>	[səˈmənːa] <i>sèmèna</i>	‘be like that’
[ˌhuʷaˈiːya] <i>hua iia</i>	>	[huˈwɪya] <i>huʷia</i>	‘honorable’
[ˌboʷaˈraka] <i>boaraka</i>	>	[boːraka] <i>boraka</i>	‘box for clothes’
[ˌsəŋæəːnːa] <i>sangae èèna</i>	>	[saˈŋənːa] <i>sengèna</i>	‘that is all’
[ˌkacuʷiˈyaʷi] <i>kacui aai</i>	>	[ˈkacuˈwaʷi] <i>kacu ai</i>	‘hand’

2.5. Loan Words

The analysis of Dhao syllable structure in §2.3.1 above showed that Dhao has an open syllabic system. Table 2.12 shows Kupang Malay/Indonesian examples that include person names and content words where original final codas are deleted. Not only are simplex codas deleted, such as /s/ in ['to.mas] > ['to.ma], complex codas such as /ks/ in ['ʔaleks] > ['ʔalɛ] are deleted as well. Codas in word-medial position are also omitted, as shown by the example of /m/ in ['ʔam.pun] > ['ʔa.bβɔ] 'forgiveness' and /n/ in ['ban.tu] > ['ba.tu] 'to help'.

Table 2.12: Deletion of codas in all position

Malay/Indonesian	Dhao	gloss
['ʔam.pun]	['ʔa.bβɔ]	'forgiveness'
['ban.tu]	['ba.tu]	'to help'
['ber.nat]	['be.na]	'person name'
['con.toh]	['cɔ.tɔ]	'example'
['gun.tin]	[gũ.te]	'to cut with scissors'
['kam.pun]	['ka.bβɔ]	'village'
['mam.pu]	['ma.pu]	'be able to'
[pe.'rin.tah]	[pa.'re.ɖʒa]	'to govern, command'
['sam.po]	['sa.pɔ]	'shampo'
['sum.pah]	['su.bβa]	'oath'
[ter.'ba.lik]	[ta.'ba.lɛ]	'be upside down'
[ter.'boŋ.kar]	[ta.'bo.ka]	'be uncovered'
['tin.kat]	['ti.ka]	'level'
['to.mas]	['to.ma]	person name
[ʔus]	[ʔu]	person name
['ʔaleks]	['ʔalɛ]	Person name

There are, however, loans in Dhao where codas are found still, particularly in person names and content words. Table 2.13 below shows that these loan words have been adapted to the native phonology of Dhao, but they nevertheless retained their codas. In this context, codas are not only preserved in word-medial position but also in word-final position. Take the word [far.'la:k] 'plastic mat', for example. The loan fricative phoneme /f/ has been adapted as a voiceless stop /p/ in an onset position, and the coda of the final syllables /k/ has been deleted. The coda of the initial syllable /r/ has been preserved. A comparable though different strategy occurred in the word ['prɔ.jɛk] 'project', where the original consonant cluster onset is broken up through vowel epenthesis, but the coda of the final syllable /k/ still is maintained.

The same applies to codas in person names. The name [ˈja.rit] contains an alveolar voiced stop coda /d/, which has become a voiceless /t/ in word final position⁵. The Indonesian palatal approximant *j* /j/ also is preserved, which Dhao lacks otherwise.

Table 2.13: Loans with coda

Malay/Indonesian	Dhao	gloss
[far.ˈla:k]	[par.ˈla:]	‘plastic mat’
[ˈprɔ.jɛk]	[pa.ˈrɔ.jɛk]	‘project’
[ˈja.rit]	[ˈja.rit]	person name
[Cen]	[Cen]	person name

I consider these loan words an incomplete adaptation as consequence of intense language contact between Dhao and Kupang Malay. The data obviously show that consonant clusters are broken by an epenthetic /a/. So far no other vowel is found in the corpus in relation to this epenthetic phenomenon.

Table 2.14: Vowel Epenthesis

Malay/Indonesian	Dhao	gloss
[blɛk]	[baˈlɛ:]	‘can’
[ˈboslak] ⁶	[ˌbosaˈla:]	‘mattress’
[kris]	[kaˈri:]	‘kris’
[seˈtrika]	[ˌsataˈrika]	‘iron’

The adaptation of loan words in Dhao also involves vowel lengthening. As seen in Table 2.15, vowels are lengthened when they occur in final syllables. The lengthened vowels are not directly adapted from corresponding vowels in loan words. Rather, the adaptation was originally borrowed from Indonesian through Kupang Malay, the local *lingua franca* of the region, (see chapter 1). In Kupang Malay, vowels in the final syllable tend to be lengthened because of stress when the previous syllable of the original Indonesian word contains a schwa (Jacob, 2001; Jacob & Grimes, 2006).

⁵ This realization typically follows the typology of Indonesian phonology.

⁶ A loan from Dutch *bultzak* through local Malay.

Table 2.15: Vowel Lengthened

Malay/Indonesian	Dhao	gloss
[ge.'la:s]	[ga.'la:]	'glass'
[blek]	[ba.'le:]	'can'
[far.'la:k]	[far.'la:]	'plastic mat'
[kris]	[ka.ri:]	person name
[sa'nda:l]	[sa.'ḏza:]	'slippers'

The adaptation of consonants is shown in Table 2.16 below. Dhao replaces all non-native consonants in borrowings with their own corresponding native consonants. Sometimes, Dhao uses more than one adaptation strategy that would logically be possible. Take the consonant cluster [mb], which is adapted as a plain bilabial [b] or a bilabial affricate [bβ]. The fricative [f] is adapted as [p] or [h]. The adaptation may also take place through simplification, where /nC/ clusters are simplified into affricated consonants. For example, the cluster [nd] and [nt] are simplified into an alveolar affricate [ḏʒ], as shown by the words /tanda/ > /taḏʒa/ 'sign' and /perintah/ > /pareḏʒa/ 'govern, command'.

Table 2.16: Consonant Adaptation

	Malay/ Indonesian	Dhao	gloss
/mb/ > /b/	/tembaga/	/tabaga/	'copper'
	/tambah/	/tabβa/	'to add'
/nd/ > /ḏʒ/	/tanda/	/taḏʒa/	'sign'
	/perintah/	/pareḏʒa/	'govern, command'
/ŋg/ > /g/	/tanggung/	/tago/	'responsible for'
/j/ > /ʃ/	/jola/	/ʃola/	person name
/f/ > /p/	/farlaak	/parlaa/	'plastic mat'
	/h/	/kəɾbafo/	place name in Rote

2.6. Orthography

The orthography of Dhao has been in development since 2000 when SIL International began their Bible translation project under *Unit Bahasa dan Budaya* (UBB) GMIT⁷ Kupang. A practical orthography has been worked out and has been tested within the Dhao community ever since (Grimes, 2009; 2012). Its basic

⁷ GMIT stands for *Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor* (Evangelical Church of Timor).

principle is that all sounds that are contrastive in a language should be represented with distinct symbols (Cahill & Karan, 2008). This section only concerns some important points in respect to the orthography system used in this thesis. As proven in §2.2.2.3 and §2.2.3.4 above, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is obviously phonemic, and not phonetic. As such, it needs to be represented by a grapheme in the orthography of Dhao. Following the writing system of Indonesian, the national language, the glottal stop is represented with the apostrophe ('). Therefore, a Dhao word such as /jaʔa/ with a glottal stop in medial position is written as *ja'a* '1SG'. However, when the glottal stop occurs word-initially, such as in /ʔada/, it cannot be written as *'ada* 'custom'. In Indonesian languages the apostrophe is never used word-initially. In this thesis, glottal stops are orthographically represented only in medial position. The reason is that all simple vowels that occur word-initially have glottal stops; therefore, it is regarded as the default. The apostrophe (') is also used to mark implosive sounds, for instance the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ is represented as *b'*. Take the word /baʔa/: it is written as *bab'a* 'short'. The following four consonants use digraphs to represent them:

$$\begin{array}{ll} /b\beta/ = bh & /ɲ/ = ny \\ /dʒ/ = dh & /ŋ/ = ng \end{array}$$

As already explicated previously, all vowels can be realized as long and they occur only word-initially and word-finally, except for the word *paiie* 'be careful'. As such, long vowels should be distinguished from short vowels in a Dhao orthography. Following (Grimes, 2010; 2012), long vowels are written as two consecutive vowels, so a word like /a:ɛ/ is written as *aae* 'great, big'. A significant sound to mention in particular is the schwa /ə/. Since it is contrastive with /e/, it should also be distinguished in writing. In this thesis, I use the symbol /è/ to represent the schwa, a symbol that was already established in Walker (1982) and Grimes (2010; 2012). Fourth, whereas geminated consonants are phonetically long, too, there is no need to write them as two consecutive consonants, which would burden legibility too much. For example, the word /'kəp:ɛ/ 'to catch' may be written as *kèppe* or *kèpe* alternatively. More complex words, such as ['nəŋ:u] '3SG' would be too tiresome to read when written as *nèngngu* because there are two velar nasals. It is much easier to represent the velar nasal geminate by using a single digraph *ng*, as in *nèngu*. In addition to this, gemination is a consequence of the schwa, and therefore predictable in the phonological analysis of Dhao.

3

Word Classes

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses word classes in Dhao. Dhao has nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. However, these word categories cannot be defined merely on the basis of the semantics of the lexical items. Their categorial status is determined by the integrated paradigms of constructions. Certain morphosyntactic features can be used to make distinctions between word classes. However, a considerable amount of lexical items are multifunctional and can be categorized either as nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Besides semantic/pragmatic and formal criteria, a distinct analysis is applied at the morpho-syntactic level specifically in order to distinguish verbs from adjectives in serial verb constructions (SVCs). This chapter begins with the description of nominal categories in §3.2, which includes nouns, pronouns, and numerals and classifiers. This section is followed by verbal categories in §3.3 which involves not only verbs but also adverbs. A description of adjectives is presented in §3.4, in which true adjectives and re-categorized adjectives are distinguished. Interrogative words are presented in §3.5. Finally, function words are described in §3.6, which includes basic prepositions and other prepositions, conjunctions particles, tags, and interjections.

3.2. Nominal Categories

3.2.1. Nouns

Nouns typically refer to entities that are concrete and individual physical objects. Nouns refer not only to things, persons, and places, but also to abstract notions such as feelings or ideas (Dixon, 2010b; Lehmann, Moravcsik, & Milwaukee, 2000; Payne, 2006; Schachter, 2007). This section starts with defining the formal

properties of nouns in Dhao (§3.2.1.1), followed by the subcategorization of nouns (§3.2.1.2).

3.2.1.1. Formal Properties

Nouns occur in argument slots in clause structures (Dixon, 2010b: 39). Verbs never occur as arguments in Dhao clause structure (see §5.3). In argument position, nouns typically are the heads of noun phrases, which have five defining features: (1) they can be modified by demonstratives, (2) they refer either to a possession or a possessor in possessive constructions, (3) they can take numerals and classifiers, (4) they can be modified by the quantifier *aa'i* ‘all’, and (5) they follow the existential verb *abhu* ‘to get’. These five defining features of nouns are illustrated below. (C)*a*-reduplication as a restricted morphological property to derive nouns with will also be taken into account and will be briefly explained as well.

A typical nominal property is the modification of NPs by demonstrative pronouns, which can be either singular or plural (§3.2.2.2). In (1) below, the singular demonstrative *èèna* ‘DIST.SG’ modifies *dhèu* ‘person’ and in (2), the plural demonstrative *se’e* ‘PROX.PL’ modifies *ana* ‘child’. Demonstratives in Dhao canonically follow the nouns they modify.

- (1) [*dhèu èèna*] *la-e*
 person DIST.SG to.go-3SG
 ‘That person (woman) left’ [RL_Rade_Lingu.040]
- (2) *èu m-ore boe* [*ana se’e*]
 2SG 2SG-to take not child PROX.PL
 ‘You cannot defeat the children’ [RL_Rade_Lingu.126]

Nouns in Dhao may refer either to the possessor or to the possession in possessive constructions. The possessor noun follows the possession noun. In (3), *ja’a* ‘1SG’ refers to the possessor and *èmu* ‘house’ refers to the possession. The NP functions as a complement to the complex prepositional phrase *ètu dara* ‘LOC+inside’. Furthermore, the possessive NP is modified by the demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’.

- (3) *èu saba ètu dara* [[*èmu ja’a*] *ne’e*]
 2SG to work LOC inside house 1SG PROX.SG
 ‘You worked in my house’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta_Dua.093]

The quantifying properties of NPs are indicated by numerals and classifiers (see §3.2.3). Numerals alone indicate the number of the entity. Classifiers cannot stand

independently, but they obligatorily combine with numerals in an NP. As seen in (4) below, the numeral *pidhu* ‘seven’ immediately follows after the noun *dhèu* ‘person’, and in (5) the classifier *bua* ‘unit’ follows the numeral *dua* ‘two’, which in turn modifies the noun *kabolo-keke* ‘palm fruit’ (for a more elaborate discussion, see §3.2.3).

- (4) *[dhèu pidhu] mai*
 person seven to.come
 ‘Seven people came’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.288]
- (5) *lèpa mai ka r-èdhi [kabholo-keke dua bua]*
 to return to come PART 3PL-see palm.fruit two unit
 ‘(They) came home and brought two (dry) palm fruits’
 [JL_Baki_Tuka.156]

The quantifier *aa’i* ‘all’ is used as a noun modifier. It can appear in different positions, as is demonstrated in (6) through (9) below. In (6), the quantifier follows the pronoun *edhi* ‘1PL.in’ and is followed by the corresponding clitic, which is an obligatory extra element co-referenced with the main NP (see §3.2.2.1.2.) In (7), it precedes the pronoun *ji’i* ‘1PL.ex’. The quantifier also can appear after the clausal predicate, as shown in (8), where it co-refers to the head noun *dhèu* ‘person’ in the subject slot. Furthermore, it also occurs independently in argument positions, such as the object position in (9).

- (6) *èdhi aa’i ti sanède*
 1PL.in all 1PL.in.CL to remember
 ‘We all remember’ [YK_HelaBunga.103]
- (7) *papa ku pare pa-madhe aa’i ji’i*
 father(Mal) 1SG.CL to cut CAUS-to die all 1PL.ex
 ‘My father will kill us all.’ [SK_Polisi.587]
- (8) *dhèu tesa aa’i ètu dara kota*
 person to complete all LOC inside city(IND)
 ‘All of them assembled in town’ [JL_Musu_Bajo.280]
- (9) *èu m-u’e aa’i te ja’a ku’a boe*
 2SG 2SG-to eat all because 1SG 1SG-to eat not
 ‘You eat all, because I do not eat’ [Verb_Elicited.0008]

Finally, nouns can follow the existential verb *abhu* ‘to get’, as illustrated in (10) below (see §3.3.1.2.8).

- (10) *abhu bola èci ètu suu mei*
 to get ball(IND) one LOC tip table
 ‘There is a ball at the tip of the table’ [Elicit_Prep.006]

Besides the syntactic characteristics presented above, Dhao also has partial (C)a- reduplication as a morphological feature, which can be used to identify derived nominals. Such partial reduplication is only confined to bisyllabic verbs and adjectives (see §4.4). An illustration is given in (11). An example of nominalization employed in clauses is represented in (12), with the derived morpheme *mamea* ‘red part’. As shown, *mamea* fills an argument position following the verbal predicate *uri pabe’a* ‘to manage well’.

- (11) Nominalization
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>edhe</i> | ‘to soak’ | V | <i>a-’edhe</i> | ‘place of soaking, materials’ |
| <i>nèu</i> | ‘to dress up’ | V | <i>na-nèu</i> | ‘tools for dressing up, style’ |
| <i>roge</i> | ‘to dance’ | V | <i>ra-roge</i> | ‘way of dancing’ |
| <i>bhèla</i> | ‘wide’ | Adj | <i>ba-bhèla</i> | ‘width’ |
| <i>bia</i> | ‘heavy’ | Adj | <i>ba-bia</i> | ‘weight, burden’ |
| <i>mea</i> | ‘red’ | Adj | <i>ma-mea</i> | ‘red part (on weaving)’ |
- (12) *uri pa-be’a ma-mea*
 to.deal CAUS-good DUP-red
 ‘Manage the red part well’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.245]

Partial (C)a- reduplication, however, does not only generate nouns but also maintains the category of verbs. It simply alters the semantics of verbs. As illustrated in (13), it is the semantics of the derived verb that changes rather than the verb category. It is obvious in (14) that the reduplicated morpheme *dadugu* ‘to persuade’ is a verbal category rather than a nominal category.

- (13) Semantic change with reduplication
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>ciu</i> | ‘be broken’ | <i>ca-ciu</i> | ‘torn’ |
| <i>core</i> | ‘to throw’ | <i>ca-core</i> | ‘to throw around’ |
| <i>dugu</i> | ‘to tease’ | <i>da-dugu</i> | ‘to persuade’ |

- (14) *miu baku da-dugu ana iiki sèi*
 2SG PROH.NEG DUP-to poke child small REM.PL
 ‘(You) please, do not persuade those children’

The phonological constraint and the unpredictable semantics of the derived morphemes by the partial reduplication suggest that partial (C)*a*-reduplication cannot entirely be considered as a property of nouns in terms of morphological perspective alone (see more details in §4.4).

3.2.1.2. Subclasses of Nouns

The formal properties described above showcased the syntactic characteristics of nouns in Dhao. This subsection focuses on the subclassification of nouns on the basis of syntactic criteria. On the basis of classifiers, nouns distinguish three subclasses: persons, animates, and inanimates. Nouns indicating persons take the classifier *dhèu* ‘person’, animates take *ngi’u* ‘body’, and inanimates take *bua* ‘unit’. Furthermore, inanimate nouns are grouped differently according to the specific classifiers they take (see Table 11, §3.2.3). Possession, on the other hand, distinguishes nouns into two groups: alienable nouns, which can be expressed by both NP-internal and predicative possession, and inalienable nouns, which can only be expressed by NP-internal possession (see §5.2.3). In NP possession, certain nouns can only be possessors; others can be both possessor and possessed nouns.

Basically, all subtypes of nouns can be modified by demonstratives. The use of a singular or a plural demonstrative to modify a noun is based on the semantics and the pragmatic use of the given noun. Nouns indicating time cannot be modified by the quantifier *aa’i* ‘all’. In general, nouns in Dhao are subclassified into four groups: (1) proper nouns (§3.2.1.2.1), (2) common nouns (§3.2.1.2.2), (3) location and direction nouns (§3.2.1.2.3), and (4) time nouns (§3.2.1.2.4).

3.2.1.2.1. Proper Nouns

Like in many other languages, proper nouns in Dhao include names of persons, clans, and geographical locations or islands. This subtype of nouns grammatically takes singular demonstratives by default. Plural demonstratives function as associative plurals (Daniel and Moravcsik, 2013). Kinship terms are also proper nouns in Dhao, not only because of the same grammatical feature, but also because they function as honorific terms accompanying person names.

The use of proper names modified by demonstratives is illustrated in (15) and (16) below. The singular demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ indicates the definiteness of the person mentioned in the story. The plural demonstrative *sèi* ‘REM.PL’ modifying the name *Rika* does not denote the number of *Rika*, but rather indicates his associates. Person names include given names and family names as shown in (18)

and place names are in (19). Unlike person names, place names cannot take plural demonstratives, as illustrated by the ill-formedness of *sèi* ‘REM.PL’ in (17).

- (15) *Jote ne'e ètu suu dhasi dhimu*
 Jote PROX.SG LOC tip sea east
 ‘Jote at the eastern part’ [BS_Rika_Jote.020]
- (16) *la-si uru asa èmu Rika sèi*
 to go-3PL earlier to house Rika REM.PL
 ‘They left earlier to visit Rika at al’s house’ [JL_Rika_Jote.049]
- (17) *era pea nèngu ka ètu Lobho nèi / *sèi*
 place to stay 3SG PART LOC Lobho REM.SG/REM.PL
 ‘The place where he lived was there in Lombo’ [FAK_Roga’a.075]
- (18) Given Names and Family Names

Given Names	Family Names
<i>Adi, Ako, Ana, Ata, Eli, Da’i, Fina, Maria, Pe’u</i>	<i>Aplugi, Bella, Duli, Fiah, Kotte, Loasana, Ludji, Lusi, Mengga, Sereh</i>

- (19) Place names
- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Bhali</i> | Mbali (village in Ndao) |
| <i>Dhao</i> | Ndao (Island of Ndao) |
| <i>Doko</i> | Do’o (Island) |
| <i>Edha</i> | Rote (Island) |
| <i>Nèsu</i> | Nuse (Island) |
| <i>Sahu</i> | Sawu (Island) |

Dhao family names are like personal names of ancestors or clans. There is only a given name in the indigenous naming tradition; a name is usually preceded by an honorific term. Honorific terms are derived from kinship terms, like *ama* and *ina* (Fox, 1987), as presented in the list in (20). Representative examples are given in (21) and (22) below.

- (20) Names with honorifics
- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>bèi Bhèli</i> | ‘grandma Bhèli’ |
| <i>baki Tuka</i> | ‘grandpa Tuka’ |
| <i>ina Mia</i> | ‘Mrs. Mia’ |
| <i>ama Ga</i> | ‘Mr. Gab’ |
| <i>a’a/ari Nadhu</i> | ‘Brother Nadhu’ |

bi Fena ‘Ms. Fena’
ba’i Opi ‘Mr. Opi’

- (21) ***bèi*** ***Bhèli*** *ku* *g’ag’e* *boe* *tengaa* *na* *tao*
 grandmother Bhèli tag to touch not but PART to make
 ‘Grandma, Bhèli did not do anything’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.543]

- (22) ***ama*** ***Loni*** ***Ha’u*** *la-’e*
 Mr Loni Ha’u to go-3SG
 ‘Mr. Loni Ha’u went’ [FF_Koha_Lubhu.109]

While other terms are more obvious, the term *bi* (used to address a daughter/young girl) and *ba’i* (used to address a son or young boy) likely are derived from *bhèni* ‘female’ and *baki* ‘grandfather’ respectively. Kinship terms usually are paired to indicate terms of address, especially in public speaking. The pair *ina-ama* represents older people and can be translated as ‘parents’ or ‘elders, depending on the context. *A’a-ari* represents younger people and can be translated as ‘brothers and sisters’. These four terms normally are combined in parallel form, meaning ‘ladies and gentlemen’. There also are other kinship terms that function as terms of address in traditional ceremonies as well. Terms such as *to’o* ‘uncle’ and *teto* ‘auntie’ are used to address people with family ties to one’s father and mother, and the terms *bèi* ‘grandmother’ and *baki* ‘grandfather’ are used to address people who are older than one’s parents. The list of kinship terms is presented in (23).

- (23) Kinship Terms
- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>baki</i> | ‘grandfather’ |
| <i>bèi</i> | ‘grandmother’ |
| <i>ama</i> | ‘father’ |
| <i>ina</i> | ‘mother’ |
| <i>teto</i> | ‘auntie’ |
| <i>to’o</i> | ‘uncle’ |
| <i>a’a</i> | ‘older sibling’ |
| <i>ari</i> | ‘younger sibling’ |
| <i>èpu</i> | ‘grandchild’ |

Like person names that combine with kinship terms denoting honorifics, place names can also be preceded by common nouns denoting geographical entities. In Dhao, the terms *kabarai* ‘public’ and *rai* ‘land’ are used commonly. While *kabarai* refers only to a particular community or island, *rai* can indicate land, place, or a nation in general. For example, while the term *rai Edha* refers to the land of Rote,

kabarai Edha refers to Rote as a community. *Kabarai* is used in all contexts only in reference to Ndao. This is illustrated in (24) and (25) below.

- (24) *saba ètu **kabarai** Dhao ne'e*
 to work LOC island Dhao PROX.SG
 'Working here on Ndao island' [RL_Uj'u_Rai_Lolo.132]

- (25) *ètu dedha **rai Kota***
 LOC above land Kupang
 'There in Kupang city' [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.033]

Personal pronouns also share syntactic features with proper nouns in that they can be modified by demonstratives and can refer to possessors (see example (3) above). Unlike proper nouns, personal pronouns are inherently marked for number; they have exclusive grammatical constraints for demonstrative and number modification. Singular pronouns can only be modified by singular demonstratives, and plural pronouns can only be modified by plural demonstratives. Only third person pronouns can be modified by any demonstrative, as is illustrated in (26) and (27). The first and second pronouns take proximal demonstratives only, as exemplified in (28) (for a more extensive discussion, see §3.2.2.2).

- (26) [*rèngu sèi*] *dhèu limuri*
 3PL REM.PL person latest
 'They are young people' [ADJV_Elicit.013]

- (27) [*rèngu se'e*] *padhue*
 3PL PROX.PL to discuss
 'They talked' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.013]

- (28) [*èu ne'e*] *pa-j'èra ja'a sèmi ngaa*
 2SG PROX.SG CAUS-to suffer 1SG be like what
 'You make me in trouble' [PM_Meo aasu.301]

3.2.1.2.2. Common nouns

In contrast to proper nouns, common nouns are nouns that refer to a concept (Lehmann *et al.*, 2000: 747). Besides being modified by demonstratives, common nouns can be either alienably or inalienably possessed (see §5.2.3). Furthermore, they can occur in existential constructions after the verb *abhu* 'to get', as explicated in §3.2.1.1 (see §3.3.1.2.8). However, they differ from proper nouns due to the fact that they can take numerals for quantification. Common nouns in Dhao distinguish

three numeral and mensurative subtypes: (1) count nouns, (2) mensural nouns, and (3) abstract nouns. The details of these subtypes are described as follows.

Count nouns can take cardinal numbers to indicate plurality. They also take classifiers according to their animacy, as explained previously (see §3.2.3). The use of count nouns modified by numerals is exemplified in (29) below (see §3.2.3). More count nouns are listed in (30).

- (29) *lolo jas na tao dhari [èpa nguru lèmi]_{Num}*
 to roll coat(IND) PART to make rope four tens five
 ‘To make a coat, it needs forty five strings (of yarn)’
 [YL_Hengu.016]

- (30) Count Nouns
- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| <i>aj’u</i> | ‘wood, logs’ |
| <i>bhèni</i> | ‘woman’ |
| <i>dhari</i> | ‘rope’ |
| <i>katuka</i> | ‘rice cake’ |
| <i>ledhe</i> | ‘mountain; hill’ |
| <i>lesu</i> | ‘handkerchief’ |
| <i>mege</i> | ‘snake’ |
| <i>mei</i> | ‘table’ |
| <i>meo</i> | ‘cat’ |
| <i>mese</i> | ‘teacher’ |
| <i>mone</i> | ‘man’ |
| <i>pega</i> | ‘plate’ |
| <i>peni</i> | ‘women belt’ |
| <i>pasèdhu</i> | ‘weaving sword’ |
| <i>tudi</i> | ‘knife’ |

Based on the nominal features as explicated above, nouns denoting body parts are classified as count nouns. However, three body parts in the list in (31), *kabodho*, *karasa*, and *madha*, are multifunctional: they can also be used as location nouns (see §3.2.1.2.3). In such cases, they behave like location nouns with only singular modifiers, and cannot be counted.

- (31) Body Parts
- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| <i>adhe</i> | ‘lever’ |
| <i>haga</i> | ‘foot, leg’ |
| <i>haleja</i> | ‘thigh’ |
| <i>hèbha</i> | ‘mouth’ |
| <i>kabake</i> | ‘belly’ |
| <i>kabodho</i> | ‘back’ |
| <i>kahadhu</i> | ‘brain’ |

<i>karasa</i>	‘side’
<i>kètu</i>	‘head’
<i>lakoko</i>	‘neck’
<i>lasa’ara</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>madha</i>	‘face’
<i>ngi’u</i>	‘body’
<i>ngutu</i>	‘teeth’
<i>panutu</i>	‘beak’
<i>panyoro</i>	‘lips’
<i>rèu lai</i>	‘tail’
<i>tanèi</i>	‘intestine’
<i>urutuu</i>	‘knee’
<i>usu</i>	‘heart’

While count nouns can be marked for plurality by means of numerals and demonstratives, mensural nouns basically cannot. In these cases, plural number and demonstratives designate sortal plural and may have an optional specific classifier (see §3.2.3). While in example (32) the singular demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ signals that *èi* ‘water’ is a *singulare tantum* entity, the plural demonstrative *se’e* ‘PROX.PL’ in (33) signals a sortal plural. It implies the existence of some containers or pots that are filled with water to be boiled. An unacceptable modification with a numeral classifier is shown in (34), which obviously suggests that such a nominal subtype is mensurative rather than countable. Some other mensural nouns are listed in (35).

- (32) *èi ne’e tao tasamia bèi e?*
 water PROX.SG to make how grandma PART
 ‘What about this water, grandma?’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.102]
- (33) *pai [èi pana se’e] hia ne hèi*
 to.boil water hot PROX.PL to give 3SG.OBJ.CL also
 ‘Boil water for her, too’ [Ani_Hahi.056]
- (34) *ama ngee boe kau sèra / *cue*
 father to think not rice DIST.PL
 ‘Father did not think about those rice’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta_Dua.199-200]
- (35) Mensural Nouns
- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| <i>agarao</i> | ‘residue of oil’ |
| <i>ahu</i> | ‘dust’ |
| <i>ao</i> | ‘lime’ |
| <i>are</i> | ‘paddy’ |
| <i>doi</i> | ‘money’ |

<i>èi</i>	‘water’
<i>hualaa</i>	‘gold’
<i>kabua</i>	‘price’
<i>kau</i>	‘cooked rice’
<i>lub’u</i>	‘mud’
<i>paringi</i>	‘dew’
<i>raa</i>	‘blood’

Other nouns that cannot be grouped into the two earlier subtypes are classified as abstract nouns. In this case the term “abstract” does not refer to the traditional definition of abstract concepts of nominal morphemes, which is antonymous with “concrete”, but instead refers to the fact that this subtype of nouns cannot be pluralized and is mensurative in any sense. As illustrated in (36), the noun *dhasi* ‘sea’ is modified by a singular demonstrative, but not the plural one. Native speakers of Dhao may also create constructions like the example given in (37), which contains the modifying numeral *èci* ‘one’. It designates a specific location rather than the specifying of a quantity. This is confirmed by the fact that such a noun cannot be modified by a numeral classifier. In this regard, nouns like *dhasi* are considered as *singular tantum*, but not as mensurative. With the nouns like *ngèlu* ‘wind’, only singular demonstratives apply, as shown in (38). More abstract nouns are listed in (39).

- (36) *la’e la’e n-are dhasi nèi/*sèi*
to go-3SG to go-3SG 3SG-to take sea REM.SG/PL
‘He walked and walked until reaching the beach’
[elicited from SB_Lolo.323]

- (37) *dhasi èci/*cue nèi*
sea one/a REM.SG
‘The sea over there’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1045]

- (38) *ngèlu èèna/*sèra/*èci tiu lèke*
wind DIST.SG/PL/one to blow right
‘The wind blows (it)’ [Elicited from YK_HelaBunga.054]

- (39) Abstract Nouns
- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>dae</i> | ‘shore, ground’ |
| <i>èj’i</i> | ‘rain’ |
| <i>hèu</i> | ‘odor’ |
| <i>iha</i> | ‘lap’ |
| <i>ngèlu</i> | ‘wind’ |
| <i>osa</i> | ‘harvest (fishing)’ |

<i>sanabhu</i>	‘shadow’
<i>sèbu</i>	‘smoke’

3.2.1.2.3. Location and Direction Nouns

Location and direction nouns all refer to places instead of physical objects, with notable exception of the body part nouns *madha* ‘front’, *karasa* ‘side’, and *kabodho* ‘back’. As such, they can only be modified by singular demonstratives. As illustrated in (40) and (41), both the location noun *karasa* ‘side’ and direction noun *badae* ‘north’ take singular demonstratives. It is important to note that both location and direction nouns can combine with any prepositions (see §3.6.1). As is illustrated in (40) and (42), both nouns take the locative preposition *ètu* ‘LOC’.

- (40) *sabha* *iiki* *èci* *tempel*
palm.container small one adhere(IND)

ètu karasa èèna
LOC side DIST.SG
‘One small palm container is at that side’ [Eta_Dhua.038]

- (41) *kèi na dai badae nèi*
to dig PART to reach north REM.SG
‘When digging, (it should) reach the north part’
[Percakapan20130825_b.796]

- (42) *Jote nèngu ètu dhimu*
Jote 3SG LOC east
‘Jote was at the east’ [elicited from BS_Rika_Jote.006]

Location and direction nouns differ in their semantic relation with juxtaposed nouns. Location nouns function as the possessum of a noun referring to a given location. The possessum noun specifies location in relation to the possessor noun. As illustrated in (43), *buku* ‘book’, a loan word from Indonesian, is the possessor noun and profiles a location, while the possessum noun *dedha* ‘above’ specifies the particular location. In (44), on the other hand, the location noun *dedha* ‘above’ does not belong to *kalaga* ‘k.o.wooden couch’, but instead refers another space indicating that *kalaga* is in a location higher than the speaker or a given ground.

Direction nouns specify the direction of the location noun they follow. As represented in (45)a, the direction noun *dhimu* ‘east’ signals the direction of the location *dhasi*. The location noun *suu* ‘tip’ is optional and specifies the location. This type of locational phrase is constructed alternatively in (45)b, where the

direction noun *dhimu* and the main location *suu dhimu* are treated as two separate combined locations. The starred example in (45)c shows that direction nouns cannot function as possesum nouns.

- (43) *nèngu n-are hadhu ètu [dedha buku]*
 3SG 3SG-to.take stone LOC above book(IND)
 ‘She takes the stone on the book’ [Loc_Elicited.072]
- (44) *ina na ètu [kalaga dedha]*
 mother 3SG.CL LOC k.o.wooden.couch above
 ‘His mother was on a bed above’ [RL_Rade_Lingu.214]
- (45) a. *Jote ne’e ètu (suu) [dhasi dhimu]*
 Jote PROX.SG LOC tip sea east
 ‘Jote was at the tip of the sea in the east’ [BS_Rika_Jote.020]
- b. *ètu [[dhimu] [suu dhasi]]*
 LOC east tip sea
 ‘In the east at the tip of the sea’
- c. *ètu suu *[dhimu dhasi]*
 LOC tip east sea
 ‘*at the eastern part of the sea’

Another difference between location nouns and direction nouns is that only the former can be used as a spatial connector, in which case locative prepositions are optional. This is exemplified in (46) and (48) below. The location noun *dara* ‘inside’ in (46) appears without a locative preposition, whereas the direction noun *dhimu* ‘east’ requires prepositions, such as in (47). The sentence in (48) is ungrammatical.

- (46) *bèi ku lili [dara èmu èèna]*
 grandma tag still inside house DIST.SG
 ‘Grandmother is still in the house’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.436]
- (47) *Jote nèngu ètu dhimu*
 Jote 3SG LOC east
 ‘Jote was at the east’ [elicited from BS_Rika_Jote.006]
- (48) **Jote ne’e dhimu*
 Jote PROX.SG east

While direction nouns can be used without the direction prepositions *asa* ‘to’ and *ngèti* ‘from’, as illustrated in (49) these propositions are required with location nouns. More location and direction nouns are listed below in (50) and (51).

- (49) *la-'e ka tangara haa ètu nèi*
 to.go-3SG PART to.face west LOC REM.SG
 ‘She left then she looked over there to the west’
 [BS_Tuka_Suki.537]

- (50) Location Nouns
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| <i>dedha</i> | ‘above/top’ |
| <i>haha</i> | ‘below/bottom’ |
| <i>karasa</i> | ‘side’ |
| <i>kabodho</i> | ‘behind’ |
| <i>madha</i> | ‘front’ |
| <i>dara</i> | ‘inside’ |
| <i>li'u</i> | ‘outside’ |
| <i>sebhe</i> | ‘edge’ |
| <i>talora</i> | ‘middle’ |

- (51) Direction Nouns
- | | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| <i>balèu</i> ¹ | ‘south’ |
| <i>badae</i> | ‘north’ |
| <i>dhimu</i> | ‘east’ |
| <i>haa</i> | ‘west’ |
| <i>kariu</i> | ‘left’ |
| <i>gana</i> | ‘right’ |

3.2.1.2.4. Time nouns

According to their syntactic and pragmatic functions, time nouns in Dhao are distinguished into time unit nouns and time period nouns. While time unit nouns can be modified by numerals, for example *ca lod'o* ‘one day’, time period nouns that refer to a period of the day do not get modified by numerals. Both types of time nouns can combine with demonstratives, as illustrated in (52) and (53). Time unit nouns are given in the list (54) below.

¹ Notice that *ba-* on *balèu* is stressless, while *lèu* is a monosyllabic word because of the schwa. This indicates that *ba-* might be a fossilized prefix. It is the same as *ba-* on *badae* ‘north’. The form *dae* is a bisyllabic word because there is no phonological constraint (length) on the vowels in the nucleus position.

- (52) *hèru èèna hèru Holomanu*
 moon 3SG moon Holomanu
 ‘The month is the time for Holomanu ceremony’ [JL_Baki_Tuka.054]
- (53) *meda èèna dhèu èèna madhe*
 yesterday DIST.SG person DIST.SG to.die
 ‘Yesterday, the man died’
- (54) Time Unit
lod’o ‘day’
migu ‘week’
hèru ‘month’
tèu ‘year’
mèda ‘night’

The time unit noun *migu* ‘week’ is a loan from the Indonesian *minggu*, of which the velar nasal in word-medial position is deleted in Dhao (see §2.5 on loan words). Dhao itself does not have names for the days in a week. The time noun *mèda* ‘night’ is a time unit noun rather than a time period noun because it can be preceded by a numeral, whereas other time nouns, such as *madae* ‘morning’ and *nihia* ‘afternoon’ cannot. Dhao does not have indigenous terms for time units smaller than ‘day’, such as hours, minutes, and seconds. In order to express these time units anyways, Dhao borrowed Indonesian terms: *jam* ‘hour’, *menit* ‘minute’, and *detik* ‘second’. However, in order to express a period of time in terms of hours, the verb *hake*, ‘to beat’ is used preceding the numerals. For example, in (55), the verb *hake* occurs before the numeral *ca nguru dua* ‘twelve’. The use of the Indonesian loan word *jam* ‘hour’ is illustrated in (56).

- (55) *dai hake ca nguru dua hèia...*
 to reach to beat a ten two then
 ‘When it was 12 p.m, then...’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.550]
- (56) *ele boe dai ca jam do dua jam sa*
 to lose not to reach a hour or two hour PART
 ‘Maybe an hour or two hours’ [PM_Sobhu.067]

Time period nouns include the periods of the day and relative time. This subtype of time nouns can only be modified by demonstratives, not by numerals. A list of the time period nouns is presented in (57) below.

- (57) Time Period
- | | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| <i>bèli</i> | ‘tomorrow’ |
| <i>meda</i> | ‘yesterday’ |
| <i>doe ne’e</i> | ‘today’ |
| <i>madae</i> | ‘morning’ |
| <i>lo(d’o)nètu</i> | ‘noon’ |
| <i>lo(d’o)nihia</i> | ‘afternoon’ |

Unlike *bèli* ‘tomorrow’ and *meda* ‘yesterday’, which are lexically independent as represented by example (58), the time period noun for ‘today’ requires the proximal demonstrative *ne’e*. An example is given in (59). The notion of ‘today’ can also be expressed through the combination of the time unit noun *lod’o* ‘day’ and the demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’, which literally means ‘this day’. Besides its dependent position, *doe* ‘today’ also cannot be modified by any other demonstrative aside from *ne’e*. Thus, *doe ne’e* is treated as a fixed form. Similarly, the word for ‘noon’ and ‘afternoon’ preferably are used in combination with the time unit noun *lod’o* ‘day’. These two time nouns can be reduced to *lonètu* and *lonihia* respectively. While *nihia* ‘afternoon’ can be syntactically independent, as shown in (60), *nètu* cannot.

- (58) *bèli* *èèna* *ji’i* *cèpu* *hari*
 tomorrow DIST.SG 1PL.ex to loosen again
 ‘In the following day, we loosen the rope’ [SB_Tao_Hengu.055]

- (59) *ma-mai* *ji’i* *doe* *ne’e* *ako* *nenà*
 DUP-to come 1PL.ex today PROX.SG rather slow
 ‘Because our coming today is a little bit late’ [Ada_20140427.013]

- (60) *ngèti* *madae* *toke* *dai* *nihia*/**nètu*
 from morning until reach afternoon/noon
 ‘From morning until afternoon’ [SB_Tao_Rabhi.149]

3.2.2. Pronouns

3.2.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Dhao has four sets of personal pronouns. Three sets are morphologically independent while the last set is a set of bound forms that require hosts. All full forms except 2SG are bisyllabic. They have monosyllabic counterparts that are labeled reduced forms in this thesis. Another monosyllabic set is a set of clitics. These bound forms that require hosts are considered to be co-index affixes in this thesis. The paradigms of the personal pronouns are shown in Table 3.1 below.

The table shows that these pronouns distinguish two categories in particular: person and number. For person, Dhao has first, second, and third person, and for number, it has singular and plural. The plural form for first person also distinguishes exclusive and inclusive. Gender and case are not distinguished, however. The reduced forms occur only in rapid speech. There are two types of phonological reduction. In the first type, the initial syllable remains and the final syllable is reduced: this applies to ‘1SG’, ‘1PL-ex’, and ‘2PL’. In the second type, the tonic sounds are reduced: this applies to ‘1PL-in’, ‘3SG’, and ‘3PL’. The sound orthographically symbolized as *è* is a schwa [ə] that lacks syllable weight in Dhao phonology, because of which it is phonologically constrained in nucleus position (see §2.2.3.7). On the other hand, pronominal clitics are not identical to the free pronouns phonologically-speaking. The co-index affixes are reduced forms of the pronominal clitics².

Table 3.1: Dhao Personal Pronoun Paradigms

	Pron.	Full	Reduced	Clitics	Affixes	
					Pref.	Suf.
First	1SG	<i>ja’a</i>	ja	ku	k-	-ku
	1PL-ex	<i>ji’i</i>	ji	(nga) ³	ng-	-’a
	1PL-in	<i>èdhi</i>	(ti)	ti	t-	-ti
Second	2SG	<i>èu</i>	-	mu	m-	-mu
	2PL	<i>miu</i>	(mi)	mi	m-	-mi
Third	3SG	<i>nèngu</i>	nu	na / ne	n-	-’e
	3PL	<i>rèngu</i>	ru	ra	r-	-si ⁴

3.2.2.1.1. Full and Reduced Forms

Personal pronouns in Dhao can substitute full NPs as clausal arguments, either as subject (S), object (O), as shown in (61), or as the complement of a preposition, as shown in (62). Unlike full pronouns, reduced pronouns are only found in non sentence-final positions. Reduced forms in clause initial and medial positions, as in shown in (63) and (64) respectively are acceptable. However, reduced forms are not acceptable in sentence-final positions, as shown in (65). Reduced forms occur only in rapid speech.

² A possible explanation is that Dhao borrowed the forms from neighboring language of Rote (Jonker, 1903).

³ This pronominal clitic is never attested in any position (see §3.2.2.1.2)

⁴ The pronominal suffix *-si* ‘3PL’ is most likely grammaticalized from Dhao’s remote plural demonstrative *sèi* ‘REM.PL’

- (61) *èu pa-madhe ja'a*
 2SG CAUS-to die 1SG
 'You kill me' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.443]
- (62) *ja'a lèka mèdeha èèna ètu èu*
 1SG to believe goods DIST.SG LOC 2SG
 'I entrust this thing to you' [Verb_Elicited.00122]
- (63) *ja lolo dua bèla*
 1SG to roll two sheet
 'I roll two sheets of yarn' [SN_Manenu.036]
- (64) *ana_i [dhu bantu nu] sèra_i kako hari la-si_i*
 child REL to.help(IND) 3SG DIST.PL to.walk again to.go-3PL
 'The children who helped him already left again'
 [Elicited from: YY_PearStory.059]
- (65) *èu ne'e aka ja'a/*ja*
 2SG PROX.SG to trick 1SG
 'You fooled me' [TF_E'yu_Maraho.094]

Like full NPs, full pronouns in Dhao are allowed to take demonstrative modifiers. These demonstratives are used by the speaker for the purpose of evaluating or appraising oneself. Demonstratives follow full pronouns, in both S and O positions, as is illustrated in (66)a and (67). Other sets of personal pronouns cannot take modifiers, therefore the example given in (66)b is considered unacceptable. For a more extensive discussion, see §3.2.2.2.

- (66) a. [*èdhi se'e*] *dhèu a'a ari*
 1PL.in PROX.PL person older.sibling younger.sibling
 'We are brothers and sisters' [Ada_20140427.049]
- b. *[*ti se'e*] *dhèu a'a ari*
 1PL.in PROX.PL person older.sibling younger.sibling
- (67) *ja'a pa-èi [nèngu nèi]*
 1SG CAUS-to water 3SG REM.SG
 'I soldered it' [Elicited from: HF_Tuku_Peni.021]

3.2.2.1.2. *Clitics and Affixes*

In syntactic contexts, clitics and affixes behave differently. Clitics can be true arguments, like full pronouns, but affixes can only be referential elements. Instead of using the term pronominal affixes, I therefore use the term “co-index affixes” (see §4.2). As shown in (68)a, the full pronoun *èdhi* ‘1PL.in’ occurs as the subject argument. The same position is filled by the corresponding clitic in (68)b. Whilst all other clitics can fill argument positions, the clitic for ‘1PL.ex’ is unacceptable in any argument position, as is exemplified in (69) and (70).

- (68) a. *èdhi* *tao* *rèu* *sabha*
 1PL.in to.make leaf water.container
 ‘We took palm leaves’ [Eta_Dhua.017]
- b. *ti* *tao* *rèu* *sabha*
 1PL.in.CL to.make leaf water.container
 ‘We took palm leaves’ [Elicited]
- (69) *ji’i/*nga* *heka* *tutu* *kadèna* *ka* *èèna*
 1PL.ex just to.cut firewood PART DIST.SG
 ‘We just cut the fire wood’
- (70) *dhèu* *aae* *èèna* *piara* *ji’i/*nga*
 person big DIST.SG to.look.after(IND) 1PL.ex
 ‘The king took care of us’

Grimes (2010: 264) lists *nga* ‘1PL.ex’ in the pronoun inventory of Dhao, but does not provide any examples. In my data it also never occurs as an independent argument. This phenomenon suggests two possible interpretations. First, the inclusion of the pronominal clitic *nga* ‘1PL.ex’ in the pronoun inventory of Dhao by Grimes is phonologically motivated in order to fill the phonological gap in the inventory of the pronominal system (see Table 3.1 above). Second, the clitic *nga* ‘1PL.ex’ is obsolete.

The co-index affixes to verb roots, which co-index with the subjects of a clause. Information on the subject is fully carried by the affixes in cases where the subject position remains empty (see §4.2). Illustrations of prefixes are given in (71) and illustrations of suffixes are given in (72).

- (71) a. *ja’a_i* *k_i-u’a* *tarae-sina*
 1SG 1SG-to eat corn
 ‘I eat corn’ [Verb_Elicited.0088]

- b. *k-u'a* *tarae-sina*
1SG-to eat corn
- (72) a. *ja'a_i* *la-ku_i* *èmu*,
1SG to go-1SG house
'I went home' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.259]
- b. *la-ku* *èmu*,
to go-1SG house
'I went home' [Elicited]

3.2.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstratives are cross-linguistically understood as grammatical elements which express deictics (Dixon, 2010a: 117; Diessel, 1999). Dhao applies a three-deictic system, namely proximal, distal, and remote. They have singular and plural forms. Each form has a reduced counterpart. The demonstratives in Dhao are presented in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2. Demonstratives in Dhao

	Singular		Plural	
	Full	Reduced	Full	Reduced
Proximal	<i>ne'e</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>se'e</i>	<i>se</i>
Distal	<i>èèna</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>sèra</i>	<i>sa</i>
Remote	<i>nèi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>sèi</i>	<i>si</i>

Demonstratives in Dhao have four functions: (1) pronominal functions (see §3.2.2.2.1), (2) deictic and definiteness functions (see §3.2.2.2.2), (3) tracking functions, and (4) anaphoric and cataphoric functions (see §3.2.2.2.3).

3.2.2.2.1. Pronominal Functions

Demonstratives in Dhao are pronominal. Or rather: they are able to occur independently *in lieu* of an NP as clausal arguments (Dixon, 2010b:224-228; Diessel, 1999). As an independent NP, they may occur as S, O, or as a prepositional complement in a clause. This is exemplified in the following examples. Example (73) below shows that *ne'e* 'PROX.SG' occurs on its own as a clausal subject NP with the nominal predicate *nanuku* 'legend'⁵. In example (74) the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG' is a clausal object NP that appears after the compound verb *ra'a rinu*

⁵ An explanation of constructions with nominal predicates is presented in §5.2.2.

‘having a meal’. Prepositional complements are represented in (75) by the demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ and in (76) by the demonstrative *èèna* ‘DIST.SG’. These demonstratives refer to locations, as is obviously indicated by the prepositions. In (77), the demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ occurs on its own indicating time: ‘now’.

- (73) [*ne’e*] *nanuku de...*
 PROX.SG legend so
 ‘This is a legend (folktale), so...’ [SK_Polisi.056]

- (74) *hia dhèu r-a’a r-inu [èèna] na èle*
 to give person 3PL-to eat 3PL-to drink DIST.SG PART to finish
 ‘Ask people to take that then they recover’ [PD_Tua_Tana.088]

- (75) *ja’a pea [ètu ne’e]*
 1SG to stay LOC PROX.SG
 ‘I am living here’ [SB_Lolo.015]

- (76) (*èdhi*) *lèpa [asa èèna]*
 1PL.ex to return to DIST.SG
 ‘(we) went back there’ [SK_Polisi.1007]

- (77) *ne’e ja’a neo lolo*
 PROX.SG 1SG to want tell(story)
 ‘Now, I want to tell (story)’ [YK_HelaBunga.001]

Reduced demonstratives are used to modify their full form counterparts. As observed in (78), the reduced form *ni* appears after the full form *nèi*. In (79), the reduced form *si* comes after the full form *sèi*. They occur in adnominal position to the full demonstratives (for a more elaborate discussion of the reduced forms, see §3.2.2.2.3).

- (78) [[*nèi*] *ni*] *hua patitu ka nèi*
 REM.SG REM.SG fruit to stand PART REM.SG
 ‘It is a standing motif/design’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.132]

- (79) *sama boe dènge èmu [ètu sèi] si]*
 same(Mal) not with house LOC REM.PL REM.PL
 ‘It was not the same with the houses there’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1591]

The singular distal *èèna* ‘DIST.SG’ and proximal *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ combine with the comparative preposition *sèmi* ‘like’ into simulative constructions. These constructions are used in discourse deictics (Cleary-Kemp, 2007; Himmelmann, 1996). The simulative form *sèmi èèna* ‘like that’ is used anaphorically (80), while *semi ne’e* ‘like this’ is used cataphorically (81).

- (80) *lole sèmi èèna*
 to tell like DIST.SG
 ‘Told (story) like that’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.020]

- (81) *sèmi ne’e,* “*la-mi pare ku aj’u...*”
 be like PROX.SG to go-2PL to slaughter tag wood
 ‘Like this, you go to cut wood...’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1207-9]

3.2.2.2.2. Adnominal Functions

In adnominal position, the demonstrative appears as an NP-final element. In this position, demonstratives have both deictic and definiteness functions. As illustrated in (82) and (83), the demonstratives *èèna* ‘DIST.SG’ and *sèra* ‘DIST.PL’ modify the respective S and O. They signal that the NP’s referent is a mid-distance location away from the speaker. The demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ in (84) modifies a nominal clause that refers to a location. The demonstrative signals the proximity of the location to the speaker. Demonstratives do not only co-occur with nouns but also with quantifiers such as *aa’i* ‘all’ in (85). However, only plural demonstratives have been attested in this slot. Besides spatial distance and number, these demonstratives also express definiteness.

- (82) [*dhèu èèna*] *la-’e*
 person DIST.SG to.go-3SG
 ‘That person (woman) left’ [RL_Rade_Lingu.040]

- (83) *ana lalu [dhèu dua sèra]*
 child fatherless person two DIST.PL
 ‘Those two orphans’ [SK_Polisi.515]

- (84) *ngara rai [[dhu miu pea] ne’e]*
 name land REL 2PL stay PROX.SG
 ‘The name of the place where you live’ [BS_Rika_Jote.078]

- (85) *pasa èle aa'i se'e*
 high.tide finished all PROX.PL
 'After setting all of them' [GD_Kei_Ei.076]

Demonstratives can also modify personal pronouns and proper nouns (see §3.2.1). The modification of personal pronouns exhibits a constraint on space and number. The personal pronouns *ja'a* '1SG' and *èu* '2SG' can only be modified by the proximal singular demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG', whereas *nèngu* '3SG' can take all singular demonstratives. For plural personal pronouns, only *rèngu* '3PL' can be modified by all plural demonstratives, while the other three personal pronouns can only be modified by the proximal plural *se'e* 'PROX.PL'. The combinatory possibility of demonstratives and personal pronouns is presented in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Demonstratives modifying personal pronouns

Pron	Gloss	Demonstratives					
		Singular			Plural		
		PROX	DIST	REM	PROX	DIST	REM.PL
<i>ja'a</i>	1SG	+					
<i>èu</i>	2SG	+					
<i>nèngu</i>	3SG	+	+na	+			
<i>ji'i</i>	1PL.ex				+		
<i>èdhi</i>	1PL.in				+		
<i>miu</i>	2PL				+		
<i>rèngu</i>	3PL				+	+	+

Example (85) illustrates the proximal singular demonstrative in combination with the pronoun *èu* '2SG'. Both full and reduced demonstratives can modify pronouns. The only exception is the 3SG pronoun. It cannot take the full distal demonstrative, but can only its reduced form. This is why the pronoun is acceptable with the reduced form *na* in (87)a, but is ungrammatical with the full form *èèna* in (87)b.

- (86) [*èu ne'e*] *pa-j'èra ja'a sèmi ngaa*
 2SG PROX.SG CAUS-to.suffer 1SG be.like what
 'You make me in trouble' [PM_Meo aasu.301]

- (87) a. [*nèngu na*] *ka ne'e*
 3SG DIST.SG PART PROX.SG
 'Here he is' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.808]

- b. *[*nèngu* *èèna*] *ka* *ne'e*
 3SG DIST.SG PART PROX.SG

The demonstratives modifying proper nouns or names are illustrated in examples (88) and (89). The demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG' confirms that the person named *Rika* is near the speaker either physically or non-physically. Furthermore, the demonstrative *sèi* 'REM.PL' does not modify the possessed noun *èmu* 'house' but rather the proper name *Rika*. The plural demonstrative functions as an associative plural that refers to *Rika* and his associates (see §3.2.1).

- (88) [*Rika ne'e*] *nèngu ètu suu haa*
Rika PROX.SG 3SG LOC tip west
 'Rika, she was at the western part' [BS_Rika_Jote.003-004]

- (89) *la-si hari asa [èmu [Rika sèi]]*
 to.go-3PL again to house *Rika* REM.PL
 'They went to (visit) Rika at al's house again' [JL_Rika_Jote.054]

Like common nouns, time nouns also take demonstratives as modifiers. For example, the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG' in (90) follows the time noun *lod'o* 'day' and locates the latter's referent in a specific time in the past. In this case, *èèna* 'DIST.SG' anaphorically refers to a time already mentioned in previous discourse. Similarly, the plural demonstrative *sèra* 'DIST.PL' in (91) modifies the time noun *uru* 'earlier'. The plural demonstrative does not refer to a specific time in the immediate context, but rather to an indefinite moment in the past. The proximal demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG' in (92) modifies the time noun *limuri* 'latest' and locates its referent near the moment of speech: 'recently' or 'these days'. The short form *ne* 'PROX.SG' following the full form *ne'e* has a tracking function (see §3.2.2.2.3). From the context it is already clear that the time noun *uru* 'earlier' refers to past time, because of which the only possible modifying demonstrative is a distal one that can be either singular or plural. Furthermore, *limuri* 'latest' can only be modified by proximal demonstratives since it refers to the present time. Contrastively, time nouns, such as *lod'o* 'day' can only be modified by plural demonstratives when preceded by a numeral.

- (90) *lod'o èèna na dhèu pidhu sèra lèpa*
 day DIST.SG PART person seven DIST.PL to.return
 'In that day, these seven children went home' [SK_Polisi.723]

- (91) *uru sèra baka lèmi nguru riho*
 earlier DIST.PL per five tens thousand
 ‘Formerly, (it is sold) fifty thousand each’ [YR_Kanau.055]
- (92) *ngèti uru toke dai limuri ne’e ne*
 from earlier until to.reach latest PROX.SG PROX.SG
 ‘From the past until today’ [LL_Pagar_Laut.002]

3.2.2.2.3. *Reduced Forms and Discourse Functions*

The reduced forms have three functions. Firstly, they function the same as typical demonstratives with deixis and local adverbial uses. Secondly, they co-occur with the full forms in tracking functions. Thirdly, they occur alone to indicate time: distal ones refer anaphorically, and proximal ones refer cataphorically. The example in (93) shows that the short demonstrative *ne* modifies the possessive NP *baki mu* ‘your grandfather’, in which it is deictic and marks definiteness. The demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ in (94)a may be interpreted in two ways: as a clausal object, or as adding an imperfect aspect to a verbal scene. The full form *ne’e* in (94)b functions as an object. The full and reduced forms are not only distinct syntactically but also pragmatically.

- (93) *...te [baki mu ne] dhèu...*
 because grandfather 2PL.CL PROX.SG person
 ‘...as your grandfather is a person who...’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.252]
- (94) a. *ja’a saba ne*
 1SG to.work PROX.SG
 ‘I am working now’ [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.068]
- b. *ja’a saba ne’e*
 1SG to.work PROX.SG
 ‘I am doing this’ [Elicited]

The reduced form *ne* ‘PROX.SG’ does not function as an object, as should be clear from the translation of (95)a. The full form cannot function as an imperfective aspect in (95)b either.

- (95) a. *ku la-ku paroa ne*
 1SG.CL to.go-1SG to.call PROX.SG
 ‘I am going to call’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.533]

- b. **ku* *la-ku* *paroa* *ne'e*
 1SG.CL to.go-1SG to.call PROX.SG

The examples above strongly suggest that the reduced forms belong to a different paradigm. The full demonstratives can function nominally or adnominally. The reduced forms can only function adnominally and adverbially. The latter can also combine with full demonstratives in complex peripheral forms. In some cases, the reduced forms cannot be replaced by their corresponding full forms. These reduced forms have a toned-down element of spatial reference, albeit they increasingly mark temporal and or psychological proximity or distance, which is in accordance with their tracking use (Cleary-Kemp, 2007: 331). This phenomenon has mostly been attested for Malay-based languages, such as Manado Malay (Stoel, 2005), Kupang Malay (Jacob and Grimes, 2011), and Papuan Malay (Kluge, 2014).

3.2.2.3. Relative Pronouns

Relativizations in Dhao mostly employ the specific marker *dhu*. As a relativizer, *dhu* is used to introduce a clause that either limits reference or provides additional information about the referent of an NP. As illustrated in (96), the clause marked by *dhu* specifies the referent of *mone heka* ‘old man’ as the one who is coming, rather than someone else. Furthermore, in (97) *dhu* introduces additional information of the NP *lii Dhao*, which deals with the quality of Dhao in a local song mentioned in the story.

- (96) *mone heka [dhu mai] èèna to'o ja'a*
 male old REL to.come DIST.SG uncle 1SG
 ‘That old man who is coming is my uncle’
- (97) *lii Dhao dhu tare'a-re'a*
 voice Dhao REL right-DUP
 ‘Dhao language which is good’ [YK_HelaBunga.010]

The relativizer *dhu* appears in an argument slot. It strongly indicates that *dhu* actually is a pronoun. Walker (1982) assumed that *dhu* evolved from the noun *dhèu* ‘person’, which once had a dual function. It was used as a noun meaning ‘person, human being’ and as a relative clause marker. In (98), the construction is used to tell about the way sarongs are produced. Since the context of the discourse is supposedly shared by the interlocutors, the speaker uses *dhu* to replace the subject of the following clause. In (99), the construction was taken from a speech during a marriage ceremony. The spokeswoman of the bride said that the groom had come to look for the bride, so she needed to inform her. In this example the relative *dhu*

replaces the 3SG pronoun that refers to the groom. In this construction, *dhu* occurs in a subject slot.

- (98) *ja'a lole [[dhu tao] [hèngu nyama ne'e]]*
 1SG to.tell REL to.make thread rafia PROX.SG
 'I will tell about dyeing sarongs' [tao_dhepi.142]
- (99) *sebab dhu mai tenge nèngu*
 because(IND) REL to.come to.look.for 3SG
 'Because (he) comes to look for her' [Pinangan_20140430.107]

3.2.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns

Dhao interrogative pronouns are *cee* 'who' and *ngaa* 'what'. *Cee* 'who' is used to substitute human nouns, whereas *ngaa* 'what' substitutes non-human entities. As pronouns, they appear as clausal argument, either in subject, object, or complement position. In (100), the interrogative pronoun *cee* 'who' appears in subject position, whereas in (101) it is in object position. An example of an interrogative pronoun in complement position is shown by *ngaa* 'what' in (102).

- (100) *cee leru nèngu ?*
 who to.care.for 3SG
 'Who is looking after him?' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.651]
- (101) *rèngu padhane cee nèi*
 3PL to.bury who DIST.SG
 'Who did they bury?' [Verb_Elicited.00327]
- (102) *ja'a bala dènge ngaa*
 1SG to.repay with what
 'With what should I repay him?' [SK_Polisi.376]

3.2.3. Numerals and Classifiers

Numerals refer to "natural numbers". They can be distinguished as cardinal numbers that count the amount of individuals in a set, and as ordinal numbers that express rank in a series (Velupillai, 2012; Greenberg, 2000). Dhao applies a decimal system. The higher numbers are expressed by multiples of 10.

The free integers that are cardinal numbers are presented in Table 3.4 below. The numbers between 'one' and 'nine' are expressed by separate bisyllabic lexemes. Only *èci* 'one' can be reduced into a monosyllabic morpheme *ci* by deleting the initial schwa *è* (see §2.4 on reduced forms).

Table 3.4: Free integers of Dhao

<i>èci</i>	1	one
<i>dua</i>	2	two
<i>tèlu</i>	3	three
<i>èpa</i>	4	four
<i>lèmi</i>	5	five
<i>èna</i>	6	six
<i>pidhu</i>	7	seven
<i>aru</i>	8	eight
<i>ceo</i>	9	nine

Multiples of 10 are presented in Table 3.5 below. The multiples are preceded by the indefinite marker *ca* ‘a, one’. Unlike the first three, the lexeme *juta* ‘million’ is a loan from Malay/Indonesian. Dhao does have an archaic term *kehi* that also means ‘million’. However, the native Dhao term is no longer in use. However, its combination with *juta*, resulting in *juta kehi*, means ‘more than...million’, as illustrated in (103) below.

Table 3.5: Multiple decimal system

<i>canguru</i>	10	ten
<i>cangasu</i>	100	one hundred
<i>cariho</i>	1000	one thousand
<i>cajuta</i>	1000.000	one million

- (103) *nèngu abhu doi ca juta kehi*
 3SG to.get money one million million
 ‘He gets money, more than one million’ [Elicited]

Although the form *ca* added to multiple lexemes denotes the meaning ‘one’, it cannot alternate with the cardinal number *èci* ‘one’. For higher numbers, multiple lexemes occur independently, preceded by cardinal numbers. The higher numbers are demonstrated in Table 3.6 below.

The higher numbers follow a pure decimal system. That is, successive numbers are added to a multiple of 10 (Greenberg, 2000). As such, 11 is characterized as *canguru èci* ‘ten one’. The numeral expression for 21 is rendered as *dua nguru èci* ‘twenty one’. In complex numeral expressions, higher values precede lower values without any linker. The expression for 1.573 in example (104) positions the highest value in the first place: *cariho* ‘one thousand’ is followed by *lèmi ngasu* ‘five hundred’, which is followed by *pidhu nguru* ‘seventy’ in turn, and finally ends with the unit *tèlu* ‘three’.

Table 3.6: Higher Numbers

<i>canguru èci</i>	$10 + 1$	11
<i>canguru dua</i>	$10 + 2$	12
<i>dua nguru</i>	2×10	20
<i>dua nguru èci</i>	$((2 \times 10) + 1)$	21
<i>tèlu nguru</i>	3×10	30
<i>èpa nguru</i>	4×10	40
<i>cangasu èci</i>	100×1	101
<i>èpa ngasu</i>	4×100	400
<i>cangasu canguru èci</i>	$(100 + (10 + 1))$	111
<i>cariho caguru</i>	$1000 + 10$	1.010
<i>cariho cangasu</i>	$1000 + 100$	1.100
<i>èpa nguru riho</i>	$((4 \times 10) + 1000)$	40.000
<i>cangasu riho</i>	$100 + 1000$	100.000
<i>cariho lèmi ngasu</i> <i>pidhu nguru tèlu</i>	$((1000 + (5 \times 100) + ((7 \times 10) + 1))$	1.573

- (104) *cariho lèmi ngasu pidhu nguru tèlu*
 one.thousand five hundreds seven tens three
 ‘One thousand, five hundred and seventy three’

Fractions in Dhao use *camalore* ‘a half’ or $\frac{1}{2}$. This term originally referred to the quantity of either objects or liquids by means of a specified classifier that signifies incomplete fullness. In fractions, *camalore* is preceded by cardinal numbers with the conjunction *dènge* ‘with’ between them, as shown in (105) below.

- (105) Fraction
- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>camalore</i> | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>dua dènge camalore</i> | $2 \frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>lèmi dènge camalore</i> | $5 \frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>canguru dènge camalore</i> | $10 \frac{1}{2}$ |

Ordinal numbers are presented in Table 3.7 below. The ordinal numbers are formed from cardinals prefixed with *ka*, which originally derived from the particle *ka*. The term *uru* ‘earlier’ also is used when referring to a sequence of series, instead of the ordinal number for ‘first’.

Table 3.7: Ordinal Numbers

<i>ka-èci</i>	<i>ka</i> + 1	first
<i>ka-dua</i>	<i>ka</i> + 2	second
<i>ka-tèlu</i>	<i>ka</i> + 3	third
<i>ka-ceo</i>	<i>ka</i> + 9	ninth
<i>ka-canguru</i>	(<i>ka</i> + (1 + 10))	tenth
<i>ka-canguru èci</i>	(<i>ka</i> + (1 + 10) + 1)	eleventh

Adverbial cardinals in Dhao use the adverb *hari* ‘again’. In order to express the notion ‘once’ *ca* is used in combination with the verb *tèka* ‘perch’. The form *catèka* ‘once’ is reduced regularly to *sèka* (see §2.4). In order to form higher adverbial cardinals, basic numbers precede the adverb *hari* ‘again’. Adverbial cardinals are illustrated in Table 3.8 below.

Table 3.8: Adverbial cardinals

<i>catèka</i>	once
<i>dua hari</i>	twice
<i>tèlu hari</i>	three times
<i>canguru hari</i>	ten times

Adverbial cardinals are exemplified in (106). The speaker spoke of how he slaughtered a goat for a traditional ceremony. He explained that the custom (*adat*) required him to hit the goat only once and not twice. In this example, the expression for ‘once’ is *catèka*, whereas ‘twice’ is expressed by the periphrastic form *dua hari*.

- (106) *musti catèka na catèka èèna ka*
 must(Mal) once PART once DIST.SG PART
- baku dai dua hari*
 PROH.NEG until two again
- ‘It must be only once, do not be twice’ [PD_Tua_Tana.225]

Dhao has three different classifiers denoting the meaning ‘one’. Phonologically, the base is the monosyllabic form *ca*. The other two forms *cue* and *ci’u* are historically fused from *ca* plus *bua* ‘fruit’ and *ngi’u* ‘body’ respectively (Walker, 1982: 58). Details are given in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9: Singular Classifiers

<i>ca</i>	-	a (one of, full of)
<i>cue</i>	<i>ca + bua</i> a fruit(Mal)	one thing or fruit of (for inanimates)
<i>ci'u</i>	<i>ca + ngi'u</i> a body	one body (for animates)

The form *ca* signals indefiniteness for generic words that refer either to persons, objects, places, or to time. This is exemplified in (107) by *dhèu* ‘person’. Specific person words such as *bhèni* ‘female’ or *mone* ‘male’ require the cardinal number *èci* ‘one’. The noun *j'ara* ‘way’ in (108) exemplifies indefiniteness for non-human entities. Another example of attributive indefinite numerals is shown in (109). The form *ca ama* ‘one father’ indicates the sharing of belonging or possession. In this context, the subject must be plural.

- (107) *sebagaimana ca dhèu bhèni balu*
as(IND) a person female loss
‘As a widow’ [CY_Kasasi.404]

- (108) *dhoka ca j'ara di*
only a way only
‘Only for one thing (one way)’ [Ada_20140427.126]

- (109) *rèngu ca ama èèna ka*
3PL a father DIST.SG PART

tengaa ina baka leo
but mother per other
‘They have one father but separate mother’ [Percakapan20130825_b.419]

Examples of animate nouns modified by the numeral classifier *ci'u* are given in (110) and (111). Because the noun *ngi'u* ‘body’ refers to animate entities, Dhao speakers consider *ci'u* to be more appropriate for non-human nouns. Modifying human nouns with *ci'u* is considered less formal. Therefore, the expression as shown in (110) can only be used in informal situations. In formal situations, the cardinal number *èci* ‘one’ is used.

- (110) *ka leo èmu dènge [bhèni ci'u]*
PART overshadow house with woman one
‘Then married with a girl’ [Paka_Bua_Ina_Ana.009]

- (111) *hia ji'i [manu ci'u]*
 to.give 1PL.ex chicken one
 'Gave us a cock' [RL_Rade_Lingu.068]

Inanimate nouns are modified by the numeral classifier *cue*, as in (112) and (113), where they are combined with *koha* 'boat' and *oka* 'garden' respectively. When these nouns are modified by *ca*, resulting in *ca koha* and *ca oka* (114), they are no longer considered as units but rather as separate classifiers meaning 'a boat-full' and 'a garden-full' respectively. Non-countable nouns like *salae* 'sand' in (115) require a classifier in order to become countable.

- (112) *nèngu pare n-are [koha cue]*
 3SG to.cut 3SG-to.take boat one
 'He made a boat (Lit: he cuts something to become a boat'
 [BS_Tuka_Suki.209]
- (113) *tao [oka cue] ètu era loko Lusi nèi*
 to.make garden one LOC place river Lusi REM.SG
 'Made a garden near Lusi river over there' [LL_Pagar_Laut.019]
- (114) *manu èu ca oka*
 chicken 2SG a garden
 'You have a garden-full of chicken' [RL_Rade_Lingu.124]
- (115) *tengaa [salae cue] ho nèngu mai*
 but sand one so.that 3SG to.come

ngèti Oenale ho...
 from Oenale so.that
 'But a grain of sand that comes from Oenale...'
 [Pinangan_20140430.071]

In Dhao, not only nouns but also verbs can be used as classifiers. These are called sortal classifiers in the literature and specify units rather than quantities (Grinevald, 2004: 1020). Of those classifiers, two nouns are used as general classifiers, as given in Table 3.10 below. An illustration of *ngi'u* is given in (116), an illustration of *dhèu* in (117), and an illustration of *bua* in (118).

Table 3.10: General Classifiers

<i>ngi'u</i>	‘body, self’	animates
<i>dhèu</i>	‘person’	person only
<i>bua</i>	‘fruit’ ⁶	inanimates

- (116) *dènge ana [manu ci'u] [dua ngi'u] kahèi*
 with child chicken one two body also
 ‘And one or two chicken’ [YF_Puu_Nyiu.0044]
- (117) *la-'e ana iiki dhu [èpa dhèu] lèmi karihu*
 to.go-3SG child tiny REL four person five play
 ‘Went in (and saw) about four or five kids were playing’
 [SB_Lolo.152]
- (118) *lèpa mai ka r-èdhi kabholo-keke [dua bua]*
 to.return to.come PART 3PL-to.see palm.fruit two unit
 ‘They went home and brought two fruits of palmwine (had dried)’
 [JL_Baki_Tuka.156]

Unlike animates, inanimate nouns also have specific classifiers derived from nouns, as listed in Table 3.11. In addition, some nouns used as classifiers are restricted to certain nouns, labeled here as ‘unique classifiers’. These are listed in Table 3.12.

Table 3.11: Specific Classifiers

<i>kapua</i>	‘trunk’	for all trees and plants
<i>laa</i>	‘stem’	for sticks, woods
<i>bèla</i>	‘sheet, cloth’	counting traditional woven clothes and pandanus mats
<i>lai</i>	‘piece’	for counting paper

An example is given in (119). More specifically, the noun *laa* ‘stem’ is used as a classifier for products of trees or plants, namely sticks or wood (120). The two classifiers *bèla* ‘sheet, cloth’ (121) and *lai* ‘piece’ classify nouns referring to large sheets such as clothes and mats, and nouns referring to small sheets such as paper.

⁶ This classifier might be a loan from Indonesian Malay *bua* ‘fruit’. The sound /b/ in *bua* indicates that the word is a loan because Dhao uses the sound /h/ for *hua* ‘fruit’.

- (119) *ja'a èta ca nguru kapua*
 1SG to.tap.lontar a ten trunk
 'I am tapping ten trees (of lontar)' [CY_Kasasi.084]
- (120) *aj'u dua laa ètu karasa laa aj'u mango*
 wood two stem in beside stem wood dry
 'Two logs are beside a dry log' [Prep_Elicited.075]
- (121) *pa-dai tèlu bèla na heka ji'i*
 CAUS-to.reach three sheet PART then 1PL.ex

la'a pahia kèna
 to.go.1PL.ex sell that
 'After finishing three sheets then we go sell that' [SB_Enyu_Dhepi.045]

The following classifiers refer to configurations of temporary shapes. These are termed unique because they may classify only one object, or objects of the same kind (Grinevald, 2004: 1017). The term *kaloos* is a loan from Malay that means 'roll'. In Dhao it is used to refer to rolls of thread for weaving. The classifier *ho'a* refers to strands of threads that are prepared for weaving. The expression *ca ho'a* indicates that a big sarong needs thirty strands. The classifiers *nau* and *maho* indicate sets or groups. While *nau* is used for plants or trees, *maho* is used for materials like gongs. The classifiers *sagèri* and *ii* are used only for bananas. The term *ii* refers to a whole bunch of bananas attached to a stalk, while *sagèri* refers to separate bunches. The word *bèka* is used to classify objects, materials, or locations on a partial base. The unique classifiers are exemplified in (122).

Table 3.12: Unique Classifiers

<i>kaloos</i> (Mal)	'roll'	for thread
<i>ho'a</i>	'group of thread'	for thread
<i>nau</i>	'clump, cluster'	for plants, such as lontar, banana, etc.
<i>maho</i>	'set, group of'	for gongs, and group things
<i>sagèri</i>	'bunch'	for bunches of bananas
<i>ii</i>	'stalk'	for cluster of bananas
<i>bèka</i>	'part, fragment'	for counting parts of something, not by pairs

- (122) *sig'i aae nèngu tèlu nguru ca ho'a*
 cloth big 3SG three tens a group.of.thread
 'For big sarongs, one group consists of thirty strands'
 [SF_Tao_Hengu.036]

The following classifiers are derived from verbs. They are typically used to classify uncountable nouns. Functionally they refer to container-like objects. Verbal classifiers are listed in Table 3.13 below. Examples of verbal classifiers are represented in (123) and (124).

Table 3.13: Verbal Classifiers

<i>horo</i>	'to.hold'	for uncountable materials, such as pea, etc
<i>dui</i>	'to.carry on shoulder with yoke'	for things
<i>pa-ku'u</i>	pa-'pinch'	for pieces of cake
<i>pa-curu</i>	pa-'spoon'	for spoonful

- (123) *nèngu n-are kabui ca horo*
 3SG 3SG.take pea a hold
 'She takes a handful of peas' [Loc_Elicited.012]

- (124) [*èi na'i mèdi*] *dua pa-curu*
 water tobacco black two CAUS-spoon
 'Two spoonful of black dye' [SN_Manenu.136-137]

Dhao has three classifiers that are used to express partitions of the nouns they classify. The classifier *èta* 'part' is used to classify materials, such as boards. The classifier *kadhèli* is used for bread, meat, strings, and rope. And the classifier *hag'e* is used to partition materials of all kinds. Illustrations are given in (125) - (126).

Table 3.14: Partition classifier

<i>èta</i>	'part'	for board, etc
<i>kadhèli</i>	'rasher, piece'	for slices of bread, meat, (cut) lengths of string, rope
<i>hag'e</i>	a part of, some of	For materials

- (125) *nèngu j'aj'i ma ceo èta*
 3SG become toward nine piece
 'It becomes nine parts' [EL_Dhari.026]
- (126) *na tète bagi ma ceo kadèli*
 PART cut divide become nine piece
 'Then it is divided into nine pieces' [EL_Dhari.018]
- (127) *hua asa rai ca hag'e*
 fruit to land a part
 'Some fruits are on the ground' [YY_PearStory.040]

Dhao has three classifiers for measurements. Two classifiers measure length and one classifier measures weight. Both are traditional ways of expressing measurement. Nowadays, loanwords from Indonesian are mostly used to measure, such as *kilo*, which is used for both 'kilometre' and 'kilogram', *senti* for 'centimetre', and *meter* for 'metre'. For weights, the loans *ons* 'ounce' and *gram* 'gram' are now used as well. The traditional mensural classifiers are listed in Table 3.15 below.

Table 3.15: Mensural classifiers

Length	<i>rèpa</i>	'fathom'
	<i>èèg'a</i>	'span'
Weight	<i>èma</i>	'eight grams'

While the mensural classifier *rèpa* 'fathom' is used to measure long objects or materials such as the keel of a boat, *èèg'a* 'span' is used to measure short materials or objects such as sarongs or tables. An example is illustrated in (128). Finally, the classifier *èma* is typically used to measure the weight of golden materials for a dowry. One *èma* equals eight grams. The expression in (129) informs that, according to Dhao customs, the dowry is five *èma* of gold.

- (128) *kèni sekitar èna rèpa*
 keel around(IND) six fathom
 'The keel of boat is six fathoms' [KN_Tao_Koha.006]
- (129) *ada èdhi lèmi èma*
 custom 1PL.in five 8.gram
 'For our custom, it is five *èma*' [KM_Maso_Minta001.124-125]

3.3. Verbal Categories

3.3.1. Verbs

The lexical category of verbs in Dhao profiles the notions ‘action’, ‘process’, and ‘state’ (Dixon, 2010a,b; Payne, 2006; Schachter & Paul, 2007; Bybee, 2000). However, semantic grounds alone are not sufficient to truly establish lexical categories in this case. Morphosyntactic processes play an important role in this respect. Two productive morphological processes, the prefix *pa-* and the (C)*a*-reduplication, also do not fully qualify for distinguishing verbs from other categories. The prefix *pa-* indeed can derive verbs from other categories such as nouns and adjectives, but with some semantic change it can also maintain the nominal category (see §4.3 on prefix *pa-*). The latter strategy is not very productive, however. Similarly, (C)*a*-reduplication is productive in indicating intensity. Such a function signals a verbal category. In this respect, (C)*a*-reduplication can characterize both nominal and verbal categories. The only morphological property that can distinguish verbal categories from other categories is the inflection of co-index affixes. The inflection is only confined to nine verbs: eight verbs that are phonologically words with initial short vowels take prefixes and the verb *la-* ‘go’ takes suffixes (see §4.2).

3.3.1.1. Formal Properties

Cross-linguistically, verbs typically function as the predicate head of a clause (Dixon, 2010b: 39). Since Dhao lacks a (morpho)syntactic marker to distinguish verbal predicates from other non-verbal predicates (see §5.2), such a syntactic function alone cannot be used as a defining feature. Verbal properties in Dhao include the following features: (1) a limited number of verbs can take co-index affixes for inflection (see §4.2), (2) verbs can be derived from nouns and adjectives with the prefix *pa-* that marks causative, reciprocal, and other meanings (see §4.3), and (3) only verbs can be modified by the perfective marker *le* ‘PERF’ and the modal *nia* ‘can’ (see §5.2).

In my corpus, only nine verbs in Dhao undergo inflection with co-index affixes. Verbs that use prefixes are illustrated in (130) and (131). As observed in (130) the prefix *k-* co-indexes with the clausal subject *ja’a* ‘1SG’ and in (131) the prefix *m-* co-indexes with the subject *èu* ‘2SG’. The verb *la-* ‘go’ is illustrated with different suffixes in (132) and (133). The suffix *-mu* and *-ti* are co-referent with the respective subjects *èu* ‘2SG’ and *èdhi* ‘1PL.in’.

- (130) *ja’a k-u’a adhe te...*
 1SG 1SG-to.eat liver because
 ‘I eat the liver because...’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.204]

- (131) *èu baku m-ore ngaa-ngaa*
 2SG PROH.NEG 2SG-to.take DUP-what
 ‘You should not take anything’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.191]
- (132) *èu la-mu tenge ku ana madhutu kahib'i*
 2SG to.go-2SG look tag child follow goat
 ‘You go to look for a goat herdsman’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.251]
- (133) *asa era mia hari èdhi la-ti*
 to place where again 1PL.in to.go-1PL.in
 ‘To where we will go again’ [YK_HelaBunga.095]

The verb *-ad'o* ‘visit’ mentioned in Grimes (2010) is excluded from the list of verbs inflected with the co-index prefixes exemplified above. It is neither found in the corpus nor attested in the analysis. As demonstrated in (134), within the SVC the verb *ngad'o* ‘visit’ combined with the verb *mai* ‘come’ has taken the proper name *Jote* as its nominal subject. If *ngad'o* ‘visit’ is an inflected verb, it should agree with the subject by means of the prefix *n-* rather than *ng-* (see §4.2). The example (135) confirms that the verb remains *ngad'o*. Applying the 2SG prefix *m-* in order to agree with the subject even violates the construction.

- (134) *bèli na ka Jote mai ngad'o Rika*
 tomorrow PART PART Jote to.come to.visit Rika
 ‘The next day, Jote visited Rika’ [BS_Rika_Jote.051]
- (135) *bèli la-mu ngad'o/*m-ad'o ja'a, angalai*
 tomorrow to.go.2SG to.visit/2SG-to.visit 1SG friend
 ‘Tomorrow, you may come to visit me, friend’ [BS_Rika_Jote.050]

In order to derive verbs from other categories, Dhao makes use of the prefix *pa-*. The list in (136) illustrates the derivation of nouns and adjectives. For a more detailed elaboration on the prefix *pa-*, see §4.3.

- (136) Derivational verbs from nouns and adjectives
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-----|---|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>angalai</i> | ‘friend’ | N | > | <i>pa-angalai</i> | ‘to be friend’ |
| <i>dhudhu</i> | ‘thorn’ | N | > | <i>pa-dhudhu</i> | ‘to have thorn’ |
| <i>mènyi</i> | ‘oil, fat’ | N | > | <i>pa-mènyi</i> | ‘to oil’ |
| <i>ngara</i> | ‘name’ | N | > | <i>pa-ngara</i> | ‘to name’ |
| <i>bhèla</i> | ‘wide’ | Adj | > | <i>pa-bhèla</i> | ‘to widen’ |
| <i>madhera</i> | ‘long’ | Adj | > | <i>pa-madhera</i> | ‘to lengthen’ |
| <i>mèdi</i> | ‘black’ | Adj | > | <i>pa-mèdi</i> | ‘to blacken’ |

In (137), the prefix *pa-* is attached to the noun *ngara* ‘name’ and results in a verb that means ‘to name’. In (138), the prefix *pa-* is attached to the adjective *madhera* ‘long’ and results in a verb ‘to make something long’ (see §3.4.2 for a more elaborate discussion).

- (137) *miu pa-ngara kabarai ne'e na ngaa?*
 2PL CAUS-name land PROX.SG PART what
 ‘What name do you give to this place?’ [BS_Rika_Jote.077]

- (138) *ja'a tuku pa-madhera [...]*
 1SG to.smith CAUS-long
 ‘I made (it) to be long’ [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.034]

The prefix *pa-* is not only used to create verbs but also to create other categories, those being nouns and adverbs (see §4.3). Although it is not productive for non-verbal derivations, it should be taken into account that *pa-* cannot be considered a property of verbs only.

As has been explicated throughout this subsection, co-index affixes and the prefix *pa-* cannot be relied on entirely to distinguish verbs from other categories. This is due to a couple of reasons. Firstly, the co-index affixes are confined to only nine verbs. Secondly, the prefix *pa-* is used not only to derive verbs but also to derive other categories like nouns and adverbs. The syntactic characteristics that confirm verbs in Dhao is modification by the manner adverb, the perfective marker, and the modal marker.

3.3.1.2. Subclasses of Verbs and Valency

The subclassification of verbs in Dhao is based on both semantic and syntactic grounds. Verbs are divided into nine ontological subclasses: action and production, process and state, cognition, utterance, motion, position, trajectory, directional, existential, and aspectual verbs. The valency involved in the subclassification of verbs refers to the number of semantic participants of a verbal event (see §5.4). The details of the subclassification are described in the following subsections.

3.3.1.2.1. Action and Production Verbs

Dynamic situations profiled by action and production verbs are understood as initiated by a conscious or unconscious force. Actions signal dynamic situations that imply some kind of change. The distinguishing factor here is that a constant input of energy is required to maintain the event (Bybee, 2000:797; Payne, 1997: 58). An example of such an action verb would be the verb *game* ‘to hit’. On the other hand,

production verbs refer to situations that involve a chain of actions, such as *manènu* ‘to weave’. Action verbs include all valency possibilities, whereas production verbs tend to be exclusively bivalent. Action and production verbs in Dhao are presented in the list (139) below.

(139) Action and Production Verbs

<i>kokotoo</i>	‘to crow’	Monovalent
<i>roge</i>	‘to dance’	
<i>manyèba</i>	‘to spread’	
<i>tangi</i>	‘to cry’	
<i>abo</i>	‘to pound’	Bivalent
<i>bhorì</i>	‘to pour’	
<i>game</i>	‘to hit’	
<i>kèi</i>	‘to dig’	
<i>libu</i>	‘to melt’	
<i>lèpe</i>	‘to fold’	
<i>lidhu</i>	‘to fold leaf’	
<i>manènu</i>	‘to weave’	
<i>pakihu</i>	‘to mix’	
<i>tao</i>	‘to make’	
<i>tuku</i>	‘to smith’	
<i>hia</i>	‘to give’	Trivalent
<i>pa’adhu</i>	‘to send’	
<i>kiju</i>	‘to tuck’	Ambivalent
<i>pae</i>	‘to stick’	
<i>sai</i>	‘to slice’	
<i>sangidhi</i>	‘to show teeth’	
<i>sèg’i</i>	‘to crack’	

Examples are given in (140) through (143) below. The use of a monovalent verb is represented by the verb *tangi* ‘to cry’ in (140) where the proper noun *Abunaba* is the agent of the event of crying. The use of a bivalent verb is illustrated by *abo* ‘to pound’ in (141), in which the agent is *bèi* ‘grandmother’ and the patient is thenoun *kanana* ‘betel-nut’. The use of a trivalent verb is represented by the verb *hia* ‘to give’. The personal pronoun *miu* ‘2PL’ is the agent that executes the event of giving and *ja’a* ‘1SG’ is the recipient. The possessive NP *èi miu* ‘your water’ is the theme in this case.

- (140) *Abunaba tangi sèmi èèna*
 Abunaba to.cry be.like DIST.SG
 ‘Abunaba cried like that’ [SK_AbuNabas.021]
- (141) *bèi abo kanana⁷*
 grandmother to.pound betel
 ‘Grandmother is pounding betel-nut’ [CY_Lari_Na'i.278]
- (142) *miu hia ku ja'a [èi miu]_{NP} la*
 2PL to.give tag 1SG water 2PL PART
 ‘Please, give me your water’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.044]
- (143) *nèngu sèg'i èpa kabodho*
 3SG to.crack stem behind
 ‘He takes (break) the lontar stems at the back’ [Tao_Huhu.073]
- (144) *ja'a manènu hèngu èèna ca minggu*
 1SG to.weave yarn DIST.SG a week(IND)
 ‘I weave the sarong in a week’ [SN_Manenu.065]

3.3.1.2.2. Process and State Verbs

As indicated by its semantic explication, process verbs imply a change of state, but there is no volition and neither is there movement through space. State verbs do not encode change or action. They signal a stative situation that is extended in time. In Dhao, this type of verbs profiles both physical states like *mèu* ‘be clean’, and mental states like *makaè* ‘be ashamed’. In terms of valency, they only qualify as monovalent verbs. The list of process and state verbs is shown in (145) below.

(145) Process and State Verbs

<i>bhodho</i>	‘to appear’	Monovalent
<i>hare'a</i>	‘to boil’	
<i>kèpu</i>	‘be burnt’	
<i>laho</i>	‘be broken’	
<i>madhe</i>	‘to die’	
<i>maho</i>	‘be cold’	
<i>mèlu</i>	‘to collapse’	
<i>mèu</i>	‘be clean’	
<i>molo</i>	‘to sink’	

⁷ This sentence is commonly understood as the grandmother chewing betel-nut.

<i>muri</i>	‘to grow, live’	
<i>rea</i>	‘to shine (sun)’	
<i>makae</i>	‘be ashamed’	
<i>pèda</i>	‘be sick’	
<i>talej’e</i>	‘be lazy’	
<i>bècu</i>	‘be satisfied’	

An example is presented in (146). The verb *hare’a* ‘boiled’ designates the result of boiling the entity *èi pana* ‘hot water’.

- (146) [*èi pana*]_{NP} ***hare’a*** *le*
 water hot boiled already
 ‘The water already boiled’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta_Dua.058]

State verbs are illustrated by the verb *mèu* ‘be clean’ and *maho* ‘be cold’ in (147) and (148) below. In example (147), the verb *mèu* ‘be clean’ denotes the state of the noun *masi* ‘salt’ in clause initial position. The verb *maho* ‘be cold’ in (148) signals the state of the place within the NP *era ai nèi* ‘the place of fire’.

- (147) *masi kolo lia nèi nèngu mèu*
 salt top mountain.side REM.SG 3SG clean
 ‘The salt made in the sloping riverbank was clean’
 [SB_Tao_Masi.150]

- (148) [*era ai nèi*]_{NP} *ladhe maho èle...*
 place fire REM.SG to.see cold already
 ‘The place of fire, if it is already cold...’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1491]

3.3.1.2.3. Cognition Verbs

Cognition verbs refer to mental activity, including experiences of the actor. In Dhao, these verbs refer to body parts such as brain, ears, and heart. These type of verbs are monovalent and bivalent, as presented in (149) below.

- (149) Cognition Verbs

<i>kasere</i>	‘to consider’	Bivalent
<i>ladhe</i>	‘to see’	
<i>nanene</i>	‘to listen’	Monovalent
<i>ngee</i>	‘to think’	
<i>sanède</i>	‘to remember’	

<i>sanunu</i>	‘to plan’	
<i>siri</i>	‘to predict’	
<i>tadèngi</i>	‘to hear’	

An example is given below. The verb *kasere* ‘predict’ in (150) encodes an experience by the initiator, which is referred to by the personal pronoun *nèngu* ‘3SG’ in this particular example.

- (150) *hèia nèngu kasere na...*
 then 3SG to.consider PART
 ‘Then she considers that’ [JL_Baki_Tuka.053]

3.3.1.2.4. Utterance Verbs

Utterance verbs involve a theme referring to the content of the utterance. They can also be expressed monovalently and bivalently, as shown in the list (151) below.

- (151) Utterance Verbs

<i>rodhe</i>	‘to scream’	Monovalent
<i>palangu</i>	‘to farewell’	
<i>ale</i>	‘to mention’	Bivalent
<i>dhaa</i>	‘to answer’	
<i>karèi</i>	‘to ask’	
<i>lole</i>	‘to tell (story)’	
<i>paroa</i>	‘to call’	
<i>peka</i>	‘to tell, say’	
<i>pa’oo</i>	‘to yell’	

Example (152) employs two utterance verbs: *paroa* ‘to call’ and *dhaa* ‘to answer’. This sentence was taken from a situation wherein a teacher wanted to call on his students based on a name list. The term *Ama* ‘father’ is used as a honorific term referring to the teacher himself, while the pronoun *nèngu* ‘3SG’ refers to any student whose name is being called.

- (152) *ladhe na Ama paroa ngara cee na nèngu dhaa*
 to.see PART father to.call name who PART 3SG to.answer
 ‘When I call your name, please answer’ [PL_Aj’aDhao.007]

3.3.1.2.5. Motion Verbs

Motion verbs refer to verbs that incorporate the path of motion, the manner of motion, or the shape of moving objects (Bybee, 2000). For example, there are

different words for ‘jumping’: *ridhu* ‘to jump (in general)’, *soa* ‘to jump (in certain space)’ and *bèdhi* ‘to leap’. Monovalent motion verbs obligatorily require a directional preposition to introduce their complements. Examples of motion verbs are listed in (153) below.

(153) Motion Verbs

<i>bèdhi</i>	‘to jump’	Monovalent
<i>ridhu</i>	‘to jump’	
<i>soa</i>	‘to leap’	
<i>kako</i>	‘to walk’	
<i>lale</i>	‘to overflow’	
<i>lela</i>	‘to fly’	
<i>rai</i>	‘to run’	
<i>rodo</i>	‘to crawl, creep’	
<i>sabhoka</i>	‘to exit quickly’	
<i>loli</i>	‘to roll up’	Ambivalent
<i>bhadolu</i>	‘to roll’ (marbles)	
<i>bhaloli</i>	‘to roll’ (ball)	

As illustrated in the examples below, the motion verb *kako* ‘walk’ in (154) indicates that the agent *na* ‘3SG.SUBJ.CL’ is moving his legs in a particular manner, namely slowly through space. This is different from the verb *rai* ‘run’ whose motion is in a fast manner. In examples (155) and (156), the same verb *bhaloli* ‘to roll’ is used. The first example shows a bivalent situation. The event of rolling is executed by the agent *ja’a* ‘1SG’. The following example demonstrates a monovalent situation in which the participant moves voluntarily. The motion of rolling can also be distinguished by a general meaning, *loli*, the rolling of small round objects such as marbles, *bhadolu*, and the rolling of big round objects, such as a ball or fruit, *bhaloli*.

- (154) *na kako taruu la-'e asa kaj'èu*
 3SG.SUBJ.CL to.walk continue to.go.3SG to far
 ‘He continues walking to the far’ [YY_PearStory.023]

- (155) *ja'a bhaloli hua nyiu èèna*
 1SG to.roll fruit coconut DIST.SG
 ‘I roll the coconut fruit’ [Elicited]

- (156) *hua nyiu èèna bhaloli la-'e*
 fruit coconut DIST.SG to.roll to.go.3SG
 'The coconut fruit rolls there' [Elicited]

3.2.2.1.3. Position Verbs

Position verbs describe the static position of an object. Unlike motion verbs, position verbs require prepositions indicating location. Examples of position verbs are presented in (157).

- (157) Position Verbs
- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>cudu</i> | 'to bow down' | Monovalent |
| <i>lodha</i> | 'to be hanged' | |
| <i>madèdhi</i> | 'to sit' | |
| <i>titu</i> | 'to stand' | |

As shown in (158) below, the position verb *madhèdhi* 'to sit' is followed by the locative preposition *ètu* 'LOC'. Likewise, in example in (159) the verb *titu* 'to stand' precedes a location noun which functions as a preposition. Note that location nouns can be used as prepositions as such (see §3.6.1.1).

- (158) *nèngu la'e madèdhi ètu kolo hadhu*
 3SG to.go-3SG to.sit LOC top rock
 'He went to sit on the stone' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.322]

- (159) *èu la-mu titu dedha papa èèna*
 2SG to.go-2SG stand above board DIST.SG
 'You go to stand on the board' [BS_Tuka_Suki.498]

3.3.1.2.6. Trajectory Verbs

This subclass is termed trajectory verbs: these kind of verbs have a place or path as their locational objects. Unlike motion and position verbs, trajectory verbs have the capacity to appear in a transitive construction. Trajectory verbs are illustrated in (160) below.

- (160) Trajectory Verbs

<i>dhuli</i>	'to visit, stop by'	Bivalent
<i>lèpa</i>	'to return'	
<i>lola</i>	'to drip'	
<i>puru</i>	'to go down'	
<i>-are</i>	'to reach'	

<i>j'unu</i>	'to lie down'	
<i>kajape</i>	'to be left behind'	
<i>pea</i>	'to stay'	
<i>tèka</i>	'to perch'	

In example (161), the verb *j'unu* 'to lie down' is followed by the locative preposition *ètu* 'LOC before the location NP *ro'a koi* 'underneath the bed'. In example (162), however, the same verb occurs without locative preposition. As such, the location NP *ro'a koi* 'underneath the bed' is juxtaposed to the verb *j'unu* 'to lie down'⁸.

- (161) *ra hia na j'unu ètu ro'a koi*
 3PL.CL to.give 3SG.SUBJ.CL to.lie.down LOC hole bed
 'They asked him to sleep in space underneath a bed'
 [FF_Koli_Bubhu.101]

- (162) *èu j'unu ro'a koi ja'a*
 2SG to.lie.down hole bed 1SG
 'You sleep underneath my bed' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.105]

3.3.1.2.7. Directional Verbs

Three verbs are categorized as directional verbs; they also require locative or directional complements, and can be used as the second verb in serial verb construction to express the directionality with the speaker as the point of the reference (see §6.4). The verbs *la-* and *-are* originally are inflected verbs (see §4.2).

- (163) Directional Verbs
- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>la-</i> | 'to go-' | Monovalent |
| <i>mai</i> | 'to come' | |
| <i>-are</i> | 'to take' | Bivalent |

As presented in example (164) below, the verb *la-* 'go' is inflected with the suffix *-ku* '1SG'. The location complement *dhasi* 'sea' immediately follows the verb, which behaves the same as locational verbs. In example (165), the inflected verb *laku* 'I go' appears in clause final position indicating a direction away from the position of the speaker at the time of the utterance. As such, the directional verb and the main verb form a serial verb construction (see §6.4).

⁸ For an explanation about constructions as such, see §5.4.2 on transitive construction.

- (164) *ja'a neo la-ku dhasi*
 1SG to.want to.go.1SG sea
 'I want to go to sea' [WY_Kalera_Kanaca.001]

- (165) *ja'a nangi ka pulu la-ku*
 1SG to.swim PART island to.go-1SG
 'I swam to island' [SK_Polisi.950]

3.3.1.2.8. Existential Verbs

Dhao has two verbs to express existential meaning: *abhu* 'to get', which has a positive reading, and *aad'o* 'be absent', which has a negative reading. The existential verb *abhu* 'to get' may be translated as 'there exist' or 'there is' and is used to indicate the existence of an entity. It usually appears clause initially, as illustrated in (166). The subject of this verb is considered to be a zero subject, whereas the subject of the following clause functions as the object of the existential verb (see §5.2.1). The negative reading of *aad'o* 'be absent' is demonstrated in (167). The fact that *aad'o* 'be absent' is a verb is confirmed by its modification by the perfective marker *le* 'PERF' (168).

- (166) *abhu bola èci ètu suu mei*
 to.get ball(IND) one LOC tip table
 'There is a ball at the tip of the table' [Prep_Elicit.006]

- (167) *bola aad'o ètu suu mei*
 ball(IND) be.absent LOC tip table
 a) 'There is no ball at the tip of the table'
 b) 'The ball is absent at the tip of the table'

- (168) *bola aad'o le*
 ball(IND) be.absent PERF
 'There is no more ball'

3.3.1.2.9. Aspectual Verb

The aspectual verb in Dhao is *èle* 'finish', which indicates a perfective aspect. This verb can occur in predicative position independently, like any other type of verb in Dhao. An example is given in (169). Its verbal character is confirmed by the fact that it can take the prefix *pa-* (see §3.3.1.1). The reduced form of this verb, *le* 'PERF', is used as the perfective marker, and in turn it can modify verbs as well, as is illustrated in (170).

- (169) *ho nèngu èle èci*
 then 3SG to.finish one
 ‘Then she has finished one’ [tao_dhepi.046]
- (170) *puri pa-èle le bhèni aae èèna*
 to.restore CAUS-to.finish PERF woman big DIST.SG
 ‘(he) has healed the queen’ [LL_Pagar_Laut.108]

3.3.2. Adverbs

Adverbs typically modify categories other than nouns. Defining characteristics of adverbs in Dhaio are as follows. Firstly, they cannot function as main predicates or as heads of arguments. The example in (171)a illustrates that *karohe* ‘fast’ follows the verb *rai* ‘to run’. In such a position, it designates the manner of the action denoted by the verb *rai*, rather than designating an entity; therefore, it is an adverb. Its use in the predicate position as shown in (171)b is impossible.

- (171) a. *èu rai karohe ku*
 2SG to.run fast tag
 ‘You, please run quickly’ [ADJV_Elicit.066]
- (172) b. **èu karohe ku*
 2SG fast tag

Secondly, adverbs cannot normally be derived by means of the prefix *pa-* or (C)*a-*reduplication. *Mèri* ‘quick’ forms an exception as the attachment of the prefix *pa-* does not create a verb from the adverb, as is demonstrated in (173)a. Example (173)b shows that both *mèri* and *pamèri* cannot occur predicatively. Like bisyllabic adjectives and verbs, *mèri* can be partially reduplicated, like in (173)c.

- (173) a. *nèngu rai mèri / pa-mèri*
 3SG to.run quick / PA-quick
 ‘He runs quickly’ [ADJV_Elicit.067]
- b. **nèngu mèri / pa-mèri*
 3SG quick / PA-quick
- c. *ma-mèri nèngu*
 DUP-quick 3SG
 ‘His speed’ [ADJV_Elicit.072]

In general, adverbs in Dhao can be separated into two subtypes: verbal adverbs and clausal adverbs. The former are adverbs that only modify verbs, whether they precede or follow the main verb does not matter. The latter constitutes adverbs that modify the entire clause; they can occur clause-initially or clause-finally. Other adverbs that can only modify specific verbs are classified as exclusive adverbs (§3.3.2.3). This type of adverbs usually is derived from ideophones, and features lexical reduplication (see §4.4.1.4 on lexical reduplication), such as *dhi-dhii*, which can only modify the verb *titu* ‘to stand’. It cannot modify any other verb.

3.3.2.1. Verbal Adverbs

Verbal adverbs include aspectual, manner, degree, and modality adverbs. The list of verbal adverbs is presented in (174).

(174) Verbal Adverbs

Aspectual	<i>lili</i>	‘still’
	<i>dhae</i>	‘not yet’
	<i>heka</i>	‘have just (perfective)’
	<i>eele</i>	‘away’
Manner	<i>mèri</i>	‘fast’
	<i>karohe</i>	‘quickly’
	<i>lai-lai</i>	‘quickly’
	<i>rute</i>	‘quickly’
	<i>babag</i>	‘slowly’
	<i>o</i>	
Degree	<i>j’o</i>	‘rather’
	<i>ako</i>	‘quite’
	<i>oe</i>	‘almost’
Modality	<i>heka</i>	‘no longer’
	<i>nia</i>	‘can’

Aspectual adverbs, except *eele* ‘away’, precede the verbs that they modify. They designate whether an action or event has been completely done or whether it still is in progress. The adverb *lili* ‘still’ indicates that an event is still ongoing, as shown in (175). *Dhae* ‘not yet’ designates imperfectiveness and commonly requires *mèka* ‘not yet’ to co-occur, as shown in (176), whereas *heka* ‘just’ designates the completion of an event immediately before the utterance, as shown in (177). This adverb should be distinguished from *heka* ‘no longer’ and *heka* ‘old’. Unlike the other three, *eele*

‘away’⁹ occurs after the verb and indicates the completion of an event, as is illustrated in (178).

- (175) *rèngu lili pa-ngee-pa-ngee hèia...*
 3PL still DUP-PA-to.think then
 ‘While they are still thinking...’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1203]
- (176) *nèngu dhae n-èdhi mèka èu de*
 3SG not.yet 3SG-to.see not.yet 2SG PART
 ‘She has never seen you, so’ [SB_Lolo.224]
- (177) *bèi ku heka hia ja’a kèi ro’a na’i*
 grandma tag just to.give 1SG dig hole tobacco
 ‘Grandmother has just asked me to dig holes for tobacco’
 [CY_Lari_Na’i.515]
- (178) *baki Tuka bhoke eelee katanga babo’i*
 grandfather Tuka to.open away cover k.o.bottle
 ‘Mr. Tuka opened the lid of the bottle’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.453]

All manner adverbs occur after verbs indicating the speed of an action denoted by a verb. They precede verbs when combined with the politeness tag *ku*, as illustrated in (179). *Karohe* ‘quickly’ is commonly used for a concrete action in a situation where the referents of the subject and the object are visible to one another. Meanwhile, *lai-lai* ‘quickly’ usually is used for abstract action. All adverbs of degree precede the verbs they modify, as illustrated in (180), except for *j’o* ‘rather’, which usually appears after a verb that denotes distance, like *kaj’èu* ‘far’, and before the intensifier *ae* ‘too’ (181).

- (179) *èu karohe ku mai*
 2SG quickly tag to.come
 ‘You, please come quickly’ [ADJV_Elicit.065]
- (180) *tao dhari ako madhera ciki*
 to.make rope rather long little
 ‘Make strings that is rather long’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.048]

⁹ Since *eelee* is not attested as predicative, the construction cannot be considered as SVC as claimed by Jacob and Grimes (2011) (see §6.4 on SVCs).

- (181) *a'e ledhe kaj'èu j'o aae*
 to.climb mountain far quite big
 'Went to the mountain and it was quite far' [CY_Lari_Na'i.046]

Modality adverbs precede the verb and carry an evidential reading. The illustration is given in (182).

- (182) ... *tangi heka hèi*
 cry no.longer also
 '...do not cry any more' [BS_Tuka_Suki.085]

3.3.2.2. Clausal Adverbs

Clausal adverbs differ from verbal adverbs because they modify the entire clause construction; they can modify both verbal or non-verbal clauses. Some of them preferably occur clause-initially, like *cakalaa* 'suddenly'. Some of them prefer a clause-final position, like *dènge* 'immediately', and some others may be clause-initially or clause-medially. No adverb of this type can occur in all positions. Clausal adverbs are listed in (183) below.

- (183) Clausal Adverbs

Temporal	<i>none</i>	'momentarily'
	<i>ca'a-ca'a</i>	'normally'
	<i>kaca'a la'a</i>	'suddenly'
	<i>kèbalaa</i>	'suddenly'
	<i>kabèdhi la'a</i>	'suddenly'
	<i>cag'ag'a la'a</i>	'unexpectedly'
	<i>capa</i>	'spontaneously (react quickly)'
	<i>pe</i>	'later, in the future (probably)'
	<i>dènge</i>	'immediately'
Focus	<i>hudi</i>	'let it be'
	<i>dhoka</i>	'just'
	<i>dì</i>	'only'
	<i>(ka)hèi</i>	'also'
	<i>sène</i>	'just'
	<i>iie</i>	'precisely'
	<i>hari</i>	'again'

Most of the adverbs mentioned above occur clause-initially, as illustrated in (184) with the adverb *kèbalaa* 'suddenly'. These adverbs optionally combine with

the particle *na* ‘PART’ as indicated within brackets. The adverb *pe* can appear clause-initially, denoting the meaning ‘later’, as well as appear clause-medially, denoting the meaning ‘probably’, as demonstrated in (185). The adverb *dènge* ‘immediately’¹⁰ can only occur clause-finally, as shown in (186).

- (184) *kèbalaa* (*na*) *Rika mai*
 suddenly PART Rika to.come
 ‘Suddenly, Rika came’ [JL_Rika_Jote.009-010]
- (185) *ana èèna pe saba dua lod’o*
 child DIST.SG probably to.work two day
 ‘The child probably worked two days’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta_Dua.101]
- (186) *mai kèpe r-are la-si r-èti dènge*
 to.come to.catch 3PL-to.take to.go-3PL 3PL-to.bring immediately

asa era nèi
 to place REM.SG
 ‘They arrested him and carried him immediately to that place’
 [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1291]

As observed in the list of (183), Dhao has four forms to express the meaning of ‘suddenly’. Interestingly, the four forms are identical in that all of them contain the formative *la’a* or *laa*¹¹. The form has no independent lexical meaning. The form *kaca’a* itself also has no lexical meaning, but seems to be related to the expression *ca’a-ca’a*, which is freely translatable as ‘normally’. In contrast, *kabèdhi* itself means ‘surprise’. This suggests the forms *cakalaa* and *kèbalaa* also have the ending *la’a*. The forms *caka* and *kèba* themselves are lexically meaningless. Unlike the four previous adverbs, the adverb *cag’ag’a la’a* ‘unexpectedly’ clearly is derived from *cag’ag’a* ‘startled’.

Focus adverbs semantically signal a situation within a certain context. Such adverbs also are known as emphatic adverbs (Givón, 2001: 94). With the exception of *hudi* ‘let it be’ and *dhoka* ‘only’, all focus adverbs occur clause-finally. For example, *hari* ‘again’ appears in final position in example (187). The same holds for *kahèi* ‘also’ in (188). This adverb is optionally reduced into *hèi*. As seen in (189), *hudi* appears in initial position of the clause, and in (190) *dhoka* comes after the clausal subject. Optionally, the adverb *di* ‘only’ is added in clause-final position.

¹⁰ Notice that this adverb is a grammaticalization of the preposition *dènge* ‘with’ (§3.6.2.1).

¹¹ Considered as grammaticalization of *la’a*, a verbal form that means ‘go.1PL.ex’

- (187) *sai t-are na èdhi bagi hari*
 to.chop 3PL-to.take PART 1PL to.divide again
 ‘After cutting, it is loosened again’ [AL_Kanacha.010]
- (188) *ana bhèni èèna la'e kahèi*
 child woman DIST.SG to.go-3SG also
 ‘The woman took part, too’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.757]
- (189) *hudi ja'a kapai ku hari la ma*
 let 1SG big tag again PART tag
 ‘I am still small so let me grow a bit bigger’ [PM_Meo aasu.011]
- (190) *ma-muri ji'i dhoka hua a'ju di*
 DUP-to.live 1PL.ex just fruit wood only
 ‘We only ate fruits’ [CY_Lari_Na'i.007]

3.3.2.3. Exclusive Adverbs

Exclusive adverbs in Dhao are confined to a semantically selective group of headwords that are either verbs, adjectives, or quantifiers. For example, the adverb *eo-eo* can only modify motion verbs, like *rai* ‘run’ or *kako* ‘walk’, but also is used specifically to modify the verb *pode* ‘to turn’. It cannot modify other motion verbs such as *mai* ‘come’ and *la-* ‘go’. Adjectives can have special modifiers as well. For instance, *bedo-bedo* exclusively modifies *manii* ‘thin’, and *guru-guru* modifies *mèdi* ‘black’ only. Syntactically, exclusive adverbs occur immediately after the heads. Verbal exclusive adverbs are given in the list (191) below.

- (191) Verbal Exclusive Adverbs
- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>pode</i> ‘to turn around’ | <i>eo-eo</i> | ‘to turn around’ |
| <i>kako</i> ‘to walk’ | <i>eepo-eepo</i> | ‘to walk pantingly’ / |
| | <i>eko-eko</i> | ‘walk staggeredly’ |
| <i>titu</i> ‘to stand’ | <i>dhii-dhii</i> / | ‘to stand patiently’ / |
| | <i>dhoo-dhoo</i> | ‘to stand steadily’ |
| <i>mari</i> ‘to laugh’ | <i>eere-eere</i> / | ‘to keep laughing’ / |
| | <i>uuku-uuku</i> | ‘to burst out’ |
| <i>sagèba</i> ‘be facedown’ | <i>mopo-mopo</i> | ‘to fall facedown’ |
| <i>tarenga</i> ‘to supine’ | <i>hara-hara</i> | ‘to supine’ |
| <i>bèj'i</i> ‘to sleep’ | <i>goo-goo</i> | ‘sleep too soundly’ |
| <i>madèdhi</i> ‘to sit’ | <i>mau-mau</i> / | ‘to sit and contemplate’ |
| | <i>gua-gua</i> | ‘to sit silently’ |

<i>pènu</i> ‘be full’	<i>idhu-idhu</i>	‘be completely full’
<i>mèu</i> ‘be clean’	<i>lao-lao</i>	‘to have nothing’

As observed in the list above, all are lexically reduplicated. In very specific contexts they can be used verbally. For instance, the verb *kako* ‘walk’ is modified by *eo-eo* ‘around’ in (192).

- (192) *dhèu aae na kako eo-eo*
 person great PART to.walk around
 ‘They went around’ [RL_Rade_Lingu.082-083]

Like the exclusive adverbs for verbs, exclusive adverbs for adjectives also are lexically reduplicated. The adverb *oode-oode* ‘too little’ is an exception, as its reduplication is optional. These adverbs express the meaning ‘too (excessive)’. The color *rara* ‘a bit yellow’ has no special adverb of its own, as it is a reduced form of *karara* ‘yellow’. A list of exclusive adverbs for adjectives is given in (193) below.

- (193) Adjectival Exclusive Adverbs
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <i>ciki</i> ‘a little, a few’ | <i>oode (-oode)</i> | ‘too little’ |
| <i>ma’aa</i> ‘thick’ | <i>haki-haki</i> | ‘too thick’ |
| <i>manii</i> ‘thin’ | <i>bedo-bedo</i> | ‘too thin’ |
| <i>madhera</i> ‘long’ | <i>lola-lola</i> | ‘too long’ |
| <i>mèdi</i> ‘black’ | <i>guru-guru</i> | ‘pitch black’ |
| <i>pudhi</i> ‘white’ | <i>lao-lao</i> | ‘too white’ |
| <i>mangèru</i> ‘green, blue’ | <i>bidhu-bidhu</i> | ‘too gree/blue’ |
| <i>mea</i> ‘red’ | <i>gèu-gèu</i> | ‘too red’ |
| <i>karara</i> ‘yellow’ | <i>moce-moce</i> | ‘too yellow’ |
| <i>karara</i> ‘yellow’ | <i>mu’e-mu’e</i> | ‘too yellow’ |
| <i>rara</i> ‘a bit yellow’ | <i>*moce-moce</i> | - |
| <i>ahu</i> ‘grey’ | <i>ti’a-ti’a</i> | ‘too grey’ |

Some examples are presented below. In (194), the adjective *ciki* ‘little’ is modified by *oode* without lexical reduplication¹². In (195), the adjective of color is modified by *guru-guru*. All of these adverbs are used to designate the quality of the adjectives.

¹² For lexical reduplication, see §4.4.1.4.

- (194) *èi na'i karara ciki oode ka ne'e*
 water tobacco yellow little too.little PART PROX.SG
 'There is a little bit yellow dying' [SN_Manenu.156]

- (195) *lasi na dara dhu mèdi guru-guru*
 to.go.3PL PART inside REL black too.black
 'They went and Jote's house was too black (due to smoke)
 [PD_Rika_Jote.042]

The exclusive adverb *mèu-mèu* is originally derived from a stative verb that means 'clean'. In this case, it modifies the quantifier *aa'i* 'all' to denote the meaning 'wholly or completely'

- (196) *ka a'ju tesa aa'i mèu-mèu*
 PART wood complete all DUP-clean
 'All logs had been prepared completely' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.769]

3.4. Adjectives

A typical function of adjectives is to directly modify nouns by specifying a property of the head noun's referent (Payne, 2006: 116). As such, adjectives usually indicate dimension, colour, and value (Dixon, 1982: 13). However, semantic types alone cannot be used as parameters to define Dhao adjectives, considering that they share syntactic features with nouns and verbs as well (Balukh, 2015). Particular lexemes can occupy both predicative and non-predicative position. Observe the examples in (197) through (199).

The adjective *kaj'alu* 'dirty' modifies the head noun *èi* 'water' in (197). It can be nominal, like in (198), where it functions as object of the verbal predicate *pamèu* 'to clean up'. In (199), it behaves like a monovalent verb, expressing the state of the subject NP *èmu èèna* 'that house'. As such, lexemes, like *kaj'alu* 'dirty', require a constructional context to define their category. There are two defining criteria to determine the adjective category in Dhao, namely: (1) attributive function (§3.4.1), and (2) SVCs involving the prefix *pa-* (3.4.2).

- (197) *ji'i usu eele èi kaj'alu*
 1PL.ex to.bail away water dirty
 'We bail the dirty water' [GD_Kei_Ei.077]

- (198) *nèngu pa-mèu kaj'alu ètu kolo dhua*
 3SG CAUS-clean dirt LOC top palm.tree
 'S/he cleans up the dirt on the palm tree' [GD_Sasabha_Eta_Dhua.006]

- (199) *èmu èèna kaj'alu*
 house DIST.SG dirty
 'That house is dirty' [JL_Rika_Jote.060]

3.4.1. Attributive Function

The typical function of adjective is the direct modification of nouns. In Dhao, modifiers typically follow the head noun. Only five words are true adjectives in Dhao, as they can only directly modify nouns in their bare forms. They are as listed in (200).

- (200) True Adjectives

	NP	Meaning
<i>aae</i> 'big, great'	N- (<i>mone</i>) <i>aae</i>	'big thing'
<i>iiki</i> 'small'	N- (<i>ana</i>) <i>iiki</i>	'small thing'
<i>aapa</i> 'bad'	N- <i>aapa</i>	'bad thing'
<i>to'a</i> 'in need'	PERS.- <i>to'a</i>	'person in need'
<i>iia</i> 'common'	N- <i>iia</i>	'common thing, beautiful/handsome (person)'

The adjectives *aae* 'big, great' and *iiki* 'small' can function only as predicates when combined with the nouns *mone* 'male' and *ana* 'child'. As demonstrated in (201), the adjective *iiki* 'small' functions as an attribute and directly modifies the head noun *aj'u* 'wood'. In (202), the adjectives *aae* 'big' and *iiki* 'small' combine with their noun counterpart and again, they are attributive. Using their bare forms predicatively is ill-formed, as shown in (203), which suggests that they never function predicatively.

- (201) *m-ore hari [aj'u iiki] èci*
 2SG again wood small one
 'Take again one small log' [SF_Tao_Hengu.333]
- (202) *èmu èèna [mone aae] / [ana iiki]*
 house DIST.SG male big / child small
 'That house is big/small'
- (203) **èmu èèna aae / iiki*
 house DIST.SG big / small

Other words indicating states, like *mèu* ‘be clean’, cannot be included in the adjective category because they are not able to directly modify head nouns. An example is given in (204). The use of *mèu* immediately following a head noun, like in (204)a, is ungrammatical and requires a relative marker, as is shown in (204)b. Used predicatively it is well-formed, as is illustrated in (204)c.

- (204) a. **èmu mèu ne’e*
house clean PROX.SG
- b. *èmu dhu mèu ne’e*
house REL clean PROX.SG
‘This house that is clean’
- c. *èmu ne’e mèu*
house PROX.SG clean
‘This house is clean’

3.4.2. Adjectives and the prefix *pa-*

Words denoting dimension and color can be used both attributively and predicatively. However, they have different syntactic behaviors when prefixed with causative *pa-*. They require another verb to precede them, resulting in a SVC (see §6.4). Within the SVC, the derived verb with *pa-* appears as V2. For example, the attributive function is shown with *manii* ‘thin’ in example (205). When attaching the prefix *pa-*, it requires the verb *tao* ‘to make’, as shown in (206)a. The derived form with *pa-* only cannot occur as an independent predicate, as is illustrated in (206)b. All this shows that words of this type have a specific morphological constraint at the syntactic level. Therefore, in this thesis, I label them re-categorized adjectives. They are morphologically verbal, but syntactically do not behave like real verbs (Balukh, 2015). The lists of dimension and color adjectives are given in (207) and (208) respectively.

- (205) *aj’u manii sèra dhèu leo abhu le*
wood thin REM.PL person other to.get PERF
‘Those thin logs other people already got them’
- (206) a. *nèngu tao pa-manii aj’u sèra*
3SG to.make CAUS-thin wood DIST.PL
‘He makes the logs thin’

- b. **nèngu* ***pa-manii*** *aj'u* *sèra*
 3SG CAUS-thin wood DIST.PL

(207) Adjectives of dimension

<i>marèma</i>	‘deep’
<i>bab'a</i>	‘short, shallow’
<i>madhera</i>	‘long, tall’
<i>kapai</i>	‘big, large’
<i>kobo</i>	‘narrow’
<i>bhèla</i>	‘wide’
<i>ma'aa</i>	‘thick’
<i>manii</i>	‘thin’

(208) Adjectives of colors

<i>mèdi</i>	‘black’
<i>pudhi</i>	‘white’
<i>mangèru</i>	‘green’
<i>mea</i>	‘red’
<i>karara</i>	‘yellow’

A contrastive example is illustrated in (209) in which the attachment of the prefix *pa-* to *hera* ‘be dirty’ prefers an independent predicate, rather than combining with an additional verb. This would suggest that words like *hera* ‘be dirty’ should be included into the category of monovalent verbs because they have no constraints at the syntactic level when taking verbal morphology.

- (209) *nèngu* (**tao*) ***pa-hera*** *èmu* *èèna*
 3SG (to.make) CAUS-dirty house DIST.SG
 ‘He makes the house dirty’

3.5. Interrogative Words

Dhao has eight words to create interrogative constructions. On the basis of their function, interrogative words in Dhao are classified into four types: interrogative pronouns, numerals, classifiers, and demonstratives. The others are considered derived forms (see §3.5.5 below). The interrogative element may consist of only an interrogative word, but may also consist of an interrogative word and a related noun or verb phrase, giving it an interrogative phrase (Velupillai, 2012). The list of the interrogative words and their qualifications are presented in Table 3.16 below.

Table 3.16: Dhao Interrogative Words

Types	Interrogative Words	Gloss	Qualification
Pronoun	<i>cee</i>	‘who’	human
	<i>ngaa</i>	‘what’	non-human
Numeral	<i>pèri</i>	‘how many’	amounts, number
Classifier	<i>cangaa</i>	‘how much’	abstract amounts
Demonstrative	<i>mia</i>	‘where’	place (location)
Other (derived)	<i>tasameramia/ tasamia</i>	‘how’	manner, reason
	<i>ngaa tao</i>	‘why’	reason
	<i>do</i>	‘PART’	polarity (yes/no)

Interrogative words in Dhao may function pronominally, adnominally, and predicatively as presented in Table 3.17 below.

Table 3.17: Functions of Interrogative Words

Interrogative Words	Gloss	Function		
		PRO	ADNOM	PRED
<i>cee</i>	‘who’	+	+	+
<i>ngaa</i>	‘what’	+	+	+
<i>pèri</i>	‘how many’	-	+	+
<i>cangaa</i>	‘how much’	-	+	+
<i>mia</i>	‘where’	+	+	+
<i>tasameramia/ tasamia</i>	‘how’	+	+	-
<i>ngaa tao</i>	‘why’	+	-	-
<i>do</i>	‘PART’	-	-	-

3.5.1. Interrogative pronouns

Cee questions human referents, whereas *ngaa* questions non-human entities. Like other nominal elements, they occur as clausal arguments. Example (213) displays the use of *cee* ‘who’ in subject position. Example (214) shows *ngaa* ‘what’ in object position. As they are pronominal, they can occur in peripheral positions, such as the location as is shown in (212).

- (210) *cee leru nèngu?*
 who to.care.for 3SG
 ‘Who looks after her?’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.651]
- (211) *èu m-ore ngaa?*
 2SG 2SG-to.take what
 ‘What do you get?’ [BS_Rika_Jote.028]
 [Lit. you get what?]
- (212) *n-are mèdha sèi ètu ngaa*
 3SG-to.take thing REM.PL LOC what
 ‘Where did he take those things’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.394]
 [Lit. S/he takes those things in what (place)?]

3.5.2. Interrogative Numeral

The interrogative word *pèri* questions numbers or amounts. Therefore, it is labeled interrogative numeral. In example (213), the interrogative *pèri* questions the amount of money in a given envelope. *Pèri* occupies a subject slot. Likewise, in (214) *pèri* questions the amount of parts. Since Dhao lacks an interrogative word for ‘when’, it makes use of *pèri* plus the time noun *lod'o* ‘day, time’, as is illustrated in example (215). The predicate function of *pèri* is demonstrated by the examples below. In (216) *pèri* ‘how many’ functions as a nominal modifier. It questions the quantity of individuals.

- (213) *pèri ètu dara amplop?*
 how.much LOC inside envelope(IND)
 ‘How much is in the envelopes?’ [Ada_20140427.106]
- (214) *j'aj'i mi pèri bèka?*
 to.become to how.many half-cut
 ‘Become how many parts?’ [PL_Aj'aDhao.051]
- (215) *mate kapai, pèri lod'o?*
 to.wait big how.many day
 ‘(I) will wait until getting bigger, when?’ [PM_Meo aasu.013]
 [Lit. wait (until) big, how many days?]

- (216) *ana èu [dhèu pèri?]*
 child 2SG person how.many
 ‘How many children do you have?’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta _Dua.130]
 [Lit. your child how many person?]

3.5.3. Interrogative Classifier

The interrogative word *cangaa* ‘how much’ most likely is a fossilized form of two lexical items, the classifier *ca* ‘a, one’ and the interrogative pronoun *ngaa* ‘what’. The interrogative *cangaa* ‘how much’ preferably questions uncountable nouns, such as prices, and is rarely used for countable nouns. In example (217), *cangaa* ‘how much’ questions the price of a certain entity and is used predicatively. An example of *cangaa* with countable nouns is given in (218) where it is also in predicate position.

- (217) *aku nèngu na kabua [cangaa]?*
 according.to 3SG PART price how.much
 ‘He said, “how much is the price?”’ [SN_Manenu.247]
- (218) [*sabha kaba miu*] [*cangaa*] *na*
 palm.container shell 2PL how.many PART
- tao aa’i asa li’u*
 to.make all to outside
 ‘How many palm juice container do you have, then put all outside’
 [BS_Tuka_Suki.065]

3.5.4. Interrogative Demonstrative

The interrogative *mia* ‘where’ serves to question location, direction, and choice. In example (219) the interrogative *mia* questions a location, and is preceded by the locative preposition *ètu* ‘LOC’. This kind of construction can also combine with a preceding general location noun, *era* ‘place’, as illustrated in (220). Example (221) illustrates *mia* ‘where’ modifying the noun *j’ara* ‘way’.

- (219) *oni ne’e rèda [ètu mia?]*
 bee PROX.SG perch LOC where
 ‘Where are the bees perching?’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.867]
- (220) *ja’a ètu era mia na ka*
 1SG LOC place where PART PART

ja'a todhe dènge sasadhu èèna
 1SG to.bring with sasando DIST.SG
 'Wherever I went, I brought the sasando' [YK_music.028]

- (221) *dènge [j'ara mia] dhu rèngu bisa?*
 with way where that they can
 'By which way they can do that' [CY_Kasasi.090]

3.5.5. Other Interrogatives

3.5.5.1. *Tasameramia/tasamia* 'how'

The interrogative *tasameramia* or *tasamia* 'how' serves to question manner, reason, and comparison. In some cases, it may bear the meaning 'why'. This interrogative word *tasameramia* is lexically complex¹³. Most frequently, the form *tasamia* is used, but in formal situation *tasameramia* is said to be more acceptable. It sometimes is reduced to *samia* or *mia* only. Furthermore, the form *tasamia* may also be preceded by the verb *tao* 'make' to denote the meaning 'how to'. The illustrations in (222) and (223) denote asking for information, whereas (224) and (225) denote asking after reasons.

- (222) *saba hèngu nyama ne'e pe tasamia?*
 to.work yarn raffia PROX.SG about how
 'How to do this ikat weaving activity?' [SN_Manenu.003]

- (223) *sa-saba hèngu nyama ne'e sèmi mia?*
 DUP-to.work yarn raffia PROX.SG be.like how
 'This ikat weaving task, how is it like?' [SN_Manenu.018]

- (224) *tao tasamia èdhi la-ti hari*
 to.make how 1PL.in to.go-1PL.in again
 'Why do we have to go again?' [CY_Lari_Na'i.387]

- (225) *ladhe tasmeramia miu eso eso eele ciki to?*
 to.see how 2SG to.move to.move PART little tag
 'See, why do you postpone a bit?' [Percakapan20130825_b.682]

¹³ One interpretation might be that the complex form *tasameramia* is a fossilized form of *tao asa mera mia*. Lexically, *mera* refers to '2SG-get'. The form and its gloss is presented in (1) below.

(1) *tao asa mera mia*
 make to 2SG-to.get where/which

3.5.5.2. *Ngaa tao* ‘why’

The interrogative *ngaa tao* ‘why’ probably is the fossilized form of two lexical items: *ngaa* ‘what’ and *tao* ‘make’. This interrogative serves to question reasons. Unlike other interrogatives, *ngaa tao* never occurs in clause final position. It also prefers the particle *ka*, signaling that the following clause is a complement (see §3.6.4.1). In (226), *ngaa tao* questions why the subject *angalai* ‘friend’ comes. Example (227) questions why the subject *ja’a* ‘1SG’ mentions the entity *bunga* ‘flower’.

- (226) *ngaa tao ka angalai mai*
 what to.make PART friend to.come
 ‘Why do you come (here), friend?’ [SB_Lolo.255]

- (227) *ngaa tao ka ja’a peka hari bunga?*
 what to.work PART 1SG to.tell again flower(IND)
 ‘Why did I mention the flower again?’ [YK_HelaBunga.032]

3.5.5.3. *do* ‘yes-no interrogative’

Polar questions are marked by the particle *do*. This particle is homonymous with the exclamation particle *do* (see §3.6.4.1) and the conjunction *do* ‘or’ (see §3.6.3.1). For both its interrogative and exclamatory functions, *do* occurs at the very end of the clause. As such, intonation plays an important role in distinguishing the two. Polar questions require a rising intonation on *do*, whereas an exclamation is signalled by a flat intonation on *do*. Polar questions are used for getting yes/no answers, as is illustrated in (229). Example (230) shows an exclamation statement marked by the flat intonation on the particle *do*.

- (228) *m-e’a do*
 2SG-to.know PART
 ‘(do you) understand?’ [Elicited from PL_Aj’aDhao.178]

- (229) *èu pèda do?*
 2SG sick PART
 ‘Are you sick?’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.749]

- (230) *èdhi dhèu hiu hua na do!*
 1PL.in person new all DIST.SG tag
 ‘We all are new’ [Ada_20140427.109]

3.6. Function Words

3.6.1. Basic Prepositions

Dhao has ten ‘true’ prepositions in that they can only occur preceding nouns or noun phrases. Prepositions in Dhao typically are one-dimensional. For two and three dimension grounds, location nouns are required to express a path (see §3.2.1.2.3; Levinson and Wilkins, 2006). Other prepositional functions are derived from verbs (see §3.2.2). The classification of prepositions in this section is semantically-based. A list of Dhao prepositions is presented in Table 3.18 below.

Table 3.18: Basic Prepositions

Semantic class	Prep.	Glosses	Other senses
Locative	<i>ètu</i>	LOC	-
	<i>buli</i>	LOC	-
Target	<i>mi</i>	toward	-
	<i>ma</i>	toward	-
Source	<i>ngèti</i>	from	because (see §3.6.3.2)
Goal	<i>asa</i>	to	-
Path	<i>re</i>	through	pass
Instrumental/ accompaniment	<i>dènge</i>	with	own (see POSS) immediately (see §3.3.2.2)
Durative	<i>toke</i> (<i>dai</i>)	until	(reach) (see §3.2.2)
Comparative/ similative	<i>sèmi</i>	as, be.like	-

3.6.1.1. Locative and Target

Two locative prepositions in Dhao are *ètu* and *buli*, which I gave the general gloss ‘LOC’. They are translatable as ‘in, at, on’ according to the context. The target prepositions are *mi* and *ma*, which can be translated as ‘toward’. Locative prepositions introduce a location or position in which no movement is indicated, as illustrated by *ètu* in (231) and *buli* in (232). While *ètu* can head a prepositional phrase that involves an abstract nominal complement, such as *laladhe* ‘view’ as shown in (233)a, the preposition *buli* cannot; as such, (233)b is judged ungrammatical.

- (231) *rèngu pea dènge ètu èmu*
 3PL to.stay immediately LOC house

dhèu aae ne’e
 person great PROX.SG

‘They immediately lived in the king’s palace’[FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1837]

- (232) *Rika tao èmu buli suu haa*
 Rika to.make house LOC tip west
 ‘Rika built house in tip of west’ [PD_Rika_Jote.010]

- (233) a. *tengaa ètu la-ladhe ja’a*
 but LOC DUP-to.see 1SG
 ‘But according to my view’ [Ada_20140427.123]

- b. **tengaa buli la-ladhe ja’a*
 but LOC DUP-to.see 1SG

To some extent, the preposition *mi* seems to indicate a location, as is shown in (234). However, in this particular construction the location is treated as the target of the action of planting, profiled by the verb *sèla* ‘to plant’. As shown in (235), *mi* introduces the target of praying, which is *Ama Lamatua deda* ‘God above’. In (236), the target of making a thing white is it becoming something useful. The resultant *mèdha* ‘thing’ is introduced by *mi*.

- (234) *ka sèla mi hèbha kota*
 PART to.plant at mouth town(IND)
 ‘Then (he) planted (it) at the gate of the town’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.334]

- (235) *èdhi manèngi mangaj’i mi Ama Lamatua dedha*
 1PL.in to.ask to.pray to father Lord above
 ‘We pray to God above’ [Ada_20140427.135]

- (236) *ja’a rase pa-pudhi ho*
 1SG to.wash CAUS-white so.that

- nèngu j’aj’i mi mèdha*
 3SG to.become to thing
 ‘I washed (it) in order to become white so that it becomes something’
 [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.058]

Like *mi*, the preposition *ma* is used to mark a target, and as such examples (237) and (238) are grammatically well-formed. Unlike *mi*, the preposition *ma* is never used to introduce a location, so the elicited example in (239) is judged ungrammatical.

- (237) *ja'a selalu lole ma ana-ana*
 1SG always(IND) to.tell to DUP-child
 'I always tell (this story) to children' [CY_Kasasi.012]

- (238) *ènyu ho j'aj'i ma kalera*
 to.plait so.that to.become to k.o.basket
 'It is plaited to become a basket' [AL_Kanacha.035]

- (239) **ka sèla ma hèbha kota*
 PART to.plant at mouth town

3.6.1.2. Source, Goal, and Path

The prepositions indicating source, goal and path are *ngèti* 'from', *asa* 'to', and *re* 'through' respectively. The preposition *ngèti* 'from' indicates the source location, the origin of someone or something, or the source of information. Illustrations are given in (240) and (241).

- (240) *waktu Pesa Kèli mai ngèti Sahu*
 time(IND) Pesa Kèli to.come from name
 'When Pesa Kèli came from Sawu' [BS_Rika_Jote.008]

- (241) *gagiti ne'e nèngu tao ngèti tadhu*
 catapult PROX.SG 3SG to.make from horns
 'This catapult is made of animal horns'
 [GD_Sasabha_Eta_Dhua.025]

The preposition *asa* 'to' introduces both physical and non-physical goals. Example (242) shows that the NP following *asa* 'to' is a physical goal, whereas *karehe* 'bad' it is a conceptual goal in example (243). In Dhao, this type of preposition can be omitted when the predicate is a directional verb, such as *la-* 'to go' or *mai* 'to come' (see §3.3.1.2.7). The semantic relationship between the complement and the predicate can be deduced from the context (Schachter, 2007: 35).

- (242) *na ca'e hari [asa kolo ana aj'u]*
 3SG.CL to.climb again to top child wood
 'He is climbing again to the top of the tree' [YY_PearStory.019]

- (243) *dhoka nga-ngee nèngu ne'e la-'e [asa]*
 only DUP-to.think 3SG PROX.SG to.go-3SG to

karehe] *ka ne'e*
 bad PART PROX.SG
 'As her thought leads to the negative thing'
 [FF_Koli_Bubhu.173]

The preposition *re* 'through' typically introduces a referent that is between two locative points – a source and a goal, which are not always mentioned in the discourse. In (244), the noun *èmu* 'house' is an intermediary path of the movement of going. In some cases, *re* behaves like a locative preposition, when the context does not indicate any transitional or intermediary movement, as shown in (245). The preposition *re* 'through' can also be used to introduce an instrument, which then can be translated as 'by, with', as is shown in (246).

(244) *nèngu la-'e hari re èmu*
 3SG to.go-3SG again through house
 'He went again through home' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1087]

(245) *èu baku mari re kabodho èèna*
 2SG PROH.NEG laugh through behind DIST.SG
 'Don't laugh behind there' [CY_Lari_Na'i.223]

(246) *bèi sai re haga bèi ne'e we*
 grandma chops via foot grandma PROX.SG tag
 'I (grandma) make a line with my foot' [CY_Lari_Na'i.442]

3.6.1.3. Temporal Preposition

The preposition *toke* often combines with the verb *dai* 'reach' to indicate time duration or distance. Examples of *toke* are given in (247) and (248), where they introduce the duration of time. An example of the combination of *toke* and *dai* is given in (249).

(247) *dhèu ne'e bhèj'i boe toke mèu*
 person PROX.SG to.sleep not until daytime
 'The person did not sleep until the sun rose' [FAK_Roga'a.025]

(248) *la-mu tenge toke m-èdhi,*
 to.go-2SG to.look.for until 2SG-to.see
 'Please go until you find (it)' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1081]

- (249) *ngèti uru toke dai limuri ne'e*
 from formerly until to.reach latest PROX.SG
 'From the past until today' [LL_Pagar_Laut.002]

3.6.2. Other Prepositions

3.6.2.1. Accompaniment Preposition

The preposition *dènge* 'with' basically signals an accompaniment. It also functions as an instrument, a coordinate conjunction (see §3.6.3.1) and a possessive predicate (see §5.2.3). *Dènge* is used as a clausal adverb as well (see §3.3.2.2). In this case *dènge* 'with' is multifunctional with 'accompaniment', which is the core meaning; its other functions are extended grammaticalizations (Balukh and Arka, 2018). In (250), the preposition *dènge* 'with' indicates an accompaniment. In (251), *dènge* 'with' introduces instrumental entities; *doi* 'money' is used in the action of *paèi* 'to solder'. This instrumental reading is the grammaticalization of its core meaning when the referent is inanimate and the shared participation control over the event diminishes, while its sense of proximity arguably remains intact.

- (250) *èu mai ca'e koha dènge ji'i ho*
 2SG to.come climb boat with 1PL.ex so.that
 'You come along with us in this canoe, then' [BS_Tuka_Suki.103]

- (251) *pa-èi dènge doi pudhi*
 CAUS-water with money silver
 'Soldered silver coin and brass' [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.050]

3.6.2.2. Comparative/Similative Preposition

The preposition *semi* 'be like' indicates that an entity is compared to or contrasted with (an)other entity. In the example (252), *baki* 'grandfather' is compared to *ja'a* '1SG' in terms of behavior or identity. Likewise, in (253), a problem experienced by the subject *èu* '2SG' is compared to a problem experienced by the complement *ja'a* '1SG'. The preposition *sèmi* 'be like' also combine with question word *ngaa* 'what' to express admiration, as in (254).

- (252) *ja'a sèmi baki ku*
 1SG be.like grandfather 1SG.CL
 'I am like grandfather' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1391]
- (253) *èu abhu j'èra sèmi ja'a ne'e*
 2SG to.get suffer be.like 1SG PROX.SG
 'You had the same trouble like me here' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.471]

- (254) *aj'u nèngu dèbho sèmi ngaa !*
 wood 3SG big be.like what
 'How big his logs are' [ADJV_Elicit.035]

3.6.3. Conjunctions

Dhao has five coordinating conjunctions, as listed in Table 3.19, and eight subordinating conjunctions, as listed in Table 3.20.

Some conjunctions are lexically simple, such as *dènge* 'with, and', and some are complex, such as *ngèti èèna ka* 'therefore'. For the complex forms the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG', which can be reduced into *na* in turn, and the particle *ka* play an important role. Functionally, conjunctions also are derived from other categories. For instance, *ladhe* 'if' is derived from the verb *ladhe* 'to see', and *lodo* 'when' is derived from the noun *lodo* 'day, time'. A more extensive discussion of conjunctions is presented in Chapter VI on Complex Clauses.

3.6.3.1. Coordinating conjunctions

Dhao has two coordinating conjunctions that join elements, the preposition *dènge* 'with' and *aa* 'and'. There is one conjunction for contrast *tengaa* 'but', a conjunction denoting alternative *do* 'or', and a conjunction marking consequence or result *de* 'so'. The list of the coordinating conjunctions is given in Table 3.19 below. For a more elaborate description of the functions of coordinating conjunctions, see §6.2.

Table 3.19: Coordinating Conjunctions

CNJ	GLOSS	Meaning	Other meaning
<i>dènge</i>	ASSOC	and	with, immediately
<i>aa</i>	COM	and	-
<i>tengaa</i>	ADVR	but	-
<i>do</i>	CONT	or	indeed
<i>de</i>	RES	so	-

3.6.3.2. Subordinating conjunctions

On the basis of their functions, subordinate conjunctions can be divided into three types: complementizers, relativizers, and adverbializers. In Dhao, complementization is marked by *na* 'COMP' and relativization is marked by *dhu* 'REL'. Furthermore, adverbializers in Dhao can express causality, conditionality, time, purpose, sequence, and negative purpose. Some adverbializers share features with other categories, such as prepositions and verbs, as is explained above. The list

of the subordinate conjunctions is presented in Table 3.20 below. Because of a lack of space, examples and a more elaborate description is given in §6.3.

Table 3.20: Subordinating Conjunctions

Function	CNJ	GLOSS	Meaning	Other senses
Complementizer	<i>na</i>	COMP	‘that’	-
Relativizer	<i>dhu</i>	REL	-	-
Causal	<i>lula</i>	CAUS	because	-
	<i>ngèti</i>	CAUS	because	from
	<i>te</i>	CAUS	as, since	but
	<i>te... de...</i>		as... so...	-
	<i>ngèti èèna ka</i>		therefore/ that is why/ because of that	from that, then
Conditional	<i>ladhe</i>	COND	if	see
	<i>ladhe... na...</i>	COND	if... then	-
	<i>sad’i</i>	COND	provided that/ most importantly	-
Time	<i>karai</i>	TIM	since	-
	<i>èle ka</i>	TIM	then, after that	-
	<i>èle èèna ka</i>			
	<i>ropa/rapa</i>	TIM	when	-
	<i>lod’o</i>	TIM	when	day
Purpose	<i>ho</i>	IRR	so that, in order to	-
	<i>sèna ka</i>	‘PURP’	so that	-
	<i>aeka</i>	‘NEG.PURP’	lest	-
Sequential	<i>hèia</i>	‘SEQ’	then, afterwards	-
	<i>ka</i>	‘SEQ’	then, so	
	<i>heka</i>	‘SEQ’	then, afterwards	have just, no longer, old
Concessive	<i>masi ka</i>	‘CONS’	although	-
	<i>ngaa te</i>	‘CONS’	whereas	-

3.6.4. Particles, Tags, and Interjections

3.6.4.1. Particles

Particles refer to function words that do not have their own lexical definition. They constitute a separate word class; they may function as specific markers of particular semantic categories, such as negation and mood (Bickel and Nichols, 2007: 180).

Particles differ from other discourse markers, such as interjections, because particles are fully integrated into the syntax of utterances and cannot constitute independent nonelliptical utterances all by themselves (Ameka, 2006: 745). Articles in Dhao include words that indicate aspects, conjunction-like words, and negations, as are listed in Table 3.21 below.

Table 3.21: Particles in Dhao

	Particle	Function	Gloss
<i>conjunction-like</i>	<i>ka</i>	sequence, focus	then, FOC
	<i>na</i>	complementizer	COMP
	<i>te</i>	subordinator	because, but
	<i>oo</i>	subordinator	although?
<i>perfective</i>	<i>eele</i>	perfective	be away
	<i>le</i>	perfective	<i>èle</i> ‘finish’
<i>imperative</i>	<i>la</i>	imperative	<i>lah</i> (IND)
	<i>la’a</i>	for imperative	go ahead

The particle *do* is presented independently in Table 3.22 below.

Table 3.22: Particle *do*

Function	Syntax	Implication	Prosody
Yes/no question	Clause/sentence Final position	It needs explicit answer from the interlocutor. The answer is not open, which is similar to its function as conjunction. It requires hearer’s reaction explicitly	Rising intonation
Conjunction	Medial position, between words, phrases, clauses	It provides alternative choice for the interlocutor. Requires hearer’s reaction but implicit.	Unmarked
Tag	Clause/sentence final position	The speaker has high degree of certainty and do not wait for the confirmation from the interlocutor	Rising-flat

3.6.4.2. Tags

In Dhao, tags are used to mark particular expressions, such as expressions of politeness or questions. Tags are listed in Table 3.23 below.

Table 3.23: Tags in Dhao

<i>ku</i>	Politeness tag		follow NP, VP for imperative
..., <i>nga</i>	certainty		in clause final
..., <i>èu</i>	certainty		in clause final
..., <i>si (ma)</i> ..., <i>to (Mal)</i>	question tag		in clause final
..., <i>we</i>	exclamation	hey/oy	to ascertain something
..., <i>ma</i>	doubt		in clause final
..., <i>la (ma)</i>	implied imperative		in clause final
<i>do</i>	doubt		as clause final

3.6.4.3. Interjections

Interjections typically express a speaker's current mental state or a reaction to an element in the linguistic or extra-linguistic context (Ameka, 2006: 743). Interjections are typically used to express emotions but they can have other functions as well. Interjections form independent non-elliptical utterances. Interjections in Dhao are listed in Table 3.24 below.

Table 3.24: Interjections in Dhao

<i>irii</i>	auch, yech, oh	'surprise, astonishment'
<i>ira ee</i>	my god	
<i>inaa/ina</i>	'oh my gosh'	surprise
<i>hea</i>	huh	surprise/feel sorry
<i>ha</i>	aha	surprise/anger
<i>ee</i>	uhm	hesitation/filler
<i>oo</i>	oh	filler, amazement
<i>boo</i>	wow	amazement

4

Morphosyntax: Inflection and Derivation

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the forms that play a significant role in morphosyntactic processes in Dhao. These forms include affixes, clitics, reduplication, compounding, and vowel change. This chapter starts with actor indexing in a verb class that obligatorily requires corresponding affixes to co-index subjects. Dhao has only one derivational prefix, *pa-*, which is discussed in §4.3. This section focuses on the meanings carried by the prefix and on related issues, such as integration of the prefix *pa-* with inflected verbs, reduplication, and compound forms. Furthermore, §4.3 also discusses the lexicalization of the prefix *pa-*. Reduplication, including its types and semantics, is discussed in §4.4. While the prefix *pa-* is productive for verb formation (see §3.3.1.1), reduplication is productive for noun formation (see §3.2.1.1). Another productive morphosyntactic process in Dhao is compounding, which is discussed in §4.5. This section will touch on compounds in nominal and verbal categories. Related meanings of compounds are also mentioned in brief. A discussion on vowel change is presented in §4.6. Although it is a less productive morphosyntactic process, it will be shown that Dhao, as a Hawu-like language, still maintains such a morphosyntactic feature.

4.2. Actor Indexing

In Dhao, nine verbs obligatorily require affixes that co-index with the subject (see §3.2.2.1). Eight verbs take prefixes, whereas the verb *la-* ‘to go’ takes a suffix. Of the eight verbs taking prefixes, two are irregular forms; their initial vowels require phonological adaptation. The paradigm of the irregular verbs is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Irregular Verbal inflection

Pro.	Pref.	-a'a 'to eat'	-are 'to take'
1SG	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-u'a</i>	<i>k-ore</i>
2SG	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-u'a</i>	<i>m-ore</i>
3SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-a'a</i>	<i>n-are</i>
1PL-in	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-a'a</i>	<i>t-are</i>
1PL-ex	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ng-a'a</i>	<i>ng-are</i>
2PL	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-i'a</i>	<i>m-ere</i>
3PL	<i>r-</i>	<i>r-a'a</i>	<i>r-are</i>

The vowels of the first and second person prefixes assimilate with the initial vowels of the verb roots. In the verb *-a'a* 'eat' the initial vowel is replaced by /u/ and /i/ of both the 1SG and 2PL prefixes, yielding *ku'a* '1SG.eat' and *mi'a* '2PL.eat'. The second irregular verb root is *-are* 'take'. The vowel /u/ of the 1SG and 2SG prefixes and the vowel /a/ of the root merge into the vowel /o/, which results in *kore* '1SG.take' and *more* '2SG.take'. The vowel of the 2PL prefix /i/ and the vowel of the root /a/ are neutralized into /e/, which results in *mere* '2PL-take'. The other verbs simply merge their vowels.

The paradigm of regular inflected verb forms is presented in Table 4.2 below. The assimilation solely demotes the vowels of the prefixes and retains the initial vowel of the roots.

Table 4.2: Regular Verbal inflection with prefix

Pro.	Pref.	-e'a 'to know'	-èdhi 'to see'	-èti 'to bring'	-o'o 'to want'	-inu 'to drink'	-èd'u 'to hold'
1SG	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-e'a</i>	<i>k-èdhi</i>	<i>k-èti</i>	<i>k-o'o</i>	<i>k-inu</i>	<i>k-èd'u</i>
2SG	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-e'a</i>	<i>m-èdhi</i>	<i>m-èti</i>	<i>m-o'o</i>	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-èd'u</i>
3SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-e'a</i>	<i>n-èdhi</i>	<i>n-èti</i>	<i>n-o'o</i>	<i>n-inu</i>	<i>n-èd'u</i>
1PL-in	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-e'a</i>	<i>t-èdhi</i>	<i>t-èti</i>	<i>t-o'o</i>	<i>t-inu</i>	<i>t-èd'u</i>
1PL-ex	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ng-e'a</i>	<i>ng-èdhi</i>	<i>ng-èti</i>	<i>ng-o'o</i>	<i>ng-inu</i>	<i>ng-èd'u</i>
2PL	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-e'a</i>	<i>m-èdhi</i>	<i>m-èti</i>	<i>m-o'o</i>	<i>m-inu</i>	<i>m-èd'u</i>
3PL	<i>r-</i>	<i>r-e'a</i>	<i>r-èdhi</i>	<i>r-èti</i>	<i>r-o'o</i>	<i>r-inu</i>	<i>r-èd'u</i>

As stated previously, only the verb *la-* 'to go' takes suffixes for inflection. Other motion or direction verbs never are inflected. Although Grimes (2010) listed the verb *la-* 'to go' in Dhao as an innovation from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **lakaw* 'to go, to walk', the innovation of the pronominal suffixes still is debatable from

such historical perspective. A different interpretation comes from Jonker (1903), who states that the suffixes are loans from Rotenese, which are historically grammaticalized from pronominals in turn. The following list is taken from Jonker's work (1903) and compared to the current usage of pronominal suffixes in Dhao.

Table 4.3: Verbal Inflection with suffix

Pro.	Jonker's		Current Usage	
	Suf.	<i>la-</i> 'to go'	Suf.	<i>la-</i> 'to go'
1SG	<i>-ku</i>	<i>la-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>la-ku</i>
2SG	<i>-mu</i>	<i>la-mu</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>la-mu</i>
3SG	<i>-ni</i>	<i>la-ni</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>la-e</i>
1PL-in	<i>-ti</i>	<i>la-ti</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>la-ti</i>
1PL-ex	<i>-ku</i>	<i>la-ku</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>la-a</i>
2PL	<i>-mi</i>	<i>la-mi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>la-mi</i>
3PL	<i>-ri</i>	<i>la-ri</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>la-si</i>

As can be seen, three suffixes changed over time: *-ni* turned into *-e* '3SG', *-ku* turned into *-a* '1PL-ex', and finally *-ri* changed into *-si* '3PL'. Jonker's argument is worth being taken into account for the very reason that Dhao has had intense contact with Rotenese since a very long time (see §1.3).

The affixes must 'agree' in person and number with their antecedents (see §3.2.2.1). Inflected verbs alone already generate well-formed sentences without a full NP, pronouns, or pronominal clitics. There are four possible ways to analyze the affixes here: (1) as agreement markers, (2) as bound pronouns, (3) as both agreement markers and bound pronouns, and (4) as neither agreement markers nor bound pronouns (after Haspelmath, 2013). The only strategy is to analyze the affixes as neither agreement markers nor as pronouns.

The affixes are obligatorily attached to verbs that co-index NPs, as illustrated in (1)a and (3)a. (1)b shows an example in which the co-index is wrong, marked by an asterisk (*). The NPs, however, may be absent, in which case the affixes do not depend on a controller.

- (1) a. [ina =na] *n-e'a* *le*
 mother 3SG 3SG-know already
 'His mother has known already' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.099]
- b. [ina =na] **k-e'a* *le*
 mother 3SG 1SG-know already

- (2) *n-èti adhe ana èèna*
 3SG.to.bring liver child DIST.SG
 ‘He brought the liver of that child’ [elicited from: SK_Polisi.440]
- (3) a. *ca lod'o hari ka [Rika la-'e dhasi]*
 a day again PART Rika to.go-3SG sea
 ‘One day Rika went to the beach’ [BS_Rika_Jote.017]
- b. *ca lod'o hari ka [la-'e dhasi]*
 a day again PART to.go-3SG sea
 ‘One day she went to the beach’

The affixes provide information about person and number of their antecedents. The affixes and the NPs share the same referent and role in the clause. For example, take the sentence in (1)a above, in which the prefix *n-* and the NP *ina na* ‘his mother’ refer to the same referent, that is: the individual who already knew. As they share the same referent, they also share the same syntactic role, that is: the subject.

From a typological perspective, inflectional affixes in Dhao can be considered as having a cross-reference system for two reasons: first of all, the verb and its affix already constitute a complete clause, and second of all, the dependent NP requires the affix on the verbal head, whereas the head and the marker can occur without the NP. This system is not unique to Dhao only, as some languages in neighboring areas also have a similar phenomenon, such as Kambara on Sumba (Klamer, 1998), Rotenese on Rote (Balukh, 2005), and Tetun on Timor (Van Klinken, 1999). Nevertheless, this perspective leaves the syntactic status of full NPs unclear still.

Inflectional affixes in Dhao are best treated as neither agreement nor as cross-reference in a narrow sense, but rather as a double expression. That is, the affixes confirm that the argument referent is available within the context. When the NP is present, the affix and the NP jointly constitute the subject argument. Thus, the argument is doubly expressed in this regard. Following Haspelmath (2013), I call this the double expression of an actor index.

4.3. Prefix *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* is the only derivational morpheme in Dhao. It derives not only verbs from either verbal or non-verbal bases, but it also derives adverbs from adjectives. Only few derived nouns that have the prefix *pa-* have been identified. In terms of valency operation, the prefix *pa-* functions to both increase as well as decrease and to rearrange the valency of verbs. It increases valency in the sense that monovalent verbs will change into bivalent verbs, for example to express causativity. Furthermore, the prefix *pa-* also decreases verb valency in that bivalent verbs change

into monovalent verbs, for example, in order to denote reciprocal meaning. In my Dhao corpus no trivalent verbs decrease their valency to bivalency. The discussion in this section focuses on the meanings of the prefix *pa-*. Note that the corresponding form and meanings of this prefix are also obviously found in languages of the same subgroup: *pa-* in Kampera on Sumba (Klamer, 1998) and *pe-* in Hawu on Sawu (Walker, 1982).

Causative meaning is expressed by attaching the prefix *pa-* to the bases of verbs as well as adjectives, nouns, and numerals. The results of this derivation are bivalent or trivalent verbs. The discussion of causative meaning also involves manipulative meaning (§4.3.1.1). Intensity meanings can be derived from either monovalent or bivalent verbs (§4.3.1.2). Reciprocal meaning is derived from bivalent verbs and resultative meaning from monovalent verbs (§4.3.1.3). Resultative meaning does not change the valency of the verb (§4.3.1.4). Simultaneity meaning is presented in §4.3.1.5. Habitual, durative, and factitive meanings are derived from nominal bases, which result in either monovalent verbs or adverbs (§4.3.1.6; §4.3.1.7; §4.3.1.8). Other specific meanings encoded by prefixing *pa-* will also be taken into account in this section (§4.3.1.9). The Derived forms as bases of *pa-* are presented in §4.3.2, §4.3.3, and §4.3.4. Lexicalization of *pa-* is given in §4.3.5. A summary of the meanings resulting from the prefix *pa-* is presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Bases and Meanings of *pa-*

Meanings	Base forms	Derived forms
Causative	Monovalent verbs	Bivalent verbs
	Bivalent verbs	
	Ambivalent verbs	Bi/trivalent verbs
	Adjectives	
Manipulative	Nouns	Bivalent
	Numerals	
	Bivalent verbs	Trivalent verbs
	Monovalent verbs	
Intensity	Monovalent verbs	Mono/bivalent verbs
	Bivalent verbs	
Reciprocal	Bivalent verbs	Monovalent verbs
Resultative	Monovalent verbs	Monovalent verbs
Simultaneity	Monovalent verbs	Monovalent verbs
	Bivalent verbs	Bivalent verbs
Habitual	Nouns	Monovalent verbs
Durative	Nouns	Adverbs
Factitive	Nouns	Monovalent verbs
Other	Monovalent verbs	Mono/bivalent verbs
	Bivalent verbs	
	Nouns	Nouns

4.3.1. Meanings of the prefix *pa-*

4.3.1.1. Causative

Causative meaning is commonly expressed by verbal constructions that profile an action that brings about a particular process leading to a change in the state of an entity (Shibatani & Pardeshi, 2001). This phenomenon refers to a situation that is cross-linguistically termed a ‘causative situation’, in which two interrelated events are involved: the causing event and the caused event (Shibatani, 1976; Kulikov, 2001).

This section is concerned with the causative meaning brought about by the prefix *pa-*. This section will also discuss causative constructions expressed by SVCs in connection with the attachment of the prefix *pa-* to particular bases. Causative meanings expressed by lexical words can be found in the discussion of verbs in §3.3.1.2 and of SVCs in §6.4.3.4. Before discussing the semantic constraints and syntactic construction of causatives, it is important to first present the bases that take the prefix *pa-*.

Monovalent base verbs are exemplified in (4) below. A typical intransitive construction with the monovalent verb *madhe* ‘to die’ is given in (4)a. The verb semantically denotes the state of an entity, in this case *kahibi èèna* ‘that goat’. When the verb *madhe* ‘to die’ is prefixed with *pa-* in (4)b, the morphologically complex verb denotes an action that causes a change of state, that is, from being alive to being not alive, or rather, dead. This construction implies that the actor *rèngu* ‘3PL’ acts in a particular manner which in turn causes the undergoer *kahibi èèna* ‘that goat’ to be dead. The prefix *pa-* expresses the causation, whereas the base verb *madhe* ‘to die’ expresses the resulting state. A list of state verbs taking the prefix *pa-* is given in (5).

- (4) a. *kahibi èèna madhe le*
 goat DIST.SG to.die PERF
 ‘That goat has been dead’ [elicited]
- b. *rèngu pa-madhe kahibi èèna*
 3PL CAUS-to.die goat DIST.SG
 ‘They kill the goat’ [Elicited]

- (5) State monovalent verb bases for *pa-*
- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>adhu</i> | ‘hard’ | <i>pa-adhu</i> | ‘cause X hard’ |
| <i>bai</i> | ‘swollen’ | <i>pa-bai</i> | ‘cause X swollen’ |
| <i>bani</i> | ‘brave’ | <i>pa-bani</i> | ‘cause X brave’ |
| <i>bèdhu</i> | ‘blind’ | <i>pa-bèdhu</i> | ‘cause X blind’ |
| <i>bhaka</i> | ‘blunt’ | <i>pa-bhaka</i> | ‘cause X blunt’ |

<i>èra</i>	‘strong’	<i>pa-èra</i>	‘cause X strong’
<i>j’èra</i>	‘suffer’	<i>pa-j’èra</i>	‘cause X suffer’
<i>kèpu</i>	‘be burnt’	<i>pa-kèpu</i>	‘cause X burnt’
<i>madhe</i>	‘to die’	<i>pa-madhe</i>	‘cause X to die’
<i>mèu</i>	‘be clean’	<i>pa-mèu</i>	‘cause X clean’

Like state verbs, monovalent action verbs also take the prefix *pa-* to encode causative meanings. While the meaning of action verb bases always designate physical actions, the derived counterpart may also refer to non-physical phenomena. For example, the verb base *manahu* ‘to fall’ in (6) denotes a physical action in which the individual *bhèni èèna* ‘that woman’ drops from a high position. When attaching *pa-*, the verb becomes *pamanahu* ‘cause to fall’. The verbal construction may denote either a corresponding physical action, as in (6)a or a non-physical phenomenon (a sentiment), as in (7), which contextually means ‘make s.o. suffer’. More action monovalent verbs taking *pa-* are listed in (8) below.

- (6) a. *bhèni èèna manahu*
 woman DIST.SG to.fall
 ‘That woman falls down’ [SB_Lolo.311]
- b. *ra pa-manahu bhèni èèna*
 3PL CAUS-to.fall woman DIST.SG
 ‘They cause the woman to fall’
- (7) *ra pa-manahu èdhi asa j’ara susa*
 3PL CAUS-to.fall 1PL.in to way to.suffer(IND)
 ‘They make us suffer’ [TF_E’yu_Maraho.171]
- (8) Action monovalent verb bases for *pa-*
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>bhodho</i> | ‘to exit’ | <i>pa-bodho</i> | ‘cause X to exit’ |
| <i>cèna</i> | ‘to sink’ | <i>pa-cèna</i> | ‘cause X to sink’ |
| <i>cèri</i> | ‘be separated’ | <i>pa-cèri</i> | ‘cause X to separate’ |
| <i>manahu</i> | ‘to fall’ | <i>pa-manahu</i> | ‘cause X to fall’ |
| <i>cudu</i> | ‘to bow down’ | <i>pa-cudu</i> | ‘make bow down’ |
| <i>dha’u</i> | ‘to go down’ | <i>pa-dha’u</i> | ‘make go down’ |
| <i>guri</i> | ‘to collapse’ | <i>pa-guri</i> | ‘make X collapse’ |
| <i>hae</i> | ‘to flow’ | <i>pa-hae</i> | ‘make X flow’ |
| <i>kalua</i> | ‘to exit’ | <i>pa-kalua</i> | ‘make X to exit’ |
| | | | (take X out) |
| <i>bèbhe</i> | ‘to fall’ | <i>pa-babhe</i> | ‘to fell X’ |
| <i>kabhui</i> | ‘to fall’ | <i>pa-kabhui</i> | ‘to fell (fruit)’ |

<i>kako</i>	‘to walk’	<i>pa-kako</i>	‘to run X’
<i>kèdi</i>	‘to get.up’	<i>pa-kèdi</i>	‘to wake up X’

The combination of an adjective and the causative prefix *pa-* is illustrated in (9) below. The adjective *madhera* ‘long’ in (9)a describes an additional feature of the entity *aj’u èèna* ‘that log’. When attaching the prefix *pa-*, the adjective is verbalized as in (9)b, meaning ‘to make something become’. The derived verb designates that the referent of *nèngu* ‘3SG’ takes a particular action which causes the log to be long. Like with monovalent base verbs, the integration of the prefix *pa-* profiles a process that leads to a change of the state of an entity. However, this construction also requires the action verb *tao* ‘to make’. All this results in a SVC (which will be explained further down below). A list of adjectives taking the prefix *pa-* is presented in (10) below.

- (9) a. *aj’u èèna madhera*
 wood DIST.SG long
 ‘The log is long’ [GD_Kei_Ei.084]
- b. *nèngu tao pa-madhera aj’u èèna*
 3SG to.make CAUS-long wood DIST.SG
 ‘He makes the log long’
- (10) Adjective bases for *pa-*
- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>(ana) iiki</i> | ‘small’ | <i>pa-ana iiki</i> | ‘to make X small’ |
| <i>aapa</i> | ‘bad’ | <i>pa-aapa</i> | ‘to make X bad’ |
| <i>bab’a</i> | ‘short, shallow’ | <i>pa-bab’a</i> | ‘to shorten’ |
| <i>be’a</i> | ‘good’ | <i>pa-be’a</i> | ‘to make X better’ |
| <i>bhèla</i> | ‘wide’ | <i>pa-bhèla</i> | ‘to widen’ |
| <i>dèbho</i> | ‘big (wood)’ | <i>pa-dèbho</i> | ‘to make X big’ |
| <i>kapai</i> | ‘big, large’ | <i>pa-kapai</i> | ‘to make X big’ |
| <i>kobo</i> | ‘narrow’ | <i>pa-kobo</i> | ‘to make X narrow’ |
| <i>ma’aa</i> | ‘thick’ | <i>pa-ma’aa</i> | ‘to thicken’ |
| <i>madhera</i> | ‘long, tall’ | <i>pa-madhera</i> | ‘to lengthen’ |
| <i>manii</i> | ‘thin’ | <i>pa-manii</i> | ‘to make X thin’ |
| <i>marèma</i> | ‘deep’ | <i>pa-marèma</i> | ‘to deepen’ |

The adjectives presented in (10) above are classified as “recategorized” adjectives, except for *iiki* ‘small’, which is a prototypical or “true” adjective (see §3.4; Balukh, 2015). Unlike other adjectives, the causative prefix *pa-* is attached to the compound form *ana iiki* ‘small child’. This phenomenon may be explained as follows. Prototypical or “true” adjectives in Dhao can only function as direct noun modifiers

and they obligatorily require a head noun. As the result, compound forms appear like a NP construction. As demonstrated in (11)a below, the prefix *pa-* is attached to the compound form *ana iiki* ‘small child’. When *ana* ‘child’ is absent, like in (11)b, the construction is ungrammatical. This phenomenon may suggest that the adjective *iiki* ‘small’ loses its morphosyntactic characteristics and requires the lexical form *ana* ‘child’ as its semantic counterpart (Balukh, 2015).

- (11) a. *èdhi sai pa-ana.iiki nèngu*
 1PL.in to.chop CAUS-child.small 3SG
 ‘We cut it into small’ [elicited]
- b. **èdhi pa-iiki nèngu*
 1PL.in CAUS-small 3SG

The prefix *pa-* also derives causative verbs from nominal bases, which can be either concrete or abstract nouns. For instance, in (12) the noun *ngara* ‘name’ is a possessed noun. Prefixed with *pa-*, the derived verb *pangara* denotes the meaning ‘to name’ or ‘to cause something to have a name’. The construction in (13) was taken from a story about the ancestors of Dhao who first came to the island. It is said that there was a debate amongst three people; a man named Pesa Kèli asked the other two, Rika and Jote, what name they had given to the island in order to prove that they had been the first ones to come to the island. A list of more nouns that can be the bases for the prefix *pa-* is given in (14).

- (12) *dhèu èci ngara na baki Hètu.Helo*
 person one name 3SG.CL grandfather *Hètu.Helo*
 ‘There was a person named Mr. Hètu Helo’ [JL_Musu_Bajo.256]
 (Lit: one person, his name (is) Mr. Hètu Helo)
- (13) *miu pa-ngara kabarai ne'e ne na ngaa?*
 2PL CAUS-name island PROX.SG PROX.SG COMP what
 ‘What name did you give to this place?’ [BS_Rika_Jote.077]
 (Lit: you name this island what?)
- (14) Noun roots for *pa-*
- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>èi</i> | ‘water’ | <i>pa-èi</i> | ‘to solder, melt’ |
| <i>hèu</i> | ‘odor’ | <i>pa-hèu</i> | ‘to make smell’ |
| <i>horo</i> | ‘foam’ | <i>pa-horo</i> | ‘to make foam’ |
| <i>kabheca</i> | ‘mud’ | <i>pa-kabheca</i> | ‘to become muddy’ |
| <i>kabua</i> | ‘bridewealth; price’ | <i>pa-kabua</i> | ‘to honor’ |

<i>katanga</i>	‘cover’	<i>pa-katanga</i>	‘to make layers’ ‘to bundle’ ‘to double’
<i>lii</i>	‘voice, sound’	<i>pa-lii</i>	‘to ring’
<i>maruru</i>	‘garbage’	<i>pa-maruru</i>	‘to pollute, to contaminate’
<i>masi</i>	‘salt’	<i>pa-masi</i>	‘to make it become salt’
<i>mènyi</i>	‘oil, fat’	<i>pa-mènyi</i>	‘to oil’
<i>na’i</i>	‘tobacco’	<i>pa-na’i</i>	‘to treat (medical)’
<i>ngara</i>	‘name’	<i>pa-ngara</i>	‘to name’
<i>ro’a</i>	‘hole’	<i>pa-ro’a</i>	‘to make hole’
<i>saraa</i>	‘light’	<i>pa-saraa</i>	‘to make light’

The prefix *pa-* is confined to the cardinal number *èci* ‘one’ and the fraction *ca malore* ‘a half’. The derived verbs denote the meaning ‘cause to become one’ and ‘cause to become half’. The attachment of *pa-* to the cardinal number *eci* ‘one’ may also mean ‘to unite, to unify, to mix, to gather’ depending on the context. An example is given in (15), in which someone would like to unite with other people in the community. In this case, the derived verb *paèci* bears the meaning ‘to unite’.

- (15) *la-ku pa-èci dènge dhèu ae-ae sèi*
to.go-1SG CAUS-one with person DUP-many DIST.SG
‘I went to unite with many people over there’ [Elicited]

From the description above it is clear that derived verbs with the prefix *pa-* changed from monovalent verbs into bivalent verbs. The same holds true for non-verbal categories (adjective, noun, and numeral) that behave the same as monovalent verbs constructionally (see §5.4 for details on valency and transitivity). Some examples are presented for clarification below. In (16)a, the verb *hera* ‘be dirty’ is monovalent. It profiles an event that has only a single semantic participant, which is referred to as *èmu èèna* ‘that house’ in this construction. With the prefix *pa-* in (16)b, the derived verb *pahera* ‘to make dirty’ profiles an event that requires two semantic participants, which makes the verb bivalent. One participant serves as the actor and the other as the undergoer. *Nèngu* ‘3SG’ refers to the actor and *èmu èèna* ‘that house’ to the undergoer. Another example is shown in (18), where the base is a noun, *èi* ‘water’. As seen in (17) the entity *èi* ‘water’ appears in an argument position, the object. The derived form with the prefix *pa-* in (18) *paèi* ‘to solder, to melt’ is a bivalent verb, which profiles an event that requires two participants: the actor of the soldering event and the undergoer that is to be soldered.

- (16) a. *èmu èèna hera ae*
house DIST.SG dirty many
‘That house is too dirty’
- b. *nèngu pa-hera èmu èèna*
3SG CAUS-be.dirty house DIST.SG
‘He makes that house dirty’
- (17) *rèngu pai èi*
3PL to.boil water
‘They boil water’ [Verb_Elicited.00332]
- (18) *ja’a pa-èi nèngu ne’e*
1SG CAUS-water 3SG PROX.SG
‘I soldered it’ [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.049]

However, causativization and valence increasing operations do not always match in Dhao. The attachment of the prefix *pa-* to bivalent verbs maintains the verbal valence, and rather, they become more volitional. This is exemplified in (19) with the cognition verb *sanède* ‘to remember’ (see §3.3.1.2.3). The verb is bivalent, since it requires two participants: an experiencer, profiled by *èdhi* ‘1PL.in’ and a stimulus, profiled by *hela ne’e* ‘this blossom’. When the verb is prefixed with *pa-*, as in (20), the meaning changes into ‘to remind’. The same also holds true for the bivalent verb *ciu* ‘to tear apart’ as illustrated in (21), which is prefixed in (22). Unlike *sanède* ‘to remember’, the verb *ci’u* ‘to tear apart’ is an action verb that is inherently causative. The difference with the derived form *paci’u* is that the latter is more volitional: the actor executes the verbal action with a specific purpose. A list of more bivalent verbs that may take the causative prefix *pa-* is presented in (23) below.

- (19) *èdhi sanède hela ne’e*
1PL.in to.remember blossom PROX.SG
‘We remember this blossom’ [YK_HelaBunga.048]
- (20) *lii holonori Lamatua pa-sanède ji’i*
voice advice Lord CAUS-to.remember 1PL.ex
‘The Word of God reminds us’ [CY_Pray.009]

- (21) *èu baku ciu eele sa-suri èèna*
 2SG do.not to.tear.apart PART DUP-write DIST.SG
 ‘(you) don’t tear the paper apart’ [Verb_Elicited.00246]
- (22) *ja’a pa-ciu hèngu*
 2SG CAUS-to.tear.apart thread
 ‘I divide the threads’ [YL_Hengu.060]
- (23) Bivalent verbs with *pa-*
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <i>hèle</i> | ‘to spread’ | <i>pa-hèle</i> | ‘to spread (mat)’ |
| <i>hiki</i> | ‘to move’ | <i>pa-hiki</i> | ‘to make X move’ |
| <i>hutu</i> | ‘to wrap’ | <i>pa-hutu</i> | ‘to make X wrapped’ |
| <i>jingi</i> | ‘to tidy up’ | <i>pa-jingi</i> | ‘to make X tidy’ |
| <i>j’oka</i> | ‘to lift’ | <i>pa-j’oka</i> | ‘to make X lifted’ |
| <i>kadhoe</i> | ‘to hang’ | <i>pa-kadhoe</i> | ‘to hang’ |
| <i>kosa</i> | ‘to rub’ | <i>pa-kosa</i> | ‘to rub’ |
| <i>sanède</i> | ‘to remember’ | <i>pa-sanède</i> | ‘to remind’ |

It has been explicated previously that causative verbs bring about a particular process resulting in a change of the state of an entity. However, in Dhao, this does not automatically imply that derived verbs equal underived verbs in terms of syntactic slots. Causative constructions with *pa-* are syntactically distinguishable as two main types: single verbal predication, and SVCs. This will be discussed by means of a scale between prototypical verbs and prototypical adjectives, as is presented in Table 4.5 below.

As is shown, the lexemes in group A can only function as predicates, which is the prototypical function of verbs. Contrastively, the lexemes in group D can only become noun modifiers and never fill predicate slots in their bare forms, which implies that they are prototypical adjectives (see §3.4.1). Groups B and C show that there is a group of intermediate lexemes that can behave both like verbs as well as like adjectives. All of them express states. The lexemes in group A and B are classified as verbs, whereas the lexemes in group C and D are classified as adjectives (see §3.3.1 and §3.4). The more verb-like a lexeme is, the more the prefix *pa-* is integrated with the base to express causation. The more adjective-like a lexeme is, the more causation is expressed separately by a specific action verb.

Table 4.5: The scale between prototypical verb and adjective

Predicate only	A	<i>kako</i>	‘to walk’	Verb Adjective
		<i>tangi</i>	‘to cry’	
		<i>muri</i>	‘to grow’	
		<i>mèu</i>	‘be clean’	
		<i>hera</i>	‘be dirty’	
Predicate & modifier	B	<i>pèda</i>	‘be sick’	
		<i>madhe</i>	‘be dead, die’	
	C	<i>manii</i>	‘thin’	
		<i>mèdi</i>	‘black’	
N-modifier only	D	<i>(ana) iiki</i>	‘small’	
		<i>(mone) aae</i>	‘great, big’	

The example in (24) demonstrates that the base verb *kako* ‘to walk’ is a monovalent action verb. The prefix *pa-* is fused with the root. It does not need any extra verbs to express causation. Verbs like *kako* ‘to walk’ are actor-oriented verbs that require an actor participant. The example in (25)a is copied from the example in (16)b, with the state verb base *hera* ‘to be dirty’. The prefix *pa-* and the base verb are integrated to express causative meaning. When the generic verb *tao* ‘to make’ is added, the construction becomes ungrammatical. This implies that, although *hera* ‘to be dirty’ itself semantically denotes a state, it syntactically is a verb just like *kako* ‘to walk’.

- (24) *ji'i pa-kako [...] ètu dara gereja ji'i*
 1PL.ex CAUS-to.walk LOC inside church(IND) 1PL.ex
 ‘We run [offerings] in our church’ [CY_Pray.069]

- (25) a. *nèngu pa-hera èmu èèna*
 3SG CAUS-be.dirty house DIST.SG
 ‘He makes that house dirty’
- b. *nèngu (*tao) pa-hera èmu èèna*
 3SG (to.make) CAUS-be.dirty house DIST.SG
 ‘He makes the house dirty’

Unlike the verb *hera* ‘to be dirty’, the monovalent state verb *madhe* ‘to die’ may combine with the prefix *pa-* as demonstrated in (4) above, or may take a lexical verb to express the causation as a separate component in the predicate slot, resulting in an SVC, as is illustrated in (26). If speakers would like to specify causation, the generic

verb *tao* ‘to make’ may be replaced with other action verbs, such as *pare* ‘to slaughter’ or *game* ‘to hit’.

- (26) *rèngu* (*tao*) *pa-madhe* *kahibi* *èèna*
 3PL to.make CAUS-to.die goat DIST.SG
 ‘They cause the goat die’

Adjective bases always require causation to be expressed separately by the use of a specific verb. The integration of the prefix and the base itself does not qualify syntactically. Therefore, the SVC with the generic verb *tao* ‘to make’ and the *pa*-derived verb *pamanii* ‘to make thin’ is grammatical in (27)a, but the example in (27)b is not. A construction as such implies that the events profiled in a causativized construction are arranged into separate components that each are expressed with a specific verb. The lexical verb expresses the causation and the *pa*-verb the affected event. The two verbs form a cohesive unit; no NP may intervene between them. This is confirmed by means of negation: a negator is acceptable after the *pa*-verb, as is shown in (27)c. This designates that the resulting state of being thin is not achieved. However, it always is possible to negate only the causation, as in (27)d, meaning that there is no action to change the state of the entity *aj’u sèra* ‘those logs’ at all. The cohesiveness of the two verbs in the predicate position is strongly demonstrated by the fact that the SVC cannot be broken up, as shown in (27)e.

- (27) a. *nèngu* *tao* *pa-manii* *aj’u* *sèra*
 3SG to.make CAUS-thin wood DIST.PL
 ‘He makes the logs thin’
- b. *nèngu* **pa-manii* *aj’u* *sèra*
 3SG CAUS-thin wood DIST.PL
- c. *nèngu* *tao* *pa-manii* *boe* *aj’u* *sèra*
 3SG to.make CAUS-thin not wood DIST.PL
 ‘He does not make the logs thin’
- d. *nèngu* *tao* *boe* *pa-manii* *aj’u* *sèra*
 3SG to.make not CAUS-thin wood DIST.PL
 ‘He does not make the logs thin’
- e. **nèngu* *tao* *aj’u* *sèra* *pa-manii*
 3SG to.make wood DIST.PL CAUS-thin

Beside SVCs, as explicated above and in (28)a below, the construction in which the prefix *pa-* is applied can also be expressed periphrastically, as in (28)b. The *pa*-derived verb appears in a subordinate clause, designating the resulting state of the causee while the causation proper is expressed by a lexical verb in the main clause. These two clauses are tightly integrated, in which the causing event in the main clause requires the result state to be expressed explicitly. As seen in (28)c, the negation is allowed to appear after the lexical verb *sai* ‘to chop’. When the construction is negated in the same manners as the SVCs explicated in (28)d, it is judged less grammatical. It would not be totally wrong, but it is rarely used. The negator *boe* ‘not’ in (28)e is ungrammatical in such a position, which suggests that the two verbs are a single cohesive unit.

- (28) a. *èdhi sai pa-ana.iiki nèngu*
 1PL.in to.chop CAUS-child.small 3SG
 ‘We minimize it’
- b. *èdhi sai nèngu pa-ana.iiki*
 1PL.in to.chop 3SG CAUS-child.small
 ‘We cut it small’
- c. *èdhi sai boe nèngu pa-ana.iiki*
 1PL.in to.chop not 3SG CAUS-child.small
 ‘We do not cut it small’
- d. *?èdhi sai pa-ana.iiki boe nèngu*
 1PL.in to.chop CAUS-child.small not 3SG
 ‘We do not cut it small’
- e. **èdhi sai boe pa-ana.iiki nèngu*
 1PL.in to.chop not CAUS-child.small 3SG

SVCs and periphrastic constructions suggest that Dhao causatives allow the causing event and the resulting state to be expressed by separate components. The causing event is profiled by an overt lexical verb and the integration of the prefix *pa-*, and the base denotes a process leading to a change of the state of an entity. This implies that the causative meaning is provided by the construction but is not realized by a lexical item (Foley, 2010: 85). Similarly, the periphrastic construction shows that the *pa*-derived verb occurs after the undergoer, resulting in a biclausal construction. Nonetheless, the two clauses cannot be broken up into two independent clauses. This suggests that the position of the *pa*-derived verb after the undergoer NP is an

implicature of the event structure in the construction, as it expresses the process of achange of state.

4.3.1.2. Intensity

Some bivalent verbs signal intensity when prefixed with *pa-*. For instance, the verb *kanici* ‘to sort’ prefixed with *pa-* means ‘to sort in detail’. *Tenge* ‘to look for’ is a bivalent verb, as shown in (30). When prefixed with *pa-*, it denotes the meaning ‘to look for something intentionally and intensively’. Verbs of this type all are action verbs, as illustrated in (31) below.

- (29) *ja'a tenge doi*
 1SG to.look.for money
 ‘I earn money’ [YF_Tenge_Mamuri.042]

- (30) *èdhi pa-tenge ku dhèu la*
 1PL.in INTS-to.look.for tag person PART
 ‘We have to look for a person’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.761]

- (31) Bivalent verbs with *pa-* denoting intensity
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>kanici</i> | ‘to sort’ | <i>pa-kanici</i> | ‘to sort in detail’ |
| <i>karèko</i> | ‘to shake’ | <i>pa-karèko</i> | ‘to shake continuously’ |
| <i>ngètu</i> | ‘to nod’ | <i>pa-ngètu</i> | ‘to nod continuously’ |
| <i>pèlo</i> | ‘to fill’ | <i>pa-pèlo</i> | ‘to fill continuously’ |
| <i>pici</i> | ‘to splash’ | <i>pa-pici</i> | ‘to spatter’ |
| <i>pode</i> | ‘to turn’ | <i>pa-pode</i> | ‘to turn continuously’ |
| <i>poro</i> | ‘to cut’ | <i>pa-poro</i> | ‘to cut continuously’ |
| <i>reo</i> | ‘to go around’ | <i>pa-reo</i> | ‘to go around continuously’ |
| <i>rodha</i> | ‘to scream’ | <i>pa-rodha</i> | ‘to scream loudly’ |
| <i>tenge</i> | ‘look for’ | <i>pa-tenge</i> | ‘look for X intensively’ |
| | | | ‘look for X each other’s Y’ |

4.3.1.3. Reciprocal

When the prefix *pa-* is attached to bivalent action verbs it conveys a reciprocal meaning. The derived verbs are monovalent: they require a single plural participant. For instance, in (32) the verb *liku* ‘to hug’ has two participants: the actor *ja’a* ‘1SG’ realized as subject, and the undergoer *kadera* ‘chair’ as object. In (33), the derived verb *paliku* ‘to hug each other’ is a monovalent verb with a plural subject and has a reciprocal reading.

- (32) *ja'a liku kadera*
 1SG to.hug chair
 'I hug the chair' [Verb_Elicited.00314]
- (33) *dua rèngu pa-liku*
 two 3PL RECP-to.hug
 'They hug each other' [Recip_Elicited.002]

Verbs taking the reciprocal prefix *pa-* are presented in (34) below.

- (34) Bivalent verbs with reciprocal *pa-*
- | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>bae</i> | 'to pay' | <i>pa-bae</i> | 'to pay each other' |
| <i>bara</i> | 'to help' | <i>pa-bara</i> | 'to help each other' |
| <i>ère</i> | 'to pull' | <i>pa-ère</i> | 'to pull each other' |
| <i>galaa</i> | 'to complaint' | <i>pa-galaa</i> | 'to complaint each other' |
| <i>gale</i> | 'to urge' | <i>pa-gale</i> | 'to urge each other' |
| <i>kacuu</i> | 'to carry (s.o)' | <i>pa-kacuu</i> | 'to carry each other' |
| <i>kadhèi</i> | 'to hold' | <i>pa-kadhèi</i> | 'to hold each other' |
| <i>kadhi</i> | 'to bite' | <i>pa-kadhi</i> | 'to bite each other' |
| <i>karèi</i> | 'to ask' | <i>pa-karèi</i> | 'to ask each other' |
| <i>ku'u</i> | 'to pinch' | <i>pa-ku'u</i> | 'to pinch each other' |
| <i>leru</i> | 'to care for' | <i>pa-leru</i> | 'to care for each other' |

Reciprocal *pa-* also is attested on one noun: *angalai* 'friend'. In (35), the noun *angalai* 'friend' occupies the subject position preceding the verbal predicate *mai* 'come'. In (36), the noun *angalai* 'friend' is prefixed with *pa-*, resulting in a reciprocal verb.

- (35) *ngaa tao ka angalai mai?*
 what to.make PART friend to.come
 'Why do you come (here), friend?' [SB_Lolo.255]
 (Lit: what makes (you) come, friend?)
- (36) *èdhi dua ti pa-angalai*
 1PL.in two 1PL.in.CL RECP-friend
 'We are friends' [TF_Enyu_Maraho.074]

4.3.1.4. Resultative

The prefix *pa-* can also add a resultative meaning to monovalent verbs denoting positions and states. This is exemplified in (37) by the position verb *titu* 'to stand'.

When prefixed with *pa-*, like in (38), the derived verb denotes a resulting state of an inanimate subject. This is exemplified once more in (41) by the derived verb *pa-kajape* ‘hung’. The example in (40) displays its counterpart without the prefix *pa-*. The derived resultative *pa-* requires an extra marker: the relative marker *dhu* ‘REL’. Without *dhu*, native speakers intuitively interpret a causative meaning, as in (39), even if the subject is an inanimate object, which actually would not be able to control such an action. A list of action verbs with resultative *pa-* is given in (42) below.

- (37) *èu la-mu titu dedha papa èèna*
 2SG to.go-2SG to.stand above board DIST.SG
 ‘You go to stand on the board’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.498]
- (38) *boto èci dhu pa-titu ètu dedha hadhu*
 bottle one REL RES-to.stand LOC above stone
 ‘a bottle is standing on the stone’ [Prep_Elicited.018]
- (39) *na pa-titu sapeda*
 3SG.CL.SUBJ RES-to.stand bicycle(Mal)
 ‘He puts the bicycle upright’ [YY_PearStory.034]
- (40) *bola èci kajape ètu kolo aj’u*
 ball(IND) one stuck.up LOC top wood
 ‘a ball stuck up on the tree’ [Prep_Elicited.009]
- (41) *...dhari dhu pa-kajape ètu*
 ...string REL RES- stuck.up LOC

kalai aj’u èèna
 branch wood DIST.SG
 ‘...the rope that is hung on the branch of the tree’ [Loc_Elicited.023]
- (42) Resultative meaning with action verbs
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>huni</i> | ‘be hidden’ | <i>pa-huni</i> | ‘to hide’ |
| <i>pènu</i> | ‘be full’ | <i>pa-pènu</i> | ‘be full of’ |
| <i>titu</i> | ‘to stand’ | <i>pa-titu</i> | ‘to cause X to stand’ |
| | | | ‘be upright’ |
| <i>ngee</i> | ‘to think’ | <i>pa-ngee</i> | ‘to think of’ |
| <i>nangi</i> | ‘to swim’ | <i>pa-nangi</i> | ‘to throw into (sea)’ |
| <i>j’unu</i> | ‘to lie down’ | <i>pa-j’unu</i> | ‘lie down’ |

4.3.1.5. Simultaneity

Derived verbs with *pa-* indicating simultaneous action are illustrated below. The bivalent verb *uri* ‘to disentangle’ is prefixed with the prefix *pa-* to designate the meaning ‘to manage together’. The same also holds true for the bivalent verb *sanunu* ‘to plan X’ and the monovalent verb *mari* ‘to laugh’¹.

- (43) Bivalent verbs with *pa-* denoting simultaneity
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|------------------|---|
| <i>kasere</i> | ‘to consider’ | <i>pa-kasere</i> | ‘to consider together’ |
| <i>mari</i> | ‘to laugh’ | <i>pa-mari</i> | ‘to laugh together’ |
| <i>sanunu</i> | ‘to plan X,
to intercept X’ | <i>pa-sanunu</i> | ‘to plan together’ |
| <i>soa</i> | ‘to jump’ | <i>pa-soa</i> | ‘to jump together’
‘to jump intensively’ |
| <i>uri</i> | ‘to disentangle’ | <i>pa-uri</i> | ‘to manage together’ |

4.3.1.6. Habitual

The prefix *pa-* adds a habitual notion to the verb *ku’a* ‘to eat’ and the generic nouns indicating gender *mone* ‘male’ and *bhèni* ‘female’ (see §4.3.2). In (44), the prefix *pa-* is added to the fully inflected verb *ku’a* ‘to eat’, signaling the habitual characteristics of the subject. This construction can be negated by the marker *boe* ‘not’.

- (44) *ja’a ne’e dhèu dhu pa-ku’a boe dhèu*
 1SG PROX.SG person REL HAB-1SG.to.eat not person
 ‘I am a person who is not eating people’ [SK_AnaBheni_Dhe’uPidhu.070-071]

When attached to the nouns *mone* ‘male’ and *bhèni* ‘female’, the prefix *pa-* signals that the actors have an egoistic attitude. The bare noun *mone* ‘male’ is given in (45) and the derived form is given in (46) below.

- (45) *mone ne’e madhe ka tèke ina*
 male PROX.SG to.die PART to.leave.behind female
 ‘Her husband died and left his wife behind’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.023]

- (46) *èu pa-mone ae*
 2SG HAB-male many
 ‘You are so egoistic’ [Elicited]

¹ *pa-mari* actually emphasizes the act of laughing itself more.

4.3.1.7. Durative

When the prefix *pa-* is attached to time nouns, such as *nihia* ‘afternoon’ and *mèda* ‘night’, it denotes the duration of time. The derived form is adverbial rather than verbal. A typical underived construction with the time noun *nihia* ‘afternoon’ is shown in (47), in which it refers to a specific point in time. When prefixed with *pa-* in (48), it informs the duration of time spent on a certain activity that ends in the afternoon.

- (47) *lod'o nihia ne'e ji'i mai*
 time afternoon PROX.SG 1PL.ex to.come
 ‘We come this afternoon’ [Pinangan_20140430.049]

- (48) *ji'i tuku medha ne'e pa-nihia*
 1PL.ex to.smith thing PROX.SG DUR-afternoon
 ‘We are smithing this thing until afternoon’ [Elicited]

4.3.1.8. Factitive

The prefix *pa-* also indicates factitive meaning when attached to a noun. It showcases that the subject referent is characterized by the expression of the noun (see also Klamer, 1998: 183). An example with the noun *dhudhu* ‘thorn’ is given in (49).

- (49) a. *ana aju èèna dènge dhudhu*
 child wood DIST.SG with thorn
 ‘The tree has thorn’ [Elicited]
- b. *ana aj'u èèna pa-dhudhu*
 child wood DIST.SG FAC-thorn
 ‘The tree is full of thorn’ [Elicited]

4.3.1.9. Other Meanings

The following list shows that the meanings of *pa-* vary from verb to verb. The prefix *pa-* changes the semantics of a verb although the meaning of the base still is transparent. For instance, the verb *j'uj'u* ‘to point’ profiles an action where someone points at something with his or her finger. Prefixed with *pa-* the verb profiles a metaphorical rather than a physical action: *paj'uj'ju* ‘to indicate’. As such, the meaning of *pa-* is unpredictable in this particular case. An illustration with the derived verb *paj'uj'u* ‘to indicate’ is given in (50). The subject *Lamatua* ‘Lord’ shows something to the object *ja'a* ‘1SG’.

- (50) *Lamatua pa-j'uj'u hia ja'a*
 Lord PA-point to.give 1SG
 'The Lord shows to me' [Pinangan_20140430.077]

- (51) Other meanings with *pa-*
- | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>katèju</i> | 'to clap' | <i>pa-katèju</i> | 'to.kick' |
| <i>j'uj'u</i> | 'to point to' | <i>pa-j'uj'u</i> | 'to.indicate' |
| <i>madenge</i> | 'repugnant' | <i>pa-madenge</i> | 'be repugnant' |
| <i>madhutu</i> | 'to follow' | <i>pa-madhutu</i> | 'eager to follow' |
| <i>malaa</i> | 'to wonder' | <i>pa-malaa</i> | 'surprising' |
| <i>neo</i> | 'to want' | <i>pa-neo</i> | 'have feeling' |
| <i>tabhèli</i> | 'to slip' | <i>pa-tabhèli</i> | 'slippery' |
| <i>tari</i> | 'to begin to plait' | <i>pa-tari</i> | 'to begin to plait' |
| <i>nasu</i> | 'boil, cook' | <i>pa-nasu</i> | 'to cook X' |

In (52), the bivalent verb *eso* 'move' profiles an action done by the actor *mone èèna* 'that man' towards the object *tas* 'bag (IND)', which results in a change of position. When prefixed with *pa-* in (53), the object *era* 'place' profiles the goal of the movement.

- (52) *mone èèna eso tas nèngu*
 man DIST.SG to.move bag(IND) 3SG
 'That man moves his bag...' [Loc_Elicited.070]

- (53) *bhèni deo èèna [pa-'eso era]*
 woman recent DIST.SG PA-to.move place
 'The woman just now moves to another place'

The prefix *pa-* can also be attached to the quantifier *ae* 'many', which results in an adverb. The prefixed quantifier indicates the quality of the action denoted by the verbal predicate. As demonstrated in (54), the quantifier *ae* 'many' occurs as modifier of the noun *dhua* 'lontar palm'. When prefixed with *pa-* in (55), it functions as the modifier of the verb *cudu* 'to bow'. The opposite counterpart quantifier *ciki* 'a little, few' has not been attested with the prefix *pa-*.

- (54) *karena ji'i èta dhua ae*
 because(IND) 1PL.ex to.tap.lontar lontar.palm many
 'Because we tap many lontar-palms' [Ada_20140427.014]

- (55) *èu baku cudu pa-ae*
 2SG PROH.NEG to.bow PA-many
 ‘(you) don’t bow down very much’ [Verb_Elicited.00249]

4.3.2. Prefix *pa-* and inflected verbs

As explicated in §4.2 above, eight verbs obligatorily require co-index prefixes, without which the verbs cannot occur independently. Four verbs in the corpus occur as bases for the prefix *pa-*. In this regard, the meaning of *pa-* is unpredictable (see §4.3.1.6). In (56), the verb *re’a* ‘to know’ has a 3PL co-index prefix *r-* and plural subject ‘3PL’. Observe that the prefix *pa-* is attached to the prefix *r-* and adds a reciprocal meaning, as is illustrated in (57).

- (56) *rèngu r-e’a sa-sue Lamatua*
 3PL 3PL-to.know DUP-love Lord
 ‘They know the love of God’ [CY_Pray.059]
- (57) *rèngu mai asa kabarai Dhao pa-re’a boe*
 3PL come to public Dhao RECP-3PL.to.know not
 ‘They came to Ndao Island, they did not know each other’
 [PD_Rika_Jote.007-008]

However, in (58) the prefix *pa-* bears a different meaning when attached to *k-* ‘1SG’. In this case it denotes the meaning ‘to care’ or ‘to be interested in’. This combination has been attested only with a negation.

- (58) *ja’a pa-ke’a boe*
 1SG PA-1SG.to.know not
 ‘I do not care’ [PM_sobhu 210]

The examples in (59) and (60) below show that the causative prefix *pa-* has a specific allomorph *pang-* with *-inu* ‘drink’ and *-a’e* ‘to eat’. In (61), the prefix *pa-* has a competitive reading. Again, a plural subject evokes a reciprocal reading, like in (62). Possible combinations are given in Table 4.6 below.

- (59) *ja’a pang-inu ana èèna dhua*
 1SG CAUS-to.drink child DIST.SG palm.juice
 ‘I cater the child to drink palm juice’ [elicited]
- (60) *ja’a pang-a’e ana èèna kau*
 1SG CAUS-to.eat child DIST.SG rice
 ‘I feed the child rice’ [elicited]

- (61) *ja'a pa-k-inu èi dènge ana mone nèi*
 1SG PA-1SG-to.drink water with child male REM.SG
 'I compete drinking with the boy' [elicited]
- (62) *era dhu dhèu pa-r-a'a dhèu*
 place REL person RECP-3PL-to.eat person
 'A place where humans eat humans' [SK_Polisi.153]

Table 4.6: Prefix *pa-* and inflected verbs

<i>k-e'a</i> 1SG-to.know	<i>pa-k-e'a boe</i> PA-1SG-to.know not	'I do not care'	semantic specific
<i>r-e'a</i> 1SG-to.know	<i>pa-r-e'a</i> PA-1SG-to.know	'they know each other'	reciprocal
<i>t-inu</i> 1PL.in- to.drink	<i>pa-t-inu</i> PA-1PL.in-to.drink	'we compete in drinking (water)'	competitive
<i>t-a'a</i> 1PL.in-to.eat	<i>pa-t-a'a</i> PA-1PL.in-to.eat	'we compete in eating'	
<i>r-a'a</i> 3PL-to.eat	<i>pa-r-a'a</i> PA-3PL-to.eat	'to have a habit of eating s.t.'	competitive habitual

The phenomenon explicated above showcases the problematic status of the prefix *pa-* with respect to the base. If the base is regarded as having co-index prefixes, then *pa-* should be analyzed as a clitic. If *pa-* is a prefix, then the base should be analyzed as a lexicalized item. The first analysis goes back to Greenberg's Universal 28 (1963:93) that states that derivational affixes attach to roots rather than to inflections. However, in some cases, inflectional forms may feed the derivational ones (Booij, 2012: 117). This is shown in the case of Dhao, where the co-index prefixes are part of the base.

4.3.3. Prefix *pa-* and Reduplication

The prefix *pa-* can also be attached to nouns derived with (C)*a-* reduplication. The roots are mostly non-active monovalent verbs. However, some active verbs also are acceptable in this regard. Semantically, the prefix *pa-* denotes causativity. This is exemplified by the stative verb *bia* 'to be heavy' below. In (63), *bia* 'to be heavy' occurs in its bare form as a monovalent verb. In (64), *bia* 'to be heavy' is partially reduplicated into a noun meaning 'weight' and is a euphemism for 'pregnancy' in

the context of (65). When prefixed with *pa-*, as is illustrated in (66), *pababia* euphemistically refers to the action of causing a pregnancy.

- (63) *aj'u èèna bia*
wood DIST.SG heavy
'The log is heavy' [Verb_Elicited.00404]
- (64) *ca kaloos ba-bia nèngu tèlu kilo dua ons*
a bale DUP-heavy 3SG three kilogram two ounce
'a bale, its weight is three kilograms and two ounce'
[SB_Tao_Hengu.002-003]
- (65) *nèngu dènge ba-bia*
3SG with DUP-heavy
'She is pregnant' [BS_Tuka_Suki.011]
- (66) *nèngu pa-ba-bia ana bhèni èèna*
3SG CAUS-DUP-heavy child woman DIST.SG
'He made the girl pregnant' [elicited]
- (67) Prefix *pa-* and reduplication
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| <i>bhèla</i> | 'wide' | <i>ba-bhèla</i> | 'width' | <i>pa-ba-bhèla</i> | 'make X wide' |
| | | | | <i>pa-bhèla?</i> | |
| <i>bia</i> | 'heavy' | <i>ba-bia</i> | 'burden' | <i>pa-ba-bia</i> | 'impregnates' |
| | | | | <i>pa-bia?</i> | |
| <i>gai</i> | 'to dab' | <i>ga-gai</i> | 'to dab
repetitively' | <i>pa-ga-gai</i> | 'dab each other' |
| <i>lodhe</i> | ? | <i>la-lodhe</i> | 'to hang' | <i>pa-la-lodhe</i> | 'hang X' |
| <i>muri</i> | 'to live' | <i>ma-muri</i> | 'life' | <i>pa-ma-muri</i> | 'make X live' |
| | | | | <i>pa-muri</i> | |
| | | <i>ka-bhèla</i> | ? | <i>pa-ka-bhèla</i> | 'make X wider' |

The prefix *pa-* on /p/-initial words is homonymous with the reduplication allomorph /pa/ (see §4.4.1.1 below). Consequently /p/-initial verb stems with a preceding /pa/-formative can be interpreted as either reduplicated or prefixed with *pa-*. /P/-initial verbs that bear both the reduplication allomorph and the prefix *pa-* are illustrated in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: Reduplication, prefix *pa-* and /p/-initial roots

Roots	Derived form	Reduplication meaning	<i>pa-</i> meaning
<i>pake</i> ‘to use’	<i>pa-pake</i>	‘the way of wearing, clothing style’	‘cause to wear’
<i>para</i> ‘to cut’	<i>pa-para</i>	‘the way of cutting’	‘to fight with sharps’
<i>peka</i> ‘to say’	<i>pa-peka</i>	‘the way of inviting people’	‘to tell each other’
<i>puru</i> ‘go down’	<i>pa-puru</i>	‘the way of going down’	‘to lower s.t’
<i>pici</i> ‘to splash’	<i>pa-pici</i>	‘the way of splashing (water)’	‘to splash (water) to each other’
<i>pèci</i> ‘throw’	<i>pa-pèci</i>	‘way of throwing’	‘to hit (throw) each other’

4.3.4. Prefix *pa-* and Compound forms

Compound verbs and adjectives can be bases for the prefix *pa-* as well, in which cases it takes a causative meaning. A list of compound words taking the prefix *pa-* is presented below.

- (68) *rèngu dua ra pa-leo-èmu*
 3PL two 3PL.C L PA-married
 ‘Two of them got married’ [SB_Lolo.002]

- (69) *na ngaa tao ka èdhi bisa*
 PART what to.make PART 1PL.in can(IND)

heka pa-ana iiki
 no.more CAUS-child small
 ‘Why can we not decrease it’ [PL_Aj’aDhao.169]

- (70) Prefix *pa-* and compound forms
- | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ana iiki</i> | ‘small’ | > | <i>pa-ana iiki</i> | ‘to make X small’ |
| child small | | | | |
| <i>budu tèke</i> | ‘to postpone’ | > | <i>pa-budu tèke</i> | ‘make X to postpone’ |
| postpone keep | | | | |
| <i>leo èmu</i> | ‘be married’ | > | <i>pa-leo èmu</i> | ‘cause to marry’ |
| shelter house | | | | |

4.3.5. Lexicalization of *pa-*

Sometimes the prefixation of *pa-* yields forms whose meanings no longer seem to be related clearly to the meanings of their root words. This is exemplified in example (71) where *pa-* is attached to the verb *kèdi* ‘to get up’, yielding the causative verb *pa-kèdi* ‘to wake someone’. In (72), the verb has been lexicalized as *pakèdi* ‘to leave’, which no longer has a direct relation to its root word *kèdi* ‘to get up’, as is illustrated in (73).

- (71) *lod'o rea Ama Lamatua pa-kèdi ji'i*
 sun to.appear father Lord CAUS-to.get.up 1PL.in
 ‘When the sun rises, Lord, You awake us’ [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.027]

- (72) *bèli jam aru miu pakèdi*
 tomorrow hour(IND) eight 2PL to.leave

asa era musu
 to place war
 ‘You go to war at eight o'clock’ [SK_Polisi.017]

The following list shows /*pa-*/-initial words that still have a semantic relation to their root words.

- (73) Lexicalization of *pa-*
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>paloa</i> ‘to liken, compare’ | (<i>loa</i> ‘sheet, cord’) |
| <i>pahia</i> ‘to sell’ | (<i>hia</i> ‘to give’) |
| <i>padhai</i> ‘to talk, speak’ | (<i>dhai</i> ‘fishing net’) |
| <i>patèka</i> ‘to bet’ | (<i>tèka</i> ‘to keep, put’) |
| <i>pag'ag'a</i> ‘to fight’ | (<i>g'ag'e</i> ‘to touch’) |
| <i>pacuhi</i> ‘cold’ | (<i>cuhi</i> ‘cool’) |
| <i>paiia</i> ‘to pacify’ | (<i>iia</i> ‘ordinary, common, good’) |
| <i>paiie</i> ‘be careful’ | (<i>iie</i> ‘precisely’) |
| <i>paj'uj'u</i> ‘to point’ | (<i>j'uj'u</i> ‘refer to’) |

Example (74) below shows that the verb *paloa* ‘to liken’ is a bivalent verb, which profiles the comparison between two entities *miu* ‘2PL’ and *ja'a* ‘1SG’. The verb *pacuhi* ‘cold’ is a state verb that is used attributively in (75). This verb is an example of a lexicalized *pa-* form, as its root *cuhi* is hardly used independently. In the following list in (76), the words that are expected to be roots have no actual lexical meaning.

- (74) *miu baku paloa miu dènge ja'a ne*
 2PL PROH.NEG to liken 2PL with 1SG PROX.SG
 'You should not compare you and me' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1797]
- (75) a. *bisa boe minu èi pacuhi*
 can(IND) not 2SG-to.drink water cold
 '(you) may not drink unboiled water' [BS_Tuka_Suki.327]
- b. *èi ne pacuhi le*
 water PROX.SG cold already
 'The water is already cold' [ADJV_Elicit.042]
- (76) No corresponding root for *pa-*
patèku 'to fight' (*tèku* '?')
pakihu 'to mix' (*kihu* '?')
pa'oo 'to call loudly' ('oo' '?')
pahadhe 'to hamper' (*hadhe* '?')
pacuhi 'cold' (*cuhi* '?')
paloa 'to liken' (*loa* '?')

As seen in (77) below, the word *pakihu* 'to mix' cannot be separated into *pa-* plus a clear morpheme *kihu*. Due to the verb bearing a causative meaning it is analyzed as a lexicalized *pa-*verb in this example.

- (77) *ji'i pakihu rai pudhi dènge j'u'u*
 1PL.ex to.mix land white with grass
 'We mix the white soil with grass' [GD_Kei_Ei.067-068]

4.4. Reduplication

Reduplication in Dhao involves hosts from different word categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives, quantifiers, and question words. Dhao distinguishes four types of reduplication; (1) (C)*a~* reduplication as described in §4.4.1.1, (2) full reduplication as described in §4.4.1.2, (3) lexical reduplication as described in §4.4.1.3, and (4) rhyming reduplication as described in §4.4.1.4. Semantically, reduplication in Dhao indicates instruments (§4.4.2.1), nominalization (§4.4.2.2), intensity (§4.4.2.3), manner (§4.4.2.5), and location or place (§4.4.2.3). Other meanings, such as attenuation or limitation and intensification, will be discussed separately in §4.4.2.6.

4.4.1. Types of Reduplication

4.4.1.1. (C)a~ Reduplication

(C)a~ reduplication is discussed in this section first, as it is the most productive type of reduplication in Dhao. (C)a~ reduplication is confined to bisyllabic verbs and adjectives, and mostly creates nouns (see §3.2.1.1). This subsection focuses on the phonological form of the reduplication, whereas its meanings will be discussed in detail in §4.4.2. A few reduplications do not change word category, but do evoke a new meaning, for example by adding a notion of intensity (see §4.4.2.3). The list in (78) provides examples of (C)a~ reduplication. The template is exemplified in (79) below.

(78) (C)a~ reduplication

<i>bhèla</i>	‘wide’	<i>ba~bhèla</i>	‘width’
<i>bia</i>	‘heavy’	<i>ba~bia</i>	‘heavy, burden’
<i>dui</i>	‘to carry (with yoke)’	<i>da~dui</i>	‘k.o.yoke’
<i>goe</i>	‘to lock’	<i>ga~goe</i>	‘key’
<i>g'ute</i>	‘to cut (with scissors)’	<i>g'a~g'ute</i>	‘scissors’
<i>j'èra</i>	‘difficult’	<i>j'a~j'era</i>	‘difficulty, affliction, in labor’
<i>laho</i>	‘be destroyed’	<i>la~laho</i>	‘powder’
<i>maho</i>	‘be cold’	<i>ma~maho</i>	‘shade’
<i>mea</i>	‘red’	<i>ma~mea</i>	‘red part (on weaving)’
<i>pèda</i>	‘be sick’	<i>pa~pèda</i>	‘sickness’

(79) Input Output

C	V	C	V		C	a~	C	V	C	V
p	ə	d	a	⇒	p	a~	p	ə	d	a

For long vowel-initial words, the reduplicant simply is *a*, because there is no onset to be copied, which would realize as a short vowel [a] next to a long vowel. Only very few examples of long vowel reduplication were attested in the corpus. In (80), the template of reduplication with glottal-initial words shows that the glottal of the root is maintained. Example (81) shows that only *a* is reduplicated in long vowel roots.

(80)	Input	Output
	C V C V	C a~ C V C V
	? a b̥β u	? a~ ? a b̥β u

(81)	Input	Output
	V V C V	a~ V V C V
	a : p a	a~ a : p a

(82)	(C)a- reduplication with glottal initial words	
	/ʔab̥βu/ ‘to get’	/ʔa~ʔab̥βu/ ‘thought, idea’
	/ʔaʃa/ ‘to learn, teach’	/ʔa~ʔaʃa/ ‘lesson’
	/ʔəra/ ‘be strong’	/ʔa~ʔəra/ ‘strength’
	/ʔɛɔ/ ‘to herd’	/ʔa~ʔɛɔ/ ‘way of shepherd’
	/a:pa/ ‘bad’	/a~a:pa/ ‘bad side’

4.4.1.2. Full Reduplication

Full reduplication is the copying of the entire base (Velupillai, 2012:101). Full reduplication involves not only content words, such as verbs (*eo~eo* ‘turning around’) and adjectives (*ae~ae* ‘too many’), but also interrogative words (*cee~cee* ‘whoever’) and number (*èci~èci* ‘one by one’). It is confined to single morphemes. As demonstrated in the list (83) below, the three complex interrogative words cannot be fully reduplicated. Full reduplication indicates intensification, like *pa’oo~pa’oo* ‘call repetitively’, or distributive plurality with interrogative words, like *pèri~pèri* ‘how many per group’, or numbers. The template of full reduplication in (84) illustrates that all the segments in the root are copied as the reduplicant. The full reduplication of numbers is shown in (85).

(83)	Full reduplication	
	(baka) <i>pèri</i> ‘how many’	<i>pèri~pèri</i> ‘how many per group’
	(ka) <i>mia</i> , ‘where’	(ètu) <i>mia~mia</i> ‘wherever’
	(ètu) <i>mia</i>	
	<i>ae</i> ‘many’	<i>ae~ae</i> ‘too many’
	<i>cee</i> ‘who’	<i>cee~cee</i> ‘whoever’

<i>eo</i>	‘to turn, to herd’	<i>eo~eo</i>	‘turning around’
<i>loli</i>	‘to roll’	<i>loli~loli</i>	‘rolled up’
<i>miri</i>	‘be slant’	<i>miri~miri</i>	‘aslant’
<i>ngaa</i>	‘what’	<i>ngaa~ngaa</i>	‘whatever’
<i>pa’oo</i>	‘to scream’	<i>pa’oo~ pa’oo</i>	‘scream repetitively’
<i>paroa</i>	‘to call’	<i>paroa~paroa</i>	‘call repetitively’

(84) Input Output

C	V	C	V		C	V	C	V~	C	V	C	V
l	o	l	i	⇒	l	o	l	i~	l	o	l	i

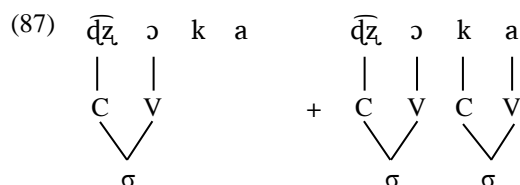
(85) Full reduplication of numbers

<i>èci</i>	‘one’	<i>èci~èci</i>	‘one by one, one each’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’	<i>dua~dua</i>	‘two by two, two each’
<i>tèlu</i>	‘three’	<i>tèlu~tèlu</i>	‘three by three, three each’
<i>èpa</i>	‘four’	<i>èpa~èpa</i>	‘four by four, four each’
<i>lèmi</i>	‘five’	<i>lèmi~lèmi</i>	‘five by five, five each’

In (86), the word *dhoka* ‘only’ undergoes syllabic reduplication as *dho-dhoka* ‘only’ in casual speech. In careful speech, however, it features the full reduplication form *dhoka-dhoka* without a change of meaning. Another instance of syllabic reduplication would be the interrogative word *ngaa* ‘what’, which can also be fully reduplicated into *ngaa-ngaa*, meaning ‘anything’. In casual speech, the final long vowel is shortened to *nga-*. The reduplicant morpheme can no longer be distinguished from (C)*a~* reduplication in this case. However, the full reduplicated form suggests that the initial CV syllable becomes the reduplicant. Following Marantz (1982), the template of syllabic reduplication in Dhao is given in (87) below.

(86) Syllabic reduplication

<i>dhoka</i>	‘only’	<i>dho~dhoka</i>	‘only’	* <i>dha-dhoka</i>
		<i>dhoka~dhoka</i>		
<i>ngaa</i>	‘what’	<i>nga~ngaa</i>	‘anything’	* <i>nga-ngaa</i>
		<i>ngaa~ngaa</i>		



In this case syllabic reduplication is a lexical variant of full reduplication and should be distinguished from (C)*a*-reduplication. In other words, (C)*a*-reduplication is not a syllabic-based, but is segmental with the vowel *a*, as is shown above (see 4.4.1.1).

4.4.1.3. Lexical Reduplication

Lexical reduplication refers to forms which have no corresponding simplex forms (Sneddon et al., 2010). For example, the non-reduplicated root form of *ate-ate* ‘earrings’ **ate* has no meaning of its own². Examples are given in (88).

(88) Lexical reduplication

* <i>ate</i>	<i>ate~ate</i>	‘earrings’
* <i>bhète</i>	<i>bhète~bhète</i>	‘too muddy’
* <i>boti</i>	<i>boti~boti</i>	‘lifted up’
* <i>cèba</i>	<i>cèba cèba</i>	‘twinkle’
* <i>dau</i>	<i>dau~dau</i>	‘voice from the far’
* <i>j’aj’e</i>	<i>j’aj’e~j’aj’e</i>	‘to step on’
* <i>rèji</i>	<i>rèji~rèji</i>	‘dripping’
* <i>saseti</i>	<i>saseti~saseti</i>	‘to push’

Another type of lexical reduplication is onomatopoeic words or ideophones. In this thesis, this type of lexical reduplication is called adverbial lexical reduplication. Examples are given in (89). These reduplicated words can only function as verbal or adjectival modifiers (see §3.3.2.3).

(89) Adverbial lexical reduplication

<i>aa ’i mèu~mèu</i>	‘ absolutely complete’
<i>bua gari~gari</i>	‘ too overflowing’
<i>hae koro~koro</i>	‘flowing loose’
<i>hèu oone~oone</i>	‘ too smell’
<i>kako eepo~eepo</i>	‘ panting walk’
<i>kako eko~eko</i>	‘ staggered walk’

² There is a homonymous form *ate* ‘to blink’, but it has no semantic relation to *ate-ate* ‘earrings’.

<i>ma'aa haki~haki</i>	'too thick'
<i>madera lola~lola</i>	'too long'
<i>manii bedo~bedo</i>	'too thin'
<i>mari eere~eere</i>	'laugh restrainedly '
<i>mari uuku~uuku</i>	'burst out'
<i>madèdhi mau~mau (gua~gua)</i>	'sit silently '
<i>pènu idhu~idhu</i>	'very full'
<i>rai pode eo~eo</i>	'run randomly '
<i>rai pode~pode</i>	
<i>sagèba mopo~mopo</i>	'fall face-down'
<i>tarenga hara~hara</i>	'supine'
<i>titu dhii~dhii</i>	'stand uprightly '
<i>udhu sobhu~sobhu</i>	'abundant result'

4.4.1.4. Rhyming Reduplication

Dhao has a small rest group of rhyming reduplication, which sometimes also is called imitative reduplication or 'echo construction'. This type of reduplication involves changes of phonological material (Rubino, 2013). As shown in the list in (90) below, rhyming reduplication does not follow any general rules.

- (90) Rhyming reduplication
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>cebe~lebe</i> | 'scattered around' |
| <i>ciki~diki</i> | 'in a moment' |
| <i>koa~kio</i> | 'to praise' |
| <i>koko~oko</i> | 'cackle' |
| <i>oe~eo</i> | 'nearly' |
| <i>tare'a~re'a</i> | 'absolutely right' |

4.4.2. Semantics of (C)a- Reduplication

4.4.2.1. Instruments

Instruments can be derived from related verbs by applying (C)a~ reduplication. The reduplicated verbs should semantically denote actions whose events require instruments. This is exemplified by the action verb *goe* 'to lock'. The locking event not only requires an actor and an undergoer, but also implies the use of an instrument in order to execute the action, which typically is a key. As demonstrated in (91)a, the base *goe* 'to lock' is a verb occurring in the predicate profiling the locking event. In (91)b, the reduplicated form *ga-goe* 'key' is the instrument that functions as the object of the verb *pake* 'to use' (see §6.4.3.8). More reduplicated forms expressing instruments are listed in (92) below.

- (91) a. *ja'a goe èmu ji'i*
 1SG to.lock house 1PL.ex
 'I locked our house' [Verb_Elicited.00268]
- b. *ja'a goe èmu ji'i pake ga~goe kapai*
 1SG to.lock house 1PL.ex use DUP~to.lock big
 'I locked our house using a big key'

(92) Expressing instruments

<i>abo</i>	'to pound'	<i>a~'abo</i>	'pounder'
<i>bèdho</i>	'to close'	<i>ba~bèdho</i>	'cover'
<i>bhoke</i>	'to open'	<i>ba~bhoke</i>	'opener'
<i>cèbi</i>	'to plait'	<i>ca~cèbi</i>	'tool for plaiting'
<i>dhui</i>	'to bail (water)'	<i>da~dhui</i>	'bailer'
<i>g'ute</i>	'to cut (with scissors)'	<i>ga~g'ute</i>	'scissors'
<i>goe</i>	'to lock'	<i>ga~goe</i>	'key'
<i>ngapi</i>	'to clamp'	<i>nga~ngapi</i>	'tools for clamping'
<i>roso</i>	'to grate'	<i>ra~roso</i>	'grater'

4.4.2.2. Abstract Nominalizing reduplication

Nominalization of this type of reduplication involves any semantic category of verbs. The reduplicating verbs can either be action verbs, state verbs, or process verbs. Reduplicating these verbs yields nouns that mostly express abstract concepts, such as 'ideas' or 'strength'. This is exemplified by the verb *ngee* 'to think' in (93). Its reduplicated counterpart is *nga-ngee* 'idea, opinion', as is illustrated in (97). More examples of nominalizing reduplication are presented in the list (95) below.

- (93) *ja'a ngee ma~muri èdhi ne'e na j'èra ae*
 1SG to.think DUP~to.live 1PL PROX.SG PART to.suffer many
 'I think about our life that it is very difficult' [SN_Manenu.001]

- (94) *nèngu abhu nga~ngee dhu be'a*
 3SG get DUP~to.think REL good
 'He got a good idea' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.147]

(95) List of nominalizing reduplications

<i>abhu</i>	'to get'	<i>a~'abhu</i>	'thought, idea'
<i>aj'a</i>	'to learn, teach'	<i>a~'aj'a</i>	'subject, teaching'
<i>bhodho</i>	'to appear'	<i>ba~bhodho</i>	'appearance'
<i>dèi</i>	'to like, wish'	<i>da~dèi</i>	'will'
<i>èra</i>	'be strong'	<i>a~'èra</i>	'strength'

<i>game</i>	'to hit'	<i>ga~game</i>	'hitting'
<i>heo</i>	'to aglow'	<i>ha~heo</i>	'light'
<i>kako</i>	'to walk'	<i>ka~kako</i>	'journey'
<i>lape</i>	'to fold'	<i>la~lape</i>	'folded sign'
<i>madhe</i>	'be dead'	<i>ma~madhe</i>	'dead person'
<i>mai</i>	'to come'	<i>ma~mai</i>	'coming'
<i>mèke</i>	'be able to'	<i>ma~mèke</i>	'ability'
<i>muri</i>	'to live'	<i>ma~muri</i>	'life'
<i>neo</i>	'to want'	<i>na~neo</i>	'desire'
<i>ngee</i>	'to think'	<i>nga~ngee</i>	'idea, opinion'
<i>rapi</i>	'to wrap'	<i>ra~rapi</i>	'packing'
<i>saba</i>	'to work'	<i>sa~saba</i>	'work'
<i>sala</i>	'be wrong'	<i>sa~sala</i>	'fault, sin'
<i>seba</i>	'to rent'	<i>sa~seba</i>	'value of rent'
<i>soda</i>	'to sing'	<i>sa~soda</i>	'song'
<i>suri</i>	'to write'	<i>sa~suri</i>	'letter'

4.4.2.3. Locational reduplication

Reduplication can also signify a location or a place where the profiled action takes place. Examples are shown in (96) below.

(96) Locational reduplication

<i>edhe</i>	'to soak'	<i>a~'edhe</i>	'place of soaking'
<i>kiju</i>	'to tuck'	<i>ka~kiju</i>	'place to tuck s.t.'
<i>mera</i>	'be flat'	<i>ma~mera</i>	'flat place'
<i>roe</i>	'be weak'	<i>ra~roe</i>	'part of body that is painful'
<i>tèka</i>	'to keep'	<i>ta~tèka</i>	'place to keep s.t.'

4.4.2.4. Intensive reduplication

Reduplication can add an intensive reading to action verbs, as listed in (97) below.

(97) Intensive reduplication

<i>bari</i>	'to ask'	<i>ba~bari</i>	'to ask many times'
<i>bèdi</i>	'to take apart'	<i>ba~bèdi</i>	'be scattered'
<i>bhubhu</i>	'to bake'	<i>bha~bhubhu</i>	'to bake intensively'
<i>ciu</i>	'be broken'	<i>ca~ciu</i>	'to torn'
<i>core</i>	'to throw'	<i>ca~core</i>	'to throw around'
<i>dede</i>	'to lift'	<i>da~dede</i>	'to lift intensively'
<i>dhèko</i>	'to take out'	<i>dha~dhèko</i>	'to take out continuously'

<i>dhobho</i>	‘to dilute’	<i>dha~dhobho</i>	‘to stir water’
<i>edo</i>	‘to grup up’	<i>a~'edo</i>	‘to grup up intensively’
<i>hag'e</i>	‘to separate’	<i>ha~hag'e</i>	‘to separate intensively’
<i>kèi</i>	‘to dig’	<i>ka~kèi</i>	‘to dig intensively’

4.4.2.5. Manner Reduplication

Manner reduplication yields nouns from action verbs and expresses the manner in which something is done. A list of examples is given in (98).

(98)	Manner reduplication			
	<i>bhèj'i</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>ba~bhèj'i</i>	‘way of sleeping, closing eyes’
	<i>eo</i>	‘to herd’	<i>a~'eo</i>	‘way of herding’
	<i>lere</i>	‘to accompany’	<i>la~lere</i>	‘way of accompanying’
	<i>libu</i>	‘to melt’	<i>la~libu</i>	‘way of melting, smithing’
	<i>nèu</i>	‘to wear’	<i>na~nèu</i>	‘way of wearing, style’
	<i>roge</i>	‘to dance’	<i>ra~roge</i>	‘way of dancing’
	<i>sabhi</i>	‘to wean’	<i>sa~sabhi</i>	‘way of weaning’

4.4.2.6. Other types of reduplication

Sometimes reduplication of verbs yields meanings that are not discussed in the previous sections. As they are unpredictable, their description is confined to the list in (99) below.

(99)	Other meanings of reduplication			
	<i>dhaa</i>	‘to answer’	<i>dha~dhaa</i>	‘to react’
	<i>dugu</i>	‘to tease’	<i>da~dugu</i>	‘to persuade’
	<i>g'ag'e</i>	‘to touch’	<i>g`a~g'ag'e</i>	‘not to touch’
	<i>kutu</i>	‘to close’	<i>ka~kutu</i>	‘to do the closing’
	<i>lèke</i>	‘be right’	<i>la~lèke</i>	‘absolutely right’
	<i>leko</i>	‘to disturb’	<i>la~leko</i>	‘to interfere’
	<i>maho</i>	‘be cold’	<i>ma~maho</i>	‘shadow, to shade’

4.4.3. (C)a~ reduplication and inflected verbs

Eight of nine inflected verbs (see §4.2) can be partially reduplicated (see §4.4.1.1). The verb *o'o* ‘to want’ cannot be reduplicated, as indicated in (104) below. Like other verbs described in §4.4.1.1 above, the reduplication of inflected verbs also

yields nouns. However, these nouns should be used as possessed nouns. For instance, in example (100), the reduplication of the verb *ku'a* 'to eat' is the possessed noun of the possessor *ja'a* '1SG' in the subject slot. The meanings of reduplications vary depending on the verbs, as shown in (103) below. The verbs *ku'a* 'to eat' and *nginu* 'to drink' have multiple meanings: habitual meaning, as shown in (100), and concrete nominalizing reduplication, as shown in (101). The latter meaning indicates that reduplicated verbs lose the reference of their co-index prefixes and simply encode a generic meaning. In (101) for example, *nganga'a* 'food' appears as the object and does not refer to any specific actor. For other verbs, the co-index in the reduplicated forms still refers to the actor of activities profiled by the verbs. A list of inflected verbs reduplication with prefixes is given in (104), and the verb *la-* 'to go' with suffixes is given in (105) below.

- (100) *ka~ku'a ja'a sèmi èèna ka*
 DUP~1SG.eat 1SG be.like DIST.SG PART
 'That is my habit of eating' [Elicited]
- (101) *nèngu bisa boe tenge nga~nga'a*
 3SG can not look.for DUP~1PL.ex.eat
 'He could not seek food' [BS_Rika_Jote.010]
- (102) *ka~ke'a ja'a dhoka dai sangae èèna di*
 DUP-1SG.know 1SG only reach that.big DIST.SG just
 'What I know is only about that' [EL_Dhari.143]
- (103) Meanings of inflected verbs reduplication
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ku'a</i> | '1SG.to.eat' | <i>ma~mu'e</i> | 'my habit of eating' |
| <i>nga'a</i> | '1PL.ex.to.eat' | <i>nga~nga'a</i> | 1) 'our habit of eating' |
| | | | 2) 'food' |
| <i>nginu</i> | '1PL.ex.to.drink' | <i>nga~nginu</i> | 1) 'our habit of drinking' |
| | | | 2) 'drinks' ³ |
| <i>kore</i> | '1SG.to.take' | <i>ka~kore</i> | 'my habit of taking' |
| <i>ke'a</i> | '1SG.to.know' | <i>ka~ke'a</i> | 'my knowledge, |
| | | | what I know' |
| <i>kèdhi</i> | '1SG.to.see. | <i>ka~kèdhi</i> | 'what I see' |
| <i>kèti</i> | '1SG.to.bring' | <i>ka~kèti</i> | 'what I bring, belongings' |
| <i>kèdu</i> | '1SG.to.hold' | <i>ka~kèdu</i> | 'what I hold, belongings' |
| | | | 'my habit of holding' |
| <i>laku</i> | 'to.go.1SG' | <i>la~laku</i> | 'my going/journey' |

³ This word should be compounded with *nganga'a* 'food'

(104) (C)*a*~ reduplication and inflected verbs with prefixes

Pro.	-a'a 'to eat'	-inu 'to drink'	-are 'to take'	-e'a 'to know'	-èdhi 'to see'	-èti 'to bring'	-èd'u 'to hold'	-o'o 'to want'
1SG	<i>ka-ku'a</i>	<i>ka-kinu</i>	<i>ka-kore</i>	<i>ka-ke'a</i>	<i>ka-kèdhi</i>	<i>ka-kèti</i>	<i>ka-kèd'u</i>	
2SG	<i>ma-mu'a</i>	<i>ma-minu</i>	<i>ma-more</i>	<i>ma-me'a</i>	<i>ma-mèdhi</i>	<i>ma-mèti</i>	<i>ma-mèd'u</i>	
3SG	<i>na-na'a</i>	<i>na-ninu</i>	<i>na-nare</i>	<i>na-ne'a</i>	<i>na-nèdhi</i>	<i>na-nèti</i>	<i>na-nèd'u</i>	
1PL-in	<i>ta-ta'a</i>	<i>ta-tinu</i>	<i>ta-tare</i>	<i>ta-te'a</i>	<i>ta-tèdhi</i>	<i>ta-tèti</i>	<i>ta-tèd'u</i>	
1PL-ex	<i>nga- nga'a</i>	<i>nga- nginu</i>	<i>nga- ngare</i>	<i>nga- nge'a</i>	<i>nga- ngèdhi</i>	<i>nga- ngèti</i>	<i>nga- ngèd'u</i>	
2PL	<i>ma-mi'a</i>	<i>ma-minu</i>	<i>ma-mere</i>	<i>ma-me'a</i>	<i>ma-mèdhi</i>	<i>ma-mèti</i>	<i>ma-mèd'u</i>	
3PL	<i>ra-ra'a</i>	<i>ra-rinu</i>	<i>ra-rare</i>	<i>ra-re'a</i>	<i>ra-rèdhi</i>	<i>ra-rèti</i>	<i>ra-rèd'u</i>	

(105) (C)*a*~ reduplication and inflected verb with suffixes

Pro	Suf.	<i>la</i> - 'to go'
1SG	-ku	<i>la~laku</i>
2SG	-mu	<i>la~lamu</i>
3SG	-e	<i>la~la'e</i>
1PL-in	-ti	<i>la~lati</i>
1PL-ex	-a	<i>la~la'a</i>
2PL	-mi	<i>la~lami</i>
3PL	-si	<i>la~lasi</i>

4.5. Compounding

Compounding is a productive strategy that is used to form new lexemes in Dhao. However, the distinction between compounds and phrases is not always straightforward through the analysis of phonological or morphosyntactic criteria. First of all, stress assignment does not distinguish compounds from phrasal expressions; stress always is on the penultimate position of the syllable (see §2.3.3). Secondly, Dhao does not have overt marking on adjectival elements to distinguish a compound from an NP containing a modifying element. For example, take the combination *dhèu kapai*, where *dhèu* means 'person' and *kapai* means 'big'. This combination may be construed as an NP meaning 'big person' where the second element *kapai* functions as the attribute of *dhèu*. The same combination may also metaphorically denote 'an official'. In this regard, the combination behaves like a compound. Thus, compounds and phrasal expression are only distinguishable by a semantic interpretation. Or rather, a compound is a lexicalized form.

Compounds typically consist of two or more lexemes that generate one stem. In Dhao, compounds combine three lexemes at most. Following Bauer (2009), Dhao has four types of compounds. Firstly, endocentric compounds, of which the heads are one of the elements in the compound. For example, the compound *rai-haha* denoting ‘earth’ combines *rai* ‘land’ with *haha* ‘below’. In this compound, *rai* ‘land’ is the head. The compound *èi-mènyi-rai* ‘kerosene’ has three lexemes: *èi* ‘water’, *mènyi* ‘fat’ and *rai* ‘land’. Kerosene is a liquid substance; it is not a fat nor is it a land, which confirms that the head is *èi* ‘water’. Secondly, Dhao has exocentric compounds, whose meanings are not hyponyms of either element. For example, the compound *lii-dai* ‘to invite’ does not take the meaning of either element of the compound. Compounds in Dhao can also involve lexemes that have no lexical meaning. For instance, the overall combination *hua-hètu* denotes ‘star’; the form *hua* means ‘fruit’, but *hètu* has no lexical meaning. Thirdly, coordinative compounds in which the elements can be interpreted as being joined by “and”. For example, the compound *ina-ama* ‘parents’ combines *ina* ‘mother’ and *ama* ‘father’.

This section focuses on the the formation of compounding. The meanings and the types of compounds are only mentioned in passing. In this section the presentation of compounds is based on the lexical elements that are combined into compounds, and is not based on the formal types of compounds mentioned previously. This section begins with compound nouns in §4.5.1 and is followed by compound verbs in §4.5.2.

4.5.1. Compound Nouns

Compound nouns in Dhao are divided into three types; (1) compounds whose overall meaning is associated with either both or one of the meanings of the separate elements, such as *ina-ama* ‘parents’, (2) compounds whose heads employ semantically specific nouns, such as *èi-kabhète* ‘water-thick’ ‘porridge’, and (3) compounds of which one of the elements has no lexical meaning, like *èj’i-lai* (rain-?) ‘rainy season’.

As was already mentioned above, there is no formal distinction between noun compounds and noun phrases in Dhao. Semantic interpretation is the only determining factor. Lexemes combined in compounds are syntactically inseparable and semantically generate a new meaning. The meaning changes once the elements are separated. For example, the compound *ana-èpu* ‘descendant’ cannot be separated by the conjunction *dènge* into *ana dènge èpu*, otherwise it would be interpreted as ‘the child and the grandchild’. Nominal compounds and their meanings are listed in (106). As is shown, they are expressed by two stems that have transparent meanings. The stems may have the same categories: N+N, such as *rai* ‘land’ + *dedha* ‘above’, or V+V, such as *mae* ‘be broken’ + *manyèla* ‘to separate’; or they may have different categories: N+V, such as *rena* ‘main’ + *paru* ‘hit’, or or N+Adj, such as

dhèu ‘person’+ *aae* ‘great, big’. The head of noun compounds in Dhao is the first or the leftmost stem. In turn, the head determines the category and the meaning of the entire compound. The meanings of the separate stems combine and result in a new generic meaning.

(106) Compound nouns with associated meanings

<i>ana-èpu</i>	child+grandchild	‘descendant’
<i>ina-ama</i>	mother + father	‘parents’ ⁴
<i>bhèni-aae</i>	woman + big	‘queen’
<i>bhèni-bhalu</i>	woman + loss	‘widow’
<i>mone-bhalu</i>	man + loss	‘widower’
<i>dhèu-aae</i>	person + great	‘king’
<i>dhèu-èmu</i>	person + house	‘spouse’
<i>dhèu-sala</i>	person + wrong	‘poor person’
<i>dhua-nasu</i>	palm.juice + cook	‘palm.juice’
<i>doi-dhari</i>	money + rope	‘finance’
<i>la-leo-lèu</i>	DUP-shelter + sea	‘umbrella’
<i>mae-manyèla</i>	broken + separate	‘separation’
<i>rena-paru</i>	main + to.strike	‘k.o.hammer’

Compounds whose heads are specific nouns also are productive in Dhao. For example, something that is analogous to “content” employs the noun *isi* ‘content’ as the head. For something that has a string or sheet-like shape, the word *loa* ‘sheet’ is used as head. To refer to an area, the word *rai* ‘land’ is used as the head. In the same way the noun *sabha* ‘palm container’ is used as the head in compounds that refer to containers. In turn, the second element refers to the entity that is stored within the container. The head noun can also be modified by verbs like *uus* ‘to bail’. Examples are given in (110).

(107) Compound nouns with specific nouns

<i>isi-kapoke</i>	content + spear	‘arrow’
<i>isi-kasiro</i>	content + gun	‘bullet’
<i>isi-èmu</i>	content + house	‘insider’
<i>isi-rai</i>	content + land	‘inhabitants’
<i>loa-hèngu</i>	sheet + cotton	‘yarn’
<i>loa-nyama</i>	sheet + raffia	‘raffia’
<i>loa-katuka</i>	sheet + rice.cake	‘string for rice.cake’
<i>loa-sebhe</i>	sheet + edge	‘sarong’s edge’

⁴ *ana-èpu* ‘descendant’ and *ina-ama* ‘parents’ are similar to lexical parallelism, wherein the lexemes involved in a compound are equal.

<i>rai-dedha</i>	land + above	‘land’
<i>rai-haha</i>	land + below	‘earth; world’
<i>rai-liru</i>	land + sky	‘cloud (white)’
<i>sabha-èi</i>	palm.container + water	‘water container’
<i>sabha-nginu</i>	palm.container + to.drink	‘palm.container for drinking’
<i>sabha-uusu</i>	palm.container + bail	‘palm.container for bailing water’

Meanings designating liquids use the lexeme *ei* ‘water’ as the head noun. Its modifiers can be other nouns or stative verbs.

(108) Nominal compounds with *èi* ‘water’

<i>èi-ani</i>	water + bait	‘k.o solder’
<i>èi-hèu mèngi</i>	water + smell + fragrant	‘perfume’
<i>èi-kabhèsu</i>	water + sweat	‘sweat’
<i>èi-kabhète</i>	water + thick	‘porridge’
<i>èi-kadosa</i>	water + remain in vinegar	‘vinegar’
<i>èi-lèngi</i>	water + oil	‘coconut oil’
<i>èi-mènyi-rai</i>	water + fat + land	‘kerosene’
<i>èi-na’i</i>	water + tobacco	‘medicine’
<i>èi-pa-mènyi</i>	water + PREF+fat (v)	‘naptol’
<i>èi-pa-pèda</i>	water + PREF+sick	‘disease’
<i>èi-paringi</i>	water + dulcify with water	‘dew’

Some nominal compounds employ the noun *ana* ‘child’ as the head. The noun *ana* ‘child’ does not always refer to a person or a child, like in *ana lalu* ‘fatherless child’, but can also refer to physical objects, such as in *ana kapepe* ‘tobacco container’. Examples of nominal compounds with *ana* are given in the list (109) below. The noun *ana* expresses a diminutive aspect in Dhao compounds. For instance, *ana-paru* ‘wooden mallet’ designates a smaller type of *rena-paru* ‘wooden mallet’. The compound *ana-bhèni* denotes a generic meaning for ‘girl’, and does not explicitly mean ‘small girl’. In this case, *ana* ‘child’ points at a younger age rather than size. Similarly, in the compounds *ana-kèni* and *ana-todha* which both refer to two different kinds of canoe, *ana* indicates that the referents are smaller than the default size of *koha* ‘boat, ship’. A list of compounds with *ana* is given in (109) below.

(109) Nominal compounds with *ana* ‘child’

<i>ana-lalu</i>	child + to take care	‘fatherless child’
<i>ana-aj’u</i>	child + wood	‘plants, tree’
<i>ana-bhèni</i>	child + female	‘girl’
<i>ana-hèni</i>	child + sister	‘sister’
<i>ana-kapepe</i>	child + round-like	‘tobacco container’
<i>ana-kèni</i>	child + keel of a canoe	‘canoe’
<i>ana-langi</i>	child + k.o.fish	‘k.o.motif’
<i>ana-madha</i>	child + front	‘eye’
<i>ana-mone</i>	child + male	‘boy’
<i>ana-paru</i>	child + to strike	‘wooden mallet’
<i>ana-pèci</i>	child + to throw	‘wooden mallet’
<i>ana-tai</i>	child + to depend	‘slave’
<i>ana-todha</i>	child + k.o.canoe	‘dinghy’

Some compound nouns in Dhao use the noun *rèu* ‘leaf’ as the head and other nouns as modifiers. A list is given in (110) below. The head designates something that is analogous to ‘leaf’. Although the meaning of the compound still is associated with the meaning of the stem, it is not always straightforward. Take the compound *rèu-kèli*, which combines *rèu* ‘leaf’ and *kèli* ‘lontar’. The meaning of the compound refers to leaves of the lontar tree that have dried naturally. Compounds such as *rèu* ‘leaf’ + *kètu* ‘head’ meaning ‘hair’ demonstrate that the noun *rèu* ‘leaf’ denotes entities with similar properties to leaves. The same also holds true for *rèu-èngu* ‘seaweed’. In addition, the compound *rèu sabha* refers to a specific kind of palm leaf which is used to make containers.

(110) Nominal compounds with *rèu* ‘leaf’

<i>rèu-kèli</i>	leaf + lontar	‘dry palm.leaf’
<i>rèu-kolo</i>	leaf + top	‘sprout of lontar leaf’
<i>rèu-èngu</i>	leaf + k.o. seaweed	‘seaweed’
<i>rèu-dhilu</i>	leaf + ear	‘ear’
<i>rèu-sabha</i>	leaf + palm.container	‘palm leaf to make container’
<i>rèu-kètu</i>	leaf + head	‘hair’

The compound nouns in (111) below indicate multi-word expressions whereof the second stem in the compound has no lexical meaning, indicated by the question mark (?) in the gloss. Those meaningless lexemes may be loans from neighboring languages such as Hawu or Rotenese, and are no longer identified as such by native Dhao speakers. For example, *manu* ‘chicken’ is the head of the compound *manu-*

bhui, whereas the word *bhui* resembles the Rotenese word for ‘bird’: *mbuik* or *puik*. A similar compound also is found in some Rotenese dialects, which use *manupuik* for ‘bird’ (Manafe, 1889: 641). Similarly, in the compound *kalaga-ledo* ‘platform’, the stem *kalaga* already denotes ‘wooden platform’ on its own. The word *ledo* is identical to Rotenese word *ledo* meaning ‘sun’. A similar Rotenese compound is *loa-ledo*, which refers to a wooden platform outside the house to dry coconut kernels on. These compounds need further investigation still.

(111) Compounds with one element has no lexical meaning

<i>ai-j'èla</i>	foot/hand - ?	‘sole’
<i>baki-hoe</i> ⁵	grandfather - ?	‘crocodile’
<i>dara-lobho</i>	inside - ?	‘shallow’
<i>èi-lobho</i>	water - ?	‘dirty water’
<i>èj'i-lai</i>	rain - ?	‘rainy season’
<i>hua-hètu</i> ⁶	fruit - ?	‘star’
<i>hui-kehi</i>	astern - ?	‘nape of neck’
<i>kalaga-ledo</i>	wooden platform - ?	‘platform’
<i>leko-monya</i>	disturb - ?	‘lie’
<i>manu-bhui</i>	chicken - ?	‘bird’

4.5.2. Compound Verbs

Compound verbs in Dhao are V+V, V+Adj, V+N, and V+PART combinations. Like compound nouns, some stems have transparent meanings while others are dependent on the heads of their compound. Furthermore, some stems are grammatically independent, such as predicates or arguments while some are not. For instance, the compound *puu-gètu* ‘to harvest’ is a V+V combination whose stems have transparent meaning and are grammatically independent – they can be placed in predicate positions. The compound *padhai-lii* ‘to discuss’ is a V+N combination and both stems have transparent meaning: *padhai* ‘to talk’ and *lii* ‘voice’, but the stem, *padhai* ‘to talk’ cannot be used independently as predicate. It should always be compounded with a relevant stem. Notice that compound verbs and serial verbs (§6.4) are similar in terms of verb combination (V+V). However, they are distinct both syntactically as well as semantically-speaking. The combination of compound verbs is syntactically inseparable whereas the combination of serial verbs is separable. For example, the verb combination *lalau-lalo'o* ‘to serve’ cannot be separated into *rèngu lalau* ‘they arrange’ and *rèngu lalo'o* ‘they manage’. However, the verb combination *rai mai* can be separated into *rèngu rai* ‘they run’ and *rèngu*

⁵ The lexeme *hoe* might be an innovation of PAN **buqaya*.

⁶ The lexeme *hètu* might be an innovation of the PAN **bituqen* ‘star’.

mai ‘they come’ without changing the meaning brought on by its combination. Thus, *lalau-lalo'o* is a compound, whereas *rai mai* is a serial verb. Semantically, compounded verbs result in a new meaning and are definitely fused, whereas serial verbs feature two or more simultaneous sub-events (§6.4) and their meanings are independent. A list of compound verbs is given in (112) below.

(112) Compound verbs		
<i>adu-ue</i>	ask for trouble-result in problem	‘to create problems’
<i>budu-tèke</i>	postpone-keep	‘to leave s.t/s.o’
<i>cebe-lebhe</i>	spread-scatter around	‘to fall apart’
<i>koko-(ka)mango</i>	larynx-dry	‘be thirsty’
<i>ladhe-leru</i>	see-check	‘to look after’
<i>lala-o'oo</i>	overflow-heavy rain	‘to overflow of s.t’
<i>lalau-lalo'o</i>	arrange-manage	‘to serve’
<i>leko-monya</i>	dishonest-trick	‘to deceive’
<i>lii-dai</i>	voice-arrive	‘to invite’
<i>malaa-maloha</i>	amazed-very confused	‘be senile, confused’
<i>padhai-lii</i>	talk-voice	‘to discuss’
<i>padhue-padhai</i> ⁷	discuss-talk	‘to discuss’
<i>puu-gètu</i>	pick fruit-pick leaves	‘to harvest’
<i>rai-reo</i>	run-surround	‘to run around’
<i>solo-mako</i>	hat-soft	‘to persuade, ’
<i>tangi-dolo-aae</i>	cry-scream-big	‘to cry too much’

A construction with a verbal compound is illustrated in (113) below, in which the meaning of ‘take care’ is expressed through two lexical items, *ladhe* ‘to see’ and *leru* ‘to check’. Both verbs are combined to create a new meaning that syntactically occupies the predicate position.

(113)	<i>ana</i>	<i>ja'a</i>	<i>se'e</i>	<i>cee</i>	<i>ladhe</i>	<i>leru?</i>
	child	1SG	PROX.PL	who	to.see	to.check
	‘For my kids, who take care (of them)?’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.445]					

4.6. Vowel changes: final /a/ and /e/

A few words in Dhao exhibit vowel change. In most instances the back vowel /a/ alternates with the front vowel /e/. Only in the word *lolo* ‘to tell’ the final /o/ alternates with /e/. This vowel change in Dhao has two types; (1) semantic-induced vowel change (§4.6.1) and (2) valence increase vowel change (§4.6.2).

⁷ It looks like reduplication (rhyming reduplication).

4.6.1. Semantic-Induced Vowel Change

Verbs with vowel change have constraints on the semantics of their arguments. That is, the semantics of the arguments determines the allomorph of the verb. Furthermore, vowel change is used to specify actions. In the first case, plurality of undergoer participants plays a significant role. Plural undergoers require verbs with final /a/, whereas singular undergoers require verbs with final /e/. This is well exemplified by the verb *mata* > *mate* ‘to wait’. As demonstrated in (114)a-b, the allomorph with final /a/ is used when the undergoer is plural, otherwise the construction would be ungrammatical, as is shown in (114)c. Similarly, the examples (115)a-b show that the allomorph with final /e/ is employed when the undergoer is singular. A plural undergoer would be ungrammatical, as is shown in (115)c.

- (114) a. *ja'a mata rèngu*
 1SG to.wait 3PL
 ‘I wait for them’
- b. *rèngu mata èdhi*
 3PL to.wait 1PL.in
 ‘They wait for us’
- c. **rèngu mata ja'a*
 3PL to.wait 1SG
- (115) a. *èdhi mate nèngu*
 1PL.in to.wait 3SG
 ‘We wait for him/her’
- b. *nèngu mate ja'a*
 3SG to.wait 1SG
 ‘He/She waits for me’
- c. **ja'a mate rèngu*
 1SG to.wait 3PL

(116) Vowel change and participants

With Plural Undergoer		With Singular Undergoer	
<i>basa</i>	‘to wash’	<i>base</i>	‘to wash’
<i>bèbha</i>	‘to fall’	<i>bèbhe</i>	‘to fall’
<i>cèna</i>	‘to sink’ (sun)	<i>cène</i>	‘to sink’
<i>hua</i>	‘to load’	<i>hue</i>	‘to lift’
<i>lèpa</i>	‘to fold’	<i>lèpe</i>	‘to fold’
<i>mata</i>	‘to wait	<i>mate</i>	‘to wait
<i>panga’a</i>	‘to feed’	<i>panga’e</i>	‘to feed’
<i>para</i>	‘to cut’	<i>pare</i>	‘to cut’
<i>masèka</i>	‘be broken’ (many pieces)	<i>masèke</i>	‘be broken’ (one piece)
<i>gama</i>	‘to hit’ (PL actor & undergoer)	<i>game</i>	‘to hit’ (SG actor & undergoer)
<i>hia</i>	‘to give’ (proximal recipient)	<i>hie</i>	‘to give’ (remote recipient)

(116) provides a list with verbs that display vowel change. The verbs *gama* > < *game* ‘to hit’ and *hia* > *hie* ‘to give’ differ from other vowel changing verbs. The allomorph *gama* ‘to hit’ requires a plural actor and undergoer while *game* requires singular actor and undergoer. The allomorph *hia* ‘to give’ has a recipient whose referent is near the referent of the actor, whereas its counterpart *hie* ‘to give’ requires a recipient whose referent is far from the actor’s referent. In this particular case, the recipient is the endpoint.

This vowel change agreement complies with a similar phenomenon attested in Hawu, where it marks object agreement (Walker, 1982: 23). In Dhao, most verbal forms with final /a/ require a plural undergoer. Only *gama* ‘to hit’ has a singular undergoer. On the other hand, the verb *hia* ‘to give’ indicates the relative distance of the recipient’s referent⁸.

For some verbs no particular rule has been found that can account for their vowel alternation. For example, the allomorph *iga* ‘to count’ with the final /a/

⁸ These two forms perhaps already are losing this specific morphosyntactic feature compared to other verbs. In the current usage of Dhao, native speakers no longer are aware of the difference between both allomorphs and only employ the forms with final /a/ most of the time. This might explain why this type of verbs was not found by Walker, (1982) nor Grimes, (2010).

designates that the moment of utterance takes place directly before or after the counting event, whereas the allomorph *ige* ‘to count’ with the final /e/ signals that the moment of speech has taken place long after the counting event. An example of *iga* ‘to count’ is given in (117). The construction was recorded during a Pear Story video stimulus session. The native speaker used final /a/ because he produced the utterance right after the video had shown a man counting fruits while putting them into a basket. The example in (118) showcasing an allomorph with final /e/ was taken from a procedural text about the process of weaving ikat textiles. The native speaker was telling the story without doing any demonstration. As such, the timespan between the storytelling event and the counting event was unknown.

- (117) *na iga cue-cue asa dara karanjang*
 3SG.CL to.count DUP-one to inside basket(Mal)
 ‘He counts one by one (and) put into the basket’ [YY_PearStory.011]

- (118) *ja'a ige dhari*
 1SG to.count rope
 ‘I count the strings’ [SB_Tao_Rabhi.020]

Another example is the verb *saba* > *sabe* ‘to work’. In (119), the verb with the final /a/ was part of a story about the creativity of Dhaonese people in silversmithing. It was told that Dhaonese men never are trained in smithing. They are able to do it right away after having seen someone else doing it. The allomorph *saba* signals that the working event has not occurred yet. In contrast, an allomorph with the final /e/ signals that the working event has occurred already, as is illustrated in (120). The story tells of the speakers’ work of composing a Dhao song titled *Hela Bunga*, which took them two weeks. To summarize, in this case the vowel change denotes an evidential difference between events. The /a/ allomorph profiles a possible event, whereas the /e/ allomorph profiles the actual event. While the semantics/pragmatics specific of the verbs listed in (121) are found, those in (122) are not identified as of yet.

- (119) *rèngu bisa saba mèdha ne'e*
 3PL can to.work thing PROX.SG
 ‘They can do this things’ [FAK_Rog'a.056]

- (120) *ja'a sabe nèngu dua minggu*
 1SG to.work 3SG two week(IND)
 ‘I did it in two weeks’ [YK_HelaBunga.006]

(121) Semantic/pragmatic-specific verbs with vowel change

<i>aj'a</i>	'to teach'	(verbally)
<i>aj'e</i>	'to teach'	(through exercises)
<i>bèka</i>	'to half-cut'	(for circumcision)
<i>bèke</i>	'to half-cut'	(for coconut)
<i>ku'a</i>	'I eat'	(common, polite)
<i>ku'e</i>	'I eat'	(vulgar)
<i>lala</i>	'to overflow'	(sea water)
<i>lale</i>	'to overflow'	(water in general)
<i>sag'èba</i>	'facedown'	(for animate)
<i>sag'èbe</i>	'facedown'	(for inanimate)
<i>sola</i>	'cut into pieces'	(for animals)
<i>sole</i>	'cut into pieces'	(for human, vulgar)
<i>tangara</i>	'to face'	(speaker asks the addressee)
<i>tangare</i>	'to face'	(speaker asks others)

(122) Other verbs with vowel change

<i>bèbha</i>	>	<i>bèbhe</i>	'to fall'
<i>beta</i>	>	<i>bete</i>	'to withdraw'
<i>cèla</i>	>	<i>cèle</i>	'to dive'
<i>iga</i>	>	<i>ige</i>	'to count'
<i>jola</i>	>	<i>jole</i>	'to hand over'
<i>lala</i>	>	<i>lala</i>	'to rinse'
<i>pahia</i>	>	<i>pahie</i>	'to sell'

4.6.2. Valence Increase

Vowel change also changes monovalent verbs to bivalent verbs, or nominalizes verbs. This valence-changing morphological process is not as productive as the use of the prefix *pa-* (see §4.3 above). Four verbs are attested that feature valence increase by means of the vowel change /a/ to /e/. Only the verb *lolo* > *lole* 'to tell' has /o/ to /e/. As illustrated in (123)a below, the verb *palèbha* 'to lie athwart' with final /a/ is a monovalent verb. It has only one semantic participant that is profiled by

the subject argument *boto cue* ‘a bottle’ in this construction. The prepositional phrase introduced by the locative preposition *ètu* ‘LOC’ is an adjunct. The same verb with a final /e/ is illustrated in (123)b; it is a bivalent verb with *nèngu* ‘3SG’ as its subject and *boto èèna* ‘that bottle’ as its object argument. The same also applies for the example in (124). The allomorph *lolo* ‘to tell’ has no object argument, whereas the allomorph *lole* ‘to tell’ has. A list of attested verb is given in (126) below.

- (123) a. *boto cue dhu palèbha ètu dedha hadhu*
 bottle one REL to.lie.athwart LOC above stone
 ‘A bottle is lying arthwart on the stone’ [Prep_Elicited.021]

- b. *nèngu palèbhe boto èèna*
 3SG to.lie.athwart bottle DIST.SG
 ‘He placed the bottle arthwart’

- (124) *ja’a neo lolo/*lola*
 1SG want to.tell
 ‘I want to tell’ [tao_dhepi.002]

- (125) *ja’a lole dhu tao hènngu nyama ne’e*
 1SG to.tell REL to.make thread raffia PROX.SG
 ‘I will tell about (the way) of dyeing sarongs’ [tao_dhepi.142]

- (126) Valence increase with vowel change
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>tapa</i> | ‘to be adhered’ | <i>tape</i> | ‘to adhere’ |
| <i>palèbha</i> | ‘to lie athwart’ | <i>palèbhe</i> | ‘to put athwart’ |
| <i>katata</i> | ‘to be cornered’ | <i>katate</i> | ‘to corner’ |
| <i>sag’èba</i> | ‘to facedown’ | <i>sag’èbe</i> | ‘to turn over’ |
| <i>lolo</i> ⁹ | ‘to tell’ | <i>lole</i> | ‘to (re)tell s.t’ |

Nominal deverbalization by means of vowel change is attested in few words only. Nominal allomorphs feature a final /a/ whereas verbal allomorphs feature a final /e/. As illustrated in (127), the noun *tadha* ‘sign’ occupies the object position of the predicate *abhu* ‘get’. In (128), *tadhe* ‘to know’ occupies the predicate position with the personal pronoun *èu* ‘2SG’ as the subject and the singular demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ as the object. The occurrence of these two words in different syntactic slots confirms that they are in different word categories.

⁹ This is an exception because the word **lola* does not exist.

- (127) *ja'a abhu tadha/*tadhe na ana....*
 1SG to.get sign PART child
 'I got a sign, that the child... [SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.215]
- (128) *èu tadhe/*tadha ne'e do aad'o?*
 2SG to.know PROX.SG or be.absent
 'Do you know this one or not? [SK_Dhe'u_E'ta_Dua.132]

A list is given in (129) below. As is, three reduplicated nouns with final /a/ occur non-reduplicated as verbs.

- (129) Deverbal nouns with vowel change
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>èèga</i> | 'span' | <i>èège</i> | 'to span' |
| <i>katanga</i> | 'cover' | <i>katange</i> | 'to cover' |
| <i>oka</i> | 'garden' | <i>oke</i> | 'to fence' |
| <i>pèga</i> | 'step' | <i>pège</i> | 'to step' |
| <i>tadha</i> | 'sign' | <i>tadhe</i> | 'to recognize' |
| <i>tangara</i> | 'to face' | <i>tangare</i> | 'to look around' |
| <i>raraja</i> | 'dowel' | <i>raje</i> | 'to set dowel' |
| <i>*raja</i> | | <i>*rareje</i> | |
| <i>sasula</i> | 'filter' | <i>sule</i> | 'to filter' |
| <i>*sula</i> | | <i>*sasule</i> | |
| <i>sasanga</i> | 'rift' | <i>sange</i> | 'to put on slit of |
| <i>*sanga</i> | | <i>*sasange</i> | branch' |

5

Simple Clauses

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with simple clause constructions in Dhao. A clause describes an activity, a property, a state, or a relationship (Aikhenvald, 2015: 225). I label all these as “events” in this thesis. Salient grammatical properties of a clause are a main predicate and its argument(s) at least. Therefore, utterances without a main predicate are non-clausal by definition (Staden, 2000: 210). However, it is not as simple as that. Since this grammar is primarily based on a spoken corpus, it is often the case that an utterance may have no argument in the surface structure at all. This specifically happens with non-first clauses in a discourse (see Chapter 6).

A template of default clause structure in Dhao is given in Figure 5.1 below. A clause may consist of at least one phrase, called the core, which is accompanied by some optional elements, which are called the periphery (Van Valin, 2001: 206). The core lodges the main predicate, which is the nucleus of the clause. The subject is considered a nominal complement to the predicative nucleus. Possibly, other constituents may be added to the clause. At this stage, periphery constituents are distinguished from arguments. Arguments are obligatory syntactic elements to the expression of the event denoted by the main predicates, whereas peripheries are external elements of the clause that are syntactically optional.

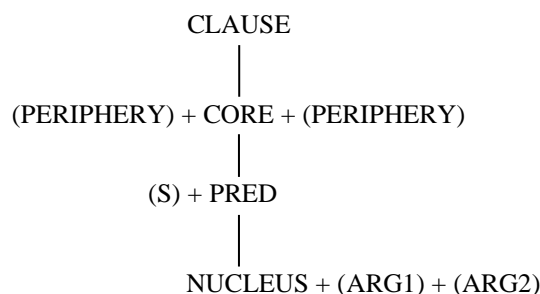


Figure 5.1. Default Clause Structure

This chapter begins with a discussion of predicates: the main elements of the clause that express an event (§5.2). The discussion continues with a description of arguments and peripheries (§5.3). The notion of valency and transitivity is discussed separately from predicates (§5.4) because transitivity does not always match with valency in Dhao. In addition, transitivity is not always determined by the valency of the verb in the predicate either. Pragmatic variation will be dealt with in final section (§5.5).

5.2. Predicates

In Dhao simple clauses, there are two types of predicates. Firstly, there are verbs constitute verbal predicates, and secondly, there are nominal, numeral, and prepositional phrases constitute nominal predicates. True adjectives occur only in nominal predicates, whereas recategorized adjectives that behave like monovalent verbs occur in verbal predicates. Adverbs never are predicative. Besides single verbs Dhao also has serial verb constructions (SVCs), where two or more verbs jointly occupy the predicate position (see §6.4). Possessive predicates are discussed in a separate section since they can be expressed both nominally as well as verbally.

This section begins with verbal predicates in §5.2.1, followed by nominal predicates in §5.2.2. Possessive predicates will be presented in §5.2.3. Finally, numeral and locative predicates are given in §5.2.4 and §5.2.5 respectively.

5.2.1. Verbal Predicates

Verbal predicates vary based on the semantics of the verbs that determine argument realization (see §3.3.1.2). This discussion focuses on predicate heads that are verbs. In Dhao, the predicate slot can be filled by single verbs as well as serial verbs. The latter will be described in a separate section (see §6.4.3). In this particular section, I will concentrate on describing the meanings encoded by the predicate heads: state,

action, and existentiality. The structure of a predicate and its constituent(s) will be discussed in §5.4.

The verbal predicate expressing state is illustrated as follows. In (1), *pèda* ‘be sick’ profiles the state of affairs of the person indicated by *nèngu* ‘3SG’. In (2), *kapai* ‘big’ profiles the dimension of the thing, *èmu* ‘house’. While *pèda* ‘be sick’ lexically is a state verb, *kapai* ‘big’ is an adjective (see §3.4). As is shown, there is no grammatical difference between verbal and adjectival categories in predicate position. Although it always is possible for state verbs like *pèda* ‘be sick’ to behave attributively in an NP construction, the construction in (1) undoubtedly is a clause due to the fact that personal pronouns never are modified by adjectives (see §3.2.2.1). It is not an NP. In this case, *pèda* ‘be sick’ serves as the predicate. The construction in (2) also is a clause and not an NP. The demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ modifies the noun *èmu* ‘house’, making up a nominal phrasal unit. On its own, the adjective *kapai* ‘big’ is a separate unit, which functions as the predicate and profiles a property of the noun. Notice that demonstratives always are phrase-final elements in Dhao NP structures (see §3.2.2.2).

- (1) *nèngu pèda*
 3SG be.sick
 ‘He is sick’ [Percakapan20130825_b.127]
- (2) *èmu ne’e kapai*
 house PROX.SG big
 ‘This house is big’ [ADJV_Elicit.026]

Two words indicating manner are attested as predicate heads: *nena* ‘be slow’ and *malai* ‘quick’. While *nena* ‘be slow’ can only be used predicatively and adverbially, *malai* ‘quick’ may also function attributively in NPs. The predicative function of *nena* ‘be slow’ is illustrated in (3), and is modified by the preceding degree adverb *ako* ‘rather’. In this construction, the verb *nena* ‘be slow’ informs about a situation wherein a group of people, including the speaker, came to a particular place of ceremony at a later moment than the proposed time. The subject of *nena* ‘be slow’ is the NP *mamai ji’i* ‘our coming’. The time adverbial expression *doe ne’e* ‘today’ modifies the whole construction and indicates the moment of speaking. The fact that *nena* ‘be slow’ can be used adverbially is shown in example (4). It modifies the predicate verb *saba* ‘to work’. The quantifier *ae* ‘many’ is used adverbially in order to encode the degree of the slowness denoted by *nena* ‘be slow’.

- (3) *ma-mai ji’i doe ne’e ako nena*
 DUP-to.come 1PL.ex today PROX.SG rather be.slow
 ‘Our coming is a little bit late’ [Ada_20140427.013]

- (4) *miu saba nena ae*
 2PL to.work be.slow many
 ‘You all work very slowly’ [ADJV_Elicit.082]

Unlike *nena* ‘be slow’, *malai* ‘quick’ is constrained in its predicate position. Because *malai* ‘quick’ has an attributive function, the construction in (5)a may be analyzed as an NP. The construction becomes clausal when the head noun is separated by a particular demonstrative such as *nèi* ‘DIST.SG’ in (5)b. Like *nena* ‘be slow’, *malai* ‘quick’ also is used adverbially, as is shown in (6), where it modifies the predicate verb *rai* ‘to run’.

- (5) a. *kapa malai*
 ship quick
 ‘Express boat’ [ADJV_Elicit.069]
- b. *kapa nèi malai*
 ship DIST.SG quick
 ‘That boat is fast’ [Elicited]
- (6) *ana èèna rai malai*
 child DIST.SG to.run quick
 ‘The child ran fast’ [ADJV_Elicit.063]

Predicates that express actions include those that indicate volitional actions, activities, and movements. In (7), the predicate’s nucleus slot is filled by the verb *abo* ‘to pound’. It profiles a volitional action executed by the subject’s referent, *bèi* ‘grandmother’ towards the referent of the object, *kanana* ‘betel’. In (8), the predicate nucleus is expressed by the verb *hia* ‘to give’. The verb profiles the transfer of a thing from one position to another, in which the referent of the subject *miu* ‘2PL’ is the agent and the referent of the object *èi miu* ‘your water’ is the transferred thing. Example (9) below provides an example of the verb *j’unu* ‘to lie down’ with the subject *èu* ‘2SG’.

- (7) *bèi abo kanana*
 grandma to.pound betel
 ‘Grandmother pounds betel-nut’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.278]
- (8) *miu hia ku ja’a [èi miu]_{NP} la*
 2PL to.give tag 1SG water 2PL PART
 ‘Please, (you) give me your water’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.044]

- (9) *èu j'unu ro'a koi ja'a*
 2SG to.lie.down hole bed 1SG
 'You sleep underneath my bed' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.105]

A predicate expressed by movement is exemplified by the verb *mai* 'to come' in (10). The predicate signals that the subject's referent *rèngu* '3PL' moves from one place to another towards the direction of the speaker. The destination of the movement is *èmu* 'house', which profiles a location. Predicates expressed by this type of verbs require a location. Prototypical locations do not require the locative preposition *ètu* 'LOC' (see §3.3.1.2.7). Another example of predicates expressing movement is illustrated by the verb *puru* 'to descent' in (11). As shown, there are two verbs involved in the predicate slot. The first verb *puru* 'to descent' describes an action of the subject *nèngu* '3SG'. The second verb *mai* 'to come', which is expressed periphrastically, indicates the direction of the movement, which is towards the speaker (see §6.4.3).

- (10) *rèngu mai èmu*
 3PL to.come house
 'They come home' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1297]
- (11) *nèngu puru [asa rai haha]_{PP} mai*
 3SG to.descent to land below come
 'She came down to earth' [BS_Tuka_Suki.015]

The existential predicate may be expressed with either a positive or a negative reading. A positive reading employs the verb *abhu* 'to get', whereas a negative reading uses the negative verb *aad'o* 'be absent'. The verb *abhu* 'to get' is a bivalent verb that occurs in a typical transitive construction, as is illustrated in (12).

- (12) *ja'a abhu doi...*
 1SG to.get money
 'I get money...', [YF_Tenge_Mamuri.014]

The verb *abhu* 'to get' as an existential predicate appears in a clause-initial position. The intended location usually is specified. For instance, in (13)a the clause-initial verb *abhu* 'to get' introduces the entity *bola* 'ball' onto the stage, followed by a prepositional phrase that specifies the location of the entity. The predicative status of *abhu* 'to get' is confirmed by the predicative negator *boe* 'not' in (13)b. I analyze the existential construction with *abhu* 'to get' as having a zero subject. The entities that follow the verb *abhu* 'to get' are objects and that function as the subject of the following clause at the same time. The alternative monoclausal counterpart without *abhu* 'to get' is illustrated in (13)c).

- (13) a. *abhu bola èci ètu suu mei*
 to.get ball(IND) one LOC tip table
 ‘There is a ball at the tip of the table’ [Prep_Elicit.006]
- b. *abhu boe bola ètu suu mei*
 to.get not ball(IND) LOC tip table
 ‘There is no ball at the tip of the table’
- c. *bola èci ètu suu mei*
 ball(IND) one LOC tip table
 ‘A ball at the tip of the table’ [Elicit_Prep.006]

Instead of prepositional phrases, verbal clauses can also be complements of existential predicates. As illustrated in (14), the verb *abhu* ‘to get’ is followed by a clause whose predicate head is the reciprocal verb *pakarèi* ‘to ask each other’, whose subject is *dhèu* ‘person’. The predicate verb in the complement clause is modified by the preceding modal *bisa* ‘can’. The only way to negate such a construction would be by using the predicate negator *boe* ‘not’, as is illustrated in (14)b. Example (15)c shows that negation of the negative existential verb *aad’o* ‘be absent’ is ungrammatical (more details on *aad’o* ‘be absent’ are presented below).

- (14) a. *abhu dhèu bisa pa-karèi*
 to.get person can(IND) PA-ask
 ‘There are people who may ask’ [YK_Hela_Bunga.028]
- b. *abhu boe dhèu bisa pa-karèi*
 to.get not person can(IND) PA.ask
 ‘There are no people who may ask’
- c. **dhèu aad’o bisa pa-karèi*
 person be.present can(IND) PA-ask

The existential predicate has a specific negative counterpart by means of the verb *aad’o* ‘be absent’. As demonstrated in (15), the negative existential verb *aad’o* ‘be absent’ designates the absence of the entity *bola* ‘ball’. Another example is given in (16)a, in which *aad’o* ‘be absent’ denotes the absence of a job. The nominalized form *sasaba* ‘job’ serves as the subject of *aad’o* ‘be absent’. The personal pronoun *ja’a* ‘1SG’ that occurs in the clause-initial position functions as a topic indicating the possessor of the job mentioned in the discourse (see §5.5.1). In this construction the demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ indicates the location ‘here’ (see §3.2.2.2). The

predicative function of *aad'o* 'be absent' is more transparent in a typical negative existential construction, as is illustrated in (16)b.

- (15) *bola aad'o ètu suu mei*
 ball(IND) be.absent LOC tip table
 a) 'There is no ball at the tip of the table' [Elicit_Prep.006]
 b) 'The ball is absent at the tip of the table'
- (16) a. *ja'a [sa-saba aad'o] ne'e*
 1SG DUP-to.work absence PROX.SG
 'I have no job here' [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.008]
- b. *sa-saba aad'o ne'e*
 DUP-to.work be.absent PROX.SG
 'There is no job here'

Modifiers of verbal predicates include aspectual markers, manner, degree, and modality. A list of these modifiers is given in §3.3.2.1. A few of them are described as examples in this section. The example in (17) shows that the activity of thinking is in progress still, which is indicated by the preceding aspectual adverb *lili* 'still'. In (18), the predicate *madhera* 'long' is modified by the degree adverb *ako* 'rather', indicating that the entity *dhari* 'string' is not as long as the speaker had expected. Another predicate modifier is shown by the manner adverb in (19), in which the predicate head is the verb *mai* 'to come', with *karohe* 'quickly' serving as a modifier, followed by the politeness tag *ku*, which softens the expression. Aspectual markers and modals are pre-core periphery elements. The others are post-core periphery elements in the clause.

- (17) *rèngu lili pa-ngee-pa-ngee hèia...*
 3PL still DUP-CAUS-to.think then
 'While they are still thinking then...' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1203]
- (18) *tao dhari ako madhera ciki*
 to.make rope rather long little
 'Make strings rather long' [SF_Tao_Hengu.048]
- (19) *èu karohe ku mai*
 2SG quickly tag come
 'You, please come quickly' [ADJV_Elicit.065]

Unlike other modifiers, the aspect verb *èle* ‘already’ follows the predicate head, as is shown in (20) (see §3.3.1.2.9). The predicate head is the verb *hare’a* ‘to boil’, which profiles the state of the subject referent *èi pana* ‘hot water’.

- (20) [*èi pana*]¹ *hare’a èle*
 water hot to.boil already
 ‘The water already boiled’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta_Dua.058]

5.2.2. Nominal Predicates

In Dhao, nominal predicates indicate proper inclusion, or are equations. The former are nominal entities that are amongst the class of items specified by nominal predicates. The latter equate one particular entity to another entity (Payne, 1997: 114).

Since there is no overt marking for nominal predicates to link the predicate and its argument, predicative NPs and their arguments simply are juxtaposed. Nominal predicates that indicate proper inclusion are exemplified in (21) and (22). The NP *dhèu dedha liru* ‘person of the sky’ fills the predicate nucleus, whereas the NP *ina nèngu* ‘his mother’ serves as the subject. In this case, the predicate specifies the item indicated in the subject position. Similarly, in (22) the predicate NP *nyama mea* ‘red string’ refers to a specific entity, which features the subject *dasar nèngu* ‘its base’.

- (21) *ina nèngu dhèu dedha liru*
 mother 3SG person above sky
 ‘His mother is a person of the sky’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.001]
- (22) *dasar nèngu nyama mea*
 base(IND) 3SG rafia red
 ‘Its base is (made of) red strings [SB_Tao_Hengu.025]

Example (23) below displays a nominal predicate that expresses equation. The construction consists of two clauses whose predicates are the personal names *Adu Hia* and *Dju Dulu*. The predicative personal names have the same referents as their respective subjects, *ina ja’a* ‘my mother’ and *ama ja’a* ‘my father’ respectively.

- (23) [*ina ja’a Adu.Hia*] [*ama ja’a Dhu.Duli*]
 mother 1SG Adu.Hia father 1SG Dhu.Duli
 ‘My mother is Adu Hia and my father is Dhu Duli’ [PD_Tua_Tana.017]

¹ This means ‘boiled water’.

In Dhao, true adjectives never fill the predicate slot (see §3.4). They always appear in the form of NPs. As exemplified in (24), the adjectives *aae* ‘big’ and *iiki* ‘small’ are headed by their corresponding nouns *mone* ‘male’ and *ana* ‘child’ respectively, without which they would be unacceptable, as is illustrated in (24)b.

- (24) a. *èmu èèna mone aae/ana iiki*
 house DIST.SG male big/child small
 ‘That house is big/small’ [Elicited]
- b. **èmu èèna aae/iiki*
 house DIST.SG big/small

5.2.3. Possessive Predicates

In Dhao, possessive predicates can be expressed either as a verbal or as a nominal predicate. Verbal possessive predicates use *dènge* ‘with’ and *unu* ‘possess’, whereas nominal possessive predicates use NP constructions. *Unu* ‘possess’ can also be employed in the position of possessum. Example (25) exemplifies the possessive predicate *dènge* ‘with’. The predicate describes the entity *sasadhu èci* ‘one sasando’ as the possessed entity, and the referent of the personal pronoun *ja’a* ‘1SG’ as the possessor. *Dènge* ‘with’ itself is an accompaniment preposition (see §3.6.2) whose proximity sense is responsible for its grammaticalization into a possessive verb. Its possessive meaning arose through close associative meaning, a meaning closely related to commitative (Balukh & Arka, 2018). In example (26) the negator *boe* ‘not’ confirms that the preposition functions as a predicate nucleus.

- (25) *ja’a dènge sasadhu èci*
 1SG with sasando one
 ‘I have one sasando’ [Elicited]
- (26) *ja’a dènge boe sasadhu èci*
 1SG with not sasando one
 ‘I do not have any sasando’

The verbal possessive predicate with *unu* ‘possess’ is demonstrated in (27)a. *Unu* ‘possess’ profiles a situation in which the referent of *oka ne’e* ‘this garden’ is in possession of the referent *dhèu* ‘person’. In (27)b the negator *boe* ‘not’ confirms that *unu* ‘possess’ is used predicatively. In (28), *unu* ‘possess’ occurs in a nominal predicate, where it serves as the possessum with *dhèu leo* ‘other people’ as the possessor. In this example it is impossible to treat *unu* ‘possess’ as a verbal element due to the fact that it has the same reference as the preceding NP, *aj’u dèbho ne’e* ‘this big log’.

- (27) a. *dhèu unu oka ne'e*
 person possess garden PROX.SG
 'A person owns this garden' [Elicited from FAK_Roga'a.008]
- b. *dhèu unu boe oka ne'e*
 person possess not garden PROX.SG
 'A person does not own this garden'
- (28) *aj'u dèbho ne'e [unu dhèu leo]_{NP}*
 wood big(logs) PROX.SG possess person other
 'This big log is the possession of other people' [ADJV_Elicit.034]

The possessive elements *dènge* 'with' and *unu* 'possess' can be employed in a single construction, as is exemplified in (29). In such a case, *dènge* 'with' serves as the predicate and *unu* 'possess' functions as the possessum noun. The negator *boe* 'not' strongly indicates the predicative function of *dènge* 'with' of which *unu* 'possess' is its object. In (30), the possessum entity, *sasadhu* 'sasando', is made explicit while maintaining *unu* 'possess' as the possessum. This double expression results in an interpretation of premeditated ownership: the possessor *ja'a* '1SG' wanted to have a *sasadhu* 'sasando' of his own.

- (29) *ja'a dènge boe unu*
 1SG to.own not possess
 'I did not have anything' [YK_music.006]
- (30) *ja'a neo dènge [unu sasadhu]*
 1SG to.want with possess sasando
 'I want to have my own sasando' [YK_music.005]

5.2.4. Numeral Predicates

Besides their function as NP attribute, numerals also can occur as predicate heads, referred to as numeral predicates in this section. The occurrence of numerals after NPs may be ambiguously attributive or predicative. For example, in (31) the numeral *ca nguru tèlu* 'thirteen' may be interpreted either as a NP modifier with *dhèu* 'person' as the head noun, or as a numeral predicate with the noun *dhèu* 'person' as its subject. Nevertheless, the noun *dhèu* 'person' is optional in this case. In (32), the noun *dhèu* 'person' undoubtedly is the subject of the numeral predicate *ca nguru dua* 'twelve'.

- (31) [isi èmu ji'i]_{NP} (dhèu) **ca nguru tèlu**
 volume house 1PL.in person a tens three
 'We have thirteen people at home' [PM_Meo aasu.133]
 (Lit: our people at home are thirteen).

- (32) **dhèu ca nguru dua**
 person a tens two
 'There are twelve people' [PM_Meo aasu.134]
 (Lit: people are twelve)

In (33), instead of indicating quantity, the numeral *èci* 'one' refers to the state of sameness of the compound subject, which is why it is found in a predicate position in this example.

- (33) *èu dènge ja'a èci, si?*
 2SG with 1SG one tag
 'You and me are one, right?' [Percakapan20130825_b.762]

5.2.5. Locative Predicates

In Dhao, locative predicates are expressed by prepositional phrases. The heads of prepositional phrases all are basic prepositions in this regard, which require locations as complements (see §3.6.1). Dhao does not have a locational or copular verb to profile the relation between the location (Ground) and the located entity (Figure) (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006: 1-23). As such, the located NP and the prepositional phrase simply are juxtaposed. In this case, the preposition indicates the path, and the following NP signals the location. In this respect, all locative predicates describe location, direction, and accompaniment.

The example in (34) shows that the location is described by the NP *suu dhasi dhimu* 'the eastern part of the beach', and that the located entity is the NP *Jote ne'e* 'Jote'. The preposition *ètu* 'LOC' is optional and signals the path to the location, as exemplified in (35).

- (34) *Jote ne'e ètu suu dhasi dhimu*
 Jote PROX.SG LOC tip sea east
 'Jote is at the eastern part of the beach' [BS_Rika_Jote.019-020]

- (35) *nèngu (ètu) dara loe èèna*
 3SG LOC inside cave DIST.SG
 'He is in that cave' [BS_Rika_Jote.058]

Both the NP that indicates location and the locative preposition can be substituted by a demonstrative and the particle *ka*, as shown in (36). The particle *ka* is procliticized

to the demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG', which pragmatically emphasizes the location (see §5.5.2). Another example using the distal demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG' is shown in (37). The demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG' figuratively designates the position of the price of the entity *kabua nèngu* 'its price'. In (38), the reduced demonstrative *ne* 'PROX.SG' locates the entity *èu* '2SG' at the moment of speech.

- (36) [sa-saba èci]_{NP} **ka=** **ne'e**
 DUP-to.work one PART PROX.SG
 'A job is here' [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.011]

- (37) [kabua nèngu]_{NP} **ka=** **èèna**
 price 3SG PART DIST.SG
 'Its price is that way' [Elicited]
 (Lit: its price is that)

- (38) *èu* **ka=** **ne**
 2SG PART PROX.SG
 'It is you now' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1495]
 (Lit: you are this)

The locative predicates in examples (39), (40), and (41) feature prepositional phrases using the directive preposition *ngèti* 'from', the allative preposition *asa* 'to', and the path preposition *re* 'via, through' respectively. The location in (39) is represented by the locative question word *mia* 'where', whereas in (40) and (41) the locations are encoded by the location nouns *dedha* 'above' and *balèu* 'south' respectively.

- (39) *angalai,* *èu* **ngèti** **mia?**
 friend 2SG from where
 'Friend, where were you from?' [TF_Enyu_Maraho.016]

- (40) *dhèu* *eena* **asa** **dedha**
 person DIST.SG to above
 'The man is above' [RMb_LodoNgelu.076]

- (41) *Oedai* *sèi* **re** **balèu** **èèna**
 Oedai REM.PL via south DIST.SG
 'Oedai *et al* are (going) through the south' [Percakapan20130825_b.027]

When the predication involves direction, prepositional phrases may be optionally followed by a motion verb, such as *mai* 'to come', in order to specify the directionality of the motion toward the speaker. In (42) the prepositional phrase

ngèti balèu ‘from (the) south’ is the predicate head of the clause (see §6.4). The syntactic status of the verb *mai* ‘to come’ in this clause is optional.

- (42) *dhoka ina ama ngèti balèu (mai)*
 only mother father from south to.come
 ‘As you all come from the south’ [Ada_20140427.119]

The preposition *dènge* ‘with’ can also head a predicate, which indicates accompaniment. Notice that this preposition can also be used for possessive constructions (see §5.2.3) and as an associative conjunction (see §3.6.3) as well. When it is employed in a construction such as the one found in (43), its function is unclear. It can be interpreted as a conjunction that links two equal-ranked entities. Alternatively, it can be analyzed as the predicate head of an accompaniment construction. In (44), the phrase *dènge babia* ‘to be pregnant’ undoubtedly is analyzed as a predicate because it indicates the state of the referent of the subject *nèngu* ‘3SG’.

- (43) *ji'i dènge mama mu*
 1PL.ex with mother 2SG.CL
 ‘We and your mother’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.867]
 ‘We are with your mother’

- (44) *nèngu dènge ba-bia*
 3SG with DUP-heavy
 ‘She is pregnant’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.011]

5.3. Arguments and Peripheries

This section discusses arguments and peripheries in Dhao clause structures. Arguments are elements that occur with the predicate in order to form the core of a clause. Peripheries are additional elements to the clause. In Dhao, the arguments are subject, object, and oblique. Peripheries are adjuncts and other complements. In Dhao, subjects appear preceding predicates (§5.3.1), whereas objects appear following predicates (§5.3.2) or in SV(O) order (cf. §5.4.2). Obliques always are post-predicative (see §5.3.3). This section will focus on the distribution and the related semantic roles of these elements. The internal structure of a clause is accounted for in this discussion, too. The pragmatic variation of clause constituents will be discussed separately in §5.5, however.

5.3.1. Subject

The subject is the most prominent noun phrase in the clause (Velupillai, 2012: 236). In Dhao, the defining characteristics of a subject are word order and co-indexing on the verb (see §4.2).

In Dhao, the subject typically precedes the predicate, both in verbal and non-verbal predicates. For example, the construction in (45)a, has the NP *dhèu mone èci* ‘a man’ preceding the verb *kako* ‘walk’. The NP must be subject of the clause since it is the only argument preceding the predicate. The prepositional phrase (PP) *re èèna* ‘via there’ following the verb is a locative adjunct, which can be readily removed without endangering the grammaticality of the construction (see §5.3.4 below). Constructions that have single arguments are classified as intransitive constructions (see §5.4.1).

- (45) [*dhèu mone èci*]_{NP} *kako* (*re èèna*)_{PP}
 person man one to.walk via DIST.SG
 ‘A man is passing by’ [YY_PearStory.021]
 (Lit: a man is walking through there)

The construction in (46)a has two arguments. The NP *dhèu aae ne’e* ‘this king’ preceding the verb *game* ‘to.hit’ is an assigned subject, whereas the personal pronoun *ja’a* ‘1SG’ is a non-subject element (see assigned object in §5.3.2). Furthermore, the construction in (47)b shows that the subject must be the personal pronoun *ja’a* ‘1SG’, rather than the NP. A comparison of (46)a and (46)b shows that the positions of subject and object are fixed. As such, constructions that have two arguments are classified as transitive constructions (see §5.4.2).

- (46) a. [*dhèu aae ne’e*]_{NP} *game* *ja’a*
 person great PROX.SG to.hit 1SG
 ‘This king hits me’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.339]
- b. *ja’a game* [*dhèu aae ne’e*]_{NP}
 1SG to.hit person great PROX.SG
 i) ‘I hit the king’
 ii) *‘This king hits me’

Co-indexes are characteristics that can be used to elegantly determine subjects in Dhao (see §4.2). Example (47) below illustrates that the prefix *k-* is co-indexed with the subject *ja’a* ‘1SG’. The same also holds for (48), in which the suffix *-mu* is co-indexed with the subject *èu* ‘2SG’.

- (47) *ja'a k-u'a adhe te...*
 1SG 1SG-to.eat liver because
 'I eat the liver because...' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.204]
- (48) *èu la-mu tenge ku ana madhutu kahib'i*
 2SG to.go-2SG look tag child follow goat
 'You go to look for a goat herdsman' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.251]

The grammatical subject of an intransitive construction may also occur post-verbally, as is exemplified in (49)a, in which the only argument is the undergoer *nèngu* '3SG'. As such, it creates a VS construction. An example of the default intransitive construction with the state verb *madhe* 'to die' is given in (49)b. The post-verbal subject construction is confined to constructions whose verbs involve undergoer participants.

- (49) a. *madhe nèngu*
 to.die 3SG
 'He died' [SK_Polisi.038]
- b. *nèngu madhe*
 3SG to.die
 'He died'

5.3.2. Object

The object is the second prominent argument in a clause after the subject (Velupillai, 2012: 236). The defining characteristics of objects in Dhao are word order and topicalization respectively: objects immediately follow verbs, and objects can be topicalized. In Dhao, objects may be single or double. Double objects are restricted to only three verbs: *hia* 'to give', *pa'adhu* 'to send', and *bae* 'to pay' (see §5.4.3). The constructions in (46) and (47) above have shown single object constructions, in which the object typically occurs post-verbally. Meanwhile, the example in (50)a below shows that the construction has two post-verbal arguments that are assigned to objects in this particular case – the double objects. They have a fixed position. When the theme, *doi canguru riho* 'ten thousand rupiahs' directly follows the verb, then the recipient, *ja'a* '1SG', needs to be marked with the preposition *asa* 'to', as is illustrated (52)b. As a result, it is assigned to the oblique.

- (50) a. *Rini hia ja'a [doi ca-nguru riho]_{NP}*
 name to.give 1SG money a-ten thousand
 'Rini gives me ten thousand' [SN_Manenu.130]

- b. *Rini hia [doi ca-nguru riho]_{NP} asa ja'a*
 Rini to.give money a-ten thousand to 1SG
 'Rini gives ten thousand rupiahs for me'

5.3.3. Oblique

Obliques semantically relate to an event profiled by a predicate, but they are not primary syntactic functions in a construction (Farrell, 2005: 28). Unlike subjects and objects, obliques typically are marked by prepositions. The choice of preposition depends on the semantic role of the oblique (see §3.6.1). In Dhao, the semantic roles of obliques involve location, goal, recipient, and source. The semantic role of an instrument can be expressed either by prepositions or by verbs.

Example (51)a illustrates a construction in which the oblique is a goal, which is marked by the preposition *asa* 'to'. The goal *dhasi* 'sea/beach' is necessary in this construction as it profiles the direction of the event of going. In Dhao, goals or locations may occur optionally without being marked by a preposition, as is illustrated in (51)b. This type of construction applies only when the goal is a general location, such as an area, a house, or an island. Example (54)c shows that specific goals, such as a table or a chair, are ungrammatical without a fitting preposition (51)b. The implications of this type of construction in regards to transitivity will be discussed in §5.4.2. On the basis of the semantic relation, the recipient argument marked by *asa* 'to' also is considered an oblique.

- (51) a. *Rika la-'e asa dhasi* (GOAL)
 Rika to.go-3SG to sea
 'Rika went to the sea' [BS_Rika_Jote.017]
- b. *Rika la-'e dhasi*
 Rika to.go-3SG sea
 'Rika went to the sea'
- c. **Rika la-'e mei*
 Rika to.go-3SG table

An oblique with the semantic role of source is exemplified in (52)a below. The source NP *Sahu* 'Sawu' is marked with the preposition *ngèti* 'from', which is obligatory in this particular construction. If the preposition is removed the NP denotes a goal instead, as is illustrated in (52)b.

- (52) a. *Pesa Kèli mai ngèti Sahu* (SOURCE)
 Pesa Kèli to.come from Sawu
 ‘Pesa Kèli came from Sawu’ [BS_Rika_Jote.008]
- b. *Pesa Kèli mai Sahu*
 Pesa Kèli to.come Sawu
 ‘Pesa Kèli came to Sawu’

Unlike goal and source, an oblique with the semantic role of locative is obligatory in some constructions. While the constructions in (53)a and (53)b are grammatical, (53)c is not. This phenomenon suggests that the profiling of a location is required for specific verbs.

- (53) a. *rèngu pea ètu èmu* (LOCATIVE)
 3PL to.stay LOC house
 ‘They lived in the house’ [elicited]
- b. *rèngu pea èmu*
 3PL to.stay house
 ‘They lived in the house’ [elicited]
- c. **rèngu pea*
 3PL stay

As mentioned previously, instruments in Dhao can be marked prepositionally. Prepositions that are typically used in this regard are *re* ‘via’ and *ma* ‘toward’ (see §.3.6.1). An example of the preposition *re* ‘via’ is given in (54)a. This construction pictures the event of storing a liquid, in which there is an actor and an undergoer. The verb *tanae* ‘to store’ refers to the action of pouring a liquid from one container into another. In this construction, the oblique *sabha* ‘palm container’ refers to the instrument with which the undergoer *dhua* ‘lontar sap’ is transferred.

- (54) *nèngu tanae dhua re sabha* (INSTR)
 3SG to.store sap via palm.container
 ‘He stores the lontar sap using a palm container’

5.3.4. Adjunct

While arguments are obligatory, adjuncts are optional elements that provide additional information to the event profiled by the verb in the construction. In Dhao, the semantic roles of adjuncts are location, instrument, time, and manner.

In (55), the prepositional phrase (PP) *buli suu haa* ‘in the tip of west part’ is an adjunct that profiles a location. As can be seen in (62)c, adjuncts can be removed without affecting the conceptual and grammatical wholeness of a construction.

- (55) a. *Rika tao èmu (buli suu haa)* _{PP}
 Rika to.make house LOC tip west
 ‘Rika built a house in the tip of west part’ [PD_Rika_Jote.010]
- c. *Rika tao èmu*
 Rika to.make house
 ‘Rika built a house’

Examples are given below. In (56), the event is expressed by the reciprocal verb *paliku* ‘to hug each other’. The location adjunct realized by the prepositional phrase *ètu dedha kadhera* ‘on the chair’ has no direct control over the event. The same also holds true for the adjuncts in examples (57) and (58), whose semantic roles are time and manner respectively. In (59), there are two prepositional phrases. The first one, *ètu hèba èmu èèna* ‘at the front of the door’, refers to a location. The second one, *dènge kasiro* ‘with rifle’ refers to an instrument. The location is an oblique because it is required by the verb *pea* ‘to stay’ (cf. (53)), whereas the instrument is an adjunct due to the fact it has no direct semantic relation to the event.

- (56) *rèngu pa-liku (ètu dedha kadera)* (LOCATIVE)
 3PL RECP-to.hug LOC above chair
 ‘They hug each other on the chair’ [Recip_Elicited.064]
- (57) *dhèu ne’e bhèj’i boe (toke mèu)* (TEMPORAL)
 person PROX.SG to.sleep not until daytime
 ‘The person did not sleep until daytime’ [FAK_Roga’a.025]
- (58) *ja’a lèpa hari (dènge be’a)* (MANNER)
 1SG to.return again with good
 ‘I come back again safely’ [YF_Tenge_Mamuri.014]
- (59) *nèngu pea ètu hèba èmu èèna (dènge kasiro)*
 3SG to.stay LOC mouth house DIST.SG with rifle
 ‘She stood at front of door with a rifle’ [SK_Polisi.169]

All adjuncts except time adjuncts have a fixed position and cannot be moved, as is exemplified by the location adjunct *buli suu haa* ‘in the tip of the west’ in (60) and (61). The time adjunct *mèda èèna* ‘in the evening’ can occur in clause-initial, clause-medial, or clause final position, as is exemplified in (61)a-c.

- (60) a. **(buli suu haa)_{PP} Rika tao èmu*
 LOC tip west Rika to.make house
 ‘*In the tip of west part Rika built a house’
- b. **Rika (buli suu haa)_{PP} tao èmu*
 Rika LOC tip west to.make house
- (61) a. *(mèda èèna) rèngu padhai lii*
 night DIST.SG 3PL to.speak voice
 ‘In the evening, they are talking’
- b. *rèngu (mèda èèna) padhai lii*
 3PL night DIST.SG to.speak voice
 ‘They, in the evening, are talking’
- c. *rèngu padhai lii (mèda èèna)*
 3PL to.speak voice night DIST.SG
 ‘They are talking in the evening’

5.4. Valency and Transitivity

Sections §5.2 and §5.3 above discussed the components of a clause. These components come together and make up constructions in turn. As such, the terms valency and transitivity need to be dealt with in order to account for the links between the semantics and the syntax of a construction. Sometimes, these two terms are ambiguous in a grammatical analysis, as they are used interchangeably as both semantic and syntactic notions. Traditionally, valency is defined as the ability of a verb taking a number of arguments (Velupillai, 2012: 257). Transitivity is defined as whether or not a verb can take an object (Velupillai, 2012: 237). Transitivity also is defined as the amount of core arguments a clause requires (Dixon, 2010b:115). In this thesis, I describe valency and transitivity as part of two different but related domains. While valency is located in the domain of semantics, transitivity is located in the domain of syntax. This is built on the idea that the definition of valency should be more abstract than the definition transitivity. Therefore, valency is concerned with the number of participants of a verbal event, whereas transitivity deals with the number of arguments of a construction (Van Engelenhoven, 2011:106)².

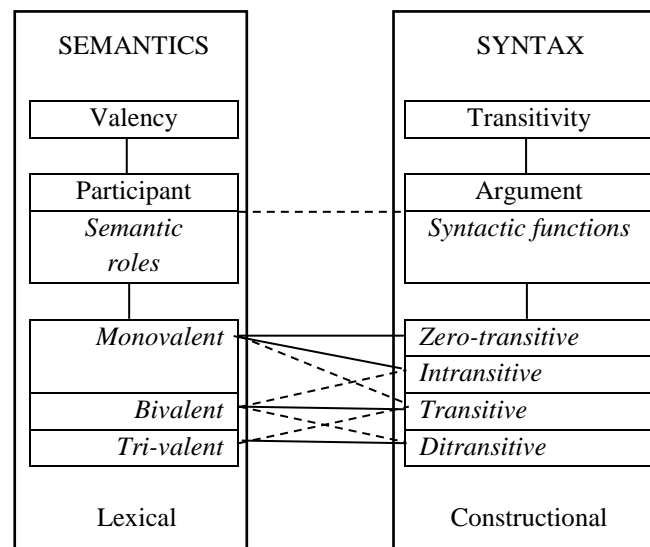
Constructions profile events. A construction may be verbal or non-verbal. This section confines its discussion only to verbal constructions, because this is

² This is inspired by Van Engelenhoven’s analysis of Indonesian. The difference between his and my own analysis is that my analysis specifically enables valence change in verbal meanings, whereas Van Engelenhoven’s analysis explains the same phenomenon as a quality of constructions and not of verbs.

where mismatches between valency and transitivity appear. Non-verbal constructions always profile an event that only has one participant. The implication of non-verbal constructions for the notion of transitivity is discussed in §5.4.1. A verb is monovalent when it has only one participant in the verbal event, whereas bivalent and trivalent verbs require two and three participants respectively. In turn, these participants will be profiled by the arguments of a construction. Based on the number of arguments, a construction is said to be zero-transitive when no semantic participant in the verbal event is realized as an argument of the construction. Intransitive constructions have one argument, transitive constructions have two arguments, and ditransitive constructions have three arguments.

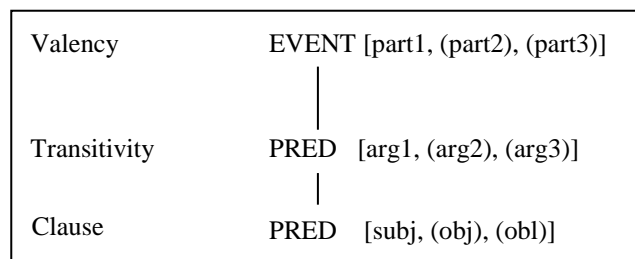
The mapping of semantic participants in a verbal event to the arguments of a construction is not always straightforward. For example, two participants in a verbal event are not always realized as two arguments in the construction. Sometimes it is the case that only one participant is profiled by an argument, while the other participant remains unprofiled. In other words, valency does not always match with transitivity. For instance, a bivalent verb prototypically creates a transitive construction, though it may also result in either intransitive or even ditransitive constructions. The implication of this particular viewpoint is that valency accounts for the lexical semantics of a verb, whereas transitivity accounts for the construction in which the relation between predicate and its argument structure is clearly seen. The Figure 5.2 below is given as the abstraction of this.

Figure 5.2. Valency and Transitivity Mapping



In order to account for the syntactic structure of the construction, I distinguish three layers of syntactic relation³. I attempt to present them through a simple template, as shown in the Figure 5.3 below. The figure designates that valency is an abstract relation between participants of an event of which transitivity is the abstract representation in a construction. The overt manifestation of this abstraction is the clause.

Figure 5.3. Layers of Syntactic Relation



As this section focuses on the syntactic structure of constructions, the organization of the subsections follows the notion of transitivity, while valency is used as the foundation of the analysis. §5.4.1 discusses intransitive constructions, §5.4.2 elaborates on transitive constructions, §5.4.3 discusses ditransitive constructions, and §5.4.4 focuses on zero-transitive constructions.

5.4.1. Intransitive constructions

Intransitive constructions have only one argument. Intransitive constructions typically profile an event that has only one semantic participant. This is exemplified in (62)a by the verb *tangi* ‘to cry’, whose participant is profiled by the argument *Abunaba*.

- (62) a. *Abunaba tangi*
 Abunaba to.cry
 ‘Abunaba cried’ [SK_Abunabas.021]

Non-verbal clauses have nominal, possessive, numeral, and locative predicates. Some examples from §5.2 are repeated here. In (63), the construction has the nominal predicate *dhèu dedha liru* ‘person of the sky’. It designates a property of the subject NP *ina nèngu* ‘his mother’. A locative predicate is exemplified by the NP *suu dhasi dhimu* ‘eastern part of the beach’ in (64).

³ This is inspired by the work of Croft (2001: 22): (1) abstract syntactic relation, (2) the means of representing the abstract relation, and (3) the overt manifestation of the abstract relation.

- (63) *ina nèngu dhèu dedha liru*
 mother 3SG person above sky
 ‘His mother is a person of the sky’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.001]
- (64) *Jote ne’e [ètu suu dhasi dhimu]_{PP}*
 Jote PROX.SG LOC tip sea east
 ‘Jote is at the eastern part of the beach’ [BS_Rika_Jote.019-020]

Intransitive constructions contain not only monovalent verbs, but also bivalent verbs. Bivalent verbs profile events with two participants that are prototypically encoded as arguments in transitive constructions in turn. However, sometimes it is the case that one of the participants is not profiled as a syntactic argument in the construction. There are two conditions because of which a participant remains unprofiled. In elliptical constructions, the context of the discourse allows one participant to not be profiled as an argument because its referent may either be recordable from the context, be unknown, or is deemed irrelevant, especially when the construction is not the first clause in the discourse. Alternatively, the discourse allows the non-actor participant to be realized as the subject argument of the clause, while the actor is either unknown or cut (Fillmore, 1986 in Goldberg, 1995: 58).

An example of bivalent verbs appearing in intransitive constructions is shown in (65) by the verb *manènu* ‘to weave’ in (65). This verb typically profiles an event with two participants: the person that executes the weaving event and the product resulting from the weaving event. The two participants both are realized as arguments, as is illustrated in (65)a, where the actor is realized by the NP *dhèu bhèni èèna* ‘that woman’ and the undergoer is realized as *sig’i èèna* ‘that cloth’. In this construction, the actor serves as a subject and the product serves as an object (see §5.3). As such, (65)a is a transitive construction. In (65)b the object has been elliptically deleted because it is understood from the context of the discourse.

In (65)c, the undergoer *sig’i èèna* ‘that cloth’ is realized as the subject. In this construction the actor is unknown or hidden. Example (65)d shows that the perfective marker *le* is obligatory in this type of construction. Other verbs that create this type of construction are given in (66).

- (65) a. [*dhèu bhèni èèna*]_{NP} *manènu* [*sig’i èèna*]_{NP}
 person woman DIST.SG to.weave cloth DIST.SG
 ‘The woman is weaving the cloth’ [elicited]
- b. [*dhèu bhèni èèna*]_{NP} *manènu*
 person woman DIST.SG to.weave
 ‘The woman has woven (the cloth)’

- c. *sig'i èèna manènu le*
 cloth DIST.SG to.weave PERF
 'The cloth has already been woven'
- d. **sig'i èèna manènu*
 cloth DIST.SG to.weave
- (66) *lole* 'to tell (story)'
tadèngi 'to listen'
lidhu 'to fold'
tuku 'to smith'

In (67)a the intransitive construction with the verb *mari* 'to laugh' has a transitive counterpart in (67)b. Notice that in both constructions, the verb *mari* 'to laugh' has no difference in form. Example (68)a displays an intransitive construction with the verb *bhaloli* 'to roll', which is followed by the directional verb *la-e* 'to go-SG', which signals the allative movement of the entity *hua nyiu èèna* 'the coconut fruit' (see §6.4). Again, the verb *bhaloli* 'to roll' has the same form in both intransitive and transitive constructions. Example (68)c shows that the intransitive construction with the verb *bhaloli* 'to roll' only allows a subject that profiles an undergoer. Constructions of this type involve verbs as given in (69) below.

- (67) a. *rèngu mari*
 3PL to.laugh
 'They are laughing'
- b. *ja'a mari rèngu*
 1S to.laugh 3PL
 G
 'I laugh at them'
- (68) a. [*hua nyiu èèna*]_{NP} *bhaloli la-'e*
 fruit coconut DIST.SG to.roll to.go-3SG
 'The coconut fruit is rolling there'
- b. *ja'a bhaloli [hua nyiu èèna]_{NP}*
 1SG to.roll fruit coconut DIST.SG
 'I roll that coconut fruit'
- c. **ja'a bhaloli*
 1SG to.roll

(69)	<i>aj'a</i>	'to study'	'to teach'
	<i>bhèke</i>	'to torn apart'	'to cleave'
	<i>kabhee</i>	'to bleat'	'to bleat'
	<i>kiju</i>	'to inserted'	'to insert'
	<i>lodhe</i>	'be hanged down'	'to hang down'
	<i>marèi</i>	'be soaked'	'to soak'
	<i>mari</i>	'to laugh'	'to laugh at'
	<i>sangidhi</i>	'opened teeth'	'to show teeth'

In action events, it always is the case that the actor controls the action. Take *game* 'to hit' as an example. The hitting event typically contains two participants: one who is the doer of the hitting event (actor), and another who is the one affected by the event (undergoer). Therefore, syntactically, we expect a transitive construction. However, certain discourse contexts prefer an intransitive construction in which the undergoer noun is realized as the subject while the actor remains unexpressed. Furthermore, some constructions require two verbs to represent an event, such as in (70)a. The NP *dhèu ne'e* 'this man' is the undergoer of the action profiled by the verb *game* 'to hit'. The verb *lèke* 'be touched' informs that the action is done successfully and appropriately. The construction is a SVC (see §6.4). This type of construction focuses not so much on the state profiled by the verb but rather on the undergoer itself. In the sense of Keenan & Dryer (2007), these constructions could be considered as agentless dynamic passive constructions, as only spontaneous actions are involved. Without the verb *lèke* 'be touched', the intransitive construction is ungrammatical, as is shown in (70)b. The default transitive counterpart is given in (70)c.

- (70) a. *dhèu ne'e lèke game*
 person PROX.SG be.touched hit
 'This man was hit'
- b. **dhèu ne'e game*
 person PROX.SG hit
- c. *ja'a game dhèu ne'e*
 1SG to.hit person PROX.SG
 'I hit this man'

Intransitive constructions in Dhao can be encoded lexically as well as morphologically. For example, the construction in (71) employs the verb *liku* 'to hug' to which the prefix *pa-* is attached. By definition it is an intransitive construction because it has only one argument: *dua rèngu* 'two of them'. This

construction has a reciprocal reading. The verb root *liku* ‘to hug’ is bivalent and warrants two arguments as such, as is shown in example (72). The description of the realization of *pa-* is presented in Chapter 4.

- (71) *dua* *rèngu* *pa-liku*
 two 3PL RECP-to.hug
 ‘They two hug each other’ [Recip_Elicited.002]

- (72) *ja'a* *liku* *kadera*
 1SG to.hug chair
 ‘I hug the chair’ [Verb_Elicited.314]

5.4.2. Transitive constructions

Transitive constructions refer to an event that contains two participants. Such an event typically is profiled by bivalent verbs. The two participants in such an event are realized as two arguments in turn: the subject and the object. In Dhao, transitive constructions involve not only bivalent verbs, but also monovalent and trivalent verbs.

A transitive construction involving bivalent verbs is exemplified in (73)a. The event has two participants, namely the actor and the undergoer. The actor is realized by the subject *nèngu* ‘3SG’ and the undergoer by the object *hua* ‘fruit’. Whenever another participant needs to be realized in the construction, for example the location of the picking event, it must be prepositionally marked, as in (73)b. For more about bivalent verbs, see the semantic classification of verbs in §3.3.1.2.

- (73) a. *nèngu* *puu* *hua*
 3SG to.pick fruit
 ‘He is picking fruit’ [YY_PearStory.004]
- b. *nèngu* *puu* *hua* (*ètu* *dara* *oka*)_{pp}
 3SG to.pick fruit LOC inside garden
 ‘He is picking fruit in the garden’

Transitive constructions are expressed with single verbs as well as with serial verbs (see §6.4). An example is given in (74) below. Two verbs co-occur in the predicate position. The first verb *la-* ‘to go’ is inflected with the suffix *-mu* ‘2SG’, which in turn is followed by *ngad'o* ‘visit’. The directional verb *lamu* ‘you go’ metaphorically signals the intention to perform the action profiled by *ngad'o* ‘to visit’. In addition, the suffix *-mu* profiles the actor.

- (74) *bèli la-mu ngad'o ja'a, angalai*
 tomorrow to.go-2SG to.visit 1SG friend
 ‘Tomorrow, you (may) visit me, friend’ [BS_Rika_Jote.050]

In Dhao, certain monovalent verbs that involve location or direction may also generate transitive constructions⁴. Because location and direction are intrinsic to the event profiled by the verb, the NPs that profile them have a strong semantic relation to the verb. This is the reason some location and direction NPs appear in constructions without being prepositionally marked. Their occurrence following the verb is syntactically in line with the object position of a transitive construction. Unlike a genuine transitive object, this object-like argument cannot be topicalized. In order to topicalize a location or direction NP, the related preposition should be present. The term semi-transitive is used for constructions as such, for example in Dryer (2007) and Arka (2005). In this thesis, I simply use the term “transitive” when there are two arguments in a construction, and I use “intransitive” when there is only one argument in a construction.

In (75)a the construction features the inflected verb *la-* ‘to go’. The argument *dhasi* ‘sea’ profiles the direction or destination of the event of going, and also functions as the object. In Dhao culture, locations, such as sea, house, and island are considered prototypical to the event of going. Consequently, NPs that profile atypical locations, such as things and humans, obligatorily require a preposition (§see 5.3.3).

- (75) a. *ja'a la-ku dhasi*
 1SG to.go-1SG sea
 ‘I went to the sea’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.134]
- b. *ja'a la-ku asa dhasi*
 1SG to.go-1SG to sea
 ‘I went to the sea’

Example (76) gives another construction that requires the encoding of a location, with the verb *pea* ‘to stay’ as an example. The locative NP *èmu dhèu* ‘other people’s house’ can occur as an object immediately after the verb *pea* ‘to stay’, as in (76)a, or as an adjunct marked with the locative preposition *ètu* ‘LOC’, as in (76)b. Unlike the verb *la-* ‘to go’, verbs like *pea* ‘to stay’ are constrained to the realization of locative participants as core arguments. Spatial size is the determinant here. A general space,

⁴ See the footnote 49 in Van Engelenhoven (2011: 107)

like Ndao, cannot function as a core argument, because of which a construction like the one in (76)c is ungrammatical⁵.

- (76) a. *baku la-ti pea [èmu dhèu]*
 PROH.NEG to.go-1PL.in to.stay house person
 ‘We should not live in other people’s house’ [SK_AbuNabas.170]
- b. *baku la-ti pea ètu [èmu dhèu]*
 PROH.NEG to.go-1PL.in to.stay LOC house person
 ‘We should not live in other people’s house’
- c. **baku la-ti pea Dhao*
 do.not to.go-1PL.in to.stay Dhao

Monovalent action verbs require transitive constructions. For instance, the monovalent verb *diu* ‘to bathe’ in its bare form encodes an actor participant, profiled by *nèngu* ‘3SG’ as its subject in example (77)a. The participant *èi* ‘water’ that refers to the stimulus of bathing is obligatory, as is exemplified in (77)a, too. The absence of *èi* ‘water’ is ungrammatical, as is shown in (77)b. In this position, the noun *èi* ‘water’ cannot be modified by demonstratives and cannot be topicalized. However, I still consider this kind of argument to be an object, due to the very reason that it is obligatory in this position and appears immediately after the predicate⁶.

- (77) a. *nèngu diu èi*
 3SG to.bathe water
 ‘He took a bath’ [SB_Lolo.226]
- b. **nèngu diu*
 3SG to.bathe

The verbs of commercial transaction, like *hèli* ‘to buy’ and *pahia* ‘to sell’ imply four participants in the event: the one who buys or sells, the material to be bought or sold, the instrument of the transaction, and the one who benefits from or receives the material. However, syntactically, only two participants are profiled: the actor and the theme. The recipient argument always is marked. In (78) the actor of the verb *hèli* ‘to buy’ is profiled by the subject *ina ku* ‘my mother’ and the theme is profiled by

⁵ Arka (2014) explains this phenomenon as caused by the difficulty to conceptualize affectedness.

⁶ Arka (2014) considers it a semi-object.

the object *kodho èci* ‘one shirt’. The recipient *ja’a* ‘1SG’ is encoded as the object of the transfer verb *hia* ‘to give’.

- (78) *ina* *ku* *hèli* *kodho* *èci* (*hia* *ja’a*)
 mother 1SG.CL to.buy shirt one give 1SG
 ‘My mother buys a shirt for me’

Transitive constructions may also involve an obligatory oblique. For instance, the verb *lèka* ‘trust’ profiles two human participants, someone who trusts and someone who is trusted. In (79), the participants are encoded by the subject *ja’a* ‘1SG’ and the object *èu* ‘2SG’ respectively. Encoding an NP that refers to a non-human entity, for example *mèdha èèna* ‘that thing’ in (94)a, requires that the trusted person is encoded in an oblique marked with the locative preposition *ètu* ‘LOC’. Example (94)b shows that this oblique cannot be deleted in this context.

- (79) *ja’a* ***lèka*** *èu*
 1SG to.trust 2SG
 ‘I trust you (= I believe you)’ [TF_Ènyu_Maraho.106]
- (80) a. *ja’a* ***lèka*** [*mèdha èèna*] *ètu* *èu*
 1SG to.trust thing DIST.SG LOC 2SG
 ‘I entrust this thing unto you’ [Verb_Elicited.00122]
- b. **ja’a* ***lèka*** *mèdha èèna*
 1SG to.trust thing DIST.SG

5.4.3. Ditransitive constructions

Ditransitive constructions typically profile an event with three participants. In Dhao, such events are specified by the trivalent verbs *hia* ‘to give’, *pa’adhu* ‘to send’, and *bae* ‘to pay’. In turn, participants of these verbs are realized as three arguments in such constructions. One argument functions as the subject, and the other two arguments function as the objects. This is exemplified by the verb *hia* ‘to give’ in (81). In this example, the recipient *ja’a* ‘1SG’ and the theme *doi canguru riho* ‘one thousand’ are encoded as objects that follow the verb. Alternatively, the theme can be encoded as the object in a transitive construction, in which case the recipient is optionally encoded as an oblique marked by the preposition *asa* ‘to’, as is shown in (81)b. In this case, the recipient is “deprofiled” in the sense of Goldberg (1995: 57). Themes, however, cannot be deprofiled, as is shown in (81)c.

- (81) a. *Rini hia ja'a [doi ca-nguru riho]_{NP}*
 Rini to.give 1SG money a-ten thousand
 'Rini gives me ten thousand' [SN_Manenu.130]
- b. *Rini hia [doi canguru riho]_{NP} (asa ja'a)*
 Rini to.give money ten thousand to 1SG
 'Rini gives ten thousand for me'
- c. **Rini hia ja'a*
 Rini to.give 1SG

Trivalent verbs of transfer may employ SVCs, as is shown in (82)a. In (82)a, there are three verbs in a row: the trivalent verb *pa'adhu* 'to send', the monovalent verb *mai* 'to come', and the trivalent verb *hia* 'to give'. While *pa'adhu* 'to send' serves as the predicate head, *mai* 'to come' designates the directionality of the theme, and *hia* 'to give' marks the beneficiary. In this construction the verb *hia* 'to give' occupies the slot that is normally filled by the preposition *asa* 'to' to mark the recipient, as is shown in (82)b. The ditransitive counterpart is shown in (82)c, where the verb *mai* 'to come' is absent.

- (82) a. *ra pa'adhu ra-rapi ne'e mai*
 3PL.CL to.send DUP-to.wrap PROX.SG to.come

(hia dhèu aae)
 to.give person great
 'They sent the package for the king'
 [elicited from: FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1623]
- b. *ra pa'adhu ra-rapi ne'e mai*
 3PL.C to.send DUP-to.wrap PROX.SG to.come
 L

(asa dhèu aae)
 to person big
 'They sent the package to the king'
- c. *ra pa'adhu dhèu aae ra-rapi ne'e*
 3PL.CL to.send person big DUP-to.wrap PROX.SG
 'They sent the king the package'

Another example of ditransitive construction is shown by the denominalization of the noun *ngara* 'name' by means of the prefix *pa-* (see §4.3).

Example (83) exemplifies the use of a possession NP functioning as a subject. The prefix *pa-* changes *ngara* ‘name’ into a causative verb that fills the predicate. This is shown in the question in (84)a. A typical answer to such question is demonstrated in (84)b. The derived verb *pangara* ‘to name’ implies three participants: the actor who gives the name, the recipient of the name, and the theme, which is the name itself. The unacceptability of the construction in (84)c shows that the theme *Dhao* is present obligatorily. I analyse both constituents as typical double objects in a ditransitive construction that cannot be separated from one another, as exemplified by the preposition *asa* ‘to’ in (84)d.

- (83) *dhèu èci ngara =na baki Hètu.Helo*
 person one name 3SG.CL grandfather *Hètu.Helo*
 ‘There was a person named Mr. Hètu Helo’ [JL_Musu_Bajo.256]
 (Lit: one person, his name (is) Mr. Hètu Helo)
- (84) a. *miu pa-ngara kabarai ne'e ne*
 2PL CAUS-name island PROX.SG PROX.SG
 (*na ngaa?*)
 PART what
 ‘What name did you give to this island?’ [BS_Rika_Jote.077]
 (Lit: you name this island what?)
- b. *ja'a pa-ngara kabarai ne'e Dhao*
 1SG CAUS-name island PROX.SG Dhao
 ‘I name this place, Dhao’
- c. **ja'a pa-ngara kabarai ne'e*
 1SG CAUS-name island PROX.SG
 ‘I name this place’
- d. **ja'a pa-ngara Dhao asa kabarai ne'e*
 1SG CAUS-name Dhao to island PROX.SG
 ‘I name Dhao to this place’

5.4.4. Zero Transitive

A construction is considered to be zero transitive when it does not provide any arguments⁷. In Dhao, this construction expresses environmental conditions like

⁷ I use the term zero transitive, instead of zero-intransitive (Dryer, 2007)

weather or time. In this type of construction, verbs are monovalent. Dhao has four verbs that are used in zero transitive constructions: *pacuhi* ‘to be cold’, *sagoro* ‘to be hot’ and *èj’i* ‘to rain’, which relate to weather, and *hake* ‘to beat’, which relates to time. Some weather conditions are exemplified in (85) and (86).

- (85) (*doe* *ne’e*) *sagoro* *ae*
 recent PROX.SG to.be.hot many
 ‘Today it is very hot’

- (86) (*doe* *ne’e*) *pacuhi* *ae*
 recent PROX.SG to.be.cold many
 ‘Today it is very cold’

A time expression is given in (88) below. The verb *hake* ‘to beat’ typically is a bivalent verb that encodes two participants, as is shown in (87). The verb *hake* ‘to beat’ is used without subject argument in order to express time. As can be seen in (88), the time adjunct *ne’e ne* ‘now’ optionally precedes the verb. The number *aru* ‘eight’ denotes the number of beats and is analyzed as a complement, not an object⁸ in this example.

- (87) *èu* *hake* *tatea* *ne’e*
 2SG to.beat walking.stick PROX.SG
 ‘You hit (them) with this stick’ [SB_Lolo.104]

- (88) (*ne’e* *ne*) *hake* *aru* *le*
 PROX.SG PROX.SG to.beat eight PERF
 ‘Now it is 8 o’clock already’

Another example is *èji* ‘rain’ in (89). The perfective marker *le* ‘PERF’ shows that this morpheme is a verb.

- (89) *èj’i* *le*
 rain PERF
 ‘It is already rain’

⁸ Notice that Dhao does not have any strategy to express time in terms of minutes and seconds. In order to be able to do that, Dhao borrows the Indonesian system (see §3.2.3).

5.5. Pragmatic Variation

5.5.1. Expression of Topic

Following Lambrecht (1994), Hilpert (2014), and Foley (2007), I use the term ‘topic’ for the subject matter of a sentence that depicts what the sentence is about. Consequently, I restrict myself to the description of the topic on the clause or sentence level. On the clause level, the topic fundamentally is presupposed information, whereas the rest of the clause is considered a comment on the topic.

In Dhao, topics are expressed by word order. Like other languages in Eastern Indonesia, a topic occurs clause-initially and is commented upon by the following constituents of the clause. Due to Dhao not having any other way to mark topicalization, the subject and the topic overlap in some cases. For example, in (90)a, the NP *bhèni ne’e* ‘this woman’ is the subject and the NP *hèngu èèna* ‘the sarong’ is the object. The proximal demonstrative *ne’e* ‘PROX.SG’ clearly implies that the information about the woman must have been mentioned previously, and that it is not new information. As such, *bhèni ne’e* ‘this woman’ serves as the topic of the clause as well. In (90)b it is the NP *hèngu èèna* ‘that sarong’ that becomes the entity upon which the remainder of the clause comments. It is not the the subject. The topic thus refers to the same referent as the NP serving as the object in (90)a.

- (90) a. [*bhèni ne’e*]_{TOP} *manènu hèngu èèna*
 woman PROX.SG to.weave yarn DIST.SG
 ‘This woman weaves the sarong’ [Elicited]
- b. [*hèngu èèna*]_{TOP} *bhèni ne’e manènu*
 yarn DIST.SG woman PROX.SG to.weave
 ‘That sarong this woman weaves’

The second topic strategy is the topic and the subject having the same referent. This construction is employed by speakers in order to prevent contextual ambiguity. Only third person pronouns can function as subjects. An example is given in (91) below. The personal name *Pesa Kèli* and the pronoun *nèngu* ‘3SG’ share the same referent.

- (91) [*Pesa.Kèli*]_{TOP} *nèngu ètu talora*
 Pesa Kèli 3SG LOC middle
 ‘Pesa Kèli, he was in the middle part’ [BS_Rika_Jote.007]

A special kind of topic is the appositional topic that is exemplified in (92). This topic disambiguates subjects that are encoded by plural pronouns, and is inserted into the clause in-between the subject and the predicate.

- (92) *ji'i* [dhèu *Dhao* *ne'e*]_{NP} *parlu* *boe*
 1PL.ex person Dhao PROX.SG need(IND) not
tenge èi
 to.look.for water
 'We, Ndaonese here, do not need to look for water'

Existential constructions may also feature topics. For instance, the sentence in (93) describes a situation that is characterized as the absence of jobs. The context suggests that the absence of a job is related to an individual, profiled by *ja'a* '1SG' in this particular clause. The nominalized form *sasaba* 'job' serves as the subject of *aad'o* 'be absent'. The personal pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' that occurs initially in the clause functions as the topic.

- (93) [*ja'a*] *sa-saba* *aad'o* *ne'e*
 1SG DUP-to.work be.absent PROX.SG
 i) 'I have no job here' [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.008]
 ii) 'As for me, no job here'

5.5.2. Focus Expression

Focus is defined by Lambrecht (1994), Hilpert (2014), and Foley (2007) as new information about the topic that the speaker wants to introduce into the discourse. Focus may be on the arguments or the predicates of a construction. In Dhao, focus is expressed in two ways. First, predicates and arguments are marked for focus by means of a reduced demonstrative pronoun. Second, focus is marked on NPs by the particle *ka*. Example (94)a displays focus on predicates. The predicate is provided by the action verb *saba* 'to work' marked by the reduced demonstrative *ne* 'PROX.SG' (see §3.2.2.2). As is shown, the reduced demonstrative emphasizes the act of working. Compare (94) a to (94)b, where the counterpart full form demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG' functions as the object (cf. §3.2.2.2.3).

- (94) a. *ja'a saba ne*
 1SG to.work PROX.SG
 'I am working now'
- b. *ja'a saba ne'e*
 1SG to.work PROX.SG
 'I am doing this'

In (95) the reduced demonstrative *ne* ‘PROX.SG’ adds focus to the subject. In this case, focus signals that the information given by the NP is contrastive; the NP refers to the leaf that the speaker meant in the discourse, and not to another leaf.

- (95) [[*rèu ne'e*] *ne*] *bagi* *hari* *ma* *dua*
 leaf PROX.SG PROX.SG divide(IND) again toward two
 ‘This leaf is divided into two parts’ [AL_Kanacha.011]

The second way to mark express focus is by means of the particle *ka*. The particle *ka* occurs immediately after the focused element, regardless of whether it is an argument or a periphery. *Ka*-marking preferably occurs with the relativizer *dhu*, except in clause-final positions. NPs marked with *ka* always are definite. In (96)a, for instance, the subject *ja'a* ‘1SG’ has *ka*-focus and the predicate is a relative clause marked by *dhu*. Example (96)b shows an object *buku ne'e* ‘this book’ with double focus marking, in which the reduced demonstrative always is optional. In (96)c the topic, which is a periphery to the clause (§5.5.1), has double focus marking. Example (96)d shows that *ka* cannot mark predicates.

- (96) a. *ja'a ka dhu tenge buku ne'e*
 1SG PART REL to.search book(IND) PROX.SG
 ‘I am who is looking for this book’
- b. *ja'a tenge buku ne'e (ne) ka*
 1SG to.search book(IND) PROX.SG PROX.SG PART
 ‘I am looking for this book’
- c. *buku ne'e (ne) ka dhu ja'a tenge*
 book(IND) PROX.SG PROX.SG PART REL 1SG search
 ‘This is the book which I am looking for’
- d. **ja'a tenge ka buku ne'e*
 1SG search PART book(IND) PROX.SG

Here, the particle *ka* also is used for contrastive focus, but it is unlike reduced demonstratives that only mark NPs. The relativizer *dhu* involved in this type of focus construction confirms Schachter’s (1973) suggestion that there is a specific relationship between focus constructions and relative constructions (see §6.3.3).

6

Clause Combining and Serial Verb Constructions

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses clause combining and serial verb constructions (SVCs). The discussion touches on the combination of more than one clause and the markers that are used to link them. In turn, these clauses are connected by conjunctions or by any other particular particle. Sometimes, it is the case that clauses simply are juxtaposed without any overt marking. The clauses include coordination and subordination whether they are asymmetric or symmetric. This chapter starts with the description of coordination in §6.2, followed by the description of subordination in §6.3, which involves relative clauses (§6.3.1), complement clauses (§6.3.2), and adverbial clauses (§6.3.3). Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are presented in §6.4. The discussion of SVCs presented in this section is purposive, as the sequence of the verbal elements in SVCs is comparable to the sequence of verbs in paratactic constructions of clause combining. In doing so, the distinction between paratactic constructions and SVCs is made clear.

6.2. Coordination

Coordination is a grammatical construction where two or more linguistic units of equal grammatical status are conjoined to form larger units. In the case of clauses, none of the combined units are dependent on each other, but rather independent units are coordinated with each other (Velupillai, 2012:307; Haspelmath, 2007:51). Dhao employs two strategies of coordination: firstly, it uses coordinate conjunctions, a coordination strategy that is called linked coordination in this section, and secondly, it applies zero strategy or juxtaposition.

6.2.1. Linked Coordination

With reference to the linking devices that conjoin linguistic units in Dhao, three types of coordination are distinguished in this section: (1) conjunctive coordination,

in which the conjunctive *dènge* ‘with’ and *aa* ‘and’ are employed; (2) disjunctive coordination, which uses the disjunctive *tengaa* ‘but’; and (3) adversative coordination, which uses the disjunctive *do* ‘or’.

6.2.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

In Dhao, the conjunctive coordination is expressed by using two conjunctives: *dènge*¹ ‘with’ and *aa* ‘and’. The conjunctive *dènge* ‘with’ typically is used to link words and phrases, while the conjunctive *aa* ‘with’ is used to join clauses. The examples given in (1) and (2) show that *dènge* ‘with’ joins noun phrases, while *dènge* ‘with’ joins verb phrases in (3). As shown, the same verb *katèdhe* ‘to dip’ appears in the coordination. This happens when the verbs that profile an event are the same.

- (1) *kalera dènge kanaca èèna*
 k.o.basket with k.o.fish.trap DIST.SG

dènge a'ju èci...
 with wood one
 ‘*Kalera* and *kanacha* and a wood’ [WY_Kalera_Kanaca.015]
- (2) *...tao pa-be'a [ma-mea dènge karara] sèra*
 make CAUS-good DUP-red with yellow DIST.PL
 ‘...to make the red and yellow parts better’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.257]
- (3) *èdhi [katèdhe mea dènge katèdhe karara]*
 1PL dip red with dip yellow
 ‘We dip the red and yellow (parts)’ [YL_Hengu.048]

Furthermore, the conjunctive *aa* ‘and’ is used to link two clauses. Typically these two clauses profile two different events. In case the events share the same actor, one is realized as the subject argument in the first clause. In case the events have different actors, each one is realized as a subject. Example (4) illustrates the combination of two clauses that profile two different events. The first clause profiles the event of entering, with the actor being *dhèu èèna* ‘that person’ at the location *j'ami* ‘jungle’. The second clause profiles the event of burning. While the burning event has the undergoer *èmu* ‘house’, it has the same actor as the first clause, which is *dhèu èèna* ‘that person’. In (5), the combined clauses have subjects of their own; not only do they have two different events, but they also have two different actors. In (6), two clauses describe the same entity, *dhari* ‘rope’, and each clause indicates a different segment of the entity.

¹ *dènge* ‘with’ is a grammaticalization of an accompaniment preposition (see §3.6.2.1).

- (4) *dhèu èèna dara j'ami aa tunu eele èmu*
 person DIST.SG inside jungle and to.burn PART house
 'The man was in woods and burnt the house'
 [JL_Musu_Bajo.387]
- (5) *nèngu uru aa landak limuri*
 3SG earlier and porcupine latest
 'He (lion) went first, and then the porcupine followed'
 [PM_Sobhu.112]
- (6) *talora dhari ètu dedha mei*
 middle rope LOC above table

aa suu dua-dua dhu kadhoe tèke
 and tip DUP-two REL to.hang to.keep
 'The middle of the rope is on the table and both of its tips are hanging
 down' [Prep_Elicited.058]

6.2.1.2 Disjunctive coordination

The disjunctive *tengaa* 'but' can be shortened to *te*. This has a pragmatic constraint (see §2.3). The shortened form should be distinguished from the particle that marks subordination indicating reason (see §6.3). Since *tengaa/te* 'but' semantically indicates contrast, it always conjoins clauses, not phrases. As illustrated in (7)a, the disjunctive *tengaa* 'but' links two full clauses. The two contrasted events share the same actor, because of which it remains unprofiled in the second clause, as shown in (7)b. Another contrast is demonstrated in (8), in which the subjects of both clauses share the actor with the matrix clause. The actor is *rèngu* '3PL', leaving the subject position unprofiled. The short form *te* is illustrated in (9). As the two clauses have different actors, both must be profiled in the construction.

- (7) a. *nèngu kako eele tengaa nèngu ngee-ngee...*
 3SG to.walk PART but 3SG DUP-think
 'He walked away but he was thinking...' [SB_Lolo.172]
- b. *nèngu kako eele tengaa Ø ngee-ngee...*
 3SG walk PART but DUP-think
 'He walked away but he was thinking...'
- (8) *aku rèngu, Ø dèi tengaa Ø doi aad'o*
 according.to 3PL to.like but money be.absent
 'They said that they are interested, but they have no money'
 [PM_Syukur.012]

- (9) *èu m-èdhi mèka we, te ja'a k-èdhi*
 2SG 2SG-to.see not.yet EXCL but 1SG 1SG-to.see
 'You have not seen (him) yet, but I have seen' [PM_Sobhu.023]

6.2.1.3 Alternative coordination

The alternative *do* 'or' signals a choice, either between words, phrases, or clauses. This adversative is also used in polar interrogative constructions asking about a choice (see §3.5.5.3). In coordination, the adversative occurs in-between the events or entities to be contrasted. Illustrations are presented below. Example (10) illustrates an alternative between two words, while examples (11) and (12) illustrate an alternative between prepositional and verb phrases respectively. Example (13) involves an alternative to the entire clause, rather than to particular phrases. It is indicated by the negative verb *aad'o* 'be absent', which negates the entire clause.

- (10) *èu [makae do madha'u]*
 2SG be.ashamed or be.afraid
 'You are ashamed or afraid' [JL_Baki_Tuka.025]
- (11) *la-si [dènge dhèu do dènge boe dhèu]*
 3PL-to.go with person or with not person
 'They went (there) with or without other people'
 [JL_Baki_Tuka.135]
- (12) *[hake èci do hake dua] na*
 to.strike one or to.strike two COMP

ka lii g'aro-g'aro
 PART voice k.o.sound
 'at 1 p.m or 2 p.m there was sound' [LL_Pagar_Laut.129]
- (13) *abhu rulai i'a mola do aad'o?*
 to.get tail fish straight or be.absent
 'is there fish which has straight tail or not' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.153]

6.2.2. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition refers to coordination without an overt linker. This type of construction occurs either on word, phrase, or clause level. Since there is no overt marking, intonation is the only means to identify conjoined units (Haspelmath, 2007: 7). An illustration is given in (14), in which three equal coordinated clauses are involved, as is indicated within brackets with subscript number. The first clause is *kore doi* 'I earn money' followed by the next clause *laku hèli èi na'i mea mèdi* 'I go to buy red and black dye'. In this second clause, there also is a juxtaposition of words: *mea* and *mèdi*, which are comparable to *dènge* 'with'. The third clause is *mai*

nasu hèngu ne'e, which may have two translations: ‘(I) come to boil these yarns’ or ‘(I) come and boil these yarns’. Another example of juxtaposition is demonstrated in (15), which is comparable to *aa* ‘and’. A juxtaposition indicating disjunctive coordination is given in (16), in which the two verbs *madhe* ‘to die’ and *kèdhi* ‘to get up’ are in contrast.

- (14) [k-ore doi]₁ [la-ku hèli èi na'i mea
 1SG-to.take money to.go-1SG to.buy water tobacco red

*mèdi*₂ [mai nasu hèngu ne'e]₃ te ja'a
 black to.come to.boil yarn PROX.SG because 1SG

doi aad'o nga
 money be.absent PART
 ‘I can earn money and I go to buy red and black dye and then I come to
 boil these yarns, because I don't have money’ [SN_Manenu.055]
- (15) *ma-muri èdhi ètu rai haha ne'e nuka*
 DUP-to.live 1PL.in LOC land below PROX.SG namely

sèmi hela bunga lod'o pana na kamale
 be.like bloom flower day hot 3SG wilted

Ø ngèlu tiu na kabhui
 wind blow 3SG fall
 ‘Our life on earth is like the bloom of flower: when sunny it is dry and
 when the wind blows it falls’ [YK_HelaBunga.107-114]
- (16) *Lamatua dhu madhe Ø kèdi hari*
 Lord REL be.dead to.get.up again
 ‘The Lord who has died **but** risen again’ [YK_HelaBunga.125-126]

6.3. Subordination

Subordination refers to the grammatical construction that involves two or more clauses in which one clause functions as a constituent that is embedded within another clause. The main clause is called the matrix clause, while the embedded clause is called the subordinated clause (Velupillai, 2012: 315). In Dhao, subordination distinguishes between relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses (see Table 3.20 in §3.6.3.2).

6.3.1. Relative Clauses

A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause that delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of the NP in the event described by the RC

(Andrews, 2007: 206). In Dhao, relative clauses typically are marked by *dhu*, which is postnominal: the relative clause follows the NP head. Walker (1982:45) assumes that *dhu* evolved from the noun *dhèu* ‘person’, which once had a dual function. It was used as both ‘person, human being’ and as a relative clause marker. In certain cases, Dhao makes use of the particle *ho* to mark relative clauses as well. The main function of relativization is either to limit the reference or to provide additional information about the NP it modifies in order to become more specific. In this section, the description of relative clauses starts with the relativization of arguments, followed by the relativization of non-arguments, headless relative clauses, and finally, a different type of relativization that is marked by the particle *ho*.

6.3.1.1. Relativization of arguments

In this subsection, the discussion of relativization concerns elements that syntactically function as arguments of a clause: subject, direct object, and indirect object. The structure of subject relativization is given in (17). The subject of the matrix clause (symbolized as **S_{MAT}**) always is an NP followed by the relativizer *dhu* and a relative predicate (**PRED_{REL}**). Demonstratives can be present optionally, in this case modifying their NP heads. Furthermore, the matrix or complement clause’s predicate (**PRED_{MAT}**) appears after the relative clause. Such a predicate may be either verbal or non-verbal. In this position, an object is optional, too (see §5.2).

(17)

S_{MAT}	<i>dhu</i>	PRED_{REL}	(OBJ)	(DEM)	PRED_{MAT} /COMPL	(OBJ)
------------------------	------------	---------------------------	--------------	--------------	--------------------------------------	--------------

As shown in (18), the relative clause *dhu mai* ‘who is coming’ makes the NP *mone heka* ‘old man’ more specific. The demonstrative *èèna* ‘DIST.SG’ modifies the head NP, rather than the relative clause. The NP *to’o ja’a* ‘my uncle’ is a nominal predicate to the NP *mone heka èèna* ‘the old man’. In relative clause constructions, determiners modifying NPs follow the relative clause instead of the NP head. Likewise, the example given in (19) shows that the relative clause following the NP *sasue* ‘love’ specifies the NP. The prepositional phrase *ngèti Ama Lamatua* ‘from God’ functions as a prepositional predicate for the head *sasue* ‘love’. Example (20) demonstrates a relative clause with a bivalent verb as the relative predicate. These three examples obviously show that the relative clause is embedded in the main clause.

(18)

<i>[mone heka [dhu mai] èèna]</i>	<i>to’o ja’a</i>
male old REL to.come DIST.SG	uncle 1SG
‘That old man who is coming is my uncle’	

- (19) [sa-sue [dhu kapai]] ngèti Ama Lamatua
 DUP-to.love REL big from father God
 ‘The love which is great is from God [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.050]
- (20) [dhèu [dhu kèi èi] èèna] (nèngu) peka
 person REL to.dig well DIST.SG 3SG to.say
 ‘The person who dig the well says,’ [GD_Kei_Ei.091]

The example illustrated in (21) features a non-verbal relative clause.

- (21) dhèu dhu dhèu Dhao
 person REL person Dhao
 ‘The people who are Dhaonese’ [tao_dhepi.202]

The relative clause can be followed by a complement clause, as is illustrated in (22) and (23). In these cases, relative clauses cover both the relative predicate as well as the complement clause by which the NP is specified. Another example is given in (24), where the NP *lii Dhao* ‘Dhao language’ already is specific. The relative clause *dhu tare’a-re’a* ‘which is good’ provides supplementary information to disambiguate the context of the discourse.

- (22) dhèu dhu madenge na la-si boe
 person REL repugnant COMPL to.go-3PL not
 ‘The people who were repugnant did not approach’
 [Ani_Hahi.068]
- (23) Piga.Sina dhu n-e’a le na
 Piga.Sina REL 3SG-to.know PERF COMPL

 dhèu èmu na madhe
 person house 3SG to.die
 ‘Piga Sina is the one who already knew that her husband died’
 [BS_Tuka_Suki.519]
- (24) lii Dhao dhu tare’a-re’a
 voice Dhao REL right-DUP
 ‘Dhao language which is good’ [YK_HelaBunga.010]

As explained earlier (see §3.5), interrogative words occur *in situ*. Head NPs that function as arguments can be replaced by interrogative words in relative clause constructions. The relative clause modifies the interrogative word in subject position.

- (25) [cee [**dhu** tule dhua]] tule n-are hèi
 who REL push palmwine push 3SG-take also
 ‘who can push the palm tree until it falls down’ [JL_Baki_Tuka.098]

There are two types of constructions in which relativization involves a direct object. The first type requires subjects, just like declarative clauses. The second type does not require subjects. In short, the matrix subject is the logical object of relative clauses. The rule of direct object relativization is given in (26) below.

- (26)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|------|
| S_{MAT} | <i>dhu</i> | (S_{REL}) | PRED_{REL} | (DEM) | |
|------------------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|------|

As shown in (27)a, the NP *lii soda* ‘song’ is the logical object of the relative predicate *tao* ‘to make’. The subject *ja’a* ‘1SG’ remains *in situ*. The positive declarative clause counterpart of the relative clause construction is given in 27(b). The same direct object relativization is shown in (28). The restricting element introduced by *dhu* modifies the noun *loa* ‘sheet’. The noun *loa* ‘sheet’ itself is the logical object of the verb *nuni* ‘to pull’ within the relative clause.

- (27) a. $\overbrace{\text{lii soda } [\text{dhu } \text{ja'a } \text{tao}]}^{\text{voice to.sing REL 1SG to.make PROX.SG}} \text{ne'e}$
 ‘The song which I composed’ [YK_HelaBunga.018]
- b. *ja'a tao lii soda ne'e*
 1SG to.make voice sing PROX.SG
 ‘I composed this song’ [YK_HelaBunga.018]
- (28) $\overbrace{\text{loa } [\text{dhu } \text{èdhi } \text{nuni}]}^{\text{sheet REL 1PL to.pull recent DIST.SG}} \text{deo èèna}$
 ‘The string that we pull just now’ [EL_Dhari.107]

The construction in (29) shows that the NP *busa ci'u* ‘a dog’ is the object of the matrix clause. The NP is then relativized by *dhu* followed by the derived verb *pakosa* ‘to rub’.

- (29) *nèbhu boe dhèu sèra pa-puru busa ci'u mai*
 long not person DIST.PL DUP-to.descent dog one come

dhu pa-kosa èi ngaa na
 REL CAUS-to.rub water what PART
 ‘not long, those people put a dog down (from a boat) which is rubbed
 with a sort of water’ [RL_Rade_Lingu.027-028]

Either object can be relativized in double object constructions. However, indirect object relativization is constrained to nouns only. This is exemplified in (30)a. In (30)b, the relativization of an 1SG indirect object is ungrammatical. The relativization only is acceptable when the relativized NP is a third person element, like in (30)c.

- (30) a. $\overbrace{\text{dhèu } \textbf{dhu} \text{ Rini } \text{hia} __}^{\text{person REL name to.give money a-ten thousand}}$ [doi ca- nguru riho]_{NP}
 ‘The person who Rini gives ten thousand to’
- b. $\overbrace{*ja'a \textbf{dhu} \text{ Rini } \text{hia} __}^{\text{1SG REL name to.give money a-ten thousand}}$ [doi ca- nguru riho]_{NP}
- c. [doi ca- nguru riho]_{NP} $\overbrace{\textbf{dhu} \text{ Rini } \text{hia} \text{ ja'a } __}^{\text{REL name to.give 1SG}}$
 ‘ten thousand that Rini gives to me’

6.3.1.2. Relativization of non-arguments

In this subsection, the discussion concerns the relativization of NPs that are not arguments, that is: prepositional complements that semantically function as locations, instruments, commitatives, and possessors. The prepositional phrase (PP) typically consists of a preposition followed by a relevant noun. Such nouns can be generic or specific nouns. The interrogative word *mia* ‘where’ optionally appears following the PP. In turn, a relative clause marked by *dhu* follows, too. When a generic noun exists, the interrogative word *mia* ‘where’ can be optional, but not vice versa. A demonstrative may appear after the relative clause, which modifies the relativized noun or the NP if *mia* ‘where’ is absent. The structure of non-argument relativization is given in (31).

- (31)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|----------------|------------|------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Prep. | N | (<i>mia</i>) | <i>dhu</i> | S _{REL} | PRED _{REL} | (OBJ) | (DEM) |
|-------|---|----------------|------------|------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|

Examples (32) and (33) show that instrument and location relativization optionally allow for an additional *mia* ‘where’, indicated by brackets in the examples. Example (34) shows that *mia* ‘where’ is absent in relativizations of definite locations.

- (32) *dènge j'ara (mia) [dhu rèngu bisa]*
 with way where REL 3PL can(IND)
 ‘Which way they can do that’ [CY_Kasasi.090]
- (33) *ji'i mai la ètu era (mia) [dhu]*
 1PL.in come PART LOC place where REL

lii holonori Ama Lamatua lole dan peka]
 voice advice father God to.tell and(IND) say
 ‘We come to a place where the Word of God is spoken’
 [CY_Prayer.023-024]
- (34) *ji'i mai èle asa era [dhu ra lole peka]*
 1PL.ex to.come finish from place REL 3PL to.tell to.say

lii holonori Ama Lamatua] èèna
 voice advice Father God DIST.SG
 ‘We come from the place where they preach the Word of God’

In relativizing a possessor, the possessum directly follows the relativizer *dhu*, which is then followed by predicates. The possessor can appear optionally in the form of pronouns within the relative clause, which should be coreferential with the relativized possessor NP. In (35), the NP *ana aj'u èci* ‘a plant’ is the relativized possessor. The possessum *rèu* ‘leaf’ follows the relativizer *dhu*. The pronoun *nèngu* ‘3SG’ is coreferential with the possessor NP, which is optional in this construction. The absence of a possessor pronoun is illustrated in example (36). The relativized possessor NP is *paji* ‘flag’ and the possessum is the noun *kabua* ‘price’ following the relativizer *dhu*.

- (35) *ana aj'u èci [dhu rèu (nèngu) bhèla aae]*
 child wood one REL leaf 3SG wide big
 ‘a plant whose leaf is too wide’ [CY_Lari_Na'i.192-194]
- (36) *paji [dhu kabua] tèlu nguru juta na...*
 flag REL price three tens million PART
 ‘the flag whose price is thirty million (rupiahs)’ [SK_Polisi.974]

6.3.1.3. Headless relative clauses

As demonstrated in the examples (37) through (39), the relativizer *dhu* follows verbal predicates, which indicates that *dhu* functions as an argument of the verb.

Furthermore, the elements following *dhu* are predicative as well. The nominal elements replaced by *dhu* are put in-between brackets in the line of free translation.

- (37) *deo èèna ja'a peka dhu bab'a deo Sèi*
 recent DIST.SG 1SG to.say REL short recent REM.PL
 'just now I told the one (story) which is short'
 [SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.160]
- (38) *na hia dhu pana aae pana aae èèna*
 3SG to.give REL hot big hot big DIST.SG
 'it shows the one (strength) which is very hot [Rmb_LodoNgelu.099-100]
- (39) *abhu dhu dua nguru meter hèi*
 to.get REL two tens meter also
 'there also exist those (woven mats) which are twenty meters'
 [tao_dhepi.107]

6.3.1.4. Relativization with the particle *ho*

In Dhao, another strategy of relativization is the employment of the particle *ho*². In this thesis this particular type of construction is analysed as a relative clause, due to its function as a restricting element of the head NP. Like *dhu*, the particle *ho* as a relativizer is used to relativize both arguments and non-arguments alike. Unlike *dhu*, however, *ho* is not a pronoun. The relativization of a subject argument is shown in (40). The relativized NP is *ina suku* 'clan chief's wife'. Like in other relativizations, interrogative words can also be used as relative arguments, as is shown in (41) and (42). The occurrence of the pronoun *nèngu* '3SG' preceded by the particle *ka* indicates a focus, which can be demoted without violating the relativization. Replacing *ho* with *dhu* is acceptable, as is shown in (42)b, but native speakers are more comfortable with *ho*.

- (40) *ina suku [ho ana bhèni deo na]*
 mother clan(IND) PART child female just.now PART

paroa ana bhèni ne'e
 call child female PROX.SG
 'the clan chief's wife who is the young lady just now called the girl'
 [KM_Maso_Minta001.098-100]
- (41) *cee ka nèngu [ho dara pèda boe]*
 who PART 3SG PART inside be.sick not
 'Who is he whose heart is not broken' [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.004]

² cf. §6.3.2.4 on purpose clauses

- (42) a. *cee ka nèngu [ho pa-suti boe]*
 who PART 3SG PART CAUS-drip not
èi madha
 water eye
 ‘Who will not drop tears’ [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.005]
- b. *?cee ka nèngu dhu pasuti boe*
 who PART 3SG REL CAUS-drip not
èi madha
 water eye
 ‘Who will not drop tears’

The illustration in (43) is an example of object relativization. In such a construction, the relativized NP *sig'i aae* ‘big sarong’ is the logical object of the verbal predicate *pake* ‘to wear’ of the relative clause. In (43), the relative clause with *ho* provides a restricting expression for the relativized NP: it indicates not any big sarong, but only the kind of sarong that is usually worn by Rotenese people when they go to marriage proposal ceremonies. The particle *ho* that occurs preceding the second clause in the relative clause indicates a purpose.

- (43) *sig'i aae [ho biasa dhèu Rote pake__]*
 sarong big PART usual(IND) person Rote use(IND)
ho la-si karèi dhèu]
 PART to.go-3PL ask person
 ‘A big sarong which Rotenese usually wear for marriage proposal’
 [tao_dhepi.177-180]

The relativization of peripheral elements can also be acceptable with the particle *ho*. In (44), the relativized PP *dara èi* ‘in the water’ indicates a location. Such a location is restricted by the relative clause introduced by *ho*: the indicated location is the location that is full of crocodiles, not any other location.

- (44) *dara èi [ho bakiho hua pènu]*
 inside water PART crocodile all full
 ‘In the water which is full of crocodiles’
 [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo. 1051]

6.3.2. Complement Clauses

A complement clause is the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate (Noonan, 2007:52; cf. Dixon, 2010b:370; Payne, 1997:313). In Dhao, complement clauses generally have the following specific features:

- a) The structure of both complement clauses as well as matrix clauses follows the basic clause structure of Dhao.
- b) Complement clauses function as the object of a matrix predicate.
- c) Complement clauses may be marked by the particle *na* depending on the verbs of the matrix clause.

Based on those general characteristics, Dhao complement clauses can be divided into three types according to their grammatical behavior: (1) *na*-complements, (2) paratactic complements, and (3) clause union complements.

6.3.2.1. *na*-complements

In *na*-complements, the complement clauses are marked by the particle *na* as the complementizer³. The schema is illustrated in (45) below.

(45)	Matrix clause		(<i>na</i>)	Complement clause		
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>		<i>Subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	(<i>object</i>)
	NP	V		NP	V/N/Adj	(NP)

The *na*-complements in Dhao have the following specific characteristics:

- a) The structure of complement clauses has the same form as the structure of main clauses; complement clauses have as subject and a predicate as well. Complement clauses can have their own object when it is required by its predicate. While a matrix clause allows only verbs as predicates, complement clauses may allow other word classes as predicates.
- b) Some verbs functioning as matrix clause predicates require the particle *na*, while for some other verbs, *na* is optional.
- c) With *na* being an enclitic, *na* sticks to the matrix predicate but syntactically is part of the complement clause. This is proven by a tight intonation contour with the matrix clause. A pause between matrix clause and *na* is judged unnatural.

This section begins with complement clauses that obligatorily take the complementizer *na*. The verbs that require *na* include verbs of thinking, such as *ngee* ‘to think’ and *siri* ‘to predict’.

³ The particle *na* employed here must be distinguished from the clitic *na* ‘3SG’ (see §3.2.2.1) and the reduced form of the demonstrative *èna* ‘DIST.SG’ (see §3.2.2.2).

As seen in (46), the predicate is the verb of thinking *ngee* ‘to think’. The personal pronoun *ja’a* ‘1SG’ functions as the subject, while the NP *mamuri èdhi* ‘our life’ functions as the object. The object of *ngee* ‘to think’ can be replaced by a predication, which can consist of a predicate and its subject in the least. For this purpose, the main clause is referred to as a matrix clause, while the predication functioning as object is referred to as a complement clause. Example (47) shows that the object of the verb *ngee* ‘to think’ is a sentence, with the subject being the NP *èdhi aa’i-aa’i ti* ‘we all’ and the predicate being the verb *laladhe* ‘to see’. This is a complement clause that is obligatorily marked by the preceding particle *na*. Another example of complement clauses that obligatorily require the particle *na* is demonstrated in (48), showing the use of another mental verb, *siri* ‘to guess’.

- (46) *ja’a ngee [ma-muri èdhi]*
 1SG to.think DUP-to.live 1PL
 ‘I think of our life’ [SN_Manenu.001]
- (47) *ja’a ngee [na èdhi aa’i-aa’i ti la-ladhe...]*
 1SG to.think COMPL 1PL.in DUP-all 1PL.in DUP-to.see
 ‘I think that we all can see...’ [Ada_20140427.044]
- (48) *rèngu siri [na dhèu aae ka dhèu èci]*
 3PL to.guess COMPL person great PART person one

ngara na baki Hètu.Helo]
 name 3SG grandfather Hètu.Helo
 ‘They thought the king was a person named Hètu Helo’
 [JL_Musu_Bajo.255]

The particle *na* is optional when the predicate of the matrix clauses includes the sensory verbs *ladhe* ‘to see’, *tadèngi* ‘to hear’, and when it includes verbs of speaking such as *peka* ‘to say’, *ale* ‘to mention’, *dhaa* ‘to answer’, *karèi* ‘to ask’, *paroa* ‘to call out’, and *kasere* ‘to predict’. However, formally-speaking, the use of *na* still is preferred. As is illustrated in (49), the example in (49)a takes the particle *na*, while the example in (49)b does not. The object of the matrix verb may be expressed optionally, as in (50)a, where *miu* ‘2PL’ appears following the verb *laladhe* ‘to see’. The same also holds true with verbs of speaking, such as *peka* ‘to say’. As demonstrated in (51) and (52), complement clauses can optionally take the particle *na* without violating the construction.

- (49) a. *rèngu ladhe [na ja’a dhèu hìu to]*
 3PL to.see COMPL 1SG person new tag
 ‘They see that I am a newcomer’ [Ada_20140427.031]

- b. *rèngu ladhe [ja'a dhèu hiu to]*
 3PL to.see 1SG person new tag
 'They see that I am a newcomer'
- (50) a. *ja'a la-ladhe⁴ (miu) [na miu bisa heka]*
 1SG DUP-to.see 2PL COMPL 2PL can no.more
 'I see that you cannot (do that) anymore' [Pinangan_20140430.033]
- b. *ja'a la-ladhe [miu bisa heka]*
 1SG DUP-to.see 2PL can no.more
 'I see that you cannot (do that) anymore'
- (51) *rèngu peka na ja'a sabe sale*
 3PL to.say COMPL 1SG to.work wrong
 'They would say I did it wrong' [YK_HelaBunga.015]
- (52) *ja'a peka èu mo'o na mu sabha*
 1SG to.say 2SG shall PART 2SG to.work
 'I told you that if you want, you do (it)'
 [FF_Koli_Bubhu.077-078]

The verb of speaking *peka* 'to say' differs from the evidential adverb *aku*, which is used to express direct quotation (see §3.3.2). Here, two examples are presented for clarification. In (53), the direct quotation shows a confirmation question, while example (54) shows an imperative sentence. Both constructions take the particle *na*. However, these two constructions do not indicate complementation, as the subordinate clauses are not the objects of the matrix predicate. The direct quotation marked with *aku* does, in fact, co-occur with verbs of speaking, such as *peka* 'to say', *karèi* 'to ask' and *dhaa* 'to answer' in order to assert direct quotation, as is illustrated by the verb *peka* 'to say' in (55).

- (53) *aku nèngu [na èu tadhe]*
 according.to 3SG COMPL 2SG to.recognize
ne'e do aad'o]
 PROX.SG or be.absent
 'According to her, 'do you recognize this one or not?''
 [SK_Dhe'u_E'ta _Dua.132]

⁴ For the details of reduplication, see §4.4

- (54) *aku nèngu [na la-mu hia na mai]*
 according.to 3SG COMPL to.go-2SG for 3SG come
 ‘She said, “go and order him to come”’ [SB_Lolo.220]
- (55) *ja'a peka hari (aku ja'a) [na pa-kure]*
 1SG to.say again according.to 1SG COMPL CAUS-lack
 ‘I prayed in order the rain decreased’ [PD_Klalela_Holo_Manu.072]
 (Lit: I said again, according to me, “decrease”)

Mental and sensory verbs are presented in (56) and (57), wherein the particle *na* is optional in both constructions.

- (56) *nèngu kasere [(na) hèru èèna]*
 3SG to.estimate COMPL moon DIST.SG

hèru Holomanu]
 moon Holomanu
 ‘Then she thought when there was holomanu traditional ceremony (that month)’ [JL_Baki_Tuka.053]
- (57) *ji'i tadèngi [(na) ji'i j'èra]*
 1PL.in to.hear COMPL 1PL.in difficult
 ‘When we hear that we are sad’ [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.035]

6.3.2.2. Paratactic complements

Paratactic complement clauses directly follow the matrix predicate. The verbs involved in this type of complements are the verbs of knowing *-e'a* ‘to know’, *sanède* ‘to remember’ and *sanunu* ‘to plan’. Paratactic complement clauses follow the basic clause structure. Example (58) shows that the matrix verb is *sanède* ‘to remember’, while the clause between brackets functions as the object of the matrix verb. Another example is demonstrated in (59), with the matrix verb root *-e'a* ‘to know’.

- (58) *ja'a sanède [ja'a pea dènge bhèni heka èci]*
 1SG to.remember 1SG to.stay with female old one
 ‘I remember that I ever stayed with an old woman’ [CY_Lari_Na'i.002]
- (59) *ji'i ng-e'a Ama Lamatua tadèngi*
 1PL.in 1PL-ex.to.know father Lord hear

lii manèngi ji'i
 voice to.ask 1PL.in
 ‘We know, Lord, You answer our prayer’ [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.068]

The paratactic complement also includes verbs of modality, such as *-o'o* 'to want'. As presented in (60), both the matrix verb *-o'o* 'to want' and the complement verb *la-* 'to go' are inflected the same, which is cross-referenced with the matrix subject. The predication *la'e kahèi* 'she goes as well' functions as the object of the matrix predicate *no'o boe* 'she did not want'. The inflection of the verbs obviously indicates that the subjects of both clauses share the same referent. In (61), the complement verb *hue* 'to carry' has its own object, which is *èu* '2SG'. As such, an uninflected verb is understood to have the same actor as the matrix clause.

- (60) *nèngu n-o'o boe [la-'e kahèi]*
 3SG 3SG-to want not to.go-3SG also
 'she did not want to go as well'
 [Elicited from RL_Rade_Lingu.013]

- (61) *ja'a k-o'o [hue èu]*
 1SG 1SG-to.want to.carry 2SG
 'I want to bring you' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.495]

6.3.2.3. Clause union complements

Clause union complements refer to grammatical situations wherein the matrix and the complement predicates share an argument (Noonan, 2007:83). Example (62) illustrates that the matrix predicate is the verb *pua* 'to order' and that the predicate of the complement predicate is the inflected verb *laku* 'I go'. These two predicates share one argument, *ja'a* '1SG', which functions as the object of the matrix predicate and as the subject of the complement clause at the same time. Another example is demonstrated in (63), where the matrix predicate employs the causative verb *hia* 'to give' in order to indicate a command; the complement predicate *mai karèi* 'come to ask' shares the argument *ji'i* '1PL.ex'.

- (62) *ama ku pua ja'a la-ku dara dhasi*
 father 1SG order 1SG to.go-1SG inside sea
 'My father asked me to go to sea' [TF_E'yu_Maraho.141]

- (63) *papa mu hia ji'i mai karèi èu*
 father(MaI) 2SG to.give 1PL.ex to.come question 2SG
 'Your father ordered us to come and ask you' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.753]

6.3.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that function as modifiers of a proposition (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 237). Dhao employs several grammatical morphemes to mark adverbial clauses. Some morphemes have lexical meaning, while other morphemes have not and therefore must be interpreted through their context. In

Dhao, adverbial clauses can either precede or follow the matrix clause. They encode time, location, reason, condition, purpose, temporal sequence, or concession.

6.3.2.1. Time clauses

In Dhao, adverbial time clauses can be expressed through four strategies: using: *karai* ‘since’, *ropa* ‘at the time’, *èle* ‘finish’, and *lodo* ‘time/day’. *Karai* ‘since’ and *ropa* ‘at the time’ can only work as subordinators.

(64)	<i>karai</i>	since
	<i>ropa/rapa</i>	when/at the time
	<i>èle ka / èle èèna ka</i>	then, after that
	<i>lodo</i>	when/at the time

karai ‘since’

The morpheme *karai* ‘since’ is attested as a subordinate conjunction that indicates time. Sometimes it is pronounced as *karèi* /karəi/, which should be distinguished from the verb *karèi* ‘to ask, question’, which has the same phonological form, or is pronounced as *karii* /kari:/. The time clause subordinator, *karai* ‘since’ indicates the moment an event is happening. The phrase indicating time introduced by *karai* ‘since’ mostly occurs following the main clause. As seen in (65), the time NP appears following the conjunction *karai* ‘since’.

(65)	<i>ji'i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ne'e</i>	<i>madhe</i>	<i>kabake</i>
	1PL.EX	PART	PROX.SG	to.die	belly
	<i>karai</i>	<i>madae</i>	<i>Deo</i>	<i>ka...</i>	
	[since	morning	recent]	PART	
	‘We here have not eaten yet since the beginning of this day’				
	[FF_Koha_Lubhu.036]				

ropa and *lodo* ‘when’

The conjunction *ropa* ‘when’⁵ also is parallel to the time noun *lodo* ‘day, time’ when used to link clauses indicating a sequence of events that occurred at the same time. As the clause denotes a sequence of events, the second clause may be preceded by the sequence conjunction *hèia* ‘then’, as is shown in example (66). While *ropa* ‘when’ preferably occurs in clause initial position, *lodo* ‘day’ can also follow the clausal subject, as demonstrated by the example (68). The use of *lodo* ‘day’ as conjunction is different from its function as a time noun, as shown in the example (69).

⁵ Mostly pronounced as *rapa* /rapa/ nowadays.

- (66) *ropa n-a'e hèia nèngu j'èli ca tanu'i*
 when 3SG-to.eat then 3SG step a staircase

ai riu ne'e
 foot left PROX.SG
 'When it (fire) was burning, he stepped by his left leg'
 [JL_Musu_Bajo.336]

- (67) *ropa ènyu la-'e dai mèka ca pèga*
 when tortoise to.go-3SG to.reach not.yet a step

dua pèga [nèngu parèu nyiu mai]
 two step 3SG to.drop coconut to.come
 'When the tortoise moved one or two steps, he threw coconut down'
 [TF_E'yu_Maraho.089-090]

- (68) *rèngu lod'o la-si na ka*
 3PL day to.go-3PL PART PART

dhèu èmu èèna n-ara iisi
 person house 3SG 3SG-to.take body
 'When they went, his wife gave birth' [SK_Polisi.044]

- (69) *dai lod'o mai ka*
 to.reach day to.come PART
 'When the time came, (they) came' [JL_Musu_Bajo.053]

***èle èèna (ka)* 'then, after that'**

The constructions with *èle èèna (ka)* 'then, after that' should be distinguished from constructions in which the verb *èle* 'to finish' is used as perfective marker followed by particle *ka* to indicate a sequence of events. Followed by the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG', the expression *èle èèna* 'after that' refers to an event in the previous discourse. As such, the clause introduced by *èle èèna* 'after that' can grammatically stand independently. As illustrated in (70), the clause begins with the expression *èle èèna* 'after that' which refers to a clause that is implied in the previous discourse. In this case, *èle èèna* 'after that' is considered as a sentence conjunction rather than a clause conjunction (see §3.6.3). As is made explicit in (71), the clause in (i) is the one that *èle èèna* 'DIST.SG' refers to in (ii). As is shown, the actor in the clause in (ii) is unprofiled. Therefore, no NP or pronouns precede the verb *bor* 'to drill'. The particle *na* that occurs after *èle èèna* 'DIST.SG' is used as an extra element to avoid phonological hiatus between the conjunction and the predication. Example (72) shows that *èle* 'finish' is not used as a conjunction but rather as a perfective marker to signal the completeness of the first event. The second event is marked with the

particle *ka*. This clause is similar to a sequential clause (see §6.3.2.7 below). Like other clause chains, this type of clause allows the actor to be unprofiled in the second clause.

- (70) *èle èèna èdhi usu mi èi*
 finish DIST.SG 1PL.ex bucket toward water
 ‘After that, we use it to dipper water’ [GD_Sasabha_Eta_Dhua.183]
- (71) i) *ja’a ka pa-madhe heka.*
 1SG PART CAUS-to.die no.longer
- ii) *èle èèna na bor*
 already DIST.SG PART drill(IND)
 ‘I do not set (all boards) anymore, afterwards (I) drill’
 [KN_Tao_Koha.036]
- (72) [*ji’i lolo èle*] [*ka (ji’i) salake*]
 1PL.ex wrap finish PART 1PL.ex take.out.frame
 ‘After wrapping, then we take out the frame’ [NS_Tao_Hengu.008]

6.3.2.2. Locative clauses

Locative clauses are expressed by the locative interrogative word *mia* ‘where’ preceded by relevant prepositions. In some cases, the locative noun *era* ‘place’ may also optionally appear in-between the prepositions and *mia* ‘where’. In turn, this expression can be followed by relative clauses. The example in (73) illustrates that the expression *ètu era mia* ‘at the place where’ indicates the location where the event denoted by the clause *ji’i mai la* ‘we come’ takes place. The relative clause introduced by the relative marker *dhu* undoubtedly modifies the phrase *era mia* ‘the place where’, which profiles an NP in this case. In (74), the locative noun *era* ‘place’ is absent. The clause in-between brackets is a locative clause that functions as an adverb indicating the source location of the main clause.

The presence of the relative marker *dhu* suggests that this type of adverbial clause takes the form of a relative clause. Typologically, this proves that it is semantically equivalent to single word adverbs. The relationship between the place of the event in the main clause and that of the subordinate clause is the same (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 244-245).

- (73) *ji’i mai la ètu era mia dhu*
 1PL.ex to.come PART LOC place where REL

lii holonori Ama Lamatua lole dan peka
 sound advice father Lord to.tell and(IND) to.say
 ‘We come to the place at which the Word of God is preached’
 [CY_Pray.023-024]

- (74) *baku bèlu ngi'u ne'e*
 NEG.PROH to.forget body PROX.SG
 [ngèti mia èdhi mai]
 from where 1PL.in to.come
 ‘Let us not forget from where we came’ [YK_HelaBunga.091-092]

In Dhao, there is no morpheme that means ‘before’. Therefore, ‘before’ clauses use the negative marker *mèka* ‘not yet’ in the subordinate clause, as shown in (75) below, as the event has not yet happened by the time the event in the main clause occurred. Therefore, it indicates a negation from the point of view of the event in the main clause (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 247).

- (75) *ina na Kèdi, liru mea mèka*
 mother 3SG to.get.up sky red not.yet
 ‘Her mother got up, before the sun rises’ [Polisi.310]

6.3.2.3. Manner clauses

In Dhao, manner clauses are expressed by the use of the comparative preposition *semi* ‘like, as’. They modify actions or states denoted by the predicate of the matrix clause. The manner clauses in (76) and (77) are indicated in brackets.

- (76) *dara ai rèngu nia heka kako*
 inside limb 3PL be.able no.more to.walk
 [sèmi tao sa-sola sèra]
 like to.make DUP-cut.open DIST.PL
 ‘Their feet cannot walk any more, like being sliced wide’
 [JL_Baki_Tuka.108-109]
- (77) *rai taruu [sèmi dhèu aae nèi]*
 to.run continue be.like person great REM.SG
 [rai la-'e nèi]
 to.run to.go-3SG REM.SG
 ‘Continue running as the way that king runs over there’
 [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo. 1736-1737]

6.3.2.4. Purpose clauses

Dhao uses two simple morphemes, *ho* ‘in order that’ and *aeka* ‘lest’, and a combination of the morphemes *sèna ka* ‘so that’ to mark purpose clauses. The simple morpheme *ho* ‘in order that’ and the combination *sèna ka* ‘so that’ have a similar meaning. Sometimes, the both of them are present in a single construction without changing the purposive meaning of the clause.

***ho* ‘in order that’**

The conjunction *ho* ‘in order that’ is used to introduce a purpose, and the dependent clause denotes an intended outcome. The dependent clause introduced by the conjunction *ho* ‘in order that’ always follows the main clause. In (78), the main clause verb is *mata* ‘to wait’, which is used as an imperative, followed by the conjunction *ho* ‘in order that’, which introduces the purpose clause with an overt subject *bèi* ‘grandmother’. In (79), the subjects of the two clauses have been understood in the previous context as 1SG person, as indicated in-between brackets in the free translation; therefore, they are elided in this sentence. As is shown, the clause following *ho* ‘in order that’ indicates an outcome event (burying the eggs) subsequent to the purposive activity of digging the hole. Furthermore, example (80) shows an irrealis event expressed by an imperative clause.

- (78) *mata* [*ho* *bèi* *sai* *re* *haga*]
 wait IRR grandmother to.chop via foot

bèi *ne'e* *we*]
 grandmother PROX.SG EXCL
 ‘Please wait, let me⁶ make a line with my foot’
 [CY_Lari_Na'i.442]

- (79) *kèi* *rai* [*ho* *dènu* *kanadhu* *ja'a*]
 to.dig land IRR to.bury egg 1SG
 ‘(I) dig a hole in order to bury my eggs’ [TF_E'yu_Maraho.120]

- (80) *la-mu* [*ho* *pa-raga* *dènge* *badha* *hui*]
 to.go-2SG IRR RECP-to.meet with animal wild
 ‘When you go and encounter wild animals’ [SB_Lolo.102]

***sèna ka* ‘so that’**

Similar to *ho* ‘in order that’, *sèna ka* ‘so that’ also marks purpose clauses. The illustrations of *sèna ka* ‘so that’ as conjunction are given by examples (81) and (82)

⁶ The translation ‘me’ refers to the word *bèi* ‘grandma’ in this example.

below. Both conjunctions *ho* ‘in order that’ and *sèna ka* ‘so that’ are consecutively combined to mark the purpose clause, as is demonstrated by example (83).

- (81) *tao la dhu be'a [sèna ka*
to,make PART REL good PURP PART

ana èdhi se'e bisa tao dhu be'a]
child 1PL.in PROX.PL can to.make REL good
‘Do something good so that our children also can do good things’
[Ada_20140427.141]
- (82) *papa sèi r-inu [sèna ka*
father(Mal) REM.PL 3PL-to.drink PURP PART

ana madha baku sakaa]
child eye NEG.PROH doze
‘Father *et al* are drinking in order not to be sleepy’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.611]
- (83) *pa-lutu [ho sèna ka na j'aj'i...]*
CAUS-fine IRR PURP PART 3SG to.become
‘It is smoothed in order it can become’ [tao_dhepi.029]

The subject arguments of purpose clauses may be unprofiled when they have the same actor as the matrix clauses. Example (84) shows that the main clause can also be preceded by the particle *te* ‘as, since’ (*te*) ...*sèna ka* ‘as...so that...’. Subject elusion also occurs in this type of construction, except when the sentence includes inflected verbs such as *m-e'a* ‘2SG-to know’ in (84).

- (84) (*te*) *aj'a [sèna ka m-e'a]*
as to.study so.that PART 2SG-to.know

lari na'i nga
to.plant tobacco PART
‘(you have to) learn so that you know how to plant tobacco’
[CY_Lari_Na'i.309]

6.3.2.5. Reason clauses

Dhao uses grammatical morphemes to mark reason clauses. The morphemes are listed in Table 6.1 below. There are three simple and two complex grammatical morphemes.

Table 6.1: Reason markers

<i>lula</i>	because, since
<i>ngèti</i>	because of
<i>te</i>	as, since
<i>te... de...</i>	as... so...
<i>ngèti èèna ka</i>	therefore, that is why, because of that

The conjunction *lula* ‘because, since’ is used to introduce reasons behind a certain statement. Reason clauses can precede or follow the main clause. In (85), the clause following the conjunction *lula* ‘because, since’ specifies the reason why the subject was very happy: because he got a sasando. In (86), the conjunction *lula* ‘because, since’ introduces the reason clause, which is followed by the main clause.

- (85) *ja'a karej'e titu ka èèna*
 1SG be.happy to.stand PART DIST.SG
 [*lula ja'a abhu sasadhu kalai kare ne'e*]
 CAS 1SG to.get sasando branch k.o.tree PROX.SG
 ‘I was so happy because I got a sasando made of the *kare* wood’
 [YK_music.023-024]

- (86) [*lula ka èu dhèu aae ka dara*
 CAS PART 2SG person great PART inside
j'ami ne'e] hèba èu hue-hue
 jungle PROX.SG mouth 2SG ?
 ‘Since you are the king in this forest, then you are talking too much’

Similar to the conjunction *lula* ‘because, since’ mentioned above, *te* ‘because’ also is used as a conjunction for reason clauses⁷.

- (87) *aku nèngu, “mai ku te dhèu èci*
 according.to 3SG to.come tag because person one
ka ne'e”
 PART PROX.SG
 ‘She said, “please come because there is a person here”
 [SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.076]

⁷ This should be distinguished from the conjunction *te* that indicates contrast ‘but’, a reduced form of *tengaa* ‘but’.

- (88) *hia ja'a te aad'o na ja'a ca'e*
 to.give 1SG because be.absent PART 1SG to.climb
k-ore boe
 1SG-to.take not
 'Give me, otherwise, I could not go up' [SB_Tao_Masi.161]

Like *lula* 'because, since', if subordinate clauses with *te* appear preceding main clauses, the sequential marker *de* 'so' is used, forming a complex conjunction *te...de...* The *te*-clause indicates the causal statement (reason), and the *de*-clause indicates the purpose. As illustrated in (89), the *te*-clause explains that the old lady is sick, after which the *de*-clause occurs. Likewise, (90) and (91) show that *te*-clauses are the reasons why *de*-clauses are executed.

- (89) *te bhèni aae èèna pèda de ja'a mai*
 as female great DIST.SG be.sick so 1SG to.come
 'As the queen is sick so I come' [LL_Pagar_Laut.113]
- (90) *te aku bèi ku na*
 as according.to grandmother tag COMPL
kèi ro'a de ja'a kèi ro'a nga
 to.dig hole so 1SG to.dig hole PART
 'As grandmother said that dig holes, so I dig holes'
 [CY_Lari_Na'i.438]
- (91) *aku rèngu na te èu tenge èi*
 according.to 3PL COMPL as 2SG to.look.for water
susu de ji'i la'a ng-are èi susu
 milk so 1PL.ex to.go-1PL.ex 1PL.ex-to.take water milk
 'They said that you wanted (buffalo) milk, so we had taken it'
 [RL_Rade_Lingu.192]

6.3.2.6. Conditional clause

There are three subordinators that are used to mark conditional clauses: *ladhe* 'if', *sad'i* 'provided that, most importantly', and *aeka* 'lest'. The former is derived from the verb *ladhe* 'to see'. The conditional clause introduced by *ladhe* 'if' can appear preceding or following the main clause. In the intermediate position, the particle *na* can be used optionally. With *ladhe* 'if', the clause may imply conditional or time clauses in some cases.

Table 6.2: Conditional markers

<i>ladhe</i>	if
<i>(ladhe)...</i> <i>na</i> ...	if... then
<i>sad'i</i>	provided that, most importantly

In (92) the clause following *ladhe* ‘to see’ indicates the condition for the event expressed in the following clause introduced by *na* ‘PART’. In this respect, the particle *na* is parallel in use with the functioning as complementizer. The particle *na* preferably is absent, as is shown in (93).

- (92) *ladhe* *ama* *paroa* *ngara* *cee*
to.see father to.call name who
- na* *nèngu* *dhaa*
PART 3SG to.answer
‘When/if I call your name, please answer’ [PL_Aj'aDhao.007]

- (93) *ladhe* *ama* *paroa* *ngara* *cee* *nèngu* *dhaa*
to.see father to.call name who 3SG to.answer
‘When/if I call your name, please answer’ [PL_Aj'aDhao.007]

Another conditional conjunction is *sad'i* ‘provided that, most importantly’. The condition clause may appear first, followed by the result clause or vice versa, as is illustrated in (94).

- (94) *la-'a* *pahia* *dènge* *kabui* *ae*
to.go-1PL.ex to.sell with pea many
- sad'i* *abhu* *ngaa* *tarae* *sina*
provided.that to.get what corn China
‘We sold a lot of peanuts, provided that (we) got anything, like corn’
[SB_Tao_Masi.189-190]

For negative conditionals, Dhao makes use of the negative verb *aad'o* combined with the particle *na*. The negative conditional clause is illustrated in (95) below. As is shown, the negative morpheme *aad'o* followed by the particle *na* is used to express the condition that is required for the subject to be able to perform the following event. The particle *te* preceding *aad'o na* is obligatorily used when those two clauses get combined. If they are separated into two different sentences, the particle *te* is absent.

- (95) *bisa boe [èci kapai èci ana iiki]*
 be.able not one big one child small
- [te aad'o] [na ja'a dui boe]*
 PART be.absent PART 1SG to.carry not
 'It is not possible that one be big and one be small, for if they are, I cannot carry (them)' [SB_Tao_Masi.156]

aeka 'lest'

The conjunction *aeka* 'lest' signals a possibility, which also involves conditional events. Typically, *aeka* 'lest' bears a negative purposive meaning. In (96), the possibility of the subject in the result clause is dependent on the possibility of the causal event expressed by the preceding clause. In this respect, subjects are overtly expressed, as the two clauses can have different actors.

- (96) *na mai do aad'o aeka na*
 3SG.SUBJ.CL to.come or be.absent lest PART
- bèli ja'a mai heka*
 tomorrow 1SG to.come no.more
 'Whether or not he comes, if not, I will not come anymore tomorrow'
 [PM_Meoasuu.049]

6.3.2.7. Sequential clauses

In Dhao, sequential clauses use three morphemes: *hèia* 'then, afterwards', *ka* 'then, so', and *heka* 'then, afterwards'. A list of their meanings is given in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3. Sequential markers

<i>hèia</i>	then, afterwards
<i>ka</i>	then, so
<i>heka</i>	then, afterwards

The conjunction *hèia* 'then' signals a sequential relation between phrases or clauses. It may occur after temporal adverbs, such as the one shown in (97), or between two clause events, such as the example in (98). In the latter example, the subject is absent because the two clauses share their subject.

- (97) *ca lod'o hari hèia bhèni aae ne'e...*
 one day again SEQ female great PROX.SG
ae n-are hèu hisu nèngu
 smell 3SG-to.take smell wound 3SG
 'One day, the queen smelt the odor of his wound'
 [FF_Koli_Bubhu.300-301]
- (98) *r-a'a r-inu r-are hèia lèpa...*
 3PL-to.eat 3PL-to.drink 3PL-to.take SEQ to.return
 'After eating and drinking, they returned (home)' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.437]

In this case, the particle *ka* is used as a conjunction that means 'then, so' (see §3.6.4). It bears two functions. Firstly, it marks a sequential clause similar to the conjunction *hèia* 'then, afterwards' as described above. As such, the two clauses may share their arguments, as exemplified in (99) wherein the subject is absent. Example (100) shows that there are three events: (1) his father was stealing, (2) the police brought in his father, and (3) his father was imprisoned for seven years. The subject of the causal clause, *ama mu* 'your father' becomes the object of the result clauses in turn. The objects are not overtly expressed.

- (99) *nèngu mai èmu [ka (nèngu) peka]*
 3SG to.come house PART 3SG say
dènge bèi]
 with grandmother
 'When he got back home, he told the old lady' [SB_Lolo.202]
- (100) *ama mu mana'u [ka polisi r-èti Ø]*
 father 2SG.CL to.steal PART police 3PL-to.bring
[ka bèdho Ø pidhu tèu]
 PART to.close seven year
 'Your father was stealing so the police arrested (him), then jailed (him) for seven years' [SK_Dhe'u_E'ta_Dua.089]

Secondly, *heka* 'and then' also marks sequential events⁸. It indicates that one event is conditional to another event. In (101), the first clause designates the condition by which the latter, introduced by *heka*, occurs. The appearance of the particle *na* after

⁸ Notice that the conjunction *heka* 'and then' is homonymous with the negator *heka* 'no more', aspectual adverb *heka* 'have just', and state verb *heka* 'be old'.

the main clause is optional. Sequential clauses with *heka* ‘and then’ never precede main clauses.

- (101) *pa-dai* *tèlu* *bèla* (*na*) [***heka*** *ji'i*
 CAUS-to.reach three sheet PART then 1PL.ex

 la-'a *pahia* *ka* *èèna*]
 to.go-1PL.ex to.sell PART DIST.SG
 ‘After finishing three sheets, then we go sell that’ [SB_Enyu_Dhepi.045]

6.3.2.8. Concessive clauses

Dhao uses complex morphemes to mark concessive clauses. Dhao employs two complex morphemes: *masi ka* ‘although’ and *ngaa te* ‘whereas’⁹. The former also can be combined with the particle *te*. A concessive clause introduced by *masi ka* ‘although’ can occur either before or after the main clause. Example (102) provides an example of a concessive clause in sentence-initial position. When *masi ka*-clauses precede the main clause, the complex expression *na ka oo* ‘but yet’ is obligatory. Thus, the formula is *masi ka ... na ka oo...* ‘although... but/yet...’. The particle *te* can optionally precede the main clause, as shown in (103).

- (102) *nèngu* *j'aj'i* *mi* *musu* [***masi*** ***ka***
 3SG to.become toward enemy although PART

 pa-angalai]
 RECP-friend
 ‘He becomes an enemy although we are friends’ [TF_E'yu_Maraho.177]
- (103) [***masi*** ***ka*** *sèmi* *èèna*] [***na*** ***ka*** ***oo***
 although PART be.like DIST.SG PART PART PART
 ‘Although it is like that’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.779]
- (***te***) *èle* *mèu* *dhèu* *èle* *nga*
 but finished all person already PART
 ‘But all people had tried’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.780]

The conjunction *ngaa te* ‘whereas’ signifies contrast between the first clause and the second clause. The clause introduced by *ngaa te* ‘whereas’ indicates an unexpected event or state, in contrast to the earlier clause. The *ngaa te*-clause always occurs after the main clause. The clause in (104)a is the main clause, while (104)b is the subordinate clause. The example in (105)a is a statement by one of the interlocutors in the text, in which he said that his food was eaten completely. Example (105)b

⁹ The latter is derived from the interrogative word *ngaa* ‘what’ and the particle *te*.

designates a contrastive fact: the things he had he said were not true, as a dog has eaten his food rather than he himself.

- (104) a. *aku busa èèna unu ja'a èle*
 according.to dog DIST.SG own 1SG finish
le ka hèi
 already PART also
 'The dog said, 'mine is finish' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.096]
- b. *ngaa te kau dhu hari boe era*
 what but rice REL again not still
 'Whereas he had rice no more' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.097-098]
- (105) a. *unu ja'a oe èle ka na nga*
 to.own 1SG almost finish PART PART tag
 'Mine is also almost finish' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.087]
- b. *ngaa te busa n-a'a*
 what PART dog 3SG-to.eat
 'Whereas, the dog eat (it)' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.088]

6.4. Serial Verb Constructions

Haspelmath (2016: 292) defines a serial verb construction (SVC) as follows.

A serial construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between them.

Based on that definition, Dhao serial verb constructions (SVCs) have the syntactic characteristics as shown in (a). In addition, I also present the semantics of Dhao SVCs in (b).

- a) Syntactic:
- (i) SVCs involve two or more verbs;
 - (ii) The verbs involved must be independent;
 - (iii) SVCs are schematic: the meanings of the constructions are predictable from the meanings of its parts.
 - (iv) SVCs are monoclausal constructions with shared argument(s) and grammatical categories, such as aspect markers and negators;
 - (v) SVCs lack coordinators or subordinators;
 - (vi) No predicate-argument relation between the verbs involved in the series.
- b) Semantic:
- (i) SVCs indicate one complex event involving two or more simultaneous sub-events.

6.4.1. Morphosyntax of SVCs

The meaning of a SVC construction must be predictable from the verbs involved in the SVCs, which implies that SVCs are compositional. Consequently, non-compositional combinations, like idiomatic expressions, are not SVCs; therefore, in this thesis, they are categorized as compounds (§4.5.2). Verbs can occur consecutively or their adjacency can be interrupted by a constituent. The schematic character of SVCs is reflected by the fixed order of the verb sequence. In Dhao, SVCs include three verbs at most. Dynamic verbs occur as the first verbs (V1), while direction verbs are the second verbs (V2) in most instances. Direction verbs can occur as V1 with a limited number of dynamic and state verbs as their V2.

Some examples are presented below. The constructions in (106) and (107) involve the verb *rai* ‘to run’ functioning as V1 and *mai* ‘to come’ and *la-* ‘to go’ as V2 signalling the direction of the action denoted by the V1 in (106) and (107) respectively.

- (106) *ana cika èèna rai mai*
 child cika DIST.SG to.run to.come
 ‘The cika bird ran (to him)’ [SB_Lolo.288]

- (107) *nèngu rai la-'e le na*
 3SG to.run to.go-3SG PERF PART
 ‘He ran there’ [PM_Sobhu.085]

Example (108) shows an idiomatic expression in which the meaning of the construction is not determined by the meaning of the verbs. None of the verbs indicates the intended meaning.

- (108) *ja'a soa da'u j'u'u*
 1SG to.jump to.scoop grass
 ‘I sort out grass’ [SB_Tao_Masi.015]

One of the salient criteria of SVCs is that the constructions are monoclausal. The sharing of arguments is obviously seen in Dhao, especially when employing inflected verbs. In (109)a, both verbs are inflected with the same person and number, that being ‘3SG’. The two prefixes refer to the same referent in the discourse. The same also holds true for (110), wherein the two verbs share the same subject: *nèngu* ‘3SG’. The argument sharing also is clearly seen by the inflection of the second verb. The perfective marker *le* ‘PERF’, which occurs after the SVC, covers both verbs.

- (109) a. *n-a'a n-èdhi boe ngaa-ngaa*
 3SG-to.eat 3SG-to.see not DUP-what
 ‘He has never eaten anything’ [FF_Koha_Lubhu.134]

- b. *nèngu n-a'a, nèngu n-èdhi boe ngaa-ngaa*
 3SG 3SG-to.eat 3SG 3SG-to.see not DUP-what
 i) *‘He has never eaten anything’
 ii) ‘He eats and he sees nothing’
- (110) *nèngu rai la-'e le na*
 3SG to.run to.go-3SG PERF PART
 ‘He already ran there’ [PM_Sobhu.085]

Another significant criterion of SVCs is that the verbs must be independent: they are able to occur in predicate slot on their own. An independent verb is a form that can express a dynamic event without any special coding in predication function and that can occur in a non-elliptical utterance without another verb (Sebba, 1997:39 in Haspelmath, 2016). The forms which are dependent on the verb, normally functioning as predicate modifiers either as aspectual markers or adverbial elements, do not qualify for SVCs. In Dhao, a dynamic verb, such as *kèpe* ‘to catch’ followed by the verb *-are* ‘to take’ constitutes an SVC that indicates the benefactive-direction meaning ‘towards’, as given in (111). Both verbs are attested as independent verbs, as shown in (112) and (113) respectively.

- (111) *nèngu kèpe n-are tatea èèna*
 3SG to.catch 3SG-to.take walking.stick DIST.SG
 ‘He took the walking stick’ [SB_Lolo.135]
- (112) *nèngu kèpe ja'a ka pèci asa dara dhasi*
 3SG to.catch 1SG PART to.throw to inside sea
 ‘He hold me and throw me into sea’ [SK_Polisi.950]
- (113) *nèngu n-are apel ètu dedha buku*
 3SG 3SG-to.take apple(IND) LOC above book(IND)
 ‘He takes the apple on the book’ [Loc_Elicited.072]

Some have multiple functions, for example *èle* ‘to finish’, which functions both as a verb as well as an aspectual marker. The form *èle* ‘to finish’ is attested as an independent verb and can also be used as a perfective marker. For the latter function, it is preferably reduced to *le*. Therefore, when the full form *èle* ‘to finish’ appears as the second verb in combination with a dynamic verb, like *jingi* ‘to tidy up’, as illustrated in (114), the construction is considered a SVC. This is evidenced by the fact that the reduced form *le* ‘PERF’ functioning as perfective marker can co-exist with the independent full form, as is shown in (115).

- (114) *pa-jingi* *èle* *heka* *pa-ciu*
 CAUS-to.clear.up finish just CAUS-to.tear
 ‘Tidy it up first and then tear (it)’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.280]
- (115) *aku* *busa* *na* *unu* *ja'a* *èle* *le* *kahèi*
 according.to dog PART own 1SG finish PERF also
 ‘The dog said, ‘mine is already finished’’ [FF_Koha_Lubhu.096]

Paratactic constructions also appear like SVCs in terms of the consecutive occurrence of verbs. An extreme sequence of verbs is shown in (116) below. It is a complement construction marked by the complementizer *na* (see §6.3.2.1). The matrix clause itself contains a SVC consisting of two verbs, *pèci* ‘to throw’ and the inflected verb *mere* ‘to take’. Furthermore, the complement clause has seven verbs that occur consecutively, schematized in (117). It is difficult to determine SVCs in this construction, as there are no overt syntactic markings. Contributing to this difficulty is the fact that subject and object deletion is a common pattern in natural discourse in Dhao. As such, argument sharing is difficult to identify. After looking at the construction in detail, it appears that it has two separate clauses tied together. The first clause involves V1-V3, while the second clause involves V4-V7. It is shown that they have separate subjects, even though the different subjects refer to the same referent. The separate clauses are given in (118) and (119). As such, the complement clause covers only the first clause in this construction, while the second clause is a separate clause that designates another follow-up event, which is the event that takes place after another event (fetch) The addition of implied elements, which are placed within brackets, suggests that the consecutive verbs can be intervened with by subordinator *ho* ‘in order to’. There still are two sequence of verbs, *lami madhutu* ‘go to fetch’ and *la’e tenge* ‘go to look for’. In turn, these will not be considered as SVCs either, due to their predicate-argument relation. As the result, no sequence of the seven verbs qualifies as a SVC.

- (116) *pèci* *m-ere* *na* *mai* *la-mi* *madhutu*
 throw 2PL-to.take COMPL come go-2PL follow
- mai* *hia* *la-'e* *tenge*
 come to.give to.go-3SG to.look.for
 ‘after throwing it, (you) go home and took (him), (you) come to asked (him) to find...’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1061-1063]
- (117) *mai* *la-mi* *madhutu* *mai* *hia* *la-'e* *tenge*
 to.come to.go-2PL to.follow to.come to.give to.go-3SG to.look.for
 V₁ V₂ V₃ V₄ V₅ V₆ V₇

- (118) (miu) mai (ho) la-mi madhutu (nèngu)
 2PL to.come PART to.go-2PL to.follow 3SG
 ‘You come in order to fetch (him)’

- (119) (miu) mai (ho) hia (nèngu)
 2PL to.come PART to.give 3SG

la-’e tenge (kadhèli)
 to.go-3SG to.look.for ring
 ‘You come in order to ask (him) to look for (the ring)’

The consecutive occurrence of verbs cannot be considered as SVCs if there is a predicate-argument relation between them. A verb can form a predication that functions as complement to another verb. In (120) and (121), the V1s function as matrix verbs and the V2s indicate the purposes of the action denoted by the V1s, and as such, they are subordinate verbs. Therefore, they cannot qualify as SVCs by definition.

- (120) ho la-si karèi dhèu
 PART to.go-3PL to.ask person
 ‘They went to propose for someone’ [tao_dhepi.180]

- (121) ji’i mai tenge kahib’i ne’e do
 1PL.in to.come to.look.for goat PROX.SG tag
 ‘We come to find the goats here’ [SK_Polisi.538]

Unlike (120), the directional verb *la-* ‘to go’ combined with the action verb *mari* ‘to laugh’ do make up a SVC in (122), since they do not express purposive meanings.

- (122) ja’a la-ku mari pa-mèdhu de tadèngi
 1SG to.go-1SG to.laugh CAUS-aloud so to.hear

de be’a le
 so good PERF
 ‘I was laughing loudly so (tiger) hear so (he said) it’s good’
 [PM_Meo aasu.120-121]

6.4.2. Semantics of SVCs

The semantic relationship between the verbs involved in serialization varies, and the meaning is not always compositional. Serialization can have a very high collocation and be lexicalized so that the meaning cannot be plainly predicted from the meanings of the parts, although the meaning still is quite transparent. For example, in (123), the SVC with *rai* ‘to run’ and *mai* ‘to come’ is more transparent, as the meaning of the SVC is readily understood from the meaning of those two verbs. A

SVC like *ngee* ‘to think’ and *kèdhi* ‘to see’, as shown in (124), is less transparent, as the meaning is not compositional even though it still is predictable.

- (123) *ana cika èèna rai mai*
 child cika DIST.SG to.run to.come
 ‘The cika bird ran towards (him)’ [SB_Lolo.288]
- (124) *ja’a ngee k-èdhi sa-sabha èci ka ne’e*
 1SG to.think 1SG-to.see DUP-to.work one PART PROX.SG
 ‘I have thought of a work here’ [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.011]
 (Lit.: I think and see a work here)

Some SVCs still are transparent in terms of the lexical meanings of the verbs involved. However, it often is the case that one of the members of a SVC changes from its original meaning and category (Arka, 2007:196). One example is the verb *dai* ‘to reach’.

- (125) *tèu aru nguru dua ja’a la-ku dai Kota*
 year eight tens two 1SG to.go-1SG to.reach Kupang
 ‘In 1982, I went to Kupang’ [YK_music.029]
- (126) *r-a’a r-inu dai jam lèpa kèna*
 3PL-to.eat 3PL-to.drink to.reach hour(IND) to.return DEF
 ‘They had meals until the time to go home’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.455]
- (127) *hua nèngu dai tèlu bua èpa bua sèra*
 fruit 3SG to.reach three QNT four QNT DIST.PL
 ‘Its designs have three or four types’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.049]

Another example is the generic action verb *tao* ‘to make, to do’. The lexical meaning of *tao* as ‘to make’ is shown in (128) and ‘to do’ in (129). In (130), the verb *tao* is modified by another verb which is derived by the prefix *pa-* attached to a state verb *be’a* ‘be.good’.

- (128) *èdhi tao aj’u tao kakama*
 1PL to.make wood to.make k.o.handle
 ‘We take wood to make its handle’ [GD_Sasabha_Eta_Dhua.150]
- (129) *ja’a tao lèke boe*
 1SG to.do right not
 ‘I did it not right’ [YK_HelaBunga.009]

- (130) *ja'a tao pa-be'a ana cika ne'e*
 1SG to.make CAUS-good child cika PROX.SG
 'I heal the cika bird' [SB_Lolo.174]

Since the meaning of *tao* covers 'to make' and 'to do', its semantics then change and can be used as adverb-like elements to indicate an activity that is done regularly. In this respect, *tao* can be interpreted as a word that covers the meaning of 'usually' or 'only'. In (131), the interpretation of *tao lole* indicates that the subject *nèngu* '3SG' has a regular activity, which is telling stories. Furthermore, in (132), the combination of *tao pahia* suggests that the only activity that the subject does regularly in order to make money is singing, which is metaphorically expressed by the phrase *pahia lii* 'to sell voice' in this particular case.

- (131) *te nèngu tao lole ka la*
 but 3SG to.make to.tell PART PART
 'But she usually told stories' [CY_Lari_Na'i.005]

- (132) *nèngu tao pahia lii èèna ka*
 3SG to.make to.sell voice DIST.SG PART

nèngu sug'i kaja
 3SG rich rich
 'He was only a singer but he was rich' [SK_AbuNabas.075]

6.4.3. Types of SVCs

The types of SVCs in this section are based on the semantics of the verbs involved in a series. As explained above, verbs can undergo semantic shifts and categories can change. Therefore, some verbs may overlap in terms of meaning. For example, the verb *dai* 'to reach' can overlap with the verb *-are* 'to take' in terms of locational meaning. Similarly, the verb *tao* 'to make, to do' and *hia* 'to give' overlap in terms of causation.

6.4.3.1. Directional serialization

Directional serialization makes use of the verb *mai* 'to come' and *la-* 'to go'. They occur as V2 in a series. The verb *mai* 'to come' indicates that the motion is directed towards the actor, while *la-* 'to go' implies that the motion is directed away from the actor. They share one core argument. The clause is transitive if the V1 has an object argument. In such a case, the object of V1 is interpreted as the subject of V2, which is the directional verb *mai* 'to come' or *la-* 'to go'. In some cases, the directional verb has an agent/subject that includes the patient of the other verb. For example,

aV1 one can be *hia* ‘to give’ with patient argument *jala* ‘fishing net’, which in turn becomes the subject of the V2 *mai* ‘to come’. In other cases, the two verbs can share the same arguments. For instance, *puru* ‘to descend’ and *mai* ‘to come’ can share the same subject. V1 indicates the action and V2 the direction. The two verbs can exist consecutively or be intervened with by locational phrases.

The verb *mai* ‘to come’ occupies V2 positions to give interpretation that the action denoted by the V1 causes the entity in the discourse to move towards the subject or speaker. The verbs in V1 should be action verbs. Both verbs can occur consecutively or be intervened by peripheral elements such as locative phrases or adverbials. The example in (133) shows that the V1 is the action-motion verb *rai* ‘to run’ immediately followed by V2 *mai* ‘to come’. The V1 denotes that the action is executed by the subject *ana cika* ‘cika bird’, while the V2 signals the motion of the action is being directed towards the speaker of the utterance. As such, constructions like this can be intervened by a peripheral element such as a prepositional phrase indicating location, as is illustrated in (134)a. However, the periphery is optional; it can be moved or deleted, allowing the two verbs to exist consecutively in that construction, as is shown in (134)b. The same also applies to the examples with the benefactive verb *hia* ‘to give’ as V1 in (135)a. The V1 has an object that appears before the V2 *mai* ‘to come’. The verb *mai* ‘to come’ signals the motion of the object *jala* ‘net’ towards the speaker. Like in the previous example, the two verbs can appear consecutively, as shown in (135)b. Other verb series of this type are demonstrated in (136). The literal glosses are provided within angle brackets [...].

- (133) *ana cika èèna rai mai*
 child cika DIST.SG to.run to.come
 ‘The cika bird ran towards (him)’ [SB_Lolo.288]
- (134) a. *nèngu puru asa rai haha mai*
 3SG to.descend to land below to.come
 ‘She came down to the earth’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.015]
- b. *nèngu puru mai asa rai haha*
 3SG to.descend to.come to land below
 ‘She came down to the earth’
- (135) a. *hia ku jala èèna mai*
 to.give tag net DIST.SG to.come
 ‘Give me the net’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.175]
- b. *hia mai ku jala èèna*
 to.give to.come tag net DIST.SG
 ‘Give me the net’

(136)	<i>bèbhe mai</i>	‘to fall down’	[fall come]
	<i>bhori mai</i>	‘to pour’	[pour come]
	<i>bodho mai</i>	‘to appear’	[appear come]
	<i>dhuli mai</i>	‘to visit’	[visit come] ¹⁰
	<i>dui mai</i>	‘to carry (on shoulder)’	[carry come]
	<i>-èti mai</i>	‘to bring’	[bring come]
	<i>hake mai</i>	‘to come down’	[strike come]
	<i>kako mai</i>	‘to walk here’	[walk come]
	<i>lela mai</i>	‘to fly’	[fly come]
	<i>lèpa mai</i>	‘to come back’	[return come]
	<i>lola la-</i>	‘to drip away’	[drip go]
	<i>muri mai</i>	‘to grow’	[grow come]
	<i>pa’adhu mai</i>	‘to send’	[send come]
	<i>pasoka mai</i>	‘to jump’	[jump come]
	<i>rea mai</i>	‘to shine, rise (sun)’	[shine come]
	<i>ridhu mai</i>	‘to jump down’	[jump come]
	<i>rodo mai</i>	‘to crawl here’	[crawl come]
	<i>sabhoka mai</i>	‘to exit quickly’	[exit quickly come]
	<i>suti mai</i>	‘to drop down’ (water)	[drop come]

When the verb *la-* ‘to go’ occupies a V2 slot, it indicates direction, in this case, away from the subject or from the speaker. Both verbs can occur consecutively in predicate position or can be in periphrastic position. In such cases, a location or an adverb can intervene between them optionally. Unlike *mai* ‘to come’, the verb *la-* ‘to go’ requires suffixes for inflection based on person and number (see verb inflection in §4.2). In (137), the 3SG suffix attached to the verb *la-* ‘to go’ is coreferential with the noun *rai* ‘land, soil’ in the preceding clause. Thus, *la’e* signals the direction of the soil, which is away from the actor. Similarly, in (138)a, the 3SG suffix attached to *la-* ‘to go’ is co-referential with the object of the previous clause (finger), which is implied in this construction. Like the verb *mai* ‘to come’, the verb *la-* ‘to go’ also can occur consecutively with other verbs, such as in (138)b. Other combinations of SVCs with *la-* ‘to go’ are given in (139).

- (137) *hèia la-ku da’u rai ka mai ka*
 then to.go-1SG to.scoop land PART to.come PART
- bhori la-’e*
 pour to.go-3SG
 ‘Then I went to take the soil and pour it on’ [CY_Lari_Na’i.326]

¹⁰ This verb can only be combined with *mai* ‘to come’, not *la-* ‘to go’

- (138) a. *tao asa dara èi kadosa la-'e*
 to.make to inside water vinegar to.go-3SG
 'Thus he put (his finger) in vinegar'
 [SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.229]
- b. *tao la-'e asa dara èi kadosa*
 make to.go-3SG to inside water vinegar
 'Thus he put (his finger) in vinegar'
- (139)
- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>bèbhe la-</i> | 'to fall away' | [fall go] |
| <i>bodho la-</i> | 'to appear' | [appear go] |
| <i>dui la-</i> | 'to carry (on shoulder' | [carry go] |
| <i>-èti la-</i> | 'to bring' | [bring go] |
| <i>hake la-</i> | 'to go down' | [strike go] |
| <i>hia la-</i> | 'to give away' | [give go] |
| <i>kako la-</i> | 'to walk there' | [walk go] |
| <i>lela la-</i> | 'to fly away' | [fly go] |
| <i>lèpa la-</i> | 'to go back' | [return go] |
| <i>lèpe la-</i> | 'to fold away' | [fold go] ¹¹ |
| <i>lola la-</i> | 'to drip away' | [drip go] |
| <i>pa'adhu la-</i> | 'to send' | [send go] |
| <i>pakihi la-</i> | 'to mix away' | [mix go] |
| <i>pasoka la-</i> | 'to jump' | [jump go] |
| <i>ridhu la-</i> | 'to jump there' | [jump go] |
| <i>rodo la-</i> | 'to crawl there' | [crawl go] |
| <i>sabhoka la-</i> | 'to exit quickly' | [exit quickly go] |

La- 'to go' has a broader usage than *mai* 'to come'. It can function as an adverbial-like element as well. It probably is the case that the inflected verb *la-* 'to go' is lexicalized for specific purposes. As illustrated in (140), *la'e* occurs in final position, but it does not have a morpho-syntactic relation with the 3SG person. As indicated within angle brackets, it is within a phrase indicating time 'forever'. Similarly, the form *la'a* is combined with the generic action verb *tao* 'to make' in (141). Again, it has no morpho-syntactic relation to the clausal subject *ja'a* '1SG' or the object of the previous clause, which also is understood as the object of the given clause. In the Dhao inflectional system the form *la'a*, should agree with 1PLEX person, which is absent in this particular construction. The same also applies to the example in (142), where the object *lili* 'candle' intervenes between the two verbs. Again, *la'a* does not agree with any arguments in the clause. Despite its lexicalization, the directional meaning attached to the verb *la-* 'to go' still is quite transparent.

¹¹ This verb can only be combined with *la-* 'to go', not *mai* 'to come'

- (140) *tengaa sa-sue ngèti Lamatua nèngu [toke dai*
 but DUP-to.love from Lord 3SG until to.reach
mia mia la'e]
 where where to.go
 'Because the love of the Lord remains forever'
 [YK_HelaBunga.071-074]
- (141) *ja'a k-ore hèngu deo èèna ho*
 1SG 1SG-to.take thread recent DIST.SG so.that
ja'a tao la'a
 1SG to.make go
 'I take the thread then I put (it) in' [SB_Tao_Rabhi.087-088]
- (142) *ja'a k-ore ladha.rai ho*
 1SG 1SG-to.take palm.leaf's.rip PART
ja'a roso lili la'a
 1SG to.rub candle to.go
 'I take wood then I rub wax into the wood' [SB_Tao_Rabhi.177]

As already explicated above, when *la-* fills a V1 slot followed by dynamic verbs it results in purposive clauses in which there is an argument-predicate relation that does not qualify for the definition of SVCs in turn. Contrastively stative verbs, including cognition verbs, can follow *la-* 'to go' in V2 slot as SVCs. Therefore, in (143), the combination of *laku mari* 'laugh' is acceptable as a SVC. The directional meaning of *la-* 'to go' is more abstract in this case. More verbs following *la-* 'to go' as V2 are given in (144).

- (143) *te ja'a la-ku mari*
 because 1SG to.go-1SG to.laugh
 'Because I was laughing' [PM_Meo aasu.120]
- (144)
- | | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>la-</i> | <i>-èdhi</i> | 'ever go' | [go see] |
| <i>la-</i> | <i>rage</i> | 'to see' | [go meet] |
| <i>la-</i> | <i>bèbhe</i> | 'to fall' | [go fall] |
| <i>la-</i> | <i>dètu</i> | 'approaching' | [go near] |
| <i>la-</i> | <i>kajape</i> | 'get lost' | [go drawee] |
| <i>la-</i> | <i>-are</i> | 'have arrived' | [go take] |

6.4.3.2. Benefactive serialization

Benefactive serialization uses the verb *hia* 'to give' and *-are* 'to take'. Both verbs can occur as V2 only. The benefactive meaning of *hia* 'to give' is expressed in a prepositional slot, which is in peripheral position. As such, *hia* 'to give' is

considered a prepositional verb in this respect. The verb *–are* ‘to take’ always occurs consecutively after the V1 and requires inflectional prefixes to agree in person and number. The benefactive meaning of *–are* ‘to take’ also involves motion towards speakers or actors. Therefore, it is treated as indicating directionality in previous research. In this thesis, I consider it a directional-benefactive verb. In (145), the V1 is *tao* ‘to make, to do’ which indicates that the action is executed by the subject *èu* ‘2SG’, whose object is *nganga’a nginu* ‘meals’. The verb *hia* ‘to give’ implies that the object is for the receiver *ja’a* ‘1SG’. In such a case, *hia* ‘to give’ has a prepositional function. In (146), both verbs use *hia* ‘to give’. The first *hia* ‘to give’ fills the V1 slot as the main verb and the second *hia* ‘to give’ fills the prepositional slot. Notice that the verb *hia* ‘to give’ also designates causative meaning.

- (145) *masi* *èu* ***tao*** *nga-nga’a* *nginu*
 although 2SG make DUP-eat drink

hia *ja’a* *na* *ka*
 give 1SG PART PART
 ‘However you cooked meals for me’
 [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta _Dua.095-096]

- (146) *ja’a* ***hia*** *gaji* ***hia*** *èu*
 1SG to.give wage(IND) to.give 2SG
 ‘I give salary to you’ [SK_Dhe’u_E’ta _Dua.100]

The benefactive meaning using the verb *–are* ‘to take’ is given in (147) and (148). It is worth noting that the benefactive serialization by *–are* ‘to take’ requires an object implying that the V1 needs to be a transitive (action) verb. The verb *–are* ‘to take’ also undergoes semantic shift so can indicate completion.

- (147) *nèngu* ***kèpe*** ***n-are*** *tatea* *èèna*
 3SG to.catch 3SG-to.take walking.stick DIST.SG
 ‘He took the stick’ [SB_Lolo.135]

- (148) *aku* *nèngu* *mata* *ja’a* ***pa-pènu*** ***k-ore*** *ku*
 according.to 3SG to.wait 1SG CAUS-full 1SG-to.take tag

 sabha *èi* *la*
 palm.container water PART
 ‘He said, wait I make the water container full’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.315-316]

6.4.3.3. Experiential serialization

Experiential serialization is called as such because some SVCs designate the experience of a subject or actor doing something. The experience is expressed by the

verb *-èdhi* ‘to see’. This verb requires inflectional prefixes based on person and number. The verb *-èdhi* ‘to see’ fills the V2 slot, while the V1 slot is filled by either a dynamic or a stative verb. Dynamic verbs that can fill V1 slots are demonstrated in (150) through (151), including their respective inflectional affixes. The verb *-èdhi* ‘to see’ emphasizes that the subjects of V1s have experience doing it.

- (149) *te ne'e ne èu m-e'a èta Dhua*
because PROX.SG PROX.SG 2SG 2SG-to.know tap palmwine

ka èdhi t-inu t-èdhi dhua
PART 1PL 1PL-to.drink 1PL-to.see palmwine
‘now you know how to tap lontar palm, so we can drink palm juice’
[BS_Tuka_Suki.244-245]

- (150) *n-a'a n-èdhi boe ngaa-ngaa*
3SG-eat 3SG-see not DUP-what
‘he never eats anything’ [FF_Koha_Lubhu.134]

- (151) *èmu gareja ne'e*
house church(Mal) PROX.SG

ja'a la-ku k-èdhi boe
1SG to.go-1SG 1SG-to.see not
‘I never go to church’ [PD_Tua_Tana.247]

Stative verbs filling in V1 slots are illustrated in (152) and (153). The verb *-èdhi* ‘to see’ in the V2 slot implies that the subjects or actors themselves experience the activity denoted by V1.

- (152) *nèbhu boe ana cika ladhe n-èdhi nèngu*
long.time not child cika to.look 3SG-to.see 3SG
‘Not long, a cika bird saw him’ [SB_Lolo.287]

- (153) *ja'a ngee k-èdhi sa-sabha èci ka ne'e*
1SG to.think 1SG-to.see DUP-to.work one PART PROX.SG
i) ‘I remembered a job here’ [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.011]
ii) ‘I thought of a job here’

6.4.3.4. Causative serialization

Causative serialization is expressed through two strategies. Firstly, through the combination of action verbs, either generic or specific, as V1 and *pa-* prefixed words as V2. Those *pa-* words are derived from state verbs that normally cannot qualify for independent predicate slots. Secondly, it employs the verb *hia* ‘to give’ as V1 and

other dynamic verbs as V2. While the first strategy only allows consecutive order, the second strategy can allow periphrastic constructions in which the object of the V1 becomes the subject of V2, as is shown in (156).

- (154) *ja'a tao pa-be'a ana cika ne'e*
 1SG to.make CAUS-good child cika PROX.SG
 'I heal the cika bird' [SB_Lolo.174]

- (155) *la-'e sanuu pa-mèdhi èmu*
 to.go-3SG fumigate CAUS-black house
 'She went to fumigate her house black' [BS_Rika_Jote.045]

- (156) *ja'a hia èu rai asa haa na*
 1SG to.give 2SG to.run to west PART

èu rai asa dhimu la-mu
 2SG to.run to east to.go-2SG
 'I asked you to go westward, but you go eastward'
 [TF_E'yu_Maraho.066]

- (157) *tengaa bèi èèna hia la-'e lu'u*
 but grandmother DIST.SG to.give to.go-3SG hide

asa èmu dedha
 to house above
 'But the old lady asked him to hide in the attic' [SB_Lolo.067]

6.4.3.5. Manner serialization

The generic action verb *tao* 'to make, to do' also is used as an adverbial element to express the manner of the action denoted by the main verb. It always is followed by a verb indicating manner.

- (158) *mai èmu mai tao kako*
 to.come house to.come to.make to.walk
 'Came home on foot' [SK_AbuNabas.258]

- (159) *ana mone dhèu dua padhai lii tao titu*
 child male person two to.speak voice to.make stand
 'The two boys are talking while standing' [Recip_Elicited.001]

6.4.3.6. Simultaneous serialization

Simultaneous serialization expresses a sequence of events happening at the same time with two different verbs. The verbs always occur consecutively. Normally, the

V1 expresses the main event and V2 is an embedded event. However, without V2, the complex event is considered as incomplete.

- (160) *aku nèngu ja'a tangi paroa dhèu*
 according.to 3SG 1SG to.weep to.call person
 'He said, I was crying while calling people' [PD_Koli_Bubhu.041]

6.4.3.7. Completive serialization

Completive serialization uses the verb *–are* 'to take' to fill the V2 slot, while the V1 slot can be filled by any verb. It indicates that the action or event done by the subject is completed, and that another action or event will follow. As a result, such a combination requires a sequential clause. As illustrated in (161) and (162), the inflected verb *–are* 'to take' is in the V2 slot. V1 *bagi* 'to divide' and *na'a* 'he eats' designate the action the actor is doing, and *–are* 'to take' signals the completion of those actions. Notice that this construction can only be followed by *na*-complement clauses.

- (161) *bagi t-are na ènyu j'aj'i kanacha*
 to.divide 1PL-in-to.take PART to.plait to.become k.o.tool
 'After dividing, it is plaited to become kanaca' [AL_Kanacha.013]
- (162) *n-a'a n-are ka j'unu ka mi dedha*
 3SG-to.eat 3SG-to.take PART to.sleep PART unto above

laa aj'u deo èèna
 stem wood recent DIST.SG
 'After eating, he fell asleep on the wood' [SB_Lolo.042]

6.4.3.8. Instrumental serialization

Instrumental serialization is expressed by the verb *pake* 'to use' in a V2 slot. The members of its V1 are dynamic verbs. The verb *pake* 'to use' originally is a loan from Malay. Dhao does not have any specific lexical items to express the meaning 'to use'. The interpretation can be obtained through the meaning of different words, such as *re* 'through' and the prepositions *ma* or *mi*. The meaning 'to use' originally was illustrated by constructions like the ones presented in (163) and (164). The current usage of Dhao mostly employs the verb *pake* 'to use', which results in SVCs. Example (165) illustrates that the actor was cleaning something using his cloth. As is shown, the verb *pake* 'to use' appears after the derived causative verb *pamèu* 'to clean'. Furthermore, (166) shows the verb *pake* 'to use' follows an action verb *lolo* 'to roll'. The activity of *lolo* 'to roll' is executed by using the instrument *kaba* 'k.o.shell'.

- (163) *mone heka ne'e tanae dhua re sabha*
 man old.age PROX.SG to.store sap via palm.container
 'This man store the lontar sap using palm container'
 [Verb_Elicited.00221]
- (164) *ho t-inu dhua ma dara sabha*
 so.that 1PL.in-to.drink palmwine toward inside palm.container
 'In order we could drink palm juice using the palm container'
 [Eta_Dhua.058]
- (165) *pa-mèu pake kaha'i ètu ladha.goro*
 CAUS-clean to.use cloth LOC neck
 '(he) cleaned (them) using the cloth on (his) neck'
 [YY_PearStory.014]
- (166) *èdhi lolo pake kaba lolo èci do kaba lolo dua*
 1PL to.roll to.use shell to.roll one or shell to.roll two
 'We roll using one or two rolling shell' [SF_Tao_Hengu.039]

6.4.3.9. Synonymous serialization

Synonymous serialization indicates that two verbs in the series have very similar meanings. Combinations of this type are not frequent in Dhao, though they are commonly used in natural speech. In (167), the verbs *soa* 'to jump' and *bèdhi* 'to leap' are combined as a SVC.

- (167) *mia dhu soa r-are na*
 where REL to.jump 3PL-to.take PART

nèngu soa bèdhi ho la-si
 3SG to.jump to.leap so.that to.go-3PL
 'Those who could jump, they jumped and left'
 [JL_LamaNa'u_Meg'eBatu.096]

6.4.3.10. Purposive serialization

In Dhao, purposive serialization involves two verbs that are present consecutively within a single construction. The first verb designates the action that the subject is doing and the second verb denotes the purpose of said action. For example, in (168) below the first verb is *la-* 'to go' with the subject *ji'i*. The purpose the action of going denoted by *la-* 'to go' is to dig soil, which is indicated by the verb *kèi* 'to dig'. Likewise, with the verb *mai* 'to come' in (169), the purpose of coming is to bring the dowry. As is shown, both verbs that denote the events are simply juxtaposed.

- (168) *ji'i la-'a kèi rai*
 1PL.in to.go-1PL.in to.dig land
 'We go to dig (and take) soil' [CY_Lari_Na'i.400]
- (169) *ja'a mai k-èti kabua kadhèli*
 1SG to.come 1SG-to.bring bridewealth rasher
- èèna ka*
 DIST.SG PART
 'I come to bring the dowry' [Ada_20140427.035]

References

- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2015). *The art of grammar : a practical guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2007). Typological distinctions in word-formation. In Shopen, Timothy (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (Vol. 3, pp. 1–65). Cambridge University Press.
- Ameka, F.K., 2006. Interjections, in: Brown, E.K., Anderson, A. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*. Elsevier, Boston. pp743 - 746.
- Andrews, A. D. (2007). Relative Clauses. In Shopen Timothy (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Complex Constructions* (Vol. 2, pp. 206–236). Cambridge University Press.
- Arka, I. W. (2005). The Core-Oblique Distinction and Core Index in Some Austronesian Languages of Indonesia. Presented at the The ALT VI (Association for Linguistic Typology), Padang, Indonesia.
- Arka, I. W. (2014). Locative-Related Roles and the Argument-Adjunct Distinction in Balinese. *Linguistic Discovery*, 12(2), 56–84. <http://doi.org/10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.446>
- Arka, I. W. (2016). *Bahasa Rongga: Deskripsi, Tipologi dan Teori*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Atma Jaya (PUAJ).
- Arka, I. W., Jeladu, K., & Suparsa, I. N. (2007). *Bahasa Rongga: Tata Bahasa Acuan Ringkas*. Penerbit Universitas Atma Jaya (PUAJ) Jakarta.
- Balukh, J. I. (2005). *Mekanisme Perubahan Valensi dalam Bahasa Rote* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Linguistic Department, University of Udayana, Denpasar.
- Balukh, J. I. (2011). Digitalisasi Teks Lisan Bahasa Dhao: Sebuah Metode Dokumentasi Dan Revitalisasi Modern. *LINGUISTIKA*, 18(34).
- Balukh, J. I. (2013). Two Grammars, One Surface Form: A Preliminary Study on Dhao. Presented at the EuroSEAS Conference, July 2-5, 2013, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Balukh, J. I. (2015). The notion of “adjective” in Dhao A language spoken in eastern Indonesia. *Wacana*, 16(1), 42–79.
- Balukh, J. I., & Arka, W. (2018). *On Grammaticalization of the Comitative Marker: Evidence from Dhao*. A paper presented in Seventh East Nusantara Conference, May 14-15, 2018 in Kupang.

- Bauer, L. (2003). *Introducing linguistic morphology*. (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bauer, L. (2009). Typology of Compounding. In Lieber, R., and Štekauer, P.(Ed). *Oxford Handbook of Compounding*. Oxford.
- Bhat, D. N. (2004). *Pronouns*. Englan/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bickel, B., Nichols, J., 2007. Inflectional Morphology, in: Shopen, Timothy. (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol.III: Clause Structure*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 169–240.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Holt and Company.
- Blust, R. (1998). Ca- Reduplication and Proto-Austronesian Grammar. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 37(1), 29–64. <http://doi.org/10.2307/3623279>
- Blust, R. (2008). Is there a Bima-Sumba subgroup? *Oceanic Linguistics*, 47(1), 45–113.
- Blust, R. (2009). The position of the languages of Eastern Indonesia : a reply to Donohue and Grimes. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 48(2 (June 2009)), 36–77.
- Blust, R. (2013). *The Austronesian languages*. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Booij, G. E. (2012). *The grammar of words: an introduction to linguistic morphology* (3rd ed.). Oxford etc: Oxford University Press.
- Bowern, C. (2008). *Linguistic fieldwork: a practical guide*. Basingstoke etc: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bresnan, J., & McHombo, S. A. (1987). Topic, Pronoun, and Agreement in Chicheŵa. *Language*, 63(4 (December 1987)), 741–782. <http://doi.org/10.2307/415717>.
- Brinton, L. J. (2005). *Lexicalization and language change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, J., 2000. Verb, in: Booij, G.E., Lehmann, C., Mugdan, J. (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin; New York, pp. 732–757.
- Cahill, M., & Karan, E. (2008). *Factors in designing effective orthographies for unwritten languages*. SIL Electronic Working Papers 2008-001, February 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.sil.org/resources/publications/entry/7830>
- Chelliah, S. L. (2011). *Handbook of descriptive linguistic fieldwork*. Dordrecht: Springer.

- Cleary-Kemp, J., 2007. Universal Uses of Demonstratives: Evidence from Four Malayo-Polynesian Languages. *Ocean. Linguist.* 46, 325–347. doi:10.1353/ol.2008.0008.
- Croft, W. (2001). *Radical construction grammar: syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language death*. Cambridge University Press.
- Daniel, M., Moravcsik, E., 2013. The Associative Plural, in: Dryer, M.S., Haspelmath, M. (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig.
- Diessel, H., 1999. *Demonstratives: form, function, and grammaticalization*. Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2010a). *Basic Linguistic Theory: Methodology* (Vol. 1). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2010b). *Basic Linguistic Theory: grammatical topics* (Vol. 2). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2012). *Basic Linguistic Theory: Further grammatical topics* (Vol. 3). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W., & Aikhenval'd, A. I. (Eds.). (2000). *Changing valency: case studies in transitivity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W., 1982. *Where have all the adjectives gone? and other essays in semantics and syntax*. Mouton, Berlin; New York.
- Donohue, M., & Grimes, C. E. (2008). Yet More on the Position of the Languages of Eastern Indonesia and East Timor. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 47 (June 2008)(1), 114–158.
- Dryer, M. S. (2007). Clause types. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Clause Structure*. (Vol. 1, pp. 224–275). Leiden: Cambridge University Press.
- Dryer, M.S., 2007. Noun Phrase Structure, in: Shopen, T. (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Clause Structure*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 151–205.
- Duanmu, S. (2008). *Syllable structure : the limits of variation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Engelenhoven, A. van. (2011). A semiotactic approach to Indonesian Passives. In A. van Engelenhoven & H. C. Geerdink-Verkoren (Eds.), *Searching the Invariant. Semiotactic Explorations into Meaning* (pp. 105–123). Munich: Lincom.

- Evans, N. (2000). Word classes in the world's languages. In G. E. Booij, C. Lehmann, & J. Mugdan (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (Vol. 1, pp. 732–757). Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Ewing, M. C., & Klamer, M. (Eds.). (2010). *East Nusantara : typological and areal analyses*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Farrell, P. (2005). *Grammatical Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Fillmore, C. J. (1977). The Case for Case Reopen. In P. Cole & J. M. Sadock (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics, Volume 8: Grammatical Relations* (First edition edition, pp. 59–81). New York: Academic Press.
- Foley, W. (2007). A typology of information packaging in the clause. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol. 1 Clause Structure*. (, pp. 362–466). Leiden: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, W. A. (2010). Events and serial verb constructions. In M. Amberber, B. Baker, & M. Harvey (Eds.), *Complex predicates: cross-linguistic perspectives on event structure* (pp. 79–109). Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, J. J. (1968). *The Rotinese: a study of the social organization of an eastern Indonesian people*. Oxford: University College.
- Fox, J. J. (1972). Ndaonese. In F. M. LeBar & G. N. Appell (Eds.), *Ethnic groups of insular Southeast Asia* (p. 109). New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Fox, J. J. (1977a). *Harvest of the palm : ecological change in Eastern Indonesia*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Fox, J. J. (1977b). Roti, Ndao, and Savu. In M. H. Kahlenberg (Ed.), *Textile traditions of Indonesia* (pp. 97–104). Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
- Fox, J. J. (1987). Between Savu and Rote: The Transformation of Social Categories on the Island of Ndao. In D. C. Laycock & W. Winter (Eds.), *A World of Language* (pp. 195–203). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Fox, J. J. (2014). *Explorations in semantic parallelisms*. Canberra Australia: ANU Press.
- Fuss, E. (2005). *The rise of agreement a formal approach to the syntax and grammaticalization of verbal inflection*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.
- Garellek, M. (2012). Word-initial glottalization and voice quality strengthening. Working Papers in Phonetics, (No.111), 92–122.
- Givón, T., 2001. *Syntax, an introduction*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

- Goldberg, A. E. (1995). *Constructions: a construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldberg, A. E. (2003). Constructions: a new theoretical approach to language. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 7(5), 219–224. [http://doi.org/10.1016/S1364-6613\(03\)00080-9](http://doi.org/10.1016/S1364-6613(03)00080-9)
- Greenberg, J. H. (1963). Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. In J. H. Greenberg (Ed.), *Universals of Language* (pp. 73–113). London: MIT Press.
- Greenberg, J.H., 2000. Numeral, in: Booij, G.E., Lehmann, C., Mugdan, J. (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin; New York, pp. 770–783.
- Grimes, C. E. (2009). Documenting incipient obsolescence: a multi-pronged approach to Dhao, eastern Indonesia. Retrieved from <http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/5001>.
- Grimes, C. E. (2010). Hawu and Dhao in eastern Indonesia. In M. Klammer & M. Ewing (Eds.), *East Nusantara, Typological and Areal Analyses* (pp. 251–280). Canberra: Pasific Linguistics.
- Grimes, C. E. (2012). *Panduan Menulis Bahasa Ndao (Lii Dhao)*. Kupang: Unit Bahasa dan Budaya.
- Grinevald, C., 2004. Classifier, in: Booij, G.E., Lehmann, C., Mugdan, J. (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (pp. 1016–1031). Walter de Gruyter, Berlin; New York.
- Hamann, S., & Fuchs, S. (2010). Retroflexion of Voiced Stops: Data from Dhao, Thulung, Afar and German. *Language and Speech*, 53(2), 181–216. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0023830909357159>.
- Haspelmath, M. (2007). Coordination. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Complex Constructions* (Vol. 2, pp. 1–51). Cambridge University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. (2010). Framework-Free Grammatical Theory. In B. Heine & H. Narrog (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. (2013). Argument indexing: a conceptual framework for the syntactic status of bound person forms. In *Languages Across Boundaries, Studies in Memory of Anna Siewierska* (pp. 197–226). De Gruyter Mouton. Retrieved from <http://www.degruyter.com/view/books/9783110331127/9783110331127.197/9783110331127.197.xml>.
- Haspelmath, M. (2016). The Serial Verb Construction: Comparative concept and cross-linguistic generalizations. *Language and Linguistics*. 17(3), 291–318.

- Haspelmath, M., & Sims, A. D. (2010). *Understanding morphology*. London: Hodder Education.
- Haugen, E. (1950). The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language*, 26(2), 210–231. <http://doi.org/10.2307/410058>
- Hayes, B. P. (2009). *Introductory phonology*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Heffernan, K. (2007). The role of phonemic contrast in the formation of Sino-Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, 16(2), 61–86.
- Heine, B., & Kuteva, T. (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <http://ebooks.cambridge.org/ebook.jsf?bid=CBO9780511613463>.
- Hilpert, M. (2014). *Construction Grammar and its Application to English*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Himmelmann, N. P. (2010). Language Endangerment Scenarios: A Case Study from Northern Central Sulawesi. In M. Florey (Ed.), *Endangered languages of Austronesia* (pp. 45–72). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Himmelmann, N.P., 1996. Demonstratives in Narrative Discourse: A Taxonomy of Universal Uses, in: Fox, B.A. (Ed.), *Studies in Anaphora*. pp. 205–254. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publication.
- Hirose, T. (2003). *Origins of predicates: evidence from Plains Cree*. New York: Routledge.
- Hoeksema, Jack, Z., Frans, 1991. Some Remarks on Focus Adverbs. *Journal of Semantics* 51–70.
- Hopper, P. J., & Thompson, S. A. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language*, 56(2), 251–299. <http://doi.org/10.2307/413757>
- Jacob, J. (2001). *A Sociolinguistic Profile of Kupang Malay, a creole spoken in West Timor, Eastern Indonesia*. Information Technology and Education, Northern Territory, Darwin.
- Jacob, J., & Grimes, B. D. (2006). Developing a role for Kupang Malay: the contemporary politics of an eastern Indonesian creole. Presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, 17–20 January 2006, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines.
- Jacob, J., & Grimes, C. E. (2011). Aspect and directionality in Kupang Malay serial verb constructions: calquing on the grammars of substrate languages. In Claire Lefebvre (Ed.), *Creoles, their Substrates, and Language Typology* (pp. 337–366). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company.

- Jonker, J. C. G. (1903). Iets Over de Taal van Dao. In Album-Kern; Opstellen Geschreven Ter Eere van Dr. H. Kern (pp. 85–89). Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Kana, N. L. (1983). *Dunia Orang Sawu*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- Kang, Y. (2011). Loanword Phonology. In M. van Oostendorp (Ed.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology* (pp. 2258–2282). United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Keenan, E. L., & Dryer, M. S. (2007). Passive in the world's languages. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Clause Structure*. (Vol. 1, pp. 325–361). Leiden: Cambridge University Press.
- Klamer, Marian. (1998). *A grammar of Kambera*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Klamer, Marian. (2002). Typical Features of Austronesian Languages in Central/Eastern Indonesia. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 41(2), 363–383.
- Kluge, A., 2014. *A grammar of Papuan Malay*. (PhD. Thesis) The Netherlands: LOT.
- Kroeger, P. R. (2005). *Analyzing grammar: an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kulikov, L. I. (2001). Causatives. In M. Haspelmath (Ed.), *Language Typology and Language Universals: An International Handbook* (Vol. 2, pp. 886–898). Walter de Gruyter.
- Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. (1991). *Foundations of cognitive grammar. Vol. II: Descriptive application*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Lehmann, C., Moravcsik, E., Milwaukee, W., 2000. Noun, in: Booij, G.E., Lehmann, C., Mugdan, J. (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (pp. 732–757). Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Levinson, S. C., & Wilkins, D. P. (2006). *Grammars of space: explorations in cognitive diversity, language, culture and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lieber, R. (2009). *Introducing morphology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lynden, D. W. C. van. (1851). Bijdrage tot de kennis van Solar, Allor, Rotti, Savoe en omliggende eilanden, 388–414.
- Marantz, A. (1982). Re Reduplication. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 13(3), 435–482.

- Mielke, J. (2008). *The emergence of distinctive features*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, J., 2006. Particles in Spoken Discourse, in: Brown, E.K., Anderson, A. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*. Elsevier, Boston.
- Nichols, J. (1986). Head-Marking and Dependent-Marking Grammar. *Language*, 62(1), 56. <http://doi.org/10.2307/415601>
- Noonan, M. (2007). Complementation. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Complex Constructions* (Vol. 2, pp. 52–150). Cambridge University Press.
- Næss, Å. (2007). *Prototypical Transitivity*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ormeling, F. J. (1952). *The Timor problem*. J. B. Wolters - Groningen, Djakarta: Martinus Nuhoff -s-Gravenhage.
- Paradis, C., & Lacharité, D. (1997). Preservation and Minimality in Loanword Adaptation. *Journal of Linguistics*, 33(2), 379–430.
- Paradis, C., & Lacharité, D. (2008). Apparent Phonetic Approximation: English Loanwords in Old Quebec French. *Journal of Linguistics*, 44(1), 87–128.
- Payne, T. E. (2006). *Exploring language structure a student's guide*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. (1997). *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, S. (2011). Long-distance Assimilation of Consonants. In M. van Oostendorp (Ed.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology* (pp. 1811–1837). United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Ross, M.D., 2006. Reconstructing Case Marking and Personal Pronoun System of Proto Austronesian, in: Chang, H.Y., Huang, L.M., Ho, D. (Eds.), *Streams Converging into an Ocean: Festschrift in Honor of Professor Paul Jen-Kuei Li on His 70th Birthday, Language and Linguistics*. (pp. 521–563). Monograph Series; Number W-5. Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei.
- Rubino, C. (2013). Reduplication. In M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Retrieved from <http://wals.info/chapter/27>
- Sauer, H. (2000). Lexicalization and demotivation. In G. E. Booij, C. Lehmann, & J. Mugdan (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (Vol. I, pp. 1625–1636). Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.

- Schachter, P. (1973). Focus and Relativization. *Language*, 49(1), 19–46.
<http://doi.org/10.2307/412101>.
- Schachter, P., Shopen, T., 2007. Parts-of-speech systems, in: Shopen, Timothy. (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. (pp. 1–60). Cambridge University Press.
- Schwartz, L., 2000. Pronoun and article, in: Booij, G.E., Lehmann, C., Mugdan, J. (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin; New York, pp. 783–794.
- Shibatani, M. (1976). The Grammar of Causative Constructions: A Conspectus. In M. Shibatani (Ed.), *The Grammar of Causative Constructions* (Vol. 6, pp. 1–40). Academic Press.
- Shibatani, M., & Pardeshi, P. (2001). The Causative Continuum. In M. Shibatani (Ed.), *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation* (pp. 85–126). Amsterdam etc: Benjamins.
- Shopen, T. (2007). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Clause Structure*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sneddon, J. N., Adelaar, A., Djenar, D. N., & Ewing, M. C. (2010). *Indonesian Reference Grammar*. Allen & Unwin.
- Staden, M. van. (2000). *Tidore: a linguistic description of a language of the North Moluccas*. Leiden: sn.
- Stassen, L. M. H. (1997). *Intransitive Predication*. New York: Clarendon Press.
- Stoel, R., 2005. *Focus in Manado Malay: grammar, particles, and intonation*. CNWS publications.
- Tallerman, M. (2015). *Understanding syntax* (Fourth edition). Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.
- ten Hacken, P. (2000). Derivation and Compounding. In G. E. Booij, C. Lehmann, & J. Mugdan (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (Vol. I, pp. 349–360). Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Thieberger, N. (2012). *The Oxford handbook of linguistic fieldwork*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, S. A., Longacre, R. E., & Hwang, S. J. J. (2007). Adverbial Clauses. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Complex Constructions*. (Vol. 2, pp. 237–300). Leiden: Cambridge University Press.
- Ullian, R., 1978. Some General Characteristics of Interrogative Systems, in: Greenberg, J. (Ed.), *Universals of Human Language*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, pp. 211–248.

- Van Klinken, C. L. (1999). *A grammar of the Fehan dialect of Tetun: an Austronesian language of West Timor*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Van Valin, R. D. J. (2001). *An introduction to syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Velupillai, V. (2012). *An Introduction to Linguistic Typology*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Välimaa-Blum, R. (2005). *Cognitive Phonology in Construction Grammar: analytic tools for students of English*. Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Walker, A. T. (1982). *A Grammar of Sawu*. Jakarta: Badan penyelenggara seri NUSA, Universitas Atma Jaya.
- Wiltshire, C., & Marantz, A. (2000). Reduplication. In G. E. Booij, C. Lehmann, & J. Mugdan (Eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (Vol. I, pp. 557–567). Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Appendices

1. Texts

1.1 Rika dènge Jote

(The story of Ndaonese first settlers)

Speaker : (late) Bernadus Sereh
Age : 75 years old
Audio : BS_Rika_Jote.wav
Length : 00.04.26 minutes
Date and Location : September 18th, 2008 in Ndao
Synopsis : The speaker tells the story of the ancestors considered to be the first settlers and the history of the name of Ndao Island.

001. *mulai nèti Rika*
began from Rika
'Start from Rika'
002. *dènge Jote*
with Jote
'and Jote'
003. *Rika ne'e*
Rika PROX.SG
'Rika'
004. *nèngu ètu suu haa*
3SG LOC tip west
'She was at the west part'
005. *kabarai ne'e*
public PROX.SG
'in this area'
006. *Jote nèngu ètu dhimu suu rai ne'e*
Jote 3SG LOC east tip territory PROX.SG
'Jote was at the east part in the area'
007. *haa Pesa.Kèli nèngu ètu talora*
west Pesa.Kèli 3SG LOC middle
'Pesa Kèli was in the middle'

008. *waktu Pesa Kèli mai ti Sahu*
time name name come from Sawu
'when Pesa Kèli came from Sawu'
009. *sanabhu Rika ka nèngu madha'u ka nèngu la-'e*
shadow Rika PART 3SG afraid PART 3SG go-3SG

lu'u ro'a loe
hide hole cave
'When seeing Rika, he was afraid so he left to hide in a cave'
010. *ka... nèngu bisa boe tenge nga-nga'a ka*
PART 3SG can not look.for DUP-1PL.ex.eat PART

nèngu manèngi manea
3SG ask hawk
'so he could not seek any food, so he asked for food from an eagle'
011. *tenge nga-nga'a hia nèngu untuk n-a'a*
look.for DUP-1PL.ex.eat give 3SG for(IND) 3SG-eat

dènge na inu
with 3SG drink
'seek food and drinks for him'
012. *mai asa*
come to
'come'
013. *Rika ne nèngu pa-ngee na nèngu*
Rika PROX.SG 3SG PA-think PART 3SG

di mesa na ètu kabarai ne'e
only alone 3SG LOC public PROX.SG
'Rika thought that perhaps he lived alone in this island'
014. *ha Jote pun pa-ngee na sèmi èèna*
PART Jote too tihnk PART like DIST.SG

ka te nèngu pun
PART but 3SG also(IND)
'and Jote also thought so, but he also'
015. *ètu suu dènge suu dhimu dènge haa*
LOC tip with tip east with west
'at the east and west part'

016. *hèia*
then
'then'
017. *ca lod'o hari ka Rika la-'e dhasi*
a day again PART Rika go-3SG sea
'one day Rika went to the beach'
018. *la-'e dhasi ka n-èdhi*
go-3SG sea PART 3SG-see
'at the beach she saw'
019. *Jote ne'e*
Jote PROX.SG
'Jote is'
020. *ètu suu dhasi dhimu*
LOC tip sea east
'at in the eastern part of the beach'
021. *aku na hea*
according.to 3SG.CL ow
'she said, oh'
022. *dhèu èci ka nèi ja'a ngee na*
person one PART REM.SG 1SG think 3SG

ja'a di mesa ètu kabarai ne'e
1SG only alone LOC island PROX.SG
'a person is there, I think that I am alone on this island'
023. *ngaa dhèu èci ka nèi hèi*
what person one PART REM.SG also
'in fact, there is a person there, too'
024. *hèia nèngu usaha ka pa-dètu*
then 3SG try(IND) PART PA-approach
'then he tried to approach'
025. *pa-dètu ka mai rare*
PA-approach PART come until
'approach, then he came'
026. *pa-dètu hèia*
PA-approach then
'approach, then'

027. *nèngu karèi aku nèngu angalai e èu*
 3SG ask according.to 3SG friend PART 2SG
 ‘she asked him, "friend, you"’
028. *èu m-ore ngaa*
 2SG 2SG-take what
 "what do you get?"
029. *kore boe ngaa-ngaa hèia rèngu lèpa dhasi joro*
 1SG.take not DUP-what then 3PL return sea high.tide
 ‘I get nothing’. Then, they went back as it was low tide’
030. *puru mai dae ka mai lèru osa*
 descent come land PART come care for
 ‘When (they) came to the beach and saw what they have got’
031. *mai ka rèngu dua ra*
 come PART 3PL two 3PL
 ‘they both came’
032. *pa-leru ka osa ka rèngu dua*
 RECP-care.for PART harvest PART 3PL two

ra pa-peka
 3PL RECP-tell
 ‘while watching their fish. they had a talk’
033. *angaa e ja'a neo la ja'a di mesa ku ètu*
 friend part 1SG shall PART 1SG only alone 1SG LOC

kabarai
 island
 ‘Hi friend, I think I am alone on this island’
034. *rai ne'e angalai e ngaa èu dhu kèna hèia*
 territory PROX.SG friend PART what 2SG REL that then
 ‘in this land. In fact you, too, friend’
035. *ha aku*
 PART say
 ‘and he said,’
036. *aku Rika na ho ja'a neo la na*
 according.to Rika PART okay 1SG want PART PART

- ja'a di mesa ku kahèi*
 1SG just alone 1SG.CL also
 'as Rika said, I also think that I am alone, too'
037. *ngaa èu dhu ka èèna kahèi*
 what 2SG REL PART DIST.SG also
 but in fact you are there, too
038. *hèia*
 then
 'then'
039. *aku nèngu kalau sèmi èèna èdhi*
 according.to 3SG if(IND) like DIST.SG 1PL.in

pa-ngad'o èmu
 RECP-visit house
 'he said, "if so, let us visit our house"'
040. *pa-ngad'o èmu ho èmu cee èmu dhui*
 RECP-visit house so.that house who house old
 'visit each other's house and see whose house is the oldest one'
041. *na nèngu dhèu dhu nèbhu*
 PART 3SG person REL long.time
 'means that he is the one who stays longer'
042. *Rika e*
 Rika PART
 'Rika'
043. *Jote la-'e èmu ka la-'e*
 Jote go-3SG house PART go-3SG
 'Jote came home, and went'
044. *sanu èmu ka pa-mèdhi*
 fumigate house PART CAUS-black
 'to fumigate his house to be black'
045. *Rika pun sèmi èèna kahèi la-'e èmu ka*
 Rika too like DIST.SG again go-3SG house PART

la-'e sanu pa-mèdhi èmu
 go-3SG fumigate CAUS-black house
 'Rika was also so. He went to fumigate his house to be black'

046. *lod'o dua ra*
time two 3PL
'when they both'
047. *èci pa-ngad'o èci*
one RECP-visit one
'visit each other'
048. *Rika la-'e uru ka la'e aku na*
Rika go-3SG formerly PART go-3SG say 3SG

ee tare'a angalai
PART right friend
'Rika visited earlier and he said, "it is right, friend"'
049. *nèbhu kahèi èmu dhu mèdhi guru-guru nga*
long.time again house REL black pitch.black PART
'he is the earliest, because his house is black now'
050. *ha na bèli la-mu ngad'o ja'a angalai*
EXCL PART tomorrow go-2SG visit 1SG friend
'tomorrow, you may visit my house, friend'
051. *ka bèli na ka Jote mai ngad'o Rika*
PART tomorrow 3SG PART Jote come visit Rika
'than, the next day Jote visited Rika'
052. *èmu na sèmi èèna kahèi mèdhi*
house 3SG like DIST.SG again black

guru-guru ho
pitch.black PART
'her house was also black'
053. *kapui dhui ne'e dhu eta ètu madha èmu*
snail bail PROX.SG REL drift.ashore LOC front house
'there were many snails before his house'
054. *hèbha oka*
mouth fence
'at the entrance gate'
055. *hèia ca lod'o hari ka*
then a day again PART
'then one day'

056. *ha rèngu dhu re'a re'a boe*
EXCL 3PL REL 3PL.know 3PL.know not
'and they did not know'
057. *Pesa.Kèli ne'e ètu ngaa ètu ngaa na*
Pesa.Kèli PROX.SG LOC what LOC what PART
'Where Pesa keli was at...'
058. *te nèngu ètu dara loe èèna dhu*
PART 3SG LOC inside cave DIST.SG REL
podho boe li'u na
go.outside not outside PART
'as he was in the cave and never came out'
059. *ka nèngu*
PART 3SG
'than he'
060. *dua ra paraga hari*
two 3PL meet again
'they both met again'
061. *paraga hari hèia*
meet again then
'met again, than'
062. *aku Rika na*
according.to Rika PART
'Rika said'
063. *ja'a uru ètu kabarai ne'e*
1SG formerly LOC island PROX.SG
'I am the first one on this island'
064. *aku Jote pun sèmi èèna kahèi*
according.to Jote too like DIST.SG also
'Jote also said the same'
065. *ja'a uru ètu kabarai ne'e kahèi*
1SG formerly LOC island PROX.SG also
'I am the first one on this island'
066. *dua ra pasisu ka patao*
two 3PL argue PART quarrel
'they argue against each other and quarrel'

067. *patao ètu tataa dhasi deo na*
 quarrel LOC beach sea recent 3SG
 ‘(they) quarrel at the beach’
068. *tataa dhasi deo na hèia*
 beach sea recent 3SG then
 ‘at the beach, then’
069. *rèngu re’a boe na Pesa.Kèli ne’e*
 3PL 3PL-know not 3SG.CL Pesa.Kèli PROX.SG
 ‘they never knew Pesa Kèli’
070. *ma’u rèngu ngèti*
 spy 3PL from
 ‘spy them from...’
071. *ro’a loe deo na*
 inside cave recent DIST.SG
 ‘the cave as mentioned’
072. *aku nèngu na we*
 according.to 3SG PART EXCL
 ‘he said, hi’
073. *miu pajèka ngaa èèna te aku ja’a na*
 2PL speak. angrily what 3SG but say 1SG 3SG

ja’a uru nga aku nèngu na nèngu uru
 1SG former PART say 3SG PART 3SG former
 ‘why do you quarrel and said, "I am the first one, and he said he is the first?"’
074. *ja’a karèi miu*
 1SG question 2PL
 ‘I ask you’
075. *èu Rika èu uru*
 2PL Rika 2SG formerly
 ‘Rika, you said you are the first’
076. *èu Jote èu peka na èu Jote*
 2SG Jote 2SG say 3SG 2SG Jote

èu peka na èu dhèu uru
 2SG say 3SG 2SG person formerly
 ‘you, Jote, you said you are the first person’

077. *ka miu madhèdi kabarai ne'e ne ka*
 PART 2PL sit island PROX.SG PROX.SG PART
miu pa-ngara kabarai ne'e ne
 2PL CAUS- name island PROX.SG PROX.SG
na ngaa?
 PART what
 'then you are living on this island and what name did you give this island?'
078. *ngara rai dhu miu pea ne'e*
 name land REL 2PL stay PROX.SG
 'the name of the land where you live'
079. *uru na miu paroa na ngara na ngaa*
 formerly 3SG 2PL call 3SG name 3SG what
 'In the past, what did you call, what was the name?'
080. *ngaa*
 what
 'what'
081. *rèngu kala ngèti èèna to?*
 3PL fail(IND) from DIST.SG tag
 'they fail to answer'
082. *kala ngèti èèna ka aku Pesa. Kèli na*
 fail(IND) from DIST.SG PART according.to Pesa. Kèli 3SG
 'when they fail to answer, Pesa Kèli said'
083. *ja'a mai ngèti Sahu aku nèngu k-èti dhau*
 1SG come from name according.to 3SG 1SG-bring indigo
 'I came from Sawu', He said, "I brought the indigo plant"
084. *mai sèla ètu kabarai ne'e de*
 come plant LOC island PROX.SG so
 'came and planted it on this island, so'
085. *pulau ne'e ngara na dhau*
 island(IND) PROX.SG name 3SG dhau
 'the name of this island is dhau'
086. *te dhèu Sahu peka dhau na dhao*
 because person Sawu say dhau 3SG name
 'because the Sawunese call the indigo, dhao'

087. *ka* *ngara* *na* *Dhao*
PART neme 3SG Dhao
‘so the name is Dhao’

1.2 Dhèu madhe

(An event when a dead body was brought to Ndao)

Speaker : Us Aplugi
Age : 50 years old
Audio : UA_Sambut_Jenasah.wav
Length : 00.05.42 minutes
Date and Location : May 4th, 2014 in Ndao
Synopsis : The speaker delivers a welcome speech on the arrival of a dead body from Kupang and followed by a prayer.

001. *ngèti èèna ka a'a ari*
from DIST.SG PART old.sibling younger.sibling

ti doe ne'e
1PL.in.CL recent PROX.SG
'That's why brothers and sisters, today'

002. *ama èdhi mone angalai èdhi ne'e*
father 1PL.in male friend 1PL.in PROX.SG
'Our father, our brother'

003. *nèngu lèpa mai dhoka dènge heka lii*
3SG return come only with no.more voice

padhue padai
discuss talk
'He came back with no single word'

004. *cee ka nèngu ho dara pèda boe*
who PART 3SG so.that inside sick not
'Who is he whose heart is not broken'

005. *cee ka nèngu ho pasuti boe èi madha*
who PART 3SG so.that CAUS-drip not water eye
'Who will not drop tears'

006. *pa-cèri sèmi ne'e*
CAUS-separate like PROX.SG
'separating like this'

007. *èi madha èdhi mèti boe*
water eye 1PL.in dry not
'Our tears never stop'
008. *dhoka èdhi t-e'a*
only 1PL.in 1PL.in.know
'But we know'
009. *sa-sue Lamatua kapai dai seli*
DUP-love Lord big enough excessively
'The love of God is great'
010. *ma dedha ama èdhi aa èdhi*
toward above father 1PL.in PART 1PL.in

mone angalai èdhi
man friend 1PL.in
'to our father, or our brother'
011. *ngèti èèna ka èdhi dhèu sarani*
from DIST.SG PART 1PL.in person baptize
'That's why, we as believers'
012. *èdhi te'a sa-sue Lamatua ne'e*
1PL.in 1PL.in.know DUP-love Lord PROX.SG
'We know the love of God'
013. *mai èdhi pa-cudu kètu*
come 1PL.in CAUS-bow head
'let us bow our heads, please'
014. *èdhi manèngi a-'èra ngèti nèngu*
1PL.in ask DUP-strong from 3SG
'We ask strength from Him'
015. *sèna ka èdhi èra*
so.that PART 1PL.in strong
'So that we are strong'
016. *èdhi baku j'èra ae*
1PL.in do.not difficult many
'We do not have to be very sad'

017. *ho doe ne'e bèli*
so.that recent PROX.SG tomorrow
'So that today and tomorrow'
018. *èdhi aa'i ti hia nèngu asa era*
1PL.in all 1PL.in give 3SG to place
'We all bring him to the place'
019. *dènge mera.milu*
with make.piece
'in peace'
020. *nèti èèna ka ina ama a'ari aa'i ngèti*
from DIST.SG PART mother father relatives all from
'That's why, Ladies and Gentlemen,
021. *mai èdhi ba-bhèj'i madha*
come 1PL.in DUP-sleep eye
'Please, we close our eyes'
022. *manèngi a-'èra sasue ngèti Ama Lamatua*
ask power DUP-love from father Lord
'Ask strength and love from Lord'
023. *Muri Manadu*
live soul
'The Saviour'
024. *Ama Lamatua dhu ladhe leru ji'i ngèti*
father Lord REL see care 1PL.in from

ca lod'o toke dai ca lod'o
a day arrive reach one day
'Lord who protects us day by day'
025. *Ama Lamatua hia ji'i a-'ae*
father Lord give 1PL.in DUP-breath
'Lord, (You) give us life'
026. *hia ji'i a-'èra tenge ma-muri ne'e*
give 1PL.in DUP-strong look.for DUP-live PROX.SG
'Give us strength to live our life'

027. *lod'o rea Ama Lamatua pa-kèdi ji'i*
 sun appear father Lord CAUS-get.up 1PL.in
 'When the sun rises, Lord, You awake us'
028. *ho ji'i tao sa-saba la-'a ji'i*
 so.that 1PL.in make DUP-work go-3SG 1PL.in
 'So that we do our jobs'
029. *lod'o cèna la'e ji'i bhèj'i*
 day sink go.3SG 1PL.in sleep
 'When the sun sets, we go to bed'
030. *Ama Lamatua bhiri ji'i aa'i (mi)*
 father Lord pull 1PL.in all 1PL.in.CL
 'Lord, protects us all'
031. *dhoka madae meda Ama Lamatua tao j'ara èci*
 only morning yesterday father Lord make manner one
 'But yesterday morning, Lord made a way'
032. *ma dedha ji'i a'ari aa'i mi*
 in above 1PL.in relatives all 1PL.ex
 'for all of us as relatives'
033. *ètu dedha rai Kota*
 LOC above land city
 'The in Kupang city'
034. *Ama Lamatua n-are a-'ae a'a*
 father Lord 3SG-take DUP-breath older.sibling

ji'i, ama ji'i
 1PL.in father 1PL.in
 'Lord, You took the life of our brother or our father'
035. *maka ji'i tadèngi ji'i j'èra*
 then(IND) 1PL.in hear 1PL.in difficult
 'So when we hear (that), we are sad'
036. *èi madha ji'i mèti boe Ama*
 water eye 1PL.in dry not Father
 'Our tears still do not stop, Father'

037. *dhoka ji'i pajiko pajiko*
only 1PL.in evaluate evaluate
'we just think and think'
038. *ngaa dhu (ama) Ama Lamatua tao na be'a*
what REL father father Lord make PART good

dai seli
enough excessively
'What Lord is doing is good'
039. *sa-sue Ama Lamatua kapai dai seli*
DUP-love father Lord big reach excessively

ètu dedha ji'i
LOC above 1PL.in
'The love of God is great for us'
040. *risi risi dedha ama a'a ji'i ne'e*
more more above father older.sibling 1PL.in PROX.SG
'especially for our father, or brother'
041. *ngèti èèna ka Ama Lamatua*
from DIST.SG PART father Lord
'That's why, Lord'
042. *m-èti nèngu asa kabarai ji'i*
2SG-bring 3SG to island 1PL.in
'You bring him to our place'
043. *dènge ana èpu*
with child grandchild
'with families'
044. *a'a ari aa'i ra madae ne'e*
old.sibling younger.sibling all 3PL.CL morning PROX.SG

rèngu dai kabarai ji'i dènge be'a
3PL reach island 1PL.in with good
'All our relatives, this morning, they arrived at our place safely'
045. *ngèti èèna ka Ama Lamatua ji'i manèngi*
from DIST.SG PART father Lord 1PL.in ask
'Therefore, Lord, we ask'

046. *sa-sue Ama Lamatua baku tèke eele ji'i*
 DUP-love father Lord PROH.NEG keep away 1PL.in
 'The love of God does not leave us'
047. *tengaa ama tao sasue ma dedha ji'i*
 but father make DUP-love toward above 1PL.in

aa'i mi ho
 all 1PL-ex so.that
 'But, Father, give us all Your Love'
048. *ji'i baku j'èra*
 1PL.in PROH.NEG difficult
 'So that we are not sad'
049. *karna sa-sue dhu paling kapai bukan*
 because(IND) DUP-love REL most(IND) big not(IND)

ngèti ji'i aa'i mi
 from 1PL.in all 1PL.ex
 'Because the great love is not from us all'
050. *tengaa sasue dhu kapai ngèti Ama Lamatua*
 but DUP-love REL big from father Lord
 'But the great love is from Lord'
051. *hia dhèu èmu na a-'èra*
 give person house 3SG.CL DUP-strong
 'Give his wife strength'
052. *hia ana nèngu a-'èra*
 give child 3SG DUP-strong
 'Give his children strength'
053. *hia ana hèni nèngu a-'èra*
 give child sister 3SG DUP-strong
 'Give his sister strength'
054. *hia kera ba'i nèngu a-'èra*
 give brother.in.law grandpa 3SG DUP-strong
 'Give his in-laws strength'

055. *hia mone angalai nèngu a'èra*
give man friend 3SG power
'Give his friends strength'
056. *sèna ka mulai ngèti doe ne'e toke lod'o*
so.that PART began from recent PROX.SG arrive day

bèli
tomorrow
'So that from today until tomorrow'
057. *ngaa dhu ji'i tao*
what REL 1PL.in make
'What we are doing'
058. *Ama Lamatua dènge ji'i*
Lord with 1PL.in
'Lord is with us'
059. *sèna ka kako dènge mera.milu*
so.that PART walk with make.piece
'So that (all) is going well'
060. *makasih ae Ama Lamatua*
thank(Mal) many father Lord
'Thank you very much Lord'
061. *ngèti sa-sue Ama Lamatua ma dedha ji'i*
from DUP-love father Lord toward above 1PL.in
'Because of the love of God for us'
062. *Ama Lamatua dhu pènu dènge sa-sue*
father Lord REL full with DUP-love
'Lord who is love'
063. *doe ne'e ne lod'o ka pidhu*
recent PROX.SG PROX.SG day PART seven

ho ji'i la-'a èmu Ama Lamatua
so.that 1PL.in go-1PL.ex house father Lord
'Today is the seventh day (Sabbath), that we go to church'
064. *risi risi ana ama dhu j'unu ne'e*
more more child father REL sleep PROX.SG
'especially Your child who is sleeping here'

065. *dhoka doe ne'e ji'i la-'a boe*
 only recent PROX.SG 1PL.in go-1PL.ex not
 But today we do not go (to church)
066. *ji'i manèngi (ama) Ama Lamatua tao eele*
 1PL.in ask (father) father Lord make away

sasala kakura ji'i
 sin shortage 1PL.in
 'We ask that Lord forgive our sins'
067. *dai sènge ne'e ka lii manèngi ji'i*
 until big like PROX.SG PART voice ask

Ama Lamatua
 1PL.in Lord
 This is all our prayer, Lord
068. *ji'i ng-e'a Ama Lamatua tadèngi lii*
 1PL.in 1PL-ex.know father Lord hear voice

manèngi ji'i
 ask 1PL.ex
 'We know, Lord, You answer our prayer'
069. *ji'i ng-e'a Ama Lamatua sèmi le lii*
 1PL.ex 1PL-ex.know father Lord like already voice

manèngi ji'i
 ask 1PL.in
 'We know, Lord, You accept our prayer'
070. *mulai ngèti doe ne'e toke dai*
 begin(IND) from recent PROX.SG until reach

mia mia la'e
 where where go.3SG
 'from today till forever'
071. Amin

1.3 Beg'a Kabho

(a traditional ceremony of marriage proposal)

Speaker RK : Rut Kotten
Age : 65
Speaker RT : Rulin Taneo
Age : 55
Audio : Pinangan.wav
Video : Pinangan.mpg
Length : 00.12.11 minutes
Date and Location : April 30th, 2014
Synopsis : The two speakers speak on behalf of the family of the bride and the bridegroom. RK acts as the spokeswoman of the bride's family, and RT as the spokeswoman of the groom's family.

001. RK *selamat sore dan terima kasi atas kesempatan*
safe afternoon and receive give on chance

yang diberikan bagi kami
REL be.given for us
'Good afternoon and thank you for the chance given to us'.
(all texts are in Indonesian)
002. RK *untuk aa menyampaikan sesuatu*
for EXCL inform a
'to say something'
(all texts are in Indonesian)
003. RK *dan untuk itu kita pake bahasa daerah Ndao*
and for that we use language region Ndao
'and therefore, we speak in Dhao language'
(all texts are in Indonesian)
004. RK *aa ja'a la-ladhe bahwa ngèti ca bèka*
EXCL 1SG DUP-see CONJ(IND) from a part
'I see that from another side'
005. RK *penampilan, cara berpakaian*
appearance(IND) way(IND) dress(IND)
'(your) performance and dresses'

006. RK *bukan pakaian dhu ca lod'o-lod'o*
not(IND) clothes(IND) REL a DUP-day

èdhi pake ne'e
1PL.in use PROX.SG
'are not the everyday clothes that we used to wear'
007. RK *doe ne'e ja'a la-ladhe bahwa*
recent PROX.SG 1SG DUP-see CONJ(IND)

mèdha pa-pake a'a ari
thing DUP-use older.sibling younger.sibling

ngèti ca bèka
from a part
'today, I see that the clothes that you, brothers and sisters from another side, are wearing'
008. RK *jadi ja'a neo karèi*
so(IND) 1SG want ask
'so I would like to ask'
009. RK *dènge mèdha pa-pake ne'e kira-kira ada*
with thing DUP-use PROX.SG about(IND) exist(IND)

maksud
purpose(IND)
'by your dresses, perhaps you have a purpose'
010. RK *kira-kira ada maksud dari seberang*
about exist purpose from opposite
'perhaps you from another side have a purpose'
(all texts are in Indonesian)
011. RK *silakan a'a ari ngèti*
please older.sibling younger.sibling from

ca bèka lele sèna ka ji'i nge'a
a part tell so.that PART 1PL.ex 1PL-ex.know
'brothers and sisters from another side, please tell so that we know'
012. RT *terima kasih*
receive(IND) give(IND)
'Thank you'

013. RT *dengan kehadiran ji'i ngèti Oenale*
with(IND) presence(IND) 1PL.ex from Oenale
'with our presence, we, from Oenale'
014. RT *keluarga ngèti Dhao sèmi dènge be'a*
family(IND) from Ndao be.like with good
'family in Ndao have accepted us respectfully'
015. RT *ji'i la-ladhe ngèti musi.madha dhu*
1PL.ex DUP-see from eye REL

la-ladhe ji'i
DUP-see 1PL.ex
'we see that all the eyes who see us'
016. RT *kacui.aai dhu j'ola mai pa-j'ola*
hand REL sliding come CAUS-sliding

dènge ji'i
with 1PL.ex
'the hands that come to shake our hands'
017. RT *dhu pènu dènge kelembutan*
REL full with softness(IND)
'with a great tenderness'
018. RT *sèmi deo.na dhu ina ji'i peka na*
be.like just.now REL mother 1PL.ex tell PART
'like what the spokeswoman has said just now'.
019. RT *tao la-ladhe ngèti penampilan di*
make DUP-see from appearance(IND) just
'the performance matters'
020. *mungkin ina ne'e pènu dènge malaa la*
maybe(IND) mother PROX.SG full with amazed PART
'maybe you worry too much'
021. RT *karena bèli-bèli ne'e*
because(IND) every.day PROX.SG

mèdha pa-pake èdhi aad'o sèmi ne'e
thing DUP-wear 1PL.in be.absent be.like PROX.SG
'because our everyday dresses are not like this'

022. RT *memang tare'a penampilan menentukan*
indeed(IND) right appearance(IND) determine(IND)
'Indeed, it is right that the performance matters'
023. RT *maksud ji'i untuk ji'i*
purpose(IND) 1PL.ex for(IND) 1PL.ex

mai madha èmu ne'e lod'o doe ne'e
come eye house PROX.SG day today PROX.SG
'our purpose to come to this house today'
024. RT *sèmi ne'e mama*
be.like PROX.SG mother
'is like this, Madam'
025. RT *ana ji'i èci Meki*
child 1PL.ex one Meki
'One of our children, Meki'
026. RT *ca lod'o ka nèngu paroa nare ji'i*
a day PART 3SG call enter 1PL.ex

ina ama
mother father
'One day he called us, as parents'
027. RT *keluarga Baboi dan keluarga leo*
family(IND) Boboi and(IND) family(IND) other

dhu terkait sèra
REL related PART
'the Boboi tribe and other related relatives'
028. RT *èi madha nèngu hae la-ladhe ji'i*
water eye 3SG flow DUP-see 1PL.ex
'his tear dropped when he saw us'
029. RT *karena nèngu la-ladhe ji'i*
because(IND) 3SG DUP-see 1PL.ex

heka ae le
old many PERF
'because he saw that we are too old already'
030. RT *ji'i rui aad'o heka,*
1PL.ex bone be.absent no.more

- bisa heka dui èi*
can(IND) no.more carry water
we are no longer strong, we are not able to take water
031. RT *bisa heka la-'a dui kadhèna*
can(IND) no.more go.1PL.ex carry firewood

asa kolo ledhe
to top mountain
(we) are not able to go to carry firewood at the top of the mountain
032. RT *ka nèngu peka, aku nèngu na,*
PART 3SG tell according.to 3SG PART

ama e ina e
father PART mother PART
then he said, father and mother
033. RT *ja'a la-ladhe miu na miu bisa heka*
1SG DUP-see 2PL PART 2PL can(IND) no.more
'I see that you are no longer able (to do things)'
034. RT *dan dai tadha ka èèna ho*
and(IND) reach sign PART DIST.SG so.that
'and perhaps it is the signal, so'
035. RT *ja'a dènge, ja'a kako ja'a tenge*
1SG with 1SG walk 1SG look.for

rui karasa sèna ka soru miu
bone beside so.that PART greet 2PL
'I am walking around to find out a rib to help you'
036. RT *batu miu ètu dara ha-heka miu*
help 2PL LOC inside DUP-old 2PL
'To help you during this time of your old age'
037. RT *ka ji'i ina ama se'e ji'i karèi*
PART 1PL.ex mother father PROX.PL 1PL.ex ask
'then we, parents, asked'
038. RT *ètu mia ama e dhu kako-kako ka*
LOC where father PART REL DUP-walk PART

la-ladhe m-èdhi na
DUP-see 2PL-see PART
'where did you find it when walking around?'

039. RT *nga aku nèngu na ja'a la-ladhe*
 PART according.to 3SG PART 1SG DUP-see
asa haa ina dènge ama e na
 to west mother with father PART PART
 'and he said, I saw in the west, father and mother'
040. RT *lod'o oe cèna la-'e tapi*
 sun nearly sink go-3SG but(IND)
 'the sun is almost going down, but'
041. RT *hela bunga èci nèngu heka bhuku mai*
 blossom flower one 3SG just grow come
ka èèna
 PART DIST.SG
 'a blossom of the flower is growing up there'
042. RT *nèngu oe manyèba ka èèna*
 3SG nearly spread PART DIST.SG
 'it (the flower) almost blossoms'
043. RT *ka ja'a la-ladhe ka èle dara ja'a*
 PART 1SG DUP-see PART finished inside 1SG
 'I saw it, then I fell in love'.
044. RT *ka ja'a peka na nèngu ka nèi*
 PART 1SG tell PART 3SG PART REM.SG
 'then I said, there it is'.
045. RT *tengaa hela bunga ne'e ina ama*
 but blossom flower PROX.SG mother father
ngèti ne'e dara baku kura ku
 from PROX.SG heart PROH.NEG lack tag
 'but for the blossom of this flower, you, the family here, don't have to worry'.
046. RT *ko hela bunga nèngu neo n-are*
 PART(Mal) blossom flower 3SG want 3SG.take
j'aj'i mi rui karasa nèngu?
 become toward bone side 3SG
 'why does he want to take the blossom of the flower as his rib?'

047. RT *hela bunga ne nèngu bisa*
blossom flower 3SG.OBJ.CL 3SG can(IND)

beruba kahèi
change(IND) also
'the blossom of the flower can metamorphose as well'
048. RT *j'aj'i mi ana èci dhu ngara na Santi*
become toward child one REL name PART Santi
'to become a girl, named Santi'
049. RT *ngèti èèna ka lod'o nihia ne'e*
from DIST.SG PART day afternoon PROX.SG

ji'i mai
1PL.ex come
'that is why, this afternoon, we come'.
050. RT *ho dènge ji'i pa-haha isi*
so.that with 1PL.ex CAUS-low body
'with humility'
051. RT *dènge lii manèngi ngèti dara ji'i*
with sound ask from heart 1PL.ex

dhu mèu aadha-aadha
REL clean too.clean
'asking from the bottom of our heart'.
052. RT *ji'i manèngi sa-sue ho sue la*
1PL.ex ask DUP-love so.that love PART(IND)

ji'i karena ji'i heka ae le
1PL.ex because(IND) 1PL.ex old.age many PERF
'we ask for mercy because we are already too old'.
053. RT *ji'i bisa heka dui kadhèna hèi bisa heka*
1PL.ex can no.more carry firewood also can no.more

ng-are èi hèi
1PL.ex-take water also
'we are not able to take firewoods and water anymore'.
054. RT *suru labhu na labhu ètu*
torch lamp PART lamp LOC

era leo na ji'i tunu asa
place other PART 1PL.ex burn to

era leo la-'e na
place other go-3SG PART
'when lighting the lamp, the lamp is at one place, we are going to light at another place'.

055. RT *mage dhoka ai n-a'e aa'i èmu ji'i*
PROH.NEG only fire 3SG-eat all house 1PL.ex
'(we) are afraid that our house is going to be burned out'.

056. RT *ngèti èèna ka ji'i mai ne'e*
from DIST.SG PART 1PL.ex come PROX.SG
'therefore, we come now'.

057. RT *sènge èèna ka*
that.big DIST.SG PART
'that is all'.

058. RK *doe iiki na èdhi t-e'a bahwa*
recent small PART 1PL.in 1PL-in.know REL(IND)

Meki n-èti ca bèka to? Oenale
Meki 3SG-bring a PART tag Oenale
'we just heard that Meki came from another side, didn't he? Oenale'.

059. RK *langgar dhasi*
cross(IND) sea
'crossing the ocean'.

060. RK *apa rai Rote ne'e ngèti suu haa*
what(IND) land Rote PROX.SG from tip west

asa suu dhimu
to tip east
'is on Rote Island, from the west to the east part'

061. RK *abhu boe dhèu ngara Santi*
get not person name Santi
'no one named Santi?'

062. RK *atau abhu boe dhèu dhu sama*
or(IND) get not person REL same(IND)

- dènge Santi?*
with Santi
'or no one is like Santi?'
063. RK *ho Meki harus ca'e ana kèni*
so.that Meki must(IND) ride child keel

dènge sehe èci
with oar one
'so Meki should come by a small canoe with one oar?'
064. RK *ho nèngu bisa nare langgar Loekeli?*
so.that 3SG can 3SG.take cross(IND) Loekeli
'how could he cross the Loekeli strait?'
065. RK *dhèu langgar Loekeli tidak sembarangan dhèu*
person cross(IND) Loekeli not(IND) random(IND) person
'not all people can cross the Loekeli strait'.
066. RK *sèmi lii dhu pate'a Loekeli edo-edo*
like sound REL express Loekeli DUP-poke
'like the expression said, "Loekeli is roaring"'.

067. RK *jadi ja'a manèngi hari ku aa*
so(IND) 1SG ask again tag EXCL

lii èci hari
sound one again
'so I ask you to tell once more'
068. RT *terima kasih*
receive(IND) love(IND)
'Thank you'
069. RT *mema Loekeli ne'e ladhe nèngu horo na*
indeed Loekeli PROX.SG see 3SG hold PART
'Indeed, if Loekeli strait is roaring'
070. RT *baku peka na ana kèni te*
PROH.NEG tell PART child keel but

KK kapa èna ka molo kahèi
KK ship DIST.SG PART drown also
'not only does small canoe, KK ship can also sink'
071. RT *tengaa salae cue ho nèngu mai*
but sand one so.that 3SG come

ngèti Oenale ho
 from Oenale so.that
 ‘however, a grain of sand can move from Oenale’

072. RT *dhasi n-èti nèngu ho mai bèbhe*
 sea 3SG-bring 3SG so.that come fall

ètu salae Dhao ne'e, mama, gampang boe
 LOC sand Ndao PROX.SG mother easy(IND) not
 ‘the sea (water) brings it and falls into the sand of Ndao, it is not
 that easy, Madam’.

073. RT *ji'i peka kahèi*
 1PL.ex say also
 ‘we also mention that’

074. RT *artis pènu ètu Edha nèi*
 artist(IND) full LOC Rote REM.SG
 ‘there are a lot of artists in Rote’.

075. RT *era sèi nèngu dèi boe nga, n-o'o boe*
 place REM.PL 3SG like not PART 3SG-want not
 ‘there, he is not interested, he does not like (them)’

076. RT *aku nèngu na dhoka ne'e di,*
 according.to 3SG PART only PROX.SG just

mama e
 mother PART
 ‘he said that only this one, mommy’.

077. RT *dhu Lamatua paj'uj'u hia ja'a ka nèi*
 REL Lord point.to give 1SG PART REM.SG

mama e
 mother PART
 ‘there, God has shown to me, mommy’.

078. RT *dhu ja'a k-ore j'aj'i mi*
 REL 1SG 1SG-take become 1PL.ex.CL

rui karasa ja'a ne'e
 bone side 1SG PROX.SG
 ‘in order that I take (it) to become my rib’.

079. RT *de Loekeli mangamok do nèngu horo*
 so Loekeli roar(IND) or 3SG hold
na ka mama oo
 PART PART mother EXCL
 ‘so although the Loekeli strait is roaring, mommy’.
080. RT *la-ti la te Lamatua dènge èdhi de*
 go-1PL.in PART because Lord with 1PL.in so
èdhi molo boe
 1PL.in drown not
 ‘we have to go, beCAUSE God is with us so we would never sink’.
081. RT *ji'i jèji kaduru dai dae dènge soda ka*
 1PL.ex touch bow reach shore with safe PART
 ‘we arrive at the beach safely’
082. RT *de aku nèngu ètu ne'e nuka*
 so according.to 3SG LOC PROX.SG namely
ana ji'i Santi dhu leo aado
 child 1PL.ex Santi REL other be.absent
 ‘then he said that over here he found only Santi, no one else’.
083. RK *karena Meki mai le dènge ana kèni*
 because(IND) Meki come PERF with child keel
cue pake sehe dua
 one use oar two
 ‘since Meki came with a small canoe with two oars’.
084. RK *sehe èci Meki kèpe sedangkan sehe èci dhèu*
 oar one Meki catch whereas(IND) oar one person
kèpe dhae
 catch not.yet
 ‘one oar, Meki holds it, whereas one more oar, no body holds it yet’.
085. RK *jadi dhèu kèpe sehe èci iala Santi*
 so(IND) person catch oar one be(IND) Santi
 ‘so the one who should hold the other oar is Santi’
086. RK *tengaa ja'a peka ku la*
 but 1SG say tag PART
 ‘but I need to tell’

087. RK *ana kalicu muri hedu*
child young live sway
'she is still too young'
088. RK *dhu pasale aa*
REL whimper EXCL
'who may whimper'
089. RK *sakola nèngu risi èdhi*
school(Mal) 3SG more 1PL.in
'she is more educated than us'
090. RK *karena èdhi ina ama*
because(IND) 1PL.in mother father

dhèu buta huruf
person blind(IND) letters(IND)
'because we, parents, are illiterate'.
091. RK *tengaa mai asa ngangee na*
but come to think PART

nèngu dai mèka èdhi
3SG reach not.yet 1PL.in
'but in the case of knowledge, she still lacks experience, compared to us'.
092. RK *apa ina ama ngèti ca bèka*
what(IND) mother father from a PART

rasa na nèngu bisa?
taste(IND) PART 3SG can
'do you, parents from another side, think that she is eligible?'
093. RK *bagi ji'i ina ama ètu kabarai na*
for(IND) 1PL.ex mother father LOC island PART

nèngu bisa mèka
3SG can not.yet
for us, parents in Ndao, she is not eligible yet.
094. RT *menurut mama na mama*
according.to(IND) mother(Mal) PART mother(Mal)

- la-ladhe na nèngu ana iiki ae era*
 DUP-see PART 3SG child small many still.exist
 ‘Madam, you said that she is still too young’
095. RT *tapi sèmi lii deo èèna dhu*
 but(IND) like sound recent DIST.SG REL

ja'a peka deo èèna
 1SG tell recent DIST.SG
 ‘but as I have said just now’
096. RT *ji'i mai ka sèmi le ji'i to mama?*
 1PL.ex come PART be.like PREF 1PL.ex tag mother
 ‘we come and have been accepted, is it right, Madam?’
097. RT *de dua ne'e j'aj'i le mi èci mama*
 so two PROX.SG become PREF toward one mother
 ‘so the two already become one, Madam’.
098. RT *de ladhe nèngu sale na èdhi aa'i-aa'i ti*
 so see 3SG wrong PART 1PL.in DUP-all 1PL.in.CL

holo peka ne'e
 advise say PROX.SG
 ‘so when she is wrong, we all are responsible to advise her’
099. RT *te j'aj'i le ma ana na*
 because become PREF toward child PART
 ‘because (she) already becomes our daughter’.
0100. RK *ja'a pa-maète boe*
 1SG CAUS-cut not
 ‘I do not make the decision’.
0101. RK *tengaa ne'e karena Santi*
 but PROX.SG because(IND) Santi
 ‘but Santi does’
0102. RK *jadi ja'a harus la-ku paraga ku*
 so(IND) 1SG must(IND) go-1SG meet tag

dènge nèngu
 with 3SG
 ‘so I have to meet her’.

0103. RK *ja'a k-e'a boe nèngu ètu mia ne'e na*
 1SG 1SG-know not 3SG LOC where PROX.SG PART
 'I still do not know where she is now'.
0104. RK *dhu ngara na Santi na ja'a ke'a boe*
 REL name 3SG.CL Santi PART 1SG 1SG.know not

na era ètu ngaa
 PART place LOC what
 'for the name Santi, I do not know where she is'.
0105. RK *jadi ja'a manèngi èdhi bersabar ciki*
 so(IND) 1SG ask 1PL.in patient(IND) little
 'so I hope, we need to be patient a bit'.
0106. RK *sèna ka ja'a la-ku paraga dènge nèngu*
 so.that PART 1SG go-1SG meet with 3SG
 'so that I am going to meet her'.
0107. RK *sebab dhu mai tenge nèngu*
 because(IND) REL come look.for 3SG
 'because he comes to look for her'
0108. RK *ja'a k-èti èci ka ne'e de nèngu*
 1SG 1SG.bring one PART this so 3SG

na ka ne'e?
 PART PART PROX.SG
 'I bring one here, so is this she?'
0109. RT *Meki ètu ngaa do?*
 Meki LOC what tag
 'where is Meki?'
0110. RK *kèna uu ana miu aad'o di*
 that EXCL child 2PL be.absent just
 'there we go, your child does not exist'
0111. RK *ee na ja'a la-ku huni hari*
 EXCL PART 1SG go-1SG hide again

te ana miu aad'o di
 because child 2PL be.absent just
 'if so, then I am going to hide her again because your son does not exist'.

0112. RK *ina... miu kasian*
mother 2PL pity(IND)
'Oh my God, what a pity'
0113. RT *mama manèngi taha ciki do nga*
mother ask able little tag PART
'Madam, (we) are hoping to be patient a bit'.
0114. RT *de ji'i manèngi hari taha ciki si ma*
so 1PL.ex ask again able little tag PART
'we are asking again for a bit patience'.
0115. RK *Meki la-'e nangi dhasi le si*
Meki go-3SG swim sea PERF tag
'Meki is going to swim in the sea, isn't he?'
0116. RT *ja'a manèngi ijin ho ja'a la-ku*
1SG ask permission(IND) so.that 1SG go-1SG

k-ore ku ana ja'a
1SG-take tag child 1SG
'I am asking for permission to go and pick my son up'.
0117. RK *lii Malai hari ka èèna*
sound Malay again PART DIST.SG
'Indonesian language again'
0118. RK *mama sonde sakola Meki*
mother not school Meki
'I am not educated, Meki'.
(all text in Kupang Malay)
0119. RK *jadi kalau bahasa jatuh bangun harap maklum*
so if language fall wake.up hope know
'So, please understand if I am not speaking very well'.
(all text in Indonesian)
0120. RK *sèmi ne'e mama-mama ngèti Oenale*
like PROX.SG DUP-mother from Oenale
'now, you all, madams, from Oenale'
0121. RK *mai paraga dènge mama-mama dènge*
come meet with DUP-mother with

ama-ama ètu Dhao peka na
DUP-father LOC Ndao say PART
'come to meet with people in Ndao and said'

0122. RK *Meki parlu pendamping*
Meki necessary(Mal) assistant(IND)
‘Meki needs a helper’.
0123. RK *ingat pendamping oo bukan pembantu*
remember(IND) assistant PART not(IND) servant
‘remember, a helper, not a maid’
0124. RK *pendamping ne’e langsung peka*
assistant(IND) PROX.SG direct(IND) say

ngara na Santi
name 3SG Santi
‘this helper is of course called Santi’
0125. RK *apa betul ini?*
what(IND) right(IND) this(IND)
‘is this right?’
0126. RK *tare’a ne’e baku sampe*
right PROX.SG PROG.NEG until(IND)

Meki kena tipu oo
Meki touch lie PART
‘is this right? be careful that Meki is fooled’
0127. RK *Santi banyak na*
Santi many(IND) PART
‘becasue there are many Santis’
0128. RT *de èdhi aa’i-aa’i ti tadèngi aa’i le, to?*
so 1PL.in DUP-all 1PL.in.CL hear all PERF tag
‘so we all have heard, don’t we?’
0129. RT *mama sèi Santi karèi*
mother(IND) REM.PL Santi ask
‘Santi, I want to ask’.
0130. RT *ji’i na ka oo gogoo maroga*
1PL.ex PART PART PART senile dark

kahèi ne’e
also PROX.SG
‘we here do not know anything as well’

0131. RT *tengaa mama karèi deo èèna dhaa*
but mother(IND) ask recent DIST.SG answer

aku nèngu na ka ne'e de kèna
according.to 3SG PART PART PROX.SG so that
'but I asked just now and she said that this is he so it is right'.
0132. RK *tengaa ja'a dhae karèi mèka Santi do*
but 1SG not.yet question not.yet Santi PART
'but I do not ask Santi yet'.
0133. RT *de la'a kèna di ji'i mai manèngi*
so go ahead that just 1PL.ex come ask

sa-sue de karèi ku la
DUP-love so ask tag PART
'so please, as we come to ask for mercy, so please ask'.
0134. RK *aa ina ama ngèti Oenale sèi mai*
PART mother father from Oenale REM.PL come
'parents from Oenale come (here)'
0135. RK *manèngi ètu ji'i ina ama tapi*
ask LOC 1PL.ex mother father but(IND)

bukan ji'i ina ama la-'a
not(IND) 1PL.ex mother father go-1PL.ex
'ask us as parents but we, parents, will not decide'.
0136. RK *manèngi dhèu dhu ngara na èu*
ask person REL name 3SG.CL 2SG
'ask the one whose name is you'.
0137. RK *la-'e j'aj'i mi rui karasa Meki*
go-3SG become toward bone side Meki

dhu ele ca loa
REL lose a sheet
'to go and become a rib of Meki for one is lost'
0138. RK *siap?*
ready
'ready?'
0139. RK *èdhi aa'i-aa'i ti tadèngi le si?*
1PL.in DUP-all 1PL.in.CL hear PREF tag
'we all have heard, haven't we?'

0140. RK *bahwa Santi siap*
REL(IND) Santi ready
'that Santi is ready'
0141. RT *ji'i manèngi makasi ae-ae*
1PL.ex ask thank(IND) DUP-very
'we would like to thank you very much'.
0142. RT *ma dedha ana Santi dhu sèmi lii*
toward above child Santi REL like sound

manèngi ji'i
ask 1PL.ex
'especially Santi who has accepted our proposal'.
0143. RT *ji'i ngee na ma-mai ji'i ne'e*
1PL.ex think PART DUP-come 1PL.ex PROX.SG

dènge kabua
with bride price
'we think that we come with the dowry'
0144. RT *dènge hasil èdhi aa'i-aa'i ti*
with result(IND) 1PL.in DUP-all 1PL.in.CL

tadèngi aa'i-aa'i ti
hear DUP-all 1PL.in.CL
'and we all have heard the result'.
0145. RT *ja'a ngee na èdhi baku*
1SG think PART 1PL.in PROH.NEG

pa-madhera karena lod'o oe cèna kèna
CAUS-long because(IND) sun almost sink that
'I think we do not have to talk further because the sun almost goes down'.

1.4 Pear Story

Speaker : Yarid Yollah
Age : 25 years old
Audio : YY_PearStory.wav
Video : pear.video.flv (video stimuli)
Length : 00.06.16 minutes
Date and Location : September 8th, 2013 in Kupang
Synopsis : The speaker tells the story of Pear Story about a man picking up fruits.

01. *lii manu kokotoo*
voice chicken crow
'The voice of cock crows'
02. *dhèu mone èci ètu dedha ana aj'u*
person man one LOC above child wood
'A boy is on the tree'
03. *ca'e dènge langa*
climb with stair
'Climb using the stair'
04. *nèngu puu hua*
3SG pick fruit
'He is picking fruit'
05. *na puu hua*
3SG.CL pick fruit
'He is picking fruit'
06. *na... cue bèbhe eele tu rai*
3SG.CL one fall PART LOC land
'One fruit fell down'
07. *ka nèngu puru*
PART 3SG go.down
'Then he went down'
08. *puru ka nare ngèti dara kanoto*
go.down PART 3SG.take from inside bag
'(he) went down then he took fruit from his bag'

09. *ka tao dara karanjang*
PART make inside basket
'Then (he) put into the basket'
010. *na tao eele ngèti dara kanoto*
3SG.CL make PART from inside bag
'He took out from the bag'
011. *na iga cue-cue asa dara karanjang*
3SG.CL count DUP-one to inside basket(Mal)
'Then count one by one (and) put into the basket'
012. *na nare èci tu rai*
3SG.CL 3SG.take one LOC land
'then he take one on the ground'
013. *ka na pamèu*
PART 3SG.CL CAUS-clean
'then he Cleaned up (the fruits)'
014. *pa-mèu pake kaha'i ètu ladha goro*
CAUS-clean use cloth LOC neck
'(he) cleaned (them) using the cloth on (his) neck'
015. *ka na tao asa dara karanjang*
PART 3SG.CL make to inside basket
'then he put into the basket'
016. *kaha'i na ka inu hari*
cloth 3SG.CL PART wear again
'(he) wear again the Cloth'
017. *aa dhèu èci ka kabodho nèngu nèi*
PART person one PART back 3SG REM.SG
'There is a man behind him'
018. *tule dènge sapi*
push with cow
'brings a cow'
019. *na ca'e hari asa kolo ana aj'u*
3SG.CL climb again to top child wood
'He is climbing again to the top of the tree'

020. *pake dènge langa*
use with stair
'using a stair'
021. *dhèu mone èci kako re èèna*
person man one walk via DIST.SG
'A man is passing by'
022. *nuni dènge kahibi*
pull with goat
'brings a goat'
023. *na kako taruu la-'e asa kaj'èu*
3SG.CL walk continue go.3SG to far
'He continue walking to the far'
024. *ho na nuni kahibi èèna oro-oro*
then 3SG.CL pull goat DIST.SG while.walking
'He brings the goat while walking'
025. *mone heka deo èèna*
man old just.now DIST.SG
'The old man just now'
026. *puu hari hua na tao asa dara kanoto*
pick again fruit 3SG.CL make to inside bag
'(He) is picking fruits again and he put into the bag'
027. *ana iiki èci kako re kabodho nèi dènge*
child small one walk via back REM.SG with

sapeda
bicycle(IND)
'A small boy came from behind by bicycle'
028. *na mai mai pa-dètu dènge mone heka*
3SG.CL come come PA-approach with male old

deo èèna
just.now DIST.SG
'He came near the old man'
029. *na mai ka na puru ngèti dedhaapeda*
3SG.CL come PART 3SG.CL go.down from above bicycle
'He came then he got off the bicycle'

030. *na pa-bèbhe eele sapeda asa rai ka*
 3SGCL CAUS- fall PART bicycle to land PART
 ‘He lay down the bicycle on the ground’
031. *na nare hua ètu dara karanjang*
 3SG.CL 3SG.take fruit LOC inside basket
 ‘He took fruits in the basket’
032. *la-ladhe ladhe mone heka tu dedha do*
 DUP-see see man old LOC above tag
 ‘(He) looked around, (he) saw the old man on the tree’
033. *ladhe boe mai ka*
 see not come PART
 ‘(The old man) did not see (him), then’
034. *na patitu sapeda*
 3SG.CL CAUS-stand bicycle(Mal)
 ‘He arouse the bicycle’
035. *ka na ca'e sapeda*
 PART 3SG.CL climb bicycle
 ‘Then he ride the bicycle’
036. *aa... nare karanjang do ka tao sa*
 PART 3SG.take basket(Mal) just.now PART make to

sapeda mai
 bicycle come
 ‘Then he took the basket then put on the bicycle’
037. *ka na la'e*
 PART 3SGCL go.3SG
 ‘Then he left’
038. *mone heka tu kolo ana aj'u deo na*
 man old LOC top child wood just.now DIST.SG
 ‘The old man on the top of the tree’
039. *aa... ana iiki deo na pabèbhe eele*
 PART child tiny just.now 3SG.CL CAUS-fall PART
 ‘The child fell down (the basket)’

040. *hua asa rai ca hag'e*
fruit to land a separate
'Some fruits are on the ground'
041. *na mai ka pa-raga dènge*
3SG.CL come PART RECP-encounter with
'He came then met ...'
042. *ana rai ci*
child land one
'a girl'
043. *pa-raga dènge ana bhèni èci ka*
RECP-meet with child woman one PART
'(He) met a girl, then'
044. *la-ladhe ana bhèni na ka*
DUP-see child woman DIST.SG PART
'(He) looked at the girl, then'
045. *rage hadhu ka na bèbhe*
hit stone PART 3SGCL fall
'(He) hit the stone then he fell down'
046. *ka hua sa paceba*
PART fruit DIST.PL spread
'Those fruits spread around'
047. *na kèdi ka*
3SG.CL get.up PART
'He got up, then'
048. *la-ladhe urutuu na nu'a*
DUP-see knee 3SGCL injury
'(he) look at his knee that injured'
049. *tao salai rui rèka*
make stroke bone tool
'(he) stroke (his) bone'
050. *aa... ana leo sèra mai ka mai bantu*
PART child other DIST.PL come PART come assist(IND)
'the other children came then helped (him)'

051. *ra*
3PL.CL
'they'
052. *da'u hua sèra dara karanjang deo na*
scoop fruit DIST.PL inside basket just.now DIST.SG
'(they) scooped the fruits into the basket'
053. *pa-mèu isi sèra*
CAUS-clean body DIST.PL
'Clean up their body'
054. *na pa-titu sapeda ka*
3SG.CL CAUS-stand bicycle PART
'He arouse the bicycle, then'
055. *ra isi hua deo sèra*
3PL.CL fill fruit just.now DIST.PL

asa dara karanjang ka
to inside basket(IND) PART
'They filled the fruits into the basket, then'
056. *pa-ca'e hari asa sapeda*
CAUS-climb again to bicycle(IND)
'(He) put again (the fruits) on the bicycle'
057. *pa-ca'e hari asa sapeda ka*
CAUS-climb again to bicycle PART
'After putting on the bicycle, then'
058. *na dede eele hadhu ka kako hari*
3SG.CL lift PART stone PART walk again
'He throw the stone then walk again'
059. *aa... ana deo na ana dhu bantu nu*
PART child just.now DIST.SG child REL help(IND) 3SG

sèra kako hari la-si
DIST.PL walk again go-3PL
'The children who helped him left again'
060. *ana deo sa kako kako ka*
child just.now DIST.PL walk walk PART
'When the children are walking'

061. *ra paroa hari*
3PL.CL call again
'They called again'
062. *ra sasoo*
3PL.CL whistle
'They whistle'
063. *na kako hari mai nèti solo ana mone*
3SG.CL walk again come 3SG.bring hat child man

na, na bhèlu eele
DIST.SG 3SG.CL forget PART
'He came again bringing the hat of the boy that he forgot'
064. *na hia solo na la-'e ka*
3SGCL give hat 3SG.CL go-3SG PART
'He gave the hat then he left, then'
065. *ana mone na hia hua ka nèngu kako*
child man DIST.SG give fruit PART 3SG walk

taruu
continue
'the boy gave fruits then he continue walking'
066. *ana deo èèna mai tao rai*
child just.now DIST.SG come make run
'The child came by running'
067. *ka mai ka pa-bagi hua dhu nèngu abhu*
PART come PART RECP-divide fruit REL 3SG get

deo sèra
just.now DIST.PL
'(When he) came, (he) shared the fruits that he got'
068. *ana mone èèna n-are permainan èci dara saku*
child man DIST.SG 3SG-take game(IND) one inside bag
'The boy took a game from his bag'
069. *mone heka deo èèna puru ngèti kolo*
male old just.now DIST.SG go.down from top

aj'u mai ka
 wood come PART
 'The old man went down from the tree, then'

070. *na cag'ag'a*
 3SG.CL startled
 'He startled'

071. *te karanjang nu èci eele*
 PART basket(IND) 3SG one PART
 'because one of his basket was lost'

072. *na iga*
 then count
 'He counted'

073. *na kura èci*
 then lack one
 'lack one'

074. *aa ana deo dhu bantu ana mone deo*
 PART child just.now REL assist child man just.now

èèna kako mai re sèra
 DIST.SG walk come via DIST.PL
 'The child who helped the boy came through there'

075. *kèpe dènge hua*
 hold with fruit
 'holding fruits'

076. *ka mone heka èèna laladhe*
 PART man old DIST.SG see
 'Then the old man saw'

077. *ana deo sèra kako taruu*
 child just.now DIST.PL walk continue
 'The children continue walking'

2. Wordlists

2.1 Dhao – English Wordlist

A - a

aa	<i>conj.</i> and.	2 • v. dry in sun,	
a'a	<i>n.</i> older sibling.	a'ii	<i>n.</i> k.o.string to hang s.t.
aadha-aadha	<i>adv.</i> too clean.	ailoe	<i>n.</i> roof rafter.
aad'o	1 • vi. be absent. 2 • neg. no.	ai.j'èla	<i>n.</i> sole.
aae	<i>adj.</i> great; big.	aj'a	<i>v.</i> teach, study, learn.
aa'i	<i>adv.</i> all.	aj'u	<i>n.</i> logs, wood, tree.
aapa	<i>adj.</i> bad.	aj'u.aai	<i>n.</i> k.o.plant.
a'a-ari	<i>n.</i> family, brothers and sisters.	aka	<i>v.</i> kidding.
abhe	<i>v.</i> block; hinder; shelter.	ako	<i>adv.</i> rather.
abhu	<i>vt.</i> get.	aku	<i>vi.</i> say; according to.
abo	<i>v.</i> pound.	ale	<i>vt.</i> mention.
Abunaba	<i>n.</i> person name in folk tale.	ama	<i>n.</i> Mr; father.
ada	<i>n.</i> custom.	amo	<i>n.</i> root.
adhe	<i>n.</i> liver.	ana	<i>n.</i> child.
adhu	<i>adj.</i> hard.	ana bhadolu	<i>n.</i> marbles.
adu ue	<i>vi.</i> make conspicuous.	ana langi	<i>n.</i> k.o.weaving motif.
Adu Hia	<i>n.</i> person name in folk tale..	ana rajo	<i>n.</i> boat.
ae₁	1 • adj. many. 2 • adv. very.	ana sapa	<i>n.</i> lizard.
ae₂	<i>v.</i> breath.	Analèu	<i>n.</i> village name in Ndao.
ae₃	<i>v.</i> stop.	anga	<i>n.</i> friend.
ae₄	<i>v.</i> smell.	angalai	<i>n.</i> friend.
aeka	<i>conj.</i> lest.	ani	<i>v.</i> bait; feed.
agarao	<i>n.</i> residue of oil.	ao	<i>n.</i> lime.
agarii	<i>n.</i> fence post.	Aplugi	<i>n.</i> name of clan.
ag'o	<i>v.</i> lie.	are	<i>v.</i> paddy; cross.
ahu	1 • n. dust. 2 • adj. grey.	ari	<i>n.</i> younger sibling.
ai	1 • n. hand, stingray fish, fire.	Ari Nyale	<i>n.</i> January.
		aru	1 • n. rice pestle. 2 • num. eight.
		aru.koro	<i>n.</i> k.o.fish.
		asa	<i>prep.</i> to.
		ate	1 • n. remaining. 2 • v. wink.
		ate-ate	<i>n.</i> earrings.

B - b

bab'a	<i>adj.</i> short.	bangataraa	<i>vi.</i> cry.
babaa	<i>n.</i> block.	bani	<i>vi.</i> bold; brave.
babago	<i>adv.</i> slow.	bara	<i>v.</i> help;
babèbha	<i>n.</i> shoreline.	bareke	<i>v.</i> count.
babège	<i>vt.</i> evict.	bari₁	<i>v.</i> turn.
babèke	<i>v.</i> strike.	bari₂	1 • <i>v.</i> ask; inquire. 2 • <i>v.</i> question.
babenu	<i>v.</i> consider.	baruku	<i>Variant:</i> baru . <i>n.</i> pants.
babha	1 • <i>n.</i> gong. 2 • <i>v.</i> hit gong.	baru	<i>See main entry:</i> baruku . <i>n.</i> trouser, pants. <i>Syn:</i> lamakera 'pants'.
babhelu	<i>n.</i> wickedness.	basa	<i>adj.</i> wet, wash.
babia	<i>n.</i> burden.	base	<i>vt.</i> wash.
baboa	<i>n.</i> edge; side.	bate	<i>vt.</i> chase.
babo'i	<i>n.</i> k.o.bottle.	batu	<i>v.</i> assist.
baboro	<i>n.</i> outside.	Batu Aae Togo	<i>n.</i> person name in folk tale.
badae	<i>n.</i> north.	batu iidu	<i>n.</i> k.o.stone.
badha	<i>n.</i> animal.	bau boe	<i>neg.</i> not stop.
badhu	<i>n.</i> roof; k.o.seed.	be'a	<i>adj.</i> 1 • good. 2 • nice.
bae	<i>v.</i> pay.	bèba	<i>v.</i> breed; expand.
bagu	<i>n.</i> bench.	bèbha	<i>Variant:</i> bèbhe . <i>v.</i> fall.
bai	<i>v.</i> swollen.	bèbhe	<i>See main entry:</i> bèbha .
baieeda	<i>vi.</i> lazy.	bècu	<i>vi.</i> satisfied.
Bajo	<i>n.</i> name of tribe.	bèdhi	<i>v.</i> jump.
baj'u	<i>n.</i> gram.	bèdho	<i>vt.</i> close.
Baka	<i>n.</i> Ba'a (capital of Rote Ndao Regency).	bèdhu	<i>vi.</i> blind.
baka	<i>PART.</i> each; per; such.as.	bèdi	<i>vt.</i> take apart.
baki	<i>n.</i> grandfather.	bedo-bedo	<i>too</i> (thin).
baki.hoe	<i>n.</i> crocodile.	beg'a kabho	<i>v.</i> traditional wedding.
baku	<i>neg.</i> PROH.NEG.	bege	<i>vt.</i> frighten.
bala	<i>v.</i> react; reply.	bego	<i>n.</i> hoe-like tool.
bala pèka	<i>vt.</i> noise of war.	bèi	<i>n.</i> grandmother.
balee	<i>n.</i> 1 • tin. 2 • can.	Bèi Bhèli	<i>n.</i> person name in folk tale.
balèu	<i>n.</i> south.	bèja	<i>vi.</i> asphyxia.
balu₁	<i>n.</i> boat.		
balu₂	<i>n; adj.</i> loss.		
balu₃	<i>v.</i> mourn.		

bèka 1 • *n.* part, fragment.
 2 • *v.* cleave, lacerate.
bèke *v.* half-cut.
beke *vi.* stay up.
bèla *n.* 1 • cloth.
 2 • sheet.
bela *n.* lightning.
bèle *vi.* lie.
bèli *n.* tomorrow; k.o.fruit.
bèli-bèli *time.* everyday.
bènyi *vi.* sneeze.
bèsi *n.* iron.
bete *v.* withdraw, take out.
bhabe *n.* injury.
bhabhoo *vt.* evict.
bhabhua *n.* gun.
bhadolu *v.* roll.
bhaka *v.* dull.
Bhali *n.* Mbali.
bhaloli *vt; vi.* roll.
bhare 1 • *vi.* balance.
 2 • *n.* stick.
bhedo-behedo *adv.* too (thin).
bhèj'i *vi.* sleep.
bhèla *adj.* wide.
bhèlu *vi.* forget.
bhelu *adj.* wild.
bhèngu *n.* ridgepole.
bhèni *n.* 1 • female.
 2 • woman.
bhesi *vi.* 1 • scream.
 2 • groan.
bheta *vi.* smarting.
bhète-bhète *adv.* too muddy, slimy.
bhetu *adj.* dense.
bhiri *v.* pull.
bhob'o *n.* fruitless.

bhodho *Variant: podho. vi.* 1 • exit, appear.
 2 • show up.
bhoke *vt.* open.
bhori *v.* pour, spill.
bhubhu *vt.* bake.
Bhui Nidhu *n.* June; traditional ceremony.
bhuku *n.* grow.
bhuru *n.* mist.
bhute *v.* make noise.
bhuti *n.* rice container.
bia 1 • *adj.* heavy.
 2 • *adv.* very.
bidhu-bidhu *adv.* too green.
boa *n.* name.
boaraka *n.* cloth box.
boe *neg.* not.
boku-boku *adv.* jump.
bole *n.* sugar palm.
boo *PART.* wow.
boro *vt.* to roof.
bosalaa *n.* mattress.
boti *v.* lift.
boti-boti *adv.* lifted up.
boto *n.* bottle.
bua₁ *v.* blow out.
bua₂ *n.* unit.
budha *n.* small; skinny.
budu tèke *v.* keep in acetate; postpone.
bugu *n.* parcel.
bui *n ; vt.* jail, water.
Bulado *n.* person name.
buli *prep.* LOC.
busa *n.* dog.
Butu *n.* Buton (a place name in Sulawesi).

C - c

ca	<i>num. a.</i>	cèci	<i>vt. fill forcefully.</i>
ca'a-ca'a	<i>adv. everyday, normally.</i>	cècu	<i>vt. incredulous; k.o.snail.</i>
cabili	<i>vt. strap.</i>	cee	<i>Qw. who.</i>
caboro	<i>n. k.o.brush.</i>	cèki	<i>n. stick.</i>
cabu	<i>n. soap.</i>	cèku	<i>pro. 1SG; I.</i>
caci	<i>vt. k.o.chop.</i>	cèla	1 • <i>vi. dive.</i>
ca'e	<i>v. get into; climb; ascend.</i>		2 • <i>vt. shoot with arrow.</i>
cag'ag'a	<i>vi. startled.</i>	cèlu	<i>v. close; putty.</i>
cag'ari	<i>v. paw.</i>	cèna	<i>vi. sink.</i>
cag'ig'i	<i>v. to put tobacco between lips.</i>	ceo	<i>num. nine.</i>
cahag'e	<i>adv. partly.</i>	cèpu	<i>vt. loosen.</i>
cakalaa	<i>adv. suddenly.</i>	cèri	<i>vi. separate.</i>
camalore	<i>vt. half.</i>	cèru	<i>vt. gouge; lacerate.</i>
cangaa	<i>Qw. how much.</i>	cici	<i>n. k.o.fish.</i>
capa	<i>adv. react quickly; spontaneously.</i>	cika	<i>n. k.o.bird.</i>
capag'ili	<i>vi. amused.</i>	ciki	<i>adj. little.</i>
cape	<i>v. put.</i>	ciki-diki	<i>adv. in a moment.</i>
caro	<i>vt. wipe; caress.</i>	ciu	<i>vt. tear, broken.</i>
caroco	<i>vi. slip down.</i>	ci'u	<i>num. one.</i>
caro.nadha	<i>n. open a ceremony.</i>	conge	<i>vt. open.</i>
carui	<i>n. troubled.</i>	core	<i>vt. throw, toss.</i>
catèka	<i>adv. once.</i>	cucu mata	<i>n. beach.</i>
ceba	<i>v. to fish; throw.</i>	cudu	<i>vi. bow down.</i>
cèba-cèba	<i>vi. twinkle.</i>	cue	<i>num. one; a.</i>
cebe	<i>v. sow, spread.</i>	cuhi	<i>vt. to cool.</i>
cebe lebhe	<i>v. scattered around.</i>	cui	<i>v. lever.</i>
cèbi	<i>vt. plait.</i>	cu'i	<i>vi. throw out s.t.</i>
cèbu	<i>vt. dip.</i>	curu	<i>n. spoon.</i>

D - d

dadana	<i>n. branch.</i>	dai	<i>vi. arrive; reach;</i> <i>Qnt enough; prep ; until.</i>
dadèdhu 1 •	<i>adj. lack.</i>	dame₁	<i>v. peace.</i>
	2 • <i>n. difficulties.</i>	dame₂	<i>vt. paint.</i>
dae	<i>n. land.</i>		
daga	<i>vt. trade.</i>		

dano *n.* lake.
dapu *n.* kitchen.
dara *n.* inside, heart.
daramaga *n.* dock *From:*
 Indonesian 'dermaga'.
dara.lobho *n.* shallow sea.
dari *n.* grindstone.
da'u *vt.* scoop.
dau-dau *adj.* k.o.voice.
de *Cnj.* so.
dèbho *adj.* big (wood).
dèbo *n.* wooden stick.
dede *vt.* lift.
dede ose *v.* to insert the weaving
 stick.
dedena *n.* same age.
dedha *adv.* above.
dèi *vt.* like.
dèlu *n.* womb, inside body.
d'èlu *n.* belly.
dènge 1 • *v.* own, possess.
 2 • *cnj.* with, and.
 3 • *adv.* spontaneously.
deo *adv.* just now.
dètu *v.* near.
dèu *v.* grope.
deu *vt.* bop on head.
d'èu *vt.* grope.
dhaa *vt.* respond; answer.
dhadhe *vt.* cut fish.
dhac *neg; v.* not yet; put.
dhai *n.* net.
dhana *n.* sign.
Dhao *n.* Ndao.
dhare *vt.* mark by cutting.
dhari *n.* rope; string.
dhari hake *n.* belt.
dhasi *n.* sea.
dhasi joro *n.* high tide.

dhasi.uli *n.* high tide.
dhau *n.* indigo.
dha'u *vi.* go down.
dhèbo *adj.* big.
dhèbu *n.* sugar cane.
dhedhe₁ *vt.* hit.
dhedhe₂ *vt.* pound; step.
dhèi *n.* feces.
dhèko₁ *vt.* take out.
dhèko₂ *v.* shake.
dhèle *vt.* swallow.
dhènu *v.* bury.
dheo *n.* k.o.fish.
dhèpi *n.* floor mat.
dhèru-dhèru *adj.* sound of thunder.
dhète *vt.* poke.
dhèto *v.* hit.
dhèu *n.* person.
dhii-dhii *adv.* stand patiently.
dhimu *n.* east.
dhiu *vi.* leave; go.
dhobho *vt.* dilute.
dho-dhoka *adv.* only.
dhoka *adv.* just.
dhoo *vi.* swear.
dhoo-dhoo *adv.* stand steadily.
dhu *cnj.* REL.
dhua *n.* palm juice, sap.
dhudhu *n.* thorn.
dhui₁ *vt.* bail.
dhui₂ *adj.* old.
dhuli *vi.* stop by; visit.
dhuru *n.* fire place.
di *adv.* only.
diki *adv.* a moment.
dino *v.* telescope.
diu *v.* bathe.
do *Cnj.* or.
doa₁ *v.* raise.

doa₂	<i>vi.</i> cluck.
dobe	<i>n.</i> dice.
dobho₁	<i>v.</i> make.oval.
dobho₂	<i>v.</i> clap water.
doe iiki	TAM. just.now.
doe ne'e	<i>n.</i> today.
doi	<i>n.</i> money.
Doko	<i>n.</i> name.

d'oro	<i>n.</i> thunder.
dote	<i>n.</i> doctor.
dua	<i>num.</i> two.
dugu	<i>v.</i> poke; tease.
dui	<i>vt.</i> carry.
dule	<i>v.</i> paint.
Duli Toga	<i>n.</i> person name.
duri	<i>vt.</i> rub.

E - e

e	PART.
ea	<i>deic.</i> that.
èci	<i>num.</i> one.
Edha	<i>n.</i> Rote.
edhe	<i>v.</i> soak.
èdhi	<i>pro.</i> 1PL.in (we).
edo	<i>v.</i> grub up.
edu	<i>n.</i> k.o.small fish.
ee	<i>EXCL.</i> uhm.
eea	<i>EXCL.</i> ooh.
eebo-eebo	<i>vi.</i> floating.
èèg'a	<i>n.</i> span.
èèg'e	<i>vi.</i> to span.
eeke-eeke	<i>adv.</i> wobbling.
eele	PART.
èèna	<i>Deic.</i> DIST.SG; that.
eepo-eepo	<i>adv.</i> panting (walk).
eere-eere	<i>adv.</i> keep laughing.
èi	<i>n.</i> water, well.
èi ani	<i>n.</i> k.o.tool.
èj'i	<i>n.</i> rain.
èj'i lai	<i>n.</i> rainy season.
èki	<i>vt.</i> tie.
èla	<i>n.</i> wing.
èle	1 • <i>v.</i> finished, recover. 2 • <i>adv.</i> already.
ele	<i>vi.</i> lose.

èle èèna ka	<i>See main entry: èle ka.</i>
èle ka	<i>Variant: èle èèna ka. conj.</i> then, after that.
ele ruhu	<i>adv.</i> too many (people).
ele.boe	<i>adv.</i> about; maybe; not lose.
ele.madha	<i>n.</i> too many.
èli	<i>n.</i> tusk.
èma	<i>n.</i> eight grams.
èmu	<i>n.</i> house.
èna	<i>num.</i> six.
ènu	<i>n.</i> slave.
ènyi	<i>v.</i> press, overlap.
ènyu	1 • <i>n.</i> turtle. 2 • <i>v.</i> plait.
èò	<i>vt.</i> herd.
eo	<i>vt.</i> herd; turn.
eo-eo	<i>adv.</i> turning.
èpa	1 • <i>num.</i> four. 2 • <i>n.</i> stem (of leaf).
èpa bau	<i>n.</i> stem of palm leaf.
èpi	<i>v.</i> plait.
èpu	<i>n.</i> grandchild.
èra	<i>vi.</i> strong.
era₁	<i>n.</i> place.
era₂	<i>adv.</i> still.
ère	<i>v.</i> pull.
èru	<i>n.</i> clay.pot.
eso	<i>v.</i> move.

èsu	<i>n.</i> navel.
èta₁	<i>vt.</i> tap.lontar.
èta₂	1 • <i>n.</i> part, piece. 2 • <i>v.</i> cut.
eta	<i>vt.</i> drift ashore.

èto	<i>n.</i> dregs.
ètu	<i>prep.</i> LOC; in, at; on.
èu	<i>pro.</i> 2SG; you.

G - g

gaa-gaa	<i>n.</i> state of dead.
gadi	<i>n.</i> ivory.
ga'e	<i>vt.</i> to hook.
gagai	<i>vt.</i> angry.
g'ag'aru	<i>vt.</i> squeeze.
gage	<i>n.</i> ankle, starfish.
g'ag'e	<i>vt.</i> touch, feel.
gaged'o	<i>vi.</i> shake.
gagiti	<i>n.</i> k.o.palm tapping tool to hook container.
gagoo	<i>n.</i> senile.
gaguu	<i>n.</i> cobweb.
gai	<i>vt.</i> dab.
g'ala	<i>n.</i> crock.
galaa₁	<i>vt.</i> complain.about.s.t.; accuse; demand.
galaa₂	<i>n.</i> glass.
gale	<i>vt.</i> invite; urge.
gama	<i>Variant: game.</i> <i>v.</i> hit.
game	<i>See main entry: gama.</i>
gamu	<i>n.</i> float.
gana	<i>n.</i> right.
g'ana	<i>n.</i> right.
gao	<i>vt.</i> pull down.
gareta	<i>n.</i> cart; wagon.

gari-gari	<i>v.</i> too overflow.
garu	<i>n.</i> igniter; matches.
g'aru	<i>vt.</i> squeeze.
gati	<i>v.</i> substitute.
gela	<i>v.</i> dry in the sun.
gepe	<i>vt.</i> flank.
g'ero-g'ero	<i>v.</i> k.o.sound.
g'ètu	<i>vt.</i> pick.
gèu-gèu	<i>adv.</i> too red.
gili	<i>v.</i> drive.
gitu-gitu	<i>adv.</i> stuck.
goa	<i>adj.</i> stupid; fatuous.
goa-dano	<i>n.</i> turtle.
godo	<i>v.</i> set from the bottom.
goe	<i>vt.</i> lock.
gogo	<i>v.</i> grope.
golo	<i>adj.</i> loose.
goo-goo	<i>adv.</i> too soundly.
goro	<i>vi.</i> quit.
gua-gua	<i>vi.</i> sitting around.
guri	<i>vi.</i> collapse.
guru-guru	<i>adv.</i> pitch.
g'ute	<i>v.</i> cut with scissor.

H - h

ha	<i>PART.</i> aha.
haa₁	<i>n.</i> west.
haa₂	<i>n.</i> lung.

haa-bai	<i>vi.</i> lazy.
hadhu	<i>n.</i> rock; stone.
Hadhu aae	<i>n.</i> October.

Hadhu lai *n.* September; summer.

hae *vi.* flow.

haga *n.* foot, leg.

hag'e 1 • *v.* separate.
2 • *n.* a part of.

haha *adj; n.* low; below.

hahae *vt.* shake.

hahi *n.* pig.

hahilu *vt.* wrapped.

hahusu *n.* arc.

haj'a *n.* iron.

haka *vt.* hit.

hake *vt.* beat.

haki-haki *adv.* too (thick).

haku *v.* finish.

hale *v.* regret.

haleja *n.* hip.

hara-hara *adv.* supine.

hare'a *vi.* boil.

haree *n.* k.o.bottle.

hari 1 • *vi.* move.
2 • *adv.* again.

Hari Besa *n.* Holiday, December.

haruu *n.* k.o.roller.

hau *n.* k.o.tree.

ha'u *n.* egret.

hea *EXCL.* oh.

hèba *n.* mouth, door.

hedu-hedu *vi.* sway.

hèga *n.* k.o.tree.

hègamanu *n.* k.o.tree.

hèi *adv.* also.

hèia *conj.* then, afterwards.

Heiama *n.* person name.

heka₁ *adv.* have just.

heka₂ *conj.* afterwards.

heka₃ *adj.* old age.

heka₄ *neg.* no longer.

hela *n.* machete, blossom.

hèla lai *Variant: rèu lai; suu lai. n.* tail.

hèle *v.* unfold, spread.

hèli *v.* buy.

hèngu *n.* thread ;

hèni *n.* sister.

hensel *n.* hinges.

hènyi *n.* areca nut.

heo *v.* aglow, enlase.

hera *adj.* dirty.

hèru 1 • *n.* moon, month.
2 • *v.* roll.

Hèru Hadhu *n.* September; summer.

hèru hadhu *n.* summer.

Hèru Hadhu aae *n.* October.

Hèru Holomanu *n.* May.

hèru kateme *n.* full moon.

hèu *n.* odor.

hèu bhobho *n.* bad odor.

hèu.oone-oone *n.* too smell.

hia *Variant: hie. v.* give.

hie *See main entry: hia.*

hi'i *v.* finishing.

hiki *vt.* move.

hiladha *n.* western people.

hini *n.* 1 • chanting, seed.
2 •

hisu *n.* wound.

hiu *adj.* new.

ho *conj.* so that, then.

ho'a *n.* group of thread.

hoi *n.* weeping.

hoka *vt.* invite.

holo *vt.* advise.

Holomanu *n.* place.name.

holonori *n.* advice, Word of God.

Horiama *n.* name of person.

horo₁ *vt.* hold.

horo₂	<i>n.</i> foam.
horo parahi	<i>n.</i> God the creator.
hua	1 • <i>n.</i> fruit. 2 • <i>n.</i> weaving motif. 3 • <i>Qnt.</i> all. 4 • <i>adv.</i> nothing.
hua dhimu	<i>n.</i> watermelon.
hua hētu	<i>n.</i> star.
hua iia	<i>adj.</i> honourable.
hualaa	<i>n.</i> gold.
hudi	<i>v.</i> let, not care.
hue	<i>v.</i> carry.

huhu	<i>n.</i> fish trap.
hui₁	<i>v.</i> wild.
hui₂	<i>n.</i> base; astern.
hui kehi	<i>n.</i> nape.
huj'u	<i>vi.</i> crazy.
huki	<i>vt.</i> grub up; gouge.
huni₁	<i>vt.</i> hide.
huni₂	<i>n.</i> scabies.
huri	<i>n.</i> weight.
huru.madha	<i>n.</i> tuft.
hutu	<i>vt.</i> cover, wrap.

I - i

ia	<i>v.</i> stop, divorce.
i'a	<i>n.</i> fish.
i'a mabho	<i>n.</i> tuna fish.
idhu-idhu	<i>adv.</i> very (full).
iga	<i>vt.</i> count.
iha	<i>n.</i> lap.
ii	<i>n.</i> stalk.
iia	1 • <i>adj.</i> good. 2 • <i>adv.</i> free, common.
iia-aala	<i>vi.</i> crowded.
iia-iia	<i>adv.</i> not bad.
iie	<i>adv.</i> precisely.
iiki	<i>adj.</i> 1 • small. 2 • tiny.

ilu	<i>n.</i> spittle.
ina	<i>n.</i> mother.
Ina Koli	<i>n.</i> person name.
inaa	<i>EXCL.</i> ouch.
inu	<i>v.</i> wear.
ira e	oh my God.
irii	<i>EXCL.</i> wow.
isi	1 • <i>n.</i> body. 2 • <i>n.</i> bullet, volume, hook. 3 • <i>v.</i> fill.
Isi Nèta	<i>n.</i> August.
ita	<i>adv.</i> almost.
iu	<i>vt.</i> bind.

J - j

ja'a	<i>pro.</i> 1SG; I.
j'aga	<i>v.</i> guard.
j'a'i	<i>vt.</i> catch fish.
jaji	<i>vi.</i> promise.
j'aj'i	1 • <i>vi.</i> become. 2 • <i>cnj.</i> so.
j'ala	<i>n.</i> net.
j'ami	<i>n.</i> jungle.

j'angi	<i>v.</i> clean.
Japaa	<i>n.</i> Japan.
jara	1 • <i>n.</i> horse. 2 • <i>v.</i> dance.
j'ara	<i>n.</i> road, manner; way.
j'au	<i>vt.</i> sewing.
j'èje	<i>v.</i> step on.
jèji	<i>v.</i> touch; pound.

jèke	<i>v.</i> snap.
j'èla	<i>n.</i> sole of foot.
j'èli	<i>vt.</i> step on.
j'èra	<i>vi.</i> difficult; suffer.
jèru	<i>v.</i> carry.
j'èru	<i>vt.</i> support.
j'èru sina	<i>n.</i> lemon.
jesi	<i>vt.</i> inject.
Jesu	<i>n.</i> Jesus.
jihona	<i>n.</i> moringa.
ji'i	<i>pro.</i> 1PL.ex (we).
jingi	<i>v.</i> tidy up.
jo	<i>rather.</i>

j'o	<i>adv.</i> rather.
j'oka	<i>vt.</i> to lift.
j'ola	<i>v.</i> hand over.
j'ole	<i>vt.</i> give; hand over; hand up.
Jote	<i>n.</i> person name.
j'ubhu	<i>v.</i> fist.
j'ue	<i>vt.</i> cut; chop.
j'uj'u	<i>v.</i> refer to, point to.
j'unu	<i>vi.</i> lie down.
juraga	<i>n.</i> owner of boat.
j'u'u	<i>n.</i> grass.

K - k

ka	<i>PART.</i>
kaba	<i>n.</i> shell.
kabake	<i>n.</i> belly.
kabalosi	<i>n.</i> snail.
kabao	<i>n.</i> water buffalo.
kabarai	<i>n.</i> island.
kabeba	<i>n.</i> butterfly.
kabèbu	<i>adj.</i> fat.
kabèdhi	<i>adv.</i> wake up; surprise.
kabèdhi la'a	<i>adv.</i> suddenly.
kabee	<i>vi.</i> bleat.
kabe'e	<i>vi.</i> moist, humid.
kabela	<i>n.</i> flat stone.
kabela kao	<i>n.</i> shoulder.
Kabela Bhèla	<i>n.</i> name of place.
kabèli	<i>v.</i> turn.
kabènyo	<i>vt.</i> shake.
kabhao	<i>n.</i> 1 • raft. <i>adj</i> 2 • very big.
kabhèca	<i>v.</i> muddy.
kabheca	<i>n.</i> mud.
kabhèla	<i>n.</i> width.

kabhèsu	<i>adj.</i> sweat.
kabhète	<i>adj.</i> condensed; thick.
kabhèu	<i>n.</i> palm beam.
kabhie	<i>v.</i> press.
kabhisa	<i>n.</i> sack.
kabholo	<i>n.</i> tip.
kabholo keke	<i>n.</i> dry fruit of lontar.
kabhoo	<i>n.</i> k.o.tree.
kabho'o	<i>v.</i> sound.
kabhu	<i>n.</i> chest.
kabhui	<i>v.</i> fall.
kabhuku	<i>n.</i> hill.
kabi	<i>vi.</i> marry.
kabiba	<i>vi.</i> turn.s.o.head.
kabicu	<i>n.</i> corner.
kabodho	<i>n.</i> back, behind.
kaboi	<i>vt.</i> look after; rear; raise.
kaboko	<i>vi.</i> gather.
kabua	<i>n.</i> bride wealth, price.
kabui	<i>n.</i> pea.
kabui.aae	<i>n.</i> k.o. beans.
kabuku.nao	<i>n.</i> k.o.

kabunu *n.* banyan.
kaca'a *adv.* all at once.
kaca'alaa *adv.* suddenly.
kaceba *vi.* spatter.
kacèbha *v.* shine.
kacèbhe *vt.* cleave.
kacèla *vi.* angry.
kacici *v.* peel.
kacui.aai *n.* hand.
kacuu *vt.* carry on back.
Kadati *n.* name of clan.
kadea *n.* yarn roller.
kadègo *vt.* shake.
kadèna *n.* firewood.
kadera *n.* chair.
kadhai *n.* palm fiber.
kadhèi *vt.* hold.
kadhèko *v.* palpitate.
kadhèli₁ *n.* rasher.
kadhèli₂ *n.* part.
kadheli *n.* ring.
kadhèna *n.* firewood.
kadhi *v.* bite.
kadhii *v.* strong.
kadhike *n.* weight.
kadhoe *v.* hang.
kadhu *n.* charcoal.
kado *vi.* pregnant; way of wearing cloth.
Kadoge *n.* person name.
kadosa *n.* remain in vinegar, slice of meat or fish.
kaduru *n.* bow.
kaepaja *n.* sarong.
kaha'a *n;* *v.* flame.
kahadhu *n;* *v.* brain; pregnant.
kaha'i *n.* remains.
kahècu *n.* space between joints.
kahèi *adv.* again.

kaheko *vt.* dangle.
kahèlu *vi.* tangled.
kahero *vt.* throw with stick.
kahèru *n.* kapok.
kahèti *v.* slingshot.
kahètu *n.* cambium.
kahèu *vi.* blister.
kahibi *n.* goat.
kahore *adj.* circle.
kahudhi *n.* k.o.accessories.
kahunu *n.* coconut fiber.
kai *vt.* prohibit; forbid.
kaja *adj.* rich.
kaj'alu *adj;* *n.* dirty; filthy.
kajape *v.* stuck up.
kajari *n.* branch.
kaj'èpe *v.* adhere , drawee.
kaj'èu *adj.* far.
kajii *n.* money.
kakai *n.* brace.
kakama *n.* k.o.handle.
kakara *n.* chest.
kakarai *See main entry: karaka rai.*
kakatua *n.* forceps.
akeho *vt.* stir.
kako *vi.* walk.
kakoko *n.* k.o.plate.
kakulu *adj.* wrinkle.
kakusa *n.* k.o.filter.
kakutu *n.* closing.
kalaa *n.* k.o.tree.
kala'a *TAM.* just.
kalabhe *vt.* strike.
kalaga *n.* wooden couch.
kalaga-ledo *n.* platform.
kalage *v.* set platform.
kalaha'a *n.* charcoal.
kalai *n.* branch.
kalaingela *n.* k.o.plant.

kalaiyèu *n.* bamboo.
kalati *n.* worm.
kalau *vi.* afoot.
kale'e *adj.* shine.
kalèki *v.* twist.
kalèla *n.* k.o.plant.
kalela *n.* k.o.ceremony.
kalera *n.* k.o.basket.
kalèsa *v.* dry.
kalete *n, v.* bridge.
kalibhi *n.* flat obejct.
kalicu *n; adj.* unmmature fruit;
 young.
kaliji *v.* peel.
kalij'u *n.* name of fish.
kaloo *v.* not move.
kaloos *n.* roll.
kalua **1 •** *n.* nerve.
2 • *vi.* exit.
kalutu *n.* k.o.motif; soft object.
kama *n.* room.
kamaki *n.* branch.
kamale *vi.* withered.
kamango *vi.* dry.
kamea lote *n.* k.o.desease.
kamèu *n.* k.o.desease.
kamia *n.* candlenut.
kamuki *n.* k.o.stick.
kanaca *n.* k.o.fish trap.
kanadhu *n.* egg.
kanana *n.* betel.
kanate *n.* receptacle.
kanau *n.* bracelet.
kanee *n.* part.
kanici *vt.* sort.
kanoto *n.* sack; bag.
kanuu *n.* squid.
kanyahu hèngu *Variant: kaya'u. n.*
 cotton.

kao *vt.* to scratch; to row.
kaoo-kaoo *v.* bird sound.
kapa *n.* ship.
kapai *adj.* big, large.
kapaj'u *n.* octopus.
kapaka *n.* k.o.tree.
kapala *n.* head, leader.
kapatei *n.* captain.
kapepe *n.* round.
kapepe nana *n.* bettel-nut
 container.
kapesa *n.* seed container.
kapoke *n.* spear.
kapua *n.* tree's foot, trunk, capital.
kapui *n.* snail.
kapulu *adj.* thick.
karaba *n.* k.o. manger.
karadhe *vt.* twist.
karai *cnj.* since.
karaka *n.* crab.
karaka rai *Variant: kakarai. n.*
 scorpion.
karara *adj.* yellow.
karasa *n.* side.
karata *adj.* colorful.
kare *n.* k.o.tree.
karèbho *n.* gourd.
karèce *vi.* spatter.
karehe *adj.* bad.
karèi *v.* ask, question.
karej'e *adj.* happy.
karèke *vt.* climb.
kareko *vt.* shake.
karihu *v.* play.
karii *cnj.* if.
kariu *n.* left.
karo **1 •** *n.* sack.
2 • *v.* scratch.
karoba *n.* coconut calyx.

karogo *n.* cage.
karohe *adv.* fast.
karoo *v.* aglow.
karubhu *n.* falling sound.
karunu *n.* cuttings of rice.
kasasi *v.* temple service.
kasere *vi.* consider.
kasiro *v ; n.* shoot at, gun.
kasoo *v.* pull.
kasore *vi.* slant.
kataka *n.* axe.
kataki *vt.* arrow; shoot with arrow.
katanga *n.* cover.
katanga rèi *n.* forehead.
katanga.madha *n.* face.
katange *v.* shut.
katata *vi.* cornered.
katate *v.* to corner.
katèbhu *n.* chicken.coop.
katède *v.* taste.
katèdhe *vt.* touch.
katèju₁ *v.* force.
katèju₂ *v.* clap.
katele *v.* deaf.
katèlu *num.* third.
kateme *adj.* intact.
katia *n.* k.o.cockle shells.
katiti *v.* leak through.
katua *n.* leader.
katuba *n.* wickedness; evil.
katuju *vt.* kick.
katuka *n.* rice cake.
kau *n.* cooked rice.
ka'unyi *n.* turmeric.
ka'uri *n.* skin.
kaya'u *See main entry: kanyahu*
hèngu.
ke'a *vt.* 1SG.know.
kèbalaa *adv.* suddenly.

kèbho *n.* k.o. tree.
kèdhi *vt.* 1SG.see.
kèdi *v.* get.up.
kèdu *vt.* hold.
kèd'u *v.* hold.
kee *adj.* sweet.
kehi *num.* million.
kèi *v.* dig.
kèj'i *vt.* stab.
kele *n.* wooden box.
kèli *n.* lontar palm.
kèlu *n.* debt.
kèmu *v.* keep s.t. in the mouth.
kèna *adv.* that, just now.
kèni *n.* keel.
kèpe *vt.* catch, hold.
kepe *n.* cloth.
kèpu *vi.* burnt.
kera *n.* brother in law.
kèri *vt.* tap palm.
kèru-kèru *adv.* crunchy.
kete *vi.* smarting.
kèti *vt.* 1SG.bring; I bring.
kètu₁ *n.* head.
kètu₂ *n.* a pack.
kico-kico *adv.* grinding.
kii-kii *v.* crying sound.
kiju *vt.* insert, tuck.
kikidui *Variant: kukudui. n.* ant.
kinu *vt.* 1SG.drink.
kio *vi.* chirrup.
kiu *vt.* round up.
koa *v.* pride.
koaa *v.* arrogant.
koa-kio *vt.* praise.
kobo *adj.* narrow.
kode *n.* monkey.
kodho *n.* shirt.
koe *adj.* crooked; bent.

koha	<i>n.</i> boat.
kohi	<i>n.</i> coffee.
koi	<i>n.</i> bed.
koki	<i>n.</i> cake.
koko	<i>n.</i> larynx.
koko oko	<i>v.</i> cackle.
kokoredo	<i>vi.</i> cackle.
kokotai	<i>n.</i> k.o. flat basket.
kokotoo	<i>v.</i> crow.
Kolibubhu	<i>n.</i> person name in folk tale.
kolo	<i>n.</i> top, tip; descent.
kolo keja	<i>n.</i> waist.
kolorii	<i>n.</i> k.o.fish.
ko'o	<i>vt.</i> 1SG.want.
kora	<i>vt.</i> 1SG.take.
kora iisi	<i>v.</i> 1SG.give birth.
kore	1 • <i>v.</i> 1SG.take.

	2 • <i>cnj.</i> until.
koro	<i>n.</i> large turtledove.
koro j'aha	<i>n.</i> dove.
koro mata	<i>n.</i> k.o.fish.
Korobaho	<i>n.</i> place name in Rote.
koro-koro	<i>adv.</i> flowing loose.
kosa	<i>vt.</i> rub.
kotak	<i>n.</i> box.
ku₁	<i>pro.</i> 1SG.CL.
ku₂	<i>PART.</i> tag.
ku'a	<i>vt.</i> 1SG.eat.
kuhu	<i>vi.</i> stay.
kukudui	<i>See main entry:</i> kikidui .
kula	<i>v.</i> share.
kura	<i>vi.</i> less.
kutu	<i>v.</i> close.
ku'u	<i>vt.</i> pinch.

L - l

laa₁	<i>n.</i> stick.
laa₂	1 • <i>n.</i> stem.
la'a₁	<i>v.</i> go.1PL.ex.
la'a₂	<i>PART.</i> go ahead.
laba	<i>vt.</i> oppose.
labhi	<i>vt.</i> make.layer.
labhu	<i>n.</i> lamp.
lada	<i>n.</i> white pepper.
ladha	<i>n.</i> rip of palm leaf.
ladha rai	<i>n.</i> k.o.stick.
ladhagoro	<i>n.</i> neck.
ladhe	1 • <i>v.</i> see. 2 • <i>cnj.</i> if.
la'e	<i>v.</i> go.3SG.
laho	<i>vi.</i> destroyed, broken.
lai₁	<i>n.</i> sail.
lai₂	<i>n.</i> k.o.fish.
lai₃	<i>n.</i> a piece.

la'i	<i>n.</i> male.
lai ag'o	<i>n.</i> boy.
lai balu mèdi	<i>n.</i> bat.
laiaae	<i>n.</i> guy.
lai-lai	<i>adv.</i> quickly; recently.
laka	<i>n.</i> k.o. tree.
lakaseti	<i>vi.</i> force.
lake	<i>v.</i> hold.
lakoko	<i>n.</i> neck.
laku	<i>vi.</i> go.1SG.
lala	1 • <i>n.</i> flood. 2 • <i>vi.</i> overflow.
lala o'oo	<i>v.</i> drowning.
lalaa	<i>vt.</i> rinse.
lalata	<i>n.</i> k.o.layer.
lalau	<i>vt.</i> repair; arrange.
lale	<i>vi.</i> overflow.
laleko	<i>vt.</i> bother.

lalète *vt.* to wag.
laligu *n.* k.o.belt.
lalobhu 1 • *v.* sow.
 2 • *vt.* spread.
lalodhe *vt.* hang.
lalo *n.* dry leaves.
lalolo *n.* fence wood.
lalo'o *vt.* manage.
lalu 1 • *v.* take care, serve.
 2 • *n.* motherless.
laludhu *n.* uncooked rice.
lamakera *n.* pants. *Syn:* **baruu**
 'trouser ; pants'.
Lamatua *n.* Lord, Mr.
lami *v.* go.2PL.
lamu *v.* go.2SG.
lamusi *n.* seed.
langa *n.* stair.
langi *n.* fish.name.
lao-lao *adv.* too white, have
 nothing.
lara *n.* fly.
lari *v.* plant.
lasa ara *n.* nape.
lasa'ara *n.* shoulder.
lasi *v.* go.3PL.
lasona *n.* onion.
lata *n.* pandanus.
late *vt.* to stitch together.
lati *vi.* go.1PL.in.
lèbha *n.* crown.
lècu *vt.* undo.
ledhe *n.* mountain, hill.
ledho *vi.* dance.
lega *v.* leave.
lege *vi.* leave.
lèka *v.* believe;
lèke *vi.* appropriate, be right, be
 touched.
leko *v.* disturb, persuade.

leko-monya *vi.* lie.
lèku *v.* break.
lela *vt.* fly.
leli *adv.* ineptly.
lème *n.* everywhere.
lèmi *num.* five.
lènge *vi.* pass.
lèngi *n.* oil.
leo₁ *adj.* other.
leo₂ *vi.* over shade, shelter.
lèpa₁ *vi.* return, go home.
lèpa₂ *Variant:* **lèpe**. *vt.* fold.
lèpe *See main entry:* **lèpa₂**. *vt.*
 fold.
lere *vt.* escort, accompany.
leru *vt.* care for, see.
lesu *n.* handkerchief.
lèu 1 • *n.* sea.
 2 • *v.* wash.
lia *n.* mountain side.
lia pana *n.* ginger.
libu *v.* melt.
lidhu *vt.* fold.
lii 1 • *n.* voice, sound,
 messages, language.
 2 • *v.* call, speak.
liku *vt.* hug, embrace.
lili₁ *n.* candle.
lili₂ *adv.* still.
limuri *adv.* latest, last.
liru *n.* sky.
li'u *adv.* outside.
loa *n.* sheet, cord.
lobhangi *See main entry:* **lolobhangi**.
Lobho *n.* place name in Ndao,
 mud.
lodha₁ *n.* chord.
lodha₂ *v.* hanged.
Lodho *n.* clan name.
lod'o 1 • *n.* day, time, sun.

	2 • <i>conj.</i> when.
lod'o nètù	<i>n.</i> noon.
lod'o nihia	<i>n.</i> afternoon.
loe₁	<i>n.</i> cave.
loe₂	<i>vi.</i> stop; decrease; abate.
loekeli	<i>n.</i> Loekeli.
Logo Raho	<i>n.</i> name of a character in folk tale.
lojo	<i>vi.</i> hungry.
loko	<i>n.</i> river, board game.
lola	<i>vi.</i> drip.
lola-lola	<i>adv.</i> too (long).
lole	<i>vt.</i> tell a story.
loli	<i>v.</i> roll.
loli-loli	<i>v.</i> rolled up.
lolo₁	<i>vt.</i> retell.
lolo₂	<i>v.</i> set yarn, roll.

lolobhangi	<i>Variant: lobhangi. n.</i> papaya.
lonètù	<i>n.</i> daytime.
lore	<i>n.</i> loom.
loro	<i>n.</i> creeping.
lose	<i>vi.</i> stuck.
lub'u	<i>n.</i> mud.
lui	<i>vt.</i> stick.
luki	<i>n.</i> name.
lula	<i>conj.</i> because.
lulu	<i>v.</i> roll.
luri	<i>vi.</i> forbidden, proscribed, taboo.
lutu	<i>adj.</i> fine; dense.
lutu bhatu	<i>n.</i> cemetery.
luu	<i>vi.</i> high tide, trapped; sound.
lu'u	<i>v.</i> hide.

M - m

ma	<i>prep</i> to, toward.
ma'aa	<i>adj.</i> thick.
ma'are	<i>n.</i> rice field.
madaa	<i>n.</i> face powder.
madae	<i>n.</i> morning.
madahu	<i>v.</i> disentangle.
madea	<i>v.</i> dizzy.
madèdhi	<i>vi.</i> sit.
mad'èka	<i>adj.</i> sharp.
madenge	<i>v.</i> repugnant.
madha₁	<i>n.</i> 1 • eye. 2 • front.
madha₂	<i>n.</i> a section.
madhaa	<i>n.</i> 1 • unhasked rice.
madhasa	<i>adj.</i> ripe.
madha'u	<i>vi.</i> afraid.
madhe	<i>v.</i> die.
madhenge	<i>vt.</i> guard.

madhera	<i>adj.</i> long.
madhiri	<i>n.</i> bayan tree.
madhore	<i>v.</i> emerge.
madhutu	<i>v.</i> follow.
madhu'u	<i>adj.</i> ripe; mature.
mad'ulu	<i>v.</i> fishing.
mae	<i>v.</i> broken.
maena	<i>vt.</i> hope.
ma'ète	<i>vt.</i> separate.
mag'ao	<i>v.</i> croak.
mage	<i>neg; vi.</i> don't.
magèl₁	<i>vt.</i> chase.
magèl₂	<i>vt.</i> chase.
mago	<i>n.</i> cup.
maho₁	<i>vi.</i> be cold.
maho₂	<i>vi.</i> a galaxy of; k.o.fish.
maho₃	<i>set, group of.</i>
mahu	<i>vt.</i> drunk.

mai *vi.* come.
maj'èni *adj.* diligent.
maj'u *v.* pound.
makae *vi.* ashamed, shy.
mako *adj.* soft.
malaa *v.* wonder; amazed.
malaa-maloha *Variant: malaa-malohu.* *vi.* senile.
malaa-malohu *See main entry: malaa-maloha.*
malagu *n.* name.
Malai *n.* Malay.
malai *adv.* quick.
malara *vi.* smarting.
maleba *vi.* fishing.
malebha *vt.* fishhook.
malo *adv.* fortunately.
maloha *vi.* very confused.
malupu *vi.* crowd in.
mama *n.* mother.
mamadha *n.* unripe.
mame *vt.* chew.
mami *v.* done.
mamobo *vt.* hit.
mamoo *n.* field.
mamumu *n.* rubbish.
Manadhu Lai Lodha *n.* Holy Spirit.
manadu *n.* soul; spirit.
Manadu Lai Lodha *n.* Holy.Spirit.
manahi *n.* sea.cucamber.
manahu *v.* fall.
mana'u *v.* burglar.
manea *n.* hawk.
manèngi *v.* ask.
manènu *vt.* weave.
manèro *adv.* last long.
mangaj'i *vi.* pray.
manganga *vi.* hungry.

mangao *v.* ask.
mangèru *adj.* green.
mango *adj.* dry.
mangungu *n.* k.o.bird.
manii *adj.* thin.
mano *n.* k.o.fish.
manu *n.* chicken.
manubha *n.* passenger.
manubhui *n.* bird.
manya'e *vi.* overlapping.
manyèba *vi.* spread ;
manyèla *vi.* separate;
manyèru *v.* spin.
manyiru *vi.* sunbathe.
mara *n.* low tide.
maraho *n.* mouse.
marake *n.* spider.
mare *n; vi.* bloom.
Marege *n.* place name in Ndao.
marèi *vt.* make salt; awake.
marèma *adj.* deep.
marènga *n.* snot.
marèngi *n.* calm.
marèu *vt.* press down.
mari *vt.* laugh.
maroga *adj.* dark.
Marose *n.* July.
maruru *n.* garbage.
masèka *Variant: masèke.* *vi.* be broken.
masèke *See main entry: masèka.*
masi **1 •** *n.* salt.
2 • *cnj.* although.
Masi Hia *n.* person name in folk tale.
masi ka *cnj.* although.
Masi Mao *n.* person name in folk tale.
maso **1 •** *v.* enter.
2 • *adv.* it means.

mata *Variant: mate. vt. wait.*
matabai *n. tomato.*
matana *v. foal.*
matarii *n. nurse.*
mataroo *n. crew.*
mate *See main entry: mata. vi. wait.*
Matena *n. November.*
mati'a *vi. choke.*
matu *n. in-laws.*
ma'u *vt. spy, peep at.*
mau-mau *adv. softly.*
mea *adj. red.*
me'a₁ *vi. 2SG.know.*
me'a₂ *vi. coughed.*
mèci *adv. match.*
mèda *n. night.*
meda *n. yesterday.*
mèdha *n. thing; good.*
mèdhi *vi. see.*
mèdhu₁ *vi. fast; aloud.*
mèdhu₂ *v; n. vomit.*
mèdi *adj. black.*
mèdu *v. hold on.*
mege *n. snake.*
Mege Batu *n. name of a character in folk tale.*
megèle *vt. chase.*
mei *n. table.*
mèje *n; vi. petrescent.*
mèka *neg. not yet.*
mèke *v. be able to.*
mela *vi. have cramps.*
mèle *vi. lose.*
mèlu *vi. fall.*
mema *adv. really.*
meme *vi. finished, lose.*
mèngi *vi. fragrant; blessing.*
mènyi *n. oil, fat.*

meo *n. cat.*
meoaasu *n. tiger.*
mèra *adv. only.*
mera **1 •** *v. 2PL.get.*
2 • *adj. flat.*
mèri *adv. quick.*
mesa *Qnt. alone.*
mese *n. teacher.*
meta *n. k.o. fish.*
mèti₁ *vt. 2SG.bring.*
mèti₂ *adj. dry.*
mèu **1 •** *n. daytime.*
2 • *vi. smart, clean.*
mèu te'e *n. daytime.*
mi₁ *prep. toward.*
mi₂ *pro. 1PL.ex.CL; we.*
mia *Qw. where.*
mi'a *vt. 2PL.eat.*
migu *n. week.*
milu *adj. smooth.*
minu *vt. drink.*
miri *vi. slant.*
miu *pro. 2PL; you.*
mm *PART.*
moa *vi. message.*
moce-moce *adv. too yellow.*
mode *n. model.*
mola **1 •** *adj. straight.*
2 • *vi. empty.*
molo *vi. drown, sink.*
mone *n. man, male.*
moo *n. mug.*
mo'o *v. 2SG.shall, 2SG.wish.*
mopo-mopo *adv. fall facedown.*
mora iisi *vt. borne.*
more *vt. 2SG.take; you take.*
motu *adj. leafless.*
mu *pro. 2SG.CL; you.*
mu'a *vt; vi. 2SG.eat.*

mu'e *vt; vi.* 2SG.eat; you-eat.
mu'e-mu'e *adv.* too yellow.
muri *vi.* live, grow.
Muri Manadu *n.* Savior.

musi madha *n.* eye ball.
musu *n ; v.* enemy, war.
mu'u *n.* banana.

N - n

na *PART.*
na'a *v.* 3SG.eat.
nadha *n.* k.o arena.
Nadha Kala *n.* place name.
Nadhu Jubhu *n.* person name.
na'e *v.* eat.
nai *n.* scale.
na'i *n.* medicine, tobacco, charm.
name *vt.* pull out.
namo *n.* beach.
nanèlu *n.* pillow.
nanelu *n.*
nanèlu.tabolo *n.* bolster pillow.
nanene *v.* listen.
nanèu *n.* tool.
nangi *v.* swim.
naniru *v.* to filter rice.
nanuku *n.* legend.
Naomamo *n.* place name.
nara *vt.* 3SG.get.
nare₁ *vt.* enter, until, finish; arrive.
nare₂ *v.* 3SG.take.
nasa *v.* angry.
nasu *v.* boil.
nau *n.* clump.
Nau Dau Kise *n.* a name in legend.
nau.dhua *n.* cluster of lontar.
ne *pro.* 3SG.OBJ.CL.
ne'a *v.* 3SG.know.
nebhe *n.* beach.

nèbhu *adj.* long time.
nedhe *v.* lift up.
nèdhi *vt.* 3SG.see.
nèd'u *vt.* hold.
ne'e *Deic.* PROX.SG; this.
Negeree *n.* person with dark skin colour.
nèi *Deic.* REM.SG, that.
nenà *adj.* slow.
nèngu *pro.* 3SG.
neo *v.* shall; want.
nèru *vt.* invite.
Nèsu *n.* name of island.
nèta *n.* tasteless.
nèti₁ *vt.* 3SG.bring.
nèti₂ *See main entry: ngèti.*
nèu₁ *n.* material.
nèu₂ *vt.* wear, dress up.
neuka *adv.* definitely.
neu-neu *adv.* like or dislike; absolutely.
nga *PART.* tag.
ngaa *Qw.* what.
nga'a *vt.* 1PL.ex.eat.
ngaa te *cnj.* whereas.
ngad'o *vt.* visit.
nga'e *vt.* 1PL.ex.eat.
ngao *vt.* taste.
ngapi *vt.* clamp.
ngara *n.* name.
ngare *vt.* 1PL.ex.take.
ngasu *num.* hundreds.

nge'a	<i>vt.</i> 1PL-ex.know; we know.
ngècu	<i>n.</i> mortar.
ngede-ngede	<i>v.</i> upraised.
ngèdhi	<i>vt.</i> 1PL-ex-see.
ngee	<i>vi.</i> think.
ngèlu	<i>n.</i> wind.
ngèru	<i>adj.</i> young.
ngèti	<i>Variant: nèti. 1 • prep.</i> from. <i>2 • conj.</i> because.
ngètu	<i>vi.</i> agree; nod.
nginu	<i>v.</i> 1PL-ex.drink.
ngi'u	<i>n.</i> body.
nguru	<i>num.</i> tens.
ngutu	<i>n.</i> tooth.
nia	<i>adv.</i> be able, nearly.
nidhu	<i>n.</i> demon, evil spirit.
nihia	<i>n.</i> afternoon.
nii	<i>vi.</i> dream.

ni'i	<i>n.</i> bat.
ninu	<i>vt.</i> 3SG.drink.
none	<i>adv.</i> momentarily.
nono	<i>vt.</i> smoke.
no-no	TAM. continue.
no'o	<i>v.</i> 3SG.want; agree.
noo-noo	<i>v.</i> go along.
nu'a	<i>n.</i> injury.
nuka	<i>adv.</i> namely; as.
nuni	<i>vt.</i> pull.
nyale	<i>n.</i> k.o.sea worm.
Nyale Dhao	<i>n.</i> March.
Nyale Edha	<i>n.</i> February.
Nyale Kole	<i>n.</i> April.
Nyale Sèpu	<i>n.</i> December.
nyama	<i>n.</i> raffia.
nyiu	<i>n.</i> coconut.

O - o

o	EXCL. oh.	ooi-ooi	<i>adv.</i> crying sound.
oe	TAM. almost.	Opo	<i>n.</i> person name.
oe-eo	TAM. nearly.	oro₁	<i>v.</i> look around.
oka	<i>n.</i> garden, fence, stable.	oro₂	<i>vt.</i> walk at the beach.
oka-hoo	<i>n.</i> highway.	oro-oro	<i>adv.</i> while walking.
oke	<i>vt.</i> surround.	oru	<i>vt.</i> collect.
oni	<i>n.</i> bee.	osa	<i>n.</i> harvest (fishing).
oo	EXCL. oh.	oto	<i>n.</i> car, profit.
oode	<i>adv.</i> too (little).		

P - p

pa-	prefix.	pacuhi	<i>vi.</i> cold.
pa'adhu	<i>vt.</i> send.	pada	<i>n.</i> field.
pabaa	<i>v.</i> cheer.	padelo	<i>vt.</i> reveal, make known.
pacele	<i>n.</i> secret.	padhadha	<i>vi.</i> promise.
pacèli	<i>v.</i> press.	padhae	<i>vi.</i> speak.

padhai *vt.* speak.
padhane *vt.* bury.
padhau *vt.* put s.t down.
padhe *vi.* broken.
padhèdi *v.* despise.
padhidhi *vt.* mock.
padhue *vi.* discuss.
pado'a *vt.* k.o. dance.
pae 1 • *n.* chisel.
 2 • *v.* to stick.
pae'e'a *vt.* worship.
paga *vt.* roast.
pag'ag'a *vt.* fight.
pagèro *n.* sound.
pahadhe *v.* hamper.
pahèdhe *n.* hurlyburly.
pahia *v.* sell, give each other.
paholo *v.* whisper.
pahua *v.* to have cock fight.
pahu'a *v.* bequeath.
pai *vt.* boil water.
pa'ie *vt.* repair fishing net.
paia *vi.* pacify.
paie *adv.* be careful.
pa'iu *n.* chicken spur.
pajala *n.* motif.
paje *v.* trap.
paji *n.* flag.
pajiko *vt.* consider; think over.
pajo *v.* wander.
pajojo *vt.* compare.
paj'ojo *vt.* offer.
paj'uj'u *v.* point to.
pakèdhii *vt.* press.
pakai *vi.* hook.
pakaseti *vt; vi.* force.
pake *vt.* use; wear.
pakèce *vi.* scream.
pakèdi *vi.* leave.

pake'e *adv.* burst out.
pakeko *v.* afoot.
pakihu *vt.* mix.
pakula *v.* dispart.
pala *n.* portion.
palango *vi.* take leave.
palangu *vi.* farewell; say good bye.
palèbha *Variant palèbhe* *v.* lie
 athwart; cross.
palèbhe *See main entry palèbha* *v.*
 place athwart.
paleha *vt.* order.
paloa *vi.* liken.
paloko *adv.* stack.
paluri *v.* wean.
pama'a *n.* inside threat (of
 weaving).
pamariu *vt.* whittle.
pana₁ *vt.* hot.
pana₂ *vt.* cook.
panahu *vi.* anchor.
panga'a *Variant: panga'e.* *vt.* feed.
panga'e *See main entry: panga'a.*
pangala *n.* ladle.
pangalahii *n.* chin.
pangèci *v.* manage.
pangèd'u *vt.* turnover.
pango'o *n.* k.o. crowbar.
panita *n.* pastor.
panutu *n.* beak.
panyami *v.* chew.
panyau *vt.* be mine.
panyoro *n.* lips.
panyuu *vi.* force.
pao *n.* mango.
pa'oo *vt.* yell.
papa *n.* board, father.
pape *v.* set board.
para *Variant: pare.* *vt.* cut.

parahi *n.* embryo.
parame *vt.* confiscating each other.
parapo *n.* robber.
pare *See main entry: para. vt.* slaughter.
pare'a *vt.* agree.
paredha *vt.* command; govern.
parèi *vt.* arouse.
parèu *vt.* drop.
paringi **1** • *n.* dew.
2 • *v.* dulcify with water.
parisa *v.* inspect.
parlaa *n.* plastic mat.
paroa *vt.* call.
parodha *vt.* scream.
paru *v.* strike; hit.
paru'e *vi.* spit.
pasa *vt.* high tide, carry.
pasae *v.* carry.
pasale *vi.* whimper; whine.
pasaluu *vt.* wear; input.
pasaree *v.* to be offended.
pasaseo *vt.* ban.
pase *v.* agree; match.
pasebo *vi.* blatant.
pasèdhu *n.* weaving sword.
pasèja *vt.* step.
pasèki *vt.* crowd in.
pasere *v.* race-meeting.
pasili *vt.* lie.
pasilu *v.* exchange.
pasiri a'ana *n.* quiz; riddle.
pasoa *v.* ups-down.
pasoka *v.* jump.
pasoro *aslant.*
patabuli *vt.* free, release.
patahi *vi.* hang.
patahoi *vi.* to make s.t. fall down.
patalale *vt.* release.

patama *v.* insert a bullet
patèka *v.* bet.
patèku *vi.* fight.
patènge *vi.* time span.
patèni *v.* separate out.
patia *vi.* in a row.
patig'i *vt.* spy.
Patua Togo *n.* name of a character in folk tale.
patue *vt.* fell.
Patuhenu *n.* person name.
patuhu *v.* connect.
pe *adv.* later.
pea *vi.* stay.
pèci *vt.* throw.
pèda *vi.* sick.
pèdi *vi.* itch.
pèga *v.* step.
pèga *adv.* a step.
pega *n.* plate.
pège *v.* cross.
peka *vi.* tell.
pèku *n.* fish net.
pèlo *vt.* fill.
peni *n.* women belt.
pènu *vi.* full.
pèri *Qw.* how many.
Pesa Kèli *n.* person name.
pici *v.* splatter; splash.
pidha *vi.* move.
pidhu *num.* seven.
Piga Sina *n.* person name in legend.
Piga Suki *n.* person name in legend.
Pika *n.* person name in legend.
pio *n.* whirligig.
Pita Sug'i *n.* name of a character in folk tale.
pode *vt.* turn.

podho *See main entry: bhodho. vi.*
go outside.
po'e *vi.* loosen bowels.
po'e raa *v.* dysentery
poka-poka *v.* soon.
poke *n.* blind.
poko *n.* capital.
po'o *v.* k.o.sound.
poro *v.* cut.
potoloo *n.* pencil.
pua *vt.* order.

pudhi *adj.* white, silver.
pudhu *v.* drill.
puku *adv.* estimated.
Puku Afu *n.* Puku Afu strait.
pulu *n.* island.
pupu *n.* blowpipe.
puri *vt.* restore.
puru *vt.* go down.
puu *v.* pick.
puu-g'ètu *vt.* harvest.

R - r

ra *pro.* 3PL.CL; they.
raa *n.* blood.
ra'a *v.* 3PL.eat.
rabhi *n.* woman's sarong.
Rade Lingu *n.* person name in legend.
radhu *v.* laugh.
rae *n.* kampong.
rae lesa *n.* public.
Rackedho *n.* village name in Ndao.
raga *vt.* meet.
rage *vt.* hit.
rai **1 •** *n.* ground, land, territory,
2 • *v.* run, cleared up.
rai liru *n.* cloud (white).
rai opo *n.* catastrophe.
rai reo *vi.* around.
raje *v.* set dowel.
rame *vi.* crowded.
range *vt.* encounter.
rao *n.* fireplace.
rapa *See main entry: ropa. conj.*
1 • when.
2 • at the moment.
rapi *vt.* wrap.

rapo *n.* leafy.
rara *v.* 3PL.take.
rara iisi *vi.* give birth.
rarahai *adv.* all.
rarange *v.* coaxing.
rarapa *n.* bridle.
rarepo *v.* busy.
raria *n.* pole.
rarii *vi.* sores.
rarode *v.* disturb.
rarodho *n.* filings.
raroo *v.* sort through.
rarumu *vt.* do laundry.
rase *vt.* wash.
Rasu Oe Dai *n.* person name in legend.
rate *n.* bangle.
rau-rau *adv.* dim.
re *vi.* via; through.
rea *vi.* shine.
re'a *vt.* 3PL.know.
rèda *n.* bird cage.
rèdha *n.* nest.
rèdhe *vt.* pull.
rèdhi *vt.* 3PL.see.

rèji-rèji *v.* dripping sound.
rèka *n.* tool.
rèko *vt.* shake.
rèku-rèku *adv.* drizzle.
rèmi 1 • *n.* low tide.
 2 • *vi.* awake.
rena *n.* mother.
rena paru *n.* wooden mallet.
rèngu *pro.* 3PL; they.
reo *vi.* go around.
rèpa *n.* fathom.
repo *v.* busy.
rèti *v.* 3PL.bring; they bring.
rèu *n.* leaf.
rèu dhilu *n.* ear.
rèu èngu *n.* k.o.seaweed.
rèu lai *See main entry: hèla lai.* *n.* tail.
rèu madha *n.* eye brow.
rèu suru *n.* lontar or coconut leaf.
ridhu *vt.* jump.
riho₁ *num.* thousand.
riho₂ *num.* thousand.
rii *n.* current.
ringi *v.* thanksgiving feast.
rinu *vt.* 3PL.drink.
ripi *n.* cheek.
risi *adv.* more.
riti *n.* brass.
riu *v.* wash face, pointed.
roa *n.* partition.
ro'a *n.* hole, cemetery.

roa aae *vi.* reasonable.
robhonga *n.* group.
roca *vi.* bored.
rodha *Variant: rodhe.* *vi.* scream.
rodhe *See main entry: rodha.*
rodho *v.* stingy.
rodo *vi.* crawl, creep.
roe *v.* weak, molten.
rog'a₁ *n.* tools.
rog'a₂ *n.* tool box.
roge *vi.* dance.
rohu *n.* face.
roko *n.* cigarette.
roma *n.* eel.
ro'o *vt.* want.
ropa *Variant: rapa.* *cnj.* when.
roro *vt.* piece, butchered.
roso *vt.* rub, grate, rasp.
Rote *n.* Rote Island.
Ru *n.* person name.
rui *n.* bone.
ruj'a *n.* k.o.fruit salad.
ruj'u *n.* porpoise.
ruku *vi.* aging.
rupa *n.* appearance.
rupiah *n.* rupiah.
rusu *n.* name.
rusu.ndau *n.* k.o.stone.
rute *adv.* quick.
rutu *adj; v.* rust.

S - s

sa'ara *n.* nape of neck.
saba *v.* work.
sabaj'a *vi.* pray.
sabha *n.* palm container.
sabha.dhau *n.* big palm container.

sabha.koa *n.* small palm container.
sabha.tanae *n.* small container.
sabhi *vt.* wean.
sabhoka *vi.* exit quickly.
sabhu *v.* 1 • welcome.

v. 2 • greet.
sabhu kaho v. enlace.
sabhuu v. spurt.
sad'i *cnj.* provided that.
sadia *vt.* prepare.
sae v. to clean.
saga *n.* branch.
saga.roro *n.* lontar stem with thorn.
sagèba v. facedown.
sagèbe v. turn over; upside-down.
sagèri *n.* a bunch.
sag'ig'i v. have tobacco on lips.
sagoro *n.* hot.
sagu *vi.* storm.
saguru *vt.* close.
sahèka *adv.* suddenly.
sai v. slice; sliced.
sakaa v. crunchy, rough; sleepy.
sakido v. smoke.
sakino *n.* flute.
sakola *n.* school.
saku *vt.* sweep.
sala *adj.* wrong.
salabhe *n.* k.o. flat basket.
salae *n.* sand.
salag'i *n.* sour.
salai₁ v. stroke.
salai₂ v. spin.
salaka *n.* head.
salake *vt.* take out from weaving tool.
salalu *n.* k.o. shawl.
salapa *n.* slipper.
sale *vi.* wrong.
saleku v. accidentally bump into.
sali'u *vt.* go outside.
sama *adv.* same.
samaa *adj.* light.
samala *n.* poniard; sword.

samee *n.* cement.
sanabhu *n.* shadow.
sanao *vt.* hope.
sanède *vt.* remember.
sanèpu v. red tying.
sangae *adv.* that big.
sange v. put.
sangidhi v. show teeth.
sanunu v. plan.s.t, intercept.
sanuu *vt.* fumigate.
sapatu *n.* shoes.
sapeda *n.* bicycle.
sapo *vt.* welcome.
saraa *vi.* shine, light.
saraga *adj.* beautiful.
sarai v. lean on.
saraka *vt.* hand over.
sarani *vi.* baptize.
saroo *n.* rainbow.
saroto *vt.* to filter.
saru'u *vt.* hold.
sasadhu *n.* sasando musical instrument.
sasamia *Qw.* how.
sasanga *n.* rift.
sasau *n.* motif.
sase v. pair.
sasèdhu *n.* weaving tool.
sasesu *n.* phalange.
saseti-saseti *vi.* push.
sasigo *n.* turning back.
sasii *n.* lasso.
sasoa *n.* meaning.
sasoo *vi.* whistle.
sasula *n.* filter; sieve.
sasule *n.* coconut's shell.
sa'u *vt.* hold.
sa'ua *n.* roller.
seba v. pay.

sebhe	<i>n.</i> edge.
sèbu	<i>n; vi.</i> smoke; have smoke.
se'e	<i>Deic.</i> PROX.PL, these.
sèg'i	<i>v.</i> cleave, crack.
sehe	<i>n.</i> oar.
sèi	<i>Deic.</i> REM.PL, those.
sèka	<i>v.</i> once.
seka	<i>v.</i> brush.
seka hòi	<i>adv.</i> also.
sèku	<i>v.</i> try; measure.
sèla	<i>vt.</i> plant.
sela	<i>n.</i> stem of canoe's bow.
seli	<i>adv.</i> exceed.
sèmi	<i>prep.</i> like, as, receive, if only.
sèna	<i>cnj.</i> so that.
sène	TAM. just.
sèngi	<i>v.</i> fried.
senta	<i>n.</i> hull.
senti	<i>n.</i> centimetre.
sèra	<i>Deic.</i> DIST.PL, those.
seti	<i>vi.</i> push.
si₁	PART. plural marker.
si₂	PART. question tag.
sig'i	<i>n.</i> cloth, sheath.
sihu aj'u	<i>n.</i> cassava.
sihu loro	<i>n.</i> sweet potato.
sili	<i>n.</i> chili.
silu	<i>v.</i> wear.
Sina	<i>n.</i> China.
sina	<i>cnj.</i> maybe.
siri	<i>vt.</i> guess, predict.
sisì	<i>n.</i> meat.
sisu	<i>vt.</i> oppose.
so	<i>v.</i> chase away.
soa	<i>v.</i> jump.
Sobha	<i>n.</i> a name in folk tale.
sobhu	<i>v.</i> wicked.
sobhu-sobhu	<i>adv.</i> abundant result.

soda	<i>vi.</i> sing.
sode	<i>vt.</i> elevate; spoon.
soe	<i>n.</i> basket.
sogo tagu	<i>n.</i> worship.
Sogu	<i>n.</i> place name.
soka	<i>n.</i> sack.
soke	<i>vt.</i> scoop.
sola	<i>vt.</i> cut open.
solì	<i>vt.</i> pour.
solo	<i>n.</i> hat.
solo.mako	<i>v.</i> coaxing.
Solo Sai	<i>n.</i> name of a character in folk tale.
Sona Ba'i	<i>n.</i> the island of Timor.
sope	<i>n.</i> sarong.
sope.tudi	<i>n.</i> knife case.
soro	<i>vt.</i> hand over.
soru	<i>v.</i> greet, welcome.
soso	<i>v.</i> clean up.
sota	<i>n.</i> dregs.
subha	<i>vi.</i> swear.
subhi	<i>n.</i> essence.
subhu	<i>n.</i> shoot.
sue	<i>vt.</i> love.
Suempi	<i>n.</i> person name.
sug'i	<i>n.</i> k.o.crab.
sui	<i>v.</i> redeem.
su'i	<i>adj.</i> rich.
suki	<i>v.</i> put dowel.
sule	<i>v.</i> filter.
sungu	<i>n.</i> k.o. fish.
suri	<i>vt.</i> carved, engraved, write.
suru	<i>n.</i> cresset.
susa	<i>v.</i> suffer
suti	<i>vi.</i> drip.
suu	<i>n.</i> tip.
suu lai	<i>See main entry: hèla lai.</i>
suu panutu	<i>n.</i> mouth of bird.

T - t

ta	<i>adv.</i> middle.	tao.eele	<i>v.</i> take out.
ta'a	<i>v.</i> 3PL.in.eat.	tapa	<i>vt.</i> adhere.
taba	<i>vi.</i> add.	tape	<i>vt.</i> adhere; patch on.
tabaga	<i>n.</i> brazing.	taraa	<i>v.</i> cry out.
tabha	<i>v.</i> add.	tarae	<i>n.</i> sorghum.
tabhe	<i>vt.</i> blow; hit.	tarae.sina	<i>n.</i> corn.
tabhèli	<i>v.</i> slip.	tare	1 • <i>vt.</i> 1PL.in.take. 2 • <i>conj.</i> after, until.
tabhu'u	<i>v.</i> melted mucus.	tare'a	<i>adj.</i> right.
tabolo	<i>adj.</i> round.	tare'a-re'a	<i>vi.</i> absolutely right.
tada	<i>n.</i> level.	tarenga	<i>v.</i> spread-eagle.
tadèngi	<i>vi.</i> hear.	tari	<i>vt.</i> plait.
tadha	<i>n.</i> sign. <i>Syn:</i> tadhe . 'recognize; know; broken'.	taroto	<i>vt.</i> to boil.
tadhe	<i>vt.</i> recognize; know; broken. <i>Syn:</i> tadha 'sign'.	taruu	TAM. continue.
tadhu	<i>n.</i> horns.	tasameramia	<i>Qw.</i> how.
tago	<i>v.</i> bear.	tasamia	<i>Qw.</i> how.
taha	<i>vt.</i> endure.	tataa	<i>n.</i> beach.
tai	<i>v.</i> adhere, weighing.	tatai	<i>vt.</i> filter.
taja	<i>v.</i> trap.	tatao	<i>n.</i> deed.
taki	<i>v.</i> tighten; tight.	tate	<i>vt.</i> cut.
talej'e	<i>v.</i> lazy.	tatea	<i>n.</i> walking staff.
talora	<i>n.</i> middle.	tatee	<i>vt.</i> sprinkle.
tamuku	<i>n.</i> vice lord of domain.	tatèka	<i>n.</i> storage.
tamuru	<i>v.</i> shuffle down.	tatèku	<i>n.</i> weaving tool.
tanae	<i>v.</i> store; catch up.	tatia	<i>n.</i> distance.
tanèi	<i>n.</i> intestine.	tatiu	<i>n.</i> fire blower.
tangad'a	<i>n.</i> anchor.	Tatoba	<i>n.</i> name.
tangara	<i>vi.</i> face.	tau	<i>vt.</i> know.
tangi	<i>vi.</i> cry.	Tau Hara Bula	<i>n.</i> name of a character in folk tale.
Tangiri	<i>n.</i> k.o.fish.	Ta Denga	<i>n.</i> name of a character in folk tale.
Tangiri Babha	<i>n.</i> k.o fish.	te	PART. but ;because; then.
tangi.dolo.aae	<i>v.</i> crying aloud.	te'a	<i>vt.</i> 1PL-in.know.
tanu	<i>vt.</i> bind.	tèbe	<i>v.</i> slap.
tanu'i	<i>n.</i> notch.	tebe	<i>vt.</i> carry.
tao	<i>v.</i> work, make	tèbhe	<i>n.</i> k.o trumpet.
tao-tao	TAM. continue.		

tèbhu	<i>vt.</i> butt.
tèbu	<i>v.</i> spear.
tede	<i>adj.</i> flimsy.
tedhe	<i>n.</i> fence stone.
tèdhi	<i>vt.</i> 1PL.in-see.
tègu	<i>vi.</i> pile up.
tèja	<i>Qnt.</i> enough, stop.
tèka	<i>vt.</i> keep; put; alight; perch.
tèke	<i>v.</i> keep; save, leave behind.
tèke	<i>n.</i> lizard.
teko	<i>adv.</i> if.
tèlu	<i>num.</i> three.
teme-teme	<i>adv.</i> all.
tengaa	<i>conj.</i> but; because.
tenge	<i>v.</i> look for.
Te'o Kukuaao Kea	<i>n.</i> name of character in folk tale.
tèpu	<i>v.</i> bite.
Tera	<i>n.</i> name of a character in folk tale.
tère	<i>n.</i> eggplant.
teri-teri	<i>v.</i> be in a series
Teroaao	<i>n.</i> Teroaao.
tèru	<i>v.</i> see.
tesa	<i>vi.</i> complete.
tète	<i>v.</i> piece.
tèti	<i>vt.</i> bring, weave.
teto	<i>n.</i> auntie.
tèu	<i>n.</i> year.
Tèu Bharu	<i>n.</i> New Year, January.
ti	<i>pro.</i> 1PL.in.CL.
ti'a-ti'a	<i>adv.</i> too grey.
tiba	<i>n.</i> lime powder container.
tibhene	<i>n.</i> dragonfly.
tie	<i>v.</i> set on the side.

tigi	<i>v.</i>
tihe	<i>v.</i> bargain.
ti'i	<i>n.</i> aunt.
Timporo	<i>n.</i> k.o.fish.
tine	<i>n.</i> garden.
tinu	<i>adv.</i> continuously.
tinu	<i>vt.</i> 3PL.in-drink.
títu	<i>vi.</i> stand.
títu mera	<i>n.</i> noon.
tiu	<i>v.</i> blow.
to	<i>tag.</i> tag.
to'a	<i>adj.</i> in need.
tobe	<i>vt.</i> prop; sustain.
todha	<i>n.</i> k.o. canoe.
todhe	<i>vt.</i> bring.
toke	<i>prep.</i> until.
to'o	<i>n.</i> uncle.
topo	<i>adj.</i> blunt.
toru	<i>n.</i> plane (wood).
Tou	<i>n.</i> name of a character in folk tale.
tu	<i>vi.</i> arrive.
tudi	<i>n.</i> knife.
tudi бага	<i>n.</i> k.o. knife for tapping.
tuka	<i>v.</i> exchange.
Tuka Suki	<i>n.</i> person name in legend.
tuku	<i>vt.</i> smith.
tula	<i>n.</i> papyrus.
tule	<i>vt.</i> push.
tulu	<i>v.</i> assist.
tumea	<i>n.</i> fur.
tunu	<i>v.</i> burn.
tutu	<i>v.</i> incubate, cut.
tuu	<i>v.</i> arrive.

U - u

ua	<i>n.</i> body.	unu	1 • <i>n.</i> possession.
uba	<i>v.</i> change.		2 • <i>v.</i> possess.
udhu	<i>n.</i> louse.	uri	<i>v.</i> disentangle, deal.
udhu-rasa	<i>n.</i> tribe.	uru₁	<i>n.</i> handle.
udu	<i>vt.</i> pile.	uru₂	<i>adv.</i> formerly.
ue	<i>v.</i> result in.	urutuu	<i>n.</i> knee.
uj'u	<i>vt.</i> bind.	usu	<i>n.</i> heart.
uku	<i>v.</i> measure, do magic.	uu	<i>v.</i> kiss.
uku kedi	<i>n.</i> witch.	uuku-uuku	<i>adv.</i> burst out.
uli	<i>n.</i> steer.	uusu	<i>v.</i> bail.

W - w

wa	EXCL. ooh, gosh.	weh	EXCL. hey.
waja	<i>n.</i> steel.		

Y - y

ya	EXCL. yes.
-----------	------------

2.2 English – Dhao Wordlist

A - a

a	<i>num.</i> ca.	agree; match	<i>v.</i> pase.
a bunch	<i>n.</i> sagèri.	agree; nod	<i>vi.</i> ngètu.
a galaxy of; k.o.fish	<i>vi.</i> maho₂.	aha	<i>PART.</i> ha.
a moment	<i>adv.</i> diki.	all	<i>adv.</i> aa'i.
a part of	<i>n.</i> hag'e.		<i>adv.</i> rarahai.
a piece	<i>n.</i> lai₃.		<i>adv.</i> teme-teme.
about; maybe; not.lose	<i>adv.</i> ele.boe.		<i>Qnt.</i> hua.
above	<i>adv.</i> dedha.	all at once	<i>adv.</i> kaca'a.
absolutely right	<i>vi.</i> tare'a-re'a.	almost	<i>adv.</i> ita;
abundant result	<i>adv.</i> sobhu-sobhu.		<i>TAM.</i> oe.
accidentally bump into.	<i>v.</i> saleku.	alone	<i>Qnt.</i> mesa.
add	<i>v.</i> tabha;	already	<i>adv.</i> èle.
	<i>vi.</i> taba.	also	<i>adv.</i> hèi.
adhere	<i>v.</i> kaj'èpe.		<i>adv.</i> seka hèi.
	<i>v.</i> tai.	although	<i>cnj.</i> masi.
	<i>vt.</i> tapa.		<i>cnj.</i> masi ka.
adhere; patch on	<i>vt.</i> tape.	amused	<i>vi.</i> capag'ili.
ador	<i>n.</i> hèu.	anchor	<i>n.</i> tangad'a.
advice	<i>n.</i> holonori.		<i>vi.</i> panahu.
advise	<i>vt.</i> holo.	and	<i>cnj.</i> aa.
afoot	<i>v.</i> pakeko;	angry	<i>v.</i> nasa;
	<i>vi.</i> kalau.		<i>vi.</i> kacèla;
afraid	<i>vi.</i> madha'u.		<i>vt.</i> gagai;
after that	<i>cnj.</i> èle ka.		<i>vt ; adv.</i> tao.
after, until	<i>cnj.</i> tare.	animal	<i>n.</i> badha.
afternoon	<i>n.</i> lod'o nihia;	ankle	<i>n.</i> gage.
	<i>n.</i> nihia.	ant	<i>n.</i> kikidui.
afterwards	<i>cnj.</i> heka₂;	a pack	<i>n.</i> kètu₂.
	<i>cnj.</i> hèia.	apparatus box	<i>n.</i> rog'a₂.
again	<i>adv.</i> hari;	appear	<i>vi.</i> bhodho.
	<i>adv.</i> kahèi.	appearance	<i>n.</i> rupa.
aging	<i>vi.</i> ruku.	appropriate, be right, be touched	<i>vi.</i> lèke.
aglow	<i>v.</i> heo;	April	<i>n.</i> Nyale Kole.
	<i>v.</i> karoo.	arc	<i>n.</i> hahusu.
agree	<i>vt.</i> pare'a.	areca nut	<i>n.</i> hènyi.
		around	<i>vi.</i> rai reo.

arouse	<i>vt.</i> parèi.	asphyxia	<i>vi.</i> bèja.
arrive	<i>v.</i> tuu; <i>vi.</i> tu.	assist	<i>v.</i> batu; <i>v.</i> tulu.
arrogant	<i>v.</i> koaao.	a.step	<i>adv.</i> pèga₂.
arrow, shoot with arrow	<i>vt.</i> kataki.	at close guaters	<i>n.</i> pahèdhe.
as	<i>prep.</i> sèmi.	at, on, in	<i>prep.</i> ètu.
a section	<i>n.</i> madha₂.	at the moment	<i>cnj.</i> rapa.
ashamed	<i>vi.</i> makae.	August	<i>n.</i> Isi Nèta.
ask	<i>v.</i> karèi <i>v.</i> manèngi; <i>v.</i> mangao.	aunt	<i>n.</i> ti'i.
ask, inquire	<i>v.</i> bari₂.	auntie	<i>n.</i> teto.
aslant	— pasoro.	awake	<i>vi.</i> rèmi.
		ax	<i>n.</i> kataka.

B - b

back	<i>n.</i> kabodho.	be mine	<i>vt.</i> panyau.
bad	<i>adj.</i> aapa; <i>adj.</i> karehe.	be.absent	<i>vi.</i> aad'o.
bad odor	<i>n.</i> hèu bhobho.	beach	<i>n.</i> cucu mata; <i>n.</i> namo; <i>n.</i> nebhe; <i>n.</i> tataa.
bail	<i>v.</i> uusu; <i>vt.</i> dhui₁.	beak	<i>n.</i> panutu.
bait; feed	<i>v.</i> ani.	bear	<i>v.</i> tago.
bake	<i>vt.</i> bhubhu.	beat	<i>vt.</i> hake.
balance	<i>vi.</i> bhare.	beautiful	<i>adj.</i> saraga.
bamboo	<i>n.</i> kalaiyèu.	because	<i>cnj.</i> lula; <i>cnj.</i> ngèti.
ban	<i>vt.</i> pasaseo.	because	<i>cnj.</i> te.
banana	<i>n.</i> mu'u.	become	<i>vi.</i> j'aj'i.
bangle	<i>n.</i> rate.	bed	<i>n.</i> koi.
banyan	<i>n.</i> kabunu.	bee	<i>n.</i> oni.
baptize	<i>vi.</i> sarani.	behind	<i>n.</i> kabodho.
bargain	<i>v.</i> tihe.	believe	<i>v.</i> lèka.
base; astern	<i>n.</i> hui₂.	belly	<i>n.</i> d'èlu; <i>n.</i> kabake.
basket	<i>n.</i> soe.	below	<i>adj;</i> <i>n.</i> haha.
bat	<i>n.</i> lai balu mèdi; <i>n.</i> ni'i.	belt	<i>n.</i> dhari.hake.
bathe	<i>v.</i> diu.	bench	<i>n.</i> bagu.
bayan	<i>n.</i> madhiri.	bequeath	<i>v.</i> pahu'a.
be able	<i>adv.</i> nia.	bet	<i>v.</i> patèka.
be able to	<i>v.</i> mèke.	betel	<i>n.</i> kanana.
be broken	<i>vi.</i> masèka.		
be careful	<i>adv.</i> paie.		
be cold	<i>vi.</i> maho₁.		

bettel-nut container	<i>n.</i> kapepe	bop on head	<i>vt.</i> deu.
	nana.	bored	<i>vi.</i> roca.
bicycle	<i>n.</i> sapeda.	borne	<i>vt.</i> mora iisi.
big	<i>adj.</i> dhèbo;	bother	<i>vt.</i> laleko.
	<i>adj.</i> kapai.	bottle	<i>n.</i> boto.
big palm container	<i>n.</i> sabha dhau.	bow	<i>n.</i> kaduru.
big (wood)	<i>adj.</i> dèbho.	bow down	<i>vi.</i> cudu.
bind	<i>vt.</i> iu;	box	<i>n.</i> kotak.
	<i>vt.</i> tanu;	boy	<i>n.</i> lai ag'o.
	<i>vt.</i> uj'u.	brace	<i>n.</i> kakai.
bird	<i>n.</i> manubhui.	bracelet	<i>n.</i> kanau.
bird sound	<i>v.</i> kaoo-kaoo.	brain; pregnant	<i>n;</i> <i>v.</i> kahadhu.
bird cage	<i>n.</i> rèda.	branch	<i>n.</i> dadana;
bite	<i>v.</i> kadhi;		<i>n.</i> kajari;
	<i>v.</i> tèpu.		<i>n.</i> kalai;
black	<i>adj.</i> mèdi.		<i>n.</i> kamaki;
bleat	<i>vi.</i> kabee.		<i>n.</i> saga.
blind	<i>n.</i> poke;	brass	<i>n.</i> riti.
	<i>vi.</i> bèdhu.	brave	<i>vi.</i> bani.
blister	<i>vi.</i> kahèu.	brazing	<i>n.</i> tabaga.
block	<i>n.</i> babaa.	break	<i>v.</i> lèku.
block; hinder; shelter	<i>v.</i> abhe.	breath	<i>v.</i> ae₂.
blood	<i>n.</i> raa.	breed; expand	<i>v.</i> bèba.
bloom	<i>n;</i> <i>vi.</i> mare.	bridewealth	<i>n.</i> kabua.
blossom	<i>n.</i> hela.	bridge	<i>n,</i> <i>v.</i> kalete.
blow	<i>vt;</i> <i>vi.</i> tiu.	bridle	<i>n.</i> rarapa.
blow; hit	<i>vt.</i> tabhe.	bring	<i>vt.</i> tèti;
blow.out	<i>v.</i> bua₁.		<i>vt.</i> todhe.
blowpipe	<i>n.</i> pupu.	bring	<i>vt.</i> kèti, mèti, nèti,
blunt	<i>adj.</i> topo.		ngèti, rèti
board	<i>n.</i> papa.	broken	<i>v.</i> mae;
board game	<i>n.</i> loko.		<i>vi.</i> laho;
boat	<i>n.</i> ana rajo;		<i>vi.</i> padhe;
	<i>n.</i> balu₁;		<i>vt.</i> ciu.
	<i>n.</i> koha.	brother in law	<i>n.</i> kera.
body	<i>n.</i> isi;	brush	<i>v.</i> seka.
	<i>n.</i> ngi'u;	bullet	<i>n.</i> pelor.
	<i>n.</i> ua.	bullet, volume, hook	<i>n.</i> isi.
boil	<i>v.</i> nasu;	burden	<i>n.</i> babia.
	<i>vi.</i> hare'a.	burglar	<i>v.</i> mana'u.
boil water	<i>vt.</i> pai.	burn	<i>v.</i> tunu.
bold	<i>vi.</i> bani.	burnt	<i>vi.</i> kèpu.
bolster pillow	<i>n.</i> nanèlu tabolo.	burst out	<i>adv.</i> uuku-uuku.
bone	<i>n.</i> rui.		<i>adv.</i> pake'e.

bury	<i>v.</i> dhènu <i>vt.</i> padhane.	butchered	<i>vt.</i> roro.
busy	<i>v.</i> rarepo; <i>v.</i> repo.	butt	<i>vt.</i> tèbhu.
but	<i>conj.</i> tèngaa, te.	butterfly	<i>n.</i> kabeba.
		buy	<i>v.</i> hèli.

C - c

cackle	<i>v.</i> koko oko; <i>vi.</i> kokoredo.	chanting, seed	<i>n.</i> hini.
cage	<i>n.</i> karogo.	charcoal	<i>n.</i> kadhu; <i>n.</i> kalaha'a.
cake	<i>n.</i> koki.	charm	<i>n.</i> na'i.
call	<i>vt.</i> paroa.	chase	<i>vt.</i> bate; <i>vt.</i> magèle₁; <i>vt.</i> magèle₂; <i>vt.</i> megèle.
call, speak	<i>v.</i> lii.	chase away	<i>v.</i> so.
calm	<i>n.</i> marèngi.	cheek	<i>n.</i> ripi.
cambium	<i>n.</i> kahètu.	cheer	<i>v.</i> pabaa.
can	<i>n.</i> balee.	chest	<i>n.</i> kabhu; <i>n.</i> kakara.
candle	<i>n.</i> lili₁.	chew	<i>v.</i> panyami; <i>vt.</i> mame.
candlenut	<i>n.</i> kamia.	chicken	<i>n.</i> manu.
capital	<i>n.</i> kapua; <i>n.</i> poko.	chicken spur	<i>n.</i> pa'iu.
captain	<i>n.</i> kapatei.	chicken.coop	<i>n.</i> katèbhu.
car	<i>n.</i> oto.	child	<i>n.</i> ana.
care for, see	<i>vt.</i> leru.	chili	<i>n.</i> sili.
carry	<i>v.</i> hue; <i>v.</i> jèru; <i>v.</i> pasae; <i>vt.</i> dui; <i>vt.</i> pasa; <i>vt.</i> tebe.	chin	<i>n.</i> pangalahii.
carry.on.back	<i>vt.</i> kacuu.	China	<i>n.</i> Sina..
cart; wagon	<i>n.</i> gareta.	chirrup	<i>vi.</i> kio.
carved	<i>vt.</i> suri.	chisel	<i>n.</i> pae.
cassava	<i>n.</i> sihu aj'u.	choke	<i>vi.</i> mati'a.
cat	<i>n.</i> meo.	chop	<i>vt.</i> j'ue.
catastrophe	<i>n.</i> rai opo.	chord	<i>n.</i> lodha₁.
catch	<i>vt.</i> kèpe.	cigarette	<i>n.</i> roko.
catch.fish	<i>vt.</i> j'a'i.	circle	<i>adj.</i> kahore.
cave	<i>n.</i> loe₁.	clamp	<i>vt.</i> ngapi.
cement	<i>n.</i> samee.	clap	<i>v.</i> katèju₂.
cemetery	<i>n.</i> lutu bhatu.	clap water	<i>v.</i> dobho₂.
centimeter	<i>n.</i> senti.	clay.pot	<i>n.</i> èru.
chair	<i>n.</i> kadera.	clean	<i>v.</i> j'angi.
change	<i>v.</i> uba.	clean up	<i>v.</i> soso.
		clear	<i>vt.</i> ko'o.

cleave	<i>vt.</i> kacèbhe.	continuously	<i>adv.</i> tino.
cleave, crack	<i>v.</i> sèg'i.	cook	<i>vt.</i> pana₂.
cleave, lacerate	<i>v.</i> bèka.	cooked rice	<i>n.</i> kau.
climb	<i>vt.</i> karèke.	corn	<i>n.</i> tarae.sina.
close	<i>v.</i> kutu; <i>vt.</i> bèdho; <i>vt.</i> saguru.	corner	<i>n.</i> kabicu.
close, putty	<i>v.</i> cèlu.	cornered	<i>vi.</i> katata.
closing	<i>n.</i> kakutu.	cotton	<i>n.</i> kanyahu hèngu.
cloth	<i>n.</i> bèla; <i>n.</i> kepe; <i>n.</i> sig'i.	coughed	<i>vi.</i> me'a₂.
cloth.box	<i>n.</i> boaraka.	count	<i>v.</i> bareke; <i>vt.</i> iga.
cloud (white)	<i>n.</i> rai liru.	cover	<i>n.</i> katanga; <i>vt.</i> hutu.
cluck	<i>vi.</i> doa₂.	crab	<i>n.</i> karaka.
clump	<i>n.</i> nau.	crawl	<i>vi.</i> rodo.
cluster of lontar	<i>n.</i> nau.dhua.	crazy	<i>vi.</i> huj'u.
coaxing	<i>v.</i> rarange; <i>v.</i> solo.mako.	creep	<i>vi.</i> rodo.
cobweb	<i>n.</i> gaguu.	creeping	<i>n.</i> loro.
coconut	<i>n.</i> nyiu.	cresset	<i>n.</i> suru.
coconut calyx	<i>n.</i> karoba.	crew	<i>n.</i> mataroo.
coconut fiber	<i>n.</i> kahunu.	croak	<i>v.</i> mag'ao.
coconut's shell	<i>n.</i> sasule.	crock	<i>n.</i> g'ala.
coffee	<i>n.</i> kohi.	crocodile	<i>n.</i> baki.hoe.
cold	<i>vi.</i> pacuhi.	crooked, bent	<i>adj.</i> koe.
collapse	<i>vi.</i> guri.	cross	<i>v.</i> pège.
collect	<i>vt.</i> oru.	crow	<i>v.</i> kokotoo.
colorful	<i>adj.</i> karata.	crowd in	<i>vi.</i> malupu; <i>vt.</i> pasèki.
come	<i>vi.</i> mai.	crowded	<i>vi.</i> iia-aala; <i>vi.</i> rame.
command, govern	<i>vt.</i> paredha.	crown	<i>n.</i> lèbha.
compare	<i>vt.</i> pajojo.	crunchy	<i>adv.</i> kèru-kèru; <i>v.</i> sakaa.
complain.about.s.t.; accuse;		cry	<i>vi.</i> bangataraa; <i>vi.</i> tangi.
demand	<i>vt.</i> galaa₁.	cry out	<i>v.</i> taraa.
complete	<i>vi.</i> tesa.	crying aloud	<i>v.</i> tangi dolo aae.
condensed; thick	<i>adj.</i> kabhète.	crying sound	<i>adv.</i> ooi-ooi; <i>v.</i> kii-kii.
confiscating each other	<i>vt.</i> parame.	cup	<i>n.</i> mago.
connect	<i>v.</i> patuhu.	current	<i>n.</i> rii.
consider	<i>v.</i> babenu; <i>vi.</i> kasere.	custom	<i>n.</i> ada.
consider; think.over	<i>vt.</i> pajiko.	cut	<i>v.</i> èta₂; <i>v.</i> poro; <i>v.</i> tutu; <i>vt.</i> para;
continue	TAM. no-no; TAM. tao-tao; TAM. taruu.		

cut open *vt. tate.*
vt. sola.
 cut with scissor *v. g'ute.*

cut (fish) *vt. dhadhe.*
 cuttings of rice *n. karunu.*

D - d

dab *vt. gai.*
 dance *v. jara;*
vi. ledho;
vi. roge.
 dangle *vt. kaheko.*
 dark *adj. maroga.*
 day, time, sun *n. lod'o.*
 daytime *n. lonètu;*
n. mèu;
n. mèu te'e.
 deaf *v. katele.*
 debt *n. kèlu.*
 deed *n. tatao.*
 deep *adj. marèma.*
 definitely *adv. neuka.*
 demon *n. nidhu.*
 dense *adj. bhetu.*
 December *n. Nyale Sèpu.*
 despise *v. padhèdi.*
 destroyed *vi. laho.*
 dew *n. paringi.*
 dice *n. dobe.*
 die *v. madhe.*
 difficult; suffer *vi. j'èra.*
 difficulties *adj. dadèdhu.*
 dig *v. kèi.*
 dilligent *adj. maj'èni.*
 dilute *vt. dhobho.*
 dim *adv. rau-rau.*
 dip *vt. cèbu.*
 dirty *adj. hera.*
 dirty; filthy *adj; n. kaj'alu.*
 discuss *vi. padhue.*
 disentangle *v. madahu.*
 disentangle, deal *v. uri.*
 dispart *v. pakula.*
 distance *n. tatia.*
 DIST.PL *Deic. sèra.*

DIST.SG *Deic. èèna.*
 disturb *v. rarode.*
 dive *vi. cèla.*
 dizzy *v. madea.*
 do laundry *vt. rarumu.*
 doctor *n. dote.*
 dog *n. busa.*
 done *v. mami.*
 don't; afraid *neg; vi. mage.*
 door *n. hèba.*
 dove *n. koro j'aha.*
 dragonfly *n. tibhene.*
 drawee *v. kaj'èpe.*
 dream *vi. nii.*
 dregs *n. èto;*
n. sota.
 drift ashore *vt. eta.*
 drill *v. pudhu.*
 drink *vt. kinu, minu, ninu,*
nginu, tinu, rinu.
 drip *vi. lola;*
vi. suti.
 dripping sound *v. rèji-rèji.*
 drive *v. gili.*
 drizzle *adv. rèku-rèku.*
 drop *vt. parèu.*
 drown *vi. molo.*
 drowning *v. lala o'oo.*
 drunk *vt. mahu.*
 dry *adj. mango;*
adj. mèti₂;
v. kalèsa;
vi. kamango.
 dry in sun *v. ai.*
v. gela.
 dry leaves *n. laloe.*
 dry fruit of lontar *n. kabholo*
keke.

dulcify with water v. **paringi**.
 dull v. **bhaka**.
 dust n. **ahu**.

dysentery v. **po'e raa**.

E - e

each, per PART. **baka**.
 ear n. **rèu dhilu**.
 earrings n. **ate-ate**.
 east n. **dhimu**.
 eat vt. **ku'a, mu'a, mi'a, na'a, nga'a, ta'a, ra'a**.
 edge n. **sebhe**.
 edge; side n. **baboa**.
 eel n. **roma**.
 egg n. **kanadhu**.
 eggplant n. **tère**.
 egret n. **ha'u**.
 eight num. **aru**.
 eight grams n. **èma**.
 elevate; spoon vt. **sode**.
 embryo n. **parahi**.
 emerge v. **madhore**.
 empty vi. **mola**.
 encounter vt. **range**.
 endure vt. **taha**.
 enemy n ; v. **musu**.
 engraved vt. **suri**.
 enlace v. **heo**;
 v. **sabhu kaho**.

enough Qnt. **tèja**;
 Qnt ; prep ; vi. **dai**.
 enter v. **maso**;
 vt. **nare₁**.
 escort, accompany vt. **lere**.
 essence n. **subhi**.
 estimated adv. **puku**.
 everyday adv. **ca'a-ca'a**.
 adv. **bèli-bèli**.
 everywhere n. **lème**.
 evict vt. **babège**;
 vt. **bhabhoo**.
 evil spirit n. **nidhu**.
 exceed adv. **seli**.
 exchange v. **pasilu**;
 v. **tuka**.
 exit vi. **bhodho**;
 vi. **kalua**.
 exit quickly vi. **sabhoka**.
 eye n. **madha₁**;
 n. **musi madha**.
 eye brow n. **rèu madha**.

F - f

face n. **katanga madha**;
 n. **rohu**
 vi. **tangara**
 face powder n. **madaa**.
 facedown v. **sagèba**.
 fall v. **bèbha**;
 v. **kabhui**;
 v. **manahu**;
 vi. **mèlu**.
 fall facedown adv. **mopo-mopo**.

falling sound n. **karubhu**.
 family n. **a'a-ari**.
 fance post n. **agarii**.
 far adj. **kaj'èu**.
 farewell; say good.bye vi. **palangu**.
 fast adv. **karohe**.
 fast; aloud vi. **mèdhu₁**.
 fat adj. **kabèbu**.
 father n. **ama**;

	<i>n.</i> papa.	flat object	<i>n.</i> kalibhi.
fathom	<i>n.</i> rèpa.	flat stone	<i>n.</i> kabela.
February	<i>n.</i> Nyale Edha.	flimsy	<i>adj.</i> tede.
feces	<i>n.</i> dhèi.	float	<i>n.</i> gamu.
feed	<i>vt.</i> panga'a.	floating	<i>vi.</i> eebo-eebo.
feel	<i>vt.</i> g'ag'e.	flood	<i>n.</i> lala.
fell	<i>vt.</i> patue.	floor mat	<i>n.</i> dhèpi.
female	<i>n.</i> bhèni.	flow	<i>vi.</i> hae.
fence	<i>n.</i> oka.	flowing loose	<i>adv.</i> koro-koro.
fence stone	<i>n.</i> tedhe.	flute	<i>n.</i> sakino.
fence wood	<i>n.</i> lalolo.	fly	<i>n.</i> lara; <i>vt.</i> lela.
field	<i>n.</i> mamoo; <i>n.</i> pada.	foal	<i>v.</i> matana.
fight	<i>vi.</i> patèku; <i>vt.</i> pag'ag'a.	foam	<i>n.</i> horo₂.
filings	<i>n.</i> rarodho.	fold	<i>vt.</i> lèpa₂; <i>vt.</i> lèpe; <i>vt.</i> lidhu.
fill	<i>v.</i> isi; <i>vt.</i> pèlo.	follow	<i>v.</i> madhutu.
fill forcefully	<i>vt.</i> cèci.	foot	<i>n.</i> haga.
filter	<i>v.</i> sule; <i>vt.</i> tatai.	forbidden	<i>vi.</i> luri.
filter;sieve	<i>n.</i> sasula.	force	<i>v.</i> katèju₁; <i>vi.</i> lakaseti; <i>vi.</i> panyuu; <i>vt; vi.</i> pakaseti.
fine; dense	<i>adj.</i> lutu.	forceps	<i>n.</i> kakatua.
finish	<i>v.</i> haku.	forehead	<i>n.</i> katanga rèi.
finish; arrive	<i>vt.</i> nare₁.	forget	<i>vi.</i> bhèlu.
finished	<i>vi.</i> memè.	formerly	<i>adv.</i> uru₂.
finished, recover	<i>v.</i> èle.	fortunately	<i>adv.</i> malo.
finishing	<i>v.</i> hi'i.	four	<i>num.</i> èpa.
fire blower	<i>n.</i> tatiu.	fragrant; blessing	<i>vi.</i> mèngi.
fire place	<i>n.</i> dhuru.	free	<i>vt.</i> patabuli.
fireplace	<i>n.</i> rao.	free, common	<i>adv.</i> iia.
firewood	<i>n.</i> kadhèna; <i>n.</i> kadhèna.	fried	<i>v.</i> sèngi.
fish	<i>n.</i> i'a.	friend	<i>n.</i> anga; <i>n.</i> angalai.
fish net	<i>n.</i> pèku.	frighten	<i>vt.</i> bege.
fishhook	<i>vt.</i> malebha.	from	<i>prep.</i> ngèti.
fishing	— maleba (1); <i>v.</i> mad'ulu.	front	<i>n.</i> madha₁.
fish trap	<i>n.</i> huhu.	fruit	<i>n.</i> hua.
fist	<i>v.</i> j'ubhu.	fruitless	<i>n.</i> bhob'o.
five	<i>num.</i> lèmi.	full	<i>vi.</i> pènu.
flag	<i>n.</i> paji.	full moon	<i>n.</i> hèru kateme.
flame	<i>n; v.</i> kaha'a.	fumigate	<i>vt.</i> sanuu.
flank	<i>vt.</i> gepe.	fur	<i>n.</i> tumea.
flat	<i>adj.</i> mera.		

G - g

garbage	<i>n.</i> maruru.	gram	<i>n.</i> baj'u.
garden	<i>n.</i> oka; <i>n.</i> tine.	grandchild	<i>n.</i> èpu.
gather	<i>vi.</i> kaboko.	grandfather	<i>n.</i> baki.
get	<i>vt.</i> abhu.	grandmother	<i>n.</i> bèi.
get into; climb; ascend	<i>v.</i> ca'e.	grass	<i>n.</i> j'u'u.
get; 2PL.get	<i>v.</i> mera.	great; big	<i>adj.</i> aae.
get; 3SG.get	<i>vt.</i> nara.	green	<i>adj.</i> mangèru.
get.up	<i>v.</i> kèdi.	greet	<i>v.</i> sabhu; <i>v.</i> soru.
gingger	<i>n.</i> lia pana.	grey	<i>adj.</i> ahu.
give	<i>v.</i> hia.	grinding	<i>adv.</i> kico-kico.
give birth	<i>vi.</i> kora/nara/rara iisi.	grindstone	<i>n.</i> dari.
give; hand over; hand up	<i>vt.</i> j'ole.	groan	<i>vi.</i> bhesi.
glass	<i>n.</i> galaa₂.	grobe	<i>v.</i> dèu; <i>v.</i> gogo; <i>vt.</i> d'èu.
go along	<i>v.</i> noo-noo.	ground, land, territory,	<i>n.</i> rai.
go around	<i>vi.</i> reo.	group	<i>n.</i> robhonga.
go down	<i>vi.</i> dha'u; <i>vt.</i> puru.	group of	— maho₃ (1).
go home	<i>vi.</i> lèpa₁.	group.of.thread	<i>n.</i> ho'a.
go outside	<i>vi.</i> podho; <i>vt.</i> sali'u.	grow	<i>n.</i> bhuku; <i>vi.</i> muri.
go.ahead	<i>PART.</i> la'a₂.	grub up	<i>v.</i> edo.
goat	<i>n.</i> kahibi.	grub up; gouge	<i>vt.</i> huki.
God the creator	<i>n.</i> horo parahi.	guard	<i>v.</i> j'aga; <i>vt.</i> madhenge.
gold	<i>n.</i> hualaa.	guess	<i>vt.</i> siri.
gong	<i>n.</i> babha.	gun	<i>n.</i> bhabhua; <i>v ; n.</i> kasiro.
good	<i>adj.</i> be'a; <i>adj.</i> iaa.	guy	<i>n.</i> la'i aae.
gouge; lacerate	<i>vt.</i> cèru.		
gourd	<i>n.</i> karèbho.		
go	<i>vi.</i> laku, lamu, la'e, lami, lati, la'a, lasi .		

H - h

half	<i>vt.</i> camalore.	hand	<i>n.</i> kacui.aai.
half-cut	<i>v.</i> bèke.	hand over	<i>vt.</i> soro.
hamper	<i>v.</i> pahadhe.	hand, stingray fish, fire	<i>n.</i> ai.

handkerchief	<i>n.</i> lesu.
handle	<i>n.</i> uru₁.
hand.over	<i>v.</i> j'ola; <i>vt.</i> saraka.
hang	<i>v.</i> kadhoe; <i>vi.</i> patahi; <i>vt.</i> lalodhe.
hanged	<i>v.</i> lodha₂.
happy	<i>adj.</i> karej'e.
hard	<i>adj.</i> adhu.
harvest	<i>vt.</i> puu-g'ètu.
harvest (fishing)	<i>n.</i> osa.
hat	<i>n.</i> solo.
have cramps	<i>vi.</i> mela.
have just	<i>adv.</i> heka₁.
have nothing	<i>adv.</i> lao-lao.
have tobacco on lips	<i>v.</i> sag'ig'i.
hawk	<i>n.</i> manea.
head	<i>n.</i> kapala; <i>n.</i> kètu₁; <i>n.</i> salaka.
hear	<i>vi.</i> tadèngi.
heart	<i>n.</i> dara; <i>n.</i> usu.
heavy	<i>adj.</i> bia.
help;	<i>v.</i> bara.
herd	<i>vt.</i> èò.
herd; turn	<i>vt.</i> eo.
he/she (3SG)	<i>pro.</i> nèngu. <i>3SG.OBJ.CL pro.</i> ne.
hey	<i>Interj.</i> weh.
hide	<i>v.</i> lu'u; <i>vt.</i> huni₁.
high tide	<i>n.</i> dhasi joro; <i>vi.</i> luu; <i>vt.</i> pasa.
high tide	<i>n.</i> dhasi.uli.
highway	<i>n.</i> oka-hoo.
hill	<i>n.</i> kabhuku; <i>n.</i> ledhe.
hinges	<i>n.</i> hensel.
hip	<i>n.</i> haleja.

hit	<i>v.</i> dhèto; <i>v.</i> gama; <i>vt.</i> dhedhe₁; <i>vt.</i> haka; <i>vt.</i> mamobo; <i>vt.</i> rage.
hit gong	<i>v.</i> babha.
hoe-like tool	<i>n.</i> bego.
hold	<i>v.</i> kèd'u; <i>v.</i> lake; <i>vt.</i> horo₁; <i>vt.</i> kadhèi; <i>vt.</i> kèdu; <i>vt.</i> kèpe; <i>vt.</i> nèd'u; <i>vt.</i> saru'u; <i>vt.</i> sa'u.
hold on	<i>v.</i> mèdu.
hole, cemetery	<i>n.</i> ro'a.
Holiday	<i>n.</i> Hari Besa.
Holy Spirit	<i>n.</i> Manadhu Lai Lodha.
honorable	<i>adj.</i> hua iia.
hook	<i>vi.</i> pakai.
hope	<i>vt.</i> maena; <i>vt.</i> sanao.
horns	<i>n.</i> tadhu.
horse	<i>n.</i> jara.
hot	<i>n.</i> sagoro; <i>vt.</i> pana₁.
house	<i>n.</i> èmu.
how	<i>Qw.</i> tasameramia; <i>Qw.</i> tasamia.
how many	<i>Qw.</i> pèri.
how much	<i>Qw.</i> ca ngaa.
hug, embrace	<i>vt.</i> liku.
hull	<i>n.</i> senta.
humid	<i>vi.</i> kabe'e.
hundreds	<i>num.</i> ngasu.
hungry	<i>vi.</i> lojo; <i>vi.</i> manganga.

I - i

I (clitic); 1SG.CL	<i>pro.</i> ku ₁ .	insert, tuck	<i>vt ; vi.</i> kiju .
I (1SG)	<i>pro.</i> cèku ;	inside	<i>n.</i> dara .
	<i>pro.</i> ja'a .	inside body	<i>n.</i> dèlu .
if	<i>adv.</i> teko ;	inside threat (of weaving)	<i>n.</i>
	<i>cnj.</i> karii ;		pama'a .
	<i>cnj.</i> ladhe .	inspect	<i>v.</i> parisa .
if only	<i>prep.</i> sèmi .	intact	<i>adj.</i> kateme .
igniter; matches	<i>n.</i> garu .	intestine	<i>n.</i> tanèi .
in a moment	<i>adv.</i> ciki-diki .	invite	<i>vt.</i> hoka ;
in need	<i>adj.</i> to'a .		<i>vt.</i> nèru .
in.a.row	<i>vi.</i> patia .	invite; urge	<i>vt.</i> gale .
incredulous; k.o.snail	<i>vt.</i> cècu .	iron	<i>n.</i> bèsi ;
incubate	<i>v.</i> tutu .		<i>n.</i> haj'a .
indigo	<i>n.</i> dhau .	island	<i>n.</i> kabara i;
ineptly	<i>adv.</i> leli .		<i>n.</i> pulu .
injection	<i>vt.</i> jesi .	it means	<i>adv.</i> maso .
injury	<i>n.</i> bhabe ;	itch	<i>vi.</i> pèdi .
	<i>n.</i> nu'a .	ivory	<i>n.</i> gadi .
in-laws	<i>n.</i> matu .		

J - j

jail	<i>n ; vt.</i> bui .		<i>vt.</i> ridhu .
January	<i>n.</i> Ari Nyale ;	June; traditional ceremony	<i>n.</i>
	<i>n.</i> Tèu Bharu .		Bhui Nidhu .
Japan	<i>n.</i> Japaa .	jungle	<i>n.</i> j'ami .
Jesus	<i>n.</i> Jesu .	just	<i>adv.</i> dhoka ;
July	<i>n.</i> Marose .		TAM. kala'a ;
jump	<i>adv.</i> boku-boku ;		TAM. sène .
	<i>v.</i> bèdhi ;	just now	<i>adv.</i> deo ;
	<i>v.</i> pasoka ;		TAM. doe iiki .
	<i>v.</i> soa ;		

K - k

kampong	<i>n.</i> rae .	keep; save	<i>v.</i> tèke ₁ .
kapok	<i>n.</i> kahèru .	keep s.t. in the mouth	<i>v.</i> kèmu .
keel	<i>n.</i> kèni .	keep.in.acetate; postpone	<i>v.</i>
keep; put; alight; perch	<i>vt.</i> tèka .		budu.tèke .

keep.laughing *adv.* eere-eere.
kick *vt.* **katuju.**
kidding *v.* **aka.**
kiss *v.* **uu.**
kitchen *n.* **dapu.**
knee *n.* **urutuu.**
knife *n.* **tudi.**
knife case *n.* **sope tudi.**
know *vt.* **ke'a, me'a, ne'a,**
nge'a, te'a, re'a.
k.o. *n.* **kabuku.nao.**
k.o. beans *n.* **kabui.aae.**
k.o. crowbar *n.* **pango'o.**
k.o. dance *vt.* **pado'a.**
k.o. fish *n.* **meta;**
sungu.
k.o fish *n.* **Tangiri Babha.**
k.o. flat basket *n.* **kokotai;**
salabhe.
k.o. manger *n.* **karaba.**
k.o. shawl *n.* **salalu.**
k.o. tree *n.* **kèbho;**
laka.
k.o trumpet *n.* **tèbhe.**
k.o.accessories *n.* **kahudhi.**
k.o.arena *n.* **nadha.**
k.o.basket *n.* **kalera.**
k.o.belt *n.* **laligu.**
k.o.bird *n.* **cika;**
mangungu.
k.o.bottle *n.* **babo'i;**
haree.
k.o.brush *n.* **caboro.**
k.o.canoe *n.* **todha.**
k.o.ceremony *n.* **kalela.**
k.o.chop *vt.* **caci.**
k.o.cockle shells *n.* **katia.**
k.o.crab *n.* **sug'i.**
k.o.desease *n.* **kamea lote;**
kamèu.
k.o.filter *n.* **kakusa.**
k.o.fish *n.* **aru.koro;**

n. **cici**;
n. **dheo**;
n. **kolorii**;
n. **koro mata**;
n. **lai₂**;
n. **mano**;
n. **Tangiri**;
n. **Timporo**.
k.o.fish trap *n.* **kanaca**.
k.o.fruit salad *n.* **ruj'a**.
k.o.handle *n.* **kakama**.
k.o.knife for tapping *n.* **tudi.baga**.
k.o.layer *n.* **lalata**.
k.o.motif; soft.thing *n.* **kalutu**.
k.o.palm tapping tool to hook
container *n.* **gagiti**.
k.o.plant *n.* **aj'u.aai**;
n. **kalaingela**;
n. **kalèla**.
k.o.plate *n.* **kakoko**.
k.o.roller *n.* **haruu**.
k.o.seaweed *n.* **rèu èngu**.
k.o.sea.worm *n.* **nyale**.
k.o.small.fish *n.* **edu**.
k.o.sound *v.* **g'ero-g'ero**;
v. **po'o**.
k.o.stick *n.* **kamuki**;
n. **ladha rai**.
k.o.stone *n.* **batu.iidu**;
n. **rusu.ndau**.
k.o.string to hang s.t. *n.* **a'ii**.
k.o.tool *n.* **èi ani**.
k.o.tree *n.* **hau**;
n. **hèga**;
n. **hègamanu**;
n. **kabhoo**;
n. **kalaa**;
n. **kapaka**;
n. **kare**.
k.o.voice *adj.* **dau-dau**.
k.o.weaving motif *n.* **ana langi**.

L - l

lack	<i>adj.</i> dadèdhu.		<i>vi.</i> bèle;
ladle	<i>n.</i> pangala.		<i>vi.</i> leko-monya;
lake	<i>n.</i> dano.		<i>vt.</i> pasili.
lamp	<i>n.</i> labhu.	lie.arthwart; cross	<i>v.</i> palèbha.
land	<i>n.</i> dae.	lie.down	<i>vi.</i> j'unu.
language	<i>n.</i> lii.	lift	<i>v.</i> boti;
lap	<i>n.</i> iha.		<i>vt.</i> dede.
large	<i>adj.</i> kapai.	lift up	<i>v.</i> nedhe.
large turledove.	<i>n.</i> koro.	lifted up	<i>adv.</i> boti-boti.
larynx	<i>n.</i> koko.	light	<i>adj.</i> samaa.
lasso	<i>n.</i> sasii.	lightning	<i>n.</i> bela.
last.long	<i>adv.</i> manèro.	like	<i>prep.</i> sèmi;
later	<i>adv.</i> pe.		<i>vt.</i> dèi.
latest, last	<i>adv.</i> limuri.	liken	<i>vi.</i> paloa.
laugh	<i>v.</i> radhu;	Like or dislike; absolutely	<i>adv.</i> neu-neu.
	<i>vt.</i> mari.		
lazy	<i>v.</i> talej'e;	lime	<i>n.</i> ao.
	<i>vi.</i> baieeda;	lime powder container	<i>n.</i> tiba.
	<i>vi.</i> haa-bai.	lips	<i>n.</i> panyoro.
leader	<i>n.</i> kapala;	listen	<i>v.</i> nanene.
	<i>n.</i> katua.	little	<i>adj.</i> ciki.
leaf	<i>n.</i> rèu.	live	<i>vi.</i> muri.
leafless	<i>adj.</i> motu.	liver	<i>n.</i> adhe.
leafy	<i>n.</i> rapo.	lizard	<i>n.</i> ana sapa;
leak through	<i>v.</i> katiti.		<i>n.</i> tèke₂.
lean on	<i>v.</i> sarai.	in	<i>prep.</i> buli.
leave	<i>v.</i> lega;		<i>prep.</i> ètu.
	<i>vi.</i> lege;	lock	<i>vt.</i> goe.
	<i>vi.</i> pakèdi.	logs, wood, tree	<i>n.</i> aj'u.
leave behind	<i>v.</i> tèke₁.	mud	<i>n.</i> lobho.
leave	<i>vi.</i> dhiu.	long	<i>adj.</i> madhera.
left	<i>n.</i> kariu.	long time	<i>adj.</i> nèbhu.
leg	<i>n.</i> haga.	lontar/coconut leaf	<i>n.</i> rèu suru.
legend	<i>n.</i> nanuku.	lontar palm	<i>n.</i> kèli.
lemon	<i>n.</i> j'èru sina	lontar stem with thorn	<i>n.</i> saga.roro.
less	<i>vi.</i> kura.	look around	<i>v.</i> oro₁.
lest	<i>cnj.</i> aeka.	look after; rear; raise	<i>vt.</i> kaboi.
let, not care	<i>v.</i> hudi.	look.for	<i>v.</i> tenge.
level	<i>n.</i> tada.	loom	<i>n.</i> lore.
lever	<i>v.</i> cui.	loose	<i>adj.</i> golo.
lie	<i>v.</i> ag'o;	loosen	<i>vt.</i> cèpu.

loosen bowels	<i>vi.</i> po'e.	love	<i>vt.</i> sue.
Lord	<i>n.</i> Lamatua.	low	<i>adj;</i> <i>n.</i> haha.
lose	<i>vi.</i> ele;	low tide	<i>n.</i> mara.
	<i>vi.</i> meme;		<i>n.</i> rèmi.
	<i>vi.</i> mèle.	lung	<i>n.</i> haa₂.
loss	<i>n;</i> <i>adj.</i> balu₂.		
louse	<i>n.</i> udhu.		

M - m

machete	<i>n.</i> hela.	middle	<i>adv.</i> ta;
make	<i>vt ; adv.</i> tao.		<i>n.</i> talora.
make known	<i>vt.</i> padelo.	million	<i>num.</i> kehi.
make salt; awake	<i>vt.</i> marèi.	mist	<i>n.</i> bhuru.
make conspicuous	<i>vi.</i> adu ue.	mix	<i>vt.</i> pakihi.
make layer	<i>vt.</i> labhi.	mock	<i>vt.</i> padhidhi.
make noise	<i>v.</i> bhute.	model	<i>n.</i> mode.
make oval	<i>v.</i> dobho₁.	moist	<i>vi.</i> kabe'e.
Malay	<i>n.</i> Malai.	momentarily	<i>adv.</i> none.
male	<i>n.</i> mone, la'i.	money	<i>n.</i> doi;
man	<i>n.</i> mone.		<i>n.</i> kajii.
manage	<i>v.</i> pangèci;	monkey	<i>n.</i> kode.
	<i>vt.</i> lalo'o.	moon, month	<i>n.</i> hèru.
manggo	<i>n.</i> pao.	more	<i>adv.</i> risi.
manner; way	<i>n.</i> j'ara.	moringa	<i>n.</i> jihona;
many	<i>adj.</i> ae₁.		<i>n.</i> j'ihona.
marbles	<i>n.</i> ana bhadolu.	morning	<i>n.</i> madae.
March	<i>n.</i> Nyale Dhao.	morta	<i>n.</i> ngècu.
mark.by.cutting	<i>vt.</i> dhare.	mother	<i>n.</i> ina;
marry	<i>vi.</i> kabi.		<i>n.</i> mama;
match	<i>adv.</i> mèci.		<i>n.</i> rena.
material	<i>n.</i> nèu₁.	motherless	<i>n.</i> lalu.
mattress	<i>n.</i> bosalaa.	motif	<i>n.</i> sasau.
May	<i>n.</i> Hèru Holomanu.	moti'f	<i>n.</i> pajala.
maybe	<i>cnj.</i> sina.	mountain	<i>n.</i> ledhe.
meaning	<i>n.</i> sasoa.	mountain side	<i>n.</i> lia.
measure, do magic	<i>v.</i> uku.	mourn	<i>v.</i> balu₃.
meat	<i>n.</i> sisi.	mouse	<i>n.</i> maraho.
medicine	<i>n.</i> na'i.	mouth	<i>n.</i> hèba;
meet	<i>vt.</i> raga.		<i>n.</i> suu panutu.
melt	<i>v.</i> libu.	move	<i>v.</i> eso;
melted mucus	<i>v.</i> tabhu'u.		<i>vi.</i> hari;
mention	<i>vt.</i> ale.		<i>vi.</i> pidha;
message	<i>vi.</i> moa.		<i>vt.</i> hiki.

Mr	<i>n.</i> ama ; <i>n.</i> Lamatua .	muddy	<i>v.</i> kabhèca .
mud	<i>n.</i> kabheca ; <i>n.</i> lub'u .	mug	<i>n.</i> moo .

N - n

name	<i>n.</i> ngara	nice	<i>adj.</i> be'a .
name of fish	<i>n.</i> kalij'u .	night	<i>n.</i> mèda .
namely; as	<i>adv.</i> nuka .	nine	<i>num.</i> ceo .
name.of.island	<i>n.</i> Nèsu .	no longer	<i>neg.</i> heka ₄ .
nape	<i>n.</i> hui kehi ; <i>n.</i> lasa ara .	noise.of.war	<i>vt.</i> bala.pèka .
nape.of.neck	<i>n.</i> sa'ara .	noon	<i>n.</i> lod'o nètù ; <i>n.</i> titu mera .
narrow	<i>adj.</i> kobo .	normally	<i>adv.</i> ca'a-ca'a .
navel	<i>n.</i> èsu .	north	<i>n.</i> badae .
Ndao	<i>n.</i> Dhao .	not	<i>neg.</i> boe .
near	<i>v.</i> dètù .	not move	<i>v.</i> kaloo .
nearly	<i>adv.</i> nia ; <i>TAM.</i> oe-oe .	not.bad	<i>adv.</i> iia-iia .
neck	<i>n.</i> ladhagoro ; <i>n.</i> lakoko .	notch	<i>n.</i> tanu'i .
nerve	<i>n.</i> kalua .	nothing	<i>adv.</i> hua .
nest	<i>n.</i> rèdha .	not stop	<i>neg.</i> bau boe .
net	<i>n.</i> dhai ; <i>n.</i> j'ala .	not.yet	<i>neg.</i> mèka .
new	<i>adj.</i> hiu .	not yet	<i>neg.</i> dhæ .
New Year	<i>n.</i> Tèu Bharu .	November	<i>n.</i> Matena .
		nurse	<i>n.</i> matarii .

O - o

oar	<i>n.</i> sehe .	older sibling	<i>n.</i> a'a .
October	<i>n.</i> Hadhu aae ; <i>n.</i> Hèru Hadhu aae .	once	<i>adv.</i> catèka ; <i>v.</i> sèka .
octopus	<i>n.</i> kapaj'u .	one	<i>num.</i> ci'u ; <i>num.</i> èci .
offer	<i>vt.</i> paj'ojo .	one; a	<i>num.</i> cue .
oh	<i>EXCL.</i> o ; <i>Interj.</i> oo .	onion	<i>n.</i> lasona .
oh my God	— ira e .	only	<i>adv.</i> dho-dhoka ; <i>adv.</i> di ; <i>adv.</i> mèra ; <i>vt</i> ; <i>adv.</i> tao ; <i>vt</i> ; <i>adv.</i> tao .
oil	<i>n.</i> lèngi .		
oil, fat	<i>n.</i> mènyi .		
old	<i>adj.</i> dhui ₂ .		
old.age	<i>adj.</i> heka ₃ .		

ooh	EXCL. eea .
ooh, gosh	EXCL. wa .
open	<i>vt.</i> bhoke ; <i>vt.</i> conge .
open ceremony	<i>n.</i> caro.nadha .
oppose	<i>vt.</i> laba ; <i>vt.</i> sisu .
or	<i>conj</i> ; PART; do .
order	<i>vt.</i> paleha ; <i>vt.</i> pua .
other	<i>adj.</i> leo ₁ .

ouch	EXCL. inaa .
outside	<i>adv.</i> li'u ; <i>n.</i> baboro .
overflow	<i>vi.</i> lala ; <i>vi.</i> lale .
overlap	<i>v.</i> ènyi .
overlapping	<i>vi.</i> manya'e .
overshade, shelter	<i>vi.</i> leo ₂ .
own	<i>v.</i> dènge .
owner of boat	<i>n.</i> juraga .

P - p

pacify	<i>vi.</i> paiia .
paddy; cross	<i>v.</i> are .
paint	<i>v.</i> dule ; <i>vt.</i> dame ₂ .
pair	<i>v.</i> sase .
palm beam	<i>n.</i> kabhèu .
palm fiber	<i>n.</i> kadhài .
palm.container	<i>n.</i> sabha .
palmjuice, sap	<i>n.</i> dhua .
palpitate	<i>v.</i> kadhèko .
pandanus	<i>n.</i> lata .
panting (walk)	<i>adv.</i> eepo-eepo .
pants	<i>n.</i> baruku ; <i>n.</i> baruu ; <i>n.</i> lamakera .
papaya	<i>n.</i> lolobhangi .
papyrus	<i>n.</i> tula .
parcel	<i>n.</i> bugu .
part	<i>n.</i> kadhèli ₂ ; <i>n.</i> kanee .
part, fragment	<i>n.</i> bèka .
part, piece	<i>n.</i> èta ₂ .
partition	<i>n.</i> roa .
partly	<i>adv.</i> cahag'e .
pass	<i>vi.</i> lènge .
passanger	<i>n.</i> manubha .
pastor	<i>n.</i> panita .
paw	<i>v.</i> cag'ari .
pay	<i>v.</i> bae ; <i>v.</i> seba .

pea	<i>n.</i> kabui .
peace	<i>v.</i> dame ₁ .
peel	<i>v.</i> kacici ; <i>v.</i> kaliji .
peep at	<i>vt.</i> ma'u .
pencil	<i>n.</i> potoloo .
person	<i>n.</i> dhèu .
persuade	<i>v.</i> leko .
petrescent	<i>n</i> ; <i>vi.</i> mèje .
phalange	<i>n.</i> sasesu .
pick	<i>v.</i> puu ; <i>vt.</i> g'ètu .
piece	<i>v.</i> tète ; <i>vt.</i> roro .
pig	<i>n.</i> hahi .
pile	<i>vt.</i> udu .
pile up	<i>vi.</i> tègu .
pillow	<i>n.</i> nanèlu .
pinch	<i>vt.</i> ku'u .
pitch	<i>adv.</i> guru-guru .
place	<i>n.</i> era ₁ .
place athwart	<i>vt.</i> palèbhe .
place name	<i>n.</i> Holomanu .
plait	<i>v.</i> ènyu ; <i>v.</i> èpi ; <i>vt.</i> cèbi ; <i>vt.</i> tari .
plane (wood)	<i>n.</i> toru .
plan.s.t, intercept	<i>v.</i> sanunu .
plant	<i>v.</i> lari ;

	<i>vt.</i> sèla.		<i>v.</i> pacèli;
plastic mat	<i>n.</i> parlaa.		<i>vt.</i> paka`dhii.
plate	<i>n.</i> pega.	press down	<i>vt.</i> marèu.
platform	<i>n.</i> kalaga-ledo.	price	<i>n.</i> kabua.
play	<i>v.</i> karihu.	pride	<i>v.</i> koa.
plural	<i>PART.</i> si₁.	profit	<i>n.</i> oto.
point to	<i>v.</i> paj'uj'u.	prohibit; forbid	<i>vt.</i> kai.
poke	<i>vt.</i> dhète.	PROH.NEG	<i>neg.</i> baku.
poke; tease	<i>v.</i> dugu.	promise	<i>vi.</i> jaji;
pole	<i>n.</i> raria.		<i>vi.</i> padhadha.
poniard; sword	<i>n.</i> samala.	prop; sustain	<i>vt.</i> tobe.
porpoise	<i>n.</i> ruj'u.	proscribed	<i>vi.</i> luri.
portion	<i>n.</i> pala.	provided that	<i>cnj.</i> sad'i.
possess	<i>v.</i> unu.	PROX.PL	<i>Deic.</i> se'e.
possession	<i>n.</i> unu.	PROX.SG	<i>Deic.</i> ne'e.
possible	<i>vt ; adv.</i> tao.	public	<i>n.</i> rae lesa.
pound	<i>v.</i> abo;	pull	<i>v.</i> bhiri;
	<i>v.</i> maj'u.		<i>v.</i> ère;
pound; step	<i>vt.</i> dhedhe₂.		<i>v.</i> kaso;
pour	<i>v.</i> bhori;		<i>vt.</i> nuni;
	<i>vt.</i> solì.		<i>vt.</i> rèdhe.
praise	<i>vt.</i> koa-kio.	pull out	<i>vt.</i> name.
pray	<i>vi.</i> mangaj'i;	pull.down	<i>vt.</i> gao.
	<i>vi.</i> sabaj'a.	push	<i>vi.</i> saseti-saseti;
precisely	<i>adv.</i> iie.		<i>vi.</i> seti;
predict	<i>vt.</i> siri.		<i>vt.</i> tule.
pregnant; way of wearing cloth	<i>vi.</i> kado.	put	<i>v.</i> cape;
prepare	<i>vt.</i> sadia.		<i>v.</i> sange.
press	<i>v.</i> ènyi;	put.dowel	<i>v.</i> suki.
	<i>v.</i> kabhie;	put.s.t.down	<i>vt.</i> padhau.

Q - q

question tag	<i>PART.</i> si.		<i>adv.</i> rute.
quay	<i>n.</i> daramaga.	quickly; recently	<i>adv.</i> lai-lai.
question	<i>v.</i> bari₁;	quit	<i>vi.</i> goro.
	<i>v.</i> karèi.	quiz; riddle	<i>n.</i> pasiri a'ana.
quick	<i>adv.</i> malai;		
	<i>adv.</i> mèri;		

R - r

race-meeting	<i>v.</i> pasere.	retell	<i>vt.</i> lolo₁.
raffia	<i>n.</i> nyama.	return	<i>vi.</i> lèpa₁.
raft	<i>n.</i> kabhao.	reveal	<i>vt.</i> padelo.
rain	<i>n.</i> èj'i.	rice container	<i>n.</i> bhuti.
rainbow	<i>n.</i> saroo.	rice pestle	<i>n.</i> aru.
rainy season	<i>n.</i> èj'i lai.	rice.cake	<i>n.</i> katuka.
raise	<i>v.</i> doa₁.	ricefield	<i>n.</i> ma'are.
rasher	<i>n.</i> kadhèli₁.	rich	<i>adj.</i> kaja; <i>adj.</i> su'i.
rather	— jo (1); <i>adv.</i> ako; <i>adv.</i> j'o.	ridgepole	<i>n.</i> bhèngu.
raucous	<i>vi.</i> pasebo.	rift	<i>n.</i> sasanga.
react; reply	<i>v.</i> bala.	right	<i>adj.</i> tare'a; <i>n.</i> gana; <i>n.</i> g'ana.
react.quickly; spontaneously	<i>adv.</i> capa.	ring	<i>n.</i> kadheli.
really	<i>adv.</i> mema.	rinse	<i>vt.</i> lalaa.
reasonable	<i>vi.</i> roa aae.	rip of palm leaf	<i>n.</i> ladha.
receive	<i>prep.</i> sèmi.	ripe	<i>adj.</i> madhasa.
receptacle	<i>n.</i> kanate.	ripe; mature	<i>adj.</i> madhu'u.
recognize; know; broken	<i>vt.</i> tadhe.	river	<i>n.</i> loko.
red	<i>adj.</i> mea.	road	<i>n.</i> j'ara.
redeem	<i>v.</i> sui.	roast	<i>vt.</i> paga.
red.tying	<i>v.</i> sanèpu.	robber	<i>n.</i> parapo.
refer to, point to	<i>v.</i> j'uj'u.	rock	<i>n.</i> hadhu.
regret	<i>v.</i> hale.	roll	<i>n.</i> kaloos; <i>v.</i> bhadolu; <i>v.</i> hèru; <i>v.</i> loli; <i>v.</i> lulu; <i>vt; vi.</i> bhaloli.
relative marker	<i>cnj.</i> dhu.	rolled up	<i>v.</i> loli-loli.
release	<i>vt.</i> patabuli; <i>vt.</i> patalale.	roller	<i>n.</i> sa'ua.
remain in vinegar, slice of meat or fish	<i>n.</i> kadosa.	roof; k.o.seed	<i>n.</i> badhu.
remaining	<i>n.</i> ate.	roof rafter	<i>n.</i> ailoe.
remains	<i>n.</i> kaha'i.	room	<i>n.</i> kama.
remember	<i>vt.</i> sanède.	root	<i>n.</i> amo.
REM.PL	<i>Deic.</i> sèi.	rope; string	<i>n.</i> dhari.
REM.SG	<i>Deic.</i> nèi.	Rote	<i>n.</i> Edha;
repair; arrange	<i>vt.</i> lalau.	rough; sleepy	<i>v.</i> sakaa.
repair fishing net	<i>vt.</i> pa'ie.	round	<i>adj.</i> tabolo; <i>n.</i> kapepe.
repugnant	<i>v.</i> madenge.	round up	<i>vt.</i> kiu.
residue of oil	<i>n.</i> agarao.		
respond; answer	<i>vt.</i> dhaa.		
restore	<i>vt.</i> puri.		
result in	<i>v.</i> ue.		

rub *vt.* **duri**;
vt. **kosa**.
 rub, grate, rasp *vt.* **roso**.
 rubbish *n.* **mamumu**.

run, cleared up *v.* **rai**.
 rupiah *n.* **rupiah**.
 rust *adj*; *v.* **rutu**.

S - s

sack *n.* **kabhisa**;
n. **karo**;
n. **soka**.
 sack; bag *n.* **kanoto**.
 sail *n.* **lai**₁.
 salt *n.* **masi**.
 same *adv.* **sama**.
 same age *n.* **dedena**.
 sand *n.* **salae**.
 sarong *n.* **kaepaja**;
n. **sope**.
 sasando *n.* **sasadhu**.
 satisfied *vi.* **bècu**.
 Savior *n.* **Muri Manadu**.
 say; according to *vi.* **aku**.
 scabies *n.* **huni**₂.
 scale *n.* **nai**.
 scattered around. *v.* **cebe.lebhe**.
 school *n.* **sakola**.
 scoop *vt.* **da'u**;
vt. **soke**.
 scorpion *n.* **karaka rai**.
 scratch *v.* **karo**.
 scream *vi.* **bhesi**;
vi. **pakèce**;
vi. **rodha**;
vt. **parodha**.
 sea *n.* **dhasi**;
n. **lèu**.
 sea cucumber *n.* **manahi**.
 secret *n.* **pacele**.
 see *v.* **ladhe**;
v. **tèru**;
vi. **mèdhi**.
 see *vt.* **kèdhi, nèdhi, rèdhi**
mèdhi, ngèdhi, rèdhi

seed *n.* **lamusi**.
n. **hini**.
 seed container *n.* **kapesa**.
 sell, give each other *v.* **pahia**.
 send *vt.* **pa'adhu**.
 senile *n.* **gagoo**;
vi. **malaa-maloha**.
 separate *vt.* **ma'ète**.
 seporate *v.* **hag'e**;
vi. **cèri**.
 separate; *vi.* **manyèla**.
 separate out *v.* **patèni**.
 September *n.* **Hadhu lai**.
 September; summer *n.* **Hèru**
Hadhu.
 set — **maho**₃ (1).
 set from the bottom *v.* **godo**.
 set on the side *v.* **tie**.
 set platform *v.* **kalage**.
 set yarn, roll *v.* **lolo**₂.
 set.board *v.* **pape**.
 set.dowel *v.* **raje**.
 seven *num.* **pidhu**.
 sewing *vt.* **j'au**.
 shadow *n.* **sanabhu**.
 shake *v.* **dhèko**₂;
vi. **gaged'o**;
vt. **hahae**;
vt. **kabènyo**;
vt. **kadègo**;
vt. **kareko**;
vt. **rèko**.
 shall; want *v.* **neo**.
 shallow sea *n.* **dara.lobho**.
 share *v.* **kula**.
 sharp *adj.* **mad'èka**.

sheath	<i>n.</i> sig'i.	slingshot	<i>v.</i> kahèti.
sheet	<i>n.</i> bèla.	slip	<i>v.</i> tabhèli.
sheet, cord	<i>n.</i> loa.	slip.down	<i>vi.</i> caroco.
shell	<i>n.</i> kaba.	slipper	<i>n.</i> salapa.
shine	<i>adj.</i> kale'e; <i>v.</i> kacèbha; <i>vi.</i> rea.	slow	<i>adj.</i> nena; <i>adv.</i> babago.
shine, light	<i>vi.</i> saraa.	smal palm container	<i>n.</i> sabha.koa.
ship	<i>n.</i> kapa.	small	<i>adj.</i> iiki.
shirt	<i>n.</i> kodho.	small; skinny	<i>n.</i> budha.
shoes	<i>n.</i> sapatu.	small.container	<i>n.</i> sabha.tanae.
shoot	<i>n.</i> subhu.	smart, clean	<i>vi.</i> mèu.
shoot at	<i>v ; n.</i> kasiro.	smarting	<i>vi.</i> bheta; <i>vi.</i> kete; <i>vi.</i> malara.
shoot with arrow	<i>vt.</i> cèla.	smell	<i>v.</i> ae₄.
shoreline	<i>n.</i> babèbha.	smith	<i>vt.</i> tuku.
short	<i>adj.</i> bab'a.	smoke	<i>v.</i> sakido; <i>vt.</i> nono.
shoulder	<i>n.</i> kabela kao; <i>n.</i> lasa'ara.	smoke; have.smoke	<i>n; vi.</i> sèbu.
show up	<i>vi.</i> bhodho.	smooth	<i>adj.</i> milu.
show teeth	<i>v.</i> sangidhi.	snail	<i>n.</i> kabalosi; <i>n.</i> kapui.
shuffle down	<i>v.</i> tamuru.	snake	<i>n.</i> mege.
shut	<i>v.</i> katange.	snap	<i>v.</i> jèke.
shy	<i>vi.</i> makae.	sneeze	<i>vi.</i> bènyi.
sick	<i>vi.</i> pèda.	snot	<i>n.</i> marènga.
side	<i>n.</i> karasa.	so	<i>Cnj.</i> de; <i>cnj.</i> j'aj'i.
sign	<i>n.</i> dhana; <i>n.</i> tadha.	soak	<i>v.</i> edhe.
silver	<i>adj.</i> pudhi.	soap	<i>n.</i> cabu.
since	<i>cnj.</i> karai.	soft	<i>adj.</i> mako.
sing	<i>vi.</i> soda.	softly	<i>adv.</i> mau-mau.
sink	<i>vi.</i> cèna; <i>vi.</i> molo.	sole	<i>n.</i> ai,j'èla.
sister	<i>n.</i> hèni.	sole of foot	<i>n.</i> j'èla.
sit	<i>vi.</i> madèdhi.	soon	<i>v.</i> poka-poka.
sitting around	<i>vi.</i> gua-gua.	sorest	<i>vi.</i> rarii.
six	<i>num.</i> èna.	sorghum	<i>n.</i> tarae.
skin	<i>n.</i> ka'uri.	sort	<i>vt.</i> kanici.
sky	<i>n.</i> liru.	sort through	<i>v.</i> raroo.
slant	<i>vi.</i> kasore; <i>vi.</i> miri.	so.that	<i>cnj.</i> ho; <i>cnj.</i> sèna.
slap	<i>v.</i> tèbe.	soul; spirit	<i>n.</i> manadu.
slaughter	<i>vt.</i> pare.	sound	<i>n.</i> lii. <i>n.</i> pagèro;
slave	<i>n.</i> ènu.		
sleep	<i>vi.</i> bhèj'i.		
slice; sliced	<i>v.</i> sai.		

	<i>v.</i> kabho'o.	star	<i>n.</i> hua hētu.
sound of thunder	<i>adj.</i> dhèru-dhèru.	starfish	<i>n.</i> gage.
sour	<i>n.</i> salag'i.	startled	<i>vi.</i> cag'ag'a.
south	<i>n.</i> balèu.	state of dead	<i>n.</i> gaa-gaa.
sow	<i>v.</i> cebe;	stay	<i>vi.</i> kuhu;
	<i>v.</i> lalobhu.		<i>vi.</i> pea.
space between joints	<i>n.</i> kahècu.	stay up	<i>vi.</i> beke.
span	<i>n.</i> eèg'a;	steel	<i>n.</i> waja.
	<i>n.</i> eèg'a.	steer	<i>n.</i> uli.
spatter	<i>vi.</i> kaceba;	stem	<i>n.</i> laa₂.
	<i>vi.</i> karèce.	stem of canoe's bow	<i>n.</i> sela.
speak	<i>vi.</i> padhae;	stem (of leaf)	<i>n.</i> èpa.
	<i>vt.</i> padhai.	stem of palm leaf	<i>n.</i> èpa bau.
spear	<i>n.</i> kapoke;	step	<i>v.</i> pèga₁;
	<i>v.</i> tèbu.		<i>vt.</i> pasèja.
spider	<i>n.</i> marake.	step on	<i>v.</i> j'èje;
spill	<i>v.</i> bhori.		<i>vt.</i> j'èli.
spin	<i>v.</i> manyèru;	stick	<i>n.</i> bhare;
	<i>v.</i> salai₂.		<i>n.</i> cèki;
spit	<i>vi.</i> paru'e.		<i>n.</i> laa₁;
spittle	<i>n.</i> ilu.		<i>vt.</i> lui.
splatter; splash	<i>v.</i> pici.	still	<i>adv.</i> era₂;
spontaneously	<i>adv.</i> dènge.		<i>adv.</i> lili₂.
spoon	<i>n.</i> curu.	stingy	<i>v.</i> rodho.
spread	<i>v.</i> cebe;	stir	<i>vt.</i> kakeho.
	<i>vi.</i> manyèba;	stone	<i>n.</i> hadhu.
	<i>vt.</i> lalobhu.	stone fence	<i>n.</i> tèdhe.
spread-eagle	<i>v.</i> tarenga.	stop	<i>Qnt.</i> tèja;
sprinkle	<i>vt.</i> tatee.		<i>v.</i> ae₃.
spurt	<i>v.</i> sabhuhu.	stop by; visit	<i>vi.</i> dhuli.
spy	<i>vt.</i> ma'u;	stop; decrease; abate	<i>vi.</i> loe₂.
	<i>vt.</i> patig'i.	stop, divorce	<i>v.</i> ia.
squeeze	<i>vt.</i> g'ag'aru;	storage	<i>n.</i> tatèka.
	<i>vt.</i> g'aru.	store; catch.up	<i>v.</i> tanae.
squid	<i>n.</i> kanuu.	storm	<i>vi.</i> sagu.
stab	<i>vt.</i> kèj'i.	straight	<i>adj.</i> mola.
stable	<i>n.</i> oka.	strap	<i>vt.</i> cabili.
stack	<i>adv.</i> paloko.	strike	<i>v.</i> babèke;
staggered (walk)	<i>adv.</i> eko-eko.		<i>vt.</i> kalabhe.
stair	<i>n.</i> langa.	strike; hit	<i>v.</i> paru.
stalk	<i>n.</i> ii.	stroke	<i>v.</i> salai₁.
stand	<i>vi.</i> titu.	strong	<i>v.</i> kadhii;
stand patiently	<i>adv.</i> dhii-dhii.		<i>vi.</i> èra.
stand steadily	<i>adv.</i> dhoo-dhoo.	stuck	<i>adv.</i> gitu-gitu;
			<i>vi.</i> lose.

stuck up	v. kajape.	support	vt. j'èru.
stupid; fatuous	adj. goa.	surround	vt. oke.
substitute	v. gati.	swallow	vt. dhèle.
suddenly	adv. cakalaa; adv. kabèdhi la'a; adv. kaca'alaa; adv. kèbalaa; adv. sahèka.	sway	vi. hedu-hedu.
sugar cane	n. dhèbu.	swear	vi. dhoo; vi. subha.
sugar palm	n. bole.	sweat	adj. kabhèsu.
summer	n. Hadhu lai; n. hèru hadhu.	sweep	vt. saku.
sunbathe	vi. manyiru.	sweet	adj. kee.
supine	adv. hara-hara.	sweet potato	n. sihu loro.
		swim	v. nangi.
		swollen	v. bai.

T - t

table	n. mei.	tell	vi. peka.
taboo	vi. luri.	tell a story	vt. lole.
tag	PART. ku₂; tag. to.	temple service	v. kasasi.
tail	n. hèla lai; n. rèu lai.	tens	num. nguru.
take	v. nare₂.	thanksgiving feast	v. ringi.
take care, serve	v. lalu.	that	Deic. nèi; deic. ea.
take leave	vi. palango.	that big	adv. sangae.
take out	v. tao.eele.	that, just now	adv. kèna.
take out from weaving tool	vt. salake.	then	cnj. èle ka; cnj. hèia; cnj. ho.
take	vt. kore, more, nare, ngare, tare, rara.	these	Deic. se'e.
take.apart	vt. bèdi.	they; 3PL	pro. rèngu.
take.out	vt. dhèko₁.	they(clitic)	pro. ra.
tangled	vi. kahèlu.	thick	adj. kapulu; adj. ma'aa.
tap.lontar	vt. èta₁.	thin	adj. manii.
tap palm	vt. kèri.	thing; good	n. mèdha.
taste	v. katède; vt. ngao.	think	vi. ngee.
tasteless	n. nèta.	third	num. katèlu.
teach, study, learn	v. aj'a.	this	deic. nenga.
teacher	n. mese.	thorn	n. dhudhu.
tear	vt. ciu.	those	Deic. sèi (REM.SG); Deic. sèra (REM.PL).
telescope	v. dino.	thousand	num. riho

thread	<i>n.</i> hèngu.	too (long)	<i>adv.</i> lola-lola.
three	<i>num.</i> tèlu.	too many (people)	<i>adv.</i> ele ruhu.
throw	<i>vt.</i> core; <i>vt.</i> pèci.	too muddy, slimy	<i>adv.</i> bhète-bhète.
throw.out s.t.	<i>vi.</i> cu'i.	too (thick)	<i>adv.</i> haki-haki.
throw.with.stick	<i>vt.</i> kahero.	too (thin)	— bedo-bedo (1); <i>adv.</i> bhedo-behedo.
thunder	<i>n.</i> d'oro.	too.green	<i>adv.</i> bidhu-bidhu.
tidy up	<i>v.</i> jingi.	tool	<i>n.</i> nanèu; <i>n.</i> rèka.
tie	<i>vt.</i> èki.	tools	<i>n.</i> rog'a₁.
tiger	<i>n.</i> meoaasu.	too many	<i>n.</i> ele.madha.
tighten; tight	<i>vt; vi.</i> taki.	too overflow	<i>v.</i> gari-gari.
time span	<i>vi.</i> patènge.	too red	<i>adv.</i> gèu-gèu.
tin	<i>n.</i> balee.	too smell	<i>n.</i> hèu.oone-oone.
tiny	<i>adj.</i> iiki.	too soundly	<i>adv.</i> goo-goo.
tip	<i>n.</i> kabholo; <i>n.</i> suu.	tooth	<i>n.</i> ngutu.
tip; descent	<i>n.</i> kolo.	too white	<i>adv.</i> lao-lao.
to	<i>prep.</i> asa.	too yellow	<i>adv.</i> moce-moce; <i>adv.</i> mu'e-mu'e.
to be offended	<i>v.</i> pasaree.	top	<i>n.</i> kolo.
to corner	<i>v.</i> katate.	to.roof	<i>vt.</i> boro.
to insert the weaving stick	<i>v.</i> dede ose.	to.span	<i>v.</i> eèg'e; <i>vi.</i> èèg'e.
to filter rice	<i>v.</i> naniru.	toss	<i>vt.</i> core.
to have cock fight	<i>v.</i> pahua.	to.stick	<i>v.</i> pae.
to hook	<i>vt.</i> ga'e.	touch	<i>vt.</i> g'ag'e <i>vt.</i> katèdhe.
to lift	<i>vt.</i> j'oka.	touch; pound	<i>v.</i> jèji.
to make s.t. fall down	<i>vi.</i> patahoi.	toward	<i>prep.</i> mi₁.
to put tobacco between lips	<i>v.</i> cag'ig'i.	trade	<i>vt.</i> daga.
to scratch; to row	<i>vt.</i> kao.	traditional wedding	<i>v.</i> beg'a kabho.
to stitch together	<i>vt.</i> late.	trap	<i>v.</i> paje; <i>v.</i> taja.
to; toward	<i>prep;</i> PART. ma.	trapped; sound	<i>vi.</i> luu.
to wag	<i>vt.</i> lalète.	tree's foot	<i>n.</i> kapua.
tobacco	<i>n.</i> na'i.	tribe	<i>n.</i> udhu-rasa.
to.boil	<i>vt.</i> taroto.	troubled	<i>n.</i> carui.
to.clean	<i>v.</i> sae.	trouser	<i>n.</i> baru.
to.cool	<i>vt.</i> cuhi.	trunk	<i>n.</i> kapua.
today	<i>n.</i> doe ne'e.	try; measure	<i>v.</i> sèku.
to filter	<i>vt.</i> saroto.	tuft	<i>n.</i> huru.madha.
to fish; throw	<i>v.</i> ceba.	tuna fish	<i>n.</i> i'a mabho.
tomatto	<i>n.</i> matabai.	turmeric	<i>n.</i> ka'unyi.
tomorrow; k.o.fruit	<i>n.</i> bèli.		
too clean	<i>adv.</i> aadha-aadha.		
too grey	<i>adv.</i> ti'a-ti'a.		
too (little)	<i>adv.</i> oode.		

turn	v. bari ₁ ; v. kabèli ; vt. pode .	turtle	n. ènyu ; n. goa-dano .
turn over	vt. pangèd'u .	tusk	n. èli .
turning	adv. eo-eo .	twinkle	vi. cèba-cèba .
turning back	n. sasigo .	twist	v. kalèki ; vt. karadhe .
turn over; upside-down	v. sagèbe .	two	num. dua .
turn.s.o.head	vi. kabiba .		

U - u

uhm	Interj. ee .	until	cnj. kore ; prep. toke ; vt. nare ₁ .
uncle	n. to'o .	until; reach; arrive	Qnt ; prep ; vi. dai .
uncooked rice	n. laludhu .	upraised	v. ngede-ngede .
undo	vt. lècu .	ups-down	v. paso .
unfold, spread	v. hèle .	use; wear	vt. pake .
unhasked rice	n. madhaa .		
unit	n. bua ₂ .		
unmature.fruit; young	n; adj. kalicu .		
unripe	n. mamadha .		

V - v

very	adv. ae ₁ ; adv. bia .	via; through	vi. re .
very big	n. kabhao .	visit	vt. ngad'o .
very (full)	adv. idhu-idhu .	voice	n. lii .
very.confused	vi. maloha .	vomit	v. mèdhu ₂ .

W - w

waist	n. kolo keja .	walking staff	n. tatea .
wait	vi. mate ; vt. mata .	wander	v. pajo .
wake up; surprise	adv. kabèdhi .	want	vt. ro'o .
walk	vi. kako .	want	vt. ko'o, mo'o, no'o, to'o, ro'o .
walk at the beach	vt. oro ₂ .	wao	EXCL. irii .

war	<i>n</i> ; <i>v.</i> musu.	whimper; whine	<i>vi.</i> pasale.
wash	<i>adj.</i> basa; <i>v.</i> lèu; <i>vt.</i> base; <i>vt.</i> rase.	whirligig	<i>n.</i> pio.
wash face, pointed	<i>v.</i> riu.	whisper	<i>v.</i> paholo.
water	<i>n.</i> èi; <i>n</i> ; <i>vt.</i> bui.	whistle	<i>vi.</i> sasoo.
water buffalo	<i>n.</i> kabao.	white	<i>adj.</i> pudhi.
watermelon	<i>n.</i> hua dhimu.	white pepper	<i>n.</i> lada.
we (clitic); <i>pro.</i>	mi₂.	whittle	<i>vt.</i> pamariu.
we (EXCL.); <i>pro.</i>	ji'i.	who	<i>Qw.</i> cee.
we (incl.); <i>pro.</i>	èdhi.	wicked	<i>v.</i> sobhu.
we (incl.clitic); <i>pro.</i>	ti.	wickedness	<i>n.</i> babhelu.
weak, molten	<i>v.</i> roe.	wickedness; evil	<i>n.</i> katuba.
wean	<i>v.</i> paluri; <i>vt.</i> sabhi.	wide	<i>adj.</i> bhèla.
wear	<i>v.</i> inu; <i>v.</i> silu.	width	<i>n.</i> kabhèla.
wear, dress.up	<i>vt.</i> nèu₂.	wild	<i>adj.</i> bhelu; <i>v.</i> hui₁.
wear; input	<i>vt.</i> pasaluu.	wind	<i>n.</i> ngèlu.
weave	<i>vt.</i> manènu; <i>vt.</i> tèti.	wing	<i>n.</i> èla.
weaving motif	<i>n.</i> hua.	wink	<i>v.</i> ate.
weaving sword	<i>n.</i> pasèdhu.	wipe; caress	<i>vt.</i> caro.
weaving tool	<i>n.</i> sasèdhu; <i>n.</i> tatèku.	witch	<i>n.</i> uku.kedi.
week	<i>n.</i> migu.	with	<i>vt</i> ; <i>adv.</i> tao.
weeping	<i>n.</i> hoi.	with, and	<i>cnj.</i> dènge.
weighing	<i>v.</i> tai.	withdraw, take out	<i>v.</i> bete.
weight	<i>n.</i> huri; <i>n.</i> kadhike.	withered	<i>vi.</i> kamale.
welcome	<i>v.</i> sabhu; <i>v.</i> soru; <i>vt.</i> sapo.	wobbling	<i>adv.</i> eeko-eeko.
well	<i>n.</i> èi.	woman	<i>n.</i> bhèni.
west	<i>n.</i> haa₁.	woman's sarong	<i>n.</i> rabhi.
western people	<i>n.</i> hiladha.	womb	<i>n.</i> dèlu.
wet	<i>adj.</i> basa.	women belt	<i>n.</i> peni.
what	<i>Qw.</i> ngaa.	wonder; amazed	<i>v.</i> malaa.
when	<i>cnj.</i> lod'o; <i>cnj.</i> ropa.	wooden box	<i>n.</i> kele.
where	<i>Qw.</i> mia.	wooden couch	<i>n.</i> kalaga.
whereas	<i>cnj.</i> ngaa te.	wooden stick	<i>n.</i> dèbo.
while walking	<i>adv.</i> oro-oro.	wooden.mallet	<i>n.</i> rena paru.
		Word of God	<i>n.</i> holonori
		work	<i>v.</i> saba; <i>vt</i> tao.
		worm	<i>n.</i> kalati.
		worship	<i>n.</i> sogo.tagu; <i>vt.</i> paee'a.
		wound	<i>n.</i> hisu.
		wow	<i>PART.</i> boo.
		wrap	<i>vt.</i> hutu; <i>vt.</i> rapi.
		wrapped	<i>vt.</i> hahilu.

wrinkle	<i>adj.</i> kakulu.
write	<i>vt.</i> suri.
wrong	<i>adj.</i> sala
	<i>vi.</i> sale.

Y - y

yarn roller	<i>n.</i> kadea.	you (PL)	<i>pro.</i> miu.
year	<i>n.</i> tèu.	you (clitic)	<i>pro.</i> mu.
yell	<i>vt.</i> pa'oo.	you (SG)	<i>pro.</i> èu.
yellow	<i>adj.</i> karara.	young	<i>adj.</i> ngèru.
yes	<i>Interj.</i> ya.	younger sibling	<i>n.</i> ari.
yesterday	<i>n.</i> meda.		

Fieldwork Photographs



A motor boat that regularly brings people from/to Ndao-Rote



The view of Ndao Island



A Ndaonese couple is doing their handwork silver smith and weaving



Ndaonese men are baking squids on the beach



Traditional wedding proposal



Elementary school children are dancing



Jermy is doing a Palatography test



Jermy is doing recording and elicitation with three native speakers



An elementary school teacher is teaching in Dhao



Two native speakers are checking the transcribed data



Jermy and the host family enjoy the typical Ndaonese vegetable folded with small fish



Jermy is participating in pulling a fishing boat

Summary in English

This book presents a grammar description of Dhao, an endangered Austronesian language in Eastern Indonesia. The data used in this grammar are extracted from 82 texts including elicited texts and field notes, 33 purposive recorded items and 1878 headwords in lexicon database. Dhao is a language spoken by about 3000 people on Ndao Island, a tiny island westward of Rote Island in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. Some speakers are also now living on the other neighboring islands, such as Rote, Timor, Sabu and Sumba. This grammar consists of six chapters which mainly describe the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Dhao. The other linguistic aspects, such as semantics and sociolinguistics are involved in the description only when related to the grammatical aspects under study. The summary of the chapters are presented in the following paragraphs.

Chapter one presents the general introduction to the people, language and the culture of Dhao. The methodology and theoretical framework applied in the research are also discussed. People of Ndao believe that their ancestors came from Sawu bringing the Indigo plant *dhau* (*indigofera tinctoria*) from which is the origin of the name of the island. People of Ndao are mostly doing gold and silver smithing for men, and traditional ikat weaving for women. The men tend to leave the island during dry season to sell their handwork smithing and ikat weaving products in the neighboring islands. Unlike ikat weaving, smithing is not productive nowadays since men mostly shifted to fishing and local business activities.

Dhao language is genetically classified into the Sumba-Hawu subgroup of Austronesian family. Dhao has three registers: *Lii Dhao* as the everyday language, *Lii Pacele* as the secret language, and *Lii Hini* as the ritual language. The secret language is basically a symbolic or figurative expression of language used only by adults to prevent that younger people or outsiders with a basic knowledge of Dhao can understand the conversation. Meanwhile, the ritual language is used only in customary ceremonies or events. However, the ritual language is under threat of endangerment due to the loss of traditional ceremonies.

In contemporary Dhao, people speak up to four languages, at least Dhao, Kupang Malay, Indonesian, and Rote. Consequently, lexical and grammatical calquing is to be expected. It is because people of Dhao have intense contact with people in the neighboring islands due to economic and educational reason. Although Dhao is still used at home, language shifting is really obvious. Children still learn Dhao but the interference from Kupang Malay is undeniably existent for many years. Dhao still has no significant role in the domains other than daily conversation.

Chapter two describes Dhao phonology. The Dhao phoneme inventory displays 23 consonant phonemes and six vowel phonemes. The consonants consist of nine plosives, four implosives, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, and two liquids. There are three loan consonants, one fricative and two approximants. Dhao vowels

include two front, two central, and two back vowels. While all other consonants have a complete distribution, the bilabial implosive /b/ occurs word-medially only. For the vowels, while other vowels are able to appear as syllable nucleus, the schwa /ə/ lacks weight in such position; therefore, any consonant following it should be lengthened to satisfy the syllable weight. Whenever schwa occurs in a final syllable, it requires a high vowel resulting in a diphthong. All simple vowels are preglottalized in initial syllable. These glottal stops are apparently phonemic and not phonetic. The evidence is from the morphophonological analysis of prefixation and partial reduplication in which the initial glottal of the root is retained.

The analysis of the syllable shows that Dhao has an open-syllabic system with an (C)V template. There are no codas. Main stress is on the penultimate syllable. For the quadrisyllabic words, the main stress remains on the penultimate syllable with secondary stress on the first syllable. The reduced forms follow the template of syllable units where each unit is a trochaic foot. Words with two trochees, for example, are reduced into a single trochee. Loan words in Dhao are mostly from Indonesian through Kupang Malay. Dhao always adapts loan words into its native phonological system. Since Dhao syllable does not have coda at all, codas of loan words are all deleted and leaves the syllable open, except for a few words that maintain codas in word-medial position. Thus, I consider that situation as incomplete adaptation as the consequence of the intense contact between Dhao and Kupang Malay.

Chapter three discusses word classes. The categorical status of words in Dhao is determined by the integrated paradigms of constructions, and not the semantics of the lexical items. Dhao does have nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs classes. Nouns in Dhao have five defining features: (1) they can be modified by demonstratives, (2) they refer either to a possession or a possessor in possessive constructions, (3) they take numerals and classifiers, (4) they can be modified by the quantifier *aa'i* 'all' and (5) they follow the existential verb *abhu* 'to get'. Nouns in Dhao are subclassified into four groups: proper nouns, common nouns, location and direction nouns, and time nouns. Dhao has four sets of personal pronouns; three are morphologically independent and another one is a set of bound forms which require hosts. All full forms are bisyllabic, except for *èu* '2SG', and they have monosyllabic counterparts that in this grammar are considered as reduced forms. Another monosyllabic set are clitics. The bound forms which require hosts are considered to be co-index affixes. The co-index affixes are apparently copies of the reduced pronominal clitics. While clitics can be true arguments, like full pronouns, affixes can only be referential elements. Dhao applies a three-deictic system, namely proximal, distal, and remote. They have singular and plural forms. Each form has a reduced counterpart. Dhao also has a relative pronoun *dhu* that in turn is used as a relative marker. Two interrogative pronouns are identified; they are, *cee* 'who' for human nouns and *ngaa* 'what' for non-human nouns. For numerals and classifiers, the number from 'one' to 'nine' are expressed by separate bisyllabic lexemes. Only *èci* 'one' can be reduced into a monosyllabic morpheme *ci*. The multiples of ten are preceded by the classifier *ca* 'a, one'. Dhao has an archaic term *kehi* that means 'million' is no longer used. The ordinal numbers use the prefix *ka-* plus the cardinal numbers. The fractions use *camalore* which means 'a half or ½'. Dhao has three

different classifiers denoting the meaning ‘one’: *ca* ‘one of, full of’ (for generic words), *cue* ‘one thing or fruit of’ (for inanimate), and *ci’u* ‘one body’ (for animates).

Since Dhao lacks a morphosyntactic marker to distinguish verbal predicates from other non-verbal predicates, the syntactic function alone cannot be used as a defining feature of verbs. In Dhao, verbs have three features: (1) a limited number of verbs take co-index affixes for inflection, (2) verbs can be derived from nouns and adjectives with the prefix *pa-* that marks causative, reciprocal, and other meanings, (3) only verbs can be modified by the perfective marker *le* ‘PERF’ and the modal *nia* ‘can’. Dhao only has nine verbs that undergo inflection with the co-index affixes. Only the *la-* ‘to go’ uses suffix for inflection. To derive verbs the prefix *pa-* is attached to nouns, for example, *angalai* (N) ‘friend’ > *pa-angalai* (V) ‘to be friend’ and adjectives, for example, *madhera* (Adj) ‘long’ > *pa-madhera* (V) ‘make s.t. long’. Dhao has a very few number of adverbs, such as *karohe* ‘fast’ and *mèri* ‘quick’. Like other languages, adverbs in Dhao cannot function as main predicates or heads of arguments. While these adverbs either modify verbs or the whole clause, Dhao has another subtype of adverb which is in this grammar classified as exclusive adverbs. These exclusive adverbs are basically derived from idiophones and feature lexical reduplication that only modify specific verb. For example, the adverb *dhi-dhii* can only modify the verb *titu* ‘to stand’ and nothing else.

Adjectives in Dhao have two defining criteria: (1) attributive function and (2) serial verb constructions involving the prefix *pa-*. Only five words are true adjective in Dhao, because they can only directly modify nouns in their bare forms, they are: *aae* ‘big, great’, *iiki* ‘small’, *aapa* ‘bad’, *to’a* ‘in need’, and *iia* ‘common’. Words denoting dimension and colors have a different syntactic behavior when prefixed with causative *pa-*; that is they require another verb to precede them, resulting in an SVC. Dhao has eight words to create interrogative constructions. On the basis of their function, the interrogative words in Dhao are classified into four types: interrogative pronoun (*cee* ‘who’ and *ngaa* ‘what’), numeral (*pèri* ‘how many’), classifier (*cangaa* ‘how much’), and demonstrative (*mia* ‘where’). The others (*tasamia* ‘how’, *ngaa tao* ‘why’, and *do* for yes/no questions) are considered as derived forms. Dhao has ten ‘true’ prepositions in that they can only occur before nouns or noun phrases, such as *ètu* ‘LOC’, *ngèti* ‘from’, and *asa* ‘to’. The prepositions in Dhao are typically one-dimensional. For two and three dimension grounds, location nouns are required to express a path, for instance *dara* ‘inside’ and *dedha* ‘above’. Dhao has five coordinating conjunctions and eight subordinating conjunctions. Some conjunctions are lexically simple, such as *dènge* ‘and’, and some are complex, such as *ngèti èèna ka* ‘therefore’. Functionally, conjunctions are also derived from other categories, for instance, *ladhe* ‘if’ is derived from the verb ‘to see’ and *lodo* ‘when’ from the noun ‘day, time’. The particles in Dhao include words that indicate aspects, conjunction-like words and negations. Tags in Dhao are used to mark particular expressions, such as question tag *si*, politeness tag *ku*, *et cetera*. Interjections are typically used to express emotions. For example, to express surprise or astonishment the interjection *irii* is used and to express amazement, *boo* is used.

Chapter four shows that Dhao lacks productive forms in morphosyntactic constructions. The co-index prefixes are restricted to only eight verbs and only one verb, *la-* ‘to go’ takes suffixes for co-indexing. The only derivational prefix is *pa-*. It bears a variety of meanings and interacts with other morphological processes, such as inflection verbs, reduplication, and compounding. Interestingly, the prefix *pa-* carries both causative and reciprocal meanings. These two semantic features are in fact different in terms of syntactic construction. While causative is a valence increasing, reciprocal is a valence decreasing phenomenon. The majority of the verbs with a causative reading are derived from monovalent verbs and non-verbal categories. However, some base verbs are bivalent. In this regard, the causative meaning is construed as profiling a more volitional or controlled event. Dhao has five types of reduplication in which (C)*a-* reduplication is distinguished from syllabic reduplication. While the former copies only the first consonant of the initial syllable followed by the fixed *a*, the latter copies the whole initial syllable. Other types of reduplications are not so productive, except for the full reduplication of ideophones. (C)*a-* reduplication is productive and carries a variety of meanings, such as to express instruments, nominalization, intensity, manner, and location. Other meanings are rather metaphorical. Further, the discussion on compounding demonstrates that some of the compounds have associated meanings with their stems, whereas others do not. Finally, the process of vowel change /a/ > /e/ marks agreement between certain verbs and their arguments, especially undergoer. Many verbs already lost such a feature and changed its semantic function, such as valence increase and other semantic/pragmatic specificities.

Chapter five concerns simple clause constructions and the elements involved in these constructions. Valency and transitivity and pragmatic variation of the constructions are also discussed. It has been shown that the predicate slot may be filled with either verbal or non-verbal constituents without any specific marker to distinguish them. The possessive predicate is classified separately due to its specific behavior in both nominal and verbal construction. Adjectives cannot occur independently in the predicate slot. True adjectives always require a head noun, because of which they are classified as nominal predicate nuclei. Recategorized adjective behave as state verbs and are classified as verbal predicate nuclei. Dhao has mainly an SVO order. Obliques and adjunct cannot appear clause-initially. The notion of valency and transitivity is not used interchangeably in this grammar. Valency is a semantic term, which concerns the number of participants in a verbal event. Transitivity exclusively relates to the number of arguments in a construction. There is often a mismatch between them. The discussion on the pragmatic variation of the constructions shows that Dhao employs word order variation to mark topic, whereas focus is marked by either reduced demonstratives or the particle *ka*. The reduced demonstratives can mark focus on both NPs and verbs, whereas the particle *ka* is confined to NPs.

Chapter six is dealing with clause combining and serial verb constructions. The clause combining in this case includes the combination of clauses which are marked with conjunctions or clauses that are simply juxtaposed without any overt marking. Dhao has three types of coordination; (1) conjunctive coordination in which the

conjunctive *dènge* ‘with’ and *aa* ‘and’ are employed, (2) disjunctive coordination which uses the disjunctive *tengaa* ‘but’, and (3) adversative coordination which uses the disjunctive *do* ‘or’. The juxtaposition constructions occurs either on word, phrase, or clause level without an overt linker. Since there is no overt marking, intonation is the only means to identify the conjoined units.

Subordination in Dhao is distinguished into relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses. Relative clauses are typically marked by *dhu*, which is postnominal in that the relative clause follows the NP head. It is embedded in the main clause. Complement clauses in Dhao have specific features: (1) the structure of both complement clauses and matrix clauses follow the basic clause structure in Dhao, (2) complement clauses function as the object of the matrix predicate, (3) complement clauses may be marked by the particle *na* depending on the verbs of the matrix clauses. Based on those general characteristics, complement clauses in Dhao are divided into three types according to their grammatical behavior; (1) *na*-complements, (2) paratactic complements, and (3) clause union complements. Dhao employs several grammatical morphemes to mark adverbial clauses. The adverbial clauses can appear either before or after the matrix clause. They encode time, location, reason, condition, purpose, temporal sequence, or concession.

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Dhao include monoclausal constructions consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between them. In Dhao, SVCs include at most three verbs. Dynamic verbs occur as the first verbs (V1), while in most instances direction verbs are the second verbs (V2). Direction verbs can occur as V1 with a limited number of dynamic and state verbs as V2. One of the salient criteria of SVCs is that the constructions are monoclausal. The argument sharing is obviously seen in Dhao, especially when employing inflected verbs. Both verbs are inflected with the same person and number. Two prefixes involved within the same clause refer to the same referent. The semantic relationship between the verbs involved in serialization varies and the meaning is not always compositional. For example, the SVC with *rai* ‘run’ and *mai* ‘come’ is more transparent, since the meaning of the SVC is readily understood from the meaning of those two verbs. The SVC, like *ngee* ‘think’ and *kèdhi* ‘see’ is less transparent, since the meaning is not compositional, although it is still predictable. The types of SVCs are based on the semantics of the verbs involved in the series. The verbs can undergo semantic shifts and the category can also change. Therefore, some verbs may be overlapped in terms of the meaning. For example, the verb *dai* ‘reach’ can overlap with the verb *-are* ‘take’ in terms of locational meaning. Similarly, the verb *tao* ‘make, do’ and *hia* ‘give’ overlap in terms of causation.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Dit proefschrift is een grammaticale beschrijving van Dhao, een bedreigde Austronesische taal in Oost-Indonesië. De data in deze grammatica komen uit 82 teksten, waaronder geëliciteerde teksten en veldnotities, 33 vantevoren geprepareerde opnames en 1878 trefwoorden in de lexicon-database. Dhao is een taal gesproken door ongeveer 3000 mensen op het eiland Ndao, een klein eiland ten westen van Rote Island in de provincie Oost-Nusa Tenggara, Indonesië. Sommige sprekers wonen nu ook op de andere aangrenzende eilanden, zoals Rote, Timor, Sabu en Sumba. Deze grammatica bestaat uit zes hoofdstukken die voornamelijk de fonologie, morfologie en syntaxis van het Dhao beschrijven. De andere taalaspecten, zoals semantiek en sociolinguïstiek, worden alleen bij de beschrijving betrokken wanneer ze verband houden met de bestudeerde grammaticale aspecten. De samenvatting van de hoofdstukken wordt in de volgende paragrafen aangeboden.

Hoofdstuk één is een algemene inleiding met betrekking tot de mensen, de taal en de cultuur van Dhao. De methodologie en het theoretisch kader dat in het onderzoek worden toegepast worden ook besproken. Het volk van Ndao gelooft dat de voorouders uit Sawu kwamen en de Indigo-plant *dhau* (indigofera tinctoria) meebrachten waaruit de naam van het eiland is ontstaan. In de Ndao gemeenschap oefenen mannen meestal het beroep van goud- en zilversmid uit en weven vrouwen traditioneel ikat. De mannen verlaten gewoonlijk het eiland tijdens het droge seizoen om hun handwerkproducten van smeden en ikat weven te verkopen op de naburige eilanden. In tegenstelling tot het ikat-weven, is smeden tegenwoordig niet langer productief, omdat mannen voornamelijk op visserij en lokale handel zijn overgegaan.

De taal Dhao behoort genetisch tot de Sumba-Hawu subgroep van de Austronesische familie. Dhao heeft drie registers: *Lii Dhao* als de dagelijkse taal, *Lii Pacele* als de geheime taal en *Lii Hini* als de rituele taal. De geheime taal zijn in feite symbolische of figuurlijke uitdrukkingen die alleen door volwassenen worden gebruikt om te voorkomen dat jongeren of buitenstaanders met een basiskennis van Dhao het gesprek kunnen volgen. De rituele taal, daarentegen, wordt alleen gebruikt in traditionele bijeenkomsten of gebeurtenissen. Ze wordt echter bedreigd door de teloorgang van traditionele ceremonies.

In de hedendaagse Dhao maatschappij spreken mensen tot vier talen, Dhao, Kupangs Maleis, Indonesisch en Rote. Bijgevolg kan men lexicale en grammaticale calques verwachten. Immers, vanwege economische en educatieve drijfveren staan de mensen van Dhao intensief in contact met mensen op de nabije eilanden. Hoewel Dhao nog steeds thuis wordt gebruikt, is er duidelijk sprake van taalverschuiving. Kinderen leren nog steeds Dhao, maar de interferentie met het Kupangs Maleis is al jaren onmiskenbaar aanwezig. Buiten het dagelijkse taalgebruik speelt Dhao nog steeds in geen enkel domein een belangrijke rol.

Hoofdstuk twee beschrijft de fonologie van Dhao. De Dhao foneeminventaris bevat 23 medeklinkerfonemen en zes klinkerfonemen. De medeklinkers bestaan uit negen plofklanken, vier implosieven, twee affricaten, twee fricatieven, vier nasale medeklinkers en twee liquidae. Er zijn drie leenmedeklinkers, één fricatief en twee approximanten. Dhao klinkers omvatten twee voorklinkers, twee centrale klinkers en twee achterklinkers. Terwijl alle andere medeklinkers een volledig gedistribueerd zijn, komt de bilabiale implosief /b/ alleen woordmediaal voor. Met betrekking tot de klinkers is de sjwa /ə/ te licht zijn om als lettergreepkern te verschijnen zoals de andere klinkers, waardoor elke medeklinker die volgt op een sjwa verlengd wordt om aan de lettergreepomvang te voldoen. Een sjwa in een eindlettergreep vereist een gesloten klinker met een diftong als gevolg. Alle enkele beginklinkers hebben een glottisslag in de beginlettergreep. Deze glottale stops zijn duidelijk fonemisch en niet fonetisch. Het bewijs is afkomstig van de morfofonologische onderzoek van voorvoegsel en gedeeltelijke reduplicatie waarin de waargemerkt glottaal van de origine wordt behouden. Dit wordt aangetoond door de morfonologische analyse van prefigering en gedeeltelijke reduplicatie waarin de beginglottisslag behouden blijft.

Onderzoek van de lettergreep laat zien dat Dhao een open syllabisch systeem heeft met een (C)V-patroon. Er zijn geen coda's. De hoofdklemtoon ligt op de voorlaatste lettergreep. Bij quadrisyllabische woorden blijft de hoofdklemtoon op de voorlaatste lettergreep en is er een secundair accent op de eerste lettergreep. Gereduceerde vormen volgen het patroon van lettergreepenheden waarbij elke eenheid een trocheïsche voet is. Woorden met twee trochei worden bijvoorbeeld vereenvoudigd tot een enkele trocheus. Leenwoorden in Dhao zijn meestal afkomstig uit het Indonesisch of Kupangs Maleis. Dhao past leenwoorden altijd aan in zijn eigen fonologisch systeem. Omdat Dhao-lettergreep helemaal geen coda heeft, worden alle coda's van leenwoorden weggehaald en blijft de lettergreep open, behalve enkele woorden die coda's in woord-mediale positie houden. Daarom beschouw ik die situatie als onvolledige aanpassing als het gevolg van het intensief contact tussen Dhao en Kupangs Maleis.

Hoofdstuk drie bespreekt woordsoorten. De woordcategorieën in Dhao zijn vastgesteld aan de hand van geïntegreerde constructie-paradigma's, en niet op basis van lexicale semantiek. Dhao heeft zelfstandige naamwoorden, werkwoorden, bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en bijwoorden. Zelfstandig naamwoorden in Dhao hebben vijf bepalende kenmerken: (1) ze kunnen worden gemodificeerd door demonstrativa, (2) ze verwijzen naar een bezit of een bezitter in bezittelijke constructies, (3) ze nemen numeralia en classificeerders, (4) ze kunnen worden gemodificeerd door de numerieke bepaling *aa'i* 'all' en (5) volgen ze het existentiële werkwoord *abhu* 'to get'. Zelfstandig naamwoorden in Dhao zijn onderverdeeld in vier groepen: eigennamen, gewone zelfstandige naamwoorden, zelfstandige naamwoorden van plaats of richting, en zelfstandige naamwoorden van tijd. Dhao heeft vier groepen persoonlijke voornaamwoorden; drie zijn morfologisch onafhankelijk en een is een reeks gebonden vormen waarvoor fonologische gastheren nodig zijn. Alle complete vormen zijn bisyllabisch, behalve *əu* '2SG', en hebben monosyllabische allomorfen die in deze grammatica worden beschouwd als gereduceerde vormen. Een andere monosyllabische groep zijn de clitica. De

gebonden vormen waarvoor gastheren nodig zijn worden beschouwd als co-index-affixen. De co-index-affixen zijn kopieën van de gereduceerde pronominale clitica. Hoewel clitica echte argumenten kunnen zijn, zoals volledige voornaamwoorden, kunnen affixen alleen verwijzende elementen zijn. Dhao heeft een drie-term-systeem, te weten: dichtbij, ver en heel ver. De termen hebben enkelvouds- en meervoudsvormen. Elke vorm heeft een gereduceerde allomorf. Dhao heeft ook een relatief voornaamwoord *dhu*. Er zijn twee vragende voornaamwoorden: *cee* 'wie' voor zelfstandige naamwoorden die verwijzen naar mensen en *ngaa* 'wat' voor andere zelfstandige naamwoorden. Wat betreft getallen en classificeerders worden de getallen van 'één' tot 'negen' uitgedrukt door afzonderlijke bisyllabische lexemen. Alleen *èci* 'one' kan worden gereduceerd tot het monosyllabische morfeem *ci*. De tientallen worden geprefigeerd met de classificeerder *ca* 'een'. Dhao heeft een archaïsche term *kehi* 'miljoen' die niet meer wordt gebruikt. De rangtelwoorden zijn combinaties van het voorvoegsel *ka-* en een hoofdtelwoord. De breuken gebruiken *camalore* 'een half'. Dhao heeft drie verschillende classificeerders met de betekenis 'één' aangeven: *ca* 'één van, vol met' (voor generieke zaken), *cue* 'één ding' of 'vrucht van' (voor levenloze zaken), en *ci'u* 'één lichaam' (voor levende zaken).

Omdat Dhao een morfosyntactische marker mist om verbale predicaten te onderscheiden van andere niet-verbale predicaten, kan de syntactische functie alleen niet worden gebruikt als een bepalend kenmerk van werkwoorden. In Dhao hebben werkwoorden drie kenmerken: (1) een gereduceerd aantal werkwoorden nemen co-index aan voor verbuiging, (2) werkwoorden kunnen worden afgeleid van zelfstandige naamwoorden en bijvoeglijke naamwoorden met het voorvoegsel *pa-* dat causatieve, wederkerige en andere betekenissen markeert, (3) alleen werkwoorden kunnen worden gewijzigd door de perfectieve marker *le* 'PERF' en het modale *nia* 'can'. Dhao heeft slechts negen werkwoorden die verbuiging ondergaan met de co-index-affixen. Alleen *la-* 'gaan' gebruikt een achtervoegsel voor verbuiging. Om werkwoorden af te leiden wordt het voorvoegsel *pa-* gehecht aan zelfstandige naamwoorden, bijvoorbeeld *angalai* (N) 'vriend' > *pa-angalai* (V) 'bevriend zijn' en aan bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, bijvoorbeeld *madhera* (Adj) 'lang' > *pa-madhera* (V) 'lang maken'. Dhao heeft een heel klein aantal bijwoorden, zoals *karohe* 'vlug' en *mèri* 'snel'. Net als andere talen kunnen bijwoorden in Dhao niet functioneren als hoofdpredikaten of argumenten. Hoewel deze bijwoorden werkwoorden of de hele zin modificeren, heeft Dhao een ander subtype van bijwoorden die in deze grammatica worden geclassificeerd als exclusieve bijwoorden. Deze exclusieve bijwoorden zijn in principe afgeleid van idiofonen en vertonen lexicale reduplicatie die alleen bepaalde werkwoorden modificeren. Het bijwoord *dhi-dhii* kan uitsluitend het werkwoord *titu* 'staan' modificeren.

Er zijn twee criteria voor bijvoeglijke naamwoorden in Dhao: (1) attributieve functie en (2) seriële werkwoordconstructies met het voorvoegsel *pa-*. Slechts vijf woorden zijn echte bijvoeglijk naamwoorden in Dhao, omdat alleen hun kale vorm zelfstandige naamwoorden rechtstreeks in hun kale vormen kan modificeren, te weten: *aae* 'groot', *iiki* 'klein', *aapa* 'slecht', *to'a* 'noodruchtig', en *iia* 'gewoon'. Woorden die dimensie en kleuren aanduiden, hebben een ander syntactisch gedrag wanneer ze worden voorafgegaan door causatief *pa-*; zij moeten voorafgegaan worden door een ander werkwoord, wat resulteert in een seriële werkwoordconstructie.

Dhao heeft acht woorden om vraagconstructies te maken. Op basis van hun functie zijn de vraagwoorden in Dhao ingedeeld in vier typen: voornaamwoord (*cee* 'wie' en *ngaa* 'wat'), quantificeerder (*pèri* 'hoeveel'), classificeerder (*cangaa* 'hoeveel'), en demonstratief (*mia* 'waar'). De overige (*tasamia* 'hoe', *ngaa tao* 'waarom' en *do* voor ja / nee-vragen) worden beschouwd als afgeleide vormen. Dhao heeft tien 'echte' voorzetsels omdat ze alleen kunnen voorkomen vóór zelfstandige naamwoorden of zinsdelen, zoals *ètu* 'LOC', *ngèti* 'van' en *asa* 'tot'. De voorzetsels in Dhao zijn meestal eendimensionaal. Voor twee en drie dimensies zijn locatienomina nodig om een pad uit te drukken, bijvoorbeeld *dara* 'binnen' en *dedha* 'boven'. Dhao heeft vijf coördinerende conjuncties en acht ondergeschikte conjuncties. Sommige conjuncties zijn lexicaal eenvoudig, zoals *dènge* 'en', en sommige zijn complex, zoals *ngèti èèna ka* 'daarom'. Functioneel gezien zijn conjuncties ook afgeleid van andere categorieën, bijvoorbeeld: *ladhe* 'als' is afgeleid van het werkwoord 'zien' en *lodo* 'wanneer' van het zelfstandig naamwoord 'dag, tijd'. De partikels in Dhao geven aspecten, conjunctie-achtige woorden en ontkenningen aan. Tags in Dhao worden gebruikt om bepaalde uitdrukkingen te markeren, zoals de vraagtag *si*, beleefdheidstag *ku*, etcetera. Tussenwerpsels worden meestal gebruikt om emoties uit te drukken. Om bijvoorbeeld verrassing of verbazing uit te drukken, wordt het tussenwerpsel *irii* gebruikt en om verbazing uit te drukken, wordt *boo* gebruikt.

Hoofdstuk vier laat zien dat Dhao productieve vormen mist in morfosyntactische constructies. De co-indexvoorvoegsels zijn gereduceerd tot slechts acht werkwoorden en slechts één werkwoord, *la-* 'to go' heeft achtervoegsels voor co-indexering. Het enige derivatieve voorvoegsel is *pa-*. Het heeft verschillende betekenissen en vertoont interactie met andere morfologische processen, zoals verbale verbuiging, reduplicatie en samenstelling. Interessant is dat het voorvoegsel *pa-* zowel causatieve als wederkerige betekenissen heeft. Deze twee semantische kenmerken hebben feitelijk een verschillende syntactische constructie. Terwijl de causatief valentie-vermeerderend is, is de reciproque valentie-verminderend. De meerderheid van de werkwoorden met een causatieve interpretatie zijn afgeleid van monovalente werkwoorden en niet-verbale categorieën. Sommige basiswerkwoorden zijn echter bivalent. In dit opzicht wordt de causatieve betekenis geïnterpreteerd als een weergave van een meer vrijwillige of gecontroleerde gebeurtenis. Dhao heeft vijf soorten reduplicatie waarbij (*C*)*a*-reduplicatie wordt onderscheiden van syllabische reduplicatie. Terwijl de eerste alleen de eerste medeklinker van de eerste lettergreep kopieert, gevolgd door de vaste *a*, kopieert de laatste de hele eerste lettergreep. Andere soorten reduplicaties zijn niet zo productief, behalve de volledige reduplicatie van ideofonen. (*C*)*a*-reduplicatie is productief en heeft verschillende betekenissen, zoals nominalisatie, instrumentele nominalisatie, intensiteit, manier en locatie. Andere betekenissen zijn eerder metaforisch. Verder laat de discussie over samenstelling zien dat sommige van de samenstellingen geassocieerde betekenissen hebben met hun stammen, terwijl andere dat niet hebben. Tot slot geeft het proces van klinkerverandering /a/ > /e/ congruentie aan tussen bepaalde werkwoorden en hun argumenten, met name de *undergoer*. Veel werkwoorden hebben dit kenmerk verloren en veranderden de

semantische functie ervan, zoals valentievermeerdering en andere semantische / pragmatische specificiteiten.

Hoofdstuk vijf gaat over eenvoudige zinsconstructies en de elementen die bij deze constructies betrokken zijn. Valentie en transitiviteit, en pragmatische variatie van de constructies worden ook besproken. Het wordt aangetoond dat de predicaatsslot kan worden gevuld met verbale of niet-verbale componenten zonder een specifieke markering om ze te onderscheiden. Het bezittelijk predicaat wordt apart geclassificeerd vanwege zijn specifieke gedrag in zowel nominale als verbale constructies. Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden kunnen niet onafhankelijk in het predicaatsslot voorkomen. Echte bijvoeglijke naamwoorden vereisen altijd een zelfstandig naamwoord, waardoor ze worden geclassificeerd als nominale predikaatkernen. Gerecategoriseerde bijvoeglijk naamwoorden gedragen zich als werkwoorden en worden geclassificeerd als verbale predikaatkernen. Dhao heeft voornamelijk een SVO volgorde. Obliques en adjuncten kunnen niet zinsinitieel voorkomen. Het begrip valentie en transitiviteit wordt niet door elkaar gebruikt in deze grammatica. Valentie is een semantische term die betrekking heeft op het aantal deelnemers in een werkwoordelijke gebeurtenis. Transitiviteit heeft uitsluitend betrekking op het aantal argumenten in een constructie. Er is vaak een mismatch tussen hen. De discussie over de pragmatische variatie van de constructies laat zien dat Dhao een andere woordvolgorde gebruikt voor topicalisatie, terwijl focus wordt aangegeven door ofwel gereduceerde demonstratieven of het partikel *ka*. De gereduceerde demonstratieven kunnen focus op zowel NP's als werkwoorden aangeven, terwijl het partikel *ka* zich tot NP's beperkt.

Hoofdstuk zes gaat over clause-combinaties en seriële werkwoordconstructies. De clause-combinaties zijn hier juxtaposities zonder openlijke markering. Dhao heeft drie soorten coördinatie; (1) conjunctieve coördinatie waarbij de conjunctieve *denge* 'met' en *aa* 'en' worden gebruikt, (2) disjunctieve coördinatie die de disjunctie *tengaa* 'maar' gebruikt, en (3) adversatieve coordination die de disjunctie *do* 'of' gebruikt. De juxtapositionele constructies bevinden zich van de juxtapositie vindt plaats op woord-, woordgroep - of zins-niveau. Omdat er geen openlijke markering is, is intonatie het enige middel om de samengevoegde eenheden te identificeren.

Subordinatie in Dhao wordt onderscheiden in relatieve bijzinnen, complement-bijzinnen en bijwoordelijke bijzinnen. Relatieve bijzinnen worden meestal gemarkeerd met *dhu* dat postnominaal is daar de relatieve bijzin het hoofd van de NP volgt. Het is ingebed in de hoofdzin. Complement-bijzinnen in Dhao hebben specifieke kenmerken: (1) de structuur van zowel complement- als matrix-clauses volgen de basis-zinsstructuur in Dhao, (2) complement-bijzinnen functioneren als object in het matrix-predikaat, (3) complement-bijzinnen kunnen worden gemarkeerd met het partikel *na*, afhankelijk van de werkwoorden van de matrix-clauses. Op basis van die algemene kenmerken zijn complement-bijzinnen in drie soorten verdeeld; (1) *na*-complementen, (2) paratactische complementen en (3) clause union complementen. Dhao gebruikt verschillende grammaticale morfemen om bijwoordelijke bijzinnen te markeren. De bijwoordelijke bijzinnen kunnen voor of na de matrix-clause worden weergegeven. Ze coderen tijd, locatie, reden, toestand, doel, tijdsvolgorde of concessie.

Seriële werkwoordconstructies (SVC's) in Dhao omvatten monoclausale constructies die bestaan uit meerdere onafhankelijke werkwoorden zonder een element dat ze verbindt en zonder een predicaat-argumentrelatie tussen hen. In Dhao bevatten SVC's maximaal drie werkwoorden. Dynamische werkwoorden komen voor als eerste werkwoord (V1), terwijl richtingswerkwoorden in de meeste gevallen het tweede werkwoord zijn (V2). Richtingwerkwoorden kunnen voorkomen als V1 met een beperkt aantal dynamische en statuswerkwoorden als V2. Een van de meest opvallende criteria van SVC's is dat de constructies enkelvoudige clauses zijn. Het gedeelde lidmaatschap van argumenten is duidelijk zichtbaar in Dhao, vooral bij verbogen werkwoorden. Beide werkwoorden worden verbogen met dezelfde persoon en hetzelfde getal. Twee voorvoegsels binnen dezelfde bijzin verwijzen naar dezelfde referent. De semantische relatie tussen de seriële werkwoorden varieert en de betekenis is niet altijd samengesteld. De SVC met *rai* 'rennen' en *mai* 'komen' is bijvoorbeeld transparanter, omdat de betekenis van de SVC gemakkelijk te begrijpen is uit de betekenis van die twee werkwoorden. De SVC met *ngee* 'denken' en *kèdhi* 'zien' is minder transparant, omdat de betekenis niet samengesteld is, hoewel het nog steeds voorspelbaar is. De types SVC zijn gebaseerd op de semantiek van de werkwoorden in de reeks. De werkwoorden kunnen semantische verschuivingen ondergaan en de categorie kan ook veranderen. Daarom kunnen sommige werkwoorden elkaar overlappen wat betreft de betekenis. Het werkwoord *dai* 'bereiken' kan bijvoorbeeld overlappen met het werkwoord *-are* 'nemen' in termen van locatieve betekenis. Op dezelfde manier overlappen het werkwoord *tao* 'maken, doen' en *hia* 'geven' met elkaar in termen van causaliteit.

Curriculum Vitae

Jermy Imanuel Balukh was born in Kupang, Indonesia on December 11th, 1977. In 2001, he obtained his undergraduate degree in English Language from the School of Foreign Languages YAPARI Bandung, Indonesia. In 2003, he continued his study in Linguistic Department at Udayana University in Bali, Indonesia and received his masters in Linguistics in 2005. In 2005, he began to work with the School of Foreign Languages *Cakrawala Nusantara* in Kupang Indonesia. In 2012, he became a PhD student at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) with a research project on a linguistic description of Dhao.