



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

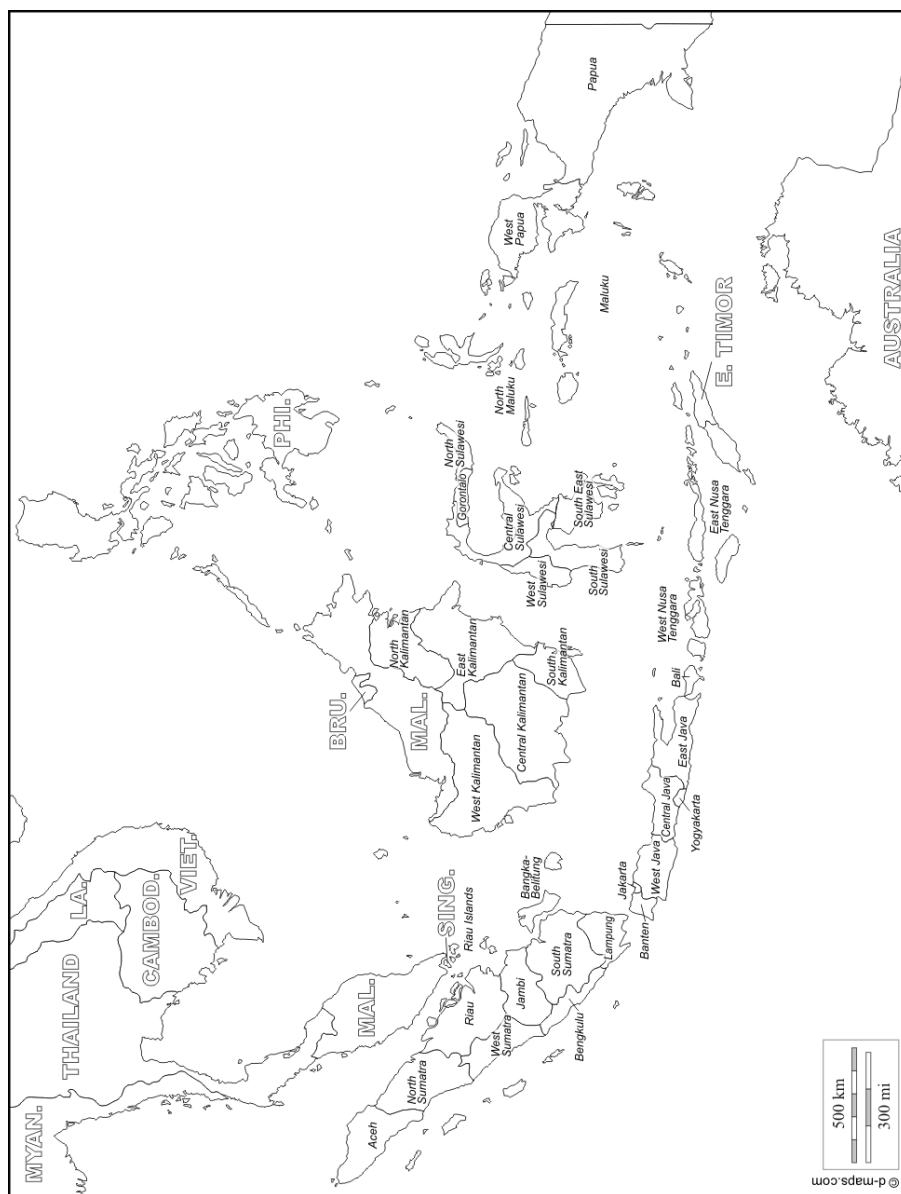
Table 3.12: Unique Classifiers	104
Table 3.13: Verbal Classifiers	105
Table 3.14: Partition classifier	105
Table 3.15: Mensural classifiers	106
Table 3.16: Dhao Interrogative Words	129
Table 3.17: Functions of Interrogative Words	129
Table 3.18: Basic Prepositions	134
Table 3.19: Coordinating Conjunctions	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

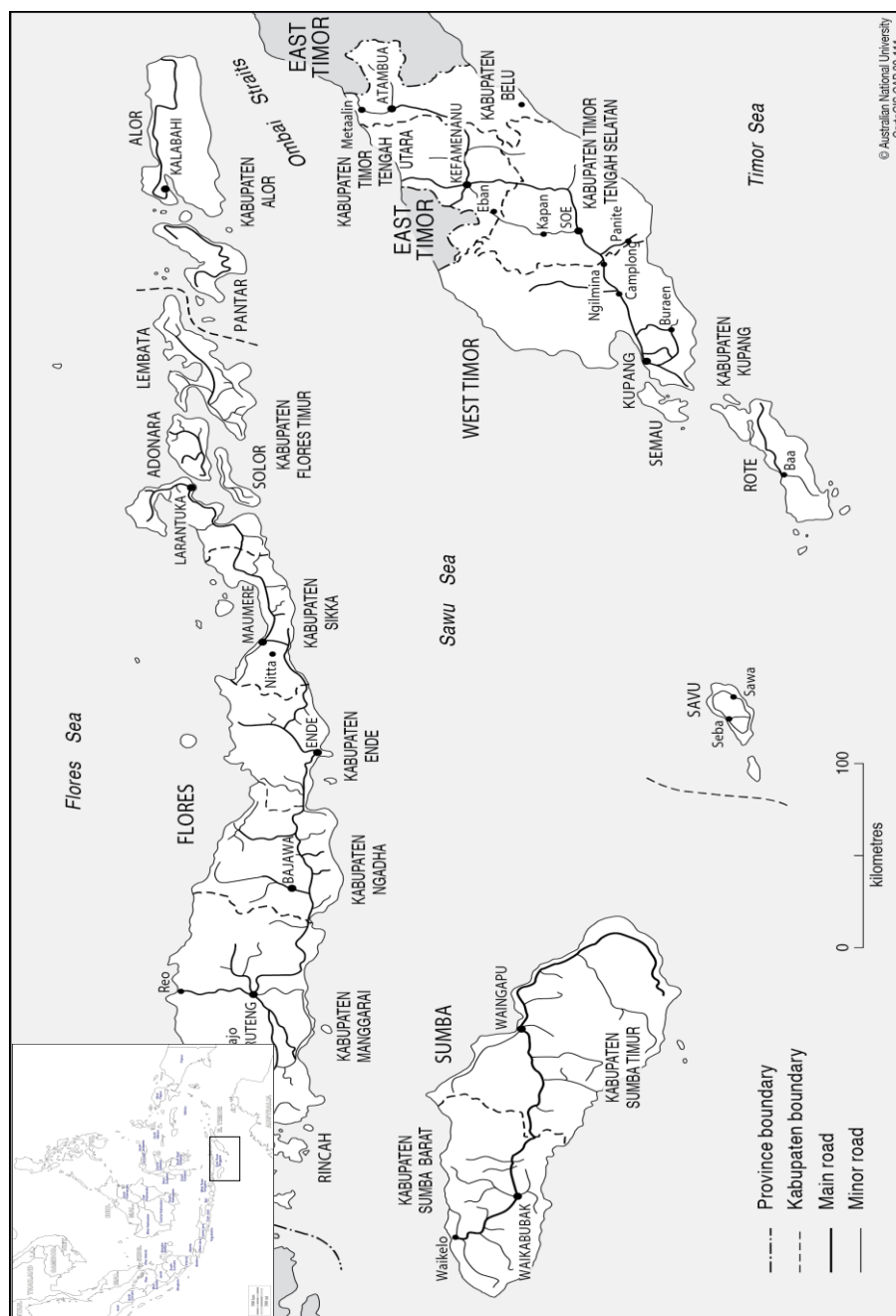
1	first person	IRR	irrealis
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	Mal	Malay
		N	noun
A	agent-like argument of transitive verb	NEG	negation, negative
ADJ	adjective	NOM	nominative/ nominalizer/nominalization
ADNOM	Adnominal	NUM	numeral/number
ADV	adverb(ial)	OBJ	object
ADVR	adversative	OBL	oblique
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	factive	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



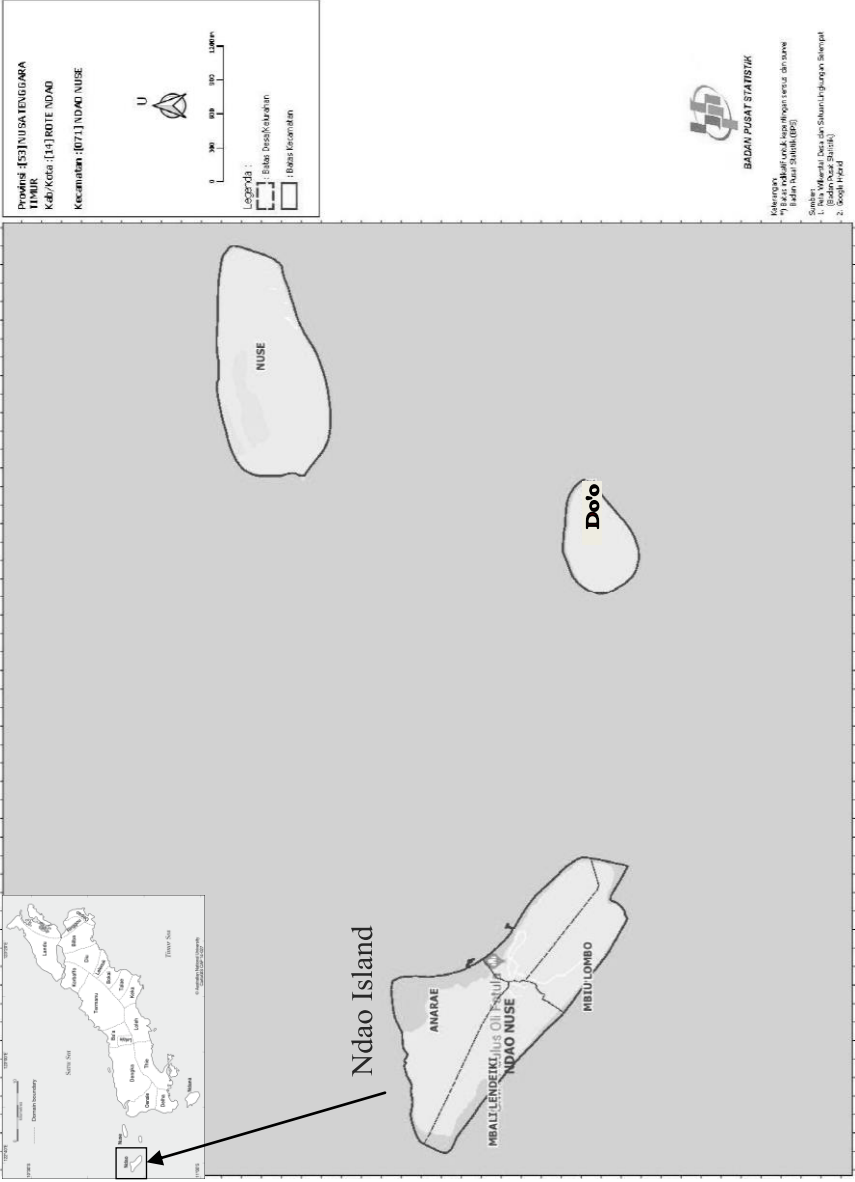
Map 2:
East Nusa Tenggara Province with the name of regencies



Map 3:
Rote with the name of domains



Map 4:
Ndao Nuse Subdistrict



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: 3310/24-1-13N, 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 *Cakarawala 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.