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

Balukh, J.I.

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.

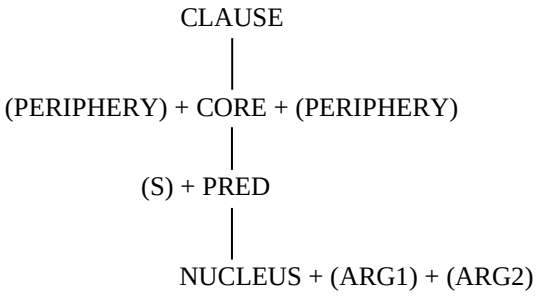


Figure 5.1. Default Clause Structure

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 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 t 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 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 syntaxis. 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

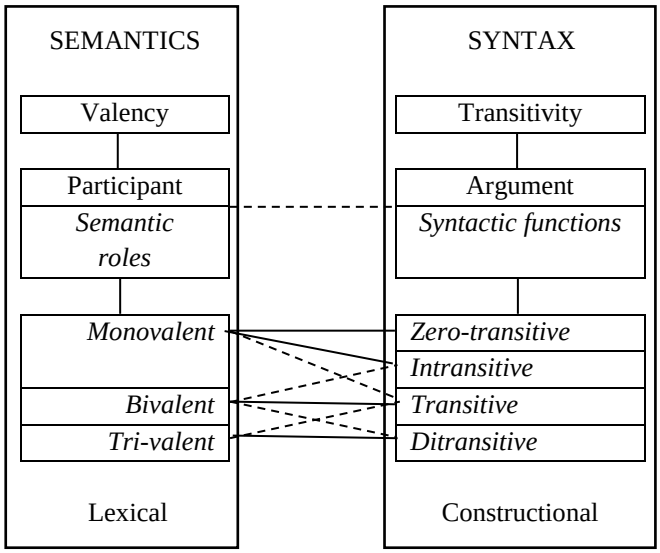
[2] This is inspired by Van Engelenhoven's analysis of Indonesian. The difference between his and my own analysis is that my analysis specifically enables valence change in verbal meanings, whereas Van Engelenhoven's analysis explains the same phenomenon as a quality of constructions and not of verbs.

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.

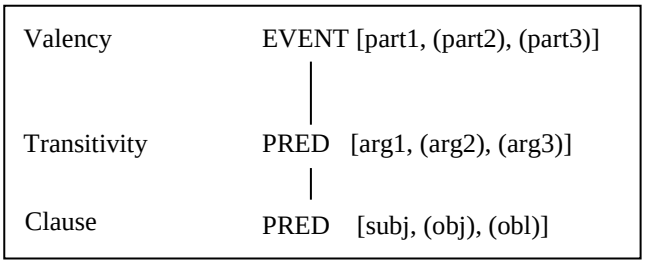
Figure 5.2. Valency and Transitivity Mapping

.



In order to account for the syntactic structure of the construction, I distinguish three layers of syntactic relation[3]. 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*
1SG to.laugh 3PL
'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)	*aj'a*	'to study'	'to teach'
	bhèke	'to torn apart'	'to cleave'
	kabhee	'to bleat'	'to bleat'
	kiju	'to inserted'	'to insert'
	lodhe	'be hanged down'	'to hang down'
	marèi	'be soaked'	'to soak'
	mari	'to laugh'	'to laugh at'
	sangidhi	'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 constructions[4]. 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 ungrammatical[5].

(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 predicate[6].

(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.CL to.send DUP-to.wrap PROX.SG to.come

(*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 arguments[7]. 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 object[8] 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).