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

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## Summary in English

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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 1/2'. 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.

